# $\mathcal{K}_{\text {Konai }}$ Reference Grammar 

Konai (Kalai) language<br>Western Province<br>Papua New Guinea<br>ISO code: kxw

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of abbreviations ..... 12

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 Vowel harmony in medial verbs ..... 32
2.7.1.3 Vowel harmony triggered by suffixes beginning with /a/ ..... 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 $/ \mathrm{g} /$, /// and /k/ ..... 38
2.8 Spelling rules ..... 38
2.8.1 Consonants - spelling of $/ l /$ and $/ j /$ ..... 39
2.8.2 Vowels - spelling of /o/ and of initial [ $\Lambda$ ] ..... 39
2.8.3 Diphthongs - spelling of $/ \mathrm{ou} /$ and $/ \mathrm{ou} /$ ..... 39
2.8.4 Bleed-through - how to spell. ..... 40
2.8.5 Vowel harmony - spelling of a few exceptions ..... 40
2.8.6 Nasalisation - how to write ..... 41
2.8.7 Tone - not written ..... 41
2.8.8 Spelling of Tok Pisin proper names ..... 41
3. Morphological processes ..... 42
3.1 Affixation ..... 42
3.1.1 Verbal suffixation ..... 42
3.1.1.1 First order verbal suffixes ..... 43
3.1.1.2 Second order verbal suffixes. ..... 43
3.1.1.3 Third order verbal suffixes ..... 44
3.1.1.4 Fourth order verbal suffixes ..... 46
3.1.1.5 Fifth order verbal suffixes ..... 48
3.1.2 Non-verbal suffixation ..... 49
3.1.2.1 Deictic suffixes ..... 49
3.1.2.2 A locative nominaliser ..... 52
3.1.2.3 A verbalising suffix ..... 52
3.1.2.4 A numeralising suffix ..... 53
3.1.2.5 Suffixes giving additional meanings to pronouns ..... 53
3.1.3 Prefixation ..... 54
3.1.3.1 Relational prefixes ..... 54
3.1.3.2 Directional prefixes ..... 55
3.2 Suppletion ..... 55
3.3 Compounding ..... 55
3.4 Zero Formation ..... 56
3.5 Reduplication and repetition ..... 56
3.6 Cliticisation. ..... 57
3.6.1 Enclitics functioning at phrase level ..... 57
3.6.1.1 Case markers ..... 58
3.6.1.2 Limiters ..... 59
3.6.1.3 The intensifier $=d o$ ..... 60
3.6.1.4 The co-ordinating enclitic $=$ boû ..... 61
3.6.1.5 The independent possessive enclitic ..... 61
3.6.2 Sentence enclitics ..... 62
3.6.3 Discourse enclitics ..... 62
3.7 Homophones and variants among suffixes and enclitics ..... 64
3.7.1 Three sets of homophones ..... 64
3.7.2 Variants of -gi 'delayed sequence’ ..... 66
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 kou 'this' and kew '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 $i$ 'go' and hagua '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: mala fele 'bear' and tolo 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 ..... 150
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 ..... 152
5.2.3.2.2 The instrumental case ..... 155
5.2.3.2.3 The locative case ..... 156
5.2.3.2.4 The pseudo ablative case ..... 157
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 content questions) ..... 176
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 ..... 192
7.3.2.2 Close temporal/simultaneous linking - 'as soon as/when/while’ ..... 192
7.3.2.3 Immediate sequence ..... 193
7.3.2.4 Delayed sequence ..... 194
7.3.2.5 Simultaneous time ..... 197
7.3.2.6 Out of sequence ..... 199
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 ..... 201
7.3.3.1.2 Reason-result with kegemoú 'so' ..... 203
7.3.3.1.3 Result-reason with yobe 'the reason' ..... 203
7.3.3.2 Purpose ..... 204
7.3.3.2.1 Simple purpose ..... 204
7.3.3.2.2 Deliberate purpose or "purposing" ..... 205
7.3.3.2.3 Imposed purpose ..... 205
7.3.3.3 Condition ..... 208
7.3.3.3.1 Possible condition ..... 208
7.3.3.3.2 Contrastive condition ..... 209
7.3.3.3.3 Hypothetic condition ..... 209
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 ..... 216
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 taga 'like' and damaleyode 'believe' ..... 219
7.3.4.3 Quotes ..... 220
7.3.4.3.1 Quotes with cliticising quote verbs ..... 220
7.3.4.3.2 Three structures of a quote sentence ..... 221
7.3.4.3.3 Special use of a quote verbs ..... 226
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 ..... 229
8.2.1 Narrative discourse: Introducing head-tail and other temporal linkage ..... 229
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 ..... 267
8.7.3 Referring devices in Konai ..... 267
8.7.3.1 NP with the controlling case marker $=h \underline{a}$ 'genitive' ..... 268
8.7.3.2 NP with different forms of the demonstrative pronoun ke 'that' ..... 269
8.7.3.3 NP with the instrumental case marker =ye ..... 270
8.7.3.4 NP with the contrastive focus marker $=g e$ ..... 271
8.7.3.5 NP with the indefinite article $\dagger a$ ..... 271
8.7.3.6 $\mathrm{NP}_{\text {Noun }}$ 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 ..... 277
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 ..... 279
8.7.5 The default referring device for each context ..... 280
8.7.6 How participant reference works in Konai ..... 280
8.7.6.1 Categories of participants ..... 280
8.7.6.1.1 Main participants ..... 281
8.7.6.1.2 Minor participants ..... 284
8.7.6.1.3 Props ..... 286
8.7.6.1.4 Referential \& non-referential and generic \& non-generic ..... 286
8.7.6.2 The faulty defaults ..... 288
8.7.7 A strategy of reference for Konai ..... 288
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 ..... 307
James text ..... 311
Motousi text ..... 313
Ronny text ..... 317
Appendix IV: Interlinearised texts with three lines ..... 321
A Big-Book story by Gilbert ..... 323
Hobert's house building story ..... 325
Michael's hunting story ..... 327
Pepson's clan legend. ..... 331
A letter ..... 333
Four very short letters ..... 335

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| [...] | phonetic writing | n | any number |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /.../ | phonemic writing | N | noun |
| <...> | orthographic writing | NEG | negative |
| \{\} | allomorphs | NFUT | non-future (past \& present tense) |
| $\ldots-$ | non-existent form | NG | noun group |
| \#/. | word boundary | NP | nominal phrase |
| $\varnothing$ | zero | NP | NP comment |
| * | ungrammatical/ not in natural speech/text | NPo | NP object |
| - | affixation | NP | NRec |
| + | NP recipient |  |  |
| +/- | fempound word boundary | NPsecification, e.g. V $^{[\text {thigh] }}$ | NPST (V6) | non-past (present \& future tense)

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Konai (or Kalaí ${ }^{1}$ ) 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 ${ }^{2}$

The Strickland Plain Microgroup:
Konai, Fembe ${ }^{3}$, Kubo, Samo, Gobasi ${ }^{4}$, Odoodee ${ }^{5}$
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.

[^0]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) ${ }^{6}$ 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:

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Gulusu Gigi
Halesi Folosie
HebeyoWomogolou
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Kilisou Gulo
Kugou Kuloti
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Muba Welema
Omei Kuloti
Oxen Welema
Pepson Uliti
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Ronny Gulo
Sabe Domo
Sadugu Sagisiei
Sambu Sodipae
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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:
Sociolinguistics
Anthropology
Rule \& Woodyard (1990b), Årsjö (1998)
Årsjö (2000), (2004a)
Barth (1971), Handasyde (1990), Prince (1991), Woodyard (1992),
Dwyer, Minnegal, Woodyard (1993), Årsjö (2003)

[^1]
### 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 switchreference, 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 - . There is also a binary distinction in tense, which for most verb types work out as non-future versus future, where nonfuture 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) $O$ koû-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) $\mathrm{Di} \quad G o d i=h \underline{a}$ tag $d u-I-u$.

1PL.InGod=gen talk hear-IRR-nfut
'We are hearing the Word of God.'
5) Di Godi=ha ta du-lo.

1PL.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-I-u.
child sleep-IRR-NFUT
'The child is falling asleep.'
8) Dihi tia-I-e.
child sleep-IRR-fut
'The child will sleep.'
9) Sasai sugua-i.
woman fever.get-nfut
'The woman has a fever.'
10) Sasai 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 $-i,-/ u,-l e /-/ o^{7}$ 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 $-/ u$ and $-l e /-/ o$, then, would be best described as marking events that are in a state of flux or have not occurred yet. The -/- common to these two suffixes may then be assumed to signal irrealis. Further examples confirm this.

[^2]11) $O$ hagu-l-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 \(=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}\) moso
    teacher=gen house
    'the teacher's house'
```

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

| 14) | Mo $\boldsymbol{a}$ | so $\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wa-I-adi. |  |  |
| 1s.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) Kuoloû ta $d u-d i \quad o \quad t a=\boldsymbol{h a} \boldsymbol{a}$ hague-i.
law talk hear-hab man indF=GEN come-nFut
'A man who habitually obeyed the law came.'

| 17) | $\underline{E} \quad$ mogo $=\boldsymbol{h a} \boldsymbol{a}$ | $i-l-i$ | $k o=k o u$ | 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=h\underline{a}mal\underline{a}}\quadhebeni=koû 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 $-g V$. 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.

20) $O \quad \underline{e}$ widio towe ka-gi-l-e.
man 3s head hair cut-OF-IRR-FUT
'The man will cut (his) hair.'
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { 21) } & \text { bi } & s a \\ \text { things } & \text { put.inside }\end{array}$
'put things inside something'
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) haguag haguag-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 ${ }^{8}$

|  | Bilabial | LDent. | Dental | Alveol. | PostAl. | Retrofl. | Palatal | Velar | Uvular | Phary. | Glottal |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Plosive | $\mathbf{p}^{9} \mathbf{b}$ |  | $\mathbf{t}$ | $\mathbf{d}$ |  |  |  |  | $\mathbf{k}$ | $\mathbf{g}$ |  |
| Nasal | $\mathbf{m}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trill |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Flap |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Fricative | $\mathbf{\phi}$ |  |  | $\mathbf{s}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Approx. | $\mathbf{w}^{10}$ |  |  |  |  |  | $\mathbf{j}$ |  |  |  |  |
| LApprox. |  |  |  |  |  | $\mathbf{l}$ |  |  |  |  |  |

Vowel phoneme chart

|  | Front | Central | Back |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Close | $\mathbf{i}$ |  | $\mathbf{u}$ |
| Close-mid |  |  | $\mathbf{o}$ |
| Open-mid | $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon}$ |  | $\mathbf{v}$ |
| Open |  | $\mathbf{a}$ |  |

## Orthography

| / a | $\mathbf{b}$ | $\mathbf{d}$ | $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon}$ | $\boldsymbol{\phi}$ | $\mathbf{g}$ | $\mathbf{h}$ | $\mathbf{i}$ | $\mathbf{k}$ | $\mathbf{l}$ | $\mathbf{m}$ | $\mathbf{o}$ | $\mathbf{o}$ | $\mathbf{p}$ | $\mathbf{s}$ | $\mathbf{t}$ | $\mathbf{u}$ | $\mathbf{w}$ | $\mathbf{j} /$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\langle\mathbf{a}$ | $\mathbf{b}$ | $\mathbf{d}$ | $\mathbf{e}$ | $\mathbf{f}$ | $\mathbf{g}$ | $\mathbf{h}$ | $\mathbf{i}$ | $\mathbf{k}$ | $\mathbf{l}, \mathbf{n}$ | $\mathbf{m}$ | $\mathbf{o}$ | $\mathbf{o u}$ | $\mathbf{p}$ | $\mathbf{s}$ | $\mathbf{t}$ | $\mathbf{u}$ | $\mathbf{w}$ | $\mathbf{y}\rangle$ |
| $\langle\mathbf{A}$ | $\mathbf{B}$ | $\mathbf{D}$ | $\mathbf{E}$ | $\mathbf{F}$ | $\mathbf{G}$ | $\mathbf{H}$ | $\mathbf{I}$ | $\mathbf{K}$ | $\mathbf{N}$ | $\mathbf{M}$ | $\mathbf{O}$ | Ou | $\mathbf{P}$ | $\mathbf{S}$ | $\mathbf{T}$ | $\mathbf{U}$ | $\mathbf{W}$ | $\mathbf{Y}\rangle$ |

In addition the following graphemes are used in spelling of Tok Pisin proper names: $\langle\mathbf{j} \mathbf{J}\rangle,\langle\mathbf{r} \mathbf{R}\rangle,\langle\mathbf{v} \mathbf{V}\rangle$. (Tok Pisin is one of the national languages in PNG.)

[^3]
## 2．2 Consonants

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

## Phonetic work chart

|  | Bilabial | Dental | Alveolar | Retroflex | Velar | Glottal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Plosive | $\mathbf{p}$ <br> b |  |  |  |  |  |
| Nasal |  |  |  | $\eta$ |  | K |
| Flap |  | $>$ | f |  | 1 |  |
| Fricative | $\phi / \beta$ |  |  |  | \％ | h |
| Lateral Approximant | $L$ | $\square$ |  | $\mathrm{l}$ |  | $\checkmark$ |

All consonants are made with egressive lung air．
／p／［p］voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive，occurs word medially in loan words only．
〈kope〉
／kope／
［ks＇pæ］
‘cup’
／b／［ $\beta$ ］voiced bilabial fricative，occurs word－medially in free variation with［b］，though rather more often than $[\mathrm{b}]$ in this position，but never if the next consonant is $/ \downarrow$ ．
〈hebe〉
／hebe／
［he＇ $\boldsymbol{\beta}$ ］
＇tree＇
［b］voiced bilabial plosive，occurs elsewhere－word initially and medially．

| 〈baboû〉 | ／babo／ | ［ $\mathrm{ba}^{\prime}$ ßo］ | ＇maternal uncle＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈hoboloû〉 | ／hobolo／ | ［ $\mathrm{h} \wedge^{\prime} \mathbf{b}$ lo ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | ＇sing－sing．IRR．NPST＇ |

／t／［t］voiceless unaspirated dental plosive，occurs word initially and medially．

| 〈tibo〉 | ／tibs／ | ［ti＇ $\mathrm{H}^{\text {a }}$ ］ | ＇flying fox＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈tiei＞ | ／tici／ | ［ ${ }^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{eI}$ I］ | ＇sleep．NFUT’ |
| 〈toloû〉 | ／tolo／ | ［ tr O ］ | ＇hold．IRR．NPST’ |
| ＜mata＞ | ／mata／ | ［ma＇ta］ | ＇cockroach＇ |

／d／［d］voiced dental plosive，occurs word initially and medially．

| 〈du＞ | ／du／ | ［du］ | ＇hear＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈dia＞ | ／dia／ | ［ ${ }_{\sim}^{\text {d }} \mathrm{a}$ ］ | ＇prawn＇ |
| 〈dala＞ | ／dala／ | ［dra］ | ＇be／have＇ |
| 〈oudaba＞ | ／odaba／ | ［odos＇ 3 a ］ | ＇day after tomorrow＇ |

$/ \mathrm{k} / \quad\left[\mathrm{k}^{\top}\right] \quad$ voiceless unreleased velar plosive，occurs word finally in names ending in $/ \mathrm{k} /$ borrowed from English
〈Dik〉
／dik／
［dik＇］
＇Dick＇
［k］voiceless unaspirated velar plosive，occurs elsewhere－word initially and medially．

| ＜kiyou＞ | ／kijou／ | ［＇ki．ou］ | ＇fig＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈kolo〉 | ／kolo／ | ［ $\mathrm{k} \mid \mathrm{p}$ ］ | ＇skin／bark＇ |
| 〈makai〉 | ／makai／ | ［mı＇kai］ | ＇mark．NFUT＇ |
| 〈mukuo〉 | $/ \mathrm{mũk})^{11}$ | ［ $\mathrm{mu}^{\prime} \mathbf{k}^{\mathrm{w}} \tilde{\mathrm{p}}$ ］ | ＇nose＇ |
| ＜makolo＞ | ／makolo／ | ［＇maklo］ | ＇destroy．IRR．FUT＇ |

$/ \mathrm{g} / \mathrm{K}] \quad$ voiced velar fricative，occurs word medially in free variation with［g］，but not if the next consonant is $/ \mathrm{l}$ ．
〈maga＞／maga／［m＾＇ ya$] \quad$＇jaw＇
［g］voiced velar plosive，occurs elsewhere－word initially and medially．

| ＜gali〉 | ／gali／ | ［＇ga＇${ }^{\text {l }}$ ］ | ＇wild animal＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ＜fogoù＞ | ／фフgo／ | ［ $\phi{ }^{\prime} \mathbf{g o}$ ］ | ＇leave for＇ |
| ＜kuguo＞ | ／kugo／ | ［ $\mathrm{ku}^{\prime} \mathbf{g}^{\mathrm{w}}$ ）］ | ＇paper／book＇ |
| 〈degele＞ | ／degele／ | ［dəə＇glx］ | ＇do．IRR．FUT＇ |

／m／［m］voiced bilabial nasal，occurs word initially and medially．

| ＜mabi＞ | ／mabi／ | ［ma＇ßi］ | ＇cloud＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈dumul | ／dũmũ／ | ［d̃õ＇mũ］ | ＇be finished ${ }^{12}$ |

$/ \Phi$［ $\phi] \quad$ voiceless bilabial fricative，occurs word initially and medially．

| ＜fofoû〉 | ／фо̃фО̃／ | ［ $¢$ õ＇$¢ \widetilde{o}$ ］ | ＇be muddy |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ＜folo＞ | ／¢Jっ／ | ［ $\phi$｜p］ | ＇go up＇ |
| 〈hafei〉 | ／hãф ${ }^{\text {er }}$ | ［hã＇ ̃̃］$^{\text {ent }}$ | ＇close to＇ |

／s／［s］voiceless alveolar fricative，occurs word initially and medially．

| 〈so〉 | ／so／ | ［so］ | ＇dog＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈sio〉 | ／sio／ | ［ ${ }^{\mathbf{j}}{ }^{\text {¢ }}$ ］ | ＇bird’ |
| 〈mosor | ／mõs̃／ | ［mõ＇sõ］ | ＇house＇ |

／h／［Ћ］voiceless nasalised glottal fricative，occurs word initially preceding［ũV］and［iV］．

| 〈huei〉 | ／hũ ¹／$^{\text {／}}$ |  | ＇water＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈hiye＞ | ／hĩ ${ }^{\text {／}}$ |  | ＇vegetable sp．＇${ }^{13}$ |

［h］voiceless glottal fricative，occurs elsewhere－word initially and medially．

| 〈hei〉 | ／heI／ | $[$ heI $]$ | ＇axe＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 〈dihi〉 | ／dihi／ | $\left[\right.$ di＇hi $\left.^{\prime}\right]$ | ＇child＇ |
| 〈hohó〉 | ／hõhõ／ | $[\mathbf{h o ̃ ' h o ̃ ~}]$ |  |

[^4]／w／［ U$] \quad$ voiced，near－close，back，half－rounded vowel，interpreted as a consonant when occurring preceding $V(\neq / \mathbf{u} /)$ word initially and between Vs（the last one $\neq / \mathbf{u} /$ ）．

| 〈wo〉 | ／wo／ | $[\mathbf{w o}]$ | ＇attack＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 〈doûwa＞ | ／dowa／ | $\left[\right.$ do＇$\left.^{\prime} \mathbf{v a}\right]$ | ＇hornbill＇ |

／j／［I］voiced，near－close，front，unrounded vowel，interpreted as a consonant when occurring preceding $\mathrm{V}(\neq / \mathrm{i} /)$ word initially and between Vs （the last one $\neq / \mathrm{i} /$ ）．

| $\langle\mathrm{yo}\rangle$ | $/ \mathrm{j} \boldsymbol{2} /$ | $[\mathbf{I}]$ | ＇banana＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\langle\mathrm{beye}\rangle$ | $/ \mathrm{b} \varepsilon \mathrm{j} \varepsilon /$ | $\left[\mathrm{b} \varepsilon \mathbf{I}^{\prime} æ\right]$ | ＇possum／rat＇ |

／l［n］voiced dental nasal，occurs word and clitic initially．
〈na＞$\quad /\left[\tilde{a} /{ }^{14}\right.$
〈anoûusi〉／ãlosi／
［ñ̃］
［ãno＇si］
＇2s＇
＇but I ．．．＇（ $\mathbf{a}=$ nou $=$ si＇1s＝only＝CNTR＇）
［r］voiced flapped alveolar vibrant，occurs following／ $\mathrm{r} \mathrm{V} / \mathrm{/} / \mathrm{d} \mathrm{V} /$ and in free variation with［l］following／sV／．

| ＜toloù＞ | ／tolo／ | ［tro］ | ＇hold．IRR．NPST＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈dala＞ | ／dala／ | ［dra］ | ＇be／have＇ |
| 〈sele〉 | $/ \mathrm{s}$ ¢ $¢$／ | ［sع＇ıæ］ | ＇money＇ |

［ $\mathrm{\eta}$ ］voiced retroflex alveolar nasal，occurs word medially in nasal words．

| 〈hulią | $/ h u ̃ \mid \widetilde{a} /{ }^{15}$ | ［Kư＇ทัã］ | ＇dark＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈malab | ／mã｜ $\mathfrak{a} /$ | ［m＾̃＇ף $\mathfrak{\sim}$ ］ | ＇younger sib |

［l］voiced retroflex alveolar lateral，occurs elsewhere．

| ＜nele〉 | $/ \ \varepsilon \mid \varepsilon /$ | ［ñ＇＇ख］ | ＇2DU＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ＜toboloù＞ | ／tobolo／ | ［ $\mathrm{t} \wedge^{\prime} \mathrm{b}$ b o ］ | ＇speak．IRR．NPST＇ |

## 2．2．1 Consonant harmony

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

| nala | ／［ã］ $\mathfrak{a} /$ | ［ñ̃＇ทธ̃］ | ＇write＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nele |  |  | ＇strength＇ |

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

| nogoloûu | ／logolo／ | ［ño＇glo］ | ＇hug．NPST＇ | （noû－goû－l－ou | ＇hug－OF－IRR－NPST＇） |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nogo | ／logo／ | ［ño＇go］ | ＇your friend＇ | （n－ogo | ＇2s．EMP－friend＇） |

This rule does not apply to loan words．

$$
\text { neke } \quad /\left[\varepsilon \mathbf{k} \varepsilon / \quad\left[n \varepsilon^{\prime} \mathrm{kx}\right] \quad\right. \text { 'net' }
$$

[^5]
## 2．3 Vowels

There are 6 monophthongs and 4 diphthongs．

## 2．3．1 Monophthongs

There are 6 vowel phonemes．
Phonetic work chart

|  | Front |  | Central |  | Back |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Close | $\mathbf{i}^{-\cdots-1}$ |  |  |  | u |
|  | $\because \quad(1){ }^{1+1}$ |  |  |  | $(\mathrm{J})^{16}$ |
| Close－mid | ， |  | $\uparrow$ |  | 0 |
|  |  |  | $\leftarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow$ | $\uparrow$ |  |
| Open－mid | $\nabla$ | ， | $\downarrow$ | $\leftarrow \Lambda \rightarrow$ | $\boldsymbol{0}$ |
|  |  | $\mathfrak{x}$ |  | $\downarrow$ |  |
| Open |  |  | a |  | D |

Due to vowel harmony rules，［ə］and［ $\mathbf{\Lambda}$ ］ are allophones of all phonemes，（see further on in this section）．

All vowels are voiced and made with egressive lung air．
／i／［ E$]$ open－mid，front，unrounded vowel，occurs word initially before syllables with／i／．

| $\langle\mathrm{ili}\rangle$ | iili／ | $\left[\varepsilon^{\prime}\right.$＇i］ | ＇go．IRR．NFUT＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\langle\mathrm{igi}\rangle$ | $/ \mathrm{igi} /$ | $\left[\varepsilon^{\prime}\right.$ gi $]$ | ＇stone＇ |

［i］close，front，unrounded vowel，occurs elsewhere－word initially，medially and finally．

| 〈ikoke〉 | ／ikoke／ | $[$ i＇kokæ］ | ＇nail＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 〈tigi〉 | ／tigi／ | ［＇tigi］ | ＇vine＇ |
| 〈wowi〉 | ／wowi／ | $[$＇udvi］ | ＇butterfly＇ |

$/ \varepsilon / \quad$［æ］near－open，front，unrounded vowel，occurs word finally．${ }^{17}$

［ $\varepsilon$ open－mid，front，unrounded vowel，occurs elsewhere－word initially and medially

| 〈esofei＞ |  | ［ $\tilde{\boldsymbol{\varepsilon}}^{\prime}$ Sñ＇фе̃］$]$ | ＇by him／herself＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈hele＞ | ／helq／ | ［he＇ $\mathfrak{\text {＇}}$ ］ | ＇yes＇ |

／a／［a］open，central，half－rounded vowel，occurs word initially，medially and finally．

| 〈asa〉 | ／asa／ | $\left[\mathbf{a}^{\prime}\right.$＇sa $]$ | ＇ringworm＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 〈bago〉 | ／bago／ | $[$ ba＇go $]$ | ＇hornbill＇ |
| 〈siya〉 | $/$ sija／ | $[$ si．＇a］ | ＇sugarcane＇ |

／u／［u］close，back，rounded vowel，occurs word initially，medially and finally．

| ＜ulie〉 | ／ũn $\tilde{\varepsilon} /$ |  | ＇cicada＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈gule＞ | ／gule／ | ［gu＇${ }^{\prime}$ ¢］ | ＇fish spear＇ |
| 〈subulu〉 | ／subulu／ | ［＇səßə¢u］ | ＇sweet potato＇ |

[^6]／o／［o］close－mid，back，rounded vowel，occurs word initially，medially，and finally．

| 〈ouboboû〉 | ／õbõbõ／ |  | ＇bee＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ＜mousi〉 | ／mosi／ | ［＇mo＇si］ | ＇bird of prey sp．＇ |
| 〈soû〉 | ／so／ | ［so］ | ＇edible leaf sp．＇ |

／o／［p］open，back，rounded vowel，occurs word initially，medially and finally，generally following or preceding $/ \mathrm{w} / \mathrm{l} / \mathrm{u} /$ and following $/ \mathrm{l}$ ．

| 〈owoù〉 | ／owo／ | ［ $\mathbf{w u}^{\prime}$ o］ | ＇older sister＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈guokoù＞ | ／guoko／ | ［ $\mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathbf{m}^{\prime} \mathrm{ko}$ ］ | ＇stomach＇ |
| 〈bolo＞ | ／boั｜$/$ | ［blã］ | ＇good＇ |

［ 0 ］open－mid，back，rounded vowel，occurs elsewhere，word initially，medially and finally．

| 〈oloufei＞ | ／olodz̃ $/$ |  | ＇all＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ＜mogo＞ | ／mogo／ | ［mo＇go］ | ＇friend＇ |
| 〈 o 〉 | ／o／ | ［ $]$ | ＇man＇ |

In addition to the allophones listed under each vowel phoneme，the following applies：
／V／［ə］，［ $\llcorner$ ］，［Ø］
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＞ | ／diфi／ | ［＇ḋəфi］ | ＇hot＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈fele＞ | $/ \Phi \tilde{\varepsilon} \tilde{\varepsilon} /$ | ［фว̃＇ทัญ］ | ＇come up＇ |
| 〈gaba＞ | ／gaba／ | ［gn＇ßa］ | ＇step over＇ |
| 〈komoû〉 | ／komo／ | ［ $\mathrm{ks}^{\prime} \mathrm{mo}$ ］ | ＇kingfisher sp．＇ |
| 〈dulu〉 | ／dulu／ | ［dru］ | ＇hear．IRR．NFUT＇ |
| 〈folo〉 | ／¢Jっ／ | ［ $¢[\mathrm{p}$ ］ | ＇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 |  |  | $\mathbf{o u}$ |
| Open．mid－Close | $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon I}$ |  | $\boldsymbol{\jmath \boldsymbol { u }}$ |
| Open－Close |  | $\mathbf{a I}$ |  |

There is contrast between the phoneme／o／〈où〉 and the diphthong／ou／〈ou〉，e．g．toboú＇say＇and tobou＇said＇．
There is also a non－frequent contrast between the phoneme $/ \mathrm{o} /\langle\mathrm{o}\rangle$ and the diphthong／ou／〈ou〉，e．g．mogo＇friend＇and mogou＇mouth＇${ }^{18}$ ．

[^7]Among the front vowels，there is contrast between $/ \varepsilon /\langle\mathrm{e}\rangle$ and $/ \varepsilon \mathrm{I} /\langle\mathrm{ei}\rangle$ ，e．g．dege＇do＇and degei＇did＇．Since there is no ＊／e／phoneme，the diphthong／ei／could be interpreted as the missing＊／e／phoneme．

／$\varepsilon_{\mathrm{I}}$［ $\left.\varepsilon_{\mathrm{I}}\right]$ open－mid to near－close，front，unrounded diphthong，occurs in a few one－syllable words．

| 〈ei〉 | ／عI／ | ［ $\mathbf{E I}$ ］ | ＇1PL．EX＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈tei＞ | ／tei／ | ［teI］ | ＇dead＇ |

［eI］close－mid to near－close，front，unrounded diphthong，occurs word finally and rarely word medially．

| ＜degei＞ | ／dıegeı／ | ［dдə＇ger］ | ＇do．NFUT＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈kafei〉 | ／kaфеI／ | ［ka＇фег］ | ＇blood’ |

Very few words have been found with a medial／عı／．

| 〈Deima〉 | ／ḋerma／ | ［＇derma］ | ＇a clan name＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ＜die feile＞ | ／điz feile／ |  | ＇will sing＇（die\＃fei－1－e＇song\＃sing－IRR－F |

In the last example，the verb stem，in this form of the verb，ends in $/ \varepsilon \mathrm{I} /$ ，which starts the bleed－through process when conjugated in an irrealis mood．${ }^{19}$
／ai／［aI］open to near－close，central to front，unrounded diphthong，occurs word finally．

| 〈dabai＞ | ／daßai／ |  | ＇work＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈ai＞ | ／ $\mathrm{ar}^{\text {／}}$ | ［ $\widetilde{\mathbf{a r}}$ ］ | ＇deep’ |

／ou／［ou］close－mid to near－close，back，rounded diphthong，occurs word finally．

| $\langle$ tou $\rangle$ | ／tov／ | $[$ tov $]$ | ＇hold．nFUT＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\langle$ you $\rangle$ | ／jou／ | $[\mathbf{I 0 v}]$ | ＇not yet＇ |
| $\langle$ ou $\rangle$ | ／ou／ | $[\mathbf{0 0}]$ | ＇watch over．NFUT ${ }^{20}$ |

／ou／［pu］open－mid to near－close，back，rounded diphthong，occurs word finally．

| 〈sosou〉 | ／sosou／ | ［sə＇spu］ | ＇unripe＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈dioup |  |  | ＇mosquito＇ |
| 〈oup | ／ธ̃บ／ | ［ $\tilde{\mathbf{p}}$ 区 $]$ | ＇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．

[^8]
## 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 | $/ \mathrm{he} \beta \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} /$ | ［hz＇ßæ］ | ＇tree＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| dogou | ／dogo／ | ［do＇go］ | ＇sharpen＇ |
| dihi | ／dihi／ | ［di＇hi］ | ＇child＇ |
| fele | $/ \Phi \tilde{\mathbf{\varepsilon}} \tilde{\mathbf{\varepsilon}} /$ | ［фモ̌＇ทัֹ］ | ＇come up＇ |
| gala | ／gala／ | ［ $\mathrm{ga}^{\prime}$＇a］ | ＇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［ $\boldsymbol{\partial}$ ］and $[\Lambda]$ ，word medially

The phonetic manifestations［ə］and［ $\mathbf{A}$ ］，word medially，are interpreted by mother－tongue speakers as the same vowel as in the following syllable．For word initial［ $\Lambda$ ］see 2．8．2 Spelling of ．．．initial［ $\Lambda$ ］．

| dafa | ／diaфa／ | ［do＇ф ${ }^{\text {d }}$ ］ | ＇be tired of＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| teme | ／โẽmẽ／ | ［ $\dagger$ İ＇mæ̃］ | ＇sago thatch |

## Phonetic consonant clusters

In addition，the phonetic consonant clusters $[\mathrm{bl}],[\mathrm{tr}],[\mathrm{d} r],[\mathrm{k}]]$ ，$[\mathrm{gl}]$ and $[\phi \mid]$ are not interpreted phonemically as consonant clusters，but as the first three segments in $/ \mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{~V}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2} \mathrm{~V}_{1} /$ ，where the first vowel is the same as the one in the following syllable．

| hebele | $/ \mathrm{h} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \mathbf{b} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}$［ $\varepsilon /$ | ［h＾＇blx］ | ＇carry．IRR．fuT＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| dulu | ／dulu／ | ［dru］ | ＇hear．IRR．NFUT＇ |
| tofolou | ／toфolo／ |  | ＇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．

| ／ | ＜bei＞ | ／beI／ | ＇snake＇ | ／00 | 〈tobou＞ | ／tobou／ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ／aI／ | ＜kai＞ | ／kai／ | ＇cut．NFUT＇ | ／0u／ | ＜bolou＞ | ／bõ｜ว̃ธ̃／ | ＇two ${ }^{21}$ |

## 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 $/ \mathrm{i} /$ and $/ \mathrm{u} /$ 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，left bleed－through，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〉 | ／gaßagi／ | ［gəßaı＇gi］ |
| na－1－u | eat－IRR－NFUT | 〈nolu＇ | ／ไõlũ／ | ［ñ̃̃ธ̃＇ทũ］ |

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 $/ \mathrm{a} /$ ．The final $/ \mathrm{u} /$ in the next example bleeds through in the same way，forming a phonetic diphthong with the preceding vowel．${ }^{22}$

[^9]Bleeding through a following consonant，right bleed－through，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／l／．

| MORPHEMIC FORM | GLOSS | ORTHOGRAPHY | PHONEMIC | PHONETIC |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| kugo | ＇paper／book＇ | 〈kuguo〉 | ／kugo／ | ［ $\mathrm{ku}^{\prime} \mathrm{g}^{\text {w }}$ ）${ }^{\text {］}}$ |
| bigi－1－e | ＇wash－IRR－FUT＇ | 〈bigile＞ | ／bigile／ | ［bi＇gliæ］ |
| ule | ＇cicada＇ | ＜ulie〉 | ／ũ $\tilde{\varepsilon}^{\text {／}}$ | ／u＇nño／ |

In the last example $/ \mathrm{u} /$ bleeds through $/ \mathrm{l} /$ 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［ $\mathbf{I}$ ］and［ $\mathbf{0}$ ］are interpreted as semi－vowels．I will also look into palatalisation and labialisation．

## 2．4．1 Semi－vowels

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

| koyo | $/ \mathrm{koj} \mathbf{\jmath} /$ | $\left[\mathrm{k} \wedge \mathrm{I}^{\prime} \mathrm{b}\right]$ | ＇who？＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tewe | $/ \mathrm{t} \mathbf{w} \varepsilon /$ | $\left[\mathrm{t} \wedge \mathrm{u}^{\prime} æ\right]$ | ＇know＇ |
| wai | $/ \mathbf{w a i} /$ | $[\mathrm{vaI}]$ | ＇pig＇ |
| ya | $/ \mathbf{j a} /$ | $[\mathrm{Ia}]$ | ＇go．DU／pL＇ |

There is no contrast between e．g．［vai］，［waI］and［uwar］．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 $=(y)$ ode $-i$
／o dã̃mãlẽjodeı／
＇（a）believer／
（a）man（who has）said true’
（man true＝（TRSV）IQV－NFUT）

Words with seemingly one of the four diphthongs $/ \varepsilon_{\mathrm{I}} /$ ，／ai／，／ov／，and／ou／，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．

| ［ $\left.\tilde{\boldsymbol{\varepsilon} I}^{\prime} \tilde{\mathfrak{x}}\right]$ | $/ \overline{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{j} /$ | ＊／$\tilde{\varepsilon} \mathrm{I} \mathrm{j} \tilde{\varepsilon} /$ | eye | ＇older brother＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ［aı＇æ］ | ／aje／ | ＊／arje／ | aye | ＇father＇ |
| ［do＇va］ | ／dowa／ | ＊／douwa／ | doûwa | ＇hornbill＇ |
| ［Du＇o］ | ／0wo／ | ＊／ouwo／ | owoû | ＇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： $\mathbf{C i} / \mathbf{u V}$ ．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 $\mathbf{C i V}$ may become phonetically palatalised，i．e．the／i／in the syllable $\mathbf{C i}$ is weakened，and the sequence is phonetically $\left[\mathrm{C}^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{V}\right]$ but interpreted as $/ \mathrm{CiV} /$ ．Note that the preceding consonant in this group is dental or alveolar．

| dia | ／dia／ | ［ ${ }^{\mathbf{j}} \mathrm{a}$ ］ | ＇prawn＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tia | ／tia／ | ［ $\underline{t}^{\mathbf{j}} \mathrm{a}$ ］${ }^{\text {d }}$ | ＇sleep＇ |
| sio | ／sio／ | ［ ${ }^{\mathbf{j}}{ }^{\mathbf{0}}$ ］ | ＇bird＇ |

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

| biya | ／bija／ | ［bi．＇a］ | ＇stick＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| miye | ／mijjer／ | ［mî．＇${ }^{\text {x }}$ ］ | ＇fish＇ |
| fiya | ／fija／ | ［fi．＇${ }^{\text {］}}$ ］ | ＇fall＇ |
| kiyei | ／kijeı／ | ［ki．＇er］ | ＇pandanus＇ |
| giyou | ／gijo／ | ［gi．＇${ }^{\text {o }}$ ］ | ＇eel’ |
| hiye | ／hĩjer／ |  | ＇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 | ／sio／ | ［ $\mathbf{s}^{\mathbf{j}}{ }^{\text {¢ }}$ ］ | ＇bird’ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| siya | ／sija／ | ［si．＇d］ | ＇sugarcane＇ |
| dio | ／dio／ | ［ ${ }_{\text {d }}{ }^{\mathbf{j}}{ }^{\text {a }}$ ］ | ＇bone＇ |
| diyo | ／dijo／ | ［di．${ }^{\text {b }}$ ］ | ＇breadfruit＇ |
| dio | ／diov／ |  | ＇grass＇ |
| diyo | ／dijiõ／ | ［dı．${ }^{\text {on］}}$ | ＇parrot sp．＇ |
| fiya | ／fija／ | ［fi．＇d］ | ＇fall＇ |
| fia | ／fia／ | ［ ${ }^{\mathbf{j}}{ }^{\mathbf{\alpha}}$ ］ | ＇wild＇ |

This shows up both on CECIL／Speech Analyzer and in the way mother－tongue speakers write．The segment $\mathbf{i}$ is measurably longer in a word they tend to write as 〈－iyV〉 than in a word they tend to write as $\langle\mathrm{iV}\rangle$ ．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 $\mathbf{C u V}$ may become phonetically labialised，i．e．the／u／in the syllable $\mathbf{C u}$ is weakened，and the sequence is phonetically $/ \mathrm{C}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{V} /$ but interpreted as $/ \mathrm{CuV} /$ ．

| fua | ／fua／ | ［ $\mathbf{f}^{\mathbf{v}} \mathrm{c}$ ］ | ＇break open＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| kueya | ／kurja／ | ［ $\mathrm{k}^{\mathbf{w}} \varepsilon^{\prime} \mathrm{I}^{\prime}$ ］ | ＇cassowary＇ |
| gиo | ／guo／ | ［ $\mathbf{g}^{\mathbf{w}} \mathrm{p}$ ］ | ＇cough＇ |
| huei | ／hũ $\mathfrak{\Sigma} /$ |  | ＇water＇ |

But the $/ \mathbf{u} /$ in the sequence $\mathbf{C u V}$ is not always weakened．When it is not，the sequence is phonetically［Cu．V］，interpreted as／CuwV／．${ }^{24}$

| muwoû | ／muwo／ | $[\mathbf{m u .}$＇o $]$ | ＇reward＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| duwo | ／ďuwo／ | $[$ du．＇v］ | ＇sit＇ |
| suwa | ／suwa／ | $[\mathbf{s u . ' a}]$ | ＇tail＇ |

Also in this group there are a few contrasts．

| duo | ／dпus／ | ［ $\mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{p}$ ］ | ＇spirit／inside’ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| duwo | ／duwo／ | ［ḋu．＇b］ | ＇sit＇ |
| kueya | ／kueja／ | ［ $\mathbf{k}^{\mathbf{w}} \varepsilon \mathrm{I}^{\prime} \mathrm{q}$ ］ | ＇cassowary＇ |
| tokuwe | ／tokuwæ／ | ［toku＇wæ］ | ＇wall＇ |

[^10]
### 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 + a diphthong).


### 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, = fei 'total', =hag 'genitive', =sie (meaning unknown) and =koú '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.

| $\underline{e}$ | [ $\check{\mathfrak{x}}$ ] | '3s' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| fele | [фว̃'ท $\mathfrak{x}$ ] | 'come up' |
| sese | [š̌'s ${ }^{\text {cx }}$ ] | 'grass snake' |
| oloû=fei |  | 'all=total' |
| aye $=\underline{\underline{a}}$ | ['aı¢hã] | 'father=GEN' |
| boboû=sie | [boßo'six̃] | 'nephew/niece' (meanings of parts unknown) |
| moso $=$ koû | [mãsñ'ko] | 'house= loc' |

Suffixes vary. The indicative tense suffixes take their nasalisation from the preceding morpheme.

| mou <br> molou | (moû-l-ôu) | $\begin{aligned} & {[\mathrm{mõ}]} \\ & {\left[\mathrm{m} \tilde{y}^{\prime} \eta \tilde{\mathbf{o}}\right]} \end{aligned}$ | 'get' <br> 'gets/will get' | (get-IRR-NPST) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Compare: |  |  |  |  |
| tobou |  | [ $\Lambda^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \beta \mathrm{\beta o}$ ] | 'speak' |  |
| tobolou | (tobou-1-ou) | [ $\mathrm{t}^{\prime}$ ' blo ] | 'speaks/will speak' | (speak-IRR-NPST) |

One derivational suffix, -le 'approximate locativiser' takes the nasalisation from a preceding noun.


## Compare:

agudile (agudio-le) ${ }^{26} \quad\left[\Lambda^{\prime}\right.$ 'gudrix $] \quad$ '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 words. Compare, for example, the following three forms:

| a sou | [a sõ] | 'open a door' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $a$ solouu (a soûl-ouu) | [a snõ] | 'opens/will open a/the door' (door\#open-IRR-NPST) |
| a soûgoloû (a soû-gou-l-ou) | [a sõ'glo] | 'opens/will open the door' (door\#open-OF-IRR-NPST) |

[^11]In a loan word, the nasalisation may stop in the middle of a word.
haloûwai
esol
[hãq̃̃o' ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ ]
[ $\tilde{\varepsilon}^{1}$ 'sol]
'village'
‘angel’

(from Aekyom) ${ }^{27}$<br>(from English)

### 2.6.2 Tone

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

| doû |  | 'draw (water)' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| dosou | ['dp $\downarrow$ so $\nearrow$ ] | 'index finger' |
| sibigi | $\left[\mathrm{si} \downarrow \beta \mathrm{i} \downarrow{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{gi} \nearrow\right.$ ] | 'dirt' |
| mala | [man'nã $\nearrow$ ] | 'younger sibling' |
| meleki | [mı'leki $\nearrow$ ] | 'dish' |
| $d a$ | [da $\nearrow \searrow$ ] | ‘dig' |
| awa | [ $\alpha \nearrow U^{\prime} \mathrm{a}^{\prime} \downarrow$ ] | 'black-palm’ |
| bala | [ba'là ] | 'paddle' |
| habiya | [haßi.' ${ }^{\text {d }}$ \] | 'tail' |
| sabi | [ $\mathrm{s} \alpha \searrow \beta \mathrm{i} \downarrow$ ] | 'lizard’ |
| sisigo | $[\tilde{S T} \downarrow$ si $\downarrow ' \mathrm{~g} \tilde{\sim} \downarrow$ ] | '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 | [ $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ 'i] | 'go.IRR.NFUT' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tobou | [ts $\wedge^{\prime}$ Зo] | 'speak' |
| teme | [ $\mathrm{n}^{1} \mathrm{I} \mathrm{m} \tilde{\mathrm{x}}$ ] | 'sago thatch' |
| sese | [š's ${ }^{\text {c }}$ ] | 'grass snake' |
| giyou | [gi.'o] | 'eel’ |
| miye | [mĩ.' ${ }^{\text {² }}$ ] | 'fish’ |
| kueya | [ $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}} \varepsilon^{\prime} \mathrm{l}^{\prime}$ ] | 'cassowary' |
| sibigi | [sißi'gi] | 'dirt' |
| sisigo | [sinsî'gõ] | 'children' |
| moso $=k o u$ | [mãsñ'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 | ['kaфer] | or | $[\mathrm{ka} ' \Phi \mathrm{er}]$ | 'blood' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sosi | ['sosi] | or | [so'si] | '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.

[^12]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 $\underline{a}$ | [go'dihã] | 'God=GEN' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ey $\underline{e}=h \underline{a}$ | [ $\tilde{\varepsilon}^{\prime}$ ẽhã] | 'big brother=GEN' |
| hulia.me | [โũ'ทโิ̃ãmæ] | 'night.TOP' |

- loan words

| ikoke | [i'kokæ] | 'nail (for building)' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| subulu | $[$ 'sə $\beta \supset l \mathrm{u}]$ | 'sweet potato' |
| meleki | $\left[\mathrm{m} \varepsilon^{\prime}\right.$ 'عki] | 'dish' |

- words of the form $C a C i$ are often of equal stress, or the first syllable may be stressed

| gali | ['ga'li] | 'wild animal' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| habi | $[$ 'ha' Bi$]$ | 'afternoon' |
| sabi | $[$ 'saßi] | 'lizard' |

- bleed-through ${ }^{28}$

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

| mulo | [mũ'nuo] | 'go.down.IRR.FUT' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bigile | $[$ bi'gliæ $]$ | '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 | ['so:si::] | 'ant' | ['o] is 179 ms long; [i] is 417 ms long |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sogo | [so'go::] | 'breadfruit' | [ 0$]$ is 74 ms long; ['o] 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.

| sudo | ['sudo] | 'many' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| suudo | ['su:do] | '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 level or slightly rising intonation
Final clause
Final clause in mid-sentence
Command
Question (yes-no)
Question (content)
falling intonation
level intonation (marked by a semicolon in the free translation of examples)
level intonation
sharply rising intonation on the last syllable
falling intonation

[^13]
### 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//I/ 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 ${ }^{29}$. 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 $/ \mathrm{a} /$.

### 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 | TENSE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1-5, 7 | /-i/, /-u/ | 'non-future' | used on its own (realis) | past tense |
|  |  |  | used together with the irrealis suffix /-\/ | present tense |
|  | /-¢/, /-o/ | 'future' | used together with the irrealis suffix /-\} | future tense |
| 6 | /-u/ | 'past ${ }^{\text {³0 }}$ | used on its own (realis) | past tense |
|  | /-o/ | 'non-past' | used together with the irrealis suffix /-\/ | present and/or future 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 $/ \mathrm{a} /$, 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.)

[^14]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．${ }^{31}$ The basic forms are written in orthographic characters．

| BASIC FORM | PAST | PRESENT | FUTURE | MEANING | TYPE OF VERB STEM |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | －i／－u | （－l－）－i／－u／－o | $(-l-)-\varepsilon /-0 /-0^{32}$ |  |  |
| 〈migi〉 | $/ \mathrm{migi} /{ }^{33}$ | ／migi－l－i／ | ／migi－l－ ／ | ＇come down’ | type 1 ends in／i／ |
| 〈sese＞ | ／sese－i／ | ／sisi－l－i／ | ／sese－l－e／ | ＇follow＇ | type 2 ends in／$\varepsilon$／ |
| ＜baha＞ | ／baha－i／ | ／boho－l－u／ | ／baha－l－e／ | ＇look＇ | type 3a ends in／a／ |
| 〈migi－ga＞ | ／migi－ga－i／ | ／migi－go－l－u／ | ／migi－ga－l－e／ | ＇come．down－DU／PL＇ |  |
| 〈yä＞ | ／jã－i／ | ／jã－l－i／ | ／jã－l－ $\mathrm{\varepsilon}^{\text {／}}$ | ＇play＇ | type 3c ends in／a／ |
| 〈biya＞ | ／bije－i／ | ／bijo－l－u／ | ／bija－l－e／ | ＇fight＇ | type 4 root：／i／uCa／ |
| 〈dugu〉 | ／dugu／ | ／dugu－l－u／ | ／dugu－l－o／ | ＇see＇ | type 5 ends in／u／ |
| 〈sese－gu〉 | ／sese－gu／ | ／sese－gu－l－u／ | ／sese－gu－l－o／ | ＇follow－OF＇ |  |
| 〈soû〉 | ／sõ－${ }_{\text {u }} /$ | ／sõ－l－õ／ | ／sõ－l－õ／ | ＇open＇ | type 6 ends in／o／ |
| 〈wo〉 | ／we－i／ | ／wo－l－u／ | ／wo－l－3／ | ＇attack＇ | type 7 ends in／$/$／ |

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 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | －i／－u | （－l－）－i／－u／－o | （－l－）－ع／－0／－0 |  |  |
| ＜migi＞ | ／migi／ | ／migi－l－i／ | $/$ migi－l－e／ | ＇come down＇ | type 1 |
| 〈migi－ga＞ | ／migi－ga－i／ | ／migi－go－l－u／ | ／migi－ga－l－ع／ | ＇come．down－DU／PL＇ | type 3a |
| 〈sese＞ | ／sese－i／ | ／sisi－l－i／ | ／sese－l－e／ | ＇follow＇ | type 2 |
| 〈sese－gu〉 | ／sese－gu／ | ／sese－gu－l－u／ | ／sese－gu－l－o／ | ＇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＞ | ／sisi－l－i／ | ［sa＇səli］ | 〈seseli＞${ }^{34}$ | ＇follow＇ | type 2 |
| ＜baha＞ | ／bsho－l－u／ | ［bshnu $\left.{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{lu}\right]^{35}$ | 〈baholu〉 | ＇look＇ | type 3a |

[^15]
## Negation with－／－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 $-\mathrm{V}^{[+h i g h]}$ is always $/ \mathrm{i} /$ ，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 | ERB STEM |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈migi＞ | ／migi－l－i mei／ | come－IRR－NFUT\＃NEG | ＜migili mei＞ | ＇did not come down＇ | type 1 |  |
| 〈sese＞ | ／sisi－l－i mei／ | follow－IRR－NFUT\＃NEG | 〈seseli mei〉 | ＇did not follow＇ | type 2 | （see V．H．Rule 4） |
| ＜baha＞ | ／baha－l－i mei／ | look－IRR－NFUT\＃NEG | ＜bahali mei＞ | ＇did not look＇ | type 3a |  |
| 〈yä | ／jã－l－i mei／ | play－IRR－NFUT\＃NEG | ＜yalị mei＞ | ＇did not play＇ | type 3c |  |
| 〈biya＞ | ／bije－l－i mei／ | fight－IRR－NFUT\＃NEG | ＜biyeli mei＞ | ＇did not fight＇ | type 4 | （see V．H．Rule 6） |
| 〈dugu〉 | ／dugu－l－i mei／ | see－IRR－NFUT\＃NEG | ＜duguli mei＞ | ＇did not see’ | type 5 |  |
| 〈soû〉 | ／sõ－l－i mei／ | open－IRR－NFUT\＃NEG | ＜soulil mei＞ | ＇did not open＇ | type 6 |  |
| 〈wo〉 | ／we－l－i mei／ | attack－IRR－NFUT\＃NEG | 〈weli 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 $=y e$＇optative＇，and the meaning of the verb becomes＂might verb＂（see examples below）．


## 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 ${ }^{36}$ 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．

[^16]These are the suffixes that in final verbs signal tense，but in medial verbs signal relative tense ${ }^{37}$ ，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／，／－o／，／a／ | same subject，sequence | ＇future＇ |
| 6 | ／o／ | different subject，same time | ＇non－future＇ |
|  | ／－l ${ }^{38}-0 /$ | 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 $/-l /$ ）．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／a／（type 3 \＆4）．Verb type 3c is irregular．Verb type 6，as its last vowel is／o／，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 FINAL
BASIC FORM
HIGH VOWEL
/-id/ /-u/, /o/; (/-l// 'IRR')
＇relative present＇ simultaneous＇present tense＇ different subject

| ＜kesigi〉 | ／kesigi／ | ／kesigi－l－i／ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈sa－gi＞ | ／sa－gi／ | ／sa－gi－l－i／ |
| 〈igi－se〉 | ／igi－se－i／ | ／igi－se－l－i／ |
| ＜sa＞ | ／so－u／ | ／so－l－u／ |
| 〈folo－ga＞ | ／folo－go－u／ | ／folo－go－l－u／ |
| ＜taga＞ | ／taga－i／ | ／taga－l－i／ |
| ＜tia＞ | ／tio－u／ | ／tio－l－u／） |
| ＜dugu＞ | ／dugu／ | ／dugu－l－u／ |
| 〈sese－gu〉 | ／sese－gu／ | ／sese－gu－l－u／ |
| ＜toboû＞ | ／tobo／ | ／tobo－l－o／ |
| 〈folo〉 | ／fobo－u／ | ／folol－u／ |
| 〈togo＞ | ／togo－u／ | ／togo－l－u／ |

MEDIAL FINAL

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { LOW VOWEL } \\
& /-\varepsilon /, /-\rho /, / \mathrm{a} /
\end{aligned}
$$

MEANING
＇relative future＇ sequence＇future tense＇ same subject
／kesigi－$\varepsilon$／
／kesigi－l－e／＇rouse．of＇type 1
／sa－gi－$\varepsilon / \quad /$ sa－gi－l－$\varepsilon / \quad$＇put inside－OF＇
／igi－se／／igi－se－l－ $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon} / \quad$＇remove－Du／PL＇type 2
／sa／／sa－l－ $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon} /$ ）＇put inside＇type 3a
／folo－ga／／folp－ga－l－ $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon} /$ ）＇go up－DU／PL＇
／taga－l－ $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon} / \quad /$ taga－l－ $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon} / \quad$＇like’ type 3c
／tia／／tia－l－ $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon} /$＇sleep＇type 4
／dugu－э／／dugu－l－s／＇see’ type 5
／sese－gu－э／／sese－gu－l－э／＇follow－of ${ }^{39}$
／tobo－l－o／／tobo－l－o／＇say＇type 6
／fols／／fols／＇go up＇type 7
／togo－l－o／／togo－l－э／＇make＇

TYPE OF VERB STEM
type 3a
type 3c
type 4
type 5

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 $-\boldsymbol{I}$－is used together with the repetition of the vowel／o／．See 4．1．5．1．2 for a discussion．

[^17]
## Medial verbs

25) sasai $\underline{e}$ do hiye $=$ do dege-i-moû, o ke dig hebe $+m \underline{a}$ Dahamo i woman 3 s sickness big=INT do-nFUT-PFV man that+3pl carry+put Dahamo go '.. because when (my) wife was very sick, ... the men carried (her) and went (to) Dahamo ...'
26) Dia i-ga, Oúmemi=koû folo-ga-i.

3PL go-du/PL.fut Oumemi=loc go.up-du/PL-NFut
Folo-ga-moú ya-l-e dele-gue-i.
go.up-DU/PL.FUT-PFV play-IRR-FUT be/have-DU/PL-NFUT
'They went and arrived at Oumemi. Having arrived they kept playing/played and were.'
27) Ke-ge tia kesi-gi-e-moú, sasama=ye=ge i-l-i-gi, that-VBR sleep.fUT rouse-of-FUT-PFV ring.finger=INS=F.CNTR go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ a-li tia-di, abahai. road-E.LocR sleep-нAB 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.'
28) bateli bokisi bolow ke-ge mala hagua, na dogogu-o dala-ba, ${ }^{40}$ battery box two that-VBR get.IRR.FUT come.FUT 2 s put-FUT be/have-PFV.IRR $\underline{a} m u-l$ oo dugu-o mala kuhe hagua-le. 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 sibige <br> 3pL essence | $\begin{aligned} & \text { mo- } \underline{\boldsymbol{u}}=\boldsymbol{y o} \\ & \text { put-NFUT=INDC } \end{aligned}$ | mei. <br> NEG | (basic form: ma 'put' (type 3a) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 'They are not bearing fruit.' |  |  |  |
| 30) | toboû = yo | mei |  | (basic form: toboú 'say' (type 6) |
|  | say.nFUT=INDC | NEG |  |  |
|  | 'does not say' |  |  |  |

## Present question

31) nele dokta=koû yodu-l-o bolo = fei,

2DU doctor=LOC ask-IRR-FUT good=total
Kevin=hag dihi do mala i ka-ge-i=ya? (basic form: kage 'be how' (type 2)
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).'

[^18]
## 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〉 | ／daga－l－adi／ | do－IRR－PROS | 〈degeladi〉 | ＇just about to do（it）＇ | type 2 |
| 〈taga〉 | ／taga－l－adi／ | like－IRR－PROS | 〈tagaladi〉 | ＇just about to like＇ | type 2 |
| 〈ta sa＞ | ／tã sala－l－adi／ | talk\＃put．inside－IRR－PROS | 〈ta saladi〉 | ＇just about to judge＇ | type 3 |
| 〈toboû〉 | ／taba－l－adi／ | say－IRR－PROS | 〈tobouladi〉 | ＇just about to speak＇ | type 6 |
| 〈togo〉 | ／taga－l－adi／ | make－IRR－PROS | 〈tagaladi〉 | ＇just about to make smth．＇ | type 7 |
| 〈wo〉 | ／wa－l－adi／ | attack－IRR－PROS | 〈waladi〉 | ＇just about to attack＇ | type 7 |

Compare the following examples，where the high vowels are not affected：

| 〈tia〉 | ／tiad－l－adi／ | sleep－IRR－PROS | 〈tialadi〉 | ＇just about to fall asleep’ | type 4 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 〈sa nugu〉 | ／sa nugu－l－adi／ | land get．dark－IRR－PROS | 〈sa nuguladi〉＇just about to get dark＇ | type 5 |  |
| 〈i〉 | ／i－l－adi／ | go－IRR－PROS | 〈iladi〉 | ＇just about to go＇ | type 1 |

32）na ne Godi＝koû gulu gulu toboû－ba，ei huei＝ye
2s 2s．poss God＝loc close．eyes close．eyes say－PFV．IRR 1PL．EX water＝ins
wa－l－adi kôu fogo－loû＝yode tobo－loû i．
attack－IRR－PROS this leave．for－IRR－NPST＝IQV 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－ $\boldsymbol{a}$＇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) }\underline{A}=me moso taga-l-a-moúu hebe mo-l-o\hat{u}, \underline{a}=me moso togo-l-
    1s=TOP house make-IRR-SUBJ-PFV tree get-IRR-NPST 1s=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 $-g V$ ＇object focus＇may also trigger vowel harmony．Vowel harmony may be found in compounded words，too．

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

## ke＇that＇

The demonstrative pronoun $/ \mathrm{k} \tilde{\varepsilon} /$＇that＇，followed by the clitic $/=h \tilde{\mathbf{a}} /$＇GEN＇will change to $/ \mathrm{k} \tilde{\mathbf{a}} /$ ．
$\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=h \underline{\boldsymbol{a}} \quad$＇controlling agent／because of／temporal marking＇
that $=$ GEN
The pronominal topic marker $/=\mathrm{m} \varepsilon /$ ，when followed by the clitic $/=\mathrm{h} \tilde{\mathrm{a}} /$＇GEN＇will change to $/=\mathrm{ma} /$ ．This combination is always preceded by a demonstrative pronoun．If this pronoun is $/ \mathrm{k} \tilde{\varepsilon} /$ the vowel will change to $/ \mathrm{a} /$ ．

```
\(\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{a}=h \underline{\boldsymbol{a}} \quad\) 'that controlling agent' ( *kemeha\()\)
that \(=\) TOP \(=\) GEN
```


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

## de 'pro-verb'

The pro-verb /d $\varepsilon$ / when followed by the suffix /-mo/ 'perfective' will change to /do/. This is, however, only reflected in writing, if preceded by the enclitic $=a$ 'subjunctive' ${ }^{41}$ in a purpose construction or by $=\boldsymbol{e}$ 'optative' in a warning construction.

$$
=a+\text { do-môu } \quad \text { 'in order to' }
$$

=SUBJ+PROV-PFV
= e\#do-moû 'lest/it would not be good'
=OPT\#PROV-PFV

## $k \underline{e}$ 'that'

The demonstrative pronoun $/ \mathrm{k} \tilde{\varepsilon} /$ 'that', followed by the clitic /-ko/ 'LOC' will change to $/ \mathrm{ko} / .^{42}$

```
ko=koüu}\quad\mathrm{ 'there'
that=LOC
```


## The suffix -gi 'object focus'

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

| tafala 'stand' | tefe-gi | 'put someone in a standing position' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| biyo $\quad$ 'sit up/down' | biye-gi | 'place someone in a sitting position' |

## Word compounding

Word compounding may also trigger vowel harmony.

```
maga+u m mogou 'mouth'
komg}+\boldsymbol{dig}\boldsymbol{a}=->\quadkamadia 'three,4
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) $\quad \underline{t}-\underline{-l} e^{44}=k o ̂ u$
to 'river'
river-A. LOCR=LOC
'into the river'
35) Godi $=h \underline{a}$ dihí-le $=$ koû diho 'eye' God=gen eye-a.LOCR=LOC
'before the face of God’
36) agudi-le + toû agudio 'sky' sky-A. LOCR+up 'up in the sky'

[^19]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．${ }^{45}$（see 4．8．3 Locative adverbs（towards the end）．

37）Ma bolo to ilo be－ke－le fogo－u．｜｜boû－ku－le 1s．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． paper inside－demr．n－A．LOCR look．for

## ｜｜du－ku－le

＇Look for the book inside．＇
｜｜ins．－demr．n－A．LOCR
（speaking to someone inside the house）
\｜（basic form）

## 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 $/ \mathrm{j} /$ is inserted before the cliticising quote verbs＝ode＇state／say＇，＝ede＇direct／instruct＇and＝ade＇assert＇．
39）$\underline{a}$ dabai dege－l－e $\quad d a f a=y o d e-i$.
dafa＝ode－i
（basic morphemes）
1s work do－IRR－FUT tired．of＝IQV－NFUT
＇．．．I said（I）was tired of working．＇
40）Dihi koû $=m e \underline{e} \quad \operatorname{adioûu}=h \underline{a} \quad$ huei $\quad$ doû $i=y e d e-m o ̂ u ~$
$i=e d e-m o u ̂$
（basic morphemes）
child this＝TOP 3s mother＝GEN water draw go＝oQv－PFV ＇Concerning this child，his mother having told him to get water，．．．＇
41）duo kasagai＝ye hagu－l－u＝yade tawa－l－e－moû．
hagu－－－u＝ade
（basic morphemes）
spirit bad＝INS come－IRR－NFUT＝SQV know－IRR－FUT－PFV
＇．．．they having thought an evil spirit must be coming ．．．＇

## Vowel deletion in＝be＇topic marker＇\＆＝do＇intensifier＇preceding＝ade＇assert’

The vowel in＝be＇topic marker＇and＝do＇intensifier＇are deleted preceding＝ade＇assert＇．
42）$n i \underline{i}=m e$ ．．．bologua duwo－ma＝b＝ado－moû．
$d u w o-m a=b \boldsymbol{e}=a d o-m o u$ （basic morphemes）
2PL＝TOP ．．．good．do sit－DU／PL＝TOP＝SQV－PFV
＇．．．in order for you to have a good life／sit well．＇
43）
Godi＝be $\underline{a}=b o \hat{u}+d e$
dala $=d=a d e \quad$ tawa－i． $d a l a=d o=a d e$
（basic morphemes）
God＝top 1s＝and＋prov be／have＝int＝sqv know－nfut
＇．．．（I）knew for sure that God must be with me．＇

[^20]
### 2.7.5 Nasalisation of topic marker

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

| $\underline{a}=\boldsymbol{m e}$ | '1SG' | $k \underline{\text { ou }}$, $=m e$ | 'this' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $n \underline{a}=m e$ | '2SG' | ke $=m e$ | 'that' |
| $\underline{e} \quad=\boldsymbol{m e}$ | '3sG' |  |  |
| ele $=$ be | '1DU.EX' | $o \quad=b e$ | '(the) man' |
| $d a=b e$ | '1DU.IN' | sasai $=$ be | '(the) woman' |
| nele $=$ be | '2DU' |  |  |
| dilie $=b e$ | '3DU' |  |  |
| $e i \quad=b e$ | '1PL.EX' |  |  |
| $d i=b e$ | '1PL.IN' |  |  |
| $n \underline{i}$ i $=\boldsymbol{m e}$ | '2PL' |  |  |
| dia $=\boldsymbol{m e}$ | '3PL’ |  |  |

### 2.7.6 De-nasalisation before /gI, III and /k/

When the demonstrative pronouns koúu 'this' and 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 =koú 'locativiser' follows.

| koû-le <br> this-A.LOCR | 'here' | ke-le <br> that-A.LOCR | 'there' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| koû-le-ge this-A.LOCR-VBR | 'be/do like this here' | ke-le-ge <br> that-A.LOCR-VBR | 'be/do like that there' |
| koù-g(u)e this-VBR(BLTV) | 'be/do like this' | ke-ge that-vBR | 'be/do like that' |
| $\begin{aligned} & k u o=k o u ̂ \\ & \text { this }=\text { LOC } \end{aligned}$ | 'here' | $\begin{aligned} & k o=k o u \\ & \text { that=LOC } \end{aligned}$ | 'there' |

For the forms kuokoú 'here' and kokoú 'there' see 4.8.2.1 THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS koúu '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 $/ \mathrm{g} /$.
44) mu
mu-gu
go. down-of
mu-gua
go. down
go. down-DU/PL
'go down’ 'let down/let go’ 'go down du/pl.'

Also, when the genitive clitic $=h \underline{a}$ is followed by the independent possessive enclitic $=l e$, 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. ${ }^{46}$ 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.

[^21]
## 2．8．1 Consonants－spelling of／l／and／j／



## 2．8．2 Vowels－spelling of／o／and of initial［ A ］

## ／o／［o］

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

| 〈toboû〉 | ／tobo／ | ［ $\Lambda^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \beta \mathrm{O}$ ］ | ＇say＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈tobou＞ | ／tobou／ | ［ $\wedge^{\prime}$＇ 3 Oov ］ | ＇say．NFUT／said＇ |

$[ə],[\Lambda],[-] \begin{aligned} & \text { preceding syllable } \\ & \text { with } / \mathrm{o} /\end{aligned}$

| 〈toboû＞ | ／tobo／ | ［ $\mathrm{t} \wedge^{\prime}$＇ 30 ］ | ＇say＇ | ＊toûboû |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈doloû＞ | ／dolo／ | ［dro］ | ＇draw．NPST（water）＇ | ＊doûlou |

／V／［ $\mathbf{\Delta}] \quad$ word initially $\quad$ a $>\quad$ usually；based on testing
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 〈a〉．

| ＜abogoû＞ | ／õbõgõ／ | ［ $\chi^{\text {a }}$ ã＇gõ］ | ＇foot＇ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈agu〉 | ／ugu／ | ［ $\mathbf{\wedge}^{\prime} \mathrm{gu}$ ］ | ＇bamboo＇ |  |
| 〈ama＞ | ／ $\mathfrak{\mathbf { a }}$ mã／ | ［ $\tilde{\mathbf{I}}^{\prime} \mathrm{ma}$ ］ | ＇fill＇ |  |
| ＜oguo＞ | ／ogus／ | ［ $\mathbf{\prime}^{\prime} \mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{p}$ ］ | ＇moon＇ | （an exception） |

## 2．8．3 Diphthongs－spelling of／ou／and／ou／

| $/ \mathbf{o u} /$ | $[\mathrm{ou}]$ | word finally | $\langle\mathbf{o u}\rangle$ | under－differentiating，based on testing |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $/ \mathbf{o u} /$ | $[\mathrm{pu}]$ | word finally | $\langle\mathbf{o u}\rangle$ |  |

We have found few minimal pairs．

| 〈hou〉 | ／hou／ | ［hov］ | ＇taro＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈hou〉 | ／hou／ | ［ hov ］ | ＇seedling＇ |
| 〈dou〉 | ／dou／ | ［dou］ | ＇fire＇ |
| 〈diou＞ | ／dis̃õ／ | ［ $\mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{j}} \tilde{\mathbf{w}} \tilde{\boldsymbol{u}}$ ］ | ＇mosquito＇ |

[^22]
## 2．8．4 Bleed－through－how to spell

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

| ＜bagagi＞ | ／bãgãgi／ | ［bãgãı＇gi］ | ＇tie it＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈taholu＇ | ／t̃oัว̃｜ũ／ | ［＇tヘ̃＇hñõ＇nũ］ | ＇shoot．NFUT＇ |

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

> 〈togoulu〉 /togolu/ [togou'lu] 'make.NFUT (something)'

Right bleed－through：basic rule：nouns／non－verbs－written，mother－tongue speakers aware
verbs－not written，mother－tongue speakers mostly unaware

| ＜kuisiai〉 | ／kuisai／ | ［ $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{i}^{\prime}$ Siar ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ］ | ＇iron wood＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈sile〉 | ／sile／ | ［si＇liæ］ | ＇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 tense

| 〈hebe＞ | ＇carry＇ | hebe－1－1 | ＇carry－IRR－NFUT＇ | ＜hebeli＞ | ／hibili／ | ［ $\mathrm{\Lambda} \wedge^{\prime} \mathrm{\beta} \partial \mathrm{li}$ ］ | type 2 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈gasa＞ | ＇stalk＇ | gasa－1－u | ＇stalk－IRR－NFUT＇ | ＜gasolu＞ | ／gosolu／ | ［gespu＇lu］ | type 3 |

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

Prospective aspect

| 〈dege〉 <br> 〈toboû〉 | ‘do’ <br> ‘speak | dege－1－adi <br> toboû－1－adi | ＇do－IRR－PROS ${ }^{49}$ <br> ＇speak－IRR－PROS＇ | ＜degeladi＞ <br> 〈tobouladi＞ | ／dagaladi／ <br> ／trabaladi／ | ［d̃ə＇gladi］ <br> ［t $\Lambda^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{b}$ ladi］ | type 2 <br> type |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Purpose |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 〈dege＞ | ＇do＇ | dege－1－a | ＇do－IRR－SUBJ＇ | ＜degela＞ | ／dagala／ | ［ḋə＇gla］ | type 2 |
| ＜toboul | ＇speak＇ | tobou－1－a | ＇speak－IRR－SUBJ＇ | ＜toboula＞ | ／tabala／ | ［ $\Lambda^{\prime}$＇bla］ | type 6 |

[^23]
## 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 underline．This is a remnant from the days of $\operatorname{APCM} / E C P(N G)$ ，which the speakers of the language have chosen to keep in preference to a word final 〈n＞．

| NO．BASIC FORM ${ }^{50}$ | GLOSS | ORTHOGRAPHY | PHONEMIC | PHONETIC |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 diho | ＇eye’ | 〈diho〉 | ／dîhõ／ | ［di＇hõ］ |
| 2 miye | ＇fish＇ | 〈miye＞ | ／mijez／ | ［mĩ．＇$\tilde{\text { x }]}$ |
| 3 bolo | ＇good＇ | 〈bolo ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ | ／bõ $\mathfrak{0} /$ | ［blã］ |
| 4 soû | ＇open＇ | 〈soû〉 | ／sõ／ | ［sõ］ |
| 5 sout－l－ou | ＇open－IRR．NPST＇ | 〈solôû〉 | ／sõlõ／ | ［sõ＇ทõ］ |
| 6 ama－i | ＇fill－NFUT’ | 〈amai＞ | ／ãmãı／ | ［ $\sim^{\prime}$＇mã̃］ |
| 7 Godi $=$ h | ＇God＝GEN＇ | 〈Godiha， | ／godihã／ | ［go＇dihã］ |
| 8 eye＝ha | ＇older brother＝GEN＇ | 〈eyeha＞＞ | $/ \mathrm{z} j \tilde{\varepsilon} h \widetilde{a} /$ |  |
| $9 \mathrm{ta}=\mathrm{nou}=\mathrm{fe} \underline{\mathrm{i}}$ | ＇INDF＝only＝total＇ | ＜tanoufeì＞ | ／taloф ${ }_{\text {¢ }} /$ | ［tano＇Фе̃̈］ |
| $10 \quad \operatorname{moso}=$＝kou | ＇house＝LOC＇ | ＜mosokoû＞ | ／mõsõko／ | ［mãsñ＇ko］ |
| 11 wai doki | ＇（pig）donkey＇ | 〈wai doki〉 | ／wai d̃õki／ | ［Uaı d̃õ＇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＞ | ／awà／ | ［ $\Lambda フ^{\prime} \mathrm{va} \downarrow$ ］ | ＇black palm＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 〈awa＞ | ／awá／ | ［ $\Lambda^{\prime}$ טa $\nearrow$ ］ | ＇fish sp．＇ |
| ＜doûwa＞ | ／dowà | ［do＇va $\downarrow$ ］ | ＇hornbill＇ |
| ＜doûwa＞ | ／dowá／ | ［do \＇ua ${ }^{\text {］}}$ ］ | ＇cooking fork＇ |

## 2．8．8 Spelling of Tok Pisin proper names

The following letters are also used in spelling Tok Pisin proper names：$\langle\mathbf{j}\rangle,\langle\mathbf{J}\rangle,\langle\mathbf{r}\rangle,\langle\mathbf{R}\rangle,\langle\mathbf{v}\rangle,\langle\mathbf{V}\rangle$ ．
〈Jon〉 〈Gebriel〉 〈Devit〉

[^24]
## 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 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| - 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) |
| - suppletion | rare | an occasional noun, a few verbs | non-singular |
| - compounding |  | various words | various meanings |
| - zero formation | partial mostly partial/whole | some verbs | nominalisation |
| - reduplication |  | verbs | plural, incl. iterative aspect |
|  |  | 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 <br> number | Third order |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mood | tense |  |
| transitivity |  | aspect |
|  |  | purpose |
|  |  | number (deontic) |

## Fourth order <br> medial verb aspects sequential

Fifth order
medial verb aspects perfective

### 3.1.1.1 First order verbal suffixes

First order verbal suffixes in the verb are used to express number and transitivity. ${ }^{51}$

| Number | $-g a$ | 'dual/plural' | absolutive marking: refers to the subject of intransitive verbs refers to the object of transitive verbs | 4.1.6 NUMBER |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | -gua | 'dual/plural' | existential state verbs |  |
|  | -se | 'dual/plural' | refers to the object of some transitive verbs |  |
|  | $-s i e^{52}$ | 'dual/plural' | a few intransitive, mostly motion verbs |  |
| Transitivity | $-g V^{+ \text {+high } 53}$ | 'object focus' | refers to singular entities only | 4.1.7 OBJECT FOCUS |

## Number

| 45) folo-ga | dege-ga | duwo-gua | hagua-sie | hebe-se |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| go. up-DU/PL | do-DU/PL | sit-DU/PL | come-DU/PL | carry-DU/PL |
| 'go up (du./pl.) | do many things | sit (du./pl.) | come (du./pl.) | carry many things' |

## Transitivity

46) tafala
stand
'stand'
47) bi
$\begin{array}{ll}b i & s a \\ \text { thing } & \text { put.inside }\end{array}$
'put things into (e.g. stringbag)' - general 'put a letter 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) | $\varnothing$ | 'realis' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $-/-$ | 'irrealis' |
| (deontic) | $\varnothing$ | 'imperative' |
|  | $-m e$ | 'hortative' |
|  | $-d a$ | 'prohibitive' |

4.1.5.1 EPISTEMIC MOOD
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- $\varnothing$-i dege-I-i dege-I-e | dege-I-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

49) hagua- $\varnothing \varnothing$ hagua- $\varnothing$ - $\varnothing$ a
come-IMP-s come-IMP-DU/PL
'come (sg.)' 'come (du./pl.)'
50) I-me.
go-HORT
'Let's go.'
51) I-da.
go-PROH
‘Don’t go.'

