KOMBIO GRAMMAR ESSENTIALS

By Joan Henry

Table of Contents

List of Charts

Key to Abbreviations

ANP	Appositional Noun Phrase		OBJ	Object
			P:	Tok Pisin
BENF	Benefactive		PLUR	Pluralizer Word
CAUS	Causative		PN	Pronoun
CNP	Coordinate Noun Phrase		POSS	Possessive
COMP	Compound		PP	Prepositional Phrase
CONC	Conclusion, "therefore"		PRED	Predicate
CONJ	Conjunction		PRF	Perfective Affix
COP	Copula		PURP	Purpose
DEF.ART	Definite Article		PV	Prepositional Verb
DEIC	Deictic word		QUES	Question Marker
DES	Desiderative Particle		QOM	Quote Omission
DIR	Directional word		R	Realis Mood
DL	Dual		RDP	Reduplication
EMPH	Emphatic Deictic Pointing		REC	Recipient
			REFL	Reflexive Word
GIV	Given (previously known)		REL	Relative Clause introducer
LIM	Limiter Enclitic		RelCl	Relative Clause
F.DEIC	Far-Deictic Word		RL.ASR	Realis Assertion Particle
HORT	Hortatory Mood Particle		RVP	Repetitive Verb Phrase
HYP	Speaker Hypothesis Marker		SIG	Significance Signal Affix
			STAT	Stative Verb
IMPF	Imperfective Affix		SUBJ	Subject
INCL	Inclusive Word		SVP	Serial Verb Phrase
INST	Instrument		TOP	Topic (of Stative Clause)
IO	Indirect Object		TP	Temporal Phrase
IR.ASR	Irrealis Assertion Particle		TSI	Transitional sound
IRR	Irrealis Mood		VAL	Valence-Increasing Suffix
LOC	Locative Word			
LP	Locative Phrase		VBP	Verb Phrase (Generic)
M.DEIC	Middle-Distance Deictic Word		VPt	Verb Particle
			1SG,2SG,3SG	1st, 2nd, 3rd Person Singular
MNP	Modified Noun Phrase			
MOD	Modifier Word		1PL,2PL,3PL	1st, 2nd, 3rd Person Plural
MV	Motion Verb			
MVP	Modified Verb Phrase		[+]	High central vowel
N	Noun		[P, B]	Fricative p,b
N.DEIC	Near-Deictic Word		[I, E]	Lax vowels
NEG	Negative		[M, NG]	Voiceless nasals
NOM	Nominalizer Enclitic			
NP	Noun Phrase (Generic)		< >	Marks insertion of infix
NUM	Numeral word/phrase			

1. Introduction

This paper is a tentative description to fulfill the grammar essentials requirements for the Kombio language spoken by approximately 2500 people in the Dreikikir District of the East Sepik Province. It is based on language data gathered by myself and Cathy Krekel since our allocation among the Kombios in August, 1987, and is primarily drawn from the dialect spoken in the centrally-located village of Meringi where we have been living. It is based on field notes collected between 1987-1992 and 300 pages of interlinearized text, primarily narrative genre and folklore with perhaps 30 pages of hortatory discourse and about 10 pages of procedural and/or descriptive material and 1 letter. Eighty (80) pages were written material, the remainder given orally onto cassette. Any translated examples which appear are not direct word-for-word translations but are the result of free discussion about the meaning of the passage or concept and are therefore considered to be natural expressions of the language.

The underlying theoretical framework is tagmemics. However, I have chosen to use prose descriptions so as to minimize reference to a particular theory.

The write-up is primarily focused on surface structure and begins with bound stems moving through word level, phrase level, clause level, sentence level, and a few preliminary observations concerning discourse features. Also included is a brief overview of the phonological system including comments on morphophonemics.

1.1. Classification and Typology

The Kombio language has been classified as a Papuan language of the Torricelli Phylum, belonging to the Kombio stock. (Laycock 1973a;1975) However it bears significant phonological and some grammatical resemblance to Urim language, currently classified as a Torricelli phylum stock-level isolate.

Dialect divisions in Kombio are not clearcut, as nearly every village claims certain distinctions which set their speech apart from that of everyone else. However, there are three major dialect divisions universally recognized by the people: Yanyimoi (spoken by 7 villages in the south), Wampukuamp (spoken by 9 western-central villages), and Akwun (spoken by 8 villages in the north, in the Kombio 1 sub-district). Above and beyond these are 2 villages at the eastern border, who speak a mixed version of Kombio and neighboring language(s), and 6 villages which are considered "in the middle", borrowing varying parts of 2 or 3 of the main dialects; Meringi Village, where the majority of the data has been obtained, is one of these. The dialects are mutually intelligible, though the Akwun show greater lexical diversity.

The Torricelli languages have very different typologies from other Papuan languages and, in fact, share more common features with Austronesian languages than with Papuan. For example, Torricelli languages typically have SVO word order (rather than SOV), prepositions, and post-modifiers, in addition to irrealis mood and lack of medial verbs. Some of them have transitivity-changing suffixes. Kombio differs from the typical Torricelli language in that it exhibits no subject concordance with verb prefixes and, in fact, has no gender distinction in its pronoun system. Kombio word order is particularly rigid due to the lack of morphological case markings to distinguish subject from object and so forth. Neither does it have the complex noun classes determined by shape nor separate plural forms as do other languages in its phylum. Torricelli languages also typically have a relatively simple morpological verb structure. While it is true that Kombio verbs have a single root form consistent through all paradigms, and thus are less complex than standard Papuan verb systems, it is also true that the verb morphology is the single most complex grammatical structure in Kombio because of the shades of meaning communicated by varying

combinations of the many aspect and mood particles (See Section 3.8.2). In addition, Kombio contrasts with most Papuan languages in that its phonemic system is relatively complex and it has minimal pairs distinguishing the liquids /r/ and/l/. (Foley, 1986; Barnes, 1989; Hemmila, 1990(unpub)).

In regard to Greenberg's universals for SVO languages, the majority are indeed true of Kombio. The language is: 1) isolating and prefixing; 2) modifier following; 3) prepositional; 4) post-nominal relative clause; 5) no verb agreement; 6) auxiliaries before verb; 7) no case marking; 8) genitive following noun. However there is one significant exception. Greenberg states "With well more than chance frequency, when question particles or affixes are specified in position by reference to the sentence as a whole, if initial, such elements are found in prepositional languages and, if final, in postpositional." (SIL Technical Studies Dept. Handbook, 1975:50). However Kombio is a prepositional language and yet its interrogative words occur sentence final and refer to the whole sentence. Greenberg also states that, in expressions of volition and purpose, a subordinate verb always follows the main verb as the normal order except in SOV languages. For Kombio this is true in the case of sentences with a subordinate purpose clause but for statements of volition (complement clauses) the volitional verb precedes the main verb. (See Sections 5.5.3 and 5.5.4.).

1.2. Acknowledgements

2. Phonology

2.1. Introduction

These phonoly observation and tentative conclusions are based on my paper 'Organized Phonolgy Data for Kombio' which was approved in November 1990 granting Trial Orthography Status.

However due to the complexity of Kombio phonology, there are several ares which are not clear as yet either regarding phonological aaannnalysis or orthographic considerations or both. We continue to seek input from literate native speakers and anticipate much informal testing in connection with our first attempts at writers courses and literacy instruction.

2.2. Orthography

Kombio has 22 phonemes represented by 16 single characters and 4 digraphs. They are represented by the following charts.

Chart 1.1 Kombio Consonant Phonemes

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar
Stops	p	t	k
Fric	f	s	
Nasals	m	n	ng
Laterals		l	
		r	
Semivow.	w	y	

Chart 1.2 Kombio Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Mid		Back
High	i	+		u
	I		oi	
Mid	e			o
	E			
		ai		
Low		a		

Chart 1.3 Kombio Trial Orthography

/p/ - <p>

/t/ - <t>

/k/ - <k>

/m/ - <m>

/n/ - <n>

/ng/ - <nk> intervocalic or word/morpheme final

    - <n> following /k?

/f/ - <f>

/s/ - <s>

/r/ - <r>

/l/ - <l>

/w/ - <u> when part of a modified consonant

    - <w> elsewhere

/y/ - <i> when part of a modified consonant

    - <y> elsewhere

/i/ - <i>

/I/ - <i> (under-differentiated)

/e/ - <ei>

/E/ - <e>

/+/ - <i> (under-differentiation due to dialect variation)

/u/ - <u>

/o/ - <o>

/a/ - <a>

/ai/ - <ai>

/oi/ - <oi>

2.3. Notes on Pronounciation

- When /p/ appears intervocalic (except in reduplicated words) or word final after anything but /m/, it varies freely with [f] or afficate [pP]; it may also be slightly voiced as [B].
- Stops following nasals are always voiced.
- Word-final consonants attach to the following word when it begins with a vowel.
- Pre-stopped nasals /pm tn kn/ are common; utterance final the nasal is voiceless; in other positions (i.e. before vowels) the stop becomes unreleased and the nasal is voiced.
- An /f/ work initial may vary freely with [p] (as contrasted with /p/ word-initial which may pre-nasalize).
- Words with initial <i> are pronounced [yI] or [y+]. The initial [i] is written with <yi> and initial [u] with <wu>.

- Vowels following pre-stopped nasals are nasalized.
- In general, open syllables with /i/ are pronounced tense [i] and closed syllables with /i/ are pronounced lax [I]; however stress also influences this and there are a number of exceptions (though no minimal pairs).

2.4. Morphophonemics

There is a considerable amount of phonological change that occurs across word and/or morpheme boundaries. Following are the most straightforward categories of these changes which have been identified to date.

2.4.1. Weak K rule

The initial /k/ in a limited set of words is weak and deletes following other consonants (primarily stops and /s/). The underlying base form is written out othographically; the weak k is written in parnetheses in these examples.

(1) *na-k–imp-(k)il*
R-talk-VAL-3SG
'talk to him'

(2) *mentit   (k)ilelel*
man   M.DEIC
'that man'

(3) *ant   (k)o   yu-pul*
1PL   IR.ASR   IRR-do
'we will do'

(4) *apm   sop   (k)il*
1SG   follow   3SG
'I'm following him'

(5) *Kis   (k)ei*
sit   N.DEIC
'sit here'

2.4.2. Final Stop Voicing Rule

When a morpheme-final nasal plus homorganic voiceless consonant (/mp/, /nt/, /ngk/) is immediately followed by a vowel, the stop becomes voiced.

(6) *ant   arko*   [andarko]
1PL   INCL
'we all/let's'

(7) *pmomp-el*   [pMombEl]
back-NOM
'at the back'

(8) *mentenk-ip*   [mEndEngg+p]
strong-LIM
'absolutely/completely strong'

(9) *kark-emp   (k)eielel*   [karkEmbeiElEl]
afraid-VAL   N.DEIC
'afraid of this'
Note: 2 rules in operation here,; apply Weak K Rule first, then Final Stop Voicing Rule.

2.4.3. Initial Stop Voicing Rule

Morpheme-initial stops become voiced and pre-nasalized when immediately preceded by a vowel or sonorant consonant. In some cases, a preceding voiceless stop also stiumlates this (See examples 14).

(10) *yikn   aser   tenk-tenk-el*   [yikNG asEr ndEngdEnggEl]
     2SG   see   often-RDP-NOM

     'you've seen (it) often'

(11) *kil   komp* [k+l   nggomb]
     3SG get

     'he got'

(12) *kil   ko   pil-pilnk* [k+l   ko   mbIlmbIlngk]
     3SG IR.ASR RDP-run

     'he will/must run'

(13) *yitne   pawu*   [yitNe mbawu]
     house   yam.strg.

     'yam storage house'

(14) *wat   to*   [wat   ndo]
     put   hand

     'shake hands'

2.4.4. High Central Vowel [+] Insertion Rule

When an enacceptable sequence of consonants exists across morpheme/word boundaries, a transitional [+] may be inserted at the word break point. it is not written orthographically. This process also occurs across some morpheme boundaries withing a single word; in these cases it is written orthographically and glossed TSI for 'transitional'.

(15) *nomp   knuamp* [nomb+kNgu,amp]
     go-up   village

     'go up to the village'

(16) *wuremp   tniokn* [wurEp.m+tNYokNG]
     morota   old?

     'a particular style of morota-weaving'

(17) *tiknank   keipm* [tIkNGengg+keipM]
     branch   above

     'the branch which is up high'

(18) *apm   sit*   [ap.M+s+t]
     1SG   only

     'only me'

(19) *yikn   fuikn* [yik.ng+ fwikNG]
     2SG   desire

     'you want'

(20) *apm-i-lel*   [ap.m+lEl]
     1SG-TSI-NOM

     'mine'

2.4.5. Semi-Vowel Insertion Rule

If a vowel-final word is followed by the nominalizer enclitic *–el*, a transitional [w] or [B] is inserted to separate the morphemes. This process also occurs to separate two morphemes or

words where the first ends with the same vowel that the second begins with. Orthographically we have been using a hyphen before the nominalizer enclitic in these cases.

(21) *ant-ie-el*   [andiEBEl]
1PL-two-NOM
'ours(DL)'

(22) *Meringi-el*   [mEr+nggiwEl]
Meringi-NOM
'belonging to Meringi (village)'

(23) *Yikn   ko   mi-la   atn*   [yikNG ko m+laBat.n,]
2SG   HORT PRF-go walk
'you must go walking'

(24) *Kil   ka   aimp*   [k+l kaBaimb]
3SG   RL.ASR shoot
'he shot'

2.4.6. First Consonant of Vowel Deletion Rule

When an unacceptable sequence of vowels will exist across morpheme boundaries, the more fronted vowel will be deleted and the more back vowel take priority. This also applies to unacceptable sequences of consonants when the first morpheme ends with /-mp/; in these cases the [p] deletes because it is articulated more forward in the mouth.

(25) *nakimp   ti*   [nak+m d+]
talk.to   3PL
'talk to them'

(26) *mamp   niol*   [mam nyol]
head   hair
'hair'

(27) *komp* (derived   from   ka-omp)
R.get
'got'

(28) *yukulk*   (derived   from   yu-ilkulk)
IRR.vomit

(29) *sirkemp*   (derived   from   s+-ErkEmp)
IRR.afraid.of

(30) *kuorpe   ar*   [kworBar]
F.DEIC   STAT
'is over there'/ 'i stap long hap'
(2 rules: /e/ deletes and /f/ becomes [B] between sonorant and vowel)

(31) *wule   apul   apm*   [wul apul apM]
body   affect 1SG
'I'm sick'

2.4.7. Second Consonant or Vowel Deletion Rule

In the case of two nasals in sequence, the second rather than the first will delete. This rule also applies to a few vowel sequences; in one case this rule forces the entire verb stem to delete because the stem consists of only a single vowel, thus leaving a zero morpheme to represent the verb (see example 35). Orthographically, these words will generally be written the way they are pronounced rather than according to base forms, with the possible exceptions of Example 32 and 33.

(32) *ninkopm   nilmp*   [nyInggop.Milmb]
       intestines   stomach

       'seat of emotions'

(33) *nunkurikn   mi*   [nunggurik.ngi]
       afternoon   or

       'perhaps in the afternoon'

(34) *apm   na   yipmon*   [ap.ma   ipmon]
       1SG   DES   leave

       'I'm leaving'

(35) *a-mu*   (derived from a-mu-o)
       R-PRF

       'came down'

(36) *yi-mu-k*
       IRR-PRF-give

       'will give'

2.4.8. Allomorphic Variations in Verb Affixes

Most of the verb affixes exhibit some degree of morphophonemic variation. The allomorphs in each case are written orthographically the way they are pronounced rather than according to the base form.

Perfective Affix, *mi-*

Allomorphic variation is rather extensive with the Perfective affix (see also Section 2.9.3.4). Its basic form is [m+], but it exhibits a [mu] allomorph preceding an o-initial bound stem and also forces the /o/ to delete as per Rule 1.3.6 above (see Examples 35 and 36). The [m] allomorph is found before w-initial verb stemps and the /w/ often deletes (Examples 37-39). A [mo] allomorph has been found preceding one bound verb stem *–r* 'to hit' (Example 40).

(37) *a-m-ur* (bound verb stem *–wur*)
       R-PRF-die

(38) *a-m-amp* (bound verb stem *–wamp*)
       R-PRF-leave

(39) *m-uar* (verb stem *war*)
       PRF-enter

(40) *a-mo-r* (bound verb stem *–r*)
       R-PRF-hit

The *si-* Irrealis Marker (see also 3.8.2.1)

A small amount of allomorphic variation also appears to be present with the irrealis affix *si-*. Its base form is [s+] but it is expressed as [su] in *sukul* 'to wash', probably because of vowel harmony pressure. It is expressed as [se] in *ninserk* 'to bathe', most likely due to the first vowel deletion rule (see 1.3.6).

The Significance Affix, *-N-* (see also Section 3.8.2.6)

The –N– affix exhibits three phonetic shapes, in which the nasal harmonizes with the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the verb stem to which it is attached.

(41) *ka-n-kir*   [kangg+r]
R-SIG-break

(42) *yu-m-pul-p*   [yimbulp]
IRR-SIG-do-VAL

(43) *a-n-ser*   [ansEr]
R-SIG-see

(44) *a-n-tit*   [andIt]
R-SIG-break

Imperfective Affix, *-p+-* (see also Section 3.8.2.7)

There is considerable morphophoneimc variation with the imperfective affix. The [p+] form has been arbitrarily chosen as base form because it seems to be the one used when the particle is word-initial. Other forms include [fe], [f+], and [fu], which occur when this particle is either an infix in the stem or is found between other affixes and the stem, but no pattern or rule is yet discernable.

(45) *pi-sil*   [p+s+l]
IMPF-on

(46) *pi-mper*   [p+mbEr]
IMPF-put

(47) *ki<pi>s*   [k+p+s]   (verb stem = *kis*)
'sit'

(48) *na-fi-k-imp*   [naf+k+mp]
R-IMPF-say-VAL

(49) *a-fi-kei*   [af+kei]
R-IMPF-make

(50) *a-fe-tn*   [afTen,]
R-IMPF-walk

(51) *kar<fe>k*   [karfEk]   (verb stem = *kark*)
'afraid'

(52) *kai-fu-kul*   [kaifukul]
R-IMPF-wash

Inception Particle, *na* (see also Section 3.8.2.4)

The Inception/Intention particle, *na*, has two allomorphs, [nai] which appears only when the following verb stem begins with /y/ or /i/ and [na] which appears in all other contexts. There are phonetic variations of [a] and [ai] but these are due to consonant deletion rules (see also 1.3.7).

(53) *Kil   na   ser   muati.* [k+l na sEr mwati]
3SG DES see picture

'He is going to/wants to look at the picture.'

(54) *Apm   na   ser   muati.* [ap.ma sEr mwati]
1SG DES see picture

'I want to see the picture.'

(55) *Apm   na   yimp   yikn.* [ap.mai yimbikNG]
1SG DES ask 2SG

'I want to ask you.'

(56) *Ti   na   yimp   ant.* [t+ nai yimb ant]
3PL DES ask 1PL

'They're going to ask us.'

Valence-Increasing Suffix, *-imp*

The Valence-increasing suffix has three allomorphic forms. It appears as simply [-p] following verb stems ending with /r/ or a vowel (and following *apul* 'to do', which is an exception). It appears as [-Emp] following a verb stem with final /t/ because the alveolar articulation pulls the vowel forward, and with schwa [-@mp] following /k/ (perhaps pulled from [E] or [+] by the velar point of articulation). And it appears as [-+mp], the base form, in other contexts.

(57) *per-p   miepm*
　　　distrib.-VAL   food

　　　'distribute food/tilim kaikai'

(58) *wuntu-p   nilmp*
　　　die-VAL   stomach

　　　'starvation/die of hunger'

(59) *wat-emp   kil   pal*
　　　throw-VAL   3SG   ball

　　　'throw him the ball'

(60) *kark-emp   apm*
　　　afraid-VAL   1SG

　　　'afraid of him'

(61) *nin-imp   wupm*
　　　open-VAL   book

　　　'open the book'

(62) *nak-imp   ant*
　　　talk-VAL   1PL

　　　'talk to us'

(63) *asil-emp   wule*
　　　scrape-VAL   body

　　　'scrape the body/skin' (something done by a ples dokta)

3. Morpheme

Bound morphemes are of two kinds in Kombio: bound verb stems and bound affixes (including enclitics) which do not readily fit into another category. They are listed separately here because they cannot be considered equivalent to words due to their inability to stand as free forms. However they do, with one exception, carry stress patterns just as full words do.

3.1. Bound Verb Stems

The bound verb stems are those verbs which mandatorily inflect for realis/irrealis mood. The mood prefix appears first, followed by any other affixes and then the stem. This affects approximatley one-third of the entire verb inventory. A detailed discussion will not be given here; please refer to Sections 2.9.2 and 2.9.3.

3.2. The Particle *fe*

This particle appears most frequently attached to a deictic and it is hypothesized that it functions to assist in participant tracking and/or to mark topic or given information. As such it is glossed GIV for 'Given' or previously known information. It also appears in yes/no questions and in the affirmative answers to them (though not in the negative answers). More research is certainly needed on this particle to clarify its functions and meaning. See also Sections 3.5 'Deictics' and 6.2.3.1 'Yes/No Questions'.

3.3. Enclitics

3.3.1. The *-El* Enclitic

The *-el* enclitic is the most common morpheme in the language, appearing at least once in nearly every clause and attaching to all parts of speech. It performs a wide variety of functions, most of which can be summarized under the designation 'Nominalizer'. Each of its apparent meanings will be discussed and illustrated below and will be tied into this designation as a form of nominalization in this language.

It is somewhat to be expected that the most common morpheme in Kombio should be the nominalizer since nominalization is a general tendency throughout the language. For example, many concepts typically expressed as verbs appear in Kombio as noun objects of transitive clauses: 'to play' appears as 'to do play' and 'to steal' must be said as 'to do thievery'. In addition some verbs can become nouns with no change in form, the part of speech determinable only by its position in the clause: *Kil awur* 'He died' becomes *awur ankilel* 'his death'.

There is a possible allomorph of -lel but its distribution is very limited and not predictable, having been found to date only with first person possessive pronouns, one modifier and one interrogative. It may be simply an idiosyncratic form due to historical factors. It may mark a partial reduplication of the -el; this hypothesis is supported by evidence from the neighboring dialect in which the possessive pronouns are clearly pronounced with final -elel. However, again, the reason for such limited distribution is not clear. Perhaps further research will clarify this.

(64) *apmilel / antilel* (derived from apm / ant)

      'mine' 'ours'

(65) *likekn   wanki-lel*
      one   half-NOM

      'half past one'

(66) *Yikn eik ku-lel?*
    2SG from where-NOM

    'Where are you from?'

FREE FORM

The -el can function independently in the fronted position to mean 'one' when specifying how something is to be distributed and when a person already knows what it stands for. It is never used in regular counting.

(67) *El y-ok apm.*
    NOM IRR-give 1SG

    'Give me one.'

(68) *El yikn antemp?* (Albert-Maprik)
    NOM 2SG R:with

    'Are you one of them/Yu wanpela bilong ol?'

(69) *El yikn yel, el apm yel.* (Maprik)
    NOM 2SG IRR:eat NOM 1SG IRR.eat

    'You eat one and I'll eat one.'

GENITIVE

The -el is used to create genitive constructions in a very similar manner to Tok Pisin 'bilong'. According to Mihalic (1971:38), who labels this as a preposition, 'bilong' is used in five different senses, four of which are exactly paralleled with the enclitic -el. It functions here as a nominalizer in that it describes its head by further specifying it.

a. POSSESSION:

With pronoun:

(70) *yitne apm-i-lel*
    house 1SG-TSI-NOM

    'my house' (lit. 'house, the one belonging to me')

With noun/name:

(71) *waike Josep-el*
    car Josep-NOM

    'Josep's car' (lit. 'car, the one belonging to Josep')

With interrogative:

(72) *pusi mini-el?*
    cat who-NOM

    'whose cat ?' (lit. 'cat, the one belonging to whom')

(73) *Yikn eik ku-lel?*
    2SG from where-NOM

    'Where are you from?' (lit. 'You, the one from where?')

With Locative:

(74) *Apm ko-rokn s-omp ninsi no keipm-el.*
    1SG HORT-NEG IRR-get things ascend above-NOM

    'I can't get things that are up high.'

Modifying two different levels, word and phrase:

(75) *Minkan meniem apm-i-lel-el*
husband friend 1SG-TSI-NOM-NOM

'my friend's husband'
Note: the first *-el* ties 'my' with 'friend' and the second *-el* attaches this phrase to 'husband'

b. PURPOSE:

(76) *miepm rien-el*
food morning-NOM

'breakfast food/food, the morning kind'

(77) *waimp wul ninsi-el*
shelf put.up thing-NOM

'shelf, the kind for putting things on'

c. ORIGIN:

(78) *maken Meringi-el*
woman Meringi-NOM

'a woman from Meringi/woman, the Meringi kind'

(79) *maken pien wurun kriekn-el-el*
woman cassowary bush outside-NOM-NOM

'cassowary woman from deep bush'

d. CHARACTERISTIC TRAIT:

(80) *moule tniokn-el*
person elderly-NOM

'an elderly person'

(81) *mentit wus-el-ip*
man animal-NOM-LIM

'a man who really gets animals (i.e. a good hunter)'

e. An additional genitive function, similar to the Tok Pisin *-pela*, is to mark the modifier in a noun phrase. It is hypothesized that such words are so marked in order to indicate greater stability or a modifier which is a more inherent part of its head. Examples 85, 87, 89 demonstrate use of the enclitic to mark a more stable quality; Examples 86, 88, 90 demonstrate that same modifier in a less stable setting, not marked with the enclitic. (See also Section 2.4 Modifiers.) Because nouns are more stable than adjectives (Givon, 1979:321-22), the *-el* then serves as a nominalizer in this context as well. This construction also appears in a very few cases with a modified verb phrase; it is not yet clear what controls its use in this context.

(82) *Marasin tinkliemp-el*
medicine strong-NOM

'strong medicine/ medicine, the strong kind'

(83) *Awun tinkliemp yatip.*
sun strong very

'The sun is very strong (i.e. hot).'

(84) *Maken yon-el*
woman white-NOM

'white woman/woman who is white'

(85) *Wule ankilel yon-yon*
skin 3SG.POSS RDP-white

'His skin is really white.'

(86) *Wuntokn marenk sit-el*
  stone   cement only-NOM

  'only cement-like stone/stone which is just like cement'

(87) *Kil ninkilapm likekn sit*
  3SG child   one only

  'He is an only child.'

WITH TEMPORALS

In discourse, the -el sometimes attaches to fronted temporals. It is hypothesized that this may signal a time and/or scene change and thus a new paragraph. Example 91 shows a quote ending, then a new paragraph, scene, and actor beginning with the temporal plus *-el*. (Examples 92 and 93) It is further hypothesized that it can have a kind of nominalizing function in that it marks that particular time with specificity, i.e. at that particular time ... this is seen also in its effect on the word *anink* 'time' which, when *-el* is added, becomes 'sometime (i.e. at some unknown but specific future point in time)'. (See example 94).

Examples:

(88) *"...Apm war kei." Na rien-el,   kil a-wemp...* (Muruk:90)
   1SG enter N.DEIC and morning-NOM 3SG R-leave

  '"I(female speaking) came into here." In the morning he (her husband) left ...'

(89) *Kakomp-el apm ka wunemp-skel.* (Catmouse:69)
  yesterday-NOM 1SG DUR heart-?

  'Yesterday, I forgot.'

(90) *Kumpueik-el pusi ti aiemp tuwie poroman.*
  long.ago-NOM cat 3PL rat 3DL P:friend

  'A long time ago, the cat and the rat were friends.'
  (Note: This is the first sentence of a story. Perhaps the *-el* provides a sense of 'once upon a time'?)

(91) *Anink-el yikn ni-mpil y-o i- ser ant.*
  time-NOM 2SG IRR-again IRR-descend IRR-see 1PL

  'Come down and see us again sometime.'
  (Note: Compare with:

  Aipm utnu ka   tnei anink wie-likekn.
  bird chicken RL.ARS cry.out time two-one

  'The rooster crowed three times.')

RELATIVE CLAUSE MARKER

The *-el* attaches to the last word of a relative clause, marking it as dependent on the preceding argument. There are no other relativizing structures except this use of the nominalizer -el.

(92) *Waiek ankilel ka   a-kei lomp a-r   niokn-el* (Muruk)
  father 3SG.POSS RL.ASR R-make fence R-STAT garden-NOM

  'His father, the one who was making a fence in the garden'

(93) *Sank kil nak-el kil nankai apm-el*
  talk 3SG say-NOM 3SG deceive 1SG-NOM

  '(With) the talk which he spoke, he deceived me.'

  Sank mi ka kil nankai yikn-el?
  talk what COP 3SG deceive 2SG-NOM

  'What talk was that with which he deceived you?'

(94) *Apm y-ok   yikn ninsi aiknel   ka   yikn w-ok*   apm-el.
      1SG   IRR-give 2SG   things 2SG.POSS REL   2SG   R-give 1SG-NOM

      'I'll give you your things, the ones that you gave me.'

(95) *Apm a-pul niokn-el,   apm na-nket-el,   yikn   w-ok   w-ok*
      1SG   R-do work-NOM 1SG   R-return-NOM 2SG   R-give R-give

      apm wus   a-l
      1SG   meat   R-eat

      'I, the one who worked, I, the one who returned, you gave (habitually) me meat to eat.'

VERB TRANSFORMATION INTO CONJUNCTION

The *-el* is sometimes used to transform the verb *niat* 'finish' into a conjunction between two clauses linking given and new information. As such it functions as a kind of tail-head linkage with a meaning of 'having finished (that)' or 'next'.

(96) *...k-omp ka skul-el,   niat-el   a   nai-mpil la yitne* (JT10)
      R-get   car school-NOM finish-NOM DES R-again   go house

      '...got the school car and, having finished that, went back to the house'

(97) *Nikilep waitsan kil-pe   niat-el,   na   kil,*
      dig.up   P:sand   M.DEIC-GIV finish-NOM P:and 3SG

      aye   tinkris,   kil   ai-m.   (CM:22-23)
      pull.out   margarine 3SG R-eat

      'Having dug up the sand, he pulled out the tin of margarine and he ate (it).'

Additionally it occasionally appears with the two verbs meaning 'accompany' or 'with'. Any meaning distinction marked by the presence or absence of the *-el* is as yet unclear; either form is accepted as grammatically correct.

IDIOMATIC USAGE

The construction '*eik* + verb +/- object + *-el*' (*eik* meaning something like 'from', see also Section 3.9.7) always conveys the meaning of 'with no purpose' or 'in vain', similar to Tok Pisin use of verb + *nating*. Because this meaning does not come from literal definitions of the words involved, it is assumed to be an idiomatic construction. This does not easily tie in with the 'nominalizer' designation, except possibly as it is reflected in the relative clause marker construction (Section 1.3.1.5). In that sense, these clauses might be glossed something like 'the seeing, the one that has no special purpose.'

(98) *Yipm eik   ser-el*
      2PL   from   see-NOM

      'Yupela lukluk nating'/ 'You are looking with the seeing that has no special purpose'

(99) *Kil   eik   w-ok   apm-el*
      3SG   from R-give 1SG-NOM

      'Em i givim nating long mi'/ 'He gave it to me, the kind of giving without expecting.'

(100) *Apm ko-rokn   eik   niek-el*
      1SG   HORT-NEG from recite-NOM

      'Mi no ken toktok nating'/ 'I cannot speak (promise), the saying which has no guarantee.'

(101) *Ti   eik   a-tn   wurun-el.*
      3PL   from R-walk bush-NOM

      'They're walking around aimlessly in the bush (i.e. with no particular purpose).'

3.3.2. The *-ip* Enclitic

The enclitic *-ip* (abbreviated gloss LIM for 'Limiter') carries a meaning of 'exclusively' or 'especially' or occasionally simply adds a generalized sense of intensification ('very'). (Note: there is a full word meaning 'very' which contains this morpheme: *yatip*. The other morpheme (*yat* also means 'other'.) It is always last, even after the enclitic *-el*. It can attach to nouns, pronouns, modifiers, deictics, temporals, locatives, and the negative verb. It has not yet been found on other verbs or on interrogatives.

With nouns:

(102) *Ka   muanimpor-ip!*   (Leo#1:72)
COP   ancestor.spirit-LIM

'It is surely an ancestor spirit (and nothing else)!'

(103) *Kil   ka   mentit   wus-el-ip.*
3SG   COP   man   animal-NOM-LIM

'He is a man who really (gets) animals (i.e. a good hunter).'

(104) *Rien-ip*
morning-LIM

'Very early morning/barely morning'

(105) *Maken   pien-ip*
woman   cassowary-LIM

'(You're) just a cassowary woman, that's all'

With Pronouns:

(106) *Yipm-ip*
2PL-LIM

'Especially (to see) you(pl) (and no one else)'

(107) *Ka   apm-i-lel-ip*
COP   1SG-TSI-NOM-LIM

'It's mine exclusively' (implies you can't have it)

With Modifiers:

(108) *Mantiek, nilmp   a-r   apm   yat-ip!*   (Leo#1)
mother   stomach   R-hit   1SG   very-LIM

'Mother, I'm very hungry!' (Lit. 'My stomach is hitting me very much!')

(109) *Marasin   ka   mentenk-ip*
medicine   COP   strong-LIM

'The medicine is very strong.'

(110) *Kil   maken   likekn-ip.*
3SG   woman   one-LIM

'She's an outstanding woman.' (i.e. one of a kind/'nambawan')

With Deictics:

(111) *Tnie   kil-ei-ip.*
rain   M.DEIC-?-LIM

'The rain (is coming) from there for sure.'

(112) *Kil kuor- ip.*
3SG F.DEIC-LIM

'He's way over there.'

With Verbal Negative:

(113) *A-rokn-ip!*
?-NEG-LIM
'Absolutely not!'

