

Konai (Kal<u>ai</u>) language Western Province Papua New Guinea ISO code: kxw

Britten Årsjö MA in Linguistics Summer Institute of Linguistics April 5, 2016 Konai Reference Grammar, WP, PNG, Årsjö, SIL

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of abbreviations12		
1.	Introduction	13
1.1	Previous research	14
1.2	Overview	15
1.2.1	The realis-irrealis distinction in brief	15
1.2.2	The genitive case in brief	16
1.2.3	The object focus in brief	16
2.	Phonology and orthography	17
2.1	Phonemic and orthographic inventory	17
2.2	Consonants	18
2.2.1	Consonant harmony	20
2.3	Vowels	21
2.3.1	Monophthongs	21
2.3.2	Diphthongs	22
2.3.3	Vowel harmony in word roots	24
2.3.4	Bleed-through	24
2.4	Interpretation of non-syllabic high vowels	25
2.4.1	Semi-vowels	25
2.4.2	Palatalisation and labialisation	25
2.5	Syllable patterns	27
2.6	Suprasegmentals	27
2.6.1	Nasalisation	27
2.6.2	Tone	28
2.6.3	Stress	28
2.6.4	Length	29
2.6.5	Intonation	29
2.7	Morpho-phonemic processes	30
2.7.1	Vowel harmony in verbs	30
2.7.1.1	Vowel harmony in final verbs	30
2.7.1.2	2 Vowel harmony in medial verbs	32
2.7.1.3	3 Vowel harmony triggered by suffixes beginning with <i>/a/</i>	35
2.7.2	Minor vowel harmony	35
2.7.3	Vowel fronting in locative adverbs	36
2.7.4	Vowel epenthesis & vowel deletion in connection with the quote verbs	37
2.7.5	Nasalisation of topic marker	38
2.7.6	De-nasalisation before /g/, /l/ and /k/	38
2.8	Spelling rules	38
2.8.1	Consonants – spelling of /l/ and /j/	39

Vowels – spelling of /o/ and of initial [A]	39
Diphthongs - spelling of /ou/ and /ou/	39
Bleed-through - how to spell	40
Vowel harmony - spelling of a few exceptions	40
Nasalisation – how to write	41
Tone - not written	41
Spelling of Tok Pisin proper names	41
Morphological processes	42
Affixation	42
Verbal suffixation	42
First order verbal suffixes	.43
Second order verbal suffixes	.43
Third order verbal suffixes	.44
Fourth order verbal suffixes	.46
Fifth order verbal suffixes	.48
Non-verbal suffixation	49
Deictic suffixes	.49
A locative nominaliser	.52
A verbalising suffix	.52
A numeralising suffix	.53
Suffixes giving additional meanings to pronouns	.53
Prefixation	54
Relational prefixes	.54
Directional prefixes	.55
Suppletion	55
Compounding	55
Zero Formation	56
Reduplication and repetition	56
Cliticisation	57
Enclitics functioning at phrase level	57
Case markers	.58
Case markers	
	.59
Limiters	. 59 . 60
Limiters	. 59 . 60 . 61
Limiters The intensifier $= do$ The co-ordinating enclitic $= b\hat{ou}$	. 59 . 60 . 61 . 61
Limiters The intensifier $= do$ The co-ordinating enclitic $= bo\hat{u}$ The independent possessive enclitic	. 59 . 60 . 61 . 61 . 62
Limiters The intensifier $= do$ The co-ordinating enclitic $= b\hat{ou}$ The independent possessive enclitic Sentence enclitics	. 59 . 60 . 61 . 61 . 62 . 62
Limiters The intensifier $= do$ The co-ordinating enclitic $= b\hat{ou}$ The independent possessive enclitic Sentence enclitics Discourse enclitics	.59 .60 .61 .61 .62 .62 .64 .64
	Bleed-through – how to spell.         Vowel harmony – spelling of a few exceptions         Nasalisation – how to write         Tone - not written.         Spelling of Tok Pisin proper names.         Morphological processes.         Affixation         Verbal suffixation         First order verbal suffixes.         Second order verbal suffixes.         Fourth order verbal suffixes.         Fourth order verbal suffixes.         Non-verbal suffixes.         A locative nominaliser         A verbalising suffix         A numeralising suffix.         Suffixes giving additional meanings to pronouns.         Prefixation         Relational prefixes.         Directional prefixes.         Suppletion         Compounding         Zero Formation         Reduplication and repetition         Cliticisation.

4.	Word classes	67
4.1	Verbs	67
4.1.1	Classes of verbs	67
4.1.1.1	Event verbs and state verbs	.67
4.1.1.1.	1 Event verbs	. 68
4.1.1.1.	2 Existential state verbs/Stative verbs	. 68
4.1.1.1.	3 Experiential state verbs	. 69
4.1.1.2	Pro-verbs	.69
4.1.1.3	Quote verbs	.72
4.1.2	Types of verbs	74
4.1.3	Final and medial verbs, an introduction	74
4.1.4	Verb structure	76
4.1.4.1	Verb stems	.76
4.1.4.2	Structure of final verbs	.77
4.1.4.3	Structure of medial verbs	.78
4.1.5	Tense, aspect and mood (TAM)	81
4.1.5.1	Epistemic mood	.82
4.1.5.1.	1 Epistemic mood in final verbs	. 82
4.1.5.1.	2 Epistemic mood in medial verbs	. 83
4.1.5.2	Epistemic mood and tense	.85
4.1.5.2.	1 Forms of the TAM suffix for final verbs	. 85
4.1.5.2.	2 Forms of the TAM suffix for medial verbs	. 87
4.1.5.2.	3 Functions of the TAM suffix	. 90
4.1.5.3	Epistemic mood and aspect	.92
4.1.5.3.	1 Past and present habitual aspect	. 92
4.1.5.3.	2 Prospective aspect	. 92
4.1.5.4	Other aspects	.93
4.1.5.4.	1 Iterative aspect	. 93
4.1.5.4.	2 Progressive aspect	. 93
4.1.5.4.	3 Future habitual aspect	. 94
4.1.5.4.	4 Medial verb suffixes express aspect	. 95
4.1.5.5	Deontic mood	.95
4.1.5.5.	1 Imperative	. 96
4.1.5.5.	2 Prohibitive	. 96
4.1.5.5.	3 Hortative	. 96
4.1.6	Number	97
4.1.6.1	Number in imperative and prohibitive mood	.97
4.1.6.2	Individuated plural	.97
4.1.6.2.	1 Individuated plural on transitive verbs	. 98
4.1.6.2.	2 Individuated plural on mostly intransitive verbs	. 99

4.1.6.3	Group plural	100
4.1.6.4	Plural object	100
4.1.7	Object focus	101
4.1.7.1	A continuum of transitivity	102
4.2	Nouns	103
4.2.1	Plural nouns	103
4.2.2	Traces of inalienable possession	104
4.2.3	Abstract nouns	104
4.2.4	Nominalisation	105
4.3	Pronouns	105
4.3.1	Personal pronouns	106
4.3.2	Possessive pronouns	107
4.3.3	Emphatic pronouns	107
4.3.3.1	Reciprocal use of emphatic pronouns	108
4.3.4	Demonstrative pronouns	108
4.3.5	Indefinite pronouns	109
4.3.6	A vocative pronoun	109
4.4	Adjectives	109
4.4.1	Compounded adjectives and numerical adjectives	111
4.4.2	Numerical systems	111
4.4.2.1	Traditional ordinal numbers	111
4.4.2.2	Traditional cardinal numbers	113
4.4.2.3	Modern numbers	113
4.4.2.4	The indefinite article	114
4.5	Adverbs	115
4.5.1	Modifying adverbs	115
4.5.2	Locative adverbs	117
4.5.2.1	Locative adverbs derived from locative roots & demonstrative pronouns	117
4.5.2.2	Locative adverbs derived from nominals	119
4.5.3	Temporal adverbs	120
4.6	Particles	120
4.7	Question words	121
4.8	Deictic words	124
4.8.1	Locative adverbial roots	124
4.8.2	Demonstrative pronouns	125
4.8.2.1	The demonstrative pronouns $k \underline{ou}$ 'this' and $k \underline{e}$ 'that'	125
4.8.2.2	Topographical demonstrative pronouns	127
4.8.3	Locative adverbs	128
4.8.4	Demonstrative verbs	131
4.8.5	Verbs of 'go' and 'come'	133

4.8.5.1 More on 'go' and 'come'	133
4.8.5.2 Using <i>i</i> 'go' and <i>hagua</i> 'come' to express temporal relationships	135
4.9 Conjunctions	135
5. Phrases	138
5.1 The verbal phrase	138
5.1.1 Noun/adjective/adverb incorporation with the pro-verb dege 'do'	139
5.1.2 Other noun incorporation	139
5.1.3 Serial verbs	140
5.1.3.1 Individuated plurality on verbs taking an object	141
5.1.3.2 Progressive aspect	141
5.1.3.3 Simple purpose	142
5.1.3.4 Conative mode	142
5.1.3.5 Future habitual aspect	142
5.1.3.6 Telic states	143
5.1.3.7 Hypothetic, including contrary-to-fact conditions	143
5.1.3.8 Enhanced transitivity: plural object	143
5.1.3.9 Enhanced transitivity: completive	144
5.1.3.10 Set expressions: <i>mala fele</i> 'bear' and <i>tolo i</i> 'die'	145
5.1.3.11 Other verb strings	145
5.1.4 Structure of the verbal phrase	147
5.1.5 Function of the verbal phrase	148
5.1.6 Negation of the verbal phrase	148
5.2 The nominal phrase	148
5.2.1 The noun group	148
5.2.2 Structure of the nominal phrase	149
5.2.2.1 Simple nominal phrase	149
5.2.2.1.1 A noun group as head	149
5.2.2.1.2 A pronoun or question word as head	
5.2.2.2 Possessive nominal phrase	150
5.2.2.3 Co-ordinate nominal phrase	151
5.2.3 Function of the nominal phrase	151
5.2.3.1 Word order	151
5.2.3.2 Case	152
5.2.3.2.1 The genitive case	
5.2.3.2.2 The instrumental case	
5.2.3.2.3 The locative case	
5.2.3.2.4 The pseudo ablative case	
5.2.4 Relative order of enclitics with the nominal phrase	158
5.2.5 Negation of nominal phrase	158
5.3 The modifier phrase	158

6.	Clauses	159
6.1	Verbal clauses	160
6.1.1	Simple final clauses	. 160
6.1.2	Transitivity	. 161
6.1.2.1	Additional note on transitivity	.162
6.1.3	Changes in word order	. 163
6.1.4	Medial and final clauses in long sentences	163
6.2	Verbless clauses	165
6.2.1	Locative verbless clauses	. 165
6.2.2	Equative/Descriptive verbless clauses	. 166
6.2.3	Pseudo verbless clauses	. 168
6.3	Clauses with theme slots	168
6.4	Negation of the clause	169
6.5	The relative clause	170
6.5.1	The relative clause precedes the head noun	170
6.5.2	The relative clause follows the head noun	. 171
7.	Sentences	172
7.1	Illocutionary force	172
7.1.1	Indicative (in statements)	. 173
7.1.1.1	More about statements	. 173
7.1.2	Optative (in commands & suggestions)	. 174
7.1.2.1	More about the optative	. 174
7.1.2.2	More about imperative, prohibitive, hortative	. 175
7.1.3	Subjunctive (in purpose constructions, opinion statements and c questions)	
7.1.3.1	More about questions	. 177
7.1.3.1.	1 Content questions	. 177
7.1.3.1.	2 Yes/No questions	. 178
7.2	Clause repetition	179
7.3	Complex sentences	179
7.3.1	Switch of reference and switch of scene	. 180
7.3.1.1	Switch of reference	.180
7.3.1.1.	1 Switch-reference marking in most event verbs	. 181
7.3.1.1.	2 Switch-reference marking in type 6 verbs	. 183
7.3.1.1.	3 Switch-reference marking in existential state verbs	. 185
7.3.1.1.	4 What is included in the same subject?	. 186
7.3.1.1.	5 A statement of reservation	. 188
7.3.1.2	Switch of scene	.188
7.3.1.2.	1 Habitual aspect and marking of scenes	. 190
7.3.2	Temporal linking	. 191

7.3.2.1	Unspecified temporal/sequential linking - 'and'	
7.3.2.2	Close temporal/simultaneous linking - 'as soon as/when/while'	
7.3.2.3	Immediate sequence	
7.3.2.4	Delayed sequence	
7.3.2.5	Simultaneous time	
7.3.2.6	Out of sequence	
7.3.2.7	Starting a new sentence in a sequence	200
7.3.3	Logical linking	201
7.3.3.1	Reason-result/Result-reason	201
7.3.3.1	1 Reason-result in the medial verb system	
7.3.3.1	2 Reason-result with <i>kegemôu</i> 'so'	
7.3.3.1	.3 Result-reason with <i>yobe</i> 'the reason'	
7.3.3.2	Purpose	204
7.3.3.2	1 Simple purpose	
7.3.3.2	2 Deliberate purpose or "purposing"	
7.3.3.2	.3 Imposed purpose	
7.3.3.3	Condition	208
7.3.3.3	1 Possible condition	
7.3.3.3	2 Contrastive condition	
7.3.3.3	.3 Hypothetic condition	
7.3.3.3	.4 Negative condition	211
7.3.3.4	Contrast	212
7.3.3.5	Alternative	215
7.3.3.5	1 Alternatives with conjunctions	215
7.3.3.5	2 Alternatives expressed without conjunctions	
7.3.3.6	Comparison	216
7.3.3.7	Warning	217
7.3.4	Complementary linking	218
7.3.4.1	Complementation with verbs of perception	218
7.3.4.2	Complementation with the verbs <i>taga</i> 'like' and <i>damaleyode</i> 'believe'	219
7.3.4.3	Quotes	
7.3.4.3	1 Quotes with cliticising quote verbs	
7.3.4.3	2 Three structures of a quote sentence	
7.3.4.3	.3 Special use of a quote verbs	
7.3.5	Negative and other scopes in a sentence	226
8.	Discourse	228
8.1	Beginning and ending a discourse	228
8.2	Structures and linkage in discourse	
8.2.1	Narrative discourse: Introducing head-tail and other temporal linkage.	
8.2.1.1	Structure of narratives	231

8.2.1.2	More on head-tail linkage	231
8.2.1.2.	1 Different types of head-tail linkage	232
8.2.1.3	More on demonstrative pro-verb linkage	234
8.2.1.3.	1 Different types of demonstrative pro-verb linkage	. 235
8.2.1.4	More on temporal verb linkage	235
8.2.2	Procedural discourse	. 236
8.2.3	Descriptive discourse	. 238
8.2.4	Hortatory discourse	. 240
8.2.4.1	Typical moods and speech forms in a hortatory discourse	240
8.2.4.2	Composition of a hortatory text	241
8.2.5	Letters	. 243
8.2.6	Other discourse types	. 244
8.3	Topic	248
8.3.1	Marking the topic in a topic-comment clause	. 248
8.3.2	Marking the subject	. 249
8.3.3	Marking the object	. 250
8.3.4	Marking the time	. 250
8.3.5	Marking the location	. 250
8.3.6	Marking part of certain demonstratives	. 251
8.3.7	Marking the initial theme slot in the clause/sentence	. 251
8.3.8	Marking the main verb in a complement sentence	. 251
8.3.9	Marking the antecedent of a conditional sentence	. 252
8.3.10	Marking the general ground under which a certain statement is true	. 252
8.3.11	Part of a delayed sequence construction - 'until'	. 253
8.3.12	Part of the conjunction yobe 'reason'	. 253
8.3.13	Marking the indefinite article as it is used for listing purposes	. 254
8.3.14	Marking a quote	. 254
8.3.15	Marking a clarifying afterthought	. 255
8.3.16	Functions as a barrier	. 255
8.4	Focus of contrast	255
8.5	Theme	259
8.6	Background, foreground, peak and coda	260
8.6.1	A narrative discourse example	. 260
8.6.2	A descriptive discourse example	. 262
8.6.3	A short summary of information structure in discourse	. 264
8.6.4	Adding more background information in a narrative	. 264
8.7	Participant reference	265
8.7.1	Dooley and Levinsohn's method of analysing participant reference	. 266
8.7.2	Dooley and Levinsohn's method applied to Konai	
8.7.3	Referring devices in Konai	. 267

8.7.3.1 NP with the controlling case marker $=h\underline{a}$ 'genitive'	
8.7.3.2 NP with different forms of the demonstrative pronoun ke 'that'	
8.7.3.3 NP with the instrumental case marker =ye	270
8.7.3.4 NP with the contrastive focus marker =ge	271
8.7.3.5 NP with the indefinite article <i>ta</i>	271
8.7.3.6 NP <sub>Noun</sub> with zero marking	272
8.7.3.7 Pronoun copy	273
8.7.3.7.1 More about pronoun copy	274
8.7.3.8 Free pronouns	275
8.7.3.8.1 More about the use of free pronouns	
8.7.3.9 Plural and singular verb forms	277
8.7.3.10 Participant reference, switch-reference and switch of scene	278
8.7.4 Contexts of referring devices in Konai	
8.7.5 The default referring device for each context	
8.7.6 How participant reference works in Konai	
8.7.6.1 Categories of participants	280
8.7.6.1.1 Main participants	
8.7.6.1.2 Minor participants	
8.7.6.1.3 Props	
8.7.6.1.4 Referential & non-referential and generic & non-generic	
8.7.6.2 The faulty defaults	288
8.7.7 A strategy of reference for Konai	
References	291
Appendices	293
Appendix I: Rules of vowel harmony in verbs	295
Appendix II: A pronoun or question word as head of a NP	303
Appendix III: Interlinearised texts with five lines	305
Gina text	
James text	
Motousi text	
Ronny text	
Appendix IV: Interlinearised texts with three lines	
A Big-Book story by Gilbert	
Hobert's house building story	
Michael's hunting story	
Pepson's clan legend	
A letter	
Four very short letters	

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

[]	phonetic writing	n	any number
[] //	phonemic writing	Ν	noun
<>	orthographic writing	NEG	negative
	allomorphs	NEU	non-future (past & present tense)
{}	non-existent form	NG	noun group
 #/		NP	nominal phrase
#/.	word boundary		
Ø	zero	NP <sub>C</sub>	NP comment
*	ungrammatical/ not in natural speech/text	NPo	NP object
-	affixation	NP <sub>REC</sub>	NP recipient
+	compound word boundary	NPs	NP subject
+/-	feature specification, e.g. V <sup>[+high]</sup>	NPST (V6)	non-past (present & future tense)
=	cliticisation	NP <sub>T</sub>	NP topic
1	first person	NUM	numeral
2	second person	NUMR	numeraliser
3	third person	NV	non-verbal
A.LOCR	approximate locativiser	0	object
ADJ	adjective	OF	object focus
ADV	adverb	OPD	Organized phonology data
BB	Big Book(s) (short stories)	OPT	optative
BLTV	bleed-through vowel	OQV	optative quote verb
С	consonant	PAST.Q	past tense in content questions
CLAUSE <sub>C</sub>	clause as comment	PFV	perfective
CLAUSET	clause as topic	PL/pl.	plural
CLT	clitic	P.LOCR	pointing locativiser
CNTR	contrastive	POSS	possessive
COMPL	completive	PRES	present tense
CONJ	conjunction	PROG	progressive
	continued	PROH	prohibitive
cont. DEM	demonstrative	PRON	pronoun
DEMR		PROS	prospective aspect
	demonstrativiser	PROV	pro-verb
DEMR.D	distant demonstrativiser	QNT	quantifier
DEMR.N	near demonstrativiser	QW	question word
DSQ	delayed sequence	RC	relative clause
DU/du.	dual	REAL	realis
E.LOCR	exact locativiser	RED.PL	
EMP	emphatic		reduplication
Ex.	example	RED.PL: - <i>e</i>	plural suffix f. reduplication
EX/excl.	exclusive	REFL	reflexive
f.	following	rel.	relationship
F.CNTR	contrastive focus marker	S/sg.	singular
FUT	future tense	sent.	sentence
FV	final verb	SER	serial
GEN	genitive (possession & control)	SF	suffix
HAB	habitual	SIMP	simple
HORT	hortative	smth.	something
H-T	head-tail linkage	SOV	subject-object-verb
HYP	hypothetic	sp.	species
IMP	imperative	ŜQV	subjunctive quote verb
IN/incl.	inclusive/including	STAT	existential state
INC	incorporated	SUBJ	subjunctive
INDC	indicative	syll.	syllable
INDF	indefinite	TAM	tense, aspect, mood
INDP.POSS	independent possessive	TEMP/temp.	temporal
INDV	individuated (plural)	ТОР	topic marker
INS	instrumental	TRANS	transitive
INT	intensifier	TRSV	transitional semi-vowel
IQV	indicative quote verb	txt	text
IRR	irrealis	V	verb; or vowel in Phonology
irreg.r(oot)	irregular root	v V1-7	verb types, incl. sub-types a-d
ISQ	immediate sequence	VBR	verbaliser
LIM	limiter	VBK VH	vowel harmony
LOC	locative	VOC	•
LSV	last stem vowel	VOC VP	vocative pronoun
MP	modifier phrase		verb phrase
MPc	modifier phrase as comment	VS Vs	verb stem
ms	milliseconds	Vs	verbs
MV	medial verb	w.	with
141 4			

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Konai (or *Kalai*<sup>1</sup>) is a Papuan language, which, according to Malcolm Ross, belongs to the East Strickland Subgroup of the Trans- New Guinea Family (Ross 2005:35). This classification is the same as Wurm, ed. (1975:136) and Wurm (1982), though using different terms. However, Shaw (1986) places Konai in the (to use Ross' terminology) Strickland Plain Microgroup of the Bosavi Subgroup of the Trans-New Guinea Family. According to him (still using Ross' terminology), the Bosavi Subgroup comprises three microgroups: the Strickland Plain Microgroup, the Papuan Plateau Microgroup and the Bosavi Watershed Microgroup. Without presenting any further data here, this seems to be the more accurate grouping.

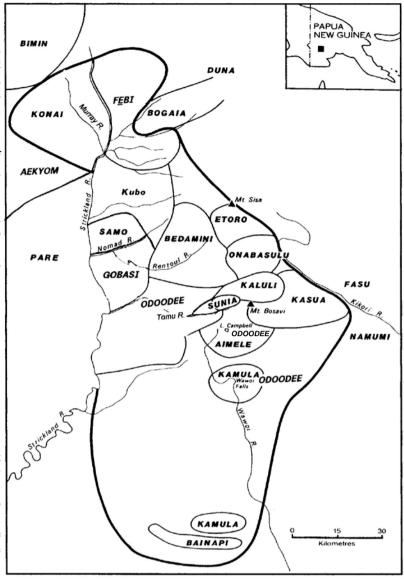
## THE BOSAVI SUBGROUP OF LANGUAGES<sup>2</sup>

The Strickland Plain Microgroup:

Konai, Fembe<sup>3</sup>, Kubo, Samo, Gobasi<sup>4</sup>, Odoodee<sup>5</sup>

The Papuan Plateau Microgroup: Bedamini, Etoro, Onobasulu The Bosavi Watershed Microgroup: Kaluli, Sunia, Kasua, Aimele, Kamula and Bainapi

The Konais live in the Murray River area, west of the Strickland River in the northeast corner of the Western Province of Papua New Guinea (PNG). The people number 500-600. They live in six major villages from west to east: Debele, Fokona, Edolo, Dahamo, Sesenabi and Tinahai. Gayabi, close to Tinahai, is for the most time an empty village site, as its people lives more or less permanently at Dahamo. There are three dialects: the Lowland



(Dahamo), Foothill (Edolo) and Mountain (Tinahai) dialects. In addition, there are two villages, Oguotibi (or Oumemi) and Tougohai, south of Tinahai and still on the west side of the Strickland, where they speak a dialect more related to the Fembe language, spoken on the east side of the river and belonging to the same microgroup as Konai. Socially though, the people in at least Oguotibi relate very much to the Konais. Another village is Kamagato, further down the Strickland, still on the west side, where there are both Kubo and Konai people living.

The three dialects of the Konai language are mutually intelligible. The main linguistic differences are found in the vocabulary. Phonological differences occur, but there are no regular sound correspondences or rule variations. Grammatical differences occur, too. (See Årsjö & Årsjö 2004a). This grammar describes the Konai language as it is spoken in the Lowlands, unless specified otherwise.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The local spelling is *Kal<u>ai</u>*. Underlining means nasalisation (see 2.6.1 NASALISATION). 'Konai' is the spelling used by people outside of the area.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Shaw 1986, modified.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Fembe (Febi on the map) and Konai people groups are called Agala or Sinali by many Highlanders. Sinali may also refer to people in general living in the area where Bosavi languages are spoken (Dwyer, Minnegal & Woodyard 1993:9). However, Shaw (1986) contrasts Konai with Agala, where Agala refers to the Fembe people. Reggie Howard, a CBC missionary, who lived in the area 1984-1990, calls a people group living mainly west of Strickland Agala (corresponding roughly with the people speaking the Konai Mountain dialect) and another people group, living mainly on the opposite side of the river, he calls Sinali (Årsjö 1991:81). The word *febe* [fɛmbɛ] means 'side' or 'beside' in the Mountain dialect of Konai.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Gobasi, Honibo and Oibae are dialects of the same language (Årsjö 1991:34), so only Gobasi appears on this map; confirmed by Clyde Smith (SIL translator for Samo; personal communication).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> According to Darrel Hays (SIL translator for Odoodee; personal communication), the correct name for the people earlier referred to as Kalamo is Odoodee. Hesif (no longer on the map) used to be an Odoodee village but is now moved to Lake Campbell.

Vance & Patty Woodyard, Pioneers/ECPNG, worked among the Konais in the 80's and early 90's and wrote the first grammar paper together with Murray & Joan Rule, APCM/ECP(NG)<sup>6</sup> in 1990. I am indebted to them for all their hard work.

This grammar is based on the *Konai Grammar Essentials* (Årsjö 1998), which has been revised and expanded. The areas where most new insights have been gained are deixis, sentence and discourse. All villages except Tougohai have been involved in supplying the data in stories and conversations, during translation sessions, workshops and informal interaction with people.

The data was collected under the auspices of Summer Institute of Linguistics during the period of 1994-2015. It comprises about 8000 notes, 113 oral and written stories, 25 letters, 31 songs, one prayer and a dictionary of about 2500 entries. In addition, all of the New Testament is published. No grammatical analysis is based on translated material alone, though some examples are taken from it.

My aim, when I started to write this grammar in May 2007, was to cover the structure of the Konai language from phoneme to discourse. I realized somewhere along the line that to make a complete description, covering every possible structure on all levels of the language would be impossible, both from a time and an ability perspective. Still, there is a description on each relevant level of the language. It may be less than perfect, but it does describe the Konai language in a way that it has never been described before. I am grateful to God for giving me the opportunity to do language research and enabling me to do it. I am grateful to my husband Sören, who has given me the time in our very busy schedule to write this grammar. And I am grateful to the whole Konai language community, whose speech and written records are the data on which it is based. More people than I can mention have been involved in teaching my husband and I their language. We are deeply grateful to all of them. To mention a few, the following men and women have had a big part in teaching us their language and/or told or written the stories, songs and/or letters on which much of the sentence and discourse analysis is based:

Also, many thanks to Dr. Liisa Berghäll for valuable consultant help and to Dr. René van den Berg for much good advice. However, any mistakes, omissions, unorthodox terms and/or analyses are my own responsibility.

Before starting to work together with the Konai people, my husband and I lived and worked among the Ama people in East Sepik Province (PNG) for 19 years. The Ama New Testament was published in 1990 and later revised and published in 2010 together with four Old Testament books. The grammar of the Ama language was the topic of my MA thesis. I gained my MA degree in linguistics in 2000 at the University of Uppsala, Sweden.

## 1.1 Previous research

The Konai language is mentioned in some published material on language classification and anthropology. There are also published papers, as well as unpublished manuscripts, specifically on the Konai language.

Language classification:	McElhanon & Voorhoeve (1970), Wurm (ed. 1975), (1982), Shaw (1986),
	Ross (2005)
Survey reports:	Pappenhagen (1981), Årsjö (1991)
Phonology:	Rule & Woodyard (1985), (1990a), Årsjö (2005), (2008)
Grammar:	Rule & Woodyard (1990b), Årsjö (1998)
Sociolinguistics	Årsjö (2000), (2004a)
Anthropology	Barth (1971), Handasyde (1990), Prince (1991), Woodyard (1992),
	Dwyer, Minnegal, Woodyard (1993), Årsjö (2003)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> APCM Asia Pacific Christian Mission; ECP(NG) Evangelical Church of Papua (New Guinea); CBC Christian Brotherhood Church (from footnote 3).

## 1.2 Overview

Konai is a SOV language with a moderately fixed word order. It has postpositions. The possessor precedes the possessed item and nominal modifiers usually follow, but sometimes precede the noun. All that is consistent with the SOV word order.

However, there are several interesting features in this language. I will give a brief overview of three of them here: the realis-irrealis distinction in the verb, the genitive case, and the object focus. Sentence structure also makes an interesting study, as the Konai language exhibits a variation of the typical Papuan switch-reference system. In addition to the switch-reference, there is a switch of scene system, which monitors more than the subject. See 7.3.1 SWITCH OF REFERENCE AND SWITCH OF SCENE. John Roberts (1988:106-109) has described a similar situation in Amele in the Madang province.

### 1.2.1 The realis-irrealis distinction in brief

The main TAM distinction in Konai is one of mood rather than tense. Realis is unmarked and irrealis is signalled by the suffix -*l*. There is also a binary distinction in tense, which for most verb types work out as non-future versus future, where non-future is marked by a high vowel (i or u) and future by a low vowel (e or o).

- 1) *I o hague-i.* yesterday man come-NFUT 'The man came yesterday.'
- 2) O kôu-le hagu-l-u. Man this-A.LOCR come-IRR-NFUT 'The man is coming.'
- 3) *Idiba o hagua-I-e.* tomorrow man come-IRR-FUT 'The man will come tomorrow.'
- 4) *Di Godi=hg tg du-I-u*. lpl.inGod=gen talk hear-irr-nfut 'We are hearing the Word of God.'
- 5) *Di Godi=hg tg du-l-o*. lpl.inGod=gen talk hear-irr-fut 'We will hear the Word of God.'
- 6) Dihi tie-i. child sleep-NFUT
  'The child has fallen asleep/is sleeping.'
- 7) *Dihi tio-l-u.* child sleep-IRR-NFUT 'The child is falling asleep.'
- 8) *Dihi tia-I-e.* child sleep-IRR-FUT 'The child will sleep.'
- 9) Sas<u>ai</u> sugua-i. woman fever.get-NFUT 'The woman has a fever.'
- 10) Sas<u>a</u> suguo-I-u.
  woman fever.get-IRR-NFUT
  'The woman is getting a fever (just now).'

Looking at examples (1)-(5) it would be possible to interpret the verbal affixes -i, -lu,  $-le/-lo^7$  as past, present, and future tense, respectively. Comparing (1), (6) and (9), however, shows that the affix -i cannot mean past tense as (6) and (9) describe **present** states. The suffixes -lu and -le/-lo, then, would be best described as marking events that are in a state of flux or have not occurred yet. The -l- common to these two suffixes may then be assumed to signal irrealis. Further examples confirm this.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The variant forms are due to vowel harmony (see 2.7.1 VOWEL HARMONY IN VERBS).

- 11) *O hagu-I-i mei.* man come-IRR-NFUT NEG 'The man did not come.'
- 12) Edolo i-I-e hagua-si-I-i. Edolo go-IRR-FUT come-DU/PL-IRR-NFUT 'They went to Edolo and are coming back (just now).'

Negative past events take the suffix -/- 'irrealis'. Also, in a medial clause construction, even though the first verb describes a past event, that verb may take the suffix -/- 'irrealis', and does so in the last example above.

For further discussion on realis/irrealis, as well as tense distinctions see 4.1.5 TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD (TAM).

### 1.2.2 The genitive case in brief

The genitive case is marked by the enclitic  $=h\underline{a}$ . It is obligatory in a possessive construction.

13) *tisa=hg moso* teacher=gen house 'the teacher's house'

Its most interesting function is that it may also be used on a subject.

- 14) Mg so=hg wa-l-adi. ls.poss dog=gen attack-IRR-pros 'My dog is just about to bite.'
- 15) Sepik sasai ta=ha ma ye tege-i. Sepik woman INDF=GEN 1s stringbag make-NFUT 'A Sepik woman made my stringbag.'
- 16) *Kuolôu ta du-di o ta=ha hague-i.* law talk hear-нав man INDF=GEN come-NFUT 'A man who habitually obeyed the law came.'
- 17) <u>E</u> mogo = hg i-l-i ko = kôu baha dala. 3s friend=GEN go-IRR-NFUT that=Loc look be/have '(She) is waiting for her friend to go by there.'

In the four examples above, the genitive construction is not obligatory, but if the subject is God or somebody else in authority, the subject is almost always marked with  $=h\underline{a}$  'genitive', indicating that there is a component of control involved.

18) Godi=hg malg hebeni=kôu i. God=GEN get.IRR.FUT heaven=Loc go 'God took (him) to heaven.'

For further discussion see 5.2.3.2.1 THE GENITIVE CASE.

### 1.2.3 The object focus in brief

There is no formal difference between transitive and intransitive verbs. Instead it is possible to **focus** on an object in a clause. This focus is expressed by the verbal suffix -gV. If there, it follows immediately on the verb root and focuses on a specific object and/or makes the verb more object oriented. It may also make certain intransitive verbs transitive as in the last example presented here.

- 19) O <u>e</u> dio ka-l-e. man 3s grass cut-IRR-FUT 'The man will cut the grass.'
- 20) *O <u>e</u> widio towe ka-gi-l-e.* man 3s head hair cut-of-IRR-FUT 'The man will cut (his) hair.'
- 21) *bi sa* things put.inside 'put things inside something'

16

- 22) Na kuguo Bimin=kôu sa-gi-l-e.
  2s paper Bimin=Loc put.inside-OF-IRR-FUT
  'You will send a letter to Bimin.' (implied: put inside (a mailbag to go on an airplane))
- 23) *hagua hagua-gi* rise rise-OF 'rise' 'raise'

For further discussion see 4.1.7 OBJECT FOCUS

# 2. PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

This is a brief description of the phonology and orthography of the Konai language. It is for the most part based on the latest OPD (Årsjö 2008).

## 2.1 Phonemic and orthographic inventory

Consonant Phoneme Chart <sup>8</sup>												
	Bilabial	LDent.	De	ental	Alveol.	PostAl.	Retrofl.	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Phary.	Glottal
Plosive	р <sup>9</sup> b		ţ	ď					k g			
Nasal	m											
Trill												
Flap												
Fricative	ф				s							h
Approx.	$\mathbf{w}^{10}$							j				
LApprox.							l					

## Vowel phoneme chart

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-mid			0
Open-mid	ε		Э
Open		α	

### Orthography

/ a b	ģ	ļ	£	ф	g	h	i	k	l	m	Э	0	р	S	ţ	u	w	<b>j</b> /
<a b<="" td=""><td>d</td><td>I</td><td>e</td><td>f</td><td>g</td><td>h</td><td>i</td><td>k</td><td>l,n</td><td>m</td><td>0</td><td>ôu</td><td>р</td><td>S</td><td>t</td><td>u</td><td>w</td><td>y&gt;</td></a>	d	I	e	f	g	h	i	k	l,n	m	0	ôu	р	S	t	u	w	y>
<a b<="" td=""><td>Ι</td><td>)</td><td>E</td><td>F</td><td>G</td><td>H</td><td>I</td><td>K</td><td>Ν</td><td>M</td><td>0</td><td>бu</td><td>P</td><td>S</td><td>Τ</td><td>U</td><td>W</td><td>Y&gt;</td></a>	Ι	)	E	F	G	H	I	K	Ν	M	0	бu	P	S	Τ	U	W	Y>

In addition the following graphemes are used in spelling of Tok Pisin proper names:  $\langle jJ \rangle$ ,  $\langle rR \rangle$ ,  $\langle vV \rangle$ . (Tok Pisin is one of the national languages in PNG.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Abbreviated terms from left to right: Labio-Dental; Alveolar; Post-Alveolar; Retroflex; Pharyngeal – top down: Approximant; Lateral Approximant

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The phoneme /p/ occurs only in loanwords.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Labio-velar.

# 2.2 Consonants

There are 13 consonant phonemes, including two semi-vowels.

## Phonetic work chart

			Bi	labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal	
Plosi	ve		р	b	ţ d			k g k'		
Nasa	al			m	ņ		η	1 / /	ĥ	
Flap				/		n /				
Frica	tive		¢	ß		s		y X	h	
Late	al Appro	ximant	-2				l			
	[ʊ] consonai	non-syllab half-round nts are made	ed vo	owel	near-close, ssive lung a		/j/		non-syllabic unrounded v	voiced, near-close, front, owel
/p/	[p]	voiceless ı	ınasp	irated	bilabial pl	osive, occur	s word med	ially in loai	n words only	/.
•		<kope)< td=""><td>-</td><td></td><td>аре/</td><td></td><td>p'pæ]</td><td>'cu</td><td>-</td><td></td></kope)<>	-		аре/		p'pæ]	'cu	-	
/b/	[β]						•		th [b], thoug sonant is /l/	
		<hebe></hebe>	>	/h	ebe/	[hɛ	'βæ]	'tre	ee'	
	[b]	voiced bila	abial	plosiv	e, occurs e	lsewhere –	word initiall	y and medi	ally.	
		<baboî< td=""><td>u&gt;</td><td>/b</td><td>abo/</td><td>[bc</td><td>1'β0]</td><td>'ma</td><td>aternal uncle</td><td>2'</td></baboî<>	u>	/b	abo/	[bc	1'β0]	'ma	aternal uncle	2'
		<hobo< td=""><td>loîu&gt;</td><td>/h</td><td>obolo/</td><td>[hʌ</td><td><b>'b</b>[o]</td><td>'sir</td><td>ng-sing.IRR.I</td><td>NPST'</td></hobo<>	loîu>	/h	obolo/	[hʌ	<b>'b</b> [o]	'sir	ng-sing.IRR.I	NPST'
/t/	[t]	voiceless ı	ınasp	irated	dental plos	sive, occurs	word initial	ly and med	ially.	
		<tibo></tibo>		/ti	ibə/	[ți']	β၁]	ʻfly	ing fox'	
		<tiei></tiei>		/ți	iεı/	[t <sup>j</sup> e	21]	'sle	ep.NFUT'	
		<toloîu< td=""><td>&gt;</td><td>/ţo</td><td>\ojo</td><td>[tro</td><td>o]</td><td>'ho</td><td>ld.IRR.NPST</td><td>,</td></toloîu<>	>	/ţo	\ojo	[tro	o]	'ho	ld.IRR.NPST	,
		<mata)< td=""><td>&gt;</td><td>/n</td><td>nața/</td><td><math>[\mathbf{m}]</math></td><td>aˈt̪a]</td><td>'co</td><td>ckroach'</td><td></td></mata)<>	>	/n	nața/	$[\mathbf{m}]$	aˈt̪a]	'co	ckroach'	
/d̯/	[d]	voiced der	ntal p	losive	, occurs wo	ord initially	and mediall	у.		
-		<du></du>	-		lu/	[ <b>d</b> u		'he	ar'	
		<dia></dia>		/ď	lia/	[ď <sub>i</sub>		'pr	awn'	
		<dala></dala>		/ď	ala/	[ďu	a]	'be	/have'	

/k/	[k <sup>¬</sup> ]	voiceless unrelea borrowed from E	-	curs word finally in nan	nes ending in /k/
		<dik></dik>	/dik/	[di <b>k</b> ]	'Dick'
	[k]	voiceless unaspir	ated velar plosive, or	curs elsewhere - word	initially and medially.
		<kiyou></kiyou>	/kijou/	[ˈ <b>k</b> i.oʊ]	ʻfig'
		<kolo></kolo>	/kələ/	[ <b>k</b> [ɒ]	'skin/bark'
		<makai></makai>	/makaɪ/	[mʌˈ <b>k</b> ɑi]	'mark.NFUT'
		<muku<u>o&gt;</muku<u>	/mũkỡ/ <sup>11</sup>	$[m\tilde{u}^{l}\mathbf{k}^{w}\tilde{p}]$	'nose'
		<makolo></makolo>	/makələ/	['ma <b>k</b> [ɔ]	'destroy.IRR.FUT'
/g/	[γ]			edially in free variation	with [g], but not
		if the next consor	-	[m, wa]	".
		<maga></maga>	/maga/	[mʌˈ <b>y</b> ɑ]	ʻjaw'
	[g]	1		e – word initially and m	•
		<gali></gali>	/gali/	[' <b>g</b> a'li]	'wild animal'
		<fogôu></fogôu>	/opgo/	[фɔ'ɡo]	'leave for'
		<kuguo></kuguo>	/kugɔ/	[ku' <b>g</b> <sup>w</sup> ə]	'paper/book'
		<degele></degele>	/degele/	[d̪əˈɡ[æ]	'do.IRR.FUT'
/m/	[m]	voiced bilabial na	asal, occurs word init	ially and medially.	
		<mabi></mabi>	/mabi/	[ <b>m</b> a'βi]	'cloud'
		<dum<u>u&gt;</dum<u>	/dũmũ/	[d̪ə̈' <b>m</b> ũ]	'be finished' <sup>12</sup>
/ф/	[φ]	voiceless bilabial	l fricative, occurs wo	d initially and medially	7.
		<fof<u>ou&gt;</fof<u>	/ <b>Φõ</b> Φõ/	[ <b>þ</b> õ'þõ]	'be muddy'
		<folo></folo>	/\$Jc\$\	[ɑ] <b>þ</b> ]	ʻgo up'
		<haf<u>ei&gt;</haf<u>	/hãфẽĩ/	[hɑ̃ˈ <b>þ</b> ẽĩ]	'close to'
/s/	[s]	voiceless alveola	r fricative, occurs wo	rd initially and medially	у.
		<so></so>	/sɔ/	[sɔ]	'dog'
		<sio></sio>	/sio/	[ <b>s</b> <sup>j</sup> ɔ]	'bird'
		<mos<u>o&gt;</mos<u>	/mõsõ/	[mə̈'sɒ̃]	'house'
/h/	[ħ]	voiceless nasalise	ed glottal fricative, or	ccurs word initially prec	eding [ũ∇] and [ĩ∇].
		<hu<u>ei&gt;</hu<u>	/hũẽĩ/	$[\mathbf{\tilde{h}}^{w} \widetilde{e} \widetilde{i}]$	'water'
		<hiy<u>e&gt;</hiy<u>	/hĩẽ/	[ <b>h</b> ĩ.'ữ]	'vegetable sp.' <sup>13</sup>
	[h]	voiceless glottal	fricative, occurs elsev	where – word initially a	nd medially.
		<hei></hei>	/hɛɪ/	[hei]	'axe'
		<dihi></dihi>	/dihi/	[d̪i' <b>h</b> i]	'child'
		<hoho></hoho>	/hõhõ/	[hɔ̃'hɔ̃]	'light'
				-	-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See 2.3.4 BLEED-THROUGH and 2.8.4 BLEED-THROUGH – HOW TO SPELL.
<sup>12</sup> Foothill dialect
<sup>13</sup> Tok Pisin: 'pitpit' (*Saccharum edule*).

20			Konai Refe	erence Grammar, WP,	PNG, Årsjö, SIL
/w/	[ʊ]			nded vowel, interpreted d initially and between	d as a consonant when Vs (the last one ≠/u/).
		<wo></wo>	/wɔ/	[ <b>u</b> ɔ]	'attack'
		<doîuwa></doîuwa>	/dowa/	[do'ua]	'hornbill'
/j/	[1]			ed vowel, interpreted a l initially and between	
		⟨yo⟩	/jɔ/	[10]	'banana'
		<beye></beye>	/bɛjɛ/	[bei'æ]	'possum/rat'
/1/	[ŋ]	voiced dental na	sal, occurs word a	and clitic initially.	
		<n<u>a&gt;</n<u>	$/L\tilde{a}/^{14}$	[ <b>n</b> ̯ã]	ʻ2s'
		< <u>a</u> nôusi>	/ãlosi/	[ã <b>ņ</b> o'si]	'but I' ( <u>a</u> = <b>n</b> ôu=si '1s=only=CNTR')
	[1]	voiced flapped a with [1] followin		ccurs following /t̪V/, /o	dV/ and in free variation
		<tolôu></tolôu>	/tolo/	[tro]	'hold.irr.npst'
		<dala></dala>	/dala/	[d̪ <b>r</b> a]	'be/have'
		<sele></sele>	/sele/	[sɛˈræ]	'money'
	[ຖ]	voiced retroflex	alveolar nasal, oc	curs word medially in	nasal words.
		<huli<u>a&gt;</huli<u>	/hũĮã/ <sup>15</sup>	[ĥũ' <b>ŋ</b> ĩã]	'dark'
		⟨mal <u>a</u> ⟩	/mãĮã/	[mÃ' <b>ŋ</b> ã]	'younger sibling'
	[1]	voiced retroflex	alveolar lateral, o	ccurs elsewhere.	
		<nele></nele>	/ໄຍໂຍ/	$[\underline{n}\epsilon' \mathbf{l} \mathbf{x}]$	'2du'
		<toboloû></toboloû>	/tobolo/	[tʌˈb <b>l</b> o]	'speak.IRR.NPST'

## 2.2.1 Consonant harmony

Consonant harmony is limited to the phoneme /l/. When a <u>root</u> starts with this phoneme, manifested as [n], it takes no other consonant than itself in the rest of the root.

nal <u>a</u>	/l̃āl̃ā/	[n̪ə̃ˈŋɑ̃]	'write'
nel <u>e</u>	/ĨĕĨĔ/	$[n\tilde{\epsilon}'n\tilde{x}]$	'strength'

A few words starting with [n] have a /g/ in them. They are, or probably are, affixed with the object focus suffix -gV, a kind of transitiviser. In *nogo* 'your friend' the *n*- 'second singular' is a prefix.

nogol <b>o</b> u	/logolo/	[no'glo]	'hug.NPST'	(noû-goû-l-où	'hug-OF-IRR-NPST')
nogo	/ <b>l</b> ɔɡɔ/	[nɔ'ɡɔ]	'your friend'	(n-ogo	'2s.EMP-friend')
This rule do	bes not apply t	o loan words.			
neke	/leke/	[n̥ɛˈkæ]	'net'		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See 2.8.1 Consonants – SPELLING OF / AND / j/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> See 2.3.4 BLEED-THROUGH and 2.8.4 BLEED-THROUGH – HOW TO SPELL.

## 2.3 Vowels

There are 6 monophthongs and 4 diphthongs.

## 2.3.1 Monophthongs

There are 6 vowel phonemes.

## Phonetic work chart

	Front		Ce	entral	Back	
Close	i					u
	<b>(I)</b> <sup>16</sup>				( <b>U</b> )	16
Close-mid			$\uparrow$			0
			←ə→	$\uparrow$	_	
Open-mid		ε	$\rightarrow$	· ~~~		э
		æ		$\downarrow$		
Open			- a			α

Due to vowel harmony rules, [ə] and [A] are allophones of all phonemes, (see further on in this section).

All vowels are voiced and made with egressive lung air.

/i/	[ɛ]	open-mid, front,	unrounded vowel	, occurs word initially b	before syllables with /i/.
		<ili></ili>	/ilįi/	[ <b>ɛ</b> 'li]	'go.IRR.NFUT'
		⟨igi⟩	/igi/	[ <b>ɛ</b> 'gi]	'stone'
	[i]	close, front, unre	ounded vowel, occ	urs elsewhere – word i	nitially, medially and finally.
		<ikoke></ikoke>	/ikoke/	[iˈkɔkæ]	'nail'
		<tigi></tigi>	/tigi/	[ˈt̪iɡi]	'vine'
		⟨wowi⟩	/wowi/	[ <b>י</b> טסט']	'butterfly'
/ε/	[æ]	near-open, front	, unrounded vowel	, occurs word finally. <sup>17</sup>	1
		<pre><habage></habage></pre>	/haßage/	[hʌβɑˈɡ <b>æ</b> ]	'later'
	[ɛ]	open-mid, front,	unrounded vowel	, occurs elsewhere – we	ord initially and medially
		< <u>e</u> sof <u>ei</u> >	/ẽsõφẽĩ/	$[\tilde{\epsilon}'s\tilde{d}'\phi\tilde{e}\tilde{i}]$	'by him/herself'
		<hele></hele>	/hele/	[h <b>ɛ</b> 'læ]	'yes'
/a/	[a]	open, <u>central</u> , ha	lf-rounded vowel,	occurs word initially, i	nedially and finally.
		<asa></asa>	/asa/	[ <b>a</b> 'sa]	'ringworm'
		<bago></bago>	/bagə/	[b <b>a</b> 'gɔ]	'hornbill'
		<siya></siya>	/sija/	[si.' <b>a</b> ]	'sugarcane'
/u/	[u]	close, back, rour	nded vowel, occurs	s word initially, medial	ly and finally.
		⟨uli <u>e</u> ⟩	/ũηẽ/	[ũ'ŋĩæ̃]	'cicada'
		<gule></gule>	/gulɛ/	[gu'læ]	'fish spear'
		<subulu></subulu>	/subulu/	[ˈsəβə <b>[u</b> ]	'sweet potato'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> [I] near-close, front, unrounded vowel and [U] near-close, back, half-rounded vowel occur in consonant position word initially and medially (see 2.2 CONSONANTS: /w/ and /j/). These two sounds also occur as off-glides of the diphthongs (see 2.3.2 DIPHTHONGS). I do realize there are other ways to analyse [U]/[U]//w/ and [i]/[I]//j/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> In nasal verbs taking the suffix  $\langle -e \rangle$  'FUT', which usually would be pronounced  $[\tilde{\alpha}]$ , the pronunciation may vary between  $[\tilde{\alpha}]$ ,  $[\tilde{\epsilon}]$  and even  $[\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{r}]$ .

/0/	[0]	close-mid, back, rounded vowel, occurs word initially, medially, and finally.							
		<ôubobôu>	/õbõbõ/	[ <b>'õ</b> βõ'βõ]	'bee'				
		<moîusi></moîusi>	/mosi/	['m <b>o</b> 'si]	'bird of prey sp.'				
		<soû></soû>	/so/	[s <b>0</b> ]	'edible leaf sp.'				
/ɔ/	[0]	-	led vowel, occurs wor eding /w/, /u/ and foll	d initially, medially and owing /l/.	d finally, generally				
		<owoîu></owoîu>	/owo/	[ <b>ט</b> ט'ס]	'older sister'				
		<guokoû></guokoû>	/guɔko/	[g <sup>w</sup> <b>p</b> 'ko]	'stomach'				
		<bolo></bolo>	/bõĮõ/	[b[ı̃]	'good'				
	[၁]	open-mid, back, rounded vowel, occurs elsewhere, word initially, medially and finally.							
		<olôuf<u>ei&gt;</olôuf<u>	/၁Įοφε̃ĩ/	[ɔ[o'þẽĩ]	'all'				
		<mogo></mogo>	/məgə/	[m <b>ə</b> 'gə]	'friend'				

 $\langle 0 \rangle$  / 2 / [2] 'man'

In addition to the allophones listed under each vowel phoneme, the following applies:

 $/V/ [a], [\Lambda], [\emptyset]$ 

occur word medially, preceding a syllable with a vowel of the same kind; i.e. in a word with the same vowel in two consecutive syllables, the vowel in the first of these syllables often becomes centralised or disappears altogether.

<difi></difi>	/diфi/	[ˈdə́ði]	'hot'
<fel<u>e&gt;</fel<u>	$/\tilde{\Phi}\tilde{\epsilon} \tilde{\epsilon}/$	$[\phi \tilde{\mathfrak{d}}' \eta \tilde{\mathfrak{E}}]$	'come up'
<gaba></gaba>	/gaba/	[gʌ'βa]	'step over'
<komôu></komôu>	/komo/	[kʌˈmo]	'kingfisher sp.'
<dulu></dulu>	/dulu/	[dru]	'hear.IRR.NFUT'
<folo></folo>	/\$104	[ɑʃþ]	'go up'

## 2.3.2 Diphthongs

There are four diphthongs, in Konai defined as low-high vowel sequences, occurring in the same positions as do monophthongs. However, the most correct statement about distribution is to say that the diphthongs only occur word finally. As will be seen below in the examples, a diphthong in initial position does only occur in one-syllable words of the shape VV. Very few words have been found which has a phonemic diphthong in medial position. However, there are non-phonemic diphthongs word medially due to bleed-through (see 2.3.4 BLEED-THROUGH).

**Diphthongs** 

	Front	Central	Back
Close.mid-Close			00
Open.mid-Close	EI		ວບ
Open-Close		αι	

There is contrast between the phoneme  $o/\langle \hat{ou} \rangle$  and the diphthong  $ou/\langle ou \rangle$ , e.g. toboû 'say' and tobou 'said'.

There is also a non-frequent contrast between the phoneme  $/3/\langle o \rangle$  and the diphthong  $/30/\langle ou \rangle$ , e.g. *mogo* 'friend' and *mogou* 'mouth'<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Literally: maga + u 'jaw+hole'; also, the distinction /ou/ and /ou/ is under-differentiated (see 2.8.3 DIPHTHONGS – SPELLING ...).

Among the front vowels, there is contrast between  $|\varepsilon| \langle e \rangle$  and  $|\varepsilon_I| \langle ei \rangle$ , e.g. *dege* 'do' and *degei* 'did'. Since there is no \*/e/ phoneme, the diphthong  $|\varepsilon_I|$  could be interpreted as the missing \*/e/ phoneme.

		/i/	/u/				
	7	*/e/	/0/	≠	/ou/		
/εі/	<i>≠</i>	/ε/	/ɔ/	≠	/วบ/		
/εı/	[EI]	open-mid to	near	-close	, front, unro	ounded diphthong, occur	rs in a few one-syllable words.
		<ei></ei>		/εı/		[13]	'1PL.EX'
		<tei></tei>		/ţεı	/	[tei]	'dead'
	[eɪ]	close-mid to	o near	-close	e, front, unro	ounded diphthong, occu	rs word finally and rarely word medially.
		<degei></degei>		/dɛ	geı/	[d̪əˈɡ <b>eɪ</b> ]	'do.NFUT'
		<kafei></kafei>		/ka	φει/	[ka' <b>þeı</b> ]	'blood'
v	Very fe	ew words have	been	found	l with a mee	dial /ɛɪ/.	
		<deima< td=""><td>&gt;</td><td>/dɛ</td><td>ıma/</td><td>[ˈd̪<b>eɪ</b>ma]</td><td>'a clan name'</td></deima<>	>	/dɛ	ıma/	[ˈd̪ <b>eɪ</b> ma]	'a clan name'
		<di<u>e feil</di<u>	le>	/dīi	é feile/	[d̪i'ẽ ϕɛ[i'æ]	'will sing' (die#fei-l-e 'song#sing-IRR-FUT')
		last example, t in an irrealis m			em, in this	form of the verb, ends	in / $\epsilon I$ /, which starts the bleed-through process when
/ai/	[aɪ]	open to near	r-clos	e, cen	tral to front	, unrounded diphthong,	occurs word finally.
		<dabai></dabai>		/da	βαι/	[d̪əˈβαι]	'work'
		<u>⟨ai</u> ⟩		/ãī/		[ãĩ]	'deep'
/00/	[oʊ]	close-mid to	o near	-close	, back, rour	nded diphthong, occurs	word finally.
		<tou></tou>		/tou	5/	[tou]	'hold.NFUT'
		<you></you>		/jou	J/	[IOU]	'not yet'
		<ou></ou>		/ou	/	[ <b>o</b> ʊ]	'watch over.NFUT' <sup>20</sup>
/วบ/	[ชช]	open-mid to	o near	-close	, back, rour	nded diphthong, occurs	word finally.
		<sosou></sosou>	•	/sos	sou/	[səˈsɒu]	'unripe'
		<di<u>ou&gt;</di<u>		/djj	οŨ/	[d̪ <sup>j</sup> ũũ]	'mosquito'
		< <u>ou</u> >		/õũ/	/	[ῦᾶ]	'louse'

The diphthongs follow rules of vowel harmony, in that the high front vowel is the off-glide of the front and central vowels, and the high back vowel is the off-glide of back vowels.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> See 2.3.4 BLEED-THROUGH and 2.8.4 BLEED-THROUGH – HOW TO SPELL.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Mountain dialect.

## 2.3.3 Vowel harmony in word roots

Vowel harmony is a strong feature of this language. This section relates to vowel harmony in roots. See other kinds of vowel under 2.7 MORPHO-PHONEMIC PROCESSES.

### A large number of roots have only one kind of vowel

Though any combination of vowels may occur in a root, a large number of roots have only one kind of vowel.

hebe	/h <b>ε</b> β <b>ε</b> /	[hεˈβæ]	'tree'
dogoîu	/dogo/	[d̪oˈɡo]	'sharpen'
dihi	/d <b>i</b> hi/	[diˈhi]	'child'
fel <u>e</u>	$/\Phi \widetilde{\epsilon} \widetilde{\epsilon} /$	$[\Phi \tilde{\epsilon}' \eta \tilde{x}]$	'come up'
gala	/gala/	[gaˈla]	'bite'

However, as could be seen in the list towards the end of 2.3.1 MONOPHTHONGS, in a word with the same vowel in two consecutive syllables, the vowel in the first of these syllables is often centralised or even deleted (see also the short descriptions under the two following headings). The reason why sometimes the first vowel is not centralised or deleted, as it is not in the above list, is unclear.

#### Interpretation of [ə] and [ʌ], word medially

The phonetic manifestations  $[\mathbf{a}]$  and  $[\mathbf{A}]$ , word medially, are interpreted by mother-tongue speakers as the same vowel as in the following syllable. For word initial  $[\mathbf{A}]$  see 2.8.2 SPELLING OF ... INITIAL  $[\mathbf{A}]$ .

dafa	/dˈaða/	[d̪əˈɬɑ]	'be tired of'
teme	/tẽmẽ/	[tãˈmæ̃]	'sago thatch'

#### Phonetic consonant clusters

In addition, the phonetic consonant clusters [b]], [tr], [dr], [k]], [g]] and [ $\phi$ ]] are not interpreted phonemically as consonant clusters, but as the first three segments in  $/C_1V_1C_2V_1/$ , where the first vowel is the same as the one in the following syllable.

hebele	/hɛbɛlɛ/	[hʌˈ <b>bl</b> æ]	'carry.IRR.FUT'
dulu	/dulu/	[ <b>dຼr</b> u]	'hear.IRR.NFUT'
tofol <b>o</b> u	/to <b>q</b> olo/	[təˈ <b>φl</b> o]	'step.IRR.NPST'

#### Diphthongs

The diphthongs follow rules of vowel harmony, in that the high front vowel is the off-glide of the front and central vowels, and the high back vowel is the off-glide of back vowels.

/ <b>EI</b> /	<bei></bei>	/bei/	'snake'	/00/	<tobou></tobou>	/tobou/	'say.NFUT'
/aɪ/	<kai></kai>	/kaɪ/	'cut.NFUT'	/ວບ/	<bolou< th=""><th>/bõlõŭ/</th><th>'two'<sup>21</sup></th></bolou<>	/bõlõŭ/	'two' <sup>21</sup>

### 2.3.4 Bleed-through

Another feature of this language is what we have called bleed-through. It means that either of the two high vowels i/i and u/may "bleed" through into the next syllable on either side. It occurs within a root as well as over a morpheme boundary. Bleeding through a preceding consonant, <u>left bleed-through</u>, gives rise to a non-phonemic diphthong that a mother-tongue speaker is normally unaware of. In the following examples, the first column gives the morphemes, written with orthographic symbols. See also 2.8.4 BLEED-THROUGH – HOW TO SPELL.

MORPHEMIC FORM	GLOSS	ORTHOGRAPHY	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC
gabagi	neck, front	<gabagi></gabagi>	/gaßagi/	[gəßa <b>ı</b> 'gi]
n <u>a</u> -l-u	eat-IRR-NFUT	<nolu></nolu>	/[ɔ̃[ũ/	[nֲอ <b>ับ</b> 'กุนี]

In the first example above, the final /i/ has bled through to the left into the previous syllable forming a phonetic diphthong with the preceding /a/. The final /u/ in the next example bleeds through in the same way, forming a phonetic diphthong with the preceding vowel.<sup>22</sup>

 $<sup>^{21}</sup>$  Under-differentiating of /ou/ and /ou/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Vowel harmony also affects this word (see 2.7.1 VOWEL HARMONY IN VERBS).

Bleeding through a following consonant, <u>right bleed-through</u>, sometimes makes the vowel causing the bleed-through to be deleted from its original position as in the second example. This is especially common in verb conjugation, where the consonant involved is /[/.

MORPHEMIC FORM	GLOSS	ORTHOGRAPHY	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC
kugo	'paper/book'	<kug<b>uo&gt;</kug<b>	/kugɔ/	[kuˈgʷə]
bigi-l-e	'wash-IRR-FUT'	<bigile></bigile>	/bigilɛ/	[biˈg[ <b>i</b> æ]
ul <u>e</u>	'cicada'	⟨ul <b>i</b> e⟩	/ũĮẽ/	/ ũ'ŋ <b>ĩ</b> ǽ/

In the last example /u/ bleeds through /l/ and comes out as [i]. This only happens with /l/.

A mother-tongue speaker is more aware of right bleed-through than of left bleed-through.

## 2.4 Interpretation of non-syllabic high vowels

In this section I will look at where [I] and [U] are interpreted as semi-vowels. I will also look into palatalisation and labialisation.

## 2.4.1 Semi-vowels

Inter-vocalic [I] and [ $\mathbf{v}$ ] as well as word initial [I] and [ $\mathbf{v}$ ] preceding a vowel are interpreted as /j/ and /w/ to fit the most common CV pattern.

koyo	/kɔjɔ/	[kʌɪ'ɒ]	'who?'
tewe	/tewe/	[tʌʊˈæ]	'know'
wai	/wai/	[บตɪ]	ʻpig'
ya	/ <b>j</b> a/	[10]	'go.DU/PL'

There is no contrast between e.g. [UaI], [WaI] and [UWaI]. All three pronunciations give the same meaning 'pig'.

A transitional semi-vowel may be inserted between the parts of a compound word, if the last part starts with a vowel.  $o \ damale=(y) \ odeii \ /o \ d\tilde{a}m\tilde{a}[\tilde{e}] \ odeii \ '(a) \ believer/(a) \ man \ (who \ has) \ said \ true' \ (man \ true=(TRSV) \ IQV-NFUT)$ 

Words with seemingly one of the four <u>diphthongs</u>  $/\epsilon_I/$ ,  $/\alpha_I/$ ,  $/\alpha_J/$ , and  $/\alpha_J/$ , and which are followed by a vowel, are interpreted as shown in the second column, rather than as shown in the third column, i.e. the off-glide is interpreted as a semi-vowel.

[ĩĩ'æ]	/ẽ <b>j</b> ẽ/	*/ẽĩjẽ/	<i>еу<u>е</u></i>	'older brother'
[aɪ'æ]	/a <b>j</b> ε/	*/aɪjɛ/	aye	'father'
[d <b>o'u</b> a]	/dowa/	*/douwa/	doîuwa	'hornbill'
[o' <b>ua</b> ]	/ <b>3w</b> 0/	*/ouwo/	owoîu	'older sister'

The reason for this interpretation is that there are no non-suspect diphthongs word initially or medially. The interpretation is supported by how people tend to write words of this kind.

See also the next section for other occurrences of the semi-vowels.

### 2.4.2 Palatalisation and labialisation

Phonetic palatalisation and labialisation is [i] and [u], respectively, in the following position: **Ci/uV**. Analysis on *CECIL* and *Speech Analyzer*, as well as testing how people write, indicate that the degree of palatalisation and labialisation may vary and that this variation is contrastive.

#### Palatalisation

The sequence **CiV** may become phonetically palatalised, i.e. the /i/ in the syllable **Ci** is weakened, and the sequence is phonetically  $[C^{j}V]$  but interpreted as /CiV/. Note that the preceding consonant in this group is dental or alveolar.

dia	/dia/	[ <b>d</b> <sup>j</sup> a]	'prawn'
tia	/tia/	[ <b>t</b> <sup>j</sup> a]	'sleep'
sio	/siɔ/	[s <sup>i</sup> ɔ]	'bird'

However, contrasting with the above examples, the /i/ in the sequence **CiV**, may also have its full value. In that case, it does not become phonetically palatalised, i.e. the /i/ in the syllable **Ci** is **not** weakened, and the sequence is phonetically [Ci.V], interpreted as  $/CijV/.^{23}$  Note that the preceding consonant in this group is bilabial or velar.

biya	/bija/	[ <b>bi</b> .'a]	'stick'
miy <u>e</u>	/mĩjẽ/	[mĩ.ˈæ̃]	'fish'
fiya	/fija/	[ <b>fi</b> .'a]	'fall'
kiyei	/kijɛɪ/	[ <b>ki</b> .'eɪ]	'pandanus'
giyoîu	/gijo/	[ <b>gi</b> .'o]	'eel'
hiy <u>e</u>	/hījẽ/	[ <b>h</b> ĩ.'æ̃]	'vegetable sp.'

Between these two patterns there are contrasts, where the interpretation of the vowel sequence does not depend on the place of articulation of the preceding consonant.

sio	/siɔ/	[s <sup>i</sup> o]	ʻbird'
siya	/sijɑ/	[si.'a]	ʻsugarcane'
dio	/diɔ/	[d̪ʲə]	'bone'
diyo	/dijɔ/	[d̪i.ˈə]	'breadfruit'
di <u>o</u>	/dī̃õ/	[d̪ʲõ]	ʻgrass'
diy <u>o</u>	/dījõ/	[d̪ĭ.'õ]	ʻparrot sp.'
fiya	/fija/	[fi.'a]	'fall'
fia	/fia/	[f <sup>j</sup> a]	'wild'

This shows up both on *CECIL/Speech Analyzer* and in the way mother-tongue speakers write. The segment **i** is measurably longer in a word they tend to write as  $\langle -iyV \rangle$  than in a word they tend to write as  $\langle iV \rangle$ . For some words, the difference can also be seen in that a word with a longer **i** segment has two stress tops (see Årsjö & Årsjö 2005). In Odoodee a similar contrast is analysed as length.

#### Labialisation

The sequence CuV may become phonetically labialised, i.e. the /u/ in the syllable Cu is weakened, and the sequence is phonetically /C<sup>w</sup>V/ but interpreted as /CuV/.

fua	/fua/	[ <b>f</b> <sup>w</sup> a]	'break open'
kueya	/kuɛjɑ/	[ <b>k</b> <sup>w</sup> ɛɪ'a]	'cassowary'
guo	/guɔ/	[ <b>g</b> <sup>w</sup> D]	'cough'
hu <u>ei</u>	/hũẽĩ/	[ <b>ħ</b> ₩̃ɛ̃ĭ]	'water'

But the /u/ in the sequence CuV is not always weakened. When it is not, the sequence is phonetically [Cu.V], interpreted as /CuwV/.<sup>24</sup>

	тижо̂и	/muwo/	[ <b>mu</b> .'o]	'reward'
	duwo	/duwo/	[ <b>d̪u</b> .'ɒ]	'sit'
	suwa	/suwa/	[ <b>su</b> .'a]	'tail'
Also in this	group there are	a few contrasts.		
	duo	/duɔ/	[ <b>dٍ</b> <sup>w</sup> ɒ]	'spirit/inside'
	duwo	/duwo/	[ <b>d̪u</b> .'ɒ]	'sit'
	kueya	/kuɛja/	[ <b>k</b> <sup>w</sup> ɛɪ'a]	'cassowary'
	tokuwe	/tokuwæ/	[tɔkuˈwæ]	'wall'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The phonetic sequence [[iV] only occurs with bleed-through, e.g.  $\langle ile \rangle / ile / [\epsilon li'a]$  'go.IRR.FUT' (see 2.3.4 BLEED-THROUGH).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The phonetic sequence [|uV|] only occurs with bleed-through, e.g.  $\langle dulo \rangle / dulo / [dru'o]$  'hear.IRR.FUT'. The phonetic sequences \*[buV] has not been found.

## 2.5 Syllable patterns

There are five syllable types in Konai: V, VV, CV, CVV and CVVV. The vowel sequence in the syllable type CVV may be either low-high (the diphthongs) or high-low (palatalisation/labialisation). The vowel sequence in CVVV is high-low-high (palatalisation/labialisation/l

	one-	syll. word	word in	itially	word med	dially	word finall	У
V	0	'man'	<b>a</b> .ta	'aunt'				
VV	ei	'1pl.ex'						
CV	ta	'bow'	da.fa	'bored'	a. <b>bo</b> .g <u>oî</u> u	'foot'	gu.su. <b>gu</b>	'morning'
CVV	dou	'fire'	25				da. <b>bai</b>	'work'
	sio	'bird'	tio.lu	'falling asleep'			a <b>diôu</b>	'mother'
CVVV	di <u>ou</u>	'mosquito'						

## 2.6 Suprasegmentals

Nasalisation, tone, stress and length were investigated, the last three by using the *CECIL Speech Analysis System* (1995) and the *Speech Analyzer* (1998, 2004). Stress and length are predictable; nasalisation and tone are not. Nasalisation is written but tone is not. Last under this heading there are a few comments about intonation.

## 2.6.1 Nasalisation

There is phonemic word nasalisation. This means that nasalisation is a feature of a word root or of an enclitic, not a feature of a single vowel phoneme. In the examples below,  $= \underline{fei}$  'total',  $=\underline{hg}$  'genitive',  $=\underline{sig}$  (meaning unknown) and  $=\underline{kou}$  'locative' are enclitics. The nasalisation of nasalised clitics does not spread to the rest of the word, nor does the nasalisation of a stem spread to a non-nasalised clitic.

<u>_e</u>		$[\tilde{x}]$		'3s'			
fel <u>e</u>		$[\phi \tilde{a}' \eta \tilde{x}]$		'com	e up'		
ses <u>e</u>		[sẽˈsæ̃]		'gras	s snake'		
oloîu= <u>f</u>	fei	[ɔ[o' <b>ģ</b> ẽĩ]		'all=t	total'		
aye=h <u>a</u>	<u>a</u>	[ˈɑɪɛ <b>h</b> ã]		'fathe	er=gen'		
boboîu=	=si <u>e</u>	[boßo'sia	ē]	'neph	new/niece' (meanings	of parts u	nknown)
mos <u>o</u> =	koîu	[ <b>mə̃sõ</b> ˈkɑ	)	'hous	se=LOC'		
Suffixes vary. The indicative tense suffixes take their nasalisation from the preceding morpheme.							
m <u>o</u> u			[mõ]		'get'		<b>3 1</b>
mol <u>oî</u> u	(m <u>o</u> ̂u-l	- <u>o</u> û)	[mə̈'ŋõ]		'gets/will get'		(get-IRR-NPST)
Compare:							
toboîu			[ţʌ'β0]		'speak'		
toboloù	ı (toboû-	-l-oîu)	[tʌˈb <b>lo</b> ]		'speaks/will speak'		(speak-IRR-NPST)
One deriv	ational suffix	x, - <i>le</i> 'appr	oximate l	ocativ	iser' takes the nasalis	ation fron	n a preceding noun.
hu <u>ei</u> le	(hu <u>ei</u> -le	2)	[ˈħʷẽiŋa	ĕ]	'in the water'		(water-A.LOCR)
Compare:							
agudile	(agudio	$-le)^{26}$	[ʌˈɡud̪ri	æ]	'in the sky'		(sky-A.LOCR)
All other suffixes, as well as the few prefixes present in the language, are in themselves non-nasal and remain so							
even in nasal v	words. Comp	pare, for ex	ample, the	e tollo	wing three forms:		

en	in nasal word	ls. Compare, for exa	ample, the follow	ving three forms:	
	a s <u>o</u> û		[a sõ]	'open a door'	
	a sol <u>o</u> ̂u	(a s <u>ou</u> -l- <u>ou</u> )	[a sŋõ]	'opens/will open a/the door'	(door#open-IRR-NPST)

'opens/will open the door'

(door#open-OF-IRR-NPST)

 $a \ source{0} a \ source{0}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> But see 2.3.2 DIPHTHONGS: /εI/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> For the change in the root see 2.7.3 VOWEL FRONTING IN LOCATIVE ADVERBS.

In a loan word, the nasalisation may stop in the middle of a word.

hal <u>ô</u> uwai	[ <b>hãųõ</b> ʊ'aɪ]	'village'	(from Aekyom) <sup>27</sup>
<u>e</u> sol	[ẽˈsɔ[]	'angel'	(from English)

## 2.6.2 Tone

There is phonemic word tone. On one, two and three syllable words, the contrastive patterns are a <u>fall-rise</u>, a <u>rising</u>, a <u>rise-fall</u>, a <u>falling</u> and a <u>fall-fall</u> tone pattern over the word. The fall-rise is by far the most common.

doîu	[ḋo ↗ ↗ ]	'draw (water)'
dosoîu	['₫ɒ ↘ so ↗ ]	'index finger'
sibigi	[si ≥βi ≥ 'gi ↗]	'dirt'
mal <u>a</u>	[m⊼'ŋã↗]	'younger sibling'
meleki	[mɛˈlɛki⊅]	ʻdish'
da	[da / ↘]	'dig'
awa	[a⊅ʊ'a↘]	'black-palm'
bala	[ba'la∖]	'paddle'
habiya	[haβi.'a ↘]	'tail'
sabi	[′sa ≥βi ≥ ]	'lizard'
sisig <u>o</u>	[sĩ ↘ sĩ ↘ 'gĩ ↘ ]	'children'

Unlike stress, tone does not change when the word is pronounced in isolation. It is, however, possible that the significant contrastiveness is in the rising or falling of the last syllable, in which case there are only two contrastive patterns instead of five.

Looking at the stress and tone graphs together, we find that the graphs usually follow each other. However, in a few words they do not do so at all. And in quite a few more words the graphs follow each other for only a small part of the word. When the graphs diverge, the tone goes up while the stress (amplitude; see next section) goes down. We have found no significance in this; nor is it necessarily constant as stress is not a constant feature.

## 2.6.3 Stress

Stress, in this grammar, is defined as loudness. The default stress falls on the last syllable.

ili	[ɛ'li]	'go.IRR.NFUT'
toboîu	[tʌ'β0]	'speak'
tem <u>e</u>	[t̪ᡘ <sup>ı</sup> mæ̃]	'sago thatch'
ses <u>e</u>	[sɛ̃ˈsæ̃]	'grass snake'
giyoîu	[gi.'o]	'eel'
miy <u>e</u>	$[\tilde{mi.}]$	'fish'
kueya	$[k^{w} \varepsilon \iota' \mathfrak{a}]$	'cassowary'
sibigi	[sißiˈgi]	'dirt'
sisig <u>o</u>	[sīsī'gõ]	'children'
mos <u>o</u> =koîu	[mə̃sɒ̃'ko]	'house=LOC'

However, even though stress is mostly predictable, and therefore non-phonemic, it may vary on the same word in isolation. I say this, even though I know that testing stress in isolation is unreliable.

kafei	[ˈkaþeɪ]	or	[kaˈþeɪ]	'blood'
sosi	['sɔsi]	or	[sɔˈsi]	'ant'

In fact, the data we have is inconsistent. Working with one man using the *Speech Analyzer*, the default stress in his speech is indeed on the final syllable. Still, in about 9% of the words we have analysed, we can only partly explain why the stress is not on the final syllable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Aekyom is an unrelated language group to the west. The Konais did not use to live in villages, but in longhouses.

Some reasons may be:

non-stressed enclitics

Some enclitics do not take stress, e.g.  $=h\underline{a}$  'genitive/control' and =me 'topic marker'.

			_
	Godi=h <u>a</u>	[gəˈdihã]	'God=gen'
	$ey\underline{e} = h\underline{a}$	[ẽˈĩẽhã]	'big brother=GEN'
	huli <u>a</u> .me	[hũˈnjĩāmæ]	'night.TOP'
•	loan words		
	ikoke	[iˈkɔkæ]	'nail (for building)'
	subulu	[ˈsəβəĮu]	'sweet potato'
	meleki	[mɛˈlɛki]	'dish'
•	words of the fo	rm CaCi are often of equal stress,	or the first syllable may be stressed
	gali	['ga'li]	'wild animal'
	habi	[ˈhaˈßi]	'afternoon'
	sabi	[ˈsaßi]	'lizard'

• bleed-through<sup>28</sup>

In the two following words it looks as if the stress is on the penultimate syllable, when in fact it is on the last.

mul <u>o</u>	[mũˈŋuɔ]	'go.down.IRR.FUT'
bigile	[biˈg[iæ]	'wash.IRR.FUT'

## 2.6.4 Length

Length is non-phonemic. Stressed syllables have longer vowels. An utterance final syllable has a very long vowel, independently of stress.

sosi	['sɔːs <b>i</b> ːː]	'ant'	['ɔ] is 179 ms long; [i] is 417 ms long
sogo	[səˈɡ <b>ə</b> ::]	'breadfruit'	[ɔ] is 74 ms long; ['ɔ] is 483 ms long

However, length is a feature that can be used for special effects, which makes it partly phonemic. Some adjectives may be said with a lengthened vowel to signal enhanced degree.

s <u>u</u> do	[ˈsud̪ɔ]	'many'
s <u>uu</u> do	[ˈsuːd̪ɔ]	'very many'

## 2.6.5 Intonation

There are several intonation contours in Konai. One of the differences between a final and a medial clause (see 6 CLAUSES) is intonation. These are the contours I have found:

Statement

Medial clause Final clause Final clause in mid-sentence	level or slightly rising intonation falling intonation level intonation (marked by a semicolon in the free translation of examples)
Command	level intonation
Question (yes-no)	sharply rising intonation on the last syllable
Question (content)	falling intonation

 $<sup>^{28}</sup>$  See 2.3.4 Bleed-through.

## 2.7 Morpho-phonemic processes

There are two major morpho-phonemic processes in Konai: **vowel harmony** and **bleed-through**. Bleed-through occurs both within word roots and across morpheme boundaries. It is an inherent quality of high vowels and is therefore described under Vowels: 2.3.4 BLEED-THROUGH. In contrast, vowel harmony is not necessarily a feature of a word root or stem, but it is a very important morpho-phonemic process (but see also 2.3.3 VOWEL HARMONY IN WORD ROOTS.)

There are two kinds of vowel harmony across morpheme boundaries. The first one is manifested in the conjugation of verbs. It is of three kinds. The second one is minor and involves also other word classes.

- Vowel harmony in verbs
  - Vowel harmony in final verbs; also used in past negative statements and in one optative mood
  - Vowel harmony in medial verbs; also used in present negative statements and in questions in present tense
  - Vowel harmony involving prospective aspect and purpose
- Minor vowel harmony

Three other morpho-phonemic processes have been observed.

- Vowel fronting in locative phrases
- Vowel epenthesis & vowel deletion in connection with quote verbs
- Nasalisation of topic marker
- De-nasalisation before /g//l/ and /k/

## 2.7.1 Vowel harmony in verbs

Vowel harmony is very prominent in verb conjugation. There are seven types of verbs, based on the last vowel of the stem<sup>29</sup>. In conjugated verbs of these different types, the main rule is that front vowels co-occur with front vowels and back vowels co-occur with back vowels. More specifically, tense suffixes vary in backness in accordance with the last vowel of the verb stem. In addition, the vowel in these suffixes also affects the vowel(s) in the stem in certain ways. A few other verbal suffixes also trigger the same kind of vowel harmony in the stem.

The vowel harmony triggered by the prospective aspect suffix and the purpose suffix is related to the phoneme /a/.

## 2.7.1.1 Vowel harmony in final verbs

The suffixes triggering vowel harmony in final verbs are tense suffixes and a negative construction in past tense. In addition, the forms of the verbal roots/stems in one optative mood are the same as those used with the past tense suffixes.

### Vowel harmony involving tense suffixation

 These are the tense suffixes:

 VERB TYPE
 TENSE SUFFIXES
 MEANING
 USAGE

 1-5, 7
 /-i/, /-u/
 'non-future'
 used on its own (realis)

 used to get be a with the iteration

1-5, 7	/-i/, /-u/	'non-future'	used on its own (realis)	past tense
			used together with the irrealis suffix /-l/	present tense
	/-ɛ/, /-ɔ/	'future'	used together with the irrealis suffix /-l/	future tense
6	/-u/	'past' <sup>30</sup>	used on its own (realis)	past tense
	/-o/	'non-past'	used together with the irrealis suffix /-l/	present and/or future tense

TENSE

As can be seen, for six of the seven verb types, (1-5, 7), there are two phonological shapes for each suffix indicating tense. In a verb type, where the stem ends in a front vowel, a front vowel suffix will be used, while a verb stem ending in a back vowel, will trigger a back vowel suffix. (See APPENDIX I: VOWEL HARMONY RULE 1.)

If the stem ends in /a/, the most common conjugation triggers a back vowel for present tense, but a front vowel for future tense. (See APPENDIX I: VOWEL HARMONY RULES 2 AND 3.)

For verb type 6, where the last stem vowel is /o/, i.e. a neither high nor low vowel, the distinction between present and future tense is neutralised, while a past versus a non-past tense parallels the marking of realis versus irrealis mood (see table on next page).

The vowel in the tense suffixes also affects the vowel(s) in the stem in certain ways. (See APPENDIX I: VOWEL HARMONY RULE 4, VOWEL HARMONY RULE 5 and VOWEL HARMONY RULE 7a & 7b.)

Type 4 verbs have a penultimate high vowel in the verb **root**, which affects the last vowel of the root in past tense in this verb type. (See APPENDIX I: VOWEL HARMONY RULE 6.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> See 4.1.2 Types of verbs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> In the examples, it is usually glossed NFUT 'non-future'.

BASIC FORM	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE	MEANING	TYPE OF VERB STEM
	<u>-i/-u</u>	<u>(-l-)-i/-u/-o</u>	<u>(-l-)-ε/-ο/-0<sup>32</sup></u>		
<mig<b>i&gt;</mig<b>	/mig <b>i</b> / <sup>33</sup>	/migi-l- <b>i</b> /	/migi-l-ɛ/	'come down'	type 1 ends in /i/
⟨ses <b>e</b> ⟩	/sese-i/	/sisi-l-i/	/sɛsɛ-l-ɛ/	'follow'	type 2 ends in $/\epsilon/$
⟨b <b>a</b> h <b>a</b> ⟩	/baha-i/	/bəhə-l-u/	/baha-l-e/	'look'	type 3a ends in /a/
⟨migi-g <b>a</b> ⟩	/migi-ga- <b>i</b> /	/migi-g <b>ə-l-u</b> /	/migi-ga-l- <b>e</b> /	'come.down-DU/PL'	
⟨y <u>a</u> ⟩	/jã- <b>i</b> /	/jã-l-ĩ/	/jã-l- $\tilde{\epsilon}$ /	ʻplay'	type 3c ends in /a/
<biya></biya>	/bij <b>ɛ-i</b> /	/bij <b>ə-l-u</b> /	∕bija-l-€/	'fight'	type 4 root: /i/uCa/
<dug<b>u&gt;</dug<b>	/dug <b>u</b> /	/dugu-l- <b>u</b> /	/dugu-l- <b>ə</b> /	'see'	type 5 ends in /u/
⟨sese-g <b>u</b> ⟩	/sese-g <b>u</b> /	/sese-gu-[- <b>u</b> /	/sese-gu-l- <b>ə</b> /	'follow-OF'	
<s<u>ou&gt;</s<u>	/sõ-ũ/	/sõ-l- <u>õ</u> /	/sõ-l- <u>õ</u> /	'open'	type 6 ends in /o/
<w<b>o&gt;</w<b>	/w <b>ɛ-i</b> /	/wɔ-l-u/	/wɔ-l-ɔ/	'attack'	type 7 ends in /o/

The following table gives the general picture. For a full chart see 4.1.5.2.1 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR FINAL VERBS.<sup>31</sup> The basic forms are written in orthographic characters.

In the following shorter table, four of the above verbs have been singled out to show how a verb may go from one conjugation type to another, when augmented for number or transitivity. These are examples only. The verb type, and so its conjugation pattern, is totally based on the final vowel of the verb **stem** (in type 4 on the penultimate and final vowel of the verb **root** (see above)).

BASIC FORM	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE	MEANING	TYPE OF VERB STEM
	<u>-i/-u</u>	<u>(-l-)-i/-u/-o</u>	<u>(-[-)-ɛ/-ɔ/-o</u>		
<mig<b>i&gt;</mig<b>	/mig <b>i</b> /	/migi-l <b>-i</b> /	/migi-l-ɛ/	<pre>'come down' 'come.down-DU/PL'</pre>	type 1
<migi-g<b>a&gt;</migi-g<b>	/migi <b>-ga-i</b> /	/migi-g <b>ɔ-l-u</b> /	/migi-ga-l-ɛ/		type 3a
<ses<b>e&gt;</ses<b>	/sɛsɛ-i/	/sisi-l-i/	/sɛsɛ- <b>[-ɛ</b> /	'follow'	type 2
<sese-g<b>u&gt;</sese-g<b>	/sese-gu/	/sese-gu-l-u/	/sese-gu- <b>[-ɔ</b> /	'follow-OF/hand over'	type 5

As said before, vowel harmony, when triggered by affixation, affects the whole word, as shown by the bold characters in the roots/stems in the above tables. This is not always reflected in the spelling, however. The present forms of type 2 & 3 verbs above are repeated here including phonemic, phonetic and orthographic transcriptions. Note that the spelling is not phonemic but can be deduced from the basic form of the verb root. See also 2.8.5 VOWEL HARMONY – SPELLING OF A FEW EXCEPTIONS.

BASIC FORM	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC	ORTHOGRAPHY	MEANING	TYPE OF VERB STEM
<sese></sese>	/sisi-l-i/	[səˈsəli]	<b>⟨seseli⟩</b> <sup>34</sup>	'follow'	type 2
<b>∢b</b> aha≻	/b <b>əhə-</b> l-u/	[bʌhɒʊˈ[u] <sup>35</sup>	<baholu></baholu>	'look'	type 3a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Some of the verb types have sub-types. For the purpose of showing how vowel harmony works, only type 3 needs to be shown with a sub-type, where 3a is the common conjugation and 3c is rare. Type 4, in this section, refers to type 4a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> /-[-/ 'IRR', /-i/, /-u/ 'NFUT', /-ɛ/, /-ɔ/ 'FUT', /-o/ 'NPST'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Verb types 1 and 5 are interpreted as inherently past tense, if the context so allows, as they end in a high vowel. An alternative interpretation is that when the suffix is identical with the last stem vowel, assimilation occurs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Not \*<sisili> and in the next example: not \*<boholu>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Rules of bleed-through also apply; see 2.3.4 BLEED-THROUGH.

### Negation with -l-i mei 'irrealis non-future negative'

Using the same verbs as above, the negative past forms are presented below. Part of the negative construction in past tense is realised with -i 'irrealis-non-future', where the non-future  $-V^{[+high]}$  is always /i/, i.e. the suffix vowel **does not** follow any rules of vowel harmony. However, verb types 2, 4 and 7 show changes in the stem, due to vowel harmony effects from the suffix, which are the same as the changes that show up in positive, final verbs in realis mood/past tense, triggered by the suffix -i 'non-future'. See APPENDIX I: VOWEL HARMONY RULE 4, VOWEL HARMONY RULE 6 and VOWEL HARMONY RULEs 7a & 7b. In type 2 verbs the vowel harmony effect is not reflected in the spelling.

BASIC FORM	PHONEMIC	GLOSS	ORTHOGRAPHY	MEANING	TYPE OF	VERB STEM
<mig<b>i&gt;</mig<b>	/migi-l- <b>i mɛi</b> /	come-IRR-NFUT#NEG	<migili mei=""></migili>	'did not come down'	type 1	
<ses<b>e&gt;</ses<b>	/sisi-l-i mei /	follow-IRR-NFUT#NEG	⟨s <b>e</b> seli mei⟩	'did not follow'	type 2	(see V.H. Rule 4)
⟨b <b>a</b> h <b>a</b> ⟩	/baha-l <b>-i mɛi</b> /	look-IRR-NFUT#NEG	<bahali mei=""></bahali>	'did not look'	type 3a	
⟨y <b><u>a</u>⟩</b>	/jã-l-ĩ mɛi /	play-IRR-NFUT#NEG	⟨yal <u>i</u> mei⟩	'did not play'	type 3c	
<biya></biya>	/bijɛ-l <b>-i mɛi</b> /	fight-IRR-NFUT#NEG	⟨biy <b>e</b> li mei⟩	'did not fight'	type 4	(see V.H. Rule 6)
<dug<b>u&gt;</dug<b>	/dugu-l-i mɛi /	see-IRR-NFUT#NEG	<duguli mei=""></duguli>	'did not see'	type 5	
<s<u>oû&gt;</s<u>	/sõ-l-ĩ mei/	open-IRR-NFUT#NEG	⟨sôul <u>i</u> mei⟩	'did not open'	type 6	
<w<b>o&gt;</w<b>	/wɛ-l-i mɛi/	attack-IRR-NFUT#NEG	⟨w <b>e</b> li mei⟩	'did not attack'	type 7	(see V.H. Rules 7a&b)

#### **Optative clitic =ye**

Also, verbs in one conjugation of the optative mood (see 7.1.2.1 MORE ABOUT THE OPTATIVE) conjugate in the same way as do final verbs in realis mood/past tense. This verb form is then followed by =ye 'optative', and the meaning of the verb becomes "might verb" (see examples below).

BASIC FORM	OPTATIVE	MEANING	TYPE OF VERB STEM
	( <u>-){<i>i</i>/<i>u</i>}=<i>ye</i></u>		
<migi></migi>	mig <b>i=ye</b>	'come.down.NFUT=OPT'	type 1
<sese></sese>	ses <b>e-i=ye</b>	'follow-NFUT=OPT'	type 2
<baha></baha>	bah <b>a-i=ye</b>	'look-NFUT=OPT'	type 3a
⟨y <u>a</u> ⟩	y <u>a-i</u> =ye	'play-NFUT=OPT'	type 3c
<biya></biya>	biy <b>e-i=ye</b>	'fight-NFUT=OPT'	type 4
<dugu></dugu>	dug <b>u=ye</b>	'see.NFUT=OPT'	type 5
<s<u>oû&gt;</s<u>	so-u=ye	'open-NFUT=OPT'	type 6
<wo></wo>	we-i=ye	'attack-NFUT=OPT'	type 7
24)	<i>n<u>i</u> fiya-sig<b>e-i</b>=</i> 2PL fall-DU/PI	L-NFUT=OPT	basic form: <i>fiyasige</i> 'fall.dl/pl' (type 2)
	' you might fall.'	,	
		ohôugo-u=ye. ass.by-nfut=opt	basic form: <i>dohogôu</i> 'pass by' (type 6)
	' we (incl.) might	pass it by.'	

### 2.7.1.2 Vowel harmony in medial verbs

The suffixes triggering vowel harmony in medial verbs are of the same shape, but do not necessarily have the same meaning as those that trigger vowel harmony in final verbs (see 4.1.3 FINAL AND MEDIAL VERBS, AN INTRODUCTION). Also, only two morphophonemic rules apply. These two rules are the same as two of the seven rules, which apply in the conjugation of final verbs. (See APPENDIX 1). As a result, in certain verbs, the nucleus<sup>36</sup> of a medial form is different from the nucleus of the final form.

Also, a negative construction in present tense and the verb forms used in questions in present tense are also most easily described as using the vowel harmony that occurs in medial verbs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> The nucleus of a verb form includes the stem, the irrealis marker -/-, the (portmanteau) tense suffixes; also the subjunctive suffix -a.

These are the suffixes that in final verbs signal tense, but in medial verbs signal relative tense<sup>37</sup>, but also same versus different subject as the following clause.

VERB TYPE	SUFFIXES	MEANING IN MEDIAL VERBS	MEANING IN FINAL VERBS
1-5, 7	/-i/, /-u/	different subject, same time	'non-future'
	/-e/, /-ɔ/, /a/	same subject, sequence	'future'
6	/0/	different subject, same time	'non-future'
	/-l <sup>38</sup> -0/	same subject, sequence	'present/future'

Even though the tense distinction in Konai is a binary one, non-future versus future for most verb types, a three way distinction, past, present and future, is made in final verbs with the help of the realis/irrealis marking. In medial verbs, this is not the case. Only a distinction between simultaneous, corresponding to non-future in a final verb, and sequence, corresponding to future, is made. In addition, these suffixes in medial verbs also signal same or different subject as stated above.

The important part, as far as vowel harmony goes, is that the non-future medial forms are the same as the present tense forms for final verbs (but without the irrealis suffix /-[/). The future forms are the same as the future final forms (but usually without the irrealis suffix), except for the verb types, where the last stem vowel is / $\alpha$ / (type 3 & 4). Verb type 3c is irregular. Verb type 6, as its last vowel is / $\alpha$ /, a vowel neither high nor low, again shows up with its own conjugation pattern. (See APPENDIX 1: Medial verbs; VOWEL HARMONY RULES 1 and 5 apply.)

The following table gives the general picture. The basic forms are written in orthographic characters.

	MEDIAL	<u>FINAL</u>	MEDIAL	<u>FINAL</u>		
BASIC FORM	HIGH VOWE	<u>iL</u>	LOW VOW	/EL	<u>MEANING</u>	TYPE OF VERB STEM
	<u>/-i/, /-u/, /o</u>	/; (/- <u> </u> -/ 'IRR')	<u>/-e/, /-ɔ/,</u>	<u>/a/</u>		
	' <u>relative present</u> ' simultaneous different subject	'present tense'	' <u>relative future</u> ' sequence same subject	' <u>future tense</u> '		
<kesig<b>i&gt;</kesig<b>	/kɛsig <mark>i</mark> /	/kɛsig <b>i-l-i</b> /	/kɛsig <mark>i-ɛ</mark> /	/kɛsig <b>i-l-ɛ</b> /	'rouse.OF'	type 1
<sa-gi></sa-gi>	/sa-g <mark>i</mark> /	/sa-g <b>i-l-i</b> /	/sa-g <mark>i-</mark>	/sa-g <b>i-l-</b> e/	'put inside-OF'	
⟨igi-s <b>e</b> ⟩	/igi-s <mark>ɛ-i</mark> /	/igi-s <b>ε-l−i</b> /	/igi-s <mark>ɛ</mark> /	/igi-s <b>ɛ-l-ɛ</b> /	'remove-DU/PL'	type 2
<s<b>a&gt;</s<b>	/s <b>ɔ-u</b> /	/sə-l-u/	/s <mark>a</mark> /	/s <b>α-l-ε</b> ∕)	'put inside'	type 3a
<folo-g<b>a&gt;</folo-g<b>	/fələ-g <mark>ə-u</mark> /	/fələ-g <b>ə-l-u</b> /	/fə <b>lə-</b> g <mark>a</mark> /	/fɔl̥ <b>ɔ-gɑ-l-ɛ</b> /)	'go up-DU/PL'	
<tag<b>a&gt;</tag<b>	/tag <b>a-i</b> /	/tag <b>a-l-i</b> /	/tag <b>a-</b> [-€/	/taga-l-ɛ/	'like'	type 3c
⟨ti <b>a</b> ⟩	/ti <b>ə-u</b> /	/ti <b>ə-l-u</b> /)	/ti <mark>a</mark> /	/tia- <b>l-e</b> /	'sleep'	type 4
<dug<b>u&gt;</dug<b>	/dug <b>u</b> /	/dug <b>u-l-u</b> /	/dug <mark>u-ə</mark> /	/dug <b>u-l-ə</b> /	'see'	type 5
<sese-gu></sese-gu>	/sɛsɛ-g <mark>u</mark> /	/sɛsɛ-g <b>u-l-u</b> /	/sese-g <b>u-ə</b> /	/sɛsɛ-g <b>u-l-ə</b> /	'follow-OF' 39	
<tob<b>oû&gt;</tob<b>	/tobo/	/tobo- <b>l-o</b> /	/tobo- <b>l-o</b> /	/tobo- <b>L-o</b> /	'say'	type 6
<folo></folo>	/fɔl <code>ɔ-u/</code>	/fɔ[ <b>ɔ-l-u</b> /	/fɔlə/	/fɔ <b>[ɔ</b> /	'go up'	type 7
<tog<b>o&gt;</tog<b>	/təg <mark>ə-u</mark> /	/təg <b>ə-l-u</b> /	/təg <b>ə-[-ə</b> /	/təgə <b>-l-ə</b> /	'make'	

See 4.1.5.2.2 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR MEDIAL VERB for a complete chart.

In medial verbs of type 6, the final /o/ is inherently non-future. To express sequence, the irrealis -*I*- is used together with the repetition of the vowel /o/. See 4.1.5.1.2 for a discussion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Relative tense is a tense that refers to a time in relation to a contextually determined temporal reference point,

regardless of the latter's temporal relation to the moment of utterance (Comrie 1985).

The *contextually determined temporal reference point* here is the event expressed by the verb, which is marked by this particular medial suffixation. So in this paper, *relative present tense* is defined as 'a relative tense that predicts that the next event will be simultaneous-like with the event expressed by the verb with this medial tense marking. Similarly *relative future tense*, in this paper, is defined as 'a relative tense that predicts that the next event will be sequential-like. The absolute tense of the two events may be past, present or future and is marked on the final verb. See also the following section: 7.3.2 TEMPORAL LINKING.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Irrealis.

<sup>39 &#</sup>x27;hand over'

### **Medial verbs**

25) do hive=do dege-i-moû, o ke+dia hebe+ma Dahamo i sasai е 3s sickness big=INT do-NFUT-PFV man that+3PL carry+put Dahamo go woman ... because when (my) wife was very sick, ... the men carried (her) and went (to) Dahamo ...' Oumemi=kou folo-qa-i. 26) Dia i-qa, 3PL go-DU/PL.FUT Oumemi=LOC qo.up-DU/PL-NFUT Folo-qa-mou ya-l-**e** dele-que-i. play-IRR-FUT be/have-DU/PL-NFUT go.up-DU/PL.FUT-PFV 'They went and arrived at Oumemi. Having arrived they kept playing/played and were.' 27) Ke-ae tia kesi-qi-**e**-mou, sasama = ve = aei-l-i-ai, rouse-OF-FUT-PFV ring.finger=INS=F.CNTR gO-IRR-NFUT-DSQ that-VBR sleep.FUT a-li tia-di, abahai. road-E.LOCR sleep-HAB cave 'Having fallen asleep and woken up like that, on Tuesday/on the second day, (we) go on until (we) usually sleep right along the road (in a) cave.' ng doqoqu-o dala-ba,<sup>40</sup> bateli bokisi bol<u>ou</u> ke-ge haqu**a**, 28) mal**a** that-VBR get.IRR.FUT come.FUT 2s put-FUT be/have-PFV.IRR battery box two duqu-o mal**a** kuhe haqua-l-e. a mu-l-**o** 1s go.down-IRR-FUT look.FUT get.IRR.FUT so come-IRR-FUT "...((you) and the order) will bring/get and come) two boxes of batteries and you will put (them) and having (them there), I will go down and see and get (them) and so come (back here).'

For other medial verb conjugations see 4.1.4.3 STRUCTURE OF MEDIAL VERBS.

The raised vowel form for medial verbs also occurs in one type of negative construction with present tense, and in the present tense interrogative sentence type.

#### **Present negative**

- 29) Dia sibiqe (basic form: *mg* 'put' (type 3a) mo-**u** = **yo** mei. 3PL essence put-NFUT=INDC NEG 'They are not bearing fruit.' tob**oîu** = **yo** (basic form: *toboû* 'say' (type 6) 30) mei say.NFUT=INDC NEG 'does not say' **Present question** 
  - nele dokta=kou yodu-l-o bolo = fei, 31) 2DU doctor=Loc ask-IRR-FUT good=total

*ka-ge-i* = *ya*? (basic form: *kage* 'be how' (type 2) Kevin=ha dihi do mala i Kevin=gen child sickness get.IRR.FUT go how-VBR-NFUT=SUBJ

... it would be good if you two would ask the doctor how Kevin's sick child, who was taken away, is (doing).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> The form *dala-ba* has as its nucleus the existential state verb *dala* 'be/have'. In this kind of verbs, the root final low vowel signals a simultaneous state with the following verb, as well as a change of subject.

## 2.7.1.3 Vowel harmony triggered by suffixes beginning with /a/

### The suffix -adi 'prospective aspect'

A rule of vowel harmony (VH Rule 8) is triggered by the suffix *-adi* 'prospective aspect'. (See APPENDIX I: VOWEL HARMONY RULE 8.) It applies to all verb types ending in a [-high] vowel and affects all [-high] vowels in those verbs. Note that these vowel changes are written only in type 7 verbs. This suffix occurs in final verbs only.

BASIC FORM	PHONEMIC	GLOSS	ORTHOGRAPHY	MEANING	TYPE OF VERB STEM
<dege></dege>	/d̥ˈɑɡɑ-l-ɑd̪i/	do-IRR-PROS	<degeladi></degeladi>	'just about to do (it)'	type 2
<taga></taga>	/taga-l-adi/	like-IRR-PROS	<tagaladi></tagaladi>	'just about to like'	type 2
<t<u>a sa&gt;</t<u>	/tã s <b>ala-l-a</b> di/	talk#put.inside-IRR-PROS	<t<u>a saladi≻</t<u>	'just about to judge'	type 3
<toboû></toboû>	/t̪aba-l-ad̪i/	say-IRR-PROS	<tobôuladi></tobôuladi>	'just about to speak'	type 6
<togo></togo>	/t̪ɑɡɑ-l-ɑd̪i/	make-IRR-PROS	<t<mark>agaladi&gt;</t<mark>	'just about to make smth.'	type 7
<wo></wo>	/wa-l-adi/	attack-IRR-PROS	<waladi></waladi>	'just about to attack'	type 7
Compare the	following example	es, where the high vowels a	re not affected:		
<tia></tia>	/t̪i <b>a-l-a</b> d̪i/	sleep-IRR-PROS	<tialadi></tialadi>	'just about to fall asleep'	type 4
⟨sa nugu⟩	/sa nug <b>u-l-a</b> ḍi/	land get.dark-IRR-PROS	≺sa nuguladi)	> 'just about to get dark'	type 5
⟨i⟩	/i-l-adi/	go-IRR-PROS	<iladi></iladi>	'just about to go'	type 1
32)		0	0		ei=ye ter=INS
	<b>wa-l-adi</b> attack-IRR-PRO	k <u>ó</u> u fogo-l-ói os this leave.		<i>tobo-l-ôu i.</i> 10v say-irr-npst go	
	basic: wo (type 7	)			

"... "When you close your eyes speaking to your God, this imminent drowning of us (excl.) won't happen," they stated and said."

### The clitic = a/suffix - a 'subjunctive' expressing purpose

The same vowel harmony rule (VH Rule 8), which comes into play with the prospective aspect -adi, also applies to a purpose construction triggered by =a/-a 'subjunctive'. Probably the two morphemes are related. However, whereas the aspect suffix, as described above, functions in the final verb, this purpose construction is part of the medial verb system. This morpheme functions in all other contexts as an enclitic, but here it seems more natural to analyse it as a suffix, and it will be so marked.

33) <u>A</u> = me moso taga-l-a-moû hebe mo-l-ôû, <u>a</u> = me moso togo-l-o ls=TOP house make-IRR-SUBJ-PFV tree get-IRR-NPST ls=TOP house make-IRR-FUT ikoke mei. nail NEG 'Planning to build a house, I get the timber and I have no house building nails.'

## 2.7.2 Minor vowel harmony

Though vowel harmony across morpheme boundaries is mainly seen in the conjugation of verbs, it does occur in a few other places, following similar rules. The triggering morpheme then is often a case clitic or a perfective suffix. The suffix -gV 'object focus' may also trigger vowel harmony. Vowel harmony may be found in compounded words, too.

### $e \rightarrow a \text{ in } ke$ 'that', =*me* 'topic marker'

### ke 'that'

The demonstrative pronoun /k $\tilde{\epsilon}$ / 'that', followed by the clitic /=h $\tilde{a}$ / 'GEN' will change to /k $\tilde{a}$ /.

ka = ha 'controlling agent/because of/temporal marking'

that=GEN

The pronominal topic marker  $=m\epsilon/$ , when followed by the clitic  $=h\tilde{a}/$  'GEN' will change to =ma/. This combination is always preceded by a demonstrative pronoun. If this pronoun is  $/k\tilde{\epsilon}/$  the vowel will change to /a/.

**ka** = **ma** = h**a** 'that controlling agent' (\*kemeh**a**) that=TOP=GEN

### $\mathbf{e} \rightarrow \mathbf{o}$ in *de* 'pro-verb', *ke* 'that'

### de 'pro-verb'

The pro-verb  $/d\epsilon/$  when followed by the suffix /-mo/ 'perfective' will change to  $/d\sigma/$ . This is, however, only reflected in writing, if preceded by the enclitic =a 'subjunctive' <sup>41</sup> in a purpose construction or by =e 'optative' in a warning construction.

= a + do-mou 'in order to' =SUBJ+PROV-PFV = e#do-mou 'lest/it would not be good' =OPT#PROV-PFV

### ke 'that'

The demonstrative pronoun /k $\tilde{\epsilon}$ / 'that', followed by the clitic /-ko/ 'LOC' will change to /kɔ/.<sup>42</sup>

**ko = kôu** 'there' that=LOC

### The suffix -gi 'object focus'

The object focus suffix, a kind of transitiviser, is -gV, where V is i, u or  $\hat{ou}$ . The vowel <u>does not</u> vary in harmony with the verb root vowel(s), but seems to be arbitrary. However, for a few verb roots, mostly stative ending in a or o, the object suffix is -gi. Following rules of vowel harmony the non-front vowels in the roots change to e.

tafala	'stand'	t <b>e</b> f <b>e</b> -gi	'put someone in a standing position'
biyo	'sit up/down'	biy <b>e</b> -gi	'place someone in a sitting position'

### Word compounding

Word compounding may also trigger vowel harmony.

$maga + u \rightarrow$	<i>mogou</i> 'mouth'	kom <u>a</u> +di <u>a</u>	$\rightarrow$	kamadia 'three' <sup>43</sup>
jaw+hole		middle.finger+3PL		

## 2.7.3 Vowel fronting in locative adverbs

In some locative adverbs, derived from nouns and followed by the derivational suffix -*le* 'approximate locativiser', the last vowel of the derived noun is fronted in one way or another. See 3.1.2.1 DEICTIC SUFFIXES: Set III -*le*. Possibly the same thing happens preceding the exact locativiser -*li*. Unfortunately I have no clear data to support this hypothesis.

34)	† <b>₫-le</b> <sup>44</sup> = kôu	† <u>o</u>	'river'
	river-A.LOCR=LOC		
	'into the river'		
35)	$Godi = h\underline{a} dih\underline{i} - le = k\hat{o}u$ $God = GEN eye - A \cdot LOCR = LOC$ 'before the face of God'	dih <u>o</u>	'eye'
36)	<i>agudi-le</i> + <i>tôu</i> sky-a.locr+up 'up in the sky'	agudio	'sky'

36

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> In the data there are also a few instances of the purpose suffix -*a* 'subjunctive' at the end of a verb form, followed by the pro-verb *domôu*: -*a*#*domôu* -subJ-PROV-PFV

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Nasalisation is lost in this particular form of this word. See 2.7.6 DE-NASALISATION BEFORE /g/, /l/ AND /k/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> For whatever reason, this word looses the nasalisation of its parts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>Nasalisation spreads from the noun but is unmarked in the orthography, as it is totally predictable.

On locative adverbs, derived from locative roots, fronting affects the whole word and has a special meaning, namely that the person addressed is in the general area referred to. The locative adverbial root governs the height of the vowel.<sup>45</sup> (see 4.8.3 LOCATIVE ADVERBS (towards the end).

- 37) Mg bolo to ilo be-ke-le fogo-u. //bôu-ku-le ls.poss ball river part other.side-DEMR.N-A.LOCR leave.for.NFUT || O.S.-DEMR.N-A.LOCR 'I lost my ball on the other side of the river.' || (basic form) (speaking to someone in that general area)
- 38) Kuguo di-ki-le ka. //du-ku-le paper inside-DEMR.N-A.LOCR look.for ||ins.-DEMR.N-A.LOCR 'Look for the book inside.' || (basic form) (speaking to someone inside the house)

## 2.7.4 Vowel epenthesis & vowel deletion in connection with the quote verbs

There is one kind of vowel epenthesis and two of vowel deletion.

### All quote verbs

The semivowel /j/ is inserted before the cliticising quote verbs =ode 'state/say', =ede 'direct/instruct' and =ade 'assert'.

39)	g dabai dege-l-e ls work do-IRR-FUT ' I said (I) was tired of	<i>dafa=ode-i</i> rtired.of=IQV-NFUT	(basic morphemes)
40)	Dihi k <u>o</u> ̂u=me <u>e</u>	adioû = h <u>a</u> hu <u>ei</u> doû i = <b>y</b> ede-moû	
		i=ede-moîu	(basic morphemes)
	child this=TOP 3s	mother=gen water draw go=oqv-pfv	
	'Concerning this child, hi	is mother having told him to get water,'	
41)	duo kasa <u>gai</u> =ye	hagu-l-u= <b>y</b> ade tawa-l-e-môu.	
		hagu-l-u=ade	(basic morphemes)
	spirit bad=INS	come-IRR-NFUT=SQV know-IRR-FUT-PFV	
	" they having thought a	n evil spirit must be coming'	
Vowel delet	ion in – <i>be</i> 'tonic marker	* & =do 'intensifier' preceding =ade 'assert'	
	-	=do 'intensifier' are deleted preceding $=ade$ 'assert'.	
	_		
42)	- 0 -	duwo-ma=b=ado-môu.	
		duwo-ma=b <b>e</b> =ado-môu	(basic morphemes)
	2PL=TOP good.do	sit-DU/PL=TOP=SQV-PFV	
	" in order for you to have	ve a good life/sit well.'	
43)	$Godi = be \underline{a} = bo\hat{u} + de$	e dala=d=ade tawa-i.	
		dala=d <b>o</b> =ade	(basic morphemes)
	God=TOP 1s=and+PR	ROV be/have=INT=SQV know-NFUT	

'... (I) knew for sure that God must be with me.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> However, as there is no front vowel corresponding to the close-mid vowel /o/, written  $\langle \hat{ou} \rangle$ , the fronted vowel comes out as  $\langle \epsilon \rangle$ , written as  $\langle e \rangle$ .

## 2.7.5 Nasalisation of topic marker

When the topic marker follows a nasalised pronoun the initial b/b/b of this enclitic changes to m/b/b. Following a nasalised noun, this does not occur.

<u>a</u> =me	'1SG'	k <u>o</u> û = <b>m</b> e	'this'
n <u>a</u> = <b>m</b> e	'2sg'	k <u>e</u> = <b>m</b> e	'that'
<u>e</u> = <b>m</b> e	'3sg'		
ele =be	'1DU.EX'	o = <b>b</b> e	'(the) man'
da =be	'1du.in'	sas <u>ai</u> = <b>b</b> e	'(the) woman'
nele =be	'2DU'		
dilie =be	'3du'		
ei =be	'1pl.ex'		
di =be	'1pl.in'		
n <u>i</u> = <b>m</b> e	'2pl'		
di <u>a</u> = <b>m</b> e	'3pl'		

## 2.7.6 De-nasalisation before /g/, /l/ and /k/

When the demonstrative pronouns  $k\underline{ou}$  'this' and  $\underline{ke}$  'that' are followed by the suffixes -le/-li 'approximate/exact locativiser' and -ge 'verbaliser' the nasalisation is lost. The same happens when the clitic  $=k\overline{ou}$  'locativiser' follows.

<b>kôu-le</b> this-A.LOCR	'here'	<b>ke-</b> le that-A.LOCR	'there'
<b>kôu-le-ge</b> this-A.LOCR-VBR	'be/do like this here'	<b>ke-le-ge</b> that-A.LOCR-VBR	'be/do like that there'
<b>kôu-g(u)e</b> this-VBR(BLTV)	'be/do like this'	<b>ke</b> -ge that-VBR	'be/do like that'
<b>kuo</b> =kôù this=LOC	'here'	$ko = ko\hat{u}$ that=LOC	'there'

For the forms kuokou 'here' and kokou 'there' see 4.8.2.1 THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS kou 'this' AND ke 'that' and 2.7.2 MINOR VOWEL HARMONY respectively.

This de-nasalisation also happens for at least some nasal verbs, when the root is followed by a suffix starting with /g/.

44)	<u>ти</u>	<b>mu-g</b> u	<b>mu-g</b> ua
	go.down	go.down-or	go.down-DU/PL
	'go down'	'let down/let go'	'go down du/pl.'

Also, when the genitive clitic  $=h\underline{g}$  is followed by the independent possessive enclitic =le, the nasalisation is lost. See 3.6.1.5 THE INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE ENCLITIC.

## 2.8 Spelling rules

The spelling of Konai words is usually phonemic. However, there are a few exceptions.<sup>46</sup> The following spelling rules state rules of over- and under-differentiating, rules of convention and rules where a phonetic form is preferred over a phonemic form as a base for writing. I also give reasons for certain orthographic choices here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Over the years we have studied how mother-tongue speakers of Konai write their own language. This has sometimes been done rather informally, e.g. by just looking how people write stories, letters or songs. Sometimes, especially in the beginning, we set up formal test situation. The spelling of Konai words in this grammar and the *Konai New Testament* (2014) has been harmonized.

# 2.8.1 Consonants – spelling of /l/ and /j/

/[/	[ŋ]	word initially, incl. clitics		<n></n>	over-differentiating, based on testing <sup>47</sup>
		<nal<u>ai&gt;</nal<u>	/ <b>l</b> ãlãĩ/	[ <b>n</b> ຼə̄'ŋãĩ]	'wrote'
		< <b>n</b> ogo>	/ <b>L</b> ogo/	[ <b>n</b> ˈɔˈɡɔ]	'your friend'
		<bol<u>o=nôu&gt;</bol<u>	/bɔ̃Įɔ̃Įo/	[blɒ̃ˈ <b>n</b> o]	'good=only'
	[ɾ], [ŋ],	, [1]		<l></l>	elsewhere
		<toloîu></toloîu>	/tolo/	[tro]	'hold.NPST'
		<mu<b>lo&gt;</mu<b>	/mũ <b>l</b> ̃)/	[mũ <sup>1</sup> <b>n</b> ũ̃)	'go down.FUT'
		⟨i <b>l</b> e⟩	/ilɛ/	[ɛ <b>l</b> iˈæ]	'go.FUT'
		<sele></sele>	/sele/	[se' <b>r</b> æ]	'money'
/j/	[I]	[I] inter-vocalically and word initially before V		<b>⟨y</b> ⟩	conforming to PNG languages
		<hu<b>ya&gt;</hu<b>	/hu <b>j</b> a/	[hu'ıa]	'palm tree sp.'
		<ye></ye>	/ <b>j</b> ε/	[Iæ]	'stringbag'

## 2.8.2 Vowels – spelling of /o/ and of initial $[\Lambda]$

/o/ [o] <ôu>

Mother-tongue speakers perceive this phoneme as a glide, which they want to write  $\langle ou \rangle$ , but as it contrasts with a real /ou/, it needs to be distinguished, and this is the symbol we came up with.

	<toboû></toboû>	/tobo/	[tʌ'β0]	'say'	
	<tobou></tobou>	/tobou/	[tʌ'βου]	'say.NFUT/said'	
	[ə], [Λ], [-] precedin with /o/		<b><o></o></b>	common consent	
	<toboû></toboû>	/t <b>o</b> bo/	[ta'bo]	'say'	*t <b>ôu</b> boîu
	<doloîu></doloîu>	/dˈolo/	[dro]	'draw.NPST (water)'	*d <b>ôu</b> loîu
/V/	[ <b>A</b> ] word in	itially	<b>⟨a⟩</b>	usually; based on testin	g

Due to vowel harmony mother-tongue speakers interpret a word medial  $[\Lambda]$  as the same vowel as in the following syllable. There is no reason to think that a word initial  $[\Lambda]$  would be anything else. However, a majority when tested write this vowel as  $\langle a \rangle$ .

<b>⟨a</b> bog <u>o</u> ̂u⟩	/õbõgõ/	[ãßə̈'gõ]	'foot'	
<b>⟨a</b> gu⟩	/ <b>u</b> gu/	[ <b>ʌ</b> ˈɡu]	'bamboo'	
<b>⟨a</b> m <u>a</u> ⟩	/ãmã/	[ĩıˈmã]	ʻfill'	
<oguo></oguo>	/ <b>ə</b> guə/	$[\mathbf{\Lambda}^{I}\mathbf{g}^{w}\mathbf{D}]$	'moon'	(an exception)

## 2.8.3 Diphthongs – spelling of /ou/ and /ou/

/00/	[oʊ]	word finally		<ou></ou>	under-differentiating, based on testing		
/ວບ/	[บต]	word finally		<ou></ou>			
We have found <u>few minimal</u> pairs.							
		<hou></hou>	/h <b>ou</b> /	[h <b>ou</b> ]	'taro'		
		<hou></hou>	/h <b>əu</b> /	[h <b>ə</b> u]	'seedling'		
		<d<b>ou&gt;</d<b>	/d្ <b>ou</b> /	[d̪oʊ]	'fire'		
		<di<b>ou&gt;</di<b>	/d̯iõŭ/	[ថ្ <sup>i</sup> p̃]	'mosquito'		

<sup>47</sup> Rule and Woodyard 1985.

## 2.8.4 Bleed-through – how to spell

Bleed-through is a high vowel bleeding through into the next syllable on either side. <u>Left bleed-through</u>: basic rule: <u>not written</u>; mother-tongue speakers <u>mostly unaware</u> of it

<ba<u>gagi&gt;</ba<u>	/bãgãgi/	[bə̃gãĭˈgi]	'tie it'
<tahol<u>u&gt;</tahol<u>	/t̪ə̃hə̃lū/	['ță'hõ <b>ʊ</b> 'ŋũ]	'shoot.NFUT' 48

Verb type 7 in present tense is an exception, e.g. *togo-u-l-u* 'make-BLTV-IRR-NFUT'.

<togo<b>ulu&gt;</togo<b>	/t̪əɡəl̪u/	[tɔɡɔʊ'[u]	'make.NFUT (something)'	
Right bleed-through: basic rule		<b>nouns</b> /non-verbs – <u>written</u> , mother-tongue speakers <u>aware</u> <b>verbs</b> – <u>not written</u> , mother-tongue speakers <u>mostly unaware</u>		
<kuis<b>iai&gt;</kuis<b>	/kuisaı/	[k <sup>w</sup> i's <b>i</b> a1]	'iron wood'	
<sile></sile>	/silɛ/	[si'[ <b>i</b> æ]	'cook.FUT'	

### 2.8.5 Vowel harmony – spelling of a few exceptions

Vowel harmony is actually a feature of the word and the spelling is phonemic. However, in spelling of verbs that have been affixed, the spelling is sometimes morphologically based, reflecting the spelling of the un-affixed stem. Only type 2, 3 and 6 verbs expressing present tense, prospective aspect and purpose are affected by this spelling rule.

Present ten	se						
<hebe></hebe>	'carry'	hebe-l-i	'carry-IRR-NFUT'	<hebeli></hebeli>	/h <b>i</b> bili/	[hʌˈβə[i]	type 2
<b>⟨gasa⟩</b>	'stalk'	gasa-l-u	'stalk-IRR-NFUT'	⟨g <b>a</b> solu⟩	/g <b>ə</b> səlu/	[ɡəsɒʊˈlu]	type 3
However	the proverb	de and the que	ote verbs – <i>ode</i> 'st	ate/sav' – <b>ede</b>	'direct/instruc	t' –ade 'asse	ert' (type ? verbs) are

However, the proverb de and the quote verbs =ode 'state/say', =ede 'direct/instruct', =ade 'assert' (type 2 verbs) are spelled phonemically, e.g. <=odili>'is saying'.

Prospective	e aspect						
<dege></dege>	'do'	dege-l-adi	'do-IRR-PROS' <sup>49</sup>	<degeladi></degeladi>	/d̪agalad̪i/	[d̪əˈg[ad̪i]	type 2
<toboû< td=""><td>'speak'</td><td>tobou-l-adi</td><td>'speak-IRR-PROS</td><td>' <b><toboû< b="">ladi&gt;</toboû<></b></td><td>/ţ<b>a</b>baladi/</td><td>[tʌˈb[adi]</td><td>type 6</td></toboû<>	'speak'	tobou-l-adi	'speak-IRR-PROS	' <b><toboû< b="">ladi&gt;</toboû<></b>	/ţ <b>a</b> baladi/	[tʌˈb[adi]	type 6
Purpose							
<dege></dege>	'do'	dege-l-a	'do-IRR-SUBJ'	<degela></degela>	/d̪agala/	[d̪əˈgl̪a]	type 2
<tobôu></tobôu>	'speak'	toboû-l-a	'speak-IRR-SUBJ'	<tob<b>oula&gt;</tob<b>	/t̪abala/	[tʌˈbla]	type 6

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 48}$  Rules of vowel harmony also apply (see 2.7.1.1 Vowel harmony in final verbs).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> That is: 'just about to ...'.

## 2.8.6 Nasalisation - how to write

Nasalisation contrasts on grammatical word level, not on syllable level.

A word is either nasal or non-nasal (1-10)

A clitic is either nasal or non-nasal (7-10)

Tense suffixes take their nasalisation, if any, from the stems they are attached to (5, 6)

In loan words, nasalisation may stop in the middle of a word (11)

A nasalised word is marked on the last vowel or diphthong. The symbol used is an <u>underline</u>. This is a remnant from the days of APCM/ECP(NG), which the speakers of the language have chosen to keep in preference to a word final  $\langle n \rangle$ .

NO.	BASIC FORM <sup>50</sup>	GLOSS	ORTHOGRAPHY	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC
1	dih <b>o</b>	'eye'	<dih<b>o&gt;</dih<b>	/dīĥõ/	[d̪ĭˈhõ]
2	miy <u>e</u>	'fish'	<miy<u>e&gt;</miy<u>	/mĩjẽ/	[mĩ.'ữ]
3	bol <u>o</u>	'good'	<bol<u>o&gt;</bol<u>	/bɔ̃Įɔ̃/	[blõ]
4	s <u>o</u> û	'open'	<s<u>ôu&gt;</s<u>	/sõ/	[sõ]
5	s <b>où</b> -l-où	'open-IRR.NPST'	⟨sol <b>ôu</b> ⟩	/sõĮõ/	[sõ'ŋõ]
6	am <b>a</b> -i	'fill-NFUT'	<am<u>ai&gt;</am<u>	/ãmãĩ/	[ĩ'mãĩ]
7	Godi=h <b>a</b>	'God=GEN'	⟨Godi <b>h<u>a</u>⟩</b>	/gɔd̯ihã/	[gɔˈd̯ihã]
8	ey <u>e</u> =h <u>a</u>	'older brother=GEN'	<eyeha></eyeha>	/ẽjẽhã/	[ẽˈĩæ̃hã]
9	$ta = no\hat{u} = f\underline{ei}$	'INDF=only=total'	≺tanôuf <u>ei</u> >	/taloqei/	[tano'qei]
10	mos <b>o</b> =koîu	'house=LOC'	≺mos <b>o</b> koîu>	/mõsõko/	[mə̃sɒ̃'ko]
11	wai d <b>o</b> ki	'(pig) donkey'	≺wai d <b>o</b> ki≻	/waı dõki/	[vaı d̥ə̈'ki]

## 2.8.7 Tone - not written

Phonemic tone is not written. There are a few minimal pairs where tone is the only difference, but context usually solves this potential problem.

<awa></awa>	/awà/	[∧ ⁄′∪a ∖ ]	'black palm'
<awa></awa>	/awá/	[∧'∪ɑ ↗ ]	'fish sp.'
<doîuwa></doîuwa>	/dowà/	[d̥o'ʊa ↘]	'hornbill'
<doîuwa></doîuwa>	/dowá/	[do ≥ 'ua ↗]	'cooking fork'

## 2.8.8 Spelling of Tok Pisin proper names

The following letters are also used in spelling Tok Pisin proper names:  $\langle j \rangle$ ,  $\langle J \rangle$ ,  $\langle r \rangle$ ,  $\langle R \rangle$ ,  $\langle v \rangle$ ,  $\langle V \rangle$ .

<Jon> <Gebriel> <Devit>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Written in orthography.

# 3. MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

The term 'morphological process' is used in accordance with Payne (1997:376). For Payne a '**morphological process'** is a structural process regardless of function, e.g. suffixation. He contrasts this with the '**morphological operation'**, which is a language specific function signalled by one structure or another, e.g. plural formation in English. This terminology has been adopted in this chapter.

Konai is an agglutinative language. Suffixation is by far the most common morphological process. Prefixation is rare, as is suppletion. Compounding is not very common. Zero formation is the use of certain verb forms for other things than verbs, and it is not very common, either. Reduplication functioning on word level is not unusual, nor is the syntactic process of repetition, functioning on phrase and clause level. Cliticisation, which functions on phrase, sentence and discourse level, is a very common process.

	PROCESS	TYPE & FREQUENCY	PART OF SPEECH INVOLVED	OPERATION
٠	affixation	suffixes, common	verbs	number, transitivity, TAM (inflectional)
			deictic words, nouns	deictic (derivational)
			minimal clauses, a few nouns	locative nominalisation (derivational)
			two demonstrative pronouns, two question words	verbalising (derivational)
			body part nouns	numeralising (derivational)
			pronouns	additional meaning (derivational)
		prefixes, rare	a few kinship nouns	inalienable possession (derivational)
			a few verbs	directional (inflectional)
٠	suppletion	rare	an occasional noun, a few verbs	non-singular
•	compounding		various words	various meanings
٠	zero formation	Ø	some verbs	nominalisation
•	reduplication	partial mostly	verbs	plural, incl. iterative aspect
		partial/whole	a few nouns	plural
•	repetition	whole	verbal phrases	reciprocity
		whole/partial	clauses	emphasis or explanation
•	cliticisation	enclitics, common	phrase	case, limiters, intensifier, joining, independent possessive
			sentence	illocutionary force
			discourse	topic, contrastive focus, contrast

# 3.1 Affixation

Affixation is the most common morphological process used in the Konai language. Suffixes are much more common than prefixes. Infixes do not occur.

## 3.1.1 Verbal suffixation

All inflectional suffixes function in the verb. In this part of the paper the emphasis is on final verbs, if nothing else is said.

First order	Second order	Third order	Fourth order	Fifth order
number	mood	tense	medial verb aspects	medial verb aspects
transitivity		aspect	sequential	perfective
		purpose		
		number (deontic)		

## 3.1.1.1 First order verbal suffixes

First order verbal suffixes in the verb are used to express number and transitivity.<sup>51</sup>

		absolutive marking:4.1.6 NUMBERrefers to the subject of intransitive verbsrefers to the object of transitive verbs				
	-gua	'dual/plural'		ential state		
	-Se	'dual/plural'	refer	s to the ob	ject of some transitive	e verbs
	<i>-sie</i> <sup>52</sup>	'dual/plural'	a fev	v intransiti	ve, mostly motion ver	bs
Transitivity	<i>-gV</i> <sup>[+high]53</sup>	'object focus'	refer	s to singul	ar entities only	4.1.7 OBJECT FOCUS
Number						
45)	folo- <b>ga</b>	dege- <b>ga</b>	du	wo- <b>gua</b>	hagua- <b>sie</b>	hebe- <b>se</b>
	go.up-DU/PL	do-du/pl	si	t-DU/PL	come-DU/PL	carry-DU/PL
	'go up (du./pl.)	do many things	sit	(du./pl.)	come (du./pl.)	carry <b>many things</b> '
Transitivity						
46)	<i>tafala</i> stand			<i>tefe-gi</i> stand-o	ЭF	
	'stand'			'make so	meone stand'	
47)	<i>bi sa</i> thing put.i: 'put things into (a		eral	<i>kuguo</i> paper 'put a lette	<i>sa-gi</i> put.inside-of er into (e.g. a mailbag)	)' — specific

## 3.1.1.2 Second order verbal suffixes

Second order verbal suffixes are used to express mood.

Mood	(epistemic)	Ø - -	'realis' 'irrealis'	4.1.5.1 Epistemic mood
	(deontic)	Ø -me -da	'imperative' 'hortative' 'prohibitive'	4.1.5.5 DEONTIC MOOD

The hortative and prohibitive suffixes may co-occur, in which case the prohibitive suffix precedes the hortative (52).

## **Epistemic mood**

48)	dege-Ø-i	dege- <b>l</b> -i	dege- <b>l</b> -e	dege- <b>l</b> -i	mei
	do-real-nfut	do-irr-nfut	do-irr-fut	go-IRR-NFUT	NEG
	'did'	'is doing'	'will do'	'did not do'	

#### **Deontic mood**

> до-новт **'Let's** go.'

51) *I-da.* go-proн **'Don't** go.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> The first order verbal suffixes could also have been analysed as derivational suffixes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Foothill and Mountain dialects have *-sige*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> The vowel in this suffix is -i, -u or  $-\hat{ou}$ . The choice seems arbitrary and does not follow rules of vowel harmony.

- 52) *I-da-me.* go-proн-ногт **'Let's no**t go.'
- 53) <u>Mi</u> hagua-sie-da-ma. 2PL COME-DU/PL-PROH-DU/PL '**Don't** come (du./pl.).'

The hortative suffix -*me*, the prohibitive suffix -*da* and the third order verbal suffix -*ma* 'dual/plural' (in imperative) may co-occur with the quote verbs =e + de (=OPT+PROV) 'direct/instruct' and =a + de (=SUBJ+PROV) 'assert' (see 4.1.1.3 QUOTE VERBS).

### 3.1.1.3 Third order verbal suffixes

Third order verbal suffixes are used to express tense<sup>54</sup>, aspect and one kind of purpose. Non-singular in imperative and prohibitive mood is also expressed by a third order verbal suffix.

Tense	(statement)	-i/-u -e/-o -ôu	'non-future' 'future' 'non-past' <sup>55</sup>	4.1.5.2 EPISTEMIC MOOD AND TENSE
	(content question)	-ou -e -o/-ôu	'past' (rare form) / 'future'	7.1.3.1.1 CONTENT QUESTIONS (same forms as for statements)
Aspect <sup>56</sup>		-di -adi	'habitual' 'prospective'	4.1.5.3 EPISTEMIC MOOD AND ASPECT
Purpose		-a	'subjunctive' <sup>57</sup>	7.3.3.2.2 "PURPOSING"
Number	(deontic)	Ø -ma	'singular' 'dual/plural 2/3 person' <sup>58</sup>	4.1.5.5 Deontic mood

### **Tense in statements**

In statements, in all verb types, non-future tense is marked by the suffix  $(-){i/u}$  (Verb types 1 and 5 are interpreted as inherently non-future forms, if, as here, the context so allows, as they end in a high vowel.)<sup>59</sup> In all verb types, except type 6, future tense is marked by the suffix  $-{e/o}$ .<sup>60</sup> Type 6 verbs have a non-past suffix  $-\hat{o}u$ , which contrast with its past tense suffix -u; this neutralizes the difference between present and future tense in that verb type.