[^25]52) I-da-me.
go-PROH-HORT
'Let's not go.'
53) Ni hagua-sie-da-ma.

2PL come-DU/PL-PROH-DU/PL
'Don't come (du./pl.).'
The hortative suffix -me, the prohibitive suffix - $d a$ and the third order verbal suffix -ma 'dual/plural' (in imperative) may co-occur with the quote verbs $=e+d e$ (=OPT+PROV) 'direct/instruct' and $=a+d e$ (=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 ${ }^{54}$, aspect and one kind of purpose. Non-singular in imperative and prohibitive mood is also expressed by a third order verbal suffix.


## 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. ${ }^{59}$ In all verb types, except type 6, future tense is marked by the suffix $-\{e / o\} .{ }^{60}$ 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 type 1: i'go'
go.nfut go-IRR-NFUT go-IRR-FUT
'went, is going, will go'

[^26]55) bese-i bese-l-i bese-l-e type 2: bese 'fish' (verb)
fish-nfut fish-IRR-NFUT fish-IRR-FUT
'fished, is fishing, will fish'
56) ka-i ko-l-u ka-l-e
cut-NFUT cut-IRR-NFUT cut-IRR-FUT
'cut, is cutting, will cut'
57) die-i dio-I-u dia-l-e
break.off-nfut break.off-IRR-NFUT break.off-IRR-FUT
'broke off, is breaking off, will break off'
58) dugu dugu-l-u dugu-l-o
type 5: dugu 'see’
see-nfut see-IRR-nfut see-IRR-fut
'saw, is seeing, will see'
59) tobo-u tobo-l-ou
type 6: toboû 'say
say-(PAST)/NFUT say-IRR-NPST
'said, is saying/will say'
60) sege-i sogo-u-I-u sogo-I-o type 7: sogo 'plant plant-nfut plant-bltv-IRR-NFUT plant-IRR-FUT 'planted, is planting, will 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 $=y a$ is used. One example is presented below (63), but see 7.1.3.
61) $\underline{E}$ midiho kasagai kage-i ke miloû-l-ou? 3s face bad how-nfut that work-IRR-PAST.Q
'How has he done/did he do something bad?'
62) Midiho ka-ge tama dege-l-e? face how-VBR appear do-IRR-FUT
'How will it happen?’
63) Na kei dege-i=ya?

2 s what do-nfut=subj
'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) Huei to- $\varnothing$-di.
water wash-REAL-hab
'It is always raining.'
65) Huei 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) | A sogo | ga-l-a-moû |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s breadfruit gather-IRR-SUBJ-PFV | dege-I-i. |  |
| do-IRR-NFUT |  |  |

67) $\underline{A}$ nele=mokoûu ta tou toboû-l-a-moû, $\underline{a}$ 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) dia Jona mala ta-le=koû hebe-l-e fila-l-a dege-i-mố, 3PL Jonah get.IRR.fUT river-A.LOCR=LOC carry-IRR-FUT throw-IRR-SUBJ do-NFUT-PFV Godi $=$ ha miye $h i y e=$ do ke toboû-môu 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) $n \underline{a}$ dege | nele/ní dege-ma |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2 s do | $2 \mathrm{DU} / 2 \mathrm{PL}$ do-DU/PL |
| 'you (sg.) do (it)' | 'you (du./pl.) 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) \(\underline{a}\) huei doû-ma, ne \(\quad\) moso \(=k o u ̂ u ~ i-l-e ~\)
    1s water draw-ISQ 2s.POSS house=LOC go-IRR-FUT
    'After getting water, I will go to your 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) $\underline{E}$ moso togo-ma-moû=be, $\underline{e}$ kili dala=di.
3s house build-ISQ-PFV=TOP 3 s inside be/have-HAB
'After he had built (a) house, he lived inside (it).'
73) $D e=h \underline{a}$ tahá-ma-moûu
maternal.uncle=GEN shoot-ISQ-PFV
'After uncle had shot at (the pig) ...'

ise hagua-ma hagua, Biangabip=koû duwo de-ma,
finally rise-ISQ come.fUT Biangabip=LOC sit PROV-ISQ
Kalai o sur $\quad$ ise $s a+m \underline{a}, \quad$ Dahamo = kôu kuhe hague-i.
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.’

What has just been said is the simple picture. In addition, there is a verb $m \underline{a}$ '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 $m a$ 'put' the more common Papuan interpretation of completiveness. The suffix - $m a$ '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 $m \underline{\underline{a}}$ 'put' are probably related. Intransitive and weakly transitive verbs, when followed by $-m a /+m \underline{a},{ }^{61}$ are interpreted as verbs with the immediate sequence suffix $-m a$ 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 -ma '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 - $g i$ '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 $-/-$ and the non-future suffix $-\{i / u\}$ or non-past suffix -ôu. 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.

'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.'
76) Afu diag gamani ke+diá=mokoúu biyo-l-u-gi, o ilo ke-le earlier 3pL government that+3pL=LOC fight-IRR-NFUT-DSQ man part that-A.LOCR tofige-i. die.du/pl-NFUT
'Earlier, they had been fighting with the government people until some men had died.'

'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 ...)
78) sosi moso tege-i. Togo-ma dala-I-i,
church house make-nfut make-ISQ be/have-IRR-NFUT
$\begin{array}{llll}\underline{e} & \text { sabe }=\text { koû } & \text { kuhe boho-l-ôu +ma } & i . \\ \text { 3s home.ground=Loc } & \text { so } & \text { turn-IRR-NPST+put } & \text { go.NFUT }\end{array}$
'... he built the church. After building the church he stayed on until he went back to his (own) land.'

[^27]
### 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' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $-b a$ | 'perfective irrealis' |

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 -moú 'perfective (realis)' occurs when the event/state spoken about is present or past. The suffix -ba 'perfective irrealis' occurs when the event/state is future or hypothetic.

The fourth order verbal suffix -ma 'immediate sequence’ may precede either.
The enclitics $=b e$ 'topic marker' and $=s i$ 'contrast marker ${ }^{62}$ interact with these two suffixes to give different shades of meaning.
79) Hagua-sige, moso = kôu fele-ga-moûu, 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) $\underline{E}$ hebe ha-i wai=ye no-u-moûu dugu.

3s tree cut-nfut pig=ins eat-nfut-PFV see.nfut
'He saw a pig eating (in) the garden.'
 1s.poss friend=GEN look.nfut say-IRR-NPST 1du.IN hornbill
$w a-l-a-b a \quad i-m e=b e=e d e-i$.
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.'
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 $-b a$ 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 ni $\underline{a}=$ mokoû tobo-l-ou
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 -moú '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.

[^28]86) Yo $=$ be dilie Kalai tog boho-l-oú-ba, Godi=ha ta sibige ke base=top 3du Konai talk turn-IRR-NPST-PFV.IRR God=gen talk essence that ei ta =ye dogogu-l-a-moû.
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) <br> demonstrativisers |
| :--- | :--- |

## 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 | $-k u$ | 'near demonstrativiser' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $-g u$ | 'distant demonstrativiser' |

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

| moû-ku | 'this down below' | moû-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' |
| boû-ku | 'this across here' | boû-gu | 'that across there' |
| du-ku | 'this inside here' | du-gu | '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. ${ }^{64}$ In the first example the bird is further up than in the second example.
87) tồ-gu=me
up-DEMR. $\mathrm{D}=$ TOP
'that up there, (I mean)'
88) Tôu-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.

[^29]
## Set II

| Locativising suffixes | $-h \underline{e}$ | 'pointing locativiser' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| on demonstratives | $-l e$ | 'approximate locativiser' |
|  | $-l i$ | 'exact locativiser' |

## Pointing locativiser -he

The suffix -he makes a demonstrative root or stem into a locative adverb, indicating pointing.
89) $\underline{A}$ ku-he.

1s this-P. Locr
'I am here (e.g. pointing to a photo).'
90) moû-gu-he
down-DEMR.D-P.LOCR
'down there (pointing)'

## Approximate locativiser -le

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

```
91) kố-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 -/f

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

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

```
koû-li 'right (in) here'
this-E.LOCR
ki-li 'right inside'
inside-E.LOCR
koü-gu-li 'somewhere right over there'
somewhere-DEMR.D-E.LOCR
mou-gu-li 'right down there'
down-DEMR.D-E.LOCR
tou-gu-li 'right up there'
up-DEMR.D-E.LOCR
93) Kalai sa koú-li=be tewe dihi ta mei.
    Konai land this-E.locR=TOP know child INDF NEG
```

'Right here in Konai land, there is no other child (with that kind of) knowledge.'
94) $\underline{E}$ moso togo-ma-moû $=b e, \underline{e}$ ki-li dala-di. 3s house make-ISQ-PFV=TOP $3 s$ inside-E.LOCR be/have-HAB
'When he had finished building the house, he stayed right inside there.'
95) moso ke dumu-moû $=b e$, o su$=d o \quad$ 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 toû-gu-li=do duwo-moû 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 $k a=h \underline{a}$ asô̂ mô̂-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' \& $-\boldsymbol{I} \boldsymbol{- i}$ 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.

## Set III

| Locativising suffixes <br> on nominals | $-/ e$ | 'approximate locativiser' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $-/ i$ | 'exact locativiser' | | (same suffix as the second one in Set II but with |
| :--- |
| slightly different traits) |
| (same suffix as the third one in Set II but with |
| slightly different traits) |

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

## Approximate locativiser -le

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) huei-le = kôu
water-A. LocR=Loc
'in the water'
99) aso-le = koû
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. ${ }^{65}$

| 100) | kansol dihí-le council eye-a.Locr | diho | 'eye' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 'in front of the council' |  |  |
| 101) | hebe ye-le <br> tree base-A.LOCR | yo | 'base' |
|  | 'at the base of (a) tree' |  |  |
| 102) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { widi-le + toû } \\ & \text { head-A. LOCR+up } \end{aligned}$ | widio | 'head' |
|  | 'on the head' |  |  |

## Exact locativiser -li

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) huei-li-koú
water-E. LOCR=LOC
'right in the water'
104)
$w e-l i=k o u$
sand-E. LOCR=LOC
'right in the sand'

[^30]
## Locativiser -ba 'along'

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

```
105) Ke-ge to-ba miye susuá-moû fe-l-i-gi
        that-VBR river-along fish dive.for-PFV come.up-IRR-NFUT-DSQ
```

    '(He) did like that, diving for fish along the river and coming on until ...'
    106) Yesu=boû dịa sa Jerusalem=koû ya-di 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=kou
    tree cut-nfut-place= Loc
    'in (the) garden/(an) area of cut (down) trees'
```

108) mihí da-i-mi=koû 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 $+d u$
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 koúu- 'this' or ke '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) $\underset{\text { E }}{ }$ koû-g(u)e tobo-u,

3s this-VBr(bltv) say-nfut
'He said like this,...'
112) Ke-ge=yodi---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-moû $\quad$ a i-l-e ...
that-VBR-PFV 1s 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'
117) ka-ge-moû
how-VBR-PFV
'why'
The verbalising suffix -ge may also be attached to the derived locative forms: koule '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) $\underline{a}$ tewe moû-l-í mei fogo-u. Ke-le-ge-moû, $\underline{a}$ fi+ma-i 1s know get-IRR-NFUTNEG leave.for-NFUT that-A.LOCR-VBR-PFV 1 s 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 $=g e$, 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) fusaka dihi hou-yosi ke-ge
cat child thumb-nUMR that-VBR

### 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 $\quad$ '-reflexive' suffixed to emphatic pronouns (4.3.3)
-sofei '- self alone’ suffixed to possessive pronouns (4.3.2)
-bukoû '-first' suffixed mostly to possessive pronouns, ${ }^{66}$ but also to the demonstrative pronoun ke 'that'
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { 123) Dia dioû-sie } & \text { soloú }=\text { do } & \text { dege-i. } \\ \text { 3PL 3PL.EMP-REFL heart=INT } & \text { do-NFUT }\end{array}$
'They were sorry for themselves.'
124) Ni ... níoû-sie mogo dege-i-ba mogo dege-i-ba de-ma.

2PL ... 2PL.EMP-REFL friend do-NFUT-PFV.IRR friend do-NFUT-PFV.IRR PROV-DU/PL
'Be friends with each other.'
125) a mayôu-sie hoho dege-i=ye do-moú

1s 1s.EMP-REFL light do-nfut=OPT PROV-PFV
'Lest I be conceited .../Lest I rejoice over myself ...'
126) e-sofei i-l-e

3s-self.alone go-IRR-FUT
'he will go alone'

[^31]127) Yo=be $\underline{a}=m e$ ma-sofei dala mei
base=tор 1s=tор 1s.poss-self.alone be/have neg
'Because I am not by myself ...'
128) sasai die-soféi dala mei,
woman 3pL.poss-self.alone be/have NEG
haba die-sofé o=ne dala mei. ... dia
but.PFV.IRR man=also 3pL.poss-self.alone be/have NEG ... 3pL
diôû-sie y-ogo dogoûugu-moûu dogoúgu-moûu 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 ... Kolowu = kôu mu-gua-môu, é-bukoûu miye susuag, ... 1du.EX ... Konoun=loc go.down-du/pl-pfv 3s-first fish dive.for ...
haba $\underline{a}$ susua-i.
but. PFV.IRR 1 s 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.'
130) sasai e-bukôu mo-u sasai
woman 3s-first get-nfut woman
'first wife'
131) $\underline{a}$ boû ta $\underline{e}$-bukoû $h u+s o-l-\underline{o u}$

1s white.man talk 3s-first name+call-IRR-NPST
'I'll read the English first.'
132) Godi=ha tobôu-mô̂ má-bukô̂ hagua dala God=gen say-PFV 1s.poss-first come be/have
'... God sending me, I was the first (to) come and be (here) ...'
133) kogou ke-bukôu moûu $+m \underline{a}$ dogogu-o ... dou ko $=k o ̂ u$ hebe-l-e
weed that-first get+put put-FUT ... fire that=Loc carry-IRR-FUT mu-gu-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

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.

| 134) | m-ogo | n-ogo | $\boldsymbol{y}$-ogo |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1s.EMP-friend '(my) friend' | 2s.EMP-friend 'your friend' | 3s.EMP-friend 'his/her friend' |
|  | Compare: |  |  |
|  | mayoúu 'I myself' | nôu 'you yourself' | $\boldsymbol{y}$ Oû 'he himself/she herself' |
|  | $\boldsymbol{m a}$ 'my' | ne 'your' | (e '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:

| $\boldsymbol{a d i o u}$ | 1s.mother 'mother' | (Lowland dialect) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| duoû | mother 'mother', | (other dialects) |
| $\boldsymbol{a}$-duoú | 1s-mother 'mother/my mother' | (other dialects) |
| $\underline{\text { Compare: }}$ |  |  |
| $\underline{\underline{a} \text { 'I' }}$ |  |  |

### 3.1.3.2 Directional prefixes

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


### 3.2 Suppletion

There are a few suppletive forms.

| dihi | 'child' | sisigo | '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.

| diafoúu | 'cut (sg.)' | diafigi |  | 'cut (du./pl. object)' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sia | 'walk around (sg.)' | sulu.gua | $\ldots . \mathrm{DU} / \mathrm{PL}$ | '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 | $a+h u=d o$ | 'road+far=INT' | ahudo | 'far away' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{V}$ | sa+biye-i | 'land+sit-NFUT' | sabiyei | 'in the morning' |
|  | $a+k o-g u$ | 'road+hinder-OF.NFUT' | akogu | 'hinder' |
|  | $\underline{f} \mathbf{i}+m \underline{\underline{a}-i}$ | 'soul+put-NFUT' | fimai | 'a thought' |
| N+N | $a+d i$ | 'door+area beside door' | adi | 'doorpost' |
| N+N | $m a g a+u$ | 'jaw+hole' | mogou | 'mouth' |
| ADJ+V | damale + ode | 'true+say' | damaleyode | 'believe' |
| ADV+ADV | $a f u+k o u$ | 'earlier+prior' | afukôu | 'old' |

[^32]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).


### 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 $\underline{a}$ ta-l-e |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2s talk-IRR-FUT NEG be/have-IRR-NFUT |  |
| 'You will now not be able to speak.' |  |

139) $\quad$ Godi $=h \underline{a} \boldsymbol{t} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}$

God=GEN talk
'the Word of God'
140) fafa-i
cut.flat.surface-nfut
'table'
141) na-l-e
(FUT)
eat-IRR-FUT
'food'
142) biya-di
(HAB)
fight-нAB
'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-moú

RED.PL-sleep-PFV
'rest again and again' (about the progress of a mortally wounded pig)
144) Tisa = ha $\quad$ ele = mokoûu boû ta he-hegi-e-i.
teacher=GEN 1dU.EX=LOC white.man talk RED.PL-show-RED.PL ${ }^{68}$-NFUT
'The teacher taught us English (plural object, as well as on a daily basis).'

[^33]145) Sa kuo=koû=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. taha 'shoot'.
146) Taha taha-ma hebe-l-e mu-gu fiyo-u-mou 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) ni \(=n e \quad\) nioû-sie \(\quad\)-ogo \(=k o u ̂ \quad\) soloû \(=\) do dege-i-ba
2PL=also 2PL.EMP-REFL 3s.EMP-friend=Loc heart=INT do-NFUT-PFV.IRR
soloûu =do dege-i-ba de-ma=be=ede-i
heart=INT do-NFUT-PFV.IRR PROV-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=nôu $\quad$ bolo $=$ fei $\quad t a=n o u ̂ \quad$ bolo $=$ fé $i$

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, ${ }^{69}$ 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 | Limiter ${ }_{\text {I }}$ | (Intensifier) | Limiter $_{\text {II }}$ | Conjunction | (Intensifier) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $=d o$ | $=h \underline{a},=k o u,=y e$ | = nout | $=d o$ | $=f \underline{e l}$, $=n e$ | = boû | $=d o$ |
| intensifier | genitive/control locative <br> instrumental | only | intensifier | $\begin{aligned} & \text { total } \\ & \text { also } \end{aligned}$ | 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)
$\underline{f} \underline{i}=\boldsymbol{y e}=\boldsymbol{n o u} \quad$ tawa-i soul=ins=only know-nfut
'(he/she) knew (it) by heart/... by (his/her) heart only'
150) yo $\quad$ bolou $=n o \hat{u}=d o=$ fei sogo-gu
banana two=only=int=total plant-of
'(he) planted a total of only two banana trees'
151) Tigi nele $=\boldsymbol{d o}=\boldsymbol{y e}=\boldsymbol{n e}$ 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.'
 that=only=CNTR base=TOP 3s hair=and=INT that=GEN=only bad
'But only because he has feathers (he) is bad.'

[^34]```
153) \(m \underline{a} \quad a y e=d o\)
    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.

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
=\{h \underline{a}\} & \text { 'genitive' } & \begin{array}{l}
\text { includes possessive, controlling agents, } \\
\text { reason and time relationships }
\end{array} \\
=\{y e\} & \text { 'instrumental' } & \begin{array}{l}
\text { includes instrumental, non-referential; minor, non-controlling agents } \\
\text { (as props), as well as means }
\end{array} \\
=\{k o u ̂\} & \text { 'locative' } & \begin{array}{l}
\text { includes locative, allative, recipient }
\end{array}
\end{array}
$$

Genitive case marker $=\{\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}\}$
154) sasai=ha so
woman=GEN dog
'the woman's dog'
$s a s \underline{a}=h a=l e$
woman=GEN=indp.poss
'the woman's'
155) di tewe

Godi $=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}=$ noû tewe.
God=GEN=only know

## possessive

controlling agent
'... we don't know; only God knows.'
156) Dahamo tisa hagu=ya
mei $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h a}$ dege-moû,
reason
Dahamo teacher come=subj
neg that=GEN do-PFV
duoú aye ke+dig
mother father that+3pL
'Because there is no teacher coming to Dahamo, the parents ...'
157) sasaí $\underline{e}$ do hiye=do dege-i-môu, o ke+diag hebe $+m \underline{a}$
reason
woman 3s sickness big=int do-nfut-PFV man that+3plcarry+put
Dahamo i $k a=h \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ hagí $\underline{a}=b o u ̂+d e \quad$ dala.
Dahamo go.nfut that=GEN heavy $1 \mathrm{~s}=$ and=Prov be/have
' $\ldots$. 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 $k a=h \underline{a}$ fele-i, Monday $k \underline{o u}=m a=h \underline{a}, \quad$ temporal setting

Sunday that=gen go.up-nfut Monday this=top=gen
sele 170 kina to-l-ou i
money 170 kina hold-IRR-NPST go.nFUT
'(I) arrived last Sunday; this Monday (I) held K170 and went ...'
Instrumental case marker $=\{\boldsymbol{y e}\}$ (dialectal/personal variant $=\boldsymbol{e}$ )
159) Na hei=ye dou hebe-l-i.
instrumental
2s axe=Ins fire cut-IRR-NFUT
'You are cutting firewood with an axe.'
160) fíl $=\boldsymbol{y e}=$ noú tawa-i
soul=ins=only know-nfut
'(he/she) knew (it) by heart/... in (his/her) heart'
161) sio miye=be ... Dig=me $o=y e \quad$ taha-l-i, non-referential
bird Victoria.pigeon=TOP... 3pL=TOP man=INS shoot-IRR-NFUT
mala gobo-l-ôu $+m \underline{\text { a }}$ fogoû $i-d i$
arrow break-IRR-NPST+put leave.for go-HAB
'... Victoria pigeons ... When they are shot at by man, (they) break off (the) arrow and leaving (they) go.'
162) afu $o=\boldsymbol{e}$ ta tawa-l-i mei
non-referential
earlier man=INS INDF know-IRR-NFUT NEG
'people did not know anything before'
163) $H e b e=b e$ o $k e+d i \underline{i}$ hou sege-i=ye=noû 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) \(s a s a m a=y e=g e\)
temporal
ring.finger = INS=F.CNTR
setting
    'on Tuesday'
```

Locative case marker $=\{k o ̂ u\} \quad$ mokoû $\quad$ (used on personal pronouns)

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
=\text { makoû } & \text { (used on emphatic pronouns) } \\
=k o ̂ u & \text { (used elsewhere) }
\end{array}
$$

Locative case marker =mokoû - on personal pronouns

> | 165) | $\begin{array}{l}\text { Diou } \\ \text { mosquito } \\ \text { 1s=LOC mokou duwo. }\end{array}$ | sit |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

'The mosquito is sitting on me.'
166) hoho hiye = do ta $\underline{e}=$ mokoû hagu-moû dugu. allative light big=int indF 3s=loc come.nfut-pFV see.nfut
'...(he) saw a big light coming towards him.'
167) Ne adiôu $=h \underline{a} \quad \underline{a}=m o k o u ̂ u \underline{-i}$.
recipient
2 s .poss mother=GEN $1 \mathrm{~s}=$ LOC give-NFUT
'Your mother gave it to me.'
Locative case marker =makoú - on emphatic pronouns
168) sele hiyou =ye mo- $\underline{u} \quad k \underline{e} \underline{a}$ sele haba dosôu +dia recipient money steal=INS get-NFUT that 1 s money but.PFV.IRR index.finger+3pL
ke-ge dogoûgu-o-ba, diôu =makoû boho-l-ôu nê-moû i-l-a-moû that-VBR help-FUT-PFV.IRR 3PL.EMP=LOC turn-IRR-NPST give-PFV go-IRR-SUBJ-PFV '... the money (I) have stolen, I will join four times and give back to each person ...'
Locative case marker $=\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{o u}$ - elsewhere


### 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)

$$
\begin{aligned}
=n o u ́ ~ ' o n l y ' ~ & =\text { fei 'total' } \\
& =n e \text { 'also' }
\end{aligned}
$$

172) yo $\quad$ bololou $=$ nôu $=d o=$ fei sogo-gu
banana two=only=int=total plant-of
'(he) planted a total of only two bananas'
173) Tigi nele $=d o=y e=n e \quad$ 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.'

### 3.6.1.3 The intensifier =do

The enclitic $=d o$ 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) o hiye =do
man big=int
(a) really big man/(the) man (is) really big’
175) $\quad O=b e \quad h i y e=d o$.
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'
177) sasai $s a s a=d o$
woman tall=INT
'(a) very tall woman/(the) woman (is) very tall'
178) $O \quad m e i=d o$.
man NEG=INT
'(There are) no people (here) at all.'
179) $a+h u=d o$
road+far=int
'far away'
180) $d \underline{d o u}=d o$
straight=INT
'very straight'
181) $\boldsymbol{s} \underline{u}=d o$
many=Int
'very many'
182) gusugu=do
morning=INT
'very early (in the) morning'
183) $A f u=d o \quad o \quad$ ta $\underline{e}$ mowi $i$.
earlier=Int man INDF 3 s hunt go.nfut
'Some time ago, (a) man went hunting.'
184) $\underset{\text { E }}{ } \quad$ Godi=koû taga-l-i=do.

3s God=Loc like-IRR-NFUT=Int
'He loves God very much.'
185) $\underline{E}$ goso-l-o $\quad m e i=d o$.

3s cry-IRR-FUT NEG=INT
'He will definitely not cry.'
186) Yesu hu folo =do

Jesus name go.up=int
'praising (the) name Jesus/(the) name Jesus going up very high'
187) Mei dege-l-adi=do.

NEG do-IRR-PROS=INT
'(I'm) really just about finished.'

```
188) \(O \quad k \underline{o u}=m e\) koyo \(=d o\) ?
    man this=TOP who=Int
    'Who really is this man?'
189) \(m \underline{a} \quad a y e=d o\)
    1s.poss father=int
    'my real father' (i.e. not a paternal uncle)
190) \(m a \quad m o g o=d o\)
    1s.poss friend=Int
    'my special friend'
191) oû towôu mei, towoû = do
    sago string.skirt neg string.skirt=INT
    'not (a) sago string skirt, (a) real string skirt (i.e. made from swamp grass)'
192) \(o=d o\)
    man=int
    '(an) old man'
```


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

The enclitic =boû 'and/with/also' is used to co-ordinate any kind of non-verbal phrases. It is attached to each co-ordinate phrase.

```
193) \(M \underline{a} \quad a y e=b o u ̂ u \quad \underline{a}=b o \hat{u}\) ele \(y a-i\).
    1s.poss father=and 1s=and 1Du.EX go.DU/PL-NFUT
    'My father and I went.'
```

194) $I=$ boû $\quad w e=$ boû $\quad$ 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 sasa\underline{i}}\mathrm{ hagíi=boû
    man woman heavy=and
    'people with trouble'
```

196) $\underline{E}$ difi hiye $=$ do. $N \underline{a}=b o u ̂ \quad t a=n o u ̂ \quad$ difi hiye $=d o$.
3 s heat big=INT $2 \mathrm{~s}=$ 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 $=l e$ 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 $\underline{f}=b e \quad k o y o=h a=l e ?$
> 1PL.IN SOUl=TOP Who=GEN=INDP.POSS
> 'Whose are our souls?'
198) $Y$ esu $=\boldsymbol{h a}=\boldsymbol{l} \boldsymbol{e}$

Jesus=GEN=INDP. poss
'Jesus'.'

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

```
199) ma mala=ha=le dihi
    1s.POSS younger.sibling=GEN=INDP.POSS child
    'my younger sibling's child'
```


### 3.6.2 Sentence enclitics

There are three enclitics marking illocutionary force.

- $=(y) o \quad$ 'indicative' in some statements
- $\quad=(y) e \quad$ 'optative’ in some commands \& suggestions
- $\quad=(y) a \quad$ '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) $\underline{A}$ Dahamo $=k o u ̂=g e$ sawisie-i Tuesday $k a=h \underline{a}$ fene

1s Dahamo=Loc=F.CNTR be.day-nfut Tuesday that=GEN airplane
$m u-l-\underline{o}=$ yo + de-i-moû baha duwo-l-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) a dia dogoûgu=ye+de tobo-l-oû i-moû du-l-o-moû 1s 3PL help=OPT+PRov say-IRR-NPST go-PFV hear-IRR-FUT-PFV
'... I having heard that they had said I must help them ...'
202) na ma dabai toloûu-ba dege=ya+do-moûu maka dege-l-i 2s 1s.POSS work hold-PFV.IRR do=SUBJ+PROV-PFV mark do-IRR-NFUT ku-he.
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.

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
=b e & \text { 'topic marker' } & \text { see } 8.3 \\
=g e & \text { 'contrastive focus marker' } & \text { see } 8.4 \\
=s i & \text { 'contrastive marker' } & \text { see 7.3.3.4 }
\end{array}
$$

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 $=s i$ and the topic marker $=b e$ may occasionally be found on the same word, with the topic marker last. ${ }^{70}$

The topic marker $=\{$ be $\}$
Marking of topic ${ }^{71}$ 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: $=m e \quad$ major variant, occurs on nasal pronouns

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
=b & \text { minor variant, occurs before the subjunctive quote verb =ade in forms with plural object } \\
=m a & \text { minor variant, occurs preceding =hag} \text { 'genitive' in some demonstrative forms } \\
=b e & \text { occurs elsewhere }
\end{array}
$$

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.

[^35]203) Tawa-l-e ta ke=me koû-g(u)e, $\underline{a}=\boldsymbol{m e}$ hagi 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) $\underline{A}=\boldsymbol{m e}$ ifi=be lesson 14 ... $=$ boû, haba kuguo hiye=be lesson 1s=top today=top lesson 14 ...=and but. PFV.IRR paper big=top lesson
6... ke-ge he-hegi-e-l-i.
6... that-VBR RED.PL-Show-RED.PL-IRR-NFUT
'Today I am teaching lesson $14 \ldots$ and also lesson $6 \ldots$ in the Big Book.'
205) 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 (there).'
206) Beye ... $\underline{E}$ na-l-e na-l-a-moû su-l-u ku-he possum ... 3s food-IRR-FUT food-IRR-SUBJ-PFV walk.around-IRR-NFUT this-P. LOCR

| Ke $=n o u ̂=s i=b \boldsymbol{e}$ | sisigo $=y e$ | wo-l-o sagai mei. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that $=0$ 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) n\underline{a}}\mathrm{ dolou=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 functions in conditional sentences, marking the antecedent.

| 208) | O=be kou? verbless clause <br>  man=top where <br>  'Where are people?' | 6.2 VERBLESS CLAUSES |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

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) Ulie \(k \underline{u} u=m a=h \underline{a}\)
    cicada this=TOP=GEN
    ‘This particular cicada ...'
```

211) hohobboú-ma=b=ado-moú
be.glad-DU/PL=TOP=SQV-PFV
'... in order for them to rejoice ...'

## The contrastive focus marker $=g e$

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


## demonstrative word

4.8.2.1 THE DEMONSTRATIVE ...
quote verb =ade 'assert'
4.1.1.3 Quote verbs
be.glad-DU/PL=TOP=SQV-PFV
(

## The contrastive marker =si

One way to signal semantic contrast is to use the discourse enclitic $=s i$ '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 $=s i$ 'contrastive marker' and $=g e$ 'contrastive focus marker' is that $=g e$ functions as a mark of reference in regard to participant, time and location, while $=s i$ contrasts semantic content of phrases and/or clauses/sentences.

```
214) Godi sa sibige koû milo-u, \(\underline{e}=n o ̂ u=s i \quad\) damale \(=\) do Godi.
    God land essence prior work-nfut 3s-only=CNTR true-INT God
    'But God, who made the world, only he is the true God.'
215) Soti \(=h \underline{a}=s i \quad\) tewe .
    Soti=GEN=CNTR know
    'But Soti knows.' (about an ancestor custom)
```



```
    e \(\quad \operatorname{mogo}=h \underline{a} \quad\) moso \(=k o u ̂\) tia-l-e,
    3s friend=gen house=loc sleep-IRR-fUT
```

'But 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) $K \underline{e}=n o ̂ u=s i \quad \underline{e} \quad$ 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.

### 3.7.1 Three sets of homophones

| category | form | meaning | function | example |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| numerical suffix | -ma | 'non-singular' | in imperative \& prohibitive mood | (218) |
| medial verb suffix | -ma | 'immediate sequence' | telic in medial verbs expressing sequence | (219) |
| verb | ma | 'put' | telic in serial verb constructions expressing plural object | (220) |
| derivational suffix | $-g e$ | 'verbaliser' | verbaliser of some demonstrative pronouns and some question words | (222) |
| discourse enclitic | $=g e$ | 'contrastive focus' | contrastive focus in regards to participants, time and location | $\begin{aligned} & (223),(224) \\ & (225) \end{aligned}$ |
| derivational suffix | -le | 'approximate locativiser' | derives an adverb from a demonstrative or a noun | (228), (229) |
| independent enclitic | $=1 e$ | 'independent possessive’ | makes a complete NP of a possessive construction, where the possessed item is not mentioned | (230) |

The suffixes - $\boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{a}$ ‘dual/plural' (3.1.1.3), $\boldsymbol{- m a}$ 'immediate sequence' (3.1.1.4) and $\boldsymbol{m a} \boldsymbol{a}$ 'put' (5.1.3.8)
218) i-ma
go-DU/PL
'you (du./pl.) go!'
219) Wai guag-ma i-môu, $\underline{a}$ sese-ga i. pig squeal-ISQ go.nfut-PFV 1 s 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.

 '(The) fish is trying to kill and eat (the) crayfish (sg.)'

The suffix - $\boldsymbol{g e} \boldsymbol{e}$ 'verbaliser' (3.1.2.3) and the enclitic $=\boldsymbol{g e} \boldsymbol{e}$ 'contrastive focus marker' (3.6.3)
222) ke-ge
that-VBR
'be like that'
223) $\begin{array}{llllllllll}\underline{a} & f \underline{i} & \text { hiye } & m \underline{a}-\dot{i}=b e & k o u ̂-g(u) e & m a-i & Y e s u & n \underline{a}=\boldsymbol{g e} & \underline{a} \\ \text { 1s } & \text { soul } & \text { big } & \text { put-NFUT=TOP } & \text { this-VBR(BLTV) } & \text { put-nFUT } & \text { Jesus } & 2 s=F . C N T R & 1 s\end{array}$
dogoûgu-ba, haba a tewe mo-l-ôu de tawa-l-e-moû help.nFUT-PFV.IRR but.PFV.IRR 1s know get-IRR-NPST PROV know-IRR-FUT-PFV
$\underline{a} \underline{e}=$ mokoû diho baga tobo-u.
1s 3 s=loc eye close.eye say-nfut
'... thinking deeply, I thought like this, "When you Jesus help me, then I will get knowledge," and having realized that, I closed (my) eyes and said (prayed) to him.'

| 224) | afu | $a f u=\boldsymbol{g e}$ | $h a . b a$ | $h a . b a=\boldsymbol{g e}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | earlier | earlier=F.CNTR | but.PFV.IRR | but.PFV. IRR=F.CNTR |
| 'earlier' | 'earlier'(as opposed to now or later) | 'again/but' | 'later' |  |

225) ôu ha-i ko=koû = ge
sago cut-nfut that=LOC=F.CNTR
'from/at (the place) of the cut down sago (palm)'
In the next two examples we can see the point of contact between the suffix and the enclitic. In (227), it seems that $-g e$ must be the verbaliser (it is followed by a medial verb suffix).
```
226) dia Sunday ke-le-ge mala hagua-si-l-e.
    3pL Sunday that-A. LOCR-VBR get.IRR. FUT come-DU/PL-IRR-FUT
    '.. they will bring it on Sunday'
```

| 227) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Duwo-di, }{ }^{72} \\ & \text { sit-DSQ } \end{aligned}$ | $\frac{\underline{a}}{1 \mathrm{~s}}$ | tewe <br> know | $\begin{aligned} & \text { môu-l-i } \\ & \text { get-IRR-NPST } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { mei } \\ & \text { NEG } \end{aligned}$ | fogo-u. <br> leave.for-nfut | Ke-le-ge-moú, <br> that-A. LOCR-VBR-PFV |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{a} \quad \mathrm{fi}+$ ma-i $\quad$ hiye $=$ do dege-i. <br> 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) boû-gu-le
across-DEMR.D-A.LOCR
'somewhere across there'
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { 229) } & \underline{e} \text { eye }=h \underline{a} \\ \text { 3s older.brother=GEN } & \text { dihi-le } \\ & \text { eye-A.LOCR } \\ \text { 'in front of his older brother' } & \end{array}$
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { 230) } & m a y e=h a=\boldsymbol{e} \\ \text { 1s. Poss father }=G E N=\text { INDP. POSS } \\ \text { 'my father's' }\end{array}$

[^36]
### 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 - $g i$ 'delayed sequence'. It is always preceded by the irrealis suffix $-/$ - 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'.

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text { 231) } & I, & i-l-e & i-I-i-g i, & \text { Kiunga=koû. } \\
\text { go.nFUT go-IRR-FUT go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ } & \text { Kiunga=Loc }
\end{array}
$$

In the Mountain dialect, ${ }^{73}$ however, $-g i$ is used also on existential state verbs, but without the preceding $-I-V$. The suffix $-g i$, 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.


The examples below will show only the Mountain dialect forms.
233) $\underline{e}$ sokouloû duwo-gi, holode dege-i-moû, $\underline{e}$ 3s school sit-DSQ holiday do-NFUT-PFV 3s
'... he was in school until (it) having become holiday, he ...' (Mountain dialect)
234) Duwo-di, a tewe moû-l-i mei fogo-u. sit-dSQ 1s know get-IRR-NFUT NEG leave.for-nfut
'I stayed until, getting no knowledge, I left.' (Mountain dialect; part of (227))
235) kuguo dugu=be dugu-l-o hague-i-moû ke-ge
paper see.nfut=top see-IRR-FUT be.difficult-nfut-PFV that-VBR
$i-I-i-d i, \quad G o d i=h \underline{a} t \underline{a} \quad h u y a d e f \underline{e} i \quad m \underline{a} d u o \quad d o g o g u$,
go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ God=GEN talk little.total 1s.poss spirit put.NFUT
a i-l-i-di ise kuhe toûfogoû-l-a-mou.
1s go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ finally so leave-IRR-SUBJ-PFV
'... (I) finding it hard to read, (and it) going on like that until a little of God’s Word had (been) put into my heart; (and) going on like that until (I) am/was finally ready to die.' (Mountain dialect)
236) $\begin{array}{llll}\underline{E} & \text { su-I-u-di } & \text { dugu=be, } & \text { wai i-moû dugu. } \\ \text { 3s walk.around-IRR-NFUT-DSQ } & \text { see.NFUT=TOP } & \text { pig go-PFV see.nFUT }\end{array}$
'He walked around until he saw a pig going away from him.' (Mountain dialect)

[^37]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 nonfuture 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 ОвJест 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-I-u.
man come-IRR-NFUT
'The man is coming.'

## Existential state verb, stable situation

238) $\underline{A}=$ me duwo.

1s=Top sit
'I am here.'

## Existential state verb, temporary/unstable situation

```
239) E}\mathrm{ E baha duwo-I-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.


[^38]```
247) \underline{A mag dibi tie sa kôu}=me gali s\underline{u}=do dala.
    1s 1s.poss forest live land this=topwild.animal many=intbe/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:
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
dafa & 'be tired of' & \\
tewe & 'know' & \\
(from tawa 'know/understand')
\end{tabular}
```

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) $O \quad k o y o=h \underline{a} \underline{a}$ dafo-l-u $\underline{e} \underline{=}=m e, \quad \underline{e}=m e \quad m \underline{a} \quad$ Aye $=n e$
man who=GEN 1 s 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) $a$ tewe
a tawa-l-i
1s know 1s know-IRR-NFUT
'I know' 'I understand'

### 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- | 'run a fever' |
| 252) | hiye dege--- | (big do-IRR-NFUT) | 'is growing' | hiye deg | (big do-NFUT) | 'be grown' |

### 4.1.1.2 Pro-verbs

There are four pro-verbs:

| dege | 'do' |
| :--- | :--- |
| de | 'pro-verb' |
| koügue | '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 -moú 'perfective' and -gi 'delayed sequence' may be involved. Some speakers use them more than others.


## 261) Mosole boho-l-oú-môu dege-i. <br> 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-moú -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) \(\underline{A}=\) me kuguo nalag-/-a-moû dege-I-i.
    1s=top paper write-IRR-SUBJ-PFV do-IRR-NFUT
    'I'm trying to write a letter.'
```


## De 'pro-verb'

Another proverb is $\{d e\}$, 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 $d e$ to be able to take the suffix - $m a$ 'immediate sequence'.
263) yo-l-u-gi, Mende=kồ mu-gua duwo de-ma, haba haguag-ma go.du/PL-IRR-NFUT-DSQ Mende=LOC go.down-DU/PL sit PROV-ISQ but.PFV.IRR rise-ISQ yo-l-u-gi, sa $\underline{e} \quad h \underline{u}=b e \quad$ Ukarumpa = koû mu-gua-i. go.dU/PL-IRR-NFUT-DSQ land 3s name=top Ukarumpa=Loc go.down-DU/PL-NFUT
' ... we (two) ... going on until Mende, after having gone down and sitting (there and) after going up again, we went on until we went down at a place called Ukarumpa.'

## - 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).
264) Dihi $k a=h \underline{a}=g e \quad \underline{e}$ aye huguli $k e+d i \underline{a} \quad t \underline{a}=n o \hat{u} \quad d u-l-o$ child that=GEN=F.CNTR 3 s father guardian that+3pL talk=only hear-IRR-FUT sese-ga-mố $\quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{b e}$ de-ba, sadebe $\underline{e}$ aye=ha follow-du/PL-PFV go=TOP PROV-PFV.IRR year 3s father=GEN maka $+m \underline{\underline{-}}$ - sagai $k o=k o u ̂$ kuhe folo 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) Ni sawisie ke deferi = do tawa-l-e dala-ma, kefe-guo na de-ma. 2PLbe.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) Diog=me di sosoû dele-i de-ba=be, dia di 3PL=TOP 1PL.IN familybe/have-nFUT PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP 3PL 1PL.IN toûfogoû-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 $\underline{e}$ sasai Dasame dilie Mali $\underline{o}=k o ̂ u$ be.morning. FUT-PFV Asele 3du 3s woman Dasame 3du Malin mouth.of.river=Loc
yo-u-moû, James = boû e sasai Dalai=boû $\underline{a}=$ boû ei $\quad$ Dahamo $=k o ̂ u$ go.DU/PL-NFUT-PFV James=and 3swoman Dalai=and 1s=and1PL.EX Dahamo=Loc fogoû hagua-sie-i-moû 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-moû, bird fight go.around-IRR-NFUT-DSQ bird INDF attack-NFUT-PFV $\begin{array}{llllll}\text { sowale ta wo-u-moûu } & \text { ta } & \text { de-ma mala } \quad \text { hebe-l-e } & \text { hague-i } \\ \text { lizard } & \text { INDF } & \text { attack-NFUT-PFV } & \text { PROV-ISQ get.IRR.FUT carry-IRR-FUT come-NFUT }\end{array}$
'(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 $=h a=g e \quad d i=m o k o u \quad$ midiho e-sofei $\quad$ ta dege-ma, haba sa God=GEN=F.CNTR 1PL.IN=LOC face 3s-SELF.ALONE INDF do-ISQ but.PFV.IRR land ta o ke+diag=mokoûu midiho e-sofei ta dege-ma de-di=yo mei. INDF man that+3pL=Loc face 3s-self.alone INDF do-ISQ 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 kôu =me yo=boû siya=boû bisope=boû + 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 | mala |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ de-i

'A long time ago there were seven brothers.'

## Demonstrative pro-verbs koûgue '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 kourgue has only been found in its basic and in its past final forms.

273) $\underline{A} \quad n \underline{a}=m o k o ̂ ̂ u ~ t a w a-l-e ~ t o g ~ y a=f \underline{e}=d o ~ k \underline{o ̂ u} \quad k o ̂ ̂-g(u) e-i . ~ . . . ~$

1s 2s=Loc know-IRR-FUT talk small=total=int this this-VBR(bLTV)-NFUT ...
Dahamo koú-le hagu-ba=be, na ne sele=ye gita ta moú. Dahamo this-A.LOCR come.nFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP 2 s 2 s. POSs money=INS guitar INDF get.IMP 'I have this very small message (request) for you like this: ... when you come here to Dahamo, bring a guitar (bought) for your money.'
274) $\underline{E}$ ke-ge haguisa-i.

3s that-VBR 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=topessence big=int
'Because of being like that, the importance of the fire is great.'
276) Ke-ge-I-i-gi o ta=ha ta oúga tobo-u=ye. that-VBR-IRR-NFUT-DSQ man INDF=GEN talk deceive say-NFUT=OPT
'Going on like that until nobody can deceive you.'
277) Ke-ge-moû wai kamafôu-moû, a that-VBR-PFV pig run-PFV 1s
'Having become like that/Then/So while the pig was running away, I ...'
278) $\underline{e}$ fílye hagị dege dala. Ke-ge-ma-môu, Godi=ha

3s soul=ins heavy do be/have that-VBR-ISQ-PFV God=GEN
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { Jona } & \text { bologua } & \text { he-hegi-e-i } \\ \text { Jonah } & \text { good.do } & \text { RED.PL-show-RED.PL-NFUT }\end{array}$
' ... 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) | $\boldsymbol{e}$ dihi oloufei | 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.

|  | structure | gloss | free translation | cliticises to |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| - $=(y) o+d e$ | (=indicative+PROV) | indicative quote verb (=IQv) | 'say' | anything |
| - = (y)e $+d e$ | (=optative+PROV) | optative quote verb (=OQv) | 'direct/instruct' | verb in basic form |
| $\text { - }=(y) a+d e$ | (=subjunctive+PROv) | subjunctive quote verb (=SQv) | 'assert/think that something is true’ (but it may not be) | anything |
| - $=d(0)=a+d e$ | (=intensifier=Subj. + PR | 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
$((-\mathrm{PROH})-\mathrm{DU} / \mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{TOP}=\mathrm{OQV})$

- (-da)-me=be=ede ((-PROH)-HORT=TOP=OQV)
free translation
' suggest to you (du./pl.)/them (not) to ...' verb in basic form
'suggest, "Let's (not) ..."' verb in basic form
'order you (du./pl.)/them (not) to ...'
'order, "Let's' (not) ..."'
cliticises to verb in basic form
verb in basic form ${ }^{75}$

[^39]As the most common syllable pattern in Konai is CVCV, the singular quote verbs, in most cases, start with a $-\boldsymbol{y}$. Also, the quote verbs, being type 2 verbs, are regular in spelling, in that the irrealis non-future form, i.e. present tense, are $=o d i l i$, =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).
280) Dahamo=be 1,466 kina ke=noû=féi mala hagua-ba, Dahamo=tор 1,466 kina that=only=total get.IRR.FUT come.fUT-PFV.IRR mola moso ke bologua-l-e=yode tobo-l-oú 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.'
281) $\underline{a}=$ boû Yagu=boû ele to to-l-o=yode-ma 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.'
282) Josef $\underline{e}=g e \quad$ ta bolo=yodi-l-i mei. Joseph 3s=F.CNTR INDF good=IQV-IRR-NFUT NEG
'... Joseph did not agree at all'
283) Hagua=yedi-I-i.
come=oQv-IRR-NFUT
'"Come (sg.)," (he) says.'
284) hagua-sie-ma=be=edi-I-i
come-DU/PL-DU/PL=TOP=OQV-IRR-NFUT
'"Come (du./pl.)," (he) says.'
285) Dihi $k \underline{\underline{o} u}=m e ~ \underline{e} \quad a d i o u=h \underline{a} \quad$ huei doû $i=y e d e-m o u$, child this=top 3s mother=Gen water draw go=oQv-PFV
huei doû i, $\underline{e}$
water draw go.nfut 3s
'This child, his mother having told him to go and draw water, (he) went to draw water; he ...'
286) $\underline{e}$ sidifi ta dege-da=yede-i.

3s shame INDF do-PROH=OQV-NFUT
'... he must not be ashamed.'
287) Jona $=h \underline{a}$ diga $=$ mokoû tobo-u, ní $\underline{a}=n o ̂ u ~ m a l \underline{a} \quad$ huei-le $=k o \hat{u}$ Jonah=GEN 3pL=Loc say-nfut 2pl 1s=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) $d a$ to to $i-m e=b \boldsymbol{e}=\boldsymbol{e d e}$ tobo-u.

1du.IN river wash go-HORT=TOP=OQV say-NFUT
'... "Let the two of us go swimming," he suggested and said.'
289) $\underline{e}$ dia ta-da-ma=be=ede-i.

3s 3PL talk-PROH-DU/PL=TOP=OQV-NFUT
'... he told them not to speak.'
290) dihi ke=me te-i sagai tila-moú o ke+diag child that=Top die-nfut likely lie.down-PFV man that+3pL
to-lo $i=y a d e \quad$ tawa-l-e i.
die-IRR-FUT go.NFUT=SQV know-IRR-FUT go.NFUT
' $\ldots$. while the child was lying down like dead, the people thought that he must have died.'
291) $\underline{a} \quad$ tawa-i=be, $\quad G o d i=b e ~ \underline{a}=b o u ̂+d e \quad d a l a=d=a d e \quad$ 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) A moû yoûwa=be $\underline{a} d u=y o \quad$ mei dege-moû, 1s nothing without.purpose=TOP 1s hear=INDC NEG do-PFV

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text { Godi }=h \underline{a} & \text { to } \underline{a} & \text { koû } & \underline{a} & \text { tawa-l-e=yado-moû } . \\
\text { God=GEN } & \text { talk } & \text { prior } & \text { 1s } & \text { know-IRR-FUT=SQV-PFV }
\end{array}
$$

'Because while I (do) nothing, I do not hear/understand, so in order for someone to first teach me God’s Word, (I am here in this course).' (Mountain dialect)
293) o ilo ke-le-ge $\underline{e}$ hebe ha-i ke heliofei mala-ba man part that-A.LOCR-VBR3s tree cut-NFUT that rent.total get.IRR.FUT-PFV.IRR makisi dege-ma-b-ado-moû.
market do-DU/PL=TOP=SQV=PFV
'... (he) having rented out his garden to some men in order for them to trade in the market place.'
294) Sasai o to=yade-ba wala to-da.
woman man die=SQV-PFV.IRR attack.IRR.FUT die-PROH
'Do not attack people in order for them to die.' (Mountain dialect)
295) Ni o = mokoû himi = nôu dege-ma, dia ní midiho bolo ke 2 PL man= Loc gentle=only do-du/PL 3PL 2 PL face good that $d u g u-m a=b=a d e-b a$. 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 $\boldsymbol{i}$,
Type 2: Verb roots/stems ending in $\boldsymbol{e}$,
Type 3: Verb roots/stems ending in $\boldsymbol{a}$, if a root, the vowel in any preceding syllable is not $i$,
Type 4: Verb roots ending in $\boldsymbol{a}$, where the preceding vowel is $i$,
Type 5: Verb roots/stems ending in $\boldsymbol{u}$,
Type 6: Verb roots/stems ending in oû,
Type 7: Verb roots/stems ending in $\boldsymbol{o}$,

| e.g. bigi | 'wash' |
| :--- | :--- |
| e.g. dege | 'do' |
| e.g. baha | 'look' |
| e.g. fiya | 'fall' |
| e.g. du | 'hear' |
| e.g. toboû | 'say' |
| e.g. togo | '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).

'... 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.

| 297) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { wai } \\ & \text { pig } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & k a=h \underline{a} \\ & \text { that }=\text { GEN } \end{aligned}$ | $\frac{\underline{a}}{1 \mathrm{~s}}$ | dugu-o <br> see-fut | $\begin{aligned} & \text { fo-l-ôu } \\ & \text { run-IRR-NPST } \end{aligned}$ | $i-I-e$, go-IRR-FUT | $h a b a=g e$ <br> but. PFV.IRR=F.CNTR | hagu-moú come.nfut-PFV |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { hha-i } \\ & \text { hoot - NFUT } \end{aligned}$ |  | fiyo-u-m <br> fall-NF | $\begin{array}{ll}\text { oû } \quad \text { dege-i. } \\ \text { UT-PFV } & \text { do-NFUT }\end{array}$ |  |  |  |

'...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', hagumoúu 'come.nfut.PFv and fiyo-u-moú 'fall-nfut-pFv' however, have their own medial forms. See last paragraph in this section. The verb tahai '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, ${ }^{76}$ indicating that the absolute tense of all verbs (except the first one) in these two sentences is future.

ne petolo huei dô̂l-a ma, Dahamo=kôu i-l-e. 2s.poss petrol water draw.water-IRR-SUBJ put.FUT Dahamo=LOC go-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' $\ldots$. 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.

'.. (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.'

[^40]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.

| VERB TYPE 5 | FORM: BASIC dugu | FORM: MEDIAL <br> dugu-o see-fut | MEANING <br> 'see and ...' | (same subject) | CLOSEST FINAL FORM dugu-I-o see-IRR-FUT | MEANING <br> ‘will see’ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4b | hagua | hagu-moû come. NFUT-PFV | 'coming' | (different subject) | hagu--ıu <br> come-IRR-NFUT | 'is coming' |
| 6a | môu | mala get.IRR. FUT | 'get and ...' | (same subject) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { mo-I-ôu } \\ & \text { get-IRR-NPST } \end{aligned}$ | 'will get' |
| 4a | tiga | tiga-ma-moû <br> tie-ISQ-PFV | 'had tied' | (same subject) | tige-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 | $(\mathrm{SF}) /(\mathrm{SF})$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| VS | $\rightarrow$ | $\mathrm{V}(-)$ | (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.


See also (305).

[^41]-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.
 '... we (excl.) collected (the) money and saw that there was only K350, (we) saw.'
302) Dahamo o oloûfei 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 (they) were (there), in that way (he was) brought down.'
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 $)$ | you-sie | $\underline{e}$ 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.'
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' |

$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { 305) } & \text { Wai } & \text { gu-guâ-ma } & \text { a sese-ga } & \text { i. } \\ \text { pig RED.PL-Squeal-ISQ go-PFV } & \text { 1s follow-DU/PL } & \text { go }\end{array}$
'After the pig had squealed repeatedly (and) was going away, I followed everywhere and went.'

Please also note the non-singular suffix - $g a$ 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 ${ }_{I} \quad \rightarrow$ Verb stem $\quad$ SF+SF
$\mathrm{FV}_{\mathrm{I}} \rightarrow$ VS- $\quad$ 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) | $\varnothing$ | 'realis' | 4.1.5.1 EPISTEMIC MOOD |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | -- | 'irrealis' |  |
| Tense | (statement) | -i/-u | 'non-future' | 4.1.5.2.1 FORMS OF THE TAM SUFFIX FOR |
|  |  | -e/-o | 'future' |  |
|  |  | -où | 'non-past' |  |
| Aspect |  | -di | 'habitual' | 4.1.5.3 EPISTEMIC MOOD AND ASPECT |
|  |  | -adi | 'prospective' |  |
|  | Na kug 2s pap | $\begin{array}{ll} \text { uo Bin } \\ \text { er } & \text { Bir } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{ll} i n=k o u & s a-g \\ \text { in=Loc } & \text { put } \end{array}$ |  |
|  | 'You will | send a | er to Bimin.' | mailbag (to go on an airplane)) |



Structure II - Verbs in deontic mood
Final verb word ${ }_{\text {II }} \rightarrow$ Verb stem SF SF
$\mathrm{FV}_{\mathrm{II}} \rightarrow$ VS- $\quad$ Deontic mood Number
The verb stem is affixed with one of the second order deontic suffixes, as well as a third order numerical. These are repeated here from the morphology section (see 3.1.1.2 and 3.1.1.3).

| Mood | (deontic) | $\varnothing$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $-m e$ | 'imperative' |
|  | - 'hortative' | 4.1.5.5 DEONTIC MOOD |
|  |  | 'prohibitive' |
| Number (deontic) | $\varnothing$ | 'singular' |
|  | $-m a$ | 'dual/plural 2/3 person' |

311) Ni hagua-sie-da-ma.

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 word $_{\text {III }} \rightarrow$ Verb stem $\quad$ SF/SF
$\mathrm{FV}_{\text {III }} \rightarrow$ VS- Tense: NFUT/Aspect: HAB
312) Sa kasagai dege-moû =be, $\underline{e} \quad t \underline{a}-d i=y o \quad$ mei.
land bad do-PFV=TOP 3 s talk-HAB=indC NEG
'When the weather is bad, it does 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 - $d i$ '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 -moú 'perfective' and -ba 'perfective irrealis' may occur in the two first structures as the final element.

- Medial verbs with mood \&tense/purpose inflection +/- -moû 'perfective' or -ba 'perfective irrealis'
- Medial verbs with -ma 'immediate sequence’ +/- -moúu 'perfective' or -ba 'perfective irrealis'
- Medial verbs with -gi 'delayed sequence'


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

Medial verb word ${ }_{I} \rightarrow$ Verb stem $\quad$ SF+SF
$\mathrm{MV}_{\mathrm{I}} \quad \rightarrow$ 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) Sasai dihi mohu-l-o tafala. woman child hold-IRR-FUT stand
'The woman is standing holding a child/holds a child and is standing.'
314) o oloûfei i-I-e, wai ke mala hebe-l-e hagua, man all go-IRR-FUT pig that get.IRR.FUT carry-IRR-FUT come.fUT
$\begin{array}{lllll}k e-g e-m o u ̂, ~ & \text { diga } & \text { so-l-ôu-moû } & \text { nalag } & \text { i. } \\ \text { that-VBR-PFV } & \text { 3PL } & \text { cook.on.stones-IRR-NPST-PFV } & \text { eat.IRR.FUT } & \text { go.nFUT }\end{array}$
'... all the men went and got the pig and carried (it) and came and so having cooked (it) on stones they ate it.'
$\begin{array}{lllll}315) & \text { disope oloufei bolou ke-ge } & \text { gobo-l-oú } & \text { nala } & \text { i. } \\ \text { pineapple all.total two that-VBR } & \text { break-IRR-NPST } & \text { eat.IRR. FUT go.NFUT }\end{array}$ '... (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 -loú (-IRR.NPST) for verb type 6, meaning 'verb and ...' and with -moú '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) fene mu-moûu | $d u g u=b e$, | David $=b o \hat{u}+d e$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| air.plan go.down. nFUT-PFV | see. NFUT=TOP | David=and+PRov |

In the next example, the overall tense is future, shown by the final verb hagua-I-e 'come-IRR-FUT'. The first two verbs in the sentence, $d e g e-I-e=b e$ 'do-IRR-FUT=TOP' and $m o-I-\underline{\hat{u}}=b e$ '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).


| bateli bokisi bolou ke-ge mala |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| battery box two that-VBR get.IRR. FUT | hagua, $\boldsymbol{n a}$ dogogu-o |

dala-ba, $\underline{a}$ mu-l-o dugu-o mala kuhe hagua-l-e. be/have-PFV.IRR 1s go.down-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 dala-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) | Sesenabi=koû | dala-l-i, | sabiye-i | ta, Salale | $k e-g e$, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Sesenabi=LOC | be/have-IRR-NFUT | be.morning-NFUT | INDF Saturday that-VBR |  |

'(I) was in Sesenabi until one day, on that Saturday in the morning it rained. ... I went hunting.'

The last example shows a purpose construction.
319) e i-I-a-moû, ${ }^{78}$ kuoloû dia dala-di o ko=koû tobo-u, 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 -ma 'immediate sequence’, a fourth order verbal suffix

| Medial verb word $_{\text {II }}$ | $\rightarrow$ Verb stem | SF | (SF) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| MV $_{\text {II }}$ | $\rightarrow$ 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-moû fogoû-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 river wash 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.
322) nele sa Sepik=koû dala de-ma-môu, Dahamo=koû hague-i

2du land Sepik=Loc be/have PRov-ISQ-PFV Dahamo=Loc 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 $_{\text {III }}$ | $\rightarrow$ Verb stem | SF+SF+SF |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| MV $_{\text {III }}$ | $\rightarrow$ VS- | Epistemic mood: IRR+Tense: NFUT+Delayed sequence |

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.

324) $\underset{\text { E }}{\text { to to-môu su-l-u-gi, kulio dege-môu, }}$

3s river wash.fUT-PFV walk.around-IRR-NFUT-DSQ 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 -moú '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.

[^42]325) | A afu | kueya | duwo-moû | dugu. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s earlier cassowary sit-PFV | see-nFUT |  |  |
326) $\underline{A}$ mola moso $=$ koû $i=b a, ~ n i \quad$ dabai ta dege-ma. 1s medicine house=Loc go.nFUT=PFV.IRR 2 PL work INDF do-DU/PL 'I'll go to the clinic, while you continue to work.'
327) Miti tobo-l-ố-gi, sa nugu-mồ, folo tie-i. meeting say-IRR-NPST-DSQ land get.dark.nfut-PFV go.up sleep-nfut
'(We) debated until it/(the) land was getting dark, when (we/I) immediately went up and slept.'

In the two following examples the subject is the same after the perfective suffixes, but a new scene is about to develop.
Hagua-sige, moso = koû fele-ga-moú, miye sa si-l-e
come-DU/PL. FUT house=Loc come.up-DU/PL. FUT-PFV fish put.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) hoho + bo-l-ố-ba hagua tofôu-me.
light+rejoice-IRR-NPST-PFV.IRR stand.up step-HORT
'... having (started) to rejoice, let us stand up and move forward.'
The suffix -ma 'immediate sequence' may co-occur with both -moû and -ba.

```
330) \(\underline{e}\)... dugu=be, wai hagu-moû taha-i to-l-o i-moú,
    3s ... see.nFUT=TOP pig come.nFUT-PFV shoot-nFUT die-IRR-FUT go.nFUT-PFV
    \(\underline{e} \quad o \quad k a \quad\) hagua-moû, o toboû-ma-moû i-l-e,
    3s man look.for come.fUT-PFV man say-ISQ-PFV go-IRR-FUT
    malag hebe-l-e hagua-moû so-loû na-j.
    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 when he had told (the) men, they all went and got (the pig) and carried (it)
    and having come (back they) cooked and ate (it).'
```

Structures with perfective suffixes and the enclitics =be 'topic' and =si 'contrast marker'
Two enclitics $=b e$ 'topic marker' and $=s i$ 'contrast marker' may function together with the perfective medial markers -moû and -ba.

'... if you sit in that sun to get warm, you do not feel any heat at all ...'
332) $\underline{E}$ moso togo-ma-moúu$=b \boldsymbol{e}, \underline{e}$ kili $\quad d a l a=d i$. 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) $\underline{e}$ mogo dala-ba $\quad i-b a=s i, \quad \underline{e} \quad m o g o=h \underline{a}$ 3s friend be/have-PFV.IRR go.NFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR 3s friend=GEN moso = koû 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 ${ }^{79}$ (тАм)

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.

[^43]
### 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

Realis (the unmarked form) is used:

- for past events/states
- present states
- present negatives (with medial verb forms)
- present questions (with medial verb forms)

334) Na idiba yo sogo-l-o.

2s tomorrow banana plant-IRR-FUT
'You will plant bananas tomorrow.'
335) Na yo sogo-u-I-u.

2s banana plant-BLTV-IRR-NFUT
'You are planting bananas.'
336) Na yo sege-I-i mei.

2s banana plant-IRR-NFUT NEG
'You did not plant bananas.'
337) Na yo sogo-l-o mei.

2s banana plant-IRR-FUT NEG
'You are not going to plant bananas.'
338) $A$ sele $=h \underline{a}$ hebe sugu + toû tafala-I-i, wai $k a=h \underline{a}$ so sese-l-e Asele=GEN tree top+up stand-IRR-NFUT pig that=GEN dog follow-IRR-FUT
hagua fogoû i-moû taha-i i=be
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 $\operatorname{dog}(\mathrm{s})$ and (as they were) passing by, (Asele) shot at (the pig) ...'
339) Kôu-le duwo-l-i tobo-l-oû .
this-A.LOCR sit-IRR-NFUT say-IRR-NPST
'(I) am staying here speaking.'
340) $N \underline{a} i$ yo sege-i.

2s yesterday banana plant-NFUT
'You planted bananas yesterday.'
341) Felix $=h \underline{a}$ sokôuloû duwe-i ta susu-l-a-moû Felix=GEN school sit-nfut talk tell-IRR-SUBJ-PFV
'(I) want to tell (a) story (about when) Felix was (in) school.'
342) $\underline{A}=m e$ duwo.

1s=TOP sit
'I am here.'
343) $\underline{A}$ dugu=yo mei. 1s see.nfut=indC NEG 'I do not see (them).'
344) Ade, na ka-ge tawa-i=ya? father 2 s 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
realis is used in final verbs to express:
- present states
- 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 -moúu 'perfective' and -ba 'perfective irrealis'
see (348), (349) for an event verb
see (351) for a stative verb (basic form of stative verbs, ending in $O$ or $a$ )
- irrealis ( $-/$ ) 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) $d u$ 'hear’ $d \boldsymbol{u}^{80} \ldots$ relative present: ‘hearing ...' $d u-l-o \ldots$ relative future: 'hear and ...' hear. nfut hear-IRR-FUT
346 ) dugu 'see' dugu ... relative present: 'seeing ...' dugu-o ... relative future: 'see and ...' see. nfut see-fut

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: koûgue 'be like this', kege 'be like that'
other pro-verbs (348) - see " " : dege ‘do', de 'proverb’
question words + verbaliser - see 4.7 Question words: $k a$ 'how’
quote verbs (they cliticise on the quote) - see 4.1.1.3 Quote verbs

[^44]Examples, verb types 1-5, 7

'They came and having come into (the) house, after (they) had put the fish in (a pot) and cooked it and cooked sago they ate.' (nala i is a plural subject form, see, 4.1.6.2.1)
348) Huliame sasai dia oguo hoho dege.ø-i-moú, miye bese i-l-i. darkness.top woman 3pl moon light do.real-nfut-pfv fish angle.for go-IRR-NFUT 'At night, as soon as the moon is shining, women go (out) to fish.'
349) so $k a=h a$ wai tigo.ø-u-moû i-l-e dugu=be,
dog that=GEN pig bark.REAL-NFUT-PFV go-IRR-FUT see.nFUT=TOP
wai oye hiye=do ke tigo.ø-u-moû dugu.
pig male big=int that bark.REAL-NFUT-PFV see.nFUT
' $\ldots$. as soon as the dog barked at a pig, (he (a man)) went and saw (the dog) barking at that very big boar.'
350) $O$ e ou duwo.ø-u-moû, sasai $\underline{e}$ dihilo togo-l-o duwo. man 3s sago split.reAL-NFUT-PFV woman 3s sago.filter make-IRR-FUT sit
'While the man is splitting the sago (palm), the woman is sitting making a sago filter./makes ... and sits.'
351) $\underline{A}$ afu kueya duwo.ø-moû dugu.

1s earlier cassowary sit.REAL-PFV see-NFUT
'Earlier I saw a cassowary sitting.'
352) sio kisi-ma duwo-I-i dugu=be
bird make.a.wall-ISQ sit-IRR-NFUT see.nFUT=Top
'... after making a bird-hunting cover, (I) sat (there) until (I) saw ...'

Verb type 6
Verbs of type 6 have their own rules:

| Relative present tense '-ing': | realis (Ø) | (353), (355) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Relative future tense 'and ...', 'having ...': | irrealis (-I-) | (354), (355) |

353) sa sa oloúfei toboû.ø-moû sie-i. land land all.total say.REAL-PFV walk.around-NFUT '... (he) went around speaking everywhere.'
354) $\underline{a}$ sugu folo-u-moú, dia $\underline{a}$ to-l-oû $+m \underline{\underline{a}} \underline{\underline{i}}$ 1s top go.up-nFUT-PFV 3pL 1s hold-IRR-NPST+put-nFUT '... climbing to the top, they held on to me and pinned (me down) ...'
355) (kueya dihi) ... bolou ke-ge to-l-ồ-moû, ta so=ye sese-l-e cassowary child ... two that-VBR hold-IRR-NPST-PFV INDF dog=INS follow-IRR-FUT i-l-e wala no-u-moû dugu-o fogoú.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 ..."
$\ldots$ 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).

'when he will have finished working, he will eat the food (he has put aside)'
357) na dabai dege-l-e-ba, sele mo-l-ôu 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 =ha literacy school bi-l-o-ba, na-l-e $n a-l-\underline{e}$ Kevin=GEN literacy school sit.up/down-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR 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 ôu, 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 там 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 ôu, i.e. /o/. Rules of vowel harmony demand that the tense suffix should be ôu, 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 | $\mathbf{i} / \mathrm{i} /$ |  | $\mathbf{u} / \mathrm{u}$ |
| Mid |  |  | out $/ \mathrm{o} /$ |
| Low | $\mathbf{e} / \varepsilon /$ | $\mathbf{a} / \mathrm{a} /$ | $\mathbf{o} / \rho /$ |

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 not in bold.

