Komnzo:
A language of Southern New Guinea

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First impressions of the place

"... there is nothing to induce settlement, nor would I ever advice anyone to go there."

Wilfred Norman Beaver, cited in (Murray, 1912: 64)

"Its scenery often has a mild, almost dainty, attractiveness in detail ..."

Francis Edgar Williams (1936: 1)

Abstract

This thesis provides an introduction to Komnzo, a Papuan language of Southern New Guinea. Komnzo is spoken by around 200 people in the village of Rouku and a couple of adjacent hamlets. Komnzo belongs to the Tonda subgroup of the Yam language family, which is also known as the Morehead Upper-Maro group. This grammar provides the first comprehensive description of a Yam language. It is based on 16 months of fieldwork. The primary source of data is a text corpus which the author recorded and transcribed between 2010 and 2015. The corpus adds up to ten hours of text including narratives, procedurals and naturally occuring social interaction.

The sequence of chapters follows the well-established order: phonology (§2), word classes (§3), nominal morphology (§4), verb morphology (§5) and TAM marking (§6), noun phrase syntax (§7), clausal syntax (§8), interclausal syntax (§9) and information structure (§10). These chapters are supplemented by an anthropological, historical and sociolinguistic introduction (§1), and they are rounded off by a chapter on lexicology (§11). The appendix includes a 70-page dictionary with 1850 entries and three sample texts. The entire text corpus is accessible online.

Komnzo provides many fields of future research, but the most interesting aspect of its structure lies in the verb morphology, to which the two largest chapters of the grammar are dedicated. Komnzo verbs may index up to two arguments showing agreement in person, number and gender. Verbs encode 18 TAM categories, valency, directionality and deictic status. Morphological complexity lies not only in the amount of categories verbs may express, but also in the way how these are encoded. Komnzo verbs exhibit what may be called 'distributed exponence', that is single morphemes are underspecified for a particular grammatical category. Therefore, morphological material from different sites has to be integrated first, and only after this integration, one can arrive at a particular grammatical category.

The descriptive approach in this grammar is theory-informed rather than theory-driven. Comparison to other Yam languages and diachronic developments are taken into account whenever it seems helpful.

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Abbreviations

\.../	verbstem
α	alpha prefix series
β	beta prefix series
β1	beta 1 prefix series
β2	beta 2 prefix series
γ	gamma prefix series
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ADJZR	adjectivalizer
ALL	allative
ALR	iamitive ('already')
ANDAT	andative
ANIM	animate
APPR	apprehensive
ASSOC	associative
BG	backgrounded
CHAR	characteristic case marker
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal demonstrative
DISTR	distributive
DU	dual
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
ETC	et cetera ('and all')
EXT	extended verb root
FEM	feminine

FUT	future
FUTIMP	future imperative
HAB	habitual
IMM	immediate demonstrative
IMN	imminent
IMP	imperative
INDF	indefinite
INS	instrumental
IO	indirect object
IPFV	imperfective
IPST	immediate past
IRR	irrealis
ITER	iterative
LK	linking consonant
LOC	locative
LPL	large plural
M	middle
MASC	masculine
MED	medial demonstrative
ND	non-dual
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NPL	non-plural
NPST	non-past
NSG	non-singular
OBJ	object
ONLY	exclusive marker (‘only’, ‘just’)
PERS.N	personal name
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PLACE.N	place name
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PRIV	privative
PROP	proprietive
PROP.N	proper name
PROS	prospective
PROX	proximal demonstrative
PST	past

PURP	purposive
QUOT	quotative
RECOG	recognitional pronoun
REDUP	reduplication
RPST	recent past
RS	restricted verb root
SBJ	subject
SG	singular
SIMIL	similative
STAT	stative
TEMP	temporal case
VC	valency change
VENIT	venitive

Chapter 1

Preliminaries

1.1 Introduction

This grammar describes the language of the Farem people. The word *farem* is the ethnonym used by the speakers of Komnzo who derive their identity from a place called *farem kar* 'Farem place'. The concept of a shared place of origin overlaps with speech variety. The speakers of Komnzo sometimes refer to themselves as the 'Farem tribe' when they speak English.

The proper name 'Komnzo' must have had its origin in a mistranslation in the context of a visit by a patrol officer. Early sources are difficult to interpret, because they only mention places along the Morehead River. The listed names for the Rouku area include *bangu* (Ray, 1907: 292) and *perem/peremka* (Ray, 1923: 334). The former is a section or clan name found throughout the region, while the latter looks like *farem kar*.[1] From the 1950s onwards, the label *komnzo zokwasi* 'komnzo language' was used. It is unclear when and how this was introduced as the official language name. The word *komnzo* means 'just, only, still' in the sense of *komnzo käms!* 'just sit down!' or *komnzo ymarwé* 'I can still see him'. Thus, the compound *komnzo zokwasi* literally means 'only language' or 'just speech'. It can be imagined as the reply to an outsider's question: 'What language do you speak?' > 'We speak **only language**.'

This naming pattern is pervasive in the area. With the exception of Ránmo, Wartha and Arammba, all Tonda varieties on the PNG side of the border derive their name from the word for 'just, only'. These are Anta, Ara, Wára, Wèré, Blafe, Kémä and Kánchá. The map in Figure 1.1 provides a linguistic overview of the Morehead district. Members of the Yam family (Morehead-Maro group) are portrayed in different shades of grey according to their subgroup. We find Komnzo at the eastern edge of the Tonda subgroup.

[1] The grapheme <p> in early sources corresponds to the bilabial fricative [ɸ] in Komnzo.

Figure 1.1 Map of the languages of Southern New Guinea

1.2 Typological overview

Komnzo is a Papuan language. The term 'Papuan' is a negative category comprising those languages of the area near New Guinea which are neither Austronesian nor Australian. It was originally introduced by Sidney Ray (1926: 24). The number of distinct language families that have been proposed ranges from ten (Wurm, 1975) to 23 (Ross, 2005) up to 60 (Foley, 1986: 3). Although authors acknowledge the incredible diversity within New Guinea, there have been some attempts at defining grammatical properties which are characteristic for Papuan languages (Foley 1986 and Foley 2000). Komnzo, the languages of the Yam family, and possibly the whole Southern New Guinea area deviate from this Papuan type. Other authors have shown that the languages of New Guinea do not share a set of typological features that set them apart from the languages of the world (Comrie and Cysouw, 2012).

The Komnzo phoneme inventory consists of eight vowels and 18 consonants. The vowels are the five cardinal vowels [i], [e], [a], [ɔ], [u] plus a low front unrounded vowel [æ] and, unusual for Papuan languages, two rounded front vowels [y] and [œ].[2] The consonants consist of pairs of voiceless and prenasalised plosives [^{m}b], [t], [^{n}d], [k], [^{ŋ}g], [k^{w}], [^{ŋ}g^{w}], three nasals [m], [n], [ŋ], one lateral [r], two semivowels [j], [w] and, again unusual for Papuan languages, three fricatives [ɸ], [ð], [s] and two affricates [ts], [^{n}dz]. Like in many Papuan languages, for example Kalam (Blevins and Pawley, 2010), many syllables lack phonemically specified vowels. In this case, an epenthetic vowel may be inserted, usually a short central vowel [ə]. Many words lack phonemically specified vowels altogether.

As in other Yam languages, for example Nama (Siegel, 2014) and Nen (Evans, 2015a), Komnzo verb morphology exhibits a high degree of complexity. Verbs may index up to two arguments showing agreement in person, number and gender. Verbs encode 18 TAM categories, valency, directionality and deictic status. Complexity lies not only in the amount of categories verbs may express, but also in the way how these are encoded. Komnzo verbs exhibit what can be called 'distributed exponence', that is single morphemes are underspecified for a particular grammatical category. Therefore, morphological material from different sites has to be integrated first. Only after this integration, one can arrive at a particular grammatical category. Exponents of TAM include the verb root, and most Komnzo verbs possess two roots which are sensitive to aspect. Nominal morphology in Komnzo is comparatively simple with case marking shown by enclitics which attach to the rightmost element of a noun phrase, usually the head noun.

[2]Outside of the Yam family front rounded vowels are also found in Awyu-Dumut languages (van Enk and de Vries, 1997: 60).

Komnzo is a double-marking language. The case marking is organised in an ergative/absolutive system. In addition to three core cases (absolutive, ergative and dative), there are 14 semantic cases. Verbs index up to two arguments, whereby the undergoer argument is indexed by a prefix and the actor argument is indexed by a suffix. One-place predicates split along the lines of stative versus dynamic event types. The latter employ the suffix for indexing, while the former make use of the prefix. Valency changing morphology enables the indexing of a goal, beneficiary or possessor in the prefix.

The basic word order in Komnzo is SOV, more accurately AUV[3], since there is no real evidence for a 'subject' category. At the same time, the flagging of noun phrases with case allows for considerable freedom in the word order patterns. Nominal compounds and noun phrases are typically head final, although modifying elements in the noun phrase, for example adjectives or quantifiers, may occur after the head. Relative clauses follow their head.

Interclausal syntax employs nominalised verbs which are flagged for case. Verb chaining and the distinction between medial and final verb forms, more typical of Papuan languages, is not found in Komnzo. In addition to nominalised verbs, clauses may be connected with conjunctions, relative pronouns or demonstratives flagged for case.

1.3 The Farem people and their language

1.3.1 Location

The area considered in this study is the southwestern corner of the Western Province of Papua New Guinea. This area has been called "Trans-Fly" in the past, for example in FE Williams' ethnography of the Keraki people entitled "Papuan of the Trans-Fly" (1936). Mary Ayres rightly criticizes this term for its geo-centrism (1983: 1). I use the term 'Morehead district' which encompasses the area between the Indonesian border to the west, the Fly River to the north, the boundary of the Yam language family in the east (See Figure 1.1 above), and the coastline in the south.[4] The area is named after Morehead station, the administrative center, and the Morehead River, which in turn was named after Boyd Dunlop Morehead, the premier of Queensland between 1888 and 1890. I use the term 'Southern New Guinea' which encompasses a much wider region

[3]AUV: actor undergoer verb.

[4]The Morehead-Rural census division encompasses the same area, but the eastern border is further to the east including some of the Pahoturi River languages, for example Idi.

roughly from the Digul River in the west to the Fly River in the north and east.

Komnzo is spoken in the village of Rouku, which is located about 8km west of Morehead and about half a kilometer north of the Morehead River. It is situated on the road that connects Morehead with Weam in the west. Traditional lands expand about 20km east-west and 25km north-south. There are four clans in Rouku village: *Mrzar Mayawa, Banibani Mayawa, Muthrata Sangara, Wazu Sangara*.[5] The satellite image in Figure 1.2 shows the village in 2013.

Figure 1.2 Rouku (screenshot from Microsoft Bing Maps)

Other permanent settlements include Gunana, Firra, Kanathr and Morehead. Gunana, the second largest settlement, is situated about 3km west of Rouku along the road. The present-day village was established around 10 years ago. Gunana is situated closer to the Morehead River. The name Rouku, from the Komnzo word *rokuroku* 'riverbank', was given to this place, when the first missionaries arrived in the 1950's. In this sense, Gunana is the original Rouku, and it is often referred to as Rouku-Gunana. The word *gunana* is a loanword from Motu which means 'old'. Two clans live at Gunana today: *Farem Sangara* and *Nümgar Bagu*. They speak mostly Wára and Anta for reasons which I address in §1.3.11.

The hamlet Firra is situated about 10km south of Morehead. Only a few families of the *Banibani Mayawa* clan live there. Most of the people have shifted their residence to Morehead, but keep garden places at Firra.

[5]Mary Ayres avoids using the word 'clan' (1983: 142), instead she draws a distinction between "non-local sections" (*Bagu, Mayawa, Sagara*), which are found throughout the region, and "local-sections" (*Nümgar Bagu, Mrzar Mayawa, Muthrata Sangara*), which are found in one group only, for example the Farem. I will use 'clan' for the latter and 'section' for the former. This is discussed in §1.3.8.

Kanathr is a small hamlet located 2km west of Morehead on the northern side of the river. It marks the point where the road crosses the river. As there is no bridge, people cross the river by canoe, and cars or motorcycles use a rusty old pontoon. Kanathr serves as a place where children from Rouku and Yokwa, the next village along the road to the west, stay overnight while they attend Morehead primary school. Kanathr was settled in the 1980's, deserted in the 90's, and re-established over the last three years. Its population is mixed with respect to clans, but since the land belongs to the two Mayawa sections, they make up the majority.

Morehead station includes the government administration, the aidpost, the primary school and the airstrip. A number of small settlements are built around Morehead station. The largest of these is Garaita, a Nama speaking village. Because Morehead station was built on land belonging to the Mayawa section from Rouku, some families from Rouku have settled in Morehead permanently. One small hamlet of this kind is Fsan. Furthermore, some families from Rouku live in Morehead because they are employed in the local administration as teachers or public servants. The satellite image in Figure 1.3 shows Morehead Station, Garaita and Fsan.

Figure 1.3 Morehead (screenshot from Microsoft Bing Maps)

There are many places around Rouku which used to be settled, but have now been abandoned or are used only as garden places. These include Ytkum, Dmädr, Faremkar, Ɗazäthe, Masu and Akrimogo. Taking two examples, Ɗazäthe and Masu, we can state that (i) both were settled until about 10 years ago by clans of the *Sagara* and *Mayawa* section respectively, (ii) today both are used as garden places, and (iii) both are about a 15-minute walk away from Rouku, although in opposite directions. Hence, they are both very close to Rouku. However, named places are densely clustered in the Morehead district, especially in the vicinity of settlements. More importantly, places are perceived as different regardless how close they are geographically. I address the topic of place names in §11.5.2. The

satellite image in Figure 1.4, a zoomed-out version of Figure 1.2, shows Ŋazäthe, Rouku and Masu.

Figure 1.4 Rouku and surrounds (screenshot from Microsoft Bing Maps)

1.3.2 Geography and Environment

In its biota, the Morehead district is more similar to northern Australia than to the rest of New Guinea. We find eucalypts, melaleuca, acacias and banksias combined with wallbies, bandicoots, goannas, taipans and termite mounds. The area consists of lowland which a Papuan highlander or a European would describe as almost featureless. FE Williams describes it as having a "mild, almost dainty, attractiveness in detail, but [...] on the whole the extreme of monotony" (1936: 1).

I have measured differences in elevation between 12m and 41m above sea level.[6] However small these differences in elevation, they are significant over the monsoon cycle with a long dry season (June - November) and an intense wet season (January - May). For example, the satellite image in Figure 1.4 shows several dark patches along the river. These are inundated during the wet season, while the village is situated on higher ground. In fact all villages along the road are built on what is called the "Morehead ridge" (Paijmans et al., 1971: 15), thus keeping houses and gardens safe from the annual flooding. The photo in Figure 1.5 was taken in Rouku. During last rainy season, the paperbark trees to the

[6]This was done with a GPS device: the 12m point was the water-level of the Morehead River close to Rouku; the 41m point was measured in Rouku village.

right were inundated to about 1m, while the bamboo groves on the left stayed dry.

Figure 1.5 Rouku: the area to the right is inundated during wet season

The Morehead ridge is intersected by many small creeks, which carry little or no water during dry season. The Morehead River always carries water as it slowly meanders towards the coast. The Morehead forms a narrow, deep channel whose riverbanks drop off sharply 2-3m down to the water level. Close to Rouku village, I have measured 40m width and 15-20m depth during dry season. The Morehead is a tidal river which means that during dry season, when it has virtually no flow, salt water pushes back many kilometers upriver. During rainy season, the river overflows and turns the surrounding land into a wide swamp with many inlets and lagoons. The image below (Fig. 1.6) shows the Morehead River during dry season.

Figure 1.6 The Morehead River near Rouku during dry season

There is a remarkable diversity of ecological zones (Paijmans 1970 and Paijmans et al. 1971). For the description of native land use, Ayres distinguishes

four landscape types (1983: 5). I employ the following Komnzo terms for these:[7] (i) *kafar fz* 'big forest' is a type of monsoon rainforest, (ii) *fz* 'forest' is a much thinner forest type which is covered by a grass floor and dotted with red anthills, (iii) *ksi kar* 'bushy place' is a type of savannah which lacks trees, but is covered with high grass, and (iv) *zra* 'swamp' is a place entirely inundated during the wet season timbered by paperbark trees and a ground cover of dead leaves. Figures 1.7-1.10 show images of these types in the vicinity of Rouku village. In §11.5, I describe Komnzo landscape terminology in detail. As one would expect, these landscape types differ strongly in the kinds of plants that grow there. The collection of specimens and their identification was greatly facilitated by Kipiro Damas, who visited Rouku in 2011 and 2015.

Figure 1.7 *Kafar fz*: road cut through the monsoon rainforest

Figure 1.8 *Fz*: thin forest

[7] Ayres employs these labels: (i) "big bush", (ii) "open bush country", (iii) "clear places", and (iv) "seasonal swamps" (1983: 5).

Figure 1.9 *Ksi kar*: small patch of savannah

Figure 1.10 *Zra*: seasonal swamp during dry season

The Morehead district is rich in wildlife. The main game species are pigs, cassowaries and wallabies. There are many other marsupial species including bandicoots, phalangers (cuscus) and gliders. The Morehead district is also abundant in birdlife. Attested species include birds of paradise, parrots, lorekeets, pidgeons, eagles, hawks, bush fowls, jaberoos, storks and brolgas. Thanks to the help of Chris Healey, who visited Rouku in 2012 and 2013, we were able to match around 100 Komnzo bird names to the corresponding scientific names of these species. The rivers and swamps are rich in fish and amphibious species, for example barramundis, mullets, catfish, eelfish, rainbowfishes, glassfishes, stingrays, river crayfish, prawns, crocodiles, water snakes and turtles. Other reptiles include

various goanna species, frogs and snakes. Examples for the latter are the Papuan taipan, the New Guinea death adder, the New Guinea brown snake, the Papuan blacksnake as well as various python types.

1.3.3 Agriculture and subsistence

The Farem people are agriculturalists. Their main crops are round and long yams, bananas, sweet potatoes, cassava, taro, coconut, sago, breadfruit and sugar cane. Additionally, there are many fruits and nuts available during the dry season. Although the Farem are skilled in hunting, trapping and fishing, they rely on their garden products. In this section, I focus on their staple food, which is yam.

Without doubt yams are the most important crop for the Farem, and the role of this bland tasting tuber can hardly be overstated. FE Williams concludes his chapter on food production by stating that "the social significance of food among these people derives largely from the pride which individuals and groups feel in having plenty of it." (1936: 235). Large quantities of yams are exchanged at feasts, and sizeable tubers are often given as personal gifts. During the celebration of Independence Day in Morehead, there is a competition where individuals measure and weigh their biggest yams. On many occasions, people have shown off the content of their yam houses to me, and during harvest time some of my friends have peeked through the wall of someone's yam house to examine the yield and compare it to their own, which often became the talk of the day. In short, yams indicate a person's wealth and social status.

Figure 1.11 Yam garden two months after planting

Yam cultivation involves hard labour. The cultivation cycle can be divided into three phases: (i) preparing and planting, (ii) tending, and (iii) harvesting. The preparations begin by clearing the land (between August and October). Good, well-drained soil is found on the high ground; either virgin forest or a piece of land that has lain fallow for some years. The gardener has to cut the overgrowth and clear the grass. Large trees are usually only ring-barked and one would wait for the tree to die and eventually to fall. The cleared area has to be burned. Depending on the quality of the soil, one may bring grass from elsewhere and burn it as fertilizer. The ground has to be plowed thoroughly, and small roots and weeds are pulled out. Next, the garden plot has to be enclosed by a fence to keep out wallabies, deer and wild pigs. The most important material for fences is bamboo which is grown in small bamboo groves. During preparation, people are busy in their gardens every day. Planting may start as early as October, but it can last until January. Yams for planting are selected carefully, but the tiny yam suckers are usually planted in heaps in an old garden plot. Figure 1.11 shows a yam garden about two months after planting. Between January and June, there are many small jobs to be done. These include weeding or erecting and replacing yamsticks on which the vines climb up. The change of the season in June is also signalled by the changing color of the yam leaves. Around this time, the harvest season begins, and it may stretch until August, when the cycle begins again. Harvested yams are counted, sorted and stored in yam houses. This involves shaving the shoots off each tuber; a time-consuming task that is usually done in the afternoon hours while sitting in conversation in front of the yam house. Because garden plots are subdivided into rows, one for each member of the family, the yams are sorted accordingly in the yam house. Figure 1.12 shows the inside of a yam house after the harvest.

Figure 1.12 Inside a yamhouse

There are many special customs around yam cultivation. Some men possess yam planting magic which helps them to compete with others. This usually involves particular spells and magic stones passed down from the father's generation. Others 'steal the soil' from their competitors. Knowledge of this kind is usually kept secret and never admitted in public. Furthermore, there are a number of rules about handling yams, which everyone follows. One example is the belief in 'female pollution', which is widespread in Southern New Guinea (Knauft, 1993: 104). During a woman's monthly period, but also after having sexual intercourse, it is strictly forbidden to go to the garden plot for it will 'spoil' the yams. This rule applies not only the woman, but to anyone who sleeps in the same house, sometimes even the neighbouring house.

Yams play their most important role in exchange feasts. For example, an exchange marriage is consummated through a feast, sometimes called pig dance. The two men, who have exchanged sisters, henceforth *fäms* 'exchange fellow', will raise a pig and invite their respective *fäms* and his associates for a dance. The host side will feed the guests, and in return the guests will entertain the hosts by singing and dancing through the night. The next day, the hosts will give the guests large quantities of yam tubers to take back to their village. The amount has to be recorded with great detail, because after a year has passed, the roles will be reversed. Nothing would be more embarrassing than falling short in the repayment. Often two villages have particularly strong marriage links. In the past this has led to competitive yam cultivation between those two groups.

Yams also play a role in the regulation of conduct. I have been told about a ritual called *mefa*. The culprit, usually someone who has treated his wife badly, is confronted by his *fäms* and other brothers of his wife (*ngom*). These will put lime on the culprit's forehead and then strike him over the head with a small yam tuber. This is, however painful, only an immediate punishment. The bigger punishment comes in the form of a gift. The culprit is given a large quantity of yams, and it is expected that he repays the same amount and quality the next year. An individual can never achieve this, and thus the culprit is forced to ask people in and maybe even beyond his clan for help. If he fails to repay the expected amount, he will lose all respect and social status. Disputes about an individual's gardening abilities may become violent. The only time I had to witness a violent outbreak by one of my brothers, who is a calm and peaceful person, was when his aunt insulted him by accusing him of 'being lazy' and a 'bad gardener'. After a tirade of insults, this was the last straw. In conclusion, it is difficult to find any aspect of life, in which yam cultivation does not play some role.

1.3.3.1 Yam counting

For many of the customs described above, it is important to record the exact quantity of tubers. For the counting ritual a special base-six numeral system is used, which is unique to the Yam languages. This senary system has received some attention in the literature (Donohue 2008, Hammarström 2009 and Evans 2009). Williams was the first to describe the counting procedure, but he points out that it "is apparently a more or less recent fashion among the Keraki, having been imported from beyond the Morehead" (1936: 225). This area includes the Farem territory. In the following section, I describe the procedure as I have witnessed it many times in Rouku and surrounds.[8]

Figure 1.13 Ritual yam counting (left); counting tally *tiftif* (right)

The counting procedure involves two men who move the yam tubers from a prepared pile. They take up three yams each, move a few meters and deposit them together in a new pile. One of the two is the designated counter and he shouts out *näbi näbi näbi* 'one one one'. This means that they have moved the first unit of six. Without pause they take up again three yams each and move them over, while the counter shouts out *yda yda yda* 'two two two'. Now two lots of six or 12 tubers have been counted. Again they pick up three yams each shouting *ytho ytho ytho* 'three three three'. The two men continue with this process until they reach *nibo* 'six'. Now 36 yams have been counted and the bystanders and observers cheer up in agreement. This amount corresponds to one *fta* or 6^2. Each *fta* is marked by putting a single yam on the side of the new pile. The

[8] I have published two videos of the counting procedure. The interested reader can view them at the following URLs: https://vimeo.com/54887315 and https://vimeo.com/21058525

two men continue until all yams have been counted, and the little pile on the side which indicates the amount of *fta* slowly grows. Next, this pile is counted in the same fashion, only that each counting yam, that is put to the side, now markes one *taruba*, which corresponds to 216 or 6^3. One may continue in the same fashion. Six *taruba* make up one *damno* corresponding to 1,296 or 6^4. For example, one *damno* is amount of yams that a man should store in order to bring his family through the year. Six *damno* make up one *wärämäkä* corresponding to 7,776 or 6^5. Finally, six *wärämäkä* make up one *wi* corresponding to 44,656 or 6^6. I should add that nobody in Rouku remembered the last time this number was actually reached. The recursive counting procedure gives rise to the senary system. I describe the numeral system in §3.1.5.2.

Figure 1.13 shows two men during the counting the procedure. The counting is always a public event accompanied by the loud, monotonous beat of the drum. I was told that neighbouring villages or travellers should be made aware of the ongoing counting procedure. In order to record and keep the amount for later proof, the Farem produce a counting tally made from a coconut frond. This is shown on the right side of Figure 1.13. The stalks indicate the amount of different senary values, which are separated by small notches. The red arrows in the image point to the two notches. Figure 1.13 was taken during a yam counting ritual in Morehead in September 2010. The amount counted was 3 *damno*, 2 *taruba*, 3 *fta* or 4,428 tubers in total. This was the contribution of several clans to a pig dance that took place two weeks later in Garaita. The counting had to be repeated two times because older men who observed the procedure closely said that mistakes had been made.

Figure 1.14 Communal yamhouse in Yokwa: inside (left) / outside (right)

The largest amount of yams that I have seen was in the village of Yokwa in September 2013. Following the death of an older men, the relatives decided to built a *sirä mnz*, a communal yamhouse.[9] All the relatives of the deceased man, including my brother from Rouku, stored several *fta* up to one *taruba* of yams inside this house. The content was to be shared and exchanged during a feast in honour of the deceased at the height of the rainy season. Mary Ayres describes this practice in her chapter on mourning customs (1983: 289). The yamhouse in Yokwa can be seen in Figure 1.14 below. It measured 2,50m width, 1,60m height and an incredible 60m length. The floor was separated into compartments of equal size where each contributor stored his share. For some of the contributors there was a display shelf (*sirä*) for very large yams. I did not witness the whole counting procedure as it took more than a day, but I estimate that the *sirä mnz* held more than 10,000 yams.

1.3.4 Demography and Vitality

It proves difficult to determine the exact number of Komnzo speakers. I give a rough estimate here between 150 and 250. For the most part, this inexactness is caused by particular social factors. For example, the system of exchange marriage fosters a high degree of multilingualism. A Farem child typically grows up speaking at least the varieties of her father and mother. Since the system of residence is virilocal only the father's language is Komnzo. Of course there are two sides to this, and there are many speakers of Komnzo in other villages, namely women who have married out and their children. What complicates matters further in the case of Rouku is that not all Farem men speak Komnzo as their daily language, and not all families have a Komnzo speaking parent. I provide an explanation for this in §1.3.5.2. Furthermore, there is a small group of speakers who have moved further away to Daru, Kiunga, Port Moresby or other parts of Papua New Guinea.

Komnzo is vital in the sense that the language is being transmitted to children. At the same time, Komnzo is an endangered language because of its small number of speakers and its relatively low prestige compared to the lingua franca, which is English. Komnzo is not taught in the school system, there is no writing tradition, and it is not used at the administrational level. For these reasons, it should be regarded as an endangered language from an academic point of view.

Komnzo speakers perceive their language to be under threat from what they call 'mother's language'. Mary Ayres notes that there are strong marriage links between particular villages because it is desireable for a daughter to marry back

[9] Mary Ayres uses the word *kwitenz* for this, but my informants from Rouku and Yokwa did not know the word. They suggested *sirä mnz* '*sirä* house'. The word *sirä* refers to the shelves that are found in these yam houses to hold especially large tubers.

to her mother's village (1983: 226). In the case of Rouku, there are strong links to Yokwa, and what is meant by 'mother's language' is almost always Wára. One line of reasoning about the perceived threat is that women from Yokwa fail to pass Komnzo to their children. Note that women are expected to shift speech variety as they shift location to their husband's village. In reality this hardly ever occurs, because there are enough women from Yokwa to form small exclaves of Wára speakers. Moreover, all Komnzo speakers are fluent in Wára. Hence, there is little pressure on a woman to actually shift her speech variety. This is different with women who come from more distant places. I discuss the topic of multilingualism and language ideology in §1.3.11.

1.3.5 History

1.3.5.1 Pre-Contact History

Until the rise of the sea level during the Late Pleistocene, the island of New Guinea and the Australian continent were joined in a single landmass called Sahul (White and O'Connell, 1982). Recent studies have highlighted that there is still a lack of research from the Southern New Guinea region (Pawley et al. 2005, Ballard 2010, and Evans 2012a). The geomorphological past of this lowland region has been turbulent over the last 20,000 years. A chronology of the changing coastlines is given by Chappell (2005).[10] Figure 1.15 shows the northern coastline of Sahul at the Last Glacial Maximum at 21,000 BP. Figure 1.16 shows the coastline at 8,000 BP shortly after the sea breached the Torres Strait, thus disconnecting New Guinea and Australia. The thin black line shows the present coastline.

Figure 1.15 Coastline at 21,000 BP; adopted from (Chappell, 2005: 527)

[10]His methodology is as follows: "the procedure for reconstructing the coastlines at a given epoch is to compute the relative sea level field for a given region [...] by combining the ice-equivalent sea level with the regional departures that arise from the isostatic and gravitational factors. The results are then superimposed on the present topography in detail..." (2005: 529).

Figure 1.16 Coastline at 8,000 BP; adopted from (Chappell, 2005: 528)

We can see from the figures that the separation of Sahul occurred only shortly before 8,000 BP. Keeping in mind that human presence on the Sahul continent goes back to at least 40,000 BP (Golson, 2005), we can safely assume that what was later to become the Southern New Guinea region was already settled well before the separation. Chappell shows that large parts of the Fly-Digul platform, to which the Morehead ridge belongs, was submerged at the maximum height of the sea level at 6,000 BP. Figure 1.17 shows that this has affected the western part of the Southern New Guinea region.[11] This part of the region was slowly rebuilt by the sediments carried by the Fly River and Digul River. Note that the Morehead ridge as one of the highest points of elevation on the Fly-Digul platform was not submerged during this period.

Figure 1.17 Coastline at 6,000 BP; adopted from (Chappell, 2005: 528)

[11] With regard to Figure 1.17, which is the result of a computer model, Chappell argues for a more conservative estimate, in which the coastline at 6,000 BP does not extend all the way up to the Fly River (2005: 531).

The geological scenario outlined by Chappell is reflected to some extend in the linguistic landscape of the region. For example, concerning the Trans-New-Guinea languages spoken in west of the Fly-Digul platform, Pawley points out that the "homogeneity of the Asmat-Kamoro group is clear evidence that their expansion was comparatively recent" (2005: 10). Usher and Suter (2015) have recently shown evidence for the existence of the Anim language family which stretches from Ipiko in the east to Marind and Yaqayic in the west, thus encircling the area concerned with in this study. Evans argues that it is "unlikely that all language differences currently found in Southern New Guinea developed in situ. What seems more likely is that they represent the interaction of a number of unrelated groups entering the region from different regions" (2012a: 111). While this is evident for some of the linguistic units, for example the Trans-New-Guinea languages, we do not know how other linguistic units, for example the Yam languages or the Pahoturi River languages, fit into the chronology of events. I suggest that we should accept the possibility that the Yam languages represent a much older population, and – as Evans rightly point outs – we can only speculate from where this population has entered the region.

Some suggestions come from recorded mythology, namely the myth of two brothers and the origin of people at a place called *Kwafar*. This myth was recorded by FE Williams (1936: 306) as well as Mary Ayres (1983: 50). I have recorded a version of this myth told in Komnzo, which is given in the Appendix B.2. What is noteworthy about the story, is that the place *Kwafar* is located off the coast in an area that was last exposed well before 8,000 BP. Events told in the story led to a flood and the ancestor escaped in northwards. Eventually, he picked up the branches of *dödö* 'Melaleuca sp', beat the water with it, and the flood came to a halt. The myth suggests that the people have retreated northwards from the rising sea level, i.e. the myth 'reports' events which date back at least 8,000 years. Although I am not claiming linguistic continuity from the time of the sea level rise to present-day Komnzo – after all we know that populations may shift languages – one cannot deny the fact that this myth is found in the area where the Yam languages are spoken, more precisely the languages of the Tonda subgroup.[12]

1.3.5.2 Modern history

The Southern New Guinea region was contacted relatively late, which lead Knauft to claim that it has "remained effectively outside the purview of state political economies for longer than any other major non-arctic coastal population" (1993: 26). In 1890, Sir William MacGregor, the Administrator of Papua, discovered the

[12]Both Williams and Ayres have recorded these myths with speakers of Tonda languages. Among the origin myths of the Morehead district, this particular myth is only found in Tonda speaking territory.

Morehead River on an expedition. It took another six years for a second visit by MacGregor during which he collected a vocabulary list, which can be found in the Annual Reports (MacGregor, 1890: 106).[13] Both expeditions travelled by ship. The first known white man to walk through the region was William Dammköhler in 1898 on an adventurous escape from Marind headhunters (Hitchcock, 2009). Until 1921, sporadic patrols were conducted by AP Lyons, Resident Magistrate of the Western Division. Lyons recorded native customs, but his journals held at the National Cultural Council at Port Moresby were inaccessible to me. In 1926, FE Williams started to pay regular visits to the Morehead district in his role as 'official government anthropologist'. Until 1932, he visited the area almost every year, and his fieldwork culminated in the book 'Papuans of the Trans-Fly' (Williams, 1936), which is still the most comprehensive ethnographic description of a group in the Morehead district.

At the time of contact, Southern New Guinea was home to groups of very different sizes and political organisation. On the one end of the spectrum, there were small groups like the Farem, probably with no more than 100 people at that time. On the other end, we find large groups like the Kiwai (9,700), Marind (7,000) and Suki (3,500). Note that these three groups surround the area concerned with in this study. Although headhunting was practised by all groups, it was only those larger groups which could muster war parties and attack places far away from their home territory. This was especially true of the Marind (also known as Tugeri or Tugere). In his introduction to Williams' book, AC Haddon, who had led the British expedition in the Torres Strait in 1888, writes that he had "heard lurid stories about these head-hunting, cannibal marauders" (1936: xxiiv). The Marind were militaristic expansionists, who went on headhunting expeditions raiding villages along the south coast as far as Boigu Island. Since the Marind's home territory was in Dutch New Guinea, the British colonial administration was unable to act against them. The Marind's activity led to a joint Dutch-British expedition, which established the border at the mouth of the Bensbach River. Eventually, in 1902, the Dutch administration set up a police post in Merauke.

The impact of the Marind is somewhat inconclusive. For example, Mary Ayres argues that their immediate role has been overstated by many Europeans who have visited the area in this early period (1983: 19). She points to two confusing inferences that had been made. The first was the erroneous belief that a great number of settlement names given to MacGregor and various patrol officiers must also mean that the population of the Morehead district must be very large. As

[13]Based on the verb forms in the list, I identify the variety as either Kánchá or Kémä. Nominalised verbs in these two varieties end in a bilabial fricative, and many verbs in the list have a final grapheme <p>. In Komnzo, Wára, Anta and Wèré nominalised verbs end in a vowel: [i] or [e].

I explain below, the traditional settlement pattern was to live in small hamlets often comprising a single patriline. Secondly, the fact that the population density was actually very low was attributed to massive depopulation by the Marind. An example comes from MacGregor who describes that he met a group of people on the Morehead River: "Of this tribe we saw altogether about thirty to forty men, boys and women. They are probably the remains of a tribe that has been decimated by the Tugere" (1896: 74). Ayres criticises that MacGregor and others jump to conclusions here. The low population density in the Morehead district, especially along the coast west of the Wassi Kussa River, can be explained by geographical factors alone. She notes that "the accute scarcity of fresh water during the dry season was not readily observed" (1983: 22), because early visits always occurred during the rainy season, which is the best time to navigate the coast. Ayres concludes that there is no definite evidence for or against depopulation by the Marind. Nonetheless, if we consider the discrepancies in group sizes in Southern New Guinea over a longer period, it is easy to imagine that these larger groups would have assimilated the smaller ones sooner or later. Evans concludes that "we may not be exaggerating to say that without the arrival of colonial governments (and missionary endeavours eliminating headhunting and overt warfare) many of the small languages of the Trans-Fly may not have survived in the way they have." (2012a: 117).

In the remainder of this section, I will focus more on the local level. In 1951, the administration established a government station at Rouku. The name Rouku comes from Komnzo *rokuroku* 'riverbank'. This name was given to a place a few kilometers to the west of present-day Rouku, where a group of Farem people had lived in the 1920's (Ayres, 1983: 14). This older Rouku is now settled again by Farem people who call it Gunana – a Motu word meaning 'old' – and sometimes it is called Rouku Gunana 'old Rouku'. The government station included a school, which was run by the London Missionary Society. Its successor, the United Church, is still the most influential denomination in the area west of Morehead, including Rouku. During the 1950's, the Australian Petroleum Company explored the Morehead district for oil. Many older Farem still remember their parents being employed as labourers with the company. A more tangible legacy of the company's operation is a network of roads in the Morehead district, although these have often reverted back to narrow tracks. In 1959, the station was shifted to Morehead, where an airstrip was constructed. In the early 1960's, a government school was opened there, which has been operational until today. Since that time, Morehead has been the administrational centre of the district.

Large bureaucracies like nation-states tend to organise their population by dividing and subdividing them into organisational units. The nation-state Papua New Guinea consists of 22 provinces, which consist of districts, which in turn consist of local level government areas, which are divided into wards. Rouku

belongs to Ward 16 of the Morehead-Rural local level government area of the South Fly District of Western Province. Such organisational schemes are useful, but they fail to adapt to cultural peculiarities, an issue which seems of particular importance in a country as diverse as Papua New Guinea. During the 1950's and 1960's, the government began a policy of village consolidation. Small hamlets and related villages were asked to form combined larger villages. The concurrent establishment of churches, schools and roads provided some incentives for this policy to show some effect. I agree with Ayres when she writes that this "is antithetical to traditional settlement patterns of widely scattered very small villages where residence is not continous" (1983: 17). It is no surprise that people returned to their traditional settlement patterns during the 1970's when the government patrols ceased. Thus, on a very local level we find a pulsating movement from dispersion to consolidation and back to dispersion. Ayres supports this observation by pointing out that – although was Rouku consolidated as 'one village' during the 1950's – the Farem people lived scattered over several hamlets when she did fieldwork in 1980. The official census for Rouku in 1980 was 108, but only 30 people lived at Rouku then (1983: 17). The others lived at Ɗazäthe, Faremkar, Kafthefr, Masu, Firra, Kanathr and Morehead.

30 years later, I can add my own observations to this. When I first visited Rouku in 2010, my main informant Abia Bai told me that he had lived in Kanathr in the 80's and later at Masu together with his Mayawa clan (*Mrzar Mayawa*). In the mid-1990's, this clan moved from Masu to Rouku, thus Masu and Kanathr were not settled in 2010. Two Sagara clans (*Muthrata Sagara* and *Wazu Sagara*) had lived in Rouku more or less continuously with short intervals at Ɗazäthe and Faremkar. In 2010, the Bagu clan (*Nümgar Bagu*) was transitioning to Gunana from a place called Dmädr, about 5km to northwest of Rouku. Gunana itself was established around the year 2000 by the third Sagara clan (*Farem Sagara*). Lastly, the second Mayawa clan (*Banibani Mayawa*) was split between one patriline living in Rouku and another patriline living in Morehead. The latter had moved to Morehead from Firra during the late 1990's. Hence, we could say that in 2010 the Farem people were 'consolidated' in the two settlements of Rouku and Gunana. Over the last five years, some of the Mayawa people have established a new settlement at Kanathr. What started out with two families in 2012, has now grown to about four families which belong to both Mayawa and Sagara. Other people have built houses in Masu and Ɗazäthe. Yet others have moved to Morehead. The point I try to make is that settlement is not continous and an individual may choose to move several times during his lifetime. During the annual cycle movement is even more pronounced as one may stay for several weeks at a garden place during the planting and harvesting time, or at a sago, fishing or hunting camp. As a consequence, I have often arrived in Rouku wondering where all the people had gone.

An interesting epiphenomenon to oscillation between fragmentation and consolidation is that it did not always follow linguistic or cultural lines. For example, the closest village to Rouku is Yokwa (also called Safs) situated about 12km west along the road. During the first consolidation in the 1950's, people from the south who spoke Kánchá and Ara consolidated with the Wára speakers of Yokwa. Naturally, this may lead to problems in the documentation of a particular speech variety. While it is easy to find Kánchá speakers for comparison further to the south in other villages, Wára and Ara speakers are only found in Yokwa. I should add that I have not had the opportunity to study this in detail in Yokwa.

For the linguistic history of Rouku, this meant that some men of the father generation of the Bagu clan as well as two of the Sagara clans had shifted to Yokwa and lived there for almost a decade. Nowadays, their children live in Rouku and Gunana, and despite being bilingual in Komnzo and Wára they speak mostly Wára. This is not only a problem for the documenter, but it results in real political problems. As I point out in §1.3.11, the linguistic ideology in the Morehead district connects identity with land and language. Consequently, there is a strong feeling that one should speak the variety that in some sense belongs to the land. In other words, a Farem individual should speak Komnzo. It follows that for some individuals village consolidation has led to a disconnect between the daily language and the language of social identity.

1.3.6 Mythology and the origin of people

Mary Ayres uses the term "starting-place" (1983: 146) to describe the place from which the apical ancestor of each group has spread. I will label these 'origin places' henceforth. There are multiple origin places because there were multiple splitting events. The notion of spreading from a prior unity is pervasive in the Morehead district, and Ayres offers a spatial analysis of the foundational myths in her thesis.

Initially, all people lived at a mythical origin place called *Kwafar*. This place is said to be somewhere in the Arafura sea. There are several origin myths connected to *Kwafar*. In one version all people lived in a huge tree. They spread out after the tree burned down. In another version people lived inside a tree and the ancestor released them one after the other by chopping down the tree. Common to the different narratives is a movement of people – sometimes represented as a single character – from *Kwafar* towards the north. Some people went to *Zwäri* and some to *Komo*, both are located on the coast. From these places, some groups came directly towards the north, while others went to *Kuramogo*, a place close to Bebdbn in the east (Williams, 1936: 292). The apical ancestor of the Mayawa section in Rouku was a man called *Mathkwi*. He came from *Komo* and wandered north. He was accompanied by the ancestor of the Sangara section of

the village Mifne. After various stops, *Mathkwi* arrived at *Faremkar*, where he found the ancestor of the Sagara section of Rouku, who had settled there already. From *Faremkar*, he went to *Masu*, a few kilometers to the east. The ancestor of the Sagara section in Rouku also came from *Komo*, but he travelled to *Kuramogo* first and then came to *Faremkar*. Thus, people who claim one origin place need not trace their ancestry to the same person. It is sufficient to jointly identify with the most recent in a series of origin places. In this sense, all Komnzo speaker associate themselves with *Faremkar*.

Specific episodes in these narratives provide explanations of various natural phenomena. For example, the Morehead River and the web of smaller creeks are connected to the burning of the tree at *Kwafar*. In some versions, the burning roots of the tree formed canals, while other versions tell that the tree fell towards the north, and its trunk and branches shaped the Morehead River and the creeks. Likewise, the occurrence of red, coarse-grained sedimentary rock in certain spots is connected to the ancestor's path and his dropping of leftovers along the way. The existence of all crops is explained in a similar fashion.

In addition to these founding myths, there are many smaller stories, which make reference to a particular place. An example is a small rock layer along the Morehead River close to Morehead. This is explained by a story in which two 'story men' were fighting. After their quarrel, they agreed to cut down a stone passage across the river. Such places of mythological significance are called *menz kar* 'story places'. The word *menz* can refer to some mythological event as well as to some supernatural being that lives at and guards these places. In its latter meaning, I translate *menz* as 'story man'. Again, I refer the reader to Mary Ayres' excellent description and analysis of locality in the Morehead District (Ayres, 1983).

1.3.7 Segmentation of groups of people

Mary Ayres draws a distinction between the first and second order of segmentation of people (1983: 126). The first order of segmentation is one which aligns people with a specific origin place and, as I mentioned earlier, with a specific speech variety. Hence, all Komnzo speakers share the origin place *Faremkar* and, thus belong to the same group. The second order of segmentation are local groups. Ayres divides these groups into non-local and local sections. She avoids the word 'clan' (1983: 142). There are three non-local sections, namely Bagu, Sagara and Mayawa, which are replicated in many villages in the Morehead District. I will refer to these simply as 'sections'.[14] Local sections, on the other hand, can be seen as local subsets of the three sections. I will use the term 'clan' for

[14]These are different from the term 'section' or 'skingroup' as it is used in Aboriginal ethnographic descriptions.

these. For example, there is one Bagu clan, three Sagara clans and two Mayawa clans among the Farem. These have proper names, for example *Mrzar Mayawa* or *Farem Sagara*.[15] Finally, there are patrilines within the clans. An overview of the segmentation of the Farem is given in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Sections, clans and patrilines

section	clan	number of patrilines
Bagu	*nümgar* 'crocodile'	1
Sagara	*farem* (place name)	2
	wazu (place name)	2
	muthrata (place name)	1
Mayawa	*banibani* 'Brahminy Kite'	2
	mrzar (proper name)	1

In addition to self-attribution, there is a web of more or less visible markers that distinguish a member of one group from that of another group regardless at which level. Markers include certain designs printed on grass skirts, particular patterns carved on arrows, special songs and dance styles. Furthermore, there are totemic animals which one may not hunt or eat. For example, the Brahminy Kite (*banibani*) is a totemic bird for the *Mrzar Mayawa* clan and the *Banibani Mayawa* clan. The latter derives its name from it. Likewise, the Swamp Eel (*dobakwr*) is a totem for both Mayawa clans, but also for the three Sagara clans. It follows that some of these markers overlap between different clans. The web of similarities and differences is commonly employed in reasoning about group identity.

The most important fact about clans and sections lies in land ownership. While the land ownership within the same section is less important, it plays a big role between sections. For example, a man will not hunt, make a garden or collect building materials on territory that does not belong to his section. In this case, he will consult the rightful owners first. Land boundaries are often marked by creeks or other landmarks, and they are very much public knowledge. Finally, the system of segmentation plays an important role in exogamy, which I address in the next section.

[15]Note that I spell section names in upright font (e.g. Mayawa), because they are in some sense a hypernym, while I spell clan names in italic (e.g. *Mrzar Mayawa*). Another reason is that sections names are found in languages other than Komnzo, while clan names are proper nouns found only in Komnzo.

1.3.8 Exogamy

Within the Morehead district, a system of symmetrical sister-exchange is practised. This has been described by Mary Ayres for the Farem and surrounding groups (1983) and by FE Williams for the Keraki (1936). Ayres' work is most relevant for the following description. Note that the following description reflects an ideal to which people generally aspire, even though it is at odds with reality in many instances.

The system of exogamy is shaped by the segmentation of people described above, and all levels of segmentation form exogamous groups. Thus, people who share an origin place may not intermarry. We may call this 'place exogamy'. An interesting fact about place exogamy is that it practically results in linguistic exogamy. Ayres notes that "Marriage between people who claim prior unity at a 'starting place' [CD: origin place], i.e. the dialect group, is prohibited. In the native model this rule is sometimes explained as a rule of dialect exogamy: "We should not intermarry because we talk the same language" is a phrase sometimes stated by informants." (1983: 186). The three sections also form exogamous groups. It follows that one may not marry a person of the same section, even if that person is from another place. We may call this 'section exogamy'. Lastly, the clan forms an exogamous group, and one may not marry a person from the same clan. We may call this 'clan exogamy'. As pointed out by Ayres, the rules of exogamy are an ideal. In her description, Ayres finds many attested marriages which violate place or section exogamy. I can confirm this from my own observations. Ayres concludes that place exogamy is ranked higher than section exogamy, i.e. there used to be more cases of same-section marriages than of same-place marriages. In my own data, these violations of rules of exogamy occur with the same frequency. There are no cases of same-clan or same-patriline marriages.

The ideal marriage is one of direct sister-exchange. In other words, two men of different place, section and clan exchange their respective sisters. The preferred option is to exchange a true sister, that is a woman of same age in the clan or patriline. In many cases, this is not possible for demographic reasons, and there are indeed some unmarried older men. An alternative option is to 'borrow a sister' from another group, preferably one's own section in another place, but this is not a precondition. One would not ask another group for a wife, but for a woman to exchange. This shows that it is the actual exchange which counts. The exchange initiates a link to another group of people and to another place, and this is corroborated by mutual invitations to feasts and the giving and taking of yam tubers. The least preferred, but often practised, option is to pay for a wife with a raised pig and a certain amount of yams. However, this payment does not cover the cost of a person. The exchange is only deferred to the next generation. In such a one-sided marriage, the man is expected to give back his

first daughter to the family of his wife. Again, the daughter is given back not as a wife, but to be exchanged to yet another group. In the past, neither husband nor wife had much of a say in this arrangement between clans. Women were often sent as young girls to the family of their future husbands (Williams, 1936: 145). Polygamy used to be practised in the past, but it is virtually absent today. There is one man in Rouku, who is married to two wives, and this invites much laughter and gossip.

1.3.9 Kinship terminology

Although I have not much too add to Ayres' formidable analysis of kinship, I disagree with her on a few specific terms. Below, I use only Komnzo terms in the kinship diagrams, but I point out when there are coexisting terms from another language.

The knowledge about one's relatives has been described by Ayres as "extremely shallow" (1983: 217) and I much agree with her. The mythological time of the first ancestor is often placed immediately before the generation of one's grandparents. Contact with the western world, biblical traditions and especially the education system has brought a change to this world view. Younger speakers often point out a few names along the patriline up to the apical ancestor. The system of kinship terminology in Komnzo is a five generational system, which calculates from ego to the generation of grandparents and grandchildren respectively. Interestingly, grandparents and grandchildren are equated by using the same kin term, *aki* or *zath*, reciprocally. Otherwise the system is characterised by special kin terms which are used only after the consummation of a sister exchange. It follows that kin terms can and often do change as result of affinal relations.

Figure 1.18 shows the cosanguineal kin terms. The shaded individuals live in a different village. The asterisk indicates that the respective term is used reciprocally. Many kin terms can be used for co-residents of a different section or clan. A result of place exogamy is that all Farem men or women of the generation above ego can be called *ŋafe* 'father' or *ŋame* 'mother', and all coresidents in the same generation can use the appropriate sibling term. The terms for mother and father co-exist with the Nama loanwords *afa* and *ama*. An optional age distinction for the brothers of ego's father and their wives is *ŋafe katan* 'small father' and *ŋame katan* 'small mother'. Sibling terms only encode relative age, not sex: *nane* 'older sibling' and *ngth* 'younger sibling'. Children are referred to by *nge* 'child'. Mother's sisters are commonly called *ŋame* 'mother'. Mother's brothers are called *ŋäwi*. The word *babai* coexists with *ŋäwi*, but its origin is unclear. Both are used reciprocally. The relation between ego and mother's brother used to be of special importance for certain initiation ceremonies.

The spouses of ego's children are called *enat* 'son in-law' and *zath ŋare* 'daughter in-law'. Both words are used reciprocally, i.e. they mean 'parents in-law' from the opposite perspective. The sex of the referent can be specified by adding *ŋare*. Ayres points out that grandparents and grandchildren are equated by the same word *zath*, which also means 'moon' and 'month', and as we have just seen 'daughter in-law'. However, *zath* is somewhat archaic, and the Nama loan *aki* with the same set of meanings is used in its place. Ayres explains this grouping of three meanings – grandparents, grandchildren and daughter in-law – by a "structural incompleteness that is felt to be generated by the original exchange" (1983: 226). She points out that the preferred arrangement for the daughter of an exchanged woman is to marry back to her mother's place. She concludes that the grouping of the three meanings in the same kin term encodes a cultural practise which "assures the continuity of a man's patriline not simply through his own children, but through their children" (1983: 227).

Figure 1.18 Consanguineal or co-resident kin terms

Figure 1.19 shows the affinal kin terms in the same generation. The word *ngom* 'brother in-law' is used by both women and men, and for men it is used reciprocally. In (Ayres, 1983: 214), the words *ntjufaré* and *nakimi* [her spelling] appear in a kinship diagram for brother in-law. The former is a Kánchá word and the latter is from Motu (Turner-Lister and Clark, 1935: 107). While *nakimi* coexists with *ngom*, *ntjufare* is not used by Komnzo speakers. I suspect that this word was given to Ayres by Wára speaking women from Yokwa. There are strong marriage ties between Rouku and Yokwa, and the process of village consolidation (§1.3.5.2) has led to an influx of Kánchá speakers in Yokwa in the past. The term *kaimät* is used between a woman and her brother's wife, and both are in a joking relationship. The term *sabu* is used between a man and his brother's wife, and

both are in a taboo relationship. The taboo is much stricter for the wife of the younger brother, who is always called *sabu*. As for the wife of the older brother, one may also use *ŋame* 'mother' if she is sufficiently older, and the taboo relation is somewhat lax.

Figure 1.19 Same-generation, affinal kin terms for female and male ego

After a consummated exchange marriage, a special set of terms is used. These are shown in Figure 1.20. The word *fäms* 'exchange fellow' is used between the two men who have exchanged sisters, and the exchanged woman is called *fäms ŋare* 'exchange woman'. The children of the exchange couple are called *fäŋame* or *fäŋafe* depending on their sex. These two words are archaic in Komnzo and instead *bäiŋame* or *bäiŋafe* are used. The last vowel of both is sometimes dropped resulting in *bäiŋam* or *bäiŋaf*. These words are used reciprocally, but the last part (*-ŋaf* and *-ŋam*) encodes the sex of the referent. It is unclear when and how the first part changed from *fä-* to *bäi-*, but the consonants /f/ and /b/ stand in a paragidmatic relationship, because there is no voiceless counterpart of the prenasalised /b/. For this reason, I suspect that the first part is a contraction of *fäms*, and *fäŋame* or *fäŋafe* used to be *fäms ŋame* 'exchange mother' and *fäms ŋafe* 'exchange father'. Note that the same figure can be drawn for a female ego. We would only have to change the words for wife and husband, which are *fzenz* and *fis* respectively.

Figure 1.20 Sister-exchange kin terms: *fäms*

An exchange marriage also affects the children's generation. Ayres points out that cross-cousins are preferred marriage partners (1983: 217), but this excludes the children of an exchange. Cross-cousins from an exchange marriage refer to

each other with the term *yamit*. The relationship between them is more like that between siblings, which is corroborated by the fact that ego employs the same kin term *ngom* for the husband of the *yamit*. The wife of ego's *yamit* is called *yumad*. This is shown in Figure 1.21.

Figure 1.21 Sister-exchange kin terms: *yamit*

There is another special relation that holds between the affines and children of two sisters. Two men who are married to sisters refer to each other with the term *nakum*. The parallel-cousins in such an arrangement refer to each other as *naku*, and what holds for the *yamit* relation is also true for the *naku* relation. This is shown in Figure 1.22.

Figure 1.22 The *naku* relationship

The rules and regulations are often explained in terms of space and Mary Ayres focusses on this aspect in her thesis. For example, informants would often explain that two individuals cannot mary because "they come from the same place", meaning that their mothers come from the same place in the case of a *naku* relationship. But it can also mean that they result from a direct exchange between places in the case of a *yamit* relationship.

There are other terms which function similar to kin terms. One such example is the word *ngath*, which I translate as 'mate'. Two children who where born around the same time are considered to be like close relatives, even if they belong to different clans and/or sections. They will grow up as close mates and they will help each other out. It is up to the parents to decide who will become *ngath*, but it is always children of the same sex. I know of two cases where the *ngath*

relationship was inherited from the fathers who were also *ngath* to each other. Another example is the word *ngemäku*, which is used between the true parents of a child and the ones who have adopted the child. Adoption is very common and it occurs shortly after the weaning period. The word *ngemäku* contains the word *nge* 'child', but the second part *mäku* has no meaning by itself. A third example is the word *nzäthe* 'namesake'. Children are given many names when they are born. As a consequence an individual has multiple namesake relationships.

This section is closed with a comprehensive list of kin terms in Table 1.2. Alternative terms and applications as well as comments are given in the rightmost column.

Table 1.2 Summary of kin terms and other relation terms

term	translation	relation[a]	alternatives and comments
ŋafe	father	F, FB	also *afa* (Nama loan)
ŋame	mother	M, MZ, FBW	also *ama* (Nama loan)
nane	brother, sister	eB, eZ	FBS and FBD (if older)
ngth	brother, sister	yB, yZ	FBS and FBD (if younger)
zath	grandparent, grandchild, daughter in-law, parent in-law	FF, FM, MF, MM, SS, SD, DS, DD, HF, HM, SW, BSW, SSW	also *aki* (Nama loan), used reciprocally (rcpl.), can be specified for sex by adding *ŋare*
kaimät	sister in-law	BW, HZ	female perspective, used rcpl.
sabu	sister in-law	BW, HB	male perspective, used rcpl.
ngom	brother in-law	ZH, WB	also applies to the husbands of parallel-cousin in an exchange (*yamit's* husband), used rcpl.
yumad	n/a	n/a	wife of parallel-cousin in an exchange (*yamit's* wife), used rcpl.
enat	son in-law, father in-law, mother in-law	DS, WF, WM	used rcpl.
ŋäwi	uncle, niece, nephew	MB, ZS, ZD	also *babai*, used rcpl.
fäms	exchange (fellow)	ZH,BW	can be specified for sex by adding *ŋare*, used rcpl.
fäŋame	aunt, niece	FZ, BD	also *bäiŋam*, only in case of an exchange, used rcpl.
fäŋafe	uncle, nephew	MB, ZS	also *bäiŋaf*, only in case of an exchange, used rcpl.

term	translation	relation[a]	alternatives and comments
yamit	cross-cousin	MBS, MBD, FZS, FZD	only in case of an exchange, used rcpl.
naku	parallel-cousin	MZS, MZD	used rcpl.
nakum	n/a	WZH	used rcpl.
thuft	in-law	n/a	also *nakimi* (Motu loan), used rcpl.
ngath	mate	n/a	between two (predetermined) mates of the same sex, used rcpl.
ngemäku	n/a	n/a	between true parent and adoptive parent, used rcpl.
nzäthe	namesake	n/a	between two people with the same name, used rcpl.

[a]F=father, M=mother, B=brother, Z=sister, S=son, D=daughter, H=husband, W=wife, e=elder, y=younger

1.3.10 Person reference and name avoidance

There is some diversity in person referring expressions in Komnzo. In the case of name avoidance, these may be restricted to only a subset. The common expressions are: full names (given name + family name), personal names, nicknames, kin terms, other relation terms, reference via circumspection, and the recognitional demonstrative.

The kinship system as presented above lays out a number of rules of behaviour. Amongst these is a practise of name avoidance which holds between all affines. When recording genealogies informants would often hestitate or refuse to utter the name of a particular person and instead ask some bystander or a child to pronounce the personal name for me. Name avoidance is seen as a way of showing respect. This was explained to me by my sister while transcribing a text in which she used the personal name of her sister in-law. When I asked her, why she had not used the appropriate kin term *kaimät*, she replied that she was very angry with her at the time and showed her anger by using the personal name. Name avoidance impacts on the reference to other persons with the same personal name, to whom the speaker may not be in a name-avoidance relationship. In other words, name avoidance is independent of the referent in a particular situation. Instead name avoidance targets the personal name. This does not result in any practical problems because people have multiple names.

There are different solutions to ensure that the hearer understands who is meant. In addition to the appropriate kin term, one may use circumspection or a recognitional demonstrative. For example, the name of one of my brothers in-law is *Kurai*. I should not utter his name, but use the kin term *ngom* instead. In many situations, this term is sufficient to establish the correct reference. Alternatively, I can use circumspection strategy like *tokoafis* 'Toko's husband' or a teknonym *weweaŋafe* 'Wewe's father'. For teknonyms, it is usually the first-born child that is used, regardless of sex. A third solution, is to use the recognitional demonstrative. The recognitional demonstrative can be roughly translated to English as 'the one that we both know about' (See §3.1.11.6).

The different strategies of person reference can be ranked according to how much knowledge is presupposed on the part of the hearer. For example, a personal name requires very little contextual knowledge, whereas a recognitional demonstrative requires much more. We may rank these strategies like this: full name (*Kurai Tawth*) > personal name (*Kurai*) > circumspection/teknonym (*tokoafis* 'Toko's husband') > kin term (*ngom* 'brother in-law') > recognitional (*baf* 'that one'). Note that using a full name is a recent adaptation to western culture, which is only employed in the context of a census or some other administrational matter. It is a common practise in PNG to use the name of the father as family name. Hence, *Kurai's* father was *Tawth* and therefore his full name is *Kurai Tawth*. In daily interaction, this strategy is absent.

A person has a multitude of personal names or nicknames. Almost everyone has a set of five to ten names and the frequency of use of any one of these may come and go like a fashion. Shortly after birth, or sometimes even before birth, different relatives will propose names for the new-born. These may be their own names, which establishes a namesake relationship. In fact, the word *nzäthe* 'namesake' is the most frequent term of address. There is a special ceremony a couple of months after birth, where the name-giver presents gifts to his namesake and holds the baby for the first time. Names may also be created on the spot, as nicknames or as self-attributions. For example, the three elders of the *Mrzar Mayawa* clan in Rouku are *Marua*, *Kaumb* and *Abia*. Their respective nicknames are *oroman loŋ* 'old man long' because he prefers wearing long trousers, *afa kwanz* 'father bald head' because he is bald and *afa thwä* 'father catfish' because he has a big belly. The first of them, *Marua*, decided one day that he should be called *oroman zulai* 'old man july'. To my bewilderment, I found that everyone had accepted this name within a few weeks. Interestingly, a namesake relationship may transfer all of these names to the namesake. For example, a small baby boy was given the name *Marua*, thus establishing a namesake relationship. Today, the toddler is sometimes called *Marua*, *loŋ* or *zulai*.

1.3.11 Language Ideology and Multilingualism

Language ideology is characterised by a set of beliefs on the part of speakers about the role which language plays in constructing their social world (Silverstein 1979, Rumsey 1990 and Makihara and Schieffelin 2007). In the Morehead Region, people draw a strong connection between land and speech variety. This native linguistic ideology is similar to Aboriginal cultures, especially in Arnhemland (Merlan, 1981) and Cape York (Sutton, 1978). As for the Farem people, this ideology surfaces through open statements and explanations, the expected behavior of in-marrying women, ancestor stories, but it is also entailed in metaphors. I will briefly note some of my own observations on language ideology here.

In Rouku, there is strong social pressure on all members of the community to speak Komnzo. This is openly expressed during public speeches, but also by individuals in conversation or during interviews. One often hears that women should not talk in 'their language' to the children, but in Komnzo. In practice, this is often violated and virtually everybody grows up in a multilingual context. We can take an example which is the result of the process of village consolidation described in §1.3.5.2. A number of older men originally from Rouku have stayed for a long time in Anta or Wára speaking villages, and consequently their children grew up with those varieties as their main language. The children, now in their late 40's, have moved back to Rouku. Some of them have married a woman from their natal villages and hence the dominant language of some Farem households is Anta or Wára. But even those speakers would deny speaking Wára, instead identifying as speakers of Komnzo.

In an attempt to understand the situation, I conducted sociolinguistic interviews with about 40 people. Amongst the questions were some which targeted language ideology ("What is your language?", "What do think about language mixing in the village?", "What language do you want your children to learn?"). The conclusion from these interviews is that language and land form an inseparable bond. I defer the statistical analysis of the interviews to another point in time, but I refer the reader to the appendix C, where the questionaire is given. The bond between language and land is identical to the bond between a group of people and their origin place. This bond is transmitted through the father's line. An example taken from the interviews is that of an older woman who lives in Rouku. She explained to me that she grew up in Yokwa, and consequently she speaks Wára most of the time. Although she speaks mostly Wára, she knows that this is not the language of the place. She wishes for her children to speak Komnzo. When asked about 'her language' she answered Kánchá instead of Wára. She explained that her father had moved as a teenager from a Kánchá speaking village to Yokwa. It follows that regardless of whether an individual uses predominantly mother's language or the language of the village, he or she

will identify with the language of his or her father's place. Mixing or shifting languages, although very common, is almost universally looked down upon. The answers as to why this behaviour is thought of as inappropriate often follow along the lines of matching language to place ("They should not speak Wára here because this is the language of Yokwa", "We should not mix languages because the children will not be able to name the places and animals that belong to our land").

Women who marry in are expected to shift to the local language, but this is often not followed because there are enough women from any one village to form small exclaves, for example of Wára speaking women in Komnzo speaking territory. It is hard to corroborate, but informants say this was enforced more in the past. However, there are spells and rituals to enhance the language learning process on the side of the woman. One ritual involves splitting a thin bamboo behind a woman's head and whispering a spell. This procedure is said to facilitate the learning process. I asked many times to have this procedure performed on me, but people refused to do it because I would forget my native German. There are other customs and rules which connect land and language. For example, it is forbidden to talk another language at story places and men would introduce their new bride to a *menz* 'story man' at a particular place in order to avoid sickness. The policy of language shift expected from women is hardly ever enforced these days and one might wonder whether it ever was. Ayres (1983: 226) describes the preference for a daughter to marry back into her mother's village, which she calls a short marriage cycle. This pattern establishes strong ties between particular villages. In the case of the Rouku it is the village of Yokwa and the language is Wára. As mentioned above, groups of women from Yokwa would often speak Wára between themselves or to their children and there is no reason why this should have been different in the past. But when asked about this, they would look down on 'language mixing' and stress the importance of the correct language at the right place.

Ancestor stories almost always involve comments on language. For example, the Kuramonggo myth which is found across the Morehead Region involves an ancestor who heard voices coming from a tree. Different versions are found in (Williams, 1936: 299) and (Ayres, 1983: 102). In the myth, the ancestor starts to chop the tree into segments from the top to the bottom. With each little bit that he chopped, people speaking different languages came out and started running towards their respective places. The further he worked his way to the bottom of the tree, the more intelligible the words became to him. When he reached the base of the tree, he heard his own language and thus his own people emerged from the tree. A common metaphor that explains the language situation from a local perspective builds on this story. One often hears the local language being described as *zfth* 'the base of a tree' and all the surrounding languages as *tuti* 'the branches'. The tree metaphor is important in the local perspective. For example,

women are jokingly described as *bidr* 'flying foxes' because they fly from tree to tree, and sometimes they are described as *fätü* 'a wild yam' or *saka* 'mustard vine' because the vines of these plants grow on trees.

1.4 Komnzo within the Yam languages

This section is a preliminary attempt to situate Komnzo within the Yam languages. This language family was formerly referred to as the 'Morehead and Upper Maro Rivers languages', or 'Morehead-Maro languages' (Wurm, 1971). This name is misleading because its geographical boundary in the east, the Morehead River, excludes all the languages of the Nambu subgroup. I follow Evans in using the more precise term 'Yam languages' (2012a: 124). Not only are yams the staple food, and of high cultural importance in exchange feasts, they also gave rise to the senary numeral system, which is unique to the languages of the family. In addition to the English word 'yam' [jɛm], the word *yam* [jam] carries high cultural significance in many Yam languages. For example, in Komnzo it means 'footprint, custom, tradition' and in Nen it means 'law, tradition, culture'.

The Yam languages comprise three subgroups: Nambu in the east, Tonda in the west, and Yei, which has only a single member. A first attempt to reconstruct various aspects of the proto language can be found in (Evans et al., forthcoming). While it is relatively easy to place Komnzo in the Tonda subgroup, it is much harder to classify the units within Tonda; in other words to draw a boundary between language and dialect. Are Komnzo, Anta and Wérè dialects of Wára as Ethnologue[16] portrays it or are they languages in their own right? Peter Mühlhäusler (2006) points out the difficulty and futility in answering such questions in Papua New Guinea and the contradictions that different researchers have produced in the past. As the preceding description of language ideology has highlighted, these are considered to be different languages from a local perspective. I remain agnostic throughout this section and offer a short conclusion at the end.

I discuss sound correspondences and sound changes first. Next, I show some lexicostatistic data from (Wurm, 1971) and (Clifton et al., 1991). Last, I discuss case markers, pronouns and verb morphology. I include here the following Tonda varieties: Komnzo, Anta, Wára, Wèré, Ránmo, Blafe, Wartha Thuntai and Kánchá. I refer the reader to Figure 1.1 for an overview where these varieties are spoken. I do not include Arammba, which I take to be sufficiently different to be considered a separate language (Boevé and Boevé, 2003). I have no data for the Tonda varieties spoken on the Indonesian side of the border (Baedi, Ngkolmpu, Smerky, Bakari, Taemer and Sota), and only very little data on Kémä.

[16]URL: http://www.ethnologue.com/language/tci

With the exception of Komnzo, the spelling of the names of these varieties is adopted from Ethnologue, which in turn goes back to an orthography workshop held in 2000 in Morehead. Note that the orthographies were developed for each variety with the result that the graphemes in the language names have different phonetic values: Komnzo [kɔm^{n}dʒo], Anta [a^{n}da], Wára [wæra], Wèré [wɔræ], Ránmo [rænmo], Blafe [^{m}blæɸe], Wartha Thuntai [warða ðu^{n}dai], Kánchá [kə^{n}dza]. To ensure comparability in this section, I will employ IPA for all language examples, including Komnzo.

1.4.1 Phonology

I will first turn to phonological correspondences. The languages in the tables in this section are sorted geographically: west (left) to east (right). We find that only Blafe and Ránmo have an /l/ phoneme in their respective inventories. Table 1.3 shows that this phoneme corresponds to an interdental fricative in Komnzo, Anta, Wára, Wèré, Wartha Thuntai and Kánchá. Note that final devoicing produces [θ] in coda position.

Table 1.3 Correspondence set: [l] versus [ð]

	ITEM	Blafe, Ránmo	Wartha Thuntai	Kánchá	Wèré	Anta	Komnzo, Wára
1	TONGUE	læmin	ðæmin	ðæmin	ðæmin	ðæmin	ðæmin
2	EXCRETES	wəl	wəθ	wəθ	wəθ	wəθ	wəθ
3	WET	kilkil	kiθkiθ	tʃiθtʃiθ	tiθtiθ	tiθtiθ	tʃiθtʃiθ
4	ARMPIT	^{ŋ}gəlki	^{ŋ}gəθki	kəθtʃi	^{ŋ}gəθki	^{ŋ}gəθtʃi	^{ŋ}gəθtʃi

A second set shows the correspondence of bilabial stops, [^{m}b] and [b], in Blafe, Ránmo and Wartha Thuntai to lavio-velar stops, [^{ŋ}g^{w}] and [k^{w}], in Komnzo, Anta, Wára, Wèré and Kánchá in Table 1.4. We find that the labial part is sometimes realised as a rounded back vowel, [^{ŋ}go] and [ko], in Kánchá, Wèré and Wartha Thuntai, for example in lines 3 ('butterfly') and 4 ('crow'). One possible explanation is a process of develarisation that has occurred in Blafe, Ránmo and Wartha Thuntai.

Table 1.4 Correspondence set: [^{m}b/b] versus [^{ŋ}g^{w}/k^{w}]

	ITEM	Blafe, Ránmo	Wartha Thuntai	Kánchá	Wèré	Komnzo, Wára, Anta
1	NEST	^{m}bəl	^{m}bəθ	^{ŋ}g^{w}əθ	^{ŋ}g^{w}əθ	^{ŋ}g^{w}əθ
2	MOSQUITO	^{m}bæ	^{m}bæ	^{ŋ}g^{w}æ	^{ŋ}g^{w}æ	^{ŋ}g^{w}æ
3	BUTTERFLY	ta^{m}bam	ta^{m}buram	^{m}bæ^{ŋ}goram	^{m}bæ^{ŋ}g^{w}ərəm	^{m}bæ^{ŋ}g^{w}ərəm
4	CROW	^{m}baθ	kot	koθ	koθ	k^{w}aθ
5	LIGHT	praja	bæjan	k^{w}ajan	k^{w}ajan	k^{w}ajan
6	SICK	bik	bik	k^{w}ik	k^{w}ik	k^{w}ik

There is a small set of words in which the bilabial fricative corresponds to a prenasalised bilabial stop. The set in Table 1.5 groups again Blafe, Ránmo and Wartha Thuntai against Komnzo, Anta, Wára, Wèré and Kánchá. Interestingly, the form of the 2SG.ABS 'you' groups Blafe, Ránmo, Wartha Thuntai, Kánchá and Komnzo together.

Table 1.5 Correspondence set: [^{m}b] versus [ɸ]

	ITEM	Blafe, Ránmo	Wartha Thuntai	Komnzo, Kánchá	Wára, Anta, Wèré
1	WIFE	^{m}bəᵑge^{n}t	^{m}bəᵑge^{n}ts	ɸətʃe^{n}ts	ɸətʃe^{n}ts
2	HUSBAND	^{m}bi	^{m}bi	ɸis	ɸis
3	2SG.ABS 'you'	^{m}bæ	^{m}bæ	^{m}bæ	ɸe

A clear directional change is palatalisation before front vowels. In Table 1.6, I show only a subset of the varieties. Komnzo represents those in which palatalisation has occured. This holds also true of Anta and Wára, but the forms are slightly different. Wartha Thuntai represents those in which palatalisation has not occured. This is also the case in Blafe and Ránmo. The table aims to show that Wèré and Kánchá are somewhat irregular. In lines 4 and 5 ('house' and 'one') palatalisation occurs in Wèré, but not in Kánchá. Line 6 ('armpit') shows the opposite. In lines 1-3 ('woman', 'I', 'people') palatalisation has occured in both and in line 7 ('tree') in neither. I have included Nama, a Nambu language neighbouring Komnzo, to show that apparently Nambu languages preserve the original velar quality, for example in lines 1, 3, and 4 ('woman', 'people', 'house'). Note that in line 5 ('one'), Nambu has dropped the first consonant. The deletion of initial velar nasals is a sound change found in many Nambu languages, for example the word 'mother' is [ŋame] in Komnzo, but [ama] in Nama and Nen. Note that the conditioning context for palatalisation has been lost in line 4 ('house'), because the examples end in a consonant. Nama attests a vowel in this position, but it is a back vowel.

Table 1.6 Palatalisation before front vowels

	ITEM	Wartha Thuntai	Kánchá	Wèré	Komnzo	Nama
1	WOMAN[a]	^{m}broki	^{m}brotʃi	^{m}brasi	^{m}bratʃi	^{m}brake
2	1SG.ABS	ᵑga	^{n}dʒæ	se	^{n}dʒæ	(jə^{n}d)
3	PEOPLE[b]	ᵑgʏ^{n}təm	tʃœ^{n}təm	sœ^{n}tmæ	tʃœ^{n}tmæ	ᵑgʏ^{n}tmæ
4	HOUSE	meᵑk	məᵑk	mə^{n}ts	mə^{n}ts	mæᵑgo
5	1 (ONE)	ŋæ^{m}bi	ŋæ^{m}bi	næ^{m}bi	næ^{m}bi	æ^{m}biro
6	ARMPIT	ᵑgəθki	kəθtʃi	ᵑgəθki	ᵑgəθtʃi	-
7	TREE[c]	ᵑgœ^{n}t	ᵑgœ^{n}t	ᵑgo^{n}t	^{n}dʒœ^{n}ts	-

[a] a woman in the time after giving birth

[b] people who live to the west of one's own group

[c] Terminalia megalocarpa

The last set shows the correspondence between stops and affricates. In Table 1.7, Blafe, Ránmo, Wèré and Anta are grouped against Komnzo, Wára, Wartha Thuntai and Kánchá.

Table 1.7 Correspondence set: stop versus affricate

	ITEM	Blafe, Ránmo	Wartha Thuntai	Kánchá	Wèré	Anta	Komnzo, Wára
1	PAIN	ti	^{n}dʒi	tʃi	ti	ti	tʃi
2	RIGHT	tawe	tsowe	tsowe	tawe	tawe	tsawe
3	BOWERBIRD	^{n}dojar	^{n}dʒojar	^{n}dʒojar	^{n}dʒojar	^{n}dojar	^{n}dʒœjar

Concluding the comparison of phonological correspondences, we find that Komnzo and Wára are almost always grouped together, and we may include Anta as well. Kánchá and Wèré share a number of correspondences with Komnzo, Wára and Anta, but they differ in some sets. Blafe, Ránmo and Wartha Thuntai are different in almost all sets. While Blafe and Ránmo are always grouped together, Wartha Thuntai can be grouped with the other varieties in some sets.

1.4.2 Lexicon

In this section, I present data from (Wurm, 1971) and (Clifton et al., 1991). I defer the statistical analysis of my own wordlists to a latter point in time.

A first calculation of cognate rates was offered by Wurm. His dataset comprised Tonda and Nambu languages as well as and Yei and Marori. In Table 1.8 only the Tonda varieties have been extracted. Wurm's language labels refer to different Tonda varieties: Upper Morehead (Komnzo, Wára, Anta, Arammba), Lower Morehead (Kánchá), Tonda (Blafe, Ránmo, Wartha Thuntai, Wèré) and Kanum (Baedi, Ngkolmpu, Smerky, Bakari, Taemer, Sota).

Table 1.8 Cognated rates (adopted from (Wurm, 1971: 159))

Upper Mhd			
71%	Lower Mhd		
60%	55%	Tonda	
39%	39%	40%	Kanum

A more fine-grained dataset comes from a SIL survey conducted by Clifton, Dyall and O'Rear (1991), who collected wordlists in 18 villages of both Tonda and Nambu languages. In Table 1.9, I show only the Tonda varieties, but I exclude Arammba, Rema and Kémä, and I choose Bondobol as the village representative of Kánchá. Moreover, I have rearranged their data in order to present the varieties geographically from west to east.

Table 1.9 Rates of shared vocabulary (extracted from (Clifton et al., 1991))

Blafe							
80%	Ránmo						
63%	59%	Wartha					
32%	40%	52%	Kánchá				
49%	55%	55%	59%	Wèré			
43%	51%	50%	70%	84%	Wára		
44%	51%	50%	61%	72%	82%	Anta	
41%	49%	46%	70%	72%	87%	88%	Komnzo

My own wordlists confirm the data in Table 1.9. We can draw some conclusions: (i) Blafe and Ránmo can be grouped together, (ii) Wartha Thuntai is different from all other varieties, (iii) Komnzo, Wára and Anta can be grouped together, (iv) Wèré and Kánchá, though different from each other, are close to Komnzo, Wára and Anta. If we compare these statements to the map in Figure 1.1, we find that the rates of shared vocabulary between Komnzo, Wára, Anta, Wèré and Kánchá roughly reflect geography. As for Blafe/Ránmo and Wartha Thuntai, this cannot be said. In other words, if we try to understand the relation of these varieties as a dialect chain, we would have to make two cuts. The first cut splits off Blafe and Ránmo. The second cut singles out Wartha Thuntai, while the remaining varieties belong to a single dialect chain.

1.4.3 Morphosyntax

As an intermediate summary, we can conclude that Komnzo, Anta, Wára, Wèré and Kánchá are somewhat closer together as opposed to Blafe, Ránmo and Wartha Thuntai. Therefore, I will focus on the first group in this section.

Table 1.10 shows a comparison of case markers. We find that Komnzo deviates from the other varieties in the ergative singular and non-singular, and in the allative. Kánchá deviates from the others in the ablative and the locative for consonant final words.

Table 1.10 Comparison of case markers

	Kánchá	Wèré	Wára	Anta	Komnzo
ERG.SG	-o	-o	-o	-o	-ɸ
ERG.NSG	-oi	-ai	-əi	-əi	-jə
ALL	-ɸ	-ɸ	-ɸ	-ɸ	-ɸo
ABL	-ɸo	-ɸa	-ɸa	-ɸa	-ɸa
LOC V_	-n	-n	-n	-n	-n
LOC C_	-i	-en	-en	-en	-en

Table 1.11 shows a comparison of free pronouns in ergative, absolutive and possessive case. We find that Komnzo and Kánchá share an number of forms or some element of a form. For example the first consonant of the first and second person in both absolutive and ergative case. In the possessive non-singular pronouns, only Komnzo and Kánchá attest a separate element which signals non-singular *-me* in addition to the vowel change found in all varieties. However, the first consonant of the third person ergative and possessive pronouns differs only in Kánchá.

Table 1.11 Comparison of free pronouns

		Kánchá	Wèré	Wára	Anta	Komnzo
ABS	1SG	^{n}dʒæ	se	tʃe	tʃe	^{n}dʒæ
	1NSG	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni
	2	^{m}bæ	ɸe	ɸe	ɸø	^{m}bæ
	3	ɸi	ɸi	ɸi	ɸi	ɸi
ERG	1SG	^{n}dʒən	sən	tsən	tsən	^{n}dʒe
	1NSG	nin	ni	ni	ni	ni
	2SG	^{m}bən	ɸən	ɸən	ɸən	^{m}be
	2NSG	^{m}bən	ɸe	ɸən	ɸən	^{m}bənə
	3SG	tʃaɸ	naɸo	naɸo	naɸo	naɸ
	3NSG	tʃaɸ	naɸ	naɸ	naɸ	naɸa
POSS	1SG.POSS	^{n}dzuni	^{n}done	^{n}done	^{n}dzone	^{n}dzone
	1NSG	^{n}dʒenme	^{n}dane	^{n}dane	^{n}dzane	^{n}dʒenme
	2SG	^{m}buni	^{m}bone	^{m}bone	^{m}bone	^{m}bone
	2NSG	^{m}benme	^{m}bane	^{m}bane	^{m}bane	^{m}benme
	3SG	tʃaɸani	naɸəne	naɸəne	naɸəne	naɸane
	3NSG	tʃaɸanme	naɸane	naɸane	naɸane	naɸanme

As the last topic in this section, I briefly address the marking of dual number. In Komnzo as in most Yam languages, dual number is marked on the verb. The affix encodes dual versus non-dual number, and its value has to be integrated with information from other morphological sites to yield the three number values singular, dual and plural. I address this topic in §5.3.2 and §5.5.3. For now, it is sufficient to compare the site of dual marking on the verb. In some varieties this depends on the type of verb root which is employed. Most verbs have two roots which are sensitive to aspect. While multiple verb roots are attested in all Tonda varieties, the encoding of duality differs markedly. In Komnzo, Anta, Wára and Kánchá, there are two options: duality is encoded in a suffix if the 'extended root' is used, but in a prefix if the 'restricted root' is used. The meaning of these labels in Komnzo is explained in §5.3. Only in Wèré, duality is always encoded

in a suffix regardless of the type of root. Blafe, Ránmo and Wartha Thuntai have lost dual marking on both root types. In these three varieties, dual marking occurs only in high frequency verbs such as the copula or the verb 'walk', where it is usually suppletive. I sketch out a tentative historical explanation of this in §5.3.4.

1.4.4 Summary

In conclusion, we may say that the different levels of comparision converge. Sound correspondences, lexicostatistics are well as morphological differences single out at least three separate units: Blafe/Ránmo, Wartha Thuntai and a chain of dialects, which we may call 'Eastern Tonda'. The latter comprises Wèré, Wára, Kánchá, Anta, Komnzo and probably Kémä. Eastern Tonda shows characteristics which are typical of dialect chains: geographically distant varieties, for example Komnzo and Wèré or Anta and Kánchá, show the biggest differences. Close neighbours, on the other hand, like Komnzo and Wára or Anta and Wèré are very similar. That being said, I will remain cautious until more data has been gathered, and I will continue to refer to all of them as varieties. In this way, I pay respect to the native linguistic ideology which picks up on the slightest differences as being highly emblematic markers.

1.5 Previous work and methodology

1.5.1 Previous work

There has been no previous research on Komnzo that goes beyond the collection of wordlists. One example is the SIL survey discussed in the preceding section (Clifton et al., 1991). The activity of SIL missionaries in the area has led to a number of orthography worksheets, unpublished manuscripts, surveys or theses. Examples of work on the surrounding varieties are: a grammatical sketch of Arammba (Boevé and Boevé, 2003), a thesis on Wára verb morphology (Sarsa, 2001) and a survey of the Tonda subgroup (Grummit and Masters, 2012).[17]

The ethnographic perspective is much better covered in the case of Komnzo. Mary Ayres has conducted research in Rouku around 1980, which has culminated in her thesis on locality and exogamous group definition (Ayres, 1983). While she states that she has not acquired Komnzo during her time in the field, she has recorded a number of stories in Komnzo and other Yam languages. On top of that she provides a valuable description and analysis of specific terms and concepts. The ethnography of the Keraki people, the speakers of Nambu, written by FE Williams remains the most comprehensive description of any culture in Southern New Guinea (Williams, 1936).

[17] I have written a review of the survey, which can be found under the following URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266079354

Recent years have brought a revived academic interest in the region, and the present study is part of it. Nick Evans has gathered a team senior scholars and postgraduates who work on various languages of the wider region, but also on different Yam languages. Jeff Siegel has published on the morphology of tense and aspect in Nama (Siegel, 2014), the eastern neighour of Komnzo. Wayan Arka has written on tense and agreement in Marori, an endangered isolate spoken on the Indonesian side of the border (Arka, 2012). Nick Evans has published on many topics in Nen, such as positional verbs (Evans, 2014), valency (Evans, 2015b), inflection (Evans, 2015a) and quantification (Evans, forthcoming b). A larger overview of the Southern New Guinea Region is forthcoming (Evans et al., forthcoming).

1.5.2 This project

This project began with a pilot fieldtrip to the Morehead district in September of 2010. At the time, my goal was to establish contact to a community which speaks one of the Tonda languages. I did not know which village or variety I was going to work on. When I arrived in Daru, I met three local level government members from the Morehead district who had come for administrative work to the regional capital. The three were Augustin Bikaninis from Wando, Bongai Njyar from Wämnefr and Abia Bai from Rouku. It was Abia Bai who invited me to accompany him to Rouku. I received a warm and friendly welcome to the community and I stayed for eight weeks. I explained my intentions and people agreed that I return regularly over the years to come. It was Abia Bai who ultimately adopted me into his family and clan (*Mrzar Mayawa*). I was given the local name Bäi after Abia's father.

My perspective of the culture and language of the Farem has been dominated by people of the Mayawa section. This is visible in the text corpus as most texts are from speakers who belong to this section. However, I took care that my presence and impact in the village was not limited to this group, and – more important for this work – that my description of the language is confirmed by all Farem people.

I have spent a total of 16 months in Rouku: two months in 2010, six months in 2011, three months in 2012, three months in 2013, and two months in 2015. During this time, I have visited villages along the Morehead highway from Wereaver in the west as far as Bimadbn in the east. I have visited Mari in the south and Uparua in the north. I was not able to visit villages on the Indonesian side of the border, and I did not travel to the extreme southwest (Bula, Wando and Korombo) and the north (Setavi, Kiriwo) of the area.

In Rouku, I lived in the house of Abia Bai and his wife Lucy together with their children Nakre, Janet, Sukawi, Nema and Alan. The oldest children Elise and

Riley had already moved out of the house. Elise married a man from Wando, far in the west. Riley lives with his wife in Rouku. In the beginning, I concentrated my work on Abia Bai who possesses a great deal of knowledge about history, mythology and the natural world. For elicitation and structural analysis I worked together with my brothers and classificatory brothers Riley Abia, Daure Kaumb and Greg Marua. It was only during my second fieldtrip in 2011 that I discovered the interest and talent of my sister Nakre in linguistic work. She became my main informant together with her father Abia. Their complementary talents have contributed greatly to this project. Abia is not only a great story-teller, but he proved to be an unlimited resource of knowledge. Nakre is a diligent worker in the transcription and translation of recordings, and she patiently answered long lists of questions and worked through complex verb paradigms in elicitation with me.

Figure 1.23 Abia and Nakre

Since 2011, the documentation of Komnzo was funded and supported by the DoBeS project of the Volkswagen Foundation.[18] The funding covered the basic documentation of two languages, namely Komnzo and Nen, the language of Bimadbn village, on which Nick Evans has been working since 2008. The funding allowed us to buy a solar setup and ship it to both villages providing electricity for a computer, recording equipment and lights during the evening hours. Additionally, the DoBeS project supported to bring in academics who work in the field of biology. Kipiro Damas spend one week in Rouku collecting and later identifying plant specimens. Chris Healey identified and photographed over 100 bird species, thereby eliciting many fascinating narratives about cultural significance of birds. Julia Colleen Miller has visited Rouku on two fieldtrips conducting

[18]DoBeS stands for German 'Dokumentation bedrohter Sprachen'; the documentation of endangered languages.

socio-linguistic interviews as well as creating high-quality recordings suited for phonetic analysis.

1.5.3 The text corpus

There are over 500 examples in this grammar, and around 90% of these are text examples. Text examples can be distinguished from elicited or overheard examples by a source code, which allows the reader to find the example in the text corpus. Elicited examples are not marked, while overheard examples are marked with: (overheard). The source code for text examples follows this format: (tciYYYYMMDD-NN SSS #AAA). The first three letters represent the ISO 639-3 code for Komnzo.[19] The following eight digits indicate the date on which the recording was made, e.g. tci20120914 is the 14th of September 2012. If the archive contains more than one recording on a particular day, these are differentiated by a number, e.g. tci20150812-01 is the first recording on the 14th of September 2012. The last two pieces of information from the source code help to find a particular example in the annotation file. First, there is a three letter code which identifies the speaker. If there are several speakers, each one is coded by a set of annotation tiers, all of which include the three letter identifier. The speaker code is followed by the annotation number, which refers the sequence of intonation units on a tier.

Figure 1.24 Browser view of the text archive

This information is needed to find a particular line of text in the online archive. All materials are archived at: https://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/asv/?3&openhandle=hdl:1839/00-0000-0000-0017-B0AC-C. If the reader follows this link she will be taken to a folder view that looks something like Figure 1.24. Finding the recording is done by

[19]Note that Komnzo is listed, for example in Ethnologue, as a dialect of Wára. Hence, the code 'tci' includes more varieties than the one decribed in this grammar. More recent systems of language identification are more accurate in my opinion. For example, Glottolog lists Komnzo under the code: komn1238, which refers only to Komnzo.

opening the nodes in a tree (with the + symbol). The terminal node is a session node which includes the audio (.wav) and video files (.mpg) in addition the annotation file (.eaf). The annotation was done with the software ELAN. The interested reader can download all of these files and open them on her computer. Some sessions are closed because they contain culturally sensitive topics. All examples cited in this grammar are taken from texts which are publically accessible. I hope to overcome the detour of downloading the files and the software in the future by inserting a hyperlink in the text document which takes the reader immediately to a browser view of the annotation. I have not done this for this document because the text corpus is under constant revision.

The last decade has seen an exceptional increase in creating and archiving digital language material. But linguists have pointed out that this is "unlikely to be parallelled by a significant acceleration in how long it takes field linguists to produce the sorts of careful translations and cross-questioning of semantic issues that are the hallmark of a well curated text collection" (Evans and Dench, 2006: 25). These authors suggest the metaphor of a Russian Matryoshka doll, that is several subsets of a corpus analysed with increasing detail. The Komnzo corpus follows this suggestion. I have archived around 60hours of video and audio recordings as well as scans of fielnotebooks and photographs. These 60 hours contain recordings of dances, songs, daily routines, procedurals or observational videos. Within this, is about 40 hours of text applying a wide notion of what consitutes a text. Of these 40 hours, 10 hours have been carefully segmented, transcribed and translated to English. Only around 2hours have been interlinearised and glossed. The 10 hours of transcribed and translated text provide the data base on which this description and analysis rests. Thus, I have archived a corpus of 60 hours, but I have employed in this work only 10 hours. I hope that future speakers of Komnzo as well as researchers will benefit from this raw material.

The 10-hour corpus contains narratives, procedurals, conversations, public speeches as well as recordings from various stimulus tasks. Most texts are situated in some articifically created scenario, whether it be a staged narration or a stimulus task. All conversational texts and public speeches are purely observational. The representation of speakers is skewed towards male speakers, and towards speakers belonging to the Mayawa section. I acknowledge this as an artefact caused by the circumstances under which I was introduced to and later lived in Rouku. Table 1.12 provides an overview of the corpus. Texts are sorted chronologically. I provide the source code of the text, title, genre and length of the recording. I list the names of the speakers, their age and sex, to which section they belong. The number of records or annotation units roughly corresponds to intonation units.

Table 1.12 Overview of the text corpus

text ID	title	genre[a]	speaker/s	age	sex	sec[b]	length (mm:ss)	records[c]
tci20100905	*kukufia*	nrr	Abia Bai	60	m	M	06:00	137
tci20110802	*safak/faikore menz*	nrr	Abia Bai	60	m	M	06:37	144
tci20110810-01	*no kzi*	prd	Marua Bai	68	m	M	03:24	76
tci20110813-09	*zra frzsi*	prd	Daure Kaumb	38	m	M	03:49	64
tci20110817-02	*nge fathasi*	prd	Abia Bai	60	m	M	04:44	122
tci20111004	social cognition picture task	stt, cvr	Railey Abia Taylor Abia Mae Karembu	31 24 25	m m m	M M M	37:24	542 261 5
tci20111028-01	put project	stt	Nakre Abia	28	f	M	23:08	88
tci20111107	crow/jackal picture task	stt	Nakre Abia	28	f	M	06:20	80
tci20111107-01	*ebar zan*	nrr	Maraga Kwozi	63	m	M	11:23	194
tci20111119-01	*faw brigsi*	nrr	Abia Bai	60	m	M	10:16	197
tci20111119-03	*fiyafr*	nrr	Abia Bai	60	m	M	09:50	202
tci20120805-01	yam culture	nrr	Abia Bai	60	m	M	48:50	850
tci20120814	*babuane trikasi*	nrr	Abia Bai	60	m	M	13:46	255
tci20120815	*nzöyär*	nrr	Abia Bai	60	m	M	03:02	74
tci20120817-02	*ythama*	nrr	Abia Bai	60	m	M	01:31	49
tci20120818	*ebar zan*	nrr	Abia Bai	60	m	M	05:03	91
tci20120819-01	*dö*	nrr	Lucy Abia	56	f	S	03:54	81
tci20120819-02	*ruga fiyaf*	nrr	Lucy Abia	56	f	S	05:00	115
tci20120824	*brubru*	prd	Karo Abia	42	m	M	06:35	160
tci20120827-03	*nzürna trikasi*	nrr	Kurai Tawéth	42	m	B	11:57	250
tci20120901-01	*nzürna trikasi*	nrr	Maraga Kwozi	63	m	M	10:30	196
tci20120904-01	*ŋazi traksi*	nrr	Marua Bai	68	m	M	07:21	185
tci20120904-02	*srak brüzsi*	nrr	Marua Bai	68	m	M	12:20	278
tci20120906	*gwfiyar*	prd, cvr	Sékri Karémbu Marua Bai	38 68	m m	M M	10:36	110 96
tci20120909-06	*masis*	nrr	Kaumb Bai	65	m	M	07:12	123
tci20120914	*frfr & kifikifi*	prd	Nakre Abia	28	f	M	04:27	66

text ID	title	genre	speaker/s	age	sex	sec	length (mm:ss)	records
tci20120922-08	*masu*	nrr	Daure Kaumb	38	m	M	06:12	122
tci20120922-09	*sfisam*	nrr	Daure Kaumb	38	m	M	02:41	48
tci20120922-19	*ymäd zfth*	nrr	Daure Kaumb	38	m	M	02:17	44
tci20120922-21	*safifok*	prd	Daure Kaumb	38	m	M	02:44	48
tci20120922-23	*nabi*	prd	Masen Abia	35	m	M	07:56	111
tci20120922-24	*mni*	nrr,	Masen Abia	35	m	M	09:12	90
		cvr	Steven Karémbu	28	m	M		39
tci20120922-25	*zuzi*	nrr	Alice Karo	38	f	S	04:12	56
tci20120922-23	*dagon dradr*	nrr	Moses Marua	50	m	M	11:38	30
		cvr	Marua Bai	68	m	M		64
			Daure Kaumb	38	m	M		145
tci20120924-01	*daru*	nrr	Trafe Kaumb	29	f	M	05:19	69
tci20120924-02	*zokwasi*	nrr	Abraham Maembu	45	m	S	02:53	47
tci20120929-02	*wath frmnzsi*	nrr	Sitau Karémbu	42	m	M	05:46	102
tci20121001	*wawa mnz*	prd	Abia Bai	60	m	M	12:13	222
tci20121008-03	*dobakwr*	nrr,	Moses Marua	50	m	M	04:13	28
		prd	Marua Bai	68	m	M		17
tci20121019-04	*se zokwasi*	pub	Abia Bai	60	m	M	27:40	267
			Sékri Karémbu	38	m	M		81
			Sitau Karémbu	42	m	M		51
tci20130822-08	*ŋarake znsä*	prd,	Janet Abia	26	f	M	05:15	55
		cvr	Lucy Abia	56	f	S		41
tci20130823-06	garden	cvr	Caspar Mokai	35	m	S	21:29	113
			Steven Karémbu	28	m	M		233
tci20130823-08	*fathasi*	nrr	Wafine Mokai	32	f	M	06:07	85
tci20130901-02	*bthan kabe*	cvr,	Yufai Karémbu	24	m	M	14:12	74
		nrr	Nakre Abia	28	f	M		175
			Mbai Karo	20	m	M		22
tci20130903-01	*kut*	prd	Maembu Kwozi	35	m	M	05:59	66
tci20130903-02	*kata*	nrr	Maembu Kwozi	35	m	M	01:30	27
tci20130903-03	*fiyaf trikasi*	nrr	Maembu Kwozi	35	m	M	09:24	193
tci20130903-04	*fenz yonasi*	nrr	Nakre Abia	28	f	M	07:16	150
tci20130907-03-01	plant walk	prd,	Nakre Abia	28	f	M	63:37	748
		cvr	Janet Abia	26	f	M		731
tci20130911-03	*mary*	nrr	Mabata Abraham	40	f	M	04:41	47
tci20130914-01	*ŋatr rziraksi*	prd	Kaumb Bai	65	m	M	03:01	49
tci20130923-01	*yem/kwras*	nrr	Alice Abia	34	f	M	04:17	72

text ID	title	genre	speaker/s	age	sex	sec	length (mm:ss)	records
tci20130927-06	old times	nrr,	Marua Bai	68	m	M	20:20	383
		cvr	Caspar Mokai	35	m	S		63
tci20131008-01	*tütü*	nrr	Kaumb Bai	65	m	M	03:23	49
tci20131013-01	*kwafar*	nrr	Abia Bai	60	m	M	25:00	516
tci20131013-02	*ausi bada*	nrr	Abia Bai	60	m	M	16:51	364
tci20131103-08	*se zokwasi*	pub	Ako Koko	55	m	S	14:58	214
tci20150906-01	*srak brüzsi*	nrr	Abia Bai	60	m	M	18:43	415
tci20150916-03	*nümgar*	nrr	Sékri Karémbu	38	m	M	09:50	140
			Nakre Abia	28	f	M		24
tci20150919-05	*ausi*	nrr,	Lucy Abia	56	f	S	18:40	375
		cvr	Sékri Karémbu	38	m	M		30
			Nakre Abia	28	f	M		20
TOTAL							10:36:54	12.246

[a] nrr = narrative, prd = procedural, cvr = conversation, pub = public speech, stt = stimulus task
[b] refers to the three sections: Mayawa, Sagara, Bagu
[c] refers to the number of ELAN annotations segments, which roughly approximates intonation units.

Chapter 2

Phonology

This chapter gives a preliminary account of the phonology of Komnzo. The chapter begins with a description of the segments (consonants in §2.1 and vowels in §2.2). Each section contains a list of minimal pairs which establish the phonemic status of the segments. As Komnzo phonology is characterized by epenthesis, a discussion of the non-phonemic status of schwa is given in §2.2.2. Regular phonological processes are described in §2.3. Komnzo phonotactics are dealt with in §2.4 where I describe the syllable structure (§2.4.1), consonant clusters (§2.4.2), syllabification (§2.4.3), minimal word constraints (§2.4.4) and stress (§2.4.5). Morphophonology is addressed in (§2.5). The chapter closes with a discussion of loanwords (§2.6).

2.1 Consonant phonemes

Table 2.1 gives an overview of the consonant phonemes in Komnzo. The corresponding graphemes are given in angled brackets.

Table 2.1 Consonant phoneme inventory

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
stop & affricate			t̪∼t <t>	ts <z>		k <k>	k^w <kw>
prenasalised stop & affricate	^{m}b <b>		^{n}d <d>	^{n}dz <nz>		^{ŋ}g <g>	$^{ŋ}g^w$ <gw>
fricative	ɸ <f>	ð <th>	s <s>				
nasal	m <m>		n <n>			ŋ <ŋ>	
lateral			r∼ɾ <r>				
semivowel					j <y>		w <w>

2.1.1 Obstruents

Obstruents in Komnzo are divided into stops, affricates and fricatives. The stops and affricates belong to a chain of pairings of oral and prenasalised phonemes at four places of articulation: alveolar, palato-alvealor, velar and labio-velar. The symmetry is broken at the bilabial place of articulation. The bilabial oral stop is lacking from the phoneme inventory. Since it occurs only in English loanwords and a handful of ideophones, I consider it a loan phoneme. As I will show below, the bilabial fricative /f/ can be regarded as the structural counterpart of the prenasalised bilabial stop.

In the following section, I will describe the oral stops and prenasalised stops, labialised-velar stops, affricates and fricatives.

2.1.1.1 Stops

There are two voiceless stops (/t/ and /k/) and three prenasalised stops (/b/, /d/, and /g/). The voiceless stops are slightly aspirated, but aspiration is not phonemic in Komnzo. The two labialised velar stops and the two affricates follow the same pairing of voiceless and prenasalised manner of articulation, but these will be discussed in separate sections below.

All stops occur in word-initial, medial, and final position. In only a small number of lexical items, the bilabial /b/ occurs word-finally. This phoneme is also deviant because it lacks a voiceless counterpart. There is evidence from loanword phonology (§2.6) and from surrounding Tonda languages that the bilabial fricative /f/ occupies the same structural slot in the opposition of voiceless and prenasalised stops.

There is almost no allophonic variation with the stop series, but the prenasalised stops are affected by final devoicing (§2.3.2). The /t/ phoneme varies between dental and alveolar points of articulation. In onset clusters where C_2 is /r/, /t/ is always alveolar. Elsewhere, it varies more or less freely.

/t/ →	[t] / $_{\sigma}$[_ɾ	*traksi*	[tɾakə̆sɪ]	'fall'
	[t]∼[t̪] / elsewhere	*tüf*	[tʏɸ] ∼ [t̪ʏɸ]	'soft ground'
		rata	[ɾata] ∼ [ɾat̪a]	'ladder'
		kwot	[kʷə̆t] ∼ [kʷə̆t̪]	'properly'
/k/ →	[k]	*kata*	[kata]	'bamboo knife'
		fokam	[ɸɔkam]	'grave'
		safak	[saβak]	'saratoga'

/b/ →	[ᵐp] / _]$_\sigma$	*gb*	[ᵑgə̆ᵐp]	'black palm'
	[ᵐb] / elsewhere	*bone*	[ᵐbɔne]	2SG.POSS
		gaba	[ᵑgaᵐba]	'eating yam'

/d/ →	[ⁿt] / _]$_\sigma$	*kd*	[kə̆ⁿt]	'star'
	[ⁿd] / elsewhere	*deya*	[ⁿdeja]	'tree wallaby'
		rdiknsi	[ɾə̆ⁿdikə̆nsi]	'tie around'

/g/ →	[ᵑk] / _]$_\sigma$	*nag*	[naᵑk]	'grass skirt'
	[ᵑg] / elsewhere	*gau*	[ᵑga͡u]	'Nakeen Night Heron'
		sagara	[saᵑgaɾa]	proper name

2.1.1.2 Labialised velar stops

The labialised velar stops /kw/ and /gw/ show no allophonic variation due to their restricted distribution. Both occur only in syllable onsets, not in the coda. Consequently, we do not find these phonemes in word final position.[1]

/kw/ →	[kʷ] / $_\sigma$[_	*kwan*	[kʷan]	'shout, voice'
		ysokwr	[jə̆sokʷə̆ɾ]	'rainy season'

/gw/ →	[ᵑgʷ] / $_\sigma$[_	*gwä*	[ᵑgʷæ]	'mosquito'
		fagwa	[ɸaᵑgʷa]	'width'

I will argue in favour of an analysis whereby the labialised velar stops are complex phonemes rather than a sequence of two phonemes (velar stop + high back vowel /u/ or velar stop + /w/). This argument is based on two lines of evidence: onset consonant clusters and reduplication patterns.

Onset clusters are restricted to two consonants (C_1C_2V). If clusters occur, C_2 may only be /r/ or /w/ (§2.4.3). For this argument, only the /r/ is relevant. We do find words in Komnzo which have an initial labialised velar stop (voiceless or prenasalised) in such a cluster, for example: *kwras* 'Brolga' or *gwra* 'MacCulloch's Rainbowfish'. If /kw/ and /gw/ were to be analysed as clusters of two

[1] In the neighbouring language Nama which belongs to the Nambu subgroup, labialised velar stops may occur in coda position, as in [aukʷ] 'morning'.

phonemes, a separate syllable template (CCCV) would be required.

We find full and partial reduplication in Komnzo (§4.2). Full reduplication involves repeating the whole word: *yam* 'footprint, custom, event' → *yam yam* 'little feast'. More commonly found is partial reduplication where only the first consonant of the initial syllable is copied: *zbär* 'night' → *zzbär* [tsə̆tsə̆ᵐbæɾ] 'dusk, twilight'. Note that the domain of partial reduplication does not extend further than the first consonant. Thus, we get *frasi* 'hunger' → *ffrasi* [ɸə̆ɸɾasi] 'appetite, hunger', but not **frfrasi* [ɸɾə̆ɸɾasi]. If the labialised velar stops comprise two separate phonemes, we would expect that in partial reduplication only the velar stop is copied without the semivowel. On the contrary, we find that the whole phoneme is copied as in *kwayan* 'light' → *kwkwayan* [kʷə̆kʷajan] ∼ [kukʷajan] 'flickering light, dimmed light', but not **kkwayan* [kə̆kʷajan].

2.1.1.3 Affricates

The two consonant phonemes with the highest frequency are the affricates (/z/ and /nz/) which seem to give Komnzo its characteristic fricative sound. Both affricates occur initially, medially and finally showing some allophonic variation. They are palatalized before front vowels as in *zi* [tʃɪː] 'pain' and *nzikaka* [ⁿdʒɪkaka] 'Whistling Kite'. In all other environments they are alveolar. There is some degree of variation between speakers. Some speakers always palatalize, while most speakers follow the allophonic rules as formalized below. The prenasalised affricate is affected by final devoicing (§2.3.2).

/z/ →	[tʃ] / _V$_{+\text{FRONT}}$	*zena*	[tʃena]	'now'
		ezi	[ʔetʃɪ]	'morning'
	[ts] / elsewhere	*zane*	[tsane]	DEM:PROX
		mazo	[matso]	'ocean'
		müz	[mʏˑts]	'phallocrypt'

/nz/ →	[ⁿdʒ] / _V$_{+\text{FRONT}}$	*nzigfu*	[ⁿdʒɪᵑgɸu]	'rain stone'
		snzä	[sə̆ⁿdʒæ]	'crayfish'
	[ⁿts] / _]$_\sigma$	*mnz*	[mə̆ⁿts]	'house'
	[ⁿdz] / elsewhere	*nzun*	[ⁿdzun]	1SG.DAT
		rnzam	[ɾə̆ⁿdzam]	'how many'

2.1.1.4 Fricatives

There are three fricatives at the bilabial, dental and alveolar places of articulation. The dental fricative is voiced while the other two are voiceless. Consequently, only the dental fricative is affected by final devoicing. The bilabial fricative has a voiced allophone which occurs intervocalically. Although voiced in most environments, the dental fricative is affected by final devoicing (§2.3.2). The alveolar fricative is always voiceless in all environments. These rules are formalized below.

/f/ →	[β] / V_V	*zafazafa*	[tsaβatsaβa]	'yam vine stick'
	[ɸ] / elsewhere	*fid*	[ɸɪⁿt]	'bushrope'
		zarfa	[tsaɾɸa]	'ear'
		karaf	[kaɾaɸ]	'paddle'

/th/ →	[θ] / _]$_\sigma$	*süsübäth*	[sʏsʏᵐbæθ]	'darkness'
	[ð] / elsewhere	*thamin*	[ðamin]	'tongue'
		ŋatha	[ŋaða]	'dog'

/s/ →	[s]	*saisai*	[sa͡ɪsa͡ɪ]	'drizzle (n)'
		fisor	[ɸɪsɔɾ]	'turtle'
		fis	[ɸɪˑs]	'husband'

2.1.2 Nasals

There are nasal stops at three places of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, and velar. These three show differences in their frequency and distribution. The velar nasel /ŋ/ occurs only word initially, while bilabial /m/ and alveolar /n/ are found initially, medially and finally. There is no allophonic variation with the nasals.

/m/ →	[m]	*mifum*	[mɪɸum]	'nose ornament'
		zimu	[tʃɪmu]	'snot'
		thm	[ðə̆m]	'nose'

/n/ →	[n]	*no*	[nɔː]	'water, rain'
		mane	[mane]	'who' (ABS)
		minmin	[mɪnmɪn]	'Emerald Dove'

/ŋ/ →	[ŋ] / WORD[_	*ŋazi*	[ŋadʒi]	'coconut'

2.1.3 Trill, tap - /r/

The alveolar trill /r/ is often realised as a single tap [ɾ] depending on speech rate and speaker.

In onset consonant clusters where /r/ is occupying C_2 position, it is always tapped. Elsewhere the trill and the tap are in free variation.

Word finally /r/ may also become voiceless. This variation between [ɾ] and [ɾ̥] seems to be conditioned by age. Older speakers use the voiceless variant more frequently.

/r/ →	[ɾ]∼[ɾ̥] / _]$_{\text{WORD}}$	*msar*	[mə̆saɾ] ∼ [mə̆saɾ̥]	'green ant'
	[ɾ] / $_\sigma$[C_	*frasi*	[ɸɾasi]	'hunger'
	[r]∼[ɾ] / elsewhere	*rnz*	[rə̆^{n}ts] ∼ [ɾə̆^{n}ts]	'ember'
		ŋare	[ŋare] ∼ [ŋaɾe]	'properly'

2.1.4 Approximants

The two approximants /w/ and /y/ occur in initial, medial and final position. In final position, they may be realised as a short offglide or become part of a diphthong. For both approximants, but especially for the palatal /y/, we find only a handful of lexical items where they do occur word finally.

/w/ →	[_u͡]∼[_^{w}] / V_]$_\sigma$	*daw*	[^{n}da͡u] ∼ [^{n}da^{w}]	'garden'
	[w] / elsewhere	*wm*	[wə̆m]	'stone, gravel'
		fewa	[ɸewa]	'odour, stench'

/y/ →	[_ɪ͡]∼[_^{j}] / V_]$_\sigma$	*fäy*	[ɸæ͡ɪ] ∼ [ɸæ^{j}]	'payment'
	[j] / elsewhere	*yusi*	[jusi]	'grass'
		nzöyar	[^{n}dʒœjaɾ]	'Fawn-breasted Bowerbird'

There are a number of reasons why the two approximants are analysed as consonants rather than high vowels which alternate according to their environment. Evidence comes from case allomorphy and phonotactics. In stem final position /w/ and /y/ select the same allomorph of the locative case as other consonants. This can be seen in the word *daw* [^{n}da͡u] ∼ [^{n}da^{w}] 'garden' which selects *-en* as its locative case marker, thus forming *dawen* [^{n}dawen] 'in the garden'. Words which

end in a vowel select the *-n* allomorph of the locative case. Furthermore, the rules of syllabification (§2.4.3) treat these two phonemes like consonants. Thus, we find examples like *ys* [jĭs] 'thorn' and *ky* [kə̆ʲ] 'yam type' where epenthesis occurs after or before /w/ and /y/ respectively.

2.1.5 Minimal pairs for Komnzo consonants

The following minimal pairs and near minimal pairs illustrate the phonemic contrast between consonants in initial, medial and final position.

Table 2.2 Minimal pairs of consonant phonemes

SEGMENTS	WORD	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC	ENGLISH
/kw/ - /k/	*kwafar*	/kwa.far/	[kʷaβaɾ]	place name
	kafar	/ka.far/	[kaβaɾ]	'big'
	sakwr	/sa.kwr/	[sakʷə̆ɾ]	's/he hit him'
	sakr	/sa.kr/	[sakə̆ɾ]	'mustard vine'
	kwath	/kwath/	[kʷaθ]	'Torresian Crow'
	kath	/kath/	[kaθ]	'ankle'
/gw/ - /g/	*gwra*	/gwra/	[ŋgʷraː]	'Macculloch's Rainbowfish'
	gra	/gra/	[ŋgraː]	'type of tree'
/kw/ - /w/	*kwath*	/kwath/	[kʷaθ]	'Torresian Crow'
	wath	/wath/	[waθ]	'dance (n)'
	kwf	/kwf/	[kʷə̆ɸ]	'stone disc club'
	wf	/wf/	[wə̆ɸ]	'shirt, blouse'
/gw/ - /w/	*gwth*	/gwth/	[ᵑgwə̆θ]	'nest'
	wth	/wth/	[wə̆θ]	'faeces'
/k/ - /w/	*kath*	/kath/	[kaθ]	'ankle'
	wath	/wath/	[waθ]	'dance (n)'
/f/ - /w/	*far*	/far/	[ɸar]	'housepost'
	war	/war/	[war]	'top layer'
	kafar	/ka.far/	[kaβar]	'big'
	kawar	/ka.war/	[kawar]	'personal name'
	zafe	/za.fe/	[tsaβe]	'old'
	zawe	/za.we/	[tsawe]	'right (side), talent'

SEGMENTS	WORD	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC	ENGLISH
	tfitfi	/t.fi.t.fi/	[tə̆βi tə̆βi]	'whirlwind'
	twitwi	/t.wi.t.wi/	[tə̆wi tə̆wi]	'Grey-crowned Babbler'
/s/ - /t/	*süfr*	/sü.fr/	[sʏɸə̆r]	'tree type'
	tüfr	/tü.fr/	[tʏɸə̆r]	'many'
	kisr	/ki.sr/	[kisə̆r]	'lizard type'
	kitr	/ki.tr/	[kitə̆r]	'river pandanus'
	wsws	/ws.ws/	[wə̆swə̆s]	'grass type'
	wtwt	/wt.wt/	[wə̆twə̆t]	'itchy'
/s/ - /th/	*sirsir*	/sir.sir/	[sirsir]	'Feathertail Glider'
	thirthir	/thir.thir/	[ðirðir]	'pig tusk'
	bis	/bis/	[^{m}biˑs]	'Azure Kingfisher'
	bith	/bith/	[^{m}biˑθ]	'honey bee, honey'
	mus	/mus/	[muˑs]	'leech'
	muth	/muth/	[muˑθ]	'(sago) grub'
/s/ - /z/	*si*	/si/	[siː]	'eye'
	zi	/zi/	[tʃiː]	'pain'
	srminz	/sr.minz/	[sə̆rmints]	'rainbow'
	zrminz	/zr.minz/	[tsə̆rmints]	'roots'
	ksi kar	/k.si kar/	[kə̆si kar]	'bushland, savannah'
	kzi	/k.zi/	[kə̆tsi]	'barktray'
	fs	/fs/	[ɸə̆s]	'Greenback Gudgeon'
	fz	/fz/	[ɸə̆ts]	'forest'
/th/ - /t/	*thruthru*	/thru.thru/	[ðruðru]	'bamboo type'
	trutru	/tru.tru/	[trutru]	'stream of liquid'
	füth	/füth/	[ɸʏθ]	'rotten tuber'
	füt	/füt/	[ɸʏt]	'pouch of a marsupial'

SEGMENTS	WORD	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC	ENGLISH
/th/ - /r/	*thusi*	/thu.si/	[ðusi]	‘fold (v.t.)’
	rusi	/ru.si/	[ɾusi]	‘shoot (v.t.)’
	bthan	/b.than/	[ᵐbəðan]	‘magic’
	bran	/b.ran/	[ᵐbəɾan]	‘line of hunters’
	yathizsi	/ya.thi.z.si/	[jaðitsəsi]	‘die’
	yarizsi	/ya.ri.z.si/	[jaɾitsəsi]	‘hear, listen’
	zithzith	/zith.zith/	[tsiθtsiθ]	‘slickness’
	zirzir	/zir.zir/	[tsiɾtsiɾ]	‘wetness’
	wath	/wath/	[waθ]	‘dance (n)’
	war	/war/	[waɾ]	‘top layer’
/r/ - /t/	*rar*	/rar/	[ɾaɾ]	‘for what’
	tar	/tar/	[taɾ]	‘friend’
	ŋarr	/ŋa.rr/	[ŋaɾəɾ]	‘bandicoot’
	ŋatr	/ŋa.tr/	[ŋatəɾ]	‘rope’
	ft	/ft/	[ɸət]	‘dead tree’
	fr	/fr/	[ɸəɾ]	‘palm stem’
/r/ - /z/	*rinaksi*	/ri.na.k.si/	[ɾinakəsi]	‘pour’
	zinaksi	/zi.na.k.si/	[tʃinakəsi]	‘put down s.o.’
	wari	/wa.ri/	[waɾi]	‘Erythrina variegata’
	wazi	/wa.zi/	[watʃi]	‘side’
	mür	/mür/	[mʏɾ]	‘grass type’
	müz	/müz/	[mʏts]	‘phallocrypt’
/b/ - /m/	*bith*	/bith/	[ᵐbiθ]	‘honey bee’
	mith	/mith/	[miθ]	‘face’
	bä	/bä/	[ᵐbæː]	2.ABS
	mä	/mä/	[mæː]	‘where’
	züb	/züb/	[tʃʏᵐb]	‘depth’
	züm	/züm/	[tʃʏm]	‘centipede’
/d/ - /n/	*dasi*	/da.si/	[ⁿdasi]	‘bulge’
	nasi	/na.si/	[nasi]	‘long yam’

SEGMENTS	WORD	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC	ENGLISH
	badabada	/ba.da.ba.da/	[^{m}ba^{n}da^{m}ba^{n}da]	‘ancestor’
	bana	/ba.na/	[^{m}bana]	‘pitiful’
	kd	/kd/	[kə̆nt]	‘star’
	kn	/kn/	[kə̆n]	‘yam type’
/g/ - /ŋ/	*gathagatha*	/ga.tha.ga.tha/	[ŋgaðaŋgaða]	‘bad’
	ŋathaŋatha	/ŋa.tha.ŋa.tha/	[ŋaðaŋaða]	‘Bronze Quoll’
	game	/ga.me/	[^{ŋ}game]	‘bamboo turner’
	ŋame	/ŋa.me/	[ŋame]	‘mother’
/m/ - /n/	*mä*	/mä/	[mæ]	‘where’
	nä	/nä/	[næ]	‘some’
	mawan	/ma.wan/	[mawan]	‘palm tree type’
	nawan	/na.wan/	[nawan]	‘waterhole’
/nz/ - /d/	*nzga*	/nz.ga/	[^{n}dzə̆^{ŋ}ga]	‘vagina’
	dga	/d.ga/	[^{n}də̆^{ŋ}ga]	‘gills’
	ŋanz	/ŋanz/	[ŋa^{n}ts]	‘planting section’
	ŋad	/ŋad/	[ŋa^{n}t]	‘rope’
	ymnz	/y.mnz/	[jə̆mə̆^{n}ts]	place name
	ymd	/y.md/	[jə̆mə̆^{n}t]	‘bird’
/nz/ - /n/	*nzä*	/nzä/	[^{n}dʒæː]	1SG.ABS
	nä	/nä/	[næː]	‘some’
	gonz	/gonz/	[^{ŋ}gɔnts]	‘place name’
	gon	/gon/	[^{ŋ}gɔn]	‘water lily’
/b/ - /f/	*bä*	/bä/	[^{m}bæː]	2.ABS, MED
	fä	/fä/	[ɸæː]	DIST
	bira	/bi.ra/	[^{m}biɾa]	‘axe’
	fira	/fi.ra/	[ɸiɾa]	‘betelnut’
	bis	/bis/	[^{m}biˑs]	‘Azure Kingfisher’
	fis	/fis/	[ɸiˑs]	‘husband’
/d/ - /t/	*düfr*	/dü.fr/	[^{n}dʏɸə̆ɾ]	‘headdress’
	tüfr	/tü.fr/	[tʏɸə̆ɾ]	‘plenty’

SEGMENTS	WORD	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC	ENGLISH
	drari	/dra.ri/	[ⁿdɾaɾi]	‘container’
	trari	/tra.ri/	[tɾaɾi]	‘strong man’
	kadakada	/ka.da.ka.da/	[kaⁿdakaⁿda]	‘yamcake’
	katakata	/ka.ta.ka.ta/	[katakata]	‘grass type’
	sd	/sd/	[sə̆ⁿt]	‘yam type’
	st	/st/	[sə̆t]	‘Melicope elleryana’
/nz/ - /z/	*nzä*	/nzä/	[ⁿdʒæː]	1SG.ABS
	zä	/zä/	[tʃæː]	PROX
	nzanza	/nza.nza/	[ⁿdzaⁿdza]	‘insect type’
	zaza	/za.za/	[tsatsa]	‘method of carrying’
	nzr	/nzr/	[ⁿdzə̆ɾ]	‘rest of a liquid’
	zr	/zr/	[tsə̆ɾ]	‘tooth’
	rbänzsi	/r.bä.nz.si/	[ɾə̆ᵐbæⁿdzə̆si]	‘prohibit’
	rbäzsi	/r.bä.z.si/	[ɾə̆ᵐbætsə̆si]	‘untie’
/g/ - /k/	*gd*	/gd/	[ᵑgə̆ⁿt]	‘mud’
	kd	/kd/	[kə̆ⁿt]	‘star’
	kafar	/ka.far/	[kaβaɾ]	‘big’
	gafar	/ga.far/	[ᵑgaβaɾ]	‘Spoon-snouted Catfish’
	gursi	/gur.si/	[ᵑguɾsi]	‘break off’
	kursi	/kur.si/	[kuɾsi]	‘split’
	tag	/tag/	[taᵑk]	‘type of bee’
	tak	/tak/	[tak]	‘pandanus type’
	srag	/srag/	[sɾaᵑk]	‘personal name’
	srak	/srak/	[sɾak]	‘boy’
/w/ - /y/	*yarsi*	/yar.si/	[jaɾsi]	‘tired’
	warsi	/war.si/	[waɾsi]	‘chew’
	yf	/yf/	[jə̆ɸ]	‘name’
	wf	/wf/	[wə̆ɸ]	‘shirt,blouse’

SEGMENTS	WORD	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC	ENGLISH
	yttünzr	/yt.tü.nzr/	[jə̆ttʏⁿdzə̆ɾ]	's/he paints him'
	wttünzr	/wt.tü.nzr/	[wə̆ttʏⁿdzə̆ɾ]	's/he paints her'
	fäw	/fäw/	[ɸæ͡u]	'arrow shaft'
	fäy	/fäy/	[ɸæ͡i]	'payment'

2.2 Vowel phonemes

Table 2.3 and Figure 2.1 below give an overview of the vowel phonemes. Komnzo vowels divide the vowel space into four levels of height (high, mid, mid-low, and low) and draw a distinction between front and back vowels. Additionally, for front vowels, there is a phonemic distinction between rounded and unrounded vowels. In Figure 2.1 IPA symbols are employed, whereas Table 2.3 lists the corresponding graphemes. Note that I include the epenthetic schwa in parentheses. This is because there is some evidence that schwa constitutes an marginal phoneme word-finally. That being said, in all other occurences it is created by epenthesis (§2.2.2).

Figure 2.1 Komnzo vowel space

Table 2.3 Vowel phoneme inventory

	front		central	back
	unrounded	rounded		
high	i	ü		u
mid	e	ö	(é)	o
mid-low	ä			
low			a	

Nasal vowels are rather marginal in Komnzo. There are only two words in which we find a nasal vowel. These are the conjunction *a* [ʔãː] 'and' and *o* [ʔõː] 'or' . Both have a second, much rarer variant with an initial velar nasal *ŋa* [ŋaː] and *ŋo* [ŋɔː]. This suggests that nasalization of the vowel is caused by the loss of the preceding velar nasal. Nasalization is not phonemic in Komnzo.

There are no diphthongs in Komnzo. All diphthongs which occur on a phonetic level end in high offglides. These are analysed as allophones of the two approximants /w/ and /y/ in coda position (§2.1.4). In practical orthography these are sometimes represented as diphthongs, e.g. <ai> or <au>.[2] Two words which exemplify this are *saisai* /say.say/ 'drizzle' and *kaukau* /kaw.kaw/ 'Mouth Almighty'.

2.2.1 Phonetic description and allophonic distribution of vowels

There is free variation between the following allophones, that is respectively of /i/, /ü/, /u/, /e/, /ö/, /o/, and /a/:

Table 2.4 Vowel allophones

phoneme	description	allophones
/i/	high front unrounded vowel	→ [i]∼[ɪ]
/ü/	high front rounded vowel	→ [y]∼[ʏ]
/u/	high back rounded vowel	→ [u]∼[ʊ]
/e/	mid front unrounded vowel	→ [e]∼[ɛ]
/ö/	mid front rounded vowel	→ [ø]∼[œ]
/o/	mid back rounded vowel	→ [o]∼[ɔ]
/a/	low central unrounded vowel	→ [ɐ]∼[a]
/ä/	low front unrounded vowel	→ [æ]

There is no phonemic contrast between short and long vowels. However, vowels tend to be longer in monosyllabic roots, especially if the monosyllable is light/open, e.g. *nzä* [ⁿdʒæː] 'I'. This process of vowel lengthening is caused by minimal word conditions in combination with syllable weight as will be described in §2.4.1 and §2.4.4.

2.2.1.1 Allophones of /o/

There is further allophonic variation for /o/ which is related to vowel lengthening. In heavy, closed syllables, /o/ is realised as a short, centralized, rounded vowel [ɞ̆], whereas in light, open syllables it is realised as a mid back rounded vowel of normal length [ɔ]. Two words which show this allophonic variation are the language name *Komnzo* /kom.nzo/ [kɞ̆mⁿdzɔ] and *komon* /ko.mon/ [kɔmɞ̆n] 'maybe'. We find the two allophones [ɞ̆] and [ɔ] conditioned by syllable weight in the syllables of the two words respectively. There are two rules which may override this allophonic distribution. The first is a minimal word constraint which produces [ɔ] even in closed syllables if the root is monosyllabic (Compare §2.4.4

[2]This is an individual decision based on the speakers' preferences.

below). The second rule overrides syllable weight and the impact of the minimal word constraint. After the labio-velar approximant (/w/) and the two labialised-velar stops (/kw/ and /gw/) /o/ is always realised as short, centralized, rounded vowel [ɞ̆]. Leaving the influences of the minimal word constraint to §2.4.4, we can formalize these observations in the following rule:

/o/ →	[ɞ̆] / _C]$_\sigma$	*emoth*	/e.moth/	[ʔeːmɞ̆θ]	'girl'
		ymorymor	/y.mor.y.mor/	[jə̆mɞ̆ɾjə̆mɞ̆ɾ]	'desire'
		thomgsi	/thom.g.si/	[ðɞ̆mᵑgə̆si]	'help'
	[ɔ] / _]$_\sigma$	*nibo*	/ni.bo/	[niᵐbɔ]	'six'
		dokre	/do.kre/	[ⁿdɔkɾe]	'frog'
	[ɞ̆] / C$_{+\text{labio-velar}}$_	*kwosi*	/kwo.si/	[kʷɞ̆si]	'dead'
		woku	/wo.ku/	[wɞ̆ku]	'skin'

There are some irregularities with these rules when it comes to other bilabial consonants, like /f/. There is *fofot* [ɸɔɸɞ̆t] 'single child' which follows the rule, but there are a handful of words which do not follow the rule, like: *fothr* [ɸɞ̆ðə̆r] 'eucalyptus type' or *foku foku* [ɸɞ̆kuɸɞ̆ku] 'small patch of vegetation'.

2.2.1.2 Analytic problems with /ö/

The vowel /ö/ [œ] poses a problem because there are no minimal pairs between /ö/ and some of its immediate neighbours (/e/, /o/, /ä/) in the corpus. There are minimal pairs between /ö/ and /i/, /ü/, /u/, /a/. The lack of minimal pairs with the former group along with the vowel harmony morphonemic rules described in §2.5.1 invites an analysis in which /ö/ is a variant of other phonemes, for example: a rounded allophone of /e/ or a fronted allophone of /o/. However, no conditioning environment (e.g. vowel harmony or quality of adjacent consonants) can be established. The main problem lies in the fact, that occurences of /ö/ are much rarer than all other vowels.[3] For the current description, /ö/ is set up as an independent vowel phoneme. Further research will have to settle this question.

2.2.2 The non-phonemic status of schwa

The most frequent vowel in Komnzo is a short schwa [ə̆]. I will argue here that this is not a phoneme, but that it is inserted through epenthesis in order to create a syllable nucleus where there is none underlyingly. That being said, I will make an argument at the end of this section, that schwa can be analysed as a marginal

[3] Amongst the 1700 entries in the dictionary, only 30 contain /ö/. Compare this number with 730 for /a/. This is a conservative count in which singletons and reduplicates as well as simple forms and compounds are only counted once.

or emerging phoneme in word final context. The rules of epenthesis will be layed out in §2.4.3.

Epenthetic vowels are known from many Papuan languages. The best documented case is certainly Kalam (Biggs 1963, Pawley 1966, and Blevins & Pawley 2010), but epenthetic vowels have been described for other languages of the Yam family, e.g. Nen (Evans and Miller, forthcoming). In Komnzo, the main arguments for schwa as an epenthetic vowel rather than a phoneme come from syllabicity alternations, the predictability of schwa and its restricted distribution.

Syllabicity alternations which cause changes in the place of schwa insertion are influenced by affixation. Two examples are the verb *ttüsi* [tətʏsi] 'print, paint' and the noun *fzenz* [ɸətʃe^{n}ts] 'wife'. In both stems schwa occurs in the first syllable. When we inflect the verb with an undergoer prefix, the first consonant is syllabified as a coda and schwa needs to be inserted in a different position: *yttünzr* [jəttʏ^{n}dzər] 's/he paints him'. When we add a possessive prefix to *fzenz*, e.g.: *bufzenz* [^{m}buɸtʃe^{n}ts] 'your wife', again the first consonant of the stem becomes a coda. In this case schwa disappears entirely because the possessive prefix ends in a vowel. It follows that schwa cannot be present at the underlying representation of these two lexemes.

Schwa has a very restricted distribution compared to specified vowels. It does not occur word initially and it is very limited word finally. I will show below that word-final schwas should be analysed as a marginal phoneme. Elsewhere schwa is entirely predictable and therefore not represented in the orthography of Komnzo. The rules of schwa insertion are discussed as part of syllabification and possible consonant clusters (§2.4.3). There are many roots in Komnzo which lack specified vowels altogether.[4] A few examples are: *mnz* [mə^{n}ts] 'house', *zfth* [tsəɸəθ] 'base, reason', and *ggrb* [^{ŋ}gə^{ŋ}gərə^{m}p] 'small, unripe coconut'. The quality of the epenthetic vowel shows only little variation. In almost all enviroments it is realised as a mid central vowel of very short duration [ə]. However, there is one exception. If the epenthetic vowel is inserted preceding the two approximants /y/ and /w/ it is realised as a high front or high back vowel respectively, as in: *nyak* [nĭjak] 'we go' and *thwak* [ðŭwak] 'shoulder'.

There is one caveat to the analysis of schwa as epenthetic. It cannot be predicted in word-final context. Although word-final schwa is very rare in terms of types, it cannot be dismissed as the abberant behaviour of a few lexical items. This is because it is not rare at all in terms of tokens. For example, word-final schwa shows up in the verb morphology (1SG *-é*), case marking (ERG.NSG *=é*) and in the adjectivaliser *-thé*. The latter could be historically related to the

[4]Among 1700 entries in the dictionary, we find 105 without specified vowels. The number of entries in which the epenthetic vowel occurs together with specified vowels is much higher.

similative case marker (=*thatha*). For the first singular suffix on verbs, I argue in §5.5.1.1, that this is the result of vowel reduction (a>ə), because neighbouring varieties have a corresponding -*a* suffix. Moreover, the first person suffix -*é* disappears if other suffixal material is added to the verb. This is also found with some of the lexical items. For example, if *kayé* 'yesterday' is marked with a temporal possessive case (=*thamane*), word-final schwa disappears: *kaythamane dagon* 'yesterday's food'. This does not happen with full vowels, e.g. *ezithamane dagon* 'food from the morning' from *ezi* 'morning'. Thus, I analyse schwa in word-final contexts as a marginal phoneme, which emerged or is emerging from vowel reduction. In these word-final cases schwa is represented orthographically by <*é*>.

2.2.3 Minimal pairs for Komnzo vowels

The following minimal pairs and near minimal pairs illustrate the phonemic contrasts between vowels. Each vowel phoneme is set apart from its immediate neighbours in the vowel space. Each vowel phoneme is contrasted with the epenthetic vowel, i.e. the absence of a specified vowel (∅). Some combinations are redundant (e.g.: /i/ - /e/ and /e/ - /i/) and not repeated in the table.