The tense suffixes function together with the irrealis second order verbal suffix -/. The following examples show the most common conjugations of the seven verb types. The sub-types are not included but will be presented in 4.1.5.2.1 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR FINAL VERBS.

As can be seen in the examples, not only does vowel harmony affect the choice of suffix chosen. The suffixes also have certain effects on the stem (root in these examples), according to rules of vowel harmony (see APPENDIX I and 2.7.1.1 VOWEL HARMONY IN FINAL VERBS).

54) *i i-l-i i-l-e* go.NFUT go-IRR-NFUT go-IRR-FUT 'went, is going, will go' type 1: *i* 'go'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> In medial forms, the morphemes, which in final verbs express tense only, are portmanteau morphemes, expressing simultaneous versus sequential time, as well as same or different subject. See 7.3.1.1 SWITCH OF REFERENCE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Type 6 verbs: this  $\hat{ou}$  contrast with -*u* 'past', which is, however, glossed 'non-future' as -*u* has that meaning for other verb types.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Aspects marked by other constructions than suffixation are not included here but see 4.1.5.4 OTHER ASPECTS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Only in this context is -a 'subjunctive' interpreted as a suffix. In all other contexts it functions as a clitic. See 7.1.3. The subjunctive "suffix" -a and the prospective suffix -adi are related: -adi occurs only in final verbs and -a only in medial verbs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> This suffix is only used for third person in combination with the quote verbs =ede 'direct/instruct' (1318) (1476) and =ade 'assert' (293).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> An alternative interpretation is that when the suffix is identical with the last stem vowel, assimilation occurs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> But see 4.1.5.2.2 for medial verbs in relative future, where in verb types 3 & 4, an inherent stem final  $\alpha$  is what signals relative future.

55)	<i>bese-i bese-l-i</i> fish-NFUT fish-IRR-NFUT 'fished, is fishing, will fish'		type 2: <i>bese</i> 'fish' (verb)
56)	ka-iko-l-ucut-NFUTcut-IRR-N'cut, is cutting, will cut'	<i>ka-I-e</i> FUT CUT-IRR-FUT	type 3: <i>ka</i> 'cut'
57)	<i>die-i dio-l-u</i> break.off-NFUT break. 'broke off, is breaking off, will	<i>dia-l-e</i> off-irr-nfut break.off-irr-fut break off'	type 4: <i>dia</i> 'break off'
58)	dugudugu-l-udugu-l-usee-nfutsee-irr-nfutsee''saw, is seeing, will see'	0	type 5: <i>dugu</i> 'see'
59)	tobo-utobo-l-dsay-(PAST)/NFUTsay-IRF'said, is saying/will say'		type 6: <i>tob<b>ôu</b> 'say</i>
60)	<i>sege-i sogo-u-l-u</i> plant-NFUT plant-BLTV- 'planted, is planting, will plant	-	type 7: <i>sogo</i> 'plant

#### **Tense in content questions**

The past tense marker in content questions occurs with the irrealis mood. Future is the same as for statements. In these questions, the verb always occurs last, and there are no suffixes or enclitics following on the tense suffixes. In present tense, the subjuctive clitic = ya is used. One example is presented below (63), but see 7.1.3.

61)	<u>E</u> midih <u>o</u>	kasa <u>gai</u>	kage-i	k <u>e</u>	milôu-l- <b>ou</b> ?		
	3s face	bad	how-nfut	that	work-IRR-PAST.Q		
	<b>'How</b> has he	done/did h	ne do someth	ing bad	?'		
62)	<i>Midiho ka</i> - face how	•	- 0		ſ		
	'How will it happen?'						
63)	<b>N<u>a</u> k<u>e</u>i a</b> 2s what d	•					

'What are you doing?'

### Aspect

The aspect markers -di 'habitual' and -adi 'prospective' function only in final verbs. Habitual occurs with realis mood and prospective occurs with irrealis mood. These aspect markers do not co-occur with any tense markers.

- 64) *Hu<u>e</u>i to-Ø-di.* water wash-REAL-HAB 'It is **always** raining.'
- 65) *Hu<u>e</u>i to-l-adi.* water wash-IRR-PROS 'It is **just about to** rain.'

### Purpose

The subjunctive marker -a, meaning 'purpose' occurs only in medial verbs. It occurs with irrealis mood.

- 66) <u>A</u> sogo ga-l-a-môu dege-l-i. 1s breadfruit gather-IRR-SUBJ-PFV dO-IRR-NFUT 'I am trying to pick (a) breadfruit.'
- 67) <u>A</u> nele=mokôu ta tou tobôu-l-a-môu, a bi mei. 1s 2DU=LOC talk short say-IRR-SUBJ-PFV 1s things NEG 'I want to tell you a little (something); I don't have any (school) supplies.'

68) Jona dia mala ta-le = kôu hebe-l-e fila-l**-a** dege-i-mou, Jonah get.IRR.FUT river-A.LOCR=LOC carry-IRR-FUT throw-IRR-SUBJ do-NFUT-PFV 3PT. Godi=ha miye hiye=do ke tobou-mou hagua God=GEN fish big=INT that say-PFV come.FUT "... at the moment they wanted to take Jonah and carry him and throw him in the river, God sent a very big fish ...'

### Number

The suffix marking number is the non-singular suffix -ma 'dual/plural', used in deontic mood.

69)	n <u>a</u> dege	nele/n <u>i</u> dege- <b>ma</b>
	2s do	2du/2pl do-du/pl
	'you ( <b>sg.</b> ) do (it)'	'you ( <b>du./pl.</b> ) do (it)'

### 3.1.1.4 Fourth order verbal suffixes

Fourth order verbal suffixes comprise two medial verb suffixes, each expressing an aspect.

- -ma 'immediate sequence'
- -gi 'delayed sequence'

#### Medial verb suffix -ma 'immediate sequence'

The suffix *-ma* 'immediate sequence' is a medial verb suffix with telic meaning that indicates immediate sequence with the event described by the next verb. The two verbs have the same subject. This medial suffix is used for intransitive and weakly transitive verbs. An existential state verb needs a proverb to take this suffixation (74).

70)	₫	hu <u>ei</u>	doîu- <b>ma</b> ,	n <u>e</u>	mos <u>o</u> =kôu	i-l-e
	1s	water	draw-ISQ	2s.poss	house=LOC	go-IRR-FUT
	'Af	ter gettin	g water, I wil	l go to you	r house.'	

- 71) ele to to-l-o=yode-ma i.
  1DU.EX river wash-IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQ gO.NFUT
  '... after the two of us said (we) were going swimming, we went.'
- 72) <u>E</u> moso togo-ma-moû = be, <u>e</u> kili dala = di. 3s house build-ISQ-PFV=TOP 3s inside be/have-HAB 'After he had built (a) house, he lived inside (it).'
- 73) De = hg tahg-ma-môu maternal.uncle=GEN shoot-ISQ-PFV 'After uncle had shot at (the pig) ...'

74) Selbang=kou duwo de-ma, ise sa+ma haqua, finally put.inside+put come.FUT Selbang=LOC sit PROV-ISO hagua-**ma** hagua, Biangabip=kou duwo de-ma, ise finally rise-ISQ come.FUT Biangabip=Loc sit PROV-ISQ Kalai su=do ise Dahamo=kou kuhe haque-i. 0 sa + ma, Konai man many=INT put.inside+put finally Dahamo=LOC so come-NFUT "... finally, (I and my cargo were) put inside (a plane), and (I) came and after being (down) in Selbang, finally after taking off (I) came and after being (down) in Biangabip, a lot of Konai people (were) put inside, and so finally (I) came to Dahamo.'

46

What has just been said is the simple picture. In addition, there is a verb mg 'put' that is used in two serial verb constructions, making the main verb more transitive (see ENHANCED TRANSITIVITY: ... (5.1.3.8 and 5.1.3.9). It is also possible to read into at least one of these constructions with mg 'put' the more common Papuan interpretation of completiveness. The suffix -mg 'immediate sequence', described here, may also easily be said to mean 'completive', as it is telic.

In summary then, the medial suffix -ma 'immediate sequence' and the verb  $m\underline{a}$  'put' are probably related. Intransitive and weakly transitive verbs, when followed by  $-ma/ + m\underline{a}$ , <sup>61</sup> are interpreted as verbs with the immediate sequence suffix -ma attached. Highly transitive verbs are interpreted as main verbs followed by the verb  $m\underline{a}$  'put'. As the suffix -ma 'immediate sequence' signals that the following clause has the same subject, so does the auxiliary verb  $-m\underline{a}$  'put', as the last vowel is -a, a low vowel (see 4.1.5.2.2 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR MEDIAL VERBS).

Also, the suffix *-ma* 'immediate sequence' has a homophone, a third order verbal suffix with the meaning of 'dual/plural', used in imperative and prohibitive mood (see 3.7.1 HOMOPHONES *-ma* 'DU/PL' & *-ma* 'ISQ' ...).

### Medial verb suffix -gi 'delayed sequence'

The suffix -gi 'delayed sequence' is used on the verb when it describes an event that goes on until the next event commences, at which time the prior event stops, i.e. this suffix is also telic. If this suffix occurs, it is always the last suffix of the verb and it is preceded by the irrealis mood suffix -l and the non-future suffix  $-\{i/u\}$  or non-past suffix  $-o\hat{u}$ . A clause with a verb with this suffix always has a clause with the same subject following, but another clause with another subject may come between.

75) Pasta  $Motousi = bo\hat{u} = bo\hat{u} + de sa$ Dahamo toufoqou yo-l-u-gi, Motousi=and 1s=and+prov land Dahamo leave pastor qo.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT-DSQ Mende=kou duwo de-ma, haba haqua-ma yo-l-u-gi, Mende=Loc prov-isg but.pfv.irr rise-isg go.du/pl-irr-nfut-dsg sit sa hu = beUkarumpa = koîu mu-qua-i. е name=TOP Ukarumpa=LOC land 3s go.down-DU/PL-NFUT 'Pastor Motousi and I left Dahamo, going on until Mende, after sitting down (there and) after going up again, we went on until we went down at a place called Ukarumpa.' Afu ke+dia=mokou biyo-l-u-**a**i, 76) dia gamani ilo ke-le 0 earlier 3pl government that+3pl=Loc fight-IRR-NFUT-DSQ man part that-A.LOCR tofiqe-i. die.du/pl-NFUT 'Earlier, they had been fighting with the government people until some men had died.' 77) Isaac = ha...mowi i. I-I-i-qi, (so ka = hawai tigo-u-mou) hunt go.NFUT go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ dog that=GEN pig bark-NFUT-PFV Isaac=gen ... i-l-e dugu=be go-IRR-FUT see.NFUT=TOP

'Isaac went hunting. He went on until (his dog barked at which time) he went on and saw that ...'

In the dialect described in this grammar, the Lowland dialect, this suffix is not used with existential state verbs, which use only -l-i (IRR-NFUT). It also has a dialectally variant form -di. (All variants are described in 3.7.2 VARIANTS ...)

Toqo-ma dala-**l-i**, 78) sosi moso tege-i. church house make-NFUT make-iso be/have-irr-nfut sabe=kou kuhe boho-l-ou + ma i. е 3s home.ground=LOC so turn-IRR-NPST+put go.NFUT "... he built the church. After building the church he stayed on **until** he went back to his (own) land.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> It is often hard to hear whether this small part of speech is nasalised or not.

### 3.1.1.5 Fifth order verbal suffixes

Fifth order verbal suffixes comprise two medial verb suffixes, both of them expressing a perfective aspect.

Medial verb suffixes	-moû	'perfective realis'	see 7.3.1.2 SWITCH OF SCENE
	-ba	'perfective <b>ir</b> realis'	

Both these medial suffixes indicate that a new scene will develop. This new scene may involve a new activity only (79) or a different subject (80). The suffix *-moû* 'perfective (realis)' occurs when the event/state spoken about is present or past. The suffix *-ba* 'perfective **ir**realis' occurs when the event/state is future or hypothetic.

The fourth order verbal suffix -ma 'immediate sequence' may precede either.

The enclitics = be 'topic marker' and = si 'contrast marker'<sup>62</sup> interact with these two suffixes to give different shades of meaning.

79) Hagua-sige, moso=kôu fele-ga-môu, miye sa si-l-e come-DU/PL house=LOC come.up-DU/PL.FUT-PFV fish put.inside.FUT cook-IRR-FUT 'We came and having arrived at the house, (we) put the fish in (a pan) and cooked it and ...'

80)	E	hebe	ha-i	wai=ye	n <u>o</u> - <u>u</u> - <b>môu</b>	dugu	
	3s	tree	cut-NFU1	pig=INS	eat-NFUT-PFV	see.	NFUT
	<b>'He</b> saw	<b>a pig</b> e	ating (in) th	ne garden.'			
81)	<i>M<u>a</u></i> ls.poss		/ _	<i>dugu</i> look.nfut	<i>tobo-l-ou,<sup>63</sup></i> say-irr-npst	<i>da</i> 1du.in	<i>dôuwa</i> hornbill
	wa-l-a-ba i-me=be=ede-i. attack-IRR-SUBJ-PFV.IRR gO-HORT=TOP=OQV-NFUT						
	'My frien (he) sugg			id, "Let us two	o <b>go</b> for the purpos	e of <b>kill</b> in	ng the hornbill,"

The suffix -ba 'perfective irrealis', indicating future or hypothetic events and states, may sometimes be translated 'when' or 'if'. It is used in conditionals (see 7.3.3.3 CONDITION). It is also part of certain temporal adverbs indicating future, where -ba cannot be separated from the word (see 4.5.3 TEMPORAL ADVERBS).

82) *Do dala-ba, i-l-e mei.* sickness be/have-pfv.IRR go-IRR-FUT NEG '**If/While** (I) am sick/there is sickness, (I) won't go.'

- 83) Ne so hiye dege-ba wai wo-l-o. 2s.poss dog big do-pfv.irr pig attack-irr-fut 'Your dog having become big will kill pigs.'
- 84) **Ke-ge-ba** <u>ni</u> <u>g</u>=mokôu tobo-l-ôu</u> that-vbr-pfv.IRR 2pl 1s=Loc say-IRR-NPST '**When having** become like that, you will say to me ...'
- 85) *idiba* tomorrow

'tomorrow'

Some clauses, expressed as perfective, take -ba 'perfective **irrealis**, not  $-m\hat{o}u$  'perfective realis', even when leading up to a final clause, where the verb is in the past tense. In the following example, the -ba on the verb in the first clause, is leading up to a hypothetic and medial purpose clause. The sentence is then finished off with a final verb in past tense.

 $<sup>^{62}</sup>$  No examples here, but see 3.6.3 DISCOURSE ENCLITICS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> The verb *tobo-l-ou* (say-IRR-NPST) is a medial verb in this context with the meaning 'say and ...'.

86) Yo=be dilie Kalai ta boho-l-ou-ba, Godi=ha ta sibige ke base=TOP 3DU Konai talk turn-IRR-NPST-PFV.IRR God=GEN talk essence that

ei t<u>a</u>=ye dogogu-**I-a-mo**û.

1PL.EX talk=INS put-IRR-SUBJ-PFV

'... Because the two of them translate Konai words, "**purposing**" to put (down) the meaning of God's Word by using our words.'

## 3.1.2 Non-verbal suffixation

Non-verbal suffixation is all **derivational**, as these suffixes make the suffixed words change word class. There are several derivational deictic suffixes but only one each of a locative nominalising suffix, a verbalising suffix and a numeralising suffix.

## 3.1.2.1 Deictic suffixes

There are several deictic suffixes. They can be divided into three classes based on distribution:

### **Deictic suffixes attaching to demonstratives**

First order (Set I)	Second order (Set II)
demonstrativisers	locativisers

### Locative suffixes attaching to nominals (Set III)

locativisers

The locativisers listed in Set II and III are mostly the same but not quite.

## Set I

Demonstrative suffixes	-ku	'near demonstrativiser'	
	-gu	'distant demonstrativiser'	

These two suffixes function with demonstrative adverbial roots, meaning 'upriver', 'downriver', 'up', 'down' etc.

môu- <b>ku</b>	'this down below'	то̂и- <b>ди</b>	'that down below'
tôu- <b>ku</b>	'this up here'	tôu- <b>gu</b>	'that up there'
bu- <b>ku</b>	'this upriver'	bu- <b>gu</b>	'that upriver'
u- <b>ku</b>	'this downriver'	u- <b>gu</b>	'that downriver'
bôu- <b>ku</b>	'this across here'	bôu- <b>gu</b>	'that across there'
du- <b>ku</b>	'this inside here'	du- <b>gu</b>	'that inside there'

These forms do not occur much in isolation. The only two examples we have are the following, occuring with the topic marker.<sup>64</sup> In the first example the bird is further up than in the second example.

- 87) *tou-gu=me* up-DEMR.D=TOP 'that up there, (I mean)'
- 88) *Tou-ku=me sio.* up-DEMR.N=TOP bird 'This up here is a bird.'

These demonstrative stems are usually further suffixed with one of the suffixes from Set II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> The allomorph of the topic marker implies that these two suffixes are nasalised, but they are not.

50 Set II

Locativising suffixes	-h <u>e</u>	'pointing locativiser'
on demonstratives	-le	'approximate locativiser'
	-li	'exact locativiser'

### Pointing locativiser -he

The suffix -he makes a demonstrative root or stem into a locative adverb, indicating pointing.

89) <u>A</u> ku-h<u>e</u>. 1s this-p.locr

'I am here (e.g. **pointing** to a photo).'

90) *môu-gu-he* 

down-demr.d-p.locr

'down there (pointing)'

## Approximate locativiser -/e

The suffix -/e makes a demonstrative root or stem into an approximate locative adverb.

- 91) *kôu-le* this-A.LOCR 'here (**somewhere**)'
- 92) *bu-gu-le* upriver-DEMR.D-A.LOCR '(**somewhere**) upriver'

The difference between the approximate locativiser *-le* and the exact locativiser *-li* will be commented on below under *-li* 'exact locativiser'.

### Exact locativiser -li

The suffix -*li* makes a demonstrative root or stem into an exact locative adverb. Whereas -*le* indicates the general area, -*li* indicates exactly where something is or happens.

A few examples follow; for full paradigms see 4.8.3 LOCATIVE ADVERBS.

<i>kôu-li</i> ' <b>right</b> (in) here' this-E.LOCR	<i>kou-le</i> 'here (somewhere)'
	<i>ke-le</i> 'there (somewhere)' that-A.LOCR
<i>ki-li</i> ' <b>right</b> inside' inside-E.LOCR	<i>ki-le</i> '(somewhere) inside' inside-A.LOCR
<i>kou-gu-li</i> 'somewhere <b>right</b> over there' somewhere-DEMR.D-E.LOCR	<i>kôu-gu-le</i> 'somewhere over there' somewhere-demr.d-a.locr
<i>môu-gu-li</i> 'right down there' down-demr.d-e.locr	<i>mou-gu-le</i> '(somewhere) down there' down-demr.d-a.locr
<i>tôu-gu-li</i> 'right up there' up-DEMR.D-E.LOCR	<i>tou-gu-le</i> '(somewhere) up there' up-demr.d-a.locr
93) <i>Kal<u>ai</u> sa kôu-li=be tewe</i> Konai land this-E.LOCR=TOP know	
<b>'Right</b> here in Konai land, there is no other child	l (with that kind of) knowledge.'
94) <u>E</u> moso togo-ma-môu=be, <u>e</u> ki-li 3s house make-ISQ-PFV=TOP 3s insid	<i>dala-di.</i> de-e.locr be/have-HAB
'When he had finished building the house, he sta	yed <b>right</b> inside there.'

95) moso ke dumu-moû = be, o su = do moso ki-le tia-sie-di house that finish-PFV=TOP man many=INT house inside-A.LOCR sleep-DU/PL-HAB '... when a house is finished, a lot of people sleep in there (i.e. they occupy any empty floor space they can find).'

- 96) dugu, haba bei ta hebe sugu tôu-gu-li=do duwo-môu dege-i see.NFUT but.PFV.IRR snake INDF tree top up-DEMR.D-E.LOCR=INT sit-PFV do-NFUT '... (we) also saw another snake being far up, **right** up there in (a) tree top, ...'
- 97) Yomogo-u=be o ka=ha asôu môu-gu-li=do dege da+ma-môu begin-NFUT=TOP man that=GEN ground down-DEMR.D-E.LOCR=INT do dig+put-PFV 'To start with, that man having dug **right** down into the ground there ...'

There is a similarity in shape between the locativising suffixes -le 'approximate locativiser' & -li 'exact locativiser' and

the verbal suffixes **-***I-e* irrealis-future/'**future tense**' & **-***I-i* irrealis-non-future/'**present tense**'. There may be a connection between a 'general/approximate locative area' and an uncertain 'future' on the one hand, and between an 'exact point in location' and a point in 'present' time on the other, but this has not been further studied.

### <u>Set III</u>

Locativising suffixes	-le	'approximate locativiser'	(same suffix as the second one in Set II but with
on nominals			slightly different traits)
	-li	'exact locativiser'	(same suffix as the third one in Set II but with
			slightly different traits)
	-ba	'along'	

These three suffixes make derived locative adverbs from nouns or nominal phrases.

### Approximate locativiser -/e

When *-le* functions as a locativiser of a nasalised noun, it too becomes nasalised. This is not written, however, as it is totally predictable.

- 98) hu<u>ei</u>-le = kôu water-A.LOCR=LOC 'in the water'
- 99)  $as\underline{o}-le = k\hat{o}u$ sun-A.LOCR=LOC'in(to) the sun'

The above nouns take the locative case marker in addition to the locativiser *-le*. Some nouns do not, however, or take other locative morphemes. In some nouns, the last vowel is fronted before *-le*.<sup>65</sup>

100)	kansoldih <b>i</b> -lecouncileye-A.LOCR'in front of the council'	dih <u>o</u>	'eye'
101)	<i>hebe</i> y <b>e-le</b> tree base-A.LOCR 'at the base of (a) tree'	уо	'base'
102)	<i>widi-le</i> + <i>tôu</i> head-A.LOCR+up 'on the head'	widio	'head'

### Exact locativiser -//

When -*li* functions as a locativiser of a nasalised noun, it too becomes nasalised. As with -*le* 'approximate locativiser' above, it is not written.

- 103) hu<u>ei</u>-li-kôu water-E.LOCR=LOC 'right in the water'
- 104) we-li=kôu sand-E.LOCR=LOC '**right** in the sand'

<sup>51</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> In some cases a back vowel is deleted (102).

### Locativiser -ba 'along'

This suffix has only been found referring to rivers and trails/ roads.

105)	Ke-ge	t <u>o</u> - <b>ba</b>	miy <u>e</u>	susu <u>a</u> -moîu	fe-l- <u>i</u> -gi		
	that-VBR	river-along	fish	dive.for-prv	come.up-IRR-NFUT-DSQ		
	'(He) did like that, diving for fish <b>along</b> the river and coming on until'						

106) Yesu=boû dia sa Jerusalem=koû ya-di a-ba ke Jesus=and 3PL land Jerusalem=Loc go.DU/PL-HAB road-along that

yo-l-u-gi

go.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT-DSQ

'Jesus and his followers went along the road that goes to Jerusalem until ...'

## 3.1.2.2 A locative nominaliser

#### Locative nominaliser -mi 'place'

The suffix -mi 'place' makes a minimal clause or a nominal phrase into a locative noun.

- 107) hebe ha-i-mi=kôu
  tree cut-NFUT-place=LOC
  'in (the) garden/(an) area of cut (down) trees'
- 108) mihi da-i-mi = kôu tila-l-e
  earth dig-NFUT-place=Loc lie.down-IRR-FUT
  '... (he) will sleep in (a) dug-out hole.'
- 109) *tie-i-mi* sleep-nFUT-place 'dream/**place** of sleep'
- 110) diou-mi+du
  canoe-place+inside
  '(the) space inside the canoe'

## 3.1.2.3 A verbalising suffix

The suffix -ge 'verbaliser', when suffixed to the demonstrative pronouns  $k\hat{ou}$ - 'this' or  $k\underline{e}$  'that', makes a verb. It is also part of the question words *koboge* 'when' and *kage* 'how', which are formally verbs in Konai.

## Verbaliser -ge

- 111) <u>E</u> kôu-g(u)e tobo-u, 3s this-vbr(BLTV) say-NFUT 'He said like this,...'
- 112) *Ke-ge*=yodi-l-i. that-vbr=iQv-irr-NFUT

'... He says like that.'

113) *Ke-ge-i dege-moû ...* that-vbr-NFUT do-PFV 'Because of having become like that ...'

114) Ke-ge-mou g i-l-e ... that-vbr-pfv ls go-irr-fut

'Having become like that/So/Then I went ...'

The question words that are verbs follow below. The word for 'why' is a medial verb form.

- 115) *koboge* when.vbr 'when'
- 116) *ka-ge* how-vbr 'how'

52

## 117) ka-**ge-**moû

how-vbr-pfv 'why'

The verbalising suffix -ge may also be attached to the derived locative forms: kôule 'here' and kele 'there'

118) koû-le-ge

this-A.LOCR-VBR

'be/do like this here' (showing size with hands)'

119) *ke-le-ge* that-A.LOCR-VBR 'be/do like that there'

120) g tewe moûu-l-i mei fogo-u. Ke-le-ge-moû, g fi+mg-j
1s know get-IRR-NFUTNEG leave.for-NFUT that-A.LOCR-VBR-PFV 1s soul+put-NFUT
hiye=do dege-i.
big=INT do-NFUT
'... not learning anything I left. Having become like that there, I thought a lot about it'. (Mountain dialect; this
form is not very common in the Lowland dialect)

This suffix -ge has a homophone =ge, an enclitic that functions as a contrastive focus marker (see 8.4). In (118) and (119) above, the function could be either to verbalise or to contrast, but in (120), where the verb is in its medial form, it shows clearly that here -ge is functioning as a verbaliser.

## 3.1.2.4 A numeralising suffix

There is a suffix that derives cardinal numbers from nouns referring to body parts. For a complete list of bodyparts used as numbers. See 4.4.2.1 TRADITIONAL ORDINAL NUMBERS. According to one Konai speaker, the word *yosi* means 'end'.

### Numeraliser -yosi

121)	fusak	a dihi	hou- <b>yosi</b>	ke-ge
	cat	child	thumb-NUMR	that-vBR
	'five k	kittens'		
122)		<i>dio-<b>yosi</b></i> bone/low	er.arm-NUMR	<i>ke-ge</i> that-vbr
	'seven	n men'		

### 3.1.2.5 Suffixes giving additional meanings to pronouns

The following suffixes give additional meaning to emphatic and possessive pronouns. They are analysed as derivational.

-sie	'-reflexive' suffixed to emphatic pronouns (4.3.3)						
-sof <u>e</u> i	'- self alone' suffixed to possessive pronouns (4.3.2)						
-bukôu	'-first' suffi	xed mostly to posse	essive pronouns, <sup>66</sup> but	t also to the	e demonstrative prono	oun <i>ke</i> 'that'	
123)		ie $solou = do$ $dege-i.P-REFL heart=INT do-NFUT$					
	They were sorry to	or memserves.					
124)	Ni          nioû-si           2PL          2PL.EN           'Be friends with each	MP-REFL friend	<i>dege-i-ba</i> do-nfut-pfv.irr	0	<i>dege-i-ba</i> do-nfut-pfv.irr		
125)	<i>a mayôu-sie</i> 1s 1s.emp-refl 'Lest I be conceited	hoh <u>o</u> dege-i= light do-NFUT	C=OPT PROV-PFV				
100)		5					
126)	<u>e</u> -sof <u>ei</u>	i-l-e					
	3s-self.alone	90-IKK-FUT					

'he will go alone'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> The second person singular form has been given as **ng**-bukôu (2s-first) 'you (being) first', i.e. a personal pronoun and not a possessive one.

Yo=be a=me ma-sofei 127) dala mei base=TOP 1s=TOP 1s.POSS-self.alone be/have NEG 'Because I am not by myself ...' die-sofei 128) sasai dala mei. woman 3PL.POSS-self.alone be/have NEG die-sofei ... dia haba o = nedala mei. but.pFV.IRR man=also 3pL.poss-self.alone be/have NEG ... 3pl diou-sie v-oqo doqouqu-mou doqouqu-mou dele i-di 3PL.POSS-self.alone 3s.EMP-friend help.NFUT-PFV help.NFUT-PFV prov-IRR-FUT go-HAB '... women are not **alone**, neither are men **alone**. ... they keep helping each other/living together.' 129) ele ... Kolou = kou mu-gua-mou, e-bukoîu miye susua, 1DU.EX ... Konoun=Loc go.down-DU/PL-PFV 3s-first fish dive.for ... haba a susua-i. but.prv.irr 1s dive.for-nfut "... the two of us ... having gone down to the (river) Konoun, he was the first who dived for fish and ... instead I dived.' sasai e-bukou 130) то-и sasai woman 3s-first get-NFUT woman 'first wife' <u>a</u> bôu hu+so-l-ôu 131) ta e-bukou 1s white.man talk 3s-first name+call-IRR-NPST 'I'll read the English first.' Godi=ha toboû-moû ma-bukoû haqua dala 132) come God=GEN say-PFV 1s.poss-first be/have "... God sending me, I was the first (to) come and be (here) ..." koqou k<u>e</u>-bukou  $m\hat{o}u + m\underline{a} \, dogogu - o \dots \, dou \, ko = k\hat{o}u$ hebe-l-e 133) that-first get+put put-FUT ... fire that=LOC carry-IRR-FUT weed mu-qu-ma go.down-oF-ISQ ... after getting the weeds first and collecting them and ... carrying them to the fire and putting them down ...'

## 3.1.3 Prefixation

1

Prefixes are rare in Konai. They have a limited function in two areas: marking of inalienable possession for a few kinship nouns (derivational) and adding a directional component to some verbs (inflectional).

### 3.1.3.1 Relational prefixes

At one time derivational kinship prefixes may have been prevalent in the language. Today there is only a trace left. It seems unlikely that these prefixes have been borrowed from other languages, as they can all be related to Konai pronouns. Possibly the **idea** of inalienable possession may have been borrowed.

.34)	<b>m-</b> ogo	<b>n</b> -ogo	<b>y</b> -ogo
	1s.EMP-friend	2s.EMP-friend	3s.EMP-friend
	'(my) friend'	'your friend'	'his/her friend'
	Compare:		
	<i>may<u>o</u>û</i> 'I myself'	<i>n<u>ô</u>u</i> 'you yourself'	<b>y</b> <u>o</u> <b>û</b> 'he himself/she herself'
	<b>m</b> <u>a</u> 'my'	<i>n</i> <u>e</u> 'your'	( <i>e</i> 'his/her')

The word *mogo* is actually the common word for 'friend', though *nogo* 'your friend' and *yogo* 'his/her friend' are not unusual. The form *yogo* 'his/her friend' has a special function in expressing reciprocity (see 4.3.3.1 RECIPROCAL USE OF REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS.

The word for mother also shows a trace, as follows:

<b>a</b> diôu	1s.mother	'mother'	(Lowland dialect)
duôu	mother	'mother'	(other dialects)
<b>a</b> -duôu	1s-mother	'mother/my mother'	(other dialects)
Compare:			
<b>₫</b> 'I'			

## 3.1.3.2 Directional prefixes

Three directional prefixes functioning in the verb have been found. They specify or modify the meaning as follows:

ti-	'towards'
<b>ti-hagua</b> <sup>67</sup> towards-come	'come <b>towards</b> '
<b>fi-migi</b> towards-come.down	'come down <b>towards</b> '
<b>ti-fel<u>e</u> towards-come.up</b>	'come in <b>towards</b> '
<b>fi-dem<u>e</u></b> towards-come.downriver	'come downriver <b>towards</b> '
ga-	'downwards'
<b>ga-dugu</b> downwards-look	'look <b>down</b> '
dala-	'upwards'
<b>dala-dugu</b> upwards-look	'look <b>up</b> '

# 3.2 Suppletion

There are a few suppletive forms.

dihi	'child'	sisig <u>o</u>	'children'
i	'go (sg.)'	ya	'go (du./pl.)' (Lowland dialect)

In the Mountain and Foothill dialects, the non-singular form for 'go' is regular: i-ga (go-DU/PL). However, this word is pronounced [igi'a], due to bleed-through (see 2.3.4) and is quite often spelled <igiya>, in which case it may look like a suppletive verb form. As can be seen, the Lowland dialect variant comes from the last syllable.

A few other verbs, varying in form depending on number, are partly suppletive.

diafôu	'cut (sg.)'	diafigi		'cut (du./pl. object)'
sia	'walk around (sg.)'	sulu.gua	DU/PL	'walk around (du./pl. subject)'
igile mugu	'remove (sg.)'	igi-se	DU/PL	'remove (du./pl. object)'

## 3.3 Compounding

Compound words are fairly common. There seem to be no specific rules as to what may be compounded with what.

N+ADJ	a + hu = do	'road+far=INT'	ahudo	'far away'
N+V	sa+biye-i	'land+sit-NFUT'	sabiyei	'in the morning'
	a+ko-gu	'road+hinder-OF.NFUT'	akogu	'hinder'
	<u>fī</u> +m <u>a-i</u>	'soul+put-NFUT'	fim <u>ai</u>	'a thought'
N+N	a+di	'door+area beside door'	adi	'doorpost'
N+N	maga+u	'jaw+hole'	mogou	'mouth'
ADJ+V	damal <u>e</u> +ode	'true+say'	damal <u>e</u> yode	'believe'
ADV+ADV	afu+koîu	'earlier+prior'	afukôu	'old'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Does not work with *i* 'go'.

The word a 'road' easily makes compounds with other words giving the meaning of 'via' and/or 'manner'. In these instances there is a transitional semi-vowel preceding it. It would be possible to interpret this construction as another case marker = {a} as it attaches itself to the nominal phrase as do other case markers (see 5.2.3.2 CASE).

- 135) *Dig do o malg mele*+**y-a**=*be tou malg fele-i.* 3PL sickness man get.IRR.FUT roof+TRSV-road=TOP hold get.IRR.FUT go.up-NFUT 'They took the sick man up **via** the roof.'
- 136) a+di+y-a dala road+area.beside.door+TRSV-road be/have 'to stand by the door'
- 137)  $A \not e i = be$ , sa kasagai + y a ke i. road 3s go.NFUT=TOP land bad+TRSV-road that go.NFUT 'The road he went, went via a bad place.'

# 3.4 Zero Formation

The term 'zero formation' refers to a process used for nominalisation. Though there is no nominalising suffix as such, certain verb forms may be used as nouns without any affixation or other changes. Below are some examples.

138)	Na <b>ta-I-<u>e</u></b>	mei	dala-l-i.
	2s talk-IRR-FUT	NEG	be/have-IRR-NFUT
	'You will now not be a	ble to s	speak.'
139)	Godi=h <u>a</u> <b>ta</b>		(VERB ROOT of the verb $t\underline{g}$ 'talk'; compare the previous example,
	God=gen talk		where it can be seen that $t\underline{a}$ is a verb)
	'the Word of God'		
140)	fafa-i		(NFUT)
	cut.flat.surfac	e-nfui	ſ
	'table'		
141)	na-l- <u>e</u>		(FUT)
	eat-IRR-FUT		
	'food'		
142)	biya-di		(HAB)
	fight-HAB		
	'war'		

# 3.5 Reduplication and repetition

Reduplication and the syntactic process repetition occur on several levels of the Konai language:

- reduplication: verbs and nouns to signal non-singular
- repetition: verbal phrases to signal reciprocity
- repetition: one sentence type is based on a clause being repeated.

### Non-singular

Partial reduplication occurs, signalling plural, especially plurality of an action. This includes iterative aspect and plural object (see 4.1.5.4.1 ITERATIVE ASPECT). Also, on a few nouns it occurs to mark plural (see 4.2.1 PLURAL NOUNS).

The most common reduplication is when the first syllable is reduplicated.

143) **ti-**tia-môu

RED.PL-sleep-PFV

'rest again and again' (about the progress of a mortally wounded pig)

144) *Tisa=hg ele=mokôu bôu tg he-hegi-e-i.* teacher=gen lbu.ex=loc white.man talk RED.PL-show-RED.PL<sup>68</sup>-NFUT 'The teacher **taught** us English (plural object, as well as on a daily basis).'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> This -*e* is explained under 4.1.5.4.1 ITERATIVE ASPECT and in the list of abbreviations: RED.PL: -*e*.

145) Sa kuo=kôu=be su-suwa ta dala mei=do. land here=LOC=TOP RED.PL-(every)thing INDF be/have NEG=INT 'This place does not have anything/a lot of anything.'

Whole reduplication, with the same meaning as in previous examples, has been found for a few words, e.g. *tahg* 'shoot'.

146) **Taha taha**-ma hebe-l-e mu-gu fiyo-u-môu shoot shoot-ISQ carry-IRR-FUT go.down.of fall-NFUT-PFV 'After **shooting many times**, throwing it (a snake) down, ...'

### Reciprocity

Verbal phrase repetition occurs to express reciprocity.

147)  $\underline{n_i} = \underline{n_e}$   $\underline{n_i} \hat{o} \hat{u} - \underline{sie}$   $y - ogo = k \hat{o} \hat{u}$   $sol \hat{o} \hat{u} = do$  dege-i-ba2pl=also 2pl.emp-refl 3s.emp-friend=loc heart=INT do-NFUT-PFV.IRR

solôu = dodege-i-bade-ma = be = ede-iheart=INTdo-NFUT-PFV.IRRPROV-DU/PL=TOP=OQV-NFUT

"... you too must love each other," he instructed."

See also 4.3.3.1 RECIPROCAL USE OF EMPHATIC PRONOUNS.

#### **Clause repetition as a sentence type**

One sentence type is based on repeating a clause.

148)  $ta = no\hat{u}$   $bolo = \underline{fei}$   $ta = no\hat{u}$   $bolo = \underline{fei}$ INDF=only good=total INDF=only good=total 'one is as good as another' See 7.2 CLAUSE REPETITION.

## 3.6 Cliticisation

Enclitics attach themselves phonologically to the preceding word, but they function on phrase,<sup>69</sup> sentence or discourse level. In natural text there is often only one enclitic on any phrase. More than three has not been observed.

## 3.6.1 Enclitics functioning at phrase level

Phrase level enclitics function with the nominal phrase but are not limited to that, or even to phrase level. These enclitics are case markers, limiters, an intensifier, a conjunction and an independent possessive enclitic. The order among the enclitics is not as fixed as among suffixes.

The relative order of enclitics with the nominal phrase:

(Intensifier)	Case	LimiterI	(Intensifier)	Limiter <sub>II</sub>	Conjunction	(Intensifier)
=do	=h <u>a</u> , =koîu,=ye	=noîu	=do	=f <u>ei</u> , =ne	=boîu	=do
intensifier	genitive/control locative instrumental	only	intensifier	total also	and/with/also	intensifier

The intensifier =do may occur in different places depending on what is focused in on. See also Appendix II for cooccurrence restrictions on a nominal phrase with a pronoun or question word as head.

- 149)  $f_{\underline{i}} = ye = n\hat{o}u$  tawa-i soul=INS=only know-NFUT '(he/she) knew (it) by heart/... by (his/her) heart only'
- 150) yo bolou = nou = do = fei sogo-gu banana two=only=INT=total plant-of '(he) planted **a total of only** two banana trees'
- 151) Tigi nele=do=ye=ne tiga-l-e sagai mei. vine strong=INT=INS=also tie-IRR-FUT likely NEG 'Not even with very strong vines could he be tied.'
- 152)  $K\underline{e} = n\widehat{o}\underline{u} = si$  yo = be  $\underline{e}$   $towe = b\widehat{o}\underline{u} = do$   $ka = h\underline{a} = n\widehat{o}\underline{u}$   $kasag\underline{a}\underline{i}$ . that=only=CNTR base=TOP 3s hair=and=INT that=GEN=only bad 'But only because he has feathers (he) is bad.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> The instrumental case marker also functions on clause level in its use to express means.

153) mg aye=do
1s.poss father=INT
'my real father' (i.e. not a paternal uncle)

### 3.6.1.1 Case markers

There are three case enclitics functioning mostly on nominal phrases but not limited to that. Two of them also function in what traditionally would be sentence structures, one expressing reason and the other means.

	$= \{hg\}$ 'genitive' includes possessive, controlling agents,	see 5.2.3.2 CASE
	reason and time relationships = {ye} 'instrumental' includes instrumental, non-referential; minor, non-controlling	agents
	$(as props), as well as means$ $= \{k\hat{ou}\}$ 'locative' includes locative, allative, recipient	
Genitive ca	se marker ={ <i>h</i> <b><u>o</u></b> }	
154)	sasai=hasosasai=ha=lewoman=gendogwoman=gen=indp.poss	possessive
	'the woman's dog' 'the woman's'	
155)	ditewemei,Godi=hg=nôutewe.lpl.inknowNEGGod=gen=onlyknow'we don't know; only God knows.'KnowKnow	controlling agent
156)	Dahamotisahagu=yameika=hadege-mou,Dahamoteachercome=SUBJNEGthat=GENdo-PFV	reason
	<i>duôu aye ke+dig</i> mother father that+3PL ' <b>Because</b> there is no teacher coming to Dahamo, the parents'	
157)	sas <u>ai e</u> do hiye=do dege-i-mou, o ke+dig hebe+mg woman 3s sickness big=INT do-NFUT-PFV man that+3PL carry+put	reason
	Dahamo i $ka = hag$ $hagi$ $a = bou + de$ $dala$ .Dahamo go.NFUTthat=GENheavy $1s=and=prov$ be/have' because when (my) wife was very sick, the men carried her and went to Dahamo, (and)because of that I have (a) problem.'	
158)	Sunday $ka = ha$ fele-i,Monday $k \hat{ou} = ma = ha$ ,Sundaythat=gengo.up-nFUTMondaythis=TOP=GEN	temporal setting
	<i>sele 170 kina to-l-ôu i</i> money 170 kina hold-IRR-NPST go.NFUT '(I) arrived last <b>Sunday</b> ; this <b>Monday</b> (I) held K170 and went'	
Instrument	al case marker ={ye} (dialectal/personal variant =e)	
159)	Ng hei=yedouhebe-l-i.2s axe=INSfire cut-IRR-NFUT'You are cutting firewood with an axe.'	instrumental
160)	$f_{\underline{i}} = ye = no\hat{u}$ tawa-i soul=INS=only know-NFUT '(he/she) knew (it) by heart/ in (his/her) heart'	
161)	sio miye=be Di <u>a</u> =me o= <b>ye</b> taha-l- <u>i</u> ,	non-referential
	bird Victoria.pigeon=TOP 3PL=TOP man=INS shoot-IRR-NFUT	
	mala gobo-l-ôu + ma fogôu i-di	
	arrow break-IRR-NPST+put leave.for go-HAB ' Victoria pigeons When they are shot at <b>by</b> man, (they) break off (the) arrow and leave	ing
	(they) go.'	
162)	afu $o = e$ $ta$ $tawa-l-i$ $meiearlier man=INS INDF know-IRR-NFUT NEG$	non-referential
	'people did not know anything before'	

163) Hebe=be o ke+dig hou sege-i=ye=nôu dala. means tree=TOP man that+3PL seedling plant-NFUT=INS=ONLY be/have 'The trees are (here) only by having been planted by people.'

In the **Mountain dialect** = *ye* also marks time by making a body part into a day of the week. In this use it may be followed by the contrastive focus marker or a topic marker.

164) sasama = ye = ge temporal ring.finger = INS=F.CNTR setting 'on Tuesday' Locative case marker ={kou} = mokoû (used on personal pronouns) = makoû (used on emphatic pronouns) = koû (used elsewhere)

Locative case marker =mokou – on personal pronouns

- 165) Diology = mokolu duwo. locative mosquito 1s=Loc sit 'The mosquito is sitting on me.'
- 166) hoho hiye=do ta e=mokôu hagu-môu dugu. allative
  light big=INT INDF 3s=Loc come.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT
  '...(he) saw a big light coming towards him.'
- 167) Ne adiôu = hg g = mokôu ne-j. recipient 2s.poss mother=gen 1s=Loc give-NFUT 'Your mother gave it to me.'

#### Locative case marker =*makôu* – on emphatic pronouns

168)	sele	hiyou=ye	т <u>о-и</u>	k <u>e</u>	₫	sele	haba	dosoîu +	- dia recipient
	money	steal=INS	get-NFUT	that	1s	money	but.prv.irr	index.	finger+3PL
	0	0 0					<i>ho-l-ôu</i> rn-irr-npst		<i>i-l-a-môu</i> v go-irr-subj-pfv
	' the mo	oney (I) have	stolen, I will	join fo	ur tir	nes and g	give back <b>to</b> eacl	h person	,

### Locative case marker =kôu – elsewhere

169)	Yesu	т <u>а</u>	ey <u>e</u>	n₫	hebeni = <b>koîu</b>	duwo.	locative
	Jesus	1s	big.brother	2s	heaven=LOC	sit	
	'Jesus, n	ny big	g brother, you sit <b>i</b>	<b>n</b> hea	aven.'		

- 170)
   <u>A</u> moso=kôu i-l-i.
   allative

   1s house=Loc go-IRR-NFUT
   'I'm going home/to (the) house.'
- 171)
   <u>e</u>
   dihi=kôu
   hoho
   hiye=do
   dege-l-i.
   recipient

   3s
   child=Loc
   light
   big=INT
   do-IRR-NFUT
   '... she is very pleased with (the) child.'
   recipient

### 3.6.1.2 Limiters

There are three enclitics with a limiting function. Based on distribution there are two classes.

### Limiting enclitics attaching to any nominal phrase

Limiter I (closer to stem) Limiter II (further from stem) = $n\hat{o}u$  'only' =  $f\underline{o}i$ 'total' =ne 'also'

- 172) yo bolog = noû = do = fei sogo-gu banana two=only=INT=total plant-oF '(he) planted a total of only two bananas'
- 173) *Tigi*  $nel\underline{e} = do = ye = ne$  *tiga-l-e sag<u>ai</u> <i>mei.* vine strong=INT=INS=also tie-IRR-FUT likely NEG 'Not **even** with very strong vines could he be tied.'

### 3.6.1.3 The intensifier = do

The enclitic = do is used to emphasize certain words, phrases or even clauses. Often it can be translated as 'very' or 'really'. It most commonly occurs on adjectives, both as they function as modifiers in the nominal phrase and when they function as the comment in a topic-comment clause. The placement of this enclitic in the nominal phrase varies (see 3.6.1).

On some adjectives it has become more or less lexicalised, like in (179), (180) and (181). With these adjectives it is almost always there. It may occur with temporal phrases (182) and (183). Sometimes it occurs on whole clauses (184) - (187).

If the intensifier = do occurs straight on a noun, it gets the meaning of 'real' (189), (190) and (191).

- 174) hiye = do 0 man big=INT '(a) really big man/(the) man (is) really big' O = behive = do. 175) man=TOP big=INT 'The man is really big.' 176) moso bolo=**do** house good=INT '(a) very good house/(the) house (is) very good' sas<u>a</u>i sasa=**do** 177) woman tall=INT '(a) very tall woman/(the) woman (is) very tall' 0 178) mei=do. man NEG=INT '(There are) no people (here) at all.' 179) a + hu = doroad+far=INT 'far away' dou = do180) straight=INT 'very straight' sy = do181) many=INT 'very many' 182) qusuqu=do morning=INT 'very early (in the) morning' 183) Afu=do 0 ta mowi i. е earlier=INT man INDF 3s hunt go.NFUT 'Some time ago, (a) man went hunting.' 184) E Godi=ko $\hat{u}$  taga-l-i=do. 3s God=Loc like-IRR-NFUT=INT 'He loves God very much.' 185) Ε goso-l-o mei=do. 3s cry-irr-fut neg=int 'He will definitely not cry.' folo=do 186) Yesu hu Jesus name go.up=INT 'praising (the) name Jesus/(the) name Jesus going up very high' Mei dege-l-adi = do. 187) do-IRR-PROS=INT NEG
  - '(I'm) really just about finished.'

60

- 188) O kou = me koyo = do? man this=TOP who=INT 'Who really is this man?'
- 189) mg aye=do
  1s.poss father=INT
  'my real father' (i.e. not a paternal uncle)
- 190) ma mogo=do ls.poss friend=INT 'my special friend'
- 191) ôu towôu mei, towôu = do
  sago string.skirt NEG string.skirt=INT
  'not (a) sago string skirt, (a) real string skirt (i.e. made from swamp grass)'
- 192) **o=do** man=INT '(an) **old** man'

## 3.6.1.4 The co-ordinating enclitic $= b\hat{o}u$

The enclitic  $=b\hat{o}u$  'and/with/also' is used to co-ordinate any kind of non-verbal phrases. It is attached to each co-ordinate phrase.

193) Ma aye=bôu g=bôu ele ya-i. ls.poss father=and ls=and lbu.ex go.du/pl-NFUT 'My father and I went.'
194) I=bôu we=bôu huei hiye=do to-u-l-u.

yesterday=and day.before.yesterday=and water big=INT wash-BLTV-IRR-NFUT

'Yesterday and the day before yesterday it rained very much (and it is still raining).'

This enclitic is also used to signal accompaniment, when it is attached to a word that is in a subordinate position to the main word as in (195). In (196) the main word is understood from the preceding sentence.

- 195) o sas<u>a</u> hagi=**bû** man woman heavy=and 'people **with** trouble'
- 196) <u>E</u> difi hiye=do. Ng=bou ta=nou difi hiye=do. 3s heat big=INT 2s=and INDF=only heat big=INT 'She (is) very hot. (She is) as hot as you (are).'

See also 5.2.2.3 CO-ORDINATE NOMINAL PHRASE.

#### 3.6.1.5 The independent possessive enclitic

The enclitic = le makes a possessive construction independent. It is obligatory pre-positioned by the possessive case marker  $=h\underline{a}$  'genitive', where the vowel becomes de-nasalised. The possessed item is usually not mentioned. The possessor cannot be expressed with a possessive pronoun in this construction, though the question word *koyo* 'who' can be the basis in the independent possessive construction.

- 197) Di fi=be koyo=ha=le? lpl.in soul=top who=gen=indp.poss 'Whose are our souls?'
- 198) Yesu=ha=le Jesus=gen=INDP.POSS 'Jesus'.'

It may also, but rarely, be used for emphasis even if the possessed item is mentioned.

199) <u>ma</u> <u>mala</u>=ha=le <u>dihi</u> ls.poss younger.sibling=gen=INDP.poss child 'my younger sibling's child'

## 3.6.2 Sentence enclitics

There are three enclitics marking illocutionary force.

•	=(y)o	'indicative'	in some statements
•	=(y)e	'optative'	in some commands & suggestions
•	=(y)a	'subjunctive'	in some purpose constructions, opinion statements and content questions

See 7.1 Illocutionary force

The most common use of these clitics is in so called quote verbs. See 4.1.1.3 QUOTE VERBS.

200)	ADahamo=kôu=gesawisie-iTuesdayka=hafene1sDahamo=LOC=F.CNTRbe.day-NFUTTuesdaythat=GENairplane								
	<i>mu-l-<u>o</u>=yo+de-i-môu baha duwo-l-i</i> go.down-IRR-FUT=INDC+PROV-NFUT-PFV look sit-IRR-NFUT								
	'I sat waiting at Dahamo that Tuesday for the plane to come down as (they) had said'								
201)	<i><u>a</u> di<u>a</u> dogôugu=<b>ye</b>+de tobo-l-ôu i-môu du-l-o-môu 1s 3pl help=opt+prov say-irr-npst go-pfv hear-irr-fut-pfv</i>								
	" I having heard that they had said I must help them"								
202)	ngmgdabaitolôu-badege=ya+do-môumakadege-l-i2s1s.possworkhold-pfv.irrdo=subj+prov-pfvmarkdo-irr-nfut								
	<i>ku-h<u>e</u>.</i> this-p.locr								
	" I appoint you here and now in order for you to hold and do my work."								

## 3.6.3 Discourse enclitics

There are three enclitics widely used to mark pragmatic functions in discourse.

=be	'topic marker'	see 8.3
=ge	'contrastive focus marker'	see 8.4
=si	'contrastive marker'	see 7.3.3.4

These enclitics may occur on any part of speech except particles, but they function mostly on discourse level in structuring the discourse in regard to foreground & background, theme development, participant reference etc. Disregarding the minor variants of the topic marker, these enclitics usually occur as the rightmost morpheme on the relevant part of speech. They usually do not co-occur, though the contrastive marker =si and the topic marker =be may occasionally be found on the same word, with the topic marker last.<sup>70</sup>

## The topic marker ={*be*}

Marking of topic<sup>71</sup> in Konai is generally a backgrounding and generalising device (see 8.3). There may be more than one constituent marked for topic in a clause/sentence.

There are four allomorphs: = me major variant, occurs on nasal pronouns

=b minor variant, occurs before the subjunctive quote verb =ade in forms with plural object

=ma minor variant, occurs preceding =ha 'genitive' in some demonstrative forms

=*be* occurs elsewhere

The following examples only show the wide distribution of the topic marker. The first five examples show different kinds of **discourse functions**. They may have to do with type of discourse, foreground & background, participant reference etc. All of these things are discussed elsewhere in the paper. The topic marker is often untranslatable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> What in some instances may seem like a co-occurrence of =ge and =si is actually =si following -ge 'verbaliser' (see 3.1.2.3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Marking of *topic* in this statement refers only to the operation involving ={be}.

203) Tawa-I-e ta ke = me  $ko\hat{u} \cdot q(u)e$ , a=**me** haqi hiye=do dege dala. know-IRR-FUT talk that=TOP this-VBR(BLTV) 1s=TOP heavy big=INT do be/have 'That message is like this: I have (a) very big problem.' 204) A = meifi=**be** lesson 14 ... =  $b\hat{ou}$ , haba kuquo hive=be lesson ls=TOP today=TOP lesson 14 ...= and but.PFV.IRR paper big=TOP lesson 6... ke-ge he-hegi-e-l-i. that-VBR RED.PL-show-RED.PL-IRR-NFUT 6... 'Today I am teaching lesson 14 ... and also lesson 6 ... in the Big Book.' Yo-I-u-qi duqu=**be** hebe hiye=do ta 205) tafala. go.du/pl-IRR-NFUT-dsQ see.NFUT=TOP tree big=INT INDF stand 'We went until we saw a big tree standing (there).' ... E na-l-e ku-he. 206) Beye na-l-a-mou su-l-u possum ... 3s food-IRR-FUT food-IRR-SUBJ-PFV walk.around-IRR-NFUT this-P.LOCR  $Ke = no\hat{u} = si = be$ sisiq<sub>0</sub> = ye wo-l-o saqai mei. that=only=CNTR=TOP children=INS attack-IRR-FUT likely NEG 'The possum ... here he is, walking around wanting/planning to eat food. Nevertheless, the children are not likely to kill him.' 207) *na dou=do* tobo-l-ôu ke=me-he=yode tobo-u. 2s straight=INT say-IRR-NPST that=TOP-P.LOCR=IQV say-NFUT "... "You say (it) correct there," (he) stated and said." The topic marker =be also functions in the clause or sentence. It may mark the topic in a verbless clause. It also

The topic marker =*be* also functions in the clause or sentence. It may mark the topic in a verbless clause. It also functions in conditional sentences, marking the antecedent.

- 208) O=be kou? verbless clause man=TOP where 6.2 VERBLESS CLAUSES
   209) Suwa olôuf<u>ei</u> yodu-ba=be, <u>a</u> n<u>i</u>=mokôu milo-l-ôu. conditional sentence
- thingall ask.nFut-PFV.IRR=TOP 1s 2PL=LOC work-IRR-NPST 7.3.3.3 CONDITION 'If you ask for anything I will do (it) for you.'

The following examples illustrate the **minor variants** of the topic marker. One is used in a couple of demonstrative words and the other together with one of the quote verbs.

- 210)
   Ulig
   koûu = ma = ha
   demonstrative word

   cicada
   this=TOP=GEN
   4.8.2.1 THE DEMONSTRATIVE ...

   'This particular cicada ...'
   'This particular cicada ...'
- 211) hohobôû-ma=b=ado-môu be.glad-DU/PL=TOP=SQV-PFV '... in order for them to rejoice ...'

### The contrastive focus marker =*ge*

The enclitic =ge marks contrastive focus in regards to participants, time and location (see 8.4 FOCUS OF CONTRAST.)

<u>A</u> <u>e</u>=mokou diho baqa tobou-mou duqu, 212) haba e=ge <u>a</u>=me 1s 3s=Loc eye close say-PFV see.NFUT but.PFV.IRR 3s=F.CNTR 1s=TOP dogougu-mou huvafei little.total help-pfv 'I saw that praying to him, (and) he helping me a little again, (I) ...' (object -> subject) 213) hebe ... sasa = do ... ka = ha $sugu + to\hat{u} = qe$  five sasa=do ka=ha sa-i long=INT ... that=GEN top+UP=F.CNTR thread twine-NFUT tree long=INT that=GEN miqi-mou dugu. come.down.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT '... (they) saw that **from** the top of (a) very ... tall tree, ..., that very long rope came down.'

quote verb =ade 'assert'

4.1.1.3 QUOTE VERBS

### The contrastive marker =*si*

One way to signal semantic contrast is to use the discourse enclitic = si 'contrast'. This enclitic may occur on any part of speech, thus contrasting that particular part with another similar part of speech (see 7.3.3.4 CONTRAST).

The difference between =si 'contrastive marker' and =ge 'contrastive focus marker' is that =ge functions as a mark of reference in regard to participant, time and location, while =si contrasts semantic content of phrases and/or clauses/sentences.

214)	Godi sa	sibig <u>e</u>	koîu	milo-u,	<u>e</u> =nôu=	si	damal <u>e</u> =do	Godi.		
	God lar	ld essence	prior	work-NFUT	3s-only	=CNTR	true-INT	God		
	'But God, who made the world, only he is the true God.'									
215)	Soti=ha=	si tewe	•							
	Soti=gen	CNTR know								
	<b>'But</b> Soti k	nows.' (about	an ancesto	or custom)						
216)	0 t	a = h <u>a</u>	Tabu	bil=kôu <u>e</u>	mogo	dala-k	pa	i-ba= <b>si</b> ,		
	man I	NDF=GEN	Tabu	bil=LOC 3s	friend	be/ha	ave-pfv.IRR	go.NFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR		
e mogo=ha moso॒=kôu tia-l-e,										
	3s friend=gen house=Loc sleep-IRR-FUT									
	<b>'But</b> if somebody having a friend in Tabubil goes (there), (he) will sleep in his friend's house and'									

(If he has no friend there he cannot go.)

217) Ke=nôu=si e hagu-l-i mei. that=only=CNTR 3s come-IRR-NFUT NEG 'But he didn't come.'

## 3.7 Homophones and variants among suffixes and enclitics

There are three sets of homophones (3.7.1) and one set of variants (3.7.2) among the suffixes and enclitics that will be mentioned specially in this section. These homophones are usually unambiguous, but the second pair of homophones has one function, where the second member of the pair seems slightly related with the first member. Among the first set of homophones, there is one verb that is an almost-homophone, and there is a point of contact in meaning with one of the suffixes.

In the case of the variants, the variants are dialectal and may be confusing.

category	form	meaning	function	example
numerical suffix	- <i>ma</i>	'non-singular'	in imperative & prohibitive mood	(218)
medial verb suffix	-ma	'immediate sequence'	telic in medial verbs expressing sequence	(219)
verb	m <u>a</u>	'put'	telic in serial verb constructions expressing plural object	(220)
derivational suffix	-ge	'verbaliser'	verbaliser of some demonstrative pronouns and some question words	(222)
discourse enclitic	= <b>ge</b>	'contrastive focus'	contrastive focus in regards to participants, time and location	(223), (224) (225)
derivational suffix	- <i>le</i>	'approximate locativiser'	derives an adverb from a demonstrative or a noun	(228), (229)
independent enclitic	= <i>le</i>	'independent possessive'	makes a complete NP of a possessive construction, where the possessed item is not mentioned	(230)

## 3.7.1 Three sets of homophones

The suffixes -ma 'dual/plural' (3.1.1.3), -ma 'immediate sequence' (3.1.1.4) and mg 'put' (5.1.3.8)

218) *i-ma* go-DU/PL 'you (du./pl.) go!'
219) *Wai gug-ma i-môu, g sese-ga i.* pig squeal-ISQ go.NFUT-PFV 1s follow-DU/PL.FUT go-NFUT 'As soon as (the) pig after crying out had taken off, I followed (it) around.'

The next example shows the point of contact (i.e. number) between the dual/plural suffix (218) and the verb  $m\underline{a}$  'put' that together with a bare verbal root, implies a non-singular object. Example (221) is there for comparison only.

	A		
220)	A=me ma wai kama+dia	dala <u>A</u> m <u>e</u>	-
	1s=TOP 1s.POSS pig middle.finger+3PI	L be/have Is Is	.POSS plg
	wo+ <b>ma</b> na-l-e.		
	attack+put eat-IRR-FUT	<sup>(</sup>	
	'I have three pigs I will kill my pigs and eat the		
221)	/		dege-l-i.
	fish 3s crayfish attack.IRR.FUT		do-irr-nfut
	'(The) fish is trying to <b>kill</b> and eat (the) <b>crayfish</b> (s	<b>g</b> .)´	
The suffix -	-ge 'verbaliser' (3.1.2.3) and the enclitic =ge 'cont	rastive focus marker' (3	.6.3)
222)	ke <b>-ge</b>		
	that-ver		
	<b>'be like</b> that'		
223)	<u>a</u> f <u>i</u> hiye m <u>a</u> - <u>i</u> =be kôu-g(u) 1s soul big put-NFUT=TOP this-VB		<i>esu n<u>a</u>=<b>ge</b> <u>a</u> esus 2s=f.cntr 1s</i>
			'awa-l-e-môu
	help.nfut-pfv.irr but.pfv.irr 1s know		
	_ g_e=mokôu diho_bagatobo-u.		
	1s 3s=Loc eye close.eye say-NFUT		
	" thinking deeply, I thought like this, "When you		get knowledge," and having
	realized that, I closed (my) eyes and said (prayed) t		
224)	<i>afu afu=ge</i> earlier earlier=f.CNTR	<i>ha.ba</i> but.prv.irf	ha.ba= <b>ge</b>
	'earlier' 'earlier' (as <b>opposed to now or later</b> )		but.pfv.IRR=f.CNTR 'later'
005)		agaiii/but	later
225)	<i>ou ha-i ko=kou=ge</i> sago cut-nFUT that=LOC=F.CNTR		
	<b>'from/at</b> (the place) of the cut down sago (palm)'		
In the r	next two examples we can see the point of contact be	atwoon the suffix and the	prolitic In (227) it sooms that a
	verbaliser (it is followed by a medial verb suffix).	tween the sum and the o	enclude. In $(227)$ , it seems that $-ge$
226)	- / 0 -	hagua-si-l-e.	
	3pL Sunday that-A.LOCR-VBR get.IRR.FUT	COME-DU/PL-IRR-FUT	
	' they will bring it <b>on</b> Sunday'		
227)	Duwo-di, <sup>72</sup> <u>a</u> tewe m <u>ô</u> u-l-i me	ei fogo-u.	Ke-le <b>-ge</b> -môu,

sit-DSQ ls know get-IRR-NPST NEG leave.for-NFUT that-A.LOCR-VBR-PFV <u>a</u> fi+m<u>a−i</u> hiye=do dege-i. 1s soul+put-NFUT big=INT do-NFUT 'I stayed until, getting no knowledge, I left. Then/Being like that there, I really thought it through.' (Mountain dialect)

The suffix -le 'approximate locativiser' (3.1.2.1 (Set II & III)) and the enclitic =le 'independent possessive' (3.6.1.5)

- 228) bôu-qu**-le** across-DEMR.D-A.LOCR 'somewhere across there'
- dihi-**le** 229) *e* eye=ha 3s older.brother=GEN eye-A.LOCR 'in front of his older brother'
- 230) *ma* aye=ha=**le** ls.poss father=gen=INDP.poss 'my father's'

65

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Mountain dialect; see next section.

## 3.7.2 Variants of -gi 'delayed sequence'

In the Lowland dialect, all verbs except existential state verbs, like dala 'be/have' and duwo 'sit', may take the medial suffix -gi 'delayed sequence'. It is always preceded by the irrealis suffix -l- and a high or mid vowel. However, in existential state verbs -gi is dropped, leaving only -l-i 'irrealis non-future', seemingly with the meaning of 'delayed sequence'; i.e. 'until'.

231) i-l-e i-I-i-qi, Kiunga =  $k \hat{o} u$ . Ι, go.NFUT go-IRR-FUT go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ Kiunga=LOC '(I) went; (I) went and went **until** (arriving) at Kiunga.' (Lowland dialect) Ele ta=noîu Dala-I-i, 232) mogo dele-i. fene <u>e</u> friend INDF=only be/have-NFUT be/have-IRR-NFUT 3s airplane 1DU.EX to-l-ou-mou Kiunga =  $k \hat{o} \hat{u} \hat{i}$ . hold-IRR-NPST-PFV Kiunga=LOC go.NFUT

'We two were friends. (We) were (that) **until**, having caught a plane, he went to Kiunga.' (Lowland dialect)

In the Mountain dialect, <sup>73</sup> however, -gi is used also on existential state verbs, but without the preceding -I-V. The suffix -gi, in the Mountain dialect, also has a variant -di used on all verbs in this particular medial form. In addition, this variant has a homophone -di meaning 'habitual', which occurs on final verb forms in all dialects.

Lowland dia	lect	Mountain dialect			
<i>duwo-<b>l-i</b></i> sit-IRR-NFUT	'sit until'	<i>duwo-<b>gi</b></i> sit-DSQ	'sit until'		
		<i>duwo-<b>di</b></i> sit-DSQ	'sit until'		
<i>i-l-i-<b>gi</b></i> 'go until' go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ		<i>i-l-i<b>-gi</b></i> 'go unti go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ			
		<i>i-l-i-<b>di</b> go-IRR-NFUT-D</i>	ʻgo until' SQ		
<i>duwo-<b>di</b></i> sit-нав	'habitually sit'	<i>duwo-<b>di</b></i> sit-нав	'habitually sit'		
і- <b>ді</b> go-нав	'habitually go'	і <b>-dі</b> go-нав	'habitually go'		

The examples below will show only the Mountain dialect forms.

233)	<u>e</u> sokôulôu duwo-gi, holode dege-i-môu, <u>e</u> 3s school sit-dso holiday do-NFUT-PFV 3s
	' he was in school until (it) having become holiday, he' (Mountain dialect)
234)	<i>Duwo-di, <u>a</u> tewe m<u>ô</u>u-l-i mei fogo-u.</i> sit-dsg 1s know get-irr-nfut neg leave.for-nfut
	'I stayed until, getting no knowledge, I left.' (Mountain dialect; part of (227))
235)	kuguodugu=bedugu-l-ohague-i-môuke-gepapersee.NFUT=TOPsee-IRR-FUTbe.difficult-NFUT-PFVthat-VBR
	<i>i-<b>I-i-di</b>, Godi=hg fg huyadef<u>ei</u> mg duo dogogu,</i> go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ God=GEN talk little.total 1s.Poss spirit put.NFUT
	gisekuhetôufogôu-l-a-môu.1sgo-IRR-NFUT-DSQfinallysoleave-IRR-SUBJ-PFV
	' (I) finding it hard to read, (and it) going on like that <b>until</b> a little of God's Word had (been) put into my heart; (and) going on like that <b>until</b> (I) am/was finally ready to die.' (Mountain dialect)
236)	Esu-l-u-didugu=be,waii-môudugu.3swalk.around-IRR-NFUT-DSQsee.NFUT=TOPpiggo-PFVsee.NFUT

'He walked around until he saw a pig going away from him.' (Mountain dialect)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> What is here described for the Mountain dialect is also to some extent used by Foothill dialect speakers.

See 3.1.1.4 FOURTH ORDER VERBAL SUFFIXES for the Lowland dialect use of the medial verb suffix-gi 'delayed sequence'. See 3.1.1.3 THIRD ORDER VERBAL SUFFIXES for the final verb suffix -di 'habitual'.

# 4. WORD CLASSES

There are nine word classes total. Six of them are based on their particular function, mostly in the phrase, and the kind of affixation they may, or may not, take. They are verbs, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and particles.

There are three more word classes, which are set up based on their function in a wider perspective and not necessarily at all on what type of affixation they may, or may not, take. They are question words, deictic words and conjunctions.

## 4.1 Verbs

Verbs constitute an open class of words that can take suffixation for number, transitivity and tense/aspect/mood, as well as medial-verb suffixes. They function in verbal phrases, either as a medial or a final verb. Some medial verb forms are exactly the same as their final counter parts but have a somewhat different meaning. Certain verb forms may function as heads of nominal phrases (see 4.2.4 NOMINALISATION).

There are four semantically based classes of verbs, namely events, states, pro-verbs and quote verbs. There are also seven types of verbs based on the last root or stem vowel.

A verb may seemingly occur as a single root, but as some suffixation is zero, that may not be the case. The most frequently used forms occur with a TAM suffix indicating epistemic mood and tense. This is true for both medial and final verbs. Tense in a medial verb is relative, referring to what will happen in the following clause. Only final verbs occur in deontic mood, e.g. imperative.

The modal distinction between realis and irrealis is more basic than the tense distinction in the most common final verb word. This realis/irrealis marking interacts closely with a binary marking of tense, which for most verbs works out as non-future and future.

Number is only occasionally marked on the verb. There is also a focal suffix, which makes it possible to focus on an object connected with the verb, i.e. a kind of transitiviser.

This section is partitioned as follows: 4.1.1 CLASSES OF VERBS, 4.1.2 TYPES OF VERBS, 4.1.3 FINAL AND MEDIAL VERBS, AN INTRODUCTION, 4.1.4 VERB STRUCTURE, 4.1.5 TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD (TAM), 4.1.6 NUMBER and 4.1.7 OBJECT FOCUS.

## 4.1.1 Classes of verbs

There are four classes of verbs: events, states, pro-verbs and quote verbs. The classes of events and states are based on how the verb interacts with the modal distinction of realis and irrealis. Pro-verbs do not usually function on their own. As a group, they have several functions, such as giving a verbal function to a non-verb or co-ordinating phrases or clauses, as well as summarising stretches of speech, in that way having the same kind of functions as English conjunctions do. Quote verbs cliticise on the end of a quote.

There is no formal distinction between intransitive and intransitive verbs (but see 4.1.7 OBJECT FOCUS).

## 4.1.1.1 Event verbs and state verbs

The main formal difference between events and states is that event verbs are irrealis in a present situation (237), while states usually are realis (238), (240). State verbs can be further divided into existential verbs and experience verbs. Existential state verbs, also called stative verbs in this grammar, are uninflected for tense to describe a present stable situation (238), whereas experience verbs take a non-future tense marking (240) in realis mood. Existential verbs do, however, take the irrealis marker to express an unstable or temporary present situation (239), usually as a medial verb.

### **Event verb**

237) *O hagu-l-u.* man come-IRR-NFUT 'The man **is** coming.'

Existential state verb, stable situation

238) <u>A</u>=me duwo. ls=тор sit 'I am here.'

## Existential state verb, temporary/unstable situation

239) <u>E</u> baha duwo-l-i 3s look sit-IRR-NFUT 'He is waiting until ...'

#### **Experiential state verb**

240) Dihi sugua-i. child fever.get-NFUT 'The child **has** a fever.'

## 4.1.1.1.1 Event verbs

Event verbs belong to a large open class of verbs. Their distinguishing trait is that in present tense they take irrealis mood while existential state verbs are realis (see above). Much more will be said about event verbs in sections to come, so there is no need to elaborate here.

## 4.1.1.1.2 Existential state verbs/Stative verbs

The existential state verbs belong to a limited small class of verbs. Based on posture and/or which existential state verb a noun most naturally goes with, it is possible to set up classes of nouns. I have not done so but will give a few examples below. Only the three first verbs have a semantic component of posture.

				<u>typica</u>	al example			<u>scope</u>		
tila	a 'lie down'			<i>bei</i> 's	<i>bei</i> 'snake', <i>sabi</i> 'lizard'			anything/-body naturally in that posture		
duw	0	'sit'		mos <u>o</u>	2 'house'			anythir	ng/-body natur	ally in that posture
tafa	la	'stand'		hebe	'tree'			anythir	ng/-body natur	ally in that posture
dala	,	'be/have	2'		rete, e.g. <i>dihi</i> act, e.g. <i>hag</i>		m'	anythir	ng/anybody	
sia/s	sulugua	'walk ar	round (sg./pl.)'	0/0 s	s <i>as<u>ai</u> '</i> man/p	people'		anybod	ly animate	
tie		(sleep)/	/live <sup>,74</sup>	0/0 s	s <i>as<u>ai</u> '</i> man/p	eople'		anybod	ly animate	
241)	<b>Sabi</b> lizaro 'Because		<i>kulio h</i> coldness b <b>ard</b> has become	ig=INT		pfv 3s		heat	-	<i>tila.</i> lie.down
242)	<i>Ei</i> 1pl.ex	<i>tia-sie-</i> sleep	di m -du/pl-hab ho	_	<b>duwo</b> =kôl sit=LOC	,		<b>afala-g</b> tand-i		
	'At (the)	place wh	nere (the) house	we sleep	p in <b>sit</b> , there	e several	banar	na (trees	) stand.'	
243)	3) hebe hiye=do ta tafala. tree big=INT INDF stand ' a very big tree is standing.'									
244)										
245)		o <i>lôuf<u>e</u>i</i> = all.tot	be 5 ke-g		<b>dala</b> be/have					
	' there	are five	weeks to go'							
246)	<i>haba</i> but.pf		e <i>se-ga</i> ollow-du/pl	<i>sulugu</i> walk.		U/PL-IR	R-NFU	wala T atta		
	<i>mu-guc</i> go.dow		L-NFUT-PFV							
	-		wed and <b>walked</b> around' is conjug				-	ing dow	/n'	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> The verb *fie* with the meaning of 'live' is an existential state verb. When it is conjugated as an experiential state verb it means 'fall asleep/sleep'.

247)	₫	т <u>а</u>	dibi	tie	sa	k <u>ol</u> u =me <b>gali</b>	s <u>u</u> =do	dala.
	1s	1s.poss	forest	live	land	this=TOPwild.animal	many=IN	rbe/have
'In this my forest (where) I live, there are many wild animals.'								
In addition, the two following verbs may function as existential state verbs:								

dafa	'be tired of'	
tewe	'know'	(from <i>tawa</i> 'know/understand')

The verb *dafa* 'be tired of' is conjugated as an existential state verb in present tense in (248), but as an event verb in (249). The verb *tawa* 'know' is conjugated as an existential state verb in present tense with the meaning of 'be in the state of knowing', (250) (an irregular form). When this verb is conjugated as an event verb the meaning is 'understand'.

248) *A dafa.* 1s tired.of 'I am tired (of ...).'

249) *O* koyo=hg g dafo-l-u ke=me, e=me mg Aye=ne man who=gen 1s be.tired.of-IRR-NFUT that-TOP 3s=TOP 1s.POSS father

dafo-l-u.

be.tired.of-IRR-NFUT

'whoever is tired of me, he is tired of my Father, too.'

250)	₫	tewe	<u>a</u>	tawa-l-i
	1s	know	1s	know-irr-nfut
	'I know'		ʻI u	nderstand'

### 4.1.1.1.3 Experiential state verbs

The experiential state verbs are an open class, comprising a few verbs like *sugua* 'have fever' *tia* 'fall asleep/sleep' and many verbalised nouns, adjectives and adverbs (see next section: pro-verb *dege* 'do').

251)	tio-l-u	(sleep-IRR-NFUT)	'falling asleep'	tie-i	(sleep-NFUT)	'be asleep'
	suguo-u-l-u	(have.fever.BLTV-IRR-NFUT)	'getting a fever'	sugua-i	(have.fever-NFUT)	'run a fever'
252)	hiye dege-l-i	(big do-IRR-NFUT)	'is growing'	hiye dege-i	(big do-NFUT)	'be grown'

## 4.1.1.2 Pro-verbs

There are four pro-verbs:

dege'do'de'pro-verb'kôugue'be like this'kege'be like that'

## Dege 'do'

The most common pro-verb is *dege* 'do'. It ...

#### - verbalises ideas expressed by adjectives, nouns or adverbs

253)	hiye dege-l-i	(big#do-IRR-NFUT)	'is growing'
254)	mogo dege-i	(friend#do-NFUT)	'being friends'
255)	mei dege-i	(NEG#do-NFUT)	'finished'

In the following example *dege* is in a medial form with the meaning 'do and ...', resulting in an adverbial meaning.

256) *bolo dege dala* (good#do#be/have) 'do well'

The proverb *dege* 'do' is also used with loan words.

257) win dege 'win'

258) use dege 'use'

### - presents a state as ongoing and an action as repeated over and over again

These constructions can often be translated with 'keep (doing)'. The suffixes -mou 'perfective' and -gi 'delayed sequence' may be involved. Some speakers use them more than others.

You = makou fiyo-u-mou 259) dege-i, haba wai ka=ha so sese-l-e 3s.EMP=LOC fall-NFUT-PFV do-NFUT but.PFV.IRR pig that=GEN dog follow-IRR-FUT haque-i. A tafala ke-le haqua tafala-**môu dege-i**, a taha-i come-NFUT 1s stand that-A.LOCR come stand-pfv do-nfut 1s shoot-nfut '(Arrows) kept falling (back) on himself; again the pig came chasing the dog(s). (It) came and kept trying to stand where I stood; I shot (it); ...' ta to ko=koîu ke-le duwo-mou taha-i, 260) bei

snake INDF river that=LOC that-A.LOCR sit-PFV shoot-NFUT

defe-gai-l-i-gidege-i, $t\underline{g}$ -le=k $\hat{o}u$ fiye-i.miss.target-DU/PLgo-IRR-NFUT-DSQdo-NFUTriver-A.LOCR=LOCfall-NFUT'... (we) shot at a snake being there at the river; (we) continued to shoot a lot of (arrows) that kept missing until the snake fell into the river.'file

261) *Mosole boho-l-ôu-môu dege-i*. ship turn-IRR-NPST-PFV do-NFUT

'The ship was in the process of turning over.'

It may also be used in constructions expressing reason. See 7.3.3.1.1 REASON-RESULT IN THE MEDIAL VERB SYSTEM.

### - encodes the idea of 'try'

The combined suffix  $-l-a-m\hat{o}u$  -IRR-SUBJ-PFV 'purposing' together with the pro-verb *dege* 'do' gives the meaning of 'try'. This use is similar to the previous use, giving the sense of "ongoingness".

262) <u>A</u>=me kuguo nal<u>a</u>-l-**a-môu** dege-l-i. 1s=top paper write-IRR-SUBJ-PFV do-IRR-NFUT 'I'm trying to write a letter.'

#### De 'pro-verb'

Another proverb is  $\{de\}$ , for which there is no particular gloss. It have found six functions. For five of them it works together with another verb in a typical auxiliary function. Its sixth function is in a co-ordinated nominal phrase.

This verb, being a type 2 verb, is irregular in spelling, in that the irrealis non-future form, i.e. present tense, is *dili* instead of \**deli*, which would follow the spelling rules, while it actually is spelled phonemically (see 2.8.5 VOWEL HARMONY – SPELLING OF A FEW EXCEPTIONS: present tense).

### - signals sequential time for existential state verbs in medial form

The existential state verbs use the pro-verb *de* to be able to take the suffix *-ma* 'immediate sequence'.

263)	<i>yo-l-u-gi,</i> go.du/pl-irr-nfut-dsq		<i>ôu mu-gua</i> c go.dowr		<b>de-ma,</b> prov-isq		<i>hagu<u>a</u>-ma</i> rise- <sub>ISQ</sub>
	<i>yo-l-u-gi,</i> go.du/pl-irr-nfut-dsq	_	_	Ukarumpa=Lo	U		
	' we (two) going on until Mende, <b>after</b> having gone down and sitting (there and) after going up again went on until we went down at a place called Ukarumpa.'					again, we	
– as part of a longer construction it signals delayed sequence 'until'							

This proverb is part of a complex construction meaning 'until' (see 7.3.2.4 DELAYED SEQUENCE: second part).

du-l-o 264) Dihi ka = ha = qeaye huquli ke+dig ta=nôu e child that=GEN=F.CNTR 3s father guardian that+3pL talk=only hear-IRR-FUT sese-aa-môu i=be de-ba, sadebe e ave = hafollow-DU/PL-PFV go=TOP PROV-PFV.IRR year 3s father=gen kuhe folo maka + m<u>a-i</u> saqai ko=koîu kogu-l-o. mark+put-NFUT likely that=LOC so go.up.IRR.FUT reach-IRR-FUT 'That child will listen to and obey his guardians **until** whatever time his father has determined will have been reached.'

### - signals habitual future (the main verb is in its basic form)

265) <u>Ni</u> sawisie ke defei=do tawa-l-e dala-ma, kefe-guo ng de-ma. 2PL be.day that careful=INT know-IRR-FUT be/have-DU/PL gather-OF eat PROV-DU/PL 'Know that day well and stay (so); gather and eat **habitually**.'

### - signals hypothetic, including contrary-to-fact conditions

266) Dig=me di sosoîu dele-i de-ba=be, dig di 3PL=TOP 1PL.IN familybe/have-NFUT PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP 3PL 1PL.IN toîufogoîu-l-i mei. leave-IRR-NFUT NEG

'If they would have been of our family they would not have left us.'

## - signals co-ordination of overlapping or similar events

267) Sabiya-môu, Asele dilie <u>e</u> sasai Dasame dilie Mal<u>i</u> <u>o</u>=kôu be.morning.FuT-PFV Asele 3DU 3s woman Dasame 3DU Malin mouth.of.river=LOC

yo-u-môu,James=bôu e sasaiDalai=bôu g=bôu eiDahamo=kôugo.du/pl-nfut-pfvJames=and3swomanDalai=and ls=andlpl.exDahamo=loc

fog*ô*u **hagua-sie-i-môu de-i**.

leave.for come-DU/PL-NFUT-PFV PROV-NFUT

'Having become morning, **while** Asele and his wife Dasame **went** to the mouth of the (river) Malin, James, his wife Dalai and I left for Dahamo and **came** (back).'

268) Sio biya su-l-u-gi, sio ta wo-u-môu, bird fight go.around-IRR-NFUT-DSQ bird INDF attack-NFUT-PFV

sowaletawo-u-môude-mamalghebe-l-ehague-ilizardINDFattack-NFUT-PFVPROV-ISQ get.IRR.FUTcarry-IRR-FUTcome-NFUT'(I) went around to shoot birds with a slingshot until (I) shot/attacked a bird and a lizard, after (that) (I) got (them) and carried (them) and came ...'

269) Godi=ha=qe di=mokoîu midiho e-sofei dege-ma, haba ta sa God=gen=f.cntr 1pl.in=loc face 3s-self.alone indf do-iso but.pfv.irr land ke+dig=mokou midiho e-sofei ta 0 ta dege-ma de-di=yo mei. face INDF man that+3PL=LOC 3s-self.alone INDF do-ISO PROV-HAB=INDC NEG 'God does not do one thing to us and another thing to foreigners.'

- signals the end of a co-ordinated nominal phrase

270) Hebe ha-i k<u>o</u>u = me yo = bou siya = bou bisope = bou + de dala. tree cut-NFUT this=TOP banana=and sugarcane=and pineapple=and+PROV be/have 'This garden has bananas, sugarcane and pineapples.'

271) Afu=do, o eye malg de-i
earlier=INT man older.brother younger.sibling prov-NFUT
oloûufei=be dio-yosi ke-ge.
all.total=TOP bone/lower.arm-NUMR that-VBR
'A long time ago there were seven brothers.'

### Demonstrative pro-verbs kôugue 'be like this' and kege 'be like that'

These verbs consist of a demonstrative root with the verbaliser *-ge* attached. They function like English adverbs and *kege* 'be like that' also functions as a conjunction. The pro-verb *kege* can take any verb suffixes both medial and final, while *kôugue* has only been found in its basic and in its past final forms.

272) Yesu=ha kôu-g(u)e tobo-u, a ni=mokôu damale=do tobo-l-ôu ku-he Jesus=gen this-ver(BLTV) say-NFUT 1s 2PL=LOC true-INT say-IRR-NPST this-P.LOC 'Jesus said like this, "I am telling you the truth/truly ..." 273) <u>A</u>  $n\underline{a} = mok\hat{o}u$  tawa-l-e  $t\underline{a}$   $ya = f\underline{e}\underline{i} = do$   $k\underline{o}\underline{u}$   $k\hat{o}\underline{u} - g(\underline{u})e-\underline{i}$ ... 1s 2s=Loc know-IRR-FUT talk small=total=INT this this-VBR(BLTV)-NFUT ...

Dahamokôu-lehagu-ba=be,ngngsele=yegitatamôu.Dahamothis-A.LOCRcome.NFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP2s2s.POSSmoney=INSguitarINDF get.IMP'I have this very small message (request) for youlike this: ... when you come here to Dahamo, bring a guitar(bought) for your money.'

274) <u>E</u> ke-ge haguisa-i. 3s that-ver call.out-NFUT 'He called out like that.'

275) **Ke-ge-i** dege-moû, dou=be sibige hiye=do. that-vbr-nfut do-pfv fire=top essence big=INT 'Because of **being like that**, the importance of the fire is great.'

276) **Ke-ge-I-i-gi** o ta=ha ta ouga tobo-u=ye. that-vbr-irr-nfut-bsg man indf=gen talk deceive say-nfut=opt 'Going on like that until nobody can deceive you.'

- 277) **Ke-ge-mou** wai kamafou-mou, g that-vbr-pfv pig run-pfv 1s 'Having become like that/Then/So while the pig was running away, I ...'
- e fi=ye dege dala. Ke-ge-ma-mou, 278) ha<u>qi</u> Godi=ha 3s soul=INS be/have that-VBR-ISQ-PFV God=GEN heavy do Jona bologua he-heai-e-i good.do RED.PL-show-RED.PL-NFUT Jonah '... he is heavy in his spirit. After it had been like that, God taught Jonah a good lesson ...'

The verb kege 'be like that' is also used with nominal phrases expressing the number of something (see 4.4.2.3).

279) <u>e</u> dihi olôuf<u>ei</u> kama+dia ke-ge 3s child all.total midddle.finger+3pL that-VBR 'his three children'

## 4.1.1.3 Quote verbs

There are three quote-verbs. They cliticise to the quote and cannot stand by themselves. They may be conjugated as any other verb, both as a medial and a final verb. They are based on the illocutionary force clitics and a proverb.

• = (y) $o + de$	<u>structure</u> (=indicative+PROV)	<u>gloss</u> indicative quote verb (=IQV)	free translation 'say'	<u>cliticises to</u> anything
• = $(y)e + de$	(=optative+PROV)	optative quote verb (=OQV)	'direct/instruct'	verb in basic form
• = $(y)a + de$	(=subjunctive+prov)	subjunctive quote verb (=SQV)	'assert/think that something is true' (but it may not be)	anything
• =d(o) = a + de	(=intensifier=Subj.+PROV	int. subj. quote verb (=INT=SQV)	'strongly assert/be sure that something is true'	anything

The quote verb = *ade* in its medial perfective form means 'in order to' (see 7.3.3.2.3 IMPOSED PURPOSE).

The quote verbs =ede 'direct/instruct' and =ade 'assert' have non-singular object forms, which may also be negated. The singular form of =ede may also be used with the prohibitive suffix -da.

	structure	free translation	cliticises to
• (-da)-ma=be=ede	((-PROH)-DU/PL=TOP=OQV)	' suggest to you (du./pl.)/them (not) to?	verb in basic form
• (-da)-me=be=ede	((-PROH)-HORT=TOP=OQV)	'suggest, "Let's (not)""	verb in basic form
• (-da)-ma=b=ade	((-PROH)-DU/PL=TOP=SQV)	'order you (du./pl.)/them (not) to'	verb in basic form
• (-da)-me=b=ade	((-PROH)-HORT=TOP=SQV)	'order, "Let's' (not)""	verb in basic form <sup>75</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> The negative form of a hortative subjunctive quote has not been observed.

As the most common syllable pattern in Konai is CVCV, the singular quote verbs, in most cases, start with a -y. Also, the quote verbs, being type 2 verbs, are regular in spelling, in that the irrealis non-future form, i.e. present tense, are = odili, =edili and =adili, respectively, instead of e.g. \*odeli, which would follow the spelling rule for the rest of the verbs of this type (see 2.8.5 VOWEL HARMONY – SPELLING OF A FEW EXCEPTIONS: present tense).

Dahamo = be 1,466 kina  $k\underline{e} = n\hat{ou} = f\underline{ei}$ 280) mala haqua-ba, 1,466 kina that=only=total get.IRR.FUT come.FUT-PFV.IRR Dahamo=TOP bologua-l-<u>e</u>=**yode** tobo-l-ôu mola moso ke i. medicine house that good.do-IRR-FUT=IQV say-IRR-NPST go.NFUT 'Concerning Dahamo, (they said), "A total of only K1,466 will be coming and will fix up the aidpost building," they stated and said."  $a=b\hat{o}u$  Yaq $u=b\hat{o}u$  ele to-l-o = **vode**-ma 281) to i. 1s=and Yagu=and 1DU.EX river wash-IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQ gO.NFUT 'After I and Yagu had said we two were going swimming (we) went.' bolo = yodi-l-i 282) Josef e = qeta mei. Joseph 3s=f.cntr indf good=iqv-irr-nfut neg '... Joseph did not agree at all' 283) Haqua = yedi-l-i. come=0QV-IRR-NFUT "Come (sg.)," (he) says." 284) haqua-sie-ma = be = edi-l-i COME-DU/PL-DU/PL=TOP=OQV-IRR-NFUT "Come (du./pl.)," (he) says." 285) Dihi kôu=me\_e adiou=hg huei dôù i=**vede**-mou, child this=TOP 3s mother=GEN qo=00V-PFV water draw doîu i, huei е water draw go.NFUT 3s 'This child, his mother having told him to go and draw water, (he) went to draw water; he ...' 286) dege-da = yede-i. е sidifi ta 3s shame INDF do-proH=OOV-NFUT '... he must not be ashamed.' Jona = ha dia=mokôu tobo-u, huei-le = kou 287) ni a=noû mala Jonah=GEN 3PL=LOC say-NFUT 2pl1s=only get.IRR.FUT water-A.LOCR=LOC hebe-l-e fila-ma = be = ede tobo-u. carry-IRR-FUT throw-DU/PL=TOP=OQV say-NFUT 'Jonah said to them, "You (du./pl.) just take, carry and throw me in (the) water," (he) instructed and said.' 288) *i-me* = *be* = *ede* tobo-u. da to to 1DU.IN river wash go-HORT=TOP=OQV say-NFUT '... "Let the two of us go swimming," he suggested and said." 289) ta-da-ma = be = ede-i. е dia 3s 3pl talk-proh-du/pl=top=ogv-NFUT '... he told them not to speak.' dihi 290) ke=me te-i sa<u>qai</u> tila-môu ke+dia 0 child that=TOP die-NFUT likely lie.down-PFV man that+3PL to-l-o i=vade tawa-l-e i. die-IRR-FUT go.NFUT=SQV know-IRR-FUT go.NFUT '... while the child was lying down like dead, the people thought that he must have died.'

291)	₫	tawa-i=be,	Godi=be	<u>a</u> =bôu+de	dala= <b>d</b> = <b>ade</b>	tawa-i.	
	1s	know-nfut=top	God=TOP	1s=and+prov	be/have=INT=SQV	know-nfut	
	' I knew for sure that God must be with me.'						

Medial perfective forms of the subjunctive quote verb =ade is a purpose construction.

292)	<u>A</u> môu yôu wa=be ls nothing without.purpose=TOP	<i><u>a</u> du=yo</i> ls hear=INDC	<i>mei dege-môu,</i> neg do-pfv
	Godi=hg tg kôu g tawa-l-e= God=gen talk prior 1s know-IRR	•	
	'Because while I (do) nothing, I do not hear/u (I am here in this course).' (Mountain dialect)		er for someone to first teach me God's Word,
293)	o ilo ke-le-ge e hebe man part that-A.LOCR-VBR3s tree		<i>heliof<u>ei</u> mal<u>a</u>-ba</i> rent.total get.IRR.FUT-PFV.IRR
	makisidege-ma-b-ado-môu.marketdo-DU/PL=TOP=SQV=PFV' (he) having rented out his garden to some	e men <b>in order for th</b>	em to trade in the market place.'
294)	Sas <u>ai</u> o to=yade-ba wala woman man die=sov-pfv.irr attack	<i>to-da.</i> k.irr.futdie-pro	ЭН

'Do not attack people in order for them to die.' (Mountain dialect)

295) Ni o=mokou himi=nou dege-ma, dia ni midiho bolo ke 2PL man=LOC gentle=only do-DU/PL 3PL 2PL face good that

duqu-ma=b=ade-ba.

see-DU/PL=TOP=SQV-PFV.IRR

'Be gentle to people in order for them to see the good way you (live).'

## 4.1.2 Types of verbs

The verb types are based on the phonological shape of the verbal root or stem, mainly the last vowel. In accordance with that, there are seven types of verbs. When inflected for especially tense, the phonological shape of the TAM suffix will vary in accordance with this vowel in such a way that rules of vowel harmony will be met. (See 2.7.1 VOWEL HARMONY IN VERBS.)

Type 1: Verb roots/stems ending in <i>i</i> ,	e.g. <i>bigi</i>	'wash'
Type 2: Verb roots/stems ending in <i>e</i> ,	e.g. <i>dege</i>	'do'
Type 3: Verb roots/stems ending in $a$ , if a root, the vowel in any preceding syllable is <b>not</b> $i$ ,	e.g. <i>baha</i>	'look'
Type 4: Verb roots ending in $a$ , where the preceding vowel is $i$ ,	e.g. <i>fiya</i>	'fall'
Type 5: Verb roots/stems ending in $u$ ,	e.g. <i>du</i>	'hear'
Type 6: Verb roots/stems ending in <i>ôu</i> ,	e.g. <i>tobo</i> u	'say'
Type 7: Verb roots/stems ending in <i>o</i> ,	e.g. <i>togo</i>	'make'

When the verb root is suffixed for number or transitivity (see 4.1.4.1 VERB STEMS below), it is actually the final vowel of that suffix that decides what forms are chosen, when the stem is further suffixed.

## 4.1.3 Final and medial verbs, an introduction

In Konai, there are two kinds of verbs: medial and final, based on position, on conjugation and on the intonation contour of the clause they appear in (see 2.6.5 INTONATION). A sentence in Konai may be long, containing many medial clauses and ending with a final clause, where the final verb sets the tense/aspect and/or mood for the whole sentence.

The medial clauses carry the story forward using medial verbs with a relative tense and/or aspect marking to connect the different clauses, but it takes the absolute tense/aspect and/or mood from the verb in the final clause. The medial relative tense marking also signals same or different subject.

Final clauses may, however, also appear in the middle of a sentence with verbs conjugated as final verbs, but with an intonation of medial clauses. These partly final, partly medial verbs seem to be used to create anticipation for what is to come. In the free translation of examples this kind of clauses are marked with a semi-colon.

In the following example there are 22 clauses total: 18 medial clauses with **medial verbs and medial intonation**, three final clauses with **final verbs but medial intonation** and one final clause with a **final verb and final intonation**. The example has been shortened and only part of the full sentence appears here (see *Michael's hunting story* in APPENDIX IV for the full text).

296) ... Asika ele Miya-ba duqu-l-u-qi duqu, sio komoîu ... Asika 1du.ex a.river-along see-IRR-NFUT-DSOsee.NFUT bird kingfisher.sp. ta fulou i-mou, ele ya-moû ka i-l-i-qi INDF flying go.NFUT-PFV lDU.EX go.DU/PL.FUT-PFV look.for go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ duwo-mou a defe-mou fulou i-môu fa-i sit-PFV 1s hit-NFUT miss.FUT-PFV flying qo.NFUT-PFV ... moso=kôu .... ya-i. ... house=LOC ... go.du/pl-NFUT '... Asika and I looked along the river Miyan until we two saw a kingfisher flying away; we two immediately having set off, (we) searched until sitting down, I shot (at it with a) slingshot; having missed, (it) flying away, we immediately ... went ... home.'

Some verb types have forms that are the same for both medial and final verbs, but the meaning is different, depending on if the verb is a medial or a final verb. This example is from another story.

wai ka=ha 297) dugu-o fo-l-ou i-l-e. haba = qehagu-mou a pig that=gen 1s see-fut run-IRR-NPST go-IRR-Fut but.PFV.IRR=F.CNTR come.NFUT-PFV dege-i. a taha-i ... fiyo-u-mou 1s shoot-NFUT ... fall-NFUT-PFV do-NFUT "...the pig saw me and ran away and went and later coming (back), I shot at (it); ... (it) was in the process of falling (down).'

In the above example the final verb degei 'do.NFUT' is in past tense, indicating that the preceding medial verbs refer to something that happened in the past, too. The two verb forms folou 'run.IRR.FUT' and *ile* 'go.IRR.FUT' may be used as medial verbs, as above, with the meaning "verb and ...", but the same forms may also be used as final verbs with a future meaning. The medial verbs duguo 'see.FUT', hagumou 'come.NFUT.PFV and fiyo-u-mou 'fall-NFUT-PFV' however, have their own medial forms. See last paragraph in this section. The verb fahai 'shoot.NFUT' is a final verb with medial intonation.

In the following example, there are two sentences, each ending in a final verb: molou 'run.IRR.FUT' and *ile* 'go.IRR.FUT',<sup>76</sup> indicating that the absolute tense of all verbs (except the first one) in these two sentences is future.

298) tobo-u, 20 kina mo-l-ou. OK, 40 kina е ne na-l-e 3s say-NFUT 20 kina 2s.poss eat-IRR-FUT get-IRR-NPST OK 40 kina dou-l-a Dahamo=kou i-l-e. petolo huei ne ma. petrol water draw.water-IRR-SUBJ put.FUT Dahamo=LOC 2s.poss 90-IRR-FUT "... he said, (you) will buy your food for K20. Then, (you) will fill up your petrol for K40 and (you) will go to Dahamo.'

In the next example there are four medial and one final verb. Two verbs diafolou 'cut.off.IRR.NPST' and tahale 'shoot.IRR.FUT' are medial verbs with the form of final verbs in future tense, but as medial verbs their meaning is 'cut off and' ... and 'shoot and ...', respectively. The two other medial verbs do not have the same form as any final verb forms. See the two listings after this example.

299) aweki dihi ta mala, hebe sasa dege-i ta diafo-l-ôu, child INDF get.IRR.FUT tree long do-NFUT INDF cut.off-IRR-NPST knife kuo=kou aweki dihi tiga-ma-môu ka=ha k⊵ taha-l-e+ma-i. this=Loc knife child that tie-ISQ-PFV that=GEN shoot-IRR-FUT+put-NFUT '... (he) took a small knife and cut off a long piece of wood and when (he) had tied the small knife on it, he killed/shot and put (down) (the pig) with it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> This is the same form as in the previous example, but there it is a medial verb, meaning 'go and ...'.

wieulai vert	5 m (297) and (2	99), where the forms are th	e same as mai	forms in future tense	
VERB TYPE	FORM: BASIC	FORM: IRREALIS-FUTURE	MEDIAL MEANI	NG	FINAL MEANING
6b	fo	<b>fo-l-ûu</b> run-irr-NPST	'run and'	(same subject)	'will run'
1	i	<b>i-l-e</b> go-irr-fut	'go and'	(same subject)	'will go'
6a	diafôù	<b>diafo-l-ûu</b> cut.off- <sub>IRR-NPST</sub>	'cut off and'	(same subject)	'will cut off'
3a	tah <u>a</u>	<b>taha-I-<u>e</u></b> go-IRR-FUT	'shoot and'	(same subject)	'will shoot'

Medial verbs in (297) and (299), where the forms are the same as final forms in future tense

The medial verb use of the above verb forms, corresponds to the use of '... and' between verbs in English. It is a sequential strategy for the same subject.

Also, there are a number of medial verb forms not conjugated in the same way as final verbs. For example, in (297) and (299) the following medial verb forms are found.

### Medial verbs in (297) and (299), where the forms are uniquely medial

verb type 5	form: basic <i>dugu</i>	FORM: MEDIAL <i>dugu-o</i> see-fut	MEANING 'see and'	(same subject)	CLOSEST FINAL FORM <i>dugu-l-o</i> see-irr-fut	MEANING 'will see'
4b	hagua	<i>hagu-môu</i> come.NFUT-PFV	'coming'	(different subject)	<i>hagu-l-u</i> come-irr-nfut	'is coming'
6a	m <u>ôl</u> ı	<i>mal<mark>a</mark></i> get.irr.fut	'get and'	(same subject)	<i>mo-l-<u>ô</u>u</i> get-irr-npst	'will get'
4a	tiga	<b>tiga-ma-môu</b> tie-ISQ-PFV	'had tied'	(same subject)	<i>fige-i</i> tie-nfut	'tied'

For complete paradigms see 4.1.5.2.2 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR MEDIAL VERBS.

## 4.1.4 Verb structure

Before giving the structures of the whole verb word, final and medial, I will present the structure of the verb stem. That will include the verb root and the first order verbal suffixes.

## 4.1.4.1 Verb stems

The verb stem functions in the verb word, final and medial.

Verb stem	$\rightarrow$	Verb root	(SF)/(SF)
VS	$\rightarrow$	V(-)	(Number)/(Object Focus)

The verb root may be affixed with one of the first order verbal suffixes: a number marker or the object focus marker, but usually not with both at the same time. (But see (303).) Alternatively, different verbs take one or the other or none.

These first order verbal suffixes are repeated here from the morphology section. For more information see 4.1.6.2.2 INDIVIDUATED PLURAL ON MOSTLY INTRANSITIVE VERBS, 4.1.6.4 PLURAL OBJECT and 4.1.7 OBJECT FOCUS.

$\mathcal{O}^{77}$	'singular'	all verb	all verbs					
-ga	'dual/plural'	refers	absolutive marking: refers to the subject of intransitive verbs refers to the object of transitive verbs					
-gua	'dual/plural'	stative	stative verbs					
- <i>se</i>	'dual/plural'	refers to	refers to the object of some transitive verbs					
-sie	'dual/plural'	a few ir	a few intransitive, mostly motion verbs					
300)	<i>migi-<b>ga</b> come.down-</i>	DU/PL	<i>nal<b>a-ga</b></i> write-du/pl	<i>tila-<b>gua</b> lie.down-</i> DU/PL	<i>hebe-<b>se</b></i> throw.away-DU/PL	<i>fiya-<b>sie</b></i> fall-du/pl		
	'come down (d	u./pl.)'	<pre>'write many letters/pages/books'</pre>	'lie down ( <b>du./pl.</b> )'	<pre>'throw away (du./pl. object)'</pre>	'fall ( <b>du./pl.</b> )'		
	G 1 (205)							

See also (305).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> This will not be marked in the examples.

-gV 'object focus'

The vowel in the object suffix is i, u,  $o\hat{u}$ . In the following example, the money does not trigger the object focus, but a serial verb construction with plural meaning (see 5.1.3.8). In the next example however, the people gathering for a purpose, involving a dead man, does trigger the object focus.

- 301) *ei* sele kefe+mg dugu=be, 350.00 kina=nôu dala-môu dugu. 1PL.EX money gather+put see.NFUT=TOP 350.00 kina=only be/have-PFV see.NFUT '... we (excl.) collected (the) money and saw that there was only K350, (we) saw.'
- 302) Dahamo o olôuf<u>ei</u> kefe-gu-o dala-môu, kele=ye Dahamo man all gather-OF-FUT be/have-PFV that-A.LOCR=INS mala migi. get.IRR.FUT come.down.NFUT 'All the people of Dahamo gathered for the occasion (a dead body being brought back by plane), and while

In translation however, at least one verb form has been found, where object focus and the kind of number marking mentioned above occur together.

303) yôu-sie e kolo igi=ye ka-gi-se-di. 3s.emp-refl 3s skin stone=INS cut-of-du/pl-HAB '... he habitually cut his own skin in many places with stones.'

(they) were (there), in that way (he was) brought down.'

**Reduplication** of part of the verb root, also occurs in the stem, indicating iterative aspect (see 4.1.5.4.1 ITERATIVE ASPECT), which sometimes changes the meaning of the verb as in the first example below.

- 304) hegi he-hegi-e show RED.PL-ShOW-RED.PL 'show' 'teach'
- 305) *Wai gu-gug-ma i-môu, g sese-ga i.* pig RED.PL-squeal-ISQ gO-PFV 1s follow-DU/PL go 'After the pig had squealed repeatedly (and) was going away, I followed everywhere and went.'

Please also note the non-singular suffix -ga and its meaning 'everywhere' in this context on the last example.

## 4.1.4.2 Structure of final verbs

There are three structures for different types of final verbs: verbs in epistemic mood, verbs in deontic mood and negative verbs with a present tense meaning.

### Structure I – Verbs in epistemic mood

Final verb word <sub>I</sub>	$\rightarrow$ Verb stem	SF+SF
FVI	$\rightarrow$ VS-	Epistemic mood+Tense/Aspect

The verb stem is affixed with one each of the second and third order verbal suffixes: expressing mood and tense or aspect. The second and the more common third order verbal suffixes are repeated here from the morphology section (see 3.1.1.2 and 3.1.1.3).

Mood	(epistemic)	Ø -I-	ʻrealis' ʻirrealis'	4.1.5.1 Epistemic mood
Tense	(statement)	-i/-u -e/-o -ôu	'non-future' 'future' 'non-past'	4.1.5.2.1 Forms of the tam suffix for final verbs
Aspect		-di -adi	'habitual' 'prospective'	4.1.5.3 EPISTEMIC MOOD AND ASPECT

### 306) *Na kuguo Bimin=kou sa-gi-I-e*

2s paper Bimin=LOC put.inside-OF-IRR-FUT

'You will send a letter to Bimin.' (implied: put inside (a mailbag (to go on an airplane))

307)	so <b>-l-u</b> .	sa-gi <b>-l-i</b> .
	put.inside-IRR-NFUT	put.inside-of-IRR-NFUT
	'is putting something inside'	'is putting something special inside'
	hagu <b>-I-u</b> .	hagua-si <b>-l-i</b> .
	COME-IRR-NFUT	come-DU/PL-IRR-NFUT
	'is coming'	'are coming'
	tio <b>-I-u</b> .	i-l-i.
	sleep-IRR-NFUT	go-irr-nfut
	' <b>is</b> falling asleep'	' <b>is</b> going'
308)	<i>hagua-sie-i</i> . come-du/pl-NFUT 'they c <b>a</b> me'	
309)	Kueya di <u>a</u> =me mih <u>i</u> =kôu tia <b>-di</b> .	
	cassowary 3PL=TOP earth=LOC sleep	р-нав
	'Cassowaries habitually sleep on the ground.'	
310)	gto-l-oi-l-adi.1sdie-IRR-FUTgo-IRR-PROS' I am just about to die.'	
Structure I	I – Verbs in deontic mood	
Final verb w	$vord_{II} \rightarrow Verb stem SF SF$	
$FV_{II}$	$\rightarrow$ VS- Deontic mood Nur	nber
	b stem is affixed with one of the second order d re from the morphology section (see 3.1.1.2 and 3.	eontic suffixes, as well as a third order numerical. These are 1.1.3).

Mood	(deontic)	Ø	'imperative'	4.1.5.5 DEONTIC MOOD			
		-me	'hortative'				
		-da	'prohibitive'				
Number	(deontic)	Ø	'singular'				
		-ma	'dual/plural 2/3 person'				
311) <i>Ni hagua-sie<b>-da-ma</b>.</i>							
2pl come-du/pl-proh-du/pl							

'Don't come (du./pl.).'

For more examples see 3.1.1.2 SECOND ORDER VERBAL SUFFIXES.

Structure III – Negative verbs with present tense meaning							7.1.1 Indicative (in statements)
Final verb w	ord <sub>III</sub>	$\rightarrow$ Verb ster	n SF/SF			CLT	(#ADV)
$\mathrm{FV}_{\mathrm{III}}$		$\rightarrow$ VS-	Tense: NFUT	/Asp	ect: HAB	Indicative	(#NEG)
312)	Sa	kasa <u>ga</u> i	dege-môu = be,	<u>e</u>	t <u>a</u> -di= <b>yo</b>	mei.	
	land	bad	do-pfv=top	3s	talk-HAB=INDO	C NEG	
'When the weather is bad, it <b>does</b> not make any noise (about the cicada). '							

In this construction the indicative clitic = yo may only co-occur with the tense suffixes -i and -u, 'non-future' or the aspect suffix -di 'habitual'. It functions together with the negator mei 'negative'. See also 6.4 NEGATION OF THE CLAUSE.

### 4.1.4.3 Structure of medial verbs

•

There are three basic structures of the medial verb. The medial verb suffixes -mou 'perfective' and -ba 'perfective irrealis' may occur in the two first structures as the final element.

- Medial verbs with **mood** &tense/purpose inflection +/- -môu 'perfective' or -ba 'perfective irrealis' •
  - Medial verbs with -ma 'immediate sequence'
- Medial verbs with -gi 'delayed sequence'
- +/- -mou 'perfective' or -ba 'perfective irrealis'

### Structure I – Medial verbs with mood & tense/purpose inflection

Medial verb word <sub>I</sub>	$\rightarrow$ Verb stem	SF+SF	(SF)
$MV_I$	$\rightarrow$ VS-	Epistemic mood+Tense/Purpose	(Perfective (irrealis)

The medial verbs with this kind of structure take no special medial suffixes in their basic conjugation, though they may take either of the two perfective suffixes in addition to their other suffixation. Two enclitics =be 'topic' and =si 'contrast marker' may also function together with the perfective medial suffixes (see 6.1.4 MEDIAL AND FINAL CLAUSES IN LONG SENTENCES).

The basic suffixes involved here are the common TAM suffixes, but they express a relative present and a relative future tense in regard to the following verb, as well as marking the same or a different subject in the following clause. Epistemic mood is also marked in this medial inflection, but it is used differently from how it is used in final verbs. For more details see 4.1.5.2.2 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR MEDIAL VERBS. Below are just a few examples with explanations.

The purpose suffix referred to in the formula above is illustrated in (319).

313)	Sas <u>ai</u> dihi <b>mohu-l-o</b> woman child hold-IRR-FUT 'The woman is standing holding a cl	<i>tafala</i> . stand hild/ <b>holds</b> a child <b>and</b> is	standing.'	
314)	o olôuf <u>ei</u> <b>i-l-e</b> , wai man all go-irr-fut pig		<i>hebe-l-e</i> carry-IRR-FUT	<i>hagua</i> , come.fut
	<i>ke-ge-mou, dig so-l-ou-mo</i> that-vbr-pfv 3pl cook.on. ' all the men went and got the pig they ate it.'	stones-IRR-NPST-PF		5

315) disope oloufei bolou ke-ge gobo-l-ou nalg i.
pineapple all.total two that-ver break-IRR-NPST eat.IRR.FUT go.NFUT
'... (we two) picked two pineapples and ate them.'

The three examples above show the strategy for the same subject in sequential actions: the relative tense marking is future shown by a final low vowel or  $-l\hat{o}u$  (-IRR.NPST) for verb type 6, meaning 'verb and ...' and with  $-m\hat{o}u$  'perfective' 'having verbed'. The absolute tense of the medial verbs is taken from the final verb.

In the following example, the high vowel u in  $m\underline{u}$  'go down' signals simultaneous time, as well as a change of subject.

316)	f <u>e</u> ne	m <u>u</u> -moîu	0	David=bôu+de
	air.plan	go.down.NFUT-PFV	see.NFUT=TOP	David=and+prov
	<i>sa</i> put.insid	<b>mu॒-môu</b> de.fut go.down-Nf	<i>dugu.</i> ut-pfv see.nf	UT
	'when (I) saw the plane <b>coming do</b> with David inside.'		own, (I) saw (it) c	oming down

In the next example, the overall tense is future, shown by the final verb *hagua-l-e* 'come-IRR-FUT'. The first two verbs in the sentence, dege-l-e = be 'do-IRR-FUT=TOP' and  $mo-l-\underline{ou} = be$  'get-IRR-NPST=TOP' are also final verbs in future tense, setting the stage so to speak. Compare the four previous examples, where the final verbs are present or past.

The medial verbs are also mostly future (as in the three first examples), but a relative future to signal sequence involving the same subject. A change of subject happens at the verb *dala-ba* 'be/have-PFV.IRR', an existential state verb that in this form signals a different subject and simultaneous time (see 4.1.5.2.2).

317)	sele     40	.00 k <u>e</u> d	oda dege-l-e=be,	, bi <u>e</u>	mo-l- <u>o</u> û = be,
	<i> money</i> 40	that o	order do-IRR-FUT=1	TOP thing 3s	get-IRR-NPST=TOP
		•	<b>malg</b>	-	•••
	dala-ba,	<u>a</u> mu−l- <u>o</u>	dugu-o	mal <u>a</u>	kuhe hagua-l-e.
	be/have-pfv.IRR	ls go.dowr	n-IRR-FUT see-FUT	get.IRR.FUT	SO COME-IRR-FUT

'... when (you) will make an order for K40, (the) thing(s) it will get is (this): (it) will bring/get and come) two boxes of batteries and you will put (them) and having (them there), I will go down and see (them) and get (them) and so (I) will come (back here).'

In the next example, the only medial verb is da/a-l-i (be/have-IRR-NFUT) 'be/have until'. It also signals that the same subject will follow, sometimes, as here, after a lengthy description of weather conditions.

318)			<i>sabiye-i</i> be.morning-NFUT				<i>ke-ge,</i> that-vBR		
	<i>sabiye-i</i> be.morning-NFUT	0		<i>te-i.</i> wash-nfut		_			
	'(I) <b>was</b> in Sesenabi <b>until</b> one day, on that Saturday in the morning it rained I went hunting.'								

The last example shows a purpose construction.

<u>e</u> i-l-a-môu,<sup>78</sup> 319) kuolôu dia dala-di  $ko = k \hat{o} u$ tobo-u. 0 3s go-IRR-SUBJ-PFV law watch.over be/have-HAB man that=LOC say-NFUT "... he **planning to go**, gave instructions to the landlord, ..."

Structure II – Medial verbs with -mq 'immediate sequence', a fourth order verbal suffix

Medial verb word <sub>II</sub>	$\rightarrow$ Verb stem	SF	(SF)
$MV_{II}$	$\rightarrow$ VS-	Immediate sequence, telic	(Perfective (irrealis))

The suffix -ma 'immediate sequence' occurs on the basic verb form. It is telic in meaning, and it also signals that the next event follows immediately. It occurs mostly on intransitive and weakly transitive verbs. See 3.1.1.4 FOURTH ORDER VERBAL SUFFIXES.

- 320) Na-ma mei dege-mou fogou-ma i-l-e. eat-ISQ NEG do-PFV leave.for-ISQ go-IRR-FUT 'After having finished eating, after leaving (they) will go (on).'
- 321) diou huei so-ma, to to i. canoe water remove-ISQ riverwash go.NFUT '... after emptying (the) canoe of water, (we) went to (have a) swim.'

Stative verbs do not take this suffix, so a proverb is needed to take it.

nele sa Sepik=kou dala de-ma-mou, Dahamo=kou haque-i 322) land Sepik=Loc be/have prov-ISQ-PFV Dahamo=Loc 2du come-NFUT '... after the two of you had lived in the Sepik, (you) came to Dahamo.'

Structure III - Medial verbs with -gi 'delayed sequence', a fourth order verbal suffix

Medial verb word<sub>III</sub>  $\rightarrow$  Verb stem SF+SF+SF  $\rightarrow$  VS-Epistemic mood: IRR+Tense: NFUT+Delayed sequence

 $MV_{III}$ 

This suffix occurs together with the present tense suffix as it occurs in final verbs. See also 3.1.1.4 FOURTH ORDER VERBAL SUFFIXES.

323)	I-l-i-gi,	SO	ka=h <u>a</u>	wai	tigo-u-môu	i-l-e	dugu=be	,
	go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ	o dog	that=gen	pig	bark-NFUT-PFV	go-IRR-FU	T see.NFUT:	=TOP
	'(He) went <b>until</b> he saw that'	e (hear	d) the dog ba	rk at a	pig (when he) imme	ediately went	and	
	_ , ,	~	,				, ,	~

dege-mou, 324) E to to-môu su-l-u**-gi**, kulio 3s river wash.FUT-PFV walk.around-IRR-NFUT-DS0 coldness do.FUT-PFV dou ha duwo. fire get.warm sit

'He is swimming around **until** having got cold, (he) is sitting to warm himself by the fire.'

### Structures I & II with perfective suffixes

The suffix -moû 'perfective (realis)' and the suffix -ba 'perfective irrealis' make the clause, where they occur, and any prior clause, a complete unit in itself. These two medial suffixes are used when the story teller wants, so to speak, to set a new scene, or when the next event/state has another, in the context, usually more important actor (see 7.3.1 SWITCH OF SCENE ...). In the first three examples the subjects change after the perfective suffix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> The corresponding final verb form is *i-l-adi* (go-IRR-PROS) '(he) is just about to go'; -*adi* 'prospective' (PROS) is an aspect marker used in final verbs only. Also, the  $=\alpha/-\alpha$  'subjunctive', here interpreted as a suffix, is in its other functions interpreted as a clitic (see 7.1.3) Subjunctive (in purpose constructions, opinion statements and content questions).

325)	<u>A</u> afu kueya duwo-môu dugu. 1s earlier cassowary sit-pfv see-NFUT				
	'Earlier I saw (a) cassowary sitting.'				
326)	<u>A</u> mola moso=kôu i=ba, ni dabai ta dege-ma. 1s medicine house=Loc go.NFUT=PFV.IRR 2PL work INDF do-DU/PL				
	'I'll go to the clinic, while you continue to work.'				
327)	Mititobo-l-ôu-gi,sanugu-môu,folotie-i.meetingsay-IRR-NPST-DSQlandget.dark.NFUT-PFVgo.upsleep-NFUT'(We)debateduntil it/(the)landwas gettingdark, when (we/I)immediatelywent up andslept.'				
In the ty	wo following examples the subject is the same after the perfective suffixes, but a new scene is about to develop.				
328)	Hagua-sige,moso=kôufele-ga-môu,miyesasi-l-ecome-DU/PL.FUThouse=LOCcome.up-DU/PL.FUT-PFVfishput.into.FUT cook-IRR-FUT'We came and having come up to the house, (we) put the fish in (a pan) and cooked it and'				
329)	<ul> <li>hoho+bo-l-ôu-ba hagua tofôu-me.</li> <li>light+rejoice-IRR-NPST-PFV.IRR stand.up step-HORT</li> <li>' having (started) to rejoice, let us stand up and move forward.'</li> </ul>				
The suf	fix <i>-ma</i> 'immediate sequence' may co-occur with both <i>-mou</i> and <i>-ba</i> .				
330)	<u>e</u> dugu=be, wai hagu-môu tah <u>a</u> - <u>i</u> to-l-o i-môu, 3s see.NFUT=TOP pig come.NFUT-PFV shoot-NFUT die-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV				
	<u>e</u> o ka hagua-môu, o tobôu-ma-môu i-l-e, 3s man look.for come.fut-pfv man say-isq-pfv go-irr-fut				
	<i>mal<mark>a hebe-l-e hagua-mou so-l-ou n<u>a</u>-i.</mark></i> get.irr.fut carry-irr-fut come.fut-pfv cook-irr-npst eat-nfut				
	' he seeing that a pig was coming, (he) shot (it); (the pig having) died, he immediately came to look for people (to carry the pig home) and <b>when</b> he <b>had told</b> (the) men, they all went and got (the pig) and carried (it) and having come (back they) cooked and ate (it).'				
moturos	uctures with perfective suffixes and the enclitics —he 'topic' and —si 'contrast marker'				

## Structures with perfective suffixes and the enclitics =be 'topic' and =si 'contrast marker'

Two enclitics =be 'topic marker' and =si 'contrast marker' may function together with the perfective medial markers  $-mo\hat{u}$  and -ba.

- 331) ng aso ke ha duwo-ba=be, ng difi ta dugu-l-o mei=do 2s sun that get.warm sit-pfv.IRR=TOP 2s heat INDF see-IRR-FUTNEG=INT '... if you sit in that sun to get warm, you do not feel any heat at all ...'
- 332) <u>E</u> moso togo-ma-môu = be, <u>e</u> kili dala = di. 3s house build-ISQ-PFV=TOP 3s inside be/have-HAB 'After he had finished building his house, (it being there,) he lived in it.'
- 333) <u>e</u> mogo dala-ba i-ba=si, <u>e</u> mogo=ha 3s friend be/have-pFV.IRR go.NFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR 3s friend=GEN moso=kôu tia-l-e house=Loc sleep-IRR-FUT

'... but if (he) has a friend (and) goes, (he) will sleep in his friend's house ...'

# 4.1.5 Tense, aspect and mood<sup>79</sup> (TAM)

In 4.1.5.1, I will describe the epistemic moods realis and irrealis. In 4.1.5.2, I will discuss how these interact with tense. This interaction is the backbone of the TAM system in Konai for final verbs. In 4.1.5.3, I will describe how the realis /irrealis distinction interacts with certain aspects. In 4.1.5.4, some other aspects will be described. In 4.1.5.5, I will describe the deontic moods imperative, hortative and prohibitive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> In discussing modality, based on Bybee and Fleischman (1995:2), I am using the word 'mood' rather than 'mode', as modality in Konai is signalled by inflectional affixes on the verb.

### 4.1.5.1 Epistemic mood

The epistemic mode characterizes the actuality of an event in terms of alternative possible situations, or worlds (Chung & Timberlake 1985:242).

This quote describes the realis/irrealis distinction in Konai. Irrealis marks the non-actual and/or unstable event or state. The realis marks what has actually happened and/or is stable.

Realis is the unmarked form. This form may take a suffix marking tense or aspect. Some verbs are inherently in nonfuture tense, if the context so allows. Irrealis is marked by the suffix *-l*- and is **always** followed by a suffix expressing tense or aspect/purpose.

The irrealis/realis function is well understood for final verbs (4.1.5.1.1). However, when used in medial verb forms there is no general straight forward explanation (4.1.5.1.2).

### 4.1.5.1.1 Epistemic mood in final verbs

The following table and a few examples will show how the system works. If not explicitly stated that medial verb forms are involved, this section talks about final verbs.

Irrealis (-/) is used:

• • •	when an event/state has not yet occurred but probably will when an event is in progress but not completed when an event/state is described as not having occurred nor will for unstable states, usually stated as a non-final verb, i.e. a medial verb form	(334) (335) (336), (337) (338), (339)				
Realis • •	(the unmarked form) is used: for past events/states present states present negatives (with medial verb forms) present questions (with medial verb forms)	(340), (341) (342) (343) (344)				
334)	Ng idibayosogo-l-o.2stomorrowbananaplant-IRR-FUT'You will plant bananas tomorrow.'					
335)	Ngyosogo-u-l-u.2sbananaplant-bltv-irr-nfut'You are planting bananas.'					
336)						
337)	Ng yosogo-I-omei.2sbananaplant-IRR-FUTNEG'You are not going to plant bananas.'					
338)	Asele=hghebe $sugu + t\hat{o}u$ tafala-I-i,waika=hgsoAsele=gentreetop+upstand-IRR-NFUTpigthat=gendog	<i>sese-l-e</i> follow-irr-fut				
	haguafogôui-môutahg-i=become.FUTleave.forgo.NFUT-PFVshoot-NFUT=TOP'Asele was standing up in a tree top until the pig came and chased the dog(s) and (Asele) shot at (the pig)'and chased the dog(s) and	d (as they were) passing by,				
339)	Kôu-leduwo-l-itobo-l-ôu.this-A.LOCRsit-IRR-NFUT say-IRR-NPST'(I) am staying here speaking.'					
340)	Ng iyosege-i.2syesterdaybananaplant-NFUT'You planted bananas yesterday.'					
341)	<i>Felix=hg sokôulôu <b>duwe-i</b> tg susu-l-a-môu</i> Felix=gen school sit-nfut talk tell-IRR-SUBJ-PFV					
342)	<ul> <li>'(I) want to tell (a) story (about when) Felix was (in) school.'</li> <li><u>A</u> = me duwo.</li> <li>1s=TOP sit</li> <li>'I am here.'</li> </ul>					

82

- 343) <u>A</u> dugu=yo mei. 1s see.NFUT=INDC NEG 'I do not see (them).'
- 344) *Ade, ng ka-ge tawa-i=ya?* father 2s how-vbr know-NFUT=SUBJ 'Father, what **do** you **know**?' (Mountain dialect)

Though there is no present tense as such it should be noted that:

irrealis is used in final verbs to express:

- present events (335)
  realis is used in final verbs to express:
  present states (342)
  - present negatives (with medial verb forms)

Imperative is not an irrealis form, nor is irrealis used to express conditions.

### 4.1.5.1.2 Epistemic mood in medial verbs

The realis/irrealis distinction is easy to explain for final verbs, but for medial verbs there is no straight forward explanation.

In general, the following may be a guide line for all verb types, except verb type 6 (see below in this section):

relative present tense, expressing a close temporal relationship 'a soon as', '-ing ...',

- marked by a stem final **high** vowel (also expresses different subject)
- **realis** (Ø) for forms with the suffixes *-mou* 'perfective' and *-ba* 'perfective irrealis' (240) (240) f
  - see (348), (349) for an event verb

see (351) for a stative verb (basic form of stative verbs, ending in o or a)

• **irrealis** (-*I*) for existential state verb forms with -*i*; this looks like present tense but actually means 'until' see (352)

relative future tense, expressing an unspecified temporal relationship 'and ...', 'having ...'

- marked by a stem final low vowel (also expresses same subject)
- the **mood distinction seems irrelevant** for meaning. Some verb forms are always irrealis; some are always realis as will be described below:

In medial forms, where the last stem vowel is low, signalling an unspecified relationship to the following verb, there does not seem to be any difference in function or meaning whether the verb is in realis or irrealis mood. Other considerations seem to prevail. One rule of thumb is this:

- short stems irrealis form to make the word longer
- longer stems realis to make the word shorter

This rule is by no means full proof, but here are two examples to show what I mean:

345)	<i>du</i> 'hear' hear.NFUT	<b>du</b> <sup>80</sup>	relative present: 'hearing'	<i>du-<b> -o</b></i> hear-IRR	
346)	<i>dugu</i> 'see' see.NFUT	dug <b>u</b>	relative present: 'seeing'	<i>dugu-0</i> see-fut	relative future: 'see and'

Based on this rule of length for verbs expressing an unspecified temporal relationship to the following verb, i.e. 'and ...', the following observations may be added:

• verb stems comprising more than a root are realis in relative future tense. Some examples are:

verb root + number (347)
verb root + object focus (see (345) and (346), including the footnote)
demonstrative pronoun/adverb + verbaliser

see 4.1.1.2 PRO-VERBS: kôugue 'be like this', kege 'be like that'
other pro-verbs (348)
see " " : dege 'do', de 'proverb'

question words + verbaliser

see 4.7 QUESTION WORDS: ka 'how'
quote verbs (they cliticise on the quote)
see 4.1.1.3 QUOTE VERBS

(343)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> The root du probably means 'perceive', rather than 'hear'. The suffix -gu in du(-)gu, in (346) is probably the object focus suffix. These two verbs are used for the five senses: see, hear, taste, smell and feel.

Examples, verb types 1-5, 7

Examples,	
347)	Hagua-sige.Ø,moso=kôufele-ga.Ø-môu,miyesa.Øcome-du/pl.real.futhouse=loccome.up-du/pl.real.fut-pfvfishput.inside.real.fut
	<i>si-l-<b>e</b>, ôu si-l-<b>e</b> de-ma-môu nal<u>a</u> i.</i> cook-irr-fut sago cook-irr-fut prov-isq-pfv eat.irr.fut go.nfut
	'They came <b>and having</b> come into (the) house, after (they) had put the fish in (a pot) <b>and</b> cooked it <b>and</b> cooked sago they ate.' ( <i>nalg i</i> is a plural subject form, see, 4.1.6.2.1)
348)	Huliame sasai dia oguo hoho dege <b>.ø-i-</b> môu, mi <u>ve</u> bese i-l-i.
010,	darkness.top woman 3pl moon light do.real-NFUT-PFV fish angle.for go-IRR-NFUT
	'At night, <b>as soon as</b> the moon is shining, women go (out) to fish.'
349)	so ka=ha wai tigo.Ø-u-môu i-l-e dugu=be, dog that=gen pig bark.REAL-NFUT-PFV gO-IRR-FUT see.NFUT=TOP
	<i>wai oye hiye=do k<u>e</u> tigo.ø-u-môu dugu.</i> pig male big=INT that bark.REAL-NFUT-PFV see.NFUT
	' as soon as the dog barked at a pig, (he (a man)) went and saw (the dog) barking at that very big boar.'
350)	<i>O <u>e</u> ou duwo.ø-u-mou, sas<u>a</u>i <u>e</u> dihil<u>o</u> togo-l-o duwo. man 3s sago split.real-nfut-pfv woman 3s sago.filter make-irr-fut sit</i>
	<b>While</b> the man is splitting the sago (palm), the woman is sitting making a sago filter./makes <b>and</b> sits.'
351)	<u>A</u> afu kueya duwo.Ø-môu dugu. 1s earlier cassowary sit.real-pfv see-nfut
	'Earlier I saw a cassowary sitting.'
352)	siokisi-maduwo-l-idugu=bebirdmake.a.wall-ISQsit-IRR-NFUTsee.NFUT=TOP' after making a bird-hunting cover, (I) sat (there)until (I) saw'
Verb type 6	 6
Verbs of typ	be 6 have their own rules:
Relative	e present tense '-ing': realis ( $\emptyset$ ) (353), (355)
Relative	e future tense 'and', 'having': irrealis (- <i>I</i> -) (354), (355)
353)	<i>sa sa olôuf<u>e</u>i tob<b>ôu.©-</b>môu sie-i.</i> land land all.total say.REAL-PFV walk.around-NFUT ' (he) went around speak <b>ing</b> everywhere.'
354)	
554)	1s top go.up-NFUT-PFV 3PL 1s hold-IRR-NPST+put-NFUT
	" climbing to the top, they held on to me <b>and</b> pinned (me down)"
355)	( <i>kueya dihi</i> ) <i>bolou ke-ge to-l-ou-mou, ta so=ye sese-l-e</i> cassowary child two that-ver hold-irr-nest-pev inder dog=ins follow-irr-fut
	i-l-e wala n <u>o</u> - <u>u</u> -môu dugu-o fog <b>ôu</b> .ø igiya-i.
	go-IRR-FUT attack.IRR.FUT eat-NFUT-PFV see-FUT leave.for.REAL go.DU/PL-NFUT ' having got hold of two (cassowary chickens), (we) saw one pursued and killed and eaten by the dog, and
	leaving we went.'

