

# ***Kaulong Grammar Essentials***

Ma 499.1  
P35  
1992

Craig Throop  
SIL - Ukarumpa  
March 1992

1. Introduction.....	1
2. Word Classes .....	1
2.1. Nouns.....	1
2.1.1. Morphological Structure.....	1
2.1.1.1. Simple.....	2
2.1.1.2. Complex.....	2
2.1.1.2.1. Derived.....	2
2.1.1.2.2. Compound.....	4
2.1.1.2.3. Internally Complex.....	5
2.1.2. Semantic Features.....	6
2.1.2.1. Alienable vs. Inalienable .....	6
2.1.2.2. Mass vs. Count.....	6
2.2. Pronouns.....	8
2.2.1. Morphological forms of personal pronouns.....	8
2.2.2. Other pronoun forms.....	10
2.2.2.1. Pronouns of identical and non-identical reference.....	10
2.2.2.2. /.....	13
2.2.2.2.1. as a reflexive pronoun.....	13
2.2.2.2.2. as a dummy object.....	14
2.2.2.2.3. as a pronoun of identical reference.....	14
2.2.2.3. the impersonal pronoun //.....	14
2.3. Adjectives, Numerals, Quantifiers, and Limiters.....	15
2.3.1. Adjectives.....	15
2.3.1.1. Morphological Form.....	15
2.3.1.1.1. Simple (mono-morphemic).....	15
2.3.1.1.2. Complex.....	15
2.3.1.1.2.1. Reduplicated.....	16
2.3.1.1.2.2. Derived.....	16
2.3.1.1.2.2.1. from a verb.....	16
2.3.1.1.2.2.2. from a noun.....	16
2.3.2. Syntactic Distribution.....	16
2.3.2.1. in Adjective Position of a Noun Phrase.....	16
2.3.2.2. in Predicate Position of a Stative Clause .....	17
2.3.3. with Adverbs of Degree .....	17
2.3.4. Comparison of Adjectives.....	17
2.3.5. Numerals.....	18
2.3.6. Quantifiers.....	19
2.3.7. Limiters.....	20
2.4. Verbs.....	21
2.4.1. Morphology.....	21
2.4.1.1. Simple.....	21
2.4.1.2. Reduplicated.....	21
2.4.1.3. with causative prefix <i>pa</i> .....	22

2.4.1.4. with reciprocal suffix <i>-wal</i> .....	23
2.4.2. Existential verbs.....	23
2.4.2.1. <i>kuk</i> .....	25
2.4.2.2. <i>nuk</i> .....	26
2.4.2.3. <i>pit</i> .....	27
2.4.2.4. <i>ung</i> .....	28
2.4.2.5. <i>in</i> .....	29
2.5. Adverbs and adverbials.....	30
2.5.1. Morphology of adverbs.....	30
2.5.1.1. Simple.....	30
2.5.1.2. Reduplicated.....	30
2.5.1.3. Derived.....	30
2.5.1.3.1. from verbs.....	31
2.5.1.3.2. from nouns.....	31
2.5.2. Semantics of adverbs.....	31
2.5.2.1. Adverbs of manner.....	31
2.5.2.2. Degree.....	34
2.5.2.3. Adverbials of location and time.....	36
2.5.2.4. Aspectual.....	40
2.5.2.5. Modal.....	41
2.6. Prepositions.....	43
2.6.1. Prepositions expressing case relations.....	43
2.6.1.1. <i>ta</i> .....	44
2.6.1.2. <i>epa</i> .....	45
2.6.1.2.1. to introduce a clause or sentence which expresses a ground, reason, or explanation.....	45
2.6.1.2.2. to mark the reflexive participant of a stative predicate or intransitive verb.....	45
2.6.1.2.3. to mark the instrument by which an action is accomplished.....	46
2.6.1.2.4. with a motion verb to mark the goal of an action.....	46
2.6.1.3. <i>ta</i> .....	46
2.6.1.3.1. to mark a concomitative participant.....	46
2.6.1.3.2. to introduce time phrases.....	46
2.6.1.4. to express instrument.....	47
2.6.1.5. <i>wa</i> .....	47
2.6.1.6. <i>pa</i> .....	47
2.6.1.7. <i>mi</i> .....	47
2.6.1.8. <i>pit mi</i> .....	47
2.6.1.9. <i>pit wa</i> .....	48
2.6.2. Prepositions expressing local relations.....	48
2.6.2.1. Static spatial relations.....	48
2.6.2.2. Dynamic spatial relations.....	49

2.6.2.3. Static temporal relations (location in time).....	49
2.6.2.4. Dynamic temporal relations (duration in time).....	49
2.6.3. Table summarizing the uses of Kaulong prepositions:.....	50
2.7. Conjunctions.....	51
2.7.1. <i>ma</i> .....	51
2.7.2. <i>si</i> and <i>sini</i> .....	54
2.7.2.1. <i>si</i> .....	54
2.7.2.1.1. to express contrast or comparison.....	54
2.7.2.1.2. to link a clause with its negated alternative.....	54
2.7.2.1.3. to link events in an expectancy chain.....	55
2.7.2.2. <i>sini</i> .....	56
2.7.3. <i>u</i> .....	56
2.7.4. <i>wa</i> .....	57
3. Phrase Structure.....	57
3.1. Noun Phrase.....	57
3.1.1. Noun with adjective.....	57
3.1.2. Noun with possessive pronoun.....	57
3.1.3. Noun with relative clause.....	58
3.1.4. Noun with demonstrative.....	58
3.1.5. Noun with quantifier.....	58
3.2. Definiteness.....	58
3.2.1. Special Types of Noun Phrases.....	59
3.2.1.1. Possessive Noun Phrases.....	59
3.2.1.2. Partitive Noun Phrases.....	60
3.2.1.3. Nominalized Noun Phrases.....	61
3.2.1.4. Serial Noun Phrases.....	62
3.2.1.5. Accompaniment Noun Phrases.....	62
3.2.1.6. Ordering of Constituents with the Noun Phrase.....	63
3.3. Verb Phrase.....	64
3.3.1. Time Reference (Tense).....	67
3.3.1.1. Remote Past.....	68
3.3.1.1.1. Past.....	68
3.3.1.1.2. Immediate Past.....	68
3.3.1.1.3. Present.....	68
3.3.1.1.4. Immediate Future.....	68
3.3.1.1.5. Future.....	69
3.3.1.1.6. Remote Future.....	69
3.3.2. Aspect.....	69
3.3.2.1. Customary action <i>ewin</i> .....	69
3.3.2.2. Habitual action <i>nginangan</i> .....	70
3.3.2.3. Continuous action.....	70
3.3.2.3.1. via existential verbs.....	70
3.3.2.3.2. <i>iso</i> .....	71

3.3.2.4. Inceptive action.....	71
3.3.2.4.1. <i>hoos</i> .....	71
3.3.2.4.2. <i>ka</i> .....	71
3.3.2.5. Completed action.....	72
3.3.2.5.1. <i>kut</i> .....	72
3.3.2.5.2. <i>klet</i> .....	73
3.3.3. Modality.....	74
3.3.3.1. Negation.....	74
3.3.3.2. Realis vs Irrealis <i>ku</i> .....	76
3.3.3.3. Frustration, supposition, counterfactuals <i>taku</i> .....	77
4. The syntax of clauses.....	77
4.1. Information packaging – the lexicalisation of events.....	78
4.2. Transitivity – intransitive verbs.....	80
4.2.1. Subject – Verb clauses.....	81
4.2.2. Ambient verbs.....	82
4.3. Transitivity – transitive verbs.....	83
4.3.1. Subject – Verb – Object clauses.....	83
4.3.2. Benefactive as (Indirect) Object.....	84
4.3.3. Experiential constructions.....	84
4.4. Verbless clauses.....	85
4.4.1. Equative constructions.....	85
4.4.2. Topic plus adjective.....	86
4.4.3. Benefactive used to express 'having'.....	87
4.5. Relative clause construction.....	87
4.6. Peripheral cases.....	88
4.6.1. <i>ta</i> Benefactive.....	88
4.6.2. <i>epa</i> .....	89
4.6.3. <i>wa</i> .....	90
4.6.4. <i>po</i> .....	90
4.6.5. <i>hang</i> Location.....	90
4.6.6. <i>pit mi</i> .....	91
4.7. <i>men</i> Delimitative particle/clitic.....	91
5. Sentence.....	91
5.1. Simple Sentences.....	92
5.1.1. Declarative.....	93
5.1.2. Interrogative.....	93
5.1.2.1. Wh-Questions.....	94
5.1.2.2. Tag Questions.....	95
5.1.3. Imperative.....	95
5.1.4. Exclamatory.....	97
5.2. Complex Sentences.....	98
5.3. Compound Sentences.....	100
5.3.1. Conjoining.....	100

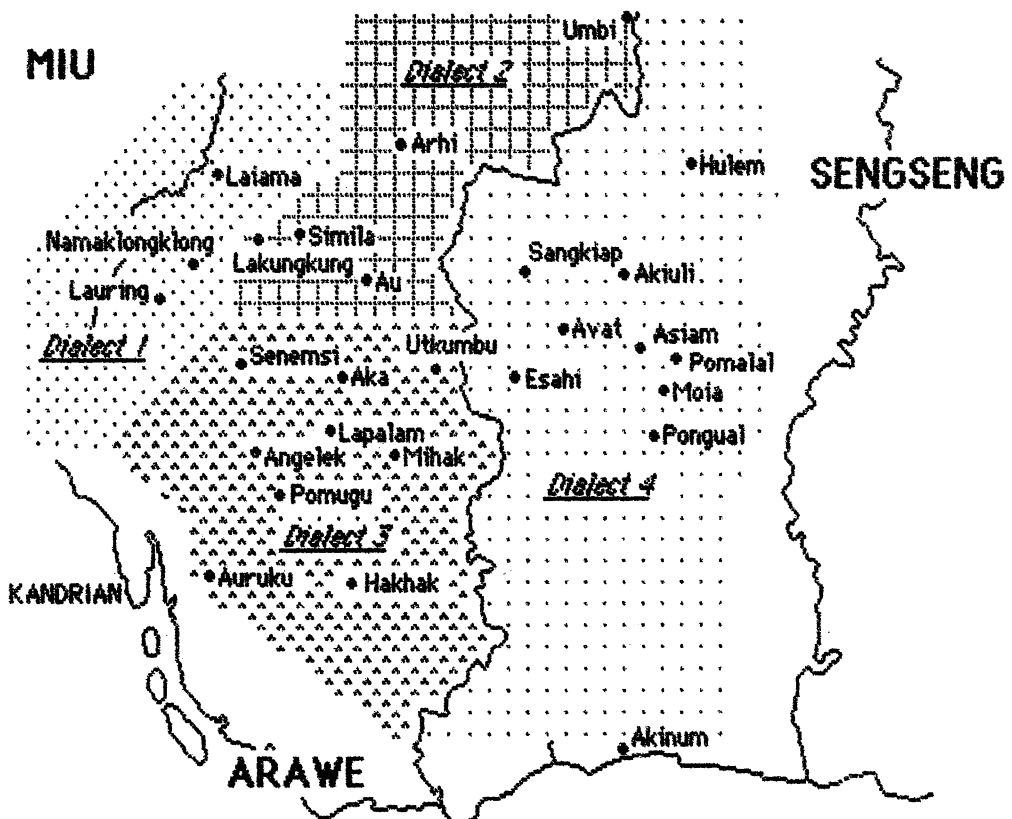
5.3.1.1. Contrast/Comparison.....	101
5.3.2. Alternation.....	102
5.3.3. Temporal.....	102
5.3.3.1. Sequence.....	103
5.3.3.1.1. Temporal sequence with <i>ma</i> .....	103
5.3.3.1.2. Temporal sequence with <i>si</i> .....	103
5.3.3.1.3. Temporal sequence with <i>anima</i> .....	104
5.3.3.1.4. Temporal sequence with <i>khama</i> .....	104
5.3.3.1.5. Temporal sequence with <i>lil ma</i> .....	105
5.3.3.2. Temporal Overlap.....	106
5.3.3.2.1. Temporal Overlap with <i>ma</i> .....	106
5.3.3.2.2. Temporal Overlap with <i>si</i> .....	106
5.3.3.2.3. Temporal Overlap with <i>ku</i> .....	107
5.3.4. Implication.....	107
5.3.4.1. Cause.....	107
5.3.4.2. Result.....	108
5.3.4.2.1. Reason-Result with <i>ma</i> .....	108
5.3.4.2.2. Reason-Result with <i>men ma</i> .....	108
5.3.4.2.3. Reason-Result with <i>tumen ma</i> .....	109
5.3.4.2.4. Means-Result with <i>ku-ma</i> .....	109
5.3.4.3. Purpose.....	110
5.3.4.4. Conditional.....	110
5.3.4.5. Contrafactual.....	111
5.3.5. Frustration.....	111
5.3.6. Illustration.....	112
5.3.6.1. Simile.....	112
5.3.6.2. Exemplification.....	113
5.3.7. Cleft Sentences.....	113
6. Discourse.....	113
6.1. Pragmatic Information.....	113
6.1.1. <i>kha</i> .....	113
6.1.2. <i>wala</i> .....	114
6.1.3. <i>ani</i> .....	114
6.2. Sample text.....	115

## 1. Introduction

Kaulong is an Austronesian language spoken by some 3000 to 4000 people. They inhabit the area between the Alimbit and Palix Rivers, from the coastal hinterland to the base of the Whiteman mountain range in the south-central part of West New Britain. The Kaulong language is closely related to Miu, a language to the northwest and Sengseng, a language to the east. These three languages, together with Karore, a language farther east, constitute the western portion of the Whiteman language family.

There are two major dialects within Kaulong, an eastern and a western. The Palix River forms the approximate dividing line. The western division is further subdivided into a northern and southern dialect. These divisions are based on statements of native speakers. Actual linguistic data from each dialect is needed, however, to corroborate the sociolinguistic evidence.

Kaulong Dialects



The purpose of this paper is to present a concise overview of Kaulong morphology and syntax. The analysis is based on a corpus of approximately 20,000 words.

## 2. Word Classes

### 2.1. *Nouns*

Our syntactic criterion for classifying a word as a noun in Kaulong is that it must be able to fill the head position of a simple noun phrase. Kaulong does not permit the substantival use of adjectives to fill head position in a noun phrase.

Kaulong nouns will be described according to their morphological structure and their semantic features.

#### 2.1.1. *Morphological Structure*

Kaulong nouns may be morphologically simple or complex. Complex nouns may be further categorized as derived, compound, or internally complex.

##### 2.1.1.1. Simple

Simple nouns consist of a single morpheme. They may or may not be semantically simple. Semantically simple nouns are those nouns whose meaning cannot be specified in terms of other nouns within the lexicon, so that if for the expression "X is a type of Y", noun X cannot be said to be a type of some noun Y, then noun X is considered semantically simple or primitive (egs. *sa* 'tree', *pi* 'place', *mang* 'house').

##### 2.1.1.2. Complex

Complex nouns may be classified according to whether they are derived or internally complex.

##### 2.1.1.2.1. Derived

Derived nouns consist of a base morpheme plus one of the following derivational suffixes: *-ngin* or *-nginan*<sup>1</sup>. The base is typically an intransitive verb expressing action or an adjective. Less typically it is a noun.

The suffix *-ngin* occurs with intransitive verbs. It refers to a particular instance of the action referred to by that verb.



- (1) *kum-ngin*  
do.work-NMLSR:DEF  
a particular instance of work

- (2) *sakal-ngin*  
speak-NMLSR:DEF  
a particular instance of speech

With intransitive verbs that have specific body parts as a part of their meaning, the body part is also included in the nominalization, and the pronoun endings are dropped:<sup>2</sup>

- (3) *hiang wo-n peep pit wo sun*  
he mouth-his have confidence be at upon him

He has confidence in him.

- (4) *wo-peep-ngin ta hiang iso hning*  
mouth-rely on-NMLSR:DEF POSS he still strong

His confidence is still strong.

In the following examples the *-ngin* suffix occurs with adjectives and denotes an inner dispositional state.

- (5) *mi-ngo tunus-ngin*  
inside-I good-disposition

I am in a good disposition

- (6) *mi-ngo moko-ngin*  
inside-I lazy-disposition

I am in a lazy disposition

When *-ngin* is added to a noun it refers to a particular instantiation of the entity referred to by that noun. So far the only simple noun which has been observed to take *-ngin* as a suffix is *mulus* ('earth', 'ground').

- (7) *mulus-ngin*  
earth-NMLSR:DEF

a particular piece of ground or a section of ground which is level.

The nominalizing suffix *-ngin-an* has the adjectivizing suffix *-an* attached to it, hence it makes the nominalized verb into an adjective.

- (8) *tulu-p hu pit wo pi ning-ngin-an*  
mind-your think be at upon place do-NMLSR-  
ADJSR

*misan*  
only

Always remember garden work.