Table 2.5 Minimal pairs of vowels phonemes

PHONEME PAIR	WORD	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC	ENGLISH
/i/ - /u/	*mith*	/mith/	[mɪˑθ]	'face'
	muth	/muth/	[muˑθ]	'(sago) grub'
	grigri	/gri.gri/	[ᵑgɾɪᵑgɾɪ]	'maggots'
	gru	/gru/	[ᵑgɾuː]	'shooting star'
/i/ - /ü/	*minzaksi*	/mi.nza.k.si/	[miⁿdzakə̆si]	'paint (vt.)'
	münzaksi	/mü.nza.k.si/	[mʏⁿdzakə̆si]	'allow'
	di	/di/	[ⁿdiː]	'back of the head'
	düdü	/dü.dü/	[ⁿdʏⁿdʏ]	'in good condition'
/i/ - /e/	*si*	/si/	[siː]	'eye'
	se	/se/	[seː]	'bark torch'
	bi	/bi/	[ᵐbiː]	'sago'
	be	/be/	[ᵐbeː]	2SG.ERG
/i/ - /ö/	*di*	/di/	[ⁿdiː]	'back of the head'
	dö	/dö/	[ⁿdœː]	'monitor lizard'

PHONEME PAIR	WORD	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC	ENGLISH
/i/ - ∅	*biribiri*	/bi.ri.bi.ri/	[ᵐbiɾiᵐbiɾi]	'plant type'
	bribri	/b.ri.b.ri/	[ᵐbə̆ɾiᵐbə̆ɾi]	'weeding'
	with	/with/	[wiθ]	'banana'
	wth	/wth/	[wə̆θ]	'faeces'
	fis	/fis/	[ɸis]	'husband'
	fs	/fs/	[ɸə̆s]	'Greenback Gudgeon'
/u/ - /i/	see above /i/ - /u/			
/u/ - /ü/	*futhfuth*	/futh.futh/	[ɸuθɸuθ]	'scrapes'
	füthfüth	/füth.füth/	[ɸʏθɸʏθ]	'newly hatched bird'
	but	/but/	[ᵐbut]	'kava sticks for planting'
	büt	/büt/	[ᵐbʏt]	'amputatec limb'
	rusi	/ru.si/	[ɾusi]	'shoot (vt.)'
	rüsi	/rü.si/	[ɾʏsi]	'rain (v.)'
/u/ - /o/	*muramura*	/mu.ra.mu.ra/	[muɾamuɾa]	'medicine'
	moramora	/mo.ra.mo.ra/	[mɔɾamɔɾa]	'tree type'
	muth	/muth/	[muθ]	'(sago) grub'
	moth	/moth/	[mə̆θ]	'path'
	tru	/tru/	[tɾuː]	'palm type'
	tro	/tro/	[tɾɔː]	'python type'
/u/ - ∅	*kursi*	/kur.si/	[kuɾsi]	'split (vt.)'
	krsi	/kr.si/	[kə̆rsi]	'block (vt.)'
	kut	/kut/	[kut]	'trap'
	kt	/kt/	[kə̆t]	'grass type'
	fuk	/fuk/	[ɸuk]	'in a group'
	fk	/fk/	[ɸə̆k]	'buttocks'
/ü/ - /i/	see above /i/ - /ü/			
/ü/ - /u/	see above /u/ - /ü/			
/ü/ - /e/	*fünz*	/fünz/	[ɸʏⁿts]	'arm muscles'
	fenz	/fenz/	[ɸeⁿts]	'dead body liquid'

PHONEME PAIR	WORD	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC	ENGLISH
/ü/ - /ö/	*nümä*	/nü.mä/	[nʏmæ]	'a week from now'
	nömä	/nö.mä/	[nœmæ]	'type of yamcake'
	düdü	/dü.dü/	[ⁿdʏⁿdʏ]	'in good condition'
	dödö	/dö.dö/	[ⁿdœⁿdœ]	'plant type'
/ü/ - ∅	*sün*	/sün/	[sʏn]	'dirt, dust'
	sn	/sn/	[sə̆n]	'yam type'
	tüfr	/tü.fr/	[tʏɸə̆ɾ]	'plenty'
	tfrtfr	/t.fr.t.fr/	[tə̆ɸə̆ɾtə̆ɸə̆ɾ]	'tree type'
/e/ - /i/	see above /i/ - /e/			
/e/ - /ü/	see above /ü/ - /e/			
/e/ - /ö/	not attested			
/e/ - /o/	*fethaksi*	/fe.tha.k.si/	[ɸeðakə̆si]	'dip in'
	fothaksi	/fo.tha.k.si/	[ɸɔðakə̆si]	'take off (bag)'
	game	/ga.me/	[ᵑgame]	'bamboo turner'
	gamo	/ga.mo/	[ᵑgamɔ]	'magic spell'
/e/ - /a/	*yem*	/yem/	[jem]	'cassowary'
	yam	/yam/	[jam]	'louse, footprint, event'
	fetr	/fe.tr/	[ɸetə̆ɾ]	'dangerous'
	fatr	/fa.tr/	[ɸatə̆ɾ]	'upper arm, shoulder'
	gwra	/gwra/	[ᵑgʷraː]	'Macculloch's Rainbow-fish'
	gwre	/gwre/	[ᵑgʷreː]	'Yellow-faced Myna'
/e/ - /ä/	*erbänzé*	/e.r.bä.nzé/	[ʔeɾə̆ᵐbæⁿtsə̆]	'I untie them'
	ärbänzé	/ä.r.bä.nzé/	[ʔæɾə̆ᵐbæⁿtsə̆]	'I untie sth. for them'
	fenz	/fenz/	[ɸeⁿts]	'dead body liquid'
	fänz	/fenz/	[ɸæⁿts]	'proper name'
	nze	/nze/	[ⁿdʒeː]	1SG.ERG
	nzä	/nzä/	[ⁿdʒæː]	1SG.ABS
/e/ - ∅	*menz*	/menz/	[meⁿts]	'story man'
	mnz	/mnz/	[mə̆ⁿts]	'house'

PHONEME PAIR	WORD	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC	ENGLISH
	fethaksi	/fe.tha.k.si/	[ɸeðakə̆si]	'dip in'
	fthaksi	/f.tha.k.si/	[ɸə̆ðakə̆si]	'take out of fire'
	ŋakwire	/ŋa.kwi.re/	[ŋak^{w}iɾe]	'we run'
	ŋakwiré	/ŋa.kwi.ré/	[ŋak^{w}iɾə̆]	'I run'
/ä/ - /e/	see above /e/ - /ä/			
/ä/ - /a/	*näbi*	/nä.bi/	[næ^{m}bi]	'one'
	nabi	/na.bi/	[na^{m}bi]	'bow, bamboo'
	fätr	/fä.tr/	[ɸætə̆ɾ]	'left'
	fatr	/fa.tr/	[ɸatə̆ɾ]	'upper arm, shoulder'
	mafä	/ma.fä/	[maɸæ]	'with whom' (ASSOC.PL)
	mafa	/ma.fa/	[maɸa]	'who' (ERG)
/ä/ - /ö/	not attested			
/ä/ - /o/	*bärbär*	/bär.bär/	[^{m}bæɾ^{m}bæɾ]	'half'
	bor	/bor/	[^{m}bə̆ɾ]	'rat'
	nä	/nä/	[næː]	'some'
	no	/no/	[nɔː]	'water, rain'
/ä/ - ∅	*fäk*	/fäk/	[ɸæk]	'jaw'
	fk	/fk/	[ɸæk]	'buttocks'
	märmär	/mär.mär/	[mæɾmæɾ]	'slope, hill'
	mrmr	/mr.mr/	[mə̆ɾmə̆ɾ]	'inside'
	bnä	/b.nä/	[^{m}bə̆næ]	'with you' (2PL.ASSOC)
	bné	/b.né/	[^{m}bə̆nə̆]	2NSG.ERG
/a/ - /ä/	see above /ä/ - /a/			
/a/ - /e/	see above /e/ - /a/			
/a/ - /ö/	*namä*	/na.mä/	[namæ]	'good'
	nömä	/nö.mä/	[nœmæ]	'type of yamcake'
/a/ - /o/	*zan*	/zan/	[tsan]	'fight'
	zon	/zon/	[tsɔn]	'plant type'

PHONEME PAIR	WORD	PHONEMIC	PHONETIC	ENGLISH
	karfa	/kar.fa/	[kaɾɸa]	'from the village'
	karfo	/kar.fo/	[kaɾɸɔ]	'to the village'
	far	/far/	[ɸaɾ]	'house post'
	for	/for/	[ɸɞɾ]	'riverbank'
/a/ - ∅	*ngath*	/n.gath/	[nə̆ᵑgaθ]	'close friend'
	ngth	/n.gth/	[nə̆ᵑgə̆θ]	'younger sibling'
	tharthar	/thar.thar/	[ðaɾðaɾ]	'next to'
	thrthr	/thr.thr/	[ðə̆ɾðə̆ɾ]	'intestines'
	mar	/mar/	[maɾ]	'pandanus type'
	mr	/mr/	[mə̆ɾ]	'brain'
	sakwra	/sa.kw.ra/	[sakʷə̆ɾa]	'I hit him' (PST)
	sakwré	/sa.kw.ré/	[sakʷə̆ɾə̆]	'I hit him' (RPST)
/o/ - /e/	see above /e/ - /o/			
/o/ - /ö/	not attested			
/o/ - /a/	see above /a/ - /o/			
/o/ - /ä/	see above /ä/ - /o/			
/o/ - /u/	see above /u/ - /o/			
/o/ - ∅	*borsi*	/bor.si/	[ᵐbɞ̆ɾsi]	'laugh,play'
	brsi	/br.si/	[ᵐbə̆ɾsi]	'scoop water'
	fothaksi	/fo.tha.k.si/	[ɸɔðakə̆si]	'take off (bag)'
	fthaksi	/f.tha.k.si/	[ɸə̆ðakə̆si]	'take out of fire'
	rgosi	/r.go.si/	[ɾə̆ᵑgɔsi]	'poke through'
	rgsi	/r.g.si/	[ɾə̆ᵑgə̆si]	'wear clothes'
	monz	/monz/	[mɔⁿts]	'trench, ditch'
	mnz	/mnz/	[mə̆ⁿts]	'house'
	nzigom	/nzi.gom/	[ⁿdʒiᵑgɞ̆m]	'chain smoker'
	nzigm	/nzi.gm/	[ⁿdʒiᵑgə̆m]	'stickyness'

2.3 Regular phonological processes

2.3.1 Gemination

Gemination occurs with a subset of the consonantal phonemes (/t/, /k/, /f/, /th/, /m/, /n/, and /r/). We find geminates in medial, heterosyllabic consonant clusters where the rules of syllabification (§2.4.3) specify that no epenthetic vowel needs to be inserted. Phonetically, geminates are characterized by a prolonged realization of fricatives, nasals, and alveolar trill. Geminate stops are realised with a delayed release of the airflow. Although gemination is caused by affixation in most cases, I discuss the topic here rather than as a morphophonemic rule because we also find monomorphemic roots with geminates. The examples in Table 2.6 provide some attested examples from the corpus. In some example, we find minimal pairs based on gemination as can be seen in the rightmost column.

Table 2.6 Geminate consonants

PHONEME	GEMINATE	NON-GEMINATE
/t/	*yttünzr* 's/he paints him'	n/a
/k/	*yakkarä* 'quickly' yak=karä walk=PROP	*yakarä* 'in tears' ya=karä cry=PROP
/m/	*yamme* 'through this event' yam=me event=INS	*yame* 'mat'
	fammäre 'without thinking' fam=märe thoughts=PRIV	n/a
/n/	*yannor* 'he shouts this way' ya-n-nor 3SG.MASC-VENIT-shout	*yanor* 'he shouts' ya-nor 3SG.MASC-shout
/f/	*fiyaffa* 'from the hunt' fiyaf=fa hunt=ABL	n/a
/th/	*ythhagr* 'it is sticking (on sth.)'	n/a
/r/	*firra* 'place name' *kwrro* 'Blue-winged Kookaburra'	*fira* 'betelnut' n/a

Gemination is not attested for complex consonants, including the prenasalised stops (/b/, /d/, and /g/) as well as the two affricates (/z/ and /nz/) and /s/. Gemination is not relevant for the labialised velar stops (/kw/ and /gw/) and the velar nasal (/ŋ/) because these do not occur in coda position.

2.3.2 Final-devoicing

The process of final devoicing, naturally, affects only those consonants which (i) occur in final position (excluding non-final: /kw/, /gw/ and /ŋ/) and (ii) are voiced in all other environments (excluding voiceless: /t/, /k/, /f/, /s/, and /z/). The nasal stops and the approximants are also not affected by final devoicing. This leaves us with the following phonemes which are targetted by final devoicing: /b/, /d/, /g/, /nz/, /th/, and /r/.

The domain of final devoicing is the syllable. For example, in words where /nz/ occurs in onset position, it is always voiced: *nzafar* [ⁿdzaɸaɾ] 'sky' and *knzun* [kə̆ⁿdzun] 'parallel'. If /nz/ occurs in final position, it is always voiceless: *mnz* [mə̆ⁿts] 'house'. We find evidence in suffixation and encliticisation that the process is targetting the right edge of the syllable rather than the word. *Mnz* [mə̆ⁿts] 'house' may take the vowel initial locative enclitic *=en* in which case /nz/ occurs in onset position and is voiced: *mnzen* [mə̆ⁿdzen] 'in the house'. This contrasts with the consonant initial formatives *=fa* (ABL) and *-wä* (EMPH). In both cases /nz/ is syllabified in coda position and is voiceless: *mnzfa* [mə̆ⁿtsɸa] 'from the house' and *mnzwä* [mə̆ⁿtswæ] 'really the house' . We can formalize final devoicing in the following rule:

$$/\text{b}/, /\text{d}/, /\text{g}/, /\text{nz}/, /\text{th}/ \rightarrow \{ \text{ [-voiced] / _]}_{\sigma}$$

The only excepion is /r/, where final devoicing occurs only word-finally. However, final devoicing of /r/ is optional and more commonly found with older speakers.

2.3.3 Glottal stop insertion

There are only few lexemes in Komnzo which are vowel initial.[5] In addition, the non-singular undergoer prefix for second/third person in one of the five prefix series is also vowel initial. However, vowel initial words are a marginal pattern in Komnzo and with one exception, which I will describe below, word-medial syllables without onsets are absent. A possible explanation for the occurence of vowel initial words in Komnzo is contact with the Nambu languages to the east.

[5]Among the 1700 entries in the dictionary, there are 54 vowel initial lexemes: /a/ (21), /e/ (17), /o/ (8), /ä/ (4), /u/ (3), /i/ (1). Three of these are loanwords.

For this marginal pattern we find a rule of glottal stop insertion as in: *ebar* [ʔe^{m}baɾ] 'head' or *ettünzr* [ʔettʏ^{n}dzə̆ɾ] 's/he paints them'. This rule is restricted to word-initial environment, because the rules of syllabification maximize onsets in almost all cases (See §2.4.3). There is only one exception. Word-medial glottal stop insertion occurs with the vowel initial possessive suffix *-ane*. When the possessive is suffixed to a word which ends in a vowel, a glottal stop is inserted at the morpheme boundary. An example is *kabe* 'man' → *kabeane* [ka^{m}beʔane] 'of the man'.

2.4 The syllable and phonotactics

The phonotactics of Komnzo are best described in terms of the syllable. My description of the syllable is influenced by Blevins (1995). I will begin by outlining different syllable templates and the constraints which help to define them (§2.4.1). I will provide evidence for the internal structure of the syllable. The process of syllabification will be layed out in order to explain the rules of epenthesis (§2.4.3). A discussion of stress will follow in §2.4.5.

2.4.1 Syllable structure

The template for the maximal syllable in Komnzo is $[CCVC]_{\sigma}$. The minimal syllable is $[CV]_{\sigma}$ and in a more restricted environment $[V]_{\sigma}$. Thus, a syllable maximally consists of an onset, which may or may not be complex, a nucleus and a simple coda. Three constraints help to define the possible representations of the syllable in Komnzo:

1. Onsets are obligatory in word-medial and final position. There is a constraint against vowels in onset position: $^{*}{}_{\sigma}[V$. The only position where we find vowels in onsets is word-initially, but this is a marginal pattern. If the process of syllabification produces vowel initial words, a glottal stop fills the onset position (Compare §2.3.3 above). Word-internal or word-final syllables never lack a consonantal onset.

2. Syllables may have complex onsets with a maximal number of two adjacent consonants: ${}_{\sigma}[CC$. There are constraints on the phonemes involved in CC onset clusters. (See §2.4.2.1)

3. Syllables may only have a simple coda: $C]_{\sigma}$. Post-vocalic consonsant clusters are always heterosyllabic, never tautosyllabic: $^{*}CC]_{\sigma}$. There are a number of constraints on the possibilities of heterosyllabic consonant clusters (See §2.4.2.2).

From the three constraints given above, we can now derive the following possible syllable types: CV, CVC, CCV, CCVC. Word-initially, we also find V. Figure 2.2 presents the syllable in Komnzo as a binary branching construct.

Figure 2.2 The internal structure of the syllable

A branching syllable is chosen over a flat structure because there is evidence for the rhyme as a separate node of which nucleus and coda are subnodes. Such evidence includes the different shapes and constraints for onset and coda. Onsets may be complex. Codas can only be simple. Onsets are obligatory in almost all cases while codas are optional. Onsets and rhyme combine freely, thus capturing the generalization that onsets rarely influence the nucleus. All consonant phonemes may appear in a simple onset (C_1). There are some restrictions, but these are internal to the onset (§2.4.2.1). The coda position (C_3) on the other hand is more limited as to which consonant phonemes may appear. The labialised velar stops /kw/ and /gw/ and the velar nasal /ŋ/ never appear in a coda.

The strongest evidence for an independent rhyme comes from syllable weight which impacts on vowel length of the nucleus. If there is a specified vowel in the nucleus, the vowel will become long in open/light syllables, and it will become short in closed/heavy syllables. This affects different vowels to varying degrees. We find a good example of this in the distribution of the two allophones of /o/ which are [ɔ] and [ɞ̆]. In the language name *Komnzo* /kom.nzo/ [kɞ̆mⁿdzɔˑ] the first vowel is very short (although stressed) and the second vowel is of normal length. It follows that syllable weight influences the length (and sometimes quality) of the vowel in the nucleus. The shortening or lengthening of nuclei may be overridden by minimal word constraints (See §2.4.4), but these rules hold for all polysyllabic roots. Consequently, we require reference to the rhyme as an independent subnode of the syllable.

[6]Syllables without consonantal onsets are restricted to word initial environments. In this case, a phonological rule states that a glottal stop is inserted (§2.3.3).

2.4.2 Consonant clusters

We find tautosyllabic and heterosyllabic consonant clusters in Komnzo. These have very different restrictions in their possibilities.

2.4.2.1 Tautosyllabic clusters

Tautosyllabic clusters are restricted to the onset of a syllable, no more than two consonants may occur and they only involve a subset of the phonemes. In a $_{\sigma}$[C_1C_2 template, C_2 may only be /r/ or /w/.

In a cluster with /r/ we find all consonant phonemes except for the three nasal stops (*$_{\sigma}$[mr, *$_{\sigma}$[nr, *$_{\sigma}$[ŋr) and the approximants (*$_{\sigma}$[wr and *$_{\sigma}$[yr) and /r/ itself (*$_{\sigma}$[rr). This points to an explanation in terms of a sonority hierarchy in which nasal and approximants are more sonorous than the trill/tap. Some examples of $_{\sigma}$[Cr clusters are *brüzi* 'catfish type', *frar* 'small fishtrap', *krüfr* 'cold', *gru* 'shooting star', *kwras* 'Brolga', *srima kabe* 'scout, spy', *thru thru* 'bamboo type', *trisi* 'scratch (v)', *zra* 'swamp'.

In a cluster with /w/ the restrictions on C_1 are more severe and roots in which it is attested are rare. We only find the following phonemes in C_1 position: /k/, /g/, /z/, /nz/, /th/, and /s/. The first two phonemes in the list pose a problem because one has find a distinction between a Cw cluster and the labialised velar stops /kw/ and /gw/. This is impossible to do for lexemes, but we find some evidence in a morphophonemic rule in §2.5.3 where the vowel /u/ is realised as [w] and becomes part of a $_{\sigma}$[Cw cluster. Some examples of lexemes with $_{\sigma}$[Cw onset clusters are: *swäyé* 'anchoring place', *zwäf* 'luke-warm', *bzwär* [^{m}bə̆zwæɾ] 'place name'.

2.4.2.2 Heterosyllabic clusters

Heterosyllabic clusters are much harder to pin down because - as we will see in §2.4.3 below - there are syllabicity alternations where a coda consonant may become an onset by inserting epenthetic schwa after which it breaks up the cluster. I will label the two consonants involved C_a (the coda of the first syllable) and C_b (the onset of the following syllable).

We find that where C_a and C_b are identical the consonants are never broken up but always realised as geminates. The attested geminate patterns are described as a phonological rule in §2.3.1. These patterns exclude a number of logically possible geminates: labialized velar stops (/kw/ and /gw/), velar nasal (/ŋ/), and all the prenasalised phonemes (/b/, /d/, /g/, and /nz/).[7] Other heterosyllabic

[7]The labialized velar stop and the velar nasal may not occur as C_a because these never occur in coda position.

clusters are rather unrestricted. Table 2.7 presents the possible cluster types in Komnzo and Table 2.8 lists examples of these types.

Table 2.7 Heterosyllabic consonant clusters

	/r/	ORAL STOP	PRENASAL[8]	NASAL	AFFRICATE	FRICATIVE	APPROX	LABIO-VELAR
/r/	✓	✓	n/a	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
ORAL STOP	n/a	✓	n/a	✓	n/a	✓	✓	✓
PRENASAL	n/a	✓	n/a	✓	n/a	✓	✓	n/a
NASAL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
AFFRICATE	n/a	✓	n/a	✓	n/a	✓	✓	n/a
FRICATIVE	n/a	✓	n/a	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
APPROX	n/a	✓	n/a	✓	✓	✓	n/a	n/a
LAB-VELAR	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Table 2.8 Examples of attested heterosyllabic consonant clusters

C_a	C_b	UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION	PHONETIC REALIZATION	ENGLISH
/r/	[+nasal]	/ker.ma/	[kerma]	'from the tail'
		/tr.nä/	[tərnæ]	'palm frond'
/r/	[+oral stop]	/for.tu/	[ɸɛrtu]	'scar'
		/ker.ko/	[kerko]	'type of headdress'
/r/	[+affricate]	/zr.zü/	[tsərtʃʏ]	'knee'
/r/	[+fricative]	/war.fo/	[warɸɔ]	'above'
		/kr.si/	[kərsi]	'block (v)'
		/tr.tha/	[tərða]	'life'
/r/	[+approx]	/kar.wä.si/	[karwæsi]	'lie, trick'
		/yar.yom.g.si/	[jarjɛmᵑgəsi]	'scream (v)'
/r/	[+lab-velar]	/ŋa.far.kw.re/	[ŋaɸarkʷərɛ]	'we leave'
[+oral stop]	[+oral stop]	/wät.ku/	[wætku]	'Australian Pelican'
[+oral stop]	[+nasal]	/dek.ni.ni/	[ⁿdekninі]	'praying mantis'
		/rt.maksi/	[rətmakəsi]	'cut'
[+oral stop]	[+fricative]	/f.rk.thé/	[ɸərəkðə]	'red'
		/et.fth/	[ʔetɸəθ]	'sleep (n)'

[8]The column and line labelled 'prenasal' includes prenasalised stops and the prenasalised affricate.

C_a	C_b	UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION	PHONETIC REALIZATION	ENGLISH
[+oral stop]	[+approx]	/thik.ya.si/	[ðikjasi]	‘tie the fence’
		/zok.wa.si/	[tsɞ̆kwasi]	‘speech’
		/mit.wa.si/	[mitwasi]	‘swing (v)’
[+oral stop]	[+lab-velar]	/tat.kwo.nam/	[tatkʷɔnam]	‘tree type’
[+prenasal]	[+oral stop]	/gb.ka.rä/	[ᵑgə̆ᵐbkaɾæ]	‘with pandanus’
[+prenasal]	[+nasal]	/ŋad.me/	[ŋaⁿtme]	‘with the rope’
[+prenasal]	[+fricative]	/bad.fo/	[ᵐbaⁿtɸɔ]	‘to the ground’
[+prenasal]	[+approx]	/mnz.wä/	[mə̆ⁿtswæ]	‘really the house’
[+nasal]	/r/	/nin.rr/	[ninɾə̆ɾ]	‘with us’
[+nasal]	[+oral stop]	/am.kf/	[ʔamkə̆ɸ]	‘breath’
		/thun.t.nä.gw.rm/	[ðuntə̆næᵑgwə̆ɾə̆m]	‘he was losing them here’
[+nasal]	[+nasal]	/kan.motha/	[kanmɔða]	‘river snake’
[+nasal]	[+prenasal]	/yar.yom.g.si/	[jaɾjə̆mᵑgə̆si]	‘scream (v)’
		/kum.da/	[kumⁿda]	‘basket’
		/kän.brim/	[kænᵐbɾim]	‘come back here!’
[+nasal]	[+affricate]	/san.zin/	[santʃin]	‘put him down here!’
[+nasal]	[+fricative]	/zan.fr/	[tsanɸə̆ɾ]	‘far’
		/kam.tha.tha/	[kamðaða]	‘like a bone’
[+nasal]	[+approx]	/nze.nm.wä/	[ⁿdʒenə̆mwæ]	‘really for us’
[+nasal]	[+lab-velar]	/ŋan.kwir/	[ŋankʷir]	‘he run hither’
[+affricate]	[+oral stop]	/ez.kn.wr/	[ʔetskə̆nwə̆ɾ]	‘s/he moves them’
[+affricate]	[+nasal]	/käz.nob/	[kætsnɞ̆ᵐp]	‘drink (it)!’
[+affricate]	[+fricative]	/fz.fo/	[ɸə̆tsɸɔ]	‘to the forest’
[+affricate]	[+approx]	/fz.wä/	[ɸə̆tswæ]	‘really the forest’
[+fricative]	[+oral stop]	/mnz.wä/	[mə̆ⁿtswæ]	‘really the house’
[+fricative]	[+affricate]	/buf.zenz/	[ᵐbuɸtʃeⁿts]	‘your wife’
[+fricative]	[+fricative]	/ef.thar/	[ʔeɸðaɾ]	‘dry season’
		/füs.füs/	[ɸʏsɸʏs]	‘wind’

C_a	C_b	UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION	PHONETIC REALIZATION	ENGLISH
[+fricative]	[+approx]	/nzf.wi.ya.km/	[ⁿtsəɸwɪjakəm]	'we were walking'
		/naf.wä/	[naɸwæ]	'really they (ERG)'
		/fith.wo.g.si/	[ɸiθwɔᵑgəsi]	'take out'
[+fricative]	[+lab-velar]	/math.kwi/	[maθkʷi]	'personal name'
		/y.ra.kth.kwa/	[jərakəθkʷa]	's/he put him on top'
[+approx]	[+oral stop]	/faw.ka.rä/	[ɸaʷkaɾæ]	'with a payment'
[+approx]	[+nasal]	/faw.ma/	[ɸaʷma]	'from the payment'
[+approx]	[+affricate]	/bäw.zö/	[ᵐbæʷtʃœ]	'paperbark'
[+approx]	[+fricative]	/wy.thk/	[wəʲðək]	'it comes to an end'

We can make a number of observations from Table 2.8 above. The prenasalised phonemes do occur in C_a as well as C_b. In the latter case, C_a may only be another nasal as in: *kumda* [kumⁿda] 'basket', *kumgsi* [kumᵑgəsi] 'smell (v)', *dmgu* [ⁿdəmᵑgu] 'waterhole', *tingwä* [tinᵑgʷæ] 'tree type'. If C_a is a phoneme other than a nasal, the cluster will be broken up: *garda* [ᵑgaɾəⁿda] 'canoe', *äthgam* [ʔæðəᵑgam] 'Parinari nonda', *thfgarwrmth* [ðəɸəᵑgaɾwərəməθ] 'they were breaking them'. There are no attested cases of a prenasalised phoneme in C_b with a homorganic nasal in C_a, i.e. /m/+/b/, /n/+/nz/, /n/+/d/.

There are only few clusters which involve /r/ in the C_b position. This is caused by maximizing onsets during syllabification, which creates complex onsets clusters of the type CR. As a consequence, the only heterosyllabic clusters with /r/ in C_b position are the ones which are illegal as onset clusters (e.g. $^*{}_\sigma$[mr, $^*{}_\sigma$[nr, $^*{}_\sigma$[rr). In other words, because $^*{}_\sigma$[nr is illegal as an onset, we do find it as a heterosyllabic cluster (*ninrr* /nin.rr/ [ninɾər] 'with us'). Likewise, because $_\sigma$[fr is a legal onset cluster, we never find it as a heterosyllabic cluster.

We do find heterosyllabic clusters which involve /w/ in C_b position and a velar (prensalized) stop in C_a position. Evidence that these clusters are indeed heterosyllabic as opposed to an instantiation of the labialized velar stop /kw/ and /gw/ comes two sources. First, we find examples like *zokwasi* [tsɔ̆kwasi] 'speech' where the short, centralized allophone of /o/ shows that /k/ is the coda of a closed syllable. (Compare with the discussion of /o/ in §2.2.1 and the discussion of syllable weight in §2.4.1 above) Second, in verb stems ending in /k/ and /g/ the following non-dual suffix is always *-wr* (§5.5.3.3). Both cases attest that we find heterosyllabic /k.w/ and /g.w/ clusters in addition to the complex phonemes /kw/ and /gw/.

2.4.3 Syllabification and epenthesis

Syllable structure is generally understood not to be defined at the underlying representation (Blevins, 1995: 221). Hence, we do not find minimal pairs based on syllabicity in Komnzo. As was explained in §2.2.2 above, schwa is not a phoneme but an epenthetic vowel inserted in order to break up consonant clusters. There is some degree of free variation in syllabicity and schwa insertion. An example is the word *mrn* 'family, clan' with the locative suffix *-en*. The resulting word *mrnen* 'in the family' may be realised either /mr.nen/ [mə̆ɾnen] or /m.r.nen/ [mə̆ɾə̆nen]. There is no phonemic contrast and speakers find it difficult to perceive the difference in syllabicity.

The process of syllabification will be outlined here in the form of three ordered rules which predict epenthesis and syllable structure:

1. Associate each specified vowel with a syllable nucleus.
2. Establish and maximize onsets in accordance with syllable templates (See constraint number 2 in §2.4.1 on onset clusters). A phonological rule will insert a glottal stop if there is no consonantal onset in word initial position (See §2.3.3).
3. Break-up unsyllabified consonants with epenthetic vowels:
   (a) Exception: suffixes which allow no other syllabification than inserting the epenthetic vowel in final position. This includes the adjectivalizer *-thé*, non-singular ergative case marker *-yé* and the first singular actor verb suffix *-é*.
   (b) Elsewhere: proceed from right to left breaking up consonant clusters.
   (c) After each schwa insertion, establish codas in accordance with possible heterosyllabic consonant clusters. Otherwise, maximize onsets. Exception: word-initial segments are always recognized as onsets.
   (d) The epenthetic vowel is [ŭ] and [ĭ] if followed by heterosyllabic /w/ and /y/ respectively. In all other instances it is [ə̆].

The process of syllabification attempts to map the minimal syllable CV onto the underlying representation. The rules give preference to onsets rather than codas. Consequently, we do not find vowel initial syllables word-medially or word-finally.

I have modelled the process of syllabification as being divided into two steps. Syllables which contain full vowels are recognized first and in a second step epenthetic vowels are inserted to break up unsyllabified consonant clusters. This algorithm proceeds backwards (from right to left) and inserts epenthetic schwas

between unsyllabified consonants to create syllable nuclei. The insertion ensures that onsets are maximized. After each onset, the processs checks against the list of possible heterosyllabic consonant clusters (§2.4.2.2) whether another insertion occurs right away or only after a coda has been recognized. In the latter case, it 'jumps' one consonant and breaks up the next pair of unsyllabified consonants. An exception is the word initial position where the segment is automatically recognized as an onset. The rules ensure that no word-initial schwa insertion occurs. The direction (right to left) explains why we find schwa never in word-final position. There are only a handful of lexemes in which schwa is attested word-finally.

The direction is important in order to explain forms like *wonrsoknwr* [wɞ̆nə̆ɾsɔkə̆nwə̆ɾ][9] 's/he is bothering me' which is syllabified /wo.nr.so.kn.wr/. The algorithm is applied from right to left which is why the cluster /r.s/ is first recognized as a possible heterosyllabic consonant cluster. After this recognition, schwa is inserted between /n/ and /r/. If the process was applied from left to right, one would expect that /n.r/ is first recognized as a possible heterosyllabic cluster and schwa would be inserted between /r/ and /s/ which yields the incorrect form **/won.r.so.kn.wr/*. As pointed out above, there is some degree of optionality. In elicitation, informants accepted schwa insertion in both places [wɞ̆nə̆ɾə̆sɔkə̆nwə̆ɾ]. This might be an artefact introduced by elicitation, because in fluent speech this hardly ever occurs.

The algorithm specifies that schwa is inserted between consonants disregarding possible onset clusters (§2.4.1) whereas syllables with specified vowels maximize their onsets and produce onset clusters. Indeed, we do not find the possible onset clusters CR or CW with epenthetic vowels. There are only two exceptions for CR. The first is the verb *frmnzsi* /frm.nz.si/ 'fix, prepare' in which the onset cluster /fr/ is never broken up even if the verb is fully inflected: *yafrmnzr* /ya.frm.nzr/ 's/he prepares him'. The second exception occurs with all verbs in a specific inflection: Word-initially, the irrealis prefix *r-* becomes part of an onset cluster with the undergoer prefix. This cluster only contains an epenthetic vowel if (i) the restricted verb stem is used and (ii) the verb is marked for dual number: *thrthbth* [ðɾə̆ðə̆ᵐbə̆θ] 'they put them inside'.[10]

In Figure 2.3-2.5 below, I present four examples spelling out the algorithm step by step:

[9]The allophone [ɞ̆] of the phoneme /o/ occurs here not because this might be a closed syllable, but because it follows a labio-velar approximant (See §2.2.1)

[10]This verb is glossed as: th-r-∅-thb-th 2|3NSG-IRR-ND-put.inside.RS-2|3NSG It it a rare inflection because three things have to come together: irrealis mood, restricted verb stem, dual number marker (which is a zero-morpheme in this case).

Figure 2.3 Syllabification of *kwark* ‘deceased’

/kwark/	underlying representation
	↓
/kw$_\sigma$[a]rk/	Rule 1: Associate each specified vowel with a nucleus.
	↓
/$_\sigma$[kwa]rk/	Rule 2: Maximize onsets. → establishes the syllable $_\sigma$[kwa]
	↓
/$_\sigma$[kwa]$_\sigma$[rk]/	Rule 3b: Break up consonant clusters. → schwa is inserted between /r/ and /k/ and creates a CVC syllable
	↓
/kwa.rk/	syllabified form
	↓
	[k^{w}a.ɾə̆k]

Figure 2.4 Syllabification of *yanthugwr* ‘s/he tricks him here’

/yanthugwr/	underlying representation
	↓
/y$_\sigma$[a]nth$_\sigma$[u]gwr/	Rule 1: Associate each specified vowel with a nucleus.
	↓
/$_\sigma$[ya]n$_\sigma$[thu]gwr/	Rule 2: Maximize onsets. → establishes the syllables .ya. and .thu.
	↓
/$_\sigma$[ya]n$_\sigma$[thu]g$_\sigma$[wr]/	Rule 3b: Break up consonant clusters. → schwa is inserted between /w/ and /r/ because it is not a possible cluster
	↓
/$_\sigma$[ya]n$_\sigma$[thug]$_\sigma$[wr]/	Rule 3c: Establish codas in accordance with possible heterosyllabic consonant clusters. → /g.w/ is possible → /g/ becomes a coda of the preceding syllable.
	↓
/$_\sigma$[yan]$_\sigma$[thug]$_\sigma$[wr]/	Rule 3c: Establish codas in accordance with possible heterosyllabic consonant clusters. → /n.th/ is possible → /n/ becomes a coda of the preceding syllable.
	↓
/yan.thug.wr/	syllabified form
	↓
	[jan.ðu^{ŋ}g.wə̆ɾ]

Figure 2.5 Syllabification of *zwäfiyokwé* 'I finished sth. for her'

/zwäfiyokw$_\sigma$[é]/	underlying representation: the final schwa is the 1SG actor suffix. It is must be prespecified as syllabic in the underlying representation
	↓
/zw$_\sigma$[ä]f$_\sigma$[i]y$_\sigma$[o]kw$_\sigma$[é]/	Rule 1: Associate each specified vowel with a nucleus.
	↓
/$_\sigma$[zwä]$_\sigma$[fi]$_\sigma$[yo]k$_\sigma$[wé]/	Rule 2: Maximize onsets. → establishes the syllables [thwä], [fi], [yo], and [wé]
	↓
/$_\sigma$[zwä]$_\sigma$[fi]$_\sigma$[yok]$_\sigma$[wé]/	Rule 3c: Establish codas in accordance with possible heterosyllabic consonant clusters. → /k.w/ is possible → /k/ becomes the coda of the preceding syllable.
	↓
/zwä.fi.yok.wé/	syllabified form
	↓
	[tswæ.βɪ.jɞk.wə̆]

Figure 2.6 Syllabification of *skrifzenz* 'Skri's wife'

/skrifzenz/	underlying representation
	↓
/skr$_\sigma$[i]fz$_\sigma$[e]nz/	Rule 1: Associate each specified vowel with a nucleus.
	↓
/s$_\sigma$[kri]f$_\sigma$[ze]nz/	Rule 2: Maximize onsets. → establishes the syllables .kri. and .ze.
	↓
/s$_\sigma$[kri]f$_\sigma$[zenz]/	Rule 3c: Establish codas in accordance with possible heterosyllabic consonant clusters. → no cluster with /nz/ → /nz/ becomes the coda of the preceding syllable.
	↓
/s$_\sigma$[krif]$_\sigma$[zenz]/	Rule 3c: Establish codas in accordance with possible heterosyllabic consonant clusters. → /f.z/ is possible → /f/ becomes the coda of the preceding syllable.
	↓
/$_\sigma$[s]$_\sigma$[krif]$_\sigma$[zenz]/	Rule 3b: Break up consonant clusters. → schwa is inserted between /s/ and /k/ because it is not a possible cluster
	↓
/s.krif.zenz/	syllabified form
	↓
	[sə̆.kɾiɸ.tʃe^{n}ts]

2.4.4 Minimal word

We find some constraints on the minimal size of a word in Komnzo. I will describe this here, because the minimal word helps to explain a number of phenomena. It has an impact on allophonic variation of /o/ (See §2.2.1), vowel length in general, and epenthesis.

Compared to polysyllables, monosyllabic roots have a slightly longer vowel if they are closed syllables and a very long vowel if they consist of an open syllable. This is relevant for roots with specified vowels only, not for roots with an epenthetic vowel. Three examples are: *fk* [ɸə̆k] 'buttocks', *fäk* [ɸæˑk] 'jaw', and *fä* [ɸæː] 'there (DIST)'. In moraic theory, we could rephrase the minimal word constraint as follows: 'Words with specified vowels need to be at least two mora long'.

We saw in §2.2.1 that the phoneme /o/ has two allophones: a short centralized rounded vowel [ɞ̆] which occurs in closed syllables and a rounded back vowel [ɔ] which occurs in open syllables. I employed this phenomenon above in §2.4.1 to justify the need of syllable weight as a concept. As for the phoneme /o/, in monosyllabic roots the difference between these syllable types is suspended and we do find [ɔ] in closed syllables as in: *gon* [ᵑgɔn] 'hips' or *rot* [ɾɔt] 'fence type'. Thus, the minimal word constraint overrides these allophonic rules. The constraint applies at the root level and not the level of the inflected word. For example, we find [ɔ] instead of [ɞ̆] in the verb *thorsi* [ðɔɾsi] 'put inside' because *thorsi* is multimorphemic (*thor-* 'put inside' + *-si* NMLZ). With polysyllabic roots, this is not the case and the two variants of /o/ follow the allophonic rule as was layed out in §2.2.1. An example is: *thomonsi* [ðɔmɞ̆nsi] 'pile up firewood'.

The minimal word constraint impacts on syllabification because there are two variants for monosyllabic roots of the type CRV(C). These kinds of roots may be realised with a lengthened vowel in the nucleus. Alternatively an epenthetic vowel may be inserted to break up the onset cluster thus creating a disyllabic form. In this case the specified vowel is of normal length and stress does not shift to the initial epenthetic vowel but remains with the specified vowel. Examples are: *srak* [sraˑk] ∼ [sə̆ɾak] 'boy' and *zra* [tsɾaː] ∼ [tsə̆ɾa] 'swamp'.

2.4.5 Stress

Stress is a syllable-level phenomenon in Komnzo. A stressed syllable is marked by a clearer pronunciation, higher intensity and sometimes higher pitch. Vowel length is not an acoustic correlate of stress and even the epenthetic vowel (a short schwa) is frequently stressed. That being said, specified vowels usually become more centralized and shortened in word-final position which is always unstressed.

The domain of primary stress (marked by ˈ in the examples) is the initial syllable of a word. There are a number of exceptions to initial stress which I will describe below. Secondary stress (marked by ˌ in the examples) carries little function in Komnzo and it is often hard to distinguish from unstressed syllables. Secondary stress is absent in bi- and trisyllabic words. Only few roots have more than three syllables and none have more than four. An example of a four syllable root is *ˈngeˌmäku* /n.ge.mä.ku/ [nǎŋgemæku] 'term of address between foster parent and real parent'. It follows, that all words with more than four syllables are polymorphemic. For example, inflected verbs often comprise more than four syllables as in: *ˈkwamnzokˌwrmth* /kwam.nzok.w.r.mth/ [kʷamⁿdzǎkwǎrǎmǎθ] 'They were dancing.'

There are some exceptions to initial stress. For example, in partial reduplication (§4.2) the first syllable is unstressed as in: *rˈrokar* /r.ro.kar/ 'things'. In full reduplication, we find initial stress *ˈrokar ˈrokar* as with the corresponding singleton form *ˈrokar*. A second environment in which the first syllable is unstressed are inflected verbs with a proclitic. An example is the form *bŋatrakwr* /b.ˈŋa.trak.wr/ 's/he falls there'. The proclitic *b=* (MED) is added on an 'outer layer' to the otherwise fully inflected verb. Cases like partial reduplication and verbal proclitics should be seen as exceptions to the rule of initial stress.

Stress is assigned from left to right. Words of up to four syllables construct a disyllabic trochee foot. In Table 2.9 below, I present templatic stress patterns for words between two and four syllables of length.

Table 2.9 Stress patterns of words with two to four syllables

SYLLABLE STRUCTURE	EXAMPLE	PHONETIC	ENGLISH
ˈσσ	*ˈnzäthe*	[ⁿdʒæðe]	'namesake'
	ˈebar	[ʔeᵐbaɾ]	'head'
	ˈnzrm	[ⁿdʒǎrǎm]	'flower'
ˈσσσ	*ˈkafara*	[kaβaɾa]	'river pandanus'
	ˈbägwrm	[ᵐbæᵑgʷǎrǎm]	'butterfly'
	ˈkrbu	[kǎrǎᵐbu]	'swelling'
ˈσσˌσσ	*ˈnänzüthˌzsi*	[næⁿdʒʏθtʃǎsi]	'cover with soil/mud'
	ˈkukuˌfasi	[kukuɸasi]	'Grey Shrike-trush'
	ˈkdeˌwawa	[kǎⁿdewawa]	'firefly'

Words with more than four syllables vary in their assignment of secondary stress. Most five-syllable words assign secondary stress to the third syllable, but

some assign it to the fourth. Most six-syllable and seven-syllable words assign secondary stress to the fourth syllable, thus, constructing a tri-syllabic foot, but there are also exceptions. Variation in words with more than four syllables might be explained in terms of open vs. closed syllables, or in terms of specified vs. epenthetic vowel nucleus. The nature of secondary stress in Komnzo remains to be investigated in more detail.

2.5 Morphophonemic Processes

The following section addresses morphophonemic processes which occur through affixation or cliticization.

2.5.1 Vowel harmony after *-wä*

The emphasizer suffix *-wä* attaches to nominals. Affixation of *-wä* causes a change in the quality of the vowel of the preceding syllable regardless whether this syllable is part of the root or another suffix. Depending on the vowel quality its impact can be described as fronting or rounding. Some examples are given in Table 2.10.

Table 2.10 Vowel harmony caused by *-wä*

PROCESS	EXAMPLE	EXAMPLE WITH *-wä*
fronting of /o/	*karfo* 'to the village'	*kar-fö-wä* village-ABL-EMPH
	bobo 'towards there'	*bobö-wä* MED.ALL-EMPH
raising of /a/	*nima* 'this way'	*nimä-wä* like.this-EMPH
	bafanema 'because of that one'	*baf-ane-mä-wä* RECOG-POSS-CHAR-EMPH
rounding of /e/	*zafe* 'long ago'	*zafö-wä* long.ago-EMPH
	etfthme 'overnight'	*etfth-mö-wä* sleep-INS-EMPH

The vowel harmony does not affect vowels in a closed syllable: *kafarwä* 'really big' not **kafärwä* or *dö kerwä* 'really the lizard tail' not **dö körwä*. The process is blocked by two intervening consonants. Vowel harmony of this type is restricted to morphophonemics because we do find lexemes where the vowels in question occurs in adjacent syllables, as in *namä* 'good' or *dowä* 'Wompoo Fruit Dove'.

2.5.2 Dissimilation between prefix and verb stem

We find a number of verb stems in which the vowel quality of the prefix is raised from /ä/ to /e/. This occurs only in inflections which build on the restricted root, and therefore encode the dual versus non-dual contrast by a vowel change in the prefix. The vowel /ä/ marks usually non-dual, whereas /a/ or zero mark dual number (§5.5.3.4). Dissimilation targets the non-dual /ä/ and raises it to /e/. The trigger is the first vowel of the verb stem. Raising takes place when the first vowel is either /a/ or /ä/, in two verb stems the trigger is /ö/. Some examples are: *mar-* 'see', *far-* 'set off', *faf-* 'hold' and *wär-* 'crack, happen', *rä-* 'be, do', *räs-* 'erect', *söbäth-* 'ascend' and *sörfäth-* 'descend'.[11] Thus, for verbs like *marasi* the non-dual of a recent past perfective is not realised as **zämar* but *zemar* 'he looked at himself'. Depending on syllabification and intervening prefixes, the trigger vowel in the verb stem and the prefix can be separated by another syllable. In most cases, this is a syllable created by epenthesis. Verb stems like *mräs-* 'stroll', *thfär-* 'jump' and *thkäf-* 'start' have an epenthetic vowel after the first consonant in their nominalisations, for example *mräzsi* /m.rä.z.si/ 'stroll'. In the inflected verb form, the initial consonant is syllabified as a coda: *zemräs* 'he strolled around' (syllabified as /zem.räs/). If the venitive prefix *n-* is added to the inflection, trigger vowel and prefix vowel are separated by another syllable, but this does not affect the raising: *zenmräs* 'he strolled towards here' (syllabified as /zen.m.räs/). The raising pattern described here applies to inflections of various TAM categories (irrealis, imperatives, iteratives). They all share the use of the restricted root and, consequently the fact that the vowel in the prefix encodes duality.

A special case is the copula *rä-*. Although highly irregular in many ways, it follows the dissilimation pattern just described. What is special about the copula is that the past suffix *-a* triggers the same kind of raising in the stem of the copula. Thus, we find *erera* 'they were' instead of **erära*.

Raising of the prefix vowel is a morphophonemic process, not a general phonological process. For example, we do find lexemes where /ä/ and /a/ occur in adjacent syllables (*atätö* 'tree type' (Pouteria sp), *mätraksi* 'bring out'); the same goes for /ä/ and /ä/ (*krätär* 'tree type' (Oriocalis sp), *thäfäm* 'ripples'). Moreover, the /ä/ vowel is not raised to /e/ in verb inflections that do not involve the restricted root. Consider the 2|3NSG *e-* and the 3SG.FEM *w-* of the alpha prefix series. When the valency changing prefix *a-* is added to the inflection, these two formatives are realised as *ä-* and *wä-* respectively (§5.5.1.2). However, the /ä/

[11] I list the RS roots here, because in some cases the vowel is different between EXT and RS root. Elsewhere in this grammar, I use the EXT root or the nominalisation to refer to verbs. Therefore, I provide the corresponding EXT roots here: *mar-* 'see', *fark-* 'set off', *fa-* 'hold', *wä-* 'crack, happen', *rä-* 'be', *räz-* 'erect', *mrä-* 'stroll', *thfä-* 'jump', *thkäfak-* 'start', *sog-* 'ascend', *rsör-* 'descend'.

vowel in these formatives is not raised to *e-* in inflected verb forms, for example *wäfänzr* 'he shows her' and not **wefänzr*. One reason for this might be that raising the vowel to /e/ would neutralise the valency changing prefix *a-*. Another explanation might be that the raising pattern developed together with pre-root dual marking, which is only found with restricted roots, and restricted roots in turn do not combine with the prefixes of the alpha series (§5.5.1.2), which would explain why these are not affected.

2.5.3 Approximant ↔ high vowel

In two different parts of the verbal inflectional paradigm, a change from the approximants to high vowels ([w] → [u] or [ü], and [y] → [i]) and the reverse from [u] to [w] is found.

All of the verbal proclitics consist only of a consonant, e.g. the immediate past *n*= or the three deictic proclitics *z*= PROX, *b*= MED, and *f*= DIST. These are cliticized to otherwise fully inflected verbs. In most cases, this creates an extra syllable word initially as in *bŋatrakwr* /b.ŋa.trak.wr/ 's/he falls there'. Some of the verb prefixes in the alpha series begin with an approximant (*wo-* 1SG, *w-* 3SG.FEM, and *y-* 3SG.MASC). If the clitics are attached to these forms the high approximants are realised as high vowel: *u-* 1SG, *ü-* 3SG.FEM, and *i-* 3SG.MASC. A few examples are given in (1 - 3) below.

(1) *burera*

b=wo-rä-ra
MED=1SG.α-COP.ND-PST

'there I was.'

(2) *zimithgr*

z=y-mi-thgr
PROX=3SG.MASC.α-hang-STAT.ND

'he/it hangs here.'

(3) *zürugr*

z=w-rugr
PROX=3SG.FEM.α-sleep.ND

'she sleeps here.'

Another change which involves high vowels and approximants is attested only for [u] ↔ [w]. The formatives of one of the subseries of beta (β2) end in a [u] vowel, for example *ku-* 1SG, *su-* 3SG.MASC, *thu-* 2|3NSG. The valency changing prefix *a-* occurs between the beta prefix and the verb stem , for example *ku-a-*

'for me', *su-a-* 'for him', *thu-a-* 'for you/them'. In this case, the [u] becomes part of an onset consonant cluster and is realised as a high back approximant [w]. An example is given in (4-5).

(4) *thufsinzr*

thu-fsi-nzr-∅
2|3NSG.β2-count.EXT-ND-2|3SG

'S/he counted them.'

(5) *thwafsinzr*

thu-a-fsi-nzr-∅
2|3NSG.β2-VC-count.EXT-ND-2|3SG

'S/he counted for them.'

2.6 Loanwords and loanword phonology

A number of speech sounds are restricted to loanwords. These are the voiced oral stops [b], [d], and [g], the lateral approximant [l] and a few diphthongs. The 'donor languages' of almost all loanwords found in Komnzo are either English or Hiri Motu. Only few loanwords come from Bahasa Indonesia, for example the terms for introduced fish species: *ikan lele* 'Clarias batrachas', *mujair* 'Oreochromis mossambicus', *gastor* 'Channa striata'. An increasing number of people start to learn the third offical language of Papua New Guinea - Tok Pisin - and sometimes expressions like *maski* 'nevermind' can be heard amongst younger Komnzo speakers. Otherwise Tok Pisin plays only a minor role in loanwords.

From the degree of indigenization of loanwords we can distinguish at least two periods: an early phase which lasted until the 1960s and a second phase from that time until today. The boundary between the two periods is rather fuzzy. The first period was characterized by English speaking patrol officers and officials who visited the area for very short periods. The second period began with the opening of a Mission school in Rouku in the mid 1960s. At the beginning, the language of instruction was Hiri Motu. In the 1970s the school was moved to Morehead and since then, the language of instruction is English. We find linguistic evidence for the two periods. Loanwords from the first period have undergone indigenization in order to adapt to Komnzo phonology. Loans which entered the language during the second period are much closer to the original English or Motu pronunciation. An example is the word *doctor*. While it is pronounced [dokta] nowadays, some older speakers still use a second variant *nzokta* [ⁿdzokta] which they report was common in their parent's and grandparent's generation.

Words from the first phase are: *frayn misin* [ɸɾajə̆n mɪsɪn] 'plane, flying machine', *kas raba* [kas ɾa^{m}ba] 'gas lamp', *dis* [^{n}dɪːs] 'dish, plate', *damaki* [^{n}damakɪ] 'dynamite'. We find regular correspondences of English phonemes mapping onto Komnzo phonology. The bilabial stop [p] becomes a bilabial fricative [ɸ] in *frayn misin*, but in a cluster with the bilabial nasal [m] in *kas raba* it becomes a prenasalised voiced bilabial stop [^{m}b]. The velar voiced stop [g], also in *kas raba*, comes out as a voiceless velar stop [k]. The lateral approximant [l] in English *flying* becomes an alveolar tap or trill [ɾ ∼ r] in Komnzo *frayn* and again in *kas raba*. The English diphthong [a͡ɪ] in 'dynamite' is monophthongized in *damaki*. The voiced alveolar stop [d] becomes prenasalised [^{n}d] in *damaki* and *dis*. In the same word, the post-alveolar fricative [ʃ] turns into an alveolar fricative [s]. However, there are too few loans from this early period to make a systematic comparison of all English phonemes in different environments.

The second period which lasts until today is characterized by loan phonemes. Indigenization is found to a lesser degree. The second period is also characterized by the influx of loans from Hiri Motu. We find loan phonemes in the oral voiced stops [b], [d] and [g] as in: *bara* 'paddle', *durua* 'help', *dibura* 'prisoner', *gunana* 'place name'[12] from Hiri Motu and *baisikol* 'bicycle' from English. Note that the English diphthong [a͡ɪ] is retained and not monophthongized and the lateral approximant [l] also does not change.

There are two correspondences which we find in both periods. The first is between the voiceless bilabial stop [p] in English and the voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] in Komnzo. The second correspondence is between the lateral approximant [l] and the alveolar trill/flap [ɾ ∼ r]. It seems, in the early period, [l] was changed in all environments, but the second period this only occurs in [pl] clusters in English. Elsewhere, [l] is taken over into Komnzo as a loan phoneme. We have seen some examples from the first period above. Examples from the second period are: *fren* 'plane', *fenzil* 'pencil', and *sosfen* 'saucepan'.

2.7 Orthography development

There is no writing tradition in Komnzo, but most people can read and write in one of the official languages, namely English and Motu. The mission school, which was based at Rouku during the 1960's, operated in Motu, but today English is the teaching language at the primary school in Morehead. Thus, reading and writing in Komnzo has not been promoted in the past. As a consequence, literacy in one's mother tongue is an alien concept for most Komnzo speakers.

[12] *gunana* means 'the former (one)' in Motu. In Komnzo, it designates a place 'where old Rouku used to be' as informants put it. A new hamlet was founded there a few years ago.

The first attempt to develop an orthography for Komnzo was during an alphabet workshop organised by Marco and Alma Bouvé at Morehead Station in 2000. It brought together representatives from a dozen villages. The two representatives from Rouku were Greg Marua and Wendy Yasii. When I began my work in Rouku, this orthography was not used except for a few words that were written on the blackboard in the elementary school. Regrettably, the Rouku elementary school has been disfunctional since 2010. During my fieldwork I have organised two orthography meetings. The outcome of these meetings was the Komnzo Language Council which includes representatives of all clans. The language council has remained an abstract administrative body overseeing my work. In practice, I concentrated all translation and elicitation work on 4-5 interested individuals. Together, we have revised the orthography several times. Table 2.11 and Figure 2.7 show the differences between the current orthography and the one developed in 2000. Changes are shown with an arrow (→).

Table 2.11 Comparison of orthographies: consonants

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
stop & affricate	b → n/a		t	ts → z		k	n/a → kw
prenasalised stop & affricate	mb → b		nt → d	nj → nz		nþ → g	n/a → gw
fricative	f	th	s				
nasal	m		n			ng → ŋ	
lateral			r				
semivowel					y		w

Figure 2.7 Comparison of orthographies: vowels

Chapter 3

Word Classes

This chapter offers an introduction to word classes in Komnzo. It provides the criteria which are necessary to predict the word class of a given root based on its distribution, function and structural capacities. This chapter contains detailed information about smaller word classes or subclasses which will not be discussed elsewhere in the thesis. For these it lists all known members for quick reference.

The seven word classes are nominals (§3.1), verbs (§3.2), adverbs (§3.3), particles (§3.4), clitics (§3.5), connectives (§3.6), and interjections & ideophones (§3.7). Nominals constitute a superclass comprising a variety of subclasses: nouns (§3.1.2), property nouns (§3.1.3), adjectives (§3.1.4), quantifiers & numerals (§3.1.5), locational nominals (§3.1.6), temporal nominals (§3.1.7), personal pronouns (§3.1.8), indefinites (§3.1.10), interrogatives (§3.1.9), and demonstratives (§3.1.11).

We may categorise the word classes of Komnzo along a number of lines. The clearest distinction is between inflecting (nominals and verbs) and uninflecting word classes (all other). The distinction between open and closed word classes is more difficult. Only a few nominal subclasses (nouns, property nouns, numerals) and interjections accept new members in the form of loanwords or neologisms. Although large in terms of members, verbs are not an open word class. Major words classes are nouns, property nouns and verbs with more than 300 members in the current dictionary. All other word classes have less than 30 members and are considered minor classes.

3.1 Nominals

Nominals are the largest word class in Komnzo, consisting of a number of subclasses. The largest are the open subclasses of nouns (§3.1.2) and property nouns (§3.1.3) which both readily accept borrowings from other languages, particularly English and Motu. Adjectives (§3.1.4) constitute a minor, closed class. The

nominal superclass includes a number of other small, closed word classes. These are quantifiers and numerals (§3.1.5), locationals (§3.1.6), temporals (§3.1.7), free pronouns (§3.1.8), interrogatives (§3.1.9) and demonstratives (§3.1.11).

The unifying characteristic of nominals is their ability to serve as the host of case marking clitics. However, not all nominal subclasses can take the full set of case distinctions. For example, while nouns and free pronouns are prototypical nominals and take all cases, demonstratives, temporals, and locationals are more limited.

3.1.1 Criteria for distinguishing between nouns, property nouns and adjectives

Before addressing each subclass in turn, it is necessary to give an overview of the distinction between nouns, property nouns and adjectives. The two main criteria involved are the ability to act as the head of a noun phrase, and the ability to trigger agreement in both gender and number. Further criteria are the ability to enter into a possessive construction, the possibility of taking the adjectivaliser *-thé* and the different functions of the instrumental case *=me*. This section only lists the criteria. Examples are given in the following sections, which address each subclass in turn (§3.1.2 - §3.1.4).

Nouns and property nouns can act as the head of a noun phrase, whereas adjectives cannot. See §7.5 for further discussion of headedness. An adjective may be the only visible element of a noun phrase, but this is possible only if the missing head is established through context. This first criterion groups property nouns with nouns and singles out adjectives.

Agreement in gender and number is only triggered by nouns. Gender is Komnzo is purely semantic (§11.2). The agreement target for gender is the 3rd singular prefix of the verb. Number agreement is marked at various morphological sites on the verb including the undergoer prefix, the actor suffix, and the duality affix. Adjectives fail to trigger gender or number agreement. Property nouns also fail to trigger gender agreement, because they escape from being indexed in the prefx. However, property nouns trigger a default SG number agreement in the suffix, for example in experiencer-object constructions where a property noun can be the stimulus flagged with the ergative case (§8.3.10). Nouns trigger both gender and number agreement. Hence, the criterion of agreement groups property nouns with adjectives and singles out nouns.

As far as the other criteria are concerned, possessive constructions are only possible with nouns and property nouns and not with adjectives. The adjectivaliser *-thé* is common with particular nouns, optional with property nouns, but ungrammatical with adjectives. The instrumental case marker *=me* serves

its prototypical function with nouns, but property nouns and adjectives function function as adverbials when marked with the instrumental case. Table 3.1 provides an overview of the criteria.

Table 3.1 Feature matrix for nominals

	nouns	property nouns	adjectives
gender agreement	+	-	-
number agreement	+	- (default SG)	-
head of NP	+	+	-
possessive construction	+	+	-
adjectivaliser *-thé*	+	+/-	-
INS case	instrument	adverbial	adverbial

3.1.2 Nouns

Nouns constitute a large, open class of lexical items which readily accepts new members by forming neologisms or adding loanwords from other languages. Nouns are typically referential and denote objects, locations, abstract notions, kinship relations, and proper names.

Semantically nouns can be subdivided into common nouns, kinship nouns, and proper nouns. Common nouns depict the natural world (*no* 'rain', *ttfö* 'creek', *ymd* 'bird') as well as artifacts (*mnz* 'house', *nag* 'grass skirt', *kufraru* 'bamboo flute') or abstract concepts (*bthan* 'magic', *wath* 'dance (n)', *dradr* 'taboo'). Common nouns are syntactically least restricted, i.e. they enter into most constructions and can be marked for all cases compared to the other nominal subclasses. Kinship nouns can intrinsically be specified for gender (*ŋafe* 'father', *ŋame* 'mother') or be flexible as to which gender is assigned (*nane* 'elder sibling', *ngth* 'younger sibling'). Many kinship terms are self-reciprocal (*ŋäwi* 'maternal uncle ↔ sister's child', *yamit* 'exchange cousin ↔ exchange cousin'). Kindship nouns frequenty enter the close possessive construction (§4.7.1). Proper nouns consist of personal names and place names. Place names are always feminine and they are often compounds made up of a plant name and the word *zfth* 'base, stem, reason' like in the place name *gani zfth* ('Endiandra brassii + base'). Proper nouns are hardly ever modified by demonstratives, quantifiers or adjectives.

Nouns are distinct from other nominals in being the only lexical items which trigger gender agreement. The agreement target is the 3rd person singular prefix of the verb. Gender agreement and the semantics of the gender system will be explained in §5.5.2 and §11.2 respectively. Additionally, nouns trigger number agreement, in this they resemble other nominals subclasses such as pronouns. The agreement target for number depends on the type of argument, but it in-

volves three distinct verbal affix slots (the undergoer prefix, the actor suffix, and the duality marker). The verb morphology will be laid out in chapter 5, but we get a glimpse of the agreement system below in the examples (5-8).

Nominal number marking takes place on the level of the noun phrase, leaving aside the use of numerals. Nominal number marking is underspecified for three reasons. First, only animates are marked for number, especially humans. Example (1) shows the allative case marker on several nominals, and only the animate referents are marked for number. Note that the spatial cases (locative, allative, ablative) have special formatives for animate referents (§4.8). Second, number marking on the noun only occurs when the respective noun phrase is flagged with a case marker. Thus, nouns out of context or noun phrase in the absolutive case, which is zero, have no nominal number marking. Third, nominal number marking is based on a singular versus non-singular distinction.[1] The full three-way distinction between singular, dual and plural in encoded in the verb. It follows that the majority of nouns or noun phrases are underspecified for number, and for core case arguments, number is assigned morpho-syntactically via the agreement system of the verb.

(1) *wati* ***nzedbo*** *zanrifthath* ***mayawanmedbo*** *rouku* ***bänefo*** *...* ***masufo****.*

wati nzedbo zan\rifth/ath
then 1NSG.ALL 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/send
mayawa=medbo rouku bäne=fo (.) masu=fo
PROP.N=ALL.ANIM.NSG PLACE.N RECOG=ALL (.) PLACE.N=ALL

'Then they send the word to us ... to the Mayawas in Rouku ... to there ... to Masu.'

(tci20120814 ABB #34-35)

Nouns may undergo reduplication which then signals plurality and/or non-prototypicality, as in *yawiyawi* 'money, coins' from *yawi* 'seed' or *yamyam* 'marks' from *yam* 'footprint'. An example is given below in (2) and (3). Example (2) shows the noun *znsä* 'work', while the reduplicant *znsäznsä* was often used for the kind of elicitation, recording and transcription work that I was doing (3).

(2) ***znsä*** *kwabznwrme dagon fawr*

znsä kwa\bz/nwrme dagon faw=r
work 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/work food payment=PURP

'We worked for food.'

(tci20120924 TRK #50)

[1]The associative case is an exception. With animate referents it is used for the inclusory construction (§7.6), and there values are dual and plural, instead of singular and non-singular.

(3) The speaker shows me a particular plant that is sold in Sota. She decides not dig out the root, but come back later, because we were making a recording.

thrma n kwot thräre bänema ***znsäznsär*** *thwanyan*

thrma	n	kwot	thrä\r/e	bäne=ma
later	IMN	properly	1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/do	MED=CHAR
znsä-znsä=r			thwan\yan/	
REDUP-work=PURP			2|3DU:SBJ:RPST:IPFV:VENIT/walk	

'Later, we will get them out properly because you came for work.'

(tci20130907-02 JAA #251)

In order to derive adjectives, some nouns take the adjectivaliser suffix *-thé*. We can see this most clearly in the color terms: *kwayanthé* 'white' from *kwayan* 'light' or *frkthé* 'red' from *frk* 'blood'. The productivity of *-thé* is rather limited and there are a number of lexical items which show frozen morphology. For example, *yfrsé* 'black' from *yfr* 'Syzygium sp' (used for black paint) shows an irregular variant, *-sé* instead of *-thé*. For *dbömsé* 'blunt' there is no corresponding noun without the suffix. The restrictions in terms of productivity can be explained by the presence of a class of property nouns to be discussed below in §3.1.3. Additionally, there is an alternative strategy for colour and shape adjectives, which involves the formation of a compound with the word *woku* 'skin' suffixed by the adjectivaliser. The Komnzo equivalent for English 'green' is expressed by *wämne taga wokuthé* 'tree leaf skin-like' or the translation of 'round' is *aki wokuthé* 'moon skin-like'. An example of this is given in (4) below, where the speaker characterises a man as looking a bit 'boyish'.

(4) *fi* ***sraksrak wokuthé*** *yara.*

fi	srak-srak	woku-thé	ya\r/a
3.ABS	REDUP-boy	skin-ADJZR	3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be

'He was a bit boyish.'

(tci20131013-03 ABB #211)

All common nouns can serve as the host for case clitics (ergative, dative, possessive, locative, allative, ablative, instrumental, characteristic, purposive, associative, proprietive, privative, similative) or receive other nominal morphology (exclusive, emphatic). As I describe in §4.3, it is at the level of the noun phrase that a case markers operate. NPs headed by a noun can function as arguments or adjuncts, as well as complements of the copula. This is illustrated by the ergative and absolutive-marked arguments in example (5)[2]. Example (6) shows a locative-marked noun which functions as an adjunct.

[2]The absolutive case is unmarked. In example (5), the word *garda* 'canoe' is glossed with an absolutive case in brackets. This is the only example with such a gloss and subsequently arguments in absolutive case will not be glossed as ABS.

(5) ***brbrf garda*** *bifnza.*

brbr=f garda
spirit=ERG.SG canoe(ABS)
b=y\fn/nza
MED=2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/hit

'The spirit was hitting (against) the canoe there.'

(tci20120904 MAB #87)

(6) ***masun*** *ni fä nzwamnzrm.*
masu=n ni fä nzwa\m/nzrm
PLACE.N=LOC 1NSG DIST 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell

'We were staying in Masu over there.'

(tci20120819-02 LNA #100)

Nouns typically function as the head of a noun phrase or as the head of a nominal compound. Compounds will be described in §7.5.2. Example (7) shows the noun *waniwani* 'picture, shadow' as the head of the noun phrase modified by the demonstrative *zane* and the adjective *katan*. Nouns may become a modifier within a noun phrase. In the nominal compound in (8) the two nouns act as head (*kam* 'bone') and modifier (*tauri* 'wallaby').

(7) *fof zäbth* [*zane katan* ***waniwani***].

fof zä\bth/ zane katan waniwani
EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/finish DEM:PROX small picture

'This little movie is finished.'

(tci20120914 RNA #63)

(8) *ŋathayé* [***tauri kam***] *yanathrth.*

ŋatha=yé tauri kam ya\na/thrth
dog=ERG.NSG wallaby bone 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/eat

'The dogs are chewing a wallaby bone.'

(tci20120818 ABB #42)

3.1.3 Property nouns

There is a class of lexical items in Komnzo which shares features of both nouns and adjectives. I will refer to them as property nouns because they denote either physical properties (*fagwa* 'width', *dambe* 'thickness', *zrin* 'heaviness') or abstract

mental states (*noku* 'anger', *miyo* 'desire', *miyatha* 'knowledge', *weto* 'happiness'). A few property nouns are more event-oriented expressing behavioural patterns (*mogu* 'concentration', *ofe* 'absence', *müsa* 'restlessness', *zirkn* 'persistence', *waro* 'theft, deception'). Note that I translate property nouns in the glosses sometimes as abstract nouns (*miyamr* 'ignorance', *züb* 'depth') and sometimes as adjectives ('ignorant' and 'deep' respectively). I see no analytic gain in choosing one over the other, and applying it consistently to all glosses in this grammar. The term property noun is chosen because most members of this word class express some physical or non-physical property, only a minority of them are event-oriented.

Property nouns can act as the head of a noun phrase and as such they act as the host for all case clitics just like nouns. With respect to the verb indexation, they are syntactically inert in two points. First, property nouns do not register in the undergoer prefix and consequently do not trigger gender agreement. Consider the two elicited examples in (9). In (9a), the undergoer slot is filled by an invariant middle marker, and only the subject argument is indexed. The middle template has a number of functions described in §5.4.5. One of these functions is the suppressed object function shown in (9a). The object is not indexed in the undergoer prefix of the verb form. This always occurs with property nouns, which creates an indeterminacy as to the argument status of *twof* 'heat' in (9a). Both translations given in (9a) are possible. In the first, the property noun is the object, in the latter it is a nominal predicate. Example (9b) shows that this ambiguity is resolved, if an argument – in this case a 3SG.FEM – is indexed in the prefix. As mentioned above, the verb prefix does not index property verbs like *twof*. The object argument must be a different noun, for example *bad* 'ground, earth', which is put into parentheses. Note that, irrespective of whether or not the object noun phrase is present or omitted from the clause, the third singular feminine indexed in the verb cannot refer to the property noun *tuof*.

(9) a. *efothf* ***twof*** *ŋafiyokwr.*
efoth=f twof ŋa\fiyok/wr
sun=ERG.SG heat 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/make
'The sun creates the heat.' or 'The sun makes (something) hot.'

b. *efothf (bad)* ***twof*** *wäfiyokwr.*
efoth=f (bad) twof
sun=ERG.SG (ground) heat
wä\fiyok/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make
'The sun makes (the ground) hot.'

Note that with intransitive verbs, like the copula, property nouns function as nominal predicates. A clause like (10) can only be interpreted as having an

ellipted subject which is 3rd person singular masculine. It cannot be analysed in a way that *frasi* 'hunger' is the argument of the copula.

(10) ***frasi*** *yé.*
frasi \yé/
hungry 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'He is hungry.' not: 'It is hunger.'

Hence, we could say that property nouns escape indexation in the undergoer prefix and as a consequence there is no gender agreement. If informants are asked directly whether a given noun is feminine or masculine, they can answer this promptly, but with property nouns, they hesitate and often answer 'it depends'. In an example like (10), it depends on the intended meaning: 'she is hungry' or 'he is hungry'. Thus, it depends on the gender of the referent indexed in the copula, it does not depend of the property noun.

Secondly, property nouns indexed in the actor suffix trigger a default singular number agreement. This occurs in experiencer-object constructions (11) or in the middle template (12). In (11), the property noun *thkar* 'hardness' is flagged with the ergative case, and it is indexed in the suffix of the verb *fiyoksi* 'make'. In (12), *twof* 'heat' is in the absolutive case, and it is indexed in the suffix of the middle verb *sogsi* 'ascend'. In both examples, the indexed person-number value is 2|3SG. See §8.3.10 for experiencer-object constructions and §5.4.5 for a description of the middle template.

(11) The narrative is about a crocodile which shaped the environment when it travelled through the landscape a long time ago.

ŋanraknza zbo zf ziyé. zä zf fthé ***thkarf*** *yafiyokwa ziyé.*

ŋan\rak/nza zbo zf
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/crawl PROX.ALL IMM
z=yé zä zf fthé thkar=f
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST/be PROX IMM when hardness=ERG.SG
ya\fiyok/wa
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/make
z=yé
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'It crawled here to this place. That is when it got stuck right here.' (lit.: 'hardness made it')

(tci20120922-09 DAK #17-18)

(12) Part of rain making magic is to leave rotting meat in a closed container. After a couple of days its stinking content is released into the air in order to create rain. Thus, 'its heat' refers to the rotting flesh.

nafane ***twof*** *kresöbäth nzafarfo.*

nafane twof kre\söbäth/ nzafar=fo
3SG.POSS heat 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/ascend sky=ALL

'Its heat rose up to the sky.'

(tci20110810-01 MAB #45-46)

Example (12) shows that property nouns can enter into a possessive construction. This is another characteristic they share with nouns and which sets them apart from adjectives. In this case, *twof* is the possessed. Although there are no examples attested in the corpus where a property noun is the possessor, this is possible.

In both predicative and attributive constructions, property nouns take the adjectivaliser *-thé* optionally. An attributive construction in English like 'the embarrassed man' could be expressed as *fäsi kabe* or *fäsithé kabe*. The former could be translated as a compound 'shame man' and the latter 'embarrassed man'. Hence, when it comes to property nouns no clear distinction can be drawn between attributive constructions and nominal compounds in a predicative construction. Moreover, a predicative construction like English 'The man is ashamed' can also be expressed with or without the adjectivaliser *-thé* as either *kabe fäsi yé* or *kabe fäsithé yé*.

In addition to nominal modification, property nouns can have a predicative function. Property nouns may occur with light verbs (*rä-* 'do', *fiyoksi* 'make', *ko-* 'become') or phasal verbs (*thkäfsi* 'start', *bthaksi* 'finish'). In (13) the property noun *garam garam* 'sweet talk' expresses most of the semantics of the event while the phasal verb *thkäfksi* 'start' takes the inflection and indexing.

(13) A malevolent spirit is trying to convince a traveller to stay overnight.

garamgaram *srethkäf. "kwa ŋabrigwr? efoth byé!"*

garamgaram sre\thkäf/ kwa
sweet_talk 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start FUT
ŋa\brig/wr efoth b=\yé/
2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/return sun MED=3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/be

'She started sweet-talking him: "Will you go back? The sun is already setting!"'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #88-89)

Coverb + light verb constructions of this kind have been described for a number of Australian languages. For example, in Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt, 2000) or Bilinarra (Meakins and Nordlinger, 2014) we find a division of labour in complex predicates whereby a distinct word class of coverbs contributes most the meaning of an event while a light verb carries most of the inflectional material. In Komnzo, there are a few property nouns which seem to be more event-oriented in their semantics. However, there is insufficient morphological or distributional evidence for setting up a distinct word class of coverbs. In addition to the coverb function in example (13) above, property nouns can be used as secondary predicates. An example is provided in the use of *wri* 'intoxication' in (14).

(14) In this story an angry man is threatening the people at a dance. As a consequence of his actions, he is tackled down by others and tranquilised.

krärme srärirfth. ***wri*** *kwosi sfthnm.*

krär=me srä\rirf/th wri kwosi
kava=INS 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/kill intoxicated dead
sf\thn/m
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/lie.down

'They put him down with Kava. Then, he was lying down dead drunk.'

(tci20120909-06 KAB #95-96)

Property nouns marked with the instrumental case have an adverbial function. In example (15), the property noun *ktkt* 'narrow' is the single argument of the intransitive verb.[3] In example (16), *ktkt* takes the instrumental case and functions adverbially.

(15) A group of headhunters were preparing an attack. The sentence below is accompanied by a gesture which resembles the movement of the arms as if embracing a person.

kwot kar fthé wkrkwath wkrkwath wkrkwath a ***ktkt*** *zäkora fof.*

kwot kar fthé 3x(w\krk/wath) a
properly village when 3x(2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/block) and
ktkt zä\kor/a fof
narrow 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/become EMPH

'They were blocking and blocking the village by narrowing (the circle).'

(20111119-03 ABB #134)

[3] *ktkt* is not functioning as a secondary predicate in (15). It would be wrong to translate this as: 'They became narrow' because the verb is indexing 2|3SG and not 2|3NSG. Hence, a more literal translation should be: 'Narrowness became/happened.'

(16) During a plant walk, the speaker describes a particular plant called *grnzari* (Chantium sp) and the way it grows.

ktktme *erfikwr. nima fefe fof yrfikwr.*

ktkt=me e\rfik/wr nima fefe fof
narrow=INS 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/grow like really EMPH
y\rfik/wr
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/grow

'They grow closely together. This one really grows like that.'

(tci20130907v-02 RNA #705)

3.1.4 Adjectives

Adjectives form a small class of lexical items in Komnzo. Semantically, adjectives denote size (*kafar* 'big, great', *katan* 'small', *yabun* 'fat, big', *tnz* 'short', *zanfr* 'tall'), quality (*namä* 'good', *gathagatha* 'bad'), age (*zafe* 'old', *zöftha* 'new'), physical property (*kwosi* 'rotten, dead', *kwik* 'sick', *tayo* 'ripe, dried', *gauyé* 'fresh, unripe') and human propensity (*dmnzü* 'silent', *yoganai* 'tired', *zäzr* 'exhausted'). Color adjectives, as we have seen in (§3.1.2), are derived from nouns by suffixing *-thé*. There are a few adjectives which show irregular forms of this suffix (*zisé* 'painful' from *zi* 'pain') and/or which lack a corresponding noun or property noun (*dbömsé* 'blunt'). Hence, these are treated as adjectives which show frozen morphology. In terms of size, there are about two dozen adjectives in Komnzo. The low number can be explained by the presence of a class of property nouns (§3.1.3).

There are three adjectives in Komnzo which are special in that they always follow the element which they modify. Two denote human propensity: *bana* 'poor, pitiful, hapless' and *kwark* 'deceased, late' (19). The third denotes quality: *fefe* 'true'.

Morphological evidence is provided by the adjectivaliser *-thé*, which cannot be suffixed at an adjective: **katanthé* 'small', **namäthé* 'good' or **tnzthé* 'short'. Some nouns, for example *kayanthé* 'white' (from *kwayan* 'light'), and all property nouns can take the adjectivaliser.

Adjectives may serve as the host for all case clitics, if they occur in the rightmost position of the noun phrase. This occurs if (i) the head of noun phrase has been ellipted (18) or (ii) if an adjective follows the head of the noun phrase (19). See §7.5 for further discussion of headedness and ellipsis. Example (17) shows an adjective preceding the head of the noun phrase. We see from these

examples, combined with the argument of ellipsis, that adjectives cannot function as the head of a phrase. This is supported by the observation that it is the head of a phrase which triggers agreement in the verb prefix and not the adjective.

(17) *bobomrwä arufe krathfänzr ...* ***zagr*** *karfo.*

bobo=mr=wä arufe kra\thfä/nzr (.) zagr
MED.ALL=PURP=EMPH PLACE.N 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/fly (.) far
kar=fo
village=ALL

'He would fly all the way to Arufe ... to a distant village.'

(tci20130903-04 RNA #144-145)

(18) The speaker explains the details of a fish trap. The trap consists of long basket-like structure within which a smaller basket is fitted in order to prevent fish from escaping.

wati, kofä fthé brigsir n krär, ***katanf*** *kwa ynbrigwr zbo.*

wati kofä fthé \brig/-si=r n krä\r/
then fish(ABS) when return-NMLZ=PURP IMN 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/do
katan=f kwa
small=ERG.SG FUT
yn\brig/wr zbo
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/return PROX.ALL

'When the fish tries to get out, the small (basket) will return them here.'

(tci20120906 MAB #56-57)

(19) *nzwamnzrm fof ... oromanä fof ... oroman* ***kwarkä***
nzwa\m/nzrm fof (.) oroman=ä fof (.)
1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell EMPH (.) old_man=ASSOC.PL EMPH (.)
oroman kwark=ä
old_man deceased=ASSOC.PL

'We just stayed with the old man ... with the late old man.'

(tci20130911 MBR #72-73)

As with property nouns, adjectives with an instrumental case can function adverbially. In (20), the adjective *gathagatha* 'bad' modifies the verb. In (21) the adjective *kwosi* 'rotten, dead' functions predicatively.

(20) A mother is scolding her daughter because she walks carelessly through the long grass.

kabothma! tayafe ***gathagathamenzo*** *niyak! kabothma!*

kaboth=ma tayafe gathagatha=me=nzo n\yak/
snake=CHAR PERS.N bad=INS=ONLY 2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk
kaboth=ma
snake=CHAR

'Tayafe, you walk in a bad way! (Watch out) for the snakes!'

(tci20130907v-02 JAA #143)

(21) After demonstrating how to roll a little whistle from a coconut leaf, the first attempt to blow the whistle fails because the coconut leaf was not fresh.

keke kwot yanor. zane ***katanme*** *kwosi yé.*

keke kwot ya\nor/ zane katan=me kwosi
NEG properly 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST/shout DEM:PROX small=INS dead
\yé/
3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/be

'It doesn't whistle properly. This one is a little rotten.'

(tci20120914 #55-56)

3.1.5 Quantifiers & Numerals

The quantifier subclass typically contains lexical items that are "modifiers of nouns that indicate quantity and scope" (Schachter and Shopen, 2007: 37). Quantifiers in Komnzo fall into two subclasses: non-numerical quantifiers (§3.1.5.1) and numerical quantifiers (§3.1.5.2), henceforth referred to as quantifiers and numerals respectively.

Both subclasses show similarities to adjectives. What unites them as a distinct subclass is the ability to take the distributive suffix (*-kak*). Quantifiers and numerals are the only roots that take the distributive suffix. Like adjectives, they can be flagged for case and may take the instrumental case (*=me*) with an adverbial function, for example indicating how many times a particular event occurred.

3.1.5.1 Quantifiers

There are five quantifiers in Komnzo: *matak* 'nothing', *frü* 'alone, single', *etha* 'few', *tüfr* 'many, plenty', and *bramöwä* 'all'.

Quantifiers may precede or follow the noun which they modify. That being said, it is much more common for a quantifier to follow the noun as in (22) and (23). Instances of a preceding quantifier are not attested in the corpus, but only verified through elicitation. (But see (28) below (and footnote 4) for a possible example).

(22) *kofä* ***bramöwä*** *fthé kränmtherth watik zzarä kwot threntfär … nä totkarä.*

kofä bramöwä fthé krän\mther/th watik
fish all when 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/come.up then
zzar=ä kwot thren\thfär/ (.) nä
net=ASSOC properly 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/jump (.) other
tot=karä
spear=PROP

'When all the fish come up, then they jump in with the nets ... others with spears.'

(tci20110813-09 DAK #28)

(23) *sitauane ŋare mane erna minu erna … nge* ***matak****.*

sitau=ane ŋare mane e\r/na minu
PERS.N=POSS.SG woman which 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be barren woman
e\rn/a (.) nge matak
2|3DU:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.) child nothing

'As for Sitau's two wives, they were barren women without children.'

(tci20120814 ABB #469)

Quantifiers may take the distributive suffix (*-kak*) which can be translated as 'each' to English. For semantic reasons, neither *matak* 'nothing' nor *bramöwä* 'all' take this suffix. Two examples of the distributive suffix are given below in (24) and (25).

(24) *we kwot we* ***näbikakme*** *… we nä wawa thfrärmth katan o kafar*

we kwot we näbi-kak=me (.) we nä wawa
also properly also one-DISTR=INS (.) also INDF yam
thf\rä/rmth katan o kafar
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/do small or big

'Again, they took another yam ... one each (garden plot) ... small or big.'

(tci20131013 ABB #364)

(25) After catching a monitor lizard, a couple of fish and a turtle.

watik, faso ***tüfrkak*** *erä.*

watik, faso tüfr-kak e\rä/
then, meat plenty-DISTR 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'Okay, there is plenty of different meat.'

(tci20120821-01 LNA #68)

Quantifiers may take an instrumental case (=*me*) in order to derive adverbs as is shown in example (26).

(26) *kabe ane* ***frümenzo*** *tnägsi zethkäfath.*
kabe ane frü=me=nzo tnäg-si ze\thkäf/ath
man DEM single=INS=ONLY lose-NMLZ 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/start

'The people began to scatter (lit.: began losing themselves alone)'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #54)

The distributive and the instrumental may also be suffixed to the same quantifier. In this case, their order is fixed: the instrumental follows the distributive as shown in example (27). The example also shows that, like other nominals, quantifiers can be reduplicated to indicate plurality.

(27) The speaker talks about types of bows and how different men use these according to their abilities and preferences.

zawe ***ffrükakmenzo*** *erä.*

zawe f-frü-kak=me-nzo e\rä/
preference REDUP-single-DISTR=INS=ONLY 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'They each have their preferences.'

(tci20120922-23 MAA #104)

Example (28) shows *etha* meaning 'few'. Note that the word *etha* can also mean 'three', which I describe in §3.1.5.2.

(28) ***tüfrmär*** *kafarkafar nrä ... komnzo* ***ethanzo****.*

tüfr=mär kafar-kafar n\rä/ (.) komnzo etha=nzo
plenty=PRIV REDUP-big 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) only few=ONLY

'We are not many old people ... just a few.'

(tci20121019-04 ABB #187-188)

Note in passing that in (28)[4] the quantifier *tüfr* 'plenty' is negated by using the privative case *=mär*. This is also possible with *etha*.

The two quantifiers *matak* 'nothing' and *bramöwä* 'all' deviate in their behaviour from other quantifiers. As mentioned above, they do not take the distributive suffix. Furthermore, they do not take the instrumental case *=me*. At least for *bramöwä* there might be an explanation as to why this is the case. The emphatic marker *=wä* forces the preceding morpheme to harmonise its vowel. If the preceding morpheme is the instrumental suffix, it will change from *=me* to *=mö*. It follows that, historically, *bramöwä* could be *bra=me=wä*. Since there is no corresponding lexical item *bra*, we are left to speculate, and accept it as a case of frozen morphology.

3.1.5.2 Numerals

The numerals of the Yam languages have received some attention in the literature because of their unique senary (base-6) system (cf. Donohue 2008, Hammarström 2009, and Evans 2009). In fact, Komnzo has two numeral systems: the senary system is unrestricted, but there is a second system with an upper limit of counting of four or five. This is similar to Donohue's description of Kanum, where an unrestricted system coexists with a restricted system (Donohue, 2008). Nowadays, one should include English numerals which constitute a third system commonly used in Komnzo. For the remaining description, I will concentrate on the senary system and the restricted system only.

The senary system is predominantly employed in ritualised counting as described in §1.3.3.1. The number of yams counted during a feast quickly runs up to severals thousands, for large feasts even tens of thousands. On the other hand, everyday counting hardly ever goes above four or five, and English numerals are borrowed in situations where approximation of larger numbers is insufficient, for example when trading goods, charging one's mobile phone credit, or counting the eleven members of a soccer team. Hence, we find a double numeral system in Table 3.2 below. One set of numerals is commonly used, but it is restricted to low numbers. A second set is employed only in ritualised counting, but it is virtually unlimited.

[4]In example (28) we can see that *tüfr* 'plenty' precedes the reduplicated adjective *kafarkafar* 'big'. The example is interpreted to have an elided noun *kabe* 'man' as its head, thus *kafarkafar* means 'the big ones'. This, then constitutes a corpus example of a quantifier preceding its head.

Table 3.2 The numeral system

VALUE		RESTRICTED	RITUALISED
1		*näbi*	*näbi*
2		*eda*	*yda*
3		*etha*	*ytho*
4		*asar*	*asar*
5		(*tabuthui, tabru*)	*tabuthui*
6	6^1	(*tabuthui nibo, nibo*)[5]	*nibo*
36	6^2		*fta*
216	6^3		*taruba*
1,296	6^4		*damno*
7,776	6^5		*wärämäkä*
46,656	6^6		*wi*

Beyond the observation of practices, evidence for this double system comes from the lexical items themselves. In everyday counting, the words for 'two' and 'three' are *eda* and *etha*. In ritualised counting, the words are *yda* and *ytho* respectively. The latter pair reflects older forms which have not undergone the loss of word-initial *y*. The sound change jə > e /#_ is attested in many pairs of lexical items between Komnzo and the neighboring Tonda varieties, e.g.: Wära *ymoth* 'girl' corresponds to Komnzo *emoth*. Another piece of evidence comes from the fact that the numeral *etha* 'three' can also mean 'a few' (cf. example (28) above). I take this as evidence for the fuzzy upper limit of the restricted set.

Large quantities can be constructed in the following way: a quantity of 72 is expressed as *eda fta* '2 36' (or '2 6^2'). A quantity of 73 would simply add *a näbi* 'and one' to the expression: *eda fta a näbi* '2 36 and 1'. Thus, the fact that *eda* precedes *fta* means '2 times 36', whereas the fact that *a näbi* follows *fta* means '36 plus 1'. This has the effect that values which are relatively simple in a decimal system result in a long string in Komnzo, for example English 'fifty' corresponds to Komnzo *näbi fta a eda nibo a eda* (lit. '1 x 36 and 2 x 6 and 2'). A senary system differs from a decimal system only in the location of simple and complex points in the number space, but not in its overall complexity. Consequently, there are values which require a very long string in English, but have

[5]The term for five shows two variants. The term for six also shows two variants one of which is a combination of *tabuthui* 'five' and *nibo* 'six'. Outside of ritualised yam counting, I have overheard this only a few times by younger speakers. Older speakers did not produce a term for six or were reluctant to do so. The combination *tabuthui nibo* might be explained by the way how ritualised counting works: While two men move a set of six yams, one of them will shout out the numbers. He continues to shout the current number as long as it takes to move to the next one (e.g.: 'two two two three'). This means that each cycle of six ends with *tabuthui nibo* 'five six'. It seems that some speakers have taken this collocation and reinterpreted it to mean 'six'. I take this as being indicative for the fuzzy upper limit of the restricted set.

a short expression in Komnzo, for example ‘forty-six thousand and six hundred and fifty-six’ corresponds to *wi* in Komnzo.

Numerals can take the same morphology as quantifiers (compare §3.1.5.1). There are no corpus examples of a numeral taking either the distributive suffix or the instrumental case suffix, but (29) below shows an example of a numeral with both. I was taught the phrase *näbikakme käznob!* ‘Drink it one-by-one!’ before I administered pain relief tablets to my friends and informants. I was corrected whenever I falsely used *näbime*, which means ‘in one go’ (lit.: with one).

(29) A speaker reports how his ancestors came to know about matchboxes.

nä kabe ***näbikakmenzo*** *... finzo miyatha thfrärm fof.*

nä kabe näbi-kak=me=nzo (.) fi=nzo miyatha
some men one-DISTR=INS=ONLY (.) 3.ABS=ONLY knowledge
thf\rä/rm fof
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be EMPH

‘Some people (one-by-one) ... only they held that knowledge.’

(tci20120909-06 KAB #13)

Ordinal numerals can be derived from cardinal numerals by attaching the characteristic case marker *=ma*. This is shown in examples (30) and (31).

(30) The speaker describes the three deceased husbands of an elderly lady.

fi sraksrak wokuthé yara ***ethama*** *mane yara.*

fi srak-srak woku-thé ya\r/a etha=ma
3.ABS REDUP-boy skin-ADJZR 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be three=CHAR
mane ya\r/a
who(ABS) 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be

‘As for the third one, he looked like a boy.’

(tci20131013-02 ABB #211)

(31) The speaker describes a namesake ceremony during which the name-giver will hold up the newborn. However, s/he will do so only at the third attempt.

ethama *bäne mane zrarä fof ... wfathwr ane fof.*

etha=ma bäne mane zra\rä/ fof
three=CHAR RECOG.ABS who(ABS) 3SG.FEM:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be EMPH
(.) w\fath/wr ane fof
(.) 2|3SG:SBJ>3SGFEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/hold DEM EMPH

'At the third (time) she will really hold her up.'

(tci20110817-02 ABB #106-107)

The numeral *näbi* 'one' can be used in the sense of 'one way' or 'for good'. Such an example is given in (32) below.

(32) A story about a man who lived with a demon woman in the forest is concluded with the following words.

wati, fi ***näbi*** *zäbrima. zbo yamnzr ane woga oten.*

wati fi näbi zä\brim/a zbo
then 3.ABS one SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/return PROX.ALL
ya\m/nzr ane woga ote=n
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell DEM man PLACE.N=LOC

'Then he returned for good. This man now lives here in Ote.'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #210-211)

3.1.6 Locationals

Komnzo has a small closed class of lexical items which I call locationals. Some members of this subclass are historically derived from nouns. Locationals may act as hosts case clitics, but for spatial cases only (locative, allative, and ablative). Table (3.3) lists all nine members.

Table 3.3 Locationals

FORM	GLOSS	HISTORICAL DERIVATION
warfo	above	*war* 'top layer' =*fo* (ALL)
banban	underneath	-
zfthen	below	*zéféth* 'base' =*en* (LOC)
mrmr	inside	-
zrfa	in front	*zér* 'tooth' =*fa* (ABL)
tharthar	next to	-
kamfa	behind	*kam* 'bone, backbone' =*fa* (ABL)
bobathm	at the end of	-
kratr	in between	-

Locationals occur always as modifiers following their head. A typical example is provided in (33) with *banban* 'underneath.'

(33) The speaker describes how people reacted when the Imperial Japanese Air Service flew attacks on Merauke in Dutch New Guinea during WWII.
fi fthé fof duga taga ***banbanen*** *boba kwatharwrmth fof*

fi fthé fof duga taga banban=en boba
3SG.ABS when EMPH taro leaf underneath=LOC MED.ABL
kwa\thar/wrmth fof
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/go.underneath EMPH

'That was really when they went underneath the taro leaves.'

(tci20131013-02 ABB #231-232)

I analyse these as locational nominals rather than postpositions, because like all nominals, they are marked for case. Additionally, as we can see in the third column of Table 3.1.6, some of the locational nominals are historically related to nouns. For these, I propose a path of development from a nominal compound to a lexical item of a different nominal subclass. As an example, let us hypothesize about the origin of *warfo* 'above'. In a first stage, there would have been a nominal compound *mnz war* 'house top' made up of two nouns *mnz* 'house' and *war* 'top'. Nominal compounds are described in (§7.5.2). This compound can be marked with the allative case productively, thus, producing *mnz warfo* 'to the top of the house'. In a second stage, *warfo* became a single lexical item 'above' and lost the specific allative semantics. As a consequence, it can now be marked for spatial cases, for example the locative case (*-n*), producing *mnz warfon* 'on top of the house'. This is commonly found in Komnzo, although presently there is no example in the corpus. Lexicalization of this kind has progressed to varying degrees with the four locationals where a nominal derivation is a possible scenario. While *warfo*, *kamfa* and *zrfa* are commonly marked with the locative case clitic, this is not the case with *zfthen*. Hence, *zfthen* is at a transitional stage between a noun with productive morphology (the locative case *=en*) and a locational. The choice depends on whether one analyses *zfth* in expressions like *mnz zfth* 'house base' as part of a noun+noun compound or as a noun+locational construction.

Two characteristics unite locationals as a word class. Locationals always follow the item which they modify, and they take only spatial cases. As we will see in §4.8, spatial cases can be extended to cover temporal semantics as in (34) below.

(34) *zena kwa ŋatrikwé fof ... nimame zrethkäfé zane ezi* ***mrmren***

zena kwa ŋa\trik/wé fof (.) nima=me
today FUT 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell EMPH (.) like_this=INS
zre\thkäf/é zane ezi mrmr=en
1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/start DEM:PROX morning inside=LOC

'Today, I will tell (a story) ... I will start like this in this morning.')

(tci20110802 ABB #28-29)

3.1.7 Temporals

Temporals are a functional class with members from different nominal subclasses which encode temporal semantics. Beyond the shared reference to time, temporals are united by their ability to act as hosts for a special set of temporal case clitics. Temporals are flexible with respect to their position in the clause, but they occur most commonly in initial position.

Temporals comprise lexical items of three word classes. The first are nouns denoting different times of the day (*ezi* 'morning', *efoth* 'day', *zizi* 'afternoon, dusk', *zbär* 'night'). The second group consists of time adverbials (*zena* 'now, today', *kayé* 'yesterday, tomorrow', *nama* 'two days ago, two days in the future', *nümä* 'a week ago, a week ahead'). Except *zena*, these are bidirectional in their semantics. Thus, *kayé* could be glossed as '± 1 day', *nama* as '± 2 days' and *nümä* as '± a few days'. As for the latter two, the edges of the time interval are less clearly demarcated. Note that bidirectionals are found in other Papuan languages, for example in Usan (Reesink, 1987: 70). The third group of temporals consists of the three adjectives *zöftha* 'before, first', *zafe* 'old, long time ago', and *thrma* 'later, after', all unidirectional in their semantics.

The uniting characteristic of this class is its ability to take a special set of temporal cases. There are three temporal cases in Komnzo: the temporal locative (=*thamen*) 'at that time', the temporal possessive (=*thamane*) 'that time's' and the temporal purposive (=*thamar*) 'for that time'. Temporal cases are discussed in §4.9. In the following examples, the temporal purposive case is used on the noun *ezi* (35), on the time adverbial *nama* and the English loanword 'Friday' (36) and on the temporal adjective *thrma* (37).

(35) After a long day of work which involved felling a sago palm and transporting the trunk along the river, the speaker tells his friends to leave the rest of the work for the next day.

nze thäkora "fefe yé ***ezithamar****. ezi né kwot sräfrmnze"*

nze thä\kor/a fefe
1SG.ERG 1SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak really
yé ezi=thamar ezi né
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV.be morning=TEMP.PURP morning try
kwot srä\frm/nze
properly 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/prepare

'I told them: "It is there for the morning. We will try and prepare it in the morning."'

(tci20120929 SIK #65)

(36) The speaker introduces a small text about a namesake ceremony which is about to be held two days later.

fam monme erä ... ***namathamar fraidethamar*** *... nge fathasi yamyam monme kwa ŋankwir*

fam mon=me e\rä/ (.) nama=thamar
thought how=INS 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) +|-2days=TEMP.PURP
fraide=thamar (.) nge fath-si yam-yam mon=me kwa
friday=TEMP.PURP (.) child hold-NMLZ REDUP-event how=INS FUT
ŋan\kwir/
2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/run

'(My) thoughts for the day after tomorrow, for Friday, are like this ... how the children's ceremony will run down ...'

(tci20110817-02 ABB #3-5)

(37) As part of a stimulus task, two speakers are going through a set of pictures in order to build a narrative out of them.

zane mane rä ***thrmathamar*** *zane rä.*

zane mane rä thrma=thamar
DEM:PROX which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be later=TEMP.PURP
zane rä
DEM:PROX 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'As for this one, this is for later.'

(tci20111004 RMA #236-237)

Temporals can also take spatial cases as in (38) with the temporal noun *ezi* 'morning' and in (39) with the time adverbial *zena* 'now'. The three adjectives of this subclass may also take spatial cases when they are in the final position of a noun phrase as in (40). In all of these cases, what is otherwise spatial marking is extended to express temporal semantics.

(38) The speaker describes the daily routine of the high school in Daru.

frasinzo nzwamnzrm ***ezifa*** *bobomr mor efoth*

frasi=nzo nzwa\m/nzrm ezi=fa bobomr mor
hunger=ONLY 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell morning=ABL until neck
efoth
day

'We were staying very hungry from the morning until mid day.'

(tci20120924-01 TRK #37)

(39) After describing how a headhunting raid in the speaker's grandfather's generation has almost wiped out all of the population of his village, he closes the story by pointing out that the population has increased again.

wati, ***zenafa*** *... ni tüfr nagayé kwakonzre.*

wati zena=fa (.) ni tüfr nagayé kwa\ko/nzre
then today=ABL (.) 1NSG plenty children 1PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/become

'Nowadays, we, the children, have become plenty. (lit.: from now on)'

(tci20111107-01 MAK #149-150)

(40) The speaker describes how a kundu drum is made. As a last step the drum skin is dried.

twofthé fthé krafiyokwr. ane ***thrmafa*** *zränthore.*

twof-thé fthé kra\fiyok/wr ane thrma=fa
heat-ADJZR when 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/make DEM after=ABL
zrän\thor/e
1PL:SBJ>3SG:FEM:IRR:PFV:VENIT/carry

'It has dried then. After that we bring it (the drum) here.'

(tci20120824 KAA #78-79)

Temporal nouns may also enter into a noun+locational construction (41) again with temporal interpretation of the locational.

(41) *zane namä* ***ezi mrmren*** *nzä kwa trikasi ŋatrikwé.*

zane namä ezi mrmr=en nzä kwa trik-si
DEM:PROX good morning inside=LOC 1SG.ABS FUT tell-NMLZ
ŋa\trik/wé
1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell

'In this beautiful morning, I will tell a story.'

(tci20111119-01 ABB #2-3)

3.1.8 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns form a closed subclass of nominals distinguishing three persons in both singular and non-singular number. Personal pronouns have distinct forms for case (absolutive, ergative, dative, possessive, associative, characteristic, locative, allative, ablative, and purposive), although some cases are not found in the pronouns (proprietive, privative, instrumental, and similative). The full list is given below in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Personal pronouns

case	1SG	1NSG	2SG	2NSG	3SG	3NSG
ABS	*nzä*	*ni*	*bä*		*fi*	
ERG	*nze*		*be*	*bné*	*naf*	*nafa*
DAT	*nzun*	*nzenm*	*bun*	*benm*	*nafan*	*nafanm*
POSS	*nzone*	*nzenme*	*bone*	*benme*	*nafane*	*nafanme*
ASSOC[a]	*ninrr*	*ninä*	*bnrr*	*bnä*	*nafrr*	*nafä*
CHAR	*nzonema*	*nzenmema*	*bonema*	*benmema*	*nafanema*	*nafanmema*
LOC	*nzudben*	*nzedben*	*budben*	*bedben*	*nafadben*	*nafanmedben*
ALL	*nzudbo*	*nzedbo*	*budbo*	*bedbo*	*nafadbo*	*nafanmedbo*
ABL	*nzudba*	*nzedba*	*budba*	*bedba*	*nafadba*	*nafanmedba*
PURP	*nzunar*	*nzenar*	*bunar*	*benar*	*nafanar*	

[a] Associative pronouns are used in the inclusory construction (§7.6). The encoded number values are not singular versus non-singular, but minimal versus augmented.

We can see from Table 3.4 that, as with the case markers, there is no number distinction in the absolutive. Only the first person is an exception here. On the other hand, in the first person non-singular, the absolutive and ergative categories are neutralised. Furthermore, Table 3.4 shows that the characteristic pronouns are built from the possessive forms by suffixing *-ma*. The three local cases and the purposive pronouns share formal similarity with the dative pronouns, namely the [u] vowel in the singular forms. Personal pronouns typically constitute a complete noun phrase (§7.1). Unlike nouns, personal pronouns cannot be modified by demonstratives or quantifiers.

3.1.9 Interrogatives

Cross-cutting the division of nominals is the subclass of interrogatives. These are roots used to indicate that the speaker does not know the (full) identity of a referent. Interrogatives belong to the following nominal subclasses: pronouns (*ra* 'what', *mä* 'where', *mane* 'who, which', *rma* 'why, for what'), quantifiers (*rénzam* 'how many'), temporals (*réthé* 'when') or sentence interrogatives (*mon* 'how'). The degree to which these can be marked for case varies. Interrogatives may constitute a full noun phrase (42) or fill the determiner slot (43).

(42) *ŋafyf* ***ra*** *kwa nm enzänzr?*

ŋafe=f ra kwa nm
father=ERG.SG what FUT maybe
en\zä/nzr
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/carry

'What might the father be carrying?'

(tci20111004 RMA #79)

(43) *eh,* [***ra*** *gru zane*] *ŋamitwanzr nabi tutin?*

eh ra gru zane ŋa\mitwa/nzr nabi
eh what shooting_star DEM.PROX 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/swing bamboo
tuti=n
branch=LOC

'Hey, what shooting star is swinging here on the bamboo branch?'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #127)

The roots which are syntactically most active are the interrogative pronouns *ra* 'what' and *mane* 'who, which'. Both can host almost all case clitics as we can see in Table 3.5.[6]

Table 3.5 Interrogative pronouns

case	object	person SG	person NSG
ABS	*ra*	*mane*	
	what	who, which	
ERG	*raf*	*maf*	*mafa*
	what	who, which	who (DU or PL)
DAT	*rafn*	*mafn*	*mafnm*
	to what	to whom	to whom (DU or PL)
PURP	*rar*	*mafanar*	*mafanmenar*
	for what	for who	for who (DU or PL)
INS	*rame*	-	-
	with what		
POSS	-	*mafane*	*mafanme*
		whose	whose (DU or PL)
CHAR	*rma*	*mafanema*	*mafanemema*
	for what, why	because of who	because of who (DU or PL)
ASSOC[a]	-	*mafrr*	*mafä*
		with who	with who
LOC	*rafen*	*mafadben*	*mafanmedben*
	at, in what	at who	at who (DU or PL)
ALL	*rafo*	*mafadbo*	*mafanmedbo*
	to what	to who	to who (DU or PL)
ABL	*rafa*	*mafadba*	*mafanmedba*
	from what	from who	from who (DU or PL)

[a] The associative interrogatives encode DU versus PL number instead of SG versus NSG. They are used in the inclusory construction (§7.6)

[6]Some cases are impossible on semantic grounds, for example the instrumental case with animate referents, or a associative case with inanimate referents.

We can make a number of observations from Table 3.5. First, as with other nominal morphology, only animates are marked for number. Second, the root *rma* 'why' patterns with *ra*. Thus, it reflects a reduction of an earlier more transparent form *rama* consisting of *ra* with the characteristic case marker *-ma*; literally: 'for what'.

The interrogatives *mä* 'where', *mobo* 'whither', *moba* 'whence' are not shown here because these interrogatives - along with *mane* 'which' - are part of a paradigm of demonstratives. As I will show below, Komnzo demonstratives make a fourway distinction between proximal, medial, distal, and interrogative. Compare Table 3.7 in §3.1.11 for the full set of demonstratives. The interrogative *mane* Table 3.5 can also be used for inanimates as in *mane kar* 'which village'.

Other interrogatives show a behaviour that aligns them with their respective nominal subclass. The temporal interrogative *rthé* 'when' may be marked for temporal case, for example *rthéthamane* 'from what time' in (44).

(44) The speaker explains that he will move his garden plot from year to year closer to the road.

highway kwa wthayfakwé fi ***rthéthamane****? ... ysokwren?*

highway kwa w\thayfak/wé fi
road FUT 1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/bring.out but
rth=thamane (.) ysokwr=en
when=TEMP.POSS (.) rainy_season=LOC

'I will bring (the garden) up to the road, but when? ... in which year (will I get there)?'

(tci20130823-06 STK #164-165)

The sentence interrogative *mon* 'how' frequently occurs with an instrumental case (=*me*). This is entirely optional and does not change its meaning. An example is presented in (45).

(45) *bä* ***monme*** *miyatha zäkor komnzo fi nimäwä miyatha zfrärm ... komnzo zokwasi.*

bä mon=me miyatha zä\kor/ komnzo
2SG.ABS how=INS knowledge 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST.PFV/become PROP.N
fi nima=wä miyatha zf\rä/rm (.) komnzo
3.ABS like=EMPH knowledge 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) PROP.N
zokwasi
language

'How you have learned Komnzo, she also knew it ... the Komnzo language.'

(tci20130911-03 MBR #18)

The interrogative quantifier *rnzam* 'how many, how much' occurs with a nominal head. It is possible for *rnzam* to be marked for case if it follows its head. However, there are no occurrences of this in the corpus. (46) shows an example where the nominal head (*kabe* 'man') has been elided and consequently *rnzam* is flagged with the ergative case marker.

(46) The speaker explains how a piece of wallaby skin is glued on a kundu drum.

rnzamé *thzé krekarth ... asar kabe o tabuthui kabe? ... neba thrakogr krekarth bäne ... tauri woku.*

rnzam=é thzé kre\kar/th (.) asar kabe o
how_many=ERG.NSG ever 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/pull (.) four man or
tabuthui kabe (.) neba thra\kogr/
five man (.) opposite 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:STAT/stand
kre\kar/th bäne (.) tauri woku
2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/pull RECOG (.) wallaby skin

'However many will pull ... four or five people? They will stand opposite and pull that one ... the wallaby skin.'

(tci20120824 KAA #89-92)

3.1.10 Indefinites

The indefinite marker in Komnzo is *nä*, and it covers the meaning of 'some, other, another'. I show below that *nä* behaves morpho-syntactically like a demonstrative. Note that the numeral *näbi* 'one' is etymologically related to the indefinite. This analysis is supported by other Yam languages, for example Nen where *ämb* means 'some' and *ämbs* means 'one' (Evans, forthcoming b). In Komnzo, *nä* is used to form the indefinite pronoun *nä bun* 'someone, some other'. In example (47), there are two occurences of *nä bun* in dative case and in characteristic case.

(47) *fi* ***nä bunn*** *saro!* ***nä bunanema*** *be zawob!*

fi nä_bun=n sa\r/o
but someone=DAT.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:IMP:PFV:ANDAT/give
nä_bun=ane=ma be za\wob/
someone=POSS.SG=CHAR 2SG.ERG 2|3SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/eat

'But you give it (the yam) to someone else! You eat from someone else's!'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #763-764)

Historically, *nä bun* consists of *nä* plus the second person singular dative pronoun *bun*. Synchronically, speakers no longer parse the two components as separate items. This is reflected in its grammatical behaviour: *nä bun* can be marked for the same range of cases as personal pronouns, and like personal pronouns it may consitute a complete noun phrase. Table 3.6 below lists all the case forms of *nä bun*.

Table 3.6 The indefinite pronoun

case	SG	NSG
ABS	*nä bun*	
ERG	*nä bunf*	*nä buné*
DAT	*nä bunn*	*nä bunnm*
POSS	*nä bunane*	*nä bunaneme*
ASSOC[a]	*nä bunrr*	*nä bunä*
CHAR	*nä bunanema*	*nä bunanemema*
LOC	*nä bundben*	*nä bunmedben*
ALL	*nä bundbo*	*nä bunmedbo*
ABL	*nä bundba*	*nä bunmedba*
PURP	*nä bunar*	*nä bunmenar*

[a] The associative forms encode DU versus PL number instead of SG versus NSG (§7.6).

Like the demonstratives (§3.1.11), the indefinite *nä* can stand alone and take a subset of case clitics. These are the instrumental (*näme* 'with some other'), characteristic (*näma* 'because of some other'), purposive (*nämr* 'for some other'), proprietive (*näkarä* 'with some other'). More commonly *nä* functions as an indefinite determiner as in: *nä kar* 'some, other place' → 'somewhere' or *nä rokar* 'some, other stuff' → 'something' or *nä kayé* 'some yesterday|tomorrow' → 'sometime'. This can be extended to *nä kabe* 'some, another man' → 'someone'. Two examples of this are given below in (48) and (49).

(48) The speaker talks about the people with whom his clan shares a land boundary.

wati ane ***nä kayé*** *thräkorth "ft kabe"*

wati ane nä kayé thrä\kor/th ft
well DEM INDF yesterday 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/say PROP.N
kabe
people

'Sometimes, they call those ones "*ft people*".'

(tci20120814 ABB #322)

(49) *masu mane rera* ***nä far*** *fä yrästhgra.*

masu mane \rä/ra nä far fä
PLACE.N which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be INDF post DIST
y\räs/thgra
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:STAT/be.erected

'As for Masu, there was another post planted over there.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #472)

Negative indefinites are expressed by adding the negator *keke* as in example (50). Thus, *nä zokwasi* means 'some words', but if negated by *keke* it expresses 'no words whatsoever'.

(50) *zokwasimär ŋafiyokwa ...* ***keke nä zokwasi.***

zokwasi=mär ŋa\fiyok/wa (.) keke nä zokwasi
word=PRIV 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/make (.) NEG INDF words

'He was speechless ... no words whatsoever'

(tci20110802 ABB #115-116)

Negative indefinites can also be constructed with interrogatives. This is a strategy attested in many languages (Haspelmath 1997, Haspelmath 2013). Thus, the concept of 'nobody' can be expressed by *kabe nä keke* (lit. 'people some not') or with an interrogative, for example *mane nä keke* (lit. 'who some not'). The order of elements is somewhat fixed in that the indefinite always follows the interrogative (51).

(51) ***keke mane nä*** *yanyaka keräfi fumaksir fof.*

keke mane nä yan\yak/a keräfi
NEG who INDF 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/walk arrow
fumak-si=r fof
pull.out-NMLZ=PURP EMPH

'Nobody came to pull out that arrow.'

(tci20120814 ABB #144)

In example (52), the speaker talks about *tütü* 'Pheasant Coucal', who was the guardian of fire before people knew about its existence. The first token of *nä* has scope over *kabe miyatha* ('people knowledge') and literally means 'no people's knowledge whatsoever'. The second token of *nä* is with the interrogative *ra* (what.ABS) and literally means 'she made them knowledgeable about nothing'.

(52) *zwärifthmo ...* ***kabe miyatha keke nä*** *...* ***keke ra nä*** *miyatha thfkonzrm. finzo miyatha zfrärm.*

zwä\rifthm/o (.) kabe miyatha
SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:PFV:ANDAT/hide (.) people knowledge
keke nä (.) keke ra nä miyatha
NEG INDF (.) NEG what INDF kowledgeable
thf\ko/nzrm fi=nzo miyatha
SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/become 3.ABS=ONLY knowledgeable
zf\rä/rm
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'She hid away (the fire) ... no one knew ... she told them nothing. Only she knew.'

(tci20131008-01 KAB #27-29)

Positive indefinites are expressed without the use of *nä*. Instead the particle *thzé* 'ever' is postposed to an interrogative, resulting in *ra thzé* 'whatever', *mane thzé* 'whoever, whichever'. An example with *rnzam* 'how many' is shown above in (46) and with *maf* 'who' below in (53).

(53) *zbo kwa sräzine* ***maf thzé*** *srewakuth.*

zbo kwa srä\zin/e maf
PROX.ALL FUT 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/put.down who.ERG
thzé sre\wakuth/
ever 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/pick.up

'We will put it down here (for) whoever will pick it up.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #479)

3.1.11 Demonstratives

Komnzo has a rich set of demonstratives. These form a functional class comprised of pronouns, determiners, adverbials, and verb (pro-)clitics. They are treated as a subclass of nominals because all can be marked for a subset of the cases. Only the verb clitics and the immediate demonstrative cannot be marked for case.

Dixon defines a demonstrative as "any item, other than 1st and 2nd pronouns, which can have pointing (or deictic) reference" (2003: 61-62). We can see in Table 3.7 below that among the more typical functions of demonstratives, i.e. spatial functions, there are some which border the notion of 'deictic reference'. These functions are recognitional ('shared knowledge'), anaphoric ('tracking'), immediate ('attention'), interrogative ('lack of knowledge'), and apprehensive

('warning'). In spite of this diversity of functions, the main formatives constitute a neat paradigm with a four-way distinction between proximal, medial, distal and interrogative. This quadripartite structure builds formally on the initial consonants: *z*, *b*, *f* and *m* respectively. The structure of the system is quite similar to Japanese demonstratives as decribed by Coulmas (1982).

Table 3.7 Demonstratives

	pronoun[a]	adverbial	adv.ALL	adv.ABL	verb clitic
PROX	*zane*	*zä*	*zbo*	*zba*	*z=*
	this	here	hither	hence	here
IMM		*zf*			
		right here			
MED	*bäne*	*bä*	*bobo*	*boba*	*b=*
	that	there	thither	thence	there
RECOG	*baf*				
	that one				
DIST	*ane*	*fä*	*fobo*	*foba*	*f=*
	DEM	yonder	to over there	from over there	yonder
INTERROG	*mane*	*mä*	*mobo*	*moba*	*m=*
	which	where	whither	whence	APPR
INDF	*nä*				
	some, other				

[a] These are demonstratives which fulfill both pronominal and determiner functions.

Following Diessel (1999), I will outline the syntactic distribution of demonstratives first. In Table 3.7, a number of demonstratives appear in shaded cells. These have additional functions and to some extent different syntactic distributions. They will be discussed in separate sections to follow.

Diessel (1999) defines four syntactic contexts in which demonstratives occur: as independent pronouns that occupy an adpositional or verbal argument position ('pronominal'); with nouns in noun phrases ('adnominal'); as verb modifiers ('adverbial'); and in copula and non-verbal clauses ('identificational'). Some languages have distinct lexical categories for each function. Thus, Diessel calls the four categories: demonstrative pronominals, demonstrative determiners, demonstrative adverbs, and demonstrative identifiers (1999: 3). See Himmelmann (1996), who makes similar distinctions. Demonstratives in Komnzo occur in all four syntactic contexts. Below, I use the proximal in order to illustrate the different syntactic contexts.

3.1.11.1 Pronominal and adnominal demonstratives

Demonstratives can be used pronominally (54) or adnominally (55).

(54) *moba **zane** nm nzyaniyak?*

moba zane nm
where.ABL DEM:PROX maybe
nz=yan\yak/
IPST=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/walk

'Where might this (man) have come from?'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #87)

(55) ***zane** namä ezi mrmren nzä kwa trikasi ŋatrikwé.*

zane namä ezi mrmr=en nzä kwa trik-si
DEM:PROX good morning inside=LOC 1SG.ABS FUT tell-NMLZ
ŋa\trik/wé
1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell

'In this beautiful morning, I will tell a story.'

(tci20111119-01 ABB #2-3)

When used pronominally, demonstratives serve as the host for a subset of the case clitics. The examples below show case marking with the instrumental (56), purposive (57), and characteristic case (58). Rarely, they occur with the proprietive (59), and there are no corpus examples with the privative case. Demonstratives are not marked for other cases, but they can take other nominal morphology like the exclusive clitic *=nzo* or the emphatic clitic *=wä*.

(56) *arammba yare **zaneme** zf äfiyokwre.*

arammba yare zane=me zf
PROP.N bag DEM:PROX=INS IMM
ä\fiyok/wre
1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make

'We make the Arammba bags with this one right here.'

(tci20130907-02 JAA #410)

(57) The speaker concludes a head-hunting story from the past.

*ebar fobo fof zäbtha. **zanemr** zena znrä.*

ebar fobo fof zä\bth/a zane=mr
head DIST.ABL EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/finish DEM:PROX=PURP
zena z=n\rä/
today PROX=1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'From this time onwards, the head-hunting finished. For this (reason), we are here today.'

(tci20111107-01 MAK #148-149)

(58) A young man raises his voice against women who complain about the hard work in the garden.

nafanmedben keke znsä rä. ***zanemanzo*** *ŋathwekwrth … yusi fathasimanzo.*

nafanmedben keke znsä rä
3NSG.ANIM.LOC NEG work 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
zane=ma=nzo ŋa\thwek/wrth (.) yusi
DEM:PROX=CHAR=ONLY 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be.happy (.) grass
fath-si=ma=nzo
hold-NMLZ=CHAR=ONLY

'The (hard) work is not with them. They are satisfied with just this (part) ... with just the weeding.'

(tci20130823-06 STK #109-111)

(59) The speaker shows me the roots of *kwazürkwazür* (Helminthostachis zeylanica), which are dried, transported and sold in Sota, Indonesia.

zane fthé keke srarä ziyarä keke kwa sräthorth moneyme. ***zanekaräsü*** *ane srarä kwot.*

zane fthé keke sra\rä/
DEM:PROX when NEG 3SG.MASC:IRR:IPFV/be
z=ya\rä/ keke kwa
PROX=3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/be NEG FUT
srä\thor/th money=me
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/carry money=INS
zane=karä=sü ane sra\rä/ kwot
DEM:PROX=PROP=ETC DEM 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be properly

'If this (root) is not here, they won't buy it. Only with all of this will they buy it.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #471-473)

Case marked demonstratives are frequently used as conjunctions to connect the following clause, especially demonstratives marked for the characteristic (*zanema, bänema, anema* 'therefore, because'), instrumental (*zaneme, bäneme, aneme* 'with this/that, thereby'), and the purposive (*zanemr, bänemr, anemr* 'therefore'). See (60) for an example with *bänema*.

(60) In this origin myth, two brothers are trying to kill a creature.

naf nima "samg! ***bänema*** *nä mbuné fof yruthrth byé … keke kwosi yathizr"*

naf nima sa\mg/
3SG.ERG like_this 2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PFV/shoot
bäne=ma nä bun=é fof
DEM:MED=CHAR otherv=ERG.NSG EMPH
y\ru/thrth
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/shoot
b=\yé/ (.) keke kwosi
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) NEG dead
ya\thi/zr
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/die

'He said: "Shoot it! because others are really shooting and it is not dying."'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #101-103)

What has been mentioned above, also holds for the interrogative *mane* 'who, which' in Table 3.7. Like other interrogatives, it can be used as a relative pronoun, and it can be marked for a subset of the case clitics: absolutive *mane* 'who, which', characteristic *manema* 'because of which', instrumental *maneme* 'with which', and purposive *manemr* 'for which'.[7] Below, an example with *maneme* is given in (61).

(61) *ane fathnzo zfrärm … wämne keke … dödönzo … dödö* ***maneme*** *ŋarenwre fath*

ane fath=nzo zf\rä/rm (.) wämne keke (.)
DEM clearing=ONLY 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) tree NEG (.)
dödö=nzo (.) dödö mane=me ŋa\ren/wre
PROP.N=ONLY (.) PROP.N which=INS 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sweep
fath
clearing.

[7]The animate referents for cases other than the absolutive are expressed by the interrogatives in Table 3.5.

'It was a clear place ... no trees ... only *dödö* ... that *dödö* with which we sweep the place' (the twigs of *dödö* are used to make brooms)

(tci20120821-02 LNA #25-27)

The description of demonstratives leaves us with an analytic problem. Is there justification for setting up two separate subcategories: demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative determiners? The fact that they can stand for a whole noun phrase is not sufficient evidence for setting up an independent subcategory of demonstrative pronouns because the head of a noun phrase can be omitted and leave only a modifier including a demonstrative determiner. The demonstratives described here do not take the full range of cases as other pronouns, for example the personal pronouns (3.1.8), the indefinite (3.1.10) and recognitional pronoun (3.1.11.6). Therefore, I decribe them simply as demonstratives with a pronominal and adnominal function.

3.1.11.2 Adverbial demonstratives

Table 3.7 includes a column of adverbial demonstratives (e.g. *zä* 'here') with a dedicated form for the allative (*zbo* 'hither') and the ablative case (*zba* 'from here'). These are used for verbal modification as in example (62) with *zä* 'here' and in example (63) with *foba* 'from there' and *zbo* 'hither'.

(62) *taurianeme moth **zä** wnthn.*

tauri-aneme moth zä
wallaby=POSS.NSG path PROX
wn\thn/
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/lie.down

'The wallabies' path lies here.'

(tci20130903-01 MKW #35)

(63) The speaker describes the behaviour of a particular bird.

*wati, ane **foba** ŋanmonziknwr **zbo** wänyak zane mnz zf wrwr*

wati ane foba ŋan\monzikn/wr zbo
then DEM DIST.ABL 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/prepare PROX.ALL
wän\yak/ zane mnz zf
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/walk DEM:PROX house IMM
w\r/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/build

'Then, this (bird) prepares over there and she comes here to build her nest right here.'

(tci20120815 ABB #48)

3.1.11.3 Clitic demonstratives

Diessel (1999) includes the syntactic context of identification (identificational demonstratives) and finds a distinct class (demonstrative identifiers) in a number of languages. We find both the syntactic context as well as the distinct class in the language.

Komnzo possesses a set of deictic verbal proclitics which I call clitic demonstratives. Compare Table 3.7 above. They are used for identification and can attach to any inflected verb. In example (64) two brothers are trying to kill a creature by shooting an arrow into its heart.

(64) *naf nima "keke fi miyamr erä fofosa mä rä. nze komnzo* ***zimarwé*** *fof"*

naf nima keke fi miyamr e\rä/ fofosa
3SG.ERG QUOT NEG 3.ABS ignorance 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be heart
mä rä nze komnzo
where 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV.be 1SG.ERG only
z=y\mar/wé fof
PROX=1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/see EMPH

'He said: "They don't know where its heart is. I can see it here."'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #104-105)

While they can attach to any verb, clitic demonstratives are found with the copula in 90% of the tokens. Usually, the copula follows the main verb, as in example (65) and (66). The clitic demonstrative plus copula stands in apposition to the main clause, but they often form one intonational unit.

(65) *fi zena zane zf dö sakwré* ***ziyé****.*

fi zena zane zf dö
but today DEM:PROX IMM goanna
sa\kwr/é
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:RPST:PFV/hit
z=\yé/
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'But today I have killed this goanna here.'

(tci20120821-01 LNA #67)

(66) *yasifa foba fof ni zane zewärake zena* ***znrä***

yasi=fa foba fof ni zane
PERS.N=ABL DIST.ABL EMPH 1NSG DEM:PROX
ze\wär/ake zena z=n\rä/
1PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/crack today PROX=1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'From Yasi, from him we originate and today we are here.'

(tci20111107-01 MAK #86)

The clitic demonstrative plus copula is the primary strategy to make an identificational reference much like English 'there it is' or 'here you go'. This is usually accompanied by a pointing gesture. Diessel points out that in other languages "demonstrative identifiers are often functionally equivalent to a demonstrative plus copula" (1999: 10). Thus, Komnzo confirms this pattern and, therefore, I analyse the clitic demonstrative plus copula as one unit. I adopt the label demonstrative identifier from Diessel. I adress this topic again the description of verb morphology (§ 5.6.2).

The demonstrative identifier always agrees with some element in the main clause. Hence, if the argument in the clause is modified by a medial demonstrative, that same medial category will be used in the demonstrative identifier. An example with the proximal categories is given in (67) below. Note that the medial demonstrative identifier *byé* instead of the proximal *ziyé* would render the stentence ungrammatical.

(67) Two speakers are going through a set of picture cards as part of a stimulus task. One speaker points out a character on a card.

zane kabe zf yé ***ziyé***

zane kabe zf \yé/
DEM:PROX man IMM 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
z=\yé/
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'It is this man right here.'

(tci20111004 RMA #51)

The verbal clitic *m=* is a special case. It can be attached to a copula which will produce a question as in example (68) below.

(68) The speaker looks around for a particular tree type to show to me. Then she suddenly finds it.

myé *yorär? yorär ziyé … zikogr.*

m=\yé/ yorär yorär
where=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be PROP.N PROP.N
z=\yé/ (.)
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.)
z=y\kogr/
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:STAT/stand

'Where is yorär (Syzygium sp)? Yorär is here ... It stands here.'

(tci20130907-02 JAA #449-451)

The same *m=* clitic, when attached to verb forms in imperative or irrealis mood, receives an apprehensive interpretation: 'don't do X' or 'you might X'. Such an example is given below in (69). The *m=* clitic will be discussed in §3.5.2 and again in §6.3.2 as part of the TAM system.

(69) The speaker shows me the nest of the weaver ant.

aya msar ***mkrätrth!***

aya msar m=krä\tr/th
oh ant APPR=2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/fall

'Oh, the ants might fall down!'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #678)

3.1.11.4 Anaphoric *ane*

In Table 3.7 *ane* has been glossed as a general demonstrative (DEM), even though it is placed in the paradigm position where one would expect the distal demonstrative. However, *ane* has no spatial reference, but it is used for anaphoric reference. It marks a referent which has been established in the preceding context. Consequently, *ane* marks definiteness and is the opposite of the indefinite *nä* (§3.1.10). Both cannot occur in the same noun phrase.

There is evidence from several sources that *ane* is the result of phonological reduction and semantic bleaching. Recordings from the 1980's by Mary Ayres contain a number of occurences of a demonstrative *fane* and older speakers today identify this as 'the way, how old people used to speak'. Indeed, the position in the paradigm would suggest an initial consonsant *f*. This is attested in other Tonda varieties, e.g. Wartha Thuntai *fana*. We can conclude that this demonstrative has undergone phonological reduction from *fane* to *ane* over the last two generations of speakers. Moreover, we can infer semantic bleaching from spatial (distal) to anaphoric (tracking) from its position in the paradigm. However, we cannot put a time frame to the process of semantic bleaching, because it is unclear whether or not *fane* had a spatial meaning in the old recordings in addition to its anaphoric use.

The anaphoric demonstrative behaves in other respects like the demonstrative pronouns and determiners (cf. §3.1.11.1). One exception is the agreement described in §3.1.11.3 between the demonstrative in the main clause and the demonstrative identifier. Since *ane* has no spatial reference, it may combine with

the proximal and the medial demonstrative identifier as can be seen in example (70) and (71) respectively.

(70) *fintäth* ***ane ziyé*** *... yemanme dagon.*

fintäth ane z=yé yem=anme dagon
PROP.N DEM PROX=3SG.MASC:NPST.be cassowary=POSS.NSG food

'This fintäth (Semecarpus sp) here is the cassowaries' food.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #316)

(71) *watik, nge* ***ane*** *zefar* ***byé*** *ruga monegsir.*

watik nge ane ze\far/
then child DEM 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/set.off
b=yé ruga moneg-si=r
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be pig wait-NMLZ=PURP

'Then, the boy there set off to take care of the pig.'

(tci20130901-02 YUK #7)

3.1.11.5 Immediate *zf*

The immediate demonstrative *zf* is related to the proximate series on the basis of it sharing the first consonant. The immediate adds a pragmatic component to the spatial function of demonstratives, in that it draws the addressee's attention to someone or something in close proximity. It is often accompanied by a pointing gesture. Therefore I translate *zf* as 'right here' to English. We have seen *zf* already in examples (56), (63) and (67) above.

Zf is syntactically inert as it cannot be marked for case. It occurs in preverbal position and only the TAM particles or the negator may occur between the immediate demonstrative and the verb, as in example (72) below.

(72) *zane* ***zf*** *kwa esinzre zöbthé*

zane zf kwa e\si/nzre zöbthé
DEM:PROX IMM FUT 1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/cook first

'We will cook these (yams) right here first.'

(tci20121001 ABB #62)

3.1.11.6 Recognitional *baf*

I will use the term recognitional demonstrative for *baf* in line with (Himmelmann, 1996) who discusses a distinct recognitional use of demonstratives. The recognitional is analysed as a pronoun since it can be marked for all cases, and has both animate and inanimate forms (See Table 3.8). A number of Australian languages have a dinstinct lexical item for this use, e.g.: Nunggubuyu (Heath, 1984) and Yankunytjatjara (Goddard, 1985). See (Himmelmann, 1996: 231ff.) for further discussion. Murray Garde characterises the recognitional demonstrative in Bininj Gunwok as reflecting "a belief on the part of the speaker that sufficient common ground exists for hearers to make the necessary inferences" (2013: 250).

In Komnzo *baf* has a number of uses which all echo the notion of common ground. A speaker may use *baf* to introduce a referent which he believes the hearer to know about. This can be a first mention of a referent which is not topical or in focus (i.e.: from an earlier part of a narrative). The recognitional is often used as a filler in tip-of-the-tongue situations like 'whatchamacallit' in English. In the latter case, the addressee is invited to ask for the referent or, more commonly to fill in the appropriate word. Hence, the recognitional can be used pragmatically to keep a conversation going and assure the addressee's attention. Furthermore, the recognitional is often employed as a strategy of circumspection, for example if the speaker is in a taboo relationship with a person and avoids using her or his proper name.

Example (73) is a first mention of a particular person in a narrative. Although not required, it is quite common for the speaker to fill in the 'missing' referent after a short lapse.

(73) The narrative is about a man who got married to a widow.

mabata fi mezü zwamnzrm. ***bafane*** *mezü rera ... masenane mezü.*
mabata fi mezü zwa\m/nzrm baf=ane
PROP.N 3.ABS widow 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell RECOG=POSS.SG
mezü \rä/ra (.) masen=ane mezü
widow 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.) PROP.N=POSS.SG widow

'Mabata stayed as a widow. She was this one's widow ... Masen's widow.'

(tci20120814 #18-20)

The recognitional demonstrative is built on the medial demonstrative, as we can tell by the initial consonant *b*. It follows that the recognitional must have emerged through semantic extension from the medial demonstrative, and only later developed distinct forms for all the cases. We find that a number of forms serve a double function. For example, *bäne* can function as demonstrative pronoun ('that') and as recognitional pronoun ('the one I presume that you know about'). But the two differ in their combinatorics. While the demonstrative can modify

as well as replace a nominal head of a phrase, the recognitional operates only pronominally. I have already shown in example (73) that it is quite common for a speaker to fill in the intended referent of a recognitional herself, sometimes after the clause, sometimes after a short pause. This leaves us with the problem of distinguishing the medial demonstrative from the recognitional in a phrase like *bäne kabe*. However, prosody will signal which of the two is it. If both words belong to the same intonation contour, it is the medial demonstrative: 'that man'. If there is short break in the intonation or a longer pause, it is the recognitional: 'that one ... the man'. The other case forms which are formally identical are impossible to distinguish in a clear way. For example, *bänema* 'therefore, because' is often used to connect another clause (cf. §3.1.11.1). In this case we always find a break in the intonation. It is best to interpret the formal identity as a signal of the semantic extension of the medial demonstrative. That being said, it would be wrong to conclude that the recognitional is merely a function of the medial demonstrative.

As we can seen in Table (3.8), the recognitional can be marked for all cases. In this respect the recognitional surpasses even personal pronouns in the richness of its distinction because there are animate and inanimate case forms.

Table 3.8 The recognitional pronoun

CASE	SG	NSG
ABS	*bäne*	
ERG	*baf*	*bafa*
DAT	*bafn*	*bafnm*
POSS	*bafane*	*bafaneme*
ASSOC[a]	*bafrr*	*bafä*
CHAR.ANIM	*bafanema*	*bafanemema*
LOC.ANIM	*bafdben*	*bafnmedben*
ALL.ANIM	*bafdbo*	*bafnmedbo*
LOC.ANIM	*bafdba*	*bafnmedba*
PURP.ANIM	*bafnar*	*bafnmenar*
INS	*bäneme*	
PROP	*bänekarä*	
PRIV	*bänemär*	
CHAR	*bänema*	
LOC	*bafen*	
ALL	*bänefo*	
LOC	*bänefa*	
PURP	*bänemr*	

[a] The associative forms encode DU versus PL number instead of SG versus NSG (§7.6).

3.1.11.7 Manner demonstrative *nima*

Komnzo has a manner demonstrative *nima* which is best translated as 'like this' or 'do this way'. In some languages this function is assigned to the class of verbs, for example Boumaa Fijian and Dyirbal (Dixon, 2003: 72). In other languages it is a nominal, for example Kayardild (Evans, 1995: 214). *Nima* falls in the latter category. It is a nominal which can be marked for a subset of cases (instrumental, characteristic, purposive, proprietive, and privative). It shares no morphosyntactic characteristics with verbs, but may either modify a verb (74) or express a whole event (75). In (74) it is accompanied by the appropriate gesture describing how and where the person was standing. In (75) it expresses the whole following clause ('that I was walking towards them').

(74) The speaker describes the distance at which his friend stood when a wild pig came running. While talking, he points to a tree about 3 metres away.

ruga ŋankwira ***nima*** *sankuka bä byé.*

ruga ŋan\kwir/a nima
pig 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/run like_this
san\kuk/a bä
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/stand MED
b=yé
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'The pig came running and he stood like this over there.'

(tci20110810-02 MAB #34)

(75) The speaker describes how he met his friends in the forest by chance.

fi miyamr thfrärm ***nima*** *... nzä we ane fof kwofiyakmo nafanmedbo ... we nzä miyamr kwofrärm.*

fi miyamr thf\rä/rm nima (.) nzä we ane
3.ABS ignorant 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be like_this (.) 1SG.ABS also DEM
fof kwof\yak/mo nafanmedbo (.) we nzä
EMPH 1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR:ANDAT/walk 3NSG.ALL (.) also 1SG.ABS
miyamr kwof\rä/rm
ignorant 1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'They did not know about this ... (that) I was walking towards them ... and I did not know either.'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #136-137)

Nima is used for three functions: deictic reference (actual or mimicked), anaphora, or introducing direct speech. With an instrumental case marker *nimame* is often used as an emphatic affirmative, as English 'Just like this!' (76). When introducing direct speech *nima* may occur with a speaking verb (77) or just by itself (see 60 above). This is further described in §9.7.

(76) The speaker explains how his grandmother grew very old because she respected all the food taboos.

nafaŋamane zokwasi nafaŋafane zokwasi naf mon zekarisa. ***nimame*** *fof!*

nafa-ŋame=ane zokwasi nafa-ŋafe-ane zokwasi
3.POSS-mother=POSS.SG language 3.POSS-father=POSS.SG language
naf mon ze\karis/a nima=me fof
3SG.ERG how 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/hear like_this=INS EMPH

'She listened to her mother's words and to her father's words. Just like this!'

(tci20120922-26 DAK #60)

(77) *nzä* ***nima*** *zukorth "be fafä zane nagayé fäth zä thamonegwé!"*

nzä nima zu\kor/th be
1SG.ABS like_this 2|3DU:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak 2SG.ERG
fafä zane nagayé fäth zä
after_this DEM.PROX children DIM PROX
tha\moneg/wé
2SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/take.care

'The two told me like "You take care of these small children here!"'