Final verb conjugation, red $=$ existential state verb

|  |  |  |  | High ${ }^{81}$ Vowel: i, u |  | Low Vowel: e, o |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type | LSV | Ex. Basic | Meaning | $\begin{gathered} \text { R-NFUT } \\ \text { past tense }{ }^{82} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { IRR-NFUT } \\ \text { present tense } \end{gathered}$ | IRR-FUT <br> future tense |
| 1 | i | si | 'cook' | si | si-I-i | si-I-e |
| 2 | $\boldsymbol{e}$ | bese | 'fish/angle for' | bese-i | bese-I-i | bese-I-e |
| 3a | $a$ | $d a$ | 'dig' | da-i | do-I-u | $d a-I-e$ |
| 3b |  | hagua $^{83}$ | 'stand up' | hagua-i | haguo-l-u | hagua-l-e |
| 3c |  | ya | 'play' | ya-i | ya---i | ya-l-e |
| 4a | $i / u(C) a$ | biya | 'fight' | biye-i | biyo-l-u | biya-I-e |
| 4b |  | sia | 'walk around' | sie-i | su-l-u | su-l-o |
|  |  | hagua | ‘come’ | hague-i | hagu-I-u | hagua-l-e |
| 4c |  | tila | 'lie down’ | tile-i | tila---1-14 | tila-l-e |
| 4d |  | tafala | 'stand' | tefele-i | tafala---i | tafala-l-e |
| 5 | $u$ | yodu | 'ask' | yodu | yodu-I-u | yodu-I-o |
| 6 a | oû | moú | 'get’ | mo-u | mo-l-ou | mo-l-ou |
| 6b | 0 | fo | 'run' | fo-u | fo-l-ou | fo-l-ou |
| 7a | 0 | wo | 'attack' | we-i | wou-l-u | wo-l-o |
| 7b |  | duwo | 'sit' | duwe-i | duwo-l-i ${ }^{85}$ | duwo-I-o |

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. ${ }^{86}$ A couple of verbs, ending in $e$ or $O$ and having an / 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 final verbs, red = existential state verbs

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Stem changed due to vowel harmony |  |  |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type | Meaning | Ex. Basic | R-NFUT | IRR-NFUT | IRR-FUT |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3a/b | 'dig'/'stand up' | da/hagua |  | do-/haguo- |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4a | 'fight' | biya | biye- | biyo- |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4b | 'walk around'/'come' | sia/hagua | sie-/hague- | su-/hagu- | su- |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4c | 'lie down' | tila | tile- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4d | 'stand' | tafala (irreg.) | tefele- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6a | 'get' | môu | mo- | mo- | mo- |  |  |  |  |  |
| 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.

[^45]
## Past tense and negation

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


Type 5, basic form: $d u$; past tense: $d u$ hear .nfut present form: du-l-u hear-IRR-NFUT 'is hearing'

Type 7, basic form: togo; past: tege-i make-nfut present form: togo-u-l-u make-blTV-IRR-NFUT 'is making'
Type 2, basic form: bese; past: bese-i ... -NFUT present form: bese-l-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 | SUFFIXES | MEANING IN MEDIAL VERBS | MEANING IN FINAL VERBS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1-5, 7 | $-i,-u$ | different subject, simultaneous | 'non-future' |
|  | -e, -O, -a | same subject, sequence | 'future' |
| 6 | -ôu | same \& diff. subject, simultaneous ${ }^{87}$ 'non-future' same subject, unspecified time/‘and' 'present/future’ |  |
|  | -l-OU ${ }^{88}$ |  |  |
| stative | $\varnothing$ (-moul-ba) | different subject, simultaneous | 'basic/present' |
|  | ---i | same subject, delayed sequence | 'unstable present' |
|  | $\ldots$.. 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 - $m a$ forms 'immediate sequence' are included. As for $-g i$ '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 -/-i 'IRR-NFUT’ to express delayed sequence.

[^46]
## Medial verb conjugation ${ }^{89}$

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

|  |  |  | HIGH VOWEL: $i, u$, oû | LOW VOWEL: $e, o, a$ | $-m a$ | -gi/---i |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type | LSV | Ex. Basic | DIFFERENT SUBJECT + RELATIVE PRESENT/ SIMULTANEOUS | SAME SUBJECT + RELATIVE FUTURE/ SEQUENTIAL ${ }^{9}$ | SAME SUBJECT + IMMEDIATE SEQUENCE | SAME SUBJECT + DELAYED SEQUENCE 'until' |
| 1 | i | si 'cook' | si | si-I-e | - ${ }^{91}$ | si-I-i-gi <br> cook-IRR-NFUT-DSQ |
| 2 | $\boldsymbol{e}$ | dege 'do' <br> ne 'give' | dege-i <br> ne-i | dege <br> ne-l-e | dege-ma | dege-I-i-gi $\quad 92$ |
| 3 a | $a$ | sa <br> 'put inside' | so-u | sa | - | so-I-u-gi |
|  |  | na 'eat' | no-u | $n a \underline{a}^{93}$ | na-ma | no-I-u-gi |
| 3b |  | hagua <br> 'stand up' | - | hagua | haguar-ma | - |
| 3c |  | tawa 'know' | tawa-i | tawa-l-e | tawa-ma | - |
| 4a | $i(C) a$ | sabiya <br> 'be morning' | sabiyo-u | sabiya | sabiya-ma | - |
| 4b |  | sia <br> 'walk around' | su | su-l-o | sia-ma | su-I-u-gi |
| 4c |  | tila <br> 'lie down' | tila- $\varnothing$ | - | tila de-ma | tila---i <br> lie.down-IRR-NFUT |
| 4d | $a^{n}$ | tafala 'stand' | tafala- $\varnothing$ | - | tafala de-ma | tafala-I-i |
| 5 | $u$ | yodu 'ask' | yodu | yodu-I-o | yodu-ma | - |
| 6a | où | toboú 'say’ | toboú | tobo-l-oú | toboû-ma | tobo-l-oul-gi |
|  |  | môu <br> 'get' | mout | mala | - | mo-l-ôulgi |
| 6b | 0 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { fo } \\ & \text { 'run' } \end{aligned}$ | fo | fo-l-ou | - | - |
| 7a | 0 | togo <br> 'make' <br> goso <br> 'cry' | $\begin{aligned} & \text { togo-u } \\ & \text { goso-u } \end{aligned}$ | togo-I-o <br> goso-I-o | togo-ma <br> goso-ma | togou-I-u-gi <br> gosou-I-u-gi |
|  |  | folo 'go up’ | folo-u | folo | folo-ma | fou-I-u-gi |
|  |  | wo 'attack' | wo-u | wala | - | wou-l-u-gi |
| 7b |  | duwo 'sit' | duwo- $\varnothing$ | - | duwo de-ma | duwo-I-i |

[^47]Examples of relative present and future tense, ${ }^{94}$ also expressing different or same subject with the following verb
362) wai $k a=h a \quad$ a dugu-o fo-l-où i-le, haba=ge hagu-mô pig that=GEN 1s see-fut run-IRR-NPST go-IRR-FUT but.PFV.IRR=F.CNTR come.nFUT-PFV a taha-i ...
1s shoot-nfut
'...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)
363) $\underline{a}$ ne ta du-l-o-moû fo-u

1s 2s.poss talk hear-IRR-FUT-PFV run-NFUT
'I heard your talk and ran' (relative future tense: ‘and ..., same subject')
364) Ke-ge toboû-moû, Godi=ha $\underline{a}=$ mokôu nele $\quad$ hiye $=$ do ne-i-moû dugu. 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 ta ta tobo-u, na yoti tobo-lôu sia, 3du man INDF talk say-nfut 2 s feast say-IRR-NPSt walk.around, sa sa oloúfei $=$ do. 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 tag ke dokta=ha tobôu-ba du-lo-ba, CHW training talk that doctor=GEN say-PFV.IRR hear-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR
na Morobert $\underline{e}=$ mokoû toboû.
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=noû dele-i. Dala-l-i, $\underline{e}$ fene 1du friend INDF=only be/have-nfut be/have-IRR-NFUT 3s airplane
to-l-ôu-moû Kiunga =koû 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 ${ }^{95}$; relative future tense: 'and ...', same subject)

[^48]
### 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-I-u.
man banana plant-bLTV-IRR-NFUT
'The man is planting bananas.'
Present temporary existential state/until
372) $\boldsymbol{A}$ baha duwo-l-i.

1s look sit-IRR-NFUT
'I am waiting briefly./... waiting until ...'
373) $\underline{A}$ hoho hiye = do dege tafala-l-i fogoû 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) E toboû-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... $\underline{E}$ o dugu-I-u, o wo-lo.
pig... $3 s$ man see-IRR-NFUT man attack-IRR-FUT
'(The) pig ... when he sees a man; (he) will kill (him/the man).'
376) $H a b a=g e \quad$ a tawa-l-i tobo-l-oú.
but.PFV.IRR=F.CNTR 1s know-IRR-NFUT say-IRR-NPST
'I will tell you later as soon as I know/remember.'

Irrealis + future:
Future event or state
377) $\underline{A}=$ me kôu-le duwo-l-o.

1s=TOP this-A.LOCR sit-IRR-FUT
'I will be here.'
Future negative event or state
378) $\boldsymbol{A}=$ me koú-le duwo-l-o mei. 1s=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.


In the first verb of a serial ${ }^{96}$ verb construction it is used to indicate individuated plural subject.
380) Dia kuidiho ke dugu-o-moû, hoho hiye=do dege-I-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-e
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
383) o i
man go.nfut woman go.down.nfut
'the man went' 'the woman went down'
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) a dugu=yo mei

1s 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).'

[^49]
## Forming certain nouns (irregular)

387) dio + $k a$
grass+cut
'grass knife'
Proverbs functioning as modifiers - kege 'do like that' and dege 'do' with noun incorporation
388) Oú kôu $=m e m \underline{a}$ ô, to hafé i 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) $\underline{e}$ sasaí $=$ boû $\underline{e}$ dihi oloûfei kama+dia ke-ge dia oloúfei

3s woman=and 3s child all.total middle.finger+3pLthat-vBR 3pL all.total
na-ma tia-sie-i
eat-ISQ sleep-DU/PL-NFUT
'... (he) and his wife (and) all his three children, after eating they all slept ...'
390) sio isusu hebe go=koû duwo-moû dugu. ... Sio isusu e
bird pigeon tree branch=Loc sit-PFV see.NFUT ... bird pigeon 3 s
ke-ge duwo-moûu
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 \(=h a\) moso \(=k o u ̂ ~ t i a-d i ?\)
    2s whose house=loc sleep=нав
    '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-I-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) Yomogoû-moû = be awaki to-l-ôu i-l-e noû-di-I-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) \(\underline{A}\) 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 $-m a$ and one durative $-g i$; two are perfective -moû and $-b a$. 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 $\boldsymbol{i}$ or $\boldsymbol{u}$, an $\boldsymbol{e}$ is added at the end of the stem.

```
398) toto \(=\) do neke oloúfei \(k o=k o u ̂ ~ d o{ }^{97}\)-dogogu-e \(+m a \quad\) fogoú-moúu
    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) e dia = mokoû he-hegi-e to-toboû-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-moú
    RED. PL-sleep-PFV
    'having rested again and again' (about the progress of a mortally wounded pig)
401) ele taha taha i-l-i-gi, wai to-lo i-moû,
    1du.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 -moúu 'perfective'. ${ }^{98}$ 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) toû dedei dege-moû i-di.
    body strong do-PFV go-HAB
    '... keep strengthening the body.'
403) e diag=mokoû toboû-moû i.
    3s 3pL=Loc say-PFV go.nfut
    '... he kept talking to them.'
404) ta \(k \underline{e}=m e\) ni \(a f u=d o \quad d u-m o ̂ ̂ u ~ h a g u e-i ~ k \underline{e}=m e\)
    talk that=TOP 2PL earlier=INT hear-PFV come-nfut that=Tор
    '... that talk that you heard and have kept hearing (until now/a certain time in the past) ...'
405) e i-l-e sa sa oloûfei toboû-moû 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 ...).'
```

[^50]406) | Ke-ge to-ba | miye susua-moú | fe-I-i-gi, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that-vBR river-along fish dive.for-PFV | come.up-IRR-NFUT-DSQ |  |
```
407) ise ôu=boû dou=boúu sa-i ke ta-moú ke-le
    finally sago=and fire=and put.inside-NFUT that unpack.FUT-PFV that-A.lOc
        dogogu-o fogoúmoû 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 oloúuei toboûu-moûu 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) o ta=noû ta=nôu dabai ne-moû i.
    man INDF=only indF=only work give-PFV go.nFUT
    `... (he) gave work (to) each of (the) men'
410) O dio-yosi ke-ge ke+di\underline{a}}\mathrm{ soboü ke
    man bone/lower.arm-NUMR that-VBR that+3pL married.woman that
    koû hu-moû i=yode tobo-l-oú i.
    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 - $d \boldsymbol{i}$ is the high vowel $\boldsymbol{i}$, like for non-future tense. For future habitual, using the proverb $d \boldsymbol{e}$, it is the low vowel $\boldsymbol{e}$, 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-gu-o na de-ma.
    gather-of-FUT eat PROV-DU/PL
    'Keep knowing that day well; gather and eat each season.'
```

412) na tog tobo-l-ou de-ba, sia-l-e de-ba, o sasai taga-l-e
2 s talk say-IRR-NPST PROV-PFV.IRR walk.around-IRR-FUT PROV-PFV.IRR man woman like-IRR-FUT
de-ba, Godi=koúu damale =yode-l-e de-ba, $\underline{e}$ dihi-le ko=koúu
PROV-PFV.IRR God=LOC believe=IQV-IRR-FUT PROV-PFV.IRR 3s eye-A.LOCR that=LOC
sibigi=bôu mei dala-l-e de-ba na midiho dow $=d o \quad k \underline{e}=n o ̂ u$
dirt=and NEG be/have-IRR-FUT PROV-PFV.IRR 2 s face straight=INT that=only
miloû-ga-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.’

### 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-moû, e hebe ha-l-e dafa-ma, yo
    man single that-VBR-PFV 3s tree cut-IRR-FUT tired.of-ISQ banana
    bololu}=no\hat{u}=do=f\underline{i} 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-l-u-gi $\quad d u g u=b e \quad$ hebe hiye = do ta tafala.
go.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT-DSQ
'Wee .NFUT=TOP tree big=INT INDF stand
'We wer a while until we saw a big tree standing.'
415) $\underline{A}$ Debele $=k o u ̂$ tafala-gi, ma malag ele Taka=koû igiya-i. 1s Debele=Loc stand-DSQ 1s.poss younger.sibling 1du.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 -moú '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) sasai sogo si-moû, dou dahai hiye = do dege-l-i.
woman breadfruit cook. nFUT-PFV fire smoke big=INT do-IRR-NFUT
'... as 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-ba |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1PL.IN go-IRR-FUT-PFV. IRR | dugu-me, Yesu 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 -moú. ${ }^{99}$

There is an obligatory number distinction for imperative and prohibitive mood. It is expressed by the final verb suffix $-m a$ '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.

[^51]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) \(\quad N \underline{a}\) i.
    2s go
    'Go (sg.).'
419) I-ma.
    go-DU/PL
    'Go (du./pl.).'
420) Nele \(\underline{a}=\) mokô̂ haba chalk ta ne-ma=be.
        2du 1s=Loc but.PFV.IRR chalk indF give-du/PL=TOP
        'Please, you two, give me some more chalk.'
```



```
        Jesus=GEN ... man that+3pl=loc say-nfut man that
    \(\underline{a}=\) mokốu wo-l-oú hagua-ma=be=ede-i.
    1s=LOC accompany-IRR-NPST come-DU/PL=TOP=OQV-NFUT
    '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-PROH
    'Don't go (sg.).'
423) Ni hagua-sie-da-ma.
    2PL come-DU/PL-PROH-DU/PL
    'Don't come (du./pl.).'
424) Hiyou môu-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.'
427) Di toboû-da-me.
1PL.IN say-PROH-HORT
'Let's not tell.'
428) $\underline{E}$ ne-ma mei dege-ba,
3s give-ISQ NEG do-PFV.IRR
di oloúfei Dahamo=koû dihi do mala $\quad$ i-me.
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.'
429) $\quad I-m e=b e$.
go-hORT=TOP
'(I) think we should go now.'
430) $M \underline{a} \quad m o g o=h a \quad d u g u$ tobo-l-ôu, da doûwa 1s.poss friend=GEN see.nFUT say-IRR-NPST 1dU.IN hornbill
$w a-l-a-b a \quad i-m e=\boldsymbol{b e}=\boldsymbol{e d e} \boldsymbol{i}$.
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.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { 431) } & I-m a . \\
& \text { go-DU/PL } \\
& \text { 'Go (du./pl.).' }
\end{array}
$$

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:
Components of transitivity
participants, number of ...
kinesis
aspect
punctual/durative
(non-)volitional
affirmation
mode
agency
affectedness of object
individuation of object

High transitivity
two or more action telic punctual volitional affirmative realis high in potency totally affected highly individuated

## Low transitivity

## one

non-action
atelic
durative
non-volitional
negative
irrealis
low in potency
not totally affected
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
- (non-)volitional
- agency
- affectedness of object
action, but also emotions, attitudes and states
volitional
high in potency
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-I- $\boldsymbol{V}^{\text {[-high }} \boldsymbol{\#} \boldsymbol{i} \quad$ (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).
433) $\underline{A}$ afu 1981-82 Sepe o fene gabu 1s earlier 1981-82 Smipen mouth. of.river airplane place

| milo-u tal. | $\ldots$ | Habiya o | su=do | milo-l-oû | $\boldsymbol{i}$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 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 koûu=ma=ha duwo, celebration ya-l-e ei. 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) $O \quad \boldsymbol{s} \underline{\boldsymbol{u}}=$ do dia sisigo $\boldsymbol{s} \underline{\boldsymbol{u}}=$ do sokoûloûu 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 $t i$ 'call' and the perceptive verbs $d u$ '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 $=$ boû Asele=boû 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 |

du, so tigo-l-o i-moû foukua igiya-i folo-ga-moú $\quad$ dugu,
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-moû dugu.
pig male big=int that bark-IRR-FUt go.nfut-PFV see.nfut
'... James, Asele and I called up the dogs and went; we walked around until (we) heard the dogs barking at (something) (and) immediately we ran on; having arrived, we saw that they were barking at that very big boar.'

The next examples illustrate the use of individuated plural in describing emotions and attitudes.
437) $O$ sasai sio miye hoho hiye=do dege-I-e i-di. man woman bird Victoria.pigeon light big=int do-IRR-FUTgo-HAB 'People really like/are really happy about the Victoria pigeon.'
438) Sio isusu=be $\underline{e}$ e huí=be bolo=féi=do o oloûfei taga-l-e i-di. bird pigeon=тор3s 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 e i-l-e, o sasai ke+diag=mokoû Godi=ha ta he-hegi-e-i, Jonah 3s go-IRR-FUt man woman that+3pL=Loc God=GEN talk RED.PL-Show-RED.PL-NFUT
o sasai oloûféi dia damale =yode-I-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 $\boldsymbol{d} \boldsymbol{u}$ 'hear' and $\boldsymbol{d u g u}$ '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 $k \underline{\hat{O} u}=m a=h \underline{a}=g e \quad \underline{e}$ hoho dege-l-i. Sa sa oloûfei 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.


```
    3s (diving).glass=and fishing+bone=and+PROv get.IRR.futfinally stringbag=also
    mală, ôu=boû dou=boû}\quadye+du sa i
    get.IRR.futsago=and fire=and stringbag+inside put.inside go.nFUT
    '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 ${ }^{100}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -gua | dual and plural suffix | existential state verbs |
| -sie/-sige ${ }^{101}$ | 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 = koû folo-ga-i
house=Loc go.up-du/PL-NFUT
'they arrived at the house'
443) Ma yo sege-i folo-go-l-u.

1s.poss banana plant-nfut go.up-dU/PL-IRR-NFUT
'My banana plants are coming up.'
444) tafala-gua
stand-DU/PL
'they stand'

[^52]```
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) $n \underline{i}=m e$ wai sipsip $s \underline{a}$ dege- $\boldsymbol{i}$, $\underline{\underline{i}}$ totoú dege 2pL=TOP pig sheep likely do-nfut soul forgetfulness do

'... 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) | $\underline{a}$ | i-I-i | ele | i-I-i | ei | i-I-i |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1s | go-IRR-NFUT | 1dU.EX | go-IRR-NFUT | 1PL.EX | go-IRR-NFUT |
|  |  | going’ | 'we two | re going’ | 'we are | ing, ${ }^{102}$ |

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=do koûguai ke+dia dele-i. Dala-l-i,
    earlier earlier=int ancestor that+3pL be/have-NFUT be/have-IRR-NFUT
    ta sabiye-i, habi dege-i-moû, huei=boû dibiye=boú
    INDF be.morning-NFUT afternoon do-NFUT-PFV water=and thunder=and
    hiye=do dege-i. Dibiye hiye=do fu-fuo-u-moú,
    big=INT do-NFUT thunder big=INT RED.PL-break.open-NFUT-PFV
    dia baha duwo-gua-I-i dugu=be
    3PL look sit-du/PL-IRR-NFUT see.nFUT=TOP
```

'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

Typical verbs are:
Singular object
igi-se 'remove' (remove-Du/PL) igi-I-e mu-gu (remove-IRR-FUT\#go.down-OF)
hebe-se 'throw away' (carry-DU/PL) hebe-l-e fila (carry-IRR-FUT\#throw)

[^53]```
452) bi hebe-se-i ka sulugua--i dugu-o-mou
    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-ga | 'do many things' | (do-DU/PL) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sese-ga | 'follow everywhere' | (follow-DU/PL) |
| tawa-ga | 'know many things' | (know-du/pl) |

```
453) igi dosogoûu dege-i=boû fo dege-i=boû+de nala-ga-i ... k\underline{e}
    stone black do-nFUT=and white do-NFUT=and+PROv write-du/PL-NFUT ... that
    'a stone that is marbled'
```

(Compare:
folo-ga-i 'they went up' (go.up-DU/PL-NFUT))

## Serial verb construction with $\boldsymbol{m a}$ 'put'

$\mathbf{V}^{[\text {trans }}+\mathbf{p u t}$ (see 5.1.3.8 ENHANCED TRANSITIVITY: PLURAL OBJECT)
Typical verbs are transitive to very transitive verbs:

| $m \underline{o} \underline{u}+m \underline{a}$ | (get+put) | 'get many things' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| toû $+m \underline{a}$ | (hold+put) | 'hold many things' |
| $w o \hat{u}+m \underline{a}$ | (accompany+put) | 'accompany/look after/rule many things' |
| $s a+m \underline{a}$ | (put.inside+put) | 'put inside many things' |
| $w o+m \underline{a}$ | (attack+put) | 'attack many things' |

There is also a telic aspect to this serial verb construction.
454) Ele ye, howili+dio, kalase, awaki=boû+de toû+ma iga-i. 1du.Ex stringbag fishing+bone diving.glas knife=and+PRov hold+put go.dU/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-oû 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- $\mathbf{V}^{[\text {TRANS] }}(\boldsymbol{- e})$ (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-tia | 'going in and out of consciousness' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| do-dogogu-e | 'put many things' | fu-fua | 'recurring load noises/explosions' |

456) Jona e i-l-e, o sasaí $k e+d i \underline{a}=m o k o u ̂$ Jonah 3s go-IRR-FUT man woman that+3pL=LOC

Godi $=h \underline{a}$ ta he-hegi-e-i
God=GEN talk RED.PL-Show-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 $-g V$, where V may be $\boldsymbol{i}, \boldsymbol{u}$ or $\boldsymbol{o} \boldsymbol{u}$. 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) diog ka
    grass cut
    `cut grass'
458) widio towe ka-gi
    head hair cut-of
    'cut hair'
459) bi sa
    things put.inside
    'put things into something'
460) Na kuguo Bimin=koú sa-gi---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))
461) yo sogo
    banana plant
    'plant bananas'
462) yo bolo\underline{u}=noû}=do=f\underline{e}i\quad\mathrm{ sogo-gu
    banana two=only=inT=total plant-of
    '(he) planted a total of only two banana (plants)'
463) A soû.
    road open
    'Open the door!'
464) hebeni a so\underline{u}-gôu-moû ... dugu.
    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.


### 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. $m \underline{a}$ 'put', $k a$ '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.

| intransitive | intransitive/transitive | enhanced transitivity |  | transitive | transitive |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| i 'go' | tafala/tefegi 'stand/put to stand' | $s a(g i)$ | 'put inside' | dogogu 'put' | $m \underline{a}$ 'put' |
| hagua 'come' | biyo/biyegi 'sit up/put to sit' | ka(gi) | 'cut' | dogoúgu 'help’ | $k a$ 'look for' |
|  | haguadgi) 'rise/raise' | sogo(gu) | 'plant' | bagagi 'tie' |  |
|  | dou fe(gu) 'burn/make fire' | a sôul (goû) | 'open (a) door' |  |  |
|  |  | a tefe(gu) | 'shut (a) door' |  |  |
|  |  | $d u(g u)$ | 'hear/see’ |  |  |
|  |  | sese(gu) | 'follow/hand ov |  |  |
|  |  | sese/sosog | 'follow/lead’ |  |  |
|  |  | kefe(gu) | 'gather (for a pu | pose)' |  |

### 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) a mota $\underline{a}$ ye $\quad$ mala hagu-l-u-gi 1s motor.canoe=Ins get.IRR.FUT Come-IRR-NFUT-DSQ
'... I travelled coming by motor canoe until ...'
469)
$M \underline{a y e}=h \underline{a}$ ôu ta ha-i. 1s.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

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).


```
475) sokoûloû sisigo
school children
'school children'
```

476) Hiye dege-mô̂, $\underline{e}$ sasai hu-lo, 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.


The word adioû is often used for anybody's mother, though you may also hear edioû 'his/her mother', or if the possessor is expressed as a noun, the root form may be used.

```
478) Nancy=ha dioú
    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.


### 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) | $\begin{array}{ll} o & \text { bolo }=\text { fei } \boldsymbol{i} \\ \text { man } & \text { good=total } \end{array}$ |  |  | adjective |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 'a good man' |  |  |  |
| 482) | o hoho dege-i man light do-nfut |  |  | noun |
|  | 'a happy man' |  |  |  |
| 483) | $\begin{array}{ll} \text { Yesu }=h \underline{a} & \text { dig } \overline{\underline{a}}=\text { mokoûu } \\ \text { Jesus=GEN } & \text { 3PL=LOC } \end{array}$ | toto quickly | tobo-u <br> say-Nfut | adverb |
|  | 'Jesus quickly said to them, |  |  |  |
| 484) | Godi=ha hoho dege God=gen light do | tobo-u. <br> say-nfut |  | noun |
|  | 'God joyfully said ... ' |  |  |  |

[^54]

Some of the abstract nouns are:

| dabai | 'work' | ho | 'desire' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| do | 'sickness' | hoho | 'light, joy' |
| gue | 'fear' | totoú | 'forgetfulness' |
| hegie | 'hunger' | hulig(me) | 'darkness, ${ }^{104}$ |

### 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) dio + \(k a\)
    grass+cut
    'grass knife'
```

488) Kope fafa-i=koû duwo.
cup cut.flat.surface-NFUT=LOC sit
'The cup is on the table.'
489) ... $a-l i=b e \quad h a g \underline{i}$ hiye = do na-l-e koû-di,
... road-E.LOCR=TOP heavy big=INT eat-IRR-FUT carry.on.head-HAB
sege-i kôu-di, bi+ma-i koû-di,
plant-nfut carry.on. head-haB thing+put-nFUT carry.on.head-hAB
'... on the road (it is) very hard to habitually carry food, habitually carry garden produce, habitually carry
packed possessions ...'

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=koû (bury-NFUT-place=LOC) 'in the grave'
    dabai dege-i-mi=koû (work\#do-NFuT-place=LOC) 'at the place of working'
    to \(\underline{a i}-m i=k o u ̂ \quad\) (river\#deep-place=LOC) 'in the depth of the river'
    \(d i o u-m i+d u \quad\) (canoe-place+inside) 'inside the canoe'
490) Sasai e ou ko sa+ma ôu ga-i-mi=koûu i--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.

[^55]There are three suffixes that may function together with pronouns: -sie 'reflexive', -sofei 'self alone' and -bukoú '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 | $\underline{a}$ | ele | $e i$ |
| 1 inclusive |  | $d a$ | $d i$ |
| 2 | $n \underline{a}$ | nele | $n \underline{i}$ |
| 3 | $\underline{e}$ | dilie | $d \underline{a}$ |

491) $\quad \boldsymbol{A}=\boldsymbol{m e}$ mei.
$1 \mathrm{~s}=$ TOP NEG
'I (have) none.'
492) Ne adioû $\underline{a}=$ mokoû ne-i.

2s.poss mother 1s=LOC give-NFUT
'Your mother gave (it) to me.'
493) dilie ôu ha-i.

3du sago cut-nfut
'the two of them cut down (a) sago (palm).'
494) Sasai $\underline{e}$ où ga-i.
woman 3 s sago gather-nfut
'(The) woman she gathered sago.'
495) Moso e gofôu mei.
house 3s hard/strong NEG
'(The) house it (is) not strong ...'
496) K $\underline{\underline{u} u}=m e$ sio miye. $\quad$ Dig$=m e ~ s \underline{u}=d o \quad$ sulugua-di ...
this=top bird Victoria.pigeon 3pL=top many=int walk.around.du/pl-hAB ...
Sio miye $\underline{\text { e }} n \underline{a}-d i=b e$
bird Victoria.pigeon 3s eat-нав=тор
'These are Victoria pigeons. They walk around in flocks. ... (A) Victoria pigeon, he/she eats ...'
497) Gali dia =me mala dugu-o gue hiye=do. Yo=be mala $\underline{\boldsymbol{e}}=m e$ wild.animal 3pL=TOP arrow see-fut fear big=int base=top arrow 3s=TOP
dedei $\quad$ hiye $=d o$.
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.
Possessive pronouns

| Person | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{1}$ exclusive | $m \underline{a}$ | ele | ei |
| $\mathbf{1}$ inclusive |  | $d a$ | $d i$ |
| 2 | $n \underline{e}$ | nele | $\underline{n i}$ |
| $\mathbf{3}$ | $\underline{e}$ | dilie | dialdie |

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.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 498) } \underline{\boldsymbol{A}} \boldsymbol{m a} \quad \text { moso }=k o ̂ u \quad i-l-i \text {. } \\
& \text { 1s 1s.poss house=LOC go-IRR-NFUT } \\
& \text { 'I'm going to my house.' }
\end{aligned}
$$

499) Ne fene, Des. 21 ke-le-ge hagu-ba=be 2s.poss airplane Dec. 21 that-A.LOC-VBR come.nFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP 'When/if your flight comes on December 21, ...'
500) O ta $\underline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ sasai dilie wai dia dele-i. man INDF 3s woman 3du pig watch.over be/have-nfut 'A certain man and his wife raised pig(s).'
501) duoû aye ke+dia die sisigo woù $+m a \quad$ dala-gua-gi mother father that+3PL 3PL.Poss children accompany+put be/have-DU/PL-DSQ $d u g u=b e$
see. nfut=top
' $\ldots$. the parents brought their children and stayed until (they) saw ...'
The following suffixes function with the possessive pronouns: -sofei 'self alone' and -bukoú 'first ${ }^{\text {'105 }}$ (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 $m a$ 'my'. All emphatic pronouns end in oû.

## Emphatic pronouns

| Person | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{1}$ exclusive | mayôu | oloû | eiyoû |
| $\mathbf{1}$ inclusive |  | doû | diyoú |
| $\mathbf{2}$ | noû | noloû | nioû |
| $\mathbf{3}$ | yoûu | diloû | diouu |

These pronominal forms may occur by themselves, but they often occur with the reflexive suffix -sie, making the pronoun reflexive.

' ...because we ourselves (excl.) hear and know for sure (that) this man is the man, (who) will buy us people of (the) world back.'

[^56]| 503 ) | Ka-ge-i=ye | $t \underline{\square}$ | dia | tobo-l-ou | $i-I-i=b e$ | $d i$ | diyoû | di |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | how-VBR-NFUT=Ins | talk | 3pL | say-IRR-NPST | go-IRR-NFUT=TOP | 1PL.IN | 1PL.IN.EMP | 1PL.IN |


| $t \underline{a}=e=n o ̂ u$ | tobo-l-oú | $i-m o ̂$ | $d u-l-o$ | $i=y a ?$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 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?'
504) O sasai ke+dia die midiho kasagai miloû-di ke diôu-sie man woman that+3pL 3PL.poss face bad work-HAB that 3PL.EMP-REFL
soloû $=$ do dege-l-e i.
heart=Int do-IRR-FUT go.nfut
'The people were sorry for themselves for their habitually bad behaviour.'
505) Dig fi + dioúu-ísie dia dege-I-i ke kasagai $=d=a d e$

3pL 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.'
506) yoû-sie e duo mako-di

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 $d e$.

| 507) | Di | diyoú-sie | $\boldsymbol{y}$-ogo = kou | soloúu = do | dege-ba |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1PL.IN | 1PL.IN.EMP-REFL | 3s.EMP-friend=Loc | heart=int | do.FUT-PFV.IRR |


| dogoûgu-ba | dogoûgu-ba | de-me. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| help. NFUT-PFV.IRR | help.NFUT-PFV.IRR | PROV-HORT |
| 'Having loved each other, let us help each other.' |  |  |


| 508) | ni | ... nioû-sie | $\boldsymbol{y}-\mathrm{ogo}=\boldsymbol{k o u}$ u | midiho | bolo $=$ noû | miloû-ba | miloû-ba |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | ... 2PL.EMP-REFL | 3s.EMP-friend=LOC | face | good=only | work-PFV.IRR | work-PFV.IRR |
|  | de-m |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | PROV | - DU/PL |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | ... do good to ea | ther.' |  |  |  |  |

### 4.3.4 Demonstrative pronouns

There are two basic demonstrative pronouns:

| kôu | 'this' |
| :--- | :--- |
| ke | '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.

### 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.


### 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)
mogo, ... '(my) friend, ...' (friend)
```

This pronoun diag $+m \underline{a}$ may consist of the following parts: 3pL +1 s.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:

| bolo | 'good' | oloufei | 'all' |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| dou | 'straight' | su | 'many' |  |
| ebele | 'new' | $t a$ | 'indefinite article’ |  |
| gehe | 'new/green' |  |  |  |
| gofou | 'hard/strong/angry' | $t a=n o \hat{u}=\underline{\text { fei }}$ | 'one' | ( $\mathrm{INDF}=$ only=total ) |
| hiye | 'big' | bolou | 'two' |  |
| huyadefei | 'small' | kama + dia | 'three' | (middle.finger+3pl) |
| kasagai | 'bad' | bolou\#bolou | 'four' | (two\#two) |
| sasa | 'tall' | hou-yosi | 'five' | (thumb-NUMR) |
| tou | 'short' | yetou-yosi | 'ten' | (shoulder-NUMR) |

514) moso hiye house big
(a) big house/(the) house (is) big'
515) Ke =me hiye.
that=TOP big
'That (one) is big.'
516) dihi huyadefé child small.total
'(a) small child'
517) midiho kasagai
face bad
'a sin'
518) Midiho kôu $=m e$ dou $\quad$ mei.
face this=top straight neg
'This (kind of) behaviour is not right.'
519) Wai koû = me gofôu $\quad$ hiye $=d o$.
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 $=d o$ attached. Others almost always occurs with the enclitic $=$ fei 'total'. The words huyadefé 'small' and oloûfei 'all' always occur with this enclitic.

| hiye $=$ do $o$ | 'very big' | bolo $=$ fei | 'very good' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dou $=$ do $\boldsymbol{o}$ | 'very straight' | huyadefei | 'little' |
| s $\underline{u}=\boldsymbol{d o}$ | 'very many' | oloûfé | 'all' |

520) ta $d \underline{o u}=d o$
talk straight=Int
'right talk/(the) talk (is/was) correct'
521) o oloûfei
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) dia dihi ke fofo-l-oû | dala-l-i, hiye dege-i. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3pL child that raise-IRR-NPST | be/have-IRR-NFUT big do-NFUT |

Hiye dege-môu, $\underline{e}$ sasai hu-l-o
big do.fUt-PFV 3s woman marry-IRR-FUT

[^57]523) hiye dege-I-i
big do-IRR-NFUT
'is growing'

## Verbalised adjectives with an adverbial function

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { 524) } & n \underline{a} \text { bolo dege dala } \\
& 2 \mathrm{~s} \text { good do be/have } \\
& \text {... you are well } \ldots \text {... }
\end{array}
$$

525) fí hiye=do mo-u-ba=be, na de sasa=do dege tofo-l-ôu? soul big=int put-nfut-PFV.IRR=TOP 2 s 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 + koûu earlier+prior
'old'
527) bogo + koû 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.

| sasafei | 'little finger' | 'first' | 'January' | 'Monday' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sasama | 'ring finger' | 'second' | 'February' | 'Tuesday’ |
| koma | 'middle finger' | 'third' | 'March' | 'Wednesday' |
| dosoú | 'index finger' | 'fourth' | 'April’ | 'Thursday’ |
| hou | 'thumb' | 'fifth' | 'May' | 'Friday' |
| walai | 'wrist' | 'sixth' | 'June' | 'Saturday' |
| dio | 'bone/lower arm' | 'seventh' | 'July’ | 'Sunday' |
| dima | ‘elbow’ | ‘eighth’ | 'August' |  |
| dese | 'upper arm’ | 'ninth' | 'September' |  |
| yetou | 'shoulder' | 'tenth' | 'October' |  |
| kehe ${ }^{106}$ | 'ear' | ‘eleventh’ | 'November' |  |
| diho | 'eye’ | 'twelfth' | 'December' |  |
| mukuo | 'nose | 'thirteenth' |  |  |
| mogou | 'mouth' | 'fourteenth' |  |  |
| dobogou ta hand\#INDF | 'the other hand' | ' $\geq$ fifteenth' |  |  |

[^58]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) oguo hou
moon thumb
'May'
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 $=y e /=e$.
530) Sasafei $=y e=g e \quad$ (Mountain dialect)
little.finger=INS=F.CNTR
'On Monday,...'
531) Monday $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}=g \boldsymbol{g e} \quad$ (Lowland dialect)

Monday that=GEN=F.CNTR
'On Monday ...'
532) gusubu=do dio=e (Mountain dialect)
morning=int bone/lower.arm=ins
'early Sunday morning'
533) gusugu=do Sunday (Lowland dialect)
morning=int Sunday
'early Sunday morning'
A body part number, with an ordinal meaning, sometimes precedes the noun it modifies.
534) $2005=h \underline{a}$ sasafé oguo $k a=h \underline{a}$ 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'.
535) so dihi dio-yosi ke-ge dog child bone/lower.arm-NUMR that-VBR 'seven puppies'
536) Sawisie-i walai-yosi ke-ge mei dege-i-moúu be.day-nfut wrist-numr that-vbr neg do-nfut-pfy 'Six days having gone by ...'

A few of the body part numbers may also be followed by the pronoun dia ' 3 PL'.
537) Yesu=ha o dosoû + diag ke-ge haguiso-u-moú, Jesus=GEn man index.finger+3pl that-VBR call-NFUT-PFV
dia $\underline{e}$ sese-l-e ya-i
3pL 3s follow-IRR-FUT go.dU/PL-NFUT
'. . When Jesus called four men, they immediately followed him'
$\ldots$ and as a last example of ordinal body part numbers from a song:
538) Sasafei Aye Godi, sasama Yesu Kelesu, little.finger father God ring.finger Jesus Christ
koma Fí Gofôu, dia dabai ta=noû.
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:
539) O é-bukoûu koû-g(u)e tobo-u ... O ta=ha=ne tobo-u man $3 s-f i r s t$ 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.

| bolou | 'two' | 'two' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bolou bolou | 'two\#two' | 'four' |
| bolou bolou, bolou de | 'two\#two\#\#two PROV' | 'six' |

These numbers may be followed by kege 'being like that'.
540) Wai bolou hebe ha-i-mi=koû debe na 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) $\underline{A} m \underline{a}$ sio ayomoû oloûfé $=$ be bolou bolou ke-ge. 1s 1s.poss bird fowl all.total=top two two that-vBR 'I (had/have) four hens.'
542) E sokoûloû duwo-l-i, sadebe bolou bolou, bolou de mei dege-moû, 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:

```
\(t a=n o u ̂ \quad\) (indF=only) 'one'
\(k o m \underline{a}+\) dig \(\quad(m i d d l e . f i n g e r+3 \text { PL) })^{107}\) 'three'
```

543) Yo kama+dia ke-ge tafala-gua. Yo bolou=be koú banana middle.finger +3 PL that-VBR stand-DU/PL banana two=TOP prior mu-gu duwo. Ke =nôu =si yo ta=noûu ta=be mu-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.:

| tanoû | 'INDF.only' | 'one' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bolou | 'two' | 'two' |
| kamadia | 'middle.finger.3PL' | 'three' |
| bolou bolou | '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 oloufei $(=b e$ ) 'all' as a prelude.
544) Sasai dihi ka=ha $\underline{e}$ sadebe oloûfei $=\boldsymbol{b e} \quad 12$ kege. (Lowland dialect) woman child that=GEN 3 s year all.total=Tор 12 that-VBR
'The girl was twelve years old.'
545) duo kasagai oloúfei=be 7 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'

[^59]```
546) Ulou \(+d i=k o ̂ u \quad a m a \quad\) tafala-gi, \({ }^{108}\)
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) $\underline{E}$ hiyg goguei=do du de-i.
(Mountain dialect)
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:

- 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 dihi ta Kula=koû sokoûloû i. $\underline{E}$ hu =be Mak Edolo child INDF Kula=Loc school go.nfut 3s name=top Mark
'A child from Edolo went to school in Kula. His name (is) Mark.'
549) Mogo, $\underline{a}=m e ~ h a g \underline{i}$ hiye=do ta dala. friend 1s=Top heavy big=int indF be/have 'Friend, I have a very big problem.'
550) Ta ta=be tisa=be 2003 kalada mei, na ta dala-ba=be, talk INDF=TOP teacher=TOP 2003 calendar neg 2s indF be/have-PFV.IRR=TOP
ne $=y e, \quad \underline{a}=$ mokou.
give=opt $\quad 1 \mathrm{~s}=$ LOC
'Another thing/talk is that the teachers do not have calendars; if you have any you may give me (one).'
551) O ta=ha Godi=ha to tobo-l-oú.
man INDF=GEN God=GEN talk say-IRR-NPST
'Someone will speak God's Word.'
552) O ta=ha Tabubil=koû $\underline{\underline{e}} \quad$ mogo dala-ba $\quad$ eba man INDF=GEN Tabubil=Loc 3s friend be/have-PFV.IRR go.nFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR 3s mogo $=h \underline{a} \quad$ moso $=k o u \quad$ tia-l-e friend=gen house=loc sleep-IRR-FUT
'But if someone having (a) friend in Tabubil goes (there), (he) will sleep in his friend's house and ...'
553) O ta=e hagí $\underline{a}=$ mokoûu hague-i dala man indF=ins heavy 1s=loc come-nfutbe/have
'Someone has come (and) given me problems ...'
554) Moso koû $=$ 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 noone is habitually sleeping; it stands/sits by itself.'
555) $2005=h \underline{a}$ sasafei $\quad$ oguo $=h \underline{a} \underline{a}$ i-l-e. Sawisie-i $\underline{a}$ ta tobo-l-oúu 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.'
[^60]But some negative clauses do not have the indefinite marker, as the perspective is different.

```
556) Toto taha-l-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)
hoboû 'can' (always in a negative clause)
ise 'finally/and so/presto'
koú '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' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sagai/sa |  | 'likely’ |
| 557) | Haba but. PFV.IRR | dege. <br> do |
|  | 'Do it again.' |  |

558) Na hoboû gue dege-da.
2s can fear do-PROH
'Don't be afraid/You cannot be afraid.'
559) Hiye = do tafala-l-i, sawisie-i ta ke-le-ge fene big=INT stand-IRR-NFUT be.day-NFUT INDF that-A.LOCR-VBR finally airplane hiye $=$ do $k a=h a \quad h a g u a-m o u ̂, ~ i s e \quad s a+m a \quad h a g u a, \quad S e l b a n g=k o u ́ u$ big=INT that=GEN come-PFV finally put.inside+put come.fUT Selbang=Loc
duwo de-ma, ise hagua-ma hagua, Biangabip=koú duwo de-ma, sit PROV-ISQ finally rise-ISQ come.fUT Biangabip=LOC sit PROV-ISQ Kalai o su$=d o \quad s a+m \underline{a}$, ise Dahamo=koù kuhe hague-i. Konai man many=int put.inside+putfinally Dahamo=loc so come-nfut
'(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 bolou=be koû mu-gu duwo. banana two=top prior go.down-of.nfut sit
'The fruit on two banana (trees) have already come down.'
```
561) K \(=n o u ̂=s i \quad \underline{e}\) koû sokoûloû bologua duwe-i=ye, sadebe \(\underline{e}\) haba
that=only=CNTR 3s prior school good.dosit-NFUT=OPT year 3 s but.PFV.IRR
bolou ke-ge mei \({ }^{109}\) dege-l-i mei. \({ }^{110}\)
two that-vBR NEG do-IRR-NFUT NEG
```

'But he might have done/sat OK in school earlier, but (the) year he did again two (times), he did not finish.'
562) na ma sele kôu mala $\underline{a}$ ne sa Ukarumpa $=k o ̂ u$

2s 1s.poss money prior get.IRr.fut 2s.poss land Ukarumpa=Loc

$$
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text { fai malag } & \text { hagua-ma dala-ba, } & \underline{a} & \text { i-l-e } & \text { mo-l-oú } . \\
\text { file get.IRR.FUT come-ISQ } & \text { be/have-PFV.IRR } & \text { 1s } & \text { go-IRR-FUT } & \text { get-IRR-NPST }
\end{array}
$$

'... you will first get my money and at your place Ukarumpa (you) will get (a) file and after coming (back, it) being (there with you), I will go and get (it).'
563) Dou toû-ma, ôu = boû dia=boû dusuwe=boû + de si+ma-moû no-l-u-gi, firelight-ISQ sago=and crayfish=and turtle=and+PRov cook+put-PFV eat-IRR-NFUT-DSQ sa hulig dege-i-moû,hulig.me hagu-l-u-gi, moso = koû kuhe fele-j. 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 at last arrived at the house.'
564) Defé $=d o \quad f i+m \underline{-} \underline{i} \quad g o f \underline{\hat{u}}=d o \quad k a=h \underline{a}=n o \hat{u}$
careful=INT soul+put-NFUT hard/strong=INT that=GEN=only
kuhe $i-b a=s i \quad b o l o=$ fei.
so go.nFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR good=total
'But having a sharp mind and so going it would be OK.'
565) $\underline{A} .$. sio kisi-ma duwo-l-i dugu=be, e ta=noú ta 1s ... birdmake.a.wall-ISQsit-IRR-NFUT see.nfut=top megapod.bird indF=onlyindF
fe-I-i-moû dugu. Ise ke-ge-moû $\underline{a}$ kuhe taha-i.
come.up-IRR-NFUT-PFV see.nfut finally that-VBR-PFV 1 s 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).'
566) Hebe ebele ha-i yo you fo-u-l-u
tree new cut-nfut banana not.yet come.up-bLTV-IRR-NFUT
mosoú =yo mei.
bear.fruit=INDC NEG
'The bananas in the new garden are not bearing fruit yet.'
567) K $\underline{e}=n o u ̂=s i \quad$ yo $t a=$ noû mu-gu-l-i mei, you. that=only=CNTR banana INDF=only go.down-OF-IRR-NFUT NEG not.yet
'But one of the banana (trees) does not have any (fruit) hanging down yet.'
568) Mag abogou toto = noû te-i.

1s.poss foot quickly=only remove-nfut
'I quickly removed my foot.'
The adverb mei 'negative' is different in that, if it occurs with a verb, it follows it and is more closely tied to it than most other adverbs, and so it is analysed as being part of the verbal phrase.
569) Dig Godiha ta $\quad d u-d i=y o \quad$ mei.

3pL God=GEN talk hear-hAB=INDC NEG
'They habitually do not hear the Word of God.'
570) $\underset{\text { E }}{ }$ ta $d u-I-i \quad$ mei.

3s talk hear-IRR-NFUT NEG
'He did not hear (what was) said.'

[^61]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 sagai '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 sag 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) E moso = kôu i-l-e sagai.

3s house=loc go-IRR-fUt likely
'He wants to go home.'
574) Ke $=$ noû $=$ si dilie dihi=noû, gali wo-l-o sagai mei. that=only=CNTR 3du child=only wild.animal attack-IRR-FUTlikely 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) E}na-l-\underline{e} sag\underline{i}\mp@code{ dege-moû 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 $s \underline{a}$ in the Lowland dialect.

```
576) }\underline{A}=me to-l-o i-l-e s\underline{a}\mathrm{ dege-i.
    1s=top die-IRR-fut go-IRR-FUT likely do-nfut
    'I almost died./It seemed likely I would die.'
```

| 577) | Duwo sa dege-i. <br> 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.

| koû | 'anywhere' |
| :--- | :--- |
| mố | 'down below' |
| toû | 'up (t)here' |
| bu | 'upriver' |
| u | 'downriver' |
| boû | 'across (t)here' |
| $d u$ | 'inside' |

579) Ma sa=be toû i-l-e, $\underline{a} d u=b e$ 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 $-g u$ 'distant demonstrativiser' (see 4.8.2.2). They will be described in 4.8.3 Locative adverbs, but here are a few examples:

```
580) \(\underline{E} \quad\) sugu \(=\) do toû-gu-le=ne tia-di=yo mei.
3s top=int up-dEMR.D-A.LOCR=also sleep-hAB=INDC NEG
    'He (a bird) does not sleep up in the very top (of trees) either.'
581) to hebe bu-gu-li
river headwaters upriver-DEMR.D-E.LOCR
```

'right up there by the headwaters of the river'
582) miye ta-le=kôu moû-gu-he eu-l-u fish river-A.LOCR=LOC down-DEMR.D-P.LOCR walk.around-IRR-NFUT
'a fish is swimming down there in the river (pointing)'
583) Dia=be ... huei du-le moû duwo-di. crayfish=тор... water inside-A. LocR down.below sit-нав
'Crayfish ... live down below in the water'
584) du-le $+\boldsymbol{l u}^{111}$
inside-A.LOCR+inside
‘inside’

## Demonstrative roots

Also from the demonstrative pronouns kou 'this' and ke '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.

| kôu 'this' | $k o u$-le ${ }^{112}$ | 'here' this-A.LOCR |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ke | 'that' | $k e-l e ~ ' t h e r e ' ~$ | that-A.LOCR |

585) $\underline{E}=$ me koû-le mei.

3s=TOP this-A.LOCR NEG
'He is not 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 $^{113}$ |  | 'over' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tage + toû | over+up | 'on top' |
| haye + moû | under+down | 'underneath' |
| haye $+/ u /+d u$ | under+inside | 'underneath' |

586) $\underline{E}$ dobogoû 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 ...'

[^62]
### 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:
$-l e^{114}$
-li
$-b a$
A few examples:
aso-le $=k o u$
ta-le-koú
a-li-koú
to-ba
'approximate locativiser'
'exact locativiser'
‘along’

| (sun-A.LOCR=LOC) | 'in(to) the sun' |
| :--- | :--- |
| (river-A.LOCR=LOC) | 'in the river' |
| (road-E.LOCR=LOC) | 'right on the road' |
| (river-along) | 'along the river' |

589) kansol dihí-le
council eye-A.Locr
'in front of the council'
‘... the two of us having gone upriver on the usual road to Sesenabi along the river, crossed (it) and ...'

Also, the locative adverbial roots, described in 4.5.2.1, make compounded locative adverbs with a single noun or a nominal phrase.

| bidi-le + toú | (shore-A.LOCR+up) | 'up on shore' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $s u g \underline{u}+t o u$ | (top+up) | 'up in the top' |
| sug $\underline{u}+l u l+d u^{115}$ | (top+inside) | 'in/at the top (and) inside' |
| moso $=k o u ̂+l u$ | (house=LOC+inside) | 'inside the house' |

591) hati widi-le + toû mu-gu
hat head-A.Locr+up go.down-of
'put (a) hat on (his) head'
592) $\mathbf{d o u}+l u=k o u$
fire-inside=Loc
'in (the) fire'
593) Hebe sugu $+\boldsymbol{l} \boldsymbol{u} \quad$ tia-di---i $i^{116}$ tree top+inside sleep-hAB-IRR-NFUT
'He habitually sleeps in (the) tree tops.'
594) gamani o $k a=h \underline{a} \quad \boldsymbol{m o s o}=k o ̂ u+l u^{117}$ folo-ga-i
government man that=GEN house=Loc+inside go.up-DU/PL-NFUT
'they went up inside that government official's house'
[^63]
### 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 $=d o$ 'intensifier' (596), where it emphasizes the basic meaning.

| afu | 'earlier' | gusugu | 'morning'118 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| we | 'day before yesterday/recently' | agali | 'noon' |
| i | 'yesterday' | habi | 'late afternoon' |
| ibigi | 'earlier today' |  |  |
| ifi | 'today' |  |  |
| diaba | 'later today' |  |  |
| idiba | 'tomorrow' |  |  |
| oúdaba | 'day after tomorrow' |  |  |
| haba=ge | 'later' (but.PFV.IRR=F.CNTR) |  |  |


| 595) | $\underline{A}$ we | oû | $h a-i$ | ta | folo-môu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 1s day.before.yesterday | sago | cut-NFUT | INDF | go.up-PFV |

'Recently, I having gone up to a (place where someone) had cut down a sago (palm) ...'
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { 596) } & A=m e ~ i d i b a & \text { gusugu }=\text { do } i-/-e . \\ & \text { 1s=TOP tomor row.PFV.IRR } & \text { morning=INT go-IRR-FUT } \\ & \text { 'As for me, I will go early tomorrow morning.' }\end{array}$

### 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:

| ehe | 'yes' | ebei | 'how terrible!' (the word is related to bei 'snake') |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hele | 'yes!' | imi | 'that's funny!' |
| $e e[? \varepsilon$ Pæ] | 'no' | $a i$ | '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 we-i (attack | NFUT) 'a | ked/killed’ |

597) Ehe, $\underline{a}$ koû $d u=y e$, yes 1s prior hear.nfut=OPT
'Yes, I heard but ...'
598) Na idiba i-l-e, hele?

2s tomorrow go-IRR-FUT yes
'You are going tomorrow, aren't you?' (positive answer expected)

[^64]```
599) \(\underline{e}\) tobo-u, e-e, na ke tobo-l-oû ke \(k\) eme \(\underline{a}\) ta
    1s say-nfut no 2 s that say-IRR-NPSt that=top 1s indF
    tawa-i=yo mei=yode tobo-u.
    know-NFUT=INDC NEG=IQV say-NFUT
```

'... he said, "No, that which you are saying I do not know anything (about)," (he) stated and said.'
600) Yei, Alex mei. $\underline{E} \quad h \underline{u}=b e$ Aron.
that's.totally.wrong Alex neg 3s name=top Aron
'Da! - his name is not Alex. It's Aron.'
601) $\quad$ diag $=g e \quad$ wa, godi ke+dia die ta $\underline{\underline{a}}$ ke 3PL=F.CNTR false.assumption 3pL.poss god that+3pL 3pL.poss talk that $d u-l-u=y a d e \quad$ tawa-l-e i-di. hear-IRR-NFUT=SQV know-IRR-FUT go-hAB
'... they think mistakenly that their gods hear their talk.'
602) Sawisie-i ke-le-ge =be, ebei
be.day-nfut that-A.LOCR-VBR=TOP how.terrible
'On that day, how terrible, ...'
603) Nataniel e kesi-gi-e-moû tobo-u, imi, Nasaret o? Nathanael 3s rouse-OF-FUT-PFV say-NFUT that's.funny land Nazareth man 'Nathanael having got a surprise said, "That's funny, a Nazarene?"'
604) Ai, o koûu $=m e \quad$ Josep $=h \underline{a} \quad$ dihi=nôu. that's.strange man this=top Joseph=GEN child=only
'That's strange, this man is only the son of Joseph.'
605) yawo de toboû-ma fogôu ... goodbye PRov say-ISQ leave.for ..
'...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.


[^65]Concerning the form $k a$ - '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 -moú '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 $k a$-/+ 'how'

## Koyo 'who'

606) Sasai koyo?
woman who
'What/Which woman?'
607) Ne hu koyo?

2s.POSS name who
'What is your name?'
608) K K $\underline{u}=m e ~ k o y o=h \underline{a}$ 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-oú. final know-IRR-FUT talk man who=GEN say-IRR-NPST
'Anyone may present the final announcements.'
610) Koyo =ha testimony dala fele. who=aEn testimony be/have come.up
'Whoever has a testimony (must) come up.'
611) o koyo $n \underline{a}=m e$ Godi=h $\underline{a}$ to $\underline{a}=b e$ oloúuei tewe hiye $=d o \quad o \quad n \underline{a}=m e$ man who $2 \mathrm{~s}=\mathrm{TOP}$ God=GEN talk=TOP all.total know big=int man $2 \mathrm{~s}=\mathrm{TOP}$
$t \underline{a}=$ boû mei.
talk=and NEG
‘... whoever you are, you who know all of God's Word very well, you would do OK
(in this work)'
Kei 'what'
612) K $\underline{o ̂ u}=m e \quad k \underline{i} ?$
this=top what
'What is this?'
613) Dia Sekalaiya=kôu yodu, na dihi h́u$=b e \quad k \underline{e}=y o d e-l-e$. 3pL Zechariah=loc ask.nFUT 2 s child name=ToP what=IQV-IRR-FUT 'They asked Zechariah, "What will you say (your) child's name (will be)?"'

Kiliya 'where'
614) $N \underline{a}$ kili$+y a \quad i=y a ?$

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) Na koboge boho-l-ôu +ma hagua-l-e?

2s when.VBR turn-IRR-NPST+put come-IRR-FUT
'When will you start to come back?'
$\boldsymbol{K a}$-/+ ‘how/why/how many’
In many Papuan languages, the "why" question implies disapproval. That is not the case in Konai. ${ }^{120}$

```
617) A}=me to-l-o-b
ka-ge-I-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) Ne sisigo oloûfei ka+dege?
2s.poss children all.total how+do
'How many children do you have?'
620) Midiho $k a=h \underline{a}$ 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 how will it happen?'
621) Fele hague-i ka+dege-moû?
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 $\boldsymbol{a}$ i ka-ge-i-ya?
Kevin=gen child sickness get.IRR.fut go how-vBr-nfut=subj
' ... Kevin's sick child who was taken out, how is (he)?'
623) Sekalaya=ha esol Gebrul=koû tobo-u,
Zechariah=gen angel Gabriel=Loc say-NFut

| ka-ge-moúu | $\underline{a}$ | $n e$ | $t a$ | damale=yode-I-e? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| how-VBR.FUT-PFV | 1s | $2 s$. POSS | talk | true=IQV-IRR-FUT |

'Zechariah said to the angel Gabriel, "How can/why should I believe your word?"'
624) na dihi kôu$=m a=h \underline{a} h \underline{u}=b e$ ka-ge ti-l-e de yodu-l-o i-moû 2s child this=TOP=GEN name=TOP how-VBR call-IRR-FUT PROV ask-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV '.. when they asked, "Concerning the name of this child of yours, what will you call him?" ...'

Ka-/+ may be used as an indefinite pro-form meaning 'however/whatever'.
625) Bi ka-ge-i, di $\underline{e}=$ mokoû yodu=be, $\underline{e}$ di=mokoû ne-le. 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, $\underline{a}$ ka-ge-l-e de tawa-i fi + má-i. that-VBR-PFV 1s how-VBR-IRR-FUT PROV know-NFUT soul+put-nFUT 'Then/So I thought about what I should know.'
627) $N \underline{a} n a-l-\underline{e} \quad o \quad$ sele $n \underline{a} \quad k a-g e=f \underline{e} i \quad d e g e-i$, 2 s eat-IRR-FUTOr money 2 s how-VBR=total do-NFUT $\underline{a}=n e \quad n \underline{a}$ ke-ge=fé $\quad$ dege-l-e. $1 \mathrm{~s}=\mathrm{also} 2 \mathrm{~s}$ that-VBR=total do-IRR-FUT
'The total of what you will have spent in food or money, I, too, will spend like that (on you).'

[^66]
### 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 koúu 'this' and ke 'that'. The same general deictics and its derivates are used to navigate in a discourse: e.g. kôu 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 ):

| koû | 'anywhere' |
| :--- | :--- |
| moû | 'down below' |
| toû | 'up (t)here' |
| bu | 'upriver' |
| $u$ | 'downriver' |
| boû | 'across (t)here' |
| du | 'inside' |

These forms are words in their own right and can be used as such.

'(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:

- demonstrative pronominal roots, e.g.
- locative adverbs of different kinds, e.g.
moû-ku- 'this down below'
down-DEMR.N
see 4.8.2.2
mour-gu- 'that down below'
down-DEMR.D


### 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 kôu 'this' and ke 'that'

The most common demonstrative pronouns are kôu 'this and ke 'that'. Using these pronouns, the speaker is the deictic centre, or for discourse, the present utterance is.

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { koúu/kuo/ku } & \text { 'this' } & \text { near to speaker, cataphoric reference } \\
\text { ke/ke/ka/ko } & \text { 'that' } & \text { away from speaker, anaphoric reference }
\end{array}
$$

The demonstrative pronouns koú 'this' and ke 'that' may occur with the following enclitics and words:

| kou | 'this' | (this) | ke | 'that' | (that) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| kout + dig | 'these' | (this+3PL) | $k e+d i \underline{a}$ | 'those' | (that+3PL) |
| kôu + dilie | 'these two' | (this+3DU) | ke + dilie | 'those two' | (that +3 DU ) |
| $k \underline{u} \underline{u}=m e$ | 'concerning this' | (this=TOP) | $k \underline{e}=m e$ | 'concerning that' | (that=TOP) |
| --- |  |  | $k a=h \underline{a}$ | 'that control' | (that=GEN) |
| $k \underline{\underline{u}} \mathbf{u}=m a=h \underline{a}$ | 'this one in control' | (this=TOP=GEN) | $k a=m a=h \underline{a}$ | 'that one in control' | (that=TOP=GEN) |
| $k u o=k o u$ | 'here' | (this=LOC) | $k o=k o u$ | 'there' | (that=LOC) |
|  |  |  | $k \underline{e}=n o \hat{u}=s i$ | 'but' | (that=only=CNTR) |
|  |  |  | $k \underline{e}=n o \hat{u}=f \underline{e} i$ | 'that's all' | (that=only=total) |
| ku-he | 'right here' (pointing) | (this-P.LOCR) | ke-he | 'right there' (pointing) | (that-P.LOCR) |
| $k \underline{\underline{o} u}=m e-h \underline{e r}^{122}$ | 'right here' (pointing) | (this=TOP-P.LOCR) | $k \underline{e}=m e-h \underline{e}$ | 'right there' <br> (pointing) | (that=TOP-P.LOCR) |

Other combinations of discourse enclitics may also occur. See for example (644): $k a=h \underline{a}=s i$ (that=GEN=CNTR) below. The following examples will show some of the possibilities for koû 'this' and ke 'that' in context.

As a head in a NP: $D E M=T O P /=L O C$
(see 5.2.2.1.2)

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { 630) } & \text { Kout }=\boldsymbol{m e} \text { kei? } \\
\text { this=top what } \\
\text { 'What is this?' }
\end{array}
$$

631) Kou $=$ me sio miye. this=тор bird Victoria.pidgeon
'This is a Victoria pigeon.' (showing a drawing)
632) Godi=hag haguisa-mô̂ tobo-u, ke=me ma dihi. God=GEN call.fUt-PFV say-nFUt that=TOP 1s.Poss child
'... God having called said, "That is my child."' (God is in heaven)
633) $\underline{e}$ diag=mokoû tobo-u, ní=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."'
[^67]As a modifier in a NP, singular/group: ${ }^{123}$ NG\#... DEM (=TOP/=LOC/=GEN)
634) Sa ke=me Ukarumpa=be hiye mei=yode tobo-l-oû i-moû du. land that=TOP 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.'
635) $O$ bolow kôu $=$ me aso dugu-I-a-moû dege-I-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) to $y$ afei $=d o$ kôu koú-g(u)e-i.
talk small=int this this-vBr(bltv)-NFUT
'This very small talk (is) like this. ...'
637) $O$ sasai oloûfei dia dou=be hoho dege-di. man woman all.total 3pL fire=top light do-HAB

Yo=be dou ko=koûu na-l-e si-l-e na-di ka=ha. 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) o $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}} \quad$ dihi
man that=GEN child
‘that man's child’ (possessive: 5.2.2.2)
As a modifier in a NP, non-singular individuated: NG\#... DEM $+\operatorname{PRON}(=T O P /=L O C /=G E N)$
639) Dilie o ke+dig=mokoû 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 modifier in a NP to express time: $\mathrm{NG}^{\mathrm{TENP}}$ \#DEM $(=T O P)=\mathrm{GEN}$
(5.2.3.2.1 ..: Genitive of time expressions)
640) Fula kou $=\boldsymbol{m a}=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ i-l-e.
week this=top=GEN go-IRR-FUT
'(he) will go this week.'
641) idiba... Monday $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}$ hagua-l-e
tomorrow Monday that=GEN come-IRR-FUT
'... tomorrow ... on "this"/that Monday (he) will start to come (back)'
See also (644).
Participant reference, minor participant: NG\#DEM((=TOP)=GEN)/(=LOC)
642) o $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}(=\boldsymbol{m a})=\boldsymbol{h a} \boldsymbol{a} \quad$ o ke o $\boldsymbol{k o}=\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{u} \boldsymbol{u}$
man that (=TOP)=GEN man that man that=LOC
'that man' (minor agent in control) 'that man' (object/patient/theme)
'to the man'
Reason constructions: CLAUSE\# DEM=GEN
(5.2.3.2.1 ... Genitive of reason)
643) $\underline{A}$ soloû $=$ do dege- $i=b e$, ele=be $\quad$ mogo=do $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h a} \boldsymbol{a}$ dege-moû

1s heart=Int do-nfut=TOP 1du.ex=Topfriend=Int that=GEN do-PFV
'I was really sorry, because the two of us had been close friends ...'
See also (637).
Relative clauses: CLAUSE\# DEM (=TOP/=GEN/=LOC)
644) O Kiunga=koû 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 already next week.'