In some cases the complete subject may be included in the nominalization:

- (9) po masang to sun wala moyong lek-ngin-an  
they male with they female all kill-NMLSR-ADJSR

The complete killing of all the men and women

#### 2.1.1.2.2. Compound

Compound nouns are nouns which consist of two or more juxtaposed morphemes filling the same head position and which together refer to a real-world object.

- (10) *eking mlut*  
bird house

a bird house

- (11) *wungin ulil*  
behavior foolish

foolishness

- (12) *pi tahma-an*  
place bush spirit-ADJSR

a place where a bush spirit dwells

#### 2.1.1.2.3. Internally Complex

Proper nouns are often internally complex, consisting of morphemes describing the character or nature of the thing named:

- (13) *a-ku-li-muk*  
SP-IRR-go-first

name of the first month of the traditional Kaulong year

- (14) *a-mulus-a-powhot*  
MASC-ground-MASC-hit

name of a bush spirit

- (15) *misang-gil*  
bush-dig

name of a water hole

### *2.1.2. Semantic Features*

Kaulong nouns, like nouns in all natural languages, may be classified according to the ontological status of the entity to which they refer. Some nouns are inherently more abstract in their reference, and others are more concrete. While such distinctions are not overtly marked in Kaulong morphology, they do affect the collocatability of nouns with other words, as would be expected to be the case in all natural languages.

Kaulong morpho-syntax is sensitive to the following semantic features of nouns: alienability, countability, and human reference.

#### 2.1.2.1. Alienable vs. Inalienable

Nouns referring to kinship relations or body parts (or their metaphorical extensions) are morphologically marked, taking an obligatory possessive pronoun suffix (see p. \*\* for a paradigm of inalienable pronoun suffixes). Such nouns are said to be inalienably possessed.

- (16) *hiang wirama-n*  
he father-his

his father

- (17) *hiang willi-n*  
he hand-his

his hand

#### 2.1.2.2. Mass vs. Count

Count nouns are, by definition, nouns which refer to entities which may be counted, while mass nouns refer to entities which are not normally counted.

- (18) *enah khot miuk*  
stone NUMQUANT three

three stones

- (19) \**namak khot miuk*  
sand NUMQUANT three

three sands

- (20) *namak mulakin ta*  
sand grain one

a grain of sand

- (21) *eki psit ta*  
water drop one

a drop of water

Mass nouns trigger obligatory reduplication in certain verbs. Count nouns trigger reduplication only when they are plural.

- (22) *eki yuk-yuk*  
water spill-RDP

The water spilled.

- (23) *hiang yuk-yuk namak ko nuk mulus-ngin*  
he dump-RDP sand down lay earth-NOM

He dumped the sand onto the ground.

- (24) *eki ngeng-ngeng ahi*  
water hot-RDP EMPHATIC

The water is hot!

## 2.2. Pronouns

The Kaulong pronominal system distinguishes four numbers (singular, dual, paucal, plural), and three persons (first, second, and third), plus it has special third person forms which functions as a kind of fourth person. A distinction is made in the first person between inclusive (including the addressee) and exclusive (excluding the addressee). Personal pronouns have both bound and free forms. Second person singular and plural pronouns have special forms which are used when the speaker is making a request of a social equal or superior. In the third person singular a distinction is made between masculine and feminine. There are also a special forms for referring to non-human entities.

### 2.2.1. Morphological forms of personal pronouns

Morphologically, Kaulong personal pronouns are of two types, free and bound. The free forms occur in the head position of noun phrases. The free forms of Kaulong personal pronouns are given in the following table:

Table 1: Kaulong Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Paucal	Plural
1 excl	<i>ngo/nga</i>	<i>tuk</i>	<i>piuk</i>	<i>pim</i>
1 incl		<i>tong</i>	<i>suk</i>	<i>it</i>
2	<i>ngon</i>	<i>mom</i>	<i>miuk</i>	<i>wom</i>
3	<i>hiang/wut</i>	<i>wulong</i>	<i>wuluk</i>	<i>po</i>

When making a request or expressing thanks the second person pronoun *som* (singular) or *po som* (plural) is used.

Inalienably possessed nouns take special bound forms in the first, second, and third person singular. Alienable possessed nouns take the preposition *ta* to which the free form of the pronoun is suffixed. A few nouns (eg., *emhong*) take the particle *a-* followed by the free form of the pronoun.

Table 2: Paradigm of inalienably and alienably possessed pronouns

	'hand'	'brother'	'voice'	'house'
1-SG	<i>vili-ngo</i>	<i>woro-k</i>	<i>emhong a-ngo</i>	<i>mang ta-ngo</i>
1-DL-INC	<i>vili-tong</i>	<i>viro-tong</i>	<i>emhong a-tong</i>	<i>mang ta-rong</i>
1-DL-EXC	<i>vili-tuk</i>	<i>viro-tuk</i>	<i>emhong a-tuk</i>	<i>mang ta-ruk</i>
1-PC-INC	<i>vili-suk</i>	<i>viro-suk</i>	<i>emhong a-suk</i>	<i>mang ta-suk</i>
1-PC-EXC	<i>vili-piuk</i>	<i>viro-piuk</i>	<i>emhong a-piuk</i>	<i>mang ta piuk</i>
1-PL-INC	<i>vili-it</i>	<i>viro-it</i>	<i>emhong a-it</i>	<i>mang ta-it</i>
1-PL-EXC	<i>vili-pim</i>	<i>viro-pim</i>	<i>emhong a-pim</i>	<i>mang ta pim</i>
2-SG	<i>vili-p</i>	<i>viro-m</i>	<i>emhong a-ngon</i>	<i>mang ta-p</i>
2-DL	<i>vili-mom</i>	<i>viro-mom</i>	<i>emhong a-mom</i>	<i>mang ta-mom</i>



2-PC	<i>vili-miuk</i>	<i>viro-miuk</i>	<i>emhong a-miuk</i>	<i>mang ta-miuk</i>
2-PL	<i>vili-wom</i>	<i>viro-wom</i>	<i>emhong a-wom</i>	<i>mang ta-wom</i>
3-SG	<i>vili-n</i>	<i>viro-n</i>	<i>emhong a-hiang</i>	<i>mang ta-hiang</i>
3-DUAL	<i>vili-ngong</i>	<i>viro-ngong</i>	<i>emhong a-ngong</i>	<i>mang ta-wulong</i>
3-PAUC	<i>vili-ngiuk</i>	<i>viro-ngiuk</i>	<i>emhong a-ngiuk</i>	<i>mang ta-wuluk</i>
3-PL	<i>vili-hi</i>	<i>viro-hi</i>	<i>emhong a-hi</i>	<i>mang ta-po</i>

Note that inalienably possessed nouns take special possessive endings in the first, second, and third person singular. The remainder of the endings are identical with those of alienably possessed nouns.

### *2.2.2. Other pronoun forms*

#### 2.2.2.1. Pronouns of identical and non-identical reference

Third person pronouns have the following additional forms: *ngong* (DUAL), *ngiuk* (TRIAL), *hi* (PLURAL), and *sun* (PLURAL). These allow the speaker to make distinctions in the third person between participants in relation to the subject of the sentence. If the participants referred to are identical with or include those referred to by the subject of the sentence, then one form is used, if they are not identical, then another form is used. The following sequence of sentences shows how this works:

- (25) *hiang wa endara ta-n ma hiang li*  
 he take things to:POSS-his and he go

He took his things and he left.

- (26) *hiang wa endara ta sun ma hiang li*  
 he take things to:POSS him and he go

He took his things and he left.

- (27) *hiang wa endara ta sun ma sun li*  
 he take things to:POSS him and he go

He took his things and he left.

- (28) *wulong wa endara ta ngong ma wulong*  
 they:DL take things to:POSS they:DL:IR and they:DL:IR

*li*  
 go

The two of them took their things and the they left.

- (29) *wulong wa endara ta wulong ma wulong*  
 they:DL take things to:POSS they:DL:NIR and they:DL:IR

*li*  
 go

The two of them took the things of the other two and the two of them left.

- (30) *wulong wa endara ta wulong ma ngiuk*  
 they:DL take things to:POSS they:DL:NIR and they:PC:IR

*li*  
 go

The two of them took the things of the other two and the four of them left.

- (31) *wulong wa endara ta wuluk ma wulong li*  
they:DL take things to:POSS they:PC and they:DL go

The two of them took the things belong to the other three and the two of them left.

- (32) *wulong wa endara ta wuluk ma ngiuk li*  
they:DL take things to:POSS they:PC and they:DL:IR go

The two of them took the things belonging to the other three and the five of them left together.

- (33) *wulong wa endara ta po ma wulong li*  
they:DL take things to:POSS they:PL and they:DL go

The two of them took the things belonging to the others and the two of them left.

- (34) *wulong wa endara ta po ma hi li*  
they:DL take things to:POSS they:PL and they:PL:IR go

The two of them took the things belonging to the others and they all left.

- (35) *po wa endara ta hi ma po li*  
they take things to:POSS they:PL:IR and they go

They took their things and they went.

- (36) *po wa endara ta sun ma po li*  
they:PL take things to:POSS they:PL:NIR and they:PL go

They took the things belonging to the others and they went.

- (37) *po wa endara ta sun ma hi li*  
 they take things to:POSS they:NIR and  
 they:NIR go

They took their things and they went.

It should be noted that the use of pronouns of identical and non-identical reference does not persist beyond the boundaries of the sentence in which they occur, so that when a new sentence is begun the regular nominative pronoun must be used again. Thus in the examples above, *ngong*, *ngiuk*, *hi*, and *sun* could not be used to start a new sentence. It would be possible, however, to use them in a subsequent clause in the same sentence:

- (38) *po wa endara ta sun ma sun*  
 they:PL take things to:POSS they:PL:NIR and they:PL:NIR  
  
*li*  
 go

They took the things belong to the others and the others left.

The following table shows the pronouns of identical and non-identical reference:

Table 3: Pronouns of identical and non-identical reference

	Pronoun of identical reference	Pronoun of non-identical reference
Singular	<i>-n</i>	<i>sun</i>
Dual	<i>ngong</i>	<i>wulong</i>
Paucal	<i>ngiuk</i>	<i>wuluk</i>

- (41) *eyel ta hiang ung wo ehus ma hiang wa-i*  
 basket to:POSS him sit on bed and he take-it  
  
*ma hiang li*  
 and he go

His basket was on the bed and he took it and he left.

### 2.2.2.3. the impersonal pronoun /i/

Kaulong has an impersonal pronoun, /i/, that are use to refer to non-human entities (bush spirits, ghosts, large animals, Europeans<sup>3</sup>) The pronoun /i/ patterns syntactically like the third person singular pronouns *hiang* 'he' and *wut* 'she', and is thus able to fill the subject position of the clause. The following examples illustrate the use of /i/:

- (42) *lavino lais hiang a-Siria pir ko-li*  
 python coil around him mGEND-Siria stand down-at  
  
*wur kii-n li pol i-li mhi hiang Li*  
 neck foot-his go become at up-at head he  
 It  
  
*lais hiang li pi om kur ma hiang pir*  
 coil around him go place not PERF and he stand  
  
*e mir mir to li mi ehul*  
 and stagger stagger with it inside plant growth  
  
*uwa sangga*  
 shoulder Sangga tree

The snake coiled around Siria from 'his ankles up to his head.  
 After it coiled around him he stood staggering with the snake  
 inside the plant growth at the shoulder of the Sangga Tree.

## **2.3. Adjectives, Numerals, Quantifiers, and Limiters**

### **2.3.1. Adjectives**

The number of adjectives in Kaulong is relatively small. Most adjectival concepts are expressed via verbs (see next section).

### 2.3.1.1. Morphological Form

#### 2.3.1.1.1. Simple (mono-morphemic)

<i>nuhum</i>	'big'
<i>kal</i>	'white'
<i>enep</i>	'thin'
<i>lapat</i>	'sticky'

#### 2.3.1.1.2. Complex

Complex adjectives are poly-morphemic. They may be sub-divided into two categories, viz., reduplicated and derived.

##### 2.3.1.1.2.1. Reduplicated

<i>ko-klong</i>	'hard'
<i>pel-pel</i>	'having the propensity to climb'

##### 2.3.1.1.2.2. Derived

Derived adjectives may come from verbs or nouns. They are formed by adding the classifying prefix *a-* or the suffix *-an* or both.

##### 2.3.1.1.2.2.1. \_\_\_\_\_ from a verb

<i>a-sur-ngin</i>	'cooking' (lit. 'cook-thing')
<i>a-pa-luk-ngin</i>	'strong' (lit. 'cause-strength-thing')
<i>a-pi-psik</i>	'right-handed' (lit. 'place-throw')
<i>a-in-an</i>	'real,true' (lit. 'exist-type thing')

#### 2.3.1.1.2.2.2. from a noun

<i>sa-an</i>	wood (lit. 'tree-ADJZ')
<i>to-ngin</i>	'sharp' (lit. 'with-teeth')
<i>a-to-ilio</i>	'left-handed' (lit. 'with-shield')

### *2.3.2 Syntactic Distribution*

There are two positions where Kaulong adjectives occur: (1) the modifier position of noun phrases (2) the predicate position of stative clauses. Within noun phrases they always follow the noun head.

#### 2.3.2.1. In Adjective Position of a Noun Phrase

- (43) *sa nuhum ta*  
       tree big INDEF  
       a big tree

#### 2.3.2.2. in Predicate Position of a Stative Clause

- (44) *sa men nuhum*  
tree DELIM big

The tree is big.

### 2.3.3. with Adverbs of Degree

*tun engun* 'very small'

*tun* 'small'

*nuhum loong* 'slightly big'

*nuhum* 'big'

*nuhum takut* 'very big'

*nuhum weh* 'extremely big'

### 2.3.4 Comparison of Adjectives

There are no special comparative forms of adjectives as in English. The normal method for expressing comparison in Kaulong is to use antonym pairs.

- (45) *eyel ti-n ta-p men nuhum si eyel*  
basket this-it to:POSS-you that big and basket

*ti-n ta ngo men tun*  
this-it to:POSS me that small

Your basket is big and mine is small.

A less common way used to express comparison is the adjective followed by the case relator *epa*



- (46) *eyel ti-n ta-p men nuhum epo ti-n*  
basket this-it to:POSS-you DELIM big than this-it

*ta ngo men*  
to:POSS me that

Your basket is big with respect to mine.

### 2.3.5. Numerals

Kaulong has a base five numeral system. The numerals from one to twenty are as follows:

<i>tehen</i>	'one'	<i>eip ponwal u ta me sup</i>	'eleven'
<i>ponwal</i>	'two'	<i>eip ponwal u ponwal me sup</i>	'twelve'
<i>miuk</i>	'three'	<i>eip ponwal u miuk me-sup</i>	'thirteen'
<i>mnal</i>	'four'	<i>eip ponwal u mnal me-sup</i>	'fourteen'
<i>eip</i>	'five'	<i>eip miuk</i>	'fifteen'
<i>ta me sup</i>	'six'	<i>eip miuk u ta me sup</i>	'sixteen'
<i>ponwal me sup</i>	'seven'	<i>eip miuk u ponwal me sup</i>	'seventeen'
<i>miuk me sup</i>	'eight'	<i>eip miuk u miuk me sup</i>	'eighteen'
<i>mnal me sup</i>	'nine'	<i>eip miuk u mnal me sup</i>	'nineteen'
<i>eip ponwal</i>	'ten'	<i>eip mnal</i>	'twenty'

The morpheme *kahot* precedes numerals.

- (47) *po iang iang si po kahot mnal kuk*  
 they disburse REDUP and they QUANT four stay  
*tili pim*  
 care.for us:EXCL

They disburse but four of them stay and care for us.

### 2.3.6. Quantifiers

Quantifiers are used to indicate some portion of a whole (one, some, all), or some non-specific quantity (few, much, many). The following Kaulong morphemes and expressions are used to indicate general, non-specific quantities:

<i>ta</i>	'one'
<i>kara</i>	'some'
<i>mosop/moiong</i>	'all'
<i>likiong</i>	'both'
<i>sakun/sakuk</i>	'small amount'
<i>sakun kara</i>	'a few, a little bit'
<i>sakun engun</i>	'very few, a very little bit'
<i>haun-ngin</i>	'a large quantity'
<i>munuman</i>	'much, many'

Quantifiers occur at the extreme right position of the noun phrase.

- (48) *hut po ti-n masang wahin enginin ta*  
 nose they this-it male unmarried different  
 a

*men*

DELIM

some strange, unmarried male

### 2.3.7. Limiters

The morpheme *misa-* 'only, just' limits the reference of a noun with respect to some presupposed, quantifiable group.

- (49) *hiang nghio wo piuk epo li kahot eip misa-n*  
 he help on we:PAUC:EXC for it QUANT five only-it

He only helped us out with five kina.

The Indefinite article *ta* is another type of limiter. When it occurs with the third person singular or plural pronouns it expresses a difference in the degree of definiteness.

- (50) *wut ta*  
 she a

a certain female person known to speaker but not addressee

- (51) *po ta*  
 they a

some person [unknown to both speaker and addressee]

## 2.4 Verbs

### 2.4.1. Morphology

#### 2.4.1.1. Simple

Kaulong verb roots may be morphologically simple or complex. Simple verb roots are mono-morphemic and underived.