(tci20121019-04 ABB #91-92)

3.2 Verbs

Verbs are by far the most complex lexical items in Komnzo with respect to morphology. Here, only a brief overview and some of the definitional criteria for identifying a particular item as a verb are given. For a full discussion of verbal morphology in Komnzo the reader is referred to chapters 5 and 6. With around 350 members, verbs are the second largest word class after nouns. In spite of its size, verbs constitute a closed word class. There are no observed cases of loanwords or neologisms. It is the complex inflectional morphology which prevents new items from entering this word class. Instead, most loanwords with an event oriented meaning (e.g.: English 'touch', 'check', or 'change') enter Komnzo as

property nouns which are then used in a property noun + light verb construction (§8.3.12). The autonomy of the verb lexicon is addressed in §11.3.

Verbs are inflected for gender, person, number, tense, aspect, mood, valency, and directionality as can be seen in examples (78) and (79). With the exception of person and number, these grammatical categories are only found in verbs. Their glossing, however, cannot be done straightforwardly, because a number of grammatical categories can only be given a value after unifying values from different morphological slots. For example, the aspectual value PST.DUR in (78) is encoded simultaneously in the verb root, the prefix and the durative suffix. Prior to this unification, each morpheme taken by itself is underspecified with respect to any particular grammatical category. The only exceptions are the two directional affixes. In this subsection, I will employ a double glossing style as in the chapters on verb morphology (chapters 5 and 6). A segmented itemised glossing line is given first, while a second line shows the unified gloss in smaller print. Morphological complexity in verbs is discussed in §5.2, where the reader will also find a justification for the double-lined glossing convention.

(78) *nafane nagayé* ***thfrärm****. naf* ***thwamonegwrm****.*

nafane nagayé thf-rä-rm naf
3SG.POSS children 2|3NSG.β2-COP.ND-DUR 3SG.ERG
2|3PL:PST:DUR/be
thu-a-moneg-wr-m-∅
2|3NSG.β1-VC-take.care.EXT-ND-DUR
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/take.care

'They were her children. She took care of them.'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #47)

(79) This is from a story about a spirit woman who kills people in order to eat them.

fi fthé ***enthorakwa*** *... mnz kabe fof. nima* ***thäzigrthma*** *"nä tmatm fefe* ***nzŋawänzr*** *manema kabe zä naf* ***nziyanathr****."*

fi fthé e-n-thorak-w-a-∅ (.) mnz kabe
3.ABS when 2|3NSG.α-VENIT-arrive.EXT-ND-PST-2|3SG (.) house people
2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENIT/arrive
fof nima th-ä-zingrthm-a nä tmatm fefe
EMPH like_this 2|3NSG.γ-VC.ND-look.around.RS-PST some event real
2|3PL:PST:PFV/look.around
nz=ŋ-a-wä-nzr-∅ mane=ma kabe zä naf
IPST=M.α-VC-break.EXT-ND-2|3SG which=CHAR man PROX 3SG.ERG
IPST=2|3SG:NPST:IPFV/break

nz=y-a-na-thr-∅
IPST=3SG.MASC.α-VC-eat.EXT-ND-2|3SG
IPST=2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST/eat

'When the village people arrived, they looked around and said "Something terrible has just happened, because she has eaten that man here."'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #106-111)

Examples (78) and (79) exhibit the intricate architecture of Komnzo verbs before the reader. The verb forms in both examples are inflected for various grammatical categories. The agreement target for gender is the 3rd person singular prefix on the verb as can be seen in the last verb 'eat' in example (79). Person and number are encoded in the undergoer prefix as well as the actor suffix. However, these slots are underspecified: the 2nd and 3rd person in the non-singular are neutralised in both slots. The 1st non-singular and 2nd singular are neutralised in the prefixes. These can be disambiguated by the free pronouns. In both slots, dual and plural are neutralised. The system of number marking combines a singular vs. non-singular opposition in the prefix and suffix with a dual vs. non-dual opposition in the duality affix. Thereby, one arrives at the three number values (SG, DU, PL). For about half a dozen high frequency verbs, such as the copula (78), the stem itself is sensitive to duality. For all others verbs, duality is either encoded by a prefix as in the second verb 'look around' in (79) or by a suffix as in all other verbs in (78) and (79). The morphological site of duality marking depends on the root type. Almost all verbs in Komnzo have two roots which are sensitive to aspect: 'restricted' (RS) and 'extended root' (EXT). Tense, aspect and mood are expressed by a combination of verb root, prefixes, and further suffixal material. As for the prefixes, there are five different prefix series labelled α, β, β1, β2, and γ and an immediate past proclitic (for example in the last two verbs of 79). Beyond TAM, the prefixes contain information about person, number, and gender. Examples for the suffixes are the durative suffix (DUR) in both verb forms in (78) and the past suffix (PST) in the first two verb forms in (79). The TAM value is calculated by unifying these exponents. Finally, as we can see in the first verb 'arrive' in (79), verbs may be inflected for directionality which comprises an opposition of venitive (VENIT) and andative (ANDAT).

Verbs are the only lexical items which can take the nominalising suffix (*-si*). Nominalisations or infinitives are used as a citation form in the dictionary as they were frequently given to me as *zokwasi ebar* 'word head' for an inflected verb form. Nominalisations are non-finite forms without inflectional material. Nominalisations can be treated like nominals. They can function as complements of phasal verbs (*finish, start, become*) or infinitival adjuncts. Example (80) can be translated as 'the counting finished', and (81) can be translated as 'in the planting (season)'.

(80) *ane zwafsinzrm ... kwot e boböwä bäne zefafath ...* ***fsisi*** *zäbthath.*

ane zu-a-fsi-nzr-m-∅ (.) kwot e
DEM 3SG.FEM.β2-VC-count.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3SG (.) properly until
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:IO:PST:DUR/count
bobo-wä bäne z-ä-faf-a-th (.)
MED.ALL-EMPH DEM:MED M.γ-VC.ND-hold.RS-PST-2|3NSG (.)
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/hold
fsi-si z-ä-bth-a-th
count-NMLZ M.γ-VC.ND-finish.RS-PST-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/finish

'He counted for her until he reached that number. Then, the counting was finished.'

(tci20130923-01 ALA #28-30)

(81) *fä fof sfrugrm ... nima eftharen zf ... nima* ***worsin*** *zf.*

fä fof sf-rug-rm (.) nima efthar=en
DIST EMPH 3SG.M.β2-sleep.EXT.ND-DUR (.) like_this dry season=LOC
3SG:M:SBJ:PST:DUR/sleep
zf (.) nima wor-si=n zf.
IMM (.) like_this plant-NMLZ=LOC IMM

'He slept over there ... like this in the dry season ... like this in the planting season.'

(tci20131013-02 ABB #140-142)

In other respects, nominalised verbs can be treated like any other noun. They can take case, for example ergative (82) or intrumental in a resultative construction (83). They can be reduplicated as in (84). They can enter into possessive constructions either as possessed (84) or as possessor (85).

(82) *zarfa surmänwrm ane* ***wäsifnzo.***

zarfa su-rmän-wr-m-∅ ane
ear 3SG.MASC.β2-close.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG DEM
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/close
wä-si=f=nzo
break-NMLZ=ERG=ONLY

'That breaking noise was blocking his ears.'

(tci20120818 ABB #68)

(83) This is from a story about the origin of fire.

ŋafyf frthé bant wäfiyokwa kidn ane ***rifthzsime*** *zfrärm*

ŋafe-f frthé bant w-a-fiyok-w-a-∅
father-ERG when ground 3SG.FEM.α-VC-make.EXT-ND-PST-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/make
kidn ane rifthz-si=me zf-rä-rm
ancient.fire DEM hide-NMLZ=INS 3SG.FEM.β2-COP.ND-DUR
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'When God made the Earth, the ancient fire was hidden.'

(tci20120909-06 KAB #62-63)

(84) *fi miyomär yé. wri kabeanme* ***ttrikasi*** *naf krarizr.*

fi miyo=mär yé wri kabe=anme
3.ABS desire=PRIV 3SG.MASC.α.COP.ND drunk man=POSS.NSG
3SG.MASC:α:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
t-trik-si naf k-ra-ri-zr-∅
REDUP-tell-NMLZ 3SG.ERG M.β-IRR.VC-hear.EXT-ND-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/hear

'He doesn't want to listen to those drunk people's stories.'

(tci20111004 RMA #140)

(85) *...* ***tharisiane*** *efoth fthé zfrärm.*

(.) thari-si=ane efoth fthé zf-rä-rm
(.) dig-NMLZ=POSS.SG day when 3SG.FEM.β2-COP.ND-DUR
3SG.FEM:PST:DUR/be

'... when it was harvesting season'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #356)

Almost all verbs have an infinitive derived by means of the nominaliser (*-si*). However, there are a few exceptions where either a noun is used or an infinitive is lacking altogether. For the most part, these are verbs of high frequency. In the following three examples, the noun meaning is given first and the verb meaning second: *zan* 'fight (n), hit or kill (v)' *wath* 'dance (n), dance (v)' *zrin* 'heaviness or burden (n), carry (v)'.

There are two options to analyse nominalisations in Komnzo. While I stress their verbal character, one of the reviewers of this thesis argues that they should be analysed as (deverbal) nouns. I believe that this is an analytic decision and that there are good arguments for both sides. I address this question here because the decision impacts several other parts of this grammar, for example the description of a complementiser function of the case markers (§4.3) and subordinate clauses which involve infinitives (chapter 9). As shown above, nominalised verbs behave like nouns in terms of morphology, that is they can form reduplications and nominal compounds. Moreover, they can serve as hosts for the case enclitics. This supports the analysis of nominalisations as nouns. However, nominalised verbs retain particular verbal features, for example their argument structure. The agent (or most agent-like argument) of the finite verb can be expressed with the non-finite verb by means of a possessive construction. In *nafane tharisi* 'her digging', the third singular possessor refers to the agent argument. The patient (or most patient-like argument) can be expressed by the modifying element of a nominal compound. In *wawa tharisi* 'yam digging', the word for 'yam' is the patient of the event. Noun phrases of this type can be captured by the notion of an action nominal, which Comrie & Thompson describe as "a noun phrase that contains, in addition to a noun derived from a verb, one or more reflexes of a proposition or predicate" (2007: 343).

The verbal character of nominalisations in Komnzo is clearest in raising constructions. In example (86), the speaker demonstrates how to produce a children's toy from a coconut leaf. She uses a raising construction ('start rolling') with a nominalised form of 'roll'. This is followed by finite form of 'roll'. We find that argument indexing of the finite 'roll' (1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ) has been raised to the phasal verb 'start'. In conclusion, I acknowledge that nominalised verbs can be analysed as either (deverbal) nouns or infinitives. I have made explicit why I choose the latter option.

(86) *myuknsi srethkäfe … zane zf ymyuknwé.*

myukn-si s-rä-thkäf-é (.) zane zf
roll-NMLZ 3SG.MASC.γ-IRR.ND-start.RS-1SG (.) DEM:PROX IMM
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start
y-myukn-w-é
3SG.MASC.α-roll.EXT-ND-1SG
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/roll

'I (usually) start rolling (the leaf). I roll this one right here.'

(tci20120914 RNA #45)

Word order in Komnzo is predominantly SOV, or more accurately AUV (agent undergoer verb). For pragmatic reasons, elements may follow the verb, but they

are usually part of a separate intonation group. The only exceptions are the emphatic particle *fof* (§3.4.2) and the demonstrative identifier (§3.1.11.3).

Verbs can be subcategorised along both grammatical and semantic lines. As for the latter, we find a class of positional verbs, which take a special stative suffix and encode postural or positional semantics, for example *migsi* 'hang', *thorsi* 'be inside', *rngthksi* 'be in a tree fork' (§5.4.4.1). Morphologically, one interesting fact is that only a small part of intransitive verbs are purely prefixing, most intransitive verbs employ both the prefix and the suffix. In this case, an invariant middle prefix is used and the single argument is indexed in the suffix (§5.4.5). Transitive verbs index their subject in the suffix and the object in the prefix. Most stems can be applicativised by adding the *a-* prefix. In this case, the referent of the person prefix changes from the object (or subject of a prefixing verb) to an indirect object (usually a recipient, beneficiary, or raised possessor). I label, the *a-* prefix VC for 'valency change'. This is because *a-* is used to increase as well as to decrease the valency of a verb. Thus, the above-mentioned middle construction always takes the *a-* prefix. A general feature of Komnzo verbs, is a high degree of flexibility, whereby most stems may enter various morphological templates and a handful of stems can be cycled through all. This will be discussed in detail in §5.4.

3.3 Adverbs

Adverbs in Komnzo make up a small closed class of about a dozen lexical items. A number of nominals, such as temporals and demonstratives have an adverbial function. Moreover, the instrumental case (*=me*) on adjectives and property nouns provides an adverbial function.

Temporals have been discussed in §3.1.7. They are a functional subclass of nominals which can have an adverbial function. Spatial adverbials are expressed by the rich set of demonstratives discussed in §3.1.11.2. Hence, only manner adverbs comprise a word class in their own right. These are uninflecting words which are fairly free with respect to their position in the clause. Most commonly, they occur in preverbal position. Table 3.9 lists the currently attested manner adverbs.

Table 3.9 Manner adverbs

KOMNZO	ENGLISH
eräme	'together'
kwot	'properly'
matar	'quietly'
minzü	'very, too much'
nezä	'in return'

nm, nnzä	'perhaps, maybe'
nimäwä	'likewise'
ŋarde	'for the first time'
gaso	'badly'
dmnzü	'silently'
rürä	'alone, lonely'
watmame	'for a daytrip'
yakme	'fast'
nzagoma	'in advance'
ŋwä	'instead (of)'

As discussed in §3.1.1, the instrumental case (=*me*) provides an adverbial function on property nouns or adjectives. Some of the manner adverbs show remnants of frozen morphology. For example, *watmame* 'for a daytrip' shows a =*me* element, but the corresponding form **watma* is missing.

3.4 Particles

We find two types of particles in Komnzo; TAM particles and discourse particles. Both are morphologically inert, but differ slightly in their syntactic distribution. The TAM particles are discussed in more detail in §6.3.

3.4.1 TAM particles

There are five particles which are part of the tense-aspect-mood system. Most frequently, they occur in preverbal position, but other elements may intervene. These are important for TAM because even though Komnzo has a rich set of TAM related inflections on the verb, some categories can only be expressed by means of the particles. For example, *kwa* and *z* are the only way of expressing future and completion respectively. The five particles are: *kwa* for future, *z* for completion (iamitive marker)[8], *nomai* as a habitual marker, *kma* for potentiality, and *keke* with its variant *kyo* which is the negator. I will address these in turn. Note that there are the proclitics *n*= and *m*=, which depending on their morpho-syntactic context can be analysed as clitics or particles. This point is discussed in §3.5.2.

The future marker *kwa* is the only way of expressing the futurity of an event. It occurs with the non-past tense and the irrealis mood (87), both of which are insufficient for indicating that a particular event will take place in the future. The particle may occur just by itself in which case it is an imperative that means 'wait!' (87). The future particle *kwa* is discussed in §6.3.4.

[8] I adopt the term *iamitive* from (Olsson, 2013), who has coined the term based on Latin *iam* 'already'.

(87) The speaker explains how the people go poison-root fishing. Before jumping into the water, the roots have to be prepared.

*katakatan **kwa** zöbthé thrängathinzth nima: "**kwa**! komnzo **kwa**!"*

kata-katan kwa zöbthé thran\gathi/nzth
REDUP-small FUT first 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/stop
nima kwa komnzo kwa
QUOT FUT only FUT

'First, they will stop the small ones (from jumping in). They will say: "Wait! Just wait!"'

(tci20110813-09 DAK #25)

The iamitive marker *z* functions as a completive marker. It combines with all tense-aspect-mood categories, except for the imperative. The TAM system and the distinction between imperfective and perfective does not focus on completion, but on inceptive/punctual versus durative. The iamitive particle is the only way to indicate completion. It maybe used in declarative sentences (88) or with a rising intonation in polar questions (89). The particle *z* is discussed in §6.3.5.

(88) In a story, the survivors of a headhunting raid flee to another village.
*foba yakkarä enrera "oh, firran **z** thäkwrth."*

foba yak=karä en\rä/ra oh firra=n z
DIST.ABL walk=PROP 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be oh PROP.N=LOC ALR
thä\kwr/th
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:PFV/hit

'They came fast from there (and said:) "Oh, they already killed them in Firra."'

(tci20131013-02 ABB #80)

(89) The speaker asks her sister whether she has shown a particular plant to me.
***z** safäs?*

z sa\fäs/
ALR 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:RPST:PFV/present

'Did you show him?'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #540)

The habitual marker *nomai* functions either to indicate that an event happened regularly or that it took place for an extended time (90). There is a variant *nomair* which expresses 'forever' or 'for a very long time' (91). The final *r* element might be related to the purposive case. Its origin is still unclear as particles cannot host case clitics. The habitual particle *nomai* is discussed in §6.3.6.

(90) *fi swathugwrm gaso. nimanzo* ***nomai*** *swafiyokwrm e* ***nomai nomai nomai*** *...*

fi swa\thug/wrm gaso
3SG.ABS 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/trick badly
nima=nzo nomai swa\fiyok/wrm e
like_this=ONLY HAB 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/make until
3x(nomai) (.)
3x(HAB) (.)

'He tricked him badly. He kept on doing this to him for a long, long time.'

(tci20110802 ABB #95-96)

(91) The speaker talks about food taboos which ensure that one lives for a long time.

nomair *kwa namnzr kwot kwot kwot kwot e namä kakafar kwot käkorm*

nomair kwa na\m/nzr 4x(kwot) e namä
HAB FUT 2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell 4x(properly) until good
ka-kafar kwot kä\kor/m
properly REDUP-big 2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/become

'You will live forever ... all the time until you really grow old.'

(tci20120922-26 DAK #16)

The potential marker *kma* occurs with verbs of different aspect values. It marks counterfactuality with deontic or epistemic interpretation, for example potentiality of an event ('could' or 'could have') with an irrealis (92) or obligation ('should' or 'should have') as in (93). The particle *kma* is discussed in §6.3.3.

(92) The speaker talks about a bushfire that almost burned his garden the previous day. He did not see the smoke because he was busy weaving.

nzä tosaia ŋama ***kma*** *kwräkor "käthf!" nzä nima fefe kwamnzrm kifa sfrwrmé.*

nzä tosai=ane ŋame kma
1SG.ABS baby=POSS.SG mother POT
kwrä\kor/ kä\thf/ nzä
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak 2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/walk 1SG.ABS
nima fefe kwa\m/nzrm kifa
like_this really 1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/sit rattan_wall
sf\r/wrmé
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST.DUR/weave

'The baby's mother could have told me and said to me "Go!" but I was just sitting like this and weaving the rattan wall.'

(tci20120922 STK #8-10)

(93) The speaker explains how he was fighting a bushfire in his garden and how he was trying to pull a burning tree from his bamboo fence.

kma *wämne ane fof kwakarkwé ane fof ... wämnef mane thänarfa ... keke ... watikthémäre*

kma wämne ane fof kwa\kark/wé ane fof (.)
POT tree DEM EMPH 1SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/pull DEM EMPH (.)
wämne=f mane thä\narf/a (.) keke
tree=ERG.SG which 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/press.down (.) NEG
(.) watik-thé=märe
(.) enough-ADJZR=PRIV

'I should have pulled that tree off ... the one that was pushing down (the fences). No (it was) not enough'.

(tci20120922-22 MAA #42-43)

With verbs in imperative or irrealis mood, *kma* frequently occurs together with the clitic *m* which will be dicussed in more detail below (§3.5.2). This combination of clitic, particle and verb inflection expresses a prohibitive. In this case, the clitic *m* may encliticise to *kma*. In fact, the resulting word *kmam* can stand as an utterance by itself meaning: 'Don't!' or 'Don't do it!' Below in (94) one such example is given. For further discussion, the reader is referred to §3.5.2 and §6.3.2.

(94) During a public speech there is some negotiation about how to divide up a pig that will be slaughtered in the morning. The following words precede the announcement that one side has changed the agreement.

gatha fam ***kmam*** *gnräré monwä zé fam thäkuke.*

gatha fam kma=m gn\rä/ré mon=wä zé
bad thought POT=APPR 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be how=EMPH ALR
fam thä\kuk/e
thought 1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:PFV/erect

'You must not think bad about how we made up our minds.'

(tci201019-04 ABB #243-244)

The negator *keke* is also normally positioned in preverbal position, but additionally can stand by itself. In the recordings of older speakers, there is another variant *kyo*. It seems that the use *kyo* was stigmatised during the period of the mission school. The school was run by speakers of Motu and *kyo* is similar to the Motu word 'kijo' which means 'vagina'. Nowadays, all younger speakers use *keke* instead, but it is unclear where this word originates. Polarity is discussed in §5.7.

3.4.2 Discourse particles

There are three discourse particles in Komnzo: *we* 'also', the intensifier *fof* and the term from which the language name is derived, *komnzo* 'only, still'. These are used for different types of focus.

The particle *we* functions as an additive focus marker and I translate it with English 'also'. It usually has scope over a whole proposition. It is rather flexible with respect to its position, and it may occur several times in a clause. Semantically, it always presuposes some event that has been established in the previous discourse. We can see this in example (95) where the speaker makes an additional comment as to why his times as a busy gardener have come to an end.

(95) The speaker talked about how many gardens he used to have in the past.

kafar zé zäkora fof ... kafar ... watik, nzone tmä ***we*** *katanme ŋarsörém.*

kafar z zä\kor/a fof (.) kafar (.) watik nzone
big ALR 1SG:PST.PFV/become EMPH (.) big (.) then 1SG.POSS
tmä we katan=me ŋa\rsör/m
strength also small=INS 2|3SG:RPST.DUR/recede

'I have grown old ... And also, my strength has also gone down a little.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #662-664)

The particle *fof* is the word which occurs with the highest frequency in the corpus (about 1,600 tokens). It marks presentational focus of quite a wide range of elements. It always follows the element over which is has scope. This may be an adjunct (96), an argument (97), or the whole clause if it occurs after the verb (second *fof* in 97). In the examples below the rectangled brackets indicate the scope of the particle.

(96) The speaker presents the content of his yam storage house to me. He explains the system by which the yams are piled up and sorted.

watik zanenzo fthé ***fof*** *krägathinzth zethn ... dagonma* ***fof***

watik zane=nzo [fthé fof] krä\gathinz/th
then DEM:PROX=ONLY [when EMPH] 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/stop
z=e\thn/ (.) dagon=ma fof
PROX=2|3PLSBJ:NPST:STAT/lie.down (.) food=CHAR EMPH

'That is the time, when only these ones are left. These lying here ... (are) really for eating.'

(tci20121001 ABB #107)

(97) *ŋazäthema wawa ane* ***fof*** *erä* ***fof****.*

[ŋazäthe=ma [wawa ane fof] e\rä/ fof]
[PLACE.N=CHAR [yam DEM EMPH] 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be EMPH]

'These yams are really from Ngazäthe.'

(tci20121001 ABB #158)

The particle *komnzo* functions as a contrastive focus marker which has scope over the predicate. The clitic *=nzo* is its nominal counterpart. This will be described below in §3.5. The formal relationship between *komnzo* and *=nzo* holds true for other Tonda varieties. For example, Anta to the north has a corresponding particle *anta* and a clitic *=nta*.

In example (98), we see that *komnzo* has scope over the predicate; the copula in this case. I have often overheard women scolding their children by saying *komnzo kämés* 'Just sit down!'

(98) A man returns to the place where the people of Firra took revenge on his wife after she had killed one of them.

wati nagawa ŋabrigwa sir. ***komnzo*** *rä o zé kwarsir ménin?*

wati nagawa ŋa\brig/wa si=r [komnzo
then PROP.N 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/return eye=PURP [only
rä] o z kwa\rsir/
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be] or ALR 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/burn
mni=n
fire=LOC

'Then Nagawa returned to check: was she still alive or did she burn in the fire?'

(tci20120901 MAK #167-170)

3.5 Clitics

Komnzo has pro- as well as enclitics. The former are found only with verbs, whereas the latter attach to nominals. I follow selected criteria based on the literature on clitichood, especially (Zwicky and Pullum, 1983) and chapter 8 of (Anderson, 1992). The relevant criteria in Komnzo are (i) clitics operate on a phrase rather than a word level, (ii) clitics show a low degree of selectivity with respect to their hosts and (iii) clitics can attach to other clitics. A further criterion which pertains only to the verbal proclitics and the (nominal) exclusive enclitic is: (iv) clitics are reduced forms of independent lexical items.

3.5.1 Nominal enclitics

All the case markers in Komnzo are analyzed as clitics. Evidence for the first two criteria is given in examples (99) and (100) below, where the ergative attaches to the rightmost element of a given phrase. The phrase boundaries are marked by rectangled brackets in the examples. In (99), the noun phrase is *eda kwayan kabe* 'two, white men'. In (100), the adjective has been postposed and consequently is the last element of the phrase. Although, case markers are attached only to nominals, there show a low degree of selectivity with this macro-word class. For a detailed discussion of the case markers, the reader is referred to §4.3.

(99) *waniwanime* [*eda kwayan* ***kabeyé***] *yzänmth*

waniwani=me eda kwayan kabe=é
picture=INS two white man=ERG.NSG
y\zä/nmth
2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/carry

'The two white people are taking a picture of it.'

(tci20120821-01 LNA #35)

(100) *famé wathofiyokwrmth fof … zbomr e* [*eda kabe* ***kafaré***] *zukorth "paituaf nima bänemr ŋarär"*

fam=é wa\thofiyok/wrmth fof (.)
thought=ERG.NSG 2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:DUR/disturb EMPH (.)
zbomr e eda kabe kafar=é
PROX.PURP until two men big=ERG.NSG
zu\kor/th paitua=f nima
2|3DU:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/say old_man=ERG.SG like_this
bänemr ŋa\rä/r
MED.PURP 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/do

'These thoughts were disturbing me until the two big men told me: "The old man is thinking like this"'

(tci20121019-04 SKK #22-24)

The other nominal enclitics are no case markers: exclusive *=nzo* (ONLY), empathic *=wä* (EMPH) and et cetera *=sü* (ETC). The first forms the nominal counterpart of the particle *komnzo* (§3.4.2). This clitic satisfies criteria (iv) in that it is a reduced form of an independent lexical item. It functions as a contrastive focus marker and I translate it to with English 'only'. Hence, in example (101), the woman picks up the yamstick with only one thing on her mind. Note that this example shows that the clitic *=nzo* satisfies criteria (iii): the ability to attach to other clitics. The exclusive enclitic *=nzo* will be discussed again §4.17.2.

(101) In this story an evil spirit woman is killing a man in his sleep.

yaka ***zanrnzo*** *srewakuth.*

yaka zan=r=nzo
yamstick fight=PURP=ONLY
sre\wakuth/
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/pick.up

'She picked up the yamstick to kill him.'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #86)

The emphatic enclitic *=wä* shows similar behaviour. It will be addressed in §4.17.1. The et cetera enclitic *=sü* only attaches to the associative or proprietive case markers. It will be discussed in §4.17.3.

3.5.2 Verbal proclitics

Verbal clitics are exclusively proclitics. They do not fully satisify the criteria given above. For example, they only attach to one word class (verbs) and they have scope only over the inflected verb. On the other hand, all but one verbal proclitic are reduced forms of independent lexical items.

Additional evidence against analysing them as prefixes comes from phonology. In those cases where the proclitic creates an initial syllable through epenthesis, this syllable will not receive stress. For example, *bŋasogwr* 'he is climbing there' is marked with the medial proclitic *b=*. Since all proclitics only consist of a single consonant, through syllabification an epenthetic vowel is inserted: [^{m}bə̆ŋˈaso^{ŋ}g^{w}ə̆r]. On the surface, the second syllable is stressed. However, stress remains word-initial, because the clitic is not a part of the phonological word.

Stress in Komnzo verbs is strictly word-initial and prefixes which create an initial syllable (even if filled with the epenthetic vowel) will be stressed, for example *ŋ″azi wsogwr* 'He climbs the coconut' is realised as [ŋatʃi wˈə̆soᵑgʷə̆r].

The first set of verbal proclitics are the clitic demonstratives. These are deictic proclitics which attach to an inflected verb form: *z*= PROX, *b*= MED, and *f*= DIST. They are described in §3.1.11.3 and §5.6.2.

The second set of verbal proclitics comprises *m*= and *n*=. Depending on their morpho-syntactic context, they can be classified as either clitics or particles. The *m*= proclitic was briefly addressed in §3.1.11.3. We saw in Table 3.7, that *m*= patterns with the interrogatives. Thus, it patterns with the three deictic proclitics. However, this is a marginal function, because it is found only with the copula. More frequently, *m*= occurs with verb forms in irrealis or imperative mood. In this case it adds the meaning of apprehension ('X might happen!') as in (102). Furthermore, with imperative verb forms only and the potential particle *kma* it expresses prohibition ('don't do X!') as in (94). In these latter function, *m* is analyzed as a particle rather than a proclitic. These functions will be discussed in detail in §6.3.2.

(102) This is part of a public speech during a dance. The speaker represents the host side and warns the guests that there won't be enough of the pig to share in the morning.

thambrnzo ***mthäkwr*** *fafä.*

thambr=nzo m=thä\kwr/ fafä
hand=ONLY APPR=2SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IMP:PFV/hit afterwards

'You might be empty handed afterwards. (lit.: You might hit only your hands afterwards.)'

(tci20121019-04 ABB #126)

The second clitic *n*= also serves a double function. If attached to a verb inflected for non-past, it marks immediate past.[9] I gloss it IPST and analyse it as a proclitic. With verbs in one of the past tenses or in irrealis mood, it expresses that an event was 'about to occur' or that someone was 'trying to do' something. I call this the imminent function and here I analyse *n* as a particle rather than a proclitic. See example (103) for the immediate past proclitic. The related imminent particle is shown in preverbal position in (104) and freely in the clause in (105). I refer the reader to §6.3.1 for further discussion of *n*.

[9]Note that this is shown in the integrated gloss: both non-past (NPST) and immediate past (IPST) are marked on the verb. This is because the latter is expressed by a clitic, whereas the former is part of the verb morphology proper.

(103) *trikasi mane* ***nŋatrikwé*** *fof ... ngafynm ... badafa ane fof ŋanritakwa fof.*

trik-si mane n=ŋa\trik/wé fof (.)
tell-NMLZ which IPST=1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell EMPH (.)
ŋafe=nm (.) bada=fa ane fof
father=DAT.NSG (.) ancestor=ABL DEM EMPH
ŋan\ritak/wa fof
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/cross EMPH

'As for the story that I have just told, it was passed to (our) fathers from the ancestors.'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #403-405)

(104) The speaker tells a story about catching a goanna in her garden. She had brought some things to one end of the garden, when she saw something moving in the grass.

wati foba fof ***n*** *zäbrimé ... wati nzun nima "kaboth kma zamath"*

wati foba fof n zä\brim/é (.) wati nzun
then DIST.ABL EMPH IMN 1SG:SBJ:RPST.PFV/return (.) then 1SG.DAT
nima kaboth kma za\math/
like_this snake POT 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/run

'Well, I was about to return from there ... and I thought to myself "This must be a snake running off."'

(tci20120821-01 LNA #9-10)

(105) The speaker reports about a bushfire in his garden. He was considering fetching water to extinguish the fire.

kwankwiré zbo ***n*** *fam zäré damaki yföfo ... "keke watikthémär zagér fefe rä"*

kwan\kwir/é zbo n fam
1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/run PROX.ALL IMN thoughts
zä\r/é damaki yfö=fo (.) keke
1SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/do dynamite hole=ALL (.) NEG
watik-thé=mär zagr fefe rä
enough-ADJZR=PRIV far really 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'I was running here and I was considering the water well, (but I thought) "No, not enough, it is too far"'

(tci20120922-24 MAA #49-50)

3.6 Connectives

There are a number of small words in Komnzo which I label connectives. These serve to connect various constituents: noun phrases, clauses, discourse, etc. The most common ones are *a* 'and', *o* 'or', and *e* 'until'. The last of the three is usually a long, stretched out vowel. See examples (106), (107), and (108) respectively.

(106) In this story, a father leaves his two children in the house. In his absence, the two are visited and abused by another man.

nagayé zbo thgathinzako ... mantma kafarwä ***a*** *srak nge ... katanwä.*

nagayé zbo th\gathinz/ako (.)
children PROX.ALL 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3DU.OBJ:PST:PFV:ANDAT/leave (.)
mantma kafar=wä a srak nge (.) katan=wä
female big=EMPH and boy child (.) small=EMPH

'He left the two children here ... the big girl and the small boy.'

(tci20100905 ABB #21-23)

(107) *nafaŋamaf wnfathwr* ***o*** *ynfathwr.*

nafa-ŋame=f wn\fath/wr o
3.POSS-mother=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:VENIT/hold or
yn\fath/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:VENIT/hold

'(The child's) mother holds her or holds him.'

(tci20121004 RMA #327-328)

(108) *nzä nima waniyak* ***e*** *srn kränrsöfthé zrafo.*

nzä nima wa\niyak/ e srn
1SG.ABS like_this 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/come until PLACE.N
krän\rsöfth/é zra=fo
1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/descend swamp=ALL

'I came like this until I walked down to the swamp in Sérén.'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #96)

The three adverbial demonstratives in the allative case may also be used to express meaning 'until' both in a spatial and temporal sense. However, they they have to marked for the purposive case, thus producing the forms *zbomr* from *zbo*, *bobomr* from *bobo*, and *fobomr* from *fbo*. This is not possible with the corresponding ablative forms, i.e. *zbamr*, *bobamr* and *fobamr* are all ungrammatical. Example (109) shows one occurrence of *bobomr* with a temporal meaning of 'until'.

(109) The speaker describes the daily routine of the high school in Daru.

frasinzo nzwamnzrm ezifa ***bobomr*** *mor efoth*

frasi=nzo nzwa\m/nzrm ezi=fa bobomr mor efoth
hunger=ONLY 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/sit morning=ABL until neck day

'We were staying very hungry from the morning until mid day.'

(tci20120924-01 TRK #37)

The word *fthé* 'when' may be used to connect clauses as causal, temporal or conditional sequences. It may also be used without reference to another clause, in which case it can be translated as 'at the time when'. See example (110) below for a causal sequence.

(110) *kafar ŋarr* ***fthé*** *srarä nzmärkarä* ***fthé*** *srarä ... zöftha nagayé keke kwa sranathrth.*

kafar ŋarr fthé sra\rä/ nzmär=karä fthé
big bandicoot when 3SG.MASC:IRR:IPFV/be grease=PROP when
sra\rä/ (.) zöftha nagayé keke kwa
3SG.MASC:IRR:IPFV/be (.) new children NEG FUT
sra\na/thr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/eat

'If it is a big bandicoot, if it is one with grease, then the young children will not eat it.'

(tci20120922-26 DAK #82-83)

3.7 Ideophones and Interjections

3.7.1 Ideophones

Komnzo ideophones depict almost exlusively sounds and, thus, cover the lower spectrum of the implicational hierarchy of sensory imagery as discussed in (Dingemanse, 2012: 663). There are only two exceptions. The ideophone *buay* 'someone taking off in a hurry, fleeing, running away' expresses movement and *bra* 'something is finished, depleted, or gone' expresses a (visual) state. All other ideophones express auditory phenomena of a wide range: sounds from nature, animal sounds, human made noises, bodily noises, human made signals. Compare table (3.10). Example (111) introduces the topic in the context of a rather gruesome story about an unsuccessful headhunting expedition. The ideophone *grr kwan* depicts the gurgling or rasping sound of someone breathing; in this example someone dying.

(111) *wgathiknath fobo fof. frknzo zwanorm.* ***grr kwannzo*** *fobo zwanorm*

w\gathik/nath fobo fof frk=nzo
2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/leave DIST.ALL EMPH blood=ONLY
zwa\nor/m grr_kwan=nzo fobo
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/shout rasping_sound=ONLY DIST.ALL
zwa\nor/m
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/shout

'They (2) left her while she was bleeding from there (the throat). She was just gurgling.'

(tci20111119-01 ABB #154)

Ideophones always occur as a compound with the word *kwan* 'noise, shout, sound'. This should not be taken as evidence that speakers are merely mimicking a particular auditive phenomenon in an ad hoc way. On the contrary, ideophones are conventionalised lexical items like any other word. I will use the term ideophone only for those lexical items which do not have a lexical meaning other than the sound they depict. We can observe a gradient from lexical items to ideophones. For example *wth kwan* 'fart' consists of *wth* 'excrete, faeces' + *kwan*. It is a noun + noun compound and it would be misleading to call *wth* an ideophone. On the other end of the spectrum we have *brr kwan* 'the sound of a bilabial trill' which consists of *brr* + *kwan*. The former refers only to the particular sound and I will therefore call *brr* an ideophone. There are some transitional cases like *thmdi kwan* 'sound of a sigh during sleep' is in principle decomposable as *thm* 'nose' + *di* 'back of the head' + *kwan*. However, speakers do not decompose this word anymore, but understand *thmdi* as one lexical item that refers to a particular sound.

There are a few special phonological characteristics of ideophones. For example, I have shown in §2.6 that the bilabial stop [b] is not an indigenous phoneme in Komnzo. We find [b] in a number of ideophones, for example *bübü kwan* 'the sound a hunter makes when hitting the ground to attract wallabies'. Ideophones can be modified by another nominal, an adjective or another noun. In example (112), we see the ideophone *ta kwan* 'a high-pitched clicking, breaking sound' as part of a compound modified by *zr* 'tooth'.

(112) *mnzfa boba kwanrizrmth nzarwonanme* ***zr ta kwan***

mnz=fa boba kwan\ri/zrmth
house=ABL MED.ABL 2|3PL:SBJ:PST.DUR.VENIT/hear
nzarwon=aneme zr ta_kwan
barramundi=POSS.NSG tooth clicking_sound

'They were hearing the snapping of the barramundis from the house.'

(tci20120922-21 DAK #8)

Ideophones cover a range of auditory phenomena. Table (3.10) groups them according to their semantics.

Table 3.10 Ideophones

SOUNDS FROM NATURE	
susu kwan	sound of a running stream of water
buku kwan	sound of splashing water (fish jumping, people washing)
ba kwan	sound of something heavy falling on the ground
bü kwan	sound of a coconut falling on the ground
rürü kwan	sound of thunder (in the distance)
wär kwan	sound of thunder (close)
u kwan	sound of strong wind
ANIMAL SOUNDS	
sö kwan	sound of wallabies grunting
gu kwan	sound of an animal grunting (e.g.: pigs, dogs)
gww kwan	sound of barking dogs
BODILY SOUNDS	
nzam kwan	sound of smacking one's lips
gwrr kwan	sound of swallowing something
thmss kwan	sound of someone snuffling, snorting
grr kwan	sound of stertorous or rasping breathing
thmdrr kwan	sound of snoring
thmdi kwan	sound of a sigh during sleep
brr kwan	bilabial trill (baby babbling or someone farting)
HUMAN MADE NOISES	
ta kwan	sound of something that breaks or cracks (e.g.: twigs)
tä kwan	sound of chopping trees
yo kwan	sound of an arrow hitting something
tütü kwan	sound of steps, someone walking
rrr kwan	sound of rustling through dried leaves
suku kwan	sound of someone walking in water
HUMAN MADE SIGNAL SOUNDS	
bübü kwan	sound of a hunter hitting the ground to attract wallabies
ws kwan	sound made to send the dogs after some animal
äs kwan	sound made to call the dogs
knzu kwan	sound of people shouting out for someone (usually a long stretched [u])
fifiya kwan	sound of whistling (a song)

siya kwan	sound of someone signaling by whistling
ti kwan	sound of someone singing in the distance
si kwan	hissing sound [s] in order to attract someone's attention
dm kwan	a signal of amazement produced as a series of alveolar clicks
mü kwan	a signal of approval or a backchannel marker produced as a bilabial nasal
ya kwan	sound of someone wailing or crying

3.7.2 Interjections

Interjections in Komnzo are a small class of uninflecting words used to express delight, bewilderment, a negative attitude, approval or refusal, commands, greetings, or vocatives. Interjections form a separate intonation group, and they stand as an utterance by themselves. Table 3.11 gives an overview of the most common interjections.

Table 3.11 Interjections

ITEM	TRANSLATION/CONTEXT
aiwa	'oh no' (used to signal compassion, negative surprise, emphasizing with another person's misfortune)
awe	'come!'
awkot	(used as a sudden surprise, e.g.: somebody trips over a log)
awow	'ok' (used to signal agreement)
ayo	'watch out' (used as a warning sign)
kare	'go (away)!'
kiwar	'good hunting luck' (used to wish a successful hunting either a person or ritually after setting a trap, hanging a fishnet, etc.)
monzé	'yes, of course' (used as a sign of agreement)
razé	'yeah' (used as a sign of emphatic agreement or approval)
si rore rore	(shouted out by women whilst washing the poisoning root in the water)

Chapter 4

Nominal morphology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the nominal morphology of Komnzo. With the exception of the close possessive construction, all nominal morphology is encliticised or suffixed to the element over which it has scope, which is almost always the noun phrase. There is little to no allomorphy in the enclitic and affix formatives. There are no declension classes. There are special marking patterns for animate referents, which include a number distinction.

I begin by a description of reduplication, which is only found with nominals (4.2). The remainder and bulk of this chapter describes case and further morphological markers. I introduce the reader to the 17 cases and their respective functions in §4.3. After this, each case is discussed in turn (§4.5 - 4.16). In §4.17, I describe three enclitics and one suffix which are not related to case. Finally, in §4.18, I offer a few concluding remarks on the formal and functional overlap between particular case markers.

4.2 Reduplication

There are two reduplication patterns in Komnzo. They differ only formally, not in their meaning, and words for which reduplication is a productive morphological process can form both patterns. I label these patterns partial and full reduplication. In the former, the reduplicant is only the first consonant of the word. In the latter, the whole word is reduplicated.

Semantically, reduplication expresses non-prototypicality, plurality, or both. In (1), *ttrikasi* 'stories' is formed from *trikasi* 'stories', and reduplication expresses plurality. In (2), the reduplication of *yawi* 'seed' refers to 'coins', i.e. it expresses non-prototypicality in addition to plurality.

(1) *komnzo nima fä zämnzerake nä* ***ttrikasi*** *keke*

komnzo nima fä zä\mnzer/ake nä
only like_this DIST 1NSG:SBJ:PST:PFV/fall.asleep INDF
t-trika-si keke
REDUP-tell-NMLZ NEG

'We just fell asleep there, no more stories.'

(tci20120922-25 ALK #45)

(2) *ŋareane* ***yawiyawime*** *kwa ŋonathr ane kambef.*

ŋare=ane yawi-yawi=me kwa ŋo\na/thr
woman=POSS.SG REDUP-seed=INS FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/drink
ane kambe=f
DEM man=ERG.SG

'That guy is going to drink with his wife's money.'

(tci20111004 TSA #182)

The different nominal subclasses which can be reduplicated are nouns, adjectives, property nouns and quantifiers. Example (3) shows the quantifier *tüfr* expressing that many different jobs are involved in raising a pig. In (4), the adjective *tnz* 'short' is reduplicated, meaning that the man was just a bit short. In (5), the adjective *kafar* 'big' is reduplicated, meaning that the elders of the Mayawas of Firra had been killed in the headhunting raid.

(3) *zena keke miyo worä ruga mgthksi ... znsä* ***ttüfr***

zena keke miyo wo\rä/ ruga mgthk-si (.) znsä
today NEG desire 1SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be pig feed-NMLZ (.) work
t-tüfr
REDUP-plenty

'Today, I do not want to feed pigs ... (too) much work.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #819-820)

(4) *nafafis yf nagawa ...* ***tnztnz*** *kabe sfrärm*

nafa-fis yf nagawa (.) tnz-tnz kabe
3.POSS-husband name PROP.N (.) REDUP-short man
sf\rä/rm
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'He husband's name (was) *Nagawa* ... he was a bit short guy.'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #17-18)

(5) *nafanme mayawa* ***kakafar*** *z bramöwä thäkwrath firran.*

nafanme	mayawa	ka-kafar	z	bramöwä
3NSG.POSS	PROP.N	REDUP-big	ALR	all
thä\kwr/ath				firra=n
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/kill				PLACE.N=LOC

'All their Mayawa elders had been killed in Firra.'

(tci20111107-01 MAK 127)

In addition to a productive reduplication with the above meanings, reduplications are found across the lexicon to form new meanings. Many lexical items from the biological domain (plant and bird names) are reduplications which form interesting semantic links to their baseforms. For example, *toku* describes the way how a child is carried on a person's shoulder. The reduplication *tokutoku* refers to the Bar-shouldered Dove, which has a brown stripe across the back of its neck. The coloration on the neck of the bird appears at the same spot where a child is sitting when being carried on her parents' shoulders. Examples of this kind are described in detail in §11.4 under the label sign metonymies. Lastly, I want to mention that there are a few reduplicated lexical item which lack a corresponding simplex in Komnzo.

4.3 The form and function of case markers

I follow Blake (1994) in making a distinction between core cases and peripheral cases. Core cases in Blake's typology "encode complements of typical one-place and two-place transitive verbs" (1994), i.e. they are required by the verb's argument structure. Note that I widen this definition slightly. In Komnzo, core cases are defined as those cases whose referent can be indexed in the verb. Thus, core cases are the absolutive, ergative and dative case. Note that the absolutive is zero-marked. The possessive is an exception here, because the possessor can be indexed in the verb inflection. Peripheral cases align their arguments to semantic roles which are not required by the structure of the verb, nor can they be indexed in the verb. I will use the term semantic cases for theses.

Following (Andrews, 2007b), I understand semantic roles to refer to 'thematic relations' or 'deep cases' (Fillmore, 1968). From these, one can derive grammatical functions such as A, S, and P (Dixon, 1972).[1] In the following, the terms core case and semantic case are used to refer to the cases, while the term semantic

[1]"I will use the term semantic role to refer to both the specific roles imposed on NPs by a given predicate (..) and to the more general classes of roles, such as agent and patient. Semantic roles are important in the study of grammatical functions [A, S and P] since grammatical functions usually express semantic roles in a highly systematic way" (Andrews, 2007b: 136).

role is used to refer to the underlying semantics.

Following (Evans and Dench, 1988), who discuss the ways in which case can be used to establish three grammatical levels in Australian languages, I recognise three distinct levels at which cases may function in Komnzo. First, there is the adnominal function which relates one noun phrase to another noun phrase within a larger noun phrase. Second, there is the relational function which operates directly below the clause level. Third, there is the complementiser function which indicates that one clause is the argument of another clause. All case functions of the latter type are T-complementisers in Evans and Dench's typology (1988: 18), i.e. they establish a temporal, logical or spatial connection between the two clauses. Table 4.1 provides an overview of the cases and their functions. Note that semantic cases can be subdivided into spatial, temporal and other.

Table 4.1 The Komnzo case system

		CASE LABEL	SEMANTIC ROLES BY FUNCTION		
			ADNOMINAL	RELATIONAL	COMPLEMENTISER
CORE CASES		absolutive		Agent, Experiencer, Theme, Patient	Agent, Experiencer, Theme, Patient
		ergative		Agent	Agent
		dative		Recipient, Beneficiary	
		possessive	Possessor		
SEMANTIC CASES	SPATIAL	locative		Location	Simultaneity
		allative		Goal of motion	
		ablative		Source of motion	
	TEMPORAL	temporal locative		Location in time	
		temporal purposive		Goal in time	
		temporal possessive	Origin	Origin	
	OTHER	instrumental		Instrument, Manner	Result, Manner
		purposive		Purpose	Purpose
		characteristic	Origin	Source, Reason, Purpose	Reason, Purpose
		proprietive		Association	Association, Manner
		privative		Absence	
		associative		Association, Inclusion	Association
		similative		Comparison	

As mentioned above, there is little to no allomorphy with the case mark-

ers. Nominal morphology is relatively simple, especially when compared to verb morphology (See chapter 5). Thus, in Table 4.2 below, the formatives are given.

Table 4.2 Case markers in Komnzo

CASE	INANIMATE	ANIMATE	
		SINGULAR	NON-SINGULAR
ABS	∅	∅	(=*é* (=*yé*)[a])
ERG	=*f*	=*f*	=*é* (=*yé*)
DAT	n/a	=*n*	=*nm*
POSS	=*ane*	=*ane*	=*aneme*
LOC	=*en* (=*n*)	=*dben*	=*medben*
ALL	=*fo*	=*dbo*	=*medbo*
ABL	=*fa*	=*dba*	=*medba*
TEMP.LOC	=*thamen*	n/a	n/a
TEMP.POSS	=*thamane*	n/a	n/a
TEMP.PURP	=*thamar*	n/a	n/a
PURP	=*r*	n/a	n/a
INS	=*me*	n/a	n/a
CHAR	=*ma*	=*ane*=*ma*	=*aneme*=*ma*
PROP	=*karä* / =*kaf*	=*karä* / =*kaf*	=*karä* / =*kaf*
PRIV	=*märe*	=*märe*	=*märe*
ASSOC[b]	=*ä*	=*r*	=*ä*
SIMIL	=*thatha*	n/a	n/a

[a] Overt marking of the absolutive (NSG) is very rare.

[b] For the associative: DU vs. PL (§7.6)

We find, that case markers make a distinction between animate and inanimate referents. For certain cases, there are designated formatives for animate referents, for example all the spatial cases. Only with animate referents is there a number distinction (SG vs. NSG) in the case markers. Consider examples (6-8) below. The first example shows the locative case on *mnz* 'house', and the context of the story reveals that this is about several houses. The case marker, however, does not encode number. Examples (7) and (8) show that this is different for animate referents, and the case markers make a singular versus non-singular distinction.

(6) *kwot namäme thfanakwrm ...* ***mnzen*** *thwarakthkwramo.*

kwot namä=me thfa\nak/wrm (.)
properly good=INS 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/put.down (.)
mnz=en thwa\rakthk/wramo
house=LOC 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:PST:DUR:ANDAT/put.on.top

'She was sorting (the things) properly ... She put the things back in the houses.'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #38-39)

(7) ***mizidben*** *sokoro zewära.*

mizi=dben sokoro ze\wär/a
pastor=LOC.ANIM.SG school SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/happen

'The school was at the pastor('s place).'

(tci20120904-02 MAB #16)

(8) ***nafangthmedben*** *byamnzr.*

nafa-ngth=medben
3.POSS-younger_sibling=LOC.ANIM.NSG
b=ya\m/nzr
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell

'He stays at his small brothers' place.'

(tci20120814 ABB #216)

As Table 4.2 above shows, most case markers employ an /m/ or /me/ element to mark non-singular number. I refrain from segmenting this element as a separate morph for two reasons. First, the /m/ or /me/ does not involve all cases, for example not the ergative case. Second, its position is not fixed. With the possessive, /me/ follows the possessive marker =*ane*. With the dative, only /m/ follows the dative marker =*n*. With spatial cases /me/ precedes the locative, allative and ablative marker. I will offer an explanation of this in the conclusion to this chapter (§4.18).

These formatives attach to the rightmost element of the phrase, but have scope over the whole noun phrase. In example (9), the adjective *katan* 'small' precedes noun *nzram* 'flower' and the case marker attaches to the latter. Example (10) shows the same adjective postposed to the noun *yfö* 'hole'. Again, the case marker attaches to the rightmost element.

(9) ***katan nzramma*** *emarwr.*

katan nzram=ma e\mar/wr
small flower=CHAR 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/see

'You (can) identify them from the small flowers.'

(tci20130907-02 JAA #211)

(10) *watik* ***yfö katanr*** *kwa yarenzr.*

watik yfö katan=r kwa ya\re/nzr
then hole small=PURP FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/look

'Then, he will look around for a small hole.'

(tci20130903-04 RNA #26)

4.4 Absolutive

The absolutive case is almost always unmarked. The non-singular clitic (=*é*) is rarely used. The absolutive functions relationally to encode the single argument of intransitive verbs (11), or the patient argument of transitive verbs (12).

(11) ***nzä*** *zä zf wamnzr.*

nzä zä zf wa\m/nzr
1SG.ABS PROX IMM 1SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell

'I live right here.'

(tci20130823-01 WAM #85)

(12) ***nzä*** *fthé fof afaf schoolen zwäthba.*

nzä fthé fof afa=f school=en
1SG.ABS when EMPH father=ERG school=LOC
zwä\thb/a
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:PST:PFV/put.inside

'That was when father put me in school.'

(tci20120924 TRK #5)

When a nominalised verb functions as the patient of a matrix clause, it appears with no overt case marking, and could be analysed as having a zero/absolutive complementising case, though for reasons of parsimony I will not gloss it as such. This commonly occurs with phasal verbs, like in (13), where the speaker shows me how to make a whistle from a coconut leaf.

(13) ***myuknsi*** *srethkäfe zane zf ymyuknwé.*

myukn-si sre\thkäf/e zane zf
twist-NMLZ 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start DEM:PROX IMM
y\myukn/wé
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/twist

'We would start twisting it. I am twisting this here.'

(tci20120914 RNA #45)

Overt marking of non-singular number is possible if the referent is animate. The formative is =*é* if the host is consonant final, and =*yé* if it is vowel final. Hence, there is a syncretism between absolutive and ergative non-singular. This pattern of syncretism is also found in the first person pronouns (§3.1.8), where *ni* is used for both ergative and absolutive non-singular. As a case marker on absolutive noun phrases it is very rare. One example is given below in (14).

(14) ***nzone amayé*** *bä thfamrnm ksi karen.*

nzone ama=é bä thfa\m/rnm ksi
1SG.POSS mother=ABS.NSG MED 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell bush
kar=en
place=LOC

'My two mothers lived there in the bush.'

(tci20150919-05 LNA #240)

Only in the syntactic context of the inclusory construction is the absolutive non-singular obligatory (§7.6). Elsewhere it is optional, and tokens in the corpus are infrequent.

4.5 Ergative =*f*, =*è*

The ergative case marker is =*f* (SG) or =*é* (NSG). The ergative usually has a relational function encoding the semantic role of actor or stimulus. Example (15) is taken from a '*Nzürna* story'. These stories are widespread in the Morehead region. The main character *nzürna*, but also the plot of the stories, bears some resemblance to the classic European witch stories.

(15) *okay, ausi zakora "ŋame,* ***nzürna ŋaryf*** *wanmrinzr!" ...* ***ausif*** *sakora "anema fof gukonzé nima kmam foba gniyaké!"*

okay ausi za\kor/a ŋame
okay old woman 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak mother
nzürna ŋare=f wan\mri/nzr (.)
PROP.N woman=ERG 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/chase (.)
ausi=f sa\kor/a
old woman=ERG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak
ane=ma fof gu\ko/nzé nima
DEM=CHAR EMPH 1SG:SBJ>2SG:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/speak like_this
kma=m foba gni\yak/é
POT=APPR DIST:ABL 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/walk

'Okay, he said to the old woman: "Mother, the *Nzürna* woman is chasing after me!" ... The old woman told him: "That is why I told you: Don't go there!"

(tci20120827-03 KUT #114-115)

Examples (16) and (17) show the ergative non-singular formative. This is =*é* when the word is consonant final and =*yé* when it is vowel final. Example (16)

is taken from a procedural text about a little whistle made from a coconut leaf. In example (17), the speaker complains about some families whose children seem to be shifting from Komnzo to Wära.

(16) *rusa räkumgsir zane äfiyokwrth ...* ***srakė***

rusa räkumg-si=r zane
deer attract-NMLZ=PURP DEM:PROX
ä\fiyok/wrth (.) srak=é
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make (.) boy=ERG.NSG

'They make this one for attracting deer ... the boys (make it).'

(tci20120914 RNA #61)

(17) *... a* ***ŋameyé*** *nafanme zokwasimöwä thwasäminzrmth*

(.) a ŋame=yé nafanme zokwasi=me=wä
(.) and mother=ERG.NSG 3NSG.POSS speech=INS=EMPH
thwa\sämi/nzrmth
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/teach

'... and the mothers were teaching their own language (to the children).'

(tci20120924-02 ABM #37-38)

The ergative case can be used to encode inanimate actors who for some reason are attributed an actor-like behaviour. Example (18) comes from a hunting story where the speaker reaches the camp of his family in the night and sees a gaslamp hanging on the bamboos. Here, the wind (*füsfüs*) is marked with the ergative.

(18) *nabi tutin fä fof zumirwanzrm* ***füsfüsf***

nabi tuti=n fä fof
bamboo branch=LOC DIST EMPH
zu\mirwa/nzrm füsfüs=f
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/swing wind=ERG

'The wind was swinging (the lamp) on the bamboo branch.'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #117)

Example (19) is taken from an origin myth in which the island of New Guinea and the continent of Australia were still connected. The myth describes the rising see levels and how the people had to take refuge on both sides. The inanimate referent *no* 'water' is flagged with the ergative case.

(19) ***nof*** *nä nima thärkothmako ... nä nima thänkothma nzezawe.*

no=f nä nima thär\kothm/ako
water=ERG some like_this SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV:ANDAT/chase
(.) nä nima thän\kothm/a
(.) some like_this 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/chase
nze-zawe
1NSG.POSS-right

'The water chased some away like this ... and it chased some here to our side like this.'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #125-126)

Experiencer object constructions are quite common in Komnzo, whereby the stimulus receives the ergative case and the experiencer the absolutive. Constructions of this type have been described for Kalam by Pawley et al. (2000) and for Nen by Evans (2015b). As in Kalam, experiencer object constructions are often used to express bodily and mental processes. Example (20) comes from a story about a man who was angry and tried to shock people at a dance. The fact that he was infuriated is expressed literally as 'anger finished him'. Likewise, in example (21) the speaker announces that she wants to go to bed because 'fear has grabbed her'.

(20) ***nokuyé*** *fthé sabtha*

noku=yé fthé sa\bth/a
anger=ERG.NSG when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:PST:PFV/finish

'That is when he got really angry.' (lit. 'anger finished him')

(tci20120909-06 KAB #39)

(21) ***wtrif*** *z zwefaf.*

wtri=f z zwe\faf/
fear=ERG ALR 2|3SG>1SG:RPST:PFV/hold

'I am already scared.' (lit. 'fear holds me')

(tci20130901-01 RNA #164)

The ergative case can also be attached to a nominalised verb as in example (22) below. This example is about a Marind headhunter who was trying to distract the people by imitating the sound that dogs make when they chew on bones. The poor guy was so busy making this noise that he did not hear how the village people were approaching him. Hence, it is the infinitive of 'crack' which receives the ergative case in (22).

(22) *bäne thuwänzrm fof ... zarfa surmänwrm* ***ane wäsifnzo****.*

bäne thu\wä/nzrm fof (.) zarfa
DEM:MED 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/crack fof (.) ear
su\rmän/wrm ane
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/close DEM
wä-si=f=nzo
crack-NMLZ=ERG=ONLY

'He was cracking those (coconut shells) ... This cracking was blocking his ears.'

(tci20120818 ABB #67-68)

Thus, the ergative case can also function as a complementiser connecting two clauses. Example (23) shows that the infinitive to which the ergative is attached may also take an object. In the example a malevolent spirit, who lives in a tree, is about to be burned by an angry mob. She does not notice the fire at first because she is too concentrated on weaving a mat. The 'mat weaving' receives the ergative.

(23) *mni wthomonwath a zräföfth ... fi* ***yame yrsifnzo*** *zukonzrm boba wämne yfön fof*

mni w\thomon/wath a
fire 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/pile.firewood and
zrä\föf/th (.) fi yame
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/burn (.) but mat
yr-si=f=nzo zu\ko/nzrm boba
weave-NMLZ=ERG=ONLY 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:PST:DUR/do MED.ABL
wämne yfö=n fof
tree hole=LOC EMPH

'They piled up the firewood and started to burn it ... but she was concentrated on weaving the mat there in the tree hole.' (lit. 'the mat weaving did her')

(tci20120901-01 MAK #155-156)

Contructions involving the complementiser function of the ergative are rather infrequent in the corpus. Note that in both examples above, the exclusive clitic =*nzo* is attached to the ergative-marked infinitive in order to highlight that it was 'only that event' which acted on a person.

4.6 Dative =*n*, =*nm*

The dative case marker is =*n* (SG) or =*nm* (NSG). It serves a relational function and encodes the semantic role of (animate) recipient or goal. If it is attached to a place name, as in example (24) below, the people of that place are meant, not the place. The dative is categorized as a core case because a dative marked noun phrase is almost always indexed in the verb, as in verb form *thägathinza* in (24). Unlike in other Tonda languages, for example in Ngkolmpu (Carroll, forthcoming), the dative case cannot be used adnominally to mark a possessor.

In example (24), the speaker talks about the different places where he used to own a garden plot. Example (25) comes from a set of stimulus videos.

(24) *nzone daw bä mane rera safisen ...* ***nafanm*** *thägathinza ...* ***safis karnm***

nzone daw bä mane \rä/ra safis=en (.)
1SG.POSS garden MED which 3SG.FEM:PST:IPFV/be PLACE.N=LOC (.)
nafanm thä\gathi/nza (.) safis
3NSG.POSS SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:PST:IPFV/leave (.) PLACE.N
kar=nm
village=DAT.NSG

'As for my garden there in Safis, I left it for them ... for the Safis people.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #652-653)

(25) *emoth a srak markai no ŋarinth ... emothf yarithr* ***srakn****.*

emoth a srak markai no ŋa\ri/nth (.)
girl and boy white_man water 2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/pour (.)
emoth=f ya\ri/thr srak=n
girl=ERG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/give boy=DAT

'The boy and the girl are pouring (each other) wine. The girl gives (it) to the boy.'

(tci20111028-01 RNA #27-28)

The formatives in Table 4.2 suggest a syncretism between the dative case and the locative case: the singular marker of the dative is =*n*, and the locative can also be =*n* when it attaches to a vowel final word. For consonant final words, the formative is =*en*. However, the syncretism is ruled out by the fact that animate referents receive a special formative of the locative case (=*dben*). Moreover, there is some variation for the dative when it is attached to a vowel final word. For example, the word *ŋafe* 'father' with the dative =*n* can be pronounced as [ŋaβen], [ŋaβeʔən̆] or [ŋaɸjən̆] (as in 26 below).

In terms of meaning, there is some overlap between the allative and the dative case. Example (26) concludes an origin myth, and the speaker points out how the story was passed through the generations. The noun phrase *ŋafynm* 'for/to the fathers' marks a goal. This could be equally expressed with an allative case marker *ŋafemedbo* 'to the fathers'.[2]

(26) *trikasi mane nŋatrikwé fof ...* ***ŋafynm*** *... badafa ane fof ŋanritakwa fof.*

trik-si mane n=ŋa\trik/wé fof (.)
tell-NMLZ which IPST=1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell EMPH (.)
ŋafe=nm (.) bada=fa ane fof
father=DAT.NSG (.) ancestor=ABL DEM EMPH
ŋan\ritak/wa fof
2|3SG:OBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/pass EMPH

'The story which I have just told ... was really passed to the fathers from the ancestor(s).'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #405)

4.7 Possessive =*ane*, =*aneme*

The possessive case is =*ane* (SG) or =*aneme* (NSG). It marks the semantic role of possessor, and the noun or noun phrase to which it attaches functions always adnominally. Examples (27) and (28) show animate possessors. Example (27) is taken from a story about marriage customs and (28) is from a procedural about traditional fishing baskets. Note that all occurrences of the possessive case in (28) are within noun phrases whose nominal head is omitted because it can be recovered from the context.

(27) ***bafane mezü*** *rera ...* ***masenane mezü.***

bafane mezü \rä/ra (.) masen=ane
RECOG.POSS.SG widow 3SG.FEM:PST.IPFV/be (.) PROP.N=POSS.SG
mezü
widow

'She was this one's widow ... Masen's widow.'

(tci20120814 ABB #18-20)

[2]Note that the verb *ŋanritakwa* 'it (was) passed' does not index the dative noun phrase *ŋafynm* 'for/to the fathers'. This occurs in (26) because the noun phrase is separated by a pause, by a moment of hesitation.

(28) *wati, net ane mane erä* ***markaianeme*** *erä ane ... zane zf ...* ***kar kambeaneme*** *zfrärm ...* ***nzenme.***

wati net ane mane e\rä/ markai=aneme
then net DEM which 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be white_man=POSS.NSG
e\rä/ ane (.) zane zf (.) kar
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be DEM (.) DEM:PROX IMM (.) village
kambe=aneme zf\rä/rm (.) nzenme
man=POSS.NSG 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) 1NSG.POSS

'As for those nets, they are the white man's (nets). This right here, this was the village people's (fishbasket) ... ours.'

(tci20120906 SKK #53-56)

Examples (29) and (30) show the possessive case with inanimate possessors. When the host word is vowel final, there are different variants. In careful pronunciation, a glottal stop is inserted, for example [ɸiraʔane] in (29). In fast speech, this does not occur. Either the vowel is lengthened (if the word ends in /a/) or a glide is inserted, for example [ɸiraˑne] in (29) and [ðarisijane] in (30). However, sometimes a velar nasal is inserted, and example (29) could be realised as [ɸiraŋane].

(29) *faw wbrigwath ...* ***firraane zanma*** *fof.*

faw w\brig/wath (.)
payback 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/return (.)
firra=ane zan=ma fof
PLACE.N=POSS.SG killing=CHAR EMPH

'They brought the payback ... because of the killing of Firra.'

(tci20111119-01 ABB #5-6)

(30) *wati, nima fof kwafiyokwrme ... tharisi taemen ...* ***tharisiane efoth*** *fthé zfrärm.*

wati nima fof kwa\fiyok/wrme (.) thari-si taem=en
then like_this EMPH 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/make (.) dig-NMLZ time=LOC
(.) thari-si=ane efoth fthé zf\rä/rm
(.) dig-NMLZ=POSS.SG day when 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR

'Well, this is what we were doing ... in the harvesting time ... when it was the day of harvesting.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #354-356)

4.7.1 Close possession

There is a second possessive construction in Komnzo, which involves a prefix. The formatives are given below in Table 4.3. Formally, these prefixes seem to be reductions of personal pronouns. Surprisingly, they originate not from the possessive but the dative pronouns (§3.1.8). This is evident from the vowel quality which signals the number distinction. For example, the first person singular possessive pronoun is *nzone* 'my', and the first singular dative pronoun is *nzun* 'for me'. The possessive prefixes of the first and second singular show the /u/ vowel of the latter, not the /o/ vowel of the possessive series. Note that the number distinction is lost in third person. This is caused by the fact that in the third person pronouns (possessive as well as dative) there is no change in the vowel quality. The close possessive construction can also occur with other nominals, which are then treated like prefixes. I will discuss this at the end of this section.

Table 4.3 Possessive prefixes

PERSON	FORMATIVE	
	SINGULAR	NON-SINGULAR
1	*nzu-*	*nze-*
2	*bu-*	*be-*
3	*nafa-*	

For a number of reasons, I label this type of possessive marking 'close possession' rather than 'inalienable possession'. Although close possessive marking is frequently used for entities which are often characterised as being inalienable, for example kinterms or the origin of a person, close possessive marking is not obligatory for these concepts, but merely one of two options. Furthermore, some of the concepts which fall under the rubric of inalienability, for example body terms, are rarely expressed in the close possessive construction in Komnzo. Finally, for those lexical items which can be used in both possessive constructions, there is a semantic difference between normal versus close possession.

From a historical perspective, frequency can help to explain the emergence of the close possessive construction. See Bybee (2010: 142) for a discussion of frequency and language change. Given that some lexical items occur frequently in a possessive construction, we can assume that, in the course of time, the preceding pronoun reduced in form and turned into a prefix. Frequency is only one explanation and the inherently relational nature of some lexical items, such as kinterms, can also provide a pathway for the emergence of the close possessive construction. It is important to point out that the prefix pattern was not extended to all other nominals. On the contrary, the two marking patterns were associated with

a semantic distinction between (normal) possession and close possession. Synchronically, this means that there is no clear-cut categorization as there is with alienable/inalienable systems. Some lexical items are judged ungrammatical by my informants in a close possessive construction. For example, I was told that **nzumnz* 'my house' is ungrammatical, and *nzone mnz* should be used instead. However, I am cautious about these judgements, because I have overheard the very construction in conversation. On the other hand, informants agree that there are many lexical items which can alternate between the two possessive constructions depending on how a speaker wants to frame the connection between possessed and possessor, for example *nzone kar* 'my village' (normal possession) or *nzukar* 'my village' (close possession). Finally, there is no class of words for which close possession is obligatory.

Example (31) shows the possessive prefix on the word *kar* 'village/place'. The example is taken from a myth, where the two protagonists are withholding a particular food source from each other.

(31) *"be nzun fof kwathungr!* ***bukaren*** *ane fof bä safak emgthkwa."*

be nzun fof kwa\thung/r
2SG.ERG 1SG.DAT EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:RPST:IPFV/trick
bu-kar=en ane fof bä safak
2SG.POSS-village=LOC DEM EMPH MED saratoga
e\mgth/kwa
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV/feed

"'You have played a trick on me! In your place there, you have been feeding these saratogas."'

(tci20110802 ABB #121-122)

Example (32) shows a double possessive construction 'their father's story' involving both types of possessive marking. Note that (32) could also be expressed without the possessive prefix as *nafane ŋafeane trikasi*.

(32) ***nafaŋafeane trikasi*** *ŋariznth.*

nafa-ŋafe=ane trik-si ŋa\ri/znth
3.POSS-father=POSS.SG tell-NMLZ 2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/hear

'They (2) are listening to their father's story.'

(tci20111004 RMA #164)

Close possession is also possible with personal names as possessors. In this case, the personal name is treated like a prefix, i.e. it is syllabified together with the possessed. This can be seen in example (33). The possessor is the

personal name *Bäi* [ᵐbˈæ͡ɪ], and the possessed is *fzenz* [ɸˈə̆tseⁿts] 'wife'. A normal possessive construction would add the possessive case to the possessor: *Bäiane fzenz* [ᵐbˈæjane ɸˈə̆tseⁿts] 'Bäi's wife'. Both words receive stress separately, and both are syllabified independently. In the close possessive construction, the two words are syllabified as one word: *Bäyfzenz* [ᵐbˈæjə̆ɸtseⁿts]. Note that the initial consonant of *fzenz* is resyllabified as a coda, the epethentic vowel [ə̆] occurs between the two words, and *fzenz* does not receive separate stress. All this is evidence that the possessor (the personal name) is treated like the prefixes described above.

(33) *wati,* ***bäyfzenzf*** *zwäkor "bone dagon fof erä!"*

wati bäi-fzenz=f zwä\kor/ bone
then PERS.N-wife=ERG 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/speak 2SG.POSS
dagon fof e\rä/
food EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be:

'Then, Bai's wife said to me "Your food is here!" '

(tci20120922-24 MAA #81)

Note that in this construction there is no morph signalling the possessive relation, i.e. there is no possessive case marker. Only the fact that the possessor and possessed are syllabified as one word shows the presence of possessive semantics. Consequently, there is no 'possessive' in the gloss, and only the hyphen between the two words shows that they are in a (close) possessive relationship.

For some items in a close possessive construction, there is an /a/ element between possessor and possessed. As in example (34) below: *kowi-a-fis* 'Kowi's husband'. Thus, in these case there is an overt marker of the close possessive construction. The /a/ element seems to be a reduction of the possessive case marker =*ane*. The example is taken from a conversation about food taboos. The speaker is joking about his sister – a young unmarried woman.[3]

(34) *fi* ***kowiafisanemanzo*** *fthé zé änathre ... kowiane kabe fthé srarä.*

fi kowi-a-fis=ane=ma=nzo fthé z
but PERS.N-POSS-husband=POSS.SG=CHAR=ONLY when ALR
ä\na/thre (.) kowi=ane kabe fthé
1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/eat (.) PERS.N=POSS.SG man when
sra\rä/
3SG.MASC:IO:IRR.IPFV/be

'Only from Kowi's husband we will eat (food) ... If Kowi had a husband.'

(tci20120922-26 DAK #137-138)

[3]The fact that in example (34) the possessive case =*ane* is encliticised to *kowiafis* 'Kowi's husband' is not relevant for the point here. This always occurs, when the characteristic case is attached to an animate referent (§4.12).

4.8 Spatial cases

There are three spatial cases in Komnzo: the locative (*=en*), allative (*=fo*) and ablative (*=fo*). All three cases have special formatives for animate referents with a number distinction (SG, NSG): locative (*=dben*, *=medben*), allative (*=dbo*, *=medbo*) and ablative (*=dba*, *=medba*). Unlike neighboring languages, for example Nama and Nen, there is no perlative case in Komnzo. All three spatial cases have various semantic extensions. For example, they can be used in a temporal sense, even though there is a set of dedicated temporal case markers (§4.9).

All three animate non-singular case markers show some variation in their pronunciation. For example, *kabe=nmedben* and *kabe=medben* 'with/at the people' are both grammatical. The former contains an /n/, whereas the latter does not. I will offer in §4.18 an explanation for this.

4.8.1 Locative *=en*

The locative case marker is *=en*, for example *mnz=en* 'in the house'. If the host word ends in a vowel the formative is *=n*, for example *mni=n* 'in the fire'. There are designated formatives for animate referents, which make a singular versus non-singular contrast. Example (35) shows the locative case in its basic use. Example (36) comes from a text about a young boy who drowned in the Morehead river after he got stuck underwater in the mud. The example is a detailed description of how the body was recovered from the river.

(35) *nzone fäms byé* ***safisen***

nzone fäms b=yé
1SG.POSS exchange man MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
safis=en
PLACE.N=LOC

'My exchange man is there in Safis.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #269)

(36) *zä thabr thentharfa … ŋakarkwa gwargwarfa … srefzath … neba thabr nima sfrärm* ***nagayedben*** *… neba … nebame kwansogwrm* ***nabin****.*

zä thabr then\tharf/a (.)
PROX arm 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/put.under (.)
ŋa\kark/wa gwargwar=fa (.)
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/pull mud=ABL (.)
sre\fzath/ (.) neba thabr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/pull.out (.) opposite arm

nima sf\rä/rm nagaye=dben (.) neba (.)
like_this 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR child=LOC.ANIM.SG (.) opposite (.)
neba=me kwan\sog/wrm nabi=n
opposite=INS 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/ascend bamboo=LOC

'He put the arm underneath ... he pulled him from the mud ... he pulled him out ... one arm was like this on the boy ... the other ... with the other he climbed up on the bamboo.'

(tci20120904-02 MAB #189-193)

The locative can be translated to English with the prepositions 'in', 'on' or 'at'. In order to express that some entity is interior of something else, one can use the locational nominal *mrmr* 'inside' (37). See §3.1.6 for locationals. Note that example (37) shows that the locative marker attaches to the last item *mrmr* 'inside' of the phrase *firra kar mrmr* 'inside the village of Firra'.

(37) ***firra kar mrmren*** *kabe thwamnzrm fobo.*

firra kar mrmr=en kabe thwa\m/nzrm fobo
PLACE.N village inside=LOC man 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell DIST:ALL

'The people lived inside the village of Firra.'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #27)

The locative case can be extended to cover various abstract, non-spatial domains. In example (38) it is used temporally: 'on that day' and 'in the afternoon'. Example (39) shows a metaphorical use of the locative case: *zokwasi=n* 'in words'. This sentence was a description of a man who got infuriated at the demand of some of his relatives to give them his daughter as an exchange sister.

(38) ***ane efothen*** *...* ***ane zizin*** *... Kukufia we sathora fof.*

ane efoth=en (.) ane zizi=n (.) Kukufia we
DEM sun=LOC (.) DEM afternoon=LOC (.) PERS.N also
sa\thor/a fof
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV/arrive EMPH

'On that day ... in the afternoon, Kukufia arrived again.'

(tci20100905 ABB #105-107)

(39) *fi* ***zokwasin*** *kwanänzüthzr.*

fi zokwasi=n kwa\nänzüth/zr
3.ABS speech=LOC 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/bury

'He got into a fuss.' (lit. 'He buried himself in words.')

(overheard)

The above functions of the locative were all relational. The locative can also be used in a complementiser function where it encodes an event that occured simultaneously with that of the main clause. Example (40) is taken from a story about a malevolent spirit who had killed a man. In the example, she realises that others have discovered the truth.

(40) *wtri we z zära nima "z zwemarth ...* ***ane yam fiyoksin****"*

wtri we z zä\r/a nima z
fear also ALR 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/do like_this ALR
zwe\mar/th (.) ane yam fiyok-si=n
2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/see (.) DEM event make-NMLZ=LOC

'She was already afraid (and said): "They have already seen me doing that thing."'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #150-152)

4.8.2 Allative =*fo*

The allative case marker is =*fo* for inanimate referents and =*dbo* (SG) or =*medbo* (NSG) for animate referents. It encodes a spatial goal, and is only used in a relational function. Example (41) describes how the speaker and his family received the news that a widow from the neighboring village should get remarried (to one of his friends).

(41) *wati* ***nzedbo*** *zanrifthath* ***mayawanmedbo*** *rouku* ***bänefo*** *...* ***masufo****.*

wati nzedbo zan\rifth/ath
then 1NSG.ALL 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/send
mayawa=medbo rouku bäne=fo (.) masu=fo
PROP.N=ALL.ANIM.NSG PLACE.N RECOG=ALL (.) PLACE.N=ALL

'Then they send the word to us ... to the Mayawas in Rouku ... to there ... to Masu.'

(tci20120814 ABB #34-35)

The allative can be translated as movement 'to' or 'towards' some entity (41), but also as movement 'inside' some entity (42).

(42) ***zbo*** *n zräthbé* ***yare kwosifo****.*

zbo n zrä\thb/é yare
PROX.ALL IMN 1SG:SBJ>3SG:FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/put.inside bag
kwosi=fo
old=ALL

'I will try and put it here ... in the old bag.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #261)

The allative can also be used metaphorically as in example (43), which is taken from a public speech.

(43) ***zokwasifo*** *buthorakwr.*

zokwasi=fo b=wo\thorak/wr
speech=ALL MED=1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/arrive

'I get to the point now!' (lit.: 'I arrive there to the words.')

(tci20121019-04 ABB #135)

The animate/inanimate distinction (for all case markers for which this is relevant) can be used to mark definiteness of animate referents, for example animals. In (44), the speaker points out that sorcerers usually do not attack a person directly, but they put a deadly spell on a person's dog or some other animal. Later, when the animal suffers and dies, the human victim will also die. Thus, in (44) 'the dog' and 'the wallaby' are generic, and therefore marked with the (inanimate) allative case marker. In contrast, example (45) is taken from a story about a dog and a crow. Both have been introduced previously and are known to the speaker as individual creatures. Consequently, the dog in (45) is marked with the animate allative.[4]

(44) ***taurifo*** *tmatm zrafiyokwr o* ***ŋathafo****.*

tauri=fo tmatm zra\fiyok/wr o ŋatha=fo
wallaby=ALL event 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/make or dog=LOC

'(The sorcerer) would do this thing to a wallaby or to a dog.'

(tci20130903-04 RNA #114-115)

(45) *kofä ane zätr ... ymdane zr yföfa* ***ŋathadbo****.*

kofä ane zä\tr/ (.) ymd=ane zr yfö=fa
fish DEM 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/fall (.) bird=POSS tooth hole=ABL
ŋatha=dbo
dog=ALL.ANIM

'That fish fell down ... from the bird's mouth to the dog.'

(tci20111107-03 RNA #68-69)

Although it is possible to attach the allative to temporal nouns like *efoth* 'day', there are no corpus examples of this, and it is generally quite rare. The reason for this is the existence of a temporal purposive case marker (=*thamar*), which serves this function. See §4.9.2.

[4]Unfortunately, there is no corpus example of a referent which undergoes a change from inanimate allative to animate allative when tracked through a discourse.

4.8.3 Ablative =*fa*

The ablative case marker is =*fa* for inanimate referents and =*dba* (SG) or =*medba* (NSG) for animate referents. It is only used in a relational function. Example (46) shows the (inanimate) ablative case marker, and example (47) shows the animate ablative case marker.

(46) ***torres strait islandfa*** *thunrärm ... ane masis.*

torres strait island=fa thun\rä/rm (.) ane masis
PLACE.N=ABL 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/be (.) DEM matches

'They came from the Torres Strait Islands ... those matchboxes.'

(tci20120909-06 KAB #10)

(47) *trikasi zane mane wnrä ... nzä mane ŋatrikwé ...* ***badababadamedba*** *wnrä.*

trik-si zane mane wn\rä/ (.)
tell-NMLZ DEM:PROX which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/be (.)
nzä mane ŋa\trik/wé (.) badabada=medba
1SG.ABS which 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell (.) ancestor=ABL.ANIM.NSG
wn\rä/
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/be

'As for this story ... which I am telling ... it comes from the ancestors.'

(tci20110802 ABB #15-17)

The ablative can be used with temporal semantics. There is only one corpus example of the case marker =*fa* (48), but the deictic demonstrative are frequently used with temporal semantics. Example (48) concludes a headhunting story in which the speaker points out that the population has increased after this had ceased. The word *zenafa* ('from now') is best translated as 'nowadays'.

(48) *wati,* ***zenafa*** *... ni tüfr nagayé kwakonzre.*

wati zena=fa (.) ni tüfr nagayé kwa\ko/nzre
then today=ABL (.) 1NSG plenty children 1PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/become

'Nowadays, we have got plenty of children.'

(tci20111107-01 MAK #150-151)

Example (49) shows the use of the deictic demonstrative *foba* 'from over there' with temporal semantics. In the example, the speaker states why he does not know what happened to his family's rain magic stones, and *foba* means 'from that time onwards'.

(49) *nzenme ŋafe fthémäsü kwosi yara ... watik* ***foba*** *ni miyamr nrä mafadben zena ethn.*

nzenme ŋafe fthémäsü kwosi ya\r/a (.)
1NSG.POSS father meanwhile dead 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.)
watik foba ni miyamr n\rä/
then DIST.ABL 1NSG ignorance 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
mafa=dben zena e\thn/
who=LOC.ANIM.NSG today 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/lie.down

'In the meantime our father died ... and from then one we don't know with whom (the rain stones) are today.'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #399)

4.9 Temporal cases

Komnzo has a set of temporal case markers: the temporal locative, purposive and possessive. All three temporal cases only attach to temporal nominals (§3.1.7), like *ezi* 'morning' or the interrogative *fthé* 'when'. I adopt the labels locative, purposive and possessive because of the formal and semantic similarities with the respective cases. Formally, the temporal case markers consist of *=tham(a)* plus that case marker after which they are named. For example, the temporal locative is *=thamen*.

4.9.1 Temporal locative *=thamen*

The temporal locative indicates that something took place in a particular time frame. It is the time frame, usually a temporal nominal, to which the temporal locative attaches. Hence, it overlaps with the locative case, which can also be used on temporal nominals. Expressions like *ane efoththamen* 'in that day' (with a temporal locative) and *ane efothen* (with a locative) are equivalent. There is only a handful of corpus examples of the temporal locative. Example (50) comes from a narrative, in which a young boy was attacked by a sorcerer at night in his garden. The young man shot the sorcerer with an arrow, and the sorcerer ran away. The next day a trail of blood could be seen as far as until the garden entrance. In the example, the speaker points out that he was bleeding only at the beginning and the temporal locative attaches to *zöftha* 'first'. Thus, it locates the predicate 'bleed' into that time frame. In this case, the resulting form is not *zöfthathamen* as would be expected, but it is reduced to *zöfthamen*.

(50) ***zöfthamen*** *zamatho frk komnzo zä wtnägwrmo.*

zöftha=thamen z-a-math-o-∅
first=TEMP.LOC M.γ-ND-run.RS-ANDAT-2|3SG

frk komnzo zä
blood only PROX
2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV:ANDAT/run
w-tnäg-wr-m-o-∅
3SG.FEM.α-lose.EXT-ND-DUR-ANDAT

'At first, when he started to run and he was just losing blood here.'

(tci20130901-02 YUK #40)

4.9.2 Temporal purposive =*thamar*

The temporal purposive case indicates that something is meant for a particular point in time. The case marker attaches to a temporal nominal, which specifies that point in time. Example (51) comes from a procedural text about poison root fishing. While the speaker explains all the steps, others in the bakground are busy preparing and cooking the fish. At the end of the recording, he points out how some of the food is 'for the afternoon' and the leftovers are 'for tomorrow'.

(51) *okay,* ***zizithamar*** *kwa ane fof erä ... nä thzé* ***kaythamar*** *thrägathinze.*

okay zizi=thamar kwa ane fof e\rä/
okay afternoon=TEMP.PURP FUT DEM EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
(.) nä thzé kayé=thamar
(.) some ever tomorrow=TEMP.PURP
thrä\gathinz/e
1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/leave

'Okay, those are for the afternoon ... whatever (is there), we will leave it for tomorrow.'

(tci20110813-09 DAK #60)

4.9.3 Temporal possessive =*thamane*

The temporal possessive case indicates that something is from a particular point in time. It attaches to a temporal nominal, which specifies that point in time. Example (52) comes from a story, in which the two protagonists are withholding a particular food source from each other. In (52a), one of them sees a ground oven in the other's camp and asks him about it. The other one responds in (52b)

by saying that it is 'yesterday's oven'. Here the temporal possessive inherits the possibility of functioning adnominally from the possessive case.

(52) a. *"nzungath, rar karo zane erä?"*

nzun-gath ra=r karo zane
1SG.POSS-friend what=PURP earth_oven DEM:PROX
e\rä/
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

"My friend, what is this earth oven for?"

(tci20110802 ABB #90-91)

b. *"keke ... kadakada sutränwé ... kayé.* ***kaythamane karo*** *rä!"*

keke (.) kadakada su\trän/wé (.)
NEG (.) yamcake 1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/slice (.)
kayé kayé=thamane karo
yesterday yesterday=TEMP.POSS ground oven
rä
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

"No, I cut the yam cake ... yesterday. This is yesterday's oven."

(tci20110802 ABB #92-94)

In example (53) below, the temporal case functions relationally, not within a noun phrase. The example is from a stimulus picture task. The last part of the task is to retell a story from a first-person perspective. In the example, one of the participants instructs the other one to retell the story 'from today'.

(53) *nima befe we zakwther!* ***zenathamane*** *be katrikwé!*

nima befe we za\kwther/
like_this 2SG.ERG.EMPH also 2SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IMP:PFV/change
zena=thamane be ka\trik/wé
today=TEMP.POSS 2SG.ERG 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/tell

'You change it like this! You tell it from today.'

(tci20111004 MAI #5)

4.10 Instrumental =*me*

The instrumental case is used for material and immaterial instruments. It serves a relational function only. In a complementising function is it mostly used for resultative constructions. Example (54) is taken from a conversation about a sorcerer who – after being shot – received help from his friend. The friend closed the wound 'with mud'. Example (55) comes from the same story and shows

an immaterial instrument. The origin of sorcerer could be identified because he spoke Wära or 'with Safis language'. Example (56) comes from a public speech, where the speaker announces that he speaks on behalf of two older men ('speak with their mouths').

(54) *naf we* ***gwargwarme*** *ane yfö yanrmänwa.*

naf we gwargwar=me ane yfö
3SG.ERG also mud=INS DEM hole
yan\rmän/wa
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/close

'He also closed that hole on him with mud.'

(tci20130901-02 RNA #123)

(55) ***safis zokwasime*** *zenafthma.*

safis zokwasi=me ze\nafth/ma
PLACE.N language=INS 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/talk

'He was talking in Wära (lit.: in Safis language)'

(tci20130901-02 RNA #57)

(56) ***nafanme zr yföme*** *ŋanafé ... sowai a karbu ... zena zbär.*

nafanme zr yfö=me ŋa\na/fé (.) sowai a
3NSG.POSS tooth hole=INS 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/speak (.) PROP.N and
karbu (.) zena zbär
PROP.N (.) today night

'Tonight, I am talking for them ... for Sowai and Karbu.'

(tci20121019-04 ABB #91-92)

Example (57) shows a resultative construction with the instrumental case in complementiser function. Resultative constructions typically employ the copula and a nominalised verb form: *rfithzsime* translates literally as 'with hiding'.

(57) *nge kwa erifthznth ... nafaŋamayé ...* ***rifthzsime*** *kwa enrn.*

nge kwa e\rifth/znth (.)
child FUT 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3DU:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/hide (.)
nafa-ŋame=yé (.) rifthz-si=me kwa
3.POSS-mother=ERG.NSG (.) hide-NMLZ=INS FUT
en\r/n
2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/be

'The mothers will hide the two children ... They will be hidden.'

(tci20110817-02 ABB #72-73)

The instrumental case is frequently used on property nouns (58) and adjectives (59) with an adverbial function. In example (58) the speaker talks about customs surrounding the yam harvest, and in (59) he explains why he is not planting big gardens anymore. In both examples, the instrumental case derives a manner adverb.

(58) ***zünzme*** *befe fthé zanathé bonemäwä keke tüfr thrarä.*

zünz=me befe fthé za\na/thé
greed=INS 2SG.ERG.EMPH when 2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/eat
bone=ma=wä keke tüfr thra\rä/
2SG.POSS=CHAR=EMPH NEG plenty 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be

'If you eat greedily, your own (yams) will not be plenty.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #760)

(59) *watik, nzone tmä we* ***katanme*** *ŋarsörm.*

watik nzone tmä we katan=me ŋa\rsö/rm
then 1SG.POSS strength also small=INS 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:DUR/recede

'Well, my strength has gone down a little.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #664)

The instrumental case can also be attached to demonstratives as in (60), where the speaker explains to me how to protects one's bamboo bow against insects. In (61), the instrumental is attached to *mane* 'which' and used as a relative pronoun 'with which'.

(60) ***ngazime*** *o zaru ... nzanzama ... watik* ***aneme*** *zminzakwé zabth.*

ngazi=me o zaru (.) nzanza=ma (.) watik ane=me
coconut=INS or candlenut (.) woodworm=CHAR (.) then DEM=Ins
z\minzak/wé za\bth/
2SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:IMP:IPFV/paint 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/finish

'with coconut or candlenut ... because of the woodworm ... then, you have to paint (the bow) with that one (and) it is finished.'

(tci20120922-23 MAA #81-83)

(61) *kitr zane erä ... yame yrsima ... amaf* ***maneme*** *yame wrwr*

kitr zane e\rä/ (.) yame
river.pandanus DEM:PROX 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) mat
yr-si=ma (.) ama=f mane=me yame
weave-NMLZ=CHAR (.) mother=ERG which=INS mat
w\r/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/weave

'This is *Kitr* ... for weaving mats ... with which mother weaves the mat.'

(tci20130907-02 JAA #235-236)

The instrumental attaches productively to several interrogative pronouns: *ra=me* 'with what' or *mane=me* 'with which'. The interrogative *mon* 'how' can occur with or without the instrumental case; both *mon* and *monme* can be used interchangeably.

4.11 Purposive =*r*

The purposive case is used in relational and complementising function. It may be used to mark the intention of someone (62 and 63) or the inherent purpose of some entity (64). In example (62), a man informs his younger brothers about his plans for the night. Example (63) comes from a procedural about gardening and the speaker explains the purpose of the different steps involved.

(62) *naf ni nzräkor "ngthé ... nima nyak ŋarsfo etfthmöwä* ***kofär*** *... zbär kwa* ***zuzir*** *ŋarzre."*

naf ni nzrä\kor/ ngthé (.)
3SG.ERG 1NSG younger.sibling 2|3SG:SBJ>1PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV (.)
nima n\yak/ ŋars=fo etfth=me=wä
like_this 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/go river=ALL sleep=INS=EMPH
kofä=r (.) zbär kwa zuzi=r ŋa\r/zre
fish=PURP (.) night FUT fishing=PURP 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/throw

'He said to us: "Hey small brothers! We will go to the river ... overnight ... for fish. We will throw the fishing line in the night."'

(tci120904-02 MAB #26-29)

(63) *efä efä krarzrth* ***ŋaraker*** *...* ***wotu wotu räzsir***

efä efä kra\r/zrth ŋarake=r (.) wotu-wotu
aisle 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/throw fence=PURP (.) REDUP-stick
räz-si=r
erect-NMLZ=PURP

'They cut an aisle for the fence ... for erecting the sticks.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #51-52)

The last noun phrase in (63) and in (64) below show the complementising function of the purposive case. In both cases the purposive case marker is attached to an infinitival adjunct. In (64), the speaker talks about scorcers who visit a deceased man's grave after the burial to extract certain body parts. In both examples, the clause marked with the purposive contains the infinitive as well as the object of the event in the absolutive, for example *tmä yarisi* 'strength giving' in (64).

(64) *fi fenz ane* ***bänemrnzo*** *rä ...* ***tmä yarisir***.

fi	fenz	ane	bänemr=nzo	rä	(.)
but	body.liquid	DEM	RECOG.PURP=ONLY	3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/be	(.)
tmä	yari-si=r				
strength	give-NMLZ=PURP				

'but that body liquid is only for this ... for giving strength.'

(tci20130903-04 RNA #139-140)

The noun phrase or the infinitival adjunct marked with =*r* ascribes a specific purpose, and in this ascriptive function, the purposive overlaps with the characteristic case. Hence, in (64) both *tmä yarisir* and *tmä yarisima* would be grammatical and identical in meaning. The nature of this overlap will be described in §4.12.

There is a set of purposive personal pronouns in Komnzo. All the pronouns share a *-nar* element, for example *nzunar* 'for me', *nzenar* 'for us'.[5] However, these pronouns are rarely used, in fact so rarely that I came accross them only very late in my fieldwork. Moreover, there is not a single token in the text corpus. As one would predict from the semantics of the purposive case, these pronouns encode a beneficiary or a goal. But this function is already covered by the dative case. I will offer a hypothetical semantic shift scenario at the end of this chapter which partly explains why the purposive pronouns are so rarely used.

4.12 Characteristic =*ma*

The characteristic case covers a number of semantic roles which are source, reason and purpose. The characteristic serves all three functions: adnominal (65), relational (66) and complementiser (67). In example (65), *karma* 'from the village' functions within a matrix noun phrase. In this example, the characteristic

[5]See Table 3.4 on page 114.

could be left out, and *ane karma kabe* or *ane kar kabe* are both grammatical.[6] In example (66), the characteristic case attaches to a separate noun phrase and functions relationally. In example (67), the speaker comments on the exhausting work of dragging a sago palm trunk. The characteristic case attaches to an infinitival adjunct ('dragging') with a complementiser function.

(65) *keke thufnzrm ...* ***ane karma kabe***

keke thu\fn/zrm (.) ane kar=ma kabe
NEG 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/hit (.) DEM village=CHAR man

'She was killing them ... people from this village.'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #50)

(66) ***zane karma*** *minzü fefe nafa dagon swafiyokwrmth bänema z zbo ŋabrüza.*

zane kar=ma minzü fefe nafa dagon
DEM:PROX village=CHAR very real 3NSG.ERG food
swa\fiyok/wrmth bäne=ma z zbo
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:PST:DUR/make RECOG=CHAR ALR PROX.ALL
ŋa\brü/za
SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/drown

'From this village the people made a lot of food for him because he drowned here.'

(tci20150906-01 ABB #296-297)

(67) *festh tayo tayo nrä ...* ***bäne thärkusima.***

festh tayo tayo n\rä/ (.) bäne
body weak weak 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) DEM:MED
thärku-si=ma
drag-NMLZ=CHAR

'Our bodies are weak from that dragging (of the sago palm).'

(tci20120929-02 SIK #66-67)

In example (67), the semantic role of spatial origin or source is extended to non-spatial origin, that is reason or cause. Note that the source of motion cannot be expressed using the characteristic case. Instead the ablative *=fa* has to be used. Non-spatial origin is also found in the relational function, for example in (68) where the speaker explains why she was hesitant at first about working for the anthropologist Mary Ayres.

[6] In *zane kar kabe*, the phrasal head consists of a compound *kar kabe*. In *zane karma kabe*, the noun phrase *zane kar* is embedded in a matrix noun phrase. Thus, the reference of the demonstrative *zane* is different between the two examples. In the former case *zane* refers to the complex head, but in the latter case *zane* refers only to the head of the embedded noun phrase. See §7.5 for a discussion of noun phrases.

(68) *nzä* ***ane markai zokwasima*** *wtri kwarärm.*

nzä ane markai zokwasi=ma wtri kwa\rä/rm
1SG.ABS DEM outsider language=CHAR fear 1SG.SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'I was afraid of that white man's language.'

(tci20130911-03 MAA #15)

Example (69) concludes a recording taken inside a yam house where the speaker has talked about the different types of yams and the sorting principle in the storage house. He launches a whole battery of noun phrases marked with the characteristic case to express what the story 'was about', and thus the case marker can also be used to express the topic of a conversation. In the example, the noun phrases are marked by angled brackets.

(69) *watik zane zizin* ***[wawama] [trikasi tharisima] [tafoma] [sagu saguma]*** *... mon eworthre ... mane* ***[dagonma]*** *erä ... mane tafo erä ... zbo zf zbthe brä trikasi ... eso kafar* ***[bone namä yarizsima]****.*

watik zane zizi=n wawa=ma trik-si
then DEM:PROX afternoon=LOC yam=CHAR tell-NMLZ
thari-si=ma tafo=ma sagu-sagu=ma (.)
harvest-NMLZ=CHAR yam.type=CHAR REDUP-yam.type=CHAR (.)
mon e\wor/thre (.) mane dagon=ma
how 1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/plant (.) which food=CHAR
e\rä/ (.) mane tafo e\rä/
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) which yam.type 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
(.) zbo zf z\bth/e
(.) PROX.ALL IMM 1DU:SBJ>3SG.FEM:RPST:PFV/finish
b=rä trik-si (.) eso kafar bone
MED=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be tell-NMLZ (.) thanks big 2SG.POSS
namä yariz-si=ma
good listen-NMLZ=CHAR

'Well, in this afternoon ... (we talked) about yams, the story about harvesting, about Tafo yams and Sagu Sagu yams ... how we plant them ... which ones are for eating ... which ones are for Tafo (storing). We have finished it now there. Thank you for listening.'

(tci20121001 ABB #215-221)

Note that the last two tokens of =*ma* in example (69) are different in their semantics. The noun phrase *dagonma* does not translate as 'about the food', but as 'for eating'. The last token of =*ma* can be translated as both reason or purpose: *eso kafar [bone namä yarizsima]* 'thanks because of your listening' or 'thanks for

your listening'. Without examples like these the labels 'source' and 'cause' would be sufficient descriptions for this case marker. However, quite frequently *=ma* encodes a purpose and, therefore, I choose the cover term 'characteristic'.

Consider example (70) below which comes from a walk through the forest. Along the path, the speaker shows me a particular grass. The leaf of this grass can be placed between the lips, and one can produce a high cheeping sound by blowing through it. She explains that this can be used 'for attracting snakes', thus, the characteristic is marking a purpose in (70a). After demonstrating how to produce the sound, she repeats in (70b) why the snake is coming (*kwanma* 'because of the sound') and concludes that she would not usually blow this grass (*anema* 'therefore'). Here the characteristic case marks a reason.

(70) a. ***kaboth räkumgsima*** *yé*

kaboth räkumg-si=ma yé
snake attract-NMLZ=CHAR 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'It is for attracting snakes.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #612)

b. *kaboth kwa ŋankwir* ***ane kwanma*** *...* ***anema*** *fof keke efsgwre*

kaboth kwa ŋan\kwi/r ane kwan=ma (.)
snake FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/run DEM noise=CHAR (.)
ane=ma fof keke e\fsg/wre
DEM=CHAR EMPH NEG 1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/blow

'The snake will run here because of that sound ... therefore we do not blow them.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #615-616)

In her analysis of Ancient Greek, Luraghi suggests that "the notion of Reason, which, as remarked by (Croft, 1991), mediates between Cause and Purpose, really constitutes a kind of undifferentiated area, in which the reason that motivates an agent to act is cognitively equivalent to the purpose of the action, so that the two notions overlap completely" (2003: 46). See also (Luraghi, 2001) for a cross-linguistic study of semantic roles. In Komnzo, this overlap does not play out as a diachronic process, but as coexisting uses of the characteristic case. Example (71) below supports the point made by Luraghi. The noun *yasema* can be translated to English as cause/motivation ('because of meat') as well as purpose ('for meat'). The reason for the action and the purpose of the action are expressed by *=ma*.

(71) *nabimäre fthé gnräré bone nagayé kwa änor ...* ***yasema.***

nabi=märe fthé gn\rär/é bone nagayé kwa
bow=PRIV when 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be 2SG.POSS children FUT
ä\nor/ (.) yase=ma
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout (.) game=CHAR

'When you are without a bow, your children will cry for meat / because of meat.'

(tci20120922-23 MAA #89-91)

The characteristic case competes with the purposive case in marking the semantic role of purpose. In many utterances, they can be used interchangeably. Consider examples (72) and (73) below, where both can be used to express an inherent purpose of some entity ('the leaf is for rolling cigarettes'). Likewise, in (70a) above, the purposive could be used (*kaboth rakumgsir yé* 'it is for attracting snakes'). An intentional purpose of some individual (e.g. 'he goes for hunting') is most frequently expressed by the purposive case, not by the characteristic.

(72) *zane mane yé ... bänemr yrärth ...* ***sukufa knsir***

zane mane yé (.) bänemr
DEM:PROX which 3SG.MASC.NPST:IPFV/be (.) RECOG.PURP
y\rä/rth (.) sukufa kn-si=r
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/do (.) tobacco roll-NMLZ=PURP

'As for this one ... they use is for that ... for rolling cigarettes.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #506-508)

(73) *ane taga mane erä* ***sukufa knsima*** *we erä*

ane taga mane e\rä/ sukufa kn-si=ma
DEM leaf which 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be tobacco roll-NMLZ=CHAR
we e\rä/
also 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'As for those leaves, they are also used for rolling cigarettes.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #567)

With animate referents, the dative is used to mark a goal or beneficiary. The purposive case can be used for more abstract animate referents, for example *fäms ŋare=r* 'for/as exchange woman'.[7] The characteristic case cannot serve for marking purpose in this sense. Instead, with animate referents it always marks a reason, origin or cause. Additionally, animate referents must take the possessive case first, and then the characteristic =*ma* attaches to the possessive. In example (74), a young man explains how the food will be shared during an upcoming feast. The characteristic is attached to the possessive pronouns. Example (75) comes from a story in which the wife of a man had been killed, and at the end of the story he cries bitterly because of her. In both examples, the characteristic case attaches to a possessive: *nzenmema* and *nafaŋareanema*. It is ungrammatical to use the unmarked (absolutive) forms: **nima* and **nafaŋarema*.

[7]Example (28) on page 238 provides a textual example of *fäms ŋarer*.

(74) *we nafa* ***nzenmema*** *sräthoroth ... ni* ***nafanmema*** *fof sränthore*

we nafa nzenme=ma
also 3NSG.ERG 1NSG.POSS=CHAR
srä\thor/oth (.) ni
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV:ANDAT/carry (.) 1NSG
nafanme=ma fof
3NSG.POSS=CHAR EMPH
srän\thor/e
1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/carry

'They will take it from us and we will take it from them.'

(tci20120929-02 SIK #97-98)

(75) *yanzo bobo yanora* ***nafaŋareanema***

ya=nzo bobo ya\nor/a
cry=ONLY MED.ALL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/cry
nafa-ŋare=ane=ma
3.POSS-woman=POSS=CHAR

'He cried badly there because of his wife.'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #208-209)

The characteristic suffix is used to derive cardinal numerals: *eda* 'two' → *edama* 'second'. In example (76), the speaker explains what I have to do during an upcoming namesake ceremony.

(76) *chrisf yathugwr keke kwa srefaf yakme ...* ***ethama*** *mane yé ... kwa fthé fof yfathwr.*

chris=f ya\thug/wr keke kwa
PROP.N=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/trick NEG FUT
sre\faf/ yak=me (.) etha=ma
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/hold run=INS (.) three=CHAR
mane yé (.) kwa fthé fof
which 3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/be (.) FUT when EMPH
y\fath/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/hold

'Chris will trick him, he will not hold him quickly ... Only at the third (time) ... (that is) when he will really hold him.'

(tci20110817-02 ABB #89-91)

The characteristic case is frequently used on demonstrative pronouns as in (70b) meaning 'therefore'. In some words, the characteristic case has become lexicalised, for example: *rma* 'why' from *ra* 'what' plus *=ma* or *karama wath* 'karama dance' from *kara* which is a place in the West. Other lexical items show a *ma* element, but the connection to the characteristic case is hypothetical at the moment, for example *nzagoma* 'for later, in advance' and *madma* 'feminine'.

4.13 Proprietive =*karä*

The proprietive is used in relational and complementiser functions. It expresses the semantic role of association ('with something' or 'with someone') or property ('having some quality').[8] In expressing the role of association, the proprietive overlaps with the associative case (§4.15). The role of property (assignment) employs an existential construction as in (79) and (80).

Although the proprietive =*karä* attaches to one noun phrase relating it semantically to another noun phrase, the two NPs do not form a syntactic constituent, i.e. the proprietive does not function adnominally. In example (77), the speaker is boasting about his big yam garden: 'I am the one with the biggest garden'. In example (78), a woman describes a namesake ceremony, where the mother 'with her child' are hidden behind a curtain of coconut leaves waiting to be officially presented to their relatives. In both examples, the noun phrase marked with the proprietive is printed in bold, and the noun phrase to which it associates some entity is underlined.

(77) *<u>nzänzo</u> zä zf worä* ***kafarwä dawkarä*** *fof*

nzä=nzo zä zf wo\rä/ kafar=wä
1SG.ABS=ONLY PROX IMM 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be big=EMPH
daw=karä fof
garden=PROP EMPH

'I am the only one here with a really big garden.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #655)

(78) *<u>nzä</u> zweyafürath* ***ngekarä*** *... samtherath warfo "nge zyé!"*

nzä zwe\yafür/ath nge=karä (.)
1SG.ABS 2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:IO:PST:PFV/open child=PROP (.)
sa\mther/ath warfo nge
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/lift.up above child
z=\yé/
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'They opened it for me with the child. They lifted him up high (and said) "Here is the boy!"'

(tci20130823-01 WAM #43)

[8]It follows that the labels proprietive and associative are equally well justified. I choose proprietive because it contrasts with the private case.

The proprietive is frequently used with the copula to express a property or quality of something: 'with dust' in (79), or someone: 'with facial hair' in (80). The kinds of properties assigned are usually portrayed as being of temporary nature.

(79) ***gwrmgkarä*** *zane kar rä.*

gwrmg=karä zane kar rä
dust=PROP DEM:PROX place 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'This is a dusty place.'

(tci20121009-04 ABB #7)

(80) *kabe yé ...* ***fäk thäbukarä*** *yé*

kabe yé (.) fäk thäbu=karä
man 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) jaw hair=PROP
yé
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'This is a man. He has a beard.'

(tci20111004 RMA #90)

Examples (81) and (82) contrast the proprietive case with the instrumental case. In example (81), the speaker talks about local medicine and how one has to mix the liquid of a particular plant with water. Hence, *nokarä* has to be translated as addition: '(together) with the water'. In example (82), the shallow water on the riverbank acts as an instrument making it easier to roll a heavy sago stem. Consequently, *nome* has to be translated as: 'with (the help of) the water'.

(81) ***nokarä*** *swathknwé! ... ane käznob!*

no=karä s\wathkn/wé (.) ane
water=PROP 2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/stir (.) DEM
käz\nob/
2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/drink

'You stir it with water and drink that!'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #189)

(82) *sathkäfake bi frezsi thenzgsi ...* ***anemöwä*** *töna sakorake ... zane* ***nome***

sa\thkäf/ake bi frez-si
1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/start sago bring.up.from.river-NMLZ
thenzg-si (.) ane=me=wä töna
roll-NMLZ (.) DEM=INS=EMPH high.ground
sa\kor/ake (.) zane no=me
1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/become (.) DEM:PROX water=INS

'We started bringing up the sago from the river by rolling it ... with that we brought it to the high ground ... with the water.'

(tci20120929-02 SIK #57-58)

The proprietive can also be used in a complementising function when it is attached to nominalised verb (83). Unlike the instrumental case in a complementiser function, the proprietive does not form a resultative construction. In (83), the relationship between *borsi* 'laugh' and the predicate 'he looks' is one of association or simultaneity. It can also be translated as a manner adverbial ('He stands laughingly.'). In example (84) the father comes while telling a story. In contrast, in resultative constructions, the result of some previous event is emphasised. For example, in (85) the speaker points to a stack of yams in his storage house stressing the fact that he has piled up different types of yam tubers. This can be analysed as a pseudo-passive construction (§8.3.5).

(83) *gon z zefaf ...* ***borsikarä*** *efoth ymarwr.*

gon z ze\faf/ (.) bor-si=karä efoth
hip ALR 1SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/hold (.) laugh-NMLZ=PROP sun
y\mar/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/see

'He has his hands on his hips. As he looks up at the sun. he laughs.'

(tci20111004 RMA #502-503)

(84) *nafaŋafe* ***trikasikarä*** *yanyak.*

nafa-ŋafe trik-si=karä yan\yak/
3.POSS-father tell-NMLZ=PROP 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/walk

'The father walks here while he is telling a story.'

(tci20111004 RMA #329)

(85) *zane* ***fukthksime*** *erä.*

zane fukthk-si=me e\rä/
DEM:PROX mix-NMLZ=INS 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'These ones have been mixed.'

(tci2020121001 ABB #178)

The proprietive can also attach to a nominalised verb in a relational function. Example (86) is the description of a picture card which depicts a prisoner sitting in his cell. Example (87) comes from the same recording, when the prisoner is set free and handed back his belongings. These two examples presuppose some kind

of result – 'has been tied' and 'has been opened' respectively – but the previous event remains implicit. For example, in (87) the speaker draws attention to the fact that the door is open with the help of a demonstrative identifier *brä*. If the instrumental case was used instead (*yafüsime*), the result of the opening event would be emphasised.

(86) *wati ane fóf yamnzr ... fam ngarär ... fafen* ***wäthsikarä*** *yé.*

wati ane fof ya\m/nzr (.) fam
Then DEM EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit (.) thoughts
nga\rär/ (.) fafen wäth-si=karä
2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/do (.) during tie-NMLZ=PROP
yé
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'Well, that one is sitting ... he is thinking ... with his hands tied.'

(tci20111004 RMA #133-134)

(87) *zrfö bana z seyafürth ... zrfö* ***yafüsikarä*** *brä.*

zrfö bana z se\yafür/th (.) zrfö
door poor ALR 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:RPST:PFV/open (.) door
yafü-si=karä b=rä
open-NMLZ=PROP MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'They have already opened the door for the poor guy. (See) there, the door is open!'

(tci20111004 RMA #432-433)

There is a second variant of the proprietive marker, which is *=kaf*. In terms of frequency, the distribution of the two formatives is rather skewed: *=kaf* is attested 22 times in the corpus compared to 194 occurences of *=karä*. The distribution patterns neither with age or language portfolio of individual speakers. In the close varieties Wära and Anta both formatives are also attested.

4.14 Privative *=märe*

The privative case *=mär* or *=märe* is the opposite of the proprietive. It is used to indicate that some entity lacks something (89), someone (88) or some quality (90). The privative is usally used in relational function. Like the proprietive case, it can establish a semantic link between two noun phrases. The two noun phrases do not form a syntactic constituent. In example (88), the speaker talks about older lineages of his clan. The example contrasts the proprietive and the privative case. The absence (*ngemär*) or existence (*ngekarä*) marked on *nge* 'child' relates

those noun phrases to *fi* 'they' and *bäi* respectively. In the following examples (89 and 90), the noun phrase to which the privative-marked noun phrase links is omitted.

(88) *sitau bagi fi zabthath* ***ngemär*** *... bäinzo* ***ngekarä*** *yara fof.*

sitau bagi fi za\bth/ath nge=mär (.)
PERS.N PERS.N 3.ABS 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/finish child=PRIV (.)
bäi=nzo nge=karä ya\r/a fof
PERS.N=ONLY child=PROP 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be EMPH

'Sitau and Bagi, they died without children ... only Bäi had children.'

(tci20120814 ABB #508)

(89) *frasi kwa nrä* ***ŋanzmäre*** *fthé gnräré*

frasi kwa n-rä ŋanz=märe fthé
hunger FUT 2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be row=PRIV when
gn\rä/ré
2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be

'You will be hungry, if you don't have a row (of yams in the garden).'

(tci20130822-08 JAA #54)

(90) ***miyomäre*** *worä ... mrn ŋarake* ***miyomäre****.*

miyo=märe wo\rä/ (.) mrn ŋarake miyo=märe
desire=PRIV 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) clan garden desire=PRIV

'I don't want to make a family/clan garden (anymore).'

(tci20130823-06 STK #77)

There is one case where the privative case has fused with a lexical item. The word *miyatha* 'knowledge' or 'knowledgeable' is used in constructions expressing a positive epistemic state; usually of the structure *miyatha worä* 'I know' (lit. 'with knowledge I am' or 'knowledgeable I am'). In addition to the negator *keke*, one can negate this ('I do not know') by using the word *miyamr* 'ignorance' or 'ignorant', which contains *miya* and an element *mr*. The latter is a reduced and lexicalised form of the privative case marker =*mär*. We can see this in example (91), which comes from a myth where two brothers are trying to kill a creature by shooting an arrow into its heart.

(91) *naf nima "keke fi* ***miyamr*** *erä fofosa mä rä."*

naf nima keke fi miyamr e\rä/ fofosa
3SG.ERG like_this NEG 3.ABS ignorant 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be heart
mä rä
where 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'He said "No, they do not know where the heart is."'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #104-105)

4.15 Associative =*ä*

The associative case is used to express accompaniment in its referential function or simultaneity of another event in its complementising function. In both cases, the formative is =*ä*. With animates, there are two formatives =*r* and =*ä*, and a set of pronominals (Table 7.2 in §7.6). These are used for a special construction for which I adopt the term inclusory construction based on (Lichtenberk 2000) and (Singer 2001). I describe the inclusory construction in the context of the syntax of the noun phrase (See §7.6).

The associative case on inanimate referents is a minor pattern, because it overlaps in its semantics with the proprietive case =*karä* (§4.13). Its function is either relational (93) or complementising (92). Example (92) is taken from a storyboard picture task where the speaker describes one of the pictures as part of a narration. The associative is attached to the nominalised verb *thweksi* 'rejoice' which acts as an infinitival adjunct.

(92) *kfänrsöfth* ***thweksiä***

kfän\rsöfth/ thwek-si=ä
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:ITER:VENIT/descend rejoice-NMLZ=ASSOC

'She always came down (the stairs) and was happy.'

(tci20120925-01 MAE #114)

Example (93) is taken from a story about a boy who drowned in the Morehead river. A group of policemen were on guard to deter crocodiles, while another man was trying to recover the body from the river. The phrase *markai nabiä* 'with shotguns' (literally: 'with white man bows') can also be marked with the proprietive case like the preceding phrase *gardakarä* 'with canoes' (92).

(93) *fath wäfiyokwath neba wazi neba wazi … frisman fi gardakarä* ***markai nabiä*** *… bara kwarafinzrmth … nümgarma*

fath wä\fiyok/wath neba wazi
clearing 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make opposite side
neba wazi (.) frisman fi garda=karä markai
opposite side (.) policeman 3.ABS canoe=PROP white_man
nabi=ä (.) bara kwa\rafi/nzrmth (.) nümgar=ma
bow=ASSOC (.) paddle 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/paddle (.) crocodile=CHAR

'The cleared the place along both sides ... the policemen with canoes and shotguns ... they were paddling because of crocodiles.'

(tci20122012-02 MAB #162-165)

The third example (94) comes from visiting one of the many waterholes around Rouku, where people catch fish with poison root during the dry season. The speaker points out how thoughtfully ('with thoughts') the ancestors looked after this place.

(94) *kofä kwot kwarkonzrmth namä yamme … nä kafar zra zane zf* ***famä*** *zumarwrmth nafa zf … kafar kwarké.*

kofä kwot kwa\rko/nzrmth namä yam=me (.)
fish properly 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/distribute good custom=INS (.)
nä kafar zra zane zf fam=ä
some big swamp DEM:PROX IMM thought=ASSOC
zu\mar/wrmth nafa zf (.) kafar
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/see 3NSG.ERG IMM (.) big
kwark=é
deceased=ERG.NSG

'They shared the fish in a good way. They looked after this swamp here thoughtfully ... the late elders.'

(tci20120922-21 DAK #37-38)

4.16 Similative =*thatha*

The similative case functions relationally, and its semantics are quite compatible to the English expressions 'like X' or 'similar to X'. In example (95)[9], the speaker shows me a plant called *ŋaziŋazi* 'Exocarpus sp' and comments that its fruits taste a bit like a chewing gum and that it is similar to *ŋazi* 'coconut'.

[9]The word *pike* [pɪke] comes from Wrigley's PK® chewing gum which has the initials of Philip Knight Wrigley printed in big letters on the package.

(95) *ŋaziŋazi ... **pikethatha** yé ... **ŋazithatha** ... nafane yawi.*

ŋaziŋazi (.) pike=thatha yé (.)
PROP.N (.) chewing_gum=SIMIL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.)
ŋazi=thatha (.) nafane yawi
coconut=SIMIL (.) 3SG.POSS fruit

'*ŋaziŋazi* ... its fruit is like a chewing gum ... like a coconut.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #308-309)

Hence, the element marked with *=thatha* is portrayed as being similar to another element. Often enough that second element is established from context and the respective noun phrase is omitted as in example (96) where the speaker describes an man hanging upside down from the branch of a tree.

(96) ***bidrthatha** zbo sumithgrm ... wämnen.*

bidr=thatha zbo su\mi/thgrm
flying_fox=SIMIL PROX.ALL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR:STAT/be.hanging
(.) wämne=n
(.) tree=LOC

'He was hanging like a flying fox ... on the tree.'

(tci20130901-02 RNA #48)

There are a few cases where the similative case is attached to recognitional pronoun *bänethatha* 'like that one' or to the manner demonstrative *nimathatha* 'like in this way' as in example (97), where the speaker comments that some plants along the way look as if they had been planted by someone.

(97) ***nimathatha** erä ... kma thuworthrth*

nima=thatha e\rä/ (.) kma
like_this=SIMIL 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) POT
thu\wor/thrth
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/plant

'These (plants) look a bit like ... as if they have planted them.'

(tci20130907-02 JAA #281)

4.17 Further nominal morphology

There are a number of nominal enclitics or suffixes that do not mark a semantic role. I address these in the following sections.

4.17.1 Emphatic =*wä*

The emphatic clitic =*wä* is used to intensify the expression. For example, attached to a temporal adjective *zafe* 'old' is means 'really long ago' (98). If it is attached to a possessive pronoun, it is often translated as 'my own' instead of 'my' (99). As Komnzo has no dedicated marker for comparatives, the emphatic clitic can be used for this (100).

(98) *nze kwa natrikwé bun ... no kzima ...* ***zaföwä*** *ni monme no kzi thwafiyokwrme.*

nze kwa na\trik/wé bun (.) no
1SG.ERG FUT 1SG:SBJ>2SG:IO:NPST:IPFV/tell 2SG.DAT (.) rain
kzi=ma (.) zafe=wä ni mon=me no kzi
barktray=CHAR (.) old=EMPH 1NSG how=INS rain barktray
thwa\fiyok/wrme
1NSG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/make

'I will tell you ... about the rain-making barktray ... a really long time ago ... how we were making the rain-making barktray.'

(tci20110810-01 MAB #1-3)

(99) ***nzonewä*** *zane zf erä!*

nzone=wä zane zf e\rä/
1SG.POSS=EMPH DEM:PROX IMM 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'These ones right here are my own!'

(tci20121001 ABB #129)

(100) ***katakatanwä*** *thfrä. nzenme kafar erä.*

kata-katan=wä thf\rä/ nzenme kafar
REDUP-small=EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/be 1NSG.POSS big
e\rä/
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'Those (yams) were smaller. Ours are big.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #403)

Some words seem to have lexicalised the emphatic clitic, i.e. they do not occur without *=wä*. One example is *nzüthamöwä* 'time' (in the sense 'instance of something happening'). This word can take the *=nzo* 'only' clitic, for example *näbi nzüthamöwänzo* 'only one time'. Elsewhere, the emphatic clitic *=wä* and the exclusive clitic *=nzo* may not co-occur. Other examples are *bramöwä* 'all' and *gadmöwä* 'good fortune'. Note that all three contain a /mö/ element. I suspect that this is a lexicalised version of the instrumental case marker *=me*. The vowel of the instrumental *=me* is regularly rounded in the presence of *=wä*. However, removing these putative lexicalised clitics from these words results in three non-words: **nzütha*, **bra* and **gad*.

The emphatic clitic can attach to lexical items preceding the case marker. Example (101) is from a story about two characters who each have a ford in the river where they place a fishing basket. In *edawäneme*, the clitic has scope over the numeral *eda* 'two'. Thus, it is emphasizing the fact that there are two, which suggests a distributive reading: 'each one had a trapping place'. If the clitic was attached after the case marker (*edaanemöwä*), the possession would be emphasized 'two of their own'. Example (101) is the only instance in the corpus where the emphatic clitic occurs between a lexical item and a case marker. Hence, it is a possible yet very rare construction.

(101) *krsi zn we fä thwarnm ...* ***edawäneme.***

kr-si zn we fä thwa\rn/m (.)
block-NMLZ place also DIST 2|3DU:IO:PST:DUR/be (.)
eda=wä=aneme
two=EMPH=POSS.NSG

'They also had a fishing place there ... each had one.'

(tci20110802 ABB #58-59)

4.17.2 Exclusive *=nzo*

The exclusive enclitic *=nzo* has been described in §3.5. It forms the nominal counterpart to the discourse particle *komnzo* 'only' (§3.4.2) from which the language gets its name. I will not go into much detail here. The exclusive clitic can attach to all nominals including pronouns, thus it occurs with a high frequency in the corpus. It usually attaches to the last element of a noun phrase, over which it has scope. It is glossed as ONLY in the examples.

In example (102) the exclusive clitic attaches to a noun phrase with an adverbial function, *frme* 'straight'. In (103), it is attached to an adjective.

(102) *zokwasi mane rera komnzo* ***frmenzo*** *wyaka nzudbo*

zokwasi mane re\r/a komnzo fr=me=nzo
speech which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be only line=INS=ONLY
w\yak/a nzudbo
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/walk 1SG.ALL

'As for the message, it just came straight to me.'

(tci20120814 ABB #50-51)

(103) *zasath "bä* ***namänzo*** *nrä?" "keke nzä nimäwä worä."*

za\s/ath bä namä=nzo n\rä/ keke
2|3DU:SBJ:PST:PFV/ask 2.ABS good=ONLY 2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be NEG
nzä nima=wä wo\rä/
1SG.ABS like_this=EMPH 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'They asked each other: "Are you alright?" "No, I am like this."'

(tci20120827-03 KUT #159)

4.17.3 Etcetera =*sü*

The enclitic =*sü* only attaches to either the associative or the proprietive case marker. It is often translated as "and all" by my informants. Consider example (104), in which a speaker reports how he and some of his brother transported a heavy sago stem with a couple of canoes. The =*sü* enclitic expresses that there are more items than just the sago. Therefore, I label =*sü* as etcetera marker, and I gloss it with ETC.

(104) *masenf fä fof nzräs "kwa känthfe* ***bikaräsü*** *zbo!" ... watik* ***bikaräsü*** *ŋarafinzake.*

masen=f fä fof nzrä\s/ kwa
PERS.N=ERG DIST EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ>1PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/call FUT
kän\thf/e bi=karä=sü zbo (.) watik
2PL:SBJ:IMP:PFV:VENIT/walk sago=PROP=ETC PROX.ALL (.) then
bi=karä=sü ŋa\rafi/nzake
sago=PROP=ETC 1PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/paddle

'Masen called out to us: "Come over here with the sago and all!" ... Then, we paddled with the sago and everything.'

(tci20120929-02 SIK #41-42)

Example (105) show the etcetera enclitic attached to the associative case in an inclusory construction. The speaker describes how his friends slept in a camp where his father and other relatives were staying.

(105) *ni* ***ŋafyäsü*** *fä fof nrugra.*

ni ŋafe=ä=sü fä fof n\rugr/a
1NSG father=ASSOC.PL=ETC DIST EMPH 1PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/sleep

'We slept there with father and all the others.'

(tci20110810-02 MAB #11)

Example (106) is taken from an origin myth in which two brothers are fighting with a creature. One of them warns his brother that he will shoot the creature now and he should be prepared. Hence, the second clause literally translates as "you must be with thoughts and all".

(106) *watik ngth biruthé!* ***famkaräsü*** *gnräré!*

watik ngth b=y\ru/thé
then younger sibling MED=1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/shoot
fam=karä=sü gn\rä/ré
thought=PROP=ETC 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be

"Okay brother, I will shoot him now. You have to think and be prepared!"

(tci20131013-01 ABB #108-109)

4.17.4 Distributive *-kak*

I analyze the distributive marker *-kak* as a suffix rather than an enclitic because it does not operate on the level of the phrase. It can only be suffixed to numerals and some quantifiers. Its meaning can be translated to English with 'each' or 'individually'. The distributive is often followed by the instrumental as in (107). In this example, the speaker had lost his dogs during a hunt. The distributive highlights that the dogs came back individually.

(107) *ŋatha katakatan thunthorakwrm* ***näbikakme.***

ŋatha kata-katan thun\thorak/wrm näbi-kak=me
dog REDUP-small 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/arrive one-DISTR=INS

'The small ones were arriving one by one.'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #69)

In example (108), a woman has finished presenting to me what she has caught during the day. This includes different fish, a goanna and a turtle. She concludes with the words "There is plenty of meat". This could be translated as *faso tüfr erä* without the distributive. The distributive in (108) expresses that she has caught different kinds of meat.

(108) *watik, faso* ***tüfrkak*** *erä.*

watik faso tüfr-kak e\rä/
then meat plenty-DISTR 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'Well, there is plenty of different meat.'

(tci20120821-01 LNA #68)

In example (109), the speaker tells me about different types of bows. He concludes by pointing out that different people like different types.

(109) *zawe* ***ffrükakmenzo*** *erä*

zawe f-frü-kak=me=nzo e\rä/
talent REDUP-alone-DISTR=INS=ONLY 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'People have different preferences.' (lit. 'there are different individual talents.')

(tci20120922-23 MAA #104)

4.18 A few historical notes

The case markers presented in this chapter show some semantic and formal overlaps which invite speculations on their emergence. I want to lay out some hypotheses here.

The dative case can only be used with animate referents, in which case it encodes a beneficiary or recipient. The purposive case can technically express a beneficiary too, but the argument is not indexed in the verb, unlike with the dative. As I mentioned above, the purposive in this function is not attested in the corpus and the set of purposive pronouns is almost never used. It seems as if the purposive has lost its function to mark animate referents. From corpus data and observation one arrives at the conclusion that it solely marks inanimate referents. This leaves us wondering whether the purposive pronouns once had a function similar to the dative case. I will return to this question in the conclusion of this section.

The second point concerns the possessive and the dative case. In Table 4.4, we can see a subset of the personal pronouns for different cases and the respective case enclitics for animate referents. Note that only the first and second person is shown. The third person forms are not relevant for the argument advanced here.

Table 4.4 Case marking with animate referents

	personal pronouns				case marker	
case	1SG	1NSG	2SG	2NSG	SG	NSG
POSS	*nzone*	*nzenme*	*bone*	*benme*	*=ane*	*=aneme*
CHAR	*nzone=ma*	*nzenme=ma*	*bone=ma*	*benme=ma*	*=ane=ma*	*=aneme=ma*
DAT	*nzun*	*nzenm*	*bun*	*benm*	*=n*	*=nm*
LOC	*nzudben*	*nzedben*	*budben*	*bedben*	*=dben*	*=medben*
ALL	*nzudbo*	*nzedbo*	*budbo*	*bedbo*	*=dbo*	*=medbo*
ABL	*nzudba*	*nzedba*	*budba*	*bedba*	*=dba*	*=medba*

We can make a few observations from Table 4.4. First, the characteristic pronoun always builds on the possessive case. Note that this applies only to animate referents. Second, number marking in the pronouns involves the vowel. Third, choice of vowel for the singular forms (/o/ versus /u/), groups the three spatial cases with the dative. Fourth, all case enclitics share an *m* or *me* element to mark non-singular number. For the three spatial cases only, this element precedes the singular formative.

In §4.8 I pointed out that the non-singular enclitics of the three spatial cases have a variant with an /n/ consonant. For example, the locative can be *=medben* or *=nmedben*. I propose that the spatial cases behaved historically like the characteristic case in that they were added after some case marker. This element would be *=nme*, which only survives in a variant. This explains why the element which marks non-singlar number precedes the spatial case markers. Hence, the spatial case markers had to be parsed differently in the past: *=nme* plus spatial case *=dben*, *=dbo* or *=dba*. The *=nme* element is formally similar to the non-singular of both the dative (*=nm*) and possessive case (*=aneme*). If the non-singular element *=nme* is related to the dative or the possessive, we would expect the same for the singular. By analogy the singular element would have to consist of an /n/ consonant because the dative singular is *=n* and the possessive singular is *=ane*. However, all the spatial case markers begin with a prenasalised alveolar /d/, which overlays /n/.

The above discussion suggests that the dative and the possessive are historically related, and I want to draw on four points of evidence to support this claim. Note that we cannot say much about the function of the historical source, that is we cannot say whether the dative or the possessive was the original function, or whether it was a function different from both. First, the close possessive prefixes discussed in §4.7.1 show that the vowel in the singular prefixes groups them with the dative, not with the possessive. The first person close possessive prefix is *nzu-* like the first person dative pronoun *nzun*, whereas the first person possessive pronoun is *nzone*. Second, the argumentation in the preceding paragraph

shows that the element *=nme*, which precedes the spatial case markers, could be historically related to both the possessive or the dative. Note that the possessive is serving the same function for the characteristic case (See Tabe 4.4). Third, the enclitics of the two cases are rather similar, if we assume that the dative formatives once had vowels: *=ane* > *=n* and *=aneme* > *=nm*. The fourth piece of evidence comes from a comparison with Ngkolmpu, a related Tonda language spoken in Indonesia. In Ngkolmpu, the dative marks the possessor role in its adnominal function (Carroll, forthcoming).

This leaves us wondering about the pTonda or pYam system. The scenario sketched out above suggests that the original system was more like Ngkolmpu where one case marker serves both functions. Alternatively, the predecessor of both dative and possessive could have had a much more general function, for example marking animacy. We can only speculate whether the purposive case once fulfilled the function of the dative, while the predecessor of both dative and possessive was marking something else. More data from the other Yam languages is needed to settle this question and built a well-supported path of grammaticalisation.

Chapter 5

Verb Morphology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the verbal morphology of Komnzo, which is by far the most complex level of linguistic structure in the language, and reaches a scale of complexity which is found in polysynthetic languages.[1] Morphological complexity in Komnzo verbs arises not only from the number of affixes which the verb may host, but also from the way these combine to encode grammatical categories; this will be addressed in the next section (§5.2). In its simplest form a verb exists as an infinitive, that is the root plus a nominalizer suffix. At its most complex verbs may host a number of affixes and clitics. Table 5.1 gives an overview of the verb template, the inflectional categories and the morphological material to be discussed in this chapter.

The central feature that reverberates throughout Komnzo verb morphology is its cumulative and distributed combinatorics. The particular values of most grammatical categories are only arrived at after unifying information from several morphological slots within the verb structure. This feature has shaped my descriptive approach which bounces back and forth between a functional and formal perspective. The overall structure is functionally motivated. I address alignment and valency in §5.4, person, gender and number in §5.5, deixis and directionality in §5.6, polarity in §5.7. At the same time, the functional perspective is interspersed with the description of structural phenomena like the two root types in §5.3 or the suffixing subsystem in §5.5.1.1. Tense, aspect and mood will be addressed in chapter 6, even though it is part of the verb morphology. I describe the contributing morphological material in §6.2.1 - §6.2.5, the possible combinations in §6.2, the contribution of TAM particles in §6.3, and the semantic nuances of the TAM categories in §6.4. I ask the reader to bear with me in those parts where the explanation of one important feature is deferred in order to explain something else first. In order to avoid too much repetition, but also to accommodate the impatient reader, many cross-references in the text link related topics.

[1] Most definitions of polysynthesis stress two main criteria: noun incorporation and the expression of syntactic relations by pronominal affixes (Baker 1996: 16, Evans and Sasse 2002: 2) and Mithun 2009). Komnzo lacks noun incorporation, but cross-references up to two participants with pronominal affixes. Typically, a verb consists of 3 up to 9 morphemes.

Table 5.1 Templatic representation of the verbal inflection

	CLITIC	PREFIX SLOTS			ROOT	SUFFIX SLOTS				
	-4	-3	-2	-1	√	1	2	3	4	5
VALENCY			VAL CHANGE: *a-*							
PERSON		UNDERGOER: 1, 2, 3 or MIDDLE								ACTOR: 1, 2|3 or ∅
GENDER		UNDERGOER 3SG: FEM, MASC								
NUMBER		UNDERGOER: SG, NSG	DUAL: ∅- NON-DUAL: *a-*				DUAL: *-n* NON-DUAL: *-nzr, -wr, -r*			ACTOR: SG, NSG
DEIXIS & DIRECTION	PROX: *z=* MED: *b=* DIST: *f=*			VENITIVE: *n-*					ANDATIVE: *-o*	
TAM	APPREHENSIVE: *m=* IMMINENT: *n=*	PREFIX SERIES: α, β, β1, β2, γ	IRREALIS *ra-*		ROOT TYPE: extended root restricted root	STATIVE *-thgr*		PAST *-a* DURATIVE *-m*		IMPERATIVE actor suffixes

5.2 Morphological complexity

The relationship between the value of a grammatical category and its exponents exhibits varying degrees of complexity in Komnzo verbs. At its simplest, we find a one-to-one mapping between function and form, which exists for the directional affixes. For the most part, however, Komnzo verbs are characterized by complexity of exponence of the type one-to-many and many-to-many. Concerning the former, we find what Matthews (1979: 147-149) calls "cumulative exponence", whereby one morpheme expresses several grammatical categories, as well as "extended exponence", whereby several morphemes express one grammatical category. Note that the latter has also been called "multiple exponence" in the literature (Caballero and Harris, 2012: 163). For example, the Komnzo verb prefixes are portmanteau realizations of the categories person, gender, number, tense and aspect. Conversely, a category like tense is encoded in three different slots on the verb. These slots can be independently manipulated, which results in a many-to-many mapping. Complex exponence of this type is a feature found in all Yam languages.

Let us take one inflected verb form to illustrate these types of exponence. Example (1) gives the inflected verb form *yfathwroth* 'They hold him away'.[2]

(1) *yfathwroth*

y\fath/wroth
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/hold

'They hold him away.'

Here we find a one-to-one mapping between the directional value 'andative' and the suffix *-o*. This is expressed in Figure 5.1 below where the verb form has been segmented into morphs. A line indicates the exponence relationship between the value (ANDAT) and the formative (*-o*).

Figure 5.1 One-to-one mapping for the directional

[2]This verb form can have a stative as well as a dynamic reading: someone is holding a baby moving it away from the deictic centre (dynamic), or someone holds the baby in such a way that the toddler is facing away from the deictic centre (stative).

Cumulative exponence is found in the verb prefix *y-* which fuses information on person (3), number (SG), and gender (MASC) of the object argument. In addition, *y-* contains information on tense (NPST) and aspect (IPFV). This is schematized in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 Cumulative exponence of person, number, gender, tense and aspect

Note that the prefix *y-* is necessary, but not sufficient, to establish the values for some of these categories. For example, the aspectual value of the verb (IPFV) is not expressed solely by *y-*. This is what Matthews calls "extended exponence" (1979: 147-149) and Caballero & Harris refer to as "multiple exponence" (2012: 163). It is essentially the mirror image of Figure 5.2. Thus, Figure 5.3 below shows that aspect is distributed over three exponents in *yfathwroth*.

