

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

Carol Priestley

KOROMU (KESAWAI)

GRAMMAR AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE
OF A NEW GUINEA LANGUAGE



PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

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Koromu (Kesawai)

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Carol Priestley

Koromu (Kesawai)



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of a New Guinea Language

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Dedicated to my Koromu 'wantoks', my parents and my siblings.
Without my parents' vision and loving commitment the relationships and stories
that support this grammar would not have happened and the language and
stories would not have been documented.

In loving memory of

my father, Bob (Robert Fielden) Priestley,
Menato Epati, Awai Tomas,
Itaniso-Esther, Auntie Ann,
Sarip, Sape, Samaira,
Amoko, Winai,
Gillian, Wendy,
Ahe, Amiarane and many others

...the stories,
insights,
enthusiasm,
and love
of these dear friends and family
were an integral part of the writing of this book.

Preface

This book is an analytical description of the grammar and information structure of *Koromu sakine* ‘Koromu talk’, or Kesawai, a Trans New Guinea language spoken in the Ramu Valley in southeast Madang Province. This first descriptive grammar is based on original fieldwork and revision of my PhD thesis, with insights from my MA thesis, both of which were completed at the Australian National University. The description also benefits from my experience of cultural practices, meaning, daily life and the environment over many years when my family and I lived in the village of Kesawai 1 before that. In addition to grammatical description, the book includes an in-depth study of the linguistic, social and historical context, four maps and detailed chapters on pragmatic prominence, topic-like elements and spatial reference.

Surrounded by speakers of many other Madang languages, and increasing numbers of immigrants from elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, Koromu speakers live in a rapidly changing world and face increasing language endangerment. This book aims to add to the documentation and description of Koromu for use and archiving among the Koromu-speaking community, linguists and others, and to provide an overview of the socio-linguistic context of other nearby endangered languages.

The aim has been to represent the language structure and data as clearly as possible and to provide a basis for grammar and other materials for use by Koromu speakers and others in future. Thus, insights are gleaned from more than one theoretical framework, for example, the word and paradigm approach on morphophonological rules, structural/functional approaches to morphosyntax and insights from Vallduví, Givón, Prince and other scholars on information structure and reference tracking.

Journal entries, ethnographic files, language data and audio recordings date from 1975–1976, 1978–1980 and 1986, subsequent return visits and more recent fieldwork for MA, PhD and postdoctoral research. Other more recent research with Koromu community members includes a focus on language, meaning and culture that links to health, environment and social organization topics that are important in community life and children’s education. (e.g. Priestley 2017, 2016, 2014, 2013, 2012a, 2012b, 2008, 2006, 2002). Audio and audio-visual recordings of Koromu stories and introductory books on wildlife, written with Sairam Tomas and Winis Mutu (2010), and on plants, written with a women’s group and with Winis, Suru, Sirin, Anta and their family members (2016), are also lodged in the community.

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The book benefits from contributions from many Koromu speakers, the privilege of sharing in Koromu life over several decades, earlier years in other linguistic areas in the Eastern Highlands and inspiration from the research of other linguists. It is hoped that it will also play its part in widening our understanding of the rich wealth of language and culture in the region.

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Fieldwork during my higher degree research studies was funded by the ANU Faculty of Arts Fieldwork Grant and ANU Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Fieldwork Grants. Further insights were gained during revision and post-doctoral documentation visits supported by the Christensen Fund Foundation of Endangered Languages, Endangered Languages Fund and Helen Holt of Bowral. An ANU Masters Degree Scholarship, an Australian Postgraduate Award and many opportunities to housesit contributed to financing my postgraduate studies and revision for publication.

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Werai u na, roughly 'That's all.' (Koromu text ending).

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Conventions and abbreviations

Conventions in the glosses

- hyphen (-) indicates a morpheme break
- = indicates a clitic
- when one Koromu word requires an English gloss with two elements, these are separated by full stops as in *mere* 'move.up'
- when an English gloss has two words separated by the colon : the second word indicates a more specific meaning of the first
- person and number labels are not separated by fullstops
- underlining () indicates vowel alternation or vowel elision
- ... indicates that there are preceding or following clauses which are not included
- a verb gloss in capitals indicates a grammaticised verb, *here* PUT, *ne* STAY, *sure* START, *yare* GO, *ta* END, *te* GET
- when words have more than one meaning, the relevant meaning is used in the gloss

Conventions in word formation rules (see Chapter 2)

- a + indicates a boundary before another morpheme, suffix, enclitic or word
- a # indicates a boundary that is specifically before a phasal verb
- the symbols ## indicate a boundary prior to a word

Abbreviations / Glosses

ADD	Address suffix
ADJ	Adjective
ADJR	Adjectiviser
AFF	Affectionate address suffix
AGEN	Genitive of animate referent headless phrases
ALOC	Animate locative postposition
APP	Apprehensive
BM	Boundary marking enclitic
COM	Comitative
COMP	Comparative degree
DEP	Dependency
DES	Desiderative
DIM	Diminutive
DR	Different Referent Realis
DR:IR:CS	Different Referent Irrealis Close Succession
DR:IR:TO	Different Referent Irrealis Temporal Overlap
DR:R:TO	Different Referent Realis Temporal Overlap
EMPH	Emphatic particle

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501510953-208>

EXC	Exclamatory enclitic
F	Future
FINC	Future Inclusive
GEN	Genitive
G/L	Goal/Locative
GRD	Ground (background) marking particle
HAB	Habitual
IGEN	Inanimate referent genitive
IMP	Imperative
INC	Inclusive
INS	Instrument
INT	Intentive
INTS	Intensifier
LOC	Locative
LK.P	Linking Particle
LTD	Loose Temporal Dependency
MANN	Manner postposition
NADJ	Nominal adjectiviser
NEG	Negative
N:G/L	Near:goal/locative
N:S	Near:Source
NF	Non-future
NOM	Nominaliser
O	Object
ORNT	Orientation postposition
p	Plural
P	Possessive/Partitive
P-N	Person-Number
PNP	Prominent Noun Phrase
POS	Possibility
PRES	Present tense-aspect suffix
PRO	Prohibitive
Q	Question enclitic
REAS	Reason
REC	Reciprocal
RDP	Reduplication (partial)
RSM	Resemblative
s	Singular
S/L	Source/Locative
SR	Same Referent Close Succession
SVC	Serial Verb Construction
TADJ	Temporal Adjectiviser
TP	Tok Pisin
T:S	Tense/Subject
UNC	Uncertainty
V	Verb
X	Exclusive

Abbreviations for sources (see Appendix 1 for more details)

AV	Audio-Visual files (natural data in texts recorded only in audio-visual format)
CS	Canonical Sentences (elicited data)
D	Databooks (natural data from conversations and elicited data)
DF	Data file
T	Texts (natural data on tape. Later recordings were on audio-visual, also.)
VF	Verb files: elicited/natural paradigms of verbs and SVCs. Most are unmarked cf. §10
YTN	<i>Yene, Tomto, Naere</i> 'Birds, Animals, Snakes' Tomas, Mutu & Priestley
Za	Translations with Airehena/Salome, Arikao, Itaniso, Joel, Kosi, Nisom, Sape, Susan
ZQ2	2015 Saymore recordings and transcriptions on environment and culture

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501510953-209>



Photo 1 Sairam 2010



Photo 2 Winis and Ipapo 2010



Photo 3 Arikao 2010



Photo 4 Nisom (on right) and Suru's family 2010



Photo 5 Sirin 2010



Photo 6 Amoko 2010



Photo 7 Carol, Suru, Suru henane, 2010



Photo 8 Otopa families... 2010



Photo 9 Bismak (Mt Helwig) beyond Enae (Ramu River) 2010



Photo 10 Mt Otto from Kesawai 1 2010



Photo 11 Crossing Enae (Ramu), Mt. Wilhelm in distance 2010



Photo 12 Towards the heart of Koromu lands near Mt Otto 2010



Photo 13 Winai and family between the Oija and Enae 2010

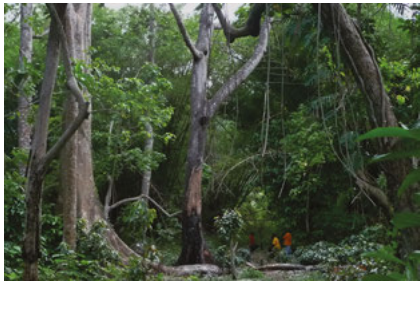


Photo 14 Tahane 'forest' 2010



Photo 15 Heading home towards the northern foothills 2010



Photo 16 After work, beneath the northern mountains 2010



Photo 17 Bob, Esme and family: Esme, Ian, Ruth, Oreva, Carol, Mark, Bob – in the early 1970s

1 Introduction: Linguistic, sociolinguistic, ethnographic and historical contexts

1.1 Aims and background

This book is a detailed, analytical description of Koromu, a Rai Coast language of the Madang group of the Trans New Guinea family spoken in Kesawai 1 and 2, Waimeripa, Autopa, Ariheti, Saweti, Weisa and Korike lands in southeast Madang Province, Papua New Guinea. The grammatical description includes in-depth studies of key typological topics in the grammar and meaning of serial verb and nominal constructions, clause chains and clause combining. The book also provides two chapters on the interaction between grammar, information structure and reference tracking with descriptions of noun phrase realization, omission and prominence marking and of background or topic-like elements in the sentence and discourse. The whole work is enriched by insights on daily life and cultural practices through life experience, observation, participation and record-keeping while living in a Koromu village from 1975 to 1976, 1978 to 1980 and throughout 1986, as well as during linguistic fieldwork in 2000 and 2004, and other visits or fieldwork in 1991, 1997, 2010, 2012 and 2015 (cf.§1.7). Many of the texts relate to events the author observed and/or participated in, from everyday activities, such as raising crops and finding water, to major life events, such as birth, marriage, sickness and death. It is hoped that this description will form the basis for materials on Koromu grammar that can be more readily accessed by community members.

The introductory chapter provides in-depth information on the people, language and location in sections on population and geographical setting (§1.2), linguistic setting (§1.3), social and territorial organization (§1.4), ethnography (§1.5), past and present interactions with other language groups (§1.6), history of research on Koromu and neighbouring languages (§1.7), sources and content of texts (§1.8) and salient features of the grammar (§1.9).

1.2 Population and geographical setting

Koromu is spoken by approximately 600 to 700 people who live in the Usino-Bundi District in southeast Madang Province (Map 1.1, Hanson, Allen, Bourke and McCarthy 2001: 189–203). In the 2000 census the Kesawai and Ariheti wards, in which the Koromu-speaking communities are located, had a combined population of 882. Immigrant settlers from other parts of Papua New Guinea are included. In 2011 the combined figures for these wards in Usino-Bundi District indicate an

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Map 1.1: Location of Koromu.

overall population growth from 40,079 in 2000 to 60,807 in 2011, mirroring the overall population growth in the country (Papua New Guinea National Statistical Office 2013). In addition to greater life expectancy in childhood, the Kesawai and Ariheti Wards have a steadily increasing number of settlers who usually do not speak local languages. Many local young people who interact with the settlers are not fluent in their heritage languages (cf. §1.6.3). Thus the 2011 census results for the Kesawai and Ariheti wards cannot accurately represent the numbers of Koromu speakers.

Koromu-speaking villages and settlements are located at about 170 to 220 metres above sea level north and south of the Ramu River (*Enae* in Koromu). The Ramu flows southeast to northwest in a large valley between high mountains.

To the northeast are the Finisterre Ranges which rise to 1400 to 3300 metres above sea level, while to the southwest are the high peaks of the Bismarck Ranges. The southern part of Koromu land is in the foothills of Mt. Otto (3540 metres) and Mt. Helwig (2739 metres). Papua New Guinea's highest mountain, Mt. Wilhelm (4509 metres), can be seen along the valley to the west.

Many rivers and streams flow out of the mountains and across the river flats to join the Ramu River. In Koromu country the Ramu River has numerous braided channels spread over a wide area and interspersed with low gravel islands. The pressure of the water flow in some of the channels is very strong, so that fording them is challenging in the dry season and extremely difficult in the wet season. Local people know the river well and are widely respected for their ability to cross it.

Throughout this part of the Ramu Valley there are patches of kunai grass, kangaroo grass, forest and swamp. The sharp-leaved kunai, or sword grass, also covers the steep foothills and some of the mountains to heights of 1000 to 2000 metres. Higher parts of the mountains are forested and there are also clumps of trees along the streams and rivers that flow down to the Ramu River.

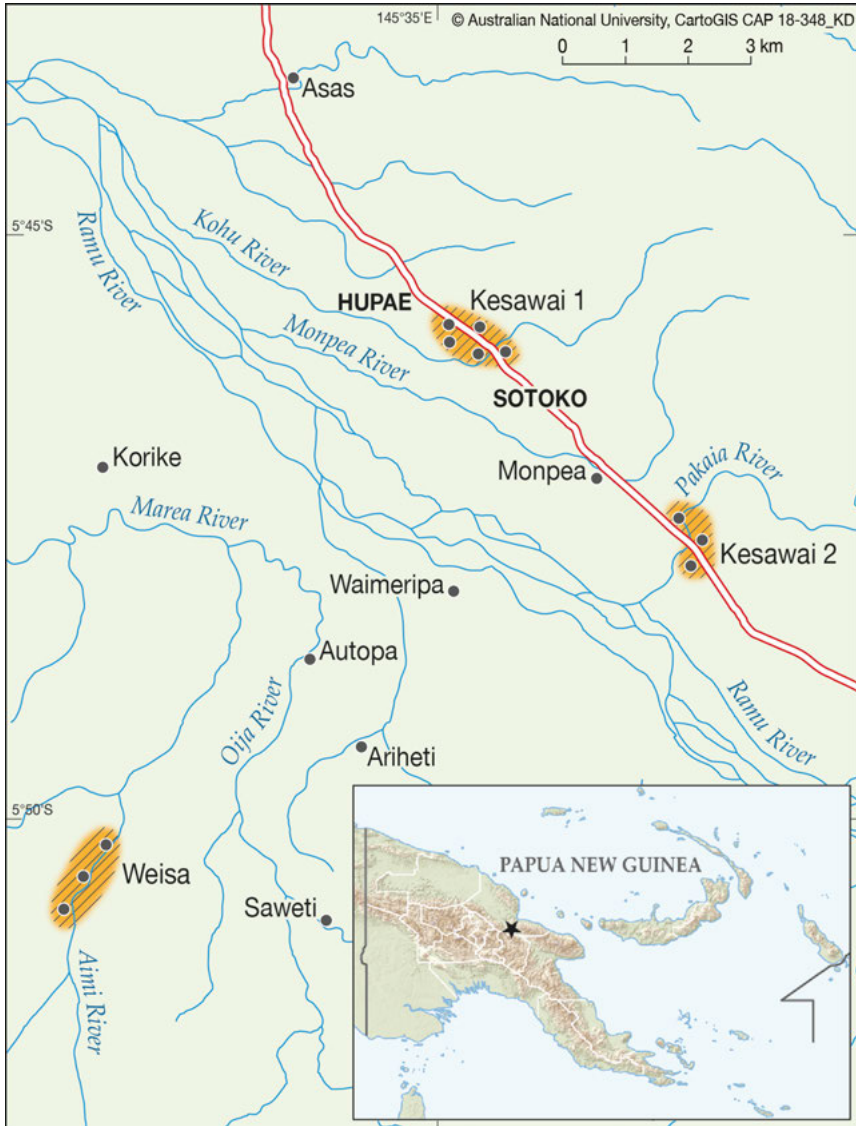
North of the Ramu the settlements of Kesawai 1 (also known as Kohuweti and Mauska), Monpea and Kesawai 2 are near the Kohu, Monpea and Pakaia Rivers, respectively. The area is sometimes known generally as Kesawai. South of the Ramu, Waimeripa is near to the Ramu River, Autopa is a little to the west near the Oija River and Korike is further west and downstream of Autopa near the Marea River. Arihetai is almost due south of Waimeripa, Saweti is south of Autopa and the small settlements of Weisa are in the foothills along the Aimi River branch of the Marea/Oru-Rumaka River (see Map 1.2).

The settlements of Kesawai 1, Kesawai 2 and Monpea are near the road that connects the provincial capital of Madang (about 100 kilometres to the northwest) with the Highlands Highway to the southeast and its access to Lae, Goroka and other townships. This road also links the area with the local government centre at Walium to the northwest, before it reaches Madang, and the small township of Ramu Sugar before it reaches the Highlands Highway to the southeast. The following maps introduce key places. The dramatic topography of the area can also be seen in the photos and topographical maps such as Sheet 8086 Dumpu (Royal Australian Survey Corps 1976).

1.3 The linguistic setting

1.3.1 Linguistic affiliations

The approximately 1200 languages of the region that extends from Timor and Halmahera in the west, through New Guinea to the Solomons in the east, are



Map 1.2: Koromu villages and settlements.

usually divided into the languages of the Austronesian language family and “a number of distinct language groupings, called non-Austronesian” (or Papuan) for which no “genetic commonality is presupposed” (Foley 2000: 358). Pawley estimates that there are 700–800 Papuan languages (2005: 68) and Ross that

there are perhaps 800 (2005: 15). Based on currently available data, they are divided into 20 families and about a dozen isolates (Foley 2000; Ross 2005, 2006). The largest family is Trans New Guinea (TNG) with around 400 languages.

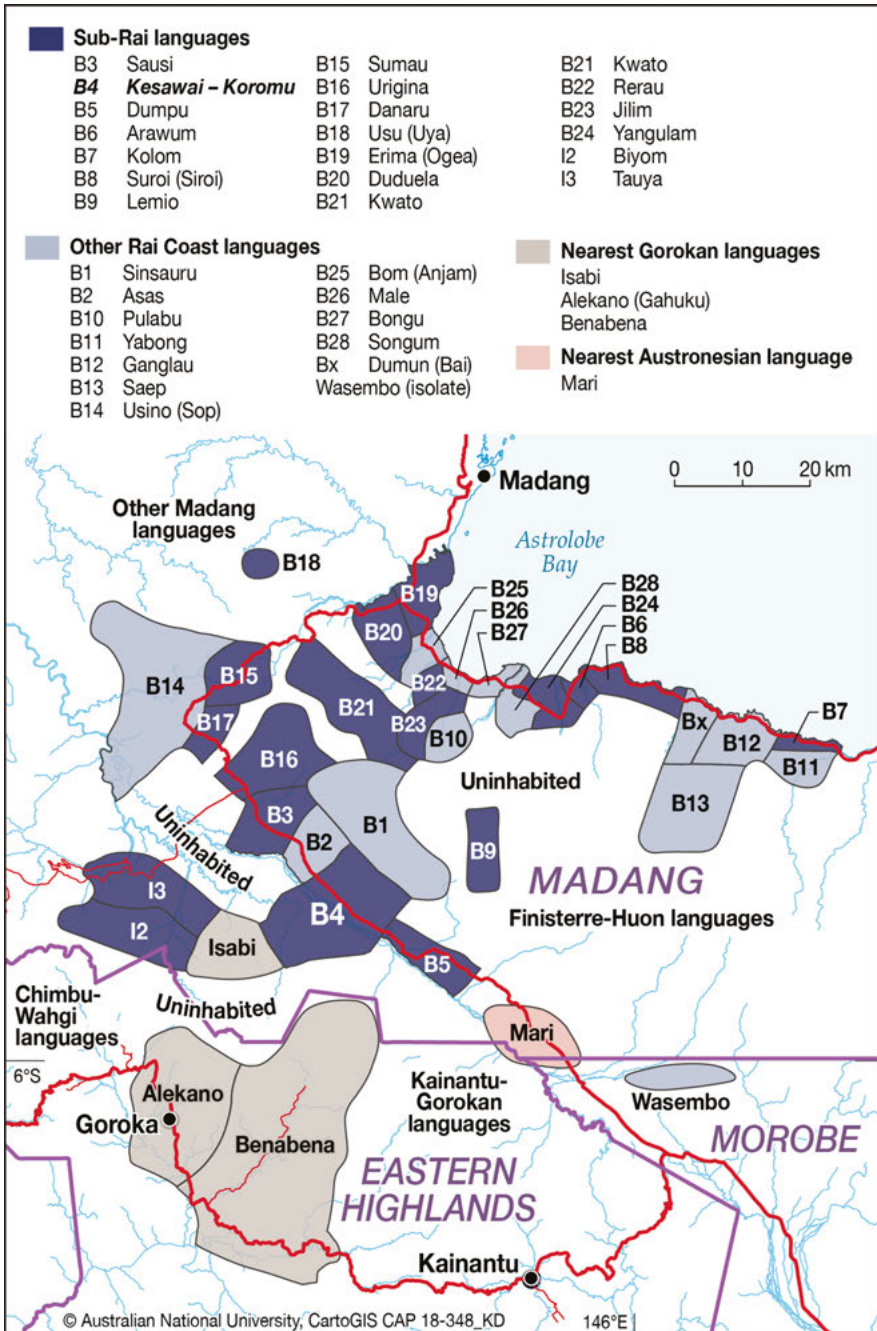
Within the TNG family “the largest well-defined branch” is the Madang group with about 100 languages in the linguistically diverse Madang Province (Pawley 2006a: 1). In Z’graggen (1975, 1980) the tentative subgrouping of this group, referred to as the Madang-Adelbert Range sub-phylum, is based on lexicostatistics and morphosyntactic typology. Since these approaches are often affected by borrowing from one language into another and because paradigms of pronouns are rarely borrowed, Ross (2006: 2) proposes a preliminary revision of Madang subgroups based on shared innovations in pronominal morphemes. Proto Madang is “characterised by the fact that it has replaced the Proto TNG first, second and third person singular pronouns **na*, **nga* and **ya* by **ya*, **na* and **nu* respectively” (Ross 2005: 36).

Both Z’graggen and Ross propose a Rai Coast group of languages within the Madang group. These languages are spoken in the coastal lowlands from the Gogol River in the west to almost as far as the Mot River in the east, as well as southwards in the steep-sided valleys of the Finisterre Ranges and in the Ramu Valley. Koromu is one of the southernmost languages of this group. See Map 1.3.

In Z’graggen’s sub-grouping of the Rai Coast languages (1975, 1980), Sinsauru (Kou) [snz],¹ Asas (Kou) [asd], Sausi (Wia) [ssj], Kesawai (Koromu) [xes] and Dumpu (Watiwa) [wtf] are in the Evapia language group. However, Ross’s sub-grouping of the Rai Coast languages is quite different. He distinguishes a subgroup of 19 languages, labelled Sub-Rai languages, “characterised by the fact that most of its members have lost **ni* ‘2p’ but retained **ta* ‘2p’ whereas the rest of the Rai Coast group has done the opposite” (Ross 2006: 17). Koromu, Sausi and Dumpu are part of this Sub-Rai group while Sinsauru and Asas are not.

The members of Ross’s Sub-Rai group geographically closest to Koromu are Sausi and Dumpu. Sausi, the language most like Koromu, is spoken in the Ramu Valley beyond Asas to the northwest. The name Sausi is based on the village name (Z’graggen 1975, 1980, Ross 2005, 2006). The Sausi language has also been called Witi (Locnikar et al 2000) and Wiya (Priestley, Priestley and Priestley 1975–1979). The Dumpu language, which is also named after the main village, is spoken along the valley to the southeast (Map 1.3). Tauya [tya] and Biyom [bpm] are now assigned to the Rai Coast group (Ross 2006: 13, Pawley 2005: 93) rather than the Adelbert Range languages (Z’graggen 1975, 1980). These languages are

¹ Square brackets with a reference of three characters indicate the ISO number in the Ethnologue (2015).



Map 1.3: Koromu & neighbouring languages, based on Z'graggen (1980) & Ross (2006).

the only Sub-Rai languages spoken south of the Ramu River on the lower slopes of the Bismarck Range. They are west of the Koromu villages of Korike and Weisa (see §1.2), beyond swamps, mountains and Isabi-speaking villages (see below). In contrast, Koromu is spoken both north and south of the river. However, since flooding and changes affected the course of the Ramu River in 2003, Sausi villagers use land south of the river as well. The difficult river crossings, swamps and/or steep rocky, mountains form natural barriers to frequent interaction between groups of people.

Based on the pronominal morpheme analysis in Ross (2006: 13), the neighbouring languages of Sinsauru and Asas are Rai Coast but not Sub-Rai languages. Sinsauru is spoken beyond the first mountain range north of Kesawai 1 and 2. However, some children and their guardians live at Sisari, a small village in the foothills above Kesawai 1, during the school week so that the children can attend the Kesawai 1 community school. Asas is about five and a half kilometres along the valley road northwest of Kesawai 1. The Asas people are said to have moved from the mountains to the Ramu Valley in the recent past. Both Asas and Sinsauru people say they speak the same language, Kou, but with some differences (cf. Onken et al 2000). They regard people of Auropa and Baipa to the northeast as Kou people who speak a little differently.

On the slopes of Mt Otto, south-west of the Koromu village of Weisa, there are several Isabi [isa] villages. Z'graggen assigned Isabi to the Brahman group of Madang languages but further research indicates that it is a Kainantu-Gorokan language (Pawley 2006a; Ross 2006: 7). Other Kainantu and Gorokan languages of the Trans New Guinea family are spoken beyond the high southern mountains. Only the Benabena-speaking village of Samiri is located on the north-facing slopes of the Ramu Valley, at the end of an infrequently used and very difficult climb of one or more days above Ariheti. Other Benabena [bef] and Alekano/Gahuku [gah] villages are beyond, or on top of, the dividing range (see §1.6.1). Thus, the main linguistic boundary between Madang and Gorokan languages corresponds with the vast tract of steep, wild, uninhabited land on the northern slopes of Mt. Otto and Mt. Helwig. East and south of Koromu and Dumpu, along the Ramu Valley, people speak the Austronesian language of Mari [hob], the Finisterre-Huon (TNG) languages and the isolated Rai Coast language of Wasembo [gsp].

When research for this book was undertaken, there were published grammars of just two Rai Coast languages, Tauya in the Ramu Valley (MacDonald 1990), and Siroi [ssd] on the Rai Coast (Wells 1979). There was also an unpublished grammar sketch and published paper on coastal Ogea (Erima [eri]) by Colburn (1980, 1984), and Peter Lawrence's anthropological writings on cargo-cult (1971) and Sumau (Garia) [six] ethnography (1984). Of these, Tauya has some constituents that are similar in form and/or meaning to Koromu dependent verb inflections (see §9.4),

phasal and valency-changing verbs (see §10.4 to §10.6) and ablaut (see §2.4.5). In addition, the Siroi irregular ‘give’ verbs and continuative *min* ‘be’ (Wells 1979, see also Sjaak and Jacqueline van Kleef) resemble Koromu forms. Wordlists of Rai Coast languages can be found in Z’graggen (1980) and there is a body of work by myself on Koromu (see §1.7).

Well-documented languages in other Madang subgroups include Amele [aey] (Roberts 1981, 1987, 1991, 2001), Kalam [kmh] (Lane 2007, Pawley 1966, 1987, 1993, 2006b, Pawley and Bulmer et al. 2012, Pawley et al. 2000), Kobon [kpw] (Davies 1980, 1981, 1985), Usan [wnu] (Reesink 1987, 2014), Anamuxra [imi] (Ingram 2001) and from the perspective of anthropology, Usino [unw] (Conton and Eisler 1976, Conton 1977). There is also research and/or documentation on Nobonob [gaw] (Aeschliman 1992), Sam [snx] (Troolin and Troolin 2005), Pamosu [hih] (Tupper 2014), Mauwake [mhl] (Berghäll 2015), Chini [afi] (Brooks 2016, 2018) and several other Madang languages documented by Daniels (2017). Of the latter the closest to Koromu geographically are Faita/Kursav [faj], Musak/Aisi [mmq], and Jilim [jil].

1.3.2 Language names and origins

Several names have been used for the language but in recent years Koromu speakers have preferred *Koromu sakine* ‘Koromu language’. Following his Madang language surveys, conducted between 1964 and 1974 (Z’graggen 1975: 2), Z’graggen chose to use the name Kesawai based on the village names of Kesawai 1 and 2 (1975: 15). He found it was helpful to use “important and well known village names as language names, because such names are a handy reference to the location” (1975: 5). The name Kesawai has also been used in the *Ethnologue* and in 1924 neighbouring people used the name Kesawai for the area north of the Ramu (Lane-Poole 1925: 187, 26th February). Namuya, the address form of *namu* ‘namesake’ and/or *namuka* ‘one who speaks the same, friend’ (Priestley 2013a), is also mentioned in both Z’graggen’s work and the *Ethnologue*. In addition, in 1970, Claassen and McElhanon heard the name Taga. Then, in 1975, Awai Tomas gave the name Sepeki (Priestley, Priestley and Priestley 1975–1979). Both *taga* and *sepeki* are items chewed with *ahau* ‘betel nut’. All three grow in the area and are used in trade with mountain people (cf. §1.3.1, §1.6.1).

Documentation shows that Koromu people think of Kesawai as a comparatively new name. Menato Epati (T5.22) suggested that when German explorers, who were in the area in the late 19th or early 20th century (see §1.6.2), were visiting they gestured when trying to find out the name of the area. The local people did not understand and thinking they were talking about a pig or dog nearby

replied *kese-r-a* [rot-PRES-3s] ‘it is rotten’ (2004: T5.22). Fortunately, people do not link the name with the verb nowadays (Sirin Kesapun: pers. com.).

It is said that the Koromu language originates from the Koromu locality around Weisa south of the Ramu River (Sairam Tomas, pers.com., Menato Epati 2000: T2.33). This area was referred to as “Koromo” during Lane-Poole’s visit in 1924 (1925: 196, 6th April). Two traditional accounts, or myths, related by Menato Epati indicate social and linguistic changes in the past while at the same time reflecting common traditions from the wider region. The first story tells of a flood that stopped people returning home. It resembles stories from other areas, for example, the Namite myth part C in Monumbo, a language of north coast Madang Province (Z’graggen 1987: 745, 747).

Long ago the people of Kesawai area did not speak Koromu. One day they went to a festival on the south side of the Ramu River. On the way, they were offered cooked cassava by an old woman who had mucus on her hands. They refused it and went on their way. A little later a brother and sister came by and accepted her offer, in spite of the mucus. She warned them to leave the festival at dawn and return home. They did this and after they came back over the Ramu River the old woman flooded the river leaving the remainder of the people stranded on the far side to the south. These people built themselves houses at Waimeripa and Korike and some of them broke away and climbed the mountains to settle the Highlands Provinces. As a result of this there are many people living south of the river and less living to the north. Eventually the Koromu language, spoken by many people south of the river, was learned by those who lived in the north (Free translation from a Koromu text by Menato Epati 2000: T2.33, Appendix 1).

In a subsequent text Menato explains that long ago the Piri language (T5.4, 2004) was spoken north of the river but that after the great flood (cf. T2.33, 2000) most Piri speakers were stranded south of the Ramu River where they learned to speak Koromu. Some Piri speakers, descended from the older and younger siblings who escaped the flood, remained north of the river but as there were only a few of them they later learned Koromu and the Piri language died out.

1.4 Social and territorial organisation

In Koromu territory population density is low and kinship networks are concentrated amongst small local groups. Patrilineal kin groups form the basic units of society that inherit and work the land, contribute to bride wealth and take part in initiations and burials. In spite of this patrilineal ideal there is considerable flexibility and people can be incorporated into groups through their matrilineal kin following traumatic events, displacement or adoption. For example, at Otopa, the Kesawai 1 settlement east of the Kohu River, there are two households where

the married men inherited that land and land further east patrilineally, including land beyond the Monpea River. Two other households farming nearby have inherited their land through the matrilineal line of the men. The land inherited through their fathers was abandoned in the late 1970s, after there had been a high number of deaths in the community. In another Otopa household, the wife is from Korike and her husband is a Highlander who moved to Kesawai when his father was the aid post orderly.

Gardening sites, wild game, the offspring of domesticated pigs and various responsibilities and obligations are shared among descent groups, assimilated members and neighbouring descent groups (cf. Keesing 1975). The giving of *oru* 'insides' or 'hospitality' is one of the highest values in the community and the exchange and fulfillment of obligations is essential to survival. Patrilineal descent groups are exogamous, but marriages are common between people in related, neighbouring groups. Rights, obligations and social bonding between a man, a woman and their families include gifts of pigs, Finisterre pots, shells and money. These are given by the man's family to the bride's mother, brothers and other kin to acknowledge the skills and hard work the young bride brings to her new family. The mother, who gave birth to, cared for and trained the girl, is honoured with gifts of the best meat. Once the food is eaten, the affinal kin who took part refer to each other by kinship terms rather than personal names. Usually affinal kinship terms are distinct from consanguineal kinship terms but some are the same, for example *ai-* 'elder' for an older same sex sibling and for that sibling's husband or wife (see Tables 4.7 to 4.10 in §4.3.3.2). Many kinship terms distinguish people of different ages, for example, consanguineal terms for the first born, and older and younger siblings. Some of these terms also distinguish same sex and different sex siblings (Priestley 2009).

Sister exchange was common in the past. A man and woman marry and later one of the man's sisters and one of the woman's brothers also marry, thus strengthening the relationship between the families involved. If one marriage breaks down, the other one does also, and a woman who leaves her husband has to leave her children as well.

Traditionally, villages were small and many people lived in scattered garden homesteads. Then, under the Australian government, people were encouraged to live in larger villages at Kesawai 1 and Kesawai 2 (north of the Ramu River) and at Waimeripa, Korike, Weisa's three hamlets, and Ariheti (south of the Ramu River). After many deaths in the mid-1970s Ariheti village was abandoned and the people relocated to Waimeripa, Saweti (upstream of Ariheti on the Oija River) and Kesawai 1. In the 1970s and 1980s these villages had populations of 50 to 120 people and consisted of patrilineal descent groups and several matrilineal and adopted kin living on or near their inherited land.

In recent years people have returned to the more traditional residential pattern of smaller settlements within these territories. For example, although houses were not in precisely the same place in 2004, 2010, 2012 and 2015 there were still four settlements in the Kesawai 1 area near the Kohu River (see Map 1.2). The patrilineage associated with the Sotoko clan land to the east lived east of the Kohu. The lineage that inherited the Hupae land west of the Kohu lived in two small groups of five to six households each west of the Kohu. Their land originally stretched westwards to Asas land but much of this was sold to the government and leased to immigrants from other parts of the country in the 1970s (cf. §1.6.3). A small settlement with matrilineal connections to local gardening land is also located west of the Kohu.

Since village names refer to the land on which they are located, the name associated with a specific community can change if the people move to another part of their land to be closer to gardens, avoid an area associated with many deaths or break away from larger government-instituted villages. The fact that building materials deteriorate quite rapidly, and that homes need to be rebuilt every few years, facilitates such change. Sometimes temporary shelters are built near gardens and these become homes that last for more than one season. For example, in the late 1970s there was one household in a basic shelter near a garden at Autopa but between the mid-1980s and 2000 Autopa became a large village where many former Waimeripa residents lived alongside incoming settlers from the Markham (see §1.6.3). Then, between 2000 and 2004, the Autopa residents split into three or four groups living near gardens of specific kin groups. Thus, in 2004, 2010 and 2012 only one group of four households remained at the Autopa site. Details in §1.4 and §1.5 refer to Priestley 1975–2004 and 1975–1980.

1.5 Ethnographic sketch

The members of the Koromu speech community are engaged in a subsistence economy based on agriculture. Crops are seasonal, and for several months at the end of the dry season and beginning of the wet season food is in short supply so that people rely mainly on *kurisi* ‘corn’ and *wau* ‘plantain’. In the late wet season and early dry season *koia* ‘sweet potato’, *nahe* ‘yam (TP: *mami*)² ou ‘yam’, *para* ‘taro’, *aiake* ‘cassava’, *ware* ‘pumpkin’ and *henasu* ‘greens’ are harvested and eaten.

² For simplicity *nahe* is glossed as ‘mami’. Sometimes known in English as lesser yam (*Dioscorea esculenta*), the vine reaches no more than 10 metres and the tubers tend to be smaller than other yams. *Ou* is a generic term for the other main type of yams grown in the Ramu area.

There have been some variations in diet over recent decades. For example, the variety and amount of *henasu* has increased over the years. This may be a result of influence from the settlers from other parts of the country. On the other hand, although *sapi* 'sago' was sometimes harvested in the late 1970s there are not as many trees available since the settlers moved into the area. Furthermore, until the mid-1970s the numbers of *nau* 'coconut palms' were low, just as they were during Lane-Poole's visit in 1924 (1925). However, the planting of palms by the settlers, my brother and some Koromu speakers since the late 1970s means that coconut is now more often a part of the diet. At the same time, there has been insufficient cash in the local economy for people to be able to buy food regularly from trade stores and there is a great pressure to sell surplus crops, mangos and/or melons etc. to raise money to pay school fees for the children's education.

While basic food supplies come from the carefully worked gardens, people also hunt for wild game (pigs, bandicoots and so on), fish and gather food from the forests and grasslands. Pig husbandry, which is practised on a small scale, is mainly for ceremonial purposes, such as bride price exchanges at weddings (see §1.4), funeral exchanges, or gifts for people who help with funerals, particularly at the first anniversary. In recent years, some pigs have been raised for sale and other exchanges.

Gardening, hunting, fishing and use of forest and grassland resources are affected by the wet and dry seasons. The wet season normally begins in December and there is regular heavy rainfall from January until early May or June. It is usually very dry from June until October but there can be occasional and sometimes heavy rain. This has reportedly been increasing in the past decade. The main garden preparation and planting begins in late May and early June and planting continues through the dry season into the early wet season in December and January. As the weather becomes drier the men fell trees in the flatter forested areas, including places with rich soil deposited by the Ramu River. They also construct strong fences to enclose the gardens and build pig traps into the fences. Some of the larger fallen trees and branches are used to demarcate family plots within the garden while, at the same time, the women collect the smaller branches and burn them. These garden sites are shared by an extended family, with the subdivided plots being used by a nuclear family who can work on their own inherited land and/or within the garden site(s) of other family members. During planting it was traditional for *tamaite arene* 'leaders' to perform rituals to protect the plants and help them to grow. Also, during this time simple shelters are built so that people can sleep near the gardens while doing the heavy work of preparing the land. Before the school began in 1980 (§1.6.3), most families lived at the gardens for weeks at a time, but this is less common nowadays since the

children need to be near the school. After several years the garden land is left to fallow and new gardens are built on other sites.

Gardens are sometimes made on the steep sides of the foothills. Teams of men prepare the ground by working in unison to turn the soil with long digging-sticks. These gardens are more common in times of warfare because they are less accessible to enemy attack and they provide good vantage points from which to observe strangers approaching across the flat valley and grasslands. In 2004 many such gardens were observed near the houses at Kesawai 1 following several violent attacks by illegal squatters who had destroyed gardens and pigs and killed a young man near a garden in the main valley (Norman Papum Menato 2004 T5.23).

Activities of men and women vary with the seasons. During the wet season women weed and harvest crops, carry produce home and prepare and cook food. Men often go out to set traps, hunt with their dogs and long spears, or fish with barbed spears. During the very hot, dry, windy period in August and September hunting parties consisting of men and women go out into the grasslands. Men set fire to the grass and hunt *usu ihiri* 'wild pigs' and *nakua* 'small game' as they flee from the flames, while women and children cut and carry the meat home where they cook and distribute it. Fishing increased for several years as there were more fish in the Ramu River after an agricultural officer released fish into the river. In addition, major flooding in 2003 caused many stretches of the river to be silted up so that pools were formed. Groups of men and women use a large net to catch fish in the swiftly flowing channels. People also use poisoned bark to deaden small fish in still pools in smaller rivers and block river channels with stone dams that incorporate elongated fish traps to catch fish coming downstream in larger rivers.

The activities of the working day are expressed by a rich selection of verbs (see §4.2 and §10). For example, there are verbs that describe various paths of movement, such as *erehe* 'move alongside', and positioning and transport of things or children on different parts of the body, such as *sahoru* 'bundle it on head'. Different ways of cutting are also expressed by verbs, for example, *kesane* 'scythe -with a short knife (as women do)' and *hoporo* 'scythe -with a long knife (as men do)'.

The dry season is a time when it is easier to ford the Ramu, follow the rivers, meet in the open air and find food for large groups of people meeting for initiation and marriage ceremonies. Other ceremonies and rituals occur with childbirth, a mother's joining the community again after a birth, coming of age for girls, illness, healing, death, divination, funeral payments, end-of-mourning ceremonies, reconciliation agreements and payments to stop sorcerers (*sanguma* in Tok Pisin) causing illness and death.

In the past, young men learned the ‘secret’ knowledge of mythology and ritual through initiation. There were several stages and the ability to bring the power of supernatural beings into secular activities, such as production and use of the material culture, was attributed to knowledge learned during this time. Traditionally, it was possible for men to become *tamaite arene* ‘leaders’ (lit. ‘big men’) through a combination of factors, particularly their ability to use and control ritual knowledge. Skills of oratory, arbitration, healing and fighting and the ability to acquire and distribute material goods were, and are, important in acquiring a following.

Some *tamaite arene* treated illness traditionally associated with spirits, sorcerers and a person’s behaviour. Spirits of root ginger, dead animals, trees killed by humans, ancestors and distinctive places could be offended. For example, spirits of ginger could cause a man to be ill because he had not been hunting. Alternatively, illness might be attributed to eating food that had not had a garden ritual performed over it, food designated for the elderly or food that was taboo during a period of mourning.

Often illness was associated with one of three types of *sanguma* ‘sorcery’. In one type the practitioner was believed to have the power to take the form of a death adder, or other creature, so that he could attack a victim. In a second, the practitioner was said to wound a victim, pack the wound with dried leaves and earth and cause him to sicken and (usually) die several days later. In a third type the practitioner was said to either breathe on a victim or operate magic from a distance. In each case the intention was to cause illness and possibly death (Priestley I. 1979: 4). The first two types were performed with the intention to kill, similar to the *sanguma* ‘assault sorcery’ described elsewhere by Glick (1972: 1029) and Laycock (1996: 273–274). The third type correlates with projective sorcery described by Glick (1972: 1029) and exuvial sorcery described by Laycock (1996: 271). Practitioners were said to enlist the aid of spirits to work sorcery from a distance by using a victim’s personal belongings (nail clippings etc.).

Exuvial sorcery and *sanguma* were greatly feared. Practitioners had the skills and responsibilities of other *tamaite arene* ‘big men’ (personal observation) and were initiated into the practice of *sanguma* (Priestley I. 1979: 8). Some of these men were hired as killers by people from other language groups, in both the southern Madang Province and neighbouring Highlands areas. In some instances, ritual murder was committed. The latter was a physical attack involving strangulation, clubbing and the breaking of each limb of the victim. The man responsible for one such murder in 1972 was probably the most feared *sanguma* practitioner in Koromu at that time. He spent three years in prison in Madang (his own account and Bob Solberg pers.com. 1975). In the last year of his life he is said to have given up the practice of *sanguma* (Sirin Kesapun pers.com. 1990).

To some extent, the fact that this community had the reputation for sorcery and *sanguma* was a deterrent against attack by larger neighbouring groups. Also, the threat of these activities could be used as retaliation for wrongdoing such as adultery. It is difficult to know but it is possible that the sorcery threat increased after the implementation of government control when traditional punishments were outlawed. For example, before government control adulterers could be punished by a wronged husband and/or supportive leader shooting an arrow into the culprit's thigh. If a second such incident occurred the punishment was death.

The strong belief in actual or imagined attacks of *sanguma* and sorcery was reinforced by frequent severe illnesses and death resulting from malaria, amoebic dysentery, pneumonia, and other tropical and infectious conditions (cf. also Glick 1972: 1029–1030).

Although some people still fear *sanguma*, many have seen the effectiveness of health care, medicine and prayer in major life-threatening situations. As Norman Papum Menato said thankfully in 2000 – “we have hope and we don't die so easily anymore”.

1.6 Past and present interaction with other language groups

This section provides an historical overview based on communicative interactions between members of the Koromu speech community and people in neighbouring speech communities (§1.6.1), people from distant places before the mid-1970s (§1.6.2) and settlers and others since the mid-1970s (§1.6.3).

1.6.1 Interaction with neighbouring language communities

A history of interaction between the Koromu speech community and neighbouring language groups is indicated by bilingualism, multilingualism, intermarriage, trade and trade routes, *sanguma* interactions (see §1.5), reconciliation payments, old stories and other shared interactions.

In the past *tamaite arene* ‘leaders’ (lit. ‘big men’) and some others learned to speak the language(s) spoken closest to their homes. This was still noticeable in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, people in the southern villages learned to speak Benabena and/or Alekano (Gahuku) and speakers in the northern villages learned to speak Sausi, Sinsauru (Kou), Asas (Kou) and/or Dumpu (see § 1.3.1 and Map 1.3). Nowadays, people mainly rely on Tok Pisin for communication with speakers of other languages.

Other indicators of the interaction between language groups are intermarriage and the bilingualism or multilingualism of marriage partners. In addition to marriages within the Koromu area (see §1.4), Koromu people have married Sausi, Sinsauru, Asas, Dumpu, Benabena and Alekano/Gahuku people, and more recently, settlers from other parts of the country (see §1.6.3). These marriages create relationships of mutual help and obligation.

For many generations, commodities such as axes, betel nut and clay pots have been exchanged between people of different regions. In 2000 Awai's son Tomas discovered a stone axe head made of tinggri, a distinctive light coloured hornfels, on the hillside behind Kesawai 1. John Burton (pers. com. 2000) states that axes of this material were “made in the Jimi valley, at or near the Ganz River” and “probably reached the Ramu by being traded down the Simbai River” (Map 1.1) through Mareng territory. In 1924 Lane-Poole saw “dozens” of stone axes in the huts at the Kohu (1925: 194, April 2nd, 2004) and it is possible that some of them were also from the Jimi valley. Lane-Poole also noted that people living by the Kohu River (Kesawai 1) had “pearl-white” teeth because they did not chew betel nut as people in other communities did (1925: 191, 20th March 1924). However, by the 1970s some people did chew betel nut and in the early part of that decade the language was referred to as *Taga* or *Sepeki*, terms used for the ‘mustard’ chewed with betel nut (§1.3.2). This was probably because people from the Highlands were eager to trade for *taga* and betel nut with Koromu people. At the same time clay pots from the Finisterre mountains were formerly traded into the Ramu Valley from Usino to Dumpu (Conton and Eisler 1976), and then eastwards into the Mari area (Susanne Holzke pers.com.) and southwards over Mt. Otto (Winai Tute pers.com. 1978). These were valued for cooking and for bride price exchange.

In the past *sanguma* killers from the Ramu valley were hired to kill people in the Benabena, Alekano and Chimbu while *sanguma* killers from the north and northwest preyed on Koromu people (cf. §1.5). Thus, some deaths were attributed to sorcery and others to assassination by physical means. Cessation payments were required by killers and their kin. In one incident, recorded in my journals and ethnographic files for 1979 (Priestley 1975–2004, 1975–1980), a group walked a long distance to collect payment from their victims (cf. Priestley I. 1979). Then in 1986, after further deaths, people gathered from the Koromu, Asas and Sausi languages to bring several killers to justice in a ‘court in the sun’ run by local Koromu leaders (personal observation) where the accused had to sit in the sun, without any relief from shade, while being tried.

The old routes, which people talk about and still sometimes use, are another indicator of interaction between people. Some of these routes follow the Ramu valley, just as the east-west road does now (see §1.2, Lane-Poole 1925, cf. §1.6.2),

while others go into the northern and southern mountains. Many of the north-south routes pass through Koromu land because it is easier to ford the Ramu River through the braided channels that distinguish the area (see §1.2) than through the narrower, deeper and swifter channels up and down stream. Then to the north, it is possible to climb from Koromu to Sinsauru following either the Pakaia River from Kesawai 2, the ridges behind Kesawai 1 or the river valleys behind Asas village. These routes are most commonly travelled by Sinsauru people. To the south there are routes to Benabena, Alekano/Gahuku and Goroka. To reach Benabena a group of men would take a day to climb the steep and rugged route from Ariheti up the Oija River to Samiri (Benabena), on the slopes above the valley between Mt. Otto and Mt. Helwig. Then it is another long day up and over the crest of the range to get to the North Bena road near Megabo. When a group includes women carrying and caring for children it takes twice as long. From Megabo it is possible to get a ride with a public motor vehicle (PMV) to Goroka. A more direct, challenging route goes via Matahausa over the mountains to Goroka (cf. §1.6.2), and there are routes from Weisa up the Aimi River and from Korike up the Tauya River and over the shoulder of Mt. Otto to the Zokozoi River and down to Goroka (cf. §1.3.1). The Isabi people may have moved into the Ramu Valley from the Gorokan area through one of these routes. Owing to the traditional links with people in and near Goroka, Weisa people still pay to travel by road from Kesawai to Goroka, rather than take the shorter road to Madang, where they have no kin (personal observation).

1.6.2 Interaction with people from distant places before the mid-1970s

Prior to World War 1 people from China, Indonesia, Russia, Germany, Britain, Australia and Japan travelled in parts of Madang Province and some of them through Koromu lands. Before 1851 Chinese and Indonesian bird-of-paradise hunters were operating in the lower Ramu near the coast (Swadling 1996: 70), and between 1871 and 1883 the Russian scientist Mikloucho-Maclay made three extended visits near Bongu [bpu] on the Rai Coast (Mikloucho-Maclay 1975). The word *makarai* ‘Maclay’ was adopted in Bongu (B27 in Z’graggen 1980) and spread inland. In Koromu it is still used for ‘white man’. It was also used in the Benabena and Alekano/Gahuku languages in the 1970s (Richard Giddings, pers.com. 1975). For a description of the spread of this and other Russian words in north New Guinea languages see Govor, Ballard, and Priestley (submitted).

In Koromu tradition (cf. §1.3.2), the first non-Papuans to visit the area were German (Menato Epati 2004: T5.22). As part of their colonial expansion in the Pacific, Germany annexed North-East New Guinea in 1884 and administered it

until 1914, extending their political control inland for short distances from the coast. Some explorers went further. Von Beck (1903: 523, 530–538) records that in 1896 a botanist, Dr. Lauterbach, led an expedition up what he called the Nuru (presumably Naru) River from Astrolabe Bay. This group crossed over the ranges to the Ramu River and then travelled downstream. Two years later, in 1898, Tappenbeck led an expedition by steamboat from the mouth of the Ramu and established a station 140 kilometres from the coast. Dr. Lauterbach returned to this station in October 1899 and then led an expedition further upstream using canoes. He made maps, found traces of alluvial gold and set up a gold field station.

Most of the information about the German expeditions is also reported in *German New Guinea: The Annual Reports* (Sack and Clark 1978: 123, 146, 167), which state that a navigable waterway extended as far as 5° 45' S lat. and 146°E. If Lauterbach's party reached that longitude, they must have travelled through Koromu territory and beyond. Subsequently, several gold-seeking expeditions followed the land route to the Ramu. Even the earliest of these may be the one referred to in Menato's text (T5.22, see above). Some photos in one section of von Beck's account support this view (von Beck 1903: 537–543). For example, a photo of the southern mountains appears to have been taken at a point a little to the east of Kesawai 1. A photo of a man and his son bears a striking resemblance to Menato Epati and his son, Norman Papum Menato, when the latter was a boy, while a subsequent photo of a young woman closely resembles women of another family. It is only speculation, but the people in the photos may be forebears of Koromu speaking people living today.

Initially, as the search for gold continued the diggers were ruthless with the local people, and, as a result of concern about this and the skirmishes that followed, a contract was established in 1898 that allowed only the Neu-Guinea Compagnie to exploit the land (von Beck 1903: 542). This followed a charter granted by the German government for the Neu-Guinea Compagnie to administer the protectorate from 1885 to 1899 (Turner 2001: xx). In 1900 and 1901, patrols with Chinese and locally recruited carriers explored the Upper Ramu (Firth 1982: 71), a prospector called Hans Klink patrolled through and beyond Koromu land in 1901 (von Beck 1903: 523 and 540) and a land track was built via the Naru watershed to the Upper Ramu in 1901–02 (Sack and Clark 1978: 234). However, after all this, the gold project failed in 1902 (Firth 1982: 163) and the invasions by foreigners ceased for a time.

Soon the Germans started searching for new resources. For example, they looked for gutta-percha and caoutchouc (types of rubber) in the Ramu Valley in 1908 and 1909 (Sack and Clark 1978: 294, Firth 1982: 163, Lane-Poole 1925: 189). Then, in 1912, several European and Melanesian bird-of-paradise hunters visited the Upper Ramu Valley and clashed with local people whose birds they took

(Firth 1982: 99). In the following year, 1913, the German administration sent an expedition to the region between the Gogol and the Upper Ramu looking for a site for an agricultural experimental station (Sack and Clark 1980: 80–81).

German administration ceased after war broke out between Germany and Great Britain in 1914 and an Australian military government took over administration of the protectorate. Then in 1921, Australia was granted a mandate from the League of Nations to administer the territory of New Guinea under a civilian government.

In the wet season of 1924, under the Australian administration, the British-born Australian forester and explorer Charles Lane-Poole and a group of carriers and police trekked from the coast to the Ramu Valley on a forestry survey. Lane-Poole's detailed diary (1925) records how, in the swampy area beyond Usino (where the Assistant District Commissioner Tutton had camped earlier), they made many abortive attempts to cross the fierce current of the Ramu River by raft. Several days later they tried unsuccessfully to cross the Ramu near the confluence with the Boku (Boko)³ River. Eventually, by following the foothills, they arrived at the villages by the Kohu, also known as Kasowai (Kesawai 1). There they met a leader called Sarowai who told them that it was possible to cross the Ramu River nearby. Between 26th February and 11th April, they stayed four times at the settlements by the Kohu River (Lane-Poole 1925: 187–199), visited the Pakaia and other villages to the east, and finally crossed the Ramu River and visited Waimeripa, Korike, and Koromo (Weisa) before climbing Mt. Otto. While at the Kohu a man called Fiele told them that Chinese recruiters had forced young men of Waimeripa and Koromo to go away to work on coastal plantations under the German administration (p. 190). At Korike they met an elderly man who had learned Tok Pisin on a Bogadjim plantation. They also heard of the visit and death of a Chinese man (p. 196). Their own visit ended tragically since the corporal, a police boy and the interpreter raped one of the Kohu women while Lane-Poole and the others were on Mt. Otto. In retaliation against this great offence the Kohu River people destroyed some of Lane-Poole's gear and retreated to the hills before his party returned. Since the interpreter was one of the culprits Lane-Poole did not understand the situation until his group were part way back to Madang. As a result, he was not able to enact summary justice for the Kohu people or give them an apology. Sadly, in the confusion, Peter, a herbarium expert from Rabaul, disappeared (see Lane-Poole 1925: 199–200).

Australian government control began to spread inland from the coast during the 1930s and into the Ramu Valley by 1933. From late 1933 until sometime in 1934 there was a Lutheran helpers' station at Waimeripa, south of the Ramu River

3 Names repeated in brackets give the modern spelling.

(Wagner and Reiner 1986: 160). Lutheran workers may have travelled through the area even earlier, for example in 1920 from the north coast (1986: 132), or in 1926 from Garimari (Mari) which is southeast along the Ramu Valley (1986: 61).

Australian aims for full political control included the outlawing of warfare and homicide, regrouping of people in large villages, institution of village headmen and imposition of a head tax (Lawrence 1984: 22). However, in 1943 Australian forces described the country between the Ramu River and Benabena as a vast “uncontrolled, unexplored and unmapped” area (Dexter 1961: 241) where some people had a little experience of plantation ways but there had been infrequent visits from government officers on overnight patrols (1961: 46).

During the Second World War, the impact of outsiders was immense, and though it led to exploration and mapping, for the Koromu and other peoples of the region it could very aptly be described as ‘uncontrolled’. In January 1943, Japanese soldiers crossed the Finisterre Ranges to arrive at the Ramu near Kesawai (Dexter 1961: 235). Subsequently, small groups of Australian forces began to patrol the Benabena-Matahusa-Weisa route over the mountain range between Mt. Otto and Mt. Helwig and down into the Ramu Valley to prevent Japanese forces using the same route in reverse to go south into the Highlands (Dexter 1961: 237). One ten-day patrol led by Lieutenant Fulton in February started from Sigoiya, Benabena and passed through Matahusa to Savetti (near Aliheti/Alivetti), Weisa, Waimeripa and Korike by way of the Oria (Oija) River which joins the Marea River before Korike. They returned over the mountains, starting to the west of Korike and climbing through Kaireba, Kogoro and Yani (Fulton 2005: 152–154, Fulton, Hughes, Friend and Southwell, 1943). “‘Tough trip’ was the diarist’s laconic comment describing the tortuous crawl over the range between Mounts Helwig and Otto towards the river flats” (Dexter 1961: 235, 237). The Kesawai people fled from the fighting to the rocky hills below Mt. Helwig (Arikao Tomas 2004: T5.3, T5.5). Several local people who had been recruited by the Japanese were killed or wounded near Waimeripa and Weisa in skirmishes between the Japanese and Australians (Dexter 1961: 244, 246) and to the north of the Ramu River, Kesawai 1 changed hands several times before the final battles and the Japanese retreat. The Japanese forces had deserted the area by December 21st, 1943 (Dexter 1961: 689–704). It was only after the Japanese and Australian forces had left that people returned to their home lands (Arikao Tomas 2004: T5.3, T5.5).

After the war, memories of the traumatic events, combined with traditional beliefs about the special power associated with the acquisition and construction of manufactured items, created an environment in which cargo cult propaganda from the north was readily accepted. In the late 1960s and/or early 1970s there was an active cult at Kesawai 1 and cargo predictions remained in circulation until the late 1970s at least. Visits by Australian government patrol officers were infrequent, but

they increased after an airstrip was built at Usino in the 1960s and a patrol post in 1965 (Lawrence 1984: 26). Patrol officers encouraged the people of Kesawai to live in one village near the Kohu River (Arikao Tomas pers.com. 1978). During these years, some Koromu men worked outside the area for periods of time. For example, Sirin Kesapun worked in Rabaul, New Britain in the late 1960s/early 1970s. However, by 1975 only one Kesawai man, accompanied by his wife, was working outside the Ramu Valley. This couple returned to live in Kesawai 1 between 2004 and 2010.

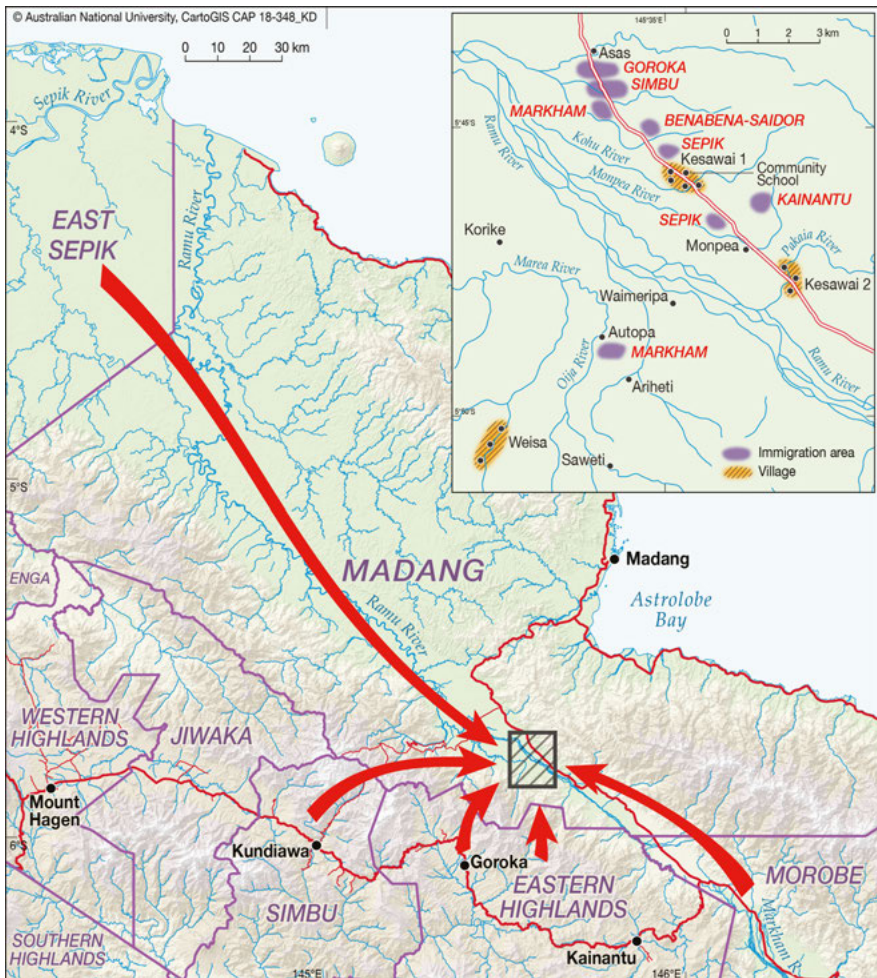
1.6.3 The settlers and other changes since the mid-1970s

Since the mid-1970s there have been major changes in the social and linguistic situation in the Koromu area. This coincides with the period of my observation and participation in the lives of Koromu-speaking people.

By Independence in 1975 government officers had encouraged people to live in centralized villages at Kesawai 1 and 2, Waimeripa, Korike, Ariheti and Saweti (see Map 1.2) but some people still lived in smaller settlements at Weisa and throughout the language area (cf. §1.2, §1.4). A very rough dry season track (two wheel-ruts and no bridges) led from the end of the road at Dumpu into the Kesawai, Sausi, Usino area (see Map 1.1) but the Koromu people did not have medical facilities, schools, churches, cash crops, tradestores and so on. There were serious health problems, such as malaria, pneumonia, leprosy, child malnutrition, yaws, and dysentery as well as a high mortality rate and a strong ongoing fear of *sanguma* (cf. §1.5.1).

In the mid-1970s a gravel road was begun linking Madang, Usino, and the Lae-Highlands highway (see Map 1.1). Major work on this was undertaken in the dry season of 1975 and subsequent years. At the same time the Ramu Hydroelectric Scheme set up power lines to Madang along a route roughly parallel to the road. Also, the government bought land from the Kesawai 1 and 2, Asas and Sausi people on the north side of the Ramu River and leased it to applicants from more densely populated areas. The new settlers included a Benabena-Saidor family and small groups of Markham, Chimbu and Alekano/Gahuku people (see Map 1.4). Loans of cattle and fencing were made to the settlers and the local landowners. Provincial Health Officers, aware of the lack of medical facilities and of serious health problems on the highlands fringe, authorized my mother and I to provide health care when we went to live at Kesawai 1 in 1975.

As the road began to improve the government officer's houses at Kesawai 1 and in other roadside villages fell into disrepair as the officers could visit for several hours rather than having to stay overnight. When the gravel road was completed in 1978 the Usino airstrip was closed and the local government centre



Map 1.4: Migrations into the Ramu Valley near Koromu since 1975.

(former patrol post) moved to Walium. Then, during the late 1970s, the cattle projects began to fail as there were some problems with provision of ongoing training and transport to markets. During this time the Koromu people and settlers asked my father to join them in a petition to the provincial government for a primary school. The main leaders involved were Sirin Kesapun of Kesawai 1 and Tataing of the Markham group. After a community primary school opened at Kesawai 1 in January 1980 the Kesawai leaders decided that the school system would replace the initiation ceremonies for young men and boys, so the May-June initiations of that year were the last ones they conducted (§1.5). It was also in 1980 that the Ramu

Sugar Company began to plant sugar cane and build a sugar processing plant in the Gusap area, near the watershed between the Markham and Ramu Rivers. The small township is known as Ramu Sugar but the business, Ramu Agri-Industries, part of new Britain Palm Oil Ltd., also raises beef cattle and oil palm.

Many changes have led to an increase in the number of languages spoken in Koromu, Asas and Sausi territory. Settlers arrived in the mid-1970s (as mentioned above), the school teachers and aid post orderly came from 1980 onwards, Sepik people have acquired land leases since the early 1990s and small numbers of people from Kainantu and Chimbu stayed behind after their bosses abandoned a timber project in the hills above Kesawai 1. Since 1990 there has been a small Bible training school at Kesawai 1 where instruction is in Tok Pisin and English since there are students from other parts of rural Papua New Guinea. Also, for 17 years until 2004, a group of illegal squatters from the Markham, not related to the legal settlers, lived on Kesawai 2 land. Because of the incoming settlers and intermarriage with people from neighbouring groups, there were speakers of about twenty different languages living on what was formerly Koromu land by 2004 (see Map 1.4). This number varies with the arrival and departure of new teachers, settlers and marriage partners.

Koromu speakers still outnumber incoming migrants. The settlers who came in small groups from the Markham, Chimbu, Goroka and the Sepik live in their own villages and speak their own languages at home. Individuals or nuclear family groups who have settled in the area tend to speak Tok Pisin as the lingua franca and sometimes a few words of Koromu when speaking with Koromu people. Tok Pisin and English are used at school and in the church at Kesawai 1. Some settlers and Koromu people have intermarried. Their young children and some others living near the Kesawai 1 community school speak Tok Pisin as their first language, although Koromu children learn specific vocabulary, such as the names of plants and animals, in Koromu. Some Koromu children from south of the river live at Kesawai 1 during the school week. Consequently, they are also affected by the common use of Tok Pisin so language endangerment is a concern. However, a group of Markham settlers (Adzera speakers) have been living south of the Ramu River in the Autopa area since the late 1980s. Some of their children and young adults speak Koromu, Adzera and Tok Pisin (and in some cases, English).

In spite of massive social changes, the resilience and stability of the Koromu communities, the incorporation of newcomers and the commitment of younger people to their home area is impressive. In addition, people have returned to living in smaller scattered settlements as they were before patrols by government officers started. By 2004 Sairam Tomas, who has been one of the main language consultants contributing to this research and my Koromu brother, along with Ian Priestley and others, had begun fencing in some land between Kesawai 1 and

Kesawai 2 for cattle projects. The aim was to discourage illegal squatters and earn money to fund health care, school fees, water projects and so on.

Although Tok Pisin is used increasingly by the children, it is striking that there is less Tok Pisin code-switching in texts collected in 2000 and 2004, than in those collected from 1978 to 1980. Recent texts also have some new Koromu expressions such as *esame tamaite* [dog man] ‘policeman’, *weri ososo* [ulcer bind bind] ‘doctor’ and *wapi huku-ho=mo* [hand-clasp-FINC1p=BM] ‘we will pray’. The avoidance of code-switching in recent texts may indicate that narrators are being careful because they are becoming increasingly aware of the effect of Tok Pisin on their use of Koromu. However, some earlier texts were recorded with older men who worked on plantations outside the area for lengthy periods of time before 1975. On the plantations these men had to rely totally on Tok Pisin which may explain their tendency to code-switch between Koromu and Tok Pisin when recording texts. Since 1975 very few younger adults have lived outside the area. Many of the 2000 and 2004 texts were recorded with people from the latter group or with those who have only been away for short periods of time to study.

1.7 A brief history of research on Koromu and neighbouring languages

Lane-Poole’s comment (1925: 187, 26th February 1924) that the ‘Kasowai’ people he met to the north and south of the Ramu River spoke the same language is the earliest known written mention of the language. His interpreter later said that the language spoken at Waimeripa was different from the language spoken by the Kohu River (Kesawai 1) (1925: 195, 4th April 1924). However, he could have been using one of the languages spoken northwest of the Kohu and this language may not have been understood in Waimeripa where bilingual Koromu speakers tended to speak Benabena, one of the southern languages (cf. §1.6.1).

When Claassen and McElhanon produced a survey of languages of the Finisterre Range they commented on the Rai Coast language of Taga [Koromu] that “its full geographic extent and number of speakers is not known” (1970: 60). They added that “vocabularies for the Taga, Gurumbu and Kaikovu [presumably Kou/Sinsauru] languages were collected by D. Trefry and D. Oatridge during 1964–1965”. Z’graggen’s (1980) comparative wordlists of Rai Coast languages include the first published wordlist for Kesawai (B4) [Koromu], a language spoken north and south of the Ramu River by 538 people. This list, based on fieldwork between January 1971 and November 1973, records 300 words and some structural elements used in Alivetti (Kasanum), Kesawai 1, Kesawai 2, Korigei, Waimeriba and Weissa.

From 1967 to 1975, while my parents were working in various types of community development and teaching, our family lived in Yagaria, Alekano (Gahuku), and Benabena. In the Megabo and Matahusa villagers in the North Bena my father, Bob, heard about the ‘people of the crocodile skin’, an expression used to refer to the Koromu people of the Ramu Valley, many of whom suffered from ringworm (tinea) which causes raised wavy markings on the skin. During that time, he visited the Ramu Valley and collected a 140-item wordlist with Yaniwe, a Sinsauru speaker from Baipa village (Priestley R., January 1971). Then early in 1975, Bob Solberg at the Ranara Mission, Mari language, Ramu Valley, and Sir Bruce Jephcott, the then Minister of Transport who ran the Dumpu cattle station, expressed grave concerns about the health and survival of the Koromu people because disease, *sanguma* beliefs and *sanguma* killers were having a marked and disastrous effect. Jephcott added ‘anyone who will help those people I will help’.

Late in the wet season in May 1975 my father managed to get through the rough muddy track and unbridged rivers to Kesawai 1, where people were glad he was interested in the language and asked him to stay (Awai Tomas T1.27). With Awai Tomas, he recorded 104 items (91 words and 13 clauses). After we went to live there in August 1975 my father, brother and I recorded data with the 190 item SIL Survey Wordlist (170 words, 20 clauses) and other sets of phrases and sentences (cf. Bee and Pence 1962). In 1978 and 1979 we recorded similar data with Kou speakers from Asas, Saipa and Lukuli villages, Sausi/Wiya speakers from Sausi and Korona villages, Dumpu/Watiwa speakers from Dumpu village and people at the Usino village of Dakawo. Also, in 1979, my brother Ian, collected similar lists at Mubu and Paraiye villages of the Wabe (Kwato, [kop]) language (Priestley, Priestley and Priestley 1975–1979). From 1975 members of the family lived and worked at Kesawai 1 until December 1986 (apart from periods of leave). Our ‘grass roots’ support and the fact we weren’t there to make money was appreciated, particularly as there was also an influx of more affluent people of different linguistic backgrounds from other parts of the country.

Much of the linguistic research in Koromu became my responsibility. Communicative interactions with speakers included contexts such as community aid, health care, diagnosis and treatment of a high concentration of leprosy patients (55–60), participation in activities, events and gatherings in the village and during fishing, foraging and gardening, and medical and social visits to other communities. Sometimes government officials who used Tok Pisin heavily influenced by English visited and gave speeches. Long discussions afterwards clearly showed that many people misunderstood this incomprehensible version of Tok Pisin and also revealed cultural concerns that were significant for rural people living on the land. As a result, my brother and I were often asked to explain the speeches. These experiences, and ethnographic data people wanted to share, were recorded in journals

and topical and chronological files (Priestley 1975–2004, 1975–1980, cf. Healey 1975, Murdock et al. 1971). Conversations and elicited data were filed in data books, and some word lists, short conversations and language drills were recorded on tape.

After studying a linguistics and literacy course at the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), UK in 1977, my work continued at Kesawai 1 and included production of some basic literacy materials. Linguistic data from this period (January 1978 to June 1980) consists of conversations and elicitation recorded in Databooks 2 to 5 and small ‘trail’ notebooks along with texts T1.1 to T1.24 and T2.9 to T2.32 recorded with male and female narrators aged 11 to 50. Sairam Tomas, Winis Mutu and/or Kahu Kesapun accompanied me to anthropology and linguistic workshops at SIL Ukarumpa, PNG in 1978 and 1979. After my BA Honours degree in Anthropology and Linguistics (1980–1983) I spent 1986 in Koromu but other responsibilities prevented extensive linguistic research though I did attend a Linguistic Workshop at SIL Ukarumpa and Databook 6 and other notes date from that year.

After short visits to Koromu in 1990 and late 1997 I began an MA in Linguistics at the Australian National University in 1999. My sub-thesis (Priestley 2002a) describes ‘The morphosyntax of verbs in Koromu (Kesawai), a language of Papua New Guinea’ and a paper ‘Insides and emotion in Koromu’ also dates from that time (Priestley 2002b). The fieldwork for the sub-thesis was conducted over two months in 2000 when staying with Sairam and Kerapesi Tomas, their children and the extended family in the Otopa settlement east of the Kohu River at Kesawai 1. The community arranged a different consultant each day on a weekly basis. Data book D7 is a record of conversational and elicited data and Texts T1.25–35, T2.33 and T3.1–3 were recorded and transcribed with their narrators who were people in their thirties to fifties. Some texts from the earlier collection were also transcribed and/or checked and data on the morphosyntax of verbs and complex predicates was obtained from texts, conversation and elicitation then entered in a verb file (cf. chapter 10).

My PhD program began in 2002 but owing to visa and health delays fieldwork was not until 2004 when I stayed with Sairam’s family for three months. Extracts from conversation and some elicited data are recorded in Data books D8 to D11 and in a file of canonical sentences for semantic research. Some elicitation was used to research constructions that occur infrequently in natural text and elicitation of positionals and locatives was supported by reference to pictures, objects in the environment and video/commentary on the landscape. Texts T5: 1–28, T6: 1–16, T7: 1–4 and T8: 1–2 were recorded on cassette tape and in some cases on video. The narrators, aged from 30 to 60, and language consultants helped with transcriptions. During these years, I also gave presentations which were later published, for example, Koromu spatial reference appeared in the Australian Linguistic Society (ALS) proceedings (2006) and a chapter on “inalienable possession” was published in *Cross-Linguistic Semantics* (2008).

Other papers include Koromu potential event modality (2012a) and topics on grammar, meaning, language, culture, community documentation and vernacular education. Inspired by Koromu community interests and the Elementary curriculum (Papua New Guinea Department of Education 2015), recent papers focus on topics important for community documentation and education. Topics include temporal expressions (2012b), social categories, shared experience, reciprocity and endangered meanings (2013a), the semantics and morphosyntax of verbal and nominal constructions describing hurt/pain (2014, 2016a) and body parts and polysemy (2017). Key presentation papers include ‘Cultural values and terms of address and reference’ (2009), ‘Language-based perspectives on environmental knowledge: Koromu examples’ (2012, with Winis Mutu and Sairam Tomas), ‘Documenting grammar through the lens of endangered languages’ (2013b), ‘Words and traditional environmental knowledge: Research and conservation strategies’ (2013c), and ‘Folk categorization and grass roots documentation’ (2013d, papers presented with Myf Turpin and Aung Si). Audio recordings from cassette and video tapes have been digitized and transcribed in handwritten and electronic files to lodge at PARADISEC, in the community with Sairam Tomas’s family and/or in my possession. Recordings for projects on *Koromu: Reading and Audio-visual Materials* (with some funding from the Foundation of Endangered Languages) and *Koromu culture and traditional environmental knowledge* (with some funding from the Endangered Languages Fund) are stored in Saymore files, archived with the Endangered Languages Fund (2016b) and will be lodged with PARADISIC. Texts by many community members who were involved in the projects have been compiled and edited in an illustrated book *Wene ore, tiri ore* ‘Food plants and trees’ (Priestley & Koromu community 2016) and then printed and returned to the community. The aim is to develop other materials, including a grammar, for community use.

1.8 Sources and content of texts

The texts in the corpus were spoken by men, women and children of different ages on a variety of topics. From 1978 to 1980 texts were recorded with twenty-six different speakers. Twenty-one were recorded with Kesawai 1 residents, three with Kesawai 2 residents, and fourteen with people who live south of the Ramu. In 2000 six people made recordings. Six texts were from Kesawai 1 residents and four from Kesawai 2 residents. Then in 2004 fourteen people recorded texts. Forty-five texts were recorded by Kesawai 1 residents and five long texts were recorded by Kesawai 2 residents. Speakers now resident at Kesawai 1 and 2, who grew up south of the Ramu, recorded at least twelve of these texts. Men recorded

thirty-three, seven and thirty-eight texts and women recorded eight, three and twelve texts in the 1978–1980, 2000 and 2004 audio collections respectively. Many early texts have provided excellent transcriptions but for some the quality of the recording is poor and transcriptions are difficult.

Although texts on other topics have been recorded since my PhD fieldwork (in 2010, 2012 and 2015) the basic collection used for the analysis in this book are narratives about recent events, personal histories, stories about our shared past, procedural accounts (for example about gardening, hunting and child care), origin myths, animal origin myths, family histories and ideas about language borrowing. Video-taped material includes narratives, conversations, journey commentaries and group translation sessions. Sometimes, especially where there were multiple speakers and an inadequate power source, there is a need for further transcription. Insights on some texts, has been enhanced because I participated in the events described and can understand the sequence of events and apply that to the analysis of discourse, information structure and reference tracking. Many texts were transcribed with their narrators while others were transcribed with people who regularly worked with me over the years, particularly Sairam Tomas and Winis Mutu. These two men have provided invaluable help and advice, in narration, transcription, transcription checks, elicitation and discussion, including assistance at linguistic workshops in earlier years and as my main language consultants during fieldwork in 2000 (for my MA) and 2004 (for my PhD thesis).

1.9 Salient features in Koromu grammar

Typologically, the salient features of Koromu are complex predicates or serial verb constructions (chapter 10), clause chaining (§9.2 and §9.4), and constituents that function at the level of both grammar and information structure/reference tracking. The latter include the prominent noun phrase enclitic =*te* (§13.5) and the particle *uo* ‘ground’ which indicates background material and topic-like elements (chapter 14). The remainder of this section outlines the key points about the language and the chapters in which they occur.

Chapter 2 introduces the phonological inventory of five vowels and 10 consonants - voiceless stops, fricatives, nasals, a tap and two approximants (§2.2), the syllable and stress patterns affecting (C)V(V) and (C)V(V)C syllables (§2.3.1) and the phonological and morphophonological changes that affect word formation (§2.4). The latter include processes of vowel elision, vowel harmony, consonant changes, ablaut and reduplication. Chapter 3 outlines basic clause structures and verbal and nonverbal clauses. Verbal clauses are verb final (§3.6) with a preferred

AOV order in transitive clauses (§3.6.2.2) and optional clause final epistemic modality particles (§3.5). However, in certain contexts OAV (§14.3.2.2, §14.4.1) and OVA (§14.5) word order can occur (cf. §13.5.4). Chapter 4 outlines the morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics of verbal, nominal and minor word classes. Common nouns (§4.3.2) and verb roots form open classes (§4.2), while minor word classes include adverbs (§4.7), qualifiers (§4.4), postpositions (§4.8) and demonstratives (§4.14.1). Pronouns distinguish singular and plural and have a genitive form (§4.5). The details of verbal affixation representing person and number are provided in chapter 9.

Chapters 5 to 8 focus mainly on nominal constructions. Chapter 5 describes noun phrase types, functions of noun phrases, noun phrase listing and appositive noun phrases, chapter 6 examines possessive nominal constructions, chapter 7 describes postpositional phrases and chapter 8 discusses spatial reference. Common nouns can be followed by an adjective, quantifier and/or indefinite specific article, post-head nominals, adjective phrases or relative clauses (§5.2.3). They can follow demonstratives, pre-head nominals and prenominal relative clauses (§5.2.2). Closed noun classes include kinship nouns with person-number possessor suffixes or vocative-type enclitics (§4.3.3.2, §6.5.3.3). Possessor enclitics can occur with common nouns (§6.5.3.2).

Chapters 9, 10 and 11 focus on verbal constructions. Chapter 9 describes subject suffixes and optional object and aspect suffixes with verbs (§3.6.2, §9.3.2). It shows independent final verbs with portmanteau tense, subject and mood suffixes (§9.3) and dependent verbs with suffixes that indicate whether the subsequent verb has the same or a different subject, the same, overlapping or sequential temporal reference and realis or irrealis status. Event sequences can be expressed by clause chains of dependent verbs (§9.4).

Chapter 10 shows that one or more bare verb roots and a final verb can form a serial verb construction that expresses closely connected events (§10.8, §10.9) or an event marked for aspect or valency change (§10.4 to §10.7). Impersonal experiencer object constructions described in chapter 11 represent involuntary physical and psychological conditions or sensations with the experiencer indicated by the direct object. These constructions are syntactically marked for a third person singular subject but no clear subject referent is indicated.

Clause combining and the interaction of grammar with information structure are described in chapters 12 to 14. Chapter 12 examines basic clause combining in relation to clause chains, complement clauses, relative clauses, nominalized clauses with *pao* ‘purpose’, the adverbial *sei* ‘orientation’ clause and clauses combined with adversative and disjunctive particles. Chapter 13 examines the grammar and information structure of noun phrase realisation, omission and prominence while chapter 14 describes the grammar and information structure

of words, phrases and clauses in the ground (background material), specifically links (topic-like elements) and tails, as well as tail-head linkage.

The appendices include a list of source texts, three sample texts with morpheme glosses and free translations, and a short Koromu to English wordlist with an English-Koromu finderlist. Throughout the book there are some references to linguistic similarities or differences in linguistically and/or geographically linked areas, particularly in the Madang and Eastern Highlands languages.

2 Phonology and morphophonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the basic features of the phonology and morphophonology of Koromu in sections on the phonological inventory (§2.2), phonotactics (§2.3) and phonological and morphophonological changes in word formation (§2.4). Originally described in detail in Priestley 2002a, there has been further analysis in this work with additional data and a new ordering of the information and analysis.

2.2 Phonological inventory

Koromu consonants include voiceless stops, fricatives, nasals, a liquid/tap and two approximants. The place and manner of articulation of consonants are indicated in Table 2.1 below (cf. charts in Ladofoged and Johnson 2011).

Table 2.1: Consonants.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p	t	–	k	–
Fricatives	–	s	–	–	h
Nasals	m	n	–	–	–
Tap	–	r	–	–	–
Approximants	w	–	y	–	–

The vowels, represented in Table 2.2, have basic differences in vowel quality as they occur in front, central and back as well as high, mid and low positions.

Table 2.2: Vowels.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	–	u
Mid	e	–	o
Low	–	a	–

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2.3 Phonotactics

Syllable and stress patterns in Koromu are described in sections §2.3.1 and §2.3.2.

2.3.1 Syllable patterns

The open syllable patterns, CV, V, CVV and VV, have a wide distribution. Closed syllable patterns, CVC, VC and CVVC, may also occur. Syllable boundaries are indicated by a dot in this section so that the structure of monomorphemic words with vowel sequences is more immediately apparent.

CV syllables occur initially, medially or finally, for example, in *ka.ru* ‘fish-trap’, *e.sa.me* ‘dog’ and *e.po* ‘stone’. All the consonants can occur in the syllable onset of CV syllables. However, the liquid /r/ only occurs in initial position in the enclitic=*ra.re* ‘and/with’ (cf. §4.11 and §5.11.3.1), in *re* the reduced form of the phasal verb *su.re* START (cf. §4.2.9 and §10.4.2) and in *re* the reduced form of the phasal and valency-changing verb *he.re* PUT (cf. §4.2.10 and §10.5) in complex predicates. An example of the latter is given in (2.1). Note that the gloss for phasal and phasal/valency-changing verbs is written in capitals to indicate that there is both a grammatical function and a lexical meaning (cf. §2.4.5, and §10.4).

- (2.1) ...*ne re-pente*
 eat PUT-LTD:3p
 ‘...they ate it up...’ T1.14.19

Onsetless V syllables can occur in word initial, medial and final position, as in *u.su* ‘pig’, *ai.a.ke* ‘cassava’ and *ka.e* [come-3p] ‘they came’. However, there is no evidence that the high back vowel /u/ can occur medially as a stressed syllable.

Koromu also has open syllable patterns VV and CVV in which vowel sequences can be long vowels or diphthongs. Examples of long vowels occur in *hee-r-a* [move round-PRES-3s] ‘it is going round’, *ya haa-r-a* [river dry-PRES-3s] ‘the river is drying (up)’, and *oono* ‘mountain garden’. The upgliding diphthongs, /ei, ai, oi, au, ou/, occur in CVV syllables as in Table 2.3. The diphthong /oi/ also occurs in a CVVC syllable in the monosyllabic personal name *Kois*. The interjection *kue* ‘just so/go on’ has a less common diphthong.

VV syllables can consist of the diphthongs /ei/, /ai/, /au/ and /ou/. VV syllables that are either both front vowels, /ei/, or both back vowels, /ou/, form the monosyllabic words *ei* ‘bamboo’ and *ou* ‘yam (a type)’. *Ei* ‘bamboo’ is also

Table 2.3: CVV syllable patterns and their position in the word.

	Cei	Cai	Coi	Cau	Cou
1 syllable word	<i>sei</i> 'orientation postposition'	<i>wai</i> 'strong'	–	<i>tau</i> 'axe'	<i>sou</i> 'poison (from a lizard)'
Initial syllable	<i>weine</i> 'leaf'	<i>waiko-waiko</i> 'black cockatoo'	<i>koia</i> [<i>koi.a</i>] 'sweet potato'	<i>naurupa</i> 'the bush'	–
Medial syllable	–	<i>tamaite</i> 'man'	<i>tohoisa</i> 'she asked me'	–	–
Final syllable	<i>werei</i> 'little'	–	<i>tokoi</i> 'I lit it'	–	<i>siritou</i> 'grass(type)'

incorporated as the first syllable in the place name *Ei.o.ro.pa* 'place of 'spear' bamboo' (bamboo for making spears and arrows). The diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ occur in word initial position, as in *ai.ne* 'fish' and *au.hu* 'betel nut' (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: VV syllable patterns and their position in the word.

	<i>ei</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>ou</i>
1 syllable word	<i>ei</i> 'bamboo'	–	–	<i>ou</i> 'yam'
Word initial	<i>Eioropa</i> 'placename'	<i>aine</i> 'fish'	<i>auhu</i> 'betel nut'	–

VV sequences across syllable boundaries are common (Table 2.5). In initial or medial syllables a vowel-initial syllable may bear stress, as in *é.a* 'yesterday' and *ku.á.re* 'grub (type of insect)' and examples (2.2) and (2.3) below. Across syllable boundaries VV sequences with final /u/ have an initial front vowel. Apart from /ii/, identical vowel sequences do not occur across syllable boundaries. Where vowel final stems precede vowel initial suffixes, the rule of identical vowel elision removes the latter possibility (cf. §2.4.2.2.1). Table 2.5 shows the two-syllable VV sequences.

The distribution of the closed syllable patterns VC, CVC, VVC and CVVC is more restricted. Word medially, nasals and the anterior stops /p/ and /t/ can occur in the syllable coda. Nasal consonants occur before a syllable beginning with a stop consonant or the alveolar fricative /s/, while the anterior stops, /p/ and /t/, are each followed by a homorganic nasal. Examples of VC and CVC syllables are listed in Table 2.6.

Examples of CVVC syllables are *naumpa* 'above' and the personal name *Kois*. Word finally the nasal consonants and the alveolar consonants /t/ and /s/

Table 2.5: VV sequences that occur across syllable boundaries.

	i final	e final	a final	o final	u final
i initial	<i>i.i</i> <i>i.i</i> ‘three’	<i>i.e</i> <i>i.e</i> ‘no’	<i>i.a</i> <i>i.a</i> ‘no’	<i>i.o</i> <i>i.o</i> ‘my, [GEN1s]’	<i>i.u</i> <i>Si.u</i> personal name
e initial	<i>e.i</i> <i>a.te.re.i</i> ‘one’	–	<i>e.a</i> <i>e.a</i> ‘yesterday’	<i>e.o</i> <i>me.o</i> ‘whose’	<i>e.u</i> <i>E.he.u.sa</i> place name
a initial	<i>a.i</i> <i>...u-ne.ka-i</i> ‘I said to them...’.	<i>a.e</i> <i>A.ri-a.e!</i> ‘You go!’	–	<i>a.o</i> <i>wa.ri.ka.o</i> ‘bad’	–
o initial	<i>o.i</i> <i>o.ro.i.a</i> ‘we dug it’	<i>o.e</i> <i>ye.ne ko.e</i> ‘cuckoo’	<i>o.a</i> <i>so.a.he</i> ‘ginger’	–	–
u initial	<i>...u.i</i> <i>...u-i</i> ‘I said...’	<i>u.e</i> <i>...u-e</i> ‘they said...’	<i>u.a</i> <i>...u-a</i> ‘he/she said...’	<i>u.o</i> <i>u.o</i> ‘ground’	–

Table 2.6: Consonant sequences across syllable boundaries.

Nasal – stop sequences	
mp	<i>pohia-mpe</i> ‘we intend to sit down’
mt	<i>amtu</i> ‘hawk’
mk	<i>amkoru</i> ‘middle’
np	<i>wanpere</i> ‘type of edible green plant’
nte	<i>-pente</i> ‘3s loose temporal dependency’
nk	<i>Ponkas</i> ‘a man’s name’
Nasal – alveolar fricative sequences	
ms	<i>sipam-se-r-a</i> [know-O1s-PRES-3s] ‘she knows me’
ns	<i>mansei</i> ‘why’
Anterior stops /p/ and /t/ followed by homorganic nasals	
pm	<i>apmahao</i> ‘young, new’
tn	<i>Atnari</i> ‘a man’s name’

occur in the syllable coda in some personal names, for example, *Arinam*, *Koran*, *Yot* and *Winis*. Also, nasal consonants and the alveolar fricative consonant /s/ occur word finally when a subsequent final vowel is elided, as in *esam Tira* ‘the dog Tira’ (see §2.4.2.1.1). Stop or alveolar consonants can occur word finally in words borrowed from Tok Pisin and a homorganic nasal can be inserted before the stop in a borrowed placename such as Madang. In keeping with the phonological inventory, the final syllable ends with the alveolar nasal. The result is Mantan.

2.3.2 Stress patterns

Stress is indicated by changes in pitch, duration and intensity. Pitch rises between an unstressed syllable and a subsequent stressed syllable and then falls to a subsequent final, unstressed syllable. Duration of the vowel nucleus is slightly greater in open stressed syllables.

The main stress is on the penultimate syllable where it provides a demarcative function. “Alternating stress” (as in Hyman 1975: 210) occurs on every other even-numbered syllable, starting from the syllable with penultimate stress and moving towards the beginning of the word. When there are more than two stressed syllables the penultimate syllable has the main stress and the first stressed syllable is slightly more prominent than the other non-penultimate stressed syllables in the word. The position of stress varies with the number of suffixes and/or enclitics in the word. Compare the following examples.

(2.2) ...*sàsi-nèka-ía*.
tell-O3p-1p
‘...we told them.’ T1.7.23

(2.3) *Sasi-nekà-ía-te...*
tell-O3p-1p-DR
‘We told them and then...’ T1.7.24

Syntactically, suffixes are attached to a base morpheme of a specific part of speech (for example, in the verbs above). In contrast, enclitics are attached to a whole phrase or clause (see below). Phonologically, enclitics form words with a phrase or clause final host, or with the only word in the phrase or clause. Monosyllabic enclitics are unstressed. When there are two syllables in the enclitic the penultimate syllable is stressed, as in (2.4). (For details of the possessive construction see §6.6)

- (2.4) *Néne kéti páo sakîne=nápa.*
 3p mountain IGEN word=P3p
 ‘They are mountain (people)’s words.’ T74.15

2.4 Phonological and morphophonological changes in word formation

2.4.1 Introduction

The formation of words, complex predicates and phrases in Koromu may involve phonological changes such as vowel elision, vowel harmony, nasal assimilation, /r/ deletion and glide insertion at morpheme and/or word boundaries (cf. Word Formation Rules in Aronoff 1976 and Anderson 1992). Some changes are lexically conditioned. Alternatively, they involve phonetic variations in rapid speech. However, as suggested over a hundred years ago, by Polish linguists Jan Baudouin de Courtenay and Mikolaj Kruszewski, mechanical phonetic variations may become phonological rules over time (Anderson 1992: 340). In addition, Koromu has processes of ablaut and reduplication that express grammatical information. When the processes are applied in speech, the ablaut rules precede the others and vowel elision applies before vowel harmony.

In all these processes the mid vowel /e/ is particularly susceptible. It may be easily deleted or compressed in vowel elision, or altered through vowel harmony, perhaps because /e/ has no positive values in a matrix based on vowel features, as in Carr (1983).

The vowels and their features

	i	e	u	o	a
High	+	-	+	-	-
Low	-	-	-	-	+
Back	-	-	+	+	-

The vulnerability of /e/ is also found in Tauya, another language in the Ramu Valley, where of all the vowels “the mid front vowel /e/ is the most susceptible to deletion”. Also, Tauya has processes of vowel harmony (assimilation), elision (deletion), glide insertion (resyllabification), lexically conditioned rules and a pre-auxiliary rule comparable to Koromu ablaut (MacDonald 1990: 36).

Koromu phonological and morphophonological changes (cf. Priestley 2002a) are described in sections on vowel elision (§2.4.2), vowel harmony (§2.4.3),

consonant assimilation, deletion and insertion, (§2.4.4), ablaut (§2.4.5) reduplication (§2.4.6) and an overview of all the processes (§2.4.7).

2.4.2 Vowel elision

Phonological vowel elision may affect final unstressed vowels at syllable boundaries prior to suffixes, enclitics or words (within a phrase) that begin with consonants (§2.4.2.1) or some vowels (§2.4.2.2).

2.4.2.1 Pre-consonantal vowel elision

Vowel elision can affect a final vowel between nasals and obstruents/nasals (§2.4.2.1.1), between alveolar obstruents (§2.4.2.1.2) and prior to the fricative /h/ (§2.4.2.1.3).

2.4.2.1.1 Vowel elision between nasals and obstruents/nasals

Vowel elision applies to any final vowel that follows a nasal consonant prior to a suffix, enclitic or word that has an initial nasal or obstruent.

$$V \rightarrow \emptyset / m/n _ + n/p/t/s/k$$

For example, *etamu* ‘is good’ (2.5) and *sene* ‘1p’ (2.6) lose their final vowels before a suffix with an initial nasal consonant. In the examples, the position of the elided vowel is indicated by underlining.

(2.5) *Etam_*-*ne-r-a?*

is.good-O2s-PRES-3s

‘Is it good to you / Does it taste good to you?’

(2.6) *Sen_*-*naru uapu ene-ho uo, tamaite paimo.*

1p-alone like.that lie/sleep-FINC1p GRD man APP

‘If we lie/sleep alone like that, there might be a (dangerous) man.’

T1.15.59

Specifically, the final vowels of main verbs, nouns, suffixes and enclitics are elided before obstruent initial suffixes (§9.3.2), postpositions (chapter 7), phasal verbs (§10.4 to §10.6), modality particles (§3.4 and §3.5) and appositive noun phrases (§5.12). Examples (2.7) to (2.10) demonstrate this with elision of /u/, /a/, /o/, /u/ and /e/, respectively.

(2.7) **Sipam**_{-se-r-a}.

know-O1s-PRES-3s

‘He knows me.’

(2.8) *Me=te?* *Awai=**am**=te.*

who=PNP Awai=group=PNP

‘Who (was it)?’ ‘Awai and the group.’ T2.14.6

(2.9) **Ton** **t-am** *paimo.*

cut/slice END-2s APP

‘You might cut yourself.’ (*ton* in Verb File)

(2.10) **...Esam** *Tira=te usu werane yare-pe n-a-te...*

dog Tira=PNP pig child go-LTD:3s

‘The dog Tira ran (after) a piglet...’ T2.14.10

The interrogatives *mansei* ‘what for (why)’ and *mampao* ‘what of’ are derived from *mana* ‘what’ with the final vowel /a/ elided before the postpositions *sei* ‘orientation’ and *pao* ‘origin’, respectively. In *mampao* ‘what of’, the alveolar nasal is also assimilated to the position of the initial labial in *pao* (§2.4.4.1).

2.4.2.1.2 Mid front vowel /e/ elision between alveolar obstruents

The mid front vowel /e/ is elided when it occurs word finally, following the alveolar obstruent /s/, if the following word has an initial alveolar obstruent /t/. This rule applies prior to /t/ initial phasal verbs of two or three syllables in length but does not apply when the phasal verb occurs in a complex of four or five syllables. Note that in the rules that follow the symbol # indicates a word boundary before a phasal verb.

$e \rightarrow \emptyset / s_ \# t$ (where there are two or three syllables)

Compare *hese* ‘wash’ in its full form in (2.11) and with an elided final vowel in (2.12).

(2.11) *...ya koko re-pe, **hese** re-pe, ...*

water heat PUT-SR wash PUT-SR

‘...(I) heat water and, wash (her) and, ...’ T5.21.3

- (2.12) *Sene ya hes_ ta-r-ie.*
 1p river wash END-PRES-1p
 ‘We washed in the river.’ T1.13.20

In (2.13) there is final vowel elision before a two syllable, /t/ initial phasal verb. In contrast in (2.14) the final mid vowel is retained before a complex five syllable sequence that indicates loose temporal dependency and tense-subject (see §9.4.4).

- (2.13) *Es_ ta-r-i.*
 cut:small END-PRES-1s
 ‘I finished cutting it into small pieces.’ (from verb file for *ese* ‘cut:small’)

- (2.14) *Akaru pate ese te-pe n-ia-te...*
 boundary S/L cut GET-LTD:1p
 ‘We cut (the grass) on the boundary...’ T2.29.1

2.4.2.1.3 Lexically conditioned /a/ elision before a fricative

Following the pronouns *sene* ‘1p’ or *nene* ‘3p’ in which there are two identical front mid vowels /e/, there is elision of the initial vowel of the ‘animate locative’ postposition *ahare* (see §7.3.4). The symbols ## below indicate a boundary before a postposition or other word.

a → Ø / ne ##__hare

- (2.15) *Sene hare mo puhu-ae!*
 1p ALOC here sit-IMP2s
 ‘Sit here near us!’ T1.27.1

2.4.2.2 Pre-vocalic vowel elision

All vowels can be elided prior to an identical vowel (§2.4.2.2.1) and the vowels /e/, /u/ and /a/ may be elided prior to the vowels /i/, /a/ or /o/ following specific consonants in pre-vocalic /e/ elision (§2.4.2.2.2), pre-vocalic /u/ elision (§2.4.2.2.3) and pre-vocalic /a/ elision (§2.4.2.2.4). The description below outlines some of the similarities and differences in these processes.

2.4.2.2.1 Identical vowel elision

Identical vowel elision occurs if the final vowel of a root or stem is the same (V_i) as the initial vowel of an inflection. A verb root final vowel is omitted in written

examples. A boundary before another morpheme, suffix, enclitic or word is indicated by +.

$V_i \rightarrow \emptyset / _ + V_i$ Alternative description: $V_i V_i \rightarrow + V_i$

- (2.16) a. *Ka-hi* b. /*Ka-ae/* → *K-ae!*
 come-F1s come-IMP2s
 ‘I will come.’ ‘You (singular) come!’

2.4.2.2.2 Pre-vocalic /e/ elision

Pre-vocalic /e/ elision applies to the final /e/ of nouns, object suffixes, present tense suffixes and /e/ eliding verbs that follow an alveolar consonant (/t/, /s/, /n/ or /r/), or the fricative /h/, when there is a subsequent suffix, enclitic or postposition with an initial high front vowel /i/ or low, central vowel /a/. It is morphologically conditioned as it does not affect the final /e/ of other verbs. Examples of the suffixes, enclitics and postpositions are: -i ‘1s’, -ia ‘1p’, -ima ‘POSS 1s’, -amu ‘2s’, -amue ‘2p’, -ae ‘IMP2s’, -ahe ‘IMP2p’, -apu ‘nominalizer (NOM)’, -apesi ‘desiderative (DES)’ (see chapter 9), =ama ‘group’ and ahare ‘animate locative’. The /e/ eliding verbs are:

- verbs with a final derivational suffix -ne
- the derived verb *epone* ‘follow’ (cf. *epono* ‘later’, *eponsa* ‘behind’)
- grammaticized phasal, prohibitive and manner verbs; corresponding main verbs
- the monosyllabic verb *ne* ‘consume: drink, eat, inhale’

The rule can be represented as follows.

$e \rightarrow \emptyset / t/s/n/r/h _ + i/a...$ (morphologically conditioned)

Owing to identical vowel elision, /e/ is also elided before initial /e/, for example, before the suffix -e ‘3p’.

Examples of pre-vocalic /e/ elision include elision of the final /e/ of *ahe* ‘mother’ before possessor suffix -ima ‘possessor 1s’ (2.17) and final vowels of the object suffix (2.18) and present tense suffix (2.19) when subsequent suffixes begin with /a/ or /i/.

- (2.17) *ah-ima*
 mother-P1s
 ‘my mother’

- (2.18) *Kase*⁴-**s**-*ahe*!
 put:hang-01s-IMP2p
 ‘Put me (on your shoulders)!’ T6.8.8
- (2.19) “*Koia ne-r_-i=mo,*” *u-a-te*...
 sweet potato eat-PRES-1s=BM quote-3s-DR
 ‘“I’m eating sweet potato,” he said...’ T2.14.22

Several /e/ eliding verbs end in final *ne*⁵ and the final /e/ is affected by pre-vocalic /e/ elision as in (2.20).

- (2.20) *kesane* ‘cut:scythe’ →
kesan_-a
 cut:scythe-3s
 ‘She cut (scythed) it (the grass)’.

The verb *epone* ‘follow (someone)’, derived from the temporal *epono* (*opono*) ‘later’, is also affected by the pre-vocalic /e/ elision rule.

- (2.21) ***Epon_-a***.
 follow-3s
 ‘He followed (him).’

Grammaticized phasal verbs *sure* ‘start’/START, *yare* ‘go’/YARE, *te* ‘get’/GET (see §4.2.9, §10.4), phasal and valency-changing verbs *here* ‘put’/PUT and *mene/ne* ‘stay’/STAY (see §4.2.10, §10.5, §10.6), manner verb *name* ‘do well/be careful’ (see §4.2.11, §10.8.3), and prohibitive verb *apaise/epaise* ‘leave/stop’ (see §4.2.12, §10.8.5) are all affected by pre-vocalic /e/ elision, even when they are main verbs. For example, *apaise* ‘leave/stop’ is a prohibitive final verb in (2.22) and a corresponding main verb in (2.23).

- (2.22) *Weraima ani apais_-ae*!
 child-P1s wake leave/stop-IMP2s
 ‘Leave off/stop waking my child!’ T2.24.8

⁴ *Kase* means to put, set, hang or drape something or someone, on or over a narrow object. This often means a child is put on the shoulder or shoulders with his/her legs hanging over two sides.
⁵ Tauya also has a verb final *-ne*. Synchronically, it appears to be unproductive (MacDonald 1990: 60).

- (2.23) ...*si epais_-apesi*.
 then leave-DES
 ‘...then (you) want to leave (it).’ T5.17.12

The verb *mene* ‘be, stay, exist’ is affected by pre-vocalic /e/ elision in example (2.24).

- (2.24) ***Men_-ae!***
 stay-IMP2s
 ‘(You) stay!’

The pre-vocalic /e/ elision rule also applies to the monosyllabic main verb *ne* ‘consume’.

- (2.25) *Usu aiake n_-apesi*.
 pig cassava eat-DES
 ‘The pigs wanted to eat cassava.’ T5.20.9

Polysyllabic main verbs that are not /e/ eliding verbs are not affected by the pre-vocalic /e/ elision rule. Examples are given in (2.26) to (2.28).

- (2.26) *Enae arene mo ene-a*.
 Ramu big here lie-3s
 ‘The big Enae (Ramu River) lay here.’ T2.33.35

- (2.27) ...*were-apesi*.
 see-DES
 ‘...wanted to see.’ T1.18.3

- (2.28) *Ahare-ae!*
 pull-IMP2s
 ‘(You) pull it!’

Final /e/ elision also occurs in a noun phrase when a subsequent word begins with central vowel /a/. The fact that the final vowel is sometimes heard in slow deliberate speech suggests that this apparent elision is a process involving compression that eclipses the vowel (Coleman 1994: 318).

- (2.29) ***Sakin ato s-apesi u-r-i***.
 story one tell-DES quote-PRES-1s
 ‘I want to tell a story.’ T1.14.1

There is some variation prior to the future inclusive suffix *-aho* or *-ho* ‘FINC1p’ (§9.3.2.2). When *-aho* appears, final /e/ of the verb stem is elided in similar contexts to those preceding other /a/ initial suffixes. However, the future inclusive suffix is expressed as *-ho* following main verbs and verbal suffixes with final /e/ and verbs ending in /i/, /o/ or /u/. Thus, *te* ‘GET’ has its full form in (2.30) but mid vowel /e/ is elided before *-aho* ‘FINC1p’ in (2.31).

(2.30) ...*sakine*=*napa u*, *epa nam te-pe*...
 word=P3p that hold well GET-SR
 ‘...their words, those, (we) hold well to...’ T6.10.25

(2.31) ...*epa nam t_-aho*.
 hold well GET-FINC1p
 ‘...we will hold him well.’ T6.10.16

The /e/ eliding phasal verbs *te* ‘get’ and *yare* ‘go’ and the prohibitive verb *epaise* ‘leave’ are also affected by pre-vocalic /e/ elision as main verbs with *-aho* ‘FINC1p’.

(2.32) ...*aie t_-aho=mo*.
 work get-FINC1p=BM
 ‘...we will work.’ T5.24.44

(2.33) *Apu Kesawai sa yar_-aho=mo*.
 now Kesawai G/L go-FINC1p=BM
 ‘Now we will go to Kesawai.’ T1.15.3

(2.34) ...*tai epais_-aho*.
 NEG leave-FINC1p
 ‘...we should not leave.’

In contrast, with ordinary main verbs ending in /e/, the inclusive suffix appears as *-ho* (2.35), just as it does following verbs with other vowels in final position (2.36).

(2.35) ***Were-ho=mo***.
 see-FINC1p=BM
 ‘We will see.’ T1.15.31

(2.36) *U sei tai urunu-ho=mo*.
 that ORNT NEG think-FINC1p=BM
 ‘Because of that we will not think.’ T6.4.27

Furthermore, while *mene* ‘be, stay’ is an /e/ eliding verb before other /a/ initial suffixes, it is like main verbs in that the final /e/ is not elided when *mene* occurs with the inclusive suffix. Instead the inclusive suffix takes the form *-ho* ‘FINC1p’.

- (2.37) *Mene-ho*.
 stay-FINC1p
 ‘We will stay.’ T6.10.18

Alternatively, this suffix might be analyzed as *-ho*. Then the final /e/ of /e/ eliding verbs could be said to be backed to the central vowel /a/ following an alveolar consonant and prior to a glottal fricative initial suffix with back vowel /o/, as in:

$e \rightarrow a / t/s/n/r \text{ ___ } +ho$

In this analysis, an example would have morpheme boundaries as follows.

- (2.38) ...*tai epaisa-ho*.
 NEG leave-FINC1p
 ‘...we should not leave.’ T6.10.96

As there are many examples of final vowel elision rules the first analysis is preferred.

2.4.2.2.3 Pre-vocalic /u/ elision

Like the mid vowel /e/ the back vowel /u/ can be elided following alveolar consonants and before the mid central vowel /a/. This may happen in a noun phrase when a noun with final /u/ is followed by a suffix with initial /a/. In rapid speech /u/ may also be elided following the bilabial stop.

$u \rightarrow \emptyset / t, s, n, r, (p) \text{ ___ } +a$ [within the noun phrase]

- (2.39) *Upur_ =ama uo, sene mai-neka-pe ka-ia*.
 Upuru=group GRD 1p pass-O3p-SR come-1p
 ‘Upuru and his group, we passed them and came.’ T1.15.77

The two examples below show that /u/ is not necessarily elided following /p/ (2.40), although it can be (2.41).

(2.40) ...usu epane-**pu**-a-te...
 pig hold-HAB-3s-DR
 ‘...he regularly held the pig...’ T1.26.12

(2.41) ...usu epane-**p**-a-te...
 pig hold-HAB-3s-DR
 ‘...he regularly held the pig...’ T1.26.4

2.4.2.2.4 Pre-vocalic /a/ elision

The low central vowel /a/ is elided when it follows a bilabial nasal and then occurs before a subsequent enclitic or word beginning with the back vowel /o/. This vowel is also elided above, following a nasal and mid vowel in (§2.4.2.1.3).

$a \rightarrow \emptyset / m _ \#o$

This applies often with the enclitic =*ama* ‘group’ when it occurs before the genitive *o*.

(2.42) *O, apu Sausi=am_ o sakine sa-hi=m.*
 Oh, now Sausi=group GEN story say/tell-F1s=BM
 ‘Oh, now I will tell the Sausi group’s story.’ T5.24.1

2.4.3 Vowel harmony

2.4.3.1 Introduction

Phonological changes in word and phrase formation do not always cause vowel elision. In some contexts, there is vowel harmony, with the phonetic quality of a vowel spreading to an earlier or later syllable at a word and/or morpheme boundary. There are two main types, regressive (§2.4.3.2) and progressive (§2.4.3.3) vowel harmony.

2.4.3.2 Regressive vowel harmony

Koromu regressive, or anticipatory, vowel harmony is the influence of the vowel in the first (or only) syllable of a suffix, enclitic, phasal verb or word. This spreads to the vowel in the final syllable of the preceding word. In all cases except one, this occurs when the vowel causing the influence is in a consonant initial syllable. The

sections below describe vowel harmony as it affects the vowels /e/, /u/ and /a/ in the same order as the vowel elision rules for the same vowels. This highlights similarities in the contexts in which the vowels occur as well as the differences that lead to vowel harmony rather than vowel elision. Regressive vowel harmony affects /e/ following alveolar (§2.4.3.2.1) and labial consonants (§2.4.3.2.2), /u/ following the alveolar fricative (§2.4.3.2.4) and alveolar stop (§2.4.3.2.5) and /a/ following the labial stop (§2.4.3.2.6) and alveolar fricative (§2.4.3.2.7).

2.4.3.2.1 Raising /e/ after alveolar consonants and before high vowels

If a final mid vowel /e/ follows an alveolar consonant it is raised and fronted or backed to correspond with a high vowel in a subsequent CV syllable, except where C is /r/.

$$e \rightarrow \begin{matrix} [i] & / & t/s/n/r & _ +C \text{ (except } r) & [i] \\ [u] & & & & [u] \end{matrix}$$

In the first example (2.43), *te* ‘get’ retains final /e/ prior to /r/ while in the second it is raised to /i/ because the subsequent CV suffix has a high vowel and an initial consonant that is not /r/.

(2.43) *Te-r-i.* vs. *Ti-hi=mpe.*
 get-PRES-1s get-F1s=INT
 ‘I am getting it.’ ‘I intend to get (it).’

In the first example in (2.44) the suffix *-se* ‘first person singular object’ ends in final /e/. In the second it is raised and backed to /u/ before a suffix with a high, back vowel /u/.

(2.44) *Tare-se-r-a.* vs. *Tare-su-pu-r-a.*
 hurt-O1s-PRES-3s hurt-O1s-HAB-PRES-3s
 ‘It is hurting me.’ ‘It is hurting me all the time.’ D3.105.8

2.4.3.2.2 Raising /e/ after bilabial consonants and before high vowels

Similarly, there is a phonetic variation in which a final mid vowel /e/ following a bilabial consonant is raised and fronted to the high vowel /i/. This occurs when the subsequent CV syllable has the alveolar nasal /n/ or bilabial stop /p/ followed by a high vowel /i/ or /u/. The position of the bilabial at the front of the mouth prevents the formation of a high, back vowel.

$$e \rightarrow i / p/m/w _ C i/u \quad (C = /p/ \text{ or } /n/)$$

The verb root *mene* ‘be, stay’ can be affected when inflected by *-i* ‘1s’ or *-ia* ‘1p’. When the suffix is added, the pre-vocalic /e/ elision rule applies to the final /e/ of the root. Then the remaining mid front vowel /e/ is assimilated to the high vowel /i/ in the suffix.

- (2.45) ...*ka-pe*, *a* ***min-i-te***...
 come-SR come stay-1s-DR
 ‘...came and, I came and stayed and...’ T2.14.7

Raising also affects a loose temporal dependency complex following a verb (cf. §9.4.4). This complex morphemic sequence has one gloss to indicate the core meaning of loose temporal dependency and tense-subject. It consists of the same referent suffix *-pe* followed by *ne* STAY inflected by a tense-subject suffix and the suffix *-te*. The *ne* STAY syllable is affected by pre-vocalic /e/ elision or identical vowel elision and reduced to *n* in the following third person examples.

- pe n-a-te* ‘third person singular subject’
-pe n-e-te ‘third person plural subject’

Regressive vowel harmony may affect the initial syllable of the loose temporal dependency complex when the subject person number suffix is first person and thus has an initial high front vowel.

- pe n-i-te*** / ***-pi n-i-te*** ‘first person singular’
-pe n-ia-te / ***-pi n-ia-te*** ‘first person plural’

In some cases, this variation is optional or affected by earlier vowels.

- (2.46) ...*naurupa ya omo re-pi n-ia-te*...
 bush go hide PUT-LTD:1p
 ‘...we went and hid it (a pig) in the bush...’ T1.7.12

- (2.47) ...*pene wai te ese ta-pe n-ia-te*...
 rope teeth INS cut:small END-LTD:1p
 ‘...we cut up the rope with our teeth...’ T1.7.4

When the preceding verb stem ends with a high vowel it could be said that the initial syllable of the complex is affected by progressive vowel harmony as well.

- (2.48) ...*tamaite nupu maupu-pi n-ia-te*...
 man many step.on-LTD:1p
 ‘...many men stepped on it (held it down)...’ T1.7.6

In addition, final /e/ is raised to the high vowel /i/ following a labial consonant and before a suffix in which there is a high, back vowel /u/. Compare the following.

- (2.49) *Were we-r-a.* vs. *Were wi-pu-r-a.*
 sun act-PRES-3s sun act-HAB-PRES-3s
 ‘The sun is shining brightly.’ ‘The sun is always shining brightly.’

In rapid speech, this example of regressive vowel harmony can be extended to earlier syllables. In (2.50) /e/ in *-pe* is affected by regressive vowel harmony but the final /e/ in the verb *yare* ‘go’ is retained. However, example (2.51) was spoken rapidly so regressive vowel harmony affects final /e/ in *yare* ‘go’ causing it to be assimilated to /i/. In rapid speech, the number of distinct articulations is reduced and a high tongue position is maintained.

- (2.50) ...*yare-pi n-ia-te*...
 go-LTD:1p
 ‘...and then we went...’ T1.7.8
- (2.51) ...*yari-pi n-hia-te were-hia=mo.*
 go-LTD:F1p see-F1s=BM
 ‘...we will go and see on Saturday.’ T1.18.2

2.4.3.2.3 Backing and lowering /e/ before the alveolar stop and central vowel

The final mid vowel of the aspectual enclitic =*ake* ‘already, ahead, beforehand’ is lowered to /a/ prior to /ta/. An example occurs before phasal *ta* END.

e → a / ___ # ta (with aspectual enclitic =*ake*)

- (2.52) *Yar-aka t-a.*
 go-ahead END-3s
 ‘He went ahead.’

2.4.3.2.4 Fronting /u/ after the alveolar fricative and before Ce

Final /u/ in the verb stem *wesu* ‘show’ (cf. §4.2.3) is fronted to /i/ when the following inflection begins with an alveolar consonant /t/, /s/ or /n/ followed by the vowel /e/.

$u \rightarrow i$ / s__ +Ce (where C= alveolars t/s/n)

Thus, the verb *wesu* ‘show’ is unchanged if the recipient object is third person singular because there is no object inflection (cf. §9.3.2.2 and §3.6.2.3), as in (2.53).

(2.53) *Wesu-r-a.* [show-PRES-3s] ‘X showed Y.’

On the other hand, /u/ is fronted to /i/ when the verb stem is followed by an object person number suffix which has an initial alveolar consonant followed by mid vowel /e/.

- (2.54) ***Wesi-se-r-a.*** [show-O1s-PRES-3s] ‘X showed me.’
Wesi-ne-r-a. [show-O2s-PRES-3s] ‘X showed you (singular).’
Wesi-seka-r-a. [show-O1p-PRES-3s] ‘X showed us.’
Wesi-teka-r-a. [show-O2p-PRES-3s] ‘X showed you (plural).’
Wesi-neka-r-a. [show-O3p-PRES-3s] ‘X showed them.’

2.4.3.2.5 Fronting /u/ after the alveolar stop and before Ce

The verb stems *tu* and *te* are alternate forms of ‘give (to a second or third person)’ (see §4.2.3 for details of ‘give to other persons’). *Tu* ‘give to a third person singular’ occurs where there are no object suffixes and the subsequent vowel is /a/ (2.55). However, the final vowel /u/ is fronted and lowered to /e/ when it occurs before object suffixes that have an initial alveolar consonant followed by the mid vowel /e/, for example, *-ne* ‘second person singular object’, *-teka* ‘second person plural object’, or *-neka* ‘third person plural’ (2.56).

$u \rightarrow e$ / t__ + (t, n) e

(2.55) ***Tu-Ø-a.*** ‘X gave it to Y.’

- (2.56) ***Te-n_-a.*** ‘X gave it to you (singular).’
Te-tek_-a. ‘X gave it to you (plural).’
Te-nek_-a. ‘X gave it to them.’