However, occasionally the previous statement, repeated below:

"Relative future tense ... The mood distinction seems irrelevant for meaning ..."

... comes into question. In the following three examples *dege-l-e-ba* (do-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR; basic form: *dege*) and *bi-l-o-ba* (sit.up/down-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR; basic form: *biyo* (irregular)) are in **irrealis** mood in their medial relative future forms. This is regular for the verb *biyo* 'sit up/down', a type 7 verb, but highly unusual for *dege* 'do' a type 2 verb that does not appear in this form in any of my text materials. However, it came up in translation, and the following examples were given to illustrate its use. The meaning of the forms is similar to the delayed sequence forms (see 7.3.2.4: -*gi*).

356)	dabai <b>dege-I-e-ba</b> ,	na-l- <u>e</u>	na-l- <u>e</u>					
	work do-IRR-FUT-PFV.IF	RR eat-IRR-FUT	eat-IRR-FUT					
	'when he will have finished working, he will eat the food (he has put aside)'							
357)	n <u>a</u> dabai <b>dege-I-e-ba</b> ,	sele n	no-l- <u>o</u> u					

- 2s work do-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR money get-IRR-NPST 'when you will have finished working, you will be paid/receive money'
- 358) *Kevin=hg\_literacy\_school\_bi-l-o-ba, na-l-g\_na-l-g\_* Kevin=gen\_literacy\_school\_sit.up/down-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR\_eat-IRR-FUT\_eat-IRR-FUT\_eat-IRR-FUT\_when Kevin will have finished school, he will eat the food (he has put aside)'

### 4.1.5.2 Epistemic mood and tense

Tense in Konai cannot be separated from the modal distinction of realis/irrealis, especially in final verbs. There are two tense distinctions that for most verbs correspond to non-future and future. A realis verb takes a non-future tense. An irrealis verb can take either. The exception is type 6 verbs, which end in  $\partial u$ , where, if one wants to talk about tense at all, it can only be interpreted as past versus non-past. As will be shown, this corresponds exactly with the realis and irrealis forms respectively, and there is no choice for the irrealis form. The tense distinction between present and future is neutralised.

I will first describe the different forms of the TAM suffix, first for final then for medial verbs. Then a discussion of its different functions will follow.

### 4.1.5.2.1 Forms of the TAM suffix for final verbs

A vowel chart is the most helpful tool to understand the tense suffixes. In verb types 1-5&7, the non-future tense is marked by a high vowel and future is marked by a low vowel. Which vowel is chosen is a matter of vowel harmony (see 2.7.1). Type 6 verbs end in  $\partial \hat{u}$ , i.e. /o/. Rules of vowel harmony demand that the tense suffix should be  $\partial \hat{u}$ , i.e. /o/, a mid-vowel. Seemingly only because of /o/ being neither high nor low, there is no tense distinction for the irrealis forms.

#### Vowel chart

	Front	Central	Back
High	<b>i</b> /i/		<b>u</b> /u
Mid			<b>ôu</b> /o/
Low	<b>e</b> /ɛ/	<b>a</b> /ɑ/	<b>o</b> /ɔ/

The following table shows the seven types of verbs and how they are conjugated as final verbs. **Bold** shows **regular** conjugations based on vowel harmony rules described in 2.7.1. Verb types 3, 4, 6, 7 have sub-types showing irregular conjugation (e.g. 3b, 3c), where the irregular forms are <u>not</u> in bold.

				High <sup>81</sup> V	Vowel: <i>i</i> , <i>u</i>	Low Vowel: e, o
Туре	LSV	Ex. Basic	Meaning	<b>R-NFUT</b> past tense <sup>82</sup>	IRR-NFUT present tense	IRR-FUT future tense
1	i	si	'cook'	si	si-l-i	si-l-e
2	е	bese	'fish/angle for'	bese-i	bese-l-i	bese-I-e
<b>3</b> a	а	da	'dig'	da-i	do-l-u	da-I-e
3b		hagu <u>a</u> <sup>83</sup>	'stand up'	hagu <u>a-i</u>	haguo-l- <u>u</u>	hagua-l- <u>e</u>
3c		<i>у</i> <u>а</u>	ʻplay'	<u>уа-і</u>	ya-l- <u>i</u>	ya-l- <u>e</u>
4a	i/u(C)a	biya	'fight'	biye-i	biyo-l-u	biya-l-e
4b		sia	'walk around'	sie-i	su-l-u	su-l-o
		hagua	'come'	hague-i	hagu-l-u	hagua-l-e
4c		tila	'lie down'	tile-i	tila-l-i <sup>84</sup>	tila-l-e
4d		tafala	'stand'	tefele-i	tafala-l-i	tafala-l-e
5	и	yodu	'ask'	yodu	yodu-l-u	yodu-l-o
6a	ôù	m <u>o</u> u	'get'	т <u>о</u> - <u>и</u>	mo-l- <u>o</u> u	mo-l- <u>o</u> û
бb	о	fo	'run'	fo-u	fo-l-ôu	fo-l-oû
7a	о	wo	'attack'	we-i	wou-l-u	wo-l-o
7b		duwo	'sit'	duwe-i	duwo-l-i <sup>85</sup>	duwo-l-o

## Final verb conjugation, red = existential state verb

As the basic form ends in a high vowel, verb types 1 and 5 are inherently past tense, if, as here, the context so allows.<sup>86</sup> A couple of verbs, ending in e or o and having an I in the root, use their basic form to express irrealis future, i.e. future tense, e.g. *folo* 'go up/will go up' and *fele* 'come up/will come up'.

As can be seen in the previous table, some of the verb types seemingly have two or three different roots. This is an illusion and easily explained by the rules described in 2.7.1 VOWEL HARMONY IN VERBS. In the next table I will show the verb types, where there are seemingly different stems and where they occur.

Vowel harmony effects on verb roots in fi	inal verbs, red = existential state verbs
---	---

				Stem changed due to vowel harmony			
Туре	Meaning	Ex. Basic	<b>R-NFUT</b>	IRR-NFUT	IRR-FUT		
3a/b	'dig'/'stand up'	da/hagu <u>a</u>		do-/hagu <u>o</u> -			
4a	'fight'	biya	biye-	biyo-			
4b	'walk around'/'come'	sia/hagua	sie-/hague-	su-/hagu-	su-		
4c	'lie down'	tila	tile-				
4d	'stand'	<i>tafala</i> (irreg.)	tefele-				
ба	'get'	m <u>o</u> û	m <u>o</u> -	т <u>о</u> -	m <u>o</u> -		
6b	'run'	fo (irreg.)					
7a	'attack'	WO	we-	WO.U- (WO.BLTV-)			
7b	'sit'	duwo	duwe-				

Examples will be presented under 4.1.5.2.3 FUNCTIONS OF THE TAM SUFFIX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup>The high versus low vowel distinction does not apply to type 6 (see introduction to this section).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> This is also **stable present tense** for experiential state verbs, like *a sugua-i* 'I have a fever.' (See 4.1.1.1.3 EXPERIENTIAL STATE VERBS.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> This form is irregular because the penultimate vowel is high, which should have resulted in a type 4 conjugation. Bleed-through has probably changed this form from \*hugg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> This form for existential state verbs is medial and means '... until'. In final verbs, present tense is the same as the basic form.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> This particular form does not follow rules of vowel harmony. Note also that the existential state verbs are conjugated in a similar way, regardless of verb type. Only future tense follows verb type.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> An alternative interpretation is that when the suffix is identical with the last stem vowel, assimilation occurs.

### Past tense and negation

Vowel harmony rules are violated in expressing negative past states or events. The non-future tense form -*i* is always used, regardless of verb type.

359)	du-l <b>-i</b>	mei		Type 5, basic form: <i>du</i> ; past tense: <i>du</i> hear.NFUT
	hear-IRR-NFUT 'did not hear'	NEG		present form: <i>du-l-u</i> hear-IRR-NFUT 'is hearing'
360)	<u>E</u> mos <u>o</u> tege	-l <b>-i</b> mei.		Type 7, basic form: <i>togo</i> ; past: <i>tege-i</i> make-NFUT
	3s house make 'He did not build a			present form: <i>togo-u-l-u</i> make-bltv-irr-nfut 'is making'
361)	Sas <u>a</u> i <u>e</u> miy <u>e</u>	e bese-l <b>-i</b>	mei.	Type 2, basic form: <i>bese</i> ; past: <i>bese-i</i> NFUT
	woman 3s fish 'The woman did no	n angle.for-IRR-NFUT ot fish.'	NEG	present form: <i>bese-l-i</i> angle.for-IRR-NFUT 'is fishing'

### 4.1.5.2.2 Forms of the TAM suffix for medial verbs

Epistemic mood and tense in medial verb forms is not quite as straight forward as for final verbs. Instead of absolute tense, as in final verbs, there is a relative tense, which speaks about the temporal relationship to the following verb/clause. There is a basic two-way distinction: relative present and relative future.

The major complication in describing part of the TAM system for medial verbs, however, is that the forms that in final verbs signal tense only, in medial verbs also signal same or different subject.

Type 6 verbs and existential state verbs are conjugated differently from other verbs, as can be seen in the following line-up.

VERB TYPE/CLASS	<u>SUFFIXES</u>	MEANING IN MEDIAL VERBS	MEANING IN FINAL VERBS
1-5, 7	-i, -u	different subject, simultaneous	'non-future'
	-е, -о, -а	same subject, sequence	'future'
6	-ou	same & diff. subject, simultaneous <sup>87</sup>	'non-future'
	-l-ôu <sup>88</sup>	same subject, unspecified time/'and'	'present/future'
stative	∅(-môu/-ba)	different subject, simultaneous	'basic/present'
	-l-i	same subject, <u>delayed</u> sequence	'unstable present'
	de-ma	same subject, sequence	-

In the following table over medial verb conjugation, there are also columns for 'immediate sequence/ISQ' and 'delayed sequence/DSQ', even though those forms are not part of the same TAM suffix system as such. But as a common sequential form is lacking for stative verbs in the system described here, the *-ma* forms 'immediate sequence' are included. As for *-gi* 'delayed sequence', it is included because of how existential state verbs are conjugated. These stative verbs do not take *-gi* 'delayed sequence/DSQ', as active verbs do, but *-l-i* 'IRR-NFUT' to express delayed sequence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> A different subject in the following clause requires the suffix *-mou* 'perfective'. If the subject is the same, this suffix may occur, but does not need to. This is true for all verbs (see 7.3.1.2 SWITCH OF SCENE).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> -/- 'irrealis', *de* 'proverb', -*ma* 'immediate sequence'

## Medial verb conjugation<sup>89</sup>

red = existential state verbs; -I-'irrealis', -ma 'immediate sequence', de 'pro-verb', -gi 'delayed sequence'

			HIGH VOWEL: <i>i</i> , <i>u</i> , <i>ôu</i>	LOW VOWEL: <i>e</i> , <i>o</i> , <i>a</i>	-ma	-gi/-l-i
Туре	LSV	Ex. Basic	DIFFERENT SUBJECT + RELATIVE <u>PRESENT</u> / SIMULTANEOUS	SAME SUBJECT + RELATIVE <u>FUTURE/</u> SEQUENTIAL <sup>90</sup>	SAME SUBJECT + IMMEDIATE SEQUENCE	SAME SUBJECT + DELAYED SEQUENCE 'until'
1	i	<b>si</b> 'cook'	si	si-l-e	-91	<i>si-l-i-gi</i> cook <b>-</b> irr-nfut-dsq
2	е	dege 'do' n <u>e</u>	dege-i	dege ne-l- <u>e</u>	dege-ma	<i>dege-l-i-gi</i>
		'give'	n <u>e-i</u>	<u> </u>	-	-
3a	а	<b>sa</b> 'put inside'	so-u	sa	-	so-l-u-gi
		<b>n<u>a</u></b> 'eat'	n <u>o-u</u>	nala <sup>93</sup>	n <u>a</u> -ma	no-l- <u>u</u> -gi
3b		<i>hagu</i> a⁄ 'stand up'	-	hagu <u>a</u>	hagu <u>a</u> -ma	-
3c		<b>tawa</b> 'know'	tawa-i	tawa-I-e	tawa-ma	-
<b>4</b> a	i(C)a	<b>sabiya</b> 'be morning'	sabiyo-u	sabiya	sabiya-ma	-
4b		<b>sia</b> 'walk around'	su	su-l-o	sia-ma	su-l-u-gi
4c		<i>tila</i> 'lie down'	tila-∅	-	tila de-ma	<i>tila-l-i</i> lie.down-ırr-nfut
4d	a <sup>n</sup>	<i>tafala</i> 'stand'	tafala-∅	-	tafala de-ma	tafala- <b>l-i</b>
5	u	<b>yodu</b> 'ask'	yodu	yodu-l-o	yodu-ma	-
6a	ôu	<b>tobôu</b> 'say'	toboû	tobo-l-ôu	tobôu-ma	tobo-l-ôu-gi
		<b>m<u>o</u>u</b> 'get'	m <u>o</u> û	mal <u>a</u>	-	mo-l- <u>o</u> ̂u-gi
6b	0	fo 'run'	fo	fo-l-ôu	-	-
7a	о	<i>togo</i> 'make'	togo-u	togo-l-o	togo-ma	togou-l-u-gi
		<b>goso</b> 'cry'	goso-u	goso-l-o	goso-ma	gosou-l-u-gi
		folo 'go up'	folo-u	folo	folo-ma	fou-l-u-gi
		wo 'attack'	wo-u	wala	-	wou-l-u-gi
7b		<b>duwo</b> 'sit'	duwo-∅	-	duwo de-ma	duwo- <b>l-i</b>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> **Bold** means that the form is regular within its type.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> The irrealis marker -/-, may or may not occur in these forms. See 4.1.5.1.2 EPISTEMIC MOOD IN MEDIAL VERBS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Some of the chosen verbs in this table are too transitive to easily fit in this column (see 3.1.1.4 FOURTH ORDER VERBAL SUFFIXES: -ma). Also, the form \*fo-ma 'run-ISQ' has not been found.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Form not found in natural text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> The form *nalg* 'eat.IRR.FUT' is irregular; the same applies to the verbs *malg* 'get.IRR.FUT' and *wala* 'attack.IRR.FUT' further down the chart.

## Examples of relative present and future tense,<sup>94</sup> also expressing different or same subject with the following verb

362) duqu-o fo-l-ôu wai ka=ha а i-l-e, haba = qehaq**u**-mou pig that=GEN 1s see-fut run-irr-npst go-irr-fut but.pfv.irr=f.cntr come.NFUT-PFV tah<u>a-i</u> ... а shoot-NFUT 1s"... the pig saw me and ran away and went and later coming (back), I shot it ...' (relative future tense: 'and ...'x3, same subject; relative present tense: '-ing', different subject) du-l-**o**-mou 363) ta fo-u a ne 1s 2s.poss talk hear-IRR-FUT-PFV run-NFUT 'I heard your talk and ran' (relative future tense: 'and ..., same subject') tob**ôu**-môu, Godi=ha g=mokou nele hive=do ne-i-mou 364) Ke-qe duqu. that-VBR say.NFUT-PFV God=GEN 1s=LOC strengthbig=INT give-NFUT-PFV see.NFUT 'Saying like that, (I) perceived God giving me great strength. (relative present tense: '-ing' x2, different subject)' 365) dilie o ng yoti tobo-**l-ôu** ta ta tobo-u, sia, talk say-NFUT 2s feast say-IRR-NPST walk.around, 3011 man INDF olôufei=do. sa sa land land all.total=INT "... the two of them said to a man, "Go around everywhere and tell about the feast."" (relative future tense: 'and ...', same subject) 366) CHW training dokta=ha tob**ôu**-ba du-l-o-ba, ta ke CHW training talk that doctor=GEN say-PFV.IRR hear-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR ng Morobert e=mokou tobou. 2s Morobert 3s=Loc say.IMP "... when (you) have heard the doctor talking about the Community Health Workers' Training Program, tell Morobert.' (relative present tense: '-ing', different subject; relative future tense: 'have (hear)d', same subject) 367) Ele mogo ta=noîu dele-i. Dala-I-i, fene <u>e</u> 1DU friend INDF=only be/have-NFUT be/have-IRR-NFUT 3s airplane to-**l-ôu**-môu Kiunga =  $k \hat{o} \hat{u} i$ . hold-IRR-NPST-PFV Kiunga=LOC go.NFUT

'We two were close friends. (We) were (that) until he got on a flight and set out for Kiunga.' (stative verb: 'until', same subject<sup>95</sup>; relative future tense: 'and ...', same subject)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> In this section the modal suffix -*I*- will only be bolded, where its presence makes a difference in regards to relative tense, e.g. verb type 6: ...  $\hat{ou}$  relative present tense '-ing';  $-l\hat{ou}$  – relative future tense 'and ...'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Same subject, because one of two continues in the next clause. See 7.3.1.1.4 WHAT IS INCLUDED IN THE SAME SUBJECT?

## 4.1.5.2.3 Functions of the TAM suffix

The three different modal and tense combinations in final verb forms have the following functions or meanings:

## **Realis + non-future:**

Past event

368) *O hague-i*. man come-NFUT

'The man came.'

### **Present experienced state**

369) *Dihi tie-i*.

child sleep-NFUT

'The child is sleeping'.

## Nouns denoting things that have been made/produced

370) sege-i
plant-NFUT
'garden produce'

(Realis and future do not co-occur.)

### Irrealis + non-future:

## Present/not completed event

371) O yo sogo-u-l-u. man banana plant-BLTV-IRR-NFUT 'The man is planting bananas.'

### Present temporary existential state/until

372) <u>A</u> baha duwo-l-i. 1s look sit-IRR-NFUT

'I am waiting briefly./... waiting until ...'

373) <u>A</u> hoho hiye=do dege tafala-l-i fogôu i-l-e hafei dege-l-i. 1s light big=INT do stand-IRR-NFUT leave.for go-IRR-FUT close.total do-IRR-NFUT 'I am happily staying (here), until (the time) to leave is closing in.'

#### Past negative event or state

374) <u>E</u> tobôu-l-i mei. 3s say-IRR-NFUT NEG 'He/she did not say.'

The same subject simultaneous strategy (see 7.3.1.1.1 SWITCH-REFERENCE MARKING IN MOST EVENT VERBS)

375)	Wai	Ē	0	dugu- <b>l-u</b> ,	0	wo-l-o.
	pig	3s	man	See-IRR-NFUT	man	attack-IRR-FUT
	'(The) pig when he sees a man; (he) will kill (him/the man).'					
376)	Haba=ge		<u>a</u> t	awa- <b>l-i</b>	tobo-l-ôu.	
	but.prv.II	RR=F.CNTR	ls k	now-IRR-NFUT	say-IRR-NA	PST
	'I will tell you later as soon as I know/remember.'					

Irrealis + future:

Future event or state

377) <u>A</u>=me kôu-le duwo-l-o. ls=TOP this-A.LOCR sit-IRR-FUT 'I will be here.'

Future negative event or state

378) <u>A</u>=me kôu-le duwo-l-o mei. ls=TOP this-A.LOCR sit-IRR-FUT NEG 'I will not be here.'

In **a non-final verb form** this combination of mood and tense is used in a relative way to indicate that the next event/state is only loosely connected, as far as time goes - a relative future, corresponding in meaning to 'and ...'. It also signals same subject.

379) *Ke-ge-mou* <u>g</u> *i-l-e* gamani o ta tobo-u. that-VBR-PFV 1s go-IRR-FUT government man INDF say-NFUT 'Then I went **and** talked to a government official.'

In the first verb of a serial<sup>96</sup> verb construction it is used to indicate individuated plural subject.

380) Dig kuidiho ke dugu-o-mou, hoho hiye=do dege-l-e i. 3PL star that see-FUT-PFV light big=INT do-IRR-FUT go 'Seeing (the) star, they rejoiced very much.'

Nouns denoting things not yet used

381) na-l-<u>e</u>

eat-IRR-NFUT

'food'

In addition, still talking about epistemic mood, the **basic form** of a verb stem is realis and the tense is whatever the last stem vowel indicates. In that way, not all basic forms mean the same thing. It depends on:

- if the verb stem expresses a state or an event
- what verb type it is, i.e. what the final vowel of the stem is

#### Present existential state verbs – these verbs always end in a low vowel (a, o) = present tense

382) o **tafala** man stand 'The man **is** standing.'

Past events – verbs stems ending in a high vowel (i, u) = past tense

	'the r	nan <b>went</b> '	'the wor	man <b>went</b> down'
	man	go.NFUT	woman	go.down.NFUT
383)	0	i	sas <u>ai</u>	т <b>ц</b>

384) *o tefe-gi* man stand-of.NFUT

'the man was placed standing'

### Present negative events – verbs stems ending in a high vowel (i, u) = present tense

385) <u>a</u> dugu=yo mei ls see=INDC NEG 'I do not see ...'

#### Simple purpose (any verb root)

386) dilie ôu ha i.
3DU sago cut go.NFUT
'The two of them went to cut down a sago (palm).'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> This is different from the non-final verb form above in that nothing can come between this verb and the one following in this serial verb construction. The second verb is always i 'go'. See 4.1.6.2 INDIVIDUATED PLURAL for further information.

Forming certain nouns (irregular)

387) *dig*+*ka* grass+cut 'grass knife'

Proverbs functioning as modifiers - kege 'do like that' and dege 'do' with noun incorporation

ο̂υ. 388) О̂и kôu = me ma to hafei dege tafala. sago this=TOP 1s.POSS sago river closeness.totaldo stand 'This sago (palm) is my sago palm; (it) stands close by the river' 389) sasai=boû e dihi olôufei kama + dia ke-qe dia olôufei е 3s woman=and 3s child all.total middle.finger+3PLthat-VBR 3PL all.total tia-sie-i па-та eat-ISO sleep-DU/PL-NFUT '... (he) and his wife (and) all his three children, after eating they all slept ...' 390) sio isusu hebe  $q_0 = k \hat{o} u$ duwo-mou duqu. ... Sio isusu е bird pigeon tree branch=LOC sit-PFV see.NFUT ... bird pigeon 3s ke-ge duwo-môu

that-VBR sit-PFV

'... (I) saw a pigeon sitting on a tree branch. Seeing the pigeon sitting like that (I) ...'

The basic form of any verb type also expresses the imperative singular form (see 4.1.5.5.1 IMPERATIVE).

### 4.1.5.3 Epistemic mood and aspect

Two aspects will be covered in this section: habitual and prospective. These aspect markers can only occur on final verbs. Other aspects will be covered in later sections.

### 4.1.5.3.1 Past and present habitual aspect

Habitual expresses that which is usually done. It is marked by the suffix -di used with the realis form of the verb. It may be used about the past or present. A different form is used for future (see 4.1.5.4.3 FUTURE HABITUAL ASPECT).

- 391) Na koyo=ha moso=kôu tia-di? 2s whose house=LOC sleep=HAB 'In whose house do you sleep/live?'
- 392) biya-di. fight-нав 'war /always fighting'

Habitual may also be expressed in the irrealis mood. It then seems to have the meaning 'doing what one is always doing'. It has only been observed in the present. This is more common in the Foothill dialect then in the Lowland dialect, which is the focus of this grammar.

- 393) Dihi goso-di-l-i. child cry-HAB-IRR-NFUT 'The child is crying as usual.' (Foothill dialect)
  394) Dihi goso-di.
  - child cry-нав 'The child is **always** crying.' (Lowland dialect)
- 395) Yomogôu-môu = be awaki to-l-ôu i-l-e nôu-di-l-i. start-pfv=Top knife hold-IRR-NPST go-IRR-FUT clear.garden-HAB-IRR-NFUT 'To start with (he) takes his knife and goes and clears (his) garden in the usual way.'

## 4.1.5.3.2 Prospective aspect

Prospective aspect expresses that which is just about to happen. It is marked by the suffix -*adi* used with the irrealis form of the verb.

396) Huei to-l-adi. water wash-IRR-PROS 'It is just about to rain.' 397) <u>A</u> *i-l-adi*. 1s go-irr-pros

'I am just about to leave.'

## 4.1.5.4 Other aspects

There are three other aspects that are not signalled by suffixes. They are iterative, progressive and future habitual.

In addition, there are also the four medial verb markers, which are all aspect markers used to connect clauses: two are telic in nature, one immediate -ma and one durative -gi; two are perfective -mou and -ba. These will be mentioned under the last heading of this section.

### 4.1.5.4.1 Iterative aspect

Iterative aspect expresses that which occurs again and again. It is signalled by reduplicating the first syllable of the verb root or sometimes, even the whole root. It includes the repetition of an act caused by there being many actors and/or objects (398). For stems ending in i or u, an e is added at the end of the stem.

- 398) toto = do neke olôuf<u>ei</u>  $ko = k\hat{o}u$   $do^{97}$ -dogogu-e+mg fogôu-môu quickly=INT net all.total that=LOC RED.PL-put-RED.PL+put leave.for-PFV '(they) quickly put (down) and left (their) nets there ...'
- 399)
   <u>e</u>
   dig=mokôu
   he-hegi-e
   to-tobôu-môu
   i.

   3s
   3pl=loc
   RED.PL-show-RED.PL
   RED.PL-talk-PFV
   go.NFUT

   '... he ... kept teaching and talking to them again and again.'
- 400) *ti-tia-môu* RED.PL-sleep-PFV 'having rested **again and again**' (about the progress of a mortally wounded pig)
- 401) *ele tahg tahg i-l-i-gi, wai to-l-o i-môu,* ldu.ex shoot shoot go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ pig die-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV '... we two **shot repeatedly** and went on until the pig died ...'

## 4.1.5.4.2 Progressive aspect

The progressive aspect expresses that which is going on, but without the speaker having a clear endpoint in mind. It is expressed by a serial verb construction. The first verb is in its basic form followed by the medial verb suffix  $-m\hat{o}u$  'perfective'.<sup>98</sup> The verb in the second clause is often *i* 'go', *hagua* 'come', *sia* 'walk around', but others may be found. It can be in any form.

- 402) *tôu ded<u>ei</u> dege-môu i-di.* body strong do-pfv go-HAB '... **keep** strengthen**ing** the body.'
- 403) <u>e</u> di<u>a</u>=mokôu tobôu-môu i. 3s 3PL=LOC say-PFV go.NFUT '... he **kept** talking to them.'
- 404) tar ke=me ni afu=do du-môu hague-i ke=me
  talk that=TOP 2PL earlier=INT hear-PFV come-NFUT that=TOP
  '... that talk that you heard and have kept hearing (until now/a certain time in the past) ...'
- 405) <u>e</u> i-l-e sa sa olôuf<u>ei</u> tobôu-môu sie-i. 3s go-IRR-NFUTland land all.total say-PFV walk.around-NFUT '... he went (away) and going from place to place kept talking (about ...).'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Young people consider this particular form obsolete and take out the reduplication, leaving only -*e*. The same goes for *to-tobou-mou* in the next example. Deleting the reduplication there, means deleting the plurality marked in the verb altogether, as there is no additional -*e*.

 $<sup>^{98}</sup>$  The irrealis perfective form -ba cannot be used to get the meaning of progressive aspect, even if the final verb of the sentence is hypothetic or in future tense.

Konai Reference Grammar, WP, PNG, Årsjö, SIL

- 406) Ke-ae to-ba miye susua-môu fe-l-i-qi, that-VBR river-along fish dive.for-PFV come.up-IRR-NFUT-DSO habi dege-i-mou afternoon do-nfut-pfv 'Like that he kept diving for fish coming closer to here until in the afternoon (he) ...'  $\hat{ou} = b\hat{ou}$ dou=bôù sa-i 407) ise ke ta-môu ke-le finally sago=and fire=and put.inside-NFUT that unpack.FUT-PFV that-A.LOC dogogu-o fogoû-moû i. put-FUT leave.for-PFV go.NFUT '... and then having unpacked the sago and the matches (he) had packed earlier, (he) put them there and moved away.'
- 408) sa sa olôufei toboû**-moû sulugua**-ma=b=ado-moû. land land all.total say-PFV walk.around-DU/PL=TOP=SQV-PFV

"... in order that (people) will go around speaking (about it)."

If used with a punctual transitive verb like 'give' or 'marry', this aspectual form has the additional meaning of 'each' or 'one after another'.

409) 0  $ta = n\hat{\alpha}$  $ta = n\hat{o}u$ dabai ne-mou i. man INDF=only INDF=only work give-PFV go.NFUT '... (he) gave work (to) each of (the) men' 410) 0 dio-yosi ke-ge ke+dia soboù ke man bone/lower.arm-NUMR that-VBR that+3PL married.woman that kôù i. hu-mou *i*=yode tobo-l-ou prior marry-PFV go.NFUT=IQV say-IRR-NPST go.NFUT "Seven men had one by one previously married that woman," they stated and said."

### 4.1.5.4.3 Future habitual aspect

The habitual aspect for past and present events and states are signalled by the suffix -di (see 4.1.5.3.1 PAST AND PRESENT HABITUAL ASPECT). For future habituals, the pro-verb de is used (this pro-verb has no specific meaning). Note that the vowel for habitual in non-future -di is the high vowel *i*, like for non-future tense. For future habitual, using the proverb de, it is the low vowel *e*, like for future tense. The verb is in its basic form, when it is followed by the pro-verb.

411) Ni sawisie-i ke defei=do tawa-l-e dala-ma, 2PL be.day-NFUT that careful=INT know-IRR-FUT be/have-DU/PL kefe-qu-o na de-ma. gather-of-FUT eat PROV-DU/PL 'Keep knowing that day well; gather and eat each season.' tobo-l-ôu de-ba, sia-l-e 412) na ta de-ba, sasai taga-l-e 0 talk say-IRR-NPST PROV-PFV.IRR walk.around-IRR-FUT PROV-PFV.IRR man woman like-IRR-FUT 2s Godi=kou damale=yode-l-e ko=koîu de-ba, de-ba, <u>e</u> dih<u>i</u>-le PROV-PFV.IRR God=LOC believe=IQV-IRR-FUT PROV-PFV.IRR 3s eye-A.LOCR that=Loc na midiho dou=do sibiqi=bou mei dala-l-e **de**-ba ke=noû dirt=and NEG be/have-IRR-FUT PROV-PFV.IRR 2s face straight=INT that=only miloû-qa-moû sia de. work-DU/PL-PFV walk.around prov

"... always in speaking, in living, in loving, in believing in God, in walking before him in cleanness you (must) always in everything keep working and living in a very straight way.'

94

## 4.1.5.4.4 Medial verb suffixes express aspect

For more information on medial verbs see 4.1.4.3 STRUCTURE OF MEDIAL VERBS.

### Immediate telic aspect

The suffix *-ma* 'immediate sequence' is a medial verb suffix. It is used to express that an event/state in a clause is finished before the event of the next clause starts. In that way it expresses telic aspect. It cannot be used on its own but needs to be followed by another clause with the same subject.

413) O gisiai ke-ge-môu, <u>e</u> hebe ha-l-e dafa-ma, yo man single that-vbr-pFv 3s tree cut-IRR-FUT tired.of-ISQ banana bolou = nôu = do = fei sogo-gu. two=only=INT=total plant-of.NFUT '(A) single man having become like that, after he cut down trees and got tired (of it)), (he) planted a total of only two banana plants.'

## **Durative telic aspect**

The medial verb suffix -gi 'delayed sequence' is used to express a delayed sequence between actions, but in doing that it gets a telic aspectual meaning, expressing that an event is going on up to a certain end point. It cannot be used on its own but needs to have the end point clearly expressed. Another clause with the same subject must follow, usually in the same sentence.

414) Yo-I-u-gi dugu=be hebe hiye=do ta tafala. go.du/pl-IRR-NFUT-DSQ see.NFUT=TOP tree big=INT INDF stand 'We went for a while **until** we saw a big tree standing.'

415) <u>A</u> Debele=kôu tafala-gi, mg malg ele Taka=kôu igiya-i.
1s Debele=Loc stand-DsQ ls.Poss younger.sibling lbu.ExTaka=Loc go.Du/PL-NFUT
'I was in Debele for a while until my younger brother and I went to Taka.' (Foothill dialect)

### Perfective aspect in realis mood: past and present

The suffix  $-m\hat{o}u$  'perfective realis' is a medial verb suffix. It is used to indicate that a new scene is developing in the next clause, sometimes with a new subject, but in doing that it gets a perfective aspectual meaning.

416)	sas <u>ai</u>	sogo	si- <b>môu</b> ,	dou	dah <u>ai</u>	hiye=do dege-l-i.
	woman	breadfruit	cook.nfut-pfv	fire	smoke	big=INT do-IRR-NFUT
' <b>as</b> the woman is cooking breadfruit, a lot of smoke is developing.' (a photo of a lady enveloped in smoke)						,

It is also used in the above described progressive aspect 4.1.5.4.2.

## Perfective aspect in irrealis mood: future and hypothetic

The suffix -ba 'perfective irrealis' is a medial verb suffix. It is used to indicate that a new scene is developing in the next clause, sometimes with a new subject, but in doing that it gets a perfective aspectual meaning.

417)	Di	i-l-e- <b>ba</b>	dugu-me,	Yesu	heveni	dala.
	1pL.IN	go-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR	see-HORT	Jesus	heaven	be/have

'We (incl.) having (started) to go, let's see Jesus sitting in heaven.'

## 4.1.5.5 Deontic mood

The deontic mode characterizes an event as non-actual by virtue of the fact that it is imposed on a given situation (Chung Timberlake 1985:246).

In Konai, the three modal types imperative, prohibitive and hortative are imposed, but the non-actuality of the event is not formally expressed, i.e. the realis versus irrealis distinction is not part of verbs in deontic mood. The verb is in its basic form, when a deontic suffix is attached.

Deontic mood is expressed only on final verbs. Medial verbs may lead up to a verb in deontic mood. The perfective suffix, if occurring, must then be in the irrealis mood, i.e. -ba, rather than -mou.<sup>99</sup>

There is an obligatory number distinction for imperative and prohibitive mood. It is expressed by the final verb suffix *-ma* 'dual/plural'. Singular is the unmarked form.

Also, the topic marker = be may be added to verbs in the deontic mood. It seems to make a politer form.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup>... except in the serial verb construction expressing progressive aspect see 4.1.5.4.2 PROGRESSIVE ASPECT.

The number suffix used in imperative and prohibitive verbs -ma 'dual/plural', the hortative suffix -me and the prohibitive suffix -da co-occur with the quote verbs =ede 'direct/instruct' and =ade 'assert' (see 4.1.1.3).

## 4.1.5.5.1 Imperative

Imperative is the unmarked basic form. It may function together with a second person subject. Using the pronoun together with the verb is supposed to be a more polite form.

418) Ng i. 2s go 'Go (sg.).' 419) I**-ma**. go-DU/PL 'Go (**du./pl**.).' ne-ma=be. 420) Nele <u>a</u>=mokou haba chalk ta but.PFV.IRR chalk INDF give-DU/PL=TOP 2DU 1s=Loc 'Please, you two, give me some more chalk.' ke+dig=mokou tobo-u, 421) Yesu=ha ... 0 ke 0 Jesus=GEN ... man that+3PL=LOC say-NFUT man that a=mokou wo-l-ou hagua-ma = be = ede-i. accompany-IRR-NPST COME-DU/PL=TOP=OQV-NFUT 1s=Loc 'Jesus said to the men, "You (sg./pl.) bring that man to me," (he) instructed.'

## 4.1.5.5.2 Prohibitive

Prohibitive is marked by the suffix *-da*. It may function together with a second person subject. It may also be used to negate a hortative sentence, where it may function together with a first person inclusive subject (see (427) in the next section).

- 422) *I-da.* go-proн **'Don't** go (sg.).'
- 423) <u>Ni</u> hagua-sie-da-ma.
  2PL COME-DU/PL-PROH-DU/PL
  'Don't come (du./pl.).'
- 424) Hiyou m<u>o</u>û-da=yede-i. steal get-proH=OQV-NFUT "Do not steal (sg.)," he instructed."

### 4.1.5.5.3 Hortative

Hortative is marked by the suffix *-me*. It may function together with a first person inclusive subject. It may be used together with the prohibitive.

425) I-me go-HORT 'Let's go.' 426) Di dugu-me. 1pl.in see-Hort 'Let's see.' Di tobou-da-me. 427) 1pL.IN say-pron-Hort 'Let's not tell.' <u>E</u> n<u>e</u>-ma 428) mei dege-**ba**, 3s give-ISQ NEG do-pfv.irr di Dahamo=koîu olôufei dihi do mala

1PL.IN all.total Dahamo=LOC child sickness get.IRR.FUT go-HORT 'After having finished giving (that), let us all take the sick child to Dahamo.'

i**-me**.

97

429) I-me=be. go-HORT=TOP '(I) think we should go now.' 430) Ma mogo=ha dugu tobo-l-oû, da doûwa ls.Poss friend=GEN see.NFUT say-IRR-NPST lbu.IN hornbill wa-l-a-ba i-me=be=ede-i. attack-IRR-SUBJ-PFV.IRR go-HORT=TOP=OQV-NFUT

'My friend saw (it); (he) said, "**Let us** two go for the purpose of killing the hornbill," (he) **suggested**.'

## 4.1.6 Number

Number is not obligatorily marked on verbs, neither for subject nor for object. However, if the verb is in imperative or prohibitive mood, a dual or a plural subject is marked differently from a singular subject (4.1.6.1). On verbs in epistemic mood, a non-singular subject does not need to be marked, but it can be in order to make the actions of non-singular agents seem more individuated. Hopper & Thompson (1980:252-253) talk about "individuation of O", where O stands for patient, i.e. a kind of semantic object. I will apply the idea to actions, performed by agents, who impact their environment. We may call it individuated plural (4.1.6.2). The opposite is group plural which has no number marking at all, i.e. it is the same as for a singular agent. It is often used to speak about a group as a whole, often in background information (4.1.6.3) (see also example (434).

Number is not obligatorily marked on objects either, but there are several ways to do it (4.1.6.4).

### 4.1.6.1 Number in imperative and prohibitive mood

Number is obligatory marked on verbs in imperative and prohibitive mood. The final suffix -ma is used when the verb refers to a dual or plural subject.

- 431) *I-ma*.
  go-DU/PL
  'Go (du./pl.).'
  432) *Ni tia-sie-da-ma.*
- 2PL sleep du/pL PROH du/pL 'Don't sleep (du./pl.).'

## 4.1.6.2 Individuated plural

Individuated plural is applied to plurality of action in this grammar. That means that it refers to plural agents each doing his/her own bit of the combined action, adding up to a multiple of actions. It is seemingly used to make a story or an expression more lively, more action oriented. In that way, it is a device to increase the transitivity of the clause, whether the clause is transitive in the classical sense or intransitive. As mentioned before, there is no formal difference between transitive and intransitive verbs or clauses.

Hopper and Thompson (ibid.:252) list a number of components which impact transitivity:

<b>Components of transitivity</b>	High transitivity	Low transitivity
participants, number of	two or more	one
kinesis	action	non-action
aspect	telic	atelic
punctual/durative	punctual	durative
(non-)volitional	volitional	non-volitional
affirmation	affirmative	negative
mode	realis	irrealis
agency	high in potency	low in potency
affectedness of object	totally affected	not totally affected
individuation of object	highly individuated	non-individuated

Of these, for the particular purpose of how individuated plurality of action impacts its environment and/or any objects, I will concentrate on:

- number of participants: two or more
- kinesis action, but also emotions, attitudes and states
- o (non-)volitional volitional
  - agency high in potency
- affectedness of object highly affected if object includes the environment

A group of participants, each doing his/her own part of the action, will increase the impact on the environment; action and emotions will multiply, there will be more individual volition, potency will increase and the affectedness on any object will be that much more. There is also some evidence that animacy plays a role in the choice of a singular/group versus an individuated plural form (see 4.1.6.2.2 INDIVIDUATED PLURAL ON MOSTLY INTRANSITIVE VERBS).

There are two ways to signal individuated plurality of the subject: a serial verb construction described in the next section, and by a few different verbal suffixes, described in the following section.

For individuation of object see 4.1.5.4.1 ITERATIVE ASPECT: (398).

### 4.1.6.2.1 Individuated plural on transitive verbs

Individuated plurality of the subject, in connection with a more transitive verb, is expressed by a serial verb construction. The second verb is always i 'go'. It may occur in any mood, tense or aspect. The first verb for verb types 1, 2, 5-7 is always irrealis future/non-past. For verb types 3 and 4 (ending in a) the first verb is in its basic form, indicating that it is inherently relative future. What we have then, in this serial verb construction, is that the first verb is a medial verb form and regular for verb types 3 and 4 and slightly irregular for the other verb types (see 2.7.1.2 VOWEL HARMONY IN MEDIAL VERBS: fourth column in line-up).

Verb types 1, 2, 5-7:verb-iverb-iverb-iverb-iverb-irer(verb-IRR-FUT#go)Verb types 3, 4 (end in a):verb#i(verb.FUT #go)

Nothing can occur between the two verbs.

The plurality is plurality of action. It applies to non-singular agents doing multiple "verbing". However, I have one example of this particular construction applied on a non-singular object (441).

1981-82 Sepe 433) A afu 0 fene qabu 1s earlier 1981-82 Smipen mouth.of.river airplane place i. milo-u ... Habiya o **su** = do milo-l-ôu ta. work-NFUT talk ... Aekyom man many=INT work-IRR-NPST go (A) story about (when) I earlier, in 1981-82, worked (on the) airstrip at (the) mouth of (the) river Smipen ...

Very many Aekyom people worked (there).'

In the following example there is a contrast between group plural and individuated plural.

434) ei Dahamo Community School kôu = ma = ha duwo, celebration ya-le i.
1PL.EX Dahamo Community School this=TOP=GEN sit celebration play-IRR-FUT go.NFUT
'... we were here (as a group) at the Dahamo Community School and (each of us) celebrated.'

The next example includes the word  $s\underline{u}$  'many'. It would seem that would more or less trigger an individuated plural form, as seen in the first example too.

435) *O* su=do dig sisigo su=do sokôulôu mu-gu-l-o i-di. man many=INT3PL children many=INT school go.down-of-IRR-FUT go-HAB 'Many people put their many children in school.'

Example (436) is from near the beginning of an exciting hunting story. All the verbs are marked for non-singular, except ti 'call' and the perceptive verbs du 'hear' and dugu 'see'. This early on in the story the most transitive clauses are the ones saying that the dogs barked at something/a huge boar, with the serial verb construction *V*-IRR-FUT *i*. The other dual/plural verb forms will be described in the next section.

436)	James=bôu Asele=bôu ei James=and Asele=and 1p	0	iya-i sulugua-l-i du/pl-NFUT walk.around	d.du/pl-irr-nfut				
	<i>du, so <mark>tigo-l-o</mark></i> hear.nfut dog bark-irr-fut	<b>i-môu f<u>ou</u>kua igiya-i</b> rgo.nfut-pfv run go.du/	0	<i>dugu,</i> FV see.nfut				
	<i>wai oye hiye=do k<u>e</u></i> pig male big=INT that	-	<i>dugu.</i> / see.nfut					
	' James, Asele and I called up the dogs and <b>went</b> ; we <b>walked around until</b> (we) heard the dogs <b>barking</b> at (something) (and) immediately we ran <b>on</b> ; having <b>arrived</b> , we saw that they were <b>barking</b> at that very big boar.'							

The next examples illustrate the use of individuated plural in describing emotions and attitudes.

- 437)Osasaisiomiyehohohiye=dodege-l-ei-di.manwomanbirdVictoria.pigeonlightbig=INTdo-IRR-FUTGO-HAB'Peoplereallylike/are really happy about the Victoria pigeon.'
- 438) Sio isusu=be <u>e</u> hu<u>i</u>=be bolo=f<u>ei</u>=do o olo<u>û</u>f<u>ei</u> **taga-l-e i-di**. bird pigeon=TOP3s meat=TOPgood=total=INT man all.total like-IRR-FUT gO-HAB 'Regarding the "isusu" pigeon, its meat is really very good; all **people like** it.'
- 439) Jona <u>e</u> i-l-e, o sas<u>a</u>i ke+di<u>a</u>=mokôu Godi=h<u>a</u> t<u>a</u> he-hegi-e-i, Jonah 3s go-IRR-FUT man woman that+3pl=Loc God=GEN talk RED.PL-Show-RED.PL-NFUT o sas<u>a</u>i olôuf<u>e</u>i di<u>a</u> damal<u>e</u>=yode-l-e i. man woman all.total 3pl true=IQV-IRR-FUT go.NFUT

'... Jonah went and he taught the people God's Word; all the **people believed**.'

It may be noted that the perceptive verbs du 'hear' and dugu 'see' do not usually conjugate for individuated plurality (see (436)). The exception is, when the point of interest is in the perceiving, like in the next example.

440) Aso kôu=ma=ha=ge e hoho dege-l-i. Sa sa olôufei sun this=TOP=GEN=F.CNTR 3s light do-IRR-NFUT land land all.total o sasai ke+dia dugu-l-o i-di. man woman that+3pl see-IRR-FUT go-HAB
'This sun is shining. Everywhere people are looking at it.' (a picture)

There is one example in my data, where the plurality **seems** to refer to the object. Actually, on closer examination this example is ambiguous, and the **second** free translation is probably the correct one.

'He got (his) diving glasses and (his) fish spear and finally also (his) stringbag and (also) put sago and matches inside the stringbag.'

(Translated as if *sa i* is a **serial verb**, signalling **plurality**.)

'(He) got **his diving glasses and (his) fish spear** and finally **also (his) stringbag** and **put sago and matches inside** the stringbag **and went**.'

(Translated as if *sa* 'put inside and' is a medial verb, followed by *i* 'go'.)

### 4.1.6.2.2 Individuated plural on mostly intransitive verbs

There are also a few non-singular suffixes used for different kinds of mostly intransitive verbs to express individuated plural of the subject:

-ga	dual and plural	some, mostly intransitive verbs <sup>100</sup>
-gua	dual and plural suffix	existential state verbs
-sie/-sige <sup>101</sup>	dual and plural suffix	some motion verbs and the word for 'sleep'

*ya/igiya* suppletive forms of *i* 'go sg.'

In addition to the examples below, see also (436).

- 442) moso=kôu folo-ga-i house=Loc go.up-DU/PL-NFUT 'they arrived at the house'
- 443) Mg yo sege-i folo-go-l-u. ls.poss banana plant-NFUT go.up-DU/PL-IRR-NFUT 'My banana plants are coming up.'
- 444) *tafala-gua* stand-DU/PL '**they** stand'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Absolutive marking: refers to the subject of intransitive verbs and to the object of weakly transitive verbs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Alternatives show dialect variation: *-sie* 'dual/plural' and *ya* 'go (du./pl.)' are Lowland dialect, while *-sige* and *igiya* are used in the Foothill and Mountain dialects.

- 445) *hagua-sie-i* come-du/pl-NFUT '**they** came'
- 446) *tia-sie-i* sleep-du/pl-NFUT '**they** are sleeping'
- 447) *Ni fou-sige-ma*. 2pl run-DU/PL-DU/PL 'You (**pl**.) run!'
- 448) **ya-i** go.du/pl-nfut

'they went'

There is some evidence that animacy also plays a role in the choice of a singular/group versus an individuated plural form. In the discussion about the following Bible verse, it was important to make sure that the verse is about people, not about sheep, and therefore the plural verb forms were important.

449)	n <u>i</u> =me	wai	sipsip	sa	de	ge-i,	f <u>ĩ</u>	totôu		dege	1	
	2pl=top ]	pig	sheep	likel	y do	-NFUT	soul	forget	fulnes	s do		
	<b>sulugua</b> -c	di			n <u>i</u>	boho-l	- <i>ô</i> u + r	n <u>a</u>	ya,		wai	sipsip
	walk.around.du/pl-HAB			HAB	$2_{\text{PL}}$	turn-	IRR-NE	ST+put	go.DU/	PL.FUT	pig	sheep
	dia dala-di		Hiye				lo-ga	<b>dala-gua</b> -môu				
	watch.ov	ver	be/hav	е-нав	big	man=L	oc go	.up-DU/	PL.FUT	be/hav	∕e-DU	/pl-pfv=top
	4 1	`	1.1 1						1	. C 1		( 1) ( 1

'... you (pl.) were like sheep, when you (**pl**.) kept **walking around** in forgetfulness ... you (**pl**.) turned around and **went** and **went up** to the Big Shepherd and (now) **staying** (there) ...'

## 4.1.6.3 Group plural

Non-singular suffixation on verbs is not obligatory to agree with a dual or plural subject. A singular form of the verb is used quite often in normal conversation. The emphasis then is on a pair or a group as a whole.

450)	₫	i-l-i	ele	i-l-i	ei	i-l-i
	1s	go-irr-nfut	1du.ex	go-irr-nfut	1pl.ex	go-irr-nfut
	'I'm going'		'we two a	re going'	'we are go	

In the following example, the speaker uses two singular forms of the verb 'be/have' in an introductory statement, but having set the background he switches to a plural form of the verb 'sit' when he starts on the plot of the story.

451) Afu afu = dokôuquai dele-i. Dala-I-i, ke+dia earlier earlier=INT ancestor that+3pl be/have-NFUT be/have-IRR-NFUT ta sabiye-i, habi dege-i-mou, huei=boû dibiye=boû water=and thunder=and INDF be.morning-NFUT afternoon do-NFUT-PFV hiye=do dege-i. Dibiye hiye=do fu-fuo-u-mou, big=INT do-NFUT thunder big=INT RED.PL-break.open-NFUT-PFV duwo-qua-l-i dugu=be dia baha sit-DU/PL-IRR-NFUT see.NFUT=TOP 3pl look

'A very long time ago, the ancestors lived. (They) lived until one day in (the) afternoon, there was a lot of rain and thunder. While the thunder kept crashing, they sat (there) waiting until (they) saw ...'

## 4.1.6.4 Plural object

A non-singular object is only occasionally marked in a verb, but there are several ways to do it. On certain verbs it is marked one way and on other verbs it is marked another way. On most verbs it is not marked at all.

#### Plural object forms

			Singular object	<u>t</u>
igi-se	'remove'	(remove-DU/PL)	igi-l-e mu-gu	(remove-IRR-FUT#go.down-OF)
hebe-se	'throw away	' (carry-DU/PL)	hebe-l-e fil <u>a</u>	(carry-IRR-FUT#throw)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> The corresponding individuated plural/non-singular looks like this: *ele/ei yo-l-u* (1DU/1PL go.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT) 'we (two) are going'.

100

452) *bi* **hebe-se-i** *ka sulugua-l-i dugu-o-môu* thing carry-DU/PL-NFUT look.for walk.around.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT see-FUT-PFV '... we walked around to look for (the) things (we had) thrown (aside) until having found/seen (them) ...'

### Absolutive marking with -ga (see 3.1.1.1 FIRST ORDER VERBAL SUFFIXES)

Typical verbs are weakly transitive verbs:

dege- <b>ga</b>	'do many things'	(do-DU/PL)					
sese- <b>ga</b>	'follow everywhere'	(follow-DU/PL)					
tawa- <b>ga</b>	'know many things'	(know-du/pl)					
453) <i>igi</i>	dosog <u>o</u> ̂u dege-i=	=bôù f <u>o</u> dege-i=bôù+de <b>nal<u>a</u>-ga-i</b> k <u>e</u>					
sto	ne black do-NFU	r=and white do-NFUT=and+prov write-DU/PL-NFUT that					
ʻa st	one that is <b>marbled</b> '						
(Compare:							
folo- <b>ga-</b> i	'they went up'	(go.up-DU/PL-NFUT))					

### Serial verb construction with *mg* 'put'

 $V^{[\text{trans}]}$ +put (see 5.1.3.8 Enhanced transitivity: plural object)

Typical verbs are transitive to very transitive verbs:

m <u>o</u> û + m <u>a</u>	(get+put)	'get many things'
tôu+m <u>a</u>	(hold+put)	'hold many things'
woîu+m <u>a</u>	(accompany+put)	'accompany/look after/rule many things'
sa+m <u>a</u>	(put.inside+put)	'put inside many things'
wo+m <u>a</u>	(attack+put)	'attack many things'

There is also a telic aspect to this serial verb construction.

454) Ele ye, howili+dio, kalase, awaki=bôû+de tôû+mg iga-i. lbu.ex stringbag fishing+bone diving.glas knife=and+prov hold+put go.bu/pl-NFUT 'The two of us (each one) grabbed (a) stringbag(s), (a) diving spear(s), fishing glasses and (a) knife/(knives) (many things) and went.'

#### Compare:

455) *ta tiga-ma to-l-ôu fele-i.* bow tie-ISQ hold-IRR-NPST go.up-NFUT '... after tying my bow (I) **held (it)** and went up.'

### **Reduplication of verbal form**

**RED.PL-V**<sup>[TRANS]</sup>(-e) (reduplication of verbs = iterative aspect; also refers to the plurality of action necessary to deal with non-singular objects; the -e only occurs on verb stems ending in a high vowel (types 1 and 5)

Typical verbs where this occurs are:

he-hegi-e		'teach'				ti-ti	a	'going in and out of consciousness	
do-dog	gogu-e	'put	many thin	gs'		fu-f	<i>ua</i>	'recurring load noises/explosions'	
456)		_	<i>i-l-e,</i> go-irr-					+ <i>di<u>a</u>=mokôu</i> at+3pl=loc	
	<i>Godi</i> = God=g	_	-		h <i>egi-e</i> .pl-s	<b>e-i</b> how-red	.PL	-NFUT	

'... Jonah went and taught the people God's Word ...'

## 4.1.7 Object focus

There is no wide-spread formal marking in Konai to distinguish between intransitive and transitive verbs (but see 4.1.6.2 talking about different ways of marking number in the verb; these different operations are in some way dependent on transitivity). You can talk about intransitive versus transitive but that is a semantic rather than a grammatical distinction. In fact, as will be seen when describing the clause, it is even hard to make a case for intransitive versus transitive clauses.

Instead, it is possible to focus in on an object connected with a certain verb. The marking of this focus is by the verbal suffix -gV, where V may be *i*, *u* or  $\hat{ou}$ . This vowel seems to be arbitrary and does not follow rules of vowel harmony, but some verb roots may under the influence of this suffix change according to these rules (465), (466).

Objects may then be focused or unfocused. Compare (457) with (458), (459) with (460) and (461) with (462). In (457), (459) and (461) there is no focus or it is on the action as a whole. In some cases you have a choice as in (461), (462) between the unmarked case in (461) and the highly marked construction in (462). In the other pairs of examples there is no choice. Certain combinations of verbs and objects require the object to be either focused or unfocused.

457)	<i>dio ka</i> grass cut
	'cut grass'
458)	<i>widio towe ka-gi</i> head hair cut-OF 'cut hair'
459)	<i>bi sa</i> things put.inside 'put things into something'
460)	Ng kuguoBimin=kôusa-gi-l-e2s paperBimin=LOCput.inside-OF-IRR-FUT'You will send a letter to Bimin.' (implied: put inside (a mailbag to go on an airplane))
461)	<i>yo sogo</i> banana plant 'plant bananas'
462)	yo $bolou = nou = do = fei$ sogo-gu banana two=only=INT=total plant-of '(he) planted a total of only two banana (plants)'
463)	A <u>sôu</u> . road open 'Open the door!'
464)	<i>hebeni a s<u>o</u>u-gou-mou dugu.</i> heaven road open-of-pfv see.NFUT ' (they) saw (the) door to heaven open'

The above examples all have traditional transitive verbs. The following verbs are traditional intransitive verbs. Still they are marked for focus in the same way as the above examples, but here the suffix really has a traditionally transitivising effect.

465) *tefe-gi* (basic form: *tafala* 'stand') stand-OF

'put someone in a standing position'

466) biye-gi (basic form: biyo 'sit up/down') sit.up/down-oF
'put someone in a sitting position'
467) Na dou fe-gu. (basic form: fe 'burn') 2s fire burn-oF

'Make a fire.' (Foothill dialect)

## 4.1.7.1 A continuum of transitivity

There are certain verbs that appear to have the object focus suffix permanently attached, e.g. *dogogu* 'put' and *bagagi* 'tie'. There are other verbs that do not, even though they would seem to have an equal potential for a focused object, nor do they seem to be able to take a focus marker, e.g. *mg* 'put', *ka* 'look for'. Is there a continuum of verbs in regard to object focus, a continuum of perceived transitivity? At one end we have verbs that are not object oriented at all and cannot have a focused object (intransitive), in the middle we have verbs that can either have it or not have it, and at the other end we have verbs that have to have a focused object. These are of two kinds: Those that have become lexicalised in their object focused form and those that are inherently object focused (transitive) and therefore unmarked.

←low transitivity

high transitivity $\rightarrow$ 

intransitive		intransitive/transitive		enhanced tran	transitive		transitive		
i	'go'	tafala/tefegi	'stand/put to stand'	sa(gi)	'put inside'	dogogu	'put'	т <u>а</u>	'put'
hagua	'come'	biyo/biyegi	'sit up/put to sit'	ka(gi)	'cut'	dogôugu	'help'	ka	'look fo
		hagu <u>a(g</u> i)	'rise/raise'	sogo(gu)	'plant'	ba <u>ga</u> gi	'tie'		
		dou fe(gu)	'burn/make fire'	a s <u>ó</u> u(góu)	'open (a) door'				
				a tefe(gu)	'shut (a) door'				
				du(gu)	'hear/see'				
				sese(gu)	'follow/hand ov	er'			
			sese/sosogo	δu'follow/lead'					
				kefe(gu)	'gather (for a pu	rpose)'			

# 4.2 Nouns

Nouns constitute an open class of words that function as the head of nominal phrases. There is no gender marking, and there are no formal noun classes (but see 4.1.1.1.2 EXISTENTIAL STATE VERBS). Most nouns may be interpreted as singular, dual or plural, depending on context. A few have a non-singular form, either through reduplication or as a suppletive form. There are traces of inalienable possession marking on a few kinship nouns. Compound nouns occur. There are a number of abstract nouns. Derivation from other word classes does not occur, but certain verb forms may be used as nouns. The traditional numerical system is based on nouns denoting body parts (see 4.4.2.1 TRADITIONAL ORDINAL NUMBERS).

A noun **may** take case markers and other nominal enclitics, but that will be described under the nominal phrase, as that is the level it is functioning on (see 3.6.1 ENCLITICS FUNCTIONING AT PHRASE LEVEL and 5.2.3.2 CASE).

- 468) *g mota* = *ye malg hagu-l-u-gi* 1s motor.canoe=INS get.IRR.FUT come-IRR-NFUT-DSQ '... I travelled coming by motor canoe until ...'
- 469) Ma aye=ha ou ta ha-i. ls.poss father=gen sago INDF cut-NFUT 'My father cut down a sago (palm).'

This section is partitioned as follows: 4.2.1 PLURAL NOUNS, 4.2.2 TRACES OF INALIENABLE POSSESSION, 4.2.3 ABSTRACT NOUNS and 4.2.4 NOMINALISATION.

## 4.2.1 Plural nouns

'children'

Plural is not an inflection on the noun, nor is it an obligatory category. It is mostly used to talk about a specific group of something, usually people. For certain nouns it may be expressed as reduplication of the whole noun. For some, only part of the noun is reduplicated. For human nouns, plural is often expressed by a pluralising word, *oloufei* 'all' or *kedig* 'those' following the noun. The word *dihi* 'child' has a suppletive form for plural, *sisigo* 'children', where the plural form is mostly used for groups. Plural may also be indicated on the verb or in a serial verbal phrase (see 4.1.6.2 INDIVIDUATED PLURAL).

470)	N <u>a</u> o	ka	i,	sa	sa	olôuf <u>ei</u> .	
	2s man	look.for	go	land	land	all.tota	.1
	'Go and lo	ok for people	everyw	here.'			
471)	Sa ku	o=koîu=be	su-si	ıwa	ta	dala	mei=do.
	land he	ere=LOC=TOP	RED.I	pL-thi	ng INDF	be/have	NEG=INT
	'This place	e really does n	ot have	anythin	g/ <b>a lot</b> of	anything.'	
472)	O oloî	uf <u>ei</u> m	os <u>o</u> =l	k <i>ô</i> u i-a	li.		
	man all	.total ho	ouse=1	roc do	-HAB		
	'Everyboo	<b>ly</b> habitually v	vent to	(their) h	ouses.'		
473)	Sas <u>a</u> i k	α <b>e+di<u>a</u> γι</b>	ıkuei	gofo-l-c	ว์น	i-l-i.	
	woman t	hat+3pl cl	loth	sew-IR	R-NPST	go-IRR-NF	UT
	'The wom	<b>en</b> are sewing					
474)	sisig <u>o</u>		dił	ni			
	childre	n	ch	ild			

'child'

- 475) sokôulôu sisigo school children 'school children'
- 476) *Hiye dege-môu, e sasai hu-l-o, dihi su=do mo-u.* big do.FUT-PFV 3s woman marry-IRR-FUT child many=INT get-NFUT 'Having grown up, he married and had **many children**.'

### 4.2.2 Traces of inalienable possession

There is no difference between alienable and inalienable possession except a historic trace in a couple of kinship words. Compare the personal pronouns above the example.

	<u>a</u> '1s'			<u>e</u> '3s'		
477)	<b>a-</b> diôu	т <u>а</u>	<b>a</b> -diôu	<b>e-</b> diôu	<u>e</u>	<b>a</b> -diôu <sup>103</sup>
	1s-mother	ls.poss	1s-mother	3s-mother	3s	1s-mother
	'( <b>my</b> ) mother'	<b>'my</b> moth	ner'	'his/her mother'	'his	/her mother'

The word adiou is often used for anybody's mother, though you may also hear ediou 'his/her mother', or if the possessor is expressed as a noun, the root form may be used.

478) *Nancy=hg diôu* Nancy=gen mother 'Nancy's **mother**'

The word *mogo* is actually the common word for 'friend', though *nogo* 'your friend' and *yogo* 'his/her friend' are not unusual. The prefixes are probably the first part of the emphatic pronouns. The form *yogo* 'his/her friend' is used in expressions of reciprocity.

	may <u>o</u> ̂u	'1S.EMP'	<i>п<u>о</u>̂и</i> '2s.емр'	y <u>o</u> û	'3s.emp'	
479)	<b>m-</b> ogo		<b>n</b> -ogo	<b>y</b> -oge	0	
	ls.emp-	friend	2s.EMP-friend	3s.E	MP-friend	
	'( <b>my</b> ) frie	end'	'your friend'	'his/h	er friend'	
480)	Di	diy <i>o</i> u-sie	<b>y-ogo</b> =koîu	solôu = do	dege-i-ba	solôu=do
	1pL.IN	1pl.IN.EMP-REFL	3s.Emp-friend=LOC	heart=INT	do-NFUT-PFV.IRR	heart=INT
	dege-i-b	a de-me.				
	do-nfut	-PFV.IRR PROV-HOR	Т			
	(* * *					

'Let's love each other.'

## 4.2.3 Abstract nouns

There are a number of abstract nouns. They are different from adjectives in that they usually do not occur on their own in the adjectival slot following the head noun in the nominal phrase but require a pro-verb. Compare examples (481) and (482). Neither are they adverbs. Compare examples (483) and (484). Nor are they verbs as they cannot take verbal affixation.

481)							adjective
	man	good	l=total				
	'a <b>go</b>	od ma	n'				
482)			<b>e dege</b> nt do-M				noun
	ʻa <b>ha</b> j	<b>ppy</b> m	an'				
483)		_	<i>di<u>a</u>=r</i> 3 3pl=1		<b>toto</b> quickly	<i>tobo-u</i> say-nfut	adverb
	'Jesus	s quicl	<b>kly</b> said to	them,	'		
484)			<i>hoh<u>o</u></i> light	•	<i>tobo-u.</i> say-nfut		noun
	'God	joyful	ly said	•			

104

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Nasalisation on the pronominal forms  $\underline{g}$  '1s' and  $\underline{e}$  '3s' is lost when used in this way.

485)	<b><u>A</u></b> 1s	<b>do</b> sickness	<i>dege-I-i.</i> do-irr-nfut		noun	
		m getting sick/(				
	ʻI h	urt/do (a) <b>pain</b> .	,			
486)		dabai dege work do-I			noun	
	ʻI a	m working/doin	g <b>work</b> .'			
Some of	of the	abstract nouns a	are:			
da	ibai	'work'		ho		'desire'
dc	)	'sickness'		hoh <u>o</u>		ʻlight, joy'
gu	I₽	'fear'		totou		'forgetfulness'
he	gie	'hunger'		huli <u>a</u> (i	me)	'darkness' 104
ku	lio	'coldness'				

## 4.2.4 Nominalisation

A verb or an object+verb may function as the head of a nominal phrase. There is no nominalising suffix as such, but a verb, or object+verb, may be used as a noun. I have called this zero formation, when talking about morphological processes.

The nominalised verb may be in its basic form, but usually it is not. The most common form is the realis non-future form used for 'made' or 'produced' items. An item may also be viewed as not yet used, such as food, when an irrealis future form of the verb is used (489).

487)	<i>dio</i> + <i>ka</i> grass+cut 'grass knife'	
488)	Kope <b>fafa-i</b> =kôu	duwo.
	cup cut.flat.sur	face-NFUT=LOC sit
	'The cup is on the table.'	
489)	a-li=be	hag <u>i</u> hiye=do <b>na-I-e</b> k <u>o</u> ̂u-di,
	road-E.LOCR=TOP	heavy big=INT eat-IRR-FUT carry.on.head-HAB
		<i>bi</i> + <i>mg-j kôu-di,</i> n.head-HAB thing+put-NFUT carry.on.head-HAB r hard to habitually carry <b>food</b> , habitually carry <b>garden produce</b> , habitually carry

Also, there is a locative nominaliser that derives a noun out of a minimal clause or a common noun:

-mi 'place'

tie-i-mi	(sleep-NFUT-place)	'place of sleep/dream'	
wida-i-mi=kôu	(bury-NFUT-place=LOC)	'in the grave'	
dabai dege-i-mi=kôu	(work#do-NFUT-place=LOC)	'at the place of working'	
t <u>o ai</u> -mi=kôu	(river#deep-place=LOC)	'in the depth of the river'	
diou-mi + du	(canoe-place+inside)	'inside the canoe'	
490) <i>Sas<u>ai</u> <u>e</u> ôu ko</i>	sa+m <u>a</u> <b>ôu</b>	ga-i-mi=kôù i-l-i.	

woman3s sago flakes put.inside+putsago gather-NFUT-place=Loc go-IRR-NFUT

# '(The) woman puts (the) sago flakes inside (a container) and is going to (the) sago (powder) gathering place.'

# 4.3 Pronouns

There are five sets of pronouns: personal, possessive, emphatic, demonstrative and indefinite pronouns. The first three sets are related in form. In addition, there is one vocative pronoun. There is no gender distinction in the pronominal forms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> It is unsure what ...*me* in this word is. I have glossed it in this grammar as 'topic marker', but the allomorph =*me* is actually only used for nasal **pronouns**; in addition it may occur followed by what really is the topic marker (981).

There are three suffixes that may function together with pronouns: -*sie* 'reflexive', -*sof<u>e</u>i* 'self alone' and -*bukôu* 'first' See 3.1.2.5 SUFFIXES GIVING ADDITIONAL MEANINGS TO PRONOUNS.

Pronouns may take some nominal enclitics, but the functions of these are in the nominal phrase. See 5.2.2.1.2.

## 4.3.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns constitute a closed class of words that function as heads of nominal phrases, substituting for nominal phrases with nouns as heads. The pronouns consist of a pronominal root.

A third person pronoun may be used to refer to a non-human entity and even an inanimate entity. An animate generic entity may be referred to with a singular or plural personal pronoun. An inanimate generic entity is usually referred to by a third person singular pronoun (495)-(497).

Personal pronouns may be used to trace participant in the Konai language. (see 8.7.3.8 FREE PRONOUNS).

#### Personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 exclusive	<u>a</u>	ele	ei
1 inclusive		da	di
2	n <u>a</u>	nele	ni
3	<u>e</u>	dilie	di <u>a</u>

491) A = me mei. 1s=TOP NEG 'I (have) none.' 492) Ne adiou a=mokou ne-i. 2s.poss mother 1s=Loc give-NFUT 'Your mother gave (it) to me.' 493) dilie où ha-i. 3DU sago cut-NFUT 'the two of them cut down (a) sago (palm).' 494) Sasai ôù qa-i. е woman 3s sago gather-NFUT '(The) woman she gathered sago.' 495) Moso e gofôu mei. house 3s hard/strong NEG '(The) house it (is) not strong ...' Kôu=me sio 496) miye. **Dia**=me su=do suluqua-di this=TOP bird Victoria.pigeon 3PL=TOP many=INT walk.around.du/PL-HAB ... ng-di=be Sio miye e bird Victoria.pigeon 3s eat-HAB=TOP 'These are Victoria pigeons. They walk around in flocks. ... (A) Victoria pigeon, he/she eats ...' Gali **dig**=me mala dugu-o hiye=do. Yo=be mala  $\underline{e}$ =me 497) gue wild.animal 3PL=TOP arrow see-FUT fear big=INT base=TOP arrow 3s=TOP dedei hive = do. strong big=INT 'Wild animals they see (an) arrow and are very afraid. The reason is (the) arrow it is very strong.'

## 4.3.2 Possessive pronouns

For most persons the personal pronoun set is also used to show possession. A few forms are different, which are shown in bold.

P	<u> </u>	SS	00	ci	v		nr	<b>`</b>	n	0		n	c
•	•	33	00	5	v	C	יץ	~		v	u		9

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 exclusive	m <u>a</u>	ele	ei
1 inclusive		da	di
2	n <u>e</u>	nele	<u>ni</u>
3	<u>e</u>	dilie	di <u>a</u> / <b>die</b>

As can be seen the first and second person singular possessive forms are different from the personal pronouns. Third person plural possessive has two forms in free variation, the first being the same as the personal pronoun form.

498)	<u>A</u> mg mos ls ls.poss hou 'I'm going to <b>my</b> ho	se=LOC go-IRR	-NFUT		
499)	<b>№</b> fene,	Des. 21 ke-	le-ge hag	uu-ba=be	
	2s.poss airpla:	ne Dec. 21 tha	at-A.LOC-VBR CON	NE.NFUT-PFV.IRR=TO	P
	'When/if <b>your</b> flight	comes on Decemb	per 21,'		
500)	O ta <b>e</b> sa	s <u>ai</u> dilie wai	dia dele	-i.	
,	—		watch.over be/l		
	'A certain man and l	his wife raised pig(	s).'		
501)	du <i>ô</i> u aye	ke+dia d	lie sisiao	wôu + m <u>a</u>	dala-aua-ai
,			•		be/have-DU/PL-DSQ
	dugu=be				
	see.NFUT=TOP				
	' the parents brou	oht <b>their</b> children a	ind staved until (they)	saw	

The following suffixes function with the possessive pronouns: -sofei 'self alone' and -bukôu 'first'<sup>105</sup> (see 3.1.2.5).

## 4.3.3 Emphatic pronouns

The emphatic pronouns are based on the personal pronouns, except first person singular which is based on the possessive pronoun mg 'my'. All emphatic pronouns end in  $\partial u$ .

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 exclusive	may <u>o</u> û	olôu	eiyoû
1 inclusive		doîu	diyoû
2	n <u>o</u> û	nolôu	n <u>i</u> oû
3	у <u>о</u> и	diloîu	di <u>ô</u> u

Em	phatic	nron	oune
		μισι	ouns

These pronominal forms may occur by themselves, but they often occur with the reflexive suffix *-sie*, making the pronoun reflexive.

502)	eiyôu du-l-o		du-l-o	i-l-i=be,		0	k <u>o</u> û = me	sa	sa	0	sas <u>ai</u>	
	1pL.EX.	EMP	hear-IRR-FUT	go-IF	R-NFUT=TOP	man	this=TOP	land	land	man	woman	
	<i>di mamo-l-<u>ô</u>u</i> lpl.in buy.back-ire		—					<i>i-l-i</i>			kaha.	
	<pre>lpl.in buy.back-irr-NPST man=INT=SQV know-irr-FUT go-irr-NFUT that=GEN 'because we ourselves (excl.) hear and know for sure (that) this man is the man, (who) will buy us people of (the) world back.'</pre>											

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> The second person singular form has been given as  $n\underline{a}$ -bukôu 'you are first', not \* $n\underline{e}$ -bukôu.

- i-l-i=be diyôu 503) Ka-ge-i = ye ta dia tobo-l-ôu di di how-vbr-nfut=ins talk say-IRR-NPST go-IRR-NFUT=TOP 1PL.IN 1PL.IN.EMP 3pl 1PL.IN i-moîu  $ta = e = n\hat{o}u$ tobo-l-ou du-l-o i = ya?talk=INS=only say-IRR-NPST go.NFUT-PFV hear-IRR-FUT go=SUBJ 'How come (that) we hear them speak each one of **our own (incl.)** languages?' ke+dig die midiho kasagai milou-di k₽ diôu-sie 504) 0 sasai man woman that+3pl 3pl.poss face bad work-HAB that 3PL.EMP-REFL solou = do dege-l-e i. heart=INT do-IRR-FUT go.NFUT 'The people were sorry for themselves for their habitually bad behaviour.' 505) Dia fi+ma-i diôu-sie dia dege-l-i ke kasaqai = d = ade3PL soul+put-NFUT 3pl.emp-refl 3pl do-irr-nfut that bad=int=sqv tawa-l-e i. know-IRR-FUT GO.NFUT 'They knew for sure about themselves (that) what they were doing must be bad.' vou-sie duo mako-di 506) е
  - 3s.emp-refl 3s spirit destroy-HAB '(he) keeps destroying his own soul'

## 4.3.3.1 Reciprocal use of emphatic pronouns

Plural emphatic pronouns are used to express reciprocity. This construction also involves repetition of the verbal phrase, as well as the third person relational noun *yogo* 'friend' and the proverb *de*.

507)		<i>diyôu-sie</i> lpl.in.emp-re	<pre>y-ogo = kôu FL 3s.EMP-friend=L0</pre>		<i>dege-ba</i> do.fut-pfv.irr	
	<i>dogôug</i> help.w		<i>dogôugu-ba</i> help.nfut-pfv.irr	<b>de-me</b> . prov-hort		
	'Having	loved each other	, let us help each other.'			
508)	n <u>i</u>	n <u>i</u> ôu-sie	y-ogo=kôu	midiho bolo=r	noù miloù-ba	milôu-ba

2pL ... 2pL.EMP-REFL 3s.EMP-friend=LOC face good=only work-pFV.IRR work-pFV.IRR **de-ma**. PROV-DU/PL '... you ... do good to **each other**.'

### 4.3.4 Demonstrative pronouns

There are two basic demonstrative pronouns:

- k<u>o</u>û 'this'
- *k*<u>e</u> 'that'

They are used widely. There is also a whole series of topographical demonstrative pronouns, seldom used in isolation. See 4.8.2 for details and examples of both kinds.

108

#### 4.3.5 Indefinite pronouns

An indefinite pronoun refers to non-referential entities. There are two pronominal-like forms and a few other forms that are used as indefinite pronouns. Examples of the two pronominal forms will be shown below.

o=be (often subje	'people in general' ct)	(man=TOP)	variant: $o = ye$ (man=INS); rejected by some, as a homo- phone with $oye$ 'male'; but compare (510) with (511)		
o=mokôu (non-subject		(man=LOC)	the word for <i>man</i> with the <u>pronominal</u> form of the locative enclitic (see 3.6.1.1 CASE MARKERS).		
(o) koyo	'whoever'	((man) who)	see 4.7 QUESTION WORDS		
(o) ta m	nei 'no one'	((man) INDF NEG)	see 4.4.2.4 The indefinite article		
ka-ge	'whatever/however'	(how-VBR)	see 4.7 QUESTION WORDS		
SI	so e=me bolo=f <u>ei</u> =a un 3s=TOP good=tota The sun is good; <b>people</b> like	l=INT man=TOP li	<i>ga-l-e i-di.</i> ke-irr-fut go-hab		
ea	<i>a-l-e=be</i>				
511) <i>si</i>	<i>o miye</i> ird Victoria.pigeor	Dig=me o=)			
	nala gobo-l-oû+mg rrow break-IRR-NPST+	0			
	. Victoria pigeons When hey) go.'	they are shot at <b>by ma</b>	<b>n</b> , (they) break off (the) arrow and leaving		
	<i>lai <u>e</u>=me bolo=f<u>ei</u>=d</i> ig 3s=TOP good=total	0			
'Τ	The pig (generic) is good. It	is a friend of people.'			
CC	el <u>e-ga-l-i</u> ome.up-Du/PL-IRR-NFUT Refere they arrived they ask		/		

'Before they arrived, they asked people, ...'

#### 4.3.6 A vocative pronoun

There is one pronominal form that in Konai is unique of its kind. It is used when addressing several people.

*mogo diama*, ... '(my) friends, ...' (friend 3PL.VOC) *moqo*, ... '(my) friend, ...' (friend)

This pronoun dia + ma may consist of the following parts: 3PL+15.POSS, with the nasalisation lost on the last part.

# 4.4 Adjectives

Adjectives are an open class of words functioning as modifiers in the nominal phrase, but also as the head of the modifier phrase in the verbal and in the descriptive clause. This class of words does not correspond exactly with the English word class of adjectives, as this Konai word class, apart from modifying nouns also modifies verbs and other adjectives (see 5.3 THE MODIFIER PHRASE.)

I have chosen to call this class of words adjectives, rather than the more general term 'modifiers' to distinguish them from a class of adverbs described in 4.5.1 MODIFYING ADVERBS.

The adjectives are not conjugated but may take nominal enclitics, but that will be described under the heading of the nominal phrase (see 5.2.2). Quantifying words are part of the adjective class and so are cardinal numbers. Ordinals, however, are nouns, actually names of body parts, but will be described under this main heading.

Adjectives may be verbalised by using the pro-verb *dege* 'do'. In a medial verb construction, with this pro-verb in its basic form, it acquires an adverbial meaning.

There are no grammatical forms to use for comparison of adjectives but see 7.3.3.6 COMPARISON.

Here are some common adjectives:

		5			
	bol <u>o</u>	'good'	olôuf <u>ei</u>	'all'	
	d <u>ou</u>	'straight'	s <u>u</u>	'many'	
	ebele	'new'	ta	'indefinit	e article'
	geh <u>e</u>	'new/green'			
	gof <u>o</u> u	'hard/strong/angry'	ta=nôu=f <u>ei</u>	'one'	(INDF=only=total)
	hiye	'big'	bol <u>ou</u>	'two'	
	huyadef <u>e</u> i	'small'	kama+dia	'three'	(middle.finger+3PL)
	kasag <u>a</u> i	'bad'	bol <u>ou</u> #bol <u>ou</u>	'four'	(two#two)
	sasa	'tall'	hou-yosi	'five'	(thumb-NUMR)
	t <u>ou</u>	'short'	yet <u>ou</u> -yosi	'ten'	(shoulder-NUMR)
514	) mos <u>o</u> hij	/e			

house big '(a) **big** house/(the) house (is) **big**'

- 515) Ke=me hiye. that=TOP big 'That (one) is big.'
- 516) *dihi huyadef<u>ei</u>* child small.total '(a) **small** child'
- 517) *midiho kasagai* face bad 'a sin'
- 518) *Midiho kôu = me dou mei.* face this=TOP straight NEG 'This (kind of) behaviour is not **right**.'
- 519) *Wai kou = me gofou hiye=do.* pig this=TOP hard/strong big=INT 'This pig is very **angry**.'

Many adjectives hardly ever occur as a single root. Some almost always occur with the intensifier =do attached. Others almost always occurs with the enclitic  $=f\underline{ei}$  'total'. The words *huyadef<u>ei</u>* 'small' and *olouf<u>ei</u>* 'all' always occur with this enclitic.

hiye=do	'very big'	bolo = f <u>ei</u>	'very good'
d <u>ou</u> = <b>do</b>	'very straight'	huyade <b>f<u>e</u>i</b>	'little'
s <u>u</u> = <b>do</b>	'very many'	olôu <b>f<u>ei</u></b>	'all'

- 520) tg dou=do
  talk straight=INT
  'right talk/(the) talk (is/was) correct'
- 521) *o olôuf<u>ei</u>* man all.total '**all** men/people'

#### Verbalised adjectives

Adjectives may be verbalised by using the pro-verb *dege* 'do'. They are then conjugated as an experiential state verb (see 4.1.1.1 EVENT VERBS AND STATE VERBS)

522)	di <u>a</u> dihi	k <u>e</u>	fofo-l-ôu		dala-I-i,	hiye	dege-i.
	3PL child	that	raise-IR	R-NPST	be/have-IRR-NFUT	big	do-nfut
	Hiye dege-						
	big do.FU	JT-PFV	3s woman	marry-IRR	-FUT		
	' they raise	d the ch	ild until (he)	was grown u	p. Having grown up, l	he mar	ried and'

523) *hiye dege-l-i* big do-IRR-NFUT '**is growing**'

#### Verbalised adjectives with an adverbial function

- 524) *ng bolo dege dala* 2s good do be/have '... you are **well** ...'
- 525) *f*<sup>1</sup> *hiye=do mo-u-ba=be, na de sasa=do dege tofo-l-ôu?* soul big=INT put-NFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP 2s good long/tall=INT do step-IRR-NPST '... if you think a lot ..., will you (then) live a long life/live "longly"/?'

### 4.4.1 Compounded adjectives and numerical adjectives

A few adjectives are compounded words.

- 526) **afu+kôu** earlier+prior 'old'
- 527) **bogo+kôu** white.rock+prior 'having white hair'

Numerical adjectives are derived from body part words. They are derived by adding the numeraliser suffix -yosi.

528) *fula hou-yosi* week thumb-NUMR 'five weeks'

### 4.4.2 Numerical systems

There are three partly competing numerical systems: traditional ordinal numbers (1-15), traditional cardinal numbers ((1), 2, (3), 4, 6) and modern numbers.

#### 4.4.2.1 Traditional ordinal numbers

The traditional numerical system is based on body parts. It translates into ordinal numbers. As such, it is used to name the months of the year and the days of the week, especially in the Mountain dialect.

sasaf <u>e</u> i	'little finger'	'first'	'January'	'Monday'
sasama	'ring finger'	'second'	'February'	'Tuesday'
kom <u>a</u>	'middle finger'	'third'	'March'	'Wednesday'
dosôu	'index finger'	'fourth'	'April'	'Thursday'
hou	'thumb'	'fifth'	'May'	'Friday'
wal <u>a</u> i	'wrist'	'sixth'	'June'	'Saturday'
dio	'bone/lower arm'	'seventh'	'July'	'Sunday'
dima	'elbow'	'eighth'	'August'	
dese	'upper arm'	'ninth'	'September'	
yet <u>ou</u>	'shoulder'	'tenth'	'October'	
keh <u>e</u> 106	'ear'	'eleventh'	'November'	
dih <u>o</u>	'eye'	'twelfth'	'December'	
muku <u>o</u>	'nose	'thirteenth'		
тодои	'mouth'	'fourteenth'		
<i>dobog<u>ô</u>u ta</i> hand#INDF	'the other hand'	'≥fifteenth'		

 $<sup>^{106}</sup>$  du 'ear', 'hear' in the Mountain dialect

These numbers may be used for counting, but not as cardinal numbers but as ordinals: "first, second, third, ...". The body part numerals are used without any affixes or clitics, pointing to each body part. For naming the month of the year, a strategy widely used within the language group, the generic & specific formula is often used (see 5.2.1 THE NOUN GROUP).

529) oquo hou moon thumb 'Mav'

Using body parts for the days of the week is more common in the Mountain dialect than in the Lowland dialect, where the English words are widely used. In the Mountain dialect, body parts, used as days of the week, are marked by the instrumental case marker = ve/=e.

530)	<b>Sasaf<u>e</u>i=ye=</b> ge little.finger=INS=F.CNTR	(Mountain dialect)
	'On Monday,'	
531)	<b>Monday</b> $ka = h\underline{a} = ge$ Monday that=gen=f.CNTR 'On Monday'	(Lowland dialect)
532)	<pre>gusubu=do dio=e morning=INT bone/lower.arm=INS 'early Sunday morning'</pre>	(Mountain dialect)
533)	gusugu=do Sunday morning=INT Sunday	(Lowland dialect)

'early Sunday morning'

A body part number, with an ordinal meaning, sometimes precedes the noun it modifies.

534) 2005 = ha sasafei oguo ka=ha 2005=GEN little.finger moon that=GEN 'In January of 2005 ...'

A body part numeral may be used as a cardinal number, modifying a noun, giving the number of a group. Used in that way, it takes the numeralising suffix -yosi and is most often followed by the demonstrative verb kege 'be like that'.

dio-yosi 535) so dihi ke-qe dog child bone/lower.arm-NUMR that-VBR 'seven puppies' mei dege-i-mou Sawisie-i wal<u>a</u>i-yosi ke-ge 536) be.day-NFUT wrist-NUMR that-VBR NEG do-NFUT-PFV 'Six days having gone by ...'

A few of the body part numbers may also be followed by the pronoun *dia* '3PL'.

537) Yesu=ha dosoîu + dia haguiso-u-mou, 0 ke-ge Jesus=GEN man index.finger+3pL that-VBR call-NFUT-PFV ya-i di<u>a</u> <u>e</u> sese-l-e 3PL 3s follow-IRR-FUT go.DU/PL-NFUT '... When Jesus called four men, they immediately followed him'

... and as a last example of ordinal body part numbers from a song:

Sasafei 538) Ave Godi, sasama Yesu Kelesu, little.finger father God ring.finger Jesus Christ koma Fi Gofôu, dia dabai  $ta = n\hat{o}u$ . middle.finger soul hard/strong 3PL work INDF=only 'The first (is) God the Father, the second (is) Jesus Christ, the third (is) the Holy Spirit' (and) their work is the same.

However, in ordinary conversation/text, the following is a more natural way to express order of priority:

e-bukou kou-q(u)e tobo-u ... 0 ta=ha=ne tobo-u 539) 0 man 3s-first this-VBR(BLTV) say-NFUT ... man INDF=GEN=also say-NFUT 'The first man said like this ... The second/Another man said ...'

#### 4.4.2.2 Traditional cardinal numbers

The traditional cardinal number system is based on two.

bol <u>ou</u>	'two'	'two'
bol <u>ou</u> bol <u>ou</u>	'two#two'	'four'
bol <u>ou</u> bol <u>ou</u> , bol <u>ou</u> de	'two#two##two PROV'	'six'

These numbers may be followed by *kege* 'being like that'.

540) *Wai bolog hebe ha-i-mi=kôu debe ng i-l-i.* pig two tree cut-NFUT-place=Loc seedling eat go-IRR-NFUT '**Two** pigs are going to the garden to eat seedlings.'

- 541) <u>A</u> mg sio ayomôu olôuf<u>ei</u>=be bolou bolou ke-ge. 1s 1s.poss bird fowl all.total=TOP two two that-VBR 'I (had/have) four hens.'
- 542) <u>E</u> sokôulôu duwo-l-i, sadebe bolou bolou de mei dege-môu, 3s school sit-IRR-NFUTYear two two two prov NEG do-PFV

```
tewe hiye=do mo-l-ôu wini dege-i.
```

```
know big=INT get-IRR-NPST win do-NFUT
```

'He having been in school until six years were gone, (he) got a lot of knowledge and passed his exams.'

To this system may be added:

 $ta = n\hat{o}u$  (INDF=only) 'one' koma+dia (middle.finger+3PL)<sup>107</sup> 'three'

543) Yo kama+dia tafala-qua. ke-ge Yo bolou = be kou banana middle.finger+3PL that-VBR stand-DU/PL banana two=TOP prior duwo.  $Ke = no\hat{u} = si$ ta=noîu mu-qu yо ta = bemu-gu-l-i go.down-of sit that=only=cntr banana INDF=only INDF=TOP go.down-oF-IRR-NFUT mei, you. NEG not.yet

**'Three** banana trees stand (here). **Two** banana trees already have (fruit) hanging down. But **one** of them has no (fruit) hanging down yet.'

#### 4.4.2.3 Modern numbers

The modern set of numbers may start out with five cardinal numbers from the two other numeral sets, e.g.:

tanóù	'INDF.only'	'one'
bol <u>ou</u>	'two'	'two'
kamadia	'middle.finger.3PL'	'three'
bol <u>ou</u> bol <u>ou</u>	'two two'	'four'
houyosi	'thumb.NMBR'	'five'

For numbers over five, English is often used. As cardinal numbers in Konai are often followed by the demonstrative verb *kege* 'be like that', so are the English numerals. Examples (541) above, (544) and (545) are typical in a sentence telling how many of something, including the word  $olouf\underline{ei}(=be)$  'all' as a prelude.

544)	Sas <u>ai</u>	dihi	ka=h <u>a</u>	<u>e</u>	sadebe	olôuf <u>ei</u> =be	12	kege.	(Lowland	dialect)	
	woman	child	that=gen	3s	year	all.total=TOP	12	that-vBR			
	'The gir	l was <b>twe</b>	elve years old	.'							
545)	duo	kasaa	iai <b>oloîufei</b> :	=be	2 7	<b>ke-ae</b> iai-se-	i		(Lowland	dialect	)

545) *duo kasag<u>a</u>i olout<u>e</u>I=be / Ke-ge IgI-se-I* (Lowland dialect) spirit bad all.total=TOP 7 that-VBR remove-DU/PL-NFUT '(he) drove out seven evil spirits'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> The compound word is *kamadia*; vowel harmony has been applied and the nasalisation is lost.

546) Ulou+di=kôu ama tafala-gi,<sup>108</sup> cave+area.beside.door=LOC be.alert stand-DSQ

tibo 19 ke-ge we-i.

flying.dog 19 that-VBR attack-NFUT

'(I) stood quietly alert in (the) entrance to (the) cave until (I) killed 19 flying foxes.'

In the Mountain dialect, body part numbers prevail.

547) <u>E</u> hiya goguei=do du de-i. 3s year all=INT (h)ear PROV-NFUT 'She was eleven years old.'

#### 4.4.2.4 The indefinite article

The word used as an indefinite article in Konai is the basic form for 'one' ta. In this grammar this numeral is glossed INDF 'indefinite', as that is its most common function, though in many contexts it may be translated 'one'. It has two functions:

(Mountain dialect)

- it is an indefinite article functioning much as its English counterpart 'a/an' (548), (549), (550); as such it may be used for referential unknown or not named referents (551), (552), (553)
- it is obligatory in certain negative clauses, giving the meaning of '(not) any' (554), (555) (see 7.3.5 NEGATIVE AND OTHER SCOPES IN A SENTENCE)

548)	Edolo dihitaKula=kôu sokôulôu i. $\underline{E}$ $h\underline{u}=be$ MakEdolo child INDFKula=Loc school go.NFUT 3s name=TOPMark
	'A child from Edolo went to school in Kula. His name (is) Mark.'
549)	Mogo, $\underline{a}=me$ hagihiye=do tadala.friend1s=TOP heavy big=INTINDFbe/have
	'Friend, I have a very big problem.'
550)	Tgta=betisa=be2003kaladamei, ngtadala-ba=be,talkINDF=TOPteacher=TOP2003calendarNEG2sINDFbe/have-pfv.IRR=TOP
	n <u>e</u> =ye, <u>g</u> =mokôu. give=opt ls=loc
	'Another thing/talk is that the teachers do not have calendars; if you have <b>any</b> you may give me (one).'
551)	<i>O</i> ta=ha Godi=ha ta tobo-l-ôu. man INDF=GEN God=GEN talk say-IRR-NPST 'Some <b>one</b> will speak God's Word.'
552)	<i>O</i> ta=hg Tabubil=kôu <u>e</u> mogo dala-ba i-ba=si, <u>e</u> man INDF=GEN Tabubil=LOC 3s friend be/have-pfv.IRR go.NFUT-pfv.IRR=CNTR 3s
	<i>mogo=hg mos<u>o</u>=kôu tia-l-e</i> friend=gen house=Loc sleep-IRR-FUT
	'But if some <b>one</b> having (a) friend in Tabubil goes (there), (he) will sleep in his friend's house and'
553)	O       ta = e       hagi       g = mokôu       hague-i       dala         man       INDF=INS       heavy       1s=Loc       come-NFUT be/have         'Someone has come (and) given me problems'
	Someone has come (and) given me problems

- 554) *Moso kou = me o ta tia-di=ya mei, moso e-sofei duwo.* house this=top man INDF sleep-HAB=SUBJ NEG house 3s-self.alone sit '(In) this house no**one** is habitually sleeping; it stands/sits by itself.'
- 555) 2005=hg sasafei oguo=hg g i-l-e. Sawisie-i g ta tobo-l-où mei. 2005=gen little.finger moon=gen 1s go-IRR-FUT be.day-NFUT 1s INDF say-IRR-NPST NEG 'In January of 2005, I will go. (Which) day I (can)not say.'

114

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Foothill dialect.

But some negative clauses do not have the indefinite marker, as the perspective is different.

556) *Toto taha-I-e sagai mei.* quickly shoot-IRR-FUT likely NEG 'You are not likely to shoot (one) quickly.' (about cassowaries)

# 4.5 Adverbs

Adverbs, with the exception of a certain type of locative adverbs constitute a seemingly closed class of words, mostly functioning in the modifier phrase. Based partly on what suffixes they take and partly on meaning, adverbs are of three kinds: modifying, locative and temporal. (See also 5.3 THE MODIFIER PHRASE.)

#### 4.5.1 Modifying adverbs

Modifying adverbs usually express aspectual and modal ideas. They are adverbs, rather than adjectives, because they do not occur within the nominal phrase. Some examples follow:

haba	'but/again/instead' (but.PFV.IRR)
hobou	'can' (always in a negative clause)
ise	'finally/and so/presto'
kou	'prior'
kuhe	'so/then/at last' (does not join clauses or anything else, i.e. it is not a conjunction)
toto	quickly'
you	'not yet'

Two adverbs frequently occur within the verbal phrase.

mei	'not'
sag <u>a</u> i/s <u>a</u>	'likely'

- 557) *Haba dege.* but.pfv.irr do 'Do it **again**.'
- 558) **Ng hobôu** gu<u>e</u> dege-da. 2s can fear do-proh 'Don't be afraid/You **can**not be afraid.'

559) Hiye=do tafala-l-i, sawisie-i ke-le-qe ise fene ta big=INT stand-IRR-NFUT be.day-NFUT INDF that-A.LOCR-VBR finally airplane hiye = do ka = hahagua-mou, ise sa+ma haqua, Selbang=kou big=INT that=GEN come-PFV finally put.inside+put come.FUT Selbang=LOC duwo de-ma, ise haqua-ma haqua, Biangabip=kou duwo de-ma, sit PROV-ISQ finally rise-ISQ come.FUT Biangabip=LOC sit PROV-ISQ Kalai su = do $sa + ma_{r}$ ise Dahamo=kou kuhe haque-i. 0 Konai man many=INT put.inside+putfinally Dahamo=LOC come-NFUT so (I) stayed there for a long time until one day that very big plane **finally** having come, **and so** (I and my cargo were) put inside, and (I) came and after being (down) in Selbang, finally after taking off (I) came and after being (down) in Biangabip, a lot of Konai people (were) put inside, and so finally (I) came to Dahamo.'

560) Yo bolog = be kôu mu-gu duwo. banana two=TOP prior go.down-of.NFUT sit 'The fruit on two banana (trees) have **already** come down.'

561)	Ke=nôu=siekôusokôulôubologuaduwe-i=ye,sadebeehabathat=only=cnrr3s priorschoolgood.dosit-nfut=optyear3sbut.pfv.irr
	<i>bol<u>ou</u> ke-ge mei<sup>109</sup>dege-l-i mei.<sup>110</sup></i> two that-ver neg do-irr-nfut neg
	'But he might have done/sat OK in school <b>earlier</b> , but (the) year he did again two (times), he did not finish.'
562)	ng mg sele kôu malg, ng sa Ukarumpa=kôu 2s 1s.poss money prior get.irr.fut 2s.poss land Ukarumpa=Loc
	faimalghagua-madala-ba,gi-l-emo-l-ôu.fileget.irr.futcome-isqbe/have-pfv.irrlsgo-irr-futget-irr-NPST' you willfirstget my money and at your placeUkarumpa (you) will get (a) file and after coming (back, it)
563)	being (there with you), I will go and get (it).' Dou tôu-ma, $\hat{ou} = b\hat{ou}$ dia = $b\hat{ou}$ dusuwe = $b\hat{ou} + de si + ma - m\hat{ou}$ no-l- $\underline{u}$ -gi, firelight-ISQ sago=and crayfish=and turtle=and+prov cook+put-prv eat-IRR-NFUT-DSQ
	sa hulia dege-i-môu, hulia.me hagu-l-u-gi, $mosoneto = kou$ kuhe fele-i. land darkness do-NFUT-PFV darkness.top come-IRR-NFUT-DSQ house=Loc so come.up-NFUT 'After lighting the fire (and) having cooked the sago, the crayfish and the turtle, (he) ate until it was dark, when (he) immediately came on (towards home) in the night until he <b>at last</b> arrived at the house.'
564)	$\begin{array}{llllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllll$
	kuhei-ba=sibolo=fei.sogo.NFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTRgood=total'But having a sharp mind and so going it would be OK.'
565)	<u>A</u> sio kisi-ma duwo-l-i dugu=be, e ta=nôu ta
	<pre>1s birdmake.a.wall-ISQsit-IRR-NFUT see.NFUT=TOP megapod.bird INDF=onlyINDF fe-l-j-moû dugu. Ise ke-ge-moû g kuhe tahg-j. come.up-IRR-NFUT-PFV see.NFUT finally that-VBR-PFV ls so shoot-NFUT 'I after making a bird hunting shelter sat (there) until (I) saw one of the megapod birds come up. Finally (it) having become like that, and so I shot (it).'</pre>
566)	Hebe ebele ha-i yo you fo-u-l-u tree new cut-NFUT banana not.yet come.up-BLTV-IRR-NFUT
	mosôu = yomei.bear.fruit=INDCNEG'The bananas in the new garden are not bearing fruit yet.'
567)	$K\underline{e} = n\hat{o}u = si$ yo $ta = n\hat{o}u$ $mu-gu-l-i$ $mei$ ,you.that=only=CNTRbananaINDF=onlygo.down-of-IRR-NFUT NEGnot.yet'But one of the banana (trees) does not have any (fruit) hanging down yet.'
568)	Maabogoutoto=nôute-i.1s.possfootquickly=onlyremove-NFUT'I quicklyremoved my foot.'remove-NFUT
	verb <b>mei</b> 'negative' is different in that, if it occurs with a verb, it follows it and is more closely tied to it than adverbs, and so it is analysed as being part of the verbal phrase.
569)	Dig Godihg ta du-di=yo mei. 3pl God=gen talk hear-hab=INDC NEG

'They habitually **do not** hear the Word of God.'

570) <u>E</u> t<u>a</u> du-l-i mei. 3s talk hear-IRR-NFUT NEG 'He did not hear (what was) said.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> mei dege (NEG do) 'finish' is a verbalised negative (see 4.1.1.2 PRO-VERBS: dege 'do').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> The adverb *mei* 'negative' will be focused on later in this section.

- 571) Sele mei degei. Mei. money NEG do-NFUT NEG 'The money is finished. All gone!'
- 572) *O mei.* man NEG '(There are) **no** people (here).'

The adverb **saggi** 'likely' is different in that it always occurs following an irrealis future/non-past verb. It is also analysed as part of the verbal phrase. The meaning of this adverb includes 'desire', 'likelihood' and 'likeness'. Expressing likeness to an object or a situation, it occurs as **sg dege** in the Lowland dialect, one of its meanings being 'be alike', and there is a wider choice in what it may follow (578).

- 573) <u>E</u> moso=kôu i-l-e sagai. 3s house=LOC go-IRR-FUT likely 'He wants to go home.'
- 574)  $K\underline{e} = n\hat{o}u = si$  dilie dihi =  $n\hat{o}u$ , gali wo-l-o sagai mei. that=only=CNTR 3DU child=only wild.animal attack-IRR-FUT likely NEG 'But they are only puppies and **not likely** to kill wild animals.'

With the help of the pro-verb *dege* 'do' the tense can be changed from future to non-future.

575) <u>E</u> na-l-<u>e</u> sagai dege-môu tila. 3s eat-IRR-FUT likely do.FUT-PFV lie.down 'He is lying (there) because (he) wants to eat.'

When sagai 'likely' is followed by the pro-verb dege 'do' it most often occurs as sg in the Lowland dialect.

- 576) <u>A</u>=me to-l-o i-l-e sg dege-i. ls=TOP die-IRR-FUT gO-IRR-FUT likely dO-NFUT 'I almost died./It seemed **likely** I would die.'
- 577) *Duwo sa dege-i.* sit likely do-NFUT 'I **think** he is here.'
- 578) *ke sa dege-i* that likely do-NFUT '**like** that'

## 4.5.2 Locative adverbs

There are two kinds of locative adverbs: those derived from locative roots & demonstrative pronouns and those derived from nominals. The last is an open class of locative adverbs.

#### 4.5.2.1 Locative adverbs derived from locative roots & demonstrative pronouns

There is a series of locative adverbial roots from which topographical demonstrative pronouns may be derived. These may then be further suffixed to form whole series of locative adverbs. In this section only a short summary will be given, but see 4.8 DEICTIC WORDS, where more detailed descriptions are given under several different headings.

#### Locative roots

These locative roots are in themselves locative adverbs.

	kôu	'anywhere	,		
	moîu	'down belo	ow'		
	tôu	'up (t)here	,		
	bu	'upriver'			
	u	'downrive	r'		
	bôu	'across (t)l	here'		
	du	'inside'			
579)	Ma	sa=be	toîu i-l-e,	₫	du=be

1s.poss land=top up go-irr-fut 1s hear.NFUT=top 'I went up to my place and heard that ...' Whole sets of other adverbs may be derived from these, via a couple of demonstrativisers: -ku 'near demonstrativiser' and -gu 'distant demonstrativiser' (see 4.8.2.2). They will be described in 4.8.3 LOCATIVE ADVERBS, but here are a few examples:

580)	_ 0_	<b>ù-gu-le</b> =ne	,	<i>mei.</i> <sup>NEG</sup>
	'He (a bird) does no	t sleep <b>up in the very</b> to	p (of trees) either.'	
581)	<i>to hebe</i> river headwat	<i>bu-gu-li</i> ers upriver-demr.	D-E.LOCR	
	<b>'right up there</b> by t	he headwaters of the riv	er'	
582)		<i>môu-gu-he</i> Locr=loc down-demr		ound-IRR-NFUT
	'a fish is swimming	down there in the river	(pointing)'	
583)	Dia=be	hu <u>ei</u> du-le	moîu	duwo-di.
	crayfish=TOP	water inside-A	.LOCR down.below	sit-HAB
	'Crayfish live dow	<b>wn below</b> in the water'		
584)	<i>du-le</i> + <i>lu</i> <sup>111</sup> inside-A.LOCR+2 'inside'	inside		

#### **Demonstrative roots**

Also from the demonstrative pronouns  $k\underline{\partial}u$  'this' and  $k\underline{e}$  'that', locative adverbs may be derived. These are similar to the sets derived from the locative adverbs briefly described above. A few examples will be shown here. For the full set see 4.8.3 LOCATIVE ADVERBS.

	k <u>ô</u> u	'this'		kôu-le	112	'here'	this-A.LOCR
	k <u>e</u>	'that'		ke-le	'there'	that-A.I	LOCR
585)	—	kôu-le	mei.				
	3s=top	this-A.LOCR	NEG				
	'He is n	ot here.'					

#### Two other locative adverbs

There are two other locative adverbs that can be combined with some of the locative roots first mentioned in this section.

tage <sup>113</sup>		'over'
tage+tôu	over+up	'on top'
haye+môu	under+down	'underneath'
haye+lu/+du	under+inside	'underneath'

- 586) <u>E</u> dobogôu tage tige-i. 3s hand over tie-NFUT 'He has folded his arms (one over the other).'
- 587) *sea tage+tôu duwo-l-i nala i-l-i.* chair over+up sit-IRR-NFUT eat.IRR.FUT go-IRR-NFUT '... sitting **up on** chairs they are eating.'
- 588) bilika haye+du dogogu-di=yo mei
  saucepan under+inside put-HAB=INDC NEG
  '... you do not usually put (it) under an (upside-down) saucepan ...'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> +*lu* rather than +*du* is a dialectal and/or personal variant, but the variant +*lu* never occurs word initially for phonological reasons (see 2.2 CONSONANTS: /l/).

 $<sup>^{112}</sup>$  See 2.7.6 DE-NASALISATION BEFORE /g/, /l/ and /k/ for spelling of these adverbs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> The word *tage* may consist of the following morphemes: ta = ge INDF=F.CNTR, with the meaning '(one over) the other'.

#### 4.5.2.2 Locative adverbs derived from nominals

Locative adverbs may also be derived from nouns, or rather, from nominal phrases. The following derivational suffixes may be used:

- <i>le</i> <sup>114</sup>		'appro	'approximate locativiser'		(see 3.1.2.1 DEICTIC SUFFIXES: Set III)		
-li		'exact	'exact locativiser'				
-ba	1	'along	,				
A few e	xamples:						
as <u>c</u>	p-le=koû	(sun-A	A.LOCR=LOC)		'in(to) the sun'		
t <u>a</u> -l	le-kôu	(river	A.LOCR=LOC)		'in the river'		
a-li	-kôu	(road-	E.LOCR=LOC)		'right on the road'		
t <u>o</u> -l	ba	(river-	(river-along)		'along the river'		
589)	council	<i>dihi-le</i> eye-A.LOCR the council'					
590)	<i>ele</i> lou.ex <i>gobo-l-ôu</i> break-irf	<b>Sesenabi=k</b> Sesenabi=L R-NPST	-	road	l river-along	<i>tu-ga-môu</i> go.upriver-du/pL.FUT-PFV <b>he river</b> , crossed (it)	
Also, th nominal phr	ne locative ac	lverbial roots, c	lescribed in 4.5.2.1,	make o	compounded locativ	ve adverbs with a single noun or a	

bidi-le+toû	(shore-A.LOCR+up)	'up on shore'				
sug <u>u</u> +toîu	(top+up)	'up in the top'				
sug <u>u</u> +lu/ + du <sup>115</sup>	(top+inside)	'in/at the top (and) inside'				
mos <u>o</u> =kôu+lu	(house=LOC+inside)	'inside the house'				
hat head-A.LOC	hati widi-le + tôu mu-gu hat head-A.locr+up go.down-of 'put (a) hat on (his) head'					
592) <i>dou + lu = koîu</i> fire-inside=LC ' <b>in</b> (the) <b>fire</b> '	fire-inside=Loc					
_	de sleep-HAB-IRR-NFUT					
'He habitually sleep	s in (the) tree tops.'					
e	$ka = h\underline{a}$ $mos\underline{o} = k\widehat{o}u + i$ in that=gen house=loc+i	0				
they went up inside	e that government official's house	2'				

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> The suffixes *-le* and *-li* are the same as the approximate and exact locativisers, respectively, described in 3.1.2.1 DEICTIC SUFFIXES: Set II, but used with a noun, they have a few different characteristics:

<sup>-</sup> the vowels in the noun, which it is suffixed to, may become fronted

<sup>-</sup> if the noun is a nasal word, this suffix also becomes nasalised (this is not written as it is so predictable)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Dialectal and personal variation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Foothill dialect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> The following interpretation was rejected \* $mos \rho = k \hat{o} u \# l u$  as /l/ can not occur word medially (see 2.2 CONSONANTS).

#### 4.5.3 Temporal adverbs

Some temporal adverbs end with the suffix -ba 'perfective irrealis', one of the medial verb suffixes. In these adverbs they are a permanent part of the word, functioning as a temporal future marker. If you remove it, you usually end up with a nonsense word.

A few temporal adverbs (the three to the right) can take the enclitic = do 'intensifier' (596), where it emphasizes the basic meaning.

afı	J			'earlier'			gusugu	'morning' <sup>118</sup>
we	9			'day before yester	rday/reco	ently'	agali	'noon'
i				'yesterday'			habi	'late afternoon'
ibig	gi			'earlier today'				
ifi				'today'				
dia	iba			'later today'				
idil	ba			'tomorrow'				
ôu	daba	'n		'day after tomorro	ow'			
ha	ba=	ge		'later' (but.PFV.IR	R=F.CN1	TR)		
595)				re.yesterday ng gone up to a (pl				<i>folo-môu</i> go.up-pfv own a sago (palm)'
596)	<u>A</u> =	-me	idiba	<i>g</i>	usugu	= <b>do</b> i-,	l-e.	

1s=TOP tomorrow.pFV.IRR morning=INT go-IRR-FUT

'As for me, I will go early tomorrow morning.'

# 4.6 Particles

Particles form a small open class of words functioning as one-word sentences in response to various verbal and non-verbal situations. They cannot take any affixes or clitics. They do not seem to occur much in storytelling, but quite often in response to real life situations. Some of them are:

eh <u>e</u>	'yes'	ebei	'how terrible!' (the word is related to <i>bei</i> 'snake')
hele	'yes!'	imi	'that's funny!'
<i>e e</i> [ʔɛʔæ]	'no'	ai	'that's funny'
yei	'that's totally wrong'	yawo	'bye-bye, wow!'
wa	'What did you say?'; 'false assumption'	hasei	'thank you'
aie	'ouch'		
wei	'ouch' (the word is probably <i>we-i</i> (attack	-NFUT) 'attac	ked/killed'
-	<i>kou du=ye,</i> s prior hear.NFUT=OPT meard but'		

598) Na idiba i-l-e, hele? 2s tomorrow go-IRR-FUT yes 'You are going tomorrow, aren't you?' (positive answer expected)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> The words *gusugu* 'morning', *agali* 'noon', *habi* 'late afternoon', may be abstract nouns, as they are used as greetings with an adjective attached, as is *hulig* 'darkness', which **is** analysed as an abstract noun. However, it may only be a literal translation from English: *Gusugu bolo = f<u>ei</u>* 'Good morning.' (morning good=total).

599)	<u>e</u> tobo-u, e-e, ng ke tobo-l-oû ke=me g ta 1s say-NFUT no 2s that say-IRR-NPST that=TOP 1s INDF
	tawa-i=yomei=yodetobo-u.know-nfut=indcneg=iqvsay-nfut
	" he said, "No, that which you are saying I do not know anything (about)," (he) stated and said."
600)	Yei,Alexmei. $E$ $h\underline{u} = be$ Aron.that's.totally.wrongAlexNEG3sname=TOPAronDet biogeneticsetAlexVia AreaArea
	' <b>Da!</b> - his name is not Alex. It's Aron.'
601)	dig=gewa,diegodike+digdiefgkg3PL=F.CNTRfalse.assumption3PL.POSSgodthat+3PL3PL.POSStalkthat
	du-l-u = yadetawa-l-ei-di.hear-IRR-NFUT=SQVknow-IRR-FUTgo-HAB' they think mistakenly that their gods hear their talk.'
602)	Sawisie-ike-le-ge=be,ebeibe.day-NFUTthat-A.LOCR-VBR=TOPhow.terrible
	'On that day, <b>how terrible</b> ,'
603)	Natanielekesi-gi-e-môutobo-u,imi,saNasaret o?Nathanael3srouse-of-fut-PFVsay-NFUTthat's.funnylandNazareth man'Nathanael having got a surprise said, "That's funny, a Nazarene?"
604)	Ai,okôu = meJosep = hadihi = nôu.that's.strangemanthis=TOPJoseph=GENchild=only'That's strange, this man is only the son of Joseph.'
605)	yawo de tobôu-ma fogôu goodbye prov say-ISQ leave.for ' so after he had said good-by (he) left '

'...so after he had said good-by (he) left ...'

# 4.7 Question words

Question words are a closed class of words used to ask content questions. There are six basic question words. Two of them have more than one form. They are a mixed group as can be seen from the fact that they take different kinds of endings. The reason seems to be that the question words usually occur in the place of the clause where the thing asked for would have occurred. The forms translating 'why' are medial verbs and occur as medial clauses in the sentence.

Two of the question words may also function as indefinite pro-forms in statements.<sup>119</sup>

'who'		
'who, whose'	(who=GEN)	
'what'		
'where+'		
'where'	(where+(TRSV)road)	
'where'	(in a verbless clause)	
'when-'		
'when'	(when.VBR)	
'how/why/how many-/+'		
	(how-VBR)	
	(how-VBR-NFUT)	
	(how-VBR-IRR-FUT)	
'why'	(how-VBR.FUT-PFV)	
	(how+do)	
'why'	(how+do.FUT-PFV)	
	<pre>'who, whose' 'what' 'where+' 'where' 'where' 'when-' 'when' 'how/why/how many-/+'</pre>	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Only *koyo* 'who' and ka-/+ 'how' have been found with that meaning.

Concerning the form ka- 'how/why/how many', the suffixes and the context will determine which English translation is most suitable. Only a few of its conjugations are shown above. In general, however, the forms taking the medial suffix -*moû* 'perfective' tend to translate 'why'. There is no difference in meaning between the use of the verbaliser -*ge* and the full proverb *dege* 'do' in verbalising the question word root ka-/+ 'how'

#### Koyo 'who'

```
606) Sas<u>a</u>i koyo?
woman who
'What/Which woman?'
```

- 607) *Ne hu koyo?* 2s.poss name who '**What** is your name?'
- 608) K<u>ou</u>=me koyo=hg moso? this=TOP who=GEN house 'Whose house is this?'

Koyo may be used as an indefinite pro-form meaning 'whoever'.

- 609) Wage tawa-l-e ta o koyo=ha tobo-l-ôu. final know-IRR-FUT talk man who=GEN say-IRR-NPST 'Anyone may present the final announcements.'
- 610) **Koyo=hg** testimony dala fel<u>e</u>. who=GEN testimony be/have come.up 'Whoever has a testimony (must) come up.'
- 611) o koyo ng=me Godi=hg tg=be olôufei tewe hiye=do o ng=me man who 2s=TOP God=GEN talk=TOP all.total know big=INT man 2s=TOP tg=bôu mei. talk=and NEG '... whoever you are, you who know all of God's Word very well, you would do OK

(in this work)'

## **K<u>ei</u> '**what'

612) *K<u>o</u>û = me k<u>ei</u>?* this=TOP what

'What is this?'

613) *Dig Sekalaiya=kôu yodu, ng dihi hu=be kei=yode-l-e.* 3PL Zechariah=LOC ask.NFUT 2s child name=TOP what=IQV-IRR-FUT 'They asked Zechariah, "What will you say (your) child's name (will be)?""

#### Kiliya 'where'

614) *Ng kilj+ya i=ya?* 2s where+(TRSV)road go.NFUT=SUBJ 'Where are you going?'

Kou 'where' (verbless clause)

615) *Mou kou?* grandfather where '**Where** is grandpa?'

#### Koboge 'when'

616) *Ng koboge boho-l-ôu + mg hagua-l-e?* 2s when.vbr turn-irr-NPST+put come-irr-Fut 'When will you start to come back?' *Ka-*/+ 'how/why/how many'

In many Papuan languages, the "why" question implies disapproval. That is not the case in Konai.<sup>120</sup>

617)	<u>A</u> =me to-l-o-ba ka-ge-l-e? 1s=top die-irr-fut-pfv.irr how-vbr-irr-fut
	'How will I die?'
618)	Na ka+dege kabiyali hou sogo-di=ya? 1s how+do tapioca seedling plant-HAB=SUBJ
	'How do you plant tapioca?'
619)	Nesisigooloîufeika + dege?2s.posschildrenall.totalhow+do
	'How many children do you have?'
620)	Midiho ka=ha hagua-l-e=be ka-ge hagua-l-e? face that=gen come-irr-fut=top how-vbr come-irr-fut
	'That which will happen <b>how</b> will it happen?'
621)	Fel <u>e</u> hague-i <b>ka</b> + <b>dege-môu</b> ?
	plane come-NFUT how+do.FUT-PFV 'Why did the plane come?' or 'Because of what did the plane come?'
622)	Kevin=ha dihi do mala i <b>ka-ge-i-ya</b> ?
	Kevin=gen child sickness get.irr.fut go how-vbr-nfut=subj ' Kevin's sick child who was taken out, <b>how</b> is (he)?'
623)	Sekalaya = hg esol Gebrul = $k\hat{o}u$ tobo-u,
,	Zechariah=gen angel Gabriel=Loc say-NFUT
	ka-ge-môugnetgdamale=yode-l-e?how-vbr.fut-pfv1s2s.posstalktrue=iov-irr-fut
	'Zechariah said to the angel Gabriel, " <b>How can/why should</b> I believe your
	word?"'
624)	ng dihi k <u>o</u> u=ma=hg hu=be ka-ge ti-l-e de yodu-l-o i-mou 2s child this=top=gen name=top how-ver call-irr-fut prov ask-irr-fut go.nfut-prv
	" when they asked, "Concerning the name of this child of yours, what will you
	call him?" …'
<i>Ka-</i> /+ may	be used as an indefinite pro-form meaning 'however/whatever'.
625)	Bi <b>ka-ge-i</b> , di <u>e</u> =mokôu yodu=be, <u>e</u> di=mokôu ne-l <u>e</u> .
	thing how-VBR-NFUT 1PL.IN 3s=LOC ask.NFUT=TOP 3s 1PL.IN=LOC give-IRR-FUT 'Whatever we (incl.) ask of him, he will give to us.'
626)	Ke-ge-môu, <u>a</u> <b>ka-ge-l-e</b> de tawa-i fi+m <u>a</u> -i.

- 626) *Ke-ge-môu, <u>a</u> ka-ge-l-e de tawa-i fi+m<u>a-j.</u> that-vbr-pfv 1s how-vbr-irr-fut prov know-nfut soul+put-nfut 'Then/So I thought about what I should know.'*
- 627) Ng na-l-g o sele ng ka-ge=fei dege-i, 2s eat-IRR-FUTOR money 2s how-VBR=total do-NFUT g=ne ng ke-ge=fei dege-l-e. 1s=also 2s that-VBR=total do-IRR-FUT 'The total of what you will have spent in food or money. I too will spen

'The total of what you will have spent in food or money, I, too, will spend like that (on you).'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> In the Ama language, the other Papuan language I am familiar with, the more common "why" question can hardly be used at all for anything but to express disapproval.

# 4.8 Deictic words

The deictic word class is not a uniform group, but comprises words from three more traditional word classes:

- pronouns: demonstrative
- adverbs: locative
- verbs: directional in space and time

What they have in common is that they ...

... refer directly to the personal, temporal or locational characteristics of the situation within which an utterance takes place, ...(the) meaning (of each) is thus relative to that situation; ... The term is also used for words which refer backwards and forwards in discourse ... (Crystal 1985:86).

Strictly speaking, there are more words and affixes that could be called deictic, like personal pronouns, temporal adverbs and tense suffixes, but, in Konai, they do not fit into the same system as the words that will be presented here do.

The deictic centre, from which any situation is described – conversations, directions or storytelling, is in Konai the speaker's perspective on the situation. The speaker is "here" and the listener is "there". The speaker "goes" to the listener, but the listener "comes" to the speaker. In that way, there are general words that are totally defined by the speaking situation, like  $k\hat{ou}$  this' and ke that'. The same general deictics and its derivates are used to navigate in a discourse: e.g.  $k\hat{ou}$  refers forward and *ke* refers backwards.

One group of words, with members from demonstrative pronouns, adverbs and verbs, has as their deictic centre only the speaker and/or the present utterance in a discourse. Another group of demonstrative pronouns, adverbs and verbs has the speaker **and** one other reference point, which is a geographical feature, e.g. a river.

- the speaker is the deictic centre
- a personal deictic centre + a geographical reference point

In describing the deictic words, I will start with the most basic forms, which are the locative adverbial roots (4.8.1), followed by demonstrative pronouns (4.8.2), locative adverbs (4.8.3), demonstrative verbs (4.8.4) and verbs of 'go' and 'come' (4.8.5).

#### 4.8.1 Locative adverbial roots

The reason the locative adverbial roots head this group of deictic words, rather than the demonstrative pronouns, is that they are of a simpler form than their corresponding demonstrative pronouns. They are (repeated here from 4.5.2.1 LOCATIVE ADVERBS DERIVED FROM LOCATIVE ROOTS & DEMONSTRATIVE ):

koîu	'anywhere'
moîu	'down below'
tôu	'up (t)here'
bu	'upriver'
u	'downriver'
boîu	'across (t)here'
du	'inside'

These forms are words in their own right and can be used as such.

628) Ma sa=be tou i-l-e, a du=be 1s.poss land=top up go-IRR-FUT 1s hear.NFUT=TOP 'I went up to my place and I heard that ...'

629) Ē moso=kou folo-mou dugu, du baha duwo-mou duqu-o-mou, go.up.FUT-PFV see.NFUT inside look sit-PFV see-FUT-PFV 3s house=LOC ei olôufei ki-le duwe-i. all.total inside-A.LOC sit-NFUT 1PL.EX

'(We two) having gone to his house saw him sit **inside** and wait and we all sat inside there.'

In addition these locative roots are used to form:

٠	demonstrative pronominal roots, e.g.	<i>môu-ku</i> - 'this down below'	down-DEMR.N	see 4.8.2.2
		<i>môu-gu</i> - 'that down below'	down-DEMR.D	
٠	locative adverbs of different kinds, e.g.	bu-gu-le 'somewhere upriver'	upriver-DEMR.D-A.LOCR	see 4.8.3

#### 4.8.2 Demonstrative pronouns

There are two sets of demonstrative pronouns:

- *kôu* 'this' and *ke* 'that'
- topographical demonstratives

#### 4.8.2.1 The demonstrative pronouns kou 'this' and ke 'that'

The most common demonstrative pronouns are  $k\underline{\partial}u$  'this and  $\underline{ke}$  'that'. Using these pronouns, the speaker is the deictic centre, or for discourse, the present utterance is.

 $k\underline{o}u/kuo/ku^{121}$  'this' near to speaker, cataphoric reference  $k\underline{o}/ke/ka/ko$  'that' away from speaker, anaphoric reference

The demonstrative pronouns  $k \hat{Q}$  'this' and  $k \hat{Q}$  'that' may occur with the following enclitics and words:

k <u>o</u> û	'this'	(this)	k <u>e</u>	'that'	(that)
k <u>o</u> û + di <u>a</u>	'these'	(this+3PL)	ke+di <u>a</u>	'those'	(that+3PL)
k <u>oî</u> u + dilie	'these two'	(this+3DU)	k <u>e</u> +dilie	'those two'	(that+3DU)
k <u>o</u> û =me	'concerning this'	(this=TOP)	k <u>e</u> =me	'concerning that'	(that=TOP)
			ka=h <u>a</u>	'that control'	(that=GEN)
k <u>o</u> û =ma=h <u>a</u>	'this one in control'	(this=TOP=GEN)	ka=ma=h <u>a</u>	'that one in control'	(that=TOP=GEN)
kuo=kôu	'here'	(this=LOC)	ko=koîu	'there'	(that=LOC)
			k <u>e</u> =nôu=si	'but'	(that=only=CNTR)
			k <u>e</u> =nôu=f <u>ei</u>	'that's all'	(that=only=total)
ku-h <u>e</u>	ʻright here' (pointing)	(this-P.LOCR)	ke-h <u>e</u>	'right there' (pointing)	(that-P.LOCR)
$k\underline{ou} = me - h\underline{e}^{122}$	'right here' (pointing)	(this=TOP-P.LOCR)	k <u>e</u> =me-h <u>e</u>	'right there' (pointing)	(that=TOP-P.LOCR)

Other combinations of discourse enclitics may also occur. See for example (644):  $ka = h\underline{a} = si$  (that=GEN=CNTR) below. The following examples will show some of the possibilities for  $k\underline{o}u$  'this' and  $k\underline{e}$  'that' in context.

As a head in a NP: DEM=TOP/=LOC

- 630) *Kou = me ka?* this=TOP what 'What is this?'
- 631) *Kou = me sio miye*. this=TOP bird Victoria.pidgeon '**This is** a Victoria pigeon.' (showing a drawing)
- 632) Godi=hg haguisa-môu tobo-u, kg=me mg dihi. God=GEN call.FUT-PFV say-NFUT that=TOP ls.POSS child '... God having called said, "That is my child."" (God is in heaven)
- 633) <u>e</u> di<u>a</u>=mokoû tobo-u, n<u>i</u>=me kuo=koû duwo-ma. 3s 3pl=LOC say-NFUT 2pl=TOP this=LOC sit-DU/PL '... he said to them, "As for you, sit here.""

125

(see 5.2.2.1.2)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Variants *kuo*- and *ku*- reflect the pronunciation of particular forms. For the variants of  $k\underline{e}$  'that' see 2.7.2 MINOR VOWEL HARMONY and for both pronouns see 2.7.6 DE-NASALISATION BEFORE /g/, /l/ AND /k/. The spelling of nasalisation (underlining of the last vowel/diphthong **only** in a word) is in certain words not consistently applied, neither for the  $k\underline{e}$  words, nor for the  $k\underline{o}u$  words.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> The suffix - $h\underline{e}$  'pointing locativiser' following a clitic may be an analytical somersault. However, I will leave it like this, as it has only been found in two words, this one and the corresponding one with  $k\underline{e}$  'that'.

126	Konai Reference Grammar, WP, PNG, Årsjö, SIL
As a modif	
634)	Sakg=meUkarumpa=behiyemei=yodetobo-l-oui-moudu.landthat=TOPUkarumpa=TOPbigNEG=IQVsay-IRR-NPSTgo.NFUT-PFVhear.NFUT'Thatplace (Kainantu) is bigger than Ukarumpa, (I) heard them state and say.'
635)	<i>O</i> bolou kôu = me aso dugu-l-a-môu dege-l-i. man two this=top sun see-IRR-SUBJ-PFV do-IRR-NFUT 'These two men are trying to look at the sun' (showing a drawing)
636)	$t\underline{a}$ $yaf\underline{e}i = do$ $k\underline{o}u$ $k\underline{o}u - g(u)e - i.$ talk small=INT this this-VBR(BLTV)-NFUT
	<b>'This</b> very small talk (is) like this'
637)	Osasaiolôufaidigdou=behohodege-di.manwomanall.total3PLfire=TOPlightdo-HAB
	Yo=be dou ko=kôu na-l-e si-l-e ng-di ka=hg. base=TOP fire that=LOC eat-IRR-FUT COOK-IRR-FUT eat-HAB that=GEN
	'Everybody likes the fire. Because on the fire they cook (their) food.'
638)	<pre>o ka=hg dihi man that=GEN child 'that man's child' (possessive: 5.2.2.2)</pre>
As a modif	ier in a NP, non-singular individuated: NG# DEM+PRON(=TOP/=LOC/=GEN)
639)	Dilie o $ke + dig = mokou$ $na-l-e$ $hiye = do$ $ne-i$ . 3DU man that+3PL=LOC eat-IRR-FUT big=INT give-NFUT 'The two of them gave those people plenty to eat.'
As a modif	<b>There in a NP to express time:</b> NG <sup>TEMP</sup> #DEM(=TOP)=GEN (5.2.3.2.1: Genitive of time expressions)
640)	Fula kôu = ma = ha i-l-e. week this=TOP=GEN go-IRR-FUT '(he) will go this week.'
641)	<i>idiba</i> Monday $ka = hg$ hagua-l-e tomorrow Monday that=gen come-IRR-FUT ' tomorrow on "this"/that Monday (he) will start to come (back)' See also (644).
Participan	t reference, minor participant: NG#DEM((=TOP)=GEN)/(=LOC) (8.7.6.1.2)
642)	oka(=ma)=hgokeoko=kôumanthat(=TOP)=GENmanthatmanthat=LOC'thatman' (minor agent in control)'thatman' (object/patient/theme)'to theman'
Reason cor	nstructions: CLAUSE# DEM=GEN (5.2.3.2.1 Genitive of reason)
643)	<u>A</u> solôu = do dege-i = be, ele = be mogo = do ka = ha dege-môu 1s heart=INT do-NFUT=TOP ldu.ex=TOPfriend=INT that=GEN do-PFV 'I was really sorry, because the two of us had been close friends' See also (637).
Relative cla	auses: CLAUSE# DEM(=TOP/=GEN/=LOC) (6.5.2)
644)	<i>O</i> Kiunga=kôu i ke=me fula ta ka=ha=si hagua-l-e. man Kiunga=Loc go.NFUT that=TOP week INDF that=GEN=CNTR COME-IRR-FUT 'Concerning the man, who went to Kiunga, (he) will come back <b>already next week</b> .'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> The contrast 'group' versus 'individuated non-singular' in verb forms was discussed under 4.1.6.3 and 4.1.6.2. As can be seen by comparing (635) with (639), this contrast may be seen in the use of demonstrative pronouns, too.

#### 645) 0 ta moqo mei **ka**=**ha** i-ba=be moso=koîu е e = me3s friend NEG that=GEN go.NFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP 3s=TOP house=LOC man INDF tia-l-e mei. sleep-IRR-FUT NEG '... if a man, who does not have a friend (there), goes, as for him (he) will not be sleeping

'... if a man, **who** does not have a friend (there), goes, as for him (he) will not be sleeping in a house.'

#### As roots in locative adverbs and demonstrative verbs

The demonstrative pronouns  $k\underline{ou}$  'this' and  $\underline{ke}$  'that' are also the root forms of several locative adverbs and verbs.

- locative adverbs, e.g. *koule* 'here' see 4.8.3
- demonstrative verbs, e.g. *kege* 'be like that' see 4.8.4

#### 4.8.2.2 Topographical demonstrative pronouns

Topographical demonstrative pronouns are those with **a personal deictic centre** + **a geographical reference point**; these are based on roots of locative adverbs, augmented by one of two demonstrativiser:

- -ku 'near demonstrativiser'
- -gu 'distant demonstrativiser'

These forms, without further suffixation or cliticisation, are not very common.