<i>ion</i>	'see, perceive'
<i>ning</i>	'do, make'
<i>sakai</i>	'speak, say'
<i>vi</i>	'hit, strike'

#### 2.4.1.2. Reduplicated

Reduplicated verbs consist of a single morpheme which has been completely or partially reduplicated.<sup>4</sup>

<i>nges-nges</i>	'breath heavily'
<i>yem-yem</i>	'steal habitually'
<i>yel-yel</i>	'habitually eat only the inside part of the taro'
<i>sa-saka</i>	'speak'

2.4.1.3. with causative prefix *pa-*

The causitive particle *pa-* is prefixed to the verb root. Its presence affects the transitivity of the clause, converting an intransitive clause to a transitive one.

- (52) *wut sus*  
she suckle

She is suckling

- (53) *wut pa-sus eru-n*  
she CAUSV-suckle daughter-her

She is suckling her daughter.

- (54) *hiang nhing*  
he rest

He is resting.

- (55) *hiang pa-nhing title-n*  
he CAUSV-rest spouse-his

He is comforting his wife.

#### 2.4.1.4. with reciprocal suffix -wal

The reciprocal particle - *wal* is suffixed to the verb root. As its name indicates, it signifies reciprocity.

- (56) *po hek-wal pit mi yu*  
they insist-RECIP be inside pig

They are arguing about the pig

- (57) *wulong mut-wal*  
They-DUAL reject-RECIP

They got a divorce.

### 2.4.2. Existential verbs

Kaulong verbs may be divided into two basic categories on the basis of their meaning and syntactic distribution, viz., stative verbs and action verbs. Stative verbs express non-dynamic states-of-affairs and action verbs express dynamic ones. So, for example, *sa/h/* ('be sick') is a stative verb, and *w/* ('strike') is a dynamic one.

Within the class of stative verbs is a small, closed, sub-class which we call existential verbs. These express meanings such as "X exists", "X sits", "X lies", etc. – where X is the referent of the topic noun phrase. These verbs also very commonly take a locative noun phrase as well, giving meanings like "X is in the house", "X lies near the lake" and so forth. The are five existential verbs, their forms and their basic meanings are as follows:

<i>pit</i>	'stand'
<i>nuk</i>	'lie'
<i>ung</i>	'sit'
<i>in</i>	'be', 'exist' (animate singular or dual topic)
<i>kuk</i>	'be situated throughout a region' (indefinite location)

These forms are particularly interesting because they have extended meanings which obtain when the topic is plural, or non-animate. Before we discuss the differences in meaning, we give a few instances of existential verbs in clauses.

- (58) *hiang willi-n likiong pit po enda ti-n*  
 he hand-his both stand on thing REL-3sg:POSS

*phae men*  
 turn DELIM

He had both hands on the steering wheel.

- (59) *yu ta a-Pita pit wo sun a-Jon*  
 pig to:POSS mGEND-Peter stand upon him mGEND-John

John owes Peter a pig

- (60) *hiang in mi mang*  
 he be inside house

He is in the house.

- (61) *saput nuk ira titu*  
 path lie follow ridge

The path lies along the ridge.

- (62) *sowon ta mang ta pit*  
 door to:POSS house INDEF stand

There is a door to the house.

- (63) *God in*  
 God be

God exists.

The extended meanings which these verbs may take are treated in the following sections.

2.4.2.1. kuk

The verb *kuk* 'be throughout' is used to express the idea of diffuseness, or to be more explicit, the speaker uses *kuk* to indicate that he is unable to fix the topic's location within a diffuse region, or that the topic is itself diffuse and therefore difficult to fix precisely in a region. Animate plural subjects take *kuk*, presumably because that are mobile and therefore their exact location at any given time is unpredictable, and because the exact location of any one of the members of the set is unpredictable.

- (64) *eki kuk ira soput*  
water be follow road

There is water on the road (puddles).

- (65) *esis kuk mi epili*  
grasshoppers be in grass

The grasshoppers are in grass.

- (66) *po ning soput li hut kuk*  
they make road go nose be

They have not finished making the path yet.

2.4.2.2. nuk

The verb *nuk* 'lie' is used when the speaker wishes to signal that the topic is not bounded, or limited to a particular location, by any other boundaries belonging to things referred to in the context. For example, in the the example below which states "The water overflows the path", the path has boundaries, but the verb *nuk* signals that the water is not constrained by the boundaries of the path – the implication being that it overflows the path. In the second example, "The road lies beside the lake", the verb *nuk* is used because the boundary of the lake does not impinge the path at any point so as to distinguish one point on the path from another. The other examples may be similarly explained.





- (67) *eki nuk ira saput*  
water lie follow path

There is water on the path

- (68) *saput nuk suu eki*  
path lie shore water

The path lay along the shoreline.

- (69) *sa nuk wo mulusngin ta hiang*  
trees be on ground to:POSS him

The trees are on his land.

- (70) *namak nuk suu wiyu*  
sand lay shore sea

Sand lies on the seashore

- (71) *po nomuru nuk e sakal nohwang*  
they adults stand be talk clearing

The adults are standing talking in the clearing

- (72) *enah nuk ira saput*  
stone lay along path

There are stones along the path.

- (73) *kap nuk wo suiung*  
cup lay on table

The cups are on the table.

- (74) naip nuk        mang  
       knife        lay house

The knife is in the house.

### 2.4.2.3. pit

The verb *pit* 'stand' is used to express the idea of 'full up' (ie. so many or so much of something that some bounded entity or area is filled) with countable nouns and mass nouns. It is also used to express intensity, like the English expression 'stand out' (such as when referring to one or more stars which are brighter than the rest). One may also speak of the wind "standing" (ie. having a definite direction, rather than shifting in direction); or Jesus "standing" on the cross (ie. pinned, rather than hanging limply – the latter would require the use of *kuk*); or a road "standing" (ie. being perpendicular to another road, or radiating out from a village). It is difficult to come up with a semantic category which covers all of these in a unitary way, but it does seem to be related to the idea that some physical attribute of the topic is maximised or located specifically.

- (75) *eip pit*  
wind stand

It is windy.

- (76) *po ni Jisas pit put sa wlong put wal*  
they pierce Jesus on middle tree ? middle RECIPIENT

They nailed Jesus to the cross.

- (77) *saput li pit put sun*  
path go stand middle other

The road lay perpendicular to the other.

#### 2.4.2.4 ung

The verb *ung* 'sit' is used when the speaker wishes to express the idea of 'containment'. One can say "The cup sits on the table" because the table is conceived of as being a container for the cup. One may also say "The water (or any other mass noun) sits on the table" but only provided the water is within a container which itself is on the table. (If several glasses of water were on the table, one would use the verb *nuk*; while if water was spread on the table because it had been spilled, one would use the verb *kuk*). To say "The sand is in the bag" one uses *ung* 'sit', because the bag contains the sand; but if the sand filled the bag, one would use the verb *pit* 'stand'. One uses the verb *ung* when the topic is viewed as potentially containing something else, and also when the topic is viewed as being contained by something else.

- (78) *kap ung wo suiung*  
cup sit on table

The cup is sitting on the table.

- (79) *pi yung ma susuk ko kuk wo ehus*  
place rain and leak down be on bed

It is raining and leaking down on to the bed.

- (80) *plet ung mang*  
plate sit house

The plate is in the house.

- (81) *rais ung mi sospen ma ung mang*  
rice sit inside saucepan and sit house

The rice is in the saucepan in the house.

#### 2.42.5. in

The verb *in* is used when the speaker wishes to express that something exists, or is located in a region – the latter meaning obtains when the verb is followed by a locative phrase. The topic must be capable of volition, and must be singular or dual. (More than two are treated as diffuse entities, and *kuk* would be used.) Volition seems to be important because the topic must be capable of self-directed activity.

- (82) *hiang in mang*  
he be at house

He is in the house.

- (83) *emon in e wum po sa nuhin*  
bird be at and sing on tree tall

The bird is singing in the tall tree.

## 2.5. Adverbs and adverbials

Modifications of verbs are expressed in Kaulong via adverbs, adverbial phrases, manner verbs, aspectual verbs, modal particles, and interjections.

### 2.5.1. Morphology of adverbs

Morphologically, adverbs may be simple, reduplicated, or compound. Simple adverbs are monomorphemic. There are very few adverbs in this category.

#### 2.5.1.1. Simple

*kerek* 'quickly'

*kiok* 'again'

#### 2.5.1.2. Reduplicated

Most adverbs are either reduplicated or complex. Reduplication may be either complete or partial.

*nang-nang* 'hurriedly'

*sum-sum* 'continually'

*ko-kiok ko-kiok* 'again and again'

### 2.5.1.3. Derived

Derived adverbs have the attributive prefix *a-* attached to them. This prefix is also used to form proper nouns and adjectives (see      ).

#### 2.5.1.3.1. from verbs

<i>a-mang</i>	'slowly' (from <i>mang</i> 'leave, permit')
---------------	---

#### 2.5.1.3.2. from nouns

<i>a-put</i>	'across the middle'
--------------	---------------------

The adverb may be derived from a noun which has been derived from a verb. In the following examples *-an*, *-nginan*, and *-ngin*, are nominalizing suffixes which have been suffixed to the verb.

<i>a-in-an</i>	'true, truly' (from <i>in</i> 'be')
<i>a-wo-mlus-nginan</i>	'easily' (from <i>mlus</i> 'remove, erase')
<i>a-wo-peep-ngin</i>	'boldly, confidently' (from <i>peep</i> 'trust')

### *2.5.2. Semantics of adverbs*

Semantically, adverbs and adverbials fall into five main categories: manner, degree, locative/temporal, aspectual, and modal.

### 2.5.2.1. Adverbs of manner

Manner is expressed via adverbs of manner or via manner verbs (see section for a discussion of manner verbs). Most adverbs of manner follow the verb which they modify.

- (84) *piuk ku ti kerek engul*  
 we:PAUC:INCL IRR go quickly nothing

We will be going very soon.

Some adverbs may also precede the verb which they modify, as *kerek* does in the following example.

- (85) *wut ti-n enangin men e kerek e me*  
 she REL-it married DELIM be quickly be come

*phu mar-al sun*  
 compete eye-RECIP her:OtherRef

The married woman came quickly and competed with her [sister].

The members of one sub-class of manner adverbs always precede the verb which they modify. These are used to modify existential verbs.

- (86) *eki ling nuk*  
 water calm lay

The water is calm.



- (87) *mang tek ung*  
house bad sit

The house is no good.

- (88) *e-psik-i tek //*  
you.SG-throw-it bad go

Throw it away. It's no good.

- (89) *po pul pit*  
they steadfast stand

They steadfastly stood their ground.

- (90) *mipi lohi pit*  
garden abandoned be

The garden sits abandoned.

- (91) *hiang saihi nuk*  
he sick lay

He is laying sick.

Manner concepts may also be expressed by means of comparison. Kaulong has two adverbs which are used to introduce comparative phrases or clauses, viz., *ken* and *kai*. The exact difference in meaning or usage between these two words has yet to be determined.

- (92) *hiang sakal ken sun po-wala men*  
 he speak like they:OtherRef they-female DELIM

He talks like a woman.

- (93) *hiang mhi-n ti-men e ek ken ngon men*  
 he head-his this-DELIM be clear like you DELIM

He head is clear like yours [said of someone who has been to school].

- (94) *wulong ngong wiro-n ponwal in pi*  
 they:DUAL with brother-his two be at place

*ta ngong ta kai sun e'niwut*  
 to:POSS they: DualPrevRef one:INDEF like other Miwut

*men*  
 DELIM

Two brothers were at a place of theirs as far away as Miwut.

### 2.5.2.2. Degree

Adverbs and adverbials of degree tell something about the intensity of an action or state. They are a small, closed sub-class consisting of the following words:

<i>hambip</i>	'greatly'
<i>kara kut</i>	'very much'
<i>koyang</i>	'completely, thoroughly'
<i>loong</i>	'slightly'
<i>munuman</i>	'much'
<i>takut</i>	'very'
<i>weh</i>	'extremely'
<i>yek</i>	'all the way'

Adverbs of degree follow the verb which they modify. In transitive clauses they follow the object.

- (95) *mi-ngo keh hambip takut*  
inside-I happy greatly very

I am very happy!

- (96) *piuk a kor-kor weh*  
we:PAUC:EXC PAST feel.cold-RDP extremely

We are extremely cold.

- (97) *pi yung lek it kara kut*  
place rain strike us some PERF

We really got rained on! [lit., the rain struck us very much].

The adverbs *engul* and *weh* may also function as modal adverbs, having the entire clause as their scope, as in the following examples:

- (98) *som sakal ta wuluk weh ku-ma hiang*  
 you(SG) speak BEN they:PAUC must IRR-and he  
*ta it haum tunus*  
 to we:INCL guard well

You must speak to the three of them so that our brother guards well

- (99) *ngon men ku ting in mang engul*  
 you:SG that IRR remain be.at house nothing

You are to just stay at home.

### 2.5.2.3. Adverbials of location and time

Adverbials of location and time indicate the location or time of an action or state. Kaulong has a wide variety of ways to express location.

One way of indicating location or time is via demonstratives. Deictic adverbs indicate relative location or time (ie., location or time relative to the location of the speaker and hearer). In the following example the deictic adverb *ai* 'here' indicates location.

- (100) *hiang in ai*  
 he be here

He is here

Deictic adverbs may also be used to indicate time. In the following example *homani* 'today' is used in this way.

- (101) *wut ku iso me homani*  
 she IRR still come today

She is going to come today.

Location and time may also be expressed via adverbial phrases. Adverbial phrases of time are introduced by *to pi* which consists of the preposition *to* 'with' and the noun *pi* 'place'.

- (102) *po hek-wal e-Au*  
 they quarrel-RECIP PlacePrfx-village name

They are quarreling at Au.

- (103) *hiang ku me to-pi Sande*  
 he IRR come with-place Sunday

He will come on Sunday.

Duration of time is indicated by an adverbial phrase introduced by *to* without the noun *pi* being added.

- (104) *pluk a kuk to namih khot miuk*  
 we:PAUC:EXCL PAST stay with moon QUANT three

We have stayed for three months.

Adverbial phrases of location may be introduced by a deictic adverb. Deictic adverbs specify whether the location referred to is above, below, or on the same level as the speaker and whether the location is near or distant. They consist of a directional morpheme to which is suffixed the verb // 'go'. The following list of deictic adverbs shows the various possible combinations:

<i>ili</i>	above the speaker
<i>ko-li</i>	below the speaker
<i>li-li</i>	same level as speaker
<i>sup-li</i>	across from the speaker
<i>tak-li</i>	near the speaker

So, for example, if a speaker wished to refer to a group of people who were located in a village at a higher elevation, he might say something like the following:

(105) *po kuk mang i-li e-Nakap*  
 they be house up-go PlacePrfx-village.name

They are in a house up at Nakap

A further refinement in the Kaulong deictic system is achieved by the addition of particles which specify distance from the speaker, proximity to the hearer, and whether the located object is within or outside the speaker's field of vision.

<i>iyi</i>	'proximate to speaker'
<i>imen</i>	'proximate to addressee'
<i>amen</i>	'visible, distant'
<i>ikop</i>	'visible, nearby'
<i>akop</i>	'not visible, nearby'

*ahi*

'not visible, distant'

Locative/temporal adverbs and adverbials normally occur in sentence final position. Some temporal adverbs, however, may be moved to sentence initial position for emphasis.

- (106) *hiang li to-pi-roisap*  
he go with-place-yesterday

He went yesterday.

- (107) *to-pi-roisap men hiang li*  
with-place-yesterday DELIM he go

Yesterday he went.

- (108) *pi-roisap ma hiang li*  
place-yesterday and he go

It was yesterday and he left.

#### Common Temporal Adverbs

<i>ai</i>	'here, now'
<i>a-kai</i>	'right here, right now'
<i>a-ni</i>	'where'
<i>hi</i>	'there'
<i>homan-ni</i>	'today'
<i>koho-ngin-an</i>	'remote time'
<i>pi king-kauk</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>pi malam</i>	'day after tomorrow'
<i>pi rois</i>	'day before yesterday'
<i>pi roisap</i>	'yesterday'

#### 2.5.2.4. Aspectual

Aspectual adverbs and adverbials express notions relating to temporal structure of the verb.

<i>ewin</i>	'habitually'
<i>koho</i>	'already'
<i>kut</i>	'finished'
<i>sum-sum</i>	'all the time, continually'

Examples



- (109) *hiang sum-sum lambu ewin*  
 he join-REDUP blowgun HABIT

He makes blowguns.

- (110) *nga ion-i koho*  
 I know-it PAST

I already know that.

- (111) *wut me kut*  
 she come PERF

She has come.

- (112) *wulong in e li sum-sum*  
 they:DUAL be at be go all the time

They go all the time.