2.4.3.2.6 Fronting and raising /a/ after the bilabial stop and before Ce

A final central vowel /a/ is either fronted or backed depending on the quality of the neighbouring vowels and the consonant which it follows. Where the vowel in the subsequent CV syllable is mid vowel /e/, and following a bilabial consonant, this central vowel is fronted and raised to mid vowel /e/.

a → e / Ce p__ Ce

Examples (2.57) a. and b. demonstrate this. Here, the spreading effect of the mid vowel /e/ is also enhanced by the presence of /e/ in the previous syllables.

- (2.57) a. *weti pa* b. *mete pe=ne*
 house G/L body G/L=P3s
 ‘to/at the house’ ‘to his body’

2.4.3.2.7 Backing /a/ after the alveolar fricative and before a back vowel

The final low central vowel /a/ following an alveolar fricative or bilabial stop is raised and backed in harmony with the initial back vowel of a subsequent verb.

a → o / s __ +o/u

For example, compare *yorosa* ‘upper side’ (cf. §4.7.3.3, §8.7) with *yoroso* in (2.58).

- (2.58) *Ne oru yoroso o n-i.*⁶
 2s insides/front up.side do STAY-2s
 ‘You are facing upwards (your front is towards the upstream side).’ D11.79

Thus, in contrast to §2.4.3.2.6, the final mid vowel of =*ne* ‘P3s’ is affected by regressive vowel harmony before a verb with two high back vowels in (2.59).

- (2.59) *Ehi pa=no, ami pa=no, nuku name*
 leg G/L=P3s arm G/L=P3s envelop.in well
re-pe heri omo re-pe...
 PUT-SR net.bag hide PUT-SR
 ‘(I) enveloped (in a sheet or clothes) the arms and eyes (of my baby) well and hid (her) in a net bag...’ T5.21.15

⁶ The suffix for 1s and 2s has the same form.

2.4.3.3 Progressive vowel harmony

Progressive vowel harmony rules assimilate mid front or central vowels to the phonetic quality of a vowel in a preceding syllable. The mid front vowel is affected following fricatives (§2.4.3.3.1), while the mid and central vowels are affected following alveolar consonants (§2.4.3.3.2). This contrasts with regressive rules in which the mid front vowel is affected following alveolar consonants and the central vowel is affected following an alveolar fricative.

2.4.3.3.1 Progressive vowel harmony affects /e/ following fricatives

When /e/ follows a fricative /h/ in a stressed or unstressed syllable, or the fricative /s/ in an unstressed syllable, it is assimilated to the vowel in the preceding syllable.

$$e \rightarrow V_i \quad / \quad V_i \quad + h/s_r$$

In (2.60) progressive vowel harmony affects the mid vowel that follows the fricative /h/ in the suffix *-hera* 'F3s'. The vowel is assimilated to the central vowel in the preceding syllable.

- (2.60) *Hekeni tama-hara.*
 fire light-F3s
 'He will light the fire.'

This rule also applies to the initial mid vowel in the phasal and valency-changing serial verb *here* PUT (see §4.2.10, §10.5 and Priestley 2002a: 49–50) following a main verb. In the next example /e/ becomes /o/ following the verb *oto* 'dam'.

- (2.61) *Ya oto hore-r-e-ne...*
 river dam PUT-PRES-3p-DR:IR:CS
 'They dammed up the river.' T1.17.14

This rule of progressive vowel harmony applies to /e/ after /s/ only if the /s/ initial syllable is unstressed. Compare the following examples with and without the boundary marking enclitic =*mo* affecting the stress pattern.

- (2.62) *Usu si-si-r-á=mo.*
 pig give-O1s-PRES-3s=BM
 'She is giving me pig (meat).'

- (2.63) *Usu si-sé-r-a.*
 pig give-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘She is giving me pig (meat).’

2.4.3.3.2 Progressive vowel harmony after back vowels and alveolar consonants

Progressive vowel harmony assimilates the front vowel /e/ or low central vowel /a/ to a back vowel /o/ when the preceding word or root ends in final back vowel /o/ or /u/ and the suffix, enclitic, postposition or phasal verb begins with alveolar /t/, /r/ or /n/.

e/a → o / o/u # t/r/n__ (exceptions occur when subsequent vowels are high)

In (2.64) and (2.65) this applies to /e/ in the phasal verb *te* ‘get’ (cf. §4.2.9, §10.4.5) and to /a/ in the enclitic =*rare* ‘and/with’ (cf. §5.11.3.1), respectively. In both cases the vowel in the preceding syllable is the mid back vowel /o/.

- (2.64) ... *u pate oso to-r-i.*
 that S/L bend GET-PRES-1s
 ‘...in there I bent over.’ T2.14.5

- (2.65) ...*ah=ima=rare, Kaunso=rare.*
 mother=P1s=and Kaunso=and
 ‘...my mother, the Councilor and I.’ T1.2a.4

In (2.66) this applies to /e/ in the postposition *te* ‘instrumental’. The final vowel in the preceding syllable is the high back vowel /u/.

- (2.66) ...*tau to naere sopo ho-r-i.*
 axe INS snake strike PUT-PRES-1s
 ‘...I struck/killed the snake with an axe.’ T1.6.4

Where several syllables have a back vowel, vowel harmony can extend beyond a non-back vowel. This affects *pate* ‘source/locative’ in *ato tuhu pato* ‘at some time’.

On the other hand, the influence of the back vowels can be blocked if subsequent vowels are high front vowels. Examples (2.67) and (2.68) are from texts narrated by the same speaker on the same day but *toru-ne* [ridge-P3s] ‘its ridge’ is pronounced in two different ways. In (2.67) the suffix *-ne* ‘P3s’ is preceded by two

syllables with back vowels and followed by the verb *kiki* ‘follow (a narrow piece of land)’ which has velar stops and high, front vowels /i/. In this environment, the mid front vowel is not affected by the back vowels in the preceding syllables. However, when *kiki* ‘follow’ is affected by ablaut (§2.4.5), as in (2.68), it becomes *keke*. With the mid vowel following, rather than the high front vowel, the quality of the preceding back vowels does affect the final syllable of *toru-ne* [ridge-P3s] ‘its ridge’, so that *-ne* is pronounced *-no*.

(2.67) ...*yare-pe keti toru-ne kiki-pe...*
 go-SR mountain ridge-P3s follow-SR
 ‘...we went and followed the ridge of the mountain...’ T3.1.3

(2.68) *Monpea keti toru-no keke te m-ia.*
 Monpea mountain ridge-P3s follow⁷ GET move.down-1p
 ‘We followed the Monpea mountain ridge and came down.’ T3.3.47

2.4.4 Consonant changes: Assimilation, deletion and insertion

The phonological changes affecting consonants include nasal assimilation, /r/ deletion and glide insertion.

2.4.4.1 Nasal assimilation

A final alveolar nasal /n/ is assimilated to the initial bilabial stop of postpositions.

$n \rightarrow m / _p$

The interrogative pronoun *mana* ‘what’ loses final /a/, following vowel elision between nasals and obstruents (§2.4.2.1.1). Then, in the reduced form *man_* ‘what’, the final alveolar nasal is assimilated to the initial bilabial stop of the manner postposition *pate*.

(2.69) ***Mam_ pate ka-r-i?***
 what MANN come-PRES-2s
 ‘How did you come?’ (lit. ‘in/by what you come?’) D3.133.2

⁷ Other verbs for ‘follow’ are *epone* ‘follow (a person)’ and *tahu* ‘follow (an inanimate moving entity such as a fire/river).’

2.4.4.2 Elision of /r/

The initial alveolar tap /r/ in =*rare* ‘and, with’ (§5.11.3.1) may be elided when the previous word ends in alveolar /t, s, n, r/, or the labial approximant /w/, followed by a front vowel /i/ or /e/.

/r/ → Ø / t/s/n/r/w i/e __

Compare (2.70), in which /r/ is retained following the central vowel /a/, with example (2.71) in which it is elided following the high, front vowel /i/.

(2.70) *Sene ehi pate ka-ia=mo,*
1p foot MANN come-1p=BM

ah-ima=rare, Kaunso=rore.
mother-P1s=and Kaunso=and

‘We came on foot, my mother, the Councillor and I.’ T1.2a.4

(2.71) *Makani=are Airehena pa-ne=are tapa*
Makani=and Airehena father-P3s=and outside

poho-nte te-neka-ie.
sit-DR:IR:TO give-O3p-1p

‘While Makani and Airehena’s father sat outside, we gave it to them.’
T2.31.29

Elision of /r/ is not obligatory following the mid vowel /e/ in the suffix *-ne* ‘possessive/part of third singular’.

(2.72) *Sene apu yare-pe n-ia-te, Kui pa-ne=rare.*
1p now go-SR:1p:LD Kui father-P3s=and

‘We went today, Kui’s father and I.’ T2.28.1

2.4.4.3 Lexically conditioned glide insertion

A glide is inserted when words ending in mid or low vowels /e, a, o/ precede the aspectual enclitic =*ake* ‘already, ahead, beforehand’ (cf. §10.7.1), as in examples (2.73), (2.74) and (2.75). This rule does not apply following /e/ eliding verbs (2.76).

Ø → y / verb ending e/a/o __ a (of =*ake* the aspectual enclitic)

- (2.73) *Usu ho=yake n-a.*
 pig chop=already STAY-3s
 ‘He butchered the pig already.’
- (2.74) *...nene ka=yake ta-e.*
 3p come=already END-3p
 ‘...they came already.’ T2.33.24
- (2.75) *...peraru we=yake he-sek-a.*
 hunger act=already PUT-O1s-3s
 ‘...hunger got to us first.’ T2.15.58
- (2.76) *...yar=ake ta-hi-ne pere-hera=mo.*
 go=already END-F1s-DR:IR:CS fall-F3s=BM
 ‘...when I’ve already gone it will fall.’ D3.111.1

2.4.5 Ablaut

There are significant vowel changes in Koromu that contribute to information about grammar. In contrast to vowel harmony the changes in ablaut mean that final high vowels are lowered to mid vowels before phasal and valency changing verbs (cf. chapter 10). The sections below describe the rules of ablaut (§2.4.5.1.1) and their exceptions (§2.4.5.2.2) (cf. Priestley 2002a).

2.4.5.1 The rules of ablaut

The final high vowels of open class verb roots are affected by a vowel alteration rule of ablaut before phasal and phasal/valency-changing verbs (see §10.4 to §10.6), and before the present tense suffix (cf. §9.3.2.3, Priestley 2002a: 26–31). In contrast to vowel harmony rules, in which it is common for vowels to be raised, ablaut rules lower vowels. The ablaut rules are applied by speakers before the application of phonological and morphophonemic processes.

Vowel alternation also occurs in Tauya, a language spoken in the Ramu Valley but some distance to the west, before verbal auxiliaries of stative, transitive/perfective, perfective/intentive, conative and progressive (MacDonald 1990: 58, 59). These are to some extent similar to phasal verbs and the present tense suffix in Koromu and, just as the two Tauya auxiliaries furthest from the stem, the habitual and avolitional, are not affected, the Koromu habitual inflection (§9.3.2.6) is not affected by ablaut, although it is involved in other phonological alternations (see §2.4.2.2.3).

- (2.81) a. *Imi-a.* b. *Eme-r-a.*
 die-3s die-PRES-3s
 ‘X died.’ ‘X is dying.’

- (2.82) a. *Aiake pu-a.* b. *Aiake po-r-a.*
 cassava plant-3s cassava plant-PRES-3s
 ‘He planted cassava.’ ‘He is planting cassava.’

2.4.5.1.3 Ablaut prior to present tense following initial glottal fricative

Following the glottal fricative /h/, in monosyllabic stems and prior to the present tense suffix, the high vowel /i/ is lowered to /e/:

- (2.83) a. *Koia hi-a* b. *Koia he-r-a.*
 sweet.potato roast-3s sweet.potato roast-PRES-3s
 ‘She roasted sweet potato.’ ‘She roasts sweet potato.’

2.4.5.2 Exceptions to ablaut

With some verbs, ablaut is absent (§ 2.4.5.2.1) or only partially implemented (§ 2.4.5.2.2).

2.4.5.2.1 Absence of ablaut

Ablaut does not apply to some of the verbs that also function as verbal nouns (§4.3.2.3, Priestley 2002a: 31–34), for example, *urunu* ‘think’ (cf. the mental process noun for ‘thought’) and *uhuru* ‘be heavy’ (cf. the descriptive noun for ‘heaviness’). Also, in valency-increasing constructions, a linking particle *e* occurs between the descriptive verbal nouns *uhuru* ‘heavy’ and *ihi* ‘finish’ (§4.3.2.3.3) and the final phasal *here* ‘PUT’. Compare the examples in (2.84).

- (2.84) a. *Uhuru-a.* b. *Uhuru e her-a.*
 heavy-3s heavy LK.P PUT-3s
 ‘It was heavy.’ ‘He/she made it heavy.’

As stated in §2.4.5.1.1, ablaut does not affect a main verb that has an object suffix.

2.4.5.2.2 Partial ablaut

The semantically reflexive verb root *nuku* ‘submerge/envelop (self) in’, as in *nuku-a* [submerge-3s] ‘he submerged himself (in water)’, is only partially affected

- (2.86) *Sosoa huru-huru-pe metake pa tororo-se-r-a.*
 wind RDP-blow-SR skin G/L cool-01s-PRES-3s
 ‘The wind blows and blows and cools my skin/body.’ D8.8.6.

Reduplication of serial verb constructions, as well as fully inflected dependent verbs, independent verbs, serial verb constructions and whole clauses also indicates prolonged or ongoing action (see §10.11).

2.4.7 Overview

As an aid to comparison, this section lists the phonological and morphological processes in Koromu with their basic formulas. As stated earlier some of the processes are very similar. However, one distinctive characteristic can produce a very different result.

Vowel elision (cf. §2.4.2)

Pre-consonantal vowel elision (§2.4.2.1)

Pre-consonantal vowel elision is common where the immediate environment includes nasals, obstruents and/or fricatives.

Vowel elision between nasals and obstruents/nasals (§2.4.2.1.1)

$V \rightarrow \emptyset / m/n _ + n/p/t/s/k$

Mid front vowel /e/ elision between alveolar obstruents (§2.4.2.1.2)

$e \rightarrow \emptyset / s _ \# t$ (where there are two or three syllables)

Central vowel /a/ elision before a fricative (lexically conditioned) (§2.4.2.1.3)

$a \rightarrow \emptyset / ne \# \# _ \text{hare}$

Pre-vocalic vowel elision (§2.4.2.2)

Pre-vocalic vowel elision may occur before vowel initial syllables and following a vowel, alveolar, nasal or fricative and sometimes the bilabial stop.

Identical vowel elision (§2.4.2.2.1)

$V_i \rightarrow \emptyset / _ + V_i$ (Alternative: $V_i V_i \rightarrow + V_i$)

Pre-vocalic /e/ elision (§2.4.2.2.2)

$e \rightarrow \emptyset / t/s/n/r/h _ + i/a \dots$ (morphologically conditioned)

Pre-vocalic /u/ elision (§2.4.2.2.3)

$u \rightarrow \emptyset / t, s, n, r, (p) _ + a$ [within the noun phrase]

Pre-vocalic /a/ elision (§2.4.2.2.4)

$a \rightarrow \emptyset / m _ \# \# o$

Vowel harmony (§2.4.3)

Vowels are affected by the quality of neighbouring vowels in specific environments. The position of the consonants is also a factor and in contrast to vowel elision, most cases of vowel harmony occur when the subsequent syllable begins with a consonant. There are two main types, regressive and progressive vowel harmony.

Regressive vowel harmony (cf. §2.4.3.2)

The mid front vowel /e/ is raised prior to a CV syllable with a high vowel. The specific change is determined by consonants and vowels in the environment. The vowel is also backed and lowered before the alveolar stop and central vowel. The back vowel /u/ can be fronted completely following the alveolar fricative or partially following the alveolar stop. The central vowel /a/ is fronted or backed depending on the subsequent vowel.

Raising /e/

Raising /e/ after alveolar consonants and before high vowels (§2.4.3.2.1)

e → [i] / [u] / t/s/n/r __ +C (except r) [i] / [u]

Raising /e/ after bilabial consonants and before high vowels (§2.4.3.2.2)

e → i / p/m/w __ +C i/u (where C = p/n)

Backing and lowering /e/ before the alveolar stop and central vowel (§2.4.3.2.3)

e → a / k__ # ta (following aspectual enclitic =ake)

Fronting /u/ after the alveolar fricative and before Ce, with wesi 'show' (§2.4.3.2.4)

u → i / s __ +Ce (where C = alveolars t/s/n)

Fronting /u/ after the alveolar stop before Ce, with tu 'give (to 2nd/3rd person)' (§2.4.3.2.5)

u → e / t __ +Ce (where C = alveolars t/n)

Fronting and raising /a/ after the bilabial stop and before Ce (§2.4.3.2.6)

a → e / p __ #ne

Backing /a/ after the alveolar fricative and before low, back vowel /o/ (§2.4.3.2.7)

a → o / s __ +o

Progressive vowel harmony (cf. §2.4.3.3)

Progressive vowel harmony affects /e/ and or /a/. This can occur between fricatives and /r/ or following alveolar consonants.

Vowel harmony with /e/ after V_i and a fricative (§2.4.3.3.1)

e → V_i / V_i + h/s__ r

Backing /e/ and /a/ after a back vowel and alveolar consonant (§2.4.3.3.2)

e/a → o / o/u # t/r/n__ (but not when followed by /i/)

Consonant changes: Assimilation, deletion and insertion (§2.4.4)

Consonant changes include nasal assimilation, /r/ elision and insertion of the glide /y/.

Nasal assimilation before the bilabial stop (§2.4.4.1)

n → m / __p

Elision of initial /r/ in =rare 'and/with' (§2.4.4.2)

r → Ø / t/s/n/r/w i/e __

Lexically conditioned glide insertion (§2.4.4.3)

Ø → y / verb ending e/a/o __ a (with =ake aspectual enclitic)

Ablaut – lowering high vowels in grammatical contexts (cf. §2.4.5)

Ablaut occurs prior to phasal and phasal/valency-changing verbs and the present tense suffix. High vowels are lowered, not raised as in many instances of vowel harmony.

Ablaut prior to phasal and phasal/valency-changing verbs (§2.4.5.1.1)

i → e / u → o / __ phasal and phasal/valency-changing verbs

Ablaut prior to present tense and following labials (§2.4.5.1.2)

i → e / u → o / p/m/w __ PRES tense suffix

Ablaut prior to present tense and following initial glottal fricative (§2.4.5.1.3)

i → e / h __ PRES tense suffix

Reduplication (§2.4.6)

Reduplication adds grammatical information by partially or fully reduplicating a morpheme.

Intensification

Partial or full reduplication

Greater quantity

Full reduplication

Ongoing, prolonged and/or repeated action

Full reduplication

3 Basic clause structure

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes basic clause structure, an aspect of language that facilitates understanding of the examples and discussion in later chapters. The description begins with an overview of clauses and their constituents (§3.2) and an outline of basic constituent structures (§3.3). This is followed by descriptions of formal clause types (§3.4), epistemic modality in clause final particles (§3.5), verbal clauses (including clause types, negation, grammatical relations and semantic roles) (§3.6), nonverbal clauses (§3.7), and oblique arguments in clause structure (§3.8). To aid understanding of verbal clauses, see subject and object suffixation in §4.5.4 and §4.5.5, respectively, the detailed description of verbal morphology in chapter 9 and complex predicates in chapter 10.

3.2 Overview of clauses and their constituents

The formal clause types in Koromu are declarative (§3.4.1), interrogative (§3.4.2), imperative (§3.4.3) and exclamative (§3.4.4). They are distinguished from each other by differences in syntax and semantics. These differences are represented by verbal suffixation, intonation and the presence or absence of enclitics and interrogative words. The illocutionary force, or speech acts (cf. Van Valin 2005: 9), most commonly expressed by these clause types are assertions, questions, directions and exclamations. Desiderative clauses (§3.4.5) can also function as declarative, interrogative or exclamative clauses but they have a different form from any of the above clause types.

The term mood is sometimes used in the description of clause types to refer to “a set of syntactic and semantic contrasts signalled by alternative paradigms of the verb” (Crystal 2008: 312). Koromu declarative and interrogative verbal clauses have verbs with a full range of tense-subject:person-number suffixes in indicative mood (cf. §9.3.2.2). Declarative and interrogative clauses are distinguished from each other by intonation and by the presence or absence of question enclitics and/or interrogative words. In contrast, imperative (cf. §9.3.3) and desiderative (cf. §9.3.4) clauses have distinct verbal suffixes, and exclamative clauses are indicative clauses with an added exclamatory enclitic.

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3.3 Basic constituent structures

In both verbal and nonverbal clauses, the subject is followed by a predicate. In verbal clauses (§3.6) the predicate is an inflected verb (for details see chapter 9) and negation is expressed by the negative particle *tai* before the verb. In nonverbal clauses (§3.7) the predicate does not have verbal inflections and the particle *tai* ‘negative’ does not occur. Instead a negative is expressed with a negative copular clause *ia* ‘be not’ which is inflected in dependent clauses but not in independent clauses (§3.6.2.8.3).

Within a verbal clause there are from one to three core arguments depending on the semantics of the verbal predicate. Core arguments refer to participants in the event or state expressed by the verb and are represented by noun phrases (cf. chapter 5), verbal inflections (cf. §9.3.2.2 and §9.3.2.4) or verbal complements, (§12.3 and §12.4). Using the abbreviations introduced by Dixon (1979), S refers to the single actant of an intransitive verb, A refers to the agent-like argument of a transitive verb, and O refers to the patient-like argument of transitive verbs. The default order of constituents in clauses that have more than one core argument is AOV for transitive clauses (§3.6.2.2) and AO₁O₂V for ditransitive clauses (§3.6.2.3).

Oblique arguments representing time, location, reason and other arguments may also occur (§3.8). Sentential adverbs appear clause initially, temporals are usually found before locatives, either clause initially or immediately before the predicate, and locatives occur immediately before the verb if they are ‘core’, required, oblique arguments and before an object noun phrase if they are optional.

Constituent order is commonly affected by principles of information structure (cf. §13.2 and §14.2). Thus, core argument noun phrases are frequently omitted, for example when they are predictable in the discourse (§13.4).

3.4 Formal clause types

3.4.1 Declarative clauses

A declarative verbal clause is inflected with a portmanteau tense and subject suffix when the verb is independent (§9.3.2), and with dependent verb morphology when the verb is dependent on another verb for tense and subject information, cf. (§9.4). In the examples below verbal (3.1) and nonverbal (3.2) declarative clauses have falling intonation on the predicate and are commonly used to express assertions.

- (3.1) *Yare-r-ie.*
 go-PRES-1p
 ‘We are going.’ T1.13.6
- (3.2) *U na warikau.*
 that thing bad
 ‘That thing is bad.’ CS.8.9

The basic constituent word order in a declarative verbal clause is SV or AOV, while in a nonverbal clause the basic order is subject + predicate. A declarative clause may end with the assertive boundary marking enclitic =*mo*. This enclitic, which can be elided to =*m* in rapid speech, may follow an independent verb or nonverbal clause to indicate a speech act boundary at the end of a simple assertion or statement. For example, the enclitic =*mo* ‘assertive boundary marker (BM)’ follows an assertion in (3.3) where the subsequent clause is an imperative, a different formal clause type.

- (3.3) *Ya men-a=mo. Epais-ae!*
 water be-3s=BM leave-IMP2s
 ‘There’s water already. Leave it!’ (A cook says this to another person who comes to add water to a pot of vegetables). D4.181.2

The enclitic =*mo* often occurs at the end of a mini-discourse, for example at the end of quoted speech in (3.4).

- (3.4) “*Sosi araho=mo,*” *u-ia-te,*...
 Sosi down.there=BM quote-1p-DR
 ‘“Sosi is down there” we said and,...’ T1.27.9

The =*mo* enclitic may also occur following the quote verb. In this context, there is not only an end to a specific participant’s speech, but a boundary is indicated before the account of the contrasting behaviour and activities of other participants (3.5).

- (3.5) ...*yar-aho=mo,*” *u-i.* *U-i=mo.*
 go-INC1=BM quote-1s quote-1s=BM
Sai=mai tai es-e.
 word=P1s NEG hear-3p
 ‘...“we’ll go,” I said. I said it. They didn’t hear my words.’ T1.15.6

The assertive boundary marker is also commonly found following a verb at the end of the final declarative clause in a discourse (3.6).

- (3.6) *Esi oro ta-pe nauno hor-e=mo.*
 hole dig END-SR bury PUT-3p=BM
 ‘They dug a hole and buried (her).’ T1.10.15

3.4.2 Interrogative clauses

Interrogative clauses are distinguished from declarative clauses by one or more of the following: a final question enclitic =*e* on the verb, rising intonation and/or an interrogative word. Verbs in interrogative clauses have the same tense-subject suffixes as in declarative clauses.

Content questions have an *in situ* interrogative word (cf. §4.14.2) in the position where the information that is questioned would normally occur in a declarative clause. For example in the verbal clause in (3.7), *ansa* ‘where’ is a locative in the position immediately before the verb (cf. §3.6), while in the nonverbal clause in (3.8) *ani pa* ‘where at’ is the predicate (cf. §3.7).

- (3.7) “*Waikohu, ansa men-a=e?*” *u-i-te...*
 agemate where be-3s=Q quote-s-DR
 ‘“Agemate, where is he?” I said...’ T1.22.44
- (3.8) “*Sosi ani pa?*” *u-a-te,...*
 Sosi where G/L quote-3s-DR
 ‘“Where is Sosi?” he said, and...’ T1.27.9

Polar questions are distinguished from assertions by rising intonation and by a final question enclitic =*e* following a verbal or nonverbal predicate (cf. §4.10). In the verbal clause in (3.9) the question also has scope over the preceding desiderative clause. In (3.10) nonverbal clauses end in a question enclitic.

- (3.9) “*Weti toko-apesi ka n-ia=e?*” *u-e.*
 house set.alight-DES come STAY-1p=Q quote-3p
 ‘“Have you come wanting to set alight the houses?” they said.’ T2.26b.9
- (3.10) “*Me sei=e? Yapi sei=e?*” *u-pu-e...*
 who ORNT=Q Yapi ORNT=Q quote-HAB-3p
 ‘“Who for? For Yapi?” they kept saying...’ (lit. ‘It is for who? Is it for Yapi?’) T2.26b.12

An interrogative structure with rising intonation may occur without the question enclitic when it is used as a formulaic salutation (3.11).

- (3.11) *Yare-r-i(=e)?*
 go-PRES-2s(=Q)
 ‘Are you going?’

3.4.3 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses have an imperative second person singular or plural suffix on the verb (cf. §9.3.3.). They are used to give directions or advice, request help and express friendly salutations. Examples occur in the instruction in example (3.3) above and the direction or friendly salutation in (3.12) immediately below.

- (3.12) *Wera i u n-a=mo. Yar-ahē!*
 little do STAY-3s=BM go-IMP2p
 ‘That’s all (it was a little). You go!’ (*Yarahe!*) is a formulaic salutation like ‘See you!’ T1.20.37

3.4.4 Exclamative clauses

Exclamative clauses have an exclamatory enclitic =*o* following the verb as well as distinctive falling or rising intonation (cf. §4.10). They are used to express exclamations of surprise or pain and other extreme positive and negative feelings. They can also be used when exhorting or calling someone. Thus, vocatives (cf. §4.3.3.4) are often followed by the exclamatory enclitic. Rising intonation adds emphasis to exclamations with a vocative (3.13) and exclamations with verbal clauses (3.14). In (3.14) the interjection *o* ‘oh!’ (cf. §4.13), which has the same form as enclitic =*o* ‘exclamation’, is lengthened to express greater intensity (cf. §4.4.1.1).

- (3.13) “*Ya-mei=ō!* *Peraru-seka-r-a=ō!*” *u-a.*
 brother.in.law-P1s=EXC hunger-O1p-PRES-3s=EXC quote-3s
 ‘“My brother-in-law! We are hungry!” he said.’ T2.15.60

- (3.14) “*Oo!* *Wera uhuru-se-r-a=ō!*” *u-a.*
 Oh! child heavy-O1s-PRES-3s=EXC quote-3s
 ““Oh! The child is heavy for me!” she said.’ T1.15.74

3.4.5 Desiderative clauses

Desiderative clauses have a desiderative suffix *-apesi* following a verb root (cf. §9.3.4). There is no verbal suffix expressing tense-subject on the verb, so this information must be recovered from the discourse or real-world context or, if the clause is a non-finite complement clause (cf. §12.4), from the complement-taking predicate. In example (3.15), the desiderative suffix also has scope over the earlier clause in which the verb has a same referent subject (cf. §9.4.2).

- (3.15) ...*si uo, here re-pe n-apesi ne.*
 then GRD cook PUT-SR eat-DES EMPH
 ‘...so then, (we) want to cook and eat it.’ T1.34.7

The complex form *-apesi* can also mark the first clause of a set of clauses in a prospective action construction (§12.5.1). This sequential arrangement of clauses, and the form of the suffix *-apesi*, suggests that the suffix may derive from the same referent following suffix *-pe* in clause chaining (§9.4.2), combined with either the postposition *sei* ‘orientation’ (§7.4.1.3) or the postposition *seipa* ‘reason’ (§7.4.1.4).

3.5 Epistemic modality: Clause final particles

Epistemic modality particles are clausal operators (cf. §4.10) that occur clause finally and have scope over the clause preceding them. The forms these particles take are *paimo* ‘apprehensional’, *taumo/tauo/taune* ‘uncertainty’, *temo/te* ‘possibility’ (Priestley 2002a: 99–102) and *ne* ‘emphatic’. These particles follow an inflected verb or a nonverbal predicate at the end of declarative, interrogative or desiderative clauses. When the subject has the same referent in a preceding clause of the same sentence the modality particle has scope over that clause as well.

Each of the particles *paimo*, *taumo* and *temo* appear to be formed from epistemic modality particles, *pai*, *tau* and *te* plus the assertive/declarative boundary marking enclitic *=mo*. However, in *paimo* the initial morpheme *pai* does not currently have a distinct meaning on its own and usage is not restricted to assertive or declarative statements. Examples illustrating these points are given below.

Paimo ‘apprehensional’ occurs in declarative clauses with verbs inflected for future tense, that is, in clauses with irrealis status. It can be compared to the avolitional auxiliaries that indicate undesirable events in the nearby Madang

language of Tauya (MacDonald 1990: 202–203) and in the Eastern Highlands language of Hua (Haiman 1980: 141–142). Suffixes meaning ‘for fear that’ or ‘lest’ also occur in more distant languages such as Rumu (Pettersen 1999: 148) and Porome (Martin Steer, pers. com.). An example of *paimo* is provided in (3.16).

- (3.16) “*Enaise-ne-pe yare-here paimo,*” *u-a-te...*
 leave-2s-SR go-F3p APP quote-3s-DR
 ‘“They might leave you and go,” she said...’ T1.15.20

Both *tau* ‘uncertainty’ and *te* ‘possibility’ may occur with or without the final morpheme *mo* (cf. §4.10). Examples occur in statements, as in (3.17), and, also in questions, for example, *Mete taumo* ‘Who might (that) be?’.

- (3.17) *Site etamau taumo.*
 log good UNC
 ‘Maybe that is a good log/stick.’ T2.15.55

Tau combines with *ne* in *taune* when the speaker is uncertain but still wants to emphasize his or her statement. In (3.18) the speaker is tired of being asked questions about something and so emphasizes his lack of certainty in a reply with *taune*.

- (3.18) *Yar-a taune.*
 go-3s UNC.EMPH
 ‘Maybe he went.’

The statement in (3.19) with *temo* ‘possibility’ shows that epistemic modality particles can occur in nonverbal clauses (§3.7) where the subject noun phrase may be omitted if the referent is identifiable in the discourse or real-world situation (cf. §13.4.1).

- (3.19) (U) *Kahite pa temo.*
 that Kahite G/L POS
 ‘(It) could be at Kahite.’ T2M.39

The particle *te* may occur without *mo* in clause final positions of juxtaposed clauses that state possible alternatives. These constructions are described in §12.13.

The particle *ne* ‘emphasis’ occurs clause finally when the speaker is emphasizing a statement as in (3.20) at the end of a procedural account about gardening. There may be some possibility of a historical link between this particle and the dependency suffix *-ne* ‘DR:IR:CS’ (§9.4.3.4).

- (3.20) *...here re-pe n-apesi ne.*
 cook PUT-SR eat-DES EMPH
 ‘...we want to cook and eat it.’ T1.34.6

3.6 Verbal clauses

3.6.1 Introduction

A verbal clause consists minimally of an independent (final) verb inflected for tense-subject and mood or a dependent (medial) verb that has its own core and peripheral arguments, but is dependent for full specification of tense, subject and mood on a subsequent more fully inflected verb. One or more dependent verbal clauses form a chain that ends with a final independent clause. Independent and dependent verbs are described in detail in chapter 9 (cf. Priestley 2002a: chapters 3 and 5). The following sections survey verbal clause types (§3.6.2), verbal clauses and negation (§3.6.3), verbal clauses and grammatical relations of core arguments (§3.6.4) and verbal clauses and the semantic roles of core arguments (§3.6.5).

3.6.2 Types of verbal clause

There are several verbal clause types. Intransitive (§3.6.2.1), transitive (§3.6.2.2) and ditransitive (§3.6.2.3) clauses are based on differences in the number of core arguments. Clause types that deviate from these basic patterns are impersonal experiential clauses (§3.6.2.4), verbal possessive clauses (§3.6.2.5), reflexive clauses (§3.6.2.6), reciprocal clauses (§3.6.2.7) and copular clauses (§3.6.2.8)

3.6.2.1 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive verbal clauses describe events involving one participant (cf. §4.2.1). The single core argument representing this participant functions as subject of the clause. It is represented by a verbal suffix that expresses tense-subject, imperative or dependency and can also be indicated by a noun phrase before the verb (3.21).

NP_s V -Tense-subject/imperative/dependency suffix

- (3.21) *Nene poho n-e.*
 3p sit STAY-3p
 ‘They sat.’ T1.15.2

3.6.2.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses describe events with two core arguments (cf. §4.2.2). Prototypically, someone or something, the subject, does something to change the state or position of another person or thing, the object, as in (3.22) below. This subject is indicated minimally by a tense-subject, imperative or dependency suffix (cf. chapter 9). It may also be represented by a subject noun phrase which may have an optional =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ enclitic (cf. §5.10 and §13.5). The object is indicated by a noun phrase and/or by an object verbal suffix (apart from third singular). The core argument noun phrases can be omitted or can occur in a different order (cf. chapters 13 and 14) but the default word order is:

NP_s NP_o V (-O suffix) -Tense-subject/imperative/dependency suffix

- (3.22) ...*ne=te usu ho-ae!*
 2s=PNP pig cut:butcher-IMP2s
 ‘...you cut (butcher) the pig!’ T2.14.21

Transitive clauses do not always describe an agentive subject affecting an object. Sometimes the subject noun phrase is an experiencer and the object noun phrase has a theme role (3.23).

- (3.23) ...*si sene-morou=te sakine ese-pe...*
 so.then 1p-self=PNP talk hear-SR
 ‘...so then we ourselves heard the talk...’ T6.10.37

3.6.2.3 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses refer to events of transfer in which there are typically three participants, an agent who controls the transfer, a patient or theme that is transferred, and a recipient or goal to whom/which the transfer is made. The subject and the object recipient/goal (O₁) are indicated by noun phrases and/or verbal suffixes while the object theme (O₂) can only be referred to by a noun phrase. Ditransitive (cf. §4.2.3) and alternating transitive verbs (cf. §4.2.5) can occur in these clauses. In default word order the recipient or goal object noun phrase occurs before the theme object.

(NP_s) (NP_{O1}) (NP_{O2}) V (-O₁ suffix) -Tense/subject suffix

In examples (3.24) and (3.25) below the object with the role of recipient/goal is realized by an object suffix and there is only one object noun phrase in the clause.

- (3.24) *Hena ato =te koia si⁸-se-r-a.*
 woman one=PNP sweet potato give.me-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘One woman is giving me sweet potato.’ D4.191.13
- (3.25) *...masini u wesi-seka-pe...*
 machine there show-O1p-SR
 ‘...he showed us the machine there...’ T1.20.24

Example (3.26) has a third person singular recipient. Both the theme and recipient/goal noun phrases are expressed.

- (3.26) *...u serapure aiorapate ehi=mei tu-i.*
 that alone carefully leg=P1s give-1s
 ‘...I gave my leg carefully to that one (the dog) alone.’ (to let him lick it)
 T2.32.28

Ditransitive clauses with three core arguments are also formed from transitive, ambitransitive and alternating transitive verbs in valency-increasing constructions with *here* PUT (see §10.5). The object marked on the verb can have the semantic role of recipient, goal, patient/theme or beneficiary/maleficiary. Compare the following transitive (3.27) and ditransitive (3.28) examples:

- (3.27) *Pene ese-r-a.*
 rope cut-PRES-3s
 ‘He cuts the rope.’
- (3.28) *Pene ese he-se-r-a.*
 rope cut PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘He cut the rope for me.’

In addition, when an alternating transitive verb such as *urunu* ‘wash something’ occurs with an object suffix indicating a beneficiary the clause becomes ditransitive, see description and examples in §4.2.5.2.

3.6.2.4 Impersonal experiential clauses

Impersonal experiential clauses describe physical or psychological conditions or sensations (cf. chapter 11). The experiencer object verb (cf. §4.2.6) that heads the clause expresses the condition or sensation and is marked for two core arguments.

⁸ *Si* is a suppletive form meaning ‘give to first person singular or plural’ (cf. §4.2.3).

The clause is not transitive in the sense outlined in §3.6.2.2 since the subject suffix has no referent and no corresponding subject noun phrase. Furthermore, the object noun phrase and the corresponding object suffix refer to the experiencer. While some impersonal experiential clause types include a noun phrase referring to a body part or theme/stimulus there is no evidence that this noun phrase is the subject.

NP₀ (NP) V -O suffix -3s subject suffix

The conditions or sensations expressed by the verb are not controlled by the experiencer. Thus, impersonal experiential clauses, like nonverbal and stative clauses, cannot occur in imperative or intentive mood. For examples see (3.29) to (3.31) below and chapter 11.

(3.29) *Mesiri-ne-r-a.*
perspire-O2s-PRES-3s
'You are perspiring (too hot).' D8.15/16

(3.30) *I aritiri=mai hetakeri-se-r-a*
1s head=P1s pound-O1s-PRES-3s
'My head is pounding.' D10.12.5

Example (3.31) includes a stimulus adjunct noun (cf. §11.5).

(3.31) *Kurisi oru-se-r-a.*
corn hunger-O1s-PRES-3s
'I am hungry for corn.'

3.6.2.5 Verbal possessive clauses

Verbal possessive clauses (cf. nonverbal possessive clauses in §3.7.1.4) indicate that one entity possesses another entity, or that an entity is with another entity. The possessed entity, represented by a noun phrase immediately before the verb, is subject of the verb *mene* 'be/exist' (cf. §4.2.7). The possessor is the unmarked location of the object. Similar structures are not uncommon cross-linguistically. Payne (1997:126) states that "Languages usually employ existential and/or locational structures to express the notion of possession" and gives examples such as English 'to have', the copular verb or particle 'be' in Estonian and a verb meaning 'exist' in Turkish.

The noun phrases in a Koromu verbal possessive clause are not marked by the genitive or possessor suffixes (see chapter 6) and the clause cannot occur as an imperative clause (§3.4.3) or form a causative-like construction (§10.5.4.2.1). For an example see (3.32).

- (3.32) *I nau men-a.*
 1s coconut be-3s
 ‘I have a coconut.’ (lit. ‘The coconut is with me’). D160.4

3.6.2.6 Reflexive clauses

Reflexive clauses describe a situation in which the referents of the subject and object can be understood as being the same entity. A single noun phrase is followed by the reflexive/emphatic suffix *-morou* ‘self’ and the verb has a subject suffix only (cf. §5.3 and §5.7). Examples (3.33) and (3.34) demonstrate this.

- (3.33) *I-morou were-r-i.*
 1s-self see-PRES-1s
 ‘I saw myself.’ (...in a picture) D9.25. 5
- (3.34) *Te-morou apu pehe here-r-ia=mo.*
 2p-self now touch PUT-PRES-2p=BM
 ‘Now you are hitting yourselves’. D7.19.5 (*Pehe* and *here* PUT indicate ‘hit’.)

The presence of *-morou* ‘self’ does not necessarily indicate a reflexive clause as the form *-morou* can also be used to express emphasis (3.35). Thus, in a different context example (3.33) could mean ‘I myself saw it’.

- (3.35) *...si sene-morou=te sakine ese-pe...*
 so.then 1p-self=PNP word hear-SR
 ‘...we ourselves heard the words...’ T6.10.30

3.6.2.7 Reciprocal clauses

Reciprocal clauses describe events in which two or more participants act towards each other in the same way at the same time. Each participant is both an agent and a patient in the same event. The verb in these clauses has a reciprocal suffix *-a* (cf. §9.3.2.5) and a subject but no object suffix. In (3.36) one noun phrase represents the two participants.

- (3.36) *Tamaite aire weiwar-a-r-e.*
 man two fight-REC-PRES-3p
 ‘Two men are fighting each other.’

The participants can be represented by two identical noun phrases, as in (3.37).

- (3.37) *Nene nene pehe her-a-r-e.*
 3p 3p touch PUT-REC-PRES-3s
 ‘They hit each other.’ D7.38.8

Reciprocal clauses with reciprocal suffix *-a* and a ditransitive verb may include two identical noun phrases and an object noun phrase with a thematic semantic role (3.38).

- (3.38) *Nene nene na tu-a-r-e.*
 3p 3p something give-REC-PRES-3s
 ‘They give each other something.’

3.6.2.8 Copular clauses

There are three types of copular clause, copular clauses with *mene* ‘be, exist’, quasi copular clauses with *horu* ‘become’ and negative copular clauses with *ia* ‘be not’.

3.6.2.8.1 Copular clauses with *mene* ‘be, exist’

Copular clauses with the verb *mene* ‘be, exist’ describe temporary attributes (cf. §4.2.7). An initial noun phrase subject with an experiencer/theme semantic role is followed by a complement that is a qualifier (an adjective or quantifier) or an interrogative. The complement describes an attribute of the referent of the initial noun phrase (3.39).

- (3.39) *Tamaite tai imi-e. Tamaite soron ta-e.*
 men NEG die-3p men jump END-3p
Tamaite nokono men-e.
 men good/fine be-3p
 ‘The men didn’t die. The men jumped. The men were fine.’ T5.24.25

In the question in the exchange in (3.40) the interrogative *enau* ‘how much’ functions as the complement.

- (3.40) *Ya enau men-a? Ya nupu mo men-a.*
 water how.much be-3s water much here be-3s
 ‘How much water is there?’ CS10.15 ‘There is a lot of water here.’
 CS10.16

3.6.2.8.2 Quasi copular clauses

A quasi copular clause describes the transformation of an entity. A subject represented by a subject suffix and a noun phrase has an experiencer/theme semantic role. The entity referred to is affected by something that happens. The event is described by the verb *horu* ‘become’ (cf. §4.2.7). A second noun phrase, consisting of a common noun (3.41), an adjective (3.42) or a temporal noun (3.43), represents the transformed entity.

- (3.41) *(Ni) henahina horu-r-a.*
 she old woman become-PRES-3s
 ‘She is becoming an old woman.’
- (3.42) *Arene horu-r-a.*
 big become-PRES-3s
 ‘She is becoming big.’
- (3.43) *...si arisapu, horu-a-te...*
 then afternoon become-3s-DR
 ‘...then it became afternoon and...’ T1.20.41

3.6.2.8.3 Negative copular clauses

Negative copular clauses consist of a subject noun phrase followed by a predicate nominal, adjective or postpositional phrase and the defective copular verb *ia* ‘be not’ (§4.2.8). Like a particle, the negative copula is not inflected for tense, aspect, or subject person and number. However, like a verb it occurs in the final position of the clause and in a dependent clause it can be inflected by the different referent suffix *-te* (cf. §9.4.3.3) or the loose temporal dependency complex (§9.4.4). It can also be the main verb in a serial verb construction with phasal *ne* STAY (§10.6). This is consistent with Payne’s statement that copular verbs tend to be irregular but have some of the “morphosyntactic properties that characterize verbs” (1997:115), whereas invariant particles are not marked for “person/number/gender of the subject, or the tense/aspect of the clause” (1997: 117).

In (3.44) to (3.46) the copula *ia* ‘be not’ occurs in clause final position, without verbal inflections, in negative equative, attributive and possessive clauses respectively (cf. §3.7.1). Note that the context indicates that example(3.46) is a nonverbal possessive clause (cf. §3.7.1.4) that refers to the past.

- (3.44) *“Mo usu ia=mo. Tomto=mo,” o re-pe...*
 this pig be.not=BM wild game=BM do PUT-SR
 ‘“This is not a pig. It is wild game,” she said...’ T7.2.2

(3.45) *Werai u n-a. Sakine nupu ia.*
 little that stay-3s talk much be.not
 ‘That’s all. The talk/story is not much.’ T6.7.33

(3.46) *Ah-ima, ni wera ia.*
 mother-P1s 3s child be.not
Henawahe werare men-a.
 girl young be-3s
 ‘My mother, she had no children. She was a young girl.’ T5.3.36

The predicate in a negative copular clause can be a postpositional phrase as in examples (3.47) and (3.48). Note that in (3.47) the omitted subject noun phrase has the same referent as the pronoun in the *uo*-marked link (cf. §14.3.2.1).

(3.47) *I uo, asa rame uapu ia=mo.*
 1s GRD some one like be.not=BM
 ‘I, (I) am not like some other people.’ CS19.2

(3.48) *...nene mo pa tamaite umti ore ia.*
 3p here G/L man brown COM be.not
 ‘...they were not with brown men here.’ T5.3.14

The information in a locative example such as (3.49) can also be expressed in a verbal clause with negative particle *tai* ‘not’ and the verb *mene* ‘be, stay, exist’, as in (3.50).

(3.49) *Ya mo pa ia.*
 water here G/L be.not
 ‘There is no water here.’ (lit. ‘Water is not here.’) CS 7.5

(3.50) *Ya mo pa tai men-a.*
 water here G/L NEG be/exist-3s
 ‘There is no water here.’ CS 7.5

In (3.51) and (3.52) the copular verb *ia* ‘be not’ occurs with the phasal verb *ne* STAY and the verbal suffix *-te* ‘different referent following’. Where there is no subject noun phrase, as in (3.51), it appears that the third singular subject on the verb refers to the activity that is being described.

- (3.51) ...*araho mi were sur-a=mo,*
 down.there move.down see START-3s=BM
aresa. Ia n-a-te mere-pe,
 lower.side be.not STAY-3s-DR move.up-SR
 ‘She moved down there (downstream) to see, on the lower side. It was not possible and she moved up, ...’ T1.15.45
- (3.52) ...*yare-r-ia umo, kasete ia n-a-te,*
 go-PRES-1p but cassette be.not STAY-3s-DR
pari he ka-pe...
 then return come-SR
 ‘...we went but, there was no cassette (the cassette was not there) and, then (we) came back...’ T1.20.57 (This is more easily translated in Tok Pisin (TP): ‘...mipela go tasol, kaset i no stap, olsem na (mipela) kam bek...’)

When a clause consists simply of *ia* ‘no’ followed by different referent *-te* the structure has a type of adversative and sequential coordinating function as in (3.53).

- (3.53) ...*poho n-io=mo. Ia-te, pari yorosu yare-pe*
 sit STAY-1p=BM be.not-DR then up.there go-SR
Monpea pa poho ne-pe...
 Monpea G/L sit STAY-SR
 ‘...we sat. It was not then (we) went up there and sat at Monpea...’ TP: ‘... mipela sindaun. Nogat nau, go antap, na sindaun lo Monpea...’ T1.13.22

The particle *ia* can be an interjection or an answer to a yes/no question, *Ia* ‘(It) is not’.

3.6.3 Verbal clauses with added negation

Negation in verbal clauses without *ia* ‘be not’ (§3.6.2.8.3) is expressed by a negative particle *tai*. This particle occurs immediately before a single verb (cf. §10.2), the initial verb of a serial verb construction (cf. §10.2), an adjunct in an adjunct-verb construction (cf. §10.10) or a stimulus noun in an experiencer object construction (cf. §11.7). The following examples show the negative particle *tai* before intransitive (3.54) and transitive (3.55) verbs.

- (3.54) **Tai** *imi-a*.
 NEG die-3s
 ‘He didn’t die.’ T5.23.52
- (3.55) *Sai=mai tai es-e*.
 word=P1s NEG hear-3p
 ‘They didn’t hear my words.’ T1.15.7

In (3.56) and (3.57) *tai* ‘negative’ occurs before the initial verbs of serial verb constructions.

- (3.56) *Kohuweti mo pa tai poho n-e. Ia.*
 Kohuweti here G/L NEG sit STAY-3p no/be.not
 ‘They didn’t stay (lit. ‘sit’) here at Kohuweti. No/It was not.’ T5.3.19
- (3.57) *I tai sipamu n-i.*
 1s NEG know STAY-1s
 ‘I don’t know.’ T1.22.36

Example (3.58) shows the negative particle before an adjunct-verb construction with a final imperative suffix, while (3.59) has the particle before an adjunct stimulus noun in an experiencer object construction.

- (3.58) *Te uo, tai eri te-ahē!*
 2p GRD NEG fear GET-IMP2p
 ‘You all, don’t be afraid!’ Za2. Lk. 2:10.
- (3.59) *...tai apene ore-se-r-a=mo.*
 NEG sleep feel-O1s-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘I don’t feel sleepy.’

3.6.4 Verbal clauses and grammatical relations of core arguments

3.6.4.1 Overview of evidence for grammatical relations

The morphosyntactic behaviour of Koromu core arguments can be discussed in terms of the grammatical relations subject and object. The abbreviations introduced by Dixon (1979) are used here with S as the single actant of an intransitive verb, A as the agent-like argument of a transitive verb and O as the patient-like

argument of a transitive verb. Evidence for these grammatical relations is found in person-number suffixes of independent verbs (§3.6.4.2), person-number suffixes with dependent verbs (§3.6.4.3), the word order of subject and object noun phrases (§3.6.4.4), and in the optional prominent noun phrase enclitic =*te* with subject noun phrases in verbal clauses (§3.6.4.5). Further evidence for subject is found in equi-deletion of the subject of complement clauses (§3.6.4.6) and in the use of subject as the sole antecedent for the reflexive (§3.6.4.7). It is possible, however, for subject and object noun phrases to be omitted from both verbal and nonverbal clauses owing to the prevalence of zero anaphora in the language (cf. §13.4).

3.6.4.2 Person-number suffixes and independent verbs

The tense-subject suffixes of both independent and different-referent dependent verbs express person and number of the subject as well as tense. They display nominative accusative patterning (cf. §4.5.4, §4.5.5, §9.3.2.2, §9.3.2.4) since arguments with A and S function are treated as grammatical subject in contrast to other core argument noun phrases that function as object. Verbal object suffixes represent the person and number of the object, apart from the third person singular which is unmarked (cf. §9.3.2.4). The use of these suffixes with independent verbs is examined briefly here. Note that in the glosses, O marks the object but a subject is glossed simply by person and number without S.

First and second person subject and object functions are represented by verbal person-number suffixes even when overt noun phrases are omitted by zero anaphora (3.60).

- (3.60) *Sopo-teka-hi.*
 strike-O2p-F1s
 ‘I will strike you.’

When the subject has an animate referent the person-number suffix distinguishes third person singular (3.61) from third person plural (3.62). However, since number agreement is omitted when the subject has an inanimate referent a third person singular suffix may refer to an inanimate singular or plural subject as in (3.63).

- (3.61) *Naere ho-se-r-a=mo.*
 snake bite-O1s-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘A snake bit me.’ T1.6.6
- (3.62) *Nene kare pate ka-e=mo.*
 3p car MANN come-3p=BM
 ‘They came by car.’ T1.2a.3

- (3.63) *masine ar-arene men-a.*
 machine very-big be/stay-3s/p
 ‘There was a large machine. / There were large machines.’ T1.20.18

Since there is no object suffix for third person singular referents the object can be represented by a noun phrase, as in the first two clauses in (3.64) below. However, note that the object noun phrase is omitted from the quote clause since the information is recoverable from the first clause. Also, since *sau* means “tell a third person singular referent” and there is a first singular subject, the addressee is clearly Yako. In contrast, *sasi* “tell non-third singular referent” is used elsewhere (cf. §4.2.3, §12.3).

- (3.64) *...usu te re-pe,*
 pig get PUT-SR
Yako sau-pe “Ho⁹-ae!” u-r-i=mo.
 Yako tell.3s-SR cut.up-IMP1s quote-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘...(I) put the pig down, and told Yako, “Cut up the pig!” I said.’ T2.14.17

In (3.65) an object suffix represents a third person plural object with an animate referent.

- (3.65) *...yene sopo-neka-pe, u-pu-r-ia.*
 bird strike/kill-O3p-SR do-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘...we strike the birds, we do this.’ T1.25.3

However, in (3.66) the referents of the third person plural object are inanimate so there is no object suffix.

- (3.66) *...aiake, koia pu-pe u-pu-r-ia.*
 cassava sweet potato plant-SR do-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘...we plant cassava and sweet potato, we do that.’ T1.33.34

In ditransitive clauses, the recipient object is the default selection for undergoer. Recipients are animate and therefore the logical choice for representation by an object:person-number suffix (O_1) on the verb. Theme objects can have inanimate (3.67) or animate referents (3.84) and are indicated by a noun phrase (O_2), unless they are omitted (cf. §13.4).

⁹ *Ho* can be glossed ‘chop, cut up, butcher, or bite’.

- (3.67) *Hena ato=te koia si-se-r-a.*
 woman one=PNP sweet.potato give-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘One woman gave me sweet potato.’ D4.191.13

3.6.4.3 Person-number and dependent suffixes in dependent clauses

In dependent clauses, a final suffix on the verb indicates whether the subject, or topic of the clause, has the same or a different referent as a subsequent independent verb (see §9.4 and Priestley 2002a: 202–223 for detailed descriptions). If a subsequent clause has the same subject or topic (cf. §9.4.2, §11.8), there is no subject person-number suffix on the dependent-marked verb. Instead the dependency suffix indicates the subject grammatical relation by referring the hearer to the tense/subject person-number suffix of a subsequent independent verb, as in (3.68) below.

- (3.68) *Poho ne-pe, wau he her-i.*
 sit STAY-SR banana roast PUT-1s
 ‘I sat down and roasted bananas.’ T5.20.24

When a clause is marked as having a different referent from a subsequent clause (3.69) it also has a tense-subject person-number suffix prior to the final dependent suffix (§9.4.3).

- (3.69) *Naere ho-s-a-te ka-r-i=mo.*
 snake bite-O1s-3s-DR come-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘A snake bit me and I came.’ T1.6.9

3.6.4.4 The order of core arguments in the clause

The order of core arguments in the clause can also confirm the subject. Although subject and object noun phrases can be omitted when they are predictable in the discourse (§13.4), and their constituent order can be influenced by other factors in information structure (cf. §13.2 and §14), the default word order is AOV, as in (3.70). The third person plural object suffix is omitted here since the referent is inanimate.

- (3.70) *Sene ou po-r-ia.*
 1p yam plant-PRES-2p
 ‘We were planting yams.’ D2.85.3

3.6.4.5 The prominent noun phrase (PNP) enclitic

The prominent noun phrase (PNP) enclitic *=te* indicates a prominent noun phrase in syntax and/or discourse (§5.10 and §13.5). While *=te* can occur with the predicate in a non-verbal clause, and is thus not simply a subject noun phrase marker, it does distinguish between the subject and object noun phrases in a transitive clause where there would otherwise be ambiguity. Unlike the postposition *te* ‘instrumental’, which only occurs with oblique arguments referring to inanimate instruments (cf. §7.4.2.2), *=te* clearly indicates that a ‘prominent noun phrase’ is subject when it has an animate referent in (3.71).

- (3.71) ...*tamaite ararehen=ama=te auhu kasi-pe...*
 man very.big=group=PNP betel.nut hang-SR
 ‘...the leaders hung up their betel nut...’ T1.25.5

3.6.4.6 Equi deletion of the subject of complement clauses

Equi deletion, in which the subject of a complement clause is deleted if it is coreferential with an argument of the matrix clause, is another test for subjecthood. Example (3.72) shows that the notional subject of a non-finite complement clause, in which a bare verb stem is followed by a nominalizer suffix (cf. §12.4), is coreferential with the grammatical subject of a verb with an experiencer subject.

- (3.72) *Usu oro-apu sipamu-ae.*
 pig pierce-NOM know-IMP2s
 ‘You must know pig shooting/how to shoot pig!’ D4.1875

Similarly, the subject of a non-finite complement clause that is marked by the desiderative suffix *-apesi* (cf. §12.5) is not realized in the same clause. However, it is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause *u* ‘say’ in (3.73).

- (3.73) *K-apesi u-ia=mo.*
 come-DES say-1p=BM
 ‘We wanted to come.’ T1.35.10

3.6.4.7 Subject as the sole antecedent for the reflexive

The subject is the sole antecedent for the reflexive in most clause types (3.74).

- (3.74) ***I-morou*** *were-r-i*.
 1s-self see-PRES-1s
 ‘I see/saw myself.’ (...in a picture/mirror) D9.25.5

An exception occurs in impersonal experiential clauses, where the grammatical subject has no antecedent in the clause, but the experiencer object may do (cf. §11.4).

3.6.5 Semantic roles of core arguments

Subject and object in Koromu are associated with several different semantic roles. Four of these are the common participatory semantic roles in linguistic typology – agent, patient, experiencer and theme. Andrews describes them as being “borne by what one would think of as actual participants in the situation implied by the verb” (2007a: 140 [1985: 69]). With certain cautions in mind Andrews describes them as follows (the added italics are mine).

An Agent is “a participant which the meaning of the verb describes as doing something, or causing something to happen, possibly intentionally (that is because (s)he wants it to)”.

“*A Patient* will be defined as a participant which the verb describes as having something happen to it, and as being affected by what happens to it” (2007a: 137 [1985: 68])

An Experiencer is “a participant who is characterized as aware of something”.

A Theme is “a participant which is characterized as being in a state or position, or changing its state or position, sometimes treated as a kind of Patient” (2007a: 140 [1985: 70]).

Several other semantic roles are associated with subject and object in Koromu. Common examples are given earlier in this chapter and below. Other details are given in chapter 10 where semantic roles with subjects and objects in complex predicates are described. However, the subject semantic roles of agent, experiencer and theme are exemplified in examples (3.75) to (3.77) below. (Some of these examples are repeated from §3.6.4.2).

- (3.75) Agentive subject *Sopo-teka-hi*.
 strike-O2p-F1s
 ‘I will strike you.’ (3.60)

- (3.76) Experiencer subject *Were-neka-i=mo*.
 see-O3p-1s=BM
 ‘I saw them.’ T1.15.22

- (3.77) Theme subject ...*nene poho n-e*.
 they sit STAY-3p
 ‘...they sat.’ T1.15.2’

Some Koromu subjects have dual semantic roles (cf. Andrews 2007a: 140 [1985: 70], Donohue 2008: 242-243). For example, with Koromu motion verbs the subject can be both an agent that actively moves, and a theme that changes position (cf. chapter 10).

- (3.78) Agent-theme subject ***Sene ehi pate ka-ia=mo***.
 1p foot MANN come-1p=BM
 ‘We came on foot.’ T1.2a.3, see also (3.62)

Similarly, semantically reflexive verbs have a subject that is both agent and patient, body placement verbs have a subject that is both agent and goal, and the subjects of intransitive verbs such as *ani* ‘wake’ and *imi* ‘die’ have the role of experiencer in some constructions and theme in others (see chapter 10).

Grammatical objects can have the semantic role of patient, theme, experiencer, recipient, beneficiary, or goal. When there is one object in the clause, the object semantic role is patient, theme or experiencer, as in (3.79) to (3.81).

- (3.79) Patient object ***Naere ho-se-r-a=mo***.
 snake bite-O1s-PRES-3s=BM]
 ‘A snake bit me.’ T1.6.6, repeated from (3.61)

- (3.80) Theme object ***...usu te re-pe,...***
 pig get PUT-SR
 ‘...put the pig down, ...’ T2.14.17, repeated from (3.64)

- (3.81) Experiencer object ***Mesiri-ne-r-a***.
 perspire-O2s-PRES-3s
 ‘You are perspiring (too hot).’ D8.15/16

Ambitransitive stative verbs are either intransitive, as in *ari* ‘it is light’, or transitive with a single object suffix that refers to a goal (3.82) or beneficiary (3.83).

- (3.82) Goal object ***Kiti-ne-r-a***
 be.stuck-O2s-PRES-3s
 ‘It is stuck to you.’

- (3.83) Beneficiary object *Ari-ne-r-a*.
 be.light-O2s-PRES-3s
 ‘It is light for you.’

When there are two objects in the clause, the object marked by the object suffix has a semantic role of recipient, goal, or beneficiary/maleficiary (3.84).

- (3.84) Recipient object *Hena=te ne si-se-r-a*.
 woman=PNP 2s give-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘The woman gave you to me.’

Further examples with object goal occur in body placement constructions with phasal valency-changing *here* PUT (cf. §10.5.4.4.1) and many transitive dynamic verbs occur with *here* PUT and an object that is beneficiary/maleficiary (cf. §10.5.4.4.2).

Thus, the semantic role of beneficiary can be expressed by an object suffix on a ditransitive (§4.2.3) or alternating transitive (§4.2.5.2) verb. However, with a transitive, dynamic verb the object suffix for beneficiary is with the phasal and valency-changing verb *here* ‘PUT’ (§4.2.2.2.1, §10.5.4.4.1). Furthermore, a beneficiary type object suffix occurs with intransitive stative, ambitransitive verbs (§4.2.4.1). On the other hand, with intransitive dynamic verbs and some transitive dynamic verbs there is no beneficiary object suffix. Instead an oblique argument indicating beneficiary/maleficiary is added to the clause with the *ahare* ‘animate locative’ postpositional phrase (§7.3.4.2).

Several examples in §3.6.4.2 show that object suffixes refer to animate rather than inanimate referents. Arguments with the semantic role of recipient, beneficiary or goal more commonly have an animate referent indicated by an object suffix, than arguments with patient or theme roles (cf. (3.67) above). Thus, when both object referents are animate, it is the O (undergoer) with the semantic role of recipient, beneficiary or goal that is indexed on the verb, rather than the O with the role of patient or theme (cf. Swahili examples with a non-patient-like role in Van Valin 2001: 61–62).

3.7 Nonverbal clauses

Nonverbal clauses consist of a subject noun phrase and a nominal (§3.7.1) or postpositional phrase (§3.7.2) as predicate. The subject noun phrase is omitted when it is recoverable from the discourse (cf. §13.4).

3.7.1 Nominal clauses

3.7.1.1 Basic characteristics of nominal clauses

Nominal clauses are formed by the juxtaposition of a noun phrase subject and predicate.

NP_s NP predicate

Nominal clauses are equative, attributive, possessive or locative depending on the nature of the noun phrase predicate and its semantic relationship with the subject. To express negative concepts the negative copular clause *ia* ‘be not’ is used (cf. §3.6.2.8.3).

3.7.1.2 Equative clauses

Equative clauses have a noun phrase predicate, highlighted here in bold, that expresses the classification or identity of the noun phrase subject. Classification (X is a Y) is expressed in (3.85), see also (3.92). In (3.85) the predicate is followed by a final boundary marking enclitic *=mo* (cf. §3.4.1).

- (3.85) *Ni ososo=mo.*
 3s doctor=BM
 ‘He/she is a doctor.’

The noun phrase subject is fully expanded in example (3.86).

- (3.86) *Kuntume ene namu-ne yene=mo.*
 Kuntume husband namesake-P3s bird=BM
 ‘Kuntume’s husband’s namesake is a bird.’ T74.30

Equative clauses can also express the identity of the noun phrase subject, X is Y, (3.87).

- (3.87) *I-o weini Napiri.*
 1s-GEN name Napiri
 ‘My name is Napiri.’ T1.13.24

Demonstratives occur in initial but not final position in these clauses (3.88).

- (3.88) *Mo Siu.*
 this Siu.
 ‘This is Siu.’ (...said when pointing at a photo.)

3.7.1.3 Attributive clauses

Attributive clauses consist of a subject noun phrase and an attributive predicate, such as an adjective or quantifier, that expresses an attribute of the subject noun phrase.

- (3.89) “*Mo nokono,*” *u-r-i.*
 this good quote-PRES-1s
 ‘“This is good,” I said.’ CS4.10

An attributive predicate can be an adjective derived from a verb.

- (3.90) *Asao ou nokono. Asao kese-au*
 some yam good some rot-ADJR
 ‘Some are good yams, some are rotten.’ CS11.7

In (3.91) quantifiers form the predicates.

- (3.91) *Hena-re aire. Tamaite-re aterei.*
 woman-DIM two man-DIM one
 ‘There are two females. There is one male’
 (lit. ‘The females are two. The male is one.’) T1.9.4

Examples (3.92) and (3.93) can be interpreted as having either equative or attributive predicates.

- (3.92) *Mo na arene.*
 this thing big
 ‘This is a big thing,’ or ‘This thing is big.’ CS2.9

- (3.93) *Mo epo kune arene itini.*
 this rock opening big true
 ‘This is a really big cave.’ or ‘This cave is really (truly) big.’ CS16.1

3.7.1.4 Nonverbal possessive clauses

Nonverbal possessive clauses consist of a noun phrase subject that functions as a possessor noun and a noun phrase predicate that functions as the possessed noun. Historically, there may have been deletion of the verb *mene* ‘be, stay, exist’ (cf. §3.6.2.8.1).

- (3.94) *Asi-sekaima werane ii.*
 ancestor-P2p child three
 ‘Our ancestor had three children.’

The distinction between attributive and possessive clauses is sometimes ambiguous. In (3.95) the quantifier forms an attributive predicate while in (3.96) it modifies the head noun in a possessive clause.

- (3.95) *Wera hena-re nupu.*
 child female-DIM many
 ‘The female children are many.’ CS10.12

- (3.96) *(Ni) wera hena-re nupu.*
 (3s) child woman-DIM many
 ‘(She) has many female children.’ CS10.12

3.7.1.5 Locative clauses

In locative clauses, the location of the subject is indicated by a locative predicate.

- (3.97) *No onu eno.*
 your shadow over there
 ‘Your shadow is over there.’

- (3.98) “*Sosi araho=mo,*” *u-ia-te...*
 Sosi down there=BM quote-1p-DR
 ‘“Sosi is down there,” we said...’ T1.27.10

The predicate may consist of a locative interrogative. In this case the whole clause is followed by the interrogative modality particle *e* ‘interrogative’ (3.99).

- (3.99) *Hena ania=e?*
 woman where=Q
 ‘Where is the woman?’ (lit. ‘The woman is where?’) CS16.15

3.7.2 Postpositional clauses

In postpositional clauses, a noun phrase subject is followed by a predicate consisting of a postpositional phrase (cf. chapter 7).

NP PP

In the examples below the postpositional phrases occur with the postpositions *uapu* ‘similative’ (3.100), *aiau* ‘resemblative’ (3.101) and *sei* ‘orientation’ (3.102) respectively.

- (3.100) *Ne i uapu.*
 2s 1s SIM
 ‘You are like me’ CS19.1
- (3.101) *Mo uo, ware aiau.*
 this GRD pumpkin RESM
 ‘This, (it) is like pumpkin.’ CS19.3
- (3.102) *U me sei=e?*
 that who ORNT=Q
 ‘Who is it for?’ (lit. ‘That is for who?’)

In contrast, locative postpositional phrases are found in verbal clauses with *mene* ‘be, stay, exist’ (cf. §3.6.2.8.1 and §4.2.1.3).

3.8 Oblique arguments in clause structure

In addition to the obligatory predicate with its core arguments, a clause may have oblique arguments expressed by verbal suffixation and/or core argument noun phrases. There are two types of oblique argument, ‘core arguments’ that are required by the semantics of the verb (§3.8.1) and those that are genuinely oblique (§3.8.2).

3.8.1 Clauses with core oblique arguments

Clauses with core oblique arguments (see Van Valin 2005) have a verb that requires an oblique argument referring to the goal of the action. These locative goal arguments may be required by intransitive verbs that describe someone's movement (cf. §4.2.1.2) or by transitive verbs, or serial verb constructions, that describe someone moving an object to a place (cf. §4.2.2.3 and §10.5.4.4). The arguments are represented by a postpositional phrase or placename. They behave like verbal objects and occur immediately before the verb (3.103).

- (3.103) ...*somoru weti pa aire ta-i.*
 night house G/L arrive END-1s
 'I arrived at the house at night.' T2.32.36

As example (3.104) shows, when there is a verbal object in the same clause the locative goal argument occurs immediately before the verb.

- (3.104) ...*ah-ima uo, wera hekeni pa ene re-pe...*
 mother-P1s GRD child fire G/L lay PUT-SR
 '...my mother, lay the child by the fire...' T1.10.3

Clauses with the verb *sa* 'speak' can also have a core oblique argument immediately before the verb. In this case the core oblique argument represents the addressee, as in *tamaite sei sa-r-a* 'he spoke to the man' (cf. §7.4.1.3).

3.8.2 Clauses with non-core oblique arguments

Genuinely non-core oblique arguments give information about the setting or circumstances of the situation described by the predicate and core arguments. They are expressed by temporal, locative, manner, 'only' and sentential adverbs (cf. §4.7), instrument, comitative, reason, purpose, similarity, resemblance and manner postpositional phrases (cf. §4.8 and chapter 7), placenames or temporal nouns (cf. §4.3.4 and §4.3.5). This section gives some basic details about the position of non-core constituents in the clause, particularly, sentential, locative and temporal arguments.

The sentential adverbs, *si* 'then' and *pari* 'again, eventually' (§4.7.6) modify the clause. They occur in clause initial position in both verbal and nonverbal clauses as in (3.105) and (3.106). When both adverbs occur in the same clause, *si* 'then' occurs first (3.106).

(3.105) ...**pari** ato rame esame aiau. U mene-pe
 then one person dog like. there stay-SR
 mene-pinte, **si**, epono yare-pe yare-pe...
 stay-LTD:1s then later go-SR goSR
 ‘...then (they) were like the dogs of another person. I stayed there
 and stayed, then, later it went on and on...’ T2.32.22

(3.106) Ota-pe **si pari**, te-neka-pu-r-i=mo.
 remove-SR then again get-O3p-HAB-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘I remove them then again, I give them to them.’ T1.20.34

In clauses with transitive verbs that do not subcategorize for a locative argument a locative argument is optional and can occur before the verbal object. The default word order is subject – locative – object – verb (3.107).

(3.107) ...**ni serapure Pakaia pa** aha-napa=ama pasi-nek-a.
 3s first Pakaia G/L mother-P3p=group met-O3p-3s
 ‘...he first met their mother and the group at the Pakaia.’ T2.15.67

Temporals can occur immediately before the predicate they modify, if there is no required argument in that position (3.108).

(3.108) **Sene apu** yare-pe n-ia-te...
 1p today go-LTD:1p
 ‘We went today...’ T2.28.1

Temporals often occur initially, before core arguments, as in (3.109).

(3.109) **Ea** Kahu aine me o t-a?
 yesterday Kahu fish who GEN get-3s
 ‘Yesterday whose fish did Kahu get?’ D4.149.8

The number of core and oblique arguments in a clause is kept to a minimum by using more than one clause to describe the same event. In the extract in (3.110) the instrumental postpositional phrase and the subject noun phrase are in separate clauses.

- (3.110) *Wapi te ehi te maupu-pe n-ia-te,*
 hand INS leg INS step on-LTD:1p
tamaite nupu maupu-pe n-ia-te...
 man many step.on-LTD:1p
 ‘...we stepped on it with our hands and legs, we, many men, stepped
 on it...’ T1.7.5

Although the number of oblique and core arguments is typically kept to a minimum, a clause may have two oblique arguments. If the oblique arguments are of the same semantic type they occur in succession, for example, when a temporal noun phrase (cf. §4.3.5) that expresses frequency occurs before a part-of-day noun as in (3.111).

- (3.111) *Mo esame pi nupu somoru*
 this dog time many night
paru=apai tu-pu-r-a.
 bark=continuously do-HAB-PRES-3s
 ‘Often (lit. ‘many times’) this dog barks at night continuously.’
 CS13.8

Temporals occur before locative arguments (3.112).

- (3.112) *Apu mo ya kehe her-a.*
 today here river flood PUT-3s
 ‘Today the river has flooded here.’ T1.8.12

In nonverbal clauses (§3.7), either a temporal (3.113) or locative (3.114) adverb can occur as an oblique argument in clause initial position.

- (3.113) *Apu asi mutu taumo?*
 now month heaps UNC
 ‘Now the month is *mutu* ‘heaps’ isn’t it?’ T1.5.4
- (3.114) *...aroho weti ato Tonupa.*
 down.there village one Tonupa
 ‘...down there one village is Tonupa.’ D3.3.23

4 Word classes

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines word classes, distinguishing them on the basis of distributional and morphological criteria, as well as some semantic and functional criteria. The two main open word classes are verbs (§4.2) and nouns (§4.3). Minor word classes include qualifiers (§4.4), pronouns (§4.5), the indefinite specific pronoun (§4.6), adverbs (§4.7), postpositions (§4.8), the negative particle *tai* (§4.9), modality particles (§4.10), conjunctions (§4.11), grammar-information particles/enclitics (§4.12), interjections (§4.13) and semantically defined cross-cutting classes of demonstratives and interrogatives (§4.14).

4.2 Verbs

Verbs are a large, open word class. They are distinguished from other word classes because they can be marked by suffixes, for details see chapter 9, §4.5.4 and §4.5.5. Verbs indicate:

- tense, subject person and number
- dependency, subject switch reference, temporal and/or realis/irrealis information
- aspect
- object person and number

The main verb subclasses are based on the verbs' valency possibilities. These are linked to the themes of the core arguments and are discussed in detail in relation to valency options within complex predicates in chapter 10. There are also subclasses for copular verbs and for verbs that have a special role in complex predicates. Verb subclasses based on valency are the intransitive verbs (§4.2.1), transitive verbs (§4.2.2), ditransitive verbs (§4.2.3), ambitransitive verbs (§4.2.4), alternating transitive verbs (§4.2.5) and experiencer object verbs (§4.2.6). Copular verbs are described in sections on copular and quasi-copular verbs (§4.2.7) and the negative copular verb (§4.2.8). Verbs with special roles in complex predicates, or serial verb constructions, are phasal verbs (§4.2.9), phasal and valency-changing verbs (§4.2.10), manner verbs (§4.2.11), the prohibitive verb (§4.2.12), /e/ eliding final -ne verbs (§4.2.13), quantifier verbs (§4.2.14) and generic verbs (§4.2.15). Borrowed verbal adjuncts are also discussed (§4.2.16).

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Further distinctions between types of verbs within classes are based on the semantic nature of the verbs and their core arguments. These semantic distinctions influence verbal inflections (cf. chapter 9) and occurrence in formal clause types (cf. §3.4). For example, most dynamic verbs can be inflected for tense-subject, imperative and future-intentive (cf. chapter 9) but stative verbs do not occur with imperative and future-intentive. Furthermore, semantic distinctions, for example different types of movement, are extremely important in complex predicate formation (cf. chapter 10). Many of these verbs are documented in a Verb File (VF) and thus do not have a text reference in this chapter.

4.2.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs take a single argument, the subject, which is expressed by a verbal suffix and an optional noun phrase (cf. §3.6.2.1). The semantic subclasses are intransitive dynamic verbs with agentive subjects (§4.2.1.1), intransitive intradirective verbs with agent and theme subjects (§4.2.1.2), intransitive stative/dynamic verbs (§4.2.1.3) and intransitive stative verbs (§4.2.1.4).

4.2.1.1 Intransitive verbs with agentive subjects

Intransitive verbs with an agentive subject describe actions such as *eta* ‘vomit’, *hiri* ‘cry’, *kau* ‘howl’, *kerehai* ‘call happily’, *ko* ‘whistle’, *sipi* ‘excrete’ and *yakere* ‘laugh’ (4.1). Sometimes, the subject is best described as an effector “roughly the dynamic participant doing something in an event...this thematic relation underlies agent, force, and instrument, roles which are normally taken to be distinct but related in some way” (Van Valin and Wilkins 1996: 289). In Koromu the instrument can be marked (cf. §7.6.5) but effector describes the subject of *kuru* ‘thunder’ and *kukune* ‘flood’. Intransitive verbs with agentive/effector subjects can occur in applicative-like serial verb constructions (see §10.5.4.4).

- (4.1) ...*sene yakere-pe eme ne-r-ia*.
 1p laugh-SR die STAY-PRES-1p
 ‘...we laughed and were dying.’ T1.13.16 (*Eme* ‘die’ is used idiomatically.)

4.2.1.2 Intransitive intradirective verbs with agent and theme subjects

Intransitive intradirective verbs have one argument, a subject with the dual semantic roles of agent and theme. These verbs are self-agentive in the sense that the subject argument is both the agent and the entity affected by the agent’s actions. There are two types, semantically reflexive verbs, such as *umu* ‘hide’, and motion verbs.

The intradirective motion verbs include deictic verbs, *yare* ‘go’ and *ka* ‘come’, direction (motion-path) verbs such as *mere* ‘move up’, *mi* ‘move down’, motion-manner verbs like *aho* ‘crawl’, *heai* ‘walk around’, *heteri* ‘run’ and posture-taking verbs that describe movement into a position, that is, *ene* ‘lie down’, *puhu* ‘sit down’, *pi* ‘stand up’ and *seripi* ‘get up’. Compare examples (4.2) to (4.4).

(4.2) ...*Korike sate ka-pe n-ia-te*,...
 Korike S/L come-LTD:1p
 ‘...we came from Korike,...’ T1.13.2

(4.3) *Mo puhu-ae!*
 here sit down-IMP2s
 ‘(You) sit down here!’ T1.27.11

(4.4) ...*yare-hera=mo*.
 go-F3s=BM
 ‘...he will go’ T1.8.4

When direction and posture-taking verbs occur with the phasal verb *ne* ‘STAY’, they form stative constructions (see §10.6 for more detail). Note that this phasal verb often appears as *n* since it is affected by pre-vocalic /e/ elision (4.5).

(4.5) *I weti pa ene n-i*.
 1s house G/L lay STAY-1s
 ...*nene poho n-e*.
 3p sit STAY-3p
 ‘I lay/was lying in the house. ...they sat/were sitting.’ T1.15.1

In some cases, postposition-less nouns and directional locative adverbials (§4.7.3.2) can occur as an argument in these stative constructions (4.6). This argument refers to both the Ground (stationary reference point) and the Path (site) occupied by the Figure (the moving or moveable thing) (see Talmy 2007: 70–71 [1985: 61]).

(4.6) a. ...*siti poho n-ia*. b. *Yoroho poho n-e*.
 log sit STAY-1p up.there sit STAY-3p
 ‘...we sat on a log.’¹⁰ T1.15.44 ‘They’re sitting up there.’ T1.15.24

¹⁰ With stative, unmarked non-future tense may refer to past or present depending on context, see chapter 9.

Although intradirective dynamic verbs have an agentive subject they occur in similar types of *here* PUT valency increasing constructions to stative-like verbs because the subject simultaneously has the theme role. (For details see §10.5.4.2 and §10.5.4.3).

Finally, the verb stems *si* ‘clear off’ and *ari* ‘go now’ are an aberrant subclass of intransitive verbs that have agent and theme subjects. They only occur with imperative inflections and not with tense-subject or dependency inflections, (They are almost like English particles, such as ‘scram’). Both verbs describe movement away from the speaker. *Si* ‘clear off’ is a command and *ari* ‘go now’ is a friendly salutation. Both verbs are common in everyday conversation.

(4.7) ***Si-ahē!***
clear.off-IMP2p
‘You (plural) clear off!’

(4.8) ***Ari-ae!***
go.now-IMP2s
‘You (singular) go now.’

4.2.1.3 Intransitive stative/dynamic verbs

The intransitive verb *mene* ‘be, exist, stay’ has a stative and a dynamic sense. In the stative sense the subject noun phrase has the role of theme and an entity’s existence, or a location or temporary state of affairs, is indicated. Imperative or intentive suffixes do not occur.

(4.9) *Aine nupu-nupu men-a.*
fish INTS-many be-3s
‘Many, many (kinds of) fish exist.’ CS18.7

(4.10) *...weti pa mo pa men-a.*
house G/L here G/L stay-3s
‘...he stayed here at the houses.’ T6.3.3

When used in a dynamic sense *mene* has an agentive subject and can occur with imperative or intentive suffixes (see chapter 9). It is commonly used in a friendly farewell as in (4.11).

(4.11) *I weti pa yare-hi=mo. Men-ahē!*
1s house G/L go-F1s=BM stay-IMP2p
‘I’ll go to the house. You all stay!’

Causative-like constructions with *here* ‘PUT’ can be formed when the verb has this dynamic sense (see also (10.64) in §10.5.4.2).

- (4.12) *Wera-ima sihi mene here-r-a.*
 child-P1s enough stay PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘She caused my child to stay (long) enough.’

The verb *mene* ‘be, stay, exist’ can also occur in verbal possessive (see §3.6.2.5) and copular clauses (see §3.6.2.8).

The stative-like experiencer subject verb *ane* ‘wake up’ (cf. §10.5.4.2.1) describes a change of state and can also occur with an imperative suffix, as in (4.13).

- (4.13) *Ane-ae!*
 wake.up-IMP2s
 ‘Wake up!’

4.2.1.4 Intransitive stative or stative/inchoative verbs

Intransitive stative verbs have subjects with the semantic role of patient or theme. These stative or stative-inchoative verbs describe properties, or the process by which an entity attains a property, for example, *kenekene* ‘be strong, tough’, *ai* ‘be/become soft or tender’, *kese* ‘be/become wet or rotten’, *kihi* ‘be/become deep’, *kuku* ‘be/become heated’ and *kukupe* ‘be/become sour or dusty’.

- (4.14) *Ya kuku-r-a.*
 water heat-PRES-3s
 ‘The water is heating.’ (from verb file *kuku* ‘heat’)

- (4.15) *Tomto ai-r-a.*
 meat/game soft-PRES-3s
 ‘The meat is softening/becoming tender.’ (from verb file *ai* ‘be soft’)

These verbs cannot occur with imperative or intentive suffixes (cf. nonverbal clauses in §3.7). For example, **Ai-ae!* ‘Be soft!’ is ungrammatical.

4.2.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs (cf. §3.6.2.2) have two core arguments expressed by verbal suffixes and optional noun phrases. They are described here in sections about their morphosyntax (§4.2.2.1) and their semantic subclasses (§4.2.2.2).

4.2.2.1 The morphosyntax of transitive verbs

Transitive verbs can occur with or without an object suffix. This suffix is obligatory when the object has a human referent as in the first clause of (4.16) unless, as indicated by the second clause, there is a third singular referent. In the latter case, there is no object suffix.

- (4.16) ...*ni=te...* **ahare-se** *te yare-pu-a-te*,
 3s=PNP pull-O1s get go-HAB-3s-DR
i=te ahare te yare re-pe...
 1s=PNP pull get go PUT-SR
 ‘...he pulled me and took (i.e. dragged) me and then I pulled him and took (dragged) him...’ T6.5.12 (about a struggle between a man and a pig)

There is also no object suffix with inanimate referents (4.17) or lower animate referents (4.18), such as fish and insects, unless these referents are interpreted anthropomorphically. Instead the referent is represented by an object noun phrase that has a patient or theme role.

- (4.17) ...*poso ahare te-pe, ya pa te he ta-pe*,
 post pull GET-SR river G/L get put END-SR
ya pate ahare ta mi-pe n-ia-te...
 river S/L pull END move.down-LTD:1p
 ‘...we pulled the posts and, we put them in the river and, we finished pulling them down the river and then...’ T2.28.2

- (4.18) *Sepea nu-pu-r-e*.
 grasshopper eat-HAB-PRES-3p
 ‘They eat grasshoppers.’ YTN2.3

Some direction motion-path verbs have a theme object that refers to something that is in a position or changing its position. Examples are *po* ‘cross, ford (a river)’, *tahu* ‘follow (a fire/river)’ and *nuku* ‘submerge (self) in’ (4.19). An alternative analysis of these motion verbs would place them as intransitive verbs with a locative object that has no postposition. However, an analysis in which the location is a theme object is consistent with the usual unmarked form of objects.

- (4.19) *Ya nuku-hi-mpe*.
 water submerge.in-F1s-INT
 ‘I want/intend to submerge (myself) in the river.’

4.2.2.2 Semantic subclasses of transitive verbs

Transitive verbs can have agentive, agent and goal, agent and theme or experiencer subjects.

4.2.2.2.1 Transitive dynamic verbs with agentive subjects

Semantically, many transitive verbs have agentive or effector subjects and an object with the semantic role of patient or theme which may be indicated by an NP and/or object suffix; although, as mentioned earlier, when the object is third person singular there is no object suffix. These dynamic verbs describe activities or achievements (4.20).

- (4.20) ...*ne=te usu ho-ae!*
 2s=PNP pig cut:butcher-IMP2s
 ‘...you cut up (butcher) the pig!’ T2.14.21

When many of these verbs, for example *ho* ‘cut’, combine with *here* PUT, an object suffix can be added to represent the beneficiary/maleficiary or patient (cf. §10.5.4.4.1 and §4.2.10). With other verbs of this type, such as *pihi* ‘touch, hit’ and *sopo* ‘strike, kill’, a *here* PUT construction indicates a more complete effect on a patient (cf. §10.5.4.5).

The verb *sa* ‘speak’ has a theme object, *sakine* ‘words, story’ and requires the *sei* ‘orientation’ postpositional phrase to indicate the goal/recipient of the speech (see §7.4.1.3).

4.2.2.2.2 Transitive body placement verbs with agent and goal subjects

Transitive body placement verbs have a subject with the semantic roles of both agent and goal. These verbs describe how the agent places a patient/theme object on his or her own body (cf. §10.5.4.4.1). Morphologically, there are two types of body placement verbs, those that have an object with an animate referent, as in (4.21) and (4.22), and those that have an object with an inanimate referent (see alternating transitive verbs in §4.2.5).

- (4.21) *Tamaite wera kakau-r-a.*
 man child put.on.shoulders-PRES-3s
 ‘The man is putting the child on his own shoulders.’ (The child’s legs are placed each side of the man’s neck).

- (4.22) *Pai-ma kakau-se-r-a.*
 father-P1s put on.shoulders-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘My father is putting me on his shoulders.’

4.2.2.2.3 Transitive motion verbs with agent and theme subjects

Transitive motion verbs with agent and theme subjects have an animate or inanimate referent object with a goal/theme role. Examples are *hetari* ‘step over/straddle (something)’, *erehe* ‘move alongside (something long)’, *tahu* ‘follow (something long i.e. a river)’, *epone* ‘follow (a person)’ and *po* ‘cross (through or over something)’. The latter two examples occur in (4.23).

- (4.23) C.1 ...*yare epon-neka-i*.
 go follow-O3p-1s
 C.2 *Yare-pe*
 go-SR
 C.3 *ya po-e*.
 river cross-3p
 ‘...I went and followed them. I went and then I crossed the river.’ T1.15.32

Talmy states that “the basic motion event consists of one object (the ‘Figure’) moving or located with respect to another object (the reference-object or ‘Ground’). (...) The ‘path’ (with a capital P) is the course followed or site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the Ground object” (2007: 70 [1985: 61]). With some Koromu verbs the Ground, which the Figure or subject noun phrase is moving with respect to, is also the Path or course of the motion event, for example, the *nau* ‘coconut palm’ in (4.24a). Directional locatives *aroho* ‘down there’ and *yoroho* ‘up there’ can also represent Ground and Path with these verbs, see (4.24b).

- (4.24) a. *Nau topi-ae!*
 coconut.palm climb-IMP2s
 ‘Climb the coconut palm!’ T1.4.1
 b. *Petai aroho mi so-a*.
 blood down.there move.down pour-3s
 ‘Blood poured down there (his leg).’ T6.5.14

Verbs such as *aire* ‘arrive’¹¹ and *peraune* ‘reach (the top)’ always require a goal object.

- (4.25) ...*keti peraun ta-pe...*
 mountain reach END-SR
 ‘...reached the top of the mountain...’ T2.29.3

¹¹ *Aire* can also mean ‘come up (grow)’ or ‘happen’.

Like other intransitive verbs with agent and theme subjects these verbs have an added agentive subject in valency-increasing constructions with *here* PUT (see §10.5.4.3.2).

4.2.2.2.4 Transitive experiencer subject verbs

A transitive experiencer subject verb has a subject with the semantic role of experiencer, a mental predicate and an object with the role of theme. Mental predicates include *urunu* ‘think’, *sipamu* ‘know’, *oru* ‘feel’, *were* ‘see’ and *ese* ‘hear’. Interestingly, these verbs are exponents of semantic primes in the natural semantic metalanguage (NSM) (cf. Goddard and Wierzbicka 2002).

(4.26) *Konu=mai were-i=mo.*
 chest=P1s see-1s=BM
 ‘I saw (or looked at) my chest.’ T1.4.4

(4.27) *Sakine=mai tai urunu-r-i=mo.*
 words=P1s NEG think-PRES-2s=BM
 ‘You are not thinking about my words.’ Za1, Lk.1.20

4.2.3 Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs (cf. §3.6.2.3) are inflected for two core arguments and a third is represented by a noun phrase preceding the verb. The object suffix with the verb refers to the recipient, which is prototypically animate, while an object noun phrase typically refers to a theme that may or may not be animate (cf. §3.6.5). The object suffixes have the same form as those that occur with transitive verbs (4.28).

(4.28) *Koia te-neka-i=mo.*
 sweet potato give-O3p-1s=BM
 ‘I gave them sweet potato.’ T2.32.8

Ditransitive *wesu/wesi* ‘show’ is irregular as it is affected by lexically conditioned fronting (§2.4.3.2.4) before object suffixes (see §4.5.4, §4.5.5 and §9.3.2), as indicated in the following paradigm.

O suffixes	V	O	S	Gloss
O1s se	Wesi	s	a.	Someone showed me something.
O1p seka	Wesi	sek	a.	Someone showed us something.

O2s	ne	Wesi n	a.	Someone showed you something.
O2p	teka	Wesi tek	a.	Someone showed you (all) something.
O3	se	Wesu	a.	Someone showed him/her something.
O3p	neka	Wesi nek	a.	Someone showed them something.

Ditransitive verbs for ‘give’ and ‘tell, speak to’ have suppletive forms based on the number and person of the recipient. At the same time object formatives specify the exact recipient.

<i>si</i>	‘give (to first person)’
<i>tu/te</i>	‘give (to second or third person)’ (/u/ is fronted before initial consonants and mid front vowel /e/, see §2.4.3.2.5)
<i>sasi</i>	‘tell (to first person, second person, and third person plural)’
<i>sau</i>	‘tell 3s’

The suppletive forms are similar in form to the first singular and plural and second person plural object suffixes (§4.5.5). Similarly, the verb for ‘give’ has suppletive forms in some other Rai Coast languages (Z’graggen 1980: 130, Ross 2000: 28). Based on Siroi and other data, Ross (2000) suggested that “object prefixes have been displaced in most Rai Coast languages by object suffixes which are formally quite different from other pronoun sets. These appear to be grammaticized forms of the verb ‘give’ or some other verb”. However, Koromu object suffixes and Tauya object prefixes are similar in form (cf. MacDonald 1990: 10, 129, 216) and the Koromu object suffixes also resemble Koromu free pronouns. Furthermore, Koromu *si* ‘give to first person’ and *tu/te* ‘give to second or third person’ are similar in form to Siroi *s-* ‘give first singular recipient’ and *t-* ‘give second singular recipient’ and the object suffixes in Siroi (Rai Coast language, see §1.3.1 and Priestley 2002a). The Koromu plural object suffix *-seka* and Siroi dual object suffix *-sik* are also similar. But while Koromu has ‘give’ forms and object suffixes, in Siroi either the object suffixes themselves form the stem of ‘give’ (Wells 1979: 34) or Siroi has a “phonologically null verb stem” for ‘give’ and “regular object suffixes” (Donohue 2001: 10). Other more distant Madang languages with similarities to Koromu *tu/te-* ‘give to third singular recipient’ include Usan *t-* and Waskia *tuw-/tuiy-* (Donohue 2001: 8).

4.2.4 Ambitransitive verbs

Ambitransitive verbs can occur with or without an object and they function in either intransitive or transitive clauses (cf. §3.6.2). There are two types,

ambitransitive verbs that take a beneficiary/maleficiary or goal object (§4.2.4.1) and ambitransitive verbs that take a patient object (§4.2.4.2).

4.2.4.1 Ambitransitive verbs that can have beneficiary/maleficiary or goal objects

This type of ambitransitive verb can occur without an object. However, if there is an object it has an animate referent with the role of beneficiary/maleficiary or goal (cf. §10.5.4.4.2 for other verbs with these objects) and the subject has the semantic role of theme. Although the object is syntactically a core argument it has a semantic role commonly associated with oblique arguments elsewhere (cf. §3.8).

No object		Object (second person singular suffix)	
<i>kuku</i>	‘be hot, heating’	<i>kuku-ne</i>	‘be hot for you’
<i>ari</i>	‘be light, float’	<i>ari-ne</i>	‘be light for you’
<i>uhuru</i>	‘be heavy’	<i>uhuru-ne</i>	‘be heavy for you’

In (4.29) and (4.30) the verb *ari* means roughly ‘be light’ or ‘float’ and the subject *heri* ‘net bag’ has a theme role. In (4.29) the object has a beneficiary role, while (4.30), with no object suffix, may be intransitive or it may have a third singular beneficiary object.

(4.29) *Heri ari-ne-r-a.*
 net.bag be.light-O2s-PRES-3s
 ‘The net bag is light for you.’

(4.30) *Heri ari-a.*
 net.bag be.light-PRES-3s
 ‘The net bag is light/floats / The net bag is light for her.’

In (4.31) the verb *kiti* ‘be stuck’ has a theme subject and locative object (§10.5.4.2.2).

(4.31) *kiti-se-r-a*
 stuck-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘It is stuck to me’.

4.2.4.2 Ambitransitive verbs that can have patient object noun phrases

Ambitransitive verbs that may have patient object noun phrases have an agentive or effector subject. The generic verbs *ne* ‘consume, eat, drink, inhale’ and *we* ‘do, act, burn, cook, shine’ can be used as intransitive verbs when there is no object noun phrase and as transitive verbs when there is an object. In (4.32) the subject noun phrase *hekeni* ‘fire’ refers to the effector of the action. It is cross-referenced by the subject suffix and there is no object in the clause. Example (4.33) has a first singular subject suffix on the verb and an object noun phrase *wa* ‘garden’.

(4.32) *Hekeni we-r-a.*
 fire do/burn-PRES-3s
 ‘The fire is doing/burning.’

(4.33) *Wa we-r-i.*
 garden do/act-PRES-1s
 ‘I’m doing the garden.’

4.2.5 Alternating transitive verbs

Alternating transitive verbs can function as either transitive or ditransitive verbs. They have either an agentive, or agent and goal, subject and a theme object. If there are two objects, an object suffix indicates either an added recipient/goal or a beneficiary, depending on the semantic nature of the verb.

4.2.5.1 Alternating transitive verbs, agentive subjects and recipient/goal objects

Verbs that describe the movement of things away from an agentive subject, such as *ahu* ‘throw, wave’, *hera* ‘throw’, *horo* ‘spit’ and *u* ‘quote/do’, have a recipient/goal object indicated by an object suffix on the verb. Compare the following examples with one object and with two objects, respectively.

(4.34) *Na here-r-a.* vs. *Na here-se-r-a.*
 thing throw-PRES-3s thing throw-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘He’s throwing the thing.’ ‘He’s throwing the thing to me.’

4.2.5.2 Alternating transitive verbs, agent/agent-goal subjects and beneficiary objects

Verbs such as *are* ‘remove’, *urunu* ‘wash’ and body placement verbs with inanimate referent objects can have an object suffix that indicates an animate beneficiary (for

beneficiary marking with other types of verb, see §10.5.4.4.2). With the object suffix they form an applicative:beneficiary construction. In (4.35) *urunu* ‘wash’ occurs with one theme object while in (4.36) it has a theme object and a beneficiary object.

(4.35) *Weri urunu-hura.*

ulcer wash-F3s

‘She will wash the ulcer.’

(4.36) *Sara tahi=mai urunu-se-r-a.*

Sara clothes=P1s wash-O1s-PRES-3s

‘Sara is washing my clothes for me.’

Body placement verbs (§4.2.2.2.2) describe someone moving an inanimate entity to a position on the body of the agentive subject. They are inherently reflexive because the agentive subject is also the goal. Examples are *eme* ‘put on the shoulder/nearby’, *hehero* ‘put on the back (slung from the forehead)’, and *sahoru* ‘put on the head’. In (4.37) *hehero* ‘put on the back’ occurs first with one object, the theme, and secondly, with two objects, a noun phrase with a theme role and an object suffix with beneficiary role. Example (4.38) forms an applicative:beneficiary construction (for a contrasting applicative:goal construction see §10.5.4.4.1). However, when the beneficiary is third person singular there is no object suffix. Instead there is an *ahare* postpositional phrase in the clause (see §7.3.4.2).

(4.37) *Henawahe hekeni hehero-r-a.*

young woman firewood bundle.on.head-PRES-3s

‘The young woman is putting the firewood in a bundle on her (own) head.’

(4.38) *Hekeni=mai hehero-se te-r-a.*

firewood=P1s bundle.on.head-O1s GET-PRES-3s

‘She put my firewood in a bundle on her head for me.’

4.2.6 Experiencer object verbs

Experiencer object verbs are like transitive verbs in that they have an object and subject suffix (see §3.6.2.4 and chapter 11 for details). However, while there is an object noun phrase in the clause there is no noun phrase which is clearly identifiable as the subject and the subject suffix can only cross-reference a third person singular referent (4.39).

- (4.39) (I) *mesiri-se-r-a*.
 1s perspire-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I am perspiring.’

4.2.7 Copular and quasi-copular verbs

Copular and quasi-copular verbs have a subject argument, a complement and verbal suffixation (cf. §3.6.2.8). For example, the intransitive verb *mene* ‘be, stay, exist’ can function as a copular verb. The complement is a qualifier, quantifier or interrogative that describes the state of the subject. The quasi-copular verb *horu* ‘become’ occurs with a complement that is a second noun phrase, an adjective or a temporal. The complement describes the result of the process described by the verb (4.40).

- (4.40) *Pensoro hane horu-r-a*.
 pencil short become-PRES-3s
 ‘The pencil is becoming short.’

4.2.8 The negative copular verb *ia* ‘be not’

The negative copular verb *ia* ‘be not’ is an irregular verb with a subject argument and a complement (see §3.6.2.8.3 for more detail). Unlike other independent verbs it is not inflected for tense, aspect or subject person and number, but it can occur clause finally with or without the boundary marking enclitic =*mo* as in (4.41).

- (4.41) U *etamau ia=mo*.
 that good be.not=BM
 ‘That is not good.’ CS5.8

As a dependent verb *ia* can occur with the different referent suffix *-te* (cf. §9.4.3.3) or the loose temporal dependency complex (cf. §9.4.4). It can also be the main verb in a serial verb construction with phasal *ne* STAY (cf. §4.2.10 and §10.6). The fact that this irregular copular verb has some of the morphosyntactic properties that characterize verbs is not out of the ordinary, since this pattern is quite common cross-linguistically (Payne 1997: 115).

4.2.9 Phasal verbs

There are four verbs that function as final phasal verbs with verbal inflections. These phasal verbs express aspectual meaning in serial verb constructions. These verbs, *sure* START (begin/attempt), *yare* GO, *ta* END and *te* GET, are described in more detail in §10.4. Example (4.42) contrasts *yare* ‘go’ as an intransitive verb and as a phasal verb in a phasal serial verb construction.

- (4.42) ***Yare-r-ia.*** vs. *...tiri kuene ne yare-pe...*
 go-PRES-1p tree bark eat GO-SR
 ‘We are going.’ ‘...(they) went on eating tree bark...’ T2.26b.11

4.2.10 Phasal and valency changing verbs

There are two phasal verbs that express aspectual, valency-changing or lexical meaning. These variations depend on the meaning of the preceding main verb. The phasal verbs carry verbal inflections. The verb *here* PUT expresses perfective aspect and/or valency increase (§10.5), while *ne* STAY expresses stative aspect and/or valency decrease (§10.6). The examples in (4.43) contrast *ari* ‘float’ on its own and in a phasal valency changing construction with *here* PUT.

- (4.43) ***Ari-r-a.*** vs. *Na are here-r-a.*
 float-PRES-3s thing float PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘He/she/it is floating.’ ‘He floated the thing.’

4.2.11 Manner verbs

The manner verb *name* ‘do well, be careful’ may carry verbal suffixes, but it only occurs in manner serial verb constructions where it modifies the main verb, either as the final verb, or as a penultimate verb before a final phasal or phasal and valency-changing verb as in (4.44) (cf. §10.8.3). The intransitive verbs *kiri* ‘be full/tight’ and *horoko* ‘be awkward, noisy’ also function as manner verbs in manner serial verb constructions.

- (4.44) *...ya hese name re-pe...*
 water rub do.well PUT-SR
 ‘...wash her well and...’ T5.21.11

4.2.12 Prohibitive verb

The verb *apaise* ‘leave’ can be used in prohibitive constructions with verbal inflections (§10.8.5), as in (4.45).

- (4.45) ...*ani apais-ae*.
 wake leave-IMP2s
 ‘...don’t wake her!’ T2.24.8

4.2.13 The /e/ eliding final -ne verbs

The /e/ eliding verbs all end in *-ne*. They include *-ne* final phasal (§10.5, §10.6), manner (§10.8.3) and prohibitive (§10.8.5) verbs and their corresponding main verbs, derived verbs with *-ne* and the monosyllabic verb *ne* ‘eat’. Examples of verbal derivations are *epone* ‘follow (someone)’, from the basic temporal adverb *epono/opono* ‘later’, and others for which the source is unknown, such as *kesane* ‘cut:scythe (a task done by women)’, *ketane* ‘break, snap (something)’, *ketine* ‘split, chop (something through the middle lengthways)’ and *korone* ‘sweep, broom (something)’.

Grammaticized phasal, prohibitive and manner verbs that end in /e/, derived verbs that end in *-ne* and the monosyllabic verb *ne* ‘eat’ are affected by pre-vocalic /e/ elision (§2.4.2.2.2) Examples are common since many verbal suffixes are vowel initial.

4.2.14 Quantifier verbs

The numeral quantifiers *ateri* ‘one’, *aere* ‘two’ and *ii* ‘three’, as well as the general quantifier *nupu* ‘many’ (§4.4.2) and the indefinite specific article/pronoun *ato* ‘one’ (§4.4.3 and §4.6), can be inflected as verbs in some contexts. Examples of these derivations are given in (4.46) and (4.47). Like manner verbs, they can modify a main verb in a modified serial verb construction (see §10.8.4).

- (4.46) *Eti sinti ato-ahē!*
 skirt layer one-IMP2p
 ‘Put one layer of skirt on!’

- (4.47) *Eti sinti sinti nupu-ahē!*
 skirt layer layer many-IMP2p
 ‘Put many layers of skirts on!’

4.2.15 Generic verbs

Generic verbs have different semantic overtones in different environments. They are common in Papuan languages (see Foley 1986, Pawley 2012, Aikhenvald 2009). Koromu generic verbs carry verbal inflections like other verbs. For example, the verb *u* ‘do’ as in *u-pu-r-ia* [do-HAB-PRES-1p] ‘we do it like that’, means ‘say’ or ‘quote’ when it occurs with a finite complement (cf. §4.2.5.1, §12.3) and can also be the final support verb with a borrowed verbal adjunct, for example *tepim u-hura* [tape measure do-F3p] ‘he will measure (tape) it’ (T1.8.13), see also §4.2.16 and §10.10.

The verb *te* ‘get’ can be a support verb with a borrowed verbal adjunct (§4.2.16) or a phasal verb (cf. §4.2.9, §10.4.5). Another verb, *oru*, can occur in experiencer object constructions to express ‘feel’, ‘feel like, want to’ or ‘hunger/thirst for’ (cf. §11.4, §11.5). It can also be an active verb meaning ‘care about, give hospitality’ (Priestley 2002b). Other verbs with a range of meaning are ambitransitive *ne* ‘consume:eat, drink, smoke’ and *we* ‘do, act, burn, cook, shine’ (§4.2.4), and transitive *sopo* ‘strike, kill’ and *pehe* ‘touch, hit’ (§4.2.2.2.1).

4.2.16 Borrowed verbal adjuncts

Borrowed verbal adjuncts occur in verbal constructions prior to a generic support verb *u* ‘do’ or *te* ‘get’ (see §4.2.15, §10.10, §10.4.5). They are not true verbs since they cannot carry verbal suffixation themselves. Rather, they are morphologically inert content morphemes that co-occur with support verbs (cf. Pawley 2012; Pawley and Lane 1998, Lane 2007).¹² In Koromu such verbal adjuncts are commonly based on Tok Pisin verbs. Some examples are *daunim* ‘swallow’, *pasim* ‘stop’, *pikim* ‘pick’, *posim* ‘boss’, *pusim* ‘push’, *raitim* ‘write’, *raunim* ‘go around’, *sarim* ‘sell’, *senisim* ‘change’, *skurim* ‘teach’, *somapim* ‘sew up’ and *paim* ‘buy’ (4.48).

(4.48) ...*raisi paim te-pe n-ia-te*...
 rice buy get-LTD
 ‘...we bought rice...’ T1.20.56

¹² Pawley, who uses the term ‘verb adjunct’, states that it’s been in use since the 1950s or 1960s in TNG language description and may originate with a linguist in the Summer Institute of Linguistics (pers.com.).

These terms often describe concepts that do not have exact equivalents in Koromu. They usually occur in texts recorded with older men who worked and lived on plantations before the mid-1970s. While away from home, these men had to rely on Tok Pisin for daily communication with employers and other employees. Since the mid-1970s there are not many people who have worked away from home in totally Tok Pisin environments. Some younger people have been away for education that was mostly conducted in English. These speakers tend to use Koromu expressions instead of borrowed verbal adjuncts and support verbs. For example, instead of saying *raitim u* ‘write do’, younger speakers say *wese* ‘mark (it)/write’.

4.3 Nouns

4.3.1 Introduction

Nouns have a referential function and like personal, indefinite specific and demonstrative pronouns, they can be the sole constituent of a noun phrase and can function as its head (cf. chapter 5, particularly §5.10). They are distinguished from the closed class of pronouns (cf. §4.5) since they are not obligatorily marked for person and number. They can be replaced by *meni* ‘whatjamacallit’ (what-d’ye-call-it) and they can occur in one or more of the following contexts.

- with ‘possessor/part of’ person-number suffixes/enclitics
- with the *o* ‘genitive’ postposition
- with the enclitics =*ama* ‘group’ and =*rare* ‘and/with’
- with the enclitic =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’
- in expanded noun phrases
- as complements of animate, inanimate, or inherently locative postpositions
- in vocative constructions

The distributional criteria listed above are important in distinguishing nouns from other word classes and in determining noun subclasses. Two of these criteria are exemplified below in (4.49) and (4.50).

(4.49) *Mutu=te epon pi-a=m.*
 Mutu=PNP later stand-3s=BM
 ‘Mutu stood later.’ T1.9.13

(4.50) *...asi o esame*
 moon GEN dog
 ‘... the moon’s dog’ (anthropomorphic use of ‘moon’, the ‘dog’ is a star nearby) D2.66.4

Verbs and adverbs cannot occur in these contexts.

- (4.51) **ene o weti*
 sleep GEN house
 ‘house of sleep’

The semantic properties of animacy, location and agency/effectiveness affect both distributional and morphological distinctions between nouns. Table 4.1 outlines noun subclasses based on whether the nouns are bound, optionally bound, or free as well as co-occurrence with locative postpositions. Thus, bound nouns obligatorily occur with a possessive suffix, optionally bound nouns take a possessive suffix in some contexts but not in others, and free nouns do not occur with a possessive suffix at all. Depending on their semantic properties, nouns combine with one of the following locative postpositions, *pa* ‘goal/locative’, *pate* ‘source/locative’, *sa* ‘near:goal/locative’, *sate* ‘near:source’ or *ahare* ‘animate locative’ (see §4.8).

Table 4.1: Noun subclasses.

Type of noun	Bound or free	Locative postposition ¹
Common nouns		
Inanimate nouns	Optionally bound	<i>pa</i> or <i>pate</i>
Inanimate part nouns	Bound	<i>pa</i> or <i>pate</i>
Verbal nouns (inanimate)	Optionally bound	<i>pa</i> or <i>pate</i>
Nature nouns (inanimate)	Free	<i>pa</i> or <i>pate</i>
Animate nouns	Free	<i>ahare</i>
Proper nouns (animate)		
Kinship nouns	Bound	<i>ahare</i>
Personal names	Free	<i>ahare</i>
Placenames		
General places	Free	<i>pa</i> or <i>pate</i>
Near places	Free	<i>sa</i> or <i>sate</i>
Incorporated postposition placenames	Free	incorporated <i>pa</i> or <i>sa</i>
Temporal nouns	Free	<i>pa</i> or <i>pate</i>

Note:

1 Detailed historical connections between *te* in the postpositions *pate* and *sate*, enclitic =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ (cf. §4.12, §5.11, §13), *te* ‘instrumental’ (§7.4.2.2), *te* ‘get’ (§10.2.4.5) and/or the *-te* dependency suffix (cf. §9.4.3, §9.4.4) are beyond the scope of this primarily synchronic discussion.

Examples of free forms are the personal name *Mutu* (4.163) and the nature noun *asi* ‘moon’ (4.49) while *moto-ma* [brother (of female ego)-P1s] ‘my brother’ is a bound form. Nouns with animate referents, nouns with inanimate referents and place-names of some nearby places occur as complements of different postpositions. For example, animate referent *Mutu* (place name) occurs in *Mutu ahare* [Mutu ALOC] ‘to Mutu’, inanimate referent *weti* occurs in *weti pa* [house G/L] ‘to the house’ and the nearby placename *Kesawai* occurs in *Kesawai sa* [Kesawai N:G/L] ‘to Kesawai’.

4.3.2 Common nouns

Common nouns can occur in fully expanded noun phrases (§5.2). Some of them are free unmarked forms while others are bound or optionally bound forms. They also occur as complements of different postpositions. Thus, inanimate and verbal nouns have an optional possessor suffix or enclitic, inanimate part nouns have an obligatory possessor suffix, and animate and nature nouns do not have possessor suffixes or enclitics (see chapter 6). Animate nouns can be the complement of the *ahare* ‘animate locative’ postposition while other common nouns with inanimate referents are the complement of the *pa* ‘goal/locative’ or *pate* ‘source/locative’ postpositions (see chapter 7). The basic differences among common nouns are summarized in Table 4.1 above. Each type is described in more detail in the sections below on inanimate nouns, inanimate part nouns, verbal nouns, nature nouns, the noun *rame* ‘one/ person’ and animate nouns.

4.3.2.1 Inanimate nouns

Inanimate nouns denote inanimate things and can be the complement of *pa* type inanimate referent ‘locative’ postpositions or the instrumental postposition *te*. They select the interrogatives *mana* ‘what?’ and *ani* ‘where?’ and most of them can occur with a possessor enclitic. Table 4.2 lists examples of inanimate nouns.

Table 4.2: Inanimate nouns.

<i>ehi</i>	‘leg’	<i>mete</i>	‘body/skin’	<i>tau</i>	‘axe’
<i>hekeni</i>	‘firewood’	<i>nahe</i>	‘mami (yam type)’	<i>tike</i>	‘knife’
<i>heri</i>	‘net bag’	<i>naurupa</i>	‘bush, wild land’	<i>turupu</i>	‘head’
<i>himoko</i>	‘bird trap’	<i>pesike</i>	‘bean’	<i>upu</i>	‘nose’
<i>keti</i>	‘mountain’	<i>petai</i>	‘blood’	<i>wene</i>	‘food’
<i>koia</i>	‘sweet potato’	<i>sakine</i>	‘word, language’	<i>wesese</i>	‘pig trap’
<i>mati</i>	‘leaf, plate, book’	<i>so</i>	‘den’	<i>weti</i>	‘house’
<i>onu</i>	‘shadow, spirit’	<i>tahane</i>	‘forest’	<i>ya</i>	‘water, river’

The inanimate nouns *nokono* ‘goodness’ (4.52) and *itini* ‘truth’ (4.53) describe abstract concepts. In these examples, they are the subject and object arguments respectively. The same forms can occur as members of other word classes, *nokono* as a simple adjective (cf. §4.4.1.2) and *itini* ‘truth’ as an intensifier (cf. §4.7.7).

(4.52) *Nio* ***nokono*** *herekani* *tai* *epaise-ne-hera*.
 Poss3s goodness real NEG leave-O2s-F3s
 ‘His real goodness will not leave you.’ Za8, Psalm 91:4

(4.53) *I* ***itini*** *sasi-ne-r-i*.
 1s truth tell-O2s-PRES-1s
 ‘I tell you the truth.’ Za4, Luke 23:43

Inanimate nouns that refer to places, for example *weti* ‘house, village’, *wa* ‘garden’, *keti* ‘mountain’ and *ya* ‘river’, can be arguments of motion or posture verbs that indicate the location or goal of an event (cf §4.2.2.2.3).

(4.54) ***Keti*** *topi-pe...*
 mountain climb-SR
 ‘Climbed the mountain and...’ T3.1.1

The noun *sa* denotes ‘place, path’ or ‘time’. For example, *sa arene* ‘a long (big) way’, *sa etamau* ‘a good time’ and the example in (4.55).

(4.55) *Apu* ***sa*** *etamu-r-a*.
 now time good-PRES-3s
 ‘Now the time is good.’

In (4.56) the inanimate noun *wesese* ‘trap’ occurs with a possessor enclitic.

(4.56) ***Wesese=mai***, *sorori-hi=mo*.
 trap=P1s construct-F1s=BM
 ‘I will construct my trap.’ T1.14.3

Some nouns that refer to body parts and natural resources, such as *ami* ‘eye’, *ehi* ‘leg’ and *pe* ‘neck’, *mati* ‘leaf’ and *ya* ‘water’, optionally occur with the *-ne* third singular possessor suffix to indicate that they are a part of something. In

this form, they occur in a whole-part (possessive) nominal construction with a dependent noun phrase (see §6.4).

(4.57)	<i>heken am-ne</i>	[fire eye-P3s]	‘eye of the fire’
	<i>ya ehi-ne</i>	[water/river leg-P3s]	‘leg/branch of a river’
	<i>ya pe-ne</i>	[water/river neck-P3s]	‘neck/head of a river’
	<i>tiri mati-ne</i>	[tree leaf-P3s]	‘leaf of a tree’
	<i>tiri ya-ne</i>	[tree water-P3s]	‘tree water (sap)’
	<i>pisi ya-ne</i>	[bee water-P3s]	‘bee water (honey)’
	<i>auhu ya-ne</i>	[betel nut water-P3s]	‘betel nut water (juice)’

4.3.2.2 Inanimate part nouns

Inanimate part nouns have an obligatory *-ne* third person singular final partitive/possessor suffix. They occur in nominal constructions with optionally expressed dependent noun phrases and they refer to parts of plants, fires, artefacts and abstract things (§6.4). Examples are (*tiri*) *sere-ne* ‘(tree) seeds’, (*tiri*) *kini-ne* ‘(tree) roots’ and *tumu-ne* ‘its shoot’ as in (4.58). Elsewhere the forms *mo* (§4.14.1) and *asao* are used for part (§4.4.2.2).

(4.58)	<i>Na tumu-ne pu-pu-r-ia.</i>
	thing shoot-P3s plant-HAB-PRES-1p
	‘We plant shoots of things.’ T1.33.7

4.3.2.3 Verbal nouns

4.3.2.3.1 Introduction

Several word forms can be used as common nouns, with inanimate referents, or as verbs. It is hard to determine which one is the derivation but as arguments of a verb and head of a noun phrase they are referred to as verbal nouns. As such, they can be head noun in a possessive nominal construction with possessor enclitics (cf. §6.5.3.2.4). In contrast, as verbs they may be a bare root in a complex predicate or a verb with verbal inflections (see chapters 10 and 11). For morphosyntactic and semantic reasons three subtypes of verbal noun are proposed: experiential, descriptive, and expressive.

4.3.2.3.2 Experiential verbal nouns

Experiential verbal nouns refer to physical and emotional experiences. Table 4.3 gives examples.

Table 4.3: Experiential verbal nouns.

<i>mahe</i>	‘shame’
<i>maikoho</i>	‘laziness (not wanting)’
<i>mesiri</i>	‘perspiration’
<i>peraru</i>	‘hunger’
<i>sepa</i>	‘illness’
<i>tare</i>	‘pain, hurt’

As nouns these words can appear with optional possessor enclitics (§6.5.3, particularly §6.5.3.2.4, for examples), as complement of the instrumental postposition *te* (§7.4.2.2), or as core arguments, for example, as head of a subject noun phrase with optional =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ (§13.5). As verbs, these forms are inflected as experiencer object verbs (see chapter 11). Examples of *mahe* ‘shame’ as a verbal noun are given in (4.59).