-		kôu-gu	'that somewhere'
môu-ku-	'this down below'	môu-gu-	'that down below'
tôu-ku-	'this up here'	tôu-gu-	'that up there'
bu-ku-	'this upriver'	bu-gu-	'that upriver'
u-ku-	'this downriver'	u-gu-	'that downriver'
bôu-ku-	'this across here'	bôu-gu-	'that across there'
du-ku-	'this inside here'	du-gu-	'that inside there'

The difference between -ku- and -gu, then, is distance: <sup>124</sup> -ku signals something relatively close-by, while -gu signals something further away. The difference is exemplified below:

- 646) *Tou-ku=me sio.* up-demr.n=top bird 'This up here is a bird.'
- 647) *tou-gu=me* up-demr.d=top 'that **far** up **there**'

The demonstrative pronouns with a geographical reference point are the bases of many locative adverbs, e.g. *tôu-gu-li* (up-DEMR.D-E.LOCR) 'right up there'. See next section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> It is possible that visibility is part of this distinction, but it does not seem to be the case in all instances.

#### 4.8.3 Locative adverbs

The demonstrative pronouns form the basis for three sets of locative adverbs.

pointing locative adverbs marked by the suffix -*he* 'pointing locativiser'
exact locative adverbs marked by the suffix -*li* 'exact locativiser'
approximate locative adverbs marked by the suffix -*le* 'approximate locativiser'

Also, in two of the sets, vowel fronting is used for further specification (see last in this section).

DEMONSTR DEM PRON	RATIVE STEM	DEM- <b>P.LOCR</b> '() here/there' (pointing)	DEM- <b>E.LOCR</b> ' right () here/there'	DEM- <b>A.LOCR</b> 'somewhere () here/there'
k <u>ô</u> u	'this'	ku-he	koîu-li	koû-le
k <u>e</u>	'that'	ke-h <u>e</u>		ke-le
	'inside'		ki-li	ki-le
	'this somewhere'			(koîu-ku-le) <sup>125</sup>
ກດົນ-ku <sup>120</sup>	<sup>3</sup> 'this down below'	môu-ku-h <u>e</u>	môu-ku-li	moû-ku-le
t <i>o</i> u-ku	'this up here'	tôu-ku-h <u>e</u>	tôu-ku-li	tôu-ku-le
bu-ku	'this upriver'	bu-ku-h <u>e</u>	bu-ku-li	bu-ku-le
u-ku	'this downriver'	u-ku-h <u>e</u>	u-ku-li	u-ku-le
bôu-ku	'this across here'	b <i>ôu-ku-h<u>e</u> du lui ha</i>	boû-ku-li	bôu-ku-le
du-ku	'this inside'	du-ku-h <u>e</u>	du-ku-li	du-ku-le
kôu-gu <sup>127</sup>	'that somewhere'		kôu-gu-li	kôu-gu-le
môu-gu	'that down below'	môu-gu-h <u>e</u>	môu-gu-li	môu-gu-le
tôu-gu	'that up there'	tôu-gu-h <u>e</u>	tôu-gu-li	tôu-gu-le
bu-gu	'that upriver'	bu-gu-h <u>e</u>	bu-gu-li	bu-gu-le
u-gu	'that downriver'	u-gu-h <u>e</u>	u-gu-li	u-gu-le
bôu-gu	'that across there'	bôu-gu-h <u>e</u>	bôu-gu-li	boû-gu-le
du-gu	'that inside'	du-gu-h <u>e</u>	du-gu-li	du-gu-le
648)	<u>A</u> <b>ku-he</b> . 1s this-p.locr			
	'I am <b>here</b> (e.g. <b>poi</b>	nting to a photo).'		
649)	N <u>a</u> k <i>o</i> ̂u-le	ma-l- <u>e</u> .		
		put-IRR-FUT		
	'You will put it <b>som</b>	ewhere here.'		
650)	<i>ke-he=fei</i> that-p.locr=tot	-al		
	'that's all' (Mountai			
651)	Kôu-gu-le	fou.		
	somewhere-DEMR			
		of my sight.' (said to a dog that		
652)		kôu-gu-li	dala	
	-	somewhere-DEMR.D-E.LOCR		
	somewhere right o	on the other side of the river' (no	very near)	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> This form has not been observed, but the fronted version ke-ke-le somewhere-DEMR.D-A.LOCR 'somewhere where you are' (see towards the end of this section) is said to be grammatical.

<sup>127</sup>-gu 'distant demonstrativiser'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> -ku 'near demonstrativiser'

653)	miy <u>e</u> t <u>a</u> -le=koîu <b>moû-gu-le</b> su-l-u
	fish river-A.LOCR=LOC down-DEMR.D-A.LOCR walk.around-IRR-NFUT
	'a fish is swimming around in the river, <b>somewhere deep down there</b> '
654)	<i>touguei</i> <b>mou-gu-le</b> dala rat down-DEMR.D-A.LOCR be/have
	'the rat is somewhere deep down there'
655)	Yomogo-u=be, o ka=ha asoû <b>moû-gu-li=do dege</b> da+ma-moû,
,	start-NFUT=TOP man that=GEN ground down-DEMR.D-E.LOCR=INT do dig+put-PFV
	mouti $gof \underline{ou} = do$ $k\underline{e} = n \hat{ou}$ fo-fo-gue-i. post hard/strong=int that=only RED.PL-rise-DU/PL-NFUT
	'To start with, the man having dug <b>deep right down there</b> , planted strong posts only'
656)	miy <u>e</u> ta-le = koû <b>moû-gu-he</b> su-l-u
,	fish river-A.LOCR=LOC down-DEMR.D-P.LOCR walk.around-IRR-NFUT
	'a fish is swimming around deep down there in the river' (pointing)
657)	<i>môu-gu-he</i> down-demr.d-p.locr
	'deep down there' ( <b>pointing</b> )
658)	moû-ku-h <u>e</u>
	down-demr.n-p.locr
6 <b>5</b> 0 )	'down here' (closer than last example; <b>pointing</b> )
659)	<i>môu-ku-li</i> down-demr.n-e.locr
	'right down this way'
660)	moʻu-gu-li
	down-demr.d-e.locr
	'right down there'/'very far down'
661)	sio hebe sugu + tou tou-gu-le duwo bird tree top+up up-demr.d-a.locr sit
	'the bird is sitting <b>somewhere far up there</b> in the tree top'
662)	oguo agudi-le+toîu <b>toîu-gu-li</b> duwo
	moon sky-a.locr+up up-demr.d-e.locr sit
	'the moon is <b>right up there</b> in the sky' (far away)
663)	sio hebe $sugu + tou tou-gu-he$ duwo
	bird tree top+up up-DEMR.D-P.LOCR sit 'the bird is <b>far up there</b> in the tree top' ( <b>pointing</b> )
664)	sosi moso bu-gu-le duwo
0017	church house upriver-DEMR.D-A.LOCR sit
	'the church is somewhere upriver' (a bit away)
665)	ma yukuei sosi moso=kou <b>bu-gu-le</b> dala
	1s.poss cloth church house=Loc upriver-DEMR.D-A.LOCR be/have
	'my clothes are in the church <b>a bit upriver</b> '
666)	<i>to hebe bu-gu-li</i> river headwaters upriver-demr.d-e.locr
	' <b>right up there</b> close to the headwaters of the river' ( <b>far away</b> )
667)	sosi mos <u>o</u> <b>bu-gu-he</b> duwo
	church house upriver-DEMR.D-P.LOCR sit
	'the church is <b>upriver there</b> ( <b>pointing</b> )' (a bit away)
668)	<i>Omei=hg moso=kou u-gu-le</i> Omei=gen house=loc downriver-demr.d-a.locr
	'In Omei's house downriver' (a bit away)

669)	<i>m<u>a</u></i> ls.poss	<i>mos<u>o</u></i> house	_	<i>ilo</i> part	<b>b<i>ô</i>u-gu-l</b> across-		-E.LOCR	<i>duv</i> sit	
	'my hous	e is a bit	away, ac	cross righ	t there on th	e other	side of the r	iver'	
670)		inside	-DEMR.D				<i>mal<u>a</u></i> get.irr.i	FUT	<i>hagua</i> come
	'bring the	e book, w	hich is <b>in</b>	side som	ewhere' (no	t very n	ear)		

#### Vowel fronting to signal position of addressee

The exact and approximate locative adverb sets have forms that imply that the addressee is within the area referred to. The vowel in the locative adverbial root is thus fronted but keeps the approximate<sup>128</sup> height of the original vowel. This fronting spreads to the suffix -*ku* 'near demonstrativiser'. The suffix -*gu* 'far demonstrativiser' has not been observed in this context; this particular contrast seems to have been neutralised.

LOC-DEMR.N-A.LOCR	LOC-DEMR.N-A.LOCR + fronting to signal position of addressee		
	<i>ke-ke-le</i> 'somewhere where you are'		
<i>moû-ku-le</i> 'down below'	<i>me-ke-le</i> 'down below where you are'		
<i>tôu-ku-le</i> 'up here'	<i>te-ke-le</i> 'up there where you are'		
<i>bu-ku-le</i> 'upriver'	<i>bi-ki-le</i> 'upriver where you are'		
<i>u-ku-le</i> 'downriver'	<i>i-ki-le</i> 'downriver where you are'		
<i>bôu-ku-le</i> 'across'	<i>be-ke-le</i> 'across where you are'		
<i>du-ku-le</i> 'inside'	<i>di-ki-le</i> 'inside where you are'		
LOC-DEMR.N-E.LOCR	LOC-DEMR.N-E.LOCR + fronting to signal position of addressee		

			Line out i i outing to signing position of much osses
môu-ku-li	'right down below'	me-ke-li	'right down below where you are'
tôu-ku-li	'right up here'	te-ke-li	'right up there where you are'
bu-ku-li	'right upriver'	bi-ki-li	'right upriver where you are'
u-ku-li	'right downriver'	i-ki-li	'right downriver where you are'
bôu-ku-li	'right across'	be-ke-li	'right across where you are'
du-ku-li	'right inside'	di-ki-li	'right inside where you are'

571)	m <u>a</u>	bolo	† <u>o</u>	ilo	b <b>e-ke-</b> le	fogo-u
	1s.poss	ball	river	part	other.side-DEMR.N-A.LOCR	leave.for-NFUT
	'I lost my	ball on	the other	side of	the river, somewhere across where	e you are'

672)	m <u>a</u>	bolo	† <u>o</u>	ilo	b <b>ôu</b> -g <b>u</b> -le	fogo-u
	ls.poss	ball	river	part	other.side-DEMR.D-A.LOCR	leave.for-NFUT
	'I lost my the river)		the other	side of	the river, somewhere across there'	(the addressee is <b>not</b> on the other side of

# 673) kuguo be-ke-le paper other.side-DEMR.N-A.LOCR 'the book is across there, where you are'

# 674) kuguo bôu-gu-le paper other.side-DEMR.D-A.LOCR 'the book is somewhere across there' (the addressee is not there)

675) *kuguo di-ki-le ka* paper inside-demr.n-A.locr look.for 'look for the book **inside where you are**'

676) kuguo du-gu-le ka paper inside-DEMR.D-A.LOCR look.for 'look for the book **inside** (the addressee is **not** there)'

6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> As there is no front vowel corresponding to the close-mid vowel /o/, written  $\langle \hat{ou} \rangle$ , the fronted vowel comes out as  $\langle \epsilon \rangle$ , written as  $\langle e \rangle$ .

- 677) *miye me-ke-le* fish down-DEMR.N-A.LOCR 'the fish is **somewhere down below where you are**'
- 678) *miye me-ke-li* fish down-DEMR.N-E.LOCR 'the fish is **right down below where you are**'

#### 4.8.4 Demonstrative verbs

Two demonstrative verbs are formed by adding the verbaliser -ge to the demonstrative pronouns  $k\underline{\partial}u$  'this' and  $\underline{ke}$  'that'. They may be conjugated like any other verbs. The demonstrative pronouns with a geographical reference point (topographical demonstrative pronouns) cannot be verbalised, but see next section for a list of verb roots meaning 'come' or 'go', most of them with a geographical reference point.

k <u>o</u> u	'this'	kôu- <b>g</b> (u) <b>e</b>	'be like this'	(this-VBR(BLTV))
ke	'that'	ke- <b>ge</b>	'be like that'	(that-VBR)

The simple locative adverbs kôule 'here' and kele 'there' may also be verbalised.

kôu-le	'this'	kôu-le- <b>ge</b>	'be like this here'	(this-A.LOCR-VBR)
ke-le	'there'	ke-le- <b>ge</b>	'be like that there'	(that-A.LOCR-VBR)

These two last forms are more common in the Mountain dialect than in the Lowland dialect, though the form *kelege* has one very specific function in the Lowland dialect, too, where it is used in temporal phrases.

The most common of the demonstrative verbs is *kege* 'be like that'. Here are a few of its conjugated forms:

kege-i	'is/was like that'	(that.VBR-NFUT)
kege-i=yo mei	'is not like that'	(that.VBR-NFUT=INDC#NEG)
kege-l-i mei	'was not like that'	(that.VBR-IRR-NFUT#NEG)
kege-l-i-gi	'is/was like that until'	(that.VBR-IRR-NFUT-DSQ)
kege-l-e i	'they were like that'	(that.VBR-IRR-FUT#go)
kege-môu	'then/so' <sup>129</sup>	(that.VBR.FUT-PFV)
kege-ma-môu	'after (it) had become like that'	(that.VBR-ISQ-PFV)

The function of these demonstrative verbs is similar to some English adverbs and conjunctions. The form *kegemôu* 'then/so' may be used to demarcate paragraphs in narratives (see 8.2.1.3 MORE ON DEMONSTRATIVE PRO-VERB LINKAGE).

	monstr <i>Ligue</i>	<b>ative ver</b> 'be like		•	Major functions adverbial before speech/quote		-	<b>Examples</b> (679), (680)				
keg	ge	'be/bec then/so	ome like that/	connect	with -môu 'perfective' connects paragraphs in a story (681)connects sentencesadverbial, following cardinal numbers(683)							
kel	ege	'be like 'at that	that there' time'		-	oral (and loc etting the time		) phrases		(685), (68 (684)	6)	
679)	<u>A</u> r	n <u>a</u> =mok	où <b>koù-g(u</b> )	е	tob	o-l-ôu,	ng	mg	sele	kôu	mal <u>a</u> ,	
	1s 2	2s=loc	this-ve	r (bltv)	say	/-IRR-NPST	2s	ls.poss	money	prior	get	
	<i>fai</i> fil€		<i>mal<u>a</u></i> get.IRR.FU	0		<i>dala-ba,</i> be/have-p	FV.I	_	<i>l-e</i> 0-irr-fi	<i>mo-l-<u>ô</u>u.</i> ut get-irr-	FUT	

'I am telling you **like this**, you will first get my money and ... (you) will get (a) file and after coming (back, it) being (there with you), I will go and get (it).'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Literally: 'having become like that'.

680)  $\underline{a}$  sisig $\underline{o} = b \hat{o} \hat{u}$ Tawa-I-e *t*<u>a</u>=be kou-q(u)e,  $o + do = b \hat{o} u$ know-IRR-FUT talk=TOP this-VBR(BLTV) 1s children=and man+old/sickness=and 15. olôufei=be 15 all.total=TOP 'The message is like this: I have a total of 15 children and adults in school.' 681) fiye sa-i ke=me ye dihi qomoqu=bou ... string twine-NFUT that=TOP stringbag child knot=and ... miqi-mou duqu. come.down.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT di<u>a</u> ye Ke-ge-mou, dihi tu-l-o-mou duqu=be, k⊵ that-VBR-PFV 3PL stringbag child that remove-IRR-FUT-PFV see.NFUT=TOP dihi sa-l-a-mou ta duqu. child INDF put.inside-IRR-SUBJ-PFV see.NFUT dia dihi fo-fo-l-ou dala-I-i, Ke-ge-mou, ke 3PL child that RED.PL-run-IRR-NPST be/have-IRR-NFUT that-vBR-PFV hiye dege-i. Hiye dege-mou, <u>e</u> sas<u>ai</u> hu-l-o, dihi  $s \underline{u} = do$ то-ц. big do-NFUT big do.FUT-PFV 3s woman marry-IRR-FUT child many=INT get-NFUT Ke-ge-mou, dig e hy + ti = beDibiye Hiyadibi = yode-i. that-vBR-PFV 3PL 3s name+call=TOP Thunder Hiyandibi=IQV-NFUT '... (they) saw a small stringbag tied to the rope coming down with it. Then, they, having removed the small stringbag, saw that a child must have been put inside. Then they raised that child until he was grown up. Having grown up, he married and got many children. So they called his clan Thunder Hiyandibi.' ... Ke-ge = yodi-l-i. 682) ... that-vbr=iqv-irr-nfut '... He says like that.' olôufei=be 683) fula 5 ke-qe dala ka = hadege-mou. week all.total=TOP 5 that-VBR be/have that=GEN do-PFV '... because there are still 5 weeks to go.' 684) Ke-le-ge = be ... that-A.LOCR-VBR=TOP 'At that time ...' hagu-ba=be, 685) Ne fene, Des. 21 ke-le-ge 2s airplane Dec. 21 that-A.LOCR-VBR come.NFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP 'If your airplane comes on Dec. 21 ...' 686) Α afu=do huyadef<u>ei</u> ke-le-ge daqa = dogamani ke+dia 0 1s earlier=INT small that-A.LOCR-VBR different=INT government man that+3PL sôu haqu-mou duqu hu name call come.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT 'A long time ago, when I was little, I saw men of a different government come to take a census ...'

#### 4.8.5 Verbs of 'go' and 'come'

These verbs are:

There are five pairs of verbs for 'go' and 'come' in Konai. One pair has the speaker as the deictic centre, and corresponds in function, though not in form, with the demonstrative pronominal pair  $k\underline{o}u$  'this' and  $\underline{ke}$  'that' and their derivates. The other pairs have a personal deictic centre as well as a geographical reference point, e.g. a river. They correspond somewhat in meaning, but not in form, to the locative adverbial roots, e.g. u 'downriver', and their derivates.

go i∕ya	'go away from speaker (sg./pl.)'	come hagua	'come towards speaker'
m <u>u</u> folo	'go down/outside' 'go up/inside, arrive'	migi fel <u>e</u>	<pre>'come down/outside' 'come up/inside, arrive'</pre>
dôu	'go downriver'	dem <u>e</u>	'come downriver'
tu	'go upriver'	tim <u>i</u>	'come upriver'

Note that the pairs 'go & come up/down' also means 'go & come inside/outside'. This is explained by the fact that houses are built on poles. To go inside you go up and to go outside you go down. This does not correspond with the locative roots, where there is a word for 'inside' du. There is a noun meaning 'outside' *tamg*, which can be used together with the locative case marker  $=k\hat{o}u$ .

The verb *folo* 'go up' especially, but also the verb *fele* 'come up' are frequently used for 'arrive' in storytelling.

- 687) Α, testimony, a Kiunga =  $k \hat{o} \hat{u} \hat{i}$ . qamani dia o ...ha sele 1s testimony 1s Kiunga=Loc go.NFUT ... government 3PL man ...=GEN money а 60 kina te-l-e ne-i. Ke-qe-mou, a mala haque-i. 60 kina remove-IRR-FUT give-NFUT that-VBR-PFV 1s get.IRR.FUT COME-NFUT 1s'I (have) a testimony, I went to Kiunga... one of the government's official ... removed K60 and gave me. So I took (it) and started to come (back).' (story told in the village) 688) Α sa Dahamo toufoqou fene+ya haque-i. 1s land Dahamo leave airplane+road COMe-NFUT
  - Sa Ukarumpa=kôu **migi**.

land Ukarumpa=LOC come.down.NFUT

'I left Dahamo **coming** by airplane. (I) **came down** at Ukarumpa.' (story told at Ukarumpa)

- 689) Sa + mg-moû, moso = kôu ya folo-ga-môu, put.inside+put-pFV house=LOC go.DU/PL.FUT go.Up-DU/PL.FUT-PFV subulu sa si-l-e-môu nalg i. sweet.potato put.inside.FUT cook-IRR-FUT-PFVeat.IRR.FUT go.NFUT 'When (they) had put (the sweet potatoes) inside (the stringbag), they went home and having arrived, (they)
- put the sweet potatoes in (a pot) and having cooked (it) they ate.'
  690) dôu-ma tu-ma de-di go.downriver-ISQ go.upriver-ISQ PROV-HAB 'habitually going up and down the river' (about a daily walk on the airstrip parallel to the river)
  691) idiba deme-l-e
- (91) idiba deme-l-<u>e</u>
  tomorrow come.downriver-IRR-FUT
  '(he) will come downriver tomorrow'
- 692) *idiba timi-l-<u>e</u>* tomorrow come.upriver-IRR-FUT '(he) **will come upriver** tomorrow'(different reference point compared to last example)

#### 4.8.5.1 More on 'go' and 'come'

The Ronny text in APPENDIX III, can illustrate how the verbs i 'go' & *folo* 'go up/arrive' and *hagua* 'come' & *fele* 'come up/arrive' are used. The story is about a man, Ronny, telling his own story of how he went to town to buy food for a feast and how he came back to the village, where the story was told. In sentence 1-5 he uses the verb i 'go' and *folo* 'go up/arrive' in

their different forms. In sentence 6 he switches to *hagua* 'come' and *fele* 'come up/arrive' in their different forms. This is maintained through sentence 13, except for a direct quote with i 'go' in sentence 9 and a digression for sleeping in the first clause of sentence 11. Sentence 14 and 15 are stationary. In sentence 16 he starts the summing up of his story and goes back to i 'go'.

The interesting thing about these verbs of motion is that the direction of the motion is more important than the motion itself. The deictic centre is usually, not to say always, <sup>130</sup> the speaker/the story teller. A few examples will show that.

A common way to express continuous motion in Tok Pisin is *i go i go i go i go* 'to keep going'. In Konai, if the motion is towards the place where you are speaking, the expression has to be based on the verb *hagua* 'come'.

693) hagu-l-u-gi hagu-l-u-gi hagu-l-u-gi fele come-IRR-NFUT-DSQ come-IRR-NFUT-DSQ come-IRR-NFUT-DSQ come.up

'... (I) came travelling (back towards the village) until (I) arrived and ...'

A seemingly simple question like "When did you come?" translated literally into Konai, will not work, as the word *hagua* 'come' will imply the start of the return journey. The corresponding question in English that would work would be "When did you arrive/come up?"

694) **N**a koboge hague-i?

2s when.vbr come-NFUT

Awehagu-l-u-giibigifele-i.1sday.before.yesterday come-IRR-NFUT-DSQearlier.todaycome.up-NFUT'When did you start your journey back? I started to come (the) day before yesterday, (coming on) until (I)arrived earlier today.'

Also, for example, if you want to invite someone you meet on the road to your house, you will have to use i 'go' even though you plan to take him or her to the house yourself. Example (696) is incorrect.

- 695) Mg moso=kôu i-me. ls.poss house=LOC go-HORT 'Let's go to my house!'
- 696) \*Ma moso=kôu hagua. 1s.poss house=Loc come-IMP \* 'Come (with me) to my house!'

Another indication that *hagua* 'come' and *i* 'go' is not used in the same way as in English is the following example. When asking someone coming back to the village where they have come from, they always use *i* 'go' in the answer. Example (698) is incorrect.

- 697) <u>A</u>=me hebe ha-i sa=kôu i. ls=TOP tree cut-NFUT land=LOC gO-NFUT 'I went to the garden.'
- 698) \*A=me hebe ha-i sa=kôu=ge hagu-l-u. 1s=TOP tree cut-NFUT land=LOC=F.CNTR come-IRR-NFUT 'I am \*coming from the garden.'

**However**, if telling a story about a place that you do not know anything about, the **deictic centre** may be set at the place of a main participant. The following example is from a story about John the Baptist, told by a church member.

699) hiye dege-mou, ... i-l-e,  $ko = ko\hat{u} tafala-mo\hat{u}$ . Jon е sa ... bitou sa John 3s big do.FUT-PFV ... go-IRR-FUT land ... mountain land that=LOC stand-PFV su=do e=mokou hagua-sige du-di. fele, Jon=ha ta 0 man many=INT 3s=LOC come-DU/PL.FUT come.up.FUT John=GEN talk hear-HAB 'When John had grown up, (he) ... went and standing on a ... mountain, many people used to come (along) and arrive and listen to John's talk.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> But see last example in this section.

#### 4.8.5.2 Using *i* 'go' and *hagua* 'come' to express temporal relationships

The verbs *i* 'go' and *hagua* 'come' are also used to express an event/state going on over time.

The verb *i* 'go' is used when the event starts at a certain time and continuous for a while in the past, present or future.

The verb *hagua* 'come' is used when an event has started prior to a certain other event and then continues up to the point of that other event.

See 4.1.5.4.2 PROGRESSIVE ASPECT and 7.3.2.4 DELAYED SEQUENCE.

dege-ga-mou i-l-i-gi, 700) е ... midiho kasaqai qehe qehe oloufei all.total do-DU/PL-PFV go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ 3s face bad new new ... sele olôufei mei dege-i. n<u>a-i</u> money all.total eat-NFUT NEG do-NFUT '... he continued to do all kinds of bad things until all (his) money was gone.' 701) ta kôù du-moîu haque-i ke=me ni talk 2PL prior hear-PFV come-NFUT that=TOP ni defei=do tôu-ma. 2PL careful=INT hold-DU/PL "... the talk that you have been hearing up to now, hold on to that carefully." Abraham =  $k\hat{o}u$  dege-l-e = yode-ma maka + ma dele-i = be, 702) Godi=ha ta God=gen talk Abraham=LOC do-IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQ mark+put be/have-NFUT=TOP

sadebe olôuf<u>ei</u> 430 ke-ge hagua mei dege-môu, Godi=ha year all.total 430 that-ver come Neg do-PFV God=GEN

yôuekuolôutakeMoses=kôukuhehe-hegi-etobo-u.3s.EMP3slawtalkthatMoses=LocsoRED.PL-show-RED.PLsay-NFUT

**'From the time** God spoke to Abraham (and) marked (him for what he) would do, 430 years **passed** and then God taught and spoke his own law talk to Moses.'

703) He-hegi-e tobôu-môu i=be de-môu, habi dege-i-môu, RED.PL-ShOW-RED.PL SAY=PFV gO=TOP PROV-PFV afternoon do-NFUT-PFV <u>e</u> dabai dege-di o ke+dig hagua-sie-môu tobo-u 3s work do-HAB man that+3PL come-DU/PL.FUT-PFV say-NFUT '... (he) taught and spoke until it became afternoon, when his disciples having come said ...'

# 4.9 Conjunctions

Conjunctions belong to a small heterogeneous class of words, even including one or two enclitics, set up on the basis of their function to connect paragraphs, sentences, clauses and/or elements of compounded phrases. As the most important of these, so called conjunctions, is a verb that may be conjugated, it is not quite a closed class. Three of its basic forms are conjugations based on the demonstrative pronoun ke 'that'.

There are several other different strategies in Konai to connect sentences and clauses. Some are morphological, like temporal linking (see 7.3.2) and purpose (see 7.3.3.2). Some strategies are based on repetition of longer stretches of speech, like head-tail linkage (see 8.2.1) and clause repetition (see 7.2). However, none of those strategies will be presented here.

These are the forms that may on the basis of their function be called conjunctions:

THOSE	e die forms that	indy on the basis of their function	in be caned conjunctions.	
k	ke-ge-môù	'having become like that/ so/then'	(that-VBR-PFV)	connects paragraphs
k	ke-le-ge-môu <sup>131</sup>	'having become like that there/ so/then'	(that-A.LOCR-VBR-PFV)	connects paragraphs
(	(ke=nôu)= <b>si</b>	'but'	((that=only)=CNTR)	connects clauses & sentences
k	ka = h <u>a</u> (dege-moîu)	'because'	(that=GEN do-PFV)	may connect clauses; together with <i>yobe</i> 'reason' connects sentences
y	vo=be	'reason'	(base=TOP)	connects sentences
r	ne=be/=ne	'also'	(also=TOP/=also)	connects sentences
ŀ	ha/haba	'but/or/again/instead' 132	(but(PFV.IRR))	connects clauses & sentences
C	0	'or'	loan word (maybe)	connects elements of compounded phrases; connects clauses
C	de	'proverb'		may function together with = $b\hat{o}u$ 'and' in compounded phrases; may also connect clauses
=	=boû	'and'		connects elements of compounded phrases
=	=be	'topic marker'		connects phrases & clauses
As ke	<i>ege</i> 'like that' is rea	lly a verb it can take any of the	verbal suffixes. That gives	a few more "conjunctions":
ŀ	- ke-ge-ma-môu	'after having become like that'		(that-VBR-ISQ-PFV)
ŀ	ke-ge-ba	'will have become like that'		(that-VBR-PFV.IRR)
ŀ	ke-ge-ba=be	'if like that'		(that-VBR-PFV.IRR=TOP)
ŀ	ke-ge-ba=si	'in that way, in contrast to othe	r ways'	(that-VBR-PFV.IRR=CNTR)
704 705	that-vbr-pfv <b>'Then</b> the two of ) <i>wai oye hi</i>	of us said,'	<i>dugu.</i> PFV see.NFUT	
	<i>Ke-ge-môu,</i> that-vbr-pfv ' (he) saw/hea <b>Then</b> he kept ci	<u>e</u> taha taha-mou s 3s shoot shoot-PFV w rd (the dog) barking at that very rcling around shooting again and	su-l-u-gi walk.around-IRR-NFU2 big boar.	T-DSQ
706	) <i>wai ôu n</i> pig sago e	<i>o-l-u.</i> at-irr-nfut		
	<b>Ke-le-ge-môu</b> , that-a.locr-		•	<i>gu wai hagu-l-u.</i> e.nfut pig come-irr-nfut
	<b>Ke-le-ge-môu</b> that-a.locr-	-vbr-pfv 3s shoot-n	IFUT	
	Then he (a man	eating sago (fibres). ) made a hunting shelter (he) t).' (Mountain dialect)	sat until (he) saw a pig co	ming.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Mountain dialect – function and meaning seem to be the same as for *kegemóu* 'having become like that/then/so'.

 $<sup>^{132}</sup>$  The words ha and haba seem basically to mean 'change'.

<u>a</u> tewe môu-l-į 707) Duwo-di, mei foqo-u. sit-DSQ<sup>133</sup> 1s know get-IRR-NFUT NEG leave.for-NFUT Ke-le-ge-mou, a fi + ma-ihive=do dege-i. that-A.LOCR-VBR-PFV 1s soul+put-NFUT big=INT do-NFUT 'I was sitting there until not gaining any knowledge I left. **Then** I thought (about it) a lot.' (Mountain dialect) 708)  $dia=mok\hat{o}u$  yodu, ...  $Ke=n\hat{o}u=si$ dia tobou-li е mei. 35 3PL-LOC ask ... that=only=CNTR 3PL say-IRR-NFUT NEG '... he asked them, ... But they did not answer.' *hiye* = *do.*  $K\underline{e} = n\hat{o}u = si$ 709) bei. 0 obôu dig hoho hoho mei. aso ₫ snake man some 3PL light big=INT that=only=CNTR 1s light sun NEG ka = ha.  $Y_{o} = be$ e o qala-di base=TOP 3s man bite-HAB that=GEN '... death adder. Some people like (it) very much. But I do not like (it). Because it bites people.' (Foothill dialect) 710) Fi ke=me vo = be $Yesu = ko\hat{u} = qe$ haque-i. soul that=TOP base=TOP Jesus=LOC=F.CNTR come-NFUT 'The cause/reason of that life comes from Jesus.' tefe-l-e. Ne=be ke=noû 711) also=TOPthat=only measure-IRR-FUT 'Also, in the same way and ...' kasaqai, 712) ha bolofei? ta talk bad but good=total 'is it bad or good talk? (it is very good)' hiye=do dala, Fofai ha  $k\underline{e} = n\hat{o}u = si$ suqua-i=bou mei. 713) swollen big=INT be/have but that=only=CNTR have.fever-NFUT=and NEG '(He) has (a) very big swelling, but even so, there is no fever with (it).' 714) Figi ilo left  $side = k\hat{o}u = be$  bolo = feidala, side part left side=LOC=TOP good=total be/have  $side = k\hat{o}u = be$  do ha fiqi right hive=do. but side right side=LOC=TOP sickness big=INT '(His) left side is OK, but (his) right side is really sick/painful.' 715) Tili=ha hebe То hu ke-le bitou ta, е ta 3s name Tili=GEN headwaters that-A.LOC mountain INDF river INDF  $ilo = k \hat{o} u$  dala-m $\hat{o} u$ , ha ta ilo=kôu dala-môu duo ke-le dala. part=Loc be/have-PFV but INDF part=Loc be/have-PFV spirit<sup>134</sup> that-A.Locr be/have-PFV 'A river, by name of Tili, at its headwaters, there is a mountain on one side and again another on the other side, there in the middle is (Tabubil).' hive = do si-l-e, 716) Na-I-e seqe-i na=be de-ma, tou dedei dege-mou eat-IRR-FUT big=INT cook-IRR-FUT plant-NFUTeat=TOP PROV-ISQ body strong do.FUT-PFV i = di. i-l-i-gi, duwo mei ke-le = nou tio-l-u. Ha ke-qe 0 go-HAB but that-VBR go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ man sit NEG that-A.LOCR=onlysleep-IRR-NFUT 'Cooking a lot of food and after eating all that garden produce, the body would keep on getting strong. Again hiking/going on like that until (I would) sleep in no-man's land.' 717) kulio hiye=do ka=ha=noîu=si kasaqai. coldness big=INT that=GEN=ONLY=CNTR bad Ha suwa olôufei ke=me kasagai ta mei but something all.total that=TOP bad INF NEG "... but apart from how very cold it is, there is nothing else bad ..."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> In this position, in the Mountain dialect, this is probably 'delayed sequence', rather than 'habitual'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Or 'middle'.

718)	sawisie-itake-le-ge,hasawisie-ikou = ma = ha,be.day-NFUTINDFthat-A.LOCR-VBRbutbe.day-NFUTthat=TOP=GEN' a later day, but even today/this day'
719)	Jon = hg fafeleya dege-di = be o ke + dig dabai? John=gen baptism do-HAB=TOP man that+3pL work
	<b>Ha</b> hebeni=hg dabai? but heaven=gen work
	'Concerning John's baptism, is (that) men's work? Or heaven's work?' (It is the business of heaven.)
720)	Hou=nehiye=dodala.Siya=sidugu-l-imei.Meiodala,taro=alsobig=INTbe/havesugarcane=CNTRsee-IRR-NFUTNEGNEGorbe/have
	<i><u>a</u> tewe mei.</i> 1s know NEG
	' Taro <b>too</b> , there were lots of. <b>But</b> I haven't seen (any) sugarcane. I don't know (if there) is any <b>or</b> not.'
721)	dôu-ma tu-ma de-di go.down.river-isg go.up.river-isg prov-hab
	'habitually going down and up the river (going back & forth)'
722)	Sasaiedihiodihi=bôusasaidihi=bôu+deta-le=kôuwoman 3schildman child=and woman child=and+prov river-A.LOCR=LOC
	<i>miy<u>e</u> bese i-l-i.</i> fish angle.for go-IRR-NFUT
	'The woman with her son and daughter is going to the river to angle for fish.'
723)	$O  sas\underline{a}i  olo\hat{u}f\underline{e}i = do = be  disope = be  taga-l-e  nal\underline{a}  i-di. \dots$
	man woman all.total=INT=TOP pineapple=TOP like-IRR-FUT eat.IRR.FUT go-HAB
	Ke=nôu=singsosoung-ba=be,ngoguedege-l-e.that=only-cnrr2sunripeeat-pfv.irr=top2sitchdo-irr-fut
	Yo = be $e = me$ $sosou$ $ka = ha$ $dege-molu$ base=TOP $3s=TOP$ unripethat=GEN $dO-PFV$
	'Everybody likes and eats pineapples. <b>But if</b> you eat (it) unripe, you will get (an) itch. <b>Because</b> it <b>is</b> unripe.'

# 5. PHRASES

There are three kinds of phrases based on their function in the clause. The two main kinds are the verbal phrase and the nominal phrase. The modifier phrase encodes location, time, some verb-modifying ideas, as well as some aspectual and modal concepts.

# 5.1 The verbal phrase

The verbal phrase functions as the head of the verbal clause. Before describing the verbal phrase in itself, I will recognize that there are three smaller units, on the level with the verb word itself, that have their function within the verbal phrase. They are the serial verb construction, the noun incorporation construction and the noun/adjective/adverb incorporation with the proverb *dege* 'do'. The last one will be described first as that is the more uniform and also the most simple of the three.

138

#### 5.1.1 Noun/adjective/adverb incorporation with the pro-verb dege 'do'

A number of nouns, both abstract and concrete, as well as adjectives and adverbs may be verbalised by the common pro-verb *dege* 'do'.

#### Structure of noun/adjective/adverb incorporation

$V_{INC} \rightarrow$	N/ADJ/ADV	V		
724)	kulio dege	(coldness#do)	'be(come) cold'	(noun)
725)	asi dege	(red colour#do)	'be(come) red' (from fruit/ground pigment)	(noun)
726)	mogo dege	(friend#do)	'be(come) friends'	(noun)
727)	hiye dege	(big#do)	'be(come) big/to grow'	(adjective)
728)	bol <u>o</u> dege	(good#do)	'be(come) good'	(adjective)
729)	s <u>a</u> dege	(likely#do)	'be like/likely'	(adverb)
730)	mei dege	(NEG#do)	'be(come) finished'	(adverb)

All these verbs, with incorporated nouns, adjectives or adverbs are experiential state verbs. This means that the irrealis non-future form, which for event verbs means present tense, for these verbs means a change of state, while the realis non-future is the stable state and translates into a present tense form in English.

731) O sasai dia kulio dege-i-môu, dia aso ha i-di=be man woman 3PL coldness do-NFUT-PFV 3PL sun get.warm go-HAB=TOP bolo=fei=do dugu-di. good=total=INT see-HAB 'When people are cold, (and) when they warm (themselves in the) sun, (they) feel good.'

- 732) *Ma* sasai sobôude dege-l-i. <u>E</u> dihi mo-l-ôu sagai mei. 1s.poss woman old.woman do-IRR-NFUT 3s child get-IRR-NPST likely NEG 'My wife is getting old. She is not likely to have a child.'
- 733) *mg* sas<u>ai</u> <u>e</u> sobôude dege-i. 1s.poss woman 3s old.woman do-NFUT '... my wife is an old woman.'

An adjective may modify the verbalised noun.

734) <u>g</u> gue hiye=do dege-i. 1s fear big=INT do-NFUT '... I was very much afraid.'

The pro-verb *dege* 'do' is also used with loan words. Those verbal constructions are not necessarily state verbs, but mostly event verbs.

735)	try dege		'try	,			(loan word)
736)	study dege		'stu	dy'			(loan word)
737)	K <u>e</u> =nôu=si	Oumemi	0	ke+di <u>a</u>	y <u>a</u> - <u>i</u> =be,	di <u>a</u> =me	

that=only=CNTR Oumemi man that+3PL play-NFUT=TOP 3PL=TOP

wini dege-l-i mei=do.

win do-IRR-NFUT NEG=INT

'But when the Oumemi men played, they really did not win.'

#### 5.1.2 Other noun incorporation

Two temporal verbs, based on the noun for 'land' *sa*, each with a different verb root attached, are very common paragraph markers in narratives:

• sa+wisie	'be day'	(meaning of verb root unknown)
• sa+biya	'be morning'	( <i>biya</i> 'sit')

Two other verbs with a noun incorporated are:

•	'wash oneself/swim'	(river#wash)
---	---------------------	--------------

<ul> <li>huei to</li> </ul>	'rain'	(water#wash)

And two more:<sup>135</sup>

- *moso togo* 'build a house' (*togo* 'make')
- *ye togo* 'make a stringbag'

738)	<b>Sa+wisie-i</b> ta land+?-NFUT IN		0		00	<b>Sa+biyo-u-moîu,</b> land+sit-NFUT-PFV	
	<i>i-l-e-môu</i> 90-1rr-nfu-pfv <b>'One day</b> I having		cassowar	y hold		e.NFUT	
	was caught (there).	• • •		00	,	, second s	
739)	<b>Sa+biya-môu</b> , land+sit-pfv				<b>dilie</b> 3du		
	<i>Malikôu</i> Malin mouth.c		<i>yo-u-môu</i> go.du/pl-1	NFUT-PFV	I		
	'Next morning, while Asele and his wife Dasame went to the mouth of the (river) Malin'						
740)	<i>hu<u>ei</u> te-i</i> water wash-NF '(it) rained'	TUT					
741)	<i>to te-i</i> river wash-nf '(he) <b>swam</b> '	ΤŪΤ					
742)	Huei <b>to</b> -l-adi.		A=me	to	to	i-l-i	

742)	Hu <u>e</u> ı	<b>to</b> -I-aa	11.	<u>A</u> =me	† <u>o</u>	to	1-1-1	
	water	wash-	IRR-PROS	1s=TOP	river	wasł	1 go-IRR-NFUT	
	NP	VP		NPs	NPo	VP		
	'(It) is just about to <b>rain</b> .'			'I'm going to <b>swim</b> .'				
743)	0	mos <u>o</u>	togo-l-o.	Sas <u>ai</u>	уe		togo-l-o.	
	man	house	make-IRR-FUT	woman	string	bag	make-IRR-FUT	
	'(The) man will build a house.'		'(The) woman <b>will make</b> a stringbag.'					

### 5.1.3 Serial verbs

It is very common to have two or more verbs following in a row in natural speech. In most cases it is possible to insert other parts of speech in between them.

There are, however, several constructions where one verb follows on another, and where it is not possible to insert anything in between, while still keeping the same meaning. These qualify as serial verb constructions. All but one have a grammatical function.<sup>136</sup>

- individuated plurality on verbs taking an object
- progressive aspect
- simple purpose
- conative mode
- future habitual aspect
- telic states
- hypothetic, including contrary-to-fact conditions
- enhanced transitivity: plural object
- enhanced transitivity: completive
- set expressions

In addition to these, there are a number of verb strings that do not quite qualify as serial verbs (see 5.1.3.11).

140

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> These are borderline; they could be analysed as object and verb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> See also 7.3.2.4 DELAYED SEQUENCE (second part): *ibe demôu* & *haguabe demôu* and *ibe deba* & *haguabe deba*, all with the basic meaning of 'until'. You could claim that these forms are also serial verbs constructions.

There are other verb combinations that may look like they would qualify as a serial verb construction, but do not quite do that. Verbs under the general area of meaning of '**bring**' and '**take**', as well as a few others, come in that category and will be commented on in 5.1.3.11 OTHER VERB STRINGS.

The serial verbs have the following structure, where  $V_1$  is a distinct conjugation of a certain groups of verbs, and  $V_2$  is usually one of the following verbs: *i* 'go', *hagua* 'come', *dege* 'do', *de* 'pro-verb', *ma* 'put'.

#### Structure of serial verbs

•  $V_{SER} \rightarrow V_1 V_2$ 

#### 5.1.3.1 Individuated plurality on verbs taking an object

Individuated plurality (see 4.1.6.2 INDIVIDUATED PLURAL) for **transitive** verbs is expressed as a serial verb construction. For most verb types,  $V_1$  is in irrealis future or non-past form. For type 3 and 4 verbs, verb stems ending in **a**, however,  $V_1$  is in its basic form. The exception is verb type 3c, which follows the first pattern.  $V_2$  is always the verb *i* 'go' in any form.

- $V_{\text{SER.INDV}} \rightarrow \text{V-IRR-FUT/NPST}$  *i* 'go' (Verb types 1-2, 3c, 5-7)
- $V_{\text{SER.INDV}} \rightarrow V_{\text{BASIC}}$  *i* 'go' (Verb types 3, 4, i.e. regular transitive verbs ending in *a*)
- 744) *Dig kuidiho ke dugu-o-môu, hoho hiye=do dege-l-e i.* 3PL star that see-FUT-PFV light big=INT do-IRR-FUT go.NFUT

'Having seen the star, they were very happy.' (type 2 verb; stem ends in *e*)

745) *Habiya o su=do milo-l-ôu i.* Aekyom man many=int work-irr-npst go.nfut

'Many Aekyom **people were working** (there).' (type 6 verb; stem ends in *ôu*)

- 746) O sasai su=do e=mokôu hagua-sie-i, e ta du-l-o i. man woman many=INT 3s=Loc come-Du/PL-NFUT 3s talk hear-IRR-FUT go.NFUT 'Many people came to him; they heard his talk.' (type 5 verb; stem ends in u)
- 747) Sio isusu=be e hui=be bolo=fei=do o oloûfei taga-l-e i-di. bird pigeon=TOP 3s meat=TOP good=total=INTman all.total like-IRR-FUTgo-HAB 'Concerning the meat of the "isusu" pigeon (it) is very good; everybody likes/all people like it.' (type 3c verb; stem ends in a, but is not conjugated as other a-verbs)
- 748) Ou kou = me ma ou, ... Ke = nou = si o dia hiyou = ye ha i. sago this=top 1s.poss sago ... that=only=CNTR man 3pL steal=INS cut go.NFUT 'This is my sago (palm) ... But the men cut (it) down, stealing it.' (type 3a verb; stem ends in a)

For contrasting examples with group plural see 4.1.6.3 and example (434) under 4.1.6.2.1 INDIVIDUATED PLURAL ...

#### 5.1.3.2 Progressive aspect

Progressive aspect (see 4.1.5.4.2 PROGRESSIVE ASPECT) is also expressed as a serial verb construction, with the meaning 'keep doing something'.  $V_1$  is in its basic form followed by *-mou* 'perfective', never *-ba* perfective irrealis, even when the final verb is in future tense or expressing something hypothetic.  $V_2$  is usually the verb *i* 'go' or the verb *hagua* 'come', but other forms are possible (751).  $V_2$  may be in any form. Note (752), where the final verb is in future tense.

- $V_{\text{SER.PROG}} \rightarrow V$ -môu i 'go'
- $V_{\text{SER.PROG}} \rightarrow V$ -môu hagua 'come'
- 749) *di dabai hiye=do dege-môu i-l-i.* lpl.in work big=int do-pfv go-irr-nfut '... we **keep on** working very hard.'
- 750) Hagi hiye=do <u>a</u> dugu-môu hague-i olôuf<u>ei</u> k<u>e</u>=me n<u>a</u> kôu tewe. heavy big=INT 1s see-PFV come-NFUT all.total that=TOP 2s prior know 'All the problems I have had up to now, you already know.'

751) sa olôufei suluqua-l-i, ni ya, sa 2pl go.Du/PL land land all.total walk.around.Du/PL-IRR-NFUT ta uwo bolo = fei kôu 0 sas<u>ai</u> olôufei ke+dia=mokou talk noise good=total this man woman all.total that+3PL=LOC toboû-moû sulugua-ma=be=ede tobo-u. walk.around.du/pL-du/pL=TOP=OOV say-NFUT say-PFV

'... "Go and as you travel/walk around everywhere, you must tell all people this good talk," (he) instructed them and said.'

752) Godi=kôu bolo=fei=yode tobôu-môu i-l-e. God=Loc good=total=IQV say-PFV go-IRR-FUT '... (people) will go on thanking God.'

#### 5.1.3.3 Simple purpose

Simple purpose is of the type "I'm going fishing".  $V_1$  is in its basic form and  $V_2$  is usually a motion verb, most commonly i 'go' in any form, but it is often a final verb with tense marking.

- $V_{\text{SER.SIMP.PURPOSE}} \rightarrow V_{\text{BASIC}}$  *i* 'go'
- 753) *Ma sasai e ou ga i.* 1s.poss woman 3s sagogather go.NFUT 'My wife **went to gather** sago.'
- 754) <u>A</u>=me yukuei bigi i-l-i. ls=TOP cloth wash go-IRR-NFUT 'I am going (to the river) to wash clothes.'

#### 5.1.3.4 Conative mode

The conative mode type is of the type "I am trying to catch a fish" (Foley 1986:152).  $V_1$  is an irrealis medial form of the verb, signalling purpose.  $V_2$  is usually the verb *dege* 'do' in any form.

- $V_{\text{SER.TRY}} \rightarrow V\text{-IRR-SUBJ-PFV}$  dege 'do'
- 755) *Miye e hu=be tabaga, e dia wala* fish 3s name=TOP fish.sp. 3scrayfish attack.IRR.FUT

```
na-l-g-môu dege-l-i.
```

eat-IRR-SUBJ-PFV do-IRR-NFUT

'A fish by name of *tabaga*, he is trying to kill and eat crayfish.' (a caption to a picture)

Please also note a similar construction with the proverb *de* in the first line of the following example:

756) Wai ka=hg g wa-l-a do-môu, ... mala hebe ka=hg pig that=gen ls attack-IRR-SUBJ PROV-PFV ... arrow tree that=gen gu-l-a-môu dege-i. poke-IRR-SUBJ-PFV do-NFUT 'The pig having tried to kill me (but didn't) ... I tried to poke (my) wooden arrow into him.'

It is probably too narrow to say that this construction means just "try to ..". Perhaps "plan to .." is better.

757) ele sio mowi ya-l-a-môu dege-l-i-gi dugu, lbu.ex bird hunt go.bu/PL-IRR-SUBJ-PFV do-IRR-NFUT-DSQ see.NFUT Mikael yukuei bigi i-môu Mikael cloth wash go.NFUT-PFV '... the two of us were planning to go bird hunting until we saw Mikael on his way to wash clothes, when we immediately ...'

#### 5.1.3.5 Future habitual aspect

Future habitual aspect is also expressed in a serial verb construction, where  $V_1$  is its basic form and  $V_2$  is the pro-verb *de* in any form.

142

- $V_{\text{SER.FUT.HAB}} \rightarrow V_{\text{BASIC}}$  *de* 'proverb'
- 758) Godi=hg tg bologug=do he-hegi-e tobou de. God=GEN talk good.do=INT RED.PL-Show-RED.PL say PROV 'Keep teaching and preaching well.'

#### 5.1.3.6 Telic states

An existential state verb with an endpoint is expressed in a serial verb construction where  $V_1$  is a state verb and  $V_2$  is the proverb *de* with the medial suffix *-ma* 'immediate sequence' attached.

- $V_{\text{SER.ISQ.STAT}} \rightarrow V_{\text{STAT}}$  *de-ma* 'PROV-ISQ'
- 759) *Elementary duwo de-ma mei dege-i-moû = be,* elementary.school sit PROV-ISQ NEG dO-NFUT-PFV=TOP '... after finishing elementary school, ...'

#### 5.1.3.7 Hypothetic, including contrary-to-fact conditions

Hypothetic conditions may be non-future or future. They are expressed by a serial verb construction using the pro-verb de. V<sub>1</sub> is any verb in epistemic mood, and V<sub>2</sub> is de 'pro-verb' in the perfective irrealis form. In fact, V<sub>1</sub> does not even need to be there (762).

- $V_{\text{SER,HYP}} \rightarrow V \quad de ba(=be)$  'PROV-PFV.IRR(=TOP)'
- 760) o bi mei o ke+dig=mokôu ne-l-g de-ba=be bolo. man thing NEG man that+3PL=LOC give-IRR-FUT PROV-PFV.IRR good '... if (you) would give to poor people, (it) would be good.'
- midiho gehe gehe ni dihi-le ko=koîu miloû-qa-i ke=noîu 761) sa<u>qai</u> 2PL eye-A.LOCR that=LOC work-DU/PL-NFUT likely that=only face new new tefe-l-e milôu-qa-i de-ba=be, dia fi bohôu-ma

be.like-IRR-FUT work-DU/PL-NFUT PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP 3PL soul turn-ISQ

'... if (I) **would have done** the same miracles (in front of them) that I have done in front of you, they after repenting **would** ...'

762) Te-i fi de-ba=be, hui=bôu mei, dio=nôu dala-ba
die-NFUT soul PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP meat=and NEG bone=only be/have-PFV.IRR
dugu-l-o.
see-IRR-FUT
'If (the soul) would be (a) dead soul, we would not see any flesh, just the bones by

themselves.'

#### 5.1.3.8 Enhanced transitivity: plural object

There are several ways to signal plural object. One of them is a serial verb construction with the verb  $m\underline{g}$  'put'. Both V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub> are in their basic forms. The typical meaning of this serial verb construction is illustrated in the first example as compared to the second.

•  $V_{\text{SER.TRANS.PL.O}} \rightarrow V_{\text{BASIC}} + m\underline{a}$  'put'

The two verbs in this serial construction are considered by mother-tongue speakers to be a compound word, so it is written as one word.

763) awa dio ... mou + ma hagua-sige fele-ga-i
black.palm bone ... get+put come-DU/PL come.up-DU/PL-NFUT
'plenty of people ... brought lots of black palm strips'

Compare:

764) *malg hagua* get.IRR.FUT come '... **one** person bringing as much as he can carry' In the following example two boys are gathering all the things they need for a fishing trip. Both of them are grabbing one thing after another. The second verb in this serial verb construction functions as a strong transitiviser. The emphasis is on the plurality of action, one action per object (and person), which of course makes plural objects.

- 765) Ele ye, howili+dio, kalase, awaki=bôu+de tôu+mg i-ga-i. lbu.Ex stringbag fishing+bone glass knife=and+prov hold+put go-bu/PL-NFUT 'The two of us (each one) grabbed stringbag(s), diving spear(s), fishing glass(es) and knife/(knives) (many things) and went.'
- 766) Ele hebe ha-gi+mg tigi ka-gi+mg-môu digigi-l-e folo-ga-i. lbu.ex tree cut-of+put vine cut-of+put-pfv tie-IRR-FUT go.up-Du/PL-NFUT 'We two cut pieces of wood and having cut some vines, tied it (made a ladder) and went up (the tree).'
- 767) Sabiye-i dig wai sa + mg i.
  be.morning-NFUT 3PL pig put.inside+put go.NFUT
  'In the morning; they put pieces of pig meat in (their stringbags) and went.'
- 768) <u>A</u> mag sio ayomo $\hat{u}$  dihi s $\underline{u} = do$  k $\underline{e} = n\hat{o}\hat{u} = si$  sagat $\underline{a}\underline{i} = ye$ 1s 1s.poss bird fowl child many=INT that=only=CNTR hawk=INS **wo+mag** no-l- $\underline{u}$ -gi mei dege-i. attack+put eat-IRR-NFUT-DSQ NEG do-NFUT

'I had many chickens, but (a) hawk killed them and ate (them) until (they) were (all) gone.'

#### 5.1.3.9 Enhanced transitivity: completive

Another kind of enhanced transitivity, which is expressed by a serial verb construction, is that of an encreased degree of effect on the object. In this serial verb construction, the last verb is also *mg* 'put', but it may be in any form, and the first verb is in irrealis mood and future/non-past tense. It is also possible to read 'completive' into this form, which would be the more common Papuan interpretation of a serial verb construction, where the last verb means 'put'.

•  $V_{\text{SER.TRANS.COMPL}} \rightarrow \text{V-IRR-FUT/NPST}+\underline{mg}$  'put'

The two verbs in this serial construction are also considered by mother-tongue speakers to be a compound word, so it is written as one word.

769)	<i>doîuwa <b>to-l-oîu</b> + m<u>a</u></i> hornbill hold-IRR-NPST+ <u>P</u>		<i>i.</i> R.FUT go.NFU	Т			
	' we grabbed the cassowary and killed it.'						
770)	<i>miy<u>e</u> ka=h<u>a</u> folo,</i> fish that=gen go.up.fur			<i>bugu.</i> vomit.nfut			
	Bugu-l-u-gi, Jona te-l-e+mg+ <u>i</u> . vomit-IRR-NFUT-DSQ Jonah remove-IRR-FUT+put-NFUT						
'The fish went up, approached (the) shore and vomited. (He) vomited until (he) spit Jonah out. '							
771)	yomoui-l-i.Yomala,hababoho-l-oumaghagua-l-ebananagetgo-IRR-NFUTbananaget.IRR.FUTbut.PFV.IRRturn-IRR-NPST+putcome-IRR-FUT' (I) am going to get bananas. (I) will get the bananas and again turn around (completely) and come (back) and'and again turn around (completely)and come (back)						
772)	<i>sio miye=be</i> bird Victoria.pigeon=1		, –	I=me o=ye			
	<i>mala gobo-l-ou</i> + <i>mg</i> arrow break-IRR-NPST+pu	0	<i>i-di.</i> 90-hab				
	<pre>' Victoria pigeons (are) very sta (they) go.'</pre>	ong. When they a	re shot at by man	n, (they) <b>break off</b> (th	ne) arrow <b>and</b> leaving		
773)	maternal.uncle=GEN show	-	-PFV				
		、 <b>.</b>					

'Uncle having shot and killed (it) ...'

Compare with the following example:

774) De=hg tahg-ma-moû
maternal.uncle=GEN shoot-ISQ-PFV
'After (the pig) had been shot at by uncle ... (it didn't die)'

## 5.1.3.10 Set expressions: *mala fele* 'bear' and *tolo i* 'die'

The verb forms *mala fele* 'bear (a child)' and *to-l-o i* 'die (sg.)' are serial verb constructions:

- $V_{BEAR} \rightarrow V.IRR.FUT$  *fele* 'come up'
- $V_{DE} \rightarrow V$ -IRR-FUT *i* 'go'
- 775) *Maria=hg Yesu malg fele-i* Maria=gen Jesus get.irr.fut come.up-nfut 'Maria **bore** Jesus ...'
- 776) *Dihi* k<u>ô</u>u-me <u>e</u> adiôu **to-l-o i**-mou, <u>e</u>-sof<u>e</u>i tia-di. child this=TOP 3s mother die-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV 3s-self.alone sleep-HAB 'Concerning this child, his mother having **died**, he lives alone.'

Compare:

777) <u>A</u> o ke dugu-o-môu, <u>a</u> to-l-o fiye-i. 1s man that see-FUT-PFV 1s die-IRR-FUT fall-NFUT 'Having seen that man, I fell down (like) dead.'

### 5.1.3.11 Other verb strings

If the criteria for proposing a serial verb construction is that there cannot come anything in between the two verbs in the series, there are some verb strings that are serial-like but do not quite qualify.

- mala i/hagua 'bring/take'
- tolôu i/hagua 'hold and go/come'
- wolôu i/hagua 'accompany and go/come'
- sesele i/hagua 'follow and go/come'
- fogôu i/hagua 'leaving (he) go(es)/come(s)'

### malg i 'take' and malg hagua 'bring'

The verb series meaning 'take' and 'bring': (778) and (779) have variants, (782)-(784). Also, another verb is easily put in between  $V_1$  and  $V_2$ , namely the verb for 'carry' *hebe*, in the form of *hebe-l-e* (carry-IRR-FUT): (780), (781).

- 778) Kevin=hg dihi do malg i ka-ge-i=ya? Kevin=gen child sickness get.IRR.FUT go.NFUT how-VBR-NFUT=SUBJ
  '... how is Kevin's sick child who was taken (to hospital)?'
  779) Mogo, fai hiye=do malg hagua.
- friend file big=INT get.IRR.FUT come.IMP 'My friend, bring a very big file (to sharpen knives).'
- 780) miye ... Ele mala hebele hagua-sige-i, fish ... lbu.ex get.irr.fut carry-irr-fut come-bu/pl-NFUT moso=koû fele-i. house=Loc come.up-NFUT '... we two took (the) fish and carried (it) and came; (we) arrived at the house.'
- 781) *wai mala hebe-l-e hagua-môu so-l-ôu na\_i.* pig get.irr.fut carry-irr-fut come.fut-pfv cook.on.stones-irr-NPST eat-NFUT '... having **got and carried and come** (with the) pig, (we) cooked and ate (it).'

Also, these forms vary for singular and plural object

- Singular: what one person can carry as one load (see the five examples above)
- Plural: what makes up several loads, usually with plural actors (see the next three examples below)
- 782)
   Do
   daga
   daga
   moûu + ma hagua-sie-di.

   sickness
   different
   different
   get+put
   come-DU/PL-HAB

   '(People)
   get all kinds of sicknesses and keep coming.'
- 783) sege-i hou mou + mgi-l-e sogo-di-l-i.
  plant-NFUT seedling get+put go-IRR-FUT plant-HAB-IRR-NFUT
  '... (people) get garden produce seedlings and go and plant (them) as usual.'

784) dig=bôu g=bôu+de na-l-e môu+ma hague-i. 3s=and 1s=and+prov eat-IRR-FUT get+put come-NFUT '...they and I brought (the) food.'

### tolou i/hagua '(take) hold (of) and go/come'

- 785) *sele* 170 *kina tolôu i, sitouwa=kôu folo-môu* money 170 *kina* hold-IRR-NPST go store=Loc go.up.FUT-PFV '... (I) **took hold of** (the) 170 *kina* **and went**; having arrived at the store ...'
- 786) dig sele ke tolôu hagu-môu, 3PL money that hold-IRR-NPST come.NFUT-PFV '... they took hold of (the coin) and coming ...'
- 787) **to-l-ûu mala i-l-e** sagai mei. hold-IRR-NPST get.IRR.FUT go-IRR-FUT likely NEG '... not likely to **take hold of** (it) **and take** (it) **and go**.'

The verb  $t\hat{ou}$  'hold' also has a plural object form.

788) Bobasi bolou dile bilika tôu + mg huei ng yo-l-u. younger.sister two 3DU saucepan hold+put water eat go.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT '(My) younger sister and her (friend), the two of them, hold saucepans and go to (get and) drink water.'

wolou i/hagua 'accompany and go/come' (used for animate objects)

789)			_				kasag <u>ai</u> =ye		k <u>e</u>
	man	part	that+3pL	man	INDF	spirit	bad=INS	hold-NFUT	that
	wo-l	-ôu		hagu	a	fel <u>e</u> -go-u-	moû	dugu.	
	accompany-IRR-NPST		COME.FUT C		come.up-DU/PL-NFUT-		PFV see.NFU	JT	
	' (he) saw some men arr			rive, bringing		<b>g</b> a man, who was possesse		d by an evil sp	irit.'

790) so oye  $ta = n\hat{ou} = \underline{fei}$  wo-l- $\hat{ou}$  mowi i. dog male INDF=only=total accompany-IRR-NPST hunt go.NFUT '... (he) took just one male dog and went hunting.'

Also wôu 'accompany' has a plural object form.

791) *ele so wôu + mg mowi igiya-i.* 1DU.EX dog accompany+put hunt go.DU/PL-NFUT '... the two of us **took** (the) dogs and **went hunting**.'

sesele i/hagua 'follow and ...' (sg. subject), sesele ya/haguasie 'follow and ...' (du./pl. subject)'

792)	haba	wai k	ka=h <u>a</u>	so	sese-l-e	)	hague <sup>,</sup>	·i.	
	but.prv.irr	pig t	that=gen	dog	follow	-IRF	R-FUT COME-1	NFUT	
	' again the pig	g came cł	hasing the d	og(s).'	(literally:	' f	followed and c	ame.')	
793)	kueya	ise	hagu	ı-moîu	<u>(</u>	<u>n</u> 1	tah <u>a-i</u> .	Tah <u>a</u> -môu	si-ma
	cassowary	fina	ally come	e.NFUI	-PFV	1s \$	shoot-NFUT	shoot.FUT-PFV	feel-isq

hebe-l-ei-môu,sese-l-ei-l-e-môudugu,carry-irr-futg0.nfut-pfvfollow-irr-futgo-irr-fut-pfvseekueyato-l-oi.cassowarydie-irr-futg0.nfut

'... finally, as the cassowary came I shot at it! Having been shot at (it) after feeling (the arrow), carried (it away) and went, (and) I immediately **having followed**, saw (that) the cassowary was dead.'

794) *kuidiho aso hagu-l-u kou dugu ka=ha i-mou dugu-o-mou,* star sun come-IRR-NFUT prior see.NFUT that=GEN go.NFUT-PFV see-FUT-PFV

 $di\underline{a} k\underline{e} = n\hat{o}u$  sese-l-e ya-i.

3PL that=only follow-IRR-FUT go.DU/PL-NFUT

'... having seen (the) star, (they) had seen in the east/(where (the) sun comes), going, they followed.'

795) O sasai su=do e sese-l-e dogôugu-o ya-i. man woman many=INT3s follow-IRR-FUT help-FUT go.DU/PL-NFUT 'Many people followed and helped him along the way/and went.'

### fogôu i/hagua 'leaving (he) go(es)/come(s)'

796) Ε ta a foaoû *i*. 3s road INDF leave.for go 'He went another way./Leaving for another road he went.' 797) e foqôu haqua-l-a-mou dege-i 3s leave.for come-IRR-SUBJ-PFV do-NFUT '...while he was planning to leave for (home and) come, ...' mei dege-mou fogou-ma *i-l-i*. 798) Na-ma leave.for-ISQ go-IRR-NFUT eat-ISQ NEG do-PFV '(A cassowary) having finished eating, after leaving went on.' ke-le 799)  $\hat{ou} = b\hat{ou}$   $dou = b\hat{ou}$  sa-i ta-môu ise ke finally sago=and fire=and put.inside-NFUT that unpack.FUT-PFVthat-A.LOCR dogogu-o fogou-mou i. put-FUT leave.for-PFV go.NFUT

'... finally having taken out the sago and the matches, (which he) had put into (his stringbag), (he) put (them there) and **leaving** (he) **went**.'

In the following example, the second verb is one of the other deictic verbs: *folo* 'go up'.

800) <u>e</u> Aye Godi=kôu fogôu faladi=d=ade tawa-i. 3s father God=Loc leave.for go.up.IRR.PROS=INT=SQV know-NFUT '... (he) knew for sure that (he) would shortly leave and go up to his Father God.'

## 5.1.4 Structure of the verbal phrase

The verbal phrase consists of one verb, which may be a simple verb, a verb with an incorporated noun/adjective/adverb or it may be a serial verb construction, functioning as a unit. If it is a final verb, it may be followed by one or two specific adverbs.

### Structure - Verbal phrase

## $VP \rightarrow V/V_{INC}/V_{SER}$ (ADV)(x2)

The adverbs that can fill the adverbial slot are *mei* 'negative', *sagai* 'likely', or both together. All other adverbs occur before the verb but not necessarily immediately before. They are best analysed as heads of modifier phrases that function as peripheral arguments in various places in the clause (see 6.1 VERBAL CLAUSES).

801) O <u>e</u> Kiungakoû i.

man 3s Kiunga=LOC go.NFUT

'The man went to Kiunga.'

- 802) <u>E</u> moso=kôu i-l-e sagai. 3s house=Loc go-IRR-FUT likely 'He wants to go home.'
- 803) <u>E</u> dihi mo-l-<u>Q</u>u sag<u>a</u>i mei. 3s child get-IRR-NPST likely NEG 'She is not likely to have a child.'
- 804) *Dig Godi=hg tg du-di=yo mei.* 3PL God=GEN talk hear-HAB=INDC NEG 'They habitually do not hear the word of God.'
- 805) mogo dege-i
  friend do-IRR-NFUT
  'being friends'
- 806) *mei dege-l-e mei* NEG do-IRR-FUT NEG 'will not finish'

In the two following examples each colour, **red**, **blue**, **yellow**, **green** and **brown**, illustrates a verbal phrase; all, except two, being the only component of a clause.

```
mei = vode^{137} tobo-l-ou
807)
      qamani
                    ke+dia
                              sele
                                                                  i
      government that+3pL money NEG=IQV
                                                    say-IRR-NPST go.NFUT
                                                   VP (serial verb)
      VP
      "... the government's money is gone," they stated and said."
808)
      I-I-e
                  su-l-u-qi
                                              duqu = be,
      go-IRR-FUT walk.around-IRR-NFUT-DSQ see.NFUT=TOP
      VP
                  VP
                                              VP
      kueya
                                                                  du.
                  ti-l-e
                                uwo dege-i-mou
                                                             ₫
      cassowary call-IRR-FUT noise do-NFUT-PFV
                                                             1s hear.NFUT
                  VP
                                VP (incorporated noun)
                                                                  VP
```

'(We two) went and walked around until (we) saw, (and) I heard a cassowary calling and making noises.'

## 5.1.5 Function of the verbal phrase

The function of the verbal phrase is as the obligatory core element of the verbal clause. See 6.1 VERBAL CLAUSES.

## 5.1.6 Negation of the verbal phrase

As the verbal phrase is the obligatory core argument of the verbal clause, it may be argued that negating the clause is negating the verbal phrase. See 6.4 NEGATION OF THE CLAUSE.

# 5.2 The nominal phrase

There are three main types of nominal phrase based on their internal structure: simple nominal phrase, possessive nominal phrase and co-ordinate nominal phrase.

The nominal phrase may function as subject or object, or as an instrumental, temporal or locative argument in a verbal clause. It may also function in a verbless topic-comment clause as either the topic or the comment. The function of the nominal phrase is marked by word order and/or case markers.

I will describe the formal structure of the nominal phrase in 5.2.2 and the function in 5.2.3. However, before that, it will facilitate the description to recognise a level in between the noun and the nominal phrase. I will call it the noun group.

## 5.2.1 The noun group

The noun group is a category between the noun and the nominal phrase. It may consist of just a noun, e.g. *moso* 'house', but that noun may be optionally **preceded** by a modifier. This modifier may be another noun, an adjective or a clause. A generic-specific relationship is often expressed as a noun group (809)-(811).

## Structure - Noun group

N

$VG \rightarrow$	(N/ADJ/RC) N
809)	<i>sio isusu</i> bird pigeon 'pigeon'
810)	<i>wai hoso</i> pig horse 'horse'
811)	<i>awaki dihi</i> knife child 'small knife' (literally: 'a
812)	<i>ebele mos<u>o</u></i> new house

'a new house'

knife child')

<sup>148</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> As the quote verbs are clitics, the whole quote is verbalised.

If the modifier is a clause, it expresses one kind of relative clause (see 6.5 THE RELATIVE CLAUSE).

- 813) *fia-l-e moso* sleep-irr-fut house 'sleeping mat'
- 814) **dabai dege-di o** work do-нав man '(a) worker'

The head noun may not be expressed, but only implied.

- 815) <u>A</u> dabai dege-l-i=kôu i. ls work do-IRR-NFUT=LOC go.NFUT 'I went to (where we) are working.'
- 816) **Edolo i i hague-i.** Edolo yesterday go.NFUT come-NFUT

'(The people), who yesterday went to Edolo, came (back).'

Defining the noun group will make the description of one of the simple nominal phrase types easier: Instead of having a noun as head, they will have a noun group.

## 5.2.2 Structure of the nominal phrase

There are three types of nominal phrases: the simple nominal phrase 5.2.2.1, the possessive nominal phrase 5.2.2.2 and the co-ordinate nominal phrase 5.2.2.3.

## 5.2.2.1 Simple nominal phrase

The simple nominal phrase has two sub-types:

- a noun group as head
- a pronoun, demonstrative or question word as head

### 5.2.2.1.1 A noun group as head

A simple nominal phrase with a noun group as head may consist of just a noun group or be followed by one or two modifiers. More than two has not been observed in natural speech. The kind of modifiers that may occur are adjectives, numerals and quantifiers, demonstratives and relative clauses. The numeral ta 'one' functions as an indefinite article. A noun that is modified by a relative clause has not been observed to have any other modifiers except  $k\underline{e}$  'that', which is part of the relative clause construction (see 6.5 THE RELATIVE CLAUSE).

#### **Structure I - Simple nominal phrase**

```
NP_{I}
       \rightarrow
            NG
                   (ADJ/NUM/QNT)(x2)
                                           (DEM)
                                                       (RC)
    817)
            0
            man
            'man'
            A yukuei
    818)
                            sibigi
                                     bigi-l-i.
            1s cloth
                            dirt
                                     wash-IRR-NFUT
            'I am washing dirty clothes.'
    819)
                  olôufei
            0
            man all.total
            'all people'
    820)
            duo
                      kasag<u>a</u>i olôuf<u>e</u>i
            spirit bad
                                all.total
            'all bad spirits'
    821)
            0
                  kasag<u>a</u>i bol<u>ou</u>
            man bad
                            two
            'two bad men'
    822)
            awaki me
                              gof<u>o</u>u
                                               bolo
            knife tooth hard/strong good
            'a good, sharp knife edge'
```

(noun group with two adjectives)

```
823) O ta i-l-i.
man INDF go-IRR-NFUT
'A man is going.'
```

- 824) **o ka**=**hg** tobo-u man that=gen say-nfut '**that man** said, ...'
- 825) **o damale=yodi-l-i mei ke**+**dig** man true=IQV-IRR-NFUT NEG that+3PL 'the non-believers'

### 5.2.2.1.2 A pronoun or question word as head

A simple nominal phrase may also have as its head a personal, emphatic or demonstrative pronoun, or the question words *koyo* 'who' and *kej* 'what'. If that is the case there can be no modifiers.

### Structure II - Simple nominal phrase

$NP_{II} \rightarrow$	PRON/DEM/QW		
826)	<b><u>E</u></b> duwo. 3s sit ' <b>He/she/it</b> is (here).'		
827)	Kou = me kei? this=TOP what 'What is this?'	<b>Koyo = h₫</b> who=gEN <b>'Who</b> will get	<i>mo-l-ôu?</i> get-IRR-NPST t (it)?'

Plural personal pronouns may, however, be modified by *oloufei* 'all'.

828) Dig oloûf<u>ei</u> hagua-sige-i. 3PL all.total come-DU/PL-NFUT 'They all came.'

The following two examples have a theme slot in the beginning of each clause, filled by a personal pronoun. The subject of both clauses is an emphatic pronoun (see 6.3 CLAUSES WITH THEME SLOTS).

829)	_	<i>may<u>о</u>́и=nо̂и</i> ls.emp=only	<i>tawa-i.</i> know-nfut	
	'I le	arnt <b>all by myself</b> .'		
830)		/ _	<i>i-me=be=ede tobo-l-ou</i> total go-hort=top=ogv say-irr-npst	<i>i.</i> go.nfut

'... let us go by ourselves they suggested and said.'

See also Appendix II for co-occurrence restrictions with enclitics functioning in nominal phrases with pronouns as head.

## 5.2.2.2 Possessive nominal phrase

A possessive nominal phrase has a simple nominal phrase as head, preceded by another nominal phrase in the genitive case marked by the clitic  $=h\underline{g}$ , or it may be preceded by a possessive pronoun. Pronoun copy is common with possession (833). It seems to be used for general emphasis.

831) **Godi=ha ta** 

God=gen word 'God's Word'

- 832) mg malg=hg dihi ls.poss younger.sibling=gen child 'my younger sibling's child'
- 833) Moso kôu = me, dihi ka = ha e moso. house this=gen child that=gen 3s house 'This house, it is the child's house.'
- 834) **ne adiou** 2s.poss mother 'your mother'

```
835) ele sa
lou.ex land
```

'the ground belonging to the two of us/our country'

The head of a possessive nominal phrase may be deleted. When that happens the genitive case marker -hg is followed by the enclitic =le 'independent possessive'. The genitive suffix itself is de-nasalised. The independent possessive suffix does not function together with the genitive pronouns.

836) Di <u>fi</u>=be koyo=ha=le? Yesu=ha=le. lpl.in soul=top who=gen=indp.poss Jesus=gen=indp.poss 'Whose are our souls? Jesus'.'

The enclitic = *le* may also, but rarely, be used for emphasis even if the possessed item is mentioned.

837) *mg malg=ha=le dihi* ls.poss younger.sibling=gen=INDP.poss child 'my younger sibling's child'

## 5.2.2.3 Co-ordinate nominal phrase

A co-ordinate nominal phrase is a combination of simple nominal phrases and/or possessive nominal phrases. They are coordinated by the enclitic  $=b\hat{o}u$ , occurring at the end of each phrase within the co-ordinate phrase.

838) <u>A</u> = bôu Gehe = bôu i-l-e. 1s=and Gehen=and go-IRR-FUT 'Gehen and I will go.'

The co-ordinating enclitic  $=b\hat{o}u$  may actually be used to co-ordinate any kind of phrases.

839) I = boli we = boli huei hiye = do to-u-l-u.yesterday=and day.before.yesterday=and water big=INT wash-BLTV-IRR-NFUT 'Yesterday and the day before it rained very much (and it is still raining).'

Accompaniment is a variant of co-ordination, where only the last nominal phrase is marked by  $=b\hat{o}u$ .

840) <u>A</u> ng=bôu i-l-e. 1s 2s=and go-IRR-FUT 'I am going with you.'

In a text most co-ordinated nominal phrases finish off with the pro-verb *de*.

- 841) Hebe ha-i k<u>o</u>u = me yo = bou siya = bou bisope = bou + de dala. tree cut-NFUT this=TOP banana=and sugarcane=and pineapple=and+prov be/have 'This garden has bananas and sugarcane and pineapples.'
- 842) <u>E</u> <u>e</u> sas<u>a</u>i Maria=bôu+de i 3s 3s woman Mary=and+prov go 'He went with his wife Mary, ...'

## 5.2.3 Function of the nominal phrase

The nominal phrase may function as subject or object, including locative object and recipient, or as an instrumental, temporal or locative argument in a verbal clause. It may also function in a verbless topic-comment clause, either as the topic or the comment. The function of the nominal phrase is marked by word order and/or case markers.

## 5.2.3.1 Word order

Normal word order in Konai is SOV, and normal word order is sometimes the only indication of whether a nominal phrase functions as subject or object, though a noun higher up the scale of animacy would normally be taken to be the subject regardless of word order.

843) dille o ta tg tobo-u 3DU man INDF talk say-NFUT SUBJECT OBJECT OBJECT 'the two of them said to a man, ...'

844)	Ou	0	hei=ye	ha-l-adi.
	sago	man	axe=INS	cut-IRR-PROS
	OBJECT	SUBJECT		

'(A) **sago** (palm) is just about to be cut down by (a) **man** with (an) axe.' (Translating this example as a passive, because of the reversed word order of subject and object, is the truest free translation into English.)

However, in normal speech the subject and/or the object is/are often marked in some way. Marking of case is one such way. This will be described below. Another strategy is pronoun copy of the main-participant, who is usually the subject. This will be dealt with in the section about participant reference (see 8.7.3.7 PRONOUN COPY).

## 5.2.3.2 Case

There are three case markers, each with a fairly broad function. They are:

- ={*h*<u>a</u>} 'genitive/control'
- ={*ye*} 'instrumental/non-control'
- ={ $k\hat{ou}$ } 'locative/recipient'

The case markers occur on phrase or clause level. The genitive case marker does mark possession, and the instrumental case marker does mark an instrumental nominal phrase, but both have broader functions. The locative case marker marks different locative functions, as well as recipient.

There is possibly a fourth case marker:

• = kôuge 'ablative'

It is made up of two enclitics and sometimes has the meaning 'from'.

### 5.2.3.2.1 The genitive case

The genitive case marker is the enclitic = {hg}. It has a wide area of usage, the meaning typically indicating some degree of control. It never occurs on a nominal phrase where the head is a personal pronoun. Nor does it occur with a plural subject. It has a phonological variant -ha (see 5.2.2.2 POSSESSIVE NOMINAL PHRASE).

The genitive case is used to indicate the following relationships:

- possession
- agent in control
- time
- reason

### Genitive of possession

The genitive case marker marks a possessor as described in the section 5.2.2.2 POSSESSIVE NOMINAL PHRASE. It is obligatory, if the possessor is expressed as a noun.

845) **sas<u>a</u>i=ha</u> ye** woman=GEN stringbag

'the woman's stringbag'

846)	m <u>a</u>	owoû = h <u>a</u>	-	m <u>a</u> =h <u>a</u>	adiôu
	1s.poss	older.sister=gen	3s	husband=gen	mother
	ʻmy older	r sister's husband's mo	her'		
847)	o ka	= <b>h</b> <u>a</u> dihi	(	o ka=ha=le	
	man tha	at=gen child	r	manthat=gen=	INDP.POSS
	'that mar	n's child'		'that man's'	

152

### Genitive of agent in control

The genitive case marker is used for an animate agent, who is in control of a situation. It is only used for the singular, never for dual or plural. The controlling agent has a pivotal role in what happens.

The control the agent exercises may be on two levels:

- overall control
- local control

The control may be **an overall control**, wielded by God, a government official, a father or an older brother. He (or she) may not be a main character of a story, but (s)he has a pivotal function in the theme of the story/conversation. Often this kind of agent is referred to with a proper noun or a kinship noun.

In daily conversation, this function is used a lot. In storytelling it is used sparingly, perhaps once in a short story, often marking someone in authority over the story teller.

- 848) Godi=ha sa sibige sasai olôufei solou = do hiye = do dege-mou,0 land essence man woman all.total heart=INT big=INT do.FUT-PFV God=gen vôu Dihi  $ta = n\hat{o}u = fei$ ke di=mokou n<u>e-i</u>. е 3s.EMP 3s child one=only=total that 1pL.IN=LOC give-NFUT 'Because God loved all people in the world very much, (he) gave his one& only Son to us (incl.).'
- 849) *Gamani dig o J.K.=hg sele g 60 kina* government 3PL man J.K.=GEN money 1s 60 kina *te-l-e n<u>e-j</u>.* remove-IRR-FUT give-NFUT

'One of their government officials, J.K. removed K60 and gave (it to) me.'

- 850) Mg aye=hg tobo-u
  1s.poss father=GEN say-NFUT
  'My father said, ...'
- 851) Sodipae=hg nalg-i. Sodipae=GEN write-NFUT 'Sodipae wrote (it).'

The controlling agent is animate, but not necessarily human. Our one-time dog, partly Rottweiler, was seen as someone who controlled her environment, but she could not be blamed for everything.

- 852) ne so=hg we-i
  2s dog=gen attack-nfut
  'your dog bit (him/her)'
- 853) so ta=hg we-i
  dog INDF=GEN attack-NFUT
  'another dog bit (him/her)'

If the **control is limited to part of a story**, like that of a minor participant, the genitive case marker is used together with the demonstrative pronoun kg 'that', generating the form kahg 'that in control' (see 2.7.2 MINOR VOWEL HARMONY: kg 'that'). In this case, the agent cannot be referred to with a proper or kinship noun. A common noun must be used, sometimes together with a relative clause. In pig hunting stories, this locally controlling agent is often a dog or the pig as in the next two examples. The first example is from a story, where the author is the main character, but two of his maternal uncles are the overall controlling agents. One of them is named Asele.

- 854) Asele=hg hebe sugu + tôu tafala-l-i, Asele=GEN tree top+up stand-IRR-NFUT wai ka=hg so sese-l-e hagua fogôu i-môu tahg-i=be pig that=GEN dog follow-IRR-FUT come leave.for go.NFUTshoot-NFUT=TOP 'Asele was standing up in a tree top until the pig came and chased the dog(s) and (as they were) passing by (Asele) shot at (the pig) ...'
- 855) I-l-i-gi so ka = hg wai figo-u-moû i-l-e dugu = be go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ dog that=GEN pig bark-NFUT-PFV go-IRR-FUT see.NFUT=TOP '(He) went until the dog barked at a pig, when (he) immediately went and saw that ...'

Konai Reference Grammar, WP, PNG, Årsjö, SIL

856) Godi=ha ta=be tawa-ga-i ka = ha = noîu i-ba=si0 God=gen talk=TOP know-DU/PL-NFUT man that=GEN=ONLY go.NFUT-PFV.IRR-CNTR bolo = fei. Moû o = yei-l-e=begood=total nothing man=INS go-IRR-FUT=TOP 'But the man who knows God's Word, if he goes (he) will be OK. When a man without (that knowledge), goes ...'

In the previous example the man lacking the knowledge is marked by the instrumental case marker =ye, which is also used for unimportant agents. However, even an agent, seemingly out of control, may be marked by *kahg* 'that in control' like in the next example. As long as you are seen as being able to make a choice, you may be talked about as controlling the situation, even though you do not make the best of choices.

mei. Yo=be 857) Mos<u>o</u> e gof<u>o</u>u moso ke tege-i o house 3s hard/strong NEG base=TOP man house that make-NFUT ka = hahebe tatabai dege-i môu+ma tege-i. 0 man that=GEN tree soft do-NFUT get+put make-NFUT '(The) house (is) not strong. The reason (is) that the man, who built the house, brought soft timber and built.'

The use of the genitive case marker for a controlling agent may have **developed out of an ergative case marking**.<sup>138</sup> Other **Bosavi languages** (Grosh 2004, Logan 2008) do have ergative. In  $Ka|\underline{a}i$ , when the genitive does occur in its controlling capacity, it is usually on the subject of a transitive-like clause, but there are exceptions, like in the following examples.

- 858) kôu=me ... e Sasai soboude moqo=be foqôu i. Ke-qe-mou е woman old.lady this=TOP ... 3s friend=TOP leave go.NFUT that-VBR-PFV 3s baha dala.  $\dots \underline{E} \mod = h\underline{a}$ i-l-i ko=koîu baha dala. moqo friend look be/have ... 3s friend=GEN go-IRR-NFUT that=Loc look be/have 'Concerning this old woman ... her friend leaving went. Having become like that, (she) waits for her friend. Where her friend goes there (she) waits.'
- 859) Ke-le=ge so ka=hg dihi guokôu duwo de-ma-môu, that-A.LOCR=F.CNTR dog that=GEN child stomach.Loc sit PROV-ISQ-PFV dihi ta mg-môu dugu=be child INDF put-PFV see.NFUT=TOP 'At that time, that dog, after having been/sat pregnant, having given birth to/put a pup, saw that ...'
- 860) 0 ta = ha[Tabubil=kôu e moqo dala-ba] i-ba=si, man INDF=GEN Tabubil=LOC 3s friend be/have-pfv.IRR go.NFUT-pfv.IRR=CNTR mogo = hamoso=kou tia-l-e е 3s friend=gen house=Loc sleep-IRR-FUT ... Ke=nou = si mei] **ka**=**ha** i-ba=be, 0 ta [e moqo that=only=CNTR man INDF 3s friend NEG that=GEN go.NFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP e=me moso=kôu tia-l-e mei. 3s=TOP house=LOC sleep-IRR-FUT NEG 'But if a man [having (a) friend in Tabubil] goes, (he) will sleep in his friend's house ... But if another man,

[not (having a) friend] **goes**, he will not sleep in (a) house.'

## Genitive of time expressions

The genitive case marker, again together with the demonstrative pronoun  $k\underline{e}$  'that', also occurs on some nominal phrases functioning as temporal phrases. It is used to indicate exact time, e.g. this week, next week etc.

861) fula kou = ma = ha hagua-l-e
week this=TOP=GEN come-IRR-FUT
'(he) will come this week'

154

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Ergative-absolutive case marking: the subject of a transitive clause is marked differently from a subject of an intransitive clause. The subject of the intransitive clause has instead the same marking as the object of the transitive clause.

862)	Sasama	ka = h <u>a</u>	Ukarumpa=koîu	migi-l-e-môu			
	ring.finger	that=gen	Ukarumpa=LOC	come.down-IRR-FUT-PFV			
	' <b>That Tuesday</b> , having landed at Ukarumpa'						

### **Genitive of reason**

The genitive case marker, again together with the demonstrative pronoun  $k\underline{a}$  'that', may mark a clause as the controlling reason for what the main clause is expressing. The word  $k\underline{a} = h\underline{a}$  (that=GEN) may express reason,<sup>139</sup> on its own, but it may also be elaborated on within the medial verb system, as seen in two of the following examples. See also 7.3.3.1.1.

The expression with the controlling *kahg* is usually translated 'because', but it could equally well be translated as '... and that controls the fact' (863).

- 863) <u>E</u> ke dege-i ka = hg tewe hiye = do mo-u. 3s that do-nfut that=gen know big=INT get-Nfut 'Because he did like that, (he) got big knowledge.'/'He did like that, and that controls the fact that (he) got big knowledge.'
- $haqu = va^{140}$ 864) Dahamo tisa mei **ka** = ha dege-mou, duôù ave ke+dia Dahamo teacher come=SUBJ mother father that+3PL NEG that=GEN do-prv ... die sisiqo=be fi-l-e-mou, ilo Suabi=kou i-l-e, ilo=be ... 3PL. POSS children=TOP divide-IRR-FUT-PFV part Suabi=Loc go-IRR-FUT part=TOP Hawenai i-l-e

Hawenai qo-IRR-FUT

**'Because** there is no Dahamo teacher coming, the parents having divided up their children, some will go to Suabi; some will go to Hawenai ...'

- 865) Tabubil=be o su=do, kalo su=do, kege-i ka=ha uwo=be hiye=do. Tabubil=TOPMAN many=INTCAR many=INTthat-VBR-NFUT that=GEN noise=TOPbig=INT 'Tabubil has a lot of people, a lot of cars, because of that there is a lot of noise.'
- 866) Nele hagua-l-e=be date 3 o 4 ka=h $\underline{a}$ =ge, nele Edolo=k $\hat{o}$ u hagua-ma. 2DU come-IRR-FUT=TOP date 3 or 4 that=GEN=F.CNTR 2DU Edolo=LoC come-DU/PL

**Yo = be**  $\underline{a} = \underline{me} \ hagi \ hiye = do \ dala \ \underline{ka} = \underline{ha} \ dege-i-môu.$ base=TOP 1s=TOP heavy big=INT be/have that=GEN do-NFUT-PFV 'Concerning that you two will some some to Edele on the 2<sup>rd</sup> on the 4<sup>th</sup> The reason is that I a

'Concerning that you two will come, come to Edolo on the  $3^{rd}$  or the  $4^{th}$ . The reason is that I now have (a) very big problem.'

Next example is unusual in that the demonstrative is lacking in the construction.

867) sokôulôu duwo-di=hg e yo=be tewe môu-l-g-môu. school sit-HAB=GEN 3s base=TOP know get-IRR-SUBJ-PFV '... being in school ITS reason (is) to get knowledge.'

### 5.2.3.2.2 The instrumental case

The instrumental case is marked by the clitic = {ye}. It contrasts with the genitive case, marked by =  $h\underline{q}$ , which includes control, by its lack of control. It comprises instrument, props,<sup>141</sup> inanimate and non-referential agents, as well as means. In the Mountain dialect it also marks certain time phrases. It has a variant =e.

### Instrument

868) *Ng hei=ye dou hebe-l-i.* 2s axe=INS fire carry-IRR-NFUT 'You are cutting firewood with an axe.'

Props/inanimate/non-referential agent

869) **O** ta = e hagi  $g = moko\hat{u}$  hague-i dala man INDF=INS heavy 1s=Loc come-NFUT be/have 'A man brought me (the) problems (I) have.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> There are other ways to express reason-result, not involving the genitive case marker.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Foothill dialect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> See 8.7.6.1.3 PROPS.

- 870) <u>Ne</u> moso dou=ye n<u>a</u>-<u>i</u>. 2s.poss house fire=INS eat-NFUT 'Your house **burnt** down.'
- 871) o = ye hu man=INS marry 'married' (about a woman)

### Means

872)	Patol	lo i-di=	<b>ye</b> =ge	k	ou	tewe.	
	patro	ol go-HZ	AB=INS=F.CNTR	р	rior	know	
	'(We)	know <b>by h</b>	abitually having	g gon	e on p	atrols.' (Mo	ountain dialect)
873)	Hiye	0 = h <u>a</u>	dege-i= <mark>ye</mark>	n <u>i</u>	misił	no-l-o	duwo-l-o.
	big	man=gen	do-nfut=ins $do$	$2_{\rm PL}$	rest	-IRR-FUT	sit-IRR-FUT
	' by	what the I	Lord has done y	ou wi	ll have	rest.'	

### Time

In the Mountain dialect the enclitic = ye would be better named the "oblique" case, as it also derives the days of the week from certain body part<sup>142</sup> words.

874) Sasaf<u>e</u>i = ye = ge little.finger=INS=F.CNTR 'On Monday ...'
875) Hou = ye = be... thumb=INS=TOP 'On that Friday ...'
876) dio = e

bone/lower.arm=INS 'Sunday ...'

### 5.2.3.2.3 The locative case

The locative case is used for locative, allative and recipient. That includes some objects of traditional transitive and ditransitive clauses (885), (886), (882), (883) and locatives and allatives in traditional intransitive clauses (877)-(881). There are three allomorphs of this case marker. The enclitic  $=k\hat{o}\hat{u}$  is used when the head of the nominal phrase is a noun group and  $=mok\hat{o}\hat{u}$  is used when the head is a pronoun. The third one,  $=mak\hat{o}\hat{u}$ , is used together with emphatic pronouns.

### Locative

- 877) *O* ta moso=kôu duwo. man INDF house=Loc sit 'A man is sitting in the house.'
- 878) Diou g=mokôu duwo. mosquito ls=LOC sit 'The mosquito is sitting on me.'

### Allative

- 879) <u>A</u> mg moso=kôu i-l-i. 1s 1s.poss house=Loc go-IRR-NFUT 'I'm going home.'
- 880) A ng = mokôu hague-i. ls 2s=loc come-NFUT 'I came to you.'
- 881) (mala) ... You = makou fiyo-u-mou
  (arrow) ... 3s.EMP=LOC fall-NFUT-PFV
  'While (the arrow) fell (back) on himself (the shooter), ...'

156

 $<sup>^{142}</sup>$  See 4.4.2.1 Traditional ordinal numbers.

## Recipient

- 882) Godi=kôu n<u>e-j</u>. God=LOC give-NFUT '(he) gave (it) to God'
- 883) dabai di=mokôu ne-i. work lpl.in=Loc give-nFUT 'gave work to us'

#### Contrasting patient and recipient

Patient is an unmarked case. A verb like dugu 'see' may take either a patient or a recipient as object.

- 884) <u>A</u>=me ng dugu=yo mei. 1s=TOP 2s see=INDC NEG 'I do not see you.'
- 885) <u>A=meng=mokôu dugu=yo mei.</u> 1s=TOP 2s=LOC see=INDC NEG 'I do not **look at you**.'
- 886) Foto=kôu dugu.
  photo=Loc see
  'Look at the photo.'

### Also note 'about'

887) Jona aso difi+ya diogu. E ko=kôu=ge fi+mg-j=be, Jonah sun heat+road shade.NFUT 3s that=LOC=F.CNTR soul+put-NFUT=TOP o Niniba fie o ke+dig=mokôu fi+mg-j man Nineveh sleep man that+3PL=LOC soul+put-NFUT 'Ionah was shaded from the heat of the sun From that (circumstance) he thought about the people livit

'Jonah was shaded from the heat of the sun. From that (circumstance) he thought **about** the people living in Nineveh. '

### 5.2.3.2.4 The pseudo ablative case

The ablative case, if there is one in Konai, is marked by the combined enclitic  $=k\hat{o}\hat{u}=ge$  (LOC=F.CNTR). One of its meanings is 'from'.

888) ôu ha-i ko=kôu=ge wai ta so ka=hg tigo-u-môu du. sago cut-nFUT that=LOC=F.CNTR pig INDF dog that=GEN bark-NFUT-PFV hear.NFUT '... from the place of (the) cut down sago (palm), (I) heard the dog barking at a pig.'

However, the basic meaning of this double enclitic is more general in meaning. It establishes the general area, where something happens; a '**point of departure**' for whatever happens in a story. This interpretation seems to work for both of the following examples, which are introductory sentences in two stories.

889)	Ei	Dulo	<u>0</u>	ko= <b>koîu</b> = <b>ge</b> ,	James=bôu Asele=bôu	ei
	1pl.ex	Dulo	mouth.of.riv	er that=LOC=F.CNT	R James=and Asele=and	lpl.ex
		<i>ti-l-e</i> call-	<i>igiya-i</i> IRR-FUT go.du/f	0	und-DU/PL-IRR-NFUT hear	C.NFUT
			ne mouth of the (rive ) heard'	er) Dulo, (i.e.) James, As	sele and I called up the dogs an	d went; we walked

890) Afu=do Tinahai=kôu=ge duwo-l-i dugu=be g=me hegie earlier=INT Tinahai=LOC=F.CNTR sit-IRR-NFUT see.NFUT=TOP 1s=TOP hungry dege-i-môu dugu. <u>A</u> ke-ge-i-môu kiyei ka i-l-e-môu do-NFUT-PFV see.NFUT 1s that-VBR-NFUT-PFV pandanus look.for go-IRR-FUT-PFV 'Earlier, (I) was in Tinahai until (I) realised I was hungry. Being like that, I having gone to look for pandana fruit, ...' The following example may be understood but is considered ungrammatical.

891) \*A sa Dahamo=kôu=ge fene+ya hague-i.
1s land Dahamo=LoC=F.CNTR airplane+road come-NFUT
'I came \*from Dahamo by plane.'

The notion of "from", in this context, is more easily expressed by a verb tôufogôu 'leave'.

892) <u>A</u> sa Dahamo tôufogôu fene+ya hague-i. 1s land Dahamo leave airplane+road come-NFUT 'Leaving Dahamo I came by plane.'

## 5.2.4 Relative order of enclitics with the nominal phrase

Apart from the case enclitics, there are several other enclitics functioning with the nominal phrase. See 3.6.1.2 LIMITERS, 3.6.1.3 The INTENSIFIER = do and 3.6.1.4 The CO-ORDINATING ENCLITIC =  $b\hat{o}u$ . They occur in the following relative order:

(Intensifier) = do	Case = h <u>a</u> , = koû, = ye	Limiter <sub>I</sub> = nôu	(Intensifier) = do	$Limiter_{II} = f\underline{ei}, = ne$	Conjunction =bôu	(Intensifier) = do
intensifier	genitive/control instrumental locative	only	intensifier	total also	and/with/also	intensifier
893)	yo bolou = nou banana two=only= '(a) total of only two ba	INT=total				
894)	<pre>sio bolo = fei = do bird good=total= '(a) very, very good bird</pre>	INT				
895)	<i>midiho ka=ha=nou</i> face that=gen=or					

'caused only (and) totally by that kind of behaviour ...'

If the head of the nominal phrase is a pronoun or a question word, there are restrictions, see APPENDIX II.

## 5.2.5 Negation of nominal phrase

Nominal phrases are negated by just adding the adverb *mei* 'negative'. The addition of the negative to the phrase makes it a verbless clause (see 6.2.2 EQUATIVE/DESCRIPTIVE VERBLESS CLAUSES).

896) <u>A</u>=me t<u>a</u> mei. 1s=TOP talk NEG

'I have nothing to say.'

897) *O* mei=do. man NEG=INT '(There are) no people (here) at all.'

# 5.3 The modifier phrase

The modifier phrase functions as a peripheral argument in the verbal clause. It may also fill the comment slot in a verbless clause. There are two structures: one or two adjectives<sup>143</sup> or one or two adverbs. The second structure includes modifier phrases with locative and temporal meaning. But see also how a nominal phrase may express time and location in 5.2.3 FUNCTION OF THE NOMINAL PHRASE, 5.2.3.2.1 THE GENITIVE CASE: Genitive of time expressions, 5.2.3.2.2 THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE: Time, as well as 8.4 FOCUS OF CONTRAST: Temporal marking.

## Structure I - Modifier phrase

```
MP_I \rightarrow ADJ (ADJ)
```

898) *Dihi hiye goso-u-l-u.* child big cry-BLTV-IRR-NFUT 'The child is crying **loudly**.'

158

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> See 4.4 ADJECTIVES.

899) K<u>ou</u> = me kasagai hiye = do. this=top bad big=INT 'This is very bad.'

## Structure II - Modifier phrase $MP_{II} \rightarrow ADV (ADV)$

- 900) <u>E</u> dobogô<u>u</u> tage tige-i. 3s hand over tie-NFUT 'He is folding his arms (one over the other).'
- 901) *Ng hobôu gue dege-da.* 2s can fear do-proh 'You **canno**t be afraid.'
- 902) Hebe ebele ha-i yo you fo-u-l-u moso-u=yo mei. tree new cut-NFUT banana not.yetrise-BLTV-IRR-NFUT bear.fruit-NFUT=INDC NEG 'The banana trees in the new garden have not borne (any) fruit yet.'
- 903)  $K_{\underline{e}} = n\hat{o}u = si$  yo  $ta = n\hat{o}u$  ta = be mu-gu-l-i mei, you. that=only=CNTR banana INDF=ONLY INDF=TOP go.down-OF-IRR-NFUT NEG not.yet 'But one of the banana plants does not carry fruit yet.'
- 904) *12 kolok you.* 12 o'clock not.yet 'It is **not** 12 o'clock **yet**.'
- 905) Ma moso ku-he. 1s.poss house this-p.lock 'My house is here.' (pointing)
- 906) <u>E=me kôu-le</u> mei. 3s=top this-A.LOCR NEG 'He is not here.'
- 907) *Hebe sugu*+*lu tia-di-l-i.* tree top+inside sleep-HAB-IRR-NFUT 'He habitually sleeps in/**inside the tree tops**.'
- 908) gamani o ka=ha moso=kou+lu folo-ga-i government man that=gen house=Loc+inside go.up-DU/PL-NFUT 'they went up inside that government official's house'
- 909) *Haba dege.* but.pfv.IRR do 'Do (it) **again**.'
- 910) <u>A</u>=me idiba gusugu=do i-l-e. ls=top tomorrow morning=INT go-IRR-FUT 'I will go early tomorrow morning.'
- 911) Salale ke-ge, sabiye-i gusubu hu<u>ei</u> te-i. Saturday that-VBR be.morning-NFUT morning water wash-NFUT 'On Saturday, in the morning it rained.' (Mountain dialect)

# 6. CLAUSES

The clause functions in the sentence. There are two types based on structure: verbal and verbless. Verbless clauses are analysed as containing a topic and a comment. Verbal clauses are **not** analysed in that way, though perhaps, they could be with the subject being the topic and the rest of the clause being the comment.

Verbal clauses are of two classes based on function: medial and final. Final clauses contain a final verb, expressing absolute tense and can stand alone. Medial clauses cannot usually stand alone, as they express a relative tense and depend on the verb in the final clause to be understood correctly. Structural differences are position in the sentence, intonation and conjugation of the verb in the verb alphrase of the clause.

The relative clause will also be described in this section.

## 6.1 Verbal clauses

Konai is an SOV language with a fairly strict word order, though rearrangements are possible. Verbal clauses have one verbal phrase as an obligatory head. No other argument is obligatory though one or more often do occur. In isolated oneclause sentences, one to four arguments per clause would commonly occur. Clauses with as many as six arguments have been observed. In stories/texts, where multi-clause sentences often occur, sequential clauses often contain only a verbal phrase. Some clauses have a "theme" slot preceding the subject (see 6.3 CLAUSES WITH THEME SLOTS)

Verbal clauses may be medial or final. Medial clauses have level or slightly rising intonation. Final clauses usually have falling intonation but may be level, if a final clause occurs in mid-sentence.

I will first give examples of simple final clauses in one-clause sentences (6.1.1). A detailed structure of the clause will be given in the section where transitivity is discussed (6.1.2). Medial clauses will not be looked at in isolation, but in 6.1.4 I will look at medial and final clauses in long sentences as they normally occur in narrative stories.

## 6.1.1 Simple final clauses

The structure of the simple final clause is given below. The core argument is the verbal phrase. As will be discussed in section 6.1.2 TRANSITIVITY, there is no real difference between a transitive and an intransitive clause. Therefore the only nominal phrase that has been given a name in this preliminary formula is the nominal phrase subject.

### Structure - Simple Final Clause

(NP)(x2) CLAUSE (NPs) VP (MP) \_ ↑ 个. (the modifier phrase may occur in different places; compare (916) with (918)) 912) I-me. go-HORT VP 'Let's go!' 913) Α idiba i-l-e. 1stomorrow qo-IRR-FUT NPs MΡ VP 'I will go tomorrow.' 914) Haba = qeduqu-l-o. but.pfv.irr=f.CNTR see-IRR-FUT MP VP 'See you later!' kuquo Bimin=kou 915) Na sa-qi-l-e. put.inside-of-IRR-FUT paper Bimin=LOC 2s NPs NP VΡ NP 'You will send a letter to Bimin.' (implied: put inside (a mailbag to go on an airplane)) 916) E=me Kalai hiye=do tewe. ta 3s=TOP Konai talk big=INT know NPs NP MP VP 'He knows Konai well.' hebe-l-i. 917) Na hei=ye dou axe=INS fire carry-IRR-NFUT 2sNPs NP NP VP 'You are chopping fire wood.' 918) Nele a=mokou haba chalk ne-ma = be. ta but.pfv.irr give-DU/PL=TOP 2011 1s=Loc chalk INDF MP NPs NP NP VP 'Please give me some more chalk.' 919) Ε mosole oboû = koû sele ne-i. give-NFUT owner=LOC money 3s ship NPs NP NP VP 'He gave money to the captain.'

920)	0	<u>e</u>	dabai	di=mokoîu	n <u>e-i</u> .
	man	3s	work	1pL.IN=LOC	give-NFUT
	NPs		NP	NP	VP
	'A m	an, he	gave work	c to us.'	

## 6.1.2 Transitivity

It is possible to distinguish between intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses. **Based on the examples in the previous** section only, the basic structures would be as below. Bold means core arguments. A parenthesis means non-obligatory. For changes in word order see 6.1.3 CHANGES IN WORD ORDER.

Intransitive:	(NPs)			(MP)		VP	(912), (913)
Transitive:	(NPs)	(NPo) ↑	(NP <sub>LOC</sub> /NF	PINS/MP)	( <b>NPo</b> ) ↑	VP	(914), (915), (916), (917)
Ditransitive:	(NPs)	<b>NPo</b> ↑	(NPrec)	(MP)	( <b>NPo</b> ) ↑	VP	(918), (919), (920)

As can be seen from (915) and (918) a locative and a recipient nominal phrase are marked the same.

Also, the ordering of arguments is not absolute, as can be seen from (920) versus (918), (919). In fact, for a ditransitive clause there is probably no "basic" order of arguments. More pragmatic reasons prevail. Also in the transitive clause, the place of the object is not fixed.

So even though it is possible to distinguish between intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses, it is equally possible to claim that there are no formal differences, as the following examples show.

921) <u>A</u> moso=kôu hague-i. 1s house=Loc come-NFUT NPs NPLOC VP 'I came to the house.'

T came to the nouse.

- 922) <u>A</u> <u>ng</u>=mokôu hague-i. 1s 2s=loc come-nfut NPs NPLoc VP 'I came to you.'
- 923) <u>A</u> <u>ng</u>=mokôu <u>ne-j</u>. 1s 2s=Loc give-NFUT NPs NPLOC VP 'I gave (it) to you.'
- 924) <u>E</u> hegie hiye=do goso-u-l-u. 3s hungry big=INT Cry-BLTV-IRR-NFUT NPs NPo VP 'Us is coming from course hunger'

'He is **crying from** severe hunger.'

- 925) Rumginae=kôu Tom ele kos i. Rumginae=Loc Tom 1DU.EX course go Theme NPs NPo VP
  - 'Tom and I went to a course in Rumginae.'
- 926) *Dig moso ya-l-j.* 3PL house play-IRR-NFUT NPs NPo VP 'They are playing in the house.'
- 927) *Dig bolo ya-l-j.* 3PL ball play-irr-nfut NPs **NPo VP**

'They are **playing with** the ball.'

928)	<pre>Yomogoû-moû=be start-pfv=top Theme</pre>					<b>de-ma</b> PROV-ISQ
	mei dege-i-môu = be NEG do-NFUT-PFV=TO VP					
	'To start with, (they) go (they) go to/ <b>sit in</b> comm		ary school.	Having finished g	oing to/s	sitting in elementary school
929)	dia moso=kôu duv 3pl house=loc sit NPs NPLoc VP					
	'they are <b>sitting in</b> the h	iouse'				
930)	A         ng         dugu.           1s         2s         see.nft           NPs         NPo         VP	JT				
	'I saw you.'					
931)	N <u>a</u> foto=kôu du	ıgu.				

2s photo=Loc see.NFUT NPs NPLoc VP 'Look at the photo!'

A traditional intransitive clause with a nominal phrase expressing a location is usually marked by the locative case marker  $=k\hat{o}u/=mok\hat{o}u$  (921), (922), (929), but it does not need to be (925), (926), (928). The recipient in a traditional ditransitive clause is always marked by the locative case marker (923). The object in a traditional transitive clause is usually unmarked (927). A verb like *dugu* 'see/look', however, can take either a recipient or a patient as object (930), (931).

It appears then that although it is possible to distinguish intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses it does not give a true picture of how the language works. It is better to say that there are verbal clauses and by word order, case markers and also the object focus marker described in 4.1.7, you get the meanings associated with transitivity.

A traditional intransitive clause in English, like 'he cries' needs a preposition to be able to take an additional argument. In Konai, the verb *goso* 'cry' may take an object (924). This in itself only says that in Konai this verb is transitive, in the sense that it is able to take an object. This has no bearing on the discussion at hand, as languages differ in the set of verbs that are seen to be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive. It seems that the important part is this: if in a certain language many verbs may be anywhere on the transitive scale, depending on how they or their dependent arguments are marked, it is better not to make an artificial division between transitive and intransitive clauses. This seems to be the case in Konai.

Based on more data, a general formula for a verbal clause may be outlined as this:

#### **Structure I - Verbal clause**

$$CLAUSE_{VERBAL} \rightarrow (NPs) (MP) (NPo) (NP_{INS}/NP_{TEMP}/NP_{LOC}) (MP) (NPo) (MP) VP$$

$$\uparrow \_ \_ \uparrow \_ \uparrow$$

Bold means core argument. A parenthesis means non-obligatory. As can be seen then, only the verbal phrase is an obligatory core argument.

A recipient is a locative argument as seen above in e.g. (922), (923). The patient, NPo, and the recipient/locative argument,  $NP_{LOC}$  may be switched as may most other non-obligatory arguments. You could say that the string (NPo)(NP<sub>INS</sub>/NP<sub>TEMP</sub>/NP<sub>LOC</sub>) corresponds to the NP<sub>THEME</sub> in CLAUSE<sub>THEME II</sub> in 6.3 CLAUSES WITH THEME SLOTS.

The modifier phrase MP may also occur in several places.

Though the subject normally precedes the object, the order may be switched without either of them being marked. The more animate entity would normally be regarded as subject regardless of word order. See 6.1.3 CHANGES IN WORD ORDER.

## 6.1.2.1 Additional note on transitivity

Even though there is no real difference between intransitive and transitive clauses, there are at least two ways to signal increased transitivity:

- object focus 4.1.7
- enhanced transitivity 5.1.3.8, 5.1.3.9

932)	а	s <u>o</u> û	a	s <u>o</u> ̂u- <b>go-u</b>
	door	open	door	open-of-NFUT
	'open	a door'	'an op	ened door'

- 933) <u>E</u> dihi=hg siho goso-l-o+mg su-l-u. 3s child=gen mourning cry-IRR-FUT+putwalk.around-IRR-NFUT '(She) is mourning and crying violently for her child and (she) wanders around.'
- 934) <u>e</u> haba mos<u>o</u>=kôu boho-l-ôu + mg i-l-i. 3s but.PFV.IRR house=LOC turn-IRR-NPST+put go-IRR-NFUT '... he turned around again and went back home.' (a complete turn-around)

## 6.1.3 Changes in word order

Arguments may be rearranged in a clause, but it is not very common, except for fronting certain arguments to a sentence initial slot at the beginning of a story, or at a major break in the story (see 6.3 CLAUSES WITH THEME SLOT).

The two following examples are somewhat unusual. A nominal phrase, following the verbal phrase, sounds very much like an after-thought.

935) Dia oloufei na-ma tia-sie-i, dia  $moso = ko\hat{u}$ . house=Loc 3pL all.total eat-iso sleep-DU/PL-NFUT 3 DT. NPg VΡ NP VΡ 'After eating they all slept, in their house.'

936) Ma dihi Beny ne, ikoke=be. ls.poss child Beny give nail=TOP NP VP NP

'Give (them) to my child Beny, the nails I mean.'

A more common rearrangement is switching the place of the subject and object, fronting the object, a strategy used to highlight a local point of interest. The clauses under scrutiny are marked in red. These constructions are not grammatical passives but have the same function, namely to make the object more salient. See 5.2.3.1 WORD ORDER.

dihi) to-l-ou-mou, 937) (kueya ... bolou ke-ge cassowary child ... two that-vbr hold-IRR-NPST-PFV wala ta so=ye sese-l-e i-l-e no-u-mou INDE dog=INS follow-IRR-FUT go-IRR-FUT attack.IRR.FUT eat-NFUT-PFV NPO NPs VP dugu-o foqôu iqiya-i. see-FUT leave.for go.du/pl-NFUT ... (we) having got hold of two (cassowary chickens), (we) saw one pursued and killed and eaten by the dog, and leaving we went.' 938) ô ha-i  $ko = ko\hat{u} = ge$ wai ta so ka=ha tigo-u-mou du.

 938)
 OU
 nd-1
 KO = KOU = ge
 Wai Ta
 SO
 Ka = ng
 Tigo-u-mou
 du.

 sago
 cut-nFUT
 that=Loc=F.CNTR
 pig INDF
 dog that=GEN
 bark-nFUT-PFV
 hear.NFUT

 NPo
 NPs
 VP

'... from the place of (the) cut down sago (palm), (I) heard that **a pig** was being barked at **by the dog**.'

## 6.1.4 Medial and final clauses in long sentences

Verbal clauses are of two classes based on function in the sentence: medial and final. Final clauses most commonly occur sentence final, and medial clauses usually do not. However, based on suffixation and on intonation, there are **two types of final clauses**:

## Finite final clause

• final verb suffixation on the verb, falling intonation, sentence final

## Non-finite final clause

• final verb suffixation on the verb +/- =*be* 'topic marker', **level** intonation, **mid-sentence**;<sup>144</sup> signals excitement and/or peak

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> If the verbs are verbs of perception, this is often a place, where minor participants are introduced.

A medial clause ends on a rising or level intonation. Based on suffixation of the verb in the clause, there are **seven types of medial clauses**:

Medial verbs with tense/mood inflection

 (relative present or future tense/same or different subject)

 Medial verbs with -ma 'immediate sequence'

+/- -mou 'perfective' or -ba 'perfective irrealis'

+/- -mou 'perfective' or -ba 'perfective irrealis'

• Medial verbs with *-gi* 'delayed sequence'

For details see 4.1.4.3 STRUCTURE OF MEDIAL VERBS.

There are also four more medial clause types, where two discourse markers interact with two of the medial suffixes.

- $-m\hat{o}u = be$  'whenever' (-PFV=TOP)
- -ba = be 'if/when' (-PFV.IRR=TOP) •  $-mo\hat{u} = si$  'but when' (-PFV=CNTR)
- -ba = si 'but if' (-PFV.IRR=CNTR)

There is **one verbal phrase per clause**, medial or final. However, there are a few serial verbs, like the individuated plural form in (942). There is no clause break in the middle of those construction (see 5.1.3 SERIAL VERBS).

In the examples below, the only nominal phrases that are marked for function are the ones functioning as subjects.

939)	I-l-i-gi,	so	ka=h <u>a</u>	wai	tigo-u-môu	i-l-e	dugu=be
	go-IRR-NFUT=DSQ	dog	that=gen	pig	bark-NFUT-PFV	go-IRR-FUT	see-NFUT=TOP
	CLAUSE <sub>MEDIAL</sub>	CLAU	SE <sub>medial</sub>			CLAUSE <sub>MEDIAL</sub>	CLAUSE
	VP	NPs		NP	VP	VP	VP

'(He) went until (his) dog barked (and) immediately he went on and saw that ...'

940)	wai	ka-gi + m <u>a</u>	sa+m <u>a</u>	k <u>oû</u> + m <u>a</u>	igiya-i.
	pig	cut-or+put	put.inside+put	carry.on.head+put	go.DU/PL-NFUT
	CLAU	JSE <sub>medial</sub>	CLAUSE <sub>MEDIAL</sub>	CLAUSE <sub>MEDIAL</sub>	<b>CLAUSE</b> <sub>FINAL</sub>
	NP	VP	VP	VP	VP

"... we cut up (the) pig and put (the pieces in our stringbags) and carried (those) on (our) heads and went."

941) **<u>A</u> ma</u> sio ayomoû dihi su=do ka=noû=si** 1s 1s.poss bird fowl child many=INT that=only=CNTR CLAUSE<sub>VERBLESS</sub>

sagat <u>ai</u> = ye	wo+m <u>a</u>	no-l- <u>u</u> -gi	mei	dege-i
hawk=INS	attack+put	eat-IRR-NFUT-DSQ	NEG	do-nfut
CLAUSE <sub>MEDIAL</sub>		CLAUSE <sub>medial</sub>	$CLAUSE_{FINAL}$	
NPS	VP	VP	VP	

'I (had) many chickens, but (a) hawk killed them and ate (them) until (they) were (all) gone.'

``	· ·	/	/		× *	/	( )0
_							duwo.
		-					CLAUSE
NPs	NP	VP	NP	NP	$^{I}$	7P	VP
Dia	miy <u>e</u>	si		hiyo-u-moîu		meleki = koîu	sa + m <u>a</u>
3PL					-NFUT-PFV	-	put.inside+put
				VP		NP	VP
sea	tag	ge+tôù	duwo-l-i	nal <u>a</u>	<i>i-l-i.</i>		
			sit-IRR-			RR-NFUT	
	3PL CLAU NPs <b>Dig</b> 3PL CLAU NPs <b>sea</b> cha:	3PL fire CLAUSE <sub>MEDIAN</sub> NPs NP <b>Dig miye</b> 3PL fish CLAUSE <sub>FINAL</sub> NPs NP:N <b>sea tag</b> chair over	3PL fire light- CLAUSE <sub>MEDIAL</sub> NPs NP VP <b>Dig miye si</b> 3PL fish cook CLAUSE <sub>FINAL</sub> NPs NP:N+V sea tage+tôu	3PL fire light-ISQ fish CLAUSE <sub>MEDIAL</sub> CLAN NPS NP VP NP <b>Dig miye si</b> 3PL fish cook.NFUT CLAUSE <sub>FINAL</sub> NPS NP:N+V <b>sea tage+tôu duwo-l-i</b> chair over+up sit-IRR-	3PL fire light-ISQ fish fire+insCLAUSE MEDIALCLAUSE MEDIALNPS NPVPNPDig miye si 3PL fish cook.NFUThiyo-u-môu be.cooked- CLAUSE PINALNPS NP:N+VVPsea chair over+upsit-IRR-NFUT eat.IR	3PL fire light-ISQ fish fire+inside=Loc of CLAUSE_MEDIAL       CLAUSE_MEDIAL         NPs NP       VP       NP       NP         Dig miye si       hiyo-u-môu       Anito and anito ani	3PL fire light-ISQ fish fire+inside=Loc cook-IRR-FUT         CLAUSE_MEDIAL       CLAUSE_MEDIAL         NPs NP       VP       NP       NP         Dig miye si       hiyo-u-moû       meleki=kôu         3PL fish cook.NFUT       be.cooked-NFUT-PFV       plate=Loc         CLAUSE_FINAL       CLAUSE_MEDIAL       CLAUSE_MEDIAL         NPs       NP       VP         sea       tage+tôu duwo-l-i       nalg       i-l-i.         chair over+up       sit-IRR-NFUT       eat.IRR.FUT       go-IRR-NFUT

VP VP (serial verb: 'individuated plural')

'After lighting (the) fire, they sit and cook the fish in the fire. As soon as (the) cooked fish is "ready", they put (it) into bowls and sit on chairs eating.' (Drawings are illustrating the text.)

943) **Yo-I-u-gi** dugu=be hebe hiye=do ta tafala. go.du/pl-irr-nfut-dsq see.nfut=top tree big=int indf stand CLAUSE<sub>MEDIAL</sub> CLAUSE<sub>FINAL</sub> CLAUSE<sub>FINAL</sub> VP VP NPs VP

'We went until (we) saw a big tree standing.'

9

MP

Hebe	k <u>o</u> û = ma = h <u>a</u>	fu=kôu	dugu,	douwa	duwo.
Tree	this=TOP=GEN	hole=LOC	see.NFUT	hornbill	sit
CLAUSE <sub>F</sub>	INAL			<b>CLAUSE</b> <sub>FINAL</sub>	
NP			VP	NPs	VP
'(We) sav	v a hornbill sitting in a	a hole of this tree.'			
Duwo-m	oû dugu-o	fogoû-moû	i.		
sit-pfv	See-FUT	leave.for-pr	V go.NFU	JT	
CLAUSE <sub>N</sub>	IEDIAL CLAUSE <sub>MEDIAL</sub>	<b>CLAUSE</b> <sub>FINAL</sub>			

VP (serial verb: 'progressive aspect')

'(We) saw (it) sitting (there) and moved on/leaving (we) went.'

In the two following examples there are also embeddings of different kinds.

VP

944)	n <u>a</u>	n <u>e</u>	sele = ye	gita	ta	m <u>o</u> û.			
	2s	2s.poss	money=INS	guitar	INDF	get			
	CLAU	$JSE_{FINAL}$							
	NPs	NP		NP		VP			
	N <u>a</u> n	no-l- <u>o</u> u	sa <u>gai</u>	mei deg	e-i-ba=	be		fogo-l-ôu = ne	de,
	2s g	get-IRR-N	PST likely	NEG do-	NFUT-PF	v.irr=1	OP	<pre>leave.for-IRR-NPST=also</pre>	good
	CLAU	$JSE_{FINAL}$						CLAUSE	
	NPs							VP	
	CLAU	$JSE_{medial}$						CLAUSE <sub>VERBLESS</sub>	
	NPs			VP				NPs	MP
	n <u>a</u> i	n <u>oî</u> u = noîu	tawa-g	a	dugu.				
	2s 2	2s.emp=on	ly know-D	U/PL.FUT	see.NF	UT			
	CLAU	JSE <sub>medial</sub>			CLAUSE	E <sub>FINAL</sub>			
	NPTH	NPs	VP		VP				
	' ge	et a guitar fo	or your money.	If you can	nnot get (i	it), leavi	ng (	it is) OK too; you will	

decide.'

945)	<u>A</u>	du-di=b	e, so	koulou <mark>du</mark>	IWO	de-ma	<i>tewe</i>	m <u>o</u> ̂u-ba=si,
	1s	hear-HAN	B=TOP SC	hool si	it :	PROV=ISQ	know CLAUSE <sub>FINAL</sub>	get-pfv.IRR=CNTR
							VP	
	CLAU	JSE <sub>final</sub>	CL	AUSE <sub>MEDIAL</sub>			CLAUSE	L
	NPs	VP	NP	VE	? (serial	verb: <sup>145</sup> )	NP	VP
	sele	dabai	<i>to-l-ôu</i> =	yode 🕇	obo-l-ou	i-moîu	du-	di.
	mone	ey work	hold-IRR	R-NPST=IQV S	speak-IRR-N	NPST go.NF	UT-PFV hea	11-HAB
	CLAU	$JSE_{FINAL}$						
	NP		VP					
	CLAU	JSE <sub>medial</sub>		C	<b>LAUSE</b> <sub>MEDIAL</sub>		CLA	USE
	VP (	quote)		V	7P (serial	verb: <sup>146</sup> )		VP

'I hear them state and say that after finishing school (and) getting knowledge, in contrast with other ways, (that) will get (you) a money (earning) job.'

## 6.2 Verbless clauses

VP

Verbless clauses are analysed as containing a topic and a comment. The topic may be a nominal phrase or a clause. The comment may be a nominal phrase, a clause or a modifier phrase. The topic may take the enclitic =  $\{be\}$  'topic marker' (see 8.3.1 MARKING THE TOPIC IN A TOPIC-COMMENT CLAUSE). Also, any clause, verbless or not, may have a "theme" slot preceding the subject (see 6.3 CLAUSES WITH THEME SLOT).

There are two kinds of verbless clauses: Locative (6.2.1) and Equative/Descriptive (6.2.2). See also 6.2.3 PSEUDO VERBLESS CLAUSES for a seemingly different type.

## 6.2.1 Locative verbless clauses

A locative verbless clause has a nominal phrase or a clause as a topic, and it always has a modifier phrase, containing a locative adverb, as a comment. Note that the question word kou 'where' is a locative adverb (949). This clause type may be negated (948).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> 'telic state'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> 'individuated plural'

## Structure II - Locative verbless clause

CLAUSE LOCATIVE VERBLESS  $\rightarrow$  NPT/CLAUSET MPc 946) Kuguo tage+tou. paper over+up NРт MPc 'The book is above (it).' 947) Mа moso ku-h<u>e</u>. 1s.poss house this-p.LOCR  $NP_{T}$ MPc 'My house is here (pointing).'  $\underline{E} = me kuo = ko\hat{u}$ 948) mei. 3s=TOP this=LOC NEG NPτ MPc 'He is not (from) here.' 949) kou? Mou grandfather where NPτ MPc 'Where is grandpa?' 950) Ε haqu-l-u ku-he. come-IRR-NFUT this-P.LOCR 3s CLAUSET MPc 'Here he comes!' 951) E na-l-e nala-môu su-l-u ku-he. 3s eat-IRR-FUT eat.IRR.FUT-PFV walk.around-IRR-NFUT this-P.LOCR 'Here he is, roaming around in order to eat.'

It seems that the comment cannot be filled by a locative nominal phrase without adding a verb.

```
952) \underline{E} mos\underline{o} = k \hat{o} u duwo.
```

3s house=LOC sit NPs  $NP_{LOC}$  VP 'He is in the house.'

## 6.2.2 Equative/Descriptive verbless clauses

In an equative/descriptive verbless clause the topic may be a nominal phrase or a clause. The comment may be a nominal phrase, a clause or a modifier phrase. There is no formal distinction between equative and descriptive. It is a purely semantic matter. This clause type, too, may be negated (969). In (965), (966), it is the comment itself that is the negative.

### Structure III - Equative/Descriptive verbless clause

CLAUSE EQUATIVE/DESCRIPTIVE VERBLESS	$\rightarrow$	NPT/CLAUSET	NPc/CLAUSEc/MPc
--------------------------------------	---------------	-------------	-----------------

Examples (953) - (959) are all equative in meaning.