Figure 5.3 Extended exponence of aspect

A change in any one of the three slots above will cause a change in the TAM value. For example, the prefix *y-* can be replaced by *su-* to form a recent-past imperfective (*sufathwroth*) or a suffix *-m* can be added after *-wr* to form a recent-past durative (*yfathwrmoth*). If both of these changes are made at the same time, we get a past durative (*sufathwrmoth*). It follows that we are not dealing with a circumfix where separated formatives always occur together, but rather with a circumfixal paradigm where the formatives in the different slots are quite independent. Although there are some combinatorial restrictions, it would be a distortion to describe this as a circumfix. The essence of the system is that only by unifying the information from each slot are we in a position to calculate the correct value of a given grammatical category.

Thus, the overall complexity of Komnzo verbs results from the co-ocurrence of different types of exponence relationships. Figure 5.4 below captures all the dependencies between the values of a grammatical category and the morphs that

make up *yfathwroth*. Quite literally, we find a web of tightly interwoven dependencies.

Figure 5.4 Reciprocal conditioning

Andersen uses the term "reciprocal conditioning" (1992: 55) for this phenomenon, whereby exponents depend on several grammatical categories, while being underspecified for a single grammatical category.[3] I adopt the term "distributed exponence" from Caballero & Harris (2012: 170), who point out that it may be related to multiple/extended exponence. Although it is excluded from the survey, Caballero & Harris mention distributed exponence in the theoretical discussion by explaining some aspects of Georgian verb morphology (Gurevich, 2006). Baerman (2012) describes a phenomenon that could also be called distributed exponence for Nuer, a Western Nilotic language. The complexity of marking case and number in Nuer builds on suffixes and stem alternations, which are independently manipulated and give rise to inflectional classes. Baerman stresses the noniconicity of the system "in that these operations characterize simply a contrast of meaning, without being linked to any particular meaning" (2012: 490). Similarly, Komnzo verb morphology must be understood as a system where morphs contribute to a grammatical category, but a specific value of a given grammatical category requires information from several slots.

There are practical consequences for the description of such a system. I have used a glossing style which follows the Word-and-Paradigm model (Matthews, 1979: 67) throughout this grammar to give the reader effortless access to the morphosyntactic features of an inflected verb form. Since this chapter addresses verbal morphology, I will employ a double glossing and a verb like *yfathwroth* will be glossed as in (2) below. The first line gives a maximally segmented gloss in the Item-and-Arrangement style, while the second line in smaller print gives a unified gloss in the Word-and-Paradigm style.

[3]Morpheme underspecifiation does not stop at the word boundary in Komnzo. For example, the actor argument in *yfathwroth* can be either second or third person. Without context, this ambiguity can only be resolved by the personal pronouns. The same is true for future tense or event completion which are expressed periphrastically with the preverbal particles *kwa* and *z* respectively.

(2) *yfathwroth*

y-fath-w-r-o-th
3SG.MASC:α-hold.EXT-ND-LK-ANDAT-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/hold

'They hold him away.'

The Item-and-Arrangement style provides more transparency in the morphological structure which is the aim of this chapter. In spite of that, widespread underspecification means that the gain in structural transparency comes at the cost of somewhat opaque glossing labels. For example, while we find in (2) established labels like SG (singular) and NSG (non-singular) to encode number, we also need to recruit ND (non-dual). As for tense and aspect, we have to introduce even more abstract labels like α (alpha) in the prefixes or EXT (extended) with the verb stem. These will be explained in the following sections. A further drawback of the Item-and-Arrangement style is that some of the grammatical values like non-past (NPST) or imperfective (IPFV) as well as subject (SBJ), object (OBJ) and indirect object (IO) cannot be shown on the gloss line because they only arrive after integrating several exponents. In the subsequent sections it will become clear for reader why the double glossing is necessary.

5.3 Root types

Komnzo verbal roots have two forms; an 'extended root' (EXT) and a 'restricted root' (RS). As these labels indicate, the distinction is sensitive to aspect without encoding a specific aspectual category. For now it is sufficient to state that the labels refer to the temporal structure of the event, i.e. 'extended in time' and 'restricted in time'. The two roots differ in (i) form, (ii) template with respect to dual marking and (iii) combinatorics. I will address each point below.

5.3.1 The formal relationship between EXT and RS roots

Komnzo has lexicalized pairs of verb roots in ways which are frequently unpredictable from any formal or semantic criteria. Nevertheless, there is a cline of similarity in forms between the two roots which allows us to divide the verbal lexicon into seven classes (Table 5.2). For thirty percent, there is a rule-based relation between the shapes of the two roots. At the other end of the spectrum, we find suppletive pairs of roots in five percent of the verbal lexicon. For more than two thirds of the lexicon the shape of the roots is unpredictable.

In class I, which makes up 13% of verbs, the two roots are identical (EXT=RS). Class II verbs (16%) derive their extended root from the restricted root with a suffix (EXT=RS-*ak*). Thus class I and class II make up that portion of the verb lexicon with a rule-based relationship between the two roots. However, only a few generalizations can be made about the scope of the rule, i.e. given a particular lexeme, one cannot decide straightforwardly which class it belongs to. Amongst

those few generalizations is the fact that most verbs in class I end in /n/, but this is not true of all and verbs ending in /n/ are also found in the other classes. Moreover, the majority of verbs involve unpredictable changes at the right edge of the root. In class III, which makes up 25% of verbs, a consonant is added to the extended root in order to form the restricted root (RS=EXT-C). The root pairs of class IV verbs (30%) involve final consonant mutation. In class III and IV, the affected consonants are not conditioned by the phonological environment. In class V (8%), verbs are 'irregular' in the sense that the change involves more than the last consonant. The roots of class VI verbs (5%) are fully suppletive. Finally, a handful of verbs in class VII are defective, and have only one of the two roots.

Table 5.2 The formal relationship between EXT and RS root

CLASS	RULE	EXT	RS	ENGLISH	COUNT
			mar-	see	
			zik-	turn off	
I	EXT=RS		*rikn-*	destroy	42
			rmän-	close	
			matukn-	shake	
		rfitfak-	*rfitf-*	answer	
		morak-	*mor-*	lean	
II	EXT⇐RS-ak	*bthak-*	*bth-*	finish	52
		ritak-	*rit-*	cross	
		msak-	*ms-*	sit	
		gar-	*garf-*	break	
		fsi-	*fsir-*	count	
III	EXT-C⇒RS	*tri-*	*trinz-*	scratch	81
		rni-	*rnith-*	smile	
		thari-	*tharif-*	dig	
		thwek-	*thweth-*	be glad	
		mthek-	*mthef-*	lift up	
IV	MUTATION	*moneg-*	*mones-*	wait	96
		trakumg-	*trakumth-*	smash	
		bnaz-	*bnaf-*	wake up	
		rsör-	*rsöfäth-*	descend	
		thorak-	*thothm-*	search	
V	IRREGULAR	*myukn-*	*myuf-*	twist	26
		rirkn-	*rirkfth-*	avoid	
		tur-	*turam-*	kiss	
		re-	*zigrthm-*	look around	
		ru-	*mg-*	shoot, spear	
VI	SUPPLETIVE	*na-*	*znob-*	drink	15
		zä-	*thor-*	carry	
		si-	*füs-*	cook	
	RS ONLY	-	*kuk-*	stand	1
VII	EXT ONLY	*rug-*	-	sleep	6
		rmug-	-	envy	
TOTAL					319

We can make a few observations from Table 5.2. First, we find a cline of similarity which ranges from uniformity of the two roots to suppletive pairs with the bulk of verbs between the two extremes. Classes II–V all have in common that the difference in form occurs the right edge of root. Second, the classes and processes (consonant mutation, consonant addition, suffixation of *-ak*) are neither phonologically conditioned, nor can we detect a semantic basis for them. Third, the system shows little productivity, which I take at least from a synchronic perspective as evidence for lexicalization. In Table 5.2, it is only class II for which a regular process can be formulated; the suffixation of *-ak*. Finally, we find that for almost all verbs both roots are attested. As a result, virtually all verbs can be inflected for the entire range of TAM categories which leaves little role to play for lexical aspect (or Aktionsart) in Komnzo.

I will offer a historical explanation below (See §5.3.4) as to how the two roots have evolved in Komnzo and in the Tonda branch more generally.

5.3.2 Dual marking with EXT and RS roots

The most salient difference between the two roots is the location of the dual marker which follows extended roots but precedes the restricted roots. Number marking will be addressed in detail in §5.5.3. In the examples (3a-3c) and (4a-4c), I contrast the imperfective and perfective imperatives of 'hit.' The former often has a continuative interpretation ('keep on x-ing!') while the latter points to inception ('start doing x!'). In (3) and (4) respectively, all grammatical categories are held constant, and only the actor argument is cycled through the three number values. In (3a-3c), dual is shown by a suffix (*-n*), which contrasts with a non-dual (*-z*). In (4a-4c), dual is expressed by a zero which contrasts with a non-dual prefix (*a-*).

(3) a. *be fi sfnzé!*

be	fi	s-fn-z-é
2SG.ERG	3.ABS	3SG.MASC:β-hit.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP
		2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/hit

'You keep hitting him!'

b. *bné fi sfnne!*

bné	fi	s-fn-n-e
2NSG.ERG	3.ABS	3SG.MASC:β-hit.EXT-DU-2NSG.IMP
		2DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/hit

'You (2) keep hitting him!'

c. *bné fi sfnze!*

bné	fi	s-fn-z-e
2NSG.ERG	3.ABS	3SG.MASC:β-hit.EXT-ND-2NSG.IMP
		2PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/hit

'You (3+) keep hitting him!'

(4) a. *be fi sakwer!*

be	fi	s-a-kwr-∅
2SG.ERG	3.ABS	3SG.MASC:β-ND-hit.RS-2SG.IMP
		2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PFV/hit

'You hit him!'

b. *bné fi skwre!*

bné	fi	s-∅-kwr-e
2NSG.ERG	3.ABS	3SG.MASC:β-DU-hit.RS-2NSG.IMP
		2DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PFV/hit

'You (2) hit him!'

c. *bné fi sakwre!*

bné	fi	s-a-kwr-e
2NSG.ERG	3.ABS	3SG.MASC:β-ND-hit.RS-2NSG.IMP
		2PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PFV/hit

'You (3+) hit him!'

The post-root non-dual marker, *-z* in (3), has a number of phonologically conditioned allomorphs (§5.5.3.3). The dual marker is always *-n*. In terms of segmentation, the post-root slot is simple to recognize. This is not the case with the pre-root duality marker which is zero for dual and *a-* for non-dual in (4). For purposes of illustration, I have selected the imperatives here because the segmentation is clearest. In other parts of the paradigm, segmentation is messier because the dual marker fuses with the valency changing prefix resulting in an ablaut contrast; *a-* for dual and *-ä* for non-dual (§5.5.3.4). From a historical perspective, this structural split between a pre-root and a post-root slot is a way of preserving dual marking after the original suffix had fused with the root (§5.3.4 below).

5.3.3 The combinatorics of EXT and RS roots

Extended and restricted roots taken alone are underspecified for a particular TAM value and information from other morphological sites is required. With respect to the five prefix series α, β, β1, β2, γ (See §5.5.1.1), the two roots differ in their combinatorial possibilities. For example, the α prefixes combine with the extended root and the γ prefixes combine with the restricted root, but not vice versa. The α series is recruited to form non-past, immediate past, recent past or past in imperfective or durative aspect depending on suffixal material. The γ series is employed for recent past or past, both perfective. The β prefixes combine with both roots to form imperatives or irrealis forms respectively with imperfective and perfective meaning. The β1 and β2 prefixes combine with

the extended root (the latter exclusively so) to form recent past and past in imperfective or durative aspect again depending on suffixal material. The β1 prefixes combine with the restricted root to form an iterative. The details of the five prefix series as well as the aspectual distinctions will be addressed in §6.2. For present purposes it is sufficient to stress that there are some limitations on the inflectional possibilities that EXT and RS roots may enter into.

5.3.4 A comparative note on multiple roots

Verb roots which are sensitive to aspect are known from other Papuan languages, for example Mian (Fedden, 2011: 245). In the Southern New Guinea region, Marind shows striking architectural similarities to the Komnzo system. Drabbe reports on 4 verb classes in Marind (Drabbe, 1955: 31). The first two classes which make up the main distinction are labelled "momentaan" versus "duratief." Members of a third class can be both, and only the affixes signal the aspectual value of an inflected verb form. The fourth class is characterised as "momentaan," but it can be turned into "duratief" by suffixing *-a(t)* to the root. The overall design of the Marind system looks similar once we equate "duratief" with extended and "momentaan" with restricted. Drabbe's third class in Marind bears resemblance to the group of Komnzo verbs where only one form is attested (class I in Table 5.2). The fourth class is very close to those roots in Komnzo which add the suffix *-ak* to the restricted in order to form the extended root (class II in Table 5.2). Moreover, the two suffixes *-a(t)* in Marind and *-ak* in Komnzo are formally similar. However, neglecting Drabbe's group three and four, the Marind system differs in that most verbs fall into either "momentaan" or "duratief." As we have seen above, almost all verbs in Komnzo have both roots.

Within the Yam family multiple verb roots are found in the Nambu as well as the Tonda branch. However, the system as laid out here seems to be more complex in the Tonda languages. Pairs of verb roots are attested in Arammba, where (Boevé and Boevé, 2003) label them "common root" and "limited action root." In my own fieldwork, I found root pairs in Anta, Wára, Wèré, Kámá, Kánchá, Blafe, Ránmo and Wartha Thuntai. As for Ngkolmpu[4], there are up to three roots for some verbs and these are sensitive to aspect as well as verbal number (Carroll, forthcoming). More documentary work is needed to understand how the two roots are employed in the respective TAM systems of these languages.

I will offer a first tentative historical explanation based on the comparison of duality/TAM marking and multiple roots within the Yam family. As regards the Nambu branch, aspect sensitive roots are only a marginal phenomenon. However, part of the verb inflection is a suffix which combines aspectual information with

[4]Ngkolmpu, along with Bädi, Smerky and Sota, have been classified as varieties of Kanum in the past.

dual marking. For example in Nen (Evans, 2015a) and Nama (Siegel, 2014), a thematic suffix follows the verb root encoding TAM plus dual versus non-dual. In Komnzo, the suffix which follows the root encodes only duality, but the presence versus absence of this suffix is determined by the root type and, thus, related to aspect marking (§5.3.2). I have shown above that the differences in form between the two root types are located at the right edge. It is therefore a likely scenario that multiple roots have emerged through a process of demorphologization (Hopper, 1990: 154), i.e. through a fusion of suffixal material with the root. Until more decriptive material is available, we are left to speculate on the nature of the original system. Logically, there are at least two possibilities: (i) the original suffix followed the Nambu pattern encoding TAM and duality simultaneously or (ii) there were two separate suffixes for each category. Since both the occurence of multiple roots as well as cognate forms are attested in all varieties of the Tonda branch, demorphologization would constitute an innovation which supports Tonda as a subgroup of the Yam family. Other systematic differences between the Nambu and Tonda branches, like word-initial velar nasals[5] or gender marking on verbs, can be explained by assuming the loss of a particular feature in Nambu rather than assuming an innovation in Tonda.

The historical scenario advanced above gave rise to different inflectional patterns within the Tonda branch. Languages further to the west including Blafe, Ránmo, Wartha Thuntai and to some extent Kánchá have lost dual marking except in some high frequency verbs like the copula. Other varieties like Wára, Anta and Komnzo have kept post-root dual marking for one root type, but requisitioned a different slot in the template for the other root type. This would explain why, in terms of morphological segmentation, the pre-root dual marking with restricted roots is much messier than post-root dual marking with extended roots (§5.3.2 and §5.5.3.4). We could say that in a historical process dual marking has 'hijacked' a slot which was hitherto solely employed for marking valency. A third pattern is attested in Wèré where dual marking is consistently post-root for both root types. However, irregularities involving a vowel change in the prefixes for some parts of the paradigm show that the Wèré pattern is a case of regularization of the Komnzo system rather than an independent development.

The scenario developed here has to be treated with some caution as there are exceptions to the generalizations made above. For example, Nen has multiple roots for a few verbs like $\sqrt{}$*waram* versus $\sqrt{}$*warama* 'give' encoding imperfective and perfective aspect respectively (Evans, forthcoming a). Another exception is the Nambu language Nä, which has pre-root dual marking for some middle verbs. Much more comparative work needs to be done to fully account for the emergence of multiple verb roots in these languages.

[5]The Nambu language Dre which is spoken close to other Tonda languages has preserved initial velar nasals.

5.4 Alignment & verb templates

5.4.1 Grammatical relations

For the purposes of defining grammatical relations, I follow Bickel (2011: 433) in taking, for the definition of grammatical relations, the properties of particular constructions such as verb indexation and case assignment. In Komnzo, we arrive at the following definitions for subject, object and indirect object: (i) The subject relation is characterised by either ergative or absolutive case assignment. If the noun phrase is in the ergative, it will always be indexed in the suffix. If it is in the absolutive, it may be indexed in the suffix or the prefix. Only in the absence of another ergative-marked noun phrase, the absolutive-marked noun phrase is considered to be a subject. (ii) The object relation is characterised by absolutive case assignment and indexation in the prefix. This only applies in the presence of another ergative noun phrase which is indexed in the suffix. (iii) The indirect object relation is characterised by dative or possessive case assignment and indexation in the prefix. Additionally, the verb form receives the valency changing prefix *a-*. Outside of verb indexation and case assignment (e.g. control, relativisation, coordination, nominalisation of verbs) there are no constructions restricted to a set of arguments, and we can see from the above definition that grammatical relations in Komnzo cannot be defined in a straightforward manner.

I employ the terms subject, object and indirect object as useful metalinguistic labels without claiming that these play an important role in the grammar of Komnzo. Similar to other grammatical categories, for example TAM and number, grammatical relations are constructed by unifying information from different sites. With respect to grammatical relations, these are the person marking affixes and the valency changing marker, but also the case marking on the respective noun phrases. Thus, I describe the affixes on the verb as the actor suffix and the undergoer prefix. But in the unified glossline, I employ SBJ for subject, OBJ for object and IO for indirect object. A reviewer suggested to use A (actor) und U (undergoer) instead, but this would make it impossible to show the distinction between an object and an indirect object in the gloss. A fine-grained analysis of the semantic roles and their interplay with case assignment is provided in the following sections (See Table 5.3 below).

5.4.2 Morphological templates

Based on the inflectional pattern for argument marking, Komnzo verb forms can be classified into prefixing, middle and ambifixing verbs, i.e. whether the prefix, the suffix or both are employed. These inflectional patterns do not align neatly with transitivity. For example, only a small minority of intransitive verbs are prefixing (5a); most employ a middle template (5b). The semantic factor under-

lying the two types of alignment is the dynamicity of the event (§5.4.4). On the other hand, the middle template covers a wide range of functions including reflexives and reciprocals, passives, as well as antipassives (§5.4.5). Transitive events normally employ the ambifixing template, in which case the object argument is indexed by the prefix and the subject argument by the suffix (5c). The ambifixing template is also used for ditransitives, additionally the valency changing prefix *a-* introduces an indirect object to the clause, for example marked with a dative in (5d), though only two arguments are indexed on the verb (§5.4.6).

(5) a. *ktktme erfikwr.*

kt-kt=me e-rfik-wr
REDUP-group=INS 2|3NSG:α-grow.EXT-ND
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/grow

'They grow in groups.'

b. *nagayé ŋakwinth.*

nagayé ŋ-a-kwi-n-th
children M:α-VC-run.EXT-DU-2|3NSG
2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/run

'The two children run.'

c. *nafa ŋad yrbänzrth.*

nafa ŋad y-rbä-nzr-th
3NSG.ERG rope 3SG.MASC:α-untie.EXT-ND-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/untie

'They untie the rope.'

d. *nze nafan wawa yarithé.*

nze nafan wawa y-a-ri-th-é.
1SG.ERG 3SG.DAT yam 3SG.MASC:α-VC-give.EXT-ND-1SG
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/give

'I give him the yam(s).'

These morphological templates are lexically determined for some verbs. For example, the verb 'run' in (5b) only occurs in a middle template or the verb 'give' in (5d) only occurs in an ambifixing ditransitive template. For most verbal roots, the system is flexible and allows roots to enter into different templates. Figure 5.5 gives a first overview of the templates.

PREFIXING:	undergoer prefix		root	
INDIRECT OBJECT PREFIXING:	undergoer prefix	VC	root	
MIDDLE:	middle prefix	VC	root	actor suffix[6]
AMBIFIXING TRANSITIVE:	undergoer prefix		root	actor suffix
AMBIFIXING DITRANSITIVE:	undergoer prefix	VC	root	actor suffix

Figure 5.5 Morphological templates and argument structure

I will briefly address each template here and refer the reader to the subsequent sections (§5.4.4 - §5.4.6) in which a detailed description follows. The templates in Figure 5.5 show that there is an undergoer prefix. I use the term undergoer in a broad sense as that argument which is affected by the event. In the prefixing template, only the undergoer prefix is used for person indexing. The indirect object prefixing template follows the same pattern, but the subject in the prefix is replaced by an indirect object. This is formally marked by the valency changing prefix *a-*. Semantically, indirect object may be beneficiaries or raised possessors. In the middle template, the prefix is filled by a middle marker invariant for person and number. The sole argument is marked in the suffix. The middle marker is always followed by the valency changing prefix *a-*. The middle template is used for a variety of functions, and depending on the function of the argument in the suffix it may index an agent or patient. The ambifixing transitive template uses both affixes for person indexing. The prefix encodes the object (patient, theme, experiencer) and the suffix encodes the subject (agent, stimulus). The ambifixing ditransitive template follows the pattern of the transitive template with the addition of the valency changing prefix *a-*. In ambifixing ditransitives, the prefix cross-references the indirect object (goal, beneficiary, possessor).

It follows that the valency changing prefix *a-* (VC) has a double function. It increases the valency of a verb (prefixing → indirect object prefixing, transitive → ditransitive) thereby introducing a Goal, Beneficiary or Possessor into the argument structure indexed on the verb. The same *a-* prefix decreases the valency of a verb (transitive → middle). A number of deponent lexemes in the sense of (Baerman et al., 2006) are attested, for example prefixing intransitives or ambifixing transitives which obligatorily take the *a-* prefix without indexing an indirect object. The function of the *a-* prefix and these kinds of irregularities will be discussed below. The middle template is always marked with the valency

[6]The label 'actor suffix' is problematic with some lexemes which employ the middle template for a passive function. In this case, the suffix encodes a patient argument. This will be addressed in §5.4.5 below.

changing prefix *a-* and often the case frame is needed to determine what kind of argument role is indexed in the suffix. Table 5.3 below provides a fine-grained overview of the templates, the thematic roles in the respective affixes, the presence versus absence of the valency changing prefix, the case frame and the function of a particular construction. Each one of these will be addressed in the following sections.

Table 5.3 Argument alignment

template	θ-role in the prefix	valency changer	root	θ-role in the suffix	case frame	construction
prefixing	Experiencer, (Agent)[a]	∅	√	n/a	ABS	intransitive (stative)
indirect object prefixing	Beneficiary or Possessor	*a-*	√	n/a	DATor POSS	intransitive (stative)
middle	n/a	*a-*	√	Agent	ABS	intransitive (dynamic)
middle	n/a	*a-*	√	Agent	ABS	impersonal
middle	n/a	*a-*	√	Patient	ABS	passive
middle	n/a	*a-*	√	Agent	ABS	reflexive & reciprocal
middle	n/a	*a-*	√	Agent	ERG (ABS)[b]	suppressed object
ambifixing	Patient, Theme	∅	√	Agent	ERG ABS	transitive
ambifixing	Experiencer	∅	√	Stimulus	ABS ERG	experiencer-object
ditransitive ambifixing	Goal, Beneficiary, Possessor	*a-*	√	Agent	ERG ABS DAT ERG ABS POSS	ditransitive

[a] This is a marginal pattern as almost all prefixing verbs have stative semantics.
[b] In suppressed object clauses, the object is suppressed from the indexation in the verb. It may or may not occur as a free noun phrase in the absolutive case.

5.4.3 Valency alternations

There is only a handful of roots which may enter into all the templates. I choose the verb *msaksi* 'sit, dwell' to show its possibilities below in (6-9). However,

msaksi deviates in two ways from other verbs. First, *msaksi* takes the valency changing prefix obligatorily when it occurs in a prefixing template (6). There are a number of verbs with similar behaviour, where the valency changing prefix has no impact on argument structure and case frame. I analyze these as deponent verbs in the sense of (Baerman et al., 2006).[7] Second, there are different roots for the prefixing template (*m*) and the middle and ambifixing templates (*msak*) for *msaksi*. Pairs of roots which are sensitive to aspect are attested for most verbs in Komnzo, but root types which are sensitive to template choice are rare. One notable exception are positional verbs (§5.4.4.1).

In example (6), the speaker showed me a place, which used to be inhabited by a spirit. He states that nobody knows where the spirit lives nowadays. Hence, the verb *msaksi* has a stative meaning in the prefixing template an can be translated to English with 'dwell, live, stay, or be sitting'.

(6) *watik ŋafäniza … ni miyamr mä zena* ***yamnzr***

watik	ŋ-a-fäni-z-a-∅	(.)	ni	miyamr	mä
then	M.α-VC-shift.place.EXT-ND-PST-2|3SG	(.)	1NSG	ignorance	where
	2|3SG:SBJ:IPFV:PST/shift.place				
zena	y-a-m-nzr				
today	3SG.MASC.α-VC-dwell.EXT-ND				
	3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell				

'Then he shifted (location). We don't know where he lives today.'

(tci20120922-19 DAK #37)

Example (7) was uttered in the context of me visiting a garden place in the forest, where I was accompanied by the owner of the garden. The speaker happened to cycle past the garden place catching sight of me and the owner. The speaker comments on how he saw the two of us sitting down. Thus, *msaksi* in the middle template encodes a dynamic event ('sit down').

(7) *nze nimäwä boba thnmaré* ***ŋamsakrnmth***

nze	nima=wä	boba	th-∅-n-mar-é
1SG.ERG	like.this=EMPH	MED:ABL	2|3NSG.β-DU-VENIT-see.RS-1SG
			1SG:SBJ>2|3DU:OBJ:RPST:PFV:VENIT/see

ŋ-a-msak-rn-m-th
M.α-VC-sit.EXT-DU-DUR-2|3NSG
2|3DU:SBJ:RPST:DUR/sit

'Me too! I saw you two from there and you were just sitting down.'

(tci20130823-06 STK #90)

[7]Deponency is defined as a "mismatch between morphology and morpho-syntax" (Baerman et al., 2006).

Example (8) shows *msaksi* in an ambifixing transitive template. This comes from a narrative, in which an angry man is forcefully seated and calmed down by giving him kava to drink.

(8) *wati* ***ymsakwrth*** *fof krär* ***yarinakwrth*** *bänemr fof nafane noku frazsir*

wati y-msak-wr-th fof krär
then 3SG.MASC.α-sit.EXT-ND-2|3NSG EMPH kava
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit
y-a-rinak-wr-th bän=-mr fof
3SG.MASC.α-VC-pour.EXT-ND-2|3NSG DEM:MED=PURP EMPH
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/pour
nafane noku fraz-si=r
3SG.POSS anger extinguish-NMLZ=PURP

'So they sit him down properly and pour kava for him to cool down his anger.'

(tci20120909-06 KAB 93-94)

Example (9) is an elicited example showing *msaksi* in an ambifixing ditransitive template, where the undergoer prefix indexes the possessor ('his'). Note that the same template is found in the second verb in (8), where the undergoer prefix indexes a beneficiary ('pour kava for him').

(9) *nze nafange* ***yamsakwé.***

nze nafa-nge y-a-msak-w-é.
1SG.ERG 3.POSS-child 3SG.MASC:α-VC-sit.EXT-ND-1SG
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/sit

'I sit his child down.'

The above examples show that the same root may enter into several templates. It is important to note that all the inflected verb forms share the same infinitive, which is formed by suffixing the nominalizer *-si* to the root (*msak-si*). Below in (10) and (11) we find the infinitive respectively with a stative and a dynamic interpretation. Example (10) is the conclusion of a short narrative about customs that involve the bird of paradise. The speaker uses *msaksi* with a locative case suffix in a possessive construction to express 'in our life'. In example (11), the speaker showed me a beautiful place on the bank of Morehead river. She comments that this is a good place to sit down and rest. Hence, the infinitive *msaksi* is used for both interpretations, a timeless state in (10) and a dynamic event in (11).

(10) *nzenme trtha mrmren nzenme* ***msaksin*** *... wtrikarä anema fof ŋamränzre*

nzenme trtha mrmr=en nzenme msak-si=n (.) wtri=karä
1NSG.POSS life inside=LOC 1NSG.POSS sit-NMLZ=LOC (.) fear=PROP

ane=ma fof ŋ-a-mrä-nzr-e
DEM=CHAR EMPH M.α-VC-wander.EXT-ND-1NSG
1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/wander

'In our way of life ... in our living ... we walk about with fear because of that.'

(tci20120817 ABB #40-43)

(11) *camp rä ... zmbo fthé nanyak* ***msaksir***

camp rä (.) zmbo fthé
camp 3SG.FEM.COP.ND (.) PROX.ALL when
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
n-a-n-yak msak-si=r
1NSG.α-VC-VENIT-walk.EXT.ND sit-NMLZ=PURP
1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/come

'This is a camp ... We come here to sit down (and rest).'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #331-333)

The use of one template may involve significant semantic shift with regard to another template. For example, the verb *rfiksi* 'grow' in a prefixing template in (5a) may appear in an ambifixing transitive template ('grow sb.') with the meaning 'nurture', or the verb *rbänzsi* 'untie' in an ambifixing transitive template in (5c) may also appear in a ditransitive template ('untie for sb.') with the meaning 'explain'.

It is important to note that verb forms in different templates all share the same infinitive because Komnzo differs in this respect from other Yam languages. In Nen, there are no infinitives for prefixing verbs, but valency-altered forms have distinct infinitives which include the relevant formatives from a set of diathetic prefixes, for example *amzs* 'sit (v.i.)' versus *wamzs* 'set, sit (v.t.)' or even triplets like *anḡws* 'return (v.i.)' versus *wanḡws* 'return (v.t.)' versus *wawanḡws* 'return (v.t.) to/for' (Evans, 2015b). In Komnzo, there are no distinct infinitives for valency-altered forms. Hence, *rfiksi* is the infinitive of both 'grow' and 'nuture', and *rbänzsi* is the infinitive of 'untie' and 'explain'.

There are two ways of analyzing shared infinitives in Komnzo and I argue that both are needed. We could understand it as a system where valency is

fluid and roots are flexible. It follows that a given lexical item can alter its valency by entering different templates. On the other hand, we could adopt the notion of heterosemy (Lichtenberk 1991 and Evans 2010: 524) to capture that different lexical items and meanings are expressed by different templates.[8] A verb like *msaksi* shows that we need both perspectives. On the one hand, *msaksi*$_1$ means 'dwell, live' in a prefixing template, while *msaksi*$_2$ means 'sit down' in a middle/ambifixing template. We would understand *msaksi*$_1$ as being heterosemous to *msaksi*$_2$ because there is a significant shift in meaning caused by the template choice. The same is true for pairs like *rfiksi* meaning 'grow' or 'nuture' and *rbänzsi* meaning 'untie' or 'explain'. On the other hand, the system of valency alternations is very productive as we will see in subsequent sections. Especially the middle template and the ditransitive template can be used for almost every verb which can also occur in the transitive template. Thus, describing the alternation between *msaksi* in (8) 'sit someone down' and (9) 'sit down someone's (child)' in terms of heterosemy would fall short of an exhaustive description. It would not adequately capture the productivity of the system of valency alternations, nor would it fully explain shared infinitives for verb forms of different templates.

5.4.4 The prefixing template

Prefixing verbs are a small class with about 20 lexical items attested so far. Nine of these lexemes show varying degrees of template fluidity while the remaining occur only in a prefixing template. Furthermore, there is a class of 41 positional verbs which may occur in a prefixing template with a special stative suffix (See §5.4.4.1). Prefixing verbs and stems in the prefixing template differ in their number marking in that they can express a fourth number category.[9] Table 5.4 lists all the members of the prefixing class, their English translation, their templatic possibilities, and the English translation of the lexemes in a middle or ambifixing template.

Comparative work on split intransitivity has shown that differences in alignment are often semantically motivated (Arkadiev 2008, Merlan 1985 and Mithun 1991). In Komnzo, the semantic parameters involved are the dynamicity of the event and the volitionality of the participant, the former playing a dominant role. Thus, predicates in a prefixing template tend to be more stative (6), while predicates in middle or ambifixing templates tend to be more dynamic (7-9). In other languages of the Yam family, the split between stative and dynamic event types

[8]This assumes a definition of the linguistic sign as having three parts: form, meaning and combinatorics (or syntax) as put forward by (Mel'čuk 1973 and Pollard and Sag 1987: 51).

[9]The somewhat odd combination of a non-singular prefix with a dual suffix yields a large plural (§5.5.3.2). This is attested for positional verbs in other Yam languages, for example Nen and Nä (Evans, 2014).

is congruent with the distinction between prefixing and middle intransitives, for example in Nen (Evans, 2015a) and Nama (Siegel, 2014).[10]

Table 5.4 Prefixing verbs

INFINITIVE or ROOT[11]	ENGLISH	POSSIBLE TEMPLATES	ENGLISH (FOR AMBIFIX.)
-rug	'sleep'	prefixing only	-
-yak	'walk'	prefixing only	-
†*yathizsi*	'suffer'	prefixing only	-
†*mthizsi*	'rest'	prefixing only	-
†*-nor*	'shout, emit sound'	prefixing only	-
wäksi	'be caught by daybreak'	prefixing only	-
fogsi	'be caught by nightfall'	prefixing only	-
rmigfaksi	'be in the middle (doing) sth.'	prefixing only	-
-thn	'be lying'	prefixing only	-
†*yarenzsi*	'look around'	prefixing only	-
-ythk	'be finished'	prefixing only	-
†*namgsi*	'be panting, gasping'	prefixing only	-
thfäsi	'jump'	prefixing/middle	'fly'
†*thgusi*	'forget'	prefixing/transitive	'confuse sth.'
thoraksi	'appear, arrive'	prefixing/transitive	'find, search'
wokraksi	'float'	prefixing/transitive	'make sth. float'
-rä	'be'	all templates	'do'
†*msaksi*	'dwell, live'	all templates	'sit (self or sb.)'
sufaksi	'grow old'	all templates	'bring to an end'
ziksi	'turn off, be on the side'	all templates	'put to the side'
rfiksi	'grow'	all templates	'nurture'

† indicates that these verbs are deponent, and use the VC prefix obligatorily in a prefixing template

In Komnzo, although all verbs in a middle or ambifixing template depict dynamic event types, we find a somewhat mixed picture with prefixing verbs. Table 5.4 contains a few dynamic events, for example *-nor* 'shout', *thoraksi* 'appear, arrive' and *rfiksi* 'grow'. In some cases, volitionality is the semantic parameter involved in the prefixing/middle/ambifixing alternation: *thoraksi* and *rfiksi* in

[10](Siegel, 2014) uses different terminology in his description of Nama. What I call the prefixing template or stative intransitives equals "patientive intransitives", and what I label the middle template or dynamic intransitives equals "agentive intransitives" (Siegel, 2014: 213).

[11]Infinitives are marked with the nominalizer suffix *-si*. Prefixing verbs are irregular in many respects. Some of the verbs listed here lack an infinitive and only the extended stem is given, while others employ a common noun as their infinitive, for example *etfth* 'sleep,' *moth* 'path, walk, come' and *kwan* 'noise, shout.' This does not correlate with whether there are other templates available. Where a nominalized form with *-si* is lacking, I give the extended root. Another irregularity are verbs where the root is sensitive to the dual versus non-dual distinction, for example 'walk' *-yak* (ND) versus *-yan* (DU) or 'shout' *-nor* (ND) versus *-rn* (DU). In these cases, the non-dual root is listed.

an ambifixing transitive template mean 'find' and 'nurture' respectively.[12] The verb *-nor* 'shout' allows no alternation, but occurs only in a prefixing template. Interestingly, *-nor* is often used in a pseudo-cognate object construction: *kwan yannor*[13] 'He shouts (the shout)' or *ya yannor* 'He cries (the tears)'. Hence, with this verb a less volitional meaning like 'emit a sound' might be licenced. Pseudo-cognate object construction are described in §8.3.11. Nevertheless, with other predicates in Table 5.4 such an explanation fails, for example *ziksi* 'turn off, go in' or *thfäsi* 'jump'. Keeping the unusually small size of the prefixing class in mind, I interpret these cases as exceptions to the overall rule. Furthermore, the existence of a class of positional verbs (§5.4.4.1) underscores the split along the lines of event dynamicity and volitionality.

All prefixing verbs can take the valency changing prefix *a-*. This template was labelled indirect object prefixing in Table 5.3. However, in doing so they remain monovalent in their cross-referencing. The 'additional argument', usually a Beneficiary or Possessor, replaces the 'original argument', usually an Experiencer. However, the event itself remains to 'be about' the original argument. A common usage of this pattern involves the copula: When handing something to a person, one would say *bnarä!* 'There you are!' (literally: '(It) is there for you!'). A textual example comes from a stimulus task in which two speakers are describing the content of picture cards (12). The image card in the example shows a policeman who hands some personal belongings to another man. After describing the scene, one of the two speakers points to a few things on the side asking what these were. The first verb in (12) 'be lying down' indexes the (assumed) possessor and not the things on the ground. The second clause is accompanied by a pointing gesture in order to draw the interlocutor's attention to the objects. Here, the copula indexes the things on the ground.

(12) *mrmr ra* ***yathn****? zane* ***zerä****!*

mrmr ra	y-a-thn	zane
inside what.ABS	3SG.MASC.α-VC-lie.EXT.ND	DEM:PROX
	3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/lie	

z=e-rä
PROX=2|3NSG.α-be.EXT.ND
PROX=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'What are these (of his) inside? These ones here!'

(tci20111004 TSA #29-30)

[12]In ambifixing templates, the case marking of a more agent-like argument is ergative. This is also found in middle templates with an suppressed object function.

[13]*-nor* lacks a nominalized infinitive and instead the common noun *kwan* 'shout, call' is used.

Table 5.4 indicates (with the † symbol) that eight out of 20 prefixing verbs obligatorily use the *a-* prefix without introducing an argument. I analyze these verbs as deponent (Baerman et al., 2006).

5.4.4.1 Positional verbs

The class of 41 positional or postural verbs underscores the role of dynamicity in the alignment of S. Positional verbs express states of the type 'be in position X' ('be leaning,' 'be standing,' 'be submerged' etc). Example (13) shows the verb *migsi* 'hang'.

(13) *bidrthatha zbo* ***sumithgrm*** *... wämnen.*

bidr=thatha zbo su-mi-thgr-∅-m (.)
flying fox=SIMIL PROX.ALL 3SG.MASC.β1-be.hanging-STAT-ND-DUR (.)
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR:STAT/be.hanging
wämne=n
tree=LOC

'He was hanging like a flying fox ... on the tree.'

(tci20130901-02 RNA #48)

Like most positional verbs, *migsi* can enter into other templates, for example a middle template ('assume a hanging position') or a transitive template ('hang something'). This is shown below in examples (14) and (15) respectively. Example (14) is part of a plant walk around Rouku village. The speaker shows me a plant in the part of the land which is inundated during the rainy season. Example (15) comes from a procedural text in which the speaker shows me around his yam storage house. He remarks that small yam suckers are called *sagu sagu* and they are stored by tying several yams into bundles.

(14) *bubukr zä zf kwa* ***ŋamigwrth*** *... watik kofäyé zbo zf kwa erkunzrth*

bubukr zä zf kwa ŋ-a-mig-wr-th (.) watik
insect PROX IMM FUT M.α-VC-hang.EXT-ND-2|3NSG (.) then
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/hang
kofä=yé zbo zf kwa
fish=ERG.NSG PROX.ALL IMM FUT

e-rku-nzr-th
2|3NSG.α-knock.down.EXT-ND-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/knock.down

'The insects will hang (themselves) from here and the fish will knock them down right here.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #657)

(15) *nima yamme ane fof ŋafrmnzre bnrä ...* ***bemigwre*** *ane sagu sagu*

nima yam-me ane fof ŋ-a-frm-nzr-e
like.this custom-INS DEM EMPH M.α-VC-prepare.EXT-ND-1NSG
1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/prepare
b=n-rä (.) b=e-mig-wr-e ane
MED=1NSG.α-COP.ND (.) MED=2|3NSG.α-hang.EXT-ND-1NSG DEM
MED=1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be 1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/hang
sagu sagu
PROP.N

'We prepare them in this way ... We hang up those sagu sagu.'

(tci20121001 ABB #38)

Positionals are attested in languages throughout the Yam family (Evans, 2014). For Komnzo, I define them as a class of lexemes with positional or postural semantics which share the following morphosyntactic properties: (i) the ability to enter into the prefixing template, (ii) the stative suffix *-thgr*, (iii) the ability to form related middle and transitive verb forms, and (iv) to inflect only for a subset of TAM categories when used in a prefixing template. Table 5.5 lists the 41 members of the class which are currently attested. We find both very general meanings (*rzarsi* 'be tied', *yufaksi* 'be bent over') and very specific meanings (*rngthksi* 'be stuck in a tree fork', *mgthksi* 'be in the mouth'). Some of these verbs occur with prototypical participants, for example *zaksi* 'be anchored' with *garda* 'canoe' or *thamsaksi* 'be spread out' with *yame* 'mat'.

Table 5.5 compares the extended (EXT) and restricted root (RS) and shows that for some verbs a positional root (POS) can be postulated. The positional root is the lexical base to which the stative suffix *-thgr* attaches. In the first two groups of Table 5.5, the base is formally identical to the extended or restricted root. Only in the third group, is the base different from both, in that it is always shorter. The last group contains three lexemes which are irregular in a number of ways: (i) they take a slightly different form of the stative suffix, which is given in parentheses for each, (ii) the last two lexemes in this group occur only as positionals, (iii) the second lexeme in the group lacks an infinitive.

Table 5.5 Positional verbs

INFINITIVE	POS ROOT	EXT ROOT	RS ROOT	TRANSLATION
mosisi	*mosi-*	*mosi-*	*mosir-*	be gathered, piled
moyusi	*moyu-*	*moyu-*	*moyuth-*	be shrunk
rfakusi	*rfaku-*	*rfaku-*	*rfakuth-*	be sprinkled
ttüsi	*ttü-*	*ttü-*	*ttüth-*	be printed, carved
tharasi	*thar-*	*thar-*	*tharf-*	be underneath
worsi	*wor-*	*wor-*	*won-*	be planted
brüzsi	*brüs-*	*brüz-*	*brüs-*	be submerged
krsi	*kr-*	*krth-*	*kr-*	be blocked off
räzsi	*räs-*	*räz-*	*räs-*	be erected
rfuthraksi	†*rfuth-*	*rfuthrak-*	*rfuthr-*	be piled up
rmithraksi	*rmithr-*	*rmithrak-*	*rmithr-*	be joined together
rmnzüfaksi	*rmnzüf-*	*rmnzüfak-*	*rmnzüf-*	be side by side / parallel
rthbraksi	*rthbr-*	*rthbrak-*	*rthbr-*	be sticking (on sth.)
rzarsi	*rzaf-*	*rzar-*	*rzaf-*	be tied
thamsaksi	*thams-*	*thamsak-*	*thams-*	be spread out
yufaksi	†*yuf-*	*yufak-*	*yuf-*	be bent
zaksi	*z-*	*zak-*	*z-*	be anchored
fätfaksi	*fät-*	*fätfak-*	*fätf-*	be across sth.
fethaksi	*fe-*	*fethak-*	*feth-*	be dipped in water
fifthaksi	*fif-*	*fifthak-*	*fifth-*	be lying straight
migsi	*mi-*	*mig-*	*mir-*	be hanging
moraksi	*mo-*	*morak-*	*mor-*	be leaning
mgthksi	†*mg-*	*mgthk-*	*mgthm-*	be in the mouth
mreznsi	*mre-*	*mrezn-*	*mrezn-*	be straight
mtheksi	†*mthe-*	*mthek-*	*mthef-*	be lifted up
myuknsi	*myu-*	*myukn-*	*myuf-*	be twisted
nänzüthzsi	*nänzü-*	*nänzüthz-*	*nänzütham-*	be covered with soil
rafigsi	*rafi-*	*rafig-*	*rafinz-*	be on top of sth.
rakthksi	*rak-*	*rakthk-*	*rakthm-*	be on top of sth.
rinaksi	*ri-*	*rinak-*	*rin-*	be poured into
rngthksi	*rng-*	*rngthk-*	*rngthm-*	be in a tree fork
rgsi	†*rk-*	*rg-*	*rg-*	be wearing clothes
sisraksi	*si-*	*sisrak-*	*sisr-*	be sticking out of sth.
sümraksi	*süm-*	*sümrak-*	*sümr-*	be widened, be open
thäfrsi	*thäfrs-*	*thäf-*	*thäfrs-*	be covered
tharuksi	*tharu-*	*tharuk-*	*tharuf-*	be inside (open container)
ththaksi	*th-*	*ththak-*	*ththm-*	be pinned on sth.
wäthsi	*wä-*	*wäth-*	*wäf-*	be wrapped
thorsi	*th-(kgr)*	*thor-*	*thb-*	be inside (closed container)
n/a	*wä-(gr)*	n/a	n/a	be up high
yukrasi	*ko-(gr)*	n/a	n/a	be standing

† indicates that these verbs use the VC prefix obligatorily in a prefixing template

The data from Table 5.5 shows that for some of the verbs we need to posit a third root type, the positional root, in addition to the extended and restricted roots we already encountered. The formal difference or similarity between the positional root and the other two root types for a given lexeme cannot be predicted on semantic or phonological grounds, but must be seen as lexicalization in a specific morphosyntactic context. Furthermore, one should keep in mind that positional roots are not in a paradigmatic relationship of the kind we have seen with extended and restricted roots (§5.3). For example, the stative semantics of positionals blocks all perfective TAM categories.

Just like other verbs in the prefixing template, positionals may add a possessor or beneficiary by using the valency changing prefix *a-*. An example of this is given in (16) where the speaker describes how he carried two fish up from the river. The first verb in (16) indexes the two catfish, but the second verb indexes a first singular, in this case the possessor 'my shoulder.' Thus, although the predicate is about the two fish ('They were on top.'), the verb only indexes the first singular.

(16) *thwä* ***femithgrn*** *zane zazame* ***nwanwägr*** *... fatren.*

thwä	f-e-mi-thgr-n	zane	zaza=me
catfish	DIST=2|3NSG:α-be.hanging-STAT-DU	PROX	carrying stick=INS
	DIST=2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:STAT/be.hanging		
n=wo-a-n-wägr-∅		(.)	fatr=en
IPST=1SG-VC-VENIT-be.on.top.STAT-ND		(.)	shoulder=LOC
1SG:IO:IPST:STAT:VENIT/be.on.top			

'Those two catfish are hanging there. I just brought them here on my shoulder with the carrying stick.'

(tci20121008-3 #13)

As Table 5.5 indicates (with the † symbol), there are a few deponent positional verbs which take the *a-* prefix obligatorily without adding an additional argument to the clause.

5.4.5 The middle template

The majority of verb stems can enter into what I call the middle template. In the middle template, the prefix slot is filled by a person-invariant middle marker (glossed as M) and the single argument is cross-referenced in the suffix. In addition, the valency changing prefix *a-* is employed (Compare Figure 5.5 above). As we will see below, the suffix in this template may cross-reference an A, S or P argument. The distinction between an actor argument and a more patient-like argument is made by the case marking on the NP (ergative vs. absolutive).

I employ the term "middle", as defined by Kemmer (1993: 207-210) for situation types with a low degree of elaboration. Low degree of elaboration may refer to the event and/or to the participants involved in the event . The middle template in Komnzo covers a range of functions: intransitives, passive-impersonals, reflexives and reciprocals as well as suppressed object middles (or antipassives). Kemmer describes these events as typical "middle situation types" (1993: 15).

Intransitive event types in Komnzo are distributed over the prefixing and the middle template (See §5.4.4). The majority of syntactically intransitive verbs employ the middle template. As a consequence for the description of the middle template, we have to draw a distinction between intrinsic middle verbs and derived middle verbs. Intrinsic middles can only occur in the middle template. Derived middle verbs are derived from transitive verbs, whereby the middle template is used for a number of valency decreasing functions. There is a third group of verb stems, which almost always occur in the middle template, but with which a derived transitive or ditransitive is possible. These groups will be discussed below. For now, the main distinction is between verbs, for which the middle template is one coding strategy amongst others and verbs, which only occur in the middle template. The latter are called intrinsic middle verbs.

Let us begin with intrinsic middle verbs; some of them are listed in Table 5.6. In her cross-linguistic survey (1993: 16-21), Kemmer identifies a number of situation types which commonly occur with middle morphology. In Komnzo these are: translational motion ('run', 'climb up', 'climb down', 'shift location'), emotion middle ('laugh', 'rejoice', 'smile'), cognition middle ('think') and spontaneous events ('change', 'become'). The tendency to encode intransitive verbs with a dynamic event type in the middle template has been discussed above in §5.4.4.

Table 5.6 Intrinsic middle verbs

INFINITIVE	EXT ROOT	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
[a]*moth*	*kwi-*	'run'
mränzsi	*mränz-*	'stroll'
sogsi	*sog-*	'ascend, climb up'
rsörsi	*rsör-*	'descend, climb down'
[a]*mni*	*rsir-*	'burn, cook' (v.i.)
müsinzsi	*müsinz-*	'glow'
rfeksi	*rfek-*	'limp'
frezsi	*frez-*	'come up (from river)'
risoksi	*risok-*	'look down'
rnäthsi	*rnäth-*	'get stuck'
rninzsi	*rninz-*	'smile'
[a]*wath*	*rnzür-*	'dance'
rüsi	*rü-*	'rain'

INFINITIVE	EXT ROOT	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
sufaksi	*sufak-*	'gulp down, guzzle'
fänizsi	*fäniz-*	'shift location'
bznsi	*bzn-*	'work'
thärkusi	*thärku-*	'crawl'
farksi	*fark-*	'set off'
fsknsi	*fskn-*	'doze'
borsi	*bor-*	'laugh, play'
thweksi	*thwek-*	'rejoice'
n/a	*ko-*	'become'
n/a	*rä-*	'do, think'

[a] These verbs employ a common noun as their infinitive instead root plus the nominalizer *-si*.

In addition to intrinsic middle verbs, most verb stems can occur in the middle template with various related functions. One such verb is *brigsi* 'return'. In the examples (17) and (18), the S argument is indexed in the suffix, while the prefix is filled with the middle morpheme. Since there is no formal difference in the middle template between intransitives, impersonals and reflexives, these should be understood as reflexiva tanta (Geniušienė, 1987) and example (17) could also be translated as 'I return myself'.

(17) *oh nzä karfo zena zf* ***ŋabrigwé***.

oh nzä kar=fo zena zf ŋ-a-brig-w-é
oh 1SG.ABS village=ALL today IMM M.α-VC-return.EXT-ND-1SG
1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/return

'Oh, now I will go back to the village.'

(tci20111004 RMA 437)

(18) *oh kaimätdbo fam* ***ŋabrigwrth***.

oh kaimät=dbo fam
oh sister_in_law=ALL.ANIM thoughts

ŋ-a-brig-w-r-th
M.α-VC-return.EXT-ND-LK-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/return

'Oh, (my) thoughts are returning to my sister-in-law.'

(tci20130907-02 JAA 665)

Examples (19a-19b) show *brigsi* in different templates. Both examples are taken from the same story about a headhunt which took place in the narrator's

village Firra. In (19a), the ambifixing transitive template is used (lit. 'They returned the payback'). Just a few clauses later, the narrator concludes this part of the story in (19b) where the same referent, which was indexed in the prefix in (19a), is now indexed in the suffix with a passive or impersonal interpretation (lit. 'Revenge (was) returned').

(19) a. *okay, nafa nezä z faw* ***wbrigrnath*** *... bänema nafanme mayawa kakafar z bramöwä thäkwrath firran.*

okay nafa nezä z faw
okay 3NSG.ERG revenge ALR payment

w-brig-r-n-a-th (.) bäne=ma
3SG.FEM.α-return.EXT-LK-DU-PST-2|3NSG (.) DEM:MED=CHAR
2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/return
nafanme mayawa ka-kafar z bramöwä
3NSG.POSS PROP.N REDUP-big ALR all

th-ä-kwr-a-th firra=n
2|3NSG.γ-VC|ND-hit.RS-PST-2|3NSG PLACE.N=LOC
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/kill

'Okay, then the two took revenge, because all their Mayawa elders had been killed in Firra.'

(tci20111107-01 MAK 126-127)

b. *watik, faw z* ***ŋabrigwa*** *ane ... ane ebar nimame firran rera fof.*

watik faw z ŋ-a-brig-w-a-∅ ane (.)
then payment ALR M.α-VC-return.EXT-ND-PST-2|3SG DEM (.)
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/return
ane ebar nima=me firra=n rä-r-a
DEM head like_this=INS PLACE.N=LOC 3SG.FEM.COP-LK-PST
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be
fof
EMPH

'Then, revenge was taken. This is really how the head(hunting) took place in Firra.'

(tci20111107-01 MAK 134-135)

Consequently, I refrain from using the terms 'middle voice' or 'passive voice'. It is more adequate to speak of a middle template with a specific function. This function might be reflexive, reciprocal, passive or impersonal. Consider example (20) below, in which the speaker describes how he got home after a hard day of work in his garden. The first two verbs in (20) are prefixing verbs. The last three verbs occur in the middle template and could be translated as either reflexive

('wash self', 'change self', 'bring oneself up from river') or intransitives ('wash', 'get changed', 'come up from the river').[14]

(20) *yoganai worärm, kwofiyak,* ***kwamaikwé****, sänis* ***kwaräré****,* ***zänfrefé****.*

yoganai wo-rä-r-m kwof-yak
tiredness 1SG.α-be-LK-DUR 1SG.β2-walk.EXT.ND
1SG:SBJ:RPST:DUR/be 1SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/walk
kw-a-mayk-w-é sänis kw-a-rä-r-é
M.β1-VC-wash.EXT-ND-1SG change M.β1-VC-do.EXT-LK-1SG
1SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/wash 1SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/do
z-ä-n-fref-é
M.γ-VC.ND-VENIT-come.up.from.river.RS-1SG
1SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV:VENIT/come-up-from-river

'I was tired. I walked. I washed myself. I got changed and I came up here from the river.'

(tci20120922-24 MAA 78-80)

We find the same ambiguity between reflexive and reciprocal interpretations. In (21), the speaker describes how his ancestors used to live in small hamlets which comprised a clan or often a single patriline. The reciprocal interpretation of the second verb only comes from the context. The verb form *kwamarwrme* in a different context could equally be translated as a reflexive: 'We were looking at ourselves'.

(21) *mrnmenzo nzwamnzrm. zagr sime* ***kwamarwrme****.*

mrn=me=nzo nzu-a-m-nz-r-m zagr si=me
clan=INS=ONLY 1NSG.β1-VC-dwell.EXT-ND-LK-DUR far eye=INS
1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell
kw-a-mar-w-r-m-e
M.β1-VC-see-LK-DUR-1NSG
1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/see

'We used to stay in our clans. We saw each other only from a distance.'

(tci20120922-08 DAK 117-118)

We have seen an impersonal usage of the middle template in (19b) above. An example with a much clearer passive reading is provided in (22) below, where the speaker talks about sorting and selecting yam tubers in his storage house. The context reveals that it is the patient argument of the verbs ('choose', 'put down') which is cross-referenced in the suffix. Keenan and Dryer include the

[14]Note that 'get changed' is expressed with a nominal *sänis* (< English 'change') and a generic verb 'do', literally 'I do the change'. The nominal is not indexed in the verb.

entailment of an agent in their definition of passives setting them apart from middles (2007: 352). In Komnzo, this is dependent on the semantics of the verb. Prototypical transitive verb, like 'choose' and 'put down' in (22), invite a passive rather than an impersonal interpretation. In terms of morpho-syntax, however, there is no dedicated passive marking. Furthermore, the agent noun phrase cannot be included in the clause, because it would have to be indexed in the suffix of the verb, which is already occupied by the patient argument.

(22) *zane zf woksimär erä. gaba foba fof* ***kräwokthth*** *bobo we kwa* ***ŋanakwrth*** *a nima berä.*

zane zf wok-si=mär e-rä gaba
DEM:PROX IMM choose-NMLZ=PRIV 2|3NSG.α-COP.ND eating yam
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
foba fof k-ra-a-wokth-th bobo we kwa
DIST.ABL EMPH M.β-IRR-VC|ND-choose.RS-2|3NSG MED.ALL also FUT
2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/choose
ŋ-a-nak-w-r-th a nima
M.α-VC-put.down.EXT-ND-LK-2|3NSG and like_this
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/put.down
b=e-rä
MED=2|3NSG.α-COP.ND
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'These have not been selected. They will be selected over there and then put down there like those ones.'

(tci20121001 ABB 41-42)

A somewhat different function of the middle template is the suppressed-object middle. The formal difference with respect to the previous functions of the middle template lies in the marking of the NP, which receives an ergative. Thus, the argument is an actor and the event is inherently transitive. Consider example (23), which is taken from a conversation between two young men. The speaker reports to his friend what his wife thinks about his plan to shift the garden place to another location. In (23), the pronoun *naf* is in the ergative case and agrees with the verb *ŋanafr* which is in the middle template. The object is suppressed from indexation and without context we are left to speculate what it might be: the goal ('she said to me') or the clausal theme ('to continue the old garden').

(23) *naf* ***ŋanafr*** *drdr mäyogsir.*

naf ŋ-a-na-f-r-∅ drdr mäyog-si=r
3SG.ERG M-VC-speak.RS-ND-LK-2|3SG old.garden repeat-NMLZ=PURP
2|3SG:SBJ:NPST.IPFV/speak

'She suggested/said to continue the old garden.'

(tci20130823-06 STK 161)

The suppressed object middle is obligatory for a few lexemes, for example *na-* 'speak (v.t.)' in (23), *karksi* 'pull (v.t.)' or *yonasi*[15] 'drink (v.t.)'. For most verbs, the suppressed object middle is a possible alternation and should be seen as derived from verbs which normally employ an ambifixing transitive template.

There are pragmatic reasons for suppressing the object, for example when the referent is common ground or when the event is somehow generic.[16] These motivations can be subsumed under Kemmer's criterion of low degree of (participant) elaboration with middle morphology. Consider example (24), where the speaker talks about how yams are stored. He says that the yams are heaped and sorted into separate piles and that the spatial layout signals the use of the yams. This last proposition is expressed as *naf ŋatrikwr* 'it indicates'. The verb *trikasi* 'tell' is usually used for story telling or for reporting on something, but the event depicted in example (24) is generic and less elaborated.

(24) *mnz mrmr fof enakwre zena monwä zane ethn zerä.* ***naf ŋatrikwr*** *zane zf ŋatr wawa erä zerä. zane gaba zf erä zerä.*

mnz mrmr fof e-nak-w-r-e zena
house inside EMPH 2|3NSG.α-put.down.EXT-ND-LK-1NSG now
1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/put-down
mon-wä zane e-thn
how-EMPH DEM:PROX 2|3NSG.α-lie.down.EXT.ND
PROX=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV/lie.down
z=e-rä naf ŋ-a-trik-w-r-∅
PROX=2|3NSG.α-COP.ND 3SG.ERG M.α-VC-tell.EXT-ND-LK-2|3SG
PROX=2|3PL:NPST:IPFV/be 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell
zane zf ŋatr wawa e-rä
DEM:PROX IMM rattan.vine yam 2|3NSG.α-COP.ND
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
z=e-rä zane gaba zf
PROX=2|3NSG.α-COP.ND DEM:PROX eating yam IMM
PROX=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

[15]Interestingly, 'drink' and 'eat' share the same extended root (*na*), but 'eat' almost always occurs in an ambifixing transitive template and it employs a common noun as its infinitive (*dagon* 'food'). The verb 'drink' on the other hand employs the infinitive *yonasi* with a regular nominalizer suffix and it always occurs in a (suppressed object) middle template. The restricted roots of 'drink' and 'eat' are different: *nob* and *wob* respectively.

[16]During the translation of texts, consultants would often rephrase the suppressed object middle with a generic event ('He did the X-ing') instead of a specific event ('He X-ed it').

e-rä	z=e-rä
2|3NSG.α-COP.ND	PROX=2|3NSG.α-COP.ND
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be	PROX=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'We put (the yams) down in the house, how these are laying here. That will indicate that these are measuring yams[17] here and these are eating yams here.'

(tci20121001 ABB 15-16)

Another motivation for suppressing the object, partly relevant to the previous example, lies in the relative salience of the referent. There is a tendency for inanimate referents not to be indexed, as we can see in example (25). This example is taken from a stimulus task about domestic violence. The speaker takes over the role of one of the characters in the story. He uses the verb *fiyoksi* 'make' twice, first in a middle template and then in a transitive template.[18] The crucial difference between the two situation types lies in the salience of the referent. In the first clause the referent is generic and inanimate (*yam* 'custom, event'), but in the second clause it is a close relative (*nzenme emoth* 'our sister').

(25) *"be nima yam **ŋafiyokwr**. nzenme emoth be nima **wäfiyokwr**!"*

be	nima	yam	ŋ-a-fiyok-w-r-∅	nzenme
2SG.ERG	like_this	event	M.α-VC-make.EXT-ND-LK-2|3SG	1NSG.POSS
			2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/make	
emoth	be	nima	w-a-fiyok-w-r-∅	
sister	2SG.ERG	like.this	3SG.FEM.α-VC-make.EXT-ND-LK-2|3SG	
			2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make	

"You are behaving like this. You are doing this to our sister."

(tci20120925-01 MAE 89)

We can conclude that intrinsic middles are intransitive event types, but the middle template is used for various functions. The uniting characteristic of these functions is a relatively low degree of elaboration. This may apply either to the participants (25), i.e. they rank low in importance/salience, or to the event itself (24), i.e. the event is less elaborated.

[17] *ŋatr* is a rattan piece which is often used to measure the dimensions of a particularly big tuber. Large yams are used in competitions or as special gifts.

[18] As we will see in §5.4.6, some transitive verbs like *fiyoksi* obligatorily take the valency changing prefix *a-*. Since the argument is in absolutive case, one would expect the inflected verb to be *wfiyokwr* (without the *a-* prefix). But this is ungrammatical and *fiyoksi* never occurs without the *a-* prefix. Thus, I regard *fiyoksi* and similar verbs as being deponent.

5.4.6 The ambifixing template

The ambifixing template employs both affixes to index referents. The subject argument appears in the suffix, while the object argument is indexed in the prefix (26).

(26) *gwamf nafangth* ***sräkor****: "muri zba känrit nzuzawe!"*

gwam=f nafa-ngth s-ra-a-kor-∅
PERS.N=ERG 3.POSS-younger.sibling 3SG.MASC.β-IRR-ND-say.RS-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/says

muri zba k-ä-n-rit-∅ nzu-zawe
PERS.N PROX.ABL M.β-ND-VENIT-cross.over.RS-2SG.IMP 1SG.POSS-side
2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV:VENIT/cross.over

'Gwam said to his brother: "Muri, come over here to my side!"'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #96)

In most cases, the suffix indexes an Agent, as in (26) above. Example (27) shows an experiencer-object construction, in which the suffix encodes a Stimulus. After an evening of stories about sorcery, the speaker announces that she will go to sleep now because 'fear has taken hold of her already'.

(27) *nze rokar kwa thräfrmsé. wtrif z* ***zwefaf****.*

nze rokar kwa th-ra-a-frms-é wtri=f
1SG.ERG thing FUT 2|3NSG.β-IRR-VC|ND-prepare.RS-1SG fear=ERG.SG
1SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/prepare

z zu-ä-faf-∅
ALR 1SG.γ-ND-hold.RS-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/hold

'I will prepare (my) things. I am already scared.'

(tci20130901-01 RNA #164)

Since no more than two referents can be indexed on a verb, the same ambifixing template encodes transitive and ditransitive events. The differences lie in the presence versus absence of the valency changing prefix *a-* and the case marking of that argument NP which is indexed in the prefix. In ambifixing transitives, the prefix encodes a Patient ('prepare' in 27), Theme (26) or Experiencer ('hold' in 27), all in the absolutive. The prefix in ambifixing ditransitives encodes a Goal (28) in dative case or a Possessor (29) marked with a possessive.

(28) *nzun nafaemoth* ***zwärath*** *fof … bänemr … fäms ŋarer*

nzun nafa-emoth zu-ä-r-a-th fof (.)
1SG.DAT 3.POSS-sister 1SG.γ-VC.ND-give.RS-PST-2|3NSG EMPH (.)
2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:IO:PST:PFV/give
bäne=mr (.) fäms ŋare=r
RECOG=PURP (.) exchange woman=PURP

'The gave me their sister as that ... as an exchange woman.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #791-792)

(29) *nzone miyo kwa* ***wabthakwr****.*

nzone miyo kwa wo-a-bthak-w-r-∅
1SG.POSS desire FUT 1SG.α-VC-finish.EXT-LK-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:NPST:IPFV/finish

'You will fulfill my wish.'

(tci20130823-06 CAM #23)

Because the middle template is used for reflexives, the two argument slots of the ambifixing template may not be coreferential. Thus, if we wanted to change example (29) above to an auto-benefactive ('I fulfill my wish / I fulfill the wish for me'), it would be ungrammatical to say **nzone miyo wabthakwé*. The underlined segment in the verb marks the actor as first singular. Instead, one would have to employ a middle construction for the verb: *nzone miyo ŋabthakwé.*

Example (30) shows both a Possessor and a Goal in the first and second verb form respectively. The example is taken from a story about sorcerers, who – according to local belief – visit the grave sites of recently deceased people. The first clause shows that the Possessor can be dropped. The noun *mitafo* 'spirit' is usually feminine, but the verb encodes a masculine referent ('his spirit').

(30) *befé mitafo* ***sabrim*** *nzun fefe* ***kwagathif!***

be-wä mitafo s-a-brim-∅ nzun
2SG.ERG-EMPH spirit 3SG.MASC.β-VC.ND-return.RS-2SG.IMP 1SG.DAT
2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:IMP:PFV/return
fefe kw-a-gathif-∅
body 1SG.β-VC.ND-leave.behind.RS-2SG.IMP
2SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:IMP:PFV/leave.behind

'You take his spirit back and leave the body for me!'

(tci20130903-04 RNA #92-93)

Example (30) highlights a problem that occurs with verb forms using the restricted root. As I have shown in §5.3.2, with restricted roots the dual versus non-dual contrast and the valency change is expressed by a vowel change in the prefix. Although there are differences in the vowel pattern for different number combinations, which show the absence versus presence of the valency changing prefix, there are a number of neutralizations (§5.5.3.4). The first verb *sabrim* in example (30) can mean both 'return him' (with a direct object) or 'return X for him' / 'return his X' (with an indirect object). Only the fact that *mitafo* 'spirit' is feminine, while the prefix is governed by a masculine referent, indicates that the indirect object is indexed ('return his spirit').

The valency changing prefix *a-* attaches productively to almost all transitive verbs introducing a third argument into the clause, usually a beneficiary (dative) or possessor (possessive). A number of lexemes are deponent in the sense that they obligatorily take the valency changing *a-*, while the clause remains transitive and the referent indexed in the prefix is flagged with the absolutive case. Such deponent verbs are *frmnzsi* 'prepare' (27) or *fiyoksi* 'make' (25). Given the basic productivity of the ditransitive alternation, we may ask whether the category 'ditransitive' exists in Komnzo at all or whether it is better to view the phenomenon merely as applicativisation, in other words whether all ditransitives are derived.[19] Two counterarguments can be brought forward. First, there are a few verbs which only exist in an ambifixing ditransitive template, the obivous one being *yarisi* 'give'. Second, while the ditransitive alternation simply introduces a beneficiary for some verbs, there are rather idiosyncratic changes in meaning for other verbs. For example, *säminzsi* means 'whisper' in the ambifixing transitive template, but 'teach' in the ambifixing ditransitive template. Another example was given above in (5c) where *rbnzsi* means 'untie' as a transitive, but 'explain' in a ditransitive template. Although the meanings of the different templates share the same infinitive/nominalization and are clearly related ('untie' → 'untie for sb.' = 'explain'), they often differ in idiosyncratic ways ('whisper' → 'whisper for sb.' = 'teach'). Thus, it is better to recognize ditransitive verbs as an independent category.

5.5 Person, gender and number

5.5.1 Person

Person marking in Komnzo verbs exhibits various patterns of syncretism and neutralization in certain contexts. These patterns differ in the two sites of person

[19]Please note that the *a-* prefix cannot be called an applicative prefix because it fulfills both functions: increasing and decreasing the valency. Thus, I prefer to label it valency change or valency switch.

marking: the prefix and the suffix. The suffixes show more complexity in their syntagmatic distribution, i.e. under certain conditions they are reduced to zero morphemes, neutralize their person values and, in addition, the status of the first singular as an independent morpheme is questionable. On the other hand, the suffixes show less paradigmatic complexity. They encode only two person values and there is only one suffix series. As for the prefixes, the opposite seems to be the case. Although they can be neatly separated and recognized, the prefixes are immoderately equipped with five prefix series and widespread syncretism within the paradigm as a central characteristic. I will address each subsystem of person marking below.

5.5.1.1 Person suffixes

The person suffix differentiates two person values: first and non-first person. Thus, second and third person are always neutralized and additional information from the personal pronouns or from context is required. As I will explain below, in certain morphological contexts, even this basic distinction is neutralized and only number marking is retained. Table 5.7 lists the suffix forms in indicative and irrealis mood.

Table 5.7 Person suffixes

gloss	form	example	translation
1SG	*-é*	*ŋakwiré*	'I run'
1NSG	*-e*	*ŋakwire*	'We run'
2|3SG	*-∅*	*ŋakwir*	'You run' or 'S/He runs'
2|3NSG	*-th*	*ŋakwirth*	'You run' or They run'

In middle and ambifixing templates, the person suffixes are involved in marking the imperative mood. Table 5.8 below shows that the indexing of the addressee employs formatives which are identical to the first person suffixes in indicative or irrealis mood. Evans (2012b) describes an inflectional category in Nen called the assentive. The assentive is the second part of an adjacency pair (or dyadic sequency), and it follows an imperative ('Boil the water!' > 'I will boil the water.'). In the assentive, the person suffix deviates from indicative inflection in that it is identical to the preceding imperative; both being zero in perfective aspect. Although assentive inflections are not attested in Komnzo, the formal identity of first person indicative and second person imperative suffixes can be explained by such conversational adjacency pairs.

Table 5.8 shows that imperatives exist as imperfectives and perfectives. This distinction is signalled by the root type, but also by the fact that the second singular suffix in perfective imperatives is zero. The formatives are listed in Table 5.8 below.

Table 5.8 Imperative person suffixes

	gloss	form	example	translation
EXT root	2SG.IMP	-*é*	*kakwiré*	'You keep running!'
	2NSG.IMP	-*e*	*kakwire*	'You (pl) keep running!'
RS root	2SG.IMP	-∅	*kamath*	'You run!'
	2NSG.IMP	-*e*	*kemathe*	'You (pl) run!'

The morphemic status of the first singular -*é*

I want to discuss the morphemic status of -*é* and provide evidence for the emergence of a marginal phoneme *é* [ə̆]. Both tables above include a suffix -*é* which for the purpose of the following discussion I will call 'first person singular suffix' disregarding that it may also signal a second singular in imperative mood without person marking in the prefixing template. This suffix is realized as a short schwa [ə̆] and I have argued in §2.2.2 that schwa is the epenthetic vowel whose distribution is predictable. Schwa is not predictable in word final position and, thus, has to be represented by a grapheme <é>. There are a handful of morphs in which schwa is attested word-finally, for example nominals (*kayé* 'tomorrow, yesterday', *megé* 'green coconut leaf'), function words (*fthé* 'when', *zé* 'already') and suffixes (-*thé* ADJZR, -*é* 1SG). The following discussion puts forward the argument that -*é* is the result of a truncation of the non-dual suffix in extended roots, which might have originated in some verbs and was later generalized to all verbs. A possible historical explanation in terms of vowel reduction comes from neighboring varieties in which the first person is marked by an -*a* suffix, for example in Wára and Anta. In Komnzo, there exists a suffix -*a*, but it is a past marker.

As we can see in both tables above, -*é* contrasts with -*e* (1NSG) and -∅ (2|3SG). The first singular -*é* could be analysed either as morpheme in its own right or as the result a truncation process of the non-dual suffix, which leaves no possible syllabification other than schwa in a word-final context. I am not claiming that truncation is a synchronic process, but I want to argue that truncation of the non-dual suffix plays a role in the explanation drawing on evidence from more general properties of the suffix subsystem such as the non-dual suffix, the presence of a linking consonant and the neutralization of person distinctions. As we will see below, the argumentation is only applicable to extended root templates, and strictly only to non-dual inflection, because the truncated element is the non-dual marker. Restricted root templates encode the duality contrast in pre-root position. Hence, we have to assume that the result of the truncation process, the word final schwa -*é*, has been extended to other morphological contexts.

Let us turn to the non-dual marker first. The verb *kwi-* 'run' in Table 5.7 is irregular in that it employs *-r* for signalling the non-dual. The regular pattern, attested for 90% of verb lexemes, involves one of the three non-dual allomorphs *-wr*, *-nzr* and *-thr*. Consider the verb *marasi* 'see' in (31a-31f), which takes the *-wr* allomorph. In first person singular (31a), the non-dual suffix is *-w* instead of *-wr*.

(31) a. y-mar-w-é
3SG.MASC-see-ND-1SG
'I see him.'

b. y-mar-n-e
3SG.MASC-see-DU-1NSG
'We two see him.'

c. y-mar-wr-e
3SG.MASC-see-ND-1NSG
'We see him.'

d. y-mar-wr-∅
3SG.MASC-see-ND-2|3SG
'S/He sees him.' or 'You see him.'

e. y-mar-n-th
3SG.MASC-see-DU-2|3SG
'They (two) see him.' or 'You (two) see him.'

f. y-mar-wr-th
3SG.MASC-see-ND-2|3NSG
'They see him.' or 'You see him.'

In the examples above, only the first singular (31a) deviates in that it takes a truncated form *-w*, from which final *-r* is cut. This truncation with the first singular is attested for all three allomorphs of the non-dual suffix: *-wr* → *-w*, *-nzr* → *-nz* and *-thr* → *-th*. What weakens this particular piece of evidence is the fact that there is some variation between the non-truncated and the truncated formative even when other suffixal material follows like ANDAT *-o*, 1NSG *-e* or 2|3NSG *-th*. For example, looking at the token frequency in the corpus of 2|3NSG *-th* preceded by *-nzr* (non-truncated) versus *-th* preceded by *-nz* (truncated), we find 91 verb forms with the non-truncated non-dual *-nzrth* and 13 with the truncated non-dual *-nzth*.[20] A similar distribution is found with the first non-singular *-e* suffix. There is no variation with the 2|3SG, which is a zero morpheme. The 2|3SG is never preceded by the truncated formative. In conclusion, the non-dual is never truncated with the 2|3SG zero, it shows some variation with other suffixes

[20]This search can be replicated by a simple search query: "nzrth" versus "nzth" in word final context (in REGEX syntax: "nzrth\b" versus "nzth\b").

(but the non-truncated formative has a much higher frequency), and it is always truncated with the first singular.

Further evidence comes from person neutralization patterns. The first singular *-é* disappears when further suffixes are added, for example the past suffix *-a*, the durative suffix *-m* or the andative suffix *-o*. Consider examples (32a, 32d and 32e) which neutralize the person value completely. In (31), the distinction between first and second/third person is basically a contrast between the surface result of a truncation process *-é* (31a) and a zero morpheme (31d). In (32a, 32d and 32e) below, we have to postulate a zero marker, which now only encodes number (SG) and contrasts with 1NSG *-e* (32b) and 2|3NSG *-th* (31).

(32) a. y-mar-wr-a-∅
3SG.MASC-see-ND-PST-SG
'I saw him.' or 'You saw him.' or 'S/He saw him.'

b. y-mar-wr-a-k-e
3SG.MASC-see-ND-PST-LK-1NSG
'We saw him.'

c. y-mar-wr-a-th
3SG.MASC-see-ND-PST-2|3NSG
'You saw him.' or 'They saw him.'

d. y-mar-wr-m-∅
3SG.MASC-see-ND-DUR-SG
'I was seeing him.' or 'You were seeing him.' or 'S/He was seeing him.'

e. y-mar-wr-o-∅
3SG.MASC-see-ND-ANDAT-SG
'I see him that way.' or 'You see him that way.' or 'S/He sees him that way.'

A third piece of evidence comes from a linking consonant in the suffix subsystem. Example (32b) above shows that the past suffix *-a* and the 1NSG *-e* are separated by *-k*. We have seen in §2.4.3, that the phonology of Komnzo allows strings of consonants which are broken up by epenthesis. However, the phonological system does not tolerate strings of vowels, which is demonstrated by the appearance of the linker in (32b). This can be used to strengthen the argument that the first singular *-é* deviates from other suffixes. We would expect (32a) not to neutralize the person value, and instead to insert the linker between the past suffix *-a* and *-é* analogous to the first non-singular in (32b). However, the expected form **ymarwraké* is ungrammatical.

The first singular *-é* occurs in other morphological contexts, where there is no truncated preceding element. As pointed out above, the template of restricted

roots marks the dual versus non-dual contrast in pre-root position and, thus, there is no non-dual marker to truncate (33a).[21] Likewise, there is no truncation of the dual marker *-n* in the template of extended roots (33b). However, the person neutralizations described above also occur in these contexts (33c and 33d).

(33) a. s-a-mar-é
3SG.MASC-ND-see(RS)-1NSG
'I saw him.'

b. e-mar-n-é
2|3NSG-see(EXT)-ND-PST-SG
'I see both of them.'

c. s-a-mar-a-∅
3SG.MASC-ND-see(RS)-PST-SG
'I saw him.' or 'You saw him.' or 'S/He saw him.'

d. e-mar-n-a
2|3NSG-see(EXT)-ND-PST-SG
'I saw both of them.' or 'You saw both of them.' or 'S/He saw both of them.'

We have to conclude that a case of truncation or a negative morpheme as a synchronic process can only be made for a very circumscribed morphological context: for non-dual inflected verbs in the extended root template. For other contexts, we have to postulate a suffix formative *-é*. This is best explained by a historical process of vowel reduction or syllable loss, which created a new marginal phoneme *é*. This can be used to explain word-final schwa in other items.[22] As I mentioned in the beginning of this section, surrounding varieties like Wára or Anta mark the first person singular with an *-a* suffix. Comparative material from other Tonda varieties is needed to settle this question.

Linking *-k*, person neutralization and morpheme slots

In the preceding discussion, the linking consonant *-k* was introduced as a way of separating two adjacent vowel suffixes. This purely phonological explanation is insufficient and, on closer inspection, we find that the linker *-k* helps to arrange the suffixal material into morpheme slots. In addition to the first singular *-é*, the suffixal material includes the following morphemes: past *-a*, durative *-m*, andative *-o*, 1NSG *-e* and 2|3NSG *-th*. In the following section, I describe how these suffixes are ordered, which are mutually exclusive and when and where person

[21] The verb *marasi* belongs to the class which has identical forms for restricted and extended roots (Compare Table 5.2), and only the template and the affixal material signal the aspectual value.

[22] The adjectivalizer *-thé* might be a reduced form of the similative case marker *-thatha*.

neutralization occurs.

First, the past suffix *-a* and the durative suffix *-m* never co-occur. The combinatorial system of Komnzo verb morphology employs a different strategy to express a past durative category, discussed in §6.2.

Second, the andative *-o* and the 1NSG *-e* stand in syntagmatic opposition to each other occuping the same slot. Consider examples (34a-34d) below. In examples (34b) and (34d) the person value is fully neutralized, because the suffix *-th*, which was indexing 2|3NSG in earlier examples (31e-31f and 32c), can now only be glossed as NSG.[23] The important observation in (34b) is that the linker *-k* is not used. If its appearance could be predicted on purely phonological grounds, we would expect a form like **ymarwroke*. But this is ungrammatical. Thus, I characterise the linking consonant in the following way: *-k* occurs (i) after the past suffix *-a*, (ii) if the following suffix consists of a vowel formative.

(34) a. y-mar-wr-e
3SG.MASC-see-ND-1NSG
'We see him.'

b. y-mar-wr-o-th
3SG.MASC-see-ND-ANDAT-NSG
'We see him that way.' or 'You see him that way.' or 'They see him that way.'

c. y-mar-wr-a-k-e
3SG.MASC-see-ND-PST-LK-1NSG
'We saw him.'

d. y-mar-wr-a-k-o-th
3SG.MASC-see-ND-PST-LK-ANDAT-NSG
'We saw him that way.' or 'You saw him that way.' or 'They saw him that way.'

Examples (34b) and (34d) also show that amongst the three categories (person, number, direction) it is person which is neutralized first. In the discussion of examples (32a-32e), we found the same to be true for person values of the singulars.

Below in (35), we find a textual example of the person neutralization in (34d). In the example, a woman talks about her marriage and how she and her husband prepared a feast for her brothers and uncles. In (35) the first person interpretation

[23] An alternative would be to analyse *-th* as marking only number (NSG) not person. I reject this analysis, because (i) this would result in a system where only first person is marked overtly and (ii) the 1NSG in examples like (34a) would be an exception to the regular non-singular (*-th*).

of the actor of *tharakoth*[24] is clear from the preceding verb *yafiyokrnake* which lacks the andative *-o* suffix and, thus, is inflected with the first non-singular *-e* suffix.

(35) *dagon yafiyokrnake. babainm ane* ***tharakoth****.*

dagon y-a-fiyok-rn-a-k-e babai=nm ane
food 3SG.MASC-VC-make.EXT-PST-LK-1NSG uncle=DAT.NSG DEM
1DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV
th-a-r-a-k-o-th
2|3NSG.γ-VC.DU-give.RS-PST-LK-ANDAT-NSG
1DU:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:PST:PFV:ANDAT

'We prepared the food. We gave that to the uncles.'

(tci20130823-01 WAM #66-67)

The suffix subsystem of Komnzo verbs is summarized in Figure 5.6. The elements which share a column or an extended column in the figure are mutually exclusive. For example, if *-é* occurs, all the other material will not appear or if the durative suffix *-m* occurs, the past suffix *-a* (along with the linker *-k*) will not appear. The system as described here is applicable to both root types. For the restricted root the only difference lies in the fact that duality is marked in pre-root position as in *tharakoth* in (35). Therefore, some of the morphemes in the suffix system are optional: the dual/non-dual morphemes, the two TAM markers (PST *-a* and DUR *-m*) and the andative *-o*. Number (SG vs. NSG) is always marked.

ROOT	(DUALITY)	(TAM)	(DIRECTION, PERSON), NUMBER

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="4">√</td><td rowspan="4">-nzr, wr-, r-
-n</td><td colspan="3">-é</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">-m</td><td colspan="2">-e</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">-o</td><td>-∅</td></tr>
<tr><td>-a(-k)</td><td>-th</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 5.6 Suffix subsystem of Komnzo verbs

The suffixing system is thus characterized by syntagmatic complexity, i.e. the chain of suffixes does not allow a straightforward segmentation into slots and respective functions. Moreover, the presence versus absence of individual suffixes impacts on the form and function of other suffixes.

[24]In *tharakoth* the pre-root marker operates on a plural versus non-plural opposition. This pattern of pre-root marking will be discussed in §5.5.3.4.

5.5.1.2 Person prefixes

The person prefixes are syntagmatically less complex than the person suffixes. The prefix system comprises a single slot which is always filled with a formative, i.e. there are no zero morphemes.[25] On the other hand, the prefix system is paradigmatically more complex. The prefix fuses person marking with information relevant to TAM, but the prefix series do not have clearly interpretable semantics and, thus, we have to draw on abstract labels. Table 5.9 lays out the five prefix series: α, β, β1, β2, and γ.

Table 5.9 Person prefixes

gloss	α-series	β-series	β1-series	β2-series	γ-series
1SG	*wo-*	*kw-*	*ku-*	*kwof-*	*zu-*
1NSG	*n-*	*nz-* (*nzn-*)	*nzu-*	*nzf-*	*nzn-*
2SG	*n-*	*nz-* (*gn-*)	*gu-*	*gf-*	*nzn-*
3SG.FEM	*w-*	*z-*	*zu-*	*zf-*	*z-*
3SG.MASC	*y-*	*s-*	*su-*	*sf-*	*s-*
2|3NSG	*e-*	*th-*	*thu-*	*thf-*	*th-*
M	*ŋ-*	*k-*	*kw-*	*kf-*	*z-*

Before we look at the patterns of person marking, I will briefly address the prefixes and the justification of five independent series. Table 5.9 shows that there is widespread syncretism between the series, especially in the third person between β and γ. The formal difference between the α, β and γ series is clearest in the first person singular and the middle marker, each of which distinguishes overtly all five series. Furthermore, the table shows that we can speak of three main series: α, β, γ, plus two subseries: β1 and β2. These two subseries add an *-u* and *-f* element to the β series. I will discuss in detail why I still treat them as independent series in §6.2.1. An additional quirk is added to the system by the fact that, within the β series, the first nonsingular and the second singular have two different formatives for the two modal categories: the imperative and irrealis.[26]

The prefixes differentiate three person values in the singular: first, second and third. The values of second and third person in non-singular are always neutralized, leaving this ambiguity for either context or the personal pronouns

[25]The only formative which occurs in the person marking slot, but does not encode person, is the middle marker, which is used for other purposes (§5.4.5).

[26]The second singular differs in a number of ways which will be discussed in §6.2.1. Note that the second singular *gn-* is only used in the imperatives of prefixing verbs where the addressee argument is encoded in the prefix. Verbs in middle and ambifixing templates on the other hand employ the suffix to encode the addressee argument in the imperatives, leaving the prefix β series for the undergoer argument or the middle marker.

to resolve. The same holds true for the syncretism between the first non-singular and the second singular in the α and the γ series.[27] This pattern of syncretism is found in languages across the Yam family (Evans et al., forthcoming).

The overview of the verb template presented in the introduction of this chapter (Table 5.1) shows that the person prefix is followed by the valency changing prefix *a-* whose presence impacts on the formatives of the person prefixes in various ways. The α series shows a number of irregularities given in Table 5.10, for example with the first singular: /*wo-a-*/ → *wa-*.

Table 5.10 Person prefixes: α-series with valency changing prefix *a-*

gloss	form	segmentation
1SG	*wa-*	*wo-a-*
1NSG	*na-*	*n-a-*
2SG	*na-*	*n-a-*
3SG.FEM	*wä-*	*w-a-*
3SG.MASC	*ya-*	*y-a-*
2|3NSG	*ä-*	*e-a-*[28]
M	*ŋa-*	*ŋ-a-*

The other prefix series behave more regular in the presence of the valency changing prefix *a-*, but there is some influence of the valency changing prefix. For example, the formatives of the β2 series all end in a high back vowel [u], which turns into the corresponding glide when *a-* is present: 2SG *gu-* → *gwa-*. The β and β2 series end in consonants. For both series, the *a-* prefix is simply added, for example 2|3NSG *th-* → *tha-* for the β series and 2|3NSG *thf-* → *thfa-* for the β2 series.

As I have discussed in §5.3.3, the β, β1 and γ series may combine with the restricted root, the last of the three exclusively so. With the restricted root, dual marking takes place in pre-root position (Compare §5.3.2) and the *a-* prefix simultaneously encodes valency change and the dual vs. non-dual contrast. As the marking pattern does not impact on the formatives of the person prefixes, I will defer this topic to the discussion of number marking in §5.5.3.4.

[27] Table 5.9 also includes identical formatives for first non-singular and second singular in the β series with irrealis inflection. While it is true on an abstract paradigmatic level, the inflected verbs are never identical, because - unlike all other person/number combinations - the second singular does not take the irrealis prefix *ra-*. This will be further discussed in §6.2.1.

[28] In a Komnzo recording from the 1980's made by the anthropologist Mary Ayres, I found a different realization of this prefix, namely [eja-]. In terms of segmentation, this is a much more transparent realization. The recording was made with an older man, maybe in his late 60's. In modern Komnzo, there is no variation and the prefix is realized as given in the table [æ-].

5.5.2 Gender

The agreement target of gender is the third singular prefix of the verb. There is a feminine and masculine gender category. Metalinguistic statements by speakers are often expressed as *madema rä* 'It is a girl' for feminine or *srak yé* 'It is a boy' for masculine. The formatives employed to encode gender across the prefix series are given in Table 5.9 above.

The discussion in §5.4 has shown that the prefix indexes the direct and indirect object in the ambifixing transitive template, and the subject of intransitives in the prefixing template. It follows that only those types of argument roles show agreement in gender, whereas the more agent-like arguments never show gender agreement.

The semantic perspective of gender classification of the noun lexicon is discussed in §11.2.

5.5.3 Number

Komnzo verbs encode three number values: singular, dual and plural. There exists an additional large plural which is available only for prefixing verbs or verbs in the prefixing template. I address this in §5.5.3.2. The peculiarity of number marking in Komnzo lies in the fact that it is distributed over two separate slots which, looked at individually, do not distinguish all three values, but operate on a binary opposition. Hence, the overall ternary number opposition is reduced to a binary opposition in the respective slots on the verb. There are three logical possibilities for this reduction because each of the three number values can be contrasted with its opposite: singular vs. non-singular; dual vs. non-dual; plural vs. non-plural. The combination of any two of the three binary oppositions is sufficient to encode all three number values. Figure 5.7 below shows the principle behind this reduction.

Figure 5.7 Three ways of breaking up a ternary opposition

Komnzo makes use of all three oppositions, but only two of the possible combinations. The person affixes operate always on a singular vs. non-singular opposition. A separate affix, which I call the duality affix, makes a distinction between dual vs. non-dual. I will show below that under certain circumstances, the same affix encodes plural vs. non-plural, but this is a marginal pattern (§5.5.3.4). The basic system of distributed number marking integrates a SG-NSG opposition in the person affixes with a DU-ND opposition in the duality affix. Figure 5.8 provides an overview of this principle.

		DUALITY AFFIX	
		DU	ND
PERSON AFFIX	SG		singular
	NSG	dual	plural

Figure 5.8 Basic principle of distributed number marking on verbs

Figure 5.8 shows that out of four possible combinations, in fact only three are normally put to use, namely those that are logically compatible. Prefixing verbs and stems in a prefixing template, that includes positional verbs, are exceptional in that they utilize the fourth, seemingly non-sensical, combination SG-DU to encode a large plural (§5.5.3.2).

The two sites involved in number marking have very different properties. The binary opposition in the person prefixes and suffixes is much more stable in the sense that (i) the encoded value can be straightforwardly associated with an argument, because person and number marking are fused into one morpheme, (ii) the position of these affixes in the template of the verb is fixed and (iii) the values encoded are always SG and NSG. The duality affix differs in all three points and the subsequent discussion of number marking will focus on its peculiarities. But to give an overview here: first, if there are two participants indexed in the verb, the duality affix is ambiguous as to which of the two it is indexing. Second, duality is marked in a suffix with extended roots, but in a complex portmanteaux prefix with restricted roots. Lastly, as was mentioned above, in part of the paradigm, the DU-ND opposition is replaced by PL-NPL. I will address these points below.

5.5.3.1 Ambiguities in the reference of the duality affix

Examples (36a-36g) show the verb *fathasi* 'hold' with different number combinations of the two arguments.[29] Only in example (36f), we find several possibilities with respect to number marking because both person affixes signal non-singular. The ambiguity stems from the fact that the duality marker is agnostic as to which of the two arguments it is referencing. In other words, the dual morpheme in (36f) signals that one the two participants is dual, but not which one. This does not create any ambiguities in cases where one of the the two person affixes is singular (36a-36e). Likewise, it is not a problem if both person affixes are non-singular and the duality affix in non-dual (36g). Although examples (36a-36g) show the extended root of the verb *fathasi*, this ambiguity is also found with restricted roots where the duality affix occurs in pre-root position.

(36) a. y-fath-wr-∅
3SG.MASC-hold.EXT-ND-2|3SG
'S/He holds him.'

b. y-fath-n-th
3SG.MASC-hold.EXT-DU-2|3NSG
'They (2) hold him.'

c. y-fath-wr-th
3SG.MASC-hold.EXT-ND-2|3NSG
'They (3+) hold him.'

d. e-fath-n-∅
2|3NSG-hold.EXT-DU-2|3SG
'S/He holds them (2).'

e. e-fath-wr-∅
2|3NSG-hold.EXT-ND-2|3SG
'S/He holds them (3+).'

f. e-fath-n-th
2|3NSG-hold.EXT-DU-2|3NSG
'They (2) hold them (3+).' or 'They (2) hold them (2).' or 'They (3+) hold them (2).'

g. e-fath-wr-th
2|3NSG-hold.EXT-ND-2|3NSG
'They (3+) hold them (3+).'

For ambifixing transitives and ditransitives, the distribution of the dual and non-dual markers can be expressed in an abstract way as in Figure 5.9.

[29]Note, that the English translations are all in third person, although some of the person indexing morphemes neutralize the distinction between second and third person and, thus, could also be translated as second person.

		ACTOR		
		SG	DU	PL
UNDERGOER	SG	*-wr*	*-n*	*-wr*
	DU	*-n*	*-n*	*-n*
	PL	*-wr*	*-n*	*-wr*

Figure 5.9 The duality matrix with *fathasi*

For verb forms which index only one argument the marking pattern is simpler, as there is no ambiguity in reference of the duality sufix. This is relevant for verbs in a prefixing or middle template. Examples (37a-37c) show the verb *thoraksi* 'appear' in a prefixing template cycled through all three number values.

(37) a. wo-thorak-wr
1SG-appear.EXT-ND
'I arrive.'

b. n-thorak-n (∼ e-thorak-rn)
2|3NSG-appear.EXT-DU
'We (2) arrive.'

c. n-thorak-wr
1NSG-appear.EXT-ND
'We (3+) arrive.'

Note that there are two variants for the dual morpheme, *-n* and *-rn* in (37b), which are attested for almost all members of the small class of prefixing verbs. This variation is both intra-speaker and inter-speaker and, thus far, no patterning along social lines could be detected (e.g. age of the speaker, speaker's exposure to other varieties, etc).

5.5.3.2 Large plurals with prefixing verbs

The prefixing template indexes the sole argument of the verb in the prefix, while the suffix slot is not used. We have seen that only a small number of verbs are inherently prefixing (§5.4.4), and about fifty stems may enter into this template. The latter group includes positional verbs (§5.4.4.1). I will show below that because there is no ambiguity in the reference of the duality marker, the combinatorics of number marking, i.e. all four cells of the paradigm in Table 5.8, can be fully exploited. This allows a fourth number value by combining dual with singular to form a large plural. Consider example (38) below. The speaker in the story has been away from Rouku for a long time. He asks his brother whether the palm wine containers are still hanging, and the brother replies 'there are plenty'.

This is expressed by the copula in dual and the prefix in singular. Note that the root of the copula is sensitive to dual versus non-dual.

(38) *"eh ngthé bana! sgeru komnzo emithgr?" "ah, segeru komnzo* ***yrn****"*

eh ngthé bana sgeru komnzo e-mi-thgr ah
hey brother poor palm_wine still 2|3NSG:α-hang.EXT-STAT.ND ah
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:STAT/hang

segeru komnzo y-rn
palm_wine still 3SG.MASC:α-COP.DU
3LPL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

"Hey brother, are the palm wine (containers) still hanging?" "Yes, there are still plenty."

(tci20130927-06 MAB #189)

Examples (39a-39d) are elicited forms showing the positional verb *räzsi* 'erect, stand up' in all four number values.[30]

(39) a. woz w-räs-thg-r
bottle 3SG.FEM-erect-STAT-ND
'The bottle is standing.'

b. woz e-räs-thg-n (∼ e-räs-thg-rn)
bottle 2|3NSG-erect-STAT-DU
'The two bottles are standing.'

c. woz e-räs-thg-r
bottle 2|3NSG-erect-STAT-ND
'The bottles are standing.'

d. woz y-räs-thg-n (∼ y-räs-thg-rn)
bottle 3SG.MASC-erect-STAT-DU
'All the bottles are standing.' or 'Many bottles are standing.'

Example (39d) shows the large plural construction in which the seemingly non-sensical combination of a singular in the person prefix and a dual in the duality slot yields a large plural or exhaustive plural interpretation. There are some restrictions to the large pural. First, as we have seen, it only occurs in the prefixing template. Even though a stem like *räz-* 'erect' can appear in a middle or ambifixing template, it cannot form large plurals in these templates. Second, large plurals only occur in third person, not in first or second. Note that it is always the masculine prefix which is used in the large plural construction, even if the referent is feminine, as with *woz* 'bottle' (39a). In this way, the large plural

[30]Note that we find the same variation in the dual morpheme (*-n* and *-rn*) as with other prefixing verbs. Compare with examples 37a-37c above.

construction substantiates the principle of distributed exponence, whereby the morphological material at the language's disposal is employed in ways that are not predictable by looking at individual morphemes.

Unfortunately, the large plural construction is attested only once in the corpus (38). The evidence presented above comes from eliciation.[31] Although the large plural is readily understood and judged grammatical by all my informants, I have not overheard it in daily conversation. Speakers commonly refer to this construction as 'a way the old people spoke'. Therefore, we have to assume that it will fade from the speakers' passive knowledge eventually and disappear altogether. In fact, the speaker in example (38) was an older man who passed away this year.

Although on different levels of comparison, dual marking in pre-root position and the formation of large plurals are not compatible. This is partly caused by the stative semantics of verbs in the prefixing template. For example, positionals take the stative suffix *-thgr* which blocks all perfective semantics. Pre-root dual marking on the other hand occurs only with restricted roots, and restricted roots are used to form perfectives. A positional verb like *räzsi* 'erect', can occur outside the prefixing template and form perfectives, but in this case the large plural does not apply. We saw in §5.4.4, that there are some prefixing verbs, which are not stative, for example *yarenzsi* 'look around' or *ziksi* 'turn to side'. These do form perfectives in the prefixing template. However, the large plural combination results in an ungrammatical inflection.

I suggest that a historical perspective explains why this is the case. I show in §5.5.3.4, that pre-root duality marking is messier than post-root duality marking in the sense that it is less segmentable and there are more patterns of syncretism. I have argued in §5.3.4 that pre-root dual marking is an innovation, and that post-root dual marking is an older pattern. Thus, the large plural construction has not survived the change in the pattern shift. Therefore, prefixing verbs with dynamic semantics cannot form large plurals in their perfectives.

5.5.3.3 Allomorphy in the post-root duality slot

Before I turn to the dual marking in pre-root position with restricted roots, I will address the topic of allomorphy in post-root position. The dual morpheme in the duality slot shows little variation. The above described variation between *-n* and *-rn* is found with prefixing verbs only; elsewhere the dual morpheme is always *-n*. As for the non-dual morpheme, the situation is different. There are three allomorphs (*wr-*, *nzr-*, *-r*) and their distribution is phonologically conditioned by the final element of the verb root. The conditioning rules layed out in Table 5.11

[31] I want to thank Nick Evans for pointing out the combinatorial possibility (SG+DU) in Nen (Evans, 2014) which allowed me to test this pattern with Komnzo speakers.

account for 85% (275/322) of the attested verb lexemes.

Table 5.11 Allomorphs of the non-dual suffix

formatives	rule	count	example	EXT root	translation
-wr	/ k]$_{\text{root}}$_	92	*mätraksi*	*mätrak-*	'bring out'
			weksi	*wek-*	'invite'
	/ g]$_{\text{root}}$_	38	*mäyogsi*	*mäyog-*	'repeat'
			brigsi	*brig-*	'return'
	/ n]$_{\text{root}}$_	34	*wathknsi*	*wathkn-*	'pack up'
			myuknsi	*myukn-*	'twist'
	/ r]$_{\text{root}}$_	25	*rsrsi*	*rsr-*	'fish with poison root'
			wagrsi	*wagr-*	'meet'
-nzr	/ V]$_{\text{root}}$_	62	*yagusi*	*yagu-*	'pour out'
			yafüsi	*yafü-*	'open'
			mräsi	*mrä-*	'stroll'
			fsisi	*fsi-*	'count'
			thanzsi	*tha-*	'uncover'
-r	/ z]$_{\text{root}}$_	24	*brüzsi*	*brüz-*	'submerge, drown'
			rifthzsi	*rifthz-*	'hide'
			räzsi	*räz-*	'erect'
TOTAL		275			

The remaining 15% of verb lexemes are irregular (i) in taking a different formative to mark non-dual (e.g. *-thr* or -∅), (ii) in taking one of the three allomorphs under violation of the conditioning rules or (iii) in expressing the dual/non-dual contrast by irregular changes in the verb root, for example *moth* 'walk' (*-yak* ND vs. *-yan* DU) or *kwan* 'shout' (*-nor* ND vs. *-rn* DU).

5.5.3.4 Pre-root dual marking with restricted roots

The previous discussion concentrated on dual marking with extended roots. For restricted roots, this suffix slot is not available and the dual vs. non-dual contrast is marked in the vowel of the prefix, which changes to *ä* for non-dual. Interestingly, it is the non-dual that receives a marker, while the dual is zero marked. At the same time, pre-root dual marking is less segmentable and harder to gloss than post-root dual marking, because the non-dual *ä* vowel superposes vowels from other prefixal material, for example the valency changer *a-* or the irrealis prefix *ra-*. This leads to patterns of syncretism which span several grammatical dimensions (valency, number, aspect, mood, etc). Pre-root dual marking is relevant only for those TAM categories which build their inflection on the restricted

root. These are verbs inflected for iterative and perfective aspect. The latter include indicative (recent past and past tense), imperative or irrealis forms. I will use the irrealis perfective forms to describe the pattern of pre-root dual marking and point to other TAM categories where they deviate.

Irrealis mood is expressed by the prefix *ra-*, which directly follows the person/number prefix or the middle marker of the β prefix series (See Table 5.9 in §5.5.1.2). The non-dual marker *ä* replaces the vowel of the *ra-* prefix for all the person/number combinations which involve a non-dual participant. This pattern is uniform for prefixing as well as ambifixing verbs. Below in (40-46), I provide textual examples of the number combinations with a third person actor and a first person undergoer.[32] We find the *ä* vowel for the following actor>undergoer combinations: SG>SG (40), PL>SG (42), SG>PL (44) and PL>PL (45).

(40) *adif nima* ***kwräs*** *"ranzo?"*

adi=f	nima	kw-rä-s-∅	ra=nzo
aunt=ERG.SG	like.this	1SG.β-IRR.ND-ask.RS-2|3SG	what=ONLY
		2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:IRR:PFV/ask	

'Aunt asked me: "What is it?"'

(tci20120922-25 ALK #15-16)

(41) *yare kma nzä nafa* ***kwrakarth****.*

yare	kma	nzä	nafa	kw-ra-kar-th
bag	POT	1SG.ABS	3NSG.ERG	1SG.β-IRR.DU-pull.RS-2|3NSG
				2|3DU:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:IRR:PFV/pull

'They (2) should take the bag from me.'

(tci20130907-02 JAA #10)

(42) *ngatha fäth ferä nafa* ***kwränbrmth*** *e ...*

ngatha	fäth	f=e-rä	nafa	
dog	DIM	DIST=2|3NSG.α-COP.ND	3NSG.ERG	
		DIST=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST/be		
kw-rä-n-brm-th			e	(.)
1SG.β-IRR.ND-VENIT-follow.RS-2|3NSG			until	(.)
2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/follow				

'The small dogs over there, they follow me until...'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #94)

[32]Irrealis mood may be used in narratives for pragmatic reasons (backgrounding) and refer to events which actually took place (§6.4.3)

(43) *foba* ***nzrans*** *"bä mon ern?"*

foba nz-ra-n-s-∅ bä mon
DIST.ABL 1NSG.β-IRR.DU-VENIT-ask.RS-2|3SG 2.ABS how
2|3SG:SBJ>1DU:OBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/ask
e-rn
2|3NSG.α-COP.DU
2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'He asked us (2): "Who are you?"'

(tci20120904-02 MAB #125)

(44) *paituaf* ***nzräkor*** *"nzä fiyafr wiyak."*

paitua=f nz-rä-kor-∅ nzä
old.man=ERG.SG 1NSG.β-IRR.ND-speak.RS-2|3SG 1SG.ABS
2|3SG:SBJ>1PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak
fiyaf=r wo-yak
hunting=PURP 1SG.α-walk.EXT.ND
1SG:NPST:IPFV/walk

'He said to us: "I will go hunting."'

(tci20120821-02 LNA #11-12)

(45) *kar zf rä zf masu … manema* ***nzräkorth*** *masu kar.*

kar zf rä zf masu (.) mane=ma
place IMM 3SG.FEM.COP.ND IMM PLACE.N (.) which=CHAR
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST.IPFV/be
nz-rä-kor-th masu kar
1NSG.β-IRR.ND-speak.RS-2|3NSG PLACE.N place.
2|3PL:SBJ>1PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak

'This place right here is Masu, which is why they call us Masu people.'

(tci20120922-08 DAK #87)

(46) *ni* ***nzrakorth*** *"bä!" … oroman babua … "bä kwa ŋakwinth zmbär aki kwayanen!"*

ni nz-ra-kor-th bä (.) oroman babua (.)
1NSG 1NSG.β-IRR.DU-speak.RS-2|3NSG 2.ABS (.) old.man PROP.N (.)
2|3PL:SBJ>1DU:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak
bä kwa ŋ-a-kwi-n-th zmbär aki kwayan=en
2.ABS FUT M.α-VC-run.EXT-DU-2|3NSG night moon light=LOC
2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/run

'They said to us (2): "You!" to old man Babua "You two will run at night in the moonlight"'

(tci20120904-01 MAB #135-137)

Note that just like in post-root dual marking (§5.5.3.1), pre-root dual marking is agnostic as to which of the two arguments is dual or non-dual. The verb *nzrakorth* 'they said to us' in (46) could be any of the three possible actor>undergoer combinations (PL>DU, DU>DU or DU>PL) because both person affixes index a non-singular participant. Thus, the absence of the *ä* vowel indicates that one of the two participants is dual, but not which one. Only context may solve this structural ambiguity, which in (46) is clear from the second verb *ŋakwinth* 'you two go'. For verbs in a prefixing template, there is no ambiguity since they index only one argument. Non-dual participants receive the *ä* vowel, while dual participants do not. The same holds for verbs in the middle template.

The marking pattern can be expressed in an abstract matrix as in Figure 5.10. In terms of structure, this matrix is identical to post-root duality marking (See Figure 5.9 above).

		ACTOR		
		SG	DU	PL
UNDERGOER	SG	ä	∅	ä
	DU	∅	∅	∅
	PL	ä	∅	ä

Figure 5.10 The duality matrix without VC prefix

There are some exceptions for the third singular prefixes (both feminine and masculine). The combination of SG>3SG in the ambifixing template and 3SG in the prefixing template receive the vowel *a* and not *ä* in all relevant TAM categories. In the imperatives, it is *a* for both combinations SG>3SG and PL>3SG. Inflections involving a dual participant would receive a zero marker. In a discussion after listening to old recordings made by the anthropologist Mary Ayres in the 1980's, I was able to elicit one inflectional form that is relevant to this topic. The informant contrasted the modern Komnzo inflection *santhor* 'He arrived here' with an older form of the same verb *snäthor*.[33] A first observation is that the *ä* does occur in the older form. Interestingly, it occurs after the venitive *n-* prefix. At the current stage of documentation, not much can be said about the time frame during which this change has occured. The informant who provided this information is now in his mid-60's and he remembers 'old people' using this form. I was not able to elicit a full paradigm of these older inflections and, thus, we are denied insight into the changes that took place in the verb template. As for now, we can only state that the non-dual *ä* vowel existed at some point in time with third singulars in the prefix.

[33] *s-a-n-thor* — 3SG.MASC.γ-ND-VENIT-arrive.RS
s-n-ä-thor — 3SG.MASC.γ-VENIT-ND-arrive.RS

As I mentioned above, since pre-root duality marking involves the *ä* vowel, it occupies a slot in the template which may be filled by other prefixal material, for example the irrealis prefix *ra-* and the valency changer *a-*, or both. We saw in the examples above, that the non-dual *ä* vowel superposes the irrealis *ra-* prefix which results in the form *rä-*. This is not the case for the imperatives and indicative inflected verbs. As we have seen in §5.3.3, restricted roots combine only with prefixes of the β, β2 and γ series. Most formatives of these series are composed of only a consonant (See Table 5.9 in §5.5.1.2). Only the 1SG.γ (*zu-*) and all formatives of the β2 series end in /u/, which resyllabifies as part of a complex onset (*zw-*) in the presence of *ä* or *a*. For example, the 1SG.γ *zu-* in (47) is followed by a zero. Therefore, the verb is inflected for dual. In (48), the 1SG.γ is followed by the non-dual *ä* vowel and the prefix changes into *zwä-*. Therefore, I analyse the distribution of the *ä* vowel as was shown above in Figure 5.10.

(47) *nzä nima* ***zukorth****: "be fafä zane nagayé fäth zä thamonegwé!"*

nzä	nima	zu-∅-kor-th	be	fafä
1SG.ABS	like.this	1SG.γ-DU-speak.RS-2|3NSG	2SG.ERG	after.this
		2|3DU:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/speak		

zane	nagayé	fäth zä	th-a-moneg-w-é	
DEM:PROX	children	DIM PROX	2|3NSG.β-VC-wait.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP	
			2SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:IMP:IPFV/wait	

'They (2) said to me: "You will look after these small children here later!"'

(tci20121019-04 ABB #97)

(48) *watik, naf* ***zwäkora****: "watik, nzone efoth fof zefafth."*

watik	naf	zu-ä-kor-a-∅	watik	nzone	efoth
then	3SG.ERG	1SG.γ-ND-speak.RS-PST-2|3SG	then	1SG.POSS	sun|day
		2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak			

fof	z-ä-faf-th
EMPH	M.γ-ND.VC-hold.RS-2|3NSG
	2|3NSG:SBJ:PST:PFV/hold

'Then she said to me: "Well, my days are over now."'

(tci20130911-03 MBR #76)

Pre-root duality marking co-occurs with the valency changing prefix *a-*. The resulting vowel pattern is summarized in the matrix in Figure 5.11, which shows that the non-dual *ä* vowel (i) replaces the *a-* prefix and (ii) that it patterns differently to the forms given so far. Compare Figure 5.10 above with Figure 5.11 below. Note that this neutralizes the valency changing *a-* for some of the

actor>undergoer combinations: PL>SG, SG>PL and PL>PL. For these combinations, it is only the case frame which identifies whether the undergoer argument is a direct object (ABS case) or an indirect object (DAT or POSS case).

		ACTOR		
		SG	DU	PL
UNDERGOER	SG	a	a	ä
	DU	a	a	a
	PL	ä	a	ä

Figure 5.11 The duality matrix with VC prefix

One exception is the combination of SG>SG. As we can see in Figure 5.11, this combination receives no *ä* vowel although both participants are non-dual. This pattern is regular for all persons. Thus, a PL>3SG would receive *ä*, whereas DU>3SG and SG>3SG would not receive it. For the last combination and all prefixing verbs with a 3SG this means that the valency change is neutralized and again only the case frame shows what type of undergoer is indexed. It is not neutralized for the other person values (SG>1SG, SG>2SG and 1SG, 2SG on prefixing verbs) precisely because SG>SG (and the SG in prefixing verbs) does not take *ä* but *a*.

Note that prefixing verbs with the valency changing prefix *a-* show a pattern where *ä* only occurs on a plural, while *a* occurs with a singular and dual participant. At least on the surface, this results in the binary opposition of plural vs. non-plural. In (49) below, the prefixing verb *rfiksi* 'grow' occurs in the inflected form *zarfif* 'sth. grew for/over it'. From the context, it is clear that the speaker is talking about the grass growing over the path. The verb encodes a feminine undergoer, which can only be interpreted as being the pathway (*moth*), because *yusi* 'grass' is masculine. A dual number of the undergoer would be *tharfif* and a plural *thärfif*. Thus, under several conditions (presence of valency change, prefixing template, restricted root), the duality marker marks an opposition between plural and non-plural.

(49) *gathagatha moth rä … z wrfrwake we ane* ***zarfif***.

gathagatha moth rä (.) z
bad path 3SG.FEM:COP:ND (.) ALR
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

w-rfr-w-a-k-e we ane
3SG.FEM.α-trim.EXT-ND-PST-LK-1NSG also DEM
1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/trim

z-a-rfif
3SG.FEM.γ-ND.VC-grow.RS
3SG.FEM:IO:RPST:PFV/grow

'This is a bad path. We cut it already, but (the grass) grew over it again.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #39-41)

Before I conclude this section on number marking, I want to look at the behaviour of the *ä* vowel when the irrealis prefix *ra-* and valency changing prefix *a-* come together. Since the irrealis prefix includes a vowel, the valency changing prefix is neutralized in most parts of the paradigm. For extended roots, this neutralization is complete, i.e. only the case frame indicates whether the undergoer argument is a direct object (ABS case) or an indirect object (DAT or POSS case). This will be further discussed in §6.2.2. For restricted roots, the valency changing prefix *a-* is likewise neutralized, but the number marking pattern differs in those actor>undergoer combinations which involve SG>SG (Figure 5.11). Consider the vowel contrast between (40) which was given above and (50) below. The participant combination is held constant: 3SG>1SG. In (40) we find the *ä* vowel, because it is ditransitive and the valency changing prefix *a-* is employed, but in (50) it is missing, because (40) is transitive and lacks the *a-* prefix. Compare (50) with (51) where the same verb *yarisi* 'give' shows the *ä* because the actor participant is plural.

(50) This is from a recording about food taboos which hold between a man and his sister-in-law.

nafane bärbärnzo keke ***kwrar.***

nafane bärbär=nzo keke kw-ra-r-∅
3SG.POSS half=ONLY NEG 1SG.β-IRR.ND.VC-give.RS-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:IRR:PFV/give

'She will not give me half of her (fish).'

(tci20120922-26 DAK #125)

(51) *nä kwot* ***kwrärth*** *fafä.*

nä kwot kw-rä-r-th fafä
some again 1SG.β-IRR.PL.VC-give.RS-2|3NSG after_that
2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:IO:IRR:PFV/give

'They might give me some more later.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #226)

We can conclude from the examples that the irrealis inflection complies with the number marking patterns as they were shown in Figure 5.11 above. The only difference lies in the fact that the irrealis prefix *ra-* creates neutralizations in more combinations (with regard to the valency change) because *ra-* contains a vowel. However, there is one important caveat to this conclusion. As I have pointed out in §5.4.4 and §5.4.6, there are some verbs which are deponent in the sense that they obligatorily take the *a-* without a change in the valency. Two examples are the transitive verb *fiyoksi* 'make' and intransitive/prefixing verb *yarenzsi* 'look'. Consequently we would expect them to comply with the pattern in Figure 5.11. Consider example (52) with a SG>SG participant combination and example (53) with its single referent in SG. Both show the *ä* non-dual vowel, i.e. they violate the pattern in Figure 5.11 which predicts the vowel to be *a* and not *ä*. This violation occurs only with deponent verbs and only in irrealis mood. The natural explanation is that, for deponent verbs, the distinction between the presence vs. absence of the valency changing prefix is redundant.

(52) *katan kwa* ***sräfiyothé****. kafar minzü yé.*

katan kwa s-rä-fiyoth-é kafar minzü
small FUT 3SG.MASC.β-IRR.ND.VC-make.RS-1SG big very
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/make
yé
3SG.MASC.COP.ND
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'I will make it smaller. It is very big.'

(tci20120914 RNA #41-42)

(53) *wati, we nima n* ***kwräzigrthm*** *"eh, ra gru zane ŋamitwanzr nabi tutin?"*

wati we nima n kw-rä-zigrthm eh ra
then also like_this PROS 1SG.β-IRR.ND.VC-look.RS eh what
1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/look
gru zane ŋ-a-mitwa-nzr-∅ nabi
shooting_star DEM.PROX M.α-VC-swing.EXT-ND-2|3SG bamboo
2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/swing
tuti=n
branch=LOC

'Then, I was about to look around like this: "Hey, what is this shooting star swinging on the bamboo branch?"'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #126-127)

Another observation relevant for all TAM categories with pre-root dual marking is the fact that the middle marker also obligatorily takes the valency changing prefix *a-*. Likewise, a verb in the middle template which indexes a singular participant does not pattern along the lines of Figure 5.11, and instead it employs the *ä* vowel. Again, this can only be explained by taking into account that there is no need to make a distinction between the presence vs. absence of the valency changing prefix, because it always occurs with the middle morpheme.

The patterning of *ä*, *a* and ∅ in the prefixes cannot be adequately captured by the traditional notion of a morpheme with a distinct meaning. It seems to be the case that the vowel change is employed only to mark a difference in meaning without being easily linked to a specific meaning. The vowel change or the *ä* vowel in the prefix can be glossed as a non-dual for only part of the paradigm. In other parts of the paradigm, the distribution is employed to maximize the possible grammatical categories that can be encoded. Thus, pre-root duality marking is much messier than post-root duality marking. Both show some ambiguities and neutralizations, and in both cases the duality marker has to be integrated with the singular vs. non-singular opposition of the person affixes. But at the same time, pre-root dual marking is sensitive to more grammatical categories and shows more idiosyncrasies.

5.6 Deixis and directionality

Komnzo verbs may be inflected for deixis and directionality. Deictic inflection comprises the values of proximal, medial, distal and interrogative. Directionality comprises a venitive ('hither') and an andative ('thither') category. Both deixis and directionality operate from a situationally bounded deictic center, which is usually the speaker, but may be extended to cover a particular character or place in a narrative, or a point in time. Morphologically, both sets are simple in that there is a one-to-one mapping between form and function.

5.6.1 The directional affixes *n-* and *-o*

Directional inflection takes place in two slots on the verb: the venitive prefix *n-* precedes the verb root, while the andative suffix *-o* occurs in the second last slot on the verb preceding the person/number suffixes. Although morphologically possible, the two morphemes may not co-occur, i.e. a verb is marked either venitive or andative. In other Yam languages, the two morphemes share one slot in the verb template, for example in Nen (Evans, 2015a). I have described in §5.5.1.1 how the presence of the andative suffix can lead to the neutralization of the person value in the actor suffix. Example (35) in that section provided a text example of this neutralization.

The use of directional marking is shown below in example (54). The sentence concludes a mythical story which explains why two particular clans do not intermarry, but instead 'help each other out' with girls to be exchanged with other groups. The speaker assumes the position of one of the two clans, both spatially as well as in terms of kin relations. The verb *yarisi* 'give' is then marked with an andative in the first clause ('give away') and a venitive ('give towards') in the second clause. Additionally, both clauses contain a deictic in ablative case (*zba* 'from here', *boba* 'from there').

(54) *zba nezä* ***ärithroth*** *fäms ŋarer. boba nezä* ***änrithrth*** *fäms ŋarer*

zba nezä e-a-ri-thr-o-th fäms
PROX.ABL in.return 2|3NSG.α-VC-give.EXT-ND-ANDAT-NSG exchange
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/give
ŋare=r boba nezä
woman=PURP MED.ABL in return

e-a-n-ri-thr-th fäms ŋare=r
2|3NSG.α-VC-VENIT-give.EXT-ND-2|3NSG exchange woman=PURP
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/give

'From here, they give them girls to exchange. In return, they give them girls to exchange from there.'

(tci20110802 ABB #159-161)

The directional affixes can be used with dynamic events as in (54) or with stative verbs as in (55), which is taken from the description of a picture card. The image depicts an older man who is standing in the background watching what is happening. The venitive inflection on 'stand' refers to the direction of his posture, i.e. he is standing facing towards the deictic centre.

(55) *wotukarä ane* ***ynkogr****. sinzo foba* ***ynrä****.*

wotu=karä ane y-n-kogr si=nzo foba
stick=PROP DEM 3SG.MASC.α-VENIT-stand.ND eye=ONLY DIST:ABL
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/stand
y-n-rä
3SG.MASC.α-VENIT-COP.ND
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/be

'He stands there with his walking stick and he is just looking from there.'

(tci20111004 RMA #253)

The copula may receive a directional inflection, giving the interpretation of 'come' (55) and 'go' (56), literally translated as 'be hither' and 'be thither'.

(56) *watik, teacher zwäkor "keke kayé kwa **nrno**."*

watik teacher zu-ä-kor-∅ keke kayé kwa
then teacher 1SG:γ-ND-speak.RS-2|3SG NEG tomorrow FUT
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/speak
n-rn-o
1NSG:α-COP.DU-ANDAT
1DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/be

'Then, the teacher said to me: "No, we will go tomorrow."'

(tci20130823-06 STK #67-68)

The spatial semantics of directional inflection can be extended to cover metaphorical uses. Example (57) shows a temporal use where the speaker explains the old custom of tying a bowstring. Thus, he literally says that he 'follows the custom hither'. Example (58) is a description of a very old woman, who has outlived some of her own children. The speaker uses the andative inflection on the verb *yathizsi* 'die' which is best translated to English as 'pass away'.

(57) *nzenme bada nimame zf ŋatr thuzirakwrmth. watik, ni ane **wänbragwre** zenathamar.*

nzenme bada nima=me zf ŋatr
1NSG.POSS ancestor like.this=INS IMM bowstring

thu-zirak-wr-m-th watik ni ane
2|3NSG.β1-tie.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG then 1NSG DEM
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/tie
w-a-n-brag-wr-e zena=thamar
3SG.FEM.α-VC-VENIT-follow.EXT-ND-1NSG today=TEMP.ALL
1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/follow

'Our ancestors where tying the bowstring this way. We have been following (this custom) until today.'

(tci20130914-01 KAB #1-3)

(58) *nagayé nafanemäwä nä z **äthizrako**.*

nagayé nafane=ma=wä nä z
children 3SG.POSS=CHAR=EMPH some ALR

e-a-thiz-r-a-k-o
2|3NSG.α-VC-die.EXT-ND-PST-LK-ANDAT
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:ANDAT/die

'Some of her own children have already passed away.'

(tci20120922-22 DAK #54)

5.6.2 The deictic clitics *z*=, *b*=, *f*= and *m*=

Deictics include the three categories proximal *z*=, medial *b*= and distal *f*=. Additionally, there is an interrogative form *m*= which behaves slightly different. These morphemes are analyzed as proclitics because they (i) attach to the outer layer of the verb, (ii) are not assigned stress (if they create an initial syllable through epenthesis) and (iii) are reduced forms of the demonstratives. In §3.1.11.3 and §3.5 I have labelled these clitic demonstratives.

Clitics demonstratives are always used situationally in order to point, direct or show the location of an event or a referent in relation to the deictic center. Example (59)[34] comes from a narrative. The deictic center of that part of the story is a man who sits in his camp and happens to hear someone shouting from the river. Note that both verbs ('hear' and 'shout') are inflected with a venitive marker. Thus, we can translate the second verb *byannor*, to which the medial clitic demonstrative (*b*= MED) is attached, as 'He shouts there towards here'.

(59) *nafafämsf srenkaris "oh, kabe* ***byannor*** *gardar."*

nafa-fäms=f
3.POSS-exchange.man=ERG.SG

s-rä-n-karis-∅ oh kabe
3SG.MASC.β-IRR.ND-VENIT-hear.RS-2|3SG oh man
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/hear
b=y-a-n-nor garda=r
MED=3SG.MASC.α-VC-VENIT-shout.EXT.ND canoe=PURP
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/shout

'His exchange man heard him (and said:) "Oh, there is a man calling out for the canoe."'

(tci20111119-01 ABB #68)

If the inflected verb is vowel initial or begins in a glide (only some formatives of the α series), the clitic demonstrative simply attaches as an onset, for example in (60)[35] or (62) below. Elsewhere, an initial syllable is created through epenthesis, as in (59) and (61).

[34]The verb *-nor* 'shout' is deponent and takes the valency changing *a*- prefix without an impact on the argument structure

[35]The verb *msaksi* 'sit|dwell' is deponent and takes the valency changing *a*- prefix without an impact on the argument structure

(60) *frükakmenzo nzwamnzrm. ane mrn* ***fämnzr****. ane mrn* ***fämnzr****. ane mrn* ***fämnzr****.*

frükakmenzo nzwamnzrm ane mrn
alone-DISTR=INS=ONLY 1NSG.β2-VC-sit.EXT-ND-DUR 3x[ane mrn
1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/sit 3x[DEM clan

f=e-a-m-nzr]
DIST=2|3NSG.α-VC-sit.EXT-ND]
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit

'We used to live in groups. One clan lives over there, one clan lives over there and one clan lives over there.'

(tci20120922-08 DAK #114-117)

(61) *ane bä* ***bkwaruthrmth*** *büdisnen mnz znen*

ane bä b=kw-a-ru-thr-m-th büdisn=en
DEM MED MED=M.β1-VC-bark.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG PLACE.N=LOC
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/bark

mnz zn=en
house place=LOC

'Those (dogs) were barking there in Büdisn at the house.'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #95)

Clitic demonstratives are found most frequently attached to the copula which then follows the main verb of a clause. In the discussion of demonstratives, I have labelled this construction demonstrative identifier (See §3.1.11.3). In (62), the speaker points to another person cutting off the branches of a tree. Note that the deictic value (MED) is held constant on the demonstrative pronoun *bäne*, the clitic demonstrative on *rtmaksi* 'cut' and the demonstrative identifier *byé*.

(62) *nima* ***bäne birtmakwr byé****.*

nima bäne b=y-rtmak-wr-∅
like.this DEM:MED MED=3SG.MASC.α-cut.EXT-ND-2|3SG
MED=2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST.IPFV/cut

b=yé
MED=3SG.MASC.COP.ND
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'She cuts off that one there.'

(tci20130907-02 JAA #441)

I choose the label demonstrative identifier for the whole construction (clitic demonstrative plus copula), because the copula is inert to tense marking, i.e. it always occurs in non-past. In example (63), the speaker took me to a place on the riverbank which used to be a 'story place' a long time ago. Story places are always inhabited by spiritual beings and, therefore, they must not be disturbed by people. The verbs *rafisi* 'paddle' and *yak* 'walk, go' are in past tense and only the copula is in non-past.

(63) *gardame fthé kwarafinzrmth, boba wozinzo thfiyakm* ***berä****.*

garda=me	fthé	kw-a-rafi-nzr-m-th		boba
canoe=INS	when	M.β1-VC-paddle.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG		MED.ABL
		2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/paddle		
wozi=nzo	thf-yak-m		b=e-rä	
side=ONLY	2|3NSG.β2-walk.EXT-DUR		MED=2|3NSG.α-COP.ND	
	2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/walk		MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be	

'When paddling with the canoe, they only went there on the side there.'

(tci20120922-19 DAK #8)

Naturally, deictic markers are found mostly in situations where visual identification is important. Example (64) is taken from a plant walk where the speaker points out two different kinds of trees: *mni bäwzö* and *fothr* (sometimes called *fothr bäwzö*).[36] In the recording, *fothr bäwzö* trees stood between the speaker and some *mni bäwzö* trees. Hence, the latter are marked as being further away and all deictic markers are medial: the deictic (*bä* 'there'), the proclitic on the verb (*bikogro* 'it stands there') and the deictic in ablative case (*bobafa* 'from there'). Note that the verb is also inflected with an andative because more trees of the *mni bäwzö* kind were growing in that direction. As for the other tree, *fothr bäwzö*, it is marked by a proximal deictic (*zä* 'here'), a proximal demonstrative identifier (*zyé* 'it is here') and another proximal deictic in ablative case (*zbafa* 'from here').[37]

(64) ***bä*** *ane mni bäwzö* ***bikogro****.* ***zä*** *yé* ***zyé*** *fothr* ***zbafa****.* ***bobafa*** *mni bäwzö.*

bä	ane	mni bäwzö	b=y-kogr-o		zä
MED	DEM	fire PROP.N	MED=3SG.MASC.α-stand.ND-ANDAT		PROX
			MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/stand		

[36]The words *bäwzö* and *fothr* are proper nouns. However, *mni* means 'fire' and the name *mni bäwzö* 'fire bäwzö' is used because the bark of this tree is hardened over the fire and later used for house walls.

[37]Both deictics *bobafa* and *zbafa* are doubly ablative, i.e. *boba* is already ablative and contrasts with allative *bobo*. This is the only example in the corpus of doubly marked deictics.

yé z=yé fothr
3SG.MASC.COP.ND PROX=3SG.MASC.COP.ND PROP.N
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
zba=fa boba=fa mni bäwzö
PROX.ABL=ABL MED.ABL=ABL fire PROP.N

'There, *mni bäwzö* is standing there. From here it is *fothr bäwzö* and from there (it is) *mni bäwzö*.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #166-168)

The three proclitics *z=*, *b=* and *f=* can in principle attach to verb forms of all TAM categories. For example in (61), the medial *b=* is cliticized to a verb in past durative. Nevertheless, they occur most frequently with verbs in present tense because of their situational use.

The clitic *m=* only occurs with the copula and the meaning 'where is X?' as in (65). As I will discuss in §6.3, *m=* can attach to verbs in irrealis or imperative mood with an apprehensive ('you might do X!') and prohibitve interpretation ('you must not do X!') respectively. Formally, the *m=* clitic patterns with the other demonstratives (See Table 3.7 in §3.1.11).

(65) ***mern**? ni wmägne zöbthé.*

m=e-rn ni w-mäg-n-e
where=2|3NSG.α-COP.DU 1NSG 3SG.FEM.α-lead.EXT-DU-1NSG
where=2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be 1DU:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/lead
zöbthé
first

'Where are they? We will lead (the path) first.'

(tci20130907-02 JAA #12)

5.7 Polarity

Negation in Komnzo is expressed periphrastically. Thus, it is not part of morphology proper, but I discuss it here nevertheless. The negators are *keke* (66) and *kyo* (67), both of which normally occur in preverbal position. The latter is used only by some of the older speakers. Example (66) comes from a story about the speaker's father's generation. Example (67) is taken from a conversation about food taboos.

(66) *tüfr kabe* ***keke*** *thfrärm.*

tüfr kabe keke thf-rär-m
plenty people NEG 2|3NSG.β2-COP.ND-DUR
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'They were not many people.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #517)

(67) ***kyo*** *kwa nr kabeyé thranathrth ... nima evanaŋame brä*

kyo kwa nr kabe=yé th-ra-na-thr-th (.)
NEG FUT belly people=ERG.NSG 2|3NSG.β-IRR-eat.EXT-ND-2|3NSG (.)
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/speak
nima evan-a-ŋame b=rä
like.this PERS.N-POSS-mother MED=3SG.FEM.COP.ND
MED=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'The pregnant people will not eat them ... like Ivan's mother there.'

(tci20120922-26 MAB #38)

I was told that the teachers in the mission school during the 1960's discouraged their students from using *kyo* [kə̆jo] because 'it is a bad word'. At the time, the teachers were Motu speakers and the language of instruction was also Motu. In Motu, the word *kio* [kijo] means 'vagina'. We can only hypothesize that the teachers of the mission school enacted pressure strong enough to replace the word for 'no' with a different word whose origin is thus far unknown.

There are other strategies for expressing negation in Komnzo. The indefinite demonstrative can be used to express the concepts 'not at all', 'nothing' or 'no one' (§3.1.10). There is a prohibitive construction ('you must not do X!') described in §6.3.2. Furthermore, the privative case (=*mär*) can attach to nominals to express 'without X' (§4.14).

Chapter 6

Tense, Aspect and Mood

6.1 Introduction

Tense, aspect and mood is the most complex set of grammatical categories in the verb inflection, both in the way the categories are encoded and in the number of distinctions that can be expressed. Morphologically, there are 18 categories, which may be additionally supplemented by a set of TAM particles. There are four morphological tense values (non-past, immediate past, recent past and past), four aspect values (perfective, imperfective, durative and iterative) and three mood values (indicative, imperative and irrealis).

I will begin this section with an overview of the morphological material that is involved in TAM inflection. Most of these building blocks and the idiosyncrasies in their behaviour have been addressed in the preceding chapter and I will refer to these sections where appropriate. In the following, I will focus on the combinatorics of the morphemes and roots, the impact of clitics and particles and the semantics of the resulting TAM categories. Aspect in Komnzo can at best be somewhat misleadingly captured with the traditional definition of perfective versus imperfective which is often based on the completion of an event. Although I employ these labels, it shall be stressed that the perfective focusses more on the left edge of the event (inceptive) or expresses a momentaneous quality (punctual). With that in mind, I defer the discussion of the semantics of TAM to the end of this chapter.

6.2 The combinatorics of TAM

The most basic element of TAM inflection is the distinction between an extended (EXT) and a restricted root (RS). Both types are attested for almost every verb lexeme (§5.3). EXT and RS roots differ in their templates with respect to dual marking (§5.3.2) and in the possible combinations with the five prefix series α,

β, β1, β2 and γ (§5.3.3). In addition to the five series, the irrealis prefix *ra-* and the immediate past proclitic *n=* are involved in TAM marking. The suffixal material includes a past suffix (*-a*) and a durative suffix (*-m*) and a special actor suffix series for the imperatives. Table 6.1 gives a full overview of the TAM categories and the way these are built up from the listed morphological material. An important distinction in the verb template, not expressed in Table 6.1, is the difference between post-root dual marking with EXT roots and pre-root dual marking with RS roots. This was described in detail in §5.5.3.

The combinations in Table 6.1 illustrate a feature of Komnzo morphology that reverberates throughout the verb inflection: the distribution of exponents. In other words, a grammatical category is encoded and manipulated by morphemes that are scattered across the verb template. On the flip side of this phenomenon, most formatives lack a clear grammatical meaning or have multiple grammatical functions depending on their context. Thus, they have to be glossed in an abstract manner. However, there are degrees of morpheme underspecification. For example, two morphemes in Table 6.1 can be assigned an unambiguous grammatical meaning. These are the irrealis prefix *ra-* and the past suffix *-a*. The *-a* formative only occurs in past tense inflections. Hence, the label 'past' is a sufficient description of the *-a* suffix, but the suffix is insufficient for the grammatical category 'past tense' because other morphemes like the prefix series are required to form a past tense. A second group of morphemes is underspecified in the following way: they fulfill several functions, either simultaneously or in different morphological contexts. For example, the durative suffix *-m* encodes durative aspect, but it also 'pushes back' the tense value. Thus, when suffixed to a non-past (imperfective), it will produce a recent-past (durative) and when it is suffixed to a recent-past (imperfective), it will produce a past (durative). Thus, we could label it durative/backshifting suffix. However, the *-m* suffix also 'pushes forward' the tense value in the imperatives, where it produces a delayed imperative ('do X a little later') and duration is not part of its meaning. Furthermore, the *-m* suffix may occur with perfectives as a means of backgrounding an event, again without encoding duration. Thus, the choice of the glossing label 'durative' (DUR) for the *-m* suffix is somewhat arbitrary and we could equally label it 'tense shifting' or 'background' morpheme. For a third group of morphemes, especially the five prefix series, all attempts to assign them a grammatical meaning is rendered futile and we have to draw on abstract labels like α, β and γ.