- (4.59) a. **Mahe=name** *ia*.
 shame=P2s be.not
 ‘You have no shame.’ D2.62.4
- b. **Mahe te** *warike here-r-i*.
 shame INS bad PUT-PRES-1s
 ‘I am bad with (messed up with/wrecked by) shame.’ D11.5.9
- c. **Mahe=te** *warike he-se-r-a*.
 shame=PNP bad PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘Shame puts me in a bad way (messes me up/wrecks me).’ D11.5.10

Some body part nouns can also be inflected verb roots, for example, *oru* ‘insides’ expresses ‘feel, hunger, desire’ as an experiential object verb (cf. §11.5.2.3) and *upu* ‘nose’ expresses ‘be cross’ (...tightening the nose) as a dynamic verb (cf. §4.2.2.2.1).

4.3.2.3.3 Descriptive verbal nouns

The forms *uhuru* ‘heaviness, trouble’ and *ihi* ‘finish’ can be descriptive verbal nouns or inflected stative verbs. Compare *uhuru* as a noun in (4.60) and as a stative verb in (4.61).

- (4.60) ...**uhuru=sekama** *te-pe, koto pa here-a*.
 troubles=P1p get-SR court G/L put-3s
 ‘...he got our troubles and put them to the court.’ T5.23.36

- (4.61) *O wera uhuru-se-r-a=o.*
 Oh child heavy-O1s-PRES-3s=EXC
 ‘Oh, the child is heavy for me!’ T1.15.74

When these word forms occur as verbs in complex predicates with the phasal/valency increasing verb *here* ‘PUT’ (§10.5) they are not affected by ablaut. Instead there is an intervening linking particle *e* (see §2.4.5.2.1). This particle may indicate that in the past these words were nouns, even in this context, and that *e* was, or even is, a verb. However, there is insufficient data to draw a conclusion about this at present.

- (4.62) *Uhuru e here-neka-r-a.*
 heavy LK.P PUT-O3p-PRES-3s
 ‘He made it heavy for them.’

4.3.2.3.4 Mental and expressive verbal nouns

The words *yo* ‘shout, call’, *yakere* ‘smile/laugh’ and *urunu* ‘thought’ can refer to utterances, expressions or mental processes as abstract entities. They occur as head nouns in expandable noun phrases that function as core arguments. *Urunu* ‘thought’ can also be the complement of a postposition. Each of these word forms can also be inflected as a dynamic verb. Apart from *urunu* ‘thought, think’ these forms are affected, like other verbs, by ablaut when they combine with the phasal verb *here* ‘PUT’ (see §2.4.5.1 and §10.5). Compare the use of *urunu* as the noun ‘thought’ (4.63) and as the verb ‘think’ (4.64).

- (4.63) *Urunu=mai=te, “Sa ihi ta-r-a taumo”*
 thought=P1s=PNP time finish END-PRES-3s UNC
o re-pe
 quote PUT-SR
 ‘My thoughts, “Maybe the time is finished...” they said...’ T1.15.41

- (4.64) *...nampa urunu-i.*
 above think-1s
 ‘...I thought up above.’ (He was up in a tree thinking.) T2.32.20

4.3.2.3 Derived verbal nouns

Derived verbal nouns are derivations consisting of a verb root or stem with an object suffix, followed by a nominalization suffix *-apu* (cf. §12.4). They are

common as pre-head nominals (see §5.2.2.2), post-head nominals (§5.2.3.3) and core argument noun phrases, particularly in non-finite complement clauses (§12.5) representing a non-process rather than a process. Example (4.65) has a possessor enclitic and is cross-referenced by the object suffix on the verb.

- (4.65) ...*puhu-apu=sekama*, *warike he-seka-pe...*
 live-NOM=P1p bad PUT-O1s-SR
 ‘...our life, they messed us/it up...’ (lit. ‘They caused bad to us/our life.’
Puhu ‘sit’ means ‘live’ in this context.) T5.23.33

4.3.2.5 Nature nouns

Nature nouns refer to things in the natural environment. Like common nouns they can occur with *pa* the ‘inanimate referent’ type locative postpositions (see §7.3.2 for details). Like animate and proper nouns some of them may have an effect on people, animals or things, that is, they can function as effector and be marked by =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ (see §4.12), although there is no evidence to date that *wanepé* ‘star’ or other names for stars can occur with =*te*. These nouns do not usually function as dependent (possessor) or head (possessee) nouns in possessive nominal constructions (see chapter 6) unless they are used anthropomorphically as in *asi o esame* ‘the moon’s dog’, see Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4: Nature nouns.

<i>asi</i>	‘moon’	<i>wanepé</i>	‘star’
<i>sopohi</i>	‘cloud’	<i>were</i>	‘sun’
<i>sosoa</i>	‘wind’		

The noun *ya* ‘water, river, rain’ can function as a nature noun or inanimate noun (§4.3.2.1).

4.3.2.6 The noun *rame* ‘one/person’

The noun *rame* ‘one/person’ usually has a human referent and can also occur as a relative pronoun ‘who’ (§12.8).¹³ As head of a *rame* noun phrase (see §5.2.4) it can be modified by a demonstrative, pre-head nominal or indefinite specific article but unlike common nouns, not by adjectives or quantifiers. With *rame* an agentive nominal derivation is produced.

¹³ In one rather unclear example in the data *rame* appears to refer to an inanimate referent.

- (4.66) *Epo rame aharu-e.*
 stone one cover-3p
 ‘The stone ones (people) covered it.’ (...the people who gathered stones)
 T2.31.32

4.3.2.7 Animate nouns

4.3.2.7.1 Introduction

Animate nouns denote people or animals. They function as head of an expandable noun phrase and can be dependent nouns marked by the genitive postposition *o* in possessive constructions. The interrogative *me* ‘who’ (§4.14.2) is used of animate nouns. The postpositional constituents that can occur with animate referent nouns are the *ahare* ‘animate locative’ postposition (§7.3.4), the enclitic *=ama* ‘group’ (§5.2.3.4.4 and §5.11.3.2), the enclitic *=rare* ‘and/with’ (§5.11.3.1) and the enclitic *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ which is associated with semantic agency (see §4.12, §5.10 and §13.5). Human (§4.3.2.7.2) and animal (§4.3.2.7.3) nouns are subcategories of animate noun that are distinguished for morphological and semantic reasons.

4.3.2.7.2 Human nouns

Human nouns are nouns other than proper nouns that denote people (Table 4.5). In possessive constructions they can occur with a genitive postposition *o* to indicate a possessor. However, they do not occur as head nouns with a possessor person and number enclitic. In this they contrast with kinship nouns that have possessor enclitics or vocative suffixes to indicate human relationships (cf. §4.3.3.2 and §6.5.3.3).

Table 4.5: Human nouns.

<i>aharopu</i>	‘people’	<i>tamaite</i>	‘man’
<i>hena</i> ¹	‘woman’	<i>wahira</i>	‘old man’
<i>henahina</i>	‘old woman’	<i>werane</i>	‘child’
<i>henawahe</i>	‘girl’	<i>wera</i>	‘baby’

Note:

1 *Hena* can be used as a human noun ‘woman’ or an inflected kinship noun, *hena-ne* ‘his wife’.

Derivations formed by a list-compound of two nouns can represent entities that refer to an overall category of human referents, for example *hena-tamaite* ‘people’ (lit. ‘woman-man’).

- (4.67) ...*hena-tamaite were-seka-pente nekei-e.*
 people see-O1s-LTD:3 be.glad-3p
 ‘...the people saw us and were glad.’ T3.3.9

In the following list-compound police officers are referred to by an idiomatic compound that refers to the *esame* ‘dogs’ associated with police work and *tamaite* ‘man’.

- (4.68) *esam-tamaite* ‘police officer’ (lit. ‘dog man’) T5.23.86

Incorporated-object compounds are used to denote people involved in specific activities. This derivation is based on a combination of a noun and a verb that undergoes de-verbalization as a unit. The final syllable of the verb root is reduplicated.

- (4.69) *weri-ososo* ‘doctor (ulcer binder)’ cf. the verb *oso* ‘bind, fasten’
usu-ototo ‘watchman/woman (pig carer)’ cf. the verb *oto* ‘look after’

- (4.70) ...*weri-oso-so tai s-a-te, i-naru seripi ka-i.*
 ulcer-bind-RDP NEG say-3s-DR 1s-alone go.up come-1s
 ‘...the doctor didn’t say it, I alone got up and came.’ T2.13.13

4.3.2.7.3 Animal nouns

Animal nouns are used to denote living creatures such as animals, birds, fish and so on (Table 4.6). They can have the semantic role of agent and can be the possessor in possessive constructions. Nouns referring to animals that are high on the animacy hierarchy, or closely associated with humans, can be the complement of the postposition *ahare* ‘animate locative’. They can also be cross-referenced on the verb by object suffixes as in (4.71).

- (4.71) ...o, *esame were-neka-i=mo.*
 oh, dogs see-O1p-1s=BM
 ‘...oh, I saw the dogs.’

Table 4.6: Animal nouns.

<i>aine</i>	‘fish’	<i>nakua</i>	‘bandicoot’
<i>aru</i>	‘wallaby’	<i>usu</i>	‘pig’
<i>esame</i>	‘dog’	<i>naere</i>	‘snake, python’

(See also Appendix 3)

Nouns with reduplicated roots are used to refer to insects known for their repetitive movements (4.72) and for onomatopoeic bird names based on the repeated sounds of bird calls (4.73).

- (4.72) *kahuri-kahuri* ‘butterfly’
sana-sana ‘water insect’

- (4.73) *waiko-waiko* ‘great black cockatoo’

4.3.3 Proper nouns

4.3.3.1 Introduction

Proper nouns refer to specific people, animals or spirit beings. They function as heads of noun phrases but do not occur in expanded noun phrases with demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers or the indefinite specific article. Like animate nouns (§4.3.2.7) they can occur with the *ahare* ‘animate locative’ postposition and the enclitics =*ama* ‘group’, =*rare* ‘and/with’ and =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’. They select the interrogative *me* ‘who’ and can function as vocatives. The two subclasses are bound kinship nouns (§4.3.3.2) and personal names (§4.3.3.3). Details of the noun phrases in which they occur are described in §5.3 and §5.4.

4.3.3.2 Kinship nouns

Kinship nouns, like other proper nouns, are distinguished from common nouns by their morphosyntax and the fact that there are specific referents for each term. They are used in reference or address and are based on birth, marriage and initiation relationships (cf. Priestley 2013a). They are bound nouns that must be inflected by possessor person-number suffixes, as in (4.74) (cf. §6.5.3.3), a vocative address suffix or a combination of the two, as in (4.75) (cf. §4.3.3.4 below).

- (4.74) (Io) ***nonu-ma*** *ka-r-a*.
 GEN1s younger.sibling-P1s come-PRES-3s
 ‘My younger sibling is coming.’

- (4.75) a. *Ahi-ya!* b. *Ahi-ma-ya!*
 mother-ADD mother-P1s-ADD
 ‘Mother!’ ‘My mother!’

Kinship nouns can also combine with the reflexive/emphatic suffix *-morou* ‘self’ (cf. §3.6.2.6, §5.3, §5.7). In a classificatory kinship system in which ego has many *pa-* ‘fathers’ and *ahe-* ‘mothers’ this suffix indicates a restricted close relationship with a biological father or mother.

- (4.76) ...*pa-morou-ne...*
 father-self-P3s
 ‘...his true (lit. ‘self’) father’... D9.22.3

Kinship nouns with person-number suffixes can also occur with the *o* ‘genitive’ postposition (cf. §6.5.3.3) as in (4.77).

- (4.77) ***Moto-ma*** ***o*** *weti eno pa men-a..*
 brother-P1s GEN house over.there G/L stay-3s
 ‘My brother’s house is over there.’

Factors such as age, birth order, sex, and generation affect the classification of kin in Koromu society. Tables 4.7 to 4.10 below distinguish consanguineal and affinal kinship nouns by generation. As in common practice, English abbreviations are used for some English glosses, for example F ‘father’, M ‘mother’, D ‘daughter’, S ‘son’, B ‘brother’, S ‘sister’, H ‘husband’ and W ‘wife’. However, it must be noted that there are no exact equivalents of English kin terms like ‘brother’ in Koromu. Instead there are distinctions between categories not represented in English, such as older and younger siblings. For explications of meaning for some of these see ‘What’s in a name?’ (Priestley 2009).

In addition, some kinship nouns can be used to refer to both consanguineal and affinal kin as indicated by an asterisk in the tables. For example, *ai-* ‘elder’ is used for an older same sex sibling and also for that sibling’s husband or wife. Similarly, *nonu-* ‘younger sibling’ can be used for younger siblings or cousins, or for younger sibling’s spouses. The affinal terms *e-* ‘husband’ and *hena* ‘wife’ are also used to refer to consanguineal kin, specifically *e-* for great grandfather (and possibly great-grandson) for a woman, and *hena-* for great grandmother or great-granddaughter for a man. In the generation above ego, both consanguineal and affinal classificatory kin can be referred to as *pa-* ‘father’, and *ahe-* ‘mother’. Further distinctions can be made using slightly different forms. Thus *pa-ima-ma*, roughly ‘my young father’ and *ah-ima-ma*, roughly ‘my young mother’ are used to refer to *pa-* ‘fathers’ and *ahi-* ‘mothers’ who are younger than ego’s birth father and birth mother.

Table 4.7: Consanguineal kinship nouns in the generations above ego.

Kin Term	Sex of ego	Sex of referent	English gloss
<i>pa</i> -*	male/female	male	F, FeB, FeBS, FeZH, MeZH, WF (FBDH, DH) ¹
<i>ahe</i> -*	male/female	female	M, MZ, FZ, FBW, FeBD
<i>yei</i> -	male/female	male	MB, ZS, MeZeDH
<i>asine</i> -	male/female	male/female	firstborn sibling of mother
<i>asi</i> -	male/female	male/female	grandparent, MeZ, grandchild
<i>asuahi</i> -	male/female	male	grandfather, FFBS
<i>asinai</i> -*	male/female	female	grandmother, FFBW, SW
<i>asiyapae</i>	male/female	male/female	general more distant ancestors
<i>yapa</i>	male	male	great grandfather, FFeB
<i>hena</i> -*	male	female	great grandmother (cf <i>hena</i> - ‘wife’)
<i>e</i> -*	female	male	great grandfather (cf <i>e</i> - ‘husband’)
<i>potu</i> -	female	female	great grandmother

Note:

1 The people indicated in brackets in this example are not necessarily older than ego.

Table 4.8: Consanguineal kin in the generations below ego.

Kin Term	Sex of ego	Sex of referent	English gloss
<i>ori</i> -	male/female	male/female	son or daughter of one’s <i>naki</i> - ‘elder sister’ etc (see Table 4.9)
<i>wera</i> - ¹	male/female	male/female	ego’s child and nieces or nephew’s except <i>ori</i> -
<i>asi</i> -	male/female	male/female	grandchildren
<i>hena</i> -	male/female	female	great granddaughter (<i>hena</i> - ‘wife’)
<i>yapa</i> -	male/female	male	great grandson

Note:

1 *Wera* is also a general stage-of-life term for ‘baby’ and ‘children’. *Werane* ‘small’ and *wera* ‘a few/little’ are similar in form and meaning.

The word *ohu*- ‘agemate’ is semantically neither consanguineal nor affinal kinship. However, this word is inflected as a kinship noun, presumably because of the importance of the relationship. People often use kinship nouns as terms of address or reference to highlight culturally significant aspects of relationships, to express respect and other factors and to avoid the use of personal names (Priestley 2013a).

Table 4.9: Consanguineal kin in the same generation as ego.

Kin Term	Sex of ego	Sex of referent	English gloss
<i>ai</i> -*	male/female	same sex as ego	firstborn sibling and spouse firstborn older cousins and spouses
<i>moto</i> -	female	male	eB or FBS
<i>naki</i> -*	male	female	eZ/FBD/MZD, wife of an older same sex sibling
<i>nonu</i> -	male/female	same sex	younger sibling/FBS/MZS
<i>ainaki</i> -	male	female	firstborn sibling
<i>aimoto</i> -	female	male	firstborn sibling
<i>wa</i> -*	male/female	male/female	MBS, MBSW, FZS, FZSW, MBD, MBDH
<i>wanaki</i> -	male	female	older MBD
<i>wamoto</i> -	female	male	older MBS

Table 4.10: Affinal kinship nouns.

Kin term	Sex of ego	Sex of referent	English gloss
<i>e</i> -	female	male	husband
<i>hena</i> -	male	female	wife
<i>meni</i> -	female	male	brother's wife
<i>yame</i> -/ <i>ya</i> -	male	M/F	brother/sister-in-law
	female	male	older sister's husband
<i>tane</i> -	male	M/F	wife's parents
	female	male	younger sister's husband
<i>piti</i> -	female	M/F	husband's parents

4.3.3.3 Personal names

Personal names are used for people and for animals closely associated with people. They are not marked by a person-number suffix or enclitic unless they occur with both the first person singular possessor suffix and the affectionate address suffix, as in *Arikao-mai-e* [Arikao-P1s-AFF] ‘my dear Arikao’ (see §4.3.3.4 below and §6.5.3.3). Specific personal names (§4.3.3.3.1) and special titles (§4.3.3.3.2) are distinguished for semantic reasons.

4.3.3.3.1 Specific personal names

People can have more than one specific personal name, represented here in italics. Male names include *Kurunu*, *Awai* and *Si* and examples of female names are *Koku*, *Ahe* and *Yonime*. Some names are used for both males and females, for example, *Kerapesi*. Names for dogs include *Sinti* and *Smoki*.

Names can be given soon after birth or later in life. They can be based on common nouns, other people's names, or the names of spirits of ancestors or special places. The latter are often said to be revealed in dreams. Names can also be based on personal characteristics or shared experiences and people can give their own or their child's name to a baby to establish a lasting *namu* 'namesake' relationship with that child (see §4.3.3.3.2 below). For example, *Ahe* named a baby after her daughter *Kitume* and provided extra care for her both before and after her parents died. Since *Ahe* herself died her daughter has cared for her namesake and namesake's children and they have helped her in return (Priestley 1975–1976, 2009).

Specific personal names based on common nouns include *Airehena* 'kunai grass woman', *Nahehena* 'mami (yam) woman' and the male name *Ou* 'yam'. An example of a personal name based on a personal characteristic is *Tamase*, from *tama* 'mouth', a name used because the baby's lower lip protruded. The name *Wapi-rane* incorporates the noun *wapi* 'arm, hand' and possibly *rame* 'one/person'. It was given to a woman after she broke her arm and it set badly.

Schoolchildren began to use their father's names as family names after the primary school opened in 1980. Some older people have adopted this system as well. Since the late 1980s many people have adopted English names. This appears to be a result of influence by settlers from the Sepik area.

Affinal and initiation relationships entail some degree of respect and, in some cases, avoidance behaviour so instead of specific personal names kinship nouns (§4.3.3.2), loanwords, teknonyms and nicknames are used (cf. Priestley 2013a and 2009).

Loanword names

Loanword names, such as *Ou* ('Yam') and *Nahehena* ('Mami woman), are based on common nouns. When cultural norms make it necessary to avoid using a name it is also necessary to avoid using the common noun to speak about the inanimate referent. The name and the common noun can be replaced by borrowing a common noun from a neighbouring language. For example, the Kou (Sinsauru) word *tepere* has been used in Koromu in the past instead of *nahe* 'mami (yam type)'. Kou *yanu* has been used instead of *ou* 'yam'. In his text about names, Sairam Tomas suggests that this is one way that new words have come into the language as more and more people use them and children do not realize that they are borrowed from another language (Sairam Tomas 2004: Text 7.4).

Teknonyms

Teknonyms (from the Greek word *teknon* ‘child’) such as *Eni pa-ne* ‘Eni(’s) father’, refer to a parent by referring to the eldest child, or sometimes to a child that is present at the time of speaking (Priestley 2009). Teknonyms consist of both a personal name and a kinship noun and are distinct from descriptive possessive noun phrases (cf. §6.5.3.2) because the genitive suffix is omitted from the initial noun. By extension a man can also be referred to as his dog’s father as in *Sinti pa-nema* [Sinti father-P3s] ‘Sinti’s father’.

Teknonyms function as specific personal names. They can be substituted for a name that is ‘taboo’ to a speaker because of the relationship between the participants, or for a kinship noun that is potentially ambiguous because it could refer to several different people (4.78).

- (4.78) **Makani pa-ne** *yo-r-i=mo*.
 Makani father-P3s call-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘I called Makani(’s) father.’ T2.32.39

Although teknonyms have long been associated with Austronesian languages (e.g. Geertz and Geertz 1975), they are also found in non-Austronesian languages, for example, Anamuxra (Ingram 2001: 68) and Barupu (Corris 2008: 98).

Reciprocal nicknames

Reciprocal nicknames are based on shared experiences such as sharing special food in childhood (Priestley 2013a). These derivations can also be used as a specific form of address or reference when the speaker wants to either emphasize the relationship or avoid other naming practices that are not culturally appropriate in certain relationships.

- (4.79) **Sako-n-a-i** [sako eat-REC-2s] lit. ‘You ate *sako* (a black bird) with me.’ T2.31.3
Kame-n-a-i [liver eat-REC-2s] lit. ‘You ate (pig’s) liver with me.’ T2.31.12
Ahare-n-a-i [ear eat-REC-2s] lit. ‘You ate (pig’s) ear with me.’ T2.31.25

4.3.3.3.2 Special titles

Special titles are used to refer to people in relationships that are not based on kinship. Examples are *awe* ‘child’, *herari* ‘initiation leader, initiate of older generation’, *tamaite arene* ‘big man’, and reciprocal terms such as *namu* ‘namesake’ (see above) and *namuka* ‘female agemate (to female ego)’ (Priestley 2013a). All these terms can be used to address or refer to a specific individual.

Other people can recognize the referent from their knowledge of relationships in the community.

4.3.3.4 Proper nouns in vocative constructions

Proper nouns such as kin terms, names, loanword names, teknonyms, reciprocal nicknames and special titles can all occur in vocative constructions. These are used to address, exhort or capture the attention of another person, or an animal such as a dog. The noun *awe* or *auya*, ‘my child/little one (younger person in ego’s care)’ appears to function solely in a vocative context.

Vocative constructions can occur in isolation when the speaker is calling someone. They can also be followed by a pause and further speech. Although they are referential, they are not argument noun phrases or predicates of nonverbal clauses. There is no cross-referencing on the verb and the nouns do not occur with qualifiers, postpositions, *uo* ‘link’ or *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’.

In a vocative context a noun is either unmarked or followed by the address suffix *-ya*, the affectionate address suffix *-e* or the exclamatory enclitic *=o*. Intonation on the final syllable can be falling or rising. In (4.80) the unmarked specific personal name has rising intonation on the final syllable.

- (4.80) **Seia**, *were arene we-r-a=mo*.
 Seia, sun big act-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘“Seia, the sun is very hot.”’ T6.8.15

The address suffix *-ya* is used to attract attention or to express irritation or humour. It can follow a kinship noun or a person-number suffix, as in *moto-ya!* [brother-AD] ‘brother!’ and *moto-ma-ya* [brother-P1s-AD] ‘my brother’ (female speaker to older male sibling).

The affectionate address suffix *-e* can be affixed to the noun as in *moto-e* ‘dear brother’. It can also follow the first person singular person-number suffix as in *moto-mai-e!* [brother-P1s AFF] ‘my dear brother’.

The exclamatory enclitic *=o* is used to exclaim at, exhort, or call someone, as in (4.81) below (cf. §3.4.4). The enclitic in this example has rising intonation.

- (4.81) **“Ya-mei=o!** *Peraru-seka-r-a=o!*”
 brother.in.law-P1s=EXC hunger-O1s-PRES-3s=EXC
 ‘My brother-in-law (b.-in-law)! We are hungry!’ T2.15.60

Titles can be used as vocatives. In the examples below *namu* ‘namesake’ occurs with the address suffix to attract someone’s attention (4.82), with the affection

suffix to warn of possible danger (4.83), and in the unmarked form when the speaker is close to hand and has been the addressee earlier in the discourse (4.84). In the recording, there is rising intonation on the final syllable of the first two examples, while in the final example the intonation simply falls from high on the first syllable to low intonation on the second.

- (4.82) *“Namu-ya, keti pate yara-ho.”*
 namesake-ADD mountain MANN go-FINC1p
 ‘Namesake, let’s go by the mountains.’ T2.15.13
- (4.83) *“Namu-e! Ya, ya wererin pa yare-pe...”*
 namesake-AFF water water shallow G/L go-SR
 ‘Namesake! The water, go in the shallow water...’ T2.15.33
- (4.84) *“Namu, ehi pate yara-ho=mo.” u-i.*
 namesake leg MANN go-FINC1p=BM quote-1s
 ‘“Namesake, let’s go on foot,” I said.’ T2.15.50

4.3.4 Placenames

Placenames are unique names of settlements, villages, land, gardens, rivers and distant towns. They can occur as required arguments of motion or posture-taking verbs (cf. §3.6.5 and §5.5). There are three types of placename: local placenames that occur with *sa* type postpositions (cf. §4.3.4.1), river/distant placenames that occur with *pa* type postpositions (or no postposition) (§4.3.4.2) and placenames with an incorporated *pa* or *sa* type postposition (cf. §4.3.4.3).

4.3.4.1 Local placenames and *sa* type postpositions

Placenames, such as *Imari*, *Kesawai*, *Korike*, *Mauskare*, *Sisari*, *Sotoko* and *Wetake* refer to settlements or land within the Koromu locality or nearby language areas. These placenames can be the complement of a postposition *sa* ‘near: goal/locative’ or *sate* ‘near: source/locative’, as in (4.85).

- (4.85) *...Sotoko sa eme a te-pe n-e-te,...*
 Sotoko G/L land come get-LTD:3p
 ‘...they came and got land at Sotoko...’ T5.23.4

Sa ‘near:goal/locative’ rarely occurs as a separate postposition with river names but it can occur in the expression *Ya Kohu sa* [river Kohu N:G/L] ‘at the River Kohu’. Here I propose that *Ya Kohu* is a placename.

4.3.4.2 River/distant placenames and *pa* postpositions

Placenames of local rivers and distant places can occur with the inanimate referent postpositions *pa* ‘goal/locative’ and *pate* ‘source/inessive’. *Enae*, the local name for the Ramu River, and *Pakaia*, the river near *Kesawai 2*, are examples of river names while *Hemsisi*, *Kaiapit*, *Mandan/Madan (Madang)*, *Sosi/Sausi*, *Wata-raisi*, *Lae* and *Kainantu* are examples of distant placenames.

In the first clause of (4.86) the distant placename is an argument of a motion verb. In the second clause, it is the complement of the postposition *pate* ‘source/inessive’.

- (4.86) *Sosi yare-pe Sosi pate were-i=mo.*
 Sosi go-SR Sosi S/L see-1s=BM
 ‘I went to Sosi and in Sosi I looked.’ T6.5.34

Example (4.87) shows that with a distant placename the speaker can use or omit the postposition *pa* ‘goal/locative’.

- (4.87) “*Mokate Matan pa ya n-a=mo.*
 Mokate Madang G/L go STAY¹⁴-3s=BM
Matan ya n-a=mo,” *u-a.*
 Madang go STAY-3s=BM quote-3s.
 ‘“Mokate has gone to Madang. He has gone to Madang,” he said.’ T2.15.11

4.3.4.3 Placenames with incorporated postpositions

Some placenames of rivers, settlements and gardens always include *pa* ‘goal/locative’ or *sa* ‘near:goal/locative’. In these placenames stress follows the normal word stress pattern and occurs on the penultimate syllable (§2.3.2), in this case the syllable before incorporated *pa* or *sa*. Although river names rarely occur as complement of the postposition *sa*, *sa* is incorporated in many river names, for example, *Meansa*, *Peretepesa* and *Sahosa* and the names of some villages, for

14 Capitals are used for the glosses of phasal verbs.

example *Weisa*. Many placenames incorporate *pa*, for example *Eiorapa*, *Autopa*, *Karepupa*, *Saspikipa*, *Mantapa* and *Otopa*. These placenames are often based on common nouns that indicate a feature of the local environment, for example, *Waimeripa* from *waimeri* grass and *Kesaoyapa* from *kesao* ‘crayfish’ with *ya* ‘water’. The latter combines a pre-nominal modifier and a head noun with the postposition *pa* (see §5.2.2.2). Some placenames in neighbouring languages also include *pa*, for example *Saipā*, *Keteupa*, *Koropa*. Placenames with incorporated postpositions never occur with a separate postposition, for example, the locative goal object in (4.88).

- (4.88) ...*ea* **Meansa** *yar-ia*.
 yesterday Meansa go-1p
 ‘Yesterday we went to the Meansa.’ T1.2a.1

When a placename includes *pa* or *sa*, the postpositions *pate* ‘source/locative’ (see §7.3.2.3) or *sate* ‘near:source’ (see §7.3.3.3) are formed by the simple addition of *-te*. Example (4.89) has a placename with incorporated *sa* ‘near:goal/locative’, a placename with incorporated *sate* ‘near:source’ and a placename with a separate postposition.

- (4.89) ...*nene* *n-a=mo* *uo*, **Peretepesa** *mi-pe*
 3p STAY-3s=BM GRD Peretepesa move.down-SR
u *pate* **Kuaisa** *are* *ta-pe* **Kuaisate**,
 there S/L Kuaisa arrive END-SR Kuaisate/Kuai-N:S
si **Mauskare** *sa* *weti* *pa* *mi-e*.
 then Mauskare N:G/L house G/L move.down-3p
 ‘...they, went down to Peretepesa and from there they arrived at Kuaisa
 and from Kuaisa then they went down to Mauskare, to the houses.’
 T3.3b.49

4.3.5 Temporal nouns

4.3.5.1 Introduction

Temporal nouns are a small class of words that can function as temporal adverbs (cf. §4.7.2). They also occur as complements of postpositions (cf. §7.3.2.2) and complements of quasi-copular clauses (cf. §3.6.2.8.2).

4.3.5.2 General temporal nouns

The term general temporal noun (cf. §5.6) is used to refer to nouns such as *sa* ‘time’ (cf. §4.3.2.1), *pi* ‘time (frequency)’, *oto* ‘day’, *asi* ‘month’ and *atotuhunpa* ‘sometimes’.

4.3.5.3 Part-of-day nouns

Part-of-day nouns refer to specific times of day based on the position or absence of the sun.

<i>somoto</i>	‘morning: sunrise until about 11 am when the sun is ascending’
<i>wesekere</i>	‘middle of the day: about 11 am until 2 pm when the sun is high’
<i>arisapu</i>	‘afternoon: about 2 pm until sunset as the sun is descending’
<i>somoru</i>	‘night, the time when the sun is not visible’

Like other nouns *somoto* ‘morning’, *somoru* ‘night’ and *wesekere* ‘midday’ can be the complement of a postposition. When *somoto* ‘morning’ occurs with *pate* ‘source, inessive’ an early time is indicated.

- (4.90) **Somoto** *pate* *Kuaisa top-i*.
 morning S/L *Kuaisa* climb-1s
 ‘(Early) in the morning I climbed *Kuaisa*.’ T6.5.1

A part-of-day term can also be a complement in a quasi-copular clause (§3.6.2.8.2).

- (4.91) ...**arisapu** *horu-pu-r-a* *uo*,...
 afternoon become-HAB-PRES-3s GRD
 ‘...when it becomes afternoon, ...’ T1.33.8

4.4 Qualifiers

Adjectives (§4.4.1), quantifiers (§4.4.2) and the indefinite specific article (§4.4.3) are all qualifiers that occur in post-nominal position (see also §5.2.3) and can also be the sole constituent in a noun phrase. Adjectives and quantifiers can occur in headless noun phrases when the referent of the head noun is recoverable from the cultural, real-world or discourse context (cf. §5.2.5), and the indefinite specific article functions as the indefinite specific pronoun in some contexts (§5.8.2).

4.4.1 Adjectives

4.4.1.1 Introduction

Simple (non-derived) and derived adjectives function as post-nominal modifiers (§5.2.3) and can also be the sole constituent in headless noun phrases (cf. §5.2.5). They can also function as attributive predicates (§3.7.1.3), as complements in quasi-copular clauses (§3.6.2.8.2), and as the head of an adjective phrase (§5.2.3.2) qualified by an intensifier (cf. §4.7.7). These possibilities are exemplified in (4.92) (a) post-nominal modifier, (b) sole constituent in a headless noun phrase, (c) attributive predicate, (d) complement in a quasi-copular clause, and (e) head of an adjective phrase.

(4.92)	<i>Weti arene pa</i>	[house big G/L go-PRES-3s]	‘He went to the big house.’
	<i>ya-r-a.</i>		
	<i>Arene ka-r-a.</i>	[big come-PRES-3s]	‘The big (one) is coming.’
	<i>Maruru arene.</i>	[lizard (type.of) big]	‘ <i>Maruru</i> are big.’
	<i>Arene horu-r-a.</i>	[big become-PRES-3s]	‘It’s becoming big.’
	<i>Mo arene</i>	[it big really]	‘It’s really big’ (cf.
	<i>herekani.</i>		§5.2.3.2).

Greater scalar proportion can also be indicated by lengthening the first stressed syllable of dimension adjectives.

(4.93)	<i>...ya areene mi-pe...</i>
	rain big move.down-SR
	‘...a big rain fell...’ T5.24.14

4.4.1.2 Simple adjectives

Simple adjectives describe dimension, age, value, visual properties (including colour), physical properties, human propensity, position and similarity (Table 4.11).¹⁵ Simple adjectives occur immediately following a noun (see §5.2.3.1) or in the predicate of an attributive clause (see §3.7.1.3). In (4.94) *nokono* ‘good’ is an adjective. The noun *nokono* ‘goodness’ has the same form (see §4.3.2.1).

¹⁵ Dixon proposes four core semantic types of adjectives: dimension, age, value, colour (2004: 4). Some of Dixon’s peripheral types are also adjectives in Koromu.

Table 4.11: Simple adjectives.

Dimension			
<i>arene</i>	'big'	<i>pitakahune</i>	'tiny'
<i>hane</i>	'short'	<i>werakahune</i>	'very small'
<i>orohoi</i>	'long, high, tall'	<i>werane</i>	'small'
Age			
<i>amoko</i>	'fresh, alive'	<i>kotune</i>	'old (inanimate)'
<i>apmahau</i> ¹	'new'		
Value			
<i>nokono</i>	'good' [n. goodness]		
Visual (including colour)			
<i>kaihe</i> ²	'white' [n. white cockatoo]	<i>urunau</i> ³	'dark' (i.e. green)
<i>parere</i>	'patterned' [n. thunder]	<i>yahumo</i>	'green' [n. green parrot]
<i>tesuru</i>	'mid brown'	<i>yahumu</i>	'colourless, also pure, flavourless'
<i>umti</i>	'dark brown'	<i>yauhi</i>	'tan' (colour of dog)
Physical properties			
<i>huru</i>	'dirty (water)'	<i>wai</i>	'strong, hard'
<i>kohunu</i>	'deep (water)'	<i>warimi</i>	'round'
Human propensity			
<i>ihiri</i>	'wild'	<i>nekei</i>	'happy'
Position			
<i>amkoru</i>	'middle'	<i>aiake</i>	'far, distant'
Similarity			
<i>tomo</i>	'other'		

Notes:

- ¹ *Apmahau* 'new' may be a temporal derived adjective based on *apu* 'now, today' (see §4.4.1.3.2).
- ² 'White cockatoo' is *kaihe* or *sahea kaihe*. This suggests that the noun *kaihe* derives from the adjective.
- ³ *Urunau* 'dark (green)' may be a derived adjective with *au* (cf. *urunau* 'washed' in Table 4.12).

(4.94) ...wene **nokono** aire-r-a=mo.
 food good come.up-PRES-3s=BM
 '...good food is coming up (growing).' T5.23

Visual properties, things we can see (cf. Wierzbicka 1996, 2004), include hue, brightness, saturation, luster and pronouncedness (cf. van Brakel 1993: 113, Beck 1972). There is no term for 'colour' in Koromu and speakers commonly refer to the

visual property *parere* ‘patterned’ when describing animals, net bags and so on. Some adjectives in Table 4.11, such as *tesuru*, *umti* and *urunau*, are glossed with English colour terms for convenience. Other characteristics are roughly glossed as ‘dark’, a salient part of the meaning.

These visual properties, for example, *parere* ‘patterned’, do not conform to the basic colour terms proposed by Berlin and Kay (1969). Berlin and Kay’s proposal assumes that all languages have basic colour terms and that there is a strict sequence of acquisition for them. However, the Koromu words listed here come from different stages of Berlin and Kay’s strict sequence of acquisition. Note also that the term that is closest in meaning to English ‘red’ is a derived adjective and that in some cases adjective phrases are used to describe visual properties (see below in §4.4.1.3.1).

The adjectives *herekani* ‘real’ and *sekau* ‘extremely’ occur in noun phrases such as *weini herekani* ‘real name’ and *wahira sekau* ‘extremely old man’. They also function as intensifiers (see §4.7.7).

4.4.1.3 Derived adjectives

4.4.1.3.1 Adjectives derived from verbs or nouns with the suffix *-au*

Derived adjectives with the suffix *-au* refer to properties, values and taste or smell sensations. Adjectives derived from verb roots are listed in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Derived adjectives with *-au* based on verbs.

Properties			
Adjective		Verb	
<i>irinau</i>	‘clean’	<i>irine/iririne</i>	v. ‘clean’
<i>putunau</i>	‘flaring, exploding’	<i>putune</i>	v. ‘flare, explode’
<i>tarukau</i>	‘clear (water)’	<i>taruko</i>	v. ‘be clear’
<i>urunau</i>	‘washed’	<i>urune</i>	v. ‘wash’
<i>wiau</i>	‘cooked’	<i>we</i>	v. ‘cook, burn, act’
Values			
Adjective		Verb	
<i>tenanekau</i>	‘reserved, odd’	<i>tenaneke</i>	v. ‘be reserved, odd’
<i>tokotokoau</i>	‘strange, crazy’	<i>tokotoko</i>	v. ‘be strange’
<i>warikau</i>	‘bad’	<i>warike</i>	v. ‘be/feel bad’
Sensations			
Adjective		Verb	
<i>oau</i>	‘nauseating, stale’	<i>o</i>	v. ‘be nauseated’
<i>perereau</i>	‘sour’	<i>perere</i>	v. ‘disagree’
<i>tikiriau</i>	‘smelly’	<i>tikiri</i>	v. ‘smell, sniff’

Some taste sensation adjectives are based on roots that can be verbs or nouns, Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Derived adjectives with *-au* based on verbs and/or nouns.

Adjective		Verb/noun		
<i>etamau</i>	'good, sweet'	<i>etamu</i>	v. 'be sweet/good'	n. 'body fat'
<i>weiau</i>	'bitter'	<i>wei</i>	v. 'fight'	n. 'fight'
<i>tororoau</i>	'cold'	<i>tororo</i>	v. 'be cold'	

In addition, the visual property *etanau* 'white' ends in the suffix *-au*. This form can also be used for the noun 'white cockatoo'. Final /au/ is lost when *etane* 'the white one' is the sole constituent of a noun phrase.

4.4.1.3.2 Adjectives derived from temporals with the suffix *-hau*

Temporal derived adjectives consisting of a temporal or temporal noun and the suffix *-hau* describe age (Table 4.14). Of these, four syllable *surumapa* 'before, long ago', loses its fourth syllable *-pa*, which presumably derives from the postposition *pa* 'goal/locative' (cf. §4.8 and §7.3.2.2), before *-hau* is affixed to form *surumahau* 'old'.

Table 4.14: Derived adjectives with *-hau* based on temporals.

Adjectives		Temporal nouns	
<i>arisapuhau</i>	'(of the) afternoon'	<i>arisapu</i>	'afternoon'
<i>somotohau</i>	'(of the) morning'	<i>somoto</i>	'morning'
Temporals			
<i>apuhau</i>	'recent'	<i>apu</i>	'now'
<i>eahau</i>	'(of) yesterday'	<i>ea</i>	'yesterday'
<i>etohau</i>	'(for) tomorrow'	<i>eto</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>surumahau</i>	'old'	<i>surumapa</i>	'before, long ago'

The simple adjective *amoko* 'fresh, alive' can also occur with the suffix *-hau* in *amoko-hau* 'newly made' which suggests that the adjectivizer itself has temporal meaning.

Examples (4.95) and (4.96) show a temporal derived adjective as an attributive predicate (see §3.7.1.3) and a pre-nominal modifier (see §5.2.2), respectively.

- (4.95) *Wene nare ea-hau.*
 food cold yesterday-TADJ
 ‘The cold food is yesterdays (leftovers).’ D9.6.7
- (4.96) *Ea-hau hekeni pa yare-pe usu ato*
 yesterday-TADJ fire G/L go-SR pig one
sopo te ka-r-i=mo.
 kill get come-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘I went to yesterday’s fire, killed a pig and brought (lit. ‘got come’) it.’
 D9.5.5

4.4.1.3.3 Adjectives derived from nouns with the suffixes *-aiau* and *-re*

Derived adjectives consisting of a noun and the suffix *-aiau* describe colour. The suffix has the same form as the resemblative (RSM) postposition ‘like’ as in (4.97).

- (4.97) *nu-aiau* ‘green, turquoise blue’ from *nu* ‘blue flower seed (type)’
petai-au ‘red’ cf. *petai* ‘blood’ (/ai/ of *aiau* ‘resemblative’ and haplology)

In turn, inanimate nouns representing colours, such as *petaiiau* ‘redness’ (4.98), can be derived from these adjectives through zero derivation.

- (4.98) *Kerera naki-ne uo,*
 Eclectus.parrot sister-P3s GRD
petaiiau nuko ya n-a.
 redness envelop go STAY-3s
 ‘Sister of the Eclectus Parrot, redness envelops her (her feathers are red).’
 YTN7.3

Adjective phrases take the postposition *aiau* ‘resemblative’ (4.99). Examples (a) and (b) draw comparisons to parts of specific entities and thus include an inanimate noun with the partitive/possessive suffix *-ne* ‘third singular’ (see §4.3.2.1 and §6.4).

- (4.99) a. *kururu ami-ne aiau*
kururu eye-P3s RSM
 ‘like the eye/spot of a *kururu* butterfly’ – ‘yellow’

- b. *kepe ami-ne aiau*
kepe eye-P3s RSM
 ‘like the purple eye/spot of a *kepe* leaf’ – ‘purple’
- c. *mati po aiau*
 leaf *po* RSM]
 ‘like a *po* leaf’ – ‘light green’

Derived adjectives with the suffix *-re* include *henare* ‘female’, based on *hena* ‘woman’, and *tamaitere* ‘male’, based on *tamaite* ‘man’.

4.4.1.4 Partial reduplication: Intensity and adjectives derived from verbs with *-au*

Partial reduplication of an adjective is one way of indicating a greater intensity of the quality described (cf. §2.4.6, §4.7.7) as in (4.100).

- (4.100) *Enahu tamaite hitinau ar-arene.*
 Highlands man strong INTS-big
 ‘The Highlands man is strong and very big.’ D9.42.11

Both simple and derived adjectives can be intensified using partial reduplication. Examples of simple adjectives with partial reduplication include *noko-nokono* ‘very good’, *oro-rohoi* ‘very long’, *ha-hane* ‘very short’. Derived adjectives with partial reduplication include *eta-etamau* ‘very good’ and *wa-warikau* ‘very bad’.

Partial reduplication of some verb roots followed by the suffix *-au* (§4.4.1.3.1) produces adjectives that expresses intense qualities as indicated in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Derived adjectives with *-au* in reduplicated forms.

Adjective		Verb	
<i>heriherinau</i>	‘shiny’	<i>herine</i>	v. ‘shine’
<i>ororoau</i>	‘bright’	<i>oro</i>	v. ‘pierce’
<i>tokotokoau</i>	‘crazy’	<i>tokotokora</i>	v. ‘be crazy’

4.4.1.5 The comparative suffix *-ma*

Adjectives can occur with the comparative suffix *-ma*. This suffix indicates the degree to which the head of the noun phrase has the quality expressed by the adjective, in comparison to other entities of the same type.

- (4.101) *Usu arene-ma o ehi warike-r-a.*
 pig big-COMP GEN leg be.bad-PRES-3s
 ‘The bigger pig’s leg is bad.’

4.4.2 Quantifiers

4.4.2.1 Introduction

Quantifiers indicate the number of referents represented by a noun phrase. Nouns themselves only express general number. Thus, when they are not modified by a quantifier, they may refer to one or more items unless more specific information on number is provided by a quantifier or, in a verbal clause, by a subject or object suffix that cross-references the nominal argument. Quantifiers follow the noun or, in an expanded noun phrase, an adjective. There are three types: general quantifiers, numerals and the enclitic =*ama* ‘group’.

4.4.2.2 General quantifiers

General, indeterminate quantifiers describe quantities in general terms.

<i>asao/asa/atsao</i>	‘some’, also ‘part’ in <i>Ami mete asao</i> [eye body part] ‘The eyes are part of the body.’
<i>nupu</i>	‘many, much, all’
<i>weraí</i>	‘a few, a little’, also ‘a short time’

Some general quantifiers are restricted and occur only with certain nouns.

<i>kiri</i>	‘many’ occurs with <i>weraí</i> ‘child’
<i>-saine/-seine</i>	‘many/all’ with <i>hena</i> ‘woman’, <i>tamaite</i> ‘man’, <i>na</i> ‘thing’, <i>asi</i> ‘moon’

To express lesser or greater quantities the quantifiers can be expressed in shorter or longer forms. Thus, *weraí* ‘a little, a few’ can be reduced to *rai* to indicate ‘very few’. On the other hand, reduplication is a productive means of expressing greater quantity, with *nupu* ‘many’ (e.g. *nupu-nupu* [INTS-many] ‘very many’). Reduplication also occurs with *kiri* as *kiri-kiri* [INTS-many] ‘very many’ (of children) and *sinti* ‘set/layer’ as *sinti-sinti* ‘layers and layers’.

Greater quantity can also be expressed by lengthening the first (stressed) syllable of *nupu* ‘many’ as in (4.102). This can be compared with greater scalar proportion expressed by lengthening the first stressed syllable in dimension adjectives (see §4.4.1.1).

- (4.102) *Usu nuupu mene-pe...*
 pig many.many be/stay-SR
 ‘There were many pigs...’ T6.3.6

A less common way of describing greater quantity is by reduplication with specific nouns, for example *asi-asi* ‘many months’ (T6.3.12).

4.4.2.3 Numerals

Numerals express exact number. Like general indeterminate quantifiers they can modify nouns. They can also be the head of a numeral phrase, or a modifier in a temporal frequency noun phrase (see §5.6). Three numerals form the basic counting system.

<i>ateri</i>	‘one’
<i>aere</i>	‘two’
<i>ii</i>	‘three’

Ateri is also used to express the concept ‘same’ in *u na ateri* ‘that same thing’.

- (4.103) *U na ateri u sei sau-r-a.*
 that thing one/same that ORNT say-PRES-3s
 ‘She said that same thing for that reason.’ CS9.9

Both simple numerals and general quantifiers can function as quantifier verbs with verbal inflections (§4.2.14) and numerals can also have a modifying role, representing a specific number of events, in complex quantifier constructions discussed in §10.8.4.

Quantities above *ii* ‘three’ can be expressed by headless numeral phrases for small quantities, a body tally system for higher quantities that are multiples of five and a reference to cultural artifacts for very high quantities.

Headless numeral noun phrases are composed of two or more numerals modified by the indefinite specific article *ato* ‘a, one’ (cf. §5.2.5.2.2). Thus, the set phrase for ‘four’ consists of the composite *aere ato* reduplicated as *aere ato aere ato*, while five can be represented by the same reduplicated phrase plus *ateri ato*. Alternatively, five is expressed by combining *aere ato* and *ii ato* as indicated below.

<i>aere ato aere ato, ateri ato</i>	‘five’ (lit. ‘a two, a two, a one’)
<i>aere ato, ii ato</i>	‘five’ (lit. ‘a two, a three’)

On its own the numeral phrase *aere ato* ‘a/one two’ can be used to refer to a pair or a couple of things.

- (4.104) *Aine meamia, epo kunu pa aere ato a*
 fish moustache stone hole G/L couple one come
sopo t-i.
 kill get-1s
 ‘Moustache fish, I came and killed a couple (lit. ‘two’) in the cave.’
 T5.20.20

For quantities, such as five, ten, fifteen, twenty and upwards, Koromu speakers can use actions involving the hands or both the hands and the legs. They can describe these verbally in complex constructions consisting of one or more clauses. For five, ten, fifteen and twenty, the speaker’s own body is used. One hand clasped in a fist (with the thumb outside) represents ‘five’, two clasped hands represent ‘ten’, two clasped hands resting on one knee represent ‘fifteen’, two clasped hands resting on both the speaker’s knees held together represent ‘twenty’. In words the latter is described as follows.

- (4.105) *Wapi arene re-pe ehi arene re-pe u soru=mo.*
 hand clasp PUT-SR leg clasp PUT-SR that amount=BM
 ‘Clasp **hands** and clasp **legs** together, that amount.’ (= 20)

For amounts above twenty another person’s body is referred to as well. For example, a person representing ‘thirty’ can demonstrate and say the following.

- (4.106) *Io wapi ore ehi ore ihi ta-pe*
 my hand with leg with complete END-SR
no wapi... aere te-pe...
 GEN2s hand two get-SR
 ‘My **hands and legs** complete it and **your two hands** get it...’ (=30)

Larger amounts, such as 100, 500 and 1000 kina or items used in exchange, can be expressed by reference to different sizes or shapes of a specific cultural artifact. However, since these expressions are used when speakers do not want other people to understand the amounts being discussed greater detail is not given here.

4.4.2.4 Enclitics =*ama* ‘group’ and =*pisi* ‘group (of women)’

The enclitic =*ama* indicates that a noun phrase refers to an animate referent head noun accompanied by a group of animate referents (see §5.2.3.4.4). The enclitic attaches to the rightmost constituent in proper, kinship, numeral and some common noun phrases and in headless noun phrases that have human referents. It does not occur with pronominal and personal pronoun noun phrases. Where examples are personal names (4.107) or kinship nouns (4.108) =*ama* indicates that the specified person or animal is accompanied by a group of his/her family members or associates.

- (4.107) “*Ehipuro=ama heti-neka-ho=mo,*” *u-e.*
 Ehipuro=group wait-O3p-FINC1p=BM quote-3p
 ‘“We will wait for Ehipuro and company,” they said.’ (‘Company’ is a more natural free translation than ‘group’ in some contexts.) T1.15.27

- (4.108) *Pakaia pa aha-nap=ama pasi-nek-a.*
 Pakaia G/L mother-P3p=group meet-O3p-3s
 ‘He met their mother and company at the Pakaia.’ T2.15.67

The enclitic =*ama* ‘group’ occurs with a more general head noun in (4.109).

- (4.109) ...*tamaite=ama wene napa here-pe*
 man=group food P3p cook-SR
 ‘...cook food for the group (company) of men...’ T1.33.22

With an animate referent that is low on the animacy hierarchy, such as *niri* ‘biting water insect’ (4.110), verb agreement is singular as it is with inanimate nouns, even when the referent is plural.

- (4.110) *U niri=ama uo, airi-pu-r-a uo,*
 that *niri*=group GRD arrive-HAB-PRES-3s GRD
hoko utu-no ihi-r-a=mo.
 light season-P3s finish-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘That group of *niri* (biting water insects), when it arrives, the dry season finishes (lit. ‘the light finishes its season’).’ YTN4.3

Placenames, numerals and common noun phrases that refer to languages are not inherently animate but when marked by =*ama* ‘group’ they indicate a group

of people. Examples are the people of a named place (4.111), a specific number of people (4.112) and the people who speak a language (4.113). Note that final /a/ of =*ama* is elided before =*te* in (4.111) (cf. vowel elision between nasals and obstruents in §2.4.2.1.1) and the final vowel /e/ of a word preceding =*ama* is elided in (4.112) and (4.113) (cf. §2.4.2.2.2)

(4.111) **Korike=am=te**, “*Weti toko-apesi ka n-ia=e?*”
 Korike=group=PNP house set.alight-DES come STAY-1p=Q
u-e-te...
 quote-3p-DR
 ‘The Korike group said, “Did you come to set alight the houses?”’ T2.26.8

(4.112) ...*nene=te ne her-e, aer=am=te.*
 3p=PNP eat PUT-3p two=group=PNP
 ‘...they ate it up, the (group of) two of them.’ T2.33.20

(4.113) **Piri sakin=ama** *uo, he ka-pe mo pa imi-e.*
 Piri language=group GRD return come-SR here G/L die-3p
 ‘The Piri language group, they came back and died here.’ T5.4.5

In (4.114) a noun phrase with =*ama* ‘group’ is marked as a genitive while in (4.115) a noun with a possessor enclitic is marked by =*ama* ‘group’ (cf. §6.5.3.2).¹⁶

(4.114) *O, apu Sausi=am o sakine sa-hi=mo.*
 Yes, now Sausi=group GEN talk say-F1s=BM
 ‘Yes, now I will tell the Sausi group’s story.’ T5.24.1

(4.115) **Werakiri=nap=ama** *ei isi-e-te, ...*
 young.ones=P3p=group bamboo cut-3p-DR
 ‘Their young ones (youths) cut the bamboo and, ...’ T6.7.4

A noun phrase with =*ama* ‘group’ can be the complement of the postpositions *ore* ‘comitative (COM)’ (§7.4.1.2) and *ahare* ‘animate locative (ALOC)’ (§7.3.4), as exemplified in (4.116) and (4.117) respectively. Elsewhere =*ama* can be used to indicate items (see §5.11.3.2).

¹⁶ In the examples, final vowels are affected by pre-vocalic /u/ elision (§2.4.2.2.3) and identical vowel elision (§2.4.2.2.1).

(4.116) *Upur=ama ore poho ta-pe...*
 Upuru=group COM sit END-SR
 ‘...sat with Upuru and company...’ T1.15.87

(4.117) *Arikao=ama hare weti pa men-a.*
 Arikao=group ALOC house G/L be-3s
 ‘It’s at Arikao and company’s house.’ T1.17.3

The enclitic =*pisi* also indicates a ‘group’ but it appears that it only occurs in this sense with *hena* ‘woman’, as in (4.118). There may be a link to *pisi* ‘bee’. Bees are often seen in a group or swarm.

(4.118) *...hena=pisi u pate kutune her-e, usu ihiri.*
 woman=group that MANN startle PUT-3p pig wild.
 ‘...the group of women were startled by that, the wild pig.’ T1.7.24

4.4.3 The indefinite specific article

The indefinite specific article *ato* ‘a (one, another)’ indicates that a noun phrase is indefinite and not identifiable to the hearer, but it also shows that the speaker has a specific referent in mind. For more detail see §5.2.3.5 and the indefinite specific pronoun in §4.6 and §5.8.2. Note that *ato* may originate from an old numeral for one (cf. *ateri* ‘one’).

(4.119) *Tamaite ato, Korosa=te, sau-pe n-a-te...*
 man a/one Korosa=PNP say-LTD:3s
 ‘A/one man, Korosa, he said...’ T1.14.2

4.5 Pronouns

4.5.1 Introduction

Free pronouns and genitive pronouns are closed word classes with referential function that explicitly specify person and number. Person and number are also expressed by three sets of bound forms that are listed here for comparison: verbal subject suffixes, verbal object suffixes and possessive/partitive suffixes/enclitics.

Demonstratives can also function as pronouns (see §4.14.1). In all these pronominal forms, there is a basic distinction between singular and plural.

When the tables in the following sections are compared, it is evident that most person-number forms, except some first-person singular forms, have similar initial consonants, while verbal subject suffixes, which also indicate tense, begin with a vowel or with *h*.

4.5.2 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns can be the head of a noun phrase (cf. §5.7) where they function as core arguments. They can also occur with the animate referent associative enclitic =*rare* ‘and/with’, with =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ or with the complement of the *ahare* ‘animate locative’ postposition. Personal pronouns select the interrogative *me* ‘who’. They can be qualified by quantifiers (§4.4.2 and §5.7) and can occur with a limiter *-naru* ‘alone’ or the reflexive/emphatic suffix *-morou* ‘-self’ (§5.7).

The three categories of person, first, second and third, and two categories of number, singular and plural (non-singular), are outlined in Table 4.16 below.

Table 4.16: Personal pronouns.

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>i</i>	<i>sene</i>
Second person	<i>ne</i>	<i>te</i>
Third person	<i>ni</i>	<i>nene</i>

Free pronouns agree with the tense-subject:person-number suffix on the verb, as in (4.120).

- (4.120) **Sene** *ehi pate ka-ia=mo*.
 1p foot MANN come-1p=BM
 ‘We came on foot.’ T1.2a.4

Plural and dual can also be expressed by the quantifiers *nupu* ‘many’ or *aere* ‘two’ in the position after the pronoun, as in *sene nupu* ‘we many’ or *sene aere* ‘we two’.

4.5.3 Genitive pronouns

Genitive pronouns precede head nouns in possessive nominal constructions (cf. §6.3).

Table 4.17: Genitive pronouns.

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>io</i>	<i>sono</i>
Second person	<i>no</i>	<i>to</i>
Third person	<i>nio</i>	<i>nono</i>

The genitive pronoun agrees in person and number with the possessor person-number enclitic after the head noun. Final *-o* is found in the genitive post-position (chapter 6).

- (4.121) ...*ni=te*, **sono** *tama=sekama te-pe*, ...
 3s=PNP GEN1p mouth=P1p get-SR
 ‘...he got/took our message (lit. ‘mouth’) ...’ T5.23.36

4.5.4 Subject verbal suffixes

Subject verbal suffixes are the final suffix attached to a verb (Table 4.18). They are portmanteau forms that express both tense and subject (for details, see §9.3.2.2).

Table 4.18: Tense-subject person-number verbal suffixes.

	Person	Singular	Plural
Non-Future tense	First person X&INC	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ia/-ie</i>
	Second person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ia/-ie</i>
	Third person	<i>-a</i>	<i>-e</i>
Future Tense	First person X	<i>-hi</i>	<i>-hia</i>
	First person INC	–	<i>-aho</i>
	Second person	<i>-amu</i>	<i>-amua</i>
	Third person	<i>-hera</i>	<i>-here</i>

The closest similarity between these suffixes and the free pronouns is the form of the first person singular suffix *-i*. A distinctive characteristic is the conflation of first and second person in the non-future tense instead of the distinction between first, second and third person in the free and genitive pronouns. Conflation of person categories in verbal inflections is quite common in Trans New Guinea languages. For example, in *Move*, a dialect of Yagaria (Eastern family ENGH) spoken to the south, first and second person is also conflated (Haiman 1980: 1). Elsewhere second and third person are commonly conflated. For example, the Rai Coast language of Siroi on the north coast conflates the categories of second and third person in past, immediate past, present and future, although not in the potential. There is also conflation between second and third person in Finisterre-Huon languages and many Eastern, East-Central and some Western family languages of the East New Guinea Highlands.

Verbal suffixes are discussed in greater detail in chapter 9. However, this table shows an important distinction between singular and plural. For first and second person, the distinction is usually marked by the addition of final *-a*. However, for first person inclusive future tense *-a* is incorporated at the beginning of the plural suffix rather than at the end. Third person plural is marked by *-e* in place of *-a*.

4.5.5 Object verbal suffixes

Object verbal suffixes attach to the verb stem (see §9.3.2.4) and express person and number (Table 4.19). The forms of these object verbal suffixes closely resemble the forms of both free pronouns and genitive pronouns.

Table 4.19: Object person-number verbal suffixes.

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>-se</i>	<i>-seka</i>
Second person	<i>-ne</i>	<i>-teka</i>
Third person	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-neka</i>

4.5.6 Possessor person-number suffixes and enclitics

Possessor person-number suffixes and enclitics attach to the head noun of a nominal construction that expresses a possessive or part-of relationship between two entities (for details see §6.5). There is some similarity of form between these

suffixes and enclitics and the object person-number suffixes (cf. §4.5.5), a phenomenon that is found in many other languages, for examples see Sapir (1917: 89) and Seiler (1983: 22).

Table 4.20: Possessor person-number suffixes and enclitics.

Person	Possessor suffixes		Possessor enclitics	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
First	<i>-ima/-ma</i>	<i>-sekama</i>	<i>=mai/=mei</i>	<i>=sekama</i>
Second	<i>-name</i>	<i>-tapa</i>	<i>=name</i>	<i>=tapa</i>
Third	<i>-ne/-nema</i>	<i>-napa</i>	<i>=ne/=nema</i>	<i>=napa</i>

The first-person singular suffix and enclitic are slightly different. Both have variant forms. With kinship nouns the suffix is *-ima* while the enclitic may be *=mai* or *=mei*.

4.6 The indefinite specific pronoun

The indefinite specific pronoun *ato* ‘one, someone’ has the same form as the indefinite specific article *ato* ‘a, one’ (§4.4.3). It can also function as a core argument (cf. §5.8.2).

- (4.122) ...*ato hei-hi=mo*.
 one find-F1s=BM
 ‘...I will find one (log).’ T2.15.26

4.7 Adverbs

4.7.1 Introduction

Adverbs are modifiers of verbs, clauses or adjectives. They generally occur before verbs and clauses and after adjectives. The number of adverbs in a clause is kept to a minimum but there can be more than one (cf. §3.8). Some of them can modify more than one type of constituent. Several semantic subtypes are distinguished: temporals, locatives, manner adverbs, the ‘only’ adverbs (*aisapu*, *mirini* and *nauto*), sentential adverbs and intensifiers.

4.7.2 Temporals

4.7.2.1 Introduction

Temporals describe the temporal setting of an event. They function as clausal adjuncts and usually occur in clause-initial position or immediately following the subject noun phrase. Like nouns they can also be marked by *uo* ‘ground’ as a ‘link’ or ‘topic-like element’ (see §14.3.2.4). Based on differences in distribution there are two subclasses: basic temporals (§4.7.2.2) and day counters (§4.7.2.3).

Temporal settings are also expressed by nouns such as *sa* ‘time’, *asi* ‘month’ and *somuru* ‘night’ (§4.3.5), noun phrases with post-head nominals (cf. §5.2.3.3), temporal postpositional phrases (§7.3.2), temporal link expressions (§14.3.2.4) and the interrogative *enapu* ‘when’ (§4.14.2).

4.7.2.2 Basic temporals

Basic temporals describe time in general terms. In the examples below *surumapa* ‘before, long ago’ incorporates the goal/locative postposition *pa* and contrasts with the adjective *surumahau* ‘old’, while the locative form *eponsa* ‘behind’ is a derivation based on the last example *epono/opono* ‘later, after’.

<i>surumapa/sumurapa</i>	‘before now/long ago’
<i>apu</i>	‘now’
<i>epono</i>	‘later, after’

4.7.2.3 Day counters

Day counters indicate a specific day on which an event occurred (Priestley 2012b). The day is relative to the time of speaking. Day counters can occur alone or as the first constituent in a temporal noun phrase, cf. (§5.6).

<i>apu</i>	‘today’ (cf. use as general use as ‘now’)
<i>ea</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>arahu</i>	‘day before yesterday and days before that for a week or two’
<i>eto</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>arato</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’
<i>ito</i>	‘three days ahead’
<i>tahito</i>	‘four days ahead’
<i>kiato</i>	‘five days ahead’

There are perhaps more terms for future days than past days because there was more reason to specify future time in this way. The final syllable *-to* in many of

the words above derives from *oto* ‘day, knot’. In the past, when people wanted to arrange a meeting with people living at a distance, they sent a bunch of grasses in which they had tied knots to represent the number of days before the proposed meeting. The day counters are possibly derivations based on reference to these knots.¹⁷ At least two of the terms appear to be derived from numerals combined with *oto* ‘day’ as in Table 4.21 below. Other future day counters may derive from numerals that are no longer in use. (For more detailed discussion of day counters and temporal forms see Priestley 2012b).

Table 4.21: Possible derivations for day counters.

Day counter	Numeral	Day
<i>arato</i>	<i>aere</i> ‘two’	<i>oto</i> ‘day’
<i>ito</i>	<i>ii</i> ‘three’	<i>oto</i> ‘day’

4.7.2.4 Temporal modifiers

The modifier *morei* (or its shortened variant *mo*) ‘just’ occurs following *apu* ‘now’ to indicate a time a very short time before the moment of speaking.¹⁸ The modifier *nauto* ‘only, alone’ can follow and modify any of the basic temporals (cf. §4.7.6 for other uses of *nauto*). The whole temporal expression can occur clause initially (cf. §3.8).

(4.123) ...*apu morei tai ka-r-a*.
 now just NEG come-PRES-3s
 ‘...it didn’t come just now.’ T6.10.30

(4.124) ...*epono nauto, nene=te, eno pate sa har-e*.
 later only 3p=PNP over.there S/L say PUT-3p
 ‘...only later they spoke over there.’ T2.33.45

¹⁷ *Oto* ‘knots’ made of grass are still used for warnings and/or signposts. A knot tied around a piece of burnt wood and left beside a path gives the message “do not light fires”. A knot of grass on a tall pole indicates the start of a path for travellers crossing the wide sandbanks and channels of the Ramu River.

¹⁸ *Morei* ‘just’ is very similar in form to the suffix *-morou* ‘-self’ (c.f. §5.7).

4.7.3 Locatives

4.7.3.1 Introduction

Locatives describe the location or goal of an action, event or object. In verbal clauses, they often occur as oblique arguments before the verb. They can also display nominal behaviour and represent arguments of motion and posture verbs. In nonverbal clauses, locatives can be the predicate (§3.7.1.5) or they can be optional oblique arguments clause initially (see §3.8.2). Interrogative locatives are *ani* ‘where’, *anisa/ansa* ‘which place/side’ and *anisate* ‘from which place/side’. There are three subtypes, directional, relational and general locative. Furthermore, a locative complex combines directional and general locatives.

4.7.3.2 Directional locatives

Directional locatives indicate directions based on elevation and the dominant watercourses in the environment (see chapter 8 for more detail). Since they can occur as the complement of a postposition, they are more noun-like than other locatives.

aroho ‘down there/place (down river, valley, hill)’
yoroho ‘up there/place (up river, valley, hill)’

The demonstratives can also function as directional locatives, and while *mo* ‘this’ and *u* ‘that’ cannot occur in the final predicate position of a nonverbal clause, *eno* ‘over there/across there (across a river, valley, mountain, road)’ can do so (cf. §3.7.1.5).

4.7.3.3 Relational locatives

Relational locatives describe location in relation to something else. They incorporate the postposition *sa* ‘near:goal/locative’ (cf. §4.8, §7.3.3.2 and §8.5). Relational locatives can also occur in complex constructions with *ahare* ‘animate locative’ when it functions as a possessor postposition (see §7.3.5). There are three subtypes based on intrinsic, directional and deictic locations.

Intrinsic relational locatives describe location in relation to an inherent part of a person or thing. Some of them are known to be derivations based on temporals or nouns.

eponsa ‘behind’, cf. *epono* ‘later’
etaisa ‘left (side)’

<i>minisa</i>	‘below’
<i>orusa</i>	‘front of (person)’, cf. <i>oru</i> ‘insides’
<i>pakasa</i>	‘right (side)’
<i>sapusa</i>	‘front of (house)’, cf. <i>sapu</i> ‘verandah’
<i>taresa</i>	‘side’
<i>warisesa</i>	‘underneath’
<i>waimesa</i>	‘nearby’

Direction-based relational locatives describe location in relation to direction from a person or thing. They are based on directional locatives.

<i>aresa</i>	‘lower down, on the lower side’, cf. <i>aroho</i> ‘down there’
<i>yorosa</i>	‘higher up, on the upper side’, cf. <i>yoroho</i> ‘up there’

- (4.125) ...*ni=te* ***yorosa*** *pi-a*.
 3s=PNP above.side stand-3s
 ‘...she stood on the upper side (side above).’ T1.15.48

Deictic relational locatives describe location in relation to the place where the speech act occurs. They form a locative expression with a noun that they follow and modify.

<i>mosa</i>	‘this side’, cf. <i>mo</i> ‘this’
<i>usa</i>	‘that side’, cf. <i>u</i> ‘that’
<i>ensa</i>	‘the other side’, cf. <i>eno</i> ‘that’

- (4.126) *Ya* *pe* ***ensa*** *teher-i=mo*.
 river channel across.side walk-1s=BM
 ‘I walked via on the other side of the river channel.’ D2.82.3

Relational locatives that incorporate the *-te* of the postposition *sate* ‘N:S’ express the source of movement.

- (4.127) ...***yorosate*** *wese* *te* *a* *mi-e*.
 from.up.there. chase GET come move.down-3p
 ‘...from up there they chased (it) and came down.’ T5.25.15

4.7.3.4 General locatives

General locatives incorporate *-pa* ‘goal/locative’ (cf. §7.3.2.2). They can function as noun modifiers.

<i>nampa</i>	‘(up) above, high up’
<i>tapa</i>	‘outside’
<i>orupa</i>	‘inside’, cf. <i>oru</i> ‘insides’

In the following examples, *nampa* ‘(up) above, high up’ functions as a modifier of a verb, while *orupa* ‘inside’ functions as a modifier of a noun that refers to a location.

- (4.128) ...*naere nampa ene-pe...*
 snake up.above lie-SR
 ‘...a snake was sleeping up above...’ T1.14.5

- (4.129) ...*ei orupa eraha t-a.*
 bamboo inside enter END-3s
 ‘...it entered inside the bamboos.’ T5.25.16

4.7.3.5 The locative complex

The locative complex combines *nampa* ‘(up) above, high up’ with a directional locative, either *yoroho* ‘up there’ or *eno* ‘across there’. *Nampa* ‘(up) above, high up’ with *yoroho* ‘up there’ is particularly common.

- (4.130) “*Waikohu, ansa men-a=e?*” *u-i-te*
 agemate which.place be-3s=Q quote-1s-DR
 “*U nampa yoroho men-a=mo.*”
 that/he up.above up.there be-3s=BM
 ‘“Where (which place) is my agemate?” I said. “He is up above up there.”’ T1.22.44

4.7.4 Manner adverbs

Manner and other adverbs occur immediately before the verb or a locative that precedes the verb. Manner adverbs express something about the way in which

an event occurs. Some can be reduplicated to indicate intensity of action or a greater amount (see starred examples below). Others are derivations from adjectives combined with *pate* ‘manner’ (§7.3.2.3.2)

<i>aiora-pate</i>	‘carefully (quietly/slowly)’ (with postposition <i>pate</i> ‘manner’)
<i>arene-pate</i>	‘powerfully’, (can also modify an adjective as ‘extremely’)
<i>aterai-pate*</i>	‘one at a time’
<i>as-ase/as-asao</i>	‘completely, altogether’ (<i>asao</i> ‘some/part’, part reduplicated)
<i>sesai*</i>	‘quickly’
<i>sipi-sipi</i>	‘very fast’ (cf. <i>sipisipi</i> ‘diarrhoea’, <i>sipi</i> ‘excrement’)
<i>tutumtu</i>	‘quietly’
<i>apene</i>	‘sleepily’
<i>soromu/soromu*</i>	‘simply, without anything’ (cf. Tok Pisin ‘nating’)
<i>serapure</i>	‘alone, first’
<i>uapu</i>	‘like that’ (this is also a postposition) (§7.4.1.5)

Manner adverbs, such as *aiorapate* ‘carefully (quietly/slowly)’ and *sesai* ‘quickly’, occur before the verb unless the object or a required locative argument also occurs in the clause. In the latter the manner adverb precedes the required argument (cf. §3.8).

(4.131) ...*ari-ae!* I ***aiorapate*** *ka-r-i=mo*.
 go-IMP2s 1s slowly come-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘Oh, you go on! I will come slowly.’ T1.15.80

(4.132) ...***sesai***, *pe asa k-ae*, ...
 quickly channel opposite.side come-IMP2p’
 ‘...come quickly to the opposite side of the channel, ...’ T2.33.21

The following example shows the whole of *sesai* ‘quickly’ reduplicated to indicate greater intensity (INTS) of manner.

(4.133) ...*wau sesai-sesai oto ta-pente*, ...
 banana INTS-quickly skin END-SR-3p:LD
 ‘...they skinned the bananas very quickly...’ T6.7.16

Arenepate ‘powerfully’ also modifies a verb in preverbal position. It can also follow and modify an adjective with a meaning like ‘extremely’ (cf. §4.7.7).

- (4.134) *Ya arenepate kihipe...*
 river powerfully flood-SR
 ‘The river flooded powerfully.’ T5.24.15

4.7.5 *Aisapu, mirini and nauto*, modifiers meaning roughly ‘only’

The adverbial modifiers *aisapu*, *mirini* and *nauto* have similar meanings and can all be glossed by ‘only’ in some contexts. They can also modify other types of constituents. As adverbs, they occur before the verb or before the whole clause.

<i>aisapu/aisoapu</i>	‘just, merely, simply, only’, modifies a verb or a clause
<i>mirini</i>	‘only’, modifies an adverbial or noun
<i>nauto</i>	‘only/can’, modifies a temporal, noun, locative or clause

Aisapu/aisoapu ‘just, merely, simply (only)’ can modify a verb or a whole proposition. It occurs before the verb in (4.135), or before an argument that is subcategorized for by the verb in (4.136). Thus, it generally occurs clause initially.

- (4.135) *Uapu, tai pu-pu-r-ia.*
 like.that NEG plant-HAB-PRES-1p
Ou uo, aisapu nauno-pu-r-ia.
 yam GRD just bury-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘We don’t plant them like that. Yams, we just bury them.’ T5.17.13
- (4.136) *...epo tai si-a.*
 stone NEG hiss-3s
Aisapu *em pa ya so hor-a.*
 just ground G/L water pour PUT-3s
 ‘...the stones did not hiss. He just poured water on the ground (i.e. not on the hot rocks).’ T2.24.17

Mirini ‘only’ can follow other adverbial words or phrases or a noun. In (4.137) *mirini* ‘only’ follows a temporal. In clauses with motion verbs (4.138) it can occur between a required locative argument and the verb, suggesting a close link to the verb and locative argument. In (4.139) *mirini* ‘only’ modifies a noun.

- (4.137) *Apu mirini hetiheti=mai o na=ne*
 now only boss=P1s GEN thing=P3s
te ka n-i.
 get come STAY-1s
 ‘Now only, I brought my boss’s thing (recorder).’ D9.5.1

- (4.138) *U pa mirini yari-r-i=mo.*
 there G/L only go-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘I am going only there.’ D8.57.8

- (4.139) *...wei arene wera-e uo, mo metekaihere mirini.*
 fight big fight-3p GRD here white.man only
 ‘...when they fought the big fight, only white men were here.’ T5.3.8

Nauto can follow a temporal (§4.7.2.4), noun phrase (chapter 5) or locative (§4.7.3) and express roughly ‘only/alone’.

- (4.140) *Si Amos ai-ne nauto uo, ho ta-e.*
 then Amos brother-P3s only GRD, cut END-3p
 ‘Then they cut (operated on) Amos’s brother only.’ T5.23.55

- (4.141) *Aroho nauto so pa=ne men-e.*
 down.there only nest G/L=P3s be-3p
 ‘Only down there, their nests are there.’ CS7.8

Also, as a unit at clause level *nauto* means ‘can’ in *hena-tamaite nupu nauto u-pu-r-e* [women-men many can do-HAB-PRES-3p] ‘many people can do it’ and in (4.142).

- (4.142) *“Sepa mai ota he-se-r-a-ne*
 illness P1s remove PUT-O1s-PRES-3s-DR:IR:CS

nauto yara-ho=mo,” *u-i.*
 only go-FINC1p=BM quote-1s
 ‘“When my sickness is removed we can go,” I said.’ T1.15.5

4.7.6 Sentential adverbials

There are differences in the distribution and meaning of sentential adverbs/particles. When both occur *si* precedes *pari*.

si ‘then, so then’ linking adverbial
pari ‘again, then, eventually’ circumstantial adverbial

Si ‘then’ occurs in clause-initial position and indicates temporal succession following events in the preceding medial or final clause. It has scope over the subsequent clause.

(4.143) ...*ka-pe si weti pa are ta-ie.*
 come-SR then house G/L arrive END-1p
 ‘...we came, and then we arrived at the houses.’ T1.15.86

Si ‘then’ can also occur with the ground particle *uo* (see §14.3.2.7 and §9.4.2) to indicate that there is some background information in previous clauses.

Pari ‘again’ gives circumstantial information about the situation described by the predicate. It can follow *si* ‘then/so then’ or a temporal word or expression.

(4.144) *Ota-pe si pari, te-neka-pu-r-i=mo.*
 remove-SR then again give-O3p-HAB-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘I remove them then again, I give them to them.’ T1.20.34

(4.145) ...*nokono min-ia.*
 good be-1p

Si apu pari u ka-pe...
 then now again there come-SR
 ‘...we were fine (good). Then now they came there again...’ T5.23.32

Pari ‘again’ can occur before a *uo*-marked constituent (4.146), but it cannot occur with *uo* ‘link’ itself (cf. §14.3).

(4.146) ...ere *ta-pe n-ia-te*
scrape.out END-LTD:1p

pari aine uo, *koran te-pe*
again fish GRD place GET-SR

pari epo esi pa we te re-pe...
again stone hole G/L act get PUT-SR
'...we scraped out (the stones) and
again the fish, we placed them (there) and
again we heated the stones in the hole...' T2.24.29

4.7.7 Intensifiers

Intensifiers modify the adjectives that they follow. The words *herekani* 'really' and *sekau* 'extremely' modify dimension adjectives and express intensity, or, greater degree of a property. They also function as adjectives (see §4.4.1 above). In addition, *itini* 'truly, really' (cf. §4.7.5) and *arenepate* 'extremely' (cf. §4.7.4) can modify adjectives.

(4.147) *herekani* 'really' in *werakahone herekani* [small really] 'really small'
sekau 'extremely' in *pene orohoi sekau* [neck long extremely]
 'extremely long neck'
itini 'truly, really' in *koia amoko itini* [sweet potato fresh
 really] 'really/truly fresh sweet potato' T2.15.61
arenepate 'extremely' in *uhuru arenepate* [difficult extremely]
 'extremely' difficult (heavy).' T5.23.99

As an intensifier, *itini/tini* seems to be closely linked semantically to the noun meaning 'true, truth' (cf. §4.3.2.1). Compare:

(4.148) ...*apene arene tini en ta-pe...*
sleep big truly lie END-SR
'...lay in a truly big sleep...' T1.20.45

(4.149) *U itini herekani.*
that true really
'It/that is really true.'

Some adjectives can be partially reduplicated to indicate intensification, as in the partial reduplication of the first two syllables of *etamau* ‘good’ and other examples in §4.4.1.2.

- (4.150) *Usu eta-etamau men-e.*
 thing INTS-good be-3p
 ‘There are very good pigs there.’ D9.2.4

4.8 Postpositions

Postpositions (cf. chapter 7) are subdivided into two semantic subclasses, locative and non-locative. Nominals, demonstratives and locatives that are nominal in character can be the complements of these postpositions.

Table 4.22: Postpositions.

with inanimate referent common nouns and directional locatives	<i>pa</i>	goal/locative	G/L
	<i>pate</i> (ablative)	source/locative	S/L
		manner	MANN
	<i>pao</i>	inanimate genitive	IGEN
with some placenames for near places	<i>sa</i>	near:goal/locative	N:G/L
	<i>sate</i> (ablative)	near:source	N:S
		near:manner	N:MANN
	<i>sao</i>	animate genitive	AGEN
with pronouns, proper names and animate referent common nouns	<i>ahare</i>	locative	ALOC
		benefactive referential or genitive	
with all nouns, pronouns and demonstratives	<i>ore</i>	comitative	COM
	<i>sei</i>	orientation	ORNT
	<i>seipa</i>	reason	REAS
	<i>uapu</i>	similative	SIM
with common nouns that have an inanimate referent	<i>aiau</i>	resemblative	RSM
	<i>te</i>	instrumental	INS

4.9 The negative particle *tai*

The negative particle *tai* ‘not’ precedes and negates a verb. For examples see §3.6.3.

4.10 Clause final modality particles and enclitics

The =*mo* ‘boundary marking’ enclitic (§3.4.1), epistemic modality particles (*paimo*, *taumo/tauo*, *teimo/tei*), emphatic particle *ne*, question enclitic =*e* (Q) and exclamatory enclitic =*o* are clausal operators (cf. §3.4 and §3.5). They are optional in clause final position where they have scope over the preceding clause and, in some contexts, over a series of clauses (§9.4.2, Priestley 2002a: 99–102). The three epistemic modality particles are:

<i>paimo</i>	‘apprehensional’ (APP)	‘might (negative)’
<i>taumo/tauo</i>	‘uncertainty’ (UNC)	‘perhaps, maybe’
<i>teimo/te</i>	‘possibility’ (POS)	‘could’

The enclitic =*e* ‘question’ is used to indicate a polar interrogative, while the final boundary marking enclitic =*mo* is optional in declarative (§3.4.1) and exclamative (§3.4.4) clauses.

4.11 Conjunctions

Conjunctions that conjoin clauses are described in §12.12 and §12.13. Examples are:

<i>umo</i>	‘but’	adversative conjunction
<i>te/temo</i>	‘or’	disjunctive conjunction, follows both clauses (cf. modality particles)

Listing enclitics can follow each noun phrase in a list of items (see §5.11.3).

- =*rare* ‘and/with’ conjoins two subject noun phrases with animate referents
- =*ama* ‘group’ conjoins two or more subject or object proper nouns

4.12 Grammar-information particles/enclitics: Ground and prominence

The particle *uo* ‘ground’ and the enclitic *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ convey information about both grammar and information structure.

The particle *uo* ‘ground’ indicates that noun phrases, temporals, postpositional phrases, linking adverbials, demonstratives and clauses are background material. These constituents combined with *uo* ‘ground’ are particularly common as topic-like elements at the beginning of clauses (see §14.2). In addition, when *uo* ‘ground’ follows a clause it indicates that the clause is subordinate to a main clause, for example, with ‘when/given that’ adverbial clauses and hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses (§14.3.3).

The enclitic *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ occurs with agentive (or effective) subject noun phrases to disambiguate A and O and with subject noun phrases and some predicate noun phrases (in nonverbal clauses) to indicate discourse prominence (see §5.10 and §13.5).

4.13 Interjections

Interjections express emotions, responses and greetings. They occur in a distinct intonation group and comprise a complete utterance.

<i>Aie!</i>	‘Oh no!’
<i>Ale!</i>	‘Poor you!’
<i>Ese!</i>	‘That’s it, that’s right!’
<i>Ia!</i>	‘No’ or ‘(It) is not!’ (cf. §3.6.2.8.3)
<i>Kue!</i>	‘All right!’
<i>O/Oo!</i>	‘Yes’ or ‘Exclamation’ (cf. §3.3.5)
<i>Wao!</i>	‘Sorry!’ when someone else (not necessarily the speaker) suffers sudden misfortune. Recently, <i>wao</i> has also been adopted as a greeting. It’s often used by people from nearby languages or travellers on the road.

4.14 Semantically defined cross-cutting classifications

Demonstratives (§4.14.1) and interrogatives (§4.14.2) are semantically defined classes of words that occur in a number of different syntactic classes.

4.14.1 Demonstratives

The demonstratives *mo* ‘this/here’, *u* ‘that/there’ and *eno* ‘that over there/over there’ can function as demonstrative pronouns in the argument positions of verbs. They can also function as the subject of nonverbal clauses (cf. §5.8.1), as complements of postpositions (for example, see §7.3.2.2), as pre-nominal modifiers (cf. §5.2.2.1) and as locative adverbs that precede and modify verbs (cf. §4.7.3.2). Table 4.23 provides examples of their distribution showing how demonstratives with the same form are used in each of these syntactic contexts and mirroring types and contexts proposed in Diessel (1999: 1), namely, pronouns in ‘the argument position of verbs and adpositions’, determiners ‘with a noun in a noun phrase’, adverbs ‘as verb modifiers’ and identifiers ‘in copular and nonverbal clauses’.

Table 4.23: Distribution of demonstratives: Examples with *mo* ‘this/here’.

Pronouns in verbal clauses	... <i>mo wesu-i-te, Esime, panisi oso ho-s-a.</i> this show-1s-DR Esme bandage bind PUT-O1s-3s ‘I showed this, and Esme bandaged it.’ T1.4.8
Pronouns (identifiers) in nonverbal clauses	<i>Mo no koia. Mo Saho=te.</i> this GEN2s sweet potato. this Saho=PNP ‘This is your sweet potato.’ ‘This is Saho.’
Complement of Postpositions	... <i>mo pa k-ae!</i> here G/L come-IMP2s ‘...(you) come (to) here’ D4.170.7
Determiners	<i>Mo wa sono wa arene.</i> this garden GEN1p garden big ‘This garden is our big garden.’ D2.69.9
Locative adverbs	“ <i>Esame mo hihike-se-r-e</i> ” dog here fence.in-O1s-PRES-3p ‘The dogs are fencing me in here.’ T2.32.11

Mo ‘this’ can refer to entities near the speaker and, as in Anderson and Keenan (1985: 278), “psychological proximity”, “vividness to the mind of the speaker”, “temporally close” and “in the immediate past or future of the speaker” are also indicated. Also, like its counterparts in other languages, *mo* ‘this’ is “a basic means for identifying what we are talking about” (Wierzbicka 1996: 42). The determiner below in (4.151) is an example.

Mo can also be used as a noun meaning ‘part’, as in the verbal possessive clause *Mete mo nupu-nupu mena* [body part INTS-many have-3s] ‘The body has many parts.’ (See also *asao* for ‘part’ in §4.4.2.2 and *-ne* ‘part’ in §4.3.2.2)

U ‘that’ refers to things that are not near the speaker, for example, the determiner in (4.152). It can make anaphoric reference to topics in earlier clauses, for example, the complement of a postposition in (4.153) which is discussed further in §7.6.

(4.151) *Mo sakine moko te-r-a.*
 this talk untrue GET-PRES-3s
 ‘This talk/word is untrue.’ D3.146.4

(4.152) *Si u ya kohonu pa yar-amu uo, ...*
 then that water deep G/L go-2s GRD
 ‘Then if you go to that deep water, ...’ T1.19.19

(4.153) *Wera-ima uo, kansan wa pa ya n-a.*
 child-P1s GRD peanut garden G/L go STAY-3s
U sei heti-r-i=mo.
 that ORNT wait-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘My child went to the peanut garden. I am waiting for that one/her.’
 T2.28.15

Eno ‘that over there’ refers to things or locations beyond a dividing space (a river, valley, road, or open space) from the speaker and the addressee. Although *eno* can be used as a pronoun, as in (4.154), or determiner, it usually functions as a locative adverb. Like directional locatives it can also occur as predicate of a non-verbal clause (see §3.7.1.5).

(4.154) *Eno me=te heteri-r-a?*
 over.there who=PNP run-PRES-3s
 ‘Who is running over there?’ D2.59.2

4.14.2 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are a small, closed class of words that are used to ask content questions. Since they correspond to specific word classes they vary as to whether they function as core (cf. §3.8.1) or oblique (cf. §3.8.2) arguments. They cannot form expanded noun phrases.

The interrogative *ani* can combine with the postposition *pa* ‘goal/locative’ or *pate* ‘source/inessive’ to form the interrogative phrases *ani pa* ‘where at’ and *ani*

Table 4.24: Interrogatives.

Interrogative	English Gloss	Word class
<i>ani</i>	'where'	locative adverb
<i>ansa</i>	'which place/side'	locative adverb
<i>ansate</i>	'from which place/side'	locative adverb
<i>enapu</i>	'when'	temporal
<i>enau</i>	'how many'	quantifier
<i>mana, mamo</i>	'what'	common noun
<i>mansei</i>	'what for, why'	adverb
<i>me</i>	'who'	common human referent noun
<i>meo</i>	'whose'	common human referent noun

pate 'where from'. The interrogatives *ansa* 'which place/side' and *ansate* 'from which place/side' combine the interrogative *ani* 'where' and the postpositions *sa* 'near:goal/locative' and *sate* 'near:source'.

The interrogative *mana* 'what?' is used in reference to things. It can be marked as a subject with *=te* 'prominent noun phrase' or as an oblique argument with *te* 'instrumental'. *Mamo* 'what?' is used to ask about what someone is doing/will do.

(4.155) ...*arisapu mana na-ho?*
 afternoon what eat-FINC1p
 '...what will we eat this afternoon?'

(4.156) *Mam*¹⁹ *o ri-hi=e?*
 what do PUT-F1s=Q
 'What will I do?' T1.4.5

The interrogative *mansei* 'why? / what for?' combines *mana* 'what?' and the postposition *sei* 'orientation'. *Mana* 'what?' can also be combined with the postposition *seipa* 'reason' as *man seipa* 'what reason?'

4.15 Multi-categorical forms and lexical derivation

This section provides an overview of multi-categorical forms and derivational processes that affect word formation. Many of these are productive in specific contexts and must be specified in the lexicon.

¹⁹ Identical vowel elision (§2.4.2.2.1) applies here.

4.15.1 Multi-categorical forms

Multi-categorical forms function in more than one syntactic context without changing form. This section gives a brief overview of the different types described elsewhere in the book.

Body part nouns and verbs

The forms of body part nouns such as *oru* ‘insides’, *hukuru* ‘bowels’ and *mete* ‘body/skin’ (cf. §4.3.2.1) can also occur in verbal experiencer object constructions representing physical and psychological conditions meaning ‘feel like’, ‘be full/satisfied’ and ‘feel (a bodily sensation)’, respectively (§11.5). There may also be partial reduplication of the adjective *nokono* ‘good’ with *oru* ‘insides/feel’.

Abstract nouns and verbs

Some word forms can be inflected as verbs or occur as abstract nouns in noun phrases.

- Experiential verbal noun forms such as *mahe* ‘shame’, *maikohu* ‘laziness’, *mesiri* ‘perspiration’, *peraru* ‘hunger’, *sepa* ‘illness’ and *tare* ‘hurt’ (§4.3.2.3.2) can also occur in condition verb experiencer object constructions (§11.4).
- Mental process, utterance and expression nouns (§4.3.2.3.4) also function as inflected verbs representing activities (§10.5) such as *urunu* ‘thought/think’, *yakere* ‘smile/laugh’ and *yo* ‘shout/call’.
- *Uhuru* ‘heaviness, trouble’ and *ihi* ‘finish’ function in nominal contexts (§4.3.2.3.3) or with verbal inflections as stative type verbs. However, in a serial verb construction there is a linking particle *e* before the final verb (§10.5).

Adjectives and verbs/nouns

Some forms function as verbs or nouns and as derived adjectives with the suffix *-au* (cf. §4.4.1.3.1). Examples include the noun *etamu* ‘flesh’, the adjective *etam-au* ‘good’ and the verb *etam-sera* ‘it tastes good’, as well as *tororo-* as a verb in *ya tororora* ‘the water is cold’ and as an adjective in *sa tororoau* ‘cold place’ (see Table 4.13).

Adjectives and nouns

Adjectives like *petaiau* ‘red’ and *nokono* ‘good’ (§4.4.1) can be used as the nouns ‘redness’ (4.98) in §4.4.1.3.3 and ‘goodness’ (4.5.2) in (§4.3.2.1) respectively.

Nouns and intensifiers

An abstract noun such as *itini* ‘true, truth’ (§4.3.2.1) can be an intensifier *itini/tini* ‘truly/really’ (§4.7.7).

Numerals, quantifiers and verbs

Simple numerals and general quantifiers (§4.4.2) can be inflected verbs or bare verb forms in serial verb constructions where they indicate the number of times an action occurs within an event. Examples are *ato* ‘one’ in *Eti sinti ato-ahē!* ‘Put on one skirt!’ (4.46) in §4.2.14 and *aere* ‘two’ in *Ene aire re-pente...* ‘They slept two nights’ (10.146) in §10.8.4 (cf. §4.4.2.3).

Demonstratives and Interrogatives

Demonstratives occur in different syntactic classes as pronouns, determiners and locative adverbs (directional locatives), see §4.7.3.2 and §4.14.1. Interrogatives also correspond to several different word classes, see §4.14.2.

4.15.2 Derivational processes

Derivational processes, which need representation in the lexicon as they are not fully productive, include reduplication, affixation, and incorporation of objects, postpositions or the reciprocal marker. Other derivational processes are discussed elsewhere, for example, valency increase (§10.5.4) and valency decrease (§10.6.4).

4.15.2.1 Derivational processes involving reduplication

An overview of reduplication as a grammatical process is given in §2.4.6 and examples of verb reduplication are discussed in §10.11. However, reduplication can also produce verbs derived from nouns, nouns representing characteristic features of wildlife, higher numerals, adjectives with intense qualities and manner adverbs. Each of these are described elsewhere in the book but the following list gives an overall picture.

Full or partial reduplication of nouns to form verbs

Initial partial reduplication of a noun can form a verb with a related meaning. A common example is *hekeni* ‘fire, firewood’ combined with verbal inflections to produce *were heke-hekeni-r-a* ‘the sun is heating it’ (8.1) in §8.3, an experiencer object construction, roughly ‘be feverish’ (§11.5.3) or the active verb *hekeheke* ‘crave/be hot for food’ (§11.5.2.3). The noun *etane* ‘white one’ is reduplicated as a verb in *Ien=te eta-etane-pe yarera*. ‘I an went whitely.’ D9.12.1. The form *mete* ‘body/skin’ can also be *mete* ‘feel’ (cold or fear) and reduplicated occurs in *Tamaite mete-mete-se-r-a*. ‘I sense a man (behind) me.’ D7.76.6.

Reduplication of characteristic repetitive features and names

Full or nearly full reduplicated roots in nominals indicate a repetitive movement or sound characteristic of a specific type of bird, insect or creature, for example, *waiko-waiko* ‘great black cockatoo’, see §4.3.2.7.3, examples (4.72) and (4.73).

Reduplication of numerals to form higher numerals

Numerals above *ii* ‘three’ can be expressed by reduplication of composite forms as in *aere ato aere ato* ‘four’ (lit. ‘two one, two one’), see §4.4.2.3.

Partial reduplication of verb roots combined with the suffix *-au* to form adjectives

Partial reduplication of a verb root combined with the suffix *-au* creates an adjective that expresses an intense quality as in *heriherinau* ‘shiny’ in Table 4.15 in §4.4.1.4.

Full and partial reduplication of nouns to form manner adverbs

Adverbs based on reduplicated nouns indicate intensity or greater quantity. *Sipi-sipi* ‘very fast’ is a full reduplication of *sipi* ‘excrement’. *As-asao/as-ase* ‘completely’ (D9.54.8) is partial reduplication of *asao* ‘some’ (§4.7.4). Each one needs to be specified in the lexicon.

4.15.2.2 Derivations with affixation and incorporation

To provide an overview of derivational morphemes with affixation and incorporation some details are provided in the order in which references are found in chapter 4. References to other parts of the book are included as appropriate. There is a suffix *-ne* with many verbs (§4.15.2.2.1), several different ways, including incorporation, to derive nominals (§4.15.2.2.2), adjectives are commonly derived with suffixation (§4.15.2.2.3) and adverbials commonly incorporate postpositions (§4.15.2.2.4).

4.15.2.2.1 Verb derivation**Verb roots from adverbs**

The verb *epone* ‘follow’ includes the final syllable *-ne* that is common with many other verbs (§4.2.13). It derives from *epono* ‘later’, see §4.2.13.

4.15.2.2.2 Nominal derivation**Action nouns from verbs, with object incorporation and *-apu* ‘nominalizer’**

Verb roots or stems with an object suffix and/or incorporated object noun phrase occur with agentive nominalization suffix *-apu* to form nouns or nominalized

clauses like *usu oro-apu* [pig shoot-NOM] ‘pig shooting’ and *imi-apu* [die-NOM] ‘death’ (§4.3.2.4, §5.2.2.2.6, §12.4).

Agentive nominals derived from noun phrases with *rame* ‘one/person’

An agentive noun can be formed by adding *rame* ‘one/person’ to a noun or noun phrase, for example, *epo rame* ‘stone (carrying) people’, in §4.3.2.6 and *hena heri hokoau rame* ‘a woman who makes net bags’ (D9.51.5). For further examples see §5.2.4

Agentive nouns derived from partial reduplication of verbs with incorporated objects

Agentive nouns based on partially reduplicated verbs and incorporated objects represent people involved in specific activities. For example, *usu ototo* ‘pig minder’ has partial reduplication of the verb *oto* ‘look after’ and *weri ososo* ‘doctor (lit. ‘ulcer bind-bind’)’ has partial reduplication of the verb *oso* ‘bind’ see (4.69) and (4.70) in §4.3.2.7.2.

Reciprocal nicknames from inflected verbs with incorporated reciprocal and object

Reciprocal nicknames include an inflected verb with an incorporated reciprocal and incorporated object. They represent a memorable activity shared by more than one person, see (4.70) in §4.3.3.3.1 and social categories (Priestley 2013a).

Placenames with incorporated postpositions

Placenames of some rivers, settlements and gardens include an incorporated postposition, *pa* ‘goal/locative’, or *sa* ‘near:goal/locative’. The nominal root may indicate a characteristic of the place, as in *Waimeri pa* ‘at the *waimeri* grass’, see §4.3.4.3.

4.15.2.2.3 Adjective derivation

Adjectives derived from verbs with the suffix *-au*

Many adjectives are derived from verb roots combined with the adjectivizer suffix *-au*. For example, *tikiri* ‘smell, sniff’ with *-au* becomes the adjective *tikiriau* ‘smelly’. Sometimes the uninflected form also functions as a noun, see §4.4.1.3.1.

Adjectives derived from temporals with the suffix *-hau*

Temporal adjectives are based on temporal nouns or temporals (e.g., *arisapu* ‘afternoon’, *apu* ‘now’) combined with temporal adjectivizer *-hau*, as in *apuhau* ‘recent’ (§4.4.1.3.2).

Adjectives derived from nouns with the suffix *-aiau*

Adjectives of visual properties such as colour can derive from nouns that refer to entities with distinctive colour, for example, *nu-aiau* ‘green, turquoise blue’ from *nu* ‘blue flower seed’. Adjective phrases can be formed by the same process, see §4.4.1.3.3.

Adjectives derived from nouns with the suffix *-re*

The adjectives *tamaitere* ‘male’ and *henare* ‘female’ are derived from the nouns *tamaite* ‘man’ and *hena* ‘woman’ respectively, see §4.4.1.3.3.

4.15.2.2.4 Adverbial derivation**Locative adverbs based on temporal adverbs and incorporated postpositions**

Locative adverbs can derive from temporal adverbs by incorporating *sa* ‘near:-goal/locative’, as in *eponsa* ‘behind’ from *epono* ‘later’, see §4.7.2.2.

Day counters derived from numerals with *-to*

Day counters may be derived from numerals combined with the final syllable *-to* of *oto* ‘day, knot’, see §4.7.2.3.

Relational locatives with incorporated postpositions

Many relational locatives are based on nouns, temporals, directional locatives and demonstratives with an incorporated postposition *sa* ‘near:goal/locative’, as in *sapusa* ‘front’ from *sapu* ‘verandah’, *eponsa* ‘behind’ from *epono* ‘later’, *yorosa* ‘high/above side’ from *yoroho* ‘above’ and *mosa* ‘this side’ from *mo* ‘this’. See §4.7.3.3 for details.

General locatives with incorporated postpositions

The general locatives include an incorporated postposition. At least one of them, *orupa* ‘inside’, derives from a noun, *oru* ‘insides’, §4.7.3.4.

Manner adverbs derived from adjectives with incorporated postpositions

Some manner adverbs are derived from adjectives with the manner postposition *pate* incorporated, for example, *arenepate* ‘powerfully’ from *arene* ‘big’ §4.7.4. *Arenepate* can also be used as an intensifier meaning ‘extremely’.

5 Noun phrases

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the basic components of noun phrases in sections on common (§5.2), kinship (§5.3), personal name (§5.4), placename (§5.5), temporal (§5.6), personal pronoun (§5.7) and pronominal noun phrases (§5.8). Functions of noun phrases (§5.9), the *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ enclitic (§5.10), listed noun phrases (§5.11) and appositive noun phrases (§5.12) are also discussed. Details of relative clauses are given in chapter 12.

5.2 Common noun phrases

The discussion of common noun phrases begins with an overview of the basic characteristics of common noun phrases (§5.2.1) and is followed by a description of pre-nominal modifiers (§5.2.2), post-nominal modifiers (§5.2.3) and the subtypes, *rame* ‘one/person’ noun phrases (§5.2.4) and headless noun phrases (§5.2.5).

5.2.1 Basic characteristics of common noun phrases

A common noun phrase has a common noun (cf. §4.3.2) as head noun and optional pre-head and post-head modifying constituents. Pre-nominally, demonstratives, possessors with genitive *o* marking and relative clauses with genitive *o* or *pao* marking are optional and mutually exclusive. In addition, an optional pre-head nominal can occur immediately prior to the noun following an optional demonstrative or possessor with *o*. The position immediately after the noun can be filled by one or more adjectives, a post-head nominal or an adjective phrase. A subsequent quantifier or indefinite specific article is also optional. Relative clauses with *rame* ‘one/person’ or *une* ‘relative pronoun’ are optional after the head noun and any optional adjective(s). Furthermore, a relative clause with *pao* ‘inanimate referent genitive’ occurs post-nominally if there is another constituent pre-nominally. Optional demonstratives occur in the final position of a noun phrase following post-nominal relative clauses that have the relative pronoun *une* (§12.10). Detailed descriptions of possessors and of relative clauses are given in chapters 6 and 12 respectively. The basic structure of a common noun phrase is outlined in Table 5.1.

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Table 5.1: The basic structure of a common NP.

(Demonstrative)	(Nominal)	Head noun	(ADJ ⁿ)	(Quantifier)
(Possessor)			(ADJ.P)	(Indefinite Specific Article)
(RC with <i>o/pao</i>)			(Nominal)	
			(RC with <i>rame/une</i> , or <i>pao</i> if there's a pre-head constituent)	(Demonstrative)

Some possessors, adjectives, quantifiers or relative clauses can be the sole constituent in a headless noun phrase (see §5.2.5, §12.7.2.3, §12.7.3.3). Demonstratives and indefinite specific articles can also function as heads of pronominal noun phrases (see §5.8).

Common noun phrases are headed by common nouns. The examples without modifying constituents in (5.1) and (5.2) represent subject and object arguments respectively.

(5.1) *Henahina=te heken topo re-pe n-a-te...*
 old.woman=PNP fire join PUT-LTD:3s
 ‘The old woman put together a fire...’ T1.10.2

(5.2) *Sene uo, usu oro na-pu-r-ia.*
 1p GRD pig pierce eat-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘We, we shoot (lit. ‘pierce’) and eat pig habitually.’ T1.26.1

Common nouns can be free unmarked forms as in (5.2) above (see also §4.3.2), or they can occur with possessor enclitics as in (5.3) below (see chapter 6 for details).

(5.3) *Wesese=mai, sorori-hi=mo.*
 trap=P1s construct-F1s=BM
 ‘I will construct my trap.’ T1.14.3

Expanded noun phrases often consist simply of a noun and one modifier, as in (5.4), but in some cases two modifiers occur, for example the adjective and indefinite article in (5.5).

- (5.4) ...*siti orohoi kerehe te-pe...*
 log long cut get-SR
 ‘...cut and got a long log...’ T1.13.7

- (5.5) *Ya aren ato men-a=o.*
 river big a/one be/stay-3s=EXC
 ‘There was a big river!’ T3.3.21

Often the head noun of a common noun phrase is modified by a pre-head nominal (5.6).

- (5.6) ...*aire weti mene-pe...*
 kunai grass house stay-SR
 ‘...stayed in the grass-roofed house...’ T1.27.29

In (5.7) a head noun is preceded by both a demonstrative and a pre-head nominal.

- (5.7) ...*u were oto pa u-pu-r-ia.*
 that sun day G/L do-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘...in that sunny season (lit. ‘sun days’) we habitually do this.’ T1.33.9

More fully expanded noun phrases are uncommon. The complement noun phrase of the postposition in (5.8) is the most fully expanded noun phrase in the current text corpus. A demonstrative occurs before the noun and an adjective and quantifier follow it.

- (5.8) ...*u weti arene aterei pa u pa,*
 that house big one G/L there G/L
masini u wesi-seka-pe te-r-a.
 machine there show-O1p-SR get-PRES-3s
 ‘...in that one big house, in there, he showed us a machine there.’ T1.20.24

Noun phrases with four modifying constituents have only been found in elicited data. When there is more than one type of adjective, adjectives describing visual attributes, such as physical properties and colour, occur closest to the head. They are followed by adjectives describing dimension and value. Quantifiers follow adjectives (5.9).

- (5.9) *Usu kaihe arene etamau ii men-e.*
 pig white big good three stay-3p
 ‘There are three, good, big white pigs.’

Temporal adjectives follow other adjective types (5.10) or they occur as pre-head nominals, see (5.32) in §5.2.2.2.5.

- (5.10) *Wene nare ea-hau men-a.*
 food cold yesterday-TADJ be-3s
 ‘There’s cold, leftover (lit. ‘yesterday’) food.’ D9.6.7

5.2.2 Pre-nominal modifiers

Demonstratives (§5.2.2.1), pre-head nominals (§5.2.2.2) and possessor noun phrases (see chapter 6) are optional modifying constituents that may occur prior to the head noun.

5.2.2.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives (cf. §4.14.1) that precede common nouns function as determiners expressing definiteness and specificity.

- (5.11) *Mo sakine moko te-r-a.*
 these words false GET-PRES-3s
 ‘These words are false.’ D3.146.4
- (5.12) *...u tiri kesan ta-pe, pupu kesan ta-pe...*
 that tree shape END-SR tree.fern shape END-SR
 ‘...shaped that tree, shaped the tree fern...’ T1.26.15

5.2.2.2 Pre-head nominals

5.2.2.2.1 Introduction

Common nouns, placenames, noun phrases, temporal adjectives, nominalisations with the suffix *-apu* and relative clauses with *pao* or *o* marking can occur as pre-head nominals (for relative clauses see chapter 12). The pre-head nominal specifies a property or characteristic of the referent of the head noun (cf. Kratochvíl 2007: 149 on Abui).

5.2.2.2.2 Common nouns as pre-head nominals

Common nouns that occur as pre-head nominals restrict the category denoted by the head noun. For example, they can indicate the substance of which a referent is made or the function it performs. In (5.13) the dominant material, or substance,

of the entities represented by the head nouns on the right are indicated by the common nouns that are pre-head nominals.

- (5.13) *epo kunu* 'cave' (lit. 'stone hollow/tunnel')
aire kuruhu 'grass re-growth'
ei sesera 'bamboo mat (woven)'
keti toruno 'mountain ridge'

In some cases, the most visually dominant substance associated with an entity is represented by the pre-head nominal (5.14) .

- (5.14) *aire keti* 'grass-covered mountain' (lit. 'grass mountain')
aire weti 'house with grass roof' (lit. 'grass house')
tahane keti 'forested mountain'

In (5.15) *epo* 'stones' are the key substance in an *esi* 'pit' used for cooking. In this pit food is cooked with a heat source consisting of hot stones after the burning wood that created the *epo hekeni* 'fire stones' has already burnt away.

- (5.15) *epo esi* 'cooking pit' (lit. 'stone pit/hole')
epo hekeni 'fire stones' (lit. 'stone fire')

In contrast, *hekeni* 'fire' is the substance of which the entities in (5.16) are made. There is no evidence at present that the final head nouns in these noun phrases occur elsewhere.

- (5.16) *hekeni aho* 'ashes' (lit. 'fire ashes')
heken²⁰ pera 'smoke' (lit. 'fire smoke')
heken posoro 'ash flakes' (lit. 'fire ash flakes')

Noun phrases with pre-head nominals function as complement of a clause in (5.17) and of a postpositional phrase in (5.18). The pre-head nominals and the head noun are highlighted in bold in the examples.

- (5.17) ...*weti* *ihi* *ta-pe* ***ei*** ***sesera*** *ihi* *ta-pe*...
house finish END-SR bamboo mat finish END-SR
'...finished the house and finished the bamboo mats...' T1.27.25

20 The high vowel /i/ is elided between nasals and obstruents (§2.4.2.1.1).

- (5.18) *Aine meiamia, epo kunu pa*
 fish moustache stone hollow G/L
ya sopo t-i.
 go strike get-1s
 ‘Moustache fish, I went and killed them in the cave.’ T5.20.19

A common noun in pre-head nominal position can indicate the primary purpose or function of a head noun that in many cases indicates a place (5.19) and (5.20).

- (5.19) *kau sapakotu* ‘cow path’
kansan wa ‘peanut garden’
weti mare ‘house site/place’
oremaisa weti ‘initiation house’

- (5.20) *Wera-ima uo, kansan wa pa ya n-a.*
 child-P1s GRD peanut garden G/L go STAY-3s
 ‘My child, she has gone to the peanut garden.’ T2.28.15

A pre-head nominal can specify the type of items a container is used for; thus, indicating its purpose or function (5.21).

- (5.21) *tepene heri* ‘plate bag’
tomto heri ‘meat bag’
sema heri ‘pot bag’

The characteristic purposes of times like *oto* ‘days’ and an abstract noun like *aie* ‘work’ can also be expressed by a pre-head nominal in (5.22) and (5.23).

- (5.22) *hekeni oto* ‘fire day’ (the grass is burnt in order to hunt for fleeing game)
nahe oto ‘mami (yam) day / mami (yam) harvest time’
wa aie ‘garden work’

- (5.23) ***Nahe oto pa uo, nahe oro re-pe...***
 mami day G/L GRD mami pierce PUT-SR
 ‘On mami (yam type) days we dig yams...’ T1.33.30

A pre-head nominal can modify a head noun that is an experiential verbal noun (§4.3.2.3.2, and chapter 11). In (5.24) *turupu* ‘head’ indicates the location of pain in the body.

- (5.24) *Turupu tare=te warike he-ne-r-a?*
 head pain=PNP bad PUT-O2s-PRES-3s
 'Is the headache affecting you badly?' D11.7.2

A pre-head nominal can also indicate the location of a body part. Some of these noun phrases are idiomatic and based on visual similarity. For example, *temi* 'band (decorative item for the arm)' is the head noun in *wai temi* 'gums (lit. 'teeth band')'.

- (5.25) *ami ru* 'eyelashes' (lit. 'eye hair')
turupu ru 'hair on head' (lit. 'head hair')
wai temi 'gums' (lit. 'teeth band', cf. *temi* 'decorative band for the arm')
enai haho 'shoulder blade' (lit. 'blade shoulder')
wapi kini 'arm muscles' (lit. 'arm rope')
pe kini 'neck muscle or windpipe' (lit. 'neck rope')
ehi toko 'knee' (lit. 'leg bone')
wapi toko 'elbow' (lit. 'arm bone')

In addition, parts of the body can be expressed in possessive nominal (whole-part) constructions (see §6.5.3.2.2)

5.2.2.2.3 Placenames as pre-head nominals

When placenames (cf. §4.3.4) are pre-head nominals they modify common nouns that represent places (5.26), people (5.27) or languages (5.28) associated with the named place.

- (5.26) *Enahu keti* 'Highland mountains'
Hemsisi weti 'Hemsisi house/village'
Sotoko weti 'Sotoko house/village'
Sotoko eme 'Sotoko land'
- (5.27) *Kempok tamaite* 'Gembogl man'
Madan tamaite 'Madang man'
Sarame tamaite 'Sarame man'
- (5.28) *Koromu sakine* 'Koromu talk/words/language'

The noun phrase in (5.29) refers to a person.

- (5.29) *Sisari wahira ya n-a.*
 Sisari elder go STAY-3s
 ‘The Sisari elder has gone.’ T2. M.16

5.2.2.2.4 Noun phrases as pre-head nominals

A noun phrase consisting of a pre-head nominal and a head noun can itself form a pre-head nominal in a noun phrase. This recursive structure is exemplified in (5.30) where the pre-head nominal consists of a placename and common noun, and in (5.31) where the pre-head nominal consists of two common nouns. The square brackets in the examples indicate the pre-head nominal.

- (5.30) *Mo, [Sotoko eme] sakine uhuru-pe...*
 these Sotoko land words heavy-SR
 ‘These, words about the Sotoko land are heavy.’ (lit. ‘Sotoko land words’)
 T5.23.103

- (5.31) *Asao uo, [ei oro]²¹ weti hoko hore-pe...*
 some GRD bamboo arrow house make PUT-SR
 ‘Some others, (they) made houses of arrow bamboo...’ (lit. ‘bamboo arrow houses’) T2.33.30

5.2.2.2.5 Temporal adjectives with *-hau* as pre-head nominals

When temporal adjectives (cf. §4.4.1.3.2) occur as pre-head nominals (5.32) there appears to be little difference in meaning from examples where they occur post-nominally as in (5.10).

- (5.32) *[Ea-hau] wene nare maiko ho-se-r-a.*
 yesterday-TADJ food cold laze PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I don’t want to eat leftover (lit. ‘yesterday’), cold food.’ D9.73

5.2.2.2.6 Nominalisations as pre-head nominals

Nominalisations with *-apu* (cf. §4.3.2.4 and §12.4.2) express characteristics of head nouns and frequently occur as pre-head nominals. The suffix *-apu* follows a bare verb root and can mark a whole predicate as a nominalisation. In (5.33) and (5.34) the pre-head nominals occur in the noun phrase complement of postpositions.

²¹ This is also the form for the verb *oro* ‘pierce: shoot, dig’.

- (5.33) ...*hena pisi [imi-apu] mare pa yar-e.*
 woman group die-NOM place G/L go-3p
 ‘...the group of women went to the tomb (lit. ‘death place’).’ Za5.1
 (Lk24:1)
- (5.34) *Niri uo, [ya mi-apu] oto pa*
 biting.insect GRD rain move.down-NOM day G/L
ari-pu-r-a.
 arrive-HAB-PRES-3s
 ‘The biting insect, it arrives in the rainy days/season (lit. ‘rain fall days’).’
 YTN4.18

5.2.3 Post-nominal modifiers

Adjectives (§5.2.3.1), adjective phrases (§5.2.3.2), post-head nominals (§5.2.3.3), quantifiers (§5.2.3.4) and the indefinite specific article (§5.2.3.5) as well as relative clauses with *pao* ‘inanimate referent genitive’ (cf. §5.2.1, §12.7.3.2), *rame* ‘one/person’ (§12.8) or *une* ‘relative pronoun’ (§12.10) can qualify the head noun as post-nominal modifiers (cf. §4.4).

5.2.3.1 Adjectives

Adjectives optionally follow and modify head nouns (5.35) .

- (5.35) *Apati putun-au=te oro ta-e=mo.*
 weapon explode-ADJR=PNP shoot END-3p=BM
 ‘They shot him with a gun (lit. ‘an exploding weapon’).’ T5.23.52

Adjectives can also occur as predicates in nonverbal clauses (see §3.7.1.3). Vowel lengthening and/or partial reduplication are used to indicate greater scalar proportion of simple adjectives that describe dimension (see §4.4.1).

5.2.3.2 Adjective phrases

Adjective phrases follow and modify head nouns. Each adjective phrase consists of an adjective followed by an intensifier such as *herekani* ‘really’, *sekau* ‘extremely’, *itini* ‘really, truly’ or *arenepate* ‘extremely’ (cf. §4.7.7). Examples of adjective phrases are *pene orohoi sekau* ‘extremely long neck’ and the example in square brackets in (5.36) .

- (5.36) *Amiarane sepa [warikau herekani].*
 Amiarane illness bad really
 ‘Amiarane has a really bad illness.’ D.4.155.1

5.2.3.3 Post-head nominals

Some nouns can occupy the post-head modifier position instead of the pre-head position (cf. §5.2.2.2). Although tests to determine the head are not straightforward, the suggestion in Croft is followed here, that the semantic head “is the primary information-bearing unit, that is, the most contentful item that most closely profiles the same kind of thing that the whole constituent profiles” or the one with the narrowest extension from that (2001: 259). The post-head nominals in Koromu restrict the category of the first nominal by indicating the kind of ‘thing’ it represents (5.37).

- (5.37) *...na tomto hei-apesi.*
 thing meat search.for-DES
 ‘...(we) want to search for game’ (lit. ‘for thing meat’) T1.33.16

Nominalisations with the verb *wi* ‘act, do, cook’ combined with *-apu* occur as post-nominal modifiers (5.38).

- (5.38) *Koia wi-apu ato mo n-ae!*
 sweet potato cook-NOM one here eat-IMP2s
 ‘Eat a cooked sweet potato here!’ D9.8.1

Some post-head nominals, for example, *tomto* ‘meat’ in (5.37) above, the sound *koe-koe* made by *yene koe-koe* ‘myer’s bronze cuckoo’ in (5.43) and words for months or seasons listed in (5.45), can stand alone as nouns. Others that are part of species names do not always have a separate meaning synchronically. As in many Australian languages, snake (5.39) and bird (5.40) species (cf. Appendix 3) can be identified by a head noun and a post-head nominal in a semantically generic-specific construction within the clause.