953)	$\underline{E} = me$ $3s = TOP$ $NPT$ $He$ is the	ooss NPc		
954)	<b>Ne</b> 2s.poss NPt			þ
	'What is y	our nar	ne?'	
955)	<i>Mg</i> ls.poss NPt			
	'My name	e is Kev	in.'	
956)	<i>K<u>о</u>́u = ma</i> this=то NPт 'What is t	P wh NF	at	

<ul> <li>958) Dig foi-le-ba koboge? song sing-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR when.VBR CLAUSE; "When is the church service?"</li> <li>959) To g hu=be Sepp g. river 3s name=TOP Smipen mouth.of.river Theme NP, NPc</li> <li>"The name of the river is Smipen."</li> <li>Examples (960) - (969) are all descriptive in meaning.</li> <li>960) O hiye=do. man big=TNT NPr MPc</li> <li>"The man is big./A big man"</li> <li>961) O=bb hiye=do man=TOP big=INT NPr MPc</li> <li>"The man is big."</li> <li>962) Ei fg dog=do. IPL.EX talk straight=TNT NPr MPc</li> <li>"Our speech is correct."</li> <li>963) Battery mgu bolo? battery get good CLAUSEr MPc</li> <li>"Is it OK to take the battery?"</li> <li>964) Ele=be sigg oldufgi kama+dia. Ibu.EX=TOP children all middle.finger+3PL NPr CLAUSEc</li> <li>"We two have three children."</li> <li>965) A=me mei. Is=TOP NBG NPT MPC</li> <li>"I have none."</li> <li>966) O mei=do. man NEG=INT NPT MPC</li> <li>"I have none."</li> <li>966) A met elae. Man NEG=INT NPT MPC</li> <li>"I have none."</li> <li>966) A met elae. Soot biting.ant NPT MPC</li> <li>"Why did the plane come?"</li> <li>968) AbogQi seseme. foot biting.ant NPT NPC</li> <li>"Why did the plane come?"</li> <li>968) AbogQi seseme. foot biting.ant NPT NPC</li> <li>"I do not have a husband."</li> </ul>	957)	Mosotogo-di=bedabaihiye=do.housebuild-HAB=TOP workbig=INTCLAUSETNPc'To build a house is hard work.'
<pre>959) To e hy=be Sepe o. river 3s name=rop Smipen mouth.of.river The name of the river is Smipen.' Examples (960) - (969) are all descriptive in meaning. 960) O hiye=do. man big=INT NPF MPC 'The man is big./ A big man' 961) O=be hiye=do man=rop big=INT NPF MPC 'The man is big.' 962) Ei tg dogu=do. lpL.EX talk straight=INT NPF MPC 'Our speech is correct.' 963) Battery mol bolo? battery get good CLAUSEr MPC 'Is it OK to take the battery?' 964) Ele=be sisgo oloufgi karna+dia. lpU.EX=TOP children all middle.finger+3PL NPF CLAUSEc 'We two have three children.' 965) A=me mei. ls=TOP NEG NPF MPC 'There are) no people (here) at all.' 966) O mei=do. man NEG=INT NPF MPC 'There are) no people (here) at all.' 967) Fole hague-i ka+dege-moû? plane come=NFUT how+do=PFV CLAUSEc 'Why did the plane come?' 968) Abog@ seseme. foot biting.ant NPF NPC '(My) foot is numb.' 969) A=me o =bôu mei. ls=TOP man=and NEG NPF NPC '(My) foot is numb.'</pre>	958)	song sing-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR when.vbr CLAUSET CLAUSE <sub>C</sub>
<pre>river 3s name=rop Smipen mouth.of.river Them NP<sub>T</sub> NPC 'The name of the river is Smipen.' Examples (960) - (969) are all descriptive in meaning. 960) O hiye=do. man big=INT NPT MPC 'The man is big./A big man' 961) O=be hiye=do man=rop big=INT NPT MPC 'The man is big.' 962) Ei tg doy=do. IPL.EX talk straight=INT NPT MPC 'Uru speech is correct.' 963) Battery mây bolo? battery get good CLAUSET MPC 'Is it OK to take the battery?' 964) Ele=be sisigo olôufgi karna+dia. IDU.EX=TOP children all middle.finger+3PL NPT CLAUSEC 'We two have three children.' 965) A=me mei. Is=TOP NEG NPT MPC 'I have none.' 966) O mei=do. man NEG=INT NPT MPC '(There are) no people (here) at all.' 967) Fele hague-i ka+dege-môû? plane come=NFUT how+do=PFV CLAUSET 'Why did the plane come?' 968) Abogây seseme. foot biting.ant NPT NPC '(My) foot is numb.' 969) A=me o=bôu mei. Is=TOP man=and NEG NPT NPC 'MPT NPC</pre>		'When is the church service?'
<pre>Examples (960) - (969) are all descriptive in meaning. 960) O hiye=do. man big=INT NPT MPC 'The man is big./A big man' 961) O=be hiye=do man=TOP big=INT NPT MPC 'The man is big.' 962) Ei tg doy=do. 1PL.EX talk straight=INT NPT MPC 'Our speech is correct.' 963) Battery môu bolo? battery get good CLAUSET MPC 'Is it OK to take the battery?' 964) Ele=be sisigo olôufgi kama+dia. 1DU.EX=TOP Children all middle.finger+3PL NPT CLAUSEC 'We two have three children.' 965) A=me mei. 1S=TOP NKG NPT MPC 'I have none.' 966) O mei=do. man NEG=INT NPT MPC '(There are) no people (here) at all.' 967) Felg hague-i ka+dege-môu? plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSE<sub>T</sub> CLAUSE<sub>C</sub> 'Why did the plane come?' 968) Abogôu seseme. foot biting.ant NPT NPC '(My) foot is numb.' 969) A=me o=bôu mei. 1S=TOP man=and NEG NPT NPC '(My) foot is numb.' 969) A=me o=bôu mei. 1S=TOP man=and NEG NPT NPC</pre>	959)	river 3s name=TOP Smipen mouth.of.river Theme $NP_T$ NPc
<ul> <li>960) O hiye=do. man big=INT NPr MPc 'The man is big/A big man'</li> <li>961) O=be hiye=do man=TOP big=INT NPr MPc 'The man is big.'</li> <li>962) Ei tg doy=do. IPL.EX talk straight=INT NPr MPc 'Our speech is correct.'</li> <li>963) Battery mdu bolo? battery get good CLAUSEr MPc 'Is it OK to take the battery?'</li> <li>964) Ele=be sisigo oloûtfej kama+dia. IDU.EX=TOP Children all middle.finger+3PL NPr CLAUSEc 'We two have three children.'</li> <li>965) A=me mei. IS=TOP NEG NPr MPC 'I have none.'</li> <li>966) O mei=do. man NEG=INT NPr MPC '(There are) no people (here) at all.'</li> <li>967) Fele hague-i ka+dege-moû? plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSEr CLAUSEc 'Why did the plane come?'</li> <li>968) Abogôu seseme. foot biting.ant NPr NPC '(My) foot is numb.'</li> <li>969) A=me o=bôu mei. Is=TOP man=and NEG NPr NPC</li> </ul>		'The name of the river is Smipen.'
<pre>man big=INT NPr MPc 'The man is big./A big man' 961) O=be hiye=do man=rop big=INT NPr MPc 'The man is big.' 962) Ei tg doy=do. lpL.EX talk straight=INT NPr MPc 'Our speech is correct.' 963) Battery môu bolo? battery get good CLAUSEr MPc 'Is it OK to take the battery?' 964) Ele=be sisigo olôufej kama+dia. lpU.EX=rop children all middle.finger+3pL NPr CLAUSEc 'We two have three children.' 965) A=me mei. ls=TOP NEG NPr MPc 'Thave none.' 966) O mei=do. man NEG=INT NPr MPc 'There are) no people (here) at all.' 967) Fele hague-i ka+dege-môu? plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSEr CLAUSEc 'Why did the plane come?' 968) Abogôu seseme. foot biting.ant NPr NPc '(My) foot is numb.' 969) A=me o=bôu mei. ls=TOP man=and NEG NPr NPc '(My) foot is numb.'</pre>	Examples (9	060) - (969) are all <b>descriptive</b> in meaning.
<ul> <li>961) O=be hive=do man=TOP big=INT NPT MPC 'The man is big.'</li> <li>962) Ei tg dou=do. lpL.EX talk straight=INT NPT MPC 'Our speech is correct.'</li> <li>963) Battery môu bolo? battery get good CLAUSET MPC 'Is it OK to take the battery?'</li> <li>964) Ele=be sisigo olôufgi kama+dia. lpU.EX=TOP children all middle.finger+3PL NPT CLAUSEc 'We two have three children.'</li> <li>965) A=me mei. ls=TOP NEG NPT MPC 'I have none.'</li> <li>966) O mei=do. man NEG=INT NPT MPC '(There are) no people (here) at all.'</li> <li>967) Fele hague-i ka+dege-môû? plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSET CLAUSEc 'Why did the plane come?'</li> <li>968) Abogôu seseme. foot biting.ant NPT NPC '(My) foot is numb.'</li> <li>969) A=me o=bôu mei. ls=TOP man=and NEG NPT NPC</li> </ul>	960)	man big=INT NPT MPC
<pre>man=TOP big=INT NPr MPc 'The man is big.' 962) Ei fg dow=do. lpt.ex talk straight=INT NPr MPc 'Our speech is correct.' 963) Battery mole bolo? battery get good CLAUSEr MPc 'Is it OK to take the battery?' 964) Ele=be sisigo oloûfgi kama+dia. lpt.ex=TOP children all middle.finger+3PL NPr CLAUSEc 'We two have three children.' 965) A=me mei. ls=TOP NEG NPr MPc 'I have none.' 966) O mei=do. man NEG=INT NPr MPc '(There are) no people (here) at all.' 967) Felg hague-i ka+dege-môu? plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSEr CLAUSEc 'Why did the plane come?' 968) Abogôu seseme. foot biting.ant NPr NPC '(My) foot is numb.' 969) A=me o=bôu mei. ls=TOP man=and NEG NPr NPc</pre>		
962) $Ei$ $fg$ $dgg=do.$ IPL.EX talk straight=INT $NP_{T}$ $MPc$ 'Our speech is correct.' 963) $Battery m \underline{a}g$ $bolg$ ? battery get good $CLAUSE_{T}$ $MPc$ 'Is it OK to take the battery?' 964) $Ele=be$ $sisigg$ $oloufgi kama+dia.$ IDU.EX=TOP children all middle.finger+3PL $NP_{T}$ $CLAUSE_{C}$ 'We two have three children.' 965) $\underline{A}=me$ $mei.$ IS=TOP NEG $NP_{T}$ $MPc$ 'I have none.' 966) $O$ $mei=do.$ man NEG=INT $NP_{T}$ $MPc$ '(There are) no people (here) at all.' 967) $Felg$ hague-i $ka+dege-mou?$ plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV $CLAUSE_{T}$ $CLAUSE_{C}$ 'Why did the plane come?' 968) $Abog \underline{a}u$ seseme. foot biting.ant $NP_{T}$ $NPc$ '(My) foot is numb.' 969) $\underline{A}=me$ $o=bo\hat{u}$ $mei.$ IS=TOP man=and NEG $NP_{T}$ $NPc$	961)	man=TOP big=INT NPT MPc
<pre>lpl.Ex talk straight=INT NPT MPC 'Our speech is correct.' 963) Battery modu bolo? battery get good CLAUSET MPC 'Is it OK to take the battery?' 964) Ele=be sisigo oloûtfoj kama+dia. lpu.Ex=TOP children all middle.finger+3PL NPT CLAUSEc 'We two have three children.' 965) A=me mei. ls=TOP NEG NPT MPC 'I have none.' 966) O mei=do. man NEG=INT NPT MPC '(There are) no people (here) at all.' 967) Felg hague-i ka+dege-moû? plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSE<sub>T</sub> CLAUSE<sub>C</sub> 'Why did the plane come?' 968) Abogôu seseme. foot biting.ant NPT NPC '(My) foot is numb.' 969) A=me o=bôu mei. ls=TOP man=and NEG NPT NPC</pre>		-
<ul> <li>963) Battery mû bolo? battery get good CLAUSEr MPc 'Is it OK to take the battery?'</li> <li>964) Ele=be sisigo olôufei kama+dia. IDU.EX=TOP Children all middle.finger+3PL NPr CLAUSEc 'We two have three children.'</li> <li>965) A=me mei. IS=TOP NEG NPr MPC 'I have none.'</li> <li>966) O mei=do. man NEG=INT NPr MPC '(There are) no people (here) at all.'</li> <li>967) Fele hague-i ka+dege-môu? plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSEr CLAUSEc 'Why did the plane come?'</li> <li>968) Abogû seseme. foot biting.ant NPr NPc '(My) foot is numb.'</li> <li>969) A=me o=bôu mei. IS=TOP man=and NEG NPr NPc</li> </ul>	962)	1PL.EX talk straight=INT NPT MPC
<pre>battery get good CLAUSEr MPc 'Is it OK to take the battery?' 964) Ele=be sisigg oloûlfei kama+dia. IDU.EX=TOP children all middle.finger+3PL NPT CLAUSEc 'We two have three children.' 965) A=me mei. IS=TOP NEG NPT MPc 'I have none.' 966) O mei=do. man NEG=INT NPT MPc '(There are) no people (here) at all.' 967) Felg hague-i ka+dege-môû? plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSET CLAUSEc 'Why did the plane come?' 968) Abogôu seseme. foot biting.ant NPT NPc '(My) foot is numb.' 969) A=me o=bôu mei. IS=TOP man=and NEG NPT NPc</pre>		Our speech is correct.
964) $Ele=be sisigo olôufoi kama+dia. 1DU.EX=TOP children all middle.finger+3PL NPT CLAUSEc 'We two have three children.' 965) \underline{A}=me mei.1s=TOP NEGNPT MPC'I have none.'966) O mei=do.man NEG=INTNPT MPC'(There are) no people (here) at all.'967) Felo hague-i ka+dege-môu?plane come-NFUT how+do-PFVCLAUSET CLAUSEc'Why did the plane come?'968) Abogôu seseme.foot biting.antNPT NPC'(My) foot is numb.'969) \underline{A}=me o=bôu mei.1s=TOP man=and NEGNPT NPC$	963)	battery get good
$l_{DU.EX=TOP} children all middle.finger+3PLNPT CLAUSEc'We two have three children.'965) \underline{A} = me mei.l_{S=TOP NEG}NPT MPC'I have none.'966) O mei=do.man NEG=INTNPT MPC'(There are) no people (here) at all.'967) Fel\underline{e} hague-i ka+dege-môu?plane come-NFUT how+do-PFVCLAUSET CLAUSEc'Why did the plane come?'968) Abogôu seseme.foot biting.antNPT NPC'(My) foot is numb.'969) \underline{A} = me o = bôu mei.l_{S=TOP} man=and NEGNPT NPC$		'Is it OK to take the battery?'
965) $A = me mei.$ 1s = TOP NEG $NP_T MPC$ 'I have none.' 966) $O mei = do.$ man NEG=INT $NP_T MPC$ '(There are) no people (here) at all.' 967) $Fele$ hague-i ka + dege-môu? plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSE <sub>T</sub> CLAUSE <sub>C</sub> 'Why did the plane come?' 968) Abogôu seseme. foot biting.ant $NP_T$ NPC '(My) foot is numb.' 969) $A = me$ $o = bôu$ mei. 1s = TOP man=and NEG $NP_T$ NPC	964)	1DU.EX=TOP children all middle.finger+3PL
1S=TOP NEG NPT MPC 'I have none.' 966) $O$ mei=do. man NEG=INT NPT MPC '(There are) no people (here) at all.' 967) $Fele$ hague-i ka+dege-moû? plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSE <sub>T</sub> CLAUSE <sub>C</sub> 'Why did the plane come?' 968) $Abogoûl$ seseme. foot biting.ant NPT NPC '(My) foot is numb.' 969) $A=me$ $o=boûl$ mei. 1s=TOP man=and NEG NPT NPC		'We two have three children.'
966) $O$ mei=do. man NEG=INT NPT MPC '(There are) no people (here) at all.' 967) $Fel\underline{e}$ hague-i ka+dege-môu? plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSE <sub>T</sub> CLAUSE <sub>C</sub> 'Why did the plane come?' 968) $Abogôu$ seseme. foot biting.ant NPT NPC '(My) foot is numb.' 969) $\underline{A}=me$ $o=bôu$ mei. ls=TOP man=and NEG NPT NPC	965)	1s=top neg NP <sub>t</sub> MPc
man NEG=INT NPT MPC '(There are) no people (here) at all.' 967) $Fele$ hague-i ka + dege-môu? plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSE <sub>T</sub> CLAUSE <sub>C</sub> 'Why did the plane come?' 968) Abogôu seseme. foot biting.ant NPT NPC '(My) foot is numb.' 969) $A = me$ $o = bôu$ mei. ls=TOP man=and NEG NPT NPC		
NPT MPC '(There are) no people (here) at all.' 967) $Fel\underline{e}$ hague-i ka+dege-môu? plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSE <sub>T</sub> CLAUSE <sub>C</sub> 'Why did the plane come?' 968) $Abogôu$ seseme. foot biting.ant NPT NPC '(My) foot is numb.' 969) $A=me$ $o=bôu$ mei. ls=TOP man=and NEG NPT NPC	966)	
(There are) no people (here) at all.' 967) $Fele$ hague-i $ka + dege-moû?$ plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSE <sub>T</sub> CLAUSE <sub>C</sub> 'Why did the plane come?' 968) $Abogoû$ seseme. foot biting.ant NP <sub>T</sub> NPc '(My) foot is numb.' 969) $A = me$ $o = boû$ mei. ls=TOP man=and NEG NP <sub>T</sub> NPc		
967) $Fele$ hague-i $ka + dege-moû?$ plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSE <sub>T</sub> CLAUSE <sub>c</sub> 'Why did the plane come?' 968) $Abogoû$ seseme. foot biting.ant NP <sub>T</sub> NPc '(My) foot is numb.' 969) $A = me$ $o = boû$ mei. ls=TOP man=and NEG NP <sub>T</sub> NPc		
plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSE <sub>T</sub> CLAUSE <sub>C</sub> 'Why did the plane come?' 968) Abogôu seseme. foot biting.ant NP <sub>T</sub> NPc '(My) foot is numb.' 969) $A = me$ $o = bôu$ mei. ls=TOP man=and NEG NP <sub>T</sub> NPc		
968) $Abog \hat{ou}$ seseme. foot biting.ant NPT NPC '(My) foot is numb.' 969) $A = me$ $o = b\hat{ou}$ mei. ls=TOP man=and NEG NPT NPC	967)	plane come-NFUT how+do-PFV CLAUSE <sub>T</sub> CLAUSE <sub>C</sub>
foot biting.ant $NP_{T}$ NPc '(My) foot is numb.' 969) $A = me$ $o = b\hat{o}u$ mei. 1s = TOP man=and NEG $NP_{T}$ NPc		• •
969) $\underline{A} = me$ $o = b\hat{o}u$ mei. 1s=TOP man=and NEG NPT NPC	968)	foot biting.ant NP <sub>T</sub> NPc
ls=TOP man=and NEG NPT NPC		
'I do not have a husband.'	969)	1s=top man=and Neg
		'I do not have a husband.'

## 6.2.3 Pseudo verbless clauses

Sometimes you hear clauses that do not have a verb, but take arguments as if they did. The best way to analyse these seems to be to assume that the pro-verb *dege* 'do' has been left out. It may be added last in all of the examples below (but see (970)).

A 970)  $ng = moko\hat{u}$  solo $\hat{u} = do$ . ng=mokou solou=do dege-i. ₫ heart=INT do-NFUT 2s=loc heart=INT 1s 2s=loc 1sNPs NPLOC NPo NPs NPLOC NPo VΡ 'I am sorry for you.' 'I am sorry for you.' kalase hoho.147 971) Α glass light 15 NPs NPo

'I would like a fishing glass.'

972) <u>E=me nele gue</u>. 3s=TOP 2DU fear NPs NPO 'He is afraid of the two of you.'

973) *Ng g=mokôu bisi.* 2s 3s=LOC son.in.law NPs NPLOC NPO

'You(r relationship) to him (is that he is your) son-in-law.'

# 6.3 Clauses with theme slots

Any clause type can, if occurring at the beginning of a story or conversation, take one or more arguments in an initial slot to, so to speak, set the scene for what is coming, i.e. main participants, time and place. This slot is called a 'theme' slot in this grammar.

The theme slot may also be occupied at major breaks in a story (see (1067), which is an example from the middle of a descriptive story). It may also be used for other effects.

### Structure IV - Clause with theme slot

 $CLAUSE_{THEME I} \rightarrow (THEME) CLAUSE$ 

There is also a theme slot immediately to the right of the subject.

Structure V – Clause with post-subject theme slot (978)

 $CLAUSE_{THEME II} \rightarrow NPs (THEME) ...$ 

The two following examples are the first sentences in two stories. The initial clause in the first example is analysed as having two theme slots.

974)	<u>A</u>	afu	kôu-le=ge		<u>a</u> =boîu	Yagu=bôu
	1s	earlier	this-A.LOCR=F.C	NTR	1s=and	Yagu=and
	Theme				Theme	
	NP	MP	MP		NP	
	main p	articipant	, time, place	time, place		ticipants
	ele		o=yode-ma	(i.)		
	1du.ex	river wash	n-IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQ	(go.N	FUT)	
	NPs	VP (noun I	NC)	(VP)		

**'Some time ago**, (when) **I** (was) **here**, Yagu and I, after the two of us said (we) would go for a swim ((we) went.)' (introduction to a story about killing a hornbill)

975)	Felix	<u>e</u> =me	Dahamo	dihi.
	Felix	3s=top	Dahamo	child
	Theme	$\mathbf{NP}_{\mathrm{T}}$	NPC	
	NP			

'Felix he (is a) kid from Dahamo.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> The NPo is a noun group *kalase hoho* 'want glasses'; *hoho* means 'joy', 'liking'. The NPo in the next example is also a noun group.

The following example is from an embedded quote summarising the story about the hornbill.

976) *Ke-ge-môu, ele tobo-u,* that-vbr-pfv ldu.ex say-NFUT

Da	ifi		Godi=h <u>a</u>	solôu = do	da=mokoîu	n <u>e-i</u>
1du.in	today		God=gen	heart=INT	1DU.IN=LOC	give-NFUT
Theme			NPs	Theme	NPLOC	VP
NP	MP			NPO		
main pa	articipants	s, time				
ku-h <u>e</u> = y	vode to	bo-u.				

this-p.LOCR=IQV say-NFUT

'Then the two of us (excl.) said, "**The two of us** (incl.) **today**, God has shown his **love** to us (incl.) here," (we) stated and said.'

The fronting of arguments may be an instance of a more general rule, namely that the further to the left, the more prominent a certain argument is. In the previous example, note the two first arguments marked "Theme", and also the object, marked like-wise, coming before the locative argument. We saw this principle at work earlier, when talking about word order in the clause; the object may switch place with the subject to make it more prominent, which also happens in the following sentence.

```
977) Ta e tobôu-ba=be, ni=ge defei=do du-l-o-ba
talk 3s say-pfv.IRR=TOP 2pL=F.CNTR careful=INT hear-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR
Theme NPs VP ...
NPo
sese-ga-ma.
follow-DU/PL-DU/PL
'(The) talk, when he speaks, you all, listen carefully and follow (it).'
```

In the following example the object has been fronted to follow immediately on the subject with the locative phrase being moved to the right. As for the nominal phrase with pronoun copy in the beginning of the clause, that is analysed as a theme followed by a pronoun in its own nominal phrase, which in this case, is the real subject of the clause. See also 8.7.3.7 PRONOUN COPY. Examples (974) and (975) also have pronoun copy.

978)	0	<u>e</u>	dabai	di=mokoîu	n <u>e-i</u> .				
	man	<b>3</b> s	work	1pL.IN=LOC	give-NFUT				
	Theme	NPs	Theme	NPLOC	VP				
	NP		NPo						
	'(A) certain man gave work to us.'								

See also 5.2.3.1 WORD ORDER and 6.1.3 CHANGES IN WORD ORDER.

# 6.4 Negation of the clause

Negation of the clause is marked in the verbal phrase (see 5.1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE VERBAL PHRASE). In general, it is the verbal phrase of the last final clause of a sentence that may be marked as negative (see also 7.3.5 NEGATIVE AND OTHER SCOPES IN A SENTENCE), but embedding of negative final clauses occur.

There are five negative constructions, four of them are related by the use of the word *mei*, 'negative', but slightly different in their constructions. The fifth one is the prohibitive suffix -da.

Another use of *mei* 'negative' is in the expression *mei dege* 'be finished'.

## Verbal clauses with event verbs - present tense, habitual aspect: =yo mei (INDC#NEG)<sup>148</sup>

The conjugation of the verb forms is medial (see 2.7.1.2 VOWEL HARMONY IN MEDIAL VERBS: Present negative).

979)	ei	ta	dafo- <b>u</b> =y	0	mei.		(basic	form:	dafa)	
	1pl	.EX IND	be.tired	d.of-NFUT=INDC	NEG					
	'we	are not ti	red of (it)'							
980)	<u>e</u>	dihi	ka	su-l-u,		<u>e</u>	dug <b>u</b> = <b>yo</b>		mei.	
	3s	child	look.for	walk.around-	IRR-NFUT	3s	see.NFUT=	INDC	NEG	

'... she is walking around looking for her child; (she) **does not** find her.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> The Foothill and Mountain dialects use =ya 'subjunctive' instead of =yo 'indicative' here.

981) Dia dig=me hulig.me=be tia-di=yo mei, sulugua-di. crayfish=TOP 3PL=TOP night.TOP=TOP sleep-HAB=INDC NEG walk.around.Du/PL-HAB 'Concerning crayfish, they do not sleep at night; they always move around.'

Verbal clauses with existential state verbs - present tense; also verbless clauses: mei (NEG)

982)	<u>e</u> duwo m 3s sit ne	G		have	<b>mei</b> Neg	<u>g</u> 1s	<i>tewe</i> know	<b>mei</b> Neg
983)	'he/she is <b>not</b> <u>a</u> bi	(here)' <i>mei</i>	°is n ₫	not/has no <i>mei</i>	ot'	'I do 0	not kno mei	ow'
	ls thing ' I <b>do not</b> ha	NEG ve anything'	ls 'Iha	NEG ave none	/it was <b>not</b> me'	man 'ther	NEG e are <b>n</b> o	people (here)'

A variation in verbless clauses is this: = **bou** mei (=and#NEG)

984) Fofa-i hiye=do dala, ha ke=nôu=si sugua-i=bôu mei. swell-nFUT big=INT be/have but that=only=CNTR have.fever-nFUT=and NEG '(He) has (a) very big swelling, but even so, there is no fever with (it).'

In the previous example the expression **sugua-i** is probably interpreted as a nominalised form meaning 'fever', paralleling  $t\underline{a} = b\hat{o}u \# mei$  in the next example, where  $t\underline{a}$  'talk' is the basic form of the verb  $t\underline{a}$  with the same meaning, widely used as a noun. (see 4.2.4 NOMINALISATION).

985) o ng=me tg=bôu mei. man 2s=TOP talk=and NEG '... concerning you man, (I) have nothing to say.'

Verbal clauses - past tense (any verb): -l-i mei (-IRR-NFUT#NEG)

986) *Dig tobôu-l-i mei.* 3PL say-IRR-NFUTNEG 'They **did not** say.'

Note that the vowel in the non-future suffix does not follow rules of vowel harmony but is always *i*, when used with the negative *mei* in past tense.

Verbal clauses - future tense (any verb): -/-V<sup>(-high]</sup> mei (-IRR-FUT#NEG)

987) <u>A</u> *i-l-e mei.* ls go-irr-fut neg 'I will not go.'

Negative future tense verbs are conjugated as their positive counter parts.

Verbal clauses - prohibitive: -da (PROH)

```
988) i-da
до-ргон
'do not go'
```

# 6.5 The relative clause

There are two main kinds of relative clauses.

- a relative clause preceding the head noun
- a relative clause, marked by  $k\underline{e}$  'that' or =be 'topic marker' following the head noun

## 6.5.1 The relative clause precedes the head noun

In this type, the head noun is preceded by the relative clause, which is unmarked. This has been described under 5.2.1 THE NOUN GROUP. The head noun may be implicit as in example (991).

```
Structure I – Relative clause
Relative Clause
                         CLAUSE (head of RC)
                   \rightarrow
RC<sub>I</sub>
                         CLAUSE (N)
                   \rightarrow
    989)
           dabai dege-di o
            work do-HAB man
            '(a) man, who always works'
    990)
                           si-l-i
                                             dou dahai
           soqo
            breadfruit cook-IRR-NFUT fire smoke
            'smoke from (a) fire, where (people) are cooking breadfruit'
    991)
           <u>A</u> dabai dege-l-i=kou
                                           i.
            1s work do-IRR-NFUT=LOC go
            'I went to (where) (we) are working.'
    992)
            Moso kôu
                           tege-i
                                          o = be
                                                   Kiunga = k \hat{o} \hat{u} \hat{i}
                                                                              dala.
            house this build-NFUT man=TOP Kiunga=LOC go.NFUT
                                                                             be/have
            'The man, who built this house, went to Kiunga; (he) lives (there).'
```

In the following example, the head of the relative clause is stated twice, before and after. The relative clause in itself is still unmarked.

993) O moso ke tege-i o ka=hg hebe tatabai dege-i
man house that build-NFUT man that=GEN tree weak do-NFUT
moûl + mg tege-i.
get+put build-NFUT
'The man, who built that house, brought weak timber and built.'

Also, in the above example, part of the content of the relative clause is repeated in the main clause, a spin on the clause repetition structure (see 7.2 CLAUSE REPETITION).

## 6.5.2 The relative clause follows the head noun

Another type of relative clause is marked by the demonstrative pronoun  $\underline{ke}$  'that'/ $\underline{ka(hg)}$  'that(GEN)'/ $\underline{ko(kou)}$  'that(LOC), or by = be 'topic marker', and follows the head noun. A general formula would be as below, though there are variations.

The construction with  $\{k\underline{e}\}$  'that' is the more common one.

Structure II- Relative clause									
Relative Clause <sub>II</sub>	$\rightarrow$	(head of RC)	CLAUSE	DEM					
RC <sub>II</sub>	$\rightarrow$	( <b>N</b> )	CLAUSE	k <u>e</u> /ka(h <u>a</u> )/ko(kôu)	'that/that(GEN)that/(LOC)'				
				= <b>be</b>	'topic marker'				

It is most common that the head of the relative clause is omitted.

994)	O ka=h <u>a</u> ta	⁺ <b>obo-u <u>ke</u></b> =noû	sese-i.	
	man that=gen s	say-NFUT that=only	follow-NFUT	
	'(He) did <b>what the m</b>	nan had told (him).'		
995)	—	ka=ha tobo-u ke that=gen say-nfut th		Ce-NFUT
	' (it) was exactly as	s the angel had said earlie	r.'	
996)	Hiyou m <u>ô</u> u-di	o di <u>a</u> ama-i	dala+ <mark>ya</mark>	k <u>e</u> i.
	steal get-HAB	man $3_{\text{PL}}$ watch-NFUT	be/have+road	that go.NFUT
	'(He) went on (a) roa	ad, where thieves watched	(for suitable victims	s).'
997)	-	or sit-NFUT that=on		
	' exactly <b>as</b> he had	been/sat in school before,	(he) sat (there) again	l.'
998)	kalo hu <u>ei</u> doîu+	+ <b>di <mark>ko</mark>=kôù</b> o		

```
car water draw-HAB that-LOC man
'... (the) man at the gas station .../(the) man where (they) habitually draw vehicle
water)'
```

The head noun may be separated from the rest of the relative clause (999).

999)	$\underline{A} = n \hat{o} u$ $\underline{Godi} = \underline{hg}$ $moso$ $bafo-l-\hat{o} u$ , $o$ $ke + dig$ $tege-i$ $ke$ .1s=onlyGod=genhousebreak=IRR-NPSTmanthat+3pLbuild-NFUTthat'I will tear downGod's house, (the one)that men built.'						
1000)	Ngseleka-gemeidege-i,gketefe-l-ene-l-e.2smoneyhow-verNegdo-nfut1sthatmeasure-irr-futgive-irr-fut'Whatever moneyyouhave finished, I will give youthat amount.'						
1001)	<pre>001) <u>E</u> ke-ge <u>a</u>=mokôu dege-l-e, n<u>a</u> tobo-l-ôu sagai ke=nôu 3s that-vbr ls=Loc do-IRR-NFUT 2s say-IRR-NPST likely that=only tefe-l-e dege-l-e. measure-IRR-FUT do-IRR-FUT 'He will do to me exactly like you say.'</pre>						
These a	re examples of relative clauses with $=be$ 'topic marker'.						
1002)	Aei=besakasagai+yakei.road 3sgo.NFUT=TOPlandbad+roadthatgo.NFUT'The road he went on went through bad ground.'						
1003)	Edolosisigokama+diake+diadege-I-e = be,Edolochildrenmiddle.finger+3PLthat+3PLdo-IRR-FUT=TOP						
	<u>a</u> ta dugu=ya mei. 1s INDF see=SUBJ NEG						

'(What) the three Edolo children will do, I do not know (perceive).' (Foothill dialect)

# 7. SENTENCES

When describing Konai sentence structure, I will first describe it in terms of illocutionary force in 7.1, then go on to clause repetition in 7.2 followed by complex sentences in 7.3. The first section under complex sentences talks about switch of subject and switch of scene (7.3.1). The second part is about temporal linking, which is typically used in narratives (7.3.2). The third section will describe logical linking of clauses, such as reason-result, purpose and condition (7.3.3). The next section will be about complementary linking, involving verbs of perception and cognition, as well as quotes (7.3.4). The last section (7.3.5) talks about negative and other scopes in the sentence.

# 7.1 Illocutionary force

Illocutionary: ...

... relating to or being the communicative effect (as commanding or requesting) of an utterance ... (Merriam-Webster 2015).

In Konai, illocutionary force is marked in certain contexts as an enclitic, occurring on clause or even sentence level. It expresses mode. The categories are (Simons 1987):

٠	$=(y)o^{149}$	'indicative'	(in statements)	fact
•	=(y)e	'optative'	(in commands & suggestions)	choice, preference, wish <sup>150</sup>
٠	=(y)a	'subjunctive'	(in purpose constructions, opinion statements and content questions)	uncertainty of outcome

Any statement can be modified so it becomes a command, a suggestion, an expressed purpose or a question. However, the illocutionary force marking only occurs in certain contexts. For example, a plain statement is not marked for illocutionary force, nor is a simple command. A suggestion is marked. Most purpose clauses are marked. Among the questions, basically only content questions in present tense are. See examples at the beginning of 7.1.1 Indicative (in statements), 7.1.2 OPTATIVE (in commands & suggestions), 7.1.3 SUBJUNCTIVE (in purpose constructions, opinion statements and content questions).

Also, in a statement, you have the choice between the epistemic moods realis and irrealis. To get a command, the mood of the verb needs to be changed to one of the deontic moods imperative, hortative or prohibitive. There are two kinds of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> For the insertion of the semi-vowel see 2.7.4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Merriam-Webster 2015.

question. Yes/no questions are different from a statement in intonation. Content questions contain a question word and take partly different verbal affixation compared to a statement, but have the same intonation. Also, as mentioned above, they are marked for illocutionary force in present tense.

## 7.1.1 Indicative (in statements)

As said above, the illocutionary force marking occurs only in certain contexts. Regarding statements, a plain statement is not marked (1004). The =(y)o 'indicative' occurs only if the statement is presented as a quote and is then obligatory (1005), (1006). It is also part of the most common negative construction of the clause in present tense.

1004)	Hebe	a-hu=do	tafala-gua-môu	dugu-l-u.
	tree	road+far=INT	stand-DU/PL-PFV	see-IRR-NFUT
	'(I) see	e trees far away.'		

Compare:

- 1005) <u>a</u> dabai dege-l-e dafa=yo+de-i. ls work do-IRR-FUT tired.of=INDC+PROV-NFUT 'I said, "I am tired of working.""
- 1006) Adiôu aye Yesu hagua-l-e=yo+di-l-i. mother father Jesus come-IRR-FUT=INDC+PROV-IRR-NFUT 'Mother, father, I declare that Jesus will come.'
- 1007) <u>A</u> dege-i=yo mei. 1s do-nfut=indc neg

'I am **not** doing (it).' (in the Mountain and Foothill dialects = ya 'subjunctive' is used in these negative constructions)

- 1008) <u>A</u> ta dugu=yo mei. 1s INDF see.NFUT=INDC NEG 'I do not see a thing.'
- 1009)  $n\underline{i} = me \mod ko + du$  ta folo-ga-di=yo mei 2PL=TOP house that+inside INDF go.up-du./pl.-HAB=INDC NEG '... you are **not** going into that house ...'
- 1010) tobôu = yo mei say=INDC NEG 'does not say'

1011)	Ε	<u>e</u> =me	mih <u>i</u> = koîu	tia-di= <b>yo</b>	mei.		
	megapod.bird	3s=top	earth=LOC	sleep-HAB=INDC	NEG		
	'The megapod bird, he does <b>not</b> sleep on the ground.'						

## 7.1.1.1 More about statements

A statement is used to convey information. In an isolated one-clause statement there has to be a subject, though as part of a longer stretch of speech, discourse rules apply, and you will not find an explicit subject in any part of some multi-clause sentences. In verbal statements there is the choice between the epistemic moods realis and irrealis.

A statement ends with falling intonation.

1012)	_		<i>ha-i=kôu</i> cut-nfut=loc	<i>i-l-i.</i> go-irr-nfut
	NPs	NPLOC		VP
	'I'm goin			
1013)	0 man	<u>e</u> 3s	<i>mos<u>o</u></i> house	<i>tege-i.</i> make-nfut
	CLAUSE			
	Theme NP	NPs	s NPo	VP
	'A certain			

1014)	<i>Yo-I-u-gi</i> go-irr-nfu Clause	U			oig=INT		<i>tafala.</i> stand	
	VP	VP		NPo			VP	
	'We (two) we	ent until (we)	saw a big tre	ee standii	ng.'			
	-	<u>û</u> u = ma = h <u>a</u> lis=top=gen		<i>dugu</i> see.	NFUT h	<i>ouwa</i> ornbil LAUSE Ps	duwo. .l sit VP	
	'In (a) hole of this tree, (we) saw (a) hornbill sitting.'							
	Duwo-môu sit-pfv CLAUSE VP '(We) saw (it	see.nfut CLAUSE VP	leave.fc CLAUSE VP (serial v	or-pfv verb)		FUT		

## 7.1.2 Optative (in commands & suggestions)

Commands and suggestions are used to tell someone to do or not to do something. The verbs of most of these clauses are in the deontic mood and may be of various strengths. Imperative and prohibitive are the strongest. A simple command, prohibition or hortative are not marked for illocutionary force (see 7.1.2.2). The =(y)e 'optative', one of the clitics signalling illocutionary force, occurs only if a command, prohibition or hortative is presented as a quote (1015)-(1018). Without occurring in a quote, only the weakest form of a suggestion is expressed by the optative by itself (1019). This form does not take a deontic modal suffix.

1015)	mos <u>o</u> togo=y <b>e</b> + <b>de-i-môu</b>
	house make=OPT+PROV-NFUT-PFV
	' (they) having told (me) to build (on a) house'
1016)	<i>Hiyou</i> $m\underline{\partial}u \cdot da = ye + de \cdot i.$ steal get-proh=opt+prov-nfut '(He) said, "Do not steal."
1010	
1017)	n <u>i</u> <u>g</u> =noû mal <u>a</u> hu <u>ei</u> -le=koû hebe-l-e 2pl 1s=only get.irr.fut water-A.locr=loc carry-irr-fut
	file-ma=be=e+detobo-u.throw-DU/PL=TOP=OPT+PROVsay-NFUT
	<ul><li>' "You (du./pl.) just take, carry and throw me in (the) water,"</li><li>(he) instructed and said.'</li></ul>
1018)	da $to$ $i-me=be=e+de$ tobo-u.
	ldu.in river wash go-hort=top= <b>opt</b> +prov say-nfut
	" "Let the two of us go swimming," he suggested and said."
1019)	$N\underline{a} ta = be  n\underline{a} = \mathbf{ye}.$

```
2s INDF=TOP eat=OPT
```

'You may eat one.' (a polite invitation)

## 7.1.2.1 More about the optative

The illocutionary force clitic =(y)e 'optative' occurs with all commands and suggestions presented as quotes as shown above. In addition, it occurs on its own with simple clauses, verbal and verbless. It often expresses a wish or choice, with the meanings of 'may', 'might', 'lest', 'but'.

A verb in optative mood in final position has two conjugations, roughly corresponding to 'may' and 'might'.

- $\mathbf{V}^{[-\text{high}]} = ye$  (e, a,  $\hat{ou}$ , o) 'may'
- $V^{[\text{+high}]} = \gamma e$  (i, u) 'might' (Type 1 and 5 verbs only have this form conjugated as a final verb; see 2.7.1.1)
- in the case of a verbless clause, the context will decide the meaning

174

1020)	Tgta=betisa=be2003kaladamei, ngtadala-ba=be,talkINDF=TOPteacher=TOP2003calendarNEG2sINDFbe/have-pfv.IRR=TOP
	n <b>e</b> = <b>ye</b> , <u>a</u> =mokôu. give=opt 1s=loc
	'Another thing/talk (is) that the teacher does not have (a) 2003 calendar; if you have any, you <b>may</b> give me (one).'
1021)	<i>sas<u>a</u>i t<u>o</u> to <b>i</b>=<b>ye</b> woman river wash go=OPT</i>
	'the women <b>might</b> have gone to (have a) swim' (a picture of two women looking wet)
1022)	sasa=do=ye tou dege-i long=INT=OPT short do-NFUT
	'(it) <b>might</b> (have been) long, but (now it is) short.' (about a pencil)
1023)	A=me tg-le=kôu to-l-o i=ye. ls=top river-a.locr=loc die-irr-fut go.nfut=opt
	'I might drown in the river./Lest I drown in the river.'
The opt	tative mood is utilised in different types of sentences, including the following two:
•	<i>lest</i> (last stem vowel – $V^{[+high]}$ ); sentence final 7.3.3.7 WARNING
•	even though (last stem vowel – any final verb); mid-sentence 7.3.3.4 CONTRAST
1024)	<i>niôu tawa-i=bôu, ke-ge-l-i-gi o ta=h<u>a</u> n<u>i</u> 2pl.emp know-nfut=and that-ver-irr-nfut-dsq man indf=gen 2pl</i>
	<i>ogôu-ga-i=ye.</i> lie-du/pl-nfut=opt
	' look out, <b>lest</b> someone deceives you'
1025)	SaUkarumpa aso hiye=do dala=ye, ke=nou=sidifi=be mei=do.landUkarumpa sun big=INT be/have=OPT that=ONLY=CNTRheat=TOPNEG=INT

7.1.2.2 More about imperative, prohibitive, hortative

A one-clause command in deontic mood, i.e. imperative, prohibitive and hortative, may or may not have a grammatical subject. It is supposed to be a more polite form to include the subject.

'Even though there may be a lot of sun at Ukarumpa, there is really no warmth at all.'

The imperative and the hortative may be weakened by adding the topic marker =be. A command has a more level intonation than a statement.

Imperative (singular) is the unmarked basic form.

1026) *Ng i.* 2s go 'Go(**sg**.).' 1027) *I-ma*.

> go-du/pl 'Go (**du./pl**.).'

1028) *I-ma = be.* go-du/PL=TOP 'You (two) better go now.'<sup>151</sup>

**Prohibitive** is marked by the suffix *-da*.

1029) *I-da.* go-ргон **'Don't** go (**sg**.).'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Once when visiting in a house, we were told this, because it looked like it was going to rain.

1030) *Ni hagua-sie-da-ma.* 2pl come-du/pl-proH-du/pl '**Don't** come (**du./pl**.).'

Hortative is marked by the suffix -me. Hortative and prohibitive may co-occur.

1031)	<i>I-<b>me</b></i> .		<i>I-da-<b>me</b></i> .	
	go-HOR'	Г	go-proh	HORT
	<b>'Let's</b> g	0.'	<b>'Let's</b> not g	go.'
1032)	Di	dugu <b>-me</b> .		
	1pL.IN	see-HORT		
	<b>'Let's</b> se	ee.'		
1033)	I- <b>me</b> = 1	be.		
	go-HOR	T=TOP		

'I think we should go now.'

## 7.1.3 Subjunctive (in purpose constructions, opinion statements and content questions)

The third illocutionary force clitic is =(y)a 'subjunctive'. It is obligatory in two of three purpose constructions (see 7.3.3.2 PURPOSE). It also occurs in present tense content questions, where it is obligatory. A literate Konai speaker expresses the meaning of a sentence with this clitic/suffix by saying that the outcome is a "question mark", which also covers the third use: opinion statements (1038).

In the two first examples, where this subjunctive morpheme expresses the wish of the subject, it is functioning as a suffix.

1034)	<u>A</u> nele=mokôu mola ta tobôu-l-a-môu. 1s 2DU=LOC medicine talk say-IRR-SUBJ-PFV
	'I want to speak about medicine to the two of you.'
1035)	gisekuhetôufogôu-l-a-môu.1sgo-IRR-NFUT-DSQfinallysoleave-IRR-SUBJ-PFV' going on like that I am planning to finally be ready to die.'
1036)	$\underline{e}  dilie = mok \hat{o}u  sele  ta  n\underline{e} = ya + do - m\hat{o}u \qquad hawa-i.$ 3s 2DU=LOC money INDF give=SUBJ+PROV-PFV beg-NFUT ' for the purpose of the two of them giving him some money he begged them.'
1037)	$\underline{a}$ hague- $i=be$ , $\underline{a}$ o diho du dege-l- $e$ i o $ke+d\underline{i}a=mok\widehat{o}u$ ls come-NFUT=TOP ls man eye blind do-IRR-FUT go.NFUT man that+3PL=LOC
	<i>tobôu-ba, die diho bolo dege-i-ba</i> say-pfv.irr 3pl.poss eye good do-nfut-pfv.irr
	<i>dugu-ma=b=a+do-moû.</i> see-du/pl=top=subj+prov-pfv
	'I came in order to speak to blind people that their eyes may get well and they may see.'
1038)	<i>O Herot=hg Yesu=be fafeleya dege-di o Jon=ya+de-i</i> man Herod=gen Jesus=top baptism do-hab man John=subj+prov-nfut
	'Herod thought that Jesus was John the Baptist'
1039)	Ng k <u>e</u> i dege-i= <b>ya</b> ? 2s what do-nfut=subj 'What are you doing?'
1040)	Ng       kiliya       i=ya?         2s       where       go.NFUT=SUBJ         'Where are you going?'

176

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Dialect variant of -gi 'delayed sequence'.

- 1041) o ke+dig=me kiliya yo-u=ya? man that+3pl=TOP where go.du/pl-NFUT=SUBJ '... where are the men going?'
- 1042) *ng ka-ge-i-môu goso-u=ya?* 2s how-vbr-nFut-pFv cry-nFut=subj '... why are you crying?'
- 1043) *Kevin=hg dihi do malg i ka-ge-i=ya?* Kevin=gen child sick get.Fut go.NFUT how-VBR-NFUT=SUBJ 'How is Kevin's child (the one) taken away (to hospital)?'
- 1044)  $n\underline{g} = m\underline{e} \ o \ koyo = h\underline{g} \ h\underline{u} + ya \ k\underline{e} \ dabai \ dege-di = ya? \ de$   $2s = TOP \ man \ who = GEN \ name + road \ that \ work \ do - HAB = SUBJ \ PROV$   $yodu-l-o \ i.$   $ask-IRR-FUT \ go.NFUT$ "... in whose name do you work?" they asked.'

## 7.1.3.1 More about questions

There are two kinds of questions: content questions, containing a question word, and yes/no questions. These two types have different intonation contours and partly different verbal suffixation. Only the content question is marked for illocutionary force and then only in present tense.

### 7.1.3.1.1 Content questions

Content questions contain a question word (see 4.7 QUESTION WORDS). The intonation of a content question is the same as for a statement, i.e. it falls over the last couple of syllables.

In such questions, if there is a verb, the suffixation is different from that in a statement for verbs in past tense. In present tense and habitual aspect the question is marked for illocutionary force with the subjunctive clitic =(y)a. In a question of this sort, the verb word is always last in the sentence.

٠	past tense	-l-ou	-IRR-PAST.Q	(does not follow rules of vowel harmony)
٠	present tense	$-V^{[+high]}=ya$	-NFUT=SUBJ	(conjugated as a medial verb, so $\hat{ou} = ya$ is the form for
	habitual aspect	-di=ya	-HAB=SUBJ	type 6 verbs; habitual aspect: basic verb form as usual)
٠	future tense	-/-V <sup>[-high]</sup>	-IRR-FUT	(same as in statements)

The examples start with verbless clauses, which have no other marking than the question word.

1045)	Sas <u>a</u> i koyo? woman who 'Who (is the) woman?'
1046)	Kôu = me koyo = hgmoso?this=TOP who=GENhouse'Whose house is this?'
1047)	Moukou?grandfatherwhere'Where (is) grandpa?'
1048)	Ng       kiliya       i=ya?         2s       where       go.NFUT=SUBJ         'Where are you going?'
1049)	Ngkei-naledodugu=ya?2swhat-?sicknesssee.NFUT=SUBJ'What sickness do you have?'
1050)	Ka-ge-môu $k \hat{ou} = ma = hg tg$ $ko\hat{u} - g(u)e$ $kg$ $tobôu = ya$ ?how-VBR-PFVthis=TOP=GEN talkthis-VBR(BLTV)thatsay=SUBJ

'Why does he say this like this?'

1051)	Ng ka+dege subulu hou sogo-di=ya?
	2s how+do sweet.potatoseedling plant-HAB=SUBJ
	<b>'How</b> do you plant sweet potatoes?'
1052)	<i>dihi=be koboge bolo dege-I-ou?</i> child=top when.vbr good do-irr-past.q
	" when did the child get well?"
1053)	K <code>e=nou=si, Godi=h<code>a=ge e=mokou=be ka-ge tobo-l-ou?</code></code>
	that=only=cntr God=gen=f.cntr 3s=loc=top how-vbr say-irr-past.q
	'But what did God say to him?'
1054)	Ng <b>koboge</b> boho-l-ôu + mg hagua- <b>l-e</b> ?
	2s when.vbr turn-IRR-NPST+put come-IRR-FUT
	<b>'When</b> will you start to come back?'
1055)	Midih <u>o</u> ka=h <u>a</u> hagua-l-e=be <b>ka-ge</b> hagua- <b>l-e</b> ?
	face that=gen come-IRR-FUT=TOP how-VBR come-IRR-FUT
	'That which will happen, how will it happen?'

A kinship word, or other form of address, may occur with the subjunctive clitic =ya, indicating that the addressee is going to be asked a question.

1056) mogo = ya friend=SUBJ 'my friend (I have a) question'

## 7.1.3.1.2 Yes/No questions

Yes/no questions rise to a high tone on the last syllable of the clause/sentence. There is often no other marking than the rising intonation to distinguish it from a statement, but note the last two examples, where the word de 'good/well' precede the last word. This type of question is never marked for illocutionary force.

'Are you coming?/Will you come alright?'

1060) O  $k\hat{ou} + dig$  ng dege-ga-i ke  $tobo-l-\hat{ou}$  i-l-i ke=me de damale=do?man this+3PL 2s do-DU/PL-NFUT that say-IRR-NFST go-IRR-NFUT that=TOP good true=INT 'Is it true what the men say you have done?'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> The word *bolo* is pronounced [b[ $\tilde{p}$ ], i.e. as a one syllable word. In the next example *folo* 'will go up' is also pronounced as one syllable, i.e. [f[p].

## 7.2 Clause repetition

Clause repetition as a sentence type is common. It is used for emphasis and/or explanation. If there is a time factor involved, it shows simultaneous time. The structure consists of two clauses where the last clause is the same as, or similar to that of the first clause. The topic marker =be may occur between the clauses. Examples will show what kinds of meanings are conveyed.

1061)	Aboho-l-ôu + mahagua-l-e, hagua-l-e,aboho-l-ôu + mahagua-l-e.1sturn-IRR-NPST+put come-IRR-FUT1sturn-IRR-NPST+putcome-IRR-FUT'I'll come back when I come back.'turn-IRR-NPST+putcome-IRR-FUT
1062)	ta = nou $bolo = fei$ $ta = nou$ $bolo = fei$ INDF=onlygood=totalINDF=onlygood=total'one is as good as another''one is a good as another''one is a good as another'
1063)	eiselekefe+mgdugu=be,350.00kina=nôudala-môudugu.lpl.exmoneygather+putsee.NFUT=TOP350.00kina=onlybe/have-PFVsee.NFUT' we (excl.) collected (the)moneyand saw that there was onlyK350 (we) saw.'saw.'
1064)	Ewôu + mai=bePita=bôuJems=bôuJon=bôu + de3saccompany+putgo.NFUT=TOPPeter=andJames=andJohn=and+prov
	wôu + mgi.accompany+putgo.NFUT'As he took (some unspecified people) with him and went, he took Peter, James and Johnand went.'
1065)	Ng baha dala=behuyade=nôu=feibaha dala.2slook be/have=TOPlittle=only=total look be/have'As you watch, you only watch a little.'

## 7.3 Complex sentences

A sentence consists of one or more clauses. In a narrative story, a sentence often ends with a verb in realis non-future form, i.e. past tense. Descriptive stories have many sentences consisting of one verbless clause or one clause, where the verb is stative. Narratives have many complex sentences, made up of event clauses. Sentences of up to twenty clauses have been observed. An average may be four or five. Embedding is common.

A basic switch-reference system is present in the language, monitoring the subject. There is also another system, which signals a change of scene. This change of scene may be a change of subject, but may just as well be a change of activity that the entity represented by the subject is involved in. Both these monitoring systems are of special importance in narratives, but works of course for any genre. They will be described in 7.3.1 SWITCH OF REFERENCE AND SWITCH OF SCENE.

The "scenes" may actually be looked upon as a grammatical level between clause and sentence, being demarcated by a perfective suffix, in a narrative most commonly - $m\hat{o}u$  'perfective realis'.

The connection between clauses in a sentence may be temporal, logical or complementary. Any genre may have some of each, but a narrative would have mostly sentences containing temporal linkage geared for realis mood and non-future tense, i.e. past tense, while e.g. a sermon would have many sentences containing logical and complementary linking, as well as temporal linking geared for what is future and/or hypothetic.

The end of a sentence is signalled by falling intonation, marked by a full stop, while the end of a non-final clause is signalled by level or rising intonation, marked by a comma. For use of semi-colon in the free translation, see (1068) last in this section.

The following example is a fairly typical sentence from a narrative text.

1066)	Ke-ge wo+m <u>a</u>		m <u>o</u> û + m <u>a</u>		sa+m <u>a</u>	huli <u>a</u> .me	hagu-l-u-gi,	
	that-vBR	atta	ack+put get+j		get+put put.insid		ltnight.TOP	COME-IRR-NFUT-DSQ
	CLAUSE CLAUSE		CLAU	SE	CLAUSE	CLAUSE		
	<i>bogo</i> white.ro nominali CLAUSE		<i>tage+t</i> over+u clause		<i>tofo-u</i> step-	τ= <b>γe</b> •NFUT=INS	<i>fiye-i.</i> fall-nfut	

'Like that (we two) killed (flying foxes) and collected (them), and put (them) inside (our stringbags) and came on in the night until (I) by stepping on a lime stone fell.'

The next example is from a bit into a **descriptive** story. The example starts with two one-clause sentences, where the verbs are stative, followed by a descriptive one-clause sentence. The last sentence in this example is a two-clause sentence, consisting of a stative-verb clause and a perceptive clause, which also is typical. Also note that in the three first sentences there are initial themes, two marked with the topic marker = be.

1067)	<b>Sa</b> land Theme	±	<i>hebe haf<u>e</u>i</i> tree close.total CLAUSE	<i>ke-le</i> that-A.LOC	<i>tafala-gua</i> stand-du/pl	<i>mei.</i> neg
	<b>Sa</b> land Theme		<i>mihi<b>=ye=nû</b> earth=INS=only CLAUSE</i>	<i>dala.</i> be/have		
	<b>Haf<u>e</u>i</b> close.t Theme	<b>ke-le</b> cotal that-A.LC	<i>hebe ta mei</i> oc tree INDF NEG CLAUSE			
	<i>Hebe</i> tree CLAUSE	<i>a+hu=do</i> road+far=INT	stand-DU/PL-PFV	<i>dugu-l-u.</i> see-irr-nfut Clause		

'At the place Ukarumpa, there are no trees close by. The whole place is bare ground. Close-by,

there are no trees. I see trees standing far off.' (around 1995)

In some stories the intonation does not fall at the end of the grammatical sentence. It seems that a **phonological sentence** may embrace several **grammatical sentences**. This is usually marked by a semi-colon in the free translation. One short example from another story follows here:

1068)	James=bôu Asele=bôu d James=and Asele=and S CLAUSE (medial)	<i>ei so ti-l-e</i> lpl.ex dog call-irr-fut	<b>igiya-i</b> go.du/pl-NFUT CLAUSE (final)
	<i>sulugua-l-i</i> walk.around.du/pl-IRR-N CLAUSE (medial)		
	<i>wai oye hiye=do ke</i> pig male big=INT that CLAUSE (medial)	bark-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PF	<i>dugu.</i> v see.nfut CLAUSE (sentence final)

'... James, Asele and I called up the dog(s) and went; we walked around until (we) heard; ... (we) saw (the dogs) barking at that very big boar.'

In certain other sentence types, the discourse enclitics =be 'topic marker' and =si 'contrast' are also important. The proverb *de* also has important functions in sentence structure.

## 7.3.1 Switch of reference and switch of scene

Many Papuan languages have a phenomenon called switch-reference, referring to the fact that there is some grammatical marking to signal that the subject will change in the next clause. In a limited way that is the case also in Konai. There is also another grammatical marking that announces that a change of scene<sup>154</sup> will take place. This change may actually be a change of subject, but it may just as well be that the entity expressed by that subject will be involved in a different activity.

## 7.3.1.1 Switch of reference

The first three sections below will cover switch-reference for different types of verbs.<sup>155</sup> The fourth section will show what is included in **the same** subject. The last section is a statement of reservation, as the interplay between temporal relationships and switch-reference is complicated.

- the most common conjugation type comprising event verbs type 1-5, 7
- event verb type 6
- existential state verbs
- the meaning of a same subject
- a statement of reservation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> John Roberts (1988:106-109) has described a similar situation in Amele in Madang Province. He says Angaataha, Morobe Province, an unrelated language, has that same feauture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> For complete paradigms see 4.1.5.2.2 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR MEDIAL VERBS.

# 7.3.1.1.1 Switch-reference marking in most event verbs

The switch-reference marking in Konai, for most verb types, occurs in the last stem vowel of a medial verb. For **event verbs** of type 1-5, 7 this vowel may be low, e, o or a, signalling that the subject will be the same in the following clause, or it may be high, i or u, signalling that it will change. Apart from marking same or different subject in the following clause, this vowel also marks sequential or simultaneous time. Theoretically then, there are four possibilities, but only two of them show up in the medial verb. The other two possibilities need a final verb in the first clause as shown below. Strictly speaking then, they are not part of the medial switch-reference system, but will be described here anyway.

•	same subject + sequential 'and'	last stem vowel of <b>medial verb</b> is low: <i>e</i> , <i>o</i> or <i>c</i>	+ new clause
٠	different subject + simultaneous '-ing'	last stem vowel of <b>medial verb</b> is high: <i>i</i> or <i>u</i>	+ new clause
•	same subject + simultaneous '-ing'	final verb: present tense	+ new clause
•	different subject +sequential	<b>final verb</b> : any tense (applies to all verb types)	+ new clause

Before showing all these details in many different examples, let us look at two short contrasting examples, considering only the same or different subject aspect. As an explanation the word *dogôugu*, when translated into English has two distinct meanings: 'help' and 'be together'.

1069) *dogôugu dabai dege* help.NFUT work do

'help someone do his/her work'

1070) dogoîugu-o dabai dege help-fut work do 'work together with someone'

• same subject sequential: -(/)-V<sup>-high</sup> (medial verb)<sup>156</sup> + new clause 'and'

1071)	ei=negusugu=doya,Dahamo=kôumu-l-g,Thomas=bôulpl.ex=alsomorning=INTgo.du/pl.futDahamo=Locgo.down-IRR-futThomas=and							
	<i>Domo=bôu dogogu-o fogôu-môu</i> Domo=and put-FUT leave.for-PFV							
	' we also went in the morning and went down in Dahamo and having put (off) and left Thomas & Domo '							
1072)	feneka=haKiunga=kôui-l-e,Davidsa-môuhagua,airplanethat=genKiunga=Locgo-IRR-FUTDavidput.inside.FUT-PFVcome.FUT							
	Dahamo=kôumigi-l-e-môu,okamadiaeisa+mgi.Dahamo=Loccome.down-IRR-FUT-PFVmanthreelpl.exput.inside+putgo.NFUT							
	' <b>the plane</b> went to Kiunga, <b>and having</b> put onboard David ( <b>it</b> ) came <b>and having</b> come down in Dahamo ( <b>it</b> ) put onboard the three of us <b>and</b> went.'							
1073)	<i>bateli bokisi bol<u>ou</u> ke-ge mal<mark>a</mark> hagua, <b>na</b> dogogu-o dala-ba,<sup>157</sup> battery box two that-vbr get.irr.fut come.fut 2s put-fut be/have-pfv.irr</i>							
	<b><u>a</u></b> mu-l- <u>o</u> 1s go.down-IRR-FUT look.FUT get.IRR.FUT so come-IRR-FUT ((upp) and the order) <sup>158</sup> will bring (act and approx) two haves of betteries and upp will put (them) and							

'... ((you) and the order)<sup>158</sup> will bring/get and come) two boxes of batteries and you will put (them) and having (them there), I will go down and see and get (them) and so (I) will come (back here).'

• different subject simultaneous: -V<sup>[+high]</sup>-moû/-ba (medial verb) + new clause '-ing'

If the subject changes in the following clause, there is **also** a change of scene. This may be expressed by marking the medial verb with the perfective marker  $-m\hat{o}u$  'perfective' (past or present) or -ba 'perfective irrealis' (future or hypothetic).

1074) K<u>o</u><u>u</u> = me o gisiai. <u>E</u> hebe ha-i wai=ye n<u>o</u>-<u>u</u>-mo<u>u</u> dugu. this=TOP man young 3s tree cut-NFUT pig=INS eat-NFUT-PFV see.NFUT 'This is a **young man**. He saw a pig eating from the garden.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> -/- 'irrealis'; see 4.1.5.1.2 Epistemic mood in medial verbs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> The form *dala-ba* 'be/have-PFV.IRR' has as its root a stative verb, and this form signals a simultaneous state with the following verb, as well as a change of subject (see 7.3.1.1.3 SWITCH-REFERENCE MARKING IN EXISTENTIAL STATE VERBS).

 $<sup>^{158}</sup>$  See  $\,$  7.3.1.1.4 What is included in the same subject?

1075)	dilieyo-u-môu,tie-isawisie-iei=ne3Dugo.du/pl-nfut-pfvsleep-nfutbe.day-nfutlpl.ex=also
	gusugu=do ya morning=INT go.DU/PL.FUT
	" the two of them having gone, at that time (we) slept; the next day in the morning we also went and"
1076)	Asikaelesiomowiya-l-a-môudege-l-i-gidugu;MikaelAsikaldu.exbirdhuntgo.du/pl-irr-subj-pfvdo-irr-nfut-dsgsee.nfutMikael
	yukueibigii-môu,haba $e=bôu+de$ ya-i.clotheswashgo.NFUT-PFVbut.PFV.IRR $3s=and+PROV$ $go.DU/PL-NFUT$ 'Asika and I planned to go bird hunting until we saw;Wikael going to wash clothes, at which time however,we went with him.'
1077)	Elemowi sulugua-gi159dugu=be,soke+digtigi-l-oi-môuldu.exhuntwalk.around.du/pl-dsqsee.NFUT=TOPdogthat+3plbark-IRR-FUTgo.NFUT-PFV
	<i>i-l-e-mou</i> dugu; wai hiye=do tigi- <b>l-o</b> <i>i-mou</i> ele tahg tahg go-irr-fut-pfv see.nfut pig big=int bark-irr-fut go.nfut-pfv ldu.ex shoot shoot
	<i>i-l-i-gi,</i> <b>wai</b> <i>to-l-o</i> <b>i-moû</b> , <i>ka-gi+m</i> <u>a</u> <i>sa+m</i> <u>a</u> <i>hagua-sie-i</i> go-irr-nfut-dsq pig die-irr-fut go.nfut-pfv cut-of+put put.inside+put come-du/pl-nfut
	<b>'The two of us</b> walked around hunting, until we heard/ perceived <b>the dogs</b> barking, <b>at which time we</b> went and saw; <b>they</b> were barking at a very large pig, <b>at which time the two of us</b> started and kept on shooting until <b>the pig</b> died, <b>at which time</b> , <b>we</b> cut it up and packed it and came'

The above examples show a change **from minor** to major participant. The following example shows the reverse, **from major** to minor, using a totally different strategy with the final verb *dugu* 'see'. This strategy is also shown in two of the above examples, where the verb *dugu* 'see' is used in this way at least once in each of these two examples: (1076) and (1077). See also 8.7.6.1.2 MINOR PARTICIPANTS.

- 1078) <u>a</u> taha-l-g=yode-ma i-l-i-di<sup>160</sup> dugu=be, wai ka=hg ls shoot-IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQ gO-IRR-NFUT-DSQ see.NFUT=TOP pig that=GEN toto=nôu hague-i quickly=only come-NFUT '... after I had decided to shoot (I) went on until (I) saw the pig coming quickly ...'
- same subject simultaneous: -/-V<sup>[+high]</sup> (final verb) + new clause '-ing; ...' <sup>161</sup>

1079) **Bei** ... <u>e</u> o dugu-l-u gala-l-e. snake ... 3s man see-IRR-NFUT bite-IRR-FUT '(**The**) **snake** ... seeing a man will bite/... sees ...; (it) will bite.'

- 1080) **O** gisiai <u>e</u> gof<u>ô</u>u dege-l-i, <u>e</u> wai taha-l-<u>e</u> sag<u>ai</u>. man young 3s hard/strong do-IRR-NFUT 3s pig shoot-IRR-FUT likely '(The) young man is angry/becoming angry; he wants to shoot the pig.'
- different subject sequential: V any tense (final verb) + new clause
- 1081) o su=do e=mokôu hagua-sige fele, Jon=hg tg du-di. man many=INT 3s=Loc come-DU/PL come.up.FUT John=GEN speech hear-HAB Jon=hg tobo-u, ni du-ma John=GEN say-NFUT 2PL hear-DU/PL '... many people kept coming and arrived and heard John's talk. John said:

182

<sup>&</sup>quot;Hear, you all ..."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> -*gi* 'delayed sequence', Foothill dialect; this verb is a stative verb and the Lowland dialect has -*l-i* 'IRR-NFUT' here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> -*di* 'delayed sequence', Foothill dialect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> As the first clause has a final verb, the subject in the next clause may be either same or different, but a same subject **requires the final verb** in the first clause. The same principle applies for the next possibility, where the final verb is required for a different subject in the next clause.

1082) Mala... You = makou fiyo-u-mou deqe-i, arrow... 3s. REFL=LOC fall-NFUT-PFV do-NFUT; (final) wai ka = hahaha so sese-l-e haque-i. but.prv.irr pig that=gen dog follow-irr-fut come-nfut.(final) 'Arrows ... kept falling (back) on himself; again the pig came chasing the dog(s).'<sup>162</sup> A tafala ke-le haqua tafala-mou dege-i, 1s stand that-A.LOC come stand-PFV do-NFUT; (final) taha-i, a ls shoot-NFUT;(final) fefe ke-le foqo-u, waist that-A.LOCR hit.target-NFUT;(final) do-l-ôu i-ki-le bi-l-o fiyo-u-mou dege**-i**. go.down.river-IRR-NPST downriver-DEMR.N-A.LOCR sit.up/down-IRR-FUT fall-NFUT-PFV do-NFUT.(final) (It) came and kept trying to stand where I stood; I shot at it; hit the waist; (it) went downriver and sat down there and kept falling over.' De=ha taha-l-e+ma-moû ...

maternal.uncle=gen shot-IRR-FUT+put-PFV 'After **Uncle** had shot and killed (it), ...'

### 7.3.1.1.2 Switch-reference marking in type 6 verbs

Verb type 6 has only two medial basic forms due to its last stem vowel  $\hat{ou}$ , which is neither high nor low (see 4.1.5.2.2 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR MEDIAL VERBS). Because of that, these verbs are not conjugated as the other verb types by raising or lowering the last stem vowel. In addition, the system is less regular. and less transparent.

•	same subject + sequential 'and'	last nuclear syllable of <b>medial verb</b> : <i>-/-ôû</i> (IRR-NPST) + new clause
•	different or same subject + simultaneous 'ing'	last stem vowel of <b>medial verb</b> : <i>ôu(-môu/-ba)<sup>163</sup></i> + new clause
•	different subject +sequential	<b>final verb</b> : any tense (applies to all verb types) + new clause

- same subject sequential: -/-ou (IRR-NPST) (medial verb) + new clause 'and'
  - 1083) Yesu=ha duqu=be, ilo ke+dia 0 ta, duo kasaqai = ye 0 see.NFUT=TOP man part that+3PL man INDF spirit bad=INS Jesus=gen to-u ke wo-l-ou haqua fele-qo-u-mou duqu. hold-NFUT that accompany-IRR-NPST COME.FUT come.up-pL/DU-NFUT-PFV see.NFUT 'Jesus saw some men bringing/accompany and come and arrive) a man, who was possessed by an evil spirit.'
  - Ke=nou = si 1084) Jona Godi=ha ta qobo**-l-ou** foqôu-môu, е mu-qu-o that=only=CNTR Jonah talk break-IRR-NPST go.down-OF-FUT leave.for-PFV 3s God=gen kama.fo-l-o е sa ta *i-l-e* ... 3s land INDF run.away-IRR-FUT go-IRR-FUT

'But **Jonah** disregarding/(having broken **and** put away and left) God's talk, ran away and went to another country and ...'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> This example consists of sentences 4, 5 and 6a in *Michael's Hunting Story* in Appendix 1V.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> A different subject in the following clause requires the suffix  $-m\hat{o}u$  'perfective' (or -ba 'perfective irrealis'). If the subject is the same, this suffix may occur, but does not need to. This is true for all verbs (see 7.3.1.2 SWITCH OF SCENE).

- tôufoaôu-ba,<sup>164</sup> 1085) Na fi boho**-l-ôu**-ba, midiho kasagai ke ne 2s soul turn-IRR-NPST-PFV.IRR 2s.POSS face bad that leave-prv.IRR Hive  $O = k \hat{o} u$  diho baqa tobôu-ba=si, <u>e</u> ... gebe.mei.yode-l-e saqai. big man=Loc eye close.eye say-PFV.IRR=CNTR 3s ... forgive-IRR-FUT likely 'But if you repent and leaving your bad way, pray to (the) Lord, he ... will perhaps forgive (you).'
- **different** or **same subject, simultaneous:** -*ou(-mou(-ba)* (NPST-(PFV(IRR))) (medial verb) + new clause '-ing'
  - 1086) Sogo-ma fogôu-môu, yôu = nôu sibige ma-di. sow-ISQ leave.for-PFV 3s.EMP=only essence put-HAB 'After (he) has sown, leaving (it alone), (the garden) produces food by itself.' (different subject)
  - 1087) Godi=hg miye hiye=do ke tobôu-môu hagua-môu Jona gebe-l-e togu. God=gen fish big=INT that say-PFV come.FUT-PFV Jonah ?-IRR-FUT swallow.NFUT 'God having sent/told that very big fish, (it) came and swallowed Jonah.' (different subject: object to subject)
  - 1088) Na-l-<u>e</u>=be o=be milou-mou, na-l-<u>e</u> kuhe tam<u>a</u> dege-di. eat-IRR-FUT=TOP man=TOP work-PFV eat-IRR-FUT so appear do-HAB 'Concerning food, people are producing (it), (and) so food always comes up/appears.' (different subject: object to subject)
  - 1089) Ta uwo Jon=ha tobôu-môu, sa sa olôufei=do i. talk noise John=GEN say-PFV land land all.total-INT go.NFUT 'What John was saying travelled widely.' (different subject: object to subject)
  - 1090) <u>A</u> <u>e</u>=mokôu diho baga tobôu-môu dugu; haba
    ls 3s=Loc eye close.eye.FUT say-PFV see.NFUT but.PFV.IRR
    <u>e=ge... a dogôugu-môu e=mokôu hoho hiye=do dege-i.
    3s=F.CNTR... ls help.NFUT-PFV 3s=Loc light big=INT do-NFUT
    'Praying to him I saw that as he ... helped me, (I) rejoiced very much towards him.'
    (same subject)</u>
  - 1091) **a** ma eye Paul=ha dege=yede-ma fogôu-môu, 1s 1s.poss older.brother Paul=gen do=oqv-isq leave.for-pfv
    - **<u>a</u>** m<u>a</u>-sof<u>ei</u> hague-i

1s 1s.poss-self come-NFUT

'After I told my older brother Paul to do (it), leaving, I came on by myself ...' (same subject)

1092) Jerusalem o <u>e</u> Jerusalem tôufogôu-môu, <u>e</u> sa h<u>u</u> Jeriko=kôu hague-i. Jerusalem man 3s Jerusalem leave-pFv 3s land name Jericho=Loccome-NFUT 'A man from Jerusalem leaving Jerusalem, came towards a place named Jericho.' (same subject)

As a parenthetical comment, in the following example, the two last verbs form make a serial verb construction with the additional grammatical meaning of progressive aspect. (See 5.1.3.2 PROGRESSIVE ASPECT.)

1093) ise  $\hat{ou} = b\hat{ou} dc$ 

finally

 $\hat{ou} = b\hat{ou}$   $dou = b\hat{ou}$   $sa \cdot i$  ke  $ta \cdot m\hat{ou}$ sago=and fire=and put.inside=NFUT that unpack=PFV

*ke-le* that-A.LOCR

dogogu-o fogoîu-moîu i.

put-FUT leave.for-PFV go.NFUT

"... and then having taken out the sago and the matches that (he) had packed, he put them there and **moved away**."

<sup>184</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> The verb  $t\hat{ou}fog\hat{ou}$  'leave' (and  $fog\hat{ou}$  'leave for') seldom occur with *-l-\hat{ou}* 'IRR-NPST'.

• different subject sequential: V any tense (final verb) + new clause (same as other event verbs)

1094) <u>a</u> *i-l-e, gamani o ta tobo-u,* 1s go-IRR-FUT government man INDF say-**NFUT;(final)** 

gamanidigoJ.K. = hgseleg60kinate-l-ene-j.government3PLmanJ.K. = GENmoney1s60kinaremove-IRR-FUTgive-NFUT (final)'... I went and talked to a government official; one of their government officials J.K. removed and gaveme 60 kina.'

### 7.3.1.1.3 Switch-reference marking in existential state verbs

Existential state verbs like *tafala* 'stand' have a different conjugation pattern compared to event verbs. Also, there is no "different subject + sequential" pattern, due to the nature of the stative meaning of existential state verbs.

•	same subject + delayed sequence 'until'	last nuclear syllable of <b>medial verb</b> : - <i>l-i</i> (-IRR-NPST) + new clause
•	different subject + simultaneous '-ing'	stem of <b>medial verb</b> with <i>-mou/-ba</i> (-PFV/-PFV.IRR) +new clause
•	same subject simultaneous, e.g. 'stand V-ing'	any <b>medial event verb</b> : -IRR-FUT/NPST + new clause with existential <b>state</b> verb

• same subject delayed sequence: -/-i (IRR-NFUT) (medial verb) + new clause 'until'

1095)	<u>A</u>	hoh <u>o</u>	hiye=do	dege	tafala-l-i	fogoû	i-l-e	
	1s	light	big=INT	do.FUT	stand-IRR-NFUT	leave.for	go-IRR-FUT	
			<i>dege</i> cal do-in					
	'I am very happy being/standing (here) until I soon will be leaving.'							

In the following examples, the clauses in parenthesis have a different subject (the pig) than the two clauses before and after (Asele). In this kind of construction the same subject may occur later in the sentence than immediately following, as it does in the previous example.

1096) **Asele** = ha hebe sugu + tou tafala-l-i, (wai ka=ha SO sese-l-e Asele=GEN tree top+up stand-IRR-NFUT pig that=GEN dog follow-IRR-FUT fogôu i-mou taha-i=be hagua come.FUT leave.for go.NFUT-PFV shoot-NFUT=TOP 'Asele was standing up in a tree top until (the pig came and chased the dog(s) and (as they were) passing by) (he) shot at (it) ...' 1097) Α we ôù ta folo-mou, ha-i 1s day.before.yesterday sago cut-NFUT INDF go.up.FUT-PFV sio kisi-ma duwo-l-i duqu=be, bird make.a.wall-ISQ sit-IRR-NFUT see.NFUT=TOP  $ta = no\hat{u}$ ta fe-l-i-mou duqu. e megapod.bird INDF=only INDF come.up-IRR-NFUT-PFV see.NFUT 'The day before yesterday I went up to a felled sago tree, and after I had built a bird hunting shelter I sat (there) until I saw one of the megapod birds coming ...' 1098) Huei to-u-mou duwo-l-i, te-i dio-u-mou, huei water wash-nfut-pfv sit-IRR-NFUT water wash-NFUT stop-NFUT-PFV a mowi i. 1s hunt go.NFUT 'It was raining while (I) was waiting **until** (it stopped raining,) at which time I went hunting.' different subject simultaneous: -mou/-ba (-PFV/-PFV.IRR) (medial verb) '-ing' 1099) kueya to-l-0 Tila-mou duqu, ke-ge-mou, i cassowary die-IRR-FUT go.NFUT lie.down-PFV see.NFUT that-VBR-PFV a hoho hiye=do dege-i.

'... the cassowary died. (I) saw it lying (there); so I was very happy.'

1100)	n₫	m <u>a</u>	sele	kôu	mal <u>a</u> ,	n <u>e</u>		sa	Ukarumpa = koîu	fai
	2s	1s.poss	money	prior	get.IRR.FUT	2s.p	OSS	land	Ukarumpa=LOC	file
	та	l <u>a</u>	hagua	-ma <b>da</b>	la=ba,	₫	i-l-е	<b>;</b>	mo-l- <u>o</u> ̂u.	
	get	t.IRR.FUT	come-	ISQ be	/have=pfv.IR	a 1s	go-	-IRR-FU	T get-IRR-FUT	
	۴,	<b>vou</b> will fir	st get my	money a	nd after having h	rough	t bac	k (a) file	e from vour place U	karumna (

'... you will first get my money and after having brought back (a) file from your place Ukarumpa (and) having (it), I will go and get (it).'

- same subject simultaneous: -/-V<sup>-high</sup>/-/-ôu (-IRR-FUT/NPST) (medial event verb) + new clause with existential state verb, e.g. 'V and stand', i. e. 'stand V-ing'
  - 1101) ng yoti tobo-l-ôu sia, sa sa olôuf<u>ei</u>=do.
    2s feast say-IRR-NPST walk.around land land all.total=INT
    '...you (must) go around everywhere and tell (people) about the feast./... tell (people) about the feast and go
    around everywhere!'
  - 1102) Sasai dihi mohu-l-o tafala.
    woman child hold-IRR-FUT stand
    '(The) woman is standing holding a child./... holds (a) child and stands.'
  - 1103) *o* sas<u>ai</u> ke+di<u>a</u> mase-l-e tafala-gua-mou man woman that+3PL look.at-IRR-FUT stand-DU/PL-PFV '... people stood watching/watched and were standing ...'

#### 7.3.1.1.4 What is included in the same subject?

What is considered the same subject may vary with group affiliation. The subject may be exactly the same as in the previous examples. It may, however, come to include more or less members or components as the theme is developed in the clauses that follow. Below are a few examples. As said in previous sections the following signals the same subject in medial verbs:

•	verb type 1-5,7	last verb stem vowel is low:	e, o, a	(event verbs)
•	verb type 6	last nuclear syllable is:	<i>-lôu</i> 'irr.npst'	(event verbs)
•	existential state verbs	last nuclear syllable is:	<i>-li</i> 'IRR.NFUT'	'until'

In addition, the following also signals same subject in medial verbs:

- event verbs -gi 'until' (see 3.1.1.4 FOURTH ORDER VERBAL SUFFIXES)
- One to one
  - 1104) **Sosi=hg** sio isusu malg i-le, <u>e</u> moso=kôu si-le ng-j. Sosi=gen bird pigeon get.irr.fut go-irr-fut 3s house=loc cook-irr-fut eat-nfut CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE

'Sosi took the pigeon and went and cooked it in his house and ate it.'

• One to two

1105) **Sas<u>ai</u> e</u> oû ga-i. Oû ga-i mei dege-moû,** woman 3s sago gather-nFut sago gather-nFut neg do.Fut-PFV cLAUSE (final) cLAUSE

> dilie o ta ta tobo-u 3Du man INDF talk say-NFUT CLAUSE

**'The woman** gathered the sago. **Having** finished gathering the sago, **the two of them** (the woman & her husband) said to another man ...'

- One to many
  - 1106) **David <u>e</u> Kiunga=kôu=ge fene=ye Dahamôu=kôu hagua**, David 3s Kiunga=Loc=F.CNTR airplane=INS Dahamo=Loc come.FUT CLAUSE

Thomas=bôu, Domo=bôu, g=bôu+de sa+mg,Ukarumpa=kôu ya-i.Thomas=and Domo=and 1s=and+prov put.inside+put Ukarumpa=Loc go.Du/PL-NFUTCLAUSECLAUSECLAUSE

**'David** came from Kiunga to Dahamo by plane **and Thomas, Domo & I** (were) put inside, **and we (all)** went to Ukarumpa.'

186

In the following example, however, there is a change of subject when Paul joins his companions again after an excursion on his own.

1107) **<u>E</u>** *i-l-e*, *boho-l-ôu* + m<u>g</u> *hagu-môu*, 3s go-irr-fut turn-irr-npst+put come.nfut-pfv CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE *eiyôu* = <u>fei</u> *mosole foudu folo-ga-môu* lpl.ex.emp=total ship inside go.up-du/pl.fut-pfv CLAUSE

'He (Paul) went and having turned around coming back, all of us having gone up into the ship, we ...'

#### • Two to many

```
1108) Dilie moso=kôu wai ka-gi+ma so-l-ôu-môu,
```

3DU house=Loc pig cut-of+put cook.on.stones-IRR-NPST-PFV CLAUSE CLAUSE

esasai = bôuedihiolôufeikamadia ke-gediaolôufei3swoman=and3schildall.totalthreethat-VBR3PLall.totalCLAUSE ...

ng-ma fia-sie-i eat-iso sleep-du/pl-nfut CLAUSE

time you will speak," he said.'

'The two of them (a man and his wife) cut the pig up and having cooked it on hot stones, with his wife and all of his three children after eating they slept ...'

#### Part to whole

1109)	<b>Ng mg</b> 2s ls.poss Clause	<i>t<u>a</u> du</i> talk hear	<i>ho</i> desire	0	<i>ba=be,</i> .for-p		TOP	<b>ne</b> 2s.poss clause .	-	
	<i>a+ko-gu</i> road+hinder	<i>dala-l-i,</i> -of be/have	-IRR-NFUT	<b>(n<u>e</u></b> 2s.poss (clause		<i>dihi</i> child	<i>ma</i> get	_	<i>fel<u>e</u>-i-ba,)</i> come.up-NFUT-PFV.1	RR
	2s talk sa CLAUSE	-	IQV.FUT	<i>tobo-u.</i> say-nf CLAUSE	UT	e closed,	, unt	<b>il</b> (your wi	fe has born a child), at	which

#### Two to one

1110)	ele	wo+m <u>a</u>	m <u>o</u> û + m <u>a</u>	sa+m <u>a</u>	huli <u>a</u> .me	hagu-l-u- <b>gi</b> ,
	2s.ex	attack+put	get+put	put.insid	le+putnight.TOP	COME-IRR-NFUT-DSQ
	CLAUSE		CLAUSE	CLAUSE	CLAUSE	
	<i>bogo</i> white.ro <sup>CLAUSE</sup>	tage+ ock over+u		u=ye -nfut=ins	<i>fiye-i.</i> fall-nfut	

 $\dots$  we two  $\dots$  killed (flying foxes) and collected (them), and put (them) inside (our stringbags) and came on in the night **until** (I) by stepping on a lime stone fell.

#### Many to one

1111) Ei Miletus=kou folo-q**a**-mou, Pol=hg sa Efesus sa 1PL.EX land Miletus=Loc go.up-Du/PL.FUT-PFV Paul-GEN land Ephesus CLAUSE CLAUSE ... damale=yode-i o sasai wo-l-ou dala-di ke+dig 0 true=IQV-NFUT man woman accompany-IRR-NPST be/have-HAB man that+3PL ••• haqua-sie-ma = be = ede-ma t₫ doqoqu. come-DU/PL-DU/PL=TOP=OQV-ISQ talk put.NFUT CLAUSE

'We (excl.) having arrived at Miletus, Paul sent words for the pastors in Ephesus to come.'

### 7.3.1.1.5 A statement of reservation

The interplay between switch of subject and the temporal relationships sequential and simultaneous is complicated. Exceptions occur, or grammatical forms may be played with, whichever way you want to look at it. As an example, the following sentence may be grammatical but has not been observed in natural speech/text:<sup>165</sup>

1112) \*Aye=ha wai ke taho-u-môu to-l-o i.
father=genpig that shoot-nFUT-PFV die-IRR-FUT go.NFUT
'My father \*shooting that pig (it) died immediately.'

Variants of the following sentence occur in a couple of texts. A same subject is expected, following the verb *tahg-moû*. This gives a passive translation in English.

1113) Aye=hg wai ke tahg-mou to-l-o i. father=gen pig that shoot.fut-pfv die-IRR-fut go.Nfut

'The pig was shot at by my father and eventually died.'

In the following example, with a non-mother-tongue speaker's perspective, you expect a same subject going to the places of Kiunga, Koroba and Suabi. However, the "go"-verbs indicate different subjects, which on closer consideration is natural, as in general there are different people groups going to all these places.

quque=do tewe, Kiunga i-ba, 1114) Di Koloba i-ba ... 1PL.IN all=INT know Kiunga go.NFUT-PFV.IRR Koroba go.NFUT-PFV.IRR ... hiye=do ko-l-ou Suabi i-ba, na-l-e qo.NFUT-PFV.IRR eat-IRR-FUT big=INT carry.on.head-IRR-NPST Suabi patolo i-di patrol go-HAB 'We all know (that) when someone is going to Kiunga, when someone else is going to Koroba ... when another one is going to Suabi, (they) carry a lot of food and go on (a) hike/patrol ...

In the next example, the high vowel -u does not indicate a change of subject, but rather that a piece of equipment is left at a certain place to stay there, ready for use. Note that the second verb is a stative one.

1115) milou-ma fogo-u dala
work-ISQ leave.for-NFUT be/have
'... after making (it), left (it to) be (there - ready for use)'

Also, the proverb *dege* 'do' may together with adjectives or abstract nouns function as an experiential state verb (see 4.4 ADJECTIVES: Verbalised adjectives). If a verbalised adjective in past tense is followed by a stative verb, as in the following example, the -i 'non-future' does not indicate a change of subject, but indicates that the quality expressed by the adjective is stable.

```
1116) gehe dege-i dala
new do-NFUT be/have
'be alive'
```

The above examples are explainable, but there are other examples that I cannot explain.

In addition, grammatical verbs based on proverbs, like *kege dege* 'be like that', *kaha dege* 'because of that', *kege* 'so/then/be like that', *de* 'proverb', *sa dege* 'be like/likely' and *mei dege* 'finish', do not seem to indicate same or different subject by the last stem vowel. Therefore, if it is inherently low, *e* or *o*, it is not marked in the gloss, e.g. *ke-ge-moû* (that-VBR-PFV) **not** (that-VBR.FUT-PFV).

# 7.3.1.2 Switch of scene

A scene is defined as a level between the clause and the sentence. A scene centres around a new subject or a new activity in the following clause. There are two medial verb suffixes to mark this switch of scene:

- -*môu* 'perfective (realis)' past and present events and states
- -ba 'perfective irrealis' future and hypothetic events and states

 $<sup>^{165}</sup>$  See 7.3.1.1.1 Switch-reference marking in most event verbs.

These two medial suffixes, are just about obligatory on a medial verb form, when the subject changes, but they are not obligatory for a change of activity, as the speaker or writer may develop the scenes according to how he/she is telling the story. Also, if part of the new scene, following -mou/-ba involves a new subject, it is often a more important one.

These two perfective suffixes are called 'perfective', because they make a complete unit of the medial clause they occur in, including any other medial clauses preceding it and not marked by either of these two suffixes. Note that a medial clause in a sentence, where the final verb describes something that happened in the past, may still be *-ba* 'perfective irrealis'. That is due to embedding, e.g. quotes, marked in blue. Also note embedding on the main event line, marked in red.

Here are some examples. Each  $-m\hat{o}u$  or -ba indicates a change of scene. A scene may consist of several clauses. A final clause with any preceding non-perfective clauses is also a scene.

See the first four sections under 7.3.1.1 SWITCH OF REFERENCE to see how same versus different subject is marked for all verb types, including what is included under "same subject".

Examples in past & present tense and habitual aspect:

1117)	ke-ge-môu,       dig so-l-ôu-môu,       nalg       i. <sup>166</sup> that-vbr-pfv       3pl cook.on.stones-irr-npst-pfv       eat.irr.fut go.nfut         SCENE:       same       SCENE: same       SCENE: same
	" having acted like that, and having cooked it, they ate (it)."
1118)	Emoso=kôufolo-môudugu,dubahaduwo-môudugu-o-môu,3shouse=Locgo.up.FUT-PFVsee.NFUTinsidelook sit-PFVsee-FUT-PFVSCENE:SAMESCENE (final)SCENE:DIFFERENT168SCENE:same
	<i>ei olôuf<u>ei</u> ki-le duwe-i.</i> 1pl.ex all.total inside-A.LOCR sit-NFUT SCENE (final)
	'(We two) having gone to his house saw him sit inside and wait and we all sat inside there.'
1119)	Dou=yewaitowesi-môu,hodu-l-oi-l-i.fire=INSpighaircook.NFUT-PFVsmellhear-IRR-FUTgo-IRR-NFUTSCENE:DIFFERENTSCENE (final)
	Hodu-l-o-môu,na-l-esgdege-l-ei-di.smellhear-irr-fut-pfveat-irr-fut likely do-irr-fut go-habSCENE:sameSCENE (final)
	'The fire singeing the hair on the pig, they smell (it). Having smelled (it), they want to eat.'
1120)	<b>g</b> fi hive mg-j=bekôu-g(u)emg-j,Yesung=gegdogôugu-ba,1s soul big put-nFUT=TOP this-VBR(BLTV)put-NFUTJesus2s=F.CNTR 1s help.NFUT-PFV.IRRSCENE (final)SCENE (final)SCENE: DIFFERENT
	habagtewe mo-l-oùde tawa-l-e-môu,ge=mokôu diho baggtobo-u.but.PFV.IRR1s know get-IRR-NPSTPROV know-IRR-FUT-PFV1s3s=Loceye close.e. say-NFUTSCENE (final)SCENE: SAMESCENE (final)
	' while thinking deeply, <b>I</b> thought like this: "When you <b>Jesus</b> help me, then <b>I</b> will get knowledge," (and) having realized that, <b>I</b> closed (my) eyes and said (prayed) to him.'
1121)	Dahamo=be1,466kinake=nôu=feimalghagua-ba,Dahamo=TOP1,466kinathat=only=totalget.IRR.FUTcome.FUT-PFV.IRRThemeSCENE:SAME
	molamosokebologua-l-e= yodetobo-l-ôui.medicine housethatgood.do-IRR-FUT = IQV.FUTsay-IRR-NPSTgo.NFUTSCENE (final)SCENE (final)
	'Concerning Dahamo, (they said), "A total of only K1,466 will be coming and will fix up the aidpost building," they stated and said.'
1122)	<i>ise hagu-môu, a tah<u>a</u>-i</i> . finally come.NFUT-PFV 1s shoot-NFUT SCENE: <b>DIFFERENT</b> SCENE (final)
	" presto, coming (on; a pig), I shot at him."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> *nalg i* is the plural form of *ng-i* (eat-NFUT) 'ate'. See 4.1.6.2.1 INDIVIDUATED PLURAL ON TRANSITIVE VERBS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Same subject as in the next scene; the subject is involved in a different but consequent activity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Different subject in the next scene.

1123) Mowi i-l-i-ai duqu, wai seqe-i na-ma**-môu** i**-moîu**, duau. а hunt go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ see.NFUT pig plant-NFUT eat-ISQ-PFV go.NFUT-PFV 1s see.NFUT SCENE (final) SCENE: **DIFF.** SCENE (final) SCENE: SAME (I) was hunting going along until I saw (something); a pig had been eating root crops (and then) gone, I saw.' 1124) mei bitou ko=koîu tafala-**môu**, รก 0 sa land man NEG mountain ground that=LOC stand-PFV SCENE: DIFFERENT su = doe=mokou haqua-siqe fele 0 man many=INT 3s=LOC come-DU/PL.FUT come.up.FUT SCENE ... "... while (he) stood/stayed on a mountain without people, many people were on their way coming to him and arrived and ...' 1125) mosole  $obo\hat{u} = k\hat{o}\hat{u}$  sele Ne-l-e-mou, ne-i. ship owner=LOC money give-NFUT give-IRR-FUT-PFV SCENE (final) SCENE: SAME duwo-mou i.<sup>169</sup> е folo 3s go.up.FUT sit-PFV go.NFUT SCENE: final) '... (he) gave money to the owner of the ship. Having given money, he went up (on the ship) and while sitting (he) went.' 1126) ele ... so ka=ha tigo-u-**mou** du 1DU.EX ... dog that=GEN bark-NFUT-PFV hear.NFUT SCENE: **DIFFERENT** SCENE (final) "...we two ... heard the dog barking ..." Examples in future tense: 1127) Ne hiye dege-ba, wai so wo-l-o 2s.poss dog big do.fut-pfv.irr piq attack-IRR-FUT SCENE: SAME SCENE (final) 'When your dog will have grown up, she will kill pig(s).' 1128) Sokôulôu sisigo kefe-qu-o ke+dia dala-**ba**, boîu = ha poto children that+3pL gather-of-fut be/have-pfv.IRR white.man=GEN photo school SCENE: DIFFERENT SCENE (final) to-l-ou. hold-IRR-NPST SCENE (final) 'When the school children are gathered, the white man will take a picture.' 1129) **Do** dala-**ba** i-l-e mei. sickness be/have-pfv.IRR go-IRR-FUT NEG SCENE (final) SCENE: **different** 'Being sick/Sickness being (there), I will not go.' 1130) *sawisie-i* kamadia mei dege-i-ba, **a** haqua-ma i-l-e=yode-i. be.day-nfut three NEG do-NFUT-PFV.IRR 1s rise-ISQ go-IRR-FUT=IQV-NFUT SCENE: DIFFERENT SCENE (final) "... after three days/as soon as three days are gone, I will rise and be alive, he said." 7.3.1.2.1 Habitual aspect and marking of scenes The following sentence has the final verb in habitual aspect. The preceding scene is marked by -môu 'perfective (realis)'. taho-u-môu, i-**di**. 1131) Ta=ye=ge wai 0 olôuf<u>ei</u> nala bow=INS=F.CNTR pig shoot-NFUT-PFV man all.total eat.IRR.FUT go-HAB SCENE: DIFFERENT SCENE (final)

'As soon as a pig has been shot by the bow, everybody eats (it).'

190

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Progressive aspect; see 4.1.5.4.2.

A perfective **realis** medial scene, like in the example above, may get an added dimension by using the topic marker =be. This enclitic sets the background for a habitual past or present event/state. This has consequences for the conjugation of the medial verb form used, namely that the same or different subject distinction is not in focus any more. The focus is rather on the temporal aspect of the form, i.e. a high vowel *i* or *u* means that the scene is simultaneous in time with the next scene, while a low vowel *e* or *o* means sequence. See 7.3.1.1 SWITCH OF REFERENCE.

1132) <u>mg</u> <u>moy</u> <u>Domo e</u> mowi i-môu=be, gali su=do tahg-di. 1s.poss grandfather Domo 3s hunt go.NFUT-PFV=TOP wild.animal many=INT shoot-HAB SCENE: SIMULTANEOUS SCENE (final)

'... my grandfather Domo, when he went hunting (he) usually shot a lot of game.'

1133) Hou=ye=be i-l-e-môu=be, gabo sa-môu thumb=INS=TOP gO-IRR-FUT-PFV=TOP village pass.FUT-PFV SCENE: sequential SCENE (medial)

> *i-l-e,* Koloba=kôù folo tia-di. go-irr-fut Koroba=loc go.up.fut sleep-hab SCENE: (final)

'On the fifth day, **having** gone on, having passed a village (you) go on, and arrive at Koroba and **usually** sleep (there).' (Mountain dialect)

1134) *na-l-e hiye=do sa+mg i-l-i-gi sa nugu-môu=be,* eat-IRR-FUT big=INT put.inside+put go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ land get.dark.NFUT-PFV=TOP SCENE (final<sup>170</sup> continued on next line) SCENE: **SIMULTANEOUS** 

*g dibi moso fo-u-l-u.* 1s forest house rise-bltv-IRR-NFUT SCENE (final cont.)

'... (I) pack a lot of food and go on until (it) gets dark, when I go up/into (a) bush shelter.' (in a story about how to survive in the bush)

1135) *O*  $ta = no\hat{u} = ye$  nele  $kusia-ma-mo\hat{u}$ , moso ke  $dumu-mo\hat{u} = be$ , man INDF=only=INS strength struggle-ISQ-PFV house that finish-PFV=TOP SCENE: (medial) SCENE: SIMULTANEOUS

o s<u>u</u>=do mos<u>o</u> ki-le tia-sie-di man many=INT house inside-A.LOC sleep-du/PL-HAB SCENE (final)

'As soon as someone has worked hard (and) finished building (his) house, a lot of people usually sleep in it ...'

1136) Sa kasag<u>a</u>i dege-mou = be, <u>e</u> t<u>a</u>-di = yo mei. land bad do.FUT-PFV=TOP 3s speak-HAB=INDC NEG SCENE: sequential SCENE (final)

'When the weather is bad, he usually does not speak/make a sound.' (about a cicada)

See also 7.3.3.3 CONDITION for future/hypothetic use of =be 'topic marker' together with -ba 'perfective irrealis'.

# 7.3.2 Temporal linking

In natural speech of the narrative genre, sentences are long, consisting of 1-20+ clauses. This style of narration is carried over in writing as well. There are two types of clauses: medial and final. The medial clause usually occurs non-finally in the sentence and is marked to signal the temporal relationship to the next clause, as well as other information. The final clause carries final suffixation, mainly mood and tense or aspect, which applies to the whole sentence. A final clause may also occur in the middle of a sentence (see 6.1.4 MEDIAL AND FINAL CLAUSES IN LONG SENTENCES).

There are many ways of joining clauses in a string when telling a story. Apart from marking different types of linear temporal relationships, the different strategies of joining may also mark aspect, same or different subject, main versus minor participant, transitivity, purpose, condition and contrast. With the help of medial verb suffixes, tense & mood suffixes used in a relative way, enclitics, proverbs and cliticising quote verbs, numerous combinations are possible, giving different meanings and implications.

<sup>191</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> The final scene is interrupted by the scene about it getting dark.

Temporal linking between clauses may signal the following relationships:

- unspecified/sequential
- close/simultaneous
- immediate sequence
- delayed sequence
- simultaneous

There is more than one strategy to express some of these temporal relationships.

Out-of-sequence order has no special verb forms, but is a matter of semantics and a couple of modifying adverbs.

# 7.3.2.1 Unspecified temporal/sequential linking - 'and ...'

The medial verbs, expressing an unspecified temporal/sequential relationship, are event verbs<sup>171</sup> with relative mood & tense suffixation **ending with a low vowel**, *e*, *a* or *o*, or, for **type 6 verbs with** *-l-ou* **'IRR-NPST'**. This construction translates 'verb and ...'. It is used when the subject is the same in the following clause. An unspecified time is implied before the event expressed by the second verb starts. The verb may finish off with either of the perfective suffixes (*-mou* or *-ba*). In that case the translation is 'having verbed ...'. For details see 4.1.5.2.2 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR MEDIAL VERBS.

- -(//-V<sup>(-high]</sup> event verbs, types 1-5, 7 'and ...', ('having ...')
- *-l-ôu* type 6 'and ...', ('having ...')

1137)	<i>Ou k<u>e</u></i> sago that CLAUSE	h <b>a-môu,</b> cut <b>. fut</b>		3s	<i>hagut</i> come AUSE		<i>tie-i.</i> sleep-nfut CLAUSE	
	<i>Ke-le-ge-môu</i> that-a.locr-vbr-pfv CLAUSE <b>'Having</b> cut the sago (pali			SE		<i>dugu = be</i> see.NFUT=TOP CLAUSE lept <b>Having</b> been like that there		

'Having cut the sago (palm), he came and slept. ... Having been like that there, he went and saw that ...'

1138)					<i>kasugu-<b>o</b>-môu,</i> insert- <b>fut</b> -PFV
		-	.FUT	<i>wala</i> attack.I CLAUSE	<i>i.<sup>172</sup></i> rr.fut go.nfut

'The two of us went up **and having** inserted our hands in the hole of the hornbill, we grabbed the hornbill **and killed** (it).'

1139)	<b>N<u>e</u></b> 2s.poss CLAUSE			0	 <i>wo-l-o.</i> attack-IRR-FUT SE
	'Your dog	, havin			

1140) Yomogôu-môu = be awaki to-l-ôu i-l-e n<u>ôu</u>-di-l-i. begin-pfv=top knife hold-IRR-NPST go-IRR-FUT make.a.garden-HAB-IRR-NFUT CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE

'To start with, (you) hold a knife and go and make a garden as usual.'

### 7.3.2.2 Close temporal/simultaneous linking – 'as soon as/when/while'

The medial verbs expressing a close temporal/simultaneous relationship are event verbs<sup>173</sup> with relative mood & tense suffixation, ending with a high vowel, *i* or *u*, or, for type 6 verbs with - $\hat{ou}$  without the irrealis marker -*l*-. This construction translates 'as soon as/when/while'. It is used when the subject is different in the following clause. The verb is finished off with either of the perfective suffixes (- $m\hat{ou}$  or -ba), giving the translation '...-ing'.

Existential state verbs may appear in an irrealis form with a high vowel following, but with a slightly different meaning (see third bullet and (1146).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Including experiential state verbs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Serial verb; see 4.1.6.2.1 INDIVIDUATED PLURAL ON TRANSITIVE VERBS. Most serial verbs will be marked in blue in the sections under temporal linking, as they affect clause structure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Including experiential state verbs.

	Konal Reference Grammar, WP, PNG, Arsjo, SIL						
• -(1)	-V <sup>[+high]</sup> event verbs, types 1-5, 7	as soon as/when/while' ('-ing')					
• <i>ô</i> u	type 6 verbs	as soon as/when/while' ('-ing')					
• - <i>l-i</i>	existential state verbs	intil'					
1141)	ke-getia-sige-i;sawisithat-vbrsleep-du/pl-NFUTbe.daCLAUSECLAUSECLAUSE	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	<i>dilie</i> dpa 3du				
	<i>abou dilie igo-<b>u-mou dugu-o</b></i> grandma 3du go- <b>nfut-pfv</b> see-fut CLAUSE	<i>fogôu</i> leave.for CLAUSE					
	' we slept like that; (next) day Monday, ea left'	rly in the morning, (we) saw grandpa & gra	ndma go <b>ing</b> and (we)				
1142)	mgadeRonnyRumginaels.possfatherRonnyRumginaeCLAUSE(cont.nextline)	mola $mos \underline{o} = k \hat{o} u = g e$ medicine house=LOC=F.CNTR					
	to-l-oi-môumalgdie-IRR-FUTgo.NFUT-PFVget.IRR.CLAUSECLAUSE	nagua TUT come.fut CLAUSE					
	" my father Ronny dying at Rumginae hos	pital, (I) brought (him)'					
1143)	o olôuf <u>ei</u> =do kefe+m <u>a</u> ,	N <u>e</u> ge ke+di <u>a</u> sabe=koîu					
	<pre>man all.total=INT gather+put . CLAUSE</pre>	Nenge that+3pL home.ground= CLAUSE(cont. next line)	LOC				
	ya-i. Nege ke+dig of go.du/pl-NFUT Nenge that+3pl at CLAUSE	0	v				
	olôuf <u>ei</u> = dowo + mgmei dall.total=INTattack+put NEGdCLAUSECLAUSCLAUS	O-NFUT					
	' all gathered and they went to the place them all.'	where the Nenges lived. While all the Nen	ges slept, they killed				
1144)	ng g=mokoîu ikoke g ko-u-ba 2s 1s=LOC nail 1s look.for- CLAUSE	CLAUSE	-FUT				
	" when you find nails for me, (I) will imm	ediately build (a) house.'					
1145)	emoso=kôutôu-môu,o3shouse=Lochold.NPST-PFVmarCLAUSECLACLA						
	"people heard that he was in the house."						
1146)	sio kisi-ma duwo-l-i bird make.a.wall-ISQ sit-IRR- CLAUSE CLAUSE	dugu=be FUT see.nfut=top CLAUSE					
	e ta=nôu ta fe- megapod.bird INDF=only INDF CO CLAUSE	- 0					
		(1					

'After building a bird hunting shelter, (I) sat there until I (I) saw one of the megapod birds coming.'

### 7.3.2.3 Immediate sequence

Sequential temporal linking can be of different kinds. The unspecified temporal linking described in 7.3.2.1 is one kind. There are two other strategies for sequential linking. Immediate sequence is signalled by the medial suffix *-ma* 'immediate sequence'. Its meaning is telic, i.e. the event expressed by a verb so marked is finished before the next event commences, which it does immediately. This contrasts with delayed sequence which will be described in the next section.

- immediate sequence -*ma* (3.1.1.4 FOURTH ORDER ...: ... -*ma* 'immediate sequence')
- *de-ma* (PROV-ISQ) is used for stative verbs (1150)

There is no change of subject following the suffix -ma 'immediate sequence'. It may co-occur with both -mou 'perfective' and -ba 'perfective irrealis'.

dilie dou toîi-ma 1147) Sasai=bou  $o = b \hat{o} u$ ôù si+ma no-l-u. 3DU fire light-ISQ woman=and man=and sago cook+put eat-IRR-NFUT Theme CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE 'After (the) man and the woman light (the) fire, (they) cook (the) sago and eat.' 1148) Bologua-ma huei ne-i. Ne-I-e bologua-ma, good.do-ISQ water give-NFUT give-IRR-FUT good.do-ISQ CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE doki tage+tou dogogu. е 3s donkey over+up put.NFUT CLAUSE

'After fixing (him) up, (he) gave (him) water. (He) gave (that) and after fixing (him) up, he put (him) up on top of (the) donkey. '

- 1149) Subulu source, and sweet.potato open-isq 3s put.inside-irre-NFUT put.inside-isq-pFV house=Loc go.du/pL.FUT CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE 'After gathering the sweet potatoes, he put them in (his stringbag). When (he) had put them inside, (he) went home and ...'
- 1150) <u>A</u> Megi o=kou 150) <u>A</u> Megi o=kou 15 Megi mouth.of.river=Loc CLAUSE tafala de-ma i-l-e, Biangabip=kou go-IRR-FUT CLAUSE CLAUSE

'After staying at (the) mouth of (the river) Megi, I went (on) and went up to Biangabip and ...'

### 7.3.2.4 Delayed sequence

Delayed sequence contrasts with immediate sequence. There are two strategies:

- the medial verb suffix -gi 'delayed sequence', i.e. 'until'
- a verb of movement followed by =be de-môu/=be de-ba =TOP#PROV-PFV(.IRR) 'delayed sequence', i.e. 'until'

# -gi 'delayed sequence'

The suffix -gi is always preceded by irrealis non-future/non-past, i.e. present tense. It translates 'until'. The impression you get in a story is that the subject does not change in the following clause, but actually it may, along the lines explained in 7.3.1.1.4 WHAT IS INCLUDED IN THE SAME SUBJECT?. Someone included in a plural subject, for example, may continue on his own, like in (1154).

Also, the participant(s) in the following clause may be lower on the animate scale, like in (1155) and (1156), or inanimate as in (1157). This intervening clause, with a subject lower on the animate scale, is then marked by  $-m\hat{o}u$  'perfective', after which the main participant(s) continue(s).

Existential state verbs do not take the suffix -gi 'delayed sequence'. In the Lowland dialect, the irrealis non-future form has the meaning of delayed sequence (1158).

The suffix -gi 'delayed sequence' has an allomorph -di used in the Mountain and Foothill dialects. See also 3.7.2 VARIANTS OF gi ...

1151) *E* to-môu su-l-u-qi, kulio dege-mou, to 3s river wash-pfv walk.around-IRR-NFUT-DSO coldness do.FUT-PFV CLAUSE (serial verb: progressive aspect) CLAUSE dou ha duwo. fire get.warm sit CLAUSE

'He is swimming around **until** having become cold, and (he) is warming himself by the fire and sits.' (i.e. ... he is sitting there warming himself by the fire.)

1152) Yame dege-li-igi win dege-i. try.hard do-IRR-NFUT-DSQ win do-NFUT CLAUSE CLAUSE 'They tried hard **until** they won.'

194

haqu-l-u-qi#haqu-l-u-qi#haqu-l-u-qi 1153) *a mota=ye* mala fele 1s motor.canoe=INS get.IRR.FUT (come-irr-nfut-dso)x3 come.up.FUT CLAUSEx3 CLAUSE CLAUSE '... I came travelling by motor canoe (back towards the village) until (I) arrived and ...' dou-qo-l-ou-qi, 1154) ise to-ba a miye soso-l-ôu-gi, finally river-along go.downriver-DU/PL-IRR-NPST-DSQ 1s fish dive.for-IRR-NPST-DSQ CLAUSE CLAUSE qibe taha-l-e hebe-l-e fila-moîu ta fish.sp. INDF shoot-IRR-FUT carry-IRR-FUT throw.FUT-PFV CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE '... finally we went along down the river, until I (started) diving for fish (and) continued until (I) had shot a "gibe" fish and carried (it) and having thrown (it up on the bank) ...' Wai hiye=do tigo-l-o 1155) i-mou ele taha taha i-l-i-gi, piq biq=INT bark-IRR-FUT q0.NFUT-PFV 1DU.EX shoot shoot q0-IRR-NFUT-DSQ CLAUSE (serial verb) CLAUSE (serial verb) wai to-l-o i-môù, ka-gi+ma sa+ma haqua-sie-i die-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV cut-OF+put put.inside+put come-DU/PL-NFUT pig CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE (serial verb) .... When (the dogs) barked at (this) very big pig, we two immediately (started) shooting repeatedly and went on **until** the pig died, whereupon we cut (it) up and packed (the pieces) and came (back) ...'  $aduo\hat{u} = bo\hat{u},$ ave=boû Yo-I-u-qi, 1156) dilie mowi va-i. 1s.mother=and father=and 3DU hunt go.DU/PL-NFUT go.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT-DSQ Theme CLAUSE CLAUSE so ke+dia wai ta tigo-l-o i-mou duqu. dog that+3pl pig INDF bark-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT CLAUSE (serial verb) CLAUSE '... mother and father went hunting. They went along until they saw/heard the dogs barking at a pig.' 1157) to-ba miy<u>e</u> susu<u>a</u>-mou fe-l-i-gi, habi dege-i-mou, river-along fish dive.for.fut-pfv come.up-IRR-NFUT-DSQ afternoon do-nfut-pfv CLAUSE (serial verb) CLAUSE  $\hat{ou} = b\hat{ou}$ dou=bou ma-i ke-le fele-mou sago=and fire=and put-NFUT that-A.LOCR come.up.FUT-PFV CLAUSE '... (he) came on diving for fish until becoming afternoon, having arrived where (he) had put his sago and his matches ...' 1158) Isaac=ha afu Temifen=kou tefele-i. Tafala-I-i, Isaac=GEN earlier Temifen=LOC stand-NFUT stand-IRR-NFUT CLAUSE CLAUSE ta sabiye-i so oye ta=noû=f<u>ei</u> wo-l-ou mowi i. INDF be.morning-NFUT dog male INDF=only=total accompany-IRR-NPST hunt go.NFUT CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE 'Isaac was before staying at Temifen. (He) stayed (there) until one day (he) took one male dog only and went hunting.' dilou dilie moso=kou fo-fo-l-ou 1159) dala-**l-i**, 3DU.EMP 3DU house=LOC RED.PL-run-IRR-NPST be/have-IRR-NFUT CLAUSE CLAUSE oquo kamadia ke-qe mei dege-i. moon three that-VBR NEG do-NFUT '... the two of them looked after (the child) for three months/until three months were gone.' CLAUSE

Verb<sup>[movement]</sup>=be demoû/=be deba 'delayed sequence' (=TOP#PROV-PFV(.IRR) 'go on until') This is another delayed sequence construction. It is less common. 1160) miye ka = haJona mala i=be de-môu, to  $biya = ko\hat{u}$ doqoqu. fish that=GEN Jonah get.IRR.FUT go=TOP PROV-PFV river beach=Loc put.NFUT CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE '... that fish got Jonah and went on until (she) put him on the shore.' i=be de-mou, 1161) Dogogu-o-mou mala put-FUT-PFV get.IRR.FUT go=TOP PROV-PFV CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE gaba-l-e tia-di moso = kou folo doqoqu. pass-IRR-FUT sleep-HAB house=LOC qo.up.FUT put.NFUT CLAUSE CLAUSE 'Having put him (up on a donkey), (he) took (him) and went on until (he) arrived at (a) guest house and put (him there).' kuolôu tạ Moses = ha nala-i  $ke = bo\hat{u} + de$ olôuf<u>ei</u>=be 1162) o = elaw talk Moses=GEN write-NFUT that=and+PROV all.total=TOP man=INS CLAUSE (cont. next line) tobou-mou hagua=be de-mou, Jon he-hegi-e deqe-i. е tama PROV-PFV John=GEN 3s appeardo-NFUT RED.PL-show-RED.PL say-PFV COME=TOP CLAUSE (serial verb) CLAUSE CLAUSE ... also the law that Moses wrote, all of it was taught and preached by men until John appeared.' a midiho kasaqai ke 1163) milou-mou hagua = be de-mou, sawisie-i е 1s face bad that work-pfv COME=TOP PROV-PFV 3s be.day-NFUT CLAUSE (serial verb) Theme (cont. next line) Godi=ha\_a\_habagugue-gu-o-mou maka + ma-i haquisa-i. ke-le-qe mark+put-NFUT that-A.LOCR-VBR God=GEN 1s give.grace-OF-FUT-PFV call-NFUT CLAUSE CLAUSE "... I was a sinner until on the day he had appointed, God having given me grace, called (out to me)." sa + bi + ta = bou1164) Ifi yo-ma i=be de-ba ke-le-ge today begin-ISQ **90=TOP PROV-PFV.IRR** land+sit+INDF=and that-A.LOCR-VBR CLAUSE CLAUSE Theme 'From today going on into the future ...' (literally: 'After starting today ...') dabai dege-di i=be de-mou, habi 4:30 foqou i-di. 1165) 0 olôuf<u>ei</u> man all.total work do-HAB go=TOPPROV-PFV afternoon 4:30 leave.for go-HAB CLAUSE CLAUSE (serial verb) (embedded clause within the proverb clause)<sup>174</sup> 'Everybody habitually worked until 4.30 in (the) afternoon, when they usually left.' 1166) e=me yôu ke-ge = nou dele-i hagua = be de-mou ifi=ne ku-he. 3s=top 3s.emp that-vBR=only be/have-NFUT come=TOP today=also this-p.LOCR PROV-PFV CLAUSE CLAUSE (embedded clause within the proverb clause) '... he has eternal life since before, continuing into the present.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> If the clause preceding this construction is in habitual aspect or past tense, the clause is interpreted as embedded. In all other cases it is possible to see the preceding clause as a regular part of the medial verb system.

In the following example i 'go' in  $i=be \ deba$  'will go on until' is plural ya 'go (du./pl.)' and functions in the sequence sesele ya 'follow (du./pl.)'.

du-l-o 1167) Godi=ha ... e kuolôu ta nala-i ke sese-l-e God=gen ... 3s law talk write-NFUT that hear-IRR-FUT follow-IRR-FUT CLAUSE CLAUSE Abraham = ha ya=be de-ba, ise, sosoû о, ... go.du/pl=TOP prov-prv.IRR finally Abraham=gen family man ... CLAUSE Theme kuhe hagua-l-e = yode tawa-i. come-IRR-FUT=IQV so know-nfut CLAUSE CLAUSE

'God ... knew/thought that **people would go on** listening and following his written law **until** finally (a) man of Abraham's family ... would come.'

# 7.3.2.5 Simultaneous time

There are a number of ways to express simultaneous time:

- with existential state verbs
- the close temporal/simultaneous relationship (see 7.3.2.2)

. . . .

- complementation with verbs of perception (see 7.3.4.1)
- clause repetition (see 7.2)
- two final clauses, where the verb of the first one is in present tense.

#### Existential state verbs and simultaneous temporal linking

Existential state verbs are not conjugated as other verbs. In their basic form, they end in a low vowel,  $\boldsymbol{a}$  or  $\boldsymbol{o}$ . In medial form (perfective), this indicates simultaneous time and a different subject. In final form they express present tense (1170). Some examples will show what is involved.

. .

. . .

\_

sa o mei bit <u>ou</u> sa ko= land man NEG mountain land that CLAUSE	
osu=doe=mokôuhagua-sigefelgemanmany=INT3s=Loccome-DU/PLcoCLAUSECLCL	
" <b>while</b> (he) was/ <b>stood</b> on the mountain without p arrived and"	people, many people were on their way coming to him and
<i>wai ku+dege-i mou-gu-le</i> pig downwards+do-nfut down-demr.d-a. CLAUSE	<i>fila-môu, <u>a</u> ga-dugu-o</i> .LOCR lie.down-PFV 1s downwards-see-FUT CLAUSE
<i>tah<u>g</u>-i.</i> shoot-nfut CLAUSE	
' while the pig was lying down there on the slope	e, I looked down and shot.'
Fofa-ihiye=dodala,hake=nswell-nfutbig=INTbe/havebutthatCLAUSE	
'(He) has (a) very big swelling; but even so, (there	e is) no fever with (it).'
(1171), see 7.3.1.1.3 Switch-reference marking in	N EXISTENTIAL STATE VERBS: same subject simultaneous.
soka=hggaling-ma,youdogthat=genwild.animaleat-isqmoCLAUSECLCL	
gali=bôu+dene-l-gfwild.animal=and+provgive-irr-futscontrolcontrolcontrol	<b>tafala-gi kuhe hiye dege-i.</b> stand-dso so big do-nfut CLAUSE CLAUSE
(	land man NEG mountain land that CLAUSE $o  sy = do  e = moko\hat{u}  hagua-sige  fetti man many=INT 3s=Loc  come-DU/PL  conditions of the comparison of the comparison$

'... the dog after eating meat **stood** (there) nursing (her puppies) and giving (them) meat until (they) were grown up.'

### A close temporal relationship as simultaneous temporal linking, an example

1172)	fiye-i=ye.
	fall-NFUT=OPT
	USE

'... lest (someone) will be coming to try you, (making) you fall.'

#### Verbs of perception and simultaneous temporal linking, an example

1173) <b>Yo-I-u</b>	gi, so	o ke	e+di <u>a</u>	wai	ta	tigo-l-o	i-moîu	dugu.
go.du CLAUS	/pl-irr-nfut-dsQ do E CL	og th LAUSE	-	pig	INDF	bark-IRR-FUT (serial verb	5	see.nfut CLAUSE

'We went on until (we) saw the dogs barking at a pig.'

### Clause repetition and simultaneous temporal linking

1174)	<b><u>A</u></b> boho-l-ôu + mg ls turn-IRR-NPST+put CLAUSE 'I'll come back when I con	CLAUSE	<b>g boho-l-ûu</b> + 1s turn-IRR-N CLAUSE	- 0	
1175)	A sabiye-i 1s be.morning-NFUT Theme	ta m <u>a</u> a	/	uwo-gi <b>dugu=be</b> , it-dsq see.nfut=top CLAUSE	
	gamani o ke+o government man that CLAUSE	- 01	<b>,</b> –	ng hagua-sie <b>-i-môu dugu.</b> ut come-du/PL-NFUT-PFV see.NFUT CLAUSE CLAUSE	
	'One day my father and I s	at (there) until (we)	saw government off	icers coming, carrying tied up boxes, (we	)

**saw**.' (Foothill dialect)

The following example has the same structure as a repeated clause sentence may have, but the semantic content in the two halves is different. This sentence, too, shows simultaneous time.

1176)	haba	tage	tah <u>a-i</u> =be,	mala	tug <u>a</u> -ma	hebe-l-e
	but.pfv.irr CLAUSE	over	shoot-NFUT=TOP	arrow CLAUSE	bounce-ISQ	carry-IRR-FUT CLAUSE
	fel <u>e-i</u> .					
	come.up-NFU	Т				
	CLAUSE					
	" when (he) shot again above (it), the arrow after bouncing, came (back) towards him."					

#### Two final clauses and simultaneous temporal linking

As described elsewhere, e.g. at the beginning of 6.1.4 MEDIAL AND FINAL CLAUSES IN LONG SENTENCES, final clauses may appear in the middle of a string of medial clauses in a sentence. Similar to that, two short final clauses, where the first one is in actual present tense, may be used together to express simultaneous time.

1177)	that=only=CNTR		-		_	<i>bila-l-e</i> be.felled-IRR-FUT E	<i>haf<u>e</u>i.</i> close.to
	'But when a big wind c	comes;	the collapse of	of the house is not far	away.'		
1178)	Haba=ge	a	tawa- <b>l-i</b>	tobo-l-ôu.			
	but.prv.irr=f.CNTF	1s	know-IRR-N	NFUT say-IRR-NPST			
		CLA	AUSE	CLAUSE			
	I ator when I knows I	will to	11 (you)				

'Later, when I know; I will tell (you).'

1179)	Ē	0	dugu- <b>l-u</b> ,	gof <u>o</u> u	hiye=do,	0	gala-l-e.
	3s	man	see-IRR-NFUT	hard/strong	gbig=INT	man	bite-IRR-FUT
	CL	AUSE		CLAUSE		CLAU	SE

'When he sees (a) man; (he gets) very angry; (he) will bite (the) man.'

198

### 7.3.2.6 Out of sequence

To signal out of sequence events is a matter of semantics and a couple of adverbial particles, kôu 'prior' and you 'not yet'.

- 1180) <u>A</u> Rumginae kose haf<u>ei</u> dege-i, mg sas<u>a</u>i=boû g=boû i-l-e 1s Rumginae course close.total do-NFUT 1s.POSS woman=and 1s=and go-IRR-FUT 'Shortly before I went to the course in Rumginae, my wife and I went and ...'
- 1181) *Afu=do*, i-l-i mei, a duwo earlier=INT go-IRR-NFUT NEG ls sit 'Earlier before I went, I was/sat ...' Yo tafala-gua. Yo bolou = be 1182) kama+dia ke-ge banana middle.finger+3PL that-VBR stand-DU/PL banana two=TOP kôu mu-qu duwo. prior go.down-of sit

'There are three banana trees. Concerning two of the bananas, (fruit) has **already** come down; it is there.' (a picture)

1183) *sio ayomôu you ta-l-<u>e</u> dala-ba,* bird fowl not.yet talk-IRR-FUT be/have-PFV.IRR

> *ng kama+dia ke-ge tobo-l-ôu, g Yesu tewe mei=yode-l-e.* 2s middle.finger+3pL that-vBR say-IRR-NPST 1s Jesus know NEG=IQV-IRR-FUT '**Before** the rooster makes a sound, you will three times say and state, "I do not know Jesus."'

### 7.3.2.7 Starting a new sentence in a sequence

When do you start a new sentence in a story? Here are a few observations:

- introducing and putting the spotlight on a main participant (following a sentence final clause)
- change from main participant to **minor** (following a final clause in mid-sentence)<sup>175</sup>
- shift in location
- shift in type of event

The following example consists of the six first sentences in Michael's hunting story (see APPENDIX IV for the whole story). The sentences are somewhat shortened. The **main** character is *I*. At the shift to two other important participants, *Asele*, sentence 2, and *uncle*, sentence 6 (**bold** in story), there are **sentence final verbs** preceding these introductions. Also, where the story teller, calling himself *I*, comes back in sentence 5, we find a sentence final verb just before that pronoun.

However, in this example there are a number of final verbs even in the middle of long sentences. Following several of them are the actions of <u>minor</u> participants (<u>underlined</u> in story). As has been said about the use of  $-mo\hat{u}$  'perfective', ONE of the things it marks is a new subject coming up, representing an actor, usually of more importance to the story than the previous one. Well, if, from the story teller's point of view, a following actor is **less** important for the story than the previous one, one strategy is to finish off with a final verb, and tell what the less important character does in a new mid-sentence clause.

There is also a shift in location in between the first and the second sentence, and between the third and the fourth sentence, there involving a H-T linking. Sentence 3 focuses in on a special repeated event.

)	James = bôu Asele = bôu ei so ti-l-e igiya-i sulugua-l-i James = and Asele = and 1pl.ex dog call - irr - fut go.du/pl-NFUT walk.around.du/pl-irr-NFUT
	<u>du, so tigo-l-o i-môu foukua igiya-i</u> folo-ga-môu <u>dugu,</u> hear.NFUT dog bark-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV run go.DU/PL-NFUT go.Up-DU/PL.FUT-PFV see.NFUT
	wai oye hiye=do ke tigo-l-o i-môu dugu. pig malebig=INT that bark-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT
	<ul> <li>' James, Asele and I called up the dogs and went; we walked around until (we) <u>heard the dogs barking</u>,</li> <li>(and) immediately we ran on; having arrived (we) <u>saw that they were barking at that very big boar</u>.' (Sentence 1)</li> </ul>
	<b>Asele</b> = <b>h</b> <u>a</u> hebe sug <u>u</u> +tôu tafala-l-i, <u>taha-i</u> =be, mala tug <u>a</u> -ma fel <u>e-i</u> .
	Asele=gen tree top+up stand-IRR-NFUT shoot-NFUT=TOP arrow bounce-ISQ come.up-NFUT 'Asele was standing up in a tree top until when (he) <u>shot at (it), the arrow after bouncing came (back)</u> towards him.' (Sentence 2)
	Yôu = makôu fiyo-u-môu habatagetagetaha-i=bemalatuga-ma3s.EMP=LOCfall-NFUT-PFVbut.PFV.IRR OVERshoot-NFUT=TOParrowbounce-ISQ
	hebe-l-efele-i.carry-IRR-FUTcome.up-NFUT'While (it) fell (back) on himself (Asele), when (he) shot again above (it), the arrow after bouncing came(back) towards him.' (Sentence 3)
	Yôu = makôu fiyo-u-môudege-ihabawai ka = hgsosese-l-ehague-i.3s.EMP=LOCfall-NFUT-PFVdo-NFUTbut.PFV.IRRpig that=GENdog follow-IRR-FUTcome-NFUT'(Arrows) kept falling (back) on himself (Asele); again the pig came chasing the dog(s).' (Sentence 4)
	Atafalake-lehaguatafala-môudege-i,gtahg-i (wai)1sstandthat-A.LOCcomestand-PFVdo-NFUT1sshoot-NFUT (pig)
	bi-l-ofiyo-u-môudege-i.sit.up/down-IRR-FUTfall-NFUT-PFVdo-NFUT'(The pig) came and kept trying to stand where I stood; I shot it; (the pig) sat and was in the process of falling over.'(Sentence 5)
	De = hataha-l-e + ma-môumaternal.uncle=GENshot-IRR-FUT+put-PFV'Uncle having shot and killed (it), (we)' (Sentence 6)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> A final verb in mid-sentence has different intonation from a sentence final verb. In the free English translation, the mid-sentence final verb is followed by a semi-colon.

The following example, from another story, has three consecutive sentences with three specific locations, each starting by repeating the main participants as subject.

Sentence 1 unspecified location (on the road back from the river)Sentence 2 at the base of a treeSentence 3 up in the tree

1185) **Ma mogo=ha** dugu tobo-l-oû, da doûwa

1s.poss friend=gen see.nFut say-IRR-NPST 1DU.IN hornbill

wa-l-a-ba i-me=be=ede-i.

attack-IRR-SUBJ-PFV.IRR go-HORT=TOP=OQV-NFUT

'... My friend saw (it); (he) said, "Let us two go for the purpose of killing the hornbill," (he) suggested.'

**Ele** hebe ha-gi+mg figi ka-gi+mg-moû digi-gi-l-e folo-ga-i. 1DU.EX tree cut-of+put vine cut-of+put-PFV tie-of-IRR-FUT go.up-DU/PL-NFUT 'We two cut pieces of wood and having cut some vines tied it (made a ladder) and wont up (the tree) '

'We two cut pieces of wood and having cut some vines, tied it (made a ladder) and went up (the tree).'

Elefolo,dôuwaudobogôukasugu-o-môulpu.exgo.up.futhornbillholehandinsert-fut-pfv'We two went up and having inserted our hands in the hole (where) the hornbill (sat) ...'

# 7.3.3 Logical linking

Under logical linking I will describe reason-result/result-reason, purpose, condition, contrast, alternative, comparison and warning. It should be noted that the same medial and final suffixation as have been described at different levels through-out this grammar, and not least in the previous section, is at work here, too, but sometimes with additional features.

# 7.3.3.1 Reason-result/Result-reason

The relationship of reason-result may have the reason or the result expressed first. It is more common among Papuan languages to have the reason expressed first. That may be true also for Konai, but it is fully possible and not unusual to express the result before the reason. There is nothing to suggest that the reason is emphasized by putting the result first. Compare (1187) and (1188), both with the reason first, with (1191) and (1192), both with the result first, all with compelling reasons.

Reason-result may be expressed by the demonstrative kaha 'that in control' and/or the proverb dege 'do' (7.3.3.1.1). This structure mostly occurs within the medial verb system, and it is the *reason* that is marked.

There are also two conjunction-like words, *kegemou* 'having become like that/so/then', a proverb in medial form (7.3.3.1.2), and *yobe* 'the reason being ...', a noun followed by the topic marker (7.3.3.1.3), where one forces the reason first and the other the result.

# 7.3.3.1.1 Reason-result in the medial verb system

There are three related ways to express reason-result within the medial verb system. The reason is marked in one of the following ways, and it may follow or precede the result (see above).

٠	ka=ha॒ dege-môu	'because'	(that=GEN#do-PFV)	(most common; more emphatic)
٠	$ka = h\underline{a}$	'because'	(that=GEN)	(emphatic)
٠	dege-mou	'having done/because'	(do.FUT-PFV)	(less emphatic, no control)
٠	other variations on the same theme	(1190), (1192)		

#### Structure I – Reason-result/Result-reason

REASON ...  $(kaha) (degemou) \rightarrow$  RESULT or vice versa

In the two first examples the reason is marked only by the verb form degenou 'because'. That being the case, there is no control involved in the reason. The first example just illustrates the way of lizards.

1186)	Sabi	<u>e</u>	kulio	hiye=do <b>dege-môu</b> ,	<u>e</u>	as <u>o</u>	difi	ha	tila.
	lizard	3s	coldness	big=INT do.FUT-PFV	3s	sun	heat	get.warm	lie.down
	REASON				RES	ULT			

'The lizard, because she is very cold, is lying in the sun to get warm.'

In the next example, there is no control involved in the wife being sick. The controlling reason, marked by *kahg* (that=GEN), for the letter writer's problem is that the men carried her to the aidpost, which resulted in a debt, which needed to be paid.

1187) do hiye=do dege-i-mou, ke+dia sasai е 0 woman 3s sickness big=INT do-NFUT-PFV man that+3PL REASON RESULT + further REASON (cont. next line)  $a = b\hat{o}u + de$ dala hebe+ma Dahamo i ka = hahaqi go that=GEN be/have carry+put Dahamo heavy 1s=and+prov RESULT "... because when (my) wife was very sick, the men carried (her) and went to Dahamo, (and) because of that I have (a) problem.' ifi 1188) mos<u>o e</u> bila-ma i-l-e dege-mou, a moso taga-l-a-mou ka = ha today house 3s fell-ISQ go-IRR-FUT that=GEN do-PFV 1s house make-IRR-SUBJ-PFV REASON RESULT (cont. next line) na=mokou vodu, na a=mokou ikoke a ko-u-ba moso togo-l-o. 2s=loc ask.NFUT 2s 1s=LOC nail 1s look.for-NFUT-PFV.IRR house build-IRR-FUT "... because (my) house is going to be felled (by the wind) any day, I asked you for the purpose of building (a new) house; when you find nails for me, (I) will immediately build (a) house.' dege-i-mou,<sup>176</sup> a ne ka = ha dabai dege-l-e 1189) dabai dala A ma mei. 1s 1s.poss work be/have that=gen do-NFUT-PFV 1s 2s.poss work do-IRR-FUT NEG REASON RESULT 'Because I have my (own) work to do, I will not do your work.' 1190) Tabubil=be o su=do, kalo s<u>u</u>=do, kege-i ka = hahive = do. uwo = beTabubil=TOP man many=INT car many=INT that-VBR-NFUT that=GEN noise=TOP big=INT REASON RESULT 'Concerning Tabubil, there are lots of people and cars; because of (it) being likethat, there is a lot of noise.' Haba transpot  $tiket = b\hat{ou} + de$ 1191) ta = bekôu-g(u)e, transport ticket=and+prov but.pfv.irr indf=TOP this-VBR(BLTV) RESULT mala haqua-l-e = ne de. Α kôu-le sokoulou duwo-qi 6 mei dege-ba, sit-dso 6 NEG do-PFV.IRR get.IRR.FUT come-IRR-FUT=also good 1s this-A.LOCR school REASON (cont. next line) grade 7=be Kuala=kou i-l-e dege-mou. ka = hagrade 7=TOP Kuala=LOC go-IRR-FUT that=GEN do-PFV 'Another thing is this, to bring a ticket for travelling, too, would be good, too. Because I am here until I finish grade 6, when I will go to Kuala for grade 7.' Yona=ha tobo-u, kôu = me a kasagai. 1192) Jonah=GEN say-NFUT this=TOP1s bad RESULT Α Godi=ha ta du-l-i mei **ka**=**h**<u>a</u> dege-l-i. 1s God=gen talk hear-IRR-NFUT NEG that=gen do-IRR-NFUT REASON 'Jonah said, "this is my fault. Because I did not obey/hear God's talk."" In the next example the result is stated twice, before and after the reason. <u>A</u> solou = do dege-i = be,ele = bemogo=do 1193) ka = hadege-mou, 1s heart=INT do-NFUT=TOP 1DU.EX=TOP friend=INT that=GEN do-PFV RESULT REASON solou = do hiye = do kuhe dege-i. а 1s heart=INT big=INT so do-NFUT RESULT 'I am very sad/concerned, because we were friends, so I am very concerned.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> The form for the medial verb is usually *dege-mou* (do.FUT-PFV), indicating an unspecified temporal relationship between the reason and the result. But when I asked for an example of a close relationship this is what I got.

# 7.3.3.1.2 Reason-result with kegemoû 'so'

Using the conjunction-like demonstrative verb kegemou 'having become like that/so/then' (see 4.8.4 DEMONSTRATIVE VERBS and 4.9 CONJUNCTIONS), triggers the reason to come before the result. This medial verb form usually occurs first in a sentence and indicates a new paragraph (see 8.2.1.3 MORE ON DEMONSTRATIVE PRO-VERB LINKAGE. This being part of the medial verb system, a low vowel at the end of the verb indicates an unspecified time<sup>177</sup> between the events, while a high vowel indicates a close temporal relationship. The unspecified time is by far the most common.