With Temporals:

(114) *Kumpueik-ip*
long.ago-LIM
'A very long time ago'

(115) *Ti   karep-ip.*
3PL   already-LIM
'They've already (gone) for sure.'

With Locatives:

(116) *Yemp   antuel   feik-ip.*
place   3PL.POSS   far-LIM
'Their place is very far away.'

3.3.3. The Enclitic -im

The *-im* suffix has been analyzed as a enclitic because it attaches to more than one part of speech, though it does not universally attach to every member of any word class. It is most often found following modifiers, some temporals, some verbs, and the locative *kitnan* 'close to'; it appears with a few nouns as well, transforming them into modifiers with related meanings. (Examples 128, 129) It carries a meaning of 'completely' or 'fully' or, in the case of the locative, it simply functions as an intensifier. It is generally in complementary distribution with the enclitic *-ip*, that is, words which take *-ip* won't take *-im* and vice versa. On the few occasions that a modifier will take both, they seem to portray comparative degrees, with *-ip* representing the superlative (see Example 119).

With Modifiers:

(117) *Kil   sukn-im.*   *Kil   sukn-ip.*
3SG   big-fully   3SG   big-LIM
'He's bigger/He's grown.   'He's all grown up.'

(118) *Miepm   ka   tikn-im.*
food   COP   ripe-fully
'The food is fully ripened.'

(119) *Miepm   sampol-im.*
food   cooked-fully
'The food is completely cooked (i.e. ready to eat).'

(120) *Pien   niol sit-im.*   (Muruk:142)
cassowary   hair   only-fully
'(She had) only cassowary hair, that's all.'

With Verbs:

(121) *Moule   wuntu-im.*
person   die-fully
'The person is certainly dead (or unconscious).'

(122) *Niokn   mi-niat-im.*
work   PRF-finish-fully
'The work is all finished.'

With Temporals:

(123) *Nunkurikn-im, ant a yi-pmon.*
afternoon-fully 1PL ? IRR-leave

'(It's) completely afternoon (i.e. it's getting late), (so) we must go.'

(124) *Pitekn-im na mi-niat.*
soon-fully DES PRF-finish

'Soon (it) will surely be finished.'

With Locative:

(125) *Ka kitnan-im.*
COP near-fully

'It's very close by now.'

With Nouns:

(126) *Maken kilelel ninkilapm-im.*
woman M.DEIC child-fully

'That woman is pregnant.'

(127) *Apm lunko-im.*
1SG stomach-fully

'I'm full (i.e. can't eat any more).'

(128) *Knuamp-im* (J4-37)
village-fully

'Here's the village (spoken when it is in sight, a few yards away).'

4. Word

4.1. Introduction

Word boundaries are determined by grammatical constituent analysis and stress placement. Pronouns, nouns, verbs, and modifiers can all occur in isolation. Though there are exceptions and the wider context can affect stress placement (see examples 133 and 139), single-morpheme words tend to have primary stress on the ultimate syllable with secondary stresses on alternate preceding syllables (i.e. in a 3-syllable word on 1st and 3rd syllables; in a 4-syllable word on 2nd and 4th syllables). Multiple-morpheme words often follow similar stress patterns and are also identified as single grammatical words through analysis of the meaning and function of each constituent.

Examples:

(129) *Yikn á-pul   mi?*
        2SG   R-do   what

        'What are you doing?'

(130) *Apm á-pul   niokn.*
        1SG   R-do   work

        'I'm working.'

(131) *Yu-púl   fel-félk!*
        IRR-do   RDP-fast

        'Do it quickly!'

(132) *Kil   a-wúp   miepm   a-r   niokn.*
        3SG   R-find   food   R-STAT   garden

        'She's looking for food in the garden.'

(133) *Kil   a-wúp   nimpuá ánkilél.*
        3SG   R-find   dog   3SG.POSS

        'He's looking for his dog.'

(134) *Apm fuikn   á-pul-p   yokn.*
        1SG   desire   R-do-VAL   fish

        'I like fish.'

(135) *Ko-   rókn   s-omp   nímplié yítne-él.*
        HORT -NEG   IRR-get timber   house-NOM

        'Don't take the timber which is for the house.'

(136) *Kil   kárep   ná-mi-nkét   knuamp.*
        3SG   already   DES-PRF-go   village

        'He's already gone to the village.'

(137) *S-omp   yu   púl   la kei.*
        IRR-get IRR-CAUS   N.DEIC

        'Bring it here.'
        Note: Compare to stress pattern in (l3l).

(138) *Miepm kéi-el-él   ant ko   per-p   ti   éikusúkn.*
        food   this-NOM-NOM 1PL IR.ASR distrib-VAL 3PL all

        'We'll distribute this food to all of them.'

(139) *Kil   a-wúr   atík?*
　　　 3SG   R-die   when

　　　 'When did he die?'

(140) *Awur   ánkilél   nai-mpil   ká-mu-mp   ant.*
　　　 death   3SG.POSS R-again   RL.ASR-PRF-get 1PL

　　　 'His (Jesus) death got (i.e. saved) us.'

Word classes are determined by distribution and function of each constituent as it occurs in the different phrase types functioning in the clause. However, the same word stems often occur in more than one word class, making the boundaries between classes less distinct. (See Section 3.0.1 below). However, for the purpose of a coherent description, the word classes will be discussed in terms of the word class into which they most frequently fall .

Nine word classes have been distinguished as follows:

> Nouns
> Pronouns
> Modifiers
> Locatives
> Temporals
> Interrogatives
> Deictics
> Verbs
> Conjunctions

As noted in Section 2.1, some of the verb stems are bound but some are free. These bound stems, then, and the enclitics (Section 2.3) would have to be considered the minimal constituents of the phrase, along with the many single-morpheme words that are free forms. Modifiers, nouns and verbs have sub-classes of compound words.

It appears that another characteristic of Kombio words is that many are shortened with no loss of meaning, a verbal shorthand. Examples include:

niokwank	*wank*	'year' (*wank* also means 'short')
atn tapm	*atn*	'walk'
atn keipm	*atn*	'stand'
poryinik	*yinik*	'earthquake'
mentit	*tit*	'man'
mipmakn	*makn*	'female ancestor'

4.1.1. Word Class Boundaries

Word classes are generally determined by 1) word forms and/or affixation, and 2) their distribution within the clause. However, Kombio exhibits little inflectional or derivational variation and thus the same form of a word must be used to fulfill more than one grammatical function, representing various word classes or roles within the clause. Thus a rigid word order becomes of great importance in determining word classes. Some examples of this variation include:

Modifier to Noun:

(141) *Kil   apul   niokn   tinkliemp*
　　　 3SG   R:do   work   strong/powerful

　　　 'hard work'

(142) *Tinkliemp   ankilel   ka   sukn.*
      power/strength   3SG:POSS   COP   big

      'It is very strong/Its strength is big.'

Verb to Noun:

(143) *Wurokn   ma   ma   ma   kuretim.*   (Yakio)
      pig   cry   cry   cry   bad

      'The pig is crying out terribly.'

(144) *Ma   awor   eik   yawopmel.*
      cry   tear   from   lost

      'The cry (he) yelled was to no avail.' (Idiomatic)

Temporal to Verb:

(145) *Niorkn,   apm   na   yupul   puas.*
      first   1SG   DES   do   grass

      'First, I'm going to do the grass.'

(146) *Apm   a   mi-niorkn.*
      1SG   DES   PRF-first

      'I'll go first.'

Modifier to Verb:

(147) *Kil   ka   ninkilapm   kirnker.*
      3SG   COP   child   strong?

      'He's a 'bikhet' child.'

(148) *Kil   kirnker   waiek   mantiek.*   (J4-43)
      3SG   strong   father   mother

      'He acts 'bikhet-edly' toward (his) parents.'

(149) *Wurepm   ka   rankim.*
      thatch   COP   old

      'The thatch is old.'

(150) *Yikn   rankim   sank   antilel.*   (C1-60)
      2SG   old   talk   1PL:POSS

      'You are used to (lit. 'old at') our language.'

Noun to Modifier:

(151) *Mamp   apmilel   ka   yakopel.*
      head   1SG.POSS   COP   painful

      'My head hurts.'

(152) *Ninkilapm   mamp*
      child   head

      'firstborn child'

(153) *Lunko   ankilel   sukn.*
      stomach   3SG.POSS   big

      'His stomach is big.'

(154) *Kil   al   lunko.*
      3SG   eat   stomach

      'He ate and got full.'

(155) *Neipm   akei   luwu   ninker.*   (C2-3)
      mold   affect   sago   dry

      'There is mold on the bread.'

(156) *Puaniampepm   eikusukn   neipm   neipm.* (C2-1)
    face   all   dirty dirty

    'All (their) faces are dirty.'

Interrogative to Modifier:

(157) *Yikn   apul   mi?*
    2SG   do what

    'What are you doing?'

(158) *Kil yok   yikn   ninsi   mi?*
    3SG   give   2SG   thing   what

    'What things will you give him?'

(159) *Yikn   na   yetn   ta ku?*
    2SG   DES   walk   like   where

    'Where are you going?'

(160) *Apm   karokn   maken ku?*
    1SG   NEG woman   where

    'I'm not a where-woman (i.e. from an insignificant/nonexistent place).'

4.2. Noun

  Nouns comprise a large open class of words which do not inflect, nor do they take any affixation though the three enclitics can attach to them (See Section 1.3). Plurals are generally not indicated grammatically, though the modifier *irpm* 'ol' (marked PLUR) may be used if desired. The word operating as a noun is in bold, but it will be noted that the words functioning as modifiers in Ex. 143, 144 may also be nouns in other contexts, their function being transformed by the enclitic *-el*. The word operating as a noun is in bold, but it will be noted that the words functioning as modifiers in Examples 163, 164 may also be nouns in other contexts, their function being transformed by the enclitic *-el*.

(161) *maken wurun-el*
    woman bush-NOM

    'woman from the bush'

(162) *nimplie   yitne-el*
    timber house-NOM

    'timber for the house'

(163) *waike   Josep-el*
    car Josep-NOM

    'Joseph's car'

(164) *muanimpor-ip*
    ancestor.spirit-LIM

    'an ancestor spirit for sure'

(165) *lunko-im*
    stomach-fully

    'to be full (after having eaten)'

(166) *ninsi irpm*
    things   PLUR

    'all the things'/ 'ol samting'

  I divide nouns into four classes: 1) compound nouns; 2) 'inalienably'-possessed nouns; 3) unpossessible nouns; 4) all other nouns. Nouns from all classes may function as the subject of transitive and intransitive clauses and as the object of transitive clauses.

The class of compound nouns is a large one. They are nearly all written as two separate words orthographically, but because they move as a unit and the second noun is not marked with *-el* to join the two, they are considered as a single grammatical word -- a compound noun. 'Compounding ... refers to a linguistic unit composed of elements that function independently in other circumstances.' (Crystal, 1985:63) There are several related sub-classes within the larger class of compound nouns: 1) Flora and Fauna: must include first the general classifier, then the specific name (note that while the classifier word can stand alone, the specific name usually cannot); 2) Part-Whole: the item is listed first, followed by the portion of it being referred to (this includes many body parts); 3) Generic-Specific: where a certain type of thing is being referred to (see examples below); 4) Plural: this has very restricted usage, has only been seen in reference to human beings; 5) Idiomatic forms: for these compounds, the meaning of the whole does not exactly equate to the sum of the meanings of the parts; some are more clearly dead metaphors (no longer recognized as figurative language) than others. This is the only category in which some of the compounds are written orthographically as single words.

Class 1 Nouns:

Classifier-Name		**Whole-Part**	
lo wam	'tree-kwila'	*lo aikn*	'tree-bark'
lo pro	'tree-cedar'	*tawu suwark*	'sore-scab'
wus ainkite	'animal-kapul'	*yitne tukuak*	'house-door'
wus aiemp	'animal-rat'	*tokn memp*	'bilum-strap'
wonk tutnu	'kumu-tulip'	*mamp niol*	'head-hair'
wonk mitniemp	'kumu-aibika'	*to wutienk*	'hand-sorcery (i.e. fingernail)'

Generic-Specific		**Idioms (Single Meaning)**	
ninkopm wurokn	'feces-pig'	*wopm pep*	'banana water (i.e.any soup)'
yitne pawu	'house-yam strg.'	*si wantienk*	'mami-cane (i.e.food ring)'
wampen wulpm	'dance-flute'	*kitapm weink*	'ground-orig (i.e. globe)'
pep wolmp	'water-lake'	*pep muati*	'water-image (i.e. mirror)'
ninkilapm maken	'child-girl'	*pua-niampepm*	'forehead-eye (i.e.face)'
knuan mamintomp	'brother-family (i.e. cousin-brother)'	*waiek niumuapm*	'father-breast (i.e. uncle, mother's brother)'
		womp-itne	'coconut-house (i.e. birthplace)'
		muan-muin	'corpse-stare (i.e. firefly)'

Plural

ninkilapm ninkilapm	'child-child/many children'
maken maken	'woman-woman/many women'

Class 2 Nouns:

This class of nouns consists primarily of body parts, kinship terms, and so forth. They are distinguished from other nouns by the fact that they often use a different possessive structure, though the normal type of possessive is also acceptable. (See also Section 4.1.2)

(167)   *Wul   apm   tawu.*
      cover   1SG   sore

      'Cover my sore.'

(168)   *Kil   ai-mp   apm   niampepm.* (J1-30)
      3SG   R-shoot   1SG   eye

      'He poked my eye.'

(169)   *Kil   sirep   apm   sank.* (J3-53)
      3SG   deny   1SG   talk

      'He denied my talk.'

(170)   *Apm   mamintomp   pakn.* (J1-1)
      1SG   family   empty

      'I have no family/relatives.'

(171)   *S-omp   apm   muati.*
      IRR-get   1SG   image

      'Take my picture.'

(172)   *Kil   sem   a-pul   wule   ankilel.* (Muruk)
      3SG   P:shame   R-affect   skin   3SG.POSS

      'Her shame affected her skin (she blushed?)'

Class 3 Nouns:

Unpossessible nouns are a restricted class including all proper nouns, the terms describing spirits and supernatural beings, and some of the nouns designating intangible or unreachable items such as heavenly bodies, and some of the action nouns.

Action Nouns:		**Non-Concrete Nouns:**	
wurkite	'thievery'	*ropm*	'middle'
nimpu	'sleep'	*wanki*	'part/half'
sipmakn	'tiredness'	*setelel*	'something'
wutienk	'sorcery'	*nilmp*	'hunger'
Proper Nouns:		**Beings/Heavenly Bodies:**	
Meringi (village)		*muanimpor*	'ancestor spirit'
Akwun (language)		*sapot*	'bush spirit'
John		*moule*	'person'
Amerika		*kuai*	'star'
		por	'cloud'

4.3. Pronoun

Pronouns are a small closed class of words which substitute for or are in apposition to all types of noun phrases. Pronouns are distinguished for both dual (by adding the numeral 'two' *wie*, marked DL) and plural, which can be specifically marked as inclusive (INCL) with a modifier word, *arko*. The dual marking is not obligatory when referring to two but is generally used. Pronouns take no affixation though they can occur with the three enclitics (see Section 2.3).

4.3.1. Personal Pronouns

Chart 3.1 - Personal Pronouns

Person	Sing.	Plural	Dual	Inclusive
1	*apm*	*ant*	*antie*	*antarko*
2	*yikn*	*yipm*	*yipmuie*	*yipmarko*
3	*kil*	*ti*	*tuwie*	*tuarko*

A subject is generally required in a clause and so personal pronouns are a very frequently occurring word class. There is only one set of personal pronouns and they all function as subject or object in any type of clause. All are separate words grammatically, though when functioning as recipient they are suffixed to the verb as a single phonological word. This is most evident in the case of the third person singular form, *kil*, which in certain contexts loses its initial [k]. (See Section 1.3.1)

The third person plural pronoun also may be used as a type of conjunction to link a compound subject (see example 180). And the third person singular, *kil*, also functions as a middle-distance deictic in a wide variety of contexts and, as such, helps to provide discourse cohesiveness and participant tracking information. (See Section 7.3 and Ex. 273, 276, 742) No personal pronouns reflect gender distinctions.

Examples:

(173) *Apm   a   yi-pmon.*
      1SG   DES   IRR-leave
      'I'm leaving.'

(174) *Kil   karep   a-pmon.*
      3SG   already   R-leave
      'He already left.'

(175) *Ant-arko   na   yi-pmon.*
      1PL-INCL   DES   IRR-leave
      'Let's go/We're all going.'

(176) *Y-ok   apm   yenk.*
      IRR-give   1SG   arrow
      'Give me the arrow.'

(177) *Tu-wie   w-ok   ant   miepm.*
      3PL-two   R-give   1PL   food
      'They(dl) gave us food.'

(178) *Joan   ti   Cathy   kis   yitne.*
      Joan   3PL   Cathy   sit   house
      'Joan and Cathy are sitting in the house.'

(179) *Maria   ant-ie   ko   ikueim   yipm.*
      Maria   1PL-two   IR.ASR   wait   2PL
      'Maria and I will wait for you(pl).'

4.3.2. Possessive Pronouns

Chart 3.2 - Possessive Pronouns

Person	Sing.	Plural	Dual	Inclusive
1	*apmilel*	*antilel*	*antie-el*	*antarkoel*
2	*aiknel*	*aipmel*	*yipmuie-el*	*yipmarkoel*
3	*ankilel*	*antuel*	*tuwie-el*	*tuarkoel*

Possessive pronouns are generally found following the noun they modify. However, on occasion they can stand alone to represent said head noun, which is then identified from context. (Examples 182-184) The structure of the above-listed possessive pronouns is:

a + PN + el

The meaning of *a* is unknown, while the *el* acts as a genitive to create the possessive mood. Note that the *a* morpheme coalesces with the initial *a-* of first person pronouns. The second singular is actually pronounced as 3 syllables [a.yik.ngEl], but in fast speech it coalesces to two, thus it is being written according to the fast speech form. The third person singular possessive, *ankilel*, has an additional discourse/pragmatic function as definite marker or specifier (DEF.ART). However it appears in this role relatively infrequently. (See examples 189, 190)

As noted in Section 3.1 there is a class of 'inalienably'-possessed nouns (Class 2) which most often are possessed using the personal pronoun form rather than the usual possessive form. In these cases the modifying pronoun generally precedes its head, rather than following it (Ex. 185, 187, 188); the one exception to this is when the inalienably possessed noun is in the subject slot and the person represented by the pronoun is not in control. (Ex. 186,500) When this construction is in the subject slot and the possessor is in control, it reverts to the normal order of head followed by modifier. (Ex. 494) (See also Section 4.1.2.) All of these 'inalienable nouns' can also take a regular possessive pronoun form as well, with no apparent difference in meaning, but the preceding personal pronoun form seems to be the more natural.

(180) *Ka apmilel-ip!*
COP   1SG.POSS-LIM

'It's only mine! (i.e. I won't share it)'

(181) *Ninkilapm aiknel   ka   sukn-im.*
child   2SG.POSS   COP   big-fully

'Your child is all grown up.'

(182) *Wap apmilel   meti-metink.*
uncle   1SG.POSS   RDP-many

'I have many uncles.'

(183) *Yikn a-tn   apm   yapm.*
2SG   R-stand   1SG   front

'You're standing in front of me.'

(184) *Pua   kil   yakop-el.*
forehead   3SG   pain-NOM

'His head hurts/He has a headache.'

(185) *Wul   apm   tawu.*
cover   1SG   sore

'Cover my sore.'

(186) *Awun ai-mp   apm   niampepm.*
sun   R-shoot   1SG   eye

'The sun is shining in my eyes.'

(187) *Sukur ankilel   kil   ai-m.*   (Catmouse:24)
first   DEF.ART   3SG   R-eat

'The/his first one, he ate.'

(188) *Es   ankilel,   kuan   ankilel.*   (Lumun:1)
older.sibl.   DEF.ART   younger.bro.   DEF.ART

'The older brother, the younger brother.'
(Note: These are the opening words of a legend, a typical introduction of main
characters, and as such ankilel has no antecedent so must be interpreted as
definite article. Also the speaker, when specifically questioned about whose
brother, was utterly puzzled and could not answer me at all.)

4.3.3. Reflexive Construction - *ankil*

The reflexive construction (REFL) consists of the head noun or pronoun followed by the
reflexive word *ankil*, which is probably derived from the third singular possessive form
ankilel. It functions similarly to the Tok Pisin *yet*.

(189) *Yikn ankil wari   a-pul-p   apm.*
2SG   REFL   P:worry   R-do-VAL   1SG

'You yourself (were the one who) worried about me.'

(190) *Jisas ankil ka   aiapel.*
Jesus   REFL   COP   road

'Jesus himself is the road/way.'

This word also can function as an intensifier when used following a modifier. In that context
it might be glossed as 'itself' to better fit the overall reflexive usage.

(191) *Puas niopm-el   kitip kil   moule ta   kaik,*
grass salt-NOM   tie   3SG   body   arm   leg

ka   kuret ankil.
COP   bad   REFL

'Seaweed tied him up arm and leg, it was terrible (lit. 'badness itself').'
(Jona story)

4.4. Modifiers

Modifiers are a large class of words which encode states, qualities, quantities, or manner,
and serve to modify a single word. This class includes words traditionally recognized as both
adjectives and adverbs, which modify nouns and verbs, respectively. They have been
combined into a single class based on the fluidity with which many can modify either verbs or
nouns with no change in form. (See examples 209-215). The Temporal words, which are
also traditionally considered adverbs, will be handled elsewhere (Section 3.5) because they
modify an entire sentence rather than a single word and also because they have a unique
position in the clause.

All modifier words have no affixation. There is some ambiguity as to whether the
adjective-type modifiers may be a sub-class of nouns since some can also function as subject
and be themselves modified. (See examples 194-196, 216) Further evidence can be found in
the fact that the language does allow compound nouns consisting of two independent
adjoining nouns (see Section 3.1). However, because this ambiguity is the exception rather
than the rule and because their normal function is to modify nouns, these Modifier adjectives
will be included in the larger class of Modifier words.

Affixation does not occur but the enclitics *-el*, *-im*, and occasionally *-ip* can be postposed.
The *-im* adds the semantic component of 'fully, completely' while the *-ip* adds the sense of
'exclusively'. The *-el* enclitic is a bit more problematic. However in general it could be said
that its presence marks some form of nominalization of the modifier, thus describing the head

by specifying it (Ex. 194, 202, 206). In these sentences very often the modifier then expresses the point of view of the speaker about that object and could be termed a predicated quality or characteristic of that noun. The absence of the *-el* enclitic on a modifier, then, most frequently indicates a condition of state of that head; thus this form is generally found in stative clauses. In a sense it may also be said to mark a more inherent quality and one less likely to change or vary from speaker to speaker. (Ex. 210, 215) However, even these generalizations do not account for all the variations, because there are some modifiers which appear to never take the *-el* enclitic, such as *akosepm* 'good' (Ex. 213) and *sampol* 'cooked' (Ex. 197,198) even when as in example (213) they seem to be expressing a predicated quality. And there are some modifiers which appear to always take the *-el*, such as *nipel* 'sharp' (Ex. 218, 219) even when a condition or state is described (Ex. 219, 201).

Reduplication is an inherent part of some modifiers (Ex. 207, 208). In addition, a few exhibit reduplication to intensify the quality described (as in Example 203). In a few cases, the reduplicated and unreduplicated forms mark different meanings (see Ex. 218, 219). Compounds are not common among modifiers, but they do occur occasionally. In general they are thought of as a single word rather than as two separate morphemes.

Numerical quantifiers are based on a binary system and expanded by the use of body parts 'hand' and 'foot'. Numbers above five are formed by a process of addition and become quite cumbersome above 10 so most people have adopted English/Tok Pisin numbers. Numerical quantifiers can be reduplicated to express the sense of 'individually', 'two by two', etc. (See also Section 4.2 Number Phrase.)

Types of words designated as modifiers include:

Dimensions

sukn	'big'
ako	'small'
peikn	'long'
wank	'short'
nimuompel	'round'

Qualities

tnimpoiel	'new'
rank	'old'
tinkep	'itchy'
mentenk	'strong'
munien	'weak,soft'
kuko	'crazy'
tinam	'unripe'
tiknim	'ripe'
puaipuai	'happy'
likip	'lazy'

Manner

seiseik	'slow,careful'
futofuto	'with crunch'
punel	'badly'
lukup	'finished'

Colors

erpm	'black'
yon	'white'
ninkopm	'red'
tinam	'green'

Intensifiers

yatip	'very'
kirnker	'strong'

Compounds

ako-sepm	'small-good = good'

Physical Properties

tinkliemp	'hot'
silmpenk	'cool'
nirkike	'rough'
sukup	'slippery'
narkok	'loose, slack'

Mass Quantifiers

pur	'some'
eikusukn	'all'
sit	'only'
mirmir	'huge quantity'
irpm	'pluralizer'

Numerals

likekn	'one'
wie	'two'
wielikekn	'three'(lit. 'two-one')
tokitie	'five' ('hand-side')
likekn likekn	'one-one/individual'
felfelk	'fast'

Ordinals

niorkn	'first'
kumpel	'second in line'
ropm	'middle of series'
kaien/kien	'last'

Optional Partial Reduplication

kurar/kunkurar	'dry'
nipel/nipipel	'bitter/sharp'
filakn/fifilakn	'light'
yat/yatyat	'other/differ from ea.other'
yon/yonyon	'white'
wankepm/waninkepm	'heavy'

ako-pitekn   'small-bit = little'

sukn-ako   'big-small = medium-sized'

Examples:

(192) *Kil san lok wankepm-el.*
3SG carry basket heavy-NOM

'She's carrying (with headstrap) a heavy basket.' (i.e. a basket, the heavy one)

(193) *Ninkilapm ka wankepm yatip.*
child COP heavy very

'The child is very heavy.'

(194) *Wankepm ankilel atipm?*
heavy 3SG.POSS how.much

'What is his weight?'

(195) *Yikn yiwap pep sampol, ant-arko ye-l.*
2SG boil water cooked 1PL-INCL IRR-eat

'You heat water and we'll all drink (coffee).'

(196) *Miepm sampol-im.*
food cooked-fully

'The food is cooked (i.e. ready to eat).'

(197) *Ti na-k sank yat-el-ip.*
3PL R-speak talk other-NOM-LIM

'They speak a completely different language.'

(198) *Ti wok ant sinsi yat-yat.* (Elic.-Map)
3PL R:give 1PL thing other-RDP

'They gave us different things.'

(199) *Maken yon-el wie, yipm la kei.*
woman white-NOM two 2PL come here

'Hey, you two white women, come over here.'

(200) *Yikn moule likip-el.*
2SG person lazy-NOM

'You're a lazy person.'

(201) *Wourenk ku-nkurar, y-ok apm pep.*
neck RDP-dry IRR-give 1SG water

'(I'm) thirsty, give me (some) water.'

(202) *Awun a-pul tapm mentenk kurar.*
sun R-affect ground strong dry

'The sun has baked the ground hard and dry.'

(203) *Kil na-k sank sukn.*
3SG R-speak talk big

'He is yelling (talking big).'

(204) *Kil na-k-imp ant sank sukn-el.*
3SG R-speak-VAL 1PL talk big-NOM

'He told us important (lit. 'big') talk.'

(205) *Apm puai-puai a-pul-p yikn.*
1SG RDP-happy R-do-VAL 2SG

'I like you.' (lit. 'am happy about you')

(206) *Yikn ko   puai-puai-el,   yikn ko   la no.*
       2SG IR.ASR RDP-happy-NOM   2SG IR.ASR go ascend

       '(If) you are rejoicing, you will go up (to heaven).'

(207) *Tok   irpm kuor-el-el,   ant ka-rokn   sawe ninsi*
       bilum PLUR there-NOM-NOM   1PL RL.ASR-NEG know things

       mi-mi.
       what-what

       'Those bilums there, we don't know what things (are in them).'

(208) *Kil   la   irpm kil-kil.*   (J4-42)
       3SG   go   PLUR M.DEIC-M.DEIC

       'He goes all around (lit. 'there-there').'/ 'Em i go nabaut nabaut.'

(209) *Apm   likip.*
       1SG   lazy

       'I'm lazy (i.e. I don't feel like doing it).'/ 'Mi les.'

(210) *Apm   a-l   sepm.*
       1SG   R-eat   good

       'I ate (it) well (i.e. it tastes good).'

(211) *Yikn   ninkilapm   akosepm.*
       2SG   child   good

       'You're a good child.'

(212) *Kil   na-k   tinkliemp.*
       3SG   R-speak   hot/powerful

       'He spoke strongly (i.e. with emotion, conviction).'

(213) *Apm   a-pul niokn   tinkliemp.*
       1SG   R-do   work   hot/powerful

       'I worked hard/did hard work.'

(214) *Tinkliemp ankilel   ka   mi-niat.*
       power   3SG.POSS RL.ASR PRF-finish

       'It's power is finished/gone.'

(215) *Maken   aiknel   awur nimuankel, yapmunemp aiknel*   (J4-58)
       woman   2SG:POSS   R:die recent   heart/lungs   2SG:POSS

       ko   wankepm-el-ip.
       IR.ASR heavy-NOM-LIM

       'When your wife has recently died, your heart will be very heavy.'

(216) *Sakal   ka   nipipel yatip.*
       bushknife COP   sharp   very

       'The bushknife is very sharp.'

(217) *Pep   apm al-el   ka   nipel yatip.*
       water 1SG R:eat-NOM COP   bitter very

       'The water I drank was very bitter.'

4.5. Locatives

Locative words are a small closed class. Locatives have been analyzed as a separate class based on their semantic similarity and the fact that their functions do not fully match those of any other word class. They often function in a Locative Phrase with a prepositional verb to specify its range. (See also Sec. 3.8.5, Ex. 221, 223, 224.) They can also be nominalized by the enclitic *-el* in order to function within a Modified Noun Phrase. (Examples 220, 222, 229 and Chart 3.1) and they fill the Comment slot in a stative clause. (Example 226) In their

most common usage, the Locative Phrase, their scope encompasses the entire clause not just the phrase in which they are found. (Examples 221, 223). Deictics can also function as Locatives as (example 221) but are analyzed as a separate class due to their multiplicity of other functions. (See Section 3.7).

All members of this class observed to date are as follows:

keipm	'above'
tapm	'below'
tnimmon	'between, center'
meta	'at the edge'
pmin/kipmin	'inside'
kriekn	'outside'
feik	'far'
tnan/kitnan	'near, not far'
nantip	'next to, near'

Examples:

(218) *Meringi ka yemp tnimmon-el.*
Meringi COP place central-NOM

'Meringi is a central place.'

(219) *Wupm ka sil tnimmon.*
book RL.ASR on center

'The book is in the middle.'

(220) *Maken kil-pe sil kuor lo keipm-el.*
woman M.DEIC-GIV on there tree above-NOM

'That woman was over there in the treetop.'

(221) *Iko wul sil keipm.*
bowl put on above

'Put the bowl on top.'

(222) *Yipm eikusukn war kriekn.*
2PL all exit outside

'All of you(pl) go outside.'

(223) *Yipm la tnan.*
2PL go near

'You(pl) move close (to each other).'

(224) *Niokn apmilel ka kitnan.*
garden 1SG.POSS RL.ASR near

'My garden is nearby.'

(225) *Kil a-pei feik.*
3SG R-lives? far

'He lives far away.'

(226) *Wupm apm ai-m w-o rumpunk pmin.*
book 1SG R-put R-descend bag inside

'As for the book, I put (it) in the bag.'

(227) *Wuntokn tapm-el yikn karep na-mu-r.*
stone below-NOM 2SG already R-PRF-pull.out

'You already pulled out the lower stone.'

(228) *S-omp yu-pul la kei!*
IRR-get IRR-CAUS go N.DEIC

'Bring (it) here!'

(229) *Ant-arko   kis nantip   yikueim ti.*
       1PL-INCL sit nearby wait   3PL

       'Let's sit nearby and wait for them.'

4.6. Temporals

Temporals are a small closed class of adverbial-type time words. They have been analyzed as a separate class based on their unique syntactic distribution. Unlike other modifiers they 'tend to characterize the entire event/state, and thus bring the entire sentence under their scope.' (Givon, 1984:78).

The unmarked position of temporals is between subject and verb phrase but they are also often fronted when they are particularly in focus (emphasized). Only the three temporals expressing time of day can be found clause final; these can also be fronted (241) but never appear betwen subject and verb. (Example 236; also Section 4.3, Example 525); in other contexts they function as nouns. Because of their limited distribution, they will be considered a sub-class within Temporal Words. There are two words in this class which are not generally thought of as temporals, *karep* 'already' (Ex. 212, 213) and *kloko* 'expectancy/soon' (Ex. 242, 243). However, because they function identically to the other time words, they have been included in this category. Temporals can in some instances be combined to express a time concept beyond the range of the existing set of temporals (Example 239), though this is relatively uncommon. Some temporal forms can also be shortened in fast speech or for discourse-level functions which are not yet clear.

Temporal words identified to date are:

keipe	'now, today'
kakomp/komp	'yesterday, recent past'
kakuei/kuei	'day before yesterday, more distant past'
kumpueikel/pueikel	'distant past'
kumpueikip	'very distant past'
ankai	'tomorrow'
weik	'day after tomorrow'
nompua	'two days after tomorrow' (rare)
waminik	'three days after tomorrow' (rare)
yar/kileiyar	'later'
karep	'already'
anink	'time'
temp	'time/when' (syn. of *anink*)
pitepitekn/piteknim	'soon'
kloko	'expectancy/future'

Sub-Class: Times of Day

rien	'morning'
nunkurikn	'afternoon'
wunomp	'night'

Examples:

(230) *Apm keipe na no yu-pul yemp aiknel.*
1SG now DES ascend IRR-do place 2SG.POSS

'Now I'm going up to prepare a place for you.'

(231) *Kakomp-el kil w-o Urat.*
yesterday-NOM 3SG R-descend Urat

'Yesterday he went down to Urat.'