- (5.39) *naere amumu* ‘python’ (lit. ‘snake python’)
naere wamte ‘death adder’ (lit. ‘snake adder’)
- (5.40) *yene aripahe* ‘owl’ (lit. ‘bird owl’)
yene pororo ‘egret’ (lit. ‘bird egret’)

- (5.41) ...**naere wamte=te** sa amkoru pate ho-s-a.
 snake adder=BM way middle S/I bite-01s-3s
 ‘...a death adder bit me midway.’ T1.6a.1

Reduplicated onomatopoeic-like forms based on bird sounds can occur as post-head nominals following the head noun *yene* ‘bird’ as in (5.42) and (5.43).

- (5.42) *yene kiro-kiro* ‘blue tailed bee eater’
yene koe-koe ‘myer’s bronze cuckoo’
yene tui-tui ‘grey sandpiper’

- (5.43) **Yene koe-koe** tahene pa mene-pu-r-a.
 bird koe-koe forest G/L stay-HAB-PRES-3s
 “**Koe koe,**” sa-r-a.
 Koe koe say-PRES-3s
 ‘The myer’s bronze cuckoo lives in the forest. It says, “Koe koe.”’ YTN1.8

Asi ‘month (moon)’ and a noun that refers to an entity or event associated with a specific time of year are used to name months. The following exchange between speaker A and speaker B is an aside within a description of the life cycle of *atupu* ‘birds of paradise’.

- (5.44) A. *Apu asi mutu taumo?* B. **Asi yakere.**
 now moon heap UNC moon split
 ‘Is it *asi mutu* (June) now?’ ‘It is *asi yakere* (April).’ T1.5.4

Sakani of Kesawai 2 provided the following list of months: *asi poasi*, *asi furu*, *asi yaru*, *asi mutu(nu)*, *asi airopu*, *asi toa*, *asi seka*, *asi kopupu*, *asi panika* (1986: D2). This list was expanded by Sirin Kesapun, Sairam Tomas and Winis Mutu in 2004 (5.45) and further discussed with *Suru pane* in 2010. There is referential overlap between some of these terms (Sairam Tomas, pers. comm.) and as people tend to use Tok Pisin terms nowadays, owing to the proximity of the road, school and migrant neighbours, it has been difficult to establish the meaning and precise chronology of all the terms. The list in (5.45) starts with the month that corresponds to January. *Asi toa* and *asi mutu* may refer to the same month.

- (5.45) *asi pohasi* ‘the month of strong winds’
asi hotu ‘the month of rain and cold’
asi huru ‘the month of dirty water’

<i>asi yaru</i>	‘the month of edible wild bamboo shoots’ (when it is possible to begin harvesting some garden crops)
<i>asi toa</i>	(meaning and origin unknown)
<i>asi mutu(nu)</i>	‘the month of heaps’ (earth heaped up around growing yams, based on <i>mutu/mutunu</i> ‘heap [verb/noun]/hillock’)
<i>asi yakere</i>	‘the month of splitting’ (new taro, which splits when roasted, is ready, cf. <i>yakere</i> ‘split/laugh/smile [verb/noun]’)
<i>asi seka</i>	‘the month when crops are ready to eat’
<i>asi perare</i>	‘the month we try to burn the grass but there isn’t much’
<i>asi heteki</i>	‘the month of burning kunai grass and hunting’
<i>asi kopupu</i>	‘the month when the frogs come in the river’
<i>asi panica</i>	‘the month of the red <i>panika</i> flowers’
<i>asi airopu</i>	(meaning and origin unknown)

(Sirin Kesapun, Sairam Tomas, Winis Mutu, pers. comm. 2004: D11.11, 13)

5.2.3.4 Quantifiers

Quantity can be expressed by general quantifiers (§5.2.3.4.1), numerals (§5.2.3.4.2), reduplication or reduction (§5.2.3.4.3) as well as the enclitic =*ama* ‘group’ (§5.2.3.4.4). Quantifiers are optional since quantity is also expressed by singular and plural subject and object verbal suffixes. The verbal suffixes represent all persons except third person singular object.

5.2.3.4.1 General quantifiers

General quantifiers (cf. §4.4.2.2) occur post-nominally following optional adjectives as in (5.46) and (5.47). In (5.47) reduplication indicates greater intensity or degree (§4.7.7).

(5.46) ...*oto asao yare-pu-a-te...*
 day some go-HAB-3s-DR
 ‘...some days go by...’ T5.18.13

(5.47) *Na noko-nokono nupu men-a.*
 thing INTS-good many be -3s
 ‘There are many very good things.’ Za12, Filipai 4:19

5.2.3.4.2 Numerals

Numerals (cf. §4.4.2.3) are mutually exclusive with general quantifiers. They follow the head noun (5.48) or an optional adjective (5.49).

(5.48) *Esi pa toro aterei pa torono re-pe, ...*
 hole G/L ridge one G/L join PUT-SR
 ‘They joined up in a hole on one ridge...’ T5.5.2

(5.49) *...esame arene aterei, “Somoki,” u-i.*
 dog big one Smoky quote-1s
 ‘...one big dog, I say (call), “Smoky”.’ T2.32.29

Numeric quantities above *ii* ‘three’ are expressed by headless numeral noun phrases (see §5.2.5.2.2). Plural general quantifiers and numerals can also be modifiers in personal pronoun noun phrases (see §5.7).

5.2.3.4.3 Reduplication and reduction

In the final position of a noun phrase *nupu* ‘many, all’ can be reduplicated to indicate greater quantity, while *werai* ‘a few, little’ can be reduced to its final syllable to express lesser quantity (cf. §4.4.2.2).

(5.50) *...aie nupu-nupu mene-pu-a-te...*
 thing INTS-many be-HAB-3s-DR
 ‘...there is a lot of work...’ T1.33.27

(5.51) *Aine werane rai si-se-r-a=mo.*
 fish small few give-O1s-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘He gave me very few small fish.’ D9.1.7

5.2.3.4.4 The enclitic =ama ‘group’

A noun followed by the enclitic =*ama* indicates that there is a group, company or ‘mob’ (Australian English) of animate referents together with the referent of the head noun (cf. §4.4.2.4). The enclitic can occur in some common noun phrases or with modifiers in headless noun phrases that refer to human referents. It can also occur in proper, kinship and numeral noun phrases but it does not occur with pronominal and personal pronoun noun phrases. The same form is used to indicate items in a list (§5.11.3.2). Example (5.52) is in a common noun phrase.

(5.52) *Wererip o arumu-napa=ama mu ka-pe...*
 Wererip GEN clan-P3p=group sing come-SR
 ‘Wererip’s family and the group came singing....’ T1.18.2

5.2.3.5 Indefinite specific article

The indefinite specific article *ato* ‘a/one’ can be a modifier in common noun phrases (cf. §4.4.3). As in Du Bois (1980:224) “the hearer is not able to identify the intended referent” but the speaker “has a specific object in mind”. Thus, this indefinite specific article indicates that the referent is a specific objectively referential entity that is indefinite and unidentifiable to the hearer. Such an “objectively referential” entity is an “individuated entity in the message world” of the speaker (Payne 1997:263–264). *Ato* ‘a/one’ follows a noun in a subject noun phrase in (5.53) and an optional adjective in an object noun phrase in (5.54). It occurs in the final position of a more fully expanded noun phrase in (5.55).

(5.53) *Tamaite ato, Korosa=te, sau-pe n-a-te...*
 man a/one Korosa=PNP tell.3s-LTD:3s
 ‘A/one man, Korosa, he said...’ T1.14.2

(5.54) *Ya aren ato men-a=o.*
 river big a/one be-3s=EXC
 ‘There was a/one big river!’ T3.3.21

(5.55) *...weti werane ato mo pa, wese here-pe...*
 house small a/one here G/L make PUT-SR
 ‘...we will make a small house here...’ T5.23.8

Ato ‘a (one)’ can be combined with *na* ‘thing’ and *tomo* ‘other’ as *na ato* ‘something’ and *tomo ato* ‘another one’. A common noun that occurs without *ato* ‘a, one’ is both indefinite and non-specific.

5.2.4 Rame noun phrases

Rame noun phrases with *rame* ‘one/person’ as the head noun usually have a human referent (cf. §4.3.2.6). *Rame* can be modified by a pre-head nominal (5.56) and/or the indefinite specific article (5.57). There is no evidence that *rame* can be modified by adjectives and/or quantifiers.

(5.56) *Epo rame aharu-e.*
 stone one cover-3p
 ‘The stone ones covered it.’ (...the people who gathered stones)
 T2.31.32

- (5.57) ...**sepa rame ato** eme te ka-e.
 illness person a/one carry get come-3p
 ‘...they carried and brought a/one sick person.’ Za3, Luke 5:18

5.2.5 Headless noun phrases

An adjective (§4.4.1), quantifier (§4.4.2) or relative clause with *pao* IGEN (§6.6.3, §12.7.2.3, §12.7.3.3) can form a headless noun phrase if the head noun of a common noun phrase is omitted.

5.2.5.1 Headless adjective noun phrases

An adjective can be the sole constituent of a common noun phrase if a head noun is omitted and its referent is recoverable from the discourse or real-world context. In (5.58) the referent of the omitted noun phrase is recoverable four clauses earlier in the discourse (bold and underlined).

- (5.58) **Kasi** amoko=*ne* yo-r-i. Henahina si-s-a.
 tobacco fresh=P3s fill-PRES-1s old.woman give-O1s-3s
 Se te-pe yo hor-i.
 strip GET=SR fill PUT-1s
Amoko=*ne* mi eran t-i.
 fresh=P3s move.down break GET-1s
 ‘I filled fresh tobacco. The old woman gave it to me. I stripped it and filled (a bag). I went down and broke off her fresh ones.’ T1.15.14

In (5.59) the omitted head noun’s referent is recoverable from preceding discussion.

- (5.59) ...**suruma-hau** uo, aire tama re-pu-e-te,...
 before/old-TADJ GRD kunai burn PUT-HAB-3p-DR
 ‘...the old ones, they habitually lit the kunai grass...’ T5.18.4

Headless noun phrases should not be confused with abstract nouns that have the same form as adjectives (cf. §4.3.2.1). Although ambiguity is possible, zero-derivation does not occur with all adjectives, and with headless noun phrases recoverable head nouns are clear in context.

5.2.5.2 Headless quantifier noun phrases

5.2.5.2.1 Headless general quantifier noun phrases

A general quantifier can be the sole constituent in a noun phrase when the head noun is recoverable from the discourse. In (5.60) the head noun *kasi* ‘tobacco’ is recoverable from an earlier clause (given in (5.58) above).

- (5.60) ...*mi* *eran* *t-i*. **Werai** *apa* *t-i*.
 move.down remove get-1s little hold GET-1s
 ‘I went down and removed them (tobacco leaves). I got hold of a little.’
 T1.15.16

5.2.5.2.2 Headless numeral noun phrases

Numerals can occur in headless noun phrases. In (5.61) a numeral marked by =*ama* ‘group’ refers to the pronoun earlier in the clause.

- (5.61) ...**nene**=*te* *ne* *her-e*, **aer**²²=**am**=*te*.
 3p=PNP eat PUT-3p two=group=PNP
 ‘...they ate it up, the two of them.’ T2.33.20

A headless noun phrase can consist of a numeral and indefinite specific article *ato* ‘a, one’.

- (5.62) **Aine** **meiamia**.
 fish moustache
epo *kunu* *pa* **aere** **ato** *ya* *sopo* *t-i*.
 rock hollow G/L two a go strike get-1s
 ‘Moustache fish, I went and killed a couple (lit. ‘one two’) in a cave.’
 T5.20.20

Two or even three such numeral phrases can occur in a list, as in (5.63).

- (5.63) ...**aere** **ato**, **ii** **ato** *ka-pe* *sekae* *take-ne-pe*...
 two a/one three a/one come-SR salt lick-SR
 ‘...a twosome and a threesome (five) came and licked salt...’ T5.22.10

22 The final vowel /e/ is affected by pre-vocalic /e/ elision (§2.4.2.2.2).

5.3 Kinship noun phrases

Kinship noun phrases minimally consist of a bound kinship noun (see §4.3.3.2) with a possessor suffix (see §6.5.3.3). A kinship noun phrase can function as a core argument (5.64), a predicate of a nonverbal clause (cf. §3.7) or, like other noun phrases with human referents, as an object of the ‘animate locative’ postposition *ahare* when it is used as a genitive postposition (cf. §7.3.5).

- (5.64) ...*ahi-ma=te* *sasi-s-a*.
 mother-P1s=PNP tell-O1s-3s
 ‘...my mother told me.’ T5.3.5

Kinship noun phrases, like personal pronoun noun phrases (see §5.7), can include the reflexive/emphatic suffix *-morou* ‘self’. In a classificatory kinship system in which ego has many *pa-* ‘fathers’ and *ah-* ‘mothers’ this suffix indicates a restricted close relationship, such as biological fatherhood or motherhood.

- (5.65) ...*pa-morou-ne...*
 father-self-P3s
 ‘...his true (lit. ‘self’) father’ ... D9.22.3

When used as a vocative, a kinship noun can occur with an address suffix or with both a possessor suffix and an address suffix (cf. §4.3.3.4).

- (5.66) *Ahi-ya!*
 mother-ADD
 ‘Mother!’
- (5.67) *Ahi-ma-ya!*
 mother-P1s-ADD
 ‘My mother!’

5.4 Personal name noun phrases

Personal name noun phrases consist simply of a personal name (cf. §4.3.3.3). They can occur in vocative constructions (cf. §4.3.3.4), as core arguments (5.68), as predicates in nonverbal clauses (5.69) or objects of the *ahare* ‘animate locative’ postposition (5.70).

- (5.68) **Home** *amkoru te re-pe epa n-ia.*
 Home middle get PUT-SR hold STAY-1p
 ‘We put Home in the middle and held her.’ T1.15.49
- (5.69) *U* **Amoko.**
 that Amoko
 ‘That is/was Amoko.’ CS9.12
- (5.70) *Peraru-s-a-te,* **Yume ahare** *ka-i.*
 hunger-01s-3s-DR Yume ALOC come-1s
 ‘I was hungry, and I came to Yume.’ T1.16.6

5.5 Placename noun phrases

Most placename noun phrases consist simply of a placename (cf. §4.3.4). However, some placename noun phrases indicate specific rivers. They include a preceding noun *ya* ‘river’, for example *Ya Marea* ‘River Marea’ and *Ya Kohu* ‘River Kohu’ (5.341). A placename noun phrase can function as a core argument (5.71), an object of a locative *pa* or *sa* postposition (cf. §7.3) as in (5.71), a locative argument (5.72) or a predicate in a nonverbal clause (5.73). They can also be a pre-head nominal (see §5.2.2.2.3 above).

- (5.71) *Surumapa* **Sotoko** *ateri. U=te,* **Pakaia** *pate, a*
 long.ago Sotoko one that=PNP Pakaia S/L come
mi-pe, **Ya Kohu** *sa ese ya n-a.*
 move.down-SR river Kohu N:G/L cut go STAY-3s
 ‘Long ago Sotoko was one. It (that) came down from the Pakaia and at the River Kohu it was cut off.’ T5.22.5
- (5.72) *...Saimono,* *apu, Monte,* **Mandan** *yare-r-a.*
 Simon now Monday Madang go-PRES-3s
 ‘...Simon, is going to Madang now, Monday.’ T5.23.89
- (5.73) *Mo* **Waimeripa.**
 this Waimeripa
 ‘This is Waimeripa.’ T2.33.6

5.6 Temporal noun phrases

Temporal noun phrases have a general temporal noun, or part-of-day temporal noun, as head (cf. §4.3.5). The semantic nature of the temporal noun affects their distribution in the clause and the occurrence of pre-nominal and/or post-nominal modifiers.

Temporal noun phrases in which the head noun is a part-of-day noun can occur as oblique arguments (5.74) and as complements of quasi-copula clauses (5.75) or postpositions (5.77).

(5.74) **Somoto** *wa pa yare-pe, ...*
 morning garden G/L go-SR
 ‘(they) went to the garden in the morning...’ T6.71

(5.75) ...*si arisapu, horu-a-te...*
 then afternoon become-3s-DR
 ‘...then it became afternoon and...’ T1.20.41 – repeated from (3.82)

A day counter (5.76), or borrowed Tok Pisin day name (5.77), can occur in pre-head position.

(5.76) **Apu somoto, sene Pikhete are wene**
 today morning 1p Big.Head COM food
here ne ta-pe n-ia-te,...
 cook eat END-LTD:1p
 ‘This (today) morning (Tok Pisin “nau monin”), we, Big Head and I, cooked and ate food and then, ...’ T1.20.1 (NB. *Apu* also means ‘now’).

(5.77) **Tunte somoru pate, ane he-s-a.**
 Tuesday night S/I wake PUT-O1s-3s
 ‘He woke me during Tuesday night.’ T2.15.2

The part-of-day temporal noun *wesekere* ‘midday’ can be modified by the post-nominal adjective *amkoru* ‘middle’. The resulting temporal noun phrase is often used now to refer to the time between 12:00 and 1:00 when the community school is closed. (This is known as *belo* in Tok Pisin.)

(5.78) ...**wesekere amkoru pate si, ya pa,**
 midday middle S/I then, river G/L

yonu pa mi poho nu-pu-r-ia.
 shade G/L move.down sit STAY-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘...at noon (lit. ‘middle of midday’), we go down and sit, at the river, in
 the shade.’ T1.33.4

The temporal noun *pi* ‘time’ is always modified by a post-nominal numeral so that the temporal noun phrase expresses frequency.

pi aterei one time
pi aere two times
pi ii three times
pi nupu many times

The phrase occurs prior to a verb, as in (5.79). It is similar to a manner adverb (cf. §4.7.4) in meaning and in distribution.

(5.79) **Pi ii ka-pinte...**
 time three come-SR:1s:LD
 ‘I came three times...’ T1.20.42

5.7 Personal pronoun noun phrases

In personal pronoun noun phrases, personal pronouns (cf. §4.5.2) are head as in (5.80) below. They are distinct from pronominal noun phrases (cf. §5.8) because the personal pronoun indicates person and number. Like kinship noun phrases, personal pronoun noun phrases can include the reflexive/emphatic suffix *-morou* ‘self’ and like common noun phrases they can include quantifiers. The limiter suffix *-naru* ‘alone’ is also an optional constituent of personal pronoun noun phrases.

A personal pronoun noun phrase, like other human referent noun phrases, can be a core argument (5.80), a predicate of a nonverbal clause (cf. §3.7) or an object of the ‘animate locative’ postposition *ahare* if it is used as a genitive postposition (cf. §7.3.5). However, personal pronoun noun phrases cannot occur with the enclitic *=ama* ‘group’.

(5.80) **...sene Ponte, Wetake sa yar-ia.**
 1p Thursday Wetake P:G/L go-1p
 ‘...we went to Wetake on Thursday.’ T2.15.1

The suffix *-morou* ‘self’ (cf. §3.6.2.6, §5.3) indicates reflexive with the object in (5.81) and emphatic with the subject in (5.82).

(5.81) ***Te-morou*** *apu pehe here-r-ia=mo.*
 2p-self now hit PUT-PRES-2p=BM
 ‘Now you are hitting yourselves.’ D7.19.5

(5.82) ...*ato*, ***ni-morou*** *u pa em ne-pu-a.*
 one 3s-self there G/L die STAY-HAB-3s
 ‘...one, he himself dies there’ (...a pig caught in a trap) T1.26A.12

Personal pronouns can occur with the limiter suffix *-naru* ‘alone’.

(5.83) ...*weri ososo tai s-a-te*, ***i-naru*** *seripi ka-i.*
 doctor NEG say-3s-DR 1s-alone get.up come-1s
 ‘...the doctor (lit. ‘ulcer binder’) didn’t say it, and I alone got up and came.’ T2.13.13

Plural quantifiers such as the numeral *aere* ‘two’ or the general quantifier *nupu* ‘many, all’ can occur following plural personal pronouns.

(5.84) ...***sene aere*** *u pa min-ia.*
 ...2p two that G/L stay-1p
 ‘...we two stayed there.’ T6.8.14

(5.85) ***Sene nupu*** *tapa min-ia.*
 1p all outside be/stay-1p
 ‘We all stayed outside.’ T6.4.26

5.8 Pronominal noun phrases

Pronominal noun phrases consist of demonstratives and indefinite specific pronouns that function as pronominal replacements of the common noun phrase construction.

5.8.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives (cf. §4.14.1) can be used pronominally as subject, (5.86) and (5.87), or object (5.88) noun phrases. The referents are recoverable from the discourse as in (5.87), or the real-world context as in (5.86) and (5.88).

- (5.86) *U pa-ima.*
that father-P1s
'That is my father.' D3.100.5
- (5.87) *...imi-a, ato. U imi-a.*
die-3s one that.one die-3s
'...someone, he/she died. That one died.' T1.9.6
- (5.88) *...si mo te-pe amkoru ese re-pe...*
so this get-SR middle cut PUT-SR
'...so he gets this (a fishtrap that is in the room) and puts it in the middle ...' T1.17.13

5.8.2 Indefinite specific pronouns

The indefinite specific pronoun *ato* 'one, another, someone' (§4.6) functions as a pronominal noun phrase. Like the indefinite specific article (§4.4.3, §5.2.3.5) it refers to an entity that is specific in the mind of the speaker but the precise referent is indefinite for the hearer. One individual from a set of individuals (or animals) is indicated. For example, in (5.89) *ato* occurs three times as an object noun phrase. Each noun phrase refers to a different member of the set of referents indicated by *usu werane* 'small pigs'. The addressee is not given visual details or other characteristics to distinguish one of these referents from another.

- (5.89) *...usu werane uo, ato Nisom tu-pe, ato Anta*
pig small GRD one Nisom give-SR one Anta
aha-ne tu-pe, ato nene=te, te-pe ka-e.
mother-P3s give-SR one 3p=PNP get-SR come-3p
'...the little pigs, they gave Nisom one, they gave Anta's mother one, and one they got it and came.' T2.11.11

Example (5.90) occurs in a text in which the speaker lists the siblings in a family in their birth order (Arikao Tomas, T1.9). In this context, the speaker uses *ato* 'one, someone' to refer to the unnamed sibling who was born after Hauto, the sister named in the link or topic-like element (cf. §14.2 and §14.3).

- (5.90) *Hauto ahare ehi pa uo, ato imi-a.*
Hauto ALOC leg G/L GRD one die-3s
'At Hauto's leg (after Hauto was born...), one (of the siblings) died.' T1.9.5

In the following statements *ato* ‘someone’ is first an object and then a subject noun phrase. In each case *ato* ‘someone’ refers to one of the set of all human referents rather than a small set of identifiable referents.

(5.91) **Ato** *were-r-i.* *U* *pa* *men-a.*
 one see-PRES-1s there G/L be-3s
 ‘I saw someone. He/She was there.’ CS1.2

(5.92) **Ato=te** *te-r-a.*
 one=PNP get-PRES-3s
 ‘Someone got it.’ CS1.1

5.9 Functions of noun phrases

The syntactic functions that noun phrases can have are:

- subject (5.84) or object (5.89) of a clause
- predicate of a nonverbal clause (5.73)
- complement of a negative or quasi copula clause (5.75)
- complement of a postposition (5.8)
- a locative argument (5.72)
- a temporal argument (5.74)
- a pre-head nominal (5.30)

Based on the author’s research Table 5.2 indicates the functions of common, pronominal, kinship, personal name, placename, personal pronoun and nominalisation noun phrases. Other nominals and headless noun phrases vary as to how they function syntactically and are discussed in the relevant sections above.

Table 5.2: Functions of NPs¹

Function	S of VCL.	O of VCL.	S of Non-V CL.	Pred.	Comp.	O of Postp.	Locative argument	Temporal argument	Pre-head nominal
Common									
Common	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	–	✓
<i>Rame</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓		–	–	–	
Headless	✓	✓	✓	✓		–	–	–	

Table 5.2 (continued)

Function	S of VCl.	O of VCl.	S of Non-V Cl.	Pred.	Comp.	O of Postp.	Locative argument	Temporal argument	Pre-head nominal
Pronominal									
Demonstrative	✓	✓	✓	–		✓	–	–	
Indefinite Specific	✓	✓	✓	✓		–	–	–	
Kinship	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	–	–	
Personal name	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	–	–	
Placename	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	–	✓
Personal pronoun	✓	✓	✓	–		✓	–	–	
Nominalisation	✓	✓						–	
Temporal	–	–	–		✓	✓	–	✓	

Note:

1 In Table 5.1 ✓ indicates a function, – is lack of a function, blank is insufficient data, S = subject, O = object, V = verbal, Cl. = clause, NonV = nonverbal, Pred. = predicate, Comp. = complement, Postp. = postposition.

A noun phrase has a syntactic function in a larger construction. This mediates semantic and information-structuring functions. Semantic functions specify the roles, such as agent, patient, and benefactive, which noun phrase referents play in an activity or state of affairs (see §3.6.5 and chapter 10). Information-structuring functions indicate the nature of the information communicated. They take into account the participant’s worldview and current knowledge as well as spatial and temporal perspectives (see chapters 13 and 14). Noun phrases, like temporals, locatives and clauses, can be ‘ground’ (topic-like or tail elements) in a discourse, see (5.329) and chapter 13.

5.10 The enclitic =te ‘prominent noun phrase’

The enclitic =te ‘prominent noun phrase’ is optional with subject noun phrases (see §4.12 and §13.5). Although =te ‘prominent noun phrase’ can occur with non-agentive subjects to indicate discourse prominence it also occurs with noun phrases that have an agent or effector semantic role (§13.5) to disambiguate subject and object. Furthermore, there is probably a historical connection between this enclitic and the postposition *te* ‘instrumental’ (§4.8 and §74.2.2). In

the examples below, =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ occurs with a possessive, an expanded, a pronominal and a personal pronoun noun phrase.

(5.93) **Io** **ahi-ma=te**, “*Nau topi-ae!*” *u-a*.
 GEN1s mother-P1s=PNP coconut climb-IMP1s quote-3s
 ‘My mother said, “Climb the coconut!”’ T1.4.1

(5.94) **Hena** **ato=te** *koia* *si-se-r-a*.
 woman one=PNP sweet potato give-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘One woman (a certain woman) was giving me sweet potato.’ D4.191. 13

(5.95) **U=te** *imi-seka* *t-a-te...*
 that=PNP take-O1p get-3s-DR
 ‘That one took us...’ T1.20.17

(5.96) **Sene=te** *pi-pe* *min-ia*.
 1p=PNP stood-SR stay-1p
 ‘We stood and stayed.’ T5.23.62

In (5.97) =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ occurs in a headless possessive noun phrase (cf. §5.2.5.2.2 and §6.6.3). This example is affected by progressive vowel harmony (cf. §2.4.3.3.2).

(5.97) “*Tepere kie*,” *u-pu-r-e=mo*, *nene*, **keti**
 tepere kie quote-HAB-PRES-3p=BM 3p mountain
pao=to, **Saipa o=to**.
 IGEN=PNP Saipa GEN=PNP
 ‘“*Tepere kie*,” they say, they, the mountain’s (people), *Saipa*’s (people).’
 T7.4.7 (*Tepere kie* means ‘it is yam’ in the Sinsauru/Kou language of Saipa.)

5.11 Listed noun phrases

Core argument noun phrases can be grouped together in a list and cross-referenced by a subject or object suffix on the verb. An intonation juncture follows each noun phrase. The juxtaposition of noun phrases in this way is similar to

asyndetic coordination (Haspelmath 2007: 7). Listed noun phrases appear in a simple list with final consolidating *ote/otepe* ‘all (group)’ or with a list morpheme following each item.

5.11.1 Simple listing

Noun phrases that have either inanimate or animate referents can be listed as follows.

NP, NP,...ⁿ

Example (5.98) includes a list of noun phrases with inanimate referents. Third person plural object suffix is not usually realized with inanimate referents (§3.6.2.2, §9.3.2.4).

- (5.98) *...koia, aiake, ou mo pu-pu-r-ia.*
 sweet.potato cassava yam here plant-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘...we regularly plant sweet potato, cassava and yam here.’ T1.33.36

Juxtaposed noun phrases with human referents cross-reference the subject suffix in (5.99). The enclitic =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ indicates discourse prominence (see §13.5).

- (5.99) *Keirep=te, Kaki=te, Ien=te, i=te,*
 Caleb=PNP Kaki=PNP Ian=PNP, 1s=PNP
Karo=te, Pira=te top-ia.
 Carol=PNP Pira=PNP climb-1p
 ‘Caleb, Kaki, Ian, Carol, Pira and I climbed it.’ AV.K.9.45

5.11.2 Listing with a final consolidating noun phrase

A series of juxtaposed noun phrases, referring to human or named animate referents cross-referenced by the subject suffix on the verb, can have a final appositional, consolidating noun phrase *otepe/ote* ‘all (group)’ or a pronoun *nene* ‘they’ (cf. example (14.12) in §14.3.2.1.1).

[NP, NP, ...ⁿ] , [otepe/nene]

In such lists enclitic =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ is optional, see (5.100) and (5.101).

- (5.100) **Ene pa-nema=te, Ien=te, Tinti=te,**
 Ene’s father-P3s=PNP Ian=PNP Tinti=PNP
Kaki=te, otepe *u-e.*
 Kaki=PNP all.group do-3p
 ‘Ene’s father, Ian, Tinti and Kaki, all did it.’ AV.K.v.2.19

- (5.101) **Popo, Esime, Karo, Rutu, Iene, otepe** *mi-e.*
 Bob Esme Carol Ruth Ian all.group move.down-3p
 ‘Bob, Esme, Carol, Ruth, and Ian, all moved down.’ T1.27.28

The shortened form *ote* of *otepe* ‘all (group)’ occurs in (5.102).

- (5.102) **...i=te, Ien=te, Rusi=te, ote** *pari*
 1s=PNP Ian=PNP Ruth=PNP all.group again
Koroka taunu pa ka-ia.
 Goroka town G/L come-1p
 ‘...Ian, Ruth, and I, all came again to Goroka town...’ T1.22.33

5.11.3 Listing noun phrases and listing morphemes

Listing noun phrases can have an identical morpheme following each item, for example, the enclitic =*rare* ‘and/with’ and the enclitic =*ama* ‘group’ with animate referents, and the postposition *ore* ‘comitative (with)’ with inanimate or animate referents. Similar structures are found in other languages. For example, Schachter and Shopen (2007: 47) state that in verb-final languages correlative, paired coordinating conjunctions, “typically follow each of the conjuncts”. This “involves repeating the same conjunction”. Haspelmath (2007: 11) states that multiple coordinands can occur with postpositive coordinands with no intonation juncture.

5.11.3.1 Listing animate subject noun phrases with =*rare* ‘and/with’

Two animate subject noun phrases can be listed with the associative enclitic =*rare* ‘and/with’ following each one (cf. §4.11). They are headed by proper nouns, personal names or kinship nouns, or animate common nouns. One noun phrase and its listing morpheme can be omitted if the referent is recoverable from the verbal suffix or from information in the discourse or real-world context. Similarly, in Usan

and other languages, connectives can be used for comitative relations and “the comitative may be considered as part of the subject for the purpose of marking number on the verb” (Reesink 1987: 85). The Koromu structure is as follows.

NP =rare, (NP =rare) / (NP =rare) NP =rare

If there is no prior contextual information about the participants, the subject can be expressed by two listed noun phrases with =rare and cross-referencing on the verb, as in (5.103).

- (5.103) *Tamaite=rare, hena=rare keti pa men-e.*
 man=and woman=and mountain G/L be-3p
 ‘A man and a woman are on the mountain.’ T3.2.10

Just one overt noun phrase with a singular referent can occur in the clause (5.104) if the participant not represented by an overt noun phrase is recoverable from the discourse or real-world context (cf. §13.4).

- (5.104) *Wawi=are,²³ waikohu=are ka-r-ie... ..*
 Wawi=and agemate=and come-PRES-1p
 ...u pa a perauhi yar-a-te,
 there G/L come fall go-3s-DR
waikohu=rare, perau-r-e.
 agemate=and fell-PRES-3p
 ‘Wawi and agemate we came... ..there, he came and went falling, and (he, Wawi) and agemate, fell.’ T1.13.16

When the subject is first person plural the verbal subject suffix indicates this but a noun phrase with a first person singular referent is omitted from the clause, and only a third person referent is realized by an overt noun phrase marked by =rare ‘and/with’, as in (5.105) and (5.106).

- (5.105) *Kahu=rare, sene hare weti pa u pa*
 Kahu=and 1p ALOC house G/L that G/L
ene-r-ia.
 lie-PRES-1p
 ‘Kahu and (I) slept there at our house.’ T1.20.40

²³ See §2.4.4.2 for elision of /r/.

- (5.106) **Wawi=are,**²⁴ **waikohu=rare** *ka-r-ie*.
 Wawi=and agemate=and come-PRES-1p
 ‘Wawi, my agemate and (I) came.’ T1.13.12

5.11.3.2 Listing animate noun phrases with =ama ‘group’

Common nouns with human referents, kinship nouns and personal nouns that have singular animate referents can occur in lists of up to four noun phrases with =ama ‘group’ following each noun (cf. §4.11). Each noun refers to one member of the group, as in the formula and examples below where the notation ⁿ applies to noun phrases and =ama ‘group’ as a whole.

NP =ama, NP =ama,...ⁿ

When this occurs, some ambiguity is possible since =ama may indicate that there is a collective group of referents associated with each noun in the list (see §4.4.2.4) or that the entities are grouped in a list. Generally, knowledge of the discourse or real-world context suggests that in lists =ama ‘group’ simply indicates each member of the group. Examples are common in lists of object noun phrases, for example with teknonyms and specific personal names (cf. §4.3.3.3.1) in (5.107).

- (5.107) **Airehena pa-ne=ama,** **Makani=ama,** **Yako=ama**
 Airehena father-P3s=group Makani=group Yako=group
heti-neka-ia.
 wait-O3p-1p
 ‘We waited for Airehena’s father, Makani and Yako.’ T2.31.62

Listed noun phrases with =ama ‘group’ can also occur with subject noun phrases. However, this doesn’t appear to be as common as with the object.

- (5.108) **Wawi=ama,** **Nerime=ama** *auhu a te-r-e*.
 Wawi=group Nerime=group betel come get-PRES-3p
 ‘Wawi and Nerime came and got betel (nut).’ T1.13.3

Listed noun phrases with ama ‘group’ may occur with subject coreferential noun phrases in left dislocated links followed by *uo* ‘ground’ (see §14.3), as in (5.109) with a personal name and a kinship noun.

²⁴ Initial /r/ of =rare is elided in some contexts (see §2.4.4.2).

- (5.109) **Sara=ama, hena-ima=ama** *uo*,
 Sara=group wife-P1s=group GRD
wau oto-e-te,...
 banana remove-3p-DR
 ‘Sara and my wife, they removed the bananas...’ T6.7.12

In contrast, in (5.110) only one of the noun phrases is the subject marked by *te* ‘prominent noun phrase’. Thus, it is clear that the two noun phrases with =*ama* enclitics are used to refer to two different groups of people.

- (5.110) ...*pari Makam=am*²⁵=*te* *polisi=ama imi-neka-te*,...
 again Markham=group=PNP police=group take-O1s-DR
 ‘...again the Markham company took a company of police...’ T5.23.76

5.11.3.3 Listing inanimate or animate referent noun phrases with *ore* ‘comitative’

Although inanimate referent noun phrases are commonly found listed in juxtaposition, at least four inanimate referent noun phrases can be listed with *ore* ‘comitative, with’ followed by an intonation juncture (cf. Haspelmath 2007: 29). This listing morpheme has the same form as the postposition *ore* ‘comitative’ that occurs in oblique arguments (cf. §7.4.1.2).

NP *ore*, NP *ore*,...ⁿ

- (5.111) ...*auhu ore, kasi ore, epena ore, sepeki ore*
 betel.nut with tobacco with ironwood.seed with lime with
takere pa mi te her-e.
 table G/L move.down get PUT-3p
 ‘...they put betel nut, tobacco, ironwood seed and lime down on the table.’ / ...they put betel nut with tobacco, with ironwood seed and with lime.’ T2.31.23

- (5.112) **En ore, wera-ne ore em te yare-pe**...
 husband with child-P3s with carry get go-SR
 ‘Her husband, her child, took her...’ 2015.ZQ2.0001.6

²⁵ Final vowel elision between nasals and obstruents, see §2.4.2.1.1.

5.12 Appositive noun phrases

Appositive noun phrases describe the same referent in different terms, with one standing in apposition to another, and the second adding extra information. A pause can occur between them. The initial noun phrase may be a pronoun, kinship noun or common noun while the final one can be a nominal compound, proper noun (including teknonyms), common noun or a noun phrase with a relative clause. Below, in example (5.113) the second noun phrase consists of a pre-head nominal of location modifying a common noun. This provides greater information about the referent of the initial pronoun. In (5.114) a kinship term is followed by a teknonym that provides greater detail about the member of kin. In (5.115) a common noun is followed by an appositive proper noun, a specific personal name.

(5.113) *Ni, Sisari wahira, am tukun-a-te, ...*

3s Sisari old.man eye close-3s-DR

'He, the Sisari old man closed his eyes and...' T2.M.18

(5.114) *Ya-ma, Upumati moto-ne, amkoru pasi-ia.*

tambu-P1s Upumati brother-P3s middle met-1p

'We met my tambu, Upumati's brother, in the middle.' T2.15.59

(5.115) *Henahina Yawa u mene-pe,...*

old woman Yawa there be-SR

'The old woman Yawa, was there...' T2.33.9

An appositive noun phrase may be a pronoun with prominence marking if the speaker is attempting to get someone's attention (5.116). It can also be a qualifier, a stylistic device that provides opportunity to give extra prominence or emphasis with numbers (5.117).

(5.116) *Ne, Home, ne=te, eno ya were hei-ae!*

you Home you=PNP over.there go see find-IMP2s

'You, Home, you, go over there and see/look.' T1.15.67

(5.117) *...ou, nahe, nene aere u en-e...*

yam, taro, 3p two there lay-3p

'...yam and taro those two lay there...' T5.17.16

6 Possessive nominal constructions

6.1 Introduction

The nominal constructions described in this chapter are whole-part (partitive) and possessive constructions. See Priestley (2008) for more semantic details. The first two sections briefly discuss terminology (§6.2) and basic characteristics of form and meaning in Koromu constructions (§6.3). Subsequent sections describe partitive constructions that include head nouns and the suffix *-ne* ‘P3s’ (§6.4), and possessive constructions in which dependent nouns, which are sometimes marked, are followed by a genitive postposition *o* ‘genitive of animate referent noun phrases’ (GEN)’ (§6.5), *pao* ‘genitive of inanimate referent noun phrases’ (IGEN)’ (§6.6), *sao* ‘genitive of animate referent headless phrases’ (AGEN)’ (§6.7) and *ahare* ‘genitive of animate referent noun phrases within locative postpositional phrases’ (§6.8). Postpositions *pao* and *o* also have a role in relative clauses, (§12.7) and (§12.9) respectively, and *ahare* also functions as an animate locative postposition (§7.3.4).

6.2 Terminology of possession

Structurally, possessive constructions are two-member syntagmatic units “with the possessed noun as head and the possessor as its modifier or dependent” (Nichols 1988: 557). Nichols also distinguishes head-marked, split-marked (head- or dependent-marked) and dependent-marked possessive constructions (Nichols 1988: 563–566). In Koromu constructions, either the head noun, the dependent noun, or both, can be marked.

The standard linguistic terminology about possession is potentially misleading semantically since several different types of relationship between two entities can be indicated, for example, ownership, whole-part relations and kinship relations. In relation to this Lichtenberk comments that

the terms ‘possessive construction’, ‘possessor’ and ‘possessed’ are to be understood as technical terms. A possessive construction need not express true possession, i.e. ownership, as in *my house*, meaning ‘the house I own’, but many other types of relationship between two entities. (1983: 148, cf. McGregor 2009, Goddard and Wierzbicka 2016)

The terms alienable and inalienable possession are frequently used to distinguish types of possession in Australian, African, American and Pacific languages (cf. Chappell and McGregor eds. 1996). When used for structural types,

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the term ‘inalienable’ refers to possessive marking attached directly to the noun that indicates the possessed item, while ‘alienable’ is used when possessive marking is found elsewhere. Semantically, inalienable possession indicates “a permanent and inherent association between the possessor and the possessed” (Chappell and McGregor 1996: 4). It often refers to ‘parts’ of a whole as discussed in Wierzbicka (1996: 1) below.

The label “possessive”, frequently used in grammatical descriptions, has no constant semantic content, but it is usually used with respect to constructions whose meaning involves the concept of PART. For example, the so-called “inalienable possession” is usually based on the notion of ‘a part of a person’ or ‘a part of a person’s body’ (often extended to things that are seen as ‘like a part of a person’).²⁶

In contrast, linguists use the terms ‘alienable’ or ‘separable’ possession (Sapir 1917: 86) to indicate “a variety of rather freely made associations between two referents, that is, relationships of a less permanent and inherent type” (Chappell and McGregor 1996: 4) or “the kind of possession which can be terminated” (Payne 1997: 105).

6.3 Basic characteristics of possessive nominal constructions in Koromu

Koromu possessive nominal constructions are distinguished from verbal (§3.6.2.5) and nonverbal possessive clauses (§3.7.1.4). There are two basic types of marked nominal construction representing different conceptual categories depending on whether the dependent noun phrase is marked or unmarked (cf. Priestley 2008, Goddard and Wierzbicka 2016).

Firstly, there are constructions in which an unmarked dependent noun is followed by a marked head noun to represent a whole-part relationship. The third person singular suffix on the head noun indicates that the referent of the head noun is a part of the referent of the dependent noun. An example is *tiri kini-ne* [tree root-P3s] ‘tree root’.

Dependent N	Head N with suffix <i>-ne</i> ‘P3s’
--------------------	--

²⁶ Wierzbicka (1996: 60) states that the semantic prime PART has just one of the meanings of English *part*, “‘things’ identifiable...within larger things”. Other English meanings, such as a piece that cannot be identified until it “gets detached from a larger thing” and “a subset of a group of discrete entities, including people”, are identified with the semantic primitive SOME.

In contrast, there are constructions in which a dependent noun phrase consists of a genitive pronoun or a noun with a genitive postposition. This noun phrase is followed by a head noun. These constructions indicate that the referent of the head noun, the possessee, is closely associated with the referent of the dependent noun, the possessor. An example is *Winai o usu* [Winai GEN pig] ‘Winai’s pig’. There is a choice of genitive postposition depending on the semantic nature of the possessor and the context in which the expression occurs. *O* is used with animate referent noun phrases (§6.5), *pao* with inanimate referent noun phrases (§6.6), *sao* with animate referent headless noun phrases or postpositional phrases (§6.7) and *ahare* with animate referent dependent noun phrases within locative postpositional phrases (§6.8).

Dependent Pronoun/NP Genitive Postposition Head N

Whole-part constructions with the suffix *-ne* on the head noun and possessive constructions with dependent nouns followed by genitive postpositions are outlined briefly, with examples, in Table 6.1. Situations in which the head noun can take a possessor/partitive suffix or enclitic are discussed after the table.

Table 6.1: Whole-part and possessive constructions.

Whole-part (partitive) constructions		Possessive constructions	
Dependent N	Head N <i>-ne</i>	Dependent NP	Possessor NP Postposition Possessee Head N
		NP	<i>o</i> N
<i>tiri</i>	<i>kini-ne</i>	<i>Upuru o usu</i>	
tree	root-P3s	Upuru GEN pig	
‘a tree root’		‘Upuru’s pig’	
		NP	<i>pao</i> N
		<i>sa tororo pao sakine</i>	
		place cold IGEN language	
		‘language of the cold place’	
		NP	<i>sao</i> N
		<i>I ahare sao hena-tamaite</i> ¹	
		1s ALOC AGEN people	
		‘people of/from near me’	

Note:

1 *Hena-tamaite* ‘people’ is a list-compound combining the two words ‘woman man’ (cf. §4.3.2.7.2).

Constructions in which the dependent possessor noun phrase has a genitive postposition can be further subdivided since the head noun can also have a suffix or enclitic referring to the person and number of the dependent noun and indicating a type of partitive relationship (cf. §4.5.6).

Dependent NP Genitive Postposition Head N (-suffix/=enclitic)

An inalienable or more whole-part-like relationship between the possessor and possessee is indicated when the head noun is followed by an enclitic or suffix indicating the person and number of the possessor (cf. Priestley 2008). With common nouns the possessor marking is an enclitic attached to the noun or its modifiers. With kinship nouns a possessor suffix attaches directly to the noun. Examples are given in Table 6.2 (cf. Table 4.20, §4.5.6).

Table 6.2: Common and kinship nouns with possessor enclitics and suffixes.

Possessor NP Possessee N/NP _{common} =enclitic	Possessor NP Possessee N _{kin} -suffix
<i>sono weti (arene)=sekama</i>	<i>no pa -name</i>
1pGEN house big =P1p	2sGEN father -P2s
'our (big) houses'	'your father'

The pronominal forms used in possessive nominal constructions are listed in Table 6.3. Here, and in the remainder of this chapter, the enclitics that occur with common nouns are mentioned first since constructions with enclitics provide good examples of the range of structures that are possible (cf. Tables 4.19 and 4.20 in which suffixes are listed first).

Table 6.3: Pronominal forms used in possessive/whole/part nominal constructions.

	Genitive pronouns	Head noun enclitics	Head noun suffixes	Head noun 3s suffix (in whole-part constructions)
1s	io	=mai/=mei	-ima/-ma ¹	
2s	no	=name	-name	
3s	nio	=ne ²	-ne/-nema/	-ne
1p	sono	=sekama	-sekama	

	Genitive pronouns	Head noun enclitics	Head noun suffixes	Head noun 3s suffix (in whole-part constructions)
2p	to	=tapa	-tapa	
3p	nono	=napa	-napa	

Notes:

- 1 When a kinship noun ends in a back vowel /o/ or /u/ there is no initial /i/ in the suffix (cf. §4.5.6). Also, final /e/ following a consonant in kinship nouns is elided prior to *-ima* 'possessor 1s' (see §2.4.2.2.2).
- 2 The mid-front vowel often becomes mid back vowel /o/ in vowel harmony (cf. §2.4.3.2.7, §2.4.3.2.2).

6.4 Unmarked dependent nouns and head nouns with the suffix *-ne* 'P3s'

A construction that consists of an unmarked dependent noun followed by a common noun with a suffix *-ne* 'third singular' can be considered a whole-part or partitive construction. The structure is outlined as follows:

N **N_{part}** **suffix -ne**

The head noun in these constructions refers to a part of the whole represented by the dependent noun. The suffix on the head noun indicates an inalienable relationship between the two nouns. The construction has an inanimate referent and, like constructions formed from pre-nominal modifiers and head nouns (§5.2.2), it refers to one entity. The referents of the dependent and head noun are not referentially distinct (cf. Nichols 1988: 566–567, 573) and the constructions are quite stable, perhaps even lexicalized.

Some whole entities, for example *wai* 'tooth' and *ahare* 'ear', can also be described as parts of a whole as in (6.1) and (6.2). Each of these constructions has a single referent and each entity is separate from the living creature of which it was originally a part.

(6.1) *esame wai-ne*
 dog teeth-P3s
 'a dog tooth (a dog's tooth)' D3.110.1

(6.2) *Usu ahare=ne heri pa yo n-a.*
 pig ear=P3s net.bag G/L fill STAY-3s
 'A pig ear is in the net bag.' D3.103.7

A whole-part construction is the head of an expanded noun phrase in (6.3).

- (6.3) [*Ihi sisi-ne*] *nupu men-a*.
 sugar skin-P3s many be-3s
 ‘There are many sugarcane skins.’

An initial dependent noun can be omitted if the referent is clear from the context.

- (6.4) *Ami-no sere t-ae!*
 eye-P3s take.out/off GET-IMP2s
 ‘Take off the lid (lit. ‘the eye of the pot!’) D7.2.4

Some whole-part constructions refer to parts of things that are difficult to separate from the whole physically, for example, *tiri kini-ne* [tree root-P3s] ‘tree roots’ and *tike kumu-ne* [knife point-P3s] ‘the point of a knife’. Examples such as *ihi sisi-ne* [sugar cane bits-P3s] ‘bits of sugar cane’, *eme sisi-ne* [earth bits-P3s] ‘bits of earth’, *sere-ne* ‘its seeds/fruit/eggs (productive parts)’ (6.6)²⁷ and *tiri kini-ne* ‘tree roots’ refer to entities that are difficult to separate from the whole because they are uncountable. When reproductive parts of plants such as *tiri sere-ne* [tree fruit-P3s] ‘tree fruit’ and *wau tumu-ne* [banana shoot-P3s] ‘banana shoots’ are separated from the whole they are still marked as parts because they are closely associated with, and like, part of the parent plant. In fact, the nouns *tumune* ‘shoot’ (6.5) and *serene* ‘fruit/seed’ (6.6) form lexicalized expressions that cannot occur without the suffix *-ne*. These nouns occur with a wide range of plant types, for example with *koia* ‘sweet potato’ in *koia tumune* ‘sweet potato shoots’ (lit. ‘shoots of sweet potato’) and with *kusi* ‘pawpaw’ in *kusi serene* ‘pawpaw seeds’ (lit. ‘seeds of pawpaw’).

- (6.5) *Wau ne re-pe oru-nama tan ta-r-a-ne*
 banana eat PUT-SR insides-P2p strong END-PRES-3s -DR:IR:CS
nahe tumu-ne pu-ae!
 mami shoot-P3s plant-IMP2s
 ‘Eat bananas and when your insides are strong, plant mami (yam) shoots.’ DG2.3

- (6.6) *Ware sere-ne ota-pe te her-apesi*.
 pumpkin seed-P3s remove-SR get PUT-DES
 ‘I want to remove the pumpkin seeds and put them down.’ D7.45.4

²⁷ The form *sere* is also a verb meaning ‘give birth, take out, remove’, cf. example (6.4).

Inanimate part nouns obligatorily marked by the suffix *-ne* indicate parts of plants, fires, manufactured items and abstract items. Other examples of plant parts are given in (6.7).

- (6.7) *ihi suhu-ne* 'head of sugar cane'
koia mamao-ne 'sweet potato flower' (lit. 'flower of sweet potato')
kurisi pu-ne 'the stick/centre of corn'
pera tesoro-ne 'taro flower' (lit. 'flower of taro')
tiri kue-ne 'tree bark' (lit. 'bark of a tree')
tiri wei-ne 'tree leaf' (lit. 'leaf of a tree')
ware turu-no 'pumpkin tips' (lit. 'tips/leaves of pumpkin')
wau ao-ne 'end of banana stalk'
wau miri-ne 'banana sap' (lit. 'sap of banana')

Parts of fires include *hekeni hisai-ne* 'glowing ash of fire', *hekeni mea-ne* 'light/glow of fire', *hekeni kusi-no* 'light of the fire' and *hekeni ami-no* 'eye of the fire'. In contrast, *hekeni aho* 'ashes' and *hekeni pera* 'fire smoke' are referred to by a pre-head nominal and head noun construction (cf. §5.2.2.2) as the referents are distinct entities rather than parts of an active fire. As such they can be seen when the fire is dead or hidden from sight.

Parts of artefacts or manufactured items represent a third group, for example, *tike kumu-ne* 'the point of a knife' and *sko mini utu-ne* 'handle of a broom'. Abstract things can also be referred to as parts of things, for example, *sakine kopu-no* 'sections of a talk' and *pera saheru-no* 'the ritual of taro planting'.

The common noun *mati* 'leaf' can be used to refer to part of a whole, as in *tiri mati-ne* 'leaves of a tree', or to separate entities used as 'plates' or 'covers', 'paper' or 'pages'. The head nouns in the following examples can also be used to describe parts of plants (6.8) and rivers (6.9) or to refer to separate entities rather than parts.

- (6.8) *sarene pe-ne* 'vine of Flame of the Forest' (cf. *pe* 'neck, channel')
aire kini-ne 'kunai grass roots' (lit. 'kunai roots')²⁸ (cf. *kini* 'rope')
tiri kini-ne 'tree roots' (lit. 'roots of a tree')
tiri ya-ne 'tree sap' (lit. 'sap of a tree') (cf. *ya* 'water')
- (6.9) *ya pe-ne* 'head of the river' (cf. *pe* 'neck')
ya ehi-ne 'branch of the river' (cf. *ehi* 'leg')

²⁸ *Kunai* is Tok Pisin for a common tall grass with a sharp edge (sword grass, *imperata arundinacea*).

In contrast, some plant terms that refer to a whole plant, or plant product, never occur with the possessor suffix, for example, *pesike* ‘bean’, *koia* ‘sweet potato’, *nahe* ‘mami (yam type)’, while some whole-part constructions form lexicalized idiomatic expressions such as *sakine kinine* ‘roots of the language’ and *sehi serene* ‘rice’ (lit. ‘seeds of the areca palm’).

Nouns that describe physically “oriented parts” of things, such as sides, tops and bottoms, can also occur with the suffix *-ne* ‘possessor 3s’.

- (6.10) *tiri mohu-no* ‘top of tree’
tiri amkoru-no ‘middle of tree’ (cf. *amkoru* ‘middle’)

Tiri ta-ne [tree side-P.3s] can refer to a slab of wood, the side of a tree trunk or a location (roughly, ‘beside the tree’), though the latter may be a different construction with a different meaning.

Sometimes plant terms can occur in constructions in which the final noun with the suffix *-ne* ‘possessor 3s’ describes an attribute rather than a part. The nouns *wetehe* ‘mango’, *nau* ‘coconut’ and *pera* ‘taro’ can occur in this type of construction. Nouns denoting attributes express similar concepts to those expressed by the English adjectives ‘unripe’ and ‘dry’.

- (6.11) *wetehe pihi-ne* ‘unripe mango’
nau pihi-ne ‘unripe coconut’
nau sonu-ne ‘dry coconut’
pera tekaru-ne ‘taro full of holes from insects’
nau yomu-ne ‘coconut with milk’

6.5 Possessive constructions with a possessor noun phrase and the postposition *o*

6.5.1 Introduction

Possessive constructions may have an animate referent dependent possessor noun phrase consisting of a genitive pronoun or a noun followed by the genitive postposition *o*. The possessor noun phrase refers to an entity that is referentially distinct from the referent of the possessed head noun. A possessor noun phrase with *o* ‘genitive’ is obligatory with a subsequent unmarked head noun (§6.5.2). It can be omitted when the head noun has a possessor suffix or enclitic if the referent is clear from the context (§6.5.3).

6.5.2 Obligatory possessor noun phrase with *o*, unmarked head noun constructions

Constructions in which a possessor noun phrase has a genitive pronoun (see Table 6.3), or a genitive postposition *o*, have the following minimum structure:

Possessor NP *o* Possessee N

The possessor noun phrase can be a genitive pronoun with incorporated *o* or a personal name, kinship noun or placename followed by *o* ‘genitive’ (see Table 6.1). This noun phrase is embedded in a possessive noun phrase with an unmarked common noun as head noun. The possessor, indicated by square brackets in the examples, and the possessee are referentially distinct entities (cf. Nichols 1988: 567) and separable. For example,

- (6.12) **[Winai o]** *usu=te i tauhu-se-r-a.*
 Winai GEN pig=PNP 1s follow-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘Winai’s pig followed me.’

In (6.13) the head noun occurs with both a dependent possessor noun phrase and an adjective.

- (6.13) **[Upuru o]** *usu nupu oto-pe, u oto-pe*
 Upuru GEN pig many care.for-SR those care.for-SR
u min-ie.
 there stay-1p
 ‘We cared for Upuru’s many pigs, we cared for them and stayed there.’ T6.3.5

In (6.14) the possessor noun phrases are genitive pronouns.

- (6.14) *Esame [io] usu ne-r-a. [No] usu ia.*
 dog GEN1s pig eat-PRES-3s GEN2s pig be.not
 ‘The dog ate my pig (pork), not your pig.’

In (6.15) the genitive postposition *o* follows a kinship noun inflected by either a possessive or a vocative suffix (cf. §4.3.3.4).

- (6.15) **[Pa-ima o]** *tomoto hei-pu-r-i.*
 father-P1s GEN wild.game find-HAB-PRES-1s
 ‘I find my father’s wild game.’ YTN5.26.7

The possessor noun phrase in (6.16) distinguishes one place from several others.

- (6.16) *Saipa weti ato, [Yakai o] mare pa,*
 Saipa house/village one, Yakai GEN place G/L
u pa mi are ta-pe...
 that G/L move.down arrive END-SR
 ‘One Saipa village, Yakai’s place, we went down and arrived there...’ T3.3.8

A placename (cf. §4.3.4) with *o* ‘genitive’ can refer to people associated with a named place as possessors, for example, *Makam o weti* [Markham GEN house] ‘the Markham (people)’s house(s)’ (T5.23.27). When the placename with *o* ‘genitive’ is followed by a head noun that refers to people it indicates the people’s origin, as in *Makam o henatamaite* [Markham GEN people] ‘Markham people’ (T5.23.44).

When introducing a person by name the genitive pronoun and the unmarked head noun *weini* ‘name’ have a specific referent. They occur with a predicate that consists of the person’s name.

- (6.17) *[No] weini me? [Io] weini Napiri.*
 GEN2s name who GEN1s name Napiri
 ‘What is your name?’ ‘My name is Napiri.’ T1.13.24

6.5.3 Optional possessor noun phrase *o*, head nouns with possessor suffixes/enclitics

6.5.3.1 Introduction

Possessive nominal constructions that have a possessor suffix or enclitic with the head noun indicate a close or inseparable association between the possessor and possessed entity. When the head noun is a common noun it occurs with a possessor enclitic (§6.5.3.2) and when it is a kinship noun it occurs with a possessor suffix (§6.5.3.3). In this context, the possessor noun phrase with the postposition *o* can be omitted if its referent is recoverable from the context or head noun marking.

6.5.3.2 Optional possessor noun phrase *o*, common nouns with possessor enclitics

6.5.3.2.1 Basic characteristics

A construction that has a possessor noun phrase with genitive *o* and a common noun with a person and number possessor enclitic refers to things that are closely

associated with a person. Examples of these things are body parts, personal attributes or conditions, and personal resources. The minimum structure of these constructions is:

(Possessor NP genitive *o*/genitive pronoun) NP =possessor enclitic

With common nouns possessor person-number is expressed by an enclitic that attaches to the right-most constituent of the whole noun phrase (or to locative postpositions). The noun phrase examples below show the enclitic attaching to a quantifier in (6.18) and an adjective in (6.19).

- (6.18) **Esame nupu=mai, nupu tiri pa so-nte ...**
 dog many=P1s all²⁹ tree G/L flow-DR:IR:TO
 'My many dogs, they all flowed to the tree ...' T2.32.26

- (6.19) **Weti arene=sekama haru-r-ia.**
 house big=P1p do:make-PRES-1p
 'We are making our big house.'

When a noun is a complement of the postposition *pa* 'goal/locative' (cf. §7.3.2.2) the enclitic follows, and attaches to, the postposition (cf. §2.4.3.2.7).

- (6.20) **Ehi pa=no, ami pa=no,³⁰ nuku name re-pe**
 leg G/L=P3s arm G/L=P3s envelop.in well PUT-SR
heri omo re-pe...
 net.bag hide PUT-SR
 '(I) enveloped (in a sheet or clothes) the arms and eyes (of my baby) well and hid (her) in a net bag...' T5.21.15

- (6.21) **Weti pa=napa sakine toho-pe te-r-a=mo.**
 house G/L=P3p word gossip-SR get-PRES-3s=BM
 'She gossiped in the houses of all of them.' D3.131.8

When the noun phrase occurs with a non-locative postposition such as *sei* 'orientation' the enclitic attaches to the head noun (6.22).

²⁹ *Nupu* is a polysemous word that can mean 'many' or 'all'.

³⁰ The final mid vowel of possessor enclitics is affected by regressive vowel harmony before a verb with two high, back vowels (cf. §2.4.3.2.7).

- (6.22) *Tamaite io serene=mai sei oro te-pe ...*
 man GEN1s egg=P1s ORNT dig GET-SR
 ‘Men dig for my eggs ...’ (the speaker is a bird) YTN5.25.4

Constructions with possessor enclitics contrast with the possessor noun phrase constructions in §6.5.2, for example (6.14), that represent separable relationships between possessor and possessee. However, although the possessor enclitic indicates an inalienable, inseparable relationship between the possessor and the possessed entity, the possessor noun phrase refers to a specific live and active pig that does something with its ear (6.23). This contrasts with *usu ahare-ne* ‘pig’s ear’ (6.2) with its indefinite whole-part referent.

- (6.23) *Usu o ahare=no ara t-a.*
 pig GEN ear=P3s lift END-3s
 ‘The pig’s ears lifted.’ D1.28.2

A genitive pronoun agrees in person and number with a possessor enclitic in the introduction to a narrative in (6.24), see also Table 6.3.

- (6.24) *...sono sakine=sekama uo, aru erehu uo*
 GEN1p story=P1p GRD wallaby custom GRD
aru erehu=te men-a.
 wallaby custom=PNP be -3s
 ‘...our story, a wallaby custom, there is a wallaby custom.’ T6.15.2

The possessor noun phrase is often omitted because the referent is recoverable from the previous clause and the possessor’s person and number are indicated by the possessor enclitic (6.25).

- (6.25) *Pororo Enai pa mene-pu-r-a. Wene=ne aine.*
 Little.Egret Ramu G/L be-HAB-PRES-3s food=P3s fish
 ‘The Little Egret lives at the Enai (Ramu River). Its food is fish.’
 YTN1.10

Semantically, a possessor enclitic with a head noun focuses attention on a referent “as being a **part of** the self” (Bally 1996: 34, originally written in French in 1926) or in some way closely related to or ‘like a part of a person’. Noun phrases with possessor enclitics represent:

- parts of the body
- body secretions, products and conditions

- personal attributes, utterances, experiences and activities
- personal resources or places

These semantic subclasses are dealt with in turn in the following sections.

6.5.3.2.2 Parts of the body

Sapir's (1917: 86) possession "of an inseparable nature", included mainly "terms of relationship and nouns denoting parts of the body". Furthermore, Bally quotes Lévy-Bruhl (1914: 98) on the body and Melanesian inalienable constructions: "When I talk about my head, I do not intend to say that it belongs to me, but that it is me" (Bally 1996: 33). In Koromu this close association is represented with body part nouns marked by possessor enclitics expressing whole-part relationships (cf. §6.4) and also by impersonal experiential constructions involving body parts, see (6.26) and chapter 11. Since first or second person possessor enclitics indicate a definite, specific referent a noun phrase with a genitive postposition *o* can be omitted in (6.26) and (6.27).

(6.26) **Oru=mai**³¹ *tare-se-r-a*.
 insides=P1s hurt-O1s-PRES-3s
 'It hurts my stomach (my insides hurt).' D4.160.2

(6.27) **Wapi=name** *mana=te?*
 hand=P2s what=PNP
 'What have you done to your hand?' D4.159.5

Parts of body parts can also be indicated, for example *wapi toko=no* 'his/her elbow' (lit. 'bone of the arm'), *ehi toko=no* 'his/her knee' (lit. 'bone of the leg') and *wapi aha-ne* 'his/her thumb' (lit. 'mother of the hand, a lexicalized expression for 'thumb' based on *aha-ne* 'her/his mother').

Examples such as *toko=no* 'his/her hip', contrast with unmarked *toko* 'bone' used to refer to a separable item such as an implement for splitting root crops into small pieces.

(6.28) **Toko** *apan-ae!*
 bone hold-IMP2s
 'Hold the bone!'

31 With common nouns the first-person singular enclitic is =*mai*/-*mei* not *-ima*.

Similarly, body-part nouns that are the complement of instrument or manner postpositions, as in (6.29) and (6.30), do not occur with a possessor enclitic indicating ‘part of something’. This is because they represent the means or instrument with which something is done.

(6.29) *Wapi te ehi te maupu-pe ...*
 arm INS leg INS hold.down-SR
 ‘We held it down with hands and feet and ...’ T1.75

(6.30) *Sene ehi pate ka-ia=mo.*
 1P leg MANN come-1p=BM
 ‘We came on foot.’ T1.2.4

In addition, generic nouns do not occur with a possessor enclitic. Compare *kami-ne* ‘his/her liver’ with *kami* ‘liver’ in (6.31).

(6.31) *Tamaite ahare oru pa kami men-a.*
 man ALOC inside G/L liver be-3s
 ‘The liver is inside the man.’ D3.110.8

6.5.3.2.3 Body secretions, products and conditions

Nouns representing body secretions, products and conditions occur with a possessor enclitic when they refer to something that is ‘like a part of the body’. For example, *sipi=ne* ‘his/her excrement’, *yai=ne* ‘his/her urine’ and *petai=ne* ‘his/her blood’. *Sehea* ‘saliva’ and *mesiri* ‘perspiration’ combine with the enclitic *=ne* possessive 3s’ when they are seen on a person’s body. In addition, when *weri* ‘sore’ or *sepa* ‘illness’ denote a condition’s real effect on a person they occur with a possessor enclitic (6.32).

(6.32) *Ne=te weri=ne oso-r-i.*
 you=PNP sore=P3s bind-PRES-1s
 ‘You are binding up her sores.’ D2.80.9

On the other hand, when *sipi* ‘excrement’ is seen on the forest floor and *petai* ‘blood’ is collected as a sample at cattle yards these nouns are not marked as ‘parts’ since they are perceived as distinct entities (6.33). Likewise, body conditions such as *weri* ‘sore’ and *sepa* ‘sickness’ can be considered as separate entities and denoted by unmarked nouns, as in (6.34).

(6.33) *Kau nupu uo, yare-pe u pate petai te here=mo.*
 cow many GRD go-SR that S/L blood get PUT=BM
 ‘All the cows, they go in there and leave blood.’ T2.28.12 (SR ‘same referent subject following’ (§9.4.2) indicates that the subject of both clauses is *kau nupu* ‘many cows’. *Te here* ‘get PUT’ means ‘put something away from one’s body’ (see *here* PUT, §10.5.2) so the speaker states that the cows left/deposited blood.)

(6.34) *Weri tare-s-a-te ka-r-i.*
 ulcer hurt-O1s-3s-DR come-PRES-1s
 ‘The ulcer hurts, so I’ve come.’ D3.121.9

In (6.35) *petai* ‘blood’ occurs both with and without the possessor enclitic on the head noun. In the first clause, the enclitic indicates that *petai* ‘blood’ is like a part of someone’s body. In the afterthought *petai* is unmarked since the emphasis here is to identify the specific person/possessor through the dependent noun phrase, a personal name and the genitive possessor *o*. The latter clearly identifies a definite referent for the possessor.

(6.35) *Pitai=ne hese-pe hese-pe, Sairam o petai,...*
 blood=P3s pour-SR pour-SR Sairam GEN blood
 ‘His blood poured and poured, Sairam’s blood, ...’ T6.5.28

6.5.3.2.4 Personal attributes, utterances, experiences and activities

Personal attributes, utterances, experiences and activities are intangible things that can be referred to as being like parts of a person. Many languages in Papua New Guinea, Australia and elsewhere include personal attributes, such as ‘shadow’, ‘name’ and ‘footprint’, in this inseparable, inalienable category. For example, Tauya, another Sub-Rai language, has this category (MacDonald 1990: 129).

In Koromu a possessor enclitic occurs with *onu* ‘shadow, spirit, picture’ when it refers to a person’s visible shadow or invisible spirit (6.36), but not when it refers to a separate thing such as a photo or carving (6.37).

(6.36) *Poho n-ia-te onu=sekama, ato poho n-a.*
 sit STAY-1p-DR shadow=P1p one sit STAY-3s
 ‘We are sitting and our shadow, it is (like) one person sitting.’

- (6.37) *Aharopu onu haru-r-a.*
 person carving make-PRES-3s
 ‘He is making a carving of a person.’

In an introductory context, with a specific referent, the dependent possessor noun phrase is followed by genitive *o* and there is no possessor enclitic on the head noun *weini* ‘name’, see (6.38). Later in the same text, *weini* ‘name’ can occur with a possessor enclitic to indicate that the name is ‘like a part of a person’.

- (6.38) *Io weini uo, Yoronasi.*
 GEN1s name GRD Yoronasi.
Mo weini=mei hei-am paimo.
 this name=P1s find-2s APP
 ‘My name, (it is) Yoronasi. You might find this name of mine.’ T1.9.6

People think, feel, say or do many things. These transient and intangible utterances, thoughts, feelings and actions are sometimes seen in mouth or body movements. They are necessarily associated with people and can be described as ‘like a part of a person’.

- (6.39) *Yo=name tai ese-r-a.*
 shout=P2s NEG hear-PRES-3s
 ‘He doesn’t hear your call.’ D4.171.2

- (6.40) *Sai=mai tai es-e.*
 word=P1s NEG hear-3p
 ‘They didn’t hear (or listen to) my words.’ T1.15.57

- (6.41) *Urunu=mai ne hare men-a=mo.*
 thought=P1s 2s ALOC be-3s=BM
 ‘My thoughts are with you.’

- (6.42) *Mahe=name ia!*
 shame=P2s be.not
 ‘Your shame does not exist!’ (cf. English ‘You are shameless!’) D2.62.4

Aie ‘work’ can also occur with a possessor enclitic.

- (6.43) *Aie=mai eme here-r-i.*
 work=P1s die PUT-PRES-1s
 ‘I’ve finished my work completely’ (lit. ‘I have put my work to death’). D7.18.2

Example (6.44) below contrasts with example (6.42) above. In (6.44) an inalienable relationship between a person and *mahe* ‘shame’ is not indicated because the addressee does not yet have this quality.

- (6.44) **Mahe** *te-r-i=mo.*
 shame get-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘You must get shame.’ i.e., ‘You should be ashamed.’ D2.63.3

6.5.3.2.5 Personal resources

Personal resources are things people do many things with. They are part of the “personal domain ... associated with a person in an habitual, intimate or organic way” (Bally 1996: 33). Nouns referring to personal resources occur in “inalienable possession” constructions in many languages; for example, Tolai (Austronesian) ‘hut’, ‘sleeping place’, ‘entrance’ (Mosel 1984: 44); Wayan (Oceanic, Austronesian) ‘loincloth’, ‘sleeping place’, ‘nest’, ‘place of residence’, ‘cargo/ luggage’ (Pawley and Sayaba 1990: 159).

In Koromu expressions of this kind, noun phrases referring to personal resources optionally occur with a possessor enclitic to indicate a person’s right to do things with the resource. This can be compared with a person’s exclusive ability to do things with parts of his/her own body. (For more detailed semantics, see Priestley 2008: 291–293). Personal resources include manufactured items, natural resources, and personal places.

Manufactured artefacts traditionally made from local products include *wesese* ‘trap’, *wesike* ‘purple dye’ and *heri* ‘net bag’ (6.45). These items are often used by the person who made them. Mass-produced items can be marked in a similar way.

- (6.45) **Heri=mai** *yo-se* *te-r-a.*
 net.bag=P1s carry.on.forehead-O1s get-PRES-3s
 ‘She carried my bag for me.’ (from the Verb File entry for *yo*.)

Natural resources such as plants, seeds and animals are farmed, raised, hunted, collected and eaten.

- (6.46) *Me=te* **wene=mai** *aharo ne-pe te here-r-a?*
 who=PNP food=P1s bite stay-SR get PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘Who bit into my food and then left it?’ D3.100.10

The term *usu* ‘pig’ usually occurs with a possessor enclitic when it refers to the entity as food, thereby qualifying as ‘something a person can do something

with' (6.47). The enclitic does not occur if such a relationship between a person and *usu* 'pig' is not indicated (6.48).

(6.47) *Usu=name ia.*
 pig=P2s no
 'You have no pig.' D2.62.7 ('Pork' in English.)

(6.48) *Mo usu ma mo te-pe te-r-i=e?*
 this pig what this get-SR get-PRES-1s=Q
 'How did you get this pig?' D3.134.2

In the following examples of personal resources, *ya=napa* 'their water' is something people can wash with (6.49) and *hekeni=mai* is something I can cook with (6.50).

(6.49) *I=te ya-napa poho re-pe...*
 1s=PNP water=P3p sit PUT-SR
 'I put down their water and ...' T1.17.13

(6.50) *Hekeni=mai hehero-se te-r-a.*
 firewood=P1s bundle.on.head-O1s get-PRES-3s
 'She put my firewood on her head.' (from Verb File entry for *hehero*)

People can do things with *esame* 'dog(s)' such as tracking and hunting wild game. This intimate working relationship between a man and his dogs is marked in (6.51) and (6.52).

(6.51) *O esame=mei si weti pa k-apesi.*
 Oh, dog=P1s then house G/L come-DES
 'Oh, then my dogs wanted to come back to the village.' T2.32.3

(6.52) *...esame nupu=mai, nupu tiri pa so-nte...*
 dog Many=P1s many tree G?L pile up-DR:IR:TO
 '...my many dogs, all piled up at the tree...' T2.32.26 – repeated from (6.18)

The enclitic is not used, and the intimate relationship is not indicated, when the speaker describes how the same dogs attacked him later in the text. In this context, they are not something he can do something with because they are behaving like wild dogs that are out of his control. They are not behaving in an intimately connected way.

- (6.53) ... **esame** *sa mere-pe* ...
 dog place move.up-SR
 ‘... the dogs moved up to the place and ...’ T2.32.19

People have the right to do things in some places in a way that other people do not. For example, *weti* ‘house’ is a place built by the inhabitants where they, and not other people, can lie down and sleep, or prepare and cook food. Animals also make places where they do things; examples are *sisi weti=ne* ‘ants’ house’ and *nakua so pa=ne* ‘at the bandicoot’s den’. When a speaker wants to indicate this relationship between a creature and a place a possessor enclitic is used (6.54). It is not used if this relationship or ability to do something with a place is not mentioned (6.55).

- (6.54) **Weti arene=sekama haru-r-ia.**
 house big=P1p make-PRES-1p
 ‘We are building our big house.’ – repeated from (6.19)

- (6.55) *Eno weti arene aere pe n-e.*
 over.there house big two stand STAY-3p
 ‘There are two big houses standing over there.’ D2.69.1

A placename with a possessor enclitic also indicates a close association between a place and its inhabitants. The inhabitants can do many things there that other people cannot.

- (6.56) **Saipa=napa yar³²-aho=mo.**
 Saipa=P3P go-FINC1p=BM
 ‘Let’s go to their Saipa.’ T3.3.2

6.5.3.3 Optional possessor noun phrase *o*, kinship nouns with possessor suffixes

Constructions in which dependent possessor noun phrases combine with kinship nouns that have a possessor suffix (see Table 6.2 above) refer to a person who is part of, or like part of, the possessor’s family. The possessor noun phrase with the postposition *o* can be omitted if the referent is recoverable from the discourse or real-world context. The basic structure is as follows.

(Possessor NP *o*/genitive pronoun) Nkin -possessor suffix

32 The final vowel /e/ of *yare* ‘go’ is elided before *-aho* ‘FINC1p’ (see §2.4.2.2.2).

Kinship nouns refer to people related by birth, marriage or initiation. These bound nouns have either a possessor suffix, indicating person and number (§4.3.3.2), or a vocative suffix (§4.3.3.4). When an adjective occurs, it follows the full bound form, as in *werai=ma nupu* [child=P1s many] ‘my many children’.

The possessive construction refers to two distinct individuals. The person indicated by the kinship noun is considered to be like a part of the same thing, a family or close-knit group, as the referent of the possessor noun phrase (6.57).

- (6.57) *Weau=te, Puntī o pa-ne, Weau=te hoko her-a.*
 Weau=PNP Puntī GEN father-P3s Weau=PNP make PUT-3s
 ‘Weau, Puntī’s father, Weau, made it.’ T1.17.2

Cross-linguistically, kin relationships are said to be ‘inseparable’ on the basis of the unchangeable, physical link between mother and child: “[they] cannot be undone, and they cannot be established in any other way” (Scheffler 1973: 750). The people involved are “necessarily associated” (Lyons 1968: 301). As Sapir (1917: 88) said of comparable constructions in North American languages: “MY FATHER is not one who is owned by me, but rather one who stands to me in a certain relation.” Thus, the essential semantic content is “personal relation, not possession”. Cultural explanations of why people think of themselves as ‘parts of’ kinship groups are not part of the meaning of the constructions as such, since the choice of which kin terms are marked as inseparable varies across languages and can be quite arbitrary owing to diachronic change. However, Koromu kinship nouns refer to consanguineal, affinal and adopted kin as well as male agemates who experience initiation together. Thus, these kinship nouns generally refer to people who live in the same place for a long time. These people also do many things together, such as hunting and gardening, as if they were all parts of one thing or family (cf. §4.3.3.2, Priestley 2008: 284–287). Marriage and initiation ceremonies also establish long-lasting relationships and are described in the same type of linguistic construction as relationships established by birth (cf. Priestley 2013a).

- (6.58) *Ohu-ma yar-a-te oru meri-se-r-a.*
 agemate-P1s go-3s-DR insides move.up-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘My agemate is going and I am sorrowing (lit. ‘my insides move up’).’

An initial dependent possessor noun phrase may include a personal name (6.59), pronoun (6.60) or kinship noun (6.61) adding detail and clarifying the subject’s identity.

- (6.59) *Sirin o hena-ne hekeni tuhuru-r-a.*
 Sirin GEN wife-P3s firewood carry.on.head-PRES-3s
 ‘Sirin’s wife is carrying firewood on her head.’ D3.105.1
- (6.60) *Io ah-ima=te, “Nau topi-ae!” u-a.*
 GEN1s mother-P1s=PNP coconut palm climb-IMP2s quote-3s
 ‘My mother said, “Climb the coconut palm!”’ T1.4.1

In (6.61) one possessive noun phrase is embedded within another.

- (6.61) *[Pa-ima o naki-ne o] ene-ne³³ uo, pa-ima.*
 father-P1s GEN sister-P3s GEN husband-P3s GRD father-P1s
 ‘My father’s sister’s husband, (he) is my father.’ (Several male kin stand
 in the relationship of *pa* ‘father’ to ego, see Table 4.7, §4.3.3.2). D7.21.2

When the head noun is marked for first or second person, the specific person and number of the ‘possessor’ is clear without a preceding dependent noun (6.62). A third-person dependent noun can also be omitted if the specific referent is clear from context, as in (6.63).

- (6.62) *Pa-ima wuri-hi-mpe.*
 father-P1s see-F1s-INT
 ‘I intend to see my father.’ D2.91.2
- (6.63) *Wera, “Ya hes-apesi,” u-a-te aha-nema=te*
 child water wash-DES quote-3s-DR mother-P3s=PNP
eme te-pe
 hold.on.shoulder get-SR
 ‘The child said, ‘I want to wash’ and her mother put her on her
 shoulder and...’

The teknonyms described in §4.3.3.1 have a similar form to possessive nominal constructions but there is an important difference. Although teknonyms have a kinship noun with a possessor suffix, the initial constituent does not have a genitive postposition. Instead it is an unmarked personal name and the whole construction is lexicalized into a title for an individual.

³³ In rapid speech one of the *ne* syllables in *ene-ne* [husband-P3s] ‘her husband’ can be elided so that only *ene* ‘her husband’ can be heard.

- (6.64) *Ya-ma, Upumati moto-ne, amkoru pas-ia.*
 brother.in.law-P1s Upumati brother-P3s middle Meet-1p
 ‘We met my brother in law (sister’s husband), Upumati(’s) brother,
 in the middle.’ T2.15.59

Personal names, teknonyms, *namu* ‘namesake’ and other special titles (see §4.3.3.3.2) are not usually expressed in possessive noun phrases. However, they can occur with the first singular possessor suffix *-mai* and the affectionate suffix *-e*, as in *Arikao-mai-e* [Arikao P1s-AFF] ‘my dear Arikao’ to express a close, affectionate relationship indicating that ‘I am part of something; this person is part of the same thing’. A teknonym can also function as a head-marked noun with *=mai-e* as an enclitic, as in *Makani pa-ne=mai-e* [Makani father-P3s P1s-AFF] ‘my dear Makani(’s) father’. Further, in some circumstances a close relationship can be indicated by a possessor suffix when the head noun is a special title (6.65).

- (6.65) *...no namu-name uo, wahira sekau*
 GEN2s namesake-P2s GRD old.man extremely
nio weini uo, Misi.
 GEN3s name GRD Misi
 ‘...your namesake, the old man his name, (it was) Misi.’ D8.58.4

6.6 Possessive constructions with a possessor noun phrase, genitive postposition *pao*

6.6.1 Introduction

Some possessive constructions have dependent possessor noun phrases and head nouns that refer to inanimate referents. The possessor noun phrase takes the postposition *pao* ‘genitive of inanimate referent (IGEN)’. This apparently derives from the goal/locative postposition *pa* combined with the genitive postposition *o*. The subsequent head noun is a common noun that can have an optional possessor enclitic. Many examples indicate a location or place of origin associated with the head noun and can be compared to *bilong* constructions used to express origin in Tok Pisin (Mihalic 1971: 38). The head noun can be omitted if it is recoverable from the discourse or real-world context.

NP *pao* (N (=possessor enclitic))

6.6.2 Headed possessive noun phrases

In headed possessive noun phrases, a possessor noun phrase followed by *pao* occurs before a head noun. A possessor enclitic occurs with the head noun if an inalienable relationship between possessor and possessee is expressed.³⁴ The possessive noun phrases highlighted in bold in (6.66) and (6.67) are object noun phrases. The *pao*-marked noun phrase is indicated by square brackets.

- (6.66) [***Sa tororo pao***] *sakine sa-hia*.
 place cold IGEN language speak-F1p
 ‘We will speak the language of the cold place.’ D10.52.8

- (6.67) ...[***weti ato pao***] *sakine=napa, te-pe a te re-pe...*
 house one IGEN word=P3p get-SR come get PUT-SR
 ‘...get one village’s words (their words of one village), and come and put them...’ T74.44

In the examples below the *pao*-marked possessive noun phrases are subject (6.68) and predicate noun phrases (6.69) in nonverbal clauses.

- (6.68) [***Aire keti pao***] *wa oono*.
 kunai mountain IGEN garden *oono*
 ‘Gardens of the ‘kunai’ mountains are *oono*.’ (They are called *oono*.) D8.2.9

- (6.69) *Tepere uo, [keti pao] sakine*.³⁵
tepere GRD mountain IGEN word
 ‘*Tepere*, (it is) a word of the mountains.’ T74.7

6.6.3 Headless possessive noun phrases

Headless possessive noun phrases occur when the referent of the head noun is recoverable from the discourse or real-world context. In (6.70) the head noun is omitted since the *pao*-marked noun phrase is in apposition to an initial pronoun

³⁴ In the Madang language of Amele, “the inalienably possessed noun phrase consists of an inalienably possessed noun optionally preceded by a noun, noun phrase or postpositional phrase functioning as possessor...” (Roberts 1987: 86).

³⁵ *Sakine* can mean ‘word’ or ‘language’.

that provides all the necessary information. The prominent noun phrase (PNP) enclitic (cf. §13.5) indicates that the *pao*-marked noun phrase is part of the subject.

- (6.70) ...*nene*³⁶ [*weti ato pao*]=*te sa-hare*,...
 3p village one IGEN=PNP speak-F3p
 ‘...they of that other village will say,...’ T7.4.50

In (6.71) the head noun is omitted from the predicate of the nonverbal clause in (B) because its referent is recoverable from the preceding question in (A).

- (6.71) A. *Usu mam pao?* B. [*Tiri sere-ne pao*].
 pig what IGEN tree fruit-P3s IGEN
 ‘Where is the pig from?’ ‘(It) is one from the tree fruit.’
 (lit. ‘The pig is from where?’)

6.6.4 Lexicalized expressions with *pao*

Lexicalized expressions with incorporated *pao*, such as *mampao* ‘where from’ in (6.71) above, probably derive from headless possessive noun phrases (§6.6.3) and relative clauses with *pao* (§12.7). Examples include the names of manufactured items.

- na ehi-pao* [thing leg-IGEN] ‘shoes/sandals/boots’ (lit. ‘things of legs’)³⁷
wei-pao [fight -IGEN] ‘fighting things’ (lit. ‘for fighting’)

A literal translation of the first example suggests a possessive relationship between *ehi* ‘leg’ and *na* ‘thing’ but with the possessor noun phrase following the head noun.

- (6.72) *Na ehi-pao ota-pe aisapu mi-hi=mo.*
 thing leg-IGEN remove-SR just move.down-F1s=BM
 ‘I’ll remove the sandals (things of the leg) and just come down (without sandals).’ (...when coming down a steep, slippery slope) D6.6.6

³⁶ This example occurs in very rapid speech, so a pause is not discernible.

³⁷ For a discussion of *ehi* ‘leg/foot’ and *wapi* ‘hand/arm’, see Priestley (2017).

- (6.73) *Na ehi-pao=ne ore, wei-pao=ne ore,*
 things leg-IGEN=P3s COM fight-things=P3s COM
apati=ne ore, mo pa konu pa=ne te re-pe n-e-te ...
 weapon=P3s COM here G/L chest G/L=P3s get PUT-LTD:3p
 ‘They put his boots, his fighting things (relics of World War 2) and his
 weapon/gun, here on his chest...’ T5.5.23

In lexicalized expressions, there is no subsequent noun. For example, *pao* combines with the locative *nampa* ‘above’ and the noun *eme* ‘ground’ to form the lexicalized expressions *nakua nampao* ‘tree kangaroo’ (lit. ‘possum of above’), *nakua empao* ‘bandicoot’ (lit. ‘possum of the ground’) and *eme nampao* ‘silt from the mountains’ (lit. ‘ground from above’).

The expression *wau pao* ‘banana people’ (lit. ‘of the bananas’), which may have been coined recently, refers to incoming Markham people who use *wau* ‘bananas’ as staple food (6.74). The speaker uses an appositive genitive postpositional phrase, *Makam=am o* [Markham =group genitive] ‘of the Markham group’, to clarify the meaning.

- (6.74) *Koto sene=te, wau pao, Makam=am o sakine*
 court 1p=PNP banana IGEN Markham=group GEN words
me here-pe min-ia.
 move.down PUT-SR stay-1p
 ‘The court, we, overcame (lit. ‘put down’) the words, of the banana
 ones, of the Markham group and we remained/stayed.’ T5.23.61

6.7 Possessive constructions with a possessor noun phrase, genitive postposition *sao*

The third type of possessor noun phrase has the genitive postposition *sao*. *Sao* follows a headless noun phrase with an animate referent (see §5.2.5) or a headless *ahare* ‘animate locative’ postpositional phrase (see §7.3.5). In turn it is followed by a head noun. As in constructions with the genitive postposition *o*, the possessor is linked with animacy, and, as in *pao* constructions, the location or origin of the head noun is indicated. Just as *pao* appears to derive from *pa* ‘goal/locative’ (cf. §6.6.1), *sao* possibly derives from the goal/locative postposition *sa*, or the noun *sa* ‘place’, combined with genitive *o*. The head noun can be omitted if it is recoverable from the discourse or real-world context. The structure is as follows.

Headless NP / Headless Animate PP *sao* (Noun)

The postposition *sao* occurs with a headless adjective noun phrase in (6.75). The head noun is replaced by *u* ‘that’ which refers anaphorically to information in the earlier discussion.

- (6.75) *U tom sao.*
 that other AGEN
 ‘That is another one’s.’ (lit. ‘of the other one’)

In (6.76) below the origin of the animate referent in the *ahare* postpositional phrase is indicated. The postposition *sao* expresses the genitive meaning.

- (6.76) *Mo hena-tamaite uo, [i ahare sao] hena-tamaite*
 this woman-man GRD 1s ALOC AGEN woman-man
 ‘These people (women-men), are my people (women-men from my place).’
 D9.48.3

6.8 Possessive constructions with *ahare* in locative postpositional phrases

The complement of a locative postposition may refer to an inanimate entity closely associated with a human referent. In this context, the animate referent noun phrase is followed by the postposition *ahare* (an animate locative postposition elsewhere, see §7.3.4) instead of the postposition *o* ‘genitive of animate referent’ (see §6.5). The noun phrase with *ahare* is followed by a noun phrase with an inanimate referent. This nominal construction is the complement of a locative postposition as in the structure below and example (6.77). (See §7.3.5 for further examples).

[NP *ahare* NP] Locative postposition

- (6.77) “*Yar-ahē!*” *o re-pe n-a-te ni uo,*
 go-IMP2p do PUT-LTD:3s 3s GRD
ni ahare weti pa yar-a-te, ...
 3s ALOC house G/L go-3s-DR
 ‘“You go!” he said and then he, he went to his house...’ T1.20.38

7 Postpositional phrases

7.1 Introduction

This chapter describes postpositional phrases. Section §7.2 introduces the structure, function and distribution of postpositional phrases, §7.3 presents locative postpositional phrases, §7.4 describes non-locative postpositional phrases, §7.5 examines postpositional phrases combined and §7.6 examines postpositional phrases and anaphoric reference. Lexicalizations that incorporate postpositions are mentioned in relevant sections and genitive postpositional phrases have already been introduced in chapter 6.

7.2 The structure and function of postpositional phrases

Koromu postpositional phrases function as clausal adjuncts, as arguments of motion and posture-taking verbs and as predicates of nonverbal clauses. A simple postpositional phrase consists of a noun phrase followed by a postposition.

PP → NP Postposition

All postpositions can govern a noun phrase (NP) but only *pa* form ‘goal/locative’ (G/L) postpositions can govern a directional locative (adverbial).



Locative and non-locative postpositional phrases are further subdivided on the basis of semantic differences between the complement noun phrases and/or the types of verb with which the postpositional phrases occur. Genitive postpositional phrases (cf. chapter 6) also have the structure PP → NP Postposition, but they function within nominal constructions as dependent possessors prior to possessee head nouns that may be elided. The genitive postpositions include *o* ‘genitive of animate referent noun phrases’ (GEN)’ (§6.5), *pao* ‘genitive of inanimate referent noun phrases’ (IGEN)’ (§6.6), *sao* ‘genitive of animate referent headless phrases’ (AGEN)’ (§6.7) and *ahare* ‘genitive of animate referent noun phrase in locative postpositional phrases’ (§6.8). *Pao*, *sao* and *ahare* are similar in form to, and may derive from, some locative postpositions.

7.3 Locative postpositional phrases

7.3.1 Introduction

The postpositions that can function as locative postpositions are *pa* ‘goal/locative’, *pate* ‘source/locative’, *sa* ‘near:goal/locative’, *sate* ‘near:source’ and *ahare* ‘animate:locative’. The semantics of the complement of the postposition affects the choice of which postposition is used. However, there is some overlap in the locative functions of *pa* and *sa* type postpositions. In addition, the *pate* and *sate* forms can also be used to express manner and the *ahare* postposition has some non-locative functions. Table 7.1 provides an overview of the locative functions of these postpositions, the overlap between them and the semantics of their complements.

Table 7.1: Locative postposition functions and the semantics of their complements.

	<i>pa</i>	<i>pate</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>sate</i>	<i>ahare</i>
GOAL	✓		✓		✓
LOCATION	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
SOURCE		✓		✓	
Semantics of complement	general inanimate	general inanimate	near place	near place	animate

The postpositions *pa* and *sa* can be incorporated into placenames (§4.3.4), *sa* and *sate* can be incorporated into relational locatives (§4.7.3.3) and *pa* can be incorporated into general locatives (§4.7.3.4). Furthermore, *pa* and *sa* combine with *o* ‘genitive of animate referent’ to form *pao* ‘inanimate genitive’ (§6.6), as in *ya huru pao aine* [water dirty IGEN fish] ‘fish of dirty water’, and *sao* ‘genitive of animate referent headless phrases’ (§6.7), as in *tom sao na* [other AGEN thing] ‘someone else’s thing’.

The following sections describe the *pa* form (§7.3.2), *sa* form (§7.3.3) and *ahare* postpositional phrases (§7.3.4) as well as locative postpositional phrases within which *ahare* functions as a genitive postposition (§7.3.5).

7.3.2 *Pa* form postpositional phrases

7.3.2.1 Introduction

Postpositional phrases with the postposition *pa* or *pate* have complement noun phrases with inanimate referents. These phrases have locative meaning but

phrases with *pate* can also express manner. Directional locatives can be complements of these postpositions and location in time is expressed when a temporal noun is the complement. In possessive constructions, an enclitic possessor attaches to *pa*, see also (6.20) in §6.5.3.2.1 and (7.18).

7.3.2.2 Constructions with *pa* ‘goal/locative’

Postpositional phrases with *pa* ‘goal/locative’ (G/L) function as arguments of motion and posture-taking verbs, locational or temporal adjuncts and nonverbal predicates. The constructions in which these phrases occur indicate a goal or location depending on the semantic nature of the verb. The following constituents can be complements of the postposition *pa* ‘goal/locative’.

- a noun phrase with a head noun or noun compound that is:
 - a common noun (cf. §4.3.2) referring to a place or time (7.1)
 - a placename (cf. §4.3.4) of a specific large river, garden or distant place (7.2)
- an interrogative (cf. §4.14.2) *ani* ‘where’ or *mamuna* ‘what’ (7.3)
- a demonstrative (cf. §4.14.1), as in (7.4)
- a directional locative (cf. §4.7.3.2), as in (7.5)

(7.1) ...with a common noun, e.g. *keti* ‘mountain’, *weti* ‘house/village’, *ya* ‘river’, *mare* ‘area’, *tiri* ‘tree’, *ei* ‘bamboo’, *opia* ‘mat’, *yonu* ‘shade’, *hekeni* ‘fire’, *sema* ‘pot’

...wa pa ya n-a.
 garden G/L go STAY-3s
 ‘She’s gone to the garden.’ T2.28.16

(7.2) ...with a river name

Eto Pakaia pa men-amu=e?
 tomorrow Pakaia G/L stay-2s=Q
 ‘Are you going to stay at the Pakaia tomorrow?’ D 2.45.4

(7.3) ...with an interrogative

Eto ani pa yar-amu=e?
 tomorrow where G/L go-2s=Q
 ‘Where will you go to tomorrow?’ D2.38.4

(7.4) ...with a demonstrative

...*usu u pa torunu-pu-e-te...*
 pig there G/L meet.up-HAB-3p-DR
 ‘...the pigs regularly meet up there and...’ T1.25.7

(7.5) ...with a directional locative

...*yoroho pa tehei-pe...*
 up.there G/L walk-SR
 ‘...walked (around) up there...’ T6.15.6

Pa postpositional phrases express ‘goal’ or ‘locative’ meaning depending on the semantic nature of the verb and the discourse context. With deictic motion verbs, as in (7.1) and (7.3) above, and (7.6) below, the goal towards which the participant is moving is indicated (cf. §4.2.1.2, §10.5.4.4.1).

(7.6) *Si u ya kohonu pa yar-amu uo...*
 so.then that water deep G/L go-2s GRD
 ‘So if you go to that deep water...’ T1.19.18

A goal is indicated in constructions with posture-taking and placement verbs.

(7.7) *Usu saputi pa te here-r-a.*
 pig rack G/L get PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘He put the pig onto a wire rack (over the fire).’ D3.116.1

In nonverbal clauses, the location of a participant or entity is represented.

(7.8) “*Sosi ani pa?*” *u-a-te...*
 Sosi where G/L quote-3s-DR
 ‘“Where is Sosi?” he said,...’ T1.27.9

Similarly, in clauses with stative verbs the location of the participant and the event are expressed by *pa* ‘goal/locative’ postpositional phrases. The location of the event is inherent with a verb such as *mene* ‘be, stay, exist’.

(7.9) ...*aire weti pa mene-pe, men-e-te...*
 kunai house G/L stay-SR stay-3p-DR
 ‘...they stayed at the kunai grass house, and they stayed and...’ T1.27.29

The participatory semantic roles, or inner locatives, of the postpositional phrases in the examples above contrast with the more circumstantial outer locative role the phrases have when they describe the location of events with other dynamic verbs (cf. Andrews 2007a: 140–141 [1985: 70]). The more circumstantial role in (7.10) and (7.11) below is less integral to the meaning of the clause.

- (7.10) ...*metekaihere ato, yoroho pa oro ta-e-te,*
 white man one up.there G/L shoot END-3p-DR
u pa men-a-te,
 there G/L stay-3s-DR
 ‘...one white man, they shot him up there, and he stayed there...’ T5.5.9

- (7.11) ...*sema warimi pa here her-e.*
 pot round G/L cook PUT-3p
 ‘...they are cooking it (banana soup) in round pots.’ T6.7.17

When motion verbs that have locative (goal/theme role) objects (cf. §4.2.2.2.3, §10.5), occur with *pa* postpositional phrases the location of the event is indicated. The verbs *topi* ‘climb’ (7.12) and *korare* ‘go over’ in the final clause of (7.13) occur with goal locative objects. Compare these examples with the initial clause in (7.13) in which *topi* ‘climb’ and a *pa* ‘goal/locative’ postpositional phrase cooccur to describe the location of the event rather than the path of movement.

- (7.12) *Keti topi-pe, aire pa torunu-pe,*
 mountain climb-SR kunai G/L meet-SR
 ‘(We) climbed the mountain and met in the kunai grass...’ T3.1.1
- (7.13) ...*keti pa topi-pe yare-pe, yare-pe*
 mountain G/L climb-1p go-SR go-SR
yare-pe, keti ya korare ta-pe...
 go-SR mountain go go.over END-SR
 ‘...(we) climbed up the mountain and continued going and went over (crested) the mountain....’ T3.3.3

There are two possible interpretations of postpositional phrases that occur in clauses with the motion-manner verb *tehei* ‘walk’ (7.14). Either the goal of the participant or the location of the event is indicated (cf. §4.2.1.2, §10.8.2.1).

- (7.14) *Ya tekene pa tehei-r-i=mo.*
 river edge G/L walk-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘I walked to/at the edge of the river.’ D2.82.1

In (7.15) the discourse context indicates that the event *tehei* ‘walk’ occurs inside a large building, the location of the event.

- (7.15) *U pa tehei-pe tehei-r-ia, weti oru pa.*
 there G/L walk-SR walk-PRES-1p house inside G/L
U weti arene aterei pa, u pa, masini
 that house big one G/L there G/L machine
u wesi-seka-pe...
 there show-O1p-SR
 ‘...we walked and walked in there, in the inside of the house. In that one big house, in there, he showed us machines there.’ T1.20.23

Postpositional phrases with *pa* with temporal noun phrases as complements, for example, *nahe oto* ‘mami (yam) days/season’ (7.16), *oto* ‘day/season’, *hekeni oto* ‘fire days/season’ (7.17) and *were oto* ‘sunny days/season’, express the location of the event in time.

- (7.16) *Nahe oto pa uo, nahe oro re-pe...*
 mami season G/L GRD mami dig PUT-SR
 ‘...in mami (yam type) season, (we) dig up mami...’ T1.33.29

- (7.17) *...hekeni oto pa uo, aire wi-pu-r-a.*
 fire season G/L GRD kunai grow-HAB-PRES-3s
Oto pa uo, wa aie apaisi-pe
 season G/L GRD garden work leave-SR
hekeni pa yare-pu-r-ia.
 fire G/L go-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘...in the fire season, the grass grows. In the season, we leave the garden work and go to the fires.’ T1.33.14

One of the characteristic features of *pa* ‘goal/locative’ phrases is that possessor enclitics occur outside them (cf. §6.5.3.2.1) and attach to them as the final word of the phrase, rather than to the final word of the noun phrase (cf. §6.5.3.2.1).

- (7.18) ...*weti pa=napa mi-pe sasi-neka-ia...*
 house G/L=P3p move.down-SR tell-O3p-1p
 ‘...we went down to their houses and we spoke to them,...’ T5.23.49

Some inherently locative or temporal words, such as the placename *Waimeripa*, the noun *naurupa* ‘bush’, the relational locative *nampa* ‘above’ and the temporal *surumapa* (or *sumurapa*) ‘before/long ago’, incorporate the postposition *pa* (see §4.3.4.3).

7.3.2.3 Constructions with *pate* ‘source/locative’ or ‘manner’

Pate postpositional phrases function as clausal adjuncts that indicate either a ‘source/inessive’ location or the ‘manner’ of doing something. The former may derive from *pa* ‘goal/locative’ combined with =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ (which often marks an agent/effector) and the latter from *pa* ‘goal/locative’ with *te* ‘instrumental’. The meaning is affected by the semantic nature of the verb and/or the class of the noun phrase that is complement of the postposition.

7.3.2.3.1 Constructions with *pate* ‘source/locative’

Pate ‘source/inessive locative’ postpositional phrases express either the ‘source’ from which a movement begins or the location of something within a place during an activity. Common nouns of location, placenames (of large rivers, gardens or distant places), interrogatives, demonstratives and directional locatives can occur as complement of *pate* ‘source/locative’ (cf. complements of *pa* ‘goal/locative’).

The semantics of the verb affects the meaning of source locative postpositional phrases with *pate*. While *pa* postpositional phrases (§7.3.2.2) express ‘goal/locative’ in clauses with deictic motion and motion-path verbs, *pate* postpositional phrases express a source of movement.

- (7.19) interrogative complement
Ani pate ka-r-a?
 where S/L come-PRES-3s
 ‘Where did he come from?’
- (7.20) directional locative complement
Yoroho pate me-r-i=mo.
 up.there S/L move.down-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘I was coming down from up there.’ D2.43.6

(7.21) placename complement

...*u=te*, **Pakaia pate**, *a mi-pe*, ...
 that=PNP Pakaia S/L come move.down-SR
 ‘...it, came down, from the Pakaia, ...’ T5.22.5

With verbs that describe activities or states *pate* postpositional phrases indicate the place within which the activity or state occurred. Examples (7.22) and (7.23) have dynamic and experiencer subject verbs respectively.

(7.22) common noun complement

...**yonu pate auhu pe t-i**.
 shade S/L betel.nut chew get-1s
 ‘...in the shade I chewed betel nut.’ T5.20.27

(7.23) distant placename complement

...**Sosi pate were-i=mo. Warike n-a-te**...
 Sosi S/L see-1s=BM bad STAY-3s-DR
 ‘...I saw him in Sosi. He was in a bad state.’ T6.5.35

Postpositional phrases with other dynamic verbs also describe the inessive location of events. Examples are given in (7.24), (7.25) and (7.26).

(7.24) ...**u pate Haki hiri-a-te u pate kase te-pe**...
 that S/L Haki cry-3s-DR that S/L put:hang GET-SR
 ‘...in that place Haki cried and in that place I put him on (over) my shoulders...’ T1.15.33

(7.25) ...**naere wamte=te sa amkoru pate ho-s-a**.
 snake adder=PNP path middle S/L bite-O1-3s
 ‘...a snake bit me in the middle of the path.’ T1.6.1

(7.26) **Hekeni pate hi-amu**.
 fire S/L roast-2s
 ‘You roast it in the fire.’ D9.8.4

With stative (7.27) and experiencer object (7.28) verbs *pate* ‘source/locative’ postpositional phrases also indicate the places within which events and participants are located.

- (7.27) ...*weti arene napa u men-e uo, eno*
 house big P3p there stay-3p GRD across.there
men-e uo, si uo, u pate mene-pe n-e-te...
 stay-3p GRD so.then GRD there S/L stay-LTD:3p
 ‘...their big houses were there, they were across there, so, they stayed in
 (them) there...’ T5.3.31
- (7.28) *Ya amkoru pate i ehi ai-s-a.*
 water middle S/L 1s leg tire-O1s-3s
 ‘In the middle of the river my legs got tired.’ T1.15.51

Also, *pate* postpositional phrases can express the time during which an event happens. The complement can be a temporal noun or noun phrase, such as *oto* ‘day/season’, *somoto* ‘morning’, *somoru* ‘night’ or *wesekere* ‘midday’ (see §4.3.5) or a nominal construction such as *were oru* ‘during/inside the sun (season)’ or *somoto oru* ‘very early morning (lit. ‘inside the morning’)’ (7.29). Compare (7.16) and (7.17) in §7.3.2.2.

- (7.29) ...*ka-pe niate, somoto pate ka-pe...*
 come-LTD:1p morning S/L come-SR
 ‘...we came, we came in the morning...’ T1.13.2

7.3.2.3.2 Constructions with *pate* ‘manner’

The manner in which something is done is expressed when the complement of a *pate* postpositional phrase is a noun referring to a means of transport/movement or a means of performance of a mental or speech activity. The head of the noun phrase is a common noun or the interrogative *mana* ‘what’. Manner postpositional phrases are distinct from postpositional phrases with *te* ‘instrumental’ that indicate that something is done to something (see §7.4.2.2). Manner may be a metaphorical extension of the locative on its way to grammaticization. In the following examples, *pate* ‘manner’ could be translated with ‘in’ or ‘by’.

- (7.30) A. *Mam*³⁸ *pate ka-r-i?*
 what MANN come-PRES-2s
 ‘How did you come (lit. ‘in/by what you come’)?’ D3.133.2

³⁸ Interrogative *mana* is affected by final vowel elision (§2.4.2.1.1) and assimilation to the position of the subsequent bilabial stop (§2.4.4.1).

- B. **Kare pate ka-r-i.**
 car MANN come-PRES-1s
 ‘I came in a/by car.’ D3.133.4

The construction in (7.30B) can also be used to express locative ‘I came from the car’ in answer to the question *Ani pate ka-r-i?* [where S/L come-PRES-1s] ‘Where did you come from?’.

In a *pate* postpositional phrase some body part nouns can represent a means of transport or movement.

- (7.31) **Sene ehi pate ka-ia=mo.**
 1p foot MANN come-1p=BM
 ‘We came on foot.’ T1.2a.4

Nouns representing thoughts (7.32), speech (7.33) or hearing (7.34) can occur as complement of the postposition *pate* ‘manner’.

- (7.32) **Sono urunu pate teh-ia=mo.**
 GEN1p thought MANN walk-1p=BM
 ‘We walked according to our own thoughts (i.e. by our own decision).’
 D2.110.9

- (7.33) **Inglis pate sa-r-a.**
 English MANN speak-PRES-3s
 ‘She speaks in English.’ D1.19.20

- (7.34) **Tai ese-apu ahare pate, mai-ne-r-e.**
 NEG hear-NOM ear MANN pass-O2s-PRES-3p
 ‘Not hearing with their ears, they went past you.’ D10.9.9

Some manner adverbs (§4.7.4) and intensifiers (§4.7.7) incorporate the form *pate* ‘manner’.

7.3.3 *Sa* form postpositional phrases

7.3.3.1 Introduction

Sa form postpositional phrases with *sa* or *sate* postpositions refer to places that are near something or someone, or that are a side or part of something (cf. §4.8).

7.3.3.2 Constructions with *sa* ‘near:goal/locative’

Sa ‘near:goal/locative’ (N:G/L) postpositional phrases can function as arguments of motion and posture-taking verbs and as clausal adjuncts. As with *pa* ‘goal/locative’, a goal or location is indicated, depending on the semantic nature of the verb. Interestingly, in nearby Tauya a form *sa* indicates adessive/allative case, functions as a noun denoting ‘general environment’ and has a limited use as a derivational suffix and marker of contrastive topic (MacDonald 1990: 124–125).

The head noun in the complement of the postposition *sa* can be a placename (cf. §4.3.4) that refers to a place nearby, such as a local settlement (7.35) or small river (7.36), familiar to the speaker. The complement can also be a common noun denoting a body part (7.37) (cf. §4.3.2.1).

In a construction with a deictic directional verb and a *sa* postpositional phrase the goal of the participant’s movement is indicated (7.35).

- (7.35) ...*si* *u* *pate* ***Kesawai*** *sa* *ka-i*.
 so.then there S/L Kesawai N:G/L come-1s
 ‘...so then from there I came to Kesawai.’ T2.13.18

A location is indicated when there is a stative serial verb construction (cf. chapter 10).

- (7.36) ...***Ya Kohu*** *sa* *mo* *ese* *ya* *n-a*.
 river Kohu N:G/L here cut go STAY-3s
 ‘...it (the land) cut off here at the river Kohu.’ T5.22.5

With other stative serial verb constructions, complements of the *sa* postpositional phrase represent locations on parts of the body, for example on the shoulder with legs dangling down front and back in (7.37) or on both shoulders, with legs dangling down either side of the neck in (7.38). The latter example has a headless numeral noun phrase (cf. §5.2.5.2.2).

- (7.37) ***Haho*** ***aterai*** *sa* *wera* *kase* *ne-pinte*...
 shoulder one N:G/L child put:hang STAY-LTD:1s
 ‘I had the child set on one shoulder (legs front and back).’ (pers. com.
 Winis Mutu)

- (7.38) *I=te* ***aere*** *sa* *wera* *kase* *ne-pe*...
 1s=PNP two N:G/L child put:hang STAY-SR
 ‘I had set the child on two (sides) (i.e. legs on two sides)...’ T1.15.48

Further examples show the location of participants/entities with stative verbs as in (739) and (740) and nonverbal clauses as in (741).

(739) “*Mo uo, Sotoko sa min-ia=mo,*” *u-e.*
 this GRD Sotoko N:G/L be-1p=BM quote-3p
 ‘“Here, we are at Sotoko,” they said.’ T5.22.14

(740) *Kesawai sa poho n-ie.*
 Kesawai N:G/L sit STAY-1p
 ‘We sat at Kesawai.’ T2.15.58

(741) *Hose Kesawai sa ia.*
 ghost Kesawai N:G/L not
 ‘There are no ghosts in Kesawai.’ (lit. ‘Ghosts are not in Kesawai.’)

Constructions in which *sa* postpositional phrases occur with dynamic verbs indicate the location of an event.

(742) *Kesawai sa nauno-r-e =mo.*
 Kesawai N:G/L bury-PRES-3p=BM
 ‘They are burying her at Kesawai.’

The interrogative *anisa* ‘which side’ and many relational locatives such as *are-sa* ‘lower side’ incorporate *-sa* ‘place/side’ (see §4.7.3.3).

7.3.3.3 Constructions with *sate* ‘near:source’ or ‘manner’

Sate postpositional phrases refer to the place where a movement began or the manner in which an action is performed. The meaning is affected by the head noun of the complement noun phrase.

7.3.3.3.1 Constructions with *sate* ‘near:source’

Postpositional phrases headed by the postposition *sate* ‘near:source’ govern inherently locative noun phrases such as local placenames. There is no evidence in the data that *sate* can indicate locative as *pate* does. However like *pate* (§7.3.2.3.1), *sate* ‘near:source’ is possibly related to the =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ enclitic, while *sate* ‘near:manner’ is possibly related to *te* ‘instrumental’. *Sate* postpositional phrases occur in constructions with motion-path and transitive motion verbs when the source of an action is indicated.

- (7.43) **Korike sate ka-pe n-ia-te...**
 Korike N:S come-LTD:1p
 ‘We came from Korike and ...’ T1.13.2

Locative adverbials that incorporate *-sa* ‘near source/place’ and the interrogative *anisa* take the affix ‘-te’ when they represent the source or starting place of a movement, as in *anisate* ‘from which side’ and *yorosate* ‘from up there’ (cf. §4.7.3.3). However, with placenames that incorporate *sa*, other constructions such as *pate* postpositional phrases are used. An example is *Meansa ya pate ka-r-a*. [Meansa river S/L come-PRES-3s] ‘He came from the Meansa River.’

7.3.3.3.2 Constructions with *sate* ‘near:manner’

Constructions in which the *sate* postposition occurs with a body part noun phrase indicate a means of transport that is dependent on part of the set of body parts. For example, *aru-sete* ‘wallaby’ use two back legs (one pair) when they move over a distance, rather than the full set of four legs used when grazing.

- (7.44) **Aru-sete ehi atere sate tehei-pu-r-e.**
 wallaby leg one N:MANN walk-HAB-PRES-3p
 ‘Wallabies walk on one leg.’³⁹ (i.e. a one pair of legs, the back legs.) YTN2.14

The postpositional phrase *ehi pate* ‘on foot’ is used when referring to how people walk or move from place to place using both feet, that is, the full set of lower limbs generally used for moving over the ground. An example is provided in (7.31) above.

7.3.4 The *ahare* ‘animate locative’ postpositional phrase

Ahare/hare ‘animate locative (ALOC)’ postpositional phrases have an animate complement. They express locative (§7.3.4.1), beneficiary/maleficiary (§7.3.4.2) or referential (§7.3.4.3) meaning depending on the semantic nature of the verb.

7.3.4.1 Locative constructions with the *ahare* postpositional phrase

Ahare/hare ‘animate locative’ postpositional phrases indicate the goal of animate participants with motion and posture-taking verbs and the location of animate

³⁹ In Koromu *ehi* is used to refer to ‘leg’ or ‘foot’ (cf. Priestley 2017).

participants with stative verbs. This reflects the inner locative or participatory meaning expressed with the *pa* and *sa* postpositions described in the sections above. Note the loss of initial /a/ in some contexts (§2.4.2.1.3).

The complement of the postposition has an animate referent represented by a personal name (7.45) and (7.48), a kinship noun (7.46), a pronoun (7.47) and (7.50) or a human (or highly animate) common noun (7.49). In examples (7.45) and (7.46), the *ahare* postpositional phrases indicate the goal of motion-path verbs (cf. English prepositional phrases with ‘to’).

(7.45) *Yume ahare ka-i.*
 Yume ALOC come-1s
 ‘I came to Yume.’ T1.16.6

(7.46) *Arumu-napa ahare ya-r-a.*
 relatives-P3p ALOC go-PRES-3s
 ‘She went to their relatives.’ D7.65.3

The goal of the participant is also indicated with a posture-taking verb in example (7.47).

(7.47) *Sene hare mo pa puhu-ae!*
 1p ALOC here G/L sit-IMP2s
 ‘Sit down here with us!’ T1.27.11

With stative verbs, the location of the participant is indicated (cf. English ‘with’).

(7.48) *Waoro Kahu ahare men-a.*
 money Kahu ALOC stay-3s
 ‘The money (stone) is with Kahu.’ D3.138.1

The *ahare* postpositional phrase indicates either goal or location (cf. English ‘upon’, ‘on’ and ‘near’) in clauses with motion manner verbs (7.49) and (7.50).

(7.49) *Esame arene ahare, naere ahare tehei-pe yar-amu.*
 dog big ALOC snake ALOC step.on-SR go-2p
 ‘You will walk on the great dog and snake.’ Za8, Psalm 91:13

(7.50) *A mi-pe i ahare air-e=mo.*
 come move.down-SR 1s ALOC arrive-3p=BM
 ‘They came down and arrived near me.’ T5.25.15

7.3.4.2 Benefactive constructions with the *ahare* postpositional phrase

Ahare postpositional phrases indicate a beneficiary or maleficiary in clauses with dynamic verbs that are not motion verbs.

- (751) *Na nokono i ahare aire ta-r-a.*
 thing good 1s ALOC happen END-PRES-3s
 ‘Something good happened to me.’ CS6.8

- (752) *Mutu Kahu ahare aie te-r-a.*
 Mutu Kahu ALOC work get-PRES-3s
 ‘Mutu is working for/with Kahu (person’s name).’ D3.120.12

The beneficiary marked by the postpositional phrase can be a recipient of a finished product (cf. Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 384).

- (753) *Weti ahi-ma ahare wese-r-i=mo.*
 house mother-P1s ALOC make-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘I’m making a house for my mother.’

With the verb *umu* ‘hide’ the person indicated in the *ahare* postpositional phrase is perhaps better described as a maleficiary rather than a beneficiary.

- (754) *Ne i ahare tai umu-ae.*
 2s 1s ALOC NEG hide-2s
 ‘Don’t hide from me.’

7.3.4.3 Referential constructions with the *ahare* postpositional phrase

In the following construction with the verb *here* ‘put’ the *ahare* ‘animate locative’ postpositional phrase refers to the topic of thought, knowledge or speech.

- (755) *Mo tamaite mo urunu warik-au*
 this man this thought bad-ADJR
i ahare here-r-a=mo.
 1s ALOC put-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘This man is having (lit. ‘putting’) this bad thought about me.’ CS3.4

When verbs such as *urunu* ‘think’, *sipamu* ‘know’ and *sa* ‘say/speak’ are used in a dynamic sense, a human topic of thought, knowledge or speech is marked by an object suffix on the verb (§4.2.2.2.1). However, with speech act verbs like *sau* ‘say/

speak to 3s' and *tohoi* 'ask', the topic can be indicated by a complement of the postposition *sei* 'orientation' (§7.4.1.3).

7.3.5 Locative postpositional phrases with *ahare* as a genitive postposition

When a possessive noun phrase is the complement of a locative, postposition *ahare* replaces genitive postposition *o* if the dependent possessor noun phrase has an animate referent (cf. §6.8). Possessor noun phrases with relational locatives (cf. §4.7.3.3) are also affected. Example (7.56) has an oblique locative argument with the motion verb.

- (7.56) *Nikipa ahare weti pa mere peraun ta-i ...*
 Nikipa ALOC house G/L move.up reach END-1s
 "Nikipa men-e tau," u-pe ...
 Nikipa be-3p UNC quote (think)-SR
 u pa tai men-e-te...
 there G/L NEG be-3p-DR
 'I went up and reached Nikipa's house, ... "Maybe Nikipa (and his family) are here?" I thought They were not there.' T5.20.33

Examples occur with other dynamic and stative verbs.