#### 2.5.2.5. Modal

Modal adverbs and adverbials express notions relating to the speech act situation. They express the speakers evaluation of the propositional content of an utterance with respect to its truth or falsity, reality or irreality, desireability or undesireability, etc. Some modal particles indicate the kind of response the speaker wants from the addressee (eg., perform an action or answer an question). Modal adverbs occur at the outer peripheries of the sentence and have the entire sentence as their scope.

<i>ahi</i>	'I say emphatically'
<i>ako</i>	'certainly, indeed'
<i>ako-men</i>	'cannot'

<i>asin</i>	'stop doing that'
<i>engul/engun</i>	'just, merely'
<i>ku</i>	'not yet realized'
<i>kut</i>	'too, also'
<i>som</i>	'not'
<i>taku</i>	'try, attempt unsuccessfully'
<i>ti</i>	'I am asking you'
<i>wet</i>	'please, if you don't mind'
<i>wah</i>	'is it not true'
<i>wamen</i>	'perhaps'

## Examples

- (113) *nga hun eki ahi*  
I die water MODAL:EMPHATIC

I am dying of thirst!

- (114) *hiang ku iso me ako*  
he IRR yet come MODAL:EPISTEMIC

He will certainly come

- (115) *ngo ku mara-ngo kon-i ako-men*  
I IRR eye-my see-it NEG-DELIM

I cannot see it

- (116) *wom lek-wal asin*  
you:PL fight-RECIP PROHIBTV

Stop fighting.

- (117) *eyak men ngi-n som*  
stone ax DELIM teeth-its NEG

The ax is dull

- (118) *hiang saihi wamen*  
he sick DUBITATIVE

Perhaps he is sick.

## 2.6. Prepositions

Kaulong prepositions may be either simple or complex. Simple prepositions are monomorphemic, while complex prepositions consist of two or more morphemes. Semantically, Kaulong prepositions may be divided into three

types, viz., those expressing case relations, those expressing local or spatio-temporal relations, and those which may express both.

### *2.6.1. Prepositions expressing case relations*

The following prepositions express case relations: *ta*, *epa*, *ta*, *wa*, and *po*. The complex prepositions are *pit mi*, *pit wo*, and *pit po*.

#### 2.6.1.1. *ta*

The preposition *ta* is used to mark the possessor of an alienably possessed entity (eg. ), or to mark the goal, recipient, or beneficiary of a semi-transitive verb (eg. ).

- (119) *wom kum hut mang ta akrek ngong titie-n*  
 you.PL work nose house POSS Craig they.DUAL wife-his

You work around the house which belongs to Craig and his wife.

- (120) *wulong yuk ta hiang*  
 they.DUAL call.out to him

The two of them called out to him.

- (121) *ngo ku tulu-ngo som ta miuk ako-men*  
 I IRR mind-my not to youPAUC not-DELIM

I will not forget you three.

- (122) *wut ung ta hiang*  
 she sit to him

She is living with him (In marriage).

- (123) *ngo men mi-ngo keh pit wo mom ti-n*  
 I that inside-my happy stand on you.DUAL  
 REL-it

*wa mani si ta ngo men*  
 take money up BEN me DELIM

I am happy that you gave me the money.

- (124) *wut um ta toni-n*  
 she get.water BEN mother-her

She is getting water for her mother

The preposition *epo* has the following uses: (1) to introduce a clause or sentence which expresses a ground, reason, or explanation (2) to mark the reflexive participant of a stative predicate or intransitive verb<sup>5</sup> (3) to mark the instrument by which an action is accomplished (4) with a motion verb, to mark the goal of an action.

2.6.1.2.1. to introduce a clause or sentence which expresses a ground, reason, or explanation

- (125) *mom mu ko engul epo po nomuru ku*  
youDUAL come down just because they elders IRR  
  
*hu-hu*  
die-RDP

You two just come because the elders are about to die.

2.6.1.2.2. to mark the reflexive participant of a stative predicate or intransitive verb

- (126) *mi-ngo keh epo mluk ti-n klat pi*  
 inside-my happy REFECTV youPAUC REL-it cut  
 place

*mi evit men*  
 inside coconut.trees DELIM

I am happy that you three cut the grass in between the coconut trees

- (127) *wulong in e kum epo kum-ang ta*  
 they.DUAL be and work REFECTV work-NOMZ  
 BEN

*ngong ti-men*  
 they:DUAL.PREVREF this-DELIM

The two of them stay and work on this work of theirs.

- (128) *po pong epo sun*  
 they be.ignorant concerning taro

They are ignorant concerning taro

#### 2.6.1.2.3. to mark the instrument by which an action is accomplished

- (129) *hiang ni sun epo pali*  
 he kill him:DIFFREF with:INSTR spear

He killed him with a spear.

#### 2.6.1.2.4. with a motion verb to mark the goal of an action.

- (130) *God pau wut li epo Adam*  
 God led her go to Adam

God brought her to Adam.

### 2.6.1.3. to

The relator *to* has the basic meaning of loose association. It is used in the following ways: (1) to mark a concomitative participant (2) to express instrument (2) to introduce time phrases.

#### 2.6.1.3.1. to mark a concomitative participant

- (131) *hiang me tik po viyo-n to*  
 he come call.a.name they father.in.law-his with

*· elaiyo-n*  
 mother.in.law-his

He came and uttered the names of his father-in-law and mother-in-law.

#### 2.6.1.3.2. to introduce time phrases



- (132) *piuk a kuk to namih khot miuk*  
 we:PAUC.EXC PAST stay with month NUMQUANT three

We have stayed for three months.

- (133) *wulong hek-wal to pi roisap*  
 they:DUAL quarrel-RECIP with place yesterday

They quarreled with each other yesterday.

#### 2.6.1.4. to express instrument

- (134) *ngo ku li hip to lambu*  
 I IRR go hunt with blowgun

I am going to go hunting with my blowgun

#### 2.6.1.5. wo

- (135) *hiang lulun wo toni-n*  
 he be unwilling CAUSE mother-his

He doesn't want to because of his mother [said when a child wanted to go with his mother after having been left behind by her].

- (136) *emon hak-hak wo hiang*  
 bird call out on account of him

The bird is calling out on account of him.

#### 2.6.1.6. oo

- (137) *hiang lulun po toni-n*  
 he be unwilling with respect to mother-his

He doesn't want to because of his mother [said when a child wanted to stay behind with his mother].

- (138) *po khuuk po hiang*  
 they be unable with respect to him

They were unable to with respect to him.

### 2.6.1.7. mi

- (139) *wut kingung mi sakal-ngin*                      in                      say-NOMZ  
 she be unable to understand

She doesn't understand the talk.

### 2.6.1.8. pit mi

- (140) *po hek-wal pit mi kanem*  
 they argue-RECIP concerning pig

They are arguing concerning the pig.

### 2.6.1.9. pit wo

- (141) *mi-ngo tunus-ngin pit wo ngon*                      you  
 inside-my good-NOMZ stand upon

I am pleased with you.

## 2.6.2. Prepositions expressing local relations

Prepositions are also used to express local relations. Local relations may be either spatial or temporal. Spatio-temporal relations may be further sub-divided into those which express static or locative relations and those which express dynamic or directional relations. Static relations are expressed by means of simple prepositions and dynamic relations by means of complex prepositions (verb + preposition). Thus there are four types of local relations in Kaulong: static spatial, dynamic spatial, static temporal, and dynamic temporal.

#### 2.6.2.1. Static spatial relations

<i>iii</i>	'up at'
<i>ianga-</i>	'throughout' (extended indefinitely through two-dimensional space)
<i>ko-li</i>	'down at'
<i>i</i>	'over at (distant)'
<i>ii</i>	'the inside of'
<i>po-</i>	'the outside of'
<i>sup-li</i>	'inside at'
<i>tak-li</i>	'over at (close by)'
<i>vet</i>	'under, below'
<i>wo-</i>	'above, on top of'

#### 2.6.2.2. Dynamic spatial relations

<i>sup</i>	'into, go into'
<i>ko-mi</i>	'down into'

2.6.2.3. Static temporal relations (location in time)

*to* 'at'

2.6.2.4. Dynamic temporal relations (duration in time)

*to* 'for'

*li epo* 'until'

*li poi* 'until'

*2.6.3. Table summarizing the uses of Kaulong prepositions:*

<i>ta-</i>	'to, for'	GOAL (clause level)
		PERMANENT POSSESSOR (phrase level)
<i>to-</i>	'with'	INSTRUMENT (clause level)
		TEMPORARY POSSESSION (clause level)
		TIME (clause level)
		ACCOMPANIMENT (phrase level)
<i>epo-</i>	'about, with	REFERENT (clause level)
	reference to,	INSTRUMENT (clause level)[fn]
	because	INDIRECT QUOTATION (clause level)
		REASON/PURPOSE (clause/sentence level)
<i>pit po/mi</i>	'on account of'	CAUSE (clause level)
<i>e-wur vili-</i>	'for the sake of'	BENEFACTIVE

<i>mi</i>	'inside, among'	LOCATION (phrase/clause level)
<i>langa-</i>	'throughout, surface of'	LOCATION (phrase/clause level)
<i>sup</i>	'into, go into'	LOCATION (clause level)
<i>wo-</i>	'above, on'	LOCATION (clause level)
<i>vet</i>	'under, below'	LOCATION (clause level)
<i>li</i>	'up at'	LOCATION (clause level)
<i>ko-li</i>	'down at'	LOCATION (clause level)
<i>ʒ</i>	'over at [not visible]'	LOCATION (clause level)
<i>tak-li</i>	'over at [visible]'	LOCATION (clause level)
<i>sup-li</i>	'inside at'	LOCATION (clause level)

### Examples

(142) *nga pol ta hiang ko-li Kandrian*  
 I meet to him down-there Kandrian

I met him down at Kandrian.

(143) *ngo ku li hip to lambu*  
 I IRR go hunt with blowgun

I am going hunting with my blowgun.

- (144) *wulong hek-wal to pi roisap*  
 theyDUAL quarrel-REC at place yesterday

Those two quarreled with each other yesterday.

- (145) *mom in e kaeng kapit iye to donki*  
 you two stay and wait at here with donkey

You two stay and wait here with the donkeys.

- (146) *piuk a kuk to namih khot miuk*  
 weTREXC PAST stay for month NUMQUANT three

We stayed for three months.

## 2.7. Conjunctions

Kaulong has a rich variety of ways for encoding the semantic relationship between successive clauses of a text. Its system of connectives is built around a few basic conjunctions. These, in turn, may combine with certain other words to form compound conjunctions.

### 2.7.1. *ma*

The conjunction *ma* 'and' has a wide range of uses, as is illustrated in the following examples.

- (147) *pi king kauk ma hiang li*  
place bird SPECIES and he go

It was morning and he went.

- (148) *po wala li klat mang mlut li ma po wa*  
they woman go cut house roof go and they take

*mang me po tum mang li ma klet ma*  
house come they pile up house go and finished and

*pim a kil kil pi*  
we:EXCL ? dig dig place

The women go and cut the roofing material and after a while they come and pile it up and after finishing that we come and dig up the place.

- (149) *pim a pas li li*  
we:EXCL RL put.fence.uprights.in.place it go

*klet ma pim a rum enun*  
be.finished and we:EXCL RL pile.up filler-material

*ko mi wo sun*  
down inside on other

We put the uprights in place and when that is finished we put filler material down inside.

- ( ) *wom kuk saput piuk ku li ma nga*  
you:PL remain.at path we:PAUC:EXC IRR go and I

*iso me*  
yet come

You watch for us three and after a while I will come.

- (150) *wut klok ii will-n si hut po masang ti-n*  
 she again go hand-her up nose on man REL-it

*wahin enginin men men ma hiang me*  
 unmarried different that that and he come

- (151) *ka-karsun epo titie-n*  
 inside-his RDP-be.angry concerning wife-his

She went and had relations with a different young man and so he came and was angry with his wife.

- (151) *tulu-p hu epo yau plek-ngin-an*  
 mind-you remember concerning fire break-thing-ADZ

*misa-n ku-ma e-ting in pi*  
 only-it IRR-and you-stay.in.one.place be.at place

*ri-n pim a kuuk wom men*  
 this-it we:EXCL RL give.birth.to you:PL DELIM

Think only about cutting firewood and then you will be calmly settled in the place where we gave birth to you.

- (152) *pi tunus ka-ma miuk pok nang-nang mu*  
 place good now-and you:PAUC tell hurry-RDP come

*men*  
 that

If things are good, then you three send us word quickly.

- (153) *piuk ku ti taku-ma hiang al po*  
 we:PAUC:EXCL IRR go but-and he change concerning



*pi kiok*  
place again

We three were about to go, but he changed the time again.

## 2.7.2. *si* and *sini*

### 2.7.2.1. *si*

#### 2.7.2.1.1. to express contrast or comparison

(152) *hiang men nomalak si ngo men hut yis*  
he DELIM tall but I DELIM end short

He is tall but I am short

#### 2.7.2.1.2. to link a clause with its negated alternative

(153) *E mu nuk sup mang ma e mu nuk*  
you come dwell inside house and you come dwell  
  
*si ku e kiok lu kop ako-men*  
and IRR you again go play NEG-DELIM

Come inside the house and stay inside; don't go back and play

#### 2.7.2.1.3. to link events in an expectancy chain

- (154) *Amun ngil ngil sun si pim ku hu ailip*  
 Amun sorcerize RDP taro and we:EXCL IRR die hunger

Amun worked sorcery on the taro and so we are hungry

- (155) *wut li wa nga me wut song i*  
 she go take taro come she cook in an earth-oven it

*ko pit sini wut li um me pit si*  
 down at meanwhile she go get water come be and

*wut me si keh pasu si wut*  
 she come and de-vein mature taro leaves and  
 she

*suk suk li si wut wut li*  
 wrap wrap it and she cook it

She goes and brings the taro and she leaves it to cook in an earth oven, meanwhile shes goes and gets water and she de-veins the mature taro leaves and she wraps them up and she cooks them.

- (156) *it lek i si it ii ni*  
 we:INCL kill it and we:INCL eat it

We kill it and we eat it.

### 2722. *sini*

The conjunction *si* has one compound form, viz., *sini*. This form can have a number of senses, depending on the context, eg., 'while', 'in the meantime', 'rather', 'instead'.

- (157) *e-plo*      *hiang*      *asin*      *sini*      *e*      *hul*      *wet*  
 you-scold      him      NEG:IMPER      rather you      hear under  
  
*hiang engul*  
 him      just

Don't be angry with him, instead just listen and accept what he says

- (158) *wuluk*      *li*      *wulong*      *nemeh*      *pi*      *sini*      *hiang*  
*wha*  
 they:PAUC      go      they:DUAL      clear place while he      plants

The three of them went and the two of them cleared the garden while he planted [taro].

### 2.7.3. u

A third basic conjunction is *u*. It is used to conjoin parallel semantic elements.

- (159) *nga pok wom iyok-hi u in-aling u ehulut-ngo*  
 I tell you father-PL and mother-PL and  
 sisters-I

*u rasu-aling u husani-k hoin u tu-men*  
 and aunt-PL and offspring-I child and as-DELIM

I am telling you fathers and mothers and sisters and  
 aunts and children.

- (160) *inu li ung e nemeh pi u e lu in e*  
 mother go sit be clear place and you go be at be

*wha nga*  
 plant taro

Mother went and clear the garden and you go and plant taro

#### 2.7.4. *wa*

A fourth basic conjunction is *wa*. It is used to conjoin alternatives.

- (161) *pim a pang po-n epo planggit u*  
 we:EXCL RL cover outside-it with blanket and

*laplap wa tu-men*  
 laplap or like-DELIM

We cover the outside of it with a blanket or laplap or something like that.

- (162) *ngon ku in wa ngon ku lu*  
 you IRR stay or you IRR go

Are you staying or going?

### 3. Phrase Structure

#### 3.1. Noun Phrase

The Kaulong noun phrase consists of a head noun or pronoun optionally followed by one or more modifiers. The modifiers may be adjectives, possessive pronouns, relative clauses, demonstratives, or quantifiers.

##### 3.1.1. Noun with adjective

- (163) *sa ti-n nuhum men*  
 tree this-one big DELIM

the big tree (lit. "tree the big one")

##### 3.1.2. Noun with possessive pronoun

- (164) *mang ti-n ta-ngo men*  
 house this-one to-me DELIM

my house (lit. "house the to me one")

### 3.1.3. Noun with relative clause

- (165) *yu ti-n e-wa-i si ta-ngo men*  
 pig this-one you-take-it give to-me DELIM  
 the pig which you gave to me

### 3.1.4. Noun with demonstrative

- (166) *emon ti-n iyi*  
 bird this-one here  
 this bird (proximate to speaker)

### 3.1.5. Noun with quantifier

- (167) *po hoin kara*  
 they child some  
 some children

## 3.2. Definiteness

Kaulong noun phrases may be definite, indefinite, or generic. Definite noun phrases refer to entities that are highly salient in either the linguistic or situational context. They consist of a head noun plus one or more optional modifiers linked to the head noun by the demonstrative particle *ti-n*, and followed by the demonstrative particle *men* (see examples 000 above).