(232) *Karep apm na-k-imp yikn.*
already 1SG R-speak-VAL 2SG

'I already told you.'

(233) *Kil karep a-m-pul niokn ankilel.*
3SG already R-SIG-do work 3SG.POSS

'He already finished his work.'

(234) *Apm na y-ok yikn rien.*
1SG DES IRR-give 2SG morning

'I'll give (it) to you in the morning.'

(235) *Anink-el, ant-arko y-o fukn.*
time-NOM 1PL-INCL IRR-descend river

'Sometime let's go down to the river.'

(236) *De kil makim sil upm kakomp-ip.*
P:day 3SG P:mark on paper yesterday-LIM

'He only marked Saturday (lit. 'yesterday') on the paper.'

(237) *Kuei yar weik Tunde*
haptumora later tomorrow Tuesday

'Tuesday, 5 days from now'

(238) *Temp tuwie niek sank-el, na ye-tn la feik.* (Sipas:JT52)
time 3DL say talk-NOM DES IRR-stand go far

'When they(DL) are talking, (you) should stand at a distance.'

(239) *Rien-el, kil awemp kil apmon wurun.* (Muruk 90)
morning-NOM 3SG R:left 3SG R:go bush

'In the morning, he left her and went to the bush.'

(240) *Kloko apm nimpil nomp kei.* (J3-15)
soon 1SG IR:again ascend N.DEIC

'Soon I'll come back up here.'

(241) *Ant-arko kloko mi-la taun.* (J2-74)
1PL-INCL soon PRF-go P:town

'Soon we'll all go to town.'

4.7. Interrogatives

Interrogatives are a small closed class of question words whose primary function is to request new information or (when used rhetorically) to rebuke (Example 246). Most are free forms but two are derived by combination with other words (mini-el 'who-NOM = whose' and *a-pul-p-i* (from: R-do-VAL-pointing = 'why'). They generally occur clause final, though certain clauses seem to require the interrogative to occur clause initial. (Examples 245, 250, 256) Further research is needed here as the rationale for one position or the other is not yet clear; in any given clause the position of the interrogative seems to be fixed. While interrogatives generally modify the whole sentence, they can also function as the modifier to specify and question a head noun. (Examples 246, 253, 258) The interrogative *mi* 'what' also functions as modifier of a temporal or a clause to list potential multiple options, almost as an

'or' or 'perhaps' (Example 247). The word *tikikn* 'probably', while not usually thought of as an interrogative, definitely functions as one in this language to mark the speaker's hypothesis or assumption of truth, rather like 'isn't it' (Example 257); however, unlike other interrogatives, it does not require an answer. The only affix found on most interrogatives is the nominalizer enclitic *-el*. When the interrogative is fronted for focus in a sentence in which it normally occurs at the end, then the *-el* enclitic is required; there are a few other isolated instances where the *-el* appears with interrogatives, but data is insufficient to draw conclusions so further research is needed.

Interrogatives:

mi	'what'	*mini*	'who'
atik	'when, which'	*miniel*	'whose'
atipm	'how many'	*apulpi*	'why'
ku	'where'	*tikikn*	'probably'

Examples:

(242) *Kei-el-el   ka   mi?*
      this-NOM-NOM   RL.ASR   what
      'What is this?'

(243) *Mi   a-pul   yikn?*
      what   R-do   2SG
      'What's the matter with you?' (Lit. 'What is affecting you?')

(244) *Ti   w-ok   yikn   ninsi   mi?*
      3PL   R-give   2SG   thing   what
      'What did they give you?'

(245) *Ankai   yikn   y-o   mi,   yar   nunkurikn   mi.*   (Leo#1)
      tomorrow   2SG   IRR-descend   what   later   afternoon   what
      'You'll come down perhaps tomorrow or perhaps later this afternoon.'

(246) *Mi   yapmunemp   yakop-el   aiknel   pe   yikn*   (Jona-33)
      what   heart/lungs   pain-NOM   2SG:POSS   GIV   2SG

      nak-el,   ka   yikn   nak   yumua,   a?
      R:say-NOM   COP   2SG   R:say   straight   QUES
      'Your painful heart which you've spoken of, you've spoken correctly, huh?'

(247) *Yikn   mini?*
      2SG   who
      'Who are you?'

(248) *Mini   ko   yi-ntemp   apm?*
      who   IR.ASR   IRR-with   1SG
      'Who will go with me?'

(249) *Kil   wul   yikn   atik?*
      3SG   cover   2SG   when
      'When did she cover you? (i.e. cover your sore)'

(250) *Wurokn   mini-el?*
      pig   who-NOM
      'Whose pig (is that)?'

(251) *Sande   atik   yikn   ko   no   i-ser   ant?*
      Sunday   when   2SG   IR.ASR   ascend   IRR-see   1PL
      'Which Sunday will you come up to see us?'

(252) *O Jisas, atik-el   yikn ko   y-o-el?*
O Jesus   when-NOM 2SG IR.ASR IRR-descend-NOM

'Oh Jesus, when is the time of your coming?'

(253) *Yikn   na   ye-tn   ta   ku?*
2SG   DES   IRR-walk like where

'Where are you going?'

(254) *Kil   eik   ku-l-el?*
3SG   from where-?-NOM

'Where is he from?'

(255) *Sekenan   irpm   antuel   tikikn.*
secondhand   PLUR   3PL.POSS   probably

'It's probably their secondhand goods.'

(256) *Apm ka-rokn   maken ku?   (Lucia/Roket court)*
1SG   RL.ASR-NEG   woman   where

'I'm not a woman from just anywhere/from who-knows-where.'

4.8. Deictics

Deictics (or demonstratives) are a small closed class consisting of three roots (*kei* 'here', *kil* 'there', *kuor* 'yonder') combined with various suffixes to perform various different functions and two other 'pointing' words. As noted in Section 3.2.1 above, the middle form is identical to the third person singular personal pronoun.

In their unaffixed root form, deictics function as demonstrative locatives, encoding three gradations of geographical proximity to the speaker and appearing in the Locative position following a verb. (Examples 265-267) They also take the enclitic *-ip* to emphasize the distance. (Examples, 268, 272) The stressed and lengthened *-yi* (or *-eyi*), when added to these demonstrative locatives serves to make the position emphatic, a type of verbal pointing. (Examples 269-271)In their function as demonstrative pronouns, they add a double nominalizer suffix -elel and fill the modifier position in a noun phrase to specify either nouns, pronouns or temporals. They encode three gradations of relative location, 'this', 'that', and 'yonder'. This pointing can apply to geographical or temporal proximity to the speaker or proximity of reference in a discourse. (Examples 259-261) This form can also stand alone as head of a noun phrase, in which it serves as an anaphoric referent. (Examples 262-264)

The deictics, with the addition of the suffix *-pe* (glossed GIV) function on the discourse level to mark topic (old, assumed information) with *kilpe* and possibly a background or receding participant with *kuorpe*. This might be interpreted as pragmatic or psychological gradations of distance from the speaker. (Examples 273, 274) These same forms are also sometimes used to refer to location (Example 275) or as referents to preceding material in the text (Example 276). This form can also function as a pronoun, standing alone to mark a particular participant (Example 276).

The middle distance deictic also functions as a conjunction *ka kilpe* to join clauses in a logical relation of 'therefore' or 'and so'. (Example 277) It also appears in the stylized closing to every story: *ka kilelel pe* 'That's all'.

It is also necessary to include as deictics two words used primarily as modifiers to specify a thing close at hand or a slight distance away, functioning similar to Tok Pisin *em hia*. For the Meringi dialect, these words are *kupie* 'here' and *kupo* 'there'. However, there are many variations of this among the different villages and this pair of words is inevitably pointed to as evidence of the uniqueness of their particular local dialect, thus leading us to conclude that they must be very common in everyday speech. However our ears are not yet attuned to pick these out and so examples are lacking. (See Example 278) Further research is clearly needed.

Examples:

(257) *Maken kil-el-el   nio   ankilel   Mipmakn* (JT-69)
      woman   M.DEIC-NOM-NOM   name   3SG.POSS   Mipmakn

      Maimpilpm.
      Maimpilpm

      'That woman's name was Mipmakn Maimpilpm.'

(258) *Niokn   kuor-el-el   ka   apmilel.*
      garden   F.DEIC-NOM-NOM   COP   1SG.POSS

      'That garden is mine.'

(259) *Kil   kei-el-el   ka   ninkilapm   apmilel.*
      3SG   N.DEIC-NOM-NOM   COP   child   1SG.POSS

      'He (this one) is my child.'

(260) *Tunde   wik   kil-el-el*   (J2-47)
      Tuesday week   M.DEIC-NOM-NOM

      'next Tuesday/Tuesday of next week'

(261) *Ninkilapm ankilel   na-k-imp-kil   kil-el-el.*   (JT-69)
      child   3SG.POSS   R-speak-VAL-3SG   M.DEIC-NOM-NOM

      'His child told him that.'

(262) *Kei-el-el   ka   mi?*
      N.DEIC-NOM-NOM   COP   what

      'What is this?'

(263) *Yikn   la   kei.*   (J1-17)
      2SG   come   N.DEIC

      'You come here.'

(264) *Yarkup   la   kil   la   kil.*   (J2-66)
      blood   go   M.DEIC   go   M.DEIC

      '(My) blood is (racing) around (i.e. heart is pumping hard after excercise).'

(265) *Kil   a-tn   a-mpu   kuor.*
      3SG   R-walk   R-toward   F.DEIC

      'He walked down there.'

(266) *Kil   kuor-ip.*
      3SG   F.DEIC-LIM

      'He's way over there (i.e. out of sight).'

(267) *Yikn   ka   ku?   Apm   kei-yi.*
      2SG   COP   where 1SG   N.DEIC-EMPH

      'Where are you?' 'I'm right here.'

(268) *Pil   mualepm-el   kil-eyi   yipm   nor.*   (JT-67)
      taro last.year's-NOM   M.DEIC-EMPH   2PL   pull.out

      'You(pl) pull out last year's taro there.'

(269) *Womp-itne   aiknel   a-r   ku?   Kuor-i.*
      coconut-house   2SG.POSS   R-STAT   where   F.DEIC-EMPH

      'Where is your birthplace?'   'Right over there.'

(270) *Tnie   kil-eyi-ip.*   (J3-31)
      rain   M.DEIC-EMPH-LIM

      'The rain is definitely coming right there.'

(271) *Wunomp   kil   kil-pe   a-ntup   ti   war   yitne.* (JT-68)
      night   3SG   M.DEIC-GIV   R-visit   3PL   enter   house

      'At night he entered the house with them.'

(272) *Kil   kuor-pe   a-mi-nket.* (JT-67)
3SG   F.DEIC-GIV   R-PRF-go

'He (that one) went.'

(273) *Metink-el   kuor-pe   a-r.*   (J1-79)
many-NOM   F.DEIC-GIV   R-STAT

'There are many.'

(274) *Womp-itne   ankilel   kil   kis-el   kil-pe*   (Leo#4:JT84)
coconut-house   3SG.POSS   3SG   sit-NOM   M.DEIC-GIV

kupmus   nenk   Mipmakn   Wampin   kilelel.
remain   bank   Mipmakn   Wampin   M.DEIC

'His birthplace where he lived remains at the embankment of Mipmakn Wampin.'

(275) *Kil   a-ser   ninsi   ko   ni-nink   ki-en-el.*
3SG   R-see   things   IR.ASR   IRR-arrive   IRR-last-NOM

Ka-kil-pe   John   ka   a-m-pul   Revelesin.
COP-M.DEIC-GIV   John   RL.ASR   R-SIG-do   Revelesin

'He saw things that will happen at the last (times). And so John wrote Revelation.'

(276) *Yikn   s-omp   ye-r   kupo   yu-pul   la   kupie.*   (J2-96)
2SG   IRR-get   IRR-STAT   M.DEIC   IRR-CAUS   go   N.DEIC

'You get it over there and bring it here.'

4.9. Verbs

The basic verb structure in Kombio is quite simple and straightforward, consisting of a stem with a variety of optional aspect and evidentiality prefixes/particles and a valence-increasing suffix. The verb word will thus be defined broadly to include the stem along with all such modifications. Many of these verb stems are free forms, though some are bound and can only occur with one or more prefixes. Verbs do not inflect for person, number, or gender. The complexity therefore arises in the shades of meaning created by the various combinations of affixes. Verbs appear in any of three types of verb phrases (Section 4.4) and also in prepositional constructions (Section 4.5).

4.9.1. Transitivity

Transitivity is not a clearcut black-and-white issue in Kombio as in most other languages and thus it is difficult to determine verb classes strictly on this basis. It may be viewed as a kind of continuum in which some verbs are clearly and solely intransitive and some are clearly only transitive. Then there is a large group in the middle which are transitive in some contexts and intransitive in others, further complicated by the fact that some transitive verbs can have their objects understood or assumed, thus appearing to be structurally intransitive. In addition, the suffixes *-p* or *-imp*, when added to most verb stems allow an additional argument thus increasing the transitivity. (See Section 3.8.3.10) It may be noted that the clearly intransitive verbs show either inanimate subjects or subjects with a lack of control, whereas the clearly transitive verbs exhibit subjects that are both in control and animate.

These observations support the classic description of transitivity given by Hopper and Thompson. They state, "Transitivity involves a number of components, only one of which is the presence of an object of the verb ... the defining properties of transitivity are discourse-determined." (1980:251) They go on to describe a transitivity continuum in which "high transitivity is correlated with foregrounding and low transitivity with backgrounding." (1980:251) Clauses, they say on page 253, can be characterized as more or less transitive depending on the presence and degree of the following features: two or more participants, action, punctuality, telic aspect, volitionality, affirmation, realis, potency of agent, highly-

affected object, highly-individuated object. Each of these features marks a continuum from high to low transitivity. It is beyond the nature and scope of this paper to investigate specific application of these generalizations to Kombio; however, they are included as background and support.

There is no structural difference between simple intransitive and transitive Kombio verb stems. For this reason as well as the above discussion, the traditional transitive/intransitive distinction based on the number of nominal arguments will be eliminated. Following are some examples of clearly intransitive, clearly transitive, and 'in-between' verbs.

Intransitive:

(277)　*Wapm　apm-i-l-el　　　a-kuor.*
　　　fabric　1SG-TSI-?-NOM　R-tear

　　　'My fabric is torn.'

(278)　*Lo　a-n-tit.*
　　　tree　R-SIG-break

　　　'The tree broke.'

(279)　*Apm　ko-nki-yi.*
　　　1SG　IR.ASR-IRR-fall

　　　'I'm going to fall.'

(280)　*Iko　na-kini　a-mu　　　　kitapm.*
　　　bowl　R-fall　R-PRF(descend)　ground

　　　'The bowl fell to the ground.'
　　　(Note: the verb *amu* has a zero morpheme for the verb stem.)

Transitive:

(281)　*Aipm　utnu　　kawu　yuwolmp.*
　　　bird　chicken　lay　egg

　　　'The chicken laid an egg.'

(282)　*Yi-ntun　kei-el-el　　　　　la　tnimmon.*　(J3-48)
　　　IRR-cut　M.DEIC-NOM-NOM　go　middle

　　　'Cut this in the middle.'

(283)　*Tuarko　a-kei　wampen.*
　　　3DL　　R-do　singsing

　　　'They all did a singsing.'

(284)　*Kil　a-mu-k　　a-mu-k　　ti　ninkilapm　pil　ai-m.*　(JT-68)
　　　3SG　R-PRF-give　R-PRF-give　3PL　child　　　taro　R-eat

　　　'She continued to give the children taro to eat.'

Transitives with Implied Objects:

(285)　*Karep　apm　a-m-pul.*
　　　already　1SG　R-SIG-do

　　　'I already did (it).'

(286)　*Nimpua　la　　k-omp　a-l.*　(JT-68)
　　　dog　　come　R-get　R-eat

　　　'The dog came and got (it) and ate (it).'

(287)　*Saklok　minkei　ipil　kuap　pink　　wuntu-im.*　(J3-26)
　　　snake　Minkei　wrap　pull　straight　die-COMP

　　　'The minkei snake wraps around (victim), pulls straight (i.e. tight) and (the victim) dies.'

Verbs which can be either:

INTRANSITIVE

(288) *Pmomp   ankilel   aikel.*   (J2-87)
      back   3SG.POSS   bend.over

      'She's bending over.' (Lit. 'Her back is bending over.')

TRANSITIVE

(289) *Apm   aikel   pmomp   apmilel.*
      1SG   bend.over   back   1SG.POSS

      'I'm bending my back.'

TRANSITIVE

(290) *Mentit   ker   tyintiu.*   (JT-97)
      man   make   bird-hide

      'The man is making a bird-hide.'

INTRANSITIVE

(291) *Pusi   kil   a-tn   pmomp   ker   no   keipm.*   (J3-49)
      cat   3SG   R-move   back   make   ascend   above

      'The cat is arching his back.'

INTRANSITIVE

(292) *Tnie   na   yi<mi>r.*   (J2-1)
      rain   DES   carve(PRF)

      'The rain is starting to fall/It's going to rain (imminently).'

TRANSITIVE

(293) *Ti   yir   urokn.*   (C2-10)
      3PL   carve   pig

      'They're carving the pig meat.'

Reciprocals

There is no unique means used to mark the distinctive transitive construction known as a reciprocal. Instead, several strategies are used. Some verbs contain the idea of reciprocity within the verb itself. (Ex. 296, 297) In other cases a regular transitive form is used, though the inalienable type of possession appears to be more natural. (Ex. 298) It is also quite possible to use the modifier *ankil* 'oneself' with the subject to mark the reflexive. (Ex. 299)

(294) *Antarko   wat   to.*
      1DL   throw   hand

      'We are shaking hands.'

(295) *Kil   ninkark   pep.*
      3SG   bathe   water

      'He is bathing himself/taking a bath.'

(296) *Apm   antun   apm   kaik.*
      1SG   R:cut   1SG   leg

      'I cut my leg/I cut myself on the leg.'

(297) *Apm   ankil   apul.*
      1SG   REFL   R:do

      'I myself did it/I did it myself.'

4.9.2. Aspect and Mood

"Tense-Aspect-Modality constitutes one of the major devices of coding connectedness -- or coherence -- of sentences in their wider discourse context... As lexical-semantic features, they are intimately involved in the meaning and structure of verbs. As propositional-semantic features, they code various facets of state, event, or action. As discourse-pragmatic features they play a crucial role in the sequencing of propositions, in foregrounding or backgrounding

them, and in indicating their time/truth/certainty/probability modalities vis-a-vis the speaker-hearer contract." (Givon, 1984:269) (See also Section 7.0).

Verbs occur with a variety of prefixes/particles portraying many different aspects and moods. In addition, habitual aspect is portrayed not by a particle but by simply repeating the verb two times, whereas Durative aspect repeats the verb anywhere from 2 to 6 times. Because of the subtleties of meaning distinguishing the particles and the inability of language helpers to explain the differences, this is probably the single most complicated facet of the grammar and will require far greater fluency on our part and much additional research to be analyzed fully.

As noted in Section 2.1, some verb stems are bound while others are free. Thus, those which are bound stems will always have at least one aspect/mood morpheme attached (usually the realis/irrealis marker). While all the aspect/mood markers are prefixes, some also occur as infixes with certain stems in one of two ways: as a second order prefix preceding a bound stem or as a true infix splitting a free stem after its first vowel and/or before its second consonant. The only aspect/mood markers which consistently occur as free forms are *ka*, *ko*, and *na*, each of which has expanded function beyond simple aspect/mood preceding a verb.

A brief summary of the aspect/mood morphemes is as follows:

    ** *a-/yi* - Realis/Irrealis (typical forms)   - (R/IRR)
    ** *ka*   - Realis-Assertion/Copula   - (RL.ASR)
    ** *ko*   - Irrealis-Assertion/Exhortation - (IR.ASR)
    ** *na*   - Inception or Intention/Desire - (DES)
    ** *mi-*   - Perfective   - (PRF)
    ** *N-*   - Significance Signal   - (SIG)
    ** *pi*   - Imperfective   - (IMPF)
    ** *ki*   - ?

Also included in this section, because it is a verbal affix, is the one and only verb suffix *-imp*, which serves to mark increased valence.

The following combinations of verb morphemes preceding the stem have been observed to date:

Chart 3.3 Combinations of Preceding Verb Particles/Affixes

ka + ko + IRR	ko + IRR	na + IRR
ka + na + IRR	ko + na + IRR	na + IRR + N-
ka + mi-	ko + mi-	na + IRR + mi-
ka + N-	na + mi-	R/IRR + mi-
ka + R/IRR + N-	ko + ko	R/IRR + N-
ka + fe-(IMPF)	ko + pi-(IMPF)	R/IRR + fe-
	mi- + N-	

Because only 2 or 3 of them occur at any one time, it is difficult to determine levels of prefixes; however, the chart below lists the apparent ordering of the three particles and six prefixes. It will be noted that there is no clear grouping by type, but the ordering is apparently an arbitrary one.

Chart 3.4 Order of Verb Particles/Affixes

ka	*ko*	*na*	*mi-*	*N-*	*ki-*	*a-/yi-*	*pi-*
RL.ASR	IR.ASR	DES	PRF	SIG	?	R/IRR	IMPF
Mood	Mood	Asp.	Asp.	Mood?	?	Asp.	Asp.

Realis/Irrealis

Though Kombio verbs do not inflect for tense in the traditional sense of past, present and future, about one-third of the verbs do use prefixes to mark realis and irrealis mood. The realis form is used for an event which occurred in the past or is currently in progress, while irrealis indicates an anticipated or future or hypothetical event. (Givon, 1984:295) With only a very few exceptions, all verbs with bound stems are bound by realis/irrealis mandatory prefixes, though they may have other affixes as well. However there are a number of other verbs, notably those beginning with *n-* which have realis/irrealis encoded as infixes in the following vowel; even this is not universally true though, as there are an equal or greater number of n-initial verbs which do not show this variation.

Realis is most often portrayed by a lower vowel and irrealis by a higher, prototypically *a-* and *yi-* (all initial [i] are pronounced and written with consonant <y> onglide). As noted in Chart 3.5 below, some of the variation in surface forms can be accounted for through morphophonemic rules, notably the vowel deletion rule (See Section 1.3.6). A related variation seems to be that of a more backed consonant marking realis and a more front consonant marking irrealis, as in *ka-/si-*. However there are other variations which are not so readily explainable; perhaps additional research will bring to light what other forces are exerting influence.

Chart 3.5. Realis/Irrealis Affixes

Stem	R/IRR forms	Gloss
	a- / yi- (prototypical)	
-kei	*akei/yikei*	'to make'
-ntun	*antun/yintun*	'to cut'
-le	*ale/yile*	'to peel'
n-remp	*naremp/niremp*	'to kiss/appreciate'
n-kini	*nakini/nikini*	'to fall(things)'
n-nket	*nanket/ninket*	'to go/come(west)'
-imop	*aimop/yimop*	'to carry in sling'
-im	*aim/yim*	'to eat(INTR)'
k-iyi	*kaiyi/kiyi*	'to fall(people)'
n-impil	*naimpil/nimpil*	'to repeat(action)'
n-ek	*nak/niek*	'to say/recite'
-el	*al/yel*	'to eat(TRANS)'
-er	*ar/yer*	'to be/stay'
-etn	*atn/yetn*	'to walk/stand'
	a- / yu- (Low Vs. High Vowel)	
-ikulk	*aikulk/yukulk*	'to vomit' (IRR Vow.Del.)
-pul	*apul/yupul*	'to do/affect'
-wulmp	*awulmp/yuwulmp*	'to cover'
-imp	*aimp/yump*	'to shoot' (IRR Vow.Del.)
-im	*aim/yum*	'to put inside'(IR V.Dl.)
n-ikul	*naikul/nukul*	'to spill, emerge'(V.Dl.)
	ka- / si- [s+] (Back vs. Front Cons.)	
-kir	*kakir/sikir*	'to break'
-rkemp	*karkemp/sirkemp*	'to fear/avoid'
-mpop	*kampop/simpop*	'to help'
nin-erk	*ninkark/ninserk*	'to bathe' (Vowel Del.)
-omp	*komp/somp*	'to get' (Vowel Del.)
-ikul	*kaikul/sukul*	'to wash' (Vowel Harmony)
	w- / y- (Back vs. Front Semivowel)	
-ok	*wok/yok*	'to give'
-o	*wo/yo*	'to descend/go south'
	a- / wu- (Low vs. High Back Vowel)	
-site	*asite/wusite*	'roast in fire'

Chart 3.6. Some Verbs Not Marked For Realis/Irrealis

asin	'to prepare (food)'
iwap	'to cook in water'
saiyip	'to cry for, grieve'
nor	'to pull out'
per	'to put'
ninink	'to arrive at'
nukupm	'to light (a fire)'
la	'to go east'
nakerpm	'to follow, obey'
lep	'to lay above'
kitip	'to tie up'
yimp	'to ask for'

REALIS ASSERTION/COPULA PARTICLE, *KA*

The *ka* particle has a multiplicity of functions on various levels of discourse. It will be noted first of all that the phonetic relationship between *ka* and *ko* parallels the typical relationship of Realis to Irrealis, that is a lower vowel to a higher vowel. And as one would expect, it does occur most often with verbs showing realis mood. (However note the exception in Example 309.) The *ka* can occur in isolation, in ways which will be detailed below, and for this reason it is written as a free form both there and when it occurs as part of the verb. It must be pointed out, however, that there is also a bound form *ka-*, which marks Realis Mood on certain stems (see 3.8.2.1) and this is not to be confused with the particle being discussed here. This particle also exhibits morphophonemic alternation according to the 'Weak K Rule' (see 1.3.1). The *ka* particle will be glossed RL.ASR for 'Realis Assertion' or COP for Copula.

First we will examine its function as Copula, since it is in this capacity that it appears in isolation. Copula has been defined as 'a linking verb which has little independent meaning and whose main function is to relate other members of the clause.' (Crystal, 1984:76) In this capacity it appears as an optional link between Topic and Comment in a stative clause (Example 300). (See also Section 5.1) If the Topic is omitted, the *ka* is required with the Comment in order to make a full grammatical clause (Examples 301, 302). It also functions as a copula when it serves as the optional introducer to a relative clause (Examples 303, 309; see also Section 1.3.1.5). It is hypothesized that the occasional rather than consistent appearance of *ka* (within a full stative clause or before a relative clause) may be accounted for as follows: perhaps the *ka* serves as a marker of increased emphasis on the following material. If this is true, it would tie in somewhat with its function as Realis Assertion marker. Also Givon has asserted 'the function of the semantically-empty copula ... as primarily a tense-aspect carrier' (1984:92), which again ties it in with its other functions. However, more research is needed.

When the *ka* occurs within the verb phrase, it appears to have one of two functions. It either serves to increase emphasis on the following realis-verb predicate (Examples 304-306) or, on a higher level, it appears to mark movement within the discourse from background information to the event line or vice versa. In both these cases it seems to be asserting the reality or truth or importance of the information so marked and thus may be considered a type of evidentiality. However, again, more research is needed.

Examples:

(298) *Kil   ka   moule   akosepm.*
3SG   COP   person   good

'He is a good man.'

(299) *Ka   miepm   kuret-el.*   (Muruk:68)
COP   food   bad-NOM

'It was bad food.'

(300) *Ka-rokn   nimpua,   ka   muanimpor.*   (Leo#1:41)
COP-NEG   dog   COP   ancestor.spirit

'It wasn't a dog, it was an ancestor spirit.'

(301) *Waiek ankilel   ka   w-o   a-kei   lomp   a-pmuei*
father   3SG.POSS   RL.ASR   R-descend   R-make   fence   R-stay

niokn.
garden

'His father, who had gone down to make a fence at the garden...'

(302) *Kil   ka   a-r   ku?*   (Christmas.Vs.)
3SG   RL.ASR   R-STAT   where

'Where is he staying?'

(303) *Ka-kilpe   John   ka   a-m-pul   Revelesin.*
COP-M.DEIC   John   RL.ASR   R-SIG-do   Revelation

'Therefore (for that reason), John wrote (has written?) Revelation.'

(304) *Muanimpor   ka   a-ntup   nuwar   nimpua*
ancestor.spirit   RL.ASR   R-create   become   dog

'The ancestor spirit had turned into a dog.'

(305) *Moule   ka-rokn   war   k-omp pil.*
person   RL.ASR-NEG   enter   R-get   taro

'The man did not go in and get the taro.'

(306) *Kakomp-el   yikn   ka   na-mpu   Sakapm   fe?*   (J2-50)
yesterday-NOM   2SG   RL.ASR   DES-toward   Sakapm   ?

'Did you go to Sakapm yesterday?'

(307) *Ti   ninkilapm kuret-el   ka   na   yu-pul   purkup* kuko-el...
3PL   child   bad-NOM   RL.ASR   DES   IRR-do   play   crazy-NOM

'Those bad children were starting to do crazy playing...'

IRREALIS ASSERTION/HORTATORY PARTICLE, *KO*

The Irrealis Assertion Particle, *ko*, has two primary functions. First it carries the meaning of 'should' or 'must' and thus is much more common in exhortations or hortatory discourse (Examples 310, 311, 318, 320). In these contexts it will be glossed HORT. It is required for a negative imperative (combines with the negative verb) but not for the positive imperative. When combined with the negative verb it conveys the lack of either ability or permission to perform the stated action. (Examples 314, 315) In each case, the verb so modified will be in Irrealis Mood because the action has not yet begun. The second primary function of this particle is to increase the certainty/likelihood that the irrealis-marked action will indeed come to pass (Examples 319, 321, 311-first usage) or to give a future sense to a verb which doesn't take irrealis marking (Example 318). In these contexts its abbreviated gloss will be IR.ASR. There is only one exception (Example 321) in which ko appears with a verb in realis mood. It occasionally appears as a conjunction to introduce a relative clause (Example 317) or to introduce the potential effect of an irrealis cause-effect sentence (Example 322; see also Section 6.5.2) or as a copula in a stative clause which has a future sense (Example 316). It may be noted that it is possible for *ka* and *ko* to appear together (Examples 314-316), in which it has the sense of realis mood in that it describes something that is true/certain but with an

added element of 'must'; the *ko* appears to be the stronger and so the mood of the following verb becomes irrealis.   One example has also been observed of reduplication of *ko* (Example 324), showing both usages of the particle in sequence.

(308) *Ti   ninkilapm   ko   ye-tn   la   feik.* (JT-48)
3PL   child   HORT   IRR-stand   go   far

'Those children must go and stand far away.'

(309) *Ti   ko   la   yitne   tukuak   tuwie-el   ko   yimp* (JT-57)
3PL   IR.ASR   go   house   door   3DL-NOM   HORT   ask

tuwie   niorkn.
3DL   first

'(If) they plan to go to their(dl) door, (they) must ask them(dl) first.'

(310) *Ko-rokn   ni-mpil   yu-pul!*
HORT-NEG   IRR-again   IRR-do

'Don't do it again!'

(311) *Apm   wank,   apm   ko-rokn   s-omp   ninsi   no   keipm-el.*
1SG   short   1SG   HORT-NEG   IRR-get   things   ascend   above-NOM

'I'm short, (so) I can't get things that are up high.'

(312) *Yikn   ka   ko-rokn   la   waiek...* (J1-20)
2SG   RL.ASR   HORT-NEG   go   father

'You cannot go to the father (i.e. God)...'

(313) *Apm   ka   ko-rokn   ki-yi.* (J1-26)
1SG   RL.ASR   IR.ASR-NEG   IRR-fall

'I won't fall.'

(314) *Ka   ko   kuret-im.* (JT-56)
COP   IR.ASR   bad-COMP

'It will be really bad.'/ 'Em i mas nogut olgeta.'

(315) *Ti   moule   sukn-el   ko   yi-ntemp   ti   kis-el…* (JT-50)
3PL   person   big-NOM   IR.ASR   IRR-with   3PL   sit-NOM

'Those important people who will sit with them...'

(316) *Yipm   ko   implemp   ninkopm   nilmp.* (John 9)
2PL   HORT   turn   intestines   stomach

'You(pl) must repent (lit. 'turn (your) seat-of-emotions').'/ 'Yu mas tanim bel.'

(317) *Kil   ka   ko   yu-pul   kimiwepm   tasol   waiek* (John 40)
3SG   RL.ASR   IR.ASR   IRR-do   in.secret   P:but   father

keipm-el   ka   ko   ser   kil.
above-NOM   RL.ASR   IR.ASR   see   3SG

'He will do (things) secretly but the father above (i.e. God) will see him.'

(318) *Yikn   ko   na   si-rkemp   God.* (John 42)
2SG   HORT   DES   `IRR-fear   God

'You must begin to fear/reverence God.'

(319) *Ant   ko   a-wur   niorkn,   bodi   na   spirit   antilel* (John 21)
1PL   IR.ASR   R-die   first   body   P:and   spirit   1PL.POSS

tu   kile   ko   nimpil   yu-wur.
P:also   M.DEIC   IR.ASR   again   IRR-die

'When we will have died first, our bodies and spirits will also die.'
(Note: Not clear why ko is combined with Realis here; is the only example of this.)

(320) *Antie yu-pul ta ku ko antie ra* (Wus Unkilm 14)
1DL IRR-do like where IR.ASR 1DL bear

ninkilapm moule-el?
child person-NOM

'How will we give birth to human children?' (Lit. 'What can we do that we bear...')

(321) *Yipm-uie ko ni-k-imp ti ko ti eipm* (Sipas)
2PL-two HORT IRR-say-VAL 3PL IR.ASR 3PL hear

yipm-el.
2PL-NOM

'You(dl) must talk to them (and then) they will listen to you.'

(322) *Yikn ko mi-la yemp aiknel na yikn* (Miritua)
2SG HORT PRF-go place 2SG.POSS P:and 2SG

ko ko rokn ye-r, yikn ko ko
HORT IR.ASR NEG IRR-STAT 2SG HORT IR.ASR

wuntu-im.
die-fully

'You must go to your place and you must certainly not stay (here), you must certainly die.'