- (7.57) *...Pun hare yate pate i=te kase t-i.*
 Pun ALOC yard S/L 1s=PNP put:hang GET-1s
 '...at Pun's yard I set him on my shoulders (with his legs hanging down two sides of my body).' T1.15.75

- (7.58) *Na warikau ne hare weti pa tai airi-hera.*
 thing bad 2s ALOC house G/L NEG happen-F3s
 'Bad things will not happen to your house.' Za8, Ps 91:10

- (7.59) *Karo=ama hare weti pa men-a.*
 Carol=group ALOC house G/L be-3s
 'It is at Carol and company's house.' T1.174

The example in the nonverbal clause in (7.60) occurs in the context of the birth order of children of the same father and mother.

- (7.60) *I ahare ehi pa, Mutu=te.*
 1s ALOC leg G/L Mutu=PNP
 ‘Mutu, was after me (lit. ‘at my leg’).’ T1.9.11

In a headless possessive noun phrase, the head noun and *pa* ‘goal/locative’ can be omitted if the information is recoverable from the context (cf. headless noun phrases in §5.2.5). For example, the clauses before the extract in (7.61) described participants sitting at their relative’s home before going to sit at their own.

- (7.61) *...sene hare mere poho n-ia.*
 1p ALOC move.up sit STAY-1p
 ‘We went up and sat at ours (our house).’ T1.15.89

The complement of the postposition *pa* ‘goal/locative’ in (7.62) is a body part noun with a possessor enclitic. The enclitic follows the postposition as in §6.5.3.2.1, example (6.20).

- (7.62) *Na ato Awai ahare mete=pe⁴⁰=ne aire-r-a.*
 thing one Awai ALOC body=G/L=P3s happen-PRES-3s
 ‘Something happened to Awai’s body.’ CS2.11

Possessor noun phrases with *ahare*, together with relational locatives that incorporate postpositions, describe the position of a participant or entity in relation to a person (cf. §8.5), for example, positions behind (7.63), in front of (7.64), under (7.65) and near (7.66) people.

- (7.63) *Tamaite aire hare eponsa pe n-a.*
 man two ALOC behind stand STAY-3s
 ‘He stands behind the two men (lit. ‘at the two men’s behinds/backs’).’
 D3.112.17

- (7.64) *...epono sene hare orusa were-ia.*
 later 1p ALOC front see-1p
 ‘...later we saw in front of us (lit. ‘at our fronts’).’ T2.24.26

40 Vowel harmony affects central vowel /a/ in an environment before the front vowel /e/ (§2.4.3.2.6).

(7.65) *I ahare warisesa*

1s ALOC below

'(It is) below me (at my underneath).' D3.112.14

(7.66) *Awai, Wira hare onukirisa⁴¹ pe n-a?*

Awai Wira ALOC near stand STAY-3s

'Awai, was he standing near Wira (Wira's shadow)?' CS15.3

7.4 Non-locative postpositional phrases

Non-locative postpositional phrases are divided semantically in relation to whether the complement of the postposition can be inanimate or animate (§7.4.1) or only inanimate (§7.4.2).

7.4.1 Non-locative postpositional phrases and inanimate/animate referent noun phrase objects

7.4.1.1 Introduction

Non-locative postpositional phrases, with inanimate or animate referent noun phrase complements, occur with the postpositions, *ore* 'comitative', *sei* 'orientation', *seipa* 'reason' or *uapu* 'similitive'. These postpositional phrases function as adjuncts of verbal clauses. Apart from *seipa* 'reason' phrases they also function as predicates of nonverbal clauses.

7.4.1.2 *Ore* 'comitative' postpositional phrases

Ore 'comitative' postpositional phrases refer to a person or entity that accompanies or is with a participant. Examples of comitative postpositional phrases as oblique arguments are given in (7.67) where the head of the complement noun phrase is a common noun and in (7.68) where it is a demonstrative.

(7.67) *Esame nupu men-e. Esame ore ya-r-i.*

dog many be-3p dog COM go-PRES-1s

'There were many dogs. I went with the dogs.' T5.25.1

⁴¹ *Onukirisa* 'near' combines *onu* 'shadow/spirit' with the cranberry morpheme *kirisa* (Kesawai 1 consultants, pers. com.). Future research with other speakers may reveal an independent meaning.

- (7.68) *Sowahe, u ore hororu-pu-r-e.*
 ginger that COM spit-HAB-PRES-3p
 ‘Ginger, they habitually spit with that.’ (...part of taro planting ritual) D3.146.6

The head can also be a pronoun (7.69) or proper noun (7.70). Locative and object arguments required by the verb occur immediately before the verb while the comitative postpositional phrase comes earlier in the clause following the subject.

- (7.69) *ni ore sapakotu pa aire ta-pe n-ia-te,*
 3s COM road G/L arrive END-LTD:1p
 ‘...with him we arrived at the road, ...’ T2.11.22

- (7.70) *Sene uo, Karo ore sakine toruno hore-pe, ...*
 1p GRD Carol COM talk join PUT-SR
 ‘We, we joined the talk with Carol (met to discuss something),...’ T3.3.1

In example (7.71), the nouns representing two participants are marked as prominent noun phrases. *Ore* ‘comitative’ postpositional phrases indicate people who accompany them.

- (7.71) *I=te, Yot=te, Yot o hena-ne ore,*
 1s=PNP Yot=PNP Yot GEN wife-P3s COM
Henahina wapi-rane e-ne ore, Yako ore,
 old.woman arm-broken husband-P3s COM Yako COM
Arikao ore, Eiorapa min-ia.
 Arikao COM Eiorapa stay-1p
 ‘Yot and I stayed at Eiorapa with Yot’s wife, with the husband of ‘Old woman broken arm’, with her husband, with Yako, and with Arikao.’
 T6.3.1

The *ore* ‘comitative’ postpositional phrase is the predicate of a nonverbal clause (§3.7.2) in (7.72).

- (7.72) *...nene, nene, mo pa tamaite umti ore ia.*
 3p 3p here G/L man brown COM not.be
 ‘...they, they, were not with brown men here.’ T5.3.14

Phrases with the postposition *ore* COM can occur in listing phrases (§5.11.3.3), like noun phrases with the enclitics =*rare* ‘and/with’ (cf. §5.11.3.1) and =*ama* ‘group’ (cf. §5.11.3.2).

7.4.1.3 *Sei* ‘orientation’ postpositional phrases

Sei postpositional phrases indicate the pole of orientation towards which the predicate is directed, focused or linked (cf. van Hoecke 1996: 18). Thus, the noun phrase with *sei* represents the purpose, cause/instigator, intended/potential object, purposive dative or topic of the action/state that is oriented towards it. Examples in this section show that the complement of *sei* can be a common noun, a demonstrative, a proper noun, a headless relative clause with *pao* ‘inanimate genitive’, a pronoun or an interrogative like *me* ‘who’.

The precise meaning of the *sei* postpositional phrase varies depending on the semantic nature of the verb and the complement noun phrases. With many dynamic verbs these phrases can refer to a purpose, “a motivating event which must be unrealized at the time of the main event”, or a reason (cause or instigator), “a motivating event which may be *realized* at the time” (Thompson, Longacre and Hwang 2007: 250–251 [Thompson and Longacre 1985: 185]). For example, with a motion verb and a common noun as head of the complement noun phrase in example (7.73), the *sei* postpositional phrase indicates the purpose of the action. In example (7.74) with the same verb, and an experiential verbal noun as complement, a reason is indicated.

(7.73) *Nene uo, wau sei yar-e-te...*
 3p GRD banana ORNT go-3p-DR
 ‘They, (they) went for bananas...’ T1.15.72

(7.74) *Usu ase tai te he-neka-a. Eri sei yar-a.*
 pig fight⁴² NEG get PUT-O3p-3s fear ORNT go-3s
 ‘The pig didn’t give them a fight. It went for/because of fear (of them).’ T5.25.4

In the following examples, the *sei* ‘orientation’ postpositional phrase occurs with other dynamic verbs. The complement noun phrases in these examples include a demonstrative (7.75), a proper noun (7.76) and a headless relative clause with *pao* (7.77) (cf. §12.7.2.3).

(7.75) *Werai-ma uo, kansan wa pa ya n-a.*
 child-P1s GRD peanut garden G/L go STAY-3s
U sei heti-r-i=mo.
 that ORNT wait-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘My child, she has gone to the peanut garden. I am waiting for her.’
 T2.28.15

42 *Ase* can also be translated as ‘strength’ or ‘bone’. See also Tok Pisin ‘strong’.

- (7.76) *Kesahana sei, mo wera hiri-r-a=mo.*
 Kesahana ORNT this child cry-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘This child is crying, for Kesahana.’ (Kesahana was the mother.) D203.11
- (7.77) *Ya mi-hira pao sei haru-r-i=mo.*
 water move.down-F3s NOM ORNT do:make-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘I’m doing it for the water to move down.’ (when digging a ditch) D3.105.7

In the nonverbal clause in (7.78), the subject noun phrase is omitted and the interrogative *me* ‘who’ is the complement of a *sei* ‘orientation’ postposition. The postpositional phrase forms the predicate.

- (7.78) *“Me sei=e?” Yapi sei=e?” u-pu-e.*
 who ORNT=Q Yapi ORNT=Q quote-HAB-3p
 ‘“(It is) for who? (Is it) for Yapi?” they kept saying.’ T2.26b

A *sei* ‘orientation’ postpositional phrase can also be a clausal adjunct in a nonverbal clause.

- (7.79) *Esame mo i sei tauo.*
 dog here 1s ORNT UNC
 ‘Perhaps the dogs are here for me.’ T2.32.7

The complement of the postposition *sei* represents the intended goal of an action in clauses with verbs such as *yakere* ‘laugh’ and *ahu* ‘throw’ in (7.80) and (7.81). In these examples the complements are pronouns.

- (7.80) *Yoronas ne sei yakere-r-a.*
 Yoronas 2s ORNT laugh-PRES-3s
 ‘Yoronas is laughing at you.’ D3.120.3
- (7.81) *Tamaite=te ne sei ahu-a.*
 man=PNP 2s ORNT throw-3s
 ‘The man threw (a spear) at you.’ D4.185.9

In contrast, the ditransitive use of *ahu* ‘throw’ includes an object suffix that indicates the recipient (7.82). If a participant is hit by a thrown spear the transitive verb *oro* ‘shoot/pierce’ is used (7.83).

(7.82) *Ahu-n-a.*
 throw-O2s-3s
 ‘He threw it to you.’

(7.83) *Oro-n-a.*
 shoot:pierce-O2s-3s
 ‘He shot (lit. ‘pierced’) you.’

With the verb *sa* ‘speak’ the intended goal or recipient of the speech is indicated by an animate noun phrase as complement of *sei*. In this context, *sei* marks an argument that is required (subcategorized for) by the verb (7.84).

(7.84) *Peki hena sei sa-r-a.*
 Peki woman ORNT speak-PRES-3s
 ‘Peki is speaking to the woman.’ D2.120.5

Conceivably, the previous example (7.84) could also be used to refer to the topic of the conversation. In that case the ambiguity would be removed by reference to the discourse context and if the topic of speech is mentioned at the same time it would be complement in a *sei* postpositional phrase in a separate clause. For example, (7.84) can be followed by *Heri sei sar-a.* [net.bag ORNT tell.3s-PRES-3s] ‘He told her about the net bag.’

In contrast, the verbs *sau* ‘tell third person’ and *sasi* ‘tell 1s, 1p, 2s, 2p or 3p’ indicate the speech recipient through the form of the verb and/or an object suffix. Other speech act verbs like *tohoi* ‘ask’ simply use object suffixes. With the latter, the *sei* ‘orientation’ postposition governs a complement noun phrase that indicates the topic spoken about.

(7.85) *...u sei tohoi-se-pe, ...*
 that ORNT ask-O1s-SR
 ‘...(he) asked me about that...’ (...*u* ‘that’ refers to a *karu* ‘fishtrap’) T1.175

The interrogative *mansei* ‘why?’ (§4.14.2) is based on *mana* ‘what’ and *sei* ‘orientation’.

(7.86) *Mansei sasi-se-r-i?*
 why tell-O1s-PRES-1s
 ‘Why (lit. ‘what for?’) are you telling me?’ D3.128.7

7.4.1.4 *Seipa* ‘reason’ postpositional phrases

Seipa ‘reason’ postpositional phrases refer to the reason for an event or state. The postposition appears to be a combination of *sei* ‘orientation’ and *pa* ‘goal/locative’. The head of the complement noun phrase can be a common noun in (7.87) and (7.88), a personal name in (7.89), a demonstrative in (7.90) or interrogative *mana* ‘what’ in (7.91).

- (7.87) **Were** *seipa* ya pa nuku men-ia.
sun REAS river G/L submerge.in stay-1p
‘Because of the sun we submerged in the water and stayed there.’ T6.8.25
- (7.88) ...**nahe** *seipa* uo, henahina “Nahehena,” u-pu-e=mo.
mami REAS GRD old.woman ‘Nahehena’ quote-HAB-3p=BM
‘...because of *mami* (yams), we always call the old woman “Nahehena (*mami* woman)”.’ T7.4.3
- (7.89) *Pa-ima* yame-ne uo, Ou.
father-P1s brother-in-law-P3s GRD Ou.
Pa-ima=te uo, **Ou** *seipa* uo,
father-P1s=PNP GRD Ou REAS GRD
“*Ou=mo*,” tai u-pu-a.
yam=BM NEG quote-HAB-3s
‘My father’s brother-in-law (whose name was taboo) was Ou. My father, because of Ou, he didn’t say, “It is ou (yam type)”.’ T7.4.19
- (7.90) *Weti* arene pa yare-pe, mene-pe, u weti,
house big G/L go-SR stay-SR that house
u *seipa* wene here-ia.
that REAS food cook-1p
‘They went to the big house and stayed and, that house, because of it we cooked food (to celebrate).’ T1.27.34
- (7.91) **Mana** *seipa* eri te-pe,...
what REAS fear GET-SR
‘What are we afraid of...?’ (lit. ‘because of what’) T6.10.19

7.4.1.5 *Uapu* ‘similative’ postpositional phrases

Uapu ‘similative’ postpositional phrases indicate something that is similar to another entity, time or action. The head noun of the complement noun phrase

can be a pronoun (7.92), common noun (7.93), demonstrative (7.94) or temporal noun (7.95). In nonverbal clauses, the complement of the postpositional phrase in the predicate is described as like a person or thing in the subject noun phrase.

(7.92) *Ne i uapu.*
 2s 1s SIM
 ‘You are like me.’ CS19.1

(7.93) *Awai o toso uapu.*
 Awai GEN torch SIM
 ‘(It) is like Awai’s torch.’ DF

In verbal clauses *uapu* postpositional phrases with a demonstrative as head indicate that an action in the real-world or discourse context is like the action described by the verb.

(7.94) *Ni uo, na mo uapu haru hore-r-a.*
 3s GRD thing this SIM do PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘He, (he) did the thing like this.’ CS19.6

When a temporal noun is the complement of the postposition *uapu* ‘similative’ the approximate time or duration of an event is indicated.

(7.95) *Sande aterei uapu mene-pe a mi-e.*
 Sunday one SIM stay-SR come move.down-3p
 ‘They stayed about one week (lit. ‘like one Sunday’) and then they came down.’ T1.27.16

7.4.2 Non-locative postpositional phrases and inanimate referent noun phrase complements

Non-locative postpositional phrases with *aiau* ‘resemblative’ and *te* ‘instrumental’ can only have inanimate referent complements. They function as clausal adjuncts.

7.4.2.1 *Aiau* ‘resemblative’ postpositional phrases

Aiau ‘resemblative’ postpositional phrases, like *uapu* postpositional phrases, are used to state that one thing resembles another thing. However, unlike *uapu* postpositional

phrases, they are not used to describe similarities between people or actions, or to describe time. The noun phrase complement of the postposition can only be a common noun.

- (7.96) ...**to weti aiau** *airi-hera=mo*.
 GEN2p house RSM become-F3s=BM
 ‘...he will become like your house.’ Za8:9a, Ps 91:9a

Aiau postpositional phrases commonly occur as the predicate in nonverbal clauses. The complement noun phrase of *aiau* ‘resemblative’ often refers to a plant or part of a plant.

- (7.97) *Mo uo, ware aiau*.
 this GRD pumpkin RSM
 ‘This, (it is) like pumpkin.’ CS19.3

Several expressions that include *aiau* ‘resemblative’ describe colour (cf. §4.4.1.3.3). The postposition *uapu* does not occur in this context.

- (7.98) **Kururu ami-ne aiau**.
 butterfly eye-P3s RSM
 ‘(It’s) like the eye (yellow spot on wing) of a ‘kururu’ butterfly’ (yellow).

7.4.2.2 *Te* ‘instrumental’ postpositional phrases

Te ‘instrumental’ postpositional phrases refer to an entity used as an instrument to cause a change to something else. These phrases are oblique arguments that are not cross-referenced on the verb. The noun phrase complement of the postpositional phrase can be a common noun (referring to an inanimate tool or body part), a demonstrative or the interrogative *mamuna* ‘what’.

- (7.99) ...**tau to**⁴³ *u naere sopo hor-i*.
 axe INS there snake strike PUT-1s
 ‘...I struck and killed the snake there with an axe.’ T1.6.4
- (7.100) ...**pene wai te ese ta-pe n-ia-te**,...
 rope teeth INS cut:small END-LTD:1p
 ‘...we cut the rope with our teeth...’ T1.7.4

43 Mid vowel /e/ is affected by progressive vowel harmony in words and phrases, see §2.4.3.3.2.

- (7101) ...*pupu kesan ta-pe u te oro re-pe...*
 tree.fern carve END-SR that INS shoot PUT-SR
 ‘...they shaped tree fern, and with that they shot them (pigs).’ T1.26.15
- (7102) **Mamuna te weti haru-hi?**
 what INS house build-F1s
 ‘What shall I build the house with?’ D4.191.3

When *te* ‘instrumental’ and =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ (§5.10, §13.5) occur in the same clause, the *te* ‘instrumental’ phrase, like other oblique arguments, occurs closer to the verb. The instrumental postposition may be the source of the prominent noun phrase enclitic, but the prominence enclitic marks a noun that is the subject of the verb.

- (7103) ...*si Makamo=am=te Saimono,*
 so.then Markham=group=PNP Simon
Apati putun-au⁴⁴ te, oro ta-e.
 weapon explode-ADJR INS shoot END-3p
 ‘...so then the Markham company shot Simon, with a shotgun
 (lit. ‘weapon that explodes’).’ T5.23.51

7.5 Postpositional phrases combined

7.5.1 Introduction

Postpositional phrases can be combined in juxtaposed lists (§7.5.2) and in apposition (§7.5.3) depending on their syntactic and semantic relationships. Postpositional phrases that occur in sequence without these syntactic and semantic links are discussed in §3.8.

7.5.2 Juxtaposed postpositional phrases

A series of postpositional phrases belonging to the same semantic domain can be juxtaposed in a list. An intonation juncture occurs between each phrase. The examples below include *te* ‘instrumental’ postpositional phrases (7104), *ahare*

⁴⁴ *Apati putun-au* ‘shotgun’ is literally [weapon/bow-and-arrow explode-adjectivizer] ‘explosive weapon (cf. bow and arrow)’.

‘animate locative’ postpositional phrases (7.105) and *ore* ‘comitative’ postpositional phrases (7.106).

- (7.104) *...wapi te, ehi te maupu-pi n-ia-te...*
 hand INS foot INS step.on-LTD:1p
 ‘...we stepped on it with our hands, and with our feet...’ (while holding down a pig.) T1.75
- (7.105) *...Esim=ama hare, Karo=ama hare aie te-pe yare-pe...*
 Esme=group ALOC Carol=group ALOC work get-SR go-SR
 ‘...(I) went on working for Esme and company, and for Carol and company...’ T1.2730
- (7.106) *Koihu=am o eme ore, Amoko eme ore,*
 Koihu=group GEN ground COM Amoko ground COM
Umuahi eme ore, asao u pa men-e.
 Umuahi ground COM some there G/L stay-3p
 ‘Some (of them) stayed there with Koihu and company’s ground, with Amoko’s ground and with Umuahi’s ground.’ T5.26.6

7.5.3 Appositive postpositional phrases

Appositive postpositional phrases with the same referent are separated by an intonation juncture. In (7.107) an initial locative postpositional phrase is followed by a postpositional complex that gives more detailed information about the location, while in (7.108) the initial postpositional phrase is more specific than the subsequent phrase.

- (7.107) *...yate pate, Pun hare yate pate i=te kase t-i.*
 yard S/L Pun ALOC yard S/L 1s=PNP put:hang GET-1s
 ‘...at the yard, at Pun’s yard, I set him on my shoulders (with his legs hanging down two sides of my body).’ T1.15.75 – some of this is repeated from (7.57).
- (7.108) *...ya Kohu sa, ya pa mo po ta-pe...*
 river Kohu N:G/L river G/L here cross END-SR
 ‘...they crossed at the Kohu River, at the river, here,...’ T1.27.5

7.6 Postpositional phrases and anaphoric reference

7.6.1 Introduction

Postpositional phrases with *sei* ‘orientation’, *seipa* ‘reason’, *uapu* ‘similitive’ and *te* ‘instrumental’ can occur with the demonstrative *u* ‘that’ when *u* makes anaphoric reference to a participant or an event. This section examines anaphoric reference to events. Reference to participants is described elsewhere, for example in §7.4 and §4.14.1.

7.6.2 *U sei* ‘that orientation’ and anaphoric reference

The postpositional phrase *u sei* ‘that orientation’ can be used to refer to an event in a preceding clause. When *sei* occurs with a noun phrase it indicates a purpose, a reason, an intended object or a topic. When it occurs immediately after the demonstrative *u* ‘that’, where *u* makes anaphoric reference to an event in a previous clause, it provides an explanation, or reason, for the event in the preceding clause. Alternatively, it indicates a topic about which someone is speaking.

In these constructions, the appearance or non-appearance of *u* ‘that’ is affected by morphophonological rules. When the clause ends in a verb that has a final mid or low vowel, for example, with the tense-subject suffixes *-a* ‘third singular’, *-e* ‘third plural’, *-ia* ‘first and second person plural’, the demonstrative *u* ‘that’ follows and forms a postpositional phrase with *sei* ‘orientation’. There is not necessarily an intervening intonation juncture between the verb and the postpositional phrase.

- (7.109) ...*ya kihi-r-a u sei hena ore wera*
 river flood-PRES-3s that ORNT woman COM children
ore ka-r-ia u sei, weti werane ato
 COM come-PRES-1p that ORNT house small one
mo pa wese re-pe ni-hia-nte,...
 here G/L make PUT-LTD:F1p
 ‘...the river is flooded, for that reason we came with the women and
 children, for that reason we will build a small house here...’ T5.23.7

However, owing to morphophonological elision rules that affect high vowels (see chapter 2), and the close relationship of *u sei* with the preceding clause, when a verb ends with a high vowel such as the tense-subject suffix *-i* for ‘first singular’ or ‘second singular’, *u* is elided. As a result, *sei* ‘orientation’ follows immediately after the final verb of the clause.

- (7.110) *Ka-r-i sei weti wese re-hi.*
 come-PRES-1s ORNT house make PUT-F1s
 ‘I came, so I will build a house.’

When followed by a speech act verb, initial *u sei* ‘that orientation’ indicates that the speech is about the topic expressed in the preceding clause.

- (7.111) *...napi-pu-r-ia, u seipa. U sei sa-hi.*
 name-HAB-PRES-1p that REAS that ORNT speak-F1s
 ‘...we name them, because of that. I will speak about that.’ T74.4

7.6.3 *U seipa* ‘that reason’ and anaphoric reference

The postpositional phrase *u seipa* ‘that reason’ is commonly used to refer to an event in a preceding clause that provides a reason for the result expressed in the subsequent clause. *U sei pa* can occur clause initially, as in (7.112), and can also follow a clause link with *uo*-marking as in (7.113) (cf. §14.3).

- (7.112) *...‘tepere=mo,’ u-pu-e. U seipa, si tepere uo,*
tepere=BM quote-HAB-3p that REAS then tepere GRD
atotuhupate tepere uo, “Sono sakine,” o re-pe,...
 sometimes tepere GRD GEN1p word quote PUT-SR
 ‘...(It is) *tepere*’, they say. Because of that, then ‘*tepere*’, sometimes
 ‘*tepere*’, they say “(It is) our word,...”.’ T74.10 (Yam is *tepere* in the Kou
 language.)

- (7.113) *Kau nupu uo, yare-pe u pate, petai te her-e=mo.*
 cow many GRD go-SR that S/L blood get PUT-3p=BM
Si uo, u seipa u aha ta-pinte ka-pe...
 then GRD that REAS that throw END-LTD:1s come-SR
 ‘All the cows, (they) go and there, they put blood (have blood tests). Then
 because of that I throw those (posts for a stockyard) and come...’ T2.28.12

7.6.4 *U uapu* ‘that similitive’

The postpositional phrase *u uapu* ‘that similitive’ can be used when a speaker is talking about doing something in a similar way to an action described in a previous clause.

- (7.114) *Esi oro ta-pe nauno-pu-r-ia. Na wene asao,*
 hole dig END-SR bury-HAB-PRES-1p thing Food some
koia, aiake, para uo, u uapu
 sweet.potato cassava taro GRD that SIM
tai u-pu-r-ia.
 NEG do-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘We dig a hole and bury them (yams). (But) with some food items (things) -
 sweet potato, cassava and taro - we don’t do it like that.’ T5.17.18
- (7.115) *“Hi, hi, hi,” u uapu mere-r-ia.*
 ha ha ha that like move.up-PRES-1p
 ‘“Ha, ha, ha,” we went up like that.’ T1.13.18

7.6.5 *U te* ‘that instrumental’

The postpositional phrase *u te* ‘that instrumental’ can be used to indicate that an event is happening in conjunction with, or as a result of, something that happened previously.

- (7.116) *Were ya me-r-a.*
 sun water move.down-PRES-3s
U te onu orohoi horu-r-a.
 that INS shadow long become-PRES-3s
 ‘The sun is going down in the water. With that the shadow is becoming
 long.’ D10.35.4

8 Spatial reference

8.1 Introduction

This chapter examines key aspects of spatial reference in the Koromu language (cf. Priestley 2006). Section 8.2 is an overview of approaches to spatial reference. The subsequent sections describe the vertical dimension of spatial reference (§8.3), directional locatives (§8.4), relational locatives (§8.5) and motion-path verbs (§8.6), directional locatives and directional verbs compared (§8.7) and absolute reference terms in other environmental contexts (§8.8). Spatial reference and nominals, placenames, adjectives, postpositions and postpositional phrases are discussed in chapters 4 and 7.

8.2 Overview of approaches to spatial reference

When examining the spatial reference of locative adverbs and motion verbs it is helpful to take into consideration several factors, namely planes of reference, frames of reference and deixis. Much of the speculation on spatial reference in the cognitive sciences has presumed that the vertical dimension and two horizontal planes are the basic planes of reference (Brown and Levinson 1993: 50). “In this view (...) the ground extends to infinity in all directions and keeps overall, despite bumps and hollows, within an horizontal plane” (Herskovits 1986: 27, in Brown and Levinson 1993: 50). However, Brown and Levinson suggest that for Tenajapan speakers of Tzeltal, who live in rugged terrain, an inclined plane may be more “conceptually central” (1993: 50). In the rugged terrain and major river systems of the Ramu Valley and its environs Koromu speakers also rely heavily on terms that refer to ‘inclined planes’.

In several cross-linguistic studies Levinson suggests that the ways in which languages refer to the location of objects or the direction of movement can be represented by frames of reference (FoR) that label “distinct kinds of coordinate systems” in the horizontal dimension in Herskovit’s sense, rather than the vertical dimension (1996: 110).

Whereas the vertical dimension based on gravitation with all its effects on our balance and stance, emerges as a universal organizing principle for spatial conception, the treatment of angles on the horizontal is clearly underdetermined by any natural force (Levinson 1998: 13).

Levinson (1996: 138–147, 2003: 38–50) proposes three frames of reference, intrinsic, relative and absolute. These can be used to “identify an object or location (the referent or figure) in relation to another object or location (the relatum or ground)

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by projecting off the relatum a search domain in which the referent is located” (Palmer 2004: 2).

A language can have more than one frame of reference (Levinson 2003: 25, Pederson et al. 1998: 572). Each frame of reference can be associated with distinct linguistic expressions, for example, the English absolute system of cardinal directions – *north, south, east* and *west*.

Intrinsic reference is described as a binary spatial relation since it involves two arguments, a figure/referent and a ground/relatum (Levinson 2003: 42). The figure is located in relation to “‘inherent features’, sidedness or facets of an object used as the ground” (2003: 41). For example, *the dog is close to the front of the truck* indicates that the dog is in front of the part of a truck that English speakers call its front, the part that lies in the direction of motion.

The relative frame of reference is described as ternary since the location of a figure/referent is expressed in terms of both a ground/relatum and the viewpoint of a perceiver. In *from Tom’s viewpoint the dog is in front of a tree* there are three points of reference, the dog, the tree and the perceiver’s viewpoint. For English speakers, the tree does not have an intrinsic front, but the front is established in relation to the viewpoint of the perceiver (Levinson 2003: 43–47).

Levinson (2003: 47–50) describes absolute frames of reference as binary systems that describe a figure and ground in relation to “arbitrary fixed bearings, or ‘cardinal directions’, corresponding one way or another to directions or arcs that can be related by the analysis to compass bearings” (2003: 47–50, cf. 1996: 145). An English example is *the dog is to the north of the tree*. Tzeltal examples, *uphill, downhill* and *across*, are also applied on the same compass bearings outside Tzeltal country. The position is described independently of the viewpoint (relative frame of reference) or of inherent features of the ground/relatum (intrinsic frame of reference).

However, Palmer (2004: 3) shows that the composition of absolute reference systems varies considerably, corresponding with distinct characteristics in the topography and geography of a specific language locus (2004: 16, 2015: 177). Terms are not necessarily fixed in relation to compass bearings, for example Manam *landward* and *seaward*. Therefore

absolute FoR requires that the referent be located in relation to the relatum on the basis of a search domain projected off the relatum in a direction based on an object or phenomenon external to the referent/relatum dyad, other than a viewpoint. This does not logically require that direction to be fixed, merely identifiable. (Palmer 2004: 8)

Palmer’s (2004: 3) examples of absolute systems include the following.

- North–South/East–West based on observations of the sun (Guugu Yimidhirr in Levinson 1997)

- landward-seaward/parallel to the coast (Manam in Lichtenberk 1983)
- uphill-downhill (fall of land)/across (Tzeltal in Brown & Levinson 1993, Nimboran in Steinhauer 1997)
- upriver-downriver/away from-towards river (Asmat in Voorhoeve 1965)

Palmer (2002: 141–144, 2004: 8–16, 2015) outlines other key points about absolute reference systems. These points apply in the Koromu language.

- Within a language or group of languages there is variation in relation to topography. For example, a landward-seaward axis interacts with an east-west axis differently on opposite sides of an island. Also, a single term can be used in diverse environments, for example, for ‘upriver’ in Asmat river country and ‘against the coastal current’ along the Asmat coast.
- Similar absolute reference systems can be used in unrelated languages in topographically similar areas. For example, Florutz German (Indo-European) and Samo (Papuan) both have elevational and watercourse-based systems (cf. Koromu).

Two of the frames of reference can be combined (Levinson 2003: 38) or individual lexemes can be used in two different frames of reference (2003: 38). For example, English *front of* can occur in either the intrinsic or relative frame of reference (2003: 41–46).

All languages have a deictic system of spatial reference, in which location and direction can be described in relation to the context created by the speech act (Lyons 1977: 637). A deictic component can occur in each of the frames of reference, for example, *the dog is at my front* (intrinsic), *from my viewpoint the dog is in front of the tree* (relative) and *the dog is north of me* (absolute).

The landscape is an important part of Koromu life as people walk many miles along and across rivers and in the mountains and valleys to do their daily work of gardening and collecting/hunting water, crops, firewood, building materials, wild plants and game. The following sections examine the spatial language used to talk about this, in particular locative adverbs and motion verbs in relation to their planes of reference, frames of reference and deixis. The data highlights the importance of inclined planes, as well as intrinsic and absolute frames of reference in Koromu. The discussion is organized in sections on the vertical dimension and the locative forms. The frames of reference are mentioned at relevant points, showing that the intrinsic frame of reference system varies in relation to the characteristics of specific referents. The absolute reference system is based on dominant features of the landscape, namely elevation and watercourses (see Maps 1.1 and 1.2) as in many other Papuan languages spoken in mountainous country, for example, Nimboran (Steinhauer 1997: 269–280, Voorhoeve 1997: 281–285),

Yale (Heeschen 1997: 180) and Yupno (Wassmann 1997: 143–174). In addition, the deictic system of reference may be combined with either the intrinsic or absolute reference systems.

8.3 The vertical dimension of spatial relations

The vertical dimension of spatial relations can be represented by some relational, general and directional locative adverbs and also by direction motion-path verbs. In (8.1) the relational locative *warisesa* ‘below’ (cf. §4.7.3.3) and the general locative *nampa* ‘above, on top of’ (see §4.7.3.4) are used to refer to the vertical dimension (cf. Levinson 1998: 13 in §8.2 above).

- (8.1) *Weti warisesa yonu pa aie te-ho.*
 House below shade G/L work get-FINC1p
Weti nampa uo, were hekehekeni-r-a.
 House above GRD sun heat-PRES-3s
 ‘We are working in the shade below the house. The top of the house (the house up above), the sun is heating it.’ (*Hekehekeni* derives from *hekeni* ‘fire’.) D8.20.2

The vertical dimension expressed by *nampa* ‘above’ is also exemplified in (8.2) below.

- (8.2) ...*noie me*⁴⁵ *re-pe, ou nampa te re-pe...*
 compost move.down PUT-SR yam above get PUT-SR
 ‘...we put the compost down (in a hole) and we put the yam above (it)...’ T5.17.15

Direction motion-path verbs (cf. §4.2.1.2, §10.8.2, §10.9.1) can be used to refer to movement in the vertical dimension either up or down, for example in (8.2) above and (8.3) to (8.4) below.

- (8.3) ...*ya mere-pe hukuru mer-a.*
 river move.up-SR stomach move.up-3s
 ‘...the river moved some way up, it came up my stomach.’ T1.15.18

45 Ablaut lowers the high vowel following a labial and prior to the present tense suffix (§2.4.5.1.2).

- (8.4) *Ya me-r-a.*
 rain move.down-PRES-3s
 ‘Rain is falling.’ (*Ya* is used to refer to water, rain, river.)

The motion-path verb *topi* ‘climb’ also refers to the vertical dimension, for example, in *nau top-i=mo* [coconut.palm climb-1s=BM] ‘I climbed up the coconut palm’ (cf. §4.2.2.2.3).

Like direction motion-path verbs, the directional locatives *aroho* ‘down there/place (down river, valley, hill)’ and *yoroho* ‘up there/place (down river, valley, hill)’ (§4.7.3.2), can be used to refer to location or direction in the vertical domain as well as to inclines. For example, in (8.5) *yoroho* ‘up there’ combines with *nampa* ‘above’ to indicate the location of an object (the speaker) ‘up a tree’.

- (8.5) *Nampa yoroho uo, eri mete warike-se-r-a.*
 above up.there GRD fear skin bad-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘Up above there, fear badly affected me.’ T2.32.21

In (8.6) *aroho* ‘down there’ combines with the motion-path verb *mi* ‘move down’ and the verb *so* ‘pour’ to indicate downward movement in the vertical dimension (cf. §8.4).

- (8.6) *Petai aroho mi so-a.*
 blood down.there move.down pour-3s
 “*Usu ti-se-r-a=mo,*” *u-a.*
 pig get-O1s-PRES-3s=BM quote-3s
 ‘The blood poured down there. “The pig got me,” he said.’ T6.5.19

8.4 Directional locatives

Directional locatives (see §4.7.3.2) represent locations or movements in specific directions (8.7). *Aroho* and *yoroho* are primarily used to refer to inclines, while *eno* basically refers to the horizontal plane. These locatives can be glossed in several different ways and can be used for large or small scale reference.

- (8.7) *aroho* ‘down there/place (down river, valley, hill)’
yoroho ‘up there (up river/valley/hill or upstream depending on context)’
eno ‘over/across there’

Directional locatives are commonly used for large scale spatial reference within the dominant Ramu valley. At first glance the valley floor appears to be quite level but differences in elevation are indicated by the direction the rivers flow. The extract below was recorded at Kesawai 1 while looking across the valley towards the high southern mountains of Mt. Helwig, Mt. Otto and Mt Wilhelm. The Ramu River is not visible from there (see Maps 1 and 2).

- (8.8) *Mare napa mo pate eno ya ne-pe,*
 place P3p here S/L across.there go STAY-SR
yoroho *ya ne-pe, keti pa yo:roho*⁴⁶
 up.there go STAY-SR mountain G/L far.up.there
ya n-a. Aroho ya n-a.
 go STAY-3s down.there go STAY-3s

‘Their place it went from here and stopped (stayed) over there and, it (the land) went and (stayed) up there and, it went to the mountains far up there (up valley). It went down there (down valley).’⁴⁷ T5.3.23

When used to refer to locations in or near a river the more natural translation for *yoroho* is ‘upstream’ or ‘upriver’ and for *aroho* is ‘downstream’ or ‘downriver’. The following example describes positions near/in the Ramu River.

- (8.9) *Ya po sure*⁴⁸*-pe aroho mi were sur-a.*
 river cross START-SR down.stream move.down see START-3s
 ‘She tried to cross the river and she went downstream to try to see
 (a way across).’ T1.15.44

Example, (8.10) describes direction within the Kohu River valley that lies at roughly right angles to the Ramu valley.

46 The initial vowel in this word is lengthened to indicate greater distance (cf. §4.4.3.1).

47 The river was not visible from the recording site so the terms are translated here as ‘up valley’ and ‘down valley’.

48 Grammaticalized *sure* ‘START’ means to begin or attempt an action (cf. §10.4.2).

- (8.10) ...*ya nuku te-pe yare-pe,*
 water go.under GET-SR go-SR
aine yoroho he na-e-te...
 fish up.stream roast eat-3p-DR
 ‘...they swam under water (this suggests they speared fish) and went,
 and cooked and ate fish upstream...’ T5.25.29

The demonstrative *eno* ‘that over there/over there’ (cf. §4.14.1) can be used as a directional locative meaning ‘over there/across there’ (cf. §4.7.3.2). It refers to something at basically the same altitude across a space. In (8.11) the space is a fairly small one.

- (8.11) *No onu eno.*
 your shadow across.there
 ‘Your shadow is across there.’

In the first line of (8.8) above, *eno* ‘over/across there’ is used to refer to a direction across a great distance, the Ramu valley. Koromu *eno* ‘across there’ can also be used to describe location across other valleys, and across long, narrow, open spaces such as gardens, open spaces in villages and towns and the road that runs parallel to the Ramu River. In (8.12) the location is across an open space in a village. There is a deictic component since the object’s location is related to the location of the speech act.

- (8.12) *Ato ihi ta-pe eno hane n-a.*
 one finish END-SR across.there hang STAY-3s
 ‘One (a bark skirt) is finished and it hangs across there.’ D5.200.6

The general locative *nampa* ‘above’ (cf. §4.7.3.4) and the directional locative *yoroho* ‘up there’ (cf. §4.7.3.2) can be combined to indicate something ‘up a steep gradient’ such as up a steep hill or steps, or to describe the vertical dimension as in ‘up a tree’. Example (8.13) describes a steep gradient (in the Eastern Highlands, not the local environment).

- (8.13) “*Waikohu an-sa men-a=e?*” *u-i-te*
 agemate where-side be-3s=Q quote-1s-DR
 “*U nampa yoroho men-a=mo,*” *u-i-te...*
 that/he above up.there be-3s=BM quote-1s-DR
 ‘“Where/which side is my agemate?” I said. “He is up above
 (above and up the hill),” he said...’ T1.22.44

In (8.14) *nampa* ‘above’ combines with *yoroho* ‘up there’ to indicate the location of an object (the speaker) ‘up a tree’.

- (8.14) *Nampa yoroho uo, eri mete warike-se-r-a.*
 above up.there GRD fear skin bad-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘Up above there, fear badly affected me.’ T2.32.21

In (8.15) *aroho* ‘down there’ combines with the motion-path verb *mi* ‘move down’ and the verb *so* ‘pour’ to indicate downward movement in the vertical dimension (cf. §8.3).

- (8.15) *Petai aroho mi so-a.*
 blood down.there move.down pour-3s
 “*Usu ti-se-r-a=mo,*” *u-a.*
 pig get-O1s-PRES-3s=BM quote-3s
 ‘The blood poured down there. “The pig got me,” he said.’ T6.5.19

Absolute reference in Koromu contrasts with the absolute terms in the English cardinal system – *north*, *south*, *east* and *west* – since it can be applied to the location of things on a small scale. For example, in the second clause in (8.16) the speaker is referring to a support for a mosquito net located in a horizontal direction from the place where we were working. It corresponded with “down valley”. There is some similarity to the orthogonal usage in Tzeltal which Levinson (1996: 111) describes as a true fixed bearing absolute system.

- (8.16) *Ato mo n-a. Ato aroho n-a.*
 one here be-3s one down.there be-3s
 ‘One is here. One is down there (down valley).’ D2.64.6

Levinson (2003: 47–50) proposes a binary relationship between participants in the absolute reference system. In contrast, Palmer suggests there is a ternary relationship (2015: 177) because there is a third participant, a “set of directional axes” in which the figure/referent and the ground/relatum are located (Palmer 2003: 11, 2004: 4). “The spatial disposition of the river must be known”, or identifiable (2004: 8), when using the English term *upriver*, in order to locate the figure in relation to the ground (2004: 5). The same applies to the use of the Koromu directional locatives.

8.5 Relational locatives

Relational locatives (§4.7.3.3) describe the location of a referent in relation to something else. There are three types: intrinsic, direction-based and deictic.

The intrinsic frame of reference locates a figure in relation to ‘inherent features’ of specific objects (Levinson 2003: 41). In Koromu these features vary with the characteristics of specific referents, particularly in relation to animacy and inanimacy. Thus, people have *oru* ‘insides/front’, *ipu* ‘back’ and *tare* ‘side’ while houses have *sapu* ‘front’, *u* ‘back/there’ and *tare* ‘side’ (cf. inanimate nouns §4.3.2.1 and demonstratives §4.14.1). Intrinsic relational locatives (cf. §4.7.3.3) are based on these nouns combined with the postposition *sa* (cf. §7.3.3.2). For example, the front of a house is *sapusa* ‘front/road side’ since it faces the *sapukotu* ‘path, road’.

- (8.17) *Weti sapusa men-a.*
 house front (road.side) stay-3s
 ‘It’s at the front of the house.’

The front of a person is indicated by the relational locative *orusa* ‘front’. This can be combined with a postpositional phrase with the animate locative postposition *ahare/hare* when proximity to people is indicated (cf. §7.3.4.1, §7.3.5) to add deictic components as in (8.18) and (7.64).

- (8.18) *...epono sene hare orusa were-ia.*
 later 1p ALOC front (inside.side) see-1p
 ‘...later we saw (something) near the front of us (at our front).’ T2.24.26

The intrinsic relational locatives *etaisa* ‘left’ and *pakasa* ‘right’ are used to talk about parts on the left or right of a person’s body, for example, *mo wapi etaisa* [this hand leftside] ‘this hand is on the left’ and *mo wapi pakasa* [this hand rightside] ‘this hand is on the right’. Examples occur in a translation by Koromu speakers about the crucifixion of Christ in (8.19).

- (8.19) *...ato pakasa hane re-pe,*
 one right.side hang PUT-SR
ato etaisa hane her-e.
 one left.side hang PUT-3p
 ‘...they hung one on the (his) right side and they hung one on the (his) left side.’ Za4, Luke 23:33

Intrinsic relational locatives include vertical dimension terms such as *minisa* ‘below’ and *warisesa* ‘underneath’ as well as more general terms such as *waimesa* ‘nearby’ and *eponsa* ‘behind’.

- (8.20) *Tamaite aire hare eponsa pe n-a.*
 man two ALOC behind stand STAY-3s
 ‘He is standing behind the two men.’ D3.112.17

Direction-based relational locatives are formed from directional locatives in reduced form that, like some placenames, incorporate the postposition *sa* (§4.3.4 and §5.5).

- (8.21) *yorosa* ‘upper side’
aresa ‘down/lower side’

Example (8.22) describes people crossing the Ramu River together, one on the upstream side, one downstream. The subsequent clause states that they had a child between them.

- (8.22) *Ni=te yorosa pi-a. I=te aresa p-i.*
 3s=PNP upper.side stand-3s 1s=PNP lower.side stand-1s
 ‘She stood on the upper side. I stood on the lower side.’ T1.15.48

The demonstrative/directional locative *eno* ‘across there’ (see §4.7.3.2 and §4.14.1) has a deictic relational locative form, *ensa* ‘across the other side’ (see §4.7.3.3). In (8.23) it refers to a place across the mountains to the north of the speakers.

- (8.23) *...ensa ya m-ia.*
 across/other.side go move.down-1p
 ‘...we went down the other side.’ T3.3b.18

Deictic relational locatives are used to describe positions near entities, such as trees, that do not have fronts and backs. Examples are *mosa* ‘this side’ and *usa* ‘that side’.

In the following example, deictic, absolute and intrinsic reference systems are combined to describe the position of two people near a table and a third several metres away. The people are sitting on a flat piece of ground. Their positions are described in relation to the absolute identifiable bearings of the dominant Ramu Valley.

- (8.24) *Ne oru* **yoroso** *o n-i*.⁴⁹
 2s insides/front up.side do STAY-2s
I oru **enso** *o n-i*.
 1s insides/front across.side do STAY-1s
Sairam oru **aroso**⁵⁰ *o n-a*.
 Sairam insides/front down.side do STAY-3s
 ‘You are facing upwards (your front is towards the upstream side). I am facing across (my front is facing across towards the other side of the river). Sairam is facing downwards (his front is towards the downstream side).’ D11.79–11

8.6 Motion-path verbs

Talmy’s cross-linguistic typology of motion verbs (2007: [1985]) includes verbs that describe manner and path of movement. Koromu has numerous examples of both types, and motion verbs are common in many Papuan languages (cf. Tauya, MacDonald 1990 and Nimboran, Steinhauer 1997). Motion-manner verbs indicate the manner of movement, as in *he* ‘move quickly, walk fast’ and *tehei* ‘move at a steady pace’. Motion-path or directional verbs (described also as intra-directive verbs in §4.2.1.2) include the deictic verbs *yare* ‘go’ and *ka* ‘come’, the direction verbs *mere* ‘move.up’ and *mi* ‘move.down’ and a number of transitive motion verbs with locative objects such as *po* ‘cross (something)’ (see §4.2.2.1 and §4.2.2.2.3).

The deictic verbs can occur in *te* ‘get’ deictic serial verb constructions (cf. §10.9.1.2). For example, a construction with *te ka* [get come] ‘bring’ describes someone moving an entity toward a speaker while a construction with *te yare* [get go] ‘take’, describes someone moving an entity away from a speaker.

The direction verbs *mere* ‘move up’ and *mi* ‘move down’ (§4.2.1.2) can be used to refer to movement on inclines and to the vertical dimension (cf. §8.3). They are common in serial verb constructions (see §10.8.2, §10.9.2.1, and §10.9.2.2).

These verbs and the transitive motion verb *ene* ‘move across (something)’ can be used to refer to movement up, down or across the Ramu valley, or river, and to movement in other valleys and on other slopes. In the example below reference is made to the Ramu Valley.

⁴⁹ The suffix for 1s and 2s has the same form.

⁵⁰ The final low central vowel is raised in harmony with a subsequent mid back vowel (§2.4.3.3.2).

- (8.25) ...*eto mani=tapa te-pe a mere-hera=mo.*
 tomorrow money=P2p get-SR come move.up-F3s=BM
 ‘...tomorrow he will get your money and come up.’ T1.8.11

Example (8.26) describes movement on a slope many miles from the Ramu valley.

- (8.26) ...*a mere-a-te were-pe nite...*
 come move.up-3s-DR see-LTD:1s
 ‘...she came up and I saw her...’ T1.20.48

Movement over a very short, flat distance within the valley can be represented in an absolute sense related to the direction of the river’s flow, as in (8.27).

- (8.27) ...*sene hare mere poho n-ia.*
 P1p ALOC move.up sit STAY-1p
 ‘...we moved up (this village) to ours (our place) and sat.’ T1.15.89

The verb *ene* ‘move across’, is similar in form and meaning to *eno* ‘across there’, and can be used to refer to movement across the wide channels and sandbanks of the Ramu River (8.28) and other open spaces (8.29).⁵¹

- (8.28) *Ya Enae pa kerehe te-pe ene-ho.*
 River Ramu G/L cut.across GET-SR move.across-FINC1p
 ‘Let’s cut across and move across the Ramu River.’

- (8.29) *Mo ene here-r-a.*
 here move.across PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘He moved across here.’ (...spoken while looking at tracks/footprints)

8.7 Directional locatives and direction verbs compared

While both directional locatives and direction verbs can be used in the absolute reference system the use of locatives is crucially different from the use of verbs. Locatives distinguish or foreground the location of a referent, see (8.8) and (8.10), while verbs appear to express background information. This corresponds with Talmy’s (2007: 163 [1985: 122]) cross-linguistic statement “other things being

⁵¹ A verb of the same form is used for the posture-taking verb *ene* ‘lay down’.

equal (such as a constituent's degree of stress or its position in the sentence), a semantic element is backgrounded by expression in the main verb root", or verbal complex, and foregrounded elsewhere.

In (8.30) the directional locative (bracketed) foregrounds the location of the smoke using the absolute reference system while the direction verb (bracketed) describes movement in the vertical dimension.

- (8.30) *Heken pera [yoroho] [mere-r-a].*
 fire smoke up.there move.up-PRES-3s
 'Smoke is rising (moving up) up there.'

In (8.31) the speaker uses several different constituents to express direction. The general locative *nampa* 'above' and the postpositional phrase with a directional locative *yoroho* 'up there' provide foreground information. Then the serial verb construction combines a direction verb describing the path of movement *mere* 'move up' with the motion-manner verb *tehei* 'walk'.

- (8.31) *Weti pa nampa yoroho pa mere tehei-pe...*
 house G/L above up.there G/L move.up walk-SR
 'We walked up to the house up above there...' T1.20.9

8.8 Absolute reference terms in other environmental contexts

When describing locations outside the local environment Koromu speakers use familiar terms about unfamiliar terrain. One narrator describes a journey by truck from Kainantu to Goroka. About the outward journey, he says *aroho pa u pa yar-i* [down there to there to go-1s] 'I went down there to there'. When describing the return journey he uses the motion-path verb *mere* 'move up' three times, as in *he ya mere-ia* [return go move.up-1p] 'we returned going moving up'. It would be interesting to find out what criteria he based his consistent description on since the journey involves traversing many mountains and following several valleys. He may have been influenced by the final drop in elevation into the Goroka valley and thus the system used is a type of 'ultimate orientation' system as in Haugen 1969. However, although the Ramu valley is not visible from the road, the path of the sun indicates that the route between Goroka and Kainantu is roughly parallel to the directions *yoroho* 'up' and *aroho* 'down' within the Ramu valley. Thus, the system could be based on a conventionalized "worldwide orientation" (cf. Bowden 1997: 264–265) with *yoroho* 'up there' used for the direction to the east where the sun rises and *aroho* 'down' used for the direction to the west where

the sun sets. A final possibility is that the speaker has a very acute sense of elevation since Goroka is in fact slightly lower than Kainantu. The examples reflect the choice of terminology in a 1979 recording so current reflections could be influenced by social and linguistic change.

About 50 kilometres to the southeast of the Koromu area the Ramu and Markham valleys merge. Differences in elevation and the watershed between the Ramu and Markham rivers are scarcely discernible and while the direction in which the rivers flow indicates which terms are appropriate the deep valley and high mountains are so dominant it is natural to speak of one valley. This major valley has a northwest southeast alignment. In the Ramu Valley the Ramu River is the major river and in this part of Madang Province it flows from the southeast to the northwest. In the Markham Valley, the major river is the Markham River. It flows the opposite direction to the Ramu River, from northwest to southeast. Adzera (Austronesian) speakers, who migrated in recent decades from the Markham to the Ramu valley, still describe directions in terms of their Markham elevation and watercourse based absolute reference system. Thus, they refer to the southeast as 'down river/valley' (pers. com. Arikao Tomas) whereas in the Ramu Valley 'down river/valley' is to the northwest. Whether Koromu speakers visiting the Markham area are likely to be influenced by their own absolute direction system, with 'down river/down valley' to the northwest, is a subject for further investigation. However, examples of migrants retaining their own locational terms in a new environment (for several centuries) have been documented in the Austronesian language of Taba in north Maluku, Indonesia (Bowden 1997: 266–267).

9 Verb morphology

9.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of Koromu verbal morphology. As in many other languages of New Guinea, verbal morphology is characterized by clause chaining and by different inflectional patterns for independent and dependent verbs. This chapter describes the basic characteristics of independent and dependent verbs (§9.2), and then goes into more detail on the morphology of independent verbs (§9.3) and the morphology of dependent verbs (§9.4).

9.2 Basic characteristics of independent and dependent verbs

An independent verb may be the only verb in an utterance or the final verb in a clause chain. If a serial verb construction occurs in either of these positions its final verb is inflected as an independent verb. Apart from *ia* ‘be not’⁵² (cf. §4.2.8), independent verbs are fully inflected (see §9.3 for details). They are obligatorily inflected for indicative non-future or future tense-subject, for imperative or for desiderative and optionally inflected for object. In non-future tense they can also be inflected for present tense and/or habitual aspect. Other aspectual meanings are expressed in serial verb constructions (see chapter 10). Independent verbs can be followed by a boundary marking enclitic (cf. §3.4.1), a question enclitic (cf. §3.4.2) or an epistemic modality particle (cf. §3.4).

A dependent verb occurs in a clause chain, that is, a series of one or more dependent clauses followed by a final independent clause. The head of each dependent clause is either a dependent verb or a dependent serial verb construction with its own core and peripheral arguments. The dependent verb has a final suffix indicating its dependency on a subsequent verb. There are different types of final dependency suffix reflecting different temporal relationships and distinguishing realis or irrealis status. The capacity of dependent verbs to take tense-subject or aspect inflections varies with the type of dependency suffix. Thus, with some dependency suffixes there are no inflections for tense-subject or habitual aspect. Others can co-occur with non-future tense and optional habitual aspect, with present or future tense, or with non-future or present tense. Dependent verbs rely on the closest subsequent fully inflected independent verb,

52 The qualification concerning *ia* ‘be not’ is raised here to bring it to the reader’s attention. It is not repeated in future references to independent verbs and their inflections.

or partially inflected dependent verb, for specification of other morphosyntactic categories (see §9.4).

In Trans New Guinea literature, it is common to refer to such clause chains as expressing switch reference. However, while Koromu's distinctive verbal morphology indicates some reference-tracking, as described in various languages in van Gijn, Hammond, Matić, van Putten and Galucio (2014), by signalling ongoing continuity or changes in the person and number of participants in linked events in discourse, it also indicates temporal relationships and realis-irrealis distinctions as in some other Papuan languages (Roberts 1997).

An example of a clause chain with dependent and independent verbs is given in (9.1). The morphology of the first dependent verb indicates that the next verb has a different referent subject (see §9.4.3 below). The second dependent verb indicates that the subsequent serial verb construction has the same subject (see §9.4.2 below). The final serial verb construction is inflected for tense-subject and is followed by a boundary marking enclitic.

- (9.1) C.1 ...*siti poho n-ia-te*,
 log sit STAY-1p-DR
 C.2 *ya po sure-pe*,
 river cross START-SR
 C.3 *araho mi were sur-a=mo*.
 down.there move.down look START-3s=BM
 '...we sat on a log and, she tried to cross the river and, she tried going
 down there to look.' T1.15.44

9.3 Independent verb morphology

9.3.1 Morphosyntactic categories and properties of independent verbs

Prior to a description of individual categories with examples, this section provides an overview of the morphosyntactic categories and properties of Koromu independent verbs. The morphosyntactic categories are tense (T), subject person and number (S:P-N), object person and number (O:P-N), aspect and mood. Also with transitive verb stems the reciprocal suffix (REC) may indicate a valency alternation. Most of these morphosyntactic categories have contrasting properties.

In indicative mood, the morphosyntactic category of tense contrasts the properties non-future (NF) and future (F). It is also possible to express present tense (PRES) by adding a suffix to the non-future form.

The subject (S) category indicates both person and number. Subject marking contrasts first (1), second (2) and third (3) person, as well as singular (s) and plural (p) number. In addition, in the indicative future tense, the subject first person plural (1p) contrasts exclusive (F.X1p) and inclusive (FINC1p).

Within the object (O) category, the property of person contrasts first (1), second (2) and third (3) person while number contrasts singular (s) and plural (p). Alternatively, a valency alternation category, the reciprocal (REC), may be indicated.

The aspect category in verbal inflections is represented by habitual (HAB) aspect. Other aspectual properties are realized in serial verb constructions as final verb auxiliaries (see §10.4 to §10.6) or as inflections in one of the final verb auxiliaries (see §10.7).

Verbal inflections represent either indicative, imperative or desiderative mood. The indicative mood is expressed through the full range of tense-subject person and number inflections. Within the imperative (IMP) mood there is no contrast in tense, and second person subject inflections are different from the second person subject inflections of the indicative mood. Desiderative (DES) is expressed by a suffix that does not indicate tense or subject. Modality is expressed by dependent inflections in dependent verbs, and also by optional particles following fully inflected verbs (see §3.4 and §3.5) and by modal serial verb constructions (see §10.8.3 to §10.8.5).

An exact correspondence between one form and one meaning does not always occur in Koromu inflectional categories. Instead there are cumulative or portmanteau morphs involving “more than one category associated with the same formative” (Anderson 1992: 70) or “one-many correspondence between form and function” (Spencer 1991: 51). Such portmanteau tense-subject:person-number inflections are common in Papuan languages.

Tense, subject with person-number and mood are categories that combine in obligatory portmanteau inflections (for one exception see §9.3.4). As in many other languages, object person and number is also expressed cumulatively. An object inflection is obligatory with transitive verbs that have animate objects. However, since inanimate or third singular objects are not represented by inflections, object inflections are not obligatory in word structure. Reciprocal and habitual aspect inflections are optional.

There are certain co-occurrence restrictions on inflectional categories of the independent verb. The object category may co-occur with habitual aspect in either indicative or imperative mood. Habitual and present tense may also co-occur. Reciprocal is marked on transitive verb stems and is mutually exclusive with object marking. Verbs inflected for object and habitual aspect in the indicative mood may combine with any of the modality particles (§3.4 and §3.5). However, verbs in imperative mood do not combine with modality particles. Verbs inflected

for desiderative mood may also carry object or reciprocal marking and as final verbs they may co-occur with modality particles.

9.3.2 Independent verbs with tense-subject suffixes

9.3.2.1 Introduction: The order of independent verb morphology

Portmanteau tense-subject indicative suffixes occur with independent verbs in declarative (cf. §3.4.1), interrogative (§3.4) or exclamative (cf. §3.4.4) clauses.

There are several optional suffixes with verbs inflected for tense-subject. The verb stem can be followed by an object (O) or reciprocal (REC) suffix, and then by habitual aspect (HAB) and/or present tense (PRES). A verb inflected for future tense may also have the intensive modality suffix (INT). The structure of fully inflected independent verbs with tense-subject suffixes is represented schematically below⁵³:

V stem { (Object) } (Habitual) (PRES) Tense-Subject (Intensive)
 { (Reciprocal) }

The ordering of exponents of morphosyntactic properties in Koromu shows some similarity to the hierarchical ordering in general studies such as those in Bybee's (1985: 34–35) morphological survey of a sample of fifty languages. If sample languages expressed the focus categories of aspect, tense, mood and subject by separate affixes, the most common ordering was Verb stem < Aspect < Tense < Mood, Subject:Person-Number. Matthews "iconic aspect to the ordering of roots and affixes" (1991: 225) has more semantically central properties such as tense marked more centrally than peripheral properties such as participants in the action, while "categories that belong together semantically are marked simultaneously" (1991: 228). Foley (1986: 143, 158) comments that tense and mood are outer operators modifying the whole sentence while aspect is an inner operator that "delimits the predicate". In Koromu the aspect inflection occurs closer to the stem than tense, mood and subject person-number and although the latter three categories occur in cumulative exponence the subject component appears to be the final component in future inflections (§9.3.2.2). Object formatives, which are common in Papuan languages, or the alternative reciprocal inflection, occur closer to the verb root than the other inflections.

⁵³ V indicates verb. The curly brackets {} indicate that one of the items within the brackets may occur. Constituents in plain brackets are optional.

The following sections examine the morphosyntactic categories represented on independent verbs, the obligatory portmanteau tense-subject suffixes and the optional present tense, object person and number, reciprocal, habitual and intensive suffixes.

9.3.2.2 Tense-subject suffixes

The final portmanteau suffixes of independent verbs express person and number of the subject and distinguish non-future from future tense (cf. Hewson and Bubenik 1997). When these suffixes are the only inflections the tense locus is the moment of speech. The future tense has seven distinctions in person and number while the non-future tense has four distinctions since the distinction between first and second person is neutralized.⁵⁴ The morphosyntactic distinctions in this chapter are presented in a word and paradigm framework (Anderson 1992: 72). For example, the paradigm for tense and subject distinctions is presented for the word *ho* ‘chop, bite’ in Table 9.1. Then details with examples are described in subsequent paragraphs.

Future tense locates an event after the moment of speaking. The tense subject suffixes represent first, second and third person singular, first person plural exclusive (X) and inclusive (INC), as well as the second and third person plural. In example (9.2) future first person plural is indicated.

- (9.2) *Eto* *yare-hia*.
 tomorrow go-F1p
 ‘We will go tomorrow.’

Future tense suffixes can also occur in some dependent verb constructions, for example with different referent irrealis close succession with *-ne* (§9.4.3.4), different referent irrealis temporal overlap with *-nte* (§9.4.3.5) and the loose temporal dependency complex *-pe n-T:S-te* (§9.4.4).

⁵⁴ Like Koromu, Tauya has conflation of first and second person in both singular and plural (MacDonald 1992: 171, 173). In the Eastern family of East New Guinea Highlands (ENGH), Move, a dialect of Yagaria, also has first and second person conflated in dual and plural forms of anticipatory desinences. In contrast, nearby Hua conflates second and third person (Haiman 1980: 1). Such conflation of person categories is common in Trans New Guinea languages, particularly with second and third person (Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon 1975: 302). For examples, see Eastern family languages of ENGH such as Awa, Auyana-Usarufa, Gadsup-Agarabi, and Tairora (McKaughen 1973: 41, 254–255, 440, 563–567), East-Central languages of ENGH (Wurm 1975: 476) and Finisterre-Huon languages (McElhanon 1975: 552). The Madang Rai Coast language Siroi also conflates second and third person in all but the potential (Wells 1979).

Table 9.1: Tense-subject: Person-number with *ho* ‘chop, bite’.

Number	Person	Non-Future ¹	Future
Singular	1	ho -i	ho -hi
	2	ho -i	ho -amu
	3	ho -a	ho -hora
Plural	X1	ho -ia/-ie	ho -hia
	INC1	ho -ia/-ie	ho -aho/-ho ²
	2	ho -ia/-ie	ho -amua
	3	ho -e	ho -hore

Note:

1. Shading indicates where first and second person have the same form in the non-future tenses.

2. Inclusive suffix *-aho* has a variant *-ho* that can follow main verbs that retain final /e/ (see §2.4.2.2.2).

Non-future tense refers to time at, and before, the moment of speaking. There are only four distinctions in person and number. First and second person are encoded by suffixes that distinguish *-i* ‘first/second person singular’ and *-ia/-ie* ‘first/second person plural’. Third person also distinguishes singular and plural with the suffixes *-a* ‘third person singular’ and *-e* ‘third person plural’. These non-future tense suffixes are the default tense forms used with independent verbs to refer to past time. The following example refers to time on the day before the moment of speaking.

(9.3) *Ea Meansa yar-ia.*
 yesterday Meansa go-1p⁵⁵
 ‘We went to the Meansa yesterday.’ T1.2a.1

The next example, which comes from the first clause of a narrative, sets the scene of the action from early on the same day as the moment of speaking.

(9.4) *Meni pate ka-ie, Korike sate.*
 whatjamacallit S/L come-1p Korike N:S
 ‘From whatjamacallit we came, from Korike.’ T1.13.1

55 For simplicity, the gloss for non-future tense suffixes is unmarked by any tense specification.

Non-future tense can be used in stative contexts to refer to situations that include the moment of speaking. Examples with stative verbs such as *mene* ‘be, stay’ and in stative constructions with *ne* STAY (see §10.6) are given in (9.5) and (9.6). In stative contexts, the temporal reference of these suffixes is ambiguous between past and present time (see the next section for details of present tense).

- (9.5) *Io na ehi-pao uo, ani pa men-a?*
 GEN1s [thing leg-IGEN] GRD where G/L be-3s
Takere warisesa men-a.
 table underneath be-3s
 ‘My sandal (thing for leg), where is it?’ (*Na ehi-pao* [thing leg-IGEN]
 refers to a ‘shoe/sandal/boot’, cf. §6.6.3)
 ‘It is/was underneath the table.’ D8.22.4, 5

- (9.6) *Poho n-i.*
 sit STAY-1s
 ‘I’m sitting (I sat).’

The non-future tense suffix on its own can also occur on dependent verbs with the different referent realis suffix *-te* (§9.4.3.3), the different referent irrealis temporal overlap suffix *-nte* (§9.4.3.5), and the loose temporal dependency complex *-pe n-T:S-te* (see §9.4.4). With these dependent verbs, it can indicate time before, or at, the moment of speaking.

9.3.2.3 The present tense suffix *-r*

The present tense suffix *-r* can be used in absolute or relative tense contexts, and in some cases it also indicates extended aspect. It may refer to:

- the moment of speaking and periods of time that include the moment of speaking, including general time, i.e. situations that are true all the time
- the narrative present or time earlier on the same day as the moment of speaking
- extended ongoing aspect in stative verbal constructions
- time anterior to a future reference point in some dependent verb constructions.

These situations and various constructions are described and exemplified following a description of the form of the suffix and the ablaut rules that affect the preceding verb stem.

The suffix *-r* follows the verb stem and an optional object suffix. The underlying form of *-r* is probably *-re* since it invariably occurs before a vowel initial non-future tense-subject suffix where the mid-vowel /e/ is affected by identical vowel elision (see §2.4.2.2.1) or pre-vocalic /e/ elision (§2.4.2.2.2).

- (9.7) *O, wera uhuru-se-r-a,* *u-a-te*
 Oh child be.heavy-O1s-PRES-3s quote-3s-DR
 ‘“Oh, the child is heavy for me,” she said.’ T1.15.74

When *-r* ‘present tense’ is realized a preceding verb stem with a final high vowel, such as *topi* ‘climb up’, is affected by ablaut (see §2.4.5.1.2 and §2.4.5.13).

- (9.8) *...tope-r-i.*
 climb-PRES-1s
 ‘...I am climbing up.’ (cf. T2.14.2)

Similar ablaut rules apply to verb stems that precede phasal (cf. §4.2.9 and §10.4) and phasal plus valency-changing (cf. §4.2.10 and §10.5) verbs. Although the rules that affect constructions with the *-r* suffix are more restricted than the rule affecting phasal and phasal plus valency-changing verbs (see §2.4.5.1.1) it is possible that like phasal verbs the suffix *-r* originally had aspectual meaning alone. As mentioned in §2.4.5.1, the nearby language of Tauya also has vowel alternation in somewhat similar contexts, including the progressive aspectual auxiliary. It occurs before stative, transitive/perfective, perfective/intentive, conative and progressive verbal auxiliaries but not before habitual and avolitional auxiliaries which are further from the stem (MacDonald 1990: 58, 59).

Cross-linguistically, the basic meaning of present tense is location of a situation at the moment the utterance is made. Characteristically, present tense is used to refer to situations that began before the present moment and continue after it (Comrie 1985: 37). The Koromu examples in (9.9) and (9.10) refer to situations that are ongoing at the time of speaking. The event frame is also indicated by the temporal word *apu* ‘now/today’.

- (9.9) *...apu morei mo, poho ne-pe het-i-r-ia.*
 now just this sit STAY-SR wait-PRES-1p
 ‘...just now we are sitting and waiting.’ T2.14.24

- (9.10) *...sa aterei u yare-r-ia.*
 road one that go-PRES-1p
 ‘...we are going on the same road.’ T1.15.82

The *-r* suffix appears in greetings (see below) and farewells.

- (9.11) A. *Ne ka-r-i?* B. *O i ka-r-i=mo*
 you come-PRES-2s yes 1s come-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘You come/Are you coming?’ ‘Yes, I come/am coming.’

In addition, it can be used to refer to situations that are true at all times since by their nature these situations include the present moment (cf. Comrie 1985: 37–39).

- (9.12) *Koromu sa u sa-r-ia.*
 Koromu N:G/L that speak-PRES-1p
 ‘In Koromu we speak that (referring to the Koromu language).’ T2.33.3

The *-r* suffix can also be used as the narrative present for situations that occur earlier on the same day as the moment of speaking. This usage of present tense is relative to the moment of speech as a reference point but does not include the present moment. Examples of this ‘same day narrative present’ occur in texts recorded on the same day as the events described. When these texts were revised for inclusion in a book of stories, Sairam Tomas removed the suffix because the present ‘time’ was no longer relevant. The following extract is from the original version of an account recorded on the day the events occurred.

- (9.13) *Meni mo yare-r-i. Yare-pinte,*
 whatjamacallit here go-PRES-1s go-LTD:1s
 Pia pa sorone me-r-i.
 Pia G/L jump move down-PRES-1s
 ‘Whatjamacallit I went here. I went and jumped down in the Pia.’ T2.14.1

Although a text may begin with same day narrative present the scene is often set with an initial independent verb inflected for non-future tense. Thus, in (9.14) the first clause is in non-future tense while two later clauses are examples of all the later verbs in the text that are inflected by the present tense suffix *-r*.

- (9.14) *Meni pate ka-ie, Korike sate... (...)*
 whatjamacallit S/L come-1p Korike N:S
 ‘From whatjamacallit we came, from Korike.’ T1.13.1 (repeated from (9.2))

...sene yakere u pa eme ne-*r-ia*. (...)
 1p laugh there G/L die STAY-PRES-1p
 ‘...we died with laughter there.’ T1.13.16
 ...a me-*r-ia*.
 come move.down-PRES-1p
 ‘...we came down.’ T1.13.23

With stative verbs (cf. §4.2.1.3 and §4.2.1.4) and stative serial verb constructions (cf. §10.2.6) the *-r* suffix expresses extended ongoing aspect (9.15).

(9.15) *Apu weti pa mene-r-i*.
 now/today house G/L stay-PRES-1s
 ‘I’m staying at the house today.’

This extended aspect contrasts with basic ongoing non-future time expressed when these verbs have non-future tense suffixes, as in *men-i* [stay-1s] ‘I’m at the house’. Compare (9.5) and (9.6) above also.

In (9.16) the verb with the suffix *-r* refers to an ongoing situation that occurred earlier on the day of speaking. It combines extended aspect and present time earlier on the day of speaking and contrasts with *poho n-i* [sit STAY-1s] ‘I sit/I sat’, the stative in non-future tense which can be used to talk about the present or the past.

(9.16) ...*poho ne-r-i*, *tamaite asa ore*,...
 sit STAY-PRES-1s man some with
 ‘...I was sitting on the grass, with some men.’ T1.20.47

The *-r* suffix only occurs with dependent verbs when it indicates time reference that is anterior to a future reference point. The subsequent verb is inflected for future tense, desiderative or habitual present (cf. §9.4.3.4 and §9.4.3.5).

(9.17) *Si u ka-r-a-ne*
 so.then that come-PRES-3s-DR:IR:CS
eme te-pe Eiorapa yare-pe ni-hi-te...
 carry get-SR Eiora go-LTD:F1s
 ‘So then after she comes I will carry her and go quickly to Eiorapa...’ T2.28.15

(9.18) ...*weine aire-r-a-nte were-pe n-apesi*...
 leaf grow-PRES-3s-DR:IR:TO see-SR eat-DES
 ‘...when the leaves grow, we see (them).... we want to eat them...’ T1.34.3–7

9.3.2.4 Object person and number

The object person and number suffixes, *-se* ‘first person singular object’, *-seka* ‘first person plural object’, *-ne* ‘second person singular object’, *-teka* ‘second person plural object’ and *-neka* ‘third person plural object’, directly follow the verb root (see Table 9.2 below). There is no object suffix for the third person singular. The object suffixes are obligatory for human referents other than third singular (9.19) and optional with other highly animate referents such as *usu* ‘pig’, *esame* ‘dog’, *nakua* ‘bandicoot’ and *yene* ‘bird’ (9.20). Lower animates such as *aine* ‘fish’ and inanimates are not usually indicated by object suffixes.

(9.19) *Naere ho-se-r-a=mo.*
snake bite-O1s-PRES-3s=BM
‘The snake bit me.’ T1.6.6

(9.20) *...usu oro-pe, nakua sopo-pe yene,*
pig shoot-SR bandicoot strike-SR bird
yene sopo-neka-pe, u-pu-r-ia.
bird strike-O3p-SR do-HAB-PRES-1p
‘...we shoot pigs and, we strike bandicoots and birds, we strike birds, we habitually do that.’ T1.25.2

The object person and number suffixes with the verb *ho* ‘bite, chop’ are listed in Table 9.2. The third person singular object is represented by a pronoun.

Table 9.2: Object: Person-number with *ho* ‘chop, bite’¹ in non-future and future tense.

Object: Person-Number	Third person singular non-future subject (3s)		Third person singular future subject (F3s)	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	ho -s_ -a	ho -sek_ -a	ho -se hera	ho -seka -hera
2	ho -n_ -a	ho -tek_ -a	ho -ne -hera	ho -teka -hera
3	ho -a	ho -nek_ -a	ho -hera	ho -neka -hera

Note:

1 An underlined space indicates pre-vocalic /e/ elision (see §2.4.2.2.2) or identical vowel elision §2.4.2.2.1)

Table 9.3 shows that there is partial similarity between some object suffixes and free pronouns but there is no similarity between the first person singular suffix and pronoun.

Table 9.3: Object: Person-number suffixes compared to personal pronouns.

	Person	Object suffixes	Free pronouns
Singular	1	-se	i
	2	-ne	ne
	3		ni
Plural	1	-seka	sene
	2	-teka	te
	3	-neka	nene

9.3.2.5 Reciprocal

The reciprocal suffix *-a* can follow a transitive verb stem in place of an object suffix. Reciprocal clauses, in which this suffix occurs on the verb, are described in more detail in §3.6.2.7.

- (9.21) *Te te oro hor-a-r-i⁵⁶-e?*
 2p 2p pierce PUT-REC-PRES-2p-Q
 ‘Are you all shooting each other?’

9.3.2.6 The habitual aspect suffix *-pu*

“Aspect characterizes the relationship of a predicate to the time interval over which it occurs” (Chung and Timberlake 1985: 213). Aspect can be represented in Koromu by verb inflections (cf. §9.3.2.3, §9.3.2.6), by phasal verbs in serial verb constructions (cf. §10.4, §10.5, §10.6) or by aspectual enclitics in serial verb constructions (cf. §10.7). The habitual aspect suffix *-pu* follows the verb, or an optional object suffix, and indicates a habitual situation or event with verbs inflected for non-future tense. It does not occur with the future tense. Instead, other means, such as the aspectual enclitic *=apaie* ‘still, continuously’ (see §10.7.2), are used to speak of activities or events that may occur on a regular basis in the future. The following example in non-future tense is inflected for habitual aspect.

⁵⁶ One form of the second person plural is *-ie*. Here final /e/ is elided by identical vowel elision (§2.4.2.2.1).

- (9.22) ...*usu yo-neka-pu-e*.
 pig call-O3p-HAB-3p
 ‘...they used to call the pigs.’ T1.25.6

Habitual and present tense occur together to represent events ‘occurring regularly’ over the event frame. The event frame may be the present day generally, ‘sometimes’, specific times and seasons or universal time. The final independent verbs are inflected for both habitual and present tense to express universal truths about the habits and daily life of animals, people and plants. Examples can be glossed by the English performative non-past tense, commonly referred to as ‘simple present’. The following extracts from texts relate activities that people participate in regularly.

- (9.23) ...*sa were yoru pate*
 time sun cool S/L
wa pa yonu mene-pu-a-te
 garden LOC shade stay-HAB-3s-DR
na tumune pu-pu-r-ia.
 thing shoots plant-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘...when the sun is cool, we stay in shade in the garden and plant things.’

- (9.24) *Sene uo, usu oro na-pu-r-ia*.
 1p GRD pig pierce eat-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘We, we (habitually) shoot pigs.’ T1.26.1

9.3.2.7 The intentive modality suffix *-mpe*

Intentive modality is expressed by a suffix *-mpe* ‘intentive’ attached to a verb marked for future tense. The intentive suffix is a root modal with scope over the core level of clause structure (see Van Valin 2005: 9). It modifies the relationship between a core argument, the actor and the action. In contrast, modality particles (see §3.5) modify the whole clause. The intentive suffix occurs following future tense in the example below.

- (9.25) ...*sakin sa-hia-mpe yare-r-ia umo...*
 word speak-F1p-INT go-PRES-1p but
 ‘...we intended to speak and we went but...’ T1.20.57

The intentive suffix can be followed by the boundary marking enclitic *=mo* (cf. §3.4.1).

- (9.26) O, *wene here na⁵⁷-hi-mpe=mo.*
 yes, food boil eat-F1s-INT=BM
 ‘Yes, I intend to boil and eat the food.’ D2.87.10

9.3.3 The imperative suffixes *-ae* ‘IMP2s’ and *-ahe* ‘IMP2p’

Verbs with the imperative suffixes, *-ae* ‘IMP2s’ and *-ahe* ‘IMP2p’, distinguish the person and number of the addressee in imperative clauses. They can be construed pragmatically as directions, commands, instructions, suggestions, advice or friendly salutations (cf. Priestley 2002a: 94, 95). An object or reciprocal suffix can occur with verbs that have imperative suffixes, but the aspectual suffix cannot.

- (9.27) *Pene isi-ae!*
 rope cut-IMP2s
 ‘(You) cut the rope!’ VF

- (9.28) *Pene isi-ahe!*
 rope cut-IMP2p
 ‘(You all) cut the rope!’ VF

9.3.4 The desiderative suffix *-apesi*

Independent verbs with the suffix *-apesi* ‘desiderative’ occur in clauses expressing desires and wants (cf. §3.4.5) and are common in procedural accounts and in comments about the future. With verbs inflected by *-apesi* there are no subject inflections, so the subject needs to be determined from the discourse or real-world context. The verb is optionally inflected by the object or reciprocal suffix. The structure is as follows:

V stem { (Object) }
 { (Reciprocal) } -Desiderative suffix

The example below occurs at the end of a short discourse. The subject corresponds to the subject of the portmanteau suffix on the final independent verb in an earlier clause.

⁵⁷ Eat can be represented as *ne* or *na*.

- (9.29) ...*were-hia=mo. Meni mo Wererip o*
 see-F1p=BM whatjamacallit here Wererip GEN
arumu=napa=ama mu ka-pe kekere-here. Were-apesi
 clan=P3p=plus sing come-SR dance-F3p see-DES
 ‘...we will see. Whatjamacallit here, Wererip’s clan and company will
 come dancing and singing. (We) want to see.’ T1.18.3

Example (9.30) occurs at the end of a discourse in which there is no overt subject noun phrase or suffix. The identity of the subject is recoverable from an earlier discussion.

- (9.30) ...*si uo, here re-pe n-apesi ne.*
 then GRD cook PUT-SR eat-DES EMPH
 ‘...so then, (we) want to cook and eat it.’ T1.34.7

The subject of (9.31) can also be understood from earlier references in the overall discourse context. The verbal construction is followed by a modality particle.

- (9.31) “*He k-apesi tauo,*” *u-i.*
 return come-DES UNC quote-1s.
 ‘“Do they want to come back, perhaps?” I said.’ T1.15.2

In some cases, the subject can be determined from inflections on a subsequent verb. In particular the desiderative verb may occur prior to an appropriately suffixed form of the light verb *u* ‘do’ (9.32). This suggests that in some contexts verbs with the desiderative inflection are a type of dependent verb. Thus, desiderative clauses may be clauses with dependent clause structure that can also be used independently.

- (9.32) *Wera ya hes-apesi u-a-te*
 child water wash-DES do-3-DR
aha-nema te eme te-pe yare-r-a.
 mother-P3s PNP take GET-SR go-PRES-3s
 ‘The child wanted to wash (so) her mother took her and went (to the river).’
 GE30

The verb *u* can mean ‘do’ or ‘say (quote)’ but when *u* is ‘say (quote)’ the object has the intonation of direct speech and the speaker can be named in a pre-quote formula (cf. Priestley 2012a). This optional formula has a speech verb such as *sau* ‘say to 3s’ (cf. §12.9) in *Wera sau-pe, “Ya hes-apesi,” u-a-te* [child said to 3s-SR

water wash-DES say-3s-DR] ‘The child said to her, “(I) want to wash.”’. Verbs inflected for *-apesi* [DES] also combine with the light verb *u* in prospective action constructions (§12.5.1).

The data also suggests that *-apesi* is analyzable, with the form *pe* possibly deriving from the same referent suffix on dependent verbs (§9.4.2). This would explain why there is no subject inflection. *Si* may derive from the sentential adverb *si* ‘then, so then’ (or possibly the postpositions *sei* ‘orientation’ or *seipa* ‘reason’). In (9.33) the clause sequence has an initial verb with *-apesi* indicating desiderative and a subsequent clause with the same subject referent indicating an effect.

- (9.33) *Usu aiake n-apesi, Kuaisa ka-pe yare-pu-e.*
 pig eat-DES eat-DES Kuaisa come-SR go-HAB-3p
 ‘Pigs want to eat cassava, so they come and go to Kuaisa.’ T5.20.9

9.4 Dependent verb morphology

9.4.1 Introduction

Dependent verb morphology indicates whether the subsequent verb has the same or a different subject and the same, overlapping or different temporal reference. It also indicates realis or irrealis status. Tense-subject (T:S) of some kind is indicated with most types of different referent suffix, as well as with the loose temporal dependency complex. Temporal succession, temporal overlap and distinctions between realis and irrealis status are also common characteristics of clause chains in Papuan languages (Roberts 1997: 139–142).

There are similarities in form and meaning between Koromu same referent dependency with *-pe* and different referent realis with *-te* and Tauya same referent *-pa* and different referent aorist *-te*. Koromu dependent forms are outlined below.

- Same Referent, Realis/Irrealis, Close Succession/Overlap; V stem-*pe* (SR)
- Different Referent, Realis, Temporal Overlap; V stem-*nte* (DR:R:TO)
- Different Referent, Realis, Close Dependency; V stem-T:S-*te* (DR)
 - Non-future tense-subject and optional habitual aspect
- Different Referent, Irrealis, Close Succession/Dependency; V stem-T:S-*ne* (DR:IR:CS)
 - Present tense with non-future tense-subject or future tense-subject
- Different Referent, Irrealis, Temporal Overlap/Close events; V stem-T:S-*nte* (DR:IR:TO)
 - Non-future, present tense with non-future or imperative
- Same/Different Referent, Loose Temporal Dependency; V stem-*pe n-T:S-te* (LTD)
 - Non-future or future tense-subject

Koromu dependency constructions are discussed and exemplified under the headings same referent dependent verb morphology (§9.4.2), different referent dependent verb morphology (§9.4.3) and loose temporal dependency (§9.4.4).

9.4.2 Same referent dependent verb morphology with *-pe* ‘close succession’

Dependent verbs with same referent morphology are not inflected for tense, subject or aspect but they have optional object suffixes and a dependency suffix *-pe* ‘same referent close succession’ indicating that a subsequent verb (V2) has the same subject. If V2 is an experiencer object verb the object of V2 can have the same referent as the subject in V1 (cf. §11.8). The same referent dependency suffix also indicates that events occur in close succession, or that they partially overlap. The structure of same referent dependent verbs is as follows:

Verb stem (Object) + Dependency suffix

Tense-subject is indicated on subsequent independent verbs, different-referent dependent verbs or loose temporal dependency verbs (cf. §9.4.4). Optional desiderative/imperative mood, aspect and intensive modality are indicated by suffixation on a subsequent independent verb.

In (9.34) and (9.35) a dependent verb with the suffix *-pe* indicates that the following verb has the same subject. The events occur in close succession in (9.34) and partially overlap in (9.35). The tense indicated on the final verb is non-future and this tense applies to the dependent verb also.

(9.34) ...*a mi-pe, weti pa airi ta-i.*
 come move down-SR house G/L arrive END-1s
 ‘...I came down and arrived at the house.’ T5.20.45

(9.35) *Poho ne-pe, wau he her-i.*
 sit STAY-SR banana roast PUT-1s
 ‘I was sitting, and I roasted bananas.’ T5.20.24

In (9.36) same referent marking on the dependent verb indicates co-referentiality with the topical element of the subsequent experiencer object verb, the object. The grammatical subject of experiencer object verbs is impersonal and therefore not topical (see chapter 11).

- (9.36) C.1 ...*wa aie te re-pe*
 garden work get PUT-SR
 C.2 *si peraru-seka-p-a-te...*
 so hunger-O1p-HAB-3s-DR
 ‘...we work in the gardens, so we get hungry...’ T1.33.11

In the examples above, the habitual aspect and the indicative mood of the final verb have scope over preceding verbs with the *-pe* ‘same referent’ suffix. Imperative and desiderative mood can also have scope over several verbs in a chain (cf. §3.4) as in (9.37).

- (9.37) *Poho ne-pe kare heti-ahē!*
 sit STAY-SR car wait-IMP-2p
 ‘Sit and wait for the car!’ T1.35.13

Desiderative and imperative mood do not have scope over previous verbs when an intervening sentential adverb *si* and the particle *uo* ‘ground’ occur between clauses (cf. §4.7.6, §14.3.1, §14.3.2.7). For example, in (9.38) verbs with same referent subject suffixes that occur before *si uo* ‘then ground’ (underlined) have the default indicative mood, like an earlier verb, rather than the desiderative mood of the final clause.

- (9.38) C.1 ...*weine aire-r-a-nte*
 leaf come.up-PRES-3s-DR:IR:TO
 C.2 *were-pe,*
 see-SR
 C.3 *sere re-pe, koia,*
 pull.up PUT-SR sweet potato
 C.4 *si uo, here re-pe*
 then GRD cook PUT-SR
 C.5 *n-apesi ne.*
 eat-DES EMPH
 ‘...when leaves come up and we see them, and we pull them up, the sweet potato, then, (we) want to cook and eat them.’ T1.34.6

9.4.3 Different-referent dependent verb morphology

9.4.3.1 The realis-irrealis distinction and dependent verb morphology

Roberts (1990, 1994 and 1997) shows a binary distinction between realis and irrealis status in the morphology of dependent switch reference verbs in Papuan

languages where “realis relates to events that the speaker believes to be actualized or realized” while “irrealis relates to events that the speaker believes have not been actualized” (Roberts 1994: 50). The category ‘irrealis’ in these constructions has a core semantic meaning of “future-hypothetical” but the range of categories classified as irrealis varies from language to language, from future tense, imperative and desiderative to counterfactual and past habitual (Roberts 1994: 8, see also 1997: 148–152). For example, Sub-Rai Tauya has future tense on medial verbs followed by future tense final verbs (Roberts 1997: 146–147, 151) and Erima has irrealis medial verbs with future, imperative or desiderative final verbs (Roberts 1994: 148, 151). Other Madang languages, such as Amele and Nobonob, have irrealis on medial verbs with final verbs in future tense, imperative or counterfactual (1994: 148, 149, 151) and Amele also has hortative, prohibitive and apprehensive on final verbs (Roberts 1997: 148). Other Trans New Guinea languages such as Yagaria have future medial verbs followed by future final verbs (1997: 147, 151), Alekano/Gahuku, Angaataha, Ambulas, Anjam and Wojokeso have irrealis medial verbs followed by future, imperative or desiderative final verbs (Roberts 1994: 148–151) and final verbs have future tense or past habitual in Bargam and Nek (1994: 150, 151).

To some extent the realis-irrealis distinction in Koromu dependent verb morphology parallels the non-future and future tense distinction (see §9.3.2.2) but more specifically, the dependent verb suffixes *-ne* ‘different referent irrealis close succession (DR:IR:CS)’ and *-nte* ‘different referent irrealis temporal overlap (DR:IR:TO)’ indicate a subsequent different referent verb with irrealis status. The possible irrealis categories on final verbs include future tense, imperative or desiderative, future tense and intentive *-mpe*, and present tense habitual aspect.⁵⁸ A nonverbal clause can also have irrealis status. Thus, in Koromu, realis status is used to refer to things that have happened, or are happening, while irrealis status indicates situations that cannot be described as either true or false in the real world.

There are four different dependent verb constructions in Koromu. Tense-subject inflections, or lack of them, and the choice of dependency suffix indicate whether the subsequent verb has a different subject referent, the type of temporal relationship between the dependent and final independent verbs and the realis or irrealis status of the final verb. There are two basic structures. The second can be further subdivided.

Verb stem +Dependency suffix *-nte*

Verb stem (Object)(Aspect) +Tense-subject+Dependency suffix *-te/-ne/-nte*

⁵⁸ The semantic nature of epistemic modality particles (§3.5), interrogative clauses (§3.4.2) and prohibitive (a type of imperative) constructions (§10.8.5) suggests that they could occur in final clauses with irrealis status.

When the suffix *-nte* indicates ‘temporal overlap and realis following’ there are no tense-subject or aspectual suffixes. However, some form of tense-subject is indicated with the other different referent dependency suffixes, *-te* ‘close dependency and realis following’, *-ne* ‘close succession/dependency and irrealis following’ and *-nte* ‘temporal overlap and irrealis following’. Object suffixes are optional, and habitual aspect is optional with *-te* ‘realis close dependency’. The verbal structure for each of these different referent dependency constructions are outlined below.

V	-∅	<i>-nte</i>	‘Realis temporal overlap’
V	(HAB) -NF	<i>-te</i>	‘Realis close dependency’
V	{ -PRES -NF -F }	<i>-ne</i>	‘Irrealis close succession’
V			

The examples immediately below introduce constructions with different referent dependency suffixes.

Different referent realis temporal overlap with *-nte*:

- (9.39) *...ya-nte i yare epon-neka-i.*
 go-DR:R:TO 1s go follow-O3p-1s
 ‘...they went, and I followed them.’ T1.15.32

Different referent realis close dependency (in this case succession) with *-te*:

- (9.40) *...imi-a-te nauno hor-e.*
 die-3s-DR bury PUT-3p
 ‘...she died, and they buried her.’ T1.10.13

Different referent irrealis close succession with *-ne*:

- (9.41) *Sepa=mai ota he-se-r-a-ne*
 illness=P1s remove PUT-O1s-PRES-3s-DR:IR:CS
nauto yar-aho=mo.
 can go-FINC1p=BM
 ‘After my illness is removed, we can and will go.’ T1.15.6

Different referent irrealis temporal overlap with *-nte*:

- (9.42) *Kurisi pu-amu-nte ya hese-hi=mo.*
 corn plant-2s-DR:IR:TO water rub-F1s=BM
 ‘While you (will) plant corn, I will go and wash.’

The following sections describe different referent realis temporal overlap with *-nte* (without tense-subject inflections) (§9.4.3.2), different referent realis close dependency with *-te* (§9.4.3.3), different referent irrealis close succession with *-ne* (§9.4.3.4) and different referent irrealis temporal overlap with *-nte* (§9.4.3.5).

9.4.3.2 Different referent realis temporal overlap with *-nte*

A dependent verb may occur with the suffix *-nte* but without either a non-future or a future tense-subject suffix. This indicates that there is temporal overlap between the event described by the inflected verb and the next verb. Tense is indicated on subsequent independent verbs, different-referent dependent verbs or loose temporal dependency verbs (cf. §9.4.4). Aspect, intensive, imperative or desiderative suffixes are optional with subsequent independent verbs but not with the dependent verb. The structure of the dependent verb is:

Verb stem Dependency suffix *-nte*

Examples of this type occur when motion or posture verbs are the dependent verbs.

- (943) C.1 ...*si* *Karo uo, a mere-a-te*
 then Carol GRD come move.down-3s-DR
- C.2 & 3 *were-pe n-i-te, poho-nte*
 see-LTD:1s sit-DR:R:TO
- C.4 & 5 *ka-pe, aire ta-pe,*
 come-SR arrive END-SR
 ‘...then Carol, she came down and I saw her, and while (I) sat she came and arrived...’ T1.20.48

As motion and posture verbs combine with *ne* STAY to form stative constructions (see §10.2.6.1.3) it is highly probable that *-nte* derives from *ne* STAY combined with *-te* ‘different referent’.

9.4.3.3 Different referent realis with *-te* ‘close dependency’

A dependent verb with a non-future tense-subject suffix and the dependency suffix *-te* indicates that the following verb has a different subject and realis status. Temporal reference is closely dependent since the events are in close succession, simultaneous or overlapping. In this context the non-future tense-subject suffix

(§9.3.2.2) with an optional habitual aspect suffix refers to past or present time, and the present tense suffix (§9.3.2.3) can only occur on the subsequent independent verb. The dependency suffix *-te* is glossed ‘different referent following (DR)’. However, as mentioned in §9.4.3.2 motion and posture verbs can occur without a tense-subject suffix and with *-nte* to express realis temporal.

In example (9.44) the subjects of the two clauses are different and the events occur sequentially. The tense-subject suffix on the dependent verb (V_1) is the default non-future tense. The present tense suffix on the subsequent independent verb (V_2) is the narrative present since the moment of speaking was on the same day as the events described (cf. §9.3.2.3).

- (9.44) C.1 *Naere=te oso-s-a-te*
 snake=PNP bind:constrict-01s-3s-DR
 C.2 *ka-r-i=mo.*
 come-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘A snake (python) constricted me and then I came.’ (A python had wound itself around him while he was working but he escaped and came home.) T1.14.16

A different referent dependency suffix sometimes occurs when there is referential overlap between the subject referents of two verbs as in (9.45) (cf. Appendix 2, Text 2, line 15).

- (9.45) C.1 *Top-ia-te,*
 climb-1p-DR
 C.2 *Seia sau-i,...*
 Seia tell.3s-1s
 ‘We climbed up and I said to Seia,...’ T6.8.15

In example (9.46) the different referent dependent verb and the subsequent same referent dependent verb refer to events that occurred simultaneously. The non-future tense suffix on the final independent verb indicates that the events occurred in the past. The fact that the events occurred long ago is indicated lexically by the temporal word *surumapa* ‘before, long ago’ in the initial clause of the narrative.

- (9.46) C.1 *Weti pa men-a-te*
 village G/L stay-3s-DR
 ‘He stayed at the village and

C.2 *sene-morou u pa mene-pe*
 1p-alone there G/L stay-SR
 we alone stayed there and

C.3 *usu oto-pe,*
 pig look.after-SR
 we looked after the pigs and,

C.4 *wa wi-pe*
 garden do:weed-SR
 we weeded the gardens and

C.5 *Min-ie*
 stay-1p
 we stayed.’
 ‘He stayed at the village and we alone stayed there and looked after
 the pigs and weeded the gardens and stayed.’ T6.3.4

In (9.47) there is temporal overlap between the events represented by the different referent dependent verb (V_1) and the subsequent verb (V_2). The tense-subject suffix on the final independent verb clearly indicates non-future past time.

(9.47) C.1 *...aine yoroho he na-e-te*
 fish up.there roast eat-3p-DR

C.2 *u pa ka-pe*
 there G/L come-SR

C.3 *pasi-neka-i.*
 meet-01p-1s
 ‘...they roasted and ate fish up there and I came up there and met
 them.’ T5.25.29

Example (9.48) shows that habitual aspect can occur on both dependent and independent verbs. The final verb indicates that the situation is generally true with the habitual aspect suffix and the present tense suffix combined.

- (9.48) C.1 *Tamaite ararehenma=te auhu kasi-pe*
 man important=PNP betel nut hang up-SR
- C.2 *usu yo-neka-pu-e-te*
 pig call-O3p-HAB-3p-DR
- C.3 *hekeni nau-pu-a-te*
 fire joins.up-HAB-3s-DR
- C.4 *usu u pa torunu-pu-e-te*
 pig that G/L gather-HAB-3p-DR
- C.5 *u u-pu-r-ia.*
 that do.thus-HAB_PRES-1p
 ‘The leaders hang up their betel nut and call the pigs, the fire
 burns up to one point and the pigs gather ahead of it, we always
 do it that way.’ T1.25.5

9.4.3.4 Different referent irrealis close succession with *-ne*

A dependent verb with a tense-subject suffix and the dependency suffix *-ne* indicates that the subsequent verb has a different referent subject and irrealis status and that it refers to an event that follows the earlier event. The dependent verb can be inflected for present or future tense. In example (9.49), from a narrative, the different referent dependent verb is inflected for present tense and a subsequent verb has the future tense suffix. Present tense on the dependent verb indicates an event that is anterior to the subsequent event with irrealis status.

- (9.49) C.1 *Si u ka-r-a-ne*
 so.then that come-PRES-3s-DR:IR:CS
- C.2, 3 *eme te-pe, Eiorapa yare-pe ni-hi-te...*
 carry get-SR Eiorapa go-LTD:F1s
 ‘So then after she comes, I will carry her and go to Eiorapa...’
 T2.28.15 (repeated from (9.17)).

When describing hypothetical situations, such as the one in the following procedural account (9.50), a dependent verb with *-ne* ‘DR:IR:CS’ and several verbs with the same referent suffix *-pe* are followed by a final independent verb with desiderative suffix *-apesi*.

- (9.50) C.1 *Ya mi-pe*
 water move.down-SR
 C.2 *u karu u so kata-r-a-ne*
 that fishtrap there pour fill-PRES-3s-DR:IR:CS
 C.3 *so ta-pe (...)*
 pour END-SR
 C.4 *...ne-pe*
 eat-SR
 C.5 *u-apesi.*
 do-DES
 ‘The water comes down and it is filling up that fishtrap there and afterwards he pours it out... and he eats it, (he) wants to do that.’ T1.17.20

The dependent verb in example (9.51) also has the present tense suffix and *-ne*. The subsequent independent verb expresses irrealis status with the habitual and present tense suffixes representing general time.

- (9.51) C.1 *hiri amkoru me-r-a-ne*
 tear middle move.down-PRES-3s-DR:IR:CS
 C.2 *wasi-pu-r-ia.*
 rub/wipe-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘After tears fall we rub/wipe our eyes.’ D3.140.6

In (9.52) the dependent verb with *-ne* ‘close succession’ is inflected for future tense. The verb in the next clause has an imperative suffix.

- (9.52) *Epono ato oto pate na ato aire*
 later one day S/L thing one happen
ta-hara-ne te s-ahe
 END-F3s-DR:IR:CS 2p say-IMP2p
 ‘Later after something happens one day you will say...’ Za4 Lk23:29

A dependent verb with future tense and the *-ne* ‘DR:IR:CS’ suffix can occur before a nonverbal clause in which the predicate indicates purpose, for example, a headless non-specific subject nominalized clause with *pao* (cf. §12.7.3.3). The nonverbal clause has irrealis status as it is about a hypothetical situation, the procedure of processing cycad nuts for food.

- (9.53) *...we-hera-ne n-a pao*
 do:cook-F3s-DR:IR:CS eat-3s IGEN
 ‘...after it is done (cooked) (it) is for eating.’ T6.9.8

9.4.3.5 Different referent irrealis temporal overlap with *-nte*

A dependent verb with a tense-subject suffix and the dependency suffix *-nte* indicates that the subsequent verb has a different subject referent and irrealis status. The dependent verb indicates an event that begins before the event described by the subsequent verb. When the dependent verb has the present tense suffix or a future tense suffix there is overlapping temporal reference with the subsequent verb. When the dependent verb has a non-future tense suffix or imperative marking there is a close link between the two events.

In the narrative example in (9.54) the present tense suffix on the dependent verb in clause 1 indicates an event that is anterior to, but overlapping with, a future event. The future time reference is indicated morphosyntactically by tense-subject inflections on a subsequent verb and lexically by the temporal *epono* in an earlier clause.

- (9.54) C.1 *waimesa aro pa poho ne-r-a-nte,*
 nearby mud G/L sit STAY-PRES-3s-DR:IR:TO
 C.2 *se eme te ka-pe*
 quickly carry get come-SR
 C.3 *terakta pa aha ta-hia-ne...*
 tractor G/L throw END-F1p-DR:IR:CS...
 ‘...when it is sitting near the mud, we will quickly bring (the posts)
 and throw them on the tractor and after that...’ T2.28.5

In another example from a procedural account, the dependent verb has a present tense suffix and the suffix *-nte* ‘different referent irrealis temporal overlap’. The final verb with the suffix *-apesi* ‘desiderative’ has irrealis status. There is no subject marking (cf. §9.3.4) so the information about the first-person plural subject is recoverable from the real world and the discussion before the recording.

- (9.55) *weine aire-r-a-nte were-pe,*
 leaves appear-PRES-3s-DR:IR:TO see-SR
sere re-pe koia si uo, here re-pe
 pull.up PUT-SR sweet potato then GRD cook PUT-SR
n-apesi ne.
 eat-DES EMPH
 ‘...when leaves come up (we) see them and, pull them up and, the
 sweet potato, then, (we) want to cook and eat it.’ T1.34.6 (repeated from
 (9.38))

Different referent irrealis temporal overlap with *-nte* also appears when a dependent verb is inflected for future tense. Example (9.42) above shows the future actions of second and first person subjects that are predicted to overlap in *Kurisi pu-**amu-nte** ya hese-hi=mo* [corn plant-2s-DR:IR:TO water rub-F1s=BM] ‘While you (will) plant corn, I will go and wash’.

In (9.56) the dependent verb has the imperative suffix *-ahe/-aha* ‘imperative second plural’. Temporal reference does not overlap but one event is dependent on the other.

- (9.56) C.1 *Wesi-sek-**aha-nte**,*
 show-O1p-IMP2p-DR:IR:TO
 C.2 *u pa wese re-**hia**=mo.*
 there G/L make PUT-F1p=BM
 ‘When you show us a place, we will make them (houses) there.’
 T5.23.19

A dependent verb can be inflected for non-future tense and *-nte* ‘DR:IR:CS’. There is close dependency, but no temporal overlap, between the event described by the dependent verb and the event described by a subsequent independent verb with a future tense suffix. In example (9.57) the initial clause is irrealis because it is negative.

- (9.57) *...tai u-**a-nte** ka-**hia**=mo.*
 NEG quote-3s-DR:IR:TO come-FUT=BM
 ‘...when he doesn’t say it, we will come.’ T5.24.42

9.4.4 Loose temporal dependency with the complex *-pe n-T:S-te*

A dependent verb with the loose temporal dependency complex *-pe n-T:S-te* indicates sequential or disjoint temporal reference. While topical reference is usually the same it can be referentially overlapping or different. The verb is dependent on a subsequent, final verb for the expression of aspect, present tense and/or desiderative. This complex morphemic sequence is given one gloss that indicates the combined core meanings of loose temporal dependency and tense-subject (cf. §2.4.3.2.2). The term ‘loose dependency’ was suggested by Ross’s (1994) description of a dependent verb enclitic in Takia, a Madang Austronesian language that has been influenced by Papuan grammatical structure.

- (9.58) *Taukate pehe re-pe n-e-te, si uo, men-e.*
 Taukate hit PUT-LTD:3p then GRD stay-3p
 ‘They hit Taukate and then, then, they stayed.’ T2.26.21

The complex consists of the suffix *-pe* ‘same referent:close succession’ (cf. §9.4.2), the serial verb *n-* ‘STAY’ (cf. §10.6), a future or non-future tense-subject (T:S) suffix (§9.3.2.2) and the dependency suffix *-te* ‘different referent realis:close dependency’ (§9.4.3.3). The origin of this form *-te* is difficult to determine but it also appears to be part of the suffix *-nte* which indicates ‘different referent: realis temporal overlap’ with verbs unmarked for tense subject (§9.4.3.2) and ‘different referent: irrealis temporal overlap’ with verbs marked for tense subject (§9.4.3.5). It is also similar in form to the prominent noun phrase enclitic *=te* (§5.10, §13.5), the instrumental postposition *te* (§7.4.2.2) and the verb *te* ‘get’.

The complex *n-T:S-te* forms a separate phonological word since there is separate word stress and a slight pause following *-pe*. The pause can be lengthened when a speaker hesitates or stops to think. Example (9.59) has a detailed gloss of the inflections while (9.60) has the simplified gloss used throughout the remainder of the book.

- (9.59) ...*hekeni te ka re-pe n-ia-te,*
 firewood get come PUT-SR STAY-1p-DR(?)
 ‘...we got the firewood and came and then,...’

- (9.60) C.1 ...*hekeni te ka re-pe n-ia-te,*
 firewood get come PUT-LTD:1p
 C.2 *usu ho re-pe n-ia-te,...*
 pig cut PUT-LTD:1p
 ‘...we got the firewood and came and then, we cut up the pig and then,...’ T1.7.16

The first and second person singular and the third person plural forms can be reduced in the suffixes *-pinte* and *-pente*.

- (9.61) *Yare-pinte, Pia pa sorone me-r-i.*
 go-LTD:1s Pia G/L jump move.down-PRES-1s
 ‘I went and then, I jumped down into the Pia (name of a stream).’ T2.14.1

Table 9.4 lists the full and reduced forms of the loose temporal dependency complex.

Table 9.4: Forms of the loose temporal dependency complex.

Subject: Person/Number	Non-future tense		Future tense
	Full forms	Reduced forms	Full forms
1s/2s	-pi n -i -te	-pin -te	-pi ni -hi -te
3s	-pe n -a -te		-pe ne -hera -te
1p/2p	-pi n -ia -te		-pi ni -hia -te
3p	-pe n -e -te	-pen -te	-pe ne -here -te

In example (9.62) the loose temporal dependency complex indicates that the dependent verb and the subsequent verb refer to distinct sequential events. The subject referent remains the same. In contrast, in (9.63) the suffix *-pe* ‘same referent close succession’ indicates that the events occur in close succession and can overlap temporally (cf. §9.4.2).

(9.62) ...*ese-pe ni-hi-te* *yari-hi=mo*.
 hear-LTD:F1s go-F1s=BM
 ‘...I will hear (listen) and then I will go.’ D2.97.18

(9.63) ...*ese-pe* *yari-hi=mo*.
 hear-SR go-F1s=BM
 ‘...I will hear and go.’

In (9.64) the first verb, *yare* ‘go’, describes an event that is followed quite quickly by the beginning of the second event. This second verb refers to an activity that occurs over a period of time. A loose temporal dependent relationship is indicated between this situation and the final events expressed by the serial verb construction.

(9.64) C.1,2 *Kreit eiti uo, yare-pe haru-pe n-a-te*,
 grade eight GRD go-SR do-LTD:3s
 C.2 *a mere-a*.
 come move.up-3s
 ‘Grade eight, he went and did it and then, he came up (back home).’ T5.2.7

It is quite common to use the loose temporal dependency complex when there is referential overlap between the subjects of the dependent verb and the verb that follows it. In (9.65) the subject changes from first person plural to first person singular.

- (9.65) C.1 ...*sene aire ka-pe n-ia-te*,
 1p two come-LTD:1p
 C.2 *ya pe he-ne-pe ni-hi-te*, ...
 go stand PUT-O2s-LTD:F1s
 ‘...we two are coming and then, I will leave you at the river and then,...’ T2.11.19

A dependent verb with a loose temporal dependency complex also occurs when the subsequent grammatical material is a direct quote or an aside. Following the quote or aside there is often a return to the topical referent indicated in the complex. In (9.66) direct speech forms the temporal disjunction. The loose temporal dependency complex and the quote verb after the direct speech refer to the same topical referent.

- (9.66) *Tamaite ato, Korosa=te, sau-pe n-a-te*,
 man one Korosa=PNP tell.3s-LTD-3s
 “*Wesese=mai sorori-hi=mo.*”
 trap=P1s construct-F1s=BM
Meni “Wese aha-ne ho t-ae,”
 whatjamacallit trap mother-P3s cut END-IMP2s
u-a-te wese aha-ne ho-a.
 quote-3s-DR trap mother-P3s cut-3s
 ‘Korosa, told one man “I will construct my trap.” Whatjamacallit, “You cut the mother of a trap!” he (the other man) said and he cut the mother of traps.’ T1.14.2

In (9.67) the loose temporal dependency complex occurs with verbs in several different clauses. In clause 1 it occurs on a verb before an aside about the separate activities of other participants. In clause 3 the narrative returns to the main sequence of events in which the main participants are involved and the loose temporal dependency complex occurs on the verb. The verb in clause 4 refers to a sequential event and there is referential overlap since the third person plural subject changes to a third person singular subject. The verb in clause 4 is also a dependent verb with a loose temporal dependency complex before the direct speech in clause 5. After the direct speech, the topic of clause 6 is the same as the topic in clause 4.

- (9.67) C.1 ...*sene were-seka-pente*,
 1p see-O2p-LTD:3p
 ‘...they saw us,

- C.2 *pe waine pa pekoro n-ia-te*
gorge bank G/L line.up STAY-1p-DR
we were lined up on the bank of the gorge (channel),
- C.3 *were-seka pe n-e-te,*
see-01p LTD:3p
they saw us and then,
- C.4 *kare mere poho re-pe n-a-te,*
car move.up sit PUT-LTD:3s
he came up in the car and parked it and then,
- C.5 “*I misini=mo,*”
1s missionary=BM
“I’m a missionary,”
- C.6 *u-a-te,...*
quote-3s-DR
he said and...’
‘...they saw us, we were lined up on the bank of the gorge, they saw us and then, they came up in the car and parked it and then, he said, “I’m a missionary.”’ T1.276

A loose temporal dependency complex can also occur when a verb recapitulates a previous verb, for example, in (9.68) the verb in clause 3 recapitulates the verb in clause 2. This is common in tail-head linkage (see also §14.4.2.2) when the recapitulated verb occurs at the beginning of a new section in a discourse. In (9.68) the temporal reference of the subsequent verb in clause 4 is sequential and there is referential overlap since the subject changes from first person singular (C3) to first person plural (C4).

- (9.68) C1 *...he yare-pe*
return go-SR
‘I went back and
- C2 *tau to naere sopo-hor-i.*
axe INS snake strike.kill-PUT-1s
I killed the snake with an axe.
- C3 *Sopo re-pe n-i-te,*
strike.kill PUT-LTD:1s
I killed the snake and then,

C4 *Punti=rare ka-pe n -ia -te,...*

Punti=and come-LTD:1p

Punti and I came and then,...

'...I went back and killed the snake with an axe. I killed the snake with an axe and then, I came on with PuntI and then,...' T1.6.4

When a loose temporal dependency complex indicates future tense, the final suffix may be *-te*, as in (9.62) above. However, *-te* can be replaced by the different referent suffix *-nte* which is used elsewhere for 'different referent irrealis temporal overlap/closely linked events' (cf. §9.4.3.5). The full gloss for the loose temporal dependency complex is given in (9.69). The shortened gloss in this instance would be LTD:F1p:DR.

(9.69) C1. ...*weti werane mo pa wese re-pe ni-hia-nte,*
house small here G/L make PUT-SR STAY-F1p-DR:IR:TO

C.2 *somoto ya ahare ta-r-a-ne,*
morning go pull END-PRES-3s-DR:IR:CS

C.3 *ya po-hia=mo.*
river cross-F1p=BM

'...we will make small houses here and then, in the morning when the river has pulled back, we will cross the river.' T5.23.8

In lengthy clause chains the tense-subject suffix in the loose temporal dependency complex provides a reminder of the identity of the main participant(s).

10 Complex verbal predicates

10.1 Introduction

This chapter describes complex verbal predicates from the most common, the serial verb constructions, to adjunct-verb constructions and verb reduplication. The main sections describe characteristics of serial verb constructions (SVCs) (§10.2), their classification (§10.3), phasal serial verb constructions that specify aspect (§10.4), phasal and valency changing serial verb constructions with *here* PUT (§10.5), phasal and valency changing serial verb constructions with *ne* STAY (§10.6), serial verb constructions with aspectual enclitics (§10.7), coincident serial verb constructions (§10.8), iconic serial verb constructions (§10.9), adjunct verb constructions (§10.10) and verb reduplication (§10.11).

10.2 Characteristics of serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions forming complex, unified predicates and combining two or more verbs occur in Papuan, Austronesian, South-East Asian, East Asian, West African, Australian, Central and South American languages and in some pidgins and creoles. Amongst others, Durie (1997: 291), Foley and Olson (1985: 18–32), Crowley (1987: 38), Givón (1991: 137–139) and Aikhenvald (2006: 1) describe various cross-linguistic characteristics of serial verb constructions. For example, Durie states “the archetypal serial verb construction consists of a sequence of two or more verbs which in various (rather strong) senses, together act like a single verb” (1997: 290). Serial verb constructions have the intonational properties of a monoverbal clause and there is no morphology indicating internal clause boundaries. The component verbs share tense, aspect, mood and polarity. They can also share core and other arguments and each verb may occur as an individual verb in other contexts. In addition:

There is a strong diachronic tendency to lexicalization and grammaticization of the meaning of serial complexes: this can involve treating the whole serial complex as a single lexical(ized) item, or ‘demotion’ of the meaning and grammatical status of one of the verbs to that of a modifier or case-marker. (Durie 1997: 291)

The basic criteria that identify Koromu serial verb constructions (cf. Priestley 2002a) are outlined below:

- (i) One or more contiguous verb stems terminate in a verb with dependent or independent verbal morphology. Non-final verb stems are uninflected apart from optional object suffixes and optional aspectual enclitics.

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- (ii) Tense, subject, aspect and mood conveyed by final inflections are applicable to all the verbs in the construction.
- (iii) The series of verbs shares a single subject and may share a single object.
- (iv) There is shared polarity since the negative *tai* precedes and has scope over the whole series, as it would over a single verb.
- (v) There is no morphology indicating clause boundaries or syntactic dependency.
- (vi) Each verb is a distinct phonological word with its own primary stress, but an SVC has the single intonational contour of a mono-verbal clause. Pauses associated with clause boundaries do not occur within the serial verb construction.
- (vii) Oblique arguments occur before the construction, not within it.
- (viii) Each verb can occur as a simple predicate on its own.
- (ix) A phasal or phasal and valency changing verb can occur as the final verb in an SVC. This verb only has scope over the verb it follows, for example (10.7).
- (x) There can be recursion, with one serial verb construction occurring within another.

Apart from information conveyed by phasal verbs (cf. (ii.) above) the individual verbal events are stripped of extra information that might give them a status different from the next verb, for example, a different subject or a specific temporal relationship. Described as “stripping down” verb sequences tied “mentally closer together” in Reesink’s description of the Madang language of Usan (1987: 147), this creates constructions distinct from “full medial” or dependent verbs (cf. chapter 9).

Criteria (i) to (vii) are exemplified in the three examples below. These examples have contiguous verb stems ending with dependent or independent verb morphology (criterion i). The non-final verbs are uninflected and the final tense, subject, aspect and mood inflections (and the epistemic modality particle) with the final verbs are applicable to both verbs in each construction (criterion ii). Each series of verbs shares a single subject, and in the second and third examples there is a shared object (criterion iii). There is also shared polarity so the negative particles in the second and third examples have scope over both verbs in their respective serial verb constructions (criterion iv). Dependency suffixes such as *-pe* ‘same referent: close succession’ (see §9.4.2), pauses for clause boundaries, and clause final enclitics and particles, for example, the declarative boundary marking enclitic *=mo* (see §3.4.1), do not occur within serial verb constructions, only after them (criteria v and vi). Oblique arguments occur before, not within, serial verb constructions (criterion vii).

- (10.1) ...*wa pa usu **pe** nu⁵⁹-pu-e-te...*
 garden G/L pig steal eat-HAB-3p-DR
 ‘...at the gardens pigs regularly steal and eat...’ T1.26.10
- (10.2) *Apu mo tai **te ka-hara**⁶⁰ taumo.*
 now this NEG get come-F3s UNC
 ‘Now perhaps he won’t bring it [some money] here.’ T1.8.12
- (10.3) ...*onoru kisi-kisi=ne **tai es ta-pe...***
 flesh rope-rope=P3s NEG cut:small END-SR
 ‘...(they) didn’t cut the muscles...’ T6.5.43

The following examples show verbs from the serial verb constructions in examples (10.1) to (10.2) as the sole verb in simple predicates (criterion viii).

- (10.4) *Usu **pea-r-a.*** [pig stole-PRES-3s] ‘He/she is stealing the pig.’
*Usu **ne-r-a.*** [pig eat-PRES-3s] ‘He/she is eating pig.’
*Hekeni **ti-hia.*** [firewood get-F1p] ‘We will get firewood.’
Ka-hara. [come-F3s] ‘He/she will come.’