Indefinite noun phrases refer to entities which the speaker assumes are unfamiliar to the addressee. They consist of a head noun followed by one or more optional modifiers followed by the indefinite article *ta* (singular) or *kara* (plural).

- (168) *wut wala ta*  
she female one  
a certain female person

Generic noun phrases are semantically non-referential and indefinite.

- (169) *po hoin kop-wal ngin-angan*  
they child play-REC thing-time  
Children play all of the time

### *3.2.1. Special Types of Noun Phrases*

#### 3.2.1.1. Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive noun phrases are of two types, viz., those which express inalienable possession and those which express alienable possession.

Possessive noun phrases which express inalienable possession consist of a noun followed by an inalienably possessed object (body part or kinship relation):

- (170) *sa wili-n*  
tree hand-it  
the branch of the tree

- (171) *hiang virama-n*  
he father-his  
his father

First and second person possessive pronouns are suffixed directly to the nouns they modify:

(172) *kii-ngo*  
leg-I

my leg

(173) *toni-m*  
mother-your

your mother

Possessive noun phrases which express alienable possession consist of a noun followed by the preposition *ta* followed by the possessor of the object.

(174) *mang ta alon*  
house to John

John's house (lit. "house to John")

### 3.2.1.2. Partitive Noun Phrases

Partitive noun phrases express part-whole relations (x is a part of or member of y).



- (175) *po wala ti-n a-pi e-Au*  
they female this-one from-place LPFX-VILLAGE NAME

*men kara*  
DELIM some

Some of the women from Au

- (176) *nga misikin ta*  
taro piece INDEF

a piece of taro

- (177) *pi yung psit ta*  
place rain drop INDEF

a drop of rain

### 3.2.1.3. Nominalized Noun Phrases

Nominalized noun phrases consist of a head noun followed by a nominalized transitive verb:

- (178) *pi ning-ngin-an*  
place do-NMZ-ADZ

the clearing of gardens

- (179) *yau plek-ngin-an*  
fire(wood) break-NMZ-ADZ

the cutting of firewood

- (180) *nga wha-ngin-an*  
taro plant-NMZ-ADZ

the planting of taro

Notice that the subject of the transitive sentence has been deleted, and the object is realized as the noun head. The noun head may be simple, as in the above examples, or compound as in the following example:

- (181) *po masang to sun wala moyong lek-ngin-an*  
they male with they female all kill-THING-ADZ

the killing of all the men and women completely

#### 3.2.1.4. Serial Noun Phrases

Serial noun phrases consist of two or more nouns linked together by the serial conjunction *u* and followed by *tu-men*.

- (182) *nga u kimbak u poluk tu-men*  
taro and sweet potato and aibika thus-DELIM

taro and sweet potato and aibika

### 3.2.1.5. Accompaniment Noun Phrases

Accompaniment noun phrases consist of two nouns linked by one of the following comitative pronouns: *ngong*, *ngluk*, *hi*.

- (183) *hiang ngong titie-n*  
he with wife-his

he and his wife

- (184) *wut ngluk husani-n*  
she with children-her

she and her children

- (185) *Satan hi po tin ta-hi men*  
Satan with they this-one to-them DELIM

Satan and his followers

### 3.2.1.6. Ordering of Constituents with the Noun Phrase

The ordering of modifiers within the noun phrase is the result of several interacting factors. All other things being equal, the following generalizations seem to hold: 1) heavier, more complex modifiers shift to the right 2) more tightly-bound modifiers occur closer to the head noun than less tightly bound ones.

For Kaulong we propose the following as the preferred order of constituents within the modifier position of the noun phrase.

Noun Head  
 Adjective (ADJ)  
 Prepositional Phrase (PP)  
 Relative Clause (RC)  
 Demonstrative (DEM)  
 Quantifier (QFR)  
 Limiter (LMR)

The above ordering of constituents is illustrated in the following sentence:

(186) HEAD                      ADJ PP  
*po ti-n masang a-pi e-Au*  
 they this-one male from-place LPFX-VILLAGE NAME  
  
 RC                                      QFR LMR  
*e kum ta-p i-men kahut ponwal misan in to*  
 LINK work to-you there-DELIM QFR two only  
 be with  
  
*yu*  
 pig

Only two of these men from Au who are working for you have pigs.

### 3.3 Verb Phrase

For purposes of this grammar a verb phrase is defined as the verb plus any modifying adverbs. It may be viewed as equivalent to the predicate, except that (1) it does not include noun phrases which function as obligatory arguments of the verb (OBJECTS and INDIRECT OBJECTS), and (2) its elements may be non-contiguous.

The syntagmatic and paradigmatic possibilities of the Kaulong verb phrase are summarized by the following chart:

Adverb Position I	S U B J	Adverb Position II	Adverb Position III	Adverb Position IV	V E R B	O B J	Adverb Position V	Adverb Position VI
Adverbs of time  Adverbs of manner		Relative adverbs	Modal adverbs	Existen- tial/Pos- -tional verbs  Manner adverbs			Adverbs of Time  Adverbs of Man- ner  Adverbs of Degree  Adverbs of Place and Di- rection  Adverbia l Preposi- -tional Phrases	Modal Adverbs
OPEN		CLOSED	CLOSED	CLOSED			OPEN	CLOSED

The following examples illustrate the various types of verb phrases referred to in the above chart.

Position I

- (187) *Tua ma po ku ning mang ti-n iyi som men*  
How and they IRR build house DEF-PC here not DELIM

Why didn't they build this house?

Position II

- (188) *inu kha me men*  
my-mother ADVR come DELIM

That is my mother who is coming.

Position III

- (189) *hiang ku li kur khai*  
he IRR go PFT now

He is going now.

Position IV

- (190) *elwa nuk e nahung*  
dog lay ADJZ sleep

The dog is sleeping.

Position V

- (191) *po i kanem nang-nang*  
they eat pig frequently-RDP

They eat pig often.

#### Position VI

- (192) *hiang men ku ning-i ako*  
he DEM IRR do-it PERMISSIVE

He can do it.

The following examples are included to show the relative ordering of the adverb positions.

- (193) *po ti-n a-pi e-Ka men*  
they DF-PC from-place LOCPFX-VILLAGE NAME DELIM

II	III	IV	V	
<i>misa-hi</i>		<i>kha ku kuk e</i>	<i>kum to pi</i>	
alone-they(CR)	ADVR	IRR be	LINK work at place	

*kingkauk men*  
morning DELIM

The people from Aka are the only ones who will be working tomorrow.

- (194)        V            VI  
*e-wo tu-men asin*  
you-say like-DELIM NEG

Don't talk like that.

#### 3.3.1. Time Reference (Tense)

Tense has been defined as that verbal operator which is "concerned with grounding the reported event in the real world, expressing its "temporal orientation with regard to the present act of speaking" (Foley and Van Valin, p. 209). Kaulong does not have grammaticalized tense. Instead time distinctions are indicated by means of adverbs. The following general time distinctions are made: remote past, past, immediate past, present, immediate future, future, remote future. The following set of examples illustrate how the different tenses are indicated syntactically. The sentences have been simplified and the same verb used for ease of comparison..<sup>6</sup>

REMOTE PAST	PAST	IMMEDIATE PAST	PRESENT	IMMEDIATE FUTURE	FUTURE	REMOTE FUTURE
<i>kahanginan</i>	<i>kaho</i>	<i>kah</i>	<i>kut ii</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>iso</i>	<i>kahanginan</i>



3.3.1.1. Remote Past

(195) *hiang li koho-ngin-an*  
he go before-NOMZ-?

He went a long time ago

3.3.1.1.1. Past

(196) *hiang li koho*  
he go before

He went.

3.3.1.1.2. Immediate Past

(197) *hiang kho li*  
he before go

He has gone.

3.3.1.1.3. Present

(198) *hiang li kut khæ*  
he go PERF now

He is going now.

3.3.1.1.4. Immediate Future

(199) *hiang ku li*  
he IRR go

He is about to go.

3.3.1.1.5. Future

(200) *hiang ku li iso*  
 he IRR go yet

He will go later

### 3.3.1.1.6. Remote Future

(201) *hiang ku-li iso li koho-ngin-an*  
 he IRR-go:FUT yet go PAST-NOMZ-ADVERBSR

He will go a long time from now.

### *3.3.2. Aspect*

Aspect is that verbal operator which "expresses the temporal structure of the reported event without reference to anything else" (Foley and Van Valin, p.209). Aspect, like tense, is indicated in Kaulong by adverbs. The following adverbs are used in Kaulong to make aspectual distinctions: *ewin kut, nginangan*

#### 3.3.2.1. Customary action *ewin*

The adverb *ewin* indicates that an action is customarily practiced by a person or group.

- (202) *hiang sum sum lambu ewin*  
he join REDUP blowgun CUSTOM

He makes blowguns.

- (203) *po ku hwa-i ewin ako-men*  
they IRR plant-it CUSTOM not-DELIM

They do not plant it (ie., it is not their custom).

- (204) *wut pang mara-n epo endara ta ti-n po*  
she cover face-her with something INDEF REL-  
it they

*wala israel pang mara-hi epo-n ewin men*  
female israel cover face-their with-it  
CUSTOM DELIM

She covered her face with a thing that the women of Israel used to cover their faces with.

- (205) *namih ti-n iyi ku pi yung ira-n ewin*  
month REL-it this IRR place rain follow-it CUSTOM

*som*  
NEG

It doesn't usually rain during this month.

### 3.3.2.2. Habitual action *nginangan*

The adverb *nginangan* is used to refer to an action which occurs over and over again, and which is characteristic of the person or group.

- (206) *hiang tip nginangan*  
he steal HABIT

He steals habitually (ie., he is a thief).

- (207) *po hek-wal nginangan*  
they argue-RECIP HABIT

They argue all the time.

### 3.3.2.3. Continuous action

#### 3.3.2.3.1. via existential verbs

The existential verbs *in*, *kuk*, *nuk*, *pit*, and *ung*, when they precede verbs of action, expresse continuous action. The ligature *e* is used to link them with the verb.

- (208) *wut in e kum mipi ta-n*  
she be LIGAT work garden to:POSS-her

She is working in her garden.

- (209) *po kuk e ning mang ta-hi*  
they be LIGAT build house to:BENE-themselves

They are building a house for themselves.

#### 3.3.2.3.2. *iso*

The adverb *iso* may be used aspectually to refer to a process or action which is continuing.<sup>7</sup>

- (210) *pi iso yung*  
place still rain

It is continuing to rain (It is still raining).

### 3.3.2.4. Inceptive action

#### 3.3.2.4.1. *hoos*

The aspectual verb *hoos* ('start', 'begin') and the directional verb *kø* are used to express the ingressive aspect.

- (211) *po hoos-i noluk*  
they start-it fence

They started (work on) the fence.

#### 3.3.2.4.2. *ko*

- (212) *hiang ko nahung*  
he down sleep

He fell asleep.

### 3.3.2.5. Completed action

#### 3.3.2.5.1. *kut*

The adverb *kut*<sup>8</sup> is used to express the completed action, and is equivalent to the Tok Pisin use of *pinis*

- (213) *ngo men hiangan kut*  
I DEMONSTR old PFT

I have become an old man (or, I am an old man now).

- (214) *minan ti-n kuli nga li Amerika men tapu*  
when REL-it FUT I go America DELIM my grandmother  
  
*ku hun kut wamen*  
IRR die PERF possibly

When I return to America, my grandmother will possibly have died.

- (215) *hiang kiok ko lut me pol ta*  
he again down sing come arrive to  
  
*erihiang kut ma erihiang sau li*  
female.relative PERF and female.relative paddle go  
  
*kut li sup kut ma erihiang ko*  
PERF go inside PERF and female.relative down  
  
*yuuk e-mu ko*  
yell.out you-come down

He began to sing again and having come to his mother and his mother having paddled into shore, she started yelling out to him, "Come down."

### 3.3.2.5.2 klet

The adjective *klet* is also used to express completed actions, as in the following example.

- (216) *pim a kil-kil pi li ma klet*  
 we:EXCL REALIS dig-REDUP place go and be.completed

*ma pima non-non lanerip*  
 and we:EXCL put.down.into-REDUP side.post

We dig the holes and when that is done we put the side posts of the house down into the holes.

The iterative aspect expresses a state, process, event, or action which keeps on happening over and over again. This is expressed by using the reduplicated form of the verb or by using the reduplicated form of *kiok* ('again').

- (217) *Elia ku-kuuk husani-n masang kahot*  
 Lia REDUP-give birth to offspring-her male QUANT

*mnai*  
 four

Lia bore five male sons.

- (218) *po ti-n kuk e mara-hi pit wo li*  
 they REL-it be LIGAT eye-their remain on it

*ken-ngin-an ti-n ta wulong men*  
 eat-thing-ADZ REL-it to:POSS they:DUAL DELIM

*hek-wal ko-kiok*  
 quarrel-RECIP REDUP-again

Those who took care of their animals kept fighting with each other.

### 3.3.3. Modality

The notion of modality (or mood) is not as easily defined as tense and aspect. Foley and Van Valin point out that the terms have been used in

"confusing and overlapping ways" in Western grammatical tradition. They see the need to distinguish three categories within the general notion of modality, viz., illocutionary force, status, and modality. We will leave illocutionary force undefined for the moment since it will be dealt with in a later section. Status is defined as "the variable of the actuality of the event, whether it has been realized or not" (p. 213). In grammatical terminology, this is sometimes referred to by the Latin terms "realis" and "irrealis." We will use these terms in this grammar as convenient labels. Modality is defined as "the speaker's estimate of the relationship of the actor of the event to its accomplishment, whether he has the obligation, the intention, or the ability to perform it" (p. 214).

We accept these definitions as useful starting points, based as they are on long-standing grammatical tradition and a wide range of human languages. We are mindful of the danger, however, of imposing these categories onto a language where they may not fit as neatly as they do on Indo-European languages. Indeed, such would seem to be the case with Kaulong where the primary distinction is one of status, ie., whether an event is realized or not. The following discussion deals with negation, realis vs. irrealis, and frustration.

### 3.3.3.1. Negation

Negation is expressed in Kaulong by means of verbs and adverbs. These are presented in the following table along with their meanings.

#### Kaulong Negatives

<i>ako-men</i>	something could not happen
<i>amu</i>	something was expected to happen but did not
<i>asin</i>	something happens that someone does not want to happen



## Kaulong Grammar Essentials

<i>engun/engul</i>	something is not
<i>om</i>	something was but is not now
<i>som</i>	something is expected to be the case but is not

- (219) *ngo ku lat i si ako-men*  
I IRR carry it up NEG-DELIM

I can't lift it.

- (220) *nga phaing taku e iso in amu e koho mu*  
I suppose that you still be no you PAST come

*a*  
SURPRISE

I thought you were still there, but no you have already come!

- (221) *e ning-i tu-men asin*  
you do-it like-that NEG

Don't do it like that.

- (222) *nga in engun epo kahma*  
I be nothing with reference to betelnut

I don't have any betelnut.

- (223) *rais men om kut*  
rice DELIM be used up PERF

The rice is all gone.

- (224) *som wa kahma ta mu wah*  
you take betelnut INDEF come INTERROG

Can you give me a betelnut?

*awu nga wa kahma kara som*  
no I take betelnut some not

No, I don't have any betelnut.

3.3.3.2. Realis vs Irrealis *ku*

The particle *ku* is used to mark propositions which are non-indicative. In Kaulong, this includes statements about future events, negative statements, and statements about the necessity, probability, or possibility of an event taking place.

- (225) *hiang ku li e-Kandrian*  
 he IRR go LOC:PREFIX-Kandrian

He is about to go to Kandrian

- (226) *hiang men ku li e-Kandrian*  
 he DELIM IRR go LOC:PREFIX-Kandrian

He must go to Kandrian

- (227) *hiang ku li e-Kandrian ako-men*  
 he IRR go LOC:PREFIX-Kandrian NEG-DELIM

He couldn't go to Kandrian.

3.3.3.3. Frustration, supposition, counterfactuals *taku*

Another modal particle which occurs in Kaulong is *taku*. It is used to signify "frustrated modality." The term frustrated modality comes from Longacre (1976). He defines it as a predicate "specified as to intent, obligation, or ability, but the action thus specified is not carried through" (p. 155). Longacre's definition corresponds very closely with the meaning of *taku* in Kaulong. It should be noted that when *taku* occurs, another clause is needed to complete the sentence. This clause is introduced by the conjunction *taku-ma* 'but', and tells who or what did the frustrating.

(228) *hiang taku li e-Kandrian taku-ma pi*  
 he FRUS go LOC:PREFIX-Kandrian FRUS-and place

*yung*  
 rain

He would have gone to Kandrian but it rained.

#### 4. The syntax of clauses

In part 4 we are concerned with the internal syntax of the clause. In particular we will deal with transitivity and the semantic classes of verbs, and also the various nominal arguments which may occur.