•	Kege-môu	'so/then/because of that/having become like that'	(that.VBR-PFV)	
---	----------	---	----------------	--

• *Kege-i-môu*... 'so/then/because of that/being like that' (that.VBR-NFUT-PFV)

### Structure II – Reason-result

 $REASON_{(.)} \rightarrow Kegemou RESULT$ 

1194) *Tila-moû dugu. Ke-ge-moû, <u>a</u> hoh<u>o</u> hiye=do dege-i.* lie.down-pfv see.NFUT that-VBR-PFV 1s light big=INT do-NFUT REASON RESULT

'I saw it lying (there). So/having become like that I was very happy.'

1195) *Wai dia hiye=do dege-i. Ke-ge-môu dilie moso tege-i.* pig watch.over big=INT do-NFUT that-VBR-PFV 3DU house make-NFUT REASON RESULT

'(The two of them) raised the pig and (it) grew. **So/having become like that** the two of them built a house. (a covered platform to put the pig meat on when they had killed it)'

1196)  $hagi \underline{a} = b\hat{u} + de \ dala.$  Ke-ge-i-môu,  $\underline{a} = fi + \underline{m}\underline{a} = dugu = be$ heavy ls=and+prov be/have that-vbr-nfut-pfv ls soul+put see.nfut=top REASON RESULT

"... I have (a) problem. Because of that/being like that I thought and saw that ..."

The next example is different in that kegeimôu does not start a new paragraph or even a new sentence.

1197)	<u>a</u> =me hegie	dege-i-moîu	dugu. <u>A</u>	ke-ge-i-môu	kiyei	
	1s=top hunge REASON	er do-nfut-pfv	see 1s	that-vBR-NFUT-PFV	pandanus RESULT (cont.	next line)
	<i>ka</i> look.for	<i>i-l-e-môu</i> go-irr-fut-pfv at I was hungry. <b>So/be</b>	<i>dugu</i> see.nfu <sup>r</sup> eing like tha	T It having gone to look for		
	(Mountain diale	υ.	0		1	

# 7.3.3.1.3 Result-reason with yobe 'the reason'

If the conjunction *yobe* 'the reason is/because' is used to express the reason, it starts a new sentence. The construction *(kaha) (degemou)* 'because' works together with this conjunction but is not obligatory.

• Yobe ... (kaha) (degemou) 'the reason ... (because)' base. TOP ... (that=GEN#do-PFV)

#### **Structure III – Result-reason**

RESULT. **Yobe**  $\rightarrow$  REASON ... (kah<u>a</u>) (degemou)

1198)	K <u>e</u> =noû	k <u>e</u> =si	a	hoh <u>o</u>	mei.	Yo=be	e	0	gala-di.
	that=only	that=CNTR	1s	light	NEG	base=TOP	3s	man	bite-нав
	RESULT						REA	ASON	

'But I do not like (it). **The reason is** that it bites people.' (about a snake)

1199)	<u>E</u> adioîu	hoh <u>o</u>	hiye=do.	Yo=be	dihi	<u>e</u>	adiôu = h <u>a</u>	† <u>a</u>
	3s mother RESULT	light	big=INT	base=TOP			mother=gen nt. next lin	
	<i>du-l-o</i> hear-IRR-FN		<i>lo-u.</i> rk-nfut					

'His mother (is) very pleased. The reason is that the child heard and did what his mother said.'

<sup>203</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Not marked when glossing the examples.

1200) Siya=be olôufei taga-l-e i-di. 0 sugar.cane=TOP man all.total like-IRR-FUT 90-HAB RESULT  $Y_{o} = be$  $\underline{e} = me$  sebe bolofei ka=ha. base=TOP 3s=TOP good.taste good.total that=GEN REASON 'All people like sugar cane. The reason is that it has a very good taste.' Ke=noîu=si 1201) na sosou na-ba=be, dege-l-e. na oque that=only=CNTR 2s unripe eat.FUT-PFV.IRR=TOP 2s itch do-IRR-FUT (CONDITION) (CONSEQUENCE)/RESULT Yo=be <u>e</u>=me sosou ka=ha dege-moû. base=TOP 3s=TOP unripe that=gen do-PFV REASON 'But if you eat it unripe (pineapple) you will get itchy. The reason is (because) it is unripe.'  $Godi = ko\hat{u} hoho hiye = do. Yo = be$ Godi=ha a=boû kansole 1202) Soti=bou ele light big=INT base=TOP God=GEN 1s=and councillor Soti=and 1DU.EX God=LOC RESULT REASON (cont. next line) boloqua=do wo-l-ou dala dege-i-mou. good.do=INT accompany-IRR-NPST be/have do-NFUT-PFV ... (I) am very happy (with) God. The reason is (because) God looks after me and councillor Soti very well.'

The following example is different in that yobe comes in the middle of the sentence.

1203)	sokôulôu	duwo-di=h <u>a</u>	<u>e</u>	yo=be	tewe	môu-l-ṟa-môu.
	school	sit-HAB=GEN	3s	base=TOP	know	get-IRR-SUBJ-PFV
	RESULT				REASON	
	' being in	school its reason	n (is)	to get know	ledge.'	

In the Mountain dialect the corresponding conjunction is *beibe* where *bei* means 'meaning'.

1204)	Di <u>a</u> e	† <u>a</u>	du-l-o-môu	kesi-gi.	Bei=be	е	tawa-gi-l-i=be
	3pl 3s	talk	hear-IRR-FUT-PFV	rouse-of.NFUT	meaning=TOP	3s	know-of-irr-nfut=top
	RESULT					REA	SON
	'Unving h	oord hi	talk thay wara surprise	d The reason was	that his taachin	а <sup>,</sup>	

Having heard his talk they were surprised. The reason was that his teaching ...

# 7.3.3.2 Purpose

To express purpose there are three possible constructions:

	• •	1
•	simple purpose	same subject
	binipie puipose	buille Buejeet

- deliberate purpose same subject
- imposed purpose different subjec

### 7.3.3.2.1 Simple purpose

Simple purpose is mostly used with verbs of motion.

a bare verb in a serial verb construction

### Structure I - Simple purpose CLAUSE<sup>178</sup>

 $Purpose_I \rightarrow V_{Basic} V$ 

There are two verbs in a serial construction. The first verb, in its basic form, is the purpose of the second verb.

1205) <u>A</u> to to i-l-i. 1s river wash go-IRR-NFUT PURPOSE | 'I am going to (have a) swim.'

204

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> In the sections dealing with purpose, condition and also complementary linking, in introductory formulas like this one, it may look like the verbal phrase has been eliminated; it has not, but as that level does not add anything to the understanding of these functions, it is not mentioned here.

```
1206) Ei môu i-l-e.
lpl.ex get go-irr-fut
pURPOSE
```

'We will go in order to get (it).'

1207) **sa** <u>ne</u> put.inside give PURPOSE | 'Give (it to me) **to put in** (my stringbag).'

#### 7.3.3.2.2 Deliberate purpose or "purposing"

A more pronounced purpose is expressed with the illocutionary force enclitic = a 'subjunctive', which in this construction functions as a suffix -a (see 7.1.3 SUBJUNCTIVE (in purpose constructions, opinion statements and content questions).

• -*lamou* 'purposing to' -*l-a-mou* -IRR-SUBJ-PFV

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \mbox{Structure II} - "Purposing" & & & \\ & (CLAUSE) & CLAUSE & (CLAUSE) \\ \mbox{Purpose}_{II} & \rightarrow & (V) & V-IRR=SUBJ-PFV & (V) \end{array}$ 

Only the purpose clause is obligatory. The verb in irrealis is followed by the subjunctive suffix -a, which is followed by the perfective medial suffix  $-mo\hat{u}$ . The purpose clause may be followed or preceded by another clause expressing what is being done towards the expressed purpose. In conversation, the most common form for "purposing" is just the purpose clause.

1208) Sas<u>ai</u> <u>e</u> fiye so-l-<u>u</u>, ye togo-l-a-môu. woman 3s thread twine-IRR-NFUT stringbag make-IRR-SUBJ-PFV PURPOSE

'The woman is twining a thread in order to make a stringbag.'

1209) *Ei sogo si-I-a-môu.* 1pl.ex breadfruit cook-IRR-SUBJ-PFV PURPOSE

'We are preparing to cook breadfruit.'

This construction is also used to convey the meaning "trying to do something".

1210)	<u>A</u>	sogo	ga- <b>l-a-môu</b>	dege-l-i.
	1s	breadfruit	gather-IRR-SUBJ-PFV	do-irr-nfut
		PURPOSE		

'I am trying to pick a breadfruit.'

The "purposing" verb form may be found in a regular narrative string as described in ... 7.3.2 TEMPORAL LINKING.

1211) Beye kou = me mihi + ya i-l-i.
possum this=top earth+road go-IRR-NFUT
 <u>E hebe sugu</u> fa-l-a-mou i-l-i.
 3s tree top go.up-IRR-SUBJ-PFV go-IRR-NFUT
 PURPOSE

'This possum is going away on the ground. He is planning to go up into the tree top. ' (a picture)

#### 7.3.3.2.3 Imposed purpose

Imposed purpose is when the actor has a purpose for someone else. This is expressed with the illocutionary force enclitic =a 'subjunctive'. In this case the enclitic is followed by the proverb *de*, forming the cliticising subjunctive quote verb =ade in its medial **perfective** verb form =(y)adomou. This is the singular form, which may also be used as a group plural (compare 4.1.6.3).

There are several other forms, involving number, person and negative. The verb that the subjunctive quote verb cliticises to is usually in its basic form.

If the final verb of the sentence is in future tense, the subjunctive quote verb is in its medial perfective **irrealis** form. See (1222).

The plural forms include the topic marker = be, but the vowel has been deleted.<sup>179</sup> That being the case, we have chosen to write all of these forms as macro forms. The following chart presents the whole as well as the (proposed) parts.

• - <b>ado</b> môu	'in order to'/'in order for (sg.)'	=(y)ado-môu	(=SQV-PFV)
• -mab <b>ado</b> môu	'in order for you (du./pl.)/them to'	-ma=b(e)=ado-môu	(-DU/PL=TOP=SQV-PFV)
• -meb <b>ado</b> môu	'in order for <b>us</b> to'	-me=b(e)=ado-môu	(-HORT=TOP=SQV-PFV)
• -day <b>ado</b> môu	'in order for (sg.) not to'	-da=(y)ado-môu	(-PROH=SQV-PFV)
• -damab <b>ado</b> moîu	'in order for you (du./pl.)/them not to'	-da-ma=b(e)=ado-môu	(-PROH-DU/PL=TOP=SQV-PFV)
<ul> <li>-dameb<b>ado</b>môù</li> </ul>	'in order for <b>us not</b> to'	-da-me=b(e)=ado-môu	(-proh-hort=top=sqv-pfv) <sup>180</sup>
Structure III - Imposed p	urpose		
(CLAUS	E) CLAUSE	(CLAUSI	Ξ)

 $\begin{array}{ccc} (CLAUSE) & CLAUSE & (CLAUSE) \\ Purpose_{III} \rightarrow (V) & V(negative, number/person)=SQV-PFV/PFV.IRR & (V) \end{array}$ 

The purpose clause is preceded or followed by another clause, expressing what is being done towards the expressed purpose. The verb in the purpose clause is usually in its basic form, but not always. See (1220) and (1221).

1212) Godi=ha a maka-i=be, o sasai dia=mokôu ke-ge-i ke God=gen 1s mark-NFUT=TOPman woman 3PL=Loc that-VBR-NFUT that PURPOSE (cont. next line)

#### he-hegi-e = yado-môu.

RED.PL-show-RED.PL=SQV-PFV

'God has marked me to teach these things to people.'

If a preceding clause, which is included in the purpose, is in perfective form, the marker is -ba 'perfective irrealis' as a purpose is future/hypothetic in nature.

1213)  $o=be \ kam\underline{a}i$  dou mi-gi-m $\hat{o}u=be$ , ...  $tam\underline{a}=k\hat{o}u=n\hat{o}u$  dogogu-ba, man=toplantern fire light-of.NFUT-PFV=TOP ... appear=Loc=only put.NFUT-PFV.IRR

 $o mos_{\underline{o}} = k\hat{o}u \ dala-gua \qquad ke + d\underline{i}a \qquad kam\underline{a}i \qquad hoh_{\underline{o}} \quad k\underline{e} \qquad dugu = yado-m\hat{o}u.$ man house=Loc be/have-Du/PL that+3PL lantern light that see=sqv-PFV PURPOSE

'... when people light (a) lantern, (they) put it in the open, **in order that** people in the house should see the light (from the) lantern.'

Here are some examples of **plural forms**:

1214) Pailat=hg ise Yesu hebe fufuguo+mg-j=kôu ikoke dege-ma=b=ado-môu, Pilate=gen finally Jesus tree put.across+put-NFUT=Loc nail do-DU/PL=TOP=SQV-PFV PURPOSE

amioke+dig=mokôusese-gu-môuwo-l-ôuya-i.armymanthat+3PL=LOCfollow-of.NFUT-PFVaccompany-IRR-NPSTgo.DU/PL-NFUT'...in order for them to crucify Jesus, Pilate finally handed him over to the soldiers, (and) they led himaway.'

1215)	<i>Tg</i> talk	<i>uwo bolo=f<u>ei</u></i> noise good=tot	-	<i>damal<u>e</u>=do</i> true=INT	_,	<i>def<u>e</u>i=do</i> x careful=int
	<i>dia</i> watch.over	<i>dala-di,</i> be/have-нав	<i>ni=me tg</i> 2pl=top tal PURPOSE	<i>bolo=do</i> lk good=int	-	<i>sese-ma</i> = <i>b</i> = <i>ado-môu.</i> follow-du/pL=TOP=SQV-PFV

'The Gospel is true talk; we (excl.) watch over it carefully, **in order for you (pl.)** to follow only that good talk.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> This interpretation is based on the fact that these forms are related to the deontic mood suffixes, of which at least two may be followed by the topic marker =be (see 4.1.5.5 DEONTIC MOOD).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> This form has actually not been observed in natural texts. None of the negative forms are common.

1216) <u>A</u>=ge di=be Aye Godi=bôu, <u>e</u> Dihi Yesu Kelesu=bôu+de 1s=F.CNTR 1PL.IN=TOP father God=and 3s child Jesus Christ=and+PROV PURPOSE(cont. next line)

 $f_{\underline{i}}$  $ta = n\hat{o}u$ dege $dala-me-b+ado-m\hat{o}u$ kuhe $tobo-l-\hat{o}u$ soulINDF=onlydobe/have-HORT-TOP+SQV-PFVsosay-IRR-NPST

'(And) so I am speaking in order for us to be of one mind with Father God and his Son Jesus Christ.'

Here are some examples of negative forms:

1217) *ng g* toto sese-l-e *i-da*=yado-môu ka-ge-môu tobôu=ya? 2s 1s quickly follow-IRR-FUT go-PROH=SQV-PFV how-VBR-PFV say=SUBJ PURPOSE |

"... why do you talk so I will not follow you quickly?"

1218) mosole ke wi=ye mala hebe-l-e i-da=yado-moû. ship that wind=INS get.IRR.FUT carry-IRR-FUT go-PROH=SQV-PFV PURPOSE

'... so that the wind would not carry the ship away.'

...

.

1219) <u>E</u> dobog<u>ô</u>u=ye t<u>a</u>-da-ma=b=ado-môu a+ko-gu-o-môu di<u>a</u>=mokôu ... tobo-u 3s hand=INS talk-proH-DU/PL=TOP=SQV-PFV road+cut-OF-FUT-PFV 3PL=LOC ... say-NFUT PURPOSE |

'Having hindered them with his hand, in order for them not to speak, he said to them, ...'

Here are two examples, where the verb that the assertive quote verb cliticises to, is **not in its basic form, but in future tense**. This is the only form, apart from the common basic form, found in the data.

1220)	ho o ke+dig=ge ei=be wo-u-ba enemy man that+3pl=F.CNTR lpl.Ex=TOP attack-NFUT-PFV.IRR PURPOSE (cont. next line)
	tofigi-l-e = yado-môu       dege-l-e       i-di.         die.du/pl-irr-fut=sqv-pfv       do-irr-fut       go-HAB         the enemies work towards killing us in order for us to die.'
1221)	
	<i>Godi=hg tg kôu g tawa-l-e=yado-môu.</i> God=gen talk prior 1s know-IRR-FUT=SQV-PFV PURPOSE
	'Because while I (do) nothing, I do not hear/understand, (so) <b>in order for</b> someone to first teach me God's Word, (I am here in this course).' (Mountain dialect)
TC 1 C	

If the final verb is in future tense, the quote verb =ade is in its medial perfective irrealis form =yadeba.

1222) Hive  $o = h\underline{g} = \underline{g} e \underline{b} i + \underline{m}\underline{g} \cdot \underline{j}$   $olouf\underline{e}\underline{i} = be o ke-\underline{g}e\cdot \underline{i}$ big man=gen=f.CNTR 3s thing+put-NFUT all.total=TOP man that-VBR-NFUT PURPOSE (cont. next line)  $ka = h\underline{g}$  dia dala = yade-ba maka-l-e.that=gen watch.over be/have=sgv-IRR.PFV mark-IRR-FUT

'The master will mark a man like that to look after all his belongings.'

### 7.3.3.3 Condition

There are four kinds of conditions: possible, contrastive, hypothetic (which includes contrary-to-fact) and negative.

### 7.3.3.3.1 Possible condition

Possible conditions are formed by adding the perfect irrealis medial verb suffix -ba and the topic marker enclitic = be to the antecedent/background/conditioning clause. Apart from the addition of the topic marker, these constructions are part of the medial verb system, so the same rules apply and the same kinds of meanings are the result. See 4.1.5.2.2 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR MEDIAL VERBS. However, with =be 'topic marker' following the medial -ba 'perfective irrealis', the temporal meaning of the preceding medial verb form overrides the switch-reference meaning (compare 7.3.1.2.1 HABITUAL ASPECT AND MARKING OF SCENES).

There is no real difference between 'if' and 'when'. Both are covered when using this combined ending. Just -ba 'perfective irrealis', would often do as well (1228).

• -ba=be (PFV.IRR=TOP) 'if/when'

#### **Structure I - Possible condition**

 $\begin{array}{ccc} & CLAUSE & CLAUSE \\ Condition_{I} \rightarrow & V\text{-}PFV.IRR=TOP & V \end{array}$ 

1223) N<u>a</u> <u>a</u>=mokôu yodu-ba=be, <u>a</u> n<u>a</u>=mokôu ne-l-<u>e</u>. 2s ls.loc ask.NFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP ls 2s=Loc give-IRR-FUT CONDITION CONSEQUENCE

'If you ask me, I will immediately give (it) to you./As soon as you ask me I will give (it to) you.'

1224)	Bei		Ē	0	dug <b>u-ba</b> = <b>be</b>	gof <u>ô</u> u	hiye=do	gala-l-e.
	snake		3s	man	see.NFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP	hard/strong	big=INT	bite-IRR-FUT
	CONDIT	ION	Ī			CONSEQUENCE		

'A snake, ... if he sees a man, he will immediately bite in great anger.'

1225) ng aso ke ha duwo-ba=be, ng difi ta dugu-l-o mei=do, 2s sun that get.warm sit-pfv.irr=top 2s heat indf see-irr-fut NEG=INT CONDITION CONSEQUENCE (cont. next line)

kulio = ye = nôuhiye = do.coldness=INS=onlybig=INT

"... if you sit in the sun to get warm, you will not feel any heat at all; the cold is terrible."

1226) *ikoke mei dege-ba=be, ng toto oda dege* nail NEG do.FUT-PFV.IRR=TOP 2s quickly order do CONDITION CONSEQUENCE

'... if there are no nails, hurry up and make an order ...'

1227) Bi olôuf<u>ei</u> k<u>ô</u>u = me stoa = kôu dugu-ba = be, thing all.total this=TOP store=LOC see.NFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP CONDITION ng olôuf<u>ei</u> môu fogôu-da. 2s all.total nothing leave.for-PROH CONSEQUENCE

'**When/if** you see all these things in the store, do not just leave them (there) (without buying).'

Sometimes the topic marker is omitted, leaving only -ba 'perfective irrealis'.

1228)	Di	gugue=do	tewe,	Kiunga	i-ba,		Kolol	ba	i-ba		
	lpL.IN	all=INT	know	Kiunga CONDITI	go.nfut-pfv. LON			ba DITION	5	UT-PFV.IRR	
	<i>na-l-<u>e</u></i> eat-ir CONSEQ	R-FUTbig=IN			ead-IRR-NPST	<i>patolo</i> patro					

'We all know (that) **when** someone is going to Kiunga, **when** someone else is going to Koroba ... (they) carry a lot of food and go on (a) hike/patrol ...'

208

1229)	Haba	d <u>ou</u> + susu,	₫	tobo-u	kasa <u>ga</u> i	dege- <b>ba</b> .
	but.prv.irr	straight+tell	1s	say-NFUT	bad	do.fut-pfv.irr
	CONSEQUENCE		CONDITION			

'But correct me, when I have said (something) wrong!'

#### 7.3.3.3.2 Contrastive condition

When one alternative among several options seems better than any of the others, we have contrastive condition. It is expressed with the medial suffix -ba 'perfective irrealis' and the enclitic =si 'contrastive'. As with possible condition, the temporal relationship between the antecedent and the consequence may be close or unspecified.

• -ba = si (PFV.IRR=CNTR) 'if/when'

Structure I		stive condition						
$Condition_{II}$		CLAUSE V-pfv.irr=cntr	CLAUSE V					
1230)	di	damal <u>e</u> = yode-me.	Ke-g <b>e-l</b>	ba=si		di	f <u>ī</u>	mo-l- <u>o</u> u.
	1pl.IN CONDITI	true=IQV-HORT ION	that-w	/BR-PFV.IRR:	=CNTR	1pl.in CONSEQ		get-IRR-NPST
	' let us	believe In that wa	y in contrast	to other ways	s, we will ge	et life.'		
1231)	<i>Sa</i> land	<pre>sibige kuo=ka essence this=La</pre>						
	CONDITI	-FUT=and cloth=an ION	nd+prov=only	y be/hav	e-pfv.irr=	CNTR 1PL		b <b>hoð-boû-me.</b> ght-rejoice-Hort NCE
	<b>'But if</b> in	this world we have for	ood and clothe	s, let us rejoic	e.'			
1232)	_	i=be, sokôuló -HAB=TOP school CONDIT	sit pro		-	<b>ù-ba=si,</b> :-pfv=cni		
		<i>labai to-l-ôu=yod</i> vork hold-IRR-NE JENCE				<i>du-</i> PFV hea	di. Ir-HAB	
		em state and say that a you) a money (earning		school and ge	etting knowl	edge, <b>in c</b> o	ontrast	to other ways, (that)
1233)		= <i>hg Tabubil=k</i> F=GEN Tabubil=I ION						.IRR=CNTR
	- 0	o <i>=hg_moso=kôu</i> end=genhouse=loc JENCE		R-FUT				
	'But if som	mebody having a frier	nd in Tabubil g	goes (there), (	he) will slee	p in his fri	iend's	

### 7.3.3.3.3 Hypothetic condition

A hypothetic condition is more theoretic or unlikely than a possible condition; it may even be contrary-to-fact.

In the hypothetic condition, the verb in the conditioning clause is followed by the pro-verb *de*, which will be conjugated for condition. The conditioning clause may also be verbless, in that a noun or an adjective would be followed by the proverb conjugated for condition.

If the verb preceding the proverb is in past or present tense, or the proverb is preceded by a verbless clause, this kind of condition may be interpreted as a contrary-to-fact condition ((1236). and following examples).

• *de-ba=be* (PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP) 'if would (have) ..., would ...'

Structure III- Hypothetic condition						
		CLAUSE	CLAUSE			
ConditionIII	$\rightarrow$	V#prov-pfv.irr=top	V			
		N/ADJ#prov-pfv.irr=top	V (1239)			

The form de-ba=be (PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP) is the most common, but de-ba=si (PROV-PFV.IRR=CNTR) and de-ba (PROV-PFV.IRR) are also possible.

1234) <u>g</u> <u>Godi=kôu</u> tobo-u, <u>ng</u> <u>mg</u> <u>fi</u> <u>mo-l-ôu</u> <u>de-ba=be</u>, 1s God=Loc say-NFUT 2s 1s.poss soul get-IRR-NPST PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP CONDITION</u> <u>ma</u> <u>fi</u> <u>môu-ba</u> <u>duqu-l-o</u>.

mgfimôu-badugu-l-o.1s.posssoulget-pfv.irrsee-irr-futCONSEQUENCE

we (incl.) ...'

'... I said to God, if you would take my life, (I) would see you take it.'

	I sald to God, if you would take my me, (1) would see you take n.
1235)	Aso fe-ihiye=do dala, $k\underline{e}=n\hat{o}u=si$ $n\underline{a}$ difi $k\underline{e}=b\hat{o}u$ $du-l-o$ $de-ba$ ,sun rise-NFUTbig=INTbe/have that=only=CNTR2s heat that=and hear-IRR-FUTPROV-PFV.IRRCONDITION (hypothetic)
	ngasokehaduwo-ba=be,ngdifitadugu-l-o2ssunthat get.warmsit-PFV.IRR=TOP2sheatINDFsee-IRR-FUTCONDITION: (possible)CONSEQUENCE (cont. next line)
	mei=do,kulio=ye=nôuhiye=do.NEG=INTcoldness=ins=onlybig=int
	'The sun comes up; (it) is very big, but <b>if</b> you sit in the sun to get warm, (and) <b>when</b> you <b>ought to have</b> felt the heat, you do not feel any heat at all; it is only very cold.'
1236)	nimgtgdu-l-osese-l-e-ba,ditotibisaKrit2PL 1s.poss talk hear-IRR-FUTfollow-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR1PL.IN river island land CreteCONDITION (cont. next line)
	tôufogôu-l-imeide-ba=behagikôutadugu-l-oi=yomei,leave-irr-NFUTNEGPROV-PFV.IRR=TOPheavythisINDFsee-IRR-FUTgo.NFUT=INDCNEGCONSEQUENCE (cont. next line)
	di bi+sa-i=be ta mei dege-l-i mei. lpl.in thing+put.inside-nfut=top indf neg do-irr-nfut neg
	" if you would have heard and followed my advice, and we had not left the island of Crete; we would not have any of these problems; none of our cargo would be lost."
1237)	<u>A</u> =ge midiho kasagai ta milo-u de-ba=si, 1s=f.cntr face bad INDF work-NFUT PROV-PFV.IRR=CNTR CONDITION
	$\underline{g}$ to-l-oi-l-ek $\underline{e}$ = met $\underline{g}$ = boumei.1sdie-irr-futgo-irr-futthat=toptalk=andNegCONSEQUENCE
	'If I had comitted a sin, I would die without a word '
1238)	Kuliomoso dalade-bacoldnesshouse be/haveprov-pfv.IRRCONDITION
	'If there was a refrigerator'
1239)	<i>O</i> k <u>o</u> <u>u</u> = me Kelesu <b>de-ba</b> = <b>be</b> , man this=TOP Christ prov-prv.IRR=TOP CONDITION
	ehebefufuguo + ma-itoufogoumigi-badugu-o-badi3streeput.across+put-nfutleavecome.down.nfut-pfv.irrsee-fut-pfv.irrlpl.irCONSEQUENCE
	<b>'If</b> this man <b>would</b> be the Christ, he <b>would</b> leave (the) cross and coming down (we) <b>would</b> see and we (incl.).

### 7.3.3.3.4 Negative condition

There are two kinds of negative conditions.

•	ho fogôu-ba=be	(desire#leave.for-PFV.IRR=TOP)	'if not'	a certain amount of control
•	mei de-ba=be	(NEG#PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP)	ʻif not'	no focus on control; may be used for contrary-to-fact conditions

The difference between these two constructions is one of control. In the first one, the entity represented by the subject has control over the result, even though it may not be animate (1245). In the second one, control is not in focus. It is this construction, which may be used as a contrary-to-fact condition (1247) - (1249).

Structure IVa - Negative condition	Structure	IVa -	Negative	condition
------------------------------------	-----------	-------	----------	-----------

Condition<sub>IVa</sub>  $\rightarrow$  V<sub>Basic</sub>#desire#leave-PFV.IRR=TOP V

CLAUSE

In the above structure the main verb in the first clause is in its basic form, while the verb of the second clause may be in any form, or it may be a verbless clause.

CLAUSE

#### Structure IVb - Negative condition

		CLAUSE	CLAUSE
Condition <sub>IVb</sub>	$\rightarrow$	V#NEG#PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP	V
		N/ADJ# PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP	

The main verb of the second structure is a final verb in any negative "tense" conjugation, or the clause may be a verbless one. The second clause may have a verb in any form, or it may be a verbless clause.

1240)	otaduguhofogôu-ba=be, <u>a</u> pastadogôugu-l-obolo=f <u>ei</u> .man INDFseedesireleave.for-pfv.irr=toplspastorhelp-irr-futgood=totalCONDITIONCONSEQUENCE
	" if another man does not want to look (at it), (it is) OK (for) me to help the pastor."
	OR 'if another man will not look (at it),' (both kind of translations are possible for most ho fogoubabe)
1241)	Ngngtgduhofogôu-ba=be,2s1s.posstalkheardesireleave.for-pfv.irr=topCONDITION
	nemogo+ua+ko-gudala-l-i,nesasaidihi2s.possjaw+holeroad+cut-of.NFUTbe/have-IRR-NFUT2s.posswomanchildCONSEQUENCE (cont. next line)
	malgfelg-j-ba,ng tgtobo-l-ôu = yodetobo-u.get.irr.futcome.up-nfut-pfv.irr2stalksay-irr-npst=iqvsay-nfut
	" <b>If</b> you <b>do not</b> ( <b>want to</b> ) hear/believe my talk, your mouth will be shut until your wife will have (the) child, at which time you will talk (again)," he stated and said."
1242)	<i>midiho kasagai dig milo-l-ou i-di ke fogou-ba boho-l-ou+mg</i> face bad 3pl work-IRR-NPST go-HAB that leave.for-PFV.IRR turn-IRR-NPST+put CONDITION (cont. next line)
	haguahofogôu-ba=be,digtofigi-l-efila-l-golôufei.comedesireleave.for-pfv.irr=top3pidie.du/pi-irr-fut throw-irr-fut all.total CONSEQUENCE
	' if they do not (want to) leave their sinful ways and come back, they will die and be wasted.'
1243)	Bi ta ne-ba <sup>181</sup> g haba=ge boho-l-ôu ne thing INDF give.FUT-PFV.IRR 1s but.PFV.IRR=F.CNTR turn-IRR-NPSTgive CONDITION (cont. next line)
	hofogôu-ba=beng=mekoyo=hgtaga-l-e?desireleave.for-pfv.irr=top2s=topwho=genlike-irr-futCONSEQUENCECONSEQUENCEConsequenceconsequence
	'If later I do not (want to) give back something that I was given, who will like you?'

(a saying)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> I would have expected n<u>e-i</u>-ba (give-NFUT-PFV.IRR), a different subject in next clause: 'somebody gave (me) something' here. As it is, only a passive translation into English meets the case.

1244)	Sibigemghofogôu-ba=be,ngkuheha=yedetobou.essence put desireleave.for-pFV.IRR=TOP2ssocut=ogvsay-NFUTCONDITIONCONSEQUENCE
	"If (the tree) does not bear fruit, go ahead and cut it down," (he) instructed and said."
1245)	Idibahueitohofogôu-ba=be,g=meyukueibigi-l-e.tomorrowwaterwashdesireleave.for-pfv.irr=topls=topclothwash-irr-futCONDITIONCONSEQUENCE
	'If it will not rain tomorrow, I will wash clothes.'
1246)	gdabai tameide-ba=be,gngkuhehagua=yedetobo-u.1sworkindfNEGPROV-PFV.IRR=TOP1s2ssocome=oqvsay-NFUTCONDITIONCONSEQUENCEI
	' "If I do not have any other work, then I will tell you to come," he said.'
1247)	<i>Godi=hg y<u>ô</u>u <u>e</u> sisigo olôuf<u>ei</u> egele.wo-môu i-l-i.</i> God=gen 3s.emp 3s children all.total punish.fut-pfv go-irr-nfut
	Ke-ge-môu, ni=me e ta egele.wo-u=yo mei de-ba=be, that-vbr-pfv 2pl=top 3s indf punish-nfut=indc neg prov-pfv.irr=top CONDITION
	damal <u>e</u> =do, n <u>i</u> =me <u>e</u> sisigo mei. true=INT 2pL=TOP 3s children NEG CONSEQUENCE
	'God keeps punishing all his children. So concerning you, <b>if</b> he <b>does not</b> punish (you), really, you (are) not his children.'
1248)	$N_{\underline{i}}$ o $h\underline{u} = b\hat{o}u$ mei ta dog $\hat{o}ugu$ -l-i mei de-ba = be, 2pl man name=and neg indf help-irr-nfut neg prov-pfv.irr=top CONDITION
	<i>n<u>i</u> <u>a</u>=ne ta dogôugu-<b>l-i mei</b>.</i> 2pl 1s=also indf help-irr-nfut neg CONSEQUENCE
	'If you did not help someone of low status, you did not help me either.'
1249)	n <u>i</u> ki-le o koyo=h <u>a</u> midih <u>o</u> kasa <u>gai</u> ta milôu-l-i 2pl inside-A.LOCR man who=gen face bad INDF work-IRR-NPST CONDITION (cont. next line)
	meide-ba=besasaike=meoka=hae-bukôu=doigiNEGPROV-PFV.IRR=TOPwomanthat=TOPmanthat=GEN3s-first=INTstoneCONSEQUENCE(cont. next line)
	malgfg=yede tobo-u.get.IRR.FUThit+oqvsay-NFUT
	" "If whoever among you <b>did not</b> sin, that man must be the very first to pick up (a) stone and hit that woman," (he) instructed and said."
7.3.3.4 C	ontrast
There are se	everal different ways to signal contrast.

•	neutral	=si k <u>e</u> =noîu=si	'but' 'but'	(CNTR) (that=only=CNTR)	any part of speech between clauses or sentences
•	appraisal	=ye =ye, k <u>e</u> noîusi	'may/might but' 'even though may'	(OPT) (OPT#that.only.CNTR)	between clauses between clauses
• •	strong contrast	ha =ye, ha ha k <u>e</u> noîusi	<ul><li>'( so it is) but'</li><li>'may but even so'</li><li>'but even so'</li></ul>	(a conjunction) <sup>182</sup> (OPT#but) (but#that.only.CNTR)	between clauses or sentences between clauses between clauses

 $^{182}$  The conjunction ha 'but' also means 'or/again/instead'. Actually, the basic meaning is probably 'change'.

212

#### Neutral: =si and kenousi 'but'

One way to signal contrast is to use the discourse enclitic = si 'contrast'. This enclitic may occur on any part of speech, (except particles), thus contrasting that particular part with another similar part of speech. Though this contrast in itself is neutral, the form -ba = si (-PFV.IRR=CNTR) adds an extra component of meaning (see introduction to (1253) and (1254).

- 1250) O olôuf<u>ei</u>=be bolo ta dala mei, Godi <u>e</u>=nôu=si bolo=do. man all.total=TOP good INDF be/have NEG God 3s=only=CNTR good=INT 'Concerning people, no one is good, but only God he (is) very good..'
- 1251) *O* Kiunga=kôu i ke=me fula ta ka=ha=si hagua-l-e. man Kiunga=Loc go that=TOP week INDF that=GEN=CNTR come-IRR-FUT 'The man who went to Kiunga is, however, coming back next week.'

When = si occurs with the demonstrative  $k\underline{e}$  'that', the most common form is the conjunction **kenousi**, which functions much as the English 'but' and has the same meaning. This construction with **kenousi** 'but' may, on the other hand, be seen as a relative clause giving the background for the second clause (see 6.5 THE RELATIVE CLAUSE). But possibly under the influence of Tok Pisin and English, **kenousi** may also start a new sentence, so in the following example I cannot really say if **kenousi** is the end of the first clause or the beginning of the second.

ayomôu dihi 1252) A ma sio su = do  $ke = no\hat{u} = si$ sagatai=ye wo+ma child many=INTthat=only=CNTR 1s 1s.poss bird fowl hawk=INS attack+put CLAUSE CLAUSE no-l-<u>u</u>-gi dege-i. mei eat-IRR-NFUT-DSQ NEG do-nfut CLAUSE CLAUSE 'I had many chickens, **but** (a) hawk killed them and ate (them) until (they) were (all) gone.'

The form **-basi** has been described in 7.3.3.3.2 CONTRASTIVE CONDITION. As said there, this form is used to describe an alternative action that under the circumstances is better than any other.

1253)	<u>e</u>	kuhe	ıhe hagu- <b>ba</b> = <b>si</b> ,			di .		nel <u>e</u> =do	dege	tafala	-gua-l-e.
	3s	so	SO COME.NFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR		lpl.in .		strong=INT	do	stand	d-DU/PL-IRR-FUT	
	CL	CLAUSE		CLAUSE							
	'But when he so comes, we will stand strong.'										
1254)	Joi	na=h <u>a</u>	tobo-u,	n <u>i</u>	<u>a</u> =noîu	mal <u>a</u>		t <u>a</u> -le=kôù		hebe	fil <u>a</u> -ma.
	Joi	nah=ge	N say-NFUT	2pl	1s=only	get.IRR.FU	Т	river-A.LOCE	R=LOC	carry	throw-DU/PL

CLAUSE	CLAUSE		CLAUSE		
Kege- <b>ba</b> =si,	bolo=f <u>ei</u>	dege-l-e=yode	tobo-u		
that-vBR=CNTR	good=total	do-IRR-FUT=IQV	say-NFUT		
CLAUSE	CLAUSE		CLAUSE		

'Jonah said, "Just take me and carry me and throw me into (the) water. **In that way, contrasting with other ways**, (it) will be alright," (he) stated and said ...'

Appraisal: = ye '... may/might ... but' and = ye, kenousi 'even though ... may ...'

When the optative =ye is used with the meaning of 'but', it has a falling tone and precedes a contrasting clause. The actual meaning seems to be something like: 'it may be that ..., but ...'.

CLAUSE

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> The enclitic =ye 'instrumental' is said on a rising tone.

1256) Ke=nôu=si e kôu sokôulôu bologua duwe-i=ye, that=only=CNTR 3s prior school good.do sit-NFUT=OPT CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE sadebe e haba bolou ke-ge mei dege-l-i mei.

year 3s but.pfv.irr two that-vbr neg do-irr-nfut neg CLAUSE

'But he **might** have done/sat OK in school earlier, **but** (the) year he did again two (times), he did not finish.'

1257) Dig e tobo-l-où koù du-l-o i=ye, damale=yode-l-e i-l-i mei. 3PL 3s say-IRR-NPST prior hear-IRR-FUT go.NFUT=OPT true=IQV-IRR-FUT go-IRR-NFUT NEG CLAUSE (cont. next line)

'They might have heard (what) she said, but they did not believe (her/it) ...'

The form = ye, kenoûsi means 'even though ... may ...'.

1258) Sa Ukarumpa aso hiye=do dala=ye, ke=nôu=si difi=be mei=do. land Ukarumpa sun big=INT be/have=OPT that=ONLy=CNTR heat=TOPNEG=INT CLAUSE

'Even though there may be a lot of sun at Ukarumpa, (it) really (is) not warm at all.'

1259) Dou=be e=me bolo=fei=do=ye, ke=nou=si e o gala-di. fire=TOP 3s=TOP good=total=INT=OPT that=ONLy=CNTR 3s man bite-HAB CLAUSE CLAUSE

'Even though (the) fire may be good, it stings/burns people.'

Strong contrast: ha '(... so it is) but', = ye, ha '... may ..., but even so', ha kenousi 'but even so'

The conjunction ha 'but/or/again/instead', has a basic component of 'change' in its meaning. It may be used by itself, but may also be used together with = ye 'optative' or kenousi 'but'.

1260) *Figi ilo left side=kôu=be bolo=f<u>ei</u> dala,* side part left side=LOC=TOP good=total be/have CLAUSE

ha figi right side=kou=be do hiye=do.
but side right side=LOC=TOP sickness big=INT
CLAUSE

'On (his) left side (he) is fine, **so it is, but** on (his) right side (he is in) great pain/(has a) terrible sickness.'

1261) sege-i hou ka=hg folo, sibige mo-u-mou, plant-nfut seedling that=gen go.up essence put-nfut-pfv CLAUSE CLAUSE

> ha kogou=ne fele-i. but weeds=also go.up-NFUT CLAUSE

"... the seedlings came up and carried fruit, so it was, but weeds too came up."

The form *ye, ha* means '... may ... but even so'.

1262) <u>e=ge</u> o ilo ke-le=be dogôugu-di=**ye**, ha yôu-sie ta 3s=F.CNTR man part that-A.LOCR=TOP help-HAB=OPT but 3s.EMP-REFL INDF CLAUSE (cont. next line) dogôugu-l-o sagai mei.

help-IRR-FUT likely NEG

"...he may have helped some others, but even so (he) is not likely to help himself."

The form *ha kenôusi* means 'but even so'.

1263) Fofai hiye=do dala, ha ke=nôu=si sugua-i=bôu mei. swelling big=INT be/have but that=only=CNTR have.fever-NFUT=andNEG CLAUSE '(He) has (a) very big swelling, but even so, there is no fever with (it).' In the Mountain dialect *ha* 'but' is *he*.

1264)Ake-ge-i-môukiyeikai-l-e-môudugu,hemei.1sthat-vbr-nFut-pFvpandanuslook.forgo-IRR-Fut-PFvsee.NFutornegCLAUSECLAUSECLAUSECLAUSECLAUSECLAUSECLAUSE'Being like that, I having gone to look for pandana fruit, but (I) saw (there was) none.'

(Mountain dialect)

### 7.3.3.5 Alternative

In Konai, alternative sentences often consist of two clauses or phrases with a conjunction between, indicating the alternatives. Another way to express alternatives involves proverbs.

#### 7.3.3.5.1 Alternatives with conjunctions

There are two conjunctions that may be used to express alternatives.

- *o* 'or' true alternatives (possibly a loanword, but widely used)
- *ha* 'but/or/again' the last alternative is the correct one

In a question of this type: "Is it this one or that one?"– if ha is used, the last choice gets falling intonation, indicating it is a statement, saying "but that one it is." In other words, this is the construction for rhetorical questions, and the last option stated is taken to be true.

1265)	Т <u>а</u>	kasa <u>ga</u> i,	ha	bolof <u>e</u> i?				
	talk	bad	but	good=total				
	'Is it bad <b>or</b> good talk?' (It is good.)							

In asking the following question a real choice is implied.

1266) *Teme hiye o huyadef<u>ei</u>?* sago.leaves big or little.total '(Do you want) a lot of sago leaves **or** a little?'

The two following examples are used as questions with the second clause/phrase replaced by an implied or explicit *mei* 'negative'.

**o**? 1267) Na sugua-i=boû 2s fever-NFUT=and or 'Do you have a fever or (not)?' Sôu bolo mei? 1268) na-l-<u>e</u> 0 edible leaf.sp. eat-IRR-FUT good or NEG 'Do you eat "*soû*" leaves **or** not?' 1269) Sisigo suqua-i o malalia mola children have.fever-NFUT or malaria medicine 'Fever or malaria medicine for children' (from a list of medicines) 1270) Ng na-l-e o sele ng ka-ge=fei dege-i, <u>a</u>=ne ng ke-ge=fei 2s eat-IRR-FUTOr money 2s how-VBR=total do-NFUT 1s=also 2s that-VBR=total dege-l-e. do-IRR-FUT 'The total of what you spend in food **or** money, I, too, will spend exactly like that (on you).' 1271) Siya=si dugu-l-i mei. Mei dala, a tewe mei. 0 sugarcane=CNTR see-IRR-NFUT NEG be/have 1s know NEG NEG or 'But I haven't seen any sugarcane. I don't know if there is any or not.' 1272) *Nele haqua-l-e=be* date 3 o 4 ka = ha = qe... hagua-ma. 2DU COME-IRR-FUT=TOP date 3 or 4 that=GEN=F.CNTR ... COME-DU/PL 'Concerning that you two will come, come ... on the third or the fourth ...' ha mou-l-i 1273) mei or get-IRR-NFUT NEG "... or didn't (he) get it?" (He got it, but the person saying it may have thought he did not.)

- fafeleya tofoû-di=be koyo=ha bi? bi? 1274) Jon=ha 0 ke+dia John=GEN baptize step-HAB=TOP who=GEN thing man that+3pL thing Ha, hebeni=ha bi? or heaven=gen thing 'Concerning John's Baptism, whose business (was) that? People's business? Or, heaven's business?' (It was heaven's.) 1275) O = behebe kolo duqu-di=be, hebe bolo=fei, ma-di ke
- man=TOP tree fruit put-HAB that see-HAB=TOP tree good=total
  ha, hebe kasagai
  or tree bad
  'When you look at the fruit (a) tree produces, (is the) tree good or (is the) tree bad ...?' (It is bad.)

In the Mountain dialect the choices of conjunctions are *o*, *ouhe* and *he* 'or'.

1276) Yesu=be to ounce to lie mei? Jesus=TOP die or die-IRR-NFUT NEG 'Is Jesus dead or not?' (Mountain dialect)

1277) Di moni kefe + ma = ba, 0 hiye Sisar=kou de ne-l-e? gather+put=PFV.IRR man big Caesar=LOC good give-IRR-FUT 1pl.IN money He ne-l-e mei? or give-IRR-FUT NEG 'Having collected (the tax) money, (is it) OK for us to give (it) to Caesar, or (should we) not give? (Mountain dialect)

#### 7.3.3.5.2 Alternatives expressed without conjunctions

Another way to express alternatives involves using proverbs or the adverb sagai 'likely.

1278) ta = haasou kolo **sagai**, moso **sagai** keqe-i ta 0 man INDF=GEN ground skin likely house likely that-VBR-NFUT INDF dala-mou = be be/have-prv=TOP '... when a certain man had a (piece of) land or a house ...' aso diho sasa 1279) de-ba = ne. tou de-ba=ne ta=boû mei. sun eye long/tall prov-pFV.IRR=also short prov-pFV.IRR=also talk=and NEG '... a long time or a short does not matter.' 1280) midiho bolo ta milo-u de-ba, haba ta miloû-l-i 0 man face good INDF work-NFUT PROV-PFV.IRR but.PFV.IRR INDF work-IRR-NFUT mei **de-ba**,  $Godi = k\hat{o}u \quad damale = yode-i-ba = si,$ Godi=ha o ke=me NEG PROV-PFV.IRR God=LOC true=IQV-NFUT-PFV.IRR-CNTR God=GEN man that=TOP o=yode tobo-l-ou. dou = dostraight=INT man=IQV say-IRR-NPST

'... if a man does good or not, but if he believes in God, God will state and say that man is righteous.'

The following example is not a question but a rhetorical device to state parallel alternatives.

1281) hagi dege-ba, ka-ge dege-ba heavy do-PFV.IRR how-VBR do-PFV.IRR 'problems or whatever'

### 7.3.3.6 Comparison

There are no grammatical forms of adjectival words to use for comparison of the type *big*, *bigger*, *biggest*. Rather it is a matter of semantics. A couple of examples will show how a comparison may be worded.

1282) Sa ke=me Ukarumpa=be hiye mei=yode tobo-l-ôu i-môu du. land that=gen Ukarumpa=top big NEG=IQV say-IRR-NPST gO.NFUT-PFV hear.NFUT 'That place (Kainantu) (is) bigger than Ukarumpa, (I) heard them state and say.'

```
216
```

1283)  $Moso_{\underline{k}\underline{e}} = me$   $\underline{t}\underline{g} = b\hat{o}\underline{u}$  mei. Haba,  $moso_{\underline{k}} \hat{o}\underline{u} = ne$   $bolo = \underline{f}\underline{e}\underline{i}$ . house that=TOP talk=and NEG but.PFV.IRR house this=also good=total '(I have) nothing against that house. But this house too (is) very good/a little better.'

## 7.3.3.7 Warning

The warning construction is done by using the clitic =ye 'optative', preceded by a high vowel. See 7.1 ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE: Optative.

Warnings may be preceded by:

- *n<u>i</u>ou tawaibou* 'you (pl.) look out!'
- *kegeligi* 'going on like that until ...'
- *kegeiye* 'lest (it) be like that ...' (a literal translation of Tok Pisin 'nogut'; no natural examples)
- 1284) Môu o=ye i-l-e=be kôu bolo=f<u>e</u>i=ye ya-ba nothing man=INS go-IRR-FUT=TOP prior good=total=OPT go.DU/PL.FUT-PFV.IRR WARNING(cont. next line)

ta=f<u>ei</u> totôu dege-**i**=**ye do-mô**u

INDF=total forgetfulness do-NFUT=OPT PROV-PFV

'When men without (knowledge) would go, (thinking) beforehand (it) would be OK, **it would not do**, if they having gone would be a bit stupid ...'

1285) **njôu tawa-i=bôu,** o ta=e nj=mokôu ogôu-ga tobôu-ba 2PL.EMP know-NFUT=and man INDF=INS 2PL=LOC lie-DU/PL say-PFV.IRR WARNING (cont. next line)

```
du-l-o i=ye.
hear-IRR-FUT go.NFUT=OPT
```

'... you better look out lest you obey/hear someone speaking lies.'

1286) <u>g</u> ... n<u>g</u> do dege-i=ye do-môu=ne, 1s ... 2s sickness do-nFut=opt prov-pFv=also WARNING | diho bagg tobo-l-ôu.

```
eye close.eye say-IRR-NPST
```

- "... so you won't get sick/lest you get sick, (for that) too, I pray."
- 1287) Hive O, ng toto=do  $g=bo\hat{u}+de$  i-me, big man 2s quickly=INT 1s=and+prov go-HORT

 ke-ge-l-i-gi
 mg
 dihi
 to-l-o
 i=ye.

 that-vbr-irr-nfut-bsq
 1s.poss
 child
 die-irr-fut
 go.nfut=opt

 WARNING
 i
 i
 i
 i

'... Lord, let us hurry up (and) go, so my child won't die.'

The following example is from a song and seems to have a double warning, the -da 'prohibitive' replacing the high vowel to get the "lest" meaning of the optative = ye.

1288) Godi=hg sosi moso mako-da=ye. God=gen church house destroy-proh=opt WARNING 'So you won't/Lest you destroy God's house.'

## 7.3.4 Complementary linking

As far as this grammar is concerned, verbs that may take complementation are verbs of perception, cognition and speaking, such as hear, see; know, like, believe; say, ask, teach. Different structures are used to join the complements to the verbs requiring them. The meanings conveyed are 'hear that ... '; 'know that ...', 'like ...'; 'say that ...' etc.

## 7.3.4.1 Complementation with verbs of perception

The structures used for the complements of the verbs du 'hear' and dugu 'see' are part of the regular medial verb system. These two verbs cover the five senses: sight, hearing, taste, smell and feeling.<sup>184</sup> Another verb, where this complement structure occurs, is dusug 'listen'.

Structure I – Complementation with verbs of perception						
		CLAUSE	CLAUSE	CLAUSE		
Verbs of Perception	Prception $\rightarrow V_{\text{PERCEPTION}}(=\text{TOP})$ $\uparrow \one$		V(-PFV) NPo both	$V_{PERCEPTION}$		

Complementation with verbs of perception occurs in sentences with at least two or three clauses. Complements are **objects** of these verbs. A complement may occur before and/or after a verb of perception and comprises what is being perceived. If this clause **precedes** the verb of perception, the verb is usually marked by the enclitic  $-mo\hat{u}$  'perfective', which is conjugated in such a way as to indicate a close temporal relationship and a different subject.<sup>185</sup> If the main predication is future or hypothetic, the perfective suffix is the irrealis -ba. If the complement **follows** the verb of perception, <sup>186</sup> that verb is a final verb, which may be marked by the topic marker =be. See (1291) for a straight forward example with both possibilities in the same sentence. As can be seen in (1290), as well, the verb of perception could come either before or after its argument.

1289)	(ele) so kah <u>a</u>	tigo- <b>u-moîu</b>	du.	
	ldu.ex dog that: CLAUSE	GEN bark-NFUT-PFV	/ hear.nfut CLAUSE	
	" (we two) <b>heard</b> the	e dog bark <b>ing</b> .'		
1290)	<i>Hebe k<u>ó</u>u=ma=h</i> tree this=TOP=GE CLAUSE	$\underline{a}$ fu=kou dugu, En hole=loc see.N		
	Duwo-môudugu-osit-pfvsee.ftCLAUSECLAUS	UT leave.for-Isq		
		e) a hole in this tree; a h there) and after leaving	. ,	
1291)	<u>E</u> su-l-u-di 3s walk.around- CLAUSE	•	= <b>be wai i-môu</b> NFUT=TOP pig go.NFUT- SE CLAUSE	dugu. PFV see.nfut CLAUSE
	'He walked around un	til he <b>saw</b> a pig going (	away from him).' (Mountain	dialect)
1292)	•		= <i>boû dilie <b>duwo-moû</b> bh=and 300 sit-prv</i>	dugu.

<sup>3</sup>PL see.NFUT=TOP Mary=and Joseph=and 3DU sit-PFV see.NFUT CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Actually, there is probably only one verb du 'perceive', which most commonly applies to hearing, but may also mean 'smell'. The verb that mostly applies to seeing is du-gu (perceive-OF), i.e. it is more transitive (see 4.1.7 OBJECT FOCUS). It also means 'taste'. For the fifth sense 'feeling' du or dugu may be used (1393).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> For event verbs, this means a high or mid vowel, and for existential state verbs, like *duwo* 'sit' it means a low vowel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> The verb of perception, in final form, precedes the complement to signal anticipation. It is a case in point, when a final verb form is used in the middle of a sentence.

The verb dusua 'listen' is the same kind of verb as du, having the same complement structure.

midiho gehe gehe milou-go-u-mou dia duqu-o kesi-qi-l-e ke 1293) i face new new work-du/pl-NFUT-PFV 3pl see-FUT rouse-OF-IRR-FUT go.NFUT that RELATIVE CLAUSE CLAUSE (cont. next line)

```
tobo-l-ôu
            i-môu
                         dusua
                                 duwe-gue-i.
say-IRR-NPST go.NFUT-PFV listen sit-DU/PL-NFUT
(serial verb)
                         CLAUSE CLAUSE
```

"... while they talked about the miracles they had seen and been amazed about, (the people) sat listening.'

1294) Di<u>a</u> ei tob**ou-mou dusu<u>e-i</u>** ki-le=be 3PL 1PL.EX SAY-PFV listen-NFUT inside-A.LOCR=TOP CLAUSE CLAUSE

'Among those, who listened to us speaking ...'

The verb *baha* 'look', however, seemingly means "stare vaguely into space" and is more intransitive than transitive. The verb pair baha duwo (look#sit) means 'wait'.

1295)	<u>E</u> mos <u>o</u> =kôu	folo-môu	dugu,	du	<b>baha duwo</b> -môu	dugu-o-môu		
	3s house=LOC	go.up.FUT-PFV	see	inside	look sit-prv	see-FUT-PFV		
	CLAUSE		CLAUSE	CLAUSE	CLAUSE	CLAUSE		
	'(We two) having gone up to his house <b>saw</b> him sit inside and wait and'							

Note in the above example that *folo-mou dugu* does not mean \*'they saw him go up', because the last vowel in the verb *folo* 'go up' is low. The contrast can be seen in the next example.

1296)	fol <b>o-</b> môu	dugu	folo- <b>u</b> -môu	dugu	
	go.up.fut-pfv	see.NFUT	go.up- <b>nfut</b> -pfv	see.NFUT	
	'having gone up (he) saw'		'(he) saw someone go	o up'	

The verb mase 'look at' is also more intransitive than transitive.

kugu-môu, dilie diho ko =  $k\hat{o}u$ 1297) bolo dege-i-mou mase-ma, 3DU eye that=Loc touch.NFUT-PFV good do-NFUT-PFV look.at-ISQ CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE Yesu sese-l-e ya-i. Jesus follow-IRR-FUT go.DU/PL-NFUT CLAUSE CLAUSE '... as he touched their eyes, they immediately got well (and) after being able to see followed Jesus.'

## 7.3.4.2 Complementation with the verbs *taga* 'like' and *damaleyode* 'believe'

The complementation structure for the verbs *taqa* 'like' and *damaleyode* 'believe', is that of a transitive verb taking an object. The object may be one or more clauses. In that case it/they may occur last in the sentence (1300). The topic marker = be may act as a bridge between taga 'like' and its object. For the verb meaning 'believe' the locative case marker is obligatory, if the object is high on the animate scale.

1298)	Ke-ge-môu, o oloûf <u>ei</u> =a		do=be	sawisie-i	olôuf <u>e</u> i	
	that-vbr-pfv CLAUSE	man all.tot CLAUSE (con		-	all.total	
	mola <b>taga-I-e</b> -môu		mal <u>a</u>	i-di.		
	medicine li	ke-IRR-FUT-PFV	get.IRR.FU	лт до-нав		
			CLAUSE	CLAUSE		
'Having become like that, all people, at all times, having liked medicine keep get						

1299) *Gita* taga-l-i=be taga-l-i. Yamaha **ke** ₫ quitar 1s like-IRR-NFUT=TOP Yamaha that like-IRR-NFUT CLAUSE CLAUSE

1300)	A taga-l-i=be, ls like-irr-nfut=top CLAUSE		-	Dahamo=kôu Dahamo=LOC CLAUSE		
	'I want the sick child to be ta	ken to Dahamo.'				
1301)	Niniba o sasai ka Nineveh man woman t (clause embedded in CLAUSE				,	
	"The people of Nineveh will	not <b>believe in</b> God/wi	ll not say true to	<b>)/about</b> God)," (he	e) said.'	
1302)	Juda o $ke+dig=ge$ Judah man that+3PL=F CLAUSE (next line too	-	lind do-NFUI		er; cont.	next line)
	bologuo-u-moîubologood.do-NFUT-PFVgood	• -				<b>mei.</b> neg

'Concerning the blind man being healed (and) becoming well, the Jews did not believe (it).'

## 7.3.4.3 Quotes

This section has three parts. The first part is about the cliticising quote verbs (7.3.4.3.1). The next one is about the structure of a sentence containing a quote (7.3.4.3.2). The last one is about special uses of the quote verbs (7.3.4.3.3).

Quotes may be direct or indirect. There is no specific grammatical feature to distinguish between a direct and an indirect quote. It may be distinguished from the quote verb and/or from the forms, with which the participants are referred to, not least the forms of the pronouns. Compare (1312) – indirect with (1313) – direct.

## 7.3.4.3.1 Quotes with cliticising quote verbs

There are three cliticising quote verbs in Konai. Using one of them is the most common way to express a quote, though they are not obligatory. The quote verbs are repeated here from 4.1.1.3 QUOTE VERBS, where they are described in more detail. A singular form may also be used as a group plural form (compare 4.1.6.3).

= ode <sup>187</sup> singular obj	indicative quote verb	'state/say'	 2&3 dual/plural object	 1 dual/plural object
= ede		'direct/instruct'	(-da)-ma = be = ede	(-da)- <b>me</b> = be = ede
=eue	optative quote verb	direct/instruct	$(-DO)^{-}DO^{-}DO^{-}DO^{-}DO^{-}OOO^{-}$	(-DROH)-HORT=TOP=OQV
=ade	subjunctive quote verb	'assert'	(-da)-ma=b=ade (-PROH)-DU/PL=TOP=SQV	(-da)-me=b=ade (-proh)-hort=top=sqv
= <b>d</b> =ade =INT=SQV	emphasized subjunctive quote verb	'strongly assert'		

As can be seen above, the plural forms have negative counter parts, but so has the singular optative form =ede, which also may be used with the prohibitive suffix -da. Assertive medial forms are the forms used for imposed purpose described in 7.3.3.2.3.

1303)	<u>E</u> tewe mei=yodi-l-i 3s know neg=iqv-irr-nfut	
	'She says that (she) does not know./(She) does not know, she says.'	
1304)	o sas <u>a</u> i ke+dia <u>e</u> =me moso=kou duwo= <b>yode-i-mou</b> du-l-o i. man woman that+3pl 3s=TOP house=LOC sit=IQV-NFUT-PFV hear-IRR-FUT go	NEUT
	" the people heard (other people) <b>saying</b> that he was at home/in the house'	• NF 01

1305)AyeGodi, ngEyeYesumigi=yedetobo-u.father God2solder.brother Jesuscome.down=ogvsay-NFUT'Father God, youtold Big Brother Jesus to come down.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> The indicative quote verb = ode is not conjugated as the two other quote verbs are.

The following two examples show a negative instruction with =*ede* 'direct/instruct'.

- 1306) o  $ta = k\hat{o}u$   $tob\hat{o}u$ -da = yede tobo-u. man INDF=LOC say-PROH=OQV say-NFUT "... do not tell anybody," (he) instructed and said."
- 1307) o ilo ke+dig midiho kasagai dege-di ke ni fi-da-ma=be=ede-i man part that+3pL face bad do-HAB that 2pL distribute-proH-DU/PL=TOP=OQV-NFUT '... "Do not judge other people's bad behaviour," (he) instructed ...'

The following long example has three subjunctive quote verbs, translating 'assert', though the assertion may very well be false.

1308) 0 ilo ke + dia = qe $dobog \underline{ou} = be fofa-l-e = yade-l-e$ **i**. sasai е man woman part that+3PL=F.CNTR 3s hand=TOP swell-irr-fut=sqv-irr-fut go.nfut 'Some people said his hand would swell.' Haba ilo ke + dig = ge $\underline{e} = me$  ke-le  $= ge = n\hat{o}u$ but.prv.irr part that+3pl=F.CNTR 3s=TOP that-A.LOCR=F.CNTR=Only to-l-o *i-l-e* = **vade** tawa-l-e i. die-IRR-FUT go-IRR-FUT=SQV know-IRR-FUT go.NFUT 'But some said and thought he would suddenly die.' tama dege-i-mou dugu-l-o i-l-i ... haqi ta mei. ... heavy INDF appear do-NFUT-PFV see-IRR-FUT go-IRR-NFUT NEG '... they did not see anything bad happen.' Ke-qe-i-mou, dia=qe e=me qodi ta=**vade** tawa-l-e i. that-vbr-nfut-pfv 3pl=f.CNTR 3s=TOP god iNDF=sov know-irr-fut go.nfut 'So they said and thought he must be a god.'

The following sentence has a particle wa 'false assumption' showing that the assertion is definitely false.

1309) Ng=me gisiai ka=hg, dig=ge wa, 2s=TOP young that=GEN 3PL=F.CNTR false.assumption ng=me môu o=yade tawa-l-e i=ye. 2s=TOP nothing man=SQV know-IRR-FUT go.NFUT=OPT 'Because you are young, they might think mistakenly that you are of no consequence.'

The next example shows a quote with = ade 'assert', which translates into a purpose.

1310) A ikoke ka i-l-e ke-qe=be, na sisiqo ke+dia 1s nail look.for go-IRR-FUT that-VBR=TOP 2s children that+3PL soloîu = **d** = **ade-ba** sokôulôu fi i-l-e. ta de ne-ba sele fee money INDF good give.FUT-PFV.IRR heart=INT=SQV-PFV.IRR go-IRR-FUT school 'When I go to look for nails like that, I also go in order for you to be truly sorry and give school fees to the children.'

#### 7.3.4.3.2 Three structures of a quote sentence

There are several optional parts to a quote. Usually there is at least one verb to indicate that there is a quote, but a quote may sometimes occur on its own.

If there is only one verb to signal the quote, that one verb is often a cliticising quote verb.

1311)	<i>Sobôu sas<u>a</u>i o=bôu k<u>e</u> hiyou dege-da=<b>yede-i</b>. married.woman woman man=and that steal do-pron=oqv-nFUT</i>
	"Don't (you sg.) steal a married woman," (he) instructed.'
1312)	<u>A</u> afu kôu-le-ge <u>a</u> =bôu Yogu=bôu 1s earlier this-A.LOCR-VBR 1s=and Yogu=and
	eletoto-l-o=yode-mai.ldu.exriverwash-IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQgo.NFUT'(When) I (was) here some time ago, I and Yogu, after we two had said that (we) were going swimming, (we) went.'

There are three basic patterns for a sentence containing a quote. Which structure is chosen depends on the semantic properties of the non-cliticising speech verbs. These include:

tobôu	'say'
tawa	'know/understand'
yodu	'ask'
t <u>a</u>	'speak'
hehegie	'teach'
sima tobôu	'answer/disagree'
fīm <u>a</u>	'think'
nal <u>a</u>	'write'

Of these speech verbs, only **tobou** 'say' and **tawa** 'know' may follow a cliticising quote verb in natural spontaneous speech or writing. These verbs occur in the following structure, the most common one.

#### **Structure I - Quotes**

		(CLAUSE)	SENTENCE	(=CLAUSE)	(CLAUSE)
Quote Sentence <sub>I</sub>	$\rightarrow$	$(V_{SPEECH}(=TOP))$	QUOTE	$(=V_{IQV/OQV/SQV})$	$(V_{SPEECH})$

For an example with almost all parts included see (1313).

Some of the other speech verbs have to appear in the first speech verb slot. The final speech verb, however, is often *toboû* 'say', regardless of what the first speech verb is. If the word *fima* 'think' occurs before the quote, if there is a second speech verb following the quote verb, it would be *tawa* 'know/understand'. These two verbs are very similar in meaning, more so than the English glosses would suggest.

Also, tobol 'say' may follow any cliticising quote verb, but tawa 'know' has not be found after =ede 'direct/instruct', which makes sense considering its meaning.

#### Examples with tobou 'say'

- 1313) Ta sawisie-i Molebe=ha tobo-u, to *i-me* = *be* = *ede* tobo-u. da to INDF be.day-NFUT Molebe=GEN say-NFUT ldu.IN river wash go-HORT=TOP=OQV say-NFUT 'One day Molebe said, "Let us two go swimming," (he) suggested and said.' 1314) *E* 0 ta tobo-u, ni olôufei hagua-ma. 3s man talk say-NFUT 2PLall.total come-DU/PL 'He said to (a) man, "You all come!"" tobo-l-ôu = be 1315) ta talk say-IRR-NPST=TOP '(it) says that .../(we) are saying that ...'
- 1316) Sa ke=me Ukarumpa=be hiye mei=yode tobo-l-ôu i-môu du. land that=GEN Ukarumpa=TOP big NEG=IQV say-IRR-NPST go.NFUT-PFV hear.NFUT 'That place (Kainantu) (is) bigger than Ukarumpa, (I) heard them state and say.'
- 1317) **tobo-u**, damale=do, o kôu=me Godi=ha Dihi=d=ade tobo-l-ôu i. say-NFUT true=INT man this=TOP God=GEN child=INT=SQV say-IRR-NPST go.NFUT '... (they) said, "Truly, this man must for sure be God's son," they said.'

The following example is in the Mountain dialect. The initial tobou 'say' is marked for delayed sequence with-gi. This is typical of that dialect. It is as if they were saying, "speaking until 'quote', (he) said."

1318)	<i>Oumemi</i> Oumemi		_		•		<i>gisiai=boû,</i> young.men=and		enabi senabi
	<i>gisiai=ba</i> young.me	<i>ou + de</i> en=and+prov	<i>iga,</i> go.du/pl.fu		<i>Oumemi=kôu</i> Oumemi=LOC	<i>i</i> –		_	<i>iga-i.</i> go.du/pl-nfut
'The councillor of Oumemi (village) <b>speaking until having told</b> (the) young men of Dahamo and (the) young men of Sesenabi to go and play (soccer) at Oumemi, they went,' (Mountain dialect)						(the) young			

#### Examples with *tawa* 'know/understand'

- 1319) Ke-ge-môu, <u>a</u> tawa-i=be, Godi=be <u>a</u>=bôu+de dala=d=ade tawa-i. that-vbr-pfv 1s know-NFUT=TOP God=TOP 1s=and+prov be/have=INT=SQV know-NFUT 'So I understood that God must for sure be with me, (I) understood.'
- 1320) <u>E</u> tawa-i=be, Yesu <u>e</u>=me Godi=hg dihi=d=ade tawa-i. 3s know-nfut=top Jesus 3s=top God=gen child=int=sqv know-nfut 'He understood that Jesus must for sure be God's son, (he) understood.'
- 1321) <u>E</u> tawa-i=be, Yesu=be Godi=hg dihi=yode tawa-i. 3s know-NFUT=TOP Jesus=TOP God=gen child=IQV know-NFUT 'He understood that Jesus was God's son, as a fact (he) understood (it).'

In the following example the last verb is the stative verb *tewe* 'know', preceded by the proverb *de* to connect it to the complement.

1322) <u>E</u> kôu-g(u)e tawa-i, Godi=hg dig mako-l-o mei de tewe. 3s this-vbr(bltv) know-nfut God=gen 3pl destroy-irr-fut neg prov know 'He (has come to) understand like this, God will not destroy them, (he) knows.'

See also two examples below under the heading of **Examples with** *fimg* **'think'**, where *tawa* 'know' occurs in the last clause of each sentence.

The second quote structure comprises the verbs **yodu** 'ask' and **fg** 'speak' and may utilize the proverb **de** instead of the quote verbs. The proverb is not obligatory, however, and these two verbs may just occur by themselves in the introductory clause.

#### **Structure II - Quotes**

		(CLAUSE)	SENTENCE	(CLAUSE)	(CLAUSE)
Quote Sentence <sub>II</sub>	$\rightarrow$	$(V_{SPEECH}(=TOP))$	QUOTE	(PROV)	(V <sub>SPEECH</sub> )

#### Examples with yodu 'ask'

The first four of the following examples are from four different stories told by four different people about John the Baptist.

1323)	Dig Sekalaiya = $k\hat{o}u$ yodu, ng dihi hu = be kei = yode-l-e. 3PL Zechariah=Loc ask.NFUT 2s child name=TOP what=IQV-IRR-FUT
	'They asked Zechariah, "What will you say (your) child's name (will be)?""
1324)	<i>Dig Sekalaiya=kou yodu, e hu=be koyo?</i> 3pL Zechariah=Loc ask 3s name=TOP who
	'They <b>asked</b> Zechariah, "What is his name?"
1325)	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
	<i>de yodu-môu, <u>e</u> tobo-u, Jon=yode tobôu-môu</i> PROV ask.NFUT-PFV 3s say-NFUT John=IQV say-PFV
	'The men asked Zechariah, "What is your child's name," asking (him that), he said, "John,"

stating and saying (that), (his) ...'

1326) dia Sekaraia=kou hy=be 0 yodu-l-o i, dihi k*ô*u = ma = ha ka-qe n₫ man 3pl Zechariah=Loc ask-IRR-FUT go.NFUT 2s child this=TOP=GEN name=TOP how-VBR ti-l-e Sekaraia dihi  $k \hat{o} u = m a = h a$ de yodu-l-o i-môu tobo-u, е call-IRR-FUT PROV ask-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV Zechariah 3s say-NFUT child this=TOP=GEN John de<sup>188</sup> tobo-u. hu=be 3s name=TOP John PROV say-NFUT 'People asked Zechariah, "What will you call this child," asking (that) Zechariah said, "This child's name is John," (he) said.' a 1327) moso taga-l-a-môu na=mokou **yodu**; na a=mokou ikoke a 1s house make-IRR-SUBJ-PFV 2s=loc ask.NFUT 2s 1s=LOC nail 1s ko-u-ba moso togo-l-o. look.for-NFUT-PFV.IRR house make-IRR-FUT "... I asked you about me planning to build a house; when you find nails for me, (I) will immediately build a house.' Bi e=mokou yodu=be, ka-qe-i, di di=mokou ne-l-e. 1328) е how-vbr-nfut 1pl.in 3s=loc ask.NFUT=TOP 3s 1pL.IN=LOC give-IRR-FUT thing 'Whatever we have asked him, he will give us.'

#### Examples with to 'speak'

There is only one example of  $t\underline{a}$  'speak' in connection with a quote. This verb has to do with the ability of speaking and is basically intransitive.

1329) <u>E</u> t<u>a</u>-di=be kôu-g(u)e t<u>a</u>-di, u\_li<u>e</u>.u\_li<u>e</u>.u\_li<u>e</u> de t<u>a</u>-di. 3s speak-нав=тор this-ver(вLTv) speak-нав (noise of a cicada) prov speak-нав 'He (a cicada) says like this," Uunien, uunien, "(he) says.'

The verbs **hehegie** 'teach', **sima tobou** 'answer/disagree', **fimg** 'think' and **nalg** 'write' cannot follow a quote, without making a relative clause of the quote They may, however introduce a quote. For the two first verbs, if there is a coda with a quote verb, normally = ode 'state/say', it is often followed by the verb **tobou** 'say'. If **fimg** 'think' introduces a quote and there is a coda it would normally be = ode 'state/say' followed by **tawa** 'know'.

#### Structure III - Quotes

		(CLAUSE) <sup>189</sup>	SENTENCE(=CLAUSE)	(CLAUSE)
Quote Sentence <sub>III</sub>	$\rightarrow$	<i>hehegie (tobôu)</i> (=TOP)	$QUOTE(=V_{IQV})$	( <i>tobôu</i> 'say')
		<i>sima(môu) tobôu</i> (=top)		
		<i>fim<u>a</u></i> (=TOP)	$QUOTE(=V_{IQV/sqv})$	( <i>tawa</i> 'know')

100

A quote related to the verb *nalg* 'write' would most naturally occur in a relative clause. See further on this section.

#### Examples with *hehegie* 'teach'

The first example is more full than it need to be, because it emphasizes the habitual in the teaching.

1330)	E he-hegi-e-di=be,	kôu-g(u)e	tobôu-di,
	3s RED.PL-show-RED.1	PL-HAB=TOP this-VBR(BLTV)	say-нав
		Hiye O=ha ni wo-l-	
	2PL soul turn-ISQ	big man=gen 2pl acco	mpany-IRR-NPST
	dala-l-e=be	haf <u>ei</u> =do dege-l-i=	∍yode tobôu-di.
	be/have-IRR-FUT=TOP	close.total=INT do-IRR-R	IFUT=IQV say-HAB

'When he **taught**, he **habitually said** like this, "Repent; ... the Lord will very soon be here and look after you," he **habitually stated and said**.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Unusual construction with the proverb de and tobou 'say'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> The verbs in this formula are written in their basic form. In natural speech they are conjugated (see examples).

The following example is not a quote but illustrates a common use of this verb with two objects.

1331) Niniba sa hiye=do Jona e i-l-e, o sasai ke+dig=mokôu Godi=hg Nineveh land big=INT Jonah 3s go-IRR-FUTMan woman that+3PL=Loc God=GEN talk RED.PL-show-RED.PL-NFUT 'It was to the big town of Nineveh (that) Jonah went and (he) taught the people God's Word ...'

#### Example with sima toboû 'answer/disagree'

si-ma tobo-u,  $Godi = ha kuquo = ko\hat{u} = be ko\hat{u} - q(u)e$ dala, 1332) е nala-i 3s ?-ISQ say-NFUT God=GEN paper=LOC=TOP this-VBR(BLTV) write-NFUT be/have ... Godi=ha ta ... ke du-l-o sese-l-e i-l-i ... God=gen talk ... that hear-IRR-FUT follow-IRR-FUT go-IRR-NFUT sasai tofo-u+soqo *i-l-e* = **vode-i**.  $ka = ha = no\hat{u} = si$ 0 tofo-l-ou that=gen=only=cnrr man woman step-nfut+long step-irr-npst go-irr-fut=iQV-nfut '... he answered, "In God's Word (it) is written like this, ... but only by hearing and following God's ... word will people live a long life," (he) said.'

#### Examples with *fimg* 'think'

1333) *Dig* **fi**+**mg**-**j** 3PL soul+put-NFUT 3PL.EMP-REFL 3PL do-IRR-NFUT that bad=INT=SQV

tawa-I-e

know-irr-fut go.nfut

i.

'They **thought** about themselves (that) what they were doing **must** be bad, **for sure** they **knew** (that).'

1334)	Ē	fi+m <u>a</u> -moîu	dugu,	Godi=ha ta		gobo-u	ka=h <u>a</u>
	3s	soul+put.FUT-PFV	see.NFUT	God=gen	talk	break.NFUT	that=gen

 $Godi = h\underline{a}$  $\underline{e} = mok\hat{ou}$  $fa\underline{lesi}$  $ne-l-\underline{i} = d = ade$ God=GEN3s=LOCpunishmentgive=IRR-NFUT=INT=SQV

 $tawa-l-e-m\hat{o}u$ ,  $dih\underline{o}$   $bag\underline{a}$  tobo-u,  $Godi = k\hat{o}u$ .

```
know-IRR-FUT-PFV eye close.eye say-NFUT God=Loc
```

**'Having thought** about (it), he saw (that) because (he) had disregarded God's Word, God **must for sure** be punishing him, (and) **having realized** (that) (he) closed (his) eyes and prayed/said to God.'

In the next example the quote is a relative clause connected to the last *fimai* 'thought'.

1335)	Ē	ko=kôu=ge	fi+m <u>a</u> -i=be,	0	Niniba	tie	0	ke+di <u>a</u> =mokoîu
	3s	that=LOC=F.CNTR	soul+put-NFUT=TOP	man	Nineveh	sleep	man	that+3PL=LOC

fi + mg-j,Godi = hgdogôugu-môudigifibologugduwokgfi + mg-j.soul+put-NFUTGod=GENhelp.NFUT-PFV3PLtodaygood.dositthatsoul+put-NFUT'From that hethoughtabout the people of Nineveh, (he)thought; God was helping them, (they) now sit well,(he)thought.'

#### Examples with *nalg* 'write'

How to finish off a quote connected to the verb *nalg* 'write', has not been quite settled yet, as communicating by writing has slowly developed only over the last 25-30 years, and people are still working out how to express it. There have been several suggestions over the years, including the indicative quote verb =ode, the proverb de, or using the word tobou 'say' as a bridge between the quote verb and the word *nalg* write, i.e. finishing off by e.g. 'he stated and wrote.'' The best option, however, and what seems to be the most natural for most people is to make a relative clause of the quote like in (1338). The first example shows what kind of verb *nalg* is, i.e. the original meaning of the verb would be something like 'make a pattern/make lines'.

1336) *igi dosog<u>ô</u>u dege-i=bôu f<u>o</u> dege-i=bôu+de nal<u>a</u>-ga-i ... k<u>e</u> stone black do-NFUT=and white do-NFUT=and+PROV write-DU/PL-NFUT ... that 'a stone that is marbled'* 

- 1337) Kuguo k<u>o</u><u>u</u> = me <u>g</u> nal<u><u>g</u>-<u>i</u>. paper this=TOP 1s write-NFUT 'I wrote this letter.'</u>
- 1338)  $Moses = h\underline{a} \ \underline{e}$  kuolôu  $\underline{t}\underline{a}$  nal $\underline{a}$ -ga-i ko = kôu = be,  $\underline{e}$  o  $\underline{t}a$  ka = h\underline{a} Moses=gen 3s law talk write-du/pl-NFUT that=loc=TOP 3s man INDF that=gen

hagua-l-e ke naka-ga-i. come-IRR-FUT that write-DU/PL-NFUT

'In the law that Moses wrote, he wrote that a certain man would come.'

1339) <u>e</u> koû-g(u)e nalg-j, <u>e</u> hu=be Jon de nalg-u-moû, 3s this-vbr(bltv) write-nFut 3s name=TOP John prov write-nFut-pFv fi hiye=do ma i. soul big=INT put go.NFUT '... he wrote like this, his name is John, (he) writing (like that). they were surprised.'

The following example with quote verb + *tobolou nalai* 'stated and said and wrote' is not accepted by everyone.

1340) o ta = ha ya - i = ye bolo dege-i-mou, man INDF=GEN play-NFUT=INS good do-NFUT-PFV

emo-u = yodetobo-l-ounala-i.3s get-nfut=iqvsay-irr-npstwrite-nfut

"... "a man winning/by playing doing well), he got (something)," (he) stated and said and wrote."

#### 7.3.4.3.3 Special use of a quote verbs

Quote verbs may give some special meanings in combination with certain other words as the following examples show.

- 1341) damale = yode
  true=IQV
  'believe' (literally: 'say (something) is true')
- 1342) *damale=yode-i o/sasgi* true=IQV-NFUT man/woman

'a Christian' (literally: 'a man/woman who says (something) is true'

1343) o <u>e</u> ti-l-e=yode-ma maka-i o man 3s call-IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQ mark-NFUT man 'the man, who was engaged to her' (literally: 'the man of whom it **has been said**, "he will call her"')

1344) (<u>e</u>) fisi-ba dabai dege=yado-môu (3s) force.NFUT-IRR.PFV work do=sQV-PFV '... in order for him to do forced labour'

#### 7.3.5 Negative and other scopes in a sentence

Negative scope refers to how much a negative word or affix affects the speech surrounding it. Does it refer only to the word or clause where it occurs? Does it spread to the whole sentence, or does it spread to a certain point? This question applies to other potentially spreading features, including prohibition, purpose and optative. There seem to be different barriers for different features.

#### Negatives, including prohibition

The negative effect of the word *mei* 'negative', when used as a negation in the verbal phrase with the proper suffixation, as well as that of the prohibitive suffix -da, spreads to the left until it comes to a perfective marker  $-mo\hat{u}$  (realis) or -ba (irrealis), which both act as barriers for negation, i.e. the "scene" is the scope of negation. A final verb also stops the negation, of course.

To make the negative influence spread past a perfective suffix the indefinite marker ta is used (1347) and (1348). The indefinite marker may also occur somewhere in the negative scene itself.

1345) *Hegie hiye <u>g</u> i-l-e sag<u>ai</u> dugu-l-o <u>mei</u>. hunger big 1s go-IRR-FUT likely see-IRR-FUT NEG NEGATIVE NEGATIVE* 

'(I) am not likely to go and taste hunger.'

226

1346) Bolou mei dege-mou, e wini dege-l-i mei. 3s win do-IRR-NFUT NEG two NEG do-pfv NEGATIVE 'Having finished the two (years), he did not pass his exams.'  $Y_0 = be$ . dia dabai ke=me to-l-ou-ba 1347) ta base=TOP 3PL work that=TOP INDF hold-IRR-NPST-PFV.IRR NEGATIVE dala-l-e dege-môu. tofo-u+soqo ke-ge = nou mei ka=ha step-NFUT+long that-VBR=only be/have-IRR-FUT NEG that=GEN do-PFV NEGATIVE 'Because concerning the(ir) work, they will not be holding on (to it) and live on forever.' 1348) Huei-le + môu aqudi-le + tou doboaôu = ve yôu saaai ke ke ta water-A.LOCR+down 3s.EMP likely that heaven-A.LOCR+up thatINDF hand=INS NEGATIVE (cont. next line) Gode Kau=do <u>e</u> ta dehega-ma-**ba**, h₫ ta sou-da. INDF make-ISO-PFV.IRR God big=INT 3s name INDF call-PROH NEGATIVE 'Do not after making (something) like him with your hands (from) down in the water/river (or) (from) up in the sky, call it by Lord God's name.' (Mountain dialect) In the next three examples the barrier is a final verb or a verbless clause. moso=kou dabai hiye=do dege-l-e 1349) Ofesi tefele-que-i, office house=LOC work big=INT do-IRR-FUT stand-DU/PL-NFUT kasag<u>ai</u> dege-i ta duqu-l-i mei bad do-nfut indf See-IRR-NFUT NEG NEGATIVE Bolo = f<u>ei</u> = do dele-gue-i, hegie mei. good=total=INT be/have-DU/PL-NFUT hunger NEG NEGATIVE (People) were in offices and did a lot of work; (I) did not see anything (that) was bad. Everything was very good indeed; nobody (was) hungry.' 1350) Ke=nou = si e wai taha-j fogôu-l-i mei. that=ONLY=CNTR 3s pig shoot-NFUT hit.target-IRR-NFUT NEG NEGATIVE 'He shot at the pig; (he) did not hit (it).' 1351)  $Ke = no\hat{u} = si$ hiye=do, toto=do taha-l-<u>e</u> sagai mei. е е que that=only=CNTR megapod 3s fear big=INT quickly=INT shoot-IRR-FUT likely NEG NEGATIVE 'But the megapod bird (is) very much afraid; (you are) not likely to shoot (it) in a hurry.' In the following example the topic marker = be finishes off a long relative clause and stops the effect of the prohibitive suffix -da from spreading. 1352) Bi+ma-i bolo = fei duqu-o-ba, ta fi=ye môu de-ba thing+put-NFUT good=total see-FUT-PFV.IRR soul=INS INDF get PROV-PFV.IRR mei de tawa-l-e=be taga-da.

> NEGATIVE 'Having seen good (material) things, (and) knowing that you should not take any, **do not desire it.**' (Mountain dialect)

like-proh

NEG

PROV know-IRR-FUT=TOP

#### **Purpose and optative**

The barrier for purpose and optative is the topic marker **=***be*, cliticised to a final verb.

1353) Godi=ha a maka-i=be, o sasai dia=mokôu ke-ge-i ke God=GEN 1s mark-NFUT=TOP man woman 3PL=Loc that-VBR-NFUT that PURPOSE (cont. next line)

```
he-hegi-e=yado-moîu.
```

RED.PL-show-RED.PL=SQV-PFV

'God has marked me to teach these things to people.'

1354) Môu o=ye i-l-e=be, kôu bolo=f<u>ei</u>=ye ya-ba nothing man=INS go-IRR-FUT=TOP prior good=total=OPT go.DU/PL.FUT-PFV.IRR OPTATIVE (cont. next line)

ta=f<u>ei</u> totoû dege-**i**=**ye** do-môu

INDF=total forgetfulness do-NFUT=OPT PROV-PFV

'When men without (knowledge) would go, (thinking) beforehand (it) would be OK, it would not do, if they having gone would be a bit stupid ...'

See also Topic marker: 8.3.16 FUNCTIONS AS A BARRIER.

# 8. DISCOURSE

The types of discourse that have been studied are narrative, procedural, descriptive, hortatory and letter. There will be a few comments on other discourse types as well.

Narratives:	very long sentences, consisting of verbal clauses
Procedurals:	heavy use of head-tail linkage
Descriptives	: many sentences consisting of short verbless clauses
	the <b>theme slot</b> at the beginning of a clause, which in a narrative is used mostly for introduction, is working over-time in a descriptive story
Hortatory:	deontic moods, optative quote verbs, final verbs in future tense, conditionals
Letters:	many sentences in <b>deontic mood, e.g. imperative</b>

I have not found any differences between written and oral styles in syntax or information structure, except what is due to length. An oral story may be long with many details, while a written story or letter tends to be short and to the point. That being the case, the tendency would be to have more background information in an oral story.

## 8.1 Beginning and ending a discourse

The initial sentence in a story often consists of one clause. There will be one or more arguments in the initial theme slot of this clause (see 6.3 CLAUSES WITH THEME SLOT). Main participant(s), time and/or location go in this slot (1355)-(1357). Examples (1358) and (1359) are from narratives explaining how something came about. Example (1360) is from a descriptive story. Some descriptives starts with a narrative sentence, or two, without anything in the theme slot (1361). Examples. (1362), (1363) are the introduction of letters.

#### Beginnings

Discourse initial theme slots marked as **bold**:

1355) **<u>A</u>** afu kôu-le-ge  $\underline{g} = b\hat{o}u$  Yogu =  $b\hat{o}u$ 1s earlier this-A.LOCR-VBR 1s=and Yogu=and ele to to-l-o=yode-ma i

1DU.EX river wash-IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQ go.NFUT

'(When) I (was) here some time ago, I and Yogu, after we two had said that (we) were going swimming (we) went.'

- 1356) <u>A</u> afu=do 1995 holiday g Debele=kôu i. 1s earlier=INT1995 holiday 1s Debele=Loc go.NFUT 'A long time ago, I, (during) the holiday of 1995, I went to Debele.'
- 1357) **Afu** <u>mg</u> <u>aye=hg</u> <u>ou</u> <u>ta</u> <u>ha-i</u>. earlier ls.poss father=gen sago INDF cut-NFUT '**Some time ago** my father cut down a sago (palm).'

228

229

Other typical introduction devices marked as **bold**:

Other typica	in introduction devices marked as bold.
1358)	Sabuobiye-i=bekou-g(u)efuafele-i.a.clanmansit.up/down-NFUT=TOPthis-VBR(BLTV)break.opencome.up-NFUT
	' <b>Concerning</b> the existence of the Sambu people, (they) originated <b>like this</b> .'
1359)	<u>A</u> afu 1981-82 Sep <u>e</u> <u>o</u> fene gabu milo-u <b>t</b> <u>a</u> . 1s earlier 1981-82 Smipen mouth.of.river airplane place work-NFUT talk
	'A <b>story</b> about when I earlier, in 1981-82, worked on the airstrip at the mouth of the Smipen river.'
1360)	$Mola = be$ $bolo = f\underline{ei} = do, \underline{e} = me$ $o$ $dogo\hat{u}gu-di.$ Medicine=TOPgood=total=INT $3s=TOP$ manhelp-hab
	'Medicine <b>is</b> very good; it helps people.'
1361)	<u>A</u> sa Dahamo tôufogôu fene+ya hague-i. Sa Ukarumpa=kôu migi.
1301)	1s land Dahamo leave airplane+road come-nFut land Ukarumpa=Loc come.down-nFut
	'Leaving Dahamo I came by plane. (I) came down in Ukarumpa.'
1362)	<u>A</u> ng=mokôu <b>tawa-l-e ta tobôu-l-a-môu</b> .
1302)	1s 2s=Loc know-IRR-FUT talk say-IRR-SUBJ-PFV
	'I want to tell you something/a message (so you) will know.'
1363)	Ma mogo, habi bolo=fei=do.
1303)	ls.poss friend afternoon good=total=INT
	'My friend, a very good afternoon.'
Endings	
0	and letters and with kap fit of that's all? In the Maustain dislast the company ding word is kap fai
Many storie	s and letters <b>end</b> with <i>kenôuf<u>ei</u></i> 'that's all'. In the Mountain dialect the corresponding word is <i>kehef<u>ei</u></i> .
1364)	M <u>a</u> t <u>a</u> ke=nôu=f <u>ei</u> .
	1s.poss talk that=only=total
	'That's the <b>whole</b> story.'

- 1365) Ke-ge-môu Sabu o biye-i  $talebel{eq:ensure} talebel{eq:ensure} talebel{eq:ensure} talebel{eq:ensure} talebel{eq:ensure} ke=nôu=fei.$ that-vbr-pfv a.clan man sit.up/down-NfUT talk=TOP that=only=total 'So the story about the Sambu people is all finished.'
- 1366) Ma ta ke-he=fei. 1s.poss talk that-p.locr=total 'My story (is) all finished right there.'

## 8.2 Structures and linkage in discourse

Different types of discourse have partly different types of structures and linkage. In Konai, narratives are to a large extent made up of long sentences, made up of verbal clauses. The sentences are mostly linked by different kinds of temporal linkage. A descriptive story, on the other hand, may start off with a few narrative sentences, but then continue with many one-clause sentences, where the clauses may be verbless or the verb may be a stative one. There may also be complement sentences of different kinds. Instead of temporal linking there are lots of fronting to a theme slot and much marking of topic.

The following is an attempt to see what smaller parts a discourse may be divided into, and what structures link the different parts.

## 8.2.1 Narrative discourse: Introducing head-tail and other temporal linkage

Long sentences made up of verbal clauses are typical of a narrative discourse style. There are three types of basically time related linking:

•	head-tail linkage	- the last clause of a sentence is repeated in part or whole in the first clause of the next sentence
•	demonstrative pro-verb linkage	- the demonstrative pro-verb <i>kege</i> 'be like that' appears as the verb of the first clause in a sentence
•	temporal verb linkage	- a temporal verb appears as the verb of the first clause in a sentence

Consider the following story, a clan legend, written by Pepson Uliti. **Head-tail linkage is marked in blue**, while the **pro-verb linkage is marked in red**. In the second story in this section, the **temporal verb** is also **marked in red**. So is the **temporal setting** in the initial theme slot in both stories.

1367)	DibiyeHiyadibihu + tike + diafuafele-itaThunder Hiyandibiname+call that+3PL break.open come.up-NFUTtalk'The story about the origin of the Thunder Hiyandibi clan' (heading)
	Afuafu = dokôuguaike + diadelei.Dala-l-i,tasabiyeearlier earlier=INTancestors that+3PL be/have-NFUT be/have-IRR-NFUT INDF be.mornig
	<pre>habi dege-i-moû, huei=boû, dibiye=boû hiye=do dege-i. Dibiye afternoon do-NFUT-PFV water=and thunder=and big=INT do-NFUT thunder</pre>
	hiye = dofu-fuo-u-môu,digbahaduwo-gua-l-idugu = be,hebehiye = dobig=INTRED.PL-break.open-NFUT-PFV3PLlooksit-du/PL-IRR-NFUT see.NFUT=TOPtreebig=INT
	$sasa=do$ , <u>e</u> $h\underline{y}=be$ $diogo$ $ka=h\underline{a}$ $sug\underline{y}+to\underline{\hat{u}}=ge$ $fiye$ $s\underline{g}-\underline{\hat{j}}$ tall/long=INT 3s name=TOP tree.sp. that=GEN top+up=F.CNTR thread twine-NFUT
	sasa=doka=hamigi-môudugu.Migi-môudugu=be,tall/long=INTthat=GENcome.down.NFUT-PFVsee.NFUTcome.down.NFUT-PFVsee.NFUT
	fivesg-jke=meyedihigomogu=bôumigi-môudugu.threadtwine-NFUTthat=TOPstringbagchildknot=andcome.down.NFUT-PFVsee.NFUT'A very long time ago, the ancestors lived. (They) lived until one day in the afternoon, there was a lot ofrain and thunder. While the thunder kept crashing, they sat (there) waiting until (they) saw that from thetop of (a) very big, tall tree, its name is "diogo", that very long rope came down. While seeing (it) comedown, (they) saw (a) small stringbag tied to the rope coming down with (it).'
	<b>Ke-ge-môu, dig ye dihi ke tu-l-o-môu dugu=be,</b> that-vbr-pfv 3pl stringbag child that remove-IRR-FUT-pfv see.NFUT=TOP
	<i>dihi ta sa-l-a-môu dugu.</i> child INDF put.inside-IRR-SUBJ-PFV see.NFUT
	<b>'Then/Having become like that,</b> they, having removed the small stringbag, saw that a child must have been put inside.'
	<i>Ke-ge-môu, di<u>a</u> dihi k<u>e</u> fo-fo-l-ôu dala-l-i, hiye dege-i.</i> that-vbr-pfv 3pl child that RED.PL-run-IRR-NPST be/have-IRR-NFUT big do-NFUT
	<i>Hiye dege-moû, e sasai hu-l-o, dihi su = do mo-u.</i> big do.NFUT-PFV 3s woman marry-IRR-FUT child many=INT get-NFUT ' <b>Then/Having become like that,</b> they raised the child until <b>he was grown up. Having grown up,</b> he married and had many children.'
	<b>Ke-ge-môu,</b> dig <u>e</u> h <u>u</u> +ti=be Dibiye Hiygdibi=yode-i. that-VBR-PFV 3PL 3s name+call=TOP Thunder Hiyandibi=IQV-NFUT ' <b>Then/Having become like that,</b> they called his clan Thunder Hiyandibi.'
	DibiyeHiyadibi $h\underline{u} + fi$ fuafele-i $t\underline{a}$ $k\underline{e} = n\hat{o}u = f\underline{e}i$ .Thunder Hiyandibi name+call break.opencome.up-NFUT talkthat=only=total'That is the whole story of the Thunder Hiyandibi clan.' (conclusion)

The following is a very short story that Gilbert Dabaga wrote for his elementary children.

1368) **Sawisie-i** ta, <u>g</u> *i-l-e-môu* gôusi dogogu. be.day-NFUT INDF 1s go-IRR-FUT-PFV trap put.NFUT 'One day, I having gone, put a trap.'

Sabiyo-u-môu,i-l-e-môudugu=bekueyato-udugu.be.morning-NFUT-PFVgo-IRR-FUT-PFVsee.NFUT=TOPcassowaryhold-NFUTsee.NFUT'Next morning at dawn, (I) having gone, saw that a cassowary was caught (there).

Ke-qe-mou, kueya ke wala moso=kou i. а that-vBR-PFV 1s cassowary that attack.IRR.FUT ... house=LOC qo.NFUT Moso = kôu folo-môu, kueya so-l-ou na-i=be, house=LOC cassowary cook.on.stones-IRR-NPST eat-NFUT=TOP qo.up.FUT-PFV sebe=be hive = do.

good.taste=TOP big=INT

**'Then/Having become like that**, I killed the cassowary and ... **went home. Having come up to the house**, (I/we) cooked (the) cassowary on stones and when (we) ate (it), (it) was delicious.'

#### 8.2.1.1 Structure of narratives

I am indebted to Tommy Logan and his *Kasua Grammar Sketch* (2008) for making me aware of the use of different types of temporal linkage in narrative discourse. The Kasua language is related to Konai (see 1 INTRODUCTION).

As in the Kasua language, Konai, too, uses different types of head-tail linkage to provide coherence in narrative discourse. Konai, too, uses verb recapitulation, i.e. head-tail linkage to tie a row of closely related sentences together, and a pro-verb is used at the beginning of a new line of sentences.

Referring back to the previous section and the two interlinearised stories, this is how it works in Konai.

- head-tail linkage: used within a paragraph to make it a coherent unit
- pro-verb linkage: used to demarcate and join paragraphs
- temporal verb linkage: also used to demarcate and join paragraphs

In addition, most narratives start off with a **temporal setting at the beginning of the story**. This may, for example, be expressed in a temporal adverb (first story above) or by a relativised temporal verb (second story).

#### 8.2.1.2 More on head-tail linkage

The most common type of head-tail/H-T linkage makes use of the medial suffix  $-m\hat{o}u$  'perfective', but other verb endings are possible. In this kind of structure, the verb alone may be repeated, or other parts of speech may be included in the repetition. The H-T linkage may be an exact repetition or synonyms may be used. All these possibilities occur in the clan legend in 8.2.1, as can be seen from the extracts below.

... delei. Dalali, ...

'... lived. (They) lived until ...'

'... (he) was grown up. Having grown up, ...'

... hueiboû, dibiyeboû hiyedo degei. Dibiye hiyedo fufuoumoû, ...

"... there was a lot of rain and thunder. While (the) thunder kept crashing, ..."

... migimôu dugu. Migimôu dugube, ... '... (they) saw ... came down. While seeing it come down, ...'

... hiye degei. Hiye degemoû, ...

Within the H-T linking unit the subject is always the same. In the clause following the H-T linkage, the subject may be the same or it may be different from the subject in the H-T linkage clauses, partly depending on the suffix of the tail part of the linkage.

In the clan legend, all sentences in a paragraph are joined by H-T linkage. That is not necessarily the case as shown in the following story about two boys killing a hornbill, written by Kevin Gibi. You could perhaps say that the H-T linking carries the story-line forward. The proverb kegemou 'having become like that' occurs immediately after the climax of the story.

The story is written here with one sentence per line, except where there is H-T linkage between two sentences, when they are written together as a unit.<sup>190</sup>

#### A story about killing a hornbill

## Paragraph 1

<u>A</u> afu kôulege <u>a</u>bôu Yogubôu ele to toloyodema i. <u>Ele</u> kokôu <u>yai. Yolugi</u> dugube, hebe hiyedo ta tafala. Hebe kumaha fukôu dugu, dôuwa duwo. Duwomôu dugu foqôumôu i.

'When I (was) here some time ago, **I and Yogu**, after we two (excl.) had said (we) were going swimming, (we) **went**. We two went towards there. We went along until (we) saw a big tree standing. In (a) hole of this tree (we) saw (a) hornbill sit. (We) saw (her) sitting (there); leaving (we) went.'

Ele Koloukou miloumou <u>dugube, to gihou. To gihou</u> dugumou,<sup>191</sup> haba boholouma haguasigei. <u>Ma</u> mogoha dugu tobolou, da douwa walaba imebeedei.

**'We two saw (the river) Koloun** being busy, **(the) river was in flood.** Seeing (the) river being in flood, after completely turning around, we (started to) come back again. My friend saw (it); (he) said and suggested, "Let's go to kill the hornbill.""

<u>Ele</u> hebe hagima, tigi kagimamoû digigile <u>fologai. Ele folo</u>, doûwa u dobog<u>oû</u> kasuguomoû, doûwa toloûma wala i.

'After <u>we two</u> had cut sticks and cut vines, we tied them together and <u>went up (the tree)</u>. We two went up and having inserted (our) hands in (the) hornbill hole, after grabbing (the) hornbill we killed it.'

#### Paragraph 2

Kegemou, ele tobou, da ifi Godiha soloudo damokou nei kuheyode tobou.

'Then/Having become like that, we two (excl.) said, "To the two of us (incl.) here today, God has given/gave (his) love," (we) stated and said.'

## Godih<u>a</u> elemokou soloudo n<u>ei</u>.

'God gave (his) love to us two (excl.).'

## Ele Godikou hoho hiyedo degei.

'We two (excl.) are very pleased with God.'

An interlinear translation of some of the occurrences of H-T linkage in the previous story is shown in the next four examples (underlined above).

1369)	Ele	ya-	·i.	Yo-l-u-gi		
	1du.ex	go	.DU/PL-NFUT	go.DU/PL-I	RR-NFUT-DSQ	
	'We two went .	We wen	t along until	.'		
1370)	dugu dó see.nfut ho		<b>duwo.</b> sit	<b>Duwo-môu</b> sit-pfv	<i>dugu</i> see.nfut	
	<b>' saw</b> (a) <b>horn</b>	bill sit. (W	<sup>v</sup> e) saw (her) si	tting (there)'		
1371)	<b>J</b>	-	<b>gih<u>o</u>-u</b> . be.in.flo	od-NFUT ri	<i>giho_u</i> ver be.in.flood-NFUT	<i>dugu-mô</i> u see.nfut-pfv
	' saw (the)	river was i	n flood. Seeing	g (the) river be	ing in flood'	
1372)	Ele fo	lo-ga-i.	Ele	folo		
	ldu.ex gc	.up-DU/H	PL-NFUT 1DU.	EX go.up.Ft	UT	
	'We two wen	t up. We t	wo went up ar	nd'		

#### 8.2.1.2.1 Different types of head-tail linkage

Even though the medial suffix  $-m\hat{o}u$  'perfective' is the most common suffix in verb recapitulation in head-tail linkage, other suffixes do occur, as can be seen from the examples in the previous section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> The H-T linkage is written in two alternating blue colours.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> The expected form for same subject is *dugu-o-moû* (see-FUT-PFV) 'we two having seen ..., we two ...' (see 7.3.1.1.5 A STATEMENT OF RESERVATION).

In this section, I will show the structure of two types of head-tail linkage: Structure I and Structure II. The examples in the previous section were all of Structure I. Any medial verb suffixes may be used on the verb in the tail clause. The first example below is of Structure I. So is (1381) below, even though it may at first glance look otherwise. The rest of the examples are Structure II.

Structure II makes use of the expression mei dege 'be finished' (NEG#do). Formulas for both structures follow below.

Structure I - Head-tail linkage						
$\text{H-T}_{I}  \rightarrow  V_{\text{FINAL.}}  V_{\text{MEDIAL}}$	'V-ed. V-ed and/Having V-ed/Having V-ed until' etc. depending on the medial verb suffixes					
Structure II - Head-tail linkage						
H-T <sub>II</sub> $\rightarrow$ V <sub>FINAL</sub> . (V-NFUT/V-ISQ)#	NEG#do <sub>MEDIAL</sub> 'V-ed. Having finished (V-ing)'					

- --

**a**.

- . . . . .

(V-i/u/V-ma) mei dege-môu

In both structures the final verb is often in realis non-future, i.e. past tense, but does not need to be. In Structure I, the repeated verb occurs in any medial form. In Structure II, the repeated verb form is either a final realis non-future form, or a form with the medial suffix *-ma* 'immediate sequence', or it may not be repeated at all (1379), (1380). The last part of this structure is the adverb incorporated verb *mei dege* 'be finished' in any form, even final (1376), (1380).

Structure II is much more common in **procedurals** than in narratives, because there it is **used to demarcate paragraphs** (see 8.2.2 PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE.) When used in a narrative it may have that function, too.

1373) Afu ta та aye = haôù ha-i. earlier 1s.poss father=gen sago INDF cut-NFUT Ôu ha-mou. haqua tie-i. ke е sago that cut.FUT-PFV 3s come sleep-NFUT 'Some time ago my father cut down a sago (palm). Having cut down the sago (palm), he came and slept.' 1374) John = ha Yesu fafeleya Yesu fafeleva mei dege-mou, tofo-u. tofo-u John=gen Jesus baptism step-NFUT Jesus baptism step-NFUT NEG do-PFV Godi = ha Yesu = koutobo-u God=gen Jesus=LOC say-NFUT 'John baptized Jesus. (John) having finished baptizing Jesus, God said to Jesus, ...' 1375) 0 su = dodia bolo ya-l-i. 0 su = dobolo ya-i mei dege-mou, man many=INT 3PL ball play-IRR-NFUT man many=INT ball play-NFUT NEG do-pfv to to vo-l-u. 0 di<u>a</u> t<u>o</u> to-ma mei dege-mou, moso=kou i-l-i. river wash go.du/pl-IRR-NFUT man 3pl river wash-ISQ NEG do-PFV house=Loc go-IRR-NFUT 'Many men are playing soccer. Many men having finished playing soccer, they are going swimming. The men having finished swimming, (they) go home.' (pictures)

1376) *dilie* **yo sogo-u-l-u**. **Sege-i mei dege-i**, *dilie habi* 3DU banana plant-BLTV-IRR-NFUT plant-NFUT NEG do-NFUT 3DU afternoon

dege-i-môu,diliemoso=kôufogôu-mayo-l-u.do-NFUT-PFV3DUhouse=Locleave.for-ISQgo.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT

'... the two of them **are planting bananas**. (They) **finished planting**; in the afternoon, the two of them after leaving for home are going along.' (pictures)

1377) sisigo prais Ε mei dege-ba, di olôufei ne-me. n<u>e</u>-ma children prize give-HORT 3s give-ISQ NEG do-PFV.IRR 1PL.INall.total Dahamo=kou dihi do mala i-me. Dahamo=LOC child sickness get.IRR.FUT go-HORT "... let us give the children (a) prize. Having finished giving it, let's all take the sick child and go to Dahamo.'

1378) high sokoulou i-di. High sokoulou duwo de-ma mei dege-i-mou = be, high school high school до-нав sit PROV-ISQ NEG do-nfut-pfv=top sokôulôu hive = doi-di. school big=INT QO-HAB

"... (children) **habitually go to highschool**. **Having finished highschool**, they immediately (and) habitually go to university."

1379)	M <u>a</u> -ma <b>ikoke ke-i</b> .	<b>Mei dege-môu</b> , sage	sa-i.
	put-ISQ nail hammer-NFUT	NEG do-PFV rafter	put.inside-NFUT
	'After putting (the cross beams), (w	e) nailed (them) down. Having	finished, (we) put in rafters.'
1380)	Tomelekosi.Tom1du.excoursego.nfu		<i>riday.</i> rriday
	'Tom and I went (to a) course. (The	e) course finished on Friday.'	
1381)	<i>tah<u>a</u> tah<u>a</u>-môu su-l-u-gi,</i> shoot shoot-pFV walk.aro		<i>mei dege-i. Mala mei dege-môu,</i> Neg do-NFUT arrow Neg do-PFV
	<i>awaki dihi ta malg</i> knife child INDF get.IR	R.FUT	
	' walking around shooting, (the) a knife and'	rrows were finished. Having fi	inished (the) arrows, (he) took a small

The Foothill dialect has another word dumy also meaning 'finished' which is used as well as mei dege.

1382) awa dio so iqiva-i. Kebe ilo ke-le=boû black.palm bone remove go.DU/PL-NFUT a.people.group partthat-A.LOCR=and ei olôuf<u>ei</u> folo-ga, dio dumu-mou, awa so-ma 1PL.EX all.total go.up-DU/PL.FUT black.palm bone remove-ISQ finish.NFUT-PFV m<u>o</u>û + m<u>a</u> hagua-sige fel<u>e</u>-ga-i. get+put come-DU/PL.FUT come.up-DU/PL-NFUT "... we went to remove strips of black palm. Some Kebe (people), too, we all went up, and finishing removing strips of black palm, we got it all and came and arrived (back).' (Foothill dialect)

#### 8.2.1.3 More on demonstrative pro-verb linkage

Paragraphs are usually linked by the proverb *kege* 'be like that'. The overwhelmingly most common suffix, when this verb is used to demarcate and link paragraphs, is *-moû* 'perfective'. A new paragraph is started when a chain of events is broken and a new starts, as in the following story about a school boy, written by Winta Diomono.

#### A story about Keta going to school.

Ketaha sokoulou duwei ta susulamou (heading)

'Wanting to tell a story about Keta going to school (heading).'

Ketabe <u>e</u>me Debele dihi. <u>E</u> afudo 1991 kelege Dahamokou **sokoulou duwei**. <u>E</u> sokoulou duwoli, sadebe bolou bolou</u>, bolou de mei degemou, tewe hiyedo molou wini degei.

'Keta he is a Debele kid. In 1991 **he was in school** in Dahamo. **He was in school until** having finished six years, (when) he had got big knowledge and past (the exams).'

Kegemôu, <u>e</u> sokôulôu hiyedo Kiungakôu biyo i, 1997 kelege. Sadebe olôuf<u>ei</u> bol<u>ou</u>. Bol<u>ou</u> m<u>ei</u> degemôu, <u>e</u> wini degeli mei.

**'Then/Having become like that,** he went to highschool in Kiunga in 1997. (He was there for) **a total of two years. When the two** years **had gone,** he did not pass (the exams).'

Kegemoû, <u>e</u> sokoûloû koû duwei k<u>e</u>noû haba duwei. <u>E</u> k<u>e</u> degei kah<u>a</u> tewe hiyedo m<u>ou</u>. Sadebe 2007 k<u>o</u>ûmah<u>a</u>ge <u>e</u>me medigo sokoûloû ile. Kal<u>ai</u> sa koûlibe tewe dihi ta mei.

**'Then/Having become like that,** he sat through the school (years) he had already done (once) again. Because he did that, he got big knowledge. In this year of 2007, he will go to medical (Community Health Worker) school. Here in the land of the Konai, there is no other kid with that much knowledge.'

**Kegei degemôu,** dihi k<u>o</u>̂umah<u>a</u> yomogôu a tefei sol<u>o</u>̂u bolof<u>e</u>ido.

'Because of being like that, this kid is starting to open a closed door (and it is) good.'

Ketaha sokôulôu duwei ta susube kenôufei. (conclusion)

'Telling the story about Kieta being in school is all finished (conclusion).'

See also the stories in 8.2.1 NARRATIVE DISCOURSE: INTRODUCING HEAD-TAIL AND OTHER TEMPORAL LINKAGE and onwards.

234

## 8.2.1.3.1 Different types of demonstrative pro-verb linkage

The most common forms of the pro-verb *kege* 'be like that' will be listed below. For example, it may be combined with another pro-verb *dege* 'do' as seen in the next to last sentence in the story in the last section. The form *kegeba* 'will have become like that' occurs in future and/or hypothetic cases. The form last in the list *kelegemôu* 'having become like that there' is common in the Mountain dialect.

Also, a rough translation of all of these forms is 'then' or 'so'. There is no real difference in Konai between 'then' (sequential) and 'so' (reason-result).

		approximate meaning	temp. rel. to next event/state
ke-ge-i-môu	(that-VBR-NFUT-PFV)	'being like that'	close, immediately
ke-ge-môu	(that-VBR-PFV)	'having become like that'	later unspecified
ke-ge dege-môu	(that-VBR# <i>do</i> -PFV)	'because of having become like that'	later unspecified
ke-ge-i dege-môu	(that-VBR-NFUT # <i>do</i> -PFV)	'because of being like that'	later unspecified
ke-ge-ba	(that- VBR-PFV.IRR)	'when (it) will have become like that'	later unspecified
ke-ge-ba=si	(that-VBR-PFV.IRR=CNTR)	'in that way, in contrast to other ways'	later unspecified
ke-ge-i-ba=si	(that-VBR-NFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR)	'being like that, in contrast to other ways'	close, immediately
ke-le-ge-môu	(that-A.LOCR-VBR-PFV)	'having become like that there'	later unspecified

This demonstrative pro-verb, is a type 2 verb and is conjugated as such, and when used to demarcate and link paragraphs it is conjugated as a medial verb. See 4.1.5.2.2 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR MEDIAL VERBS.

1383)	$hag\underline{i}  \underline{a} = b\hat{o}\underline{u} + de  dala.$ heavy 1s=and+prov be/have
	Ke-ge-i-môu,gfī+mgdugu=bethat-vbr-nfut-pfv1ssoul+put.futsee.nfut=top' I have a problem.
	Being like that, I thought and saw that'
1384)	Ke-ge-ba,nig=mokôutobo-l-ôuthat-vbr-pfv.irr2pi1s=locsay-irr-Npst' When (it) will have become like that, you will say to me'
1385)	ng=geama=f <u>ei</u> he-hegi-e-moui.Ke-ge-i-ba=si,2s=f.cntrquiet=totalRED.PL-show-RED.PL-PFVgo.NFUTthat-VBR-NFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR
	Godi=hgdege-i=ye,diefiboho-l-ôu-baGod=gendo-NFUT=INS3PL.POSSsoulturn-IRR-NPST-PFV.IRR' you (must) continue to teach quietly. Being like that, in contrast to other ways, through God's doing,(people) will have repented and'
1386)	Afu $m\underline{a}$ $aye = h\underline{a}$ $\hat{ou}$ $ta$ $ha-i.$ earlier1s.possfather=gensagoINDFcut-NFUT
	Ke-le-ge-môu <u>e</u> i-l-edugu=bewaiôuno-l-uthat-A.LOCR-VBR-PFV3sgo-IRR-FUTsee.NFUT=TOPpigsagoeat-IRR-NFUT
	Ke-le-ge-môu <u>e</u> kisi.that-A.LOCR-VBR-PFV3smake.a.wall.NFUT'Some time ago my father cut down a sago (palm) Then/Having become like that there, he went and saw(a) pig eating sago (flakes). Then/Having become like that there, he built a hunting shelter.'(Mountain dialect)

## 8.2.1.4 More on temporal verb linkage

Paragraphs may also be joined by a couple of temporal verbs meaning basically 'next day' or 'next morning', as in the short story in (1368), the two first sentences being repeated in (1387). As with any medial verb, if there is a high vowel preceding the perfective suffix, it expresses a close temporal relationship (relative present tense) with the following event/state, in this case 'at dawn'. If the preceding vowel is low, the temporal relationship is unspecified and the meaning is just 'in the morning' (1388).

1387) **Sawisie-i** ta <u>g</u> *i-l-e-môu* gôusi dogogu. be.day-NFUT INDF 1s go-IRR-FUT-PFV trap put.NFUT '**One day** I having gone, put a trap.'

Sabiyo-u-môu,i-l-e-môudugu=bekueyato-udugu.be.morning-NFUT-PFVgo-IRR-FUT-TOPsee.NFUT=TOPcassowaryhold-NFUTsee.NFUT'Next morning at dawn/As dawn was breaking, (I) having gone, saw that a cassowary was caught (there).'

The following is an excerpt from a story about a hunting trip written by Michael Soti.

1388)  $Moso = ko\hat{u}$  folo-ga-mo $\hat{u}$ , igi si + ma-mo $\hat{u}$  dege-i

house=LOC go.up-DU/PL.FUT-PFV stone cook+put-PFV do-NFUT

wai so-l-ôu n<u>a</u>-ma tie-i.

pig cook.on.stones-IRR-NPST eat-ISQ sleep-NFUT

'... Having gone up to (the) house, and having heated stones; (we) cooked (the) pig on (the) stones and after eating (we) slept.'

Sabiya-môu,	Asele	dilie	<u>e</u>	sasai	Dasame	dilie
be.morning. <b>FUT</b> -PFV	Asele	3du	3s	woman	Dasame	3du

yo-u-mou,

Mal<u>i</u> <u>o</u>=kou

Malin mouth.of.river=LOC go.DU/PL-NFUT-PFV

'**Next morning**/Dawn having broken, while Asele and his wife Dasame went to (the) mouth of the (river) Malin, ...'

## 8.2.2 Procedural discourse

Typical of a procedural text is:

- head-tail linkage, many of the type V-*i*/u/V-ma mei dege 'have finised V-ing' (H-T structure II)
- little interaction between participants

There are two kinds of head-tail linkage described in 8.2.1.2.1 DIFFERENT TYPES OF HEAD-TAIL LINKAGE. Both types may be used in both a narrative and in a procedural. Structure II, with the adverb incorporating verbal expression *mei dege* 'finish', however, is more likely to occur in a procedural story, than it is to occur in an exciting narrative.

In fact, this longer form of head-tail linkage is used much as the pro-verb *kege* 'be like that' is used in narratives to divide the discourse into chunks, for easier processing. In other words, it divides a text into paragraphs, while the shorter form of head-tail linkage (Structure I) is a cohesive device to give each paragraph internal coherence.

A story about a house being built follows. It is a transcribed story told by Hobert Gisabo. In this story, **blue** is used to mark head-tail linkage **within the paragraph**, while the **turquoise** and **green** colours are used to mark head-tail linkage **across paragraph boundaries**.

A story about building a house (see Appendix IV for a full transcribed version of this story)

*Moso tegei ta* (heading)

'(A) story about building (a) house' (heading)

#### <u>A</u> afu 1995 kaha Bobaho ele moso togolamoù hebe mou. **Mou diafigi. Mou diafigima** mou ma

haguei. Moso togolo sa kokou mai.

'I, before, in 1995, Bobaho and I, planning to build (a) house, got timber. (We) **cut posts.** (We) **cut posts** and **brought** (them). (We) put them where (we) were going to build (the) house.'

Hebe gubugi m<u>o</u>uma haguei <u>mei degei</u>, ele asou dai. Asou dama, hebe ke fofoguei.

'(We) <u>finished</u> bringing all (the) posts (we) had cut; the two of us dug holes. Having dug (the) holes, (we) raised (the) posts.'

Hebe fofoguei mei degemou, ele hebe tagetou mai. Mama ikoke wei.

'<u>Having finished raising</u> (the) posts, the two of us put cross beams on top. After putting (them), (we) nailed (them) down.'

<u>Mei degemou</u>, sage sai.

'Having finished, (we) put on rafters.'

## Sage sama mei degemou, digo mama, teme gobou.

'Having finished putting on (the) rafters, after putting on wild pandana strips, (we) folded sago leaves (over the pandana strips).'

Tem<u>e</u> gobou <u>mei degemou</u>, awa dio f<u>ai</u>.

'Having finished folding (the) sago leaves, (we) put on flooring of black palm strips.'

Awa dio fai mei degemou, moso duledu temei fai.

'Having finished putting on (the) flooring of black palm strips, inside the house, (we) put on smaller black palm strips.'

Tem<u>ei</u> fai <u>mei degemou</u>, dou mos<u>o</u> bologu<u>a</u>i. Dou hebem<u>a</u> touma kuhe tiadi.

'<u>Having finished putting on</u> (the) smaller black palm strips, (we) fixed (a) fire place. (We) carried (in) firewood and after lighting (a fire) (we) now live there.'

#### Ma ta kenôufei. (conclusion)

'That (is) all of my talk.' (conclusion)'

An interlinearised translation of part of this story follows in the next example. It shows two of the head-tail linkages with *mei dege* 'finish' between paragraphs.

1389)	ele	asou	da-i.	Asoû	da + m <u>a</u> ,	hebe	k <u>e</u>	fo-fo-gu-e-i.
	1DU.EX	ground	dig-NFUT	ground	dig+put	tree	that	RED.PL-rise-OF-RED.PL-NFUT
	' <b>the two o</b>	f us dug h	oles. (We) du	ug holes ar	<mark>nd raised</mark> (th	e) <mark>posts</mark>	.'	
	Hebe fo-f	fo-gu-e-i		n	nei dege	e-môu,	ele	hebe
	tree RED	.PL-rise	-OF-RED.PL	-NFUT NI	eg do-e	PFV	ldu.	ex tree
	<i>tage</i> + <i>tôu</i> over+up		_			יטד		
	<b>Having fin</b> nailed (then		ng (the) post	s, the two	of us put cr	ossbean	ns on to	<b>p. After putting</b> (them), (we)
	Mei dege Neg do-f							

'Having finished, ...'

## 8.2.3 Descriptive discourse

It is a little harder to divide a descriptive story into paragraphs, than it was to do so with narratives and procedurals. We can, however, see what a descriptive discourse is characterised by:

- many sentences consisting of short verbless and/or stative-verb clauses
- clause initial theme slots frequently used, whereas in narratives they are mostly used for introductory purposes
- frequent use of the topic marker -{*be*}
- frequent use of the habitual aspect -di

The following story is descriptive, even though it describes a process rather than a thing. It is written by Pastor Motousi Si. The **bold typing** is a **fronted argument** in a **theme** slot. **Red typing** stands for **pronoun copy** (see 8.7.3.7). These features seemingly signal a new subtopic/paragraph in this story. **Blue typing** stands for the **topic marker**.<sup>192</sup> **Green is the habitual suffix** *-di*.

A story about working on an airstrip (see Appendix III for a full transcribed version of this story)

Fele gabu milou ta (heading)

'(A) story about working (on an) airstrip' (heading)

## <u>A</u> afu 1981- 82 Sep<u>e</u> o fele gabu milou ta. (introduction)

'(A) story about (when) I earlier, in 1981-82, worked on (the) airstrip at (the) mouth of (the) river Smipen.' (introduction)

## To e hube Sepe o.

'(The) river, its name is the Mouth of the Smipen.'

# **Bôu** <u>e</u> h<u>u</u>be</u> Woodyard, Vance Woodyard, <u>e</u>bôu <u>a</u>bôu Dipaibôu fel<u>e</u> gabu milolôu i. Fel<u>e</u> gabu sabe fofou hiyedo. Habiya o sudo milolôu i.

'(The) white man, his name is Woodyard, Vance Woodyard, he and I and Dipai worked (on the) airstrip. The ground of (the) airstrip was really muddy. Many Aekyom people worked (there).'

## Medigo o, <u>e</u> hube Someke. O hu olôuf<u>ei</u> nalai. <u>Eme</u> bose.

'(The) **medical orderly**, **his** name was Someke. (He) wrote (down) all (the) names of (the) people (working there). He was (the) boss.'

# **Kege milolôu ibe**, gusubu 8:00 ilemôu 12:00. Mesiholo duwodi. 1:00 bala wodi. O olôuf<u>ei</u> dabai degedi ibe domôu, habi 4:30 fogôu idi. O olôuf<u>ei</u> mos<u>o</u>kôu idi.

'Like that we worked from 8 o'clock in (the) morning until 12. (Then we) habitually rested. (At) 1 o'clock (they) habitually hit (a) bell. Everybody habitually worked until 4:30 in (the) afternoon, (when) leaving (they) habitually went. Everybody habitually went to (their) houses.'

## Fele gabu a miloube, hiya olou feibe 2 years.

'The work I (did) of building (the) airstrip went on for all of two years.'

Mei degei, fel<u>e</u> fiyei.<sup>193</sup>

'(Then it) was finished; (a) plane landed.'

The following examples (1390)-(1394) are part of longer descriptive stories about a place, Ukarumpa. Pastor Motousi Si and Councillor Soti Domo wrote these stories while there. Additional features in these two stories are:

- frequent use of *mei* 'negative'
- frequent use of the enclitic =ne 'also'<sup>194</sup>
- frequent use of *tabe* 'another thing'<sup>195</sup>

The introduction to the descriptive story written by Pastor Motousi, consists of a few short narrative sentences, including a head-tail linkage. He ends the introduction with a summing up statement using the pro-verb *kege* 'be like that'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> The topic marker is untranslatable. The <u>place</u> for it is marked in the translation in <u>blue</u>, but not in bold. See 8.3 TOPIC.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> *Mei degei* 'finish' is the only formal feature to indicate that this after all is a description of a **procedure** (see 8.2.2 PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE). <sup>194</sup> Only in Soti's story.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Only in Motousi's story.

in its most common medial form, in this case best translated 'so'. This function is a different use of this conjunction than described for narratives, where its main use is to start a new line of events (see 8.2.1.1 STRUCTURE OF NARRATIVES) and where a short translation often results in 'then'.

1390)	<b><u>A</u> sa</b> 1s land	<i>Dahamo</i> Dahamo	<i>tôufogôu</i> leave	<i>fene+ya</i> airplane+road	<i>hague-i.</i> l come-NFU	<b>Sa</b> r land	<b>Ukarum</b> Ukarump	
	<i>migi.</i> come.down-1	Sasan		= <b>ha Ukarumpa</b> = =gen Ukarumpa=lo	U		<i>tie-i</i> FUT-PFV slee	<i>mos<u>o</u></i> p-nfuthouse
	$bolo = f\underline{e}i = do = k\hat{o}u$ good=total=INT=LOC		fele-i. Ke-ge-môu, go.up-NFUT that-VBR-PFV			<i>hoh<u>o</u></i> light	<i>hiye=do</i> big=int	<i>dege-i.</i> do-nfut
				came down at Ukar ing house. So I was		g come do	wn at Ukaruı	mpa on a

The above is Pastor Motousi's introduction. Councillor Soti's introduction consists of a similar narrative sentence given earlier as (75).

The three following examples are all from different parts of Soti's story. Each example is a complete paragraph according to his own spacing as he wrote.

1391)	Esitoa=nehiye=dokôudala.Kalo=besu=dodala.3sstore=alsobig=INTpriorbe/havecar=TOPmany=INTbe/have
	<i>Kalo a=ne s<u>u</u>=do da tawa-ga tobo-l-ôu sag<u>ai</u> mei.</i> car road=also many=int ldu.in know-du/pl.fut say-irr-npst likely neg
	Ewaisif.sifsu=dodala.Bulumakou=nesudala.3spigsheepmany=INTbe/havecow=alsomanybe/have
	<b>'It</b> (Ukarumpa) <b>has</b> a big established store, <b>too</b> . There <b>are</b> very many cars. There are <b>also</b> very many roads for cars, <b>"more</b> than you & I are likely to know and talk about." <sup>196</sup> <b>It has</b> very many sheep. Cows <b>too</b> there <b>are</b> many.'
1392)	Hafeike-lehebedalamei,mihi=ye=nôudala.close.totalthat-A.LOCKtreebe/haveNEGearth=INS=onlybe/haveThemeCLAUSECLAUSECLAUSECLAUSE
	Hebe = be       o       ke + dig       hou       sege-i = ye = nôu       dala.         tree=TOP       man       that+3PL       seedling       plant-NFUT=INS=only       be/have         Theme       CLAUSE       CLAUSE       'Close by, there are no trees; (there) is only dirt/ground. Concerning the trees, (there) are only those planted by man from seedlings.'
1393)	SaUkarumpaasohiye=dodala=ye,ke=nôu=sidifi=bemei=do.land Ukarumpasunbig=INTbe/have=optthat=only=CNTRheat=topNEG=INTThemeCLAUSECLAUSEclauseclauseclauseclause
	Aso fe-ihiye=do dala,ke=nôu=sing difike=bôudu-l-osun rise-NFUTbig=INTbe/havethat=only=CNTR2s heatthat=andhear-IRR-FUTCLAUSECLAUSECLAUSECLAUSE (cont. next line)
	de-ba,ng aso kehaduwo-ba=be,ng difitadugu-l-oPROV-PFV.IRR2s sun that get.warmsit-PFV.IRR=TOP 2s heat INDFsee-IRR-FUTCLAUSECLAUSECLAUSE (cont. next line)
	mei=do,kulio=ye=noîuhiye=do.NEG=INTcoldness=ins=onlybig=intCLAUSECLAUSEcoldness=ins=only
	'Even though <b>Ukarumpa</b> may <b>have</b> a lot of sun, there <b>is no</b> warmth <b>at all</b> . (The) sun comes up; (it) <b>is</b> very big, but if you <b>sit</b> in the sun to get warm, (and) when you ought to have felt the heat, you do <b>not</b> feel any heat <b>at all</b> ;

it is only very cold.'

<sup>239</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> A comparative saying; *mei* 'negative' is translated 'more' in the free translation.

The next example is a paragraph of Pastor Motousi's descriptive story. The word kegemou 'having become like that' starts a new paragraph, according to the spacing of his own writing. It is followed by a theme slot. Within the paragraph he then starts each following sentence with a filled theme slot: Tabe 'another'.

Ukarumpa = be sa 1394) Ke-ge-mou, sa hive = do sa. Kalo su=do that-vBR-PFV land Ukarumpa=TOP big=INT ground car many=INT land CLAUSE Theme CLAUSE CLAUSE (cont. next line) dala-mou duqu-l-u. а be/have-prv see-IRR-NFUT 1sCLAUSE Ta = beSIL fene su = doduqu-l-u. INDF=TOP see-IRR-NFUT SIL airplane many=INT Theme CLAUSE Ta = beboû sasai su = doduwo. 0 INDF=TOP white.man man woman many=INT sit Theme CLAUSE Ta = bedosogo dege-i su=do Godi = ha kolo ta 0 skin black do-NFUTMan INDF=TOP man many=INT God=GEN talk CLAUSE (cont. next line) Theme die ta=ve bohou-l-a-mou su = dohaqua-si-l-i. 3PL.POSS talk=INS turn-IRR-SUBJ-PFV many=INT come-DU/PL-IRR-NFUT CLAUSE 'So/Having become like that, Ukarumpa is a very big place. I see (there) are very many cars. Another thing, (I) see very many SIL planes. Another thing, very many white people live (here).

Another thing, very many dark skinned men come to translate God's Word into their own languages.'

## 8.2.4 Hortatory discourse

A hortatory discourse is a discourse type where the speaker/writer tries to get the addressee to do something.

## 8.2.4.1 Typical moods and speech forms in a hortatory discourse

The one whole text of a hortatory nature I have is a free interpretation of the Ten Commandments in the Mountain dialect. That is the first example below (1395). It is characterised by the prohibitive suffix -da and the quote verb = ede 'optative quote verb'. There is no plain imperative in this example but see (1399) and (1402). In (1401) there are hortative verbs.

In the available texts, there are also a number of hortatory fragments from conversations and stories. The second example (1396) is such a fragment with an optative quote verb. However, other forms are also possible, see (1397), with an imbedded clause where the verb is in future tense.

Especially common in sermons are conditions with a desirable or an undesirable action in the condition and either outcome in the consequence; see (1405), even if not from a sermon).