Many serial verb constructions consist minimally of a verb with lexical content followed by a verb from a more restricted set (cf. §10.4 to §10.6, §10.8.3 to §10.8.5). In many cases, there is one lexical content verb as the main verb. However, in some cases more than one verb has lexical content (cf. §10.8.2, §10.8.5 and §10.9).

Examples of phasal and phasal and valency-changing verbs are given below (criterion ix). An object suffix can occur either with these final verbs or with the initial main verb (cf. criterion iii) depending on the nature of the phasal or phasal and valency-changing verb. The object suffix occurs with *here* PUT when it indicates valency increase and the object is shared by the whole construction (cf. §10.5.4). In serial verb constructions with other phasal verbs that indicate aspect, the object suffix occurs with the initial transitive verb (cf. §10.5.4). Compare the following examples (10.5) and (10.6).

- (10.5) *U pa **pe he-ni-hi=mo.***
 that G/L stand PUT⁶¹-O2s-F1s=BM
 ‘I will leave you there.’ T1.22.45

⁵⁹ The vowel in *ne* ‘consume’ is affected by regressive vowel harmony (cf. §2.4.3.2.1).

⁶⁰ Progressive vowel harmony (§2.4.3.3.1) affects /w/ in third person future suffixes and *here* PUT.

⁶¹ Capitals indicate a phasal verb. This device indicates that the verb has both a grammatical function and lexical meaning. In some examples the latter remains an important aspect of the function of these verbs.

- (10.6) ...*imi-se te-r-e-ne*,
 get-O1s GET-PRES-3p-DR:IR:CS
weti pa yare-hia.
 house G/L go-F1p
 ‘...when they get (collect) me, we will go to the house.’ T3.2.11

In (10.7) the final phasal verb has scope only over the verb that it follows. Thus, there is a phasal SVC within an SVC that has the initial motion verb *mere* ‘ascend’ (criterion x).

- (10.7) ...*mere [were sur]-a*.
 ascend see START-3s
 ‘...she went up and started looking.’ T1.15.64

10.3 Classification of serial verb constructions

Classification of serial verb constructions is based on distinctions in composition and meaning between the phasal type that express aspect (§10.4), phasal/valency changing serial verb constructions with *here* PUT (§10.5), and with *ne* STAY (§10.6), serial verb constructions with aspectual enclitics (§10.7) and coincident (§10.8) and iconic serial verb constructions (§10.9).

Since phasal serial verb constructions can occur within other types they are described first. The term phasal (cf. Noonan 2007: 118 [1985: 107]) is used because most of these constructions are used to describe beginning, ending or continuing something. The phasal verbs have a grammatical function as well as a lexical meaning that is sometimes an important aspect of the verb’s function. Phasal serial verb constructions are distinct in form from other serial verb constructions since the main verb can be affected by ablaut when combined with a phasal verb that expresses aspect or aspect and valency change. While all verbs can be the main verb in some phasal construction or other, some verbs cannot occur with certain of the six phasal verbs because the verbs are semantically incompatible. In some serial verb constructions aspectual enclitics attach to the initial verb.

Coincident serial verb constructions have one verb from an open or a restricted class that represents a main event and one verb from a restricted class that modifies it in some way. Motion verbs are common in these and in phasal or iconic constructions. This is not uncommon cross-linguistically, for as Foley and Olson point out, “intransitive verbs, particularly active intransitive verbs of motion, location, or posture, are favoured in a restricted slot to form nuclear junctures with another verb in an open slot” (1985: 41).

Iconic serial verb constructions have at least two verbs, a phasal serial verb construction and a verb, or two phasal serial verb constructions. Each verb or phasal serial verb construction represents a component in an event sequence. As Bruce (1984: 152) notes for the Papuan language of Alambalak, “only commonly associated notions (states, events, participants, ideas etc.) can be encoded” in serial verb constructions.

10.4 Phasal serial verb constructions

10.4.1 Introduction

Phasal serial verb constructions consist of a main verb, in which the final vowel can be affected by ablaut, and a phasal verb that expresses aspect. The structure of these constructions is:

V affected-by-ablaut_{TR/ITR} V phasal

As stated above, phasal verbs have lexical meaning and grammatical function. They can have a grammatical function as the final verb in a complex predicate (see §10.4, §10.5 and §10.6). Verbs with the same form can be the sole verb in a simple predicate or the main lexical content verb in a complex predicate. When they occur as final phasal verbs they are glossed with the basic lexical meaning, but they are written in capital letters to indicate their grammatical function. The main verb and the phasal verb are distinct phonological words each with primary word stress. If the final vowel of the main verb is high, it is affected by ablaut (cf. §2.4.5.1.1) and lowered to a corresponding front or back mid vowel in the initial syllable of the phasal verb. In the following two examples, compare *isipu* ‘clasp’ standing alone and combined with a phasal verb.

(10.8) *Hetani* *pate* ***isipu***-*ae!*
 pair of sticks S/L clasp-IMP2s
 ‘(You) clasp it with the pair of sticks!’

(10.9) *Amtu* *kerokero* ***esepo*** ***hore***-*r-a*.⁶²
 hawk chicken clasp PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘The hawk has clasped the chicken.’

⁶² Progressive vowel harmony affects this example also. The initial mid front vowel /e/ of *here* PUT is assimilated to the mid back vowel in the preceding syllable (see §2.4.3.3.1).

There are six phasal verbs. Four of the verbs, *sure* START, *yare* GO, *ta* END and *te* GET, have aspectual meaning (cf. §4.2.9) (for more details see Priestley 2002a). Two other phasal verbs, *here* PUT and *ne* STAY, express aspectual meaning, valency change and/or lexical meaning depending on the meaning of the main verb (cf. §4.2.10). Since the latter have such complex functions they are described separately in §10.5 and §10.6.

10.4.2 Constructions with *sure* START

The verb stem, *sure* START, indicates the start of an event or an attempt at an action. Compare the examples in (10.10).

- (10.10) *Wera aho-r-a.* *Wera aho sure-r-a.*
 child crawl-PRES-3s child crawl START-PRES-3s
 ‘The child is crawling.’ ‘The child is starting to crawl.’

When *sure* START, or its reduced form *re*, is a phasal verb the main verb can have an object suffix.

- (10.11) *Were-su sure-pe n-e-te,* *ya po-e.*
 see-O1s START-SR STAY-3p-DR river cross-3p
 ‘They caught sight of me (looked to see if I was coming) and then they crossed the river.’ T1.15.24

In (10.12) *sure* ‘start’ is the main verb followed by perfective *here* PUT (cf. §10.5.3).

- (10.12) *Ya suro hore-r-a.*
 river start PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘The river has started (to flood) across the sand.’ D3.130.8

10.4.3 Constructions with *yare* GO

Yare ‘go’ commonly occurs as a main verb, for example, *Yare-hi=mo* [go-F1s=DEC] ‘I will go’. However, when *yare* GO follows a dynamic verb it indicates prolonged or extended action. Compare the two examples below.

- (10.13) *Eta-r-a.*
 vomit-PRES-3s
 ‘He is vomiting.’

- (10.14) ...**eta yare-pe men-e.**
 vomit GO-SR stay-3p
 ‘...they went on vomiting and they stayed.’ T2.26.18

10.4.4 Constructions with *ta* END

When the verb stem *ta* END follows an intransitive or transitive verb, the end of an event is indicated, as in the following transitive example.

- (10.15) ...**wesese aha-ne ho ta-i.**
 pig.trap mother-P3s cut END-1s
 ‘...I cut a mother of a pig trap (a very big pig trap).’ T1.14.3

In the examples below, *ta* ‘end’ follows transitive verbs. In (10.16) the object is third person singular so there is no object suffix on the transitive verb. In (10.17) there is a first singular object suffix with the initial transitive verb.

- (10.16) **Yako=to ho-r-a. Ho-pe yare-pe**
 Yako=PNP cut:chop-PRES-3s chop-SR go-SR
yare-pe ho ta-pe n-a-te,...
 go-SR cut:chop END-LTD:3s
 ‘Yako chopped (butchered) it. He went on and on chopping it then he stopped chopping it and then,...’ T2.14.23

- (10.17) **Ahare-se ta-r-a.**
 pull-O1s END-PRES-3s
 ‘It (the pig) stopped pulling me.’

The aspectual verb *ta* END occurs with verbs such as *aire* ‘come up, arrive’ (also ‘grow’, ‘happen’) and *peraune* ‘get up, reach’ to express the achievements ‘arrive’ and ‘reach’, respectively.

- (10.18) **Tautunu pa aire ta-i.**
 Tautunu G/L arrive END-1s
 ‘I arrived at (finished coming up to) Tautunu.’ T5.20.8

With stative or stative-inchoative verbs *ta* END indicates a completed change of state.

- (10.19) *Kihi-a.* vs. *Ya kihi ta-r-a.*
 deep-3s river deep END-PRES-3s
 ‘It deepened (flooded).’ ‘The river is deep (flooded) now.’
 (has stopped getting deep)

Ta ‘end’ can also function as a simple main verb.

- (10.20) *Mutu=te amine ta hoko t-a.*
 Mutu=PNP milk end broke.off GET-3s
 ‘Mutu was the last child (lit. ‘Mutu stopped /ended the milk’).’ T1.9.12

10.4.5 Constructions with *te* GET

10.4.5.1 Introduction

Constructions with *te* GET consist of a transitive, alternating transitive, ambitransitive or stative intransitive verb followed by aspectual *te* GET.⁶³ These constructions indicate an endpoint (telic), or a beginning point (inchoative), depending on the meaning of the main verb. With a small group of intransitive verbs *te* ‘get’ forms a transitive construction (cf. §10.4.5.4). Compare transitive *te* ‘get’ as a simple inflected verb and as a phasal verb.

- (10.21) *Hekeni te-hia*
 firewood get-F1p
 ‘We will get firewood.’
- (10.22) *...auhu pe t-i. U pate serip-i.*
 betel.nut chew GET-1s there S/L get.up-1s
 ‘...I chewed up the betel nut. From there I got up.’ T5.20.27

10.4.5.2 Transitive verbs and *te* GET

Transitive verbs that refer to processes or activities can combine with aspectual *te* GET to indicate that an endpoint has been reached and a process has been accomplished. These transitive verbs describe extended, complex events that involve

⁶³ Homophony between *te* ‘get’, aspectual *te* GET, the *-te* dependency suffix, the postposition *te* ‘instrumental’ and the enclitic *=te* ‘prominent nounphrase’ suggests a possible historical connection between some, or all, of these forms (cf. §13.5).

movement that can be stopped, continued or resumed. For example, the following verbs describe activities that cause the shape of an entity to change.

- (10.23) *au* ‘bend (part of the body)’, *haru* ‘build/make’, *ho* ‘chop (i.e. butcher a pig)’, *hoko* ‘bend, sever’, *isi* ‘cut (grass)’, *kerehe* ‘cut through, split’, *ketane* ‘strip (branches off)’, *oro* ‘dig’, *oso* ‘fasten’, *pe* ‘chew’, *sopo* ‘strike’

Compare *au* ‘bend (part of the body)’ as a simple verb (10.24) and in a complex predicate with *te* GET (10.25).

- (10.24) *Wapi au-r-a.*
arm bend-PRES-3s
‘He is bending his arm.’

- (10.25) *Wapi ao te-r-i.*
arm bend GET-PRES-1s
‘He bent his arm.’

In (10.26) the first two clauses describe the accomplishment of processes with *te* GET, while in the final clause *ta* END indicates that the agents stopped doing something.

- (10.26) ...*auko ho te-pe n-ia-te,*
carry.pole cut:chop GET-LTD:1p
auko wapi te ketan te-pe n-ia-te,
carry.pole hand INS strip GET-LTD:1p
pene wai te ese ta-pe n-ia-te,...
vine teeth INS cut:small.thing END-LTD:1p
‘...we cut a pole, and then we stripped it with our hands, and then with (our) teeth we finished cutting a vine, and then...’ T1.7.3

Some of the verbs in (10.23) have punctual meanings as well, for example, *ho* ‘bite’, *oro* ‘pierce (shoot)’ and *sopo* ‘strike’. These verbs with punctual meaning have not been found with aspectual *te* GET, in either the recorded texts or in attempts to elicit the structure.

Many verbs describe movement or transfer of an object. When an object is moved to a place away from the agent, *te* GET is not used because the lexical meaning is not compatible with the meaning of the main verb. However, if the agent acquires the moved object *te* GET indicates successful accomplishment of the process (10.27).

- (10.27) *aki* ‘pick up’
are ‘remove (from a container)’
epa ‘hold (in the hands/arms)’
hei ‘search for’
imi ‘get/collect (an animate being)’
isipu ‘pick up (with two things i.e. two hands, two claws)’

In (10.28) the dynamic verb *hei* ‘search for’ stands alone. In contrast, in (10.29) it combines with *te* GET where telicity, accomplishment and successful acquisition of an object are indicated.

- (10.28) *Sakine tai hei-r-a.*
word NEG search.for-PRES-3s
‘He/she isn’t searching for the words.’

- (10.29) *Na tomtō hee te ka-pe...*
thing meat search.for GET come-SR
‘(We) search for and get wild game (lit. ‘thing meat’) and come...’ T1.33.16

The acquisitional sense of *te* GET in (10.29) contrasts with *ta* END in the construction in (10.30) describing the end of an activity that is unsuccessful (cf. §10.4.4).

- (10.30) *Hee ta-r-a.*
search.for END-PRES-3s
‘He stopped searching for it.’ (This implies that X didn’t find it.)

An animate object is indicated by an object suffix on the main verb. Examples are:

- (10.31) *Epa-se te-r-a.*
hold-O1s GET-PRES-3s
‘She held me.’ (from verb file for *epa* ‘hold’)

- (10.32) *...esame imi-neka te-pe yari-hi=mpe.*
dog get-O3p GET-SR go-F1s=INT
‘I, (I) got the dogs and I intended to go.’ T2.32.13

Body placement verbs with agent and goal subjects also describe movement and transfer of objects. The objects, which can be animate (10.33) or inanimate (10.34), are placed on part of an agent’s own body. Thus, the verbs are semantically reflexive.

- (10.33) *epere* ‘put on hip’
kakau ‘put on shoulders (with legs on either side of the neck)’
kasi ‘put:hang on/over something i.e. person’s shoulder,
hook, branch’
- (10.34) *eme* ‘put:lay on shoulder’
hehero ‘put in a bundle on head (i.e. a bundle of firewood)’
here ‘put (on/around body i.e. clothes/ornaments)’
yo ‘suspend (a stringbag from forehead or a tree)’

Telic constructions with *te* GET can be formed with body placement verbs.

- (10.35) *Temi* **here** *te-r-a*.
armband put GET-PRES-3s
‘She/he is putting an armband on her/himself.’

In this context, when an object suffix occurs with a body placement verb it refers to a beneficiary (cf. §4.2.5.2).

- (10.36) *Hekeni* **hehero-se** *te-r-a*.
firewood bundle.on.head-1s GET-PRES-3s
‘She put firewood in a bundle on her head for me (present time).’

Transitive motion verbs with agent and theme subjects describe movement in relation to a place or thing. For example,

- (10.37) *nuku* ‘submerge in (water)’
po ‘cross (a river or bridge)’

These verbs can also occur with *te* GET. For example, when *po* ‘cross’ combines with *te* GET the construction indicates that an endpoint has been reached.

- (10.38) ...*ya werane po te-pe*...
river small cross GET-SR
‘...crossed through a small river...’ T1.13.9

However, with transitive motion verbs that describe a movement, in which the agent and theme subject follows someone or something, phasal *te* GET indicates inchoative aspect, the beginning of an activity. Examples of these transitive motion verbs are:

- (10.39) *epone* ‘follow (someone)’
erehe ‘move along by the side of something (i.e. a river, road)’
kiki ‘move along something narrow (mountain ridge, log bridge)’
i ‘follow a river (up or downstream, in and out of water)’
tahu ‘follow route of fire/river (up/downstream, in and out of water)’
wese ‘chase (something)’

Examples (10.40) and (10.41) show two transitive motion verbs in phasal serial verb constructions with *te* GET.

- (10.40) ...*keti upu-ne keke te-pe, kiki-pe...*
 mountain nose-P3s follow GET-SR follow-SR
 ‘...began following the crest/ridge of the mountain and followed it and...’ T3.3.17

- (10.41) ...*yorosate wese te a mi-e.*
 from.up.there chase GET come move.down-3p
 ‘...from up there they chased (it) and came down.’ T5.25.15

In contrast, several verbs that describe placement of objects away from the subject cannot occur with *te* GET because they describe events in which an object is not acquired. Examples are *kasi* ‘hang’, *kereme* ‘spread out’ and *ninike* ‘place against’. Instead these verbs can occur with perfective *here* PUT (see §10.5.3), as in (10.42).

- (10.42) *Tiri pa ninike re⁶⁴-pe tono hor-a.*
 tree G/L place.against PUT-SR cut PUT-3s
 ‘He placed it against the tree and cut it up.’⁶⁴

10.4.5.3 Ambitransitive verbs and *te* GET

Inchoative aspect is expressed when ambitransitive verbs with theme subjects combine with *te* GET. For example, in (10.43) the verb *ari* ‘be light’ is used as an intransitive verb that describes a property and as a transitive verb with a beneficiary object. However, in (10.44) *ari* ‘be light’ occurs with *te* GET and inchoative aspect is indicated.

⁶⁴ *Here* PUT occurs in its reduced form *re* in this example (see §10.5 for further detail).

- (10.43) *Ari-r-a* vs. *Ari-ne-r-a*.
 be.light-PRES-3s be.light-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘It is light.’ ‘It is light for you.’

- (10.44) *Are te-r-a*.
 be.light GET-PRES-3s
 ‘It becomes light.’

10.4.5.4 An intransitive verb with *te* GET in a transitive construction

The phasal verb *te* GET indicates valency-change when combined with intransitive *kuku* ‘be hot’. There is an inanimate, involuntary (force) subject and an object patient. In contrast, transitive constructions in which there is an animate, agentive subject are expressed with *here* PUT (see §10.5.4). Example (10.45) is a simple predicate with intransitive *kuku* ‘be hot’, while (10.46) is a transitive construction with *te* GET.

- (10.45) *Ya kuku-r-a*.
 water be.hot-PRES-3s
 ‘The water is hot.’

- (10.46) *Hekeni werai u=te koko-se te-r-a*.
 fire small that=PNP be.hot-O1s GET-PRES-3s
 ‘The small fire is making me hot.’

10.5 Phasal/valency serial verb constructions with *here* PUT

10.5.1 Introduction

Here ‘put’ may occur with its full lexical meaning (§10.5.2), as a phasal verb that expresses perfective aspect (§10.5.3) or as a phasal-valency verb that expresses increased valency, with or without phasal meaning (§10.5.4). In many cases the lexical meaning of *here* ‘put’ affects its use as a phasal verb. The link between perfectivity and valency change is not uncharacteristic cross-linguistically. Hopper and Thompson (1980) comment on this and it is exemplified in nearby Tauya where there is also a morpheme that indicates perfective or transitive verbs (MacDonald 1990: 195–196).

Table 10.1 shows that in addition to the full form *here* PUT there are two reduced forms *re* and *he*. *Re* occurs before future tense and *-pe* ‘same referent’ suffixes, while *he* occurs before object suffixes.

Table 10.1: Variant forms of *here* PUT.

Form	Usage	Examples	Gloss	Free translation
here	perfective or valency-increasing contexts	ane here -r-a.	wake-PUT-PRES-3s	'X woke Y up.'
re	perfective or valency-increasing contexts, before future tense or <i>-pe</i> same referent	ane re -pe...	wake PUT-SR	'...woke Y up and then...'
he	valency-increasing contexts, before object suffix	ane he -s-a.	wake PUT-O1s-3s	'X woke me up.'

10.5.2 *Here* 'put' with its full lexical meaning

Here 'put' has full lexical meaning when it is the main verb. In (10.47) a construction with *here* 'put' combined with phasal *te* GET describes putting an object on the subject's body (i.e. the subject receives it). Note that the meaning of the construction is influenced by the meaning of *te* GET.

- (10.47) *Ne tahi ati men-a taumo, here t-ae!*
 2s shirt one stay-3s UNC put GET-IMP2s
 'If you have a shirt, put it on!' T1.22.19

In contrast, when *te* 'get' precedes lexical *here* 'put', the entities represented by the object are put somewhere away from the agent's body (10.48). Narrative present is used here, and elsewhere in this chapter, as the examples were recorded on the day the events occurred (cf. §9.3.2.3).

- (10.48) *...sapakotu pa yorosu a te here-r-ia=mo.*
 road G/L up.there come get PUT-PRES-1p=BM
 '...we came and put them (posts) up there on the road.' T2.28.3

In (10.49) *here* 'put' followed by *ne* STAY (see §10.6 below for more detail) describes the result of the action in (10.47).

- (10.49) *Teri met-a-te tahi sinti sinti here n-a=mo.*
 cold body-3s-DR clothes layer layer PUT STAY-3s=BM
 'She is cold (cold affects her body) and she has put on (is wearing) several sets/layers of clothes.' D5.207.3b (Cf. reduplication in §4.4.2.2.)

10.5.3 *Here* PUT constructions and perfective aspect

Depending on the meaning of the main verb, in some contexts constructions with final *here* PUT express perfective aspect and not valency change. Dynamic verbs, stative-inchoative verbs and some experiencer S and experiencer O verbs can occur with perfective *here* PUT. In these contexts, the present tense suffix expresses present or narrative present tense but not extended aspect (cf. §9.3.2.3).

Examples (10.50) and (10.51) contrast a transitive dynamic verb *ehese* ‘extinguish’ in a simple predicate and in a construction with perfective *here* PUT.

(10.50) *Hekeni ehese-r-a*
 fire extinguish-PRES-3s
 ‘He is extinguishing the fire.’

(10.51) *Hekeni ehese here-r-a.*
 fire extinguish PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘He (has) extinguished the fire.’

The aspectual meaning expressed in (10.51) is comparable to English perfect aspect since it could be said to express the “continuing present relevance of a past situation” (Comrie 1976: 52). However, in other contexts perfective constructions with *here* PUT can simply be described as denoting “a complete situation, with beginning, middle and end” (1976: 18). In (10.52) and (10.53) *here* PUT has the reduced form *re* before future tense and ‘same referent’ following suffixes (cf. Table 10.1).

(10.52) *Ane re-hi.*
 wake PUT-F1s
 ‘I will wake him up.’

(10.53) *...ahoro re-pe ya so hor⁶⁵-a.*
 cover PUT-SR water pour PUT-3s
 ‘...he covered it up and poured in water.’ T2.24.17

Here PUT as a perfective commonly occurs with primary transitive verbs such as *toko* ‘light (something)’, as in (10.54).

65 *Here* PUT is affected by progressive vowel harmony in this example (§2.4.3.3.1).

- (10.54) ...*era topi-pe hekeni toko re-pe teri mete*
 bank climb-SR fire light PUT-SR cold body
*yoru ta-pe kasi wereren te-pe...*⁶⁶
 warm END-SR tobacco roll GET-SR
 ‘...(we) climbed the bank, lit a fire, finished warming (our) cold bodies
 and rolled tobacco...’ T1.15.60

Motion verbs occur with aspectual *here* PUT when it is visually obvious that a complete event has occurred, for example, when a pig’s tracks can be seen on the ground.

- (10.55) *Usu tehei her-a.*
 pig walk PUT-3s
 ‘A pig walked here.’

Comrie (1976: 19) states that, in languages as far apart as Ancient Greek, Spanish, Russian and Mandarin Chinese, perfective occurs with some stative verbs to express ingressive meaning. This occurs in Koromu when perfective *here* PUT occurs with a stative-inchoative verb to indicate the beginning of a situation. Compare the stative-inchoative verb in the simple predicate (10.56) and in the *here* PUT construction (10.57).

- (10.56) *Kese-r-a.*
 wet-PRES-3s
 ‘It is (is becoming) wet.’

- (10.57) *Sene ya so ta-ia-te*
 1p water pour END-1p-DR
eme kese here-r-a.
 ground wet PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘We poured out water and the ground became wet.’

The experiencer object verb *sepa* ‘be ill’ (see §11.4) can also be combined with *here* PUT in a perfective sense. Compare the simple predicate in (10.58) and the *here* PUT

⁶⁶ The person and number of the subject is deduced from the final suffix of an independent verb in the clause chain. (As this example occurred in rapid speech there are no commas indicating pauses in the Koromu text.)

construction in (10.59). Note that the latter example also introduces *here* PUT in the reduced form *he*, with an object person-number suffix, see also (10.67) etc. below.

(10.58) ***Sepa-se-r-a.***
 be.ill-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I am ill.’

(10.59) ***Sepa he-se-r-a.***
 be.ill PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I have been ill.’ (The illness is finished now.)

Ambitransitive cognition verbs have experiencer subjects. However, perfective *here* PUT constructions with these verbs imply that the subject is actively able to do something. Compare the simple predicates in (10.60) with the perfective construction in (10.61).

(10.60) ***Urunu-r-a.*** vs. ***Urunu-se-r-a.***
 think-PRES-3s think-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘He’s thinking.’ ‘He’s thinking about me.’

(10.61) ***Apu urunu here-r-a.***
 now think PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘He thinks now.’ (Now he is about three years old. He couldn’t before.)

Some verbs do not occur with *here* PUT in its perfective sense. For example, the end of a motion event like *topi* ‘climb’ is indicated with *ta* END (cf. §10.4.4) while the accomplishment of a process is expressed with *te* GET (cf. §10.4.5).

10.5.4 *Here* PUT constructions and valency-increase

10.5.4.1 Introduction

Here PUT constructions can also indicate valency increase. The type of valency increase depends on the semantic nature of the main verb and the semantic roles of the core arguments (cf. §3.6.5 and §4.2). In causative-type constructions an agentive subject is added to stative-like verbs (§10.5.4.2), or the subject of verbs with agent and theme subjects becomes solely agentive (§10.5.4.3). In applicative-type constructions an object with a locative, beneficiary or patient role is added (§10.5.4.4) or, with more prototypically transitive verbs, the subject acts more intensively and the object is more completely affected (§10.5.4.5). Note that in

imperfective constructions arguments can be added without *here* PUT (§10.5.4.6) as in many stative, ditransitive and experiencer subject or object verbs where perfectivity or valency increase with *here* PUT are not expressed (§10.5.4.7).

10.5.4.2 Adding agentive subjects to stative-like verbs – Causatives

An agentive subject is added to stative-like verbs to form causatives when the verbs combine with *here* PUT. Four different types, which depend on the type of stative-like verb, are discussed in sections on intransitive stative and stative-inchoative verbs with theme subjects (§10.5.4.2.1), verbs with theme subjects and locative objects (§10.5.4.2.2), experiencer object verbs with impersonal subjects (§10.5.4.2.3) and transitive experiencer subject verbs (§10.5.4.2.4).

10.5.4.2.1 Intransitive stative and stative-inchoative verbs in *here* PUT constructions

When intransitive stative (cf. §4.2.1.3) and stative-inchoative (cf. §4.2.1.4) verbs combine with valency-increasing *here* PUT the theme or experiencer role of the subject becomes the role of the object in the resulting causative construction. Represented in a formula, the arguments of a verb when it stands alone are indicated on the left, while arguments of the same verb combined with *here* PUT are on the right of an arrow. A subscript _x indicates that the subject (S) of the intransitive verb and the object (O) of the transitive construction have the same or similar semantic role. Similar formulas are used for other combinations with *here* PUT. The notation S is retained for the subject of transitive constructions.

$S_x = \text{Theme or Experiencer} \rightarrow S = \text{Agent}, O_x = \text{Theme or Experiencer}$

Compare the following examples in which *mene* ‘be, stay’ occurs first in a simple predicate (10.62) and then in an agency-adding *here* PUT construction (10.63).

(10.62) *Eno pa men-a.*
 over.there G/L stay-3s
 ‘She is over there.’

(10.63) *Wera-ima sihi mene here-r-a.*
 child-P1s enough stay PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘She caused my child to stay (long) enough.’

The verb *kuku* ‘be hot’, discussed in (§4.2.1.4), occurs with causative *here* PUT and an agentive subject in the following example (10.64).

- (10.64) *Wene tororo-au koko hore-r-a.*
 food cold-ADJR hot PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘She has made the cold food hot (heated the cold food).’

When the stative-inchoative verb in (10.65) combines with *here* PUT the construction can be interpreted as perfective or as causative-like ‘he made it sour’. In the latter case the object can be said to be the patient.

- (10.65) *Kukupe-r-a.* vs. *Kukupe here-r-a.*
 dirty-PRES-3s be.dirty/sour PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘It is (becoming) dirty.’ ‘It became sour/He has made it sour.’

Intransitive verbs with experiencer subjects (10.66) can combine with valency-increasing *here* PUT in a causative construction (10.67). In this example *here* has its reduced form *he* before an object suffix.

- (10.66) *Ani-r-a.*
 wake-PRES-3s
 ‘He is waking up.’
- (10.67) ...*somo:ru*⁶⁷ *pate ane he-s-a, Hiriae=o.*
 early.morning S/L wake PUT-01s-3s Hiriae=EXC
 ‘...in the early morning he woke me up, Hiriae!’ T2.15.2

The verb *imi* ‘die’ can only occur in the *here* PUT construction if the object is inanimate.

- (10.68) *Aire eme here-r-a.*
 kunai die PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘He caused the kunai grass to die.’
- (10.69) **Usu eme here-r-a.*
 pig die PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘He killed (caused) the pig (to die).’

Instead the killing of animate beings is represented by transitive verbs such as *sopo* ‘strike/kill’ and *oro* ‘shoot/kill’ combined with *here* ‘PUT’ (for details see §10.5.4.5).

⁶⁷ The lengthened vowel indicates the intensification expressed by ‘early’ in the free translation.

10.5.4.2.2 Verbs with theme subjects and locative objects in *here* PUT constructions

Verbs that have a theme subject and locative object can occur in valency-increasing causative constructions with an added agentive subject. In *here* PUT constructions the second object has the theme semantic role as indicated in the formula and examples below.

$S = \text{Theme}, O = \text{Goal} \rightarrow S = \text{Agent}, O_1 = \text{Goal}, O_2 = \text{Theme}$

Compare the simple predicate with *kiti* ‘be stuck’ (cf. §4.2.4.1) in (10.70) and the *here* PUT construction in (10.71).

(10.70) ***Kiti-ne-r-a.***
 be.stuck-O2s-PRES-3s
 ‘It is stuck to you.’

(10.71) ***Kete he-se-r-a.***
 stick PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘He has made it (plaster) stick to me.’

10.5.4.2.3 Experiencer object verbs in *here* PUT constructions

Some experiencer object verbs (cf. §4.2.6 and chapter 11), for example, *hukuru* ‘be full’, *mete sikasika* ‘be hot’ and *warike* ‘be bad/damaged’, can occur in *here* PUT constructions with an agentive subject. The arguments of the simple predicate and the *here* PUT construction are indicated in the formula and examples below.

$S = \text{Impersonal}, O_x = \text{Experiencer} \rightarrow S = \text{Agent}, O_x = \text{Experiencer}$

(10.72) ***Hukuru-se-r-a.***
 be.full-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I am full.’

(10.73) ***Tamaite u=te hukuru horo-r-a=mo.***
 man that=PNP be.full PUT-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘That man has caused him to be full (of food).’

10.5.4.2.4 A transitive experiencer subject verb in a *here* PUT construction

Finally, a transitive experiencer subject verb (cf. §4.2.2.2.4) *were* ‘see’ may combine with *here* PUT as in (10.74). The construction implies that the

subject is an agent rather than an experiencer and that the agent has ‘chosen’ someone (10.75).

S = Experiencer, O = Theme → S = Agent, O = Theme

This suggests that the combination has been lexicalized to some degree.⁶⁸
Compare:

(10.74) **Were-neka-i=mo.**

see-O3p-1s=BM

‘I saw them.’ T1.15.22

(10.75) *Tamaite ato were he-ne-r-a?*

man one see PUT-O2s-PRES-3s

‘Has one man seen (chosen) you?’

10.5.4.3 Causatives: Increasing agency of the subject with agent + theme subject verb

Intransitive intradirective verbs and transitive motion verbs have subjects with the simultaneous semantic roles of agent and theme. When these verbs combine with *here* PUT, causative constructions are formed in which the subject becomes solely agentive and an object has the theme. Formulas and examples for these verbs as simple predicates and in *here* PUT constructions are provided in (§10.5.4.3.1) and (§10.5.4.3.2) respectively.

10.5.4.3.1 Intransitive intradirective verbs in causative constructions

Intransitive intradirective verbs (cf. §4.2.1.2) include intransitive motion and semantically reflexive verbs. In the formula below the subscripts on the left indicate that the semantic roles are grouped together in the subject argument when these intradirective verbs stand alone, while on the right the semantic roles are split to the separate subject and object arguments of a *here* PUT construction.

S_{xy} = Agent and Theme → S_x = Agent, O_y = Theme

⁶⁸ Lexicalization is possibly influenced by perfective meaning as in many languages perfective forms can be used for ingressive (Comrie 1976: 19), for example, Spanish Perfective Past of *conocer* ‘know (be acquainted with)’ is *conoci* ‘got to know’. However, Mónica Aznárez (pers. com.) states that *conoci* means ‘knew’ (perfective) in ‘I knew him up to a point’ and lexicalizes as ‘met (him/her)’ elsewhere.

These intransitive motion verbs include direction/motion-path, posture-taking and some motion-manner verbs. Posture-taking verbs (a term adopted from Reesink 1987) are movement verbs since they represent an action of moving into a posture, for example, *puhu* ‘sit down’, rather than the state of being in that posture. In the examples below, compare a direction verb as a simple predicate (10.76) and then as the main verb in a *here* PUT construction (10.77).

(10.76) *Weti oru pa mere-hi*
 house inside G/L move.up-F1s
 ‘I will go up (move up) into the house.’

(10.77) *Era te mere he-se-r-a.*
 lift GET move.up PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘She lifted (me) and put (moved) me up there.’

Semantically reflexive intransitive verbs, *hese* ‘wash (oneself)’,⁶⁹ *nuku* ‘submerge’ and *umu* ‘hide (oneself)’, also have agent-and-theme/patient subjects. When a verb of this type combines with *here* PUT, the resulting construction is anti-reflexive. It describes the effect of an agentive subject on a separate entity. Compare the following examples.

(10.78) *Ea tamaite, pea rame, esame tamaite sei umu-e.*
 yesterday man steal one dog man ORNT hide-3p
 ‘Yesterday the man, the thieving (stealing) one, hid himself from the policeman (lit. ‘dog man’).’

(10.79) *Na omo hore-r-a.*
 thing hide PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘He hid the thing.’

10.5.4.3.2 Transitive motion verbs in causative constructions

When transitive motion verbs with agent-theme subjects and locative objects O_z (cf. §4.2.2.2.3) combine with *here* PUT in causative constructions the result is that the subject is an agent, the object suffix O_1 refers to the theme and O_2 indicates the locative object or goal of the movement.

S_{xy} = Agent and Theme, O_z = Goal $\rightarrow S_x$ = Agent, O_{1y} = Theme, O_{2z} = Goal

⁶⁹ The verb *hese* ‘wash’ usually occurs with the adjunct *ya* ‘water’.

Compare the two examples below in which *ya* ‘water’ is the locative object (O). The object with a theme role refers to a person and thus can be marked by an object suffix in (10.81).

(10.80) *Ya hetari-r-a.*
 water step over-PRES-3s
 ‘He is stepping over the water.’

(10.81) *Ya hetare he-se-r-a.*
 water step over PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘She made me step over the water.’

10.5.4.4 Applicatives: Adding an Object

The subsections below examine *here* PUT constructions with added objects. Depending on the semantic nature of the verb a beneficiary object (§10.5.4.4.1), a locative (goal) object (§10.5.4.4.2) or an object patient (§10.5.4.4.3) can be added.

10.5.4.4.1 Adding a beneficiary object

Many transitive dynamic verbs (cf. §4.2.2.2.1) can occur in *here* PUT constructions in which an added object with a beneficiary/maleficary role is indicated by a verbal suffix.

S = Agent, O = Patient/Theme → S = Agent, O₁ = Beneficiary, O₂ = Patient/Theme

Compare the transitive (no object suffix) dynamic verb *pu* ‘plant’ as a simple predicate and as the main verb in a beneficiary-applicative *here* PUT construction.

(10.82) *Epono koia pu-hura.*
 ater sweet potato plant-F3s
 ‘Later she will plant the sweet potato.’

(10.83) *Wau=mai po ho-se-r-a.*⁷⁰
 banana=P1s plant PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘He planted my banana for me.’

⁷⁰ Ablaut (§2.4.5.1.1) is followed by progressive vowel harmony (§2.4.3.3.1) in which a mid-front vowel that follows a fricative /h/ or /s/ assimilates to the vowel in the preceding syllable.

When a transitive dynamic verb, which can take an object suffix, occurs with *here* PUT an added beneficiary can also be indicated. Example (10.84) has an object suffix referring to a patient (the person and the person's body part). In (10.85) there is an object patient noun phrase and an object beneficiary suffix on the reduced form of *here* PUT rather than with the main verb.

(10.84) *Wapi isi-se-r-a.*
arm cut-O1s-PRES-3s
'He is cutting my arm.'

(10.85) *Pene ese he-se-r-a.*
rope cut PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
'He has cut the rope for me.'

In some instances, the object suffix can indicate a maleficiary. Compare *haru* 'do' as a simple predicate and in a construction with *here* PUT.

(10.86) *Ne na haru-r-i.*
2s thing do-PRES-2s
'You are doing something good.'

(10.87) *Na warikao haro ho-se-r-a.*
thing bad do PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
'He/she did something bad to me.'

In contrast, a beneficiary/maleficiary object suffix can occur on the verb root of ambitransitive (§4.2.4) and alternating transitive verbs (§4.2.5.2).⁷¹

10.5.4.4.2 Adding a locative (goal) object

A locative object or goal argument is added to intransitive dynamic verbs with agentive subjects (§4.2.1.1), to some intransitive motion-manner verbs with agent and theme subjects (§4.2.1.2), to body placement verbs with agent and goal subjects (§4.2.2.2) and to some alternating transitive verbs (cf. §4.2.5.2) when they occur with *here* PUT. Each of these verbs has a subject with an agentive or partially agentive semantic role.

⁷¹ There appear to be some exceptions. This is a subject for further research.

The agentive role of the core argument of an intransitive dynamic verb is indicated on the left of the formula below. The semantic roles of the arguments in the corresponding applicative-like *here* PUT construction are indicated on the right.

$$S_x = \text{Agent} \rightarrow S_x = \text{Agent}, O = \text{Goal}$$

Compare *eta* ‘vomit’ as a simple predicate and in a *here* PUT construction.

- (10.88) *Et*⁷²-*a*. vs. *Wera eta ha*⁷³-*s-a*.
 vomit-3s child vomit PUT-O1s-3s
 ‘She vomited.’ ‘The child vomited on me.’

Motion-manner verbs have agent-theme subjects. *Aho* ‘crawl’ and *heae* ‘move around’ can occur in *here* PUT constructions that retain the agent and theme subject and have an added locative object. This is indicated in the formula and example below.

$$S_{xy} = \text{Agent} + \text{Theme} \rightarrow S_{xy} = \text{Agent} + \text{Theme}, O = \text{Goal}$$

- (10.89) *Wera aho-r-a*. vs. *Aho ho-se-r-a*.
 child crawl-PRES-3s crawl PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘The child is crawling.’ ‘She crawled to me.’

Body placement verbs have an agent and goal subject since they describe placing an object on the agent’s own body, the locative goal (cf. §4.2.2.2.2 and §4.2.5.2). When these verbs are combined with *here* PUT an agentive subject places a theme object on a locative or goal object that is a separate entity, a part of the body of a different person (cf. anti-reflexive constructions, §10.5.4.3.2). This applies when the object has either an animate or an inanimate referent. In the formula below, the semantic roles of the verb are on the left and of the goal-applicative *here* PUT construction on the right.

$$S_{xy} = \text{Agent} + \text{Goal}, O_z = \text{Theme} \rightarrow S = \text{Agent}_x, O_{1y} = \text{Goal}, O_{2z} = \text{Theme}$$

Compare a simple predicate and a *here* PUT construction with a body placement verb.

⁷² The final vowel of *ita* ‘vomit’ is elided (see identical vowel elision §2.4.2.2.1).

⁷³ Progressive vowel harmony (see §2.4.3.3.1).

- (10.90) *Henawahe hekeni hehero-r-a.*
 young woman firewood bundle.on.head-PRES-3s
 'The young woman is putting the firewood on her (own) head.'⁷⁴
- (10.91) *Hena hekeni hehero ho-se-r-a.*
 woman firewood bundle.on.head PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
 'The woman put the firewood on me (my head).'

The alternating transitive verb *hera* 'throw' can function as a transitive verb (10.92) or a ditransitive verb with a recipient goal (10.93).

S = Agent, (O₁ = Recipient:Goal) O₂ = Theme

- (10.92) *Na hera-r-a.*
 thing throw-PRES-3s
 'He's throwing the thing.'
- (10.93) *Na hera-se-r-a.*
 thing throw-O1s-PRES-3s
 'He's throwing something to me.'

When this alternating transitive verb occurs with *here* PUT an inanimate locative goal is represented by an object noun phrase as indicated in the following structure and example.

→ S = Agent, O₁ = Locative Goal, O₂ = Theme

- (10.94) *Tahi were hera hare-r-a.*
 clothes sun throw PUT-PRES-3s
 'He has thrown the clothes in the sun.' (...on rocks or bushes)

10.5.4.4.3 Adding an animate object patient

Some transitive (§4.2.2) and ambitransitive (§4.2.4) dynamic verb stems do not have an object suffix. However, *here* PUT can provide a support verb as a location for the object suffix representing an animate patient. This type of arrangement

⁷⁴ A vine holds the bundle of firewood suspended from the forehead and down the back.

is common in Trans New Guinea languages.⁷⁵ Addition of an animate object is indicated in the formula below.

S = Agent, O = Inanimate Patient → S = Agent, O = Animate Patient

Compare the following examples of ambitransitive *ne* ‘consume, eat, drink, inhale’ as a simple predicate (10.95) and in a *here* PUT construction with an object suffix (10.96).

(10.95) (*Usu*) *ne-r-a*.
 pig eat⁷⁶-PRES-3s
 ‘He is eating (pig).’

(10.96) ...*ya u=te tei ne he-ne-hera*.
 water that=PNP turn eat PUT-O2s-F3s
 ‘...that water will turn and eat (swallow) you up.’ T1.19.19

10.5.4.5 Adding a more completely affected object patient

Prototypical transitive verbs have a subject with the single semantic role of agent and an object-patient representing an entity that is clearly affected by something that happens to it (Andrews 2007: 138 [1985: 68]). With these verbs it is not necessary to add an agentive subject or affected object. However, when these verbs, for example, *sopo* ‘strike, kill’ or *pihi* ‘touch, hit’ (cf. §4.2.2.2.1), combine with *here* PUT the object is more completely affected and the subject acts with greater intensity.

The prototypically transitive verb *sopo* ‘strike/kill’ refers to striking or clubbing an animate being. The referent of the object noun phrase is clearly affected by the action. It is stunned by the blow and may bleed and suffer broken bones. However, although the subject acts with intention, the creature does not necessarily die immediately, for it is common practice to stun an animal or bird and carry it away from the hunting ground still alive. Example (10.97) also shows that the verb *sopo* ‘strike/kill’ is inherently telic.

⁷⁵ “Many Trans New Guinea languages do not permit the object prefix to be directly affixed to verb stems but instead require that it be added to a secondary auxiliary-like verb, which in turn is compounded with the main root” (Foley 2000: 377).

⁷⁶ The gloss ‘eat’ is used for simplicity. In other examples the appropriate sense is given in English.

- (10.97) ...*usu airi-pu-e-te usu oro-pe*
 pig arrive-HAB-3p-DR pig pierce-SR
yene sopo-neka-pe u-pu-r-ia.
 bird strike/kill-O3p-SR quote-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘...a pig arrives, we shoot it and we club the birds. That’s what we do.’

When *sopo* ‘strike/kill’ occurs with inherently telic *here* PUT the construction indicates that the referent of the object noun phrase actually dies. Thus, the object-patient is more thoroughly affected since the action is taken through to its ultimate, irreversible conclusion. It could be said that the subject acted with greater intensity or intention. However, in the terminology for the semantic roles of subject and object there is no difference.

S=Agent O=Patient

- (10.98) ...*tau to⁷⁷ naere sopo hor-i.*
 axe INS snake strike/kill PUT-1s
 ‘I killed the snake with an axe.’ T1.6.4

Similarly, *oro hori* [shoot/pierce PUT] means ‘I killed it by shooting/spearing it’.

10.5.4.6 Adding arguments without *here* PUT: imperfective constructions

Verbs that can occur with perfective valency-increasing *here* PUT appear as simple predicates in imperfective constructions. The added arguments are expressed in other ways. For example, the intransitive verb *eta* ‘vomit’ combines with an ‘animate locative’ postpositional phrase that indicates the goal of the action (cf. §7.3.4.1).

- (10.99) *Wera-name i hare eta-r-a.*
 child-P2s 1s ALOC vomit-PRES-3s
 ‘Your child is vomiting on me.’

The beneficiary object of a transitive verb such as *pu* ‘plant’ can be represented by the object suffix, although in a perfective context it occurs with *here* ‘PUT’ as in §10.5.4.4.1.

77 The mid vowel becomes a back vowel through progressive vowel harmony §2.4.3.3.2.

- (10.100) *Wau=mai pu-se-r-a.*
 banana=P1s plant-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘She is planting my bananas for me.’

10.5.4.7 Verbs that do not occur with *here* PUT and valency-increase

Verbs that do not occur with *here* PUT to express perfective or valency increase are stative verbs which describe durative situations, ditransitive verbs and most of the experiencer subject and experiencer object verbs. In addition, some dynamic verbs are not found with *here* PUT, for example, *aki* ‘pick/pick up’, *hete* ‘scrape skin off’, *kerehe* ‘break/cut’ and *kikiri* ‘scrape/graze (with spear)’.

10.6 Phasal/valency serial verb constructions with *ne* STAY

This section examines the use of *ne* STAY to express extended states with stative-inchoative and experiencer object verbs (§10.6.1), static positions with motion verbs (§10.6.2) and passive with dynamic verbs (§10.6.3). There is a final section on verbs that do not combine with *ne* STAY (§10.6.4).

10.6.1 Extended states with *ne* STAY

Extended states are expressed when *ne* STAY follows stative and experiencer object verbs (§10.6.1.1) and intransitive experiencer subject verbs (§10.6.1.2).

10.6.1.1 Stative and experiencer object verbs and extended states

Extended states are expressed by *ne* STAY constructions with stative-inchoative and experiencer object verbs that have non-agentive theme subjects. These verbs express a much more permanent state of affairs. They retain their non-agentive subject semantic roles when they occur in *ne* STAY constructions. Thus, while the subject may retain the same semantic role, verbal aspect is affected.

V = stative-inchoative, experiencer object	→ V extended state
S = Theme/Impersonal _x	→ S Theme/Impersonal _x

Compare the stative-inchoative verb, with a theme subject, in the simple predicate in (10.101) and the complex predicate with *ne* STAY in (10.102). The complex predicate indicates a state of affairs that remains for a long time.

(10.101) **Kukupe-r-a.**
 dirty-PRES-3s
 'It is (becoming) dirty.'

(10.102) *Na kukupe n-a.*
 thing be.dirty STAY-3s
 'The things are/remain dirty, dusty.' (...Thick dust has collected.)

Basic experiencer object verbs (cf. §4.2.6 and §11.4) describe temporary conditions or states but in *ne* STAY constructions a durative, extended state of affairs is indicated. Compare the following examples.

(10.103) **Mahe-se-r-a.**
 shame-O1s-PRES-3s
 'I am ashamed.'

(10.104) **Mahe-se n-a.**
 shame-O1s STAY-3s
 'I am still/always ashamed.'

10.6.1.2 Intransitive experiencer subject verbs and extended states

The intransitive experiencer subject verb in (a) below describes a process of change. However, the *ne* STAY construction (b) describes an extended state of affairs where the subject is a theme rather than an experiencer.

V = process → V extended state
 S = Experiencer → S Theme

(10.105) a. **Imi-r-a.** b. **Eme n-a.**
 die-PRES-3s die STAY-3s
 'He is dying.' 'He is dead.'

10.6.2 Static position with *ne* STAY

When verbs that describe movement combine with *ne* STAY the result is a construction that describes a stative position. Examples are given here with intransitive motion verbs and body placement verbs. Both these verb types have subjects with dual semantic roles that lose the agentive role in the *ne* STAY construction.

10.6.2.1 Intransitive motion verbs and static position

Intransitive motion verbs have agent and theme subjects (cf. §4.2.1.2). However, in *ne* STAY constructions a static position is indicated. In addition, the agentive role of the subject is removed. Thus, when motion verbs combine with *ne* STAY and lose the agentive role of the subject they indicate the position of a theme subject.

V = move → V = static position
S = Agent and Theme → S = Theme

The simple predicate and the stative construction can be compared in the two examples below.

- (10.106) *Weti oru pa mere-hi*
house inside G/L move.up-F1s
'I will go up (move up) into the house.' – repeated from (10.76)

- (10.107) *Mere n-a.*
move.up STAY-3s
'He is up there.'

The posture-taking verb *puhu* 'sit' in (10.108) contrasts with a stative, atelic construction which consists of *puhu* 'sit' and *ne* STAY in (10.109). In the former the subject has the dual semantic roles of agent and theme and the verb means 'move into a sitting position'. In the latter, the subject has the theme role and there is no activity or movement.

- (10.108) *...a puhu-e-te,...*
come sit-3p-DR
'...they came and sat (down) and,...' T5.22.13

- (10.109) *Eme pa poho ne-r-i,...*
ground G/L sit STAY-PRES-1s
'We sat on the ground...' T1.20.47 (PRES = narrative present, today's past)

10.6.2.2 Body placement verbs and static position

Body placement verbs, which have agent-and-goal subjects (cf. §4.2.2.2.2), combine with *ne* STAY to express a durative state in which there is no movement. Thus, the subject is no longer an agent that moves another participant or entity. Instead he/she simply holds or bears someone or something else. The *ne* STAY construction describes a static position.

V = move an object → hold the object in a static position

Compare examples (10.110) and (10.111).

(10.110) ...*u pate wera hiri-a-te u pate kase⁷⁸ te-pe*,...
 there S/L child cry-3s-DR there S/L put:hang GET-SR
 ‘...the child cried there and there I put him on my shoulder and,...’
 T1.15.33

(10.111) ...*wera kase ne-pe aresa pi-i*.
 child put:hang STAY-SR below stand-P1s
 ‘...I held the child (on my shoulder) and stood below.’ T1.15.49

10.6.3 Stative-passive with *ne* STAY

When verbs that describe actions combine with *ne* STAY the resulting construction is stative and passive. Examples are given here with semantically reflexive and transitive dynamic verbs.

10.6.3.1 Semantically reflexive verbs and stative passive

Semantically reflexive verbs (§4.2.1.2) such as *umu* ‘hide (oneself)’, *hese* ‘wash (oneself)’, *nuku* ‘submerge’ and ambitransitive (§4.2.4) *iri* ‘scratch (oneself)’ lose the active verb and the agentive and goal roles of the subject in *ne* STAY constructions. In the new construction the verb describes a passive and the subject has the semantic role of theme.

V = act on self → static position
 S = Agent and Goal → S = Theme

Compare the semantically reflexive verb in (10.79) above with the anti-reflexive stative passive construction in (10.112).

(10.112) *Omo n-a. Tai were-r-i*.
 hide STAY-3s NEG see-PRES-1s
 ‘It is hidden. I can’t see it.’

78 *Kase* ‘put:hang’ can also be used to refer to hanging something on a hook or branch.

10.6.3.2 Dynamic transitive verbs and stative passive

Dynamic transitive verbs (see §4.2.2.2.1) such as *pu* ‘plant’ and *ho* ‘chop’ describe processes and activities that are neither inherently punctual nor inherently durative.⁷⁹ In *ne* STAY constructions these verbs have reduced valency. The agentive subject is removed and one core argument remains as a subject with the role of theme or patient.

V = dynamic transitive	→ static passive
S = Agent, O = Patient	→ S = Patient

Compare the transitive verb *pu* ‘plant’ as a simple predicate in (10.113) with a *ne* STAY construction where the subject is omitted and the object is upgraded to subject in (10.114).

(10.113) *Epono koia pu-hura.*
 later sweet.potato plant-F3s
 ‘Later she will plant the sweet potato.’

(10.114) *Wau po n-a.*
 banana plant STAY-3s
 ‘The banana is planted.’

The transitive experiencer subject verb *were* ‘see’, ambitransitive generic *we* ‘act, do’ and alternating transitive *hera* ‘throw’ can also occur in stative constructions with reduced valency. Compare the following constructions.

(10.115) *Na hera-r-a.*
 thing throw-PRES-3s
 ‘He’s throwing the thing.’

(10.116) *Tahi hera n-a.*
 cloth throw STAY-3s
 ‘The cloth is thrown (down).’ (...thrown down on the rocks to dry in the sun).

10.6.4 Verbs that do not occur in *ne* STAY constructions

Ne STAY does not occur with intransitive or transitive verbs that describe events that are inherently punctual or inherently durative. For example, the verb

⁷⁹ Inherently durative verbs such as *hei* ‘search for’ do not have an inherent endpoint.

peraune ‘reach’ has inherently punctual meaning and the verbs *pihi* ‘hit, touch’ and *oro* ‘pierce, shoot, dig’ can have inherently punctual meaning. When *oro* has punctual meaning as ‘pierce, shoot’ it does not occur with *ne* STAY. However, it can when it describes the dynamic process ‘dig’. Compare *oro* ‘pierce, shoot’ in (10.117) and *oro* ‘dig’ in (10.118).

(10.117) **Usu oro n-a.*
 pig shoot STAY-3s
 ‘The pig is shot.’

(10.118) *Wa oro n-a.*
 garden dig STAY-3s
 ‘The garden is dug’

Inherently durative dynamic verbs such as *kaho* ‘hunt for’, *hei* ‘search for’ and *hunu* ‘blow on’, ambitransitive verbs with theme subjects such as *ari* ‘be light’ and *uhuru* ‘be heavy’, experiencer subject verbs such as *eri* ‘be afraid’, *nekei* ‘be happy’ and *urunu* ‘think’ and also experiencer object verbs such as *atere* ‘be weak or tired’ and *hekeheke* ‘be hungry, craving something’ all describe inherently durative situations which have no endpoint. None of these verbs occur in *ne* STAY constructions.

10.7 Serial verb constructions with aspectual enclitics

The aspectual enclitics =*ake* ‘already, ahead, beforehand’ (§10.7.1) and =*apaie* ‘still, continuously’ (§10.7.2) may occur following the initial verb in serial verb constructions.

10.7.1 Aspectual =*ake* ‘already, beforehand’ in serial verb constructions

The enclitic =*ake* ‘already, beforehand’ follows an initial intransitive or transitive verb with an optional object suffix and is followed by a phasal verb, *ta* END, *ne* STAY or *here* PUT. The enclitic modifies the whole verb complex. The structure is as follows.

V_{ITR/TR} =*ake*⁸⁰ V_{phasal}

80 This form can be affected by glide insertion (§2.4.4.3) and final vowel lowering (§2.4.3.2.3).

Examples of constructions with =*ake* ‘already, beforehand’ are common with verbs followed by *ta* END inflected for non-future or future tense.

(10.119) **Ka=yake** **ta-e-te** *sa si-nek-a, ...*
 come=already END-3p-DR say give-O3p-3s
 ‘They already came, and she told them, ...’ T2.33.24

(10.120) *I urunu-r-i=uo, tiri tai pere-hera=mo.*
 1s think-PRES-1s=GRD tree NEG fall-F3s=BM
Yar=aka **ta-hi-ne** *pere-hera=mo.*
 go=already END-F1s-DR:IR:CS fall-F3s=BM
 ‘I think the tree will not fall. After I have already gone it will fall.’
 D3.11

The example in (10.121) has a phasal verb with the present tense suffix.

(10.121) **Pe=yaka** **ta-r-a.**
 stand=already END-PRES-3s
 ‘She is standing already.’ (This implies she went ahead and stands waiting.)

The enclitic =*ake* can follow a verb inflected with an object suffix.

(10.122) **Ahare-se=yaka** **ta-r-a.**
 pull/drag-O1s=already END-PRES-3s
 ‘He pulled/dragged me already.’ (i.e. a child talking about a game)

The grammaticized verb *ta* END is inflected by habitual and present tense suffixes in example (10.123).

(10.123) **Oro=aka** **ta-pu-r-i.**
 pierce=already END-HAB-PRES-1s
 ‘I already shoot pigs regularly.’

Compare examples with *ta* END and *ne* STAY.

(10.124) **Hoko=yaka** **ta-r-a**
 made=already END-PRES-3s
 ‘He already completed making it.’

- (10.125) **Hoko=yaka n-a.**
 made=already STAY-3s
 ‘It is already made.’

When the final verb is *here* PUT in future tense, =*ake* can be translated as ‘beforehand’, although some speakers of English can use ‘already’ for translation in this context.

- (10.126) ...**peraru we=yake he-sek-a-te...**
 hunger act=already PUT-O1p-3s-DR
 ‘...hunger acted on us (affected us) already/beforehand...’ T2.15.58

- (10.127) **Ya so=yake ri-hi temo.**
 water pour=already PUT-F1s POS
 ‘Shall I pour out the water beforehand?’ D3.106.4

10.7.2 Aspectual =*apaie* ‘still, continuously’ in serial verb constructions

The enclitic =*apaie* describes an event that is continuous within a specified time frame, before, at the time of or after the speech event. It follows a verb root with an optional object suffix. The final verb is either a deictic verb or *te* ‘do’. The structure is as follows:

$V_{\text{itr/tr}} = \textit{apaie} \quad V_{\text{deictic/te}} \textit{ ‘do’}$

A construction with *te* ‘do’ and present tense shows that an event is ‘still’ ongoing.

- (10.128) **Hekeni ketin=apaie te-r-i.**
 firewood cut:split=continuously do-PRES-1s
 ‘I’m still cutting firewood.’ D10.43.4

Ongoing action is also expressed in (10.129) where repetition of the subsequent dependent verb also represents the ongoing action.

- (10.129) **Heteri=apaie ka-pe ka-pe ka-pe ka-pinte...**
 run=continuously come-SR come-SR come-SR come-LTD:1s
 ‘I ran continuously and came and came and came and came...’ T2.27.10

In the following example, =*apaie* ‘continuously’, *yare* ‘go’ (§10.4.3) repeated and a subsequent serial verb construction *o ne* ‘do stay’ all indicate a continuing situation.

- (10.130) ... *tare si-sek=apaie yare-pe yare-pe*
 pain give-O1p=continuously go-SR go-SR
u o ne-hera.
 that do STAY-F3s
 ‘...(it) will continuously give us pain going on and going on and staying
 that way.’ T6.10.13

A habitual suffix can occur on the final verb of the construction.

- (10.131) *Mo esame pi nupu somoru*
 this dog time many night
paru=apai tu-pu-r-a.
 bark=continuously do-HAB-PRES-3s
 ‘Often (many times) this dog barks at night continuously.’ CS13.8

The main verb and the enclitic can be repeated thus emphasising the continuous aspect.

- (10.132) *Hena-tamaite sakine s=apaie s=apaie*
 woman-man word say=continuously say=continuously
tu-pu-r-a=mo.
 do-HAB-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘The people are habitually still talking.’ D10.58.4

10.8 Coincident serial verb constructions

10.8.1 Introduction

Coincident serial verb constructions have at least two verbs that are not phasal or phasal and valency-changing verbs. Each verb encodes a component of one event. The second verb may modify the first. In all subtypes one or both verbs are from a restricted class. Coincident serial verb constructions include coincident motion (§10.8.2), manner (§10.8.3), quantifier (§10.8.4), prohibitive (§10.8.5) and descriptive (§10.8.6) constructions.

10.8.2 Coincident motion serial verb constructions

Coincident motion, a term borrowed from Durie (1997: 336), describes serial verb constructions that consist of two intransitive motion verbs that refer to facets or

aspects of one monophasal event. There are two types, deictic-movement and manner-direction of movement constructions.

10.8.2.1 Deictic-movement serial verb constructions

Deictic movement serial verb constructions consist of an initial deictic verb and a subsequent direction (motion-path) or motion-manner verb.

Vdeictic Vdirection/motion-manner

The deictic verbs *yare* ‘go’ and *ka* ‘come’ describe direction in relation to the speaker. They appear in the reduced forms *ya* ‘go’ and *a* ‘come’ in the initial slots of serial verb constructions. The direction verbs *mere* ‘move up’ and *mi* ‘move down’ describe absolute direction on a path while motion-manner verbs describe manner of movement, for example, *aho* ‘crawl’, *auri* ‘swim’, *he* ‘move fast’, *here* ‘fly’, *heteri* ‘run’, *kekere* ‘jog, dance’, *kora* ‘move up and down, ripple, bubble’, *kuone* ‘shake head (side to side)’, *sorone* ‘jump’ and *tehei* ‘walk’.

Examples of deictic movement serial verb constructions are the deictic direction serial verb construction in (10.133) and the deictic motion-manner serial verb construction in (10.134).

(10.133) ...*si Karo uo, a mere-a-te were-pinte...*
 then Carol GRD come move up-3s-DR see-LTD:1s
 ‘...then Carol, she came up and I saw her.’ T1.20.48

(10.134) ...*keti pa ya tehei-pe n-a-te...*
 mountain G/L go walk-LTD:3s
 ‘...he went walking on the mountains...’ T1.19.3

In contrast, when deictic verbs occur in separate clauses from direction or motion-manner verbs sequential movement is indicated.

(10.135) *Yare-pe mi-a.*
 go-SR move down-3s
 ‘(He) went and then he moved down.’

The two verbs of a deictic-movement construction can form a constituent in a larger serial construction. An example, indicated in square brackets, occurs in the final position of the final motion sequential construction (cf. §10.9.2.2) in (10.136).

- (10.136) ...*yorosate wese te [a mi]-e.*
 from.up.there chase GET come move.down-3p
 ‘...from up there they chased it and came down.’ T5.25.15

10.8.2.2 Manner-direction of movement serial verb constructions

In a serial verb construction, an initial motion-manner verb can be followed by a final directional verb (cf. geographic directional serial verb constructions in Oceanic, Ross 2004: 302–305).

V_{motion-manner} ITR V_{directional}

In many examples the final verb indicates direction up or down.

- (10.137) *Enae pa hetere mi-pe were-neka-i=mo.*
 Ramu G/L run move.down-SR see-O3p-1s=BM
 ‘I ran down to the Ramu (river) and saw them.’ T1.15.21

- (10.138) *Pia pa sorone me-r-i.*
 Pia G/L jump move.down-PRES-1s
 ‘...I jumped down into the Pia (a riverbed).’ T2.41.1

The expressions *he yare* ‘return go’, *he ka* ‘return come’, *he mi* ‘return move down’, *he mere* ‘return move.up’ may have had a sequential basis incorporating the verb *he* ‘return’ but they appear to be lexicalized expressions now.

- (10.139) ...*kutine re-pe he yare-pe*
 startle PUT-SR return go-SR
tau=to naere sopo hor-i.
 axe=PNP snake strike PUT-1s
 ‘...(it) startled me and I went back and struck it thoroughly to death with an axe.’ T1.6a.1

A *he* ‘return’ initial construction can combine a deictic motion verb and a direction verb as in (10.140).

- (10.140) ...*ya taho te he ya mer-ia.*
 river follow GET return go move.up-1p
 ‘...we followed the river and went back up.’ T3.3.35

Constructions of this type can occur with final phasal *ne* STAY as in (10.141).

- (10.141) ...*si marasin tu-e-te, oru=no,*
 then medicine give-3p-DR insides=P3s
pari, he ka n-a.
 then return come STAY-3s
 ‘...then they gave him medicine, (for) his insides (stomach), and then
 (eventually), he came back and stayed.’ T5.23.57 (The man had been
 shot in the stomach.)

In the lexicalized expressions *wari mi* ‘fall (an animate being)’ and *para mi* ‘fall (an inanimate entity)’ the initial constituent is no longer isolable.

10.8.3 Manner serial verb constructions

Manner serial verb constructions consist of a main verb followed by a manner verb that describes the manner in which the action of the main verb is performed (cf. §4.2.11). The main verb determines the transitivity of the construction. The manner verbs include *horoko* ‘be awkward, noisy’, *kiri* ‘be full, tight’ and *name* ‘do well’. The structure is as follows:

V (V_{manner} ITR)

The transitive construction in (10.142) has a transitive verb followed by an intransitive manner verb.

- (10.142) *Awai=te Ari epa kiri-a-te ari-a.*
 Awai=PNP Ari hold be.tight-3s-DR float-3s
 ‘Awai held Ari tightly and she floated.’ D3.145.9

Verbs such as *kiri* ‘be full,tight’ and *horoko* ‘be awkward, noisy’ can describe manner in a manner serial verb construction within a phasal serial verb construction, as in (10.143).

- (10.143) *Epa horoko hore-r-i.*
 hold be.awkward PUT-PRES-1s
 ‘I held it awkwardly.’ (And unintentionally caused it to fall down.) D2.93.8

Name ‘do well/be careful’ describes the quality of an action. This word may occur in manner serial verb constructions either as a final inflected verb or within a manner SVC embedded in front of a final phasal verb (cf. §4.2.11). Examples are:

- (10.144) ...*sakine tai napi name-pu-r-e=mo*.
 word NEG name do.well-HAB-PRES-3p=BM
 ‘...they don’t use (name) the word well.’ T74.23
- (10.145) *Wapi name re-pe, tahi here name re-pe*
 hand do.well PUT-SR clothes put do.well PUT-SR
ehi pa=no, ami pa=no, kuruno name re-pe, ...
 leg G/L=P3s eye G/L=P3s cover do.well PUT-SR
 ‘(I) handle her well and, I put on her clothes well and I cover
 her legs and eyes well and, ...’ T5.21.15 – repeated from (2.79)
 in §2.4.5.1.1.

10.8.4 Quantifier serial verb constructions

In quantifier constructions, a quantifier verb, which can also stand alone as a main verb (see §4.2.14), follows the main verb to indicate the number of times the event occurs.⁸¹ The main verb indicates the transitivity of the construction and the whole quantifier serial verb construction occurs within a phasal serial verb construction with *here* PUT. The structure is as follows:

V Vquantifier V:phasal *here* PUT

- (10.146) *Ene aire re-pente pari Koroka he yar-e*.
 lie/sleep two PUT-LTD:3p again Goroka return go-3p
 ‘They slept two nights (put in two sleeps) and then again went back to
 Goroka.’ T1.27.15

10.8.5 Prohibitive serial verb constructions

A prohibitive serial verb construction consists of a main verb followed by the verb *apaise* ‘leave’ in imperative mood (cf. §4.2.12). It contrasts with negative imperatives in which the negative particle *tai* occurs before a verb with an imperative suffix (see §3.6.3).

V_{ITR/TR} Vprohibitive

⁸¹ Numerals can function as the head of verbal clauses in other languages, e.g. Oceanic Lolovoli (Hyslop C 2001: 53).

Compare a simple inflected verb and a prohibitive construction in the examples below.

(10.147) *U weti u apais-ia.*
 that house/village there leave-1p
 ‘We left that house/village there.’ T3.3.5

(10.148) *Wera-ima ani apais-ae!*
 child-P1s wake leave-IMP2s
 ‘Don’t wake up my child!’ T2.24.8

A phasal serial verb construction with *ne* STAY can occur within a prohibitive serial verb construction.

(10.149) *Weti pa seka ene ne apais-ae!*
 house G/L so.much lie.down STAY leave-IMP2s
 ‘Don’t lie around (sleep) in the house so much!’ T1.15.9

10.8.6 Descriptive serial verb constructions

Descriptive serial verb constructions describe geographical locations with a transitive or intransitive verb and a deictic verb, with coincident reference, followed by a final phasal verb. The structure is:

$V_{\text{ITR/TR}}$ V_{deictic} $V_{\text{phasal:stative}}$

In the following example (10.150) the cohesion of the serial verb construction is indicated by the fact that the high vowels of the main verb *isi* ‘cut’ are affected by ablaut (§2.4.5.1.1). It appears that ablaut is triggered by the phasal verb *ne* STAY even though the two verbs are not contiguous.

(10.150) *Pakaia pate, a mi-pe, ya Kohu sa*
 Pakaia G/L come move.down-SR river Kohu G/L
mo ese ya n-a. U n-a=mo.
 here cut go STAY-3s do STAY-3s=BM
 ‘From the Pakaia, it (Sotoko land) comes down, and here, at the river Kohu it stops/cuts off. It does that.’ T5.22.5 – repeated from (2.78) in §2.4.5.1.1.

In the first clause of (10.151) a coincident motion construction occurs with *ne* STAY. In the second clause there is a descriptive serial verb construction.

- (10.151) *U a me ne-pe, ya pa*
 that/it come move.down STAY-SR river G/L
sorone ya n-a.
 jump go STAY-3s
 ‘It (Imari land) comes down there, at the river it jumps down there.’ T5.26.4

10.9 Iconic serial verb constructions

Iconic serial verb constructions consist of verbs that are sequenced in a clear causal or temporal way. The two main types are close-knit (§10.9.1) and sequential (§10.9.2) serial verb constructions.

10.9.1 Close-knit serial verb constructions

Close-knit serial verb constructions consist of two verbs with a close semantic connection that represent events that occur in close succession. The structure is:

V V

Close-knit constructions can occur within phasal serial verb constructions. They can also function in the main verb slot in initial (§10.9.2.1) or final (§10.9.2.2) motion sequential constructions and can combine with a subsequent transitive verb. The possibilities are demonstrated in the following structure.

(Vmotion) Close-knit SVC (Vphasal/Vtransitive)

There are two types of close-knit serial verb constructions, close-knit transitive sequential constructions (§10.9.1.1) and *te* ‘get’-deictic constructions (§10.9.1.2).

10.9.1.1 Close-knit transitive sequential constructions

Close-knit transitive sequential constructions consist of two transitive verbs that describe closely connected sequential and repetitive events. In the examples below, a transitive verb is followed by the ambitransitive verb *ne* ‘consume: eat/drink/inhale’.

(10.152) ...*wa pa usu pea nu*⁸²-*pu-e-te*...
 garden G/L pig steal eat-HAB-3p-DR
 ‘...at the gardens pigs regularly steal and eat...’ T1.26.10

(10.153) ...*koia aki ne-pe*...
 sweet.potato pick.up eat-SR
 ‘... (the dogs) picked up and ate the sweet potato...’⁸³ T2.32.28

(10.154) ...*ehi=mei tikiri ne-se-pe*...
 leg=P1s sniff inhale-O1s-SR
 ‘...(he) sniffed at (sniffed and inhaled the smell of) my leg...’ T2.32.30

The close-knit transitive sequential construction in (10.155) occurs with an initial motion verb (cf. §10.9.2.1) and before a final transitive verb. It expresses the manner by which the temporally overlapping transitive event is performed.

(10.155) ...*tiri ya [tikiri ne] hei-e*.
 tree go smell inhale search.for-3p
 ‘...they (dogs) went sniffing and searching for the tree.’ T2.32.32

10.9.1.2 *Te* ‘get’-deictic constructions

Te ‘get’-deictic constructions combine *te* ‘get’ and a deictic verb to describe the transfer of an object in a deictic direction. These constructions, *te ka* [get come] ‘bring’ or *te yare* [get go] ‘take’, reflect the iconic order of events. The initial verb determines the transitivity of the construction and the final verb expresses the direction of movement toward (*te ka* [get come] ‘bring’) or away (*te yare* [get go] ‘take’) from the speaker (cf. §8.6).

(10.156) ...*tai te ka-hara taumo*.
 NEG get come-F3s UNC
 ‘...perhaps he will not bring (it).’ T1.8.12

This construction can occur within an initial motion sequential construction (cf. §10.9.2.1) or within a phasal and valency-changing serial verb construction (cf. §10.5).

⁸² The vowel in *ne* ‘consume:eat, drink, inhale’ is affected by vowel raising (cf. §2.4.3.2.1).

⁸³ The non-future tense is indicated in a subsequent clause of the discourse.

(10.157) ...*moku weine ya [te k]-a*.
 moku leaf go get come-3s
 ‘...he went and brought *moku* leaves.’ T2.24.12

(10.158) *hekeni [te ka] re-pe n-ia-te...*
 firewood get come PUT-LTD:1p
 ‘...we brought the firewood...’ T1.7.16

A *te* ‘get’-deictic sequence followed by a transitive verb describes an event sequence.

(10.159) [*Te ka*] *ne-r-e*.
 get come eat-PRES-3s
 ‘They brought it and ate it.’

10.9.2 Sequential serial verb constructions

Sequential serial verb constructions describe a sequence of events. The three main types are initial motion, final motion and two-main-verb sequential constructions.

10.9.2.1 Initial motion sequential constructions

Initial motion sequential constructions consist of a directional verb expressing deictic or elevational movement followed by a verb that expresses the main event. The main verb determines the transitivity of the construction as it does in phasal serial verb constructions (cf. §10.4 to §10.6). The verbs express a sequence of events (10.160) although in some cases there may be a purposive relationship (10.161). The constructions can occur within phasal serial verb constructions. The structure is:

V_{directional} V_{ITR/TR}

In initial position the deictic verbs, *ka* ‘come’ and *yare* ‘go’ appear in the reduced forms *a* ‘come’ and *ya* ‘go’. In the following examples these deictic verbs occur in sequence with stative *mene* ‘be, stay’ in (10.160) and a posture-taking verb in (10.161).

(10.160) *Ka-ia*. vs. ...*a min-i-te...*
 come-1p come stay-1s-DR
 ‘We came.’ ‘I came and stayed...’ T2.14.7

- (10.161) *Yare-r-i.* vs. *...ya ene-r-i.*
 go-PRES-1s go lie down-PRES-1s
 ‘I went (earlier today).’ ‘I went and lay down.’ T1.4.7

In the following examples the direction (motion-path) verbs *mere* ‘move up’ and *mi* ‘move down’ (see §4.2.1.2) occur in initial position before intransitive motion-manner (10.162), posture-taking (10.163) and transitive verbs (10.164), respectively. Motion-manner verbs such as *tehei* ‘walk’ and *heteri* ‘run’ indicate the manner of movement. Posture-taking verbs such as *ene* ‘lie down’, *pi* ‘stand’, *puhu* ‘sit’ and *seripi* ‘get up’ are also motion verbs as they indicate movement into a position.

- (10.162) *...weti pa nampa yoroho pa mere tehei-pe...*
 house G/L at.the.top above G/L move.up walk-SR
 ‘...we went up and walked in the house up above...’⁸⁴ T1.20.9

- (10.163) *...apene mere ene-ia.*
 sleepily move.up lie.down-1p
 ‘...sleepily we went up and lay down.’ T1.15.90

- (10.164) *...koia mi te-neka-i-te...*
 sweet potato move.down give-O1p-1s-DR
 ‘...I went down and gave them sweet potato.’ T2.32.27

In some examples, initial motion sequential constructions occur within phasal serial verb constructions. The phasal verbs in (10.165) and (10.166) also have an aspectual suffix that applies to the whole construction.

- (10.165) *...si, ya pa, yonu pa*
 then river G/L shade G/L
mi poho nu-pu-r-ia.
 move.down sit STAY-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘...then, we go down (habitually) and sit in the shade, at the river.’ T1.33.4

- (10.166) *...aire mamao-ne mere ho ta-pu-a-te...*
 kunai flower-P3s move.up open END-HAB-3s-DR
 ‘...the kunai flowers come up (lit. ‘move up’) and open...’ T5.18.6

84 The first person plural subject is indicated on a subsequent verb.

- (10.167) ...*mere* *poho* *re-pe n-a-te*,...
 move.up sit PUT-LTD:3s
 ‘...he went up and parked it (a car)...’ T1.27.7

10.9.2.2 Final motion sequential constructions

Final motion sequential constructions consist of a phasal serial verb construction followed by a directional or posture-taking verb indicating subsequent movement. The main verb in the phasal construction can be intransitive or transitive. The construction is as follows.

SVCphasal Vdirectional/posture-taking

In examples (10.168) and (10.169) phasal serial verb constructions with *ta* END are followed by final deictic verbs.

- (10.168) *Amtu* *kerokero* *esepo ta* *yare-r-ia*.
 hawk chicken clasp END go-PRES-1p
 ‘The hawk clasped the chicken and went.’ (from verb file for *isipu* ‘clasp’)

- (10.169) *Sirinam* *po ta ka-ia*.
 Sirinam cross END come-1p
 ‘We finished crossing the Sirinam and came.’ T1.22.2

The initial phasal serial verb constructions in (10.170) and (10.171) express successful accomplishment of main events with telic *te* GET (cf. §10.4.5) followed by posture-taking and deictic motion verbs respectively.

- (10.170) *Ya po te pi-e*.
 river cross GET stand-3p
 ‘They crossed (got across) the river and stood (on the other side).’
 T1.15.27

- (10.171) *E te ka-pe n-ia-te*...
 enter GET come-LTD:1p
 ‘We entered and came...’ T1.22.41

Examples such as (10.172) appear to be ambiguous between an interpretation as (A), a final motion sequential construction consisting of a phasal serial verb construction and a deictic motion verb, and (B), a transitive verb followed by a *te* ‘get’-deictic construction (§10.4.5).

- (10.172) ...*usu oso te yare-pe n-ia-te naurupa omo re-pe...*
 pig bind GET go-LTD:1p bush hide PUT-SR
 A. ‘...we bound the pig and went and then hid it in the bush.’
 B. ‘...we bound the pig and took it and then hid it in the bush.’ T1.7.17

When an initial verb in such a construction ends in a high vowel it is affected by ablaut and *te* is clearly phasal GET (cf. §2.4.5.1.1) as in (10.173) where *imi* ‘get (animate being)’ itself expresses acquisition. In (10.174) *imi* ‘get (animate being)’ is followed by an object suffix but it is not affected by ablaut since here *te* is part of the *te* ‘get’-deictic construction.

- (10.173) ...*i esame eme te yari-hi-mpe.*
 1s dog get.animate GET go-F1s-INT
 ‘I intend to get my dogs and go...’ T2.32.13

- (10.174) ...*u pate imi-se te yare-pe n-a-te...*
 that S/L get.animate-O1s get go-LTD:3s.
 ‘...he got me from there and took (me)...’ T1.20.50 – from (2.80) §2.4.5.1.1.

Phasal *te* GET occurs finally in the first clause in (10.175). This suggests that it is also a phasal verb in the third clause which repeats the information in a slightly different form.

- (10.175) *Heri yo te-pe eraha ta-e.*
 net.bag load GET-SR set.off END-3p
Heri yo te ka-e-te...
 net.bag load GET come-3p -DR
 ‘They loaded net bags and set off. They loaded net bags and came.’ T1.15.12

In contrast, a motion verb in a separate clause indicates a greater temporal distinction between two events.

- (10.176) ...*imi-se te-pe yare-pe, Medene hausiki pa...*
 carry-O1s get-SR go-SR Madang hospital G/L
 ‘...got me and went, to Madang hospital...’ T2.13.4

10.9.2.3 Two-main-verb sequential constructions

Two-main-verb sequential constructions consist of two phasal serial verb constructions in which the two main verbs describe equally significant events within

one macro-event, or a phasal and a deictic-movement serial verb construction. In current data, the examples have equal valency and the final phasal serial verb construction has the phasal verb *here* PUT.

The overall structure with transitive verbs is:

V_{TR} V_{phasal} V_{TR} V_{phasal}

- (10.177) ...**oso te erake re-pi n-ia-te...**
 fasten GET suspend PUT-LTD:1p
 ‘...we fastened it up (a pig) and suspended it...’ T1.7.22

The structure with intransitive verbs is:

V_{ITR} V_{phasal} V_{ITR} V_{phasal}

- (10.178) ...**soron te pe re-pe...**
 jump GET stand PUT-SR
 ‘...(I) jumped and stood...’ T2.32.33

Alternatively, an intransitive phasal serial verb construction may be followed by a deictic-movement serial verb construction.

- (10.179) ...**u pate serip-ia uo, pari ya**
 that S/L get.up-1p GRD again river
taho te he ya mere-ia.
 follow GET return go move.up-1p
 ‘...**when we got up from there**, again we followed the river and went back up.’ T3.3b.34

10.10 Adjunct-verb constructions

Adjunct-verb constructions consist of a lexical element or adjunct followed by a verb. These constituents function together as a complex verbal predicate. The adjunct is closely bound to the verb, but it is not an argument and is not cross-referenced on the verb. Verbal morphology controlling the number of arguments occurs on the verb. Adjunct-verb constructions (verbal adjunct constructions) are common in highlands Trans New Guinea languages (Foley 1986: 119). For extensive examples, see Kalam (Pawley 1987, 1993, 2006b, 2012, Pawley and Lane 1998, Pawley et al. 2000).

Several experiencer object constructions discussed in chapter 11 consist of an adjunct and a verb. However, this section examines adjunct-verb constructions in which a lexical element expresses the meaning of the construction and is followed by a generic verb such as *u* ‘do’ and *te* ‘get’ (cf. §4.2.15, §4.2.16).

Most borrowed verbs (cf. §4.2.16) from Tok Pisin, and possibly other languages in the past, occur with the generic verb *u* ‘do’ (cf. §4.2.16). The constructions indicate that an agent performs an activity indicated by the borrowed word. The structure is

Vborrowed verb V *u* ‘do’

Some borrowings from Tok Pisin are *baim* ‘buy’, *pasim* ‘stop’, *raitim* ‘write’, *salim* ‘sell’, *skulim* ‘teach’, *daunim* ‘swallow’. One of these occurs in the following example.

- (10.180) “*Tokplese*⁸⁵ ***raitim u-ae!***” *u-a-te*,...
 language write do-IMP2s do-3s-DR
 ‘“(You) write it!” she said and,...’ T1.20.51 (as transcribed in 1980)⁸⁵

In recent recordings and transcriptions, adjunct-verb constructions are often replaced by Koromu verbs. The transcription below is a revised version of (10.180), created when a language consultant wanted me to rewrite an earlier transcription.

- (10.181) “*Koromu wese-ae!*” *u-a-te*, ...
 Koromu write/make-IMP2s quote-3s-DR
 ‘“Write Koromu!” she said and...’ T1.20.51 (as transcribed in 2004)

Adjunct-verb constructions can occur within initial motion and phasal serial verb constructions.

(Vmotion) Vborrowed verb V *u* ‘do’ (Vphasal)

The following example occurs within a *here* PUT phasal serial verb construction.

- (10.182) ...*mati=ne paim o re-pe*...
 paper=P3s buy do PUT-SR
 ‘...(they) bought a paper...’ T6.5.40

⁸⁵ Tokples is Tok Pisin for ‘local language’.

An adjunct-verb construction can fill the slot of the main verb in an initial motion serial verb construction within a phasal serial verb construction. The information is also expressed by an initial motion serial verb construction within a phasal serial verb construction in the subsequent clause, cf. example (10.167) above.

- (10.183) ...*kare mere pasim o re-pe*,
 car move.up stop do PUT-SR
mere poho re-pe n-a-te,...
 move.up sit PUT-LTD:3s
 ‘...(he) moved the car up and stopped (it), he moved up and parked
 it (lit. ‘caused it to sit’)...’ T1.27.7

Adjuncts that occur with *te* ‘get’ (§10.4.5) include the noun *aie* ‘work’ used in a non-referential sense (10.184) and the Tok Pisin borrowing *tepin* ‘tape, measure’ (which also occurs with *u* ‘do’) as in (10.185).

- (10.184) ...*si weti aie t-ie*.
 then house work get-3p
 ‘...then we worked on the house.’ T1.27.24

- (10.185) ...*eme u tepim te-pe*...
 ground there measure get-SR
 ‘...measure the ground there...’ T1.8.2

10.11 Verb reduplication

Reduplication of verbs is an aspect of complex verbal predicate formation. A verb root, a serial verb and fully inflected verbs or serial verb constructions can be reduplicated to indicate prolonged, continued or repeated actions (cf. reduplication of adverbs for intensity in §4.7.4 and of quantifiers and nouns to indicate increased quantity or quality in §4.4.2.2).

With reduplication, there are some variations in meaning depending on the semantic nature of specific verbs. An ongoing repetition of an action is indicated with full reduplication of verbs like *huru* ‘blow’, *wei* ‘fight’, *oso* ‘bind’ and *kerehe* ‘cut’.

- (10.186) *Sosoa huru-huru-pe metake pa tororo-se-r-a*.
 wind RDP-blow-SR skin G/L cool-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘The wind blows and blows and cools my skin/body.’ D8.8.6.

Similarly, there is initial partial reduplication of *konokaine* ‘swerve’.

- (10.187) **Kono-konokain-a.**
 RDP-swerve-3s
 ‘It swerved again and again.’ T1.22.6

Reduplication of the verb ‘*moto* ‘touch’ produces *moto-moto* ‘touch repeatedly’ which can also be interpreted as ‘move’ in the following example.

- (10.188) *Sosoa=te moto-moto-r-a.*
 wind=PNP RDP-touch-PRES-3s
 ‘The wind is touching/fluttering/moving it repeatedly.’ D8.46.2

Reduplication indicates that a condition is ongoing with a verb such as *takare* ‘sticky’.

- (10.189) **Taka-takare-r-a,** *erehi aiau.*
 RDP-sticky-PRES-3s breadfruit RESM
 ‘It’s sticky, like ‘*erehi*’.’ (...the sap in breadfruit trees) D9.35.3

A repeated serial verb construction expresses repeated, prolonged action in (10.190) below.

- (10.190) *Esame... tiri so ka so ka-e.*
 dogs tree pour come pour come-3p
 ‘The dogs poured and poured towards me (they kept coming and coming).’ T2.32.21

However, full reduplication of punctual verbs such as *ho* ‘cut/chop’, *hera* ‘throw’ and serial verbs such as *wari me* ‘fall down’ indicate similar events in several different directions.

- (10.191) *Na hera-hera-pu ais-ahe!*
 thing RDP-throw-HAB leave-IMP2p
 ‘Stop throwing things about the place.’ D13.22.5

Compare the following examples.

- (10.192) *Wari me-r-e.*
 fall move.down-PRES-3p
 ‘They fell down.’ D9.26.11

- (10.193) **Wa-wari** *me-r-e*.
 RDP-fall move.down-PRES-3p
 ‘They fell down all around.’ D9.26.13.

Reduplication can also indicate a rapid pace. Compare the following examples.

- (10.194) *Pururu ware te-pe Pehe he-neka-r-a*.
 cycad pick get-SR hit PUT-O3p-PRES-3s
 ‘You go and pick cycad nuts (steadily) and then beat them.’ D9.26.17

- (10.195) *Pururu wa-ware te-pe mi-ae*.
 cycad RDP-pick get-SR move.down-IMP2s
 ‘You pick them quickly and come down (to your child).’ D9.26.16

A same referent dependent verb can also be repeated to express extended, continued action. It is common for motion verbs such as deictic directional verbs to be repeated in this way rather than as uninflected verb stems.

- (10.196) *Heteri-pe ka-pe ka-pe ka-pe*
 run-SR come-SR come-SR come-SR
ka-pe, *a min-i-te...*
 come-SR come stay-1s-DR
 ‘I ran and came and came and came and came and, came and stayed...’ T2.14.6

Final independent verbs can be repeated to express a repetitive action.

- (10.197) *Makani pane Yo-i. Yo-i. Yo-i. ...*
 Makani father call-1s call-1s call-1s
 ‘I called Makani’s father again and again and again.’ T2.32.14

In the first line of example (10.198) a fully inflected serial verb construction is repeated. The repetition indicates prolonged action and also, provides a location for further information to be added. In the next two lines a whole clause is repeated. Both the partially repeated clause and the fully repeated clause are a means to maintain discourse cohesion in tail-head linkage constructions (cf. §14.4.2). The repetition can also serve as a hesitation device or gap filler that provides the speaker time to think before making his/her next point.

- (10.198) *I uo, ene n-i. I weti pa ene*
 1s GRD lie/sleep STAY-1s 1s house G/L lie/sleep
n-i. U-a-te nene poho n-e.
 STAY-1s do-3s-DR 3p sit STAY-3p
Nene poho n-e.
 3p sit STAY-3p
 'I slept, I slept in the house, I did that and they sat. They sat.'
 T1.15.1

11 Impersonal experiencer object constructions

11.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the impersonal experiencer object constructions that form the basis of the impersonal experiential clauses described in §3.6.2.4 and that function as a means for expressing involuntary physical and psychological conditions or sensations. Following a brief introduction to similar impersonal experiencer object constructions in other Papuan languages (§11.2), subsequent sections describe the basic characteristics of Koromu experiencer object constructions (§11.3) and then the various types, basic condition verb experiencer object constructions (§11.4), experiencer object constructions with adjunct nouns (§11.5), experiencer object constructions with a stimulus noun as subject and a body part noun as adjunct (§11.6), then reasons why adjunct nouns are not analyzed as subjects (§11.7) and experiencer object constructions in clause chains (§11.8).

11.2 Impersonal experiencer object constructions in Papuan languages

Impersonal experiencer object constructions, henceforth referred to more simply as experiencer object constructions, describe an uncontrolled state or event. They are common in Papuan languages as a means of describing bodily and mental processes that are not initiated or controlled by the experiencer (Foley 1986: 121–124, Pawley et al. 2000: 154). The terminology used to describe them, their form and the way they work, varies from language to language. However, they generally have a third person singular subject suffix on the verb, for which the referent is not easily identified, and an object noun phrase, or object suffix, that has the semantic role of experiencer. In many cases, there is at least one nominal participant for which it is difficult to identify the grammatical role. For example, Robert's (2001) detailed description of lexical impersonal constructions in the Madang language of Amele, shows that both the experiencer noun phrase and a second noun phrase in these constructions exhibit some properties of subjects. The experiencer noun phrase refers to the pragmatic topic while the other noun phrase refers to the semantic agent that is cross-referenced as subject on the verb. Also, Pawley (2007: 164) shows that in the Madang language of Kalam it is difficult “to understand the grammatical roles played by the other nominal or noun-like elements in Experiencer Object

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constructions” that express involuntary processes. He suggests that while some condition nominals can be analyzed as subjects, some function as both subject and adjunct and some as adjuncts only (2007: 164–176, see also Pawley et al. 2000). Anamuxra (Ingram 2001: 319–321), Erima/Ogea (Colburn 1979), Hua (Haiman 1980: 357–360), Siroi (Wells 1979: 64–65), Tauya (MacDonald 1990: 187–191) and Usan (Reesink 1987: 139–140, 203–204) are amongst the many other languages that have impersonal constructions.

11.3 Basic characteristics of Koromu experiencer object constructions

Koromu experiencer object constructions consist minimally of an experiencer object verb, an object suffix that refers to the animate experiencer, unless the object is third person singular and therefore unmarked (§9.3.2.4), and a third person singular subject suffix.

- (11.1) *Sepa-se-r-a*.
 ill-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I am ill.’ (‘Illness affects me.’) T1.15.10

The verb in constructions of this type can be a condition or sensation verb, many of which are multi-categorical, occurring elsewhere as nouns, modifiers or dynamic verbs, or the verb *si* ‘give’. An object noun phrase referring to the experiencer is optional. With some verbs there is an adjunct noun that refers to a stimulus, a body part or a condition. When the experiencer object construction has a stimulus noun and a body part noun the stimulus noun appears to function as subject (cf. §11.6 and other Papuan languages in §11.2 above).

11.4 Basic condition verb experiencer object constructions

Basic condition verb experiencer object constructions represent physical or psychological conditions that affect the whole body or person. The verb is inflected for object and subject but only the experiencer object can be expressed as a noun phrase. There are no other nouns or noun phrases in the construction, as indicated in the structure below and in (11.2).

(NPO)	V	-O sx	-S sx
Experiencer	Condition		

- (11.2) (I) *mahe-se-r-a*.
 1s shame-O1s-PRES-3s
 'I am ashamed.' / 'It shames me.' D2.68.1

Fully inflected simple verbs of this type are listed in Table 11.1 with English translations that have one core argument. Other possible translations are discussed after the table. Note that these are multi-category forms that can also be experiential verbal nouns or nominals (§4.3.2.3.2), as *mahe* 'shame', *mesiri* 'perspiration', *peraru* or *pera oru* 'hunger' (apparently deriving from *pera* 'taro' and *oru* 'insides') and also, *sepa* 'illness'.

Table 11.1: Simple verb roots that describe physical or psychological conditions.

Inflected verb	Gloss	Translation with S experiencer
<i>mahe-se-r-a</i>	shame – O1s – PRES – 3s	'I am ashamed.'
<i>mesiri-se-r-a</i>	sweat – O1s – PRES – 3s	'I am sweaty.'
<i>peraru-se-r-a</i>	hunger – O1s – PRES – 3s	'I am hungry.'
<i>sepa-se-r-a</i>	ill -O1s – PRES – 3s	'I am ill.'

Since experiencer object constructions have one core argument noun phrase, the object, and two core argument suffixes, they are difficult to translate in English. Three possible translations are examined below with *peraru* 'hunger' (11.3).

- (11.3) *Ea i peraru-s-a*.
 yesterday 1s hunger-O1s-3s
 1: 'Yesterday I was hungry.'
 2: 'Yesterday something/it made me hungry.'
 3: 'Yesterday hunger affected me.' D10.10.1

Like Koromu the English translation in (1) has one core noun phrase argument. The translation does not reflect the fact that in Koromu there are two core argument suffixes and that the experiencer is an object rather than the subject. However, the English subject does lack control over the state of affairs just as the object experiencer does in Koromu.

Translation (2) has two core arguments. Thus, although it reflects the structure of the verb it does not reflect the structure of the whole construction. It is misleading conceptually because it suggests a third person stimulus and that does not clearly occur. If this type of translation is used the third person singular subject suffix is best understood as a dummy subject as in 'it is raining' or in

slightly archaic German *Es durstet/hungert mich*, literally ‘it thirsts/hungers me’ (reviewer, pers. com.).

Translation (3) has two core arguments and the added verb ‘affect’ because the condition expressed by the Koromu verb is expressed in English by the noun phrase subject. The English noun reflects the nominal character of experiencer object constructions, insofar as the Koromu verb roots also function as nouns.

The importance of the experiencer object is confirmed by the fact that the reflexive, which normally only occurs with subject noun phrases, can occur with the object noun phrase (cf. §3.6.2.6). Thus, in these constructions, the experiencer object has a status more like that of a subject in other constructions. This is reflected in English translations with one core argument noun phrase.

- (11.4) *Nene-morou u pa mahe-neka-r-a.*
 3p-self there G/L shame-3p-PRES-3s
 ‘They’re ashamed of themselves.’ D10.13.6

In contrast to experiencer object constructions, a corresponding noun can function as a noun phrase in dynamic causative constructions, as in (11.5) below.

- (11.5) *Peraru=te warike he-se-r-a.*
 hunger=PNP bad PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘Hunger caused me to feel bad.’ D11.10.10

Koromu experiencer object constructions are used to describe some conditions of animate referents, while stative or stative-inchoative verbs with theme subjects are used to describe conditions or properties of inanimate referents (cf. §4.2.1.4, §4.2.4.1 and example (10.65) in §10.5.4.2.1).⁸⁶ This can be compared to English stative clauses with experiencer subjects used to describe conditions affecting animate referents and stative clauses with theme subjects used to describe properties or conditions of inanimate referents.

86 The animate – inanimate distinction is significant in other areas of the grammar. For example, object suffixes refer to animate referents (cf. §4.2.2.1 and §4.2.4.1) and there are different genitive (cf. §6.5 to §6.8) and locative postpositions for animate and inanimate referents (cf. §7.3).

11.5 Experiencer object constructions with adjunct nouns

11.5.1 Introduction

Some experiencer object constructions have an adjunct noun immediately before the verb. They are described here as condition verb experiencer object constructions with stimulus nouns (§11.5.2), condition verb experiencer object constructions with body part nouns (§11.5.3) and *si* ‘give’ experiencer object constructions with condition nouns (§11.5.4).

11.5.2 Condition verb experiencer object constructions with stimulus nouns

11.5.2.1 Basic characteristics of experiencer object constructions with stimulus nouns

In condition verb experiencer object constructions with stimulus nouns a non-referential noun that is ‘adjunct’ to the verb expresses the stimulus for the condition/sensation expressed by the verb. An optional experiencer object noun phrase can occur. The structure is:

(NPOexperiencer) Ntheme:stimulus Vcondition-Osx-3s.sx

This group of experiencer object constructions can be subdivided into three groups, set adjunct-verb constructions (§11.5.2.2), free adjunct-verb constructions (§11.5.2.3) and non-finite complement clause adjunct constructions (§11.5.2.4).

11.5.2.2 Set adjunct-verb constructions

Set adjunct-verb constructions are set expressions in which a specific adjunct noun combines with a specific verb. The constructions refer to physical or psychological conditions or sensations. The component forms can all occur as other parts of speech, for example, *teri mete* ‘cold body’, *eri mete* ‘fear body’ and *oru mere* ‘insides move up’ can function as noun phrases and the latter can also function as a dynamic verb. *Eri* can occur as the verb or the noun ‘fear’ and *oru* as the verbs ‘feel (like)/want (something)’ or ‘give hospitality’ and the noun ‘insides’. *Mere* ‘move up’ is a verb and *mete* occurs in the reduplicated verb form *metemete* ‘sense’ or the noun *mete* ‘skin/body’ while *noko-noko* is derived from the adjective *nokono* ‘good’. However, *teri* is non-isolable and there is no evidence it can be possessed, quantified or questioned as a noun. For examples, see Table 11.2 below.

Table 11.2: Set adjunct-verb constructions for physical or psychological conditions.

Noun as adjunct	Verb	Construction and meaning
Physical condition		
<i>teri</i> 'cold'	<i>mete</i> 'feel' (cf. noun 'body/skin')	<i>teri mete</i> 'feel cold'
Psychological condition		
<i>eri</i> 'fear'	<i>mete</i> 'feel' (cf. noun 'body/skin')	<i>eri mete</i> 'feel/be fearful'
<i>oru</i> 'insides'	<i>mere</i> 'move up'	<i>oru mere</i> 'feel sorrow, grief'
<i>oru</i> 'insides'	<i>noko-noko</i> 'be very good' (lit. 'good good')	<i>oru noko-noko</i> 'feel very good'

Examples are:

(11.6) *Teri mete-ne-r-a.*
cold feel-O2s-PRES-3s
'You feel cold (Your body is cold).' D1.8.27/D10.13.11

(11.7) *Oru noko-noko-se-r-a*
inside INTs-good-O1s-PRES-3s
'I feel good inside.'

11.5.2.3 Free adjunct-verb constructions

In free adjunct-verb constructions verbs representing conditions or sensations can combine with any noun that refers to a relevant consumable entity, or in one case, to a noun that refers to a consumable entity or a bodily function. These nouns represent the stimulus for the condition expressed by the verb. Examples are:

(11.8) *I ya oru-se-r-a.*
1s water feel.like-O1s-PRES-3s
'I want/feel like/thirst for water.' (cf. Table 11.3 and examples below for *oru*)

(11.9) *Ya hukuru-a.*
water be.full-3s
'He was full of water.' / 'Water filled/satisfied him.' D5.2075

The verb *hukuru* ‘be full/satisfy’ can also occur without a stimulus noun.

- (11.10) *Hukuru-se-r-a.*
 full/satisfy-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I am satisfied.’ D73.3

In some examples the noun that represents the stimulus is most easily translated in English as the subject.

- (11.11) *Ya o-se-r-a=mo.*
 water taste.bad-O1s-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘The water tastes bad to me.’ D10.55.6

Condition/sensation verbs that can occur productively with nouns representing a stimulus are listed in Table 11.3 below.

Table 11.3: Condition/sensation verbs that occur with stimulus nouns.

Stimulus nouns	Verb root	Gloss
Consumables	<i>hekeheke</i>	‘crave’
Consumables	<i>hukuru</i>	‘be full, satisfy’
Consumables	<i>o</i>	‘tastes bad’
Consumables; bodily functions	<i>oru</i>	‘feel (like), want, hunger/thirst for’
Consumables	<i>maikoho</i>	‘not want (to), not feel like’

The experiencer object verb *oru* ‘hunger/thirst for, want’ can occur with nouns that refer to consumable items (11.12) or to bodily functions (11.13).

- (11.12) *aiake* ‘cassava’, *koia* ‘sweet potato’, *kurisi* ‘corn’, *wau* ‘banana’, *ya* ‘water’
- (11.13) *apene* ‘sleep’, *etapu* ‘vomit’, *hiri* ‘cry’ and *yakere* ‘laugh’

In (11.14) the noun immediately before the verb refers to a bodily function.

- (11.14) *Yakere oru-se-r-a.*
 laugh feel.like-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I feel like laughing.’ / ‘Laughter fills me.’ D744b.10

As in basic condition verb experiencer object constructions (§11.4), a stimulus noun and an experiencer object verb can combine to function as an effector noun phrase in a dynamic causative construction.

- (11.15) *Koia oru=te warike he-se-r-a.*
 sweet.potato hunger.for=PNP bad PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘Hunger for sweet potato caused me to feel bad.’ D11.9.4

11.5.2.4 Non-finite complement adjunct constructions

In non-finite complement adjunct constructions, a non-finite complement clause occurs as an adjunct to an experiencer object verb that represents a psychological condition. The non-finite complement clause consists of a bare verb stem followed by the suffix *-apu* ‘nominalizer’ (cf. §12.4). A list of verbs that occur in these constructions are given in Table 11.4 below. Two of these verbs, *oru* ‘feel like/want (something)’ and *maikoho* ‘not feel like/not want (to)’, may also occur in constructions with stimulus nouns (cf. §11.5.2.3). The verbs have related dynamic verbs and nouns. *Maikoho* and *ururun* also have related adjectives.

Table 11.4: Verbs that occur with non-finite complement clauses.

Psychological condition verb	Gloss
<i>maikoho</i>	‘not feel like/not want (to)’
<i>oru</i>	‘feel (like)/want (something)’
<i>ururun</i>	‘think about/consider’

Examples (11.16) and (11.17) contrast dynamic *urunu* ‘think’ in a clause without a complement and the experiencer object verb *ururun* ‘be engrossed’ with a non-finite complement. The latter appears to be a reduplicated form of *urunu* ‘think/thought’.

- (11.16) *Urunu-se-pe na si-se-r-a.*
 think-O1s-SR thing give-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘He is thinking of me and giving me something.’ (VF under *urunu*)

- (11.17) *Wa pa aie t-apu*
 garden G/L work get-NOM
ururun-se-r-a.
 think/engross-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘Work at the garden engrosses me.’ D9.27.2

The verbs *maikoho* ‘not want’ and *ururunu* ‘think/be engrossed’ also describe psychological conditions and can have non-finite complements as stimuli.

- (11.18) *Usu ho-apu maikoho-neka-r-a.*
 pig butcher-NOM not.want-O3p-PRES-3s
 ‘They don’t want to butcher the pig.’ (‘Butchering the pig doesn’t appeal to them.’) D71.6 (Cf. T2.14.18)

11.5.3 Condition verb experiencer object constructions with body part nouns

Some experiencer object verbs can occur in constructions that have body part nouns as well as an optional experiencer object noun phrase. The verbs refer to physical conditions or sensations that affect part of the body, or in some cases, the whole body or person. The structure of these constructions is represented below (sx represents ‘suffix’).

(NPexperiencer) Nbody part:location Vcondition -Osx -3sx

The verb roots in Table 11.5 can occur in constructions with body part noun phrases. In current data, most of these verb roots are neither analysable nor heterosemous. However, *hekehekeni* can also be the dynamic verb ‘heat’, see (8.1), and like *hekeheke* ‘crave/be hot for food’ it involves a partial reduplication of *hekeni* ‘fire’. All these forms describe intense situations comparable to burning fire. Reduplication expresses intensity in adverbs also (see §4.7.7, §10.11).

Table 11.5: Verbs that occur with body part noun phrases.

Verb	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
<i>ai</i>	‘tired, ache’	<i>kutukutu</i>	‘throb’
<i>atere</i>	‘tired’	<i>mamaru</i>	‘pain’
<i>hekehekeni</i>	‘be feverish’	<i>nerē</i>	‘itch’
<i>hetakeri</i>	‘pound’	<i>tare</i>	‘hurt’

A body part noun indicates the location of a condition or sensation in or on the experiencer’s body.

- (11.19) *(I) (turupu) mamaru-se-r-a.*
 1s head pain-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘It pains me, in the head.’ / ‘(My) head hurts (pains) me.’ D10.12.6

Some verb roots in this type of construction can be reduplicated to indicate intensity (cf. §10.11). Compare the following examples.

(11.20) *Wapi nere-ne-r-a.*
 hand itch-O2s-PRES-3s
 ‘Your hand is itching.’ D1.22.16

(11.21) *Wapi nere-nere-se-r-a.*
 hand INTS-itch-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘My hand is itching intensely.’ D1.22.17

The verb *warike* ‘be bad’⁸⁷ can also occur with body part nouns. It can refer to either physical indigestion or a negative psychological experience within the body or person (Priestley 2002b: 250, 2014: 256–258, 2016: 126–128).

(11.22) *Oru=mai warike-se-r-a.*
 insides=P1s bad-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘My insides feel bad to me.’ D7.46a.5

11.5.4 *Si* ‘give’ experiencer object constructions with condition nouns

A small group of experiencer object constructions consist of adjunct nouns that describe physical or psychological conditions combined with the verb *si* ‘give’, a dynamic verb that has a first person singular or plural object. The verb form *tu/te* takes a non first person object (cf. §4.2.3). The verb *si* has an object suffix that refers to an experiencer and a third person singular subject suffix with an impersonal referent. The structure is:

Ncondition V -O_{sx} -3s.sx

Condition nouns that can occur in constructions with *si* ‘give’ are listed in (11.23)

(11.23) *oru* ‘insides, claustrophobia’
huku ‘enough’ (cf. *hukuru* ‘bowels’ and ‘full’)
urunu ‘darkness’

⁸⁷ This stem also has an adjective form *warikau* ‘bad’.

Examples are given below. In (11.25) the body part noun *ami* ‘eye(s)’ is an adjunct indicating the affected part of the body similar to the body part nouns in §11.5.3.

(11.24) *Huku si-su⁸⁸-pu-r-a.*
 enough give-O1s-HAB-PRES-3s
 ‘I’ve had enough.’ (‘I’ve kept having enough.’) D7.50.1

(11.25) *Si-ae!*
 clear-IMP2s!
Ami urun si-se-r-a=mo.
 eyes darkness give-O1s-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘Move/clear away! It is darkening my eyes.’ D2.61.1

There is a dummy subject in (11.26), a sense overheard in conversation. Another sense is for a specific person to become one with someone else (see T2.32.35).

(11.26) *Oru si-se-r-a.*
 insides give-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘It is engulfing me.’ (‘It is making me feel claustrophobic, I can hardly breathe.’ Lit. ‘It is giving me insides.’)

In contrast, in (11.27) *oru* ‘insides’ is a secondary theme object.

(11.27) *Esame=mei oru si-se-r-e=mo.*
 dog=P1s insides give-O1s-PRES-3p=BM
 ‘My dogs were giving me their insides (hearts).’ (‘They became one with me.’) T2.32.35

11.6 Experiencer object constructions with subject and body part nouns

A number of verbs that describe sensations can occur with both a stimulus noun and a body part noun. In examples of these constructions in the data it appears that the body part noun is an adjunct referring to part of the whole person cross-referenced by the object suffix (cf. §11.5.3) and that the stimulus noun is

88 The vowel is raised and backed (§2.4.3.2.1).

the subject rather than an adjunct as in §11.5. Examples (11.28) and (11.29) illustrate this.

(11.28) *Ya tama perere-se-r-a=mo.*
 water mouth sting-O1s-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘The water stings me, in (my) mouth.’ D10.55.5

(11.29) *Soahe ne here-r-i-te,*
 ginger eat PUT-PRES-1s-DR
tama wei-se-r-a.
 mouth sharp-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I ate ginger and it was sharp to me, my mouth.’ D10.55.4

In (11.30) below, the verb *perere* ‘sting’ clearly occurs in a dynamic verbal construction with an effector subject noun phrase, followed by *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’, and an object that is the affected patient.

(11.30) *Tamaite=te perere-se-r-a=mo.*
 man=PNP sting-O1s-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘The man stings me (with his words).’ (Verb File under *perere* ‘sting’)

11.7 Reasons why adjunct nouns are not analyzed as subjects

In experiencer object constructions, it is initially a little difficult to determine whether the third singular subject suffix cross-references an impersonal referent or an adjunct noun. Many of the tests for identifying subjects are indeterminate in this context. For example, the pronominal test does not apply since stimulus nouns cannot be represented by pronouns. In addition, subject agreement cannot apply because (a) bodily function nouns are uncountable and (b) the third singular subject suffix can be used for inanimate subject nouns, such as plants and crops, even when they are plural (cf. (3.63) in §3.6.4.2 and (9.18) in §9.3.2.3).

However, there is evidence from grammar and information structure, in both natural recorded text and elicited data, that in most experiencer object constructions stimulus, body part and condition nouns are adjunct nouns (cf. §11.5, and for an exception see §11.6). To begin with, the nouns cannot be expanded into full noun phrases like subject noun phrases. Furthermore, the order of core arguments and the position of the negative particle *tai* before the

adjunct, rather than immediately before the verb, suggest that these nouns are adjuncts.

The default word order in the basic clause structure of transitive verbal clauses is AOV (see §3.6.2.2 and §13.3). OAV word order only occurs when the object is a link (with or without *uo*-marking). However, object links with *uo*-marking (see §14.3.2.2), representing stimuli, body parts or conditions, don't occur in either natural or elicited experiencer object constructions. The evidence below indicates that object links without *uo*-marking (see §14.4.1) do not occur either. In other verbal constructions, when an object is an unmarked link, either *=te* 'prominent noun phrase' follows A to disambiguate it from initial object (see §13.5.4), or it is clear from the discourse context that the initial noun is an object link (see §14.4.1). However, in experiencer object constructions the animate experiencer object noun phrase always occurs before the stimulus, body part or condition noun (11.8). If one of the latter were the subject, it could be expected to occur in initial position, or with the *=te* 'prominent noun phrase' enclitic, at least some of the time, but this does not happen. Thus, the following sentence is only acceptable without the *=te* 'prominent noun phrase' enclitic.

- (11.31) **Wau=te oru-se-r-a.*
 banana=PNP feel.like/hunger.for-O1s-PRES-3s
 'I feel like/hunger for banana(s).' (*Bananas are making me hungry.)

When experiencer object constructions are examined in discourse contexts there is no evidence that adjunct nouns are object links, i.e. topic-like elements (see §13.2.2, §14.2, §14.3.2.2 and §14.4.1), since links occur before other clause constituents and represent information that is already in the hearer's knowledge-store from the discourse or the real-world context. For example, in (11.32) the body part noun *ehi* 'leg' does not occur before other clause constituents, rather it is near the verb and after the locative phrase. Also, although the subject is known, the specific part of the person's body affected, the *ehi* 'leg', had not been mentioned earlier in the discourse.

- (11.32) *...ya amkoru pate ehi ai-s-a.*
 river middle S/L leg ache-O1s-3s
 '...in the middle of the river my legs ached.' T1.15.51

In other types of verbal clause, the negative particle *tai* occurs immediately before the verb and following an object (cf. §3.6.3 and §10.2). In impersonal clauses with

experiencer object constructions *tai* occurs before the stimulus noun and cannot occur between the two parts of the adjunct-verb construction (11.33) and (11.34). This indicates that the stimulus noun is an adjunct to the verb rather than a subject, object or oblique argument.

(11.33) *Tai teri met-se-r-a*
 NEG cold feel-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I don’t feel cold.’

(11.34) ...*tai apene ore-se-r-a=mo.*
 NEG sleep feel-O1s-PRES-3s=BM
Poho n-i=mo. Sakine sa-ho.
 sit STAY-1s=BM story tell-FINC1p
 ‘...I don’t feel sleepy. I’m sitting here. Let’s tell stories.’ D2.45.7

There are further indications that body part nouns are adjuncts, even though experiencer object constructions with body part nouns are most readily translated in English as though the body part is the subject. For instance, verbs such as *atere* ‘tired/weak’ and *hekeheken* ‘be hot, burning’ (cf. Table 11.5) can describe the condition of a body part (11.35) or of the whole body or person (11.36). In the latter case, there is no body part noun as a potential subject and if a body part noun occurs it simply provides extra locative information.

(11.35) *Pe (=mai) hekehekeni-se-r-a.*
 throat/neck (=P1s) be.hot/burning-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I’m hot/burning (extremely sore) in my throat.’

(11.36) *Hekeheken-se-r-a.*
 be.hot/burning-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I’m very hot/burning.’

An alternative to describing the body part noun as the subject is to consider the close relationship of the body part to the whole person. Possessive nominal constructions of an inalienable nature indicate a part-whole relationship between body parts and the body (cf. §6.5.3.2.2). In experiencer object constructions, the object suffix on the verb cross-references the inherent possessor associated with the adjunct body part noun, even when the possessor is not overtly expressed apart from the verb. The adjunct noun is used because of its close association with the ‘possessor’ as in (11.37).

- (11.37) *I aritiri=mai⁸⁹ hetakeri-se-r-a*
 1s head=P1s pound -O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘It’s pounding me in my head.’ D10.12.5

This analysis is supported by the fact that a similar situation can occur with dynamic verbs, for example, (10.91) in §10.2.5.4.5 and (10.154) in §10.9.1.1. Example (10.154) is repeated below as (11.38).

- (11.38) *...ehi=mei tikiri ne-se-pe...*
 leg=P1s sniff inhale-O1s-SR
 ‘...(he) sniffed at (sniffed and inhaled the smell of) my leg...’ T2.32.30

In (11.39) an experiencer object noun phrase is omitted. The body part noun and the verbal object suffix alone provide information about the experiencer. A possessor enclitic is not essential with a body part noun in this context.

- (11.39) *...ya amkoru pate ehi ai-s-a.*
 river middle S/L leg ache-O1s-3s
 ‘In the middle of the river (my) legs ached.’ T1.15.51, repeated from (11.32)

Several things that are closely associated with the body or person can be treated ‘like part of the body or person’ in possessive nominal constructions, for example, body secretions, conditions and products (cf. §6.5.3.2.3) as well as thoughts and utterances (cf. §6.5.3.2.4). Like body part nouns, these nouns are closely associated with the referent of the subject or object suffixes. Examples are *weri* ‘ulcer’ in (11.40) below, *puhu-apu=sekama* ‘our lives’ in (12.30) in §12.4.1.3 and *urunu mai* ‘my thoughts’ in (12.7) in §12.3.

- (11.40) *Weri tare-se-r-a-ne ka-hi.*
 ulcer pain/hurt-O1s-PRES-3s-DS:IR:CS come-F1s
 ‘When my ulcer hurts me I will come.’ D3.121.8

11.8 Experiencer object constructions in clause chains

With experiencer object constructions, evidence for subjecthood is difficult to determine from the dependency marking for same or different referent following

⁸⁹ *Mai* and *mei* are alternative forms of the first person singular possessor suffix (see Table 6.3 in §6.3).

in clause chains. In recorded texts, and elicited data, the dependency suffix with experiencer object constructions always indicates a different referent following (cf. §9.4.3 and the examples below). There is no evidence that the grammatical subject of a basic experiencer object construction can trigger same referent subject on a following verb. Thus, there is no indication of the identity of its referent by this means. This suggests that the third person singular subject suffix in the experiencer object construction represents a dummy subject that is not topical. Also, when the experiencer object occurs in the first clause, it is treated as a different referent, not the topical and same referent, in the subsequent clause.

(11.41) *Eri mete-s-a-te heteri-r-i.*
 fear feel-O1s-3s-DR run-PRES-1s
 ‘It frightened me and I ran.’

(11.42) *Namuka=mai eme n-a-te*
 relative=P1s die STAY-3s-DR
oru mere⁹⁰-s-a-te
 insides move.up-O1s-3s-DR
wapi ahu-pe hiri-r-i=mo.
 arm shake-SR cry-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘My relative died, it grieves me, and I shake my hands and cry.’ D7.62.4

(11.43) *Hekeheke-n-a-te hiri-r-i teimo.*
 crave-O2s-3s-DR cry-PRES-2s POS
 ‘You crave it (pork) and now you are crying, is that it?’ (‘It attracts you...’) D3.131.9

Furthermore, as inanimate entities are rarely the subject of verbal clauses it is unlikely that a stimulus noun could be both the subject of an experiencer object construction (as in §11.6) and also a subject in a subsequent clause.

An experiencer object construction can follow a verb of another type that is marked for different referent following. The structure is

V-normal-T:S-DR V-experiencer O-3s.