Not all logically possible combinations of morphs are grammatically acceptable. For example, the α and γ prefix series only combine with EXT and RS roots respectively, but not vice versa. Likewise, the past suffix *-a* and the durative suffix *-m* are mutually exclusive and a verb form with both is rejected as ungrammatical. Third, the irrealis prefix *ra-* only combines with the β prefixes and not with the other prefix series. Lastly, the immediate past clitic *n=* can only

Table 6.1 The combinatorics TAM marking

TAM value			clitic *n=*	prefix series α, β, β1, β2, γ	IRR prefix *ra-*	root type EXT RS	TAM suffix PST (*-a*) DUR (*-m*)	IMPERATIVE suffix IMP/2SG.IMP (*-é*) 2NSG.IMP *-e*
non-past	imperfective	indicative		α		EXT		
immediate-past	imperfective	indicative	*n=*	α		EXT		
immediate-past	durative	indicative	*n=*	α		EXT	*-m*	
recent-past	imperfective	indicative		β1 or β2		EXT		
recent-past	durative	indicative		α		EXT	*-m*	
recent-past	perfective	indicative		γ		RS		
past	imperfective	indicative		α		EXT	*-a*	
past	durative	indicative		β1 or β2		EXT	*-m*	
past	perfective	indicative		γ		RS	*-a*	
past	iterative	indicative		β1 or β2		RS		
past	iterative/durative	indicative		β1 or β2		RS	*-m*	
n/a	imperfective	irrealis		β	*ra-*	EXT		
n/a	durative	irrealis		β	*ra-*	EXT	*-m*	
n/a	perfective	irrealis		β	*ra-*	RS		
n/a	imperfective	imperative		β		EXT		IMP
n/a	perfective	imperative		β		RS		IMP
n/a (delayed)	imperfective	imperative		β		EXT	*-m*	IMP
n/a (delayed)	perfective	imperative		β		RS	*-m*	IMP

attach to a verb form which employs the α prefix series, not to the other combinations. We can conclude from this observation that the combinatorial space is not fully exhausted, i.e. not all logically possible combinations of the morphological material are actually employed. Such a system is to not surprising because all natural languages evolve incrementally without an overall design. What is remarkable about Komnzo in specific and the Yam languages in general is the fact that so many combinations are employed. In other words, the genius of the verb morphology lies in its extensive exploitation of combinations.

In the following section, I will describe the functions and some of the distributional characteristics of the morphemes in Table 6.1.

6.2.1 The prefix series α, β, β1, β2 and γ

The five prefix series α, β, β1, β2, γ were briefly addressed in §5.5.1.2. The table from page 247 is reproduced here as Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 TAM prefixes

gloss	α-series	β-series	β1-series	β2-series	γ-series
1SG	*wo-*	*kw-*	*ku-*	*kwof-*	*zu-*
1NSG	*n-*	*nz- / nzn-*	*nzu-*	*nzf-*	*nzn-*
2SG	*n-*	*nz- / gn-*	*gu-*	*gf-*	*nzn-*
3SG.FEM	*w-*	*z-*	*zu-*	*zf-*	*z-*
3SG.MASC	*y-*	*s-*	*su-*	*sf-*	*s-*
2|3NSG	*e-*	*th-*	*thu-*	*thf-*	*th-*
M	*ŋ-*	*k-*	*kw-*	*kf-*	*z-*

The α prefixes combine only with the extended root. They are used to encode non-past (1), recent past durative (2) and past imperfective (3). Example (1) comes from a hunting story, where the narrator meets a spiritual being in the forest. In (2), the speaker reports an incident from a neighboring village involving a young boy who was attacked by a sorcerer in his yam garden. Example (3), is from an interview about the customs around the sister-exchange marriage system.

(1) *"nzä maf* ***wonrsoknwr****?"*

nzä maf wo-n-rsokn-wr-∅
1SG.ABS who.ERG 1SG.α-VENIT-bother.EXT-ND-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/bother

"'Who bothers me here?"'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #165)

(2) *fthé zöfthamen zamatho frk komnzo zä* ***wtnägwrmo****.*

fthé zöftha=thamen z-a-math-o-∅ frk komnzo
when first=TEMP.LOC M.γ-ND-run.RS-ANDAT-2|3SG blood only
2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV:ANDAT/run
zä w-tnäg-wr-m-o-∅
PROX 3SG.FEM.α-lose.EXT-ND-DUR-ANDAT
SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:DUR:ANDAT/lose

'At first, when he started to run, he was just losing blood here.'

(tci20130901-02 YUK #40)

(3) *nzun etha nzüthamöwä* ***warnzürwrath*** *wath.*

nzun etha nzüthamöwä wo-a-rnzür-wr-a-th wath
1SG.DAT three times 1SG.α-VC-dance.EXT-ND-PST-2|3NSG dance
2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:IO:PST:IPFV/dance

'They danced three times for me.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #769)

If the proclitic *n*= is attached to a verb employing the α prefixes, the resulting inflection is either immediate past imperfective (4) or immediate past durative (5) depending on suffixal material. In other words, the immediate past is built from verbs inflected for non-past. This is preserved in the integrated glossing style, because the *n*= is analyzed as a clitic. The *n*= is related to the imminent particle *n* (§6.3.1). Example (4) sums up a story about the origin of the Morehead people. In (5), the speaker talks about competitive yam cultivation and how older people assess a young man's status by the number and size of his crop.

(4) *trikasi mane* ***nŋatrikwé*** *fof … ŋafynm … badafa ane fof ŋanritakwa fof.*

trik-si mane n=ŋ-a-trik-w-é fof (.)
tell-NMLZ which IPST=M.α-VC-tell.EXT-ND-1SG EMPH (.)
IPST=1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell
ŋafe=nm (.) bada=fa ane fof
father=DAT.NSG (.) ancestor=ABL DEM EMPH

ŋ-a-n-ritak-w-a-∅ fof
M.α-VC-VENIT-pass.EXT-ND-PST-SG EMPH
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/pass

'The story which I have just told passed from the ancestors to (our) fathers.'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #403-405)

(5) *fthé bone kafarwä* ***nefathwrmth*** *"eh yabun zane!" wtrikaräsü we gnrärm*

fthé bone kafar=wä n=e-fath-wr-m-th
when 2SG.POSS big=EMPH IPST=2|3NSG.α-hold.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG
IPST=2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:DUR/hold
eh yabun zane wtri=karä=sü we gn-rä-r-m
eh big DEM:PROX fear=PROP=ETC also 2SG.β-COP-ND-DUR
2SG:SBJ:FUTIMP:IPFV/be

'When they have just held your big (yam tubers) and say: "Hey, that (is) a big one!" then you have to be afraid!'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #378-380)

The β series is split into a basic series β and two related series β1 and β2. The basic β series is used for all the non-tensed categories like the irrealis (6) and the imperatives (7). Example (6) comes from a procedural text about fish baskets and the speaker explains how the fish gets trapped inside. In (7), the narrator took over the role of a character in a stimulus picture task.

(6) *watik, fthé* ***kranbrigwrth*** *keke kwa zba we* ***krämätroth****.*

watik fthé k-ra-n-brig-wr-th keke kwa
then when M.β-IRR.VC-VENIT-return.EXT-ND-2|3NSG NEG FUT
2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:IPFV:VENIT/return
zba we k-rä-mätr-o-th
PROX.ABL also M.β-IRR.VC.ND-exit.RS-ANDAT-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV:ANDAT/exit

'Well, when they turn around, they will not escape from here.'

(tci20120906 SKK #45)

(7) *"bné* ***käznobe!*** *nzä keke miyo worä."*

bné k-ä-znob-e nzä keke miyo
2NSG.ERG M.β-ND.VC-drink.RS-2NSG.IMP 1SG.ABS NEG desire
2PL:SBJ:IMP:PFV/drink
wo-rä
1SG.α-COP.ND
1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

"'You drink! I don't want to."'

(tci20111004 RMA #282)

Table 6.2 shows that there are two formatives for the first non-singular (*nz-* and *nzn-*) as well as the second singular (*nz-* and *gn-*) of the β series. For the first person non-singular, *nz-* is used for irrealis (8) and *nzn-* for the imperatives (9).

In example (8), the speaker explains how a kundu drum is carved and prepared. Example (9), is taken from a conversation by the fire that involved a lot of hearsay. In conclusion, the speaker tells the two addressees to go to Morehead and clarify the rumours.

(8) *fiyafr* ***nzrayak*** *tauri woku thoraksir.*

fiyaf=r nz-ra-yak tauri woku
hunting=PURP 1NSG.β-IRR-walk.EXT.ND wallaby skin
1PL:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/walk
thorak-si=r
search-NMLZ=PURP

'We will go hunting and search for wallaby skin.'

(tci20120824 KAA #64)

(9) *kanbrime! ... aneme nzenm* ***nznatrife!***

k-a-n-brim-e (.) ane=me nzenm
M.β-VC.DU-VENIT-return.RS-2NSG.IMP (.) DEM=INS 1NSG.DAT
2DU:SBJ:IMP:PFV:VENIT/return
nzn-a-trif-e
1NSG.β-VC.DU-tell.RS-2NSG.IMP
2DU:SBJ>1DU:OBJ:IMP:PFV/tell

'You come back and tell us about it!'

(tci20130901-02 RNA #162)

For the second singular, the situation is more complicated. The *gn-* formative is used for the imperatives of prefixing verbs, where the prefix encodes imperative mood and the addressee simultanously (10). The second non-singular prefix is *th-* for all inflections that involve the β series. Note that, for ambifixing verbs in the imperative, there is no overt marking of second person in the prefix because it would be reflexive ('X yourself!') or auto-benefactive ('X for yourself!'). As pointed out in §5.4.5, reflexives and auto-benefactives are expressed in a middle template. Hence, the first verb in example (9) above, could be translated as a reflexive ('return yourselves!').

(10) *ezi* ***gnyako!***

ezi gn-yak-o
morning 2SG.β.IMP-walk.EXT.ND-ANDAT
2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV:ANDAT/walk

'You go there in the morning!'

(tci20120906 MAB #31)

The second formative for the second singular in Table 6.2 (*nz-*) is used for irrealis inflection of prefixing and ambifixing verbs. Interestingly, only the second person singular of ambifixing verbs does not employ the irrealis prefix *ra-* in the irrealis inflection (11). If it is a prefixing verb, the irrealis prefix *ra-* is employed (12)[1] Example (11) is taken from a procedural text in which the speaker shows me how to manufacture two children's toys. In (12), the malignant protagonist invites a stranger to stay with her.

(11) *gräthé znsä rä ... thrma* ***nzasämiré*** *bun*

grä-thé znsä rä (.) thrma
slow-ADJZR work 3SG.FEM.COP.ND (.) later
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
nz-a-sämir-é bun
2SG.β-VC.ND-whisper.RS-1SG 2SG.DAT
1SG:SBJ>2SG:IO:IRR:PFV/whisper

'It is easy work ... I will teach you later.'

(tci20120914 RNA #50-51)

(12) *nima zrázigrm "awe nzone moba* ***nzranyak****?"*

nima z-rä-zigr-m awe nzone
like_this 3SG.FEM.β-IRR.VC.ND-look.around.RS-DUR come 1SG.POSS
3SG.FEM:SBJ:IRR:PFV/look.around
moba nz-ra-n-yak
where.ABL 2SG.β-IRR.VC-VENIT-walk.EXT.ND
2SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV:VENIT/walk

'She looks around like this (and says) "Come my friend! Where are you coming from?"'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #74)

The β1 and β2 series are used for recent past imperfective (13), past durative (first verb in 14) and past iterative (second verb in 14). In example (14), the speaker talks about his experiences at the Rouku mission school in the 1960's.

(13) *kayé ama zuzir* ***zfyak****.*

kayé ama zuzi=r zf-yak
yesterday mother fishing=PURP 3SG.FEM.β2-walk.EXT.ND
3SG.FEM:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/walk

[1]Both verbs in this example are deponent employing the valency changing prefix *a-* without a change in the valency pattern. The second verb *yak* 'walk' is only deponent when it employs the venitive marker meaning 'come', not when it is neutral or andative 'walk', 'go away'

'Yesterday, mother went fishing.'

(tci20111107-03 RNA #40)

(14) *teste* ***nzwasäminzrm*** *bobomr kwarikwari efoth ... sokoro* ***kfäbth***

teste nzu-a-sämi-nzr-m-∅ bobomr kwarikwari
thursday 1NSG.β1-VC-whisper.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3SG until midday
2|3SG:SBJ>1PL:IO:PST:DUR/teach
efoth (.) sokoro kf-ä-bth-∅
sun (.) school M.β2-VC.ND-finish.RS-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:ITER/finish

'On Thursday, he was teaching us until midday and then school always ended (for the week).'

(tci20120904-02 MAB #14)

These two prefix series are derived from the β series by adding an element to it. For β1, it is the vowel *u* and, for β2, this is the consonant *f*. The only exceptions are the first person and the second person singular formatives (Compare Table 6.2 above). In a different analysis, the *u* and *f* elements could be described as separate morphemes. Like the prefixes, these two morphemes would have to receive an abstract label. Such an analysis would reduce the number of prefix series to three. Under the current analysis, there are three main series and two subseries. I retain the current analysis, but I do not see either as being more elegant or more parsimonious. More important is the question regarding the difference between β1 and β2 which for the moment is unsettled. I will briefly discuss two possible explanations.

First, the difference might be understood in terms of sociolinguistic variation, i.e. the use of either variant is determined by an individual's linguistic biography. Although all Komnzo speakers are multilingual, the strongest influence comes from two close varieties, namely Wära and Anta. In my preliminary survey of the surrounding varieties, I found that β1 and β2 exist in Wära as well as Anta. My impressionistic view is that the β2 prefix series occurs much more frequently than β1. More comparative work and documentation on both varieties is needed.

A second explanation is a true difference in meaning. Although β1 and β2 are almost always interchangeable without a clear change in meaning, there are some hints. For example, the copula can only take β2 and not β1 and the same is true for the verb *yak* 'walk' (13). Only when the copula is used in an ambifixing template, are both β1 and β2 possible. However, in an ambifixing template the copula cannot be translated as 'be', but instead functions as a light verb with the meaning 'do'. For other verbs, β1 and β2 are interchangeable. This observation

leads me to believe that the β2 prefixes encode either a longer duration of the event or a greater degree of affectedness of the participants. However, targeted elicitation and close observation of natural texts did not lead to a clear pattern along these lines. Informants found it hard to give a characterisation or translation of the difference and they often contradicted each other or themselves. I will leave this question open for now for future research.

The γ prefixes are used for the perfectives: the recent past perfective (15) and the past perfective (16). Example (15) comes from a spontaneous conversation in the yam garden when a friend happened to pass by on his bicycle. Example (16) describes a dance that took place in the nearby settlement of Forzitho.

(15) *watik, zä zf* ***zamse*** *bä* ***nznäthor****.*

watik	zä	zf	z-a-ms-e	bä	nzn-ä-thor
then	PROX	IMM	M.γ-VC.DU-sit.RS-1NSG	2SG	2SG.γ-ND-arrive.RS
			1DU:SBJ:RPST:PFV/sit		2SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/arrive

'Then, we two sat down and you arrived.'

(tci20130823-06 CAM #31)

(16) *wati, mane änyaka forzitho wath* ***sathaifath****.*

wati	mane	e-a-n-yak-a	forzitho	wath
then	which	2|3NSG.α-VC-VENIT-walk.EXT.ND-PST	PLACE.N	dance
		2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/walk		

s-a-thayf-a-th
3SG.MASC.γ-ND-bring.out.RS-PST-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/bring.out

'Well, those who came to Forzitho brought the dance out (to the village square).'

(tci20210909-06 KAB #25)

6.2.2 The irrealis prefix *ra-*

The irrealis prefix *ra-* is used for the imperfective, perfective and durative irrealis inflections. We have seen examples of all three aspect values in (11) and (12). Example (11) showed that the only place in the paradigm where the irrealis prefix *ra-* is not used is the second person singular of an ambifixing verb.

The interaction of the irrealis prefix with the valency changing prefix *a-* and pre-root dual marking was explained in §5.5.3.4. In that section, I pointed out that the irrealis prefix *ra-* overrides the valency changing prefix *a-* to the effect that the absence versus presence of the valency changing prefix is neutralized.

For verb forms which employ the extended root, this neutralization is complete. For verb forms which employ the restricted root, there are small changes in the pre-root duality marking pattern. Compare §5.5.3.4. In these cases, only the case frame indicates whether the undergoer argument is a direct object, the ABS case on *szsi* 'calling' in (17), or an indirect object, the DAT case on *ŋatha* in (18). Both examples are taken from the same hunting story in which the narrator talks about his usual routines when going on a hunting expedition.

(17) *ŋathar foba* ***szsi threthkäfé***

ŋatha=r	foba	sz-si	th-rä-thkäf-é
dog=PURP	DIST.ABL	call.out-NMLZ	2|3NSG.β-IRR.ND-start.RS-1SG
			1SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start

'From there, I started calling out for the dogs.'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #63)

(18) *watik wamnza* ***ŋathanm*** *biskar mni* ***threthkäfé***

watik	wo-a-m-nz-a	ŋatha=nm	biskar	mni
then	1SG.α-VC-sit.EXT-ND-PST	dog=DAT.NSG	cassawa	fire
	1SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/sit			
th-rä-thkäf-é				
2|3NSG.β-IRR.ND-start.RS-1SG				
1SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start				

'Then I sat and started to cook the cassava for the dogs.'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #73)

6.2.3 The past suffix -*a*

The position of the past suffix -*a* within the suffixing subsystem was described in §5.5.1.1. The past suffix -*a* is employed for two TAM categories: the past imperfective (19) and the past perfective (20). Example (19) is taken from a text on oral history of the Morehead district. The narrator talks about conficts caused by an alleged sorcerer in the 1940's. The second example (20) comes from much more recent event. A woman talks about camping at the Morehead river and going fishing only a week before the recording was made.

(19) *watik gathagatha zokwasi fä* ***ykonath****.*

watik	gathagatha	zokwasi	fä	y-ko-n-a-th
then	bad	words	DIST	3SG.MASC.α-speak.EXT-DU-2|3NSG
				2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/speak

'Then, they cursed him there.'

(tci20131013-02 ABB #102)

(20) ***zukorath*** *"mama, bä bana ketharuf! zuzi käzir!"*

zu-∅-kor-a-th mama bä bana
1SG.γ-DU-speak.RS-PST-2|3NSG mother 2SG poor
2|3DU:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak
k-ä-tharuf-∅ zuzi k-ä-zir-∅
M.β-VC.ND-enter.RS-2SG.IMP fishing.line M.β-VC.ND-throw.RS-2SG.IMP
2SG.SBJ:IMP:PFV/enter 2SG.SBJ:IMP:PFV/throw

'They said to me: "Mama, get on (the canoe) and throw the fishing line!"'

(tci20120922-25 ALK #7-8)

6.2.4 The durative suffix *-m*

The durative suffix *-m* was briefly addressed in §5.5.1.1 with regard to its position in the suffixing subsystem. It is employed for durative aspect which expresses an ongoing event in immediate past[2], recent past (21), past (22) and irrealis (23). In example (21), the speaker reports on how he fought a bushfire in his garden the preceding day. Example (22) is taken from a story about rain-making magic which the narrator acquired and practiced in his youth. The irrealis example (23) is taken from a conversation about local customs surrounding the sister-exchange system.

(21) *wthzak zane* ***ŋanrsirwrmth***

wthzak zane ŋ-a-n-rsir-wr-m-th
sole DEM:PROX M.α-VC-VENIT-burn.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ:RPST:DUR:VENIT/burn

'These soles here of my feet were burning.'

(tci20120922-24 MAA #63)

(22) *grigri zä* ***kwasogwrmth.***

grigri zä kw-a-sog-wr-m-th
maggot PROX M.β2-VC-ascend.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/ascend

'The maggots were climbing up here.'

(tci20110810-01 MAB #71)

[2]The immediate past occurs with a low frequency in the text corpus and consequently, there is only a handful of examples in immediate past durative. Example (5) on page 276 is one of these.

(23) *fäms fthé* ***krakwinmth*** *... fäms fämsnzo ...*

fäms	fthé	k-ra-kwi-n-m-th	(.)
exchange.man	when	M.β-IRR.VC-argue.EXT-DU-DUR-2|3NSG 2|3DU:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/argue	(.)
fäms	fäms=nzo		(.)
exchange_man	exchange_man=ONLY		(.)

'When exchange men are fighting ... exchange man (against) exchange man ...'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #460)

Part of the function of the durative suffix is to backshift the tense. If we remove the *-m* suffix from a verb inflected for recent past durative (21) or past durative (22), the resulting form would be non-past imperfective and recent past imperfective respectively. Figure 6.1 shows this with the verb *songsi* from example (22).

NPST.IPFV *ŋasogwr* 'S/he climbs.'	→	NPST.IPFV-*m* = RPST.DUR *ŋasogwrm* 'S/he was climbing.'
RPST.IPFV *kwasogwr* 'S/he climbed.'	→	RPST.IPFV-*m* = PST.DUR *kwasogwrm* 'S/he had been climbing.'

Figure 6.1 The backshifting function of the durative suffix *-m*

The durative suffix can also attach to an iterative inflection, in which case the iteration of the event is streched over a longer duration as in (24) and (25). In (24), the speaker talks about the first fire which destroyed the world inhabited by humans. In (25), the speaker describes how the people used to avoid a particular place during the early and late hours of the day because it was inhabited by a story man.

(24) *zfth mni nä kayé* ***zwäsmth*** *kidn.*

zfth	mni nä	kayé	zu-ä-s-m-th		kidn
base fire	some	yesterday	3SG.FEM.β1-ND-call.RS-DUR-2|3NSG 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG:OBJ:PST:ITER:DUR/call		PROP.N

'They always used to call the eternal fire *kidn.*'

(tci20120909-06 KAB #55)

(25) *kwamonegwrmth e efoth fthé zbo warfo* ***kwänkorm*** *fthé kwarafinzrmth zä zerä.*

kw-a-moneg-wr-m-th e efoth fthé zbo warfo
M.β1-VC-wait.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG until sun when PROX.ALL above
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/wait
kw-ä-n-kor-m-∅ fthé
M.β1-VC.ND-VENIT-become.RS-DUR-2|3SG when
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:ITER:DUR:VENIT/become
kw-a-rafi-nzr-m-th zä z=e-rä
M.β1-VC-paddle.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG PROX PROX=2|3NSG.α-COP.ND
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/paddle PROX=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'They were waiting until the sun always reached highest point and then they paddled here.'

(tci20120922-19 DAK #13)

The durative suffix *-m* can be suffixed to perfective verbs in recent past, past and irrealis. In this case, the event is only backgrounded without encoding a longer duration. However, these inflections are so rare that, at least for recent past and past, they are not attested in the corpus. For the irrealis perfective with the durative suffix, there are a handful of examples. In (26)[3], the speaker talks about an old procedure for punishment which involved striking the culprit with a yam tuber over the head.

(26) *nasime* ***sräkwrmth*** *ebaren "ah, miyatha käkor bä monwä zbrigwé!"*

nasi=me s-rä-kwr-m-th ebar=en ah
long.yam=INS 3SG.MASC.β-IRR.ND-hit.RS-DUR-2|3NSG head=LOC ah
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV:BG/hit
miyatha k-ä-kor-∅ bä mon-wä
knowledge M.β-ND-become.RS-2SG.IMP 2.ABS how-EMPH
2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/become
z-brig-w-é
3SG.FEM.β-return.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP
2SG:SBJ>3SG:FEM:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/return

'They would hit him on the head with the long yam (and say) "Now you come up with a plan to pay this back!"'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #236-240)

[3]I will show the backgrounded status of the perfective verb in the unified gloss line with BG as in the examples below. In the full gloss line, I will continue to use the durative label DUR.

Irrespective of perfectivity, the durative suffix on any irrealis inflection can have a far future interpretation. In examples (27) and (28), it is clear from the context that the event is set in the future and the *-m* on the verb indicates that the event is further in the future (as opposed to an irrealis without the *-m* suffix). In (27), the speaker showed me an old method of how to tie a bowstring. He then speculates as to if and when these old practices will vanish. Example (28) is taken from a conversation about yam cultivation during which the speaker complains about young people's lack of interest in gardening.

(27) *ni miyamr mä kwa kräbth mane ... mrnen* ***kräbthmo*** *frthé*

ni	miyamr	mä	kwa	k-rä-bth-∅	mane	(.)
1NSG	ignorance	where	FUT	M.β-IRR.VC.ND-finish.RS-2|3SG 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/finish	which	(.)

mrn-en	k-rä-bth-m-o-∅	frthé
clan-LOC	M.β-IRR.VC.ND-finish.RS-DUR-ANDAT-SG SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV:BG:ANDAT/finish	when

'We do not know where it will finish ... in which generation it will finish.'

(tci20130914-01 KAB #43-44)

(28) *nzä miyamr thrma ra* ***sranathrmth*** *... nagayé*

nzä	miyamr	thrma	ra
1SG.ABS	ignorance	later	what

s-ra-na-thr-m-th	(.)	nagayé
3SG.MASC.β-IRR-eat.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV:BG/eat	(.)	children

'I do not know what the children will eat later.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #577)

If the durative suffix is attached to a verb in imperative mood, it encodes a delayed or future imperative ('do X a little later!').[4] The future imperative is also a rare inflection and we have seen one text example in (5) on page 276. In example (29) below, the speaker describes how competitive yam harvesting took place in the old days. After harvesting and sorting, a piece of rattan was used to measure the size of the largest tubers. This measurement was then sent to the competitors as a sign of one's superior harvesting skills.

[4] I gloss the future imperative with FUTIMP in the unified gloss line.

(29) *wati, ŋatr* ***thärifthm*** *nafanmedbo!*

wati ŋatr th-ä-rifth-m-∅ nafanme=dbo
then rattan 2|3NSG.β-ND-send.RS-DUR-2SG.IMP 3NSG=ALL.SG
2SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:FUTIMP:PFV/send

'Then, you send the measure string to them!'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #402)

6.2.5 The imperative suffixes

The formatives of the imperative actor suffix series were given in Table 5.8 on page 241, where I pointed out the syncretism with the first person indicative actor suffixes and the second person imperative suffixes as well as the fact that the second singular suffix differs between perfective and imperfective imperatives. I refer the reader to this section (§5.5.1.1) for further information.

Here I describe the morphology of imperatives for the prefixing template. Prefixing verbs as defined here encode their single participant in the prefix. We saw in Table 6.2 on page 274 that imperatives are formed with the β prefix series. For prefixing verbs, the formatives are *gn-* (2SG.IMP) and *th-* (2NSG.IMP). A further suffix is added to prefixing verbs only. Consider example (30)[5] in which the speaker quotes himself talking to his wife. The imperative inflected verb is marked with an *-é* suffix which resembles the actor suffix of an ambifixing imperfective imperative (2SG.IMP) or of an ambifixing indicative of any aspect class (1SG). In the morphological context of prefixing imperatives, this *-é* does not encode a person value as can be seen in example (31) when the number of the addressee argument is plural. In other words, the *-é* suffix looks like a person/number suffix, but with prefixing verbs it is inert to those categories and it only encodes imperative mood.

(30) *bä znrä. zä* ***gnamnzé*** *kwot e nzä kränbrimé!*

bä z=n-rä zä gn-a-m-nz-é
2.ABS PROX=2SG.α-COP.ND PROX 2SG.β-VC-sit.EXT-ND-IMP
PROX=2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/sit
kwot e nzä k-rä-n-brim-é
properly until 1SG.ABS M.β-IRR.VC.ND-VENIT:return.RS-1SG
1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/return

'Now you are here. You stay here until I return.'

(tci20130823-06 STK #221)

[5]The verb *msaksi* 'sit, dwell, stay' is deponent and employs the valency changing prefix *a-* without a change in the valency of the verb.

(31) *... zbär fiyafr mane eyak famäsü* ***thyaké!***

(.) zbär fiyaf=r mane e-yak
(.) night hunting=PURP who 2|3NSG.α-walk.EXT.ND
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk
fam=ä=sü th-yak-é
thought=ASSOC=ETC 2|3NSG.β-walk.EXT.ND-IMP
2|3PL:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/walk

'You (boys) who go hunting at night must be careful!'

(tci20130901-02 RNA #27)

The *-é* formative for imperatives, regardless of whether it occurs on prefixing or ambifixing verbs, shows the same idiosyncrasies as the first person singular suffix *-é* that was described in §5.5.1.1. For example, it disappears when other suffixes are added as we saw in example (10) on page 277 where the *-é* suffix does not appear because of the andative suffix *-o*.

6.3 The TAM particles

The rich system of TAM categories in Komnzo can be further supplemented by a set of preverbal particles. These include the future *kwa*, the habitual *nomai*, the potential *kma*, the iamitive *z*[6], the apprehensive or prohibitive *m* and the imminent *n*. The latter two are related to the deictic proclitic *m=* and the immediate past *n=*. These particles integrate with the numerous TAM categories and there are only few limitations on the combinatorics.

6.3.1 The imminent particle *n*

The imminent particle *n* expresses the point in time just before the event takes place, usually without implying that it actually happened. This often gets translated by informants as 'try to do X' or 'be about to do X'. Both interpretations are possible, the intentional and the imminent reading, and they are difficult to separate. In example (32), the speaker showed me how to weave a fish basket. He says that he will 'try and fetch me when he is finished' because he does not know whether or not it will be successful.[7]

[6] I adopt the term *iamitive* from (Olsson, 2013), who has coined the term based on Latin *iam* 'already'.

[7] Indeed, he never came and showed me the finished fish basket because I left the village before.

(32) ***n*** *thrma* ***nzänmesé*** *... fthé zräbthé zane kafar.*

n thrma nz-ä-n-mes-é (.) fthé
IMN later 2SG.β-ND-VENIT-fetch.RS-1SG (.) when
1SG:SBJ>2SG:OBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/fetch
z-rä-bth-é zane kafar
3SG.FEM.β-IRR.ND-finish.RS-1SG DEM:PROX big
1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/finish

'Later I will try and fetch you, when I have finished that big (basket).'

(tci20120906 SKK #18)

The imminent particle can occur with inflections of different TAM categories. The important part of its semantic contribution is twofold: (i) the point in time before the event and (ii) the fact that the action has not yet been carried out or – in most cases – is not or was not carried out. Example (33) is taken from a headhunting story in which two men are about to kill a young woman when they realize that the rest of their headhunting party has left already.

(33) ***n zfrnmth*** *di kam garsir "awkwot! ngemäku, kabe matak erä!"*

n zf-r-n-m-th di kam
IMN 3SG.FEM.β2-do.EXT-DU-DUR-2|3NSG back.of.head bone
2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/do
gar-si=r awkwot ngemäku[8] kabe matak
break-NMLZ=PURP interjection foster.parent man nothing

e-rä
2|3NSG.α-COP.ND
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'They were about to break her neck. (He said:) "Oh no, my friend, all the people have left!"'

(tci20111119-01 ABB #151-152)

There is an overlap in the semantics of the proclitic *n=* which encodes immediate past and the imminent particle *n*. I pointed out earlier that the immediate past clitic attaches to a verb which is otherwise inflected for non-past. Thus, it marks a point in time immediately before the present. The particle *n* occurs in front of verb forms of different TAM categories, marking a point in time immediately before the event. The semantic difference is in the implication as to whether or not the event was actually carried. In the case of the immediate clitic, the

[8]The term *ngemäku* is a form of address between two people where one has adopted the child of the other.

event has happened, but with the particle *n* this is not the case. The difference between the two also lies in formal criteria. The particle *n* is syntactically independent in that it may be unbounded as in (32) or it may occur directly in front of the verb where it is hard to say whether it is a proclitic or an independent element (33). On the other hand, the immediate clitic *n=* is always bound to the verb.

Speakers of Komnzo who have been brought up in a Wära speaking family, and most young speakers of all backgrounds have replaced the immediate past proclitic *n=* with its Wära equivalent *nz=*. This change only affects the proclitic and not the imminent particle *n*.

6.3.2 The apprehensive particle *m*

I pointed out in §5.6.2 that among the deictic proclitics there is one with a limited distribution. The *m=* proclitic can only attach to the copula, in which case it turns the clause into a question ('where is X?').[9] See example (65) on page 269. The *m* particle shows more syntactic flexibility as it can procliticize to the verb as *m=*, encliticize to the potential particle in the combination *kma=m* or occur by itself. The latter is only attested through elicitation and there are no corpus examples of independent *m*. Nevertheless, it sits somewhere between a particle and a clitic.

The particle *m* functions as an apprehensive. It is attested in the corpus with irrealis, imperatives as well as perfectives. Example (34) is from a story about a man who mocked a crowd of dancers by threatening them with a matchbox. They were afraid as they did not know about matches and lighters.

(34) *krenafthth "sritüthe! sfafe! kidn mni* ***mzärfusir*** *... frthe bramöwä ŋarsirwre."*

k-rä-nafth-th s-∅-ritüth-e
M.β-IRR.VC.ND-say.RS-2|3NSG 3SG.MASC.β-DU-grab.RS-2|3NSG.IMP
2|3PL:SBJ:IRR.PFV/say 2DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PFV/grab
s-∅-faf-e kidn mni
3SG.MASC.β-DU-hold.RS-2|3NSG.IMP PROP.N fire
2DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PFV/hold
m=z-ä-rfusir-∅ (.) frthe bramöwä
APPR=M.γ-VC.ND-light.up.RS-2|3SG (.) when all
APPR=2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/light.up

[9] I will gloss *m* as interrogative (where=) when it attaches to the copula. I will gloss it as apprehensive (APPR) in all other cases including the cases where *m* and the potential particle *kma* express a prohibitive.

ŋ-a-rsir-wr-e
M.α-VC-burn.EXT-ND-1NSG
1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/burn

'They said: "Grab him! Hold him! He might ignite the *kidn* fire. (That is) when we will all burn."'

(tci20120909-06 KAB #82)

In these cases, the particle *m* seems to override the TAM value of the verb. In (34), the verb is in recent-past but lacks a recent-past reading. Likewise, I often heard the warning *mkätr*[10] '(watch out) you might fall!' where *m* is attached to an imperative inflection, but lacks an imperative reading. Naturally, if *m* occurs with an irrealis inflection, there is no such conflict. Example (35) below is taken from a story about a bushfire. The speaker explains how he set a small controlled fire in order to stop the wild bushfire from spreading.

(35) *we ane nzefé zaföfé ... we* ***mkrärit*** *we fafä.*

we ane nzefé z-a-föf-é (.) we
also DEM 1SG.ERG.EMPH 3SG.FEM.γ-VC.ND-burn.down.RS-1SG (.) also
1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:PFV/burn.down
m=k-rä-rit-∅ we fafä
APPR=M.β-IRR.VC.ND-pass.RS-2|3SG also after.that
APPR=2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/pass

'I also burned down this (grass) ... (the fire) might cross over later.'

(tci20120922-24 MAA #30-31)

If *m* occurs with an imperative inflected verb and the potential *kma* it functions as a prohibitive. Example (36) is from the very beginning of a hunting story. The speaker tells his son to be quiet during the recording, while I am setting up the microphone.

(36) *zokwasi wzänzr ... daddyf.* ***kmam kanafré!***

zokwasi w-zä-nzr-∅ (.)
words 3SG.FEM.α-carry.EXT-ND-2|3SG father=ERG.SG
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/carry
daddy=f kma=m k-a-naf-r-é
POT=APPR M.β-VC-speak.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP
2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/speak

'Daddy is recording the words. You must not talk!'

(tci20130903-03 MKW #3-4)

[10] *mkätr*
m=k-ä-tr-∅
APPR=M.β-VC.ND-fall.RS-2SG.IMP

In the prohibitive construction, the particle *m* is rather flexible. I can attach to the verb as a proclitic (37) or to the potential particle *kma* as an enclitic (36 and 38). What is important for the prohibitive reading is the co-occurence of *m* and *kma* in the clause, not the fact that they are conjoined. Example (37)[11] comes from a public speech at a dance in which the speaker tells the audience the rules for the night. Example (38) is taken from a text about food taboos.

(37) ***kma*** *wärir bä* ***mgnanyaké*** *zena zbär zbo!*

kma wäri=r bä m=gn-a-n-yak-é zena
POT sex=PURP 2.ABS APPR=2SG.β-VC-VENIT-walk.EXT.ND-IMP today
APPR=2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/come
zbär zbo
night PROX.ALL

'You must not come here for sex tonight!'

(tci20121019-04 ABB #46)

(38) *be* ***kmam*** *ŋazikarä* ***kathafrakwé!***

be kma=m ŋazi=karä k-a-thafrak-w-é
2SG.ERG POT=APPR coconut=PROP M.β-VC-mix.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP
2SG:SBJ:IMP:EXT/mix

'You must not mix it with coconut'

(tci20120922-26 DAK #12)

6.3.3 The potential particle *kma*

The potential particle *kma* can be employed with almost all TAM categories. We saw above in §6.3.2 that it encodes a prohibitive when it occurs together with imperatives and the apprehensive particle *m*. This is the only construction in which *kma* and the imperative inflections occur together.

The potential particle *kma* is used to encode various types of speculation and counterfactuality with deontic or epistemic interpretation. Example (39) is taken from a public speech at a dance, where the guest side has brought too many people, and consequently the host side found it impossible to meet the needs of so many people. The speaker regrets that no proper arrangement has been made prior to the event. Thus, the clause 'it should look good' has a clear deontic reading.

[11] The verb *yak* walk is deponent and employs the valency changing prefix a- without a change in the valency of the verb. It is only deponent when it employs the venitive marker meaning come, not when it is neutral or andative meaning walk, go away

(39) *namä **kma** nimame zrarenzrm fof … fthé namä yamme nüfifthakwrme.*

namä kma nima=me z-ra-re-nzr-m fof
good POT like_this=INS 3SG.FEM.β-IRR.VC-look.EXT-ND-DUR EMPH
3SG.FEM:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/look
(.) fthé namä yam=me
(.) when good custom=INS

n=w-fifthak-wr-m-e
IPST=3SG.FEM.α-put.down.straight.EXT-ND-DUR-1NSG
IPST=1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:DUR/put.down.straight

'It would have looked good today, if we had straighten things out in a good way.'

(tci20121019-04 ABB #79)

Example (40) is taken from an origin myth in which the speaker speculates that one of the protagonists 'must have had' a shotgun, while his brother only had bow and arrow.[12] This is a clear epistemic use of *kma*.

(40) *nafangth **kma** markai nabikarä sfrärm.*

nafa-ngth kma markai nabi=karä sf-rär-m
3.POSS-ySib POT outsider bow=PROP 3SG.MASC.β2-COP.ND-DUR
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'His younger brother must have had a shotgun.'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #112)

6.3.4 The future particle *kwa*

Future is marked periphrastically in Komnzo with the particle *kwa*, which combines either with non-past (41) or irrealis inflections (42).

(41) *zena **kwa natrikwé** bun … no kzima.*

zena kwa n-a-trik-w-é bun (.) no kzi=ma
today FUT 2SG.α-VC-tell.EXT-ND-1SG 2SG.DAT (.) rain barktray=CHAR
1SG:SBJ>2SG:IO:NPST:IPFV/tell

'Today, I will tell you about the rain-making barktray.'

(tci20110810-01 MAB #1)

[12]This is the *Kwafar* myth which is widespread in the Morehead area. It involves two brothers who - after fighting a malignent creature - are separated by a flood of water. The younger brother ran to the South towards Australia. In recent versions of the myth, the younger brother always holds a shotgun. This might be seen as an adaption of the story to the fact that during the colonial era Australians brought modern equipment like shotguns.

(42) *gb* ***kwa thrarfikwr*** *zba.*

gb kwa th-ra-rfik-wr zba
sprout FUT 2|3NSG.β-IRR-grow.EXT-ND PROX.ABL
2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/grow

'The sprouts will grow from here.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #35)

The future particle can also be used by itself meaning 'wait' as in example (43) where the name of a particular plant has slipped from the speaker's mind.

(43) ***kwa!*** *yf kwot keke miyatha worä.*

kwa yf kwot keke miyatha wo-rä
FUT name properly NEG knowledge 1SG.α-COP.ND
1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'Wait! I don't quite know that name.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #609)

When negated, the future particle *kwa* can express 'not yet' as in example (44) where speaker points out that he has not heard yet the name that will be given to a particular person at an upcoming namesake celebration.

(44) *ni miyamr mane zrarä ane kar yf fof.* ***keke kwa*** *kar yf nä zamare fof.*

ni miyamr mane z-ra-rä ane kar yf fof
1NSG ignorance which 3SG.FEM.β-IRR-COP.ND DEM village name EMPH
3SG.FEM:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be
keke kwa kar yf nä z-a-mar-e fof
NEG FUT village name some 3SG.FEM.γ-ND-see-1NSG EMPH
1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:PFV/see

'We do not know which local name it will be. We have not heard the name yet.'

(tci20110817-02 ABB #58-60)

Younger speakers of Komnzo are beginning to use the Wära equivalent *ka*, which lacks the labial part of the labio-velar onset.

6.3.5 The iamitive particle *z*

I adopt the term iamitive from Olsson's comparative study of particles that express a perfect (2013). Reesink (2009: 184) uses the term "perspectival aspect", which he adopts from (Dik, 1997). Olsson's label is based on the Latin word *iam* 'already'. Komnzo speakers often translated the iamitive particle *z* using the English word 'already', hence the gloss label ALR. An introductory example is given in (45). This is taken from a recording where two women took me on a plant walk. Example (45b) is the answer to the question in (45a).

(45) a. *zuyak **z** safäs?*

zuyak z s-a-fäs-∅
PROP.N ALR 3SG.MASC.γ-ND-show.RS-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:PFV/show

'Have you shown him *zuyak* already?'

b. ***z** fof!*

z fof
ALR EMPH

'Yes, (I have) already.'

(tci20130907-02 JAA #44 RNA #121)

Example (45) shows that the function of the iamitive is to express the current relevance of some past event. Consequently, the particle may combine with verbs inflected for different TAM categories. Example (45) shows a verb in recent-past perfective. In (46)[13], the iamitive particle is used with a past durative inflected verb. This combination is rarer, but well attested in the corpus. In the example, the speaker explains which clans settled at which locations. He points out that his clan had already been living in Masu for a while.

(46) *fi fobo thwamnzrm nima ... ni masun **z** nzwamnzrm.*

fi fobo thu-a-m-nzr-m nima (.) ni
3.ABS DIST.ALL 2|3NSG.β1-VC-sit.EXT-ND-DUR like.this (.) 1NSG
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/sit

masu=n z nzu-a-m-nzr-m
PLACE.N=LOC ALR 1NSG.β1-VC-sit.EXT-ND-DUR
1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/sit

'They lived over there this way ... and we had already been living in Masu.'

(tci20120922-08 DAK #97-98)

[13] *msaksi* 'sit, dwell' is a deponent verb which employs the valency changing prefix *a-* without a change in the verb valency frame.

The iamitive particle can also be used with a non-past. This is often restricted to interrogatives as in (47) where the speaker asks a crowd of people whether they can hear him speaking.

(47) *zbär bä zagrwä ämnzro.* ***z*** *wanrizrth?*

zbär bä zagr=wä e-a-m-nzr-o z
night MED far=EMPH 2|3NSG.α-VC-sit.EXT-ND-ANDAT ALR
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/sit
w-a-n-riz-r-th
1SG.α-VC-VENIT-hear.EXT-ND-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:IO:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/hear

'You are sitting too far away. Can you hear me?'

(tci20121019-04 SKK #9)

The iamitive particle additionally expresses the completion of an event. Evidence for this come from different observations. First, it can express a the current relevance meaning. Second, the iamitive particle never combines with verbs in iterative aspect, which express an ongoing repetition of some event in the past. Third, the iamitive particle marks sequentiality of events in some narratives where the verb form which combines with it seems to be almost a prerequisite to the following verb. Example (48)[14] is a description of a path. The speaker had taken the previous day. He describes the sequenced stages of his path to the location called *Tümgo*.

(48) *bä komnzo zwäzik ... ksi karen* ***z*** *kwanyak e zbo zwänthor tümgon.*

bä komnzo zu-ä-zik (.) ksi kar=en z
MED only 1SG.γ-ND-turn.off.RS (.) bush place=LOC ALR
1SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/turn.off
ku-a-n-yak e zbo zu-ä-n-thor
1SG.β1-VC-walk.EXT.ND until PROX.ALL 1SG.γ-ND-VENIT-arrive.RS
1SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV:VENIT/walk 1SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV:VENIT/arrive
tümgo=n
PLACE.N=LOC

'It turned off (the path) there ... I walked in the bushy place until I arrived here in *Tümgo*.'

(tci20120924-22 MAA #8-10)

[14]The verb yak walk is deponent and employs the valency changing prefix a- without a change in the valency of the verb. It is only deponent when it employs the venitive marker meaning come, not when it is neutral or andative meaning walk, go away

The iamitive particle *z* in Komnzo shares a number of semantic characteristics set out by Olsson in his comparative study (2013). The main two characteristics are "the notion of a new situation that holds afer a transition" and "the consequences that this situation has at reference time for the participants in the speech event" (Olsson, 2013: 43). The former was described above as event completion, and the latter as current relevance. In fact, the iamitive particle is the main way to express event completion in Komnzo, because the perfective aspect does not explicitly set this boundary on an event.

There has been much discussion in the literature about paths of grammaticalization of perfects, for example in Bybee and Dahl (1989). In Komnzo, the iamitive particle *z* is formally closest to the proximal series of the deictic markers and one might speculate about these as a source of grammaticalization.

6.3.6 The habitual particle *nomai*

The habitual particle *nomai* typically combines with durative inflections. In example (49), the cockatoo always warns the protagonist of another man who comes and visits him.

(49) *krara ymd suwägrm maf swatrikwrm* ***nomai*** *nima "oh, kabe yanyak."*

krara ymd su-wägr-m maf
coockatoo bird 3SG.MASC.β1-be.on.top.ND-DUR who.ERG
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be.on.top
su-a-trik-wr-m-∅ nomai nima oh kabe
3SG.MASC.β1-VC-tell.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3SG HAB like.this oh man
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:PST:DUR/tell
y-a-n-yak
3SG.MASC.α-VENIT-walk.EXT.ND
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/walk

'The cockatoo bird was sitting on top (of the tree), and was telling him always: "Oh, a man is coming."'

(tci20100802 ABB #80-82)

The habitual can also combine with verb forms inflected for other TAM categories, such as imperfectives (50). It only occasionally occurs with perfectives as in (51) where the event is negated. In both examples, *nomai* expresses an extended amount of time, instead of a repeated habit.

(50) *yamnza yamnza ...* ***nomai*** *... ysokwr tüfr.*

2x[y-a-m-nz-a] (.) nomai (.) ysokwr tüfr
2x[3SG.α-VC-sit.EXT-ND-PST] (.) HAB (.) year plenty
2x[3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/sit]

'He stayed and stayed there for many years.'

(tci20120904-01 MAB #13)

(51) *keke* ***nomai*** *zämsath.*

keke nomai z-ä-ms-a-th
NEG HAB M.γ-VC.ND-sit.EXT-PST-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/sit

'They did not stay (there) for long.'

(tci20131013-02 ABB #87)

6.4 Some remarks on the semantics of TAM

Following from our description of the morphology and combinatorics of TAM in Komnzo, I want to sketch out a coherent picture of the semantics of these categories and their extended uses. Although tense, aspect and mood are intertwined, I will discuss them separately in the following sections.

6.4.1 Tense

We saw that Komnzo has 3-4 morphological tenses depending on the analysis: the non-past, the recent past and the past. The immediate past is expressed by a clitic and builds on a verb form inflected for non-past. Future reference is expressed periphrastically with particle *kwa*.

The temporal reference of the immediate past and the recent past overlaps. The immediate past is used for events that took place a short while prior to speaking and it may be used to put extra emphasis on that fact. The recent past covers the same period of time, but it reaches further back, usually to the preceding day. Example (52) is taken from a hunting story, at the end of which the speaker returns home to find one of his dogs. He tells his wife that this is the dog, which had disturbed him at the outset of the trip when he was about to cross the Morehead river. He had pushed the dog into the water, whereupon the poor dog ran back to the house. The whole episode in (52) is set in the same time frame with respect to the moment of speech. Only the 'pushing in the water' is expressed in immediate past, while the other two verb forms are in recent past.[15]

[15]The speaker uses the *nz=* formative of the immediate past clitic. As pointed out in §6.3.1, this formative is a borrowing from Wära. The Komnzo formative is *n=*.

(52) *nzefe nima "ane ŋatha bä* ***nzwathofikwr*** *... watik anema* ***nzibrüzé*** *bobo ... watik ane wtrime fi ŋatha* ***zanmath****"*

nzefe nima ane ŋatha bä
1SG.ERG.EMPH like_this DEM dog MED

nzu-a-thofik-wr-∅ (.) watik ane=ma
1SG.β1-VC-disturb.EXT-ND-2|3SG (.) then DEM=CHAR
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/disturb
nz=y-brüz-∅-é bobo (.) watik ane
IPST=3SG.MASC.α-submerge.EXT-ND-1SG MED.ALL (.) then DEM
IPST=1SG:SBJ>2|3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/submerge
wtri=me fi ŋatha z-a-n-math-∅
fear=INS 3.ABS dog M.γ-VENIT-run.RS-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV:VENIT/run

'I said: "That dog disturbed me there and therefore I pushed him into the water. Well, full of fear he ran back here."'

(tci20130903-03 MKW #188)

The bidirectional time adverbials discussed in §3.1.7 help to identify the appropriate time frames for each tense value. The term *kayé* expresses a moment in time, which is removed by one day from the present time. Thus, *kayé* can mean 'yesterday' or 'tomorrow' and it is appropriate to use the recent past for that part of the timespan that is in the past. Events further back in time have to be expressed by the past tense. Likewise, one cannot use a recent past with the time adverbial *nama* which indicates a point in time that is removed two days from the present time ('day before yesterday' or 'day after tomorrow'). In short, the recent past reaches back one day, whereas the past tense covers everything before yesterday irrespective whether it happened a week ago or in ancestral time. Example (53) shows the use of *kayé* and the recent past. Example (54) shows the use of *nama* and the past tense.[16]

(53) ***kayé*** *nzä boba* ***zenfaré*** *... kanathr*

kayé nzä boba z-ä-n-far-é (.)
yesterday 1SG.ABS MED.ABL M.γ-VC.ND-VENIT-set.off.EXT-1SG (.)
1SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV:VENIT/set.off
kanathr
PLACE.N

'Yesterday, I set off from there towards here ... to *Kanathr*.'

(tci20120922-24 MAA #1)

[16] *Nama* can also be used metaphorically to mean 'recently'.

(54) *zane nane dayr zbo* ***nama*** *mane* ***wänyaka*** *...*

zane nane dayr zbo nama mane
DEM:PROX elder.sibling PERS.N PROX.ALL two.days.ago which

w-a-n-yak-a (.)
3SG.FEM.α-VC-VENIT-go.EXT.ND-PST (.)
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/go

'The older sister Dayr who came here two days ago ...'

(tci20130901-02 RNA #87)

Tense values can be used with a pragmatic motivation. It is quite common to foreground events in a narrative by putting them into non-past, even though the story is set in the recent past or the past. Example (55) comes from a story that took place in the speaker's youth. In the example clauses, he decribes walking with a friend during night time. The two boys rested along the way and smoked tobacco. Although the story is set in the past, only the first and the last verbs in (55) are inflected in the past tense ('walk' in both cases). The 'sitting down' and the 'setting off' are inflected in irrealis, thus tenseless. The rolling of the cigarettes and the smoking thereof is told in non-past which moves this part in the foreground.

(55) *nyana ttfö bä rä ... bäne ... sazäthi fä kramse sukufa* ***eknne änane*** *boba krafare ... zbär nzfyanm.*

n-yan-a ttfö bä rä (.)
1NSG.α-walk.EXT.DU-PST creek MED 3SG.FEM.COP.ND (.)
1DU:SBJ:PST:IPFV/walk 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

bäne (.) sazäthi fä k-ra-ms-e sukufa
RECOG (.) PLACE.N DIST MED.β-IRR.VC.DU-sit.RS-1NSG tobacco
1DU:SBJ:IRR:PFV/sit

e-kn-n-e e-a-na-n-e
2|3NSG.α-roll.EXT-DU-1NSG 2|3NSG.α-VC-eat.EXT-DU-1NSG
1DU:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/roll 1DU:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/eat

boba k-ra-far-e (.) zbär
MED.ABL MED.α-IRR.VC.DU-set.off.RS-1NSG (.) night
1DU:SBJ:IRR:PFV/set.off

nzf-yan-m
1NSG.β2-walk.EXT.DU-DUR
1DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/walk

'We walked. There is a creek there (called) Sazäthi. We sat down there, rolled the cigarettes and smoked. We set off from there. We were walking in the night.'

(tci20210904-01 MAB #140-143)

Future reference can be expressed by irrealis or non-past inflections combined with the future particle *kwa*. The main difference between the two strategies seems to lie in the anticipated degree of certainty: the non-past inflection is usually used when the speaker is more certain that the event is going to take place.

6.4.2 Aspect

I have labelled the principal aspectual distinction in Komnzo imperfective versus perfective. Durative aspect is understood as a subtype of the imperfective and we could label these two as 'basic imperfective' and 'durative imperfective'. I use the traditional labels imperfective and perfective, but I want to spell out the particular flavour that Komnzo gives to them.

The traditional definition of perfectivity often takes the completion of an event as a starting point (Frawley, 1992: 296) or suggests that "perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole" (Comrie, 1976: 16). In Komnzo, completion does not really play a role in the semantics of the perfective-imperfective distinction. The boundary set up by the perfective seems to concentrate more on the left edge – on the beginning of the event. Similar systems are found elsewhere in the Southern New Guinea region, for example in Marind (Drabbe, 1955: 41), Nama (Siegel, 2014) and Nen (Evans, 2015b). In Komnzo, the main mechanism for expressing event completion – to set up a right edge event boundary – is the iamitive particle, which can occur with verb forms in perfective, imperfective and durative aspect (§6.3.5). It follows that imperfectivity does not entail that the event is open-ended. Example (56) is taken from a head hunting story. The quantifier *bramöwä* 'all' signals that the attack was full-scale and all inhabitants were killed, but the verb form in (56) is in the imperfective.

(56) *watik ebar kabe ane fof thäthora fof … bramöwä ane fof* ***efnzath***

watik	ebar	kabe	ane	fof	th-ä-thor-a	fof	(.)
then	head	man	DEM	EMPH	2|3NSG.γ-ND-arrive.RS-PST	EMPH	(.)
					2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/arrive		
bramöwä	ane	fof			e-fn-nz-a-th		
all		DEM	EMPH		2|3NSG.α-hit.EXT-ND-PST-2|3NSG		
					2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV/hit		

'Then, the head hunter arrived. They killed all of them.'

(tci20131013-02 ABB #143-145)

Likewise, perfectives do not entail that an event is finished, but rather that it has started or that its duration was of a punctual quality. The latter is shown in the first verb 'arrive' of the above example (56). The former is shown in example

(57) below, which is taken from a story about a malignant being. At the end of the story that being tries to escape by entering a bird, but the villagers are quick to shoot down the bird. The entering event in (57) is expressed in the perfective, but the imminent particle *n* shows that the event has not started yet. Hence, completion of the entering event is not entailed, but excluded. Thus, a literal translation of *n zäthba* would be: 's/he was about to start to enter'.

(57) *brbrnzo fof* ***n zäthba*** *bafen ... ymden fof.*

brbr=nzo fof n z-ä-thb-a-∅ baf=en
spirit=ONLY EMPH IMN MED.γ-ND-enter.RS-PST-2|3SG RECOG=LOC
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/enter
(.) ymd=en fof
(.) bird=LOC EMPH

'Only the spirit was about to go inside that one ... inside the bird.'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #193-194)

Aspect in Komnzo seems to concentrate more on a punctual/inceptive versus ongoing/stretched-out distinction. I adopt the traditional labels perfective for the former and imperfective for the latter. The degree to which an event is 'stretched-out' would then decide whether the speaker chooses the imperfective or durative aspect. The basic binary distinction is clearest in the imperative forms. The imperfective imperatives often encode an ongoing action and, depending on context, they can be translated as 'keep on X-ing' or 'do X for some time'. Perfective imperatives, on the other hand, express inception 'start X-ing' or punctuality 'do X once/quickly'. In example (58), the speaker has just produced a toy bullroarer from a coconut leaf and shows me how to hold it properly. In (58a), she tells me not to hit something while swinging, and the imperative of 'hit' is in the perfective.[17] In (58b), she is already swinging the bullroarer telling me to hold it away from the body. Consequently, all the imperative verb forms ('hold', 'blow', and 'swing') are in the imperfective.

(58) a. *fthé* ***sakwr*** *gwonyamen o festhen o wämnen ... keke kwa sranor*

fthé s-a-kwr-∅ gwonyame=n o festh=en
when 3SG.MASC.α-ND-hit.RS-2SG.IMP clothes=LOC or body=LOC
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PFV/hit
o wämne=n keke kwa s-ra-nor
or tree=LOC (.) NEG FUT 3SG.MASC.β-IRR.VC-shout.EXT
3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/shout

'If you hit it on clothes, body or a tree, it will not make a sound.'

[17]This is a conditional construction which frequently employs imperative inflections together with *fthé* 'when/if'. See §6.4.3.

b. *zagrwä nima* ***sfathwé*** *byé nima* ***sfsgwé*** *...* ***smitwanzé*** *... fi kwa yanor.*

zagr=wä nima s-fath-w-é
far=EMPH like.this 3SG.MASC.β-hold.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP
2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/hold
b=yé nima
MED=3SG.MASC.COP.ND like.this
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
s-fsg-w-é (.)
3SG.MASC.β-blow.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP (.)
2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/blow
s-mitwa-nz-é (.) fi kwa
3SG.MASC.β-swing.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP (.) 3.ABS FUT
2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/swing
y-a-nor
3SG.MASC.α-VC-shout.EXT.ND
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout

'You have to hold it away like this and blow and swing it like this ... (then) it will make a sound.'

(tci20120914 RNA #25-28)

A number of authors have used a scale-based approach to model certain operators which change the structure of predicates (Kennedy and McNally 2005 and Kubota 2010). Such an approach is compatible with the TAM system of Komnzo, once we accept that the imperfective versus perfective distinction highlights different parts of event by manipulating the temporal scale. Applied to the Komnzo TAM system, such a model portrays perfectives as a means to (i) set an explicit initial boundary and to (ii) limit the temporal scale of the event. (Basic) imperfectives leave this initial boundary implicit, but highlight that the event was carried out for some time – a little further along the scale. The durative (imperfective) increases the temporal scale of the event. As shown above, none of these (morphological) aspectual categories sets an explicit boundary at the right edge of the event. The function of event completion is reserved for the iamitive particle. I will leave the theoretical modelling of the semantics of the Komnzo TAM system for future research.

The theoretical discussion of aspect has often focussed on the distinction between viewpoint aspect and situation aspect.[18] Despite all terminological confusion, the former is often called ASPECT, and it is employed for "different ways of viewing the internal constituency of a situation" (Comrie, 1976: 3). Situation aspect on the other has often been called AKTIONSART, and it is associated with

[18]See (Sasse, 2002) for a formidable overview of the research on aspect.

the internal structure of the event. Thus, situation aspect is something objective about the nature of the event, whereas viewpoint aspect is subjectively manipulated by the speakers, or as Smith puts it: "the categories of viewpoint aspect are overt, whereas situation aspect is expressed in covert categories" (1997: 5). We have seen that this does not apply to Komnzo. Aspectual categories, although highly grammaticalized, are based on the situation type rather than on viewpoint, i.e. they are about inception/punctuality, iteration and duration rather than completion. The fact, that aspect is highly grammaticalized means that the categories are accessible to virtually all verbs. I showed in §5.3 that the two root types (RS and EXT root) are attested for almost all stems. This supports the argument that the notion of an objective internal event structure, which is fed into the inflectional system, plays little role in Komnzo.

As we have seen in the discussion of verbal morphology, a central part of the inflectional system are the two root types. The labels EXT and RS refer of course to 'extended in time' and 'restricted in time' respectively. All perfectives are built from the RS root and all imperfectives are built from the EXT root. However, a relabelling of the RS root as 'perfective root' and the EXT root as 'imperfective root' would be misleading. For example, the RS root is employed for iterative aspect, which is by definition not bounded in time. This contradiction can be resolved by assuming a more transparent contribution of the morphological mechanisms which participate in the iterative inflection. As shown in §6.2 (Table 6.1), the iterative builds on the RS root, but it employs the β1 or β2 prefix series, which otherwise only occur with the EXT root to build imperfectives and duratives. In other words, the iterative aspect limits the event structure by root selection and simultaneously spreads out the event structure by the selection of the prefix series. This is an interesting scenario, which calls for further comparative research within the Yam languages to shed light on the grammaticalization of iterative aspect.

6.4.3 Mood

There are three modal categories in Komnzo: indicative, imperative and irrealis, further nuances can be expressed with the help of particles, especially the potential *kma*, the imminent *n* and apprehensive *m* (§6.3). Here, I will only describe some of the ways in which two of the three basic categories – the imperative and the irrealis – deviate from their conventional definitions.

Imperatives can be used in a number of ways that fall outside the definition of 'giving an order'. In example (59), the speaker showed me the leaves of a pandanus plant pointing out that I can use the leaves to sleep on. The imperative form *gnyaké* 'you go' is thus not a command 'go without a mat', but more like a conditional 'if you go without a mat'. The conditional interpretation also

comes from the word *fthé* which means 'when' or 'at the time when'. This type of conditional construction is an extended use of the imperative inflection. Most imperatives are used as commands, and there are conditional constructions without imperative inflections.

(59) *yamemäre fthé* ***gnyaké*** *... etfthar*

yame=märe fthé gn-yak-é (.) etfth=r
mat=PRIV when 2|3SG.β-walk.EXT.ND-IMP (.) sleep=PURP
2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/walk

'When you without a mat, (this is) for sleeping.'

(tci20130907-02 JAA #546-547)

As we have seen in §6.2.2, the irrealis is marked by the prefix *ra-*. There is no realis marker, but the absence of *ra-* indicates realis inflection. Beyond counterfactuality and futurity, irrealis mood has a number of semantic extensions in Komnzo. Cross-linguistically irrealis mood is employed for a wide range of functiones which has led some authors to challenge its validity as a comparative category (Bybee et al., 1994). Others have suggested a prototype approach to irrealis mood, for example Givon (1994: 327). I will adopt the latter here. Example (60) and (61) show the irrealis mood in its more central functions, counterfactuality and futurity respectively. Example (60) is taken from a headhunting story which involved the speaker's father.[19] Example (61) is taken from a procedural in which the speaker shows me how to make a toy from a coconut leaf.

(60) *fi fthé niyamnzrm nafäsü kwa* ***thräkwrth***

fi fthé n=y-a-m-nzr-m nafä=sü
3.ABS when IPST=3SG.MASC.α-VC-sit.EXT-ND-DUR 3ASSOC.PL=ETC
IPST=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:DUR/sit
kwa th-rä-kwr-th
FUT 2|3SG.β-IRR.ND-hit.RS-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/hit

'If he had stayed, they would have killed him with all the others.'

tci20111107-01 MAK #80

[19]The example also shows the 'relative use' of the immediate past. Although the events in the story happened a long time ago, the speaker uses the immediate past (*niyamnzrm* 'He was staying just before') to emphasize that the headhunt took place just after his father had left the village.

(61) *katan kwa* ***sräfiyothé*** *... kafar minzü yé*

katan kwa s-rä-fiyoth-é (.) kafar minzü
small FUT 3SG.MASC.β-VC.ND-make.RS-1SG (.) big very
1SG:SBJ>3SG:OBJ:IRR:PFV/make
yé
3SG.MASC.COP.ND
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'I will make it smaller. This is too big.'

(tci20120914 RNA #41)

Irrealis inflected verbs can be used for habituals. This use, especially with past habituals, has been noticed in a cross-linguistic study by Cristofaro (2004). Example (62) comes from a procedural about poison-root fishing, which is a common activity during the dry season when the water recedes. The speaker talks about the preparations and the process of poison-root fishing, while his family is busy fishing in the background. All verb forms are in irrealis mood.

(62) ***thranäbünzrth*** *... sam ane mane erä* ***threthkäfth*** *...* ***zranrsrwrth*** *fof no* ***zrerärth*** *...* ***thranor*** *"si rore rore rore!!"*

th-ra-näbü-nzr-th (.) sam ane mane
2|3NSG.β-IRR-smash.EXT-ND-2|3NSG (.) liquid DEM which
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/smash
e-rä th-rä-thkäf-th (.)
2|3NSG.α-COP.ND 2|3NSG.β-IRR.ND-start.RS-2|3NSG (.)
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start
z-ra-n-rsr-wr-th fof no
3SG.FEM.β-IRR-VENIT-squeeze.EXT-ND-2|3NSG EMPH water
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/squeeze
z-rä-rä-r-th (.)
3SG.FEM.β-IRR.VC-do.EXT-ND-2|3NSG (.)
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:IO:IRR:IPFV/start 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/shout
th-ra-nor si_rore_rore_rore
2|3NSG.β-IRR-shout.EXT.ND INTERJECTION

'They would smash (the sticks). As for the liquids that start coming, they squeeze them and mix them properly with the water ... and they would shout out: "Si rore rore rore!!"'

(tci20110813-09 DAK #22-23)

Irrealis mood is frequently used in narratives which report factual truths. Foley (2000: 389) points out that Papuan languages often employ the realis-irrealis distinction for pragmatic purposes. In Komnzo, the pragmatic use comes

from the alternation between irrealis and realis inflections especially in event sequencing. In this pattern, the irrealis is used for backgrounding. Example (63) is taken from a hunting story that occured many years ago. The story is told from a first-person perspective, thus, there is no reason to question the factual truth of what is being told. The clauses in (63) describe a sequence of events: fall asleep > be sleeping > wake up. Only the foregrounded clause ('sleep') is expressed in realis (past durative), whereas the backgrounded clauses ('fall asleep' and 'wake up') are expressed in irrealis (perfective). In that sense, the irrealis verb forms act as a backgrounding bracket around the foregrounded clause.[20]

(63) ***krämnzeré*** *efoth etfth* ***kwofrugrm*** *e zizi ...* ***krebnafé***

k-rä-mnzer-é efoth etfth kwof-rugr-m
M.β-IRR.VC.ND-fall.asleep.RS-1SG sun sleep 1SG.β2-sleep.EXT.ND-DUR
1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/fall.asleep 1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/sleep
e zizi (.) k-rä-bnaf-é
until afternoon (.) M.β-IRR.VC.ND-wake.up.RS-1SG
1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/wake.up

'I fell asleep (for) a daytime nap. I was sleeping until the late afternoon ... Then, I woke up.'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #31-32)

The interaction of TAM categories with information structure was described by Hopper (1979). Hartzler describes a similar function of the irrealis mood in Sentani (1983). I defer the discussion of this topic to §10.5, where a detailed analysis is offered drawing on a longer text segment.

[20]Note that example (55) on page 300 employs the same bracket-like use of the irrealis inflected verb forms. The only difference is that in (55), the foregrounded event is in the non-past, whereas in (63) above the foregrounded event is in past durative.

Chapter 7

Syntax of the noun phrase

7.1 Introduction

The noun phrase in Komnzo is defined as a group of nominals which jointly fulfill a functional role in the clause. Noun phrases may also contain a single nominal. The case markers which assign the specific functional role attach to the rightmost element of the noun phrase. Noun phrases in Komnzo cannot be scrambled. Therefore, case enclitics and the emphatic particle *fof* – if present – can be used to identify the right edge of a noun phrase. Typically one intonation contour covers a single noun phrase, although these may be broken up by pauses if the noun phrase contains embedded noun phrases.

Each noun phrase has a single head, which can be a noun (§3.1.2), property noun (§3.1.3), personal pronoun (§3.1.8), the indefinite pronoun (§3.1.10), the recognitional demonstrative (§3.1.11.6) or an interrogative (§3.1.9). The head of a noun phrase can be omitted, leaving only a demonstrative, adjective, quantifier or locational. This is possible only if the head of the noun phrase can be recovered from context. Noun phrases can be wholly omitted from the clause. In this case, only the indexation of core arguments in the verb provides information about the state-of-affairs. Consequently, inflected verbs can and often do stand as a clause.

This chapter begins with an overview of the structure of the noun phrase in §7.2. I describe the slots of a noun phrase and their respective fillers in §7.3 - §7.5. The chapter closes with a description of the inclusory construction in §7.6. In this construction two or more noun phrases constitute a functional unit without forming a matrix noun phrase.

7.2 The structure of the noun phrase

Noun phrases are structured by a proto-typical order of functional slots. Each functional slot may be filled by particular elements. The proto-typical order of slots and their respective fillers is shown in Figure 7.1.

(DETERMINER)	(MODIFIER-1)		(HEAD)	(MODIFIER-2)
demonstrative	numeral	adjectives	PERS pronoun[b]	DETERMINER[c]
indefinite	quantifier	property noun	INDF pronoun[b]	adjectives[d]
interrogative			RECOG pronoun[b]	locational[d]
POSS pronoun			noun	quantifier
CHAR NP			property noun	numeral
CHAR NP			nominalised verb	
			compound	

[a] The noun phrase must be marked with adnominal case: POSS NP, TEMP.POSS NP or CHAR NP.

[b] These word classes constitute a whole noun phrase and, thus, are rarely modified.

[c] Elements in the DETERMINER slots can be postposed, if there is no case marker present.

[d] Locationals always occur in this slot (§3.1.6), a few adjectives are limited to this slot (§3.1.4).

Figure 7.1 The structure of the noun phrase

I define the HEAD slot as a semantic head filled by an element which refers to the same entity as the whole phrase. This element is also the syntactic head, in that it shows agreement with the indexation in the verb form. However, this is only applicable if the noun phrase has a core argument function. The HEAD slot can be complex, for example when it is filled with a compound. All other slots serve to limit the set of possible referents in the head. For this reason, proper nouns like personal or place names are rarely modified, and expressions like *ane Naimr* 'that Naimr' are only found if there are several individuals with that name and the speaker wishes to clarify which one is meant. Personal pronouns are never modified in that way.[1]

The DETERMINER slot is separated from the MODIFIER-1 slot for two reasons. First, the elements in this slot are mutually exclusive. Hence, a noun phrase can contain either a possessive or a demonstrative in the DETERMINER slot, but not both. This contrasts with the elements in the MODIFIER-1 slot, of which there

[1] Two exceptions are the postposed adjectives *bana* 'hapless, poor, pityful', which expresses a sympathetic emotion of the speaker towards the referent, and the postposed adjective *kwark* 'deceased'. Both frequently occur with proper nouns (e.g. personal names) as well as personal pronouns.

can be multiple in the same noun phrase. Second, as we will see below, if the noun phrase is not case marked, the elements in the DETERMINER slot can be postposed. If there is a case marker postposing the determiner is a rare exception. Such a restriction does not apply to elements in the MODIFIER-1 slot.

There are two modifier slots, because some word classes, for example locationals, can only occur in the MODIFIER-2 slot and not in the MODIFIER-1 slot. Otherwise, almost all elements which are possible in the MODIFIER-1 slot are also possible in the MODIFIER-2 slot.

Property nouns escape a clear assignment to the MODIFIER-1 slot, because they can optionally take the adjectivalizer suffix *-thé*. In this case, they are derived adjectives in the MODIFIER-1 slot, but derived adjectives show differences in their syntactic behaviour compared to non-derived adjectives. Without the adjectivalizer, property nouns can be a modifier element of a nominal compound. This will be discussed below in §7.5.2.

7.3 The DETERMINER slot

The DETERMINER can be filled with demonstratives (1), interrogatives (2), possessive pronouns (3) and whole noun phases inflected for one of the adnominal cases. These include the possessive (4), temporal possessive (5) and characteristic case (6). In the following examples, noun phrases are marked by rectangled parentheses.

(1) *fi keke zä wrugr* [***zane*** *gwthen*].

fi keke zä w\rugr/ zane gwth=en
3.ABS NEG PROX 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sleep DEM:PROX nest=LOC

'She does not sleep in this nest here.'

(tci20120815 ABB #19)

(2) *wayti erä o* [***ra*** *yawi*] *erä?*

wayti e\rä/ o ra yawi
watermelon 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be or what round thing
e\rä/
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'These are watermelons or what fruits are these?'

(tci20111004 TSA #68)

(3) [***nzone*** *trikasi*] *fobo fof zwaythk.*

nzone trik-si fobo fof
1SG.POSS tell-NMLZ DIST.ALL EMPH
zwa\ythk/
3SG.FEM:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/come.to.end

'My story has come to an end there.'

(tci20111004 TSA #260)

(4) *wth fobo fof thämira ...* [[***ane kabeane***] *wth*].

wth fobo fof thä\mir/a (.)
intestines DIST.ALL EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/hang (.)
ane kabe=ane wth
DEM man=POSS intestines

'She hung the intestines there ... that man's intestines.'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #116-117)

(5) [[***kaythamane***] *karo*] *rä!*

kayé=thamane karo rä
yesterday=TEMP.POSS ground_oven 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

It is yesterday's oven.

(tci20110802 ABB #94)

(6) [[***baguma***] *kabe*] *... foba ... zena mifnen zämnzr.*

bagu=ma kabe (.) foba (.) zena mifne=n
PROP.N=CHAR man (.) DIST.ABL (.) now PLACE.N=LOC
z=ä\m/nzr
PROX=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell

'The Bagu people ... from over there ... live here in Mibini today.'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #175-177)

These different fillers cannot co-occur. Consider example (7) which is taken from a *nzürna trikasi*, a local equivalent to European witch stories. The example contains the complex noun phrase *nä karma kabe*, in which the indefinite *nä* 'some, another' and *kar=ma* 'from the village' are both candidates for the DETERMINER slot. However, the indefinite does not refer to *kabe* 'man', but to *kar* 'village'. In other words, the indefinite fills the DETERMINER slot of the embedded noun phrase, and the embedded noun phrase fills the DETERMINER slot of the matrix noun phrase. This is shown with rectangled brackets in the example. Note that (4) shows the same structure. The MODIFIER-1 slot is not affected by embedding.

(7) [[***nä karma***] ***kabe***] *mane yanatha ... mogarkamma*

nä kar=ma kabe mane
INDF village=CHAR man which
ya\na/tha (.) mogarkam=ma
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/eat (.) PLACE.N=CHAR

'The man from another village which she ate ... from Mogarkam.'

(tci20100901 MAK #201-238)

The determiner can appear in postposed position, which I analyse as non-prototypical order. The rest of this section describes this postposed position of the determiner. Example (8) is taken from the same story as the previous example. The noun phrase *tüfr yam nä* 'many other things' contains the quantifier *tüfr* in the MODIFIER-1 slot, the noun *yam* 'event' in the HEAD slot, and the indefinite *nä* in postposed position. This noun phrase can be arranged in different orders, for example: *nä tüfr yam*, *nä yam tüfr*. However, the DETERMINER and MODIFIER-1 slots cannot be exchanged. This order of elements, for example *tüfr nä yam* would be split into two co-referential noun phrases, which is signalled by a break in the intonation contour and case marking one both noun phrases. Case markers would attach to *tüfr* as well as *nä yam*.

(8) [***tüfr yam nä***] *fefe thwafiyokwrm ... fi fathfa ane fof wäfiyokwa.*

tüfr yam nä fefe thwa\fiyok/wrm (.) fi
plenty event INDF really SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/make (.) but
fath=fa ane fof wä\fiyok/wa
clear_place=ABL DEM EMPH SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/make

'She really did many other things ... but she did this in public.'

(tci201209101-01 MAK #223-224)

We saw in (7) that the determiner refers to the head of the embedded noun phrase and not to the head of the matrix noun phrase. In such cases, the embedded noun phrase 'blocks' the DETERMINER slot, and postposing a determiner is the only option for it to refer to the head of the matrix noun phrase. This is shown in (9), where the postposed indefinite *nä* refers to the head of the matrix noun phrase. The embedded noun phrase *safsma* is marked with the characteristic case in adnominal function. It specifies the head of matrix noun phrase: *safsma kabe* 'man from *Safs*'. Note that the same could be expressed by a nominal compound *safs kabe* '*Safs* man'. The syntactic difference between an embedded noun phrase marked with the characteristic case and a nominal compound lies in the reference of the determiner: *ane safs kabe* 'that *Safs* man' versus *ane safsma kabe* 'man from that *Safs*' (i.e. not from some other place called *Safs*). It follows

that the two elements in (9) restrict the reference of the head simultaneously: the embedded noun phrase *safma* and the postposed determiner *nä*. A postposed determiner usually occurs only, if the noun phrase is not flagged with a case marker. But there are exceptions to this. See (13) discussed below.

(9) [[***safsma***] ***woga nä***] *fobo swamnzrm ... gfi yf*

safs=ma woga nä fobo swa\m/nzrm
PLACE.N=CHAR man INDF DIST.ALL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell
(.) gfi yf
(.) PROP.N name

'Another man from Safs lived there ... by the name of Géfi.'

(tci20111107-01 MAK #76)

Although very rare, both DETMINER slots – that of the embedded noun phrase and that of the matrix noun phrase – can be filled. In (10), the first non-singular possessive *nzenme* refers to *mayawa*, the head of the embedded noun phrase, and indefinite determiner *nä* refers to *kabe*, the head of the matrix noun phrase.

(10) [[***nzenme mayawama***] ***kabe nä***] *fä thägathizath.*

nzenme mayawa=ma kabe nä fä
1NSG.POSS PROP.N=CHAR man INDF DIST
thägathizath
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV/leave

'They left some of our Mayawa people there.'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #170)

It follows from the discussion above that two determiners must belong to different noun phrases, if they occur next to each other, like *zane* and *nä* in example (11). In this example, I analyse *zane* as a noun phrase with an omitted head.

(11) [***zane***] [***nä yawi***] *yé.*

zane nä yawi yé
DEM:PROX INDF round_object 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'This is another fruit.'

(tci20120815 ABB #39)

The elements in the DETERMINER slot cannot be inflected for the full range of cases. For example, demonstratives cannot be inflected for ergative, dative, possessive and the three spatial cases. In (12), the indefinite *nä* is interpreted as referring to object argument, not the ergative marked argument.

(12) [*nof*] [***nä***] *nima thäkothmako.*

no=f nä nima
water=ERG.SG INDF like_this
thä\kothm/ako
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV:ANDAT/chase

'The flood chased away others like this.'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #125)

However, elicitation has shown that even this is possible, but such a structure is marked and very rare. A textual example is shown in (13), where *ane* refers to the preceding noun, which is flagged with an ergative. Note that in this example, *ane* is followed by the emphatic particle *fof*, which has always scope over the preceding phrase (§3.4.2). Thus, *fof* may 'help' to mark the right edge of the noun phrase *gwamf ane*. This is, however, not the main function of *fof*.

(13) *wati* [***gwamf ane***] *fof ezi ŋatha thäsa thgathgen.*

wati gwam=f ane fof ezi ŋatha
then PROP.N=ERG.SG DEM EMPH morning dog
thä\s/a thgathg=en
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/call burned_place=LOC

'Well, that Gwam called the dogs to the burned place in the morning.'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #79)

The above description shows that there are some problems with the analysis of postposing elements in the DETERMINER slot. Determiners like *zane* or *ane* or *nä*, and even possessive phrases can stand alone, if the head of the phrase is recoverable from the context. An alternative would be to analyse the postposed elements as independent noun phrases which are (i) co-referential with the preceding noun phrase, and which (ii) lack an element in the HEAD slot. This is always possible and, as we will see below, it is quite common to have co-referential noun phrases in one clause. Sometimes intervening material, for example adverbials, allows us to make a clear decision. If there is no intervening material, only the intonation contour indicates whether a particular example should be analysed as one or two noun phrases.

Syntactic evidence for the possibility of postposing the determiner comes from fronted relative clauses which are commonly used for topicalisation (See §10.4). Fronted relative clauses of this type have the following structure: NP *mane* COPULA. They only allow a full noun phrase before the relative pronoun *mane* 'which, who'. In (14), the noun phrase includes the postposed indefinite determiner *nä* following its head *ŋatha* 'dog'. Below, the fronted relative clause is marked by parentheses.

(14) *fi* ([***kafar ŋatha nä***] *mane erera*) *fi ane bä bkwaruthrmth büdisnen mnz znen.*

fi kafar ŋatha nä mane e\rä/ra fi ane bä
but big dog INDF which 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be 3.ABS DEM MED
b=kwa\ru/thrmth büdisn=en mnz zn=en
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/bark PL=LOC house place=LOC

'But, as for the other big dogs, they were barking there in Büdisn at the house.'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #95)

7.4 The MODIFIER slots

The elements in the MODIFIER slots are different from those in DETERMINER slot. They can all be inflected for case, if they happen to occur as the last element of the noun phrase. This is shown below in (15) and (16). In example (15), the adjective in the MODIFIER-1 slot precedes the head. In example (16), it follows the head in the MODIFIER-2 slot, and consequently the adjective receives the case marker.

(15) *finzo fä fof* ***ane kafar emothf*** *thwathofiknm*

fi=nzo fä fof ane kafar emoth=f
3.ABS=ONLY DIST EMPH DEM big girl=ERG.SG
thwa\thofik/nm
SG:SBJ>2|3DU:OBJ:PST:DUR/disturb

'Only they (were) there. That big girl was disturbing them.'

(tci20111119-01 ABB #150)

(16) *watik* ***yfö katanr*** *kwa yarenzr.*

watik yfö katan=r kwa ya\re/nzr
then hole small=PURP FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/look

'Then, he will look around for a small hole.'

(tci20130903-04 RNA #26)

There are some restrictions for specific elements, for example the locationals can only inflect for spatial cases. Furthermore, all locationals (§3.1.6) and a few adjectives (§3.1.4) only occur in the MODIFIER-2 slot, not in the MODIFIER-1 slot. One such adjective is *kwark* 'late, deceased' in (17). It occurs in the MODIFIER-2 slot, and therefore it is flagged with the ergative case. Note that the proper name *Wäni* is also inflected with the ergative and forms a noun phrase co-referential to *nafaŋafe kwark* 'his late father'.

(17) *wati ...* ***nafaŋafe kwarkf*** *... wänif krekariso*

wati (.) nafa-ŋafe kwark=f (.) wäni=f
then (.) 3.POSS-father deceased=ERG.SG (.) PROP.N=ERG.SG
kre\karis/o
SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV:ANDAT/hear

'Then, his late father, Wäni, heard (about it).'

(tci20120814 ABB #114)

Another difference between elements in the DETERMINER slot and the MODIFIER slots is that elements in the latter may be multiple. I can only give examples from elicitation here as there are no examples in the corpus, where (i) all slots are filled and (ii) multiple items occur in the MODIFIER slot.

(18) a. *ane kafar yfrsé wämne*
ane kafar yfrsé wämne
DEM big black tree
'that big black tree'

b. *zane eda zanfr garda*
zane eda zanfr garda
DEM:PROX two long canoe
'these two long canoes'

c. *nafane kafar mnz banbanen*
nafane kafar mnz banban=en
3SG.POSS big house underneath=LOC
'underneath his big house'

The lack of textual examples, which display all possible fillers at once, is best explained by a strong tendency to distribute information over several co-referential noun phrases, either in the same clause or over a series of clauses. This can be seen in (17) and (14) above or (19) below, but also in many examples throughout this grammar. I address this topic in the following section.

7.5 The HEAD slot

As pointed out above in §7.2, the head of a noun phrase is both the notional head as well as the syntactic head. It is the notional head in the sense that it expresses what the whole noun phrase is about, and all other elements in a noun phrase serve to restrict the reference of the head. It is the syntactic head, because it agrees in gender and number with the indexation in the verb. Below, I will address two points which sit on opposite ends of a spectrum: the ellipsis of the head, and complex heads involving compounds.

However, before I come to those two points I want to make a general point about noun phrases in Komnzo. It is quite common to have multiple co-referential noun phrases. These can occur in the same clause or across a sequence of clauses. In example (19), the speaker talks about an old woman who was married to three men in her lifetime, but she had children only with one of them. Several noun phrases are co-referential. In the example, they are indexed with subscripted numbers.

(19) [***ausiane nagayé***]$_1$ *...* [***anenzo***]$_1$ *fof ern* [***edanzo***]$_1$ *...* [***nä***]$_2$ *mane yarako* [***ausiane kabe***]$_2$ [***nafafis***]$_2$ *ngemär yara ...* [***kafarkafar***]$_2$ *yara*

ausi=ane nagayé (.) ane=nzo fof
old woman=POSS.SG children (.) DEM=ONLY EMPH
e\rn/ eda=nzo (.) nä mane
2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be two=ONLY (.) INDF which
ya\r/ako ausi=ane kabe
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:ANDAT/be old woman=POSS man
nafa-fis nge=mär ya\r/a (.) kafar-kafar
3.POSS-husband child=PRIV 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.) REDUP-big
ya\r/a
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be

'The old woman has only those two children. As for the other one, old woman's man, her husband, he was without children. He was very old (when they got married)'

(tci20131013-02 ABB #334-336)

On the other end of the spectrum, noun phrases can be wholly omitted, since the indexation in the verb is sufficient. In this way, a single verb often stands as a whole clause. Example (20) describes the path which the ancestor took and what actions he did along the way. Since the protagonist is highly topical at this point in the story, the respective noun phrase is left out. Moreover, the last two verbs *zwafrmnzrm* 'he was preparing it (FEM)' and *zurzirakwa* 'he tied it (FEM)' occur without any noun phrases. That is because the object noun phrase (*nabi ŋatr* 'bowstring') was mentioned already.

(20) *nabi ŋatr fä fof zurärm zwafrmnzrm ... zurzirakwa fof.*

nabi ŋatr fä fof zu\rä/rm
bamboo bowstring DIST EMPH SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/do
zwa\frm/nzrm (.)
SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/prepare (.)
zu\rzirak/wa fof
SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/tie EMPH

'Over there, he made his bowstring. He prepared it. He tied it.'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #235-236)

7.5.1 Ellipsis of the HEAD

The head of a noun phrase is often omitted. Consider example (21), where a mother tells me that she had sent two small children to dig for worms. The example starts out with the noun phrase *zane edawä kakatan* 'these two small (ones)'. Ellipsis of the head only occurs when the head is recoverable from previous context, or if it is common ground between speaker and hearer.

(21) ***zane edawä kakatan*** *... fosam daisy fi zarath dd etharinath*

zane eda=wä ka-katan (.) fosam daisy fi
DEM:PROX two=EMPH REDUP-small (.) PROP.N PROP.N 3.ABS
za\r/ath dd e\thari/nath
2|3DU:SBJ:PST:PFV/do worm 2|3DU:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV/dig

'These two small (ones), Fosam and Daisy, they did that. They dug the worms.'

(tci20120922-25 ALK #5)

Example (22) shows the indefinite demonstrative *nä* used twice without a head. This is possible because the appropriate filler for the HEAD slot *zuzi* 'fishing line' was already mentioned.

(22) *zuzi thethkäfath migsi ...* ***nä*** *zba wazi ...* ***nä*** *boba wazi.*

zuzi the\thkäf/ath mig-si (.) nä
fishing line 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/start hang-NMLZ (.) INDF
zba wazi (.) nä boba wazi
PROX.ABL side (.) INDF MED.ABL side

'They started hanging the fishing lines ... some on this side and some on the other side.'

(tci20150906-01 ABB #52-53)

Example (23) is a description of a fish trap. These long bamboo baskets always consists of a larger basket and a smaller basket which is placed inside the bigger one. In the example, the speaker refers to the smaller basket as *nafane nge* 'its child' and later only with an adjective *katan* 'small' which is flagged with an ergative case marker.

(23) *nafane nge ... wati kofä fthé brigsir n krär ...* ***katanf*** *kwa ynbrigwr zbo ... keke kwa kränmätr.*

nafane nge (.) wati kofä fthé brig-si=r n
3SG.POSS child (.) then fish when return-NMLZ=PURP IMN
krä\r/ (.) katan=f kwa
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/do (.) small=ERG.SG FUT
yn\brig/wr zbo (.) keke
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/return PROX.ALL (.) NEG
kwa krän\mätr/
FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/exit

'Its child ... well, when the fish tries to return, the small (one) will bring it back here ... it will not get out.'

(tci20120906 MAB #55-58)

7.5.2 Compounds

On the other end of the spectrum are complex heads. The Komnzo lexicon contains a large number of nominal compounds. These may consist of nouns, property nouns and nominalised verbs. Table 7.1 shows a few examples of compounds with different nominal subclasses.

Table 7.1 Nominal compounds

type of compound	example	components		translation
noun + noun	*wawa mnz*	*wawa*	*mnz*	'yamhouse'
		yam	house	
	wath kabe	*wath*	*kabe*	'dancer(s)'
		dance	man/people	
property noun + noun	*wri kabe*	*wri*	*kabe*	'drunkard'
		intoxication	man/people	
noun + property noun	*zan miyo*	*zan*	*miyo*	'bloodlust'
		killing	desire	
nom. verb + noun	*borsi zokwasi*	*bor-si*	*zokwasi*	'joke'
		play-NMLZ	words	
noun + nom. verb	*si zübraksi*	*si*	*zübrak-si*	'prayer'
		eye	close.eye-NMLZ	

Compounds are always right-headed, that is the rightmost element is not only the semantic head, but it determines the word class, number and gender of the whole compound. Although the first element in *wawa mnz* 'yam house' is masculine, it is the second element *mnz* 'house' which determines the gender (FEM

in this case). Likewise, although the first element in *wri kabe* is a property noun – and property nouns do not show gender agreement – it is the second word *kabe* 'man' which enables gender agreement for the whole compound.

Compounds can be embedded within one another, which can lead to combinations of usually up to three elements. A rare example of a compound with four elements was coined by one of my informants to describe the botanist on our team: *wämne taga yf kabe* (lit. 'tree leaf name man'). Embedded compounds are always left-branching, and thus we can represent long compounds in this way: $[[[\textit{wämne taga}]_3\ \textit{yf}]_2\ \textit{kabe}]_1$. Two corpus examples for longer compounds are given in (24) and (25) below.

(24) *ane* ***ksi kar emoth*** *thwanorm*

ane ksi kar emoth thwa\nor/m
DEM bush place girl 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/shout

'These bush girls were shouting.'

(tci20120821-02 LNA #36)

(25) ***baf*** *fthé sräbth nima ...* ***kabe zan miyof***

baf fthé srä\bth/
RECOG.ERG.SG when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/finish
nima (.) kabe zan miyo=f
like.this (.) man hitting desire=ERG.SG

'That is when it overcomes him ... that bloodlust for people.'

(tci20130903-04 RNA #84-85)

Complex heads are different from complex noun phrases, that is compounds in the HEAD slot are distinct from embedded noun phrases. The latter must be marked with adnominal case. Let us take the compound from example (24): *ane ksi kar emoth* 'those bush girls' (lit. 'DEM bush place girl'). We can embed the noun phrase *ksi kar* 'bush place' into the matrix noun phrase by adding the characteristic case (=*ma*): *ksi karma emoth* 'girls from the bush'. In addition to case marking, the reference of the demonstrative *ane* in initial position depends on whether a noun phrase is embedded or the head contains a compound. In the former case, *ane* refers to the head of the embedded noun phrase: *ane ksi karma emoth* 'girls from that bush place'. If the head slot contains a compound, and no embedding takes place, the demonstrative refers to the compound as in (24). The reference of the DETERMINER slot was described above in §7.3.

Property nouns can appear in both positions of a compound (See Table 7.1 above). If a property noun appears as the first element, it modifies the head of

the compound, for example *wri kabe* 'drunkard' in Table 7.1. Property nouns optionally take the adjectivaliser *-thé*. If this suffix is present, for example in *writhé kabe*, it is clear that the derived adjective appears in the MODIFER-1 slot, and is not part of a compound. The semantic difference is between *wri kabe* 'drunkard' – someone who is frequently drunk – and *writhé kabe* 'drunk man' – someone who is drunk. Syntactically, the derived adjective behaves like other adjectives, for example it can appear after the head in the MODIFIER-2 slot. Without the adjectivaliser, a change in order would change the meaning of the compound, e.g. *kabe wri* 'people's / men's intoxication'. However, as mentioned above, the adjectivaliser suffix is optional for property nouns. Additionally, property nouns can function predicatively (26). This creates some problems for the analysis of particular examples.

(26) *kabe **wri** kwosi sfthnm.*

kabe wri kwosi sf\thn/m
man drunk dead 3SG.MASC:PST.DUR/lie

'The man was lying down dead drunk.'

(overheard)

Lastly, I want to address compounds which involve nominalised verbs. Consider the compounds in (27) and (28). In (27), the speaker points out that these were *mgthksi ruga* 'raised pigs' as opposed to wild pigs. In (28), the speaker stresses that he has raised enough pigs in his life, and that *ruga mgthksi* 'pig feeding' is too much work.

(27) *ruga tabrunzo erera nima berä ... **mgthksi ruga***

ruga tabru=nzo e\rä/ra nima
pig five=ONLY 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be like_this
b=e\rä/ (.) mgthk-si ruga
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) feed-NMLZ pig

'There were only five pigs like these ... raised pigs.'

(tci20120904-02 MAB #248-249)

(28) *zena keke miyo worä **ruga mgthksi** ... znsä ttüfr*

zena keke miyo wo\rä/ ruga mgthk-si (.) znsä
today NEG desire 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be pig feed-NMLZ (.) work
t-tüfr
REDUP-plenty

'Today, I do not want to feed pigs ... too much work.' (lit. 'I do not desire pig feeding')

(tci20120805-01 ABB #819-820)

We find that compounds, which involve nominalised verbs, follow the same rule as other compounds: the rightmost element acts as the head of the compound. For example, *zan kabe* (killing+man) 'killer, headhunter' is a kind of man, whereas *kabe zan* (man+killing) 'war, fighting' is a nominalised activity.[2] For the following discussion, I will refer to the first pattern as noun-headed compounds, and the latter as verb-headed compounds.

In noun-headed compounds, the argument role of the noun with respect to the verb is less determined than in verb-headed compounds. The following argument roles are found: actor (*zan kabe* 'killer'), patient (*mgthksi ruga* 'feeding pig' in (27) above), instrument (*bi näbüsi wämne* 'sago beating stick'), location (*yonasi faf* 'drinking place'), or time (*tharisi efoth* 'harvesting time'). This variability contrasts with verb-headed compounds, where the noun is always a patient or theme, as in *kabe zan* 'war' (lit. 'people hitting'), *ruga mgthksi* 'pig feeding' in (28) above, or *wawa yarisi* 'yam exchange' (lit. 'yam giving'). Note that there is an implied agent in most of these examples. It follows that (nominalised) intransitive verbs do not participate in verb-headed compounds. For example, there can be a *mthizsi kabe* 'resting person' or a *yathizsi kabe* 'dying person'. But the reverse order is ungrammatical: **kabe mthizsi* or **kabe yathizsi*.

Some stems have been shown to be rather fluid in valency depending on the morphological template (§5.4.3), for example *msaksi* 'dwell, sit (v.i.), set (v.t.)'. It is no surpise, that these verbs allow both types of compounds. The noun-headed compound *msaksi kabe* 'sitting people' can describe a group of people who stay behind, while others are attending a dance. The verb-headed compound *kabe msaksi* 'married life' takes on the transitive meaning of the verb, and it means literally: 'the sitting down of the man'.[3]

7.6 The inclusory construction

The inclusory construction builds on the associative case (§4.15). I adopt the term inclusory construction from (Lichtenberk, 2000) and (Singer, 2001). Singer defines the inclusory construction as "an endocentric construction in which some elements of a larger group are referred to along with the larger group itself" (2001: 1). Thus, we have a construction that involves a set and one or more subsets. In Komnzo, the set is always expressed in the verb form. It follows that the inclusory construction only involves core arguments, that is arguments flagged with the ergative, absolutive or dative case. For the following description, I introduce the terms 'associative phrase' and 'core phrase'. The associative phrase expresses

[2] *Zan* 'hit, kill' is irregular in that its infinitive is not based on the normal root-NMLZ pattern.

[3] From the perspective of a man, one could also use *ŋare msaksi* 'married life' (lit. 'the sitting down of the woman').

the participant, who is included in the event. The core phrase expresses a subset different from the one expressed in the associative phrase or it may express the set. We will see below why this is sometimes difficult to determine with certainty. While the reference of the core phrase does not automatically include the subset expressed in the associative phrase, both are included in the set indexed in the verb form. I choose the terms 'core phrase' and 'associative phrase' over more general terms like 'subset A' and 'subset B' because the core phrase is flagged with the case marker appropriate for the argument role of the set, while the associative phrase is flagged with the associative case.

What is special about the inclusory construction in Komnzo is that although both core phrase and associative phrase may refer to distinct subsets, the latter always does, the number marking on each phrase has scope over the total set. Consider example (29) where the set encoded in the verb is second/third dual. The two subsets are expressed by the personal names *Maureen* and *Kowi*. The core phrase is flagged with a non-singular ergative (*Maureen=é*), and the associative phrase is flagged with an associative dual (*Kowi=r*). The point here is that the scope of the number value is always the set and not the respective subsets.[4]

(29) *Maureené bi ynäbünth Kowir.*

maureen=é bi
PERS.N=ERG.NSG sago(ABS)
y\näbü/nth kowi=r
2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/beat PERS.N=ASSOC.DU

'Maureen together with Kowi beats Sago.' (lit. 'Maureen with Kowi, they beat Sago.')

Example (29) shows that a non-singular attaches to a personal name. In example (30), the set encoded in the verb is first plural. Note that the core phrase is omitted here, but it could be expressed by the pronoun *ni* (1NSG). There are multiple associative phrases in the example: *nä srakä* 'with some boy(s)', *mafä thzé* 'with whoever' and *Mosesä* 'with Moses'. Since the total set is bigger than the mininal group, i.e. bigger than two, the associative phrase has to be marked as plural. Therefore, the personal name *Moses* is marked for plural.

(30) *nä srakä kwa nyak ... mafä thzé ... Mosesä.*

nä srak=ä kwa n\yak/ (.) maf=ä
some boy=ASSOC.PL FUT 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk (.) who=ASSOC.PL
thzé (.) moses=ä
ever (.) PERS.N=ASSOC.PL

[4]Note that literal translations of the inclusory construction are rather clumsy: 'Maureen with Kowi beat Sago', whereas idiomatic English translations imply that the verb is indexing a singular as in (29).

'We will go with some boy(s) ... with whoever ... with Moses.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #749-750)

The abstract structure of the inclusory construction is shown in Figure 7.2 below. The circle represents the set, and the line in the middle cuts the total set into two subsets. The arrows on the left point to the referents expressed by each element. Note that there could be more than one associative phrase as in (30), and an example like (30) could be further elaborated by adding associative phrases, for example *Maureenä* and *Kowiä* to mean 'with Moses, with Maureen, with Kowi'. These aditional associative phrases are not represented in Figure 7.2 because they would receive the same marking as the first associative phrase.[5] The arrow on the right shows that the number value encoded in each element tracks the number of the total set.

Figure 7.2 The inclusory construction

Figure 7.2 shows that the number values differ. The core phrase is always in non-singular. This is the expected behaviour of number marking on nominals (§4.3), which makes a distinction between singular and non-singular leaving the subdivision between dual and plural to the verb inflection. As for the associative phrase, number marking is more specific showing agreement with the verb inflection, thus encoding dual versus plural instead of singular versus non-singular. Because the set in the inclusory construction is minimally two, a singular on the core phrase or a singular in the verb inflection would be ungrammatical. For the associative case, there is not singular number value available. The enclitics *=r* and *=ä* encode dual and plural respectively.

[5]Naturally, this is only possible if there are more than two participants in the total set.

Table 7.2 Associative case / pronominals

	PERSON	NUMBER	
		DUAL	PLURAL
PERSONAL PRONOUNS	1	*ninrr*	*ninä*
	2	*bnrr*	*bnä*
	3	*nafrr*	*nafä*
RECOGNITIONAL		*bafrr*	*bafä*
INDEFINITE		*nä bunrr*	*nä bunä*
INTERROGATIVE		*mafrr*	*mafä*
CASE ENCLITIC		*=r*	*=ä*

The corresponding pronominal forms of the associative case are shown in Table 7.2. The relevant pronominals are personal pronouns, the recognitional demonstrative, the indefinite pronoun and the interrogative. Two observations can be made from Table 7.2. First, all forms include a /rr/ element for dual and an /ä/ element for plural. Second, most forms are built from the ergative pronominal. For example, the third person absolutive is *fi*, whereas the third person ergative is *naf* (SG) or *nafa* (NSG). The associative third person forms, *nafrr* (DU) and *nafä* (PL) are formally closer to the ergative than to the absolutive. Another example is the interrogative, where the absolutive is *mane* 'who, which' and the ergative is *maf* (SG) and *mafa* (NSG). The two exceptions are the first person and the indefinite pronoun. The first person non-singular is *ni*, and it neutralizes the distinction between absolutive and ergative. The indefinite pronoun is *nä bun*, and it takes regular case enclitics just like nouns. Therefore, *nä bun* is analysed as being zero-marked, thus, absolutive.

Figure 7.2 shows that the core phrase always encodes non-singular number. As we have seen, this holds true for cases where there are only two participants and consequently the two subsets in the core phrase and the associative phrase refer to a single individual respectively. The examples below show this for an ergative-marked argument, *amayé nanyr* 'mother with big sister' (31), an absolutive-marked argument, *emothé bnrr* 'girl with you' (32), and a dative-marked argument, *sraknm nafrr* 'boy with him' (33). In contrasting examples without the inclusory construction, all of these would receive a singular marker of the respective cases. Note that the non-singular absolutive *=é* in (32) is the same as the non-singular ergative *=é* in (31). This syncretism is also found in the personal pronouns where *ni* is both first person non-singular absolutive and ergative (§3.1.8). The absolutive singular is always zero-marked, and the non-singular formative *=é* is optional (§4.4). In the inclusory construction, however, non-singular number is obligatorily encoded on the core phrase.

(31) *mni ŋagarnth amayé nanyr.*

mni ŋa\gar/nth ama=é
firewood 2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/break mother=ERG.NSG
nane=r
elder_sibling=ASSOC.DU

'Mother together with big sister split firewood.' (lit. 'Mother with big sister, they split firewood.')

(tci20150919-05 LNA #140)

(32) *kabef emothé emarn bnrr.*

kabe=f emoth=é e\mar/n
man=ERG.SG girl=ABS.NSG 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3DU:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/see
bnrr
2.DU.ASSOC

'The man sees the girl together with you.' (lit. 'The man sees them, the girl with you.')

(33) *ŋafyf sraknm dunzi ärin nafrr.*

ŋafe=f srak=nm dunzi
father=ERG.SG boy=DAT.NSG arrow
ä\ri/n nafrr
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3DU:IO:NPST:IPFV/give 3.DU.ASSOC

'The father gives the arrow to the boy together with him.' (lit. 'Father gives them the arrow, the boy with him.')

If the total set indexed in the verb is two, then it follows that the two phrases can only refer to a single individual, even though the core phrase has to be marked for non-singular (29 and 31-33). If the total set indexed in the verb is plural, it is unclear whether both subsets are bigger than one or whether one of them is singular and if so, which one. Example (30) above is unambiguous because the associative phrase is expressed by a personal name (*Moses*=ASSOC.PL). If the associative phrase it expressed by a noun or pronoun, we are left with contextual clues. In example (34), the speaker talks about marriage customs explaining that his clan will not exchange sisters with those clans, with which they share a land boundary. In this example, *nafä* has to be translated as a plural 'with them'.

(34) *ni nafäwä bad wkurwre ... fi neba erä ... ni neba*

ni nafä=wä bad w\kur/wre (.)
1NSG 3PL.ASSOC=EMPH ground 1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/split (.)
fi neba e\rä/ (.) ni neba
3.ABS opposite 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) 1 opposite

'We really share a land boundary with them. They are there and we (are) here. (lit. we cut the ground with them)'

(tci20120814 ABB #307)

In contrast, in example (35) *nafä* refers to a singular 'with him'. This example is taken from a text about grief, and the speaker justifies a particular mourning custom by pointing out that he and his family have shared a lifetime with the deceased person.

(35) *... bänema ni nafä kwamränzrme. ni nafä nzwamnzrm.*

(.) bäne=ma ni nafä kwa\mrä/nzrme ni
(.) RECOG=CHAR 1NSG 3PL.ASSOC 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/stroll 1NSG
nafä nzwa\m/nzrm
3PL.ASSOC 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell

'... because we walked around with him. We lived with him.'

(tci20120805 ABB #830-831)

It follows that out of context the pronoun *nafä* can refer to an individual or to a group of people in (34) and (35). This is also true for the pronoun *ni* (1NSG) in both examples. I pointed out above that the core phrase is always non-singular, even if the subset expressed by the core phrase is singular. Hence, the pronoun *ni* can refer to an individual or a group of people, and out of context example (34) can be translated as 'I share land with them', 'We share land with him' or 'We share land with them'. What it cannot mean is 'I share land with him'. For this meaning, the verb would have to index a dual and the associative phrase would have to be marked for dual number.[6]

In the following discussion, I want to address the question whether or not the associative phrase and the core phrase form a constituent. From a semantic perspective, we can answer this question in the affirmative, but we can also find some structural evidence that the associative phrase and the core phrase form a functional unit. I have shown above that the associative phrase agrees with the verb in number. The core phrase, on the other hand, agrees with the verb in person and number. The number category is very telling because it is always non-singular. Additionally, the core phrase is assigned the appropriate the case marker by the argument structure of the verb. I take these points as structural evidence that the associative phrase and the core phrase form a functional unit. However, they do not constitute a formal unit; a phrase. In other words, the associative case in the inclusory construction does not function in the way that

[6]The inclusory construction can be seen as a syntactic equivalent to distributed exponence in the verb morphology (§5.2).

adnominal case does. For example, the characteristic case signals that one noun phrase is embedded into a matrix noun phrase. There is a fixed structure for embedding, and scrambling of elements which belong to the matrix phrase is not possible in Komnzo (§7.2). There may be several instantiations of an argument in a clause, but these noun phrases are always marked for the same case. As we have seen above, the associative phrase can be moved independently of the core phrase. Moreover, most corpus examples lack a core phrase altogether. In conclusion, the inclusory construction is different from adnominal case, like the characteristic or possessive case. The core phrase and the associative phrase are not integrated into a matrix phrase.

The inclusory construction also differs from coordinative constructions (§9.2). Example (36) shows the same state-of-affairs as expressed in (29) above, but using a conjunctive coordination. The main structural differences are that in coordination: (i) a conjunction like *a* 'and' is required, (ii) the coordinated noun phrases have to precede and follow the conjunction, (iii) both noun phrases receive the same case marker, (iv) the case marker can be singular. Note that in (29) above the associative phrase *Kowir* could occur in all other positions. Nevertheless, the most natural positions are either after the verb or right after *Maureené*.

(36) *Maureenf a Kowif bi ynäbünth.*

Maureen=f a Kowi=f bi
PERS.N=ERG.SG and PERS.N=ERG.SG sago(ABS)
y\näbü/nth
2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/beat

'Maureen and Kowi beat sago.'

Furthermore, the elements in an inclusory construction can be coordinated as in (37) where the two associative phrases *nä oromanr* 'with another old man' and *nä kabe* 'with another man' are part of a disjunctive coordination connected by *o* 'or'.

(37) *nä oromanr o nä kaber fi bämrn.*

nä oroman=r o nä kabe=r fi
INDF old_man=ASSOC.DU or INDF man=ASSOC.DU 3.ABS
b=ä\m/rn
MED=2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit

'He is sitting there with another old man or another man. (lit. with some old man or with some man they two sit there)'

(tci20111004 RMA #343)

There is no clear semantic difference between coordination and the inclusory construction, but the difference seems to be pragmatic. While coordination places the two elements on the same rank, the inclusory construction may be used to highlight the referent expressed in the associative phrase. This is supported by the fact that in most corpus examples the core phrase is omitted, because its reference has been established earlier. Example (37) above was uttered as the description of a set of pictures cards. I reproduce the example in a longer context in (38) below. The speaker talks about the protagonist of the story who is drinking with his friends. While describing the picture card, the speaker points out that the protagonist is sitting with another man. He then asks about the topic of their conversation. This other man is expressed in the associative phrase. The same state of affairs could be expressed by a coordinative construction ('He and another man are sitting there'). The point is that the inclusory construction can be used to introduce a new participant, and thus has a pragmatic function. Note that the associative phrase occurs in the first position of the clause.

(38) *ane fof yamnzr byé. wri kabenzo ... ane bramöwä ... fof ausifäth nä berä ... ttrikasi ŋatrikwrth ... nä oromanr o nä kaber fi bämrn ... skiski warfo. monme fi yatrikwr ... nafan?*

ane fof ya\m/nzr
DEM EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit
b=\yé/ wri kabe=nzo (.) ane
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be drunk man=ONLY (.) DEM
bramöwä (.) fof ausi=fäth nä
all (.) EMPH old_woman=DIM INDF
b=e\rä/ (.) t-trik-si
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) REDUP-tell-NMLZ
ŋa\trik/wrth (.) nä oroman=r o nä
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell (.) INDF old_man=ASSOC.DU or INDF
kabe=r fi b=ä\m/rn (.) skiski
man=ASSOC.DU 3.ABS MED=2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit (.) platform
warfo monme fi ya\trik/wr (.)
on_top how but 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/tell (.)
nafan
3SG.DAT

'That is the one sitting there. (They are) drunkards ... all of them. There is some woman. They are telling stories. He is sitting there with another old man or another man ... on the platform. But what is he telling him?'

(tci20111004 RMA #340-345)

Lichtenberk suggests two parameters for a typology of inclusory pronominals: "(i) do the inclusory pronominal and the included NP together form a syntactic

construction, a phrase, or not?; and (ii) is there or is there not an overt marker of the relation between the inclusory pronominal and the included NP?" (2000: 3). This sets up a fourfold possibility space.[7] The second parameter is clear for Komnzo: the associative case is an overt marker of the inclusory construction. With respect to the first parameter, I hope to have shown above that Komnzo does not give a neat answer to these questions. In terms of agreement, we may say that the two elements agree, but they agree in their own ways. In terms of noun phrase syntax, it would be a rather aberrant noun phrase. Therefore, I suggest that Lichtenberk's typology should be expanded. A more fine-grained reformulation of his first parameter could help capture what constitutes a 'syntactic construction', for example verb agreement and phrase structure. Singer's typology (2001) concetrates of the locus of where the total set is encoded. She draws a distinction between Type 1, in which the set of total participants is represented by an independent pronoun, and Type 2, in which it is represented by a verbal affix. Komnzo clearly belongs into the Type 2 category. But we can make a case that Komnzo also belongs into Type 1, because the associative phrase, which can be a pronoun, encodes the number of the total set.

Lichtenberk argues that the marker of inclusory constructions is often historically related to the coordinate conjunction or to the comitative case, but he adds that the inclusory construction differs from both.[8] We have seen in §4.15, that there is no inclusory construction and no number distinction with inanimates, and only *=ä* is attached as a case marker. With inanimates, *=ä* can be analysed as comitative case. On the other hand, the function of *=r* (DU) and *=ä* (PL) with animates is an inclusory function, which differs markedly from the associative with inanimates. I follow Lichtenberk by analysing *=r* and *=ä* as markers of a distinct inclusory construction, but for practical purposes I retain the label ASSOC in the gloss instead introducing a separate label for the inclusory category.

[7]The four possibilities are: 1. +syntactic construction +overt marker, 2. +syntactic construction -overt marker, 3. -syntactic construction +overt marker, 4. -syntactic construction -overt marker.

[8]"In explicit inclusory constructions, the marker of the relation between the inclusory pronominal and the included NP is typically etymologically related either to the coordinate conjunction 'and' or to the comitative marker in the language." (Lichtenberk, 2000: 4) and "The phrasal inclusory construction is neither coordinating nor comitative; it is a construction *sui generis*." (Lichtenberk, 2000: 30, emphasis in original)

Chapter 8

Clausal syntax

8.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the syntax within simple clauses. In Komnzo, a large part of the argument structure is encoded in the verb morphology. This is described in §5.4, and summarised in Table 5.3. Therefore, the following description of clause types is brief for those types which have been addressed before, but more detailed for other types where the verb morphology plays a smaller role.

8.2 Constituent order

The basic word order in Komnzo is SOV, more accurately AUV (agent undergoer verb).[1] Recipients of ditransitives also precede the verb and follow the agent noun phrase, but there is no clear position with respect to the theme argument. Evidence for basic word order comes from the use of the recognitional demonstrative (§3.1.11.6). In example (1), the object argument is expressed first by the recognitional *bäne* 'those ones' and then by the noun *züm* 'centipedes'. The speaker uses the recognitional in absolutive case in the position where the constituent normally occurs. This is a tip-of-the-tongue situation, and therefore the speaker fills in the appropriate referent after the verb. Note that there is usually a break in the intonation contour if any constituent occurs after the verb.

(1) *nzürna ŋaref* ***bäne*** *sasryoftha* ***züm***

nzürna ŋare=f bäne sa\sryofth/a
PROP.N woman=ERG RECOG.ABS SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:PST:PFV/send
züm
centipede

'The *nzürna* woman send those ones after him ... the centipedes.'

(tci20120827-03 KUT #138)

[1] As I explain in §5.4.1, the concept of 'subject' is not well supported in Komnzo. Therefore, I use the term as a metalinguistic shortcut only where I find it appropriate.

Experiencer-object constructions (§8.3.10) deviate from the basic word order. The experiencer is placed almost always before the stimulus, that is the undergoer comes first and the actor follows (2). This can be explained by the relative salience of the experiencer in such constructions and the fact that it almost always ranks higher in terms of animacy.

(2) *ŋatha kawakawaf bthefaf.*

ŋatha kawakawa=f b=the\faf/
dog madness=ERG MED=2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:PFV/hold

'The dogs went crazy there.' (lit. 'madness has grabbed the dogs')

(tci20130907-02 JAA #488)

AUV word order is only a tendency in Komnzo. In fact, most clauses lack overt noun phrases for the respective constituents. The flagging of noun phrases with case allows for some flexibility in the arrangement of constituents. However, deviations from the basic word order are often pragmatically motivated. In example (3)[2], the speaker replies to a question whether a particular individual is his brother in-law. He says 'really my brother in-law' and then gives an explanation in the following clause, where the undergoer appears before the actor. The reversal of constituents can be explained as a strategy to focus the undergoer argument, that is *mayawa emoth* 'mayawa sister' is focussed by fronting.

(3) *nzone ngom fof ...* ***mayawa emoth*** *naf zefafa fof*

nzone ngom fof (.) mayawa emoth naf
1SG.POSS brother_in_law EMPH (.) PROP.N girl 3SG.ERG
ze\faf/a fof
SG:SBJ:PST.PFV/marry EMPH

'My brother in-law ... He married a Mayawa sister.'

(tci20120814 ABB #391-392)

In example (4), both constituents follow the verb. The undergoer comes first and after a short pause the actor follows. Examples like these are rare, but frequently one of the constituents follows the verb. This can occur because the speaker wants to clarify the state of affairs or because she wants to put emphasis on the referent. There is usually a break in the intonation contour after the verb form.

[2]Note that the stem *fath-* means 'hold', but in a suppressed-object construction it means 'marry' (§8.3.7).

(4) *keke thufnzrm ane karma kabe ... naf*

keke thu\fn/nzrm ane kar=ma kabe (.)
NEG SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/kill DEM village=CHAR man (.)
naf
3SG.ERG

'She did not attack them ... those village people'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #50)

While constituents are flexible to some extend, it rarely occurs that other elements like adverbs, TAM particles or the negator follow the verb.

Komnzo supports a number of cross-linguistic generalisations found in verb final languages (Dryer, 2007), for example that the possessor precedes the possessed. A second generalisation is that verb-final languages tend to have postpositions rather than prepositions. Komnzo does not have a category of adpositions, but locational nouns like *tharthar* 'side' or *mrmr* 'inside' always follow the noun whose location they specify (§3.1.6).

8.3 Clause types

8.3.1 Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses are a marginal phenomenon in Komnzo. This section describes the few types of verbless clauses. These are usually short one or two word utterances including an element which has some verb-like semantics, for example TAM particles or property nouns.

The TAM particles *kwa* FUT and *kma* POT can stand alone, when they are used as commands. For example, *kma* can mean 'You have to!', and with the apprehensive clitic *m* attached, it can mean the opposite: *kmam* 'You must not!'. In example (5), the future particle *kwa* is used in the sense of 'Wait!'. The speaker describes poison-root fishing and how they have to hold back the children from jumping into the water too early.

(5) *katakatan kwa zöbthé thrängathinzth nima "**kwa**! komnzo **kwa**!"*

kata-katan kwa zöbthé thrän\gathinz/th
REDUP-small FUT first 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/stop
nima kwa komnzo kwa
like_this FUT only FUT

'First, they will hold back the small (ones) and said: "Wait! Just Wait!"'

(tci20110813-09 DAK #25)

Another possible type of verbless clause is with the property nouns *miyo* 'desire' and *miyatha* 'knowledge' and their antonyms *miyomär* 'aversion, dislike' and *miyamr* 'ignorance'. These words are usually used as nominal predicates with light verbs or with the copula. As a consequence, we find examples like (6), where the last clause *nzä miyamr* does not contain a verb. It is possible to insert the copula in the appropriate inflection (*worera* 1SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be), but often it is left out. Apart from examples like these, there are no verbless clauses in Komnzo.

(6) *fi kafar mane erera näbi ane ofe ŋarerath. mobo erera? ...* ***nzä miyamr***

fi kafar mane e\rä/ra näbi ane ofe
but big which 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be one DEM disappearance
ŋa\rä/rath. mobo e\rä/ra (.)
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/do where.ALL (.) 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be
nzä miyamr
1SG.ABS ignorance

'As for the big dogs, they disappeared for good. Where did they go? ... I (do) not know.'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #70-72)

8.3.2 Copula clauses

Copula clauses are a subtype of non-verbal predication. They are described here in a separate subsection because the copula shows a number of idiosyncrasies. First, the copula has no restricted root. Note that this can be predicted because the restricted root is used mostly for the perfective. Second, the stem of the copula is sensitive to duality: the non-dual stem is *rä*, while the dual stem is *rn*. Third, the third person singular inflections are irregular (in non-past): masculine *yé*; feminine *rä*. Table 8.1 shows the copula forms in non-past. Fourth, the copula stem *rä* can be used in an ambifixing template with the meaning 'do'. This last point is discussed as part of the description of light verbs in §8.3.12.

Table 8.1 Copula inflection for non-past

gloss	NPST
1SG	*worä*
1DU	*nrn*
1PL	*nrä*
2SG	*nrä*
3SG.FEM	*rä*
3SG.MASC	*yé*
2|3DU	*ern*
2|3PL	*erä*

The copula takes a copula subject and a copula complement. Copula clauses may express identity between two NPs (7). They are used in presentational constructions; usually with a clitic demonstrative (8).

(7) *ni fthé miyatha zäkorake "babai zane bthan kabe yé"*

ni fthé miyatha zä\kor/ake babai zane
1NSG when knowledge 1PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/become uncle DEM:PROX
bthan kabe \yé/
black_magic man 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:COP

'That was when we realized "The uncle is this sorcerer."'

(tci20130901-02 RNA #45)

(8) *yorär ziyé ... zikogr.*

yorär z=\yé/ (.)
PROP.N PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.)
z=y\kogr/
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:STAT/stand

'Yorär is here ... It stands here.' (*yorär* is a tree type (Syzygium sp))

(tci20130907-02 JAA #450-451)

The complement may be marked with the proprietive case (§4.13) or the privative case (§4.14) to express the existence or non-existence of some entity in relation to the copula subject. The former is shown in (9), where they speaker literally says 'the village is with a name' to express that it has some reputation. The latter is shown in (10), where the speaker tells how he was looking for a creek that carried water.

(9) *zane kar mane rä yfkarä rä.*

zane kar mane \rä/ yf=karä
DEM:PROX village which 3SG:FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:COP name=PROP
\rä/
3SG:FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:COP

'As for this village, it has a (good) reputation.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB 447-448)

(10) *buyak we ttfö ane zräbrmé nimame ... keke ... nomär rä.*

b=wi\yak/ we ttfö ane zrä\brm/é
MED=1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk also creek DEM 1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/follow
nima=me (.) keke (.) no=mär \rä/
like_this:INS (.) NEG (.) water=PRIV 3SG:FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:COP

'I walked there, I followed another creek like this ... No ... (The creek) had no water.'

(tci20130903-03 MKW #92-93)

Adjectives and property nouns may also be copula complements, as shown in (11) and (12) respectively. In (11), the speaker reports how his fathers were comparing their yam harvest. In example (12), the speaker talks about how as a teenager she was afraid of the anthropologist Mary Ayres when she first visited Rouku.

(11) *katakatanwä thfrä! nzenme kafar erä!*

kata-katan=wä thf\rä/ nzenme kafar
REDUP-small=EMPH 3PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV:COP 1NSG:POSS big
e\rä/
3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:COP

'Their (yams) were a bit small! Our (yams) are big!'

(tci20120805-01 ABB 403)

(12) *nzä wwtri kwarärm ... markaianema ... nafanema fof.*

nzä w-wtri kwa\rä/rm (.)
1SG.ABS REDUP-fear 1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR:COP (.)
markai=ane=ma (.) nafane=ma fof
outsider=POSS.SG=CHAR (.) 3SG.POSS=CHAR EMPH

'I was a bit afraid ... of the white woman ... really (afraid) of her.'

(tci20130911-03 MBR #10-11)

8.3.3 Intransitive clauses

In terms of verb morphology, intransitive clauses have been described in §5.4.2. The verb inflection employs the prefixing or the middle template. Their single argument is always in absolutive case. Two examples are given in (13) and (14).

The two prefixing verbs in (13) have no overt subject noun phrases, but the second clause contains an adjunct marked with the purposive case *karr* 'for a village' (or settlement place). In example (14), we see the middle verb *brigsi* 'return' and the subject pronoun *nzä* in absolutive case.

(13) *ŋarsenzo* ***swanyakm*** *... karr* ***swanrenzrm.***

ŋars=en=nzo swan\yak/m (.)
river=LOC=ONLY 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/walk (.)
kar=r swan\re/nzrm
village=PURP 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/look.around

'He was coming along the river ... he was looking for a place to settle.'

(tci20120922-09 DAK #14-15)

(14) *nzä boba fthé kanathrfa* ***zänbrima****.*

nzä boba fthé kanathr=fa zän\brim/a
1SG.ABS MED.ABL when PLACE.N=ABL SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/return

'That was when I returned from Kanathr.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #607)

8.3.4 Impersonal clauses

Impersonal clauses are expressed using the middle template of the verb, in which a person-invariant middle marker fills the prefix slot, while the suffix indexes the single argument of the predicate (§5.4.5). The indexed noun phrase, if present at all, occurs in absolutive case. The salient feature of this clause type is that the referent of the verb indexing is impersonal, unclear or simply empty. Consider examples (15) and (16). In the first example, the speaker talks about rain-making magic, which involves a rotting mixture of meat and honey in bottles. These bottles or containers are opened and the rising odor is said to increase the rainfall. The third singular indexed by the verb form *kfäkor* refers to the changed weather conditions, and the English translation 'it was enough' exhibits the same general or impersonal meaning. The second example contains the noun *aki* 'moon', but it is unclear whether the verb really indexes this noun or whether its referent is empty. Hence, the two possible translations. During the transcription of example (16), the first translation was the preferred one in this particular context.

(15) *watikthénzo fthé kfäkor ... we sgu thwäthbe woz thwärmäne.*

watik-thé=nzo fthé kfä\kor/ (.) we sgu
enough-ADJZR=ONLY when 2|3SG:SBJ:ITER/become (.) also plug
thwä\thb/e woz
1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:ITER/put.inside bottle
thwä\rmän/e
1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:ITER/close

'When it was enough, we put the lids back in and we closed the bottles.'

(tci20110810-01 MAB #59-62)

(16) *aki zbo kräkor.*

aki zbo krä\kor/
moon PROX.ALL 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/become

'It became moon(light) here.' or 'The moon came up here.'

(tci20120904-02 MAB #47)

Example (17), is a description of a picture as part of a stimulus task. The speaker takes on the role of a man in the picture and asks: 'What is going on?'. Again the verb form *krewär* appears in the middle construction and indexes a third singular.

(17) *sinzo foba ynrä nima "ra krewär bobo?"*

si=nzo foba yn\rä/ nima
eye=ONLY DIST.ABL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/be like_this
ra kre\wär/ bobo
what(ABS) 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/happen MED:ALL

'He was just looking from over there (and asked) like this: "What is going on there?"'

(tci20111104 RMA #353)

Impersonal constructions often involve light verbs, for example *rä-* 'do' and *ko-* 'become', which take a nominal predicate, for example a noun or property noun. In these cases, the nominal predicate will be unmarked for case, like the absolutive case. Therefore, it may be difficult to decide whether (i) it is a nominal predicate and the subject is empty, or (ii) whether the noun phrase in question is the subject indexed in the verb. Consider example (18) below, in which the speaker describes the location of the mythical place of origin *Kwafar*, which is located in the Arafura sea between Papua New Guinea and Australia. The verb form *ŋakonzr* 'it becomes' occurs in the relative clause, which is printed in boldface. The third singular indexed in the verb form could be *mazo* 'ocean' (lit: 'where the ocean becomes') or it could be an empty subject (lit: 'it becomes ocean').

(18) *thden rera … zane zena mane bad mane wythk* ***mazo mä ŋakonzr*** *a … australiane bad mä wythk.*

thd=en \rä/ra (.) zane zena mane
middle=Loc 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.) DEM:PROX today which
bad mane w\ythk/ mazo mä
ground which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/come.to.end and (.)

ŋa\ko/nzr a (.) australia=ane
australia=POSS ground where 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/come.to.end
bad mä w\ythk/

'It was in the middle ... this one, where the land ends ... where it becomes ocean until where Australia's land ends.'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #26-30)

Weather events often have empty or impersonal subjects. This can be shown with prefixing verbs, as well as middle verbs. A common way to say 'It is going to rain' is shown in (19). It is clear that *nor* 'for rain' is not indexed in the verb because it is flagged with a non-core case, the purposive case. Therefore, the reference of the third singular in the verb form is empty.

(19) *nor yé.*

no=r \yé/
rain=PURP 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'It will rain.' (lit. 'It is for rain')

(overheard)

Another example is the phrase *wär kwan yanor* 'it is thundering' in (20). The thunder is expressed by the ideophone *wär kwan* 'thundering noise', and all ideophones of this type are nominal compounds headed by *kwan* 'noise, sound' (See §3.7.1). The verb *yannor* is inflected for a masculine subject, but *kwan* is feminine. Hence *wär kwan* is not the subject, and a literal translation would be: 'He shouts the thunder sound'. Again the reference of 'he' is empty.

(20) *wär kwan yanor.*

wär_kwan ya\nor/
thunder 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout

'It is thundering.'

(overheard)

Other weather or sound phenomena can be expressed by verbs in the middle template. In example (21), the verb 'start' is inflected for a 2|3SG subject, but its referent is unclear – partly because the verb does not index an object. Thus, the indexed argument could be (i) the sound of the fire ('The fire sound started'), or (ii) it could be an empty subject ('It started the fire sound').

(21) *fi mni zürnane u kwan zethkäfako.*

fi mni zürn=ane u_kwan ze\thkäf/ako
but fire smoke=POSS.SG roaring_sound SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:ANDAT/start

'but the fire smoke's sound started (rumbling).'

(tci20120827-03 KUT #186-187)

8.3.5 'Passive' clauses

Passives meanings are expressed in two ways: (i) by a verb in the middle template which indexes a patient role; the indexed noun phrase occurs in absolutive case (§5.4.5), or (ii) by a resultative construction, in which a nominalised verb is flagged with the instrumental case (§4.10). Note that both are not dedicated passive constructions. Instead, they should be understood as constructions which can express passive-like semantics.

Example (22) shows both constructions. The first two clauses are in a temporal relationship to the last clause, which is signalled by *fthé* 'when'. This is not a subordinate relationship because *fthé* can also be used in independent clauses with the meaning of 'that was when'. In the first clause, the single argument of the verb is *bad* 'ground, earth'. This can be translated either as an reflexive/impersonal 'the earth created (itself)' or as a passive 'the earth was created'. In the second clause, matters are clear because the verb is in a transitive template which shows actor agreement with 'father' (ERG) and undergoer agreement with 'earth' (ABS), thus: 'the father created the earth'. The last clause, is a resultative construction. The nominalised verb *rifthzsi* 'hiding' takes the instrumental case (lit.: 'was with hiding'), which is best translated as a passive ('was hidden').

(22) ***bad fthé ŋafiyokwa*** *...* *ŋafyf fthé bad wäfiyokwa ...* ***kidn ane rifthzsime zfrärm.***

bad fthé ŋa\fiyok/wa (.) ŋafe=f fthé bad
earth when SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/make (.) father=ERG when earth
wä\fiyok/wa (.) kidn ane
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/make (.) eternal fire DEM
rifthz-si=me zf\rä/rm
hide-NMLZ=INS 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'When the earth was made ... when God made the earth ... that eternal fire was hidden.'

(tci20120909-06 KAB #61-63)

8.3.6 Reflexive and reciprocal clauses

Formally, reflexive/reciprocal clauses are encoded by (i) the verb form in the middle template and (ii) the argument noun phrase in absolutive case. Ditransitives

show exceptional grammatical behaviour in that the argument may be in absolutive or ergative case. There is no distinction between reflexives and reciprocals other than the fact that singulars do not allow a reciprocal reading. Below I will describe how reflexive/reciprocals differ from intransitive and impersonal clause on the one side, and from suppressed object constructions on the other. This topic is also addressed in the description of the middle template (§5.4.5).

In example (23) the speaker talks about a ritual which chases away evil spirits. This rather gruesome ritual involves young men shooting at each other with blunt arrows. In the last clause of the example the noun phrase *kabe* 'man' is in absolutive case and the verb employs the middle template and indexes one argument (2|3PL). The verb *rusi* 'shoot' has rather clear transitive semantics and, thus, invites a reciprocal interpretation.

(23) *kabe kwaruthrmth frkkarä.*

kabe	kwa\ru/thrmth	frk=karä
man(ABS)	2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/shoot	blood=PROP

'The people were shooting at each other (until) they were bleeding.'

(tci20150906-01 ABB #414)

In most cases only secondary information disambiguates between intransitive, impersonal and reflexive/reciprocal interpretations. By secondary information, I mean (i) context, (ii) grammatical devices which are not used solely for reflexive/reciprocal constructions, (iii) statistical tendencies of individual verbs. I will address these in turn. First, context is probably the most important, and it is evident that an example like (23) is usually preceded or followed by a description which disambiguates the state of affairs. Second, speakers may choose to repeat the absolutive noun phrase to make clear that the intended reading should be a reciprocal one. Consider example (24), which concludes a headhunting story. The pronoun *fi* occurs twice. Additionally, the utterance was accompanied by appropriate gestures to clarify the intended reciprocal meaning. The pronoun *fi* is marked with the exclusive enclitic *=nzo*. The repetition and the exclusive enclitic are secondary strategies which are not solely used to mark reflexive/reciprocal meanings. Note that the exclusive enclitic *=nzo* shows cognates in other Yam languages. In Nen, there is a set of reflexive/reciprocal pronouns which all end in *nzo*, for example *benzo* 2SG (Evans, 2015b: 1072). In Komnzo, the exclusive clitic expresses the meaning of 'only' without reflexive/reciprocal semantics.

(24) *ni woga tüfrmäre nrä … bänema nzenme thden ane fof kwakwirm … woga* ***finzo finzo*** *kwafnzrmth.*

ni	woga	tüfr=märe	n\rä/		(.)	bäne=ma	
1NSG	man	plenty=PRIV	1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be		(.)	DEM:MED=CHAR	
nzenme		thd=en	ane	fof	kwa\kwir/m	(.)	woga
1NSG.POSS		middle=LOC	DEM	EMPH	2|3SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/run	(.)	man

fi=nzo fi=nzo kwa\fn/nzrmth
3.ABS=ONLY 3.ABS=ONLY 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/kill

'We are not many ... because this was going on in our middle ... The people, this (group) and that (group) were killing each other.'

(tci20111107-01 MAK #157-158)

Although stems may alternate between different morphological templates, there is a statistical tendency to occur in a particular template for a particular stem. For example, typically transitive meanings (*rusi* 'shoot', *zan* 'hit, kill', *marasi* 'see') occur most of the time in the ambifixing transitive template. If such stems occur in a middle template, it invites a reflexive/reciprocal reading rather than an impersonal or intransitive one. We will see in the following section that the middle template can also be used for the suppressed object construction (§8.3.7). However, in the suppressed object construction the noun phrase indexed in the verb form is marked for ergative case and not absolutive. On the other hand, stems which occur in the middle template most of the time (*maikasi* 'wash', *bringsi* 'return') should be analysed as reflexiva tanta (Geniušienė, 1987), even though they may occur in the ambifixing transitive template ('wash someone', 'bring back someone'). Hence, there is a statistical tendency for stems to occur in a particular template, which helps to disambiguate between an impersonal or reflexive/reciprocal reading.

Next, I want to set reflexive/reciprocals apart from what I call the suppressed object construction (§8.3.7). The state of affairs in reflexive/reciprocals is such that the actor and patient can be exchanged. In Komnzo, both are expressed by one noun phrase which occurs in absolutive case. Herein lies the formal difference to the suppressed object construction. If the noun phrase *kabe* 'people' in example (23) was in ergative case – for example *kabe=yé* (man=ERG.NSG) – the sentence would mean 'they were shooting (at sth.)'. This is the suppressed object construction, which I describe in the following section (§8.3.7). Note that the verb form *kwaruthrmth* remains the same, only the case marking changes.

For ditransitive verbs, the case marking is less fixed, and the argument noun phrase can appear in absolutive as well as ergative case, both with a reflexive/reciprocal meaning. In example (25) the verb form *ŋarinth* indexes only the subject (2|3DU), while the prefix slot is filled with the middle marker. The subject argument appears in the ergative (*nafa*). A suppressed object reading is not possible with ditransitive verbs. Note that the argument could also occur in absolutive case (*fi*). This would create a clause with two absolutive noun phrases. Hence, the choice between ergative and abolutive seems to be dependent on the kinds of referents. In (25), both noun phrases are animate, and the use of the ergative case avoids confusion between agent ('they') and theme ('sisters').

(25) *emoth nafa ŋarinth fof.*

emoth nafa ŋa\ri/nth fof
girl 3NSG.ERG 2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/give EMPH

'They give each other sisters.'

(tci20120802 ABB #158)

At this stage, it is impossible to investigate this topic further, because (i) noun phrases are frequently omitted and (ii) as I have argued in §5.4.6, except for a few verbs (*yarisi* 'give', *trikasi* 'tell', *fänzsi* 'show') all ditransitives verbs are derived.

8.3.7 Suppressed object clauses

Suppressed object clauses employ the middle template of the verb. The argument indexed in the verb is treated like an actor by the case system, i.e. it is flagged with the ergative case. The object may be overtly expressed with a noun phrase, but it is suppressed from indexation in the verb form.

I describe in §5.4.5, that almost all transitive verbs can enter into the suppressed object construction for semantic as well as pragmatic reasons. For example, most of the time, the referents of suppressed objects rank low in the animacy hierarchy (Silverstein, 1976). In example (26) the speaker searches her shoes and complains that her friend has been wearing them. We only know about the object of *rgsi* 'wear' from the previous context, since it is not expressed as a noun phrase, nor is the object indexed in the verb form. The semantics of *rgsi* renders a reflexive reading ('she wears herself') non-sensical. Additionally, the fact that the subject is in ergative case (*naf*) rules out the reflexive/reciprocal interpretation. This is important because the verb form is identical between reflexive/reciprocals and the supressed object construction.