Kaulong is typologically an SVO language. Except for fronting to mark topicality, SVO order is adhered to quite strictly. In fact, when the subject occurs overtly, it immediately precedes the verb (this is true also of intransitive clauses); and when the object occurs it immediately follows the verb. Core syntactic relations such as subject and object are therefore marked by word order. Peripheral syntactic relations are marked by case prepositions preceding the noun phrase. Usually such constituents occur following the verb.

##### *4.1. Information packaging – the lexicalisation of events.*

Foley (1986:113) has noted for Papuan languages that they tend to exhibit quite narrowly defined meanings for the verbs in their lexical inventories, so that a semantically complex action such as "give" is unlikely to be expressed by a single verb, but more likely by a sequence of verbs such as "take" and "give"

Kaulong exhibits this kind of behaviour too. The Kaulong equivalents to many clauses which, in English, would be expressed by a single verb with a number of nominal arguments (eg. "You give the axe to him") are expressed by two or more verbs, with the nominal arguments distributed between them. Hence Kaulong expresses the above English sentence as follows.

(229) *e-wa    eyak    si    ta    hlang*  
           you-take axe give to    him

Give the axe to him.

This type of behaviour leads to the ubiquitous (in PNG) typological phenomenon of serial verb constructions. These constructions involve strings of verbs, often with a paucity of co-occurring nominals. Groups of such verbs express a more semantically complex action, and this leads to a tendency towards certain sequences of verbs having a high degree of predictability – their order being governed by such things as cause and effect, and natural chronological sequence. Further examples are given below:

- (230) *hiang wa nga ta si ta viru-n*  
 he take taro INDEF give BEN son-his

He gave a piece of taro to his son.

- (231) *hiang wa wungin ko po sun*  
 he take talk go.down on him

He accused him.

- (232) *wom mu hul wet ngo*  
 YouPL come hear under me

You come listen to me.

- (233) *miuk pok nang-nang mu*  
 you(TRL) inform quickly-RDP come

You three send word quickly.

- (234) *po kimos tip hiang*  
 they spit cause to become wet him

They spit upon him.

Another feature of Kaulong which is unusual to English speakers is the fact that the semantics of some verbs are not entirely determined by their lexical meaning – at least looking at it as an outsider. These verbs are glossed in more than one way, depending on whether the Kaulong verb occurs as an intransitive or as a transitive verb. In the example below, *kalek* may express either the feeling of itching, or the human action one takes to relieve that feeling. Which meaning obtains depends on whether the patient suffix occurs on the verb.

- (235) *ki-ngo kalek ma nga kalek-i*  
leg-my itch and I scratch-it

My leg itches and I am scratching it.

- (236) *hiang kiyong*  
he use bad language

He is using bad language.

- (237) *hiang kiyong sun*  
he use bad language against the other person

He is using bad language against the other person.

In the following example, the shift from transitive to intransitive is achieved by reduplication.

- (238) *hiang tip-tip nginangan*  
he steals-RDP habitually

He is a thief.

- (239) *hiang tip nga ta po*  
he steal taro belonging to them

He stole their taro.

#### 4.2. Transitivity - intransitive verbs

In Kaulong there are three main classes of intransitive verbs. The first and largest class are 1-place verbs, those verbs which take just a single core nominal argument – the subject. A second and much smaller class are those 1-place verbs which express an ambient state (such as 'hot', 'cold', 'raining', etc.). These must take a dummy subject nominal *pi* 'place' in order

to form a grammatical clause. The third class are existential verbs, and quite often these take a following locative phrase which is sensitive to categories such as shape, orientation, direction, etc. We will discuss these three verb classes below.

In our discussion when we refer to, say, a subject 'nominal' strictly speaking we are talking about a minimal exponent of a noun phrase. Similarly for other cases. We are not interested here in the complexity of noun phrases, so we will just use 'nominal' in our generalisations to simplify our discussion. It should also be remembered that core constituents such as subject and/or object are often unexpressed in discourse when reference is "understood" from the context. So when we say that a core constituent is 'obligatory', we are referring only to a clause in isolation.

#### *4.2.1. Subject - Verb clauses*

Intransitive verbs take a subject preceding the verb. Other nominal arguments may occur in the clause, but they are peripheral (ie. not obligatory). The subject nominal may have the semantic role of an actor or of a patient, but in Kaulong the syntax of the intransitive clause is not sensitive to which of these obtains in any one instance. The subject nominal has the semantic role of an actor in the first two examples below; but in the two following that the subject nominals have the role of patient. There is no morphological or syntactic marking to distinguish the difference in roles. (The situation is different for transitive verbs.)



- (240) *elwa sok*  
dog bark

The dog is barking.

- (241) *eking tokin amu*  
bird squat back

The bird is squatting back [on its legs].

- (242) *hiang wili-n kalolwa-n si*  
he hand-his blood-his go-up

His hand is bleeding.

- (243) *sa plong-ko*  
tree fall-down

The tree fell down.

- (244) *eki yuk-yuk*  
water spill-spill

The water spilled.

- (245) *sopot sang-wal*  
path fork-RECIP

The path forks.

- (246) *piuk men me ung tunus*  
we:three:exc DELIM come sit good

As for us three, we have come and are doing fine.

### 4.2.2. *Ambient verbs*

These are verbs which predicate something about the state of the environment. Just as English requires a dummy "it" as subject in a clause such as "It is raining", Kaulong requires a dummy nominal as exponent of the subject function. Kaulong uses the nominal *pi* 'place' for this function.

- (247) *pi yung*  
place rain

It is raining.

- (248) *pi klung*  
place thunder

It is thundering.

- (249) *pi ngeng-ngeng mi mang*  
place be.hot-REDUP inside house

It is hot inside the house.

- (250) *pi nglik-nglik*  
place cold-REDUP

It is cold.

### 4.3. *Transitivity - transitive verbs*

Transitive verbs take an obligatory subject nominal preceding the verb, and an obligatory object nominal following the verb. Peripheral nominals may also optionally occur in a transitive clause. Transitive clauses are sensitive to the semantic roles of actor versus patient. There is an 'experiential' construction in which the involuntary causative agent is the grammatical subject, and the (typically human) patient is the grammatical object. Transitive verbs also include those verbs which, in a language such

as English, take an indirect object (eg. the recipient of the action 'give'). Because the direct and indirect objects never co-occur in the one clause, the evidence is strongly that there are no 3-place verbs in Kaulong.

#### 4.3.1. Subject - Verb - Object clauses

The following are typical (non-experiential) SVO clauses. Note that the subject and object are contiguous to the verb. Note also that while the third example involves the verb *kon* 'see' which, one would suppose to be semantically an experiential verb, this verb acts like a non-experiential verb because the subject takes a nominative pronoun.

- (251) *hiang wi titie-n*  
he hit spouse-his

He hit his wife.

- (252) *Po ning mang ta-hi*  
they build house BEN-themselves

They are building a house for themselves.

- (253) *hiang mara-n kon kukiung ta*  
he eye-his see cassowary INDEF

He saw a cassowary.

- (254) *hiang hop sun*  
he be.acquainted.with him

He is acquainted the other person (ie., knows him).

#### 4.3.2. Benefactive as (Indirect) Object

As noted in section 4.3, Kaulong does not have any grammatical 3-place verbs. That is, a direct object will not cooccur with an indirect object in

the one clause. Instead, the direct object will be expressed in an adjoining clause (see below). However, direct and indirect objects are distinguished grammatically by their case marking. While both occur following their clause's verb (leaving aside fronting phenomena for purposes of marking topicality), the direct object has no case preposition while the indirect object will take *ta*, the benefactive case preposition.

- (255) *hiang pok      put wungin si      ta      titie-n*  
           he    tell        middle    talk    give    to:BEN    spouse-his

He told his wife about it.

#### 4.3.3. *Experiential constructions.*

In many languages of both the Austronesian and Papuan kind in Papua New Guinea one can find a construction in which the human experiencer of an event over which he has no control is grammatically handled as a patient, while the involuntary cause of the event is the grammatical subject. So instead of the English construction "He is sick", such languages commonly express such a meaning as something like "Sickness hit him", or "Sickness took him." The syntax of clauses, as has been noted by others, is sensitive to whether a participant is perceived as being in control of events or not. When not in control, a semantic subject may grammatically be treated as a patient. Whether or not an experiential construction is used depends on whether the speaker wants to emphasise a topical participant's lack of control of the situation in which he finds himself. When lack of control is important, the experiential construction will be used.

- (256) *sa tenek hiang*  
stick.of.wood pierce him

The stick of wood pierced him.

- (257) *iau koh hiang*  
fire burn him

The fire burned him

#### 4.4. *Verbless clauses*

Kaulong has three common types of verbless clause. Each may be considered a Topic plus Comment construction. The first type is equative: the topic referent is equated with, or characterised by, the meaning denoted by the nominal in the comment. In the second type the comment contains an adjective. The third type involves a benefactive constituent in the comment, and expresses the notion of 'having' (ie. ownership or possession.)

##### 4.4.1. *Equative constructions*

- (258) *hiang miran*  
he a.man.of.reputation

He is a man of reputation

- (259) *wut sikihan*  
she dog

She is an immoral woman.

- (260) *kukiyung men emon*  
cassowary DELIM. bird

The cassowary is a bird.

4.4.2. *Topic plus adjective*

In this type of verbless clause the comment is realised by an adjective and may have other (peripheral) nominals as well.

There is also the issue of whether a words like *hiyis* 'rotten', *nuhum* 'big', *nomalak* 'tall' should be analysed not merely as adjectives but rather as adjectival verbs? They could perhaps be glossed in the clauses below as 'be rotten', 'be big', etc. These would then be intransitive clauses rather than verbless clauses, and the predicates would be members of a class of verbs which may function elsewhere as adjectives. We have not analysed this way for the following reasons: firstly, the existence of the equative construction (which lacks a copula) shows that a verb is not essential for a well formed clause; secondly, there is no morphological evidence that these adjectives should be viewed instead as verbs. Notice the third example *hiang saih* 'he is sick' which is expressed non-experientially.

- (261) *emalin hiyis*  
meat rotten

The meat is rotten.

- (262) *asu men nuhum epo ngo*  
shoes DELIM big for me

The shoes are too big for me.

- (263) *hiang saih*  
he sick

He is sick.

- (264) *sa men nomalak*  
tree DELIM tall

The tree is tall.

#### 4.4.3. Benefactive used to express 'having'

In these verbless clauses the comment contains a benefactive phrase which expresses the notion of possession or owning something.

- (265) *yu ta wut kahot mluk*  
 pig BEN she QUANTFR three

She has three pigs.

- (266) *wulong hukap wal iyi ta wut ti-men*  
 they:DUAL twin RECIP these BEN her this-  
 DELIM

These twins belong to her.

#### 4.5. Relative clause construction

The relative clause construction in Kaulong is marked at the start of the clause by *ti-n* this-3sg:POSS, and at the end of the clause by the delimitative particle *men*. We have tentatively identified the *-n* suffix on the demonstrative *ti* 'this' as the third person possessive pronoun suffix. However, it acts as a dummy suffix, and does not change with changes of person or number of the nominal referent. *Men* clearly acts in this context only to delimit the end of the relative clause. Examples follow.

- (267) *hiang pok sun epo wirama-n ti-n hun men*  
 he tell him about father-his REL-  
 3sg:POSS die DELIM

He told him about the death of his father.

- (268) *hiang suk mara ngo epo niklak*  
 he show eye mine OBJ mokmok.stone

*ti-n ta hiang men*  
 REL-3sg:POSS BEN him DELIM

He showed me his mokmok stone.

- (269) *hiang wili-n likiong pit po enda ti-n*  
 he hand-his both be on thing REL-3sg:POSS

*phae men*  
 turn DELIM

He had both hands on the steering wheel. (lit. on the thing which turns)

- (270) *wut ti-n enangin men titie-n in kut*  
 she REL-3sg:POSS married DELIM spouse-her  
 be PERF

*men*  
 DELIM

She, who was married, already had a spouse.

#### 4.6. Peripheral cases

Peripheral cases are those which do not, by their occurrence in a clause, impose a subcategorisation of verbs. That is, they are optional elements of a clause, and may occur in all types of clause - within the limits imposed by semantic constraints. A peripheral nominal (or noun phrase) is one which occurs with a peripheral case preposition. While there is no grammatical



reason why several peripheral nominals may co-occur in a clause, this rarely happens because it tends to overload the clause. Clauses with one peripheral nominal occur frequently, those with two are much less frequent, and those with three or more just do not occur in idiomatic Kaulong.

#### 4.6.1. *ta Benefactive*

The use of benefactive case to mark a core nominal (ie. indirect object) was discussed in section 4.3.2. In the present section we are concerned with the peripheral use of benefactive marking. As a peripheral case, the benefactive typically expresses that an action was done on behalf of the referent of the peripheral nominal.

- (271) *po ning mang ta hi*  
they build house BEN themselves

They are building a house for themselves.

- (272) *wut um ta toni-n*  
she fetch.water BEN mother-her

She fetched water for her mother.

- (273) *a-Josep kum ta a-Potipa*  
mGEND-Joseph work BEN mGEND-Potifer

Joseph worked for Potifer.

#### 4.6.2. *epo*

- (274) *wut sakal epo toni-n*  
 she talk about mother-her

She is talking about her mother.

- (275) *asu nuhum epo ngo*  
 shoes big to me

The shoes are too big for me.

- (276) *hiang lem epo elwa*  
 he be.afraid to dog

He is afraid of dogs.

- (277) *wut puh ewit epo keslo*  
 she scrape coconut INSTR shell

She is scraping the coconut with a shell.

- (278) *hiang kul wut epo niklak*  
 he buy her INSTRU stone.money

He bought her with stone money.

#### 4.6.3. *wo*

- (279) *yu ta a-Pita pit wo sun a-Jon*  
 pig BEN mGEND-Peter be upon him mGEND-John

John owes Peter a pig

#### 4.6.4. *po*

- (280) *hiang wili-n likiong pit po enda ti-n phae*  
 he hand-his both be on thing REL-3sg:POSS turn

*men*  
 DELIM

He had both hands on the steering wheel.

- (281) *hiang wa wungin ko po sun*  
 he take talk go.down on him

He accused him.

#### 4.6.5. *hang Location*

- (282) *hiang kul yu hang a-Jon*  
 he buy pig from mGEND-John

He bought the pig from John.

- (283) *nga wa eyun hang wiro-m*  
 I take mango from brother-your

I got the mango from your brother.

#### 4.6.6. *pit mi*

- (284) *po hek-wal pit mi kanem*  
 they argue-RECIP stand inside pig

They are arguing about the pig.

#### 4.7. *men Delimitative particle/clitic*

The Kaulong particle *men* is ubiquitous throughout the language. It is used to mark information which is asserted.

(285) *kukiyung men emon*  
cassowary DELIM bird

The cassowary is a bird.

(286) *piuk men me ung tunus*  
we:three:exc DELIM come sit good

As for us three, we have come and are doing fine.

## 5. Sentence

The notion of sentence has been defined in many different ways. For purposes of this grammar, a sentence will be defined as a clause or group of interrelated clauses plus their accompanying mood. In our view it is mood that distinguishes clauses from sentences. By mood we understand the attitude of the speaker toward the factual content of his utterance (see Crystal, 1980, p.230). Traditionally, four different moods have been distinguished, viz., declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamatory. Some languages formalize some or all of these in their morphology (eg. Koine Greek), while others rely on lexical contrasts to indicate differences of mood. Kaulong is an instance of the latter type. It expresses mood via adverbial particles and interjections.

Structurally, sentences may be classified as simple, compound, or complex (see Quirk et al., 1985, p.719). Simple sentences consist of a single independent clause. Complex sentences consist of at least two clauses one of which is embedded in the other as one of its elements. Compound sentences consist of two or more independent clauses linked together by a coordinating conjunction, or in some cases, simply juxtaposed next to each other. By independent is meant sentences having the same degree of pragmatic prominence with respect to each other. This is the classification scheme that we will use in our description of Kaulong sentences.

Sentence length is another variable parameter. It is generally recognized that sentences may vary in length anywhere from a one word response, to a full paragraph. Length of sentences tends to vary according to discourse type. The shortest, simplest sentences occur in conversational discourse, where they may sometimes consist of only a single word response. Sentences tend to be longest in narrative discourse. Also, sentence length

varies with discourse types according to their position in the discourse. For example, in narrative discourse, sentences tend to be longer at the outer margins and shorter as one approaches the peak of the discourse.

Sentence boundaries are marked in Kaulong in two ways: (1) via particles which can only occur sentence final, and (2) via intonation.

### 5.1. *Simple Sentences*

Simple sentences are identical with clauses except that they have mood. This may be represented as follows:

$$\text{SIMPLE SENTENCE} = \text{Clause} + \text{Mood}$$

In Kaulong, simple sentences have the following structure:

+/- Pre-Margin	+ NUCLEUS	+/- Post-Margin
Conjunctions Interjections	CLAUSE	Tag Words

Four basic types of simple sentences may be distinguished on the basis of mood, viz., declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamatory.