⁹⁰ Some speakers raise the vowels in *mere* ‘move up’ in harmony with the final vowel of *oru* ‘insides’.

In (11.44) the suffixes on the first verb indicate that there is a different referent subject on the subsequent verb.

- (11.44) *Aie t-i-te mete uhuru-se-r-a.*
 work get-1s-DR body heavy-01s-PRES-3s
 ‘I worked, and my body was heavy/it was heavy to my body/it wearied my body.’ D10.24.15

However, when experiencer object constructions occur in clause chains, the speaker can choose to use referent marking to track either the grammatical subject (as in the previous example) or the topical referent, the experiencer object. ‘Topical referent’ here refers to the “topic continuity” of participants or entities in a discourse (Givón 1983). In (11.45) below the different referent dependency suffix again indicates that there is a different grammatical subject in the subsequent experiencer object construction (cf. §9.4.3.3).

- (11.45) *Aiake pate ka-r-i-te peraru-se-r-a.*
 far S/L come-PRES-1s-DR hunger-01s-PRES-3s
 ‘I come from a far place and I am hungry.’ D10.24.17

In contrast, in (11.46) the same referent dependency suffix (cf. §9.4.2) indicates that the subject of the dependent verb and the experiencer object of the subsequent experiencer object construction have the same topical referent and that the experiencer object has subject-like characteristics. The use of the experiencer object to show topical continuity may be necessary because of the lack of any indication of the topical referent in the immediately preceding clauses.

- (11.46) *...wa aie te re-pe te re-pe*
 garden work get PUT-SR get PUT-SR
te re-pe, si peraru-seka-p-a-te...
 get PUT-SR then hunger-01p-HAB-3s-DR
 ‘...we work in the gardens and work and work, and then we get hungry...’
 T1.33.11

When a series of experiencer object constructions has the same experiencer, as in (11.47), each construction occurs as an independent rather than a dependent verb.

- (11.47) *“Maikoho-se-r-a=mo.*
 not.want-01s-PRES-3s=BM
Sepa-se-r-a.
 ill-01s-PRES-3s
U te, warike-se-r-a=mo,” u-i.
 that INS be.bad-01s-PRES-3s=BM quote-1s
 ‘“I don’t want to. I am ill. Because of that I feel bad,” I said.’ T1.15.10

12 Basic clause combining

12.1 Introduction

This chapter describes some of the basic structures that combine two or more clauses. A brief overview of the clause chains described in §9.4 (§12.2) is followed by descriptions of finite complement clauses as direct quotes and the pre-quote structure (§12.3), non-finite nominal clauses with *-apu* ‘agentive nominalizer’ (§12.4), non-finite subordinate clauses with *-apesi* ‘desiderative’ (§12.5), adverbial clauses with *pao* (§12.6) and then relative clauses with *pao* (§12.7), *rame* (§12.8), *o* (§12.9) and *une* (§12.10). The final sections present clauses combined with *umo* ‘adversative’ (§12.12) and with *temo/te* ‘possibility/disjunctive’ (§12.13).

Adverbial and conditional clauses can also be expressed in link constructions with *uo*-marking (see §14.3.3) while orientation, reason, similitive and instrumental concepts are expressed by postpositional phrases in which *u* ‘that’, as complement of a postposition, provides anaphoric reference to earlier information (see §7.6).

12.2 Clause chains

Clause chains consist of one or more dependent clauses followed by an independent clause (cf. §9.4). The dependent clauses are not subordinate to the final independent clause. Instead each clause has its own set of core and peripheral arguments and forms part of a chain of clauses. Such clauses in Papuan languages “do not function as arguments of some main clause. They do not function as embedded parts within a whole, but are linked to a fully inflected verb in a linear string, much like beads on a necklace” (Foley 1986: 177).

Each dependent clause has either a dependent verb or a serial verb construction with a final dependent verb. Dependent verbs have a dependency suffix and may be partially inflected for tense, subject and indicative mood (cf. §9.4). They are dependent for full specification of tense, subject, aspect and mood on the nearest subsequent verb that is fully inflected.

Independent clauses are headed by independent verbs or by serial verb constructions that end in a final independent verb. These clauses may be the only clause in an utterance or the final clause in a clause chain. Independent verbs, apart from *ia* ‘be not’, have tense-subject indicative, imperative or desiderative suffixes (cf. §9.3). Aspect suffixes are optional, and the verb can be followed by modality enclitics or particles (cf. §3.4 and §3.5).

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In the clause chain in (12.1) four dependent verbs are followed by a final clause in which a serial verb construction terminates in a fully inflected independent verb. The verbs indicate which events occurred in temporal succession. For clarity, the full clause (C) that represents each event is given on a separate line and numbered. Dependency suffixes are highlighted.

- (12.1) C1 *Hena ato usu oro re-pe*
 woman one pig pierce PUT-SR
- C2 *sema her-a-te*
 pot cook-3s-DR
- C3 *yar-ia-te*
 go-1p-DR
- C4 *si-sek-a-te*
 give-O1p-3s-DR
- C5 *ne her-ia.*
 consume PUT-1p
- ‘One of the women shot a pig and cooked it in a pot, and we went and, she gave us some, and we ate it up.’ D7.32.4

12.3 Finite complement clauses, direct speech and the pre-quote strategy

A complement clause functions as an argument of a complement-taking predicate (CTP) (Noonan 2007: 53 [1985: 43]). A finite complement clause in Koromu occurs in a basic quotation structure that describes the transfer of information by an agentive subject. The quoted speech, word, discourse, thought or sound is the complement that contains the transferred information (Noonan 2007: 121 [1985: 110]). The complement-taking predicate is the alternating transitive verb *u* ‘quote’ (see §4.2.5) on which the addressee is optionally cross-referenced as recipient/goal by an object suffix (cf. §3.6.5). The agentive subject is optionally represented by an NP. A sentential adverb (cf. §4.7.6), or an adverb such as *aisapu* ‘just’ (cf. §4.7.5), can occur before the quoted speech. The order of the main constituents is fixed, as indicated in the structure below.

(NPS) COMP= direct speech/intention V = *u* ‘quote’ (with optional O suffix)

Since the addressee is cross-referenced on the verb as the undergoer, the quoted speech could be described as a theme-like second object of the whole clause,

as represented in the thematic argument structure $S_x = \text{Agent}$, $O_{1y} = \text{Goal}$, $O_2 = (\text{quote}) \text{Theme}$.

- (12.2) *“He mi-ae!” u-s-e-te...*
 return move.down-IMP2s quote-O1s-3p-DR
 ‘They said to me, “Come back down!” ’ T1.4.3

In many examples, there is simply a subject NP, a complement clause and the inflected utterance verb *u* ‘quote’. The addressee is not indicated on the verb *u* ‘quote’ because the information is recoverable from the discourse or real-world context.

- (12.3) *Io ahima=te, “Nau topi-ae!” u-a-te...*
 1sGEN mother=PNP coconut climb-IMP2s quote-3s-DR
 ‘My mother said, “Climb the coconut tree!” ’ T1.4.1

- (12.4) *Yako, “Maikoho-se-r-a=mo,” u-a-te*
 Yako not.want.to-O1s-PRES-3s=BM quote-3s-DR
 ‘Yako said, “I don’t want to/don’t feel like it.” ’ T2.14.19

Often there is no subject noun phrase and the subject is only marked on the quote verb.

- (12.5) *Nene poho n-e.*
 3p sit STAY-3p
I weti pa ene n-i.
 1s house G/L lie STAY-1s
“Apu Kesawai sa yar-aho=mo,” u-e.
 now Kesawai G/L go-FINC1p=BM quote-3p
 ‘They sat. I lay in the house. “Let’s go to Kesawai now,” they said.’ T1.15.3

A quote can represent a person’s thoughts.

- (12.6) *“He k-apesi tau, yoroho poho n-e uo,” u-i.*
 return come-DES UNC up.there sit STAY-3p GRD quote-1s
 ‘ “They might want to come back, if they are sitting up there,” I thought.’
 T1.15.23

In (12.7) *urunu mai* ‘my thought’, which is closely associated with the individual, is the subject. The subject suffix on the quote verb is the first singular (cf. §11.7).

- (12.7) *Urunu=mai=te, “Ani yare-pu-a-ne...,” u-r-i=mo.*
 thought=P1s=PNP where go-HAB-3s-DR:IRCS quote-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘My thoughts were “...Where is he going?”’ T1.22.15

Adverbials such as *pari* ‘again’ and *aisapu* ‘nothing’ may occur before the complement.

- (12.8) *...pari, “Mo poho n-a-te,” u-a.*
 again here sit STAY-3s-DR quote-3s
 ‘...again, “Sit down here,” she said...’ T1.15.70

The quoted utterance may simply be a sound or series of sounds.

- (12.9) *“He, he, he, he,” u-r-ia.*
 he, he, he, he, quote-PRES-1p
 ‘“He, he, he, he,” we laughed.’ T1.13.16

Direct speech can also occur in constructions with a pre-quote strategy. The pre-quote formula consists minimally of an utterance verb that gives details on the nature of a speech act. It occurs as a separate clause juxtaposed in front of a basic quotation structure. A similar strategy is used in another Madang language, Anamuxra (Ingram 2001: 374).

(Pre-quote) Complement clause *u-* ‘quote’

The pre-quote formula may include an optional subject noun phrase and optional recipient object noun phrase as well as the utterance predicate. It does not include quoted speech.

(NPS) (NPO) V utterance

Utterance verbs that can occur in the pre-quote formula are:

sasi ‘tell non-third singular referent’
sau ‘tell third singular referent’
to/tohoi ‘ask’
yo ‘call’

The speech verb in the pre-quote formula and the final utterance predicate *u* ‘quote’ can both have an object suffix that refers to the recipient. The Koromu pre-quote formulas are highlighted in bold in examples (12.10) to (12.14).

- (12.10) *Yawa, u=te sasi-nek-a, nonu-ne yare,*
 Yawa that=PNP tell-O3p-3s young.one-P3s COM
ai-ne yare. “Te yare...” u-nek-a.
 older.one-P3s COM 2p COM quote-O3p-3s
 ‘Yawa, that one, she spoke to them, the young sibling and the old
 sibling. “You go...” she said to them.’ T2.33.20

However, in this context the object suffix is not obligatory with the final quote verb.

- (12.11) *Seimi sasi-s-a. “...here t-ae!” u-a.*
 Jamie spoke-O1s-3s put GET-IMP2s quote-3s
 ‘Jamie spoke to me, “...put it on!” he said...’ T1.22.18

The initial speech verb can be a dependent verb with a same referent suffix. The same referent suffix refers to the subject in the clause following the quoted information.

- (12.12) *Sisiria=te sae-seka-pe “Koia, nahe ore*
 Cecilia=PNP spoke-O1p-SR sweet.potato mami COM
ne re-pe yar-ae!” u-sek-a.
 eat PUT-SR go-IMP2p quote-O1p-3s
 ‘Sisiria spoke to us, “Eat sweet potato and mami and go,” she said to us.’ T1.35.10

Examples with other utterance predicates are given below.

- (12.13) *Ien to sur-i. “Waikohu-mai, ansa*
 Ian ask START-1s agemate-P1s where
men-a=e?” u-i-te...
 be-3s=Q quote-1s-DR
 ‘I tried asking Ian, “Agemate, where is it?” I said...’ T1.22.43
- (12.14) *Makani pa-ne yo-i, “Makani pa-ne=mai=o!*
 Makani father-P3s call.to-1s Makani father-P3s=P1s=EXC
Sai k-ae!...” o re-pe...
 quickly come-IMP2s quote PUT-SR
 ‘I called to Makani(’s) father,⁹¹ “Makani(’s) father of mine! Come quickly!...” I said and...’ T2.32.11

12.4 Non-finite nominalized clauses/nominalizations with *-apu* ‘agentive nominalizer’

A non-finite nominalized clause suffixed by *-apu* ‘agentive nominalizer’ may function as the complement of a verb (§12.4.1), as a pre-head/post-head nominal (§12.4.2) or as a manner clause (§12.4.3).

12.4.1 Verbal complements with *-apu* ‘agentive nominalizer’

Non-finite verbal complements with *-apu* ‘agentive nominalizer’ are described here in relation to their basic characteristics (§12.4.1.1) and then as complements of experiencer subject (§12.4.1.2) and experiencer object verbal constructions (§12.4.1.3).

12.4.1.1 Basic characteristics of non-finite complement clauses with *-apu*

A non-finite complement clause with the suffix *-apu* typically forms a nominalized predicate that can be the argument of a complement-taking predicate. The clause has a verb stem, or, in the case of a serial verb construction, a final verb with no tense-subject, aspect or mood inflections. The verb can be inflected for object and preceded by the *tai* ‘negative’ particle. The nominalized clause may include a subject or object noun phrase and/or a locative argument (cf. activity or state nominalizations in Noonan 2007 [1985: 108]). Time reference is dependent on the time reference of the complement-taking predicate. In some contexts, a notional subject argument of the non-finite complement clause may have an associative, possessive relationship to the predicate while in others it does not.

Examples (12.15) to (12.17) show that subject noun phrases, object noun phrases and oblique arguments such as locative postpositional phrases may occur in non-finite complement clauses. These constituents retain the form they have in basic clause structure. In (12.17) there is an adjunct-verb construction (see §10.10) within the non-finite complement. In the examples the complements are given in bold in Koromu and in the English translation.

- (12.15) *U sakine u sa-r-a uo,*
 that talk that say-PRES-3s GRD
hena tou=ne men-apu ae n-a=mo.
 woman cold=P3s be-NOM like be-3s=BM
 ‘That talk, she is saying, she is like **a woman that has a cold.**’ D10.51.10

91 *Makani pane* is a teknonym used as a specific personal name (see §4.3.3.3.1 and §6.5.3.3).

(12.16) *Usu oro-apu sipamu-ae.*
 pig pierce-NOM know-IMP2s
 ‘You must know **pig shooting (how to shoot pig)!**’ D187.5

(12.17) *Wa pa aie t-apu ururun-se-r-a.*
 garden G/L work get-NOM think.about-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I’m thinking about **working at the garden.**’ D9.27.2

A phasal serial verb construction occurs in the *-apu* clause below.

(12.18) *Tiri ho t-apu maikoho-se-r-a.*
 tiri chop END-NOM don’t.feel.like-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I don’t feel like **chopping down trees.**’ D7.28.3

12.4.1.2 Non-finite nominalized complements with experiencer subject verbs

Non-finite complement clauses can be objects of complement-taking experiencer subject predicates (cf. §4.2.2.2.4). For example, they occur with experiencer subject verbs such as *ese* ‘hear’ and *sipamu* ‘know’. A non-finite complement with *-apu* is the object of the experiencer subject immediate perception predicate *ese* ‘hear’ in (12.19) and (12.20).

(12.19) *Hiri-apu ese-r-i.*
 cry-NOM hear-PRES-1s
 ‘I hear **crying.**’

The internal structure of a nominalized complement may include a notional subject that has an associative (genitive/possessive) relationship with the predicate (cf. Noonan 2007: 70 [1985: 60]). An example occurs in (12.20).

(12.20) *Auki o yakere-apu=ne o ese-r-i.*
 Auki GEN laugh-NOM=P3s GEN hear-PRES-1s
 ‘I hear **Auki’s laughter.**’ D9.53.

Non-finite complements may occur with the experiencer subject predicate *sipamu* ‘know’. In (12.21) the non-finite complement describes a skill.

(12.21) *Tomase uo, [aotete ahu-apu] sipamo n-a.*
 Tomas GRD ball throw-NOM know STAY-3s
 ‘Tomas, (he) knows **soccer playing (how to play soccer).**’ D.9.29.5

12.4.1.3 Non-finite nominalized complements with experiencer object predicates

Non-finite complement clauses can be adjuncts of complement-taking experiencer object predicates (cf. §4.2.6, §11.5.2.4). They commonly occur as adjuncts to experiencer object predicates such as desiderative and non-desiderative *oru* ‘feel like/want to’ and *maikoho* ‘not feel like, not want to’ (cf. §11.5.2.4) and the experiencer object mental predicate *upu ururunu-* ‘sense’. The experiencer in the complement-taking predicate is indicated by an object suffix on the verb (cf. §11.3). The subject of a complement is not expressed if it is coreferential with the experiencer object suffix.

The experiencer object predicate *maikoho* ‘not feel like/not want (to)’ expresses a negative attitude to the event represented by the complement.

- (12.22) *Maihe wi-apu maikoho-se-r-a.*
 weed do/act-NOM not.want.to-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I don’t want to **work on weeds.**’ D71.1

- (12.23) *Usu ho-apu maikoho-neka-r-a.*
 pig cut:butcher-NOM not.want.to-O3p-PRES-3s
 ‘They don’t want to **butcher the pig.**’ D71.6

The complement-taking predicate in the second line of (12.24) has its complement omitted since the information is recoverable from the discourse context.

- (12.24) *Yako sau-pe “Ho-ae!” u-r-i=mo.*
 Yako tell.3s-SR butcher-IMP2s quote-PRES-1s=BM
Yako, “Maikoho-se-r-a=mo,” u-a.
 Yako not.want.to-O1s-PRES-3s=BM quote-3s
 ‘I told Yako, “Butcher it!” Yako said, “I don’t want to/feel like it.”’ T2.14.18

The experiencer object predicate *oru* ‘want/feel like’ can also occur with non-finite complements. The experiencer indicated by the object suffix senses something happening within their own body.

- (12.25) *Et-apu oru-se-r-a.*
 vomit-NOM feel.like-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I feel like **vomiting.**’ D10.32.6

Example (12.25) can also be pronounced with the initial back vowel of the complement-taking predicate *oru* ‘feel like’ elided following *-apu*, as in (12.26), or with the whole verb and the final vowel of *-apu* omitted, as in (12.27). In the latter, the verbal suffixes attach to *-apu* ‘nominalizer’ and the nominalization

becomes a verb stem (cf. multi-category forms and experiencer object predicates in §11.4). This example also suggests that *oru* ‘feel like’ may have been omitted from the other experiencer object constructions described in chapter 11.

- (12.26) ***Et-apu ru-se-r-a.***
 vomit-NOM feel.like-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I feel like **vomiting.**’ D8.54.8

- (12.27) ***Et-ap-se-r-a.***
 vomit-NOM-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I feel like **vomiting.**’ D8.54.6

Non-finite complements with *-apu* also occur with the experiencer object mental predicate *upu ururunu-* ‘sense’ which allows for a substantive topic (as in English ‘think about Y’). The non-finite complement that forms this topic can include a subject noun phrase that is not in an associative relationship with the predicate. This subject noun phrase is realized as it is different from the subject and from the object experiencer of the complement-taking predicate.

- (12.28) ***Tamaite ararene semt-apu ururun-se-r-a.***
 man important play-NOM think.about-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I’m thinking about **the important men playing** (soccer).’ D9.27.1

In (12.29) the experiencer object predicate *ururun* ‘think about/consider’ (cf. §11.5.2.4) combines with the adjunct body part noun *upu* to express ‘sense (something)’. With this complement-taking predicate, the non-finite complement can include the subject of the nominalized predicate since it cannot be recovered from the discourse. *Upu* ‘nose’ indicates where the sensation/thought of *ururun* ‘think about’ is thought to occur. People say that when someone sneezes it means a relative or friend is thinking about them.

- (12.29) ***Ien k-apu upu ururun-se-r-a.***
 Ian come-NOM nose think.about-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I sense **Ian’s coming.**’ (lit. ‘think about it in my nose’) D7.76.5

A non-finite complement clause with *-apu* can also occur with the experiencer object serial verb construction *warike here* [bad PUT] ‘cause bad/harm’ (cf. §10.5.4.2.3). In (12.30) a possessor enclitic follows the nominalization since the notional subject of the complement has an associative possessive relationship with the predicate. See also example (12.20).

- (12.30) [*puhu-apu=sekama*], *warike he-seka-pe*,...
 sit/live-NOM=P1p bad PUT-O1s-SR
 ‘They messed up, **our living/lives**.’ (*puhu* ‘sit’ can also mean ‘live’) T5.23.33

12.4.2 Pre-head and post-head nominals with *-apu*

Non-finite verbs or clauses with *-apu* may occur as post- or pre-head nominals (cf. §5.2). In a simple noun phrase, the nominalization with *-apu* follows and modifies the head nominal.

- (12.31) *Wene wi-apu men-a*.
 food cook-NOM be-3s
 ‘There is **cooked** food’ D9.8.6

Examples occur within relative clauses. Example (12.32) also shows that a non-finite transitive verb may have an object suffix.

- (12.32) *...tamaite i oru si-s-apu rame herekani nauto*,
 man 1s insides give-O1s-NOM RPRO real only
u uo, i ore to ore mene-ho=mo.
 that GRD 1s COM 2s COM stay-FINC=BM
 ‘...only a man who **gives his insides to me** really, that one, I and he we will stay (together).’ T6.10.85

Within postpositional phrases, the nominalized clause occurs before the head nominal. Examples (12.33) and (12.34) also show that a noun phrase within the nominalized clause may be a subject or an object respectively.

- (12.33) [*Ya mi-apu*] *oto pa ari-pu-r-a*.
 rain move.down-NOM day G/L arrive-HAB-PRES-3s
 ‘It arrives in **the rainy** days.’ YTN4.18

- (12.34) *I uo, u pa pasi-ni-hi=mo*,
 1s GRD there G/L meet-2s-F1s=BM
 [*na here-apu*] *weti pa*.
 thing put-NOM house G/L
 ‘I, I’ll meet you there, at **the market** stall’ (lit. ‘house for putting things’).
 D10.51.8

12.4.3 Manner clauses with *-apu*

The oblique argument of manner is expressed when the verb in a non-finite complement clause with *-apu* is preceded by the negative particle *tai* NEG.

(12.35) ...*sakine napa tai epon-apu, asa-asao men-e.*
 words P3p NEG follow-NOM altogether stay-3s
 ‘...not following their words, they stayed altogether/completely.’ T5.23.23-24

(12.36) *Ya kuhunu sei tai pi-apu auri-a.*
 water deep ORNT NEG stand-NOM swim-3s
 ‘Owing to the deep water, not standing she floated.’ D3.145.10

(12.37) *Tai ese-apu ahare pate maine-r-e.*
 NEG hear-NOM ear MANN pass-PRES-3p
 ‘Not hearing with their ears they went past.’ D9.9.9

12.5 Non-finite complement clauses with *-apesi* ‘desiderative’

Non-finite complement clauses consisting of a verb and the suffix *-apesi* ‘desiderative’ (DES) are subordinate clauses that occur with the complement taking predicates *u* ‘quote/do’ or directional verbs to express prospective action (§12.5.1) and purpose (§12.5.2) respectively.

12.5.1 Prospective action constructions with *-apesi*

Prospective action constructions consist of a non-finite clause in which the verb has the suffix *-apesi* and the complement-taking predicate is *u* ‘quote/do’. The animate (12.38) or inanimate (12.40) subject is indicated by a subject suffix on final *u* ‘quote/do’. The construction states what the subject is ‘about to do’. The verb in the non-finite clause can be transitive, see (12.38) and (12.39), or intransitive, see (12.40) and (12.41). In the latter, there is a cause-effect relationship between the prospective action constructions and the subsequent clauses with different referent subjects.

(12.38) *Sakin ato s-apesi u-r-i.*
 story one say-DES quote/do-PRES-1s
 ‘I am about to tell one story.’ T1.14.1

- (12.39) *Apu uo, atupu uo, eti amoko noko-apesi*
 now GRD bird of paradise. GRD skirt new dress-DES
u-r-a.
 quote/do-PRES-3s
 ‘Now, the bird of paradise, it is about to put on its new skirts (feathers).’
 T1.5.1
- (12.40) *Tiri pere-apesi u-a-te men-i.*
 tree fall-DES quote/do-3s-DR stay-1s
 ‘The tree was about to fall so I stayed.’ GE30.1
- (12.41) *Korike k-apesi u-e-te men-i=mo.*
 Korike come-DES quote/do-3p-SR stay-1s=BM
 ‘The Korike people were about to come so I stayed.’ GE30.1

12.5.2 Desiderative purpose constructions with *-apesi*

Desiderative purpose constructions in which a non-finite verb takes the suffix *-apesi* are subordinate to an inflected directional verb as complement-taking predicate. These constructions express the purpose of the movement expressed by the directional verb. In this context *-apesi* may be translated as ‘in order to’.

- (12.42) *Tomoto hei-apesi yare-pu-r-ia.*
 meat/game look.for-DES go-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘We go regularly in order to look for game.’ T1.33.16

The complement-taking predicate can be a serial verb construction with final *ne* STAY.

- (12.43) *...koia aiake oro-apesi ya n-e.*
 sweet.potato cassava dig-DES go STAY-3p
 ‘...they had gone in order to dig sweet potato and cassava.’ T2M.5

12.6 Adverbial clauses with *pao*

12.6.1 Introduction

Adverbial clauses followed by *pao*, the ‘inanimate referent genitive’ (IGEN) postposition (cf. §6.6), consist minimally of a verb marked for tense and subject person-number. At present, the gloss IGEN is retained in all uses. The subject may

be non-specific, represented by the third person singular non-future tense suffix, or specific. These subordinate clauses express purpose with motion verbs (§12.6.2), manner with the verb *wesu* ‘show’ (§12.6.3) and temporality (§12.6.4) elsewhere.

12.6.2 Purpose clauses with *pao* and motion verbs

In (12.44) and (12.45) the purpose clauses with *pao* indicate the goal or purpose of the movements described by the motion verbs. The second example could be interpreted as having a specific subject. Semantically similar concepts are expressed with *-apesi* ‘desiderative’ (§12.5.2) or the intentive modality suffix *-mpe* (§9.3.2.7).

(12.44) *Wa pa aie t-a pao epono yare-hi.*
 garden G/L work get/do-3s IGEN later go-F1s
 ‘Later I will go to work in the garden.’ (Lit. ‘To work in the garden, later I will go.’) D9.50.5

(12.45) *Ya so hor-a pao yar-a-te...*
 water pour PUT-3s IGEN go-3s-DR
 ‘She went to pour out water...’ T6.4.11

12.6.3 Manner clauses with *pao* and the verb *wesu* ‘show’

A clause with *pao* can express the manner of doing something when functioning as the object of the verb *wesu* ‘show’, as in the examples below.

(12.46) *Hena heri hoko-a pao wesu-s-a.*
 woman net.bag make-3s IGEN show-O1s-3s
 ‘The woman showed me how to make a net bag.’ D9.40.6

(12.47) *Tamaite weti wese-a pao wesu-s-a.*
 man house make-3s IGEN show-O1s-3s
 ‘The man showed me how to make a house.’ D12.40.10

12.6.4 Temporal clauses with *pao*

A *pao*-marked clause may provide core descriptive characteristics of a particular time. In (12.48) the subject of *mi-* ‘move.down’ indicates a specific person, number and time.

- (12.48) *Si atotuhunpa uo, ya mi-hira pao uo,*
 then sometimes GRD rain move.down-F3s IGEN GRD
somoto oru pate yare-pe...
 morning inside S/I go-SR
 ‘Then sometimes, when the rain will fall, (we) go early in the morning
 (lit. ‘inside the morning’)...’ T1.33.10

12.7 Relative clauses with *pao*

12.7.1 Introduction

Pao-marked clauses may function as relative clauses modifying the head noun of an NP. The verb is minimally marked for tense and subject person-number and may also be marked for aspect, object or oblique arguments. There is no relativized noun phrase within the relative clause. Relative clauses with *pao* in pre-nominal or post-nominal position may describe an activity, function or characteristic of the entity represented by the head noun. In the examples that follow the whole noun phrase is highlighted in bold, the head noun and NP_{rel} are underlined, and the relative clause is in square brackets.

Relative clauses with *pao* commonly occur pre-nominally (12.49).⁹²

- (12.49) *...masine ararene men-a, u pa*
 machine very.big be-3s there G/L
[sakine tu-pu-r-a pao] masine
 language get-HAB_PRES_3s IGEN machine
 ‘...there, there was a very big machine, the machine that regularly
 records (lit. ‘gets’) language.’ T1.20.18

However, when there is a nominal or other modifier (see §5.2.1) in the pre-head slot, *pao*-marked relative clauses occur post nominally.

- (12.50) *Asi weine [sipamu n-i pao] uo,*
 moon name know STAY -1s IGEN GRD

⁹² Compare Tauya gerundive nominalizations which function as pre-nominal qualifiers or nouns, are marked by *-mo* and are “invariably inflected with the 1/2sg. aorist desinence /e/” (MacDonald 1990: 110)].

wera u *n-a*.

few that stay-3s

‘The month names that I know, (they) are these few.’ D8.33.7

Pao-marked relative clauses occur in unreduced forms with specific subjects (§12.7.2) and reduced forms with subjects that do not have a specific referent (§12.7.3).

12.7.2 Specific-subject relative clauses with *pao*

12.7.2.1 Basic characteristics

Specific-subject relative clauses with *pao* have verbs that may be inflected for aspect and for any tense-subject person and number. They make specific reference to subject participants and events in headed (§12.7.2.2) or headless (§12.7.2.3) relative clauses.

12.7.2.2 Headed specific-subject relative clauses with *pao*

Headed specific-subject relative clauses with *pao* are like specific-subject relative clauses described in Andrews (2007b: 206) since they “delimit the reference of a noun phrase by specifying the role of the referent of that noun phrase in the situation described by the relative clause”. The basic structure [**Clause *pao*** *N*] can be compared to the structure of possessives [*NP pao*] *N* (§6.6).⁹³ *Pao*-marked relative clause constructions have a gap for NP_{rel}. However, if NP_{rel} is the subject, as in (12.51), it is indicated by the coreferential subject suffix on the verb.

- (12.51) [*Yar-am pao*] *oto=name* *hane* *men-a?*
 go-2s IGEN day=P2s soon/short be-3s
 ‘Is your day, that you are going, soon?’ (‘Is your departure day soon?’)
 D10.31.6

In (12.52) the verb in the relative clause is inflected for future tense first person singular subject but this does not provide information about the NP_{rel} since the

⁹³ Similarities in form and meaning are common cross-linguistically. Aristar (1991: 10) discusses similar forms for possessives and relativization in several languages. Noonan (2008) comments on genitive and nominalization in a Japanese particle, syncretism of nominalization and relativization in the Indo-Altaic speech area, for example, in Mongolian and Yukaghir (Siberian) and nominalization and attribution in contemporary and reconstructed syntax of Tibeto-Burman languages, particularly Bodic languages, where an identical morpheme commonly signals nominalizations, genitives and/or relative clauses.

noun phrase is the complement of a postposition in the main clause and NP_{rel} is an oblique argument.

- (12.52) *Ei ya isi-r-e uo, wa pao,*
bamboo go cut-PRES-3p GRD garden IGEN
[wa hihike-hi pao] ei=mai sei sasi-neka-i.
garden fence-F1s IGEN bamboo=P1s ORNT tell-O3p-1s
'When they went and cut bamboo, I told them about my bamboo, for the garden, for me to fence the garden with.' T6.7.29

The pre-head nominal position filled by a relative clause mirrors the initial position filled by a lexicalization with *pao* (see §6.6.4). Compare the examples in the extract below.

- (12.53) ***[Mu tu-a pao] hena*** uo, Asao=te.
sing give-3s IGEN woman GRD Asao=PNP
[Sakine s-a pao] hena uo, Kereis=te.
talk say-3s IGEN woman GRD Grace=PNP
[Kita pao] hena uo, Sisiria=te.
guitar IGEN woman GRD Cecilia=PNP
'The woman that gave out the songs (led the singing), was Asao. The woman that spoke (the talk), (she) was Grace. The guitar woman (woman that played guitar), (she) was Cecelia.' T1.35.7

12.7.2.3 Headless specific-subject relative clauses with *pao*

A specific-subject clause with *pao* can function as a headless relative clause if the head noun can be recovered from the discourse or real-world context (cf. §5.2.5). The headless relative clause below is in the subject position of a nonverbal clause. The omitted head noun, *masini* 'machine', is recoverable from the object noun phrase two clauses earlier (where it is indicated in bold and with underlining).

- (12.54) **...masini** u wesi-seka-pe te-r-a.
machine there show-O1-SR get/take-PRES-3s
[Mati kerehe t-a pao] mo na=mo,
book cut END-3s IGEN this thing=BM
'...he took us and showed us the machines there. "This thing is (a machine) that cuts paper," (he said),' T1.20.25

In (12.55) the head noun for the headless relative clause is recoverable from the background information in the initial link or topic-like element (see chapter 13).

- (12.55) *Si atotuhunpa uo, [ya mi-hira pao] uo,*
 then sometimes GRD rain move.down-F3s IGEN GRD
somoto oru pate yare-pe... si peraru-seka-pu-a-te...
 morning inside S/L go-SR then hunger-01s-HAB-3s-DR
 ‘Then sometimes, (times) that the rain will fall, (we) go early
 in the morning (lit. ‘inside the morning’) ... then hunger affects us...’
 T1.33.10

12.7.3 Non-specific-subject relative clauses with *pao*

12.7.3.1 Basic characteristics

A non-specific-subject relative clause has generic rather than specific reference. The verb may only be inflected for non-future tense with third person singular subject person and number. Thus, these are reduced clauses with no specific subject referent. Non-specific-subject clauses with *pao* occur in headed (§12.7.3.2) and headless (§12.7.3.3) relative clauses.

12.7.3.2 Headed non-specific-subject relative clauses with *pao*

Non-specific-subject or reduced nominalized clauses with *pao* modify the head of a noun phrase by indicating the category of things the head noun belongs to (cf. pre-head nominals in §5.2.2 and possessor noun phrases in chapter 6). They are reduced in the sense described by Andrews (2007b: 232) in that they have a “restricted range of tense-aspect-mood marking” and may have a “participant missing”. Sometimes these clauses describe the purpose for, or function of, an inanimate entity. Alternatively, when the head noun refers to a means of communication, they describe what it is about. They are relative clauses in that they are subordinate clauses which modify a head noun and this head is involved in what is stated in the relative clause (cf. Lehmann 1986: 664).

- (12.56) *[Ou, nahe naun-a pao] sakine sa-hia=mo.*
 yam mami bury-3s IGEN story say-F1p=BM
 ‘I will tell a story that is about burying *mami* (TP yam type) and yams.’ T5.171

- (12.57) ...*weti ato mare wesu-pe, weti arene,*
 house one place mark-SR house big
[ene-a pao] weti arene...
 lie/sleep-3s IGEN house big
 ‘...marked out a place (for) one house, a big house, a big house that was
 for sleeping...’ T1.27.32

In a specific-subject example, repeated from (12.53), the subject suffix on the verb is co-referential with the referent of the head noun.

- (12.58) **[Mu tu-a pao] hena** *uo, Asao=te.*
 sing give-3s IGEN woman GRD Asao=PNP
 ‘The woman who gave out the songs (led the singing), was Asao.’ T1.35.7

The subject participant indicated by the suffix appears to be absent from non-specific-subject relative clauses. However, these clauses are possibly based on nonverbal clauses with attributive predicates (see §3.7.1.3), for example **weti ene-a pao** [house lie/sleep-3s IGEN] ‘the house was for sleeping’. In that case the third singular suffix does have a specific referent, *weti* ‘house’, and these clauses are referential.

- (12.59) ...*mati arene ato wese te-pe*
 paper big one make/write GET-SR
te-nek-a, [yar-a pao] mati.
 give-3p-3s go-3s IGEN paper
 ‘...he wrote one big paper and he gave it to them, a paper that was about
 going (an eviction paper).’ T5.23.42

Like specific-subject clauses with *pao* (cf. §12.7.2 above), non-specific-subject clauses with *pao* may precede or follow a head noun. When there is no pre-head constituent the nominalized clause with *pao* precedes the head, as in examples (12.56) to (12.59) above. When a pre-head constituent, such as a demonstrative, a pre-head nominal or a genitive pronoun, occurs in the pre-head slot the non-specific-subject relative clause with *pao* is postnominal, as in (12.60).

- (12.60) ...*pari sono wene [n-a pao] pu hur-e.*
 again 1pGEN food eat-3s IGEN sit PUT-3p
 ‘...then again they set down our food that is for eating.’ T6.7a.22

Non-specific-subject reduced nominalized clauses with *pao* can also occur in the postnominal adjective position⁹⁴ when the noun phrase occurs in isolation or forms a lexicalized expression.

- (12.61) *mati [mu tu-a pao]*
 book sing get-3s IGEN
 ‘a book that is for singing’ (the name for the book of Psalms)

These isolated constructions could also possibly be construed as nonverbal clauses in which the predicate is a headless relative clause.

- (12.62) *tike aire isi-a pao*
 knife kunai cut-3s IGEN
 ‘...a knife that is for cutting kunai grass....’ D8.25.7

12.7.3.3 Headless non-specific-subject relative clauses with *pao*

A non-specific-subject relative clause with *pao* may occur in a headless noun phrase when the head noun is recoverable from the discourse or real-world context (cf. §5.2.5). In (12.63) the headless noun phrase is the predicate in a nonverbal clause. The head noun is recoverable from the preceding link.

- (12.63) *U na uo, [n-a pao].*
 that thing GRD eat-3s IGEN
 ‘That thing, (it) is (a thing) that is for eating (edible).’ D9.40.3

The headless noun phrase below occurs in the predicate of a negative copula clause (cf. §3.6.2.8.3).

- (12.64) *U sa uo, [ihi-a pao] ia.*
 that road GRD finish-3s IGEN no
 ‘That road, (it) is not (a road) that ends.’ T6.10.27

In some cases, a headless relative clause with *pao* is a headless noun phrase as complement of a postposition, for example, in (12.65). The head is recoverable from the initial clause.

⁹⁴ “Reduced RCs sometimes appear in different positions from those in which full ones do, and, when this is the case, they always seem to occupy a position also occupied by adjectives” (Andrews 2007b: 233).

- (12.65) ...*nahe tumune weti pa ahare ta-pe*,
 mami shoot house G/L pull END-SR
[n-a pao] ore ya ahare ta-pe...
 eat-3s IGEN COM go pull END-SR
 ‘...we pull/drag the mami (yam) shoots into the house, with edible
 ones we go pull them...’ T1.33.31

12.8 Relative clauses with *rame* ‘who’

A postnominal relative clause with *rame* consists of a head noun followed by a restrictive relative clause with the relative pronoun *rame* ‘who’ in final position. The relative clause may consist of a verb, a nominalized verbal clause with *-apu*, a relative clause with *pao* or a full clause. As in other noun phrases the whole construction can take the enclitic =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’. The form *rame* also means ‘one/person’ and may derive from the interrogative pronoun *me* ‘who’. The restrictive relative clause makes “a proposition that must be true of the actual referents of the overall construction” (Comrie 1989: 143).

In (12.66) the relative clause with *-apu* ‘nominalizer’ modifies the head noun, *tamaite* ‘man’, of the subject noun phrase. *Rame* ‘who’ follows and represents the subject of the verb *isi* ‘cut/dam’. The whole noun phrase is followed by a prominent noun phrase enclitic.

- (12.66) *Tamaite [ya ehi-ne isi-apu ram]=te*
 man river leg-P3s cut/dam-NOM who=PNP
oto te-pe yare-pe...
 block GET-SR go-SR
 ‘A man who cuts (dams) the legs of rivers blocked it and went...’ T1.17.7

Rame also appears to function as relative pronoun with a bare verb root when an activity defines the kind of person described.

- (12.67) *Tamaite [pea rame]=te, ea Papindo*
 man steal who=PNP yesterday Papindo
hetihetie=napa apati te ea oro ta-e.
 boss=P3p weapon INS yesterday pierce get-3p
 ‘A man **who steals** shot their Papindo boss yesterday with a weapon
 (gun).’ (Papindo is a business.) D10.60.7

In (12.68) the object position of the main clause includes a postnominal relative clause with *rame* ‘who’ referring to the subject of the nominalized verb in the restrictive clause.

- (12.68) *Mamona seipa tamaite [imi-apu rame] hei-r-ia-e?*
 why REAS man die-NOM who find-PRES-1p-Q
 ‘Why are you searching for a man who is dead?’ Za4. Luke 24:5

The head noun in (12.69) is followed by a restrictive *pao*-marked relative clause followed by the relative pronoun *rame*.

- (12.69) *Makamo hena-tamaite [men-e pao rame], mene-pe...*
 Markham people stay-3p IGEN who stay-SR
 ‘The Markham men and women, the ones who were for staying, stayed and...’ T5.23.44

In (12.70) the relativized clause is a full clause inflected for tense and subject followed by *u* ‘there’, the relative pronoun *rame* ‘who’ and the prominent noun phrase enclitic =*te*. In this case the relative clause is headless, but the head is recoverable from the ground (cf. §14).

- (12.70) *...tamaite uo, [aie te-r-a u ram]=te,*
 man GRD work get-PRES-3s there who=PNP
 ‘*Mo mo u-pu-r-ia=mo, o re-pe...*
 here this do-HAB-PRES-1p=BM say PUT-SR
 ‘...the man, **who was working there**, said, “We do this here”’
 T1.20.21

12.9 Prenominal relative clauses with *o* ‘where’

A prenominal locative relative clause with *o* gives restrictive information about what happens in a location. The relative clause has a finite verb, is followed by *o*, the ‘genitive’ postposition (§6.5) and modifies the head noun.

- (12.71) *...[wene here-pu-r-i o] weti...*
 food cook-HAB-PRES-1s where house
 ‘...house [where I cook food]...’

Because of the locative meaning of this type of relative clause, the full noun phrase is often the complement of a locative postpositional phrase. When the subject of the relative clause is realized, it can be represented by both a personal name and an anaphoric pronoun.

(12.72) [*Wasiri ni warimi-a o*] *mare pa yari-r-i=mo.*
 Wasiri 3s fell-3s where place G/L go-PRES-1s=BM
 ‘I am going to the place, [where Wasiri he fell].’ D4.158.7

(12.73) ...[*Karo ni ene-pu-r-a o*] *weti pa*
 Carol 3s sleep-HAB-PRES-3 where house G/L
he ka-pe n-ia-te...
 return come-LTD:1p
 ‘...we returned and came to the house [where Carol she sleeps]...’
 T1.20.58

12.10 Postnominal relative clauses and relative pronoun *une*

Postnominal relative clauses with a finite verb and the relative pronoun *une* are non-restrictive relative clauses that provide extra information about a referent that is already fully identifiable. The relative pronoun *une* represents the argument that is coreferential with the head noun of the main clause. It can refer to a subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique argument or complement of a postposition, and it retains the position required of the argument to which it refers. In (12.74) *une* indicates the subject of the relative clause. The relative clause follows an adjective and the demonstrative occurs in final rather than initial position in the noun phrase (cf. §5.2.1).

(12.74) ...*keti arene [eno une pe n-a]*
 mountain big over.there RELP stand STAY-3s
u, u a me ne-pe...
 that, there come move.down STAY-SR
 ‘...that big mountain [which stands over there], comes down there.’
 T5.26.3

In (12.75) the relative pronoun *une* functions as object of a relative clause that has AOV word order. The whole noun phrase is the object of the main clause.

- (12.75) ...**hekeni** [**nene** **une** **tama** **re-pu-e**] **u** *were-pe*
 fire 3p RELP light PUT-HAB-3p that see-SR
 ‘...they see **those fires [which they light]**...’ T5.18.17

A relative clause can occur in a subject coreferential noun phrase in a *uo*-marked link (see §14.3.2.1). For example, the noun phrase link below is coreferential with the subject of the main clause. The head of the noun phrase is modified by a relative clause in which NP_{rel} has object function and occurs in object position. There is no demonstrative in this noun phrase. If there was it is probable that *u* ‘that’ would be elided since it occurs before *uo* ‘ground’..

- (12.76) **Usu** [**ea** **nene** **une** **sopo** **t-e**] *uo*,
 pig yesterday 3p RELP strike GET-3p GRD
ya n-a.
 go STAY-3s
 ‘**A pig [which they killed yesterday]**, (it) has gone.’ D9.37.3

12.11 Relative clauses with no relative pronoun

A noun phrase can be followed by a relative clause with no overt relative pronoun. The example in (12.77) occurs in a topic-like link followed by *uo* ‘ground’. *Hena* ‘woman’ is the subject of the relative clause and of the main clause.

- (12.77) **Hena** [**ea** **mo** **k-a**] *uo*, *ya n-a.*
 woman yesterday here come-3s GRD go STAY-3s
 ‘The woman who came here yesterday, (she) has gone.’ D9.37.2

In (12.78) the placename *Ketopa* is followed by an appositive locative NP. This noun is modified by a postnominal relative clause with a prenominal demonstrative *u* ‘that’.

- (12.78) *He ya mere-pe, Ketopa, u weti*
 return go move.down-SR Ketopa that village
 [**u mai-pe yar-ia**]. *Pari u u weti pa*
 there pass-SR go-1p again there that village G/L
ka-pe ene-ia.
 come-SR lie.down-1p
 ‘We went back up, to *Ketopa*, that village that we passed there. Again we came there to that village and we lay down.’ T3.3.36

12.12 Clauses combined with adversative *umo* ‘but’

The adversative conjunction *umo* ‘but’ can occur between two clauses (cf. §4.11). It forms an intonation unit with the preceding clause and indicates a denial of expectation that is comparable with the adversative situations described by Payne (1985: 7) as “given A, it might be expected that not B, nevertheless B holds”.

(12.79) *...sene heter-ia umo usu areno mai-sek-a-te...*
 1p run-1p but pig big pass-01p-3s-DR
 ‘...we ran but the big pig got past us and ...’ T2.11.5

(12.80) *Ere-a umo mati tai we her-a.*
 remove-3s but leaf NEG do PUT-3s
 ‘We removed them (stones) but the leaves were not done
 (cooked/burned).’ T2.24.22

12.13 Disjunctive clauses combined with *temo/te* ‘possibility’

Two alternatives can be stated by combining two clauses that are followed by the final modality particle *temo* or *te* ‘possibility’. This structure can occur with verbal and nonverbal clauses.

(12.81) *Ne yar-amu te ne men-amu te.*
 2s go-2s POS 2s stay-2s POS
 ‘You could come, or you could stay.’ GE23

(12.82) *Ani pa temo?*
 where G/L POS
Kahite pa temo Yapea pa temo.
 Kahite G/L POS Yapea G/L POS
 ‘Where could it be? It could be at Kahite, It could be at Yapea.’ T2M.39

13 Noun phrase realization, omission and prominence

13.1 Introduction

Chapters 13 and 14 are concerned with interrelated areas of grammar and the management of information. The first section of chapter 13 introduces several principles of information structure (§13.2), while the remainder of the chapter describes noun phrase realization (§13.3), omission (§13.4) and prominence (§13.5), key elements that contribute to reference tracking (cf. pronouns and ‘switch reference’ marking in verbal morphology).

13.2 Principles of information structure

As a background to understanding the relationship between Koromu grammar and information structure the following sections briefly introduce information packaging (§13.2.1), information-status (§13.2.2) and topic continuity (§13.2.3).

13.2.1 Information packaging

As pointed out in Matic, van Gijn, and Van Valin (2014), the intersection between complex sentences, information structure and reference tracking has been a neglected area of research. The Koromu data shows that simple sentences also play a part in reference tracking and continuity of information structure within a discourse.

Two important elements of information packaging in the sentence, recognized in many different approaches, are the background-focus distinction and optional sentence-initial topic-like expressions (see for example, Halliday 1967, Halliday and Matthiesen 2014, Dahl 1974, Lambrecht 1994, Gundel and Fretheim 2006). Välimaa-Blum (1988), quoted in Vallduví (1993: 8), states that “the ground-focus distinction must be complemented with a notion of S-topic, akin to the topic in topic-comment”. Along similar lines Vallduví (1992: 46, 1993: 8) proposes a schema in which information packaging in the sentence consists of the FOCUS and the GROUND. The latter can be subdivided into the LINK, a topic-like, sentence-initial element that points to the address in the knowledge store where information is held, and the TAIL (cf. Dik 1978), an element or elements that may be right-detached or may appear elsewhere in the sentence. This nonfocal, nonlink part of the sen-

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tence “performs a more specific task regarding the exact way in which information is retrieved and entered under a given address” (Vallduví 1992: 49).

$$S = \{\text{FOCUS, GROUND}\}$$

$$\text{GROUND} = [\text{LINK, TAIL}]$$

In this approach the term focus corresponds to the “informative”, “nonelidable part of the sentence since it is the only contribution to the hearer’s knowledge store at the time of utterance (or so the speaker assumes)” (1992: 46). Focus is also used in this sense in other approaches, for example topic-focus, focus/open proposition and focus-background (cf. Prince 1986, Dahl 1974, Halliday 1967 and others).

In some contexts, the whole clause is new, informative, focus information. Examples of these “all-focus structures” (cf. §13.3) are found in general descriptions such as “[_FThe BOSS called]”, in pure existential sentences like “Waiter! [_FThere’s a fly in my cream of broccoli soup]!”, and in sentence fragment responses in examples like “What doesn’t the boss like?” “[_FBROCCOLI.]” (Vallduví 1992: 51). Answers to the question “What’s happened?” such as “[_FJohn found a sheep in the house]” are also all-focus structures. Within these all-focus structures the lexical items in capital letters are associated with focal prominence.

In contrast, if the question is “What did John find in the house?” the response “[_LJohn] [_{T1}found] [_Fa sheep] [_{T2}in the house]” is not an all-focus clause. Instead “a sheep” is the focus because it is the only information added to the hearer’s knowledge store. The remainder of the sentence is the ground (cf. Chapter 14) which may include a link and a tail. The topic-like element “John” links the material to the information in the earlier question. The tail, expressed by “found” and “in the house”, provides more information as to how to fit the new information into the hearer’s knowledge store. This example shows that in English part of the tail can occur before the focus.

The ground corresponds to the background, the presupposition, the topic or the open-proposition (cf. Chafe 1976 and Halliday 1967, Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, von Stechow 1981, Gundel and Fretheim 2006, Reesink 2014, Dahl 1974, Lambrecht 1987, 1994 and others). Vallduví (1992: 46–47) describes the ground as:

a vehicular frame for the informative focus, i.e. it guarantees an appropriate entry of information into the hearer’s knowledge store, indicating to the hearer where and how the information must be entered. Since the focus is the information in the sentence, it follows that the ground does not make any contribution to the hearer’s knowledge-store. The knowledge encoded in the ground portion of a communicated proposition is knowledge the speaker assumes that the hearer already possesses.

In response to questions like “What about the president? How does he feel about chocolate?” the response “[_LThe president] [_Fhates] [_Tchocolate]” includes a link or initial topic-like element ‘the president’ that shows where the new information ‘hates’ should go in the hearer’s knowledge-store. The tail segment, chocolate, is neither new information or link-like, but as part of the ground it further specifies how the new information in the focus fits into the knowledge-store that is “already pointed at by a link” (Vallduví 1993: 9). Note that in a link-focus-tail instruction for a sentence or clause the ‘tail’ is not the same as the tail in tail-head linkage in discourse analysis (see chapter 12).

The ground “exists only if necessary to guarantee a successful retrieval of the information encoded in the sentence” (1992: 48). It can be omitted “because (the speaker assumes) the hearer is capable of updating the contents of his/her knowledge-store without the need of an ‘usher’ for the information”. So, in answer to “How does Sue feel about dogs?” a non-thetic, non-presentational sentence [_F She LOVES them] forms an all-focus construction with a weak pronoun that acts as a place-holder within the focus (1993: 17–18).

13.2.2 Information-status

Several key aspects of information-status are relevant in a discussion of information structure. These concepts are hearer-old and hearer-new information, discourse-old and discourse-new information and information that can be inferred (Prince 1992: 300–310).

Hearer-old information is information that the speaker assumes that the hearer knows. For example, someone who says “I’m waiting for it to be noon so I can call *Sandy Thompson*” assumes that the hearer knows of an entity with the proper name *Sandy Thompson*. In contrast, hearer-new information is assumed when the speaker takes it that the entity is not known to the hearer as in “I’m waiting for it to be noon so I can call *someone*”. Discourse-old information is information that has already been mentioned earlier in a discourse. Discourse-new information has not been mentioned earlier. Thus, when information is hearer-new it is also discourse-new (1992: 303–304).

Inferrable information or entities are technically hearer-new and discourse-new. However, the speaker may assume that the hearer is able to infer the existence of an entity since there is a trigger entity in the discourse (discourse-old) with which the inferrable entity is associated. For example, in “He passed by the Bastille and *the door* was painted purple” the door is discourse-new, but it is treated as though it is known to the hearer because the speaker assumes that the hearer knows that a building like the Bastille will have a door associated with it (1992: 304–305).

13.2.3 Topic continuity

In this description, the term “topic” is used to refer to the “topic continuity” of participants or entities in a discourse (Givón 1983). Givón (1983: 8) states that it is “most common for one topic to be the continuity marker” representing “the participant *most crucially involved* in the action sequence”, “most closely associated with the higher-level theme of the paragraph” and “most likely to be coded as the *primary topic* – or *grammatical subject* – of the vast majority of sequentially ordered clauses/sentences”. This relates to the pre-theoretical meaning of topic as “what someone’s speech is about” (Reesink 2014: 232), so to understand the distinction between topic and focus in a sentence in this sense the wider discourse needs to be considered.

13.3 Noun phrase realization

Clauses in which core argument noun phrases are expressed in full occur at points in a discourse where participants are introduced or reintroduced as part of the informative, non-elidable focus (Vallduví 1992: 46). In constructions of this type the whole clause is in focus. Such constructions are described as event-reporting sentences or sentence-focus structures in Lambrecht (1987: 366, 1994: 222–223, 233–235) and as all-focus sentences in Vallduví (1992: 51–52).

All-focus clauses occur inthetic, presentational contexts (Vallduví 1993: 11). Examples occur in responses to questions when the questions provide no information about the core argument(s). In such responses, core argument noun phrases are new and informative. If the clause is transitive the default word order is AOV (cf. §3.6.2.2 and §3.6.4.4).

(13.1) *Mana aire-r-a?*

what happen-PRES-3s

‘What happened?’

Wearime o usu wera sere n-a.

Wearime GEN pig child bear STAY-3s

‘Wearime’s pig has had piglets.’ D2.55.1

Informative all-focus clauses also occur at the beginning of a discourse (13.2) and when new participants are introduced into a narrative (13.3). Note that in examples from clause chains in this chapter the all-focus clauses are highlighted in bold.

(13.2) *Warisi sakine ato aire here-hera=mo.*

Warisi story one come.up PUT-F3s=BM

‘Warisi will come up with a story.’ (...think of and tell a story) T1.7.1

- (13.3) *Awai=ama kau wese-neka-pe ka-r-e.*
 Awai=group cow chase-O3p-SR come-PRES-3p
 ‘Awai and all were chasing cows and coming...’ T2.14.4

When direct speech occurs within a larger discourse it forms a mini-discourse in itself. Thus, in (13.4) the subject and object noun phrases provide new, non-elidable informative material, even if the participants were mentioned earlier in the main discourse.

- (13.4) “*Seia=o, yei=ama usu oro hor-a=mo,*” *u-i.*
 Seia=VOC uncle=group pig pierce PUT-3s=BM quote-1s
 ‘“Seia, uncle and the others shot a pig,” I said.’ T6.8.18

All-focus clauses can also occur within asides from the main narrative, as in (13.5).

- (13.5) *Tautunupa aire ta-pe were-i=mo.*
 Tautunupa arrive END-SR see-1s=BM
Usu aiake n-apesi, Kuaisa ka-pe
 pig cassava eat-DES Kuaisa come-SR
yare-pu-e. Kereha-ne napa ya pa
 go-HAB-3p route-P3s P3s river G/L
po t-e. Usu kereha-ne were-pinte...
 cross get-3s pig route-P3s see-SR:1s:LD
 ‘I arrived at Tautunupa and looked. **Pigs want to eat cassava, so they come and go to Kuaisa. They cross the river on their route.** I saw the pig route...’ T5.20.9

In Koromu discourse-old or hearer-old information (Prince 1992) may occur in all-focus clauses when these clauses are a reiteration or summary of earlier introductory statements. The information in (13.6) is summed up in the introduction, the main body and the conclusion of the narrative. In such all-focus clauses, there is no need of a ground (cf. §13.2.1).

- (13.6) *Werakiri-nap⁹⁵=ama ei isi-e-te,...*
 young.ones-P3p=group bamboo cut-3p-DR
 ‘The group of their young ones cut bamboo...’ T6.74, 28

⁹⁵ Final /a/ is elided through identical vowel elision (§2.4.2.2.1).

Pronouns which are core argument noun phrases can make anaphoric reference to information in preceding clauses, thus tracking core participants. In the extract in (13.7), the third singular pronoun in the final clause refers to the participant (underlined) in the first clause and the indefinite specific pronoun *ato* ‘one’ refers to the *sikirisi* ‘singlet’ (underlined) in the second clause. The whole final clause is in “parallel focus” (cf. Dik 1989: 394–395) to the second all-focus clause.

- (13.7) ...***Oroi*** *uo, na ututu ia.*
 Oroi GRD thing cargo no
 I ***sikirisi*** *terupu hi-i-te*
 1s singlet head wrap.round-1s-DR
ni ato *hi-a.*
 3s one wrap.round-3s
 ‘...Oroi, he didn’t have cargo. I wrapped a singlet around my head and he wrapped one round (his).’ T2.15.31

In (13.8) and (13.9) transitive and nonverbal clauses with overt subject noun phrases form all-focus clauses at the beginning of a discourse and in a quoted speech respectively.

- (13.8) *Sene apu yare-pe n-ia-te...*
 1p now go-LTD:1p
 ‘We went today... .’ T2.28.1
- (13.9) “***Oto weine=mo,***” *u-pu-e.*
 oto name=BM quote-HAB-3s
 “‘Oto is the name,’ they say.’ T7.4.32

13.4 Noun phrase omission

13.4.1 Subject noun phrase omission

Subject noun phrases are omitted when there is ‘topic continuity’ in a discourse. This is because “what is continuing is more predictable” and “what is more predictable is easier to process” (Givón 1983: 12). The most continuous, accessible topics can be coded by zero anaphora or by “unstressed/bound pronouns or grammatical agreement” (1983: 17). Koromu continuous, accessible topics are minimally marked using a reference tracking system of grammatical agreement in the subject marking on independent and dependent verbs (cf. chapter 9).

Complete zero anaphora occurs when a verb is inflected for desiderative with *-apesi* since this suffix is mutually exclusive with tense-subject-person-number suffixes.

Table 13.1: Subject and object noun phrases in the clause: Realization and omission.

Verbal Clauses	Subject	Object	Verb	Number of examples
Transitive	A	O	V	48
	A	_____	V	30
	_____	O	V	414
	_____	_____	V	264
				Total 756
Intransitive	S		V	106
	_____		V	644
				Total 750
Nonverbal Clauses	NP	Predicate		
	NP	Predicate		20
	_____	Predicate		8
				Total 28

Table 13.1 above gives information about a set of short to medium length texts. In these texts there are 1,572 clauses in the main story line. The realization or omission of noun phrases in 1,534 clauses are represented in Table 13.1.⁹⁶ The other 38 clauses, which have *uo*-marked link/ground material that refers to the noun phrase subject, are discussed in chapter 14. Noun phrases marked by the associative clitic *=rare* ‘and/with’ (§5.11.3.1) indicate part of a plural subject so these examples are included. The table shows that while there are 48 examples of overt subject noun phrases in AOV transitive clauses (cf. §13.3) and 30 examples of AV clauses in which O is omitted (§13.4.2) there are 414 clauses that have an object but no subject noun phrase and 264 clauses in which neither S nor O occurs. Of 750 intransitive verbal clauses, 106 have a subject noun phrase while 644 do not. In the 28 nonverbal clauses, 20 have a fully realized noun phrase subject while in eight the subject noun phrase is omitted.

⁹⁶ This is based on texts 1b, 1.2, 1.4, 1.6–1.10, 1.13–1.20, 1.22, 1.25–1.27, 1.33–1.35, 2a, 2.11–2.14. The count is as accurate as possible but may have small discrepancies. Verbs in nominalized clauses with *pao* are not counted.

In this set of data, which excludes *uo*-marked noun phrases, subject noun phrases occur in 10.32% of the transitive clauses, 14.13% of the intransitive clauses and 71.43% of the nonverbal clauses. There is not a great deal of data on nonverbal clauses in the sample, but this information reflects the fact that in verbal suffixation verbal clauses have another way of tracking the core arguments while nonverbal clauses do not.

Object noun phrases appear in 61.11% of the transitive clauses. The frequent occurrence of clauses in which the object is realized supports Du Bois's (2003: 38) cross-linguistic observation that in the pragmatic dimension "the general pattern for two-place predicates is that only one core argument typically carries new information and in the main this argument is not the A". Usually it is either the object or the subject of a one-place predicate (Du Bois 2003: 38).

The first clause in (13.10) has both subject and object noun phrases which introduce new participants. In the second clause, the subject noun phrase is omitted because it is not part of the focus and its referent is identifiable from the earlier clause and from cross-referencing on the verb. On the other hand, the object noun phrase is realized and in focus as new information.

- (13.10) *...tamaite ararehen*⁹⁷=*ama=te auhu*
 man very big=group=PNP betel.nut
kasi-pe, usu yo-neka-pu-e-te...
 hang-SR pig call-O3s-HAB-3p-DR
 'The leaders hung up their betel nut and called the pigs...' T1.25.5

The subject suffix on the final verb in (13.11) does not provide information about the specific third person singular referent that is the subject. The hearer identifies the subject referent through information conveyed lexically and grammatically nine clauses earlier, the dependency marking on intervening verbs and real-world knowledge.

- (13.11) *...maupu-pe, wapi pa-ne ese t-a.*
 trample-SR arm G/L-P3s cut END-3s
 '...it (a pig) trampled on (him) and cut his arm.' T6.5.17

The subject noun phrase of the intransitive clause in the second clause in (13.12) is omitted because the referent is clear from the subject noun phrase and verbal suffixes in the previous clause.

⁹⁷ Final /e/ is elided (§2.4.2.2.2) from the root *ararehene* which is host for a cluster of clitics.

- (13.12) *Tamaite ato yare-pe n-a-te, ya pa, meni*
 man one go-LTD:3s go G/L whatjamacallit
keti pa ya tehei-pe n-a-te...
 mountain G/L go walk-LTD:3s
 ‘One man went, and in the river, whatjamacallit and the mountains he
 went and walked...’ T1.19.1

The subject noun phrase is often omitted from nonverbal clauses if the subject referent is clear from the discourse context and when the predicate is in focus (13.13).

- (13.13) “(U) *sono sakine=mo,*” *u-hure.*
 (that) GEN1p language=BM quote-F3p
 ‘“(That) is our language,” they will say.’ T7.4.52

13.4.2 Object noun phrase omission

Object noun phrases can also be omitted when the referents are recoverable from the discourse or real-world context. Noun phrases for first and second person singular in (13.14) and (13.15) are omissible because the referents are speech act participants (marked by an object suffix) and thus are given and recoverable.

- (13.14) *...naere wamte ho-se-r-a=mo.*
 snake adder bite-O1s-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘...a snake bit me.’ T1.6a.6.
- (13.15) *Sopo-teka-hi.*
 strike-O2p-F1s
 ‘I will strike you.’ (...overheard in joking conversation)

An object noun phrase can also be omitted when information about the referent is recoverable from the discourse. In the second clause of (13.16) the third singular participants are identifiable from the subject and object noun phrases in the first clause. The serial verbs in the second clause provide the new non-elidable focus information.

- (13.16) C.1 ...*esam Tira=te, usu werane yare-pe n-a-te*⁹⁸
 dog Tira=PNP pig small go-LTD:3s
 C.2 ...*ya sopo hor-a-te...*
 go strike/kill PUT-3s-DR
 ‘...the dog, Tira, went after a small pig, he went and killed it...’ T2.14.10

13.4.3 Partial omission of plural core arguments

When a noun phrase occurs with the listing enclitic *=rare* ‘and/with’, a noun phrase representing a second participant can be omitted since the subject suffix on the verb is plural. This occurs when the omitted noun phrase refers to a topical identifiable participant (cf. §5.11.3.1), for example, the noun phrase omitted from the final clause in (13.17) is named in the link (topic-like element) two clauses earlier.

- (13.17) *Wawi, Meti pa-ne uo,.....*
 Wawi Meti father-P3s GRD
waikohu=rare perau-r-e.
 agemate=and fell-PRES-3p
 ‘Wawi, Meti(’s) father, (he) and his agemate fell. ...’ (*Meti pa ne* [Meti father-P3s] ‘Meti’s father’ is a teknonym in an appositive noun phrase to *Wawi*.) T1.13.16

13.5 Prominent noun phrases and the *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase enclitic’

13.5.1 Introduction

The enclitic *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ (cf. §3.6.4.5 and §5.10) provides syntactic and discourse information. In verbal clauses, it is optional with noun phrases that happen to be in subject position. In nonverbal clauses, it occurs with predicate noun phrases or with subject noun phrases when the predicate is a postpositional phrase (cf. §3.7.2). More specifically *=te* occurs with inanimate referent subject noun phrases that are effectors (§13.5.2) and with the animate referent interrogative word *me* ‘who’ in all clause types (§13.5.3). It distinguishes the subject noun phrase in transitive clauses in contexts where there would

⁹⁸ Intransitive *yare* ‘go’ is used here in a transitive context.

otherwise be ambiguity between a subject and object noun phrase (§13.5.4). It is also widely used in transitive, intransitive and nonverbal clauses to indicate that a noun phrase is the most salient, prominent referent at a specific point in a discourse (§13.5.5). For example, in a narrative about an accident that happened when several men were hunting pig, the enclitic =te ‘prominent noun phrase’ attaches to the noun phrase that refers to the man in the group who actually shot the pig.

- (13.18) ...**Maks=te** u pate oro ho-r-a.
 Max=PNP there S/L shoot PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘...Max shot it (a pig) there.’ T6.5.21

Prominence expressed with noun phrases can be compared to Gundel and Fretheim’s contrastive focus or “material which the speaker calls to the addressee’s attention, thereby often evoking a contrast with other entities that might fill the same position” (2006: 181). It also compares to Choi’s concept of prominence “the salient or prominent part which is the center of interest in the current discourse” (1999: 77), and also to the “standing-out property” that, like contrastive focus, selects a value from a set of alternatives (1999: 88). However, in Choi’s discussion, prominence only occurs in the focus part of the clause, or in the link, the topic-like element in the ground (1999: 92). In Koromu a prominent noun phrase can occur in the focus, as in (13.8) above, the link in (13.49) in §13.5.5.2.1 or the tail, as in (13.50) in §13.5.5.2.1.

The use of =te ‘prominent noun phrase’ is affected by semantic factors (cf. the animacy hierarchy in Silverstein 1976). Thus, with an inanimate referent noun phrase in a transitive clause =te can indicate that the noun phrase is an effector rather than a non-agentive subject (§13.5.2). It is obligatory with the animate interrogative word *me* ‘who’ (§13.5.3). In addition, when noun phrases in a clause have the same relative animacy, =te disambiguates the subject from the object if the meaning of the verb, word order or verbal suffixation does not do so (§13.5.4).

Table 13.2 provides an overview of the use of =te ‘prominent noun phrase’ in verbal and nonverbal clauses in the same set of texts as in Table 13.1. It shows that =te occurs with the subject noun phrase in 24 of the 48 AOV clauses and 16 of the 106 SV clauses. Prominent noun phrase marking with =te also occurs with a noun phrase in a nonverbal clause. Most of the nonverbal clauses occur in direct speech or descriptive texts about language borrowing and land ownership. Many of them have no overt noun phrases (cf. chapter 14).

Table 13.2: Prominence marking with and without =te in the heart of the clause.

Verbal clauses and noun phrase subjects				
Transitive	Unmarked NP	NP =te	Clauses	
AOV	24	13	48	
A_V	18	12	30	
_OV				414
__V				264
				Total 756
Intransitive	Unmarked NP	NP =te	Clauses	
SV	90	16	106	
_V				644
				Total 750
Nonverbal clauses and noun phrase subjects/Predicates				
	Unmarked NP/PRED	NP =te	Predicate =te	Clauses
NP PRED	18	2	0	20
___ PRED	6	—	2	8
				Total 28
				Overall Total 1534

Some Trans New Guinea and Papuan languages have a marker that is optional with subject noun phrases. In some cases, these ergative- or nominative-like markers appear to have functions that overlap with those identified for Koromu =te ‘prominent noun phrase’. Such examples are described as delineator or ergative in Scott’s descriptions of Fore (1978, 1986), nominative in Donohue and Donohue on Fore case marking (1997), ergative in Enga (Li and Lang 1979) and Ku Waru (Merlan and Rumsey 2001), ergative associated with animacy in Tauya (MacDonald 1990: 120), effector of change in Korafe (Farr 1999: 100), focus in Nabak (Fabian, Fabian and Waters 1998: 79), ergative with a contrastive function in Ono (Phinnemore 1983: 13), ergative associated with control or prominence in Timbe (Foster 1986) and contrasted subject in Duna (San Roque 2008). Rumsey (2010) and Rumsey, San Roque and Schieffelin (2013) use the term ‘optional ergativity’ as many TNG languages do not exhibit ‘canonical ergativity’. They suggest that

“a unifying approach to the markers in question is warranted, (...) they are best investigated in the context of ergativity, even if excluded from certain definitions of it” (2013: 136). However, while research for this work shows a link between the more syntactic ergative or nominative marking of some languages and pragmatic prominence, in others, Koromu data clearly demonstrates that while Koromu prominent noun phrase marking can disambiguate subject and object, the overriding characteristic is pragmatic, marking noun phrase prominence in various contexts.

In many TNG languages the markers concerned have the same form as the instrumental marker. For example, Koromu =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ has the same form as the instrumental postposition *te*. In other languages this is sometimes seen as suggesting a close link with ergative case. However, there could also be a link to prominence in information structure, as there is in Koromu. Furthermore, in some cases, there is no correspondence with instrumental. For example, specific =*nge* in the Rai Coast language of Siroi (Wells 1979: 12–13) has similar functions to the Koromu prominent noun phrase marker but is not the same form as the Siroi instrumental marker.

Ergative-like markers with discourse-pragmatic functions have been described elsewhere, e.g. in Australian (McGregor 1998, Verstraete 2010) and Tibeto-Burman languages (LaPolla 1995, Takeuchi and Takahashi 1995, DeLancey and Hyslop 2007, Hyslop 2010 DeLancey 2011). In Tibeto-Burman languages, it appears there have been pragmatic ergative markers in Old Tibetan texts from the eighth and ninth centuries (Takeuchi and Takahashi 1995).

In many language descriptions, the terms ‘ergative’ and ‘nominative’ are used even when the morpheme is not obligatory in all contexts. Similarly, ‘accusative’ is used in languages such as Turkish, Hindi and Spanish, even though accusative marking only occurs when the object is definite in Turkish, or specific and animate in Hindi and Spanish (Blake 1994: 120–121).

In Koromu the term ‘prominent noun phrase’ is applied, instead of a case marking term, because =*te* is used extensively to indicate discourse prominence of subject noun phrases in transitive, intransitive and nonverbal clauses, as well as to distinguish subject from object noun phrases in transitive clauses. Logically, there is a close link between the syntactic and discourse functions of =*te* as in each case a member of a set is highlighted to distinguish it from the remainder of the set of potential referents. Since the enclitic may indicate discourse prominence of noun phrases in nonverbal clauses and intransitive clauses, where there is no disambiguation between subject and object, there is no need to use case terminology. The syntactic and discourse functions of =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ are outlined in the following sections.

13.5.2 Inanimate referent noun phrases as effector subjects

Inanimate referent noun phrases commonly act as object noun phrases with the semantic roles of theme or patient. However, when they are effector subject noun phrases of dynamic transitive verbs, they can be followed by the enclitic =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’. In (13.19) an inanimate referent noun phrase is the complement in an instrumental postpositional phrase, while in (13.20) it is the subject noun phrase with =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ marking. The prominent noun phrase is cross-referenced by a subject suffix on the verb, while an object suffix refers to an animate patient. There is also implied discourse prominence since *tau* ‘axe’ is one member of a set of instruments that could have caused the injury.

(13.19) ...*wapi=ne tike te, ese here-pente...*
 arm=P3s knife INS cut PUT-LTD:3p
 ‘...they cut his arms with a knife...’ T5.23.20

(13.20) *Tau=te warike he-se-r-a.*
 axe=PNP bad PUT-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘The axe messed me up (put me in a bad way).’ D4.183.9

In examples (13.21) and (13.22) inanimate referent noun phrases such as *asi* ‘moon’ and *turupu* ‘hair’ occur with =*te* when they are effector subjects of dynamic verbs. These examples can also occur in contexts where the prominent noun phrase enclitic indicates that the marked entity is prominent in the discourse (see §13.5.5). An enclitic marked noun phrase could also be used to disambiguate between subject and object noun phrases in a variant of (13.22) if someone thought that the *ahare* ‘ears’ covered the *turupu* ‘hair’ (see §13.5.4.1).

(13.21) *Asi=te nau weine pa te-pe herine-r-a.*
 moon=PNP coconut leaf G/L get-SR glitter-PRES-3s
 ‘The moon is hitting (lit. ‘getting’) the coconut on its leaves and glittering.’ D8.274

(13.22) *Turupu=mai=te ahare=mai nuko-r-a.*
 hair=P1s=PNP ear=P1s envelop-PRES-3s
 ‘My hair is covering my ears.’ D2a14.1

Similarly, Scott (1996: 167) suggests that in Fore, another Trans New Guinea language, optional ergative markers “raise noun phrases to the top of the animacy scale...to function as agents” that have a semantic role indicating control. Note that Donohue and Donohue (1997: 90) suggest that this Fore noun phrase marker should be described as nominative.

13.5.3 The enclitic =te ‘prominent noun phrase’ and interrogative pronoun *me* ‘who’

The enclitic =te ‘prominent noun phrase’ is obligatory and therefore grammaticized when it occurs following a subject noun phrase or nonverbal predicate consisting of an interrogative pronoun *me* ‘who’. This interrogative pronoun always has an animate referent that refers to one of a set of potential referents, i.e. to a referent that is prominent in the discourse context. In the three examples below *me* ‘who’ is the subject noun phrase in transitive, intransitive active and intransitive stative clauses.

- (13.23) **Me=te** *wene=mai aharo ne-pe*
 who=PNP food=P1s bite eat-SR
te here-r-a?
 get PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘Who bit into some of my food and left (put) the rest?’ D3.100.10

- (13.24) **Me=te** *yare-r-a?*
 who=PNP go-PRES-3s
 ‘Who is going?’ (overheard frequently)

- (13.25) **Me=te** *mene-hera?*
 who=PNP stay-F3s
 ‘Who will stay?’ D8.13.3

In a formulaic dialogue, used when a person inside a house hears someone else approach or cough outside, *me* ‘who’ is followed by =te. The one-word answer is also followed by =te. Subject noun phrases of the nonverbal clauses are omitted, as a result each part of the dialogue consists of a sentence fragment.

- (13.26) A. “(U) *me=te?*” B. “*I=te.*”
 that who=PNP 1s=PNP
 ‘Who (is that)?’ ‘(It’s) me.’ D1.8.14

13.5.4 Disambiguating A and O where both core arguments are potential effectors

13.5.4.1 Disambiguating inanimate referent noun phrases as A and O

In some transitive clauses there are two inanimate referent noun phrases and either one could be the effector subject. In (13.27) *weri* ‘ulcer’ has a theme semantic role in the first clause. In the third clause, where there are two inanimate referent third singular noun phrases, *weri* ‘ulcer’ is followed by *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ since it is the effector subject noun phrase cross-referenced by the verbal suffix. Since O may occur before A (see §14.4.1), *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ contributes to an understanding of the grammar by disambiguating subject and object.

- (13.27) ...*weri arene men-a-te Mariron hausiki pa*
 ulcer big be-3s-DR Modilon hospital G/L
yare-pe n-a-te... weri =te marasin win-a-te...
 go-LTD:3s ulcer=PNP medicine beat-3s-DR
 ‘...he had a big ulcer and he went to Modilon hospital...and the ulcer beat the medicine...’ (The ulcer was not cured so it is described as ‘beating’ or ‘overriding the medicine’.) T1.10.11

13.5.4.2 Disambiguating inanimate and animate referent noun phrases as A and O

The inanimate referent noun *hekeni* ‘fire’ is, like human referent nouns, commonly associated with agency and so does not necessarily occur with *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’. However, since the dynamic verb *we* ‘act, burn’ can have either a human referent, *hekeni* ‘fire’ or *were* ‘sun’ as subject NP, *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ is sometimes needed to ensure that the subject is clearly indicated. Compare the following examples in which *hekeni* ‘fire’ is first an object and then a subject NP. In the second example (13.29) *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ indicates that *hekeni* ‘fire’, rather than a human third person singular referent, is the effector of the action.

- (13.28) *Hekeni we te re-pe...*
 fire act/light GET PUT-SR
 ‘(I) lit the fire...’ T5.20.24

- (13.29) **Heken=te** we here-r-a.
 fire=PNP burn PUT-PRES-3s
 ‘The fire is burning it up.’ D4.176.7

When an object with a human referent is clearly indicated by a verbal object suffix there is no need to disambiguate A and O, and *hekeni* ‘fire’ is not marked by =te ‘prominent noun phrase’.

- (13.30) *Hekeni* we re-se-r-a=mo.
 fire burn PUT-O1s-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘The fire is burning me.’ D3.115.2

13.5.4.3 Disambiguating animate A and O referents

In a transitive clause with two animate referent noun phrases the A can be followed by =te if there is a need to disambiguate between A and O. This is not always necessary because A can be distinguished from O by object and subject suffixes, by basic AOV word order (cf. §13.3) and/or because with some verbs the relative animacy of the noun phrase is sufficient to distinguish the subject. So, for example, with *te* ‘get’ in the first clause in (13.31) below, the relative animacy of the noun phrases and the AOV word order disambiguate the subject from the object.

- (13.31) *Tamaite aine t-apesi*
 man fish get-DES
karu ya pa aha ta-r-a.
 fishtrap river G/L throw END-PRES-3s
 ‘The man wants to get fish, so he throws a basket in the water.’ D5.194.2

With some verbs, there is potential ambiguity if both noun phrases have third singular referents of a similar level of animacy (cf. inanimate referents in §13.5.4.1). For example, in (13.32) below, with *wese* ‘chase’, both of the core argument noun phrases have a similar level of animacy and either one could be the agent. Since OAV order can occur when the O is fronted, the enclitic =te ‘prominent noun phrase’ disambiguates the subject from the object noun phrase. This marking on the noun phrase subject confirms that here the object noun phrase is fronted as a link (cf. §14.4.1).

- (13.32) ...*topi-pinte*, usu **esam=te** wese *te-pente*,...
 climb-LTD:1s pig dog=PNP chase GET-LTD:3p
 ‘...I climbed up, and then, a pig the dog chased it.’ T6.5.2

13.5.5 Indicating discourse prominence

13.5.5.1 Inanimate referents and prominence

Inanimate referent subject noun phrases that are not effectors can occur with =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ when the noun phrase has discourse prominence. In (13.33) two parallel statements⁹⁹ compare two inanimate members of a set. The enclitic =*te* indicates the discourse prominence of the subject noun phrase in the first statement.

- (13.33) **Io** **weti=te** arene men-a. No weti werane.
 GEN1s house=PNP big be-3s GEN2s house small
 ‘My house is big (bigger). Your house is small.’ (My house is bigger than yours.) D4.149.1

In the following dialogue (13.34) the predicate noun phrases¹⁰⁰ in both the question and the response have the prominent noun phrase enclitic =*te*. The speakers are discussing small pieces of ash floating in the air. Both the interrogative word and the noun phrase in the response refer to one of a set of potential referents. This set consists of things that commonly fall from above such as rain, leaves and ash, the latter from bush fires and fires used for fire breaks and hunting in the dry season. Clearly, =*te* does not have an instrumental use in these nonverbal clauses as neither of the speakers wanted to use *hekeni posoro* ‘ash pieces’ to do something. Note that the demonstrative can either occur in the left-most position of the clause as subject or it can be omitted.

- (13.34) A. (U) **mana=te?** B. (U) **hekeni posoro=te.**
 that what=PNP that fire ash pieces=PNP
 A. ‘What is that?’ B. ‘(That’s) flakes of fire ash.’ D8.10.5

⁹⁹ Further discourse context is not available for this example, but it was probably a response to a question about the comparative size of two houses, in which case this is an instance of contrastive topic. In Dik’s terms the statements are in parallel focus (1989: 394–395).

¹⁰⁰ In Dik’s framework this type of example may be considered to have completive focus on information given to fill an information gap (1989: 282, 285). However, Dik states that there is no contrast with information in completive focus. In Koromu when =*te* occurs there is an implied contrast or prominence.

The response to a question of this type does not necessarily have =te with the predicate NP. For example, the question in (13.35) was about something in the distance making a noise. Presumably, the respondent thought it was obvious that the sound was from a vehicle and so did not think it necessary to mark prominence in contrast to another entity, particularly as the term *kare* can be used to refer to any vehicle from a car to a truck.

- (13.35) A. (U) *mana*¹⁰¹=te? B. (U) *Kare*.
 that what=PNP that car
 A. ‘What (is it)?’ B. ‘A car (vehicle).’ D1.11.20

Generally, when the noun *asi* ‘moon’ occurs in a clause with a stative verb it is not marked by =te. However, when this noun phrase is prominent in contrast to some other shining object in the discourse or real-world context that gives light, such as *were* ‘sun’ or *hoko* ‘lamp’, it occurs with =te ‘prominent noun phrase’ marking (Sairam Tomas: pers. com.).

- (13.36) A. *Mana=te hu-r-a?*
 what=PNP shine-PRES-3s
 ‘What is shining?’
 B. *Asi=te hu-r-a.*
 moon=PNP shine-PRES-3s
 ‘The moon is shining.’ D7.1.8

13.5.5.2 Animate referents and prominence

With animate referent noun phrases the enclitic =te can indicate the discourse prominence of one noun phrase (§13.5.5.2.1) or of a number of noun phrases in a string (§13.5.5.2.2).

13.5.5.2.1 Prominence marking on one noun phrase in a clause

The discourse prominence of one animate referent noun phrase can be marked in transitive, intransitive or nonverbal clauses. For example, in the intransitive clauses in the dialogue below the first speaker hears a child crying inside a house and asks the mother of the family who it is and refers to the set of the addressee’s

101 *Mana* ‘what’ can refer to events or entities so, unlike *me* ‘who’, it does not have to occur with =te ‘prominent noun phrase’.

children, one of whom is possibly inside the house out of sight. In the second question, which is not entirely necessary, she guesses that it might be Pira, a specific child, presupposing that that one out of the set of possible referents is crying. In the mother's answer, the noun phrase that refers to the relevant child from the set of potential referents has the enclitic =*te* 'prominent noun phrase'.

(13.37) A. **Me=te** hiri-r-a? (**Pira=te**?)
 who=PNP cry-PRES-3s Pira=PNP
 'Who is crying?' ('Is it Pira?')

B. **Korin=te** hiri-r-a.
 Colin=PNP cry-PRES-3s
 'Colin is crying.'

In contrast, the enclitic =*te* is not needed if there is only one potential referent for the subject NP, for example, when the speaker and hearer can see which child is crying.

(13.38) *Korin* hiri-r-a.
 Colin cry-PRES-3s
 'Colin is crying.' D8.2.3

Similarly, the next example is quickly rejected by speakers of Koromu if it is clear that the speaker is stating the obvious in a common formulaic farewell. There is no set of potential referents from which a referent is chosen and no need of prominence marking.

(13.39) **I=te* yari-hi=mo.
 1s=PNP go-F1s=BM
 'I am going.'

The enclitic =*te* 'prominent noun phrase' can also attach to a final appositive NP. In the direct speech in (13.40), and in Line 7 in (13.43), it attaches to an anaphoric pronoun that follows a vocative. This noun phrase is made to "stand out" from noun phrases representing the other two people in the group who performed the task of looking for food. Then in the second clause, =*te* 'prominent noun phrase' occurs with a noun phrase that refers to another member of the group who will search in a different direction.

(13.40) "Ne, Home, **ne=te** eno ya were hei-ae!
 2s Home 2s=PNP over.there go see look for-IMP2s

I=te mo yari-hi=mo.’

1s=PNP here go-F1s=BM

‘“You, Home, you go and look over there and I will go here.”’ T1.15.67

The subject noun phrase can also be marked for prominence in transitive clauses where there is no need for syntactic prominence marking to disambiguate the subject and object, for example, when the object is marked by a verbal suffix, as in the extract in (13.41). Here the narrator highlights the identity of the person who told her this story about World War 2. It can be inferred from the context that there was a set of potential storytellers, that is her mother and father and possibly others, and that the referent indicated here is marked as standing out from these other alternatives.

(13.41) **Ahi-ma=te** sasi-se-pe “Tamaite wei tehei-pe n-e-te
mother-P1s=PNP tell-O1s-SR man fight walk-LTD:3p

esi pa umu-pe...

hole G/L hide-SR

‘My mother told me, “Men fought, walked and hid in (fox)holes...”’

T5.5.28

In another example, from a text about land problems and a court case, the discourse context includes a set of protagonists represented by *nene* ‘they’ and *sene* ‘we’. In the third clause =te attaches to *sene* ‘we’, the prominent referent, because this group was successful in overcoming the case put forward by the alternative group represented by *nene* ‘they’. It is also possible that *nono sakine* ‘their talk’ could have been the effector and thus that =te disambiguates the subject and object.

(13.42) *Nene koto pa yar-e=mo.*

3p court G/L go-3p=BM

Koto napa tai pi-a.

court P3p NEG stand-3s

Nono sakine sene=te eme he-r-ia.

GEN3p talk 1p=PNP die PUT-PRES-1p

‘They went to court. Their court didn’t hold up (lit. ‘stand’). We disposed of their arguments’ (lit. ‘Their talk we caused it to die’). T5.23.40

The following long extract tracks the activities of several participants. *Yako* and *Awai* are both identifiable from the discourse and are both mentioned initially without =te. But in lines 5 and 10 *Yako* is the member of the group selected for

prominence, rather than either *Awai* or the first person narrator. The free translation is provided line by line because of the length of the extract.

- (13.43) L1 ...*usu te re-pe*,
 pig get put-SR
 'I put down the pig and,
- L2 *Yako sau-pe "Ho-ae!" u-r-i=mo.*
 Yako tell.3s-SR butcher-IMP-2s quote-PRES-1s=BM
 I told Yako, "Butcher it!" I said.
- L3 *Yako, "Maikoho-se-r-a=mo,"*
 Yako not.want-O1s-PRES-3s=BM
 Yako said, "I don't want to,"
- L4 *u-a-te, pari mene mene ta-pe*
 quote-3s-DR then stay stay END-SR
 he said it and then we¹⁰² stayed and stayed for some time and
- L5 *pari Yako=to hor-a.*
 eventually Yako=PNP butcher-3s
 eventually Yako butchered it.
- L6 ...*upusa Awai sau-r-a. Awai sau-pe n-a-te*
 before Awai tell.3s-PRES-3s Awai tell.3-LTD:3s
 before that, he spoke to Awai. He spoke to Awai,
- L7 "*Awai, ne=te usu ho-ae!" u-r-a.*
 Awai 2s=PNP pig butcher-IMP1s quote-PRES-3s
 "Awai, you butcher the pig," he said.
- L8 *Umo "Enai-se-r-i=mo," u-r-a.*
 but tired-O1s-PRES-1s=BM quote-PRES-3s
 But "I am tired," he said.
- L9 "*Koia ne-r-i=mo," u-a-te*
 sweet.potato eat-PRES-1s=BM quote-3s-DR
 "I am eating sweet potato," he said and

102 There is no actual indication of the subject of this clause. However, since we know that both the narrator and Yako were there, it seems logical to conclude that the subject is first person plural.

L10 *si* ***Yako=to***¹⁰³ *ho-r-a*.
 so.then Yako=PNP butcher-PRES-3s
 so then, Yako butchered it.’ T2.14.18

- Line 1: The noun *usu* ‘pig’, the object in this clause, is omitted from the direct speech in line 2.
- Line 2: The participant *Yako* is introduced for the first time as the object of the verb *sau* ‘tell 3s’. This is a common position for the introduction of new participants (see Du Bois 2003).
- Line 3: *Yako* is the unmarked agent in the clause and the predictable referent for subject noun phrase since he was mentioned in the previous two clauses and was the addressee who was expected to respond in Line 2. The lexical noun phrase is therefore sufficient to indicate the shift from O to A status. The prominent noun phrase enclitic =te is unnecessary because there is only one possible subject noun phrase.
- Line 4: The first clause has a different referent suffix. The second indicates time passing and ends with -pe ‘same referent’. Even though this verb’s first person plural referent is followed by third person singular there is referential overlap since the singular referent is one of the preceding plural referents. A certain amount of discontinuity is indicated by *pari* ‘then, eventually, again’ at the beginning of the following clause.
- Line 5: The subject noun phrase is unpredictable since *Yako* refused to butcher the pig earlier. Both *Yako* and the narrator were potential subjects here, so this example could be said to be counter-presuppositional.
- Line 6: Lines 6 to 9 flashback to previous events. *Awai* is introduced by an object noun phrase.
- Line 7: Within the mini discourse of the quoted speech, vocative *Awai* and *ne* ‘you’ are appositive noun phrases. *Ne* ‘you’ with =te ‘prominent noun phrase’ shows that this participant is chosen out of the set of two potential referents, *Yako* the narrator and *Awai*.
- Lines 8 and 9 express *Awai*’s refusal to do the butchering.
- Line 9: There is a return to the main sequence of events. The noun phrase *Yako* occurs with =te ‘prominent noun phrase’ since *Yako* is the one out of the three referents who actually did the butchering.

Examples of =te ‘prominent noun phrase’ also occur in stative clauses with *mene* ‘be, stay’. The example below gives prominence to the people of the past, in

103 The enclitic =te is affected by progressive vowel harmony after a back vowel (§2.4.3.3.2).

contrast to the people of the present who are mentioned in earlier clauses of the discourse.

- (13.44) *Sumurapa asiapae=te mo pa men-e.*
 before ancestors=NP this G/L be/stay-3p
 ‘Long ago the ancestors were/stayed here.’ T2.33.4

In (13.45) *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ follows a subject noun phrase when there are no other participants in the discourse. However, there is an implied contrast between the speaker’s behaviour as a child and as an adult.

- (13.45) *I=te werekane mene-pe u sei*
 1s=PNP young be-SR that REAS
oru miri-se-r-a =mo.
 sorrow-O1s-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘I was a child, so it upset me.’ D7.53.5

The enclitic *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ can express discourse prominence with the subject or predicate in nonverbal clauses. It occurs with subject noun phrases when a postpositional phrase is the predicate. The extract below is from a text about three men on a journey down the Ramu River. Either Oroi or the narrator could have floated downstream on the same log as Hiriae so there is a need to distinguish one of them.

- (13.46) *Oroi sau-pinte “Ne=te Hiriae=rare,” u-i.*
 Oroi tell.3s-LTD:1s 2s=PNP Hiriae=with quote-1s
 ‘I told Oroi, “You are with Hiriae,” I said.’ T2.15.21

In (13.47) a postpositional phrase with locative meaning is in the left-most position followed by a subject noun phrase *Kahu* marked as prominent with *=te*. The example is in a text that describes the birth order of a set of siblings.

- (13.47) *Saripi ahare ehi pa, Kahu=te.*
 Saripi ALOC leg G/L Kahu=PNP
 ‘After Sarip was born (by Sarip’s leg), was/is Kahu.’ T1.9.9

Examples of noun phrases with *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ occur in equative clauses (§3.7.1.2) in a dialogue about photographs (13.48). There are several people in the pictures and each time a specific person is referred to the relevant noun phrase occurs with *=te*. The prominent noun phrase enclitic occurs with

the informative subject-like predicate rather than with the demonstrative, which cannot occur in the final position of nonverbal clauses. The demonstrative is omitted in the final clause of (13.48 B) since it is topical (cf. §13.2.3).

- (13.48) A. “*Mo Ahe=te.*”
 this Ahe=PNP
 ‘This is Ahe.’
- B. “*Mo uo, Saho=te. Si Arikao=te.*”
 this GRD Saho=PS then Arikao=PNP
 ‘This, (this) is Saho. Then (this) is Arikao.’ D1.9.18

The example in (13.49) shows that a noun phrase with =te ‘prominent noun phrase’ can be a subject coreferential noun phrase within a *uo*-marked link or topic-like element (see §14.3.2.1). The noun phrase is marked for prominence. The referent stands out from the other members of the community mentioned earlier in the discourse.

- (13.49) ...*pa-ima yame-ne uo, “Ou,” u-e.*
 father-P1s in-law¹⁰⁴-P3s GRD Ou quote-3p
Pa-ima=te uo, Ou seipa uo, “Ou=mo,”
 father-P1s=PNP GRD Ou REAS GRD yam=BM
tai u-pu-a.
 NEG quote-HAB-3s
 ‘...my father’s in-law (*tambu*), they call him “Ou”. My father, in contrast to others, can’t say the word ‘yam’ because he has a taboo relative whose name is yam.’ (lit. ‘My father, because of Ou, doesn’t say “(It is) yam”.’) T74.19

A co-referential subject noun phrase in a right detachment can also occur with =te ‘prominent noun phrase’. In (13.50) below one set of people is selected from a larger group of people discussed before the recording of the text. Since the identity of the people hasn’t been expressed earlier in the actual narrative the narrator adds the information in the right detachment or tail (cf. §14.5).

104 People do not say the name of an in-law or use the identical form for another referent. In Tok Pisin all these people are referred to as *tambu* (cf. §4.3.3.2 and §6.5.3.3).

- (13.50) *Aine tapare pate te ka-pente, Korokoro=am=te.*
 fish forest S/L get come-LTD:3p Korokoro=group=PNP
 ‘They brought fish from the bush, Korokoro and the others.’ T2.26.2

13.5.5.2.2 Prominence marking on more than one noun phrase

Each animate referent noun phrase in a list can be marked as a prominent noun phrase since the list refers to a subset of a larger set of potential referents. In (13.51) the noun phrases refer to several community members that were involved in activities on the mountains that day. The list occurs near the beginning of a text and includes the speaker and the hearer (cf. §5.11.3). If the speaker and hearer had been the only participants in the action the discourse could possibly have begun with *sene* ‘1p’ as a link or topic-like element (cf. §14.3.2.1).

- (13.51) *Karo=te, i=te, Keirep=te, Ien=te, Keirep=te,*
 Carol=PNP me=PNP Caleb=PNP Ian=PNP Caleb=PNP
e Pira=te, Kaki=te, u otepe yar-ia.
 eh Pira=PNP Kaki=PNP that group go-1p
 ‘Carol, me, Caleb, Ian, Colin, eh,¹⁰⁵ Pira and Kaki, that group we went.’
 AV.K.v.2.1

Later in the same text other people are involved in the action as well. The new set of participants is given in a list and each subject noun phrase again occurs with *=te*.

- (13.52) “...*Tinti=te, i=te, Karo=te, Kaki=te,*
 Tinti=PNP 1s=PNP Carol=PNP Kaki=PNP
Keirep=te, Ien=te, Pira=te, Ene pa=nema=te,
 Caleb=PNP Ian=PNP Pira=PNP Ene father=P3s=PNP
u otepe mi-pe...
 that group move.down-SR
 ‘Tinti, me, Carol, Kaki, Caleb, Ian, Pira, Ene(’s) father, that group came down...’ AV.K.v.2

105 The narrator corrected herself as Colin was not a member of the group.

14 Ground – links and tails

14.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the ground/background component of information structure and its role in grammar and information packaging (cf. §13.2.1). As indicated in the heading, the ground can be either a topic-like link or a tail. This background information in Koromu is described below in sections on basic characteristics of the ground (§14.2), links with *uo*-marking (§14.3), links without *uo*-marking (§14.4) and tails (§14.5).

14.2 Basic characteristics of the ground

As has been noted in §13.2.1, the ground, or background (Chafe 1976, Halliday 1967, Halliday and Matthiessen 2014), given (Reesink 1994, 2014) or relationally given topic (Gundel and Fretheim 2006: 181), provides a framework for the “informative focus”. In Vallduvi’s approach (1992: 46–47) it is the part of a communication representing knowledge “the speaker assumes that the hearer already possesses” and can be subdivided into the link and tail. Links function as topic-like elements that refer to identifiable information in the preceding discourse or real-world context. Lambrecht (1994: 77–78) describes an identifiable referent as:

one for which a shared representation already exists in the speaker’s and the hearer’s mind at the time of the utterance, while an unidentifiable referent is one for which a representation exists only in the speaker’s mind.

Links point to, or link the hearer to, the place, or address, where subsequent ‘focus’ information can be entered into the hearer’s knowledge-store. In the example “The boss [_F visited a broccoli plantation in COLUMBIA]”, the link, also the subject here, is “the boss” and the focus is the information in brackets entered under the address or link. A link can also be a preposed complement as in “The boss₁ [_F I wouldn’t BOTHER t₁]”, and there can be multiple links as in “Broccoli₁ the boss [_F doesn’t EAT t₁]” (Vallduvi 1992: 50). In Koromu links are more common than tails. They occur before other clausal constituents, either at the beginning of a sentence or following a dependent verb at the start of a new clausal constituent, as in **Sene uo, usu oro napuria**. [we, pig shoot eat-HAB-PRES-1p] ‘We, we shoot pigs’. Links may occur with *uo* (§14.3) or without (§14.4) *uo*-marking.

The tail “does not display linklike behaviour”. Instead it gives further information about how the focal information fits into the knowledge-store that is

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already pointed to by the link. It does this by completing, or altering, the knowledge that is already there (Vallduví 1993: 9) and acting “as a signaling flag to indicate exactly how the information carried by the sentence must be entered under a given address” in the knowledge-store (Vallduví 1992: 49). In the following example, the response includes a link, a focus and a tail. A: “What about the president? How does he feel about chocolate?” B: “[_LThe president] [_FHATES] [_T chocolate].” (cf. Vallduví 1993: 10). Tails in Koromu are usually right detached, but they can occur within the clause and may occur with, or without, the particle *uo* ‘ground’ (see §14.5). The first tail in (14.1) makes anaphoric reference to information in the first clause.

- (14.1) *Kare pa te re-pi n-ia-te,*
 car G/L get PUT-LTD:1p
heri oru pa, hekeni uo.
 net.bag inside G/L firewood GRD
Ea ka-ia=mo, kare pate.
 yesterday come-1p=BM car S/L
 ‘We put it in the car, it was inside net bags, **the firewood**. Yesterday we came, **with the car**.’ T1.2.2

14.3 Links with *uo*-marking

This section begins with a description of the basic characteristics of Koromu links with *uo*-marking (§14.3.1). The various types of *uo*-marked link are then described in sections on clausal constituents as initial *uo*-marked links (§14.3.2), clauses as initial *uo*-marked links (§14.3.3), *uo*-marked appositive links (§14.3.4) and *uo*-marked link strings (§14.3.5).

14.3.1 Basic characteristics of links with *uo*-marking

Link constituents marked by *uo* ‘ground’ occur in the left-most position of a clause. They form a distinct intonation group with falling intonation, a pause before the main body of the clause and a final particle *uo* ‘ground’. There is no anaphoric pronoun in the subsequent focal part of the clause, but coreferential subject and object arguments may be represented by verbal suffixes. The form *uo* may derive from *u* ‘that’, the demonstrative widely used for anaphoric reference, combined with enclitic =*o* ‘exclamation’ or postposition *o* ‘genitive’. Other Papuan languages, for example Usan and Korafe, also have forms that combine

a determiner/deictic and a further constituent to create a marker for background or “domain-creating constructions” (Reesink 1994, 2014). When Usan *eng* ‘that’ is used for discourse deixis, the speaker assumes the referents of the marked constituents to be “present (or backgrounded) in the consciousness of the hearer, because they have been explicitly introduced earlier in the discourse or can be taken for granted on the basis of general or contextual knowledge” (Reesink 2014: 244).

Koromu constituents that occur as links with *uo* ‘ground’ are noun phrases, temporals, locatives, postpositional phrases, the linking adverbial *si* ‘then/so then’, and clauses in realis or irrealis mode that form adverbial and conditional clauses respectively.

The *uo*-marked constituents have several semantic and informational characteristics. *Uo*-marked noun phrases such as full lexical noun phrases, pronouns or demonstrative pronouns are often, although not necessarily, coreferential with the subject and object arguments of the subsequent verb. *Uo*-marked temporals, locatives, postpositional phrases, linking adverbials and clauses refer to temporal, spatial or other background information for the clause. They can be compared with Chafe’s “topic” (1976: 50) which sets “a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds”.

Uo-marked links are common at the beginning of a discourse where they refer either to the narrator, other people or entities present in the real world, or to real-world conditions such as time, location or events. They are also common within a discourse when they refer to a topic that has been mentioned earlier in the discourse. Noun phrase links, particularly, can occur at points where there is a shift in topic. Temporal or locative *uo*-marked links can occur when there is a shift in time or location. As in Usan, “how a topic is expressed in a clause or sentence is strongly conditioned by discourse topicality” (Reesink 2014: 232).

Interrogative words that naturally bear pragmatic focus, and constituents that cannot stand alone, such as postpositions, particles, clitics, conjunctions, subordinators and some modifiers, cannot occur as the ground and therefore they cannot occur as links.

Some examples of the different types of *uo*-marked links are given below with the free translation that corresponds to the link highlighted in bold type. In (14.2) a noun phrase is a link to a referent mentioned earlier in the discourse with prominent noun phrase marking. This background information is retrieved when there is a switch in topic from *henahina* ‘old woman’ back to *ahi-ma* [mother-P1s] ‘my mother’.

- (14.2) ...*ahi-ma=te*, *hekeni* (...)
 mother-P1s=PNP firewood
henahina=te *hekeni topo re-pe n-a-te*,
 old.woman=PNP fire build PUT-LTD:3s
ene n-a-te,
 lie STAY-3s-DR
ahi-ma uo, *wera hekeni pa ene re-pe...*
 mother-P1s GRD baby fire G/L lie PUT-SR
 ‘...my mother, the firewood...the old woman built up the fire
 and then lay down and, **my mother**, (she) lay the baby by the fire and...’
 T1.10.3

The *uo*-marked postpositional phrase in (14.3) is a link to the overall topic of “gardening activities throughout the year” discussed before the recording was made. The clauses immediately before this are about events in the wet season. But at this point there is a switch to a description of the *nahe* ‘mami (yam)’ harvest season.

- (14.3) ***Nahe oto pa uo***, *nahe oro re-pe...*
 mami day G/L GRD mami dig PUT-SR
 ‘**In the days of mami**, dig up mami (yam type)...’ T1.33.29

The linking adverbial *si* occurs with *uo* when it is a link between salient information in a preceding clause and new information in a subsequent clause. The first clause in the example below describes soldiers sitting in foxholes on the ridges above Kesawai 1 during the Second World War. The linking adverbial *si* with *uo* indicates that this is background information for the final clause that describes the soldiers watching or guarding the place.

- (14.4) *Poho ne-pe*, ***si uo***, *sa hestai-pu-e*.
 sit STAY-SR then GRD place watch-HAB-3p
 ‘They sat and, **then**, they watched the place.’ T5.5.4

Clauses with realis status followed by the particle *uo* ‘ground’, function as adverbial clauses representing ‘when’, ‘given that’ or ‘about’. In (14.5) the *uo*-marked link clause provides background information about the time of the event in the final clause.

- (14.5) ...*he ka-pe ene he ta¹⁰⁶-pe*
 return come-SR lie return END-SR
u pate serip-ia uo,
 that S/L get.up-1p GRD
pari ya taho te he ya mere-ia.
 again river follow GET return go move.up-1p
 ‘...we came back and slept and **when we got up from there**, again we followed the river and went back up.’ T3.3b.34

A clause in irrealis mode provides background information as a hypothetical conditional link for a main clause.

- (14.6) *Ya ka-hara uo, tahi kes ta-hara.*
 rain come-F3s GRD clothes wet END-F3s
 ‘**If rain comes**, the clothes will get wet.’ D10.52.7

Several different types of link can occur with one clause. In some cases, they provide information about the same semantic domain and are related to the overall topic of the discourse. For example, in a procedural text about community activities throughout the year there are six *uo*-marked *pa* ‘goal/locative’ postpositional phrases, three *uo*-marked clauses and one *uo*-marked noun phrase, all with temporal reference to parts of the gardening year, the overall topic of the text, see also (14.3). Examples (14.7) and (14.8) below are from the same text. The temporal information in the clause link is reinforced by the postpositional phrase link. Then fourteen clauses and one *uo*-marked clause later the events of the dry season are summed up in an all-focus clause (cf. §13.2.1, and §13.3).

- (14.7) ...*were wi hir-a uo, sa oto pa uo,*...
 sun act PUT-3s GRD time day G/L GRD
 ‘...**when the sun burns, in those days,**...’ T1.33.2
- (14.8) ...*u were oto pa u-pu-r-ia.*
 that sun day G/L do-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘...during those sunny days we do this.’ T1.33.9

106 A completed sleep event is described by this serial verb construction, see chapter 10 also.

14.3.2 Clausal constituents as initial *uo*-marked links

Many clausal constituents can occur as initial *uo*-marked links, namely, subject coreferential noun phrases (§14.3.2.1), object coreferential noun phrases (§14.3.2.2), loosely associated noun phrases (§14.3.2.3), temporals (§14.3.2.4), locatives (§14.3.2.5), postpositional phrases (§14.3.2.6) and linking adverbials (§14.3.2.7).

14.3.2.1 Subject coreferential NP links with *uo*-marking

To examine noun phrase links that are coreferential with the subject the material is described in relation to subject links with various clause types (§14.3.2.1.1), subject links contrasted with subject noun phrases and suffixes (§14.3.2.1.2), subject links, identifiable referents and topic change (§14.3.2.1.3), subject links that include relative clauses (§14.3.2.1.4) and subject links with temporal reference (§14.3.2.1.5).

14.3.2.1.1 *Uo*-marked subject NP links and various clause types

Subject coreferential noun phrase links are always definite noun phrases since their purpose is to refer to identifiable referents in the knowledge-store. They can be coreferential with the subjects of non-verbal (14.9), intransitive (14.10) and transitive clauses (14.11). In (14.9) and (14.10) the links refer to information that is part of the knowledge-store because it was mentioned in preceding clauses. Each link occurs when there is a switch in topic. In (14.11) the referents indicated are in the knowledge-store because they were discussed immediately before the recording.

(14.9) *Nahe uo, sono sakine.*
 nahe GRD GEN1p language
 ‘**Nahe** (mami), (it) is our language.’ T74.6

(14.10) *Nene uo, Tapusa yar-e-te...*
 3p GRD Tapusa go-3p-DR
 ‘**They**, they went to Tapusa...’ T2.11.15

(14.11) *Sene uo, hekeni Sande tama re-pe n-ia-te...*
 1p GRD fire Sunday light PUT-LTD:1p
 ‘**We**, we lit the fire on Sunday.’ T2.10.1

A series of conjoined subject noun phrases with a final consolidating pronoun (cf. §5.12.2) can be followed by *uo* ‘link’ as in the second line of (14.12). This example also shows that the linking adverbial *si* ‘then’ can precede a noun phrase link. For a further example see (14.52).

(14.12) *Si sene uo, Monpea keti toru=no, keke*
 then 1p GRD Monpea mountain ridge=P3s follow
ta m-ia.... Si Karo=ama, Max=ama, Lin=ama,
 END down-1p so.then Carol=group Max=group Lynn=group
Keri=ama, nene uo, Peretepesa mi-pe...
 Keri=group 3p GRD Peretepesa go.down-SR
 ‘Then we, we followed the Monpea mountain ridge down.... So then
 Carol, Max, Lynn, plus Keri, they, went down Peretepesa...’ T3.3.46

Table 14.1 shows noun phrase links that are coreferential with core arguments from the data set used in Tables 13.1 and 13.2, plus 38 clauses with subject coreferential noun phrase links.

Table 14.1: NP subject *uo*-marked links: Transitive, intransitive, non-verbal clauses.

Transitive Verbal Clauses						
	Link to A	A subject	Link to O	O object	Verb	Number of clauses
No NP link		A		O	V	48
		A		—	V	30
		—		O	V	414
		—		—	V	264
Total no NP link						756
+A/O link	A <i>uo,</i>	—		O	V	16
	A <i>uo,</i>	—	O <i>uo,</i>	—	V	1
Total NP Subject Links						17
Intransitive Verbal Clauses						
	Link to S	S subject	–	–	Verb	Total Clauses
No NP link		S			V	106
		—			V	644
Total no NP links						750
+S link	S <i>uo,</i>	—			V	12
Total NP Subject Links						12

Table 14.1 (continued)

Nonverbal Clauses					
	Link to S	S subject	–	Predicate	
No NP link		NP		PRED	20
		—		PRED	8
Total no NP link					28
+S link	NP uo,	—		PRED	9
Total NP Subject Links					9
Overall Total of NP Subject Links = 38					38

14.3.2.1.2 *Uo*-marked subject NP links in contrast to subject NPs and suffixes

The subject of a clause can be indicated by a subject noun phrase, verbal suffix or subject coreferential noun phrase link. The subject coreferential links exemplified above contrast with the subject noun phrases that occur in presentational contexts when a new or unpredictable participant is introduced (cf. §13.3) as in (14.13).

- (14.13) *Usu ato sa amkoru pasi-sek-a.*
 pig a/one path middle met-O1s-3s
 ‘A pig met us in the middle of the path.’ T2.11.2

When there is “topic continuity” from preceding clauses this can be indicated by dependent verbs marked for same or different subject following (see §9.4). Subject noun phrases can be omitted from the focus and the ground following same-referent dependency suffixes. In that context, topic continuity is maintained and there is no need to indicate either a focal referent or a link to one in the knowledge-store.

14.3.2.1.3 *Uo*-marked subject NP links, identifiable referents and topic change

Subject coreferential noun phrase links indicate a referent that is identifiable at points in a discourse where there is some discontinuity in the topic. They can occur at the beginning of a discourse when reference is made to the narrator or other real-world participants present at the time or mentioned in earlier discussion. They can also occur within a discourse, following final verbs or following verbs with different referent marking if there is a shift back to a topic mentioned earlier.

First person pronoun links can occur at the beginning of personal histories and procedural accounts involving the speaker when the narrator and the addressee have discussed the topic earlier. In this way, first person referents are

identifiable from the real world and the information about them provides a link for subsequent information.

- (14.14) *I uo, ene n-i.*
 1s GRD lie STAY-1s
I weti pa ene n-i.
 1s house G/L lie STAY-1s
 ‘I, I lay sleeping. I lay sleeping at the house.’ T1.15.1

First person plural links are common at the beginning of procedural accounts when the narrator identifies his-, or herself, with other members of a group of real-world participants involved in the activities he or she describes. In the example below the subject noun phrase link is also followed by a clausal link (cf. §14.3.5).

- (14.15) *Sene uo, hekeni tama-pu-r-ia uo,*
 1p GRD fire set.alight-HAB-PRES-1p GRD
hekeni tama-p¹⁰⁷-r-ia-te yare-pe...
 fire set.alight-HAB-PRES-1p-DR go-SR
 ‘We, when we set alight fires, we set alight fires and they go, ...’ T1.26.1

Subject noun phrase links to referents who are identifiable from earlier conversation can occur at points in a discourse where there is a shift in topic.

- (14.16) *Asiapae uo, usu were-pe ka-pe...*
 ancestors GRD pig see-SR come-SR
 ‘The ancestors, they saw pigs and came...’ T1.26.15

In (14.17) there is a switch in topic where the definite subject noun phrase link at the beginning of the second clause refers to a participant who was present in the real-world situation at the time of the recording.

- (14.17) *...aire ta-ie. Ohu-ma uo, koia*
 arrive END-1p agemate-P1s GRD sweet.potato
here here-pe n-a-te, poho n-a-te...
 cook PUT-LTD:1p sit STAY-3s-DR
 ‘...we arrived. My agemate, he put sweet potato to cook, and then he sat...’ T1.22.47

107 Pre-vocalic /u/ elision can occur in rapid speech (§2.4.2.2.3).

The link in the next example refers to referents identifiable in the real-world context, at a point where there is a switch in topic away from the first-person narrator. The link follows a verb with loose temporal dependency marking (cf. §9.4.4).

- (14.18) ...*a te re*¹⁰⁸.*pinte*, **Sara=ama hena-ima=ama**,
 come get PUT-LTD:1s Sarah=group woman-P1s=group
uo, *wau oto-e-te*, *aire ta-pe*,...
 GRD banana looking after-3p-DR arrive END-SR
 ‘I came and put them and, **Sara and my wife**, they were looking after
 the bananas, and I arrived and...’ T6.7.11

The extracts in (14.19) come from one narrative. Several participants are introduced at the beginning of the story in a presentational context (i). The continuity of these referents as topics is indicated by dependent and final verb suffixes at various points in the text, for example (ii). There are several clauses in which another participant, the truck driver, is the subject, for example the dependent clause in (iii) in which a dependent verb has different referent marking and an object suffix. The link in (iv) occurs when there is a shift in topic within the story. There is reference to the participants indicated by the object suffix and anaphorically to earlier structures. This provides the ground for the new information in (iv).

- (14.19) i. ...*I=te*, *poroman=te*, *Madan tamaite*
 1s=PNP agemate=PNP Madang man
ato=te, *otepe*, *Kainantu yari-hia-mpe*
 one=PNP all Kainantu go-F1p-INT
- ii. *U pa topi-pe yar-ie*... ...
 there GL climb-SR go-1p
- iii. *Pe he-sek-a-te*,
 stand PUT-O1p-3s-DR
- iv. **sene uo**, *makete pa yar-ia*,
 1p GRD market G/L go-1p
 ‘I, my agemate, and one Madang man, all planned to go to Kainantu...
 there we climbed up and went.
 He put us down,
 and **we**, we went to the market.’ T1.21.15

108 When *here* PUT follows *te* ‘get’ it retains its meaning and the construction indicates that something was put somewhere away from the agent’s body (cf. §10.5.2).

In (14.20) *Korosa* is introduced at the beginning of the narrative in a presentational all-focus clause (see §13.3). Topic continuity is indicated by same referent and third person singular suffixes until a new participant, *naere* ‘snake’, is introduced in (iii). After two clauses in which *naere* ‘snake’ is the subject, and following a different referent suffix, a pronoun link indicates that the main participant, *Korosa*, is reactivated as the topic.

- (14.20) i. *Tamaite ato Korosa=te sau-pe n-a-te*.....
 man one Korosa=PNP tell.3s-LTD:3s
 ‘One man, Korosa said ... (T1.14.2)
- ii. *...si, wesese aha-ne ato ho-a uo,*
 then trap mother-P3s one chop-3s GRD
- iii. *naere nampa ene-pe*
 snake above lie-SR
- iv. *yaine soso t-a-te,*
 urine flow END-3s-DR
- v. *ni uo, “Ya mo,” u-a.*
 3s GRD water this quote-3s
 ‘One man, Korosa said...
 ...then, while he cut one mother of a trap, a snake lay above him,
 it urinated and **he**, he said, “This is rain/water”.’ T1.14.6

The extracts in (14.21) come from a text that first describes the activities of a group of people in (i) and then the activities of subsets of that group. Links indicate the subsets of the original group as they are involved in concurrent events at different places. The links are followed by new, focal information. As a result, there is an overall switch in topic, even though the first link in (iii) refers to the subject of the preceding clause.

- (14.21) i. *...hetere mere-ia*.....
 run move.down-1p
- ii. *... ... “Yar-ahe,” o re-pe n-a-te*
 go-IMP2s do PUT-LTD:3s
- iii. *ni uo, ni hare weti pa yar-a-te*
 3s GRD 3s ALOC house G/L go-3s-DR
- iv. *sene uo, ka-r-ia.*
 1p GRD come-PRES-1p
 ‘...we ran down.He said, “You go.” **He**, he went to his house and
we, we came.’ T1.20.37

14.3.2.1.4 *Uo*-marked subject NP links that include relative clauses

A subject coreferential noun phrase link can include a relative clause. This is common when relative clauses are elicited since the data is discussed prior to the transcription. Thus, the information is recoverable from the knowledge-store, as in the following single sentence elicitation. Postnominal relative clauses with the relative pronoun *une* (cf. §12.10) occur in the following two examples. In (14.22) the NP_{rel} has subject function and there is also an initial anaphoric pronoun *ni* ‘he/she’. In (14.23) NP_{rel} has object function.

- (14.22) *Werakane* [*ni une were-nek-a*] *uo*,
 child 3s RELP see-O3p-3s GRD
pe asa ya n-a.
 channel other.side go STAY-3s
 ‘**The child [he who saw them]**, he has gone the other side of the channel.’ D9.37.5b

- (14.23) *Hena* [*ni une yo-r-a*] *uo*,
 woman 3s RELP shout.to-PRES-3s GRD
tai ese-r-a.
 NEG hear-PRES-3s
 ‘**The woman [who he shouted to]**, she doesn’t hear.’ D9.37.8

A postnominal relative clause with no relative pronoun (cf. §12.11) can also occur in a subject noun phrase link.