(26) *ebar zfthnzo! naf rar ŋargwrm?*

ebar zfth=nzo naf ra=r ŋa\rg/wrm
head base=ONLY 3SG.ERG what=PURP SG:SBJ:RPST:DUR/wear

'Thickhead! Why was she wearing (the flipflops)?'

(tci20130901-02 RNA #173)

Objects can be suppressed for pragmatic reasons, often in addition to their low rank on the animacy hierarchy. That is because the suppression of the object has the pragmatic effect of focussing the subject. Example (27) is taken from a text about food taboos. This topic came up while talking about a very old woman,

whose old age was ascribed to her respecting all food taboos. In the example, the speaker shifts the topic from the old woman to those people who did not respect food taboos. This shift of topic is achieved by (i) a fronted relative clause and (ii) the suppressed object construction. As in the previous example, we only know about the object of *rirksi* 'respect, avoid' from the preceding context.

(27) *fi mafa keke kwarirkwrmth ... watik tekmär esufakwa.*

fi mafa keke kwarirkwrmth ... watik
but who.NSG.ERG NEG 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/respect (.) then
tekmär esufakwa
duration=PRIV 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/grow.old

'But those who did not respect (the food taboos) ... well, they grew old quickly.'

(tci20120922-26 DAK #26-27)

Although the object is suppressed from indexation in the verb form, it may occur as a noun phrase in the clause. In example (28), the speaker talks about garden magic and people who steal the soil from other people's gardens. In the relative clause, the object *bad* 'ground' is suppressed from indexation in the verb, yet it appears as a noun phrase. The subject is indexed in the verb suffix and the corresponding noun phrase, the relative pronoun *mafa*, is in ergative case.

(28) *nä kabenzo nnzä wawa gamokarä erä bad mafa ŋakarkwrth*

nä kabe=nzo nnzä wawa gamo=karä e\rä/
INDF man=ONLY perhaps yam spell=PROP 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
bad mafa ŋa\kark/wrth
ground who.ERG.NSG 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/take

'Perhaps only other people, who take the soil away, have yam magic.'

(tci20130822-08 JAA #42)

The suppressed object may also be a relative clause as in example (29), which is taken from a picture stimulus task.

(29) *emothf ŋatrikwr monme zffnzr.*

emoth=f ŋa\trik/wr mon=me
girl=ERG 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell how=INS
zf\fn/nzr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/hit

'The girl tells (the story of) how he hit her.'

(tci20120925-01 MAE #102)

There are a few verbs which always occur in the suppressed object construction. A few examples are: *yonasi* 'drink', *fathasi* 'marry', *frzsi* 'fish/net (poison-root)', *naf-* 'talk, speak' and *karksi* 'pull'.[3] With other verbs there is only a statistical tendency to enter this construction. For example, *yarizsi* 'hear' occurs 104 times in the corpus; 25 times the object is indexed and 79 times it is suppressed. In other words, in only about a quarter of all tokens of *yarizsi*, the verb means 'hear X'. In the other three quarters of tokens of *yarizsi*, it means 'hear (sth.)'. In (30), we see an example of *yarizsi* and *rfnaksi* 'taste' in the suppressed object construction. The speaker explains how the news of the beginning yam harvest spread from East to West; from village to village.

(30) *watik, we masu karé kwekaristh "oh, nafa z zärfnth!"*

watik, we masu karé kwe\karis/th oh
then also PLACE.N village=ERG.NSG 2|3PL:SBJ:ITER/hear oh
nafa z zä\rfn/th
2|3NSG.ERG ALR 2|3PL:SBJ:RPST:PFV/taste

'Then the Masu people always heard (the other village): "Oh, they have already tasted (the yams)!"'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #363)

8.3.8 Transitive clauses

This section deals with prototypical transitive clauses, which are transitive in their verb morphology, i.e. they are built from the ambifixing transitive template, as well as their noun phrase syntax, i.e. the actor argument is flagged with the ergative and the undergoer argument is in the absolutive. Therefore, suppressed object constructions (§8.3.7) can be described as non-prototypical transitive clauses because (i) the verb appears in the middle template, (ii) the object noun phrase is frequently omitted. However, noun phrases can be generally dropped in all clause types. The ambifixing verb template is described in §5.4.6. An example of a transitive clause is given below in (31).

(31) *nzürna ŋaref bäne ŋad yrtmakwa.*

nzürna ŋare=f bäne ŋad
spirit woman=ERG.SG DEM:MED string(ABS)
y\rtmak/wa
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/cut

'The *nzürna* woman cut that string.'

(tci20120827-03 KUT #142)

[3]The stem *karksi* can occur in a transitive template with the meaning 'take'. If it occurs in a suppressed object construction, it means 'pull'. I analyse these as two different lexical items, because there is a difference in the semantics as well as the combinatorics of the stem.

8.3.9 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses employ the same template as transitive clauses. However, the valency changing prefix *a-* shifts the reference of the verb prefix from the direct object to the indirect object. The corresponding noun phrase appears in dative case. This is described in §5.4.6. Note that the *a-* prefix may increase as well as decrease the valency of a verb, hence, the label 'valency changing prefix' (§5.4.2).

Example (32) below shows the verbs *trikasi* 'tell' and *fänzsi* 'show'. The recipient arguments are flagged for dative case and the respective arguments are indexed in the two verbs.

(32) *nzone* ***ŋafyn bäin*** *ane trikasi* ***yatrikwath*** *...* ***nzunwä*** *ŋafyf bäif* ***zwafäsa****.*

nzone ŋafe=n bäi=n ane trika-si
1SG.POSS father=DAT.SG PROP.N=DAT.SG DEM tell-NMLZ
ya\trik/wath (.) nzun=wä
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:PST:IPFV/tell (.) 1SG.DAT=EMPH
ŋafe=f bäi=f zwa\fäs/a
father=ERG.SG PROP.N=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:PST:PFV/show

'They told that story to my father Bäi ... and father Bäi showed (it) to me.'

(tci20110802 ABB #18-20)

Ditransitive clauses may also contain cognate objects, as in (32) *trikasi yatrikwath* 'they told him the story'. Another example is *yathugsi* 'trick (v)' which often occurs with *gaso* 'trick, lie'.

In §5.4.6, I argued that ditransitive as a category should be recognized, even though most ditransitive verbs are derived from transitives by (i) adding the valency change prefix *a-*, which (ii) changes the reference of the verb prefix to an indirect object (goal, recipient, beneficiary) and (iii) putting the respective argument noun phrase in dative case. The same strategy can be used to raise possessors in the cross-referencing of the verb. In example (33), it is the possessor (*nzone* 'my' 1SG), which is indexed in the verb, and not the possessed (*miyo* 'desire/wish' 3SG.FEM).

(33) ***nzone miyo*** *kwa* ***wabthakwr****.*

nzone miyo kwa wo-a-bthak-w-r-∅
1SG.POSS desire FUT 1SG.α-VC-finish.EXT-LK-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:NPST:IPFV/finish

'You will fulfill my wish.'

(tci20130823-06 CAM #23)

The ditransitive pattern is very productive and almost all transitive verbs can enter this construction. Most verbs retain their transitive semantics, but can index a beneficiary of the event. For example, in (34), the verb *fsisi* 'count' in the clause takes the object 'yam suckers'. The ditransitive pattern only adds a beneficiary which is indexed in the verb.

(34) *nä efothen ...* ***wawa tafo yafsinzake*** *...* ***babuan***

nä efoth=en (.) wawa tafo yafsinzake (.)
INDF day=LOC (.) yam sucker 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:PST:IPFV (.)
babua=n
PROP.N=DAT.SG

'Some day ... we counted yam suckers for him ... for Babua.'

(tci20120814 ABB #165-167)

As I pointed out in §5.4.4, prefixing verbs (intransitives) can enter the same pattern, whereby a beneficiary or raised possessor, in dative and possessive case respectively, is indexed in the verb form. Example (35) is taken from a recording where two speakers discuss the content of a picture card. The prefixing verb *-thn* 'be lying' in the example does not index the objects that are lying on the ground, but the possessor instead.

(35) *ra kwa nm bäne* ***wäthn****? ...* ***nafane*** *nainai?*

ra kwa nm bäne wä\thn/ (.)
what FUT maybe DEM:MED 3SG.FEM:IO:NPST:IPFV/be.lying (.)
nafane nainai
3SG.POSS sweet_potato

'What (of hers) might be lying there? ... her sweet potatoes?'

(tci20111004 RMA #108)

8.3.10 Experiencer-object constructions

Experiencer-object constructions express bodily, mental and emotional processes ('get sunburned', 'shiver in fear', 'be angry'). These are framed as transitive clauses whereby the stimulus acts on the experiencer. Constructions of this type have been examined by Pawley et al for Kalam (2000) showing that experiencer objects as well as experiencer subjects are found in the semantic domain of bodily

and mental processes.[4] Komnzo confirms much of their findings. Structurally, experiencer-object constructions are characterised by the following (i) the stimulus argument appears in the ergative, (ii) the stimulus is indexed by a default 3SG in the verb suffix, (iii) the experiencer occurs in absolutive case, and (iv) the word order is UAV (undergoer actor verb).

Consider the two ways of expressing a feeling of hunger in the elicited examples in (36). In (36a) the experiencer is the subject of the copula clause, but in (36b) it is the object of the verb *rmatksi* 'cut'. In the latter the feeling of hunger is portrayed as somewhat stronger. Note that the choice of verb is not entirely fixed. One can replace *rmatksi* 'cut' with a light verb, for example *rä-* 'do' ('hunger does me'), or with the phasal verb *bthaksi* 'finish' ('hunger finishes me'), thereby changing the degree or intensity of the experienced feeling. Thus, the experiencer-object construction is one possibility to express mental and bodily processes.

(36) a. *nzä frasi worä*

nzä frasi wo\rä/
1SG.ABS hunger 1SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'I am hungry.'

b. *nzä frasif wortmakwr*

nzä frasi=f wo\rtmak/wr
1SG.ABS hunger=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/cut

'I am hungry / I am starving' (lit: 'Hunger cuts me')

Examples like (36a) were given to me in elicitation, when asking 'How do I say 'I am hungry?'. I first encountered experiencer-object constructions in more natural situations, for example in overhearing conversations or when translating recordings. Komnzo speakers explicitly regard experiencer-object constructions as more original and creative language. Therefore, it seems natural that these were rarely offered in the context of elicitation. Experiencer-object constructions portray a situation in much more colourful terms. They often evoke some kind of emotional reaction (laughter or sympathy) from the audience, as in (37), where a woman describes what happened to her as a small child when she was hiding on a tree from a pig.

(37) *nzä* ***wthf*** *warfo bä* ***kwräbth****.*

nzä wth=f warfo bä kwrä\bth/
1SG.ABS faeces=ERG.SG above MED 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IRR:PFV/finish

[4]Note that the notion of experiencer is slightly extended here to include bodily processes in addition to mental or emotional ones.

'I really had to take a dump there on top (of the tree).' (lit: 'excretes would finish me')

(tci20150919-05 LNA #117)

Experiencer-object constructions express bodily and mental processes, and it is this internal stimulus which 'acts' on the experiencer. Two text examples were given in the description of the ergative case (§4.5) and are repeated below in (38) and (39).

(38) ***nokuyé*** *fthé* ***sabtha.***

noku=yé fthé sa\bth/a
anger=ERG.NSG when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:PST:PFV/finish

'That is when he got really angry.' (lit. 'anger finished him')

(tci20120909-06 KAB #39)

(39) ***wtrif*** *z* ***zwefaf.***

wtri=f z zwe\faf/
fear=ERG.SG ALR 2|3SG>1SG:RPST:PFV/hold

'I am already scared.' (lit. 'fear holds me')

(tci20130901-01 RNA #164)

The stimulus noun phrase can be modified, for example with a nominal compound. In example (40) the stimulus *miyo* 'desire' is modified by two elements yielding *kabe zan miyo* 'desire to kill people'. This example is repeated from the discussion of complex heads in §7.5.2.

(40) *baf fthé* ***sräbth*** *nima ...* ***kabe zan miyof.***

baf fthé srä\bth/
RECOG.ERG.SG when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/finish
nima (.) kabe zan miyo=f
like.this (.) man hitting desire=ERG.SG

'That is when this overcomes him ... the bloodlust for people.' (lit. 'people killing desire finishes him')

(tci20130903-04 RNA #84-85)

Experiencer-object constructions differ in their basic word order from other clauses in that the experiencer, the object, comes first. This can be explained by the special semantics of the experiencer-object construction, in which the most salient element is the experiencer. However, most of the examples in this section do not include an overt noun phrase. One example from the corpus is given in (41). Note that the speaker corrects himself in this example. He first uses the absolutive (*frfr*) 'shiver', but then repeats the same noun in the ergative (*frfré*).

(41) ***nge fäth*** *frfr a* ***frfré*** *n* ***safum.***

nge fäth frfr a frfr=é n
child DIM shiver ah shiver=ERG.NSG IMN
sa\fum/
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:RPST:PFV/pull

'The small child was almost shivering' (lit. 'the shivers were about to pull him')

(tci20130901-02 YUK #26)

Note that in (41), the noun phrase is marked with the non-singular ergative (=*é*), but the verb indexes a singular actor. This also occurs in (38). All other examples in the corpus employ the singular ergative (=*f*). I take this as evidence for the limited grammatical behaviour of property nouns. All property nouns – like *noku* 'anger' in (38) and *frfr* 'shiver' in (41) – evade cross-referencing in the verb prefix slot, usually a middle is used instead. Property nouns are only indexed in experiencer-object constructions, though not in the prefix, but with a default 2|3SG in the suffix (See §3.1.3).

The second domain of experiencer object constructions are bodily processes, like in (41) above. Below in (42-45) a few more examples of this type are given.

(42) *zä zf fthé* ***thkarf yafiyokwa*** *ziyé.*

zä zf fthé thkar=f
PROX IMM when hardness=ERG.SG
ya\fiyok/wa z=yé
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST.IPFV/make PROX=3SG.MASC:NPST.be

'That is when it got stuck right here.' (lit. 'hardness made it')

(tci20120922-09 DAK #18)

(43) ***nzä sukufa zürnf wortmakwr.***

nzä sukufa zürn=f wo\rtmak/wr
1SG.ABS tobacco smoke=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/cut
kwan=en
throat=LOC

'The tobacco is very strong.' (lit. 'tobacco smoke cuts me')

(overheard)

(44) ***nzrmf wortmakwr*** *kwanen.*

nzrm=f wo\rtmak/wr kwan=en
bitterness=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/cut throat=LOC

'It is very sour.' (lit. 'bitterness cuts me')

(overheard)

(45) *watik nzfrä ...* ***efothf nfariwr****.*

watik nzf\rä/ (.) efoth=f
enough 1PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/be (.) sun=ERG.SG
n\fari/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>1PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/dry

'We have done enough ... We are burning in the sun.' (lit. 'sun dries us.')

(tci20111119-03 ABB #200)

8.3.11 Cognate and pseudo-cognate object constructions

Cognate objects are a common phenomenon in Komnzo. Examples (46-48) contain a nominalised verb and an inflected verb. In all three examples, the nominalisation and the inflected verb are the same. Hence, (46) translates literally as 'I tell them the telling'. The verb indexes the indirect argument (2|3PL) and by analogy to other ditransitive verbs *trikasi* is the direct object of the verb.

(46) *nze ane* ***trik****asi ä****trik****wé.*

nze ane trik-si ä\trik/wé
1SG.ERG DEM tell-NMLZ 1SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:NPST:IPFV/tell

'I tell them the story.' (lit. 'I tell them the telling.')

(tci20111119-03 ABB #161)

There is an analytical problem with verbs which occur in the middle template. Example (48) translates literally as 'He laughs the laughter' or as 'He laughter-laughs'. The middle template used in (47) and (48) only indexes the subject argument, not the object. Because of this, it cannot be determined whether the nominalisations *maikasi* 'washing' and *borsi* 'laughing' function as objects or whether they function predicatively. We will see below that a predicative function is a possible analysis in some cases. From this perspective, cognate objects and predicative nominals in light verb constructions can be portrayed as contiguous phenomena. Light verb construction are described in the following section (§8.3.12).

(47) ***maik**asi bä ŋa**mayuk**wro.*

maik-si bä ŋa\maik/wro
wash-NMLZ MED SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/wash

'I will wash there.' (lit. 'I washing-wash.')

(tci20130823-06 STK #53)

(48) ***bor**si ŋa**bor**wr.*

borsi ŋa\bor/wr
laugh-NMLZ 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/laugh

'He laughs.' (lit. 'He laughs the laughing.')

(tci20111004 TSA #128)

A second problem is that many verbs lack regular nominalisations, which are formed with the suffix *-si*. These verbs use a common noun as in example (49) below. The adjective *kwosi* 'dead' functions adverbially and adds the meaning of a deep sleep. The noun *etfth* 'sleep', however, is semantically fully included in the meaning of the verb *rug-* 'sleep', just like the regular nominalisation *borsi* 'laugh' is included the inflected verb in (48) above. As a consequence, *etfth* is optional and the sentence would be grammatical without it. Note that the same is true examples (46-48).

(49) *fi **etfth** kwosi sfrugrm.*

fi etfth kwosi sf\rugr/m
3.ABS sleep dead 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/sleep

'He was sleeping soundly.' (lit. 'He was sleep sleeping deadly.')

(tci20120904-02 MAB #98)

For want of a better term, I label examples like (49) 'pseudo-cognate object' constructions. They are unlike cognate objects because the verb stem and the nominal element are formally not related. Other examples are *rnzür-* 'dance, sing' and *wath* 'dance (n), song' and *-nor* 'shout, emit sound' and *kwan* 'shout (n)'. Although the verb stem and noun are not cognate, distributional evidence shows that they stand in the same relationship as an inflected verb and the corresponding regular nominalisation with *-si*. For example, the phasal verb *bthaksi* 'finish' takes the noun *wath* 'dance (n), song' to mean 'finish singing'. This is because there is no regular nominalisation available for the verb *rnzür-* 'dance, sing'.

The noun in these constructions is not always redundant. For example, it can be modified as the head of a compound, thereby modifying the predicate. In (50) the noun *etfth* 'sleep' occurs in a compound modified by *efoth* 'day' indicating that the speaker was sleeping during the day.

(50) ***efoth etfth*** *kwofrugrm e zizi*

efoth etfth kwof\rugr/m e zizi
day sleep 1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/sleep until afternoon

'I was sleeping during the day until the afternoon.' (lit. 'I was day-sleep sleeping.')

(tci20111119-03 ABB #31)

This kind of predicate modification is developed to varying degrees. The best example is the intransitive verb *nor-* 'shout, emit a sound', which again lacks an infinitive and instead *kwan* 'shout (n), call' is used. Hence, *kwan yanor* 'He shouts the shout' or 'He emits the shout' is a common expression. Komnzo has a long list of ideophones, which express auditory sensations (§3.7.1). All of these enter into compounds of the type ideophone + *kwan* as in *sö kwan* 'sound of wallabies grunting' or *nzam kwan* 'the sound of smacking one's lips'. Most auditory sensations are expressed in this construction with the verb *nor-*. In example (51), the gurgling sound of a headhunter's victim is described.

(51) *grr kwannzo fobo zwanorm*

grr kwan=nzo fobo zwa\nor/m
rasping.sound shout=ONLY DIST.ALL 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/shout

'She was just gurgling.' (lit. 'She was shouting/emitting only the rasping sound.')

(tci20111119-01 ABB #154)

Example (52) comes from a hunting trip, where I was instructed to imitate the sound of a jumping wallaby (*bübü kwan*) by hitting the ground with a thick stick.

(52) *bübü kwan gnanoré!*

bübü kwan gna\nor/é
thumping.sound shout 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/shout

'You must beat the ground!' (lit. 'You must shout/emit the thumping sound.')

(overheard)

Lastly, the verb can be modified by using a different noun. This is a marginal pattern, and I can give only two examples. Instead of *kwan*, one can use the noun *frk* 'blood' with verb *nor-* 'shout' to express that someone is bleeding as in (53), which comes from the description of a picture card.

(53) *ŋare frk neba komnzo wänor.*

ŋare frk neba komnzo wä\nor/
woman blood opposite only 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout

'The woman is only bleeding on the other side.'

(tci20111004 RMA #402)

The second example is the noun *wanzo* 'dream' which can be used with *rug-* 'sleep' (instead of *etfth* 'sleep (n)'). In example (54), the speaker talks about the mythological significance of the bird of paradise, when it appears in one's dream.

(54) *... ythamama wanzo fthé nzrarugr*

(.) ythama=ma wanzo fthé nzra\rugr/
(.) bird_of_paradise=CHAR dream when 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/sleep

'... when you are dreaming of the bird of paradise.'

(tci20120817-02 ABB #29)

There are a handful of (intransitive) verbs for which pseudo-cognate constructions are possible, even though there is a regular nominalisation with *-si* available. For example, *bznsi* 'work (v.i.)' can occur together with *znsä* 'work (n)'. Another example is *mthizsi* 'suffer' which can occur with *zi* 'pain' as in example (55).

(55) *zi swathizrm ... ekri zi ... kofä ysma*

zi swa\thi/zrm (.) ekri zi (.) kofä ys=ma
pain 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/suffer (.) flesh pain (.) fish thorn=CHAR

'He was in pain ... body pain ... from the fish spike.'

(tci20100905 ABB #91-93)

We have seen above that cognate and pseudo-cognate constructions are similar to light verb constructions in that a nominal element contributes to the meaning of the predicate. They are markedly different in the degree of modification, because light verbs are much more general in their semantics (*rä-* 'do', *fiyoksi* 'make', *ko-* 'become'). It might be best to view this as a cline: on one end of the spectrum we have cognate object constructions, where the nominalisation of the verb occurs together with the same verb as in (46-48). On the other end of the spectrum we have light verb constructions, where the nominal element not only carries most of the meaning of the predicate, but it always differs formally from the verb. Light verbs are described in the next section.

8.3.12 Light verb constructions

There are number of light verbs in Komnzo. These are *rä-* 'do', *ko-* 'become', *fiyoksi* 'make' and the two phasal verbs *thkäfsi* 'start' and *bthaksi* 'finish'. The first two are interesting from a lexical perspective. The light verb *rä-* is build from the same stem as the copula. In a prefixing template this stem means 'be', but in an ambifixing template it means 'do'. The second stem *ko-* only occurs in ambifixing templates, where it can mean 'speak' or 'become'. Although these are only statistical tendencies, in the middle template *ko-* usually means 'become', where in a transitive template it usually means 'speak'.

The light verb 'do' is usually used in the middle template indexing only the subject argument. A very frequent collocation is with *fam* 'thought', thus, literally: 'do thoughts' means 'think'. Examples (56) and (57) are taken from a picture stimulus task. Note that *fam* is not indexed in the verb form, even if the light verb indexes an object. In (57) *fam* functions predicatively, and a literal translation of 'He thinks of her' is 'He thought-does her'.

(56) *wati, ane fof yamnzr* ***fam ŋarär***

wati ane fof ya\m/nzr fam
then DEM EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit thought
ŋa\rä/r
2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/do

'Okay, this one is sitting. He is thinking.'

(tci2011104 RMA #133)

(57) ***zane emoth fam wrär*** *anema yatrikwr nafan*

zane emoth fam w\rä/r
DEM:PROX girl thought 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/do
ane=ma ya\trik/wr nafan
DEM=CHAR 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/tell 3SG.DAT

'He thinks of that girl and he tells him about her.'

(tci20111004 RMA #52)

This is a general feature of light verbs. They require a nominal element which functions predicatively. Hence, we find predicative nominals in both intransitive (56) and transitive structures (57). In these examples, the predicative nominal was the noun *fam*, but very often property nouns are used for this function, especially property nouns with more event-oriented semantics. In example (58), the speaker remarks that his dogs have disappeared. The meaning of disappearing is expressed by the property noun *ofe* 'absent/absence'.

(58) *fi kafar mane erera näbi ane* ***ofe ŋarerath.***

fi kafar mane e\rä/ra näbi ane ofe
but big which 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be one DEM absent
ŋa\rä/rath.
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/do

'As for the big dogs, they disappeared for good.'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #70)

The light verb *ko-* 'become' shows a similar behaviour. It can appear with nominals like in (59) with the adjective *kafar* 'big'. But often 'become' occurs with property nouns which function predicatively. In (60), the property noun *wefwef* 'excited/excitement' contributes most of the meaning of the event.

(59) *wati fi zena ngemär ...* ***kafar z zäkor.***

wati fi zena nge=mär (.) kafar z zä\kor/
then 3.ABS today child=PRIV (.) big ALR SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/become

'Well, today she hase become already old without (having) children.'

(tci20120814 ABB #214-215)

(60) *"daddy skri, bun ane fof yé. be ane sawob." watik skri ane* ***wefwefnzo kräkor.***

daddy skri bun ane fof \yé/ be
father PERS.N 2SG.DAT DEM EMPH 3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/be 2SG.ERG
ane sa\wob/ watik skri ane
DEM 2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IMP:PFV/eat then PERS.N DEM
wefwef=nzo krä\kor/
excited=ONLY 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/become

"'Daddy Skri, this one is for you. You eat this one." Well, Skri got excited!'

(tci20120922-25 ALK #24-25)

The light verb 'become' together with the property noun *miyatha* 'knowledge' is used to express coming into the state of knowing something, literally 'become knowledge(able)'. In example (61) a man, who fell off a coconut palm in an attempt to steal palm wine, is badly insulted. The phrase *miyatha käkor* can be translated as both 'you know it!' or 'you feel it!'.

(61) *fof nrä!* ***miyatha käkor!*** *buŋame zakiyar!*

fof n\rä/ miyatha kä\kor/
EMPH 2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be knowledgeable 2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/become
bu-ŋame za\kiyar/
2SG.POSS-mother 2SG:SBJ>3SG:FEM:IMP:PFV/copulate

'It is you! You feel it now! Fuck your mother!'

(tci20120904 MAB #95)

Example (62) is about the *tütü* bird (Pheasant Coucal), who used to be the custodian of fire before people knew about it. The light verb 'become' indexes the *tütü* bird (3SG.FEM), not the property noun *miyatha*. Again, the predicative nominal *miyatha* 'knowledgeable' can enter an intransitive (61) or transitive light verb construction (62).

(62) *nä kayé ...* ***miyatha wkonzath****. "oh budben mni rä fof"*

nä kayé (.) miyatha
INDF yesterday (.) knowledgeable
w\ko/nzath oh budben mni
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/become oh 2SG.LOC fire
\rä/ fof
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be EMPH

'One day ... they found out about her. "Oh, so the fire is really with you."'

(tci20131008 KAB #10-11)

The verb *fiyoksi* 'make' can occur as a proto-typical transitive verb without the 'semantic assistance' of a nominal predicative element. However, it also occurs as a light verb. In example (63), we find two occurences of *fiyoksi*. The first token indexes *zrin* 'problem, burden' (3SG.FEM) as its object argument, and *fiyoksi* can be translated as 'create'. The second token of *fiyoksi* indexes the subject. The property noun *durua* 'help' contributes most of the semantic content of the predicate.

(63) *nzä nima "bone zrin rä bone nagayf* ***ane zrin zwafiyokwr*** *keke kwa monme* ***durua ŋafiyokwre****"*

nzä nima bone zrin \rä/
1SG.ABS like_this 2SG.POSS problem 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
bone nagay=f ane zrin
2SG.POSS child=ERG DEM problem

zwa\fiyok/wr keke kwa mon=me durua
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/make NEG FUT how=INS help
ŋa\fiyok/wre
1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/make

'I said: "This is your problem. Your child has created this problem. We will not help."'

(tci20120922-24 STK #22)

Analogous to the other light verbs, *fiyoksi* can be used in a transitive structure. In example (64), an infamous sorcerer is annoyed by a few other men. The main semantic contribution to the event comes from the property noun *thythy* 'nuisance', while the object indexed in the light verb is the sorcerer (3SG.MASC).

(64) *wati* ***thythy*** *zä zf* ***swafiyokwrmth***

wati thythy zä zf swa\fiyok/wrmth
then nuisance PROX IMM 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/make

'Then, they were annoying him here.'

(tci20131013 ABB #59)

The two phasal verbs usually take nominalised verbs as their complements (See §9.3.1), but they can also be supplemented by property nouns with more event-oriented semantics. Hence, the exhibit the same double life as full verbs and light verbs as *fiyoksi*. Two examples of *thkäfsi* 'start' functioning as a light verb are given below. In (65) a man is trying to enter the house in which two children are hiding. The phasal verb indexes the two children, while the semantic content of the event comes solely from the property noun *zirkn* 'persistence'.

(65) *wati zänfrefa yanyak* ***nagayé*** *kma n* ***zirkn thrathkäf*** *...* ***zirkn***

wati zän\fref/a yan\yak/
then SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/come.up 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/walk
nagayé kma n zirkn thra\thkäf/ (.)
children POT IMN persistence 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3DU:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start (.)
zirkn
persistence

'Then, he came up from the river, he walked. He was about to start hassling the two children ... hassling (them)'

(tci20100905 ABB #111)

In example (66), a malevolant spirit is trying to persuade a man to stay the night in her house. Again, the property noun *garam garam* 'sweet-talk' expresses most of the semantics of the event.

(66) ***garam garam*** *srethkäf.*

garam garam sre\thkäf/
sweet.talk 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR.PFV/start

'She started sweet-talking him.'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #88)

As I have shown above, that light verbs (*rä-* 'do', *ko-* 'become', *fiyoksi* 'make', *thkäfsi* 'start' and *bthaksi* 'finish') require semantic assistance from nominal predicates. However, nominal predicates can be found with other verbs, i.e. full verbs. In the following examples, the concepts of 'being concentrated' (67) and 'being locked in' (68) are expressed by the property nouns *mogu* 'concentration' and *ttw* 'inertia' respectively. Both meanings could be expressed with light verbs, for example (67) could be expressed as *mogu ŋaräré* 'I am concentrating' (lit. 'I am concentration-doing'). The two examples below employ full verbs instead, which should be seen as more idiosyncratic way of speaking.

(67) *biskar mnifnzo* ***mogu kwofkämgwrm***

biskar mni=f=nzo mogu
cassava cooking=ERG.SG=ONLY concentration
kwof\kämg/wrm
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:PST:DUR/block

'Cooking the cassava took all my attention. (lit. 'cassava cooking concentration blocked me')'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #79)

(68) ***ttw zwermänth****. wati fobo thufnzrmth*

ttw zwe\rmän/th wati fobo
inertia 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:ITER/close then DIST.ALL
thu\fn/nzrmth
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/kill

'They always closed off (the village). Then, they were killing them.'

(20120818 ABB #46-47)

I point out in §11.3 that verbs are considered to be a closed word class in Komnzo. Part of the argumentation is based on the observation that loanwords, which are verbs in the donor language, commonly end up as property nouns in a light verb construction. One such example was shown above in (63) with the property noun *durua* 'help', which is a transitive verb in Motu (Turner-Lister and Clark, 1935: 61). Below, two examples with English loans are given. In example

(69) the verb *fiyoksi* indexes the object *zokwasi* 'words' (2|3PL), while the loan-word *senis* 'change' expresses most of the semantics (lit. 'I will not change-make the words'). In example (70) the middle verb *rä-* 'do' is supplemented by the English loan *zek* 'check' (lit. 'I check-do for water').

(69) ***zokwasi*** *ke kwa* ***senis thräfiyothé.***

zokwasi keke kwa senis thrä\fiyoth/é
words NEG FUT change 1SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/make

'I will not change my promise.'

(tci20121019-04 ABB #226)

(70) *kränrsöfthé mäbri ttfö ...* ***nor*** *bobo* ***zek kräré*** *... keke*

krän\rsöfth/é mäbri ttfö (.) no=r bobo
1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/descend PLACE.N creek (.) water=PURP MED.ALL
zek krä\r/é (.) keke
check 1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/do (.) NEG

'I went down to the creek in Mäbri to check for water, but no (water).'

(tci20130903-03 MKW #146-147)

For situations of language contact, Heine and Kuteva describe how minor patterns in a language can become a major patterns (2005: 44). It is clear that light verb constructions are not a minor pattern in Komnzo. However, it seems evident that with more (verb) loans entering the language, light verb constructions will become even more widely used. For more discussion on the this topic, I refer the reader to §11.3.

8.4 Questions

Content questions in Komnzo are formed by replacing the respective noun phrase with an interrogative. Word order may or may not be changed for pragmatic purposes. As content questions are always pragmatically motivated, the element which is asked about is automatically focussed. Therefore, the interrogative is often found in fronted position, but fronting is not part of question formation. Example (71) shows an example with the interrogative *ra* 'what'.

(71) *nafafis zräs "be ranzo kayé thwanfiyokwr?"*

nafa-fis zrä\s/ be
3.POSS-husband 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/ask 2SG.ERG
ra=nzo kayé thwan\fiyok/wr
what=ONLY yesterday 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:IPFV:VENIT/make

'Her husband asked her: "Just what have you done to them yesterday?"'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #163)

Example (72) shows an example where the interrogative occurs inside a complex noun phrase 'whose sister'. Note that the noun phrase which contains the interrogative has been fronted for pragmatic reasons. This is an example of a rethorical question, because it came up in a discussion about the type of punitive actions one would launch against one's brothers in-laws.

(72) *"mafane emoth be zufnzrm?" nima fof skonzé*

maf=ane emoth be zu\fn/nzrm
who=POSS sister 2SG.ERG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/hit
nima fof s\ko/nzé
like_this EMPH 2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/speak

"'Whose sister were you beating?" that is what you must say to him.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #219)

Polar questions are often structurally identical to indicative statement, but the have a rising intonation contour as in (73) and (74). Additionally the iamitive particle *z* 'already' can be used even though the verb is in the non-past (73).

(73) *zbär bä zagrwä ämnzro. z wanrizrth?*

zbär bä zagr=wä ä\m/nzro z
night 2.ABS far=EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/sit ALR
wan\riz/rth
2|3PL:SBJ>1SG.IO:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/hear

'You are sitting far away. Can you hear me?' (lit. 'you hear my (words) already?')

(tci20121019-04 SKK #9)

(74) *ane wri kambeyé kma n yrärth "kwa kräznobe?" naf ekonzr "keke"*

ane wri kambe=yé kma n
DEM intoxication man=ERG.NSG POT IMN
y\rä/rth kwa krä\znob/e
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/do FUT 1PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/drink
naf e\ko/nzr keke
3SG.ERG 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/speak NEG

'These drunkards are trying (to convince him): "Will we drink?" He says to them "No"'

(tci20111004 RMA #509)

Alternative questions are formed by a disjunctive coordination with *o* 'or'. In (75), the alternatives are expressed by two clauses, and in (76) by two noun phrases.

(75) *fam kwarärmth "kwa ywokrakwr o kwa ŋabrüzr?"*

fam kwa\rä/rmth kwa y\wokrak/wr o
thought 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/do FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/float or
kwa ŋa\brüz/r
FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/submerge

'They were thinking: "Will it float or will it sink?"'

(tci20120929-02 SIK #31)

(76) *zokwasi fefeme natrikwé o markai zokwasime?*

zokwasi fefe=me na\trik/wé o markai
language real=INS 1SG:SBJ>2SG:IO:NPST:IPFV/tell or white man
zokwasi=me
language=INS

'Will I tell you (the story) in Komnzo or in English' (lit. 'the real language or the white man's language')

(tci20120901 MAK #1)

Question tags like *o keke* 'or not' can be added, which also receive a rising intonation.

(77) *kwa nm weto worär o keke?*

kwa nm weto wo\rä/r o keke
FUT maybe joy 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/do or NEG

'Maybe he will be happy towards me or not?'

(tci20111004 RMA #477)

8.5 Negation

Negation at the clause level is usually expressed with the negator *keke* which occurs in preverbal position as in example (78).

(78) *nafanme emoth keke kränrit nzedbo.*

nafanme emoth keke krän\rit/ nzedbo
3PL.POSS girl NEG 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/cross_over 1NSG.ALL

'They will not exchange sisters with us.' (lit. 'Their girls will not cross over to us.')

(tci20120814 ABB #319)

One exception is the prohibitive construction (See §6.3.2). This construction consists of the potential particle *kma*, the verb in the imperative, and the apprehensive clitic *m=*, which may attach either to the verb or to the potential particle. This construction is best translated as 'must not' as can be seen in example (79). Note that the negator *keke* cannot be included in this construction.

(79) *nznäbrimath "bä kmam thiyaké! kafarnzo ni nyak!".*

nznä\brim/ath bä kma=m
2|3PL:SBJ>1PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/return 2.ABS POT=APPR
thi\yak/é kafar=nzo ni n\yak/
2PL:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/walk big=ONLY 1NSG 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk

'They brought us back (and said)"You must not go! Only us big ones go."'

(tci20120904 MAB #232-233)

Negation at the level of the constituent can be expressed in a number of ways. The word *matak* 'nothing' is used to express non-existence, usually in a copula clause. This is shown in example (80) where a man takes notice that he is alone in the village. *Matak* can also be used in a non-verb predication, for example *nge matak* '(they were) no children'. Alternatively, any noun phrase can be negated by using the privative case marker *=mär*. This is described in §4.14.

(80) *kabe matak erä nima z bramöwä kwafarkwrth.*

kabe matak e\rä/ nima z bramöwä
people nothing 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:COP like_this ALR all
kwa\fark/wrth
2|3PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/set_off

'There are no people (here). They all already left.'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #77)

Negative indefinites expressing 'none whatsoever' or 'nothing at all' are constructed by adding the negator *keke* to an noun phrase that includes the indefinite marker *nä*. For example, *nä kabe* means 'some man' or 'someone', but *kabe nä keke* means 'nobody at all'. This is adressed in the description of the indefinite marker *nä* in §3.1.10.

Chapter 9

Complex syntax

9.1 Introduction

This section describes the combination of two or more predicates. There are three parameters involving the coding of complex clauses. The first parameter is the verb inflection. Are both predicates fully inflected or is one of them nominalised? The second parameter is the way, how an interclausal relationship between two fully inflected predicates is marked. This often involves demonstratives marked for case. The third parameter are syntactic restrictions in one of the two clauses. These parameters allow us to decide whether a particular clause combination should be analysed as coordination or subordination. Note that the first parameter supersedes the other two, in that nominalised predicates are always analysed as subordinate clauses, and the other two parameters do not apply. Only if two clauses contain inflected verbs, these two parameters help to identify the relationship between them. For example, relative clauses are structurally similar to content questions, but they differ in two points. First, they are usually headed by the relativised element, which is in some sense the answer to the question posed by the relative clause. Second, relative clauses have a more rigid structure than questions. Hence, they are analysed as a type of subordination. On the other hand, complements of knowledge consist of one clause with a predicative nominal (*miyatha* 'knowledge') and the copula. The epistemic content can be expressed by a separate clause, which shows no syntactic dependency to the first. It follows that in some cases these parameters fail and only semantic criteria can be applied.

I want to give a few examples, to show that there is a cline of syntactic integration between two clauses. Givón provides a functional explanation to the various degrees of syntactic integration: "the stronger the semantic bond between two events, the more extensive will be the syntactic integration of the two clauses into a single though complex clause" (2001: 41). As we will see, Komnzo supports this observation to some extent. I choose the domain of 'cause' to illustrate this below. The clearest way to mark a causer is by putting the element in the ergative

case. In Komnzo nominalised verbs can be used in this way (1). In the example, a Marind headhunter tries to distract his victims by imitating the sound that dogs make when chewing bones, but he ends up only distracting himself. The phrase *ane wäsifnzo* 'only that cracking' functions as a clausal subject. The event 'crack' and the event 'close' are tightly integrated. They occur simultaneously and they stand in direct causal relation.

(1) *bäne thuwänzrm fof ... zarfa surmänwrm* ***ane wäsifnzo***.

bäne thu\wä/nzrm fof (.) zarfa
DEM:MED 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/crack fof (.) ear
su\rmän/wrm ane
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/close DEM
wä-si=f=nzo
crack-NMLZ=ERG=ONLY

'He was cracking those (coconut shells) ... This cracking was blocking his ears.'

(tci20120818 ABB #67-68)

The characteristic case is used for adverbial adjuncts marking origin and cause. In example (2), *mni frazsi* functions as an adverbial clause. The predicate 'be weak' and the event 'extinguish' occurred at different times, but they stand in a causal relation.

(2) *komnzo tayo zwrä* ***mni frazsima***.

komnzo tayo z=wo\rä/ mni
only weak PROX=1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be fire
fraz-si=ma
extinguish-NMLZ=CHAR

'I am just weak here from extinguishing the fire.'

(tci20120922-24 STL #21)

Komnzo has a recognitional demonstrative pronoun, which can function in a number of ways (§3.1.11.6). It is frequently used in 'tip-of-the-tongue' situations. Example (3) explains why a particular woman in Rouku grew very old, while her friends and some of her children have passed away already. The structure is the same as (2). The only difference is that the speaker uses the recognitional inflected with the characteristic case ('because of that one'). After a short pause, he fills in the referent *rirksima* 'because she respected'. The event 'survive' (lit. 'jump') and the event 'respect' occurred in different times, but they stand in a causal relation.

(3) *watik, fi komnzo zathfär* ***bänema*** *fof ... nima* ***rirksima*** *brä.*

watik fi komnzo za\thfär/ bäne=ma
then 3.ABS only 3SG.FEM:SBJ:RPST:PFV/junp RECOG=CHAR
fof (.) nima rirk-si=ma
EMPH (.) like_this respect-NMLZ=CHAR
b=\rä/
MED=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'Well, she just lived on because of that ... because respected (the taboos). There she is.'

(tci20120922-26 DAK #22-23)

In discourse, the use of the recognitional creates some kind of expectation that something should follow. This something can remain empty, for example when the referent is common ground between the speaker and the addressee, but it can also be 'filled in' (3). This latent expectation explains why the recognitional is employed to introduce another clause (4). The function of that clause is determined by the case marker on the recognitional. In (4) it is the characteristic case, and consequently the function of the following clause is to mark a reason, in other words *bänema* can be translated with 'because'. The event in the first clause 'exit' and the event in the second clause 'close' stand in a causal relationship. However, the causal chain of events involves a number steps.

(4) *keke kwamätrakwrm* ***bänema*** *...* ***fam z zwärmänth***

keke kwa\mätrak/wrm bäne=ma (.) fam z
NEG SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/exit RECOG=CHAR (.) thought ALR
zwä\rmän/th
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG:.FEM:OBJ:RPST:PFV/close

'She did not come outside because they had already closed her thoughts (with magic).'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #148-149)

Lastly, I want to contrast the use of the recognitional from other demonstratives. Consider example (5), which includes the general demonstrative *ane* in the characteristic case in the second clause. The demonstrative *ane* functions anaphorically, and in that sense it is the mirror image of the recognitional. The events 'disturb' and 'submerge' stand in a causal relationship, but the components are reversed. We can translate it to English with 'therefore' or 'that's why'. The two clauses are otherwise independent. This is also supported by the paragraph marker *watik* 'well, then' which occurs at the beginning of the second clause, but this is optional.

(5) *ane ŋatha bä nzwathofikwr ... watik* ***anema*** *nzibrüzé bobo.*

ane ŋatha bä nzwa\thofik/wr (.) watik
DEM dog MED 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/disturb (.) then
ane=ma nz=ybrüzé
DEM=CHAR IPST=1SG:SBJ>2|3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/submerge
bobo
MED.ALL

'That dog disturbed me there. Well, that's why I pushed him into the water.'

(tci20130903-03 MKW #188)

The examples above illustrate, that there is a cline between syntactically integrated clauses, i.e. subordinated clauses, and independent clauses. While both ends of the cline are relatively easy to identify, the middle is a grey zone. It is clear that examples like (5) consists of two independent clauses. Likewise, the nominalised predicates in (1 - 3) are clear cases of subordination. But examples like (4) are somewhat indeterminate. One the one hand, the recognitional pronoun creates a gap that needs to be filled. In other words, semantically, the second clause is subordinated to the first clause. On the other hand, the second clause is syntactically independent. Therefore, I refrain from analysing the recognitional as a subordinator, but rather as having a connecting function.[1]

The following description is functionally motivated, that is subsections are sorted thematically. For example, a subsection on purposive clauses will include clear cases of subordination, but also constructions where the purpose is expressed in an independent clause connected with the recognitional. I will describe coordinated clauses (§9.2), complement clauses (§9.3), adverbial clauses (§9.4), relative clauses (§9.5), conditional and time clauses (§9.6) and direct speech and thought (§9.7).

9.2 Coordinated clauses

Coordination refers to syntactic constructions where two or more elements of equal status are connected (Haspelmath, 2007). Komnzo employs the same mechanisms for coordinating noun phrases as it does for coordinating clauses. The word *a* 'and' can be used for conjunctive coordination (6) and the word *o* 'or' can be used for disjunctive coordination (7).

[1]Note that the recognitional demonstrative can be inflected for following cases: characteristic *=ma* 'because', instrumental *=me* 'thereby' and purposive *=mr* 'in order to, until'.

(6) *mni wthomonwath* ***a*** *zräföfth*

mni w\thomon/wath a
fire 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:PST:PST:IPFV/prepare.fire and
zrä\föf/th
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:IRR:PFV/burn

'They piled the fire and burn it.'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #155)

(7) *nafaŋamaf wnfathwr* ***o*** *ynfathwr.*

nafa-ŋame=f wn\fath/wr o
3.POSS-mother=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST.VENIT/hold or
yn\fath/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST.VENIT/hold

'(The child's) mother holds her or holds him.'

(tci20121004 RMA #327-328)

For conjunctive coordination it is quite common to have no overt marker (8). Especially in sequences of events, two or more inflected verbs can follow each other. Example (8) describes the felling a sago palm.

(8) *wati yfarwake … sabthake … safümnzake fof*

wati y\far/wake (.)
then 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:PST:IPFV/chop (.)
sa\bth/ake (.)
1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:PST:PFV/finish (.)
sa\fümnz/ake fof
1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:PST:PFV/pull.over EMPH

'Then we chopped it (and) finished it (and) pulled it over.'

(tci20120929-02 SIK #19-21)

Other ways of coordinating two clauses involve the manner demonstrative *nima* 'like this', which is commonly used to introduce direct speech (§9.7). In example (9), *nima* indicates the manner of movement (accompanied with a appropriate gesture), but it also connects the two following clauses.

(9) *nabi tutin fä fof zumirwanzrm füsfüsf … nima zfzänzrm fombo … nima zfzänzrm.*

nabi tuti=n fä fof
bamboo branch=LOC DIST EMPH
zu\mirwa/nzrm füsfüs=f (.) nima
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/swing wind=ERG.SG (.) like_this
zf\zä/nzrm fombo (.) nima
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/carry DIST.ALL (.) like_this
zf\zä/nzrm
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/carry

'The wind was swinging (the lamp) on the bamboo (and) it was moving it there (and) it was moving it here.'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #117-118)

9.3 Complement clauses

9.3.1 Phasal verbs

The most common complement taking predicates in Komnzo are the two phasal verbs *thkäfksi* 'start' and *bthaksi* 'finish'. Other verbs show similar behaviour, for example *gathiksi* 'stop, leave', *mäyogsi* 'continue, repeat'.

With phasal verbs the indexation structure from the nominalised verb is raised into the matrix clause. The values of those categories expressed in the verb form are marked on the phasal verb. This may include number, person and gender of the arguments, but also tense, aspect, mood and direction. Example (10) shows the 'non-phasal' clause *bad wtharinzake* 'we were digging the ground'. The verb indexes the actor (1PL) and the undergoer *bad* 'ground' (3SG.FEM). In the first clause of the example, the same state of affairs is expressed, but the verb 'dig' occurs in its infinitive *tharisi*, and its argument structure is raised into the phasal verb *thkäfksi* 'start'. Now it is the phasal verb which indexes a first plural actor and a third singular feminine undergoer.

(10) *watik bad fof tharisi zathkäfake … bad wtharinzake zabthake.*

watik bad fof thari-si za\thkäf/ake
then ground EMPH dig-NMLZ 1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/start
(.) bad w\thari/nzake
(.) ground 1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/dig
za\bth/ake
1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/start

'Then we started to dig the ground. We were digging the ground and finished it.'

(tci20120929-02 SIK #72-73)

This is also found with ditransitive events, as in (11) below. The verb *thkäfksi* 'start' indexes the indirect object. Note that the dative noun phrase is omitted.

(11) *wri no n säthkäfath yarisi*

wri no n sä\thkäf/ath yari-si
drunk water IMN 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:PST:PFV/start give-NMLZ

'They were about to give him alcohol.'

(tci20120925-01 MAE #158)

Verbs in the middle template also raise their respective indexation into the phasal verb. The middle template can be used with several functions (§5.4.5). Example (12) shows the verb *yonasi* 'drink', which always occurs in a middle template. In the example *yonasi* occurs in the infinitive. Consequently, the phasal verb takes over this indexing pattern and only encodes the subject, but not the object.

(12) *nä kayé ... watik yonasi zethkäfa*

nä kayé (.) watik yona-si ze\thkä/fa
some day (.) then drink-NMLZ SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/start

'One day, he started to drink.'

(tci20120925-01 MAE #83)

In example (13), the prefixing verb *msaksi* 'sit, dwell' is used in its infinitive. Since, the phasal verb *thkäfksi* 'start' cannot enter the prefixing template, the middle template is used instead. As I describe in §5.4.4, the prefixing template is a minor pattern in Komnzo and most intransitive verb are encoded using the middle template. Furthermore, the prefixing template usually has stative semantics.

(13) *wati foba msaksi fefe zathkäfake*

wati foba msak-si fefe za\thkäf/ake
then DIST.ABL dwell-NMLZ really 1DU:SBJ:PST:PFV/start

'From there, we began our married life.' (lit. 'we began sitting/dwelling')

(tci20130823-08 WAM #47)

Example (14) shows that for the middle verb *yak* 'run' the phasal verb takes over the indexation.[2] Note that the directional value (VENIT) is also raised into the phasal verb.

(14) *kabe ane zenthkäfath yak.*

kabe ane zen\thkäf/ath yak
man DEM 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/start run

'The people started to run here.'

(tci2013013-01 ABB #91)

9.3.2 Complements of knowledge

Complements of knowledge are structured differently from phasal complements. They involve a property noun with predicative function plus the copula to form a predicate of knowledge (*miyatha* 'knowledge(-able)') or ignorance (*miyamr* 'ignorant/ignorance'). Note that the latter has probably developed from a more overt marking that involved the privative case marker *=mär*. The acquisition of knowledge is expressed by the property noun *miyatha* plus the light verb *ko-* 'become'. The epistemic content of these predicates of knowledge and ignorance – what is known or not known – can be expressed by a number of different strategies. Examples (15) and (16) show complements in which a nominalized verb form in the absolutive is added. In (15), the nominalized verb constitutes the head of a compound 'coconut climbing'.

(15) *nzä miyatha worä ŋazi sogsi.*

nzä miyatha wo\rä/ ŋazi sog-si
1SG.ABS knowledge 1SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be coconut climb-NMLZ

'I know how to climbing coconut.' (lit. 'I am knowledgeable (about) coconut climbing')

(overheard)

The predicate of knowledge construction (*miyatha/miyamr* plus copula) is a frequent collocation. Therefore, it is possible to drop the copula altogether as in (15).

(16) *bäne ruga yfränzre … afa fi miyamr ykwasi … nzefénzo*

bäne ruga y\frä/nzre (.) afa
DEM:MED pig 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/singe.off (.) father
fi miyamr ykwa-si (.) nze=wä=nzo
3.ABS ignorance cut.meat-NMLZ (.) 1SG.ERG=EMPH=ONLY

[2]This verb is irregular: instead of a nominalized infinitive with *-si*, the third singular masculine form *yak* is used. However, *yak* is the third singular of 'walk' and not of 'run'. This would be *ŋakwir*. Thus, 'walk' employs the noun *moth* 'path, way' as its nominalisation and 'run' employs *yak*.

'We burn the hair off that pig ... father, does not know how to cut it ... only I.'

(tci20120821-02 LNA #61-62)

As described in §4.12, the characteristic case can express a topic of conversation. Example (17) shows that the epistemic content can also be marked with the characteristic case.

(17) *zf wthkärwé zokwasi nzä monme miyatha worä no kzima*

zf w\thkär/wé zokwasi nzä
IMM 1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/start speech 1SG.ABS
mon=me miyatha wo\rä/ no kzi=ma
how=INS knowledge 1SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be rain barktray=CHAR

'I will start the story how I know about the rain making (magic)'

(tci20110810-01 MAB #8)

The epistemic content can be expressed as a relative clause, which takes the predicate of knowledge as its head as in example (18).

(18) *bä z miyatha erä maf n zwämg?*

bä z miyatha e\rä/ maf n
2.ABS ALR knowledge 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be who.ERG IMN
zwä\mg/
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/shoot

'Do you know, who almost shot me?'

(tci20130927-06 MAB #37)

The epistemic content can also be expressed in an independent clause connected, for example with *nima* 'like this' (19). The use of *nima* in this example can also be analysed as quoting inner thought (§9.7).

(19) *fi miyamr sfrärm nima fi zbo ern.*

fi miyamr sf\rä/rm nima fi zbo
3.ABS ignorance 3SG.MASC:SBJPST:DUR/be like_this 3.ABS PROX.ALL
e\rn/
2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'He did not know those two are here.'

(tci20130927-06 MAB #123)

The acquisition of knowledge is expressed by replacing the copula with the light verb *ko-* 'become'. Example (20) is taken from a text about a punitive custom, whereby the perpetrator is humiliated by giving him a large amount of yams, which he is expected to pay back the following year. The epistemic content is expressed by a relative clause.

(20) *"miyatha käkor bä monwä zbrigwé bä ra nrä? daw kabe?" nima kwakonzrmth.*

miyatha kä\kor/ bä mon=wä
knowledge 2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/become 2.ABS how=EMPH
z\brig/wé bä ra
2SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/return 2.ABS what
n\rä/ daw kabe nima kwa\ko/nzrmth
2SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be garden man like_this 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/say

"'You see how you pay this back! What are you? A gardener?" that is what they were saying.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #241)

Note that the phrase *miyatha käkor!* can be purely epistemic "(Now) you know it!" or it can express an experiental sensation "(Now) you feel it!".

9.3.3 Complements of desire

Much of what has been said about complements of knowledge, can be said about complements of desire. The property noun *miyo* 'desire' is used for this.[3] It can be negated with the privative case *=mär*: *miyomär*. Again a property noun plus copula construction expresses the concept of 'want, wish or hope': *ra miyo erä?* 'What do you want' (lit. 'What desire you are'). The clause encoding the desired (or undesired) can be expresses in a variety of ways. Example (21) shows a nominalised verb *mgthksi* 'feed' in the absolutive. The verbs is heading a compound 'pig feeding'.

(21) *zena keke miyo worä ruga mgthksi ... znsä ttüfr*

zena keke miyo wo\rä/ ruga mgthk-si (.) znsä
today NEG desire 1SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be pig feed-NMLZ (.) work
t-tüfr
REDUP-plenty

'Today, I do not want to feed pigs ... too much work.' (lit. 'I am not desirous pig feeding')

(tci20120805-01 ABB #819-820)

[3]Note that *miyo* can also be a noun meaning 'wish' and 'taste'.

In example (22), the word *zokwasi* is used as a nominalisation 'speaking'.

(22) *keke zokwasi miyo nzä worärm yoganai worärm.*

keke zokwasi miyo nzä wo\rä/rm yoganai
NEG speech desire 1SG.ABS 1SG:SBJ:RPST:DUR/be tired
wo\rä/rm
1SG:SBJ:RPST:DUR/be

'I did not want to talk. I was tired.'

(tci20120922-24 MAA #78)

The property noun *miyo* can also be used without the copula as in (23).

(23) *frzsi miyomäre fthé kafara znfonzo kerafith thämther. sayäfianme rifthzsi fath zn rä.*

frz-si miyo=märe fthé kafara zn=fo=nzo
net-NMLZ desire=PRIV when river pandanus place=ALL=ONLY
ke\rafith/ thä\mther/
2SG.SBJ:IMP:PFV/paddle 2SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IMP:PFV/lift.up
sayäfi=anme rifthz-si fath zn
river crayfish=POSS.NSG hide-NMLZ place place
\rä/
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'If you don't want to net, you paddle to the river pandanus place and lift them up. It is river crayfish's hiding place.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #450-451)

The desired proposition can also be expressed in an independent clause which is only semantically connected the desiderative proposition. In example (24), a man threatens a young boy who shot with an arrow at him.

(24) *zbo z fefe saththma "nzä fthé miyo kwrarä zena zf mr kwa nwänzé."*

zbo z fefe sa\ththm/a
PROX.ALL IMM really 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG,MASC:IO:PST:PFV/stick.on
nzä fthé miyo kwra\rä/ zena zf mr kwa
1SG.ABS when desire 1SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be today IMM neck FUT
n\wä/nzé
1SG:SBJ>2SG:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/crack

'He stuck (the gun) right at him (saying): "If I want I crack your head right here now"'

(tci20130927-06 MAB #45)

9.4 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses show a wide range of possible constructions. These range from infinitival adjuncts to independent clauses. In the following section purposive, temporal and manner adverbial clauses are described. Note that the domain of cause was used to introduce the reader to the various levels of syntactic syntactic intregration of two clauses. Therefore, I will not discuss this domain here, but refer to §9.1.

9.4.1 Purposive adverbials

Purposive adverbials are found in different construction. Example (25) is from a procedural about making a drum. The speaker explains how a bamboo ring will hold the membrane in place after it is glued to the drum.

(25) *nabi riwariwa kwa wäfiyokwre ...* ***narsir*** *fof*

nabi riwariwa kwa wä\fiyok/wre (.)
bamboo ring FUT 1PL:SBJ>3SG.NPST:IPFV/make (.)
nar-si=r fof
press.down-NMLZ=PURP EMPH

'We make a bamboo ring ... for pressing down (the membrane)'

(tci20120824 KAA #87-88)

In example (26), the speaker shows me a particular tree used for poison-root fishing. The example shows that the purposive clause can take an object by forming a compound 'for swamp poisoning' > 'to poison the swamp'. Note that the recognitional pronoun is used just before the nominalised verb.

(26) *nä kayé zane zf yirwre* ***bänemr*** *...* ***zra rsrsir****.*

nä kayé zane zf y\r/wre
INDF day DEM:PROX IMM 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/scrape
bäne=mr (.) zra rsr-si=r
RECOG=PURP (.) swamp poison.fishing-NMLZ=PURP

'Sometimes, we scrape (the root of) this one here for poisoning the waterholes.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #340)

Purposive clauses can also be less syntactically integrated and form an independent clause. In this case, they are usually introduced by the recognitional flagged with purposive case *bänemr*, which I translate with 'in order to'. Example (27) describes a tall structure used show off the amount of a group's yams harvest. This structure involved a long post around which many layers of yam tubers were tied with thick rope.

(27) *wati far ane thden sfrázrmth* ***bänemr kwim ŋadme sfmthzgwrmth***

wati far ane thd=en sf\räz/rmth
then post DEM middle=LOC 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/erect
bäne=mr kwim ŋad=me
RECOG=PURP PROP.N rope=INS
sf\mthzg/wrmth
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/encircle

'Then, they were erecting a post in the middle in order to wrap around the *kwim* rope.'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #463)

9.4.2 Temporal adverbials

Temporal adverbials are found in a number of constructions. Example (28) shows the locative case attached to a nominalized verb. The clause *ane yam fiyoksin* 'doing that' is therefore subordinated to the matrix clause. The relation between the two clauses is one of simultaneity.

(28) *bäne zrazänzr ... fenz kzikaf ... mä ke kwa kabef sremar* ***ane yam fiyoksin***.

bäne zra\zä/nzr (.) fenz
RECOG.ABS 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/carry (.) body liquid
kzi=kaf (.) mä keke kwa kabe=f
barktray=PROP (.) where NEG FUT man=ERG
sre\mar/ ane yam fiyok-si=n
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see DEM event make-NMLZ=LOC

'He will carry that one ... the body liquid with the barktray ... where no man will see him while doing that.'

(tci20130903-04 RNA #49-52)

In order to connecting more independent clauses, the word *fthé* 'if, when' is used. This is further described in §9.6 together with conditional clause. A close temporal connection between the two clauses can established by the word *fthémäsü* 'meanwhile, during'. The words *fthé* and *fthémäsü* are historically related, but the etymology of the *mäsü* part is unclear. In example (29), the speaker talks about a particular tree which flowers during the planting season. Note that the first and last clause contain *fthé* 'when' and the middle clause contains *fthémäsü*.

(29) *efthar fthé kräkor minzü ...* ***fthémäsü wawa worsi threthkäfth*** *... nzram fthé fof kwa ŋarär*

efthar fthé krä\kor/ minzü (.) fthémäsü
dry season when 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/become very (.) meanwhile
wawa wor-si thre\thkäf/th (.) nzram fthé
yam plant-NMLZ 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start (.) flower when
fof kwa ŋa\rä/r
EMPH FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/do

'When it reaches the height of the dry season ... while they are starting to plant the yams ... that is when this one will flower.'

(tci20130907-02 JAA #220-221)

Fthémäsü is not a subordinator, because it can be used on independent clauses with the translation 'in the meantime'. In example (30), the speaker explains that after his father's death, the stones for rain-making where lost.

(30) ***nzenme ŋafe fthémäsü kwosi yara*** *... watik foba ni miyamr nrä mafadben zena ethn.*

nzenme ŋafe fthémäsü kwosi ya\r/a (.)
1NSG.POSS father meanwhile dead 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.)
watik foba ni miyamr n\rä/
then DIST.ABL 1NSG ignorance 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
mafa=dben zena e\thn/
who=LOC.ANIM.NSG today 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/lie.down

'In the meantime our father died ... and from then one we don't know with whom (the rain stones) are today.'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #399)

A third strategy to connect a clause temporally is by using the recognitional inflected with the locative case *bafen*. But this is an infrequent strategy, because (i) the temporal function is an extension of the locative case and (ii) connecting clauses is only one function of the recognitional. Example (31), is about two men from Rouku who used to work on the Fly River. They run into another men from Rouku, who has been away for a long time. The recognitional occurs twice. First is it coreferential with holiday: 'in that time ... during the holidays'. The second use is difficult to analyse, because this is also a temporal/conditional construction, but one can assume that *bafen* introduces the second clause.

(31) *fthé nima bafen kabrigrnoth holidayen* ***bafen fefe katrife "fi bobo yé"***

fthé nima baf=en ka\brig/rnoth
when like_this RECOG=LOC 2DU:SBJ:IMP:IPFV:ANDAT/return
holiday=en baf=en fefe ka\trif/e fi
holiday=LOC RECOG=LOC really 2DU:SBJ:IMP:PFV/tell 3.ABS
bobo \yé/
MED.ALL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'When you return in the holidays, then you have to tell (them): "He is there!"'

(tci20130927-06 MAB #206)

9.4.3 Manner adverbials

The proprietive and instrumental case on a nominalized verb can be used to express as manner adverbial clause. In the functional extension the two cases marker can also express a relation of association and temporal overlaps respectively. Hence, the nominalised verb flagged with the proprietive case in example (32) can be translated as 'He held hips while rejoicing' or 'He held hips rejoicingly.'

(32) ***thweksikarä*** *gon z zefaf*

thwek-si=karä gon z ze\faf/
rejoice-NMLZ=PROP hip ALR 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/hold

'He held hips while rejoicing' or 'He held hips rejoicingly.'

(tci20111004 RMA #174)

The recognitional case also serve to introduce a clause which expresses a manner (or temporal association). In example (33), the speaker explains how he and his friends where loading a heavy sago stem on a canoe. Some people from Morehead Station were sceptical about this plan. Thus, *bäneme thfkogrm* 'They were standing with/like this' connects to the following clause which expresses 'they stood thinking ...'

(33) *nä station kabe fä zämosirath* ***bäneme*** *thfkogrm ...* ***fam kwarärmth "kwa ywokrakwr o kwa ŋabrüzr?"***

nä station kabe fä zä\mosir/ath bäne=me
INDF station man DIST 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/gather RECOG=INS
thf\kogr/m (.) fam kwa\rä/rmth kwa
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/stand (.) thought 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/do FUT
y\wokrak/wr o kwa ŋa\brüz/r
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/float or FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/submerge

'Some station people gathered there. They were standing thinking: "Will it float or will it sink?"'

(tci20120929-02 SIK #30-31)

The most common way to encode a manner adverbial is by a relative clause with *mon* or *monme* 'how' (§9.5). Example (34) is taken from a picture task, where the participants were asked to arrange picture cards into a story. In the example, the speaker explains the task to a bystander. Note that the recognitional *bäneme* 'with this, in this way' also appears in the first clause. The second recognitional *bäne* refers to *trikasi* 'story' as we can see in the last clause.

(34) *zena ane bäneme nzezinakwre* ***monme bäne wyak brä*** *...* ***trikasi monme kma zrarä***

zena ane bäne=me nz=e\zinak/wre
now DEM RECOG=INS IPST=1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/put.down
mon=me bäne w\yak/
how=INS RECOG.ABS 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk
b=\rä/ (.) trik-si mon=me kma
MED=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) tell-NMLZ how=INS POT
zra\rä/
3SG.FEM:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be

'Now we are putting (the pictures) down how it goes there ... how the story should be.'

(tci20111004 RMA #313-314)

9.5 Relative clauses

I follow Andrews in defining relative clauses as a "subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC [relative clause]" (2007a: 206). I adopt Andrew's label NP_{MAT} for the NP in the matrix clause, and NP_{REL} for the NP in the relative

clause. The latter is always expressed by interrogative pronouns, which function as relative pronouns.

Relative clauses in Komnzo are adjoined clauses in the sense of (Hale, 1976), who notes that adjoined relative clauses are "subordinate in some way, but [their] surface position with respect to the main clause is marginal rather than embedded" (1976: 78). Andrews defines them as having the relative clause appear outside the NP_{MAT}. Relative clauses in Komnzo are almost always right-adjoined, that is they follow the NP_{MAT}. Alternatively, they may refer to the whole matrix clause, in which case they follow the matrix clause. The NP_{MAT} can be fronted together with the relative clause, which is a common strategy used for topicalisation. For a detailed description, the reader is referred to §10.4.

We can represent the structure of relative clauses schematically as in Figure 9.1. The matrix element, $[...]_{\text{MAT}}$ in the figure, is usually a noun phrase, which can be omitted if it is understood from context. Alternatively, the matrix element can be a matrix clause. The relative clause, $[...]_{\text{RC}}$ in the figure, consists of the relative pronoun and the verb. There may be one noun phrase preceding the relative pronoun, but there cannot be more than one noun phrase in this position.

$$[\text{NP}_{\text{i}}]_{\text{MAT}} \quad [(\text{NP})\ \text{REL.PRON}_{\text{i}}\ \text{V}]_{\text{RC}}$$

Figure 9.1 Schematic representation of a relative clause (RC)

I begin by describing the formal structure of relative clauses. Formally, they are similar to content questions, because the relative pronouns are identical to the interrogative pronouns.[4] We could say that interrogatives function as relative pronouns, which is why I do not gloss them as REL in the following examples. Instead, I gloss them the same way that pronouns in interrogative function are glossed. However, relative clauses are semantically distinct from content questions because the answer to the question is already given in the form of the NP_{MAT}. Relative clauses are also syntactically different from content questions in that the relative pronoun has to occur as the second element (See Figure 9.1 above). Such a restriction does not apply to content questions. This is shown in (35-37) below, where the relative clause in each example is printed in bold font.

Example (35) comes from a hunting story where the narrator had encountered a spirit which began chasing him. In the example, the relative pronoun *maf*

[4] I refer the reader to §3.1.9 for a description of interrogative pronouns. See especially Table 3.5, but also the interrogatives in Table 3.7.

follows the pronoun *nzä*. The relative clause follows the NP_{MAT} *ane kabe* 'that man'.

(35) *nze nima "byannor ane kabe fof* ***nzä maf wonrsoknwr****."*

nze nima b=yan\nor/ ane
1SG.ERG like_this MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/shout DEM
kabe fof nzä maf
man EMPH 1SG.ABS who.SG.ERG
won\rsokn/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/bother

'I (said) like this: "He is shouting out there. This man who bothers me."'

(tci20111119-03 ABB #164-166)

In example (36) the speaker describes why he did not pay attention to a fire that almost burned his garden. In the example, the relative pronoun *mane* is preceded by the noun phrase *mnz tharthar* 'side of the house'. This is an adjoined relative clause because it is outside the NP_{MAT}, which in this case is *mni* 'fire', whose antecedent is understood from the context.

(36) *ni fi ane zumarwrme* ***mnz thartharen mane zfrärm****.*

ni fi ane zu\mar/wrme mnz
1NSG but DEM 1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/look house
tharthar=en mane zf\rä/rm
side=LOC which(ABS) 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'But we were looking at that (fire), which was on the side of the house.'

(tci20120922-24 STK #5)

Finally, in (37) the speaker describes how he was trying to remove a burning tree from his garden fence. The relative pronoun *mane* follows the ergative marked *wämne* 'tree'. This is an adjoined relative clause because it is outside the NP_{MAT}, which in this case is *ŋarake* 'garden fence', whose antecedent is understood from the context.

(37) *kma wämne ane fof kwakarkwé ane fof* ***wämnef mane thänarfa*** *... keke watikthémäre*

kma wämne ane fof kwa\kark/wé ane fof wämne=f
POT tree DEM EMPH 1SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/pull DEM EMPH tree=ERG
mane thä\narf/a (.) keke
which(ABS) SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV/press.down (.) NEG
watik-thé=märe
enough-ADJZR=PRIV

'I should have pulled that tree (from the fence) which the tree was pushing down. No, (I was) not (strong) enough!'

(tci20120922-24 MAA #42-43)

A second rule is needed for examples, where the relative pronoun occurs in initial position of the relative clause. Although this is possible, such example are much less frequent than the second position. The relative pronoun can occur in first position only (i) if it is preceded by the NP_{MAT} (39 and 40), or (ii) if the only other element in the relative clause is the verb (38).

(38) *bundbonzo rä* ***mane zawokth****.*

bundbo=nzo \rä/ mane
2SG.ALL=ONLY 3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/be which(ABS)
za\wokth/
2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/choose

'It is up to you, which one you choose!'

(tci20111004 RMA #528)

Example (39) is taken from a picture stimulus task. One of the participants is correcting the other. Note that the English translation is misleading. The noun phrase *mafanemäwä waniwani* is a complex noun phrase and the relative pronoun *mafanema* is marked flagged with the characteristic case in adnominal function. Thus, *mafanemäwä waniwani* should be translated not as genitive 'whose picture', but as origin 'picture of/about who'.

(39) *sukawi, nima keke rä. zane fthéthamane yé ... ane kabe fof* ***mafanemäwä waniwani zöbthé nzünmarwre****.*

sukawi nima keke \rä/ zane
PROP.N like_this NEG 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be DEM:PROX
fthé=thamane \yé/ (.) ane kabe fof
when=TEMP.POSS 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) DEM man EMPH
mafane=ma=wä waniwani zöbthé
who.SG.POSS=CHAR=EMPH picture first
nz=wn\mar/wre
IPST=1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/see

'Sukawi, it is not like that. This is from that time ... really this man whose picture we just saw before.'

(tci20111004 RMA #194)

In example (40), the relative pronoun occurs initially following the NP_{MAT} *dödö*.

(40) *ane fathnzo zfrärm wämne keke ... dödönzo ... dödö* ***maneme ŋarenwre fath.***

ane fath=nzo zf\rä/rm wämne keke (.)
DEM clear place=ONLY 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be tree NEG (.)
dödö=nzo (.) dödö mane=me ŋa\ren/wre
PROP.N=ONLY (.) PROP.N which=INS 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sweep
fath
clear place

'This was a clearing, no trees ... only *dödö* (Sida acuta) ... *dödö*, with which we sweep the clear place.'

(tci20120821-02 LNA #25-27)

Next I desribe which kinds of argument roles can be relativised in the matrix clause (NP_{MAT}), and which can occur in the relative clause (NP_{REL}). As the examples in this section show, there is virtually no restriction on the possible argument roles. NP_{REL} is expressed by the relative pronoun, which can inflect for all cases (§3.1.9). The examples given in this section include the following cases: ergative (35), absolutive (36, 37, 38), characteristic (39), dative (45), locative (41) and instrumental (40).

It is harder to determine the argument role of NP_{MAT} because its presence is optional. We saw in (37) above that the relative pronoun *mane* referred to the fence, which the burning tree had pushed down. But this not expressed by a noun phrase, nor is the fence indexed in the verb of the matrix clause. We only know about it from the preceding context of the story, and the plural prefix in the verb of the relative clause.[5] In (36), the fire is not expressed as a noun phrase, but the prefix of the verbs *zumarwrme* 'we were seeing it' and *zfrarm* 'it was', both index *mni* 'fire' (3SG.FEM). However, we can always determine the argument role of NP_{MAT} from the context. The following argument roles are found in the examples given in this section: the single argument of an intransitive verb (35), patient (36), location (41), discourse topic (42), actor (43), and recipient (44).

(41) *mni wthomonwrth* ***yfö mä zfrärm.***

mni w\thomon/wrth yfö mä
fire 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/pile.up.fire hole where
zf\rä/rm
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR

'They prepare the fire, where the hole was.'

(tci20120901-01 MAK #153-154)

[5]The word *ŋarake* 'fence' is frequently used in the plural.

(42) *anema nä katan zokwasi nimamenzo fof zfrä ... nzone katan masisma ... ane mnima* ***zöbthé mane zukonzrmth kidn o zfth mni.***

ane=ma nä katan zokwasi nima=me=nzo fof
DEM=CHAR INDF small words like_this=INS=ONLY EMPH
zf\rä/ (.) nzone katan masis=ma (.) ane
3SG.FEM:RPST:IPFV/be (.) 1SG.POSS small matches=CHAR (.) DEM
mni=ma zöbthé mane zu\ko/nzrmth
fire=CHAR before who(ABS) 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/speak
kidn o zfth mni
PROP.N or base fire

'This was another small story like this ... about my small matches ... about the fire, which they were calling *kidn* or base fire before.'

(tci20120909-06 KAB #126-127)

(43) *kabef tauri samg* ***ŋatha tüfrkarä mane yé.***

kabe=f tauri sa\mg/ ŋatha
man=ERG wallaby 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:RPST:PFV/shoot dog
tüfr=karä mane \yé/
plenty=PROP who(ABS) 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'The man who has many dogs shot the wallaby.'

(overheard)

(44) *be kmam nabi thar nafanm* ***mane wtri ŋarärth.***

be kma=m nabi tha\r/ nafanm
2SG.ERG POT=APPR bow 2SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:IMP:PFV/give 3NSG:DAT
mane wtri ŋa\rä/rth
who(ABS) fear 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/do

'You must not give a bow to those, who are fearful.'

(overheard)

It is also possible that the relative clause is free in the sense that it refers to the whole matrix clause and not to a particular nominal (Andrews, 2007a: 213). Such examples are given in (38) above and (45) below.

(45) *be fam kwot karäré* ***tosin mafan kwa yarithr.***

be fam kwot ka\rä/ré tosin mafan kwa
2SG.ERG thought properly 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/do torch who.SG.DAT FUT
ya\ri/thr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/give

'You have to think properly to whom you will give the torch.'

(overheard)

The NP_{MAT} can be fronted together with the relative clause as in (46). This is commonly used for topicalisation. After showing me a traditional fishing basket, the speaker shifts the topic to more modern methods of fishing. The NP_{MAT} is *net* in (46).

(46) *wati, net* ***ane mane erä*** *markaianeme erä ane.*

wati net ane mane e\rä/
then fishing_net DEM which 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
markai=aneme e\rä/ ane
outsider=POSS.NSG 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be DEM

'Okay, as for the fishing nets, they are the white man's (things).'

(tci20120906 SKK #53-54)

In example (47) the speaker talks about food taboos. He makes the point that a particular woman in the village has grown very old because she has always respected those food taboos. The relative clause (in bold) marks a shift in topic to all those people who did not respect the food taboos. Thus, the antecedent of the relative clause is omitted and it is understood from context, and the third plural argument indexed in the verb forms *kwarirkwrmth* 'they respected' and *thufathwrm* 'it grabbed them'.

(47) *watik, fi komnzo zathfär ... bänema fof nima rirksima brä ... nima kwarirkwrm ... fi* ***mafa keke kwarirkwrmth*** *... watik, tekmär esufakwa kwikkwikf thufathwrm.*

watik fi komnzo za\thfär/ (.) bäne=ma fof
then 3.ABS only 3SG.FEM:SBJ:RPST:PFV/jump (.) DEM:MED EMPH
nima rirk-si=ma b=\rä/ (.)
like_this respect-NMLZ=CHAR MED=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.)
nima kwa\rirk/wrm (.) fi mafa keke
like_this 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/respect (.) but who.NSG.ERG NEG
kwa\rirk/wrmth (.) watik tek=mär
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/respect (.) then duration=PRIV
e\sufak/wa kwik-kwik=f
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/grow.old REDUP-sickness=ERG
thu\fath/wrm
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/hold

'She just lives on ... because of her respect ... she was respecting (the law) ... but those who did not respect (the law) ... well, they grew old quickly and they got sick.'

(tci20120922-26 DAK #22-27)

The fronted relative clause as a topicalisation strategy is described in detail in §10.4.

9.6 Conditional and time clauses

Conditional and time clauses are expressed in the same way, only the context resolves which of the two is meant. If will use the term conditional in the subsequent description to cover both. Conditionals are formed by using the word *fthé* 'when, if'. Note that *fthé* is not a subordinator per se, because it can also occur in independent sentence with the meaning 'that is when'. Thus, *fthé* is required for a conditional, but it is not sufficient. The word *fthé* is used in the clause which sets up the conditional, often called the if-clause (Thompson et al., 2007: 255). The second clause, often called the when-clause, receives no special marking.[6] The clearest conditional reading is found with the second person. Although an irrealis verb inflection is also possible, in most cases, the imperative is used in one of the two clauses as in example (48) and (49).

(48) *ŋanzmäre fthé gnräré frasi kwa nrä*

ŋanz=märe fthé gn\rä/ré frasi kwa
row=PRIV when 2SG.SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be hunger FUT
n\rä/
2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'If you are without a row (of yams in the garden), you will be hungry.'

(tci20130822-08 LNA #17)

(49) *wati, zena fthé zanmar ... yusi fr mane rä ... ane fof nzone farsima rä.*

wati zena fthé zan\mar/ (.) yusi fr
then today when 2SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IMP:PFV/see (.) grass stem
mane \rä/ (.) ane fof nzone
which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) DEM EMPH 1SG.POSS
far-si=ma \rä/
fell-NMLZ=CHAR 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'If/When you look at it ... the grassland there ... that is from my cutting down (the trees).'

(tci20120805-01 ABB #614)

Both clauses can be marked for various TAM categories, for example imperative in the if-clause and irrealis in the when-clause in (50), where speaker shows me the proper use of a toy bullroarer.

[6]Note that for time clauses, this would be the when-clause and then-clause respectively.

(50) *zbo fthé sakwr fefen o wämnen … keke kwa srannor.*

zbo fthé sa\kwr/ fefe=n o
PROX.ALL when 2SG.SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ.IMP:PFV/hit body=LOC or
wämn=en (.) keke kwa sran\nor/
tree=LOC (.) NEG FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/shout

'If you hit it here against the body or against a tree, it will not make a sound.'

(tci20120914 RMA #31-33)

In (51), all clauses are in past durative, yet the conditional construction can be interpreted as both real (as in the translation) and unreal ('if they had paddled with noise, the story man would have shoot them with magic').

(51) *zizi zä keke kwarafinzrmth ŋoŋoyamkarä … bänema fthé ŋoŋoyamkarä kwarafinzrmth menzf thfruthrm … bthanme*

zizi zä keke kwa\rafi/nzrmth ŋoŋoyam=karä (.)
afternoon PROX NEG 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/paddle noise=PROP …
bäne=ma fthé ŋoŋoyam=karä kwa\rafi/nzrmth
RECOG=CHAR when noise=PROP 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/paddle
menz=f thf\ru/thrm (.)
story man=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/shoot (.)
bthan=me
magic=INS

'They did not paddle her with a lot of noise in the afternoon, but if they were paddling with a lot of noise, the story man was shooting his magic at them.'

(tci20120922-19 DAK #14-15)

9.7 Direct speech and thought

Direct speech is a common construction in Komnzo. In most cases direct speech is introduced by a speech verb, for example *ko-* 'speak' or *na-* 'say', and the manner demonstrative *nima* 'like this' (§3.1.11.7). Direct speech receives a separate intonation contour and the whole clause is often produced at a slightly higher pitch to indicate that the speaker is taking on another person's role. An example is given in (52).

(52) *watik, srank kma* ***sakora nima*** *"srank, ni krafare" srankf* ***zenaftha*** *"keke efoth zizi fefe rä nzä kayé woräro"*

watik srank kma sa\kor/a nima
then PERS.N POT SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak like_this
srank ni kra\far/e srank=f
PERS.N 1NSG 2|3DU:SBJ:IRR:PFV/set.off PERS.N=ERG.SG
ze\nafth/a keke efoth zizi fefe
SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/say NEG sun afternoon really
\rä/ nzä kayé wo\rä/ro
3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/be 1SG.ABS tomorrow 1SG:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/be

'Well, he tried to tell Srank: ''Srank, we go!" Srank said: "No, it is late afternoon. I will go tomorrow."'

(tci20111107-01 MAK #44-45)

The manner demonstrative functions as a quotative marker. It can introduce direct speech without a speech verb, as in example (53) below.

(53) *naf* ***nima*** *"nakre! wimäsen mni bŋasog."*

naf nima nakre wimäs=en mni
3SG.ERG like_this PERS.N mango_tree=LOC fire
b=ŋa\sog/
MED=2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/climb

'He (said): "Nakre! The fire is climbing up the mango tree."'

(tci20130901-02 RNA #152-153)

There is no dedicated construction for indirect speech. Indirect speech equivalents can be expressed by a speech verb with an adverbial adjunct (54) or a clause connected with *mon* 'how' (55).

(54) *naf ŋanafr* ***drdr mäyogsir****.*

naf ŋa\na/fr drdr mäyog-si=r
3SG.ERG 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/speak old_garden repeat-NMLZ=PURP

'She said to continue the old garden.'

(tci20130823-06 STK 161)

(55) *emothf ŋatrikwr* ***monme zfnzr***

emoth=f ŋa\trik/wr mon=me
girl=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell how=INS
z\fn/nzr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/hit

'The girl tells how he hit her.'

(tci20120925-01 MAE #102)

An individual's inner thoughts are treated like direct and indirect speech. Hence, we find examples like (56) and (57) which mirror what has been described above for speech. The only difference is in the introducing expression. For inner thoughts this is often the light verb construction: *fam* 'thought' + *rä-* 'do'.

(56) *fam zära "kar bä rä a kar töna fobo fof wyak fof."*

fam zä\r/a kar bä \rä/
thought SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/do village MED 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
a kar töna fobo fof w\yak/ fof
and place high_ground DIST.ALL EMPH 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk EMPH

'He thought "The is a village there and I will walk there on the high ground."'

(tci20131013-01 ABB #259)

(57) *fam ane fof ŋarär monme sufnzrmth monme santhbath*

fam ane fof ŋa\rä/r mon=me
thought DEM EMPH 2|3SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/do how=INS
su\fn/nzrmth mon=me
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/hit how=INS
san\thb/ath
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/put.inside

'He is thinking how they were hitting him and how the put him inside (the cell).'

(tci20111004 RMA #457)

Chapter 10

Information structure

10.1 Introduction

This chapter should be seen as a preliminary study of those linguistic structures captured under the rubric of information structure. I address a number of mechanisms which are employed to create textual cohesion, emphasis and event sequencing. In linguistic theory, the notions of topicalisation, emphasis, focus, fore- and backgrounding have been used to analyse information structure. In Komnzo, as in many other languages, the correlates of these abstract concepts are drawn from a wide range of linguistic phenomena. They may be expressed by nuances in intonation, designated morphology, specific particles, syntactic constructions, or an exploitation of the rich TAM system. Some of these mechanism are typical of certain text genres while others are more pervasive.

I will describe different particles and enclitics that are used to mark focus, intensification and emphasis in §10.2 and briefly point to the narrative paragraph marker *watik* in §10.3. It follows a discussion of topicalisation in §10.4. The chapter closes with a description of how Komnzo speakers exploit their complex TAM system to sequence event descriptions in §10.5.

10.2 Clitics and particles

There are a number of particles, enclitics, affixes in Komnzo that are used for focus. These are sometimes glossed as intensifiers, emphasisers, or they are sometimes translated into English by 'only' or 'also'. They interact with focus, but it might be premature to analyse them purely as focus markers. By looking at a longer piece of text, I will describe the intensifier *fof*, the emphasiser enclitic *=wä*, the contrastive markers *komnzo* and *=nzo*, and the particle *we*. All of these elements are pervasive in the language and not preferred in any particular text genre.

Following König (1991), who discusses focus particles, I draw a distinction in function between presentational, contrastive and additive focus. König states that: "[a] focus particle relates the value of the focused expression to a set of alternatives" (1991: 32). A contrastive focus excludes all alternatives while presentational focus emphasises whatever lies within its scope. Additive focus presuposes a previous proposition and highlights that the same applies to another referent. We find that Komnzo employs the particle *fof* and the enclitic *=wä* for presentational focus, the particle *komnzo* and the related enclitic *=nzo* for contrastive focus, and the particle *we* for additive focus.

These mechanisms may be categorised according to their scope. The particle *fof* usually has scope over the element which it follows. This may be a whole clause if it occurs post-verbally. More commonly, it is found after demonstratives, deictics or complete noun phrases in which case it has scope over these elements. Compare §3.4.2. The enclitic *=wä* attaches to noun phrases, but is most commonly found with pronouns. The particle *komnzo* occurs pre-verbally and has scope over the predicate, while the enclitic *=nzo* attaches mostly to nominals and noun phrases and, thus, has scope over arguments or adjuncts. The particle *we* occurs in front of a clause over which it has scope or is sometimes used twice bracketing an element.

A third criterion for categorising these elements is according to their semantic content. König points out that English words like 'even, just, only' have a lexical meaning, whereas focus particles in other languages mark 'pure focus' (1991: 29ff.). He cites Somali (Saeed, 1984: 21ff.) and Manam (Lichtenberk, 1983: 476ff.) as languages where focus particles have been described as being lexically empty. We can attribute such a characteristic to the particle *fof*. It is the word which occurs with the highest frequence in the corpus. Informants often found it hard to give a separate translation of *fof*, and when pressed to do so often translated it with 'really'. As there are two adverbs *fefe* 'really' and *minzü* 'very' expressing the same, I take *fof* to have no lexical meaning. This holds not true for the other elements discussed here. The particle *komnzo* as well as the enclitic *=nzo* are often translated as 'only'. The particle *we* is often translated as 'also' or 'too'.

I will make use of a text excerpt to explain how these mechanisms are put to use in Komnzo. The example text in (1) below is the last part of a *nzürna* story which is a common narrative in the Morehead region with numerous local variants. The *nzürna* character is a female being who can change her appearance. Although these stories are often comical, the *nzürna* poses some kind of a threat to the protagonists of the story. She is said to kill and eat especially small children. Mary Ayres roughly translated *nzürna ŋare* as "devil woman" (1983: 93). In contrast to mythical stories, or knowledge about magic and sorcery, *nzürna*

stories are 'public' stories often retold and joked about. This particular *nzürna* story is set in Firra, a now abandoned village about 15km south of Morehead. The narrator is Maraga Kwozi, a man who used to live in Firra. The *nzürna* used to help and look after the people of Firra until the day that she killed and ate a stranger who was visiting the village. Outraged at this vicious incident, the village people took revenge and burned the tree in which she and her husband Nagawa were living. Nagawa could escape from the fire, but his wife was killed. The text excerpt below sets in after the main story was told. Nagawa returns to their home in Waisam to find out if his wife has survived the attack by the villagers. The elements to be discussed are underlined:

(1) 1 *ane thrma mni fthé zäbtha.*
'After this, the fire had finished.'

2 *wati nagawa ŋabrigwa ... sir*
'Then Nagawa returned ... to see'

3 *"komnzo rä o zé kwarsir mnin?"*
"Is she still alive or did she burn in the fire?"

4 *ŋabrigwa ... bobomr we waisam wäsü fthé sanmara.*
'He went back ... there he also saw that Wäsü tree in Waisam.'

5 *watik fi "nafazfthenwä."*
'Then he (said): "It was all her own fault."'

6 *yanzo bobo yanora ... nafaŋareanema.*
'He was just crying ... for his wife.'

7 *wati, fi näbi zäbrima.*
'Thus, he went back for good.'

8 *zmbo yamnzr ane woga oten.*
'This man lives now here in Ote.'

9 *emoth fäthä ämnzr.*
'He lives with his daughters.'

10 *watik, kambeyé komnzo fä nomai sumarwre ... ymarwre fthé ...*
'Well, the people still see him there ... we see him when ...'

11 *fä ŋaritakwr nima firrafo yak ... we nima ŋabrigwr.*
'he crosses (the river) on his way to Firra ... and also when he returns.'

12 *tnz fäth ane kambe yé*
'He is a short man.'

13 *ane nzürna ŋareane zokwasi nimame fof rä fof.*
'That Nzürna woman's story is just like that.'

14 *mane mbombo firran zwamnzérém.*
'the one, who was staying in Firra.'
15 *tüfr yam nä fefe thwafiyokwrm ...*
'She did many things, ...'
16 *fi fathfa ane fof wäfiyokwa ...*
'but this one thing she did in public ...'
17 *nä karma kambe mane yanatha mogarkamma*
'eating that man from another village ... from Mogarkam.'
18 *nafane zokwasi ... ane trikasi fombonzo wythk fof brä.*
'her story ... that story ends there. It is over.'
19 *ane nzürna ŋareanema*
'about that Nzürna woman.'
20 *watik, fombo fof zräkoré*
'Well, that is what I told you.'
21 *nä karen nima nä buné mbänema ...*
'In other villages (there are) others ...'
22 *nä nzürna ŋare zokwasi trikasi bä räro ...*
'other Nzürna woman stories are there ...'
23 *fi ane kar woga mane erä fi ane miyatha erä*
'but it is those village people who know about these.'
24 *nzefé nzüwäbragwé nima ni miyatha nrä*
'I followed like we know (this story).'
25 *nzekaren ane yam kwafiyokwrm ...*
'She did this in our village ...'
26 *nzenme ŋafyé mä thwamnzrm*
'where our fathers lived.'
27 *ŋafyé we nzenm natrikwath*
'The fathers also told us (about it).'
28 *nima zmbo zf zakoré. fof zäbthé*
'I have said it now. I am finished.'

(tci20100901 MAK #201-238)

The intensifier *fof* occurs in lines 13, 16, 18, 20, and 28. In 13 the narrator marks the end of the story by stating the story is "just like that" and *fof* occurs twice. In the first instance it has scope over *nima=me* 'like.this=INS'. In the second instance, it occurs postverbally and has scope over the whole proposition. It is very common to give an affirmative reply by saying *nima fof* or *nimame fof*

'just like this'. Such a reply rarely occurs without *fof*. In lines 16 and 20, *fof* occurs after the demonstratives *ane* (DEM) and *fombo* (DIST:ALL) which is also very common. In line 16, the narrator emphasises that amongst many things that she did, it was this one incident where she stepped out of line. In line 20, he literally says "to there, I spoke" emphasising the point where his story has come an end to now. In lines 18 and 28, *fof* has scope over the predicate which in this case is the whole proposition. In line 18, the verb form is *wythk* 'it comes to an end.' In 28, the verb *zäbthé* 'I am finished' follows and finally closes the narration. In each case, *fof* sets a mark which can be compared to a gesture like slamming one's hand on the table. It underlines and emphasises whatever lies in its scope.

The particle *komnzo* and the enclitic *=nzo* occur in lines 3, 6, and 18. In line 3, *komnzo* occurs in a question: 'Is she still alive or did she burn in the fire?' The first clause only contains *komnzo* and the copula *rä* which translates literally 'she only exists'. In line 6, *=nzo* is cliticized to *ya* 'cry, wail' and thus translates literally as 'he was shouting out only wails'. In line 18, *=nzo* is attached to a demonstrative *fombo* DIST:ALL. The narrator stresses the fact that the story ends at that point and does not continue. Thus, with all three examples, we find a contrastive function of *komnzo* and *=nzo*, setting a referent apart from other options.

The particle *we* functions as an additive marker like the English particle *also*. It occurs in lines 4, 11, and 27. In line 4, it introduces the account of Nagawa's return: that of seeing the Wäsü tree. In line 11, the narrator talks first about Nagawa crossing the river and then adds another clause about his return trip when he crosses the river again. The function of additive focus is particularly clear in line 27. After the narrator explains that he is entitled and knowledgeable to tell the story because it took place in his village (lines 24-26), he adds another piece of justification, namely that his fathers told him the story.

The emphasising suffix *=wä* occurs only once in the text (line 5). In his pain and sadness, Nagawa realises that it was his wife's action that had led to the act of revenge. This comment could have been expressed as *nafa-zfth-en* 3.POSS-fault-LOC 'her fault', but the speaker adds *=wä nafa-zfth-en=wä* which can be translated as 'her own fault.' For a more detailed discussion of *=wä* see §4.17.1.

10.3 The paragraph marker *watik*

The word *watik* or sometimes *wati* means 'enough'. I often overhead it used with the adjectivaliser suffix *-thé* and the instrumental *=me*. Thus, *watikthéme* '(I have) enough' is a common reply to an offer of more food or more tea. In narratives or procedural texts *watik* is often used to mark a new thought or the

begining of a paragraph. Its use is typically followed by a short pause similar to the English expressions 'well', 'and then', 'thus', or 'next'. We find such instances of *watik* or *wati* in the text excerpt above (1) in lines 2, 5, 7, 10, and 20. *Watik* introduces new episodes in each of these lines.

10.4 Fronted relative clauses

Relative clauses are right-adjoined (§9.5), and an example of a relative clause is given in (2). The matrix noun phrase *bäne dgwr* 'that orchid' is followed by the relative clause [in rectangled parentheses]. Usually the relative clause follows the matrix clause.

(2) *dgwrfa enrgegwr bäne dgwr* [*boba mane themare*] *berä.*

dgwr=fa en\rgeg/wr bäne
orchid=ABL 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/pull-off DEM:MED
dgwr boba mane the\mar/e
orchid MED.ABL which 1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:PFV/see
b=e\rä/
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'(The bowerbird) pulls them off the orchid. That orchid, which we saw over there.'

(tci20120815 ABB #32)

In public speeches one often hears topic constructions such as (3) where the speaker proclaims to the people gathered at a feast that it is time to sing and dance (and not to fight and steal). Literally, this sentence can be translated as: 'The drums which resonate, they resonate for the dance ... only for this.' Formally, this is a fronted noun phrase with a following relative clause. In most cases, the following relative clause consists of *mane* 'what, which' and the copula (4). As a convention, I translate this with the English phrases 'as for X', 'concerning X' or 'when it comes to X'.

(3) *brubru* [*mane änor*] *wathma änor ... zane frümöwä*

brubru mane ä\nor/ wath=ma
drum which 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout dance=CHAR
ä\nor/ (.) zane frü=me=wä
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout (.) DEM:PROX alone=INS=EMPH

'As for the drums, they are resonating for the dance ... only for this.'

(tci20121019-04 ABB #46)

(4) *komnzo zokwasi* [*mane rä*] *... faremane zokwasi fefe ane fof rä ... komnzo.*

komnzo zokwasi mane \rä/ (.)
PROP.N language which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.)
farem=ane zokwasi fefe ane fof \rä/
PROP.N=POSS.SG language real DEM EMPH 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
(.) komnzo
(.) PROP.N

'When it comes to Komnzo, this the Farem's real language ... Komnzo!'

(tci20120924-02 ABM #4-5)

As we see in (4), the relative clause often contains the copula (lit. 'Komnzo language which is ...'). The result is that it contributes nothing to the state of affairs, but its main function is pragmatic. Therefore, I analyse the fronted noun phrase together with the relative clause under the label fronted relative clause, i.e. fronted with respect to the matrix clause, and I put both together in parentheses in the following examples. Note that there may also be no matrix noun phrase in cases where it is the event that is topicalised, for example in (5).

(5) [*mane ynzänza*] *... büdisn mä nzrugrm ... oroman fä fof samara ... ŋafe*

mane yn\zä/nza (.) büdisn mä
who SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/carry (.) PLACE.N where
nz\rugr/m (.) oroman fä fof
1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/sleep (.) old_man DIST EMPH
sa\mar/a (.) ŋafe
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:PST:IPFV/see (.) father

'As he was carrying him ... at Büdisn where we were sleeping ... the old man, father, saw him there.'

(tci20110810-02 MAB #55-56)

Fronted relative clauses are the main strategy to introduce or reactivate topics in the sense described by Keenan and Schieffelin (1976: 342). We find them not only in public speeches, but also in narratives, where speakers employ them to indicate a change in topic or to introduce a topic. I will describe this function by taking the reader through a particular narrative. Example sentence (6) introduces the protagonist of the story, a man named Kukufia.

(6) [*kukufia mane yara*] *masun swamnzrm.*

kukufia mane ya\r/a masu=n
PROP.N which 3SG.MASC:PST.IPFV/be PLACE.N=LOC
swa\m/nzrm
3SG.MASC:PST.DUR/dwell

'Kukufia lived in Masu.'

(tci20100905 ABB #8-9)

In order to state the simple fact that Kukufia lived in Masu, it would be sufficient to say *kukufia masun swamnzrm* 'Kukufia lived in Masu'. But because the sentence establishes the topic (Kukufia), a fronted relative clause is used. This is a very common way to introduce a character to a story. Kukufia is a malicious character who comes to Rouku and tortures two children while their parents are away at a sago camp. Kukufia takes the two children fishing in his canoe. He pokes the small boy with the bones of a fish. One day, the father of the two children returns looking for them. Example (7a-7b) shows, how this change in topic is expressed.

(7) a. *fafen nge zi swathizrm ... ekri zi ... kofä ysma.*

fafen nge zi swa\thi/zrm (.) ekri zi (.)
meanwhile child pain 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/die (.) body pain (.)
kofä ys=ma
fish bone=CHAR

'In the meantime, the child was in pain ... body pain from the fish bones.'

b. *watik* [*nafaŋafe mane yanra*] *nagayé thrathorthm*

watik nafa-ŋafe mane yan\r/a
then 3.POSS-father which 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST.IPFV.VENIT/be
nagayé thra\thorthm/
children 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR.PFV/search

'Okay ... As for their father, he was looking for the children.'

(tci20100905 ABB #90-95)

Again, the change in topic is marked by a fronted relative clause (7b). The construction is not purely pragmatic here, as there is a venitive marker on the copula (*ya<u>n</u>ra*) which indicates that the father is coming. Further along in the story, the father finds his children locked inside the house. He finds out about Kukufia's visits and decides to hide underneath the house. When Kukufia returns later in the day, the father shoots him with an arrow. Kukufia runs away to Masu where his two wifes live. The father follows the trail of blood. In Masu, Kukufia transforms into a little baby boy hanging on the breast of one the wives. This is the point in the text where we find the next fronted relative clause (8b).

(8) a. *kukufia näbi zamatha dunzikarä ... ŋakwir e Masu kräkwther.*

kukufia näbi za\math/a dunzi=karä (.) ŋa\kwi/r
PROP.N one 3SG:PST.PFV/run arrow=PROP (.) 3SG:NPST/run
e Masu krä\kwther/
until PLACE.N 3SG:IRR.PFV/change

'Kukufia ran away with the arrow (inside him) ... He was running until Masu where he changed (his appearance).'

b. [*nafane ŋare mane zfrärm*] ... *entama* ... *thrma ŋare. wati mämen fombo zämira fof.*

nafane ŋare mane zf\rä/rm (.) enta-ma (.)
3SG.POSS woman which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST.DUR/be (.) two-CHAR (.)
thrma ŋare wati mäme=n fombo zä\mir/a
after woman then breast=LOC DIST:ALL 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/hang
fof
EMPH

'It was his wife ... the second ... the latter wife. He was hanging on her breast.'

(tci20100905 ABB #117-121)

The narrator first talked about the Kukufia's escape in (8a) and then changes the topic to the wife on whose breast the little baby boy is hanging in (8b). The new topic is again introduced by a fronted relative clause. Kukufia's fate is sealed as the father quickly recognizes the small boy. He kills Kukufia and his two wives on the spot and the story ends. Fronted relative clauses of this type are used both to topicalise an expression as in the introductory example to this section (3) but also to indicate a change in the topic as in the examples above. The relative pronoun used for this type of construction is always *mane*.

10.5 TAM categories and event-sequencing

Foley (2000: 389) points out that Papuan languages exploit their rich TAM systems for pragmatic purposes. TAM marking and discourse notions such as foregrounding has been discussed by many authors, for example by Hopper (1979). One such example from a Papuan language comes from Hartzler (1983) who has shown that in Sentani clauses in irrealis are commonly used for backgrounded, presupposed propositions, whereas realis is used for foregrounded, asserted propositions. Komnzo puts its TAM system to the same pragmatic use in order to create textual cohesion, but in Komnzo more TAM categories are involved (§6.4). This pragmatic use is often found in texts or parts of texts where the sequence of events is important, for example in procedurals, narratives, and path descriptions.

I will begin by comparing the abovementioned realis-irrealis distinction. Consider the following text (9) which describes the first part of a wedding ceremony. This procedural was given by Abia Bai. The actual wedding took take place two days after the recording was made. Therefore, the description of the event is set in the future, which reduces the number of possible TAM categories. The speaker may only choose between the indicative non-past and the irrealis verbal

inflection.[1] The aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective and its pragmatic function will be described below on a different text excerpt. In (9), I have underlined the verbs in irrealis mood in Komnzo as well as in the English translation. All other verbs are in non-past and indicative mood.

(9) 1 *wati foba nimame kwa ŋathkärwr.*
'Well, it will begin like this:'
2 *dagon rthé <u>thrarakthkwrth</u> <u>thräbthth</u>*
'The food <u>will be placed</u> on the plattform. That <u>will be finished</u>.'
3 *zöbthé fefe kwa ... chris e nafaŋare maki ernth fof.*
'First, they put painting on Chris and his wife.'
4 *maki fthé <u>thrarnth</u> ... fthé <u>thrabthth</u> ...*
'When they <u>put on</u> the painting ... when they <u>have finished</u> ...'
5 *watik, foba kwa änrokonth.*
'next they will escort them this way.'
6 *fthé <u>thrnthbth</u> nima ...*
'When they <u>will bring</u> them in ... '
7 *faf mä kwa nge fathasi zn rä fof ...*
'to the place where the children's feast will take place ...'
8 *kwa änrokonth kwot bobomr ...*
'they will escort them up until ...'
9 *<u>thranthaifth</u> faf znfo.*
'they <u>will arrive</u> at the place.'
10 *watik kwa emsakrnth.*
'Next, they will sit them down.'
11 *<u>thramsth</u> <u>kramsth</u>*
'They <u>will sit</u> them down. They <u>will sit</u> down.'
12 *watik, zöbthé fefe kwa äyoknth a ätriknth nima:*
'Well, first, they will advise them and they will say:'

(tci20110817 ABB #22-40)

The content of this little excerpt is quickly summarised: After the food preparations, the bride and the groom will be decorated and painted. The women will escort the couple to the village square where they will be placed on a bench to receive at lecture on the expected rules of behaviour.

[1]Future reference is expressed periphrastically with the particle *kwa* which may occur with non-past indicative and irrealis inflections.

We find that the speaker alternates between realis and irrealis mood. Realis occurs with the painting (line 3), the escorting (line 5), the escorting again (line 8), the sitting down (line 10) and the advising (line 12). Irrealis occurs with the finishing of the food preparations (line 2), the painting and the finishing thereof (line 4), the bringing (line 6), the arriving (line 8) and the sitting down (line 11). This alternation in TAM categories is congruent with an alternation between foregrounded, asserted events and backgrounded, presupposed events. In some instances, the verb in realis is repeated in irrealis, e.g. the sitting down in lines 11 and 12. Additionally, the repetition of one part of a proposition in the next proposition can be described as kind of tail-head-linkage.[2] Thus, we find a rhetorical device that is used both for textual cohesion and fore-grounding.

As for stories in the past, speakers have more TAM values to choose from. They may alternate again between irrealis and realis, but they may also exploit the aspectual categories: perfective and imperfective. As was described in §6.4.2, the imperfective is divided again into a basic imperfective and durative. Thus, the richness of the TAM system allows speakers to make finer distinctions.

I will show this in another text excerpt (10). This text is part of a story about a man who fell off a coconut palm and died. It was told by Marua Bai who remembers this incident well. The protagonist of the story used to wander around in the night and steal other people's palm wine. Palm wine is produced by cutting a fresh shoot up in the palm. A bamboo container which is tied underneath the shoot captures the sap. The sap slowly ferments and turns into an alcoholic substance. The main character of the story sets off alone in the night. He climbs and raids a number of palms. At the third palm, a coconut leaf breaks and he falls some twenty meters into a pineapple plant. Even though he survives his severe injuries, he dies about a week later. For each verb in each of the lines of text, the TAM value is given on the right. Where there are two verbs in a line, the underlined segments show which verb belongs to which translation and TAM value.

(10)

1	*wati fam änatha:* He was thinking:	PST.IPFV
2	*"kwa ŋabrigwé skerur."* "I will go back for coconut wine."	NPST
3	*zbär kretharuf gardafo.* In the night, he got into the canoe.	IRR.PFV

[2]De Vries (2005) offers a typology for tail-head-linkage in Papuan languages. However, for the most part his sample consists of languages where this is achieved by using (parts of) serial verb constructions.

4	*kwanrafinzrm gardame.* He was paddling here with the canoe.	PST.DUR
5	*mane yanra zäzr mnz ... finzo ... kabe matak* When he got to Zäzr Mnz ... (it was) only him ... nobody else	PST.IPFV
6	*yokwa kar ane fof ... matak* the same thing in Yokwa ... nobody	n/a
7	*garda sräzin ... yaniyak aki kwayanen ... mnz.* He put down the canoe ... and came in the moonlight ... to the house.	IRR.PFV NPST
8	*nä skeru ŋasongwr.* He climbed a (coconut) wine palm.	NPST
9	*warfo ... fä ŋonathr.* Up there ... he was drinking.	NPST
10	*zrämbth we nä ŋazifo kresöbäth.* He finished and climbed another coconut.	2x IRR.PFV
11	*fä ŋonathr.* He was drinking.	NPST
12	*we nä kabeane ŋazifo kresöbäth* and again he climbed another man's coconut.	IRR.PFV
13	*mane ŋasogwa warfo ...* As he climbed on top ...	PST.IPFV
14	*kräms drari wrbr.* He sat down and untied the bamboo container.	IRR.PFV NPST
15	*fof n zäznoba.* He was about to drink.	PST.PFV
16	*zamthetha drari.* He lifted up the bamboo container.	PST.PFV
17	*bäw! ŋazi tafokarä ane zägarnza.* Bang! The coconut leaf broke off (with him).	PST.IPFV
18	*zane zäkurfa ziyé* This one here split.	PST.PFV
19	*zenta ŋagarwa* He split his crotch.	PST.IPFV
20	*fainr fr sazika* He went into the pineapple plant.	PST.PFV

	fä swanorm "ara ara" ... kambe matak	PST.DUR
21	There he was shouting "ah ah" ... no people (heard him)	

(tci20120904-01 MAB #42-69)

Several observations which pertain to event sequencing as well as fore-grounding can be made from this text. First, the narrator uses non-past tense for several clauses: the walking to the house (line 7), the climbing (line 8), the drinking (lines 9 and 11) and the untying (line 14). In some cases, the non-past alternates again with the irrealis perfective forms (line 10, 12, and 14) as we have seen in the wedding text above. The use of a non-past tense in a story which is otherwise told in recent-past or past is quite common. In these cases, the non-past is used to foreground or emphasise the clauses in question.

Secondly, we find that it is the past imperfective which is used for the foregrounded clauses (in lines 13, 17, and 19). In line 17, the breaking of the coconut leaf is in the imperfective, whereas the preceding events in lines 15 and 16 are in the perfective. This might seem to contradict the notion of perfectivity, but the reader should keep in mind that the perfective in Komnzo focusses more on the beginning of an event (inceptive, or punctual) not on the completion of an event. See §6.4.2 for a description of the semantics of aspect in Komnzo. Lines 18 and 19 both describe the severe injury which the protagonist received from his fall. Again the imperfective aspect is used for the foregrounded clause which provides more detail about the injury (i.e. that he split his crotch).

Although preliminary at this stage of research, we may attempt to build a hierarchy of TAM values with respect to foregrounding. In such a hierarchy irrealis inflections are more backgrounding than realis inflections. All past tenses are more backgrounding than the non-past. Finally, as we have seen, the perfective is more backgrounding than the imperfective. It follow that the most foregrounding TAM value is the non-past, while the irrealis (perfective) is the most backgrounding TAM value. The pragmatic functions of the TAM system in Komnzo provide a rich field for future research.

Chapter 11

Aspects of the lexicon

11.1 Introduction

This chapter brings together eclectic topics which can be roughly subsumed under the label 'lexicology' - sprinkled with anthropological comments. I begin with a description of the semantics of the gender system (§11.2). Some remarks on the autonomy of the verb lexicon will follow (§11.3). The following section addresses sign metonymies expressed by reduplication (§11.4). This chapter closes with the description of the conceptualisation of landscape (§11.5). The discussion and description of these topics should be understood as preliminary in nature.

11.2 Gender system

The nominal lexicon of Komnzo is subdivided by gender. The agreement target is the verb prefix in third singular. The categories are feminine and masculine, only a handful of words are always plural. The gender system is purely semantic as there are no formal signs in particular words showing the gender category. Nominals fall into three categories: those which have (i) a fixed gender (most nouns), (ii) flexible gender (kinterms, certain animals), (iii) no gender (property nouns and adjectives). The latter are not discussed in the remainder of this section.

Words with flexible gender are mostly kinterms. For example, sibling terms only encode relative age difference and not gender. The word *nane* can mean 'older brother' or 'older sister'. Many kinterms are reciprocal and may hold between a man and a woman. For example *ŋäwi* is used between a person and her/his mother's brothers. It other words, a young girl or boy calls their mother's brother *ŋäwi*, but he uses the same term back to them. The same is true for a man's parents in-law. He calls both of them *enat* and they call him the same. Sometimes this can be specified by adding the word for man or woman, for ex-

ample *enat ŋare* 'mother in-law' (lit. 'parent-in-law woman'). Other words with flexible gender are mostly animals where a sex distinction is noticeable like *tauri* 'wallaby', *ruga* 'pig' or *ŋatha* 'dog'. Yet other species like fish or insects are not flexible. Birds for which there is a visible difference between male and female adults are assigned different names altogether. For example, the male eclectus parrot (Eclectus roratus) is referred to as *krara*, and the female as *tiŋa*, but in Komnzo both words are masculine. Mismatches between biological gender and linguistic gender are quite common with birds. Two more examples are *nzöyar*, the fawn-breasted bowerbird (Chlamydera cerviniventris) and *ythama*, the raggiana bird of paradise (Paradisaea raggiana). For both species, the collected names seem to refer only to the male birds, this can be explained by the fact that the females are less visible in both plumage and behaviour. The Komnzo words, *nzöyar* and *ythama* are assigned to the feminine category, and they are often talked about as being female birds.

Words with fixed gender allow us to set up some general semantic rules, although there are exceptions. For example, all elongated, big objects are usually masculine, while small round objects are feminine. All words related to place and land are usually feminine. All abstract concepts or nominalised verbs are usually feminine. Most fish species are masculine, with the exception of the numerous catfish types, which are all feminine. Other species, like birds, are much more varied. Table 11.1 gives a short overview of these semantic characteristics.

Note that almost all plants and trees are masculine. The tree metaphor is pervasive in the mythology as well as for the system of sister-exchange. Women may be called *bidr* 'flying fox' because flying foxes move from one tree to another. Ayres invokes a gender distinction between mobile and immobile, whereby men are immobile and women are mobile, because they are exchanged between different places (1983: 106). In addition to the shape of trees, this cultural motif can serve as an explanation as to why almost all trees are masculine.

A number of words always occur as plurals. Only some of them are mass nouns, like *kithuma* 'sago pulp', *grau* 'red clouds'. Other are bordering the semantics of mass nouns, for example *ŋarake* 'fence', *nag* 'grass skirt'. On the other hand, words like *no* 'water' are feminine and not plural. Interestingly, body parts like arms and legs are often used in the plural, even though the language has a dual number category.

A few stems differ in their meaning depending on their gender categories. A few examples are: *mni* (FEM) 'fire' vs. *mni* (MASC) 'a piece of firewood', *ekri* (FEM) 'flesh' vs. *ekri* (MASC) 'meat', *no* (FEM) 'water' vs. *no* (MASC) 'rain' and *efoth* (FEM) 'day' vs. *efoth* (MASC) 'sun'.

Table 11.1 Semantics of gender

rule	category	examples	exceptions
big, elongated objects	MASC	*naifa* 'bushknife' *wämne* 'tree' *nabi* 'bow' *turama* 'python' *with* 'banana' *nasi* 'long yam'	*sifren* 'grass knife' *waga* 'leg'
small (round) objects	FEM	*yawi* 'seed, fruit' *wawa* 'yam' *yare* 'bag' *brnze* 'lips' *riwariwa* 'ring' *kwanz* 'bald head'	*nzagum* 'fly' *tora* 'dog whistle' *tef* 'spot'
plants, trees[a]	MASC	*rugaruga* 'tree type' *withwith* 'vine type' *mür* 'grass type'	*ŋazi* 'coconut' *gb* 'black palm type'
fish[b]	MASC	*find* 'giant glassfish' *kwazür* 'narrow-fronted tandan' *wifaza* 'seven-spot archer-fish'	catfish types *katif* 'trout morgunde'
catfish[c]	FEM	*zök* 'broad-snouted catfish' *thrfam* 'daniel's catfish'	*ikan lele* 'walking catfish'
events, nominalised verbs	FEM	*zan* 'fighting' *borsi* 'game, laughter' *si zübraksi* 'prayer'	*wath* 'dance'
land, garden, river, grasslands	FEM	*mni* 'fire' *kar* 'place, village' *zra* 'swamp' *daw* 'garden' *ŋars* 'river'	

[a] *rugaruga* (Gmelina ledermanii), *ŋazi* (Cocos nucifera), *withwith* (Pseudouvaria sp), *gb* (Livistona sp), *mür* (Cyprus sp)

[b] *find* (Parambassis gulliveri), *kwazür* (Neosilurus ater), *katif* (Mogurnda mogurnda), *wifaza* (Toxotes chatareus)

[c] *zök* (Potamosilurus latirostris), *ikan lele* (Clarias batrachus) from Malay, *thrfam* (Cochlefelis danielsi)

11.3 The autonomy of the verb lexicon

In §3.2, I suggested that verbs constitute a closed word class in Komnzo. Nevertheless, with around 380 members verbs are the second largest word class following nouns. Evidence for the closed status comes from two observations. First, the lack of shared stems, both within the word class and between verbs and other word classes. Second, the fact that loanwords which are verbs in the donor language never end up in the verb class in Komnzo.

Within the word class of verbs there is no productive derivational morphology. Only a few non-productive patterns can be discerned, but the interpretation of these remains highly speculative. One such example is the pair of verbs *knsi* 'roll' and *myukensi* 'roll'. The former is often used for rolling cigarettes, while the latter is used for rolling up a tape measure. Hence, we could translate them as *knsi* 'roll lengthwise' and *myuknsi* 'roll widthwise', ignoring the second sense of *myuknsi* 'twist'. Without the nominaliser, the verb stems are *kn* and *myukn*, and a possible hypothesis is that the *myu* says something about the orientation of the object that is rolled up. However, *myu* is not a word in Komnzo, nor is the pattern attested elsewhere in verb lexicon. A second example is the pair *misoksi* 'look up' and *risoksi* 'look down'. The formal difference lies only in the first consonant. I analyze these as idiosyncrasies of particular stems which might reflect frozen derivational morphology.

The same observation can be made for the relation between the verb class and other word classes. There are currently only four examples where a verb stem is identical or similar to a nominal element and a semantic bridge can be established. The first is the verb *rmr-si* 'rub, grind' and the property noun *rmr* 'roughness'. The second is the verb *miyog-si* 'beg, ask for' and *miyo* which can be either a property noun 'desire' or a noun 'wish, taste'. The third is the verb *wasi-si* 'shine light on' and the word for the Masked Owl 'wasi'.[1] The last example is the verb *foku-si* 'miss out on sth.' and the word *fokufoku* which describes a patch of bush that was not burned or a patch of grass that was not cut down. There is a clear semantic overlap in the nominal and verbal semantics, but we cannot determine the direction of derivation. However, the scarcity of such examples is revealing.

One wonders then, how new verb meanings enter the language. The clearest answer to this question comes from loanwords. Komnzo speakers were exposed to Hiri Motu during a short period in the 1950's when the local Mission school was run by Motu speaking teachers. Since the 1960's the dominant educational as well as administrative language has been English. All loanwords which are verbs

[1] The Masked Owl (Tyto novaehollandiae) like most owls has large eyes.

in Hiri Motu or English end up in the word class of property nouns, not in the verb class. Some Komnzo examples are *durua* 'help', *tarawat* 'law, rightfulness' from Motu, *senis* 'change' and *boil* 'boil' from English. It is the complex verb morphology, for example root types sensitive to aspectual distinctions, which prevents new material from being incorporated into the verb class. However, we have seen that there is a productive pattern of property noun + light verb in Komnzo (§8.3.12). From observation it is clear that younger speakers have already begun to replace some Komnzo verbs with English loans using this construction, for example *thofiksi* 'disturb' is commonly expressed as *disturb ŋarär* lit. 'he does the disturbing'. One may predict that this pattern will become more dominant in the future. The shift from minor to major patterns in contact situations has been described by (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 44).

11.4 Sign metonymies

11.4.1 Overview

This section builds on (Evans, 1997), who discusses 'sign metonymies' in Australian languages. He points out how biota of different species, families or even kingdoms are connected through sharing a linguistic sign, i.e. they are referred to by the same word or they share a stem.

One observation, that can be made for Komnzo is the high number of reduplications that are found in plant names, and to some extend in names for animals, especially bird and fish species. In some cases we have a reduplicative orphan, because the base form is missing. In other cases, the base form exists only in another language. However, in most cases a base form exists in the Komnzo lexicon. The semantic link between the two referents shows a wide range of complexity. At the lower end, reduplication can single out some salient part of one plant, usually the fruit, establishing a relation of non-prototypicality. For example, *mefa* and *mefamefa* refer to two chestnut species (Semecarpus sp), but the nuts of *mefa* are roasted and eaten, while the nuts of *mefamefa* are much smaller. Note that is a general feature of reduplication in Komnzo (§4.2). At the upper end of complexity, the reduplication pattern links referents through several steps of technical or cultural practices. One example is *ruga* 'pig' and *rugaruga* 'tree type' (Gmelina ledermanii). The two biota are linked in the following way: *rugaruga* is the tree from which *brubru* 'kundu drums' are made. These drums are used for *wath* 'dance' or *ruga wath* 'pig dance', because a pig will be killed and distributed in the morning hours after the dance. Thus, the technical concept of 'drum' and the cultural practice of 'dance' mediate between *ruga* 'pig' and *rugaruga* 'tree type'.

Examples of this type have to be checked throroughly with several speakers. Otherwise, we run the risk of either (i) documenting folk etymologies or (ii) not recognizing existing links at all. In an early stage of my fieldwork, the connection between *ruga* and *rugaruga* was explained in terms of spatial relations: the pig is often found in the vicinity of this tree. We will see below that this is true for other connections, but not for this particular example. During a plant walk, I was shown the *rugaruga* tree, and when I invoked the spatial explanation, my informants ruled out that explanation by saying 'pigs roam around anywhere'.

In the cases involving reduplication, there is a clear direction from baseform > reduplication. In such cases, we may ask if there are any detectable patterns in the direction of the semantic extensions. Most examples follow the animacy hierarchy in the way that what ranks higher is the baseform and what ranks lower is the reduplicated form. For example, *züm* 'centipede' reduplicates to *zümzüm* 'grass type' (1b), or the fish *kwazür* reduplicates to *kwazürkwazür* 'grass type' (8a), or *zuaku* 'widower' reduplicates to *zuakuzuaku* 'fly river anchovy' (10c). Those examples, which violate this rule involve inanimate referents, like *karo* 'anthill' and *karokaro* 'grassland goana' (9a). Some of them can be explained by invoking relative salience or importance in every-day life.

Patterns of shared stems allow us not only to gain insight into the local classification of plants and animals, but can reveal culturally significant connections from plant usage to esoteric knowledge. The following description will group examples by the semantic connection established by sign metonymy. Note that, under Evans' definition of sign metonymy, reduplication is only one type; identical forms or inflected forms are also included (Evans, 1997: 136).

11.4.2 Metaphor

Metaphorical links between different biota can be based on movement (1), appearance (2), colour (3), taste (4), feeling (5), hearing/sounds (6) or patterns of human interaction (7). Note that a few examples link biota to non-biological concepts (2a, 2d, 5a, 7a), and in example (2b) the base form is a Nama word.

(1) a. *dö* 'monitor lizard'; *dödö* 'plant type used for brooms, broom' (Melaleuca sp). MOVEMENT: the lizards "sweeps" the floor with its tail when it walks.

b. *züm* 'centipede'; *zümzüm* 'grass type'; MOVEMENT: the grass grows flat along the ground and has little spikes like the centipede.

(2) a. *toku* 'carry someone on the back with the legs around the neck'; *tokutoku* 'bird type' (Bar-shouldered Dove); APPEARANCE: the bird has a thick brown line on the back of its neck at the same place where one would carry a child.

b. *min* 'nose' in Nama; *minmin* 'bird type' (Purple-tailed Imperial Pigeon). APPEARANCE: the bird has large nose-like beak.

c. *msar* 'weaver ant'; *msarmsar* 'insect larvae, esp. bees' APPEARANCE: the bee larvae look like little ants.

d. *garda* 'canoe'; *gardagarda* 'tree type'; APPEARANCE: the seeds ot this tree are long and thin; they crack open lengthwise resembling the shape of a canoe.

(3) a. *yem* 'cassowary' (Casuarius casuarius); *yemyem* 'tree type' (Aceratium sp); COLOR: the fruit of this tree is bright red as the cassowarie's skin hanging from its throat.

(4) a. *thatha* 'sugarcane' (Poaceae sp); *thathathatha* 'grass type'; TASTE: the grass tastes as sweet as the sugarcane. In the neighboring variety Wära, sugarcane is *kthko* and the grass type is *kthkokthko*.

b. *with* 'banana'; *withwith* 'tree type' (Pseudouvaria sp); TASTE: fruit tastes sweet likes a banana.

(5) a. *kata* 'bamboo knife'; *katakata* 'grass type' (Carex sp); FEELING: the grass is as sharp as a bamboo knife.

(6) a. *ŋatha* 'dog'; *ŋathaŋatha* 'bronze quoll' (Dactylopsila trivirgata); SOUND: the bronze quoll barks like a dog.

(7) a. *tafko* 'hat'; *tafkotafko* 'tree type' (Macaranga sp); INTERACTION: the large leaves of this tree can be used as a hat against rain or sun.

b. *ŋazi* 'coconut' (Cocos nucifera); *ŋaziŋazi* 'grass type' (Exocarpus largifolius); INTERACTION: the grass is put on the flowers of a coconut when it flowers for the first time to make it grow strong.

11.4.3 Metonymy

Metonymic links between animals and plants can be of three types: temporal (8), spatial (9) and technical/cultural (10). Note that for some examples, the link involves a biological term and a non-biological term as in *zuaku* 'widower, orphan' and *zuakuzuaku* 'fly river anchovy' (10c).

(8) a. *kwazür* 'narrow-fronted tandan' (Neosilurus ater); *kwazürkwazür* 'grass type' (Helminthostachis zeylanica). TEMPORAL: the flowering of this grass signals that the fish is greasy; HUMAN INTERACTION: fishnets and fishhooks are painted with the root of this plant to ensure a good catch.

b. *tauri* 'wallaby'; *tauritauri* 'tree type' (Diplanchia hetrophila); TEMPORAL: In June/July, when the tree flowers, wallabies like to stay close to the this three; people set traps its vicinity or hide them for hunting.

c. *dbän* 'tree type (Lamiodendron sp)'; *dbän tayo* 'yam harvest season' (lit. 'weak, ripe *dbän*'); TEMPORAL: The dry, falling leaves of this tree signal the begin of the yam harvest.

(9) a. *karo* 'anthill; ground oven'; *karokaro* 'monitor lizard (grassland)' SPATIAL: during the dry season, the frassland goana likes to dig a hole and hide inside the anthill.

b. *nzöyar* 'bowerbird' (Fawn-breasted Bowerbird); *nzöyarnzöyar* 'tree type' (Elaeocarpus sp); SPATIAL: the bowerbird collects the branches and fruit of this tree to build its display area.

c. *dagu* 'tree type' (Banksia dentata); *dagu* 'python type'; SPATIAL: the python sleeps on the tree. APPEARANCE: the bark of the tree looks like the python.

More complex connections involve technical concepts (10a) or references to cultural concepts (10b, 10d).

(10) a. *tru* 'palm type' (Hydriastele sp); *kwartru* 'thin long trough which collects the sago'; *trutru* 'current, stream of water' TECHNICAL: *kwartru* is made from the palm leaf. while washing the sago pulp the water runs along the trough; therefore, a waterstream of any kind can be called *trutru*.

b. *ruga* 'pig'; *rugaruga* 'tree type' (Gmelina ledermanii); CULTURAL: pigs a killed during dances, which are often called *ruga wath* 'pig dance(s)'. At such dances, *brubru* 'kundu drum(s)' are used and the tree *rugaruga* provides the best timber for carving drums.

c. *zuaku* 'widow(er), orphan'; *zuakuzuaku* 'fly river anchovy' (Thryssa rastrosa); CULTURAL: widows wear a woven mourning belt from one week after the death of a relative to up to a year. The bones of the fish look like a mourning dress.

d. *bidr* 'flying fox'; *bidr* 'joking name for woman'; CULTURAL: This builds on the tree metaphors in which the tree is the base of people. It may stand for a mythical origin or for one's place of birth. Women shift to their husband's village just like flying foxes move from one tree to another.

The most complex connections involve esoteric knowledge. A particular puzzling example involves the link between the names of two birds and the word for 'vagina'. The reduplicative bird names *ktikti* 'Greater Streaked Lory, Rainbow Lorikeet' and *dirdir* 'Red-cheeked Parrot' lack a base form in Komnzo.[2] However, the word *dir* [^{n}dɪr] means 'vagina' in Blafe and there is a cognate in Nen

[2] *ktikti* is either the Greater Streaked Lory (Chalcopsitta scintillata) or the Rainbow Lorikeet (Trichoglossus haematodus) or the term covers both, *dirdir* is the Red-cheeked Parrot (Geoffroyus geoffroyi).

kter 'vagina'.[3] This is to say that the two bird names as well as the Blafe and Nen words are cognate, while the Komnzo word for 'vagina' *nzga* is probably not. Note that Blafe and Nen are spoken about 60km to the West and East respectively. The connection between the two bird names and the word 'vagina' can be explained by the *fütha* myth, which explains the origin of the bullroarer (Ayres, 1983: 80).[4] *Fütha* is a story place in Rouku. According to the myth, a man heard a roaring sound coming from his wife's vagina. He wondered what is causing the sound, and he sends several animals including birds to fetch that thing for him. In their attempts, the birds spilled blood on themselves, which is still visible today, because their plumage contains patches of bright red. In fact, there are other small birds with red colour that involve these words: *kti tharthar* 'Spangled Drongo' has bright red eyes and *tharthar* means 'side, next to', *ŋazi dirdir* 'Red-flanked Lorikeet' (*ŋazi* 'coconut') and *kor dirdir* 'Orange-breasted Fig-parrot'.[5] Hence, the reduplication pattern says something about the red colour of these birds. The link is established by using baseforms meaning 'vagina', which connect to the mythical story. Since this is esoteric knowledge, the link is hidden by employing words from rather distant languages.

11.4.4 Conclusion

This has been a preliminary analysis of the data on sign metonymies. Comparative data is needed to explain more semantic links which have so far been only documented. Data from other languages can provide two kinds of evidence. First, there will be more cases, in which the base from comes from another language, as in (2b) or in the myth described above. Second, we may find that the same biota are linked in other languages. Two examples of this come from Wära and Blafe. In Wära, the link between sugarcane and a particular grass type (4a) is established by the reduplication of the non-cognate word *kthko* [kə̆θko]. In Blafe, the temporal link between the fish and the grass type (8a) is established by the cognate word *bäwr* [bæwə̆r].

11.5 Landscape terminology

11.5.1 Conceptualisation of landscape

FE Williams opens his monograph about the Morehead district with the following description of the landscape: "Its scenery often has a mild, almost dainty, attractiveness in detail, but represents on the whole the extreme of monotony"

[3]Taken from the current version of the Nen dictionary compiled by Nick Evans.

[4]This story appears also in (Williams, 1936: 307) as an episode of the Kwavaru myth.

[5]Spangled Drongo (Cyclopsitta gulielmiterti), Red-flanked Lorikeet (Charmosyna placentis) and Orange-breasted Fig-parrot (Cyclopsitta gulielmiterti).

(Williams, 1936: 1). The Komnzo terminology reflects Williams' observation. There are general terms for landscape types, but we also find words expressing very specific local arrangements. For example, while there is a general distinction between *fz* 'forest', *ksi kar* 'open grassland' and *fath* 'clear place' we also find fine-grained distinctions like *fokufoku* 'small patch of forest', *fz minz* 'thin strip of forest' (lit. 'forest vine'), *thaba* 'clearing surrounded by forest' and *morthr* 'edge of forest with a smaller patch forest close by'. Some of the more general terms are shown with pictures in §1.3.2.

Large parts of the Morehead district are inundated by rising water during the wet season. This usually takes place between January and June, but there is some fluctuation from year to year. It is hardly surprising that this regular cycle has found its way into the lexicon of Komnzo. I invite the reader on a walk from the high ground down to the river. I translate the term *töna* often as 'high ground'. It is that part of the land which is virtually never covered by water, regardless of vegetation type. Settlements and yam gardens are located on high ground. Small hills are referred to by *märmär*[6] or the Motu loan *ororo*. These areas may become islands (*bod*) during high floods. Wide, gentle slopes (*rsrs*) lacerated by many small creeks (*ttfö*) lead to lower areas. It is often along creeks where people plant sago palms or sometimes taro. Closer to the river, the ground can be very uneven and bumpy due to running water. This is called *kore*. A little lower, lies that land which is always covered by water during the rainy season. Often backwater stays in stagnant pools and dries up during the height of the dry season. These places are called *zra*, which I translate with 'swamp', but maybe the term 'billabong' commonly used in Australian English is more fitting. In this area, we find smaller pools of water which dry up (*nawan*) and larger pools which are permanent (*dmgu*). The ankle-deep, muddy water covered with leaves is referred to by *nzäwi*. When walking towards the river, the land rises again in many places. The difference in elevation is almost unnoticeable, but it is enough so that this area dries up first at the end of the wet season. These places between the swamp and the river are called *for* and people plant cassawa, sweet potato and taro there. The steep riverbanks along the Morehead river are called *rokuroku*, a term from which the village name Rouku originates. The sides of the river are covered with patches of *süfi* 'floating grass', and in some places this layer is called *tüf* when it is thick enough to support the cultivation of sweet potatoes. Finally, there is the river which is *ŋars*. Although found only in the southwest around Bensbach, large open lagoons are called *füwä* in Komnzo. Especially in dry season much of people's daily life involves coming and going from the high ground to the river. This movement has left some impact in the verb lexicon. For example, the stem *frezsi* usually means 'take sth. out of the water', but in a middle template it means 'come (up) from river' and can be used

[6]Nowadays, Komnzo speakers refer to highlanders as *märmär kabe* 'hill people'.

for disembarking a canoe, or for walking back from a river camp to the village.

There are numerous creeks leading to the Morehead river. The mouth of a creek is referred to by *zfth* 'base'. This word can refer to the base of a tree, but it can also mean 'origin, reason'. Interestingly, the creeks may be referred as *ttfö tuti* 'creek branches, twigs' or *ttfö minz* 'creek vine'. The place where the creeks start be can called either *ttfö ker* 'creek tail' or *ttfö zrminz* 'creek root'. The same can be said about the Morehead river. Thus waterways are conceptualised by a tree metaphor. This stems from the *kwafar* myth which explains the origin of all people from a huge tree. Kwafar is located somewhere in the Arafura Sea between Papua New Guinea and Australia. In the myth, the giant tree burns down and a flood caused by killing a mythical creature forces people to retreat northwards and southwards. The roots in the ground also burned and with the rising water they became creeks and rivers. In other versions of the myth, the tree falls northwards and the creeks and rivers are formed by burned branches and twigs of the tree.

11.5.2 Place names

Place names in the Morehead district are both numerous and densely clustered (Ayres, 1983: 129).[7] The village of Rouku alone consists of some three dozen named places. The knowledge of most place names is common knowledge and FE Williams notes that "if you ask your guide where you stand at any moment, he will be able to give a name to the land." (1936: 207). However, the details of every small track and the stories that belong to it is something only known by the rightful owners of that piece of land. In that sense, knowledge about place names can be compared to a proof of ownership. Therefore, I deliberately do not include a complete list of collected place names, nor do I provide a detailed map. Below, I address selected topics related to place names.

All place names in Komnzo are proper nouns, but they differ with respect to their meaning. Some place names have no meaning other than the places they designate, for example *fthi*, *kanathr* or *ŋazäthe*. At some point in the past, they might have been segmentable into meaningful parts or constitute a meaningful word in themselves, but this knowledge has faded away.[8] Place names commonly preserve features which have become non-productive or lexemes which have become archaic. This can also be found in Komnzo. For example, the place name

[7] I would like to thank Mary Ayres for giving me access to her fieldnotes which proved to be enormously helpful during the elicitation and investigation of place names.

[8] Two of these examples look like inflected verb forms; *kanathr* is similar to an imperative form of 'eat' in a middle template: *kanathé* 'eat yourself!'; *ŋazäthe* contains the middle prefix *ŋa-*, a possible non-dual marker *-th* and the first non-singular suffix *-e*. However, the assumed verb stem *zä-* does not exist in modern Komnzo.

thmefi can be split into the components *thm* 'nose' and *efi* 'hair', meaning 'moustache'. The word *efi* is archaic in Komnzo, and instead *thäbu* is used. In fact, some speakers are unaware of the possible segmentation.

More commonly, Komnzo place names consist of two elements, which usually form a nominal compound. These compounds range from rather dry descriptions, like *gani zfth* '*gani* tree base' (Endiandra brassii), to the most colourful illustrations, as in *nzga warsi* 'vagina chewing', *kwanz fath* 'bald head clearing'. Many nominal compounds consist of a plant name plus a landscape term or a term used for the part of a plant. The most common landscape terms are *zra* 'swamp, waterhole' and *ttfö* 'creek'. The most common plant part terms are *zfth* 'base' and *fr* 'stem, grove'.[9] A few examples are: *karesa zfth* '*karesa* base' (Melaleuca sp), *atätö fr* '*atätö* stem' (Pouteria sp), *wsws zra* '*wsws* tree swamp' (Combretum sp). These are not descriptions of places, but place names. A phrase like *karesa zfth* can refer to the base of any *karesa* tree, but it refers only to one named place.