1395) Di Kau=do=be Gode=no $\hat{u}$ .

1PL.IN big=INT=TOP God=only

'Our Big (One is) God only.'

Hu <u>ei</u> -le + môu	у <u>о</u> и	sag <u>ai</u>	k <u>e</u>	agudi-le+tôù	k <u>e</u>	ta	dobog <u>ô</u> u = ye f	a
water-A.LOCR+down	3s.emp	likely	that	sky-A.LOCR+up	that	INDF	hand=INS I	NDF

dehega-ma-ba, Gode Kau=do  $\underline{e}$  h $\underline{u}$  ta s $\underline{o}\hat{u}$ -da.

make-ISQ-PFV.IRR God big=INT 3s name INDF call-PROH

**'Do not** make (something) like him with your hands (from) down in the water/river (or) (from) up in the sky, (and then) call it by the Lord God's name.'

Gode=hg Howo kôude mei=yode tobo-l-ôu-ba,Gode=hg hu sôu-da.God=GEN child prior PROVNEG=IQVsay-IRR-NPST-PFV.IRR God=GEN name call-PROH'Having previously rejected/stated and said no about) God's Son, do not call (out) God's name.'

Dio as<u>o</u>=ye Gode <u>e</u>=mokôu f<u>i</u> ne-l-<u>e</u>-ba, bone/lower.arm sun=INS God 3s=LOC soul give-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR

hoho+bo-l-ou-ba duwo = vede-i.<sup>197</sup>

light+rejoice-IRR-NPST-PFV.IRR sit=ogV-NFUT

"On Sunday, having believed in God, having (started to) rejoice, (you) must sit down," (he) instructed.'

Sisigo  $n\underline{i} = ne$  adiou aye  $ke + d\underline{i}a$   $d\underline{i}a$  du susu-ma = yede-i. children 2pl=also mother father that+3pl talk hear go.on-DU/PL=OQV-NFUT "Children, you (pl.) too must continue to hear the talk of (your) parents," (he) instructed.'

Sasaioto=yade-bawalato-da.womanmandie=sqv-pfv.IRRattack.IRR.Fut die-proh

'Do not attack people in order for them to die.'

Sobou	sas <u>ai</u>	o=bôu	k <u>e</u>	hiyou	dege- <b>da</b> = <b>yede-i</b> .
married.womar	n woman	man=and	that	steal	do-proh=oqv-nfut

"Do not steal a married woman," (he) instructed."

Hiyou m<u>o</u>u-da=yede-i.

steal get-proH=OQV-NFUT

"Do not steal," (he) instructed."

T<u>a</u> sigo wo-**da**=**yede-i**.

talk lying attack-proH=OQV-NFUT

"Do not kill by lying," (he) instructed."

Bi+m <u>a-i</u>	bolo=f <u>ei</u>	ta	dugu-o-ba,	fį=ye	т <u>о</u> и	de-ba
thing+put-NFUT	good=total	INDF	see-FUT-PFV.IRR	soul=INS	get	PROV-PFV.IRR

*mei de tawa-l-e=be taga-da.* NEG PROV know-IRR-FUT=TOP like-PROH

'Having seen a good (material) thing, (and) knowing that (you) should not take it, **do not** desire it.' (Mountain dialect)

1396)  $Dihi k \hat{ou} = me \underline{e} a di \hat{ou} = h\underline{a} h u\underline{e} i d \hat{ou} i = yede-m\hat{ou},$ child this=top3s mother=gen water draw go=ogv-pfv

> huei doîu i, haba moso=kôu boho-l-ôu + ma i-l-i. е but.prv.irr house=LOC turn-IRR-NPST+put go-IRR-NFUT water draw go 3s hoho hiye=do. Yo=be, E adiou dihi  $\underline{e}$  adio $\hat{u} = h\underline{a}$ t₫ du-l-o milo-u. base=TOP 3s mother light big=INT child 3s mother=gen talk hear-IRR-FUT work-NEUT 'This child his mother having told him to go and get water, (he) went to get water; he is going back to the

house again. His mother (is) very glad. The reason (is that the) child heard what his mother said and did (it).' (a picture)

1397) dingi=bôu mota=bôu, <u>a</u> mo-l-ôu bolo=fei=yode tobôu-môu dinghy=and outboard.motor=and 1s get-IRR-NPST good=total=IQV say-PFV '... (I) having stated and said, that I would be pleased to get (the) dinghy and (the) outboard motor...'

## 8.2.4.2 Composition of a hortatory text

The basic order of arguments in a hortatory, based on the examples in this section, is something like this:

- reason
- appeal (may be stated many times in different terms
- desired outcome
- appeal
- undesired outcome

241

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> If there are no other clues, this form of the verb, as far as the addressee goes, may be second or third person, as well as singular or group-plural.

The first example is a letter, consisting of (1398) - (1403), which are consecutive sentences. The letter writer asks us to combine a previously arranged prep-school visit with the urgent need to get a sick child out from the village for much needed medical attention. The verbs of the appeal and the desired outcome are in red.

1398) Tawa-I-e ke=me kou-q(u)e, hive=do dege dala. ta <u>a</u>=me hagi know-IRR-FUT talk that=TOP this-VBR(BLTV) 1s=TOP heavy big=INT do be/have Reason Kege-i deqe-môu, a nele=mokou tobo-l-ou. that-VBR-NFUT do-PFV 1s 2DU=LOC say-IRR-NPST "... That message is like this: I have a very big problem. Because of being like that I am telling you two.' 4 ka = ha = ge, date 3 o nele Edolo = koîu haqua-ma. 1399) *Nele haqua-l-e = be* Edolo=LOC come-DU/PL 2DU come-IRR-FUT=TOP date 3 or 4 that=GEN=F.CONTR 2DU Appeal 'Concerning (that) you two will come, **come to Edolo** on the third or the fourth.' (imperative) 1400)  $Y_0 = be$ hiye = do dala ka = hadege-i-mou. a=me hagi base=TOP 1s=TOP heavy big=INT be/have that=GEN do-NFUT-PFV Reason I 'The reason (is) that I have (a) very big problem.' Na date 3-4 Edolo = koû hagua-l-e. 1401) 2s date 3-4 Edolo=LOC come-IRR-FUT Appeal 'On (the) third (or the) fourth you (sg.) will come to Edolo.' Friday 5 ka = ha = gesisiqo prais ne-me. Friday 5 that=gen=F.CNTR children prize give-HORT Appeal (minor) 'On Friday the fifth, let's give (the) prizes (to the school) children.' mei dege-ba, F ne-ma 3s give-iso NEG do-PFV.IRR 'After having given it (the prizes), ...' di olôufei Dahamo = kou dihi do i-me. mala all.total Dahamo=LOC child sickness get.IRR.FUT go-HORT 1pL.IN Desired outcome '... let all of us take the sick child and go to Dahamo.' Dahamo i-l-e. Saturday 6 ka = hadi olôuf<u>ei</u> Saturday 6 that=gen 1pL.IN all.total Dahamo go-IRR-FUT Desired outcome 'On Saturday the sixth, we (incl.) will all go to Dahamo.' Wednesday 3 ka = hanele Edolo=kôu haqua-ma. 1402) Wednesday 3 that=gen 2DU Edolo=LOC come-DU/PL Appeal 'On Wednesday the third, you two, come to Edolo.' (imperative) A taga-l-i=be, Dahamo = koîu i-l-e, 1403) dihi do mala 1s like-IRR-NFUT child sickness get.IRR.FUT Dahamo=Loc go-IRR-FUT **Desired outcome** (cont. next line) Saturday 6  $ka = h\underline{a} = ge$ . Saturday 6 that=gen-F.CNTR 'I want to take the sick child and go to Dahamo on Saturday the sixth.' In the above examples, the appeal is preceded by the reason for the appeal, and then repeated. After that the appeal and the desired outcome are repeated with variations several times.

The next example (from another source) starts with an appeal followed by a desired outcome. The last part states a more basic reason before another appeal, with the desired outcome implied.

1404) Duqu-o-mou, dia tobo-u, Godi=kou qulu qulu tohoîi-ha na ne see-FUT-PFV 3PL say-NFUT 2s 2s.Poss God=Loc close.eve x2 say-pfv.IRR Appeal ei maka-I-adi ke foqo-l-ou. 1PL.EX destroy-IRR-PROS that leave.for-IRR-NPST Desired outcome Jona=ha e dia=mokou tobo-u, kou=me a kasagai. Ni a mala, Jonah=gen 3s 3pl=loc say-NFUT this=TOP 1s bad 2pL 1s get.IRR.FUT Reason Appeal (cont. next line) ta-le = koîu hebe-l-e fila-ma = be + ede tobo-u. river-A.LOCR=TOP carry-IRR-FUT throw-DU/PL=TOP+OQV say-NFUT 'Having seen, they said, "When you (sg.) pray to your God, our (excl.) immediate destruction will go awav/leave."

... Jonah said to them, "This (is) my fault. You (pl.) get me and carry me and throw me in the river," (he) instructed and said."

The next example adds a possible **undesired outcome** of a wrong action. This example is not a direct address, but a typical way of addressing a desired change in e.g. a sermon<sup>198</sup>. The wrong action with its undesired outcome is stated last in the sentence.

1405) Godi = ha ta = betawa-ga-i 0  $ka = ha = no\hat{u}$ i-ba=si bolo = fei. God=gen talk=TOP know-du/pl-nfut man that=gen=only qo.NFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR good=total Desired action Desired outcome Môu i-l-e=bekôù bolo = fei = yeya-ba o = yegood=total=OPT nothing man=INS go-IRR-FUT=TOP prior go.DU/PL.FUT-PFV.IRR Undesired action totôu  $ko = ko\hat{u} = ae = no\hat{u} = fei$ . ta = fei deae-i = ve do-mou INDF=total forgetfulness do-NFUT=OPT PROV-PFV that=LOC=F.CNTR=only=total Undesired outcome

'But in contrast to (other people going), if (a) man who knows God's Word would go, (it would be) good. When men without (knowledge) go, (thinking) beforehand (it) would be OK, it would not do, if from that circumstance, they having gone would be a bit stupid.'

## 8.2.5 Letters

Letters are as any conversation, varied in style. The only thing that stands out grammatically as being different from other written styles, is that deontic moods are used frequently, e.g. imperative, and that second person pronouns are used to some extent. In fact, many letters have a hortatory style with a personal touch.

Letters are different from conversation in that they quickly come to the point. In conversations, there is often a lot of introductory talking. I imagine that would be a difference between written and oral style.

The only letters we have are letters written to us. Some are very short, just a sentence or two right to the point. Some are longer with a more involved argumentation. Common to them all is that there usually is the name or kinship term of the addressee in the beginning and the name of the writer at the end.

A few examples will follow. **Typical features are bold**. The first letter/note is to me from the elementary teacher, brought by one of his small students in need of a little first-aid.

1406)	Mogo,	n <u>a</u>	dihi	k <u>o</u> u	tiga.	/Gilbert
	friend	2s	child	this	tie.IMP	Gilbert
			<i>(</i> .1	1. 6.1		

"My friend, dress (the wound) of this child!" /Gilbert'

<sup>243</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> This example is not from a sermon, though.

This example is also from the elementary school teacher.

1407)	<b>Sawisie-i</b> be.day-nfut	<i>28/04/2008</i> 28/4/2008	- 0	<b>gusugu</b> morning		
	<b>Na</b> p <u>e</u> sole 2s pencil	<i>de dala?</i> good be/have	<i>Dala-ba=be,</i> be/have-pfv.irr=top	<b>ng g=ma</b> 2s 1s=lo	0	<b>n<u>e</u>.</b> give.imp
		nly=total Gilk	ert = hg nalg-j. pert = gen write - nFUT		ile? If (you) be	nua <b>ciu</b> a

'(The) day of 28/04/2008; My friend, (a) very good morning. Do you have (any) pencils? If (you) have, give 8 to me! That (is) all (I have) to say. Gilbert wrote (this). (Signed) Gilbert.'

The next example is the **introduction and final greeting** from the letter illustrating the composition of a hortatory text presented in the consecutive sentences (1398)-(1403). The bulk of the letter, repeated here, says that the writer's son is very sick. As we were shortly going to go to the writer's village for a prep-school graduation, he told us to come sooner on a certain day for the ceremony. Then we would all return to the airstrip village, where we live, taking the sick child along for urgently needed medical attention.

tobôu-l-a-môu. 1408) Solon, Britten, a nele=mokou tawa-l-e Tawa-I-e ta Sören Britten 1s 2DU=LOC know-IRR-FUT talk say-IRR-SUBJ-PFV know-IRR-FUT hiye=do dege dala. ta ke=me kôu-g(u)-e, <u>a</u>=me ha<u>qi</u> talk that=TOP this-VBR(BLTV) 1s=TOP heavy big=INT do be/have 'Sören, Britten, I want to tell you two a message. That message is like this: I have (a) very big problem.'

```
Mogo,tg=beke=nôu=fei.friendtalk=TOPthat=only=total'My friend, that's all (I have to) say.
```

#### 8.2.6 Other discourse types

. . .

Some other discourse types, partly overlapping with the ones already described, are conversations, sermons, songs and prayers. I will present one or more typical sentences from each type after saying a few words about it.

#### Conversations

As for conversational discourse, a lot has already been said in 7.3.4.3 QUOTES. The first part in this example is a short relativised quote with fg 'talk'. The second part says to report what has been said and heard to the addressee.

```
1409) CHW training ta ke dokta=ha tobôu-ba du-l-o-ba,
CHW training talk that doctor=gen say-pfv.irr hear-irr-fut-pfv.irr
ng Morobert e=mokôu tobôu.
2s Morobert 3s=Loc say.IMP
'... when (you) have heard (the) doctor talk about the Community Health Workers' Training Program, tell
Morobert!'
```

It is worth noting that it is important to explicitly state that what is said is also heard. If you remove *duloba* '(will) have heard' from the previous Konai sentence, it is semantically unacceptable.

244

The second example has three imbedded reported direct quotes. In this example too, the verb du 'hear' follows on the reported direct quotes as well as on the speech clause, where the boy talks in vain to his people.

Another interesting thing in this letter is that this boy **talks about himself in third person** but about his people as '**our** (**excl.**) people'.

1410) Edolo dihi ta ... holode dege-i-môu, e fogoîu haqua-l-a-mou dege-i, ... holidaydo-NFUT-PFV 3s leave.for come-IRR-SUBJ-PFV Edolochild INDF do-nfut tisa=ha tobo-u, na i-l-e, ne 0 dia=mokou tobou, 3s teacher=GEN say-NFUT 2s go-irr-fut 2s.poss man 3PL=LOC say.IMP ma tisa = ha **a**=**mokou tobo-u**=**be**, **na** sadebe qehe sokoulou fi say-NFUT=TOP2s fee 1s.poss teacher=gen 1s=Loc year new school ma-l-e=be. sele 500.00 kina ma-l-e. put-IRR-FUT=TOP money 500.00 kina put-IRR-FUT tobo-u. Ε du-l-o-mou ei moîı ke hagua, <u>e</u> 0 3s that hear-IRR-FUT-PFV come.FUT 3s man 1PL.EX nothing say-NFUT Ei du-l-o-mou 0 ei ta ke 1PL.EX man 1PL.EX talk that hear-IRR-FUT-PFV 'An Edolo child ... because of (the) holiday, he was planning to leave for (home and) come; his teacher said, "You (sg.) go and say to your people, 'My teacher said (this) to me, "When you (sg.) put (the) school fee (for the) new year (you) will put K500." Having heard that he came, and he told our (excl.) people in vain.

The third example is a report on a council meeting, where the indicative quote verb = ode is frequently used, but there is no "hearing" involved, perhaps because this is not an actual conversation but a formal meeting.

1411) Miti tobo-u. ta ilo ke-le tobo-u. aamani ke+dia meeting say-NFUT talk part that-A.LOCR say-NFUT government that+3PL mei=yode tobo-l-ou i. sele money NEG=IQV say-IRR-NPST qo.NFUT Bi su = domo-l-ou = be, huei tank, sas<u>ai</u> ke+dia yukuei qofo-l-ou thing many=INTget-IRR-NPST=TOP water tank woman that+3plcloth sew-IRR-NPST bi+ma-i masin=bou, haba mota dingi  $mo-l-\hat{ou} = be,$ sele thing+put-NFUT machine=and but.PFV.IRR motor dinghyget-IRR-NPST=TOP money hiye=do mo-l-<u>o</u>u mei=yode tobo-l-ou tobôu sa<u>qai</u> i-moîu. ₫ big=INT get-IRR-NPST likely NEG=IQV say-IRR-NPST qO.IRR-PFV 1s say ke-qe-l-i ke=me, dingi = boîu mota=bôu g mo-l-ôu that-vbr-IRR-NFUT that=TOP dinghy=and outboard.motor=and 1s get-IRR-NPST bolo = fei = yode bolo = f<u>ei</u> = **yode-ma** tobou-mou, gamani ke+dig ke=si

good=total=IQV say-PFV government that+3PL that=CNTR good=total=IQV-ISQ **we-i**.

attack-NFUT

Our people having heard that, ...'

'(At the) meeting (they) said; something that (they) said, "The government has no money," they stated and said.'

'Getting a lot of things, (that is) getting (a) water tank, sewing machine(s), as well as (a) motor dinghy, **they having stated and said** that (I) was not likely to get a lot of money, (and) when (I) **stated and said** concerning that kind of talk, that I would be pleased to get (the) dinghy and (the) outboard motor, the government officials after **saying** alright, actually **made that decision**.'

#### Sermons

Sermons are interactive in that the preacher would interact with the people listening, first by a greeting. Usually on a Sunday morning that would be:

gusugu bolo = fei 'good morning' (morning#good=total)

The preacher, as he talks, may ask questions or seek confirmation on what he has to say. At the end, he may ask if anybody has a question. All types of discourse may occur in a sermon.

A grammatical/cultural feature of a sermon is that the preacher often addresses the congregation as da 'first person **dual** inclusive', i.e. 'you (sg.) and I', making his speech very personal.

I have no written or recorded sermons, but an example from a booklet of testimonies may illustrate the use of da 'we two inclusive'. The second example is an idiom.

1412) Yesu=ha da ka-qe haqi *hiye=do dege-l-i=be* e=mokoîu tobou-ba, Jesus=GEN 1DU.IN how-vbr heavy big=INT do-IRR-NFUT=TOP 3s=loc say-PFV hiye=do dege-l-i e = qehaba da haqi ke=me e = qe3s=F.CNTR but.PFV.IRR 1DU.IN heavy big=INT do-IRR-NFUT that=TOP 3s=F.CNTR huyaf<u>ei</u> dege-ma fogo-l-ou = yode tobo-u, duqu. а

small do-isg leave.for-irr-npst=igv say-nfut 1s saw.nfut

'... I saw that (it) stated and said (in the Bible) that whatever big problem **you & I** have, when (we) tell him, Jesus he will instead make that big problem **you & I** have, disappear after making (it) small.' (Mountain dialect)

The following example is not from a sermon but the idiom is widely used also in church.

1413) Kalo a = ne  $s\underline{u} = do$  da tawa-ga tobo-l-ôu sagai mei. car road=also many=INT lbu.IN know-bu/PL.FUT say-IRR-NPST likely NEG 'Roads too, there are many, more than you & I are likely to know and talk about.'

#### Songs

All songs that we hear are Christian songs. Older ones are translated from Tok Pisin, often in a very literal way (1414), which follows Tok Pisin word order. There are also many more recent songs written in Konai. They are often short, reiterative and to the point.

1414)	A taga-l-ingYesux3;nghiye=dog=mokôu1slike-IRR-NFUT 2sJesus x32sbig=INT1s=Loc
	'I like you Jesus. x3; you are big to me.' (translated from Tok Pisin)
1415)	Aye, Aye Godi, ne Dihi Yesu Kelesu ei ne $\underline{i} = be$ , father father God 2s.poss child Jesus Christ 1pl.ex give-NFUT=TOP
	<i>ei n<u>e</u>-i=be, fī n<u>e</u>=yado-môu <u>e</u> n<u>e-i</u>. lpl.ex give-nfut=top soul give=sqv-pfv 3s give-nfut</i>
	'Father, Father God, when (you) gave us your Son Jesus Christ, when (you) gave (him to) us, (you) gave him in order for (us) to believe.'
1416)	Yesu=behagua-l-adi+y+o, $x3$ sasibige=kou=be.Jesus=topcome-IRR-PROS+TRSV+Vx3landessence=LOC=TOP
	Di damale=yode-ba=si x3 hebeni hoho di dugu-l-o. 1pl.in true=iqv-pfv.irr=cntr x3 heaven light 1pl.in see-irr-fut
	'Jesus is just about to come x3, to the world.'
	'But if we believe x3, we (incl.) will see heaven's joy/light.'
1417)	- /
	Jesus 1s big.brother 2s heaven=Loc sit

'Jesus, my big brother, you sit in heaven. ...'

#### Prayers

Prayers are personal. God is addressed as a father, Jesus sometimes as an older brother. A prayer may start with a 'thank you' or with the Konai equivalent of "Good morning/afternoon God." The Holy Spirit is often addressed in Tok Pisin. A prayer is often finished by "Amen".

An example follows. This prayer was recorded as Soti Domo prayed before starting translation work one morning in 2009.

1418)Tenkyu Ave Godi, ng=me hebeni king. Thank.you father God heaven king 2s=top Afu = do $afu = do = no\hat{u}$ dele-i. ke-qe earlier=INT earlier=INT=onlythat-VBR be/have-NFUT Ifi=ne ke-ge dala. today=also that-VBR be/have Haba = qe = ne ke-ge dala-I-e. but.pfv.irr=f.CNTR=also that-vbr be/have-IRR-FUT 'Thank you Father God, you are (the) King of Heaven.' '(You) existed like that a very, very long time ago.' 'Now, too, (you) exist like that.' 'Later, too, (you) will exist like that.' Godi, Yesu, Holi.Spirit Kama + dia 0 ni mei dege-di tewe mei. Jesus Holy.Spirit man middle.finger+3PL 2PL NEG do-HAB know God NEG Ke-ge-i dege-mou **a** ifi qusuqu na=mokou tenkyu=di-l-i. that-vbr-NFUT do-PFV 1s today morning 2s=Loc thank.you+IQV-IRR-NFUT 'God, Jesus, Holy Spirit, you Three Men (Trinity), know no end.' 'Because of being like that, I now (this) morning say thank you to you (sg.).' Godi, Yesu, Holi Spirit Duo Bolo = fei. Ave father God Jesus Holy Spirit spirit good=total 'Father God, Jesus, Holy Spirit Totally Good Spirit.' Ifi qusuqu,  $\mathbf{a} = b \hat{o} \hat{u}, m \underline{o} \underline{u}$ aboû, kôu, ne Godi, ... ei t₫ ne ta todaymorning1s=and grandpagrandmalpL.ex 2s.poss talk this 2s.poss talk God ... kuguo=kou dogogu kou ei ... Kal<u>ai</u> ta = eboho-l-ou ne this 1pL.Ex ... Konai talk=INS turn-IRR-NPST 2s.poss paper=LOC put nala-l-a-mou, ei ng=mokou yodu-l-u duqu-ba, Godi ... na tewe write-IRR-SUBJ-PFV 1PL.EX 2s=LOC ask-IRR-NFUT see-PFV.IRR God ... 2s know ei=mokou ne-ba, nele olôuf<u>ei</u> kuhe **ne** ei t₫ strength all.total 1pL.EX=LOC give-pFV.IRR 1pL.EX so 2s.poss talk bohôu-l-a-môu ng=mokou yodu-l-u. turn-IRR-SUBJ-PFV 2s=LOC ask-IRR-NFUT 'Now (this) morning, I and grandpa (&) grandma, we (excl.) as we ... are planning to translate this talk of yours into Konai and write this your talk God ... that is put (down) in your book, we (excl.) ask you and seeing God ... that you will give us all the power of knowledge, so we (excl.), planning to translate your word, ask you (that).'

•••

Nehudamale=doGodi,Yesu.Amen.2s.possnametrue=INTGodJesusamen'Your name is trueGod, Jesus.Amen.'

## 8.3 Topic

I am using the term 'topic' as meaning **given or known information**, contrasting with 'focus', referring to new or assertive information. In addition, in this grammar and applied to the Konai language, the term 'topic' only refers to a constituent marked by the topicalising enclitic ={be}.

The word 'topic' is a pragmatic term, which means that marking something as topic is "optional"; you have a choice how you want to tell something. For example, in Konai, it is not like marking tense on a final clause. If something has happened in the past, it is marked realis non-future (past tense), and if it is going to happen later, it is marked irrealis future (future tense). Any other marking is incorrect language. That is not the case with topic marking. Adding the topic marker, or taking it out does not necessarily result in incorrect language, but it will affect how the expression fits into the story as a whole.

The topic marker in Konai is  $=\{be\}$ , an enclitic that may occur on almost any word, of any word class, except particles/interjections. It has four allomorphs.

- =me phonological variant of =be, occurring following nasal personal and demonstrative pronouns
- =b occurs before the subjunctive quote verb =ade in forms with plural object
- = ma occurs preceding = ha 'genitive'
- = *be* occurs elsewhere

Note that =be is used following nasal words, except nasal pronouns.

The topic marker functions on phrase, clause or sentence level, but is to a large degree used for organising information within the discourse. Certain discourse types have much more marking of topic, e.g. a descriptive. A narrative has less. It is a back-grounding and generalising device. As such, it has a wide range of usage, some of them on a lower level than discourse, e.g. as an optional marking of the topic in a verbless clause and as part of the marking in the antecedent in a conditional sentence.

Another way of describing what the topic marker does, is to say that the topic marker is used when the construction, it is used on, refers to something previously mentioned, something seen, heard or assumed, or even something the speaker/writer wants the addressee to keep in mind. Often it may be translated as 'concerning ...'. It sometimes gives an expression a generic flavour. Often, even most of the time, it is untranslatable. In a condition it is translated 'if'.

The topic marker sometimes occurs with the following:

- topic in a topic-comment clause
- subject
- object
- time
- location
- certain demonstratives
- initial theme slot in the clause/sentence
- main verb in a complement sentence
- antecedent of a conditional sentence, together with -ba 'perfective irrealis'
- general ground under which a certain statement is true, together with -mou 'perfective realis'
- a delayed sequence construction meaning 'until'
- the conjunction yobe 'reason'
- the indefinite article as it is used for listing purposes
- quote verbs
  - verbs in imperative and hortative mood
  - quotes
  - question words
- afterthoughts
- as a barrier to stop e.g. purpose spreading leftwards in complex sentences

More than one constituent in any clause may be marked as a topic (see e.g. (1424), (1426).

## 8.3.1 Marking the topic in a topic-comment clause

The topic marker **may** occur on the topic in a topic comment clause. Either topic or comment may consist of a phrase or a clause. Clause repetition (see 7.2), like in (1423), is an expression of this strategy. See also 6.2 VERBLESS CLAUSES.

1419)	N <u>e</u>	h <u>u</u>	koyo?	<u>Ма</u>	h <u>u</u> =be	Jems.
	2s.poss	name	who	1s.poss	name=TOP	James
	'What (is)	your na	ame?' 'N	Ay name is	James.'	

- 1420) Aso  $k \hat{o} u = ma = ha = qe$ <u>e</u> hoho dege-l-i. <u>E</u> hoho=be hiye=do. this=TOP=GEN=F.CNTR 3slight do-IRR-NFUT 3s light=TOP big=INT sun 'This sun is shining. Its light is very bright.' (a picture)
- So bolou kôu = me mihi = kôu va-l-i.  $Ke = no\hat{u} = si$  $dilie = be dihi = no\hat{u}$ 1421) dog two this=TOP earth=LOC play-IRR-NFUT that=only=CNTR 3DU=TOP child=only 'These two dogs are playing on the ground. But they are only puppies, ...' (a picture)
- 1422) *Moso toqo-di=be* dabai hiye=do. housebuild-HAB=TOP work big=INT 'Building a house is a lot of work.'
- mive 1423) Sio e na-di=be hebe kolo na-di. bird Victoria.pigeon 3s eat-HAB=TOP tree fruit eat-HAB 'The Victoria pigeon, its habitual eating is eating fruit from trees.'

 $hiye = do k \hat{o} u hagu-l-u = be$ yo = be1424) wi a=mokoû. wind big=INT this come-IRR-NFUT=TOP base=TOP 1s=Loc '... this big wind is coming because of me.'

- **E**=**me** o hiye=do. 1425) 3s=TOP man big=INT 'He is (a) big man.'
- Sio olôufe<u>i</u> taga-l-e 1426) isusu=be  $\underline{e}$  hui = be bolo = fei = do, i-di. 0 like-IRR-FUT go-HAB bird pigeon=TOP 3s meat=TOP good=total=INT man all 'Concerning the pigeon, its meat is very good, all people love (it).'
- Kôu = me kei? 1427) this=TOP what 'What is this?'

## 8.3.2 Marking the subject

The subject may be marked as topic. It gives a generic flavour to the subject, especially when the predicate is in the habitual aspect. Sometimes a topicalised subject translates 'concerning ...'.

1	
1428)	Kôu = me siomiye.Dig = me su = dosulugua-di.this=top birdVictoria.pigeon3PL=topmany=INTwalk.around.du/PL-HAB
	'These (are) Victoria pigeons. They walk around in a big flock.' (a picture)
1429)	Sokôu = mehiye = do.Sokôu = megalisu = dowo-di.dogthis=TOPbig=INTdogthis=TOPwild.animalmany=INTattack-HAB'This dog (is) big.This dog habitually kills many wild animals.' (a picture)
1430)	Siomiyedig=mehohohiye=dodege-moû,birdVictoria.pigeon3PL=TOPlightbig=INTdo.FUT-PFV
	<i>yôu</i> + <i>we</i> = <i>kôu ya-l-<u>e</u> <i>i-di.</i> stone+sand=LOC play-IRR-FUT GO-HAB</i>
	'Victoria pigeons, because they are very happy, they play on the stony river bed.'
1431)	OKiunga=kôu ikg=mefulataka=hg=sihagua-l-e.manKiunga=Locgothat=TOPweekINDFthat=GEN=CNTRcome-IRR-FUT
	'The man who went to Kiunga is coming back already next week.'
1432)	Bobasi=bôuhabaemg=bôu+demowiyo-l-u,younger.sister=andbut.PFV.IRR3shusband=and+PROVhuntgo.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT
	emg=bebôutai-l-itôuhebe-i.3shusband=TOP white.manbowgo-IRR-NFUTholdcarry-NFUT
	'(My) younger sister together with her husband also, when they went hunting, her husband carried a shotgun.'

1433) *Na-l-g=be* o=be miloû-moû, na-l-g kuhe tamg dege-di. eat-IRR-FUT=TOP man=TOP work-PFV eat-IRR-FUT so appear do-HAB 'Concerning food, man produces (it), so food habitually appears.'

In this last example o = be 'man' has a strong generic flavour. In fact it functions as an indefinite pronoun. See 4.3.5 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS. Compare o = ye (man=INS) in (1435) in the next section, where only the object is topicalised.

## 8.3.3 Marking the object

The object may be marked as topic. Many topicalised objects are fronted and may be translated as 'concerning ...'. In all of the examples here, the topicalised object is generic and the final verb is in habitual aspect.

1434) *O sasai olôuf<u>e</u>i dia dou=be hoho dege-di.* man woman all Зрь fire=тор light do-нав 'People like **the fire**.'

1435)  $K\underline{e} = n\hat{o}u = si$  sio miye = be  $nel\underline{e}$  hiye = do. that=only=CNTR bird Victoria.pigeon=TOP strong big=INT

Dig = me o = yetaha-l-j,malagobo-l-ou + mgfogôui-di.3PL=TOPman=INSshoot-IRR-NFUT arrowbreak-IRR-NPST+putleave.forgo-HAB'But Victoria pigeons (are) very strong. When man shoot them, (they) break off (the) arrow and leaving (they)go.'

- 1436) **Wai=be** o sy=do ng-di bolo=f<u>ei</u>=do. pig=TOP man many=INT eat-HAB good=total=INT 'Lots of people eat **the pig**; (it is) very good.'
- 1437) *O* sas<u>ai</u> oloûf<u>e</u>i=do=be disope=be taga-l-e nal<u>a</u> i-di. man woman all.total=INT=TOP pineapple=TOP like-IRR-FUT eat.IRR.FUT gO-HAB 'All people like and eat the pineapple.'

## 8.3.4 Marking the time

A temporal setting may be marked as topic. This seems to be used for more general settings of times. Exact times are usually expressed in a nominal phrase in the genitive case (see 5.2.3.2.1 THE GENITIVE CASE: Genitive of Time Expressions).

1438)	Dia di <u>a</u> =me <b>hulia</b> .me=be tia-di=yo mei
	crayfish 3PL=TOP night.TOP=TOP sleep-HAB=INDC NEG
	'Crayfish, they do not sleep at night,'
1439)	$K\underline{e} = n\hat{o}u = si$ ifi $goso-di$ $fogo-u.$ $Ifi = be$ $hoh\underline{o}$ $hiye = do dege-l-i.$ that=only=cnrrtodaycry-hableave.for-nFUTtoday=toplightbig=INTdo-IRR-NFUT'But today (he) doesn't cry anymore. Today (he) is very happy.'
1440)	
	Dosôu=ye=ge Hou=ye=beindex.finger=INS=F.CNTR thumb=INS=TOP
	'On Monday on Tuesday next day On Thursday <b>On (that) Friday</b> ' (a story about how to do a five day long hike in the bush; Friday is expected to be the last day) (Mountain dialect)
1441)	<i>nį=ge habi, agudio w<u>e</u>i dege-i-mou dugu-o-mou=be,</i> 2pl=f.CNTR afternoon sky=TOP red do-NFUT-PFV see-FUT-PFV=TOP
	idiba=besabolodege-l-e=yodetobo-l-oui-di.tomorrow=TOPlandgooddo-IRR-FUT=IQVsay-IRR-NPSTgoo-HAB' in the afternoon, when you see the sky being red, you say, "Tomorrow, (the) weather will be nice," youhabitually state and say.'
	naoraany state and say.

## 8.3.5 Marking the location

A locative setting may be marked as topic. Again, it is a general and habitual kind of setting.

250

- 1442) Ke=noû=si sio miye dig=me die moso=be
  that=only=CNTR bird Victoria.pigeon 3PL=TOP 3PL.POSS house=TOP
  hebe sugu+lu fia-sie-di.
  tree top+inside sleep-DU/PL-HAB
  'But Victoria pigeons they habitually sleep (in) their homes in (the) tree tops.'
- 1443) Wai oye=bôu osobôu=bôu+de ... Dilie moso=be hebe yo tia-sie-di. pig male=and female=and+prov ... 3Du house=TOP tree base sleep-DU/PL-HAB '(A) boar and (a) sow ... The two of them habitually sleep (in) their home at (the) base of (a) tree.'
- 1444) Ulie  $k\underline{o}u = ma = h\underline{a}$  dege-di = be  $\underline{e}$  sa bolo ke-le = be cicada this=TOP=GEN do-HAB=TOP 3s land good that-A.LOCR=TOP e ta hive=do dege-di.

3s talk big=INT do-HAB

'(What) this cicada usually does, (when) there is nice weather<sup>199</sup>, is to make (a) very loud noise.'

## 8.3.6 Marking part of certain demonstratives

Certain demonstratives in the genitive case has an allomorph =ma of the topic marker as part of their structure. The meaning seems to be 'this/that particular ...'. In the second example the more common allomorph =me occurs, in harmony with the last suffix.

- 1445) Ta k<u>ou</u> = ma = hg wai tahg-di. bow this=TOP=GEN pig shoot-HAB 'This particular bow shoots pigs.'
- 1446) Sasai soboude kou = ma = ha e ma = be kou = me-he. woman old.woman this=TOP=GEN 3s husband=TOP this=TOP-P.LOCR 'The husband of this particular old woman is right here (pointing).'
- 1447) sele 300.00 kina sibi-l-e sagai dala. Ka=ma=ha e sibige=be money 300 kina pay.debt-IRR-FUT likely be/havethat=TOP=GEN 3s essence=TOP '... (I) probably (have) to pay a debt of K300. The reason for that is ...'

## 8.3.7 Marking the initial theme slot in the clause/sentence

The initial slot in a clause/sentence (see 6.3 CLAUSES WITH THEME SLOT) is used for prominent, often new information. However, a topic, i.e. known information, of one kind or another, marked by the topic marker, may occur in this slot.

- 1448) Sio isusu=be e hui=be olôuf<u>ei</u>=do o olôuf<u>ei</u> taga-l-e i-di. bird pigeon=TOP3s meat=TOP all.total=INT man all.total like-IRR-FUT gO-HAB 'Concerning the pigeon, concerning its meat, all people like (it).'
- 1449) **Na-l-e=be o=be** milôu-môu eat-IRR-FUT=TOP man=TOP work-PFV '**Concerning food**, people producing it. ...'
- 1450) **Dihi** kôu = me e adiôu to-l-o i-mou, e-sofei tia-di. child this=TOP 3s mother die-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV 3s-self.alone sleep-HAB '**This child**, his mother having died, sleeps alone.'

## 8.3.8 Marking the main verb in a complement sentence

A verb of perception or cognition in a complement sentence may be marked as topic.

1451) g taha-l-g=yode-ma i-l-i-di<sup>200</sup> dugu=be, ls shoot-IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQ gO-IRR-NFUT-DSQ see.NFUT=TOP wai ka=hg toto=nôu hague-i pig that=GEN quickly=only come-NFUT 'After I had said I was going to shoot (it), I went until I saw that (the) pig came quickly; ...'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> Literally: '(when) the **land** (is) **good** there.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Foothill dialect; the Lowland dialect is -gi.

1452) <u>A</u> taga-l-i=be dihi do mala Dahamo=kôu i-l-e, 1s like-IRR-NFUT=TOP child sickness get.IRR.FUT Dahamo=Loc go-IRR-FUT

Saturday 6 ka=ha=ge.

Saturday 6 that=GEN=F.CNTR

'I want to take (the) sick child and go to Dahamo on Saturday the sixth.'

1453) Ke-ge-môu, <u>a</u> tawa-i=be Godi=be <u>a</u>=bôu+de dala=d=ade tawa-i that-vbr-pfv 1s know-nfut=top God=top 1s=and+prov be/have=int=sov know-nfut 'So/Having become like that, I knew that God must for sure be with me.'

#### 8.3.9 Marking the antecedent of a conditional sentence

The antecedent of a conditional sentence may be marked as topic, preceded by -ba 'perfective irrealis'.

1454)	<b>U</b>	hiye=do. <u>E</u> o	dugu-ba=be	taha-l- <u>e</u> .
	snake 3s hard/strong	big=INT 3s man	see.NFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP	shoot-IRR-FUT
	'(The) snake, he is very danger	bus. If he sees (a) man (he (th	ne snake)) will immediately	bite. '
1455)		<i>hiye=do ta feli-ba=l</i> big=INT INDF come.up		
		5 1		L-ISQ GO-IRR-NFUI
	'Concerning this house, if a big	g <b>wind appears</b> , (it) will imme	ediately be felled.'	
1456)	= 0	n <u>ei</u> ka=ha <b>i-ba</b> = <b>be</b>	<u>e</u> =m <u>e</u>	m <u>o</u> so=koîu
	man INDF 3s friend N	EG that=GEN go.NFUT=P	FV.IRR=TOP 3s=TOP	house=LOC
	<i>tia-l-e mei.</i> sleep-irr-fut neg			
	' <b>if</b> a man who does not have in (a) house.'	(a) friend (there) <b>goes</b> , he will	not be sleeping	
1457)	ikoke mei dege-ba=be,	na toto oda	dege	
,	nail NEG do-PFV.IRR=TOP		0	

nail NEG do-PFV.IRR=TOP 2s quickly order do '... if (the) nails are finished, quickly make (an) order ...'

## 8.3.10 Marking the general ground under which a certain statement is true

The topic marker may be used to mark the general ground under which a certain statement is true. In the most common case it occurs together with the perfective realis marker  $-m\hat{ou}$ . (This is actually the realis version of the conditional, described in the previous section.) In most cases, the verb of the consequence is in the habitual aspect, though verbless, and present and even past tense have been observed.<sup>201</sup>

1458)	Sakasagaidege-môu = beeta-di = yomei.landbaddo.FUT-PFV=TOP3stalk-HAB=INDCNEG'When (the)weather has become bad, he does not make (any) noise.'
1459)	Hueito-u-môu = bemoso = kôutoto = nôuya-di.waterwash-NFUT-PFV=TOPhouse=Locquickly=onlygo.DU/PL-HAB
	Toto=nôui-l-efolo-u-môu=behueinogo-di=yomei.quickly=onlygo-IRR-FUT go.up-NFUT-PFV=TOPwatermake.wet-HAB=INDCNEG'As soon as it rains you (pl.) hurriedly go to the house. When (you) hurriedly go and go up (into the house), (the) rain does not make (you) wet.'
1460)	Dou=beOgalo-u-môu=be,dohiye=dodege-di.fire=topmanbite-NFUT-PFV=topsicknessbig=INTdo-HAB'Concerning fireBurning (a) man, (it) is always very painful.'
1461)	Na-l-e=beo=bemilou-mouYomogo-u-mou=be,awakieat-IRR-FUT=TOPman=TOPwork-NFUTstart-NFUT-PFV=TOPknife
	tolôui-l-enôu-di-l-i.hold-IRR-NPSTgo-IRR-FUTmake.garden-HAB-IRR-NFUT'Concerning food, man producing (it) To start with, (he) takes a knife and goes and makes (a) garden in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Habitual aspect is mutually exclusive with tense marking in the **Lowland dialect** of Konai.

usual way.' (Foothill dialect)

Sio hive = do. 1462) mive dia o duqu-o-moîu = be que bird Victoria.pigeon 3s man see-FUT-PFV=TOP fear biq=INT 'Victoria pigeons, they having seen (a) man are very afraid.' Sasafei = ye = qe, a i-l-a-moîu = be 1463) na-l-e hive = do ... little.finger=INS=F.CNTR 1s go-IRR-SUBJ-PFV=TOP ... eat-IRR-FUT big=INT i-l-i-gi nugu-mou = be, sa+ma sa a dibi moso put.inside+put go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ land become.dark.NFUT-PFV=TOP 1s forest house fo-u-**l-u**. go.up-BLTV-IRR-NFUT 'The first day/Monday when I plan to go, ... (I) pack a lot of food and go on until (it) gets dark, when I go up into a bush shelter. 1464) Sele dabai dege-i mei dege-moû = be, e teae-i. moso Ε moso money work do-NFUT NEG do-PFV=TOP 3s house build-NFUT 3s house tege-i mei dege-mou = be, sosi tege-i. moso build-NFUT NEG do-PFV=TOP church house build-NFUT "When (we) had finished working (on the airstrip) for money, (we) built his house. When (we) had finished

building his house, (we) built (the) church.'

The last example (1465) is an example where *kenôusi* 'but' is topicalised, giving the same feeling of generic and habitual.

1465) Beve  $k\hat{o}u = me$  hebe qo + vasu-l-u. Ε na-l-e possum this=TOP tree branch+road walk.around-IRR-NFUT 3s eat-IRR-FUT na-l-a-mou su-l-u ku-he.  $K\underline{e} = n\hat{o}u = si = be$ eat-IRR-SUBJ-PFV walk.around-IRR-NFUT this-P.LOCR that=only=CNTR=TOP sisiqo = ye wo-l-o mei. saqai children=INS attack-IRR-FUT likely NEG

'This possum is walking around on the branches of a tree. Here he is walking around for the purpose of eating. **But** children are not likely to kill him.'

# 8.3.11 Part of a delayed sequence construction - 'until'

See 7.3.2.4 DELAYED SEQUENCE: second construction. Here are two examples.

- 1466) *miye\_ka=hg\_Jona\_malg\_i=be\_de-mou, to\_biyg=kou\_dogogu.* fish that=gen\_Jonah\_get.IRR.FUT\_go=TOP\_PROV-PFV\_river\_beach=Loc\_put.NFUT '... that fish took Jonah and **went on until** (she) put him on (the) beach.'
- 1467)  $n\underline{i} = me \ \underline{g} = b\hat{u} + de \ yo-ma \ dabai \ dege-m\hat{u} \ hagua = be \ de-m\hat{u},$ 2PL=TOP 1s=and+PROV begin-ISQ work do-PFV COME=TOP PROV-PFV  $ifi = ne \ ke-ge = n\hat{u} \ dala$ today=also that-VBR=only be/have '... you after starting have worked with me until now ...'

# 8.3.12 Part of the conjunction yobe 'reason'

The topic marker is part of the conjunction yo = be 'reason' (base=TOP). The Mountain dialect version is bei = be (meaning=TOP).

 $Y_{o} = be$ 1468) Moso <u>e</u> gof<u>o</u>u mei. 0 moso ke tege-i house that build-NFUT house 3s hard/strong NEG reason=TOP man ka = hahebe tatabai dege-i mou + ma tege-i. 0 man that=GEN tree weak do-NFUT get+put build-NFUT 'The house is not strong. The reason (is that) the man who built the house, that man got weak timber and built.'

1469) O sas<u>ai</u> olôuf<u>ei</u> di<u>a</u> dou=be hoho<u>d</u> dege-di. Yo=be dou ko=kôu man woman all.total 3pL fire=TOP light do-HAB reason=TOP fire that=LOC na-l<u>e</u> si-l-e eat-IRR-FUT cook-IRR-FUT 'All people like (the) fire. **The reason** (is that) on the fire they cook food and ...'

1470) Dig <u>e</u> t<u>a</u> du-l-o-mou kesi-gi. Bei=be <u>e</u> tawa-gi-l-i=be 3PL 3s talk hear-IRR-FUT-PFV rouse-OF.NFUT meaning=TOP 3s know-OF-IRR-NFUT=TOP 'Having heard his talk, they were surprised. The reason was the way he taught (was) ...' (Mountain dialect)

# 8.3.13 Marking the indefinite article as it is used for listing purposes

The topic marker is part of the word ta = be 'another' (INDF=TOP) used for listing purposes.

1471) Aqu e dabai soqo qa-di. Ta=be kiyei qobo-di. bamboo 3s work breadfruit gather-HAB INDF=TOP pandanus scrape.out-HAB 'The bamboo is used to pick breadfruit (with). Another (use) is to scrape out pandana.'

1472) Dia <u>e</u> n<u>g</u>-di=be, hebe kolo n<u>g</u>-di. **Ta=be** hebe guo n<u>g</u>-di. prawn 3s eat-HAB=TOP tree fruit eat-HAB INDF=TOP tree leaf eat-HAB 'The prawn, its food, (it) habitually eats fruit. **Another** (thing), he habitually eats leaves.'

# 8.3.14 Marking a quote

There are three related uses of the topic marker having to do with quotes.

- verbs in imperative and hortative mood
- quote verbs
- question words

#### Verbs in imperative and hortative mood

A verb with plural subject in imperative or hortative mood may occur with the topic marker. Supposedly this is a politer form.

1473) *I-ma=be.* 

go-du/pl=top

'You two **better** go now.' (a polite request to leave)

```
1474) I-me=be.
```

go-hort=top

'I think we should go now.' (often heard when people are leaving)

### Quote verbs

The topic marker may occur with a quote verb. This is rare with the indicative one. I think it is actually part of the quote, rather than the quote verb in this example.

1475) Yesu=ha hagua-l-e=be=yodi-l-i.

Jesus=gen come-irr-fut=top=iqv-irr-nfut

'(He) is of course talking about Jesus coming back.'

The topic marker is obligatory as part of the deontic and subjunctive quote verbs =ede and =ade, in non-singular forms.

- 1476) *O*  $ta = n\hat{o}u$   $ta = n\hat{o}u$  *3* kina *3* kina de-ma = be = ede  $tobo-l-\hat{o}u$  *i*. man INDF=only INDF=only 3 kina 3 kina PROV-DU/PL=TOP=OQV say-IRR-NPST go-NFUT "Each man **must** pay K3," they **instructed and** said."
- 1477) da to i-me=be=ede tobo-u. lbu.in river wash go-HORT=TOP=OQV say-NFUT '... "Let the two of us go swimming," (he) suggested and said."
- 1478) *dilie* Godi=hg dabai dege-ma=b=ado-môu maka+mg-j 3DU God=GEN work do-DU/PL=TOP=SQV-PFV mark+put-NFUT '... (they) marked the two of them in order for them to do God's work.'

# **Question words**

The topic marker occurs on a question word or even at the end of a question, if the speaker is unsure of what is being said.

1479) Tom idiba haqua-l-e. Koyo = be? Tom tomorrow come-IRR-FUT who=TOP "Tom is coming tomorrow." "Who did you say?"

# 8.3.15 Marking a clarifying afterthought

A clarification given as an after-thought after the main clause/sentence often occurs with the topic marker.

1480)	M <u>a</u>	dihi	Beny	n <u>e</u> ,	ikoke=be.
	1s.poss	child	Benny	give.IMP	nail=TOP
	'Give (the	em) to my	son Benny,	the nails tha	t is.'

- 1481) *O* olôufei hoho, sio miye = be. sasai man woman all.total light bird Victoria.pigeon=TOP 'Everybody loves (them), the Victoria pigeons that is.'
- 1482)  $Ke = no\hat{u} = fei$ , ta = be. ma that=only=total 1s.poss talk=TOP 'That is all, my story that is.'

#### 8.3.16 Functions as a barrier

The topic marker may also be used as a barrier, to hinder certain features spreading leftward in a sentence, e.g. purpose and optative. See also 7.3.5 NEGATIVE AND OTHER SCOPES IN A SENTENCE.

- 1483) Godi=ha e Dihi=koîu tobou-mou migi=be, sibige sa 0 sasai God=gen 3s child=LOC say-PFV come.down.NFUT=TOP land essence man woman di=mokou hebe kasaqai ne=**yado-mo**û toboû-l-i mei. 1PL.IN=LOC exchange bad give-sqv-pfv say-IRR-NFUT NEG 'When God<sub>1</sub> sent his Son<sub>2</sub> (and) (he<sub>2</sub>) came down, (he<sub>1</sub>) did **not** send (him<sub>2</sub>) in order to punish us, the people of the world."
- 1484) 0 ka = hado k₽ *tila=be, o* sasai ke+dia Godi=ha\_nele ke man that=GEN sickness that lie=TOP man woman that+3PL God=GEN strength that

duqu-o-ba, Godi=hg Dihi hebe-l-e е hu see-FUT-PFV.IRR God=GEN child 3s name carry-IRR-FUT

tila. fo-qu-l-o i=yado-môu kuhe do

go.up-OF-IRR-FUT go=SQV-PFV so sickness lie

'That this man is sick, is in order for people to see God's strength and to praise the name of God's Son, (and) so (he) is sick.'

Godi = ha ta = be $ka = ha = no\hat{u}$ *i-ba=si* 1485) tawa-ga-i 0 bolo = fei. God=GEN talk=TOP know-DU/PL-NFUT man that=GEN=ONLY go.NFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR good=total

<i>Môu</i> nothing r	,	<i>i-l-e</i> = <b>be</b> go-irr-fut=to		<i>ôu</i> prior	<i>bolo=f<u>e</u></i> good=t	- /	<i>ya-ba</i> go.du/pl.fut-pfv.irr
<i>ta=f<u>ei</u></i> INDF=tota]	<i>totó</i> u 1 forg		0			<i>ko=kôu=g</i> that=LOC=F	<i>e=nôu=f<u>e</u>i.</i> .cnrr=only=total

'But in contrast to (other people going), if (a) man who knows God's Word would go, it would be good. When men without (knowledge) would go, (thinking) beforehand (it) would be OK, it would not do, if from that circumstance, they having gone would be a bit stupid.'

# 8.4 Focus of contrast

I am using the term 'focus' as meaning new or assertive information. In this grammar and applied to the Konai language, the expression 'focus of contrast' only refers to a constituent marked by the enclitic =qe.<sup>202</sup>

The contrasting focus marker = qe may occur on nominal phrases functioning as subject and on nominal and modifier phrases expressing time or location. The form  $ko = k\hat{o}\hat{u} = g\hat{e}$  (that=LOC=F.CNTR), occurring on its own, may mean 'because' or 'under the circumstances'. See the last heading under this section: 'Because', ...

 $<sup>^{202}</sup>$  Another kind of focus is the object focus, which functions in the clause only (see 4.1.7).

The meaning of the contrastive focus is to single someone or something out as being of special importance in the context. The most common function in the Lowland dialect is for =ge to appear on temporal phrases, indicating the importance of certain times.

There is also another discourse marker which indicates contrastiveness: =si 'contrast'. Its function is to single out a phrase or clause as referring to the best (or possibly worst) alternative among other possible alternatives. This enclitic was described under 7.3.3.4 CONTRAST.

# Subject marking

The two first examples of the contrastive focus marker =ge on a nominal phrase functioning as subject are from Big Book stories illustrated with pictures. The 'sun' and the 'fire' contrast with other pictures of suns and fires in the book.

- 1486) **Aso** kôu = ma = hg = ge e hoho dege-l-i. sun this=TOP=GEN=F.CNTR 3s light do-IRR-NFUT 'This sun, it is shining.' (a picture)
- 1487) **Dou** kôu = ma = hg = ge wai si-di fire this=TOP=GEN=F.CNTR pig cook-HAB '**This** fire habitually cooks pig (meat) ...' (a picture)

In the three next examples, God and Jesus are singled out as the ones being able to cope with the situation.

1488) **Godi=hg=ge** di=be ta totôù dege-i=ya mei, God=GEN=F.CNTR 1PL.IN=TOP INDF forgetfulness do-NFUT=SUBJ NEG <u>e=me di=bôû=nôû dala.</u> 3s=TOP 1PL.IN=and=only be/have 'God (he) does not ever forget about us, he is just with us.' (Foothill dialect)

1489) Jona <u>e</u> o <u>ke</u>+d<u>ig</u>=mokôu gof<u>ô</u>u <u>dege-i</u>. Godi, <u>n</u><u>g</u>=<u>g</u>e o <u>sas<u>a</u>i <u>kô</u>u</u>+d<u>ig</u> Jonah3s man that+3PL=LOC hard/strong do-NFUT God 2s=F.CNTR man woman this+3PL

wo=yede tobo-u. attack=ogv say-NFUT

'Jonah he was very angry at the men/people, "God **you** must kill these people," (he) directed and said.'

1490) Yesu ng=ge a dogôugu-ba, haba a tewe mo-l-ôu de Jesus 2s=f.cntr 1s help.nfut-pfv.irr but.pfv.irr 1s know get-irr-npst prov

tawa-l-e-môu, <u> $g \in mok$ ôu diho</u> baga tobo-u. know-irr-fut-pfv 1s 3s=loc eye close.eye say-nfut

"... "When **you** Jesus help me, then I will get knowledge," and having realized that, I closed (my) eyes and prayed/said to him." (Mountain dialect)

The next example is also from the Mountain dialect and illustrates how =ge picks up a non-subject in the previous clause and turns it into a subject.

1491) Yesu=ha *hiye=do dege-l-i=be* da ka-ge haqi e=mokou tobou-ba, how-ver heavy big=INT do-IRR-NEUT=TOP 3s=LOC Jesus=GEN 1DU.IN say-PFV hiye=do dege-l-i e = aehaba da haqi ke=me e = ae3s=F.CNTR but.PFV.IRR 1DU.IN heavy big=INT do-IRR-NFUT that=TOP 3s=F.CNTR huyaf<u>ei</u> dege-ma fogo-l-ou=yode tobo-u, dugu. а small do-ISQ leave.for-IRR-NPST=IQV say-NFUT 1s see.NFUT ... I saw that (it) stated and said (in the Bible) that whatever big problem you & I have, when (we) tell him, Jesus **he** will instead make that big problem you & I have disappear after making (it) small.' (Mountain dialect)

#### **Temporal marking**

Temporal marking with = ge, if occurring together with the genitive case marker  $= h\underline{a}$ , is used to emphasize an exact time.

In the first example =ge appears on its own, and the time is not exact. In the second example, it looks like we have a word with =ge 'contrastive focus', but actually, it could as well be the homophone -ge 'verbaliser'.<sup>203</sup> In the next few examples, due to the inclusion of the genitive case marker =hg, an exact time is given as new information.

 $<sup>^{203}</sup>$  See 3.7 Homophones and variants among suffixes and enclitics.

- 1492) *Haba=ge dugu-l-o.* but.pfv=f.CNTR see-IRR-FUT 'See you **later**.' (lexicalised use)
- 1493)
   Ne
   fene,
   Des
   21
   ke-le-/=ge
   hagu-ba=be

   2s.poss
   airplane
   Dec.
   21
   that-A.LOCR-VBR/=F.CNTR
   come.NFUT-PFV=TOP

   'If/when your plane comes on Dec.
   21, ...'
   ...'
- 1494) Sadebe 2007 kou=ma=ha=ge e=me mediago sokoulou i-l-e. year 2007 this=TOP=GEN=F.CNTR 3s=TOP medical.worker school go-IRR-FUT 'This year 2007 he will go to CHW<sup>204</sup> school.'
- 1495) Sadebe 1997 ka=hg=ge fûu hiye=do biye-i. year 1997 that=gen=F.CNTR dryness big=INT sit.up/down-NFUT 'In 1997 there was (a) big draught.'
- 1496) A = me ifi = belesson 14,.p.32=boû, haba kuquo hiye=be lesson 6 1s=TOP today=TOP lesson 14,p.32=and but.PFV.IRR paper big=TOP lesson 6 Ulie Та ke-qe he-heqi-e-l-i. Ifi=be a=me ke-le dala, talk that-VBR RED.PL-show-RED.PL-IRR-NFUT today=TOP 1s=TOP that-A.LOCR be/have cicada haha fula ka = ha = qe15 ke he-heqi-e-l-i ta lesson but.pFV.IRR week INDF that=GEN=F.CNTR lesson 15 that RED.PL-show-RED.PL-IRR-NFUT 'Now I am teaching lesson 14, p. 32, as well as Big Book lesson 6 "The story about the Cicada". Now I am there, but next week at that time (I) am teaching lesson 15 ...'
- date 30 4ka=ha=ge 1497) *Nele haqua-l-e = be* nele Edolo=kou haqua-ma. ... 2DU come-IRR-FUT=TOP date 3or 4that=GEN=F.CNTR 2DU Edolo=LOC come-DU/PL ... n<u>e</u>-me. Friday 5 ka = ha = gesisiqo prais ... <u>A</u> taga-l-i=be, 5 that=gen=f.cntr children prize give-Hort ... 1s like-IRR-NFUT=TOP Friday dihi Dahamo=kou i-l-e, Saturday 6 ka = ha = qe. do mala child sickness get.IRR.FUT Dahamo=LOC qo-IRR-FUT Saturday 6 that=GEN=F.CNTR 'Concerning that you two will come, come to Edolo on the third or the fourth. ... On Friday the fifth let's give (the) prizes (to the school) children. ... I want to take the sick child and go to Dahamo on Saturday

See also other sections about how to express time:

5.2.3 FUNCTION OF THE NOMINAL PHRASE

5.2.3.2.1 THE GENITIVE CASE: Genitive of time expressions

5.2.3.2.2 THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE: Time

# Locative marking

the sixth.'

In its use as focusing in on a locative phrase, =ge works together with the locative adverb roots or with the locative case marker  $=k\hat{ou}$ . The compound enclitic  $=k\hat{ou}ge$  means 'from' in some contexts, but often it just means a general 'point of departure' for a certain story or conversation (see 5.2.3.2.4 THE PSEUDO ABLATIVE CASE).

1498) hebe ... e hu=be diogo ka = ha sugu+toû=ge tree ... 3s name=TOP tree.sp. that=GEN top+up=F.CNTR sasa=do five sa-i ka = hamigi-mou duqu. thread twine-NFUT long/tall=INT that=GEN come.down.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT '... (a) tree ... its name (is) "diogo", from its top (they) saw that very long rope come down.' 1499) Ei Dulo  $ko = ko\hat{u} = ge$ , James=boû Asele=boû ei 0 Dulo mouth.of.river that=LOC=F.CNTR James=and Asele=and 1PL.EX 1PL.EX so ti-l-e iqiya-i suluqua-l-i du dog call-IRR-FUT go.DU/PL-NFUT walk.around-IRR-NFUT hear.NFUT 'We (excl.), at the mouth of the river Dulo, (i.e.) James, Asele and I called up (the) dogs and went; we walked around until (we) heard ...'

257

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Community Health Worker.

hy  $sou = ko\hat{u} = be$ 1500) Sa Huo sou = kou = qe to ka = haе land name Huo source=LOC=F.CNTR river that=GEN 3s source=LOC=TOP dei hiye ke-le mufoko = boîu duwo. old.man big that-A.LOCR white.hair=and sit 'At (the) place named the "Source of Huo", that is the source of that river, there (an) important old man with white hair lives.' 1501) hu = beTowala=kou, ôu ko=koîu=qe sa е ha-i land 3s name=TOP Towala=LOC that=LOC=F.CNTR saqo cut-NFUT wai ta so ka = hatigo-u-mou du. pig INDF dog that=GEN bark-NFUT-PFV hear-NFUT '... at (a) place called Towala, at that (place of the) cut down sago (palm), (I) heard the dog bark at a pig. 1502) Afu=do Tinahai = koîu = ge duwo-l-i duqu=be, today=INT Tinahai=LOC=F.CNTR sit-IRR-NFUT see.NFUT=TOP a=me hegie dege-i-mou duqu. 1s=TOP hungry do-NFUT-PFV see.NFUT 'Earlier, (I) was in Tinahai until (I) realised I was hungry.' (Mountain dialect)

1503) *Dilie* sosi moso=kôu=ge esol dugu. 3DU church house=LOC=F.CNTR angel see.NFUT 'The two of them saw (an) angel in (the) church.'

#### 'Because', 'under the circumstances'

The conjunction-like use of  $ko = k\hat{o}u = ge$  (that=LOC=F.CNTR) is definitely related to the locative use of  $=k\hat{o}u = ge$  described in 5.2.3.2.4. The first example may in fact just as well be locative.

The conjunctive meaning of this word may be 'because' or 'under the circumstances'.

1504)		0	<pre>E ko=kôu=ge 3s that=LOC=F.CNTR</pre>	<i>fi+mg-i=be,</i> soul+put-nfut=top	
			<i>okôu fi+m<u>g</u>-i</i> LOC soul+put-NFUT	00	
	<i>ifi bologu<u>a</u> du</i> today good.do s	uwo k <u>e</u> fi+m <u>a-i</u> . it that soul+p			
			. From that (circumstance hem), they now do/sit well,		le living in
1505)			<pre>ka=hg=noû i-ba an that=gen=only go.</pre>		
	,		<i>I bolo=f<u>ei</u>=ye y</i> ior good=total=OPT g		
		,		a a c'	

 $ta = \underline{fei}$  $tot\hat{ou}$  $dege \cdot i = ye$  $do - m\hat{ou}$  $ko = k\hat{ou} = ge = n\hat{ou} = \underline{fei}$ .INDF=totalforgetfulnessdo - NFUT=OPT PROV-PFVthat=Loc=F.CNTR=only=total'But in contrast to (other people going), if (a) man who knows God's Word would go, it would be good.When men without (knowledge) would go, (thinking) beforehand (it) would be OK, it would not do, if

from that circumstance, they having gone would be a bit stupid.'

258

# 8.5 Theme

1500) 6.

~

hai-wa

In this grammar and applied to the Konai language, the term 'theme' only refers to arguments that are fronted. This means that in the clause, such an argument precedes another argument that it usually follows. This strategy is used to give background to a story that is just about to be told, and, on a lower level, give local prominence to certain arguments. See also 6.3 CLAUSES WITH THEME SLOTS.

Basic word order in Konai is SOV. However, there is a slot, preceding the subject, where any argument may go, including the subject (which in that case is repeated in one form or another in its proper place). In fact, this slot may be filled by several arguments, especially at the beginning of a discourse.

There is also a slot clause medially, to the right of the subject, to which the object may be fronted.

haladi

CLAUSE <sub>v</sub>	$\rightarrow$	(THEME)	(NPs)	(THEME)	(NPINSTR/TEMP/LOC/MP)	(NPo)	VP ((NP/MP))
<b>CLAUSE</b> <sub>NV</sub>	$\rightarrow$	(THEME)	NPT	NP <sub>C</sub>			

The theme slots are used for prominent, often new information, but sometimes you find known or given information there, marked by the topic marker =be.

Information that may go in the initial theme slot is main participant, time, location and the topic of that, which is going to be told. As said above, the first clause of any discourse often has one or more arguments in the initial theme slot (1513), (1514).

In examples (1509) and (1513), note that a fronted argument does not need to be in the same case or have the same number as when it occurs later in the clause.

Examples (1507), (1508) and (1509) have had their objects moved leftwards. The second of these three examples also has an initial theme slot, as pronoun copy is looked upon as a theme slot with an NP, followed by a pronoun, functioning as subject. The rest of the examples also show clauses with initial theme slots. The first example has a fronted object.

1506)	Où	0	hei=ye	ha-l-adi.					
	sago	man	axe=INS	cut-IRR-	PROS				
	Theme	NPs	$\text{NP}_{\text{INSTR}}$	VP					
	NPo								
	'(The) sa	<b>ago</b> (pa	lm), (a) man i	s just about to	cut (it) down wi	ith (an) axe.'			
1507)	Ν <u>a</u> κι	iguo	Bimin = koî	ı sa-gi-l-e.					
	2s pa	aper	Bimin=LOC	put.ins	ide-of-IRR-F	UT			
	NPs Th	neme	$NP_{\text{LOC}}$	VP					
	NF	0							
	'You wil	ll send	(a) <b>letter</b> to B	imin.' (implie	ed: put inside (a r	nailbag to go o	on an airp	lane))	
1508)	0	е	<b>dabai</b> di	i=mokoîu n	e-j.				
	man	3s	work 1	PL.IN=LOC g	ive-NFUT				
	Theme	NPs		PLOC V	P				
	NP		NPo						
	'(A) cert	tain <b>ma</b>	<b>n</b> he gave <b>wo</b>	<b>rk</b> to us.'					
1509)	da	ifi	Godi = h <u>a</u>	soloîu = do	da=mokoîu	n <u>e-i</u>	ku-h <u>e</u> =	yode	tobo-u.
	1du.in	toda	y God=gen	heart=IN1	1DU.IN=LOC	give-NFUT	this-	.LOCR=IQV	say-NFUT
	Theme		NPs	Theme	NPLOC	VP	MP=		
	NP +	MPtem		NPO					
				d has shown (l	nis) <b>love to us</b> (ir	ncl.) here," (we	e) stated a	nd said.'	
	(a summ	ary of a	a story)						
1510)			_	nu <u>i</u> =be ol				taga-l-e	i-di.
	_	pigeo	n=top 3s r	neat=TOP a	ll.total=INT		total		'UT go-нав
	Theme					NPs		VP	
	NP +		NPo						
	<b>Concer</b>	ning th	ie pigeon, reg	garding all its	meat, all people	e like (it).'			
1511)	Na-I- <u>e</u> =	=be	o = be	milôu-mo	จิน				
		R-FUT=	TOP man=TOP		7				
	Theme		NPs	VP					
	NPo								
	'Concer	ning fo	od, people ar	e producing (i	t),'				

1512) **Na-I-e** kôu = me e hu = be subulu = bôu wai = bôu eat-IRR-FUT this=TOP 3s name=TOP sweet.potato=and pig=and Theme NP<sub>T</sub> NPc

'Concerning this food, its names are sweet potato and pig and ...'

1513) Α afu kou-le = qe,  $a = b \hat{o} u$ Yogu = bou ele earlier this-A.LOCR=F.CNTR Yogu=and 1s1s=and 1 DUL EX Theme Theme NPs NP +  $MP_{TEMP}$  +  $MP_{LOC}$  + NP to-l-o = vode-ma to i. wash-IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQ river qo.NFUT VP=... νD NPO (When) I (was) here some time ago, I and Yogu, after we two had said that (we) were going swimming, (we) went.'

1514)	A	afu=do	1995	holiday,	<u>a</u>	Debele=koîu	<i>i.</i>
	1s	earlier=INT	1995	holiday	1s	Debele=LOC	go.NFUT
	Theme				NPs	NPLOC	VP
	NP +	$\mathrm{MP}_{\mathrm{TEMP}}$ +	$\text{NP}_{\text{TEMP}}$				

'I, a long time ago, (during) the holiday of 1995, I went to Debele.'

# 8.6 Background, foreground, peak and coda

These are the definitions of the four concepts described under this section:

•	Foreground		story line what makes a story/discourse/text move forward
•	Background		what is needed to put the foreground material into a context what is needed for what is being told or written to make sense
•	Peak	-	highlight/climax of the story (part of the foreground; may be more than one)
	Code		what follows the pack

• Coda - what follows the peak

Using the main story from each of the sections 8.2.1.2 MORE ON HEAD-TAIL LINKAGE and 8.2.3 DESCRIPTIVE DISCOURSE, I will show how the different parts of a discourse are signalled in a narrative and a descriptive story.

In the last section under this heading, I will show how more background information may be added in a narrative and how to switch between background and foreground using an additional feature to what is presented in the first section below.

# 8.6.1 A narrative discourse example

In addition to the story presented in whole in this section, see also Michael's hunting story in APPENDIX IV.<sup>205</sup>

Background information in a narrative is characterised by:

•	the initial theme slot of the clause at the beginning of the discours to introduce main participants and set the time and location of the story	8.5 Theme
•	head-tail linkage (doubly underlined)	8.2.1 HEAD-TAIL LINKAGE
For	eground is characterised by:	
•	many individuated plural forms of the verb	4.1.6.2 INDIVIDUATED PLURAL
•	many clauses with final verb forms in the middle of a sentence otherwise made up of medial clauses	6.1.4 FINAL CLAUSES

A **peak** is usually not preceded by head-tail linkage. The **coda** follows immediately on the peak and usually starts a new paragraph, in many cases with *kegemôu* 'then/having become like that'.

Foreground information, presented as one sentence followed by another, is as a rule preceded by background information in the form of the tail-end of a head-tail linkage starting each new sentence. There are three places in this story where a sentence is not started that way. The last of this is what I have called the peak, partly based on all the action oriented verbs. Perhaps the two previous places may be called mini-peaks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> That story has very little H-T linkage and to my non-native speaker's ears/eyes gives the impression of extreme excitement.

# A narrative: A story about killing a hornbill, by Kevin Gibi <u>A</u> afu kôulege <u>a</u>bôu Yogubôu ...

'When I was here some time ago, I and Yogu, ...'

... ele to toloyodema i. ... after we two had said (we) were going swimming (we) went.

<u>Ele kokôu yai. Yolugi</u> ... <u>'We two went</u> towards there. <u>We went along until</u> (we) ...'

... dugube, hebe hiyedo ta tafala. '... saw a big tree standing.'

*Hebe kumaha fukôu <u>dugu, dôuwa duwo</u>.* 'In (a) hole of this tree (we) <u>saw; (a) hornbill sit</u>.'

<u>Duwomôu dugu</u> ... '(<u>We) saw (her) sitting</u> (there); ...'

... fogôumôu i. '... leaving (we) went.'

*Ele Kol<u>ou</u>kôu milôumôu <u>dugube</u>, <u>to gihou</u>. 'We two <u>saw</u> (the river) Konoun being busy, <u>(the) river was in flood</u>.'* 

<u>To gihou dugumôu</u>, ... '<u>Seeing (the) river being in flood</u>, ...'

... haba boholôuma haguasigei. ... we after completely turning around (started to) come back again.'

<u>Ma mogoha dugu</u> ... <u>'My friend saw (it);</u> ...'

... *tobolôu, da dôuwa walaba imebeedei.* '... (he) said, "Let us two go for the purpose of killing (the) hornbill," (he) suggested.'

*Ele hebe hagima, tigi kagimamôu digigile <u>fologai</u>.* 'After we two had cut sticks and cut vines, we tied them together and <u>went up</u> (the tree).'

<u>Ele folo</u>, '<u>We two went up</u> and ...'

#### ... dôuwa u dobo<u>go</u>̂u kasuguomôu, dôuwa tolôuma <mark>wala i.</mark>

"... having inserted (our) hands (in the) hornbill hole, after grabbing (the) hornbill we killed it."

<u>Kegemôu</u>, ele tobou, da ifi Godih<u>a</u> solôudo damokôu n<u>e</u>i **kuhe**yode tobou. '<u>Having become like that</u>,<sup>206</sup> the two of us (excl.) said, "(To) us two (incl.) today, God has shown (his) love to the two of us (incl.) **here**," (we) stated and said.'

Godih<u>a</u> elemokôu solôudo n<u>ei</u>. 'God gave (his) love to us two (excl.)'

*Ele Godikôu hoho hiyedo degei.* 'We two (excl.) are very pleased with God.' BACKGROUND

initial theme slot of clause used for introduction

FOREGROUND last verb is H in H-T

BACKGROUND head-tail linkage

FOREGROUND

**PEAK** (important lead)

BACKGROUND head-tail linkage

FOREGROUND

#### **PEAK** (turning point in story)

BACKGROUND head-tail linkage

FOREGROUND

FOREGROUND

PEAK

BACKGROUND head-tail linkage

**PEAK** (continued perhaps)

CODA H-T with **proverb** linking adverb: *kuh<u>e</u>* 'here'

CODA (continued)

CODA (continued)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> *Kegemóu* 'then/having become like that' is also a kind of H-T linking device, referring back to a longer passage and used to link paragraphs in narratives (see 8.2.1.1 STRUCTURE OF NARRATIVES).

In the last sentence of another narrative, the adverb *kuhe* 'so' appears in the last clause. This is also typical towards the end of a narrative.

1515) Wai kama.fou-mou, a to-l-ou, iqi=ve wo-u-l-u-qi, iqi piq run.away-prv 1s stone hold-IRR-NPST stone=INS attack-BLTV-IRR-NFUT-DSQ wai wala dogogu-o <u>a</u> moso=kou kuhe mala i. pig attack.IRR.FUTput-FUT 1s house=LOC get.IRR.FUT so qo.NFUT '(The) pig running away, I grabbed (some) stones and attacked (the) pig with (the) stones until (I) attacked and

# 8.6.2 A descriptive discourse example

Also in a descriptive discourse, there are two strategies, especially, that are used to mark background information:

- the initial theme slot of the clause is used throughout the discourse, often followed by pronoun copy of the subject
- the topic marker ={**be**}

Foreground information is characterised by:

• appearing in the comment slot of a topic comment clause

put (it down), and so I took (it) and went home.'

• short one-clause sentences

A descriptive discourse may start with presenting main participants, time and location in the first theme slot at the beginning of the story, as in the example below. However, it may also start with a few narrative sentences as in the examples at the end of this section, which are each the beginning of a descriptive story.

In the following story, as in any descriptive story, background information is fairly consistently marked by the topic marker ={be}. This particular descriptive story is divided into seven paragraphs, based on semantics. This includes the heading/introduction. Three of these paragraphs start with a noun with pronoun copy, all being part of a topicalised nominal phrase. The topic marker also occurs within the paragraph. Other descriptive stories have the same profusion of topic markers but not necessarily the pronoun copying.

If there is a **peak**, it may occur last, as in the story below, but it seems that a descriptive usually has no peak and no coda.

A descriptive: A story about building an airstrip, by Pastor Motousi Si <sup>207</sup>	
<u>A</u> afu 1981- 82 Sep <u>e</u> o fel <u>e</u> gabu milou t <u>a</u> .	BAG
'Earlier (in) 1981-82, (at the) mouth of (the) river Smipen, I worked (on the) airstrip	, init
(a) story (about that)	use

*To e hube Sepe o.* 'The river, its name is (the) Mouth of Smipen.'

# \_\_(paragraph break)\_\_\_\_

Boû e hube Woodyard, Vance Woodyard,
eboû aboû Dipaiboû fele gabu milolôu i.
'The white man, his name is Woodyard, Vance Woodyard,
he and I and Dipai worked (on the) airstrip.'

*Fele gabu sabe fofou hiyedo.* 'The ground of (the) airstrip **was** really muddy.'

*Habiya o sudo milolôu i.* 'Many Aekyom people worked (there).'

*Medigo o, e hube Someke.* 'The medical orderly, <u>his</u> name was Someke.'

*O hu olôuf<u>ei</u> nal<u>ai</u>.* '(He) wrote (down) all (the) names of people (working there).'

*Eme bose.* 'He was (the) boss.'

*Kege milolôu ibe, gusubu 8:00 ilemôu 12:00.* 'We worked like that from 8 o'clock in (the) morning until 12.'

*Mesiholo duwodi.* '(We) habitually rested.'

1:00 bala wodi. '(At) 1 o'clock (they) habitually hit (the) bell.'

*O oloûf<u>ei</u> dabai degedi ibe domoû, habi 4:30 fogoû idi.* 'Everybody worked until 4:30 in (the) afternoon, (when) leaving (they) habitually went.'

*O olôuf<u>ei</u> mos<u>o</u>kôu idi.* 'Everybody habitually went to (their) houses.'

Fele gabu a miloube, hiya olôufeibe 2 years.'The work I (did) building (the) airstrip went on for all of two years.'

*Mei degei,*<sup>208</sup> *fel<u>e</u> <i>fiyei.* '(Then it) was finished, (a) plane landed.' ACKGROUND/FOREGROUND

**initial theme slot** of clause used for introduction

BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND initial theme slot pronoun copy ={**be**} 'topic marker'

#### BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND

initial theme slot <u>pronoun copy</u> ={**be**} 'topic marker'

BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND

={**be**} 'topic marker'

FOREGROUND

BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND initial theme slot pronoun copy ={**be**} 'topic marker'

#### FOREGROUND

BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND ={**be**} 'topic marker'

BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND ={**be**} 'topic marker'

FOREGROUND

#### FOREGROUND

BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND ={**be**} 'topic marker'

FOREGROUND

BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND ={**be**} 'topic marker'

BACKGROUND/PEAK (perhaps)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> The story can be found interlinearised in APPENDIX III.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> *Mei dege* 'be finished' is a typical H-T link between paragraphs in procedural texts (see 8.2.2 PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE), even though the rest of this story is descriptive.

The two following examples show the first few sentences of two longer descriptive stories that both have narrative introductions.

1516)			<u>g</u> =bôu+de 1s=and+prov		<i>tôufogôu</i> leave	<i>yo-l-u-gi,</i> go.du/pl-	IRR-1	NFUT-DSQ
	<i>Mende=kôu</i> Mende=LOC		<i>haba</i> but.pfv.irr	<b>na yo-l-u-g</b> sq go.du/		<i>sa</i> JT-DSQ land	_	h <b>u=be</b> name=™P
	<b>Ukarumpa=</b> Ukarumpa=1	0	<i>i</i> . 1-du∕pl-nfut					

'Pastor Motousi and I left Dahamo, going on until Mende, after sitting down (there and) going up again, we went on until we went down at (a) place called Ukarumpa.'

First sentence following the above introduction:

Sawisie-i=be Tuesday ka=hg ko=kôu fula olôuf<u>ei</u> kama+dia be.day-NFUT=TOP Tuesday that=GEN that=LOC week all.total middle.finger+3PL

ke-ge ko=kôu duwe-i. that-vbr that=LOC sit-NFUT

'That day was (a) Tuesday, then (we) were there three weeks.'

Dahamo toufogoù fene+ya Sa Ukarumpa = kou <u>A</u> sa haque-i. 1s land Dahamo leave airplane+road come-NFUT land Ukarumpa=LOC Ukarumpa = kou migi-l-e-mou, miai. Sasama ka = hatie-i moso ring.finger that=gen Ukarumpa=Loc come.down-NFUT come-IRR-FUT-PFV sleep-NFUT house  $bolo = fei = do = ko\hat{u}$ fele-i. Ke-ge-mou ₫ hoho hiye = do dege-i. good=total=INT=LOC go.up-NFUT that-vBR-PFV liqht biq=INT do-nfut 1s 'I left Dahamo and came by plane. I came down at Ukarumpa. Having come down at Ukarumpa on (a)

Tuesday, (I) entered (an) excellent sleeping house. So I was very happy.'

First sentence following introduction:

Sa Ukarumpa=be sa bolo=f<u>ei</u>=do sa. land Ukarumpa=TOP land good=total=INT land 'Ukarumpa is (a) very good place.'

# 8.6.3 A short summary of information structure in discourse

To summarize, we can see from the above two stories that background and foreground are not expressed the same in different types of discourse. I will present the differences in a chart and include procedural discourse as well even, if it has not been talked about in this section, but see 8.2.2 PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE.

Narrative	<b>Background</b> discourse initial theme slot; frequent H-T linkage, breaking up storyline/foreground information	<b>Foreground</b> individuated plural; sent. medial FV; long sentences	<b>Peak</b> less H-T linkage; many action verbs	<b>Coda</b> follows peak; may start a new paragraph; <i>kuh<u>e</u></i> 'here' <i>kuhe</i> 'so'
Procedural	discourse initial theme slot; regular H-T linkage and H-T linkage with <i>mei dege</i> 'finish'	short sentences	occurs last; semantic content	kuhe 'so'
Descriptive	discourse initial theme slot/ discourse initial group of narrative sentences; paragraph initial theme slot with =be (+pronoun copy); frequent use of ={be}	comment in topic comment clause; short one-clause sentences	none/ may occur last	none

# 8.6.4 Adding more background information in a narrative

The following story by Kevin Gibi has as much background as foreground information. Still it shows one way of switching between the two.

1517)

The background information here is different from what was described in the previous section. This story shows how to add explanatory background information and then switch back to foreground information again. The key phrase is the adverbial phrase *kelege* 'at that time'. That adverbial phrase is the "switch" between an explanation and the story line and vice versa. Starting the two pieces of explanatory background information *kelege* is marked by =be 'topic marker'. A suitable expression followed by the same adverbial phrase *kelege* 'at that time' starts the story and twice gets back to the story line.

'This is my story.'	
<b><u>A</u> afudo huyadef<u>ei</u> kelege</b> 'A long time ago, at the time I was little'	
<i>dagado gamani o kedia hu sôu hagumôu dugu kaha stori.</i> ' I saw officials from another kind of governmen come to take a cencus; a story about that.'	FOREGROUND
<u>A</u> sabiyei ta 'I, one morning'	
<i>mg aye ele duwogi dugube,</i> 'my father and I, the two of us were (there) until (we) saw'	FOREGROUND
gamani o kedia bokisi tigigima hebema haguasieimou dugu. ' government officials coming carrying tied boxes.'	
<i>Kelegebe, ifi dege kansoleboû komitiboûde dala mei.</i> 'At that time, there were no councillors and committee men like (we) have today.'	EXPLANATORY BACKGROUND
Mamosiyenôu dalamôu degei. 'There were only "tultul" officials.'	
<i>Gamani kedia haguei sabiyei kelegenôube,</i> 'On that morning (and) at the time when those government officials came,'	
<i>igiyogone haguei. Kenoûsi a gue hiyedo degei.</i> ' a helicopter too came. But I was very afraid.'	FOREGROUND
<i>Kelegebe, mamosi kediame kansole sagai kege delei.</i> 'At that time, the "tultuls" officials were like councillors.'	EXPLANATORY BACKGROUND
<i>Godiha tabe hagueli mei kelege</i> 'Before the word of God arrived, at the time,'	
<i>gamani o kedia degei storibe kehe.</i> ' those government officials did (this); that is the story there it is.'	FOREGROUND
Ma tabe kenoûf <u>ei</u> .	

'My talk is enough.'

Kôume ma stori.

# 8.7 Participant reference

Participant<sup>209</sup> reference is a large part of discourse analysis and an important one. It has too easily been assumed that the way participant are referred to and tracked through a discourse is in some way universal. That is not true, as several studies of languages spoken in Papua New Guinea have shown. See for example Callister 1996 and Fast 1997 for two Austronesian examples and Årsjö 1994 and Feldpausch 1998 for two Papuan examples.

I am indebted to Robert Conrad (1984) and William Staley (2007/1995) for their pioneering in this field in SIL, PNG and for their support in studies of this kind.

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) have given us a tool to analyse participant reference. I have used their method as a starting point in my study of participant reference. However, it proved to be insufficient to account for the Konai data in a straight forward way. They say themselves in the introduction of their book:

... our aim is introductory rather than comprehensive ... (ibid.:vii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> In the term 'participant' I include non-humans, as well as inanimate things.

# 8.7.1 Dooley and Levinsohn's method of analysing participant reference

Dooley and Levinsohn's method (2001) of analysing participant reference in discourse may be outlined in seven steps:

- (1) draw up an inventory of referring devices in the language studied
- (2) make a chart of participant encoding (how participants are referred to) in a text
- (3) give each participant a number and track it through the text, making a note of each referring device used
- (4) identify the different contexts of every reference used for each participant; do subjects and non-subjects separately
- (5) list the contexts with their default referring devices
- (6) list where the referring device is more or less than default
- (7) identify a strategy of reference

As for what Dooley & Levinsohn means, by 'context' a longer quote follows. The contexts they define here, I will adapt to fit the Konai language in 8.7.4 CONTEXTS OF REFERRING DEVICES IN KONAI. The bolding of S1-S4, N1-N4 below is mine, as is the bolding of 'each clause or sentence'.

First of all, identify the context for each activated *subject* in the text. For **each clause or sentence**, identify which of the following contexts is applicable:

S1 the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence

**S2** the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence (in a closed conversation ...)

**S3** the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than in closed conversation

**S4** other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3

These four contexts are illustrated (below) ... The subject reference that fits the context concerned is bolded.

- S1 The stranger entered the kitchen. He stole the foot.
- S2 The boys asked the stranger, "Are you a thief?" He replied ...
- S3 Hunger afflicted the stranger. **He** went to look for food.
- S4 Then shame filled them. The stranger said to them ...

•••

Now, identify the context for each activated *non-subject* in the text. For **each clause or sentence**, identify which of the following contexts is applicable:

 $\ensuremath{\text{N1}}$  the referent occupies the same non-subject role as in the previous clause or sentence

 $\ensuremath{\text{N2}}$  the addressee of a reported speech was the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence

 $\ensuremath{\text{N3}}$  the referent was involved in the previous sentence in a different role than that covered by  $\ensuremath{\text{N2}}$ 

N4 other non-subject references than those covered by N1-N3

The four contexts ... are illustrated (below) ... The reference that fits the context concerned is (bolded).

N1 he stole the foot. When he stole the foot ...

N2 he said to them ... The children answered him ...

N3 then shame filled them. The stranger said to them ...

N4 the stranger said, "Give me the foot!" The woman said to her husband ... (ibid:130-132).

# 8.7.2 Dooley and Levinsohn's method applied to Konai

In this grammar I will only account for steps 1, 5, 6 and 7 presented in the last section.

- (1) draw up an inventory of referring devices in the language studied (8.7.3 REFERRING DEVICES).
- (5) list the contexts with their default referring device (8.7.5 THE DEFAULT REFERRING DEVICE FOR EACH CONTEXT)
- (6) list where the referring device is more or less than default 8.7.6.1 CATEGORIES OF PARTICIPANTS (see also 8.7.6.2 THE FAULTY DEFAULTS)
- (7) identify a strategy of reference (8.7.7 A STRATEGY OF REFERENCE FOR KONAI)

Step 2-4 were done on five stories, and the result will be presented as step 5. However, this step did not work well for Konai, which I will show below. That made step 6 superfluous, and it was replaced as indicated by the reference under (6) in the above list.

The most helpful step was the first one, making a list of all referring devices used in Konai. For each form I was able to add how these forms were used and that gave me most of the answers I was looking for in analysing participant reference.

I have also been able to identify a strategy of reference (step 7) in the above list.

# 8.7.3 Referring devices in Konai

The referring devices Dooley and Levinsohn (ibid:127-128) list are:

- nominal phrase (a noun with or without qualifiers)
- a free pronoun
- verbal affix
- zero

In Konai, it is better to be more detailed from the start.

#### **Different kinds of participants**

There are different kinds of participants. I am not talking about that a participant may be human, animate or inanimate. That is of course true, too. Regardless of animacy or lack of it, some participants are main participants, some are minor in a certain discourse. Some are even perceived to be negligible, but they are still part of the story; we call them props. In Konai some participants are important in themselves, regardless of their status in a certain discourse, and they are grammatically marked for their controlling power. God, government officials and fathers are in that category.

In Dooley and Levinsohn's method the different types of participants may be discovered when you get to analyse the reasons for a certain referent being marked as being more or less than the default marking in a certain context. However, if there are totally different strategies for major and minor participants, for example, the default will be skewed.

Here are the parameters that are important, when analysing participant reference in Konai. The two first ones are not in themselves important in tracing participants in a Konai narrative, but I include them here anyway, as, having decided how participant reference works, they do fit into the same system.

•	referential/non-referential	the speaker has a <b>specific</b> entity in mind/ the speaker has <b>any</b> of a certain class in mind
•	generic/non-generic	reference to a <b>class</b> of entities/ reference to a <b>specific</b> entity <b>within that class</b>
•	known/unknown	<b>known in context</b> of discourse/ <b>not known in context</b> of discourse
•	indefinite/definite	an entity which is <b>not capable of specific identification</b> / a <b>specific identifiable</b> entity (Crystal 1985)
•	major/minor/prop in the discourse	<b>relative importance</b> of participants within the discourse see 8.7.6.1 CATEGORIES OF PARTICIPANTS
•	important/unimportant to the speaker/author	<b>importance in real life</b> , see 8.7.3.1 NP with the controlling case marker $=h\underline{a}$ 'genitive'

#### **Devices for tracing participants**

With the different types of participants in mind, I have two lists of referring devices for Konai, one headed **Unit/Feature** and one headed **Marking on the nominal phrase**. Do **not** read across. **The two columns are separate.** The markings interact with the nominal phrase. In addition, the verbal suffixation interacts with the nominal phrase or with the lack of an explicit NP. A section on some of the major combination follows below.

In analysing participant reference, and making a note of a certain device of reference in a certain spot in the story, it is the larger one that is noted.

Also, in Konai, verbal suffixation for participants is not grammatically obligatory. It is very much a pragmatic feature, which the speaker/author uses to tell his story in a certain way. To trace participants is not its main function, but it can still give clues as to participant reference.

Unit/Feature	Ι	Marking on the nominal phrase <sup>210</sup>				
NP with a noun as head +/- modifiers	Ι	=h <u>a</u>	'control'	(=GEN)		
NP with a pronoun as head	Ι	ka=h <u>a</u>	'the/that (agent)'	(that=GEN)		
pronoun copy (NP <sub>noun</sub> +NP <sub>pronoun</sub> )	Ι	k <u>e</u> //kokoîu	'the/that//(to) the/that'	(that/that=LOC)		
zero (no NP)	Ι	ke+di <u>a</u> /dilie	'those (two)'	(that+3PL/3DU)		
verbal suffix:	ļ	=ye	f'instrumental'	(=INS)		
plural subject			('non-controlling agent'			
plural object	Ι	= ge	'contrastive focus'	(=F.CNTR)		
zero: singular/neutral as to participant		ta	ʻa'	(INDF)		
switch-reference & switch of scene	ļ	zero	according to context	(no marking on NP)		
(see 7.3.1)						

# 8.7.3.1 NP with the controlling case marker =ha 'genitive'

A participant functioning as agent and being perceived as being in control, is marked by the genitive case marker  $=h\underline{a}$ , attached directly to the proper name or kinship term referring to that agent. (See 5.2.3.2.1 THE GENITIVE CASE.) This is how God and Jesus as agents are always referred to. There are three points pertinent to this case marker:

- the agent being referred to needs to be known by all in the speech situation
- does **not** occur on a **pronoun**
- only occurs with a singular subject

Participants often referred to with this case marker are the Trinity, fathers, older brothers and maternal uncles. They may or may not be main participants in the stories, where they are referred to in this way, but they are perceived as having a major influence on the proceedings.

Also, main participants referred to by a proper name quite often occur in this case. It would seem that this case marker increases the transitivity of a story (see the connection to ergativity, towards the last part of the section on the genitive case referred to above).

In the following example a teenage boy tells how he went hunting with two of his maternal uncles.

1518)	James=bôu	Asele=boîu	ei	so	ti-l-e	igiya-i	Asele=hɑ	hebe
	James=and	Asele=and	1pl.ex	dog	call-IRR-FUT	go.du/pl-NFUT	Asele=gen	i tree
	sug <u>u</u> +tôu ta	fala-l-i,	<b>De</b> =	= <i>h<u>a</u></i>		taha-l- <u>e</u> +m <u>a</u> -m	oû	
	top+up st	and-IRR-NFU	r mat	erna	al.uncle=gen	shoot-IRR-FUT	r+put-pfv	
		e and I called up shot and killed		gs an	d went; <b>Asele</b> w	vas standing up in	(a) tree top until	Uncle

<sup>268</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> The meanings of the different enclitics and words stated here are the meanings applicable to participant reference.

The next example involves a community health worker.

1519) Mola=be 0 olôufei do dege-i-mou = be i-l-e, medicine=TOP man all.total sickness do-NFUT-PFV=TOP go-IRR-FUT  $\dots$  medigo = hg mola n<u>e-i</u>-mou  $n\underline{o}-\underline{u}-m\hat{o}u=be,$ ... medical.worker=gen medicine give-NFUT-PFV eat-NFUT-PFV=TOP ke=me do bolo dege-di. 0 man that=TOP sickness good do-HAB 'Concerning medicine, all people, when (they) are sick, ... the medical worker gives medicine, (and) when

(the sick person) eats (it), that person gets well (from his) sickness.'

The following example is part of the conclusion of a story about a successful hunt.

1520) *Ke-ge-mou, ele tobo-u,* that-vbr-pfv ldu.ex say-NFUT

DaifiGodi=hgsolou=doda=mokoune-iku-he=yodetobo-u.lbu.intodayGod=GENheart=INTlbu.in=Locgive-NFUTthis-P.LOCR=IQVsay-NFUT'Having become like that, the two of us (excl.) said, "(To) us (incl.), today, God has shown his love to us here," (we) stated and said.'said.''said.''

#### 8.7.3.2 NP with different forms of the demonstrative pronoun ke 'that'

There are four forms of the demonstrative pronoun ke that is used within the nominal phrase to refer to participants:

- $ka = h\underline{a}$  (that (agent)) (that=GEN) minor participants in agent position without a proper name
- $k\underline{e}/kok\hat{o}u$  'that/(to) that' (that/that=LOC) minor participants in non-agent positions without a proper name
- $ke + di\underline{a}$  (that+3PL) plural major and minor participants in agent and non-agent position
- $k\underline{e} + dilie$  'those two' (that+3DU) dual major and minor participants in agent and non-agent position
- 1521) Rumginae=kou Tom ele kos i. Kos mei dege-i Friday. Rumginae=Loc Tom lbu.ex course go.NFUT course NEG do-NFUT Friday Saturday kalo sa+mg, Kiunga=kou ya-i. Saturday car put.inside+put Kiunga=Loc go.DU/PL-NFUT

Kalo dalawaka = hgtobo-ucar driverthat=GENsay-NFUT'Tom and I went to (a) course in RumgingeThe course finished on Eriday. On Saturday we got into

'Tom and I went to (a) course in Rumginae. The course finished on Friday. On Saturday we got into (a) car and went to Kiunga. **The car driver** said, ...'

1522) *ei ... du, so tigo-l-o i-môu f<u>o</u>ukua igiya-i folo-ga-môu* lpl.ex ... hear.NFUT dog bark-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV run go.DU/PL-NFUT go.Up-DU/PL.FUT-PFV

dugu,waioyehiye = doketigo-l-oi-môudugu.see.NFUTpigmalebig=INTthatbark-IRR-FUTgo.NFUT-PFVsee.NFUT'We (excl.)...heard (the)dogs barking (and)immediately we ran on; having arrived (we) saw that they werebarking at that very big boar.'

# 1523) **Sokolulou sisigo ke**+**dia ke**fegu-o dala-ba, school children that+3pLgather-FUT be/have-pFV.IRR

bôu=ha poto to-l-ôu.

white.man=GEN photo hold-IRR-NPST

'When **the school children** will have gathered and are (there), (the) white man will take/grab (a) photo.'

1524) **Dabai dege-di o bolou ke**+dilie ta ke du-l-o-môu, work do-HAB man two that+3DU talk that hear-IRR-FUT-PFV dilie=ne Yesu sese-l-e ya-i. 3DU=also Jesus follow-IRR-FUT go.DU/PL-NFUT

'The two disciples having heard that talk, the two of them, too, followed Jesus.'

More rare are the (almost) same kind of forms using the pronoun  $k\hat{ou}$  'this'. They would not be used in tracing participants in a discourse, but more in face to face conversations and in looking at pictures.

 $k\hat{o}u = ma = ha$  'this (agent)' (this=TOP=GEN) for more information on these forms see:  $k\hat{o}u/kuo = k\hat{o}u$  'this/(to) this' (this//this=LOC) 4.8.2.1 THE DEM. PRON. kôu 'this' and ke 'that' kôu + dig 'these' (this+3PL) kôu + dilie (that+3DU) 'these two' 1525) Aso  $k\hat{o}u = ma = ha = qe$ hoho dege-l-i. е this=TOP=GEN=F.CNTR 3s light do-IRR-NFUT sun

'This particular sun is shining.' (one of several pictures of suns)

hiye=do kôu Jona=ha mosole obou ke+dia huei wi haqu-l-u=be 1526) 0 Jonah=GEN ship owner man that+3pLwater wind big=INT this COME-IRR-NFUT=TOP  $yo = be \quad \underline{a} = moko\hat{u}.$ base=TOP 1s=LOC

'Jonah (said to) to the ship owners, "The reason for this rain (and) wind coming is because of me.""

Moso k*ô*u tege-i o = be Kiunga =  $ko\hat{u}$  i dala. 1527) house this build-NFUT man=TOP Kiunga=LOC go.NFUT be/have 'The builder of this house went to Kiunga; (he) lives (there).'

#### 8.7.3.3 NP with the instrumental case marker = ye

The instrumental case marker is used to refer to an agent functioning as a prop in a discourse. A hunting dog is sometimes perceived as a prop. The husband in the expression 'a married woman' is a prop. Both are considered to be of no great importance but still necessary parts of the context: no hunting without a dog, and no married state without a husband.

-	
1528)	m <u>a</u> abo <u>gô</u> u ke-le <b>ôu ay<u>e</u>=ye</b> wo-môu toto=nôu
	1s.poss foot that-A.LOCR sago thorn=INS attack.FUT-PFV quickly=only
	fogôu igiya-i.
	leave.for go.du/pl-NFUT
	' (a) sago thorn having got into my foot, leaving quickly we went.'
1529)	dube, kueya dihi susa-l- <u>e</u> i-môu, Asele ele bol <u>ou</u>
	hear=TOP cassowary child whistle.for-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV Asele 1DU.EX two
	ke-ge to-l-oû-moû, ta <b>so=ye</b> sese-l-e i-l-e wala
	that-vbrhold-irr-npst-pfv indf dog=ins follow-irr-futgo-irr-fut attack.irr.fut
	<i>n<u>o</u>-<u>u</u>-môu dugu-o fogôu igiya-i.</i> eat-NFUT-PFV see-FUT leave.for go.du/PL-NFUT
	'(we) heard cassowary chickens whistle, (whereupon) Asele and I having got hold of two, (we) saw (the) <b>dog</b> s pursue and kill and eat one and leaving we went.'
1530)	<u>A</u> ma sio ayomoîudihi su=do ke=noîu=si <b>sagatai</b> = <b>ye</b>
	1s 1s.poss bird fowl child many=INT that=only=CNTR hawk=INS
	<i>wo+mg no-l-u-gi mei dege-i.</i> attack+put eat-IRR-NFUT-DSQ NEG do-NFUT
	'I had many chickens, but (a) hawk killed them and ate (them) until (they) were (all) gone.'
1531)	Sas <u>ai</u> <u>e</u> =me <b>o</b> = <b>ye hu-l-o-môu</b> dele-i=be, sadebe olôuf <u>ei</u>
	woman 3s=TOP man=INS marry-IRR-FUT-PFV be/have-NFUT=TOP year all.total
	dio-yosi ke-ge mei dege-i.
	bone/lower.arm-NUMR that-VBR NEG do-NFUT
	'(A) woman she had been <b>married</b> for seven years.'
1532)	<b>Sa ta o sas<u>a</u>i</b> = <b>ye</b> n <u>i</u> sabe=koîu folo-go-u-ba=be,
	land INDF man woman=INS 2PL home.ground=LOC go.up-DU/PL-NFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP
	n <u>i</u> bologu <u>a</u> =do dia dala-ma.
	2PL good.do=INT watch.over be/have-DU/PL

'If people from another place arrive at your place, look after them well.'

# 8.7.3.4 NP with the contrastive focus marker =ge

The general purpose of the contrastive focus marker =*ge* is to distinguish a certain actor from other actors. Sometimes this has a bearing on participant reference but not in the first example here, where these "other actors" are not part of the song text.

1533) Yesu=ha hagu-ba=be, o damale=yodi-l-i mei ke+dia=ge

Jesus=gen come.nfut-pfv.irr=topman true=iqv-irr-nfutneg that+3pl=f.cntr

gese-i=be hiye=do cry-nfut=top big=int

"... when Jesus comes back, **the people who have not believed** will cry a whole lot...' (contrasted with the people who have believed)

However, =ge 'contrastive focus' has a special function in participant reference, in that it can pick up a pronominal reference functioning in a non-subject role and make it the subject in a following clause (1534), (1535).

1534) <u>A</u> <u>e</u>=mokou diho baga tobou-mou dugu, haba <u>e</u>=ge <u>a</u>=me<sup>211</sup> 1s 3s=Loc eye close.eye say-pfv see.NFUT but.pfv.IRR 3s=F.CNTR 1s=TOP huyafai dogougu-mou little help.NFUT-PFV

'As I closed (my) eyes and prayed/said **to him**, (I) saw, instead that **he** was helping me a little, ...' (Mountain dialect)

In the following example the object of the first sentence is implied.

1535) <u>A</u> diho baga tobôu-môu = ne bolo = do. <u>E</u> = ge igi-l-e ls eye close.eye say-pfv=also good=INT 3s=f.CNTR remove-IRR-FUT fogo-u sa dege-môu dugu-l-u. leave.for-NFUT likely do-pfv see-IRR-NFUT 'Also when I close (my) eyes and pray/say, it is good. I see that **He** may solve/throw out (problems).' (Mountain dialect)

For a more general description of how the contrastive focus marker = qe is used, see 8.4 FOCUS OF CONTRAST.

# 8.7.3.5 NP with the indefinite article ta

A referential, but non-specific, participant is introduced with the indefinite numeral ta, corresponding to the English indefinite article.

- 1536) *O* ta <u>e</u> sas<u>a</u>i dile wai dia dala. man INDF 3s woman 3DU pig watch.over be/have 'A man and his wife raised (a) pig.'
- 1537) *dilie o ta tg tobo-u,* 3DU man INDF talk say-NFUT 'the two of them said (to) **a** man, ...'
- 1538) Afu mg aye = hg  $\hat{ou}$  ta ha-i. earlier 1s.poss father=gen sago INDF cut-NFUT 'Some time ago my father cut down a sago (palm).'

1539) Afu = doтa Domo dibi = koîu sasai Semolou = bou, mou e e 3s forest=Loc 3s woman Semoloun=and earlier=INT 1s.poss grandfather Domo dihi  $oduo\hat{u} = bo\hat{u},$ e dihi Pepson = ha adiou = bou, е ta ma ta 3s child INDF 1s.poss father=and 3s child INDF Pepson=gen mother=and dig dibi=kou dele-i=be 3PL forest=LOC be/have-NFUT=TOP

'A long time ago in (the) bush, my grandfather Domo and his wife Semoloun and **a** child of his, my father, and **another** child of his, Pepson's mother, when (they all) stayed in (the) bush ...'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Note the topic marker on the object; it was a subject in the previous clause.

duwo-mou ... Kama.fou-mou 1540) duqu, bei to  $ko = ko\hat{u}$ ke-le ta saw snake INDF river that=LOC that-A.LOCR sit-PFV ... run.away-pfv duqu-o fogoû-moû dugu, haba bei ta hebe see-FUT leave.for-PFV see.NFUT but.PFV.IRR snake INDF tree sugu tou-qu-li=do duwo-mou ... dia wala+ma-mou, ... a miye top up-DEMR.D-E.LOCR=INT sit-PFV 3PL attack.IRR.FUT+put-PFV ... 1s fish gibe hebe-l-e soso-l-ou-qi, ta taha-l-e fila-mou dive.for-IRR-NPST-DSQ fish.sp. INDF shoot-IRR-FUT carry-IRR-FUT throw.FUT-PFV '... (we) saw a snake in the river there ... (We) saw it escape and leaving (we) also saw another snake being far

up, right up there in (a) tree top ... when they had killed it ... I (started) diving for fish (and) continued until (I) had shot **a** "gibe" fish and carried (it) and having thrown (it) (up on the bank) ...'

Note, in the next example that *ta* 'indefinite' does not work with a relative clause.

duqu=be, mabi dege-i 1541) а fo ke duqu. 1s see.NFUT=TOP cloud white do-NFUT that see.NFUT \*ta (a dugu = be,mabi fo dege-i dugu.) (1ssee.NFUT=TOP cloud white do-NFUT INDF see.NFUT) '... I saw (a) white cloud. (literally: ... I saw (a) cloud that was white.)'

The indefinite article has another functions as well (see 4.4.2.4 THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE).

#### 8.7.3.6 NP<sub>Noun</sub> with zero marking

An unmarked nominal phrase with a noun as head is used a lot. Three important usages are:

- non-referential nouns, e.g. *miye* 'fish' in *miye susug* 'dive for fish'.
- "passive" minor participants
- non-subject props and some subject props
- 1542) *miyg bese i-l-i.* fish angle.for go-IRR-NFUT '... go **fishing**.' (non-referential)
- 1543) Hebe  $k \hat{ou} = ma = hg fu = k \hat{ou}$  dugu, douwa duwo. ... Mg mogo = hgtree this=top=gen hole=loc see.nFut hornbill sit ... 1s.poss friend=gen

dugutobo-l-ôu,dadôuwawa-l-a-bai-me=be=ede-i.see.NFUTsay-IRR-NPSTldu.INhornbillattack-IRR-SUBJ-PFV.IRRgo-HORT=TOP=OQV-NFUT

i.

Ele ... **doîuwa** to-l-oîu + m<u>a</u> wala

1DU.EX ... hornbillhold-IRR-NPST+put attack.IRR.FUT go.NFUT

'(We) saw a hole in this tree; (and there) sat (a) **hornbill**. ... My friend saw (it); (he) said, "Let us two go for the purpose of killing (the) **hornbill**," (he) suggested. The two of us (excl.) ... grabbed (the) **hornbill** and killed (it).' (passive minor participant)

1544) *ei* **so** *ti-l-e igiya-i sulugua-l-i du,* 1PL.EX dog call-IRR-FUT g0.DU/PL-NFUT walk.around-IRR-NFUT hear.NFUT

sotigo-l-oi-môufoukuaigiya-ifolo-ga-môudugu,dogbark-IRR-FUTgo.NFUT-PFVrungo.DU/PL-NFUTcome.up-DU/PL.FUT-PFVsee.NFUT

wai oye hiye=do ke tigo-l-o i-môu dugu. pig male big=INT that bark-IRR-FUT gO.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT

'... we (excl.) called up (the) **dogs** and went; we walked around until (we) heard (the) **dogs** barking; (and) immediately we ran and went on; having arrived (we) saw that they were barking at that very big boar.'(prop)

1545) Huliame oguo hoho dege-l-i. Hulia.me sasai dia darkness.top moon light do-IRR-NFUT darkness.top women 3pl

oguohohodege-i-môu,miyebesei-l-i.moonlightdo-nfut-pfvfishangle.forgo-irr-nfut

'At night (the) **moon** is shining. At night, women, while enjoying (the) **moon**, go **fishing**.' (*oguo* 'moon': prop; *miye* 'fish': non-referential)

1546)  $\boldsymbol{O} = b \hat{o} \hat{u}$  sas<u>a</u>i =  $b \hat{o} \hat{u}$   $\hat{o} \hat{u}$  ha *i-l-i*.

man=and woman=and sago cut go-IRR-FUT

'(A) **man and** (a) **woman** are going to cut down (a) sago (palm).' (first sentence of a procedural story;  $o = bo\hat{u} \ sas\underline{a}i = b\hat{o}u$  '(a) man and (a) woman': probably non-referential; it could have been any man and his wife;  $\partial u$  'sago (palm)': "passive" minor participant')

# 8.7.3.7 Pronoun copy

Pronoun copy is used for:

- introduction of main participant, but does not co-occur with a nominal marked by the controlling case marker =hg 'genitive
- reintroduction of main participant (1550), (1551), same limitation as above

As described earlier (8.5), there is an initial theme slot in the clause, which may among other things be used for introduction of main participants. Pronoun copy is analysed with the help of this theme slot.

The use of pronoun copy cannot be illustrated by one or two examples but see the Gina text in APPENDIX III. In sentence 1, a certain unspecified man is introduced together with his wife as:

1547) *O* ta <u>e</u> sasai dilie wai dia dele-i man INDF 3s woman 3DU pig watch.over be/have-NFUT Theme NPs NPo VP VP

'A certain man and his wife, the two of them raised pig(s).'

These people are the main participants of the story even though we never learn who they are. In sentence 5 the woman is introduced alone as:

1548) **Sasai e** oû ga-i woman 3s sago gather-NFUT **Theme NP**s NP<sub>0</sub> VP '**The woman she** gathered sago.'

In sentence 6 another man is introduced in an indefinite object position. He is introduced again in the next sentence as a subject with pronoun copy:

dilie o 1549) ta t₫ tobo-u, 0 e 0 ka i. ... 3DU man INDF talk say-NFUT ... man 3s man look.for qo.NFUT  $\mathbf{NP}_{\mathtt{S}}$  $\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{O}}$ Theme  $NP_{O}$ NPs NPo VP VP

'... the two of them told another man<sub>2</sub> ... The man<sub>2</sub> he<sub>2</sub> went to look for people.'

In the following example, from another story, grandfather Domo is introduced and re-introduced in the story with pronoun copy.

1550)	Afu=do	m <u>a</u>	m <u>ou</u>	Domo	<u>e</u>	dibi = kôu	a	lele-i=be		
	earlier=INT <b>Theme</b>	1s.poss	grandfather	Domo		$forest=LO$ $NP_{LOC}$		pe/have-nf 7P	UT=TOP	
	NP <sub>S</sub> NP <sub>LOC</sub> 'A long time ag	o, <b>my gran</b>	<i>ua-l-i,</i> ve-uu/pl-irr-nfu <b>dfather Domo he</b> d to go hunting'	Theme		ndfather Do	omo	$\mathbf{NP_s}$ $\mathrm{NP_o}$	go.nfut- VP	
	Sawisie-i be.day-nfut Theme	<i>ta, <b>mg</b></i> INDF 1s.	• •	ther Do	<b>mo</b> mo	<b>g</b> mowi 3s hunt NP <sub>s</sub> NP <sub>o</sub>	<i>i.</i> go. VP	NFUT		

The following example is from a Big Book with drawn pictures with captions. It is a story describing the Victoria pigeon, i.e. it is generic. There are six pictures, and the text under each picture contains a pronoun copy just like a main participant would at any break in the story (see 8.7.6.1.4 REFERENTIAL & NON-REFERENTIAL AND GENERIC & NON-GENERIC).

1551) *Kôu=me sio miye.* this=TOP bird Victoria.pigeon 'This is (a) Victoria pigeon....'

> *Kôu* = *me sio miye.* this=TOPbird Victoria.pigeon 'This is (a )Victoria pigeon. ...'

> Sio miye dig=me bird Victoria.pigeon 3PL=TOP 'Concerning the Victoria pigeons they ...'

Sio miye di<u>a</u>

bird Victoria.pigeon 3PL

'Victoria pigeons they ...'

 $K\underline{e} = n\hat{o}\hat{u} = si$  sio miye  $d\underline{i}\underline{a} = me$ 

that=only=CNTR bird Victoria.pigeon 3PL=TOP

'But concerning the Victoria pigeons they ...'

Ke=nôu=sisiomiye=be...Siomiyedig=methat=only=CNTRbirdVictoria.pigeon=TOP...birdVictoria.pigeon3PL=TOP'But concerning the Victoria pigeons...Concerning the Victoria pigeons they...'

# 8.7.3.7.1 More about pronoun copy

The following sentence is the first sentence of a first person account. Note that the pronoun  $\underline{a}$  'I/me' occurs in both the initial theme slot and in the subject slot.

1552) <u>A</u> afu=do 1995 holiday, <u>a</u> Debele=kôu i. 1s earlier=INT1995 holiday 1s Debele=LOC go.NFUT Theme NPs NPLOC VP 'I, a long time ago, (during) the holiday of 1995, I went to Debele.'

In the next example, the pronoun in the first theme slot agree in person but not in number with the second theme slot and

the subject slot.

1553) Yogu = boû Α afu kou-le=ge  $a = b \hat{o} u$ ele 1s earlier this-A.LOCR=F.CNTR 1s=and Yoqu=and 1 DUL EX Theme Theme NPs to-l-o = yode-ma to i. river wash-IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQ go.NFUT NPo VP=...

'(When) I (was) here some time ago, I and Yogu, after we two had said that (we) were going swimming (we) went.'

The next example is from a quote at the end of a story. There the pronoun in the theme slot does not agree in case with when the pronoun comes back later in the clause as a  $NP_{LOC}$ .

1554) tobo-u, Ke-qe-mou ele that-vBR-PFV 1DU.EX say-NFUT da ifí Godi = hg solou = do da = mokou ne-j ku-he = yode tobo-u. 1du.in today God=gen heart=INT 1DU.IN=LOC this-P.LOCR=IQV give-NFUT say-NFUT Theme NPS Theme NPLOC VP MP=...

'Having become like that, the two of us (excl.) said, "(To) **us** (incl.) today, God has shown his love **to us** here," (we) stated and said.'

A common way to introduce self and one or more persons is to mention the other person(s) by name or kinship term and then add a first person dual or plural pronoun, which also qualifies as pronoun copy.

- 1555)  $Afu = f\underline{ei}$  Asika ele earlier=total Asika 1DU.EX 'A long time ago, Asika and I...'
- 1556) James=bôu Asele=bôu ei James=and Asele=and lpl.ex '... James, Asele and I ...'

Rarely, you may also hear this kind of pronoun copy, where the pronoun functions as a co-ordinator.

1557) **John dilie Yesu dilie** John 3DU Jesus 3DU '... John and Jesus ...'

#### 8.7.3.8 Free pronouns

Free pronouns are used:

- to trace main participants
- to trace those referred to by their proper names in the genitive/control case (see *The Ronny text* at the end of this section; see also 8.7.3.1 NP WITH ... = hg)
- clarifying additional information also for minor participants

#### Pepson's clan legend

To show that free pronouns are used to trace main participants, I will use the same story as I did in 8.2.1 NARRATIVE DISCOURSE: INTRODUCING HEAD-TAIL AND OTHER TEMPORAL LINKAGE, but instead show how free pronouns are used to trace main participants. There are two: the ancestors and a child. The ancestors are marked in red. The child is marked in blue. All reference are colour coded that way, but the free pronouns are bolded. (It may be argued that the child is a minor participant, but see the discussion under *the Gina Text* below in this section.)

Note that only the main participants are traced by pronouns. A minor participant (a tree) and props (rain & thunder, thread, small stringbag, wife, children) are traced by repeating the noun/NP.

Following this long example, I will repeat a bit from the fourth, fifth and sixth lines to show how additional information about a minor participant (a tree marked in brown) is added by using a pronoun with possessive meaning (1559).

1558) *Dibiye Hiyadibi hu + ti ke + dia fua fele\_i ta* Thunder Hiyandibi name+call that+3PL break.open come.up-NFUT talk 'The story about the origin of the Thunder Hiyandibi Clan ' (heading)

Afu afu=a earlier earli		•					
<i>sabiye-i</i> be.morning-NF		•					•
Dibiye hiye= thunder big=I							
	hebehige = do sasa = do, $\underline{e}$ h $\underline{u} = be$ diogoka = h\underline{a}sug $\underline{u} + t\hat{ou} = ge$ treebig=INTtall/long=INT3sname=TOPtree.sp.that=GENtop+up=F.CNTR						
	fiye sag-i sasa=do ka=ha migi-môu dugu. thread twine-NFUT tall/long=INT that=GEN come.down.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT						
<i>Migi-môu</i> come.down.NFU							<i>dihi</i> child
<i>gomogu=bôu</i> knot=and	•		-				

'A very long time ago, the ancestors lived. (They) lived until one day in the afternoon, there was a lot of rain and thunder. While (the) thunder kept crashing, **they** sat (there) waiting until (they) saw that from the top of (a) very big, tall tree, **its** name is "diogo", that very long rope came down. While seeing (it) come down, (they) saw (a) small stringbag tied to the rope coming down with (it.)'

Ke-ae-môu. dia ye dihi ke tu-l-o-mou duau=be. that-vBR-PFV 3PL stringbag child that remove-IRR-FUT-PFV see.NFUT=TOP sa-l-a-môu dihi ta duqu. child INDF put.inside-IRR-SUBJ-PFV see.NFUT 'Having become like that, they, having removed the small stringbag, saw that a child must have been put inside.' dala-I-i. hiye dege-i. Ke-ae-môu. fo-fo-l-ou Hive dia dihi ke 3PL child that RED.PL-run-IRR-NPST that-vBR-PFV be/have-IRR-NFUT big do-NFUT big hu-l-o, dihi dege-mou, <u>e</u> sas<u>ai</u> su = doто-и. do.FUT-PFV 3s woman marry-IRR-FUT child many=INT get-NFUT 'Having become like that, they raised the child until (he) was grown up. Having grown up, he married and had many children.' Ke-qe-mou, dia hu + ti = beDibiye Hiyadibi = yode-i. е 3s name+call=TOP Thunder that-vBR-PFV 3pl Hiyandibi=IOV-NFUT 'Having become like that, they called his clan Thunder Hiyandibi.' Dibive Hivadibi hu+ti fua fele-i ta  $ke = n\hat{o}u = fei$ .

Thunder Hiyandibi name+call break.open come.up-NFUT talk that=only=total 'That is the whole story of (the) Thunder Hiyandibi clan.' (conclusion)

I am repeating a segment of the above example in the next example. Note the free pronoun with possessive meaning used to add additional information about a minor participant, the tree.

1559)	di <u>a</u> baha	duwo-gua-l-i	dugu=be,	hebe	hiye=do	sasa=do,	
	3pl look	sit-DU/PL-IRR-NFUT	see.NFUT=TOP	tree	big=INT	tall/long=	INT
	_	diogo ka=hg COP tree.sp.that=GH	0-	0	<i>fiye</i> thread	<i>s<u>g-j</u> twine-nfut</i>	<i>sasa=do</i> tall/long=INT
	_	<i>migi-mou</i> come.down.NFUT-PFV	<i>dugu.</i> see.nfut				
	' they saw	that from the top of (a) yes	ry hig tall tree <b>it</b>	s name i	is "diago" f	nat verv long ror	ne came down '

#### "...they saw that from the top of (a) very big, tall tree, its name is "diogo", that very long rope came down."

#### The Gina text

Looking again at *The Gina text* in APPENDIX III, the man and his wife are introduced with pronoun copy in sentence 1 and maintained by using the pronoun *dilie* '3DU' in sentence 3, 4, 6 and 10 even though other participants intervene, but none in dual form.

In sentence 9 o sudo 'many people' are introduced without pronoun copy which indicates that they are not main participants yet. In sentence 10 they come back as o kedig... 'people' After that a free pronoun dig '3PL' is used to refer to them.

Comparing *o sudo* 'many people', in the Gina text, with *dihi* in the clan legend above, I find that these two participants seemingly change status, starting out as minor participants (see 8.7.6.1.2 MINOR PARTICIPANTS) and ending up as major (see 8.7.6.1.1 MAIN PARTICIPANTS).

1560) *O* sy=do ... o ke+dig=mokôu ... dig ...

'Many people ... to the people ... they ... they ... they ... they ... their ...'

1561) *dihi ta ... dihi ke ... e* child INDF ... child that ... 3s '... a child ... that child ... he ...'

#### The Ronny text

From *The Ronny text* in APPENDIX III, we can learn that a participant in the genitive case (sentence 5) may be referred to with a pronoun (sentences 8 and 10). However, at the end of this story the speaker gives praise to God for his help. Using God's name, it occurs twice in the genitive case and three times in the locative case in one short paragraph (sentences 16-19). It is not replaced by a pronoun, and that seems typical. In the Lowland dialect, God is just not referred to by a pronoun. I found one pronominal reference to Jesus in another story, and that had a possessive meaning. In two Mountain dialect stories, I did find God's name replaced by pronouns.

# 8.7.3.8.1 More about the use of free pronouns

Free pronouns are used to trace main participants, but not every clause, where a main participant is the understood subject, has an explicit free pronoun. In many places there is zero (see 8.7.6 HOW PARTICIPANT REFERENCE WORKS IN KONAI).

A free pronoun tracing a main participant tends to occur in the following positions:

- at the change of a main participant
- at the start of a new paragraph
- following background information
- following a quote

Another rule of thumb:

• the more exciting and action orientated a story, the less pronouns

# 8.7.3.9 Plural and singular verb forms

The use of singular versus plural verb forms is not primarily used to trace participants, though the one indicating a dual or plural subject may serve that purpose, too (1564). The possible forms are:

- **verb** indicating dual/plural subject see 4.1.6.2 INDIVIDUATED PLURAL
- verb indicating plural object see 4.1.6.4 PLURAL OBJECT
- verb singular/neutral as to participant see 4.1.6.3 GROUP PLURAL

Verbs of perception seldom occur in plural form.

1562)	ei	du,	so <b>tigo-l-o</b>	i-moîu	f <u>ou</u> kua	igiya-i	folo-ga-môu
	1pl.ex	hear.NFUT	dog bark-IRR-	FUT go.nfut-pfv	run	go.du/pl-nfut	go.up-du/pl.FUT-PFV
	-		<i>hiye=do k<u>e</u></i> big=INT that	-	<b>i-móu</b> go.nfut-	<i>dugu.</i> -pfv see.nft	JT
			ogs <b>barking</b> (and it very big boar.'	) immediately we	ran and we	ent on; having a	rrived (we) saw that
1563)	<i>Wai <mark>gisig</mark></i> pig drag		<b>fôu+mg <mark>igi</mark></b> hold+put go		<i>g-le=kóû</i> iver-a.1	<b>U</b>	o <b>gu-o fogóù,</b> FUT leave.for
	<i>haba</i> but.prv.i	<i>bi</i> RRR thing	<i>hebe-se-i</i> carry-du/pL-:	<i>ka</i> NFUT look.fo:	<b>sulug</b> r walk.		L-IRR-NFUT
		<u>.</u>	na haaraa ata	÷			

dugu-o-môu m<u>ôu</u> + m<u>a</u> hagua-sie-i

see-FUT-PFV get+put come-DU/PL-NFUT

'We **dragged and held** (the four legs of the) pig **and went**; putting and leaving (it) in the river, we again **walked around** to look for (the) things (we) **had thrown** (aside) **until** having found/seen (them), we **got it all** and **came**; ...'

1564)	AMegio=kôutafalade-mai-l-e,Biangabip=kôufolo,1sMegimouth.of.river=LocstandPROV-ISQgo-IRR-FUTBiangabip=Locgo.up.FUT
	mosotogo = yede-i-môu,mosoketogo-l-odele-i.Togo-mahousemake=oqv-nFut-PFVhousethatbuild-IRR-FUTbe/have-nFutmake-ISQ
	awadiosoigiya-i.Kebeiloke-le=bôublack.palmboneremovego.du/PL-NFUTa.people.grouppartthat-A.LOCR=and
	<i>ei olouf<u>ei</u> folo-ga, awa dio so+m<u>a</u> dum<u>u</u>-mou, mou+m<u>a</u> 1PL.Ex all.total go.up-DU/PL.FUT black.palm bone remove+put finish.NFUT-PFV get+put</i>
	hagua-sigefele-ga-i.Môutu-l-atafala-gidugu,mgcome-du/PL.FUTcome.up-du/PL-NFUTgetgo.up.river-IRR-SUBJstand-dsgsee.NFUTls.poss
	<i>yet<u>ou</u> kolo bili-gi-ma fogoù-moù, <u>a</u> dabai dege-l-e dafa=yode-i.</i> shoulder skin peel-of-ISQ leave.for-PFV 1s work do-IRR-FUT be.tired.of=IQV-NFUT
	'After staying at (the) mouth of (the river) Megi, I went (on) and arrived in Biangabip, and (they) telling (me) to (help) build (a) house, (I/we) kept on building the house. After building (i.e. putting up the frame), we went to remove strips of black palm. Some Kebe (people), too, we (excl.) all went up/arrived, and finishing removing strips of black palms, we got it all and came and arrived (back). (I was) standing for the purpose of going up-river to get (the black palm) until seeing (that) (the) skin (on) my shoulder after peeling was coming off, (and then I) said I was tired of doing work.'

#### 8.7.3.10 Participant reference, switch-reference and switch of scene

In addition to the referring devices, and to a certain degree to the number marking on the verbs, there are the switch of reference and the switch of scene markings.

Part of the **switch-reference** system is marked by the last stem vowel in a medial verb. Event verbs are marked differently from existential state verbs. Simultaneous versus sequential time is marked in the same systems. Below are a few rules. For a full description see 7.3.1.1 SWITCH OF REFERENCE.

#### **Event verbs**

• 5	ame subject $+$ sequential time	last stem vowel is low: <i>e</i> ,	o  or  a + new clause
-----	---------------------------------	------------------------------------	-----------------------

• different subject + simultaneous time last stem vowel is high: i or u + new clause

#### **Existential state verbs**

• different subject + simultaneous time last stem vowel is low: a or o + new clause

Switch of scene (7.3.1.2), in a past tense discourse, is marked by the medial suffix  $-m\hat{o}u$  'perfective'. It has two functions:

- marks a switch of subject in the next clause
- marks a switch of scene in the next clause, e.g. the beginning of a new series of events

This means that  $-m\hat{o}u$  does not necessarily signal a new subject; the subject may be the same, but a new scene is developing with the same subject.

In addition, a final verb may also indicate that a new subject will follow.

1565)	₫	<i>t</i> <u>o</u>	to-u-l-u-gi,	I	miy <u>e</u>	ta	dugu.	<u>A</u>	dugu <b>-o-môu</b>
	1s	river	wash-BLTV-I	RR-NFUT-DSQ 3	fish	INDF	see.NFUT	1s	SEE-FUT-PFV
		<b>1<u>9</u>-j</b> , 00t-nfu1	<i>to-l-o</i> r die-irr-fu	<i>i-môu,</i> jt go.nfut-pf		n <i>al<u>a</u> jet.</i> irr	<i>hebe.</i> .FUT carry	-	<i>fel<u>e</u>,</i> TUT come.up.FUT
		p <b>u-mi+du</b> noe-pla	u lce+inside	<i>sa-gi.</i> put.inside	-OF.N	FUT			

'... I was swimming along until (I) saw a fish, ... Having seen (it), (same subject) I shot (it); (different subject) as soon as (it) died, (different subject) (I) took and carried (it) and came up and put it inside (the) canoe.'

1566) kueva huei nala tafal**a-móu** duqu. cassowary water eat.IRR.FUT stand-PFV see.NFUT '... (a) cassowary standing drinking water (different subject) (I) saw.' to-l-o ... duq**u** kueva i. ... see.NFUT cassowary die-IRR-FUT go.NFUT '... (I) saw (different subject); (the) cassowary had died.' ----\_ . ~ . .

l il <b>a-mó</b> ù	dug <b>u</b> ,	ke-ge <b>-</b> móù	<u>a</u>	hoh <u>o</u>	hıye=do	dege-ı.
lie.down-pfv	see.NFUT	that-VBR-PFV	1s	light	big=INT	do-nfut
' (The cassowary)	) lying down	(different subject)	I sav	v; then I v	vas very hap	ру.'

# 8.7.4 Contexts of referring devices in Konai

Applying the Dooley and Levinsohn method for participant reference (see 8.7.1) to Konai, it seems best to use the sentence as the basic unit for contexts. A sentence in Konai consists of one to several clauses and ends with a final clause **with falling intonation**. The longest sentence observed has about twenty clauses. An average number of clauses per sentence may be four or five.

The categories S2 and S3 are considered to be the same, as are N2 and N3. Six new categories have been added, as can be seen below: Sintro, S0, S03, Nintro, N0 and N03.

#### Subject roles:

Sintro introduction of participant in subject position

- S0 the subject is the same as in a **previous clause** within the same sentence
- S03 the subject was involved in a previous clause within the same sentence in a non-subject role
- S1 the subject is the same as in any clause in the **previous sentence**
- **S3** the subject was involved in any clause in the previous sentence in a non-subject role
- S4 other changes of subject than those covered by S0, S03, S1 and S3

#### Non-subject roles:

Nintro introduction of participant in non-subject position

- N0 the referent occupies the same non-subject role as in a **previous clause** within the same sentence
- **N03** The referent was involved in a previous clause within the same sentence in a different role
- N1 the referent occupies the same non-subject role as in any clause in the previous sentence
- N3 the referent was involved in any clause in the previous sentence in a different role
- N4 other non-subject references than those covered by N0, N03, N1 or N3.

# 8.7.5 The default referring device for each context

Having defined the context most suitable for the Konai language, I looked at five stories and saw what referring devices were used for each context.

Note that in this section of the grammar, nominal phrases with nouns and nominal phrases with a first or second person pronoun are counted as one group ( $NP_{NOUN}/NP_{PRON1+2}$ ), while a nominal phrase with a third person pronoun ( $NP_{PRON3}$ ) is a group by itself. The default for each context is bolded. Pronoun copy is listed under (NP+PRON).

Looking at the chart below, we see that a nominal phrase with a third person pronoun never came out as default. As this form has a definite use, as seen in 8.7.3.8 FREE PRONOUNS, this shows that this broad method of context analysis may not work very well for Konai.

The following are the defaults for each of the contexts defined in the last section:

Subject roles.				
Context	verb only	NP <sub>PRON3</sub>	NP <sub>NOUN</sub> /NP <sub>PRON1+2</sub>	NP+pron
Sintro			79%	21%
S0	80%	3%	17%	
S03	54%		46%	
S1	68%	7%	25%	
S3			100%	
S4	9%	27%	64%	
Non-subject r	oles:			
Nintro	13%		87%	
N0	50%		42%	8%
N03	24%		76%	
N1	43%	5%	52%	
N3	8%	23%	69%	
N4	14%		86%	

Part of the reason why this does not tell me much is, I'm sure, that I did not chart enough stories. The other part is, I am equally sure, that this method does not work well for Konai. I can, however, ask a few questions based on some of the above figures, before going on to the next section.