- (14.24) *Tamaite* [\emptyset *were-r-i*] *uo*,
 man NP_{rel} see-PRES-1s GRD
na pea te-r-a.
 thing steal GET-PRES-3s
 ‘**The man I see**, he stole something.’ D4.172.5

14.3.2.1.5 *Uo*-marked subject NP links and temporal reference

When subject coreferential noun phrase links occur, temporal reference is not necessarily sequential. The events indicated in the clause following the link can be concurrent with, or in a totally different time frame from, events in the previous clause. In (14.25) the events occur concurrently, while the link refers to a participant who was mentioned frequently earlier in the discourse.

- (14.25) ...sono wene n-a pao pu hur-e.
 GEN1p food eat-3s IGEN plant PUT-3p
I uo, sowahe era-r-i.
 1s GRD ginger grate-PRES-1s
 ‘...they were putting out our food. **As for me**, I was grating ginger’.
 T6.7.22

In (14.26) the initial clause refers to events in World War II. The next clause follows a link and indicates events in a very different time frame. The link refers to the addressee who is present in the real-world situation.

- (14.26) ... eno pa yar-e, waoro pa
 over.there G/L go-3p rock G/L
 eno pa. **Ne uo**, mo akaru pa
 over.there G/L 2s GRD this path G/L
 ka-pe,... waoro eno were-pu-r-i.
 come-SR rock over.there see-HAB-PRES-2s
 ‘...they went over there, to the rocks over there. **As for you**, you
 come on this path... and you (habitually) see the rocks over there.’
 T5.5.18

14.3.2.2 Object coreferential NP links with *uo*-marking

14.3.2.2.1 Introduction

Object noun phrase links with *uo*-marking are described in the following sections on *uo*-marked object links in contrast to object noun phrases and suffixes (§14.3.2.2.2) and object links and identifiable referents (§14.3.2.2.3).

14.3.2.2.2 *Uo*-marked object NP links in contrast to object NPs and suffixes

The object of a clause can be indicated by an object noun phrase within the clause, verbal suffix marking or an object coreferential link. Overt reference to the object can be omitted when it is clear there is “topic continuity” from a preceding clause.

An object noun phrase is part of the new focus information when it occurs before the verb in a clause with AOV word order (14.27).

- (14.27) ...*sene ya nu-pu-r-ia*.
 2p water drink-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘...we drink the water.’ T5.20.43

Object noun phrase links are fronted to initial position before a subject noun phrase, but if the subject noun phrase is marked by =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’, this is sufficient to indicate that the object noun phrase is a link (see §14.4.1 below). However, the link is *uo*-marked if there is a possibility that the object noun phrase might not be recognized as link information, or if it is also a general or major topic in the discourse.

When a subject noun phrase is omitted from a clause owing to topic continuity of the subject referent, it is not possible to tell whether the object is fronted as a link unless it is marked by *uo*. This occurs in the following example where *na* ‘things’ are identifiable referents from earlier clauses.

- (14.28) *Sene nupu tapa men-ia=mo*.
 1p many outside stay-1p=BM
Na uo, *we ta har-a=mo*.
 thing GRD burn END PUT-3s=BM
 ‘Many of us were outside. **The things**, it burnt (them)¹⁰⁹ up.’ T6.4.27

Object noun phrase links occur with *uo*-marking in some transitive clauses that have overt subject noun phrases. For example, in (14.29) the object noun phrase is also the general topic of the discourse, as in the loosely associated links described in §14.3.2.3. Thus, this object coreferential noun phrase is a link for the new information in the subsequent clause and the whole discourse. It occurs at the beginning of the discourse where it refers to an identifiable referent in the real world that was a topic of discussion before the recording was made.

- (14.29) **Wanpere sere-ne uo**,
 wanpere seedling/cutting-P3s GRD
arahu Sara=te te ka-pe n-a-te...
 day.before.yesterday Sara=PNP get come-LTD:3s
 ‘**Wanpere cuttings**, Sara brought them the day before yesterday...’
 (Wanpere is a green leafy vegetable grown from cuttings.) T7.6.1

109 The object is rarely marked on the verb when the referent is inanimate and third person plural (see §9.3.2.4).

The example below is from a historic narrative. The second line is an aside with a switch in topic to an object noun phrase that provides a ‘link’ to people in the present day, real-world context. This link is coreferential with the object verbal suffix. It is followed by a subject noun phrase with the enclitic=*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ indicating the discourse prominence of the subject and disambiguating A and O.

- (14.30) ...*metekaihere mirini weiwer-a-e uo, si uo,*
 white.men many fight-REC-3p GRD then GRD
sene uo, ahi-ma=te sisi-s-a.
 1p GRD mother-P1s=PNP tell-O1s-3s
 ‘...when they were many white men fighting each other, then us, our
 mother told me.’ T5.3.4

The referent of the object noun phrase link in the next example is identifiable as one of the main groups of people in the *muae* ‘homelands’ mentioned in the preceding clause. These close relatives of the narrator and his family are key participants in the remainder of the discourse.

- (14.31) *Weti pa muae ka-ia. E,*
 house G/L homelands come-1p Eh,
Upuru=ama uo, sene mai-neka-pe ka-ia...
 Upuru=group GRD 1p pass.by-O3p-SR come-O1p
 ‘...we came to the village homelands. “Eh, **as for Upuru and all**, we
 missed (passed by) them and we came...”’ T1.15.77

While Table 13.1 shows that object noun phrases commonly occur immediately prior to the verb, Table 14.2 shows that in the same set of data there are a few examples of *uo*-marked ‘links’ that are coreferential with the object. In three examples the object link precedes an overt noun phrase subject, one of which has the clitic =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’. Also, in one of these examples an object is realized before the subject noun phrase. In three examples the subject is not realized as a noun phrase.

Table 14.2: Object coreferential links and transitive clauses.

O Link	Subject	Object	Verb	Tail	Number
O <i>uo</i> ,	A	—	V		2
O <i>uo</i> ,	A= <i>te</i>	—	V		1
O <i>uo</i> ,	—	—	V		3

14.3.2.2.3 Object NP links and identifiable referents

Object noun phrase links represent information in the hearer's knowledge-store that is given as background information to the clause. In (14.32) the *heri* 'net bag' is new, focal information in (i) but it is reactivated as a link to this identifiable referent many clauses later in (ii). Interestingly, *heri* 'net bag' occurs again without *uo*, after its first mention in *Heri ya pa te her-i*. 'I put my net bag by the river.' It seems that object noun phrases are not as easily, or readily, given the same link status as subject noun phrases. However, this may be a further example of an all-focus clause being reiterated at key points in a discourse (cf. §13.3).

- (14.32) i. *Usu kereha-ne were-pinte*
 pig tunnel-P3s see-LTD:1s
heri u pa te her-i
 net.bag there G/L get PUT-1s
 'I saw the pig's tunnel/route and then I put my net bag down there.' T5.20.11
- ii. *Ya sorone-r-a. Yar-i. Yare-pe*
 water jump-PRES-3s go-1s go-SR
heri uo, u pa te her-i.
 net.bag GRD there G/L get PUT-1s
 'The water falls (lit. 'jumps/leaps'). I went. I went and, **the net bag**, I put it there...' T5.20.29

In (14.33) the referent of the object link *tau* 'axe' has not been specifically mentioned in the preceding discourse. However, it is inferrable (cf. Prince 1992:305, 309) from the context since earlier clauses describe the main participant cutting timber to make a trap.

- (14.33) *...mer-a-te tau uo, epane-pe era ne-pe n-a-te...*
 move up-3s-DR axe GRD hold-SR lift STAY-LTD:3s
 '...it moved up and **the axe**, he held it and lifted it up...' T1.14.9

Similarly, in the following extract from a legend there is nothing earlier in the text, or in the real-world situation, to identify the referent of the *uo*-marked object noun phrase. However, the speaker may assume this identifiable referent is in the hearer's 'knowledge-store' because it is in an often-repeated legend, or because it is something 'taken for granted' (Lambrecht 1994: 52) since men often went to the mountains to fell trees.

- (14.34) ...*keti pa ya tehei-pe n-a-te*
 mountain G/L go walk-LTD:3s
tiri uo, ho re-pe n-a-te...
 tree GRD cut PUT-LTD:3s:
 ‘...he went and walked in the mountains, and **a tree**, he cut it down...’
 T1.19.3

In example (14.35) the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun *u* ‘that’ is the noun phrase in a *uo*-marked link. It refers anaphorically to activities described in previous clauses.

- (14.35) ...*o re-pe weti pa ka-pu-r-ia.*
 do PUT-SR house G/L come-HAB-PRES-1p
U uo, sumura asiapae=te o hor-a pao
 that GRD long ago ancestor=PNP do PUT-3s IGEN
U epono-pe, u-pu-r-ia.
 that follow-SR do-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘...we do this, we come to the houses. **That**, which the ancestors did long ago, we follow that and do it.’ T1.25.3

A series of object noun phrases can be followed by *uo* ‘ground’.¹¹⁰ These items are identifiable referents from the real world that are relevant in a description of gardening practices.

- (14.36) *Na wene asao, koia, aiake, para uo, uapu*
 thing food some sweet.potato cassava taro GRD like
tai u-pu-r-ia. Tai esi oro
 NEG do-HAB-PRES-1p NEG hole pierce
ta-pe, tai nauno-pu-r-ia. Ia.
 END-SR NEG bury-HAB-PRES-1p be.not
 ‘**Some food things, sweet potato, cassava, taro**, we don’t do like that. We don’t dig holes, we don’t bury them. It isn’t (like that).’ T5.17.18

14.3.2.3 Loosely associated noun phrase links

Noun phrase links do not always cross-reference a subject or object argument in the subsequent clause, instead they are “loosely associated” with the proposition (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 118) because they are major topics in the discourse. The

¹¹⁰ In an alternative analysis *koia, aiake, para* ‘sweet potato, cassava, taro’ could be analyzed as a tail that adds detail to the object noun phrase *na wene asao* ‘some food things’.

extracts below are from a procedural account about how to use *karu* ‘fishtraps’. In this text the *uo*-marked demonstrative pronoun link refers to a *karu* ‘fishtrap’ that was in the room at the time of the recording and that is also the topic of earlier introductory clauses. Nine clauses later at the beginning of another section of the account (in the final line below) *karu* ‘fishtrap’ is the object noun phrase.

- (14.37) ...**mo uo**, *tamaite ato=te, ya oto-r-a-ne...*
 this GRD man one=PNP river block-PRES-3s-DR:IR:CS
 ...*ha ta-r-a-ne, mo karu mo te-pe...*
 dry END-PRES-3s-DR:IR:CS this fishtrap here Get-SR
 ‘**As for this**, a certain man blocks a river ...
 ...when it is dry, he gets this fishtrap here...’ T1.17.6 –

14.3.2.4 Temporal links

Temporals (cf. §4.7.2), or common nouns functioning as temporals, provide a link or “address pointer” for locating the events of a subsequent clause in a time frame. These links are particularly common in descriptions of the habits or practices of humans and wildlife.

Examples (14.38) to (14.41) below all occur in one text about the life cycle of birds of paradise. The topic was discussed before the recording was made so the temporal link referring to the present time and the subject noun phrase link referring to the birds of paradise occur at the beginning. As the speaker describes the lives of *atupu* ‘birds of paradise’ each shift to a new time frame is marked with a link that refers to a different season in the year as background to events at that specific time. These seasons are inferrable from the general topic of the discourse.

- (14.38) **Apu uo**, *atupu uo, eti noko-apesi...*
 Now GRD bird of paradise GRD skirt dress-DES
 ‘**Now**, the bird of paradise, wants to dress (envelop) in skirts
 (feathers)...’ T1.5.1
- (14.39) **Were uo**, *eti amoko, noko t-apesi...*
 sun GRD skirt new dress get-DES
 ‘**In the dry season (lit. ‘sun’)**, it wants to dress in new skirts
 (feathers)...’ T1.5.2
- (14.40) **Apu uo**, *mana asi taumo?*
 now GRD what moon UNC
 ‘**Now**, what month is it?’ (This was an aside, a question to me.) T1.5.3

- (14.41) ...*si asi yakere uo, eti amoko noko te-hera.*
 so.then moon split GRD skirt new dress get-F3s
 ‘...so then **in the month of splitting**,¹¹¹ **it will dress in a new skirt (feathers)**’. T1.5.5

Temporal links contrast with temporals that occur within presentational clauses (14.42).

- (14.42) *Sene apu yare-pe n-ia-te,*...
 2p now/today go-LTD:1p
 ‘We went today...’ T2.28.1

14.3.2.5 Locative links

Locative (cf. §4.7.3) links with *uo* ‘ground’ are less common in the current data than *uo*-marked temporals. However, in the example below a locative link indicates a point in the narrative where there is a change back to the locative setting mentioned in the first clause.

- (14.43) *Nampa urunu-pinte*
 above think-LTD:1s
esame tiri kinine pa a puna puna-e.
 dog tree roots G/L come gather gather-3p
Nampa yoroho uo, eri mete warike-se-r-a.
 above up there GRD fear body bad-O1s-PRES-3s
 ‘I was thinking up there (lit. ‘above’) and then the dogs came and surrounded the roots of the tree. **Up above**, fear engulfed my body.’
 T2.32.21

14 3.2.6 Postpositional phrase links

Postpositional phrases (cf. chapter 7) marked by *uo* provide links or background information with temporal or locative meaning. These links can refer back to information in the preceding clause or to information from the real-world context. The most common postpositional phrase link is the *pa* ‘goal/locative’ phrase. The

¹¹¹ *Yakere* refers to the way new taro splits when it is cooked. It also describes smiles and laughter since the face ‘splits’ during these activities. Perhaps *asi yakere* could be translated as ‘the month of laughter’.

locative link in (14.44) reiterates one detail of the location specified in the previous clause.

- (14.44) *Ato yoroho pa, yoroho pa tahane pa*
 one up.there G/L up.there G/L forest G/L
yoroho pa uo, oro ta-e.
 up.there G/L GRD shoot END-3p
 ‘One was up there, up there in the forest, **up there**, they shot him.’
 T5.5.9

In (14.45) the postpositional phrase link indicates the time setting for the subsequent clause. It refers anaphorically to the information in the previous clause.

- (14.45) *...ya mi-pu-r-a.*
 ...rain move.down-HAB-PRES-3s
U oto pa uo, wa pao weti werane
 that day G/L GRD garden IGEN house small
mene-pu-r-a nauto.
 stay-HAB-PRES-3s only
 ‘...rain falls. **In those days**, we only stay in the small garden house(s).’
 T1.33.26

The link in (14.46) is a comitative phrase from the bird of paradise text. It indicates a shift to a new time setting within the overall time of the bird’s life cycle.

- (14.46) **Ya ore uo, eti sumurahao noko n-a.**
 rain COM GRD skirt old dress STAY-3s
 ‘**With the rains**, it dresses in old skirts.’ T1.5.2

Postpositional phrases with *uo*-marking can occur as links with nonverbal clauses. In the second line below the postpositional phrase link is an idiomatic expression that refers to the topic of the preceding clause.

- (14.47) **Sirin ahare ehi pa uo, imi-a, ato.**
 Sirin ALOC leg G/L GRD die-3s one
U imi-a. U ahare ehi pa uo, Hauto.
 that die-3s that ALOC leg G/L GRD Hauto
 ‘**After Sirin’s leg** (the one born after Sirin), she died, that one. That one died. **After that one’s leg** (the one born after that), (she) was Hauto.’ T1.9.5

A postpositional phrase with *uapu* ‘similitive’ is a link in (14.48). It makes anaphoric reference to the event in the preceding clause and provides background to new information.

- (14.48) ...*kase re-pe u-pu-i. U uapu uo,*
 hang PUT-SR do-HAB-1s that SIM GRD
wari mi-pe, wera-ima imi-hira paimo.
 fall move.down-SR child-P1s die-F3s APP
 ‘...I hang it (a net bag) up, I do that. **Like that**, it might fall, and my child might die.’ T5.21.5

14.3.2.7 Linking adverbial links

The unmarked function of the sentential linking adverbial *si* ‘then’ (cf. §4.7.6)¹¹² is to indicate a sequential relation between two events as in (14.49).

- (14.49) ...*poho ne-pe si aie te re-pe...*
 sit STAY-SR then work get PUT-SR
 ‘...we sit then we work...’ T1.13.22

In (14.50) a link with *si* ‘then’ indicates that the action in the preceding clause enabled the participants to do the work mentioned in the clause following the link. See also (14.53).

- (14.50) ...*oru tane re-pe, si uo, wa aie te re-pe*
 insides strong PUT-SR then GRD garden work get PUT-SR
 ‘...(we) strengthen our insides, **then**, (we) work the garden...’ T1.33.13

When *si uo* precedes a clause, it can allow for a change in mood from the previous clause. In (14.51) the link precedes a clause chain with a final verb in emphatic mood that cannot have scope over verbs before the link (cf. §9.4.2).

- (14.51) C.1 ...*sere re-pe, koia,*
 pull.up PUT-SR sweet potato
 C.2 *si uo, here re-pe*
 then GRD cook PUT-SR

¹¹² *Si* can be translated in Tok Pisin as ‘orait’.

C.3 *n-apesi ne.*

eat-DES EMPH

‘...we pull them up, the sweet potato, then, (we) want to cook and eat them.’ T1.34.6, (repeated from (9.36))

Initial *uo*-marked constituents can be preceded by unmarked *si* ‘then’ functioning as a conjunction between clauses and relating “the clause to the preceding text” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 108).

- (14.52) ...*poho-n-te, si Karo uo, a mere-a.*
 sit-STAY-DR then Carol GRD come move.up-3s
 ‘We sat, then **Carol**, she came up.’ T1.20.48

14.3.3 Clauses as initial *uo*-marked links

14.3.3.1 Introduction

Clauses can occur in the same environment as a noun (cf. §12.3 and §12.4) and be followed by *uo* ‘ground’. They function as ground for subsequent information in the main clause. Some of these topic-like elements in sentence-initial position correspond with Haiman’s findings that “conditional clauses and topics are marked identically in a number of unrelated languages” (1978: 564) and with examples of this in other Papuan languages such as Usan, Korafe, Folopa, Enga and Dani noted by Reesink (1994: 98). For example, in Usan the “domain-creating” *eng*-construction is used with given noun phrases, relative clauses, conditionals, “when” clauses, antitheticals, “peak” information and independent sentences (Reesink 1994, 2014).

The precise nature of clause links varies depending on whether the *uo*-marked clause is in realis or irrealis mode and on the semantic nature of the main clause. The following sections describe:

- realis *uo*-marked clause links – ‘when/where/given that (about)’ subordinate clauses
- irrealis *uo*-marked clause links – hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals

14.3.3.2 Realis *uo*-marked clause links

Realis *uo*-marked clause links form subordinate clauses that indicate the temporal setting (§14.3.3.2.1), the locative setting (§14.3.3.2.2) or the topic (§14.3.3.2.3) of a main clause. As subordinate clauses, they lack modality marking but are otherwise like main clauses.

14.3.3.2.1 Temporal clause links

The realis *uo*-marked clause provides a link in the form of a subordinate clause that expresses the temporal background of a main clause when both the link and the main clause are verbal clauses in realis mode. In the majority of examples the temporal link has a final verb. These temporal clause links indicate temporal background based on information earlier in the discourse, in the real world or in the overall topic of the discourse. These links contrast to dependent clauses with morphology that indicates different referent and irrealis mode in future contexts (cf. §9.4.3).

In example (14.53) the subsequent clause has a different subject referent from the clause link, while in (14.54) the temporal link and the main clause have the same subject. In the first example the link refers to information earlier in the discourse, while in the second it refers to shared knowledge from the real-world context.

(14.53) *Si ohu-nap=ama wei ka-pu-e uo, seripi-pe...*
 then agemate-P3p=group fight came-HAB-3p GRD get.up-SR
 ‘Then **when their mates came fighting**, they got up...’ T5.5.4

(14.54) *Ea k-a uo, sasi-seka-pe,...*
 yesterday come-3s GRD tell-O1p-SR
 ‘**When he came yesterday**, he told us,...’ T1.8.4

The following two examples are from texts describing child care and gardening routines. In each of these texts the speaker frames new information with temporal links that refer to specific times in these routine activities. In (14.55) the temporal link has a dependent, medial verb with a dependency suffix indicating the same subject referent following, while in (14.56) the clause link has an initial clause with the same subject referent as a second clause in the link. The subsequent main clause has a different subject.

(14.55) *Wa pa yare-pe uo, were sei, er-i.*
 garden G/L go-SR GRD sun REAS fear-1s
 ‘**When I go to the garden**, I am afraid because of the sun.’ T5.21.19

(14.56) *...si were ya mi-pe arisapu*
 then sun go move.down-SR afternoon
horu-pu-r-a uo, weti pa ka-pu-r-ia.
 become-HAB-PRES-3s GRD house G/L come-HAB-PRES-1p
 ‘...then **when the sun goes down and it is becoming afternoon**, we come to the houses.’ T1.33.8

14.3.3.2.2 Locative clause links

The realis *uo*-marked clause can provide a link in the form of a subordinate clause that expresses a locative background if both the link and the main clause are in realis mode. In (14.57) the *uo*-marked clause is a nonverbal clause and the background information links to the real-world context.

- (14.57) ...*sene Kesawai mo pa uo*,
 1p Kesawai here G/L GRD
Kesawai sakine tai u-e.
 Kesawai language NEG quote-3p
 ‘...**where we are here at Kesawai**, they didn’t speak the Kesawai
 language.’ T2.33.1

14.3.3.2.3 ‘About’ links and main clauses

A realis *uo*-marked link clause can occur prior to a main clause that refers to an act of communication. The *uo*-marked clause, like a complement, states the topic that the main clause is about. In the first example below the link refers to information in the knowledge-store that is retrieved from an earlier part of the text.

- (14.58) *Te ya tehei-r-ia uo, sakine raitim u-ae!*
 2p go walk-PRES-2p GRD story write do-IMP2s
 ‘Write the story, **about you going walking**.’ T1.20.51...

The link in the following example has two clauses with the same referent. This background information comes from the discussion prior to the recording of this text.

- (14.59) *Pururu ware te-pe nu-pu-r-ia uo*,
 cycad twist get-SR eat-HAB-PRES-1p GRD
*sai te ri-hi=m.*¹¹³
 story get put-F1s=BM
 ‘**About (how) we pick cycads, and eat them**, I will tell the story.’
 T5.18.1

113 The shortened form of the boundary marking enclitic =*mo* is common in rapid speech.

14.3.3.3 Irrealis *uo*-marked clause links: Conditionals

Irrealis *uo*-marked clause links express conditions for irrealis main clauses. In this section a brief introduction (§14.3.3.3.1) is followed by a description of two types of irrealis *uo*-marked conditional clauses, hypothetical conditionals (§14.3.3.3.2) and counterfactual conditionals (§14.3.3.3.3).

14.3.3.3.1 Introduction

Irrealis *uo*-marked clause links are part of the ground that acts as a ‘frame for the informative focus’ (Vallduví 1992: 46). They are topic-like elements that can be compared with conditionals. Similarly, ‘when/given that’ and hypothetical clauses have identical morphology in Hua (Haiman 1978: 581), and English hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses have similar morphology in “If ... (then)...” sentences.

conditionals, like topics, are givens which constitute the frame of reference with respect to which the main clause is either true (if a proposition) or felicitous (if not). (Haiman 1978: 564)

A conditional clause is (perhaps only hypothetically) a part of the knowledge shared by the speaker and his listener. As such, it constitutes the framework which has been selected for the following discourse. (Haiman 1978: 583)

14.3.3.3.2 Irrealis *uo*-marked clauses: Hypothetical conditionals

An irrealis *uo*-marked clause marked for future tense, imperative mood or desiderative mood provides a hypothetical conditional link to a subsequent irrealis main clause in future tense. Some of the information in the conditional link may be part of the knowledge-store shared by the speaker and hearer (cf. Haiman 1978 above).

In many examples the irrealis *uo*-marked clause, or protasis, is in the future tense. The main clause can also be in the future tense, as in (14.60), where the future tense link refers to *ya kohonu* ‘deep water’ which has been described in previous clauses.

- (14.60) *Si u ya kohonu pa yar-amu uo,*
 then that water deep G/L go-F2s GRD
ya u=te nuko ho-ne-hera.
 water that=PNP envelop PUT-O2s-F3s
 ‘Then if you go to that deep water, the water, it, will envelop you.’
 T1.19.18

In (14.61) the main clause, or apodosis, is in the future tense while in (14.62) the verb in the main clause is in the imperative form. In both examples, some background knowledge is shared by both the speaker and the hearer.

- (14.61) *Marasin tai ne-hera uo, imi-hira.*
 medicine NEG consume-F3s GRD die-F3s
 ‘If he doesn’t eat the medicine, he will die.’ D4.150.5
- (14.62) *Tope ne-hera uo, sau-ae!*
 climb STAY-F3s GRD tell.3s-IMP2s
 ‘If he is up there, you tell him!’ D4.176.10

A hypothetical conditional can also be the link for a nonverbal clause from which the initial subject noun phrase is omitted. The conditional link in (14.63) refers to an earlier comment about sleeping in the bush away from the village.

- (14.63) “E, e, Eiorapa ene-ho=mo, u-i.
 Eh Eh Eiorapa lie/sleep-1pINC=BM quote-1s
 “*Sen¹¹⁴-naru uapu ene-ho uo, tamaite paimo,*”
 1p-alone like lie-1pINC GRD man UNC
u-s-e.
 quote-O1s-3p
 “Eh, Eh, let’s sleep at Eiorapa,” I said.
 “If we lie down alone like that, there might be a (bad) man,” they
 said.’ T1.15.55

The link clause in (14.64) has a desiderative enclitic *-apesi*. It refers to an earlier statement about hanging a baby in its bag in the shade of a tree. Example (14.65) has a dependent medial verb marked for different subject, irrealis and close succession. It describes a common problem, the possibility of rivers flooding during the wet season.

- (14.64) *...naumpa kase her-apesi uo,*
 above put:hang PUT-DES GRD
tiri moto-moto re-pe...
 tree move-move PUT-SR
 ‘...if (I) want to hang it up, (I) move:shake (from touch-touch) a tree...’
 (...to test for strength) T5.21.5

114 Final /e/ is elided between nasals (see §2.4.2.1.1).

- (14.65) *Ya*¹¹⁵ *kehene-r-a-ne* *uo*,
 river flood-PRES-3s-DR:IR:CS GRD
pe ensa tai yar-aho=mo.
 channel over.there NEG go-1pINC=BM
 ‘If the river is flooding, we will not be able to go to the other side.’
 D10.53.5

14.3.3.3.3 Irrealis *uo*-marked clauses: Counterfactual conditionals

An irrealis *uo*-marked clause with a verb in non-future tense followed by *n-* ‘stay’ and *-apesi* ‘DES’¹¹⁶ forms a counterfactual conditional clause. This is followed by a clause in the future tense as shown by the example below.

- (14.66) *Ea* *Eheusa yar-i n-apesi uo*, *Suru were-hi*.
 yesterday Eheusa go-1s stay-DES GRD *Suru see-F1s*
 ‘If I had gone to Eheusa yesterday, I would have seen Suru.’ D10.53.7

However, in the case of counterfactual conditionals it is possible to express the conditional without *uo*-marking. The expression below has *-apesi* ‘desiderative’ on the verb but *uo* ‘ground’ does not follow the clause (14.67). The difference between these is a topic for further research.

- (14.67) “*Sene u ia=mo*.
 1p that no=BM
Men-a n-apesi te-ne-hia=mo,” *u-s-e*.
 stay-3s STAY-DES give-O2s-F1p=BM quote-O1s-3p
 “‘We don’t have that. If we had we would give it to you,’ they said.”
 T1.22.20

14.3.4 *Uo*-marked appositive links

Two or more links that refer to the same entity in different ways can occur in apposition. This provides greater clarity and/or serves as a hesitation device while the speaker thinks about what to say next. In the example below a *uo*-marked proper noun and a *uo*-marked pronoun refer to a referent mentioned earlier in the discourse.

¹¹⁵ *Ya* is used to indicate ‘liquid: water, rain, river, or sap’.

¹¹⁶ Verbs with enclitic *-apesi* ‘desiderative’ do not have subject:person/number marking (cf. §9.3.4).

- (14.68) ...*wa we na-pe u-ie. Upuru uo,*
 garden act stay-SR do-1p Upuru GRD
ni uo, weti pa mo pa men-a.
 3s GRD house G/L here G/L stay-3s
 ‘...we stayed working at the garden, we did that. **As for Upuru, as for him,** he stayed here at the houses/village.’ T6.3.3

In (14.69) the order is reversed and a *uo*-marked demonstrative pronoun that refers to the child in the narrator’s arms is followed by a more specific *uo*-marked personal name.

- (14.69) ...*mo uo, Siu uo, pa-ne yare ka-e.*
 this GRD Siu GRD father-P3s COM come-3p
 ‘...**this one, Siu,** she came with her father...’ T2.31.52

Two appositive noun phrases can occur within one *uo*-marked link. In (14.70) an unmarked lexical noun phrase is followed by a co-referential *uo*-marked pronoun. This appears to give greater emphasis to the link address. The referent is identifiable from an earlier part of the discourse.

- (14.70) ...*u pa ya men-e. Si metekaihere*
 there G/L go stay-3p then white man
ni uo, u pa yoroho pa kese-a.
 he GRD there G/L up there G/L rot-3
 ‘...they went and stayed there. Then **the white man, as for him,** he rotted up there.’ T5.5.20

14.3.5 *Uo*-marked link strings

A sentence can have multiple links in a link string and each *uo*-marked constituent can be a different type. The speaker assumes that a hearer has more than one type of knowledge in the knowledge-store providing information-anchoring roles and acting as address pointers. The hearers are instructed to go to these multiple addresses to enter the information given (Vallduví 1992: 48). Alternatively, a second link provides further information on an earlier link.

Koromu link strings are particularly common at the beginning of texts when there has already been discussion of what the text is to be about and when. The order in which the links occur reflects, to some extent, the order in which constituents occur in basic clause structure (see §3.6.4.4). For example, the linking adverbial

si and temporals occur before other links such as subject coreferential noun phrase links. However, a loosely connected noun phrase link (cf. §14.3.2.3) can precede a temporal link. Clause links follow other types of links. A temporal link occurs before a subject noun phrase coreferential link in the following example.

- (14.71) ***Apu uo, atupu uo, eti amoko***
 now GRD bird of paradise GRD skirt new
*noko-apesi u-r-a=m.*¹¹⁷
 dress-DES quote-PRES-3s=BM
 ‘**Now, the birds of paradise**, they are about to put on new feathers (lit. ‘skirts’).’ T15.1, repeated from (14.38)

A locative link can occur before a noun phrase link. In the following example, the noun phrase link is then corrected in a third link so that as a result links form most of the sentence.

- (14.72) ***Eno pa uo, io pai-ma weine uo,***
 over.there G/L GRD GEN1s father-P1s name GRD
a pai-ma yaame-ne uo, “Ou,” u-e.
 ah, father-P1s in-law-P3s GRD yam say-3p
 ‘**Over there, my father’s name**, ah, **my father’s in-law’s**, they say “Ou” (yam).’ T74.18

In the next example, a loosely connected noun phrase link is followed by a temporal link and a locative postpositional phrase link. The loose connection between the noun phrase and the proposition is reflected by the distance between them.

- (14.73) ***Sene uo, surumapa uo, mo pa uo,***
 1p GRD long ago GRD this G/L GRD
sakine Piri sakine hane men-a=m.
 language Piri language short stay-3s=BM
 ‘**As for us, long ago, here**, the language, the Piri language was here.’ T54.1

A clause link can occur in a sequence following a noun phrase link that is coreferential with the subject argument in both the *uo* marked clause and the main clause. The following example occurs at the beginning of a procedural account.

¹¹⁷ This is another example from rapid speech where final /o/ of the boundary marking enclitic =*mo* is elided.

- (14.74) **Sene uo, usu oro na-pu-r-ia uo,**
 1p GRD pig pierce eat-HAB-PRES-1p GRD
*atotuhupato*¹¹⁸ *pene ai-pe yare-pe yare-pe...*
 sometimes rope stretch-SR go-SR go-SR
 ‘**We, when we are shooting pigs,** sometimes we stretch a rope/vine ...’
 T1.26.1

A link with the linking adverbial *si* ‘then’ precedes other links as in (14.75).

- (14.75) ...*ya po ta-e. Yar-e. Si uo,*
 water cross END-3p go-3p then GRD
Home aha-ne uo, pa-nema na t-a.
 Home mother-P3s GRD father-P3s thing get-3s
 ‘...they crossed the water. They went. **Then, Home’s mother,** she got
 something from her father.’ T2.31.13

A temporal setting can be indicated by both a temporal and a clause link.

- (14.76) **Ea uo, ka-ia uo, naere wamte=te**
 Yesterday GRD come-1p GRD snake adder=PNP
sa amkoru pate ho-s-a.
 path middle S/L bite-O1s-3s
 ‘**Yesterday, when we came,** a snake bit me in the middle of the path.’ T1.6.1

Link strings frequently contain expansions in which a second link provides further information on the initial link. In (14.77) information in the *pao*-marked clause with *uo* expands on information in the preceding *uo*-marked postpositional phrase.

- (14.77) *Si atotuhunpa uo, ya mi hir-a*
 then sometimes GRD rain move.down PUT-3s
pao uo, somoto pate yare-pe mene-pe...
 IGEN GRD morning S/L go-SR stay-SR

118 *Atotuhupato* is a variant form of *atotuhunpa* ‘sometimes’ (12.48). The final two syllables probably derive from the postposition *pate* ‘source/locative’ with final /e/ affected by progressive vowel harmony (§2.4.3.3.2) that is not blocked by a mid vowel in an intervening syllable.

wa aie te re-pe...
 garden work get PUT-SR
 ‘Then **sometimes, when it is raining**, in the morning we go and stay
 and work the gardens...’ T1.33.10

Two *uo* marked noun phrases with different referents occur in sequence occasionally when the speaker makes a false start and corrects it.

(14.78) *I, i uo, io weini uo, Si.*
 1s 1s GRD GEN1s name GRD Si
 ‘I, **as for me, my name**, it is Si.’ T2.11.26

(14.79) *Erehu uo, meni sono sakine Kohuweti*
 tradition GRD whatjamacallit GEN1p language Kohuweti
kini-ne herekani uo, sono sakine=sekama uo,
 root-P3s real GRD GEN1p language=P1p GRD
aru erehu uo, aru erehu=te me-a.
 wallaby tradition GRD wallaby tradition=PNP be-3s
 ‘**The custom, whatjamacallit, our Kohuweti language real roots,**
our language, the wallaby custom, the wallaby custom exists.’ T6.15.1

14.4 Links without *uo*-marking

Object noun phrases (§14.4.1) and clauses (§14.4.2) can occur as links without *uo*-marking.

14.4.1 Object NP links without *uo*-marking

Object noun phrase links do not occur with *uo* ‘ground’ when they are clearly the object and not the subject. For example, when an object noun phrase is followed by a subject noun phrase with the enclitic *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ the latter disambiguates the subject from the object (cf. §13.5.4), and it is clear that the initial noun phrase is an object link. This link provides background information for the clause and prominence for the object noun phrase. The following example occurs near the beginning of a narrative. The narrator and I had discussed the topic of this story before the recording was made so *usu* ‘pig’ was in our shared knowledge-store.

- (14.80) ...*topi-pinte*, **usu** *esam=te wese te-pente...*
 climb-LTD:1s pig dog=PNP chase GET-LTD:3p
 ‘...I climbed and then, **a pig**, the dog chased and caught it...’ T6.5.2

In an example in the same text, the object noun phrase does not occur with the particle *uo* ‘ground’ and the subject noun phrase does not occur with the enclitic *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’. The syntactic roles of the noun phrases are clear from the discourse context because in the first clause of the direct speech the speaker says that *sene* ‘we’ have trouble. From this the hearer can deduce that the human referent noun phrase in the subsequent clause is the undergoer object. The subject noun phrase is not marked with *=te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ since it is not necessary to disambiguate A and O and the subject noun phrase is not in prominent contrast with another potential subject referent.

- (14.81) “*O sene nawai te-r-ia=o*,
 Oh, 1p trouble get-PRES-1p=EXC
Sairam usu te-r-a =o,” *u-pu-pe...*
 Sairam pig get-PRES-3s=EXC say-HAB-SR
 “‘Oh, we have got trouble. **A pig** got Sairam,” he kept saying.’ T6.5.31

An object link without *uo* ‘ground’ can precede a locative argument (cf. §13.5). Example (14.82) is from a narrative in which *weti* ‘house’ was introduced earlier as an important entity.

- (14.82) ...*o*, **weti** *mo pa wese ri-hia=mo*.
 oh house here G/L make PUT-F1p=BM
 ‘...oh, the houses, we will build them here.’ T5.23.6

14.4.2 Clauses without *uo*-marking: Tail-head linkage

Clauses without *uo*-marking are the “head” in “tail-head linkage”. Tail-head linkage is a repetitive device whereby some of the information in the final clause of a sentence also occurs at the beginning of the following sentence. This device, described as the “life blood of narrative discourse in most Papua New Guinea languages” (Johnston 1976: 66), is a means of maintaining discourse cohesion in oral narrative although in written versions speakers tend to want to remove them. Koromu tail-head linkage can be expressed either by lexical repetition (§14.4.2.1) or by pro-verb substitution (§14.4.2.2). The repeated information is the link, or background information, for the new information in the subsequent clause.

14.4.2.1 Lexical repetition

A link in tail-head linkage by lexical repetition involves partial or full repetition of the final clause of a sentence at the beginning of the next sentence. Partial repetition is more common than full repetition. This strategy enables a speaker to end a sentence and link it to the following sentence by repeating the final verb along with information in inflections about tense and subject. Examples occur in narratives and procedural accounts. In the following examples the repeated information is highlighted in bold.

- (14.83) ...*tau to*¹¹⁹ *naere sopo hor-i. **Sopo re-pi n-i-te,***
 axe INS snake kill PUT-1s kill PUT-LTD:1s
Punti=rare kapi n-ia-te,
 Punti=with come-LTD:1p
 ‘...I killed the snake with an axe. I killed it and then, I came with Punti (Punti and I came) and then,...’ T1.6a.4

- (14.84) ...*ya pa, yonu pa Mi*
 river G/L shade G/L move.down
*poho nu-pu-r-ia. **Poho ne-pe***
 sit STAY-HAB-PRES-1p sit STAY-SR
wene here na ta-pe,
 food cook eat END-SR
 ‘...we go down and sit in the shade, at the river. We sit and finish cooking and eating, and...’ T1.33.4

The verb *u* ‘quote’ is often repeated in tail-head linkage.

- (14.85) ...*yar-aho =mo,” u-i. **U-i-te**...*
 ...go-1pINC=BM quote-1s quote-1s-DR
 ‘“...let’s go,” I said. I said it and they stood and ...’ T1.15.52

Other constituents can be included in the repeated information.

119 The vowel in =*te* ‘prominent noun phrase’ is affected by progressive vowel harmony §2.4.3.3.2.

- (14.86) ...*sakine es-e=m. Sakine ese-pente,*
 words hear-3p=BM words hear-LTD:3p
Semani ahare ka-pe men-e-te,...
 German ALOC come-SR stay-3p-DR
 ‘...then, they heard the words. They heard the words and, they came
 near the Germans and stayed (there), and...’ T5.22.11¹²⁰

All of the information is repeated in the following example.

- (14.87) *Pene pa top-i. Pene pa topi-pe*
 vine G/L climb-1s vine G/L climb-SR
sepeki ware ti-pinte,...
 mustard twist GET-LTD:1s
 ‘...I climbed up a vine. I climbed up a vine and twisted off some
 mustard.’ T5.20.15

14.4.2.2 Pro-verb tail-head linkage

In pro-verb tail-head linkage the pro-verb *u/o* ‘do’ (cf. §4.2.15)¹²¹ occurs in the new clause as a substitute for the information at the end of the previous clause.

- (14.88) ...*Sairame wapi auko pate te re-pe,*
 Sairam arm bearer MANN get PUT-SR
o re-pe em te ka-e.
 do PUT-SR carry get come-3p
 ‘...we got Sairam with an arm lift (the arms forming a place/seat to bear a
 wounded person), we did that and we carried and brought him.’ T6.5.27

14.5 Tails

14.5.1 Introduction

Tails are non-initial constituents that are part of the ground (cf. §14.2). They can occur within a clause, but they are most commonly found at the end. Vallduví argues that like links they guarantee “an appropriate entry of information into

¹²⁰ The final vowel of the boundary marking enclitic=*mo* is elided in this example also.

¹²¹ *U* ‘do’ may appear with *re* the reduced form of *here* PUT where it is affected by ablaut lowering (§2.4.5.1.1).

the hearer’s knowledge-store” (1992: 46–47) and they also perform “a more specific task regarding the exact way in which information is retrieved and entered under a given address” (Vallduví 1992:49). Thus, tails consolidate or expand information already given. There are two different types of tails in Koromu: those with *uo* ‘ground’ and those without *uo* ‘ground’.

14.5.2 Tails with *uo*-marking

Non-initial position *uo*-marked noun phrases and clauses are like link expansions in link strings in that they provide a repetition, expansion or consolidation of known information and they indicate that ‘I (or you) said something about something before and I want to say something more about this’. In the next example, the initial *uo*-marked subject noun phrase is a link and the final *uo*-marked noun phrase is a tail that provides more detail about its antecedent *uo*-marked noun phrase.

- (14.89) *U tamaite uo, apu mo Men-a, Hoiha uo.*
 that man GRD now here Be-3s Hoiha GRD
 ‘As for that man, now he is here, **Hoiha that is.**’ T1.14.21

Like links, non-initial *uo*-marked constituents repeat known information from the previous discourse or the real-world context. Below, a non-initial *uo*-marked clause reiterates the temporal setting discussed before the recording.

- (14.90) *Hekeni u pa te-pe,*
 firewood there G/L get-SR
ea Meansa yar-ia uo.
 yesterday Meansa go-1p GRD
 ‘We got firewood there, **when we went to the Meansa yesterday.**’
 T1.2a.1

Uo-marked clauses sometimes appear sentence finally, particularly near the end of a speaker’s narrative, account or quotation (a mini-discourse), to sum up or reiterate whole statements from earlier in the discourse. For example, the fighting mentioned in (14.91) was a major topic earlier in the narrative.

- (14.91) *...nene metekaihere mirini, wei wera-e uo.*”
 3p white man many battle fight-3p GRD
 ‘...they were many white men, **when they were fighting.**’ T5.3.3

The irrealis *uo*-marked clause at the end of the following text reiterates information from the first line of this extract and also from a link several clauses earlier.

- (14.92) *U otepe, u pa mene-pe ne-here-te, na asao*
 that clan there G/L stay-LTD:F3p thing some
u pa haru-pe ne-here-te, u pa
 there G/L do-LTD:F3p there G/L
mene-here uo. *Werai u n-a=mo.*
 stay-F3p GRD little that stay-3s=BM
 ‘That clan, they will stay there, and will do some things there, **if they stay there.** That’s all.’ T5.26.17

The irrealis *uo*-marked clause at the end of the quoted speech below repeats knowledge the speaker has from the preceding discourse. It is also the hypothetical condition for the preceding clause.

- (14.93) *...were-neka-i=mo. Poho n-e. “He k-apesi*
 see-O3p-1s=BM sit STAY-3p return come-DES
tau, yoroho poho n-e uo, *” u-i.*
 UNC up there sit STAY-3p GRD quote-1s
 ‘...I saw them. They were sitting. “They might want to come back, **if they are sitting up there,**” I thought.’ T1.15.22

In (14.94) one *uo*-marked clause occurs at the beginning and another at the end of a quoted speech. The speaker seems to change his mind about what to say mid-sentence. Also, the final *uo*-marked clause expands and gives more detail of the activity denoted in the previous clauses. This can be compared with the link expansion in (14.77).

- (14.94) *“...masine, peipa haru-pu-r-a uo, peipa*
 machine paper do-HAB-PRES-3s GRD paper
haru-pe, isi-pu-r-a uo, *” u-a.*
 do-SR cut-HAB-PRES-3s GRD quote-3s
 “**...when that machine does the paper,** it does the paper, **when it cuts it,**” he said...’ T1.20.18

In (14.95) it appears that the speaker makes a false start with *u* ‘that’ and *sumurapa* ‘long ago/earlier’. When he starts again, he replaces *u* ‘that’ with the *uo*-marked link. This provides a pointer for the information contained in the remainder of the clause.

- (14.95) *U sumurapa, sakine uo, sumurapa ka-a.*
 that long ago talk/word GRD long.ago come-3s
 ‘That long ago, **the talk/word**, long ago it came.’ T6.10.34

Ditransitive clauses are rare in texts but in an example from conversation a subject noun phrase precedes a *uo*-marked object noun phrase that is added as the speaker decides to give more detail.

- (14.96) *Tamaite arene, io asi-ma uo,*
 man big GEN1s grand.mother-P1s GRD
weti aire haru-r-a.
 house grass build-PRES-3s
 ‘**The big man, for my grandmother**, he built a grass house.’ D4.193.3

In example (14.97), from an elicitation session, an object noun phrase is a non-initial *uo*-marked constituent. The information in the *uo*-marked constituent was therefore in the hearer’s knowledge-store from the preceding discussion.

- (14.97) *I=te were-i, tamaite uo. Kerokero pea t-a.*
 1s=PNP see-1s man GRD chicken stole get-3s
 ‘I saw (him), **the man**. He stole the chicken.’ D4.147.1

14.5.3 Tails without *uo*-marking

Tails without *uo*-marking provide specific background information. They clarify details which may not have been specified in the discourse but which are closely connected to information already given. Thus, they perform “a more specific task regarding the exact way in which information is retrieved and entered” into the knowledge-store (Vallduví 1992: 49).

In (14.98) the information in the *uo*-marked tails is recoverable from the preceding conversation and discourse. The information in the unmarked tails (underlined> was also recoverable from the hearer’s knowledge-store. However, within the discourse context *kare pate* ‘with/by car’ in Line 5 points the hearer back to the car mentioned in Line 3, and Line 8 provides full details of the referents indicated on the verb in Line 7. For the speaker using a car to move her firewood was a great event, so initially she said that she came with the car.

- (14.98) L1 *Hekeni u pa te-pe, ...*
 firewood there G/L get-SR ...
 ‘We got firewood there,

- L2 *ea* **Meansa yar-ia uo**
 yesterday Meansa go-1p GRD
when we went to the Meansa yesterday.
- L3 *Kare pa te re-pi n-ia-te,*
 car G/L get PUT-LTD:1p
 We put it in the car,
- L4 ***heri oru pa, hekeni uo.***
 net.bag inside G/L firewood GRD
 (it) was inside net bags, **the firewood.**
- L5 *Ea ka-ia=mo, kare pate.*
 yesterday come-1p=BM car S/L
 Yesterday we came, **with the car.**
- L6 *Nene kare pate ka-e=mo.*
 3p car MANN come-3p=BM
 They came by car.
- L7 *Sene ehi pate ka-ia=mo,*
 2p leg MANN come-1p=BM
 We came on foot,
- L8 ***ahi-ma rare, Kaunso rore.***
 mother-P1s COM Council COM
 (myself) with my mother and Council (her husband).
 ‘We got firewood there, **when we went to the Meansa yesterday.**
 We put it in the car, (it) was inside net bags, **the firewood.**
 Yesterday we came, **with the car.** They came by car.
 We came on foot, **(myself) with my mother and Council.**’ T1.2a

In (14.99) a specific referential expression is given in a tail without *uo*-marking. The hearer knew that people from a certain village were involved in the activity but did not have precise details about the family. The subject in the tail has the prominent noun phrase enclitic =*te* as the referent is selected from a set of possible referents (cf. §13.5).

- (14.99) *Aine tapare pate te ka-pente, Korokoro=am=te...*
 fish forest S/L get come-LTD:3p Korokoro=group=PNP
 ‘They brought fish from the bush, Korokoro and the others.’ T2.26.2,
 (13.52)

Appendices

Appendix 1: List of texts

The texts listed below form the main database for this study. The texts, by numerous speakers since 1978, include personal stories and histories, procedural accounts, traditional stories or legends, exhortations, descriptions of families and land, stories passed down from parents and a small amount of elicited data. The identifying number on the tape (with T for Tape/Text file), the speaker's name and a short Koromu title identify texts from the original handwritten and shoebox files. The fuller descriptions help distinguish texts with similar titles. Many 2004 recordings were also in audio-visual format. If they were only in audio-visual format they are listed as AV and numbered by the time on the recording. Transcriptions of texts in bold italic are in Appendix 2.

Text collection 1, recorded between 1978–1980

Text	Speaker ¹	Title	Fuller description
T1.1b	Sirin	Poso	Collecting posts
T1.2a	Kitume	Hekeni	Collecting firewood
T1.3	Amoko	Apati putunau	The shotgun (weapon that explodes)
T1.4	Wasirin	Nau	Climbing a coconut palm
T1.5	Winai	Atupu	Life cycle of birds of paradise
T1.6	Uwai	Naere hosera	A snake bit me
T1.7	Warisi	Usu ihiri	A wild pig
T1.8.	Peki	Kiap	The patrol officer
T1.9	Arikao	Family	Our siblings
T1.10	Arikao	Wera	The baby who got burnt
T1.13	Napiri	Enae	Crossing the Ramu River
T1.14	Napiri	Hoiha	Hoiha and the python
T1.15	Yot	Enae	Coming to Kesawai across Ramu
T1.16	Winis	Ene	Sleeping

Note:

1 The use of a father's name as surname only really started after the community school began in 1980 (§4.3.3.3.1). It is not practiced by everyone.

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T1.17	Kerapesi	Karu	How to use fishtraps
T1.18	Winis	Kekere	The dance
T1.19	Kahu	Wasia	The crayfish spirit
T1.20	Sairam	Ukarumpa	Our stay at Ukarumpa
T1.21	Sairam	Kainantu	Visit to Kainantu
T1.22	Winis	Seigu-Ukarumpa	Journey to Seigu and Ukarumpa
T1.23	Tinti	Wapi	Hands
T1.24	Kitume	Kekere	Traditional ceremonies

Recorded in 2000

T1.25	Winai	Hekeni tamapurua	We light fires
T1.26	Awai	Usu oro napuria	We hunt pigs
T1.27	Awai	Surumapa Popo a mia	Bob came down long ago
T1.33	Nisom	Wa	Gardens (through the year)
T1.34	Arikao	Koia	Sweet potato planting
T1.35	Nisom	Koropa	Koropa visit

Collection 2, recorded between 1978–1980

T2.M	Sirin	Wetine	Mango origins (lost recording.)
T2.9	Amoko	Masarae	Spirits
T2.10	Amoko	Hekeni	The fire
T2.11	Si	Usu werane	Catching a small pig
T2.12	Sahei	Kari	Coming to Kesawai (very short)
T2.13	Kumpa	Wapi mei	When I hurt my hands
T2.14	Sairam	Usu ya sopohora	He (my dog) killed a pig
T2.15	Winai	Enae	Our Ramu journey
T2.24	Menato	Aine	The old man and the fish
T2.26b	Korokoro	Taukate	Taukate's punishment
T2.27	Punti	Aru	The possum
T2.28	Peki	Kau	The cattle stockyard
T2.29	Mutu	Akaru	Cutting the fence line
T2.30	Winis	Kaiapit	Return from Kiapit
T2.31	Wearime	Wera	Celebrating a new baby
T2.32	Menato	Esame	The dogs trapped me in a tree

Recorded in 2000

T2.33	Menato	Koromu	Roots of the Koromu language
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Collection 3, recorded in 2000

T3.1	Norman	Keti	Our visit to the mountains
T3.2	Norman	Parusu	Your journey by plane
T3.3	Norman	Saipa	Our visit to Saipa (Kou)

Collection 4 is not listed because these early texts and drills are difficult to hear.

Collection 5, recorded in 2004

T5.1	Awai:	Himoko	Bird trap constructions
T5.2	Awai:	Tomase	Tomas's education
T5.3	Arikao:	Wei arene – esi mirini	Foxholes of WWII
T5.4	Menato:	Piri sakine	The old Piri language
T5.5	Arikao:	Wei arene – metekaihere	White man in a tree, WWII
T5.6	Arikao:	Wei arene – wera hiria	The child who cried, WWII
T5.7	Sairam:	Oto	Days
T5.8	Sairam:	Oto and Asi	Days and months
T5.9	Winis:	Yene wasekere	The bowerbird
T5.10	Winis:	Niri	The biting insect
T5.11	Winis:	Kamene	Frogs
T5.12	Sairam:	Niri	Biting insects of the rivers
T5.13	Awai:	Atupu	Birds of paradise
T5.14	Sairam:	Kera	Parrots
T5.15	Kerapesi:	Kesa, esere	Parrots and cassowaries
T5.16	Awai:	Usu kaihe....	Adjectives (elicited)
T5.17	Joel:	Ou, nahe	Planting yams
T5.18	Sairam:	Pururu	Preparing <i>pururu</i> cycad nuts
T5.19	Winis:	Eko, kiri	Axes and fences
T5.20	Awai:	Ya Kohu	Journey up the Kohu River
T5.21	Nisom	Wera	Looking after a baby
T5.22	Menato	Kesawai	The Germans came to Kesawai
T5.23	Norman	Sotoko	Trouble over Sotoko land
T5.24	Norman	Sausi	Flood and new life at Sausi
T5.25	Awai	Esame ore	Hunting with my dogs

T5.26	Winis	Imari	Imari land and its owners
T5.27	Itaniso	Jack	Jack's adventures
T5.28	Awai	Positionals	Positionals: descriptions of photos)

Collection 6, recorded in 2004

T6.1	Sairam	Kerera	Parrots
T6.2	Awai	Positionals	More description of positionals
T6.3	Awai	Eiorapa	Caring for pigs at Eiorapa
T6.4	Itaniso	Hekeni	The day the house burnt down
T6.5	Awai	Usu te Sairam hoa	Sairam was gored by a pig
T6.6	Wira	Soahe	Using ginger
T6.7	Wira	Wau, kiri	Fencing a banana garden
T6.8	<i>Sarip</i>	<i>Keti</i>	<i>Following the mountain pig hunt</i>
T6.9	Winis	Pururu	Preparing pururu (cycad) nuts
T6.10	Kosi	Tamaite Arene	Big man exhortation
T6.11	Winis	Ehi mai (werai)	My legs (very short)
T6.12	Arikao	Tenanekau 1	Strange 1
T6.13	Arikao	Tenanekau 2(Sirin)	Strange 2
T6.14	Arikao	Sakine nupu	Many stories
T6.15	Sirin	Aru (continued p. 7)	Wallaby legend
T6.16	Wira	Elicited data	Adjectives

Collection 7, recorded in 2004

T7.1	Sirin	Kinine (misc)	Our roots tradition
T7.2	Sirin	Aru	Short version of wallaby legend
T7.3	Sirin	Naere mutu	Great python legend
T7.4	Sairam	Yame	Language borrowing

Collection 8, recorded in 2004

T8.1	Kerapesi	Kesao, esere	The crab and the cassowary story
T8.2	Sairam	Kerera	More parrot stories
T8.W	Arikao	Wanpere	Transplanting greens – no recording

Audio-visual recordings

AV.K	Kerapesi	Keti	On the mountain 2
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Appendix 2: Sample texts

The three texts represent procedures, personal stories and folklore/legend. Tail-head linkage is common (cf. §14.4.2). Line numbering follows original handwritten versions. Line by line free translations have quotation marks for sentences only. Free translations are also given in blocks for sections of text.

Text 1 *Ou, nahe* ‘Planting yams’ – Ipapo Joel Kesapun (T5.17)

Ipapo Joel Kesapun recorded this text at Otopa, Kesawai 1 in September 2004, when he was about 40 years old. He comes from Imari land in the Bismarck Range foothills beyond Arihetai, where people say ‘true’ Koromu is spoken. He has lived at Kesawai 1 with his mother’s people since his parents died when he was about 11. His wife is an Adzera speaker and they communicate with each other and their children in Tok Pisin.

- (1) *Ou, nahe naun-a pao sakine, sa-hia=mo.*
yam mami bury-3s IGEN talk speak-F1p=BM
‘We will talk about burying yam and mami (type of red yam).’
- (2) *Ou, nahe uo, esi oro ta-pe, wa pa,*
yam mami GRD hole dig END-SR garden G/L
‘As for yam and mami, we dig a hole, at the garden,
- (3) *esi oro ta-pe, aire pore te-pe,*
hole dig END-DR kunai¹²² pull GET-SR
dig a hole, pull up kunai grass,
- (4) *esi pa me re-pe,*
hole G/L move.down PUT-SR
put it down in the hole,

esi noie me re-pe,
hole compost¹²³ move.down PUT-SR
put compost down in the hole,

122 *Aire* ‘kunai’ refers to kunai grass (Tok Pisin), alang-alang (*Imperata arundinacea*) or sword grass.

123 Compost refers to plant material though it is not material that has been left to decay.

- (5) *eme werai uapu aharo re-pe, nampa,*
soil little like cover PUT-SR above
cover it with like a little soil, above them
- (6) *esi pa, si, nahe, ou te-pe, nampa,*
hole G/L then mami yam get-SR above
in the hole, then we get the mami and yams, and
- (7) *noie u pa kereme re-pe, si eme, te-pe,*
compost that G/L lay PUT-SR then soil get-SR
lay (spread) them above the compost there, then the soil, we get it and,
- (8) *nauno re-pe u-pu-r-ia=mo.*
bury PUT-SR do-HAB-PRES-1p=BM
bury them, we do that.'

'We will talk about burying mami and yam. As for mami and yam, we dig a hole, at the garden; we dig a hole, pull up kunai grass, put it down in the hole, and put compost down in the hole, covering it with a little soil, above them in the hole; then we get the mami and the yam, and spread/lay them above the compost there, then the soil, we get it and, we bury them, we do that.'

- (9) *Nauno re-pu-r-ia=mo, ou, nahe.*
bury PUT-HAB-PRES-1p=BM yam mami
'We bury them, mami and yam.'
- Sene nauno-pu-r-ia.*
1p bury-HAB-PRES-1p
'We bury them.'
- (10) *Eme iririn te-pe, pari ou pa nampa u*
soil clear get-SR again yam G/L above there
'You clear the soil, and again on the yam above them there,
- (11) *pa, te here-pe n:amu:te, aharo re-pe, si*
G/L get PUT-LTD:F2s cover PUT-SR so.then
you put it, and cover them, and so then
- (12) *epais-apesi. Si koia u nene*
leave-DES so.then sweet potato that 3p
you want to leave it. So sweet potato we

(13) *pu-pu-r-ia.*

plant-HAB-PRES-1p
plant them.'

Uapu, tai, pu-pu-r-ia. Ou uo, aisapu
like.that NEG plant-HAB-PRES-1p yam GRD only
'We don't plant them like that.' 'Yams, we only

(14) *nauno-pu-r-ia. Esi oro ta-pe nauno-pu-r-ia.*

bury-HAB-PRES-1p hole dig END-SR bury-HAB-PRES-1p
bury.' 'We dig a hole and we bury them.'

'We bury them, the yam and the mami. We bury them. You clear the soil, and again you put the soil on them, and cover them, and then you plan to leave it. So sweet potato, we plant them. We don't plant like that. We only bury yams. We dig a hole and we bury them.'

(15) *Esi oro ta-pe noie*

hole dig END-SR compost
'We dig a hole and

me re-pe, ou nampa te re-pe,
move.down PUT-SR yam above get PUT-SR
put compost down and, put yams above it and

(16) *eme aharo re-pe, ou, nahe, nen aere*

soil cover PUT-SR yam mami 3p two
cover them with soil and yams and mami, the two of them

u en-e uo, u uo,
there lie-3p GRD there GRD
lie there, there,

(17) *nauno re-pu-r-ia. Esi oro ta-pe*

bury PUT-HAB-PRES-1p hole dig END-SR
we bury them.' 'We dig a hole and

nauno re-pu-r-ia.
bury PUT-HAB-PRES-1p
bury them.'

- (18) *Si na wene asao, koia, aiake,*
 then thing food some sweet potato cassava
 ‘Then some food things, sweet potato, cassava,
para uo, uapu tai
 taro GRD like.that NEG
 taro, we don’t
- (19) *u-pu-r-ia. Tai esi oro ta-pe,*
 do-HAB-PRES-1p NEG hole dig END-SR
 do it like that. We don’t dig a hole and
tai nauno-pu-r-ia.
 NEG bury-HAB-PRES-1p
 we don’t bury them.’
- (20) *Ia. Pu-pu-r-ia. Werai u n-a, ou, nahe*
 No. plant-HAB-PRES-1p small that STAY-3s yam mami
 ‘No. We plant them. That’s all, the yam and mami
- (21) *pu-a pao sakino.*
 plant-3s IGEN talk
 planting talk.’

‘We dig a hole and put compost down and, put yams above it and cover them with soil and, yams and mami, the two of them lie there, we bury them. We dig a hole and bury them. So, some food things, sweet potato, cassava, taro, we don’t do like that. We don’t dig a hole and, we don’t bury them. No. We plant them. That’s all, the yam and mami planting talk.’

Text 2 *Keti* ‘Following a mountain pig hunt’ Sarip Kesapun (T6.8)

Sarip Kesapun recorded a story about a hunting expedition in the foothills above Otopa, Kesawai 1 in October 2004. In this text, she tends to use less clause chaining than is commonly found in other texts. Sarip was about 55 in 2004. She grew up at Kesawai 1, then married Yot and lived at Waimeripa and Autopa until they moved to Kesawai 1 when his health was poor. She and her children remained at Kesawai 1 after Yot died.

Men often hunt on their own in various ways (T1.26), but in the windy, dry months of August and September people of all ages enjoy hunting in the wide, open spaces. Large areas of kunai grassland are set alight. Men and boys, and sometimes women, chase wild pigs, bandicoots and birds that flee the flames. Women and children watch from high vantage points and the women who are not caring for small children run to help cut up the meat and load it into netbags for transport.

(1) *Mo pate yar-ia, weti pate. Weti pate yar-ia.*
 here S/L go-1p house S/L house S/L go-1p
 ‘We went from here, from the houses.’ ‘We went from the houses (village).’

(2) *Aha-nema=te yo-a umo wera rai*
 mother-P3s=PNP shout-3s but child small
 ‘Her mother¹²⁴ shouted but the small child
eme te yar-ia, Seia.
 take GET go-1p Seia
 we took her, Seia (that is), and went.’

(3) *Yar-ie. Yar-ie. Yar-ie. Yar-ie.*
 go-1p go-1p go-1p go-1p
 ‘We went.’ ‘We went.’ ‘We went.’ ‘We went.’
Sahosa yar-ie. Sahosa yare-pe,
 Sahosa go-1p Sahosa go-SR
 ‘We went to Sahosa.’ ‘We went to Sahosa and,

(4) *ya poho ta-pe, mo o re-pe*
 river sit END-SR this do PUT-SR
 we sat at the river, we did this and
ya on te-pe, keti pa top-ia.
 water fill get-SR mountain G/L climb-1p
 filled up some water and, climbed the mountain.’

124 The daughter wasn’t happy about her mother taking her little girl (about two years of age) to the hunt.

- (5) *Keti pa topi-pe wera kase¹²⁵ te-pe*
 mountain G/L climb-SR child carry.sit GET-SR
 ‘He climbed the mountain and carried the child on
 his shoulders,
yar-a, Kahu=te. Kase te
 go-3s Kahu=PNP carry.sit GET
 and went, Kahu did.’ ‘He carried her
- (6) *yar-a-te, yar-e. Poho ne-pe, ya*
 go-3s-DR go-3p sit STAY-SR water
 and went, they went.’ ‘I sat, and
kerekere-pe, ya ore ...¹²⁶
 cover-SR go COM
 covered the water and with the water...
- (7) *top-i. Keti peraun ta-pe,*
 climb-1s mountain reach.top END-SR
 I climbed.’ ‘They reached the mountain top and, waited for me.’
heti-s-e. Heti-s-e-te yar-i. Yare-pe
 wait-01s-3p wait-01s-3p-DR go-1s go-SR
 ‘They waited for me and I went.’ ‘I went and
- (8) *ya aire ta-i-te, “Kase-s-ahē!”*
 go arrive END-1s-DR carry.sit-01s-IMP2p
 I went, arrived and, “Carry/sit me on your shoulders!”
o re-pe hiri-a. Hiri-a-te, kase t-a-te,
 quote PUT-SR cry-3s cry-3s-DR carry.sit GET-3s-DR
 she said and she cried.’ ‘She cried and, he carried/sat her on his
 shoulders and,

125 *Kase* means to hang something over a hook or a nail or carry a child on one’s shoulders with his or her legs hanging down either side of one’s neck. The gloss ‘carry.sit’ is a rough attempt to translate this.

126 Sadly, I had to transcribe this with a different person as the speaker’s voice was too faint at this point.

- (9) *ensate heter-ia. Heteri-pe yare-pe*
 from.over.there run-1p run-SR go-SR
 from over there we ran.' 'He ran and went and
yare-pe yare-pe, keti pa
 go-SR go-SR mountain G/L
 went and went, to the mountain,
- (10) *nono puhu-a pao, yare-pe poho n-a.*
 GEN3p sit-3s IGEN go-SR sit STAY-3s
 the mountain for sitting on, he went and sat.'
Poho-n-te yare-pe topi-pe topi-pe
 sit-STAY-DR go-SR climb-SR climb-SR
 'He sat and I went and climbed and climbed and
- (11) *topi-pe topi-pe mere pasi-neka-i.*
 climb-SR climb-SR move.up meet-O1p-1s
 climbed and climbed and went up and met them.'
Pasi-neka-i-te, u pa
 meet-O3p-1s-DR there G/L
 'I met them and there
- (12) *poho n-ia. Poho ne-pe poho ne-pe*
 sit STAY-1p sit STAY-SR sit STAY-SR
 we sat.' 'We sat and sat
poho ne-pe poho ne-pe were
 sit STAY-SR sit STAY-SR sun
 and sat and sat and with a great
- (13) *sekau ore, hekeni u-ia. Hekeni u-ia-te*
 very.big COM fire do-1p fire do-1p-DR
 sun, we did a fire. We did the fire and
asao yar-e.
 some go-3p
 some went on.'

- (14) *Yar-e-te, sen aere u pa min-ia.*
 go-3p-DR 1p two there G/L stay-1p
 ‘They went and we two stayed there.’
Min-ia. Min-ia. O, keti arene
 stay-1p STAY-1P oh mountain big
 ‘We stayed.’ ‘We stayed.’ ‘Oh, the big mountain
- (15) *top-ia, pari. Top-ia-te, Seia sau-i.*
 climb-1p again climb-1p-DR Seia tell-1s
 we climbed, again.’ ‘We climbed and, I told Seia.
 “*Seia, were arene we-r-a=mo.*”
 Seia sun big act-PRES-3s=BM
 “Seia, a big sun is burning.”
- (16) *Ya werai on t-ie. Ya hese her-i.*
 water small fill GET-1p water wash PUT-1s
 ‘We filled up a little water.’ ‘I washed her.’
Ya on te yar-i pao, hese re-pe
 water fill GET go-1p IGEN wash PUT-SR
 ‘With water I had filled up and gone, washed her and
- (17) *poho n-ie. Poho n-ie. Poho n-ie.*
 sit STAY-1p sit STAY-1p sit STAY-1p
 we sat.’ ‘We sat.’ ‘We sat.’
Usu ato sopo hor-e. Keti pate
 pig one kill PUT-3p mountain S/L
 ‘They killed one pig.’ ‘From the mountain
- (18) *hestai-neka-ie. “Seia, yei=ama usu oro*
 watch-O1p-1p Seia uncle¹²⁷=group pig shoot
 we watched them.’ ‘Seia, your uncle and the others
hore-r-e=mo,” u-i. O re-pe
 PUT-PRES-3p=BM quote-1s quote PUT-SR
 shot a pig,” I said.’ ‘I said it and

127 *Yei* is the kinship noun used to refer to a mother’s brother (see §4.3.3.2).

- (19) *sau-i. Sau-i-te,*
 tell.3s-1s tell.3s-1s-DR
 I told her.’ ‘I told her and
“Heri yo he-s-ae!” u-a-te
 bag¹²⁸ load PUT-01s-IMP1s quote-3s-DR
 “Load me into the netbag!” she said and
heri yo hor-i. Poho n-ie.
 bag fill PUT-1s sit STAY-1p
 I loaded her into the netbag.’ ‘We sat.’
- (20) *O, ami mosa kikiri m-ia-te uo,*
 Oh eye this.side look.about move.down-1p-DR GRD
 ‘Oh, when our eyes looked about to the side and down,
u Airehena=ama yar-e.
 there Airehena=group go-3p
 Airehena and others went there.’
- (21) *Yare-pente, sasi-sek-a.*
 go-LTD:3p tell-01p-3s
 ‘They went and, she said to us.’
Sasi-sek-a-te, “Yar-aho=mo. Were=mo.
 tell-01p1-3s-DR go-INC1p=BM sun=BM
 ‘She said to us, “Let’s go. It’s the sun (time).
- (22) *Seia sepa te-hera paimo.”*
 Seia ill get-F3s APP
 Seia might get ill.”
“Wera kase t-ahē!”
 child carry.sit GET-IMP2p
 “Carry/sit the child on your shoulders!”
u-neka-i. Wera kase t-a-te
 quote-03p-1s child carry/sit GET-3s-DR
 ‘I said to them.’ ‘She carried/sat the child on her shoulders and

128 *Heri* refers to a netbag made from string (a *bilum* in Tok Pisin).

- (23) *yar-ia. Yare-pe yare-pe yare-pe*
 go-1p go-SR go-SR go-SR
 we went.’ ‘We went and went and went and
were ehi ore yare-pe yare-pe
 sun leg COM go-SR go-SR
 with the sun on our legs we went and went and
- (24) *yare-pe e Aurosa ya pa m-ia.*
 go-SR eh Aurosa river G/L move.down-1p
 went and eh we went down the Aurosa River.’
Aurosa ya pa m-ie.
 Aurosa river G/L move.down-1p
 ‘We went down the Aurosa River.’
- (25) *U pa poho n-ie. Were seipa*
 there G/L sit STAY-1p sun REAS
 ‘There we sat.’ ‘Because of the sun
ya pa nuku men-ia.
 river G/L submerge stay-1p
 we submerged and stayed in the river.’
- (26) *Poho n-ie. Poho n-ie. Poho n-ie.*
 sit STAY-1p sit STAY-1p sit STAY-1p
 ‘We sat.’ ‘We sat.’ ‘We sat.’
Poho n-ie. Ya hes ta-ie.
 sit STAY-1p water wash END-1p
 ‘We sat.’ ‘We washed.’
Pari keti pa
 again mountain G/L
 ‘Then again on the mountain
- (27) *hekeni we te-a. U pa hekeni apuru pa*
 fire act/burn GET-3s there G/L fire clear G/L
 the fire burned.’ ‘To the fire clearing there
yar-ia.
 go-1p
 we went.’

- (28) *Hekeni apuru pa yar-ia. Usu sopo-e. Usu werane*
 fire clear G/L go-1p pig kill-3p pig young
 ‘We went to the fire clearing.’ ‘They killed pigs.’ ‘The young pigs
- (29) *epere-neka-e. Usu ato oro t-e.*
 hold-03p-3p pig one shoot GET-3p
 they held them.’ ‘They shot one pig.’
Usu ato oro t-e. O poho n-ie.
 pig one shoot GET-3p oh sit STAY-1p
 ‘They shot one pig.’ ‘Oh, we sat.’
- (30) *Poho n-ie. Poho n-ie. Poho n-ie.*
 sit STAY-1p sit STAY-1p sit STAY-1p
 ‘We sat.’ ‘We sat.’ ‘We sat.’
Ka-ia. Ka-pe “Yara-ho=mo,” u-e.
 come-1p come-SR go-INC1p=BM quote-3p
 ‘We came.’ ‘We came, and they said, “Let’s go.”
- (31) *U-e-te ya pa ka-ia.*
 quote-3p-DR river G/L come-1p
 ‘They said it and we came to the river.’
Usu ho-e. Usu ho-pe aiake
 pig butcher-3p pig butcher-SR cassava
 ‘They butchered the pig.’ ‘They butchered pig and cooked and ate cassava and
- (32) *he na-pe, yene he na-pe, usu sipi*
 cook eat-SR bird cook eat-SR pig excrement
 cooked and ate a bird, and, removed the pig’s excrement
noko re-pe, usu tera re-pe,
 remove PUT-SR pig dismember PUT-SR
 insides and, dismembered the pig and,
- (33) *u-e-te u poho n-ie.*
 do-3p-DR there sit STAY-1p
 they did that, and we sat there.’
Aiake he her-i. Ne her-ie.
 cassava cook PUT-1s eat PUT-1p
 ‘I cooked cassava.’ ‘We ate it up.’

Ne her-ie. Ne her-ie. Min-ia.
 eat PUT-1p eat PUT-1p STAY-1p
 ‘We ate it up.’ ‘We ate it up.’ ‘We stayed.’

- (34) *Mene-pe usu poron ta-pe, si ka-ia.*
 stay-SR pig distribute END-SR then come-1p
 ‘We stayed, and we distributed the pig and, then we came.’

Ka-pe, weti pa ka-ie.
 come-SR house G/L come-1p
 ‘We came, we came to the houses.’

- (35) *Weti pa aire ta-ie. U pa*
 house G/L arrive END-1p there G/L
 ‘We arrived at the houses.’ ‘There

aire t-a-te aire ta-ie. Ka-pe
 arrive END-3s-DR arrive END-1p come-SR
 she arrived, and we arrived.’ ‘We came and

- (36) *poho s-ia umo sa urun t-a.*
 sit START-1p but time dark get-3s
 we started to sit down but it got dark.’

Sa urun t-a-te,
 time dark get-3s-DR
 ‘It got dark and,

- (37) *Sekume=ama O upu-sek-a.*
 Sekume=group oh cross-O1p-3s
 Sekume and all oh they were cross at us.’

U pa uo, u pate si usu
 there G/L GRD there S/L then pig
 ‘There, there, then the pig

- (38) *ne her-e. Usu ne her-a-te*
 eat PUT-3p pig eat PUT-3s-DR
 they ate the pig.’ ‘She ate pig

ene he ta-ie. Somoto
 lie PUT END-1p morning
 and we slept.’ ‘In the morning

- (39) *sa yar-ia. Werai u n-a.*
 place go-1p small that STAY-3s
 we went places.' 'That's all.'

Text 3 *Koromu sakine kinine* 'Roots of the Koromu language' – Menato Epati (T2.33)

This text was recorded at Otopa, Kesawai 1 in August 2000 with Menato Epati. It resembles the Namite myth part C (cf. §1.3.2) found in Monumbo, a language of the north coast of Madang Province and elsewhere (Z'graggen 1987: 745, 747, Pawley pers. comm.). When Menato recorded this, he was about 60 years old and the oldest living member of the patrilineage that owns Sotoko land (cf. §1.4). Before he died in 2006, he lived at a small settlement near the Monpea River between Kesawai 1 and Kesawai 2. Highly regarded for his oratory, Menato captivated people with fluent, often humorous stories which create laughter years after the recordings. The code-switching with Tok Pisin may result from his years working on plantations as a young man. When we transcribed the text, Menato replaced some Tok Pisin words and phrases with Koromu so the original Tok Pisin is included in footnotes. If he did not change the Tok Pisin it remains in the text with Koromu alternatives in footnotes. Lines (45) and (46) are based on transcription alone as his original speech was too rapid for either of us to hear.

- (1) *Koromu sakine mo ne, sa-r-ia uo.*
 Koromu language here EMPH speak-PRES-1p GRD
 'The Koromu language is here, we speak it.'

Sene Kesawai. Mo pa uo,
 1p Kesawai here G/L GRD
 'We are Kesawai.' 'Here,

- (2) *Kesawai sakine tai u-e. E, Koromu*
 Kesawai language NEG quote-3p Eh Koromu
 they didn't speak the Kesawai language.' 'Eh, Koromu
sakine, sakine tokplese e kini-ne uo,
 language language language eh root-P3s GRD
 language, the language, the tokples (Tok Pisin) roots,

- (3) *Koromu sa=m. Koromu sa u sa-r-ia.*
 Koromu N:G/L=BM Koromu N:G/L there speak-PRES-1p
 are at Koromu.¹²⁹ ‘We spoke it there at Koromu.’
- (4) *Sumurapa mo pa, men-e=m. Sumurapa*
 long.ago here G/L stay-3p=BM long.ago
 ‘Long ago they were here.’ ‘Long ago
asiapae=te mo pa men-e. Si, apu,
 ancestors=PNP here G/L stay-3p so.then now
 the ancestors were here.’ ‘So then, now,
- (5) *Westen Hailans, Saten Hailans u pa uo,*
 Western Highlands Southern Highlands there G/L GRD
 the Western Highlands and the Southern Highlands are there (gesture),¹³⁰
- (6) *sumurapa u pa ie ia n-e=mo.*
 long.ago there G/L no be.not STAY-3p=BM
 long ago they were not there at all.’
Mo Waimeripa, Korike=mo umo
 here Waimeripa Korike=BM but
 ‘Waimeripa and Korike were here but
- (7) *u pa ie ia n-e=mo.*
 there G/L no be.not STAY-3p=BM
 they (Western Highlands etc.) were not there at all.’
Kesawai mo pa olgeta.¹³¹ Mu pa mo
 Kesawai here G/L all celebration G/L here
 ‘All (the people) were here at Kesawai.’ ‘They drew each other to a celebration
- (8) *eser-a-e. Mu pa eser-a-pe*
 pull.draw-REC-3p celebration G/L pull.drew-REC-SR
 here (TP: singsing ‘songs, dance, drums’). They drew together to celebrate and

129 Koromu is land near Weisa. In 1924 there was a village called Koromu there (Lane-Poole 1925).

130 The area beyond the southern mountains is indicated.

131 *Olgeta* ‘all’ is Tok Pisin for Koromu *nupu* ‘all’.

yare-pe yare-pe yare-pe, henahina,
 go-SR go-SR go-SR old.woman
 went and went and went and, an old woman,

- (9) “*Yawa=mo,*” *u-e, henahina. Henahina, Yawa*
 Yawa=BM quote-3p old.woman old.woman Yawa
 “(She) is Yawa,” they said, the old woman.’ ‘The old woman, Yawa

u mene-pe, aiake rai
 there STAY-SR cassava little
 she was there and a little cassava

- (10) *here re-pe te-nek-a umo,*
 cook PUT-SR give-O3p-3s but
 she cooked it and gave it to them but,

“*A ne uo, to*¹³² *koro wapi=name tai*
 Ah 2s GRD GEN2s mucus hand=P2s NEG
 “Ah, you, we will not eat your mucus from your hand,”

- (11) *ni-hia =mo,*” *o re-pe, aise here-pe, hena saine*
 eat-F1p=BM quote PUT-SR leave PUT-SR woman many
 they said that and they left and, many women

- (12) *tamaite saine aise here-pe yare-pe yare-pe*
 man many leave PUT-SR go-SR go-SR
 many men left and went and went

yare-pente, ya po te po te-pe
 go-LTD:3s river cross GET cross GET-SR
 and went and, crossed and crossed the river

- (13) *mu pa eser-a t-e.*
 celebration G/L drew-REC GET-3p
 they drew each other to the ‘singsing’ celebration.’

Mu pa eser-a t-e t-e.
 celebration G/L drag-REC GET-3p GET-3p
 ‘They drew each other to the ‘singsing’ celebration.’

132 In the recording *to* ‘2s’ is given as *sono* ‘1p’ but that does not agree with the possessor enclitic.

Si nonu-ne=are,
then younger.sibling-P3s=and
'Then a younger sibling

- (14) *ai-ne =are, nene-naru epono pi-pente,*
older.sibling-P3s=and 3p-alone later stood-LTD:3p
and, an older sibling, they stood alone later (last in the line of people)

- (15) *yare-pe, "O, aha, aiake werei mo*
go-SR Oh, aha cassava small here
and (they) went and, "Oh, aha,

here here-r-i uo,
cook PUT-PRES-1s GRD
I am cooking a little cassava here,

- (16) *ne her-amu=e? Ei=pa."*
eat PUT-F1s=Q bamboo=G/L
will you eat it? (It's) in the bamboo."

- (17) *u-nek-a-te, "Eh," u-e-te,*
quote-O3p-3s-DR Eh quote-3p-DR
she said to them and they said "Eh," and,

u-a-te henahina, Yawa u te.
quote-3s-DR old.woman Yawa that PNP
she said that the old woman, Yawa, that one.'

- (18) *"E, henahina mame her-a=e? Ni-hia=mo, sorumu.*
Eh old.woman what cook-3s=Q eat-F1p=BM simply
"Eh, what did the old woman cook? 'We will simply eat it.'"

- (19) *To wapi pa umo n-a pao=mo,"*
GEN2s hand G/L but eat-3s IGEN=BM
"It's in your hand but it's for eating,"

o re-pe, nene =te
quote PUT-SR 3p=PNP
they said and they

- (20) *ne her-e, aere=am=te.*
eat PUT-3p two=group=PNP
ate it up, those two.’
Ne her-e-te henahina Yawa u=te
eat PUT-3p-DR old.woman Yawa that=PNP
‘They ate it up and the old woman, Yawa, that one
- (21) *sasi-nek-a, nonu-ne=are aine=are,*
tell¹³³-O3p-3s younger.sibling-P3s=and older.sibling=and
told them, the younger sibling and the older sibling,
“*O, o, te yare-pe uo,*
oh oh 2p go-SR GRD
“Oh, oh, you go,
sa o-r-a-ne uo,
daytime do.dawn-PRES-3s-DR:IR:CS GRD
when daytime dawns,
- (22) *sesai, pe asa k-ahe.”*
quickly channel other.side come-IMP2p
you come quickly to the other side of the channel.”
U-nek-a. U-nek-a-te
quote-O3p-3s quote-O3p-3s-DR
‘She said to them.’ ‘She said it to them and
- (23) *si sa ue-a-te, nonu-ne=are*
then daytime dawn-3s-DR younger.sibling-P3s=and
then (when) daytime dawned, the younger sibling and
ai-ne=are pilasi¹³⁴ are-re-pe
older.sibling-P3s=and decorations remove-SR
the older sibling removed their decorations and

133 *Sasi* ‘tell 1s, 1p, 2s, 2p, 3p’

134 *Pilasi* ‘decorations’ is Tok Pisin for *na nekei* [thing celebrate] ‘celebration things/regalia’. Traditional celebrations items are made from shells, feathers, bark cloth, cane, hand-made string, dyes and so on.

- (24) *nene ka=yake ta-e.*
 3p come=ahead END-3p
 they came ahead.’
Ka=yake ta-e-te sasi-nek-a,
 come=ahead END-3p -DR tell-O3p-3s
 ‘They came ahead, and she told them.
- (25) “*O, aha! Te aere yar-ahe,*” *u-a.*
 oh aha 2p two go-IMP2p quote-3s
 ‘Oh, aha! You two go!’ she said.’
U-nek-a-te nene ka-nte,
 quote-O3p-3s-DR 3p come-DR:IR:TO
 ‘She told them, and they went and,
eponsa, mo uo,
 behind here GRD
 behind them, here,
- (26) *Enae mosa aire ta-pe ene ne-pe n-a-te*
 Ramu this.side arrive END-SR lie STAY-LTD:3s
 the Ramu (River) arrived at this side and it lay and then
- (27) *eno eno aroho aroho=mo.*
 over.there over.there down.there down.there=BM
 (it was) over there and over there and down there and down there.’
Po t-a pao ie ia ne-pe,
 cross GET-3s IGEN no be.not STAY-SR
 ‘There was no crossing at all and,
- (28) *ya suia¹³⁵ aiau. Ya arene mo ene n-a-te,*
 river sea RSM river big here lie STAY-3s-DR
 the river was like the sea.’ ‘A big river lay here,

135 Tok Pisin *solwara* [salt water] ‘sea’ was replaced by *suia* [salt water] ‘sea’ during transcription.

*olgeta*¹³⁶ *eno* *pase*¹³⁷ *mene-pente*,
 all over.there trap STAY-LTD:3p
 and then all of them were trapped over there and then,

- (29) “*Mamo te-pe yar-aho=e?*” *o re-pe*,
 how get-SR go-INC1p=Q quote PUT-SR
 “How shall we get (over) and go?” they said and,
ya pa mene-pe mene-pe mene-pente,
 river G/L stay-SR stay-SR stay-LTD:3p
 they stayed and stayed and stayed at the river and then,

- (30) *asao uo, ei oro weti hoko hore-pe*
 some GRD bamboo oro¹³⁸ house build PUT-SR
 some, built houses of ‘bow and arrow’ bamboo and
 “*Oro pa weti=mo,*”
 oro G/L house=BM
 “These are the houses at *oro*”

- (31) *u-neka-r-e=mo. Asao uo, meni,*
 quote-O3p-PRES-3p=BM some GRD whatjamacalit
 they said.’ ‘Some, whatjamacalit,
waimeri weti hoko hore-pe hoko-pe
*pitpit*¹³⁹ house build PUT-SR build-SR
 they built pitpit houses, they built them and

- (32) *men-e. U te “Waimeripa,” u-neka-r-e.*
 stay-3p that INS Waimeripa quote-O3p-PRES-3p
 they stayed.’ ‘With that they said “(It is) Waimeripa”.
Asao uo, kokorike weti
 some GRD kokorike¹⁴⁰ house
 ‘Some, they built houses of kokorike.’

136 “*Olgeta*” is Tok Pisin for one meaning of Koromu *nupu*.

137 *Pase* ‘trap’ sounds like Tok Pisin *pasim* ‘hold, fasten’.

138 *Ei oro* is a type of bamboo used for marking bows and arrows.

139 *Waimeri* (Tok Pisin *pitpit*) is a type of wild sugar cane (*Saccharum spontaneum*).

140 *Kokorike* is a type of palm leaf.

- (33) *hoko-e. “Korike” u-neka-te,*
 build-3p Korike quote-O3p-DR
 ‘They said, “(It is) Korike,”
si asao perone¹⁴¹-pe,
 then some split.off-SR
 and then some split off and
- (34) *Westen Hailans, Saten Hailans, u pa*
 Western Highlands Southern Highlands there G/L
 to the Western Highlands and Southern Highlands there they
ya n-a. Henahina, Yawa
 go STAY-3s old.woman Yawa
 went.’ ‘The old woman, Yawa
- (35) *u paua¹⁴²-ne te here-pe Enae arene u*
 that power-P3s get PUT-SR Ramu big there
 put that power of hers there at the big Ramu River
ene-a pao.
 lie-3s IGEN
 lying there.’
- (36) *Sumurapa, tumbuna stori,¹⁴³ u o re-pe*
 long.ago ancestor story that quote PUT-SR
 ‘Long ago, a traditional story, they said that and
sa-pu-e-te ese-pu-ia pao.
 say-HAB-3p-DR hear-HAB-1p GEN
 they said it regularly for us to hear regularly.’

141 In the recording this sounds like *hupe* but during transcription the verb *hupe* ‘split off’ was used.

142 Tok Pisin *paua* ‘power’ is in the recording. It’s replaced by Koromu *sahinu* ‘power’ in the transcription.

143 Tumbuna *sitori* ‘ancestor’s story’ (Tok Pisin) is *erehu sakine* ‘traditional story’ in the transcription.

- (37) *U te Koromu sakine u pate*
 that INS Koromu language that S/L
 ‘Because of that the Koromu language from there
ka n-a, u pa.
 come STAY-3s there G/L
 came and stayed there.’
- (38) *Si sene Kesawai mo pa uo,*
 so.then 1p Kesawai here G/L GRD
 ‘So then where we are here at Kesawai,
sakine ie¹⁴⁴ ia n-a.
 language no be.not STAY-3s
 there was no language at all.’¹⁴⁵
- (39) *Si u te eno pa uo, mo pate*
 so.then that INS over.there G/L GRD here S/L
 ‘So then because of that over there, from here
mirini eno yare-pe,
 only over.there go-SR
 only they went over there
- (40) *u ya perone¹⁴⁶-pe olgeta¹⁴⁷ sa sihi n-e.*
 those went split.off-SR all place full STAY-3p
 they went and split up and they all filled the place.’
Nonu=are aine=are ka-e pao u te
 younger.sibling=and older.sibling=and come-3p IGEN that INS
 ‘The younger sibling and older sibling’s coming, for that,

144 *ie* is a variant of *ia* used when this negative copula verb is reduplicated for emphasis.

145 In T5.14 Menato states that the Piri language was spoken at Kesawai when the younger and older sibling lived there but it died out as the Koromu language spread from south of the River.

146 In the recording this sounds like *pu* but in the transcription Menato used *perone* ‘split off’.

147 The Tok Pisin word *olgeta* ‘all’ was replaced by *nupu* ‘all’ in the transcription.

(41) *sene werai mo min-ia, ate aterai. Sene Kesawai=mo.*
 1p few here stay-1p one one 1p Kesawai=BM
 we few stay here, one one.' 'We are Kesawai.'

(42) *U te tokplese¹⁴⁸ arene eno pate*
 that INS language big over.there S/L
 'Because of that the big language

k-a-te si sono tokplese
 come-3s-DR then GEN1p language
 came from over there and then our language

(43) *u nene hare insaite¹⁴⁹-pe, skulim¹⁵⁰*
 that 3p ANIM go.inside-SR learn
 went into theirs and we learned

o re-pe "Nono tokplese u Koromu
 do PUT-SR GEN1p language that Koromu
 it and "Their language is that Koromu

(44) *sakine," u-r-ia. U n-a.*
 language quote-PRES-1p that STAY-s
 language," we say.' 'That's all.'

Werai u n-a=mo.
 small that STAY-3s=BM
 'That's all.'

Io sakine werai u n-a=mo.
 GEN1s story small that STAY-3s=BM
 'That's all my story.'

In the original recording Menato added more comments that are unclear. They seem to reiterate some earlier contents. One clear comment is that the people south of the Ramu 'made the language long'.

148 *Tokplese* is Tok Pisin for *sakine* 'language'.

149 *Insaite* is Tok Pisin for 'go inside'. During transcription *mi* 'move down' was used since traditional houses were on the ground and because of erosion in the entrance one stepped down into the house.

150 *Skulim* 'learn' is a Tok Pisin borrowing used as an adjunct with *u* 'do' (see §10.10).

- (45) ...*orohoi yare her-e=mo.*
 long go PUT-3p=BM
 ‘...they made it (the language) long.’ T2.33.45

Appendix 3: Koromu to English wordlist and English to Koromu finderlist

The lists below are based on wordlists at the end of a small printed book called *Yene, tomtō, naere* (YTN) ‘Birds, wild animals and snakes’ (Tomas, Mutu, Priestley. 2010). The scripts, were originally written by Sairam Tomas and Winis Mutu years ago, based on pictures and translations. *Many of the examples are in *Yene, tomtō, naere* (YTN), as indicated with some words. Otherwise references are made to examples from the text collections. Sairam and Winis checked the scripts and wordlists with me in 2004 when I was working on my thesis.

Abbreviations used in the wordlists

adj.	adjective	adv.	adverb
dem.	demonstrative	quan.	quantifier
n.	noun	num.	numeral
poss.	possessive	pp.	postposition
pn.	pronoun	v.	verb

Koromu to English wordlist

a

aere	adj.	two
ahare/hare	pp.	near human or animal. <i>Sirin ahare ehi pa</i> ‘near Sirin’s leg’ T1.9.5
ahare	v.	throw/drag (something). <i>Nahe tumune weti pa ahare tape...</i> ‘Throw/drag the yam shoots in the house...’ T1.33.31
ahare te	svc.	drag/pull (something). <i>Poso ahare tepe...</i> ‘Pulled/dragged the posts...’ T2.28. 2
aharopu	n.	people
ahausopa	n.	small lizard
aiane	n.	fish

aire	n.	sword grass, “kunai” in Tok Pisin
airi	v.	come up to, arrive, happen. <i>Weti pa aire tarie.</i> ‘We arrived at the houses.’ T1.13.4
=ama		group clitic
amtu	n.	hawk
apu	n.	a type of tree
apu	n.	now, today
arene	adj.	big, large
ariri	n.	a type of tree
aritiri	n.	forehead
arisapu	n.	afternoon, evening
aro	n.	mud
aru sete	n.	wallaby
asao	adj.	some
asoi	n.	pometia pinnata tree, “ton” in Tok Pisin
aterai	adj.	one
ato	adj.	one, a certain one
atotuhupate	adv.	sometimes
atupu	n.	bird of paradise
auto	n.	octomeles sumatrana tree, “erima” in Tok Pisin
e		
ehea	v.	open up (something). <i>Oru napa ehea tapuate...</i> ‘They open their insides...’ YTN3
ehi	n.	leg, foot; <i>ehi ne</i> ‘his/her/its leg’
ehi ruru	n.	leg hairs
eme	n.	ground, soil
Enae	n.	the Ramu river
ene	v.	lie, sleep. <i>Enepure.</i> ‘They habitually sleep.’ YTN5
epo	n.	stone
eri	v.	fear. <i>Erisepure.</i> ‘They habitually/always fear me.’ YTN5
eri	n.	fear. <i>Eri sei yara.</i> ‘He went because of fear.’ T5.25.5
esame	n.	dog
ese	v.	hear. <i>Esea.</i> ‘It/he/she hears (something).’ YTN5
esepo	v.	grab (with two claws, hands). <i>Esepo tupure.</i> ‘They regularly grab and get things.’ YTN5
esere	n.	cassowary
etamau	adj.	sweet, good YTN5
etamu	v.	tastes good. <i>Etamsupura.</i> ‘It tastes good to me.’ YTN5
etanau	adj.	white
eta	v.	vomit. <i>Wene eta tapuri.</i> ‘I habitually vomit food up.’ YTN5
eti	n.	skirt, tail feathers, <i>eti ne</i> ‘its skirts/feathers’

h

hane	adj.	short
hani	v.	hang (from branch). <i>Tiri pa hanipura</i> . 'It habitually hangs in trees.' build, make. <i>Haru-ae!</i> 'You make/build it!'
haru	v.	fly. <i>Nampa heerepura</i> . 'It flies up high.' YTN5
heere	v.	coil up/circle round. <i>Naere teri tiri pa hee nepure</i> .
hee	v.	'Tree snakes coil up round trees.' YTN3
hei	v.	search or look for. <i>Heipuri</i> . 'I habitually search for it.'
hekape	n.	fly
hena	n.	woman, girl;
hena-tamaite	n.	people [woman-man]
hena-ima	n.	my wife
henasu	n.	green vegetables
here	v.	cook or put. <i>Wene herera</i> . 'I'm cooking food.'
himoko	n.	trap for birds
hitimune	n.	scales (on a fish)
ho	v.	bite/chop. <i>Honekara</i> . 'It is biting them.'
hoko	n.	light, lamp
hoko	v.	make/create, draw. <i>Karu, Weiau te hoko hora</i> . 'Fishtrap, Weiau made it.' T1.171
hoko te	svc.	break/cut off. <i>Henasu hoko tepe...</i> 'Break off green leaves/vegetables...' T1.710
huhune	adj.	ripe, eg <i>wau huhune</i> 'ripe banana'
hunu	n.	valley

i

i	pn.	I, me
ia	neg.	no, be not
ihi	v.	finish. <i>Ihiramo</i> . 'It is finishing.'
imi	v.	die. <i>Imihire</i> . 'They will die.'
io	pn.	my
i	v.	walk up and down. <i>Ya ipura</i> . 'It walks up and down by the river.'

k

	v.	come. <i>Kahara</i> . 'It will come.'
ka	n.	butterfly
kahuri kahuri	n.	white cockatoo
kaihe	n.	caterpillar or larva of moth or butterfly
kaka huri	n.	frog
kamene	n.	peanut
kansane	n.	wild bamboo
kase	n.	a large type of bat
kauhi	n.	a type of tree, "temeneri" in Tok Pisin
kauno	v.	dance. <i>Atupu kekerepura</i> . 'Birds of Paradise regularly dance.'
kekere	n.	mosquito
kenaki	n.	a type of tree, "picus" in Tok Pisin
keneri		

kere kere	n.	sound a little ring dotterel bird makes
kerehane	n.	tunnel, hole, route; <i>epo kerehane</i> ‘tunnel in rock’
keti	n.	mountain
kesapune	adj.	rotten
kewa	n.	a big lizard that lives in trees and can be eaten
kirihi	n.	ant
kitin	v.	put around. <i>Aritiri pa kitin tupure</i> . ‘They put it around their foreheads.’
kimu	n.	tree-boring insect
kini	n.	roots, <i>tiri kinine</i> ‘roots of a tree’
koa	n.	sweet potato
komeine piri	n.	fur or skin of an animal
komoho	n.	toucan
konu	n.	chest/breast (front of bird/person)
korokoro	n.	chicken
kororo	n.	small lizard
kuare	n.	a grub
kukupiau	adj.	sour, rotten, dusty
kurisi	n.	corn
kunu	n.	hole or hollow, eg <i>tiri kunu</i> ‘hole in a tree’
kurimi	n.	a type of tree
kururu amine aiau	adj. phrase	yellow, like the spot on a type of butterfly
kusi	n.	pawpaw

m

-/=mai	poss.	my (after a noun)
makati	n.	type of lizard
mamao	n.	flower; <i>tiri mamaone</i> ‘tree flowers’
mare	n.	place
maruru	n.	type of lizard
mati	n.	leaf
mati po aiau	adj.	green, like leaves of <i>po</i> plants
me	pn.	who
meo	pn.	whose
mekei	n.	a type of insect, <i>muna</i>
mene	v.	stay/be (somewhere). <i>Menepura</i> . ‘It habitually stays.’
mere	v.	go up. <i>Merepuri</i> . ‘I habitually go up.’
mete	n.	body
mete uru	n.	body hair
metake	n.	skin
mi	v.	go down. <i>Mipura</i> . ‘It habitually goes down.’
mohun	n.	top, mound, eg <i>tiri mohun</i> ‘top of the tree’
momopu	n.	bee
motune	n.	its brother (male)
mu kekere	svc	sing and dance. <i>Mu kekerepure</i> . ‘They habitually sing and dance.’

n

na	n.	thing
naere	n.	snake or python
naere amumu	n.	a type of snake or python
naere hauto	n.	brown tree snake
naere mutu	n.	black python
naere teri	n.	python
naere wamte	n.	death adder
nakine	n.	its sister (female)
nakua	n.	bandicoots and cuscus (tree possums); <i>nakua empao</i> bandicoot; <i>nakua nampao</i> cuscus
nampa	adv.	(up) above
-/=napa	poss.	their (follows a noun)
naurupa	n.	the bush, forest and grassland
ne	pn.	you
-/=ne	poss.	its (follows a noun)
ni ii ni ii		six (adjectival. phrase)
nio	poss.	pn. his, her, its (precedes a noun)
niri	n.	a biting insect that lives near rivers and bites
nokono	adj.	good
noku	n.	hookworm
nono	poss.	pn.their (before a noun)
nuaiau	adj.	blue
nuko	v.	submerge/be enveloped, e.g. <i>Were seipa ya pa nuku menia.</i> ‘Because of the sun we submerged and stayed in the river.’ T6.8.25
nupu	adj.	many or all
ne	v.	eat. <i>Nupure.</i> ‘They eat (it) habitually.’

o

ono	n.	eel
onoru	n.	flesh, meat
onu	n.	picture, shadow, devil/spirit
opaene	n.	large lizard that can be eaten
opo ahune	n.	flesh of breadfruit
opono	n.	egg
ore	pp.	with, and (but only with nouns)
oro	n.	pandanus, screw pine, “karuka” in Tok Pisin
orohoi	adj.	long
oro	v.	dig, shoot. <i>Oropura.</i> ‘It habitually digs/shoots.’
oso	v.	bind, fasten. <i>Oso horia.</i> ‘We fastened it (a pig with ropes)’ T1.74
oto	n.	day. <i>ya miapu oto pa</i> ‘in the wet days’
oto	v.	look after. <i>Usu otope minie.</i> ‘We looked after the pigs.’ T6.3.6
ota	v.	remove. <i>Ota napura.</i> ‘It removes and eats something.’
oru	n.	insides, stomach; <i>oru pa</i> in the inside

p

pa	pp.	at, in, on, to
pai	n.	father; <i>paima</i> ‘my father’
pao	pp.	for, eg. <i>esea pao</i> ‘for hearing’
paru	v.	bark. <i>Esame parupura</i> . ‘The dog always barks.’
pate	pp.	by
paroro	n.	a type of tree, red cedar
pe	n.	neck; <i>pe ne</i> ‘its neck.’
pea	v.	steal. <i>Pea nupura</i> . ‘It habitually steals and eats.’
pene	n.	vine; <i>pene mamaone</i> ‘flowers of vine’
petai	n.	blood
petaiaiu	adj.	red
pihi/pehe	v.	hit. <i>Taukate pehe repenete...</i> ‘they hit Taukate...’ T2.26.22 (ablaut)
puhu	v.	sit (move into sitting position). <i>Poho nupure</i> . ‘They always sit.’

s

sahai	n.	cane, rattan with thorns, “kanta” Tok Pisin
sai	n.	talk
sakine	n.	word, talk/story, language
sakoro	n.	type of lizard that has poison
sanasana	n.	a type of insect in sand at the Ramu River
sa	v.	say, speak, call out. <i>Sapura</i> . ‘It always speaks/calls out.’
sari	n.	a type of tree
sehea	n.	saliva
sei	pp.	reason, because of
seka	adj.	very. <i>Arene seka ia</i> . ‘It is not very big’.
sene	pn.	we
sepa	n.	sickness
sepea	n.	grasshopper
sepeki	n.	wild mustard
sere	n.	give birth
serene	n.	seeds, fruit
sesi	n.	rat
si	adv.	then, so then
sipi	n.	excrement
siritou	n.	a type of grass
somoru	n.	night
sopo	v.	beat, kill. <i>Yene soponekape upuria</i> . ‘We regularly beat/kill birds, we do that.’ T1.25.3
so	n.	nest of a bird, <i>so ne</i> ‘its nest’
soromu sakau	adv.	anywhere, everywhere
soroporou	n.	small green and yellow lizard
soromu	adv.	nothing. <i>Sakine soromu soromu u pa sape...</i> ‘They spoke words (meaning) nothing.’ T5.24.11
sorone	v.	jump. <i>Mo soronera</i> . ‘Here he jumped.’ T5.24.8

sorone me	svc.	Jumped down. <i>Ya pa sorone mi</i> . 'I jumped down into the river.' T5.25.2
sorosorone	v.	leap and jump. <i>I sorosoronepe yarepuri</i> . 'I go leaping, jumping.'
soru	n.	nest of white ants
sou	n.	poison, for example in sakoro lizards

t

tahane	n.	forest
tai		negative not (do not)
tamaite	n.	man, boy
ta ne	n.	its wing; <i>ta</i> 'wing'
tama ne	n.	its mouth or beak
tapare koro	n.	wild bamboo gecko which can be eaten
ta rari	v.	spread it out.
=te	PNP	prominent noun phrase enclitic
tehei	v.	walk. <i>Teheipuri</i> . 'I regularly walk.'
tein	v.	swallow (whole) without chewing
teke	n.	side or bank of river, see <i>ya teke</i>
te, tu	v.	give. <i>Tenekai</i> . 'I give it to them.'
tekere	n.	<i>ehi tekere</i> , toes, <i>wapi tekere</i> fingers
tikirine	n.	its smell
tiri	n.	tree
tomo	adj.	other
tomto/tomoto	n.	meat or wild game
topo	n.	a type of tree, fig, "maro" in Tok Pisin
topunu	v.	join together. <i>Topunupuri</i> . 'I habitually join things together.'
tupukonu	v.	be quiet. <i>Tupukonupue te tamaite te soponekapure</i> . 'They rest quietly, and men kill them.' YTN
turu	n.	tail
tusi	n.	small bat

w

waiko waiko	n.	great black cockatoo
wai tiau	adj.	strong
wapi	n.	arm, hand
warikau	adj.	bad
wau	n.	banana
wei	v.	fight. <i>Tamaite weipe teheipenete...</i> 'The men fought and walked...' T5.3.1
	n.	fight. <i>Wei i hare airihera</i> . 'A fight comes near me.'
weini	n.	name
wene	n.	food
wera	n.	baby, child; <i>weraima</i> 'my child'

werakahune	adj.	tiny, very small
werane	adj.	little, small; <i>werai uapu</i> 'like small'
were	v.	see. <i>Tai werepuria</i> . 'We don't see.'
wese	v.	make, construct. <i>Wesepura</i> . 'It makes something.'
wesekera	n.	middle of the day when it is hot and sunny
weti	n.	house, village

u

u	dem.	that
u, o	v.	do. <i>Mo mo upuria</i> . 'We regularly do this here.' T1.20.30
uapu	pp.	like that
umti	adj.	dark colour, brown, black
umu	v.	hide. <i>Esi umupue</i> . 'They hid in holes.' T5.5.2
upu	n.	nose, face
uo	GRD	marks background material, if, when
urunao	adj.	black
usu	n.	pig

y

ya	n.	water, river, rain
yare, ya	v.	go; <i>Yar-i</i> 'I went'. svc. <i>Ya nupuri</i> . 'I go and eat.'
ya teke	n.	river bank, <i>ya tekene</i> 'river's side or bank'
ya pahu	n.	river channel
yakuti	n.	type of tree
yamei	n.	crocodile
yape kere kere	n.	a type of bird, the little ring dotterel
yau	v.	squeal. <i>Pi-puri</i> . 'I habitually squeal.'
yene	n.	bird
yene akene	n.	(bird) the little pied shag
yene aripahe	n.	(bird) owl
yene auro	n.	type of bird
yene karoro	n.	(bird) the galatea racket tail
yene katiro	n.	(bird) the forest kingfisher
yene ke	n.	type of bird
yene kerera	n.	(bird) the eclectus parrot
yene kiro-kiro	n.	(bird) the blue tailed bee eater
yene kisari	n.	(bird) the caroline racket tail
yene koe-koe	n.	(bird) the Myer's bronze cuckoo
yene korie	n.	(bird) the goura pigeon
yene kuhuna	n.	(bird) the coucal
yene kururu	n.	(bird) the Australian cuckoo
yene nau	n.	(bird) duck, "patou" in tok pisin
yene nemehu	n.	type of bird
yene paso	n.	(bird) the New Guinea bittern
yene pau	n.	(bird) the Miller's fruit pigeon

yene pororo	n.	(bird) the little egret
yene sitaupi	n.	type of bird
yene tati kori	n.	type of bird
yene tete	n.	(bird) the brajn's pigmy parrot
yene titi	n.	type of bird
yene tui tui	n.	(bird) the grey sandpiper
yene ware koso	n.	(bird) New Guinea white hawk (collared goshawk)
yene wasekere	n.	bowerbird
yene winai	n.	type of bird
yo	v.	sing out/call. <i>Yopura</i> . 'It habitually calls.'

English to Koromu finderlist

a

above	pp., adv.	nampa
afternoon, evening	n.	arisapu
and all of them	clitic	=ama
ant	n.	kirihi
arm, hand	n.	wapi
arrive	v.	airi, as in <i>Airipura</i> . 'It always arrives.'
at, in, on, to	pp.	<i>pa</i> or <i>sa</i> with near place names, <i>ahare</i> / <i>hare</i> with people / animals

b

bad	adj.	warikau
banana	n.	wau
bandicoot	n.	nakua, nakua empao
bark	v.	paru. <i>Esame parupura</i> . 'The dog always barks.'
bat	n.	tusi 'small bat', kauhi 'large bat'
be, stay, exis	v.	mene as in <i>mena</i> . He stays.'
be quiet/easy	v.	tupukonu. <i>Tupukonupute tamaite te soponekapure</i> . 'They sit quietly, and men kill them.'
beat, (kill)	v.	sopo. <i>Soponekare</i> 'They beat them.'
bee	n.	momopu
big	adj.	arene
bird	n.	yene, see <i>yene</i> for more details
bird of paradise	n.	atupu
black	adj.	urunao
black cockatoo	n.	waiko waiko
blood	n.	petai
blue	adj.	nuaiau

body	n.	mete; body hair: mete uru, eg, on a bat
breadfruit	n.	opo ahune ‘breadfruit flesh’
brother (male)	n.	moto, motu; <i>motune</i> ‘its brother’
brown	adj.	umti
build	v.	haru as in <i>Haruae!</i> ‘You build (make) it!’
bush	n.	naurupa
butterfly	n.	kahuri kahuri
by, in that way	pp.	pate
c		
call	v.	yo as in <i>Yohora</i> . ‘It will call.’
cane	n.	sahai, “kanta” in Tok Pisin
cassowary	n.	esere
caterpillar/larva	n.	kaka huri
chest/breast	n.	konu, as in <i>yene konu</i> ‘a bird’s breast’
chicken	n.	korokoro
child, baby	n.	wera; <i>weraima</i> ‘my child’
chop, bite	v.	ho as in <i>Honekare</i> . ‘They bit them’.
circle, coil	v.	hee as in <i>Hee nepure</i> . ‘They coil around and stay’.
come	v.	ka as in <i>Kahara</i> . ‘He/she/it will come.’
cook	v.	here. <i>Herepura</i> . ‘She always cooks.’
corn	n.	kurisi
create	v.	hoko, as in <i>Hokoe!</i> ‘Create/draw a picture!’
crocodile	n.	yamei
cuscus	n.	nakua nampao
d		
dance/jog	v.	kekere. <i>Atupu kekerepura</i> . ‘Birds of Paradise often dance.’
day	n.	oto
die	v.	imi/eme. <i>Imihire</i> . ‘He/she will die’
dig	v.	oro, as in <i>Oropura</i> . ‘It always digs/shoots.’
dog	n.	esame
duck	n.	yene nau
e		
eat	n.	ne/nu/na. <i>Nupura</i> . ‘He always eats it.’
eel	n.	ono
egg	n.	opono
envelop/submerge	v.	nuko as in <i>Nuko tara</i> . ‘It enveloped/submerged it.’

f

father	n.	paima ‘my father’
fear	v.	eri, as in <i>Erisepure</i> . ‘They always fear me’
fingers	n.	tekere, wapi tekere; ehi tekere ‘toes’
finish	v.	ihi, as in <i>Ihiramo</i> . ‘It is finishing.’
fish	n.	aine
flower	n.	mamao, <i>tiri mamaone</i> ‘a tree’s flower’
fly	n.	hekape
fly	v.	heere, as in <i>Heerepura</i> . ‘It flies.’
food	n.	wene
for	pp.	pao
forehead	n.	aritiri
forest	n.	tahane
frog	n.	kamene
fur	n.	komeine piri, ‘fur of a cuscus’

g

give him/her	v.	te/tu. <i>Tupure</i> . ‘They always give.’
go	v.	yare as in <i>Yarepura</i> . ‘It regularly goes.’ ya in svc, e.g. <i>Ya nupura</i> . ‘It goes and eats.’
go down	v.	mi. <i>Mipura</i> . ‘He always goes down.’
go up	v.	mere. <i>Merepuri</i> . ‘I always go up.’
good	adj.	nokono or etamau
grab	v.	esepo. <i>Esepo tupura</i> . ‘It grabs, gets it.’
grass	n.	aire (kunai), siritou, mita
grasshopper	n.	sepea
green	adj.	mati po aiau ‘green like <i>po</i> leaf’
green vegetables	n.	henasu
ground	n.	eme
grub	n.	kuare

h

habitually, regularly		-pu suffix
hang	v.	hani, as in <i>Hanipuete</i> ... ‘They always hang...’
hawk	n.	amtu
hear	v.	ese as in <i>Esea</i> . ‘It hears (something).’
her, his, its	pn.	<i>nio</i> before the noun, <i>ne</i> after the noun
hide	v.	umu, e.g. <i>Umupure</i> . ‘They always hide.’
hole, hollow	n.	kunu, as in <i>tiri kunu</i> ‘hollow tree’
hookworm	n.	noku
house, village	n.	weti

i

I, me	pn.	i
insect	n.	kimu (tree-borer) mekei, niri (river), sanasana (in sand)
inside	pp., loc.	orupa
insides	n.	oru

j

join v. topunu. *Topunupura*. 'He habitually joins it.'

k

kill, beat v. sopo; as in *Aine sopo ropure*. 'They kill fish.'

l

leaf n. mati
 leg n. ehi; hair on leg 'ehi ruru'
 light n. hoko
 lizards, geckos n. ahausopa, kewa, kororo, makati, maruru,
 opaene, sakoro, tapare ko
 long, tall adj. orohoi

m

make v. wese, as in *Weseae!* 'You make it!'
 man, boy n. tamaite
 many adj. nupu
 meat, flesh n. onoru
 meat, wild game n. tomtoto / tomoto
 midday n. wesekera, middle of the day
 mosquito n. kenaki
 mountain n. keti
 mouth (beak) n. tama as in *tama ne* 'its mouth'
 mud n. aro
 my pn. *io* before the noun; *mai* after the noun

n

name n. weini
 near person/animal pp. ahare, hare
 neck n. pe, pe ne 'its neck'
 nest n. so, e.g. *yene so ne* 'bird nest', *so ru* 'ant nest'
 night n. somoru
 no, not neg. *ia* with nouns, *tai* before verbs
 nose n. upu
 now adv. apu, also used for today

o

one adj./n. aterei, ato (a certain one)
 open v. ehe, as in *Naere ehea ta-puate...* 'The snake opens its stomach...'
 other adj. tomo
 owl n. yene aripahe

p

papaya	n.	kusi
peanut	n.	kansane
people	n.	hena-tamaite, aharopu
picture	n.	onu, also used for shadow, devil/spirit
pig/pork	n.	usu
place	n.	mare
poison	n.	sou, as in a lizard's poison
pull, drag	v.	ahare, as in <i>Aharepuri</i> . 'I pull/drag (it).' <i>Poso ahare tepe...</i> 'Pulled/dragged the posts...' T2.28. 2 <i>Nahe tumune weti pa ahare tape...</i> 'Pull/drag yam shoots into house...' T1.33.31
put	v.	here, hore as in <i>Ho hore</i> . 'They bit them.'

r

rain	n.	ya, also used for water and river
rat	n.	sesi
red	adj.	petaiau
Ramu	n.	Enae
ripe, decayed	adj.	huhune, eg <i>wau huhune</i> 'ripe banana'
river	n.	ya; river bank, <i>ya teke</i> 'channel', <i>ya pahu</i>
root	n.	kini, tiri kini ne 'the tree's roots'
rotten	adj.	kesapune

s

saliva	n.	sehea
say	v.	sa as in <i>Sara</i> . 'He is saying something.'
scales	n.	hitimune, as on a crocodile
search	v.	hei. <i>Heipura</i> . 'It searches.'
see	v.	were. <i>Werepuria</i> . 'We see.'
seed	n.	serene, also used for some fruit
shoot	v.	oro; as in <i>Oroa</i> . 'He shot it.' (See also 'dig')
short	adj.	hane
sickness	n.	sepa
sing, call out	v.	mu; as in <i>Mu kekerepure</i> . 'They sing and dance.'
sister (female)	n.	nakine, its sister
sit	v.	poho, as in <i>poho nepe</i> 'stay sitting and...'
skin	n.	metake
skirt, feathers	n.	eti; as in <i>atupu eti ne</i> 'bird of paradise feathers'
sleep	v.	ene, as in <i>Eneपुरa</i> . 'It habitually sleeps'
small	adj.	werane, werai; werakahune 'very small'
smell	n.	tikiri ne 'its smell'
snake	n.	naere, see naere for more examples
some	adj.	asao
sometimes	adv.	ato tuhu pa

song	n.	mu
sour	adj.	kukupiau (also used for dusty, rotten)
stone	n.	epo
submerge	v.	nuku, nuko
sweet, good	adj.	etamau
sweet potato	n.	koia

t

tail	n.	turu
talk, language	n.	sai, sakine
tastes good	v.	etamu, as in <i>Etamsupura</i> . 'It always tastes good to me.'
that	dem.	u
their	pn.	<i>nono</i> before a noun, <i>-/=napa</i> after a noun
thing	n.	na
today	n.	apu
toucan	n.	komoho
tree	n.	tiri; types of tree include <i>apu, ariri, asoi, auto, kauno, keneri, kurimi, oro, paroro, sari, topo, yakuti</i>
tunnel, route	n.	kerehane
two	adj.	aere

v

valley	n.	hunu
village, house	n.	weti
vine	n.	pene
vomit	v.	eta, as in <i>Eta tapuri</i> . 'I always vomit it up.'

w

walk	v.	tehei. <i>Teheipura</i> . 'He always walks'
walk up and down	v.	i, as in <i>Ipura</i> 'He always walks up and down.'
wallaby	n.	aru sete
we	pn.	sene
white	pn.	etanau, kaihe
white cockatoo	n.	kaihe
who	interog.	me
whose	interog.	meo
wild bamboo	n,	kase
wild mustard	n.	sepeki
wing	n.	ta as in <i>ta ne</i> 'its wing'
with	pp.	ore with thing, hare/ahare with person
woman, girl	n.	hena, see also <i>henaima</i> 'my wife'

y

yellow	adj.	kururu amne aiau 'like a butterfly's eye (spot on wing)'
you	pn.	ne

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