DESIDERATIVE PARTICLE, *NA*

The desiderative particle *na* (abbreviated gloss DES) encodes both the meaning that an action has just begun and the meaning of firm intention, that is, moving in a given direction with the purpose of beginning the stated action. (See Bybee, 1985:147) As such, native speakers often gloss it with the Tok Pisin "laik". It can be used with verbs marked for either realis or irrealis mood. When used in a sentence containing both a negative verb and a main verb, it will be found modifying only the main verb. (Example 335) In a multiple-clause sentence it seems to include in its scope the dependent clause as well as the independent clause in which it is found. (Example 327)

The *na* particle also has expanded functions in which it appears in contexts other than that preceding a head verb. It sometimes appears between a speaking verb and the actual quotation; it is hypothesized that it marks the omission of some assumed material such as a previous quote which is now being answered (Examples 333, 334) (See also Section 6.5) It also sometimes appears in oral storytelling, repeated two or three times; the function in this context is not yet clear, though it is hypothesized that it means something like 'and so on' or 'etcetera' when describing an event; again, it seems to be used to signal a gap, information the speaker assumes the reader can figure out. (Ex. 336) There is also one example of it in a Stative-Descriptive clause as the linking particle (Ex. 332) (It is possible that this example does in fact use *na* to mean 'ascend', though the speaker denies that option, because the dialect area where he lives uses *na* rather than *no* for this meaning.)

The *na* particle has three allomorphs, [a], [nai], and [ai] (see also Section 1.3.8.5) but will generally be written according to its base form; the exception is following first person singular pronoun, because native speakers find it confusing to have to write the initial <n> in that context. (Ex. 328) Because of its expanded independent function the *na* is written as a free form. However, note that certain realis verb forms also begin with *na-* (which is a bound form) but this is due to metathesis and is not to be confused with Desierative Aspect which has a different meaning.

Examples:

(323) *Yikn y-o ni-k-yimp waiek aiknel* (Muruk:114)
2SG IRR-descend IRR-speak-VAL father 3SG.POSS

na ser apm.
DES see 1SG

'You go down and tell your father to look at me.'

(324) *Ant na nu-kul-el, ka-rokn.* (Leo#1:122)
1PL DES IRR-emerge-NOM RL.ASR-NEG

'We wanted/started to come out (but) did not.'

(325) *Ti na a-pmuei yitne tuwie-el asin tamo* (Catmouse:15)
3PL DES R-stay house 3DL-NOM cook taro

irpm a-l
PLUR R-eat

'They stayed at their(dl) house, cooked the taros, (and) ate (them).'

(326) *Apm a niek sank maken pien.*
1SG DES repeat talk woman cassowary

'I'm going to tell the story of the cassowary woman.'

(327) *Yikn na ni-nket Papua New Guinea atik?*
2SG DES IRR-go Papua New Guinea when

'When will you return to Papua New Guinea?'

(328) *Ankai-el apm ampu na y-o Maprik.* (J2-70)
tomorrow-NOM 1SG try DES IRR-descend Maprik

'Tomorrow I'll try to go down to Maprik.'

(329) *Kil na yir wurokn.* (J1-55)
3SG DES carve pig

'He's starting to carve (butcher) the pig.'

(330) *...a-pul si na sukn* (J4-30)
R-CAUS mami DES big

'...(until) the mami-yams become big.'

(331) *Kil na-k-imp-kil na-k na 'Orait, yikn* (Muruk:72)
3SG R-speak-VAL-3SG R-speak DES all.right 2SG

niorkn ...'
first

'He said to him, (he) said,(having apparently first heard the speaker's story/request), "All right, you (go) first..."'

(332) *Kil na-k-imp-kil na, 'Mantiek, nilmp a-r apm* (Leo#1:60)
3SG R-speak-VAL-3SG DES mother stomach R-hit 1SG

yatip.'
very

'He said to her, "Mother I'm very hungry."'

(333) *Apm ka-rokn na ye-tn.* (J4-22)
1SG RL.ASR-NEG DES IRR-move

'I won't go'/'Mi no go'/'Mi bai no go.'

(334) *Wulapm ti ninkilapm kark likekn-el wie-el, o* (Eron:JT120)
many   3PL child   startle one-NOM two-NOM or

na.na ka na ti ninkilapm na.na ka na
etc.   RL.ASR DES 3PL child   etc. RL.ASR DES

yu-m-pul-p   ti ninkilapm.
IRR-SIG-do-VAL 3PL child

'Many of the children were startled (and ran away) immediately (lit. Pidgin: *wantu*) because the children (thought that she) would attack (do it) to them.'
Note: Pidgin gloss given by speaker with parentheses indicating implied information which he approved: 'Planti ol pikinini i ranawe wantu (long wanem) ol pikinini (i tingting) (em) bai sutim ol pikinini.'

(335) *Ti a-wup wompitne ti na kis-el.* (J4-41)
3PL R-find home.place 3PL DES sit-NOM

'They were looking for a home where they could start to live.'

THE PERFECTIVE AFFIX, *MI-*

The Perfective affix is orthographically attached to verb stems because: 1) it is unstressed; 2) native speakers do not recognize it in isolation; 2) it often occurs after irrealis prefixes, thus appearing more like an infix; in verb stems without prefixes it will insert following the first vowel (i.e. ir ---> *imir* 'to carve'). Its basic form appears to be *mi-* but it has various phonologically-conditioned allomorphs (see Section 1.3.8.1).

The *mi-* affix appears frequently in all genre of text, though it is more common in narrative and conversational than in hortatory. It appears to carry a sense that the stated action, while completed, has some ongoing effects. Perfective has been defined as a past situation with some present relevance, a complex interaction of durational, completive and temporal. (Crystal, 1984) Therefore, because there are a number of parallels, this affix will be glossed Perfective (abbreviated PRF). It is found only on verbs which are on the main event line of a narrative discourse; in hortatory, it seems to occur when the speaker is underlining definiteness of the stated action (Ex 345). It includes some sense of completion and also, especially with motion verbs, of some unspecified duration over time.

Some illustrative explanations of its function are as follows. In Example 341 below, her hitting the spirit-dog is what motivates him to destroy her and her family (later in the story). In Example 344, the pig left the garden but the result/damage he did there remains. It often appears in tail-head linkages and elsewhere with the verb 'finish', and has a sense of definite completion along with the ongoing effect of carrying the plot along to the next action in sequence. (Example 348) Some examples are less obvious in their sense of continuing effect, but nevertheless could be interpreted that way; this is especially the case when the *mi-* is used with motion verbs in locative phrases. Example 340 describes a man who went sorrowfully back to his village (unspecified short duration) and this sets the stage for the vivid description of his grief-stricken actions which conclude the story (ongoing effect). Example 347 describes how a musical instrument is held together with vine which has been threaded through a hole (completed action) but has the ongoing function of holding the handle on. Example 338 illustrates the use of *mi-* with the irrealis assertion particle *ko* and seems to work in reverse; that is, it means that a guaranteed future event (childbirth) is having an effect on the present (she is very visibly pregnant); or perhaps it could be also interpreted that a past event (conception) is having an effect on the present and determines a future event. In example 346, the 'heavies' described occurred in the past, yet are having an ongoing effect in the present or are still seen in present attitudes.

(336) *Kil-ko   mi-ra   ninkilapm.*
3SG-IR.ASR PRF-give.birth child

'She's going to have a baby.'

(337) *Pil   karep   mi-niat.*
taro   already   PRF-finish

'The taro is already all gone.'

(338) *Kil   so   so   a-mi-nket   knuamp.* (Leo#1:111)
3SG   cry   cry   R-PRF-go   village

'He cried and cried (as he) went back to the village.'

(339) *Kil   nai   ninkomp   kil-pe   a-r   a-mo-r*   (Leo#1:74)
3SG   dig   fire.stone   M.DEIC-GIV   R-STAT   R-PRF-hit

nimpua.
dog

'She dug out a firepit stone and hit the dog.'

(340) *Kil   kil-pe   la   a-mu   wurun.* (Muruk:115)
3SG   M.DEIC-GIV   go   R-PRF   bush

'She (topic) went down to the bush.'

(341) *Pien   niol   ankilel   ninkilapm   ankilel   na* (Muruk:101)
cassowary   fur   3SG.POSS   child   3SG.POSS   DES

no   na-mu-r.
ascend   DES-PRF-pull.out

'Her child went up and pulled out her cassowary feathers.'

(342) *Wurokn   a-m-emp   niokn.*
pig   R-PRF-leave   garden

'The pig left the garden.'

(343) *Rispek   aipmel   ko   yer   sukn, ko* (Sipaslec:JT-57)
P:respect   2PL:POSS   IR.ASR   IR:STAT   big   IR.ASR

yipm   mi-la   yintemp   tuwie   yer   kis-el   ko
2PL   PRF-go   IR:with   3DL   IR:STAT   sit-NOM   HORT

sop   fuikn   sank   tuwie-el.
follow   desire   talk   3DL-NOM

'Your respect will be great, (so) if you go with them(DL) to sit, you must follow their(DL) spoken desire.'

(344) *Apm   nak   apulp   wankepm   pur-el   a   ninink* (Sipaslec:JT-52)
1SG   R:say   about   heavy   some-NOM   ?   come.to

tuwie   ka   mi-niorkn.
3DL   RL.ASR   PRF-first

'I'm talking about some heavies/troubles which have happened to them(DL) before ('em i go pas').'

(345) *Tol   yuwei   m-uar   firkepm.* (J3-16)
vine   move   PRF-enter   hole

'The vine goes into the hole.'

(346) *Kil   no   no   no   mi-niat.   No   mi-niat,* (Muruk 141-142)
3SG   ascend   asc.   asc.   PRF-finish   ascend   PRF-finish

puaniampepm   ankilel   mi-niat-im,   pien   niol
face   3SG.POSS   PRF-finish-fully   cassowary   hair

sit-im.
only-fully

'It went up and up. Having gone up, her face was finished (i.e. covered up completely/disappeared), (there was) only cassowary hair.'

THE *N-* AFFIX

The *N-* affix, so labelled because it harmonizes morphophonemically with its phonological environment (see also Section 1.3.8.3), seems to occur most often with verbs which take overt realis/irrealis prefixes. It can occur with either mood and is almost always found as a first-order prefix, between the R/IRR marking and the verb stem. However there are two exceptions discovered thus far, *skuei* 'to imitate/recite' and *tikiremp* 'to show' (Examples 355-56, 362); in both these cases (neither of which take R/IRR marking), the *-N-* operates as an infix, inserting before the second consonant (and, in the case of *skuei* adding a vowel to make it pronounceable).

The meaning of this affix is not yet clear. However, it is hypothesized that in text it serves as a signal that the following information/action is significant to the plot line (Examples 349, 351, 353, 362). In conversation it appears to have a related function, marking an explanation for a following significant comment (Ex. 361) or describing an unchangeable/unfixable condition which is significant in that it affects or influences the future course of action (Ex. 357, 359). There appears to be a certain amount of overlap between this and the function of the perfective marker. More research is definitely needed in order to confirm and refine or refute these hypotheses. For the time being, the affix will be glossed SIG for 'Significance Signal'. Each odd-numbered example below will illustrate the affix, followed by an even-numbered example illustrating use of the same verb without the affix; explanatory notes concerning context are included with each.

Examples:

(347)   *Kil   karp,   kil   a-n-ser.*   (Leo#1:91)
        3SG   got.up   3SG   R-SIG-see

        'She got up and saw (that the fire had gone out).'
        (Note: refers to previous clause and sets the stage for key events concluding the story.)

(348)   *Kil   kil-pe   karp   la   a-ser   tomp   tukuak.*   (Leo#1:94)
        3SG   M.DEIC-GIV   got.up   go   R-see   gdn.hse   door

        'She got up and went to see the door of the garden house.'
        (Note: this sentence comes a few clauses after the above and serves as a restatement.)

(349)   *Nimpua   milman   kark   yukur   nai-n-kul   kriekn.*   (Leo#1:74)
        dog   male.ances   startle   jump   IRR-SIG-emerge   outside

        'The ancestor spirit-dog was startled, jumped up and ran outside.'
        (Note: This is a key actor in the story who has completed his role and will remain offstage for the rest of the story.)

(350)   *Si   wantienk   ti   nai-n-kul.*   (Sipas#1:__)
        mami   cane   3PL   IRR-SIG-emerge

        Ti   nai-kul   si   wantienk   niat-el   ...
        3PL   IRR-emerge   mami   cane   finish-NOM

        'The cane ring of mami-yam, they emerged from (i.e. having participated in?). Having emerged from the yam ring...'
        (Note: The first nainkul is a key action, one of a series of steps leading up to initiation. The second, naikul) is merely repetition, tail-head linkage.)

(351)   *Ti   ko   wunemp   yu-m-pul-p   tuwie.*   (Sipas:JT49)
        3PL   HORT   heart   IRR-SIG-do-VAL   3DL

        'They must be sorry for them(dl) (i.e. think of their situation, be considerate).'
        (Note: This is a general exhortation, which is followed by specific instructions as to how to do this -- a topic felt to be very important by the speaker.)

(352) *Apm a niek yu-pul-p yitne tuwie-el.*
1SG DES talk IRR-do-VAL house 3DL-NOM

'I want to talk about their(dl) house.'
(Note: This is merely the introductory sentence to the discourse and therefore need not be marked for particular significance.)

(353) *Weink karep apm s<in>kuei.* (Leo#3:JT-90)
origin already 1SG recite(SIG)

'I've already told the story of our origin.'
(Note: The speaker is introducing a new story but he has told the previous origin story and this one in a single sitting.)

(354) *Apm a skuei weink apmilel saklok wunu.* (Leo#2:1)
1SG DES recite origin 1SG.POSS snake kind.of

'I want to tell (the story of) my origin, the 'wunu' snake.'
(Note: This was the first sentence in the other discourse; it stands alone without drawing its significance from something previous, thus is not marked.)

(355) *Lo a-n-tit kupmus tapm.* (J2-71)
tree R-SIG-break remain ground

'The tree broke and is lying on the ground.'
(Note: In this conversation, the affix marks an unchangeable condition, it will keep lying on the ground and never become 'un-broke'. Compare with the following, which is a temporary condition.:

(356) *Kaik a-tit apm.*
foot R-break 1SG

'My skin of my foot has split.' (Lit. 'The foot breaks me.')

(357) *Luwu ninker ka-n-kir.* (C2-4)
sago dry R-SIG-break

'The biscuit (lit. 'dry sago') is broken.'
(Note: Again, in conversation, the affix marks an unchangeable condition which cannot be fixed. Compare with the following, which is temporary and can be fixed:

(358) *Tokn memp apmilel ka-kir.* (C2-5)
bilum strap 1SG.POSS R-break

'My bilum strap has broken.'

However, it can also be used in conversation in a manner similar to its function in discourse. In the example below, the statement marks the following words as significant to the current situation (i.e. therefore I cannot talk).

(359) *Wourenk apmilel ka-n-kir.* (C2-5)
neck 1SG.POSS R-SIG-close.off

'My neck is closed off (by congestion).'

(360) *Ti na-k-imp ti 'Yipm karep ti<n>kremp an...* (Rembeca)
3PL R-speak-VAL 3PL 2PL already show(SIG) 1PL

an ko tikiremp yipm.'
1PL IR.ASR show 2PL

'They said to them, "You(pl) have already showed us ... (now), we'll show you(pl)."'
(Note: This is one of the concluding remarks in a story and it sets the stage for the speakers to change into bats and desert their faithless wives. As such the first (tinkremp) is marked (that the following action is significant, while the second (tikiremp) is not, but simply describes the action itself.)

THE IMPERFECTIVE AFFIX, *-PI-*

The Imperfective aspect is used when the focus is on the internal time-structuring of the event, or sometimes to mark background information. It is not used very frequently in the texts thus far analyzed. Evidence supporting this analysis of this affix has come primarily through elicitation work and the situations he set up to illustrate use of the affix. These contexts will be noted with each elicited example below.

There appear to be three allomorphs [f+], [fE], and [fu] (see Section 1.3.8.4) and each will be written as it is pronounced. It usually inserts immediately preceding the verb stem; however in a few cases it functions as an infix, splitting a stem before its final consonant (see Examples 366, 369).

(361) *A-rokn, apm kai-fu-kul   ninsi a-r   wurun.* (J4-48)
     ?-NEG 1SG R-IMPR-wash thing R-STAT bush

   'No, I was washing clothes in the bush.'
   (Situation: if someone broke into our house while I was away and Cathy later asks me if I saw what happened, this would be my explanation.)

(362) *Sank keielel ka   kil na-fi-k-imp   apm.* (J4-48)
     talk   N.DEIC REL 3SG R-IMPF-say-VAL 1SG

   'This talk which she had spoken to me...'
   (Situation: describing a conversation the speaker had had some time ago with her step-daughter.)

(363) *Apm ka   k-omp timai a-fe-tn   wurun.* (CT:John:5)
     1SG RL.ASR R-get   bow   R-IMPF-walk bush

   'I used to get my bow and go walking around in the bush.'
   (Situation: a testimony describing a characteristic lifestyle before conversion.)

(364) *Nogat. Kil ki<pi>s yitne ankilel,   ka-rokn   no.* (J4-49)
     No   3SG sit(IMPF) house 3SG.POSS RL.ASR-NG ascend

   'No, he was sitting in his house and did not come up.'

(365) *Ti   a-fi-kei   a-fi-kei   wampen...* (J4-49)
     3PL R-IMPF-do R-IMPF-do singsing

   'They were dancing and dancing ...'
   (Explanation: 'singsing i go longpela olgeta…')

(366) *Kil   ko   pi-sil   kil-pe   ka   apm na-k-imp*   (Alphonse)
     3SG IR.ASR IMPF-on M.DEIC-GIV REL 1SG R-say-VAL

   yikn-el.
   2SG-NOM

   'He'll be sitting on there, that (place) I told you about.'
   (Explanation: em i stap oltaim oltaim)

(367) *Kil   ka   kar<fe>k.*   (J4-51)
     3SG COP afraid(IMPF)

   'He was afraid.'

There is one instance discovered thus far in which this affix attaches to a modifier rather than a verb. More research is needed to determine whether this is a pattern or a unique exception.

(368) *Kil   ka   kinkiek a-pul-p   waiek keipm-el   pi-sit.*
     3SG COP afraid   R-CAUS-VAL father above-NOM IMPF-only

   'He feared only God (lit. 'father above').'

THE *KI-* AFFIX

This affix (pronounced [ki] with long i) has quite limited distribution and is very infrequent in text and conversation. As a result, its meaning and function is unclear and more

research is indicated. It is only found as an optional affix with those verbs which use *ka-* and *si-* for their realis/irrealis markers, and not even with all of those. It often appears to be tied to some sense of imperative, though that illocutionary function can also be accomplished with the usual irrealis marker (or a homophone of it). A native speaker gave the following series of utterances:

(369) *Yikn ki-kul sinsi*

'You go wash the clothes.' (Imperative)

(370) *Akosepm, apm su-kul sinsi.*

'Fine, I'll wash the clothes.' (Irrealis)

(371) *Apm karep kai-n-kul.*

'I've already washed (them).' (Realis)

Following are the verb paradigms for which this affix is acceptable:

Chart 3.7 Appearance of the *ki-* Affix

Realis	**Irrealis**	***ki-***	
ka-rkemp	*si-rkemp*	*ki-rkemp*	'afraid of'
ka-mpop	*si-mpop*	*ki-mpop*	'get for(dist)'
k-omp	*s-omp*	*ki-omp*	'get(near)'
ka-kir	*si-kir*	*ki-kir*	'break'
nin<ka>rk	*nin<se>rk*	*nin<ki>erk*	'bathe'

However, these next verbs have the *ka-* and *si-* forms but do not accept *ki-*.

ka-mplemp	*si-mplemp*	'to brush off'
ka-mi-nkeip	*si-nkeip*	'to loosen'
ka-rkuos	*si-rkuos*	'to roll out'

VALENCE-INCREASING SUFFIX

There is only one verb suffix in Kombio, although it has three allomorphs [-+mp], [-Emp], [-p] (See also Section 1.3.8.6). Its purpose is generally to add a participant, thus increasing the valence (abbreviated gloss VAL). The added participant can be implied from context (Ex. 392). In the case of some verbs which are already transitive, the suffix seems to be used to mark an unexpected object, one outside the range or set generally used in connection with that verb (Examples 382, 394). In a few cases, it changes the meaning of the stem so care must be taken to use the right form (Examples 383,384,387). Below are examples illustrating the verb both with and without the suffix. It is interesting to note the apparent use of this suffix on a noun to give it a verbal function (Ex. 395).

(372) *Kil   ra   ninkilapm.*
3SG   give.birth   child

'She gave birth to a child.'

(373) *Kil   ra-p-kil   ninkilapm.*
3SG   bore-VAL-3SG   child

'He made her pregnant.'

(374) *Yikn   wat   klos.*   (C1-30)
2SG   put   clothes

'You're putting on clothes.'

(375) *Apm wat-emp-kil   pal.* (J1-12)
1SG put-VAL-3SG   ball

'I threw (lit. 'put') him the ball.'

(376) *Ti   per miepm.* (C1-49)
3PL put   food

'They're distributing the food (i.e. putting it in piles).'

(377) *Apm per-p   aipm miepm a-l.* (J1-25)
1SG put-VAL   bird   food   R-eat

'I put food out for the birds to eat.'

(378) *Apm kark.*
1SG P:les

'I don't feel like it.'/ 'Mi les.'

(379) *Kil   kark-imp   apm.*
3SG P:les-VAL   1SG

'She's afraid of you.'/ 'Em i les long yu.'

(380) *Apm asil   nimpliek.*
1SG wipe   mud

'I'm wiping off the mud.'

(381) *Kil   asil-emp   wule.* (J3-51)
3SG wipe-VAL   body

'He wiped (his) body.' (Describes something a ples dokta does to a patient.)

(382) *Ti   maken waker wurepm.* (J2-5)
3PL woman bend   morota

'Those women are making the morota bendable (by stripping the 'bone' out of each leaf).'

(383) *Yapip apm no   waker-p.* (J2-86)
P:ton 1SG ascend   bend-VAL

'I went up to pick ton (by bending the stems until they break.)'

(384) *Ti   ko   waker-p   tuwie yitne.* (Sipas:JT49)
3PL IR.ASR break-VAL   3DL   house

'They will break(damage) their(dl) house.'

(385) *Ti   waker-p   sipsip antuel   a-r   wunomp.* (Lk 2:8,9)
3PL care.for-VAL   sheep   3PL.POSS   R-STAT   night

'They were taking care of their sheep at night.'

(386) *Kil   na-k   sank sukn.*
3SG R-speak   talk   big

'He is talking loudly.'

(387) *Kil   na-k-imp   apm sank.*
3SG R-speak-VAL   1SG talk

'He's talking to me.'

(388) *Kil   na-k   apm.*
3SG R-speak   1SG

'He's accusing me'/ 'Em i krosim mi.'

(389) *To   yuwei no   keipm.* (C1-18)
arm   move? ascend   above

'Raise your arms up high.'

(390) *Yikn yuwei-p apm wupm aiknel.* (J3-16)
2SG move?-VAL 1SG book 2SG.POSS

'You handed me your book.'

(391) *Apm yuwei yikn.* (J3-7)
1SG move 2SG

This is obscene, something like 'mi sutim yu'.

(392) *Apm tikir, tawu suwark rukueip.*
1SG scratch sore scab came.off

'I scratched (my sore) and the scab came off.'

(393) *Kil eipm yakop a-r pmin-el, kil tikir-p.* (J3-35)
3SG feel pain R-STAT inside-NOM 3SG scratch-VAL

'(When) she feels pain inside, she scratches (herself).'

(394) *Ant a-pul niokn.*
1PL R-do work

'We're working.'

(395) *Ant a-pul-p yokn.*
1PL R-do-VAL fish

'We're fishing.'
(Perhaps it adds *-p* here because they're not river people so fishing is not a 'normal' activity?)

(396) *Kil tanku-l-mp wus aiemp.* (J4-30)
3SG ear-?-VAL animal rat

'He's listening for a rat.'

4.9.3. Negative Verb

Negation in Kombio is accomplished with the negative verb rokn which occurs with verbal affixes *a*, *ka*, and *ko*. The scope of the negative verb appears to be limited to the clause in which it is found, except when the sentence contains a dependent clause expressing purpose, instrument or as a sentence complement; in these cases the negation covers both the dependent and independent clauses. (Ex. 406, 408, 409). When negation is intended to cover a preceding series of clauses, to communicated frustrated expectation, the contruction *aser rokn* 'but no' is used. (Ex 401) With the *a-* prefix, it encodes the negative response to questions. (Example 405) It also appears sentence final in a yes/no question. (Example 402) The *ko-* prefix adds the sense of 'not allowed to' or 'unable to'. (Example 397) The form *karokn* is the most common form, used for negation in standard verb phrases, though on rare occasions the stem may appear alone. (Example 396) More research is needed to determine under what conditions this is allowed. The position of the negative in the verb phrase is always immediately preceding the main verb and following any other free-form particles. It can appear alone in the Particle slot in a negated Topic-Comment clause. (Example 402, 403) A different word, *ka pakn*, which means 'empty' is used to express negation in the sense of an absence of something (Example 407).

(397) *Ant rokn a-ser a-kuorp.* (J1-20)
1PL NEG R-see R-reveal

'We don't see (it) clearly.'

(398) *Apm ko-rokn eik niek-el.* (C1-64)
1SG HORT-NEG from repeat-NOM

'I can't promise (lit. 'repeat in vain').'

(399) *Apm ka-rokn a-pul niat.* (J2-41)
1SG RL.ASR-NEG R-do finish

'I didn't finish doing (it).'

(400) *Apm   ka   ko-rokn   ki-yi.*
     1SG   RL.ASR   IR.ASR-NEG   IRR-fall

     'I won't fall.'

(401) *Ko-rokn   ye-l!   Ka   ankilel.*
     HORT-NEG   IRR-eat   R.ASR   3SG:POSS

     'Don't eat (that)! It's his.'

(402) *Apm   fuikn   naker   kil,   yer   kil   wuntu,   aser   rokn.*
     1SG   like   chase   3SG   IR:hit   3SG   die   but   NEG

     'I wanted to chase him and hit and kill him, but no (I didn't).'

(403) *Ankai   yikn   ko   ni-k-imp-kil,   a-rokn?*   (J2-51)
     tomorrow   2SG   IR.ASR   IRR-speak-VAL-3SG   R?-NEG

     'Will you talk to him tomorrow or not?'

(404) *Ka-rokn   miepmsepm-el.*   (Muruk:68)
     RL.ASR-NEG   food   good-NOM

     'It was not good food.'

(405) *Kil   ka-rokn   kno   apmilel.*
     3SG   RL.ASR-NEG   younger.sis.   1SG.POSS

     'She is not my younger sister.'

(406) *A-rokn,   apm   ka-rokn   la.* (J2-50)
     R?-NEG   1SG   RL.ASR-NEG   go

     'No, I didn't go.'

(407) *Ant   ka-rokn   na-nket   knuamp   a-wup   mantiek   aiknel.*
     1PL   RL.ASR-NEG   R-go   village   R-find   mother   2SG.POSS

     'We didn't go to the village to look for your mother.'

(408) *Miepm   ka   pakn.*
     food   COP   empty

     'There is no food/the food is gone.'

(409) *Yikn   ko-rokn   yikei   elmpipm   puar   lo.*
     2SG   HORT-NEG   IR:use   sm.knife   chop   tree

     'You can't use a small knife to chop down a tree.'

(410) *Kil   ka-rokn   fuikn   yikn   ser   kil   el.*
     3SG   R.ASR-NEG   like   2SG   see   3SG   NOM

     'He does not want you to see him.'

4.9.4. Prepositional Verbs

Prepositional verbs are a small closed class of commonly-used words which take verbal affixes but function much like prepositions to indicate such concepts as 'to', 'with', 'for', and so on. Note that two verbs used for manner (*sop* and *ta*) are also included here. Some of these prepositional verbs also function as full verbs in certain contexts. (Examples 415, 416) They often occur as the second verb in a 2-verb series. It is hypothesized that they are a sub-class of verbs in transition to a less verbal status. Motion verbs (which includes a sub-class of locative verbs) and *apul* ('to do') sometimes have somewhat similar functions (see Sections 3.8.5, 3.8.7) Following is a list of the prepositional verbs discovered thus far:

antemp/yintemp	'with'
apulp/yupulp	'for'
ampueip/yumpueip	'with'
sop	'follow/like'
ta	'like/as'

Examples:

(411) *Ti ko   no   yi- mi- ntemp yikn.* (J2-83)
       3PL IR.ASR ascend IRR-PRF-with 2SG

       'They will definitely go up with you.'

(412) *Kil a-ntemp apm kis.*
       3SG R-with 1SG sit

       'She sits with me (i.e. we're married).'

(413) *Yikn a-le   muaninal a-ntemp elmpipm.* (J1-57)
       2SG R-peel kaukau   R-with sm.knife

       'You're peeling kaukau with a small knife.'

(414) *Apm a-pul wupm   a-pul-p mantiek apmilel.* (J1-52)
       1SG R-do paper R-do-VAL mother 1SG.POSS

      'I'm writing a letter to my mother.'
      Note: the verb *apulp* very often has the sense of 'to' or 'for' even though it is derived from *apul* 'to do'.

(415) *Kil fuikn a-pul-p yipm-uie.*
       3SG desire R-do-VAL 2PL-two

       'He likes (lit. 'desires for') you(dl).'

(416) *Kil a-ntemp minkan.*
       3SG R-with husband

       'She married (her) husband.'

(417) *Apm a-pul-p yokn.*
       1SG R-do-VAL fish

       'I went fishing.'

(418) *Miepm ant-ie a-l   sop keielel ka kuret.* (CM:5)
       food 1PL-two R-eat like N.DEIC COP bad

       'The food we(dl) eat like this is bad.'

(419) *Kil ka ninkilapm sukn-el ta   Jesril.*
       3SG COP child   big-NOM like Jesril

       'He is a big child like Jesril.'

4.9.5. Motion (Direction) Verbs

This is a closed sub-class of frequently-used verbs. Their first and most obvious function is to describe movement in a given direction, a system relatively highly developed in this language. However they also function on occasion as a type of preposition; in these cases they may be found as the final verb in a verb series in a clause or as the prepositional verb marking location in a Locative Phrase. (See Examples 426,428-433)

Included within this subclass of verbs are two verbs which might be more specifically labelled 'locative verbs': the realis/irrealis verb *ar/yer*, best glossed with Tok Pisin *i stap* (Ex. 420,435) and the verb *sil* 'on' (Ex. 427). They are included here because their function is similar to the more prototypical motion verbs. Included in this sub-class are various forms of direction words roughly equivalent to north (or ascending elevation), south (or descending elevation), east and west. (Examples 419, 421-426) These are used in a more arbitrary fashion when describing direction within the village. They can be used to describe either the sense of 'come' or 'go' in any given direction. The word for 'go west', *nanket*, is generally used when one is returning to a place regardless of the direction one must travel to get there. (Example 422) The word for 'east', *la*, seems to be the most general direction word, used when the speaker is not sure of the precise geographical direction or considers it irrelevant. (Examples 427-428) Example 429 shows it used to complete a verb series describing a journey and it seems to signal a change from 'go' to 'come', though it is not clear why this verb was chosen rather than the normal verb for 'to arrive at' (*ninink*).

In addition, there are three words describing 'to stay', 'to leave', or 'to move' (which is modified to produce 'walk' and 'stand'). There is one word which can mean either 'exit' or 'enter', the context making clear which meaning is intended. Finally, there is one word which seems to mean 'from' or 'at'; it actually functions rather differently from the others, sometimes as a preposition and sometimes as a type of verb particle preceding a main verb. (Examples 429, 436) As it does not clearly fit into any other verb category, it is included here.

Following is a list of the motion verbs. (Where they inflect for realis and irrealis, the realis appears first; however the first pair *no/nomp* are not realis/irrealis but either form can represent either mood and the distinction in meaning is not yet clear.) The following list includes all known Motion Verbs:

no/nomp	'go north, ascend'
wo/yo	'go south, descend'
la	'go east, or level?'
nanket/ninket	'go west, return'
amu/yimu/ampu	'descend?'
apmuei/yipmuei	'to stay'
apmon/yipmon	'to leave'
atn/yetn	'to move'
war	'to exit, enter'
eik	'from?'
ar/yer	'Stative'
sil	'on'
ya	'follow direction of?'

Examples:

(420) *Ant-ie   mi-la   Muyem.*
      1PL-two   PRF-go   Muyem

      'We(dl) are going west to Muyem.'

(421) *Ant-arko   na   yer   knuamp.*
      1PL-INCL   DES   IR:STAT   village

      'We all want to stay in the village.'

(422) *A-rokn,   apm   ka-rokn   w-o.*
      R-NEG   1SG   RL.ASR-NEG   R-descend

      'No, I didn't go down.'

(423) *Ant-arko   na-mi-nket   knuamp.*
      1PL-INCL   R-PRF-go.back   village

      'Let's go back to the village./We're all going back...'

(424) *Kil   no   malenk.*
      3SG   ascend   mountain

      'He went up the mountain.'

(425) *Yipm   a   yi-mu   Maprik   atik?*
      2PL   DES   IRR-PRF   Maprik   when

      'When will you(dl) be going down to Maprik?'

(426) *Kil   yawopmel   a-mpu   Brenkiul.* (JT-103B)
      3SG   lost   R-toward?   Brenkiul

      'She was lost down in the region of Brenkiul.'

(427) *Kakomp-el   yikn ka   na-ampu   Sakapm-pe.* (J2-50)
yesterday-NOM   2SG   RL.ASR   DES-toward?   Sakapm-?

'Yesterday did you go to Sakapm?'
Note: Sakapm is located to the north (and a higher elevation), whereas this
motion verb usually means descend or go south; perhaps it has a second meaning
of 'toward'?