- who or what are the participants that get introduced with pronoun copy?
- how can a participant be introduced by zero, (i.e. a verb only (Nintro))?
- why are three of the contexts S03, N0, N1 about fifty-fifty between a verb and an NP as default?

I will go back to the list of referring devices and try to answer those and other questions (see also 8.7.6.2 THE FAULTY DEFAULTS.

# 8.7.6 How participant reference works in Konai ... or reasons for more or less than default

In this section I will show how participants are introduced and maintained, relying mostly on what I found out by listing the referring devices in all their different forms (see 8.7.3 REFERRING DEVICES IN KONAI). I will start with main participants and going on to minor participants and props.

# 8.7.6.1 Categories of participants

There are three categories of participants based on grammatical marking. In a story/text/conversation, the status of a participant may change as it progresses.

Grammatical features that are significant in deciding the importance of a certain participant are: personal pronouns, pronoun copy, the demonstrative pronoun  $k\underline{e}$  'that' and the case markers  $=h\underline{a}$  'genitive/control' and  $=y\underline{e}$  'instrumental/non-control'.

Nominal phrases work independently of verbal suffixes.

- main participant: refers to well defined participants, usually people, having an important role in a story
- minor participant: people or animals, even things like trees; not necessarily well defined, but having a fairly important role to play in part of the story
- prop: a thing or an animal considered by a speaker/author to be of no major importance to a story; may also be a person

Subject roles

Last under this heading I will talk about:

- referential versus non-referential
- generic versus non-generic

In stories about generic entities, these entities are treated as main participants. A non-referential entity is marked as a prop.

#### 8.7.6.1.1 Main participants

These are the main referring devices for main participants being introduced and maintained. They are usually introduced in subject position in the first clause of a sentence.

INTRODUCTION:	unknown (sg.) NP w. <i>ta</i> 'indf'	known NP	<b>WELL KNOWN</b> N= <i>h</i> <u>a</u> (GEN)(the Trinity, proper names, kinship terms)
	(du.) NP w. <i>bol<u>ou</u></i> 'two'	NP w. <i>ke</i> + <i>dilie</i> (that+3DU)	
	(pl.) NP	NP w. $k\underline{e} + d\underline{i}\underline{a}$ (that+3PL)	
	+ pronoun copy or pronoun close by	+ pronoun copy in singular <sup>212</sup> or pronoun close by	
MAINTENANCE:	pronouns (or verb form/zero)	pronouns (or verb form/zero)	persons: pronoun (or verb form/zero) the Trinity: N= <i>hg</i> (GEN)
CONCLUSION:	(NP w. pronoun copy)	(NP w. pronoun copy)	N= <i>h<u>a</u></i> (gen)

As for maintaining the activation status of a main participant, personal pronouns tend to occur in the following situations:

- at the change of a main participant
- at the start of a new paragraph
- following background information
- following a quote

In general, the more action oriented a story is the fewer pronouns. A slower narrative story, even with a single actor, has more pronouns, even up to one pronoun per sentence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> As seen just above, the dual & plural forms come with attached pronoun copy:  $k\underline{e} + dilie$  (that+3DU) and  $k\underline{e} + di\underline{q}$  (that+3PL).

Three short stories show the introduction, maintenance and concluding reference of main participants. The stories are here written with basically one sentence per line.

Code to stories:	
Long underline	<u>H-T linkage</u>
Red	dual/plural verb forms (referring to subject)
green	perfective suffix marking scenes
bold &black	main participants (possessive and relative use not marked)

#### Winta's fishing story

The first story is written by Winta Diomono, and shows two main participants acting severally and together. This story is one paragraph, except for the conclusion.

Sawisiei Salale kege gusugudo, Steve ele miye susua ileyodemamôu fima tugulo tobolôu i. 'On Saturday, early in the morning, Steve and I (Steve 1DU.EX) after having stated that (we) were going to dive for fish (new scene: same subject) we thought and discussed and talked (about it).'

*Ele ye, howilidio, kalase, awakiboude touma igai.* 'The two of us grabbed stringbag(s), diving spear(s), fishing glass(es) and a knife/(knives) and went.'

*Ele iga, e disope hebe haikou fologa, disope olouf<u>ei</u> bolou kege gobolou <u>nala i</u>. 'The two of us <u>went</u> and arrived at his pineapple garden and broke off two pineapples and <u>ate</u>.'* 

Disope <u>nalg i mei degemoû</u>, ele Sesenabikôu igadi a t<u>o</u>ba tugamoû gobolôu, Kol<u>o</u>ukôu muguamoû, '<u>Having finished eating</u> the pineapples (new scene: same subject), the two of us went along the river on the road (people) usually go to Sesenabi, (and so) having gone upriver (new scene: same subject) we crossed (it), and having gone down to (the river) Konoun (new scene: partly same subject), ...'

<u>ebukôu miye susua</u>, <u>e</u> miye s<u>u</u>do tah<u>ai</u>.

"... he was the first to dive for fish, and he shot many fish."

<u>*<u>E</u></u> miye susua</u> kulio degeimou, haba <u>a</u> susuai. 'He dived for fish and when (he) got cold (new scene: different subject), I dived instead.'</u>* 

<u>A susua</u>ne miy<u>e</u> s<u>u</u>do <u>e</u> tah<u>ai</u> sag<u>ai</u> kegenôu tah<u>ai</u>.

'I dived and shot as many fish as he (had) shot.'

<u>A miye susua</u> kulioye dio komôu, ele miye sama, mosokôu boholôuma <u>haguasigei</u>. <u>'I dived for fish</u> and having (started) to shake from the cold (new scene: partly same subject), the two of us put the fish inside (our stringbags) and turned around and <u>came</u> (back).'

Haguasige, mosokou felegamou, miye sa sile, ou sile demamou nala i.

'We <u>came</u> and having **arrived** at (the) house (**new scene: same subject**), (we) put the fish in (a pan) and cooked (it) and after having cooked sago we **ate**.'

Steve ele miye susua i ta susu kenoûfei.

'The storytelling about Steve and I (Steve 1DU.EX) going to dive for fish, that's it.'

#### Winta's Oumemi story

The next story, also by Winta Diomono, has two plural main participants, marked in black & bold. The colour coding is the same as in the previous story. The councillor is a minor participant introduced by ... *kahg* 'that ... in control'. The story is one paragraph except for the conclusion.

# Oumemikou Dahamo gisiai kedia ya igai.

'The young men from Dahamo went to play (soccer) in Oumemi village.' (introduction/heading)

Oumemi kansole kah<u>a</u> toboloûgi, **Dahamo gisiaiboû, Sesenabi gisiaiboûde iga**, Oumemikoû yamabeedemoû, dia igai.

'The councillor of Oumemi (village) speaking until having told (the) **young men of Dahamo and** (the) **young men of Sesenabi** to **go and play** (soccer) in Oumemi (**new scene: different subject**), <u>they went</u>.'

*Dia iga, Oumemikou <u>fologai</u>.* 'They went and arrived in Oumemi.'

*Fologamóu, yale deleguei.* '<u>Having arrived</u> (new scene: same subject), they <u>were playing/played and were.</u>'

~ -

<u>Dia yale i</u>be, <u>Oumemi o kedia</u>boude yale i</u>.

'When they played, they played with the men from Oumemi.'

K<u>e</u>noûusi <u>Oumemi o kedia yai</u>be, di<u>a</u>me wini degeli meido. 'But when <u>the Oumemi men played</u>, they really did not win.'

# Dahamo gisiaibou Sesenabi gisiai dianou wini degema, sele moumamou fogou haguasigei.

**'The young men of Dahamo and the young men of Sesenabi**, after **only they** had won, after having got the money **(new scene: same subject)** leaving they **came** (back).'

*Oumerni ya igai susu kenoufei.* 'Telling about going to play (soccer) (at) Oumerni, that's it.'

# Pepson's pig hunting story

The next story is written by Pepson Uliti. It has one main participant and is action oriented, so there is only **one free pronoun** referring to the hero. The story has four paragraphs. (The verbs referring to the subject are bolded.)

# Isaach<u>a</u> afu Temifenkou <u>tefelei</u>.

'Isaac stayed in Temifen before.'

# Tafalali, ta sabiyei so oye tanoûf<u>e</u>i **woloû** mowi <u>i</u>.

'(He) stayed (there) until one morning (he) took one male dog and went hunting.'

#### <u>Iligi</u>, so kaha wai tigoumou ile dugube, wai oye hiyedo ke tigoumou dugu.

'(He) <u>went until</u> the dog barked at (a) pig (new scene: different subject) when (he) immediately went and saw (new scene: different subject); (the dog ) was barking at that very big boar (he) saw.'

<u>Kegemoû, <mark>e</mark> taha taha</u>moû<sup>213</sup> sulugi, <u>mala mei degei</u>.

'Having become like that (new scene), he moved around shooting again and again until (his) arrows were gone.'

# <u>Mala mei degemôu</u>, awaki dihi ta **mala**, hebe sasa degei ta **diafolôu**, kuokôu awaki dihi k<u>e</u> **tigama**môu

# kah<u>a</u> tahal<u>emai</u>.

"<u>Because the arrows were gone</u> (new scene), (he) took a small knife and cut off a long piece of wood and after having tied the small knife on it, (new scene: same subject) with that he shot and killed (the pig)."

# Kegemou, wai ke kagima sama kolou haguei. Mosokou fele solou nai.

'<u>Having become like that</u> (new scene), after cutting up the pig, (he) packed and carried (it) and came. (He) arrived at the house and cooked (it) on stones and ate.'

# Isaacha wai wei ta kenoufei.

'The story about Isaac killing the pig, that's it.'

#### More examples

Below follow short examples from other stories of introduction (and in a few cases maintenance) of main participants.

1567)	Afu=do o ta <u>e</u> mowi i. earlier=INT man INDF 3s hunt go.NFUT
	'A long time ago <b>a certain man</b> went hunting.'
1568)	Felix <u>e</u> = me       Dahamo       dihi.         Felix       3s=TOP       Dahamo       child         'Felix, he is a child from Dahamo.'
1569)	Walaisawisie-itake-le-ge,Satia=hamiyesusuawristbe.day-NFUTINDFthat-A.LOCR-VBRSatia=genfishdive.for
	i-l-a-môudege-i. <b>E</b> kalase=bôu, howili+dio=bôu+demala,isego-IRR-SUBJ-PFVdo-NFUT3sglass=andfishing+bone=and+provget.IRR.FUTfinally
	$ye=ne$ $malg$ $\partial u = b\partial u$ $dou = b\partial u$ $ye + du$ $sa$ $i$ stringbag=alsoget.IRR.FUTsago=andfire=andstringbag+insideput.insidego.NFUT
	'One Saturday, <b>Satia</b> wanted to go and dive for fish. (He) got <b>his</b> fishing glass and (his) fishing spear and finally got (his) stringbag and put sago and matches inside the stringbag and went.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> In the expression *taha tahamou sulugi* 'moved around shooting again and again until ...', the perfective suffix *-mou* is part of the form signalling progressive aspect (see 4.1.5.4.2).

1570)	Bobasibolog dile bilikatoû + mg huei ng yo-l-u.younger.sister two3DUsaucepan hold+put water eat go.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT'(My) younger sister and her (friend), the two of them, hold saucepans and go to(get and) drink water.'
1571)	<i>Kol<u>ou</u> <u>o</u>=kôu fel<u>e</u> dugu, <b>sokôulôu sisigo dig</b> dugu Konoun mouth.of.river=Loccome.up.see.NFUT school children 3PL see.NFUT</i>
	dig=bôug=bôu+dena-l-emôu+mghague-i.3PL=and1s=and+PROVeat-IRR-NFUTget+putcome-NFUT' (I) arrived at (the) mouth of (the river) Konoun and saw; (I) saw (the) school children; they and I got hold of all the food and came.'get hold
1572)	<b>Aso</b> $k \hat{\underline{ou}} = me$ $bolo = f \underline{ei} = do$ . $\underline{E}$ $dege-di = be$ $dabai$ $s \underline{u} = do$ . sun this=TOP good=total=INT 3s do-HAB=TOP work many=INT
	<ul> <li><i>E</i> o ke+dig yukuei ha-di.</li> <li>3s man that+3pL cloth get.warm-HAB</li> <li>'This sun is very good. It does many (kinds of) work. It habitually dries people's clothes' (picture caption)</li> </ul>
1573)	

o wo-l-o. man attack-IRR-FUT

'This pig is very angry. He kills people. When he sees a man (he) will attack him.' (picture caption)

The participant in (1574) is not a main participant in the usual sense, but a controlling participant with a big impact on the development of the story (see *The Ronny text* in Appendix III). This person comes back in one more sentence and is then referred to with a personal pronoun, as if he was a main participant.

1574)	<u>a</u> i-l-e,	gamani	o t	<b>a</b> tobo	-u, <b>gamani</b>	di <u>a</u> o	J.K. = h <u>a</u>
	ls go-irr	-FUTgovernme	nt man I	NDF say-	NFUT governmen	t 3pl man	J.K.=GEN
	_	<i>60 kina</i> 60 kina		IRR-FUT	<i>n<u>e</u>-i.</i> give-nfut		
	' I went an	d talked to <b>a gov</b>	ernment of	ficial; one o	f their government	officials J.F	K. removed K6

"... I went and talked to **a government official**; **one of their government officials J.K.** removed K60 and gave (it to me)."

# 8.7.6.1.2 Minor participants

Below are the main referring devices for minor participants being introduced and maintained. Minor participants are often introduced in object position (the dog and the pig in (1575)). They are typically introduced in a semantically dependent clause, e.g. in (1577), where two minor participants are introduced in dependent clauses in subject position: '...saw a big tree standing. ... saw (a) hornbill sitting.' Verbs of perception are typical in introducing minor participants.<sup>214</sup>

Structurally, introductions of minor participants are similar to that of main participants, but **pronoun copy is not part of the introduction**. Minor participant are **not maintained by using pronouns**, but by using demonstrative nominal phrases. Minor participants are **not recapitulated in the conclusion**.

A participant may have its status changed from minor to main as the story progresses (1579).

	UNKNOWN	KNOWN	
INTRODUCTION:	(sg.) NP w. <i>ta</i> (INDF)	NP	
	(du.) NP w. <i>bol<u>o</u>u</i> 'two'	NP w. <i>ke</i> + <i>dilie</i>	(that+3DU) (same as main participants)
	(pl.) NP	NP w. <i>k<u>e</u> + di<u>a</u></i>	(that+3PL) (same as main participants)
		zero (e.g. the pig	g in (1575))
MAINTENANCE:	(sg.) NP (w. $k\underline{e}/ka = h\underline{a}/ko = kc$	<i>fu</i> (that/=GEN/	.=LOC) <sup>215</sup> or verb form/zero (applies to both columns)
	$(du.)$ NP w. $k\underline{e} + dilie$ (that+3DU	)	or verb form/zero
	(pl.) NP w. $ke + di\underline{a}/k\underline{e} + dilie$ (	or verb form/zero	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Note in (1571) that this strategy may also be used with major participants introduced with pronoun copy.

<sup>15</sup> **DETAILS WITH NP IN SINGULAR:** 

Subject (sg.): +event:NP (w.  $ka = h\underline{g}$  (that=GEN)) (NP w.  $kah\underline{g}$  is also possessive)+state:NP (w.  $k\underline{e}$ ) (that))Non-subject (sg.):NP (w.  $k\underline{e}/ko = ko\hat{u}$ ) (that/...=LOC))

A few examples follow to illustrate the different possibilities of introducing and maintaining minor participants, always keeping in mind that the lack of free personal pronouns and pronoun copying are the features that show us that these are minor participants.

1575) ei ti-l-e suluqua-l-i du, so iqiva-i 1DU.EX call-IRR-FUT go.DU/PL-NFUT walk.around.Du/PL-IRR-NFUT hear.NFUT dog tiqo-l-o foukua iqiya-i folo-qa-mou so Ø ้ i-moîu duqu, dog (pig) bark-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV run go.du/pl-nfut go.up-du/pl.fut-pfv see.nfut Ø wai ove hive = do ke tigo-l-o i-mou duqu. (dog) pig male big=INT that bark-IRR-FUT gO.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT "... we (excl.) called up (the) dogs and went; we walked around until (we) heard (the) dogs barking at (a pig), (and) immediately we ran on; (and) having arrived (we) saw that they were barking at that very big boar.' Asele=ha hebe sugu+tou tafala-l-i, ... taha-i=be, mala tuga-ma fele-i. Asele=gen tree top+up stand-IRR-NFUT ... shoot-NFUT=TOP arrow bounce-ISQ come.up-NFUT 'Asele was standing up in (a) tree top until ... (he) shot at (it and) (the) arrow after bouncing came (back) towards (him).' You = makou Ø fiyo-u-mou (arrow) fall-NFUT-PFV 3s.EMP=LOC '(The arrows) kept falling (back) on himself (Asele) ...'

The next example continues the story a couple of clauses further on. (The whole of *Michael's hunting story* is interlinearised in APPENDIX IV.)

1576)	haba	wai ka=h <u>a</u>	so sese	-l-e	hague-i. <u>A</u>	tafala ke-le	Ø
	but.prv.IRR	pig that=gen	dog foll	OW-IRR-FUT	come.NFUT 1s	stand that-A.LOCR	(pig)
	hagua tafala	n-moîu dege-i,	<u>a</u> tah <u>a-i</u>	fef <u>e</u>	ke-le	fogo-u .	Ø
	come stand	d-pfv do-nfut	lsshoot-	NFUT waist	that-A.LOCR	hit.target-NFUT .	(pig)
	fiyo-u-m	oû dege	-i. De=h	a	Ø	taha-l- <u>e</u> +m <u>a</u> -môu,	
	fall-NF	TUT-PFV do-NI	FUT mater	nal.uncle	=GEN (pig)	shoot-IRR-FUT+pu	it-pfv
	' again the pi	g came chasing (th	he) <b>dog(s)</b> . ( <b>I</b> t	t) came trying	to stand where	I stood; I shot; hit the wa	aist ( <b>it</b> )

was in the process of falling over. Uncle having shot and killed (it) ...'

The following examples are from other stories.

1577) Yo-l-u-gi dugu=be hebe hiye=do ta tafala. go.du/pl-IRR-NFUT-DSQ see.NFUT=TOP tree big=INT INDF stand 'We went until (we) saw a big tree standing.'

Hebe	k <u>o</u> u = ma = h <u>a</u>	fu=koîu	dugu,	douwa	duwo.		
tree	this=TOP=GEN	hole=LOC	see	hornbill	sit		
'In a hole of <b>this tree</b> (we) <b>saw</b> (a) <b>hornbill</b> sitting.'							

Ø	Duwo-móù	dugu-o	fogóù-móù i.
(hornbill)	sit-pfv	see-fut	leave.for-pfv go.NFUT

'Having seen (it) sitting (there), leaving (we) went.'

1578) **Niniba tie o ke+dig=me** moso bolo=fei=do. Nineveh sleep man that+3pl=TOP house good=total=INT '**The people living in Nineveh** (had) good houses.'

A participant may change from a minor to a main participant.

1579) Kalo dalawa ka = hanele moni K2.00 ne-l-e. tobo-u, car driver that=GEN say-NFUT 2DU money K2 give-IRR-FUT K2.00 ne-l-<u>e</u>. 0 ta = noîu ta=nou sele man INDF=only INDF=only money K2 give-IRR-FUT Α tobo-u, a=me sele mei. 1s say-NFUT 1s=TOP money NEG Kalo o tobo-u, sele K2.00 ne. Toto=do ne. car man 3s say-NFUT money K2 give.IMP quickly=INT give "The car driver said, "You two will pay K2. Each one will pay K2." I said, "I don't have any money." The man with the car he said, "Pay K2. Pay really quick."

Finally, I will show how *the Lord* contrasts grammatically in subject position with ordinary big men and how, in the same way, *the Holy Spirit* contrasts with other good spirits.

1580)	hiye o	ka=h <u>a</u>		Hiye O	= h <u>a</u>
	big man	n that=gen		big ma	n=gen
	the big ma	an' (one of ma	any)	'the Lord	' (unique)
1581)		polo=f <u>ei</u> good=total	<i>ka=h<u>a</u></i> that=gen	<i>Duo</i> spirit	<i>Bolo=f<u>e</u>i=h<b>g</b> good=total=gen</i>
		spirit' (one of		-	Spirit' (unique)

A participant marked by  $=h\underline{a}$  'genitive/control' has overall control, while a participant referred to by ...  $k\underline{a} = h\underline{a}$  (that=GEN) is a minor participant with only local control.

## 8.7.6.1.3 Props

A prop is a participant that the speaker/author considers to be of little importance. It would usually be **mentioned only once**. If it is in subject position, it is marked by the instrumental case marker = ye. If in non-subject position, it consists of a nominal phrase. A prop may also be introduced in a clause dependent on the verbs *dugu* 'see' (1582) or *du* 'hear'.

SUBJECT NP=ye 'instrumental'

NON-SUBJECT NP (depending on function in the clause occurs with or without the locative case marker)

1582)	K <u>o</u> û = me o	gisiai. <u>E</u> hei	be ha-i	wai=ye	no-l- <u>u</u>	dugu.	
	this=TOP man	young 3s tr	ee cut-NFUT	pig=INS	eat-IRR-NFUT	see.NFUT	
	'This (is a) young man. He saw (a) pig eating (in his) garden.'						
1583)	Fiya-môu,	bogo=ye	m <u>a</u>	abog <u>ó</u> u i	tof <u>o</u> -gu.		
	fall.FUT-PFV	white.rock=	INS 1s.poss	foot 1	trap-of.NFUT		

'Having fallen, my foot was trapped by (a) white rock.'

1584) *Dig miye si hiyo-u-moû meleki=koû sa+mg* 3PL fish cook be.cooked-NFUT-PFV plate=LOC put.inside+put *sea tage+toû duwo-l-i nalg i-l-i.* 

chair over+up sit-IRR-NFUT eat.IRR.FUT go-IRR-NFUT

'As soon as (the) cooked fish is "ready", they put (it) into bowls and sit on chairs eating.'

#### 8.7.6.1.4 Referential & non-referential and generic & non-generic

Two other notions are entwined with the above mentioned categories of participants:

•	CONCEPT non-referential	<b>DEFINITION</b> any member(s) of a set	<b>KONAI</b> marked as a prop with $= ye$ 'instrumental' in subject position and a NP (+/-LOC) as non-subject
•	referential	a certain entity/certain entities	any number of options
•	generic	a class of entities	introduced as a main participant with pronoun copy in either singular or plural, <sup>216</sup> but often with a singular verb as it refers to the whole class; maintained with pronouns as a main participant
٠	non-generic	a certain entity/certain entities	any number of options

**Non-referential examples** 1585) **o=ve** hu

man=INS marry
'married' (about a woman)

1586) *Mou* oye *i-l-e=be* nothing man=INS go-IRR-FUT=TOP '... A/Any) man without (e.g. knowledge), if/when (he) goes ...'

286

 $<sup>^{216}</sup>$  An inanimate generic noun is talked about in singular (see 4.3.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS).

1587) **Ta=ye=ge** wai taho-u-môu, o olôu fei nala i-di. bow=INS=F.CNTR pig shoot-NFUT-PFV man all.total eat.IRR.FUT go-HAB 'When the bow shoots (a) pig, everybody eats (it).'

In the following example the lizard is generic and treated like a main participant. What he eats is non-referential (perhaps).

1588) Sabi <u>e</u> kulio hiye=do dege-moû, <u>e</u> aso difi ha tila. lizard 3s coldness big=INT do-PFV 3s sun hot get.warm lie.down

<u>E</u>beyen<u>a</u>-di.<u>E</u>miyen<u>a</u>-di,sion<u>a</u>-di.3spossumeat-HAB3sfisheat-HABbirdeat-HAB

'The lizard, because she is cold, she lies in the heat of the sun to get warm. She eats **possum**. She eats **fish**; (she) eats **bird**.'

The following example may be open for discussion. The bold marking and the free translation is my interpretation.

dege-mou, na a=mokou 1589) a=me sok=bemei dege-l-e. Kege-i 1s=TOP chalk=TOP NEG do-IRR-FUT that-VBR-NFUT do-PFV 2s 1s=LOC sok su = done. ... Ta=be ... kuquo=bou pencil=be mei. chalk many=INT give ... INDF=TOP ... paper=and pencil=TOP NEG  $dege-mo\hat{u}, n\underline{a} = moko\hat{u} pepa = bo\hat{u} pencil = bo\hat{u} + de$ Keae-i ne. that-vbr-NFUT do-PFV 2s 1s=Loc paper=and pencil=and+prov give .... I will finish the chalk. Because of that, give me many pieces of chalk. ... Another (thing), ... (I have) no (exercise) books and pencils. Because of that, give me paper and pencils.'

#### Generic examples

- 1590) Ulie e=me hebe tou=kôu duwo. E ta-di=be uwo hiye=do. cicada 3s=TOP tree stump=LOC sit 3s speak-HAB=TOP noise big=INT 'The cicada he sits on a tree stump. He makes a lot of noise.'
- 1591) **Kueya** <u>e</u> hebe kolo no-l-<u>u</u>. N<u>a</u>-ma mei dege-môu fogôu-ma cassowary 3s tree bark/fruit eat-IRR-NFUTeat-ISQ NEG do-PFV leave.for-ISQ

*i-l-e.* **Kueya di**<u>a</u>=**me** mih<u>i</u>=kôu **tia-di**. **Di**<u>a</u>=**me** mos<u>o</u> mei. go-irr-fut cassowary 3pl=top earth=loc sleep-hab 3pl=top house neg

'The **cassowary she** eats fruit from trees. Having finished eating, leaving (she) will go (away). **Cassowaries they sleep (sg.)** on (the) ground. **They** have no house.'

1592) Huliame oguo hoho dege-l-i. Hulia.me sasai dia oguo hoho dege-i-mou, darkness.top moon light do-IRR-NFUT darkness.top woman 3pl moon light do-NFUT-PFV

*miye bese i-l-i.* fish angle.for go-IRR-NFUT

'At night (the) moon is shining. At night, women, while enjoying the moon, go (sg.) fishing.'

(*miye* 'fish': non-referential)

The following example is the last paragraph/sentence of a story about the importance of medicine. The medicine itself is the main participant, with the local CHW<sup>217</sup> being the powerful administrator, marked with =hg. This sentence concludes that all doctors and medical workers are doing a great job, referring to this generic class as main participants with pronoun copy and with a plural form of the verb.

1593)	<i>Ke-ge-môu,</i> that-vbr-pfv		dokta=boîu	medigo = boîu	<b>di<u>a</u>=me</b>	dabai	hiye=do	
			doctor=and	medical.worker=and	3pl=top	work	big=INT	
	degele							
	do-irr-fut go-hab							

'Having become like that, doctors and medical workers they are always working (pl.) very hard.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> Community Health Worker.

# 8.7.6.2 The faulty defaults

Having looked at the default referring device for each proposed context in 8.7.5, there were three questions that needed answers, which I will try to answer here.

- who or what are the participants that get introduced with pronoun copy?
- how can a participant be introduced by zero?
- why are three of the contexts S03, N0, N1 about fifty-fifty between a verb and an NP as default?

The first and the third question have already been answered, but here are the answers to all three:

- The participants being introduced by pronoun copy are main participants (see 8.7.6.1.1).
- A participant, often a minor one, may be introduced by zero in object position to be properly introduced in a nominal phrase in subject or object position in the next dependent clause. We may call it delayed introduction (1594), (1595).
- The even distribution of referring devices in certain categories is explained by the fact that major and minor participants are not maintained in the same way. Main participants are traced by free pronouns or verb form/zero, while minor participants are traced by nominal phrases or verb form/zero) (see 8.7.6.1.1 and 8.7.6.1.2).

1594) *I-l-e su-l-u-gi Ø dugu=be, kueya* go-irr-fut walk.around-irr-nfut-dsg (cassowary) see.nfut=top cassowary

ti-l-e uwo dege-i-moîu <u>a</u> du.

call-IRR-FUT noise do-NFUT-PFV 1s hear.NFUT

'(I) went and walked around until (I) saw (something); I heard (a) cassowary in the process of calling out.'

1595) *i-l-e-môu*  $\mathscr{O}$  *dugu-be kueya to-u dugu.* go-irr-fut-pfv (cassowary) see.nfut=top cassowary hold-nfut see.nfut

'... (I) having gone saw (something); (I) saw (a) cassowary caught (in the trap).'

# 8.7.7 A strategy of reference for Konai

Dooley and Levinsohn describe two strategies of reference for languages: a sequential strategy and a VIP strategy.

In a **SEQUENTIAL STRATEGY**, "the reference of [other than a full noun phrase] is normally taken from the nearest candidate word before it" (Grimes 1978:viii). By "candidate word" or phrase is meant an antecedent that agrees with the reference in relevant categories (e.g., number, gender), that has an animacy category appropriate in that proposition, and that is plausible in terms of the current expectation structure.

**SUBJECT-ORIENTED SEQUENTIAL STRATEGIES** typically work as follows: to find the referent of a main clause subject, look back to the subject of the preceding (main) clause (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:59).

In a **VIP (VERY IMPORTANT PARTICIPANT)**, "one referent is distinguished from the rest when introduced, and a special set of terms refer to it no matter how many other things have been mentioned more recently" (Grimes 1978:viii) ... (ibid.)

So what is the strategy of reference for Konai? Based on the above definitions, a VIP strategy is used but also a sequential strategy:

• Main participants are introduced with pronoun copy (or a pronoun in the near vicinity) and maintained by pronouns or verb form/zero. There are fewer pronouns in an action oriented story. There are also fewer pronouns in a story with little interference by other participants. See 8.7.6.1.1 for places where a pronoun is likely to occur.

A participant introduced with  $=h\underline{a}$  'genitive/control' does not occur with pronoun copy, but is maintained by pronouns, if she/he continues in the story. There are different rules for the Trinity – see 8.7.6.1.1.

- Minor participants are usually introduced by nominal phrases and maintained by nominal phrases or verb form/zero (see 8.7.6.1.2).
- **Props** usually **occur only once**; in **subject position a prop is marked by the instrumental case marker**; in nonsubject position it is usually a nominal phrase consisting of just a noun with or without the locative case marker depending on function in the clause (see 8.7.6.1.3).
- Konai has a **VIP strategy of reference** in that main participants are treated differently from minor participants and minor participants are treated differently from props. However, Konai also has a **subject oriented sequential strategy of reference in regards to main participants**. A pronoun refers back to the last mentioned main participant agreeing in number. This nominal phrase is usually in subject position. Referring back to an object may require a full nominal phrase, as I cannot find any clear examples of a personal pronoun referring back to an object.

A verb in plural form, in a clause without a nominal phrase, usually refers back to the last mentioned main participant in plural, but it may also refer back to a minor participant in plural (1599) (the second *tigolo i* 'they barked').

• A switch-of-scene medial verb marker monitors the different scenes, including **switch of reference**, usually going from minor to main; a final verb may be used to go from major to minor (see 8.7.3.10).

#### A pronoun refers back to a subject

- Ke-ge-môu, 1596) hoho dege-i. **E** tawa-i, Yesu = be Godi = ha dihi = d = adeJohn e that-ver-prv John 3s light do-nfur 3s know-nfur Jesus=top God=gen child=INT=SOV ilo ke+dia=mokôu tobo-u. tawa-i Ke-qe-mou, i-l-e sasai e 0 know-NFUT that-VBR-PFV 3s go-IRR-FUTMan woman part that+3PL=LOC say-NFUT 'Having become like that, John he was glad. He understood for sure that Jesus must be God's Son. Having become like that, he went and told some people.'
- 1597) Afu=fei Asika ele sio mowi ya-l-a-mou dege-l-i-ai earlier=total Asika 1DU.EX bird hunt go.DU/PL-IRR-SUBJ-PFV do-IRR-NFUT-DSO  $e = bo\hat{u} + de$  ya-i. duqu, Mikael yukuei bigi i-mou, haba see.NFUT Mikael cloth wash go.NFUT-PFV but.prv.IRR 3s=and+prov go.DU/PL-NFUT Miya=kou mu-qua-mou, ke-le yukuei biqi-l-e duwo-mou, е Miyan=Loc go.down-Du/PL.FUT-PFV 3s that-A.LOCR wash-IRR-FUT sit-PFV cloth Asika ele Miya-ba duqu-l-u-qi duqu Asika 1du.ex Miyan-along see-IRR-NFUT-DSQ see.NFUT

'A long time ago Asika and I wanted to go bird hunting until we saw **Mikael** going to wash clothes, when, instead, we immediately went **together with him**. Having gone down to (the river) Miyan, **he** sat down there and washed clothes, while Asika and I looked along (the river) Miyan until (we) saw ...'

#### Interaction between third person participants

In this story, written by Pastor Motousi, Zechariah is the main participant and is introduced and re-introduced with pronoun copy and maintained by pronouns, until the interchange with another third person participant, the angle Gabriel. Gabriel is the controlling agent in this part of the story. After introduction in object position he comes back in the controlling genitive case. He is never referred to by a pronoun.

Note the third person pronoun following the angle Gabriel's introduction in object position, referring back not to him, but to Zechariah in subject position.

1598) ... Sekeraia e pris dabai dege-di 0. ... ... Zechariah 3s priest work do-HAB man ... '... Zechariah he was (a) priest ...' hoho hiye=do ta ... sawisie-i ta sosi moso=kou duwo-l-i duqu=be, е ... be.day-NFUT INDF 3s church house=LOC sit-IRR-NFUT see.NFUT=TOP light big=INT INDF <u>e=mokou</u> haqu-mou dugu. Sekeraia esol Gebulu duqu, 3s-=loc come.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT Zechariah angel Gabriel see.NFUT hiye=do dege-i. Ke-ge-mou, que esol Gebulu = ha tobo-u, е ... 3s fear big=INT do-NFUT that-VBR-PFV angle Gabriel=GEN say-NFUT ... one day he was sitting in (the) church house until (he) saw a very big light coming towards him. Zechariah saw (the) angle Gabriel; he was very afraid. Having become like that, (the) angle Gabriel said ...' esol Gebulu = kou tobo-u, Sekeraia tobo-u, e ... Zechariah 3s say-NFUT angle Gabriel=LOC say-NFUT 'Zechariah he said; (he) said to (the) angel Gabriel ...' Esol Gebulu = ha Sekeraia = koîu tobo-u, angle Gabriel=GEN Zechariah=LOC say-NFUT

'(The) angle Gabriel said to Zechariah ...'

See also Winta's Oumemi story in 8.7.6.1.1 MAIN PARTICIPANTS and the two different third person plural groups. The full NP with pronoun copy, or similar, has to be restated to keep them apart.

#### Switch-reference and switch of scenes

In the following example, the explicitly stated **subjects** are marked in **bold** in both Konai and English. The **indicators of a change of subject** are also marked in **bold** in the Konai text, i.e. the perfective marker *-mou*, preceded by a verb stem ending in a **high vowel**. In addition **some final verbs**, especially *dugu* 'see' and *du* 'hear' also mark a change of subject. In this story the form *taha-i = be* 'shoot-NFUT=TOP' is also followed by a different subject. Red marks a non-singular verb.

The third line in the example states the actual subjects. On that line, the subject is the same until the next is given.

Ei  $ko = ko\hat{u} = qe$ 1599) Dulo 0 Dulo that=LOC=F.CNTR 1 PL . EX mouth.of.river James, Asele, Michael James = boû Asele = boû ei so ti-l-e iqiva-i suluqua-l-i James=and Asele=and 1du.ex dog call-IRR-FUT go.DU/PL-NFUT walk.around.du/pl-IRR-NFUT folo-ga-móu<sup>218</sup> igiya-i du, **SO** tigo-l-o i-môu f<u>ou</u>kua duqu, hear.NFUT dog bark-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV run go.du/pl-nfut go.up-du/pl.fut-pfv see.nfut dogs James, Asele, Michael wai ove hive=do ke tigo-l-o i-môu dugu. pig male big=INT that bark-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT dogs James, Asele, Michael 'We (excl.), at (the) mouth of (the river) Dulo, (i.e.) James, Asele and I called up (the) dogs and went; we walked around until (we) heard (the) dogs barking, when we immediately ran and went; having arrived (we) saw that they were barking at that very big boar.' **Asele** = ha hebe sugu + tou tafala-l-i,<sup>219</sup> wai ka = ha so sese-l-e haqua Asele=GEN tree top+up stand-IRR-NFUT pig that=GEN dogfollow-IRR-FUT come.FUT Asele pia fele-i. foqôu i-moû taha-i=be, mala tuga-ma shoot-NFUT=TOP arrow bounce-ISQ come.up-NFUT leave.for go.NFUT-PFV Asele arrow 'Asele was standing up in (a) tree top until the pig came and chased (the) dog(s) and (as they were) passing by (Asele) shot at (it); (the) arrow after bouncing came (back) towards (him)."

Y <u>oû</u> = makoû fiyo- <b>u-moû</b>	naba	luye	Tun <u>u-i</u> = De	maia	tug <u>a</u> -ma
3s.EMP=LOC fall-NFUT-PFV arrow	but.pfv.IRR Asele	over	shoot-NFUT=TOP		bounce-iso (another)

hebe-l-e fel<u>e</u>-<u>i</u>.

carry-IRR-FUT come.up-NFUT

'While (it) fell (back) on himself, when (he) shot again above (it), (the) **arrow** after bouncing came (back) towards (him).'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> This switch of scene does not include switch of subject, which can be seen on the low vowel *a* in *fologamoû* 'we having arrived we ...'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> The form *tafala-l-i* 'stand until' is a same subject form for existential state verbs like *tafala* 'stand'. This switch of subject indicates that the main participant will shortly be back.

# REFERENCES

Barth, Fredrik. 1971. Tribes and intertribal relations in the Fly headwaters. Oceania, Vol. XLI, No. 3.

- Berghäll, Liisa. 2010. Mauwake reference grammar (Ph. D. thesis). Helsinki: Helsinki University.
- Bybee, Joan and Suzanne Fleischman (ed.). 1995. *Modality in grammar and discourse*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Callister, William. 1996. Participant reference in the Misima language. ms: SIL PNG.
- CECIL, (Win-), Version 2.1. 1995. (Computerized Extraction of Components of Intonation in Language). Waxhaw: SIL.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics, and point of view. In Charles Li, ed., 25-55. New York: Academic Press.
- Chung, Sandra. and Alan Timberlake. 1985. Tense, aspect and mood. In Shopen, ed., *Language typology and syntactic description*, vol. III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. Aspect. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1985. Tense. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Conrad, Robert J. 1984. Kinds of information and participant identification in discourse. Notes on Translation 99:18-28.
- Covington, Tom. 1993. Peak marking strategies in Kubo narrative. ms: Covington.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. Kubo grammar notes. ms: Årsjö.
- Covington, Tom and Vicky. 1995. Kubo grammar essentials. ms: Covington.
- Crystal, David. 1985. A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics. Oxford/New York: Basil Blackwell.
- **Dooley, Robert A. and Stephen H. Levinsohn. 2001.** *Analyzing discourse: A manual of basic concepts.* Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- **Dwyer, Peter D., Minnegal Monica and Vance Woodyard. 1993.** Konai, Febi and Kubo: The north-west corner of the Bosavi language family. *Canberra Anthropology* 16(1).
- Farr, Cynthia J. M. 1999. The interface between syntax and discourse in Korafe, a Papuan language of Papua New Guinea. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-148.
- Fast, Lesley. 1997. Participant reference in Tungag narrative. ms: SIL PNG.
- Feldpausch, Becky. 1998. Participant reference in Namia. ms: SIL PNG.
- Feldpausch, Thomas. and Becky. 1992. Namia grammar essentials. In John R. Roberts, ed., Namia and Amanab grammar essentials, 1-97. [Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages, 39. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics]. <u>http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=34683</u>
- Foley, William A. 1986. The Papuan languages of New Guinea. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grimes, Joseph E. (ed.) 1978. Papers on discourse. SIL Publication No. 51. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Grosh, Andy and Sylvia. 2004. Grammar essentials for the Kaluli language. ms: SIL, PNG. http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=51986
- Handasyde, Len and Heather. 1990. Beliefs of the Konai. Project for MAF.
- Hopper, Paul and Sandra Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. Language 56-2:251-299.
- Hunt, Geoffrey. 1995. Interpreting CECIL, gathering and interpreting acoustic phonetic data. Waxhaw: SIL.
- Hyman, Larry. 1975. Phonology: Theory and analysis. Forth Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.
- Katamba, Francis. 1989. An introduction to phonology. London/New York: Longman.
- Konai New Testament. 2014. Bible League International.
- Levinsohn, Stephen H. 2004. *Self-instruction materials on narrative discourse analysis*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics. <u>https://mail.jaars.org/~bt/narr.zip</u>
- Logan, Thomas. 2008. Kasua grammar sketch. ms: SIL, PNG. http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=50999
- McElhanon, Kenneth. and Clemens Lambertus Voorhoeve. 1970. The Trans-New Guinea phylum: Explorations in deeplevel genetic relationships. *Pacific Linguistics* B-16.
- Merriam-Webster. 2015. Dictionary. www.merriam-webster.com

Payne, Thomas. 1997. Describing morphosyntax. A guide for field linguists. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pappenhagen, Ronald W. 1981. Konai: A sociolinguistic survey. ms: SIL, PNG.

- Prince, John and Moyra. 1991. A church is born. Australia: A.P.C.M.
- Roberts, John. 1988. Switch-reference in Papuan languages: a syntactic or extrasyntactic device? Australian Journal of Linguistics 8:75-117.
- Ross, Malcolm. 2005. Pronouns as a preliminary diagnostic for grouping Papuan languages. In Pawley, Andrew, Robert Attenborough, Jack Golson and Robin Hide, eds., *Papuan pasts. Cultural, linguistic and biological histories of Papuan-speaking peoples.* Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Rule, Murray and Joan, and Vance and Patty Woodyard. 1985. Konai language, statement of the phonology & alphabet. ms: ECPNG, PNG.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1990a. Additional phonology statement of the Konai language. ms: ECPNG, Tari, Papua New Guinea.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1990b. Statement of the grammar of the Konai language. ms: ECPNG, Tari, Papua New Guinea.
- Shaw, Daniel. 1986. The Bosavi language family. Pacific Linguistics, A-70.
- Simons, Gary F. 1987. Terms and abbreviations for use in text glossary. Dallas: SIL.
- Smith, Clyde. 2007. Samo grammar notes. ms: Årsjö.
- Speech Analyzer, Version 1.5 and 2.6. 1998, 2004. Waxhaw: SIL.
- Staley, William. 2007. Referent management in Olo: A cognitive perspective. Ph. D. thesis (1995), University of Oregon. http://www.sil.org/silepubs/abstract.asp?id=48757
- Woodyard, Vance. 1992. The Konai and related neighbours (A Konai history). ms: ECPNG, PNG.
- Wurm, Stephen A. (ed.) 1975. New Guinea area language and language study, 1: Papuan languages the New Guinea linguistic scene. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
  - \_\_\_\_. 1982. Papuan languages of Oceania. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Årsjö, Britten. 1994. Topic in Ama discourse. Language and Linguistics in Melanesia. 25:1-25.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1998. Konai grammar essentials. ms: SIL, PNG.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1999. Words in Ama. MA thesis. Uppsala: Uppsala universitet. http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=52240
- Årsjö, Sören. 1995-1997. WCKonaiU(tterances) (139 utterances). WinCECIL: Årsjö, SIL, PNG.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. Speech analyzer waveforms (175 utterances). Speech analyzer: Årsjö, SIL, PNG.
- Årsjö, Sören and Britten. 1991. The Strickland Plain sociolinguistic survey. ms: SIL, PNG.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995. Konai orthography Results from orthography testing. ms: Årsjö, SIL, PNG.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000. Konai. In John Brownie, ed., *Sociolinguistic and literacy studies: South-West, Sepik and Morobe*, 26-81. Data papers on Papua New Guinea languages, 46. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics. <a href="http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=41239">http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=41239</a>
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003 Social organization paper. ms: SIL, PNG.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004a. A dialect survey report for the Konai language. ms: SIL, PNG.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004b. Konai orthography testing 1994-1998 a summary. ms: Årsjö, SIL, PNG.
- . 2005. Phonology and orthography essentials: Konai (Kalai) language (Western Province Papua New Guinea). In Steve Parker, ed., *Phonological descriptions of PNG languages*, 211-260. [Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages, 47]. Ukarumpa, EHP, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics. <a href="http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=48165">http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=48165</a>
- . 2008. Organized phonology data Konai (Kalai) language. ms: SIL, PNG. http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=51612
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2011. Konai ta tanoû tanoû 'Konai-English & English-Konai dictionary', 2447 entries. ms: Årsjö.

## APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Rules of vowel harmony in verbs

APPENDIX II: Co-occurrence restrictions with clitics in the simple NP having a pronoun or question word as head

APPENDIX III: Interlinearised texts with five lines: vernacular surface form, underlying form, gloss, part of speech, free translation Gina text

James text Motousi text Ronny text

APPENDIX IV: Interlinearised texts with three lines: vernacular surface form, gloss, free translation

A Big-Book story by Gilbert Hobert's house building story Michael's hunting story Pepson's clan legend A letter Four very short letters



# **RULES OF VOWEL HARMONY IN VERBS**

This appendix<sup>1</sup> is a supplement to 2.7 MORPHO-PHONEMIC PROCESSES in the main document.

There are seven types of verbs in Konai, based on the last root<sup>2</sup> vowel; and in the case of type 4 verbs, also on the vowel of the preceding syllable, which is a high vowel.

Rules of vowel harmony apply especially to verbs suffixed for tense. Based in most cases on the last root vowel, front vowels co-occur with front vowels and back vowels co-occur with back vowels. Roots ending in the phoneme /a/ have a foot in each camp, when conjugated as a final verb. There are fewer options for medial verbs, as far as tense goes, but they follow the same basic principal of vowel harmony as their final counterparts.

Vowel harmony, when triggered by suffixation, affects the whole word. This is not always reflected in the spelling, however (in the main document, see 2.8.5 VOWEL HARMONY – SPELLING OF A FEW EXCEPTIONS).

There are eight rules of vowel harmony relating to verbs. I have chosen to base the rules on the final verbs: rule 1-7. Rules 1 and rule 5 also apply to medial verb conjugation. Rule 8 applies when the verb is suffixed with an aspect (final verb) or a purpose/subjunctive suffix (medial verb).

## **MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES OF VOWEL HARMONY IN FINAL VERBS**

BASIC FORM	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE	MEANING	TYPE OF VERB
, . <b>.</b> ,	<u>-i/-u</u>	<u>(-l)-i/-u/-o</u>	$(-1)-\varepsilon/-\sigma/-o^4$	<i>,</i>	
/mig <b>i</b> /	/mig <b>i</b> /	/migi-l- <b>i</b> /	/migi-l-ɛ/	'come down'	type 1
/bɛs <b>ɛ</b> /	/bese-i/	/bisi-l-i/	/bese-l-e/	'fish/angle'	type 2
/bah <b>a</b> /	/baha-i/	/bəhə-l-u/	/baha-l-ɛ/	'look'	type 3a
/tag <b>a</b> /	/taga- <b>i</b> /	/taga-l-i/	/taga-l-ɛ/	'like'	type 3c
/b <b>i</b> ja/	/bij <b>ε-i</b> ∕	/bij <b>ɔ-l-u</b> /	/bija-l- <b>e</b> /	'fight'	type 4a
/tafala/	/tefele-i/	/ tafala-l-i/	/ tafala-l-e/	'stand'	type 4d (irregular root)
/dug <b>u</b> /	/dug <b>u</b> /	/dugu-l- <b>u</b> /	/dugu-l- <b>ə</b> /	'see'	type 5
/sõ/	/sõ-ũ/	/sõ- <b>[-õ</b> /	/sõ- <b>[-õ</b> /	'open'	type 6
/w <b>ə</b> /	/w <b>ɛ-i</b> /	/wɔ-l-u/	/wɔ-l-ɔ/	'attack'	type 7

The following table gives the general picture for final verb forms.<sup>3</sup>

There are seven rules (VOWEL HARMONY RULES 1-7) governing the forms above.

There are two phonological shapes for each suffix indicating tense. Rules of vowel harmony determine which variant is chosen for each verbal root. The suffix vowel also affects the vowel(s) in the root in certain ways. We will deal with each rule in turn, starting with VOWEL HARMONY RULE 1.

document. However, no other rules of vowel harmony than those described in this appendix show up in the conjugation of any of the sub-types.

/-l/	'IRR'
/-i/, /-u/	'NFUT
/-ε/, /-ɔ/	'FUT'
/-0/	'NPST'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Taken from Årsjö 2005 and adapted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Actually based on the last **stem** vowel (see main document); in this appendix, I will keep to the verb root, if nothing else is said. <sup>3</sup> Note that most sub-types are not included in this appendix; see 4.1.5.2.1 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR FINAL VERBS in the main

#### 296 Vowel harmony rule 1

#### Appendices

VH RULE 1 applies to the present and future forms of verb types 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7, and also to the past tense of verb types 2 and 6. Consider the following examples, part of the table above, though different verbs have been used:

	U	1 / 1	, U	
Type 1	/big <b>i</b> /	'wash'	bigi	
	/big <b>i</b> /	'washed'	bigi	(when the context so allows) <sup>5</sup>
	/bigi- <b>l-i</b> /	'is washing'	bigili	
	/bigi-l-ɛ/	'will wash'	bigile	
Type 2	/hɛb <b>ɛ</b> /	'carry'	hebe	
	/hɛbɛ-i/	'carried'	hebei	
	/hibi- <b>l-i</b> /	'is carrying'	hebeli	
	/hɛbɛ-l- <b>ɛ</b> /	'will carry'	hebele	
Type 5	/d <b>u</b> /	'hear'	du	
	/d <b>u</b> /	'heard'	du	(when the context so allows)
	/du-l- <b>u</b> /	'is hearing'	dulu	
	/du-l-o/	'will hear'	dulo	
Type 6	/tob <b>o</b> /	'speak'	tob <b>o</b> u	
	/tobo-u/	'spoke'	tobou	
	/tobo-l-o/	'is speaking'	tobol <b>o</b> u	
	/tobo-l-o/	'will speak'	tobol <b>ó</b> u	
Type 7	/t̥ɔɡ <b>ə</b> /	'make'	togo	
	(/tɛɡɛ-i/	'made'	tegei	(vowel harmony rule 7))
	/t̥ɔɡɔ-l-u/	'is making'	togoulu <sup>6</sup>	
	/təgə-l-ə/	'will make'	togolo	

Irrealis mood is signalled by /-l/ and is, among other uses, used in expressing present and future tense. Non-future tense (NFUT) is signalled by a high vowel /-i/ or /-u/, which makes type 1 and type 5 verbs inherently oriented to past tense. Future tense (FUT) is signalled by /- $\epsilon$ / or /- $\sigma$ /. However, if a root ends in /- $\sigma$ /, and if it appears in irrealis mood, the vowel in the TAM suffix does not vary in highness, which means that the difference between present and future is neutralised. The only choice to contrast with past tense, is a non-past tense (NPST).

#### VOWEL HARMONY RULE 1:

(I)V	$\rightarrow$	(UV /	/	V+
[+TAM]		[aback]		[aback]

The vowel signalling tense in the TAM suffix /-([)V/ varies in backness in accordance with the last vowel of the verb root.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Verb types 1 and 5 are considered to be inherently past in the context of tense marking. See main document 4.1.5.2.1 FORMS OF THE

TAM SUFFIX FOR FINAL VERBS (below the main table).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> togo-u-l-u (make-BLTV-IRR-NFUT)

#### VOWEL HARMONY RULES 2 AND 3

If the last root vowel is /a/VH RULES 2 & 3 generally apply for the present and future forms, respectively. These are the type 3 and 4 verbs, excluded under the first rule.

Type 3	/bah <b>a</b> / /baha-i/ /bəhə-l-u /baha-l-e						baha bahai baholu bahale	
Type 4	/fija/ (/fije- <b>i</b> / /fijo-l-u/ /fija-l- <b>e</b> /						fiya fiyei fiyolu fiyale	(vowel harmony rule 6 also applies))
VOWEL HAI	RMONY RUL	<u>е 2:</u>						
لV [+	-NFUT]	$\rightarrow$	lu	/	a+			
VOWEL HAI	RMONY RUL	<u>e 3a:</u>						
עז [+	-FUT]	$\rightarrow$	Įε	/	a+			
VOWEL HAI	RMONY RUL	<u>e 3b:</u>						
V [+	PAST]	$\rightarrow$	i	/	a+			
<b>F</b> 1 1	· 1•	• / /	.1		cc .	11 / 1		

For verbal roots ending in /a/ the present TAM-suffix is generally /-lu/ 'IRR.NFUT' and the future suffix is /- $l\epsilon$ / 'IRR.FUT'. In addition, the past TAM suffix is /-i/.

VH RULE 3a and 3b may be generalised to cover the irregular type 3c verbs.

Type 3c	/tag <b>a</b> /	'like'	taga
	/taga-i/	'liked'	tagai
	/taga-l- <mark>i</mark> /	'likes'	tagali
	/taga-l-e/	'will like'	tagale

VOWEL HARMONY RULE 3a & 3b GENERALISED:

(I)V	$\rightarrow$	( <b>)</b> V	/	a+
[+TAM]		[-back]		

The irregular type 3c verb roots end in /a/ and the present TAM-suffix is /-[i] 'IRR.NFUT' (rather than /-[u]). The future suffix is the regular  $/-[\epsilon]$  'IRR.FUT'. In addition, the past TAM suffix is also a front vowel /-i, as for the regular type 3a verbs.

VH RULE 1 applies absolutely to all verbal roots ending in /i/, /u/, /e/ or /o/. In the case of a root ending in /ɔ/ the rule applies in 95% of the words. In words ending in /a/, VH RULE 2 applies in about 93% of them (some of the exceptions are type 3c verbs). VH RULE 3b applies absolutely to all verb roots meeting the conditions. In the rest of the words (a few are stative verbs), the rules are in some way violated, giving rise to subtypes. See the main chart under 4.1.5.2.1 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR FINAL VERBS in the main document.

#### 298 Vowel harmony rules 4 and 5

#### Appendices

As can be seen in the **present** forms of type 2, 3 and 4 verbs below, further rules are needed to explain the vowel changes in the root, caused by the influence of the vowel in the suffix. The three following rules affect the whole root. (In the main document, see 2.8.5 VOWEL HARMONY - SPELLING OF A FEW EXCEPTIONS to explain the discrepancies between phonemic writing and orthography.)

#### VH RULE 4

Type 2	/hebe/			'carry'		hebe
	/h <b>i</b> bi-l-i/		'is carrying'			hebeli
VOWEL	HARMONY RU	ule 4:				
	(V) <sup>n</sup> + [-high] [-back]	$\rightarrow$	V [+high]	/	ļi [+tam]	

If the last vowel in a verbal root is  $\epsilon$ , it and any preceding  $\epsilon$  will change to /i/ when followed by the TAM suffix /-li/ 'IRR.NFUT'.

#### VH RULE 5

Туре За	/baha/	'look'	baha
	/bəhə-l-u/	'is looking'	baholu
Type 4	/fija/	'fall'	fiya
	/fijə-l-u/	'is falling'	fiyolu

#### VOWEL HARMONY RULE 5:

$(V)^n +$	$\rightarrow$	V	/	 լս
[+central]		[+back]		[+TAM]

If the last vowel in a verbal root is /a/, it and any preceding /a/ will change to /3/ when followed by the TAM suffix /-lu/ 'IRR.NFUT'.

VH RULES 4 and 5 apply absolutely to all verbal roots meeting the above conditions.

The next two vowel harmony rules apply also to negative past forms in the following way:

All verbs may take /- $li m\epsilon I$ / as a negative marker in past tense. Even though the suffix /-li/ in /- $li m\epsilon I$ / 'did not ...' is not itself susceptible to vowel harmony rules, the root vowels in type 4 and type 7 verbs change because of this suffix according to VH RULES 6 & 7, respectively.

/migi/	'come down'	/migi- <b>l-i</b>	<b>mεı</b> /	'did not come down'	type 1
/bese/	'fish/angle for'	/bisi <b>-l-i</b>	<b>mεı</b> /	'did not fish/angle for'	type 2
/baha/	'look'	/baha- <b>l-i</b>	<b>mεı</b> /	'did not look'	type 3
/b <b>i</b> ja/	'fight'	/bij <mark>ɛ-l-i</mark>	<b>mεı</b> /	'did not fight'	type 4
/dugu/	'see'	/dugu- <b>l-i</b>	<b>mεı</b> /	'did not see'	type 5
/sõ/	'open'	/sõ- <b>l-ï</b>	<b>mεı</b> /	'did not open'	type 6
/səgə/	'plant'	/s <mark>e</mark> g <mark>e-l-i</mark>	meı/	'did not plant'	type 7

#### VOWEL HARMONY RULES 6 AND 7

VH RULES 6 and 7 are needed to explain the vowel changes taking place in type 4<sup>7</sup> and type 7 roots, when the TAM suffix is /-i/ 'NFUT' or /-[i mei/ 'IRR.NFUT NEG' (**past** tense).

#### VH RULE 6:

Type 4	/ti <b>a</b> /	'sleep'	tia
	/tiɛ-i/	'is sleeping/slept'	tiei
	/tiɛ-l̯i mɛɪ/	'did not sleep'	tieli mei (sleep-IRR.NFUT NEG)
	/suw <b>a</b> /	ʻpaddle'	suwa
	/suw <b>e</b> -i/	ʻpaddled'	suwei
	/suw <b>e</b> -li mɛɪ/	ʻdid not paddle'	suweli mei (paddle-IRR.NFUT NEG)

#### VH RULE 6:

CV(C)a+	$\rightarrow$	CV(C)e	/	 ([)i
[+high]				[+TAM]

In a verbal root ending in /a/, if the vowel in the preceding syllable is [+high], the /a/ will change to  $\epsilon$ / if followed by the TAM suffix /-i/ 'NFUT' or /-li mɛi/ 'IRR.NFUT NEG'.

#### VH RULE 7

Type 7	/səgə/	'plant'	sogo
	/sɛgɛ-i/	'planted'	segei
	/sɛɡɛ-li mɛɪ/	'did not plant'	segeli mei (plant-IRR.NFUT NEG)

VH RULE 7 is not like any other vowel harmony rule in this language. How do you explain the form /sɛɡɛɪ/, when the basic form is /sɔɡɔ/? I propose VH RULES 7a and 7b.

VOWEL HARMONY RULES 7a & 7b:

7a)	$(V)^n + \rightarrow$	V	/ _ ()V
	[-(mid)high]	[-back]	[+TAM]
	[+back]		[aback]

If the last vowel in a verbal root is /ɔ/, it and any preceding /ɔ/ will change to / $\epsilon$ /, when followed by the TAM suffix -V 'NFUT' and /-li mɛi/ 'IRR.NFUT NEG'. The non-future/NFUT suffix is as yet "undecided", as to which form it will take. VH RULE 7b then "makes that decision".

7b) V  $\rightarrow$  i /  $\epsilon$ + \_\_\_\_\_

The non-future tense suffix becomes /-i/ when following on a front vowel in the root, which of course is a specification of VH RULE 1.

Rules 6 and 7 apply to all roots meeting the conditions.

tafala 'stand'

tafala 'stands' -

tefele-i 'stood' -NFUT

*tafala-l-e* 'will stand' -IRR-FUT *tafala-l-i* 'stand until' -IRR-NFUT

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Type 4d, e.g. *fafala* 'stand' is irregular in that it is conjugated according to VH Rule 6, even though there is no high vowel in the root.

#### 300

#### Appendices

## **MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES OF VOWEL HARMONY IN MEDIAL VERBS**

As described in the main part of the paper, medial verb forms are not conjugated in quite the same ways as final verb forms, even though, as far as vowel harmony goes, there are far more similarities than differences.

The following table gives the general picture. The main difference, in general, is that in final verbs there is a three-way tense distinction: past, present and future; in medial verbs there is a **two-way relative** tense distinction: present and future<sup>8</sup> (see 4.1.5.2.2 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR MEDIAL VERBS). Medial present, as far as vowel harmony goes, is conjugated the same as final present. Medial future is conjugated the same as final future with one exception: most type 3 and type 4 verbs occur as bare roots.<sup>9</sup>

Medial verb conjugation is not as regular as its final counterpart, so for verb types 1, 2 and 5 there are two verbs in the table to show some of the variation, even though it does not relate to vowel harmony.<sup>10</sup>

	PRESENT	FUTURE		
BASIC FORM	CLOSE/NFUT	UNSPECIFIED/FUT	MEANING	TYPE OF VERB
	<u>-i/-u</u>	<u>(-[-)-</u> α <u>/-ε/-ɔ/-ο<sup>11</sup></u>		
/sa-g <b>i</b> /	/sa-g <b>i</b> /	/sa-gi- <b>ɛ</b> /	'put.inside-OF'	type 1
/mig <b>i</b> /	/mig <b>i</b> /	/migi-l-ɛ/	'come down'	
/dɛg <b>ɛ</b> /	/dɛgɛ-i/	/dɛg <b>ɛ</b> /	'do'	type 2
/bɛs <b>ɛ</b> /	/bese-i/	/b $\epsilon$ s $\epsilon$ -l- $\epsilon$ /	'fish/angle'	
/bah <b>a</b> /	/bəhə-u/	/bah <mark>a</mark> /	'look'	type 3a
/tag <b>a</b> /	/ taga- <b>i</b> /	/taga-l-ɛ/	'like'	type 3c <sup>12</sup>
/bija/	/bij <b>ɔ-u</b> /	/bij <mark>a</mark> /	'fight'	type 4 <sup>13</sup>
/dug <b>u</b> /	/dug <b>u</b> /	/dugu- <b>ɔ</b> /	'see'	type 5
/d <b>u</b> /	/d <b>u</b> /	/du-l-ɔ/	'hear'	
/sõ/	/sõ/	/sõ- <b>l-õ</b> /	'open'	type 6
/w <b>ə</b> /	/wɔ- <b>u</b> /	/wɔ-l-ə/	'attack'	type 7

As can be seen from the table, the main rule, VH RULE 1, applies: front vowels co-occur with front vowels and back vowels co-occur with back vowels. Verb types 3 and 4, the types where the last vowel is the phoneme /a/, follow that pattern in relative present tense, as in this medial context /a/ is mostly considered to be a back vowel. In relative future tense it is the root final /a/ which signals that tense. As for changes in the root only type 3a and type 4 verbs show up with a change in present tense, as predicted by VH RULE 5.

VH RULE 1 and VH RULE 5 will be repeated here.

<u>VOWEL HARMONY RULE 1:</u> (applies to all, except type 3c)

The vowel signalling tense in the TAM suffix /-([)V/ varies in backness in accordance with the last vowel of the verb root.

<u>VOWEL HARMONY RULE 5:</u> (applies to type 3a and type 4 verbs):

If the last vowel in a verbal root is /a/, it and any preceding /a/ will change to /3/ when followed by the TAM suffix /-u/ 'NFUT'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In addition, this relative tense distinction also signals different or same subject, respectively, in relation to the next clause.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> That is, in this context they are inherently relative future.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See the main document for details: 4.1.5.1.2 EPISTEMIC MOOD IN MEDIAL VERBS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>/-[-/ 'IRR' /-α/, /-ε/, /-ɔ/ 'FUT'

<sup>/-</sup>i/, /-u/ 'NFUT' /-o/ 'NPST'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Type 3c is not conjugated as other a-verbs; see VH RULE 3a & 3b GENERALISED under **final** verbs in this appendix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Type 4d is excluded here. See footnote on previous page.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Without the irrealis /-l-/ preceding, which only occurs in final verbs.

# A MORPHOPHONEMIC RULE OF VOWEL HARMONY TRIGGERED BY / $\alpha$ /-SUFFIXES

A rule of vowel harmony is triggered by the suffix *-adi* 'prospective aspect', occurring in final verbs, and by the suffix *-a* 'purpose/subjunctive', occurring in medial verbs.

## VOWEL HARMONY RULE 8

 $(V)^{n} +$ 

[-high]

 $\rightarrow$ 

a

VH RULE 8 applies to all verb types and affects all [-high] vowels in the verb, when followed by a suffix beginning with /a/.

Prospec	ctive aspect <sup>15</sup>					
/i/	ʻgo'	/i-l-adi/	'just about to go'	(go-IRR-PROS)	iladi	type 1
/d̪ɛɡɛ/	'do'	/d̥ˈɑɡɑ-l-ɑd̪i/	'just about to do'	(do-IRR-PROS)	d <mark>e</mark> g <b>e</b> ladi	type 2
/baha/	'look'	/b <b>a</b> h <b>a-l-a</b> dʲi/	'just about to look'	(look-IRR-PROS)	bahaladi	type 3 <sup>16</sup>
/ția/	'sleep'	/ți <b>a-l-a</b> di/	'just about to fall asleep'	(sleep-IRR-PROS)	tialadi	type 4
/dٍugu/	'see'	/dugu-l-adi/	'just about to see'	(see-IRR-PROS)	duguladi	type 5
/tobo/	'speak'	/t̪aba-l-ad̪i/	'just about to speak'	(speak-IRR-PROS)	t <mark>o</mark> b <b>ôu</b> ladi	type 6
/t̥əɡə/	'make'	/t̪ˈɑɡɑ-l-ɑd̪i/	'just about to make'	(make-IRR-PROS)	tagaladi	type 7
Purpose	e					
/i/	ʻgo'	/i-l- <b>a</b> -mo/	'planning to go'	(go-IRR-SUBJ-PFV)	ilamoîu	type 1
/dٍɛgɛ/	'do'	/d̥aga-l-a-mo /	'planning to do'	(do-IRR-SUBJ-PFV)	d <mark>e</mark> g <b>e</b> lamoîu	type 2
/baha/	'look'	/b <b>a</b> ha-l-a-mo /	'planning to look'	(look-IRR-SUBJ-PFV)	bahalamoîu	type 3
/ția/	'sleep'	/ți <b>a-l-a-</b> mo /	'planning to fall asleep'	(sleep-IRR-SUBJ-PFV)	tialamoîu	type 4
/d̥ugu/	'see'	/d̥ugu-l- <b>a</b> -mo /	'planning to see'	(see-IRR-SUBJ-PFV)	dugulamoîu	type 5
/tobo/	'speak'	/t̥aba-l-a-mo /	'planning to speak'	(speak-IRR-SUBJ-PFV)	toboulamou	type б
/təgə/	'make'	/t̪aga-l-a-mo /	'planning to make'	(make-IRR-SUBJ-PFV)	tagalamoîu	type 7
Vowel I	Harmony Rule	<u>e 8:</u>				

The prospective aspect suffix /-adi/ and the purpose/subjunctive suffix /-a/will change all [-high] vowels in the root to /a/.

[+PURP]

a [+PROS]

/

Rule 8 applies absolutely, but the spelling of type 2 and type 6 verbs are not phonemically but morphologically based, as marked in red above. See also 2.8.5 VOWEL HARMONY – SPELLING OF A FEW EXCEPTIONS in the main document.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Type 3a and 3c are conjugated in the same way. Type 4a and 4d are also conjugated in the same way.

# Appendix II

# A PRONOUN OR QUESTION WORD AS HEAD OF A NOMINAL PHRASE

## **C**O-OCCURRENCE WITH CASE

$Case \rightarrow$	= <i>h</i> <u>a</u>	={ <b>kôu</b> }	={ <b>ye</b> }
head of simple NP $\downarrow$	'genitive'	'locative'	'instrumental'
personal pronouns		=mokoîu	
emphatic pronouns		= makoîu	
demonstrative pronouns	$\checkmark$	=koîu	
<i>koyo</i> 'who'	$\checkmark$	=koîu	
<i>k<u>e</u>i</i> 'what'			

## **CO-OCCURRENCE WITH LIMITERS**

Limiters $\rightarrow$	=noîu	= f <u>ei</u>	= <i>ne</i>
head of simple NP $\downarrow$	'only'	'total'	'also'
personal pronouns	$\checkmark$		$\checkmark$
emphatic pronouns	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
demonstrative pronouns	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
<i>koyo</i> 'who'			
<i>k<u>e</u>i</i> 'what'			

## CO-OCCURRENCE WITH = do 'intensifier', = $b\hat{ou}$ 'and', =le 'independent possessive'

intensifier ,'and', indp.poss. $\rightarrow$	= <i>do</i>	=boîu	= <b>le</b> <sup>17</sup>
head of simple NP $\downarrow$	'intensifier'	'and'	'independent possessive'
personal pronouns		$\checkmark$	
emphatic pronouns		$\checkmark$	
demonstrative pronouns		$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
<i>koyo</i> 'who'	$\checkmark$		$\checkmark$
<i>k<u>e</u>i</i> 'what'			

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Following =  $h\underline{a}$  'genitive'.



# Interlinearised texts with five lines:

vernacular surface form underlying form gloss part of speech free translation

# The following texts are included:

Gina text James text Motousi text Ronny text

# Gina's feast story

Gina Folosie 1996, Sesenabi village A written story, (narrative)

# 000

Yoti	Т <u>а</u>
yoti	<i>t</i> <u>a</u>
traditional.feast	talk
v1	v3a
(A) stars about (a) facet?	(hadin a

'(A) story about (a) feast' (heading)

## 001

0	ta	<u>e</u>	sas <u>ai</u>	dilie	wai	dia	delei.
0	ta	<u>e</u>	sas <u>ai</u>	dilie	wai	dia	dala-i
man	INDF	3s	woman	3du	pig	look.after	be/have-NFUT
Ν	ADJ	PRON	Ν	PRON	Ν	v4a	v4d-sf

'A certain man and his wife raised (a) pig.'

#### 002

Wai	dia	hiyedo	degei.
wai	dia	hiye=do	dege-i
pig N	look.after v4a	big=int Adj=clt	do-nfut v2-sf

'(They) raised (the) pig and (it) became really big.' or '(The) pig was raised and it got really big.'

## 003

Kegemoîu,	dilie	<i>mos<u>o</u></i>	tegei.
ke-ge-môu	dilie	mos <u>o</u>	togo-i
that-VBR-PFV	3du	house	build-NFUT
DEM-SF-SF	PRON	Ν	v7a-sf

'Having become like that, the two of them built a house.'

#### 004

Mos <u>o</u>	tegei	mei	degemoû,	dilie	ôu	hai.
mos <u>o</u>	togo-i	mei	dege-moîu	dilie	ôu	ha-i
house	build-NFU'	T NEG	do-pfv	3du	sago	cut-NFUT
N	v7a-sf	ADV	v2-sf	PRON	N	v3a-sf

'When (they) had finished building the house, the two of them cut down a sago palm.'

#### 005

Sas <u>ai</u>	<u>e</u>	ôu	gai.
sas <u>ai</u>	<u>e</u>	ôu	ga-i
woman	3s	sago	gather-NFUT
N	PRON	N	v3a-sf

'(The) woman gathered sago.'

#### 006

Ou	gai	mei	degemoîu,	dilie	0	ta	t <u>a</u>	tobou,
<i>ôu</i> sago N	<i>ga-i</i> gather- v3a	<i>mei</i> -nfut neg adv	<i>dege-môu</i> do-pfv v2-sf	<i>dilie</i> 3du pron	o man N	<i>ta</i> INDI ADJ	<b>fg</b> F tai v3a	
ng	yoti	tobolôu	sia,		s	a	sa	olôuf <u>ei</u> do.
<b>ng</b> 2s pron	<i>yofi</i> feast V1	<i>tobôu-l-ôu</i> say-irr-ne vба-sf-sf	<i>sia</i> PST walk. v4b	around	<i>s</i> ו א	<i>a</i> and	<i>sa</i> land N	<i>olôuf<u>e</u>i=do</i> all.total=int adj.CLT=CLT

'When (she) had finished gathering sago, the two of them told another man, "Walk around and talk about the feast everywhere.""

308 <b>007</b>							
0	<u>e</u>	0	ka	<i>i.</i>			
0	<u>e</u>	0	ka	i			
man	3s	man	find	go.NFUT			
N	PRON	N	v3a	vl			
'The man went to look for people.'							

## 800

E	0	t <u>a</u>	tobou,	n <u>i</u>	olôuf <u>ei</u>	haguama.
<u>e</u>	0	<i>t</i> <u>a</u>	tobôu-u	n <u>i</u>	olôuf <u>ei</u>	hagua-ma
3s	man	talk	say-NFUT	$2_{\text{PL}}$	all.total	come-DU/PL
PRON	Ν	v3a	vба	PRON	ADJ.CLT	v4b-sf
(TT ·	1 1	``	1 (( ) 11 (		•••	

Appendices

'He said to (the) people, "All of you come.""

## 009

0	sudo	haguei.
0	s <u>u</u> = do	hagua-i
man	many=INT	COME-NFUT
Ν	ADJ=CLT	V4b-sf
(3.6		

'Many people came.'

# 010

Dilie	0	kedi <u>a</u> mok <i>ô</i> u	nal <u>e</u>	hiyedo	n <u>ei</u> .
dilie	0	k <u>e</u> +di <u>a</u> =mokoîu	n <u>a</u> -I-e	hiye=do	n <u>e</u> -i
3du	man	that+3pl=loc	eat-IRR-FUT	big=INT	give-NFUT
PRON	Ν	DEM+PRON=CLT	v3a-sf-sf	ADJ=CLT	v2-sf

'The two of them gave plenty of food to the people.'

## 011

Sabiyei	ta	di <u>a</u>	wai	wei.
sabiya-i	ta	di <u>a</u>	wai	wo-i
be.morning-NFUT	INDF	3pl	pig	attack-NFUT
v4a-sf	ADJ	PRON	N	v7a-sf

'One morning they killed (the) pig.'

# 012

Mei	degemoû,	di <u>a</u>	wai	sou.
mei	dege-m <i>ô</i> u	di <u>a</u>	wai	รด์น-น
NEG	do-pfv	3pl	pig	cook.on.stones-NFUT
ADV	v2-sf	PRON	N	V6a-sf
ίττ ·	C · 1 1 1	1 1 4		1

'Having finished, they cooked (the) pig on hot stones.'

# 013

Wai	sou	hiyamôu,	di <u>a</u>	wai	n <u>ai</u> .
wai	sou-u	hiya-m <i>ô</i> u	di <u>a</u>	wai	n <u>a</u> -i
pig	cook.on.stones-NFUT	be.cooked-prv	3pl	pig	eat-NFUT
N	vба-sf	v4a-sf	PRON	N	v3a-sf

'Having cooked (the) pig (until it) was done, they ate pig(meat).'

# 014

Sabiyei	di <u>a</u>	wai	sam <u>a</u> ,	die	sabekoû	yai.
sabiya-i	di <u>a</u>	wai	sa+m <u>a</u>	die	sabe=kôu	ya-i
be.morning-NFUT v4a-sF	3pl pron	pig N	put.inside+put v3a+v3a	3pl.poss pron	home.ground=LOC N=CLT	go.du/pl-nfut v3a-sf

'In the morning, they put pig (meat) into (their stringbags) and went home.'

015						
Ma	t <u>a</u>	k <u>e</u> noûf <u>ei</u> .				
m <u>a</u>	t₫	k <u>e</u> =nôu=f <u>ei</u>				
1s.poss	talk	that=only=total				
PRON	v3a	DEM=CLT=CLT				
'That is all of my talk.' (conclusion)						

#### James' story about the importance of medicine

James Welema 2002, Dahamo village A written story (descriptive)

## 000

MolaTgmolatgmedicinetalkNv3a

'(A) story about medicine' (heading)

#### 001

Molabe	bolof <u>ei</u> do,	<u>e</u> me	0	dogôugudi.
mola=be	bol <u>o</u> =f <u>ei</u> =do	<u>e</u> =me	0	dog <i>o</i> ̂ugu-di
medicine=TOP	good=total=INT	3s=top	man	help-нав
N=CLT	ADJ=CLT=CLT	PRON=CLT	N	v5-sf

'Medicine is very good; it helps people.'

## 002

Kegemoû,	0	olôuf <u>ei</u> dobe	9	sawisi	ei	olôuf <u>ei</u>
ke-ge-môu	0	olôuf <u>ei</u> =do	=be	sawisid	a-i	olôuf <u>ei</u>
that-vBR-	PFV ma	n all.total	=INT=TOP	be.da	y-nfut	all.total
DEM-SF-SF	Ν	ADJ.CLT=CLT	T=CLT	v4a-sr	1	ADJ.CLT
mola	tagaler	noû	mal <u>a</u>		idi.	
mola	taga-l-e	e-moîu	mal <u>a</u>		i-di	
medicine	like-1	RR-FUT-PFV	get.IR	R.FUT	до-нав	
Ν	v3c-sf-	SF-SF	vба.sғ.	SF	v1-sf	

'Having become like that, all people, at all times, having liked medicine keep getting it.'

#### 003

Molabe mola = medici N=CLT	be	נ נ דסף ת א	) man	<i>olôuf<u>e</u>i</i> <i>olôuf<u>ei</u> all.t ADJ.CL</i>	otal	do do sick N	ness	<i>deg</i> do-	<b>le<i>imôube</i></b> le-i-môu = be NFUT-PFV=TOP SF-SF=CLT	<i>ile,</i> <i>i-I-e</i> go-irr-fut v1-sf-sf
<i>mola</i> <i>mola</i> medici	<i>mola moso=kôu folo</i> medicine house=Loc go.		<b>folog</b> folo-g go.uj v7a-s	<b>ja</b> p-du/pl	.FUT	duwomo duwo-m sit-pfv v7b-pfv	<i>ô</i> u			
<i>medigoh<u>a</u> medigo=h<u>a</u> medical.worker=gEN N=CLT</i>		<i>mola</i> <i>mola</i> medi		<b>n<u>e</u>im</b> n <u>e</u> -i-n give v2-si	7 <i>ÔU</i> -NFUT-PFV	Ţ	noumoube, noumou=be eat-NFUT-PFV=T v3a-SF-SF=CLT	'OP		
<b>o</b> man N	<b>k<u>e</u>m</b> k <u>e</u> = tha <sub>DEM=</sub>	<i>me</i> t=top	do do sick	mess	<b>bolo</b> bolo good ADJ	•				

'Concerning medicine, all people, when (they) are sick go, and they arrive at the clinic and sitting down, the medical worker gives medicine, (and) when (the sick person) eats (it), that person gets well (from his) sickness.'

312	
004	

Kegemoû,	sa	sa	0	olôuf <u>ei</u> dob	е	mola	<u>e</u>
<i>ke-ge-môu</i> that-vbr-pfv DEM-VBR-PFV	<i>sa</i> land N	<i>sa</i> land N	o man N	<i>olôuf<u>ei</u>=da</i> all.tota ADJ.CLT=CL	l=INT=TOP	<i>mola</i> medicine N	<u>e</u> 3s pron
<b>nel<u>e</u>yenoû</b> nel <u>e</u> =ye=noû strength=INS=	only		<i>l-ôu</i> :h.over	-IRR-NPST	daladi. dala-di have-нав		
N=CLT=CLT		v6а-	SF-SF		v4d-sf		

'Having become like that, by its the strength, medicine looks after people everywhere.'

## 005

Mola	<u>e</u>	dabaibe	hiyedo	degele	idi.
mola	<u>e</u>	dabai=be	hiye=do	dege-l-e	i-di
medicin	3s	work=TOP	big=INT	do-IRR-FUT	до-нав
N	PRON	N=CLT	ADJ=CLT	v2-sf-sf	v1-sf

'Medicine is doing (a) great job everywhere.' or 'Medicine, its work is big and varied.' (degele i: plural verb form).

## 006

Do	daga	daga	m <u>o</u> ûm <u>a</u>	haguasiedi.
do	daga	daga	m <u>o</u> û + m <u>a</u>	hagua-sie-di
sickness	different	different	get+put	COME-PL-HAB
N	ADJ	ADJ	vба+v3а	v4b-sf-sf

'(People) keep coming with all kinds of sicknesses.'

## 007

Kegen	noîu,	doktab <i>ô</i> u		medigob <i>o</i> û	di <u>a</u> me
<i>ke-ge-môu</i> that-vbr-pfv				<i>medigo=boû</i> medical.worker=and	dig=me 3pl=TOP
dem-sf <b>dabai</b>	-sF hiyedo	n=clt <b>degele</b>	idi.	N=CLT	PRON=CLT
<i>dabai</i> work N	<i>hiye=do</i> big=int adj=clt	<i>dege-I-e</i> do-irr-fut v2-sf-sf	<i>i-di</i> go-hi v1-si		

'Having become like that, doctors and medical workers are always working very hard.'

# Motousi's airstrip building story

Motousi Si 1996, Dahamo village A written story (descriptive)

# 000

Fene	gabu	milou	t <u>a</u>			
fene	gabu	milôu-u	t <u>a</u>			
airplane	place	work-NFUT	talk			
N	N	vба-sғ	v3a			
'(A) story about working (on an) airstrip' (heading)						

#### 001

<u>A</u>	afu	1981-82	Sep <u>e</u>	<u>o</u>	fene	gabu	milou	t <u>a</u> .
<u>a</u>	afu	1981-82	Sep <u>e</u>	<u>0</u>	fene	gabu	milôu-u	<i>t</i> <u>a</u>
1s	earlier	1981-82	Smipen	mouth.of.river	airplane	place	work-NFUT	talk
PRON	ADV	ADV	Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν	v6a-sf	v3a

'Earlier (in) 1981-82, (at the) mouth of (the) river Smipen, I worked (on the) airstrip, (a) story (about that)' (introduction)

#### 002

T <u>o</u>	<u>e</u>	hube	Sep <u>e</u>	<u>o</u> .
† <u>o</u>	<u>e</u>	h <u>u</u> =be	Sep <u>e</u>	<u>0</u>
river	3s	name=TOP	Smipen	mouth.of.river
Ν	PRON	N=CLT	Ν	Ν

'The river, its name is (the) Mouth of the Smipen.'

#### 003

Boîu	<u>e</u>	h <u>u</u> be	Woodya	rd, Vo	ance	Woodyard,	
bôu	<u>e</u>	h <u>u</u> =be	Woodya	rd Va	ance	Woodyard	
white.mar	n 3s	name=TOP	Woodyar	rd Va	ance	Woodyard	
Ν	PRON	N=CLT	Ν	N		Ν	
<u>e</u> boû	<u>a</u> boû	Dipaibo	û fei	1e	gabu	milolôu	<i>i.</i>
<u>e</u> =bôû	<u>a</u> =boî	ı Dipai=l	b <i>ôu fe</i> r	ne	gabu	miloû-l-oû	i
3s=and	1s=and	d Dipai=	and ai	rplane	plac	e work-IRR-NPST	go.NFUT
PRON=CLT	PRON=C	LT N=CLT	N		N	v6a-sf-sf	v1

'The white man his name is Woodyard, Vance Woodyard, he and I and Dipai worked (on the) airstrip.'

#### 004

Fene	gabu	sabe	fof <u>ou</u>	hiyedo.
fene	gabu	sa=be	fof <u>ó</u> u-u	hiye=do
airplane	place	land=TOP	be.muddy-NFUT	big=INT
Ν	N	N=CLT	v6a-sf	ADJ=CLT

'The ground of (the) airstrip was really muddy.'

#### 005

Habiya	0	s <u>u</u> do	milolôu	<i>i.</i>
habiya	0	s <u>u</u> =do	milôu-l-ôu	i
Aekyom	man	many=INT	work-IRR-NPST	5
Ν	Ν	ADJ=CLT	v6a-sf-sf	vl

'Many Aekyom people worked (there).'

314 <b>006</b>		Appendi	ces	
Medigo	о,	<u>e</u>	h <u>u</u> be	Someke.
medigo	0	<u>e</u>	h <u>u</u> =be	Someke
medical.worker	man	3s	name=TOP	Someke
Ν	Ν	PRON	N=CLT	Ν

'The medical orderly, his name was Someke.'

## 007

0	h <u>u</u>	olôuf <u>ei</u>	nal <u>ai</u> .
0	h <u>u</u>	olôuf <u>ei</u>	nal <u>a</u> -i
man	name	all.total	write-NFUT
Ν	N	ADJ.CLT	v3a-sf

'(He) wrote (down) all (the) names of people (working there).'

# 800

<u>E</u> me	bose.
<u>e</u> =me	bose
3s=top	boss
PRON=CLT	Ν

'He was (the) boss.'

# 009

Kege	milolôu	ibe,	gusubu	8:00	ilemoîu	<i>12:00.</i>
ke-ge	miloû-l-oû	i=be	gusubu	8:00	i-l-e-môu	12:00
that-vBR	work-IRR-NPST	go.NFUT=TOP	morning	8:00	go-irr-fut-pfv	12.00
DEM-SF	v6a-sF-sF	v1=TOP	ADV	ADV	v1-sf-sf-sf	ADV

'We worked like that from 8:00 o'clock in (the) morning until 12:00.'

## 010

Mesiholo	duwodi.			
mesiho-l-o	duwo-di			
rest-IRR-FUT	sit-HAB			
v7a-sf-sf	v7b-sf			
'(We) habitually rested.'				

## 011

1:00	bala	wodi.
1:00	bala	wo-di
1:00	bell	attack-нав
ADV	Ν	v7a-sf
(()) 1	00 1 1	

'(At) 1:00 o'clock (they) habitually hit (a) bell.'

# 012

0	olôuf <u>ei</u>	dabai	degedi	ibe	demoîu,	habi	4:30	fogoîu	idi.
0	olôuf <u>ei</u>	dabai	dege-di	i=be	de-môu	habi	4:30	fogóu	i-di
man	all.total	work	do-нав	go=TOP	PROV-PFV	afternoon	4:30	leave.for	до-нав
Ν	ADJ.CLT	N	v2-sf	v1=clt	v2-sf	ADV	ADV	vба	v1-sf

'Everybody habitually worked until 4.30 in (the) afternoon, (when) leaving (they) habitually went.'

# 013

olôuf <u>ei</u>	mos <u>o</u> koîu	idi.
olôuf <u>ei</u>	mos <u>o</u> =koîu	i-di
all.total	house=LOC	до-нав
ADJ.CLT	N=CLT	v1-sf
	<i>–</i> <i>olôuf<u>ei</u> all.total</i>	olôuf <u>ei</u> mos <u>o</u> =kôu all.total house=LOC

'Everybody habitually went to (their) houses.'

014			· •	pendices			
Fene	gabu	<u>a</u>	miloube,	hiy <u>a</u>	olôuf <u>ei</u> be	2	years.
fene	gabu	₫	milôu-u=be	hiy <u>a</u>	olôuf <u>ei</u> =be	2	years
airplane	place	1s	work-NFUT=TOP	year	all.total=TOP	2	years
N	Ν	PRON	v6a-sf=CLT	Ν	ADJ.CLT=CLT	ADJ	N

'The work I (did) of building (the) airstrip went on for all of two years.'

## 015

Mei	degei,	fene	fiyei.
mei	dege-i	fene	fiya-i
NEG	do-nfut	airplane	fall-NFUT
ADV	v2-sf	Ν	v4a-sf

'(Then it) was finished; (a) plane landed.'

# Ronny's trip to Kiunga

Ronny Guro 1997, Dahamo village

An oral and transcribed story (narrative; told in the village after returning from Kiunga)

# 001

<u>A</u> ,	testimony,	₫	Kiungakoû	<i>i.</i>
<u>a</u>	testimony	₫	Kiunga = koîu	i
1s	testimony	1s	Kiunga=LOC	go.NFUT
PRON	N	PRON	N=CLT	vl

'I (have a) testimony (about when) I went to Kiunga.'

#### 002

Ι,	ile	iligi,	Kiungakôu.
i	i-l-e	i-l-i-gi	Kiunga = koîu
go.NFUT	go-IRR-FUT	go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ	Kiunga=LOC
vl	v1-sf-sf	v1-sf-sf-sf	N=CLT

'(I) went; (I) went and went until (arriving) at Kiunga.'

#### 003

Sande kah <u>a</u>	fel	ei,	Monday k <u>o</u> ûmah <u>a</u> ,		<u>a</u> ,	sele	170	kina
Sunday that=	gen go		Monday Monday ADV	—	P=GEN	<i>sele</i> money N	<i>170</i> 170 <sub>ADJ</sub>	<i>kina</i> kina N
<b>tolou</b> tou-l-ou hold-IRR-NPST v6a-SF-SF	<i>i,</i> <i>i</i> go.nfut v1	<i>sitouwakóu</i> <i>sitouwa=ko</i> store=Loc N=CLT	<i>ôu fol</i> go	omôu, o-môu .up.fut-pfv a-SF	<b>nal<u>e</u> n<u>g</u>-l-e</b> eat-1 v3a-si	RR-FUT F-SF	<b>m<u>o</u>u</b> . m <u>o</u> û-u get-Ni v6a-se	FUT

'(I) arrived last Sunday; this Monday, (I) held K170 and went; having arrived at the store, (I) bought food.'

#### 004

Nal <u>e</u>	moîul <u>a</u> moîu	degei,	sele	huyaf <u>ei</u>	degei.					
n <u>a</u> -I-e	m <u>o</u> û-l-a-moû	dege-i	sele	huyaf <u>ei</u>	dege-i					
eat-IRR-FUT	get-IRR-SUBJ-PFV	do-nfut	money	little.total	do-nfut					
v3a-sf-sf	v6a-sf-sf-sf	v2-sf	N	ADJ.CLT	v2-sf					
(I) triad to huv	'(I) tried to huy food: (there) was (only) a little money'									

'(I) tried to buy food; (there) was (only) a little money.

#### 005

Kegen	noû,	<u>a</u>	ile,		gamani		0	ta	tobou,		gamani
ke-ge-l		<u>a</u>	i-l-e		gamani		0	ta	tobôu-		gamani
that-	VBR-PF	rv 1s	go-IRR-	FUT	govern	ment	man	INDF	say-N	FUT	government
DEM-SF	-SF	PRON	v1-sf-s	F	Ν		Ν	ADJ	vба-se	7	N
di <u>a</u>	0	J.K.=h <u>a</u>	sele	<u>a</u>	60	kina	tele	<b>;</b>		n <u>ei</u> .	
di <u>a</u>	0	$J.K. = h\underline{a}$	sele	₫	60	kina	te-l	-e		n <u>e</u> -i	
3pl	man	J.K.=GEI	n money	1s	60	kina	ren	nove-11	RR-FUT	giv	e-nfut
PRON	N	N=CLT	Ν	PRON	ADJ	Ν	v2-	SF-SF		v2-	SF-SF

'Having become like that, I went and talked to a government official; one of their government officials, J.K. removed K60 and gave (it to) me).'

006

Kegemoû,	<u>a</u>	mal <u>a</u>	haguei.
ke-ge-môu	₫	mal <u>a</u>	hagua-i
that-VBR-PFV	1s	get.IRR.FUT	come-NFUT
DEM-SF-SF	PRON	v6a.sr.sr	v4b-sf

'Having become like that, I took (it) and started to come (back in the direction of the village).'

007			
Haguamôu,	petolo	hu <u>ei</u>	т <u>ои</u> .
hagua-môu	petolo	hu <u>ei</u>	т <u>о</u> ̂и-и
COME-PFV	petrol	water	get-NFUT
v4b-sf	N	N	v6a-sf

'Having come (to a place for buying it), (I) got petrol.'

#### 800

318

Moûl <u>a</u> moû,	<u>e</u>	tobou,	20	kina	n <u>e</u>	nal <u>e</u>	mol <u>o</u> û.
m <u>o</u> ̂u-l-a-môu	<u>e</u>	tobôu-u	20	kina	n <u>e</u>	n <u>a</u> -I-e	m <u>o</u> ̂u-l-ôu
get-IRR-SUBJ-PFV	3s	-	20	kina	2s.poss	eat-IRR-FUT	get-IRR-NPST
v6a-sf-sf-sf	PRON	v6a-sf	ADJ	Ν	PRON	v2-sf-sf	v6a-sf-sf

Appendices

'When (I) purposed to get it, he said, (you) will buy your food for 20 kina.' (The story-line goes back to following sentence 5.)

## 009

ОК,	40	kina	n <u>e</u>	petolo	hu <u>ei</u>	doûla	m <u>a</u> ,	Dahamokoû	ile.
ОК	40	kina	n <u>e</u>	petolo	hu <u>ei</u>	d <i>o</i> ̂u-l-a	m <u>a</u>	Dahamo=koîu	i-l-e
OK	40	kina	2s.poss	petrol	water	draw.water-IRR-SUBJ	put.FUT	Dahamo=LOC	go-irr-fut
CONJ	ADJ	Ν	PRON	Ν	Ν	v6a-sf-sf	v3a	N-CLT	v1-sf-sf

'Then, (you) will fill up your petrol for 40 kina and go to Dahamo.'

v4b-sf-sf-sf

## 010

Ē	kege	tobou	, <u>a</u>	doîıla		m <u>a</u>	haguei,	40	kina	hu <u>ei</u>
<u>e</u> 3s pron	<i>ke-ge</i> that-vbr DEM-SF	<i>tobó</i> u say-N v6a-s	FUT ls	-	vater-IRR-SUBJ	<i>m<u>a</u> put.fui v3a</i>	<i>hagua-i</i> come-nfut v4b-sf	<b>40</b> 40 ADJ	<i>kina</i> kina N	<i>hu<u>e</u>i</i> water N
dou,		20	kina	m <u>a</u>	nal <u>e</u>	т <u>ои</u> .				
doù-u	1	20	kina	m <u>a</u>	n <u>a</u> -l-e	т <u>о</u> ̂и-и				
	.water-NF		kina	1s.poss	eat-IRR-FUT	get-NFU	Т			
v6а-	SF	ADJ	Ν	PRON	v2-sf-sf	v6a-sf				

'He said like that; I came to fill up; (I) filled up 40 kina (worth) of petrol; (I) got my food (for) 20 kina.'

v2

#### 011

v4b-sf-sf-sf

<b>M<u>o</u>umg</b> m <u>o</u> u + mg get+put v6a-sF	<b>mei</b> mei <sup>NEG</sup> ADV	<i>degei</i> <i>degei</i> do-nf v2-sf	<i>-môu</i> ut-pfv	<b>folo</b> folo go.up v7a	<i>tiei,</i> <i>tia-i</i> slee v4a-		IFUT			
sawisiei	gus	subu,	Tuesday	kah <u>a</u> ,	<u>(</u>	a	motaye		mal <u>a</u>	hagulugi,
sawisia-i	gus	subu	Tuesday	$k\underline{a} = h$	<u>a</u> <u>a</u>	₫	mota=ye		mal <u>a</u>	hagua-l-u-gi
be.day-NFUT	r moi	rning	Tuesday	that	=gen 3	ls	motor.canc	e=INS	get.IRR.FUT	COME-IRR-NFUT-DSQ
v4a-sf	ADV		ADV	DEM=C	LT I	PRON	N=CLT		v6a.sr.sr	v4b-sf-sf-sf
hagulugi,		hagul	ugi	fel <u>e</u> ,	,	Yc	owou	<u>o</u> koîu		tiei.
hagua-l-u-gi		hagua	-l-u-gi	fel <u>e</u>		Yc	owou	<u>o</u> =ka	ว์น	tia-i
COME-IRR-NF	UT-DS	Q come-	IRR-NFUT-I	so com	e.up	Bl	ack.River	mout	h.of.river-	LOC sleep-NFUT

'After finishing getting (the petrol and the food), (I) went up (direction: away from the village) and slept; next day (in the) morning, that Tuesday, I came travelling by motor canoe (back towards the village), until (I) arrived and slept at the mouth of the Black River.'

N=CLT

v4a-nfut

Ν

012			Appendices				51
Yowou	<u>o</u> koû	tie	ei, sawis	iei	Wednesday	k <u>o</u> ûm	ah <u>a</u>
<i>Yowou</i> Black.River N	<i>o</i> = <i>kôu</i> r mouth.of.ri N=CLT		eep-NFUT be.da a-sf v4a-s	Y-NFUT	<i>Wednesday</i> Wednesday ADV		TOP=GEN
hagulugi,	hague	i, haguel	i, hagulugi		fel <u>e</u> ,		
<i>hagua-l-u-gi</i> come-irr-nfu v4b-sf-sf-sf	~	NFUT COME-1	NFUT COME-IRR-	NFUT-DSQ	<i>fel<u>e</u></i> come.up.fut v2		
Kolou         okôu           Kolou         o=k           Koloun         mout           N         N=CL <sup>1</sup>	<i>ôu</i> ch.of.river=1	fel <u>e</u> fel <u>e</u> Loc come.up v2	<i>dugu,</i> <i>dugu</i> p.fut see.nfut v5	<b>sokôulôu</b> sokôulôu school	0=	<b>di<u>a</u> di<u>a</u> 3pl pron</b>	<i>dugu,</i> <i>dugu</i> see.nfut v5
di <u>a</u> boû	<u>a</u> b <i>ôu</i> + de	nal <u>e</u>	m <u>o</u> û m <u>a</u>	haguei.			
3pl=and PRON=CLT	<u>g</u> =bôu+de 1s=and+prov pron=cLt+v2	<i>ng-l-e</i> eat-irr-fu v3a-sf-sf	<i>m<u>o</u>u + mg</i> T get+put v6a+V3a	hagua-i come-nfut v4b-sf		. 1	4 11 )

'(I) slept at (the) mouth of the Black River; next day, this Wednesday, travelling (I) came (by canoe towards the village); (I) came; (I) came until (I) came up and arrived at (the) mouth of (the river) Koloun and saw; (I) saw (the) school children; they and I, got hold of all (the) food and came (by foot towards the village).'

013				
Nal <u>e</u>	m <u>o</u> ûm <u>a</u>	haguamôu,	Dahamokoû	fel <u>ei</u> .
n <u>a</u> -I-e	m <u>o</u> û +m₫	hagua-moîu	Dahamo=koîu	fel <u>e</u> -i
eat-IRR-FUT	get+put	COME-PFV	Dahamo=LOC	come.up-NFUT
v3a-sf-sf	vба+v3а	v4b-sf	N-CLT	v2-sf

'Bringing (the) food, (we) arrived at Dahamo.'

#### 014

<b>Tiei,</b> tia-i sleep-1 v4a-sf	NFUT	san	<b>visiei</b> visia-i day-nfut -Sf	<b>Thursda</b> Thursda ADV	y	kaha, ka=ha that=c				
ei	Dahar	то	Community	School	k <u>o</u> ûma	h <u>a</u>	duwo,	celebration	yal <u>e</u>	<i>i.</i>
ei	Dahan	по	Community	School	k <u>o</u> û = n	na=h <u>a</u>	duwo	celebration	<u>уа</u> -І-е	i
1pL.EX	Daham	10	Community	School	this=1	OP=GEN	sit	celebration	play-IRR-FUT	go.NFUT
PRON	N		N	N	DEM=CLT	C=CLT	v7b	N	v3c-sf-sf	v1
(Wa) ala	nt. novt	dore	that Thursday,	va wana ha	no of the	Dohomo	Communi	ty Sahaal and aala	brotod '	

'(We) slept; next day, that Thursday, we were here at the Dahamo Community School and celebrated.'

015

Yal <u>e</u>	ima	dumul <u>o</u>	mei	degei.			
<u>уа</u> -І-е	i-ma	dum <u>u</u> -l-o	mei	dege-i			
play-IRR-FUT	go-ISQ	finish-IRR-FUT	NEG	do-nfut			
V3C-SF-SF	v1-sf	v5-sf-sf	ADV	v2-sf			
(After aloring (it must) mouth and (it) finished ?							

'After playing (it was) enough and (it) finished.

320 <b>016</b>			Appendices		
Kegemoû,	₫	Kiungakoû	i,		
ke-ge-môu	<u>a</u>	Kiunga = koî	ı i		
that-vBR-PR	rv 1s	Kiunga=LOC	go.NFUT		
DEM-SF-SF	PRO	N N=CLT	vl		
Godih <u>a</u>	<u>a</u> moka	û midih <u>o</u>	bolof <u>ei</u> do	<u>a</u> mok <i>ô</i> u	n <u>ei</u> .
Godi=h <u>a</u>	<u>a</u> =mo	k <i>ô</i> u midih <u>o</u>	bol <u>o</u> =f <u>ei</u> =do	<u>a</u> =mokôu	n <u>e</u> -i
God=gen	ls=Loc	face	good=total=INT	ls=LOC	give-NFUT
N=CLT	PRON=C	LT N	ADJ=CLT=CLT	PRON=CLT	v2-sf

'Having become like that, I went to Kiunga; God let something very good happen to me.'

#### 017

Sele	hiyef <u>ei</u>	mei,	<u>a</u>	Godikoû	dih <u>o</u>	bag <u>a</u>	hiyedo	tobou,	Godih <u>a</u>
<i>sele</i> money	<i>hiye=f<u>e</u>i</i> big=total	<i>mei</i> Neg	<u>g</u> 1s		<i>dih<u>o</u></i> eye	<i>bag<u>a</u></i> close.eye	<i>hiye=do</i> big=int	<i>tobôu-u</i> say-nfut	<i>Godi=ha</i> God=gen
N	ADJ=CLT	ADV	PRON	N=CLT	N	v3a	ADJ=CLT	v6a-sf	N=CLT
<u>a</u> mok <u>ó</u>	<u>î</u> u sele	60 k	ina	n <u>ei</u> môu,	₫	Godi=kôu	tenkyu	hiye=do	degei.
	<b>î<u>u</u> sele</b> k <u>oî</u> u sele			n <u>ei</u> môu, n <u>e</u> -i-môu	<u>а</u> а	<b>Godi=kôû</b> Godi=kôû	tenkyu	<b>hiye</b> = <b>do</b> hiye=do	<b>degei.</b> dege-i
	- k <u>ô</u> u sele	60 ki	ina		<u>a</u>		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		U

'(I) did not have much money; I prayed a long time to God; as soon as God gave me K60, I (was) really grateful to God.'

# 018

Kegemoû,	₫	sele	k <u>e</u>	т <u>ои</u> .
ke-ge-môu	<u>a</u>	sele	k <u>e</u>	т <u>о</u> ̂и-и
that-vBR-PFV	ls	money	that	get-NFUT
DEM-SF-SF	PRON	N	DEM	v6a-sf
(TT · 1 1)		1	,	

'Having become like that, I got the money.'

## 019

K <u>e</u> nôuh <u>a</u>	Godikou	tenkyu	hiyedo.
k <u>e</u> = noîu = h <u>a</u>	Godi=koîu	tenkyu	hiye=do
that=only=gen	God=LOC	thank.you	big=INT
DEM=CLT=CLT	N=CLT	N	ADJ=CLT
$(\mathbf{D})$	( <b>T</b> )		

'Because of that only, (I was) very grateful to God.

#### 020

 $K\underline{e} = n\hat{o}u = f\underline{e}i.$   $k\underline{e} = n\hat{o}u = f\underline{e}i$ that=only=total DEM=CLT=CLT'That is all.' (conclusion)



# Interlinearised texts with three lines:

vernacular surface form gloss free translation

# The following texts are included:

A Big-Book story by Gilbert Hobert's house building story Michael's hunting story Pepson's clan legend A letter Four very short letters

# A Big Book Story by Gilbert Gilbert Dabaga 2007, Dahamo village

Gilbert Dabaga 2007, Dahamo villag A written story, (narrative)

# 001

Sawisie-i	ta	₫	i-l-e-moîu	goîusi	dogogu.			
be.day-NFUT	INDF	1s	go-IRR-FUT-PFV	trap	put.NFUT			
'One day I having gone, put (a) trap.'								

## 002

Sabiyo-u-môu,	i-l-e-moîu	dugu=be	kueya	to-u	dugu.		
be.morning-NFUT-PFV	go-IRR-FUT-PFV	see.NFUT-TOP	cassowary	hold-NFUT	see.NFUT		
'Next morning, at dawn, (I) having gone, saw that a cassowary was caught.'							

#### 003

Ke-ge-mou, k<u>e</u> wala t<u>a</u>boloîu mos<u>o</u> = koîu kueya i. <u>a</u> that-VBR-PFV 1s cassowary that attack.IRR.FUT house=LOC ? go.NFUT 'Having become like that, I killed the cassowary and ... and went home.'

#### 004

<i>Mos<u>o</u>=kôu</i> house=loc	<i>folo-môu,</i> go.up.FUT-PFV	<b>kueya</b> cassowary	<i>so-l-ôu</i> cook.on.stones-IRR-NPST	<b>n<u>a</u>-i</b> = <b>be</b> , eat-NFUT=TOP
<i>sebe</i> = <i>be</i> good.taste=	<i>hiye=do.</i> TOP big=INT			
-	-	$(1) = (1 + 1)^{2}$		,

'Having come up to the house, (I/we) cooked (it) on hot stones and eating, (it) was delicious.'

# Hobert's house building story

Hobert Gisabo 1996, Sesenabi village An oral and transcribed story (procedural)

# 000

Mosotege-itghousemake-NFUTtalk'(A) story about building (a) house' (heading)

#### 001

<u>A</u>	afu	1995	ka = h <u>a</u>	Bobaho	ele	mos <u>o</u>	togo-l-a-môu	hebe	т <u>о-и</u> .
1s	earlier	1995	that=gen	Bobaho	1du.ex	house	make-IRR-SUBJ-PFV	tree	get-NFUT
ʻI, b	'I, before in 1995, Bobaho and I planning to build (a) house, got timber.'								

# 002

Mou diafigi. post cut.PL.NFUT '(We) cut posts.'

## 003

Мои	diafigi + m <u>a</u>	m <u>o</u> û + m <u>a</u>	hague-i.					
post	cut.pL+put	get+put	come-NFUT					
'(We) cut (the) posts and brought them.'								

## 004

Mos <u>o</u>	togo-l-o	sa	ko=koîu	m <u>a-i</u> .				
house	make-IRR-FUT	land	that=LOC	put-NFUT				
'(We) put them where (we) were going to build (the) house.'								

#### 005

Hebe	gubugi	m <u>o</u> û + m <u>a</u> hague-i	mei	dege-i,	ele	asoîu	da-i.			
tree	cut.PL	get+put come-NFUT	NEG	do-nfut	1du.ex	ground	dig-NFUT			
( <b>M</b> ) (	(WWA) Contractions that the second contraction of the design of the data of the data of the data of the data of									

'(We) finished bringing all the posts (we) had cut; the two of us dug holes.

# 006

Asôuda+ma,hebekefo-fo-gu-e-i.grounddig+puttreethatRED.PL-rise-OF-RED.PL-NFUT'(We) dug holes and raised (the) posts.'

# 007

Hebe	fo-fo-gu-e-i	mei	dege-môu,	ele	hebe
tree	RED.PL-rise-OF-RED.PL-NFUT	NEG	do-pfv	ldu.ex	tree

tage + tôumg-j.over+upput-NFUT

'Having finished raising (the) posts, the two of us put cross beams on top.'

# 800

M <u>a</u> -ma,	ikoke	ke-i.						
put-ISQ	nail	hammer-NFUT						
'After putting (them), (we) nailed (them) down.'								

# 009

Mei	dege-môu,	sage	sa-i.						
NEG	do-pfv	rafter	put.inside-NFUT						
'Having finished, (we) put in rafters.'									

326 <b>010</b>			Append	dices		
<b>Sage</b> rafter	<b>sa+mg</b> put.inside+put		<b>dege-môu,</b> do-pfv	<i>digo</i> wild.pandana	a.strip	<b>m<u>a</u>-ma,</b> put-ISQ
<b>tem<u>e</u></b> sago.leaf 'Having finis		ufters af	ter putting on	wild pandana strir	os (we) folder	d sago leaves (over the pandana strips).'
011		incoris, ur	ter putting on	tine pandana su p	.5, (110) 10140	a sugo rea tos (o ter nie parlaana surps).
<b>Tem<u>e</u> sago.leaf</b>	•	NEG C	<b>dege-môu,</b> lo-pfv (we) put on flo	<b>awa</b> black.palm poring of black pa	<i>dio</i> bone Im strips.'	<b>f<u>g-i</u>.</b> hit-nfut
<b>012</b> <i>Awa</i> black.pal	<i>dio</i> Lm bone	<b>f<u>a</u>-i</b> hit	<b>mei</b> - <i>nfut</i> neg	<b>dege-mou,</b> do-pfv		
house in	u <b>-le + du</b> nside-ALOCR+insic shed putting on (the) fl	de t		.palm.strip trips, inside the ho	<i>f<u>ai</u>.</i> hit-nfut puse, (we) put	t on smaller black palm strips.'
	<b>f</b> ر ck.palm.strip h shed putting on (the) sı		T NEG do-		house go	<i>ologu<u>a</u>-i</i> ood.do-nfut
fire car	<b>9e+m<u>a</u> fou-ma</b> cry+put light-I d (in) firewood and afte		sleep		,	
015						

# $M\underline{a} \qquad t\underline{a} \qquad k\underline{e} = n\hat{o}u = f\underline{e}i.$

ls.poss talk that=only=total
'That (is) all of my talk.' (conclusion)

# Michael's hunting story

Michael Soti 2003, Dahamo village An oral story, transcribed by the narrator (narrative)

# 001

Ei	Dulo	<u>o</u>	ko	=koîu=ge			
1pl.Ex	Dulo	mouth.of.r	iver that	at=LOC=F.C	NTR		
<b>James</b> = <b>b</b> James=and		ele=bôu ei	<i>so ti-l</i> .ex dog cal	-	<i>igiya-i</i> go.du/pl-nfu:	<i>sulugua-l-i</i> r walk.around.bu/P	L-IRR-NFUT
<b>du,</b> hear.nfut	<b>so</b> dog	0	<i>i-môu</i> go.nfut-pfv	<b>f<u>ou</u>kua igi</b> run gc	,	<b>folo-ga-</b> môu go.up-du∕pL.FUT-PFV	<i>dugu,</i> see.nfut
wai oye	; /	niye=do k <u>e</u>	tigo-l-o	i-n	n <i>ô</i> u dug	ju.	

waioyehiye = dokefigo-l-oi-môudugu.pigmalebig=INTthatbark-IRR-FUTgo.NFUT-PFVsee.NFUT

'We (excl.), at the mouth of the river Dulo, (i.e.) James, Asele and I called up the dogs and went; we walked around until (we) heard the dogs barking, (and) immediately we ran on; having arrived (we) saw that they were barking at that very big boar.'

#### 002

Asele = h <u>a</u>	hebe	sug <u>u</u> +toû	tafala-l-i		wai	kah <u>a</u>	so	sesele	hagua
Asele=gen	tree	top+up	stand-IRR-	-NFUT	pig	that=gen	dog	follow-IRR-FUT	come
fogôu	i-moîu	tah <u>a-i</u>	= <i>be,</i>	mala	tu	ıg <u>a</u> -ma	fe	l <u>e-i</u> .	
leave.for	go.NFU	JT-PFV shoot	-NFUT=TOP	arro	w bo	ounce-ISQ	CC	ome.up-NFUT	
'Asele was sta	nding up	in (a) tree top u	ntil the pig ca	me and o	chased	the dog(s) ar	nd (as	they were) passing t	by (Asele) shot at

(it); (the) arrow after bouncing came (back) towards him.'

fele-i.

#### 003

Y <u>oî</u> u = makoîu	fiyo-u-môu	haba	ta=ge	tah <u>a-i</u> =be	mala	tug <u>a</u> -ma
3s.refl=loc	fall-NFUT-PFV	but.prv.irr	INDF=F.CNTR	shoot-NFUT=TOP	arrow	bounce-ISQ

#### hebe-l-e

carry-IRR-FUT come.up-NFUT

'While (it) fell (back) on himself, (and) when (he) shot again above (it), the arrow after bouncing came (back) towards (him).'

#### 004

Yôu = makôu fiyo-u-môudege-i,habawaika = hgsosese-l-ehague-i.3s.refl=Locfall-NFUT-PFVdo-NFUTbut.PFV.IRRpigthat=gendogfollow-IRR-FUTcome-NFUT'(Arrows)keptfalling (back) on himself; again the pigcame chasing the dog(s).'identified to the set of the s

#### 005

<b>A</b> 1s	<b>tafala</b> stand	<b>ke-le</b> that-a.	•	<b>tafala-môu</b> stand-pfv	0	<b>g</b> 1s	<b>tah<u>a</u>-i</b> shoot-nfut
<i>fef<u>e</u></i> wai		A.LOCR	<b>fogo-u</b> hit.target	<i>do-l-ôu</i> -nfut go.dow	n.river-	IRR-NF	<i>i-ki-le</i> st downriver-demr.n-a.locr
<b>bi-l-</b> sit	-	-IRR-FUT	<b>fiyo-u-môu</b> fall-NFUT-F	<b>dege-i.</b> PFV do-NFUT			

'(It) came and kept trying to stand where I stood; I shot it; hit the waist; (it) went downriver and sat down there and was in the process of falling over.'

328 <b>006</b>	Арр	endices		
<b>De=ha</b> maternal.uncle=gen	<b>taha-I-<u>e</u>+m<u>a</u>-môu</b> shot-IRR-FUT+put-P	<b>baha tefele-g</b> FV look stand-	u <b>a-l-i</b> du/pl-irr-nfut	<i>du=be</i> hear.NFUT=TOP
kueya dihi s		i-môu, Asele	ele ka	
<i>sulugua-l-i</i> walk.around.DU/PL-IF	<i>dugu,</i> RR-NFUT see.NFUT			
<i>kamadia fofogôu</i> three close.toge	<i>tefele-gua-mou</i> ther stand-DU/PL-PF	•	<i>sulugua-l-i</i> walk.around.du/	PL-IRR-NFUT
-	- <i>l-ôu-môu, ta</i> ld-irr-npst-pfv indf	so=ye sese-l-e dog=INS follow		<b>wala</b> UT attack.IRR.FUT
n <u>o</u> - <u>u</u> -môu dugu-o eat-NFUT-PFV see-FU	•	<b>igiya-i.</b> go.du/pl-nfut		
'Uncle having shot and kille immediately went looking u (we) had got hold of two, ar	until (we) saw three (chicke	ns) standing close toget	her (and) we followed t	hem around until
	+ <i>mg igiya-i,</i> d+putgo.du/pl-nfut	_	<b>dogogu-o fogôu,</b> put-FUT leave.:	<b>haba</b> for but.pFv.irr
<i>bi hebe-se-i</i> thing carry-DU/PL-D	ka sulugu		-NFUT SEE-FUT-PFV	<i>m<b>oੁੰਪ</b> + <b>mg</b> get+put</i>
<b>v</b> .	<b>g-le = kôu</b> river-a.locr=loc	<i>migi-ga-môu</i> come.down-du/H	dugu, pl.fut-pfv see.nfu	Т
bei ta snake INDF		ke-le duw that-A.LOCR sit-	<b>o-môu tah<u>a</u>-i</b> , •PFV shoot-NF	'UT

pig dı	cag.DU/PL	hold+put go	D.DU/PL-NFUT	river-A.LOCR	=LOC put-FUT	leave.	for but.prv.	IRR
<b>bi</b> thing	<b>hebe-se-i</b> carry-du,	<i>ka</i> /pl-NFUT loc		<b>gua-l-i</b> k.around.du/Pl		<b>gu-o-môu,</b> e-fut-pfv	<i>m<u>o</u>û</i> + <i>m</i> a get+put	
<i>hagua-s</i> come-di	s <b>ie-i</b> j/pl-nfut	<b>t<u>a</u>-le = kói</b> river-a		<i>migi-ga-me</i> come.dowr	<b>)u</b> 1-du/pl.fut-p	<i>dugu,</i> FV see.NF	UT	
<b>bei</b> snake	<b>ta</b> INDF	<b>to</b> river	<i>ko=kôu</i> that=⊥oc	<b>ke-le</b> that-A.LOCR	<i>duwo-mô</i> u sit-pfv	<b>tah<u>a</u>-i</b> , shoot-n	FUT	
<i>defe-ga</i> miss.ta	arget-DU/B	PL.FUT	<b>i-l-i-gi</b> 90-irr-nfi	<i>dege-i,</i> jt-dsq do-nfut	t <b>g-le=kôi</b> river-a.		<b>fiye-i.</b> fall-nfut	
Draggin	a and holding	(the four less	of) the nig we w	vent: nutting and le	aving (it) in the	river instead	we walked arou	ind to

'Dragging and holding (the four legs of) the pig we went; putting and leaving (it) in the river, instead we walked around to look for (the) things (we had) thrown (aside) until having found/seen (them), we got (it) all and came; having come down to the river (we) saw a snake being there (and we) shot at (it); (we) continued to shoot a lot of (arrows) that kept missing until (the snake) fell into the river.'

#### **008**

Kama.foî	u-moîu	dugu-o	fogoû-moû	dugu,		haba		bei	ta	hebe	
run.away	y-pfv	See-FUT	leave.for-pfv	see.NFG	JT	but.prv.	IRR	snake	IND	F tree	
sug <u>u</u>	tôu-gu-	li=do	duwo-moîu	dege-i	₫	dege-i	ta	tiga-m	na	to-l-ôu	
top	up-demr	.D-E.LOCR=IN	IT sit-PFV	do-nfut	1s	do-nfut	bow	tie-1	SQ	hold-IRR-NPST	

#### fele-i.

go.up-NFUT

'(We) saw (it) escape and leaving (we) also saw another snake being far up, right up there in (a) tree top; after tying the bow I held (it) and went up.'

#### 009

Tah <u>a</u>	tah <u>a</u> -ma	hebe-l-e		mu-gu	'	fiyo-u-môu,
shoo	t shoot-ISQ	carry-IRR.	-FUT	go.dc	wn-of	fall-NFUT-PFV
di <u>a</u>	wala+m <u>a</u> -mou	,	ise		₫	m <u>u</u> .
3pl	attack.IRR.FU	T+put-pfV	fin	ally	1s	go.down.NFUT

'After shooting many times, throwing (the snake) down, when they had killed (it), I finally went down.'

010		Appendices		329		
010 Mih <u>i</u> =koîu	mu-l- <u>o</u>	tôufôugôu				
earth=LOC	go.down-IRR-FUT	leave				
<i>ise to-bo</i> finally rive		<i>ôu-gi,</i> river-du/pl-irr-npst-:	<b>g miy<u>e</u> soso-</b> psq 1s fish dive	<b>l-<u>ô</u>u-gi</b> , .for-irr-npst-dsq		
gibe ta	f <b>aha-l-<u>e</u></b> shoot-IRR-FUT	<b>hebe-l-e</b> carry-irr-fut	<i>fil<mark>a</mark>-môu,</i> throw.fut-pfv			
	<b>oso-l-<u>ô</u>u-gi</b> ive.for-ırr-npst-dsq	do-nfut 1s.poss foot	<b><u>nou</u> ke-le ou</b> that-A.LOCR sago	<b>aye=ye</b> thorn=INS		
	toto=nôu fogó quickly=only leav	<b>u igiya-i</b> . re.for go.du/pl-NFU	r			
	rried (it) and having thrown	nally we went along down th n (it up on the bank), (I) aga				
011						
<b>Dibi</b> moso forest house	ta ko=kôu INDF that=LOC	<b>folo-ga-móu,</b> go.up-du/pl.fut-p	FV			
wai ka-gi+		k <u>oî</u> u + m <u>a</u>	igiya-i.			
pig cut-o: 'Having gone up t heads and went.'		put carry.on.head p (the) pig and put (the piece				
012						
_	•	<i>igi si+m<u>a</u>-môu</i> stone cook+put-prv	dege-i do-nfut			
wai so-l-ô		na-ma tie-i.	do-NF01			
	on.stones-IRR-NPST	eat-iso sleep-N	FUT			
'Having gone up t slept.'	o (the) house, having work	ted at heating stones, (we) co	ooked (the) pig on the stone	s and after eating (we)		
013						
Sabiya-môu,	Asele dilie	<u>e</u> sasai Dasam	_			
be.morning-p		3s woman Dasame	3du			
Mali $g = k \hat{o} u$ yo-u-m \hat{o} u,Malinmouth.of.river=Locgo.DU/PL-NFUT-PFV						
James=bôu		-	Dahamo = koîu			
	3s woman Dalai=a	and 1s=and 1pL.E	Dahamo=LOC			
-	<b>hagua-sie-i-môû</b> come-du/pl-NFUT-PFV	<b>de-i</b> . prov-nfut				

'Next morning, while Asele and his wife Dasame went to the mouth of (the) river Malin, James, his wife Dalai and I left for Dahamo and came (back).'

**014** *Ke=nou=fei.* that=only=total 'That is all.' Appendices

# Pepson's clan legend

Pepson Uwoliti 2006, Dahamo village A written story (legend)

# 000

Dibiye	Hiy <u>a</u> dibi	h <u>u</u> +ti	ke+di <u>a</u>	fuwa	fel <u>e-i</u>	t <u>a</u>
Thunder	Hiyandibi	name+call	that+3 <sub>PL</sub>	break.open	come.up-NFUT	talk
'(The) story	about (the) or	rigin of the Thur	der Hiyandib	i clan' (heading)		

#### 001

Afuafu=dokôuguaike+digdele-i.earlierearlier=INTancestorthat+3PLbe/have-NFUT'A very long time ago, the ancestors lived.'

# 002

Dala-l-i,tasabiye-ihabidege-i-môu,huei = bôu,dibiye = bôube/have-irre-NFUT iNDFbe.morning-NFUTafternoon do-NFUT-PFVwater=and thunder=and

# hiye=do dege-i.

big=INT do-NFUT

'(They) lived until one day in the afternoon, there was a lot of rain and thunder.'

#### 003

,		<i>fu-fuwo-u-môu,</i> RED.PL-break.c		<i>dia baha duw</i> 3pl look sit	•	<i>dugu=be,</i> see.nfut=top
,		<b>a=do, <u>e</u>h</b> 11/long=int 3s n	- 0	-	0-	0
fiye s	s <u>a-i</u>	sasa=do	ka=h <u>a</u> i	migi-moîu	dugu.	

thread twine-NFUT tall/long=INT that=GEN come.down-PFV see.NFUT

'While (the) thunder kept crashing, they sat (there) waiting until (they) saw that from the top of (a) very big, tall tree, its name is "diogo", that very long rope came down.'

#### 004

Migi-môu	dugu=be,	fiye	s <u>a-i</u>	k <u>e</u> = me	ye	dihi
come.down.NFUT-PFV	see.NFUT=TOP	thread	twine-NFUT	that=TOP	stringbag	child
		_				

gomogu=bôu migi-môu dugu. knot.NFUT=and come.down.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT

'While seeing it come down, (they) saw a small stringbag tied to the rope coming down with it.'

#### 005

Ke-ge-ma	<i>ົາ</i> ນ,	di₫	ye	dihi	k <u>e</u>	tu-l-o-môu	dugu=be,
that-vBR	-PFV	3pl	stringbag	child	that	remove-IRR-FUT-PFV	see.NFUT=TOP
dihi	ta	sa	a-l-a-moîu		dugu.		
child	INDF	ρι	ut.inside-IRR	-SUBJ-PFV	see.N	IFUT	

'Having become like that, they, having removed the small stringbag, saw that a child must have been put inside.'

#### 006

Ke-ge-môu,	di <u>a</u>	dihi	k <u>e</u>	fo-fo-l-ôu	dala-I-i,	hiye	dege-i.	
that-vBR-PFV	3pl	child	that	RED.PL-run-IRR-NPST	be/have-IRR-NFUT	big	do-nfut	
'Having become like that, they raised the child until (he) was grown up.'								

#### 007

Hiye	dege-môu,	<u>e</u>	sas <u>ai</u>	hu-l-o,	dihi	s <u>u</u> = do	т <u>о-и</u> .		
big	do.FUT-PFV	3s	woman	marry-IRR-FUT	child	many=INT	get-NFUT		
'Having	'Having grown up, he married and had many children.'								

Appendices

Ke-ge-môu, di<u>a e</u> h<u>u</u>+ti=be Dibiye Hiya</u>dibi=yode-i.

that-VBR-PFV 3PL 3s name+call=TOP Thunder Hiyandibi=IQV-NFUT 'Having become like that, they called his clan Thunder Hiyandibi.'

# 009

DibiyeHiyadibi $h\underline{u} + ti$ fuwafele-itake =  $n\hat{o}u = fei$ .ThunderHiyandibiname+callbreak.opencome.up-NFUTtalkthat=only=total'That (is) all of the story of (the)ThunderHiyandibi clan.' (conclusion)talkthat=only=total

# A letter, 2011

# 001

Mamogo,nelegusububolo=fei=do.ls.Possfriend2DUmorninggood=total=INT'My friends, good morning to you two.'

# 002

**<u>A</u>** = **me** ... 1s=TOP a.name 'My name is ...'

# 003

M <u>a</u>	mogo,	nele	gusubu	bolo=f <u>ei</u> =do.					
ls.poss	friend	2du	morning	good=total=INT					
'My friends, good morning to you two.'									

#### 004

<u>A</u> = me		
1s=TOP	a.name	father's.name
'My name i	is'	

#### 005

<u>A</u> = me	nele = mokoîu	m <u>a</u>	dabai	ta	ne-l- <u>a</u> -môu.
1s=top	2DU=LOC	1s.poss	work	INDF	give-IRR-SUBJ-PFV
'I want to give a work of mine to you two.'					

#### 006

Dabai	k <u>e</u> = me	m <u>a</u>	kuguo	taip	dege-l-e.
work	that=TOP	1s.poss	book	type	do-IRR-FUT
'That work is to type "what I have written".'					

#### 007

Nele	tot	o=do	m <u>a</u>	kuguo	taip	dege-ma-ba	
2du	qui	.ckly=INT	ls.poss	paper	type	do-ISQ-PFV.IRR	
<u>a</u> =moko	ว์น	toto=do	bol	ho-l-oîu	n <u>e</u>	e-ma.	
1s=LOC		quickly=	INT tui	n-IRR-NA	PST g	ive-DU/PL	
			• •				

'After you two have quickly typed "what I have written", send it quickly back to me.'

## 800

Yo=be	fula	ta	ka =	= h <u>a</u>	Mondo	ay=be	<u>a</u> =me		Can	npany	
base=TOP	week	INDF	tha	t=gen	Monda	у=тор	1s=top	a.name	Com	pany	
ke+di <u>a</u> =ma	okoû	i-l-e,		m₫	kuguo	k <u>e</u>	kuhe	ne-l- <u>e</u>		dege-môu.	
that+3pL=L0	C	go-IRR-	-FUT	1s	paper	that	SO	give-IRR-B	TUT	do-pfv	
'The reason is that next week Monday I plan to go to the Company and give them "what you will have typed" for me.'											

## 009

<b>Tg</b> talk	<i>ta=be</i> INDF=TOP		<i>sole=bôu,</i> salt=and	<i>dou=bôu,</i> fire=and	<b>2011 kala</b> 2011 cale		<b>de</b> prov
<b>dala</b> = be/ha		<b><u>a</u>=mokó</b> 1s=loc	<b>ù ta</b> INDF	<i>ne-l-<u>e</u></i> give-ırr-fu	<b>bolo</b> = <b>f</b> <u></u> good=t	<b>ei=do,</b> otal=INT	
<b>yo=be</b> reason		<b><u>a</u>=me</b> 1s=top	<i>mei=do</i> neg=int	<b>dege-i-môu</b> do-nfut-pfv	<i>kuhe</i> so	<b>yodu-l-u</b> . ask-ırr-NA	FUT

'Another thing is that if you two have salt, matches and a 2011 calendar, (it) would be good (if you) give me one/some, because I have none (of these), so I ask.'

#### 334 **010**

# Thank.youmogo,ke=nôu=fei=do.thank.youfriendthat=only=total=INT'Thank you my friends; that is all.'

# 011

Nele	mogo=do	=h <u>a</u>	nal <u>a-i</u> .
1du	friend=INT	a.name=gen	write-NFUT
'Your (	du.) special friend	wrote (this).'	

# Four very short letters by a teacher, 2008

#### Letter 1

## 001

Mogo,ngdihikôutiga.friend2schildthistie'My friend, dress (the wound) of this child.'

#### 002

... a.name

'A signed name.'

#### Letter 2

#### 001

Ifi=be	21	<u>koma</u>	oguo	2008.
today=TOP	21	third	moon	2008
'Today is (the	e) 21 <sup>s</sup>	<sup>st</sup> of March	, 2008.'	

# 002

M <u>a</u>	mogo,	gusugu	bolo=f <u>ei</u> .
1s.poss	friend	morning	good=total
'My frien	d, good mor	ning.'	

#### 003

<u>A</u>	n <u>a</u> =mokoîu	yodu-l-u,	n <u>a</u>	soks=boîu	p <u>e</u> sole=boîu	de	dala?
1s	2s=loc	ask-IRR-NFUT	2s	chalk=and	pencil=and	good	be/have
ʻI am	asking you; do yo	ou have (any) chalk and	l/or pen	cils?'			

#### 004

Dala-ba = be,pesole4ke-ge,soks = bôudegne-l-e.be/have-pFv.IRR=TOPpencil4 that-vBRchalk=andgood1sgive-IRR-FUT'If (you) have, (you) may give me four pencils and (some) chalk.'isisisisis

# 005

 Ta
 ke = nôu = fei.

 talk
 that=only=total

 'That (is) all (I have) to say.'

#### 006

...hg nalg-i a.name=gen write-NFUT '... wrote (this).'

#### 007

... a.name 'A signed name.'

#### Letter 3

001	
Sawisie-i	28/04/2008
be.day-NFUT	28/04/2008
'(The) day of 28/0	4/2008.'

336
002

002					
Ma	mogo	gusugu	bolo=f <u>ei</u> =do.		
ls.poss	friend	morning	good=total-INT		
'My friend, a very good morning.'					

# 003

N₫	p <u>e</u> sole	de	dala?
2s	pencil	good	be/have
'Do g	you have (any		

# 004

Dala-ba=be,	n₫	<u>a</u> =mokoîu	8	ke-ge	n <u>e</u> .
be/have-pfv.IRR=TOP	2s	1s=Loc	8	that-vBR	give
'If (you) have, give 8 to me					

# 005

 Ta
 ke = noûu = fei.

 talk
 that=only=total

 'That (is) all (I have) to say.'

# 006

h <u>a</u>	nal <u>a-i</u>
a.name=gen	write-NFUT
' wrote (this).'	

# 007

... a.name 'A signed name.'

# Letter 4

001 *Date 28/04/08* 

# 002

Ma	mogo,	gusugu	bolo=f <u>ei</u> .		
1s.poss	friend	morning	good=total		
'My friend, good morning.'					

# 003

N₫	p <u>e</u> sole	ta	dala-ba,	dihi	k <u>o</u> û	n <u>e</u> .
2s	pencil	INDF	be/have=pFV.IRR	child	this	give

'If you have a pencil, give (it to) this child.'

# 004

T<u>a</u> k<u>e</u>=nôu=f<u>ei</u>.

talk that=only=total 'That (is) all (I have) to say.'

# 005

...hg nalg-i a.name=gen write-NFUT '... wrote (this).'

# 006

... a.name 'A signed name.'