[^68]645) o ta $\underline{e}$ mogo mei $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h a} \quad i-b a=b e \quad \underline{e}=m \underline{e} \quad$ mosolo $=k o u$
man indF 3s friend neg that=gen go.nfut-PFV.IRR=top 3s=top house=Loc

```
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 in a house.'

## As roots in locative adverbs and demonstrative verbs

The demonstrative pronouns koúu 'this' and ke 'that' are also the root forms of several locative adverbs and verbs.

- locative adverbs, e.g. koû/e '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.

| - | koû-gu 'that somewhere' |
| :--- | :--- |
| moû-ku- 'this down below' | moû-gu- 'that down below' |
| toü-ku- 'this up here' | toû-gu- 'that up there' |
| bu-ku- 'this upriver' | bu-gu- 'that upriver' |
| u-ku- | 'this downriver' |
| boú-ku- 'this across here' | u-gu- 'that downriver' |
| du-ku- 'this inside here' | boú-gu- 'that across there' |
| du-gu- 'that inside there' |  |

The difference between $-k u$ - and $-g u$, then, is distance: ${ }^{124}-k u$ signals something relatively close-by, while $-g u$ signals something further away. The difference is exemplified below:
646) Tôu-ku=me sio.
up-demr.n=top bird
'This up here is a bird.'
647) tố-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. tou-gu-li (up-DEMR.D-E.LOCR) 'right up there'. See next section.

[^69]
### 4.8.3 Locative adverbs

The demonstrative pronouns form the basis for three sets of locative adverbs.

- pointing locative adverbs
- exact locative adverbs
- approximate locative adverbs
marked by the suffix -he 'pointing locativiser'
marked by the suffix -li 'exact locativiser'
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).

| DEMONSTRATIVE STEM |  | DEM-P.LOCR | DEM-E.LOCR | DEM-A.LOCR |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DEM PRON |  | '(...) here/there' (pointing) | ' right (...) here/there' | 'somewhere (...) here/there' |
| koúu | 'this' | ku-he | koû-li | koû-le |
| ke | 'that' | ke-he | --- | ke-le |
| --- ' | 'inside’ | --- | ki-li | ki-le |
| --- ' | 'this somewhere' | --- | --- | (koû-ku-le) ${ }^{125}$ |
| môu-ku ${ }^{126}$ | 'this down below' | moû-ku-he | moû-ku-li | moû-ku-le |
| tôl-ku | 'this up here' | tôu-ku-he | tou-ku-li | tou-ku-le |
| bu-ku | 'this upriver' | bu-ku-he | bu-ku-li | bu-ku-le |
| u-ku | 'this downriver' | u-ku-he | u-ku-li | u-ku-le |
| boû-ku | 'this across here' | bou-ku-he | bou-ku-li | boû-ku-le |
| du-ku | 'this inside' | du-ku-he | du-ku-li | du-ku-le |
| koù-gu ${ }^{127}$ | 'that somewhere' | --- | koû-gu-li | koû-gu-le |
| moû-gu | 'that down below' | moù-gu-he | mou-gu-li | moû-gu-le |
| tôu-gu | 'that up there' | tou-gu-he | tôu-gu-li | tou-gu-le |
| $b u-g u$ | 'that upriver' | bu-gu-he | bu-gu-li | bu-gu-le |
| $u-g u$ | 'that downriver' | u-gu-he | $u-g u-l i$ | u-gu-le |
| boû-gu | 'that across there' | boû-gu-he | boû-gu-li | boû-gu-le |
| $d u-g u$ | 'that inside' | du-gu-he | $d u-g u-l i$ | du-gu-le |
| 648) | A ku-he. <br> 1s this-P.LOCR 'I am here (e.g. po | ting to a photo). |  |  |

649) Na koû-le ma-l-e.

2s this-A.LOCR put-IRR-FUT
'You will put it somewhere here.'
650) $\mathbf{k e} \underline{\underline{e}} \boldsymbol{h e}=\underline{f} \boldsymbol{e} i$
that-P. Locr=total
'that’s all’ (Mountain dialect)
651) Koû-gu-le fou.
somewhere-DEMR.D-A.LOCR run
‘Get clear!/Get out of my sight.' (said to a dog that someone stumbled over)
652) to ilo koû-gu-li dala
river part somewhere-DEMR.D-E.LOCR be/have
'somewhere right on the other side of the river' (not very near)

[^70]```
653) miye ta-le = koû mou-gu-le 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, somewhere deep down there'
654) toûguei moû-gu-le dala
    rat down-DEMR.D-A.LOCR be/have
    'the rat is somewhere deep down there'
655) Yomogo-u=be, o ka=ha\underline{a}}\mathrm{ asoû moû-gu-li=do dege da+ma-moû,
    start-NFUT=TOP man that=GEN ground down-DEMR.D-E.LOCR=INT do dig+put-PFV
    mouti gofo\underline{u}=do ke=noú fo-fo-gue-i.
    post hard/strong=INT that=only RED.PL-rise-du/PL-NFUT
    'To start with, the man having dug deep right down there, planted strong posts only ...'
656) miye tag-le=koû moû-gu-he 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) moû-gu-he
    down-DEMR.D-P.LOCR
    'deep down there' (pointing)
658) moû-ku-he
    dOWn-DEMR.N-P.LOCR
    'down here' (closer than last example; pointing)
659) moû-ku-li
    dOWN-DEMR.N-E.LOCR
    'right down this way'
660) môu-gu-li
    down-DEMR.D-E.LOCR
    'right down there'/'very far down'
661) sio hebe sugu_toû tố-gu-le duwo
    bird tree top+up up-DEMR.D-A.LOCR sit
    'the bird is sitting somewhere far up there in the tree top'
662) oguo agudi-le+tô̂ toû-gu-li duwo
    moon sky-A.LOCR+up up-DEMR.D-E.LOCR sit
    'the moon is right up there in the sky' (far away)
663) sio hebe sug\underline{u}+tồ toû-gu-he duwo
    bird tree top+up up-DEMR.D-P.LOCR sit
    'the bird is far up there in the tree top' (pointing)
664) sosi moso bu-gu-le duwo
    church house upriver-DEMR.D-A.LOCR sit
    'the church is somewhere upriver' (a bit away)
665) ma yukuei sosi moso=koû bu-gu-le dala
    1s.POSS cloth church house=LOC upriver-DEMR.D-A.LOCR be/have
    'my clothes are in the church a bit upriver'
666) to hebe bu-gu-li
    river headwaters upriver-DEMR.D-E.LOCR
    ` right up there close to the headwaters of the river' (far away)
667) sosi moso bu-gu-he duwo
    church house upriver-DEMR.D-P.LOCR sit
    'the church is upriver there (pointing)' (a bit away)
668) Omei=ha mosol=koû u-gu-le
    Omei=gen house=loc downriver-dEMR.d-A.LOCR
    'In Omei's house downriver' (a bit away)
```

```
669) ma moso to ilo boû-gu-li duwo
    1s.poss house river part across-DEMR.D-E.LOCR sit
```

    'my house is a bit away, across right there on the other side of the river'
    ```
670) kuguo du-gu-le dala ke mala hagua
    paper inside-DEMR.D-A.LOCR be/have that get.IRR.FUT come
    'bring the book, which is inside somewhere' (not very near)
```


## 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 ${ }^{128}$ 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
－－－

| môu－ku－le | ＇down below＇ |
| :--- | :--- |
| toû－ku－le | ＇up here＇ |
| bu－ku－le | ＇upriver＇ |
| u－ku－le | ＇downriver＇ |
| boú－ku－le | ＇across＇ |
| du－ku－le | ＇inside＇ |

LOC－DEMR．N－E．LOCR
moû－ku－li＇right down below＇
tố－ku－li＇right up here’
bu－ku－li＇right upriver＇
u－ku－li＇right downriver＇
boú－ku－li＇right across＇
du－ku－li＇right inside’

| LOC－DEMR．N－A．LOCR＋fronting to signal |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| ke－ke－le | ＇somewhere where you are＇ |
| me－ke－le | ＇down below where you are＇ |
| te－ke－le | ＇up there where you are＇ |
| bi－ki－le | ＇upriver where you are＇ |
| i－ki－le | ＇downriver where you are＇ |
| be－ke－le | ＇across where you are＇ |
| di－ki－le | ＇inside where you are＇ |

LOC－DEMR．N－E．LOCR＋fronting to signal position of addressee
me－ke－li＇right down below where you are＇
te－ke－li＇right up there where you are＇
bi－ki－li＇right upriver where you are＇
i－ki－li＇right downriver where you are＇
be－ke－li＇right across where you are＇
di－ki－li＇right inside where you are’
671）ma bolo to ilo be－ke－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 you are＇
672）ma bolo to ilo boû－gu－le fogo－u
1s．poss ball river part other．side－DEMR．D－A．LOCR leave．for－nFUT
＇I lost my ball on the other side of the river，somewhere across there＇（the addressee is not on the other side of the river）
673）kuguo be－ke－le
paper other．side－DEMR．N－A．LOCR
＇the book is across there，where you are＇
674）kuguo boû－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 | $k a$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| 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）＇

[^71]```
677) miye}m\mathrm{ 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 kou 'this' and 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.

| kôu | 'this' | kôu- $\boldsymbol{g}(u) \boldsymbol{e}$ | 'be like this' | (this-VBR(BLTV)) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ke | 'that' | ke-ge | 'be like that' | (that-VBR) |

The simple locative adverbs koûle 'here' and kele 'there' may also be verbalised.

| koû-le | 'this' | koû-le-ge | 'be like this here' | (this-A.LOCR-VBR) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ke-le | 'there' | ke-le-ge | '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-I-i mei | 'was not like that' | (that.VBR-IRR-NFUT\#NEG) |
| kege-I-i-gi | 'is/was like that until ...' | (that.VBR-IRR-NFUT-DSQ) |
| kege-I-e i | 'they were like that' | (that.VBR-IRR-FUT\#go) |
| kege-moû | 'then/so,'129 | (that.VBR.FUT-PFV) |
| kege-ma-moû | '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 kegemou 'then/so' may be used to demarcate paragraphs in narratives (see 8.2.1.3 MORE ON DEMONSTRATIVE PRO-VERB LINKAGE).

Demonstrative verb
koügue 'be like this'
kege 'be/become like that/
then/so'
-
'be like that there' 'at that time’

## Major functions

adverbial before speech/quote
with -moû 'perfective' connects paragraphs in a story (681)
connects sentences
(684)
679) A na=mokoû koû-g(u)e
1s 2s=LOC this-vBR(BLTV)

| tobo-l-oú, | $n \underline{a}$ | $m \underline{a}$ | sele koû | malag, ... |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| say-IRR-NPST | $2 s$ | $1 s . p o s s$ | money | prior | get | ... |

fai mala hagua-ma dala-ba, a i-l-e mo-l-oú . file get.IRR. FUT come-ISQ be/have-PFV.IRR 1s go-IRR-FUT 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).'

[^72]680) Tawa-l-e to $\underline{0}=b e \quad$ koûu-g(u)e, $\underline{a}$ sisigo $=b o u ̂ \quad o+d o=b o u ̂$ know-IRR-FUT talk=TOP this-VBR(bltv) 1s children=and man+old/sickness=and
oloufei=be
15.
all.total=tор 15
'The message is like this: I have a total of 15 children and adults in school.'
681)

|  | fiye | $s \underline{a}-\underline{i}$ | $k \underline{e}=m e$ | ye | dihi | gomogu = bou |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| . | str | twin | that=то | str | child | knot=and |
| migi-moú |  |  | gu. |  |  |  |
|  | . do | FUT-P | e. nfut |  |  |  |

Ke-ge-moûu dia ye dihi ke tu-l-o-môu dugu=be, that-VBR-PFV 3PL stringbag child that remove-IRR-FUT-PFV see.NFUT=TOP
dihi ta sa-l-a-moû dugu.
child INDF put.inside-IRR-SUBJ-PFV see.nfut
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { Ke-ge-moû, dia dihi } & \text { ke fo-fo-l-oû } & \text { dala-l-i, } \\ \text { that-VBR-PFV } & \text { 3pL child that RED.PL-run-IRR-NPST } & \text { be/have-IRR-NFUT }\end{array}$
hiye dege-i. Hiye dege-moû, $\underline{e}$ sasai hu-l-o, dihi súu$=d o \quad$ mo-u. .
big do-nFUt big do.fUT-PFV 3s woman marry-IRR-FUT child many=INT get-NFUT
Ke-ge-moû, diag $\underline{e} \quad h \underline{u}+t i=b e \quad$ Dibiye $\quad$ Hiygdibi=yode-i. that-VBR-PFV 3PL 3s name+call=Top Thunder Hiyandibi=IQV-NFUT
' $\ldots$. (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.'
682) ... Ke-ge=yodi---i.
... that-VBR=IQV-IRR-NFUT
'... He says like that.'
683) fula oloúfei =be 5 ke-ge dala $k a=h a \quad$ dege-môu. week all.total=тор 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 ...'
685) Ne fene, Des. 21 ke-le-ge hagu-ba=be,

2s airplane Dec. 21 that-A.LOCR-VBR come.NFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP
'If your airplane comes on Dec. 21 ...'
686) $\underline{A}$ afu $=$ do huyadefei ke-le-ge daga=do gamani o ke+dia 1s earlier=int small that-A.LOCR-vBR different=INT government man that+3pL
hu sôu hagu-môu dugu
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'

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 kou 'this' and 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. $\boldsymbol{u}$ 'downriver', and their derivates.

These verbs are:

| go |  | come |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| i/ya | 'go away from speaker (sg./pl.)' | hagua | 'come towards speaker' |
| mㅡㅡ | 'go down/outside' | migi | 'come down/outside' |
| folo | 'go up/inside, arrive' | fele | 'come up/inside, arrive' |
| doû | 'go downriver' | deme | 'come downriver' |
| tu | 'go upriver' | timí | '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' $d u$. There is a noun meaning 'outside' tama, which can be used together with the locative case marker $=k o u$.

The verb folo 'go up' especially, but also the verb fele 'come up' are frequently used for 'arrive' in storytelling.


### 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 $i$ ' $g o$ '.

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, ${ }^{130}$ 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 '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) $\begin{array}{lll}\mathrm{Na} & \text { koboge } & \text { hague-i? } \\ 2 \mathrm{~s} & \text { when.VBR } & \text { come-nFUT }\end{array}$

| A | we | hagu-l-u-gi | ibigi |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

'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) Ma $\quad$ moso $=k o ̂ u \quad i-m e$.

1s.poss house=loc go-hort
'Let's go to my house!'
696) *Ma moso = koû 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) | $A=m e ~ h e b e ~ h a-i$ $s a=k o u ̂$ <br> 1s=TOP tree cut-NFUT land=LOC <br> go-NFUT  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'I went to the garden.' |  |

698)     * $\underline{A}=m e$ hebe ha-i $\quad s a=k o u ̂=g e \quad$ 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.

[^73]
### 4.8.5.2 Using $i$ ' $g o$ ' 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.

701) ta ni koû du-môu hague-i ke=me
talk 2pl prior hear-pFV come-nfut that=top
$n \underline{i} \quad$ defé $=d o \quad$ tôu-ma.
2PL careful=INT hold-DU/PL
'... the talk that you have been hearing up to now, hold on to that carefully.'
702) Godi=ha ta Abraham=koû dege-l-e=yode-ma maka+ma dele-i=be, God=GEN talk Abraham=LOC do-IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQ mark+put be/have-NFUT=TOP
sadebe oloûfei 430 ke-ge hagua mei dege-moûu, Godi=ha
year all.total 430 that-vBR come neg do-PFV God=GEN
yoû $\underline{e}$ kuoloû ta ke Moses=koû kuhe he-hegi-e tobo-u. 3s.EMP 3s law talk that Moses=Loc so RED.PL-show-RED.PL say-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 toboû-môu i=be de-moû, habi dege-i-moû,

RED.PL-Show-RED.PL Say=PFV go=TOP PROV-PFV afternoon do-NFUT-PFV
e dabai dege-di o ke+dia hagua-sie-moû 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:

| ke-ge-moú | 'having become like that/ so/then' | (that-VBR-PFV) | connects paragraphs |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ke-le-ge-moû ${ }^{131}$ | 'having become like that there/ (that-A.LOCR-VBR-PFV) so/then' |  | connects paragraphs |
| $(k e=n o \hat{u})=s i$ | 'but' | ((that=only)=CNTR) | connects clauses \& sentences |
| $k a=h \underline{\text { (dege-moû) }}$ | 'because' | (that=GEN do-PFV) | may connect clauses; together with yobe 'reason' connects sentences |
| $y o=b e$ | 'reason' | (base=TOP) | connects sentences |
| $n e=b e /=n e$ | 'also' | (also=TOP/=also) | connects sentences |
| ha/haba | 'but/or/again/instead' ${ }^{132}$ | (but(PFV.IRR)) | connects clauses \& sentences |
| O | 'or' | loan word (maybe) | connects elements of compounded phrases; connects clauses |
| $d e$ | 'proverb' |  | may function together with =boú 'and' in compounded phrases; may also connect clauses |
| = boû | 'and' |  | connects elements of compounded phrases |
| $=b e$ | 'topic marker' |  | connects phrases \& clauses |

As kege 'like that' is really a verb it can take any of the verbal suffixes. That gives a few more "conjunctions":

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { ke-ge-ma-moú } & \text { 'after having become like that' } \\
k e-g e-b a & \text { 'will have become like that' } \\
k e-g e-b a=b e & \text { 'if like that' } \\
k e-g e-b a=s i & \text { 'in that way, in contrast to other ways' } \\
\text { 704) Ke-ge-moû, } & \text { ele tobo-u } \\
\text { that-VBR-PFV } & \text { 1DU.EX say-NFUT }
\end{array}
$$

(that-VBR-ISQ-PFV)
(that-VBR-PFV.IRR)
(that-VBR-PFV.IRR=TOP)
(that-VBR-PFV.IRR=CNTR)
'Then the two of us said, ...'
705) wai oye hiye = do ke tigo-u-moû dugu. pig male big=int that bark-nFUT-PFV see.nFUT Ke-ge-môu, $\underline{e}$ taha taha-môu su-l-u-gi that-VBR-PFV 3s shoot shoot-PFV walk.around-IRR-NFUT-DSQ
'... (he) saw/heard (the dog) barking at that very big boar.
Then he kept circling around shooting again and again until, ...'
706) wai oú no-l-u.
pig sago eat-IRR-NFUT
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { Ke-le-ge-moûu, } & \underline{e} \text { kisi. } \quad . . \text { duwo-gi dugu wai hagu-l-u. } \\ \text { that-A.LOCR-VBR-PFV } & \text { 3s make.a.wall.nFUT... sit-DSQ see.nFUT pig come-IRR-NFUT }\end{array}$
Ke-le-ge-moúu
that-A.LOCR-VBR-PFV 3s shoot-NFUT
'...(a) pig was eating sago (fibres).
Then he (a man) made a hunting shelter. ... (he) sat until (he) saw a pig coming. Then he shot (it).' (Mountain dialect)

[^74]707) Duwo-di, $\underline{a}$ tewe moû-l-ị mei fogo-u. sit-DSQ ${ }^{133}$ 1s know get-IRR-NFUT NEG leave.for-nFUT
Ke-le-ge-moûu, $\quad \underline{a} \quad f i+m \underline{\underline{j}} \quad$ hiye = 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) $\underline{e} \quad$ diag=mokôu yodu, ... Ke $=$ noû $=\boldsymbol{s i}$ diag toboû-li mei.

3s 3pl=loc ask ... that=only=CNTR 3pl say-IRR-NFUT NEG
'... he asked them, ... But they did not answer.'
709) aso bei. $O$ oboúu dia hoho hiye=do. K $\underline{e}=n o \hat{u}=s i \quad \underline{a}$ hoho mei.
sun snake man some 3pL light big=INT that=only=CNTR 1s light NEG
Yo=be $\quad \underline{e} \quad o \quad$ gala-di $\quad \boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{a}$.
base=top 3 s 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 $k \underline{e}=m e \quad y o=b e \quad Y e s u=k o u=g e \quad$ hague-i.
soul that=top base=top Jesus=Loc=F.cntr come-nfut
'The cause/reason of that life comes from Jesus.'
711) $\boldsymbol{N e}=\boldsymbol{b e}$ ke=noû tefe-l-e, also=top that=only measure-IRR-FUT
'Also, in the same way and ...'
712) ta kasagai, ha bolofei?
talk bad but good=total
'is it bad or good talk? (it is very good)'
713) Fofai hiye=do dala, ha ke=nồ=si mei. 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 $s i d e=k o u ̂=b e ~ b o l o=f \underline{e i} \quad d a l a$, side part left side=Loc=TоР good=total be/have
ha figi right side $=k o u ̄=b \boldsymbol{e}$ do $\quad$ hiye $=$ do. but side right side=LOC=TOP sickness big=int
'(His) left side is OK, but (his) right side is really sick/painful.'
715) To ta, $\underline{e}$ e $\underline{\underline{u}} \quad$ Tili $=h \underline{a}$ hebe ke-le bitou $\quad$ ta river INDF 3 s name Tili=GEN headwaters that-A.Loc mountain INDF ilo=koû dala-moû, ha ta ilo=koû dala-moû duo ke-le dala. part=Locbe/have-PFV but INDF part=LOc be/have-PFVspirit ${ }^{134}$ 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).'
716) Na-l-e hiye = do si-l-e, sege-i na=be de-ma, toû dedei dege-moû eat-IRR-FUT big=int cook-IRR-FUT plant-nFUTeat=TOP PROV-ISQ body strong do.FUT-PFV $i=d i$. Ha ke-ge i-l-i-gi, o duwo mei ke-le=noû tio-l-u. go-HAB but that-VBR go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ man sit NEG that-A.LOCR=only sleep-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 $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}=\boldsymbol{n o u}=\boldsymbol{s i} \quad$ kasagai. coldness big=int that=GEN=only=CNTR bad
Ha suwa oloúfei 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 ...'

[^75]718) sawisie-i ta ke-le-ge, ha sawisie-i kôu $=m a=h \underline{a}$, be.day-nfut indF that-A.LOCR-VBR but be.day-nfut that=TOP=GEN '... a later day, but even today/this day ...'
719) Jon=ha fafeleya dege-di=be o ke+diag dabai? John=GEN baptism do-HAB=TOP man that+3pL work

Ha hebeni=ha 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=ne hiye=do dala. Siya=si dugu-l-i mei. Mei o dala, taro=also big=int be/have sugarcane=CNTR see-IRR-NFUT NEG NEG or be/have a tewe mei. 1s know Neg
‘... Taro too, there were lots of. But I haven't seen (any) sugarcane. I don't know (if there) is any or not.'
721) doû-ma tu-ma de-di
go.down.river-ISQ go.up.river-ISQ PROV-HAB
'habitually going down and up the river (going back \& forth)'
722) Sas $\underline{a} i \quad \underline{e}$ dihi o dihi=bôu sasqi dihi=boû $+d e \quad$ ta $-l e=k o ̂ u$ woman 3 s child man child=and woman child=and+PROV river-A.LOCR=LOC miye bese $i-/-i$.
fish angle.for go-IRR-NFUT
'The woman with her son and daughter is going to the river to angle for fish.'
723) O sasai oloúfé $=d o=b e \quad$ disope $=b e \quad$ taga-l-e nalag i-di. ... man woman all.total=INT=TOP pineapple=top like-IRR-fUT eat.IRR.fUT go-hAB ...
$\boldsymbol{K} \underline{\boldsymbol{e}}=\boldsymbol{n o} \hat{\mathbf{u}}=\boldsymbol{s i} \quad n \underline{a}$ sosou $\quad n \underline{a}-b a=\boldsymbol{b e}, \quad n \underline{a}$ ogue dege-l-e.
that=only-CNTR 2 s unripe eat-PFV.IRR=TOP 2 s itch do-IRR-FUT

$$
\text { Yo=be } \underline{e}=m e \quad \text { sosou } \quad k a=h \underline{a} \quad \text { dege-moî } .
$$

base=top 3s=TOP unripe that=GEN do-PFV
'Everybody likes and eats pineapples. But if you eat (it) unripe, you will get (an) itch. Because it is 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.

### 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

| $\mathrm{V}_{\text {INC }}$ | $\rightarrow$ | 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) |
| $728)$ | bolo dege | (good\#do) | 'be(come) good' | (adjective) |
| $729)$ | sa 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 nonfuture is the stable state and translates into a present tense form in English.

| 731) | $\begin{aligned} & O \\ & \operatorname{man} \end{aligned}$ | sasai woman |  | kulio <br> coldness | dege-i-môu, do-nfut-PFV | dia aso 3pl sun | $h a$ get.warm | $\begin{aligned} & i-d i=b e \\ & \text { go-HAB=TOP } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $b o l o=f \underline{e} i=d o \quad d u g u-d i$good=total=int see-HAB |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 'When people are cold, (and) when they warm (themselves in the) sun, (they) feel good.' |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

732) Ma sasai soboûde dege-l-i. $\underline{E}$ 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) ma sasai $\underline{e}$ soboûde dege-i. 1s.poss woman 3 s old.woman do-nfut '... my wife is an old woman.'
An adjective may modify the verbalised noun.
```
734) a 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' |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 736) | study dege |  | 'study' |  |  |  |
| 737) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Ke }=n o \hat{u}=s i \\ & \text { that }=\text { only }=\text { CNTR } \end{aligned}$ | Oumemi Oumemi | $\begin{aligned} & o \\ & \text { man } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & k e+d i g \\ & \text { that }+3 \mathrm{PL} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & y a-i=b e, \\ & \text { play-NFUT=TOP } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \operatorname{dig}=m e \\ & 3 \mathrm{PL}=\text { Top } \end{aligned}$ |
|  | 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:
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { - } s a+\text { wisie } & \text { 'be day' } & \text { (meaning of verb root unknown) } \\ \text { - } s a+\text { biya } & \text { 'be morning', } & \text { (biya 'sit’) }\end{array}$

Two other verbs with a noun incorporated are:

- to to
'wash oneself/swim'
(river\#wash)
- huei to 'rain'
(water\#wash)

And two more: ${ }^{135}$

- moso togo 'build a house’ (togo 'make')
- ye togo 'make a stringbag'

i-l-e-môu dugu=be kueya to-u dugu. go-IRR-NFU-PFV see.nFUT=TOP cassowary hold-nFUT see.nFUT
'One day I having gone, put a trap. At dawn, (I) having gone, saw that a cassowary was caught (there).'

739) Sa + biya-mô̂, Asele dilie e sasai Dasame dilie land+sit-pFV Asele 3du 3s woman Dasame 3du
Malí o = koû yo-u-moû
Malin mouth.of.river=Loc go.DU/PL-NFUT-PFV
'Next morning, while Asele and his wife Dasame went to the mouth of the (river) Malin ...'
740) huei te-i
water wash-nfut
'(it) rained'
741) to te-i
river wash-nfut
'(he) swam'
742) Huei to-l-adi.

| $\underline{A}=m e$ | to | to $\quad i-l-i$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s=TOP | river | wash go-IRR-NFUT |
| NPs | NPo | VP |

water was
NP VP
'(It) is just about to rain.'
743) $\begin{array}{ll}\text { O moso togo-l-o. } \\ & \text { man house make-IRR-FUT } \\ & \text { '(The) man will build a house.' }\end{array}$
'I'm going to swim.'
Sasai ye togo-I-o. woman stringbag make-IRR-FUT '(The) woman will make 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. ${ }^{136}$

- 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).

[^76]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

- $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{SER}} \rightarrow \quad \mathrm{V}_{1} \quad \mathrm{~V}_{2}$


### 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 $\boldsymbol{a}$, however, $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ is in its basic form. The exception is verb type 3c, which follows the first pattern. $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ is always the verb $i$ 'go' in any form.
$\begin{array}{llll}\bullet & \mathrm{V}_{\text {SER.Indv }} & \rightarrow & \mathbf{V} \text {-IRR-FUT/NPST } \\ \text { - } \mathrm{V}_{\text {SER.Indv }} & \rightarrow & \mathbf{V}_{\text {basic }} & \text { 'go’’ } \\ \text { (Verb types 1-2, 3c, 5-7) } \\ \boldsymbol{i} \text { 'go’ } & \text { (Verb types 3, 4, i.e. regular transitive verbs ending in } \boldsymbol{a} \text { ) }\end{array}$
744) Dig kuidiho ke dugu-o-moû, hoho hiye=do dege-I-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 $\boldsymbol{e}$ )
745) Habiya o súu do milo-l-oû i.

Aekyom man many=INT work-IRR-NPST go.NFUT
'Many Aekyom people were working (there).' (type 6 verb; stem ends in our)
746) $O$ sasaí $s \underline{u}=d o \quad \underline{e}=$ mokoû hagua-sie-i, $\underline{e}$ 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 $\boldsymbol{u}$ )
747) Sio isusu=be $\underline{e} \quad h u \underline{i}=b e \quad b o l o=f \underline{i}=d o \quad o \quad$ oloufei $\quad$ taga-l-e $\quad$ i-di. bird pigeon=тор 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 $\boldsymbol{a}$, but is not conjugated as other $\boldsymbol{a}$-verbs)

```
748) Oú \(k \underline{o ̂ u}=m e ~ m \underline{a} \quad\) oú, ... K \(\underline{e}=n o u ̂=s i \quad o \quad\) dig 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 $\boldsymbol{a}$ )
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'. $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ 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. $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ is usually the verb $i$ 'go' or the verb hagua 'come', but other forms are possible (751). $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ may be in any form. Note (752), where the final verb is in future tense.

| - $\mathrm{V}_{\text {Ser. Prog }}$ | $\rightarrow$ | V-moûu | i | 'go' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| - $\mathrm{V}_{\text {Ser.prog }}$ | $\rightarrow$ | V-moûu | hagua | 'come' |

749) di dabai hiye=do dege-moû i-I-i. 1PL.IN work big=INT do-PFV go-IRR-NFUT
'... we keep on working very hard.'
750) Hagí hiye=do $\underline{a}$ dugu-moû hague-i oloûfei ke=me na koú tewe. heavy big=int 1s see-pFv come-nfut all.total that=top 2 s prior know 'All the problems I have had up to now, you already know.'
```
751) ní ya, sa sa oloufei sulugua--i,
        2pl go.dU/PL land land all.total walk.around.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT
    to uwo bolo = féi kôu o sasai oloûfei \(k e+d \underline{i a}=m o k o u ̂\)
    talk noise good=total this man woman all.total that+3pl=Loc
    toboû-moû sulugua-ma=be=ede
    tobo-u.
    say-PFV walk.around.DU/PL-DU/PL=TOP=OQV say-NFUT
    '... "Go and as you travel/walk around everywhere, you must tell all people this good talk," (he) instructed
    them and said.'
752) Godi=koû bolo = fęi=yode toboûu-moûu i-I-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.

- $\mathrm{V}_{\text {SEr.simp.purpose }} \rightarrow \mathbf{V}_{\text {basic }} \quad \boldsymbol{i}$ 'go'

753) Ma sasai $\underline{e}$ oû ga i. 1s.poss woman $3 s$ sago gather go.nfut
'My wife went to gather sago.'
754) $\underline{A}=m e \quad$ yukuei bigi i-l-i. 1s=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). $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ is an irrealis medial form of the verb, signalling purpose. $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ is usually the verb dege 'do' in any form.

- $\mathrm{V}_{\text {SER.TRY }} \rightarrow$ V-IRR-SUBJ-PFV dege 'do'

755) Miye $\underline{e}$ hu$=b e$ tabaga, $\underline{e}$ dia wala
fish 3 s name=top fish.sp. 3scrayfish attack.IRR.fUT
na-l-a-moûu dege-I-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 $d e$ in the first line of the following example:
```
756) Wai ka=h\underline{a}}\underline{a}\mathrm{ wa-I-a do-moû, ... mala hebe ka=ha
    pig that=GEN 1s attack-IRR-SUBJ PROV-PFV ... arrow tree that=GEN
    gu-l-a-moû 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-moû dege-I-i-gi dugu,
    1dU.EX bird hunt go.dU/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.

- $\mathrm{V}_{\text {ser.fut.hab }} \quad \rightarrow \quad \mathbf{V}_{\text {basic }} \quad$ de 'proverb'

758) 

| $G o d i=h \underline{a}$ | ta | bologua $=$ do | he-hegi-e | toboûu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 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 $d e$ with the medial suffix - $m a$ 'immediate sequence' attached.

- $\mathrm{V}_{\text {SER.ISQ.STAT }} \rightarrow \mathbf{V}_{\text {Stat }} \quad$ de-ma 'PROV-ISQ'



### 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. $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ is any verb in epistemic mood, and $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ is de 'pro-verb' in the perfective irrealis form. In fact, $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ does not even need to be there (762).

- $\mathrm{V}_{\text {SER.HYP }} \rightarrow \mathbf{V} \quad \operatorname{de}-b a(=b e)$ 'PROV-PFV.IRR(=TOP)'

760) o bi mei o $k e+d i \underline{a}=m o k o u ̂ ~ n e-l-\underline{e} \quad d e-b a=b e \quad b o l o$. 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.'
761) midiho gehe gehe ní dihí-le ko = koû miloû-ga-i sagai ke=noû face new new 2pl eye-A.LOCR that=LOC work-du/pl-nfut likely that=only tefe-l-e miloû-ga-i de-ba=be, dig fí bohoúu-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, huil=boû mei, dio=noû dala-ba
    die-NFUT soul PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP meat=and NEG bone=only be/have-PFV.IRR
    dugu--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 $m \underline{a}$ 'put'. Both $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ and $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ are in their basic forms. The typical meaning of this serial verb construction is illustrated in the first example as compared to the second.

- $\mathrm{V}_{\text {SER.trans.pl.o }} \rightarrow \mathbf{V}_{\text {basic }}+\boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{\underline { a }}$ '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 ... mo\underline{u}+m\underline{a} 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) malog 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, | , | kalase, | awaki=boù + de | tou + |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1du.ex |  | fishing+bone | glass | knife=and+PRov | hold+pu | go- |
|  | '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+ma tigi ka-gi+ma-moû digigi-l-e folo-ga-i. 1dU.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+ma 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) | $\underline{A} \quad m \underline{a}$ | sio | ayomou | dihi | $s \underline{u}=d o$ | $k \underline{e}=n o \hat{u}=s i$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { sagatai }=\text { ye } \\ & \text { hawk=INS } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1s 1s.poss | bird | fowl | child | many=INT | that=only=CNTR |  |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \boldsymbol{w o}+\boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{q} \\ & \text { attack+put } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { no-l- } \\ & \text { eat } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \underline{u}-g i \\ & - \text { IRR-NFUT } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{ll}  & m \\ \text { DSQ } \end{array}$ | i dege-i. <br> do-nfut |  |  |
|  | 'I had many chickens, but (a) hawk killed them and ate (them) until |  |  |  |  |  |  |

### 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 $m \underline{a}$ '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'.

- $\mathrm{V}_{\text {SER.trans.compl }} \rightarrow \mathbf{V}$-IRR-FUT/NPST $+\boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{a}$ '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.
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { 769) dôuwa to-l-ôur }+\boldsymbol{m a} & \text { wala } & i . \\ & \text { hornbill hold-IRR-NPST+put attack.IRR. FUT } & \text { go.NFUT }\end{array}$
'... we grabbed the cassowary and killed it.'
770) miye $k a=h a$ folo, bidio suku-l-o bugu.
fish that=GEN go.up. FUT shore approach-IRR-FUT vomit.nfut
Bugu-I-u-gi, Jona te-I-e+ma+i.
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) yo môu i-l-i. Yo mala, haba boho-l-oú + ma hagua-l-e banana get go-IRR-NFUT banana get.IRR.FUT but.PFV.IRR turn-IRR-NPST+put come-IRR-FUT '... (I) am going to get bananas. (I) will get the bananas and again turn around (completely) and come (back) and ...'
772) sio miye=be nele hiye=do. Dig=me o=ye taha-l-i, bird Victoria.pigeon=Top strength big=INT 3PL=TOP man=INS shoot-IRR-NFUT
mala gobo-l-oû + ma fogoû i-di.
arrow break-IRR-NPST+put leave.for go-HAB
'... Victoria pigeons (are) very strong. When they are shot at by man, (they) break off (the) arrow and leaving (they) go.'
773) $D e=h \underline{a}$
taha-l-e + ma-moúu
maternal.uncle=GEN shoot-IRR-FUT+put-PFV
'Uncle having shot and killed (it) ...'
Compare with the following example:
774)
$D e=h \underline{a}$
taha-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 malag fele 'bear (a child)' and to-l-o i 'die (sg.)' are serial verb constructions:

- $\mathrm{V}_{\text {bear }} \rightarrow$ V.irr.fut fele 'come up'
- $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{DIE}} \rightarrow$ V-IRR-fut $\boldsymbol{i} \quad$ 'go'

775) Maria=ha Yesu mala $\underline{a}$ fele-i Maria=gen Jesus get.IRr.fut come.up-nfut
'Maria bore Jesus ...'
776) Dihi kôu-me $\underline{e}$ adioúu to-l-o i-mou, $\underline{e}$-soféi 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) $\underline{A}$ o ke dugu-o-môu, $\underline{a}$ to-l-o fiye-i. 1s man that see-fut-PFV 1 s 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 ilhagua 'bring/take'
- toloû ilhagua 'hold and go/come'
- woloû i/hagua 'accompany and go/come’
- sesele i/hagua 'follow and go/come’
- fogoû i/hagua 'leaving (he) go(es)/come(s)'


## mala i 'take' and mala hagua 'bring'

The verb series meaning 'take’ and 'bring': (778) and (779) have variants, (782)-(784). Also, another verb is easily put in between $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ and $\mathrm{V}_{2}$, namely the verb for 'carry' hebe, in the form of hebe-/-e (carry-IRR-FUT): (780), (781).

778) | Kevin $=h \underline{a}$ |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Kevin=GEN child sickness | mala | 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 mala 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 ... 1du.Ex get.IRR.fut carry-IRR-FUT come-du/PL-NFUT $m o s o=k o u ̂ \quad$ 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-lee hagua-môu so-l-ôu nâ-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
sickness different different get+put come-DU/PL-HAB
'(People) get all kinds of sicknesses and keep coming.'
783) sege-i hou môu + ma i-I-e sogo-di-I-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) diag=bô̂ $\underline{a}=b o \hat{u}+d e \quad n a-l-\underline{e} \quad \boldsymbol{m o n} u+m \underline{a} h a g u e-i$. 3s=and 1s=and+PROV eat-IRR-FUT get+put come-NFUT '...they and I brought (the) food.'
toloû i/hagua '(take) hold (of) and go/come'

| 785) sele | 170 | kina toloûu | i, | sitouwa=koû folo-moû |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 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) diag sele ke toloû hagu-moû,

3pL money that hold-IRR-NPST come.nfut-PFV
'... they took hold of (the coin) and coming ...'
787) to-l-oûu 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 toú 'hold' also has a plural object form.

```
788) Bobasi bolo\underline{u} dilie bilika toû+ma huei na 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.’
```

woloû i/hagua 'accompany and go/come' (used for animate objects)

dog male indF=only=total
wo-l-ou
accompany-IRR-NPST
mowi i.
hunt go.NFUT
'... (he) took just one male dog and went hunting.'

Also woû 'accompany' has a plural object form.
791) ele so woû + ma 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)'

793) kueya ... ise hagu-moû $\underline{a}$ tahą-i. Taha-moû si-ma cassowary ... finally come.NFUT-PFV 1s shoot-NFUT shoot.fUT-PFV feel-ISQ
hebe-l-e i-moú, sese-l-e i-l-e-moû dugu,
carry-IRR-FUT go.nfut-PFV follow-IRR-FUt go-IRR-FUT-PFV see
kueya to-l-o i.
cassowary die-IRR-FUT go.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 koû dugu ka=ha i-môu dugu-o-moû,
star sun come-IRR-NFUT prior see.NFUT that=GEN go.nFUT-PFV see-fUT-PFV
dia $k \underline{e}=n o u ̂ \quad$ sese-l-e $y a-i$.
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 sasaí s\underline{u}=do \underline{e sese-I-e dogoúgu-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.'
```


## fogoû i/hagua 'leaving (he) go(es)/come(s)’

| 796) | $\underline{E}$ | $a$ | ta | fogoû | $i$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 3s road | INDF | leave.for go |  |  |

'He went another way./Leaving for another road he went.'
797) $\begin{array}{lll}\underline{e} & \text { fogoû } & \text { hagua-I-a-môu } \\ \text { 3s leave.for come-IRR-SUBJ-PFV } & \text { dege-i } \\ \text { do-nfut }\end{array}$
'...while he was planning to leave for (home and) come, ...'
798) Nó-ma mei dege-mô̂ fogôu-ma i-l-i. eat-ISQ NEG do-PFV leave.for-ISQ go-IRR-NFUT
'(A cassowary) having finished eating, after leaving went on.'
799) ise ôu = boû dou=boû sa-i ke ta-môu ke-le finally sago=and fire=and put.inside-nfut that unpack.fut-PFVthat-A.LOCR

```
    dogogu-o fogoû-moû 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'.

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text { 800) } & \underline{e} \text { Aye Godi=kou fogoû } & \text { faladi=d=ade } & \text { tawa-i. } \\
\text { 3s father God=LOC } & \text { leave.for go.up.IRR.PROS=INT=SQV know-NFUT }
\end{array}
$$

'... (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

$\mathrm{VP} \quad \rightarrow \quad \mathrm{V} / \mathrm{V}_{\text {INC }} / \mathrm{V}_{\text {SER }} \quad(\mathrm{ADV})(\mathrm{x} 2)$
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 e Kiungakoû i.
    man 3s Kiunga=Loc go.nfut
```

    'The man went to Kiunga.'
    802) E moso = koû i-l-e sagai.
3s house=loc go-IRR-fUT likely
'He wants to go home.'
803) $\underline{E}$ dihi mo-l-ou sagai mei.
3s child get-IRR-NPST likely NEG
'She is not likely to have a child.'
804) Dia Godi=ha ta $\quad d u-d i=y o \quad$ 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.

```
807) gamani ke+diă sele mei=yode \({ }^{137}\) tobo-l-oû i
government that+3PL money NEG=IQV say-IRR-NPST go.NFUT
VP
    VP (serial verb)
```

'"... the government's money is gone," they stated and said.'
808) I-I-e su-l-u-gi dugu=be,
go-IRR-FUT walk. around-IRR-NFUT-DSQ see.nFUT=TOP
VP VP VP

| Kueya | ti-I-e | uwo dege-i-moû | a | du. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 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

NG $\rightarrow$ (N/ADJ/RC) N
809) sio isusu
bird pigeon
'pigeon'
810) wai hoso
pig horse
'horse'
811) awaki dihi
knife child
'small knife’ (literally: ‘a knife child')
812) ebele moso
new house
'a new house'

[^77]If the modifier is a clause, it expresses one kind of relative clause (see 6.5 The relative ClaUse).
813) tia-l-e moso
sleep-IRR-FUT house
'sleeping mat'
814) dabai dege-di o
work do-нAB man
'(a) worker’
The head noun may not be expressed, but only implied.
815) $\boldsymbol{A}$ dabai dege-l-i=koû i.

1s 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 ke 'that', which is part of the relative clause construction (see 6.5 The relative clause).

## Structure I - Simple nominal phrase

```
NP
    817) o
        man
        'man'
```

    818) \(\underline{A}\) yukuei sibigi bigi-I-i.
        1s cloth dirt wash-IRR-NFUT
        'I am washing dirty clothes.'
    819) o oloûfé i
        man all.total
        'all people'
    820) duo kasagai oloûfę
        spirit bad all.total
        'all bad spirits'
    821) o kasagai bolou
        man bad two
        'two bad men'
    822) awaki me gofôu bolo (noun group with two adjectives)
        knife tooth hard/strong good
        'a good, sharp knife edge'
    823) O ta i---i.
man INDF go-IRR-NFUT
'A man is going.'
824) o $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{g}$ tobo-u
man that=GEN say-NFUT
'that man said, ...'
825) o damale = yodi-I-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 kei 'what'. If that is the case there can be no modifiers.

Structure II - Simple nominal phrase
$\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{II}} \quad \rightarrow \quad$ PRON/DEM/QW
826) $\underline{E}$ duwo.

3s sit
'He/she/it is (here).'
827) Koûu = me kei?
this=TOP what
Koyo $=\boldsymbol{h a}$ a mo-l-ou?
who=GEN get-IRR-NPST
'What is this?'
'Who will get (it)?'
Plural personal pronouns may, however, be modified by olouffei 'all’.

```
828) Di\underline{a} oloúfei 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) {
    1s 1s.Emp=only know-NFUT
```

    'I learnt all by myself.'
    830) di diyoû = féi i-me=be=ede tobo-l-ôu i.
1PL.IN 1PL.IN.EMP=total go-HORT=TOP=OQV say-IRR-NPST 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 =ha, 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) $\boldsymbol{G o d i}=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}} \boldsymbol{f} \underline{a}$

God=gen word
'God's Word'

1s.poss younger.sibling=GEN child
'my younger sibling's child'
833) Moso kôu $=m e$, dihi $k a=h \underline{a} \underline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ moso.
house this=GEN child that=GEN 3 s house
'This house, it is the child's house.'
834) ne adiôu

2s.poss mother
'your mother'

```
835) ele sa
    1du.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 -háa is followed by the enclitic $=l e$ 'independent possessive'. The genitive suffix itself is de-nasalised. The independent possessive suffix does not function together with the genitive pronouns.

```
836) Di fi=be koyo=ha=le? Yesu=ha=le.
    1PL.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) ma malg=ha=le\quaddihi
    1s.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 =boú, occurring at the end of each phrase within the co-ordinate phrase.

$$
\text { 838) } \begin{array}{ll}
A=\text { boû Gehe }=\text { bôu } & i-l-e . ~ \\
& \text { 1s=and Gehen=and go-IRR-FUT } \\
\text { 'Gehen and I will go.' }
\end{array}
$$

The co-ordinating enclitic = boû may actually be used to co-ordinate any kind of phrases.
839) $I=$ boû $\quad$ hue $=$ boûu 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) $\underline{A} \quad n \underline{a}=b o ̂ u$ 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.
 tree cut-nfut this=Top banana=and sugarcane=and pineapple=and+prov be/have 'This garden has bananas and sugarcane and pineapples.'
842) $\underline{E}$ e sasai $\quad$ Maria $=b o u ̂+d e ~ i$

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 ) | dilie | o | ta | ta | tobo-u |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3DU | man INDF | talk | say-NFUT |  |  |
| SUBJECT | OBJECT | OBJECT |  |  |  |

> 'the two of them said to a man, ...'

844) | Oú | o | $h e i=y e$ | 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:

- $=\{h \underline{a}\} \quad$ 'genitive/control'
- $=\{y e\} \quad$ 'instrumental/non-control'
- $=\{k o u ̂\} \quad$ '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:

- =kốge '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 $=\{h \underline{a}\}$. 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) sasai=ha ye woman=GEN stringbag 'the woman's stringbag'
846) $\begin{array}{lllll}\boldsymbol{m} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}} & \text { owoû }=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\underline{\boldsymbol{a}}} & \underline{\boldsymbol{e}} & \boldsymbol{m} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}} & \text { adioúu } \\ \text { 1s.Poss } & \text { older.sister=GEN } & 3 \mathrm{~s} \text { husband=GEN } & \text { mother }\end{array}$
'my older sister's husband's mother'
847)

| $\mathbf{o} \quad \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{\underline { \boldsymbol { a } } \quad \text { dihi }}$ | $\boldsymbol{o} \quad \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{l} \boldsymbol{e}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| man that=GEN child | man that=GEN=INDP. POSS |
| 'that man's child' | 'that man's' |

## 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 o sasai oloûfei soloû=do hiye=do dege-moú, God=gen land essence man woman all.total heart=int big=int do.fUT-PFV yoû $\underline{e}$ Dihi $t a=n o ̂ u=f \underline{e i} \quad k \underline{e} \quad d i=m o k o u ̂ ~ n e-i$. 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 diag o J.K. =ha sele a 60 kina government 3pL man J.K.=GEN money 1s 60 kina
te-l-e ne-i.
remove-IRR-FUT give-nfut
'One of their government officials, J.K. removed K60 and gave (it to) me.'
850) $\boldsymbol{M} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ aye $=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ tobo-u

1s.poss father=gen say-NFut
'My father said, ...'
851) Sodipae $=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{a}$ nalaq-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 $=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ we-i

2s dog=GEN attack-nfut
'your dog bit (him/her)'
853) so $\boldsymbol{t a}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}$ 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 ke 'that', generating the form $k a h a$ 'that in control' (see 2.7.2 Minor vowel harmony: ke '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 $=$ ha hebe sugu + tôu tafala-l-i,

Asele=gen tree top+up stand-IRR-NFUT
wai $k a=h \underline{a}$ so sese-l-e hagua fogoûu i-moû tahá-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) ...'

$$
\begin{array}{lllllll}
I-l-i-g i & \text { so } & k a=h a & \text { wai tigo-u-moú } & i-I-e & d u g u=b e \\
\text { go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ dog } & \text { that=GEN } & \text { pig } & \text { bark-NFUT-PFV } & \text { go-IRR-FUT } & \text { see.NFUT=TOP }
\end{array}
$$

'(He) went until the dog barked at a pig, when (he) immediately went and saw that ...'

```
856) Godi=ha ta \(\underline{a}=b e \quad t a w a-g a-i \quad\) o \(k a=h \underline{a}=n o u ̂ u \quad i-b a=s i\)
God=GEN talk=TOP know-DU/PL-NFUT man that=GEN=only go.NFUT-PFV.IRR-CNTR
bolo \(=\) fei. \(\quad\) Moû \(\quad \boldsymbol{o}=\boldsymbol{y e} \quad i-l-e=b e\)
good=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 $=y e$, which is also used for unimportant agents. However, even an agent, seemingly out of control, may be marked by kaha '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.

```
857) Moso e gofôu mei. Yo=be o moso ke tege-i
    house 3s hard/strong NEG base=TOP man house that make-nFUT
    o ka=h\underline{a}}\mathrm{ hebe tatabai dege-i moûu +ma tege-i.
    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. ${ }^{138}$ Other Bosavi languages (Grosh 2004, Logan 2008) do have ergative. In Kalai, 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) Sasqi soboude kôu =me ... $\underline{e}$ e mogo=be fogôu i. Ke-ge-moû $\underline{e}$
woman old.lady this=TOP ... 3s friend=TOP leave go.nfut that-VBR-PFV 3s
mogo baha dala. ... E mogo=ha i-l-i ko=koû baha dala.
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=ha dihi guokoû duwo de-ma-môu,
that-A.LOCR=F.CNTR dog that=GEN child stomach.LOC sit PROV-ISQ-PFV
dihi ta ma-moû 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) O ta=ha [Tabubil=koû $\underline{e}$ mogo dala-ba] i-ba=si,
man INDF=GEN Tabubil=Loc 3s friend be/have-PFV.IRR go.nFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR
e $\quad \operatorname{mogo}=h \underline{a} \quad$ moso $=k o u ̂$ tia-l-e
3s friend=gen house=loc sleep-IRR-FUT ...
$K \underline{e}=n o \hat{u}=s i \quad$ o ta $[\underline{e}$ mogo mei] ka=ha i-ba=be,
that=only=CNTR man indF 3s friend neg that=GEN go.nFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP
$\underline{e}=m e \quad m o s o=k o u ̂$ 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 ke '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 kôu\(=\boldsymbol{m a}=\boldsymbol{h a}\) hagua-l-e
    week this=TOP=GEN come-IRR-FUT
    '(he) will come this week'
```

[^78]862) Sasama $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h a} \boldsymbol{a} \quad$ Ukarumpa=kôu migi-l-e-moûu
ring.finger that=GEN Ukarumpa=Loc come.down-IRR-FUT-PFV
'That Tuesday, having landed at Ukarumpa ...'

## Genitive of reason

The genitive case marker, again together with the demonstrative pronoun ke 'that', may mark a clause as the controlling reason for what the main clause is expressing. The word $k a=h \underline{a}$ (that $=\mathrm{GEN}$ ) may express reason, ${ }^{139}$ 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 kaha is usually translated 'because', but it could equally well be translated as '... and that controls the fact' (863).
863) $\underline{E}$ ke dege-i $k a=h \underline{a} \quad$ 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.'
864) Dahamo tisa hagu=ya ${ }^{140}$ mei ka=ha dege-moû, duôu aye ke+diag Dahamo teacher come=subj neg that=GEN do-PFV mother father that+3pl
... die sisigo = be fi-l-e-moû, ilo Suabi=koû 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 go-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 śu$=d o$, kalo $s \underline{u}=d o$, kege-i $k a=h \underline{a} \quad u w o=b e \quad h i y e=d o$. 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 $4 k a=h a=g e$, nele Edolo=koú hagua-ma. 2du come-IRR-FUT=TOP date 3 or 4 that=GEN=F.CNTR2DU Edolo=LOC come-DU/PL Yo=be $\underline{a}=m e \quad h a g \underline{i} \quad h i y e=d o ~ d a l a \quad k a=h a \quad$ dege-i-môu. base=tор 1s=tор heavy big=int be/have that=GEN do-nFUT-PFV
'Concerning that you two will come, come to Edolo on the $3^{\text {rd }}$ or the $4^{\text {th }}$. 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) sokoûloû duwo-di=ha $\underline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ yo=be tewe moû-l-q-moû. school sit-HAB=GEN 3 s 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 $=\{y e\}$. It contrasts with the genitive case, marked by $=h \underline{a}$, which includes control, by its lack of control. It comprises instrument, props, ${ }^{141}$ inanimate and non-referential agents, as well as means. In the Mountain dialect it also marks certain time phrases. It has a variant $=\boldsymbol{e}$.

## Instrument

```
868) No 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 hagị $\underline{a}=$ mokoû hague-i dala
man INDF=ins heavy 1s=loc come-nfut be/have
'A man brought me (the) problems (I) have.'
[^79]```
870) Ne moso dou=ye na-i.
    2s.poss house fire=ins eat-nfut
```

'Your house burnt down.'
871) $o=y e \quad h u$
man=INS marry
'married' (about a woman)

## Means

| 872) Patolo $i-d i=y e=g e$ | koû tewe. |
| :--- | :--- |
| patrol go-HAB=INS=F.CNTR prior know |  |

'(We) know by habitually having gone on patrols.' (Mountain dialect)

| 8iye $\boldsymbol{O}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}$ | dege-i=ye | ni | misiho-I-o | duwo-l-o. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| big $\operatorname{man}=\mathrm{GEN}$ | do-NFUT=INS | 2 PL | rest-IRR-FUT | sit-IRR-FUT |

'... by what the Lord has done you will have rest.'

## Time

In the Mountain dialect the enclitic $=y e$ would be better named the "oblique" case, as it also derives the days of the week from certain body part ${ }^{142}$ words.
874) $\quad$ Sasafei $=\boldsymbol{y e}=g e$
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 $=k o \hat{u}$ is used when the head of the nominal phrase is a noun group and =mokoúu is used when the head is a pronoun. The third one, =makoú, 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) Diow $\underline{\boldsymbol{a}}=$ mokoû duwo.
mosquito $1 \mathrm{~s}=$ Loc sit
'The mosquito is sitting on me.'

## Allative

879) $\underline{A} \boldsymbol{m a} \quad \boldsymbol{m o s o}=k o ̂ u \quad i-l-i$.

1s 1s.POSS house=LOC go-IRR-NFUT
'I'm going home.'
880) A nag=mokoû hague-i.

1s $2 \mathrm{~s}=$ Loc come-nfut
'I came to you.'
881) (mala) ... Yơu = makôu fiyo-u-moûu
(arrow) ... 3s.EMP=LOC fall-NFUT-PFV
'While (the arrow) fell (back) on himself (the shooter), ...'

[^80]
## Recipient

```
882) Godi=koû ne-i.
    God=loc give-nfut
    '(he) gave (it) to God'
```

883) dabai di=mokoú ne-i.
work 1pL.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) | $\underline{A}=m e \quad n \underline{a}$ dugu=yo mei. |
| :--- |
| 1s=TOP 2s see=INDC NEG |
|  |
| 'I do not see you.' |
885) $\underline{A}=$ me $n \underline{g}=m o k o u ̂ \quad d u g u=y o \quad$ mei. 1s=TOP 2s=loc see=INDC NEG
'I do not look at you.'
886) Foto $=$ koû dugu. photo=loc see
'Look at the photo.'
Also note 'about'

| 887) Jona aso difi + ya | diogu. | $E \quad k o=k o \hat{u}=g e$ | $f i+m a-\dot{-}=b e$, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Jonah sun heat+road shade.NFUT | 3s that=LOC=F.CNTR | soul+put-NFUT=TOP |  |

o Niniba tie o $k e+d i \underline{a}=m o k o u ̂ u l y o-\underline{i}$
man Nineveh sleep man that+3pl=Loc soul+put-nfut
'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 $=k o \hat{u}=g e($ LOC=F.CNTR $)$. One of its meanings is 'from'.


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.
 '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 ...'
890) $\quad$ Afu $=$ do $\quad$ Tinahai=koû $=$ ge duwo-l-i $\quad$ dugu $=b e \quad \underline{a}=m e \quad$ hegie earlier=int Tinahai=LOC=F.CNTR sit-IRR-NFUT see.nfut=top 1s=top hungry
dege-i-moû dugu. $\underline{A}$ ke-ge-i-moû 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=koú=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 toúfogoú 'leave'.

892) A sa $\quad$| Dahamo toûfogoû fene+ya hague-i. |
| :--- |
| 1s land |
| Dahamo leave airplane+road come-nfut | 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 $=d o$ and 3.6.1.4 The CO-ORDINATING ENCLITIC $=b o u$. They occur in the following relative order:

| (Intensifier) | Case | Limiter $_{I}$ | (Intensifier) | Limiter $_{\text {II }}$ $=f e i,=n e$ | Conjunction | (Intensifier) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $=d o$ | $=h \underline{a},=k o u,=y e$ | =nou |  |  |  | $=d o$ |
| intensifier | genitive/control instrumental | only | intensifier | total <br> also | and/with/also | intensifier |
|  | locative |  |  |  |  |  |

893) yo $\quad$ bololu $=n o \hat{u}=d o=$ fei $i$
banana two=only=INT=total
(a) total of only two banana (plants)!
894) sio $b o l o l=f \underline{f} i=d o$
bird good=total=INT
'(a) very, very good bird’
895) midiho $k a=\boldsymbol{h a}=n o \hat{u}=\boldsymbol{f e} \boldsymbol{i}$
face that=GEN=only=total
'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) }\underline{A}=me t\underline{a}\quadmei
    1s=TOP talk NEG
    'I have nothing to say.'
```

897) O $m e i=d o$.
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 ${ }^{143}$ 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
$\mathrm{MP}_{\mathrm{I}} \rightarrow$ ADJ (ADJ)
898) Dihi hiye goso-u-l-u.
child big cry-bLTV-IRR-NFUT
'The child is crying loudly.'

[^81]899) K $\underline{\underline{u}}=m e ~ k a s a g \underline{i}$ hiye $=$ do. this=top bad big=int
'This is very bad.'

## Structure II - Modifier phrase

```
MP II }->\mathrm{ ADV (ADV)
    900) E dobogoúu tage tige-i.
        3s hand over tie-nfut
        'He is folding his arms (one over the other).'
    901) Na hoboûu gue dege-da.
        2s can fear do-PROH
```

    'You cannot 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) $K \underline{e}=n o ̂ u=s i \quad$ yo $t a=n o u ̂ \quad t a=b e \quad m u-g u-l-i \quad$ 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.LOCR
'My house is here.' (pointing)
906) $E=m e$ koû-le mei.
3s=TOP this-A.LOCR NEG
'He is not here.'
907) Hebe sugu + lu tia-di---i.
tree top+inside sleep-hAB-IRR-NFUT
'He habitually sleeps in/inside the tree tops.'
908) gamani o $k a=h \underline{a} \quad$ moso $=k o ̂ u+l u \quad$ 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) $\underline{A}=m e$ idiba gusugu=do i-l-e.
1s=TOP tomorrow morning=int go-IRR-FUT
'I will go early tomorrow morning.'
911) Salale ke-ge, sabiye-i gusubu huei 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 verbal phrase 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

CLAUSE $\rightarrow \quad(\mathrm{NPs}) \underset{\uparrow}{(\mathrm{NP})(\mathrm{x} 2)} \underset{\uparrow}{(\mathrm{MP})} \quad \mathrm{VP}$
912) I-me.

> go-hort

VP

> 'Let's go!'
913) $\underline{A} \quad$ idiba

$$
i-I-e .
$$

1s tomorrow go-IRR-FUT

NPs MP VP
'I will go tomorrow.'
914) $H a b a=g e \quad d u g u-l-o$.
but.PFV.IRR=F.CNTR see-IRR-FUT
MP VP
'See you later!’
915) Na kuguo Bimin=koúu sa-gi-l-e.

2s paper Bimin=Loc put.inside-of-IRR-FUT
NPs NP NP VP
'You will send a letter to Bimin.' (implied: put inside (a mailbag to go on an airplane))
916) $\underline{E}=m e$ Kalai ta hiye $=$ do tewe.

3s=top Konai talk big=int know
NPs NP MP VP
'He knows Konai well.'
917) $N \underline{a}$ hei=ye dou hebe-l-i.

2s axe=Ins fire carry-IRR-NFUT
NPs NP NP VP
'You are chopping fire wood.'
918) Nele $\underline{a}=$ mokoû haba chalk ta ne-ma=be.

| 2du | 1s=LOC | but.PFV.IRR | chalk | INDF |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NPs | give-dU/PL=TOP |  |  |  |
| NP | MP | NP |  | VP |

'Please give me some more chalk.'
919) $\underline{E}$ mosole oboûu $=k o ̂ u$ sele ne-i.

| 3s ship owner=Loc money | give-nfut |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NPs NP | NP | VP |

'He gave money to the captain.'

```
920) O \underline{e dabai di=mokoû ne-j.}.
    man 3s work llollol
```

'A man, he gave work 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) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (NPo) } \\ & \uparrow \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\left(\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{LOC}}\right.$ | vs/MP) | (NPo) | VP | (914), (915), (916), (917) |
| Ditransitive: | (NPs) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { NPo } \\ & \uparrow \end{aligned}$ | ( $\mathrm{NP}_{\text {Rec }}$ ) | (MP) | (NPo) | 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) \underline{A mosol = kôu hague-i.}
    1s house=loc come-nfut
    NPs NPloc VP
    'I came to the house.'
922) \underline{A}\quadn\underline{a}=mokôu hague-i.
    1s 2s=LOC come-NFUT
    NPs NPloc
        VP
    'I came to you.'
923) \underline{A}\quadn\underline{a}=mokoû ne-j.
    1s 2s=LOC give-NFUT
    NPs NPloc VP
    'I gave (it) to you.'
924) E hegie hiye=do goso-u-l-u.
    3s hungry big=INT cry-BLTV-IRR-NFUT
    NPs NPo VP
    'He is crying from severe hunger.'
925) Rumginae=koû 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}\mathrm{ moso ya-I-j.
    3PL house play-IRR-NFUT
    NPs NPo VP
    'They are playing in the house.'
927) Di\underline{a}}\mathrm{ bolo ya-I-i.
    3PL ball play-IRR-NFUT
    NPs NPo VP
    'They are playing with the ball.'
```


'To start with, (they) go to/sit in elementary school. Having finished going to/sitting in elementary school (they) go to/sit in community school.'
929) dig moso = kôu duwo

3pl house=loc sit
NPs NPloc VP
'they are sitting in the house'
930) $\underline{A}$ na dugu.

1s 2s see.nFUT
NPs NPo VP
'I saw you.'
931) No foto = koûu dugu.

2s photo=loc see.nfut
NPs NP loc VP
'Look at the photo!'
A traditional intransitive clause with a nominal phrase expressing a location is usually marked by the locative case marker $=k o u ̂ /=$ mokoû (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



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, $\mathrm{NP}_{\text {Loc }}$ may be switched as may most other non-obligatory arguments. You could say that the string ( NPo ) $\left(\mathrm{NP}_{\text {Ins }} / \mathrm{NP}_{\text {TEMP }} / \mathrm{NP}_{\text {LOc }}\right)$ corresponds to the $\mathrm{NP}_{\text {THEME }}$ in CLAUSE THEME II 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) a sôu
a sôu-go-u
    door open
    door open-of-nfut
    'an opened door'
933) E}\mathrm{ E dihi=ha siho goso-I-o+mg su-I-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) e haba moso=koú boho-l-oúu+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) | Dig | oloúfei | na-ma | tia-sie-i, | dia | moso $=$ koû. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 3pL | all.total | eat-ISQ | sleep-du/pl-nfut | 3pL | house=Loc |
|  | NPs |  | VP | VP | NP |  |


| 936) | Ma | dihi | Beny ne, | ikoke $=\boldsymbol{b e}$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s.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.

dugu-o fogoû igiya-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.'

'... 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 $+/-=b e$ 'topic marker', level intonation, mid-sentence; ${ }^{144}$ signals excitement and/or peak

[^82]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' +/- -moúa 'perfective' or -ba 'perfective irrealis’
- Medial verbs with $\boldsymbol{- g i}$ '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.

- $-m o u ̂=b e \quad$ 'whenever' $\quad(-\mathrm{PFV}=$ тор $)$
- $-b a=b e \quad$ 'if/when' (-PFV.IRR=TOP)
- $-m o ̂ u=s i \quad$ 'but when' $\quad(-\mathrm{PFV}=\mathrm{CNTR})$
- $-b a=s i \quad$ '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-I-i-gi, | so | $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{h a}$ | wai | tigo-u-moú | i-I | $d u g u=b e$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | go-IRR-NFUT=DSQ | dog | that=GEN | pig | bark-nFUT-PFV | go- | see-nfut=top |
|  | $\mathrm{CLAUSE}_{\text {MEdial }}$ | CLAU | JSE ${ }_{\text {MEDIAL }}$ |  |  |  | $\mathrm{CLAUSE}_{\text {FINAL }}$ |
|  | VP | NPs |  | NP | VP | VP | VP |

'(He) went until (his) dog barked (and) immediately he went on and saw that ...'
940) wai ka-gi+ma sa+magoun+mariga-i.
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { pig cut-of+put put.inside+put carry.on.head+put go.dU/PL-NFUT } \\ \text { CLAUSE }_{\text {MEDIAL }} & \text { CLAUSE }_{\text {MEDTAL }}\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { CLAUSE }_{\text {MEDIAL }} & \text { CLAUSE }_{\text {MEDIAL }} & \text { CLAUSE }_{\text {MEDIAL }} & \text { CLAUSE }_{\text {FINAL }} \\ \mathrm{NP} \text { VP } & \mathrm{VP} & \mathrm{VP} & \text { VP }\end{array}$
'... we cut up (the) pig and put (the pieces in our stringbags) and carried (those) on (our) heads and went.'
941) $\underline{A} \quad$ ma sio ayomoû dihi $s \underline{u}=d o \quad k \underline{e}=n o u ̂=s i$ 1s 1s.poss bird fowl child many=int that=only=CNTR CLAUSE $_{\text {verbless }}$

| sagatai $=$ ye | $\boldsymbol{w o} \boldsymbol{+} \boldsymbol{m a}$ | no-/-u-gi | mei | dege-i |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hawk=ins | attack+put | eat-IRR-NFUT-dSQ | NEG | do-nfut |
| $\mathrm{CLAUSE}_{\text {medial }}$ |  | $\mathrm{CLAUSE}_{\text {MEDiAL }}$ | $\mathrm{CLAUSE}_{\text {FINAL }}$ |  |
| NPs | VP | VP | VP |  |

'I (had) many chickens, but (a) hawk killed them and ate (them) until (they) were (all) gone.'
942) Dig dou toû-ma miye dou+lu=kôu si-l-e duwo. 3pL fire light-ISQ fish fire+inside=LOC CLAUSE $_{\text {MEDIAL }} \quad$ CLAUSE $_{\text {MEDIAL }}$ NPs NP VP NP NP

| Dig $\underline{a}$ | miye | si |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3PL | fish | cook. NFUT |

CLAUSE $_{\text {FINAL }}$
NPs NP:N+V
hiyo-u-moû
cook-IRR-FUT sit
VP VP

## meleki=koû sa+ma

 plate=Loc put.inside+put CLAUSE $_{\text {MEdial }}$ NP VPchair over+up sit-IRR-NFUT eat.IRR.fUT go-IRR-NFUT
CLAUSE $_{\text {MEdial }}$
MP 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 $\boldsymbol{t a}$ tafala. |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| go.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT-DSQ | see.NFUT=TOP | tree big=INT | INDF | stand |
| CLAUSE $_{\text {MEDIAL }}$ | CLAUSE $_{\text {FINAL }}$ | CLAUSE $_{\text {FINAL }}$ |  |  |
| VP | VP | NPS | VP |  |

'We went until (we) saw a big tree standing.'

| Hebe | $\boldsymbol{k} \underline{\underline{\underline{u}}} \mathbf{u}=\boldsymbol{m a}=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\underline{a}}$ | $f u=k o u$ | dugu, | douwa | duwo. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Tree | this=TOP=GEN | hole=Loc | see.nfut | hornbill | sit |
| CLAUS |  |  |  | CLAUSE $_{\text {FINAL }}$ |  |
| NP |  |  | VP | NPs | VP |

'(We) saw a hornbill sitting in a hole of this tree.'

| Duwo-moûu | dugu-o | fogoû-moû | $\boldsymbol{i}$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sit-PFV | see-FUT | leave.for-PFV | go.nFUT |
| CLAUSE $_{\text {MEDALL }}$ | CLAUSE $_{\text {MEDIAL }}$ | CLAUSE $_{\text {FINAL }}$ |  |
| VP | VP | 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.


| na $\boldsymbol{n o u}=\boldsymbol{u}$ oû | tawa-ga | dugu. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2s 2S.EMP=only | know-DU/PL.FUT | see. NFUT |
| CLAUSE $_{\text {MEDAL }}$ |  | CLAUSE $_{\text {FINAL }}$ |
| NPTHNPS | VP | VP |

‘... get a guitar for your money. ... If you cannot get (it), leaving (it is) OK too; you will decide.'
945) $\underline{A} d u-d i=b e$, sokoûloûu duwo de-ma tewe moûu-ba=si,
1s hear-HAB=TOP school sit PROV=ISQ know get-PFV.IRR=CNTR


| sele dabai | to-l-ou = yode | tobo-l-ou | i-moû | $d u-d i$. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| money work | hold-IRR-NPST=IQV | speak-IRR-NPST | go.nFUT-PFV | hear-нав |
| $\mathrm{CLAUSE}_{\text {FINAL }}$ |  |  |  |  |
| NP | VP |  |  |  |
| $\mathrm{CLAUSE}_{\text {MEDiAL }}$ |  | $\mathrm{CLAUSE}_{\text {medial }}$ |  | CLAUSE $_{\text {final }}$ |
| VP (quote) |  | VP (serial ver | : ${ }^{146}$ ) | 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

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 $=\{b e\}$ '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).

[^83]
## Structure II - Locative verbless clause

CLAUSE $_{\text {Locative verbless }} \rightarrow$ NPt/CLAUSE $\quad$ MPc
946) Kuguo tage + toû.
paper over+up
NPT MPC
'The book is above (it).'
947) Ma moso ku-he.

1s.poss house this-P. LocR
$\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{T}} \quad \mathrm{MPC}$
'My house is here (pointing).'
948) $\underline{E}=m e$ kuo=koú mei.

3s=TOP this=LOC NEG
NPT MPc
'He is not (from) here.'
949) Móu kou? grandfather where
NPT MPC
'Where is grandpa?'
950) $\underset{~ h a g u-l-u ~ k u-h e . ~}{\text { e }}$

3s come-IRR-NFUT this-P.LOCR
CLAUSET
MPc
'Here he comes!'
951) $\underline{E}$ na-l-e nalag-moûu 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) \(\underline{E} \quad \operatorname{moso}=k o ̂ ̂ ~ d u w o . ~\)
    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 $_{\text {equative/Descriptive verbless }} \quad \rightarrow \quad$ NPT $_{\text {/ }}$ CLAUSEt $_{T} \quad$ NPc/CLAUSEc/MPc
Examples (953) - (959) are all equative in meaning.
953) $\underline{E}=m e$ bose.
$3 s=$ тор boss
NPT NPc
'He is the boss.'
954) Ne hu koyo?

2s.poss name who
$N_{T} \quad N P C$
'What is your name?'
955) $M \underline{a} \quad h \underline{u}=b e \quad$ Kevin.

1s.poss name=top Kevin
NPT NPc
'My name is Kevin.'
956) $\begin{array}{lll}\text { Kou }=m e & \text { kei? } \\ \text { this }=\text { top } & \text { what } \\ & \text { NPT } & \text { NPc }\end{array}$
'What is this?'
957) Moso togo-di=be dabai hiye $=$ do. house build-HAB=TOP work big=Int CLAUSE $_{\text {t }}$

NPc
'To build a house is hard work.'
958) Die $\begin{array}{ll}\text { fei-I-e-ba } & \text { koboge? } \\ \text { sing-IRR-FUT-PFV. IRR } & \text { When.VBR }^{\text {CLAUSE }}{ }_{c}\end{array}$
song
CLAUSET
'When is the church service?'
959) To $\underline{e} h \underline{u}=b e \quad$ Sepe $\underline{0}$. river 3 s name=тор Smipen mouth.of.river Theme $\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{T}}$ NPC
'The name of the river is Smipen.'
Examples (960) - (969) are all descriptive in meaning.

```
960) \(O \quad\) hiye \(=d o\).
man big=int
NPT MPc
'The man is big./A big man ...'
```

961) $O=b e \quad$ hiye $=d o$
man=Top big=int
NP ${ }_{\text {t }} \quad$ MPc
'The man is big.'
962) Ei $t \underline{a} \quad d \underline{u}=d o$.

1PL.EX talk straight=inT
NP ${ }_{T}$ MPc
'Our speech is correct.'
963) Battery moû bolo?
battery get good
CLAUSE ${ }^{\text {MPC }}$
'Is it OK to take the battery?'
964) Ele = be sisigo oloûfei kama+dia.

1du.EX=Top children all middle.finger+3pL
$\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{T}} \quad$ CLAUSE ${ }_{c}$
'We two have three children.'
965) $\quad \underline{A}=$ me mei.

1s=TOP NEG
NPT MPC
'I have none.'
966) O $m e i=d o$.
man NEG=INT
$N_{T}$ MPc
'(There are) no people (here) at all.'
967) Fele hague-i ka+dege-môu?
plane come-nfut how+do-PFV
$\mathrm{CLAUSE}_{T} \quad$ CLAUSE $_{C}$
'Why did the plane come?'
968) Abogou seseme.
foot biting.ant
$N_{T} \quad N P C$
'(My) foot is numb.'
969) $\underline{A}=m e \quad o=b o ̂ ̂ ~ m e i . ~$ 1s=TOP man=and NEG
NPT NPC
'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)).


### 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 $_{\text {тнеме }}$ I $\quad \rightarrow \quad$ (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 $_{\text {THENE II }} \quad \rightarrow \quad$ 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) | $\underline{A}$ | $\boldsymbol{a f u}$ | koû-le = ge | $\underline{a}=$ boû | Yagu $=$ boû |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1s | earlier | this-A.LOCR=F.CNTR | 1s=and | Yagu=and |
|  | Theme |  |  | Theme |  |
|  | NP | MP | MP | NP |  |
|  | main | participant, | time, place | main pa | icipants |
|  | ele | to to-l- | = yode $-m a \quad$ (i.) | (i.) |  |
|  | 1du.EX | river wash | -IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQ (go | (go.nfut) |  |
|  | NPs | VP (noun In | Nc) (VP) | (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 | $\underline{e}=m e$ | Dahamo | dihi. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Felix | $3 s=$ тор | Dahamo | child |
| Theme | NP $_{\top}$ | NPc |  |
| NP |  |  |  |

'Felix he (is a) kid from Dahamo.'

[^84]The following example is from an embedded quote summarising the story about the hornbill.
976) Ke-ge-moû, ele tobo-u, that-VBR-PFV 1du.ex say-nfut

| Da | ifi | Godi $=$ ha | soloû $=$ do | $d a=$ mokoú | ne-i |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1du. In | today | God=GEN | heart=int | 1du. in= Loc | give-nfut |
| Theme |  | NPs | Theme | NP Loc | VP |
| NP | MP |  | NPo |  |  |
| main | artici |  |  |  |  |

```
ku-he=yode tobo-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) T\underline{a} \underline{e} toboû-ba=be, ni\underline{i=ge defe\underline{i}=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) | O | $\underline{e}$ | dabai | di=mokoú | ne-i. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man | 3 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 - $d a$.

Another use of mei 'negative' is in the expression mei dege 'be finished'.

## Verbal clauses with event verbs - present tense, habitual aspect: =yomei (INDC\#NEG) ${ }^{148}$

The conjugation of the verb forms is medial (see 2.7.1.2 Vowel harmony in medial verbs: Present negative).

'... she is walking around looking for her child; (she) does not find her.'

[^85]| 981) | Dia crayfish=top | $\begin{aligned} & d i \underline{q}=m e \\ & 3 \mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{TOP} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { hulig.me = be } \\ & \text { night } . \text { TOP=TOP } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { tia-di=yo } \\ & \text { sleep-HAB=INDC } \end{aligned}$ | mei, <br> NEG | sulugua-di. <br> 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) | $\begin{array}{ll} \underline{e} & \text { duwo mei } \\ 3 s & \text { sit NEG } \end{array}$ |  |  | dala be/have | $\begin{aligned} & \boldsymbol{m e i} \\ & \text { NEG } \end{aligned}$ |  | tewe <br> know | $\underset{\text { NEG }}{\boldsymbol{m e i}}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 'he/she is not (here)' |  |  | 'is not/has not' |  | 'I do not know' |  |  |
| 983) | $\frac{a}{1 s}$ | $b i$ <br> thing | mei NEG | $\begin{array}{ll} \underline{a} & m e i \\ \text { 1s } & \text { NEG } \end{array}$ |  | 0 man | $\begin{gathered} \boldsymbol{m e i} \\ \text { NEG } \end{gathered}$ |  |
|  | '... I do not have anything' |  |  | 'I have none/it was not me' |  | 'there are no people (here)' |  |  |

A variation in verbless clauses is this: = bôu mei (=and\#NEG)

| 984) | Fofa-i | hiye = do dala, | ha $k \underline{e}=n o \hat{u}=s i$ | sugua- $\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{b o u}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| swell-NFUT | big=INT be/have but that=only=CNTR | have.fever-NFUT=and | meg |  |

'(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 $\underline{t} \underline{\underline{a}}=$ boû\#mei in the next example, where $\boldsymbol{t} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ 'talk' is the basic form of the verb $\underline{\underline{a}} \underline{\text { with }}$ the same meaning, widely used as a noun. (see 4.2.4 Nominalisation).
985) o $n \underline{a}=m e \quad t \underline{t}=$ bôu $\quad$ mei.
man $2 \mathrm{~s}=$ 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 toboû-I-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 $\boldsymbol{i}$, when used with the negative mei in past tense.