(428) *Kil   sil   waike.*
3SG   on   car

'He is in the car.'

(429) *A-ntun kei-el-el   la   tnimmon.* (J3-48)
R-cut   M.DEIC-NOM-NOM   go   center

'Cut this in the middle.'

(430) *Balus   karp   mi-la   keipm.* (J3-37)
airplane   got.up   PRF-go   above

'The plane took off.'

(431) *Ant eik   Sawurk na-nket   na-nket la   Kumpon.* (JT-3)
1PL   from   Sawurk   R-go.west   R-go   come   Kumpon

'We left Sawurk and went and went (until we) got to Kumpon.'

(432) *Nimpirp   niakep   y-o   lie.*
pour   rubbish   IRR-descend   hole

'Pour out the rubbish into the hole.'

(433) *Kil   kuar   wopm   pep   a-mu   plet.* (J2-95)
3SG   serve   banana   water   R-PRF   plate

'She ladled out the soup into a plate.'

(434) *Kil   a-tn   wurun.*
3SG   R-walk   bush

'He's walking around in the bush.'

(435) *Poryinik   a-tn   a-r   yemp apmilel.*   (J2-70)
earthquake   R-walk   R-STAT   place   1SG.POSS

'There was an earthquake (lit. 'an earthquake walked/moved') at my place.'

(436) *Per yer   kuor!*
put   IR:STAT   F.DEIC

'Put it over there!'

(437) *Awun eik   kil-el   no.*   (J3-6)
sun   from   M.DEIC-NOM   ascend

'The sun comes up over there.'

(438) *Kil   k-omp   lok   a-pul   war   kriekn.* (JT-13)
3SG   R-get   basket   R-do   exit   outside

'He got the limbum basket and took it outside.'

(439) *War   yitne, ant-arko   kis.*
enter   house   1PL-INCL   sit

'Come in the house (and) we'll sit together.'

4.9.6. Noun-Advanced (Compound) Verbs

This is a sub-class of verbs functioning as a single unit but consisting of two words, a
noun (often a body part) followed by a verb. This is the only context in which a non-subject
noun precedes the verb. The compound then usually functions as an idiom, carrying a
meaning somewhat different from the combined individual meanings of the parts. As such it
is hypothesized that this is not a closed class, but rather has the potential of being expanded

with new combinations to describe new concepts. Following are some examples of these idiomatic usages:

(440) *to   a-pul*
      hand R-do
      'to hold'

(441) *to   nisip*
      hand shoo.away
      'let go'

(442) *wunemp   a-pul-p*
      heart   R-do-VAL
      'to be sorry for, have compassion'

(443) *niampepm   nai-kul*
      eye   R-emerge
      'to be surprised'

(444) *niampepm   a-ntup*
      eye   R-limit
      'to supervise, take care of'

(445) *wunemp   a-ser*
      heart   R-see
      'a hesitation equivalent to a polite refusal'

(446) *sank per*
      talk put
      'send a message to'

Examples in context:

(447) *Kil   to   a-remp   maken   ankilel.*   (C1-46)
      3SG arm R-pull.out woman 3SG.POSS
      'He put his arm around his wife.'

(448) *Yikn wunemp a-pul-p   ninkilapm   w-ok-kil   niumuapm*
      2SG   heart   R-do-val   child   R-give-3SG   milk

      stoa-el.
      store-NOM
      'You felt sorry for the baby and gave her some store-bought milk.'

(449) *Apm ko   timpramp niokn-el,   apm sank per yikn.*
      1SG IR.ASR   ready   work-NOM   1SG talk put 2SG
      'When I have the work ready, I'll send word to you.'

4.9.7. The Verb *-pul*

The verb -pul, appearing as *apul* (Realis) or *yupul* (Irrealis), is probably the most commonly used verb in the language. In its most obvious usages, it carries one of two meanings: 'to do' or 'to be affected by' (in most cases this is 'affected negatively by'). (See Examples 442-446) In many instances, it seems to be blanched of meaning of its own, gaining its meaning from the surrounding context. Examples of this include:

   a) making transitive clauses with noun objects to express activities which in other languages are simply intransitive verbs, thus reflecting the language's tendency to nominalize (Examples 448-450. See also Section 2.8.1 on the nominalizer enclitic *-el.*);

   b) making a sentence express causation (Example 460, 461);

c) in serial verb phrases meaning 'to take/bring' in various directions which may be a variation on the causation function above (Examples 451-454);

d) in the idiomatic phrase meaning, roughly, 'How's it going?' (Example 455)

When the verb *-pul* takes the valence-increasing suffix *-p*, it loses some of its verbal qualities and becomes more like a conjunction or preposition covering meanings such as 'about, because, for, to' (Examples 456, 458-459, 462) or as part of a compound verb (Example 457). The 'valence-increasing suffix' therefore has a different effect on this unique verb form than it does on all other verbs. (See also Section 3.8.2.9)

(450) *Yikn a-pul mi?*
　　　 2SG R-do what

　　　 'What are you doing?'

(451) *Kil nikilep nikilep, a-ser a-ser, a-pul a-pul,* (Leo:111)
　　　 3SG rake rake R-see R-see R-do R-do

　　　 aser rokn, ka wuntokn sit-el-ip.
　　　 but NEG COP stone only-NOM-LIM

　　　 'He scratched on the surface and searched and searched, and worked (lit. 'did (it)') and worked but no, it was only stone.'

(452) *Nimpliek a-pul apm kaik.*
　　　 mud R-affect 1SG leg

　　　 'There is mud on my legs.' (lit. 'mud has affected...')

(453) *Awun a-pul kil, kil a-l pep.*
　　　 sun R-do 3SG 3SG R-eat water

　　　 '(When) the sun affects him, he drinks water.'

(454) *Kei ka mi na yu-pul ant-el?* (JT-73)
　　　 N.DEIC COP what DES IRR-do 1PL-NOM

　　　 'What is this which is about to affect us?' / 'Wanem samting i laik bagarapim mipela?'

(455) *Kil a-wor wuntokn ei a-pul yitne tukuak.* (JT-71)
　　　 3SG R-dig stone put R-affect house door

　　　 'He dug up stone and put it on (lit. 'affecting') the door of the house.'

(456) *Kil a-pul niokn.*
　　　 3SG R-do work

　　　 'He is working.'

(457) *Ti a-pul wurkite.*
　　　 3PL R-do thievery

　　　 'They stole.'

(458) *Kil a-pul wankup.*
　　　 3SG R-do tobacco

　　　 'He is smoking.'

(459) *S-omp yu-pul la kei!*
　　　 IRR-get IRR-do go N.DEIC

　　　 'Bring it here!'

(460) *Pusi ai-mp aipm a-pul no yitne.*
　　　 cat R-shoot bird R-do ascend house

　　　 'The cat got a bird and brought it up into the house.'

(461) *Kil   k-omp pien   niol ankilel   a-pul m-uar*   (JT-97)
     3SG R-get cassowary fur 3SG.POSS R-do   PRF-enter

     tyintiu   pmin.
     bird.hide   inside

     'He got her cassowary feathers and took them into the bird-hide.'

(462) *Kil   k-omp-kil a-pul no-mp   knuamp.* (JT-98)
     3SG R-get-3SG R-do   ascend-VAL? village

     'He married (lit. 'got') her and took her up to the village.'

(463) *A-pul ta   ku?*
     R-do   like where

     'How's it going?'/ 'Olsem wanem?'

(464) *Kil a-r   nimpu a-r   waimp miepm-el   bulmakau-el* (Lk 2:17)
     3SG R-STAT sleep   R-STAT bed   food-NOM   cow-NOM

     a-pul-p   yitne sork-el   ka   nomintip.
     R-do-VAl house guest-NOM COP   full

     'He slept in a cow's food trough because the inn (P: *haus pasindia*) was full.'

(465) *Kil fuikn a-pul-p   yipm-uie.* (C2-12)
     3SG desire R-do-VAL   2PL-two

     'He likes (lit. 'desires for') you(dl).'

(466) *Apm a-pul wupm a-pul-p   mantiek apmilel.*   (J1-52)
     1SG R-do   paper   R-do-VAL   mother   1SG.POSS

     'I'm writing a letter to my mother.'

(467) *Yikn ankil wari a-pul-p   apm.* (Muruk:87)
     2SG REFL worry R-do-VAL   1SG

     'You yourself worried about me.'

(468) *Yikn a-pul   ninkilapm apmilel   so.* (J4-65)
     2SG R-CAUS   child   1SG.POSS   cry

     'You made my child cry.'

(469) *Mini a-pul   apm kai-yi-el?*   (J4-31)
     who R-CAUS 1SG R-fall-NOM

     'Who made me fall?'

(470) *Ka   niaikno aiknel   a-pul-p   apm la.*   (Muruk:56)
     COP sister   2SG.POSS   R-do-VAL   1SG come

     'It was your sister(s) (who) came (brought the things) for me.'

4.10. Conjunctions

There are not many single-word conjunctions, as other methods are often used for joining clauses. However, there are three, listed below, which appear from time to time, the first being the most common. They all function in discourse to introduce a clause or connect two clauses and there seems to be considerable overlap in meaning, so that much is dependent on context; perhaps additional research will reveal shades of meaning dictating the use of certain forms in certain contexts. Each will be illustrated below with examples.

4.10.1.   Adversative *aser*

This is a homophone with the verb 'to see', however semantically it functions to convey the meaning 'but' (Ex. 463, 467); it serves either to link the 2 clauses or is coupled with the negative verb as a separate clause to express unfulfilled expectation (Ex 466). It has other discourse-level functions as well, one of which appears to be the marking of simultaneous

action by two different actors or in two different locations (Example 464 and 465) It has also on occasion been glossed by native speakers as *olsem na* 'so then'(Tok Pisin).

(471) *Ant w-ok   kil   Kristina aser kil   kark-emp.* (C3-23)
      1PL R-give 3SG Kristina but   3SG P:les-VAL

      'We gave him Kristina but she didn't like him (lit. 'les long em').'

(472) *Kil   w-o   a-mu-k   kil,   aser kil   napmok,* (Muruk:108)
      3SG R-descend R-PRF-give 3SG but 3SG answered

      "*Ank, ka   kei-pe.*"
      Yes   COP   N.DEIC-GIV

      'He came down and gave (it) to her but she said, "Yes, it's this one."'

(473) *Ti   apul niokn apul apul apul wunomp, aser* (Leo#1)
      3PL R:do work   R:do R:do R:do night   but

      wutu   apmuei knuamp.
      garamut R:stay   village

      'They worked and worked until night, but (at the same time) a garamut (was beating) in the village.'

(474) *Kil   a-pul a-pul, aser rokn.* (Leo:111)
      3SG R-do   R-do   but   NEG

      'He worked and worked (lit. 'did'), but no (i.e. but did not accomplish the desired result).'

(475) *Kil   a yimp, aser pakn-im.* (Leo:142)
      3SG ? ask   but   empty-fully

      'He called out but there was nothing (i.e. no answer).'

4.10.2. The word *et*

This conjunction is rather infrequent and appears only clause-initial. It seems to have more than one function. In many cases it functions similar to Tok Pisin *ating* to express a speaker's hypothesis about a given situation or course of action (abbreviated gloss will be HYP). It seems to carry less certainty than *tikikn* 'probably' (which was covered under Interrogatives) and fills a different position in the clause. It can also be used to give some sense of conclusion/ 'therefore'; native speakers prefer to gloss these *olsem na* 'so then' (Tok Pisin) (Ex. 468, 471-2nd usage) so in these cases it will be glossed CONC; it is not yet clear how to define the different shade of meaning obviously intended here than is found with *aser* above, which is sometimes glossed with the same Tok Pisin words.

(476) '*O, et   yikn yi-nket i-ser   ti…*' (Leo:18)
      oh   CONC 2SG IRR-go IRR-see 3PL

      '"OK, so you will go and see them..."'

(477) '*Ah, et   yite kilei   yikn yikual suwur. Ant i-ser* (Leo:68)
      ah   HYP fire M.DEIC 2SG light   blow   1PL IRR-see

      ko   yi-ntemp muanimpor-el.'
      IR.ASR IRR-with ancestor.spirit-NOM

      '"I think you should rekindle that fire (so) we can see if we have an ancestor spirit with us."'

(478) '*Et   yikn ikimp mi-la   keipm, apm   a   mi-la   kitapm.*'
      HYP 2SG go.up PRF-go above   1SG   DES PRF-go ground

      '"All right, you go up on top (and) I'll come down to the ground."'

(479) *Pien   ka   a ikimp la keipm aser ka   wus,*   (Lukas)
       cassowary   RL.ASR   ? go.up go above but COP animal

       wankepm a-r   kil. Et   kil kil-pe   mi-la   kitapm.
       heavy   R-STAT   3SG CONC   3SG M.DEIC-GIV   PRF-go   ground

       Et   aipm   pulmien kil-pe   a-kimp mi-la   keipm.
       CONC   bird   type.of M.DEIC-GIV   R-go.up PRF-go   above

       'The cassowary would have gone up but (he) is a heavy (animal) (so) I think he
       must be down on the ground. I think the 'pulmien' bird should go up high.'

4.10.3. The particle *i*

This particle tends to appear between clauses in a series of clauses recounting a story. It
often seems to link to the following clause, but not always. In this way it seems to be almost
a verbal comma, and in fact has been glossed that way by native speakers, or possibly an
'and' or 'and so'. It has also occasionally been glossed 'nau' and 'orait', which would
indicate it can serve to mark a fresh train of thought in the discourse, since that is the way
those words function in Tok Pisin. So far, it appears to be used more extensively among
Yakio Village people than our own village, so perhaps it is a dialect distinctive. It is not to be
confused with the alternative particle, which is derived from *mi* 'what' and sometimes appears
as *i* due to morphophonemic changes. (See Section 3.6 and 1.3.7)

(480) *Kil   na-k-imp-kil   "Apm maken   moule." I   kil*   (Rembeca)
       3SG   R-speak-VAL-3SG   1SG   woman   person   CONJ   3SG

       nantip winink   k-amp...
       chop   limbum   R-get

       'She said to him, "I'm a female person." So she chopped down the limbum
       sheath and got…'

(481) *Kil   a-ser   wopm   yanker yipminei i   kil   a-ser*   (Rembeca)
       3SG   R-see   banana wild   stand   CONJ   3SG   R-see

       maken   tutu-el.
       woman   limbless-NOM

       'He saw wild bananas growing and he saw an armless, legless woman.'

(482) *Lo tiknank rokn atip-kil   i   pien*   (Lukas)
       tree branch   NEG   support?-3SG   CONJ   cassowary

       na-k-imp   aipm pulmien…
       R-speak-VAL   bird type.of

       'The tree branch did not support him so the cassowary said to the 'pulmien'
       bird…'

(483) *Aipm yipmanklo la a-ser kil upmomp i*   (Alphonse)
       bird   type.of   go R-see 3SG back   CONJ

       kil   napmok.
       3SG   speak.out

       'The 'ipmanklo' bird went and saw his back and so he spoke out…'

5. Phrase

5.1. Introduction

"Phrases are units of modification, relation, coordination and apposition." (Murane 1978:64) They are typically units of the next higher constituent, the clause; however recursion, the embedding of a phrase or clause within a phrase, is not at all uncommon in Kombio. The phrase is typically composed of an obligatory head and a variety of optional modifying constituents. Phrases can be built around nouns, pronouns, temporals, modifiers, locatives, or verbs as head with the head normally occurring first followed by various other optional constituents.

There are four types of noun phrases, three types of verb phrases, and in addition there are Temporal Phrases, Numeral Phrases, and Prepositional Phrases, a sub-type of which is the Locative Phrase.

5.2. Noun Phrase

As stated above, there are four basic types of noun phrases in Kombio: the modified noun phrase, the 'inalienable' possessive noun phrase, the appositional noun phrase, and the coordinate noun phrase.

5.2.1. Modified Noun Phrase

This is the most frequently occuring of the noun phrases (abbreviated gloss MNP), and may function as subject, direct object or indirect object of transitive/intransitive clauses and as the Topic or Comment in a stative clause. It can also function as a vocative or fronted sentence topic.

Structurally, a modified noun phrase consists of up to four constituents: an obligatory head followed by one or two modifiers. In one case a third modifier has been found, but it is quite rare. The head can be manifested in a noun, pronoun (Ex. 480, 488), appositional noun phrase (Ex. 484), or coordinate noun phrase (Ex. 492). In certain cases, modifiers can function as the head of an MNP, as in the phrase *likekn kilelel* 'that one'. This is partly due to pragmatics and partly to the 'floating' nature of the boundaries between the parts of speech. (See also Section 3.0 Word -Introduction). The first modifier constituent slot can be filled by a modifier word (MOD) (Ex. 485), deictic (DEIC) (Ex. 476), locative word (LOC) (Ex. 478), possessive pronoun (POSS) (Ex. 483), or a number phrase (NUM) (Ex. 479). The second modifier slot has similar fillers with the exception of locative word and coordinate noun phrase; however it can also be filled by an embedded modified noun phrase (Ex. 490) or by a Relative Clause (Ex. 491). The third modifier slot can only be filled by a limited set of modifier words, which serve to intensify the previous modifier (Ex. 477) or by a Relative Clause (Ex. 486). The modifier words in either slot 1 or 2 or both may have the *-el* enclitic attached. It is unnatural to have strings of descriptive words modifying a single head. Embedding is generally only seen to one level (Ex. 484); but Example 487 shows a CNP embedded in an ANP which is embedded in an MNP. A subtype of the Modified Noun Phrase is illustrated in Example 481 and 482. In this subtype the phrase can have only two members, both nouns, with the second occurring with the nominalizer *-el* indicating a genitive relationship.

The Modified Noun Phrase structure can be summarized as follows:

Chart 4.1 Modified Noun Phrase

+ HEAD	+/-MOD$_1$	+/-MOD$_2$	+/-MOD$_3$
N	MOD	MOD	MOD-kirnker,yatip
PN	DEIC	DEIC	RelCl
ANP	NUM	NUM	
CNP	POSS	POSS	
	N + -el	RelCl	
	LOC	MNP	

(484) *Miepm kilei   yikn yiwup.* (Leo 20)
      food   M.DEIC 2SG find

      MNP: N + DEIC - as Object

      'You find that food.'

(485) *Nimpua kilelel   ka   nimpua sukn   kirnker-ip.*   (Leo72)
      dog   M.DEIC COP   dog   big   expanded-LIM

      MNP1: N + DEIC = Topic; MNP2:N + MOD + MOD = Comment

      'That dog was an absolutely huge dog.'

(486) *Yitne wurepm keipm ... ka   karep   wuntokn.* (Leo87)
      house morota   above   COP already   stone

      MNP:N(Compound) + LOC - as Subject

      'The house-morota up above was already stone.'

(487) *Apm a   la ser ninkilapm sukur apmilel.*   (CM19)
      1SG DES go see child   first   1SG.POSS

      MNP: N + NUM + POSS - as Object

      'I'm going to see my oldest child.'

(488) *Kil   kuorpe aminket.* (Leo34)
      3SG F.DEIC go

      MNP: PN + DEIC - as Subject

      'He (that one) went.'

(489) *Yikn ka   maken wurun-el.*
      2SG COP woman bush-NOM

      'You are a woman from the bush.'

(490) *Apm aser nimplie yitne-el   aiknel   el.*
      1SG R:see timber   house-NOM 2SG:POSS NOM

      'I saw the timber for your house.'

(491) *Niaininku aiknel   keipe   ar   iko.* (CM136)
      teeth   2SG.POSS N.DEIC STAT can

      MNP: N + POSS + DEIC - as Subject

      'Your teeth (marks) are here on the can.'

(492) *Ant na   niek niremp ti   moule eikusukn.* (Gaias3)
      1PL DES say kiss   3PL person all

      MNP: ANP(PN + N) + MOD - as Recipient

      'We want to express our appreciation to all those people.'

(493) *Maken   yonel   wie, yipm   la   kei!*
      woman   white   two   2PL   come   N.DEIC

      MNP: N + MOD + NUM - as Vocative

      'You two white women, you come here!'

(494) *Moule   sepmel   apmilel   [nakerpm   apm   sank   el]...*   (J4-29, Heb 10:38)
      person   good   1SG.POSS   follow   1SG   talk   NOM

      MNP: N + MOD + POSS + RelCl

      'The good(mature) person who belongs to me and obeys my talk ...'

(495) *Rolen   apm   antie   sit   as   wopm.*   (JT-6)
      Rolen   1SG   1DL   only   roast   banana

      MNP: ANP(CNP(Name + PN) + PN) + MOD - as Subject

      'Only Rolen and I roasted bananas.'

(496) *Yikn   ankil   wari   apulp   apm.*   (Muruk87)
      2SG   REFL   worry   about   1SG

      MNP: PN + MOD - as Subject

      'You yourself worried about (sorry for) me.'

(497) *Kil   tri   apmuei   yitne   akoel   maken   makenel.*   (Muruk110)
      3SG   put.on   at   house   small   woman   woman's

      MNP: N + MOD + N(Compound) - as Head of PrepPhrase

      'She put (it) on in the small women's house (i.e. the menstrual hut).'

(498) *Ti   moule   wielikekn   wupm   rai   el   ti   aser   kuai.*   (Mt 2:9-10)
      3PL   person   three   paper   mark   NOM   3PL   see   star

      MNP: N + MOD + MNP(N + MOD) - as Subject

      'The three wise men (i.e. paper-writing men) saw the star.'

(499) *Ninkilapm   kei   antie   ra   el   rokn   sepm.*   (Yakio)
      child   N.DEIC   1DL   bore   NEG   good

      MNP: N + DEIC + RelCl - as Subject

      'This child which we bore is not good.'

(500) *Puaipuai   suknel   ar   ampueipel-ip   mentit   maken*   (Sipas JT-57)
      happiness   big   STAT   with-LIM   men   women

      ninkilapm   Meringi   el
      child   Meringi   NOM

      MNP: CNP(N +N + N) + Mod)

      'Great happiness will be with the men, women, and children of Meringi.'

5.2.2. 'Inalienable' Possession Noun Phrase

As seen in Examples 479 and 483 above, most normal possessives are handled within the regular Modified Noun Phrase. However, on occasion a different structure is used in which the possessive modifier precedes its head; in addition, the regular personal pronoun is used rather than the possessive form. Because many of the nouns so modified fall into the classification of body parts or kinship terms, it was originally hypothesized that this unique structure marked inalienable possession. However, evidence against this hypothesis includes the fact that 1) the regular possessive structure is also acceptable for these constructions, if perhaps less natural, and 2) there are a number of words using this structure, which would require a very broad interpretation of 'body parts' (Ex. 496, 498). Therefore, it has been decided that a more accurate terminology might be 'exclusive' or 'emphasized' possession. This structure, which fronts the possessive, parallels the use of fronting on the clause level to emphasize or focus upon the object and also parallels the sentence level use of a fronted topic (See Section 6.7). An alternate interpretation which works for some, though not all, of these

structures is that the personal pronoun is functioning more as an indirect object than as a possessor. (Ex. 355-357)

This entire structure appears to contrast with the tendency stated by Comrie:

> 'Of two possessive constructions, one placing the possessor in the genitive...and the other simply placing the possessor in apposition to...the noun phrase..., either can in principle be used with any kind of possessor noun phrase, but in fact the genitive is more likely the higher in animacy the possessor is." (Comrie 1981:38)

In each case where this unusual structure is used, the possessor is highly animate -- a human being, designated by a pronoun -- and yet the possessive structure is not in the genitive (i.e. using the -el enclitic, see Section 2.8.1.2).

It is interesting to note that this structure does not seem to occur in intransitive clauses. In those cases, the regular personal pronoun is still used as possessor but it follows the head as a normal modifier does (Ex. 499, 500). An alternate interpretation of these might be that the first noun is topic, and the following pronoun provides anaphoric reference back to that topic. (Ex. 499, 501). Or possibly this structure communicates lack of intention or control on the part of the possessor.

(501) *Yikn atn kil yapm.*
2SG stand 3SG front

'You're standing in front of him.' (lit. 'standing at his front')

(502) *Apm maken karokn.*
1SG woman NEG

'I have no wife.' (Lit. 'My wife is not.')

(503) *Wul apm tawu.*
cover 1SG sore

'Cover my sore.' (Or: 'Cover the sore for me.')

(504) *Kil sirep apm sank.* (J3-53)
3SG deny 1SG talk

'He 'shot talk' at me/denied what I said.'

(505) *Apm a inket aser ti wus.* (Leo 14)
1SG DES go see 3PL meat

'I'll go and see their meat/see them for meat (i.e. the meat they're distributing for a food exchange).'

(506) *Ti korokn wakerp tuwie yitne aser kiwepmel* (Sipas:JT-49)
3PL NEG break 3DL.POS house see hidden-NOM

tuwie-el.
3DL-NOM

'They must not break (i.e. make peep holes in) their(dl) house to look secretly at them.'

(507) *Pua kil yakopel.*
forehead 3SG pain

'His head hurts.' (Or: 'The head, it hurts.')

(508) *Wule ti niukur.* (Mt 2)
body 3PL shake

'They were startled.' (Lit. 'Their bodies shook/were startled' OR 'The bodies, they shook.')

(509) *Kaik yikn temp apm kaik.*
      leg   2SG press 1SG leg

'You're stepping on my foot.' (perhaps Lit. '(With) the foot, you're pressing down on my foot.')
(Note: This example might also be analyzed as having a fronted topic (*kaik*), spoken first to catch the hearer's attention quickly. In that case it would be separated from the rest of the sentence by a comma and not analyzed as an inalienably possessed noun phrase.)

5.2.3. Appositional Noun Phrase

The Appositional Noun Phrase (ANP) appears most frequently in the subject position, though it may also be found in the object position or as the Topic of a stative clause. It functions in one of several ways:

1) To summarize or clarify a more complex noun phrase (Ex 503, 505, 508, 510); in the case of an unusually complex phrase, the speaker may use two summaries (Ex 509, 510, 511);

2) To focus on or emphasize a new or returning character in a story (this is more common in the first half of the story); (Ex. 502, 508)

3) To complete a compound subject and summarize it in a single step (Ex 504, 505). (It is somewhat ambiguous whether to classify these as Appositional Noun Phrases or Coordinate Noun Phrases.)

Structurally it consists of two obligatory parts, the Head and the Apposition and an optional second Apposition, each having the same referent. Both the Head and the Apposition can be manifested by either a noun, a pronoun, a modified noun phrase, or a coordinate noun phrase; so the Head will be arbitrarily defined as that unit which appears first and the Apposition as that which follows it. The occasional more-complex structure may insert a dependent clause for Apposition, as in Ex. 510 in which it is almost a parenthetical explanation, but this is uncommon.

Chart 4.2 Appositional Noun Phrase

+ Head	+ Apposition	+/- Apposition
PN	N	PN
N	PN	
MNP	MNP	
CNP	CNP	
	RelCl	

Note: In the examples below, embedded phrases within other phrases will be marked with square brackets [...].

(510) *Kil mentit ker tyintiu.* (Muruk2)
      3SG man   make bird.hide

ANP: PN - N (Identifies new participant)

'A man made a bird-hide.'

(511) *Pien [ti eikusukn kilpe] no sil kei.* (Muruk7)
      cassowary 3PL all   M.DEIC ascend on N.DEIC

ANP: N - MNP (Clarifies identity of subject)

'All those cassowaries went up here.'

(512) *[Maken ankilel] tuwie kilpe apmuei ar ar.* (Muruk40)
woman 3SG.POSS 3DL M.DEIC stay STAT STAT

ANP: MNP - PN (Completes compound subject)

'That man and his wife remained there (a long time).'

(513) *Mentit maken tuwie kisel Puapnankre.* (Leo 3)
man woman 3PL sit Puapnankre

ANP: N(Comp) - PN (Summarizes)

'The man and woman sat (i.e. lived) at Puapnankre.'

(514) *Yikn somp ti [maken ninkilapm], yipm yire puas.* (Leo25)
2SG get 3PL woman child 2PL slash grass

ANP: PN - CNP (Specifies the head)

'You get our daughter(s) and clear the weeds.'

(515) *[Maken kilelel], [maken ankilel], nio ankilel* (Leo39)
woman M.DEIC woman 3SG.POSS name 3SG.POSS

Mipmakn Maimpilpm.
female.ancestor Maimpilpm

ANP: MNP - MNP (Clarifies identity of participant, functions as fronted topic for Stative Clause)

'That woman, his wife, her name was Mipmakn Maimpilpm.'

(516) *Kil nakimp ti [mentit maken eikusukn]...* (Leo111)
3SG said.to 3PL man woman all

ANP: PN - MNP (N(Comp) + Mod) (Specifies head)

'He said to all the people...'

(517) *Kakompel [Markus, apm, Albert, Sam, Anton],* (Les)
yesterday Markus 1SG Albert Sam Anton

[ant-arko faivpela], ant-arko kis.
1PL-INCL five 1PL-INCL sit

ANP: CNP - ANP - PN (Double clarification of long, complex subject)

'Yesterday Marcus, Albert, Sam, Anton and I (all five of us) were sitting...'

(518) *...per yitne tukuak Bernkes-el, [wap ankilel] [Maki* (JT-13)
put house door Bernkes-NOM uncle 3SG.POSS Maki

naikul kil-el].
emerge 3SG-NOM

ANP: Name - MNP - RelCl (1st apposition identifies the name, 2nd apposition clarifies)

'...put (it) at the door of Bernkes, her uncle, (the one) Maki is descended from.'

(519) *Ant [ninkilapm ninkilapm] ant apul wupm ar knuamp.* (JT-4)
1PL child child 1PL do paper at village

ANP: PN - CNP - PN (1st apposition expands head, 2nd apposition re-summarizes)

'We kids played cards in the village.'

5.2.4. Coordinate Noun Phrase

Coordinate Noun Phrases (abbreviated CNP) are serial constructions where different coordinated terms have the same semantic role or function. (Dik 1980:192) The coordinated constituents are simply juxtaposed with no conjunction between, separated only by a short pause and a repeated rising 'list intonation'. However, because of the influence of Tok Pisin (trade language), some speakers will occasionally insert *na* (Tok Pisin for 'and') one or more

times. Also, if the constituents are linked as alternatives, they may be separated by the Tok Pisin *o* meaning 'or'; this construction has been adopted into the language, in many cases replacing the *mi* 'what' which was originally used in that context and the *o* is no longer perceived as borrowed. When there are only two constituents and both are animate, the third person plural pronoun can be used as a conjunction. (Ex. 517,518)

Up to five constituents in sequence have been observed in text (see Ex. 509 above) and they can consist of common nouns or names or pronouns or occasionally a modified noun phrase in any order the speaker prefers. There are no grammatical rules as to whether nouns, pronouns, or phrases must come first or last in the sequence.

A type of coordinate construction can also be made using a prepositional phrase. However this will be treated with the other functions of the prepositional phrase in Section 3.5. Also, as noted in Section 3.1.3 above, there is a type of Appositional Noun Phrase which completes a compound subject which is somewhat ambiguous as it also appears to be a type of Coordinate Noun Phrase; however it has been listed in the apposition section because of its summarizing function.

Structurally, the Coordinate Noun Phrase may be diagrammed as follows (with (n) referring to an unstated number of repetitions of the head):

Chart 4.3 Coordinate Noun Phrase

+ Head$^{(n)}$	+/- Conj	+ Head$^{(n)}$
MNP	ti	MNP
ANP	na	
	o	

(520) *Tuarko   aiep   miepm, wopm,   mitno.* (Leo 36)
3DL:INCL gather food   banana pitpit

CNP: N - N – N

'They all gathered food (i.e. root crops), bananas, and pitpit.'

(521) *[Apm Kaias] na Ilen ka   puaipuai sukn-ip...* (Gaias 1)
1SG   Kaias   and Ilen COP   happy   big-LIM

CNP: ANP - CONJ - Name

'Ilen and I (Kaias) are very happy…'

(522) *Yikn a   yimp apm apulpii, yite o   pep   yite-el?* (J4-21)
2SG DES ask   1SG about   fire or water fire

CNP: N - CONJ - N

'Are you asking me for matches or kerosene?'

(523) *Per kriekn winink, lok,   rais, wus, miepm...* (JT-13)
put outside limbum basket rice   meat food

CNP: N - N - N - N

'Put outside (on the) limbum the basket, rice, meat, and food...'

(524) *Ant awor wuntokn ei   ya yitne tukuak, yitne   wienk,* (Leo 120)
1PL dig   stone   put at house door   house back

tomp   pirnke kitie kitie, tomp   wurepm.
grdn.hse wall   side side   grdn.hse morota

CNP: N(Comp) - N(Comp) - MNP - N(Comp)

'We dug stone (which had been) put on the door, back, side walls, and morota of the garden house.'

(525) *Kumpueikel, pusi ti   aiemp tuwie poroman.* (CM 1)
long.ago   cat 3PL rat   3DL   friend

CNP: N - CONJ - N

'A long time ago, the cat and the rat were friends.'

(526) *Yikn felfelk ninket nikimp Cathy ti   Joan sank*
2SG hurry go   tell   Cathy 3PL Joan talk

kilelel.
M.DEIC

CNP: Name - CONJ - Name

'Hurry, go and tell Cathy and Joan that information.'

(527) *Kakompel, Maki apm Meriposin, Makenkisemp antarko*   (J2-B)
yesterday   Maki 1SG Meriposin Makenkisemp 1PL.INCL

la fukn.
go river

CNP: Name - PN - Name - Name

'Yesterday Maki, Meriposin, Makenkisemp and I all went to the river.'

5.3. Numeral Phrase

Only the cardinal numerals 'one' and 'two' are designated by single-morpheme words. 'Three', 'four', and 'five' are built by means of compounding and appear orthographically as single words so as to clarify that it refers to a single item and not a series and because they stress as a unit. (See also Section 3.3) Beyond that point, cardinal numbers are created by increasingly longer and more complex phrases using 'hand' and 'foot' to extend them. The conjunction used, *krep-itie*, seems to be derived from 'answer-side', though the usage is clearly idiomatic in this context. Because of the cumbersomeness of this system, most people have rejected the vernacular counting system in favor of Tok Pisin or English numbers.