#### 5.1.1. *Declarative*

Simple declarative sentences relay information. They are identical with clauses except that they have a falling intonation contour clause final.

(287) *wut saihi*  
she sick

She is sick.

(288) *hiang ni emon ta epo lambu*  
he kill bird one with blowgun

He killed a bird with his blowgun.

When the information which the speaker is relaying is a supposition, the sentence is tagged with the compound particle *wa-men*.

(289) *hiang ku li e-Kandrian wa-men*  
he IRR go PlaceNamPrefix-Kandrian or-that

I suppose he is going to Kandrian.

### 5.1.2. Interrogative

Interrogative sentences seek information or a behavioral response from the addressee. There are two structural types: WH-questions and Tag questions.

#### 5.1.2.1. Wh-Questions

Wh-type questions answer the questions who, what, which, when, where, why, how, and how much. The question words which are used to express these notions occur in one of the noun phrase arguments of the sentence. The final intonation contour for Wh-questions is high-low.

- (290) *ara me men*  
who come that

Who is that coming?

- (291) *e-ning ela men*  
you(2s)-do what that

What are you doing there?

- (292) *po ku me to pi elini*  
they IRR come at time which

When are they coming?

- (293) *po kuk e lut ko pit a*  
they be LINK sing/dance down stand  
INTERROGATIVIZER

Where are they dancing?

- (294) *e-ning-i tu-a*  
you(2s)-do-it how-INTERROGATIVIZER

How did you make it?

#### 5.1.2.2. Tag Questions

Tag questions may be yes-no or alternative. Yes-no questions are formed in one of two ways: through low-high-mid sentence final intonation or by tagging the alternative conjunction *wah* to the end of the sentence.<sup>9</sup>

- (295) *ngon ku lu e-Kandrian homani*  
 you IRR go PlaceNamPrefix-Kandrian today

Are you going to Kandrian today?

- (296) *it li wah*  
 we(INC) go or

Shall we go?

An alternative question is formed by joining two clauses with the alternative conjunction *wah*. The final intonation contour is low-high-mid.

- (297) *ngon ku in wa ngon ku lu*  
 you IRR stay or you IRR go

Are you going to stay or are you going to go?

### 5.1.3 Imperative

Imperative sentences express commands, requests, and prohibitions. In an imperative sentence the speaker is trying to get the addressee to do something. Imperative sentences vary in their form depending on the social status and/or age of the addressee. They presuppose a face-to-face communication situation so that reference to the speaker is usually deleted and the addressee becomes the grammatical subject of the sentence. In Kaulong, pronominal reference to the addressee/s is obligatory. The second person prefix *e-* is used only in imperative and interrogative sentences.

- (298) *e-lu wa eyel ti-n ta ngo men mu*  
 you-go get basket this-one to me that come

Go and get my basket and bring it to me.



The second person pronoun *som* and its plural form *po som* are used for soliciting a favor from a peer or an elder. It has the effect of softening a command, making it into a request.

- (299) *iok som wa kahma ta mu*  
father you take betelnut one come

Father, please give me a betelnut.

Negative commands are expressed by attaching the negative adverb *asin* to the end of the sentence.

- (300) *wom lek-wal asin*  
you(PL) fight-RECIPROCAL NEG

Stop fighting!

Prohibitions are expressed by prefacing the sentence with the verb-adverb combination *e-in aku*:

- (301) *e-in aku e-wi wut*  
you-be NEG you-strike her

Don't hit her.

#### 5.1.4 Exclamatory

Exclamatory sentences express strong emotion. Emotional intensity may be expressed through emphasis, interjections, or the emphatic adverb *ahi*. Emphasis is used in affirmations and denials. The word or phrase which is the focus of the sentence receives the emphasis:

- (302) *nga wo irawin*  
I say true

I am telling the truth!

Interjections occur at the beginning of the sentence and are separated by a short pause:

- (303) *iyi mara-p lu epo balus ili men*  
hey eye-your go toward airplane up there

Hey, look at the airplane up there.

The emphatic adverb *ahi* is attached to the end of the sentence. It is uttered with a low-high intonation:

- (304) *nga hun eki ahi*  
I die water EMPHATIC

I am dying of thirst!

## 5.2. Complex Sentences

Complex sentences consist of two clauses, one of which is structurally embedded in the other, and which are joined by a linking word or **complementiser**. Complex sentences link the psychological realm with the physical realm. They consist of a **matrix clause** expressing a psychological state or activity and an **embedded clause**, expressing a physical state or action. The following words function as complementisers in Kaulong: *taku*, *po*, *epa*. The clauses may also, under certain conditions, be juxtaposed without a complementiser. The predicate in the matrix clause must be filled by a SPEECH VERB or a PSYCHOLOGICAL VERB. Thus their general structure in Kaulong may be represented as follows:

MATRIX CLAUSE	COMPLEMENTISER	EMBEDDED CLAUSE
---------------	----------------	-----------------

Speech, mental process, or aspectual verb	<b>epo</b>  <b>taku</b>  <b>po</b>  <b>ZERO</b>	Verb
---	---	------

A further distinction may be made in complex sentences as to the truth status of the proposition expressed in the embedded clause (see Crystal, 1985, p. 118). In a **FACTIVE** construction, the speaker presupposes the truth of the proposition expressed in the embedded clause. In a **non-factive** construction the speaker does not commit himself to the truth or falsity of the proposition expressed in the embedded clause. In a **contrafactive** construction the speaker presupposes the falsity of the proposition expressed in the complement clause. The word *lon* ('see, know') is an example of a factive verb, *wo* ('say, think') of a non-factive, and *phaeng* ('suppose') of a contra-factive.

Direct quotations and suppositions are expressed using *taku*, *po*, or ZERO:

- (305) *nga wo taku ngon ku wetpo-p wa ngo*  
 I say COMPLEMT you IRR back-your take I

*ani-men*  
 where-ASSERT

I thought that you had turned your back on me.

- (306) *mom wo po iyok li ma iyok werpo-n wa*  
 you-two say COMP father go and father back-his take

*tuk inu ti ah*  
 we-two(EXC) mother this not so

You two think, "Father has gone and turned his back on us,"  
 but it is not so!

- (307) *po wo taku tuon hiang ti-n i-men nomuru*  
 they say thus hey he this-it here-that  
 mature

*epo nga hwa-ngin-an*  
 by taro plant-NMZ-ADJZ

They said, "Hey, he has become mature in that he has  
 planted taro."

Indirect quotations and desires/wishes are expressed using *epo* as a complementiser.

- (308) *wulong wo epo wulong ku in e nolo-wal*  
 they-DU said that they-DU IRR be CONJ fight-  
 REC

*kiok aku-men*  
 again not-that

They promised that they would not fight each other again

- (309) *mi-ngo epo ngon ku kul ngo epo li ken-ngin-an*  
 I-want COMP you IRR buy me with it eat-NMZ-ADJZ

*ti-n po ku-ku u tul-tul-ngin-an men*  
 this-it outside dark-RDP and spot-RDP-NMZ-ADJZ that

*tu-men misan*  
 thus-that only

I want you to pay me with dark spotted cattle only.

### 5.3. Compound Sentences

Compound sentences consist of two or more clauses or sentences which are joined by a linking word. The relative pragmatic status of the clauses or sentences may be one of subordination, coordination, or cosubordination.

Kaulong sentences may also be classified according to the semantic relationship of their constituent clauses. The following survey of Kaulong compound sentences is based upon the classification system devised by Longacre (1976, pp. 98-164).

#### 5.3.1. Conjoining

Conjoined sentences consist of two or more clauses or sentences linked together by the conjunction *u*, and closing with the compound adverb *tu-men*.

- (310) *po ti-n akono men ung ma wha*  
 they this-one man.of.prestige that dwell and plant
- nga u lek yu ma po i yu u tu-men u*  
 taro and kill pig and they eat pig and thus-  
 that and
- niklak ta-n pit u eyuk ta-n tang*  
 stone.disk to-him be and pearl-shell to-him many
- pit tu-men ma ung ma wo ma po lek*  
 be thus-that and dwell and say and they kill
- sun tu-men u po wam*  
 they(DiffRef) thus-that and they sorcerize
- sun tu-men*  
 they(DiffRef) thus-that

These men of prestige live by planting taro and killing pigs and eating them. And they have mokmok stones and lots of shell money and so are well-established and so give an order and the people kill others and the people work sorcery on others.

#### 5.3.1.1. Contrast/Comparison

Contrast/Comparison sentences express a comparison or contrast between two statements. The clauses are joined by the conjunction *si*.

- (311) *e-mu            nuk si    e-kiok lu    kop ako-men*  
          you-come    stay and   you-again    go play not-that

Come and stay; don't go back and play.

- (312) *nga sakal ta        pua som nga sakal ta-it*  
          I    speak to        foreigner not I        speak    to-we(INCL)

I am not speaking the foreigner's language; I am speaking our language.

- (313) *hiang men nomalak    si    ngo    men    hut    yis*  
          he    that tall        but I        that    nose short

He is tall but I am short.

- (314) *si    epo        ele*  
          but    for        what?

But why do you ask?

### 5.3.2. Alternation

Alternative sentences consist of two or more clauses or sentences linked by the alternative conjunction *wa* ('or'), and closing with the compound adverb *tu-men*.

(315) *wulong li hiangan kut ma wulong in li ma wur*  
 they(DL) go old PERF and theyDL be go and she

*ti wala men ku hun kha wur hun ma hiang*  
 this woman that IRR die COPULA she die and he

*ti-n masang men ku in li hiang hun pet*  
 this-one male that IRR be go he die follow

*kira titie-n ka hiang hun men wa hiang*  
 behind spouse-his COPULA he die that or he

*ku in ka hiang wa po wala homan*  
 IRR be alive COPULA he take theyPL woman  
 new

*kha tu-men*  
 COPULA thus-that

They live and become old and they continue living and if the woman dies then she dies and the man lives as a widower. Or if the man lives for a while and then dies following his wife, then he dies. Or if he remains alive then he may marry a new wife. That's the way it is.

### 5.3.3 Temporal

Temporal relations in natural languages may be broadly classified under two main types, temporal sequence and temporal overlap<sup>10</sup>.

#### 5.3.3.1. Sequence

The unmarked order of temporal relations in natural language is chronological, ie., encoded events succeed one another in time. Some languages, however, also possess ways to modify the chronological order for various pragmatic reasons.(eg. English- "Before you leave the house, turn out the lights").

Temporal sequence is expressed in Kaulong via the following conjunctions: *ma, si, ani-ma, kama*. Sequence is also expressed via asyndeton.



5.3.3.1.1. Temporal sequence with *ma*

- (316) *hiang iok ma hiang ko ma hiang li*  
 he get-up and he go-down and he go

He got up and left.

- (317) *pim a kuk ma a-Marakus me pol*  
 we PAST be.at and MalePREFIX-Marakus come arrive

*ta pim ma toni-n pet ki-ra hiang*  
 to we(EXC) and mother-his follow leg-to he

*me pol ta pim ma pim a ko*  
 come arrive to we(EXC) and we(EXC) PAST go.down

*ma pim a li pol ta po miran*  
 and we(EXC) PAST go arrive to they man.of.prestige

*ma iok ma pim a me nuk*  
 and get-up and we(EXC) PAST come stay

We were there and Marakus came to where we were and his mother followed him and came to where we were and we left and went to where the important men were and we stayed there.

#### 5.3.3.1.2. Temporal sequence with *si*

- (318) *kanem ku pit ma it lek-i si it*  
 pig IRR stay and we(INCL) kill-it and we(INCL)

*in-i*  
 eat-it

The pig must be alone and we will kill it and we will eat it.

#### 5.3.3.1.3. Temporal sequence with *anima*

- (319) *po kan-kan a-Jon koho ani-ma Jisas*  
 they tie-tie MalePREFIX-John PAST then-and Jisas

*me pol Galili*  
come arrive Galili

They arrested John and afterwards Jisas went to Galili.

#### 5.3.3.1.4 Temporal sequence with *khamā*

- (320) *ku pi Mande kha-ma piuk a wa*  
IRR place Monday when-and 1TrialEXCL  
PAST take

*hiang li ko haus sik*  
he go down house sick

As soon as it is Monday we will take him to the house where sick people are treated.

- (321) *po sik wo-n angan ta li kha-ma po wa*  
they spit mouth-it time one go then-and they  
take

*enda-ra ko li i-ni*  
food-RDP down go eat-it

First they spit ginger into its mouth one time, then they give it food and it eats it.

- (322) *nga me pol ta-p kha-ma e-wo si mara-ngo*  
I come arrive to-you then-and you-say up  
eye-I

*men*  
that

As soon as I come you can tell me to my face.

#### 5.3.3.1.5 Temporal sequence with *lii ma*

- (323) *pim a ning mang lii ma mang pi-engul ma*  
we(EXCL) PAST build house go and house place-not and

*pim a nom mang kil-n*  
we(EXCL) PAST weave house leg-it

We build a house and later we make the walls.

(324) *wuluk pit lii ma pi-king-kauk ma wuluk li*  
theyTR stay go and place-bird-kauk and they go

*wulong nemeh pi sini hiang wha*  
theyDL clear place and he plant

They spent the night and when it was morning and the three of them had gone to the garden, the two of them gathered the garden debris into piles and in the meanwhile he planted.

Two varieties of temporal sequence have been discovered in Kaulong. We will refer to these as PROGRESSIVE and SUBSEQUENT ACTION sentences.

Progressive sentences encode an action or series of actions leading to a goal. They are linked by the conjunction *ma*. Their form may be summarized in the following way.

Non-final or series of non- final clauses	Final clause
---	--------------

Two characteristics of progressive sentences should be noted (1) the possibility of subject deletion or subject reduction and (2) the subordinate status of the non-final clause/s. Both of these are illustrated in the above examples.

Subsequent action sentences, like progressive sentences, encode an action or series of actions leading to a goal. They differ from the latter, however, in that the temporal element is brought into focus by the addition of the particles *kha* or *ani* preceding the simple conjunction *ma*. This serves to highlight the final clause as a kind of pre-condition for the action which

STEP <sub>n</sub>	GOAL	follows, and might be glossed,
-------------------	------	-----------------------------------

"As soon as x happens, then y happens" or "After x happens, then y happens".

5.3.3.2. Temporal Overlap

5.3.3.2.1. Temporal Overlap with *ma*

- (325) *hiang in e hwa nga ma nga me*  
 he be CONJ plant taro and I come

He was planting taro when I came.

#### 5.3.3.2.2. Temporal Overlap with *si*

- (326) *ina-ling li pem emisi si pim a me*  
 mother-PL go break vine but we(EXC)  
 PAST come

*tet noluk*  
 construct garden.fence

The mothers go collect vines but we come construct the fence.

- (327) *e-lu in e wha nga si-ni nga li ung e*  
 you-go be CONJ plant taro and-? I go  
 sit CONJ

*kasang ta rong*  
 catch.fish for us(DL)

You go and plant taro and I'll go and catch fish for us.

#### 5.3.3.2.3. Temporal Overlap with *kuru*

- (328) *ma wulong nuk e plos donki kuru po*  
 and they(DU) stand CONJ untie donkey and  
 theyPL

*kara nuk a-hi ma kileng wulong*  
 some stand at-there(REM) and ask theyDU

*taku mom plos donki ti-men*  
 thisDIRQUOTE youDU untie donkey DEF-that

*epo ele*  
 for what

### 5.3.4. Implication

Causal sentences express some sort of cause and effect relation between two clauses. We use the terms cause and effect in a generic sense to cover such notions as reason-result, grounds-conclusion, means-purpose, etc. In Kaulong the ordering may be either cause-effect or effect-cause. Cause-effect sentences are built around the conjunction *ma* and effect-cause sentences are built around the particle *epo*.

#### 5.3.4.1. Cause

Causal sentences express the efficient cause of an action. They consist of two clauses or sentences linked by the conjunction *epo*.

- (329) *wulong pio hiang epo hiang e maio-ngin*  
 theyDU scold he about he CONJ lazy-NOMZ

The two of them scolded him because he was being lazy.

- (330) *mom mu ko engul epo po nomuru ku*  
 you-two come down just because they mature IRR

*huu wala kut ii*  
 die same.as PERF now

The two of you just come back because the elders will die just as they are doing now.

#### 5.3.4.2. Result

A group of conjunctions built around the simple conjunction *ma* is used to express result, viz., *ma*, *men ma*, *tumen ma*, and *ku-ma*. The conjunctions *ma*, *men ma*, and *tumen ma* express reason-result, and *ku-ma* expresses means-result.

##### 5.3.4.2.1. Reason-Result with *ma*

- (331) *nga saihi ma ngo ku hun*  
 I sick and I IRR die

I am sick and I am going to die.

- (332) *hiang wi wut ma wut hau*  
 he strike her and she cry

He hit her and she cried.

- (333) *wiro-it wo irawin ma ku e-pio*  
 brother-our(INCL) speak true and IRR youS-scold

*hiang asin*  
 him NEG

Our brother is telling the truth so don't scold him!