Verbal clauses - future tense (any verb): $\boldsymbol{- I} \boldsymbol{V}^{- \text {-high] }} \boldsymbol{m e i}(-$ IRR-FUT\#NEG)

```
987) A i-I-e mei.
    1s 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
go-PROH
'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 ke '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 $_{\mathrm{I}}$ | $\rightarrow$ | CLAUSE | (head of RC) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{RC}_{\mathrm{I}}$ | $\rightarrow$ | CLAUSE | $(\mathrm{N})$ |

989) dabai dege-di o
work do-нAB man
'(a) man, who always works'
990) sogo si-I-i dou dahai breadfruit cook-IRR-NFUT fire smoke 'smoke from (a) fire, where (people) are cooking breadfruit'
991) $\underline{A}$ dabai dege-I-i=koû i.

1s work do-IRR-NFUT=LOC go
'I went to (where) (we) are working.'
992) Moso kôu tege-i o=be Kiunga=koûu 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 k\underline{e}\mathrm{ tege-i o ka=ha hebe tatabai dege-i}
    man house that build-nfut man that=gen tree weak do-nfut
    moúu +ma 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 $k \underline{e}$ 'that'/ka(ha) 'that(GEN)'/ko(koû) 'that(LOC), or by $=b e$ '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 $_{\text {II }}$ | $\rightarrow$ | $($ head of RC) | CLAUSE | DEM |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{RC}_{\text {II }}$ | $\rightarrow$ | $(\mathrm{N})$ | CLAUSE | $k \underline{e} / k a(h \underline{a}) / k o(k o u ̂)$ <br>  |  |
|  |  |  | 'that/that(GEN)that/(LOC)' |  |  |

It is most common that the head of the relative clause is omitted.

| 994) | $0$ <br> man | $\begin{aligned} & \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}} \\ & \text { that }=\text { GEN } \end{aligned}$ | tobo-u <br> say-nfut | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ke }=\text { noû } \\ & \text { that=only } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { sese-i. } \\ & \text { follow-nfut } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | '(He) did what the man had told (him).' |  |  |  |  |

995) afu esol $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h a} \boldsymbol{a}$ tobo-u ke=nôu tefe-i. earlier angel that=GEN say-NFUT that=only measure-NFUT '... (it) was exactly as the angel had said earlier.'
996) Hiyou môu-di o diag ama-i dala+ya ke i. steal get-hab man 3pl watch-nfut be/have+road that go.nfut '(He) went on (a) road, where thieves watched (for suitable victims).'
997) e sokoûloûu koû duwe-i ke=nôu haba duwe-i. 1s school prior sit-nfut that=only but.PFV.IRR sit-nfut
'... exactly as he had been/sat in school before, (he) sat (there) again.'
998) kalo huei doû + di ko=kôu o car water draw-нАв 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).


| 1000) | Nog | sele | ka-ge | mei | dege-i, | $\underline{a}$ | ke | tefe-- | give-IRR-FUT |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 2s | money | how-vBR | NEG | do-nfut | 1s | that | measu |  |  |  | 'Whatever money you have finished, I will give you that amount.'


tefe-l-e dege-I-e.
measure-IRR-FUT do-IRR-FUT
'He will do to me exactly like you say.'
These are examples of relative clauses with =be 'topic marker'.

```
1002) A e i=be sa kasagai+ya ke i.
    road 3s go.nFUT=TOP land bad+road that go.NFUT
```

    'The road he went on went through bad ground.'
    1003) Edolo sisigo kama + dia ke $+d i a \quad d e g e-l-e=b e$,
Edolo children middle.finger+3pl that+3pL do-IRR-FUT=TOP
$\underline{a}$ ta $\quad d u g u=y a \quad$ 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):

| $\bullet=(y) o^{149}$ | 'indicative' | (in statements) | fact |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| - $=(y) e$ | 'optative' | (in commands \& suggestions) | choice, preference, wish ${ }^{150}$ |
| - $=(y) a$ | 'subjunctive' | (in purpose constructions, opinion statements <br> 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

[^86]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 \(a-h u=d o \quad\) tafala-gua-moû dugu-l-u.
    tree road+far=int stand-DU/PL-PFV see-IRR-NFUT
```

'(I) see trees far away.'
Compare:

```
1005) a dabai dege-l-e dafa=yo+de-i.
    'I said, "I am tired of working."'
1006) Adioû aye Yesu hagua-l-e=yo+di-I-i.
    'Mother, father, I declare that Jesus will come.'
1007) A
    1s do-NFUT=INDC NEG
```

    1s work do-IRR-FUT tired.of=INDC+PROV-NFUT
    mother father Jesus come-IRR-FUT=INDC+PROV-IRR-NFUT
    'I am not doing (it).' (in the Mountain and Foothill dialects = ya 'subjunctive' is used in these negative constructions)
1008) $\underset{A}{ }$ ta $d u g u=y o \quad$ mei.

1s INDF see.nFUT=INDC NEG
'I do not see a thing.'
1009) $n \underline{i}=m e$ moso $k o+d u$ 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) toboû=yo mei
say=INDC NEG
'does not say'
1011) $E \quad \underline{e}=m e$ mihí=koû tia-di=yo mei. megapod.bird 3s=тор earth=Loc sleep-HAB=indC NEG
'The megapod bird, he does not 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) | $\underline{A}=$ me hebe |  | $h a-i=k o u ̈$ | $i-/-i$. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1s=Top | tree c | cut-NFUT=LOC | go-IRR-NFUT |
|  | CLAUSE |  |  |  |
|  | NPs | NPLoc |  | VP |
|  | 'I'm going to (the) garden.' |  |  |  |
| 1013) | 0 | $\underline{e}$ | moso | tege-i. |
|  | man | 3s | house | make-nfut |
|  | CLAUSE |  |  |  |
|  | Theme | NPs | NPo | VP |
|  | NP |  |  |  |
|  | 'A certain | man buil | uilt a house.' |  |


| 1014) | Yo-l-u-gi | $d u g u=b e$ | hebe hiye=do ta | tafala. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ | see.nfut=top | tree big=int indF | stand |
|  | CLAUSE | CLAUSE | CLAUSE |  |
|  | VP | VP | NPo | VP |

'We (two) went until (we) saw a big tree standing.'

| Hebe | $k \underline{u}=m a=h \underline{a}=m=k o u$ | $d u g u$ | douwa | duwo. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tree | this=TOP=GEN hole=Loc | see. NFUT | hornbill | sit |
| CLAUSE |  |  | CLAUSE |  |
| NPLoc |  | VP | NPS | VP |

'In (a) hole of this tree, (we) saw (a) hornbill sitting.'

| Duwo-moû | dugu | fogôu-moû | $i$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sit-PFV | see.nFUT | leave.for-PFV | go.nFUT |
| CLAUSE | CLAUSE | CLAUSE |  |
| VP | VP | VP (serial verb) |  |
| '(We) saw (it) sitting (there); leaving (we) went.' |  |  |  |

### 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) moso togo $=y$ e + de-i-moû
house make=oPT+PROV-NFUT-PFV
'... (they) having told (me) to build (on a) house ...'
1016) Hiyou môu-da $=y e+d e-i$.
steal get-PROH=OPT+PROV-NFUT
'(He) said, "Do not steal."'
1017) ni $\underline{a}=n o ̂ u \quad$ mala $\underline{a}$ huei-le $=k o u ̂$ hebe-l-e

2PL 1s=only get.IRR.FUT water-A.LOCR=LOC carry-IRR-FUT
fila- $\boldsymbol{m a}=\boldsymbol{b e}=\boldsymbol{e}+\boldsymbol{d e} \quad$ tobo- $u$.
throw-DU/PL=TOP=OPT+PROV say-NFUT
'... "You (du./pl.) just take, carry and throw me in (the) water,"
(he) instructed and said.'
1018) $d a$ to to $i-m e=b e=e+d e \quad$ tobo-u.

1du.IN river wash go-hORT=TOP=OPT+PROV say-NFUT
'... "Let the two of us go swimming," he suggested and said.'
1019) $N \underline{a}$ ta=be $n \underline{a}=y \boldsymbol{y}$.

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'.

- $\quad \mathbf{V}^{[\text {-high }]}=y e \quad(\mathbf{e}, \mathrm{a}, \mathrm{ou}, \mathbf{0})$ 'may'
- $\quad \mathbf{V}^{[+ \text {high }]}=y e \quad(\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{u})$ '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

```
1020) Ta ta=be tisa=be 2003 kalada mei, na ta dala-ba=be,
    talk indF=Top teacher=Top 2003 calendar neg 2s indF be/have-PFV.IRR=TOP
    ne \(=\boldsymbol{y e}, \quad \underline{a}=\) mokoû.
    give=opt \(\quad 1 \mathrm{~s}=\) Loc
```

'Another thing/talk (is) that the teacher does not have (a) 2003 calendar; if you have any, you may give me (one).'
1021) sasai to to $i=y e$
woman river wash go=opt
'the women might have gone to (have a) swim’ (a picture of two women looking wet)
1022) $s a s a=d o=y e$ tou dege-i
long=int=opt short do-nfut
'(it) might (have been) long, but (now it is) short.' (about a pencil)
1023) $\underline{A}=m e \quad$ ta-le=koû to-lo $\quad i=y e$.

1s=Top river-A.LOCR=LOC die-IRR-FUT go.nfut=opt
'I might drown in the river./Lest I drown in the river.'
The optative mood is utilised in different types of sentences, including the following two:

- lest (last stem vowel $-\mathrm{V}^{[+ \text {high }]}$ ); sentence final
7.3.3.7 Warning
- even though (last stem vowel - any final verb); mid-sentence
7.3.3.4 Contrast

1024) niou tawa-i=boû, ke-ge-I---gi o ta=ha ni

2PL.emp know-nfut=and that-vbr-IRR-Nfut-dSQ man indF=gen 2PL
ogoû-ga-i= ye.
lie-du/pL-NFUT=OPT
'... look out, lest someone deceives you'
1025) Sa Ukarumpa aso hiye=do dala=ye, $\boldsymbol{k} \underline{\boldsymbol{e}}=\boldsymbol{n o ̂}=\boldsymbol{s i} \quad$ difi=be $m e i=d o$. land Ukarumpa sun big=int be/have=opt that=only=cntr heat=topneg=int
'Even though there may be a lot of sun at Ukarumpa, there is really no warmth at all.'

### 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.

The imperative and the hortative may be weakened by adding the topic marker $=b e$. A command has a more level intonation than a statement.

Imperative (singular) is the unmarked basic form.
1026) Na 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. ${ }^{151}$
Prohibitive is marked by the suffix - $d a$.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { 1029) } & \text { I-da. } \\
& \text { go-PROH } \\
& \text { 'Don't go (sg.).' }
\end{array}
$$

[^87]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-me.
go-hort
'Let's go.'
1032) Di dugu-me.

1PL.IN see-hort
'Let's see.'
1033) $\quad I-m e=b e$.
gO-HORT=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.


[^88]```
1041) o \(k e+d i \underline{a}=m e \quad\) kilíya \(\quad\) yo-u \(=y a ?\)
    man that+3pL=TOP where go.du/PL-NFUT=SUBJ
    '... where are the men going?'
1042) na ka-ge-i-moû goso-u=ya?
    2s how-VBR-NFUT-PFV cry-NFUT=SUBJ
    '... why are you crying?'
1043) Kevin \(=h \underline{a}\) dihi do mala 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) \(n \underline{a}=m e\) o koyo=hag hu\(+y a \quad k \underline{e}\) dabai dege-di=ya? de
    \(2 \mathrm{~s}=\) 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.

| - | past tense | $-I-o u$ | - IRR-PAST.Q |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ (does not follow rules of vowel harmony)

The examples start with verbless clauses, which have no other marking than the question word.

```
1045) Sasai koyo?
    woman who
    'Who (is the) woman?'
1046) K\underline{ou}=me koyo=h\underline{a}}\mathrm{ moso?
        this=TOP who=gen house
        'Whose house is this?'
1047) Mou kou?
        grandfather where
        'Where (is) grandpa?'
1048) Na killya i=ya?
        2s where go.nfut=subj
        'Where are you going?'
1049) No\underline{a}kei-nale do dugu=ya?
        2s what-? sickness see.nfut=subj
        'What sickness do you have?'
1050) Ka-ge-moû kôu =ma=h\underline{u}
        how-VBR-PFV this=TOP=GEN talk this-vBR(bLTv) that say=subj
        'Why does he say this like this?'
```

| 1051) | Na $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}+$ dege | subulu hou | sogo-di=ya? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 2 s how+do | sweet.potato seedling | plant-нAB=sUBJ |

'How do you plant sweet potatoes?'
1052) dihi=be koboge bolo dege-l-ou? child=TOP when.VBR good do-IRR-PAST.Q
'... when did the child get well?'
1053) $K \underline{e}=n o \hat{u}=s i, \quad G o d i=h \underline{a}=g e \quad \underline{e}=m o k o \hat{u}=b e \quad k a-g e \quad$ tobo-l-ou?
that=only=CNTR God=GEN=F.CNTR 3s=LOC=TOP how-VBR say-IRR-PAST.Q
'But what did God say to him?'
1054) Na koboge boho-l-ôu $+m \underline{a}$ hagua-l-e?

2s when.VBR turn-IRR-NPST+put come-IRR-FUT
'When will you start to come back?'
1055) Midiho $k a=h \underline{a}$ 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, how will it happen?'
A kinship word, or other form of address, may occur with the subjunctive clitic $=y a$, 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.

1058) $\underline{A}=m e f^{\prime} l o ?$


1s=top go.up.fut
'May I come in?'
1059) Na de hagua-l-e?

2s good come-IRR-FUT
'Are you coming?/Will you come alright?'
1060)
O kôu + dia na dege-ga-i ke tobo-l-ou $i-l-i \quad k \underline{e}=m e \quad d e \quad d a m a l e=d o ?$ man this+3pl 2 s do-du/pl-nfut that say-IRR-nPSt go-IRR-NFUT that=top good true=int 'Is it true what the men say you have done?'

[^89]
### 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) A boho-I-oú+mg hagua-I-e, g
    1s turn-IRR-NPST+putcome-IRR-FUT 1s turn-IRR-NPST+put come-IRR-FUT
    'I'll come back when I come back.'
```

1062) ta= nôu $\quad$ bolo $=$ féi $\quad t a=n o u ̂ u \quad$ bolo $=$ féi
INDF=only good=total INDF=only good=total
'one is as good as another'
1063) ei sele kefe $+m \underline{a}$ dugu=be, 350.00 kina=noû dala-moû 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.'

1064) Na baha dala=be huyade $=$ nôu $=$ fei $\quad$ baha dala. 2s look 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 -moú '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 $+m \underline{a}$ | $m \underline{\hat{o} u}+m \underline{a}$ | $s a+m \underline{a}$ | hulig.me | hagu-l-u-gi, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that-VBR | attack+put get+put | put.inside+putnight.TOP | come-IRR-NFUT-DSQ |  |  |  |
| CLAUSE | CLAUSE | CLAUSE | CLAUSE | CLAUSE |  |  |

bogo tage + toû tofo-u=ye fiye-i.
white.rock over+up step-nFUT=ins fall-nfut
nominalised clause
CLAUSE
'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 $=b e$.


| Hebe | $a+h u=d o$ | tafala-gua-moû | dugu-l- $u$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tree | road+far=INT | stand-DU/PL-PFV | see-IRR-NFUT |
| CLAUSE |  |  | 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)
lames=boú Asele=boû ei costi-l-e
wai oye hiye=do ke tigo-l-o i-moú dugu.
pig male big=INT that bark-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT
CLAUSE (medial) CLAUSE (medial) CLAUSE (sentence final)
    (serial verb)
```

'... 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 $=b e$ 'topic marker' and $=s i$ '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 ${ }^{154}$ 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. ${ }^{155}$ 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

[^90]
### 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 medial verb is low: $e, o$ or $a+$ new clause
- different subject + simultaneous '-ing’
- $\quad$ same subject + simultaneous '-ing'
- different subject +sequential
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { last stem vowel of medial verb is low: } e, o \text { or } a & + \text { new clause } \\ \text { last stem vowel of medial verb is high: } i \text { or } u & + \text { new clause } \\ \text { final verb: present tense } & + \text { new clause } \\ \text { final verb: any tense } & + \text { new clause }\end{array}$
(applies to all verb types)

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 dogoûgu, when translated into English has two distinct meanings: 'help' and 'be together'.
1069) dogoûgu dabai dege
help.nfut work do
'help someone do his/her work'
1070) dogôugu-o dabai dege
help-fut work do
'work together with someone'

- same subject sequential: $-(I)-\mathbf{V}^{\text {-high }}$ (medial verb) ${ }^{156}+$ new clause 'and'

| 1071) | $e i=n e$ | gusugu = do | $y a$, | Dahamo = koú | mu-I-o, | Thomas = boû |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1PL.EX=also | morning=int | go. DU/PL. | Dahamo= ${ }^{\text {coc }}$ | go.do | homas=and |

Domo=boû dogogu-o fogoû-moû
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) fene ka=hag Kiunga=koû i-l-e, David sa-moû hagua, airplane that=GEN Kiunga=Loc go-IRR-FUT David put.inside.fUT-PFV come.FUT

'... the plane went to Kiunga, and having put onboard David (it) came and having come down in Dahamo (it) put onboard the three of us and went.'
1073) bateli bokisi bolou ke-ge mala hagua, na dogogu-o dala-ba, ${ }^{157}$ battery box two that-vBR get.IRR.FUT come.FUT 2 s put-fUT be/have-PFV.IRR
$\underline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ mu-log dugu-o mala $\boldsymbol{\underline { a }}$ kuhe hagua-le. 1s go.down-IRR-FUT look.fUT get.IRR.fUT so come-IRR-FUT
'... ((you) and the order) ${ }^{158}$ 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: $-\mathbf{V}^{[\text {thigh }]}-m o ̂ ̂ /-b a$ (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 -moú 'perfective' (past or present) or -ba 'perfective irrealis' (future or hypothetic).
1074) Kôu =me o gisiai. $\underline{E}$ hebe ha-i wai=ye nọ-u-moûu dugu.
this=Top man young 3 s tree cut-nfut pig=ins eat-nfut-PFV see.nfut
'This is a young man. He saw a pig eating from the garden.'

[^91]```
1075) dilie yo-u-moû, tie-i sawisie-i ei=ne
3du go.du/PL-NFUT-PFV sleep-nfut be.day-nfut 1PL.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) Asika ele sio mowi ya-l-a-moû dege-l-i-gi dugu; Mikael Asika 1du.Ex bird hunt go.du/PL-IRR-SUBJ-PFV do-IRR-NFUT-DSQ see.nfut Mikael yukuei bigi i-mồ, haba $\underline{e}=b o u ̂+d e ~ y a-i$. clothes wash go.nFUT-PFV but.PFV.IRR 3s=and+PROV go.DU/PL-NFUT
'Asika and I planned to go bird hunting until we saw; Mikael going to wash clothes, at which time however, we went with him.'
1077) Ele mowi sulugua-gi ${ }^{159}$ dugu=be, so ke+dia tigi-l-o i-moû 1du.ex hunt walk.around.du/PL-dSQ see.nfut=top dog that+3pL bark-IRR-FUT go.nfut-pFV

'The two of us walked around hunting, until we heard/ perceived the dogs barking, at which time we went and saw; they were barking at a very large pig, at which time the two of us started and kept on shooting until the pig died, at which time, we 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) $\underline{a}$ taha-l $\underline{e}=y o d e-m a \quad i-l-i-d i^{160} \quad$ dugu$=b e, \quad$ wai $k a=h a$
1s shoot-IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQ
go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ
see.NFUT=TOP pig that=GEN
toto $=$ nôu $\quad$ 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: $-\boldsymbol{I}-\mathbf{V}^{[+ \text {high] }}$ (final verb) + new clause '-ing; ..., ${ }^{161}$

1079) Bei ... $\underline{e}$ o dugu-I-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) $\boldsymbol{O}$ gisiai $\underline{e}$ gofoúu dege-l-i, $\underline{e}$ wai taha-l-e e sagai. man young 3 s hard/strong do-IRR-NFUT 3 s pig shoot-IRR-FUT likely
'(The) young man is angry/becoming angry; he wants to shoot the pig.'

- different subject sequential: $\mathbf{V}$ any tense (final verb) + new clause

1081) o sü=do $\underline{e}=$ mokoû hagua-sige fele, Jon=ha ta $\quad$ du-di. man many=int $3 \mathrm{~s}=$ Loc come-du/pl come.up. FUt John=GEN speech hear-hab

Jon $=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ tobo-u, ni $\quad$ du-ma
John=GEN say-NFUT 2PL hear-du/PL
'... many people kept coming and arrived and heard John's talk. John said:
"Hear, you all ...""

[^92]```
1082) Mala... Y\underline{ôu = makoû fiyo-u-moû dege-i,}
arrow... 3s.refL=LOC fall-NFUT-PFV do-NFUT;(final)
```

haba wai ka=ha so sese-l-e hague-i.
but.PFV.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)., ${ }^{162}$
A tafala ke-le hagua tafala-moû dege-i,
1s stand that-A.LOC come stand-pFV do-nfut; (final)
a taha-i,
1s shoot-nfut; (final)
fefe ke-le fogo-u,
waist that-A.LOCR hit.target-nfut;(final)
do-l-oû bi-ki-le bi-lo fiyo-u-moû 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-le + 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 oúu, 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 medial verb: -l-oú (IRR-NPST)
> + new clause

- different or same subject + simultaneous 'ing' last stem vowel of medial verb: ôu(-môu/-ba) ${ }^{163}$ + new clause
- different subject +sequential
final verb: any tense (applies to all verb types)
+ new clause
- same subject sequential: -l-oû (IRR-NPST) (medial verb) + new clause 'and'

1083) Yesu=ha dugu=be, o ilo ke+dia o ta, duo kasagai=ye Jesus=gen see.nfut=top man part that+3pl man indF spirit bad=ins to-u ke wo-l-ôu hagua fele-go-u-moû dugu. 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.’
1084) K $\underline{e}=n o ̂ u=s i \quad J o n a ~ \underline{e}$ Godi=ha ta gobo-l-oû mu-gu-o fogôu-moû, that=only=cntr Jonah 3 s God=GEN talk break-IRR-NPST go.down-of-FUT leave.for-PFV e sa ta kama.fo-l-o 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 ...'

[^93]1085) Na fí boho-l-ou-ba, ne midiho kasagai ke toúfogoú-ba, ${ }^{164}$ 2s soul turn-IRR-NPST-PFV.IRR 2s.poss face bad that leave-PFV.IRR Hiye $O=k o u ̂$ diho baga $\quad$ toboû-ba $=$ si, $\underline{e}$... gebe.mei.yode-l-e sagaí. 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: -ôul(-moû/-ba) (NPST-(PFV(IRR))) (medial verb) + new clause ‘-ing'

1086) Sogo-ma fogôu-moû, yoû = noû sibige ma-di.
sow-ISQ leave.for-pFV 3s.EMP=only essence put-нав
'After (he) has sown, leaving (it alone), (the garden) produces food by itself.' (different subject)
1087) Godi=ha miye hiye = do ke toboûu-moûu hagua-moû 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-e $\underline{=}$ be o=be miloû-moû, na-l-e $\quad$ kuhe tama 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 toboû-moû, sa sa oloûféi=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) $\underline{A} \underline{e}=m o k o ̂ u ~ d i h o ~ b a g \underline{~ t o b o u ̂-m o ̂ u ~ d u g u ; ~ h a b a ~}$ 1s 3s=loc eye close.eye.fut say-PFV see.nfut but.PFV.IRR
$\underline{e}=g e \ldots \quad \underline{a}$ dogôugu-moû $\underline{e}=$ mokoû hoho hiye=do dege-i.
3s=F.CNTR... 1s 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)
1091) $\underline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ ma eye Paul=ha dege=yede-ma fogôu-moû, 1s 1s.poss older.brother Paul=GEN do=oQv-ISQ leave.for-PFV
a ma-sofei 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 $\underline{e}$ Jerusalem toûfogoû-moûu, $\underline{e}$ sa hu Jeriko=koú hague-i. Jerusalem man 3s Jerusalem leave-pfv 3 s 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 | où $=$ boû | dou $=$ boû | $s a-i$ | ke | ta-moú | ke-le |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | finally | sago=and | fire=and | put.inside-nfut | that | unpack-PFV | that-A. LOCR |
|  | dogogu-o fogoùmoû 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.' |  |  |  |  |  |  |

[^94]- different subject sequential: V any tense (final verb) + new clause (same as other event verbs)

1094) $\begin{array}{lllll}\boldsymbol{a} & \text { i-I-e, } & \text { gamani } & o \quad \text { ta tobo-u, } \\ \text { 1s go-IRR-FUT government } & \text { man INDF say-NFUT; (final) }\end{array}$
gamani diag o J.K. =ha sele $\underline{a} 60$ kina te-l-e ne-i. government 3pl man J.K.=GEN money 1s 60 kina remove-IRR-fut give-nfut (final)
'... I went and talked to a government official; one of their government officials J.K. removed and gave me 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 medial verb: -l-i (-IRR-NPST)
+ new clause
- different subject + simultaneous '-ing’
stem of medial verb with -moû/-ba (-PFV/-PFV.IRR) +new clause
- same subject simultaneous, e.g. ‘stand V-ing’
any medial event verb: -IRR-FUT/NPST
+ new clause with existential state verb
- same subject delayed sequence: -/-i (IRR-NFUT) (medial verb) + new clause ‘until’

```
1095) A hoho hiye=do dege tafala-I-i fogoú i-l-e
    1s light big=INT do.fUT stand-IRR-NFUT leave.for go-IRR-FUT
    hafei dege---i.
    close.total do-IRR-NFUT
    '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
hagua fogoû i-moû) taha-i=be
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 $\operatorname{dog}(\mathrm{s})$ and (as they were) passing by) (he) shot at (it) ...'
1097)

| $\boldsymbol{A}$ | we | oû | $h a-i$ | ta folo-môu, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s day.before.yesterday | sago | cut-nFUT | INDF | go.up.FUT-PFV |

sio kisi-ma duwo-I-i dugu=be,
bird make.a.wall-ISQ sit-IRR-NFUT see.nFUT=TOP

| $e$ | $t a=n o ̂ ̂$ | $t a$ | $f e-l-i-m o u ̂$ | $d u g u$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 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-mô̂ duwo-I-i, (huei te-i dio-u-môu,) 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 $\mathbf{I}$ went hunting.'

- different subject simultaneous: -moû/-ba (-PFV/-PFV.IRR) (medial verb) ‘-ing’

'... the cassowary died. (I) saw it lying (there); so I was very happy.'

```
1100) na ma sele koû malag ne sa Ukarumpa=koû fai
    2s 1s.poss money prior get.IRR.fut 2s.poss land Ukarumpa=loc file
    malag hagua-ma dala=ba, \(\underline{\boldsymbol{a}}\) i-l-e mo-l-oúu.
    get.IRR.FUT come-ISQ be/have=PFV.IRR 1s go-IRR-FUT get-IRR-FUT
```

'... 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).'
 verb, e.g. 'V and stand', i. e. 'stand V-ing'

```
1101) na yoti tobo-l-oú sia, sa sa oloúfei=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.
'(The) woman is standing holding a child./... holds (a) child and stands.'

```
1103) o sasaí ke+di\underline{a mase-I-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
- existential state verbs last nuclear syllable is: -loû 'IRR.NPST' (event verbs) last nuclear syllable is: -/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

- One to two

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 $\underline{e}$ David 3s clause | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Kiunga }=k o \hat{u}=g e \\ & \text { Kiunga }=\mathrm{LOC}=\mathrm{F} . \mathrm{CNTR} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { fene =ye } \\ & \text { airplane=INS } \end{aligned}$ | Dahamoû = kôu <br> Dahamo=loc | hagua, come. fut |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Thomas = boû, Domo = boû, $\underline{a}=$ boû $+d e \quad s a+m \underline{~}$ |  |  | ma, Uka | $a=k o u ̀$ | $y a-i$ |  |
|  | Thomas=and | nd Domo=and 1s | =and+prov put. | inside+put Uka | = LOC | go |  |
|  | CLAUSE |  |  | clau |  |  |  |

'David came from Kiunga to Dahamo by plane and Thomas, Domo \& I (were) put inside, and we (all) went to Ukarumpa.'

In the following example, however, there is a change of subject when Paul joins his companions again after an excursion on his own.

'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-oû-moûu,
    3du house=loc pig cut-of+put cook.on.stones-IRR-NPST-PFV
    CLAUSE CLAUSE
```

    \(\underline{e}\) sasai \(=b o ̂ u \quad\) e dihi oloûfé \(\quad\) kamadia ke-ge dia oloufé
    3s woman=and 3s child all.total three that-VBR 3pL all.total
    CLAUSE ...
    na-ma tia-sie-i
    eat-ISQ sleep-du/PL-NFUT
            clause
    '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) Na ma to du ho fogoû-ba=be, ne mogo+u
2s 1s.poss talk hear desire leave.for-PFV.IRR=TOP 2s.poss jaw+hole
CLAUSE
a+ko-gu dala-I-i, (ne sas\underline{ei} dihi mala fole-j-ba,)
road+hinder-of be/have-IRR-NFUT 2s.pOSs woman child get.IRR.fUT come.up-NFUT-PFV.IRR
                                    (clause)
na ta tobo-l-oul=yode tobo-u.
2s talk say-IRR-NPST=IQV.FUT say-NFUT
CLAUSE CLAUSE
```

'"If you do not want to hear what I say, your mouth will be closed, until (your wife has born a child), at which time you will speak," he said.'

## - Two to one

```
1110) ele... wo +m\underline{a} m\underline{ou}+m\underline{a}}sa+m\underline{a}\mathrm{ ( hulig.me hagu-l-u-gi,
    2s.ex attack+put get+put put.inside+putnight.TOP come-IRR-NFUT-DSQ
    CLAUSE
                                    CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE
    bogo tage+toû tofo-u=ye fiye-i.
    white.rock over+up step-nFUT=INS fall-NFUT
    CLAUSE
    `... 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.'
```

- Many to one

```
1111) Ei sa Miletus=koû folo-ga-moû, Pol=ha sa Efesus
    1PL.EX land Miletus=loc go.up-du/pl.fut-PFV Paul-GEN land Ephesus
    CLAUSE CLAUSE ...
    damale = yode-i o sasai wo-l-oû dala-di o ke+di\underline{a}
    true=IQV-NFUT man woman accompany-IRR-NPST be/have-HAB man that+3PL
    ..
    hagua-sie-ma=be=ede-ma t\underline{a dogogu.}
    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: ${ }^{165}$
1112)

| *Aye=ha wai ke taho-u-mou | to-l-o | $i$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| father=GEN pig 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 taha-mou. This gives a passive translation in English.
1113) Aye =ha wai ke taha-môu 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.

'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) miloû-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-gemoû (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:

- -moú 'perfective (realis)' past and present events and states
- -ba 'perfective irrealis' future and hypothetic events and states

[^95]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 -moul-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 -moúu 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:

'... while thinking deeply, I thought like this: "When you Jesus help me, then I will get knowledge," (and) having realized that, I closed (my) eyes and said (prayed) to him.'

mola moso ke bologua-le eyode tobo-l-oû i.
medicine house that good.do-IRR-FUT=IQV.FUT say-IRR-NPST go.NFUT
SCENE (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) ise hagu-moû, a taha-i. finally come.nFUT-PFV 1s shoot-NFUT SCENE: DIFFERENT SCENE (final)
'... presto, coming (on; a pig), I shot at him.'

[^96]| 1123) | Mowi i-l-i-gi | dugu, | wai sege-i | na-ma-moû i-moû, | a dugu. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hunt go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ see.NFUT | pig plant-NFUT eat-ISQ-PFV go.NFUT-PFV | 1s see.NFUT |  |  |  |
| SCENE (final) | SCENE: SAME | SCENE: DIFF. SCENE (final) |  |  |  |

'(I) was hunting going along until I saw (something); a pig had been eating root crops (and then) gone, I saw.'
1124) sa o mei bitow sa ko=koû tafala-moûu, land man NEG mountain ground that=LOC stand-PFV
SCENE: DIFFERENT
o $\boldsymbol{s} \underline{u}=d o \quad \underline{e}=$ mokoû hagua-sige fele
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 oboû $=k o ̂ u$ sele ne-i. Ne-le-e-môu, ship owner=loc money give-nfut give-IRR-FUT-PFV SCENE (final) SCENE: SAME
e folo duwo-moûu i. ${ }^{169}$
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 \(k a=h \underline{a}\) tigo-u-moû 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 so hiye dege-ba, wai wo-l-o.
2s.pOSS dog big do.FUT-PFV.IRR pig attack-IRR-FUT
SCENE: sAME
'When your dog will have grown up, she will kill pig(s).'
1128) Sokoûloû sisigo ke+dig kefe-gu-o dala-ba, boù =ha poto school children that+3pl gather-of-FUT be/have-PFV.IRR white.man=GEN photo 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: DIFFERENT | SCENE (final) |  |

'Being sick/Sickness being (there), I will not go.'
1130) sawisie-i kamadia mei dege-i-ba, $\quad \underline{a}$ hagua-ma i-/-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)'.

'As soon as a pig has been shot by the bow, everybody eats (it).'

[^97]A perfective realis medial scene, like in the example above, may get an added dimension by using the topic marker $=b e$. 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) | ma | mou | Domo | $\underline{e}$ | mowi | $i-m o u=b e$, | gali | $s \underline{u}=d o$ | taha-di. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1s.poss | grandfather | Domo | 3s | hunt | go.nFUT-PFV=TOP | wild | many=InT | shoot-HAB |
|  | SCENE: | SIMULTANEOUS |  |  |  |  | SCE |  |  |

'... my grandfather Domo, when he went hunting (he) usually shot a lot of game.'
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { Hou =ye=be } & i-l-e-m o u ̂=b e, & \text { gabo } & \text { sa-moú } \\ \text { thumb=INS=TOP } & \text { go-IRR-FUT-PFV=TOP } & \text { village } & \text { pass.FUT-PFV }\end{array}$
SCENE: SEQUENTIAL SCENE (medial)
i-l-e, Koloba=kou 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-le $\quad$ eiye $=d o \quad s a+m \underline{a} \quad i--i-g i \quad$ sa $n u g u-m o u ̂=b e$, eat-IRR-FUT big=INT put.inside+put go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ land get.dark.nFUT-PFV=TOP SCENE (final ${ }^{170}$ continued on next line) SCENE: sImultaneous
a 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=nôu =ye nele kusia-ma-mô̂, moso ke dumu-môu =be, man INDF=only=ins strength struggle-ISQ-PFV house that finish-PFV=TOP SCENE: (medial) SCENE: simultaneous
o $s \underline{u}=d o$ moso 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 | Sasagai dege-moú $=$ be, | e ta-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.

[^98]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 ${ }^{171}$ with relative mood \& tense suffixation ending with a low vowel, e, a or o, or, for type 6 verbs with -l-oúu '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 ( $-m o \hat{u}$ 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.

```
- -(I)- V [-high] event verbs, types 1-5, 7 'and ...', ('having ...')
- -l-oû type 6 'and ...', ('having ...')
1137) Óu ke ha-moû, \underline{e hagua tie-i.}
    sago that cut.fut-PFV 3s come.fut sleep-NFUT ..
    CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE
    Ke-le-ge-moú e_ i-I-e dugu=be
    that-A.LOCR-VBR-PFV 3s go-IRR-FUT see.nFUT=TOP
    CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE
    `Having cut the sago (palm), he came and slept. ... Having been like that there, he went and
    saw that ...'
1138) Ele folo doûwa u dobogoûu kasugu-o-moû,
    1du.EX go.up.FUT hornbill hole hand insert-FUT-PFV
    CLAUSE CLAUSE
    doûwa to-l-oú+ma wala i. }\mp@subsup{}{}{172
    hornbill hold-IRR-NPST+put.fut attack.IRR.FUT go.NFUT
    CLAUSE CLAUSE
```

'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) | so hiye dege-ba | wai wo-l-o. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2s.poss dog big do.FUT-PFV.IRR | pig attack-IRR-FUT |  |
| CLAUSE |  | CLAUSE |


| 1140) | Yomogôu-moû = be | awaki | to-l-où | $i-I-e$ | nou-di---i. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | begin-pFV=TOP | knife | hold-IRR-NPST | go-IRR-FUT | make.a.garden-HAB-IRR- |
|  | CLAUSE | CLAUSE |  | CLAUSE | LA |

'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 ${ }^{173}$ with relative mood \& tense suffixation, ending with a high vowel, i or $u$, or, for type 6 verbs with -oû 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 ( $-m o u$ or $-b a$ ), 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).

[^99]```
- -(I)- }\mp@subsup{V}{}{[+high] event verbs, types 1-5, 7 'as soon as/when/while ...' ('-ing ...')
```

- ôu
- ---i
type 6 verbs
existential state verbs 'until'

```
1141) ke-ge tia-sige-i; sawisie-i Monday gusugu=do mou}\mathrm{ dilie
```

1141) ke-ge tia-sige-i; sawisie-i Monday gusugu=do mou}\mathrm{ dilie
that-Vbr sleep-du/pl-nfut be.day-nfut Monday morning=int grandpa 3du
that-Vbr sleep-du/pl-nfut be.day-nfut Monday morning=int grandpa 3du
CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE(cont. next line)
CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE(cont. next line)
aboû dilie igo-u-moû dugu-o fogoû
aboû dilie igo-u-moû dugu-o fogoû
grandma 3du go-nfut-pFv see-fut leave.for
grandma 3du go-nfut-pFv see-fut leave.for
CLAUSE CLAUSE
```
                        CLAUSE CLAUSE
```

'... we slept like that; (next) day Monday, early in the morning, (we) saw grandpa \& grandma going and (we) left ...'
1142) ma ade Ronny Rumginae mola moso $=k o \hat{u}=g e$ 1s.poss father Ronny Rumginae medicine house=Loc=F.CNTR CLAUSE(cont. next line)

| to-l-o | i-mô | mala | hagua |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| die-IRR-FUT | go.NFUT-PFV | get.IRR. FUT | come.FUT |
|  |  | CLAUSE | CLAUSE |

'... my father Ronny dying at Rumginae hospital, (I) brought (him) ...'
1143) o oloúfei $=d o \quad k e f e+m \underline{a}, \ldots$ Nege $k e+d i \underline{a} \quad s a b e=k o ̂ u$ man all.total=INT gather+put ... Nenge that+3pl home.ground=Loc
CLAUSE CLAUSE(cont. next line)

```
    ya-i. Nege ke+di\underline{a}}\mathrm{ oloufféi=do tia-sige-i-moû,
    go.du/PL-NFUT Nenge that+3pL all.total=INT sleep-du/pl-NFUT-PFV
        CLAUSE
```

    oloúfei \(=d o \quad w o+m \underline{~ m e i ~ d e g e-i . ~}\)
    all.total=int attack+put neg do-nfut
    CLAUSE CLAUSE
    '... all gathered and ... they went to the place where the Nenges lived. While all the Nenges slept, they killed them all.'
1144) na $\underline{a}=$ mokôu ikoke $\underline{a}$ ko-u-ba moso togo-l-o.
2s 1s=Loc nail 1s look.for-nfut-pFv.IRR house build-IRR-FUT CLAUSE CLAUSE
'... when you find nails for me, (I) will immediately build (a) house.'
1145) e moso = koû toû-môu, o sasai dulo i. 3s house=Loc hold.nPST-PFV manwoman hear-IRR-FUT go.nfut CLAUSE CLAUSE
'...people heard that he was in the house.'

| 1146 ) | sio kisi-ma | duwo-I-i | dugu $=$ be |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bird make.a.wall-ISQ | sit-IRR-NFUT | see.NFUT=TOP |  |
| CLAUSE | CLAUSE | CLAUSE |  |


| $e$ | $t a=n o u ̂$ | $t a$ | fe-l-i-moû | dugu. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| megapod.bird | INDF=only | INDF come.up-IRR-NFUT-PFV | see.NFUT |  |
| CLAUSE |  |  |  | CLAUSE |

'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

There is no change of subject following the suffix -ma 'immediate sequence'. It may co-occur with both -moú 'perfective' and -ba 'perfective irrealis'.

| 47) | So | $o$ | dili | dou | toù | out |  |  | $i+m \underline{a}$ |  | -/-u. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | woman=and | man=an | 3du | fire | light-ISQ |  | ago |  | ook+put |  | eat-IRR |
|  | Them |  | CLA |  |  |  | LA |  |  |  | A |

'After (the) man and the woman light (the) fire, (they) cook (the) sago and eat.'

| 1148) | Bologua-ma | huei $n e-\underline{i}$. | $N e-l-\underline{e}$ | bologua-ma, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| good.do-ISQ | water give-NFUT | give-IRR-FUT | good.do-ISQ |  |
|  | CLAUSE | CLAUSE | CLAUSE | CLAUSE |

e dolki tage + tôu dogogu.
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. '

'After gathering the sweet potatoes, he put them in (his stringbag). When (he) had put them inside, (he) went home and ...'
1150) $\underline{A}$ Megi $o=k o u ̂ \quad$ tafala de-ma i-l-e, Biangabip=koû folo 1s Megi mouth.of.river=LOC stand PROV-ISQ go-IRR-FUT Biangabip=LOC go.up. FUT CLAUSE 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-moû/=be de-ba=TOP\#PROV-PFV(.IRR) 'delayed sequence', i.e. 'until'


## -gi'delayed sequence’

The suffix - $g i$ 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 -moúu '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 to-moû su-l-u-gi, kulio dege-moû,
    3s river wash-PFV walk.around-IRR-NFUT-DSQ 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) Yäme dege-I-i-gi win dege-i.
try.hard do-IRR-NFUT-DSQ win do-nFUt
CLAUSE
CLAUSE
'They tried hard until they won.'

'... 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) ...'

'... 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) ...’
1153) aduôu = boû, aye= boû dilie mowi ya-i. Yo-I-u-gi, 1s.mother=and father=and 3du hunt go.DU/PL-NFUT go.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT-DSQ Theme CLAUSE CLAUSE
so ke+diag wai ta tigo-l-o i-moûu dugu.
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.'
1154) to-ba miye susuag-moû fe-l-i-gi, habi dege-i-moû, river-along fish dive.for.fUT-PFV come. up-IRR-NFUT-DSQ afternoon do-NFUT-PFV CLAUSE (serial verb) CLAUSE
oû $=$ boû dou=boû ma-i ke-le fele-moû
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 ...'
1155) Isaac=ha afu Temifen=koû tefele-i. Tafala-I-i, Isaac=gen earlier Temifen=loc stand-nfut stand-IRR-NFUT CLAUSE

CLAUSE

| ta sabiye-i | so oye ta=noú = fei | wo-l-oú | 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.'

| 1159) diloû | dilie moso = koû fo-fo-l-oú | dala-l-i, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3Du.EMP | 3Du house=LOC RED.PL-run-IRR-NPST | be/have-IRR-NFUT |

CLAUSE CLAUSE
oguo kamadia ke-ge 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

This is another delayed sequence construction. It is less common.

1161) Dogogu-o-môu mala i=be de-moû, put-FUT-PFV get.IRR.FUT go=TOP PROV-PFV CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE
gaba-l-e tia-di moso = koû folo dogogu.
pass-IRR-FUT sleep-hab house=LOC go.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).'
1162) kuoloû ta Moses $=h \underline{a}$ nala-i $k \underline{e}=b o ̂ u+d e \quad$ oloûfei $=b e \quad o=e$
law talk Moses=Gen write-nfut that=and+prov all.total=Top man=ins CLAUSE (cont. next line)
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { he-hegi-e } & \text { toboû-moû } & \text { hagua= be de-moû, Jon } & \text { en tama dege-i. } \\ \text { RED.PL-show-RED.PL } & \text { say-PFV come=Top PROV-PFV John=GEN } & \text { 3s appeardo-NFUT } \\ & \text { CLAUSE (serial verb) } & \text { CLAUSE } & \text { CLAUSE }\end{array}$
'... also the law that Moses wrote, all of it was taught and preached by men until John appeared.'
1163) a midiho kasagai ke miloû-moû hagua=be de-mô̂, sawisie-i é

1s face bad that work-PFV come=TOP PROV-PFV be.day-nFUT 3s
CLAUSE
$m a k a+m \underline{\underline{i}}$ i $\quad$ ke-le-ge $\quad$ Godi $=h \underline{a} \underline{a}$ habagugue-gu-o-môu $\quad$ haguisa-i.
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).'

| 1164) | Ifi | yo-ma | $\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{b e} \boldsymbol{d e - b a}$ | $s a+b i+t a=b o u$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ ke-le-ge

'From today going on into the future ...' (literally: 'After starting today ...')
1165) O oloûfei dabai dege-di i=be de-moû, habi 4:30 fogoû i-di. 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) ${ }^{174}$
'Everybody habitually worked until 4.30 in (the) afternoon, when they usually left.'
1166) $\underline{e}=m e$ yoû $k e-g e=n o u ̂ \quad$ hagua $=$ be de-moû ifi=ne ku-he.

3s=TOP 3s.EMP that-VBR=only be/have-nFUT come=TOP PROV-PFV today=also this-P.LOCR
CLAUSE
(embedded clause within the proverb clause)
'... he has eternal life since before, continuing into the present.'

[^100]In the following example $i$ 'go' in $i=b e d e b a$ 'will go on until' is plural $\boldsymbol{y} \boldsymbol{a}$ ' $\mathbf{g o}$ (du./pl.)' and functions in the sequence sesele ya 'follow (du./pl.)'.


### 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.

```
1168) sa o mei bitou sa ko=koû tafala-moû,
    land man NEG mountain land that=LOC stand-PFV
    CLAUSE
    o su}=do \underline{e}=mokoú hagua-sige fele
    man many=INT 3s=Loc come-du/PL come.up.fUT
    CLAUSE CLAUSE
```

'... while (he) was/stood on the mountain without people, many people were on their way coming to him and arrived and ...'

1170) Fofa-i hiye=do dala, ha $k \underline{e}=$ nôu $=s i \quad$ sugua- $i=b o u ̂ u$ mei. swell-nFUT big=int be/have but that=only=CNTR have.fever-nFUT=and NEG CLAUSE CLAUSE
'(He) has (a) very big swelling; but even so, (there is) no fever with (it).'
As for (1171), see 7.3.1.1.3 SWITCH-REFERENCE MARKING IN EXISTENTIAL STATE VERBS: same subject simultaneous.

'. . 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) | $\underline{n} \underline{i}=$ mokoú | tefe-I-e | dugu | hagu-ba |  | fiye-i=ye. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $2 \mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{LOC}$ | measure-IRR-FUT | see | come.nfut-PFV.IRR |  | fall-nfut=OPT |
|  | CLAUSE |  | CLAUSE | (serial verb) | CLA | USE |
|  | '... lest (someone) will be coming to try you, (making) you fall.' |  |  |  |  |  |

Verbs of perception and simultaneous temporal linking, an example

| 1173) | Yo-l-u-gi, | so ke dia | wai ta | tigo-l-o | i-moû |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | dugu.

'We went on until (we) saw the dogs barking at a pig.'

## Clause repetition and simultaneous temporal linking


'I'll come back when I come back.'
1175) $\underline{A}$ sabiye-i ta ma aye ele duwo-gi dugu=be, 1s be.morning-nfut indF 1s.poss father 1du.ex sit-dSQ see.nfut=top Theme CLAUSE CLAUSE
gamani o ke+dia bokisi tigi-gi+ma hebe+ma hagua-sie-i-moû dugu. government man that+3pL box tie-of+put carry+put come-du/pl-nFUT-PFV see.nfut CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE CLAUSE
'One day my father and I sat (there) until (we) saw government officers 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 | taha- $\underline{i}=$ be, | mala | tuga-ma | hebe-I-e |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | but. PFV.IRR | over | shoot-nFUT=TOP | arrow | bounce-ISQ | carry-IRR-FUT |
|  | CLAUSE |  |  | CLAUSE |  | CLAUSE |

fele-i.
come.up-nfut
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.

'But when a big wind comes; the collapse of the house is not far away.'

| 1178)$H a b a=g e$ $a$ tawa-I-i | tobo-l-oú |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| but.PFV.IRR=F.CNTR | 1s know-IRR-NFUT | say-IRR-NPST |
|  |  | CLAUSE |

'Later, when I know; I will tell (you).'

'When he sees (a) man; (he gets) very angry; (he) will bite (the) man.'

### 7.3.2.6 Out of sequence

To signal out of sequence events is a matter of semantics and a couple of adverbial particles, kou 'prior' and you 'not yet'.
 'Shortly before I went to the course in Rumginae, my wife and I went and ...'
1181) $\boldsymbol{A f u}=$ do, $\quad$ i-I-i mei, $\underline{a}$ duwo earlier=INT go-IRR-NFUT NEG 1 s sit
'Earlier before I went, I was/sat ...'
1182) Yo kama+dia ke-ge tafala-gua. Yo bolou $=b e$ banana middle.finger +3 PL that-VBR stand-DU/PL banana two=tор
koû mu-gu 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 ayomố you ta-l-e dala-ba, bird fowl not.yet talk-IRR-FUT be/have-PFV.IRR
na kama +dia ke-ge tobo-l-où, a Yesu tewe mei=yode-l-e. 2s middle.finger +3 PL that-VBR say-IRR-NPST 1 s 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) ${ }^{175}$
- 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 minor participants (underlined in story). As has been said about the use of -moú '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.

```
1184) ... James = boû Asele = boû ei so ti-l-e igiya-i sulugua-I-i
    James=and Asele=and 1PL.EX dog call-IRR-FUT go.DU/PL-NFUT walk.around.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT
```

| $d u$, | so | tigo-l-o | i-moû | foukua | igiya-i | folo-ga-moù | dugu, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 | $=d o \quad k e$ | tigo-l-o | i-moû | dugu. |  |  |
| pig male big=int that bark-IRR-FUT go.nfut-PFV see.n |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

'... 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.' (Sentence 1)

Asele $=$ ha hebe sug $\underline{u}+$ toû tafala-l-i,... tahag- $\underline{i}=b e, \quad$ 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 ... when (he) shot at (it), the arrow after bouncing came (back) towards him.'

## (Sentence 2)

| Yoú $=$ makoûu fiyo-u-moû haba tage taha- $-i=b e$ | mala tuga-ma |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3S.EMP=LOC fall-NFUT-PFVbut.PFV.IRR over | shoot-NFUT=TOP arrow bounce-ISQ |

hebe-l-e fele-i.
carry-IRR-FUT come.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 = makoû fiyo-u-moû dege-i haba wai ka=ha so sese-l-e hague-i.
3s.emp=Loc fall-nfut-pFV do-nfut but.pFV.IRR pig that=gen dog follow-IRR-fut come-nfut '(Arrows) kept falling (back) on himself (Asele); again the pig came chasing the dog(s).' (Sentence 4)

| $\boldsymbol{A}$ | tafala $k$ ke-le | hagua tafala-moúu dege-i, | $\underline{a}$ | taha-i | $\ldots$ (wai) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s stand that-A. Loc come stand-PFV | do-nFut | 1s | shoot-nFUT | $\ldots$ (pig) |  |

bi-l-o fiyo-u-moû dege-i.
sit.up/down-IRR-FUT fall-NFUT-PFV do-NFUT
'(The pig) came and kept trying to stand where $\mathbf{I}$ stood; $\underline{\mathbf{I} \text { shot } \mathrm{it} \text {; ... (the pig) sat and was in the process of }}$ falling over.'(Sentence 5)

```
De=ha taha-/\underline{e}+m\underline{q}-moúu
maternal.uncle=GEN shot-IRR-FUT+put-PFV
'Uncle having shot and killed (it), (we) ...'(Sentence 6)
```

[^101]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 tree
Sentence 3 up in the tree


| Ele | hebe | $h a-g i+m a$ | tigi | ka-gi+ma-moú | digi-gi-I-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 went up (the tree).'

| Ele folo, doûwa | $u$ dobogôu kasugu-o-môu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1DU.EX go.up. FUT hornbill hole hand | insert-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, kegemôu '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).

- $k a=h a \underline{d e g e-m o u ́ ~}$
- $k a=h a$
- dege-moú
- other variations on the same theme (1190), (1192)
'because'
'because’
'having done/because
(that=GEN\#do-PFV) (most common; more emphatic)
(that=GEN) (emphatic)
(do.FUT-PFV) (less emphatic, no control)


## Structure I - Reason-result/Result-reason

REASON ... (kahol) (degemôu) $\rightarrow$ RESULT or vice versa
In the two first examples the reason is marked only by the verb form degemou 'because'. That being the case, there is no control involved in the reason. The first example just illustrates the way of lizards.

| Sabi | $\underline{e}$ | kulio | hiye $=$ do dege-môu, | $\underline{e}$ | aso | difi ha | tila. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lizard | $3 s$ | coldness | big=INT do.FUT-PFV | 3 s sun | heat get.warm | lie.down |  |
| REASON |  |  |  | RESULT |  |  |  |

In the next example, there is no control involved in the wife being sick. The controlling reason, marked by kaha (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.

'... because when (my) wife was very sick, the men carried (her) and went to Dahamo, (and) because of that I have (a) problem.'
1188) ifi moso $\underline{e}$ bila-ma i-l-e $k a=h a \quad$ dege-moû, $\underline{a}$ moso taga-l-a-moû today house 3s fell-ISQ go-IRR-FUT that=GEN do-PFV 1s house make-IRR-SUBJ-PFV REASON

RESULT (cont. next line)
$n \underline{a}=$ mokoú yodu, na $\underline{a}=$ mokoû ikoke $\underline{a}$ ko-u-ba moso togo-l-o.
2s=Loc ask.nFUT 2 s 1s=loc nail 1 s 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.'
1189) $\underline{A} m \underline{a}$ dabai dala $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h a} \boldsymbol{a}$ dege-i-môu, ${ }^{176} \underline{a}$ ne dabaidege-l-e mei. 1s 1s.poss work be/have that=GEN do-NFUT-PFV 1s 2 s. 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 su=do, kege-i $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}} \quad u w o=b e \quad h i y e=d o$. Tabubil=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.'

mala hagua-l-e=ne de. $\underline{A}$ kô̂-le sokoûlôu duwo-gi 6 mei dege-ba, get.IRR. FUT come-IRR-fUT=also good 1s this-A.LOCR school sit-DSQ 6 NEG do-PFV.IRR REASON (cont. next line)
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { grade } & 7=\text { be } & \text { Kuala=kôu } i-l-e & k \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{h a} & \text { dege-môu. } \\ \text { grade } & 7=\text { TOP } & \text { Kuala=LOC } & \text { go-IRR-FUT } & \text { that=GEN do-PFV }\end{array}$
'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.'
1192) Yona $=h \underline{a} \quad$ tobo-u, $\quad k \underline{u} u=m e \underline{a} \quad$ kasagai.

Jonah=GEN say-NFUT this=TOP1s bad
RESULT
$\underline{A} G o d i=h \underline{a}$ ta $\quad d u-l-i \quad$ mei $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}} \quad$ 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.
1193) $\underline{A}$ soloû $=$ do dege-i=be, ele=be mogo=do ka=ha dege-moû, 1s heart=int do-nfut=top 1du.ex=top friend=int that=GEN do-PFV RESULT REASON
a soloû = do hiye = do kuhe dege-i.
1s heart=int big=int so do-nfut
RESULT
'I am very sad/concerned, because we were friends, so I am very concerned.'

[^102]
### 7.3.3.1.2 Reason-result with kegemoû 'so'

Using the conjunction-like demonstrative verb kegemoúu '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 ${ }^{177}$ between the events, while a high vowel indicates a close temporal relationship. The unspecified time is by far the most common.

- Kege-moû... 'so/then/because of thathaving become like that' (that.VBr-PFV)
- Kege-i-moû... 'so/then/because of that/being like that' (that.VBR-NFUT-PFV)


## Structure II - 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)'

'... I have (a) problem. Because of that/being like that I thought and saw that ...'
The next example is different in that kegeimoû does not start a new paragraph or even a new sentence.

| 1197) | $\underline{g}=$ me hegie | dege-i-mout | dugu. $\boldsymbol{A}$ | ke-ge-i-mout | kiyei |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | REASON |  |  |  | pandanus |
|  |  |  |  |  | RESULT (cont. next line) |
|  | ka i- | i---e-moû | dugu |  |  |
|  | look.for go | go-IRR-FUT-PFV | see.nfut |  |  |
|  | '... I realized that I was hungry. So/being like that having gone to look for pandana, I saw ...' (Mountain dialect) |  |  |  |  |

### 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 (kahg) (degemoû) 'because' works together with this conjunction but is not obligatory.

- Yobe ... (kahá) (degemôu) 'the reason ... (because)' base.TOP ... (that=GEN\#do-PFV)

Structure III - Result-reason
Result. Yobe $\rightarrow$ REASON ... (kahaq) (degemôu)



$$
d u-l-o \quad \text { milo- } u
$$

hear-IRR-FUT work-nFUT
'His mother (is) very pleased. The reason is that the child heard and did what his mother said.'

[^103]


| Yo=be | $\underline{e}=m e$ sosou | $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{q}$ | 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.'
1202) Godi=koû hoho hiye=do. Yo=be Godi=ha $\underline{a}=$ bô̂ kansole Soti=boû ele God=loc light big=int base=top God=gen 1s=and councillor Soti=and 1du.ex RESULT REASON (cont. next line)
bologuag $=$ do wo-l-ôu dala dege-i-moû.
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) | sokoûlou | duwo-di $=$ ha | $\underline{e}$ | $y o=b e$ | tewe | moû-l-a-moû. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | school | sit-HAB=GEN | 3s | base=тор | know | get-IRR-SUBJ-PFV |
|  | RESULT |  |  |  | REASON |  |

'... being in school its reason (is) to get knowledge.'
In the Mountain dialect the corresponding conjunction is beibe where bei means 'meaning'.

'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:

- simple purpose
- deliberate purpose
- imposed purpose
same subject
same subject
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 <br> CLAUSE ${ }^{178}$ <br> Purpose $_{\mathrm{I}} \quad \rightarrow \quad \mathrm{V}_{\text {Basic }} \mathrm{V}$

There are two verbs in a serial construction. The first verb, in its basic form, is the purpose of the second verb.


[^104]| 1206) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Ei } \\ & \text { 1PL.EX } \end{aligned}$ | môu <br> get <br> PURPOSE | $i-I-e$. go-IRR-FUT |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 'We will go in order to get (it).' |  |  |
| 1207) | $\boldsymbol{s a}$ <br> put.i <br> PURPOS | ```\ine``` |  |
|  | 'Give (it | to me) to put | in (my stringb |

### 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).

- -lamoû 'purposing to’ -l-a-moû -IRR-SUBJ-PFV

| Structure II - "Purposing" |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  | (CLAUSE) | CLAUSE | (CLAUSE)

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 -moû. 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) Sasai | e fiye so-l-u, ye | togo-I-a-moû. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| woman 3 3s thread twine-IRR-NFUT Stringbag | make-IRR-SUBJ-PFV |  |

'The woman is twining a thread in order to make a stringbag.'

| Ei | sogo | si-I- $a-m o u ̂$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 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) A}\mathrm{ sogo ga-l-a-moû dege---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 mih\underline{i}+ya i-l-i
    possum this=top earth+road go-IRR-NFUT
    E hebe sugu fa-l-a-moûu 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)adomoû. 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. ${ }^{179}$ 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.

- -adomoû 'in order to ...'/'in order for (sg.) ...' = (y)ado-moûu (=sqv-PFv)
- -mabadomoúu 'in order for you (du./pl.)/them to ...' -ma=b(e)=ado-moú (-Du/PL=TOP=SQv-PFv)
- -mebadomôu 'in order for us to ...' $-m e=b(e)=a d o-m o ̂ u \quad$ (-ноRT=TOP=SQv-PFV)
- -dayadomoû 'in order for (sg.) not to ...' -da= (y)ado-moû (-PROH=sQV-PFV)
- -damabadomoú 'in order for you (du./pl.)/them not to...' -da-ma=b(e)=ado-moû (-PROH-DU/PL=TOP=sQv-PFV)
- -damebadomoû 'in order for us not to...’ $-d a-m e=b(e)=a d o-m o u ̂ \quad(- \text { PROн-ноRT=TOP=SQV-PFV })^{180}$


## Structure III - Imposed purpose <br> (CLAUSE) CLAUSE <br> V(negative, number/person)=SQV-PFV/PFV.IRR <br> (CLAUSE) <br> Purpose $_{\text {III }} \quad \rightarrow \quad(\mathrm{V})$

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 diag=mokoû 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-moû.
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 kamai dou mi-gi-moû=be, ... tama}=koû=nôu dogogu-ba
man=TOPlantern fire light-OF.NFUT-PFV=TOP ... appear=LOC=only put.NFUT-PFV.IRR
o moso = koû dala-gua ke+di\underline{a}}k\mp@code{mai}\mathrm{ hoho ke dugu=yado-moû.
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:

ami o ke+dig=mokoú sese-gu-moûu wo-l-ou ya-i. army man that+3pL=LOC follow-OF.NFUT-PFV accompany-IRR-NPST go.DU/PL-NFUT
'...in order for them to crucify Jesus, Pilate finally handed him over to the soldiers, (and) they led him away.'
1215) Ta uwo bolo=fé $k \underline{a}=m e \quad d a m a l \underline{e}=d o \quad t \underline{a}, \quad$ ei $\quad d e f \underline{e}=d o$ talk noise good=total that=top true=int talk 1pl.ex careful=int

| dia | dala-di, | $n \underline{i}=m e \quad t \underline{a}$ | $b o l o=d o$ | $k \underline{e}=n o \hat{u}$ | sese-ma=b = ado-moú. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| watch.over | be/have-нав | 2pL=TOP talk | good=int | that=only | follow-du/pl=TOP=SQV-PF |
|  |  | PURPOS |  |  |  |

'The Gospel is true talk; we (excl.) watch over it carefully, in order for you (pl.) to follow only that good talk.'

[^105]| 1216) | $\underline{A}=g e$ | $d i=b e$ | Aye | Godi= boû, | $\underline{e}$ | Dihi | Yesu | Kelesu = boû + de |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1s=F.CNTR | 1PL. IN=TOP | fath | God=and | 35 | child | Jesus | Christ=and+prov |
|  |  | JRPOSE |  | ine) |  |  |  |  |

fí ta=noû dege dala-me-b+ado-môu kuhe tobo-l-oú. soul INDF=only do be/have-HORT-TOP+SQV-PFV so say-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) na \(\underline{a}\) toto sese-l-e i-da=yado-moûu ka-ge-môu toboû = 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-mou. 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) $\underline{E} \quad$ dobogôu $=$ ye ta-da-ma=b=ado-moûu $a+k o-g u-o-m o u ̂ \quad d i \underline{u}=m o k o u ̂ \quad$... tobo-u

3s hand=ins talk-PROH-DU/PL=TOP=SQV-PFV road+Cut-OF-FUT-PFV 3PL=LOC ... say-NFUT PURPOSE I
'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.

1221) $\underline{A}$ môu $\quad$ ợu $\underline{a} w a=b e \quad d u=y o \quad$ mei dege-môu, 1s nothing without.purpose=top 1s hear=indC neg do-PFV

Godi=ha tag koú $\underline{a}$ tawa-l-e=yado-moû.
God=GEN talk prior 1s know-IRR-FUT=SQV-PFV
PURPOSE
'Because while I (do) nothing, I do not hear/understand, (so) in order for someone to first teach me God’s Word, (I am here in this course).' (Mountain dialect)

If the final verb is in future tense, the quote verb =ade is in its medial perfective irrealis form =yadeba.

```
1222) Hiye \(o=h \underline{a}=g e \quad \underline{e} \quad b i+m \underline{\alpha}-\underline{i} \quad\) oloúfei \(=b e \quad o \quad k e-g e-i\)
    big man=gen=F.CNTR 3s thing+put-nFUT all.total=TOP man that-vBR-NFUT
                PURPOSE (cont. next line)
    \(k a=h a \quad\) dia dala=yade-ba maka-l-e.
    that=GEN watch.over be/have=SQV-IRR.PFV mark-IRR-FUT
        I
'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).

- $-b a=b e \quad$ (PFV.IRR=TOP) 'if/when'

| Structure I-Possible condition |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | CLAUSE | CLAUSE |
| Condition $_{\text {I }} \rightarrow \quad \rightarrow \quad$ V-PFV.IRR=TOP | V |  |


'If you ask me, I will immediately give (it) to you./As soon as you ask me I will give (it to) you.'

'A snake, ... if he sees a man, he will immediately bite in great anger.'
1225) na aso ke ha duwo-ba=be, na difi ta dugu-l-o mei=do, 2s sun that get.warm sit-PFV.IRR=TOP $2 s$ heat INDF see-IRR-FUT NEG=INT CONDITION CONSEQUENCE (cont. next line)
kulio $=y e=$ noû $\quad$ hiye $=$ do.
coldness=ins=only big=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, na 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 oloûfei $\quad k \underline{o u} u=m e ~ s t o a=k o ̂ u ~ d u g u-b a=b e$,
thing all.total this=TOP store=LOC see.NFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP CONDITION
na oloúfei moû fogoû-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'.



### 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 $-b a$ 'perfective irrealis' and the enclitic $=s i$ 'contrastive'. As with possible condition, the temporal relationship between the antecedent and the consequence may be close or unspecified.

- $-b a=s i \quad($ PFV.IRR $=$ CNTR) $\quad$ 'if/when'


1232) $\underline{A} d u-d i=b e$, sokoûlôu duwo de-ma tewe môu-ba $=$ si,
1s hear-HAB=TOP school sit PROV-ISQ know get-PFV=CNTR
CONDITION
sele dabai to-l-oú =yode tobo-l-oû i-moû du-di.
money work hold-IRR-NPST=IQV say-IRR-NPST go.NFUT-PFV hear-HAB
CONSEQUENCE I
'I hear them state and say that after finishing school and getting knowledge, in contrast to other ways, (that) will get (you) a money (earning) job.'
```
1233) O ta=h\underline{a} Tabubil=koû \underline{e} mogo dala-ba i-ba=si,
    man INDF=GEN Tabubil=Loc 3s friend be/have-PFV.IRR go.NFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR
    CONDITION
    e mogo =ha moso=koû tia-l-e
    3s friend=genhouse=Loc sleep-IRR-FUT
    CONSEQUENCE
    `But if somebody having a friend in Tabubil goes (there), (he) will sleep in his friend's
    house ...'
```


### 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).

- $d e-b a=b e \quad$ (PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP) 'if would (have) ..., would ...'

Structure III- Hypothetic condition

## CLAUSE

Condition $_{\text {III }} \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{aligned} & \text { V\#PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP } \\ & \text { N/ADJ\#PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP }\end{aligned}$

## CLAUSE

V
V (1239)

The form $d e-b a=b e$ (PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP) is the most common, but $d e-b a=s i($ PROV-PFV.IRR=CNTR) and $d e-b a$ (PROV-PFV.IRR) are also possible.

```
1234) a Godi=koû tobo-u, na ma fí mo-loúu de-ba=be,
1s God=LOC say-NFUT 2s 1s.POSS soul get-IRR-NPST PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP
                                    CONDITION
ma fi moúu-ba dugu-lo.
1s.poss soul get-PFV.IRR see-IRR-FUT
CONSEQUENCE
```

'... I said to God, if you would take my life, (I) would see you take it.'


| $n \underline{a}$ | aso | ke | $h a$ | duwo-ba = be, | na | difi | $t a$ | dugu-I-o |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2s | sun | that | get.warm | sit-PFV. IRR=TOP | 2s | heat | IND | see-IRR-FUT |
|  | TION | (po | ssible) |  |  | QUE |  | next lin |

```
mei=do, kulio = ye=noû hiye=do.
NEG=INT coldness=INS=only big=inT
```

'The sun comes up; (it) is very big, but if you sit in the sun to get warm, (and) when you ought to have felt the heat, you do not feel any heat at all; it is only very cold.'
1236) nib ma ta du-l-o sese-l-e-ba, di to tibi sa Krit 2PL 1s.poss talk hear-IRR-FUT follow-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR 1PL.IN river island land Crete CONDITION (cont. next line)
tôufogố-l-i mei de-ba=be hagī kôu ta dugu-l-o i=yo mei,
leave-IRR-NFUT NEG PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP heavy this INDF see-IRR-FUT go.nFUT=INDC NEG CONSEQUENCE (cont. next line)
di $b i+s a-i=b e \quad t a \quad$ mei dege-l-i mei.
1PL.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) $\underline{A}=$ ge midiho kasagaí ... ta milo-u de-ba=si,

1s=F.CNTR face bad ... INDF work-NFUT PROV-PFV.IRR=CNTR
CONDITION
$\underline{a}$ to-lo i-l-e $k \underline{e}=m e \quad t \underline{t}=b o u ̂ \quad$ mei.
1s die-IRR-FUT go-IRR-FUT that=TOP talk=and NEG
CONSEQUENCE
'If I had comitted a ... sin, I would die without a word '
1238) Kulio moso dala de-ba
coldness house be/have PRov-PFV.IRR
CONDITION
'If there was a refrigerator ...'
1239) O koúu=me ... Kelesu de-ba=be,
man this=TOP ... Christ PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP
CONDITION
$\begin{array}{llllll}\underline{e} \text { hebe fufuguo }+ \text { ma- }-\underline{i} & \text { toûfogoû } & \text { migi-ba } & d u g u-o-b a & d i \\ \text { 3s tree put.across+put-nFUT } & \text { leave } & \text { come.down.nFUT-PFV.IRR } & \text { see-FUT-PFV.IRR } & \text { 1PL.IN }\end{array}$ CONSEQUENCE
'If this man would be the Christ, he would leave (the) cross and coming down (we) would see and we (incl.) ...'

### 7.3.3.3.4 Negative condition

There are two kinds of negative conditions.

- ho fogoú-ba=be (desire\#leave.for-PFV.IRR=TOP) 'if not' a certain amount of control
- meide-ba=be (NEG\#PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP) 'if 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

CLAUSE

## CLAUSE

Condition $_{\text {IVa }} \quad \rightarrow \quad$ Vasicic \#desire\#leave-PFV.IRR=TOP

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.

\section*{Structure IVb - Negative condition <br> Condition $_{\text {IVb }}$$\rightarrow$| CLAUSE | CLAUSE |
| :--- | :--- |
| V\#NEG\#PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP |  |
| N/ADJ\# PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP |  |$\quad$| V |
| :--- |}

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) o ta dugu ho fogoû-ba=be, a pasta dogoûgu-l-o bolo=fé .
        man INDF see desire leave.for-PFV.IRR=Top 1s pastor help-IRR-FUT good=total
        CONDITION
    '... 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)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 1241) & Na & \(m \underline{a}\) & & \(d u\) & & fogôu-ba = be, \\
\hline & 2s & 1s.poss & talk & hear & desire & leave.for-PFV.IRR=Tор \\
\hline & & & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
    ne mogo \(+u\) a+ko-gu dala---i, ne sasai dihi
    2s.poss jaw+hole road+cut-of.nfut be/have-IRR-NFUT 2 s. poss woman child
    CONSEQUENCE (cont. next line)
    malag fele-i-ba, na ta tobo-l-oúu=yode tobo-u.
    get.IRR.FUT come. up-NFUT-PFV.IRR 2 s talk say-IRR-NPST=IQV say-NFUT
'"If you do not (want to) 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) midiho kasagai dia milo-l-oû i-di ke fogoû-ba boho-l-oû +ma face bad 3PL work-IRR-NPST go-hAB that leave.for-PFV.IRR turn-IRR-NPST+put CONDITION (cont. next line)
hagua ho fogoû-ba=be, dia tofigi-l-e fila-lee oloúfê.
come desire leave.for-PFV.IRR=TOP 3pL die.DU/PL-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.'
```



```
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline ho & fogoû-ba = be & \(n \underline{a}=m e\) & \(k o y o=h a\) & taga-l-e? \\
\hline desire & leave.for-PFV.IRR=TOP & \(2 \mathrm{~s}=\) TOP & who \(=\) gen & like-IRR-FUT \\
\hline & & CONSEQU & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
'If later I do not (want to) give back something that I was given, who will like you?' (a saying)
```

[^106]| 1244) | Sibige ma | ho | fogoû-ba = be, | $n \underline{a}$ | kuhe | $h a=y e d e$ | tobou. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | essence pu CONDITION | desire | leave.for-PFV.IRR=TOP | 2s | $\begin{aligned} & \text { so } \\ & \text { BQQUENCE } \end{aligned}$ | cut=oov | say-nfut |
|  | '"If (the tree) | not be | fruit, go ahead and cut it do | ," | instructe | nd said.' |  |

1245) Idiba huei to ho fogôu-ba=be, $\underline{a}=$ me yukuei bigi--le. tomorrow water wash desire leave.for-PFV.IRR=TOP 1s=TOP cloth wash-IRR-FUT CONDITION CONSEQUENCE
'If it will not rain tomorrow, I will wash clothes.'
1246) $\underline{a}$ dabai ta mei de-ba=be, $\underline{a}$ na kuhe hagua=yede tobo-u. 1s work INDF NEG PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP 1s 2s so come=oQV say-NFUT CONDITION CONSEQUENCE |
'... "If I do not have any other work, then I will tell you to come," he said.'
1247) Godi $=h \underline{a}$ yoû $\underline{e}$ sisigo oloûfei egele.wo-moû i-l-i. God=GEN 3s.EMP 3s children all.total punish.FUT-PFV go-IRR-NFUT
Ke-ge-moû, $n \underline{i}=m e \quad \underline{e}$ 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
damale $=d o, n \underline{i}=m e \quad \underline{e}$ sisigo $\quad$ mei.
true=INT 2pL=TOP 3s children neg CONSEQUENCE
'God keeps punishing all his children. So concerning you, if he does not punish (you), really, you (are) not his children.'
1248) Ni o hu = boû mei ta dogoûgu-l-i mei de-ba=be,

2PL man name=and NEG INDF help-IRR-NFUT NEG PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP
CONDITION
ni $\underline{a}=n e \quad$ ta dogoûgu-l-i mei.
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) nị ki-le o koyo $=h \underline{a}$ midiho kasagai ta miloû-l-i

2PL inside-A.LOCR man who=GEN face bad INDF work-IRR-NPST CONDITION (cont. next line)
mei de-ba=be sasai ke=me o $k a=h \underline{a} \quad \underline{e}-b u k o u ̂=d o \quad$ igi
NEG PROV-PFV.IRR=TOP woman that=TOP man that=GEN 3s-first=int stone
CONSEQUENCE (cont. next line)
mala $\quad f \underline{a}=y e d e$ tobo-u.
get.IRR.FUT hit+oQv say-nfut
'... "If whoever among you did not 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 Contrast

There are several different ways to signal contrast.