The traditional system is organized as follows:

Chart 4.4 Numbering System

1	*likekn*	
2	*wie*	
3	*wielikekn*	(lit. two-one)
4	*wiewie*	(lit. two-two)
5	*tokitie*	(lit. hand-side)
	Variations on 'five' include:	
	tokitiempu	(lit. hand-side-?)
	wutuatip	(lit. thumb-how.many)
6	*tokitie krepitie likekn*	(lit. 5-plus-1)
10	*tokitie tokitie*	(lit. five-five)
11	*tokitie tokitie krepitie likekn*	(lit. five-five-plus-one)
15	*tokitie tokitie kaikitie*	(lit. hand-side-hand-side-foot-side)
22	*tokitie tokitie kaikitie kaikitie krepitie wie*	(lit. hand-side-hand-side-foot-side-foot-side-plus-2)

Etc…

5.4. Temporal Phrase

The pure Temporal Phrase functions to specify more exactly the time frame which is in focus. As such, it juxtaposes two, or occasionally even three, time words (see also Section 2.5), with the first providing the general framework and the second the more specific. (Ex. 522, 524, 525) However, because word class boundaries tend to be indistinct, there are also 'temporal phrases' which bear a strong resemblance to modified noun phrases with the time word as head. (Ex. 523)

When the temporal phrase in the clause is expanded to consist of more than a single word, it strongly tends to be fronted rather than between subject and verb. It is also possible for temporal phrases to be strung together into an independent utterance to create a sense of time passing. (See Section 5.8 Fragmentary Sentences) Its scope appears to be the sentence in which it is found.

(528) *Kakomp   wunomp   apm   awup   wus   ar   wurun.*
yesterday   night   1SG   seek   meat   PREP   bush

'Yesterday night, I went hunting in the bush.'

(529) *Kuei   yar   weik   Tunde...*
day.bef.yest.   later   day.aft.tom   Tuesday

'5 days from now(a Friday)…' (can apply for several days in near future - i.e. Tues., Wed., Thurs.)

(530) *Yikn   yo   yar   nunkurikn.* (Leo33)
2SG   descend   later   afternoon

'You'll come down later in the afternoon.'

(531) *Rien   keielel,   apm   a   ninket   Yassip.*
morning   N.DEIC   1SG   DES   go   Yassip

'This morning, I'm going to go to Yassip.'

(532) *Kumpueik   wien   Ogas   antie   nomp   Meringi.* (J2-47)
long.ago   month   August   1DL   ascend   Meringi

'A long time ago, in August, we(dl) came up to Meringi.'

(533) *Rien   karepel   apm   wok   kil   sinsi   kil   aiyimp   apm-el.*
morning   already   1SG   gave   3SG   thing   3SG   ask   1SG-NOM

'This morning (spoken on same day afternoon) I gave her the things she asked me for.'

(534) *Anink   niorknel   ka   saklok   sit.*
time   first   COP   snake   only

'In the beginning, there were only snakes.'

5.5. Verb Phrase

There are three basic types of verb phrases, the Modified Verb Phrase (MVP), the Serial Verb Phrase (SVP), and the Repetitive Verb Phrase (RVP). Each of these fills the predicate slot of both dependent and independent clauses.

5.5.1. Modified Verb Phrase

The Modified Verb Phrase consists of a verb stem with its associated affixes and particles (see Section 3.8) with one or two optional modifiers. Again, as was the case with the Modified Noun Phrase, when two modifier words are used in sequence, the second modifies the first rather than the head. Because clause negation is handled by means of the separate negative verb which takes its own affixation, rather than a modification of the negated verb, this will be covered under Serial Verb Phrase rather than in this section. (See Section 4.4.2 and 3.8.3) The unique feature of the Modified Verb Phrase in Kombio is that in transitive clauses it is often split into two parts by the intrusion of the Object between the verb and its

modifier(s). In both intransitive and transitive clauses the modifier(s) may either precede or follow the verb.

No examples are given here of the simple verb phrase consisting of a single verb stem and its affixes/particles. This is covered on the Word level (see Section 2.9.3). Following are examples of the more expanded Modified Verb Phrase.

(535) *Apm afetn wurun tentenkel.* (CT-J5)
1SG walk bush often

'I used to walked around in the bush frequently.'

(536) *Ninkilapm kilelel apul waiek mantiek kirnker yatip.*
child M.DEIC do father mother expand very

'That child is really stubborn ('bikhet') toward his parents.'

(537) *Nikimp apm seiseik.*
talk.to 1SG slow

'Speak to me slowly.'

(538) *Kil felfelk no.*
3SG hurry ascend

'He went up quickly.'
(This sentence is equally OK as 'Kil no felfelk.')

(539) *Yel felfelk, niankurmp!*
eat hurry fly

'Eat quickly (because of) the flies!'

(540) *Apm felfelk yintun puas.* (J2-67)
1SG hurry cut grass

'I'll cut the grass quickly.'

5.5.2. Serial Verb Phrase

The criteria for defining a Serial Verb Phrase are similar to those used for the Urat language (Barnes, 1989:63), also a member of the Torricelli Phylum and spoken in the area bordering Kombio to the south. A Serial Verb Phrase (SVP) is a string of verbs which displays one or more of the following characteristics:

1) Shares a common noun phrase (even when that noun phrase is omitted in the following conjunct(s);

2) Describes actions which customarily occur in sequence (commonly associated events);

3) Conceptualized as a single event rather than a sequence of events;

4) A clause is being negated.

A serial verb construction consists of two or three heads, any of which may be filled by a single verb, a Modified Verb Phrase, or a Repetitive Verb Phrase. They very often include a motion verb or the verb *-pul* 'to do' as one constituent (see also Sections 3.9.7, 3.9.9). However the negative verb only occurs in the first slot or immediately preceding the verb it is negating. (Note that in Ex. 401, the negative is in an unusual place because there is an embedded negated verb phrase, in essence a serial verb phrase within another serial verb phrase.) Some concepts which might be thought of as adverbial, such as 'again' or 'try' are also accomplished by means of a second verb rather than modification on the main verb, thus appearing as SVP. As with the Modified Verb Phrase, it is possible for an object to intrude itself within the phrase (Ex. 543, 544). The Serial Verb Phrase may be diagrammed as follows:

Chart 4.5 Serial Verb Phrase

+ Head$_1$	+ Head$_2$	+/- Head$_3$
MVP	MVP	MVP
RVP	RVP	RVP
NEG	SVP	

(541) *Somp yupul la kei!*
get   CAUS come N.DEIC
SVP: MVP + MVP + MVP (Single event)
'Bring it here!'

(542) *Korokn nimpil yupul!*
NEG   again do
SVP: NEG + MVP + MVP (Single event; Negated)
'Don't do it again!'

(543) *Aninkel kil naimpil mila.* (CM25)
one.time 3SG again go
SVP: MVP + MVP (Single event)
'Another time, he went (there) again.'

(544) *Moule kilelel komp apul muar tyintiu pmin.* (Muruk25)
person M.DEIC get CAUS enter bird.hse inside
SVP: MVP + MVP + MVP (Single event)
'That man took (her) into the bird-hide.'

(545) *Kil so so aminket knuamp.* (Leo111)
3SG cry cry go.back village
SVP: RVP + MVP (Co-occurrent/single? events)
'He went crying back to the village.'

(546) *Ti kis kis ar ar ar ar...* (Leo57)
3PL sit sit STAT STAT STAT STAT
SVP: RVP + RVP
'They sat and sat and stayed (there) (a long time)…'

(547) *Kil anket anser ti.* (Leo34)
3SG go see 3PL
SVP: MVP + MVP (Single event; shared subject)
'He went and visited them.'

(548) *Apm [puar puar] [karokn atit].* (J4-19)
1SG chop chop NEG break
SVP: RVP + SVP(NEG + MVP) (Customary seq., negated)
'I chopped and chopped (but it) didn't break.'

(549) *Apm ampu yupul.* (J2-67)
1SG try do
SVP: MVP + MVP (Single event)
'I'll try to do (it).'

(550) *Apm mila yo   nimpirp niakep yo   lie.* (J2-63)
1SG go descend pour trash descend hole
SVP: MVP + MVP + MVP (Customary sequence;shared subject/object)
'I'll go dump out the trash in the hole.'

(551) *Yikn komp aim   lok   san...*   (J2-55)
2SG get put.in basket carry.headstrap
SVP: MVP + MVP (obj) + MVP (Customary Sequence)
'You got and put (it) in the basket (and) carried…'

(552) *...anket nimpirp per winink perp awun.* (J2-55)
go   pour put limbum put sun
SVP: MVP + MVP + MVP (Single event?)
Note: Not clear if final verb perp is purpose (dependent clause) or a 4th verb in SVP

'...go and pour (it) out onto the limbum to be put in the sun (i.e. to dry).'

(553) *Nimpua milman   kark   yukur nainkul kriekn.* (Leo74)
dog   male.ances startle jump emerge outside
SVP: MVP + MVP + MVP (Single event)
'The ancestor-spirit dog jumped up, startled, and ran outside.'

(554) *Ant na niek niremp ti   moule.* (Gaias3)
1PL DES speak kiss   3PL person
SVP: MVP + MVP (Single event; shared subject/object)
'We express our appreciation to those people.'

5.5.3. Repetitive Verb Phrase

Repetitive use of a single verb within a clause is a common feature of many Papua New Guinea languages including Tok Pisin. In Kombio it has two primary functions, both signalling a different verbal aspect. When there are only two repetitions of the verb, it is often expressing habitual aspect. However two or more repetitions (up to 5 have been found in text) also signal duration, either in distance or over time, with the number of repetitions proportional to the length of duration. This structure is often found at the peak of a story as well, functioning here as a kind of grammatical underlining or emphasis to increase excitement. Oral storytellers add dramatic emphasis to the durative aspect with sharply rising intonation and exaggerated lengthening of the vowel on the last repetition. It would appear that most any verb is eligible for use in this type of phrase; Repetitive Verb Phrases have been observed in text using most of the motion verbs, and also 'to sit', 'to do', and other active verbs such as 'to make', 'to cry', 'to dig', etc. It is also possible to take a sequence of two verbs and repeat them as a unit (Ex. 555).

(555) *Yikn wok wok apm plo wus... apm al al.* (Muruk54-55)
2SG give give 1SG sago meat   1SG eat eat
'You habitually gave me meat with sago (and) I (habitually) ate (it).'

(556) *Kil akei lomp, akei akei akei awun* (Muruk47)
3SG make fence make make make sun

peikn peikn peikn unomp.
big   big   big   night
'He worked on the fence all day long until night.'

(557) *Kil pilpilnk wo   wo   atn   niokn*   (Muruk133)
3SG run   descend descend stand garden

kriekn-el.
outside-NOM

'She ran down and down and stood outside the garden.'

(558) *Orait, ar   ar   ar   ar   ar-- rien,*   (Leo79)
all.right STAT STAT STAT STAT STAT morning

'OK, (they) stayed and stayed until morning...'

(559) *Minkan ankilel   so   so   so   so   saiyip kil   saiyip kil.*
husband 3SG.POSS cry cry cry cry mourn 3SG mourn 3SG

'Her husband cried and cried, continually mourning for her.'

(560) *Kil so so, kil so so, ma awor awor, tomp   pirinke*(Leo109)
3SG cry cry 3SG cry cry yell rip   rip   gdn.hse wall

tomp   wienk nikilep nikilep, aser aser aser aser,
gdn.hse wall   dig   dig   see   see   see   see

apul apul, aser rokn, ka   wuntokn sit-el-ip.
do   do   but   NEG   COP stone   only-NOM-LIM

'He cried and cried, (his) yells ripping through (the air) and dug and dug at the walls and back of the house looking and looking and working, but to no avail, it was completely stone.'
(This marks the peak of a traditional story. Note the many uses of RVP at this juncture.)

(561) *Aimp ti   miniat, kil apmuei apmuei makupm wunu*   (JT-81)
shot   3PL finish 3SG stay   stay   mud   type.of

'Having shot them, he habitually remained at the 'wunu' mud place (refers to ancestral home).'

(562) *Ant-arko   anket anket anket la Sawurk.* (JT-3)
1PL.INCL go   go   go   go Sawurk

'We went and went all the way to Sawurk.'

(563) *Yite kloko [yikual suwur] [yikual suwur]...* (Leo72)
fire   soon   light   blow.on light   blow.on

'Soon the fire had been lit and (become large by) blowing on (it)...'

5.6. Prepositional Phrase

Prepositional phrases are made by using either prepositional verbs or motion verbs and are of two sub-types: the Locative Phrase (LP) and the regular Prepositional Phrase (PP) which can function as Instrument, Benefactive, Accompaniment, Manner, or Goal. Note that both the prepositional verbs and the motion verbs have two separate functions in different contexts: they are found not only in these prepositional phrase contexts but also in regular transitive and intransitive clauses where they function as full verbs taking both subjects and/or objects. Other verbs, when linked onto the end of the clause as the prepositional phrase is (to fulfill such functions as Purpose) can accept the addition of a subject pronoun (though they usually don't). (Compare Ex. 667 or 668 to those below.) It is only within the prepositional phrase context and with these particular verbs that a subject cannot be inserted preceding the verb. (See also Sections 2.9.5 and 2.9.7 on Prepositional and Motion Verbs.)

Structurally, the two sub-types are similar but not identical. The Locative Phrase (LP) normally consists of a motion verb (MV) (with any of its affixes) followed by a head, which can be filled by either a locative word or a modified noun phrase. On a few occasions, however, the verb is missing as in Ex. 560. Example 557 also is somewhat of an exception, since it has an MVP with motion verb as head plus a locative word modifying it; this

embedded MVP functions as a unit as verb of the Locative Phrase whose head is a noun phrase. In addition, there are instances when, just as in the MVP, the object appears to insert itself into the LP splitting it into two parts. However, it is noted that an MNP can have a locative word as its modifier; so this difficulty is handled by analyzing the LP as having a MNP as its head. (Ex. 563) Note also that it is possible to have two Locative Phrases functioning in apposition in a single clause (Ex. 564).

The Prepositional Phrase (PP), on the other hand, requires both the verb and the head under all circumstances. It uses only prepositional verbs (PV), and the head is filled only by a modified noun phrase or deictic; no examples have yet been found of an optional additional modifier. When functioning to mark accompaniment, the PP will be found in the subject or object slot, just as the Coordinate Noun Phrase is. However, for the other roles it is generally found after the main verb.

The two sub-types can be summarized diagrammatically as follows:

<p style="text-align:center">Chart 4.6 Prepositional Phrase</p>

+/- Verb	+ Head	+/- Mod
MV	MNP	
PV	LOC	DEIC
MVP	DEIC	

(564) *Kil   kuar   wopm   pep   amu   plet.* (J2-95)
      3SG   serve banana water descend plate

      LP: MV + N

      'She dished up the soup into the plates.'

(565) *Ti   ar   yemp kuserel ar   nantip yemp suknel.* (Lk 2:8-9)
      3PL STAT place empty STAT near   place big

      LP: MVP(MV + Mod) + MNP

      'They were in an empty place (i.e. wilderness) near town (lit. big place).'

(566) *Apm   a   yukur yo   mintaink kei.*   (John Mes)
      1SG   DES jump descend creek   N.DEIC

      LP: MV + MNP

      'I'll jump into this creek.'

(567) *Pien   ti   eikusukn kilpe   no   sil lo*   (Muruk7)
      cassowary 3PL all   M.DEIC ascend on tree

      tiknank   keipm.
      branch   above

      LP: MV + MNP

      'All those cassowaries went up onto the high tree branches.'

(568) *Antie yetn   kitnan kei.*   (CM122)
      1DL   stand near   N.DEIC

      LP: LOC + DEIC

      'We'll stand near here.'

(569) *Ti   atn   likekn likekn mila yemp antuel.*
      3PL   stand one   one   go   place 3PL.POSS

      LP: MV + MNP

      'They walked one by one back to their place.'

(570) *Yintun keielel   la   tnimmon.*
       cut   N.DEIC go center

       LP: MV + LOC

       'Cut this in the middle.'

(571) *Yum yo   rumpunk pmin.*
       put   descend bag   inside

       LP: MV + LOC (Object intruding) or: MV + MNP

       'Put it inside the bag.'

(572) *Yikn ampu ikimp no   sil lo tiknank yer   keipm.* (Lukas-Yakio)
       2SG try   go.up ascend on tree branch STAT above

       LP1: MV + MNP LP2: MV + LOC (In apposition)

       'You try going up onto the high tree branches.'

(573) *Apm apul wupm apulp mantiek apmilel.*
       1SG do   paper to   mother 1SG.POSS

       PP as Goal: PV + MNP

       'I'm writing a letter to my mother.'

(574) *Yikn ale   muaninal antemp elmpipm.*
       2SG peel kaukau   with   knife

       PP as Instrument: PV + MNP

       'You're peeling kaukau with a small knife.'

(575) *Moule kilelel   wok apm elmp apulp pon   apmilel.* (J4-21)
       person M.DEIC give 1SG ax   for   brother 1SG.POSS

       PP as Benefactive: PV + MNP

       'That man gave me an ax for my brother.'

(576) *Kil   nakimp yipm sank sop kilpe.*
       3SG talk.to   2PL talk   like M.DEIC

       PP as Manner: PV + DEIC

       'He spoke to you(pl) like that.'

(577) *Apm antemp maken apmilel   na   niek...* (Gaias 3)
       1SG with   woman 1SG.POSS DES speak

       PP as Accompaniment/Subj.: PV + MNP

       'My wife and I want to say…'

(578) *Yikn somp ninkilapm yumpueip mamam ankilel...*
       2SG get   child   and   mother 3SG.POSS

       PP as Accompaniment/Object: PV + MNP

       'You get the child along with his mother...'

(579) *Yikn ankil wari apulp apm.* (Muruk 87)
       2SG REFL worry about 1SG

       PP as Goal: PV + MNP

       'You yourself worried about me.'

(580) *To   kro   ta   kie*
       hand cupped? like N.DEIC

       PP as Manner: PV + DEIC

       'Hold (your) hands like this.' (describes holding hands cupped to receive
       something)

6. CLAUSE

6.1. Introduction

The clause level is between the phrase and the sentence levels, and is the basic syntactic unit. One clause followed by final intonation and pause is equivalent to one sentence in Kombio, though several clauses can also be combined in a single sentence. Multiple-clause sentences as well as clause subordination will be handled under Sentence (Section 6).

The unmarked word order in Kombio, as in other Torricelli languages, is Subject-Verb-Object (SVO). This is in contrast to most Papuan languages which typically exhibit a verb-final order. Also in contrast to the typical Papuan language is the absence of a distinction between medial and final verbs.

The following chart will provide an overview of the types of clauses found with representative examples of each.

Chart 5.1 - Types of Clauses

Stative	Equative (5.1.1.1)	*Kil ka moule.*
		'He is a man.'
	Descriptive (5.1.1.2)	*Moule ka peikn.*
		'The man is tall.'
	Existential (5.1.1.3)	*Moule ka pakn.*
		'There are no men.'
	Locative (5.1.1.4)	*Moule ka ar yitne.*
		'The man is in the house.'
Intransitive (5.1.2)		*Moule atnitapm.*
		'The man is walking.'
Transitive (5.1.3)		*Moule al pep.*
		'The man is drinking water.'
		Moule wok kil pep.
		'The man is giving water to her.'
Relative (5.2)		*moule ka apm nakimp yiknel*
		'the man that I told you about'

Both subject and verb are obligatory in intransitive and transitive clauses, except in cases of: 1) a dependent clause which is in logical relation to the preceding clause; 2) tail-head linkage; or 3) a series of clauses describing sequential actions by a single actor. There is a valence-increasing suffix <*-imp*> with varying allomorphs which serves to increase the transitivity of some verbs. (See Section 2.9.1 'Verb Transitivity' and 2.9.3.10 'Valence Increasing Suffix'.) But there are no other structural differences between transitive and intransitive verbs.

There are also several different types of stative clauses: Equative, Descriptive, Existential and Locative. The first three types are structurally the same, but because they are semantically different they will be listed as separate sub-types. The Locative Clause, however, has a

slightly different structure and so will be listed as a separate type. The arguments of all these clauses will be identified as 1) Topic, which takes the place of subject and is filled by a noun phrase; 2) Comment, which generally takes the place of predicate but is also filled by a noun phrase (which may, in this context only, consist only of a modifier word) or by a locative phrase. There is an optional Verb Particle slot which may appear between the Topic and Comment; this is filled by one or more of the following: the negative verb (*rokn*) (Ex. 583), the copula/realis-assertion particle (*ka*) (Ex. 574), or the irrealis-assertion particle (*ko*) (Ex. 584). There is also an optional time word/phrase which is usually fronted (Example 587) but can be found between the Verb Particle and the Comment (as in Example 578, 586). (Combinations of these can be found in Examples 582, 588.) Only the Comment is obligatory, though both sides are generally present unless the Topic can be easily deduced from context. If only Comment is present, a copula is required to make a full grammatical clause.

6.2. Independent Clauses

6.2.1. Stative Clauses

The Stative Clause, as described in Section 5.0, is of two major types: the Typical Stative Clause, which includes Equative, Descriptive and Existential; the Stative-Locative Clause makes up the second type. However, the structure of all four types of Stative Clauses is similar enough that it can be summarized in a single formula as follows:

Chart 5.2 Stative Clause Structure

+/- Time	+/- Topic	+/- VPt	+/-Time	+ Comment
(TP)	(NP)	(Neg)	(TP)	(NP)
		(Cop/RL:ASR)		
		(IR:ASR)		(PP)

Equative Clause

The Stative-Equative Clause requires both Topic and Comment to refer to the same item. Both the Topic and the Comment slots are filled by a noun phrase and, as noted above, an intervening Verb Particle is optional.

(581) *Kil   waiek   apmilel.*
       3SG   father 3SG:POSS
       TOP |COMMENT

       'He is my father.'

(582) *Yikn   ka   tisa.*
       2SG   COP   teacher
       TOP |VPt |COMMENT

       'You are a teacher.'

(583) *Likekn   kilelel   maken   akosepm.* (Muruk33)
       one   that/there   woman good
       TOPIC |COMMENT

       'That one was a good (attractive) woman.'

(584) *Nimpua   kilelel   ka   nimpua   sukn   kirnker-ip.* (Leo72)
       dog   M-DEIC   COP dog   big   expanded-LIM
       TOPIC |VPt |COMMENT

       'That dog was absolutely huge!'

(585) *Maken   pien-ip!*   (Muruk)
      woman   cassowary-LIM
      COMMENT

'(You're a) cassowary woman and nothing else!'
(Context: occurs at end of several clauses where he is berating her so topic is understood)

(586) *Kil   karep   muati...* (Leo3)
      3SG   already   shadow
      TOP |TIME |COMMENT

'He is already a shadow/spirit (i.e. 'tewel')…'

Descriptive Clause

The Stative-Descriptive Clause requires the presence of both Topic and Comment. It differs from Equative also in that the Comment slot is filled by a Modifier Word which serves to explain or describe the topic.

(587) *Apm Gaias na   Ilen ka   puaipuai sukn-ip...* (Gaias1)
      1SG '   P:and '   COP happy   big-LIM
      TOPIC |VPt |COMMENT

'Ilen and myself, Gaias, are very happy.'

(588) *Wule apmilel   tupuapur.* (J1-38)
      body 1SG:POSS   sweaty
      TOPIC |COMMENT

'My body is sweaty.'

(589) *Topm ka   nimpiemp.* (C1-16)
      cave   COP dark
      TOP |VPt |COMMENT

'The cave is dark.'

(590) *Kil   ka-rokn   peikn.*
      3SG   COP-NEG   long
      TOP |VPt |COMMENT

'He's not tall.'

(591) *Antie rokn puaipuai.* (Usunkilm)
      1DL   NEG   happy
      TOP |VPt |COMMENT

'We two are not happy.'

(592) *Pitekn-im yikn   ko   sirik-el-im.*
      soon-fully 2SG   IR.ASR recover-NOM-fully
      TIME |TOPIC |VPt |COMMENT

'Soon you will be fully recovered (from sickness).'

Existential Clause

The Stative-Existential Clause differs from the above two in several ways, though its overall structure is the same. Firstly, the Verb Particle slot is obligatory. Secondly, the Topic is usually omitted for pragmatic reasons, the implication of existence ('there is') being fully understood by both speaker and hearer(s). Lastly, it is the only one of the three typical statives which readily adds an initial temporal phrase. Note also that when the noun in the Comment is to be particularly emphatic, it can be fronted (see Ex. 592).

(593) *Apmilel   ka   pakn.*
1SG:POSS COP   nothing
TOPIC | |COMMENT

'Mine is nothing/empty (i.e. I don't have any).'

(594) *Ka   karep   wuntokn   sit.*   (Leo1)
COP   already stone   only
VPt |TIME |COMMENT

'It was already only stone (i.e. turned completely into stone).'

(595) *Anink niorknel ka   saklok   sit.*   (J2-93)
time   first   COP   snake   only
TIME |VPt |COMMENT

'In the beginning, there were only snakes.'

(596) *Ka   ko   kuret-im.*
COP   IR:ASR bad-fully
VPt |COMMENT

'(It) will be terrible (lit. 'completely bad').'

(597) *Ka   niaikno aiknel.*   (Muruk56)
COP   sister   2SG:POSS
VPt |COMMENT

'It was your sister(s).'

(598) *Ka-rokn   miepm   sepm-el*   (Muruk68)
COP-NEG   food   good-NOM
VPt |COMMENT

'It was not good food.'

(599) *Ka   muanimpor-ip!*   (Leo72)
COP   ances.spirit-LIM
VPt |COMMENT

'It was an ancestor spirit for sure!'

(600) *Keielel   ka-rokn.*   (Muruk103)
DEIC   COP-NEG
COMMENT |VPt

'It's not this one.'

Stative-Locative Clause

The Stative-Locative Clause differs from the other stative clauses in two ways. It requires both the Topic and Comment to be present. And the Comment slot is filled by a Prepositional Phrase which consists of a prepositional verb followed by a modified noun phrase. (For detailed treatment of the Prepositional Phrase, refer to Section 4.5.) The Stative-Locative Clause differs from an intransitive clause with a locative phrase in that the latter will have two verbs, the intransitive verb followed by a prepositional verb (see Ex. 604), whereas the former has only one and describes a state of being. Note that in the world view of Kombios, the state of being asleep is described in terms of a locative phrase (Ex. 598).

(601) *Yipmuie yer knuamp.* (Muruk93)
2DL   stay village
TOPIC |COMMENT

'You two stay in the village.'

(602) *Moule kil-pe   ar   tyintiu   pmin.* (Muruk10)
person M:DEIC-GIV stay bird.hide inside
TOPIC |COMMENT

'That man stayed inside the bird-hide.'

(603) *Ti   maken   maken   eikusukn   sil   kei   lo   keipm-el.*   (Muruk16)
      3PL   woman   RDP   all   on   N.DEIC   tree   above-NOM
      TOPIC |COMMENT

      'Those women all were up on this tree.'

(604) *Inik   meti-metink   kuor-   pe   ar   mintaink.*
      mosquito   RDP   -many   F.DEIC-GIV   stay   creek
      TOPIC |COMMENT

      'There are many mosquitos there at the creek.'

(605) *Wopm   tikn   ar   tnimmon.* (J1-62)
      banana   ripe   stay   center
      TOPIC |COMMENT

      'The banana is in the middle.'

(606) *Kil   ar   nimpu.*
      3SG   stay   sleep
      TOP |COMMENT

      'He is asleep.'

6.2.2. Intransitive Clause

An intransitive clause is defined here as a clause which has only one core nominal argument, that is it has a subject but no object. Most intransitive verbs can take a following locative phrase, however as noted above, this differs from a Stative-Locative in that the intransitive clause will have two verbs in sequence, the intransitive and then the locative (see Ex. 604).

An unmarked intransitive clause has a relatively rigid word order as follows: an optional time word followed by a mandatory subject (filled by a noun phrase), a mandatory predicate (filled by a verb phrase), and an optional locative phrase. Note that within transitive and intransitive clauses, the ka particle has a different function, which has been labeled 'Realis Assertion', rather than functioning as copula as in the Stative clauses above. (See also Section 3.8.2.2.) The structure of an intransitive clause can be summarized by the following formula:

<div align="center">

Chart 5.3 Intransitive Clause Structure

+/- Time   **+ Subj**   **+ Pred**   **+/- Loc**

(TP)   (NP)   (VBP)   (PP)

</div>

(607) *Apm   a   kueip.* (Muruk98)
      1SG   DES   smoke
      SUBJ |PRED

      'I'm going to smoke.'

(608) *Rien-el   kil   a-wemp.* (Muruk90)
      morning-NOM   3SG   R-leave
      TIME |SUBJ |PRED

      'In the morning, he left.'

(609) *Ninkilapm   ankilel   pil-pilnk   ka   amu   niokn.* (Muruk69)
      child   3SG:POSS   RDP-run   RL:ASR   descend   garden
      SUBJ |PRED |LOC

      'His child ran down to the garden.'

(610) *Waike   kilipm.*
       car   approach
       SUBJ |PRED

       'A car is coming.'

(611) *Minkan   ankilel   tuwie apmuei ar   ar.*   (Muruk40)
       husband   3SG:POSS   3DL   remain stay RDP
       SUBJ |PRED

       '(She and) her husband, the two of them lived (there) a long time.'

(612) *Womp   aremp   wo   kitapm*
       coconut   came.out descend   ground
       SUBJ |PRED |LOC

       'The coconut fell to the ground.'

(613) *Moule   ka-rokn.*
       person   RL:ASR-NEG
       SUBJ |PRED

       'People were not (i.e. there were no people).'
       (Note: The noun here is not fronted as in Ex. 452 but functions as subject. If it
       were to follow the verb, the meaning would be changed to: 'It is not a man.')

(614) *Apm   karep   ai-m.*
       1SG   already R-eat
       SUB |TIME |PRED

       'I've already eaten.'
       (Note: This is a less common verb for 'eat' and always functions as an
       intransitive. The verb al is the transitive verb for 'to eat'.)

6.2.3. Transitive Clause

The transitive clause is the most frequently occurring clause type. A transitive clause is defined here as a clause which normally requires two core nominal arguments, that is a subject and an object. Either of these arguments may be absent for pragmatic reasons: the subject may be left out in an imperative or in the case of sequential actions by the same actor; and the object is in some cases omitted when it is easily recoverable from the immediate context. The sub-category of Di-Transitive, which would include three nominal arguments (i.e. adding an Indirect Object) will be included here as it is otherwise structurally similar to a standard transitive clause. (Ex. 613. 614)

There is a theoretical possibility of eight constituents in a transitive clause, though a fully-expanded transitive clause with all eight has never been observed; the typical transitive clause has two to four constituents. The unmarked order is: Subject, Time, Predicate, Indirect Object, Object, Benefactive, Instrument, Locative. The phrase types which occur in each constituent are indicated in Chart 5.4.

Chart 5.4 Transitive Clause Structure

+ SUBJ	+/-TIME	+ PRED	+/-IO	+OBJ	+/-BENF	+/-INST	+/-LOC
(NP)	(TP)	(VP)	(NP)	(NP)	(NP,PP)	(PP)	(PP)

The concept of Benefactive for certain verbs is expressed through the Di-Transitive structure (that is, with an indirect object, Ex. 615). Otherwise it is done with the prepositional verb *apulp* which in that context carries a meaning of 'for' (Ex. 617). To indicate Instrument with a Prepositional Phrase in the position shown in the above formula (and Ex. 611) is less common; the more natural structure employs two transitive clauses, an independent clause stating the instrument followed by a dependent one stating the action in the form of a purpose clause. (See Sentence, Section 6.3.1-Ex. 670, and Ex. 612 below).

Two elements of the Transitive Clause exhibit some flexibility in their position within the clause. The Object can be fronted when it is functioning as clause/sentence topic. The Time phrase, however, is the most fluid constituent; it can be found clause-initial, between subject and verb (whichis the unmarked position), or clause-final, and in a few cases appears in two positions in a single clause. More research is needed but at present it is hypothesized that it moves to the clause-initial position when it is clause topic; one common situation in which this fronting occurs in a discourse is at a paragraph break when the time and/or scene changes. It is further hypothesized that it moves to the clause-final position only when it is an afterthought or is adding a more specific designation (the generic time designation occuring in the initial position).

Note also that, in the world view of Kombios, being sick is perceived as the sickness (or one's body) acting as Agent upon the person himself; thus it is expressed in a transitive clause (Ex. 609).

(615) *Kil   aimp   wurokn.*
       3SG   shoot   pig
       SUB |PRED |OBJ

       'He shot a pig.'

(616) *Kil   kuntomp   marpm   sil   mamp   ankilel.*   (J1-15)
       3SG   carry.head clay.pot   on   head   3SG:POSS
       SUB |PRED |OBJ |LOC

       'She's carrying a clay pot on her head.'

(617) *Wule   apul   apm.*
       body   affect   1SG
       SUBJ |PRED |OBJ

       'I'm sick.' (Lit. '(My) body is affecting me')

(618) *Yikn   keipe   na   ye-l   miepm.*   (Paradigms)
       2SG   now   DES   IRR-eat food
       SUB |TIME |PRED |OBJ

       'You will eat food today.'

(619) *Yikn   a-le   muaninal   a-ntemp   elmpipm.*   (J1-57)
       2SG   R-peel   kaukau   R-with   sm.knife
       SUB |PRED |OBJ |INST

       'You're peeling kaukau with a small knife.'

(620) *Kil   a-kei   elmp   puar   lo.*
       3SG   R-use   ax   chop   tree
       SUB |PRED |OBJ |PRED |OBJ
                   INST   PURP

       'He is using an ax to chop the tree.'