A few place names are inflected verb forms, for example *karifthe* 'you two send each other off!'.[10] This place connects to a myth in which the ancestor of the Garaita people and the ancestor of the Rouku people were fighting. At the end of the story, they depart in opposite directions from *karifthe*. Another name which includes an inflected verb is *kafthé fr*. The first element is means 'take off your bag!' and the second means 'stem, grove'. Interestingly, *kafthé* is not Komnzo, but Wartha.[11] I will address the topic of double language place names below. For some place names, there is no etymology available, for example *yrn* 'they are many'.

Simpson and Hercus (2002) provide a list of differences between introduced and indigenous place names in Australia. In the following, I apply some points in their typology to the Morehead district. The first point which Hercus and Simpson discuss is the difference between a system and a local network. The former is meant to provide an overview, a kind of standardised template for naming places, which can be applied universally and is open to everyone. Komnzo place names, like indigenous place names in Australia differ in that they often constitute smaller networks of place names. For example, the number of named places is much denser in the vicinity of inhabited places or previously inhabited places. As pointed out above, Komnzo places often belong to a particular clan or family,

[9]The word *zfth* can mean (i) 'base of a plant, tree', (ii) rivermouth, (iii) 'origin' or (iv) 'reason'.

[10]ka\rifth/e
2|3DU:SBJ:IMP:PFV/send

[11]Imperative perfectives in Komnzo mark dual versus non-dual with a vowel change in the prefix, and the suffix is zero for second singular. The corresponding Komnzo verb form would be *käthf*.

and the detailed knowledge about these places and the stories which connect to them is not always something for public distribution. A second difference raised by Hercus and Simpson is that between local mnemonics and mnemotechnics. They point out that place names have developed organically over a long time as local mnemonics to refer to places. This applies to places in Europe and Australia (or the Morehead district) alike, but not to introduced place name systems. For example, the Komnzo place name *swäri zfth* '*swäri* base' must have started as the description of a place with an especially large or beautiful *swäri* tree (Alstonia actinifila), but over time it has lost its descriptive function. Today it is used even though the *swäri* tree was cut down decades ago. Francesca Merlan has described place name systems of this kind as being "non-arbitrary", because they establish a direct relationship to the designated places (Merlan, 2001). In contrast to local mnemonics technological advances like writing and mapping provides a kind of mnemotechnics, which opens the possibility to include arbitrary place names like *Sydney* or *Port Moresby*.

Simpson and Hercus make out three naming strategies that are rarely found in indigenous Australia: commemoration strategies, topographic descriptors and relative location. Commemoration strategies are wholly absent in Komnzo place names. They are only found in those names introduced by Europeans. For example, the Morehead river was named after B.D. Morehead who was the premier of Queensland between 1888 and 1890. The Bensbach river was named during a joint expedition in 1895 by W. MacGregor and J. Bensbach who was the Dutch Resident at Ternate at the time. While Hercus and Simpson point out that topographic descriptors are rare in indigenous Australia, they are quite common in Komnzo. However, as pointed out above, they include only a small set of words (*zfth* 'tree base', *fr* 'stem, grove' or *ttfö* 'creek'). Relative terms like *North Melbourne* or *West-Berlin* are almost completely absent in Komnzo as they are in Australian languages. The only example, in which a place name establishes a relation to another place is *fthiker*. The link here is a creek which has its mouth at place called *fthi* and its starting point at *fthiker* '*fthi* tail'. Note that creeks themselves are usually not named, but the word *ttfö* 'creek' can be added to a place situated on a creek.

An interesting phenomenon that sheds some light on multilingualism is the fact that many place names are composed of words from two languages. Most of these involve one Komnzo word. But in a few place names both words are from different languages even though the place is located on Komnzo speaking territory. The basic principle of double language names is shown in Figure 11.1 with the name *fotnz*, a place near Rouku village, which can be parsed as one word from Wartha and one word from Komnzo.

place name: *fotnz* 'short coconut'

Figure 11.1 Double language place names

This principle is rather pervasive. A quarter of recorded place names involve a word from another language. Below, I give a few examples (11-13). These are sorted according to whether the Komnzo word is the first (11) or last element (12). I show the place name as a single word in most cases, because often speakers only realised their segmentability when I prompted them. This is followed by a literal English translation of the contributing elements, after which the two languages are given. In parentheses, I provide the two words in each language. Note that I follow here the Komnzo orthography, because with the exception of Nama there is no orthography available for there varieties. A few cases are problematic because one of the two words is identical in the contributing languages (13). However, all examples designate places on Komnzo speaking territory.

(11) a. *fotnz* 'coconut + short'; Wartha (***fo*** *tg*) + Komnzo (*ŋazi* ***tnz***).

b. *säzäri* 'paperbark + bending over'; Wartha (***sä*** *ytho*) + Komnzo (*karesa* ***zäri***); The word *zäri* 'bending (branches)' is considered archaic, but there is the modern word *zäre* 'shade'.

c. *tratrabäk* 'bird type + back'; Kánchá (***tratra*** *bak*) + Komnzo (*drädrä* ***bäk***).

d. *makozanzan* 'vagina + beating'; Arammba (***mako*** *kamakama*) + Komnzo (*nzga* ***zanzan***).

e. *füsari* 'garden row + axe'; Nama (***fü*** *mbilè*) + Komnzo (*ŋanz* ***sari***); The word *sari* is considered archaic.

f. *düdüsam* 'broom + liquid'; Nama (***düdü*** *wkwr*) + Komnzo (*dödö* ***sam***).

g. *fakwr* 'after + ashes'; Nama (***fa*** *fak*) + Komnzo (*thrma* ***kwr***).

h. *wästhak* 'tree type (Ficus elastica) + place'; Nama (***wäs*** *näk*) + Komnzo (*wäsü* ***thak***); The word *thak* is archaic in Komnzo and only found in *mni thak* 'fire place'.

(12) a. *zthékabir* 'penis + sleep(n)'; Komnzo (***zthé*** *etfth*) + Wära (*zthk* ***kabir***).

b. *snzäzwär* 'river crayfish + base'; Komnzo (***snzä*** *zfth*) + Wartha (*dawi* ***zwär***).

c. *ormogo* 'Emerald Dove + house'; Komnzo (***or*** *mnz*) + Nama (*?* ***mogo)*** ; The name of this bird in Nama is unknown.

d. *yem gi faf* 'cassowary killing place'; Komnzo (***yem*** *zan* ***faf***) + Nama (awyé **gi faf**).

e. *märofak* 'tree type (Dillenia ensifolia) + ashes'; Komnzo (***märo*** *kwr*) + Nama (*mane* ***fak***).

(13) a. *sizwär* 'eye + base'; Komnzo (***si*** *zfth*) + Wartha (***si zwär***).

b. *gawe* 'I + also'; Komnzo (*nzä* ***we***) + Wartha (***ga we***).

c. *mnzärfr* 'ant + stem'; Nama (***mnzär fr***) + Komnzo (*msar* ***fr***).

d. *zöfäthak* 'bird + place'; Wära (***zöfä thak***) + Komnzo (*ymd* ***thak***); The word *thak* is archaic in Komnzo and only found in *mni thak* 'fire place'.

Double language place names pattern roughly according to geography. For example, place names containing Nama words are mostly found east of Rouku, while place names involving Wartha words are mostly found to the southwest. There are many exceptions, where (i) the place does not fit geography or (ii) the 'foreign' word could be from more than one language. However, the overall pattern suggests that geography plays a role. Thus, if we showed these places on a map and marked them for the contributing 'foreign' languages, we could geographically visualise speech varieties. Data from other villages and their place names is needed to corroborate this observation.

The pattern of double language place names calls for an investigation of naming customs. However, as with most place names, the point in time when such double language name were coined is far removed. Most of my informants did not remember anyone giving a name to these places. A common response was 'we learned them from our fathers'. In fact, most informants find the idea of naming a place somewhat strange. That being said, we can still draw some conclusions about naming customs. Double language names differ from the monolingual, decriptive place names. One can imagine the gradual transition from a description to a proper name like *swäri zfth* '*swäri* base' mentioned above. With double language place names such a transition is unlikely. A more deliberate act of coining the name has to be assumed. Note that we also find Komnzo-only place names, where a transition from description to proper name can be ruled out on semantic grounds, for example *nzarga wth* (tree type + faeces) or *zäzr mnz* (lazy + house). The point is that a transition is unlikely because two languages are involved, even if the name is of a more decriptive nature like (11h) and (12b). These observations authenticate the importance of place in Morehead culture, an

argument that was put forward by Mary Ayres (1983).

Additionally, double language place names can shed some light on the degree of multilingualism in the language communities concerned. There are varying degrees of metalinguistic awareness both between different place names and between different speakers. That is to say that speakers differ in their language profiles, and ultimately differ in how much access they have to the word in the 'foreign' language. Moreover, some place names are easier to parse, while others have undergone phonological reduction or one of the segments has become archaic. Generally speaking, most speakers are aware of these double language names and the meaning in the respective languages. One observation that can be made is the complete absence of doublets, that is cases were both terms refer to the same referent, but in different languages. There are examples of doublets in Komnzo, but not for place names. For example, there is a cassava type called *ubi biskar*. The word *ubi* is from Malay and the word *biskar* is a Komnzo word, but both mean 'cassava'. This type of doublet is to be expected if the speakers who coined the name do not know the meaning of the 'foreign' word. The pattern that we find with place names suggests the opposite. At the time of coinage, one has to assume a degree of multilingualism at least as high as today.

11.5.3 Social landscape

This section addresses the topic of social landscape, by which I mean the reference system used for people in relation to space. The Komnzo terms for this domain conceptualise either pure geography or what we may call kinship-dependent geography. The importance of place in the Morehead district has been described in great detail by Mary Ayres. I sketch out the sister-exchange system only where it is relevant to the discussion. Otherwise I refer the reader to (Ayres, 1983) and §1.3.8.

The purely geographic terms are based on an east-west axis. The people who live in the east are referred to with the word *nzödmä*, while the people in the west are called *smärki*. These labels are often only applied to people living two villages away. They are rarely used for one's immediate neighbours. The system is ego-centric in that the same labels or cognate terms are applied in other villages. If one moves further west, the term *güdmä* [ᵑgʏⁿdmæ] is used for everyone to the east, including the people of Rouku.[12] Likewise the people in the east would call everyone who lives west of them *smärki*. Thus, the terms *nzödmä* and *smärki* do not refer to a specific group, but mean 'people from the east' and 'people

[12]The word *güdmä* in Nama and Blafe are cognate with Komnzo *nzödmä*. In Komnzo, Wära, Anta and Wèré velar stops have undergone palatalisation before front vowels, for example [ᵑg] > [ⁿdʒ].

from the west' respectively. This caused some confusion for early ethnographers (Williams, 1936: 36), but was explained by Ayres (1983: 132). The east-west axis is validated by the term *tharthar kabe* 'people on the side', which is used for the Arammba speakers in the north.[13] Further north, the speakers of Suki and Gogodala are collectively labelled with the proper name *wiram*. Also the people in the south do not fit in the east-west schema, but are instead referred to by proper names, for example *wartha*, or they may be called *mazo kabe* 'coast people'. Groups which live further away have proper names, for example the Kanum and Marind speakers in the west are called *kodomarid* and the speakers of Kiwai are called *turd*.

As pointed out by Ayres, people define themselves as belonging to a particular origin place. The ancestors of different clans and sections might have arrived from different directions, but they 'spread out' from the same origin place. Hence, people can be referred to by their origin place. For Komnzo speakers, this is *farem kar* 'farem place', which is situated about 3km northeast of Rouku. Other examples are *mät* for the people of Yokwa or *thamga* for the people of Uparua.[14] Origin places usually overlap with language variety, in that a speaker of Wära belongs to *mät kar*, a speaker of Anta belongs to *thamga kar*.

The kinship system gives rise to yet another, very common way of referring to people. The rules of exogamy involve a number of factors. Some are related to place, for example identification with a particular origin place establishes an exogamous group. Some are related to the section system, for example the Mayawa section regardless of place forms an exogamous group. The section classification cross-cuts the place system, i.e. one may not marry people from the same origin place, but also not from a different place if they belong to the same section. Additionally, people who 'share a land boundary' may not intermarry. That is to say that two individuals may not marry even if they belong to different places and different sections, if their land is adjacent. Ayres argues convincingly that locality forms the most important factor in the complicated definitions of exogamous groupings (Ayres, 1983: chapter 5). If kinship is conceptualised in terms of space, it follows that kinship terms can be used to refer to people of a particular place. I often overheard people talking about their *ngom kar* 'brother-in-law place' or *thuft kar* 'in-law place'. Note that the calculations one has to make to arrive at the correct referent are rather complex. Not only does one individual normally have several brothers-in-law, but that different individuals have different in-laws. Nevertheless, such knowledge is common ground for the people of Rouku. Although I often found it difficult to identify the referent in an utterance like (14), every child in Rouku could make the correct deduction without effort.

[13] Often the phrase *sarsar ŋar* is used, which means the same in Arammba.

[14] *mät* is a term referring to the red colour of the ground, and the villaga *Mata* in the east derives its name from the same word. There is no etymology for *thamga* or *farem*.

(14) *watik kraritth bern ... sukufa ärithr* ***nafathufthnm*** *...* ***nafangom karnm***

watik kra\rit/th b=e\rn/ (.)
then 2|3DU:SBJ:IRR:PFV/go.across MED=2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.)
sukufa ä\ri/thr nafa-thufth=nm
tobacco 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:NPST:IPFV/give 3.POSS-in-law=DAT.NSG
(.) nafa-ngom kar=nm
(.) 3.POSS-brother-in-law village=DAT.NSG

'Then they went across there ... He gives tobacco to his in-laws ... to the people of his brother-in-law place.'

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Appendix A

Dictionary[1]

A

a *also:* **ŋa** *conjunction* and. *nagayé zbo thgathinzako, madma kafarwä a srak nge katanwä.* 'He left the two children here, the big girl and the small boy.' *mni wthomonwath a zräfófth.* 'They made the fire and burned it.'

afa *kinship noun* [masc] father.
Note: loanword from Nama.
see: **ŋafe**

afa kfokfo *noun* [fem] Hooded Butcherbird. ◇ *Cracticus cassicus*
Note: This bird lives on the forest on the high ground. His call showed the ancestor of the Mayawa clan where to settle.

afa sku *also:* **afa skru** *property noun* carry a child with the legs around the hip. *afa skume wzänzr.* 'She carries the girl with her legs around the hip.'

agar *noun* [masc] roof beam.

aiwa *interjection* This is used like "oh no" in English as a sign of surprise about something that is unpleasant or sad to see.

akam *also:* **akm** *property noun* cough, fast breath. *muramura yé akamma.* 'This is medicine against shortwind or asthma.'

ake *proper noun* female personal name.

akeake *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Alphitonia incana*
Note: This tree is used for firewood, yamsticks.

aki
(1) *noun* [masc] moon. *aki kwayanen thwanyak.* 'They were coming in the moonlight.'
(2) *kinship noun* [flex] grandfather, grandmother, grandchild. *nzone ake ŋare rä.* 'She is my grandmother.'
(3) *kinship noun* [flex] father in-law, mother in-law, daughter in-law. *nafane aki ŋare rä.* 'She is his mother-in-law.' 'She is his daughter-in-law.'
Note: This word is used reciprocally between a woman and her parents in-law instead of their respective names as well as bet-

[1] This dictionary was assembled with the help of Chris Healey and Kipiro Damas who visited Rouku in order to collect information on bird and plant species respectively. Fish species were identified with the help of (Allen et al., 2008).

ween grandparents and grandchildren. This is a loanword from Nama.
see: **zath**

akufari *noun* [masc] part of the sago palm which is used to hold down the strainer.

ama *kinship noun* [fem] mother.
Note: loanword from Nama.
see: **ŋame**

amkf *also:* **abkf** *noun* breath.

ane *anaphoric dem* this one, the one that we known about, the one that has been mentioned. *ŋazi tafokarä ane zägarnza.* 'With the dried coconut leaf this one (this guy) broke off (and fell down).' *komnzo kwa! ane fof kwa wnrtmakwé.* 'Just wait! I will cut this one.'

anema *connective, dem* because of that, therefore, from that. *cell mnzen mane we suthkagrm anema fof wätrikwr.* 'He was in jail and he tells her about that.' *watik, anema nimame fof nrä.* 'Okay, therefore we are like this.' *nä faf znfo z ŋafäniza bänema nagayé tüfr ŋoŋoyam. wati, anema ŋafäniza.* 'He moved to another place because of children making too much noise. Therefore he shifted (to another place).'

aneme *connective, dem* with this, thereby. *wämne frsth. aneme thumtriknwrame nima.* 'branches from the tree, with those ones we used to stir it.' *krärme srärirfth. aneme wri kwosi sfthnm.* 'They filled him up with Kava and with this he was laying down dead drunk.'

anzf *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Sarcocephalus coadunatus*

arer *noun* [masc] Little Corella. ◇ *Cacatua sanguinea*

arth mni *also:* **art mni** *noun* [fem] fire which slowly smolders underneath a big log or covered by soil.

asar *numeral* four.

asiga *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Parinari sp*

atätö *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Pouteria sp*
Note: The fruit of this tree is eaten by cassowaries. The empty shell is used for decoration.

ausi *noun* [fem] old woman.

aw kot *interjection* This is used as a sign of sudden surprise, like "oh Lord!".

awawa *noun* [fem] Black-eared Catbird. ◇ *Ailuroedus melanotis*

awow *interjection* This signals agreement, like "okay"..

ayaw *also:* **ayow** *interjection* This is a warning, like "Watch out!".

ayo *interjection* This is used if one is sad about something..
see: **aiwa**

äft yare *noun* [fem] type of bag woven out of fresh coconut leaves.

än *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Ficus chrysantha*
Note: This tree is used as timber. Its leaves are used like sandpaper.

äthgam *noun* [masc] tree type, nonda plum, parinari. ◇ *Parinari nonda*

Note: This tree is used for firewood. Its fruit are edible.

ätraf *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Gonocaryum littoralis*
Note: This tree is used for timber.

B

babai *kinship noun* [flex] uncle, aunt, nephew, niece.
Note: This word is used reciprocally between someone and her/his maternal aunts and uncles. This is possibly a loanword.
see: **ŋäwi**

bad
(1) *noun* [fem] ground, soil. *fthé thremar nima gbane krätrth nima badfo berä.* 'That is, when you see that the yam vines are falling to the ground.' *be bad bra wbthakwr. kabrigwro bukarföwä!* 'You are finishing the soil. Go back to your own village!'
(2) *noun* [fem] earth. *thwamnzrm zane kafar baden frthzé kabe enrära.* 'Wherever the people came from they lived there on earth.' *zaföwä bad fthé ŋafiyokwa ŋafyf fthé bad wäfiyokwa.* 'Long time ago, when he made the earth, when the father created the earth.'

badabada *kinship noun* [flex] ancestor, great-grandfather.

baf *recognitional* this one, this thing (who is doing something to someone). *baf wkonzr. kabe wrikarä fthé yé. gatha gatha fthé wäfiyokwr.* 'This spoils it when the man is drunk when he makes it bad.' *baf fthé sräbth nima kabe zan miyof.* 'That thing takes him (the sorcerer) over that desire to kill people.'

bafen *recognitional* in that place, in that time. *ausi zwamnzrm mni thaken ... mnzen fof ... zrfön ... nima bafen fobo mane zanthora.* 'The old woman sat by the fireplace ... really in the house ... by the door ... at this place where she had arrived.' *boba bafen fthé zrarä zöfthamen.* 'That is when you will (plant them) for the first time.'

bagu *kinship noun* [flex] clan name, section name.

baik *noun* [fem] bag.
Note: This word refers to plastic bags (thin plastic bags, ricebags or backpacks).

bana *adjective* poor, pityful, hapless, wretched. *nafafzenz bana zane zf rä zrä.* 'This is his poor wife right here.' *kwrfar näbi tauri srämg markai nabime. watik kranbrime. tauri bana ane yfränzake ykwathake.* 'He shot a big wallby. Then we returned and singed the hair of the hapless wallaby and we cut the meat.' *wthzak kwosi bana kwanr!* 'Bring me my broken, wretched sandals!'
Note: This word expresses a feeling of sadness, empathy or sympathy towards someone or something.

banban *locational* under. *duga taga banbanen boba kwathar-*

wrmth fof. 'They went underneath the taro leaves.' *mnz banbanen ra zane erä?* 'What are these things underneath the house?'

banibani *noun* [masc] Brahminy Kite. ◇ *Haliastur indus*

bara *noun* [masc] paddle.
Note: loanword from Motu.
see: **karaf**

barau *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Grevellea sp*

bardi borsi *noun* [fem] hockey game.
Note: A local game of hockey played with a knotty wooden ball made from tree roots. The hockey sticks are roughly-made from thick branches. There are no picked sides and no goals.

barere *noun* [masc] type of grasshopper.
Note: This is a black, dark grasshopper that lives in the forest. Its name is said to onomatopoetic.

basikol *noun* [fem] bicycle.
Note: loanword from English.

bath *noun* [masc] type of grasshopper.

batha *noun* [fem] concave goby. ◇ *Glossogobius concavifrons*

batre wath *noun* [fem] type of dance (it includes walking sticks and bird feathers).

bawai *noun* [masc] Magpie Goose. ◇ *Anseranas semipalmata*

bawar *noun* [fem] curse. *nze bun bawar narakthkwé.* 'I put a curse on you.'

bä *deictic* there (MED). *wm ane fof kanathren bä mane ythn tnz erästhgr.* 'There in Kanathr where the stones are they stick out (from the water) a little.' *fi kafar ŋatha nä mane erera fi ane bä bkwaruthrmth büdisnen mnz znen.* 'But as for the big dogs, they were barking there in Mbüntisen by the house.' *wati, nafane gwth nimame fof rä zena monme bä wthen brä* 'Okay, it's nest is like this how is laying there, right there.'

bä *pronominal* you (2.ABS). *Okay bäi, bä käzkno boba!* 'Okay bäi, you move over there.' *bä kma kaznobe! nzä fof ŋabrigwé mnzfo.* 'You (pl) should drink. I will go back to the house.'

bäbä *adjective* numb.

bäi *proper noun* male personal name.

bäiŋaf *kinship noun* [flex] uncle, nephew, niece after consummated exchange.
Note: loanword from Wära.
see: **fäŋaf**

bäiŋam *kinship noun* [flex] aunt, nephew, niece after consummated exchange.
Note: loanword from Wära.
see: **fäŋam**

bäk *locational* flat item, back, something that is flat on the outside.
Note: This might be a loanword from English ('back'). It can be used for flat surfaced items like the sole of the foot, back of hammer or axe, lid of saucepan.

bägwrm *noun* [masc] butterfly.

bäne
(1) *dem* that, these.

(2) *recognitional* that one, the one you and I know about.

bänema *connective, dem* because of that, therefore.

bänemr *connective, dem* until, for that. *frknzo yamrinza bänemr e masu.* 'He follow the blood drips until Masu.' *nimamenzo kwa fof rä zena zbär fof bänemr kayé.* 'It will be like this tonight until tomorrow.'

bänzü *also:* **benzü** *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Planchonia sp*
Note: used for houseposts.

bärbär *noun* [flex] half. *nima bä nzone ŋareanema bärbär keke kwa thanathé!* 'It is like this: You will not eat half (of the food) of my wife!' *sukwathrame katakatanme. wozfo ane fof thfthorthrame. bärbär mane kwägathinz gardafo ane fof swäzine.* 'We cut it in small pieces and put it into the bottles. As for the half that was left, we always put it into the canoe.'

bäwäk *noun* [masc] Glossy-mantled Manucode. ◇ *Manucode Manucodia atra*

bäwr *noun* [masc] long arrow type.

bäwzö *also:* **mni bäwzö** *noun*
(1) [masc] wall.
(2) [masc] tree type. ◇ *Xanthostemon sp*
Note: The bark of this tree is heated over the fire in order to harden. Then it is used for house walls.

bbreko *also:* **breko breko** *noun* [masc] earthquake.

be *pronominal* you (2SG.ERG).

benm *pronominal* for you (2NSG.DAT).

benme *pronominal* your (2NSG.POSS). *benme kar* 'your village'

besi wath *noun* [fem] type of dance.
Note: This is the dance of the people from Safs/Yokwa. It is similar to the *nzürna wath*, but movement is back and forth instead of running.

bgutham *noun* [fem] ebony gudgeon. ◇ *Eleotris melanosoma*

bi *noun* [masc] sago.

bi wothm *noun* [masc] sago grub.

bianzrünzrü *noun* [fem] White-shouldered Fairy Wren. ◇ *Malurus alboscapulatus*

biatoto *noun* [fem] bird type (common kingfisher?).

bibinas *noun* [fem] large-footed bat. ◇ *Myotis adversus*

bidakwr *adjective* soaked, wet. *bidakwr kabe yanyak bänema zithzithkarä bramöwä ane yé.* 'There comes the drenched guy, because he is all wet.'

bidr *noun* [fem] flying fox. ◇ *Pteropus alecto*
Note: Women are sometimes (jokingly) referred to as flying foxes because in the local marriage system women are exchanged between villages "just like the flying foxes go from one tree to the other".

bidr *noun* [fem] underwear, underpants.

bigogo *noun*
(1) [masc] jew's harp made from bamboo.
(2) Crested Bellbird. ◇ *Oreoica gut-*

turalis
(3) insect type.
(4) plant type.

bikwrtä *noun* [masc] Treeswifts, swiftlets and swifts.

bira *noun* [masc] axe, stone axe.
Note: loanword from Motu *ira* 'adze'
see: **fäbü**

birgu *noun* [masc] grass type.
Note: grows in the water, red roots are used for weaving bags

biribiri *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Dianella ensifolia*
Note: medical use: mixed with fäbüfäbü and eaten to sooth the throat; small children eat the small purple fruit to stop urinating in their sleep

bis *noun* [fem] Azure Kingfisher, Common Paradise Kingfisher. ◇ *Ceyx azureus or Tanysiptera galatea*

biskar *noun* [masc] cassava.

biskar for *noun* [fem] cassawa river garden.
Note: These are usually made along the river at the area which dries up quickest after the rainy season..

bisrüm *noun* [masc] tree type.

bith *noun*
(1) [masc] honey, beehive.
(2) [masc] bee.

bith fefe *noun* [plural] part of a bee hive.
Note: This is the fourth section of a bee hive. It is regarded as the real honey. People would squeeze this part and drink the sweet liquid. The wax is used for tuning the kundu drum.

bito *noun* [flex] mouse.

bitobito *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Xanthomyrtus sp*

biwak *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Flindersia sp*
Note: This tree is used for timber. It is a sign of good ground, as it grows only in dense forests which are not flooded during the rainy season.

bnazsi *verb* wake up. *nze fi sabnafé.* 'I started to wake him up.' *be kebnaf!* 'Wake up!'

bnä *pronominal* with you (PL).

bnbn *property noun* tight, under tension.

bné *pronominal* you (2NSG.ERG).

bnrr *pronominal* with you (DU).

bob *noun* [fem] lagoon.

boba aki *temporal* last month, next month.

boba ysokwr *temporal* last year, next year.

boba zafat *temporal* last week, next week.

bobathm *locational* at the end (usually at the end of a track, settlement, garden). *fä fof nzwamnzrm we zba zf zäfänifa kar bobathm.* 'We lived over there and then we shifted here to that end of the village.'

bobomr *connective* until. *ttfönzo wäbragwa bobomr e kar kwark krbo.* 'I followed the creek until the old village Korombo.' *gosrinrnzo ane thfnakwrme bobomr ane thfthärm march.* 'We store them as eating yams. They will be there until March.'

bod *also:* **bodbod** *noun* [fem] island, piece of dry land in the swamp or highground sur-

rounded by water.

bodkr *adjective* stench, stinking. *with kwosi bodkr fewa ythorakwr.* 'The stench of the rotten bananas is coming up.'

bogu *noun* [fem] bladder.

boko *noun* [masc] Slender-billed Cuckoo-dove. ◇ *Macropygia amboinensis*

bokuti *noun* [fem] part of the rips on the side about the height of the heart.

bonar *noun* [fem] bull shark. ◇ *Carcharhinus leucas*

bone *pronominal* your (2SG.POSS).

bonz *noun* [fem] abrasion, injury.

bonzi et *noun* [masc] shell, small, dark shell from the river.

bor *also:* **br** *noun* [masc] rat.

borbor *noun*
(1) [masc] thunderstorm.
(2) [masc] wind from the west.
Note: The northwest monsoon during wet season.

borbor wath *noun* [fem] type of dance.
Note: This is the dance of the people from Wämnefr. Dancers stand around a pole/tree with lots of leaves and shake this pole whilst dancing and singing.

borsi *middle verb* laugh, play. *kabe soka ŋaborwrth moreheaden* 'The men are playing soccer in morehead' *fi ŋaborwr.* 'He laughs or He plays.' *käboth!* 'You laugh!'

botrbotr *property noun* right angled. *botrbotrme sartm!* 'You cut it with a right-angle!'

böbön *property noun* across. *nabi ŋanzŋanz böbönme thwanakwrth.* 'They put the bamboo sticks across (sticks for separating the garden plots).'

bök *noun* [fem] water rat.

böm *noun* [fem] shoot, little hairs that grow out of a yam.

br *also:* **bor** *noun* [masc] flower or stalk of a banana, pineapple or chestnut.

bra *ideophone* empty, finished, done, over. *be bad bra wbthakwr. kabrigwro bukarföwä!* 'you are finishing the soil. Go back to your own village!' *ane kar mane erera zäbthath. bra fefe.* 'This village finished completely.' *zä zöbthé kwafrmnzrmth bra kwafsinzrmth.* 'They prepared them (the yams) here first. This was done. Then they counted them.'

bragsi *verb* follow. *nze fi ybragwé.* 'I follow him.' *sabrm!* 'You follow him!' *nafane waga yam yabragwé.* 'I follow his footsteps.'

bramöwä *quantifier* every, all. *trikasi zane bramöwä ätrikwr monme fi safafath* 'He is telling them the whole story how they had caught him.' *kabe matak erä nima z bramöwä kwafarkwrth* 'There are no people here. They all set off this way.'

bran *noun* [fem] place where the men line up with their bows when hunting in a group.

brazi *noun* [fem] woman after giving birth, period after giving birth.

Note: This term is used from the birth of the child almost until the baby starts to walk.

bräknsi *verb* call out, call name. *ni miyamr. kar keke zabräkn.* 'We don't know. He didn't say the name of the village.' *kabe yf kwa ybräknwr nima "bäi".* 'He will call out the man's name like this: "Bäi".' *keke nnbräknwath. ni bramöwä karfo ŋanbrigwake.* 'They did not call out our names. We all returned to the village.'

brbr *noun* [flex] spirit (of a dead person). *brbrnzo fof n zäthaba bafen ... ymden fof.* 'Only the spirit tried to into this ... into the bird.' *brbrf garda bifnza bo bo bo nagayé fäth mane enrna yakäsü.* 'The spirit was hitting the canoe "bo bo bo". The children that were there took off and ran away.'

brduyam *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Pseudouvaria sp*
Note: The bark of this tree used for making *sgeru* 'palmwine'.

bribri znsä *noun* [fem] weeding. *yüsi fthé thräfifkwr bribri ane fof thräkorth.* 'When the grass has grown that is called weeding.' *bribri nima we threthkäfe ŋanz rnzam zerä ane krabznwrth kwot e thräbthe.* 'Then the weeding starts. How many rows there are (in the garden), they will be cut until we have finished them.'

brigsi *verb* return. *nzä boba fthé kanthrfa zänbrima.* 'That was when I returned from Kanathr.' *wati monwé fam zär "nzone bäne brigsi tfotfo karfo rä."* 'Then, he was thinking: "My return to the village is close."' *naf fam ane thunbrigwrm fobo karen mon bä swamnzrm.* 'He is thinking back to the village there and how he was living there.' *bä m nzäkwrth, zaniyam. ni zf nbrigwre bobo masu.* 'They might kill you Zaniyam. We will bring you back here to Masu.'

brm tikf *noun* [fem] yam type.

brnze *noun* [fem] lips.

bro *noun* [fem] swampy area with bumpy ground (not by the river, but on the flat land).
Note: This might be a loanword from Nama. It corresponds to Komnzo *kore*.
see: **kore**

brs *adjective* creative, open-minded.

brsi *verb* scoop water.

bru *noun* [fem] comb-spined catfish. ◇ *Cinetodus carinatus*

brubru *noun* [masc] kundu drum.

brübrü *noun* [masc] grass type.

brüzi *noun* [masc] soursop. ◇ *Anona muricata*

brüzi *noun* [fem] catfish type.

brüzsi
(1) *positional verb* be submerged. *garda ybrüsthgr.* 'The canoe is submerged.' *kofä non ybrüsthgr.* 'The fish is in the water.'
(2) *verb bä kwa ŋabrüzr.* 'You will dive in.' *srak z zäbrüs!* 'The boy drowned already.' *watik, nzä we kränbrimé ŋatha ane we*

srenfafa subrüzrm 'Then I returned and grabbed the dog and put him into the water.'

bth *noun* [masc] python type.
Note: The biggest of all the pythons. It sometimes lives in bushfowl mounds.

bthaksi *verb* finish. *zimu kwa ŋabthakwr.* 'The runny nose will stop.' *ane zwafsinzrm kwot e bobowä bäne zefafath. fsisi zäbthath.* 'He was counting them for her until this (number) was reached. Then, the counting was finished.' *fi sabth!* 'You finish him off!' *yambärf nima "eh efoth bana kwa samare! frkf ybthakwr."* 'Yambär said: "Look at the poor sun! It is red and goes down." (lit.: the redness is finishing the sun.)' *nzone miyo kwa wabthakwr.* 'You will do as I say. (lit.: You will finish my wish.)'

bthamer *noun* [fem] fish type, papuan gauvina. ◇ *Oxyleleotris herwerdenii*

bthan *noun* [fem] magic, sorcery, magic spell. *bada boba mane enrera fi bthan miyamr.* 'As for the ancestors who came here, they did not know sorcery.' *wati, bthan tmatmme nafane fam zwarmänwrmth.* 'Then they closed her mind with that magic spell.'

bthan kabe *noun* [masc] sorcerer. *fthé 'one week' srakor fthé fof krefar ane bthan kabe bobo.* 'After one has passed, the sorcerer would set off.' *bthan kabeyé bäne mitaf wfathwath.* 'The sorcerers held or stopped that spirit.'

bthazan *noun* [fem] magic (for killing). *naf bthazan yfnzr.* 'He is killing him with magic.'

bthzü *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Ternstroemia cheryii*
Note: The bark is used for poison fishing.

bua *noun* [masc] Magnificent Riflebird. ◇ *Ptiloris magnificus*

buay *also:* **bway** *ideophone* This is used when somebody is setting off or runs away like "Off he goes!".. *nabinzo threrafinzé. bway! krefaré.* 'I shouldered the bow and I set off.' *bway! äniyak e sazäthi.* 'They set off and walked until Sazäthi.'

bubukr *noun* [masc] beetle, caterpillar.

bubumari *proper noun* [masc] insect type.
Note: big, black insect with a bright yellow part on its back.

bukmu et *noun* [masc] shell, black shell from the river.

bun *pronominal* for you (2SG.DAT). *bun narä.* 'It is for you.' *ane zokwasi kwa natrikwé bun.* 'I will tell you this story.'

buram *noun* [fem] frill-necked lizard. ◇ *Chlamydosaurus kingii*

buru *also:* **buru kabe** *noun* [masc] old man. *buru zé zäkor.* 'He has become an old man already.'
see: **oroman, paitua**

bus *noun* [flex] cat.
Note: loanword from English ('pussycat')

bübü kwan *noun* [fem] sound

made by hitting the ground, hopping of wallabies, sound made by hunters to attract wallabies.

büra *also:* **bürä** *noun* [flex] baby animal.

bürg *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Diplanchea sp*
Note: The shoots of this plant are sometimes eaten with betelnut. The flowers are eaten by wallabies.

büsri *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Acacia simsi*

büt *noun* [masc] stump.
Note: Can refer to an amputated limb.

bwir fisor *noun* [fem] long neck turtle.

bznsi *middle verb*
(1) work.
(2) clear, cut grass, clean.

bzwär *proper noun* place name.

D

dabethé *adjective* thick.

dabethkak borsi *noun* [fem] grass dart game.

dagal *noun* [flex] dugon.

dagon
(1) *noun* [plural] food. *ntagon zerä.* 'The food is here.' *sukufa dagon kwa änathr?* 'Will you smoke the tobacco?'
(2) *verb* [no infinitive] eat. *nze kwrman yanathé.* 'I eat the kwrman' *wawa thäwob!* 'Eat the yams!'

dagu *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Banksia dentata*

dagu *noun* [masc] python type (beige color, white spots).
Note: likes to sleep on the banksia tree (dagu)

dagu zthé *noun* [masc] banksia inflorescence.
see: **dagu**
Note: used to transport fire. it will be smoldering for several hours. (lit. 'banksia penis')

daidai *noun* [plural] grass skirt.
Note: This is a woman's grass skirt. It only covers the front and back of the body.
see: **nag**

dagwas *noun* [plural] ellbow.

damarki yfö *noun* [fem] water well, dynamite well.
Note: loanword from English (dynamite); round, big holes created by Australian workers in the 50's.

damno *numeral* one thousand two hundred nintysix; 6x6x6x6 = 1296.

danag *noun* [masc] weeds eaten by fish.

dao *also:* **daw** *noun* [fem] garden.

dao drdr *noun* [fem] old garden after the harvest. *dao drdr rä.* 'It is an old garden (left fallow).'

daräbü
(1) *noun* [fem] plant type. *daräbü ane no yonasima rä.* 'This daräbü is for drinking water.'
Note: used as water container
(2) *noun* [fem] water container made from the plant.

darbu *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Anthorhiza sp*
Note: used like grinding stone to remove hard skin (e.g. on one's foot)

darwä *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Melaleuca sp*

dasi *noun* [masc] lump, pus-filled bulge.

dathgir *noun* [fem] lizard type.

däfi *noun* [masc] freshwater anchovy. ◇ *Thryssa scratchleyi*

dbän *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Vitex quinata*
Note: This tree is used for timber (especially for paddles), when the leaves of this tree dry and fall down, it is time for harvest time yams.

dbäzri *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Schizomeria serrota*
Note: The fruits are brown and taste sour.

dbirko *noun* [masc] club (stone disc).

dbömsé *adjective* blunt.

dbrthé *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Melochea sp*
Note: This plant is valued for its medical use. The roots will be cooked and eaten (or the liquid from the roots). It is a powerful medicine against all kinds of sickness

dd *noun* [masc] worm.

ddak *noun* [masc] plant type, blue tongue. ◇ *Melastoma afine*
Note: This is plant is used as medicine. Its leafes are chewed to reduce pain.

ddbr *adjective* numb feeling.

deinsam *proper noun* female personal name.

deknini *noun* [fem] praying mantis.

deya *noun* [flex] wallaby (forest).

dga
(1) *noun* [masc] bifurcation. *wawa dga kaf rä* 'the yam is split'
(2) *plural* [masc] gills, fish gills.

di *noun* [fem] back of the head.

di frnzaksi *verb* mess up, hit, kill. *di fof safrnza.* 'She hit him on the back his head.'

dibath *noun* [masc] hockey stick.

dibädibä *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Timonius sp*
Note: This tree bears an edible fruit which is also eaten by cassowaries.

dibe *also:* **dibö** *noun* [fem] pipe, smoking pipe.
Note: This pipe is made from a bamboo tube with two holes. A rolled tobacco cigarette is inserted into one and the smoke is sucked into the apparatus to be inhaled by another person.

dibura *noun* [flex] prisoner, prison. *wati, ŋwä dibura ane fof zfrärm.* 'This took place instead of prison.' *zokwasi trikasi ätrikwr mon bä sfrärm dibura faf znen.* 'He tells them the story how he was in jail. (lit.: the prisoner place)'
Note: This is a loanword from Motu

digdig *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Timonius timon*
Note: This plant is used as medicine. Part of its bark are mixed with water. Women drink this after giving birth.

digwä *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Abrus precatorious*

dirdir *noun* [masc] Greater Streaked Lory, Rainbow Lorikeet. ◇ *Chalcopsitta scintillata or Trichoglossus*

haematodus

dis *noun* [fem] dish, plate.
Note: loanword from English

dmgu *noun* [fem] waterhole (permanent).

dmgwr *noun* [masc] orchid. ◇ *Dentrobium sp*

dmgwri *noun* [masc] tree type, melaleuca. ◇ *Melaleuca sp*
Note: This plant is used as medicine. The steam is from boiled leafes can be inhaled or used to wash oneself. It has high content of essential oil.

dmnzü *manner adverb* silently. *dmnzü käms.* 'Sit down quietly!' *dmnzü ŋarafinzrth.* 'They paddle silently.'

dmu *noun* [fem] anus.

dobakwr *noun* [masc] indian short-finned eel. ◇ *Anguilla bicolor*

dokre *noun* [fem] frog.

dowä *noun* [masc] Wompoo Fruit Dove. ◇ *Ptilinopus magnificus*

dö *noun* [masc] goanna type (grassland).

dödö
(1) *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Melaleuca sp*
Note: The twigs of this plant are used to make a broom.
(2) *noun* [masc] broom.

dradr *noun* [masc] taboo, law.
Note: loanword from Blafe
see: **thakthak**

drari *noun* [fem] container made of bamboo.
Note: This container is used to carry water or to make *sgeru* 'palmwine'.

drädrä *noun* [fem] Masked Lapwing. ◇ *Vanellus miles*

drgathé *adjective* dry.

drid *noun* [masc] scales, fish scales.

drn *noun* [fem] Radjah Shelduck. ◇ *Tadorna radjah*

drü *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Melaleuca sp*
Note: This tree is used for timber (houseposts or canoes). Its bark is used for roof (outside) or walls (inside).

dubu *noun* [fem] church.
Note: This is a loanword from Motu.

duga *noun* [fem] taro. ◇ *Colocasia sp*
Note: staple food

dumgsi *prefixing verb* be close to bursting, be irate, be angry inside. *dasi wadumgwr.* 'My buldge is close to bursting.' *bä rma nadumgwr?* 'What are you angry about?'

dunzi *noun* [masc] arrow (general term).

durua *noun* help. *nzä nima "bone zrin rä. bone nagayf ane zrin zwafiyokwr. keke kwa monme durua ŋafiyokwre."* 'I said: "This is your problem. Your boy caused that problem. We won't help."'
Note: This is a loanword from Motu

dübram *noun* [fem] cassowary.
Note: This term refers to an adult cassowary (with black feathers only)

düdü *property noun* in good condition, healthy. *ruga düdüthé yé.* 'The pig is in good shape.' *kabe ntüntükarä yé.* 'The man is in good condition.'

düfr *noun* [masc] headdress.
Note: This refers to a headdress with a little bundle of cassowary feathers which is pointing upwards from the forehead.
see: **tarazü**

dügäm *noun* [masc] Papuan Hornbill. ◇ *Rhyticeros plicatus*

dür *property noun* fat, grease.

E

ebar *noun* [flex] head.

ebar nzm *noun* big toe, thumb.

eda *numeral* two.

efä efä *also:* **yafä yafä** *noun* [fem] swathe.
Note: Before a new garden is cleared the outer fence lines are are laid out by cutting the grass.

efoth
(1) *noun* [masc] sun. *efothf nfariwr kwikma.* 'The sun is drying us up and we will become sick.' *efoth minzü ŋarsir eftharen.* 'The sun burns strong in the dry season.' *efothen zbo mnzen zarafinz!* 'You have to put it on top of the house in the sun!'
(2) *noun* [fem] day. *nafä fof zenfarath zizi fefe fthé efoth kwabthakwrm.* 'He left with them in the afternoon when the day was coming to an end.' *nä efothen, wawa tafo yafsinzake babuan.* 'On another day, we counted the dried yam for Babua.'

efthar *noun* [fem] dry season. *kafar efthar rthé sfrärm no keke fthé kwarünzrm.* 'When it was a strong dry season, no rain was falling.' *ymdanme miyosé erä efthar fthé kräkor minzü.* 'The birds like them (the fruit) when it is the height of dry season.'

ekri
(1) *noun* [fem] flesh, body. *zi swathizrm ekri zi.* 'He was in pain, body pain.' *mor thugarwrmth. ekrinzo thugathikwrmth.* 'They broke their necks and left only the flesh behind.' *nzmärkarä fthé be sanathé. bone ekrin boba ŋatharwr.* 'When you eat it with the grease, it will go underneath you flesh.'
(2) *noun* [masc] meat. *tauri ekri yé.* 'It is wallaby meat.'

ekwar *noun* [masc] Pied Heron. ◇ *Ardea pacifica*

ekwiya *noun* bird type (bigger than ekwar, but similar).

emoth *noun* [fem] girl, sister. *zane mane yé emoth fäth fam wrär.* 'This one here is thinking of the small girl.' *nafanme emoth keke kränrit nzedbo. nzenme emoth keke kränrit boba.* 'Their sisters won't come over to us and our sister won't go there. We don't exchange sisters.'

emoth fäth *proper noun* [plural] group of blinking stars; probably the Pleaides.
Note: This constellation is often described as "the washing girls" (lit. "the young/small girls").

enat *kinship noun* [flex] father in-law, mother in-law, son-in-law.
Note: This word is used reciprocally between a man and his

wife's parents instead of their respective names.

eräme *also:* **erame** *manner adverb* together. *eräme bad zumarwrmth ŋaraker.* 'Together they looked for gardening ground.' *boba kwa niyak eräme kanathrfo.* 'We will go together to Kanathr.'

etha
(1) *numeral* three. *nafane kabe etha erera.* 'She had three husbands.'
(2) *quantifier* few. *tüfrmär kafar kafar nrä komnzo ethanzo.* 'We are not plenty old people, only a few.'

ethf *noun* [fem] canoe place.
see: **swäyé**

et *noun* [masc] shell.

etfth
(1) *noun* sleep. *ŋabrigwro bobo etfth znfo.* 'He is returning to the sleeping place.' *fi etfth yrugr.* 'He is sleeping.'
(2) *prefixing verb* [no infinitive] sleep.
see: **yrugr**

etwäsi ŋare *noun* [fem] frogatt's catfish. ◇ *Cinetodus froggatti*

ezi *noun* [fem] morning. *namä ezi* 'good morning'

ezi zir *noun* [fem] morning dew.

ezi zürn *noun* [masc] morning mist.

F

faf *noun* [fem] place, yard, house area. *nä faf znfo zé ŋafäniza.* 'He moved awaz to anozther place.' *nzone fafen namnzr.* 'You are sitting in my place.' *wati nafane sam mane rä nagusi faf znen sazin.* 'Then you put its liquid on the place where you poked yourself.'

fafä *dem* after this, by this time. *fafä kwämones!* 'Wait for me! (after doing sth.)'

faikore *noun* [masc] Orange-footed Scrubfowl. ◇ *Megapodius reinwardt*

fakarsok *noun* [masc] arrow with a metall blade.

fakth *noun* [fem] yam (middle sized round yam).

fagwa *property noun* wide, width.

fam *noun* [plural] thoughts, mind.

fam yirzsi *middle verb* forget. *fammär zärzé* 'I forgot.'
Note: lit. 'fall without thoughts'.
see: **yirzsi**

famfam *property noun* shallow.

far *noun* [masc] stem, post.

fara fiyaf *noun* [fem] hunting (going hunting alone and without dogs). *farar kwofiyak.* 'I went hunting alone.' *farame kwofiyak.* 'I went hunting alone.'

farai *noun* [fem] canvas.
Note: possibly a loanword.

farasi *noun* [fem] kind of shield to defend oneself (it looks like a paddle).

farem *proper noun* name for the Komnzo speaking people in and around Rouku village.

farem kar *proper noun* place name.

farfar *noun* [fem] feast.

farka *noun* [masc] shin.

farksi *verb* lift up bag for someone

(to set off). *nze yare nafan wäfarkwé.* 'I lift the bag for her (to go).'

farksi *middle verb* set off. *nze nafanema ŋafarkwé.* 'I set off because of him.'

farsi *verb* fell, chop, cut down. *be wämne safath!* 'You fell the tree!' *nafane ŋazi yafarwé.* 'I cut down his coconut.'

fartfart *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Liliaceae sp*
Note: used for decoration.

fartki *noun* [masc] sago type. ◇ *Metroxyllon sagu*

farufaru *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Psychotria sp*

faryasi *verb* dry. *nze gwonyame efaryanzé.* 'I dry the clothes.' *bä kärfayofth!* 'You dry yourself!'

fasisi *middle verb* attract attention. *käfasir* 'Bang it!' *naf ŋafasinzr.* 'He is attracting attention.'

faso *noun* [fem] animal, meat from animals.
see: **yase**

fath *noun* [fem] clear place.

fath deya *noun* [flex] bushland tree wallaby (spectacled hare-wallaby). ◇ *Lagorchestes conspicillatus*
see: **deya**

fathasi *also:* **fathsi** *verb* hold. *naf nabi wfathwé.* 'He is holding the bow.'

fathasi *middle verb* marry, celebrate. *nze ŋare ŋafathwé.* 'I marry the woman.'

fathasi *numeral* six counted yams (lit. "one holding").

fatam *noun* [masc] plume, feather. *wrai fatam wathma yé.* 'the heron feathers are for the dance.'

fatfat *property noun* angled. *nabi fatfatme sartm!* 'You cut the bamboo angled.'

fatr *noun* [masc] tree type, fishtail, albert palm. ◇ *Caryota rumphiana*
Note: used for timber.

faw *noun* payment.

fä *deictic* over there (some distance away; out of sight).

fäbü *noun* [masc] axe, stone axe.

fäbüfäbü *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Octomyrtus sp*
Note: medical use, leafes mixed with *biribiri* against sore throat.

fäk *noun* [fem] jaw.

fäksi *middle verb* sneak. *ŋafänknzé.* 'I am sneaking around.' *nafan yafäknzath.* 'They were sneaking up on him.'

fäms kabe *kinship noun* [masc] exchange man.
Note: used between two men who have exchanged sisters, instead of their personal names.

fäms ŋare *kinship noun* [fem] exchange woman.
Note: used for the sister that was exchanged, used between the two exchanged women instead of their name.

fänizsi *middle verb* move, shift location. *nze buk wfänizé.* 'I put the book to another place.' *z kwafänizroth ninzo zä nrugr.* 'They already moved to another spot, only we sleep here.'

fänz *proper noun* female personal

name.

fänzsi

(1) *verb* present. *buk wfänzé.* 'I present the book.'

(2) *verb* show. *nze bun nafänzé.* 'I show (something) to you.'

fäŋaf *kinship noun* [flex] uncle, nephew, niece in a consummated exchange.

Note: This word is used reciprocally between someone and his or her maternal uncle (if the mother is married in a direct sister exchange)

see: **bäiŋaf**

fäŋam *kinship noun* [flex] aunt, nephew, niece in a consummated exchange.

Note: This word is used reciprocally between someone and his or her maternal aunt (if the mother is married in a direct sister exchange).

see: **bäiŋam**

färfär *noun* [masc] bee type, the beehive has a long nozzle-like entrance.

fäsi *property noun* shame, shameful. *oroman fäsi yé bänema wri no kayé kwonathr.* 'The old man is ashmed because he drank alcohol yesterday.' *fäsithé kabe bikogr.* 'The man stands ashamed over there.'

fäskor *noun* [masc] part of sago palm.

Note: The part where the sago branch or leaf connects to the stem. This is used for beating sago.

fäsri *also:* **fäsari** *noun* [masc] Alstonia brassii.

Note: good timber, used as glue tree, bark used for *sgeru* 'palmwine'.

fäth *noun* [flex] small ones (children, animals).

fäthfäth *noun* [masc] sticks that hold the bark wall.

fät *noun* [flex] friend, mate.

fätfaksi

(1) *positional verb* be across. *wämne yfätthgr mothen.* 'The tree lies across the road.'

(2) *verb* put across. *naf wämne yfätfakwé.* 'He put the tree across.' *nafan wämne yafätfakwé ttfön.* 'I put the tree across the creek for him.' *fi mothen ŋafätfakwé.* 'I lie down across the road.'

fätr *adjective* left.

fätü *also:* **fätüfätü** *noun* [masc] plant type (vine). ◇ *Piper sp*

Note: looks like *saka.*

fäw *noun* [masc] arrow shaft.

fäy *noun* payment.

Note: loanword from English.

fäyé *also:* **fäyä** *noun* [fem] estuary stingray or feshwater whipray. ◇ *Dasyatis fluviorum* ◇ *Himantura chaophraya*

fefe *also:* **ffé**

(1) *adjective* real, very. *zokwasi fefeme ŋanafr.* 'He talks with the local language.'

(2) *noun* [feminine] body, flesh, meat. *fefe tuofkarä worä.* 'I have a fever (lit: I have a hot body.)'

fefe yüzi *noun* [masc] Pinon Imperial Pigeon. ◇ *Ducula pinon*

fenz *noun* [fem] body liquid from a corpse.

fenzil *noun* [masc] pencil, pen.

Note: loanword from English.

feŋag *noun* [fem] yam type.

ferar *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Acacia sp*
Note: used for timber (housepost, fence), bark used for *sgeru* 'palm wine'.

ferfer *noun* [masc] axe made from a wallaby's shoulder bone.

fersi *verb* whip. *saferf* 'Whip him!'

fethaksi
(1) *positional verb* be dipped in water. *biskar yare yfethgr.* 'The cassawa bag is dipped in the water.'
(2) *verb* dip in water, slowly put into water.

fetr *property noun* danger dangerous. *fetrthé ruga yé* 'It is a dangerous pig.' *fetr yam wäfiyokwr* 'That is a dangerous thing you do.'
Note: The danger may come from general health issues (urine on food, or rotten meat) or more from spiritual beliefs (hearing a bird of paradise in the night, walking carelessly along a story place)

fewa *noun* [fem] smell. *fewa kafar* 'big stinking smell'
Note: usually an unpleasant smell, but *fewa* can be modified by *namä* 'good'.

fezwär *proper noun* place name.

ffrg *property noun* untidy.

fi *pronominal* he, she, they (ABS).

fi *conjunction* but.

fiaroro *noun*
(1) [fem] flute (panpipe).
(2) [fem] Rainbow Bee-eater. ◇ *Merops ornatus*

fid *noun* [masc] bush cane, whip vine, false rattan. ◇ *Flagelaria indica*
Note: used as rope, *fid ŋad* '*fid* rope'.

fidäth *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Garcinia sp*
Note: fruit eaten by cassowaries.

fifiya kwan *noun* [fem] whistling.

fifize *noun* [fem] Spotted Whistling Duck, Pacific Black Duck. ◇ *Dendrocygna guttata*

fifrsi *verb* clean.

fifthaksi
(1) *verb* be lying straight. *kabe yfifthgr.* 'The man lies down straight.'
(2) *verb* lie down straight. *käfifth* 'you lie down!'

figthksi *verb* lick.

fiknsi *verb* touch.

fikum *noun* [masc] palm type. ◇ *Cycas ciarciarnalis*

find *noun* [masc] giant glassfish. ◇ *Parambassis gulliveri*

finzo *noun* [masc] lorentz's archerfish. ◇ *Toxotes lorentzi*

fira *noun* [masc] betelnut.

firaksi *verb* take out or pull out of a trap, fishnet, fishhook. *nze kofä zzarfa yfirkwé.* 'I take the fish out of the net.' *nze shirt Ivann yafirakwé.* 'I take Ivan's shirt off him.'

firra *proper noun* place name.

firt *noun* dish, plate.
Note: possibly a loanword

fis *kinship noun* [masc] husband.

fisi ftft *noun* [masc] bee type, long nozzle entrance to hive, bees are a bit brown.

fisifr
(1) *noun* [masc] insect type.

Note: green, looks a bit like a grasshopper.

(2) *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Miliusa sp*

fisor *noun* [fem] turtle.

fisor bthan *proper noun* place name.

fisor fefe *noun* [fem] turtle.

fithak *noun* [fem] ashes.

fithwogsi *verb* take out from underneath.
Note: opposite of *tharasi*

fitot *noun* [masc] yam vine stick (long).
Note: is planted later when the *zafazafa* sticks are not long enough for the vine.

fitwä *noun* [masc] taro sucker, taro shoot.

fiyam *also:* **fiyama** *interjection* Get well!.
Note: This is to be shouted at somebody who is sick (bodily sickness).

fiynsi *middle verb* line up.

fiyoksi *verb* make. *karo wäfiyokwr dbän wthen.* 'She made an oven at *dbän wth.*' *wri trikasi thwafiyokr.* 'He made up drunk stories.'

fiyor *noun* bow with a slight curve only (in opposition to nr).

fk *noun* [fem] buttocks.

fkasi

(1) *verb* peel. *ausif duga yfkathr.* 'The old woman peels the taro.' *wawa zafkath!* 'You peel the yam!'

(2) *middle verb* masturbate. *käfkath!* 'Wank yourself!'

fmr *noun* [masc] grass type. ◇ *Poaceae sp*

fobäwé *also:* **fobäwä** *adjective* medium sized.

fofosa *noun* [fem] heart.

fofosa nzigfu *noun* [masc] magic stone for gardening (especially yams).

fofot *also:* **fofot nge** [flex] *kinship noun* single child, only child.

fodä *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Gnetum Gnemon*
see: **tuth**

fogsi *prefixing verb* dawn, to get dark, be out/away. *zbär fthé zufogwrm* 'When the night was breaking (on her).' *fi yfogwr.* 'He is away.' *zbär zwäfonz.* 'nightbreak caught me.'

fokam mnz *noun* [fem] grave house.

fokufoku *noun* [fem] small patch of vegetation or forest.
Note: This word implies that it was 'left behind'. It usually refers to a patch of grass which has not been burnt or cut, or a small patch of forest surrounded by parts that have been cut down.

fokusi *prefixing verb* miss out. *nzä nomai wofkunzr.* 'I always miss out.' *nzä zwäfkur.* 'I missed out.'

for *noun* [fem] part of the land close to the river. *ŋarake for rä.* 'It is a rivergarden.'
Note: Area between the swamp and the river which is higher than the swamp area. It dries up early after the wet season. It is used for planting cassawa, taro and sweet potato

forak *proper noun* male personal name.

fortu *noun* [masc] scar.

fothabr *noun* thigh.

fothaksi *middle verb* take off the bag, put down the bag. *yare zäfothé.* 'I took of the bag.'

fothr *noun* [masc] eucalyptus type. ◇ *Xanthostemon suaveolens*
Note: used for timber (canoe, house).

fothr fr deya *noun* [flex] brown tree wallaby (red-legged pademelon). ◇ *Thylogale stigmatica*

fothr wokuthé *adjective* brown.

fowar *noun* [masc] Papuan Frogmouth. ◇ *Podargus papuensis*

fögwath *noun* [masc] snake type, tree snake, non-poisonous.

fönzsi *verb* burn, burn down. *ane kzi kwa yfönzr mnime fewama.* 'He will burn that barktray with fire because of the stench.' *yusi thäfofa.* 'He burned the grass.'

frafr *noun* [flex] corn, clavus (medical).

frar *noun* [fem] fishtrap; small basket that is inserted into the larger fishtrap.

frasi
(1) *property noun* hungry, hunger. *no frasi nrä.* 'we are thirsty.' *frasif wortmakwr.* 'I am very hungry. (lit.: hunger cuts me.)'
(2) *noun* [plural] food of different kinds.

frathn *noun* [plural] coconut, the soft fibre the outer skin the coconut shell; it is often chewed by children.

frazsi *transitive verb* extinguish. *komnzo tayo kwofrä mni frazsima.* 'I was weak from extinguishing the fire.' *krär yarinakwrath noku frazsir.* 'They poured Kava for him to stop his anger.'

fräsi *verb* singe, burn hair off, heat in the flames.

frdth *noun* [masc] tree type, poison tree. ◇ *Derris pinata*
Note: The roots are heated, smashed with a stick and then washed out in a waterhole in order to stun the fish.

fren *noun* [masc] airplane.
Note: loanword from English.

frezsi
(1) *verb* pull up, take out of water. *kakauna efrezrake gardfo.* 'We took the things out of the canoe.'
(2) *middle verb* come up from the river. *zwarifa ŋafrezath thoro.* 'He came up from *zwari* to *thoro*.'

frfr *noun* [masc] children's toy bullroarer.
Note: little toy made entirely from the coconut leaf, shaped like a bow, string attached to one end. Children swing in around and it makes a buzzing noise.

frk *noun* [fem] blood.

frkat *noun* [masc] stick (short and thin).

frksi *middle verb* brag, boast, to be proud. *fi kwafrkwr.* 'I bragged (about himself).' *nze fi yafrkwé.* 'I brag about him.'

frkthé *adjective* red.

frme *manner adverb* straight.

frmnzsi
(1) *verb* prepare, fix. *bicycle yafrmnzr.* 'He prepares his bi-

cycle.'
(2) *verb* bless. *ŋafyf kwa nafrmnzr.* 'God will bless you.'

frnzaksi *verb* uproot, pull out. *naf biskar yfrnzakwr.* 'He rips out the cassava.'

frsi *verb* bite, pinch. *kabothf zwäfrnz.* 'The snake bit me.' *nze fi kwa yfrthé.* 'I will pinch him.' *zürnf si wafrthé.* 'The smoke is biting my eyes.'

frsth *noun* [masc] stick (long and thin).

frthar *noun* [fem] echidna (short-beaked echidna). ◇ *Tachyglossus aculeatus*

frtotobe *noun* [masc] long-jawed river garfish / fly river garfish. ◇ *Yenarchopterus caudovittatus / zenarchopterus novaeguineae*

frü *quantifier* alone. *frü rä* 'she is alone'

frzfth *property noun* rushing around, restlessness.

frzsi *middle verb* catch fish with a net. *kabe kafar thwawekwrmth frzsir.* 'They invited the old people for catching fish.'

fs *noun* [fem] greenback gudgeon. ◇ *Bunaka gyrinoides*

fsan *proper noun* place name.

fsgsi *verb* blow. *kufraru zufsgwrm.* 'He was blowing the bamboo flut.' *füsfüs yfsgwr.* 'the wind is blowing.'

fsisi *verb* count. *ane wawa fsisimär ethn.* 'These yam have not been counted.' *nafa wawa efsinzrth.* 'They are counting the yams.' *kar rnzam nŋafsinzre?* 'How many place names did we go through?'

fsknsi *middle verb* doze. *krüfrma nzä komnzo kwafsknwé.* 'I was only dozing because of the cold.'

fthaksi *verb* take out of the fire.

fthé *also:* **thé -** *also:* **frthé** *conjunction* when.

fthi *proper noun* place name.

fthiker *proper noun* place name.

ft *noun* [masc] tree (dried up and without leafes).

fta *numeral* thirty-six, 36, six to the power of six.

ftfaksi *verb* pull off, take off. *sgu zaftf!* 'Pull the lid off!'

ftrak *noun* [masc] banana leaf (green).

fuay *noun* [masc] goanna in the forest (very big).
Note: there is a *gamo* 'spell, magic' connected with this goanna; one should not mentioned the name in the presences of someone who owns this spell. In this case, people use the word *fz kabe* 'forest man' instead.

fufsi *verb* reheat.

fuk *noun* [plural] group. *nabi fukme erfikwr.* 'The bamboos grows in a group.' *kabe fuken ykogr.* 'The man stands in a group.'

fumaksi *verb* pull out, pull out something that was tightly in a hole, a thorn in the skin or a cloth in a hole. *fakarsok yfumakwa taurifa.* 'He pulled out the arrow from the wallaby.' *wagafa safum.* 'He pulled him out by the legs.'

funu *noun* [masc] iron sheet.
Note: from Motu?

furfur *noun* [plural] babies (hu-

mans or animals).

futh *noun* [masc] greenbrier, red china wood. ◇ *Smilax lanceolata*
Note: medical use, liquid from stem is applied to wounds.

futhfaksi *verb* flood, inundate, spill over. *nof zane bad zufuthfakwr.* 'The water was flooding this piece of land.' *no trkrf mnz thäfuthfa anema fi ŋafänizath nä karfo.* 'The hightide has flooded the houses and therefore they have moved to another place.' *yirme tosayf zwäfuthf.* 'The baby has pissed on me. (lit. 'flooded me with urine')'

futhfuth *noun* [plural] scraps (of food).

füfü *noun* [masc] sago scraps.

fümnzaksi *verb* pull over, pull down a tree that has been cut.

fünz *noun* [plural] muscles in the upper arms.

füri *proper noun* place name.

füsfüs *noun* [masc] wind, breeze.

füsri *adjective*
(1) wet (about ground).
(2) healthy (about plants). *biskar füsri erfikwr.* 'The cassavas are growing healthy.'

füth *noun* [fem] yam (the rotten yam that is left in the ground from planting).

fütha *proper noun* place name.

füthfüth *noun* [plural] new born birds (without feathers).

füwä *noun* [fem] lagoon, open large inundated plain.

fyüsi *verb* swallow.

fz *noun* [fem] forest.

fz deya *noun* [flex] forrest wallaby (dusky pademelon). ◇ *Thylogale brunii*

fz minz *noun* [fem] strip of forest.

fz tharthar *noun* [fem] edge of the forest.

fzasi *verb* dig out.

fzenz *kinship noun* [fem] wife.

fzfz *noun* [fem] small forest.

fzü *property noun* movement of one's arms.
Note: This word is used to express the concept of 'swim'

G

gaba *noun* [fem] eating yams.

gabäm *noun* [fem] yam type.

gaberam *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Syzygium sp*

gabrim *property noun* milky, dirty liquid.

gabrku *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Ficus septica*
Note: medical use

gabuyam *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Syzygium furfuraecum*

gafar *noun* [fem] spoon-snouted catfish. ◇ *Doiichthys novaeguineaee*

gafas *noun* [masc] kundu drum (medium sized drum).

gafi *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Syzygium sp*
Note: edible fruit

gaga *noun* [plural] hand, finger.

gaga yam *noun* [masc] finger print.

game *noun* [masc] turner made from bamboo split bamboo.

gamo *noun* [masc] magic, spells (only words).

gan gan *noun* [masc] White-bellied

Sea Eagle.

gani *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Endiandra brassii*
Note: fruit is eaten by cassowaries

gani zfth *proper noun* place name.

ganigani *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Endiandra sp*

gar *noun* [masc] waterlily.

gar *noun* [fem] coconut, coconut with a new shoot growing out of it, ready for planting.

garafü *noun* [masc] blackboard tree, milkwood pine. ◇ *Alstonia scholaris*
Note: used for glue

garamgaram *property noun* sweet-talk, persuasive, cajoling. *nzürnaf garamgaram srethkäf.* 'The spirit woman started to be nice and friendly towards him.'

garda *noun* [masc] canoe.

gardagarda *noun* [masc] tree type.
Note: the fruit of this tree has a long shape which splits open lengthwise and resembles the shape of a canoe.

garsi *verb* break. *mor thugawrmth.* 'They were breaking the necks.' *zeda ŋagarwa.* 'He broke his crotch.'

garthrothro *noun* [fem] Green Pygmy-Goose.

gartan nabi *noun* [fem] bow type, bamboo points are left on the outside, the bowstring stays on the the bow.

garur *also:* **sibuni garur** *noun* [masc] Australian White Ibis. ◇ *Threskiornis molucca*

gasn mitafo *noun* [masc] holy spirit.

gaso *adjective* wrong, not good, false.

gastor *noun* [fem] striped snakehead. ◇ *Channa striata*
Note: introduced species

gatha fam mär *phrase* you're welcome !.

gatha gatha *adjective* bad.

gatha kar *noun* [fem] rubbish.

gathiksi *verb* leave, stop. *bné fi sagathife!* 'You leave him!' *bä zägathif!* 'You stop it!'

gaugau *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Cleisthantos myrianthus*
Note: leaves used to roll smoke

gauyé *also:* **gauya** *adjective* young, fresh. *ŋazi gauyé* 'fresh coconut'

gaw *noun* [masc] Nankeen Night Heron. ◇ *Nycticorax caledonicus*

gawad *noun* [masc] yam, long yam type.
Note: inside is white

gawe *proper noun* place name.

gäw *noun* [fem] fish harpoon (arrow to shoot fish).

gb *noun* [fem] palm type. ◇ *Livistona sp*
Note: used for flooring, fruit is eaten

gd *noun* [fem] mud, clay or soil mixed with water.

ges *noun* [masc] leech (water).

ggarsi znsä *noun* [fem] garden work, cutting down small trees and stick to clear an area for gardening.

ggarsi znsä *noun* [fem] clearing the forest, cutting the sticks.

ggrb *noun* [fem] coconut, small and unripe, sometimes eaten by

children.

gib tawasri *noun* [fem] bow bracer made from woven cane.

gid *noun* [masc] soft flesh|soft skin at the back of the thigh, underneath the buttocks.

gidum *noun* [masc] plant type.
Note: used for grey color

girfurin *noun* [masc] spoon (old term).

giri *noun* [fem] knife.

gith *noun* [masc] sago wrapper made from leaves.

gitawa *noun* [masc] rattan type.
Note: grows along the river

gmärbü *noun* [masc] ant (big black).

gmigmi *noun* [fem] side of the body (at the height of the navel).

gnor *noun* [fem] striped-cheek gudgeon. ◇ *Bostrychus strigongenys*

gnz *noun* [masc] fish type, black bass, black barramundi.

go *noun* [masc] grass type, river pandanus type. ◇ *Cyperus sp*
Note: used for weaving and tieing

gobr *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Garcinia sp*
Note: yellow fruit, used in traps for cassowaries or bushfowls

gogath *noun* [masc] Yellow-faced Myna. ◇ *Mino dumontii*

gogär *noun* [masc] bird type (black-faced bowerbird?).

gogo zär *noun* [fem] a shady place where the wallabies sleep during the heat of the day..

gogwrethar *noun* [masc] tree type.

gomar *noun* [fem] Greater Bird of Paradise. ◇ *Paradisaea apoda*

gon *noun* [plural] hips.

gonz *noun* [fem] black, drie clay pieces.

gonz *proper noun* place name.

gosrin wawa *noun* [masc] storing yams (to be eaten during wet-season / from about march on).

gr *noun* [masc] sling knot (pull itself tight like a hangman's knot).

gra *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Cynometra sp*

gragr *noun* [masc] Darter. ◇ *Anhinga novaehollandiae*

grau *also:* **graw** *noun* [plural] red cloud.

grä

(1) *property noun* slow, soft. *wämneme kwa ynäbüzre kwot e gräthé kräkor.* 'We beat it with a stick until it becomes soft.' *nzigm nimame zfrärm gräme zufarwrme.* '(The weeds) were sticky, we cut it slowly.'

(2) *property noun* simplicity, easy. *keke thkarthé rä, gräthé znsä rä.* 'It is not hard, it is easy work.'

gräthé *adjective* soft, easy.

gri *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Acacia sp*

grigri *noun* [masc] worms, maggots.

grnzri *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Chantium sp*
Note: edible fruit.

grri *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Acacia sp*
Note: bark used for *sgeru* 'palm wine'

gru *noun* [masc] shooting star.

gthath *also:* **gnas** *noun* [masc] Red-winged Parrot.

◇ *Aprosmictus erythropterus*

gthzi *noun* [masc] armpit.

gu kwan *noun* [fem] barking noise.

gunana *proper noun* place name. *rouku gunanan ämnzer.* 'They stay at Rouku Gunana (old Rouku).'
Note: loanword from Motu ('old).

gursi *verb* break off (banana or pineapple).

GW

gwara *noun* [masc] goanna type (black and white colors).

gwargwar *noun* [fem] mud.

gwä *noun* [masc] mosquito.

gwä kwik *noun* [fem] malaria (lit. 'mosquito sickness').

gwänm *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Syzygium furfuraceum*
Note: edible fruit.

gwgarithar *also:* **gugwarithar** *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Casia sp*

gwfiyar *also:* **gufiyar** *noun* [fem] fishtrap (woven bamboo basket).

gwigwi *noun* [fem] snake type.
Note: non-poisonous snake called 'pencil snake'

gwodin *noun* [masc] saw method making fire.

gwonyame *noun* [fem] clothes.

gwra *noun* [masc] macculloch's rainbowfish. ◇ *Melanotaenia maccullochi*

gwre *also:* **gwregwre - *also:* fath gwregwre** *noun* [fem] Yellow-faced Myna. ◇ *Mino dumontii*

gwth
(1) *noun* [fem] bird nest. *ymd ŋafänzr gwth znfo* 'The bird flies to the nest.'
(2) *noun* [fem] pocket in one's shirt or trousers.

gww *noun* bird type.

I

ikan lele *also:* **lele** *noun* [masc] walking catfish. ◇ *Clarias batrachas*
Note: from Malay

K

kabe *noun* [masc] man.

kaboth *noun* [masc] snake (general).

kabothkaboth *noun* [masc] tree type, tuckeroo. ◇ *Lepisanthes sp*
Note: used for timber (house post)

kadakada *noun* [masc] yamcake.
Note: This yamcake is made by cutting yams into thin slices and then mixing it with coconut. It is wrapped in banana leaves and baked in the oven.

kadaŋar *adjective* rich, wealthy.

kadikafu *proper noun* male personal name.

kafar *adjective* big.

kafara *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Bromeleacea sp*
Note: used for wrapping food

kafusi *noun* [fem] cup.

Note: loanword from English

kaimät *kinship noun* [fem] sister-in-law.
Note: This word used reciprocally between a woman and the sisters of her husband instead of their name.
see: **nakimi**

kakru ŋare *also:* **kru ŋare** *noun* [fem] Australian Magpie. ◇ *Gymnorhina tibicen*

kaksi *verb* opening by splitting something. *yamr kwa nkasinzé ebaren.* 'I will look for lice on your head. (lit. 'split your head/hair for lice')'

kam *noun*
(1) [fem] bone (in the body).
(2) [masc] bone (outside of body).

kamfa *locational* behind, at the back. *wämne boba kamfa bikogr.* 'The tree stands there at the back.'

kanathr *proper noun* place name.

kanmotha *noun* [fem] snake type (river).

kanzkanz *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Clematis novo-guinensis*
Note: medical use, leaves are put on skin (grille), forehead (headache), nose (running nose)

kanzkanz *property noun* crooked, bent.

kanzsi *middle verb* wait for some event to happen.

kar *noun* [fem] place, village.

karaf *noun* [masc] paddle.

karesa *noun*
(1) [masc] roof.
(2) [masc] tree type, paperbark. ◇ *Melaleuca sp*
Note: bark used for roofing and as torch

karesa kwosi *proper noun* place name.
Note: story place; near to ntmäntr

karesa ymd *noun* [masc] Brown-backed Honeyeater . ◇ *Lichmera indistincta*

kargu *noun* [flex] big pig.

kari *also:* **karikari** *noun* [flex] wounded animal.

kari draudrau *noun* [fem] Large-tailed Nightjar. ◇ *Caprimulgus macrurus*

karifthe *proper noun* place name.

karksi
(1) *middle verb* pull. *ni ŋakarkwre.* 'We are pulling.'
(2) *verb* take away from somebody. *sukufa fi sukarkwé.* 'I took the tobacco from him.'

karku *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Pouteria sp*
Note: used for timber

karo *noun*
(1) [fem] ground oven.
(2) [masc] anthill.

karo bith *noun* [masc] bee type, builds the hive in anthils.

karo nabi *noun* [masc] insect type.

karokaro *noun* [masc] goanna type (lives in the grassland).

karwäsi *adjective* false. *karwäsi trikasi rä.* 'It is a liar story.' *karwäsi nawänzr bun.* 'He creates lies for you.'

kasi *noun* [fem] side of the body (where the hip bones is).

kasraba *also:* **raba** *noun* [fem] gas lamp.
Note: loanword from English ('gas lamp'), somewhat ar-

chaic

kath *noun* [masc] ankle.

kathrkathr *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Phylanthus philipinenso*
Note: edible fruit, leafes used for rolling smoke

kata *noun* [masc] bamboo knife.

katakata *noun* [masc] grass type, sedge. ◇ *Carex sp*
Note: used for cleaning, mixed with ashes and used like a sponge, the grass has sharp edges like the bamboo knife
see: **kata**

katawiwi *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Magnifera sp*
Note: edible fruit (like mango)

katan *adjective* small.

katan zafat *noun* [fem] saturday.
Note: loanword from Hebrew ('shabát' = Saturday)

katif *noun* [fem] trout mogurnda. ◇ *Mogurnda mogurnda*
Note: loanword from Wara
see: **ŋarufay**

katra *noun* [masc] palm type. ◇ *Hydriastele sp*
Note: used for flooring

kaubu *noun* [fem] Black Butcherbird. ◇ *Cracticus quoyi*

kaukau *noun* [masc] mouth almighty or sande's mouth almighty. ◇ *Glossamia aprion or Glossamia sandei*

kaumb *proper noun* male personal name.

kaunze *proper noun* tribe name.
Note: describes some of the people from Rouku, Mifne and Garaita whose ancestors came together from Komo

kauwira *noun* [masc] drum, big drum.

kawitha *noun* [flex] paralysed person.

kay *noun* [masc] shell, large, white shell from the ocean.

kayé *temporal* yesterday, tomorrow.

käfe *noun* [masc] Sulfur-crested Cockatoo. ◇ *Cacatua galerita*

kämgsi *verb* block, close off.

käwä *noun* [fem] curved carving tool.

käworkäwor *noun* [masc] Dollarbird. ◇ *Eurystomus orientalis*

kd *noun* [masc] star.

kdewawa *noun* [masc] firefly.

kebikebi *noun* [plural] grille, fungal disease.

keke *negator* no.

kemar *noun* [masc] yam type.
Note: looks like sweet potato

kemäri *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Xanthostemon sp*

ker *noun* [masc] tail.

keräfi *noun*
(1) [masc] palm type. ◇ *Hydrastele sp*
Note: used for flooring, used for arrow tips
(2) [plural] floor.

keräfi kam *noun* [fem] coconut, dry coconut with yellow, greenish outer skin (between ngazi gauyé and ngazi tayo).

kerere *porperty noun* trouble. *kerere ŋafiyokwa.* 'He caused trouble.' *kafar kerere rä.* 'It is a big problem.'
Note: loanword from Motu

kerko *noun* [fem] headdress with long plaited strings.
Note: braided, long streaks

made from pandanus

kesri *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Melaleuca sp*
Note: The bark is used for roofing and as torch

kfuthak *noun* [fem] yam type.

kidara *noun* [masc] drum, big kundu drum.

kifa *noun* [masc] woven rattan. *kifa zurwr.* 'He has woven the kifa.'

kifikifi *noun* [masc] whistle, childrens toy.
Note: made from a rolled up coconut leaf

kiki tabrai *noun* [masc] evening star in the west, probably Venus.

kin *noun* [masc] tree type.

kirakira *noun* [plural] fence type.
Note: vertical sticks with many horizontal bamboos tied to it

kirg *proper noun* male personal name.

kiri *noun* [masc] tree type.

kirikiri *noun* [masc] club with a stone disc attached to the end of a handle.
Note: the stone disc has a star shape

kisr *noun* [masc] lizard type.

kithuma *noun* [plural] sago pulp.

kitamin *noun* [masc] wings of the cassowary.

kitr *noun* [masc] pandanus type. ◇ *Cyperus sp*
Note: grows along the river; used for weaving mats

kiwar *also:* **kiwara** *interjection* Good hunting luck!.
Note: This is shouted out after setting a trap, hanging a fish net or even when somebody goes out hunting. It wishes good hunting luck.

kma *particle* should, must. *markai nabikarä kma sfrärm.* 'He must have had a shotgun.' *ŋafyf kma kwrakor.* 'Father should have told me.'

kmsusu *noun* [masc] pandanus type. ◇ *Pandanus sp*
Note: grows on the high ground; used for weaving mats

knamthé *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Tetracera nudiflora*

knikni *noun* [fem] work.

knzun *property noun* parallel, straight.

kofä *noun* [masc] fish.

kofäkofä *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Acacia sp*

komnzo *manner adverb* only, just, still. *komnnzo käms!* 'You just sit down!' *komnzo zokwasi.* 'only speech, just language' 'Komnzo language'

komo *proper noun* place name.

kondomarin *proper noun* name for kanum and marind people.

kor dirdir *noun* [masc] Orange-breasted Fig-parrot. ◇ *Cyclopsitta gulielmiterti*
Note: "kor" doesnt mean anything
see: **dirdir**

kore *noun* [fem] area which is bumpy and uneven because of running water during the wet seasin. *kore bad rä. korethé bad rä.* 'It is swampy ground.'

korifr *adjective* tall (of a person).

korsido *noun* [fem] yam type.

kothabi katr *proper noun* place name.

kowi *noun* [flex] chicken (Domestic

Fowl).

krara *noun* [masc] eclectus parrot (male). ◇ *Eclectus roratus*
see: **tiŋa**

kratr *also:* **kkratr** *locational* in between. *with kratren wkogr.* 'She stands between the banana stems.'

krär *noun* [masc] kava. ◇ *Piper methysticum*
Note: This plant is used for its narcotic effects. The root is ground and mixed with water. Alternatively the root can be chewed.

krärkrär *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Leea indica*
Note: The root of this plant has a medical use. It is cooked and applied to wounds, especially of dogs.

krätär *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Oriocalis sp*
Note: This plant is used for timber (paddles, stairs)

krbu *noun* [masc] swelling. *fäk krbukarä yé* 'He has got a swollen jaw.'

krgtüri *noun* [masc] rat type (that lives in the coconut).

krgu *noun* [masc] phallocrypt made from a shell. *krgukaränzo bikogr.* 'He stands there only with his shell (and otherwise naked).'
Note: Shell from the ocean that is used to cover the male private parts.

krkafu *noun* [masc] Little Pied Cormorant. ◇ *Microcarbo melanoleucos*

krn *noun* [masc] yamcake.
Note: This yamcake is made by scraping yams with a shell. It is then mixed with coconut, wrapped in banana leaves and baked in the ground oven.

kromäti *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Amomum sp*
Note: The fruit is edible and tastes like passionfruit.

krsi *verb* block off. *kafar trkren ttfö zukrkwrmth.* 'When the flood is high the were blocking off the creeks.' *srima kabeyé kar zfkrkwrth.* 'The spies blocked off the village.'

krüfr *property noun* cold, chill.

ksi kar *noun* [fem] bush, wilderness, bushy place.

kt *noun* [masc] grass type.

kti tharthar *noun* [masc] Spangled Drongo. ◇ *Dicrurus bracteatus*

ktikti *noun* [masc] Red-cheeked Parrot. ◇ *Geoffroyus geoffroyi*

ktkt *property noun* crowded, close, in a group. *keke kwofiyak. wämne ktktme ekogr.* 'I did not walk (through). The trees stand very close.' *kabe kt kt rä.* 'The people are crowded.'

kufak *noun* [fem] Helmeted Friarbird.
Note: The call of this bird in the afternoon triggers melancholy. People remember those who are away or have died.

kufraru *noun*
(1) [fem] bamboo pipe.
(2) [fem] Black-backed Butcherbird. ◇ *Cracticus mentalis*

kuku *noun* [fem] Barking Owl. ◇ *Ninox connivens*

kukufasi *noun* [fem] Little Shrike-

thrush, Grey Shrike-thrush. ◇ *Colluricincla megarhyncha or Colluricincla harmonica*
Note: This bird announces the death of a person.

kukuma *proper noun* male personal name.

kuma *noun* [flex] yams baked in the oven.

kumda *noun* [fem] basket, bag with a flat bottom.
Note: woven from *zras*

kumgsi *verb* smell.

kumter *noun* [masc] Channel-billed Cuckoo. ◇ *Scythrops novaehollandiae*

kursi *verb* split something lengthwise. *nabi thrakurwrth.* 'They will split the bamboo.' *fam wkurnakake fä. zane ruga mane yé nafanm yé.* 'We made up our minds. As for this pig, it is for them.' *ni nafä bad wkurwre.* 'We are sharing a border with them.'

kuruba *noun* [masc] iron rod.
Note: loanword from English 'crowbar'

kut *noun* [fem] trap. *kut migsir fof zefaré.* 'I set off to hang the trap.'
Note: made out of a bent bamboo and a loop (string) that is under tension

kütü *noun* [masc] Southern Crowned Pigeon. ◇ *Goura scheepmakeri*

ky *noun* [fem] yam type.

kyu *also:* **kiyu** *negator* no.
Note: used mostly by older speakers

kzi *noun* [masc] tray.
Note: canoe shaped tray made from bark, that is tied on both sides

KW

kwa *also:* **ka**
(1) *particle* future marker. 'keke kwa ŋazime ethafrakwr.' *You will not mix it with coconut.*
(2) *interjection* wait. *naf nagayé thäkor "kwa! komnzo kwa!"* 'She said to the children "Wait! Just wait!"'

kwafaf *property noun* flat. *wawa kwafafthé rä.* 'The yam tuber is flat.'

kwaikr *proper noun* place name.

kwan
(1) *noun* [fem] voice, shout. *katan kwanzo yanor.* 'It only makes a small sound.' *amen kwan wänor.* 'She said 'Amen"
(2) *prefixing verb* [no infinitive] shout, emit a sound. *ŋarsen yannor gardar.* 'He shouts out at the river for a canoe.' *fthé sakwr gwonyamen o festhen o wämnen keke kwa srannor.* 'If you hit it against the clothes or body or a tree, it will not make a sound.'

kwanm *particle* maybe, expresses uncertainty about sth. in the future. *kabe kwanm yak.* 'Maybe the man will go.'

kwanz ebar *noun* [fem] bald head.

kwarakwara *noun* [fem] Hooded Pitta. ◇ *Pitta sordida*
Note: This is a seasonal bird. It is said to announce the time for the yam harvest.

kwarikwari ebar *noun* [fem] top of the head.

kwarikwari efoth *noun* [masc] noon, midday.

kwark *adjective* late, deceased. *nzwamnzrm fof oroman kwarka.* 'We stayed with the late old man.' *subam kwark fä sfrärm mayawama.* 'There was late Subam from the Mayawas.'

kwarkari *proper noun* [plural] name for kanum speaking people.

kwarsa *noun* [fem] Black-billed Brush Turkey. ◇ *Talegalla fuscirostris*

kwarthabr *noun* [masc] bark.
Note: bark from any tree that sticks tightly and does not come off easily

kwath ŋare *also:* **koth ŋare** *noun* [fem] Torresian Crow. ◇ *Corvus orru*

kwathathr *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Tretracera sp*
Note: used for rope

kwathkwath *noun* [masc] tree type, fringetree. ◇ *Chionathus ramiflorus*
Note: The bark of this tree is used when chewing with betel, if there is no mustard available.

kwathkwath *property noun* hope, intention, hopeful. *bone kwathkwath boba gwanthnm.* 'You put your hopes towards here.' *kwathkwath yé bänmr nge namä zräkor.* 'He hopes that the child will get well.' *nzone kwathkwath efogwr emothdbo.* 'I am hoping for my sister.'

kwayan *noun* [fem] light, bright.

kwayankwayan *also:* **kukwayan** *noun* [fem] twilight, little bit of light.

kwayanthé *adjective* white, bright.

kwazä *noun* [fem] side of the torso, between armpit and heart.

kwazür *noun* [masc] narrow-fronted tandan. ◇ *Neosilurus ater kwazür kwrman kwa änathé.* 'I will eat the kwazür dish.'

kwazürkwazür *also:* **kukwazür** *noun* [masc] plant type (kamraj). ◇ *Helminthostachis zeylanica*
Note: The flowering of this grass signals that the fish is greasy; fish hooks and fish nets are painted with the juice from the roots of this plant to ensure a good catch.

kwä *adjective* good (old term; nowadays: namä).

kwedr *proper noun* place name.
Note: place between Rouku and Ufarua

kwf *noun* [masc] club (stone disc).

kwfi *noun* [fem] timespan, period. *etha kwfin kramare.* 'We will see in 3 days.' *rnzam kwfi thfthunzr?* 'How many days has he counted/marked? (lit. folded)'
Note: usually a day, but can be more

kwik *adjective* sick.

kwim *noun* [masc] tree type, black wattle, mangium. ◇ *Acacia mangium*

Note: used for bush rope

kwisi *verb* argue, debate, fight. *sway kwark fä ykwinza.* 'He argued against late sway.' *fäms fämsnzo fthé krakwinmth.* 'That is when one exchange man is argueing with the other.'

kwitnz *noun* [fem] yamhouse (yam are stored on the ground).

kwiyakwiya *noun* [fem] cassowary, young cassowary with brown or striped feathers. ◇ *Casuarius casuarius*

kwiysi *verb* leave alone. *sakwiyfth!* 'Leave him alone!'

kwodkwod *noun* [masc] corner, edge, side.

kwonam *noun* [masc] pandanus type, srew pine. ◇ *Pandanus spiralix*

kwosi *adjective* dead, rotten.

kwosi fr *noun* [flex] corpse.
Note: lit. "rotten stem"

kwosiya *noun* [masc] Black-faced Cuckoo-shrike, White-bellied Cuckoo-shrike. ◇ *Coracina novaehollandiae or Coracina papuensis*
Note: This bird announces the death of a person (*kwosi yé* means 'he is dead.')

kwot *manner adverb* properly, again.

kwr *noun* [masc] lime, calcium oxide.

kwrakwr *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Magnifera sp*

kwras *noun* [masc] Brolga.

kwrfar *noun* [masc] wallaby (big wallaby).

kwrkwr *noun* [fem] bushfire.
Note: loanword from Wára

kwrman *noun* [masc] dish, wrapped sago or cassava with a grease fish, baked in the ground oven.

kwrnar *noun* [fem] strength.

kwrro *noun* [fem] Blue-winged Kookaburra. ◇ *Dacelo leachii*

kwthenzsi *also:* **kwthesi** *verb* change, turn around. *garda kwot ykwthenzake ŋarsen.* 'We turned the canoe around in the river.' *nima be zakwther! zenathamane be katrikwé!* 'You change it and tell the story from today's point of view!'

kwthkwth *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Flinderisia sp*

kwtho *noun* [fem] handle.

kwthri *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Calophyllum sp*
Note: used for timber

M

madma *adjective* female.

madrari *noun* [masc] collarbone.

maf, mafa *interrogative* who (ERG.SG, ERG.NSG).

mafane, mafaneme *interrogative* whose (POSS.SG, POSS.NSG).

mafar *noun* [masc] fly river anchovy. ◇ *Thryssa rastrosa*
see: **zzuaku**

mafrr, mafä *interrogative* with whom (DU, PL).

mai *proper noun* male personal name.

maikasi

(1) *middle verb* wash. *kämayuf!* 'wash yourself!'

(2) *verb* wash. *thrthr thänmayuf*

nofo. 'She washed the intestines in the water.'

maiti *proper noun* male personal name.

maknsi *verb* store, keep.

makwri borsi *noun* [fem] hockey game.

mamu *noun* [masc] Torresian Imperial Pigeon.

manada *property noun* experienced, habit, get used to. *manada zé zäkor biskar dagonr.* 'She got already used to eating cassawa.'

manar *noun* [masc] decoration on the headdress at dances.
Note: sometimes feathers, sometimes a carved piece of wood or a figure which bounces up and down.

mane *interrogative* which, who (ABS).

maneme *interrogative* with what.

manziknsi *also:* **monziknsi** *middle verb* prepare, get ready. *wati zä wämnzr fof anema fof ŋanmonziknwr.* 'Okay, she stays here and therefore she prepares (herself).'

mar *noun* pandanus type.

marasi *verb* see. *kabef tauri zé samar.* 'The man saw the wallaby already.' *be kamaranze!* 'Look out for each other!'

mare *noun* [masc] fallen tree, usually across a creek.

maremare *noun* [masc] logs or pieces of banana stem which are used to delimit the edges of a large ground oven.

markai *noun* [flex] outsider, white person.
Note: anyone not from the area could be called *markai*, also someone from another part of PNG.

markai bith *noun* [masc] bee.
Note: This is the introduced asian bee.

markai nabi *noun* shotgun, rifle (lit. white man's bow).

markusi *middle verb* sneak around. *kemarkufth taurir!* 'Go an stalk the wallaby!'

maru *noun* [masc] sugar glider. ◇ *Petaurus breviceps*

marua *proper noun* male personal name.

maski *interjection* nevermind, leave it, let it be.
Note: loanword from Tok Pisin.

masu *proper noun* place name.

mathkwi *proper noun* male personal name.
Note: Mathkwi was the ancestor of the Mayawa clans in Rouku.

mathmath gamo *noun* [fem] spell, magic used to distract and confuse followers.

matai *noun*
(1) [masc] tree type, cornbeefwood. ◇ *Barringtonia apiculata*
Note: used for timber.
(2) [masc] freshwater longtom. ◇ *Strongylura krefftii*

matak *pronominal* nothing. *ni matak fthé nzfrärm. afayé fthé nagayé fäth thfrärm katakatan.* 'We were not born when the fathers were small kids.' *zane zöfthé nagayé mane erä matak fefe erä.* 'As for those young boys today, they really have nothing (no yam gardens).'

matar *manner adverb* quiet. *kar matar wthn.* 'The village lies quietly.' *matar komnzo käthfoth!* 'You just walk quietly!'

matuknsi *verb* wiggle, move.

mawan *noun* [masc] palm type.
Note: looks like sago, grows further downstream along the Morehead river.

mayawa *kinship noun* [flex] clan name.

mazo *noun* [fem] ocean, sea.

mä *interrogative* where.

mäbü
(1) *noun* [masc] tree type, eucalyptus. ◇ *Eucalyptopsis sp*
Note: used for timber and canoes.
(2) *proper noun* place name.

mägsi *distransitive verb* lead. *ane ŋathayé nzun kwanmägwrmth.* 'Those dogs were leading me.'

mäm *noun* [fem] food (taro, yam, long yam, cassawa).

mäme *noun* [fem] breast (male/female).

mänü *noun* [fem] wave in the ocean.

mänümänü *noun* [plural] waves, ripples.
see: **thäfäm**

mänzü *noun* [fem] initiation (for boys or girls).

märko *noun* [masc] stick, short and thick.

märmär *noun* [fem] slope, hill.

märmär kabe *noun* [plural] highlanders.

märmära *also:* **märmärane** *interjection* when you are realising that you have failed about something. *mämära biskar keke thäwona.* 'Oh no, I didn't plant any cassawas.'

märo *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Dillenia schlect*
Note: The bark of this plant put on centipede bites.

märo fisor *noun* [fem] turtle (red bellied).

märt *adjective* tight.

mäthzgsi *verb* spin (vertical axis).

mät *noun* [dual] twin, double.

mätraksi *verb* bring out, exit from a closed container, house. *samätr!* 'Bring him out!' *mnzfa ŋamätrakwa.* 'He came out of the house.'

mäyogsi *verb* repeat.

mdmd *property noun* inner anger, boil inside. *mdmdthé wamnzr.* 'I am sitting angrily.' *mdmdme saré miyogsima.* 'I gave it to him angrily because was always begging.'

mdriknsi *verb* shake.

meden *noun* [masc] button, badge.

medothr *noun* [masc] Brush Cuckoo.

mefa *noun* [masc] australian chashew. ◇ *Semecarpus sp*
Note: nuts are roasted in the fire.

mefa *noun* [fem] ritual to resolve an argument whereby the culprit is hit with a small yam on the head..

mefa thwä *noun* [fem] giant catfish. ◇ *Cochlefelis dioctes*

mefamefa *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Semecarpus sp*
Note: like *mefa* but the nuts are smaller.

mefath *noun* place name.

megé *also:* **mege** *noun* [masc]

coconut leaf, green leaf without the stalk..
Note: This is usually used as decoration one costumes or structures.

mekai *noun* [masc] tree type (okari nut).

menz *noun* [masc] story man.

merekin *noun* dish, plate.
Note: loanword from Motu.

mezsi *verb* bring, pick up. *nima zamesakoth safsfo.* 'They brought her away to Safs.'

mezü *noun* [flex] widow, widower.

mfr *noun* [masc] yam, long yam type.
Note: inside is white.

mgthksi *also:* **mogthksi**
(1) *positional verb* be in the mouth. *nzä kofä wamgthgr.* 'The fish is in my mouth.'
(2) *verb* feed. *naf ruga ymgthkwr.* 'He is feeding the pig.'

mgthksi nge *also:* **magthksi nge** *noun* [flex] adopted child.
Note: lit: "feeding child". Can combine with other kin terms like *nane* "older sibling"

mifum *noun* [masc] nasal septum ornament.

mifum *noun* [masc] toothed river herring. ◇ *Clupeoides papuensis* kubuna hardyhead. ◇ *Craterocephalus randi*

migsi
(1) *positional verb* be hanging. *nabi wmithgr.* 'The bow is hanging.' *yare wmithgr.* 'The bag is hanging.'
(2) *verb* hang. *nabi wmigwr faren.* 'He hangs the bow on the post.'

minmin *noun* [masc] Emerald Dove, Purple-tailed Imperial Pigeon.

minu *noun* [fem] woman without children.
Note: This word is usually used for a woman that does not have any children or cannot have children.

minzaksi *verb* paint. *ŋazime o zarume nzanzama nabi zminsakwé.* 'We paint the bow with coconut or candlenut because of this insect.'

minzü *manner adverb* very, too much. *gwth minzü warfo rä.* 'The bird's nest is very high up.'

miraksi *middle verb* wade. *nze non ŋamirakwé* 'I wade in water.'

misoksi *middle verb* look up. *kämisof ŋazi tayoma!* 'Look up because of dried coconut leafs!'

mith *noun* [fem] forehead, face.

mitafo *also:* **mitafa** *noun* [flex] spirit.
Note: mitaf in Wára

mitwasi *also:* **mirwasi** *middle verb* swing. *nzofatane zane waga ŋamitwanzath warfo.* 'On top, nzofat's legs were moving back and forth.'

miyakin *adjective* beautiful (person). *mane zokwasi miyakin fefe wärenzr budbo?* 'Which is the most beautiful language for you?' *ane miyakin yé.* 'This one is beautiful.' *kwayan woku miyakin thräkorth.* 'They say that white skin is beautiful.'

miyamr *property noun* ignorance, ignorant. *ni miyamr nrä.* 'We

don't know.'

miyanzsi *also:* **miyasi** *verb* fetch, get, pick up. *awe! bä nenmiyanzé.* 'Come! I am picking you up.'

miyatha *property noun* knowledge, knowledgeable. *fi miyatha yé.* 'He knows.' *miyathé kma thrarä.* 'They should know.'

miyo *also:* **miyö**
(1) *adjective* sweet. *yawi fthé miyo minzü kräkorth.* 'That is when the fruit become very sweet.'
(2) *property noun* desire, desirous, want, like. *nzä miyo worä bone kofä traksi.* 'I like the way you catch fish.' *keke zokwasi miyo nzä worärm.* 'I did not want to talk.'
(3) *noun* [fem] wish. *nzone miyo wabthakr.* 'You will fulfill my wish.'

mkukar *noun* [masc] sooty grunter. ◇ *Hephaestus species*

mni *noun*
(1) [fem] fire.
(2) [masc] firewood.
(3) [no infinitive] cook. *naf bun nasinzr.* 'He cooks it for you.' *nafan safüs!* 'Cook it for him!' *nafa wawa ŋasinzrth.* 'They cook the yams.'

mni thamin *noun* [fem] flame (fire tongue).

mnz *noun* [fem] house.

mnzärfr *proper noun* place name.

mnzeraksi *middle verb* fall asleep. *kabe zämnzer mni tak thartharen.* 'The man fell asleep next to the fireplace.'

mnzmnz *noun* [fem] trade store, business house, smaller house.

mnzoknsi *middle verb* dance, jump up and down (to the drumbeat).

moba *interrogative* where from (ABL).

mobo *interrogative* where to (ALL).

modo *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Maranthis corimbosa*
Note: Tree is burned to fertilise the ground.

mogu *property noun* concentrated, undisturbed. *biskar mnifnzo mogu kofkämgwrm.* 'I was concentrated on cooking the cassawa (lit.: The cassawa cooking closed me.)'

mokai *proper noun* male personal name.

mokaumokau *noun* [masc] vine type. ◇ *Solanum sp*
Note: very thorny, was used during *mänzü* for beating the initiates.

mon *proper noun* place name.

monegsi *verb*
(1) wait.
(2) take care of.

moni *noun* [plural] necklace (shell necklace).

monme *also:* **mon** *interrogative* how (INS).

monmthé *interrogative* how much, in what way. *monomthé no ŋarünza boba ysokwren?* 'How much rain fell in the last year?'

monz *noun* [fem] trench, ditch.

monzé *interjection* "yes" sign of agreement.

monzo *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Maranthes corymbosa*

mor *noun*

(1) [masc] neck.
(2) [masc] planting yams. *mor mane erä worsima ane fof erä.* 'As for those yams, they are for planting.'

moraksi
(1) *positional verb* be leaning. *rata ymothgr* 'The ladder is leaning.'
(2) *verb* lean. *nabi ymorakwr.* 'He leans the bow.'

moramora *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Celastraceae sp moramora wämne ane mane yé fefe zi. woku yfkathrth. srarwrth. nofo srärsiznwrth ane fof kräznob* 'The moramora tree is the one for body pain. They peel the bark. They will srape it. They will squeeze it in the water and drink it.'
Note: medical use, bark shavings mixed with water, has a soothing effect. used against tuberculosis.

mori no *noun* [masc] downpour, rain.
Note: Very strong rain which falls during the whole day.

morthr *noun* [fem] edge of the forest, if the forest continues on the other side (maybe intersected by creek, road or garden.

morumoru *noun* [fem] yam type, wild yam.
Note: the inside is yellow.

mosisi
(1) *positional verb* be gathered, piled. *wawa emosithgr.* 'The yams are gathered.'
(2) *verb* gather.

moth
(1) *noun* [fem] path, road.
(2) *prefixing verb* walk, come, go. *moreheadfo yako.* 'He goes to Morehead.'

mothknsi *verb* loosen, unfasten, jiggle.

motkn *adjective* tight, tightly.

moyosi *middle verb* wrinkle, shrink, grow thin.

möf *noun* [masc] Collared Imperial Pigeon.

mr *also:* **mer** *noun* [fem] brain.

mr *noun* [plural] part of a bee hive, third section of a bee hive, for some species this is used, for others it is considered to be waste.

mr dä *noun* [masc] loop of the trap (hold the wallaby by the neck).

mrab *noun* [masc] bamboo type. ◇ *Bambusa sp*

mrab zifär *noun* [masc] bamboo cage for roasting fish.

mräsi *middle verb* stroll, wander around aimlessly.

mreznsi *verb* straighten.

mrimri *noun* [fem] sweat. *mrimrinzo worä.* 'I am just sweating.'

mrinzsi *verb* chase, chase out.

mrmr *locational* inside.

mrn *kinship noun*
(1) [plural] family.
(2) [plural] clan.

mryoksi *verb* heat up.

mrzar *proper noun* Mayawa clan name in Rouku.

msaksi
(1) *prefixing verb* sit, dwell, live. *bä fi swamnzrm.* 'He was living there.' *ni namrn.* 'We two are sitting.' *matar komnzo*

gnamnzé! 'You just sit quietly!'

(2) *verb* set. *nge ymsakwé.* 'I sit the child down.' *sams!* 'You sit him down!'

msar *noun* [masc] ant (light brown).

msar yawi *noun* rice.
Note: lit. 'ant eggs'.

msarmsar *noun* [plural] part of a bee hive, the second section of a bee hive.
Note: the larvae look like this ants

mtheksi

(1) *positional verb* be raised. *kaboth tkwitkwi karä ythn. ebar yamthethn.* 'The snake lies rolled up. The (snake's) is lifted up.'

(2) *verb* lift up. *samtheth!* 'Lift him up!'

mthgasi *also:* **mthkasi** *verb* hollow out, scrape. *brubru ymthkanzr* 'He hollows out the drum.'

mthi *adjective* whole.

mthizsi *prefixing verb* rest. *gnämthif!* 'You rest!'

mthnzsi *verb* cause. *ane nof wtwtr womthnzr.* 'This water is making me itchy.' *be fi nokur samths!* 'You make him angry!' *nge naf sumthnzr frasi etfthar.* 'He caused the small boy to sleep hungry.' *fiwä rtmaksir kwamthnzr bänema keke yarenzrm.* 'He caused himself to get cut because he was looking.'

mthzagsi *verb* encircle, walk around sth.

mtök *noun* [masc] pouteria tree, eggfruit. ◇ *Pouteria firma*
Note: leaves used for rolling cigarettes.

muki *noun* [masc] sawfish. ◇ *Pritis microdon*

munz *noun* [fem] line.

muramura *noun* [masc] medicine.

muramura zn *noun* [fem] hospital. *see:* **ospitor**

mus *noun* [masc] leech.

muth *noun* [masc] grub, maggot (lives in the ground.

muthrata *proper noun* place name.
Note: also the name of a Sagara clan in Rouku.

müngsi *middle verb* mumble. *keke kwot nafan yarizrm fi ŋamüngwrm.* 'I didn't hear him properly, he was mumbling.'

münzaksi *verb* allow. *nze bä namünzakwé* 'I allow you (to do something)'

mür *noun* [masc] grass type. ◇ *Cyprus sp*
Note: used for weaving.

müraf *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Dodonia viscosa*
Note: used for arrows, yamsticks, handles.

müraf *noun* [masc] insect type.

müs *noun* [fem] underwater hole in the ground.

müsara *also:* **müsa** *property noun* restless movement.
Note: especially of a pig's restless movement in the cage.

müsinzsi *middle verb* glow, of embers in the fire. *mni rnz ŋamüsinzr.* 'The fire embers are glowing.'

müy *noun* [masc] wallaby (big forest wallaby).

müz *noun* [masc] phallocrypt.
Note: coconut shell for men to cover their private parts.

mwmw *noun* [fem] someone wearing a mourning costume.

myogsi *transitive verb* beg, ask for.

myuknsi
(1) *positional verb* be twisted. *fiyasi ymyuthgr.* 'The (rolled) rope is twisted.'
(2) *verb* twist. *thü myuknsikaf ythn* 'The rope lays already twisted.' *samyukn!* 'You twist it!'

mze *noun* [masc] python type.

N

nabi
(1) *noun* [masc] bamboo type. ◇ *Bambusa vulgaris*
(2) *noun* [masc] bow.

nabi thm *noun* [masc] Little Black Cormorant.

nadi *noun* [masc] stone.

naf, nafa *pronominal* s/he (3SG.ERG), they (3NSG.ERG).

nafan, nafanm *pronominal* for her/him (3SG.DAT), for them (3NSG.DAT).

nafane, nafanme *pronominal* his/her (3SG.POSS), their (3NSG.POSS).

nafr *also:* **näfr** *noun* [fem] sadness. *nzä nafrkarä worä.* 'I am sad.'

nafrr, nafä *pronominal* with her/him, with them (DU, PL).

nag *noun* [plural] grass skirt.

nagayé *kinship noun* [flex] children.

nagusi *verb* stab, poke, pierce. *nze tauri ynagunzé* 'I stab the wallaby'

naifa *noun* [masc] machete.
Note: loanword from English.

nainai *noun* [masc] sweet potatoe. ◇ *Ipomoea batatas*

nakimi *kinship noun* brother-in-law or sister-in-law.
Note: loanword from Motu.
see: **kaimät, ngom**

nakre *proper noun* female personal name.

naku *kinship noun* [masc] cousin.
Note: This word is used reciprocally between the children of thw sister.

nakum *kinship noun* [masc] brother-in-law.
Note: This word is used reciprocally between two men who are married to two sisters.

nakumgsi *middle verb* cool down. *bi kwa ŋanakumgwr.* 'The sago will cool down.' *kenakumth!* 'You cool down!'

nama *temporal* day before yesterday, day after tomorrow.

namä *adjective* good.

namä efoth *greeting* good day.

namä ezi *greeting* good morning.

namä zbär *greeting* good night.

namä zizi *greeting* good afternoon.

namgsi *prefixing verb* breath quickly, pant for air. *akamf wanamgwr* 'I am out of breath.' *wawa namgsikaf yé* 'the yam has cooled down' *ni nanamgrn.* 'We (2) are out of breath.'

nane *noun* [flex] elder sibling.

nanzm *noun* liver.

nari *property noun* greed. greedy.

narithé yé tawri yarisin 'He is greedy in sharing the wallaby meat.' *kabef dagonma nari ŋarär.* 'The man is greedy for food.'

narsi *verb* press down, step on. *ni ane süfi wnarwake.* 'We pushed down the floating grass.' *tütü, naf ane kidn zunarwrm mni.* 'The *tütü* was pressing down that fire.'

nasi *noun* [masc] yam, long yam.
Note: This is a general term. Long yam are used for special purposes (gifts, feasts, competitions).

nawan *noun* [fem] waterhole dug by pigs or deer.

nawin *noun* [masc] mountain grunter. ◇ *Hephaestus habbemai*

nä *indefinite* some, another.

nä bun *pronominal* another one, others (ABS). *nä buné trtha thwanathrmth yase.* 'Others were eating the meat raw.' *nä bun foba thwanorm "mon ŋafiyokwrth?"* 'The other ones shouted from there "what are you doing?"'

nä karen *locational* somewhere, at another place.

nä kayé *temporal* sometime, another day.

näbi *numeral* one.

näbüsi

(1) *verb* hit with a stick. *bi ŋanäbünzrth karese zfthen.* 'They are beating sago at *karesa zfth.*'

(2) *middle verb* rot, decompose. *rusa fä ŋanäbüzr nzmärma.* 'The deer is rotting there because of the grease.'

näbüsi wämne *noun* [masc] sago beating stick.

nänzüthzsi *verb* cover with soil, paint with mud, bury. *gwargwarme ŋanänzüthzrth wathma.* 'They paint themselves with mud for the dance.' 'yfö ŋatharinzath bänemr wth nänzüthzsir.' *They dug a hole to bury the intestines.*

nbrok *noun* [masc] mushroom, general term.

neba *locational* opposite.

nema *proper noun* male personal name.

nezä *manner adverb* in return.

nfi *noun* [masc] breadfruit. ◇ *Arthocarpus atilis*
Note: edible fruit

nfiyam *proper noun* female personal name.

ngath *kinship noun* [masc] mate, close friend.
Note: Usually two people who were born around the same time. Their parents decide that they will become close friends.

nge *kinship noun* [flex] child.

ngemäku *kinship noun* [flex] adopted parents.
Note: This word is used between the biological parents and adopted parents.

ngom *kinship noun* [masc] brother-in-law, sister-in-law.
Note: This word is used between a man and his sister's husband, his brothers and sisters instead of their names.
see: **nakimi**

ngth *kinship noun* [flex] younger

sister or brother.

ni *pronominal* we (1NSG.ERG and 1NSG.ABS).

nima
(1) *manner demonstrative* like this, in this way. *ruga ŋankwira nima sankuka bä byé* 'The pig was running towards us like (where) he was standing there.'
(2) *quotative naf nima "fzfo kmam gniyaké!"* 'He said "You don't go to the forest!"'

nimäwä *also:* **nimamewä** *manner adverb* likewise, the same way.

ninrr, ninä *pronominal* with me, with us (DU, PL).

nmoi *particle* always, often.

no
(1) *noun* [fem] water. *nor yak* 'he goes for water'
(2) *noun* [masc] rain. *kafar no kwarünzr* 'It rained a lot.' *nor yé* 'It will rain.'

no kzi *noun* [fem] tray for rain magic.
Note: originally folded from bark and employing bamboo water containers. More modern versions are made from a steel drum and bottles are used.

no nzigfu *noun* [masc] rainmaking stone.
see: **nzigfu**

no zr sam *noun* [plural] bubbles.

nokarnokar *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Fagraea racemosa*

noku *property noun* anger, angry.

nono *noun* [fem] breast.
Note: loanword from Nama.

nono *noun* [fem] yam type.

nömä *noun* [masc] yamcake made from long yams.

nönzsi
(1) *noun* [fem] low tide.
(2) *middle verb* recede, lower (water). *ttfö ŋanözr* 'The water level in the creek is going down.'

nr
(1) *noun* [fem] belly.
(2) *noun* [masc] bow with a round curve (in opposition to fiyor).

nr kwothkwoth *property noun* upset. *nafanema nr kwothkwoth worä.* 'I am upset because of him.' *nr kwothkwothf zwefaf.* 'I am really upset.'

nümä *temporal* last week, next week (more than 3 days).

nümgar *noun* [masc] crocodile.

NZ

nzabu *noun* [masc] wing.

nzafanzafa *noun* [fem] baby basket.

nzafar *noun* [plural]
(1) sky.
(2) cloud.

nzagum *noun* [masc] fly.

nzanza *noun* [masc] insect type that eats into bamboo and wood..

nzarga *noun* [masc] tree type (cardamom?). ◇ *Amomum aculeatum*

nzarm *noun* [flex] person who is one amongst several spouses.
Note: describes usually women who are married to one man, can be used as term of address.

nzarwan *also:* **nzarwon** *noun* [masc] barramundi. ◇ *Lates calcarifer*

nzaryé *noun* [masc] yamcake.

nzathi *noun* [fem] small crab (coin size).

nzä *pronominal* I (1SG.ABS). *nzä wamnzr.* 'I am sitting. / I am staying.'

nzäfö *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Polyosma integrifolia*
Note: The bark of this tree is used to deter snakes. Bark is chewed and spat at places which snakes should stay away from.

nzäthe *kinship noun* [flex] namesake.

nzäwi *noun* [fem] swamp; a large, flat area with shallow muddy water.

nze *pronominal* I (1NSG.ERG). *nze nmarwé.* 'I see you.'

nzenm *pronominal* for us (1NSG.DAT).

nzenme *pronominal* our (1NSG.POSS).

nzga *noun* [masc] vagina.

nzga yawi *noun* [masc] clitoris, vagina.

nzigfu *noun* [masc] magic stone for rainmaking.
see: **no nzigfu**

nzigm *property noun* sticky. *msar yawi nzigmnzo yé.* 'The rice is very sticky.' *nzigmthé wawa rä.* 'The yam is sticky.'

nzigom *noun* [flex] chain smoker.

nzikaka *also:* **dikaka** *noun* [masc] Whistling Kite.

nzinzimam *noun* [fem] dragonfly.

nzirt *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Miliusa sp*
Note: medical use, leafes are eaten against general sores.

nzm *noun* toe, finger.

nzmär *noun* [fem] grease.

nzmü *noun* [fem] part of the body just below the navel.

nznzn *property noun* smooth. *wawa nznznthé rä* 'the yam is smooth (-like).' *wawa nznzn karä rä* 'the yam is (with) smooth (-ness).' *komnzo nznznzo fthé fof kräkor.* 'that is when it would become just very smooth.'

nzokta *noun* [masc] doctor.
Note: loanword from English.

nzom *noun* [masc] tree type.
Note: This plant is used to make grass skirts.

nzone *pronominal* my (1SG.POSS).

nzone *interjection* 'sorry' or 'pity on you' sign of empathy towards somebody.

nzönz *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Terminalia megalocarpa*
Note: The nuts of this tree can be eaten. They have to be soaked in water for some days and then be baked in the ground oven.

nzönznzönz *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Terminalia sp*
Note: Similar to *nzönz*, but the nuts are too small to eat.

nzöyar *also:* **nzoyär** *noun* [fem] Fawn-breasted Bowerbird.

nzöyarnzöyar *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Elaeocarpus sp*

nzr *noun* [fem] dirty rest of liquid (in a water hole, bottle, oil bottle, fuel).

nzr nzr *noun* [fem] rest of liquid left in a bottle.

nzram *noun* [masc] flower.

nzrbu *noun* [masc]

(1) knuckle.
(2) joint of a bamboo stem.

nzu *noun* [masc] fibers in the yam tubers.

nzun *pronominal* for me (1SG.DAT).

nzü
(1) *noun* [fem] bird type.
Note: This bird lives by the river with white and brown feathers.
(2) *noun* [masc] type of plant.

nzürna ŋare *also:* **nzürna** *noun* [fem] spirit woman, devil woman, witch.
Note: These creatures can change their appearance and look like ordinary people. They often feature in local stories.

nzürna wath *noun* [fem] type of dance.
Note: This is the dance of the people from Rouku and Garaita.

Ŋ

ŋabram *also:* **ŋabrm** *noun* [masc] greenback mullet. ◇ *Liza subviridis*

ŋad *noun* [masc] rope.

ŋafe *kinship noun* [masc] father.
see: **afa**

ŋame *kinship noun* [fem] mother.
see: **ama**

ŋamün *noun* [masc] papuan black snake (big).

ŋanz *noun* [fem] row in the garden.

ŋarake *noun* [fem] fence, garden.

ŋarde *manner adverb* for the first time.

ŋare *noun* [fem] woman.

ŋareŋare *noun* [masc] plant type, wild vanilla. ◇ *Vanilla sp*

ŋare wthwth *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Helica latifolia*
Note: This plant should not be used for gardening. Children are prohibited to bring its fruit to the garden. It is said to attract pigs.

ŋarmür *proper noun* place name, creek north of Rouku.

ŋarŋar *noun* [fem] bamboo pieces for paddling.

ŋarr *noun* [flex] bandicoot.

ŋarrŋarr *noun* [masc] grass type.
Note: bandicoots build a nest out of this grass.

ŋars *noun* [fem] river.

ŋars ymd *noun* [masc] White-throated Honeyeater or Large-billed Gerygone.
Note: This bird informs people about an impending flood during rainy season, lit. 'river bird'. ◇ *Melithreptus albogularis or Gerygone magnirostris*

ŋarufay *noun* [fem] trout mogurnda. ◇ *Mogurnda mogurnda*
see: **katif**

ŋasarü *noun* [plural] star formation, small group of stars.

ŋatha *noun* [flex] dog.

ŋathaŋatha *noun* [masc] bronze quoll. ◇ *Dactylopsila trivirgata*
Note: barks like a dog.

ŋathaŋatha *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Poaceae sp*

ŋatr *noun* [fem] string.

ŋatr si *noun* [masc] rope from a thick vine. used for example

to tie the bark to the posts. *ŋatr si ane fof yé.* 'This is the rope.'

ŋazäthe *proper noun* place name.

ŋazi *noun* [fem] cocos nucifera.

ŋaziŋazi *noun* [masc] grass type. ◇ *Exocarpus largifolius*
Note: This grass is put on the flowers of a coconut when it flowers for the first time.

ŋazi dirdir *noun* [masc] Red-flanked Lorikeet. ◇ *Charmosyna placentis*

ŋazi frathn *noun* [fem] sweet coconut (the inner skin is edible).

ŋazi tayo *noun* [fem] coconut, dry coconut with brown outer skin.

ŋazi woku *noun* [masc] tiger grunter. ◇ *Amniataba affinis*

ŋaziŋazi *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Exocarpus sp*
Note: bark used for yellow colour, dried resin chewed like gum.

ŋaziŋazi fr *proper noun* place name.

ŋäwä *adverb* instead of, in lack of. *ŋäwä yame zrä trnän krämsé.* 'Instead of a mat, I sit down on the coconut leaf.'

ŋäwi *kinship noun* [flex] uncle, aunt, nephew, niece.
Note: This word is used between a person and her/his mother's brothers and sisters.
see: **babai**

ŋnz *noun* [masc] papuan black bass. ◇ *Lutjanus goldei*

ŋofoŋofo *noun* [masc] bullroarer.

ŋoŋoyam *noun* [fem] voice, loud voices.

ŋoti *noun* [fem] common spotted cuscus. ◇ *Spilocuscus maculatus*

ŋwä *manner adverb* instead of (only with nouns). *ŋwä gwonyame nag narkgr.* 'Instead clothes, we are wearing grass skirts.'

O

o *conjunction* or.

ob *property noun* radiating heat from a fire. *mni thak obthé rä* 'The fireplace is very hot.'

ofa *property noun* light, not heavy.

ofe *property noun* absence, disappear. *ofe kwarärth.* 'They disappeared.' *zena we ane zokwasi mane erä zé kwathgunzrth. ofe zé kwarärth.* 'Today, those words (magic spells) are forgotten. They already disappeared.'

ogog *property noun* very dry, catches fire easily.

or *noun* [masc] bird type (emerald dove?).

oroman *noun* [masc] old man.
Note: loanword from English
see: **buru, paitua**

ororo *noun* [fem] slope, hill.
Note: Loanword from Motu.

ospitor *noun* [fem] hospital.
Note: loanword from English.
see: **muramura zn**

ote *proper noun* male perosnal name.

P

paitua *noun* [masc] old man.

Note: loanword
see: **buru, oroman**

R

ra *interrogative* what (ABS).
raf *interrogative* what (ERG).
raf *noun* [fem] tide.
raf trkr *noun* [fem] high tide, flood.
rafigsi
(1) *positional verb* be on top. *giri skiskin wrafithgr.* 'The knife is on top of the platform.'
(2) *verb* put on top. *dö tabetan yrafigwa.* 'I put the goana on the grill.'
see: **rakthksi**
rafisi *verb* paddle. *garda ŋarafinzé.* 'I paddle the canoe.'
raksi *middle verb* crawl (of a baby). *tosai ŋaraknzr* 'The baby crawls.'
rakthksi
(1) *positional verb* be on top. *giri skiskin wrakthgr.* 'The knife in on top of the platform.'
(2) *verb* put on top.
see: **rafigsi**
rar *interrogative* why, for what (PURP).
rarafü *noun* [fem] time of the year (around december), the wind direction changes, new leafs grow, first rain sets in.
rata *noun* [masc] ladder.
raturatu *noun* [fem] bamboo pipes, two bamboo pipes with different tone pitches, which are blown in quick succession.
razé *interjection* "oh yes", "absolutely" sign of overwhelming agreement.
räkumgsi
(1) *middle verb* distract. *tosai borme ŋaräkumgwr yama.* 'The child distracts himself with the ball because of crying.'
(2) *verb* attract, lure. *rusa eräkumgwre kifakifame.* 'We attract the deer with the coconut leaf whistle.'
rärksi *verb* spoil, mess up.
räthsi
(1) *positional verb* squat. *woräthgr* 'I am squatting.'
(2) *middle verb* squat.
räzsi
(1) *positional verb* be erected, be planted. *mnz wrästhgr.* 'The house is standing.'
(2) *verb* erect, plant. *naf fitot eräzr.* 'He plants the yamsticks.'
rbänzsi
(1) *verb* untie. *ŋad yrbänzé* 'I untie the rope' *be sarbäs!* 'You untie him!'
(2) *ditransitive verb* explain.
rbäzsi *verb* forbid.
rbegsi *verb* protect, separate. *nzone emoth wrbegwé.* 'I protect my sister.'
rbetfaksi *middle verb* comb.
rbthknsi *verb* snap off with fingers. *wawa gb tharbthn!* 'snap off the yzm shoots!'
rburbu *noun* [fem] soft part of the ground, where you sink in when walking. *mkäthb rburbun!* '(What out), you might sink in to the soft part!'
rdiknsi *verb* tie around. *frdth fur ŋadme erdiknwrth.* 'They tie rope around the *frdth* bundles.'

rensi *verb* sweep. *mnz fath zurenwrm.* 'She was sweeping the house yard.'

rere *noun* [masc] dragonfly. Note: lives in the forest. This one is bigger than *nzinzimam* and it is green.

rfakusi *verb* sprinkle. *wawa mnzen bad thurfakwrm.* 'They were sprinkling the soil in the yam house.'

rfäsi *middle verb* hop (wallaby).

rfeksi *middle verb* limp. *kabe ŋarfekwr* 'The man is limping.'

rfenzaksi *verb* miss. *tauri tonze sarfrenzé.* 'I missed the wallaby closely.'

rfezsi *verb* lever, lift up with stick. *ni wawa zé thurfeze.* 'We have lifted up the yams.' *wawa zarfes!* 'Lift up the yams!'

rfiksi
(1) *prefixing verb* grow. *srak yrfikwr.* 'the boy grows up.'
(2) *verb* nuture. *nze srak yrfikwé.* 'I nuture the boy.'

rfitfaksi *verb*
(1) respond, answer.
(2) argue (answer in a verbal fight).

rfizsi *verb* tease, make fun. *nzä rma worfizrmth?* 'Why are you making fun of me?'

rfnaksi *verb* taste.

rfrsi *verb* trim (grass, hair).

rfthaksi *verb* burst, release pressure from somethiing.. *ŋazi wrfthakwé.* 'I poked in to the coconut.'

rfuknsi *verb* hug. *finzo zarfuknth.* 'They hugged each other.'

rfusi *verb* open by pulling something off, e.g. bark from house wall.

rfuthraksi
(1) *positional verb* be heaped up, be piled up. *wawa ärfuthgr.* 'The yams are in a pile.'
(2) *verb* pile, heap.

rfzüthzsi *middle verb* stumble, trip.

rgegsi *verb* pull off something flat and sticky, e.g. bark of tree or a poster of wall.

rgfaksi *verb* recognise, realise.

rgosi *verb* poke through.

rgsi
(1) *positional verb* be wearing something. *gwnyame yarkgr.* 'The clothes are on him.' 'He is wearing the clothes.'
(2) *verb* put on clothes, put a bag on the shoulder.

ribaksi *middle verb* stagger, walk unsteadily.

rifthaksi *verb* send. *fi sasrifthake ŋazi sogasir.* 'We sent him to climb the coconut palm.'

rifthonzsi *verb* erase. *nabifa ane yamyam fof zwärifthonzé.* 'I removed the (carving) marks from the bow.'

rifthzsi *verb* hide. *ŋazi wrifthzé.* 'I hide the coconut.' *kwa erifthznth. rfizsime ern.* 'They will hide the two. They will be hidden.'

rigusi *middle verb* spread, open a bodypart. *wth kärigu!* 'spread your butt cheeks!' Note: swearword, joking language

riknsi *verb* destroy. *mnz kwa wriknwre.* 'We will take down the house.'

rinaksi
(1) *positional verb* be inside (liquid). *no writhgr wozen.* 'The water is filled in the bottle.' *waf ebar fefen no writhgr.* 'The water is right at the front of the wharf.'
(2) *verb* pour, fill with water. *zakora nima "käthf no kwanrin dbäwth!"* 'He said: "You go and pour some water for me at Dbäwth!"'

rinzä *noun* [fem] part of the coconut leaf that is used as a strainer to rinse things.
Note: loanword from English 'rinse'.

rirfaksi *verb* kill. *fi kwa yrirfakwé.* 'I will kill him.'

rirksi *verb* avoid, respect. *zaföwä zane zwarirkwrmth. mnz kar zfrärm.* 'Long time ago, they were avoiding this place. It was a story place.'

risoksi *verb* look down. *kärisof no yfön kabothma!* 'Look down in the waterhole because of snakes!'

ritaksi
(1) *verb* cross over. *nzä krärizé ŋars* 'I will cross over the river'
(2) *verb* translate. *zokwasi ritaksi* 'translating language'

ritüsi *verb* grab someone, hold someone back. *ruga fthé kranmath. saritüth!* 'when the pig runs off. you must grab it!' *kabe yritünzé zanma.* 'I hold the man back from fighting.'

riwa *noun* [fem] pig-fender.
Note: long stick with a ring and its end to catch and hold a pig, made from a bamboo.

riwogsi
(1) *verb* haul, carry something heavy. *mnz far wriwogwé.* 'I am carrying the house post.'
(2) *experiencer object verb* to be exhausted from carrying something heavy. *mnz farf kunriwogwr* 'I am exhausted from carrying the house post.'

riyozsi *verb* lift up, bring in a standing position.

rkäksi *verb* advice.

rkäminzsi *ditransitive verb* teach. *see:* **säminzsi**

rkäsi *verb* singe a little bit, cook a little.

rkmgsi *verb* drill, pierce.

rkogsi *verb* distribute equally.

rkusi *verb* knock down, especially fruit like banana.

rma *interrogative* why (CHAR).

rmänsi *verb* close. *zrfö wrmänwé.* 'I close the door.'

rmigsi *verb* sow, stitch, pierce.

rmigufaksi *prefixing verb* be in the middle of doing something. *nzä zbär zwärmigufa.* 'I was there in the middle of the night.'

rminzüfaksi *verb* exchange.

rmithraksi
(1) *positional verb* be joined together. *mnz kam ermithrgr.* 'The house roof beams are joined together.'
(2) *verb* join, gather. *kwamithrakwrth wämnen sogasir.* 'They gathered by the tree for climbing.'

rmnzüfaksi
(1) *positional verb* be side by side. *garda ermnzüthagr.* 'The canoes are side by side.'
(2) *verb* join lengthwise, side by

side.

rmrm *property noun* heat from inside something, without fire. *karo rmrmnzo kwa rä.* 'The ground oven will still be hot.' *efothane rmrm wnrä mothen.* 'The sun's heat is coming from the road.'

rmrsi *transitive verb* rub, grind.

rmugsi *verb*
(1) stare, envy. *bigogo kwanen ŋarmugrnth* 'the two birds (crested pitohui) are watching each other singing'
(2) *verb* beg. *bä ŋarmugwr wawar nzudbo.* 'you are begging me for yams.' *nze bun nanrmugwé wawar* 'I beg you for yams.'

rnäthsi *middle verb* get stuck.

rngthksi *also:* **rnagthksi**
(1) *positional verb* be in the branches, be in a treefork. *ruga fäk wrngthgr.* 'The pig yaw is in the tree fork.'
(2) *verb* put in a tree fork.

rninzsi *middle verb* smile, make a face.

rnmgsi *verb* strip off bark of a tree or pandanus.

rnz *noun* [plural] embers.

rnzm *interrogative* how many, how much.

rnzmzsi *verb* press together.

rokar *noun* [flex] things, stuff.

roknsi *verb* hold, grab, hug usually while sleeping. *lisaf tosai yroknwr* 'lisaf is hugging the baby boy.' *be sarokn!* 'You hold him!'

rokuroku *noun* [fem] riverbank, slope.

rot *noun* [plural] fence type. Note: strongest fence type. thick bamboos are layered and tied between sticks.

royaksi *verb* decorate. *ane yawime gwth wroyakwr.* 'She decorates the nest with these fruit.'

rr kwan *noun* sound of speech.

rrw *noun* [flex] person that is limping. *fi rrw yé.* 'He is a cripple.' *rww fi yrfikwr.* 'He is growing as a limping man.'

rsiznsi *verb* squeeze. *ŋazi sam wrziznwre.* 'We squeeze the coconut juice.'

rsoksi *middle verb* shock, be frightened. *fi kwa ŋarsokwr.* 'She will be frigthened.' *nafanema yarksokwé.* 'I will be frightened by him.'

rsörsi *middle verb* descend, climb down.

rsrs *noun* [fem] slope, flat even area. *bad fthé zamar rsrs rä. neba warfo rä. neba zfthen rä.* 'When you look, you will see that the ground is a slope: high on one side and low on the opposite side.'

rsrsi
(1) *verb* poison-root fishing in swamps or creeks.
(2) *verb* squeeze, mix with liquid. *thwä keke ŋazime wrsrwre.* 'We do not mix the catfish with coconut.'

rthakusi *verb* spray, spurt. *nze zrsam yrthakwunzr.* 'He spits the saliva.'

rthärsi *verb* share, distribute.

rthbraksi *verb* write, put on the wall.

rthbrgsi *also:* **rthabraksi**
(1) *positional verb* be sticking (adhesive). *bith yrthabragr*

brubrun. 'The honey sticks on the drum.'
(2) *verb* stick on, adhere.

rthé *also:* **frthé**
(1) *interrogative* when.
(2) *conditional* if.

rtmaksi
(1) *verb* cut. *tuti yrtmakwr.* 'He cut the branch.' *zanr tiftif yrtmakwath.* 'They cut the tally stick to mark the day for a heathunt.'
(2) *experiencer object verb* cut. *sukufa zürnf wortmakwr kwanen.* 'The tobacco smoke cuts my throat.' *nzrmf wortmakwr kwanen.* 'Sourness cuts my throat.'

rtnsi *verb* pull off leaves.

ruga *noun* [masc] pig.

rugaruga *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Gmelina ledermanii*
Note: This tree is used to make *brubru* 'kundu drums'.

ruga bogu *noun* [fem] Red-necked Rail. ◇ *Rallina tricolor*

ruga tarku *noun* [fem] pig's hole.

rusa *noun* [flex] deer.
Note: loanword from Malay.

rusi *verb* shoot, spear. *tauri samg.* 'He shot the wallaby.'

rusi *middle verb* bark. *ŋatha kwaruthrmth.* 'The dogs were barking.'

rünagsi *middle verb* slag off, backbite. *rma ŋarünagwr?* 'Why are you gossiping?' *naf kabe yarünagwr* 'He slags him off.'

rürä *manner adverb* alone, leave behind. *nzä zä zwägathifth rürä* 'They left me here here alone / behind.'

rürü kwan *noun* thunder (close).

rüt rüt *noun* [fem, plural] sticks for the ground oven.

rwoksi *verb* heal. *naf fi yrwokwr* 'He heals him.'

rwonsi *verb* pull out grass or some thin plant without much resistance.

rzarsi
(1) *positional verb* be tied together. *ŋad yrzafthgr.* 'The string is tied (to something).'
(2) *verb* tie, adopt. *fi yrzarwé.* 'I adopt him.'

rzasi *verb* bake in ground oven.

rzifthaksi *verb* push down, push over. *nafa nzä zwärzifth.* 'They have pushed me down.'

rziraksi *middle verb* bending against a tension or force, for example the bow or a trap.

rzöbnzsi *verb* close the ground oven.

rzöraksi
(1) *positional verb* be close together. *eda ymd erzörthgrn* 'The two birds are close together'
(2) *verb* converge, draw near. *kwot kärzöre!* 'Move closer together!'

rzwäsi *also:* **rzüwäsi**
(1) *middle verb* attract attention. *mane bobo ŋarzuwänzr?* 'who is making so much noise over there?'
(2) *verb* complain about. *naf fi yrzüwänzrm.* 'He complained about him.'