- neutral =si 'but'
- $k \underline{e}=n o ̂ u=s i \quad$ 'but'
(CNTR) any part of speech
(that $=$ only $=$ CNTR) between clauses or sentences
- appraisal =ye 'may/might ... but' (OPT)
between clauses
- =ye, kenoúsi 'even though ... may’
(OPT\#that.only.CNTR)
between clauses
- strong contrast $h a$
- =ye, ha 'may ... but even so'
- ha kenoús
'(... so it is) but' (a conjunction) ${ }^{182}$
(OPT\#but) between clauses
(but\#that.only.CNTR) between clauses

[^107]
## Neutral: =si and kenoûsi 'but'

One way to signal contrast is to use the discourse enclitic $=\boldsymbol{s i}$ '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 $-b a=s i(-\mathrm{PFV} . \operatorname{IRR}=\mathrm{CNTR})$ adds an extra component of meaning (see introduction to (1253) and (1254).

'Concerning people, no one is good, but only God he (is) very good..'

```
1251) O Kiunga=koû 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 $=s i$ occurs with the demonstrative ke '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, kenoûsi may also start a new sentence, so in the following example I cannot really say if kenoúsi is the end of the first clause or the beginning of the second.

'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.


Appraisal: =ye '... may/might ... but' and =ye, kenoûsi '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 ...'.


[^108]
# 1256) K $\underline{e}=n o ̂ u=s i \quad \underline{e}$ koû sokoûloû bologua duwe-i=ye, $\begin{array}{ll}\text { that=only=CNTR } & \begin{array}{l}\text { 3s prior school good.do sit-nFUT=OPT } \\ \text { CLAUSE }\end{array} \\ \text { CLAUSE }\end{array}$ 

| sadebe | e | haba | bolou | ke-ge | mei dege-l-i | mei. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| year | 3 s | but.PFV.IRR two | that-VBR | NEG | do-IRR-NFUT NEG |  |

'But he might have done/sat OK in school earlier, but (the) year he did again two (times), he did not finish.'
1257) Dia $\underline{e}$ tobo-loû koû du-l-o $\quad$ 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 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 ...'.


CLAUSE

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\mathbf{k} \underline{\boldsymbol{e}}=\boldsymbol{n o} \hat{\mathbf{u}}=\boldsymbol{s i} & \text { difi=be } m e i=d o . \\
\text { that=only=CNTR } & \text { heat=TOP NEG=INT } \\
& \text { CLAUSE }
\end{array}
$$

'Even though there may be a lot of sun at Ukarumpa, (it) really (is) not warm at all.'

| 1259) | $D o u=b e \quad \underline{e}=m e \quad b o l o=f \underline{e}=d o=\boldsymbol{y e}$, | $\boldsymbol{k} \underline{e}=\boldsymbol{n o u}=\boldsymbol{s i}$ | $\underline{e}$ | 0 | gala-di. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | fire=ToP 3s=ToP good=total=int=opt | that=only=CNTR | 3 s | man | bite-HAB |
|  | CLAUSE |  |  | AUSE |  |

'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 kenoúsi 'but even so'
The conjunction $h a$ '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 $=y e$ 'optative' or kenoûsi 'but'.

```
1260) Figi ilo left \(s i d e=k o u ̂=b e ~ b o l o=f e \underline{i} \quad\) dala,
    side part left side=Loc=top good=total be/have
    CLAUSE
```

    ha figi right side \(=k o ̂=b e\) do \(\quad\) 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 | $k a=h \underline{a}$ | folo, | sibige | ou, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 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) e}=ge o ilo ke-le=be dogoûgu-di=ye, ha yôu-sie ta
    3s=F.CNTR man part that-A.LOCR=TOP help-HAB=OPT but 3s.EMP-REFL INDF
    CLAUSE
    CLAUSE (cont. next line)
    dogoügu-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 kenoûsi means 'but even so'.
1263) Fofai hiye = do dala, ha ke=noûu=si sugua-i=bôu mei.
swelling big=int be/have but that=only=CNTR have.fever-nfut=andneg CLAUSE
CLAUSE
'(He) has (a) very big swelling, but even so, there is no fever with (it).'

In the Mountain dialect $h a$ 'but' is $\boldsymbol{h e}$.

| 1264) | A ke-ge-i-moû | kiyei ka | i-l-e-moû | dugu, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s that-VBR-NFUT-PFV | pandanus look.for | go-IRR-FUT-PFV see. NFUT | or NEG |  |
| CLAUSE | CLAUSE | CLAUSE | CLAUSE |  |
| '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 $h a$ 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) Ta kasagai, ha bolofei?
    talk bad but good=total
    'Is it bad or good talk?' (It is good.)
```

In asking the following question a real choice is implied.

1266) | Teme hiye o huyadefei? |
| :--- |
| sago.leaves big or little.total |

The two following examples are used as questions with the second clause/phrase replaced by an implied or explicit mei 'negative'.
1267) Na sugua-i=bôu o?

2s fever-nfut=and or
'Do you have a fever or (not)?'
1268) Soû na-l- $\underline{e}$ bolo o mei?
edible leaf.sp. eat-IRR-FUT good or NEG
'Do you eat "soû" leaves or not?'
1269) Sisigo sugua-i o malalia mola children have.fever-nfut or malaria medicine 'Fever or malaria medicine for children' (from a list of medicines)
1270) $N \underline{a} n a-I-\underline{e} \quad o \quad$ sele $n \underline{a} k a-g e=f \underline{e} i \quad$ dege-i, $\underline{a}=n e \quad n \underline{a} k e-g e=f \underline{e} i$ 2 s eat-IRR-FUTOr money 2 s how-VBR=total do-NFUT 1s=also 2 s that-VBR=total dege-I-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 o dala, a tewe mei. sugarcane=cntr see-IRR-nfut neg neg or be/have 1s know neg
'But I haven't seen any sugarcane. I don't know if there is any or not.'
1272) Nele hagua-l-e=be date 3 o $4 k a=h a=g e \quad . . . ~ h a g u a-m a$. 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 ...'
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { 1273) ha moû-l-i } & \text { mei } \\ \text { or get-IRR-NFUT NEG }\end{array}$
'... or didn't (he) get it?' (He got it, but the person saying it may have thought he did not.)
1274) Jon=ha fafeleya tofoû-di=be koyo=ha bi? $\quad$ O $k e+d \underline{a} \quad$ bi? 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) $O=b e$ hebe kolo ma-di ke dugu-di=be, hebe bolo=fei, man=TOP tree fruit put-нАВ that see-нАВ=тор 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 ounhe te-l-i mei?
    Jesus=top die or die-IRR-NFUT NEG
    'Is Jesus dead or not?' (Mountain dialect)
```


'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) | $o$ | $t a=h \underline{a}$ | asoû | kolo | sagai, | moso | sagai | kege-i | $t a$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | man | INDF=GEN | ground | skin | likely | house | likely | that-VBR-NFUT | INDF |
|  | dala be/ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { moú }=b e \\ & \text { lave-pFv= } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | '... | n a certa | man had | piec | land | hous |  |  |  |

1279) aso diho sasa de-ba=ne, tow de-ba=ne tob=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) o midiho bolo ta milo-u de-ba, haba ta miloû-l-i man face good INDF work-NFUT PROV-PFV.IRR but.PFV.IRR INDF work-IRR-NFUT
mei de-ba, $\quad G o d i=k o u ̂ ~ d a m a l e=y o d e-i-b a=s i, \quad G o d i=h a \quad o \quad k \underline{e}=m e$
NEG PROV-PFV.IRR God=LOC true=IQV-NFUT-PFV.IRR-CNTR God=GEN man that=Top
$d o \underline{u}=d o \quad o=y o d e ~ t o b o-l-o u$.
straight=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\underline{i} 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-oû i-moû 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.'

```
1283) Moso ke=me t\underline{g}=bo\hat{u} mei. Haba, moso k\underline{u}u=ne bolo=f\underline{e}.
        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 $=y e$ 'optative', preceded by a high vowel.
See 7.1 Illocutionary force: Optative.
Warnings may be preceded by:

- nioou tawaiboû '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) | Moú nothing | $\begin{aligned} & o=y e \\ & \text { man=INS } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & i-l-e=b e \\ & \text { go-IRR-FUT=TOP } \end{aligned}$ | kou prior WARNI | $\begin{gathered} \text { bolo }=\text { fe } i=y e \\ \text { good=total=oPT } \\ \text { VG(cont. next li } \end{gathered}$ | $y a-b a$ <br> go.DU/PL.FUT-PFV.IRR ) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $t a=f \underline{f e}$ i | totou | dege | $\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{y e}$ | do-moú |  |
|  | INDF=tot | al forg | fulness do-n | FUT $=0$ PT | 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) nīoû tawa-i=bôu, o ta=e ní=mokoûu ogoû-ga toboû-ba

2PL.EMP know-NFUT=and man INDF=INS 2PL=LOC lie-DU/PL say-PFV.IRR
WARNING (cont. next line)
$d u-l-o \quad i=y \boldsymbol{e}$.
hear-IRR-FUT go.nFUT=OPT
'... you better look out lest you obey/hear someone speaking lies.'
1286) $\underline{a} \quad .$. na do dege-i=ye do-moû = ne,

1s ... 2s sickness do-nfut=OPT PROV-PFV=also WARNING

I
diho baga tobo-l-oú.
eye close.eye say-IRR-NPST
'... so you won't get sick/lest you get sick, (for that) too, I pray.'
1287) Hiye $0, n \underline{a}$ toto $=d o \quad \underline{a}=b o u ̂+d e ~ i-m e$, big man 2 s quickly=int 1s=and+PRov go-HORT
ke-ge-l-i-gi ma dihi to-l-o i=ye.
that-VBR-IRR-NFUT-DSQ 1s.poss child die-IRR-FUT go.NFUT=OPT WARNING
'... 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 $-d a$ 'prohibitive' replacing the high vowel to get the "lest" meaning of the optative $=y e$.

```
1288) Godi \(=h \underline{a}\) 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 $d u$ '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. ${ }^{184}$ Another verb, where this complement structure occurs, is dusuag 'listen'.

| Structure I - Complementation with verbs of perception |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | CLAUSE | CLAUSE | CLAUSE |
| Verbs of Perception | $\rightarrow$ | $\mathrm{V}_{\text {PERCEPTION }}(=$ TOP $)$ | V(-PFV) | $\mathrm{V}_{\text {PERCEPtion }}$ |
|  |  |  | NPo |  |
|  |  | _one |  | $\uparrow$ |

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 -môu 'perfective', which is conjugated in such a way as to indicate a close temporal relationship and a different subject. ${ }^{185}$ If the main predication is future or hypothetic, the perfective suffix is the irrealis -ba. If the complement follows the verb of perception, ${ }^{186}$ that verb is a final verb, which may be marked by the topic marker $=b e$. 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 kaha tigo-u-moú du.
1du.EX dog that=GEN bark-NFUT-PFV hear.nFUT
CLAUSE

| 1291) | E su-l-u-di | dugu $=$ be | wai i-moû |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3s walk.around-IRR-NFUT-DSQ | see.NFUT=TOP | pig go.nFUT-PFV | see.nFUT |
| CLAUSE | CLAUSE | CLAUSE | CLAUSE |

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

| 1292) | Día dugu=be | Maria=boûu Josef=boû | dilie duwo-moû | dugu. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3pL see.nFut=top | Mary=and | Joseph=and | 3Du sit-PFV | see. NFUT |  |
| CLAUSE | CLAUSE |  |  |  | CLAUSE |

'They saw Mary and Joseph sitting (there).'

[^109]The verb dusuag 'listen' is the same kind of verb as $d u$, having the same complement structure.

```
1293) midiho gehe gehe miloû-go-u-môu diag dugu-o kesi-gi---e i ke
face new new work-du/PL-NFUT-PFV 3PL see-fut rouse-of-IRR-FUT go.nfut that
RELATIVE CLAUSE
CLAUSE (cont. next line)
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
tobo-l-ôu i-moûu dusua duwe-gue-i. \\
say-IRR-NPST go.NFUT-PFV & listen sit-DU/PL-NFUT \\
(serial verb) & CLAUSE CLAUSE
\end{tabular}
'... while they talked about the miracles they had seen and been amazed about, (the people) sat listening.'
```



```
'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) | E moso=koú folo-moû | dugu, du baha duwo-moû | dugu-o-moû |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3s house=LOc go.up. FUT-PFV | see | inside look sit-PFV | see-FUT-PFV |  |
| CLAUSE |  | CLAUSE CLAUSE | CLAUSE | CLAUSE |

'(We two) having gone up to his house saw him sit inside and wait and ...'
Note in the above example that folo-moú 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) | folo-moû $\quad$ dugu | folo-u-moû |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | go. up. FUT-PFV see.nFUT | go. up-nFUT-PFV see. nFUT |
|  | 'having gone up (he) saw' | '(he) saw someone go up' |

The verb mase 'look at' is also more intransitive than transitive.

| 1297) dilie diho ko $=$ koû kugu-moû, | bolog dege-i-moû | 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 taga '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 $=b e$ 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 oloûfei = do=be sawisie-i oloúféi
        that-VBR-PFV man all.total=INT=TOP be.day-NFUT all.total
    CLAUSE CLAUSE (cont. next line)
    mola taga-I-e-moû mala i-di.
    medicine like-IRR-FUT-PFV get.IRR.fUT go-HAB
                            CLAUSE CLAUSE
    'Having become like that, all people, at all times, having liked medicine keep getting it.'
1299) Gita a taga-l-i=be Yamaha ke taga-I-i.
    guitar 1s like-IRR-NFUT=TOP Yamaha that like-IRR-NFUT
    CLAUSE CLAUSE
    'The guitar I like is the Yamaha.'
```



### 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).

| $=o d e^{187}$ | indicative quote verb | 'state/say' | --- | --- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| singular object |  |  | 2\&3 dual/plural object | 1 dual/plural object |
| = ede | optative quote verb | 'direct/instruct' | $\begin{aligned} & (-d a)-m a=b e=e d e \\ & (-\mathrm{PROH})-\mathrm{DU} / \mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{TOP}=\mathrm{OQV} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & (-d a)-\boldsymbol{m e}=b e=e d e \\ & (-\mathrm{PROH})-\mathrm{HORT}=\text { TOP=OQV } \end{aligned}$ |
| $=a d e$ | subjunctive quote verb | 'assert' | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (-da)-ma=b=ade } \\ & (-\mathrm{PROH})-\mathrm{DU} / \mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{TOP}=\mathrm{SQV} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & (-d a)-\boldsymbol{m e}=b=a d e \\ & (-\mathrm{PROH})-\mathrm{HORT}=\mathrm{TOP}=\mathrm{SQV} \end{aligned}$ |
| $\begin{aligned} & =d=a d e \\ & =\mathrm{INT}=\mathrm{SQV} \end{aligned}$ | 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 - $d a$. Assertive medial forms are the forms used for imposed purpose described in 7.3.3.2.3.
1303) $\underline{E}$ tewe mei=yodi-I-i

3s know NEG=IQV-IRR-NFUT
'She says that (she) does not know./(She) does not know, she says.'
1304) o sasai $k e+d i \underline{a} \quad \underline{e}=m e \quad m o s o=k o u ̂ ~ d u w o=y o d e-j-m o u ̂ ~ d u-l-o ~ i . ~$ man woman that+3pL 3s=TOP house=LOC sit=IQV-NFUT-PFV hear-IRR-FUT go.NFUT '.. the people heard (other people) saying that he was at home/in the house'
1305) Aye Godi, na Eye Yesu migi=yede tobo-u. father God 2 s older.brother Jesus come.down=oQv say-NFut 'Father God, you told Big Brother Jesus to come down.'

[^110]The following two examples show a negative instruction with $=e d e$ 'direct/instruct'.
1306) o ta=koû tobôu-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 nị fi-da-ma=be=ede-i man part that+3PL face bad do-HAB that 2 PL 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.

'Some people said his hand would swell.'
Haba ilo $k e+d \underline{i} \underline{a}=g e \quad \underline{e}=m e \quad k e-l e=g e=n o u ̈$ but.PFV.IRR part that+3PL=F.CNTR 3s=TOP that-A.LOCR=F.CNTR=only
to-l-o $i-l-e=y a d e \quad t a w a-l-e \quad i$.
die-IRR-FUT go-IRR-FUT=SQV know-IRR-FUT go.NFUT
'But some said and thought he would suddenly die.'
... hagí ta tama dege-i-môu dugu-l-o i-l-i mei.
... heavy indf appear do-nfut-pfv see-IRR-fut go-IRR-NFUT NEG
'... they did not see anything bad happen.'

$$
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text { Ke-ge-i-moú, } & \text { dia }=\text { ge } & e=m e & \text { godi } & \text { ta }=\text { yade tawa-l-e } & \text { i. } \\
\text { that-VBR-NFUT-PFV } & \text { 3PL=F. CNTR } & 3 s=\text { TOP } & \text { god } & \text { INDF=SQV know-IRR-FUT } & \text { go.NFUT } \\
\text { 'So they said and thought he must be a god.' }
\end{array}
$$

The following sentence has a particle wa 'false assumption' showing that the assertion is definitely false.

```
1309) \(N \underline{a}=m e\) gisiai \(k a=h \underline{a}, \quad \operatorname{dia}=g e \quad w a\),
    \(2 s=\) TOP young that=GEN 3PL=F.CNTR false.assumption
    \(n \underline{a}=m e \quad\) moûu \(\quad o=y a d e \quad\) tawa-l-e \(i=y e\).
    \(2 s=\) 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 $=a d e$ 'assert', which translates into a purpose.

```
1310) \underline{A} ikoke ka i-l-e ke-ge=be, na sisigo ke+dia
    1s nail look.for go-IRR-FUT that-VBR=TOP 2s children that+3PL
    sokoûloû fi sele ta de ne-ba soloú=d=ade-ba i-l-e.
    school fee money INDF good give.FUT-PFV.IRR heart=INT=SQV-PFV.IRR go-IRR-FUT
    '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) Soboû sasai o=boû ke hiyou dege-da=yede-i.
    married.woman woman man=and that steal do-PROH=OQV-NFUT
    '"Don't (you sg.) steal a married woman," (he) instructed.'
```


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.'

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:

| toboû | 'say' |
| :--- | :--- |
| tawa | 'know/understand' |
| yodu | 'ask' |
| tog | 'speak' |
| hehegie | 'teach' |
| sima toboûu | 'answer/disagree' |
| fim $\underline{a}$ | 'think' |
| nala | 'write' |

Of these speech verbs, only toboû '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 ${ }_{\text {I }}$ | $\rightarrow$ | ( $\mathrm{V}_{\text {SPEECH }}(=$ TOP $)$ ) | QUOTE | (= $\mathrm{V}_{\text {IQV/OQV/SQV }}$ ) | ( $\mathrm{V}_{\text {SPEECH }}$ ) |

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 tobou '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, toboú '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 toboû 'say'
1313) Ta sawisie-i Molebe =ha tobo-u, da to to i-me=be=ede tobo-u. indF be.day-nFUT Molebe=GEn say-nFUt 1du. In river wash go-hort=top=oQv say-nfut 'One day Molebe said, "Let us two go swimming," (he) suggested and said.'
1314) $\underline{E}$ o ta tobo-u, ni oloûfei hagua-ma. 3s man talk say-NFUT 2PLall.total come-du/PL 'He said to (a) man, "You all come!"'
1315) ta tobo-l-oúu=be
talk say-IRR-NPST=TOP
'(it) says that .../(we) are saying that ...'
1316) Sa ke=me Ukarumpa=be hiye mei=yode tobo-I-ôu i-moû 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 $=d o, o \quad$ koû $=m e \quad G o d i=h \underline{a}$ Dihi=d=ade tobo-l-ou $\quad$ 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 toboú '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) $\begin{aligned} & \text { Oumemi kansole } \\ & \text { Oumemi councillor that=GEN tobo-l-oû-gi, } \\ & \text { Oay-IRR-NPST-DSQ Dahamo young.men=and Sesenabi }\end{aligned}$

| gisiai $=b o \hat{u}+d e$ | $i g a$, | Oumemi=koû ya-ma=be=ede-moû, | diag | iga-i. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| young.men=and+PROV | go.DU/PL.FUT | Oumemi=LOC | play-DU/PL=TOP=OQV-PFV | 3PL | go.DU/PL-NFUT |

'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) at Oumemi, they went.' (Mountain dialect)

## Examples with tawa 'know/understand'

1319) Ke-ge-moû, $\underline{a} \quad$ tawa-i=be, Godi=be $\underline{a}=b o u ̂+d e \quad d a l a=\boldsymbol{d}=\boldsymbol{a d e} \quad$ 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) $\underline{E}$ tawa-i=be, Yesu $\underline{e}=m e \quad G o d i=h \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ dihi=d=ade tawa-i. 3s know-nfut=top Jesus $3 \mathrm{~s}=$ Top God=gen child=Int=sQv know-nfut 'He understood that Jesus must for sure be God's son, (he) understood.'
1321) $\underline{E} \quad$ tawa-i=be, $\quad Y e s u=b e \quad G o d i=h a \quad$ 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 $d e$ to connect it to the complement.


See also two examples below under the heading of Examples with fima 'think', where fawa 'know' occurs in the last clause of each sentence.

The second quote structure comprises the verbs yodu 'ask' and $\boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{a}$ '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 $_{\text {II }} \quad \rightarrow \quad$ | $\left(\mathrm{V}_{\text {SPEECH }}(=\mathrm{TOP})\right)$ | QUOTE | (PROV) | (V ${ }_{\text {SPEECH }}$ ) |

## 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=koû yodu, na dihi hu=be kei=yode-l-e.
3pL Zechariah=Loc ask. NFUT 2 s child name=Top what=IQV-IRR-FUT
'They asked Zechariah, "What will you say (your) child's name (will be)?"'
1324) Dị Sekalaiya=koû yodu, $\underline{e}$ hu$=b e \quad k o y o ?$

3pL Zechariah=loc ask 3s name=top who 'They asked Zechariah, "What is his name?"'
1325) O ke+diag Sekalaya=koû yodu, na ne dihi hus=be kei man that+3pl Zechariah=LOC ask.nFUT 2 s 2 s. POSS child name=TOP what de yodu-moûu, e tobo-u, Jon=yode toboû-moû 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) ...’

ti-l-e de yodu-l-o i-moû Sekaraia $\underline{e}$ tobo-u, dihi kôu =ma=ha call-IRR-FUT PROV ask-IRR-FUT go.nFUT-PFV Zechariah 3s say-nFUT child this=TOP=GEN
$\underline{e} h \underline{u}=b e \quad J o h n ~ d e^{188}$ tobo-u.
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.'

```
1327) a moso taga-l-a-moû n\underline{a}=mokoúu yodu; na \underline{a}=mokoúu ikoke \underline{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.'
    1328) Bi ka-ge-i, di $\underline{e}=$ mokoú yodu=be, $\underline{e}$ di=mokoû ne-l-e.
thing how-VBR-NFUT 1PL.IN 3s=LOC ask.NFUT=TOP 3s 1PL.IN=LOC give-IRR-FUT
'Whatever we have asked him, he will give us.'

## Examples with $\boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{\theta}$ '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) E
    3s speak-HAB=TOP this-vBr(blTV) speak-HAB (noise of a cicada) Prov speak-HAB
    'He (a cicada) says like this," Uunien, uunien, uunien," (he) says.'
```

The verbs hehegie 'teach', sima toboúu 'answer/disagree', fima 'think' and nala '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 toboú 'say'. If fima 'think' introduces a quote and there is a coda it would normally be =ode 'state/say' followed by tawa 'know'.

## Structure III - Quotes

|  |  | (CLAUSE) ${ }^{189}$ | SENTENCE(=CLAUSE) | (CLAUSE) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Quote Sentence ${ }_{\text {III }}$ | $\rightarrow$ | hehegie (toboû)(=TOP) | QUOTE (= $\mathrm{V}_{\text {IQV }}$ ) | (toboú 'say') |
|  |  | sima(moû) toboû(=TOP) |  |  |
|  |  | fima $=$ (=TOP) | QUOTE $\left(=\mathrm{V}_{\text {IQV/SqV }}\right)$ | (tawa 'know') |

A quote related to the verb nala '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.

'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.'

[^111]The following example is not a quote but illustrates a common use of this verb with two objects.

```
1331) Niniba sa hiye=do Jona \underline{e i-l-e, o sasai} ke+di\underline{q}=mokou}\mathrm{ Godi=ha
    Nineveh land big=INT Jonah 3s go-IRR-FUTman woman that+3pl=Loc God=gEN
    ta he-hegi-e-i
    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'

```
1332) \underline{e} si-ma tobo-u, Godi=ha kuguo=koû=be kou-g(u)e nala-i
3s ?-ISQ say-NFUT God=GEN paper=loc=top this-vbr(bltv) write-nfut be/have
... Godi=h\underline{a ta ... k\underline{e} du-l-o sese-I-e i-I-i}
... God=gEn talk ... that hear-IRR-FUT follow-IRR-FUT go-IRR-NFUT
ka=h\underline{a}=noû}=si o sasqi tofo-u+sogo tofo-l-oú i-l-e=yode-i
that=GEN=only=CNTR 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 fima 'think'


'They thought about themselves (that) what they were doing must be bad, for sure they knew (that).'
1334) $\underline{E}$ fi+ma-moû dugu, Godi=ha tog gobo-u $k a=h \underline{a}$ 3s soul+put.fUt-PFV see.nFUT God=GEN talk break.nFUT that=GEN

| Godi=hag | $\underline{e}=$ mokoû | falesi | $n e-l-\underline{i}=\boldsymbol{d}=\boldsymbol{a d e}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| God=GEN | 3s=Loc | punishment | give-IRR-NFUT=INT=SQV |

tawa-l-e-moû, diho baga tobo-u, Godi=koû. 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'.
 'From that he thought about the people of Nineveh, (he) thought; God was helping them, (they) now sit well, (he) thought.'

## Examples with nalo 'write'

How to finish off a quote connected to the verb nala '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 toboú 'say' as a bridge between the quote verb and the word nala 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 nala is, i.e. the original meaning of the verb would be something like 'make a pattern/make lines'.

| 1336) igi dosogoúu dege-i=boû fo dege-i=boû+de nala-ga-i | ... | ke |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| stone black do-nfut=and white do-NFUT=and+PRov write-DU/PL-NFUT | $\ldots$ | that |
| 'a stone that is marbled' |  |  |

```
1337) Kuguo kôu \(=m e \quad \underline{a} \quad\) nalag-i.
    paper this=top 1s write-NFUT
    'I wrote this letter.'
1338) Moses = ha \(\underline{e}\) kuoloûu ta nalar-ga-i ko=koúu=be, \(\underline{e} \quad o \quad\) ta \(k a=h a\)
    Moses=GEN 3 s law talk write-du/PL-NFUT that=LOC=TOP 3 s man indF that=GEN
    hagua-l-e ke nalog-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) $\underline{e}$ koûu-g(u)e nalog-i, $\underline{e} h \underline{u}=b e$ Jon de nalo-u-moûu,
3s this-VBR(bLTV) write-nfut 3s name=top John prov write-nfut-pfv
fi $\quad h i y e=d o m a$ 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 + toboloû nalai 'stated and said and wrote' is not accepted by everyone.
```
1340) o ta=h\underline{a}
    man INDF=GEN play-NFUT=INS good do-NFUT-PFV
    e mo-\underline{u}=yode tobo-l-ôu nala-i.
    3s get-nFUT=IQV say-IRR-NPST write-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/sasai
true=IQV-NFUT man/woman
'a Christian' (literally: ‘a man/woman who says (something) is true’
1343) o $\underline{e}$ 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) (e) fisi-ba dabai dege=yado-moû
(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 $-d a$, spreads to the left until it comes to a perfective marker -mou (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 $t a$ is used (1347) and (1348). The indefinite marker may also occur somewhere in the negative scene itself.

1345) | Hegie hiye $a$ | i-l-e | sagai | dugu-l-o mei. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | hunger big 1s go-IRR-FUT likely | see-IRR-FUT NEG |  |
|  | NEGATIVE |  |  |

'(I) am not likely to go and taste hunger.'
1346) Bolou mei dege-moû, $\underline{\underline{e}}$ wini dege-l-i mei. two neg do-PFV 3s win do-IRR-NFUT NEG NEGATIVE
'Having finished the two (years), he did not pass his exams.'
1347) $Y_{o}=b e$, dig dabai ke=me ta to-l-ou-ba base=top 3pl work that=TOP INDF hold-IRR-NPST-PFV.IRR

NEGATIVE

| tofo-u + sogo | ke-ge = noú | dala-I-e | mei | $k a=h a$ | dege-mou. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| step-nfut+long | that-VBR=only | be/have-IRR-FUT |  | 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 + moû you sagai ke agudi-le + toû ke ta dobogoúu = ye water-A.LOCR+down 3s.EMP likely that heaven-A.LOCR+up thatindF hand=ins NEGATIVE (cont. next line)

```
ta dehega-ma-ba, Gode Kau=do e hu ta soúu-da.
INDF make-ISQ-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.
1349) Ofesi moso = koû dabai hiye=do dege-l-e tefele-gue-i,
office house=loc work big=int do-IRR-FUT stand-du/PL-NFUT
kasagai dege-i ta dugu-l-i mei.
bad do-nfut indF see-IRR-nfut NEG
NEGATIVE
Bolo $=$ fei $=$ 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.'

| $K \underline{e}=n o u ̈=s i$ | $\underline{e}$ | wai taha-i | fogoû-l-i | mei. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that $=0$ NLY=CNTR | 3s pig shoot-NFUT | hit.target-IRR-NFUT | NEG |  |
|  |  |  |  | NEGATIVE |

'He shot at the pig; (he) did not hit (it).'
1351) $K \underline{e}=n o u ̂=s i \quad e \quad \underline{e}$ gue hiye $=d o$, toto $=$ do taha-l-e e sagai mei. 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 $=b e$ finishes off a long relative clause and stops the effect of the prohibitive suffix - $d a$ from spreading.

```
1352) \(B i+m \underline{-} \underline{i} \quad b o l o=f \underline{i} \quad t a \quad d u g u-o-b a, \quad f \underline{i}=y e \quad\) môu \(d e-b a\)
    thing+put-nfut good=total INDF see-FUT-PFV.IRR Soul=ins get PROV-PFV.IRR
    \(\begin{array}{lll}\text { mei de tawa-l-e=be } & \text { taga-da } \\ \text { NEG PROV knOW-IRR-FUT=TOP } & \text { like-PROH } \\ & & \text { NEGATIVE }\end{array}\)
    'Having seen good (material) things, (and) knowing that you should not take any, do not desire it.'
    (Mountain dialect)
```


## Purpose and optative

The barrier for purpose and optative is the topic marker $=\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{e}$, cliticised to a final verb.
1353) Godi=ha $\underline{a}$ maka-i=be, o sasai diag=mokô̂u ke-ge-i ke God=GEN 1 s mark-nFUT=TOP man woman 3PL=LOC that-VBR-NFUT that

PURPOSE (cont. next line)
he-hegi-e = yado-moû.
RED. PL-Show-RED. PL=SQV-PFV
'God has marked me to teach these things to people.'
1354) Môu $o=y e \quad i-l-e=b e, \quad$ koû $\quad b o l o=f \underline{f e}=y e \quad y a-b a$ nothing man=ins go-IRR-FUT=TOP prior good=total=opt go.du/PL.FUT-PFV.IRR OPTATIVE (cont. next line)
$t a=$ fei $\quad$ totoû dege-i=ye do-moû 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 theme slot 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 deontic mood, e.g. imperative
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:

'(When) I (was) here some time ago, I and Yogu, after we two had said that (we) were going swimming (we) went.'
1356) $\underline{A}$ afu=do 1995 holiday a Debele=koû i. 1s earlier=int1995 holiday is Debele=loc go.nfut
'A long time ago, $I$, (during) the holiday of 1995, I went to Debele.'
1357) Afu ma $a y e=h \underline{a}$ ou ta ha-i. earlier 1s.poss father=GEN sago INDF cut-nfut
'Some time ago my father cut down a sago (palm).'

Other typical introduction devices marked as bold:

1360) $\quad$ Mola $=\boldsymbol{b e} \quad$ bolo $=f \underline{e} \boldsymbol{i}=d o, \quad \underline{e}=\boldsymbol{m e} \quad o \quad$ dogoûgu-di.
Medicine=top good=total=int 3s=top man help-hab
'Medicine is very good; it helps people.'
1361) $\underline{A}$ sa Dahamo tôufogôu fene + ya hague-i. Sa Ukarumpa=koû migi. 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) $\underline{A} \quad n \underline{a}=$ mokoû tawa-l-e ta toboû-l-a-moû. 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=féi=do. 1s.poss friend afternoon good=total=INT
'My friend, a very good afternoon.'

## Endings

Many stories and letters end with kenoufei 'that's all'. In the Mountain dialect the corresponding word is kehefei.

```
1364) \(M \underline{a} \quad\) to \(\underline{a} \quad k e=n o u ̂=f e i\).
    1s.poss talk that=only=total
    'That's the whole story.'
```

1365) Ke-ge-mố Sabu o biye-i ta =be 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) Má ta $\quad k e-h e=f \underline{f}$. 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
- demonstrative pro-verb linkage
- 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.

'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-ge-moû, dia ye | dihi | ke $\quad$ tu-l-o-moû | $d u g u=b e$, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that-VBR-PFV | 3pL | stringbag child that remove-IRR-FUT-PFV | see.NFUT=TOP |

dihi ta sa-l-a-moû dugu.
child INDF put.inside-IRR-SUBJ-PFV see.NFUT
'Then/Having become like that, they, having removed the small stringbag, saw that a child must have been put inside.'

| Ke-ge-moû, diag dihi ke fo-fo-l-ôu | dala-l-i, | hiye dege-i. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that-VBR-PFV | 3PL child that RED.PL-run-IRR-NPST | be/have-IRR-NFUT big do-NFUT |

Hiye dege-moû, $\underline{e}$ sasai hu-l-o, dihi su=do mo-u.
big do.nFUT-PFV 3 s woman marry-IRR-FUT child many=int get-nfut
'Then/Having become like that, they raised the child until he was grown up. Having grown up, he married and had many children.'

'Then/Having become like that, they called his clan Thunder Hiyandibi.'
Dibiye Hiygdibi hu $+t i$ fua $\underline{\underline{l}}-\underline{i} \quad$ ta $\underline{a} \underline{\underline{e}}=n o \hat{u}=f \underline{e} \underline{i}$.
Thunder Hiyandibi name+call break.open come.up-nfut talk that=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, a i-l-e-moûu goûsi dogogu.
    be.day-NFUT INDF 1s go-IRR-FUT-PFV trap put.NFUT
    'One day, I having gone, put a trap.'
```

    \(\begin{array}{llll}\text { Sabiyo-u-moû, } & \text { i-l-e-moû } & \text { dugu=be kueya to-u dugu. } \\ \text { be.morning-NFUT-PFV } & \text { go-IRR-FUT-PFV } & \text { see.NFUT=TOP cassowary hold-nFUT see.NFUT }\end{array}\)
    'Next morning at dawn, (I) having gone, saw that a cassowary was caught (there).
    

### 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 -mố '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 $\mathrm{H}-\mathrm{T}$ 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 ...'
```

... hueiboû, dibiyeboû hiyedo degei. Dibiye hiyedo fufuoumoû, ...
'... there was a lot of rain and thunder. While (the) thunder kept crashing, ...'
... migimôu dugu. Migimoû dugube, ... '... (they) saw ... came down. While seeing it come down, ...'
... hiye degei. Hiye degemôu, ...
'... (he) was grown up. Having grown up, ...'
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 kegemoúu '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. ${ }^{190}$

## A story about killing a hornbill

## Paragraph 1

$\underline{A}$ afu koûlege aboû Yoguboû ele to toloyodema i. Ele kokoû yai. Yolugi dugube, hebe hiyedo ta tafala. Hebe kumaha fukoû dugu, doûuva duwo. Duwomôu dugu fogoûmôu 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 Koloukkoû miloûmoû dugube, to gihou. To gihou dugumoû, ${ }^{191}$ haba boholoûma haguasigei. Ma mogoha dugu toboloû, da doûwa 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."'

Ele hebe hagima, tigi kagimamoû digigile fologai. Ele folo, doûwa u dobogôu kasuguomoû, doûwa toloúma wala i.
'After we two had cut sticks and cut vines, we tied them together and went up.the tree). We two went up and having inserted (our) hands in (the) hornbill hole, after grabbing (the) hornbill we killed it.'

## Paragraph 2

Kegemoûu, ele tobou, da ifi Godiha soloûdo damokôu 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.'

Godiha elemokoû soloûdo nei.
'God gave (his) love to us two (excl.).'

Ele Godikoú 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).


### 8.2.1.2.1 Different types of head-tail linkage

Even though the medial suffix -moú '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.

[^112]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

$\mathrm{H}-\mathrm{T}_{\mathrm{I}} \rightarrow \quad \mathrm{V}_{\text {Final. }} \mathrm{V}_{\text {MEDIAL }}$

> 'V-ed. V-ed and .../Having V-ed .../Having V-ed until ...' etc. depending on the medial verb suffixes

## Structure II - Head-tail linkage

$\begin{aligned} \mathrm{H}-\mathrm{T}_{\mathrm{II}} \quad \rightarrow \quad \mathrm{V}_{\text {FINAL. }} . & (\mathrm{V}-\mathrm{NFUT} / \mathrm{V}-\mathrm{ISQ}) \# \text { NEG\#do } \mathrm{MEDIAL} \\ & (\mathrm{V}-\mathrm{i} / \mathrm{u} / \mathrm{V}-m a) \text { mei dege-moú }\end{aligned}$
'V-ed. Having finished (V-ing) ...'

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.

'John baptized Jesus. (John) having finished baptizing Jesus, God said to Jesus, ...'
 man many=int 3pl ball play-IRR-NFUT man many=int ball play-nfut NEG do-PFV to to yo-l-u. $O$ dia to to to ma mei dege-moû, moso = kôu 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, dilie moso = kôu fogô̂-ma yo-l-u. do-NFUT-PFV 3Du house=Loc leave.for-ISQ go.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 nee-me. $\underline{E}$ ne-ma mei dege-ba, di oloûfêi children prize give-HORT 3s give-ISQ NEG do-PFV.IRR 1PL.INall.total
Dahamo = kôu dihi do malag 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 sokoûloû i-di. High sokoûloû duwo de-ma mei dege-i-môu=be, high school go-HAB high school sit PROV-ISQ NEG do-NFUT-PFV=TOP

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { sokoûloû } & \text { hiye }=d o & i-d i . \\
\text { school } & \text { big=INT } & \text { go-HAB }
\end{array}
$$

'... (children) habitually go to highschool. Having finished highschool, they immediately (and) habitually go to university.'


The Foothill dialect has another word dumu also meaning 'finished' which is used as well as mei dege.

| 1382) | $\begin{array}{ll}\text { awa } & \text { dio } \\ \text { black.palm } & \text { bone }\end{array}$ | so remove | Kebe |  | ilo $k e-l e=b o u ̈$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | ut a.peop | remove go.du/PL-NFUT a.people.group parthat-A.LOCR=and |  |  |
|  | ei oloûfei | folo-ga, | awa | dio | so-ma | dumu-moû, |
|  | 1PL.EX all.total | go.up-du/PL.FUT | black.palm | bone | remove-IsQ | finish.nfut-PFV |
|  | moúu + ma hagua-sig | e fele-ga-i. |  |  |  |  |
|  | get+put come-du/p | L.fut come.up-d | /PL-nfut |  |  |  |
|  | '... we went to remove removing strips of blac | rips of black palm. <br> palm, we got it all | ome Kebe (рео and came and an | e), to ed (b | we all went <br> k).' (Foothill | and finishing ect) |

### 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 -moú '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 sokoûloû duwei ta susulamoû (heading)
'Wanting to tell a story about Keta going to school (heading).'
Ketabe éme Debele dihi. E afudo 1991 kelege Dahamokoûu sokoûloûu duwei. E sokoûloû duwoli, sadebe bolou bolou, bolou de mei degemoû, tewe hiyedo moloû 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, e sokôuloû hiyedo Kiungakoû biyo i, 1997 kelege. Sadebe oloûféi bolou. Bolou mei degemôu, $\underline{e}$ 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, e sokoûloû koû duwei kenoû haba duwei. É ke degei kaha tewe hiyedo mou. Sadebe 2007 koúmahage e eme medigo sokoulloú ile. Kalai sa koúlibe 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 koúumaha yomogoû a tefei solôu bolofêido.
'Because of being like that, this kid is starting to open a closed door (and it is) good.'
Ketaha sokoûlou duwei tą susube kenốferi. (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.

### 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 kelegemoú '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-moù | (that-VBR-NFUT-PFV) | 'being like that' | close, immediately |
| ke-ge-moû | (that-VBR-PFV) | 'having become like that' | later unspecified |
| ke-ge dege-moú | (that-VBR\#do-PFV) | 'because of having become like that' | later unspecified |
| ke-ge-i dege-moû | (that-VBR-NFUT \#do-PFV) | 'because of being like that' | later unspecified |
| $k e-g e-b a$ | (that- VBR-PFV.IRR) | 'when (it) will have become like that' | later unspecified |
| $k e-g e-b a=s i$ | (that-VBR-PFV.IRR=CNTR) | 'in that way, in contrast to other ways' | later unspecified |
| $k e-g e-i-b a=s i$ | (that-vBR-NFUT-PFV.IRR= | 'being like that, in contrast to other ways' | close, immediately |
| ke-le-ge-moú | (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.
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { 1383) hagi } & \underline{a}=b o u ̂+d e & d a l a . \\ \text { heavy } & \text { 1s=and+PRov } & \text { be/have }\end{array}$
Ke-ge-i-moî, $\underline{a} \quad f i+m \underline{a} \quad d u g u=b e$
that-VBR-NFUT-PFV 1s soul+put.FUt see.nFUT=Top
‘... I have a problem.
Being like that, I thought and saw that ...'

| 1384) | Ke-ge-ba, $\underline{i} i$ | $\underline{a}=$ mokoú | tobo-l-oú |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that-VBR-PFV.IRR | 2 PL | 1s=Loc | say-IRR-NPST |

'... When (it) will have become like that, you will say to me ...'
1385) $n \underline{a}=g e \quad a m a=f \underline{i} \quad$ he-hegi-e-moú $\quad$ i. $\quad$ Ke-ge-i-ba=si, 2s=F.CNTR quiet=total RED.PL-show-RED.PL-PFV go.NFUT that-VBR-NFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR Godi=ha dege-i=ye, die fí boho-l-oú-ba God=gen do-nfut=ins 3pl.poss soul turn-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 ...'
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { 1386) } & \text { Afu } & m \underline{a} & a y e=h \underline{a} & \text { ôu } & \text { ta } & h a-i . \\ \text { earlier } & \text { 1s. ... } \\ & \text { fass } & \\ \text { father=GEN } & \text { sago } & \text { INDF } & \text { cut-nFUT ... }\end{array}$


Ke-le-ge-moû $\quad \underline{e}$ kisi.
that-A. LOCR-VBR-PFV 3s make.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 a i-l-e-moûu goûsi dogogu. be.day-NFUT INDF 1s go-IRR-FUT-PFV trap put.NFUT
'One day I having gone, put a trap.'

'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 = koû folo-ga-môu, igi si+má-moû dege-i house=LOC go.up-DU/PL.FUT-PFV stone cook+put-PFV do-nFUt

```
wai so-loû na-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-moû, | Asele | dilie | $\underline{e}$ | sasai | Dasame | dilie |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| be.morning. FUt-PFV | Asele | 3du | 3s | woman | Dasame | 3du |
| Malí $\underline{o}=k o u$ |  | -m |  |  |  |  |
| Malin mouth.of.ri | $r=L O C$ | . DU/P | UT-P |  |  |  |

'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 tow (heading)
'(A) story about building (a) house' (heading)
A afu 1995 kaha Bobaho ele moso togolamoû hebe mou. Mou diafigi. Mou diafigima moúrna
haguei. Moso togolo sa kokoú 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 môuma haguei mei degei, ele asoû dai. Asoû dama, hebe ke fofoguei.
'(We) finished bringing all (the) posts (we) had cut; the two of us dug holes. Having dug (the) holes, (we) raised (the) posts.'

## Hebe fofoguei mei degemoû, ele hebe tagetoû mai. Mama ikoke wei,

'Having finished raising (the) posts, the two of us put cross beams on top. After putting (them), (we) nailed (them) down.'

Mei degemoû, sage sai.
'Having finished, (we) put on rafters.'

Sage sama mei degemoû, digo mama, teme gobou.
'Having finished putting on (the) rafters, after putting on wild pandana strips, (we) folded sago leaves (over the pandana strips).'

Teme gobou mei degemoû, awa dio fai.
'Having finished folding (the) sago leaves, (we) put on flooring of black palm strips.'
Awa dio faí mei degemoûu, moso duledu temeí faí.
'Having finished putting on (the) flooring of black palm strips, inside the house, (we) put on smaller black palm strips.'

Temei fai mei degemoû, dou moso bologuai. Dou hebema toûma kuhe tiadi.
'Having finished putting on (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 kenoufei. (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 asô̂u da-i. Asoû da+ma, hebe ke fo-fo-gu-e-ï.
    ... 1dU.EX ground dig-NFUT ground dig+put tree that RED.PL-rise-OF-RED.PL-NFUT
    '...the two of us dug holes. (We) dug holes and raised (the) posts.'
```

| Hebe fo-fo-gu-e-í | mei dege-moû, | ele | hebe |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 1dU.EX tree |  |  |

tage + toûu mag-i. Ma-ma, ikoke we-i.
over+up put-nfut put-ISQ nail attack-NFUT
'Having finished raising (the).posts, the two of us put crossbeams on top. After putting (them), (we) nailed (them) down.'

```
Mei dege-moû...
```

NEG do-PFV
'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 $-\{b e\}$
- 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. ${ }^{192}$ 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 to (heading)
'(A) story about working (on an) airstrip' (heading)
$\underline{A}$ afu 1981-82 Sepe 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 $\underline{\text { e }}$ hbe Sepe o.

'(The) river, its name is the Mouth of the Smipen.'
Bôu e hube Woodyard, Vance Woodyard, éboû aboû Dipaiboûu fele gabu miloloû i. Fele gabu sabe fofou hiyedo. Habiya o sudo milolou 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, $\underline{e}$ hube Someke. O hu oloûfę nalai. Eme bose.
'(The) medical orderly, his name was Someke. (He) wrote (down) all (the) names of (the) people (working there). He was (the) boss.'

Kege miloloû ibe, gusubu 8:00 ilemoú 12:00. Mesiholo duwodi. 1:00 bala wodi. O oloúfei dabai degedi ibe domoú, habi 4:30 fogoû idi. O oloúuei mosokoû 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 g miloube, hiyg oloúfeibe 2 years.
'The work I (did) of building (the) airstrip went on for all of two years.'
Mei degei, fele fiyei. ${ }^{193}$
'(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 $=n e$ 'also' ${ }^{194}$
- frequent use of tabe 'another thing' ${ }^{195}$

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'

[^113]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) | $\underline{A}$ | sa | Dahamo | toufogoú | fene $+y a$ | hague-i. | Sa | Ukarumpa = kồ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1 s | land | Dahamo | leave | airplane+road | come-nfut | land | Ukarumpa=Loc |

$$
\text { migi. } \quad \text { Sasama } \quad k a=h \underline{a} \quad \text { Ukarumpa=koûu migi-l-e-moû, tie-i moso }
$$ come.down-nfut ring.finger that=gen Ukarumpa=Loc come.down-IRR-FUT-PFV sleep-nfuthouse

| bolo $=$ fe $i=d o=k o u$ | fele-i. | Ke-ge-moú, | $\underline{a}$ | hoho | hiye $=$ do | dege-. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

'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.'

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.


'Close by, there are no trees; (there) is only dirt/ground. Concerning the trees, (there) are only those planted by man from seedlings.'

| 1393) Sa Ukarumpa | aso hiye=do dala=ye, | ke=noû=si | difi=be mei=do. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| land Ukarumpa | sun big=INT be/have=oPT | that=only=CNTR | heat=TOP NEG=INT |
| Theme | CLAUSE |  | CLAUSE |


| Aso fe-i | hiye = do dala, | $\underline{k e}=n o \hat{u}=s i$ | na difi | $k \underline{e}=$ bout | $d u-1-o$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sun rise-nfut | big=int be/have | that=only=CNTR | 2s heat | that=and | hear-IRR-FUT |
| CLAUSE | CLAUSE |  | CLAUSE | (cont. next | line) |


| de-ba, | na aso ke | ha | duwo-ba=be, na difi ta |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| PROV-PFV.IRR | 2s sun that get.warm |  |  |
|  | CLAUSE |  |  |

$$
m e i=d o, \text { kulio }=y e=\text { noú } \quad \text { hiye }=\text { do. }
$$

NEG=INT coldness=ins=only big=int
CLAUSE
'Even though Ukarumpa may have a lot of sun, there is no warmth at all. (The) sun comes up; (it) is very big, but if you sit in the sun to get warm, (and) when you ought to have felt the heat, you do not feel any heat at all; it is only very cold.'

[^114]The next example is a paragraph of Pastor Motousi's descriptive story. The word kegemoú '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'.

'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 - $d a$ and the quote verb $=e d e$ '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).

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { 1395) } & \text { Di } \quad \text { Kau = do = be Gode = noû. } \\
\text { 1PL. in big=INT=TOP God=only } \\
\text { 'Our Big (One is) God only.' }
\end{array}
$$


dehega-ma-ba, Gode $K a u=d o$ e hu ta sôu-da.
make-ISQ-PFV.IRR God big=INT 3 s 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 =ha Howo koû de mei=yode tobo-lôu-ba, Gode=ha hu soû-da. God=GEN child prior PROV NEG=IQV say-IRR-NPST-PFV.IRRGod=GEN name call-PROH 'Having previously rejected/stated and said no about) God’s Son, do not call (out) God’s name.'

'"On Sunday, having believed in God, having (started to) rejoice, (you) must sit down," (he) instructed.'

| Sisigo | $n \underline{i}=n e$ | adioú | aye | $k e+d \underline{\underline{a}} \underline{t} \underline{\underline{a}}$ | $d u$ | susu-ma = yede-i. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| children | $2 \mathrm{pL}=\mathrm{also}$ | mother | father | that+3pt talk | hear | go.on-DU/PL=OQV-NFUT |

"'Children, you (pl.) too must continue to hear the talk of (your) parents," (he) instructed.'
Sasai o to =yade-ba wala to-da.
woman man die=sQv-PFV.IRR attack.IRR.FUT die-PROH
'Do not attack people in order for them to die.'
Soboû sasai o=boû ke hiyou dege-da=yede-i. married.woman woman man=and that steal do-PROH=OQV-NFUT
'"Do not steal a married woman," (he) instructed.'
Hiyou môu-da=yede-i.
steal get-PROH=OQV-NFUT
""Do not steal," (he) instructed.'
Ta sigo wo-da=yede-i.
talk lying attack-PROH=OQV-NFUT
'"Do not kill by lying," (he) instructed.'

| $B i+m a-\underline{i}$ | $b o l o=f \underline{i}$ | $t a$ | dugu-o-ba, | $\underline{f i}=y e$ | moú | de-ba |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| thing+put-nfut | good=total | INDF | see-FUT-PFV.IRR | soul=ins | get | PROV- |
| mei de tawa-l | $e=b e$ | ga- |  |  |  |  |
| EG | IRR-FUT=TOP | like- | ROH |  |  |  |

'Having seen a good (material) thing, (and) knowing that (you) should not take it, do not desire it.' (Mountain dialect)
1396) Dihi koûu $=m e \underline{e} \quad a d i o u ̂=h \underline{a}$ huei doû $i=y e d e-m o u ̂$,
child this=TOP3s mother=GEN water draw go=oQv-PFV
huei doû i, $\underline{e} h a b a \quad m o s o=k o u ̂ ~ b o h o-l-o u ̂+m a ~ i-l-i . ~$
water draw go 3s but.PFV.IRR house=LOC turn-IRR-NPST+put go-IRR-NFUT
$\underline{E}$ adioû hoho hiye = do. Yo=be, dihi $\underline{e}$ adioû $=h \underline{a}$ ta du-l-o milo-u. 3 s mother light big=int base=TOP child 3 s mother=GEN talk hear-IRR-FUT work-nfut
'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=boû mota=boû, $\underline{a}$ mo-l-ôu bolo = féi=yode toboû-moû 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

[^115]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.

1400) Yo=be $\underline{a}=m e$ hagí hiye=do dala $k a=h \underline{a}$ dege-i-moû. 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.'
1401) No date 3-4 Edolo = koûu hagua-I-e. 2s date 3-4 Edolo=Loc come-IRR-fUT Appeal
'On (the) third (or the) fourth you (sg.) will come to Edolo.'
Friday $5 k a=h \underline{a}=g e \quad$ sisigo 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.'
$\underline{E}$ ne-ma mei dege-ba,
3s give-ISQ NEG do-PFV.IRR
'After having given it (the prizes), ...'

| di oloûfei | Dahamo=koûu dihi do | malg | i-me. |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1pL.IN all.total | Dahamo=Loc child sickness get.IRR. FUT | go-HORT |  |  |  |
| Desired outcome |  |  |  |  |  |

'... let all of us take the sick child and go to Dahamo.'

| Saturday 6 ka=ha di oloúfei | Dahamo i-I-e. |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 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.'
1402) Wednesday $3 \mathrm{ka}=$ ha nele Edolo = koûu hagua-ma.

Wednesday 3 that=GEN 2du Edolo=Loc come-du/PL
Appeal
'On Wednesday the third, you two, come to Edolo.' (imperative)
1403) $\underline{A}$ taga-l-i=be, dihi do malag Dahamo=kồ i-l-e, 1s like-IRR-NFUT child sickness get.IRR.FUTDahamo=Loc go-IRR-FUT

Desired outcome (cont. next line)
Saturday $6 k a=h a=g e$.
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) Dugu-o-moû, dia tobo-u, na ne Godi=koûu gulu gulu tobô̂-ba,
see-fut-pFV 3PL say-nfut 2s 2s.poss God=Loc close.eye x2 say-PFV.IRR Appeal
ei maka-l-adi ke fogo-l-oû.
1PL.EX destroy-IRR-PRos that leave.for-IRR-NPST
Desired outcome

Jona $=h \underline{a} \underline{e}$ dig$=m o k o u ̂ ~ t o b o-u, ~ k \underline{o u}=m e ~ \underline{a}$ kasagai. Ni $\underline{a}$ mala,
Jonah=GEN $3 \mathrm{~s} 3 \mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{LOC}$ say-NFUT this=TOP 1 s bad 2 PL 1 s get.IRR.FUT
Reason Appeal (cont. next line)
$\boldsymbol{t} \underline{\underline{a}}-\mathrm{le}=\mathrm{kou} \quad$ hebe-l-e filg-ma $=b e+e d e$ tobo- $u$.
river-A.LOCR=TOP carry-IRR-FUT throw-DU/PL=TOP+OQV SAy-NFUT
I
'Having seen, they said, "When you (sg.) pray to your God, our (excl.) immediate destruction will go away/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 ${ }^{198}$. The wrong action with its undesired outcome is stated last in the sentence.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 1405) Godi=hata=be tawa-ga-i o } k a=h \underline{a}=n o \hat{u} \quad i-b a=s i \quad \text { bolo }=\text { fei. } \\
& \text { God=GEN talk=TOP know-DU/PL-NFUT man that=GEN=only go.nFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTRgood=total } \\
& \text { Desired action } \\
& \begin{array}{lllll}
\text { Moú } & \text { o=ye } & i-l-e=b e & \text { koú } & \text { bolo=fei=ye } \\
\text { nothing man=INS } & \text { go-IRR-FUT=TOP } & \text { prior } & \text { good=total=0PT } & \text { go-ba } \\
& & \text { go/PL. FUT-PFV.IRR }
\end{array} \\
& \text { Undesired action } \\
& \text { dege-i=ye do-môu } \quad k o=k \hat{u}=g e=n o \hat{u}=f \underline{f e} . \\
& \begin{array}{ll}
\boldsymbol{t a}=\text { fei } & \text { totou } \\
\text { INDF=total forgetfulness } & \text { do-NFUT=OPT PROV-PFV that=LOC=F.CNTR=only=total }
\end{array} \\
& \text { Undesired outcome }
\end{aligned}
$$

'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, na dihi kôu tiga. /Gilbert
    friend \(2 s\) child this tie.IMp Gilbert
    '"My friend, dress (the wound) of this child!" /Gilbert’
```

[^116]This example is also from the elementary school teacher.

| 1407) | Sawisie-i be.day-nfut | $\begin{aligned} & 28 / 04 / 2008 \\ & 28 / 4 / 2008 \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \mathbf{M a} \\ & 1 \mathrm{~s} . \mathrm{PoSS} \end{aligned}$ | mogo friend | gusugu morning | $\begin{aligned} & \text { bolo }=\underline{f e i}=\text { do } . \\ & \text { good=total=INT } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Na pesole | de | dala? | Dala-ba | $=b e$, | nag $\underline{\boldsymbol{a}}=$ mokou | 8 | ke-ge | ne. |
|  | 2s pencil | good | be/have | be/have | -PFV.IRR=TOP | 2s 1s=LOC | 8 | that-VBR | give.IMP |
|  | Ta $\boldsymbol{k} \underline{e}=\boldsymbol{n o}$ talk that= | $\begin{aligned} & =\underline{\text { efi }} . \\ & \text { nly=tot } \end{aligned}$ | $\text { tal Gilbe } \begin{gathered} \text { Gilb } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \operatorname{srt}=h \underline{a} \\ & e r t=G E N \end{aligned}$ | nala-i. <br> write-nfut | Gilbert <br> Gilbert |  |  |  |

'(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.
1408) Solon, Britten, $\underline{a}$ nele=mokoû tawa-l-e ta toboû-l-a-moû. Tawa-l-e Sören Britten 1s 2du=Loc know-IRR-FUT talk say-IRR-SUBJ-PFV know-IRR-FUT
$t \underline{a} \quad k \underline{e}=m e \quad k o u-g(u)-e, \quad \underline{a}=m e ~ h a g \underline{i} \quad h i y e=d o$ dege dala.
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, $\quad \boldsymbol{t} \underline{a}=b e \quad k e=n o ̂ u=$ fei.
friend talk=тор that=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 $t \underline{a}$ 'talk'. The second part says to report what has been said and heard to the addressee.

```
1409) CHW training t\underline{a} k\underline{e} dokta=ha tobou-ba du-l-o-ba,
    CHW training talk that doctor=GEN say-PFV.IRR hear-IRR-FUT-PFV.IRR
    na Morobert e=mokoû toboû.
    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.

The second example has three imbedded reported direct quotes. In this example too, the verb $d u$ '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-moû, $\underline{e}$ fogoû hagua-l-a-moû dege-i, Edolo child INDF ... holidaydo-nfut-pFV 3s leave.for come-IRR-SUBJ-PFV do-nfut

$\boldsymbol{m a} \quad \boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{i s} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{h a} \quad \underline{a}=\boldsymbol{m o k o u}$ tobo-u=be, na sadebegehe sokoûloû fi 1s.poss teacher=GEN 1s=LOC say-NFUT=TOP2s year new school fee
$m a-l \underline{e}=b e$ sele 500.00 kina ma-le. put-IRR-FUT=TOP money 500.00 kina put-IRR-FUT
$\underline{E}$ ke du-l-o-mô̂ hagua, $\underline{e}$ o ei môu tobo-u.
3s that hear-IRR-FUT-PFV come.fUt 3 s man 1PL.EX nothing say-nfut
Ei o ei to ke du-l-o-moûu
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. Our people having heard that, ...'

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.

$k e-g e-l-i \quad k \underline{e}=m e, \quad d i n g i=b o u ̂ \quad m o t a=b o u ̂ \quad \underline{u} \quad$ mo-l-oúu that-VBR-IRR-NFUT that=TOP dinghy=and outboard.motor=and 1s get-IRR-NPST
bolo = fei = yode toboû-mồ, gamani ke+dig $k \underline{e}=s i \quad$ bolo $=$ fei $=y o d e-m a$ good=total=IQv say-PFV government that+3PL that=CNTR good=total=IQV-ISQ

## we-i.

attack-nfut
'(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 $d a$ '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 $d a$ 'we two inclusive'. The second example is an idiom.

| 1412) | $Y e s u=h \underline{a}$ | $d a$ | ka-ge | hagi | hiye $=$ do | dege $-/-i=b e$ | $\underline{e}=$ mokoú | toboú-ba, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Jesus=gen | 1du.IN | how-VBR | heavy | big=INT | do-IRR-NFUT=TOP | $3 \mathrm{~s}=\mathrm{LOC}$ | say-PFV |


| $\underline{e}=g e$ | haba | $d a$ | hagi | hiye $=$ do | dege-I-i | $k \underline{e}=m e$ | $\underline{e}=g e$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 3s=F. CNTR | but. PFV.IRR | 1du. In | heavy | big=int | do-IRR-NFUT | that=top | 3s=F.CNTR |

huyafei dege-ma fogo-l-oú =yode tobo-u, $\underline{a}$ dugu.
small do-ISQ leave.for-IRR-NPST=IQV 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-oú sagai mei.
    car road=also many=INT 1dU.In know-DU/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.

'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=be hagua-I-adi+y+o, x3 sa sibige =koú=be.

Jesus=top come-IRR-PROS+TRSv+v x3 land essence=Loc=top
Di damale =yode-ba=si x3 hebeni hoho di dugu-l-o.
1PL.IN true=IQV-PFV.IRR=CNTR $x 3$ 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) Yesu ma eye na hebeni=kôu duwo. Jesus 1s big.brother 2 s 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 Aye Godi, $n \underline{a}=m e$ hebeni king. Thank.you father God 2s=тор heaven king

$$
A f u=d o \quad a f u=d o=n o ̂ u \quad \text { ke-ge } \quad \text { dele-i. }
$$

earlier=Intearlier=INT=only that-VBR be/have-nfut

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { Ifi }=n e & k e-g e & d a l a . \\
\text { today=also } & \text { that-VBR } & \text { be/have }
\end{array} \\
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { Haba=ge=ne } & \text { ke-ge } & \text { dala-l-e. } \\
\text { but.PFV.IRR=F.CNTR=also } & \text { that-VBR } & \text { be/have-IRR-FUT }
\end{array}
\end{array}
$$

'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 | O Kama+dia | ni | mei | dege-di tewe mei. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| God | Jesus Holy.Spirit man middle.finger+3pL | 2PL | NEG | do-HAB | know NEG |

Ke-ge-i dege-môu $\underline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ ifi gusugu na=mokoûu tenkyu=di-l-i. that-VBR-NFUT do-PFV 1 s today morning $2 \mathrm{~s}=$ 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.).'
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { Aye } & \text { Godi, Yesu, Holi Spirit Duo } & \text { Bolo=fei. } \\ \text { father God } & \text { Jesus Holy Spirit spirit good=total }\end{array}$
'Father God, Jesus, Holy Spirit Totally Good Spirit.'
Ifi gusugu, a=bôu, mou abôu, ei ne to $\underline{a}$ koû, ne $\underline{\text { ta }}$ Godi,... todaymorning1s=and grandpagrandma1pl.EX 2s.poss talk this 2s.poss talk God...

nele oloûfé ei=mokoûu ne-ba, ei kuhe ne tou strength all.total 1PL.EX=LOC give-PFV.IRR 1PL.EX so 2s.poss talk
bohoû-l-a-moû na = mokoûu 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).'

Ne hu damale = do Godi, Yesu. Amen. 2s.poss name true=int God Jesus amen
'Your name is true God, 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 $=\{b e\}$.

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 $=\{b e\}$, an enclitic that may occur on almost any word, of any word class, except particles/interjections. It has four allomorphs.

- $=m e-$ phonological variant of $=b e$, occurring following nasal personal and demonstrative pronouns
- =b - occurs before the subjunctive quote verb =ade in forms with plural object
- $=m a-$ occurs preceding $=h \underline{a}$ '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 -moúu '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.

1420) Aso $k \underline{o} \underline{u}=m a=h \underline{a}=g e \quad \underline{e} h o h \underline{o}$ dege-l-i. $\underline{E} \quad$ hoho$=b \boldsymbol{b} \quad h i y e=d o$. sun this=TOP=GEN=F.CNTR 3s light do-IRR-NFUT 3s light=TOP big=INT 'This sun is shining. Its light is very bright.' (a picture)
1421) So bolow $k \underline{o} \underline{u}=m e ~ m i h \underline{i}=k o \hat{u} \quad y a--\underline{i} . \quad K \underline{e}=n o ̂ u=s i \quad$ dilie $=$ be $\quad$ dihi=nôu 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 togo-di=be dabai hiye $=$ do. house build-нав=тор work big=int
'Building a house is a lot of work.'
1423) Sio miye $\underline{\boldsymbol{e}} \boldsymbol{n a}-d i=b e$ hebe kolo na-di. bird Victoria.pigeon 3 s eat-нАВ=тор tree fruit eat-нАВ 'The Victoria pigeon, its habitual eating is eating fruit from trees.'
1424) wi hiye = do kôu hagu-l-u=be yo=be $\underline{a}=$ mokôu. wind big=INT this come-IRR-NFUT=TOP base=TOP $1 \mathrm{~s}=$ LOC '... this big wind is coming because of me.'
1425) $\underline{E}=\boldsymbol{m e}$ o $\quad$ hiye $=d o$.

3s=tор man big=int
'He is (a) big man.'
1426) Sio isusu=be $\underline{\boldsymbol{e}} \quad h \underline{i}=\boldsymbol{b e} \quad b o l o=f \underline{i}=d o$, o oloúfei taga-l-e i-di. bird pigeon=tор 3s meat=top good=total=Int man all like-IRR-fut go-hAB 'Concerning the pigeon, its meat is very good, all people love (it).'
1427) Koúu$=m e ~ k e i ? ~$ 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 ...'.


Kôu$=m e$ sio miye. Dig=me su=do sulugua-di. this=TOP bird Victoria.pigeon 3pL=TOP many=Int walk.around.du/PL-HAB 'These (are) Victoria pigeons. They walk around in a big flock.' (a picture)
So kôu =me hiye=do. So kou$=m e$ gali $\quad s \underline{u}=d o \quad$ wo-di.
dog this=TOP big=INT dog this=TOP wild.animal many=INT attack-HAB
'This dog (is) big. This dog habitually kills many wild animals.' (a picture)
1430) Sio miye diag=me hoho hiye=do dege-moû, bird Victoria.pigeon 3pL=TOP light big=INT do.fUT-PFV
yoû $+w e=k o u ̂ \quad y a-l-\underline{e} \quad i-d i$.
stone+sand=Loc play-IRR-FUT go-HAB
'Victoria pigeons, because they are very happy, they play on the stony river bed.'
1431) O Kiunga=kồ i ke=me fula ta $k a=h a=s i \quad h a g u a-l-e$. man Kiunga=loc go that=ToP week INDF that=GEN=CNTR come-IRR-FUT
'The man who went to Kiunga is coming back already next week.'
 e ma=be boû ta i-l-i tôu hebe-i.
3s husband=TOP white.man bow go-IRR-NFUT hold carry-nfut
'(My) younger sister together with her husband also, when they went hunting, her husband carried a shotgun.'

1433) | Na-l-e $=$ be | $\boldsymbol{o}=\boldsymbol{b e}$ miloû-moûu, na-l-e | kuhe tama 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 $O=b e$ 'man' has a strong generic flavour. In fact it functions as an indefinite pronoun. See 4.3.5 Indefinite pronouns. Compare $o=y e$ (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 oloûfei dia dou=be hoho dege-di.
    man woman all 3pl fire=top light do-нав
    'People like the fire.'
1435) \(K \underline{e}=n o ̂ u=s i \quad\) sio miye \(=b e \quad\) ne \(\quad\) hiye \(=\) do.
    that=only=cnTR bird Victoria.pigeon=top strong big=int
```


1436) $\boldsymbol{W a i}=b e \quad$ o $\quad s \underline{u}=d o \quad n \underline{a}-d i \quad b o l o=f \underline{e} i=d o$.
pig=top man many=int eat-hAB good=total=Int
'Lots of people eat the pig; (it is) very good.'
1437) $O$ sasai oloûfeg $=d o=b e \quad$ disope $=$ be taga-l-e nala $\quad$ 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).


### 8.3.5 Marking the location

A locative setting may be marked as topic. Again, it is a general and habitual kind of setting.

```
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 tia-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=bô̂ osobôu=bô̂ + 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) Ulié $k \underline{u} u=m a=h \underline{a} \quad$ dege-di=be $\underline{e}$ sa bolo $\quad k e-l e=b e$ cicada this=top=Gen do-hab=top 3s land good that-A.LOCR=TOP $\underline{e}$ ta $\quad$ hiye $=$ do dege-di. 3s talk big=int do-hab
'(What) this cicada usually does, (when) there is nice weather ${ }^{199}$, is to make (a) very loud noise.'

### 8.3.6 Marking part of certain demonstratives

Certain demonstratives in the genitive case has an allomorph $=m a$ 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 $=m e$ occurs, in harmony with the last suffix.

```
1445) Ta kôu}=ma=h\underline{a}\mathrm{ wai taha-di.
    bow this=top=genpig shoot-HAB
    `This particular bow shoots pigs.'
```


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 dala. $K \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{m a} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{h a}$ e sibige $=b e$
money 300 kina pay.debt-IRR-FUT likely be/have that=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 $\boldsymbol{e}$ hui=be oloûfei=do o oloûfei 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) $\quad N a-l-\boldsymbol{e}=\boldsymbol{b e} \quad \boldsymbol{o}=\boldsymbol{b e}$ milô̂-mô̂ eat-IRR-FUT=TOP man=top work-PFV
'Concerning food, people producing it. ...'


### 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.