#### 5.3.4.2.2. Reason-Result with *men ma*

- (334) *wut li ehulut pio wut to viru-n ti-n kuk*  
 she go sisters scold she with son-her  
 this-one be

*kuma erihang men men ma wut li in to hiang*  
 womb her that that and she go be with he

*engin in ta hi in engul*  
 different one far just

She went and her sisters scolded her for being pregnant and so she just went and lived with another man who was far away.

#### 5.3.4.2.3. Reason-Result with *tumen ma*

- (335) *wom li enda-ra ta pim epo ele*  
 youPL eat edible-thing-RDP to weEXCL for  
 what

*men ma ku homani mak-si-n nga haum*  
 that and IRR today another-time-3S I watch



*po enda-ra ta ngo ti-n wom kuk*  
concerning thing-RDP to me this-one you(PL) be

*ma wom ku wa-i men*  
and you(PL) IRR take-it that

You are eating my food when you shouldn't be and so I must watch out again today concerning my food which you are going and taking all the time.

#### 5.3.4.2.4. Means-Result with *ku-ma*

(336) *som sakal ta wuluk weh ku-ma hiang ta it*  
youS speak to theyTR very IRR-and he to  
weINCL

*haum tunus*  
watch good

You must speak strongly to the three of them so that he who belongs to us will watch good.

(337) *iyok-hi ehorok-hi tu-men wa mulu wa*  
father-PL brother-PL thus-that take  
loincloth or

*embos wa ele men me pol men-ku e-*  
tobacco or what that come arrive that-IRR youS-

*kul i ku-ma ia-p to-n*  
buy it IRR-and name-you(2s) with-it

If your fathers and brothers bring loincloths or tobacco or whatever and come to visit you, you must buy it and then you will gain a reputation as a big man by doing that.

#### 5.3.4.3. Purpose

Purpose is expressed on the sentence level by means of the causitive particle *epo* plus the irrealis particle *ku*.

- (338) *hiang li taun epon ku kui rais*  
 he go town because IRR buy rice

He went to town to buy rice.

When *epo* occurs with the negative particle *aku* it has the idea of doing something in order that something else may not happen.

- (339) *kii-p ka-sum epon aku e-plong ko*  
 leg-your ?-hold because NEG you2S-fall down

Walk carefully so that you don't fall down.

- (340) *sun ti-n ta-ngo sakun men ku wom wo ta*  
 taro this-one to-me few that IRR youPL tell  
 to

*wiro-it ma hiang mara-n pir wo-n*  
 brother-ourINCL and he eye-his remain upon-it

*weh epo-n aku li po tip-i*  
 very because-one not go they steal-it

But as for the little bit of taro that I have, you must tell our brother to keep a good eye on it, lest some come and steal it.

#### 5.3.4.4. Conditional

Conditional sentences consist of an antecedent and consequent, where the antecedent expresses a hypothetical condition (Longacre, 1976, pp. 119-124). In Kaulong the antecedent and consequent are linked by the deictic particle *men* and the irrealis particle *ku*. Conditional sentences may be sub-classified according to the degree of hypotheticality expressed in the antecedent

- (341) *po me lut mara yu men ku iek-wal*  
 they come sing/dance eye pig that IRR fight-  
 RECIP

*ako-men*  
 not-that

When they come and dance, then they cannot fight with each other

- (342) *Taku wom wa wiru-k kiok lu insip to wom*  
 if you-PL take son-my return go Egypt with you-PL

*ma li enda-ra wi hiang men ku mi-ngo*  
 and go thing-REDUP strike he that IRR inside-I

*ut-ut-i epo hiang li nga hun engun*  
 feel.sorry-it because he go I die nothing

If you take my son to Egypt with you and something happens to him, I'll be very sorry and will just die.

#### 5.3.4.5. Contrafactual

- (343) *Ngon ti-n Nuhum men taku ngon ku in iyi men*  
 you this-one big that if you IRR be here  
 that

*ku wilu-ngo hun ti som*  
 IRR brother(FEMego)-my die thus NEG

Lord, if you had been here my brother would not have died.

#### 5.3.5. Frustration

Frustration sentences consist of two clauses or sentences joined by the compound conjunction *taku-ma*. The clause or sentence introduced by *takuma* expresses information which is counter to the expectations of the speaker and/or addressee.

- (344) *piuk a me ung taku-ma piuk a*  
 we-TRIEXCL PAST come live FRUS-and we-TRIEXCL PAST

*kor-kor weh si pi men tunus taku kor-*  
 feel.cold-RDP very but place that good FRUS cold-

*kor-ngin tehen kha piuk a kor-*  
*kor men*  
 RDP-thing one now we-TRIEXCL PAST  
 feel.cold-RDP that

We have come and settled but we are very cold, but the place is good except for the coldness and so we are cold.

- (345) *piuk ku ti taku-ma hiang ai po*  
 we-TRIEXCL IRR go FRUS-and he move concerning

*pi kiok*  
 place again

We were about to go but he changed the time again.

- (346) *hiang taku ni emon, takuma hiang yek ta-n*  
 he try shoot bird, but he miss to-3SG

He tried to shoot the bird but missed.

### 5.3.6. Illustration

5.3.6.1. Simile

- (347) *ngon e wala*  
you COPULA female

Are you a women? (said of a male acting like a female)

5.3.6.2. Exemplification

- (348) *nga sakal ta-it wala ngo ku yuk ta*  
I speak to-weINCL as I IRR call out to

*wom no-nomuru pi ra-it*  
you(PL) RDP-mature one place to-weINCL

I am speaking our language as I talk to you adults who are at home.

*5.3.7. Cleft Sentences*

- (349) *pi eip ponwal misan kha ku piuk a ti*  
*ko*  
 place five two only COPULA IRR weTR PAST go down  
*to-n men*  
 with-it that

Only ten more days before we go.

- (350) *iau u pi-ning-ngin-an u tu-men*  
 firewood and place-do-NMZ-ADJZ and thus-that  
*kha ku e-wa-i muk men*  
 COPULA IRR you-get-it first that

It is firewood and working in the garden and the like that  
 you are to pay attention to first.

## 6. Discourse

### 6.1. Pragmatic information

The pragmatic concepts developed by Simon Dik (1978) are extremely useful in describing certain Kaulong particles which are pragmatic in function. These particles are *kha*, *ani*, and *wala*.

#### 6.1.1. *kha*

The *kha* particle indicates contrastive focus, functioning much the same as contrastive stress in English. The Kaulong equivalent of the English sentence: "It's my mother who is coming.", where the underlining represents stress is given as the first example below.

- (351) *inu kha me men*  
mother the one who is come that

It is my mother who is coming [rather than someone else].

- (352) *iau u pi ning nginan u tumen kha ku*  
fire and place do NOMZ and like-that is the thing IRR  
  
*e wa-i muk men*  
LINK take-it first that

- (353) *e-Karissa ngong sun a-Klemen kha pa-*  
*pawoli men*  
Charissa and other Clement who are REDUP-  
sick that

It is Charissa and Clement who are sick.

#### 6.1.2. *wala*

- (354) *eyel ta-p wala iyi*  
basket POSS-you which is there

That is your basket there.

#### 6.1.3. *ani*

- (355) *ngon ani men*  
you the one who there

Is that you?

### 6.2. *Sample text*

Siria and the Python

*Minan ta ma hiang hiangan ta,*  
time a and he old a

*po sik ia-n a-Siria in pi ra po sik ia-n*  
 they call name-his MAS-NM-Siria was at place a they call name-its

*Aure ma hiang taku li pi ra po sik ia-n e-Mi*  
 Aure and he want go place a they call name-its PFX:PlaceName-Mi

Once there was an old man whose name was Siria who was at a place called Aure and wanted to go to a place called Mi.

*hiang took ma hiang ko ma li*  
 he got up and he began and go

He got up and set out.

*hiang wa pali nuk uwa-n u hiang wa elik*  
 he took spear lay shoulder-his and he took basket

*ta-n ung wer willi-n ti*  
 POSS-his sitting under arm-his thus

He put his spear on his shoulder and his basket under his arm



*hiang ko ma li*  
he began and go

He set out,

*hiang li li emon pir e hak-hak wo*  
he go after a while bird was CONJ cry out-cry out because of

*lavino ta*  
python a

He went and after a while there was a bird crying out because of a python

*lavino ti-n i-men nhum pa*  
python this-it that big very

The python was very big.

*li kus li ma li pir mi ehul ung uwa*  
it coiled itself and it stand inside hole sit shoulder

*sangga apluk imur sa-sat ta*  
Tahitian Chestnut tree huge root join-join greatly

It had coiled itself and was in a hole in the fork of a huge Tahitian Chestnut tree with lots of ridges at its base.

*a-Siria li hul eking ti-n hak-hak wo*  
 NamPrfx.Mas-Siria going heard bird this-it cry out-cry out because of

*lavino men ma hiang pir e mara-n si-si po ki sa*  
 python that and he stood CONJ eye-his go up-go up on top tree

As Siria was going he heard the bird cry out because of the python and he stood looking up into the top of the tree.

*hiang phaing taku emon hak-hak wo elan ma li*  
 he thought that bird cry out-cry out because of tree kangaroo and it

*ku ung mi ehul ti-n ung uwa sa ti-n*  
~~must~~ sit inside hole this-it sit shoulder of tree this-it

*sangga hi*  
 Tahitian Chestnut tree there

He thought that the bird was crying out because of a tree kangaroo and that it was sitting inside the hole in the shoulder of the Tahitian Chestnut tree there.

*hiang pir e mi-n ta si-si li ma hiang*  
 he stood CONJ mind-his ? go up-go up after a while and he

*wlek pali ko pir u hiang ples po sa*  
 stick into the ground spear down stand and he broke off 2 tree

*wili-n ma hiang wa elik ta-n si kuk ti*  
 hand-its and he took basket to:POSS-his go up hang thus-?

He stood thinking to himself and finally stuck his spear upright into the ground and broke off a branch from the tree and hung his basket on it.

*si hiang a-Siria mi-li si pur elik nhum*  
 meanwhile he NamPref:Masc-Siria come-go go up middle vine big

*ta si pir po sangga ti-n i ma ko pir*  
 a go up stand on Tahitian Chestnut tree this-it there and go down  
 stand

*mi lumus*  
 in ground

while he went over and climbed up a large vine which hung from the Tahitian Chestnut tree and was rooted in the ground.

*hiang mi-li si kur ma hiang si*  
 he come-go go up PERF and he go up

He had gone over and was climbing the tree,

*hiang si li hiang pol ta ehul kut ma hiang pong*  
 he climb until he arrive to hole PERF and he did not know

*epo lawino*  
 about python

He climbed until he reached the hole and he did not know about the python,

*si hiang si in e wa-wangan mi ehul ma lawino wur*  
 and he began be CONJ REDUP-make noise inside hole and python neck

*thod [phep] si kuk*  
 ? ? go up remained

and he began to bang around inside the hole and the python raised up its head.

*li mara-n kon hiang kur u hiang ion li ti-men*  
 it eye-its saw him PERF and he saw it this-that

It saw him and he saw it.

*lavino suk si engin si li sung wo hiang a-Siria*  
python ? ? thing while it take hold of upon him NamPrfx:Mas-Siria

*mi ehul ti-n i-men*  
inside plant species which grows on trees this-it here-that

The python took hold of Siria, confident that it could overcome him.

*hiang mara-n li sop epo-n taku li hiang ku in ani li*  
he eye-his go find GOAL-? If go he IRR be where go

He looked for a way that he could go to escape,

*ti ma hiang pir engul si li lais hiang*  
thus and he stood just and then it coil around him

and so he just stood and the snake coiled around him.

*lavino lais hiang a-Siria pir ko-li wur kii-n li*  
python coiled around him MASC-Siria stand down-at neck leg-his go

*pol i-li mhi hiang*  
reach above-at head his

The python coiled around him from his ankles to his head.

*li lais hiang li pi om kur ma hiang pir e*  
it coiled around him go place not be PERF and he stood CONJ

*mir-mir to li mi ehul uwa*  
swaying around-swaying around with it inside hole shoulder

*sangga*

Tahitian Chestnut tree

After it had finished coiling around him he stood swaying with it inside the hole in the shoulder of the Tahitian Chestnut tree.

*a-Siria pir li ma hiang mi-li lup to lavino*  
MASC-Siria stood go and he come-go jump down with python

*uwa sa kur ma hiang ko epo pi mulus kur*  
shoulder tree PERF and he go down toward place ground PERF

Asiria stood for a while and then jumped down with the python from the shoulder of the tree toward the ground.

*wulong ko li ma wulong ko phae ma*  
they:DUAL go down go and they:DUAL go down turn around and

*wulong nuk sik ira sangga poplir ti-n*  
they:DUAL lay straight along Tahitian Chestnut tree trunk ridge this-it

*nhum men weh nuk po ewi wulong kur men*  
big that very lay on place they:DUAL PERF that

They fell down and turned horizontally and there was a large tree ridge of the Tahitian Chestnut tree right under them.

*Elop poplir ku-kium iavino po*  
Tahitian Chestnut tree trunk ridge RDP-crushed python against

*a-Siria pir ko-li wur kii hiang weh li iang*  
MASC-Siria stand down-at neck leg his all the way go through to

*li mhi hiang kur ma li misur ti-n nok men ke-kien*  
up at head his PERF and it backbone this-it soft that RDP-break apart

*hur-wal*  
end-each other

The python was crushed between Asiria and the ridge of the Tahitian Chestnut tree all the way from Asiria's ankle to his head and his backbone which was soft broke apart.

*si wulong phae li mbuk ko-li mulus ma hiang ko*  
and they:DUAL turn around go crash down-at ground and he go down

*mara-n ain ma hiang miyu-n kore ma hiang nuk*  
eye-his be still and he breath-his hold breath and he lay

And they turned and crashed to the ground and he kept his eyes closed and held his breath and lay there.

*lavino mi-li in e pa-pias amen li ma li*  
python come-go be CONJ RDP-relax there go and it

*mulpas po a-Siria kur ma li li nuk e hun li pir*  
let go of on MASC-Siria PERF and it go lay CONJ die go remain

*ti-men tu-men*  
this-that thus-that



The python relaxes itself until it has let go of Siria completely and it goes and lays down and dies over there.



*u hiang nuk ewi ngong kur ti-men*  
and he lay place 3:DUAL also this-that

and he is laying there in the place where the two of them were also.

*hiang nuk li ma hiang mara-n ngem li kon li*  
he lay after a while and he eye-his open slightly go see it

He layed there and after a while he opened his eyes slightly and saw it.

*hiang teng si ma hiang li nak pali ti-n hiang*  
he jump up and he go pull spear this-it he

*vlek i ko pir*  
stick something sharp into something solid it go down stand upright

*men*

that

He jumped up and he pulled up the spear which he had stuck upright in the ground.

*si hiang wa-i ma hiang li psong lavino*  
and he take-it and he go shoot with a spear in anger python

*pur mulus*  
middle ground

and he took it and angrily shot the snake on the ground.

*ma hiang wiek i li ma lavino*  
and he sticksomething sharp into something solid it go and python

*ung e sol-sol pur amen*  
sit CONJ shake-shake middle there

and he stuck the spear through the python and the python was writhing on it there.

*si hiang mili wa elik ta-n si kuk ver vili-n*  
and he go around take hand-bag to:POSS-him go up hang under hand-his

*kur ma hiang li iansal ira so ma hiang li epo pi*  
 PERF and he go be angry along path and he go toward place

*e-Mi kur aku*  
 PlaceNamePrefix-MI PERF fortunately

And he we back and got his handbag and put it under his arm and he was angry with himself as he went along the path and he went toward Mi now a very fortunate man.

*kur kha-men*  
 be finished it-that

It is finished now.

---

<sup>1</sup> another suffix which so far been observed to occur on only one verb, viz., *kum* ('do work'), is the suffix *-ang*. The contrast between the verbal noun *kum-ang* and the verbal noun *kum-ngin* is still unclear, but it may be that the former refers to work as a type of activity, whereas the latter, as stated above, refers to a particular instance of work.

<sup>2</sup> the productivity of this particular construction is a matter for further investigation.

<sup>3</sup> traditionally, Europeans were considered non-human because of their different skin color

<sup>4</sup> verb reduplication is used to indicate habitual action or plurality of subject.

<sup>5</sup> Ross (1988) describes a reflexive participant in POC as "a stimulus (source, cause, reason, or beneficiary), usually with a verb expressing a psychological state or action." This seems to accord well with the use of *epo* in Kaulong.

<sup>6</sup> the analysis is based upon native speaker responses when questioned as to the differences in meaning between the examples which are given.

<sup>7</sup> as such, its basic meaning seems to be that of imperfectivity.

<sup>8</sup> Chowning (19 ) suggests that the adverb *kut* may possibly be derived from the noun *kut* ('tail').

<sup>9</sup>when *wa* occurs as a tag at the end of a sentence an 'h' is added.

<sup>10</sup>see Longacre, 1976, pp. 114-119.