(621) *Yikn   w-ok   w-ok   apm   plo   wus   wopm   pep.*   (Muruk54)
       2SG   R-give   HABIT   1SG   sago   meat   banana water
       SUB |PRED |IO |OBJ

       'You always give me sago, meat, and soup.' (lit. 'banana water')

(622) *Apm   krupm   yikn   wupm.*   (J1-13)
       1SG   hide   2SG   book
       SUB |PRED |IO |OBJ

       'I hid the book from you.'

(623) *Yikn   siknin   apm   yitne.*   (J4-45)
       2SG   open   1SG   house
       SUB |PRED |BENF| OBJ

       'Open the door (lit. 'house') for me.'

(624) *Yar   apm   yu-pul   yikn   wutienk.* (CM)
       later   1SG   IRR-do   2SG   sorcery
       TIME |SUB |PRED |BENF? |OBJ

       'Later I will do sorcery to you.'

(625) *Ti   san   a-pulp   apm   la.*   (Muruk 56)
       3PL   carry.headstrap   R-for   1SG   come
       SUB |PRED |BENF |PRED

       'They carried (it) here for me.'
       (Note: Object omitted - clear from previous context. Final predicate *la* is a
       subjectless dependent clause; could possibly also be analyzed as a locative with
       implied/understood noun head, but the former analysis seems more likely.)

(626) *Karep   yikn   ampul   rien?*   (J2-41)
       already 2SG   do   morning
       TIME |SUB |PRED |TIME

       'Did you already do (it) (this) morning?'

(627) *Pien   niol   ankilel   ninkilapm   ankilel   na*   (Muruk 101)
       cassowary   feathers 3SG:POSS   child   3SG:POSS   DES
       OBJ |SUBJ |PRED

       no   namur
       ascend   remove
       (PRED)

       'Her cassowary feathers are what her child went up and pulled out.' (Or,
       'Concerning the cassowary feathers, her child went up and pulled them out.'

(628) *Si-mpop   apm   masin   a-r   Wewak.*
       IRR-help   1SG   P:machine   R-at   Wewak
       PRED |BENF |OBJ |LOC

       'Help me (get) a (sewing) machine in Wewak.'
       (Note: subject implied because clause is imperative.)

(629) *Yar   apm   y-ok   yikn   wuntokn.*
       later 1SG   IRR-give   2SG   money
       TIME |SUB |PRED |REC |OBJ

       'Later I'll give you the money.'

(630) *Apm   a   i-nket   a   ser   ti   wus.*
       1SG   DES   IRR-go   DES   see   3PL   meat
       SUB |PRED |PRED OBJ
       INTR. CLAUSE |TRANS.CLAUSE (PURPOSE)

       'I'll go and see their meat.'
       (Note: omitted subject in transitive clause understood from preceding clause)

(631) *Apm   wul   pep   muati   niampepm.*
       1SG   put.over   water   image   eye
       SUB |PRED |INST |OBJ

       'I put glasses (lit. 'water-image') over (my) eyes.'
       (Note: unusual order with Instrument preceding Object; this is only such example
       found thus far.)

6.3. Relative Clause

The relative clause functions dependently within another clause as a modifier of a noun
phrase; because it is dependent, it cannot stand alone. As noted in 2.9.3.1 and 2.9.3.2, one of
the functions of the particles *ka* and *ko* is to introduce a relative clause; the *ko* is used only if
the verb of the relative clause is in irrealis mood, the *ka* in other cases. Some relative clauses

have no introducer (Ex. 626-1st usage, 629, 631), and one example has been found which appears to use *ka* and *ko* together as introducer (Ex. 630); an alternate interpretation might be that the *ko* in this example is simply part of the verb phrase, just as the *na* is in Ex. 627. More research is needed to define further the various relative clause strategies and their functions. But all relative clauses, whether they have an introducing particle or not, are marked with the nominalizer enclitic *-el* following the last word; note that if the relative clause has more than one verb, the nominalizer enclitic appears following each verb (Ex. 629, 630). (See also Section 2.4.1.5) The relative clause always follows the noun or noun phrase it modifies.

(632) *Kil   wo   nakimp   waiek ankilel   ka   akei*   (Muruk70)
       3SG R:descend R:talk.to father 3SG.POSS REL R:make

       lomp   ar   niokn-el.
       fence   STAT garden-NOM

       'He went down and talked to his father who was making a fence at the garden.'

(633) *Nenk ka   kitapm ka   nantip fukn-el.*   (J2-78)
       bank COP   ground REL   near   river-NOM

       'A 'nenk' is the ground that is close to a river.'

(634) *Sank kil   nak-el,   kil   nankai apm-el.*   (Elic-Map)
       talk   3SG R:say-NOM 3SG deceive 1SG-NOM

       'Concerning the talk which he spoke, he deceived me.'

       Sank mi   ka   kil   nankai yikn-el?
       talk   what REL 3SG deceive 2SG-NOM

       'What talk (was it) by which he deceived you?'

(635) *Kei   ka   mi   na   yupul   ant-el?*   (Leo 93)
       N.DEIC COP what DES IR:affect 1PL-NOM

       'What is this that is about to affect/cause (harm to) us?'

(636) *Yipmuie ko   nikimp   ti   ko   ti   eipm yipm-el.*
       2DL   IR.ASR IR:talk.to 3PL REL 3PL hear 2PL-NOM

       'You(dl) will talk to them , those who will hear/obey you(dl).'

(637) *Antie la ser ninsi kumpueip antie per-el   kiwepm-el.*
       1DL   go   see thing long.ago   1DL put-NOM hide-NOM

       'Let's go see the thing we put a long time ago, the hidden one.'

(638) *Kil   kloko ipmon sakolok wunu, kloko yer   moule* (Leo #2)
       3SG   soon   IR:go snake   wunu soon IR:hit person

       wamp-wamp,   moule sepm moule kuret, ka   ko   kil
       everywhere-RDP person good   person bad   REL REL 3SG

       yer-el   yump-el   sit.
       IR:hit-NOM IR:shoot-NOM only

       'Soon he will go (following the way of) the 'wunu' snake, soon (he will) attack people from everywhere, good people and bad people which he will only hit and shoot.'

(639) *Moule kil   nakimp apm sank-el   ka   apei* (Elic-Map)
       person 3SG talk.to   1SG talk-NOM RL.ASR lives

       yemp   yatel.
       place   other

       'The man who spoke to me lives in another place.'

(640) *Yite   ka   ar   yitne-el   ko   niat-el,   kiemp* (Elic-Map)
       fire   REL STAT house-NOM IR.ASR finish-NOM get

      tnimpoiel nimpil   na   per yitne.
      new   IR:again DES   put house

      'When the gas bottle (lit. 'fire') which is in the house is finished, get a new one
      and put it into the house.'

7. Sentence

7.1. Introduction

The sentence, consisting of one or more clauses, is defined as the minimal unit of communication. Clauses can be joined by means of juxtaposition, intonation, the nominalizer enclitic *-el* and, less frequently, the use of conjunctions.

Kombio speakers exhibit a unique characteristic sentence- and paragraph-level intonation pattern by which they are recognized as Kombios even by those who do not understand a word of the language. Starting at a relatively low pitch each suceeding clause is spoken at a higher and higher pitch, with an increasing nasalized quality until the end of the thought, at which point the pitch drops abruptly, often on the final word or syllable (of the sentence, if it is a long sentence, or of the paragraph). This pattern seems to run across discourse types; it has been heard in conversational, narrative and hortatory, though it is less common in the latter.

It is also interesting to note that Kombio appears to exhibit grammatical ergativity, though no case system is found otherwise. That is, the object (rather than the subject) of an independent clause will be assumed as the unstated subject of a following dependent clause. This is best illustrated in Example 667, a purpose sentence in which the dependent clause consists of a single word, the verb 'eat'. The implied subject of this dependent verb is the indirect object 'he' of the preceding independent clause. Another example is the following pair of sentences.

(641) *Nimpua   naker   wurokn   wuntu.* (J4-68)
       dog   chase   pig   die

       'The dog chased the pig and he died.'

(642) *Nimpua   naker   wurokn,   na   nimpua   wuntu.*
       dog   chase   pig   P:and   dog   die

       'The dog chased the pig and the dog died.'

The first sentence means that the pig died; note that "pig" is the object of the preceding independent clause. In order to make it clear that it was the dog who died, a noun must be stated as subject of the second clause; if only a pronoun is used there, it probably will be interpreted as the dog having died but it is somewhat ambiguous.

This section will cover the domain of the sentence beginning with the various illocutionary functions and continuing through the different types of multiple-clause sentences, the fragmentary (incomplete) sentence, and last, a section on sentence-level manifestations of figurative language.

7.2. Illocutionary Functions

7.2.1. Declarative

A declarative sentence makes a declaration, assertion or statement and its major function is to convey new information (Givon 1984:323). Numerous examples can be seen in the Clause Section, examples 607-623 and elsewhere in the paper.

7.2.2. Imperative

The imperative sentence functions to seek to manipulate the behavior of another by the speaker''s command. As such, it occurs in second person singular or plural with the pronoun optional. First person plural imperatives are handled by means of the morpheme *-arko*, which

is being glossed "inclusive" since it appears with all three plural pronouns and can be used with both realis (to describe an inclusive past action) and irrealis; only in the case of the first person plural with irrealis could it be considered a type of imperative. When expressing any type of imperative, the verb appears in irrealis mode because the stated action has not yet occurred and the fulfilling of it has a degree of uncertainty since it depends on the cooperation of the hearer(s). Imperative sentences tend to be truncated with most peripheral arguments deleted. Most commonly they contain only a verb (Ex. 638) with optional subject and occasionally a modifier. On occasion, a modifier carries the full imperative function (Ex. 640). Location or object can be included in a full imperative if it is integral to the action commanded (Ex. 635, 639) and the object can be fronted if it is topicalized (Ex. 642). Imperative sentences can be stated in either the positive or the negative. There is a falling intonation pattern in most imperative sentences or, in the case of a series of commands, a level intonation pattern which falls during the final command. This is in contrast to the characteristic rising intonation of declarative sentences as described in 6.0.

This sentence type is common in everyday conversation, though less so in texts, due at least in part to a strong cultural tendency to control and/or correct others' behavior. (This is evident even in the interaction of children with adults.)

(643) *S-omp   yu-pul   la kei!*
IRR-get IRR-do   go N.DEIC

'Bring (it) here!'

(644) *Yipm ninkilapm ye-tn   la feik!*
2PL   child   IRR-stand go far

'You children, go stand far away!'

(645) *Ye-l   fel-felk,   niankurmp!*
IRR-eat RDP-fast   fly

'Eat quickly (because of) the flies!'

(646) *Kuaiyip!*
carry.on

'Carry on/go ahead!'
(Used as a dismissal, goodbye, when having met someone on the road or interrupted them in their travel in a particular direction.)

(647) *Yimp-kil   sukn!*
call-3SG   big

'Call out to him loudly!'

(648) *Sei-seik!*
RDP-slow

'Be careful/(go) slowly!'

(649) *Yikn y-o   stoa   s-omp   bisket.*
2SG   IRR-descend   store IRR-get   biscuit

'Go down to the store and get some biscuits.'

(650) *Ko-rokn   ni-mpil   yu-pul!*
HORT-NEG   IRR-again   IRR-do

'Don't do (it) again!'

(651) *Pil   mualepmel kilei,   yipm nor.*   (Leo26)
taro old.crop   M.DEIC   2PL   pull.out

'Those old taro, pull them out.'

98

7.2.3. Interrogative

Yes-No Questions

Yes-no questions are those which request either a simple affirmative or a negative answer from the hearer. There are several different structures to convey this meaning. If an interrogative marker is used (as is most common), it will appear sentence final. Typically, the intonation pattern will rise slightly, then drop on the final word, though not as sharply as it drops on the paragraph/discourse-level intonation pattern. However, if no interrogative word is used, the intonation pattern will rise to distinguish the interrogative sentence from the identically-structured declarative sentence which has a nearly level intonation with only a slight drop on the final word.

The most common interrogative marker to be used with yes-no questions is the negative verb form *arokn*, which then carries a meaning of '...or not?'. However the particle *fe* (or *pe*) is also used on occasion; in other contexts, this particle appears to mark given information, so it is hypothesized that it has some similar function in this context. But more research is needed to determine what different shades of meaning may influence the choice of interrogative marker, the meaning of the *fe*, and why *fe* is almost always used in the affirmative answers to questions framed with either interrogative. The question particle *a* has also been adopted from the Pidgin when the question expects a 'yes' answer. The discussion of interrogative words (Section 2.6) notes that *tikikn* 'probably' is also classed as an interrogative due to its sentence-final position and sentence intonation; as such, it carries a meaning of 'isn't it' and has an understood 'yes' as an answer (though it does not actually require an answer at all).

(652) *Komp yikn ka la Muyemp, arokn?* (J2-50)
yesterday 2SG RL.ASR go Muyemp no

Ans: Ank, apm pi-la fe. Arokn, apm karokn la.
Yes, 1SG ?-go ? No 1SG NEG go

'Did you go to Muyemp yesterday or not? Yes, I went. No, I didn't go.'

(653) *Kakomp-el, yikn ka n-ampu Sakapm fe?*
yesterday-NOM 2SG RL.ASR DES-toward Sakapm ?

Ans: Ank, apm ka n-ampu kuorpe. Arokn, apm karokn no.
x Yes 1SG RL.ASR toward F.DEIC No 1SG NEG ascend

'Did you go to Sakapm yesterday? Yes I went there. No I didn't go up.'

(654) *Ankai yikn ko ninkierk ipei Yamparenel fe?* (J2-51)
tomorrow 2SG IR.ASR bathe loc. Yamparenel ?

'Will you bathe at Yamparenel tomorrow?'

(655) *Yikn yo Maprik, a?*
2SG descend Maprik QUES

'Are you going down to Maprik?'

(656) *Kil ko ni-nket nunkurikn, tikikn?*
3SG IR.ASR IRR-come afternoon probably

'He'll probably come this afternoon, won't he?'

(657) *Yikn puai-puai?*
2SG RDP-happy

'Are you happy?'

(658) *Yitne aiknel ka a-r kei?*
house 2SG.POSS COP R-STAT N.DEIC

'Is your house here?'

Content Questions

Content questions request a response of information from the listener. The interrogative word typically occurs sentence final but can also be found sentence initial and occasionally as a modifier to a fronted noun; however, in any given sentence its position is fixed. The intonation pattern is again characterized by a drop on the final word. Some of the following examples are repeated from Section 2.6 (Interrogative Words) as sentence-level illustrations.

(659)   *Yikn ra   ninkilapm atipm?*
2SG give.birth child   how.many

'How many children do you have?'

(660)   *Keielel ka mi?*
N.DEIC COP what

'What is this?'

(661)   *Mi apul   yikn?*
what affect 2SG

'What's the matter with you?'

(662)   *Sande atik yikn ko   no   ser ant?*
Sunday when 2SG IR.ASR ascend see 1PL

'Which Sunday will you come up to see us?'

(663)   *Apm per ku?*
1SG put where

'Where did I put it?'

(664)   *Nio ankilel mini?*
name 3SG.POSS who

'What is his name?'

(665)   *Yikn nak   apm apulp pi?*
2SG rebuke 1SG about ?

'Why are you yelling at me?'/ 'Yu krosim mi bilong wanem?'

(666)   *Mini nakimp yikn?*
who talk.to 2SG

'Who told you?'

Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical questions are typically used as an exclamation, a rebuke or to forcefully communicate information which the speaker assumes the listener already knows. In either case, no answer is expected. Rhetorical questions can be framed as either yes/no or content questions. Only a few examples have been discovered to date, so additional research is needed to determine its range of structures and usages and frequency.

(667)   *Mi, yipm karokn sawe   keielel?!* (I Kor 6:19)
what 2PL NEG   P:know N.DEIC

'What, don't you know this?!' (Rebuke)

(668)   *Kuor yu-pul ta ku?!* (Leo 108)
F.DEIC IRR-do like where

'How has that happened?' (Idiom/Exclamation.)

(669)   *Ar nimpu, arip wule, a?* (Mt 26:45)
STAT sleep rest body QUES

'Sleeping and resting (your) bodies, huh?' (Rebuke)

7.3. Sentences With Initial Conjunction

Many times a logical relation is expressed in a sequence of two sentences rather than within a single sentence. In such cases, the second sentence will begin with a conjunction linking it to the previous sentence. The most common conjunctions to be found in this position are all related words: *kakilpe* 'therefore/olsem na', *kapepe* 'and so/sequential action/olsem tasol', and *pe* 'that being true then/em'. (The latter two may be unique to one dialect - Yanimoi. More research is needed.)

(670) *Waike ankilel ka kuret-im. Ka kilpe ant ko-rokn yo.*
car 3SG.POSS COP bad-fully therefore 1PL IR-NEG desc

'His car is broken down. Therefore we can't come down.'

(671) *Ti apul kil arkuos lo kuntonkel* (Mt 27:33-Zach.)
3PL CAUS 3SG carry.should. tree crossed

Jisas el. Ka pepe, ti pi niminink yemp...
Jisas NOM and.so 3PL go arrive place

'They made him carry Jesus' cross. And so they arrived at the place...'

(672) *I ka pepe, kil namiremp kil.* (Mt 26:49 -Zach.)
and.so 3SG kiss 3SG

'And so then he kissed him.'

(673) *Kil kuap skal ankilel. Pe kil ar* (Mt 26:51-Zach.)
3SG pull bushknife 3SG.POSS So(GIV) 3SG hit

ninkilapm...
young.person

'He pulled out his bushknife. Then he struck the young man...'

The other conjunctions which may be found sentence-initial are *i* 'and then' (Ex. 662 above) and *et* which marks a speaker's hypothesis/recommendation (See also Section 2.10.2).

(674) *Et yikn ko inket iser ti.* (Leo1)
HYP 2SG HORT go see 3PL

'I think you should go and see them.'

7.4. Multiple-Clause Sentence Types

Multiple-clause sentences function to convey a variety of meanings, ranging from a simple sequence of actions by a single actor to various logical relations including purpose, reason-result, temporal, conditional, conclusion, and contrast. In addition there are multi-clause sentences with a dependent complement clause and quotation sentences. (Sentences with dependent relative clauses are covered in Section 5.4.) There is a relatively small inventory of conjunctions and so the clauses are more frequently joined simply by juxtaposition. Purpose sentences (6.4.1) as well as sentences containing head-tail linkages (6.4.2) use only this method; a conjunction is never found joining the clauses in these sentences, perhaps because the dependent clauses within them are so incomplete as to be unable to stand alone. However, the other sentence types can be constructed with or without a conjunction depending upon pragmatic issues, context clues, and/or the structure of the clauses.

7.4.1. Purpose Sentence

Sentences containing a purpose clause are constructed with the purpose clause juxtaposed immediately following the independent clause. The dependent clause never has a subject and often consists of only one word, a verb. The mood of the dependent verb will generally match the mood of the independent one (i.e. realis with realis or irrealis with irrealis). It is also possible to have only a noun in the purpose clause (see Examples 668, 673) but this appears to be a verbal 'shorthand' for a whole clause.

(675) *Apm wok-kil   miepma-l.*
     1SG gave-3SG food R-eat

     'I gave him food to eat.'

(676) *Yikn inket iser   ti   wus.* (Leo18)
     2SG IR:go IR:see 3PL meat

     'You'll go to see them (to get) meat.'
     (Note: Two purpose clauses, one embedded in the other)

(677) *Yok   apm yenk yupul yitne   apmilel.*
     IR:give 1SG nail IR:do house 1SG.POSS

     'Give me nails to build my house.'

(678) *Kil   na   yikei elmp yiwor womp.*   (J1-56)
     3SG DES IR:use ax   IR:cut coconut

     'He's using an ax to cut into a coconut.'

(679) *Aiemp helpim kil   amie.* (CM92)
     rat   P:help 3SG dig.up

     'The rat helped him to dig it up.'

(680) *Kil   akei kitapm awulmp.* (CM154)
     3SG R:do ground R:cover

     'He did (moved?) the dirt to cover (it).'

(681) *Apm aser   yipm niopm.*
     1SG R:see 2PL   salt

     'I am seeing you(pl) for salt/to get salt.'

7.4.2. Tail-head Constructions

In oral narrative text, much use is made of tail-head linkage to provide discourse cohesiveness. Such sentences consist of a dependent clause repeating some or all of the previous clause, followed by an independent clause continuing the story line. The dependent tail-head clause may contain just a verb or verb phrase plus object or locative. Very occasionally it will also contain a subject (Ex. 678), but this is unusual.

(682) *Maken likekn kil awup pien   niol ankilel.*   (Muruk24)
     woman one   3SG R;find cassowary fur   3SG.POSS

     Awup awup, aser kil rokn ninkem.
     find   find   but 3SG NEG meet

     'One woman she looked for her cassowary fur. Having looked and looked, but she did not find it.'

(683) *Moule kilpe   war to kamump maken kilpe.* (Muruk28)
     person M.DEIC exit hand get   woman M.DEIC

     To   kamump maken kilpe, komp kil, apul war tyintiu
     hand get   woman M.DEIC get   3SG CAUS enter bird.hide

     pmin, ti   aminket knuamp.
     inside 3PL return   village

     'That man went out and grabbed that woman. Having grabbed that woman, having gotten her (he) took (her) into the hide, (then) they returned to the village.'

(684) ... *kitin   wupm   wantienk,   yuwei la yitne   nonk keipm.* (Muruk40)
   tie.up   leaf   cane   move go house peak above

Yuwei la yitne   nonk keipm, minkan   ankilel   tuwie
horiz   go house peak above   husband 3SG.POSS 3DL

kilpe   apmuei ar   ar.
M.DEIC   stay   STAT STAT

'...tied (it) in a cane-tree leaf and put it above the peak of the roof. Having put it up in the peak of the house, she and her husband stayed there (in the village) (for some time).'

(685) *Kil   naimpil no   nor   yatel. Kil   nor   yatel,* (Muruk107)
3SG   again   ascend pull.out other   3SG pull.out other

wo   amuk kil.
descend gave 3SG

'He went up again and pulled out another. He having pulled out the other, went down and gave (it) to her.'

(686) *Kil   akopitekn, no   no   mi-niat.*   (Muruk142)
3SG   small   ascend ascend IMPF-finish

No   miniat, puaniampepm ankilel   miniat-im.
ascend finish   face   3SG.POSS finish-COMP

'She was/became small, (the fur) went up and up completely. Having gone completely up, her face was completely finished (i.e. disappeared).'

7.4.3. Sequential Action Sentences

Same Subject

In text, it is not uncommon to find a string of actions by a single actor in which the subject is not repeated but carries over from the first clause. Neither are any conjunctions used between the clauses. There is a slight rising intonation at the end of each medial clause in the string. At the peak of a story there can be up to 6 clauses in such a string. These will be interpreted as a single sentence exhibiting coordination by juxtaposition, with the clauses separated by commas indicating non-finalization.

(687) *Pien   niol kilpe   kil   komp, akei mua, kitin   kitin* (Muruk37)
cassowary hair M.DEIC 3SG get   use rope tie.up tie.up

kitin   wupm   wantienk, yuwei la yitne   nonk keipm.
tie.up   leaf   cane   horiz go house peak above

'The cassowary feathers she got, using vine, tied and tied (them in) cane leaf, and put (it) up on the ridgepole of the house.'

(688) *Miepm kilei   yikn yiwup, yum   kilnkil, wopm irko,* (Leo20)
food   N.DEIC   2SG   find   put.in bag   banana cut.down

mitno ra,   inket iser ti.
pitpit harvest go   see   3PL

'That food you (must) find, put in the bag, cut down bananas, harvest pitpit, and go to see them.'

(689) *Pil   karep ti   numinkuorp, aye,   per winink.* (Leo45)
taro already 3PL cooked   dig.out put limbum

'The taro which is already roasted, dig out and put it on the limbum.'

(690) *Ti   akei wampen, akei akei akei rien.*   (Leo37)
3PL make song   make make make morning

'They did a singsing and danced and danced until morning.'

Different Subject

When a speaker wishes to join two clauses with different subjects into a single grammatical sentence, or to re-emphasize the same subject by repeating it in a following sequential clause, he will use the conjunction *i* 'and then'. (See also Section 3.9.3)

(691) *Lo tiknank rokn atip kil i pien nakimp* (Lukas)
tree branch NEG brk.under 3SG and cassowary say.to

aipm pulmien...
bird type.of

'The tree branch broke under him and then the cassowary said to the 'pulmien' bird...'

(692) *Aipm yipmanklo la aser kil upmomp i kil* (Alphonse)
bird type.of go see 3SG back and 3SG

napmok...
said

'The 'ipmanklo' bird went and saw his back and then he spoke out ...'

(693) *... ti aser mewelel Sairini el, nia ankilel* (Mt 27:32)
3PL see someone Sairini NOM name 3SG.POSS

Saimon i ti kamp kil...
Saimon & 3PL get 3SG

'They saw someone from Sairini, his name was Saimon, and they got him and...'

7.4.4. Reason-Result Sentences

A reason-result sentence is most often formed by linking two clauses with the prepositional verb *apulp* acting as a conjunction to mean 'because' or 'for'. The result is stated first followed by the reason. (Examples 686, 688) However if it is constructed by simple juxtaposition with no conjunction used, the order is reversed (i.e. reason first, then result) (Examples 687, 689).

(694) *... per kil ar nimpu ar waimp miepm-el* (Lk 2:7)
put 3SG STAT sleep STAT bed food-NOM
RESULT

bulmakau-el apulp yitne sorkel ka nomintip.
cow-NOM because house guest COP full
CONJ REASON

'...put him to sleep in the cow's food trough because the inn was full.'

(695) *Ti aser kuai, ninkopmnilmp antuel ka* (Mt 2:9-10)
3PL see star seat.emotions 3PL.POSS COP
REASON RESULT

puai-puai yatip.
RDP -happy very

'They saw the star (and so) they felt very happy.'

(696) *Ti karokn a aser sinsi kilpe apulp ti ar* (Leo82)
3PL NEG ? see thing M.DEIC because 3PL STAT
RESULT CONJ REASON

kriekn-el.
outside-NOM

'They didn't see that thing (spirit) because they were outside.'

(697) *Yite al   yapipm antit.* (J1-10)
     fire consume ton   broke
     REASON   RESULT

     'The fire consumed the ton tree (and so) it broke.'

Cause-Effect sentences are constructed similarly, by juxtaposition, with the cause first, followed by the effect. Thus they are considered a variation of the juxtaposition-type of the Reason-Result sentence.

(698) *Apm wank, apm ko-rokn   somp ninsi no   keipm el.*
     1SG short 1SG HORT-NEG get   thing ascend above NOM
     CAUSE |EFFECT

     'I'm short, (so) I can't get things that are up high.'

7.4.5. Temporal Sentences

Temporal sentences are constructed with the 'when' (temporal) clause first, followed by the 'then' (expected result) clause. The first clause is always in realis mood, whether the event has transpired or not. This is apparently because the reality of this event is dependent on the second clause rather than on the so-called 'real world'. The second clause varies between realis and irrealis mood depending on whether it is describing an actual event (realis) or an anticipated/hypothetical event (irrealis). The two clauses are joined by simple juxtaposition.

(699) *Awun a-l   apm, apm a   ye-l   pep   nimmuan.*
     sun   R-consume 1SG   1SG DES IRR-drink kulau

     TEMPORAL - Hypothetical/Expected

     'When the sun consumes me (idiomatic), I'll drink kulau.'

(700) *Kil   ar apm, apm naimpil ar kil.* (J3-40)
     3SG hit 1SG   1SG again   hit 3SG

     TEMPORAL - Actual

     'When he hit me, I hit him back.'

(701) *Kakomp   yikn la-el,   yikn karokn nakimp apm.* (CM47)
     yesterday 2SG go-NOM 2SG NEG   talk.to 1SG

     TEMPORAL - Actual

     'When you went yesterday, you didn't tell me.'

Note that in Example 693 the temporal clause is marked with the nominalizer enclitic *-el*. It is hypothesized that this may indicate simultaneous action, whereas the two unmarked examples describe sequential; however more research is needed.

7.4.6. Conditional Sentences

Conditional sentences are constructed very similarly to temporal sentences (above), first the 'if' clause followed by the 'then' clause. However, for conditionals, the first clause is always in irrealis mood and the nominalizer enclitic *-el* attaches at the end of the clause. The second clause is also always in irrealis. There appears to be no structural difference between a potential/anticipated-type conditional and a contrary-to-fact conditional. An unfulfilled contrafactual conditional is simply constructed as a regular conditional with the addition of the final negation *aser rokn* 'but no' (Ex. 697).

(702) *Awun ko   ye-l   apm-el,   apm a   ye-l*
     sun   IR.ASR IRR-consume 1SG-NOM 1SG DES IRR-consume

     pep nimmuan.
     kulau

     CONDITIONAL - Hypothetical

     'If the sun consumes me, I'll drink kulau.' (Note: compare to Ex. 557 above.)

(703) *Ankai   kil   ko   la-el,   apm impil   yi-ntemp* (J4-21)
tomorrow   3SG   IR.ASR come-NOM 1SG IR.again IRR-with

kil   mi-la.
3SG   IMPF-go
CONDITIONAL- Hypothetical

'If he comes tomorrow, I'll go back with him.'

(704) *Apm korokn ki-yi-el,   kaik apmilel   ka*   (J4-21)
1SG   NEG   IRR-fall-NOM   leg   1SG.POSS   RL.ASR

korokn   yi-tit.
NEG   IRR-brk
CONTRAFACTUAL CONDITIONAL-Hypothetical

'If I had not fallen, my leg would not have broken.'

(705) *Apm ko   ki-yi-el,   kaik apmilel   ko   yi-tit,*
1SG   IR.ASR IRR-fall-NOM leg   1SG:POSS   IR.ASR IRR-break

aser rokn.
but   NEG

'If I had fallen, my leg would have broken, but no (I did not fall).'

(706) *Ko   na   apm ye-k   Jisas pi   ta   aipmel,*   (Mt 26:15)
IR.ASR   DES 1SG IRR-give Jisas go   hand   2PL:POSS

yipm ko   ye-   k   apm mi?
2PL   IR.ASR IRR-give 1SG what

'If I give Jesus into your(PL) hands, what will you(PL) give me?'

7.4.7. Complement Sentences

Complement clauses differ from relative clauses in that relative clauses modify noun phrases while complement clauses are the object of cognitive predications. There are two different types of complement sentences. The first type has the complement clause juxtaposed following the intransitive clause it modifies and marked by the nominalizer enclitic *-el* after the last word. (Examples 699, 600, 705) The second type occurs in the case of speaking verbs, and uses the prepositional verb *apulp* as a conjunction to mean 'about', thus linking the complement clause with its head, the preceding intransitive clause. (Examples 702-704) Example 701 appears to be an exception in that it follows the first pattern but without the final *-el*.

(707) *Apm rokn wunempuaiyimp kil   ko   la-el.*   (J4-21)
1SG   NEG   think   3SG   IR.ASR come-NOM

'I don't think he'll come.'

(708) *Kil   karokn fuikn   yikn ser kil-el.*
3SG   NEG   desire   2SG   see 3SG-NOM

'He doesn't want you to see him.'

(709) *Ant   eipm   waike kilipm.*
1PL   hear   car   approach

'We heard the car coming.'

(710) *Kil   nak sank apulp sinsi ko   nipir   kien-el.*   (Mt.1:23)
3SG   say   talk   about   thing REL   arrive? last-NOM

'He spoke about the things which will happen in the last times.'

(711) *Apm a   niek apulp sampela wankepm ka   ninink* (Sipas52)
      1SG DES tell about P:some heavy   RL.ASR happen

      tuwie ka   mi-niorkn.
      3DL   COP IMPF-first

      'I'm going to speak about some heavies which have happened to them(dl) before (lit. 'first').'

(712) *Apm aiyimp Benny apulp ninsi kilpe   kil   per.* (J4-36)
      1SG ask   Benny about thing M.DEIC 3SG put

      'I asked Benny about the things he had put (there).'

(713) *Ant iser   ko   yintemp muanimpor-el.*   (Leo1)
      1PL IR:see IR.ASR IR:with ancestor.spirit-NOM

      'We will see (if we) are joined by an ancestor spirit.'
      (Note that the second clause of this sentence is a conditional, and attached *-el* according to the pattern in 6.4.6 above.)

7.4.8. Contrast/Frustration Sentences

There is one conjunction aser, a homophone of the verb 'to see', which is used to express contrast in the sense of expectancy reversal (Examples 706, 707) and also in the sense of opposing participants or activities (Examples 708). It can be used to link two clauses or can be combined with the negative verb to negate the previous clause. (Examples 707, 710) However, some 'but' contrasts in English are expressed more naturally with an 'only' construction in Kombio (Example 711) and therefore do not use *aser*.

(714) *Ant wok kil   Kristina aser kil   karik-emp.* (C3-23)
      1PL gave 3SG Kristina but 3SG P:les-VAL

      'We gave him Kristina but she was 'les'/didn't like it.'

(715) *Kil   naker kil   aser rokn.* (Muruk143)
      3SG chase 3SG but NEG

      'He chased her but no (he didn't catch her).'

(716) *Tuarko apul niokn, apul apul apul apul wunomp,* (Leo6)
      3DL   do   work do   do   do   do   night

      aser wutu   apmuei knuamp.
      but garamut remain village

      'They all worked and worked until night, but/while the garamut (was beating) in the village.'

(717) *Kil   amuk amuk ti   ninkilapm ankilel   aim, aser* (Leo94)
      3SG gave gave 3PL child   3SG.POSS eat but

      karep nimpua kilelel la   komp al.
      already dog   M.DEIC came got   ate

      'She continued giving her children (food) to eat but/not-knowing that dog had already come and taken and eaten (it).' (Note: she was handing food to them without facing them.)'

(718) *Ti   arko... apul apul aser karokn, wuntokn marenk* (Leo113)
      3PL INCL do   do   but NEG   stone   cement

      sit-el   nomp.
      only-NOM go.up

      'They all worked and worked but no, (it was) cement-stone all the way up.'