```
    1s shoot-IRR-FUT=IQV-ISQ go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ see.NFUT=TOP
    wai \(k a=h a \quad\) toto \(=n o ̂ u \quad\) 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; ...'
```

[^117]```
1452) A taga-l-i=be dihi do mala Dahamo=koû i-l-e,
    1s like-IRR-NFUT=TOP child sickness get.IRR.FUT Dahamo=loc go-IRR-FUT
    Saturday \(6 k a=h a=g e\).
    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, $\underline{a}$ tawa-i=be $\quad$ Godi=be $\underline{a}=b o u ̂+d e \quad d a l a=d=a d e \quad t a w a-i$
that-VBR-PFV 1 s know-nFUT=TOP God=TOP 1s=and+PROV be/have=int=SQV 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'.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 1454) Bei } \underline{e} \text { gofôu } \quad \text { hiye }=\text { do. } \underline{E} \text { o dugu-ba=be taha-l-e. } \\
& \text { snake } 3 \mathrm{~s} \text { hard/strong big=INT } 3 \mathrm{~s} \text { man see.NFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP shoot-IRR-FUT } \\
& \text { '(The) snake, he is very dangerous. If he sees (a) man (he (the snake)) will immediately bite. ' } \\
& \text { 1455) Moso kọu =me wi hiye=do ta feli-ba=be, bila-ma i-l-e. } \\
& \text { house this=TOP wind big=INT inDF come. up.nFUT-PFV.IRR=TOP fell-ISQ go-IRR-NFUT } \\
& \text { 'Concerning this house, if a big wind appears, (it) will immediately be felled.' }
\end{aligned}
$$

 man INDF 3s friend NEG that=GEN go.NFUT=PFV.IRR=TOP 3s=TOP house=LOC tia-l-e mei. sleep-IRR-fUT NEG
'... if a man who does not have (a) friend (there) goes, he will not be sleeping in (a) house.'
1457) ikoke mei dege-ba=be, na toto oda dege
nail NEG do-PFV.IRR=TOP $\quad 2 \mathrm{~s}$ quickly order do
، if (he) nails are finished quickly

### 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 -moú. (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. ${ }^{201}$
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { 1458) } \boldsymbol{S a} \text { kasagai } & \text { dege-môu }=\boldsymbol{b e} & \underline{e} & \text { ta-di=yo } & \text { mei. } \\ \text { land bad } & \text { do.FUT-PFV=TOP } & 3 \mathrm{~s} & \text { talk-HAB=INDC } & \text { NEG }\end{array}$
'When (the) weather has become bad, he does not make (any) noise.'
1459) Huei to-u-moû = be moso = kôu toto = noû ya-di.
water wash-nfut-PFV=TOP house=Loc quickly=only go.du/pl-hAB
Toto = noû i-l-e folo-u-moû=be huei nogo-di=yo mei.
quickly=only go-IRR-FUT go.up-NFUT-PFV=TOP water make.wet-HAB=INDC NEG
'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=be ... O galo-u-moû=be, do hiye=do dege-di.
fire=tор ... man bite-nfut-PFV=TOP sickness big=int do-hab
'Concerning fire ... Burning (a) man, (it) is always very painful.'
1461) Na-l-e =be o=be miloû-moû... Yomogo-u-môu=be, awaki
eat-IRR-FUT=TOP man=TOP work-NFUT start-NFUT-PFV=TOP knife
toloû i-l-e noúu-di-I-i.
hold-IRR-NPST go-IRR-FUT make.garden-HAB-IRR-NFUT
'Concerning food, man producing (it) ... To start with, (he) takes a knife and goes and makes (a) garden in the usual way.' (Foothill dialect)

[^118]1462) Sio miye dia o dugu-o-moú=be gue hiye=do.
bird Victoria.pigeon 3s man see-fut-pFV=TOP fear big=int
'Victoria pigeons, they having seen (a) man are very afraid.'
1463) Sasafe $=y e=g e, \quad \underline{a} \quad i-l-a-m o u ̂=b e \quad$... na-l-e $\quad$ hiye $=d o$
little.finger=INS=F.CNTR 1s go-IRR-SUBJ-PFV=TOP ... eat-IRR-FUT big=INT
$s a+m a \quad$ i-I-i-gi sa nugu-môul=be, $\underline{a}$ dibi moso
put.inside+put go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ land become.dark.nfut-PFV=TOP 1s forest house
fo-u-I-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, $\underline{\text { e }}$ moso tege-i. $\underline{E}$ moso money work do-nfut neg do-pFV=TOP 3 s house build-nfut 3 s house tege-i mei dege-moû=be, sosi moso tege-i. 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 kenoûsi 'but' is topicalised, giving the same feeling of generic and habitual.

| 1465) | Beye $\quad k \underline{u} u=m e$ possum this=Top | hebe $g o+y a$ tree branch+road | su-l-u. <br> walk.around | $\begin{array}{ll} \underline{E} & n a-l-\underline{e} \\ \text { RR-NFUT } & \\ 3 \mathrm{~s} & \text { eat-IRR-FUT } \end{array}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & n a-l-a-m o u ̂ \\ & \text { eat-IRR-SUBJ-PFV } \end{aligned}$ | su-l-u <br> walk. around-IRR-NFUT | ku-he. <br> ut this-p.LOCR | $\begin{aligned} & \text { K } \underline{\boldsymbol{e}}=\boldsymbol{n o u}=\boldsymbol{s i}=\boldsymbol{b e} \\ & \text { that }=\text { only=CNTR=TOP } \end{aligned}$ |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { sisigo }=y e \\ & \text { children=ins } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { wo-l-o } \\ & \text { attack-IRR-FUT } \end{aligned}$ | sagai <br> likely | mei. <br> 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 \(k a=h \underline{a}\) Jona malg \(\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{b e}\) de-moû, to biyg=koú 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) ní=me $\underline{a}=b o u ̂+d e ~ y o-m a ~ d a b a i ~ d e g e-m o u ̂ ~ h a g u a=b e ~ d e-m o ̂ u, ~$ 2PL=TOP 1s=and+PROV begin-ISQ work do-PFV come=TOP PROV-PFV ifi=ne $\quad k e-g e=n o ̂ u \quad d a l a$ 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 $y o=b e$ 'reason' (base=TOP). The Mountain dialect version is bei=be (meaning=TOP).
1468) Moso e gofôu
mei. Yo=be o moso ke tege-i
house 3s hard/strong
NEG reason=top man house that build-nfut
o $k a=h \underline{a}$ hebe tatabai dege-i mou $+m \underline{a}$ tege-i.
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) \(O\) sasai oloúfei dia dou=be hoho dege-di. Yo=be dou ko=koú
man woman all.total 3pl fire=top light do-hab reason=top fire that=loc
    \(n a-l-e \quad\) 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 ...'
```



### 8.3.13 Marking the indefinite article as it is used for listing purposes

The topic marker is part of the word $t a=b e$ 'another' (INDF=TOP) used for listing purposes.

| 1471) | Agu bamboo | $\frac{e}{3 \mathrm{~s}}$ | dabai work | $\begin{aligned} & \text { sogo } \\ & \text { breadfruit } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ga-di. } \\ & \text { gather-нАВ } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \boldsymbol{T} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{e} \\ & \text { INDF=TOP } \end{aligned}$ | kiyei pandanus | gobo-di. <br> scrape.out-HAB |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 'The bamboo is used to pick breadfruit (with). Another (use) is to scrape out pandana.' |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


| 1472) | Dia | $\underline{e}$ | $n \underline{a}-d i=b e$, | hebe | kolo | $n \underline{a}-d i$ | $\boldsymbol{T a}=\boldsymbol{b e}$ | hebe | guo | $n \underline{a}-d i$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | prawn | 3s | eat - нAB=Top | tree | fruit | eat-нав | 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=\boldsymbol{be}=yodi-I-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) | 0 | $t a=n o u ̀$ | $t a=n o u ̀$ | 3 | kina | 3 | kina | de-ma $=\boldsymbol{b e}=\boldsymbol{e d e}$ | tobo-l-ou | $i$. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | man | IndF=only | INDF=only | 3 | kina | 3 | kina | PROV-DU/PL=TOP=OQV | say-IRR-NPST | go-nfut |
|  | '"E | man must p | K3," they |  | ucted |  | said.' |  |  |  |

1477) $d a$ to to $i-m e=b e=e d e ~ t o b o-u$. 1du.in river wash go-HORT=TOP=OQV say-NFUT
'... "Let the two of us go swimming," (he) suggested and said.'
1478) dilie $G o d i=h \underline{a}$ dabai dege-ma=b=ado-moûu maka+ma-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 hagua-I-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) | $M \underline{a}$ | dihi Beny | ne, | ikoke $=\boldsymbol{b e}$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s.poss child Benny | give.IMP nail=TOP |  |  |

'Give (them) to my son Benny, the nails that is.'
1481) $O$ sasai oloûfei hoho, sio miye $=$ be. man woman all.total light bird Victoria.pigeon=тор 'Everybody loves (them), the Victoria pigeons that is.'
1482) $K \underline{e}=n o \hat{u}=f \underline{e} i, \quad \boldsymbol{m a} \quad \boldsymbol{t} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}=\boldsymbol{b e}$. 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.

'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.'
1485) Godi=ha $\underline{t} \underline{a}=b e \quad$ tawa-ga-i or $k a=h a=n o \hat{u} \quad i-b a=s i \quad b o l o=f e i$. God=GEN talk=TOP know-DU/PL-NFUT man that=GEN=only go.nFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR good=total

| Moú | $o=y e$ | $i-l-e=\boldsymbol{b e}$ | koú | $b o l o=f \underline{f e i}=y e$ | $y a-b a$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nothing | man=ins | go-IRR-FUT=TOP | prior | good=total=0РT | go. DU/PL.FUT-PFV.IRR |

$t a=\underline{\text { fei }}$ totoû dege-i=ye do-môu $\quad k o=k o \hat{u}=g e=n o u ̂=f \underline{e j}$.
INDF=total forgetfulness do-NFUT=OPT PROV-PFV that=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.'

### 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 $=g e .{ }^{202}$

The contrasting focus marker =ge may occur on nominal phrases functioning as subject and on nominal and modifier phrases expressing time or location. The form $k \boldsymbol{k}=\boldsymbol{k o u}=\boldsymbol{g e}$ (that=LOC=F.CNTR), occurring on its own, may mean 'because' or 'under the circumstances'. See the last heading under this section: 'Because', ...

[^119]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 $=g e$ to appear on temporal phrases, indicating the importance of certain times.

There is also another discourse marker which indicates contrastiveness: $=s i$ '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 $=g e$ 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 koû \(=\boldsymbol{m a}=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}=\boldsymbol{g e} \quad \underline{e}\) hoho dege-l-i.
    sun this=TOP=GEN=F.CNTR 3s light do-IRR-NFUT
    'This sun, it is shining.' (a picture)
```

1487) Dou koû $=\boldsymbol{m a}=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}=\boldsymbol{g e}$ 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.

'Jonah he was very angry at the men/people, "God you must kill these people," (he) directed and said.'
1490) Yesu $n \underline{a}=g e \quad \underline{a}$ dogoúgu-ba, haba $\underline{a}$ tewe mo-l-ôu de Jesus 2s=F.CNTR 1s help.NFUT-PFV.IRR but.PFV.IRR 1 s know get-IRR-NPST PROV tawa-l-e-moûu, $\underline{a}$ e=mokoû diho 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 $=g e$ picks up a non-subject in the previous clause and turns it into a subject.

| 1491) | $Y e s u=h \underline{a}$ | $d a$ | ka-ge | hagi | hiye $=$ do | dege $-/-i=b e$ | $\underline{e}=\boldsymbol{m o k}$ | $a$, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Jesus=gen | 1du. In | how-VBR | heavy | big=int | do-IRR-NFUT=Top | $3 \mathrm{~s}=\mathrm{Loc}$ | say-PFV |


| $\underline{e}=\boldsymbol{g e}$ | haba | $d a$ | hagi | hiye $=$ do | dege-I-i | $k \underline{e}=m e$ | $\underline{e}=\boldsymbol{g e}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 3s=F.CNTR | but. PFV.IRR | 1du.IN | heavy | big=inT | do-IRR-NFUT | that=TOP | 3s=F.CNTR |

huyafei dege-ma fogo-l-oû = yode tobo-u, a dugu.
small do-ISQ leave.for-IRR-NPST=IQvsay-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 $=g e$, if occurring together with the genitive case marker $=h \underline{a}$, is used to emphasize an exact time.
In the first example $=g e$ appears on its own, and the time is not exact. In the second example, it looks like we have a word with $=g e$ 'contrastive focus', but actually, it could as well be the homophone $-g e$ 'verbaliser'. ${ }^{203}$ In the next few examples, due to the inclusion of the genitive case marker $=h \underline{a}$, an exact time is given as new information.

[^120]| 1492) | $H a b a=g e \quad$ dugu-l-o. <br> 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 kôu$=\boldsymbol{m a}=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{\boldsymbol{a}}=\boldsymbol{g e} \quad \underline{e}=m e$ medigo sokoûloû 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 ${ }^{204}$ school.' |
| 1495) | Sadebe $1997 \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{g e} \quad$ fou u $\quad$ hiye $=$ do biye-i. <br> year 1997 that=GEN=F.CNTR dryness big=int sit.up/down-NFUT <br> 'In 1997 there was (a) big draught.' |
| 1496) |  |
|  | Ulie Ta $k e-g e$ he-hegi-e-l-i. Ifi=be $\underline{a}=m e$ $k e-l e$$\quad$ dala, |
|  | haba fula ta $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{g e}$ lesson 15 ke he-hegi-e-l-i 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 ...' |
| 1497) | Nele hagua-l-e=be date $30 \quad 4 \mathbf{k a}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{g e}$ nele Edolo=kố hagua-ma. ... <br> 2du come-IRR-FUT=TOP date 3or 4 that=gen=F.cntr 2du Edolo=loc come-dU/PL... |
|  | Friday $5 \boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h a}=\boldsymbol{g e}$ sisigo prais ne-me. ... $\underline{A}$ taga- $-i=b e$, |
|  | Friday 5 that=GEN=F.CNTR children prize give-HORT ... 1s like-IRR-NFUT=TOP |
|  | $\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { dihi } & \text { do } & \text { malag } & \text { Dahamo=koû i-l-e, Saturday } & 6 & \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{g e} . \\ \text { child sickness get.IRR. FUT } & \text { Dahamo=LOC go-IRR-FUT Saturday } & 6 & \text { that=GEN=F.CNTR }\end{array}$ |
|  | '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 the sixth.' |

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

In its use as focusing in on a locative phrase, = ge works together with the locative adverb roots or with the locative case marker $=k o u ̂$. The compound enclitic =koûge 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).


[^121]```
1500) Sa h́u Huo sou=koûu=ge to \(k a=h \underline{a} \quad \underline{e} \quad\) sou \(=k o \hat{u}=b e\)
    land name Huo source=LOC=F.CNTR river that=GEN 3 s source=Loc=TOP
    dei hiye ke-le mufoko=boû 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) | sa | $\underline{e}$ | $h \underline{u}=b e$ | Towala = koû, | ôu | ha-i | $\boldsymbol{k o}=\boldsymbol{k o} \hat{u}=\boldsymbol{g e}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | land | 3s | name=тор | Towala=Loc | sago | cut-nfut | that=LOC=F.CNTR |

wai ta so $k a=h a \quad$ tigo-u-moû 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) $\quad$ Afu $=$ do Tinahai=koú $=\boldsymbol{g e} \quad$ duwo-l-i $\quad d u g u=b e$, today=INT Tinahai=LOC=F.CNTR sit-IRR-NFUT see.NFUT=TOP
$\underline{a}=m e$ hegie dege-i-moû dugu.
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 $=k o u ̂=g e \quad$ 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 $k o=k o u ̂=g e$ (that=LOC=F.CNTR) is definitely related to the locative use of $=k o u=g e$ 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) | Jona | aso | $d i f i+y a$ | diogu. | $E$ | $k o=k o \hat{u}=g e$ | $f i+m \underline{-}-\underline{i}=b e$, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Jonah | sun | heat+road | shade.nfut | 3s | that=LOC=F.CNTR | soul+put-nFUT=TOP |

o Niniba tie o $k e+$ diag=mokoûu fi+má-i Godi=ha dogoúgu-moû dia man Nineveh sleep man that+3pL=Loc soul+put-nfut God=GEN help.nfUT-PFV 3PL
ifi bologug duwo ke fi+ma-j .
today good.do sit that soul+put-nfut
'Jonah was shaded from (the) heat of (the) sun. From that (circumstance) he thought about the people living in Nineveh; (he) thought, while God is helping (them), they now do/sit well, (he) thought.'
1505) Godi=ha $\underline{t} \underline{a}=b e \quad t a w a-g a-i \quad$ o $\quad k a=h \underline{a}=n o \hat{u} \quad i-b a=s i \quad b o l o=f \underline{e}$. God=GEN talk=Top know-DU/PL-NFUT man that=GEN=only go.nFUT-PFV.IRR=CNTR good=total

| Moû | $o=y e ~ i-I-e=b e$ | $k o u ̂$ | $b o l o=f \underline{e}=y e$ | $y a-b a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nothing | man=INS go-IRR-FUT=TOP | prior good=total=OPT go.DU/PL.FUT-PFV.IRR |  |  |

$t a=$ fei $\quad$ totồ dege-i=ye do-mồ ko=kồ =ge=nôu=féi.
INDF=total forgetfulness do-NFUT=OPT PROV-PFV that=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.'

### 8.5 Theme

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.

| CLAUSE $_{V}$ | $\rightarrow$ | (THEME) | $(\mathrm{NPs})$ | (THEME) | (NP $\left.{ }_{\text {INSTR }} / T E M P / L O C / M P\right)$ | (NPo) | VP ((NP/MP)) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| CLAUSE $_{\mathrm{NV}}$ | $\rightarrow$ | (THEME) | $\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{T}}$ | $\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{C}}$ |  |  |  |

The theme slots are used for prominent, often new information, but sometimes you find known or given information there, marked by the topic marker $=b e$.

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.

'Concerning the pigeon, regarding all its meat, all people like (it).'
1511) $N a-l-\underline{e}=b e \quad o=b e \quad$ miloû-moû
eat-IRR-FUT=TOP man=TOP work-PFV
Theme NPs VP
NPo
'Concerning food, people are producing (it), ...'

'(When) I (was) here some time ago, I and Yogu, after we two had said that (we) were going swimming, (we) went.'
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { 1514) } & \boldsymbol{A} & \boldsymbol{a f u = d o} & 1995 & \text { holiday, } & \underline{a} & \text { Debele }=\text { koû } \\ \text { 1s } & \text { earlier=int } 1995 & \text { holiday } & \text { 1s } & \text { Debele=Loc } & \text { go.NFUT } \\ \text { Theme } & & & & \text { NPS } & \text { NPLoc } & \text { VP }\end{array}$ $N P+M P_{\text {TEMP }}+N P_{\text {TEMP }}$
'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)
- 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. ${ }^{205}$
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
- head-tail linkage (doubly underlined) 8.5 THEME
8.2.1 ... HEAD-TAIL ... LINKAGE

Foreground 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

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 kegemoû '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.

[^122]
## A narrative: A story about killing a hornbill, by Kevin Gibi

A afu koullege aboû Yoguboû ...
'When I was here some time ago, I and Yogu, ...'
... ele to toloyodema ị.
'... after we two had said (we) were going swimming (we) went.'
Ele kokoû yai. Yolugi ...
'We two went towards there. We went along until (we) ...'
... dugube, hebe hiyedo ta tafala.
'... saw a big tree standing.'
Hebe kumaha fukoû dugu, doûura duwo. PEAK (important lead)
'In (a) hole of this tree (we) saw; (a) hornbill sit.'
Duwomoû dugu ...
'(We) saw (her) sitting (there); ...'
... fogoúmoú i.
BACKGROUND
initial theme slot of clause used for introduction

FOREGROUND
last verb is H in $\mathrm{H}-\mathrm{T}$
BACKGROUND
head-tail linkage
FOREGROUND

BACKGROUND
head-tail linkage
‘... leaving (we) went.'
Ele Koloukoû miloúmoû dugube, to gihou.
'We two saw (the river) Konoun being busy, (the) river was in flood.'
To gihou dugumoû, ...
'Seeing (the) river being in flood, ...'
FOREGROUND

PEAK (turning point in story)

BACKGROUND
head-tail linkage
... haba boholoúma haguasigei.
FOREGROUND
'... we after completely turning around (started to) come back again.'
Mamogoha dugu ... BACKGROUND
'My friend saw (it); ...'
head-tail linkage
... toboloû, da doûwa walaba imebeedei.
'... (he) said, "Let us two go for the purpose of killing (the) hornbill," (he) suggested.'
Ele hebe hagima, tigi kagimamoûu digigile fologai.
'After we two had cut sticks and cut vines, we tied them together and went up (the tree).'

Ele folo,
'We two went up and ...'
... doûwa u dobogôu kasuguomoû, doûuva toloûma wala i.
Foreground
'... having inserted (our) hands (in the) hornbill hole, after grabbing (the) hornbill we killed it.'

Kegemoûu, ele tobou, da ifi Godiha soloûdo damokoû nei kuheyode tobou.
CODA
'Having become like that, ${ }^{206}$ 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.'

Godiha elemokoúu soloûdo nei.
'God gave (his) love to us two (excl.)'
Ele Godikoû hoho hiyedo degei.
H-T with proverb linking
adverb: kuhe 'here'
CODA (continued)
'We two (excl.) are very pleased with God.'

[^123]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.

'(The) pig running away, I grabbed (some) stones and attacked (the) pig with (the) stones until (I) attacked and put (it down), and so I took (it) and went home.'

### 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 $=\{\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{e}\}$

Foreground information is characterised by:

- appearing in the comment slot of a topic comment clause
- 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 $=\{\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{e}\}$. 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 ${ }^{207}$
$\underline{A}$ afu 1981- 82 Sepe o fele gabu milou ta.
'Earlier (in) 1981-82, (at the) mouth of (the) river Smipen, I worked (on the) airstrip, (a) story (about that)

To e e hube Sepe o.
'The river, $\underline{\underline{\text { tis }}}$ name is (the) Mouth of Smipen.'
__(paragraph break) $\qquad$
Boî e hube Woodyard, Vance Woodyard, ebboû aboû Dipaiboû fele gabu miloloû 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 miloloû i.
'Many Aekyom people worked (there).'

Medigo o, e hube Someke.
'The medical orderly, his name was Someke.'

O hu oloufei nalai.
'(He) wrote (down) all (the) names of people (working there).'
Eme bose.
'He was (the) boss.'

Kege miloloû ibe, gusubu 8:00 ilemoû 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 oloûfei dabai degedi ibe domoû, habi 4:30 fogoû idi.
'Everybody worked until 4:30 in (the) afternoon, (when) leaving (they) habitually went.'
O oloûfei mosokoû idi.
'Everybody habitually went to (their) houses.'

Fele gabu a miloube, hiyg oloûfeibe 2 years.
'The work I (did) building (the) airstrip went on for all of two years.'

Mei degei, ${ }^{208}$ fele fiyei.
'(Then it) was finished, (a) plane landed.'

BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND
initial theme slot of clause used for introduction

BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND
initial theme slot pronoun copy
$=\{\boldsymbol{b e}\}$ 'topic marker'
BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND
initial theme slot
pronoun copy
$=\{\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{e}\}$ 'topic marker'
BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND
$=\{\boldsymbol{b e}\}$ 'topic marker'
FOREGROUND

BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND
initial theme slot pronoun copy
$=\{\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{e}\}$ 'topic marker'

FOREGROUND

BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND
$=\{\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{e}\}$ 'topic marker’

BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND
$=\{\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{e}\}$ 'topic marker'

FOREGROUND

FOREGROUND

BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND
$=\{\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{e}\}$ 'topic marker'

FOREGROUND

BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND
$=\{\boldsymbol{b e}\}$ 'topic marker’

BACKGROUND/PEAK (perhaps)

[^124]The two following examples show the first few sentences of two longer descriptive stories that both have narrative introductions.

```
1516) Pasta Motosi=boú a=boú+de sa Dahamo toúfogoú yo-l-u-gi,
pastor Motousi=and 1s=and+Prov land Dahamo leave go.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT-DSQ
Mende = koûduwo de-ma, haba hagua-ma yo-l-u-gi, sa \underline{e}h\underline{u}=be
Mende=LOC sit PROV-ISQ but.PFV.IRR rise-ISQ go.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT-DSQ land 3s name=TOP
Ukarumpa=koû mu-gua-i.
Ukarumpa=loc go.down-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:

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text { Sawisie- }=\text { =be } & \text { Tuesday } k a=h a \quad k o=k o u ̂ & \text { fula } & \text { oloûfei kama+dia } \\
\text { be.day-NFUT=TOP } & \text { Tuesday that=GEN that=LOC } & \text { week } & \text { all.total middle.finger }+3 \mathrm{PL}
\end{array}
$$

ke-ge ko $=k o u$ duwe-i.
that-vBR that=Loc sit-nFUT
'That day was (a) Tuesday, then (we) were there three weeks.'
1517) $\underline{A}$ sa Dahamo toûfogoû fene $+y a$ hague-i. Sa Ukarumpa=koû 1s land Dahamo leave airplane+road come-nfut land Ukarumpa=loc

'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:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Sa Ukarumpa=be sa bolo }=\text { fei }=d o \quad s a . \\
& \text { land Ukarumpa=toP land good=total=inT land } \\
& \text { 'Ukarumpa is (a) very good place.' }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 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.


### 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.

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.

## Koúme ma stori.

'This is my story.'

## A afudo huyadefei kelege

'A long time ago, at the time I was little ...'
dagado gamani o kedia hu soû hagumoû dugu kaha stori.
FOREGROUND
'... I saw officials from another kind of governmen come to take a cencus; a story about that.'

A sabiyei ta
'I, one morning ...'
ma aye ele duwogi dugube,
FOREGROUND
'my father and I, the two of us were (there) until (we) saw ...'
gamani o kediá bokisi tigigima hebema haguasieimoû dugu.
'... government officials coming carrying tied boxes.'
Kelegebe, ifi dege kansoleboû komitiboûde dala mei.
EXPLANATORY BACKGROUND
'At that time, there were no councillors and committee men like (we) have today.'
Mamosiyenoû dalamoû degei.
'There were only "tultul" officials.'

## Gamani kedió haguei sabiyei kelegenoûbe,

'On that morning (and) at the time when those government officials came, ...'

## igiyogone haguei. Kenoûsi $\underline{\text { g gue hiyedo degei. }}$

FOREGROUND
'... a helicopter too came. But I was very afraid.'
Kelegebe, mamosi kediame kansole sagai kege delei.
EXPLANATORY BACKGROUND
'At that time, the "tultuls" officials were like councillors.'

## Godiha tabe hagueli mei kelege

'Before the word of God arrived, at the time, ...'
gamani o kedia degei storibe kehe.
FOREGROUND
'... those government officials did (this); that is the story there it is.'

## Ma tabe kenoûfei.

'My talk is enough.'

### 8.7 Participant reference

Participant ${ }^{209}$ 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.: viii).

[^125]
### 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:
$\mathbf{S 1}$ the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence
$\mathbf{S 2}$ 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:
$\mathbf{N} \mathbf{1}$ the referent occupies the same non-subject role as in the previous clause or sentence
$\mathbf{N} \mathbf{2}$ the addressee of a reported speech was the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence
$\mathbf{N} \mathbf{3}$ the referent was involved in the previous sentence in a different role than that covered by 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 ...
N 2 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
- generic/non-generic
- known/unknown
- indefinite/definite
- major/minor/prop in the discourse
- important/unimportant to the speaker/author
the speaker has a specific entity in mind/ the speaker has any of a certain class in mind
reference to a class of entities/
reference to a specific entity within that class
known in context of discourse/not known in context of discourse
... an entity ... which is not capable of specific identification/
a specific identifiable entity ... (Crystal 1985)
relative importance of participants within the discourse see 8.7.6.1 CATEGORIES OF PARTICIPANTS
importance in real life,
see 8.7 .3 .1 NP WITH THE CONTROLLING CASE MARKER $=h \underline{a} \boldsymbol{~ ' G E N I T I V E ' ~}$


## 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.


### 8.7.3.1 NP with the controlling case marker $=\boldsymbol{h} \underline{a}$ '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.


[^126]The next example involves a community health worker.

```
1519) Mola=be o oloûfei do dege-i-moû =be i-l-e,
medicine=top man all.total sickness do-NFUT-PFV=TOP go-IRR-FUT
... medigo = hag mola ne-i-môu nou-u-moû \(=b e\),
... medical.worker=GEN medicine give-nFUT-PFV eat-nFUT-PFV=Top
o \(k \underline{e}=m e\) do bolo dege-di.
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-moû, ele tobo-u,
    that-vBR-PFV 1DU.EX say-NFUT
```

    Da ifi Godi=ha soloû = do da=mokô̂ ne-i \(\quad\) ku-he=yode tobo-u.
    1du.in today God=gen heart=int 1du.In=Loc give-nfuthis-p.locr=iqv say-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.'
    
### 8.7.3.2 NP with different forms of the demonstrative pronoun ke 'that'

There are four forms of the demonstrative pronoun $k \underline{e}$ that is used within the nominal phrase to refer to participants:

- $k a=h \underline{a} \quad$ 'that (agent)' (that=GEN) minor participants in agent position without a proper name
- ke/kokoû 'that/(to) that' (that/that=LOC) minor participants in non-agent positions without a proper name
- ke + diag 'those' (that +3 PL) plural major and minor participants in agent and non-agent position
- ke + dilie 'those two' (that+3DU) dual major and minor participants in agent and non-agent position

1521) Rumginae $=$ koû Tom ele kos i. Kos mei dege-i Friday. Rumginae=loc Tom 1du.ex course go.nfut course neg do-nfut Friday

Saturday kalo sa+ma, Kiunga=koû ya-i. Saturday car put.inside+put Kiunga=Loc go.DU/PL-NFUT
Kalo dalawa $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h a} \boldsymbol{a}$ tobo-u
car driver that=GEN say-NFUT
'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-moû foukua igiya-i folo-ga-moû

1PL.EX ... hear.nFUT dog bark-IRR-FUT go.nFUT-PFV run go.du/PL-NFUT go.up-du/PL.fUt-PFV
dugu, wai oye hiye=do ke tigo-l-o i-moûu dugu.
see.nfut pig male big=int that bark-IRR-FUT go.nfut-pfv see.nfut
'We (excl.) ... heard (the) dogs barking (and) immediately we ran on; having arrived (we) saw that they were barking at that very big boar.'
1523) Sokoûloûu sisigo ke+dia kefegu-o dala-ba, school children that+3plgather-fut be/have-PFV.IRR
boû $=h \underline{a}$ poto to-l-ou.
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-lo-moû, work do-HAB man two that+3Du talk that hear-IRR-FUT-PFV
dilie $=n e \quad$ Yesu sese-l-e $\quad y a-i$. 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 kou 'this'. They would not be used in tracing participants in a discourse, but more in face to face conversations and in looking at pictures.

- $k \underline{o} \underline{u}=m a=h \underline{a}$ 'this (agent)' (this=TOP=GEN) for more information on these forms see:
- koû $/ k u o=k o u ̂ ~ ' t h i s /(t o) ~ t h i s ' ~(t h i s / / t h i s=L O C) ~ 4.8 .2 .1 ~ T H E ~ D E M . ~ P R O N . ~ k o u ~ ' t h i s ' ~ a n d ~ k e ~ ' t h a t ' ~$
- koúu + dig 'these' (this+3pl)
- koû + dilie 'these two' (that+3Du)

1525) Aso $\begin{array}{lll}\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{o u}=\boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{g e} \quad \underline{e} & \text { hoho dege---i. } \\ \text { sun } & \text { this=TOP=GEN=F.CNTR } 3 \mathrm{~s} & \text { light do-IRR-NFUT }\end{array}$
'This particular sun is shining.'(one of several pictures of suns)
1526) Jona=ha mosole oboû o ke+dia huei wi hiye=do kôu hagu-l-u=be Jonah=GEN ship owner man that+3plwater wind big=Int this come-IRR-NFUT=TOP
yo =be $\quad \underline{a}=$ mokoú.
base=TOP 1s=Loc
'Jonah (said to) to the ship owners, "The reason for this rain (and) wind coming is because of me."'
1527) Moso kôu tege-i o=be Kiunga=kôu i dala. 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.


### 8.7.3.4 NP with the contrastive focus marker =ge

The general purpose of the contrastive focus marker $=g e$ 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.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 1533) Yesu=ha hagu-ba=be, o damale=yodi-/-i mei ke+dig=ge } \\
& \text { Jesus=gen come.nfut-PFV.IRR=TOP man true=IQv-IRR-NFUT NEG that+3PL=F.CNTR } \\
& \text { gese-i=be } \quad \text { hiye }=\text { do } \\
& \text { cry-nfut=top big=int }
\end{aligned}
$$

'... when Jesus comes back, the people who have not believed will cry a whole lot...' (contrasted with the people who have believed)

However, $=g e$ '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) $\underline{A} \underline{\boldsymbol{e}}=\boldsymbol{m o k o u ̂ ~ d i h o ~ b a g a ~ t o b o ̂ ̂ - m o ̂ u ~ d u g u , ~ h a b a ~} \underline{\boldsymbol{e}}=\boldsymbol{g e} \quad \underline{a}=m e^{211}$ 1s 3s=LOC eye close.eye say-PFV see.NFUT but.PFV.IRR 3s=F.CNTR 1s=TOP
huyafei dogoûgu-moû
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) \underline{A}\mathrm{ diho bagg toboû-moúu =ne bololodo. E}=ge igi-I-e
    1s eye close.eye say-PFV=also good=INT 3s=F.CNTR remove-IRR-FUT
    fogo-u sa dege-moû 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 $=g e$ is used, see 8.4 Focus of CONTRAST.

### 8.7.3.5 NP with the indefinite article $\boldsymbol{t a}$

A referential, but non-specific, participant is introduced with the indefinite numeral ta, corresponding to the English indefinite article.


[^127]
saw snake INDF river that=LOC that-A.LOCR sit-PFV ... run.away-PFV
\[

\left.$$
\begin{array}{lllllll}
\text { dugu-o fogôu-moû } & \text { dugu, } & \text { haba } & \text { bei ta hebe } \\
\text { see-FUT leave.for-PFV } & \text { see.NFUT but.PFV.IRR } & \text { snake INDF tree }
\end{array}
$$\right]
\]

soso-l-ôu-gi, gibe ta taha-l-e hebe-l-e fila-moû
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 $t a$ 'indefinite' does not work with a relative clause.

The indefinite article has another functions as well (see 4.4.2.4 THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE).

### 8.7.3.6 $\mathrm{NP}_{\text {Noun }}$ 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 susuag ‘dive for fish'.
- "passive" minor participants
- non-subject props and some subject props

1542) miye bese i-l-i.
fish angle.for go-IRR-NFUT
'... go fishing.' (non-referential)

tree this=top=GEN hole=LOC see.nfut hornbill sit ... 1s.poss friend=GEN
dugu tobo-l-oû, da doûwa wa-l-a-ba i-me=be=ede-i.
see.NFUT say-IRR-NPST 1du.IN hornbill attack-IRR-SUBJ-PFV.IRR go-HORT=TOP=OQV-NFUT
Ele ... doûwa to-l-ôu +ma wala i.
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)
1543) ei so ti-l-e igiya-i sulugua-l-i du, 1PL.EX dog call-IRR-FUT go.dU/PL-NFUT walk.around-IRR-NFUT hear.NFUT
so tigo-l-o i-moûu foukua igiya-i folo-ga-môu dugu, dog bark-IRR-FUT go.nfut-PFV run go.DU/PL-NFUT come.up-DU/PL.FUT-PFV see.nfut
wai oye hiye = do ke tigo-l-o i-moû 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)
1544) Huliáme oguo hoho dege-l-i. Huliag.me sasai dia
darkness.top moon light do-IRR-NFUT darkness.top women 3pL
oguo hoho dege-i-mố, miye bese i-l-i.
moon light do-NFUT-PFV fish angle.for go-IRR-NFUT
'At night (the) moon is shining. At night, women, while enjoying (the) moon, go fishing.' (oguo 'moon': prop; miye 'fish': non-referential)

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 1541) a dugu=be, mabi fo dege-i ke dugu. } \\
& \text { 1s see.nfut=top cloud white do-nfut that see.nfut } \\
& \text { (a dugu=be, mabi fo dege-i *ta dugu.) } \\
& \text { (1s see.nfut=top cloud white do-nfut INDF see.nFUT) } \\
& \text { '... I saw (a) white cloud. (literally: ... I saw (a) cloud that was white.)' }
\end{aligned}
$$

1546) 

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\text { O=boû } & \text { sasai=boû oû } & \text { oú } & \text { i-l-i. } \\
\text { man=and } & \text { woman=and } & \text { sago } & \text { cut go-IRR-FUT }
\end{array}
$$

'(A) man and (a) woman are going to cut down (a) sago (palm).' (first sentence of a procedural story; $o=b o ̂ u ~ s a s \underline{i}=b o u ̂$ '(a) man and (a) woman': probably non-referential; it could have been any man and his wife; ôu '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 $=h \underline{a}$ '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:

'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:
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { 1548) } & \begin{array}{lll}\text { Sasai } & \text { e } & \text { out } \\ \text { woman } & 3 \mathrm{~s} & \text { sago-i } \\ \text { Theme } & \mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{s}} & \mathrm{NP}_{0}\end{array} & \mathrm{ga}\end{array}$
'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:

'... the two of them told another $\operatorname{man}_{2} \ldots$ The $\operatorname{man}_{2} \mathbf{h e}_{2}$ 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.

'A long time ago, my grandfather Domo he was in the forest ... While they were in the forest, my grandfather Domo he used to go hunting ...'

| Sawisie-i | ta, | $\boldsymbol{m a}$ | mou | Domo | $\underline{e}$ | mowi | i. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| be.day-NFUT | INDF | 1s.poss | grandfather | Domo | 3 s | hunt | go.NFUT |
| Theme |  |  | $N P_{s}$ | $N P_{0}$ | VP |  |  |
| 'One day my grandfather Domo he went hunting. ...' |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

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) K \(\underline{\underline{u} u}=m e\) sio miye.
    this=тор bird Victoria.pigeon
    'This is (a) Victoria pigeon. ...'
    Koúu\(=m e\) sio \(\quad\) miye.
this=top bird Victoria.pigeon
'This is (a )Victoria pigeon. ...'
    Sio miye dia \(=\boldsymbol{m e}\)
    bird Victoria.pigeon 3pL=top
    'Concerning the Victoria pigeons they ...'
    Sio miye dia
    bird Victoria.pigeon 3pL
```

'Victoria pigeons they ...'
Ke $=n o ̂ u=s i \quad$ sio miye $\quad$ dig $=m e$
that=only=CNTR bird Victoria.pigeon 3pL=TOP
'But concerning the Victoria pigeons they ...'

'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 $\underline{a}$ ' $I / m e$ ' occurs in both the initial theme slot and in the subject slot.

```
1552) \underline{A}}afu=do 1995 holiday, \underline{a} Debele=koû i
    1s earlier=InT1995 holiday 1s Debele=LOC go.nfut
        Theme NPs NP Loc 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) | A | $a f u$ | koû-le $=$ ge | $\underline{a}=b o \hat{u}$ | Yogu = boû | ele |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | earlier | this-A.LOCR=F.CNTR | 1s=and | Yogu=and | 1D |
|  |  |  |  | Theme |  | NPs |

    to to-l-o =yode-ma 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 $\mathrm{NP}_{\text {Loc }}$.

| 1554) | Ke-ge-moû | ele | tobo-u, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | that-VBR-PFV | 1DU.EX | say-NFUT |


| $d a$ | ifi | Godi $=$ h $\underline{a}$ | soloû = do | $d a=m o k o u ̀$ | ne-i | $k u-h \underline{e}=$ yode | tobo-u. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1du. In | today | God=GEN | heart=int | 1du. In=Loc | give-nfut | this-P. LOCR=IQV | 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{i i Asika ele}
earlier=total Asika 1du.Ex
'A long time ago, Asika and I ...'
1556) James=boû Asele=boû ei
    James=and Asele=and 1PL.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...$=h \underline{a}$ )
- 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).


| Dibiye hiye=do fu-fuo-u-moû, dia baha duwo-gua-l-i dugu=be, |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| thunder big=INT RED.PL-break.open-NFUT-PFV | 3PL look sit-du/PL-IRR-NFUT See.NFUT=TOP |

hebe $h i y e=d o s a s a=d o, \quad \underline{e} h \underline{u}=b e$ diogo $k a=h \underline{a} \quad s u g \underline{u}+t o u=g e$
tree big=int tall/long=int 3 s name=top tree.sp. that=gen top+up=F.cnTR
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { fiye } s \underline{-}-\underline{i} & s a s a=d o & k a=h a & \text { migi-moû } \\ \text { thread twine-nFUT } & \text { tall/long=INT } & \text { that=GEN come.down.nFUT-PFV } & \text { see.nFUt }\end{array}$
Migi-moû dugu=be, fiye sa-i $\quad$ ke=me ye dihi
come.down.nfut-pfv see.nfut=top thread twine-nfut that=top stringbag child
gomogu=boú migi-moû dugu.
knot=and come.down.nfut-pFV see.nfut
'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-ge-moú, diag ye dihi ke tu-l-o-moú | dugu $\quad$ be, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that-VBR-PFV | 3pL stringbag child that remove-IRR-FUT-PFV see.nFUT=TOP |

```
dihi ta sa-l-a-moû dugu.
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.'

| Ke-ge-moû, | dia dihi | ke | fo-fo-l-oú | dala-l-i, | hiye dege-i. Hiye |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that-vBR-PFV | 3PL child that | RED.PL-run-IRR-NPST | be/have-IRR-NFUT big do-NFUT big |  |  |

dege-môu, $\underline{e}$ sasai hu-l-o, dihi sü=do mo-u.
do.FUT-PFV 3 s 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-ge-moú, | diag | $\underline{e}$ | $h \underline{u}+t i=b e$ | Dibiye |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that-VBR-PFV | 3PL | 3sdibi=yode- $i$. |  |  |
| name+call=Top | Thunder | Hiyandibi=IQv-NFUT |  |  |

'Having become like that, they called his clan Thunder Hiyandibi.'


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) dia 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

$k a=h \underline{a}$ migi-moû dugu. that=GEN come.down.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT
'...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 kediag... '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).


## 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 1619). 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
- verb indicating plural object
- verb singular/neutral as to participant
see 4.1.6.2 Individuated plural
see 4.1.6.4 Plural object
see 4.1.6.3 Group plural

Verbs of perception seldom occur in plural form.

'...we (excl.) heard the dogs barking (and) immediately we ran and went on; having arrived (we) saw that they were barking at that very big boar.'
1563) Wai gisiga toûu +ma igiya-i, ta-le=koú dogogu-o fogou, pig drag.DU/PL.FUT hold+put go.DU/PL-NFUT river-A.LOCR=LOC put-FUT leave.for haba bi hebe-se-i ka sulugua-I-i but.PFV.IRR thing carry-DU/PL-NFUT look.for walk.around.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT dugu-o-môu moúu + ma 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) $\underline{A}$ Megi $o=k o u ̂$ tafala de-ma i-l-e, Biangabip=kôu folo, 1s Megi mouth.of.river=LOC stand PROV-ISQ go-IRR-FUTBiangabip=LOC go.up. FUT

| moso | togo = yede-i-moû, |  | moso ke | togo-l-o |  | dele-i. | Togo-ma |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | make=oQv-nfut-PFV house that |  |  | build-I | IRR-FUT | be/hav | ave-nf | make |  |  |
| awa | dio | so | igiya-i. | Kebe |  | ilo |  | $e=$ |  |  |
| black | palm bone | remove | go. Du/PL- | т a.pe | ple.g | group | part | t-A |  |  |
| ei | oloufei | folo-ga, | awa |  |  | $s o+m \underline{a}$ |  | moú, |  | ôu + ma |
| 1PL.EX | all.total | go.up- | PL.fut bla | .palm | bone | remove+ | +put fi | h. nf |  | t+put |


yetou kolo bili-gi-ma fogoúu-moû, a dabai dege-l-e dafa=yode-i. shoulder skin peel-OF-ISQ leave.for-pFV 1 s 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

- same subject + sequential time last stem vowel is low: $e, o$ 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: $\boldsymbol{a}$ or $\boldsymbol{O}+$ new clause

Switch of scene (7.3.1.2), in a past tense discourse, is marked by the medial suffix -moú '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 -moû 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.

'... 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) kueya huei nala $\quad$ tafala-moû dugu.
'... (a) cassowary standing drinking water (different subject) (I) saw.'
... dugu kueya to-l-o i.
... see.nfut cassowary die-IRR-FUT go.nfut
'... (I) saw (different subject); (the) cassowary had died.'

| Tila-moû | dugu, | $k e-g e-m o u ̂$ | a hoho | hiye $=$ do dege-i. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lie.down-PFV | see.NFUT | that-VBR-PFV | 1s light big=int do-nFUT |  |

'... (The cassowary) lying down (different subject) I saw; then I was very happy.'

### 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 ( $\mathbf{N P}_{\text {Nous }} / \mathbf{N P}_{\text {Pron } 1+2}$ ), while a nominal phrase with a third person pronoun ( $\mathbf{N P}_{\text {Pron }}$ ) 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 $_{\text {PRON3 }}$ | $\mathbf{N P}_{\text {NOUN }} / \mathbf{N P}_{\text {PRON } 1+2}$ | NP+PRON |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- |
| Sintro |  |  | $79 \%$ | $21 \%$ |
| S0 | $80 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $17 \%$ |  |
| S03 | $54 \%$ |  | $46 \%$ |  |
| S1 | $68 \%$ | $7 \%$ | $25 \%$ |  |
| S3 |  |  | $100 \%$ |  |
| S4 | $9 \%$ | $27 \%$ | $64 \%$ |  |

## Non-subject roles:

| Nintro | $13 \%$ |  | $\mathbf{8 7 \%}$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| N0 | $50 \%$ |  | $42 \%$ |
| N03 | $24 \%$ |  | $\mathbf{7 6 \%}$ |
| N1 | $43 \%$ | $5 \%$ | $\mathbf{5 2 \%}$ |
| N3 | $8 \%$ | $23 \%$ | $\mathbf{6 9 \%}$ |
| N4 | $14 \%$ |  | $\mathbf{8 6 \%}$ |

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 ke 'that' and the case markers $=h a$ 'genitive/control' and $=y e$ 'instrumental/noncontrol'.

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

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.

|  | Unknown | known | WELL KNown |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Introduction: | (sg.) NP w. ta 'INDF' | NP | $\mathrm{N}=h \underline{a}$ (GEN) (the Trinity, proper names, kinship terms) |
|  | (du.) NP w. bolow 'two' | NP w. $k \underline{e}+$ dilie (that+3Du) | --- |
|  | (pl.) NP | NP w. $k \underline{e}+$ dig (that+3PL) | --- |
|  | + pronoun copy or pronoun close by | + pronoun copy in singular ${ }^{212}$ or pronoun close by | --- |
| MAINTENANCE: | pronouns (or verb form/zero) | pronouns (or verb form/zero) | persons: pronoun (or verb form/zero) the Trinity: $\mathrm{N}=h \underline{a}$ (GEN) |
| CONCLUSION: | ( NP w. pronoun copy) | ( NP w. pronoun copy) | $\mathrm{N}=h \underline{\underline{a}}$ (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.

[^128]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 |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| H-T linkage <br> Red <br> green <br> bold \&black | dual/plural verb forms (referring to subject) <br> perfective suffix marking scenes <br> 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 ileyodemamoû fima tugulo toboloû 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, awakiboûde toûma 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 haikoû fologa, disope oloúfei bolou kege goboloú nala i.
'The two of us went and arrived at his pineapple garden and broke off two pineapples and ate.'
Disope nala i mei degemoû, ele Sesenabikoû igadi a tob tugamoû goboloû, Koloukoû muguamoû, 'Having finished eating 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), ...'
ebukou miye susua, e miye sudo tahai.
'... he was the first to dive for fish, and he shot many fish.'
E miye susuag kulio degeimoû, haba $\underline{a}$ susuai.
'He dived for fish and when (he) got cold (new scene: different subject), I dived instead.'
A susuane miye sudo e tahai sagai kegenoû tahai.
'I dived and shot as many fish as he (had) shot.'

## A miye susua kulioye dio komoû, ele miye sama, mosokoû boholoûma haguasigei.

'I dived for fish 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 came (back).'

Haguasige, mosokoû felegamoû, miye sa sile, ôu sile demamoû nalo i.
'We came 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 susuag i to susu kenoúfei.

'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 ... kahag 'that ... in control'. The story is one paragraph except for the conclusion.

## Oúmemikoú Dahamo gisiai kedia ya igai.

'The young men from Dahamo went to play (soccer) in Oumemi village.' (introduction/heading)

## Oúmemi kansole kaha toboloûgi, Dahamo gisiaiboû, Sesenabi gisiaiboûde iga, Oúmemikoû yamabeedemoû, dia igai. <br> '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), they went.'

## Dia iga, Oumemikoû fologai.

'They went and arrived in Oumemi.'

## Fologamoû, yale deleguei.

'Having arrived (new scene: same subject), they were playing/played and were.'

## Dia yale ibe, Oúumemi o kediaboûde yale i.

'When they played, they played with the men from Oumemi.'
Kenoûsi Oúmemi o kedia yaibe, diame wini degeli meido.
'But when the Oumemi men played, they really did not win.'
Dahamo gisiaiboû Sesenabi gisiai dianoû wini degema, sele moúmamôu fogoû 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).'

Oúmemi ya igaí susu kenoúfer.
'Telling about going to play (soccer) (at) Oumemi, 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.)

## Isaacho afu Temifenkoû tefelei.

'Isaac stayed in Temifen before.'
Tafalali, ta sabiyei so oye tanoúfei woloû mowi í.
'(He) stayed (there) until one morning (he) took one male dog and went hunting.'
Iligi, so kaha wai tigoumoû ile dugube, wai oye hiyedo ke tigoumôu dugu.
'(He) went until 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.'
Kegemoû, ę taha tahamoû ${ }^{213}$ sulugi, mala mei degei.
'Having become like that (new scene), he moved around shooting again and again until (his) arrows were gone.'
Mala mei degemoû, awaki dihi ta mală, hebe sasa degei ta diafoloû, kuokoû awaki dihi ke tigamamoû kaha tahalemai.
'Because the arrows were gone (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).'

## Kegemoû, wai ke kagima sama kolôu haguei. Mosokoû fele soloû nai.

'Having become like that (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 kenoûfei.

'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 e}\mathrm{ e mowi i.
    earlier=INT man INDF 3s hunt go.nFUT
    'A long time ago a certain man went hunting.'
1568) Felix \underline{e}=m\boldsymbol{m}\mathrm{ Dahamo dihi.}
    Felix 3s=тор Dahamo child
    'Felix, he is a child from Dahamo.'
1569) Walai sawisie-i ta ke-le-ge, Satia =ha}miy\underline{e}\mathrm{ susua
    wrist be.day-NFUT INDF that-A.LOCR-VBR Satia=GEN fish dive.for
```


'One Saturday, Satia wanted to go and dive for fish. (He) got his fishing glass and (his) fishing spear and finally got (his) stringbag and put sago and matches inside the stringbag and went.'

[^129]1570) Bobasi bolou dilie bilika tôu+ma huei na yo-l-u. younger.sister two 3Du saucepan hold+putwater 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) Kolou $\underline{o}=$ foûu dugu, sokoûloû sisigo dia dugu Konoun mouth.of.river=loccome.upsee.nfut school children 3pl see.nfut
$d \underline{\underline{a}}=b o \hat{u} \quad \underline{a}=b o \hat{u}+d e \quad n a-l \underline{e} \quad$ môu $+m \underline{a}$ hague-i. 3PL=and 1s=and+PROV eat-IRR-NFUT get+put come-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.'
1572) Aso kou$=m e \quad b o l o=f \underline{e} \underline{i}=d o$. $\underline{E} \quad$ dege-di=be dabai $s \underline{u}=d o$. sun this=top good=total=int 3 s do-HAB=TOP work many=INT
$\underline{E} \quad$ o ke+dia yukuei ha-di. 3s man that+3pL cloth get.warm-HAB
'This sun is very good. It does many (kinds of) work. It habitually dries people’s clothes' (picture caption)

'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.

'... 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. ${ }^{214}$

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
introduction: (sg.) NP w. $\boldsymbol{f} \boldsymbol{a}$ (INDF)
(du.) NP w. bolou 'two'
(pl.) NP

## kNown

NP
NP w. $k \underline{e}+$ dilie (that +3 DU ) (same as main participants)
NP w. $k \underline{e}+\operatorname{dig} \quad$ (that+3pL) (same as main participants)
zero (e.g. the pig in (1575))

MAINTENANCE: (sg.) NP (w. $k \underline{e} / k a=h \underline{a} / k o=k o u ̂$ (that/...=GEN/... $=\mathrm{LOC})^{215}$ or verb form/zero (applies to both columns)
(du.) NP w. ke + dilie (that+3DU) or verb form/zero
(pl.) NP w. $k e+d i \underline{i} / k \underline{e}+d i l i e$ (that+3pl/Du) or verb form/zero

[^130]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 | so | ti-l-e | igiya-i | sulugua-l-i |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 1DU.EX | dog | call-IRR-FUT | go.DU/PL-NFUT | walk.around.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT hear. NFUT |

so $\varnothing$ tigo-l-o i-môu foúkua igiya-i folo-ga-mố dugu, dog (pig) bark-IRR-FUT go.nFUT-PFV run go.du/PL-NFUT go.up-du/PL.FUT-PFV see.nFUT

| $\varnothing$ | wai oye hiye=do ke tigo-l-o | i-moû | dugu. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (dog) pig male big=INT that bark-IRR-FUT go.NFUT-PFV see.NFUT |  |  |  |

' $\ldots$. 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 sug\underline{u}+tô̂u tafala--i, ... taha\underline{-}=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).'

```
Yôu = makôu \varnothing fiyo-u-mou
3S.EMP=LOC (arrow) fall-NFUT-PFV
```

'(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 $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h a}$ | so | sese---e | hague-i. $\underline{A}$ | tafala | -le | $R \text { (pig) }$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | but.PFV.IRR | pig that=GEN | dog | follow-IRR-FUT | come. nfut 1s | s stand | that-A.LOCR |  |
|  | hagua t | , |  | fefe | ke-le | fogo |  | , $\varnothing$ |
|  | come st | PFV do-N | 1s | ot-nfut waist | that-A.LOCR | hit | get-nfut | (pig) |


' ... again the pig came chasing (the) dog(s). (It) came trying to stand where I stood; I shot; hit the waist ... (it) was in the process of falling over. Uncle having shot and killed (it) ...'
The following examples are from other stories.

| 1577) | 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 until (we) saw a big tree standing.' |  |  |  |


| Hebe | $\boldsymbol{k} \underline{\underline{u}}=\boldsymbol{m a}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}$ | fu=koû | dugu, douwa duwo. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tree | this=TOP=GEN | hole=Loc | see | hornbill sit |

'In a hole of this tree (we) saw (a) hornbill sitting.'

| $\varnothing$ | Duwo-moû dugu-o | fogôu-moû i. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (hornbill) | sit-PFV | see-FUT |

'Having seen (it) sitting (there), leaving (we) went.'
1578) Niniba tie o $k e+d i \underline{i a}=m e \quad$ moso bolo=fei $=d o$. 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 $k a=h a \quad$ tobo-u, nele moni K2.00 ne-l-e. car driver that=GEN say-nfut 2du money K2 give-IRR-FUT
O ta=noû ta=noû sele K2.00 ne-l-e.
man INDF=only indF=only money K2 give-IRR-FUT
A tobo-u, $\underline{a}=m e$ sele mei.
1s say-nfut 1s=TOP money NEG
Kalo o e tobo-u, sele K2.00 ne. Toto $\underline{\text { e }}$ 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 \(\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}\)
        big man that=GEN
        'the big man' (one of many)
1581) duo bolo = fei \(\quad \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}\)
        spirit good=total that=GEN
        'the good spirit' (one of many)
```

Hiye $O=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}$
big man=GEN
'the Lord' (unique)
Duo Bolo $=$ fei $=\boldsymbol{h a}$
spirit good=total=gen
'the Holy Spirit' (unique)

A participant marked by $=h \underline{a}$ 'genitive/control' has overall control, while a participant referred to by $\ldots k a=h \underline{a}$ (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 $=y e$. 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) | Kôu $=m e ~ o ~ g i s i a i . ~$ | $\underline{E}$ | hebe ha-i | wai=ye | no-l- $\underline{u}$ | dugu. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| this=TOP man young 3 l tree cut-NFUT pig=INS | eat-IRR-NFUT see.NFUT |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 'This (is a) young man. He saw (a) pig eating (in his) garden.' |  |  |  |  |  |


| 1583) | Fiya-mou, fall.fut-PFV | $\begin{aligned} & \text { bogo }=\boldsymbol{y e} \\ & \text { white.rock=ins } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & m \underline{q} \\ & 1 \mathrm{~s} . \mathrm{POSS} \end{aligned}$ | abogôu foot | tofo-gu. <br> trap-of.nfut |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

1584) Dig miye si hiyo-u-moû meleki=koû sa+ma

3pL fish cook be.cooked-nFUT-PFV plate=Loc put.inside+put
sea tage + toû duwo-l-i nala $\quad$ a-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 <br> definition

- non-referential any member(s) of a set
- referential a certain entity/certain entities
- generic a class of entities
- non-generic a certain entity/certain entities


## KONAI

marked as a prop with $=y e$ 'instrumental' in subject position and a NP (+/-LOC) as non-subject
any number of options
introduced as a main participant with pronoun copy in either singular or plural, ${ }^{216}$ but often with a singular verb as it refers to the whole class; maintained with pronouns as a main participant
any number of options

## Non-referential examples

| 1585) | $\boldsymbol{o}=\boldsymbol{y e}$ $\boldsymbol{h u}$ <br> man=inS marry <br> 'married' (about a woman)  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |
| 1586) | Moú nothing | oye <br> man=ins | $\begin{aligned} & i-l-e=b e \\ & \text { go }- \text { IRR-FUT=TOP } \end{aligned}$ |

'... A/Any) man without (e.g. knowledge), if/when (he) goes ...'

[^131]1587)
$\boldsymbol{T a}=\boldsymbol{y e}=\boldsymbol{g e} \quad$ wai taho-u-môu, o oloúfei 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) $\begin{array}{lllll}\text { Sabi } & \underline{e} \text { kulio } & \text { hiye }=\text { do dege-môu, } \underline{e} \text { aso difi ha tila. } \\ \text { lizard } & 3 \mathrm{~s} \text { coldness big=int do-PFV } & 3 \mathrm{~s} \text { sun hot get.warm lie.down }\end{array}$

| $\underline{E}$ | beye | $n \underline{a}-d i$. | $\underline{E}$ | miye | $n \underline{a}-d i$, | sio |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3 l | possum $d i$. |  |  |  |  |  |
| eat-HAB | 3 s | fish | eat-HAB | bird | eat-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.
$\begin{array}{llllll}\underline{a}=m e & \text { sok=be mei dege-l-e. } & \text { Kege-i } & \text { dege-mố, na } \underline{a}=\text { mokoú }\end{array}$
sok $s \underline{u}=d o \quad n e . \quad . . . T a=b e \quad . .$. kuguo=boûu pencil=be mei.
chalk many=int give ... INDF=TOP ... paper=and pencil=TOP NEG
Kege-i dege-môu, na $\underline{a}=$ mokô̂u pepa $=$ bôu pencil=bôu + de 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 $\underline{\boldsymbol{e}}=\boldsymbol{m e}$ hebe tou $\underline{u}=k o u ̂$ duwo. $\underline{E}$ ta-di=be uwo hiye $=$ do. cicada 3 s=Tор tree stump=Loc sit 3 s speak-нAB=Tор noise big=int 'The cicada he sits on a tree stump. He makes a lot of noise.'
1591) Kueya $\underline{e}$ hebe kolo no-l-u. Na-ma mei dege-môu fogoû-ma cassowary 3s tree bark/fruit eat-IRR-NFUTeat-ISQ NEG do-PFV leave.for-ISQ

'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) Huliage oguo hoho dege---i. Huliagme sasai dia oguo hoho dege-i-moû, darkness.top moon light do-IRR-nfut darkness.top woman 3pl moon light do-nfut-pFV miye bese i-li.
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 $\mathrm{CHW}^{217}$ being the powerful administrator, marked with $=h \underline{a}$. 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) | Ke-ge-moû, dokta=boû medigo=boû |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that-VBR-PFV doctor=and medical. worker=and | dig=me dabai hiye=do |
| degele idi. |  |
| do-IRR-FUT go-HAB |  |
| 'Having become like that, doctors and medical workers they are always working (pl.) very hard.' |  |

[^132]
### 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).
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { 1594) } & \text { I-I-e } & \text { su-I-u-gi } & \varnothing & \text { dugu=be, } \\ \text { go-IRR-FUT } & \text { walk.around-IRR-NFUT-DSQ } & \text { (cassowary) } & \text { see.nFUT=TOP } & \text { cassowary }\end{array}$
ti-l-e uwo dege-i-môu $\underline{a} d u$.
call-IRR-FUT noise do-NFUT-PFV 1 s 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 $\varnothing$ 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

1596) Ke-ge-moû, John $\underline{e}$ hoho dege-i. $\underline{E}$ tawa-i, Yesu=be Godi=ha dihi=d=ade that-vbr-pFV John 3 s light do-nfut 3 s know-nfut Jesus=top God=gen child=int=sqv tawa-i. Ke-ge-moû, e i-l-e o sasąi ilo ke+diğ=mokôu tobo-u. 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.'

'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 o,...
    ... Zechariah 3s priest work do-HAB man ...
```

    '... Zechariah he was (a) priest ...'
    ... sawisie-i ta \(\underline{e}\) sosi moso = koû duwo-l-i dugu=be, hoho hiye = do ta
    ... be.day-nfut indF 3 s church house=Loc sit-IRR-NFUT see.nfut=top light big=int indF
    \(\underline{e}=\) mokoû hagu-môu dugu. Sekeraia esol Gebulu dugu,
    3s-= LOC come.nFUT-PFV see.nFUt Zechariah angel Gabriel see.nfut
    e gue hiye=do dege-i. Ke-ge-moû, esol Gebulu=ha tobo-u,
    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 ...'
    Sekeraia \(\underline{e}\) tobo-u, esol Gebulu=kôu tobo-u, ...
    Zechariah 3s say-nfut angle Gabriel=loc say-nfut
    'Zechariah he said; (he) said to (the) angel Gabriel ...'
    Esol Gebulu =ha Sekeraía = kôu 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 -moû, 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 $\boldsymbol{t a h a}-\underline{\underline{i}}=\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{e}$ '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.

'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).'

| $Y \underline{\underline{o u}}=m a k o u ̂$ | fiyo-u-moû | haba | tage | taha- $i=b e$ | mala | tuga-ma |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 3s.EMP=LOC | fall-nFUT-PFV | but. PFV.IRR | over | shoot-nFUT=TOP | arrow | bounce-ISQ |
| arrow |  | Asele |  |  | arrow | (another) |

hebe-l-e fele-i.
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).'

[^133]
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## 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

## Appendix I

## RuLes of vowel harmony in verbs

This appendix ${ }^{1}$ 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 ${ }^{2}$ 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

The following table gives the general picture for final verb forms. ${ }^{3}$

| BASIC FORM | PAST | PRESENT | FUTURE | MEANING | TYPE OF VERB |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | -i/-u | (-1)-i/-u/-o | $(-1)-\varepsilon /-0 /-0^{4}$ |  |  |
| /migi/ | /migi/ | /migi-l-i/ | $/$ migi-l- / | 'come down' | type 1 |
| /bese/ | /bese-i/ | /bisi-l-i/ | /bese-l-ع/ | 'fish/angle' | type 2 |
| /baha/ | /baha-i/ | /bsho-l-u/ | /baha-l-ع/ | 'look' | type 3a |
| /taga/ | /taga-i/ | /taga-l-i/ | /taga-l-ع/ | 'like’ | type 3c |
| /bija/ | /bije-i/ | /bijo-l-u/ | /bija-l-e/ | 'fight' | type 4a |
| /tafala/ | /tefele-i/ | / tafala-l-i/ | / tafala-l-¢/ | 'stand' | type 4d (irregular root) |
| /dugu/ | /dugu/ | /dugu-l-u/ | /dugu-l-s/ | 'see' | type 5 |
| /s $\mathrm{o}^{\text {/ }}$ | /sõ- ${ }^{\text {u }}$ / | /sõ-l- ${ }^{\text {of/ }}$ | /sõ-l- ${ }^{\text {of/ }}$ | 'open' | type 6 |
| /wo/ | /we-i/ | /wo-l-u/ | /wo-l-3/ | 'attack' | type 7 |

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.

\footnotetext{
${ }^{1}$ Taken from Årsjö 2005 and adapted.
${ }_{3}^{2}$ 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.
${ }^{3}$ 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 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' |
| $\mid-\varepsilon /$, /-o/ | 'FUT' |
| /-o/ | 'NPST' |

## Vowel harmony rule 1

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:

| Type 1 | /bigi/ | 'wash' | bigi | (when the context so allows) ${ }^{5}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | /bigi/ | 'washed' | bigi |  |
|  | /bigi-l-i/ | 'is washing' | bigili |  |
|  | /bigi-l-ع/ | 'will wash' | bigile |  |
| Type 2 | /hebe/ | 'carry' | hebe | (when the context so allows) |
|  | /hebe-i/ | 'carried' | hebei |  |
|  | /hibi-l-i/ | 'is carrying' | hebeli |  |
|  | /hebe-l-e/ | 'will carry' | hebele |  |
| Type 5 | /du/ | 'hear' | $d u$ |  |
|  | /du/ | 'heard' | $d u$ |  |
|  | /duu-l-u/ | 'is hearing' | dulu |  |
|  | /du-l-o/ | 'will hear' | dulo |  |
| Type 6 | /tobo/ | 'speak' | toboû |  |
|  | /tobo-u/ | 'spoke’ | tobou |  |
|  | /tobo-l-o/ | 'is speaking’ | tobolou |  |
|  | /tobo-l-0/ | 'will speak' | tobolou |  |
| Type 7 | /togo/ | 'make' | togo | (vowel harmony rule 7)) |
|  | (/tege-i/ | 'made' | tegei |  |
|  | /togo-l-u/ | 'is making' | togoulu ${ }^{6}$ |  |
|  | /togo-l-o/ | '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 $/-\mathrm{u} /$, which makes type 1 and type 5 verbs inherently oriented to past tense. Future tense (FUT) is signalled by $/-\varepsilon /$ or $/-\rho /$. However, if a root ends in $/-\mathrm{o} /$, 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:

| $(\mathrm{l}) \mathrm{V}$ | $\rightarrow$ | $(\mathrm{l}) \mathrm{V}$ | $\mathrm{V}+$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- |
| $[+\mathrm{TAM}]$ |  | $[\alpha$ back] | $[\alpha$ back $]$ |

The vowel signalling tense in the TAM suffix /-(b)V/ varies in backness in accordance with the last vowel of the verb root.

[^134]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 | /baha/ | 'look' | baha |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | /baha-i/ | 'looked' | bahai |
|  | /boho-l-u/ | 'is looking' | baholu |
|  | /baha-l- $\mathbf{\varepsilon}$ / | 'will look' | bahale |
| Type 4 | /fija/ | 'fall' | fiya |
|  | $(/ f i j \varepsilon-\mathbf{i} /$ | 'fell' | fiyei |
|  | /fijo-l-u/ | 'is falling' | fiyolu |
|  | /fija-l- $\mathbf{\varepsilon} /$ | 'will fall' | fiyale |

$$
\text { (vowel harmony rule } 6 \text { also applies)) }
$$

## VOWEL HARMONY RULE 2:

$\mathrm{lV} \quad \rightarrow \quad$ lu $\quad / \quad a_{+}$

Vowel harmony rule 3a:


## Vowel harmony rule 3b:

```
V il lil
```

For verbal roots ending in / $\mathbf{a} /$ the present TAM-suffix is generally //lu/ 'IRR.NFUT' and the future suffix is /-le/ 'IRR.FUT'. In addition, the past TAM suffix is /- $\mathrm{i} /$.

VH RULE 3a and 3b may be generalised to cover the irregular type 3c verbs.

| Type 3c | ttaga/ | 'like' | taga |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | /taga-i/ | 'liked' | tagai |
|  | /taga-l-i/ | 'likes' | tagali |
|  | /taga-l- $\mathbf{\varepsilon} /$ | 'will like' | tagale |

## Vowel harmony rule 3a \& 3b Generalised:



The irregular type 3c verb roots end in /a/ and the present TAM-suffix is /-li/ 'IRR.NFUT' (rather than /-lu/). The future suffix is the regular /-lع/ '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 $/ \mathrm{i} / \mathrm{/} / \mathrm{u} /$, /e/ or $/ \mathrm{o} /$. In the case of a root ending in $/ \mathrm{o} /$ 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 3 b 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.

## Vowel harmony rules 4 AND 5

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 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | /hibi-l-i/ | 'is carrying' | hebeli |

## Vowel harmony rule 4:



If the last vowel in a verbal root is $/ \varepsilon /$, it and any preceding $/ \varepsilon /$ will change to $/ \mathrm{i} /$ when followed by the tam suffix $/-\mathrm{li} /$ 'IRR.NFUT'.
vh rule 5

| Type 3a | /baha/ | 'look' | baha |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /bsho-l-u/ | 'is looking' | baholu |  |
| Type 4 | /fija/ | 'fall' | fiya |
|  | /fijo-l-u/ | 'is falling' | fiyolu |

Vowel harmony rule 5:

| $(\mathrm{V})^{\mathrm{n}}+$ | $\rightarrow$ | V | $/$ | -lu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $[+$ central $]$ |  | $[+$ back $]$ |  | $[+$ TAM $]$ |

If the last vowel in a verbal root is $/ \mathrm{a} /$, it and any preceding $/ \mathrm{a} /$ will change to $/ \mathrm{\rho} /$ when followed by the TAM suffix $/-\mathrm{lu} /$ '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 meI/ as a negative marker in past tense. Even though the suffix /-li/ in /-li meI/ '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-l-i | meI/ | 'did not come down' | type 1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| /bese/ | 'fish/angle for' | /bisi-l-i | meI/ | 'did not fish/angle for' | type 2 |
| /baha/ | 'look' | /baha-l-i | meI/ | 'did not look' | type 3 |
| /bija/ | 'fight' | /bije-l-i | meI/ | 'did not fight’ | type 4 |
| /dugu/ | 'see' | /dugu-l-i | meI/ | 'did not see’ | type 5 |
| /sõ/ | 'open' | /sõ-l-i | meI/ | 'did not open' | type 6 |
| /sogo/ | 'plant' | /sege-l-i | meI/ | '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 $4^{7}$ and type 7 roots, when the TAM suffix is /-i/ 'NFUT' or /-li mei/ 'IRR.NFUT NEG' (past tense).
Vh RULE 6:

| Type 4 | /tia/ | 'sleep’ | tia | (sleep-IRR.NFUT NEG) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | /tie-i/ | 'is sleeping/slept' | tiei |  |
|  | /tie-li mei/ | 'did not sleep' | tieli mei |  |
|  | /suwa/ | 'paddle' | suwa |  |
|  | /suwe-i/ | 'paddled' | suwei |  |
|  | /suwe-li mei/ | 'did not paddle' | suweli m | (paddle-IRR.NFUT NEG) |

## VH RULE 6:



In a verbal root ending in $/ \mathrm{a} /$, if the vowel in the preceding syllable is [+high], the $/ \mathrm{a} /$ will change to $/ \varepsilon /$ if followed by the TAM suffix /-i/ 'NFUT' or /-li mei/ 'IRR.NFUT NEG'.

## Vh RULE 7

Type 7

| /sogo/ | 'plant' | sogo |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /s $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon g} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}$-i/ | 'planted' | segei |
| /sege-li mei/ | '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 /segei/, when the basic form is /sogo/? I propose VH RULES 7a and 7b.

## Vowel harmony rules 7a \& 7b:

|  | (V) ${ }^{\text {n }}+$ | $\rightarrow$ | [-back] | 1 | [+TAM] |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | [-(mid)high] |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7a) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

If the last vowel in a verbal root is $/ \rho /$, it and any preceding $/ \rho /$ will change to $/ \varepsilon /$, when followed by the tam suffix -V 'NFUT' and /-li mei/ '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) $\mathrm{V} \quad \rightarrow \quad \mathrm{i} \quad / \quad \varepsilon^{+}-$
[+TAM]
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.

\footnotetext{
${ }^{7}$ Type 4d, e.g. tafala 'stand' is irregular in that it is conjugated according to VH Rule 6, even though there is no high vowel in the root.

| tafala | 'stand' | - |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tafala | 'stands' | - |
| tefele-i | 'stood' | -NFUT |
| tefele-l(-)i mei | 'did not stand' | -IRR(-)NFUT\#NEG |
| tafala--e | 'will stand' | -IRR-FUT |
| tafala---i | 'stand until' | -IRR-NFUT |

## 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 ${ }^{8}$ (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. ${ }^{9}$

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. ${ }^{10}$

| BASIC FORM | PRESENT CLOSE/NFUT | FUTURE <br> UNSPECIFIED/FUT | MEANING | TYPE OF VERB |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | -i/-u | (-l-)-a/- $/$ /-o/-o ${ }^{11}$ |  |  |
| /sa-gi/ | /sa-gi/ | /sa-gi-e/ | 'put.inside-of' | type 1 |
| $/ \mathrm{migi} /$ | /migi/ | /migi-l-e/ | 'come down' |  |
| /dege/ | /d $\varepsilon \mathrm{g} \varepsilon$ - $\mathbf{i} /$ | /dege/ | 'do' | type 2 |
| /bese/ | /bese-i/ | /bese-l-e/ | 'fish/angle' |  |
| /baha/ | /bsho-u/ | /baha/ | 'look' | type 3a |
| /taga/ | / taga-i/ | /taga-l-ع/ | 'like' | type $3 \mathrm{c}^{12}$ |
| /bija/ | /bijo-u/ | /bija/ | 'fight' | type $4^{13}$ |
| /dugu/ | /dugu/ | /dugu-s/ | 'see' | type 5 |
| /du/ | /du/ | /du-l-s/ | 'hear' |  |
| /s $\mathrm{o}^{\text {/ }}$ | /s $\mathbf{0}^{\text {/ }}$ | /sõ-l-0̃/ | 'open' | type 6 |
| /wo/ | /wo-u/ | /wo-l-3/ | '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 / $\mathbf{a}$ / 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.
VOWEL HARMONY RULE 1: (applies to all, except type 3c)
$(\mathrm{l}) \mathrm{V} \quad \rightarrow \quad(\mathrm{l}) \mathrm{V} \quad / \quad \mathrm{V}+\ldots$
[+TAM]
[ $\alpha$ back]
[ $\alpha$ back]

The vowel signalling tense in the TAM suffix /-(l)V/ varies in backness in accordance with the last vowel of the verb root.
Vowel harmony rule 5: (applies to type 3a and type 4 verbs):

| $(\mathrm{V})^{\mathrm{n}}+$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $[+$ central $]$ |$\quad \rightarrow \quad \underset{[+ \text { back }]}{ } \quad / \quad-$| $\mathrm{u}^{14}$ |
| :--- |
| $[+$ TAM $]$ |

If the last vowel in a verbal root is $/ \mathbf{a} /$, it and any preceding $/ \mathbf{a} /$ will change to $/ \mathrm{s} /$ when followed by the tam suffix $/-\mathrm{u} /$ 'NFUT'.

[^135]
## A MORPHOPHONEMIC RULE OF VOWEL HARMONY TRIGGERED BY/a/-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

VH RULE 8 applies to all verb types and affects all [-high] vowels in the verb, when followed by a suffix beginning with /a/.
Prospective aspect ${ }^{15}$

| /i/ | 'go' | /i-l-adi/ | 'just about to go' | (go-IRR-PROS) | iladi | type 1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| /ḋege/ | 'do' | /daga-l-ad̃i/ | 'just about to do' | (do-IRR-PROS) | degeladi | type 2 |
| /baha/ | 'look' | /baha-l-adi/ | 'just about to look' | (look-IRR-PROS) | bahaladi | type $3^{16}$ |
| /tira/ | 'sleep' | /tiol-l-adi/ | ‘just about to fall asleep’ | (sleep-IRR-PROS) | tialadi | type 4 |
| /dugu/ | 'see’ | /drugu-l-adi/ | 'just about to see’ | (see-IRR-PROS) | duguladi | type 5 |
| /tobo/ | 'speak' | /taba-l-adi/ | 'just about to speak' | (speak-IRR-PROS) | toboûladi | type 6 |
| /toga/ | 'make' | /taga-l-adi/ | 'just about to make’ | (make-IRR-PROS) | tagaladi | type 7 |

Purpose

| /i/ | 'go' | /i-l-a-mo/ | 'planning to go' | (go-IRR-SUBJ-PFV) | ilamoú | type 1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| /dicge/ | 'do' | /dagad-l-a-mo / | 'planning to do' | (do-IRR-SUBJ-PFV) | degelamou | type 2 |
| /baha/ | 'look' | /baha-l-a-mo / | 'planning to look' | (look-IRR-SUBJ-PFV) | bahalamoú | type 3 |
| /tira/ | ‘sleep’ | /tiau-l-a-mo / | 'planning to fall asleep' | (sleep-IRR-SUBJ-PFV) | tialamoû | type 4 |
| /ḋugu/ | 'see' | /dugu-l-a-mo / | 'planning to see' | (see-IRR-SUBJ-PFV) | dugulamoù | type 5 |
| /tobo/ | 'speak' | /taba-l-a-mo / | 'planning to speak' | (speak-IRR-SUBJ-PFV) | toboûlamoû | type 6 |
| /togo/ | 'make' | /taga-l-a-mo / | 'planning to make' | (make-IRR-SUBJ-PFV) | tagalamou | type 7 |

Vowel Harmony Rule 8:


The prospective aspect suffix /-adi/ and the purpose/subjunctive suffix /-a/will change all [-high] vowels in the root to /a/.
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.

[^136]
## Appendix II

## A PRONOUN OR QUESTION WORD AS HEAD OF A NOMINAL PHRASE

Co-OCCURRENCE WITH CASE

| Case $\rightarrow$ | $=\boldsymbol{h a}$ | $=\{$ koû $\}$ | $=\{y e\}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| head of simple NP $\downarrow$ | 'genitive' | 'locative' | 'instrumental' |
| personal pronouns | --- | = mokoû | --- |
| emphatic pronouns | --- | = makoú | --- |
| demonstrative pronouns | $\checkmark$ | = koú | --- |
| koyo 'who' | $\checkmark$ | = koû | --- |
| kei 'what' | --- | --- | --- |

## Co-occurrence with Limiters

| Limiters $\rightarrow$ | $=$ noûu | $=$ fé | $=\boldsymbol{n e}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| head of simple NP $\downarrow$ | 'only' | 'total' | 'also' |
| personal pronouns | $\checkmark$ | --- | $\checkmark$ |
| emphatic pronouns | $\checkmark$ | $\checkmark$ | $\checkmark$ |
| demonstrative pronouns | $\checkmark$ | $\checkmark$ | $\checkmark$ |
| koyo 'who' | --- | --- | --- |
| kei 'what' | --- | --- | --- |

Co-occurrence with =do 'intensifier', =boû 'and', =le 'independent possessive'

| intensifier ,'and', indp.poss. $\rightarrow$ | $=\boldsymbol{d o}$ | $=$ boû | $=\boldsymbol{l e}^{17}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| head of simple NP $\downarrow$ | 'intensifier' | 'and' | 'independent possessive' |
| personal pronouns | --- | $\checkmark$ | --- |
| emphatic pronouns | --- | $\checkmark$ | --- |
| demonstrative pronouns | --- | $\checkmark$ | $\checkmark$ |
| koyo 'who' | $\checkmark$ | --- | $\checkmark$ |
| kei 'what' | --- | --- | --- |

[^137]
## Appendix III

## 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 Ta
yoti ta
traditional.feast talk
v1 v3a
'(A) story about (a) feast' (heading)
001

| $\boldsymbol{O}$ | $\boldsymbol{t a}$ | $\underline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ | sasai | dilie | wai | dia | delei. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $o$ | ta | $\underline{e}$ | sasai | dilie | wai | dia | dala-i |
| man | INDF | 3s | woman | 3DU | pig | look.after | be/have-NFUT |
| N | ADJ | PRON | N | PRON | N | V4a | V4d-SF |

'A certain man and his wife raised (a) pig.'
002

| Wai | dia | hiyedo | degei. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wai | dia | hiye $=$ do | dege-i |
| pig | look.after | big=INT | do-NFUT |
| N | v4a | ADJ=CLT | V2-SF |

'(They) raised (the) pig and (it) became really big.' or '(The) pig was raised and it got really big.'
003

| Kegemoû, | dilie | moso | tegei. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ke-ge-mố | dilie | moso | togo-i |
| that-VBR-PFV | 3Du | house | build-NFUT |
| DEM-SF-SF | PRON | N | V7a-SF |

'Having become like that, the two of them built a house.'
004
Moso tegei mei degemoû, dilie oû hai.
moso togo-i mei dege-mồ dilie oû ha-i
house build-nfutneg do-pFV 3Du sago cut-nfut
$\mathrm{N} \quad$ 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 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sasai | $\underline{e}$ | out | gai. |
| sasai | $\underline{e}$ | out | ga-i |
| woman | 3s | sago | gather-nfut |
| N | PRON | N | v3a-sF |


'When (she) had finished gathering sago, the two of them told another man, "Walk around and talk about the feast everywhere.",

| $\boldsymbol{O}$ | $\underline{e}$ | $\boldsymbol{o}$ | $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}$ | $\boldsymbol{i}$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\boldsymbol{o}$ | $\underline{e}$ | $o$ | $k \boldsymbol{a}$ | $i$ |
| man | 3S | man | find | go. NFUT |
| N | PRON | N | v3a | v1 |

'The man went to look for people.'
008

| E | 0 | $\underline{t a}$ | tobou, | ni | oloûfei | haguama. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{e}$ | $\bigcirc$ | $t \underline{\square}$ | toboû-u | $n \underline{1}$ | oloûfei | hagua-ma |
| 3s | man | talk | say-nfut | 2PL | all.total | come-Du/PL |
| PRON | $N$ | v3a | v6a | PRON | ADJ.CLT | v4b-sF |

'He said to (the) people, "All of you come.""
009
0 sudo haguei.
o $s \underline{u}=$ do hagua-i
man many=int come-nfut
n ADJ=CLT V4b-SF
'Many people came.'
010

| Dilie | $\boldsymbol{o}$ | kediámokoú | nale | hiyedo | nei. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dilie | $o$ | ke + di $\underline{a}=$ mokoú | na-l-e | hiye $=$ do | ne-i |
| 3DU | man | that+3PL=LOC | eat-IRR-FUT | big=INT | give-NFUT |
| PRON | N | DEM+PRON=CLT | v3a-SF-SF | ADJ=CLT | V2-SF |

'The two of them gave plenty of food to the people.'
011

| Sabiyei | $\boldsymbol{t a}$ | dia | wai | wei. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sabiya-i | ta | dig | wai | wo-i |
| be.morning-NFUT | INDF | 3 3L | pig | attack-NFUT |
| v4a-SF | ADJ | PRON | N | v7a-SF |

'One morning they killed (the) pig.'
012

| Mei | degemoû, | dia | wai | sou. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mei | dege-moû | dia | wai | soû-u |
| NEG | do-PFV | 3pL | pig | cook.on.stones-NFUT |
| ADV | V2-SF | PRON | N | V6a-SF |

'Having finished, they cooked (the) pig on hot stones.'
013

| Wai | sou | hiyamoû, | dig | wai | nai. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wai | soû-u | hiya-môu | dia | wai | na-i |
| pig | cook.on. stones-NFUt | be.cooked-PFV 3PL | pig | eat-NFUT |  |
| N | v6a-SF | v4a-SF | PRON | N | v3a-SF |

'Having cooked (the) pig (until it) was done, they ate pig(meat).'
014

| Sabiyei | día | wai | sama, | die | sabekoû | yai. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sabiya-i | dig | wai | sa+ma | die | sabe=koú | ya-i |
| be.morning-NFUT | 3pL | pig | put.inside+put | 3PL.POSS | home.ground=Loc | go.DU/PL-NFUT |
| v4a-SF | PRON | N | v3a+v3a | PRON | N=CLT | V3a-SF |

'In the morning, they put pig (meat) into (their stringbags) and went home.'

015
Ma to kenoûferi.
$m \underline{a} \quad t \underline{a} \quad k \underline{e}=n o \hat{u}=f \underline{e} i$
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
Mola Ta
mola to
medicine talk
N v3a
'(A) story about medicine’ (heading)
001

| Molabe | bolofeido, | eme | o | dogoungudi. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mola=be | bolo=fe $i=d o$ | $e=m e$ | $o$ | dogoungu-di |
| medicine=TOP | good=total=INT | 3s=TOP | man | help-HAB |
| N=CLT | ADJ=CLT=CLT | PRON=CLT | N | V5-SF |

'Medicine is very good; it helps people.'
002
Kegemoû, o oloúfeidobe sawisiei oloûfei
ke-ge-moû o oloûfei $=d o=b e \quad$ sawisia-i oloûfei
that-VBR-PFV man all.total=INT=Top be.day-NFUT all.total
DEM-SF-SF $N$ ADJ.CLT=CLT=CLT V4a-SF ADJ.CLT

| mola | tagalemố | mala | idi. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mola | taga---e-moû | mala | i-di |
| medicine | like-IRR-FUT-PFV | get.IRR. FUT | go-HAB |
| N | v3c-SF-SF-SF | v6a.SF.SF | v1-SF |

'Having become like that, all people, at all times, having liked medicine keep getting it.'
003

| Molabe |  | $o$ | oloûfei | do | degeimoube | ile, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mola $=$ be |  | o | oloufei | do | dege-i-moû $=$ be | i--e |
| medicine=top |  | man | all.total | sickness | do-nFUT-PFV=TOP | go-IRR-FUT |
| $\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{CLT}$ |  | N | ADJ.CLT | N | v2-sF-SF=CLT | v1-sf-sf |
| mola m | mos | kout | fologa | duwo |  |  |
| mola m | mos | = $k$ oû | folo-ga | duwo |  |  |
| medicine hous | hous | e=Loc | go.up-du/p | .fut sit- |  |  |
|  | n=cL |  | v7a-sF | v7b- |  |  |


'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.'

| Kegemoû, | $\boldsymbol{s a}$ | $\boldsymbol{s a}$ | 0 | oloûfeidobe | mola | $\underline{e}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ke-ge-moû | sa | sa | 0 | oloufei $=d o=b e$ | mola | $\underline{e}$ |
| that-VBR-PFV | land | land | man | all.total=int=Top | medicine | 3s |
| DEM-VBR-PFV | N | N | N | ADJ.CLT=CLT=CLT | N | PRON |

## neleyenoû

nele $=y e=n o ̂ u$
wolou
wôu-l-ou
daladi.
strength=ins=only
watch.over-IRR-NPST
dala-di
$\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{CLT}=\mathrm{CLT}$
v6a-sF-SF
have-нав
v4d-sf
'Having become like that, by its the strength, medicine looks after people everywhere.'
005

| Mola | $\underline{e}$ | dabaibe | hiyedo | degele | idi. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mola | $\underline{e}$ | dabai=be | hiye $=$ do | dege-I-e | i-di |
| medicin | 3s | work=TOP | big=INT | do-IRR-FUT | go-HAB |
| 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 | moûma | haguasiedi. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| do | daga | daga | moû + ma | hagua-sie-di |
| sickness | different | different | get + put | come-PL-HAB |
| N | ADJ | ADJ | v6a+v3a | v4b-SF-SF |

'(People) keep coming with all kinds of sicknesses.'
007

| Kegemoû, | doktaboù | medigoboú | diame |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ke-ge-moû | dokta = boû | medigo = boû | $d \underline{i g}=m e$ |
| that-VBR-PFV | doctor=and | medical.worker=and | 3pL=TOP |
| DEM-SF-SF | $\mathrm{N}=$ CLT | $\mathrm{N}=$ CLT | PRON=CLT |
| dabai hiyedo | degele | $i d i$. |  |
| dabai hiye = do | dege-I-e | $i-d i$ |  |
| work big=int | do-IRR-FUT | go-HAB |  |
| $\mathrm{N} \quad$ ADJ=CLT | v2-SF-SF | v1-SF |  |

'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)

| $\mathbf{0 0 0}$ |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Fene | gabu | milou | ta |
| fene | gabu | milou-u | ta |
| airplane | place | work-NFUT | talk |
| N | N | v6a-SF | V3a |

'(A) story about working (on an) airstrip' (heading)
001

| $\underline{A}$ | $\boldsymbol{a f u}$ | 1981-82 | Sepe | $\underline{o}$ | fene | gabu | milou | ta. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\underline{a}$ | afu | 1981-82 | Sepe | $\underline{o}$ | fene | gabu | miloû-u | ta |
| 1s | earlier | 1981-82 | Smipen | mouth.of.river | airplane | place | work-NFUT | talk |
| PRON | ADV | ADV | N | N | N | N | 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

| To | $\underline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ | hube | Sepe | $\underline{o}$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| to | $\underline{e}$ | hu$=$ be | Sepe | $\underline{o}$ |
| river | 3S | name=TOP | Smipen | mouth. of.river |
| N | PRON | N=CLT | N | N |

'The river, its name is (the) Mouth of the Smipen.'

## 003

| Bô̂ | $\underline{e}$ | hube | Woodyard, | Vance | Woodyard, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| boû | $\underline{e}$ | hu$=$ be | Woodyard | Vance | Woodyard |
| white.man | 3s | name=TOP | Woodyard | Vance | Woodyard |
| N | PRON | N=CLT | N | N | N |


| eboû | aboûu | Dipaiboûu | fene | gabu | miloloû | i. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\underline{e}=$ bôu | $\underline{a}=$ boû | Dipai=boû | fene | gabu | miloû-l-oû | i |
| 3s=and | 1s=and | Dipai=and | airplane | place | work-IRR-NPST | go.NFUT |
| PRON=CLT | PRON=CLT | 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 | fofou |  | hiyedo. |
| fene | gabu | $s a=b e$ | fofôu-u |  | hiye $=$ do |
| airplane | place | e land=TOP | P be.muddy- | NFUT | big=INT |
| $N$ | N | $\mathrm{N}=$ CLT | v6a-sF |  | ADJ $=$ CLT |
| 'The ground of (the) airstrip was really muddy.' |  |  |  |  |  |
| 005 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Habiya | o sur | sudo mir | miloloú | $i$. |  |
| habiya | o sul | $s \underline{u}=d o \quad$ mic | miloû-l-ou | $i$ |  |
| Aekyom | man ma | many=INT Wor | work-IRR-NPST | go.nfut |  |
| $N$ | $N \quad A D$ | ADJ=CLT V | v6a-sF-sF | v1 |  |
| 'Many Aekyom people worked (there).' |  |  |  |  |  |


| Medigo | $\boldsymbol{o}$, | $\underline{e}$ | hube | Someke. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| medigo | $o$ | $\underline{e}$ | hu$=$ be | Someke |
| medical.worker | man | 3S | name=TOP | Someke |
| N | N | PRON | N=CLT | N |

'The medical orderly, his name was Someke.'
007

| O | hu | oloûfei | nalai. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| o | hu | oloûfei | nala-i |
| man | name | all.total | write-NFUT |
| N | N | ADJ.CLT | v3a-SF |

'(He) wrote (down) all (the) names of people (working there).'
008
Eme bose.
$\underline{e}=m e \quad$ bose
$3 s=$ тор boss
PRON=CLT N
'He was (the) boss.'
009

| Kege | miloloú | ibe, | gusubu | 8:00 | ilemoû | 12:00. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ke-ge | miloû-l-ou | $i=b e$ | gusubu | 8:00 | i-I-e-moû | 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-I-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-HAB |
| ADV | N | v7a-SF |

'(At) 1:00 o'clock (they) habitually hit (a) bell.'

## 012

| O | oloûfei | dabai | degedi | ibe | demôu, | habi | 4:30 | fogoû | idi. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| o | oloûfei | dabai | dege-di | $i=$ be | de-moû | habi | $4: 30$ | fogoû | i-di |
| man | all.total | work | do-HAB | go=TOP | PROV-PFV | afternoon | $4: 30$ | leave.for | go-HAB |
| N | ADJ.CLT | N | V2-SF | V1=CLT | V2-SF | ADV | ADV | v6a | V1-SF |

'Everybody habitually worked until 4.30 in (the) afternoon, (when) leaving (they) habitually went.'
013
0 oloûfei mosokoû idi.
o oloúfei moso $=k o u ̂ u$ i-di
man all.total house=Loc go-нав
N ADJ.CLT N=CLT V1-SF
'Everybody habitually went to (their) houses.'

'(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
A, testimony, $\underline{a}$ Kiungakô̂u i
a testimony $\underline{a} \quad K i u n g a=k o u ̂ \quad i$
1s testimony 1s Kiunga=Loc go.nfut

PRON N PRON N=CLT V1
'I (have a) testimony (about when) I went to Kiunga.'
002

| I, | ile | iligi, | Kiungakoû. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $i$ | i-I-e | i-l-i-gi | Kiunga=koú |
| go. NFUT | go-IRR-FUT | go-IRR-NFUT-DSQ | Kiunga=Loc |
| v1 | V1-SF-SF | v1-SF-SF-SF | N=CLT |

'(I) went; (I) went and went until (arriving) at Kiunga.'
003

| Sande | kaha | felei, | Monday | koumaha, | sele | 170 | kina |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Sande | k $\underline{a}=h \underline{a} \underline{a}$ | folo-i | Monday | koü $=m a=h \underline{a}$ | sele | 170 | kina |
| Sunday | that $=$ GEN | go. up-NFUT | Monday | this=TOP=GEN | money | 170 | kina |
| ADV | DEM=CLT | V7a-SF | ADV | DEM $=C L T=C L T$ | N | ADJ | N |


| toloû | $\boldsymbol{i}$, | sitouwakoû | folomôu, | nale | mou. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| toú-l-oú | $i$ | sitouwa=koú | folo-moú | na-l-e | moú-u |
| hold-IRR-NPST | go. NFUT | store=Loc | go.up. FUT-PFV | eat-IRR-FUT | get-NFUT |
| v6a-SF-SF | v1 | N=CLT | v7a-SF | v3a-SF-SF | v6a-SF |

'(I) arrived last Sunday; this Monday, (I) held K170 and went; having arrived at the store, (I) bought food.'
004

| Nale | mốlamoû | degei, | sele | huyafei | degei. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| na-l-e | môu-l-a-moû | dege-i | sele | huyafei | 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) tried to buy food; (there) was (only) a little money.'
005

'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, | $\underline{a}$ | mala | haguei. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ke-ge-moú | $\underline{a}$ | mala | hagua-i |
| that-VBR-PFV | 1s | get.IRR. FUT come-NFUT |  |
| DEM-SF-SF | PRON | V6a.SF.SF | V4b-SF |

'Having become like that, I took (it) and started to come (back in the direction of the village).'

| Haguamou, | petolo | huei | mou. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hagua-moú | petolo | huei | môu-u |
| come-PFV | petrol | water | get-NFUT |
| v4b-SF | N | N | v6a-SF |

'Having come (to a place for buying it), (I) got petrol.'
008

| Moûlamoú, | $\underline{e}$ | tobou, | 20 | kina | ne | nale | molou. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| moû-l-a-moú | $\underline{e}$ | tobou-u | 20 | kina | ne | na-l-e | mout-l-ou |
| get-IRR-SUBJ-PFV | 3s | say-nfut | 20 | kina | 2s.poss | eat-IRR-FUT | get-IRR-NPST |
| v6a-SF-SF-SF | PRON | v6a-sf | ADJ | N | PRON | V2-SF-SF | v6a-SF-SF |

'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

| OK, | 40 | kina | ne | petolo huei doûla | ma, | Dahamokoû ile. |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| OK | 40 | kina | ne | petolo huei | doû-l-a | ma | Dahamo=koú i-l-e |  |
| OK | 40 | kina | 2 s. poss | petrol water draw.water-IRR-SUBJ | put. FUT | Dahamo=Loc | go-IRR-FUT |  |
| CONJ | ADJ N | PRON | N | N | v6a-SF-SF | v3a | N-CLT | V1-SF-SF |

'Then, (you) will fill up your petrol for 40 kina and go to Dahamo.'
010

| $\underline{E}$ | kege | tobou, | $\underline{a}$ | doûla | ma | haguei, | 40 | kina | huei |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\underline{e}$ | ke-ge | tobố-u | $\underline{a}$ | doú-I-a | ma | hagua-i | 40 | kina | huei |
| 3S | that-VBR | Say-NFUT | 1s | draw.water-IRR-SUBJ | put.FUT | come-NFUT | 40 | kina | water |
| PRON | DEM-SF | V6a-SF | PRON | v6a-SF-SF | v3a | V4b-SF | ADJ | N | N |


| dou, | 20 | kina | ma | nale | mou. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| doû-u | 20 | kina | ma | na-l-e | mou-u |
| draw. water-nFUT | 20 | kina | 1s. Poss | eat-IRR-FUT | get-NFUT |
| v6a-SF | ADJ | N | 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.'
011

| Moúng | mei | degeimoû, | folo | tiei, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| moû + ma | mei | dege-i-mố | folo | tia-i |
| get + put | NEG | do-NFUT-PFV | go.up | sleep-NFUT |
| v6a-SF | ADV | v2-SF-SF | v7a | v4a-SF |


'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.'

| Yowou | okoû | tiei, | sawisiei |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Yowou | $\underline{o}=$ koû | tia-i | sawisa-i |
| Black.River | mouth. of. river=Loc | sleep-NFUT | be.day-NFUT |
| N | N=CLT | v4a-SF | v4a-SF |


| Wednesday | kôumaha |
| :--- | :--- |
| Wednesday | kôu $=m a=h \underline{a}$ |
| Wednesday | this $=$ TOP $=G E N$ |
| ADV | DEM $=C L T=C L T$ |


'(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

| Nale | moûma | haguamoû, | Dahamokoû | felei. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $n a-/-e$ | $m o \underline{u}+m \underline{a}$ | hagua-môu | Dahamo = koú | fele-i |
| eat-IRR-FUT | get+put | come-PFV | Dahamo=Loc | come.up-nfut |
| v3a-sf-SF | v6a+v3a | v4b-SF | N -CLT | v2-sF |

014

| Tiei, | sawisiei | Thursday | kaha, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tia-i | sawisia-i | Thursday | $\boldsymbol{k} \underline{\underline{a}=h \underline{a}}$ |
| sleep-nFUT | be.day-NFUT | Thursday | that=GEN |
| v4a-SF | v4a-SF | ADV | DEM=CLT |


| $\boldsymbol{e}$ | Dahamo | Community | School | koúmaha | duwo, | celebration | yale | $i$. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ei | Dahamo | Community | School | $k \underline{\underline{u}}=m a=h \underline{a}$ | duwo | celebration | ya-l-e | i |
| 1PL.EX | Dahamo | Community | School | this=Top=GEN | sit | celebration | play-IRR-FUT | go.nfut |
| PRON | $N$ | N | $N$ | DEM=CLT $=$ CLT | v7b | N | V3c-SF-SF | v1 |

'(We) slept; next day, that Thursday, we were here at the Dahamo Community School and celebrated.'
015

| Yale | ima | dumulo | mei | degei. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| yá-l-e | i-ma | dumu-l-o | mei | dege-i |
| play-IRR-FUT | go-ISQ | finísh-IRR-FUT | NEG | do-NFUT |
| V3C-SF-SF | V1-SF | v5-SF-SF | ADV | V2-SF |

'After playing (it was) enough and (it) finished.'

| Kegemoû, | $\underline{a}$ | Kiungakoû | i, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ke-ge-môu | $\underline{a}$ | Kiunga $=$ koû | i |
| that-VBR-PFV | 1s | Kiunga=LoC | go. NFUT |
| DEM-SF-SF | PRON | N=CLT | V1 |


| Godiha | amokoû | midiho | bolofeido | $\underline{\text { amokoû }}$ | nei. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Godi $=$ ha | $\underline{a}=$ mokou | midiho | $b o l \underline{o}=\underline{f e i}=d o$ | $\underline{a}=$ mokoú | ne-i |
| God=GEN | 1s=LOC | face | good=total=int | 1s=LOC | give-nfut |
| $\mathrm{N}=$ CLT | PRON=CLT | 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 hiyefei | mei, $\underline{a}$ | Godikoûu | diho | baga | hiyedo | tobou, | Godiha |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sele $\quad$ hiye $=$ fei | mei $\quad$ a | Godi $=$ koû | diho | baga | hiye $=$ do | tobou-u | Godi $=$ ha |
| money big=total | NEG 1s | God=Loc | eye | close.eye | big=int | say-nfut | God=gen |
| ADJ=CLT | ADV PRON | $\mathrm{N}=$ CLT | N | v3a | ADJ=CLT | v6a-sf | $\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{CLT}$ |
| amokou sele | 60 kina | neimoû, | $\underline{a}$ | Godi $=$ koû | tenkyu | hiye $=$ do | degei. |
| $\underline{a}=$ mokou sele | 60 kina | ne-i-moú | $\underline{\square}$ | Godi $=$ koû | tenkyu | hiye $=$ do | dege-i |
| 1s=Loc money | 60 kina | give-nfut-PFV | 1s | God= LOC | thank.you | big=int | do-NFU |
| PRON=CLT N | ADJ N | v2-SF-SF | PRON | $\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{CLT}$ | N | ADJ=CLT | v2-SF |

'(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

| Kegemoú, | $\underline{a}$ | sele | ke | mou. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ke-ge-mố | $\underline{a}$ | sele | ke | mốu |
| that-VBR-PFV | 1s | money | that | get-NFUT |
| DEM-SF-SF | PRON | N | DEM | V6a-SF |

'Having become like that, I got the money.'
019
Kenoûha Godikoûu tenkyu hiyedo.
$k \underline{e}=n o ̂ u=h \underline{a} \quad$ Godi $=k o u ̂ \quad$ tenkyu $\quad$ hiye $=$ do that=only=GEN God=loc thank.you big=int
DEM=CLT=CLT N=CLT N ADJ=CLT
'Because of that only, (I was) very grateful to God.'
020
$K \underline{e}=n o u ̂=f e \underline{e}$.
$k \underline{e}=n o \hat{u}=f \underline{e} i$
that=only=total
DEM=CLT=CLT
'That is all.' (conclusion)

## Appendix IV

## 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 A written story, (narrative)
001
Sawisie-i ta a i-l-e-môu goûsi dogogu.
be.day-nfut indF 1s go-IRR-FUT-PFV trap put.nfut
'One day I having gone, put (a) trap.'

## 002

Sabiyo-u-moû, i-l-e-moû 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, | $\underline{\square}$ | kueya | $k \underline{e}$ | wala | taboloû | moso $=k$ out | $i$. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tha | 1s | cassowary | that | attack.IRR.fut |  | house= $<0 C$ | go.nfut |
|  |  | ded |  | and went home.' |  |  |  |

## 004

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Moso=koû } \\ & \text { house= }=\text { oc } \end{aligned}$ | folo-moû, go.up. FUT-PFV | kueya cassowary | so-l-ou <br> cook.on.stones-IRR-NPST | $\begin{aligned} & \boldsymbol{n a}-\underline{i}=\boldsymbol{b e}, \\ & \text { eat }- \text { NFUT=ToP } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { sebe }=\boldsymbol{b e} \\ & \text { good. tast } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{ll}  & \text { hiye }=d o . \\ \text { op } & \text { big=INT } \end{array}$ |  |  |  |

'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
Moso tege-i ta house make-nfut talk
'(A) story about building (a) house' (heading)
001
$\underline{A}$ afu $1995 \mathrm{ka}=\mathrm{ha}$ Bobaho ele moso togo-l-a-moû hebe mo-u. 1s earlier 1995 that=gen Bobaho 1du.ex house make-IRR-SUBJ-PFV tree get-nfut '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
Mou diafigi+ma môu + ma hague-i.
post cut.pl+put get+put come-nfut
'(We) cut (the) posts and brought them.'
004
Moso togo-l-o sa ko=kou ma-i.
house make-IRr-fut land that=loc put-nfut
'(We) put them where (we) were going to build (the) house.'

## 005

Hebe gubugi môû + ma hague-i mei dege-i, ele asoû da-i. tree cut.pl get+put come-nfut neg do-nfut 1du.ex ground dig-nfut
'(We) finished bringing all the posts (we) had cut; the two of us dug holes.'
006
Asoû da+ma, hebe ke fo-fo-gu-e-i. ground dig+put tree that RED.PL-rise-of-RED.PL-NFUT
'(We) dug holes and raised (the) posts.'
007
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { Hebe } & \text { fo-fo-gu-e-i } & \text { mei } & \text { dege-moû, } & \text { ele } & \text { hebe } \\ \text { tree } & \text { RED.PL-rise-OF-RED.PL-NFUT } & \text { NEG } & \text { do-PFV } & \text { 1DU.EX } & \text { tree }\end{array}$
tage + toû ma-j.
over+up put-nfut
'Having finished raising (the) posts, the two of us put cross beams on top.'
008
Ma-ma, ikoke ke-i.
put-IsQ nail hammer-nfut
'After putting (them), (we) nailed (them) down.'
009
Mei dege-mô̂, sage sa-i.
neg do-pfy rafter put.inside-nfut
'Having finished, (we) put in rafters.'

| Sage | $\boldsymbol{s a}+\boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{a}$ | $\boldsymbol{m e i}$ dege-môu, | digo |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| rafter | put.inside+put | NEG do-PFV | wild.pandana.strip $\boldsymbol{m a}$, |
| put-ISQ |  |  |  |

## teme gobo-u.

sago.leaf break-nfut
'Having finished putting on (the) rafters, after putting on wild pandana strips, (we) folded sago leaves (over the pandana strips).'
011

| Teme | gobo-u | mei | dege-moû, | awa | dio | fag- $\underline{i}$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sago.leaf | break-NFUT | NEG | do-PFV | black.palm | bone | hit-NFUT |

'Having finished folding (the) sago leaves, (we) put on flooring of black palm strips.'
012
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { Awa } & \text { dio } & \text { fa-i } & \text { mei dege-moû, }\end{array}$
black.palm bone hit-NFUT NEG do-PFV
moso $d u-l e+d u$ temei fai.
house inside-ALOCR+inside thin.black.palm.strip hit-nfut
'Having finished putting on (the) flooring of black palm strips, inside the house, (we) put on smaller black palm strips.'
013

thin.black.palm.strip hit-nfut neg do-pfv fire house good.do-nfut
'Having finished putting on (the) smaller black palm strips, (we) fixed (a) fire place.'
014
Dou hebe $+m a$ toû-ma kuhe tia-di.
fire carry+put light-ISQ so sleep-HAB
'(We) carried (in) firewood and after lighting (a fire), (we) now live (there).'
015
$M \underline{\boldsymbol{a}} \quad \underline{\boldsymbol{t}} \quad \boldsymbol{k} \underline{e}=n \mathbf{o u}=\boldsymbol{f} \underline{i}$.
1s.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 o $k o=k o u ̂=g e$
1PL.EX Dulo mouth.of.river that=LOC=F.CNTR

| James = boûu | Asele=boûı | 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 |  |


| du, so tigo-l-o | s-moû | foukua igiya-i | folo-ga-moû | dugu, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 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-moû | dugu. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| pig | male | big=INT | that | bark-IRR-FUT | go.NFUT-PFV | see.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 was standing up in (a) tree top until the pig came and chased the $\operatorname{dog}$ (s) and (as they were) passing by (Asele) shot at (it); (the) arrow after bouncing came (back) towards him.'

003
Yoûu = makoûu fiyo-u-môu haba ta=ge taha-i=be mala tuga-ma
3s.REFL=LOC fall-NFUT-PFV but.PFV.IRR INDF=F.CNTR shoot-NFUT=TOP arrow bounce-ISQ
hebe-l-e fele-i.
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 = makô̂ fǐyo-u-mô̂u dege-i, haba wai ka=ha so sese-l-e hague-i. 3s.REFL=LOC fall-NFUT-PFVdo-NFUT but.PFV.IRR pig that=GEN dog follow-IRR-FUT come-nfut '(Arrows) kept falling (back) on himself; again the pig came chasing the dog(s).'

005

| $\boldsymbol{A}$ | tafala | ke-le | hagua | tafala-moû | dege-i, | $\boldsymbol{a}$ | $\boldsymbol{t a h a} \underline{-i}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s | stand | that-A. LOC | come | stand-PFV | do-NFUT | 1s | shoot-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.'

| De=ha | taha-l-e + ma-moû | baha | tefele-gua-l-i | $d u=b e$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| maternal.uncle=GEN | shot-IRR-FUT+put-PFV | look | stand-DU/PL-IRR-NFUT | hear.NFUT=TOP |


| kueya | dihi | susa-lee | i-moú, | Asele ele | ka |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| cassowary | child | whistle.for-IRR-FUT | go.nFUT-PFV Asele 1DU.EX | look.for |  |

sulugua-I-i

## dugu,

walk.around.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT see.NFUT

| kamadia | fofogoû | tefele-gua-moû | sese-ga | sulugua-l-i |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| three | close.together | stand-DU/PL-PFV | follow-DU/PL | walk.around.DU/PL-IRR-NFUT |


| bolou | ke-ge | to-l-où-mou, | $\boldsymbol{t a}$ | $s o=y e$ | sese-l-e | i-I-e | wala |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| two | that-vBR | hold-IRR-NPST-PFV | INDF | dog=ins | follow-IRR-FUT | go-IRR-FUT | attack.IRR. FUT |

no-u-moû dugu-o fogoû igiya-i.
eat-NFUT-PFV see-fut leave.for go.du/pl-NFUT
'Uncle having shot and killed (it), we stood (there) until (we) heard cassowary chickens whistle, (whereupon) Asele and I immediately went looking until (we) saw three (chickens) standing close together (and) we followed them around until (we) had got hold of two, and (we) saw one pursued and killed and eaten by (the) dog, and leaving we went.'

007

bi hebe-se-i ka sulugua-l-i dugu-o-môu, moúu + ma
thing carry-du/PL-NFUT look.for walk.around.du/PL-IRR-NFUT see-fUT-PFV get+put

'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.fồ-môu dugu-o fogoû-mồ dugu, haba bei ta hebe
run.away-pFV see-fut leave.for-pFV see.nfut but.PFV.IRR snake indF tree

| sugu | tôu-gu-li = do | duwo-moú | dege-i | $\underline{\square}$ | dege-i | $t a$ | tiga-ma | to-l-ou |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| top | UP-DEMR.D-E.LOCR=INT | sit-PFV | do-nfut | 1s | do-nfut | bow | tie-IsQ | 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
Taha taha-ma hebe-l-e mu-gu fiyo-u-mồ,
shoot shoot-ISQ carry-IRR-FUT go.down-OF fall-nfut-PFV
diga wala+ma-moû, ise $\underline{\boldsymbol{a}} \quad \boldsymbol{m} \underline{\text { a }}$.
3PL attack.IRR.FUT+put-PFV finally 1s go.down.nFUT
'After shooting many times, throwing (the snake) down, when they had killed (it), I finally went down.'

| Mihi = koûu | mu-l-o | toûfoûgoû |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| earth=Loc | go.down-IRR-FUT | leave |


| ise | to-ba | doû-go-l-ou-gi, | $\boldsymbol{a}$ | miye |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| finally | soso-l-oul-gi, |  |  |  |


| gibe | $\boldsymbol{t a}$ | taha-l-e | hebe-l-e | filag-mou, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| fish.sp. | INDF | shoot-IRR-FUT | carry-IRR-FUT | throw. FUT-PFV |


| haba | soso-l-ou-gi | dege-i, ma | abogou | ke-le | où | $a y \underline{e}=\boldsymbol{y e}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| but.PFV.IRR | dive.for-IRR-NPST-DSQ | do-nfut 1s.poss | foot | that-A.LOCR | sago | thorn=ins |


| wo-moúu | toto $=$ noúu | fogoûu | igiya-i. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| attack-PFV | quickly=only | leave.for | go.DU/PL-NFUT |

'(I) went down on the ground and left and finally we went along down the river until I diving for fish until (I) had shot a "gibe" fish and carried (it) and having thrown (it up on the bank), (I) again continued diving; (a) sago thorn having got into my foot, leaving quickly we went.'

011
Dibi moso ta ko=koû folo-ga-moû, forest house INDF that=LOC go.up-DU/PL.FUT-PFV

| $\boldsymbol{w a i}$ | $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}-\boldsymbol{g i}+\boldsymbol{m a}$ | $\boldsymbol{s a}+\boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{a}$ | $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{o} \boldsymbol{u}+\boldsymbol{m a}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| pig | cut-of+put | put.inside+put | carry.on.head+put |

'Having gone up to (a) bush house, we cut up (the) pig and put (the pieces in our stringbags) and carried (those) on (our) heads and went.'

012

| Moso $=$ koû | folo-ga-moû, | igi | $\boldsymbol{s i + m a}-$ moû | dege-i |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| house=LOC | go.up-DU/PL.FUT-PFV | stone | cook+put-PFV | do-NFUT |

wai so-l-oúu na-ma tie-i.
pig cook.on.stones-IRR-NPSt eat-ISQ sleep-nfut
'Having gone up to (the) house, having worked at heating stones, (we) cooked (the) pig on the stones and after eating (we) slept.'

013

| Sabiya-moûu, | Asele | dilie | $\boldsymbol{e}$ | sasai | Dasame |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| be.morning-PFV | Asele | 3DU | 3s woman |  |  |
| Dasame | 3DU |  |  |  |  |


| James = boû | $\underline{e}$ | sasai | Dalai $=$ boû | $\underline{a}=$ boû | ei | Dahamo = koû |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| James=and | 3s | woman | Dalai=and | 1s=and | 1PL.EX | Dahamo=Loc |
| fogoû | hagua-sie-i-moû de-i. |  |  |  |  |  |
| leave.for | come-du/PL-NFUT-PFV 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

$K \underline{e}=n o \hat{u}=\underline{f e} i$.
that=only=total
'That is all.'

## Pepson's clan legend

Pepson Uwoliti 2006, Dahamo village
A written story (legend)
000
Dibiye Hiygdibi huw+ti ke+dig fuwa fele-ím ta
Thunder Hiyandibi name+call that+3pL break.open come.up-nfut talk '(The) story about (the) origin of the Thunder Hiyandibi clan' (heading)

001
Afu $\quad$ afu=do koûguai ke+dia dele-i. earlier earlier=INT ancestor that+3pl be/have-nfut
'A very long time ago, the ancestors lived.'
002
Dala-l-i, ta sabiye-i habi dege-i-moú, huei = boû, dibiye = boû be/have-IRR-NFUT INDF be.morning-NFUT afternoon do-NFUT-PFV water=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
Dibiye hiye=do fu-fuwo-u-moû, dia baha duwo-gua-l-i dugu=be,
thunder big=INT RED.PL-break.open-nFUT-PFV 3PL look sit-dU/PL-IRR-NFUT see.nFUT=TOP

fiye sa-í sasa=do $\boldsymbol{k} a=h \underline{a}$ migi-moû 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
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { Migi-moû } & \text { dugu }=\boldsymbol{b e} & \text { fiye } & \text { sag- } \underline{i} & \text { ke=me } & \text { ye } & \text { dihi } \\ \text { come.down.nFUT-PFV } & \text { see.nFUT=TOP } & \text { thread } & \text { twine-NFUT } & \text { that=TOP } & \text { stringbag } & \text { child }\end{array}$
gomogu = bôu migi-moû 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-moú, | diag | ye | dihi | ke | tu-l-o-moûu | $\boldsymbol{d u g u}=\boldsymbol{b e}$, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that-VBR-PFV | 3 PL | stringbag | child | that | remove-IRR-FUT-PFV | see.NFUT=TOP |


| $\boldsymbol{d i h i}$ | $\boldsymbol{t a}$ | $\boldsymbol{s a} \boldsymbol{- I} \boldsymbol{a}-\boldsymbol{m o u}$ | $\boldsymbol{d u g u}$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 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.'

## 006

Ke-ge-moû, dia dihi ke fo-fo-l-où dala-l-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-mô̂, $\underline{e}$ sasaí hu-lo, dihi sü=do mo-u.
big do.fUt-PFV 3 s woman marry-IRR-FUT child many=Int get-nfut
'Having grown up, he married and had many children.'
Ke-ge-moû, dia $\underline{e} \quad h \underline{u}+\boldsymbol{t i}=\boldsymbol{b e}$
Dibiye Hiyadibi=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

Thunder Hiyandibi name+call break.open come.up-nfut talk that=only=total
'That (is) all of the story of (the) Thunder Hiyandibi clan.' (conclusion)

A letter, 2011
001
Ma mogo, nele gusubu bolo=fei $=d o$.
1s.poss friend 2du morning good=total=INT
'My friends, good morning to you two.'
002
$\underline{A}=m e \quad .$.
1s=TOP a.name
'My name is ...'
003
Ma mogo, nele gusubu bolo=fei=do.
1s.poss friend 2Du morning good=total=INT
'My friends, good morning to you two.'
004
$\underline{A}=m e \quad . . \quad$...
1s=тор a.name father's.name
'My name is $\qquad$ ..'

005
$\underline{A}=m e \quad n e l e=m o k o u ̂ u \underline{~ m a}$ dabai ta ne-I-a-moû.
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 ke=me ma 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 toto = do | $\boldsymbol{m a}$ | kuguo | taip | dege-ma-ba |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2DU | quickly=INT | 1S.POSS | paper | type | do-ISQ-PFV.IRR |


| $\boldsymbol{a}=$ mokoûu | toto = do | boho-l-oûu | ne-ma. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s=LOC | quickly=INT | turn-IRR-NPST | give-DU/PL |

'After you two have quickly typed "what I have written", send it quickly back to me.'
008
Yo=be fula ta $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{h a} \quad$ Monday=be $\boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{m e} \quad . . \quad$ Campany
base=top week indF that=gen Monday=top 1s=Top a.name Company

| $\boldsymbol{k e}+\boldsymbol{d i} \underline{\underline{a}}=$ mokoû | $i-I-e$, | ma | kuguo | ke | kuhe | ne-l-e | ge-mô. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| that+3pL=Loc | go-IRR-FUT | 1s | paper | that | so | give-IRR-FUT | 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


'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.'

Thank.you mogo, $\quad k \underline{e}=n o \hat{u}=\underline{f e} i=d o$.
thank.you friend that=only=total=INT
'Thank you my friends; that is all.'
011

| Nele mogo $=\boldsymbol{d o}$ | $\ldots=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a}$ | $\boldsymbol{n a l o g}-\mathbf{i}$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1DU friend=INT | a. name=GEN | write-NFUT |
| 'Your (du.) special friend $\ldots$ wrote (this).' |  |  |

'Your (du.) special friend ... wrote (this).'

## Four very short letters by a teacher, 2008

Letter 1
001
Mogo, na dihi kou tiga.
friend 2 s child this tie
'My friend, dress (the wound) of this child.'
002
...
a. name
'A signed name.'

## Letter 2

001
Ifi=be 21 koma oguo 2008.
today=тор 21 third moon 2008
'Today is (the) $21^{\text {st }}$ of March, 2008.'
002
Ma mogo, gusugu bolo=feri.
1s.poss friend morning good=total
'My friend, good morning.'
003
$\underline{A} \quad$ na $=$ mokoûu yodu-l-u, na $\quad$ soks $=$ boû $\quad$ pesole $=b o u ̂ \quad$ de dala?
1s 2s=LOC ask-IRR-NFUT 2s chalk=and pencil=and good be/have
'I am asking you; do you have (any) chalk and/or pencils?'
004
Dala-ba=be, pesole 4ke-ge, soks=boû de a ne-lee.
be/have-PFV.IRR=TOP pencil 4 that-vBR chalk=and good 1s give-IRR-FUT 'If (you) have, (you) may give me four pencils and (some) chalk.'

005
Ta $\quad k \underline{e}=n o ̂ u=f \underline{e}$ i.
talk that=only=total
'That (is) all (I have) to say.'
006
...ha nalog-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 28/04/2008.'
$M \underline{m a g o}$ gusugu bolo=fei=do.
1s.poss friend morning good=total-INT
'My friend, a very good morning.'
003
Na pesole de dala?
2s pencil good be/have
'Do you have (any) pencils?'
004
Dala-ba=be, na $\underline{a}=$ mokôu 8 ke-ge ne.
be/have-PFV.IRR=TOP 2 s 1s=Loc 8 that-vBR give
'If (you) have, give 8 to me.'
005
Ta $\quad k \underline{e}=n o \hat{u}=\underline{f e} i$.
talk that=only=total
'That (is) all (I have) to say.'
006
...ha nala-i
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=fei.
1s.poss friend morning good=total
'My friend, good morning.'
003
Na pesole ta dala-ba, dihi kôu ne.
2s pencil INDF be/have=PFV.IRR child this give
'If you have a pencil, give (it to) this child.'
004
Ta $\quad k \underline{e}=n o ̂ u=f \underline{e} i$.
talk that=only=total
'That (is) all (I have) to say.'
005
...ha nala-í
a.name=GEN write-NFUT
'... wrote (this).'
006
a. name
'A signed name.'


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ The local spelling is Kalai. Underlining means nasalisation (see 2.6.1 Nasalisation). 'Konai' is the spelling used by people outside of the area.
    ${ }^{2}$ Shaw 1986, modified.
    ${ }^{3}$ 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 [f $\tilde{\varepsilon} m b \varepsilon$ ] means 'side' or 'beside' in the Mountain dialect of Konai.
    ${ }^{4}$ 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).
    ${ }^{5}$ 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.

[^1]:    ${ }^{6}$ APCM Asia Pacific Christian Mission; ECP(NG) Evangelical Church of Papua (New Guinea); CBC Christian Brotherhood Church (from footnote 3).

[^2]:    ${ }^{7}$ The variant forms are due to vowel harmony (see 2.7.1 VowEl harmony in verbs).

[^3]:    ${ }^{8}$ Abbreviated terms from left to right: Labio-Dental; Alveolar; Post-Alveolar; Retroflex; Pharyngeal - top down: Approximant; Lateral Approximant
    ${ }^{9}$ The phoneme / p / occurs only in loanwords.
    ${ }^{10}$ Labio-velar.

[^4]:    ${ }^{11}$ See 2．3．4 Bleed－through and 2．8．4 Bleed－through－how to spell．
    ${ }^{12}$ Foothill dialect
    ${ }^{13}$ Tok Pisin：‘pitpit＇（Saccharum edule）．

[^5]:    ${ }^{14}$ See 2．8．1 Consonants－spelling of／／AND／ $\mathbf{j} /$ ．
    ${ }^{15}$ See 2．3．4 Bleed－through and 2．8．4 Bleed－through－how to spell．

[^6]:    ${ }^{16}[\mathrm{I}]$ 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 $[\mathrm{u}] /[\mathrm{u}] / / \mathrm{w} /$ and $[\mathrm{i}] /[\mathrm{r}] / \mathrm{j} /$ ．
    ${ }^{17}$ In nasal verbs taking the suffix 〈－e〉＇FuT＇，which usually would be pronounced［ $\left.\tilde{x}\right]$ ，the pronunciation may vary between $[\tilde{x}]$ ，［ $\left.\tilde{\varepsilon}\right]$ and even［ẽĩ］．

[^7]:    ${ }^{18}$ Literally：maga $+u$＇jaw＋hole’；also，the distinction／ov／and／כu／is under－differentiated（see 2．8．3 DiPHTHONGS－SpELLING ．．．）．

[^8]:    ${ }^{19}$ See 2．3．4 BLEED－THROUGH and 2．8．4 BLEED－THROUGH－HOW TO SPELL．
    ${ }^{20}$ Mountain dialect．

[^9]:    ${ }^{21}$ Under－differentiating of／ou／and／ou／．
    ${ }^{22}$ Vowel harmony also affects this word（see 2．7．1 VowEL HARMONY IN VERBS）．

[^10]:    ${ }^{23}$ The phonetic sequence［liV］only occurs with bleed－through，e．g．〈ile＞／ile／［ $\varepsilon$ li＇æ］＇go．IRR．FUT＇（see 2．3．4 BLEED－THROUGH）．
    ${ }^{24}$ The phonetic sequence［luV］only occurs with bleed－through，e．g．〈dulo＞／duls／［dru＇o］＇hear．IRr．fut’．The phonetic sequences＊［buV］ has not been found．

[^11]:    ${ }^{25}$ But see 2.3.2 Diphthongs:/eI/
    ${ }^{26}$ For the change in the root see 2.7.3 Vowel fronting in locative adverbs.

[^12]:    ${ }^{27}$ Aekyom is an unrelated language group to the west. The Konais did not use to live in villages, but in longhouses.

[^13]:    ${ }^{28}$ See 2.3.4 BLEED-THROUGH.

[^14]:    ${ }^{29}$ See 4.1.2 Types of VERBS.
    ${ }^{30}$ In the examples, it is usually glossed NFUT 'non-future'.

[^15]:    ${ }^{31}$ 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 3 a is the common conjugation and 3 c is rare．Type 4 ，in this section，refers to type 4 a ．
    32 ／－l－／＇IRR＇，／－i／，／－u／＇NFUT＇，／－e／，／－o／＇FUT＇，／－o／＇NPST＇
    ${ }^{33}$ 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．
    ${ }^{34}$ Not ${ }^{*}$＜sisili＞and in the next example：not＊＜boholu〉．
    ${ }^{35}$ Rules of bleed－through also apply；see 2．3．4 BLEED－THROUGH．

[^16]:    ${ }^{36}$ The nucleus of a verb form includes the stem，the irrealis marker－／－，the（portmanteau）tense suffixes；also the subjunctive suffix $-a$ ．

[^17]:    ${ }^{37}$ 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．
    ${ }^{38}$ Irrealis．
    39 ＇hand over’

[^18]:    ${ }^{40}$ 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.

[^19]:    ${ }^{41}$ 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 domoû: -a\#domoû -subj-PRov-PFV
    ${ }^{42}$ Nasalisation is lost in this particular form of this word. See 2.7.6 De-NASALISATION BEFORE / $\mathrm{g} /$, I// AND / $\mathrm{k} /$.
    ${ }^{43}$ For whatever reason, this word looses the nasalisation of its parts.
    ${ }^{44}$ Nasalisation spreads from the noun but is unmarked in the orthography, as it is totally predictable.

[^20]:    ${ }^{45}$ However，as there is no front vowel corresponding to the close－mid vowel／o／，written 〈où〉，the fronted vowel comes out as $/ \varepsilon /$ ，written as 〈e〉．

[^21]:    ${ }^{46}$ 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.

[^22]:    ${ }^{47}$ Rule and Woodyard 1985.

[^23]:    ${ }^{48}$ Rules of vowel harmony also apply（see 2．7．1．1 VowEL HARMONY IN FINAL VERBS）．
    ${ }^{49}$ That is：‘just about to ．．．’．

[^24]:    ${ }^{50}$ Written in orthography．

[^25]:    ${ }^{51}$ The first order verbal suffixes could also have been analysed as derivational suffixes.
    ${ }^{52}$ Foothill and Mountain dialects have -sige.
    ${ }^{53}$ The vowel in this suffix is -i, -u or -ôu. The choice seems arbitrary and does not follow rules of vowel harmony.

[^26]:    ${ }^{54}$ 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.
    ${ }^{55}$ Type 6 verbs: this ôu contrast with -u 'past', which is, however, glossed 'non-future' as $-u$ has that meaning for other verb types.
    ${ }^{56}$ Aspects marked by other constructions than suffixation are not included here but see 4.1.5.4 OTHER ASPECTS.
    ${ }^{57}$ 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.
    ${ }^{58}$ This suffix is only used for third person in combination with the quote verbs $=$ ede 'direct/instruct' (1318) (1476) and =ade 'assert' (293).
    ${ }^{59} \mathrm{An}$ alternative interpretation is that when the suffix is identical with the last stem vowel, assimilation occurs.
    ${ }^{60}$ But see 4.1.5.2.2 for medial verbs in relative future, where in verb types $3 \& 4$, an inherent stem final $a$ is what signals relative future.

[^27]:    ${ }^{61}$ It is often hard to hear whether this small part of speech is nasalised or not.

[^28]:    ${ }^{62}$ No examples here, but see 3.6.3 Discourse Enclitics.
    ${ }^{63}$ The verb tobo-l-oû (say-IRR-NPST) is a medial verb in this context with the meaning 'say and ...'.

[^29]:    ${ }^{64}$ The allomorph of the topic marker implies that these two suffixes are nasalised, but they are not.

[^30]:    ${ }^{65}$ In some cases a back vowel is deleted (102).

[^31]:    ${ }^{66}$ The second person singular form has been given as $\boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{a}$-bukoû (2s-first) 'you (being) first', i.e. a personal pronoun and not a possessive one.

[^32]:    ${ }^{67}$ Does not work with $i$ ' go'.

[^33]:    ${ }^{68}$ This $-\boldsymbol{e}$ is explained under 4.1.5.4.1 ITERATIVE ASPECT and in the list of abbreviations: RED.PL: $\boldsymbol{e} \boldsymbol{e}$.

[^34]:    ${ }^{69}$ The instrumental case marker also functions on clause level in its use to express means.

[^35]:    ${ }^{70}$ What in some instances may seem like a co-occurrence of $=g e$ and $=s i$ is actually $=s i$ following -ge 'verbaliser' (see 3.1.2.3).
    ${ }^{71}$ Marking of topic in this statement refers only to the operation involving $=\{b e\}$.

[^36]:    ${ }^{72}$ Mountain dialect; see next section.

[^37]:    ${ }^{73}$ What is here described for the Mountain dialect is also to some extent used by Foothill dialect speakers.

[^38]:    ${ }^{74}$ The verb tie with the meaning of 'live' is an existential state verb. When it is conjugated as an experiential state verb it means 'fall asleep/sleep’.

[^39]:    ${ }^{75}$ The negative form of a hortative subjunctive quote has not been observed.

[^40]:    ${ }^{76}$ This is the same form as in the previous example, but there it is a medial verb, meaning 'go and ...'.

[^41]:    ${ }^{77}$ This will not be marked in the examples.

[^42]:    ${ }^{78}$ The corresponding final verb form is $i-l-a d i$ (go-IRR-PROS) '(he) is just about to go'; -adi 'prospective' (PROs) is an aspect marker used in final verbs only. Also, the $=\boldsymbol{a} /-\boldsymbol{a}$ '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).

[^43]:    ${ }^{79}$ 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.

[^44]:    ${ }^{80}$ The root $d u$ probably means 'perceive', rather than 'hear'. The suffix -gu in $d u(-) \boldsymbol{g u}$, in (346) is probably the object focus suffix. These two verbs are used for the five senses: see, hear, taste, smell and feel.

[^45]:    ${ }^{81}$ The high versus low vowel distinction does not apply to type 6 (see introduction to this section).
    ${ }^{82}$ This is also stable present tense for experiential state verbs, like $\underline{a}$ sugua-i 'I have a fever.' (See 4.1.1.1.3 Experiential state verbs.)
    ${ }^{83}$ 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 *huga.
    ${ }^{84}$ This form for existential state verbs is medial and means '.. until'. In final verbs, present tense is the same as the basic form.
    ${ }^{85}$ 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.
    ${ }^{86} \mathrm{An}$ alternative interpretation is that when the suffix is identical with the last stem vowel, assimilation occurs.

[^46]:    ${ }^{87}$ A different subject in the following clause requires the suffix -moû '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).
    ${ }^{88}$-/- 'irrealis', $d e$ 'proverb', -ma 'immediate sequence'

[^47]:    ${ }^{89}$ Bold means that the form is regular within its type.
    ${ }^{90}$ The irrealis marker -/-, may or may not occur in these forms. See 4.1.5.1.2 Epistemic mood in medial verbs.
    ${ }^{91}$ 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.
    ${ }^{92}$ Form not found in natural text.
    ${ }^{93}$ The form nalg 'eat.IRR.FUT' is irregular; the same applies to the verbs mala 'get.IRR.FUT' and wala 'attack.IRR.FUT' further down the chart.

[^48]:    ${ }^{94}$ In this section the modal suffix -/- will only be bolded, where its presence makes a difference in regards to relative tense, e.g. verb type 6: ...oû relative present tense '-ing'; -lôu - relative future tense 'and ...'
    ${ }^{95}$ Same subject, because one of two continues in the next clause. See 7.3.1.1.4 What is included in the same subject?

[^49]:    ${ }^{96}$ 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 $\boldsymbol{i}$ 'go'. See 4.1.6.2 INDIVIDUATED PLURAL for further information.

[^50]:    ${ }^{97}$ Young people consider this particular form obsolete and take out the reduplication, leaving only ee. The same goes for to-foboû-moû in the next example. Deleting the reduplication there, means deleting the plurality marked in the verb altogether, as there is no additional -e.
    ${ }^{98}$ 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.

[^51]:    ${ }^{99} . .$. except in the serial verb construction expressing progressive aspect see 4.1.5.4.2 PROGRESSIVE ASPECT.

[^52]:    ${ }^{100}$ Absolutive marking: refers to the subject of intransitive verbs and to the object of weakly transitive verbs.
    101 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.

[^53]:    ${ }^{102}$ 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'

[^54]:    ${ }^{103}$ Nasalisation on the pronominal forms $\underline{a}$ ' 1 s' and $\underline{e}$ ' 3 s' is lost when used in this way.

[^55]:    ${ }^{104}$ 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).

[^56]:    ${ }^{105}$ The second person singular form has been given as nag-bukoú 'you are first', not * ne-bukoû.

[^57]:    ' ... they raised the child until (he) was grown up. Having grown up, he married and ...'

[^58]:    ${ }^{106} d u$ 'ear', 'hear' in the Mountain dialect

[^59]:    ${ }^{107}$ The compound word is kamadia; vowel harmony has been applied and the nasalisation is lost.

[^60]:    ${ }^{108}$ Foothill dialect.

[^61]:    ${ }^{109}$ mei dege (NEG do) 'finish’ is a verbalised negative (see 4.1.1.2 Pro-verbs: dege 'do’).
    ${ }^{110}$ The adverb mei 'negative' will be focused on later in this section.

[^62]:    ${ }^{111}+/ u$ rather than $+d u$ is a dialectal and/or personal variant, but the variant $+/ u$ never occurs word initially for phonological reasons (see 2.2 Consonants: //l).
    ${ }^{112}$ See 2.7.6 De-NASALISATION BEFORE/g/, /l/ AND/k/for spelling of these adverbs.
    ${ }^{113}$ The word tage may consist of the following morphemes: $t a=g e_{\text {INDF }}=$ F.CNTR, with the meaning '(one over) the other'.

[^63]:    ${ }^{114}$ 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:

    - the vowels in the noun, which it is suffixed to, may become fronted
    - if the noun is a nasal word, this suffix also becomes nasalised (this is not written as it is so predictable)
    ${ }^{115}$ Dialectal and personal variation.
    ${ }^{116}$ Foothill dialect.
    ${ }^{117}$ The following interpretation was rejected $*$ moso $=k o u \neq / u$ as $/ l /$ can not occur word medially (see 2.2 Consonants).

[^64]:    ${ }^{118}$ 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 = feie 'Good morning.' (morning good=total).

[^65]:    ${ }^{119}$ Only koyo 'who' and $k a-/+$ 'how' have been found with that meaning.

[^66]:    ${ }^{120}$ 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.

[^67]:    ${ }^{121}$ Variants $k u o$ - and $k u$-reflect the pronunciation of particular forms. For the variants of $k e$ 'that' see 2.7.2 Minor vowel harmony and for both pronouns see 2.7.6 De-nasalisation before $/ \mathrm{g} /$, / / and $/ \mathrm{k} /$. The spelling of nasalisation (underlining of the last vowel/diphthong only in a word) is in certain words not consistently applied, neither for the ke words, nor for the kout words.
    ${ }^{122}$ The suffix -he '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'.

[^68]:    ${ }^{123}$ 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.

[^69]:    ${ }^{124}$ It is possible that visibility is part of this distinction, but it does not seem to be the case in all instances.

[^70]:    ${ }^{125}$ 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.
    ${ }^{126}$-ku 'near demonstrativiser’
    ${ }^{127}$-gu ‘distant demonstrativiser’

[^71]:    ${ }^{128}$ As there is no front vowel corresponding to the close－mid vowel／o／，written 〈oú〉，the fronted vowel comes out as／$/$／，written as 〈e〉．

[^72]:    ${ }^{129}$ Literally: 'having become like that'.

[^73]:    ${ }^{130}$ But see last example in this section.

[^74]:    ${ }^{131}$ Mountain dialect - function and meaning seem to be the same as for kegemôu 'having become like that/then/so'.
    ${ }^{132}$ The words $h a$ and haba seem basically to mean 'change'.

[^75]:    ${ }^{133}$ In this position, in the Mountain dialect, this is probably 'delayed sequence', rather than 'habitual'.
    ${ }^{134}$ Or 'middle'.

[^76]:    ${ }^{135}$ These are borderline; they could be analysed as object and verb.
    ${ }^{136}$ See also 7.3.2.4 Delayed sequence (second part): ibe demoû \& haguabe demô̂ and ibe deba \& haguabe deba, all with the basic meaning of 'until'. You could claim that these forms are also serial verbs constructions.

[^77]:    ${ }^{137}$ As the quote verbs are clitics, the whole quote is verbalised.

[^78]:    ${ }^{138}$ 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.

[^79]:    ${ }^{139}$ There are other ways to express reason-result, not involving the genitive case marker.
    ${ }^{140}$ Foothill dialect.
    ${ }^{141}$ See 8.7.6.1.3 Props.

[^80]:    ${ }^{142}$ See 4.4.2.1 Traditional ordinal numbers.

[^81]:    ${ }^{143}$ See 4.4 AdJectives.

[^82]:    ${ }^{144}$ If the verbs are verbs of perception, this is often a place, where minor participants are introduced.

[^83]:    145 'telic state'
    146 'individuated plural'

[^84]:    ${ }^{147}$ 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.

[^85]:    ${ }^{148}$ The Foothill and Mountain dialects use $=y a$ 'subjunctive' instead of $=y o$ 'indicative' here.

[^86]:    ${ }^{149}$ For the insertion of the semi-vowel see 2.7.4.
    ${ }^{150}$ Merriam-Webster 2015.

[^87]:    ${ }^{151}$ Once when visiting in a house, we were told this, because it looked like it was going to rain.

[^88]:    ${ }^{152}$ Dialect variant of $-g i$ 'delayed sequence’.

[^89]:    ${ }^{153}$ The word bolo is pronounced [blp̃], i.e. as a one syllable word. In the next example folo 'will go up' is also pronounced as one syllable, i.e.[flp].

[^90]:    ${ }^{154}$ 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.
    ${ }^{155}$ For complete paradigms see 4.1.5.2.2 Forms of the tam suffix for medial verbs.

[^91]:    156 -/- 'irrealis'; see 4.1.5.1.2 EPISTEMIC MOOD IN MEDIAL VERBS.
    ${ }^{157}$ 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).
    ${ }^{158}$ See 7.3.1.1.4 WHAT IS INCLUDED IN THE SAME SUBJECT?

[^92]:    ${ }^{159}$ - $g i$ 'delayed sequence', Foothill dialect; this verb is a stative verb and the Lowland dialect has $-l-i$ 'IRR-NFUT' here.
    ${ }^{160}$-di 'delayed sequence’, Foothill dialect.
    ${ }^{161}$ 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.

[^93]:    ${ }^{162}$ This example consists of sentences 4, 5 and 6a in Michael's Hunting Story in Appendix 1V.
    ${ }^{163}$ A different subject in the following clause requires the suffix -moû '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).

[^94]:    ${ }^{164}$ The verb toûfogoû 'leave' (and fogoû 'leave for') seldom occur with -l-oú 'IRR-NPST'.

[^95]:    ${ }^{165}$ See 7.3.1.1.1 Switch-reference marking in most event verbs.

[^96]:    ${ }^{166} n \boldsymbol{n} \underline{\underline{l}} \boldsymbol{i} \boldsymbol{i}$ is the plural form of $n \underline{\underline{a}-\underline{i}}$ (eat-NFUT) 'ate'. See 4.1.6.2.1 Individuated plural on transitive verbs.
    ${ }^{167}$ Same subject as in the next scene; the subject is involved in a different but consequent activity.
    ${ }^{168}$ Different subject in the next scene.

[^97]:    ${ }^{169}$ Progressive aspect; see 4.1.5.4.2.

[^98]:    ${ }^{170}$ The final scene is interrupted by the scene about it getting dark.

[^99]:    ${ }^{171}$ Including experiential state verbs.
    ${ }^{172}$ 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.
    ${ }^{173}$ Including experiential state verbs.

[^100]:    ${ }^{174}$ 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.

[^101]:    ${ }^{175}$ 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.

[^102]:    ${ }^{176}$ The form for the medial verb is usually dege-moû (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.

[^103]:    ${ }^{177}$ Not marked when glossing the examples.

[^104]:    ${ }^{178}$ 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.

[^105]:    ${ }^{179}$ 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).
    ${ }^{180}$ This form has actually not been observed in natural texts. None of the negative forms are common.

[^106]:    ${ }^{181}$ I would have expected ne-i-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.

[^107]:    ${ }^{182}$ The conjunction $h a$ 'but' also means 'or/again/instead'. Actually, the basic meaning is probably 'change'.

[^108]:    ${ }^{183}$ The enclitic =ye 'instrumental' is said on a rising tone.

[^109]:    ${ }^{184}$ Actually, there is probably only one verb $d u$ 'perceive', which most commonly applies to hearing, but may also mean 'smell'. The verb that mostly applies to seeing is $d u$-gu (perceive-OF), i.e. it is more transitive (see 4.1.7 Object focus). It also means 'taste'.For the fifth sense 'feeling' $d u$ or $d u g u$ may be used (1393).
    ${ }^{185}$ For event verbs, this means a high or mid vowel, and for existential state verbs, like duwo 'sit' it means a low vowel.
    ${ }^{186}$ 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.

[^110]:    ${ }^{187}$ The indicative quote verb $=o d e$ is not conjugated as the two other quote verbs are.

[^111]:    ${ }^{188}$ Unusual construction with the proverb de and toboú 'say'.
    ${ }^{189}$ The verbs in this formula are written in their basic form. In natural speech they are conjugated (see examples).

[^112]:    ${ }^{190}$ The H-T linkage is written in two alternating blue colours.
    ${ }^{191}$ The expected form for same subject is dugu-o-môu (see-FUT-PFV) 'we two having seen ...., we two ...'
    (see 7.3.1.1.5 A statement of reservation).

[^113]:    ${ }^{192}$ The topic marker is untranslatable. The place for it is marked in the translation in blue, but not in bold. See 8.3 TopIc.
    ${ }^{193}$ 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).
    ${ }^{194}$ Only in Soti's story.
    ${ }^{195}$ Only in Motousi’s story.

[^114]:    ${ }^{196}$ A comparative saying; mei 'negative' is translated 'more' in the free translation.

[^115]:    ${ }^{197}$ 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.

[^116]:    ${ }^{198}$ This example is not from a sermon, though.

[^117]:    ${ }^{199}$ Literally: '(when) the land (is) good there.'
    ${ }^{200}$ Foothill dialect; the Lowland dialect is $-g i$.

[^118]:    ${ }^{201}$ Habitual aspect is mutually exclusive with tense marking in the Lowland dialect of Konai.

[^119]:    ${ }^{202}$ Another kind of focus is the object focus, which functions in the clause only (see 4.1.7).

[^120]:    ${ }^{203}$ See 3.7 Homophones and variants among suffixes and enclitics.

[^121]:    ${ }^{204}$ Community Health Worker.

[^122]:    ${ }^{205}$ That story has very little H-T linkage and to my non-native speaker's ears/eyes gives the impression of extreme excitement.

[^123]:    ${ }^{206}$ Kegemoû '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).

[^124]:    ${ }^{207}$ The story can be found interlinearised in Appendix III.
    ${ }^{208}$ 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.

[^125]:    ${ }^{209}$ In the term 'participant' I include non-humans, as well as inanimate things.

[^126]:    ${ }^{210}$ The meanings of the different enclitics and words stated here are the meanings applicable to participant reference.

[^127]:    ${ }^{211}$ Note the topic marker on the object; it was a subject in the previous clause.

[^128]:    ${ }^{212}$ As seen just above, the dual \& plural forms come with attached pronoun copy: $\boldsymbol{k} \underline{e}+$ dilie (that +3 Du ) and $\underline{k} \underline{e}+\operatorname{di\underline {a}}($ that $+3 \mathrm{PL})$.

[^129]:    ${ }^{213}$ In the expression taha tahamoû sulugi 'moved around shooting again and again until ...', the perfective suffix -moû is part of the form signalling progressive aspect (see 4.1.5.4.2).

[^130]:    ${ }_{215}^{214}$ Note in (1571) that this strategy may also be used with major participants introduced with pronoun copy.
    ${ }^{215}$ DETAILS with NP in Singular:
    Subject (sg.): +event: $\quad$ NP (w. $k a=h \underline{a}$ (that=GEN)) (NP w. $k a h \underline{a}$ is also possessive)
    +state: $\quad \mathrm{NP}(\mathrm{w} . \mathrm{ke})$ (that))
    Non-subject (sg.): NP (w. ke/ko=koû) (that/...=LOC))

[^131]:    ${ }^{216}$ An inanimate generic noun is talked about in singular (see 4.3.1 Personal pronouns).

[^132]:    ${ }^{217}$ Community Health Worker.

[^133]:    ${ }^{218}$ This switch of scene does not include switch of subject, which can be seen on the low vowel $a$ in fologamoú 'we having arrived we ...'.
    ${ }^{219}$ 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.

[^134]:    ${ }^{5}$ 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).
    ${ }^{6}$ togo-u-l-u (make-BLTV-IRR-NFUT)

[^135]:    ${ }^{8}$ In addition, this relative tense distinction also signals different or same subject, respectively, in relation to the next clause.
    ${ }^{9}$ That is, in this context they are inherently relative future.
    ${ }^{10}$ See the main document for details: 4.1.5.1.2 EPISTEMIC MOOD IN MEDIAL VERBS.
    ${ }^{11} /-l-/ \quad$ 'IRR' /-a/, /-e/, /-o/ 'FUT'
    /-i/, /-u/ 'NFUT' /-o/ 'NPST'
    ${ }^{12}$ Type 3c is not conjugated as other $\boldsymbol{a}$-verbs; see Vhr RULE 3a \& 3b GENERALISED under final verbs in this appendix.
    ${ }^{13}$ Type 4d is excluded here. See footnote on previous page.
    ${ }^{14}$ Without the irrealis /-l-/ preceding, which only occurs in final verbs.

[^136]:    ${ }^{15}$ Comrie 1976:64
    ${ }^{16}$ Type 3a and 3c are conjugated in the same way. Type 4a and 4d are also conjugated in the same way.

[^137]:    ${ }^{17}$ Following $=h \underline{a}$ 'genitive'.