(719) *Moule   ko-rokn   ninink waiek aiapel yatel,*   (Jn 14:6b) (J1-20)
      person   HORT-NEG   arrive father road   other

      karokn; ka   apm sit.
      NEG   COP 1SG only

      'People cannot come to the father (by any) other road, no; it is only me.' (No man can come to the father but by me.)

When the contrast relationship is clear to both speaker and hearer from context and/or shared information, it can be expressed by simple juxtaposition. For instance the situation stated in Example 709 above is recounted some 6 clauses later in the text as follows:

(720) *Kil   wok kil, nimpua la   komp al.* (Leo55)
      3SG   gave 3SG dog   came   got   ate

      'She gave (it) to him(person) (but) the dog came and got and ate (it).'

7.5. Quotation Sentences

Quotations are generally signalled by one or more occurrences of the speaking verbs (*nak*, 'to say', *napmok* 'to reply/speak out', *aiyimp* 'to ask'). A skillful storyteller, however, may mark the beginning of conversation simply by voice change with no overt use of a speaking verb (Ex. 719). Likewise, in an extended conversation, the initial speech is usually marked and the following responses often are unmarked and assumed to be clear from the context. (Example 718) Both direct and indirect quotations are used in the language, distinguished only by the choice of pronouns (see examples 716, 717, 718). Embedded quotes likewise are distinguished by pronoun reference and meaning. (Ex. 724) The particle na appears occasionally following the speaking verb and before the actual quotation. It seems to signal a gap, some implied previous conversation (see examples 715, 720, 722) and so will be labeled QOM for 'Quote Omission'. (See Section 2.9.3.5 for other functions of this particle.)

(721) *Miniat, kil   napmok, 'Anink anink apm atn   wurun...'* (Muruk52)
      finish   3SG   answer   time   time   1SG walk   bush

      'Then he answered, "All the time I walk in the bush..."' (1 speaking verb)

(722) *Aser maken-pien   nakimp minkan ankilel,   nak* (Muruk56)
      but   woman-cassowary   talk.to husband 3SG.POSS say

      'Ka   niaikno aiknel.   Ti   san   lok...'
      COP   sister   2SG.POSS 3PL   carry   basket

      'But the cassowary woman said to her husband, "It was your sisters. They carried bark baskets..."' (2 speaking verbs)

(723) *Kil   nakimp-kil nak na,   'Orait, yikn   niorkn,* (Muruk72)
      3SG   talk.to-3SG say   QOM P:Allright 2SG   first

      apm   sop   yikn.'
      1SG   follow   2SG

      'He said to him, "All right, you go first,I'll follow you."' (2 speaking verbs + *na*)
      Note: In this case there is a gap in which the speaker is assumed from context to have recounted an incident and a request to the hearer and the hearer is now responding with these words.

(724) *Yikn yo   nikimp waiek ankilel   na   ser apm.* (Muruk)
      2SG   descend talk.to father DEF.ART DES   see 1SG

      'You go down and tell father to look at me.' (Indirect quote)

(725) *'Karep   yikn   nakimp   apm   apm   karokn   maken   tru,* (Muruk136)
already   2SG   talk.to   1SG   1SG   NEG   woman   real

      maken   wompitne   knuamp-el.'
      woman   birthplace   village-NOM

      '"You already told me that I'm not a real woman from this village."'
      (Indirect quote embedded within a direct quote.)

(726) *Maken   ankilel   nakimp-kil,   'O   et   yikn   inket   iser   ti...'* (Leo25)
woman   3SG.POSS   talk.to-3SG   Oh   HYP   2SG   go   see   3PL

      'Ank.   Yikn   somp   ti   maken   ninkilapm...'
      Yes   2SG   get   3PL   woman   child

      'His wife said to him, "All right, I think you should go and see them…"
      "Yes. You get the women and children..."'
      Note: the response (2nd quote) is unmarked.

(727) *El   kilei   kil   nunsur,   kil   wok   kil   ninkilapm.* (Leo52-53)
one   M.DEIC   3SG   peel   3SG   gave   3SG   child

      'Ei,   yikn   somp   pil   kei,   yikn   yel.'
      Hey   2SG   get   taro   N.DEIC   2SG   eat

      'That one she peeled and gave to her child (saying) "Hey, take this taro and eat
      it."' (No speaking verb)

(728) *Aser   ninkilapm   ankilel   nakimp-kil   kilelel.   Kil* (Leo60)
but   child   3SG.POSS   talk.to-3SG   M.DEIC   3SG

      nakimp   kil   na,   'Mantiek,   nilmp   ar   apm   yatip...'
      talk.to-3SG   QOM   mother   stomach   hit   1SG   very

      'But her child spoke to her like this. He said, "Mother, I'm very hungry…"'
      (1 speaking verb plus *na*)

(729) *Kil   aiyimp-kil   na-n-k-imp-kil,   'Poroman,   yikn* (CM55-56)
3SG   ask-3SG   R-SIG-say-VAL-3SG   P:friend   2SG

      imperip   apm   keipe.
      await?   1SG   N.DEIC

      'He called out and said to him, 'Friend, you wait here for me.'
      (2 different speaking verbs)

(730) *Em   nau,   kil   wo   na,   'Ank   poroman,   apm* (CM79-80)
So   then   3SG   descend   QOM   Yes   P:friend   1SG

      sawe-im.'
      P:know-COMP

      'So then he went down and (the other answered), 'Yes, friend, I understand
      completely.' (no speaking verb, *na* only)

(731) *Aiemp   aiyimp-kil   nikilep.* (CM97)
rat   ask-3SG   dig

      'The rat asked him to dig.'
      Note: A 'shorthand' form to mark an indirect quote.

(732) *Kil   nak   na,   'Yipmuie pi wompitne kitnan-el   epe...* (Mt 21:6)
3SG   say   QOM   2DL   go   village   near-NOM   DEIC

Ko   na   mewel   nikimp yipm sank stelel, i
IR.ASR DES   someone talk.to 2PL   talk some   CONJ

yipmuie nikimp kil   na,   "Moule ka   ant sop-el
2DL   talk.to 3SG   QOM   person REL   1PL follow-NOM

wankes ant la na   somp ti   yupulp kil pi." I   ko
send   1PL go DES   get   ÿ3PL for   3SG go CONJ IR.ASR

kil   yikei niampepm mi-ser   yipmuie yupul   ti   mi-la.'
3SG   use   eye   PRF-see 2DL   IR:CAUS 3PL PRF-go

'He said, "You two go to that nearby village...If someone want to say something to do, you tell him, 'The person who we follow sent us to go and get them for him to come.' And he will use his eyes seeing you(DL) cause them to go."'

7.6. Fragmentary Sentences

There are occasions when a sentence may be considered a complete utterance even though it does not contain all the elements typically required of a full clause or sentence. For example, the affirmative answer *Ank* in dialogue or conversational texts or other answers to questions stating their requested information without the supporting full clause, as in *Kil kuorelel* 'Him - that one over there'. Another example is the utterance *Nakil?*, which means 'Who knows?! I don't.'

Longer utterances which yet are fragmentary sentences are of two types: an introduction of new participants in a discourse (which consist of one or more noun phrases) (Ex. 725, 726) or a series of temporal phrases giving the sense of time passing (Ex. 727) (elaborated by an exaggerated rise in intonation and elongation of vowels until a sudden drop at the end).

(733) *Es   ankilel,   knuan   ankilel.*   (Lumun)
old.sibl. DEF.ART   young.bro.   DEF.ART

'The older brother and the younger brother (are the main characters in this story).'
Note: This is the first sentence in a story.

(734) *Orait,   maken kilelel   maken   ankilel.*
P:all.right woman M.DEIC   woman   3SG.POSS

Orait,   nimpua kilei   (Leo39)
P:all.right dog   M.DEIC

'So, that woman, his wife. So, that dog.'
Note: This is a recap midway through a story, to refocus attention on the most important character and introduction of a new character.

(735) *Awun peikn peikn peikn-- wunomp.* (Muruk47)
sun   big   big   big   night

'(They worked) all day long, all the way until night.'

7.7. Figurative Language

This section will serve as merely an introduction to this area, noting some of the types of figurative language that have been observed thus far, with examples of each.

7.7.1. Simile and Metaphor

These two figures are grouped together because it is not yet clear whether or how the language distinguishes between them. The most common means of making these figures seems to be use of a form of the verb *nuwar* 'become' (Ex. 728-732). However the stative construction using the copula ka also seems to be acceptable in certain contexts (Ex. 733).

Only in Example 734 is there a metaphor expressed in a transitive clause. The topic appears first, followed by the illustration, which can be a clause in itself. If the point of similarity is specified, it seems to come last. It is not yet clear why the different forms of the verb (*nuwar*) are used. In one example (732) the prepositional verb *sop* 'like/follow?' is used to mark the simile comparison.

(736) *Ant ko   yu-wur   anink likekn nuwar   Jisas   a-wur* (John23)
1PL IR.ASR IRR-die   time   one   become   Jesus   R-die

a-r   matmat-el   anink   likekn.
R-STAT   grave-NOM   time   once

'We will die one time like Jesus died and was in the grave once.'

(737) *Ti   a-m-pul   nimpi sukn-el   nuwarep   a saiyip* (Sipas#1:JT106B)
3PL R-SIG-do   tears big-NOM   become   ? cry.for

moule ka   a-wur-el.
person COP R-die-NOM

'They exhibited great sorrow like (they were) crying for a man who had died.'

(738) *Ti   ai-kulk   a-somp   ploplo ipe   nu<mu>arep* (Sipas#1:JT111)
3PL R-vomit R-defecate writhe DEIC become(PRF)

yokn niamp a-r   a-r   fukn-el.
fish   poison R-STAT R-STAT river-NOM

'They vomit, defecate, writhe on the ground like fish poison has been left in the river.'

(739) *Ko-rokn   la nuwarep wurokn-el nuwarep nimpua* (Sipaslect:JT51)
HORT-NEG   go become   pig-NOM   become   dog

yu-pul   purkup kuko   milmin.
IRR-do   play   crazy   naughty

'You must not go like pigs and dogs to do crazy, naughty play.'

(740) *Yikn sank tnei   sop aipm sank el.*   (J4-31)
2SG talk   sing.out like bird   talk   NOM

'You sing out just like a bird does.'/ 'You sound like a bird.'

(741) *Yikn a-ri   kil   eik   kriekn-el   tasol ka* (Leo#3:JT93)
2SG R-rub 3SG from outside-NOM but   COP

saklok-ip.
snake-LIM

'You have rubbed him on the outside but/and so (inside he is) a snake and nothing else.'

(742) *Saklok a-kei   marpm.* (J4-41)
snake   R-make clay.pot

'The snake is coiled up.' (Metaphor)

7.7.2. Hyperbole

Hyperbole, the use of an exaggeration for emphasis, is most common with the word *wuntu* 'to die'.

(743) *Kil   so   so   wuntu-wuntu-el.*
3SG cry cry die-die-NOM

'He is crying terribly hard (lit. 'crying dyingly').'

(744) *Nilmp   a-r   apm wuntu.*
stomach R-hit 1SG die

'I'm terribly hungry.' (Lit. 'My stomach hits me dyingly.')

(745) *Tuarko a-pmuei a-r   a-r   a-r   nimpu* (Leo#1:80)
    3DL   R-STAT R-STAT R-STAT R-STAT sleep

    niampepm wuntu-im.
    eye   die-COMP

    'They all slept very deeply (lit. 'went to sleep and slept a long time, (their) eyes completely died').'

7.7.3. Euphemism

Only a few examples of euphemism have been observed thus far, all concerned with sexual intercourse. It is referred to by *apul* 'to do', by *komp* 'to get (a woman)', by *antemp* 'with', and we think by the phrase *ator luwu* 'pounding sago (in the bush)'. Also one text which referred to a woman's private parts used the term 'her things'.

7.7.4. Idioms

Several idiomatic phrases have been referred to throughout the paper, particularly in Section 3.8.6 Compound Verbs. In addition to these, the following have been observed:

(746) *Apm antemp kil   kis.*
    1SG   with   3SG   sit

    'I married her.'

(747) *Yarkup apul   kil.*
    blood   affect 3SG

    'He is afraid.'

(748) *Wule kil   atit.*
    body 3SG   break

    'He has goosebumps.'

(749) *niopm   sampol*
    salt   cooked

    '(people from) the beach'

(750) *niopm   tinam*
    salt   raw

    '(people from) the bush'

(751) *Kil   ka   tanku kuko.*
    3SG   COP   ear   crazy

    'He is deaf.'

(752) *wurokn   nimpua*
    pig   dog

    'laymen'/ 'man i no gat nem' (some say no putdown implied, but the younger people tend to disagree)'

(753) *Apm antun yite apulp pep, apm a   yel ninserk el.*
    1SG cut   fire about water 1SG DES eat bathe   NOM

    'I'm so happy about the water that I can drink and bathe in.' (Spoken as if by a bird)'

8. Paragraph/Discourse Considerations

8.1. Introduction

The following comments are only beginning observations, limited by level of language proficiency and thus lack of in-depth discourse analysis to date.

Paragraphs or higher level divisions in discourse are often marked by use of the borrowed Pidgin word *orait*. Apart from this marker, there appear to be no lexical/grammatical markers for paragraph break; such breaks can generally be deduced from context -- i.e. change of participants, scene and/or time.

8.2. Coherence

Coherence and continuity are obtained by means of frequent tail-head linkages. This also serves to slow down the information flow so that hearers more easily grasp the content. Additionally, as noted in the section on Verbs - Aspect and Mood (3.8.2), Givon states that these markers constitute a major means of encoding connectedness or coherence in a discourse. (Givon,1984:269)

8.3. Prominence

8.3.1. Sentence Level Topicalization

Prominence on a lower (clause) level is obtained by fronting the object or time word in a sentence where either of these is primarily what the sentence is about or is emphasized.

(754)   *Pil   mualepmel kilei,   yipm nor.   (Leo#1:26)*
        taro   old   M.DEIC 2PL   pull.out

        'That old taro is what you (should) pull out.'

(755)   *Wus   yikn komp   ar   ku?   (Muruk:55)*
        meat   2SG   get   STAT   where

        'Concerning the meat, where did you get it?'

(756)   *Karep-   el   apm   atnimp yikn nanket Yassip. (J2-38)*
        already-NOM   1SG R:care.for 2SG   R:go Yassip

        'I already went with you to Yassip.'

Prominence or emphasis can similarly be done by stating the topic overtly at the beginning of the sentence or, at times, stating it in summary form at the end. The former is illustrated in Examples 749 & 750; the latter occurs frequently in everyday conversation though has never been observed in text and is illustrated in Examples 751 & 752.

(757)   *Saklok kilelel,   miepm ankilel   sakuor.*
        snake   M.DEIC mouth 3SG.POSS open.wide

        'That snake, its mouth opened wide.'

(758)   *Ti   eikusukn, wule ti   niukur.*
        3PL all   body 3PL   shake

        'All of them, their bodies shook (with fear).'

(759)   *Waiek na   yikei ku,   waiek?*
        father DES   make   where   father

        'Where is father going?'

(760) *Yok apm yipmamp aiknel, yipmamp.*
give 1SG thread 2SG.POSS thread

'Give me your thread.'

8.3.2. Sentence Level Nominalization

It is also hypothesized that the nominalizer clitic *-el* may sometimes be used to bring a clause into greater prominence.

(761) *Mini apul apm kaiyi-el?* (J4-31)
who CAUS 1SG fall-NOM

'Who made me fall down?'

(762) *Mentit maken tuwie kis-el Puapnankre.* (Leo#1:3)
man woman 3DL sit-NOM Puapnankre

'The man and wife lived at Puapnankre.'
(Note: this emphasis is on the place, which still exists today and is the origin of the clan story. Not clear why the *-el* attaches to the verb, though, rather than the place name.)

(763) *Apm a ye-l plo-el.* (Zipa)
1SG DES IR-eat sago-NOM

'I want to eat (it) with sago/the sago way.'

(764) *Anink wielikekn kil nai-mpil nak-el nau,* (CM-117)
time three 3SG R-again talk-NOM P:now

aiemp kilpe kalap nai-mpil no...
rat M.DEIC P:jump R-again ascend

'Having spoken three times, that rat again jumped up...'

(765) *Apm a kark na kis-el.* (Jon-4)
1SG RL.ASR avoid DES sit-NOM

'I don't want to live.'

8.3.3. Paragraph Level

On occasion, an entire sentence will be repeated, sometimes with the verb changed to a closely-related synonym. It is hypothesized that this too is a form of prominence or dramatic emphasis.

(766) *Maken maken eikusukn ka naimpil mila yemp* (Muruk:29-32)
woman woman all RL.ASR again go place

antuel, ankeimp yemp antuel. Ankeimp yemp antuel,
3PL.POSS go.back place 3PL.POSS go.back place 3PL.poss

ti atn likekn likekn mila yemp antuel.
3PL walk one one go place 3PL.POSS

'All the women again went to their place/village, went back to their place.
Having gone back to their place, they walked one by one going to their place.'
(Note: this series of clauses takes this group of participants permanently offstage, they do not reappear during the discourse.)'

As mentioned previously, prominence of story peak or climax is consistently signalled by an unusually long string of subjectless clauses (actions of the main actor).

8.3.4. Gapping

Gapping is defined as 'the absence of a linguistic unit at a place in a pattern of relationships where one might have been expected.' (Crystal:133) Gapping has been observed at climactic points in a narrative (see examples 676, 677 in Section 6.3.2 Head-Tail Constructions) and also as simply a kind of verbal shorthand, that is for pragmatic reasons.

Because it seems to mark a unique kind of prominence, that of the exclamation or emotional intensity, it is included under this subsection.

(767) *Karokn   wankup,   ____   pien   niol.*   (Muruk100)
NEG   tobacco   cassowary   hair

'(It) wasn't tobacco (but it was) cassowary hair.'
(Note: No stated topic and the *ka* copula is missing with the second comment. Spoken at a point in the narrative when a key prop is revealed, just before the main climax.)

(768) *Yikn   korokn   ____   miepm   sepmel   al.*
2SG   NEG   food   good   eat

'You should not have (given me anything but) good food to eat.'
(Note: verb missing; statement makes no sense, communicates exactly the opposite meaning from what's intended if no verb is supplied. Spoken at a climactic point in the narrative, speaker is nearly stuttering with rage.)

(769) *Yel   felfelk,   ____   niankurmp!*
eat   quickly   flies

'Eat quickly (because of the) flies (which will get on it if you don't).'
(Note: this illustrates the pragmatic issue of shared knowledge of speaker/hearer allowing verbal shorthand. To be a complete utterance it should have the prepositional verb *apulp* 'because' in the gap and possibly a locative or verb at the end. It is distinguished in meaning from a clause meaning 'eat the flies' by the position of the modifier, and by a pause between it and the noun.)

8.4. Participant Tracking

Participant tracking is the area of discourse analysis which has received the most attention to date.   Devices for identifying participants, listed according to increasing levels of specificity are as follows:

Chart 7.1 Participant Identification

Zero Reference

Pronoun

Noun

Modified Noun Phrase

Name

Nominalized Clause/Relative Clause

Fronted Topic

Introduction Sentence

No instances of cataphoric reference have been observed. However participants may be introduced with the third singular possessive *ankilel* which in these cases functions as definite marker (see Example 725).

The introductory sentence is an interesting phenomenon. It not only occurs as the first sentence in many discourses, but also in mid-discourse when one participant has been in focus for some time, then is leaving 'center stage' and a new participant is about to appear. At this juncture, the new participant(s) is introduced by full sentence(s), a narrator-insertion after which the action of the story continues. The example below occurs at Clause 49-50 of a 200-clause text. The first 48 clauses are focusing on the activities of the man. At this point the focus is shifting to his wife and children, who will be the major protagonists for the remainder of the story, along with the 'dog', who is the adversary of the story.

(770) *Orait, maken kilelel,   maken ankilel,   nio   ankilel*   (Leo#1:49-50)
       OK   woman M.DEIC woman 3SG.POS name 3SG.POS

Mipmakn Maimpilpm, Mipmakn Maimpilpm. Orait,
Mipmakn Maimpilpm, Mipmakn Maimpilpm. OK

nimpua kilei   ka   rokn nimpua, ka   muanimpor,
dog   M.DEIC RL.ASR NEG dog   RL.ASR ancest.spirit

muanimpor   kitapm   kilelel.
ancest.spirit ground M.DEIC

'So, now we have that woman, his wife, her name was Mipmakn Maimpilpm, yes Mipmakn Maimpilpm. And then we have that dog, he is not a dog (but) is an ancestor spirit, an ancestor spirit from that ground.'

Note also the use of fronted topics and repetition as well the the division-marker *orait*, all combining to point out the importance of these characters and the significance of this point in the story. A similar pattern is found in a clan story, given by the same speaker, except that the repetition is far more frequent and includes not only the key participant but the key action (that he created them) and is thus in essence a frequent restatement of the theme. It is very possible that in this case a contributing factor motivating the many repetitions was the pragmatic issue that he was telling the story to me, an outsider who knew nothing of these things.

Participant tracking makes use of the deictic forms *kilpe* and *kuorpe* (see also Section 3.7) following either nouns or pronouns in the subject or object position. The *kilpe*, a middle distance marker, refers to a participant previously mentioned relatively recently, i.e. 4-6 clauses back. The *kuorpe*, a far-distance marker, is used far less frequently and specifies a participant mentioned farther back in the text, i.e. 30 clauses back or so, who is now being brought back on stage. This is not strictly followed, however, because if the hearer is well aware of the participant even though he has not been mentioned for 20 or more clauses, *kilpe* may still be used. More research may be helpful in further clarifying patterns and also in discovering what factor(s) determine the use of various other forms of the deictics, such as *kilei* and *kilelel*.

These deictics can also be used to mark key props, though this is less common. In these cases it seems to represent a higher degree of prominence for that prop rather than an anaphoric reference to some previous mention of it.

Participant tracking seems to be based on shared knowledge of speaker and hearer, as I've seen when working through a taped text with someone from another village who did not originally give it and is less familiar with the context; in such a case, the person helping me sometimes has trouble tracking who the pronouns are referring to, just as I do.

All the above observations have been made on narrative text, the majority of which have been traditional stories. Other discourse genre have not been extensively collected or analyzed yet.

9. Residue: areas for further research

Following is a summary list of areas needing further research, most of which have already been mentioned at appropriate sections within the paper.

- What controls morphophonemic variation in the *pi-* affix? (See 1.3.8.4)
- What meaning distinctions are signalled by partial reduplication within certain modifiers and verbs? (See 2.4)

  Examples include:
  nipel/nipipel 'sharp'
  mentenk/menintenk 'strong'
  wankepm/waninkepm 'heavy'
  implemp/imimplemp 'turn around'
  apul/apupul 'to do' (John:86)
- What influences the movement of temporal words to different clause positions? Is there a meaning distinction or discourse-level function when they are shortened? (See 3.5)
- Clarify functions of deictics, particularly re: 1) participant tracking, and 2) when to use pointing words *kupo*, *kipie*. (See 3.7)
- When do interrogatives take the *-el* clitic and why? (See 3.6)
- Clarify the discourse function of fronted temporal word with *-el*. Does it serve to indicate change of scene/character as well as time? (See 3.5)
- Uses of *na* particle when occurring without a verb -- check hypotheses given. (See 3.8.2.4)
- Meaning of *ki-* prefix and how distinguished from *si-* (See 3.8.2.1 and 3.8.2.8)
- Is there a *si-* affix before the verbs *sawol*, 'swing' *sakuor*, 'open wide', *simper* 'drive away', *suar* 'command (someone) to exit'? If so what does it mean? Native speakers do not perceive these as being related to *yawol* 'rotate', *akuor* 'split', *per* 'put', and *war* 'exit'.
- Is there an a- affix for verbs? If so what does it mean. Or is it morphophonemic variation from *ka* or *na* only, and if so what controls the variation?
- When is it appropriate to negate with only *rokn* and no accompanying particles? (See 3.8.3)
- Meaning and appropriate usage of conjunction *i* (See 2.10.3)
- Meaning differences in the varying structures for yes/no questions (See 6.2.3.1)
- Uses for rhetorical questions
- Any further examples of gapping? How and when to use it acceptably.
- Function of interrogatives: when they have implied criticism and when they are simply seeking information.
- Continue to investigate meaning and function of *-N-* verb affix – is it really a 'Significance Signal' or does it have other function(s)?

10.Bibliography

Bybee, Joan L. 1985. Morphology: A Study of the Relation Between Meaning and Form. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Barnes, Robert. 1989. Urat Grammar Essentials. Ukarumpa: SIL.

Comrie, Bernard. 1981. Language Universals and Linguistic Typology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Crystal, David. 1985. A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics. Basil Blackwell, in association with Andre Deutsch. New York/London.

Dik, Simon C. 1980. Studies in Functional Grammar. London: Academic Press Inc. Ltd.

Foley, William A. 1986. The Papuan Languages of New Guinea. Cambridge University Press.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1966. Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements. CHapter 5 in Universals of Language, 2nd edition, ed. by Greenberg.

Givon, Talmy, 1979a. On Understanding Grammar. New York: Academic Press.

Givon, Talmy, 1984. Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction. Vol I. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Hemmila, Ritva. 1990. Urim Basic Clause Types. Unpublished.

Hopper, Paul and Sandy Thompson. 1980. "Transitivity Grammar and Discourse". Language, Vol. 56, No. 2, Pg. 251-299.

Mihalic, F., S.V.D. 1971. The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin. Jacaranda Press: Gladesville, N.S.W.

Murane, Elizabeth, 1978. Grammatical Typologies of Languages of Papua New Guinea: In: Murane (ed) 1978:47-110.

Laycock, D. C. 1973. Torricelli Phylum. Pacific Linguistics B-25.

SIL Technical Studies Department Handbook. 1975. Ukarumpa.

11.Sample Kombio Text

written by Felix Muambel, May '91

\ref YAKIO8 clause 1

(771) Wus   unkilm ka sil tawok unkilm,
wus unkilm ka sil tawok unkilm
animal type.of COP   on bambootype.of

'The "unkilm" animal was on the "unkilm" bamboo,'
(Unkilm seems to be a type of kapul.)

\ref YAKIO8 clause 2

(772) na   maken   ankilel   telpm tipirank ka   apmuei
na   maken   a-kil-el   telpm tipirank ka   a-pmuei
P:and woman   ?-3SG-NOM lizard type.of   RL.ASR R-remain

tawok   weink.
tawok   weink
bamboo   base

'and his wife, the "tipirank" lizard, was staying at the base of the bamboo.'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 3

(773) Wus   unkilm ka   sil tawok   keipm,
wus   unkilm ka   sil tawok   keipm
animal type.of COP on bamboo   above

'The "unkilm" animal was on the top of the bamboo,'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 4

(774) maken   ankilel   ka   apmuei tawok   weink
maken   a-kil-el   ka   a-pmuei tawok   weink
woman   ?-3SG-NOM   RL.ASR R-remain bamboo base

kilpe.
kil-pe
M.DEIC-GIV

'his wife was at the base of that bamboo.'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 5

(775) Tuwie   ar   la,
ti-wie   a-r   la
3PL-two R-STAT go

'They(DL) remained there for awhile,'
P: 'tupela i stap i go'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 6

(776) ninkilapm tiwie   el   ka   tiwie   ra   el   ka

```
(776)   ninkilapm   tiwie      el     ka     tiwie     ra    el     ka
        ninkilapm   ti-wie     el     ka     ti-wie    ra    el     ka
        child       3PL-two    NOM    REL    3PL-two   bear  NOM    COP

        wus       unkilm    irpm     telpm    tipirank   sit.
        wus       unkilm    irpm     telpm    tipirank   sit
        animal    type.of   PLUR     lizard   type.of    only
```

'the children that they(DL) bore were only "unkilm" animals and "tipirank" lizards.'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 7

```
(777)   Tuwie      aser      ninkilapm   tuwie-el        ka     tuwie
        ti-wie     a-ser     ninkilapm   ti-wie-el       ka     ti-wie
        3PL-two    R-see     child       3PL-two-NOM     REL    3PL-two

        ra      el,
        ra      el
        bear    NOM
```

'They(DL) saw their children which they had borne,'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 8

```
(778)   tuwie       nak,
        ti-wie      na-k
        3PL-two     R-say
```

'they(DL) said,'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 9

```
(779)   "Antie      rokn    puaipuai.
        ant-wie     rokn    puai-puai
        1PL-two     NEG     RDP-happy
```

'"We(DL) aren't happy.'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 10

```
(780)   Ninkilapm   kei        antie      ra     el      rokn   sepm,
        ninkilapm   kei        ant-wie    ra     el      rokn   sepm
        child       N.DEIC     1PL-two    bear   NOM     NEG    good
```

'These children which we are bearing are not good,'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 11

```
(781)   karokn        moule   kei,
        ka-rokn       moule   kei
        COP-NEG       person  N.DEIC
```

'(they) are not people,'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 12

```
(782)   ka      telpm   irpm    wus      sit".
        ka      telpm   irpm    wus      sit
        COP     lizard  PLUR    animal   only
```

'(they) are only lizards and animals."'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 13

```
(783)   Na      tuwie      napmok,
        na      ti-wie     na-pmok
        P:and   3PL-two    R-talk.out
```

'And they(DL) spoke out,'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 14

(784) "Antie   yupul   ta   ku   ko   antie   ra
       ant-wie   yu-pul   ta   ku   ko   ant-wie   ra
       1PL-two   IRR-do   like where   COND   1PL-two   bear

       ninkilapm   moule   el?" Tuwie   apmuei   ar   ar
       ninkilapm   moule   el   ti-wie   a-pmuei   a-r   a-r
       child   person   NOM   3PL-two   R-remain   R-STAT   R-STAT

       la,
       la
       go

'"What must we do so that we(DL) bear human children?" They(DL) remained there some time,'

P: '"Bai mitupela i mekim olsem wanem inap long mitupela bai karim pikinini man?" Tupela i stap i stap i go,'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 15

(785) maken   ankilel   kilpe   mira   ninkilapm.
       maken   a-kil-el   kil-pe   mi-ra   ninkilapm
       woman   ?-3SG-NOM   M.DEIC-GIV   PRF-bear   child

'his wife gave birth to a child.'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 16

(786) Ninkilapm   tit   tuwie-el.
       ninkilapm   tit   ti-wie-el
       child   man   3PL-two-NOM

'Their man-child.'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 17

(787) Tuwie   puaipuai   im   ampulp   ninkilapm   tit
       ti-wie   puai-puai   im   a-N-pul-p   ninkilapm   tit
       3PL-two   RDP-happy   fully R-SIG-do-VAL   child   man

       tuwie-el   kilpe.
       ti-wie-el   kil-pe
       3PL-two-NOM   M.DEIC-GIV

'They(DL) were very happy about their son.'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 18

(788) Tuwie   likekn   apmuei   ar   la,
       ti-wie   likekn   a-pmuei   a-r   la
       3PL-two   one   R-remain R-STAT   go

'Those three stayed there awhile,'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 19

(789) ninkilapm   kilpe   suknim.
       ninkilapm   kil-pe   sukn-im
       child   M.DEIC-GIV   big-fully

'(until) the child was grown up.'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 20

(790) Tuarko   ar   la,
       ti-arko   a-r   la
       3PL-INCL   R-STAT   go

'They all stayed awhile,'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 21

(791) ninkilapm kilpe   kamump   maken   ankilel.
      ninkilapm kil-pe   ka-mu-omp   maken   a-kil-el
      child   M.DEIC-GIV   R-PRF-get   woman   ?-3SG-NOM
      'that child got (i.e. married/slept with) his wife.'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 22

(792) Ar   la,
      a-r   la
      R-STAT   go
      '(They) stayed,'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 23

(793) tuwie   mira   ninkilapm   tit   ninkilapm
      ti-wie   mi-ra   ninkilapm   tit   ninkilapm
      3PL-two   PRF-bear   child   man   child

      maken.
      maken
      woman

      'they(DL) gave birth to a son and a daughter.'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 24

(794) La,
      la
      go
      '(They) stayed,'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 25

(795) ninkilapm   tit   maken   kilpe   suknim.
      ninkilapm   tit   maken   kil-pe   sukn-im
      child   man   woman   M.DEIC-GIV   big-fully

      'that son and daughter grew up.'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 26

(796) Ninkilapm   tit   el   kilpe   naimpil   kamump
      ninkilapm   tit   el   kil-pe   nai-mpil ka-mu-omp
      child   man   NOM   M.DEIC-GIV   R-again   R-PRF-get

      ninkilapm   maken   el.
      ninkilapm   maken   el
      child   woman   NOM

      'That man-child again got (i.e. slept with) the girl-child.'
      (Speaker stated that this refers to the original (human) couple, not to the grown-
      up son & daughter they bore.)

\ref YAKIO8 clause 27

(797) La,
      la
      go
      '(They) stayed,'
      (This seems to be a short version of "i stap i go" and is used merely to indicate
      some time passing.)

\ref YAKIO8 clause 28

(798)   tuarko   ra   ninkilapm   mitink   mitink   im.
        ti-arko   ra   ninkilapm   mitink   mitink   im
        3PL-INCL   bear   child   many   many   fully

        'they bore many many children.'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 29

(799)   Ar   la,
        a-r   la
        R-STAT   go

        '(They) stayed,'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 30

(800)   ti   apul   yemp   antuol   suknim,
        ti   a-pul   yemp   antuol   sukn-im
        3PL   R-do   place   3PL.POSS   big-fully

        'they made their place very big (i.e. populated the entire area),'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 31

(801)   ti   apmuei.
        ti   a-pmuei
        3PL   R-remain

        'they remained (there).'

\ref YAKIO8 clause 32

(802)   Ka   kilpe   miniat.
        ka   kil-pe   mi-niat
        COP   M.DEIC-GIV   PRF-finish

        'That's all.'