S

sabir *noun* [fem] peace, harmony.

saböm *noun* [masc] twig (green).

saböm *noun* [masc] grass type.

sabu *kinship noun* [flex] sister-in-law, brother-in-law.
Note: This word is used reciprocally between a woman and the brothers of her husband instead of their name. The taboo relationship is somewhat stronger with the older brothers.

safak *noun* [masc] saratoga. ◇ *Scleropages jardinii*

safrak no *noun* [masc] rain, strong rain which falls during the whole night.

sagafa *noun* [masc] stone axe, wooden club.

sagara *kinship noun* [flex] clan name.

sagusagu *noun* [fem] yams (for planting, small ones to be tied on the roof of the yamhouse).

saisai no *noun* [masc] drizzle, light rain.

saka *also:* **sakar** *noun* [masc] mustard vine.
Note: used for chewing betelnut.

sam *noun* [fem] liquid.

samsam *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Tabernaemontana orientalis sp*

sami *noun* [masc] Wedge-tailed Eagle. ◇ *Aquila audax*

saraka *noun* [plural] fence type.
Note: thick vertical sticks with only few horizontal connections.

sarawai *noun* [fem] Noisy Friarbird. ◇ *Philemon corniculatus*

sari *also:* **säri** *noun* [fem] tomahawk.

sas *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Pouteria sp*
Note: nuts are used for decoration.

satf *noun* [plural] sago pulp freshly cut (before smashing, beating it).

satf md *noun* [plural] sago pulp leftovers after beating it.

sauma *also:* **sawma** *noun* [masc] decorative stick for dances.
Note: in regular intervals shavings from the wood extend like rings around the stick

säbthzsi *verb* cover a hole in the ground, a crack in the floor, a hole in the wall.

säminzsi
(1) *verb* whisper. *nzä bä ysäminzé.* 'I whisper to you.'
(2) *verb* teach. *kabef nge äsäminzr.* 'The man teaches the children.'

säsä *noun* [fem] Marbled Frogmouth, Australian Owlet-nightjar. ◇ *Podargus ocellatus or Aegotheles cristatus*

säth *noun* [fem] yam (very small yam, these are planted in groups in hole on the side for yamsuckers for the following year).

sbüsbü *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Dracaena angustifolia*
Note: used for decorations on grass skirts or headdresses.

sd *noun* [fem] yam type.

se
(1) *noun* [masc] bark of a paperbark tree.
(2) *noun* [plural] bark torch.
Note: used for lighting up the

dancing place.

se zokwasi *noun* [fem] public speech given during dances.
Note: at regular intervals during a dance people will sit down and rest. At these times different people give speeches, which can be entertaining, complaining or moralizing. The speaker circles the dancing square with a bark torch in his hand.

sezsi *verb* make aware, bring to someone's attention by signalling or calling out.

sfisam *proper noun* place name.

sgabum *noun* [masc] dried twigs without leaves.
Note: usually used to light fire

sgu *noun* [masc] lid, plug.
Note: This is usually made of rolled up paperbark which is used like a cork.
see: **thbum**

si *noun* eye.

si bnibni *property noun* fainting. *si bnibnima zätré* 'I fell down because I fainted'

si brubru *property noun* blindness, blind.

si dabedabe *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Timonius sp*

si rore rore *interjection* Women shout this while washing the roots in the water during poison-root fishing..

si sam *noun* [fem] tear.

sibuni *noun* [masc] spoon.
Note: loanword from English.

sifraku *noun* [plural] panpipe.
Note: three or four short bamboo pieces tied together.

sifrn *noun* [fem] grassknife.

sikak *noun* [fem] yam type.

sikwankwan *property noun* secretly, without looking. *fi sikwankwan zuzir zfiyak.* 'She went secretly fishing.' *sikwankwanme zefara.* 'He left secretly.'

sirä *noun* [fem] yamhouse with shelves for storing the yams.
Note: the shelves can be also be called *sirä*.

siroro *noun* [fem] Forest Kingfisher, Yellow-billed Kingfisher. ◇ *Todiramphus macleayii or Syma torotoro*

sirsir *noun* [masc] feathertail glider. ◇ *Acrobates pygmaeus*

sisifäfth *noun* [masc] charcoal.

sisikwan *property noun* coincidence. *ni sisikwanme zathäzuse.* 'We bumped accidentally into each other.'

sisigwth *noun* [plural] charcoal bits.
Note: This word described small burned pieces on roasted food (yam, cassawa, sweet potato).
see: **skosko**

sisr *noun* head down. *sisr keräs!* 'Put your head down!' *sisrme yaniyak.* 'He comes with his head down.'

sisthgsi
(1) *positional verb* be sticking out. *giri wsithgr bäwzön.* 'The knife sticks out of the wall.'
(2) *verb* stick out.

sitau *proper noun* male personal name.

si yawaryawar *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Syzygium sp*
Note: The fruit is small and

pink. They taste very sour and one will cry. The word *si* means "eye" and *yawar* means "tears" in Wära.

skiski *noun* [fem] platform, sitting platform.

skosko *noun* [masc] charcoal pieces. Note: usually from burning yam scraps or taro scraps, mostly the skin.
see: **sisigwth**

skwri *also:* **ŋazi skwri** *noun* [fem] coconut soup. *ŋazi skwri wäfiyokwr* 'He makes coconut soup.'
Note: Coconut flesh mixed with water and eaten cold.

smärki *proper noun* people from the West.
Note: This terms is egocentric and its reference depends on the village using the word. For Rouku, it refers to the people of Indorodoro and further west.

sn *noun* [masc] taro stem.
Note: The part of the taro that will be replanted.

snzä *noun* [masc] crayfish (river).

sogsi *verb* ascend, climb up. *nzä miyamr worä ŋazi sogsi.* 'I don't know how to climb a coconut.' *nze nafan zwasogwé.* 'I have brought it up for her.'

soka *noun* [fem] soccer.
Note: loanword from English.

sosfen *noun* [fem] saucepan.
Note: loanword from English.

srak *noun* [masc] boy, brother.

srar *noun* [masc] Yellow-billed Kingfisher. ◇ *Syma torotoro*

srarsrar *property noun* disrespect, show off.

sre bi *noun* [masc] sago type. ◇ *Metroxyllon sagu*

srf *noun* [masc] fringe-lipped mullet. ◇ *Crenimugil heterocheilos*

srfek *noun* [flex] a person that is limping. *srfek ŋanribakwr.* 'He come limping.'

srima kabe *noun* [masc] scout, spy. *srima kabe kar zukrkwrmth fof.* 'Those spies were really blocking off the village.'

srizsi *verb* push an object into something. *giri with fren wäsrizr.* 'He pushed the knife into the banana stem.' *giri yame banbanen wäsrizr.* 'He pushed knife underneath the mat.'

srizsi *verb* send sombody to do something. *nze Iven yasrizé moreheadfo sukufa zrinr.* 'I am sending Ivan to Morehead to bring tobacco.'

srminz *noun* [masc] rainbow.

srug *noun* [fem] yam type.

ssamthé *noun* [masc] milkwood. ◇ *Taberna montana orientalis*
Note: The liquid from the stalk is applied to the navel of a newborn.

ssäbth *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Antidesma sp*

ssfr *noun* [plural] little, red spots from a skin rash or scabies.

sthä *noun* [masc] goanna type.
Note: This goana type lives in the forest.

sthge *noun* [masc] little toe, pinkie.

sthkäs *proper noun* place name.

st *noun* [masc] doughwood. ◇ *Melicope elleryana*
Note: The dried resin of this

tree is chewed by children like gum. Its bark is sprinkled in the yamhouse to deter rats.

st *noun* [masc] Tawny-breasted Honeyeater. ◇ *Xanthotis flaviventer*

sukawi *proper noun* male personal name.

sukrat *porperty noun* firmness, straight. *sukrat ykogr.* 'He stands firmly.' *sukratme gnäkuk!* 'You stand firmly!'

surita *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Endiandra sp*

susa *noun* [masc] sharp stick.
Note: sharp stick for a wallaby trap, pointed stick to punch a hole through bark, or a spear for attacking.

süfi *noun* [masc] floating grass. ◇ *Poaceae sp*

süfr *noun* [masc] tree type.
Note: used to make the bull-roarer *ŋofoŋofo*, grows in the forest.

sümraksi
(1) *positional verb* be open. *no yfö wsümthgr.* 'The waterhole is open.' *woz wsümthgr sgumäre.* 'The bottle is open without a cork.'
(2) *verb* widen, enlarge, extend.

sün *property noun* dirt, dirty.

süsübäth *property noun* darkness, dark.

süsüfr *also:* **sisifr** *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Polyathia sp*
Note: used as spring for a trap. It has a medical use; its bark is mixed with water against cough.

sütr *noun* [flex] wallaby, middle sized wallaby.

swänze *proper noun* place name.

swäri *noun* [masc] milkwood. ◇ *Astonia actiniphila*
Note: This tree is used as a gluetree. Women sometimes drink the liquid to start the flow of breast milk after giving birth.

sweki *noun* [fem] Brown Quail. ◇ *Coturnix ypsilophora*

swi *noun* [masc] Eastern Great Egret. ◇ *Ardea alba*

szsi *verb* call, ask. *wati, sasa "ra yf rä?"* 'Then I asked him: "What is the name of this?"' *naf fi yiszé.* 'He calls him.' 'He calls out for him.'

T

taba *adjective* plenty, much, a lot of sth..
Note: loanword from Motu

taba riri borsi *noun* [fem] game where children shoot arrows through a ring (*taba riri*) that rolls on the ground..

tabru *numeral* five.

tabrü *noun* [fem] navel.

tabuthui *numeral* five.

tabuthui nibo *also:* **nibo** *numeral* six.

tadan *noun* [masc] grass type.
Note: little round spiky seeds stick to clothes.

tafariri *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Tabernaemontana papuana*

tafko *noun* [fem] hat.

tafkotafko *also:* **ttafko** *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Macaranga sp*
Note: The tree's large leaves

can be used as a hat.

tafo *adjective* dried, shrunk.

tafotafo *noun* [fem] yam, yam sucker.
Note: small yams that are tied up in bundles and then hung to the roof of the yamhouse. There are often planted in bundles.

taft *noun* [masc] tree type.
Note: bark is used for grass skirts.

tag *noun* [masc] bee type, very small entrance hole.

taga *noun* [masc] leaf.

tainam *noun* [fem] mosquito net.

tak *noun* [masc] pandanus. ◇ *Pandanus sp*
Note: used for making grass skirts, roots are soaked and then smashed.

talapia *noun* [masc] climbing perch. ◇ *Anabas testudineus*
Note: introduced species, loanword from Malay

tamdä *noun* [masc] mole, birthmark.

tametame *property noun* imitation. *naf noŋn tametame safiyoth.* 'He was mimicking the rain (during rain magic).'

tamn *also:* **tämn** *noun* [masc] pandanus type. ◇ *Pandanus sp*
Note: grows in the forest. used for weaving.

tar *noun* [flex] friend.

tarawat *noun* [fem] law, taboo.
Note: loanword from Motu.

tarazü *noun* [fem] headdress.
Note: This refers to a headdress made from cassowary feather. A row of little bundles of feathers is pointing upwards from the forehead.
see: **düfr**

tarazü *noun* [masc] pandanus. ◇ *Pandanus sp*
Note: This plant is dried and used for weaving mats.

tarku *noun* [fem] mudhole (for pigs, deer, crocodiles).

tartar *noun* [fem] long bamboo with a fork, that is used to reach sth. up in a tree oder to breack of branches.

taruba *numeral* two hundred sixteen (216).

tatkwonam *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Endiandra sp*
Note: no use recorded

tatn fiyaf *noun* [fem] hunting technique.
Note: This refers to a hunting technique practised during the rainy season. A hunter goes to small piece of land which is surrounded by water. He makes used of the limited space for game to flee.

tauri *also:* **tawri** *noun* [flex] wallaby (bush wallaby).

tauritauri *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Diplanchia hetrophila*
Note: wallabies are often found around this tree, especially when it flowers.

tauri zm *noun* [fem] mourning costume (for a woman / coevrs the upper body part).

tawakotawako *also:* **ttawako** *noun* [fem] Grey-crowned Babbler. ◇ *Pomatostomus temporalis*

tawar *noun* [fem] inside of a yam.
Note: a skin of roasted yam can be easily removed. The

fibery inside part is *tawar*. Can be used metaphorically to describe that something is real.

tawasri *noun* [fem] bow bracer.

tayo *adjective* ripe, dry.

tätü *noun* [masc] coconut shell.

täwäb *noun* [masc] bamboo type. ◇ *Bambusa sp*

täwtäw *property noun* stupidity, dumb.

tbütbü *noun* [plural] wrist.

tdari *adjective* yellow.

teba *noun* [masc] timber.
Note: loanword from English

tef *also:* **teftef** *noun* [masc] spot. 'dagu teftefkarä yé.' *The* dagu *python is spotted.*

tek *adjective* while, time. *tekmär zägathinz.* 'The is not much time left.'

tern *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Melaleuca sp*

tfitfi *noun* [masc] whirlwind, little tornado.

tfiyy *noun* [masc] small bandicoot kind.

tfkak *noun* [masc] grass type. ◇ *Poaceae sp*

tfotfo *manner adverb* almost, close.

tfrtfr *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Fegria sp*
Note: used for timber (house posts)

tgafü *noun* [masc] club.
Note: usually a root that has grown a thick part on one end.

tiftif *noun* [masc] counting tally. *kabef wawa tif tif yfathwr.* 'the man is holding the yam counting tally.'

tiftif *noun* [fem] yam type.

timer *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Mallotus sp*
Note: bark with water is given to dogs in order to bite better

timur *noun* [masc] tree type, aptree, mangosteen. ◇ *Garcinia huntstenii*
Note: bark used for sgeru

tingwä *also:* **dingwä** *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Abrus sp*
Note: The seeds of this plant were used to write in the dust on the ground in the Mission school

tiŋa *noun* [masc] Eclectus Parrot (female). ◇ *Eclectus roratus*
see: **krara**

tiwagsi *verb* break through, poke through. *nzä keräfi zätiwthé.* 'I broke throught the floor.'

tiyar *noun* [masc] spear for fishing (thrown by hand).

tiyaw *noun* [fem] bird type.

tkrafet *noun* [masc] sailfin glassfish. ◇ *Ambassis agrammus*

tkwitkwi *property noun* windy, curving, meandering. *ŋars tkwitkwi ŋakwiro.* 'The river is meandering.'

tmana *also:* **tman** *noun* [masc] big bandicoot (sharp nose).

tmatm *noun* [fem] method, way, time, action.

tmä *noun* [masc] strength.

tnägsi *verb* lose, scatter.

tnezsi *verb* test, try, taste. *kwa ŋatnezr basikolr.* 'He will try to ride a bicycle.' *nze nasi thutnezr.* 'I tasted the long yams.'

tnoraksi *verb* shape something from mud.

tnz *adjective* short.

tobetobe *noun* [fem] competition,

race. *eda kabe tobetobe ŋarnoth mane zöbthé bobo sräthor.* 'The two man are racing, who will arrive there first.' *tobetobe kwarärth dagon fsisin.* 'The were competing in counting yams.'

tofar *noun* [masc] sago part.
Note: This is the top part of the palm, which is too soft to process. This part is cooked in the ground oven.

togtog *noun* [masc] sound of a small kundu drum, sometimes used to describe the small kundu drum *gafas*.

toku *property noun* carry somebody on the shoulders (with their legs around the neck). *tokume wzänzr* 'He carries her on the shoulders.'

tokutoku *noun* [fem] Bar-shouldered Dove. ◇ *Geopelia humeralis*

tokuya *noun* [masc] Palm Cockatoo. ◇ *Probosciger aterrimus*

tonze *adjective* close.

tora *also:* **toro** *noun* [fem] dog whistle.
Note: made from a small coconut shell.

tosai *noun* [flex] baby.

tothetothe *property noun* tickle, tingle. *nze tothetothe wäfiyokwé* 'I tickle her.'

tot *noun* [masc] nail, fish prong.

totoman *noun* [masc] cockroach.

toya *noun* [plural] lightning.

töfä kam *noun* [masc] hip bone.

töna *noun* [fem] high ground.
Note: This word refers to land which does not get flooded during the rainy season. It is a good place for gardens and settlements.

trag
(1) *noun* [fem] treefork.
(2) *noun* [fem] road junction.

traksi
(1) *middle verb* fall. *nzä ŋatrakwé.* 'I fall down.' *fi zätra zrinma.* 'He fell because it was too heavy.'
(2) *verb* drop. *giri wtrakwr.* 'She dropped the knife.' *be satr!* 'You drop it! (or him)'

trakumgsi
(1) *positional verb* be smashed, be in little pieces. *tätü wtrakumthgr.* 'The coconut shell is broken in little pieces.'
(2) *verb* smash.

trari *noun* [masc] strong, muscular man.

trazümnzsi *also:* **räzünzsi**
(1) *positional verb* be sitting in an unproper way.
(2) *middle verb* sit in an unproper way.

tränsi *verb* carve, sharpen. *garda katan sftränwrme.* 'We were carving a small canoe.' *naf nabi ytränwr.* 'He carves the bow.'

trd *noun* [fem] black palm. ◇ *Licuala sp*
Note: grows along the river.

trikasi
(1) *noun* [fem] story. *trikasi zbo zwaythik.* 'The story has come on an end here.'
(2) *verb* report. *ŋafydbo fi kwa ytrikwé* 'I will report him to father.'
(3) *ditransitive verb* tell. *nze trikasi*

nafanm yatrikwa. 'I told them the story.' *be nzun kwatrif!* 'Tell me!'

trisi *verb* scratch. *nabi ker fthé frkthé zrarä fthé fof zatrinz zbo.* 'When the end of the bamboo is red, then you scratch along here.' *tosai wtrinzé* 'I scratch the small girl.'

trkr *noun* [fem] flood.

trn *noun* [fem] chest.

trnä *noun* [fem] stalk of a cocnut leaf.

tro *noun* [masc] python type.

tro *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Melaleuca sp*
Note: used for timber, bark used as torch.

tro *noun* [masc] southern tandan. ◇ *Neosilurus equinus*

trraw *also:* **trrau** *noun* [fem] Rufous-bellied Kookaburra. ◇ *Dacelo gaudichaud*

trtha
(1) *noun* [masc] life. *nzenme fathasi trtha mrmren* 'in our marriage life' *nof ane fof trtha thwarithrm.* 'The rain gave them life.'
(2) *adjective* raw, alive. *zena ausi trtha zrä.* 'The old woman is alive here today.' *fisor brä. trtha komnzo rä.* 'There is the turtle. It is still alive.'

tru *noun* [masc] palm type. ◇ *Hydriastele sp*
Note: used for flooring, the leaf can be used for wrapping sago, or for making the trough in which the sago is caught.

trutru *noun* [fem] current, stream of water.

trü *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Melaleuca sp*

tthe *noun* [fem] burning (second cycle).

ttauri *noun* [masc] spider.

ttfö *noun* [fem] creek.

ttfö ker *noun* [fem] the start of a creek, the thinnest part.

ttfö minz *also:* **ttfö minzminz** *noun* [fem] small creek, thin end of a creek.

ttfö zfth *noun* [fem] mouth of a creek.

ttraym *noun* [masc] goanna type (lives in the forest).

ttüsi
(1) *positional verb* be printed. *kd brubrun yttüthgr.* 'The star is printed on the drum.'
(2) *verb* write, print, mark. *brubru yttünzr.* 'He carves patterns into the drum.'

tuba *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Melicope sp*
Note: dried resin burns like candles, used for timber

tubag *noun* [masc] harpoon.

tubatub *noun* [fem] small hill, mound.

tufarawa *noun* [masc] New Guinea Harpy Eagle. ◇ *Harpyopsis novaeguineae*

tuof *property noun* heat, drought, hot, dry.

tura *noun* [flex] friend.
Note: Loanword from Motu

turama *noun* [masc] python (general).

turarb *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Bridelia sp*
Note: edible fruit

turasi *verb* kiss.

turatu *noun* [masc] fish wrapper.
Note: bamboo cage that holds

one or two fish for roasting over the fire and transportation.
Note: masc

turd *proper noun* term used to describe the Kiwai people.

tuth *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Gnetum gnemon*
Note: used for firewood, young tree is used to make fishing nets, edible fruit.
see: **fodä**

tut *noun* [fem] coconut shoot when it is still closed.

tuti *noun* [masc] branch.

tutufri *noun* [fem] coconut, very small, unripe coconut.

tuwari *also:* **twari** *noun* [masc] comb. *fi twarime ŋarbtfakwr.* 'He combing himself with a comb.'

tuwarituwari *also:* **twaritwari** *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Schizaea dichotoma*

tüf *noun* [fem] soft ground by the river.
Note: This is a thick layer of floating grass, which one can walk on. Sometimes sweet potato is planted on it.

tüfr *quantifier* many.

tümäga *proper noun* place name.

tümäna *noun* [fem] lime powder, slaked lime, calcium hydroxide.

tütü *noun* [fem] Pheasant Coucal. ◇ *Centropus phasianinus*
Note: This bird held the fire and knowledge about it before people knew about its use. *tütü* is said to look like *yaka tüfr.*

twir *noun* [masc] earring / plug ornament.

twitwi *noun* [masc] Grey-crowned Babbler. ◇ *Pomatostomus temporalis*

twtw *also:* **ttw**
(1) *property noun* inertness, lethargy, apathy. *wiram zokwasi keke ŋarizre. twtw nrn.* 'We don't understand Suki. We are closed up.' *twtw bzamar.* 'He gave up his hope. (lit.: "S/he saw the closing-up")'
(2) *property noun* closed up, without any space. *kar ttw zwermänth.* 'They (the headhunters) closed up the village without escape.'

TH

thaba *noun* [fem] clearing, area of grassland surrounded by forest.

thabr *noun* [plural] arm.

thabthksi *also:* **thabthknsi** *middle verb* move, something moves underneath, only its impact on the surface is visible. *fofosanzo kwathabr kwosir zethkäf.* 'Only his heart was beating. He was about to die.' *ŋabrm ŋathabrth non.* 'The mullet is swimming underneath the water surface.' *ra ŋathabr zr yfön?* 'What are you chewing in the mouth?'

thaf *property noun* bitter.

thafraksi *verb* mix. *zokwasi komnzo thfthafrakwrmth.* 'They were just mixing the languages.' *be kmam ŋazikarä kathafrakwé!* 'You must not mix this (food) with coconut!'

thafthksi
(1) *positional verb* be separated. *mät ethafthgrn.* 'The twins are separated.'
(2) *verb* separate. *keräfi ethafthkwé* 'I separating/pushing apart the pieces of the black palm flooring.'

thaifaksi *verb* bring out to the open, bring to everyone's attention, to arrive in a village. *frzitho wath sathayfath.* 'They brought the dance to village square in Forzith.' *fam thänthayufe!* 'Voice your thoughts!'

thak *noun* [fem] place, sacred place. *mni thak rä.* 'It is a fire place.' Note: This word is considered somewhat archaic. It occurs most times with *mni* 'fire'

thakthak *noun*
(1) [fem] law, taboo. *dobakwr mayawaneme menz yé. keke yanathrth. thakthak rä.* 'The eelfish is the *mayawa*'s totem. They don't eat it. It is taboo.' *diburan kwa yfathwrth ŋare zanma. thakthak rä.* 'They will look him up for beating the wife. It is the law.'
(2) [masc] God.

thakuthaku *noun* [masc] insect type.
Note: little white insects which eat through flywood in houses

thamethame *noun* [flex] person that does not speak properly.

thamin
(1) *noun* [fem] tongue.
(2) *noun* [fem] freshwater tongue sole. ◇ *Cynoglossus heterolepis*

thaminthamin *noun* [fem] flickering sensation in the air above a fire or hot ground. *thaminthamin wkogr baden.* 'The heat is standing on the ground.' *thaminthamin wmarwé.* 'I see the 'hot air'.'

thamsaksi *also:* **thmsaksi**
(1) *positional verb* be spread out. *yame wthamsthgr.* 'The mat is spread out.'
(2) *verb* spread out a mat or leaves on the ground, sheets of paper on the table.

thamtham *property noun* struggling, trying one's best. *nze thamtham wäruthé.* 'I am struggling.'

thanzsi *verb* open, remove the barks from oven or house roof. *mnz thanzsikaf rä.* 'The house has some holes in the roof.'

tharasi
(1) *positional verb* be underneath. *giri wtharthgr yamen.* 'The knife is underneath the mat.'
(2) *verb* put underneath.

tharbar *noun* [fem] cage to keep animals.

tharfka *also:* **ththarfka**
(1) *noun* [masc] rib.
(2) *noun* [masc] thin sticks that support the barks on the roof.

thari *propery noun* style, stylish.

tharisi *verb* dig. *duga ytharinzé.* 'I dig the taro.' *yfö wtharinzake.* 'We dug a hole.'

tharthar *locational* side. *ŋars thartharenzo, keke fzen* 'only along the riverside, not in the forest' *nzone mnz thartharen fobo fefe zaföfa.* 'It burned really on the side of my house.'

tharthar ufaf *noun* [masc] roof beams on the side.

tharuksi
(1) *positional verb* be in an open container. *rokar gardan etharuthgr.* 'The things are in the canoe.'
(2) *verb* put something in a open container, for example a dish or a canoe.

thatha *noun* [masc] sugar cane.

thathathatha *noun* [masc] grass type. ◇ *Poaceae sp*
Note: This plant is similar to sugar cane. It grows in melaleuca forests. Insects are hanging on it during high tide and fish gather underneath to eat the insects. It is edible and tastes sweet like sugarcane.
see: **thatha**

thäbu *noun* [masc]
Note: An archaic term for 'hair' was *efi*, only found in place names like *thm efi.* hair.

thäfäm *noun* [plural] waves, ripples in the river.
see: **mänümänü**

thäfrsi
(1) *positional verb* be covering something. *gwnyame ethäfrsthgr.* 'The clothes are covering (something).'
(2) *verb* cover something, for example with barks, a blanket or a yam.

thäknsi *verb* jolt, shake.

thärkusi
(1) *middle verb* crawl. *dö ŋathärkunzrm.* 'The goana was crawling.'
(2) *verb* drag. *frismané kabe ythärkunoth.* 'The two policemen drag the man away.'

thäsi *verb* split in half. *wawa zathäf!* 'split the yam in half!'

thäzüraksi
(1) *verb* bump into.
(2) *ditransitive verb* help, support.

thbathb *noun* [masc] stick, part of a trap.
Note: This stick holds acts as a lock of a trap. It holds the tension of a bent bamboo and when touched by an animal it will release the tension.

thboth *noun* [masc] ant (small black).

thd *noun* [masc] middle.

thd nzm *noun* middle toe, middle finger.

thebum *noun* [masc] lid.
Note: A lid that goes over the opening of a bottle or container.
see: **sgu**

thefath mni *noun* [fem] bushfire, first cycle of burning the grass.

thenzgsi *verb* roll.

thesaksi *verb* get rid of.

thf *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Alphitonia incana*

thfäsi
(1) *prefixing verb* jump. *bä gnethfär!* 'You jump!' *fi äthfän.* 'They (2) are jumping.'
(2) *middle verb* fly. *fi ŋathfänzrth* 'They (3+) fly.' *bä kethfär!* 'You fly!'

thfigsi *transitive verb* push.

thfitar *noun* [fem] swamp eel. ◇ *Ophisternon gutturale*

thfn *noun* [masc] skin of the snake. *thfn kaboth kwafkathr. thfn fkasikaf ythn.* 'The snake has skinned itself. The peeled skin

lies there.'

thfuksi *verb* cover (with leaves).

thg *noun* [masc] soft part above the collarbone.

thgathg *noun* [fem] area that has been burnt in the forest, usually very bumpy and uneven groun.

thgusi
(1) *prefixing verb* forget. *ythgunzr* 'He forgets.'
(2) *verb* forget, mix up. *bone yf nze wthgunzé* 'I forget your name.'

thikyasi *verb* tie the fence.

thkar *property noun* hardness, difficult.

thkäfksi *verb* start, begin.

thkrthkr *noun* [masc] calf.

thm *noun* [fem] nose.

thm di kwan *noun* sound made while sleeping, high pitched little moans.

thm dnzü *noun* [masc] bar across the front of a house.

thm drr kwan *noun* sound made while sleeping, snorring.

thm ggrb *noun* [masc] nasal septum (lit. nose soft-part).

thm sam *noun* [masc] snot, mucus.

thm snä *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Croton sp*

thmdr *noun* [masc] beetle (big, lives on the coconut).

thmthm *noun* [fem] behalf. *nzone thmthmen gnyaké!* 'You go on my behalf!' *nafathmthmen wawa säzinth.* 'They put the yams down for him.'

thng *noun* strength.

thnin *noun* [masc] trap (a bamboo cage to catch pigs, wallabies or bandicoots).

thnzös *also:* **thdös** *noun* [masc] bark of the *kwim* or *asiga* tree. Note: dry pieces are used to start a fire.

thofiksi *verb* disturb. *nzä ŋathayé wathofikwrth dagon mnin.* 'The dogs disturb me in cooking the food.'

thog *noun* [masc] small spear from bamboo.

thomgsi *also:* **thobgsi** *ditransitive verb* help by contributing and supporting.

thomonsi
(1) *positional verb* to be piled up (firewood).
(2) *verb* make fire! (lit.: pile up the fire!). *mni zathomon!* 'You (go and) make fire!'

thoraksi
(1) *prefixing verb* appear.
(2) *verb* search, make appear, find.

thorsi
(1) *positional verb* be inside a closed container. *tauri wthkagr tharbaren.* 'The wallaby is inside the cage.'
(2) *verb* fill, put inside (a closed space). *giri wthorthé yarefo.* 'I put the knife into the bag.'

thräksi *verb* stop, block.

thrfam *noun* [fem] daniel's catfish. ◇ *Cochlefelis danielsi*

thrgwon *noun* [masc] dusty, dry wood.
Note: used to start a fire

thrgr *noun* [fem] soft spot above the collarbone.

thrma *temporal* later.

thrsi *verb* tear, widen. *trutruf ane fof zathrfako* 'The current widened it.'

thruthru *noun* [masc] bamboo

type. ◇ *Bambusa sp*

thsisi *verb* snap off, break off.
Note: usually something that is joined a one point like a small branch on a tree

ththaksi
(1) *positional verb* be attached, be sticking in. *faren wththagr* 'It is attached to the post.'
(2) *verb* attach, pin, nail.

ththfaksi *verb* wipe. *mith käththf!* 'Wipe your face!'

ththfr *adjective* crazy, funny, clown-like.

thufth *kinship noun* [flex] in-laws, tambus. *nzuthufth kabe erä.* 'They are my in-laws.'

thusi
(1) *positional verb* to be folded. *fefa wthuthgr.* 'the paper is folded.'
(2) *verb* fold. *tabiyé naf wäthunzr.* 'He is making a fist to her. (lit. folding fingers)'
Note: can be used for counting, e.g. folding one's fingers.

thuwak *also:* **thwak** *noun* shoulder.

thü
(1) *noun* [masc] tree type, melaleuca. ◇ *Melaleuca sp*
Note: medical use, steam is from boiled leafes can be inhaled or used to wash
(2) *noun* [masc] rope from the *thü* tree, thin rope to tie posts together. *thü myuknsikaf ythn.* 'The rope laying there is twisted.'

thwaithwai *also:* **thuwaithuwai** *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Elaeocarpus sp*
Note: medical use, bark is mixed with water against cough and asthma.

thwä *noun* [fem] triangular shield catfish. ◇ *Sciades leptaspis*

thwä fefe *noun* [fem] berney's catfish. ◇ *Neoarius berneyi*

thweksi *middle verb* be happy. *fi ŋathwekwrth anema fof ŋamnzokwrth.* 'They are happy and therefore they are jumping.'

thythy *property noun* nuisance, mucking around, jump around. *katan nge thythy ŋafiyokwr.* 'The small child is jumping/fooling around.'

thzi *noun* [fem] sugar glider.

U

u kwan *noun* [fem] sound of fire (when it cracks high up in the bamboos).

ufai *noun* [flex] boss, supervisor.

un *adjective* big.

W

wabat *also:* **wabt** *noun* [masc] spade, shovel.

wabwab *property noun* stupid, full of oneself, doing things the wrong way.

wad *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Carallia brachiata*
Note: The burnt bark of this tree is used a black paint.

waga *noun* [fem] leg.

wagrsi *verb* meet.

wako *noun* [fem] manta type, big stingray.

wakusi *verb* pick up, evaporate. *efothf no ywakunzr.* 'The sun evaporates the rain (puddles).'

wakwak *property noun* slim.

wamamogo *proper noun* place name.

waniwani
(1) *noun* [masc] picture, video, movie.
(2) *noun* [fem] shadow of a person.

wano *also:* **wanowano** *property noun* hidden, it usually implies that something is hidden for selfish reasons.. *bone sukufa wanothé erä. zünz kabe nrä.* 'Your tobacco is hidden. You are a greedy man.'

wanzo *noun* [fem] dream. *fi wanzo yrugr.* 'He is dreaming.'

war *noun* [fem] top part. *wawa warenzo erä.* 'The yam are not really planted. (lit.: The yams are just in the top.)' *ane kofä waren eyak.* 'These fish swim below the surface. (lit.: These fish go in the top.)'

wara nabi *noun* [fem] bow type, the bowstring is taken off.

warfo *locational* above, up, on top. *tabeta warfon nima ŋasinzrth.* 'They roast it on top of the grill.' *nima gwargwaren yé waga warfo erä.* 'He is stuck in the mud with his legs above.'

wari *noun* [masc] Indian coral tree. ◇ *Erythrina variagata*

wariknsi *transitive verb* stir. *no mni wwariknwé.* 'I stir the hot water.'

wark *noun* [masc] size. *mor mane erä nima wark erä.* 'As for the planting yams, they are about this size.' *nima wark mane yé sräkorth togtog.* 'As for this size (of drum), they call it *togtog.*'
Note: The phrase *nima wark* 'like this size' is usually accompanied by an appropriate gesture indicating the size or by pointing to a comparable sized object.

warksi *middle verb* howl. *ŋatha ŋawarkwrth.* 'The dogs are howling.'

waro *property noun* theft, unlawful, thievish, fraudulent. *kma waror mgnanyaké!* 'Do not come here for stealing!' *waro kabe zane yé.* 'This man is a thief.' *rar waro ŋafiyokwa?* 'Why did he steal this?'

warsi *middle verb* chew, suck.

waru *noun* [fem] turtle (big turtle).

wasi *noun* [masc] Masked Owl. ◇ *Tyto novaehollandiae*

wasisi *verb* flash light, shine. *tosinme sawasirm.* 'He was shining the flashlight at him.'

wath
(1) *noun* [masc] dance, singsing. *wathr kwa wiyak* 'I will go for the dance.'
(2) *verb* [no infinitive] dance. *fi ŋarnzürwrth* 'They are dancing.'

watha *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Endiandra fragrans*
Note: yellow fruit.

wathknsi *middle verb* pack up.

watik *also:* **wati**
(1) *connective* then, so.
(2) *adjective* enough.

watmame *manner adverb* for a day, for a short while. *ni more-*

headfo niyan watmame. 'We two go to Morehead for a daytrip.'

wauka *noun* [plural] red coloured clouds or evening sky.

wawa *noun* [fem] yam, general term for round yam.
Note: staple food

wawa mnz *noun* [fem] yam house.

wawor *noun* [flex] cripple, physically impaired person.

wayafü *noun* [masc] plant type, ginger.
Note: This plants is eaten against bad coughs or a blocked nose. It is also part of rain making magic.
see: **zzarfa**

wayoth *noun* [fem] cover, leafes or branches which prevent the ground oven to burn.
Note: This term refers to leaves or branches that are put between the hot stones and the covering barks of the ground oven.

wazi *noun* [masc] side. *bun nima wazi we sathoro! nzun nima wazi we kwagathinz!* 'You take that side (of the pig) and you leave this side for me!' *fi zé zärita neba wazi fof.* 'He went gone across to the opposite side.'

wäd *noun* [fem] penis, erection.

wäksi
(1) *prefixing verb* experience sunrise, dawn on, wake up. *fi ewäkr.* 'They woke up in the morning.'
(2) *prefixing verb* become ripe.

wämne *noun* [masc] tree, general term.

wär kwan *noun* [fem] thunder in a distance.

wäramäka *numeral* seven thousand seven hundred and seventysix, 6x6x6x6x6 = 7776.

wärezsi *middle verb* shoot, aim, throw. *dunzi ŋawärezé.* 'I aim (with) the arrow.'

wärowäro *noun* [masc] small fish that floats close to the surface.

wärwär *property noun* fatigue, drowsy feeling from too much heat, too strong sun. *katan ŋatha wärwärma yrugr.* 'The small dog sleeps because of the heat of the sun.' *wärwär worä efothma.* 'I am drowsy from the sun.'

wäsi
(1) *verb* crack, break. *zaru yawi suwänzrmth o ŋazi tätü kma ŋathayé ŋazi zwanathrmth.* 'They were cracking the *zaru* nuts or the coconut shell, (so that it sounds) as if the dogs were eating the coconut shells.'
(2) *middle verb* happen, take place. *ra krewär bobo?* 'What is going on there?'

wäsü *also:* **wäsi** *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Ficus elastica*
Note: This vine is used for string to tie the arrow tip, can grow around another and become a very big tree. the spirit woman *nzürna* often lives inside this tree.

wäthsi
(1) *positional verb* be tied around. *ywäthgr.* 'It is tied around.'
(2) *verb* tie around, wrap.

wätku *noun* [masc] Australian Pel-

ican. ◇ *Pelecanus conspicillatus*

wbäk *noun* [plural] vomit.

wegowego *property noun* instability, unstable. *garda wegowego ŋarär. mkräkwthef!* 'The canoe is moving unstably. It might capsize!'

weksi *verb* invite. *kafar kabe thwawekwrmth frzsir.* 'They invited the big people for poison-root fishing.'

weto *property noun* joy, joyful. *be bone weto kwa wfänzr.* 'You will show your joy.' *srikdbo wiyak wetor.* 'I go to Srik to welcome him / greet him.' *weto worä.* 'I am joyful.'

wezrwezr *noun* [masc] obbe's tandan. ◇ *Porochilus obbesi*

wf *noun* [fem] shirt, blouse. *wfmär wkogr.* 'She stands bare-breasted.'

wi *numeral* fourty six thousand six hundred and fifty six, 6x6x6x6x6 = 46.656.

wifaza *noun* [masc] seven-spot archerfish. ◇ *Toxotes chatareus*

wimäs *noun* [masc] mango. ◇ *Mangifera minor*

winuwinu *property noun* madness, crazy.

winzgsi *transitive verb* twist.

wiram *proper noun* name for suki people.

with *noun* [masc] banana. ◇ *Musa sp*

withwith *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Anon (vine) sp*
Note: This plant has small edible fruit that look and taste like bananas.

wlat *noun* [masc] walking catfish. ◇ *Clarias batrachus*
Note: This is species recently introduced from the Indonesian side. loanword from Malay.
see: **ikan lele**

wm *noun* [masc] stone.

wmsi *noun* [fem] menstruation, women's monthly period.

wmwm *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Cryptocarya sp*
Note: The scraped roots of this plant are sprinkled on tobacco leafes while they are growing to make the tobacco stronger. The bark is rough like little pebbles or stones.

wod *noun* [fem] whirlpool, swirl in the water.

woda *proper noun* place name.

wokfaksi *middle verb* change colour.

wokraksi
(1) *prefixing verb* be floating. *garda ywokrakwr.* 'The canoe is floating.'
(2) *verb* float.

woksi *verb* choose.

woku *noun* [masc] skin.

worätthé *adjective* thin.

worbin *noun* [masc] oxeye herring. ◇ *Megalops cyprinoides*

worsi
(1) *positional verb* be planted. *wawa erworthgr.* 'The yams are planted.'
(2) *verb* plant.

worwor *noun*
(1) [masc] banana leaf (dry).
(2) [masc] paper.

wothm *noun* [masc] woodworm.

wotr *noun* [masc] tree type (cornbeefwood). ◇ *Barringtonia sp*

Note: This tree signals good ground because it only grows on high ground. Its flowering is a sign for the begin of the planting season.

wotu *noun* [masc] stick, walking stick, fencing stick.

woy *interjection* used for clarification, reaffirmation like "Come again!", "Please say that again I didn't understand!".

woz *noun* [fem] bottle.

wr *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Lepisanthes sp*

wrai *noun* [masc] Black-necked Stork. ◇ *Ephippiorhynchus asiaticus*

wri *property noun* intoxication, drunk. *wrif kwa ezänzr.* 'You will be totally drunk (lit. drunkenness will carry you)' *wri kwosi ämnzr.* 'He is sitting dead drunk.'

wri no *noun* [fem] alcohol.

wrwr
(1) *noun* [masc] wind from the East.
(2) *noun* [fem] time of the year when the wind changes, usually around June.

ws *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Durandea pentagyana*

wsws *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Combretum sp*

wsws zra *proper noun* place name.

wth *noun* [plural] faeces, exretes, waste, intestines.

wth gaga *noun* [masc] diarrhea.

wth sikwan *noun* [fem] silent gas, silent fart.

wthsuk *noun* [fem] yam type, wild yam.

Note: This yam is not eaten because it is too fibery, but people feed it occasionally to their dogs.

wthzak *noun* [masc] foot, sole.

wtwt *property noun* itchiness.

Y

ya *property noun* cry, tear. *katan tosai yanzo yanor.* 'The small baby is only crying.'

yafrä *proper noun* female peronal name.

yafüsi *verb* open, open a door, take off a lid.

yagusi *verb* pour out liquid (general).

yak
(1) *noun* [fem] race.
(2) *middle verb* run, ride, go fast. *basikolme ŋakwiro sotafo.* 'He cycles to Sota.' *fi ŋakwiwrth aki kwayanen.* 'He was running in the moonlight.'

yak ribrib *noun* [flex] fast runner.

yaka
(1) *noun* [masc] yamstick, digging stick.
(2) *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Fontania papuana*
Note: used for making yam sticks.

yakayaka *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Melicope sp*

yaka tüfr *noun* [masc] Greater Black Coucal. ◇ *Centropus menbeki*

yakme *manner adverb* fast.

yaksi *also:* **yakasi** *verb* help by doing something physically. *nze bä nayakwé wämne zrinr.* 'I

help you carring the sticks.'

yakwan *noun* [masc] claw of the cassowary.

yakwr *noun* [masc] wound, sore.

yam *noun* [fem] louse.

yam
(1) *noun* [fem] footprint.
(2) *noun* [plural] louse, lice.
(3) *noun* [fem] custom, event. *naf bada yam ŋabragwr.* 'She follows the ancestor's customs.'

yamayama *also:* **yama** *adjective* poor.

yame *noun* [fem] mat.

yamit *kinship noun* [flex] exchange cousin.
Note: This word is used between the children of a direct sister exchange. The treat one another like direct siblings.

yamüyamü *noun* [fem] bamboo construction for feasts.
Note: Small yams or other food items are tied to this for a feast.

yamyam
(1) *noun* [fem] event, little feast.
(2) [fem] shape. *nima yamyam zafiyokwé.* 'You have to make a shape like this.'

yanyan *noun* [plural] part of a bee hive.
Note: This is the first section of a hive. It is usually considered waste and thrown away.

yare *noun* [fem] bag.

yarenzsi *prefixing verb* look around. *kwot gnäzigrthm kabothma!* 'You look around properly because of snakes!' *sakar tagar warenzer.* 'I look around for mustard leaves.'

yarisi *ditransitive verb* give. *be nafan sar!* 'You give it to him!' *nafanm emoth ärithr.* 'He gives them a sister.'

yarizsi *middle verb* hear. *z ŋarizrth?* 'Are you listening?'

yarne *proper noun* tribe name.
Note: describes some of the people from Mata, Derideri and Pongaraki whose ancestors came together from Komo.

yaroksi *verb* escort, guide.

yarsi *porperty noun* sleepiness from staying awake during the night.

yaryomgsi *also:* **riymgsi** *middle verb* scream.

yase *noun* [fem] animal, meat from animals.
see: **faso**

yathizsi *prefixing verb* suffer, die. *zi wathizr* 'I am in pain.'

yawabü *noun* [masc] tree type.
Note: This tree is used to make big kundu drums.

yawi *noun* [fem] seed, fruit, round object.

yawi yawi *noun* [plural] money, small coins.

yawi zarge *noun* [masc] plante type. ◇ *Amomum aculiatium*

yawo *greeting* farewell.

yawth *noun* [fem] mound.
Note: This refers to a small mound in which yams are planted.

yäfi *noun* [masc] prawn.

ybäthybäth *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Hornstedtia lycostoma*
Note: edible seeds.

yei dödö *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Sida acuta*

yei wath *noun* [fem] type of dance.

Note: This is the dance of the Yei people.It is similar to *besi wath* and *nzürna wath*, but it includes people who circle around the dancers.

yem *noun* [fem] cassowary (general). ◇ *Casuarius casuarius*

yemyem *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Kibava sp*
Note: Cassowaries like to eat the small red fruit of this plant. The fruit is said to look like the red skin hanging from a cassowary's throat.

yf *noun* [fem] name.

yfäth ruga *noun* [flex] pig given to the brothers of one's wife without an exchange marriage.

yfö *noun* [fem] hole.

yfr *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Syzygium sp*
Note: The bark of this tree is burned to produce black colour.

yfrsé *adjective* black.

yifu *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Syzygium sp*
Note: fruit eaten by cassowaries.

yifutham *noun* [fem] cassowary (short legs).

yir *noun* [fem] urine.

yirr *noun* [masc] short-finned tandan. ◇ *Neosilurus brevidorsalis*

yirwi *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Oriocalis sp*
Note: Parts of the root of this tree were used as a ball for the *bardi borsi* 'hockey'.

yirzsi *verb* throw.

yizryizr *noun* [masc] ant type.
Note: tiny brownish ant.

ykwasi *verb* cut meat.

ymanz efoth *noun* [masc] heat. *nä kayé ymanz efoth fthé kwasinzrm karesa sgu erzarnake wagan efoth tuofma.* 'Some days, when the heat of the sun was burning, we tied bark pieces on our feet because of the sun heat.'
Note: This refers to intense heat coupled with high humidity. This occurs during dry season after a rainshower.

ymämü *noun* [fem] Rufous Owl. ◇ *Ninox rufa*

ymd *noun* [masc] bird (general).

ymi *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Eucalyptus corymbia*
Note: This plant is used for its good timber.

ymnz *proper noun* place name.

ymorymor *property noun* desire, want. *nze ymorymor wmarwé.* 'I desire her.' *nzun ŋaref ymorymor warzr.* 'I desire the woman. (lit.: the woman throws *ymorymor* for me.)' *nzun bone tosinf ymorymor warithr.* 'I desire your torch. (lit.: your torch gives me *ymorymor.*)'

yn *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Ficus sp*

ynagsi *middle verb* pass through.

ynaksi *verb* put down (non-animate).
see: **zinaksi**

ynk ttrü *noun* [fem] Zoe's Imperial Pigeon. ◇ *Ducula zoeae*

ynzrü *noun* [fem] Great-billed Heron. ◇ *Ardea sumatrana*

yofegsi
(1) *verb* to move in an unstable way.

(2) *verb* turn over, capsize (canoe, hammock or baby basket).

yofi *noun* [fem] custome, law, holy thing.

yoganai *adjective* tired.

yonasi *middle verb* drink. *nafa sgeru ŋonathrth.* 'They drink palm wine.'

yorär *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Syzygium sp*
Note: edible, sour fruit.

yrsi *verb* scrape the coconut or cassava.

yrsi
(1) *verb* weave mat.
(2) *verb* build a house.

yrugr *prefixing verb* [no infinitive] sleep. *ni etfth nrugrm.* 'We were sleeping.'
see: **etfth**

yrü
(1) *noun* [masc] sign, signal, mark, pointer.
(2) *noun* [masc] christian cross at church.

yrüyrü *noun* [plural] decorative clothing for dances.

yrwi yawi *noun* [masc] hockey ball.

ys *noun* [masc] thorn.

ysokwr *also:* **ysekwr**
(1) *noun* [fem] rainy season.
(2) *noun* [fem] year. *boba ysokwren kwa ŋanbrigwé.* 'I will come back next year.'

ythama *noun* [fem] bird of paradise. ◇ *Paradisaea raggiana*

ythn *prefixing verb* [no infinitive] lie down.

yti *also:* **yti yti**
(1) *noun* [fem] greasy liquid (from pigs or cassowaries).
(2) *noun* [fem] ritual to break the mourning period of a woman.
Note: A small amount of grease will be painted on her to break the mourning. After that women carry her to the river where she will wash after long time with being allow to wash.

yto *noun* [masc] arrow.
Note: This is a particular arrow with a blackpalm tip.

yufai *proper noun* male personal name.

yufaksi
(1) *verb* be bent. *tuti äyufthgr* 'The branches are bending.'
(2) *verb* bend.

yukrasi
(1) *positional verb* be standing. *kabe ykogr* 'The man is standing' stand. *gnäkuk!* 'You stand!'
(2) *verb* stand up. *sakuk!* 'You stand him up!'

yumad *kinship noun* [flex] sister-in-law, brother-in-law.
Note: This word is used between a woman and the *yamit* or *naku* of her husband in their of their name.

yumar *noun* [masc] bird type (eagle).

yumära *noun* [fem] yam display post.
Note: Large amounts of yams are piled around this post, and each layer of yams is wrapped with bark for stability as the construction grows higher and higher. Used for harvesting competitions.

yusi *also:* **yüsi** *noun* [masc] grass (general).

yüryür *noun* [masc] veins.

yüzi *also:* **yuzi** *noun* [fem] season, time. *efthar yüzi rä.* 'It is the dry season.' *tharisi yüzi rä.* 'It is the harvesting season.'

ywaythk *prefixing verb* [no infinitive] to come to an end. *trikasi fof zwaythk.* 'The story has come to an end.'

ywägr *positional verb* [no infinitive] to be precariously up high.

Z

z *particle* already.

z nm *particle* expresses uncertainty about sth. in the past. *ŋare znm zwaniyak.* 'maybe the woman came.'

zabari nabi *noun* [fem] bow (when the bowstring is taken off).

zafat *noun*
(1) [fem] week.
(2) [fem] sunday.
Note: loanword from English ('sabbath').

zafazafa *noun* [masc] yam vine stick.
Note: These yam vine sticks are short. They are planted first until the vine grows up to a particular height.
see: **fitot**

zafe *adjective* old, long ago.

zagr *adjective* far.

zaimai garda *noun* [masc] sailing canoe.

zaksi
(1) *positional verb* anchor, position, park. *garda yzthgr.* 'the canoe is anchored.'
(2) *verb*

zamenzo *adjective* naked.

zan
(1) *transitive verb* hit, kill. *nze tauri kwa yfnzé.* 'I will kill the wallaby' *be fi sakwr!* 'You hit him!'
(2) *noun* [fem] war, fight, murder, killing.

zan kabe *noun* [masc] killer, headhunter.

zanäbü *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Manilkara sp*

zane *demonstrative* this, these (the one close by).

zanfr *adjective* tall.

zar *noun* [masc] edge, wall. *garda zar* 'the wall of the canoe'

zarfa *noun* [masc] ear.

zarfa sgu kabe *noun* [flex] disobedient people, delinquents.

zarga *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Alpinia sp*

zarthar *noun* [masc] papuan taipan. ◇ *Oxyuranus scutellatus*

zaru *noun* [masc] tree type, candlenut. ◇ *Aleutrites mollucana*
Note: The nuts of this plant are collected. People will boil and dry them, and sell them in Sota.

zarzsi
(1) *positional verb* tie, be tied. *ŋad yrzarthgr.* 'The rope is tied.'
(2) *verb* tie, tie together.

zath
(1) *noun* [masc] moon.
(2) *kinship noun* [flex] grandfather, grandmother, grandchild.
(3) *kinship noun* [flex] father in-law, mother in-law, daughter in-law.

Note: This word is used reciprocally between a woman and her parents in-law instead of their respective names as well as between grandparents and grandchildren. It is somewhat archaic and most often *aki* is used.
see: **aki**

zathar *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Melaleuca sp*
Note: The bark of this tree is used for roofing or as a torch.

zathzath *noun* [masc] papuan herring. ◇ *Nematalosa papuensis*

zawafi *noun* [masc] armband.
Note: woven or braided from rattan or string.

zawe
(1) *adjective* right.
(2) *noun* [feminine] hobby, preference. *zuzi amane zawe rä.* 'Fishing is mother's hobby.'
(3) *noun* [feminine] side.
see: **wazi**

zaza *noun* [masc] stick to carry, pigs is tied to a stick and then carried by two people (on the shoulder).

zazazü *noun* [fem] big lump of roots and soil on a fallen tree's base.

zä *deictic* here (close by).

zär *also:* **zäre** *noun* [fem] shade. *käthfo bobo! käms bobo zären!* 'Go and sit there in the shade!'

zärethé *adjective* shady.

zäth *property noun* ignorance, rejection, refusal.

zäté *noun* [plural] part of a bee hive.
Note: This refers to the walls between different sections of a hive.

zäzr *adjective* lazy, exhausted.

zäzr mnz *proper noun* place name.

zbär *noun* [fem] night, darkness.

zbär mrärü *noun* [fem] midnight when all is quiet.

zbärthé *noun* [masc] papuan black snake.

zeda *noun* crotch, joint between the legs.

zena *temporal* today, now.

zf *deictic* right here.

zfi *noun* [masc] rattan type.
Note: grows on high ground.

zfro *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Melaleuca sp*
Note: used for timber.

zfth *noun*
(1) [masc] base of sth.. *ane nabi zfth bä erä foba ane dö ŋakwirmo.* 'The base of the bamboos there, from there, the goana was running away.' *nafanme zfth kabe firran thäkwrath fof.* 'They killed their ancestors (lit. 'base men') in Firra.'
(2) [fem] reason, cause. *nafanme zfthenwä fi zafaroth.* 'They left for their own reasons.' *bthanane zfth ane kaf fä fof rä.* 'The origin of magic/sorcery lies really there in that place.'
Note: This is a culturally important term. Many places are named after the base/stem of a particular plant, for example: *karesa zfth*, *misa zfth*, *benzü zfth*

zfthen *locational* below, down. *bad fthé zamar rsrs rä. neba warfo rä. neba zfthen rä.* 'When

you look, you will see that the ground is a slope: high on one side and low on the opposite side.'

zfu *noun* [masc] bundle (bundle of yams tied together).

zi *noun* [masc] pain.

zi nge *noun* [flex] tobacco; very strong tobacco.
Note: lit. "pain child"

zifär *noun* [masc] wrapped package.
Note: Usually something is wrapped in bark or put into split bamboo.

ziksi
(1) *prefixing verb* go of the side.
(2) *transitive verb* put someone to the side (of the road).

zimu *noun* [masc] snot, mucus.

zinaksi *verb* put down.
see: **ynaksi**

zinbraksi *middle verb* go away, pass by. *nzä zwäznbr namä ezi kwanmär.* 'He passed by me without saying good morning.' *bä ezinbrakwé yaken.* 'I overtook them in the race.'

zinzraksi *verb* replace. *wotuwotu yzinzrakwr bänema kwarsirmth.* 'He replaced the fencing sticks because they burned.'

zirkn *property noun* persistence, insistence. *zirknzo rä.* 'She is just stubborn. / She is just insisting.'

zirthé *adjective* wet.

ziru *noun* coconut shoot (when opened, even later when is has dried and fallen on the ground).

zisé *property noun* strong, painful.

zithzith *property noun* slipping, slippery.

ziyasi *verb* roll string on the knee. *ŋad yiziyanzé.* 'I roll the string.'

zizi *noun* [fem] afternoon, evening. *namä zizi* 'good afternoon'

zkizki *noun* [masc] achilles heel.

zknsi *also:* **zzknsi** *verb* move. *käzkn!* 'Move over!' *kafusi zbo wzknwé.* 'I move the cup here.'

zkuzku *noun* [plural] raft.
Note: bamboos or tree trunks tied together

zmaksi *verb* estimate, study. *kwot kezmath rtmaksir.* 'Estimate it properly in order to cut it!' *fath ŋazmakwr mnz räzsir.* 'He estimates the place for building a house.'

zmegsi
(1) *positional verb* mark, be marked. *ane ŋazi wzmethgr.* 'That coconut is marked.'
(2) *verb* mark, put a mark on something, put the blame on someone. *efoth wzmegwé.* 'I mark that day.' *nze zane faf wzmegwé ŋaraker.* 'I mark this place for (my) garden.'

zmn *noun* [fem] hip.

znsä *noun* [fem] work.

znsäznsä *noun* [fem] office work, book work.

znzrf *noun* [masc] lake grunter. ◇ *Variichthys lacustris*

zokwasi *noun* [fem] language, speech, words.

zon *noun* [masc] plant type, legume. ◇ *Canavalia sp*
Note: medical use: liquid from shoots is eaten against pain.

zöbthé ebar *noun* [flex] first born child.

zödma *proper noun* people from the East.
Note: This word usually refers to people from Bebdbn, Bimadbn and further East.

zöfäthak *proper noun* place name.

zök *noun* [fem] broad-snouted catfish. ◇ *Potamosilurus latirostris*

zöt *noun* [masc] tree type. ◇ *Grewia sp*
Note: This tree is used to make grass skirts.

zöt ŋad *noun* [masc] rope.
Note: A thin rope made out of inner bark of the *zöt* tree.

zr *noun* [masc] tooth.

zr dmgu *noun* [masc] bee type, live in very small holes in trees.

zr kam ufaf *noun* [masc] roof beam.

zr kuku *noun* [fem] overhanging roof extension of a house.
Note: this is usually found on one end of a yam storage house. people like to sit and sleep underneath the *zr kuku*.

zr sam *noun* [fem] saliva, spit.

zra *noun* [fem] swamp, billabong.

zras *noun* [masc] grass type. ◇ *Cyperus sp*
Note: This plant is dried and used for weaving a mat. Sometimes the leaves are used instead of a mat.

zrfa *locational* in front of. *nzone ausi fäth fi zba zrfa zwanmnzrm.* 'My wife was sitting here in front.' *mnz zrfa mni ŋarsirm.* 'The fire was burning in front of the house.'

zrin
(1) *noun* [fem] problem, burden. *bone zrin rä.* 'It is your problem.'
(2) *property noun* heaviness, heavy. *wämne zrinthé yé.* 'The tree is heavy.'
(3) *verb* [no infinitive] carry. *fitot yzänzé.* 'I carry the yamstick' *nima sfyako sugar zrinr* 'He went away to carry/bring the sugar'

zrminz *noun* [masc] roots (tooth + vine).

zrthé *adjective* sharp.

zrwar *noun* [fem] turtle (ocean).

zrzü *noun* [masc] knee.

zthé *noun* [masc] penis.

zuaku *noun*
(1) [flex] widow, widower, orphan.
(2) [fem] mourning costume for women.

zuwezuwe *noun* [fem] Blue-faced Honeyeater. ◇ *Entomyzon cyanotis*

zuyak
(1) *noun* [masc] python type.
Note: This python's skin is partly yellow and blue with some white spots.
(2) *noun* [masc] tree type, glue tree. ◇ *Rhodania sp*
Note: The inner bark is bright red. This part is used a glue for drumskins. It is mixed with saliva by chewing on it.

zuzi *noun* fishing.

zuzi ŋad *noun* [fem] fishing line.

zuzi zr *noun* [fem] fishing hook.

züb *property noun* depth, deep. *züb yfö rä.* 'It is a deep hole.' *zübthé yfö rä.* 'It is a deep hole.' *züben ŋabrüzr* 'He dives to the deep.'

zübraksi
(1) *positional verb* be closed. *nafane si ezübthgr.* 'His eyes are closed.'
(2) *middle verb* close eyes, pray.
(3) *noun* [fem] prayer, church service.

züfi *noun* [masc] wasp type of insect.

züm *noun* [masc] centipede.

zünizüni *property noun* shock, surprise. *nze zünizüni thufathwé.* 'I was shocked, surprised.'
Note: fixed expression for getting shocked *zünizüni fathasi* lit. "hold the zünizüni"

zünzri *property noun* shock, surprise.

zünzsi *middle verb* whimper, cry quietly. *ŋare ŋazünzr nafafis kwarkaneme.* 'The woman is crying because of her late husband.'

zürb *noun* [masc] tree type, cornbeefwood. ◇ *Barringtonia sp*
Note: medical use: leafes are put on wounds.

zürn *noun* [fem] smoke.

zürsi *transitive verb* crack with teeth.

zürt *property noun* dry.

zwäf *property noun* warm, lukewarm.

zwärn *noun* [masc] plant type. ◇ *Choriceras sp*
Note: This plant is used for yamsticks.

zwäsi *also:* **rzwäsi**
(1) *verb* gossip, talk about. *naf kabe yazwänzr.* 'He gossips about him.'
(2) *verb* make plans. *fam wäzäne fiyafr.* 'We make plans for going hunting.'

zzar *noun* [fem] fish net.

zzarfa *also:* **zarfazarfa** *noun* [masc] plant type, ginger.
Note: This plants is eaten against bad coughs or a blocked nose. It is also part of rain making magic
see: **wayafü**

zzin *noun* [masc] campbell's tigerperch. ◇ *Datnioides campbelli*

zzuaku *noun* [masc] fly river anchovy. ◇ *Thryssa rastrosa*
Note: The bones resemble a woman's mourning costume (*zuaku*).
see: **mafar**

zzarzzar *noun* [fem] spiderweb.
Note: resembles a fishing net
see: **zzar**

zzrezzre *noun* [fem] Willy Wagtail.

Appendix B

Sample Texts

B.1 *Nzürna trikasi*

This text belongs to a genre of stories called *nzürna trikasi* '*nzürna* stories'. I translate *nzürna* with 'devil', 'spirit' or 'witch'. Although all of these translations fall short of a full description, the *nzürna* character has some resemblance to witches in a western context. They are malevolent beings, usually old women, who live in the forest. They have long eyebrows and sharp fingernails, with which they disembowel people to devour them. They can change their appearance to look like a human being. They can summon and control animals, especially the centipede (*züm*). They often trick people who foolishly walk alone in the forest. [1]

Although *nzürna trikasi* belong to a particular place, they are public stories. The *nzürna* character is often joked about. For example, one may call a person or a dog *nzürna*, when it roams around in the dark. Although there are many local variations of the *nzürna* theme, we can identify some recurring elements. First, the *nzürna* often lives in a tree, usually a *wäsi* tree. Second, most stories involve some innocent person who is killed and eaten. Third, relatives and friends of the victim take revenge by burning the *nzürna*.

The following *nzürna* story belongs to the hamlet of Firra. The narrator is Maraga Kwozi. He was born in Firra, but he told me the story in Morehead. This *nzürna* story deviates in two points. First, the *nzürna* character lives together with a husband, and they have children. Second, the *nzürna* character lived in harmony with the people of Firra up until she kills and eats a visitor.[2]

[1] All texts in the appendix have been edited in the following way: (i) I corrected mistakes that came up during the transcription, (ii) I have removed overly long speech pauses, and (iii) I have lumped together some annotations and split others. All editorial changes were kept to a minimum. The unedited versions can be found in the archive under the respective source codes.

[2] The source code for this text is: tci20120901-01.

1 *zaföwä ... fthé kabe keke kwot tüfr thfrärm*

zafe=wä (.) fthé kabe keke kwot tüfr
before=EMPH (.) when man NEG properly plenty
thf\rä/rm
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'Long time ago, that is when there were not many people'

2 *thwamnzrm zane kafar baden thé z kabe enrera*

thwa\m/nzrm zane kafar bad=en thé z
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell DEM:PROX big ground=/Loc when ALR
kabe en\rä/ra
man 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be

'and they were living here on this land. That is when people came.'

3 *nä kabe thfamnzrm ... mogarkamen ... kar nima rä ... mogrkam*

nä kabe thfa\m/nzrm (.) mogarkam=en (.)
INDF man 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell (.) PLACE.N=LOC village
kar nima \rä/ mogrkam
like_this 3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/be PLACE.N

'Some people lived in Mogarkam ... There is a village there ... Mogarkam'

4 *okay, nä thfamnzrm firran*

okay nä thfa\m/nzrm firra=n
okay INDF 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell PLACE.N=LOC

'Okay, others lived in Firra.'

5 *okay, nä fä fefe thwamnzrm mänwä kar bramöwä erä*

okay nä fä fefe thwa\m/nzrm mä=wä kar
okay INDF DIST really 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell where=EMPH all
bramöwä e\rä/
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'Okay, other lived really there, where all the villages (and hamlets) are.'

6 *firra mrmren ... mane zfrärm ... nzürna ŋare bobo zwamnzrm*

firra mrmr=en (.) mane zf\rä/rm (.) nzürna
PLACE.N inside=LOC (.) which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) spirit
ŋare bobo zwa\m/nzrm
woman MED.ABL 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell

'As for Firra, a *nzürna* woman lived in the village.'

7 *nzürna ŋare nafafisrwä thfrnm*

nzürna ŋare nafa-fis=r=wä
spirit woman 3.POSS-husband=ASSOC.DU=EMPH
thf\rn/m
2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'The *nzürna* woman was with her husband.'

8 *nafafis yf nagawa ... tnztnz kabe sfrärm*

nafa-fis yf nagawa (.) tnz-tnz kabe
3.POSS-husband name PERS.N (.) REDUP-short man
sf\rä/rm
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'His name (was) Nagawa ... He was a short guy.'

9 *nafane ŋare ... nzürna ŋare fof yf mane zfrärm zafo ... nafrr thwamrnm*

nafane ŋare (.) nzürna ŋare fof yf mane
3SG.POSS woman (.) spirit woman EMPH name which
zf\rä/rm zafo (.) nafrr
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be PERS.N (.) 3DU.ASSOC
thwam\rn/m
2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'His wife ... the *nzürna* woman whose name was Zafo ... He lived with her.'

10 *wati, mä fefe thwamrnm wäsü ... nafanme mnz zfrärm*

wati, mä fefe thwam\rn/m wäsü (.) nafanme
then where really 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell PROP.N (.) 3NSG.POSS
mnz zf\rä/rm
house 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'Where they really lived (was) the Wäsü tree ... it was there house.'

11 *wäsü kafar sukogrm ... ane yfön thuthkrnm*

wäsü kafar su\kogr/m (.) ane yfö=n
PROP.N big 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR:STAT/stand (.) DEM hole=LOC
thu\thkr/nm
2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR:STAT/be.inside

'There was a big Wäsü tree standing ... They were inside that hole.'

12 *boba mnz nafanme zfrärm mä thwamrnm*

boba mnz nafanme zf\rä/rm mä
MED.ABL house 3NSG.POSS 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be where
thwa\m/rnm
2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell

'This was their house, where they were living'

13 *firra kar mrmren kabe thwamnzrm fobo*

firra kar mrmr=en kabe thwa\m/nzrm fobo
PLACE.N village inside=LOC man 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell DIST.ALL

'People were living over there in the village of Firra.'

14 *kabe fthé kwarfakunzrmth fthé thfyakm*

kabe fthé kwa\rfaku/nzrmth fthé thf\yak/m
man when 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/sprinkle when 2|3PL:SBJPST:DUR/walk

'When the people spread out, when they went ...'

15 *nima ŋarake znfo o fiyafr o … nima efothen … etfthmöwä fthé thfyakm*

nima ŋarake zn=fo o fiyaf=r o (.) nima
like_this fence place=LOC or hunting=PURP or (.) like_this
efoth=en (.) etfth=me=wä fthé thf\yak/m
day=LOC (.) sleep=INS=EMPH when 2|3PL:SBJPST:DUR/walk

'like this to the garden place or hunting or during the day ... or when went overnight'

16 *ane nzürna ŋare ausi fof kwänzinzr … fi zwanyakm*

ane nzürna ŋare ausi fof kwän\zinzr/
DEM spirit woman old woman EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:ITER:VENIT/replace
(.) fi zwan\yak/m
(.) 3.ABS 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/walk

'that *nzürna* woman, that old woman always took over they place ... she came.'

17 *gatha kar fthé thumarwrm … gathagathame thfnakwrmth mnz gatha kar.*

gatha kar fthé thu\mar/wrm (.) gathagatha=me
rubbish when 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/see (.) bad=INS
thf\nak/wrmth mnz gatha kar
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/put.down house rubbish

'when she saw the rubbish ... they had carelessly put down the rubbish in the house'

18 *dödö thfefaf ane zurenwrmo mnz fath thwafiyokwrm*

dödö thfe\faf/ ane
broom 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:ITER/hold DEM
zu\ren/wrmo mnz fath
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG:FEM:PST:DUR:ANDAT/sweep house clear place
thwa\fiyok/wrm
SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:PST:DUR/make

'She always grabbed the broom, sweeped the house and cleaned it for them.'

19 *nafanme kkauna monme gathagathame thfnakwrmth kwot namäme thfanakwrm*

nafanme k-kauna mon=me gathagatha=me
3NSG.POSS REDUP-stuff how=INS bad=INS
thf\nak/wrmth kwot namä=me
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:PST:DUR/put.down properly good=INS
thfa\nak/wrm
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/put.down

'How they had dropped their things carelessly, she was sorting their (things) properly.'

20 *mnzen thwarakthkwramo ... mni tnztnz rä ... kwanbrigwrm nafanemäwä mnzfo*

mnz=en thwa\rakthk/wramo (.)
house=LOC 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:PST:DUR:ANDAT/put.on.top (.)
mni tnz-tnz rä (.)
firewood REDUP-short 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:/Ipfv/be (.)
kwan\brig/wrm nafaneme=wä mnz=fo
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/return 3NSG.POSS=Emph house=ALL

'She put their (things) back in the house ... like the small firewood ... She brought (it) back to their houses.'

21 *fthé we thwanyakm thwänthor ... ane mnz woga fthé swänthor*

fthé we thwan\yak/m thwän\thor/
when also 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/walk 2|3PL:SBJ:ITERVENIT/arrive
(.) ane mnz woga fthé swän\thor/
(.) DEM house man when 3SG.MASC:SBJ:ITER:VENIT/arrive

'When they were coming back, each time they arrived ... each time when the house owner arrived'

22 *"oh zane ŋare z nzwänyak mnz fath zf nzürenwro zrä."*

oh zane ŋare z nz=wän\yak/
oh DEM:PROX woman ALR IPST=3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/walk
mnz fath zf
house clear place IMM
nz=w\ren/wro
IPST=2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/sweep
z=\rä/
PROX=3SG:FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'(he said) "Oh, this woman already came. She has sweeped the houseyard just now."'

23 *zafe kabe miyatha thfrärm nafanme rzarsi monme zfrärm ... ane kar woganzo*

zafe kabe miyatha thf\rä/rm nafanme rzar=si
before man knowledgeable 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be 3NSG.POSS tie-NMLZ
mon=me zf\rä/rm (.) ane kar woga=nzo
how=INS 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) DEM village man=ONLY

'Before, the people people knew how they relations were ... only those village people.'

24 *nafä fi monme nzürna ŋareyä kwarzarwrmth*

nafä fi mon=me nzürna ŋare=ä
3PL.ASSOC 3.ABS how=INS spirit woman=ASSOC.PL
kwa\rzar/wrmth
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/tie

'how they were related with the *nzürna* woman.'

25 *keke thufnzrm ane karma kabe naf ... bänema fi nar wogathatha bäne thfrärm nima*

keke thu\fn/nzrm ane kar=ma kabe
NEG 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/hit DEM village=CHAR man
naf (.) bäne=ma fi nar woga=thatha bäne
3SG.ERG (.) DEM:MED=CHAR 3.ABS friend man=SIMIL DEM:MED
thf\rä/rm nima
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be like_this

'She did not attack people from that village ... because they were like friends ...'

26 *miyatha thfrärm ... nafane nagayé thfrärm naf thwamonegwrm ... kabe fefe*

miyatha thf\rä/rm (.) nafane nagayé
knowledgeable 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) 3NSG.POSS children
thf\rä/rm naf
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be 3SG.ERG
thwa\moneg/wrm (.) kabe fefe
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:PST:DUR/look.after (.) man really

'they knew ... They were her children. She looked after them ... really (after) the people.'

27 *wati, nä kayé ... mogarkamma kabe nima sfyakm firrafo*

wati nä kayé (.) mogarkam=ma kabe nima
then INDF yesterday (.) PLACE.N=CHAR man like_this
sf\yak/m firra=fo
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/walk PLACE.N=ALL

'Well, one day, a man from Mogarkam walked this way to Firra.'

28 *wati, fi mane yara nama zokwasi woga yara*

wati fi mane ya\r/a nama zokwasi woga
then 3.ABS which 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be PROP.N language man
ya\r/a
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be

'As for this one, he was a speaker of Nama.'

29 *firran mane thwamnzrm mema zokwasi woga yara ... fthé thwamnzrm kabe*

firra=n mane thwa\m/nzrm mema zokwasi woga
PLACE.N=LOC which 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell PROP.N language man
ya\r/a (.) fthé thwa\m/nzrm kabe
3SG.MASC:PST:IPFV/be (.) when 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell man

'As for the ones who lived in Firra, they were speaker of Mema ... when the people lived in Firra.'

30 *wati, fi mane yaka e "krara krara krara"*

wati fi mane \yak/a e
then 3.ABS which 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/walk until
krara krara krara
sound of the coockatoo

'Well, when he walked. "krara krara krara"'

31 *firra sathora fof with fren fof "krara krara krara"*

firra sa\thor/a fof with fr=en fof
PLACE.N 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV EMPH banana stem=LOC EMPH
krara krara krara
sound of the coockatoo

'He arrived in Firra (and he went) between the banana stems "krara krara krara"'

32 *fi zära yakme we senis zära ... kabe wokuthé zäkora nima kabe*

fi zä\r/a yak=me we senis
3.ABS 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/do walk=INS also change
zä\r/a (.) kabe woku=thé
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/do (.) man skin=ADJZR
zä\kor/a nima kabe
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/become like_this man

'He quickly changed ... He became humanlike ... like a man.'

33 *ane si thäbu zanfr ra zane thfrärm ... ofe ŋarerath ... zäwthefa ... kabe zäkora*

ane si thäbu zanfr ra zane thf\rä/rm (.)
DEM eye hair long what DEM:PROX 2|3PL:SBJ:PST.DUR/be (.)
ofe ŋa\rä/rath (.) zä\wthef/a (.) kabe
absence 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/do (.) 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/change (.) man
zä\kor/a
2|3SG:SBJ:PST.PFV/become

'These long eyebrows and whatever else there was ... it disappeared ... he changed ... he became a human.'

34 *watik ŋare nima zrä̈zigrm "awe nzone moba nzranyak?"*

watik ŋare nima zrä\zigrm/ awe
then woman like_this 3SG.FEM:SBJ:IRR:PFV/look.around come
nzone moba nzran\yak/
1SG.POSS where.ABL 2SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV:VENIT/walk

'Well, the woman was looking around (and said) "Come my (friend), where do you come from?"'

35 *naf we komnzo zära nima "oh zane ausinzo zf zagathifth"*

naf we komnzo zä\r/a nima oh zane
3SG.ERG also only 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/do like_this oh DEM:PROX
ausi=nzo zf za\gathif/th
old woman=ONLY IMM 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:PFV/leave

'He was also thinking "Oh, they have left only thi old woman behind."'

36 *"kabe matak erä nima z bramöwä kwafarkwrth nima erä ŋarsfo" ... "awow"*

kabe matak e\rä/ nima z bramöwä
man nothing 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be like_this ALR all
kwa\fark/wrth nima e\rä/
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/set.off like_this 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
ŋars=fo
river=ALL

"'Nobody is here. All the people left this way to the river." ... "Okay"'

39 *yamenzo srathams ... kramath with tayo yanrkunzr ... yarithr*

yame=nzo sra\thams/ (.)
mat=ONLY 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:IRR:PFV/spread.out (.)
kra\math/ with tayo
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/run banana ripe
yan\rku/nzr (.)
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/knock.down (.)
ya\ri/thr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/give

'She spread (the mat) for him, ran and knocked down some ripe banana for him ... and gave them to him.'

40 *kafar famä zäkora nima "nzone dagonma zane zf yé. z nzyanyak"*

kafar fam=ä zä\kor/a nima nzone
big thought=ASSOC 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/become like_this 1SG.POSS
dagon=ma zane zf \yé/ z
food DEM:PROX IMM 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be ALR
nz=yan\yak/
IPST=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/walk

'She had big thoughts like this "This one here is my dinner. He already came."'

40 *bänema yrgfakwa nima "zane karma keke yé. moba zane nm nzyanyak?"*

bäne=ma y\rgfak/wa nima
DEM:MED 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/recognize like_this
zane kar=ma keke \yé/ moba
DEM:PROX village=CHAR NEG 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be DEM:PROX
zane nm nz=yanyak
maybe where.ABL IPST=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/walk

'because she realized "He is not from this village. Where might he have come from?"'

41 *garam garam srethkäf "kwa ŋabrigwr? efoth byé!"*

garam garam sre\thkäf/ kwa
sweet talk 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start FUT
ŋa\brig/wr efoth b=\yé/
2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/return sun MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'She started sweet-talking him "Will you return (today)? The sun setting already?"'

42 *"keke, zä zf kwa worugr. kwa fof thrämonesé kayé fthé thräthor."*

keke zä zf kwa wo\rug/r kwa fof
NEG PROX IMM FUT 1SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sleep FUT EMPH
thrä\mones/é kayé fthé
1SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/wait tomorrow when
thrä\thor/
2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/arrive

"'No, I will sleep right here. I will wait until they return tomorrow."'

43 *zbär ... faf ŋathamsakrnth ... etfth kramnzerth*

zbär (.) faf ŋa\thamsak/rnth (.) etfth
night (.) place 2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/spread.out (.) sleep
kra\mnzer/th
2|3DU:SBJ:IRR:PFV/fall.asleep

'The night (came) and the spread (the mats) and they fell asleep.'

44 *etfth kwosi krämnzer ... ausi nzürna ŋare krebnaf "züm züm züm züm"*

etfth kwosi krä\mnzer/ (.) ausi nzürna ŋare
sleep dead 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/fall.asleep (.) old woman spirit woman
kre\bnaf/ 4x(züm)
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/wake.up 4x(centipede)

'He was fast asleep! The *nzürna* woman woke up (and called out) "centipedes! centipedes! centipedes! centipedes!"'

45 *subnazrm fof ... sain swarithrm ... wati*

su\bnaz/rm fof (.) sain
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/wake.up EMPH (.) sign
swa\ri/thrm (.) wati
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:PST:DUR/wake.up (.) enough

'She was really waking him up, giving him a sign ... but no.'

46 *keke zethäkna ane*

keke ze\thäkn/a ane
NEG SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/shake DEM

'That one did not move.'

47 *yaka zanrnzo srewakuth.*

yaka zan=r=nzo sre\wakuth/
yamstick hit=PURP=ONLY SG:SBJ>3SG:MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/pick.up

'She picked up the yamstick to kill him.'

48 *di fof safrnza kwosi.*

di fof sa\frnz/a kwosi
back of the head EMPH SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/uproot dead

'She whacked him on the head (and killed him).'

49 *kwot yanatha fä fof ... bramöwä.*

kwot ya\na/tha fä fof (.) bramöwä
properly SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/eat DIST EMPH (.) all

'She ate him there ... completely.'

50 *sabtha wthnzo ezänzr. füni komnzo bikogr firran.*

sa\bth/a wth=nzo
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/finish intestines=ONLY
e\zä/nzr füni komnzo
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/carry PROP.N still
b=y\kogr/ firra=n
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:STAT/stand PLACE.N=LOC

'She finished him and carried away only the intestines. The *füni* tree still stands in Firra.'

51 *wämne … yf füni yé … firran bä ykogr.*

wämne (.) yf füni \yé/ (.)
tree (.) name PROP.N 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.)
firra=n bä y\kogr/
PLACE.N=LOC MED 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:STAT/stand

'The name of the tree is *füni*. It stands there in Firra'

52 Maraga addresses me directly now.

nä kayé fthé boba gnyako nima kwa ymarwr … ane kafar wämne.

nä kayé fthé boba gn\yak/o nima
INDF yesterday when MED.ALL 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV:ANDAT/go like_this
kwa y\mar/wr (.) ane kafar wämne
FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/see (.) DEM big tree

'When you go there some day, you will see it ... that big tree.'

53 Marua, who sits in the back, tells him that I have been to Firra in the previous week.

z nyakako? … zba mothfa mane ykogr füni.

z n\yak/ako (.) zba moth=fa mane
ALR 2SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:ANDAT/walk (.) PROX.ABL path=ABL which
y\kogr/ füni
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:STAT/stand PROP.N

'You already went? ... (It is) here on the road, where the *füni* tree stands.'

54 *ane bafen … yakan dganzo saräsa.*

ane baf=en (.) yaka=n dga=nzo
DEM RECOG=LOC (.) yamstick=LOC bifurcation=ONLY
sa\räs/a
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/erect

'At that place ... on the yamstick ... she rammed it in the ground.'

55 *wth fobo fof thämira … ane kabeane wth. fi zäbrimako … zäthbako mnzen.*

wth fobo fof thä\mir/a (.) ane
intestines DIST.ALL EMPH SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST.PFV/hang (.) DEM
kabe=ane wth fi zä\brim/ako (.)
man=POSS intestines 3.ABS SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:ANDAT/return (.)
zä\thb/ako mnz=en
SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:ANDAT/enter house=LOC

'She hanged the intestines up there ... that man's intestines! Then she went back. She went inside the house.'

56 *nafafis oromanf zräses fof "be ranzo änfiyokwr, ah? ... bä moba nrä? ... mä nznrugr?"*

nafa-fis oroman=f zrä\ses/
3.POSS-husband old man=ERG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/ask
fof be ra=nzo
EMPH 2SG.ERG what=ONLY
än\fiyok/wr ah (.) bä moba
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/make ah (.) 2.ABS where.ABL
n\rä/ (.) mä nzn\rugr/
2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) where 2SG.SBJ:RPST:IPFV/sleep

'Her husband, the old man, asked her "Just what have you been doing, hey? Where are you coming coming from? Where have you slept?"'

57 *"mä kwa! bä fof zämnzeré ... zbärma."*

mä kwa bä fof zä\mnzer/é (.) zbär=ma
where FUT MED EMPH 1SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/fall.asleep (.) night=CHAR

"'Where do you think? I slept there because it got night."'

58 *"nagayaneme znsän zwäfonz. ane gathagathame kkauna mane egathikwroth."*

nagayé=aneme znsä=n
children=POSS.NSG work=LOC
zwä\fonz/ ane gathagatha=me
1SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/be.caught.by.nightfall DEM bad=INS
k-kauna mane e\gathik/wroth
REDUP-thing which 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/leave

"'I was caught by nightfall while working for the children (sorting) those things which they leave scattered around."'

59 *nafafis miyamr.*

nafa-fis miyamr
3.POSS-husband ignorance

'Her husband had no idea.'

60 *fi thé enthorakwa … mnz kabe fof … nima thäzigrma*

fi fthé en\thorak/wa (.) mnz kabe fof
3.ABS when 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/arrive (.) house people EMPH
(.) nima thä\zigrm/a
(.) like_this 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/look

'At thas time the house owners returned. They looked around like this.'

61 *"nä tmatm ffé nzŋawänzr … manema kabe zä naf nzyanathr?"*

nä tmatm fefe nz=ŋa\wä/nzr (.) mane=ma
INDF event real IPST=2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/happen (.) which=CHAR
kabe zä naf nz=ya\na/thr
man PROX 3SG.ERG IPST=2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/eat

"'Something terrible has just happened? From which (village) is the man who she has eaten here?"'

62 *äniyaka zbär zf zukwinzrmth zfkonzrmth.*

än\yak/a zbär zf
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/walk night IMM
zu\kwi/nzrmth
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/argue
zf\ko/nzrmth
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/tell

'In the night, they came right here and they cursed her and told her.'

63 *zäbrimath "mon kwa wäfiyokwre? bänema kabe z nzirärkwr … z nzyanathr."*

zä\brim/ath mon kwa
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/return how FUT
wä\fiyok/wre bäne=ma kabe z
1PL:SBJ>:3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make RECOG=CHAR man ALR
nz=y\rärk/wr (.) z
IPST=2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/mess.up (.) ALR
nzyanathr
IPST=2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/eat

'They returned (and said) "What are we going to do with her? because she already messed up this man ... she already ate him."'

64 *wati bthan kabe thfrärm … kabe firran mane thwamnzrm.*

wati bthan kabe thf\rä/rm (.) kabe firra=n mane
then magic man 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) men firra=LOC who
thwa\m/nzrm
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'Okay, there were sorcerers ... who were living in Firra.'

65 *wati, ttmatm äfiyokwrth. ttmatm zwafiyokwrmth*

wati t-tmatm ä\fiyok/wrth
then REDUP-action 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make
t-tmatm zwa\fiyok/wrmth
REDUP-action 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:PST:DUR/make

'Okay, they make this things (magic). They were doing this to her.'

66 *fam wäfiyokwrth näbinzo "mnime n zräföfe." ... nima tmatmr rä*

fam wä\fiyok/wrth näbi=nzo mni=me n
thought 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/make one=ONLY fire=INS IMN
zrä\föf/e (.) nima tmatm=r
1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/burn (.) like_this action=PURP
\rä/
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'They came up with one idea "We will burn her with fire." This was the plan.'

67 *wati, bthan tmatmme nafane fam zwarmänwrmth.*

wati bthan tmatm=me nafane fam
then magic action=INS 3SG.POSS though
zwa\rmän/wrmth
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:IO:PST:DUR/close

'Okay, with the magic they were closing her thinking.'

68 *wärmänwath e ane bafen keke kwamätrakwrm bänema fam z zürmänth.*

wä\rmän/wath e ane baf=en keke
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.OBJ:IO:NPST:IPFV/close until DEM RECOG=CHAR NEG
kwa\mätrak/wrm bäne=ma fam z
SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/come.out RECOG=CHAR thought ALR
zü\rmän/th
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:IO:ITER/close

'They were closing her up until she did not come out of that place anymore because her thoughts were always closed up.'

69 *wtri we z zära nima "z zwemarth ane yam fiyoksin."*

wtri we z zä\r/a nima z
fear also ALR 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be like_this ALR
zwe\mar/th ane yam fiyok-si=n
2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/see DEM event make-NMLZ=LOC

'She was also afraid (and thought) "They have understood that I have done this."'

70 *mni wthomonwrth yfö mä zfrärm.*

mni w\thomon/wrth yfö mä
fire 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/pile.up.fire hole where
zf\rä/rm
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'They piled up the fire where the whole (entrance) was.'

71 *mni wthomonwath a zräföfth.*

mni w\thomon/wath a
fire 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:PST:IPFV/pile.up.fire until
zrä\föf/th
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/burn

'They piled it up and they burned it.'

72 *fi yame yrsifnzo zukonzrm boba wämne yfön fof.*

fi yame yr-si=f=nzo
3.ABS mat weave-NMLZ=ERG=ONLY
zu\ko/nzrm boba wämne yfö=n
SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/become MED.ABL tree hole=LOC
fof
EMPH

'She was preoccupied with weaving the mat there in the tree hole.'

73 *nafafis bana krebnaf krekaris "u" mni u kwan fof.*

nafa-fis bana kre\bnaf/
3.POSS-husband poor 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/wake.up
kre\karis/ u mni u kwan fof
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/hear u fire sound of strong wind EMPH

'Her husband woke up and heard "uh" the strong wind of the fire.'

74 *kafar wäsü sukogrm mrab fren.*

kafar wäsü su\kogr/m mrab fr=en
big tree type 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/stand bamboo grove=LOC

'A big *wäsü* tree (Ficus elastica) was standing there in the bamboo grove.'

75 *waisamen ... waisamen ane kar yf rä mobo zwamnzrm ... mrab fr thden.*

waisamen (.) waisamen ane kar yf \rä/
PROP.N (.) PROP.N DEM place name 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
mobo zwa\m/nzrm (.) mrab fr thd=en
where.ALL 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell (.) bamboo grove middle=LOC

'Waisamen ... Waisamen is the name of that place where she was living ... in the middle of bamboo grove.'

76 *krär ... nafafis zräs "be ranzo kayé thwanfiyokwr?"*

krä\r/ (.) nafa-fis
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/do (.) 3.POSS-husband
zrä\s/ be ra=nzo kayé
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:IRR:PFV/ask 2SG.ERG what=ONLY yesterday
thwan\fiyok/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:IPFV:VENIT/make

'He got up ... her husband asked her "Just what have you done to them yesterday?"'

77 *"ra kwa thanfiyokwé?"*

ra kwa than\fiyok/wé
what FUT 1SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:IPFV:VENIT/make

'(She replied) "What do you think I have done?"'

78 *"ra kwan we rä ah?"*

ra kwan we \rä/ ah
what sound also 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be ah

'(He asked) "and what is that sound, eh?"'

79 *"nzukar banafa borbor bana sathor kma borbor u kwan zfrärm zufsgwrm fof."*

nzu-kar bana=fa borbor bana
1SG.POSS-place poor=ABL thunderstorm poor
sa\thor/ kma borbor u kwan
3SG.MASC:RPST:PFV/arrive POT thunderstorm sound of strong wind
zf\rä/rm zu\fsg/wrm fof
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/blow EMPH

'(She replied) "The thunderstorm is coming from my poor village. It must be the sound of the thunderstorm blowing."'

80 *mni kwarsirm. mni komnzo zöfthé zethkäfa.*

mni kwa\rsi/rm mni komnzo zöfthé ze\thkäf/a
fire SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/burn fire just before SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/start

'It was the fire burning. The fire (which) has just started (to burn) before.'

81 *nima sräzigrm nafafis bana fof zänmätra fof mni zbo z zamara.*

nima srä\zigrm/ nafa-fis bana fof
like_this 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:PFV/look 3.POSS-husband poor EMPH
zän\mätr/a fof mni zbo z
SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/exit EMPH fire PROX.ALL ALR
za\mar/a
SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/see

'He looked around. Her poor husband stepped outside and saw the fire right close.'

82 *rürä fthé zagathifa nima sathfärako.*

rürä fthé za\gathif/a nima
alone when SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/leave like_this
sa\thfär/ako
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV:ANDAT/jump

'(That was) when he left her alone. He jumped out like this.'

83 *nima fi fthé sathfärako yakäsü … trtha zuthorakwrm.*

nima fi fthé sa\thfär/ako
like_this 3.ABS when 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV:ANDAT/jump
yak=ä=sü (.) trtha zu\thorak/wrm
run=ASSOC=ETC (.) life SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/search

'when he jumped out in a rush, he was running for his life.'

84 *foba näbi fthé zanmatha fof.*

foba näbi fthé zan\math/a fof
DIST.ABL one when SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/ran EMPH

'From there, he ran for good.'

85 *emoth fäth nima ämnzr oten.*

emoth fäth nima ä\m/nzr ote=n
girl DIM like_this 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell PLACE.N=LOC

'The daughters are living there in Ote.'

86 *komnzo zena bobo rä. ane kar we nä fof rä trikasi kar fof.*

komnzo zena bobo \rä/ ane kar we
still today MED.ABL 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be DEM village also
nä fof \rä/ trik-si kar fof
INDF EMPH 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be tell-NMLZ village EMPH

'This place is still there and there is also a story there for that place.'

87 *dödö fr rä kafar dödö fr zbo thden rä.*

dödö fr \rä/ kafar dödö fr
tree type grove 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be big tree type grove
zbo thd=en \rä/
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be middle=LOC 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'The is a *dödö* grove (Melaleuca sp), a big *dödö* grove. It is in the middle.'

88 *näbüwä thé zanmatha ote. emoth fäthnm thrätrif*

näbi-wä fthé zan\math/a ote emoth
one=EMPH when SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/run PLACE.N girl
fäth=nm thrä\trif/
DIM=DAT.NSG 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:IRR:PFV/tell

'Then he ran off for good to Ote. He told the girls'

89 *"beŋame ausi ... bzaföfth ... nafanemäwä!"*

be-ŋame ausi (.)
2NSG.POSS-mother old woman (.)
b=za\föf/th (.)
MED=2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/burn (.)
nafane=ma=wä
3SG.POSS=CHAR=EMPH

"'Your mother, the old woman ... they burned her there ... (it was) her own fault!"'

90 *"kafar yam zwafiyokwr ... kabe nä z swanathr!"*

kafar yam zwa\fiyok/wr (.) kabe nä
big event 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/make (.) man INDF
z swa\na/thr
ALR 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/eat

'She did a big mistake. She ate some man!'

91 *fi nimanzo fefe yarako.*

fi nima=nzo fefe ya\r/ako
3.ABS like_this=ONLY really 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:ANDAT/be

'He had left just like this.'

92 *fi nima mni zewaräfa ... ŋarsira*

fi nima mni ze\waräf/a (.)
but like_this fire SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/burd.down (.)
ŋa\rsir/a
SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/burn

'But the fire burned like this ... it burned'

93 *ŋarsira kma zräzigrm "moba kwa krämätré? moba?"*

ŋa\rsir/a kma zrä\zigrm/ moba kwa
SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/burn POT 3SG.FEM:SBJ:IRR:PFV/burn where.ABL FUT
krä\mätr/é moba
1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/exit where.ABL

'It burned and she tried to look around (and said) "Where will I get out? Where?"'

94 *näbi fefe zaföfath ŋarsira eee kwot zäbtha.*

näbi fefe za\föf/ath
one really 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:PST:PFV/burn.down
ŋa\rsir/a eee kwot zä\bth/a
SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/burn until properly SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/finish

'They really burned her for good. It burned until she completely finished.'

95 *brbrnzo fof n zäthba bafen ... ymden fof.*

brbr=nzo fof n zä\thb/a baf=en (.)
spirit=ONLY EMPH IMN SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/enter RECOG=LOC (.)
ymd=en fof
bird=LOC EMPH

'Only the spirit was about to enter that one .. the bird.'

96 *"kuka kuka" fä mane wänor "kuka kuka"*

kuka kuka fä mane wä\nor/ kuka kuka
kuka kuka DIST who 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout kuka kuka

"'kuka kuka" The one that is shout "kuka kuka" over there.'

97 *krärth ane bthan woga ane kuka kuka zrämgth krätr.*

krä\r/th ane bthan woga ane kuka kuka
2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/do DEM magic man DEM kuka bird
zrä\mg/th krä\tr/
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:IRR:PFV/shoot 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/fall

'They got up. The sorcerers shoot that *kuka kuka* bird and it fell down.'

98 *wati, fefe zaföfath ane fobo fä zäbtha.*

wati fefe za\föf/ath ane fobo
then really 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:PST:PFV/burn.down DEM DIST.ALL
fä zä\bth/a
DIST SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/finish

'They really burned until that one was finished over there.'

99 *ane thrma mni fthé zäbtha wati nagawa ŋabrigwa sir*

ane thrma mni fthé zä\bth/a wati nagawa
DEM after fire when then PROP.N SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/return
ŋa\brig/wa si=r
eye=PURP

'After the fire finished, Nagawa went back to see'

100 *"komnzo rä o z kwarsir mnin?"*

komnzo \rä/ o z kwa\rsir/
sill 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be or ALR SG:RPST:IPFV/burn
mni=n
fire=LOC

' "Is she still alive or did she burn in the fire?"'

101 *ŋabrigwa bobomr we waisam wäsü thé sanmara "watik fi nafazfthenwä"*

ŋa\brig/wa bobomr we waisam (.) wäsü thé
SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/return until also PLACE.N (.) tree type when
san\mar/a watik fi nafa-zfth=en=wä
SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/see then 3.ABS 3.POSS-fault=LOC=EMPH

'He walked until Waisam. When he saw the *wäsü* tree (he said) "Well, (it was) her own fault."'

102 *yanzo bobo yanora ... nafaŋareanema ... wati, fi näbi zäbrima.*

ya=nzo bobo ya\nor/a (.)
cry=ONLY MED.ALL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/shout (.)
nafa-ŋare=ane=ma (.) wati fi näbi
3.POSS-woman=POSS=CHAR (.) then 3.ABS one
zä\brim/a
SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/return

'He was crying badly because of his wife. Then he returned for good.'

103 *zbo yamnzr ane woga oten. emoth fäthä ämnzr.*

zbo ya\m/nzr ane woga ote=n
PROX.ALL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell DEM man PLACE.N=/Loc
emoth fäth=ä ä\m/nzr
girl DIM=ASSOC.PL 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell

'That man lives here in Ote. He lives together with his daughters.'

104 *watik kabeyé komnzo fä nomai sumarwre ymarwre fthé*

watik kabe=yé komnzo fä nomai
then man=ERG.NSG still DIST always
su\mar/wrth
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/see
y\mar/wre fthé
1NSG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/see when

'Well, the people still see him there, we see him when...'

105 *fä ŋaritakwr nima firrafo yak we nima ŋabrigwr*

fä ŋa\ritak/wr nima firra=fo
DIST 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/cross like_this PLACE.N=ALL
\yak/ we nima ŋa\brig/wr
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/return

'he goes across (the river) like this when he goes to Firra; he also returns that same way on the sam.'

106 *tnz fäth ane kabe yé*

tnz fäth ane kabe \yé/
short DIM DEM man 3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/be

'He is a short guy.'

107 *ane nzürna ŋare ane … zokwasi nimame fof rä fof*

ane nzürna ŋare ane (.) zokwasi nima=me fof
DEM nzürna woman DEM (.) speech like_this=INS EMPH
\rä/ fof
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be EMPH

'This *nzürna* woman, that story is really like this.'

108 *mane bobo firran zwamnzrm.*

mane bobo firra=n zwa\m/nzrm
who MED.ALL PLACE.N=LOC 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell

'who was living there in Firra.'

109 *tüfr yam nä ffé thwafiyokwrm*

tüfr yam nä ffé thwa\fiyok/wrm
many event INDF really SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/make

'She did many things, '

110 *fi fathfa ane fof wäfiyokwa*

fi fath=fa ane fof
but clear_place=ABL DEM EMPH
wä\fiyok/wa
SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/make

'but she did this one in public.'

111 *nä karma kabe mane yanatha mogarkamma.*

nä kar=ma kabe mane ya\na/tha
INDF village=CHAR man who SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/eat
mogarkam=ma.
PLACE.N=CHAR

'a man from another village who she devoured, from *Mogarkam*.'

112 *nafane zokwasi ... ane trikasi fobonzo wythk fof brä ... ane nzürna ŋareanema.*

nafane zokwasi (.) ane trik-si fobo=nzo
3SG.POSS words (.) DEM tell-NMLZ DIST.ALL=ONLY
w\ythk/ fof
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/come_to_end EMPH
b=\rä/ (.) ane nzürna
MED=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) DEM nzürna
ŋare=ane=ma
woman=POSS.SG=CHAR

'Her story ... that story finishes there ... about that *nzürna* woman.'

113 *watik, fobo fof zräkoré.*

watik fobo fof zrä\kor/é
then DIST.ALL EMPH 1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak

'Well, I have told it there.'

114 *nä karen nima nä buné bänema ...*

nä kar=en nima nä_bun=é bäne=ma (.)
INDF village=LOC like_this INDF=ERG.NSG RECOG=CHAR

'In other villages, others (can tell) like this ...'

115 *nä nzürna ŋare zokwasi trikasi bä räro fi ane kar woga mane erä fi ane miyatha erä.*

nä nzürna ŋare zokwasi trik-si bä
INDF nzürna woman words tell-NMLZ MED
\rä/ro fi ane kar woga mane
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/be but DEM village man who
e\rä/ fi ane miyatha
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be 3.ABS DEM knowledgeable
e\rä/
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'other *nzürna* stories are there, but it is those village people who know about these.'

116 *nzefe nzüwäbragwé nima ni miyatha nrä.*

nze=wä nz=wä\brag/wé
1SG.ERG=EMPH IPST=1SG.SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/follow
nima ni miyatha n\rä/
like_this 1NSG knowledgeable 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'I just followed (the story) as we know it.'

117 *nzekaren ane yam kwafiyokwrm nzenme ŋafyé mä thwamnzrm.*

nze-kar=en ane yam kwa\fiyok/wrm nzenme
1NSG.POSS-village=LOC DEM event SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/make 1NSG.POSS
ŋafe=yé mä thwa\m/nzrm
father=ABS.NSG where 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell

'She was doing this in our village, where our fathers were living.'

118 *ŋafyé we nzenm natrikwath.*

ŋafe=yé we nzenm na\trik/wath
father=ERG.NSG also 1NSG.DAT 2|3PL:SBJ>1PL:IO:PST:IPFV/tell

'(and) our fathers also told us (about it).'

119 *nima zbo zf zakoré ... fof zäbthé.*

nima zbo zf za\kor/é (.)
like_this PROX.ALL IMM 1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:PFV/speak (.)
fof zä\bth/é.
EMPH 1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:PFV/finish

'I said it like this and I finished it.'

B.2 *Kwafar*

I prompted Abia Bai to tell this story by asking him: "Where did the yams come from?" This text should be seen as a compendium rather than a single storyline. It was recorded as my fieldtrip in 2013 came to an end. During the previous weeks, I had talked with Abia many times about a number of topics and he promised to tell me these stories properly.

The text can be cut into three storylines, which I have been told independently by others. The first part is the *Kwafar* myth. *Kwafar* is a place off the coast between New Guinea and Australia. There was a large *wäsi* tree in which all people were living. The *wäsi* plant is a strangler which climbs up a different tree ultimately killing and replacing it. At *Kwafar*, all people of different tribes and languages lived together in this tree. Eventually, the tree burned down and the people spread out from there. One of the many myths located at *Kwafar* involves two brothers, who were hunting in the area after the burning of the tree. The brothers come across a mysterious being which devours the bodies of those people who have died in the fire. The two brothers try to shoot the creature. Only the older brother is successful, but as his arrow pierces the creature a flood of water bursts out of the wound separating the two brothers. In recent versions of the myth, the younger brother is said to be white like Europeans, and he owns a shotgun instead of a bow. He runs south towards what is now Australia. The older brother runs north. He stops the flood by beating the water with branches of *dödö* (Melaleuca sp). At this point, Abia transitions into the second part. This is the story of *Mathkwi*, the apical ancestor of his clan. This story involves many small episodes about the route that *Mathkwi* took and all the things he carried and brought along. After *Mathkwi* has arrived in Masu, the home of Abia's Mayawa clan, the third part starts. This last part is about customs and traditions around yam cultivation and a particular magic stone that his father used to own.[3]

1 *moba zrathkäfe?*

moba zra\thkäf/e
where.ABL 1DU:SBJ:IRR:PFV/start

'Where do we start?'

2 CD: *wawa moba enrera?*

wawa moba en\rä/ra
yam where.ABL 2|3PL:PL:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be

'Where did the yams come from?'

[3]The source code for this text is: tci20131013-01.

3 *okay, kwa zöbthé zrathkäfe nimame trikasi fof ... kwafar ...*

okay kwa zöbthé zra\thkäf/e nima=me trik-si
okay FUT first 1DU:SBJ:IRR:PFV/start like_this=INS tell-NMLZ
fof (.) kwafar (.)
EMPH (.) PLACE.N (.)

'Okay, we will first start the story really like this ... with *kwafar* ...'

4 *nimame fof nzranyan e zbo zrabthe*

nima=me fof nzran\yan/ e zbo
like_this=INS EMPH 1DU:SBJ:IRR:IPFV:VENIT/walk until PROX.ALL
zra\bth/e
1DU:SBJ:IRR:PFV/finish

'We will go like this until we finish (the story) here.'

5 *ra nzigfu enfathwath?*

ra nzigfu en\fath/wath
what magic_stone 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/hold

'What magic (rain) stones were they holding?'

6 *ra fofosa nzigfu enfathwath?*

ra fofosa nzigfu enfathwath
what heart magic_stone 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/hold

'What yam magic stones were they holding?'

7 *watik zbo zf zrabthe aneme fof.*

watik zbo zf zra\bth/e ane=me fof
then PROX.ALL IMM 1DU:SBJ:IRR:PFV/finish DEM=INS EMPH

'Well, we will finish with this topic right here.'

8 *trikasi näbi kwa wänyak.*

trik-si näbi kwa wän\yak/
tell-NMLZ one FUT 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/walk

'This will come as one story.'

9 *zrethkäfé?*

zre\thkäf/é
1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start

'Should I start it?'

10 *okay, zane mane rä ... zane trikasi ... ŋafyf bäyf mane ŋatrikwa*

okay zane mane \rä/ (.) zane
okay DEM.PROX who 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) DEM.PROX
trik-si (.) ŋafe=f bäi=f mane
tell-NMLZ (.) father=ERG.SG PROP.N=ERG.SG who
ŋa\trik/wa
SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/tell

'As for this one ... this story which father Bäi told ...'

11 *nzenm natrikwa ... watik ane trikasi fof zena ŋaritakwr.*

nzenm na\trik/wa (.) watik ane trik-si fof
1NSG.DAT SG:SBJ>1PL:IO:PST:IPFV/tell (.) then DEM tell-NMLZ EMPH
zena ŋa\ritak/wr
today 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/cross.over

'he told it to us. Well, today it will pass over.'

12 *trikasi mane rä kwafarma rä.*

trik-si mane \rä/ kwafar=ma
tell-NMLZ which 3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/be PLACE.N=CHAR
\rä/
3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/be

'This story is about *kwafar*.'

13 *"kwafar" ŋafyf nima fof kwatrikwrm "kwafar mane rera thden rera"*

kwafar ŋafe=f nima fof kwa\trik/wrm kwafar
PLACE.N father=ERG.SG like_this EMPH SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/tell PLACE.N
mane \rä/ra thd=en
which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be middle=LOC
\rä/ra
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be

"'*kwafar*", father was telling, "as for *kwafar*, it was in the middle."'

14 *zane zena mane bad mane wythk.*

zane zena mane bad mane
DEM.PROX today which ground which
w\ythk/
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/come.to.end

'This here, where this land ends today.'

15 *mazo mä ŋakonzr a australiane bad mä wythk.*

mazo mä ŋa\ko/nzr a australia=ane
ocean where 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/become until australia=POSS.SG
bad mä w\ythk/
ground where 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/come.to.end

'where the ocean begins until where the Australian continent ends.'

16 *fä mä fi zfrärm ane kwafar fof ... kabe mä kwamosinzrmth.*

fä mä fi zf\rä/rm ane kwafar fof (.)
DIST where 3.ABS 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be DEM PLACE.N EMPH (.)
kabe mä kwa\mosi/nzrmth
people where 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/gather

'that was where *kwafar* was located ... where the people were gathering.'

17 *wäsi warfo thfrugrm.*

wäsi warfo thf\rugr/m
PROP.N above 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/sleep

'People were sleeping on top of the *wäsi* (tree).'

18 *wäsi bäne ykonzrth nä bä bikogro ... zärkarä.*

wäsi bäne y\ko/nzrth nä
PROP.N DEM.MED 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/speak INDF
bä b=y\kogr/o (.) zär=karä
MED MED=3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/stand (.) shade=PROP

'They call this one *wäsi*. There is another one standing over there ... with shade.'

19 *kabe fä fof thwamnzrm fof.*

kabe fä fof thwa\m/nzrm fof
people DIST EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell EMPH

'The people really were living there.'

20 *zokwasi ffrümenzo ... nä zfthen thwamnzrm nä thden thwamnzrm nä kerker thwamnzrm.*

zokwasi f-frü=me=nzo (.) nä zfth=en
language REDUP-single=INS=ONLY (.) INDF base=LOC
thwa\m/nzrm nä thd=en thwa\m/nzrm
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell INDF middle=LOC 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell

nä kerker thwa\m/nzrm
INDF tail 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell

'with different languages ... some people were living at the base, some people were living in the middle and some people were living at the branches.'

21 *watik zokwasi ane ffrümenzo kwanafrmth.*

watik zokwasi ane f-frü=me=nzo kwa\na/frmth
then language DEM REDUP-single=INS=ONLY 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/talk

'Well, they were speaking those different languages.'

22 *nä kayé wäsi ane zäföfa fof ... zästha fof.*

nä kayé wäsi ane zä\föf/a fof (.)
INDF yesterday PROP.N DEM SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/burn EMPH (.)
zä\sth/a fof
SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/set.alight EMPH

'One day that *wäsi* tree burned down ... it really went up in flames.'

23 *nä kabe nima kwakwikwrmth*

nä kabe nima kwa\kwi/kwrmth
INDF people like_this 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/run

'Some people ran away this way.'

24 *nä kabe nima mnin kwarsirwrmth*

nä kabe nima mni=n kwa\rsir/wrmth
INDF people like_this fire=LOC 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/burn

'Some people burned in the fire.'

25 *watik wäsi ane kwot ŋarsira ... zäbtha*

watik wäsi ane kwot ŋa\rsir/a (.)
then PROP.N DEM properly SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/burn (.)
zä\bth/a
SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/finish

'Well, that *wäsi* tree burned completely ... it finished.'

26 *kabe bä mane thwägrm warfo nä mrmr ... fi we nimäwä kwarsirwrmth*

kabe bä mane th\wägr/m warfo nä mrmr (.)
people MED who 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be.on.top above INDF inside (.)
fi we nima=wä kwa\rsir/wrmth
3.ABS also like_this=EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/burn

'The people who lived on top and some who lived inside ... they also burned.'

27 *watik ... ezi ... kabe ane frümenzo tnägsi zethkäfath ... bä frümenzo thwamnzrm.*

watik (.) ezi (.) kabe ane frü=me=nzo tnäg-si
then (.) morning (.) people DEM single=INS=ONLY lose-NMLZ
zä\thkäf/ath (.) bä frü=me=nzo
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/start (.) MED single=INS=ONLY
thwa\m/nzrm
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell

'Then, in the morning, the people began to scatter. They were living by themselves.'

28 *watik, mni fthé ŋarsira ... kar ane bramöwä ŋarsira fof ... thgathg zfrärm ... fath thefath fath*

watik mni fthé ŋa\rsir/a (.) kar ane bramöwä
then fire when SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/burn (.) place DEM all
ŋa\rsir/a fof (.) thgathg
SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/burn EMPH (.) scorched_place
zf\rä/rm (.) fath thefath fath
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) clear_place burned_place clear_place

'When the fire burned, it burned really the whole place. It became a scorched landscape, a clear place.'

29 *watik menzmenz ane fof yabun kafar ... thgathg bänemr ane fof zenfara ...*

watik menz-menz ane fof yabun kafar (.) thgathg
then REDUP-story_man DEM EMPH fat big (.) burned_place
bäne=mr ane fof zen\far/a (.)
RECOG=PURP DEM EMPH SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/set.off (.)

'Well, that big, fat creature ... it went to the burned place to get (and eat) those ones ...'

30 *kabe mane thfthnm kwosi.*

kabe mane thf\thn/m kwosi
people who 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/lie.down dead

'the people who were lying around dead.'

31 *watik ... gwamf ŋatha thäsa ... ezi ... ane ... thefath thgathgen fof ... yaser*

watik (.) gwam=f ŋatha thä\s/a
then (.) PROP.N=ERG.SG dog SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV/call.for
(.) ezi (.) ane (.) thefath thgathg=en fof (.)
(.) morning (.) DEM (.) burned_place scorched_place=LOC EMPH (.)
yase=r
meat=PURP

'Well, *Gwam* called for the dogs for hunting ... in the morning ... at that scorched place.'

32 *watik ŋatha anenzo fof sathkäfa.*

watik ŋatha ane=nzo fof sa\thkäf/a
then dog DEM=ONLY EMPH SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/start

'Well, he started with that one dog only.'

33 *ŋatha ane swaruthrm gwam mon nima yarera*

ŋatha ane swa\ru/thrm gwam mon nima
dog DEM SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:PST:DUR/bark PROP.N how like_this
ya\rä/ra
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:PST:IPFV/do

'The dog was barking at (the creature) and *Gwam* noticed it.'

34 *eda erna kabe kafar yf mane thfrnm ... nafangthrwä gwam ... muri*

eda e\rn/a kabe kafar yf mane
two 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be man big name who
thf\rn/m (.) nafa-ngth=r=wä
2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) 3.POSS-younger_sibling=ASSOC.DU=EMPH
gwam (.) muri
PROP.N (.) PROP.N

'They were two men who had well-known names ... *Gwam* with his small brother *Muri*.'

35 *gwam yara nafanane ... muri nafangth*

gwam ya\r/a nafa-nane (.) muri
PROP.N 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be 3.POSS-older_sibling (.) PROP.N
nafa-ngth
3.POSS-younger_sibling

'*Gwam* was his older brother ... and *Muri* the younger brother.'

36 *wati gwamf ane fof ezi ŋatha thäsa thgathgen e*

wati gwam=f ane fof ezi ŋatha
then PROP.N DEM DEM morning dog
thä\s/a thgathg=en e
SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/call.out burned_place until

'Well, that *Gwam* was calling out for the dogs in that burned place ...'

37 *anenzo fof ŋatha yayamgwa ... yayamgwa.*

ane=nzo fof ŋatha ya\yamg/wa (.)
DEM=ONLY EMPH dog SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/shock (.)
ya\yamg/wa
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/shock

'Only that (creature) shocked the dog ... it shocked him.'

38 *ane menznzo fof kabe maf änatha fof*

ane menz=nzo fof kabe maf
DEM story_man=ONLY EMPH people who.ERG.SG
ä\na/tha fof
SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV/eat EMPH

'that creature which really ate the people.'

39 *fewakaf kwosi thwanathrm*

fewa=kaf kwosi thwa\na/thrm
stench=PROP dead SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/eat

'It was eating the stinking rotten bodies.'

40 *murif zagr ymarwa fof ... maf yé? gwamf!*

muri=f zagr y\mar/wa fof (.)
PROP.N=ERG.SG far SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/see EMPH ...
maf \yé/ gwam=f
who.ERG.SG 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be PROP.N=ERG.SG

'*Muri* was seeing him from a distance ... Who is it? *Gwam*! (not *Muri*)'

41 *"ra bäne yé?" nima né samara ... o "ra menzmenz yé?"*

ra bäne \yé/ nima né
what DEM.MED 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be like_this IMN
sa\mar/a (.) o ra menz-menz
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/see (.) or what REDUP-story_man
\yé/
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

"'What is this?" he was about to see it ... or "What creature is this?"'

42 *kabe nrma fi fobo fof ŋagathikwa fof ... ane menzmenz*

kabe nr=ma fi fobo fof ŋa\gathik/wa
people stomach=CHAR 3.ABS DIST.ALL EMPH SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/stop
fof (.) ane menz-menz
EMPH (.) DEM REDUP-story_man

'Because its stomach was full with people, it stopped there ... that creature (stopped)'

43 *kabe ane zenthkäfath yak.*

kabe ane zen\thkäf/ath yak
man DEM 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/start running

'The people started running here.'

44 *ŋatha mane kwaruthrm tifr ... yf ŋatha yara ane tifr*

ŋatha mane kwa\ru/thrm tifr (.) yf ŋatha
dog who SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/bark PROP.N (.) name dog
ya\r/a ane tifr
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be DEM PROP.N

'The dog that was barking was *Tifr*. The dog's name was *Tifr*.'

45 *wati sathkäfath.*

wati sa\thkäf/ath
then 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/start

'Then, they started going at (the creature).'

46 *kabeyé ane dunzi kma sfruthrmth … keke*

kabe=yé ane dunzi kma
man=ERG.NSG DEM arrow POT
sf\ru/thrmth (.) keke
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/shoot (.) NEG

'The people were trying to shoot arrows at (the creature) ... but no (success).'

47 *gwamf nafangth sräkor "muri! zba känrit nzuzawe! nzefé biruthro."*

gwam=f nafa-ngth
PROP.N=ERG.SG 3.POSS-younger_sibling
srä\kor/ muri zba
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak PROP.N PROX.ABL
kän\rit/ nzu-zawe nze=wä
2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/cross.over 1SG.POSS-side 1SG.ERG=EMPH
b=y\ru/thro
MED=SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/shoot

'*Gwam* said to his small brother: "*Muri*! Cross over to my side! I will shoot it there."'

48 *naf nima "samg! bänema nä buné fof yruthrth byé keke kwosi yathizr."*

naf nima sa\mg/
3SG.ERG like_this 2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PFV/shoot
bäne=ma nä_bun=é fof
RECOG=CHAR INDF=ERG.NSG EMPH
y\ru/thrth
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/shoot
b=\yé/ keke kwosi
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be NEG dead
ya\thiz/r
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/die

'He said: "Shoot it! Because others are shooting there and it is not dying."'

49 *naf nima: "keke fi miyamr erä fofosa mä rä. nze komnzo zimarwé fof."*

naf nima keke fi miyamr e\rä/ fofosa
3SG.ERG like_this NEG 3.ABS ignorant 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be heart
mä \rä/ nze komnzo
where 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be 1SG.ERG only

z=y\mar/wé fof
PROX=1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/see EMPH

'He replied: "No, they do not know where the heart is. Only I can see it here."'

50 *zirkn thfrnm. nä bun kwanafrm. nä bun kwanafrm.*

zirkn thf\rn/m nä_bun kwa\na/frm
persistent 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/be INDF SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/talk
nä_bun kwa\na/frm
INDF SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/talk

'They were going back and forth. The other was talking and then the other was talking.'

51 *watik "ngth biruthé!"*

watik ngth b=y\ru/thé
then younger_sibling MED=1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/shoot

'Well, (*Gwam* said) "Brother, I shoot it now!"'

52 *"famkarä sü gnräré!" ... nafananaf ane fof*

fam=karä=sü gn\rä/ré (.)
thought=PROP=ETC 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be (.)
nafa-nana=f ane fof
3.POSS-older_brother=ERG.SG DEM EMPH

'(*Muri* said) "You must watch out!" ... His big brother was the one (who shot).'

53 *trikasi nima rä*

trik-si nima rä
tell-NMLZ like_this 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'The story is like this:'

54 *nafangth kma markai näbikarä sfrärm*

nafa-ngth kma markai näbi=karä
3.POSS-younger_sibling POT white_man bow=PROP
sf\rä/rm
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'His small brother must have had a shotgun.'

55 *watik nafangth mane yara naf keke samga ... nafananafnzo*

watik nafa-ngth mane ya\r/a
then 3.POSS-younger_sibling who 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be
naf keke sa\mg/a (.)
3SG.ERG NEG SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:PST:PFV/shoot (.)
nafa-nana=f=nzo
3.POSS-older_brother=ERG.SG=ONLY

'Then, his small brother did not hit (the creature) ... only his older brother.'

56 *näbi ŋathunza ... zf sfthnm*

näbi ŋa\thu/nza (.) zf sf\thn/m
bow SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/fold (.) IMM 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/lie.down

'He drew the bow ... (the creature) laid down right here'

57 *yo kwan ... fof sargosira fofosa fefen*

yo_kwan (.)
sound_of_arrow_hitting_something EMPH
fof sa\rgosi/ra fofosa ffe=n
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/penetrate heart real=LOC

'wham! ... (the arrow) poked right through to the heart.'

58 *no fof zärfetha*

no fof zä\rfeth/a
water EMPH SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/burst

'Water bursted out.'

59 *no ane zamatha*

no ane za\math/a
water DEM SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/run

'That water was starting to run.'

60 *wati no mane kwakwirm fof*

wati no mane kwa\kwir/m fof
then water which SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/run EMPH

'Well, the water that was running ...'

61 *wäsi zrminz mä ŋanrsira fof ... mni mä ŋanrsira*

wäsi zrminz mä ŋan\rsir/a fof (.) mni
PROP.N root where SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/burn EMPH (.) fire
mä ŋan\rsir/a
where SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/burn

'where the *wäsi* tree roots had burned ... where the fire had burned.'

62 *no fä kwanthorthrm fof ... ane zrminz fof*

no fä kwan\thor/thrm fof (.) ane zrminz fof
water DIST SG:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/enter EMPH (.) DEM root EMPH

'The water went inside there ... into those roots.'

63 *nof nä nima thärkothmako. nä nima thänkothma nzezawe.*

no=f nä nima
water=ERG.SG INDF like_this
thä\kothm/ako nä nima
SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV:ANDAT/chase INDF like_this
thän\kothm/a nze-zawe
SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/chase 1NSG.POSS-side

'The water chase some away this way and it chased other here to our side.'

64 *gwamane nima zenmathath ... muriane nima.*

gwam=ane nima zen\math/ath (.)
PROP.N=POSS.SG like_this 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/run (.)
muri=ane nima
PROP.N=POSS.SG like_this

'*Gwam's* (people) ran this way ... *Muri's* (people) that way.'

65 *mane ŋankwirwath zentnäthath*

mane ŋankwirwath zentnäthath
who 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/run 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/scatter

'Those who came running started go different ways.'

66 *nä enrera bawi.*

nä en\rä/ra bawi
INDF SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be PLACE.N

'Some came to *Bawi*'

67 *wartha nima bämnzr wartha a kondomarin ... smärki.*

wartha nima b=ä\m/nzr wartha a
PROP.N like_this MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell PROP.N and
kondomarin ... smärki
PROP.N ... PROP.N

'Like the *Wartha* people living there. The *Wartha* and *Marind* ... (and the) *Smärki*.'

68 *nafanme ... foba fof ŋankwira fof*

nafanme (.) foba fof ŋan\kwi/ra fof
3NSG.POSS (.) DIST.ABL EMPH SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/run EMPH

'Their (ancestor) was coming really from there.'

69 *fi foba fof ŋankwirwath ... bawi*

fi foba fof ŋan\kwi/rwath (.) bawi
3.ABS DIST.ABL EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/run (.) PLACE.N

'They came from there ... (from) *Bawi*.'

70 *watik gwamf fä fof mni ... bäne zafrafa fof no.*

watik gwam=f fä fof mni (.) bäne
then PROP.N=ERG.SG DIST EMPH fire (.) RECOG
za\fraf/a fof no
SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/extinguish EMPH water

'Okay, *Gwam* extinguished the fire there ... (I mean) the water.'

71 *dödöme zakwra.*

dödö=me za\kwr/a
PROP.N=INS SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/hit

'He hit (the water) with the *dödö* plant (Melaleuca sp).'

72 *watik no fä fof zäkora ... keke kwa nof zanmäyofa.*

watik no fä fof zä\kor/a (.) keke kwa
then water DIST EMPH SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/become (.) NEG FUT
no=f zan\mäyof/a
water=ERG.SG SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/continue

'Okay, the water really stopped there. It did not continue towards here.'

73 *fobo fof no ŋagathikwa fof.*

fobo fof no ŋa\gathik/wa fof
DIST.ALL EMPH water SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/stop EMPH

'The flood stopped there.'

74 *watik fi mane enrera e ... zwari ... wartha fof.*

watik fi mane en\rä/ra e (.) zwari (.)
then 3.ABS who SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be until (.) PLACE.N (.)
wartha fof
PROP.N EMPH

'Those who came until *Zwari* (=*Bawi*) ... (were) really the *Wartha* people.'

75 *watik fä fof zwarin zämsath.*

watik fä fof zwari=n zä\ms/ath
then DIST EMPH PROP.N=LOC 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/dwell

'They settled there in *Zwari*.'

76 *zokwasi fthé emarwath ffrümenzo ... watik kondomarin nima feräro.*

zokwasi fthé e\mar/wath
language when 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV/see
f-frü=me=nzo (.) watik kondomarin nima
REDUP-single=INS=ONLY (.) then PROP.N like_this
f=e\rä/ro
DIST=2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:ANDAT/be

'When they saw that people spoke different languages ... Okay, then the *Marind* moved away that way.'

77 *zena boba wazi fi berä merauken.*

zena boba wazi fi b=e\rä/
today MED:ABL side 3.ABS MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
merauke=n
PLACE.N=LOC

'Today, they are on the other side, there in *Merauke*.'

78 *nä mane erera zwarifa ŋafrezath thoro.*

nä mane e\rä/ra zwari=fa
INDF who 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be PLACE.N=ABL
ŋa\frez/ath thoro
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/come.up.from.river PROP.N

'As for others, the came up from *Zwari* to *Thoro*.'

79 *watik thoron fä fthé zemarath we nimäwä fof ... zokwasi ffrümenzo.*

watik thoro=n fä fthé ze\mar/ath we
then PLACE.N=LOC DIST when 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/see also
nima=wä fof (.) zokwasi f-frü=me=nzo
like_this=EMPH EMPH (.) language REDUP-single=INS=ONLY

'Well, when they looked at themselves in *Thoro*, it was the same thing again ... different languages.'

80 *watik foba zethkäfath nimame kwasogwrmth.*

watik foba ze\thkäf/ath nima=me
then DIST.ABL 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/start like_this
kwa\sog/wrmth
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/climb

'Then they began from there. They came up this way.'

81 *okay, nä mane enrera bäne ... zwari ... zwarifa e bäne ... tamgakar.*

okay nä mane en\rä/ra bäne (.) zwari (.)
okay INDF who 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be RECOG (.) PLACE.N (.)
zwari=fa e bäne . tamgakar
PLACE.N=ABL until RECOG (.) PLACE.N

'Okay, other came until where ... *Zwari*. From *Zwari* until where ... *Tamgakar*.'

82 *nima bä ämnzr safs*

nima bä ä\m/nzr safs
like_this MED 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell PLACE.N

'like the ones who live there in *Safs* (= *Yokwa*).'

83 *wati fi fä fof thfyakm.*

wati fi fä fof thf\yak/m
then 3.ABS DIST EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/walk

'Okay, this is how they were going.'

84 *nzenme mane yanra ... mä ŋankwirwath komo fä ŋanfrezath ... komo.*

nzenme mane yan\r/a (.) mä
1NSG./Poss who 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be (.) where
ŋan\kwir/wath komo fä
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/run PLACE.N DIST
ŋan\frez/ath (.) komo
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/come.up.from.water (.) PLACE.N

'As for our (ancestor) coming, where he was running ... in Komo. He came up there in *Komo*.'

85 *nzenme mayawama kabe nä fä thägathizath.*

nzenme mayawa=ma kabe nä fä
1NSG.POSS PROP.N=CHAR man INDF DIST
thä\gathiz/ath
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/leave

'Our *Mayawa* man left some (people) there.'

86 *we foba ... thden nä kwot we mayawama kabe fof.*

we foba (.) thd=en nä kwot we mayawa=ma
also DIST.ABL (.) middle=LOC INDF properly also PROP.N=CHAR
kabe fof
people EMPH

'and again ... halfway (he left) some more *Mayawa* people again.'

87 *foba ... baguma kabe ... zena mifnen zämnzr.*

foba (.) bagu=ma kabe (.) zena mifne=n
DIST.ABL (.) PROP.N=CHAR people (.) today PLACE.N=LOC
z=ä\m/nzr
PROX=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell

'from there (he left some) *Bagu* people. They live in *Mibini* today.'

88 *sagara fä thägathinzath. okay fi nima erera ... mogarkam.*

sagara fä thä\gathinz/ath okay fi
PROP.N DIST 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV/leave okay 3.ABS
nima e\rä/ra (.) mogarkam
like_this 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.) PLACE.N

'They left some *Sagara* people there. They used to live in *Mogarkam*.'

89 *nä mane erera nima erera bäne ... drdr ... nä sagara fof.*

nä mane e\rä/ra nima e\rä/ra
INDF who 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be like_this 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be
bäne (.) drdr (.) nä sagara fof
RECOG (.) PLACE.N (.) INDF PROP.N EMPH

'Others were there in ... *Derideri* ... another *Sagara* (group).'

90 *bagu mane enrera bäne ... mäta.*

bagu mane en\rä/ra bäne (.) mäta
PROP.N who 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be RECOG (.) PLACE.N

'The *Bagus* who were coming (went to) where ... *Mata*.'

91 *sagara mane enrera garaita.*

sagara mane en\rä/ra garaita
PROP.N who 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be PLACE.N

'and the *Sagaras* went to *Garaita*.'

92 *mayawa ni zbo zf nnrera.*

mayawa ni zbo zf nn\rä/ra
PROP.N 1NSG PROX.ALL IMM 1PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be

'We *Mayawas* came right here.'

93 *okay nzenme bada ... mrzarane bada mane yanra ... fi fof yanra bäne ... mathkwi.*

okay nzenme bada (.) mrzar=ane bada mane
okay 1NSG.POSS ancestor (.) PROP.N=POSS.SG ancestor who
yan\r/a (.) fi fof
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be (.) 3.ABS EMPH
yan\r/a bäne (.) mathkwi
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be RECOG (.) PROP.N

'Okay, our ancestor ... the *Mrzar* clan's ancestor who came ... was really that one ... *Mathkwi*.'

94 *yf ane yanra mathkwi!*

yf ane yan\r/a mathkwi
name DEM 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be PROP.N

'That was the name that came, *Mathkwi*!'

95 *mathkwif ane enfathwa ... wawa fofosa.*

mathkwi=f ane en\fath/wa (.)
PROP.N=ERG.SG DEM SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/hold (.)
wawa fofosa
yam heart

'*Mathkwi* was holding those yam stones.'

96 *naf ane ynfathwa fof.*

naf ane yn\fath/wa fof.
3SG.ERG DEM SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/hold EMPH

'He was really holding that one.'

97 *wati näbi ane komnzo fofosa yara wawama ... nasi ... duga ... biskar ... dagon nä berä fof*

wati näbi ane komnzo fofosa ya\r/a wawa=ma
then one DEM only heart 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be yam=CHAR
(.) nasi (.) duga (.) biskar (.) dagon nä
(.) long_yam (.) taro (.) cassava (.) food INDF
b=e\rä/ fof
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be EMPH

'Okay, there was just one stone for yams, long yams, taro, cassava ... and some more food there.'

99 *watik fi anekarä fof yanra fof.*

watik fi ane=karä fof yan\r/a
then 3.ABS DEM=PROP EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be
fof
EMPH

'Then he came with this one.'

100 *mane yanyaka e ... wm bä ythn ... zabrta.*

mane yan\yak/a e (.) wm bä
who 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/walk until (.) stone MED
y\thn/ (.) zabrta
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/lie.down (.) PLACE.N

'As he came until ... (where) the stone is lying there ... at *Zabrta*.'

101 *fä fof ŋanritakwath fof.*

fä fof ŋan\ritak/wath fof
DIST EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/cross EMPH

'There, they crossed (the river).'

102 *kwanritakwrmth trkren.*

kwan\ritak/wrmth trkr=en
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/cross flood=LOC

'They were going across during the flood.'

103 *watik, nima né fam zära "garaita zawe? keke, nä kabe foba z sfyak."*

watik nima né fam zä\r/a garaita zawe keke
then like_this IMN though SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/do PLACE.N side NEG
nä kabe foba z sf\yak/
INDF man DIST.ABL ALR 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/walk

'Then, was thinking: "(Should I go) to *Garaita*? No, another man went this way already."'

104 *watik, nima zethkäfa fi ... safs.*

watik nima ze\thkäf/a fi (.) safs
then like_this SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/start 3.ABS (.) PLACE.N

'Then, he started (going) this way ... (towards) *Safs*.'

105 *nimame ane zethkäfa mothr mane yanra e ... akrimogo.*

nima=me ane ze\thkäf/a moth=r mane
like_this=INS DEM SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/start walking=PURP who
yan\r/a e (.) akrimogo
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be until (.) PLACE.N

'He started to walk like this, he walked until ... *Akrimogo*.'

106 *yam fä fof thremar fof.*

yam fä fof thre\mar/ fof
footprint DIST EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see EMPH

'He saw footprints there.'

107 *"oh, nä nima z eräro."*

oh nä nima z e\rä/ro
oh INDF like_this ALR 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/be

'(He said) "Oh, others are walking along here already."'

108 *watik, keräfi foba fof zäzira fof e … kar yf rä ymnz.*

watik keräfi foba fof zä\zi/ra fof e (.)
then blackpalm DIST.ABL EMPH SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/throw EMPH until (.)
kar yf \rä/ ymnz
place name 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be PLACE.N

'Then he shot an arrow from there until ... the name of the place of *Ymnz*.'

109 *watik, fobo fof "oh, kabe bä yé … watik, nimame wyak."*

watik fobo fof oh kabe bä \yé/ (.)
then DIST.ALL EMPH oh man MED 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.)
watik nima=me w\yak/
then like_this=INS 1SG:1SG:NPST:IPFV/walk

'Okay, from there (he said): "Oh, there is a man there! Okay, I will go that path then."'

110 *watik foba fof akrimogofa zenfara fof.*

watik foba fof akrimogo=fa zen\far/a fof
then DIST.ABL EMPH PLACE.N=ABL SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/set.off EMPH

'Okay, he really set off from there, from *Akrimogo*.'

111 *akrimogo … foba näbi yanyaka. karane yf rä füsari.*

akrimogo (.) foba näbi yan\yak/
PLACE.N (.) DIST.ABL one 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/walk
kar=ane yf \rä/ füsari
place=POSS.SG name 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'From *Akrimogo* he was coming straight. The name of the place is *Füsari*.'

112 *füsärifa … rarafü kar … rarafü karfa … kafrir fä ttfön zänrita e … bäne … zofok.*

füsäri=fa (.) rarafü_kar (.) rarafü_kar=fa (.)
PLACE.N=ABL (.) PLACE.N(.) PLACE.N=ABL (.) PLACE.N
kafrir fä ttfö=n zän\rit/a e (.)
DIST creek=LOC SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/cross until (.) RECOG
bäne (.) zofok
(.) PLACE.N

'From *Füsari* to *Rarafü*, from *Rarafü* to *Kafrir*. There he crossed at the creek until that one ... *Zofok*.'

113 *zofok fä yamthiza.*

zofok fä ya\mthi/za
PLACE.N DIST 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/rest

'He rested there in *Zofok*.'

114 *nabi komnzo bekogr.*

nabi komnzo b=e\kogr/
bamboo still MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:STAT/be.standing

'Bamboos are still standing there.'

115 *nabi ŋatr fä fof zurärm zwafrmnzrm.*

nabi ŋatr fä fof zu\rä/rm
bamboo bowstring DIST EMPH SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/do
zwa\frm/nzrm
SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/prepare

'He was fixing his bowstring there.'

116 *zurzirakwa fof.*

zu\rzirak/wa fof
SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/tie EMPH

'He tied it properly.'

117 *bäne yanatha ... nasi nömä. nasi nömä yanatha.*

bäne ya\na/tha (.) nasi nömä
RECOG SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/eat (.) long_yam yamcake
nasi nömä ya\na/tha
long_yam yamcake SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/eat

'He ate that one ... yamcake (from long yams). He ate yamcake.'

118 *rfarrfar futhfuth mane erera ... watik, wmr ane fof ŋakwthenzath fof.*

rfar-rfar futh-futh mane e\rä/ra (.) watik
REDUP-crumb REDUP-scrap which SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.) then
wm=r ane fof ŋa\kwthe/nzath fof
stone=PURP DEM EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/change EMPH

'Those crumbs, those scraps ... well, they turned into stones.'

119 *zäkwtherath ... watik komnzo berästhgr.*

zä\kwther/ath (.) watik komnzo
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/change (.) then still
b=e\räs/thgr
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:STAT/be.erected

'They changed. They are still sticking out there.'

120 *wm mane yé ... ynfathwa fof no nzigfu ... watik ane fof yräza fof ... zofok kar.*

wm mane \yé/ (.)
stone which 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.)
yn\fath/wa fof no nzigfu
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/hold EMPH water magic_stone
(.) watik ane fof y\rä/za fof (.)
(.) then DEM EMPH SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/erect EMPH (.)
zofok_kar
PLACE.N

'As for the stone that he held, the rain magic stone, well, he stuck it in the ground ... at *Zofok*.'

121 *watik foba yanyaka bäne ... misa zfth. mäbri misa zfth yrn.*

watik foba yan\yak/a bäne (.)
then DIST.ABL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/walk RECOG (.)
misa_zfth mäbri misa_zfth yrn
PLACE.N PLACE.N PLACE.N PLACE.N

'Then he to where ... to *Misa Zfth* from there. *Mäbri*, *Misa Zfth* and *Yrn*.'

122 *fä zänrsöftha fof ... yanyaka benzü zfth.*

fä zän\rsöfth/a fof (.)
DIST SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/descend EMPH (.)
yan\yak/a benzü_zfth
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/walk PLACE.N

'There he climbed down and walked to *Benzü Zfth*.'

123 *foba fof ymd threnkaris fof ... afa kfokfo ythama*

foba fof ymd thren\karis/ fof
DIST.ABL EMPH bird 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/hear EMPH
(.) afa_kfokfo ythama
(.) hooded_butcherbird bird_of_paradise

'From there he heard the birds ... *afa kfokfo* (Hooded Butcherbird) and *ythama* (Paradisaea raggiana)'

124 *fam zära "kar bä rä. ah, kar töna fobo fof wyak fof."*

fam zä\r/a kar bä \rä/ ah
thought SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/do place MED 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be ah
kar töna fobo fof wo\yak/ fof
place high_ground DIST.ALL EMPH 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk EMPH

'He thought "There is a place there. Ah, I will go there to the high ground."'

125 *yanyaka fä fof zänrita fof rä kukwrb fr zra … mnzär fr neba.*

yan\yak/a fä fof
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/walk DIST EMPH
zän\rit/a fof \rä/
SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/cross.over EMPH 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
kukwrb_fr zra (.) mnzär_fr neba
PLACE.N swamp (.) PLACE.N opposite

'He walked there and crossed (the river) at *Kukwrb Fr* swamp opposite from *Mnzär Fr*.'

126 *wati fä fof yanyaka fof … mä swanyakm … mä zänfrefa … nömä futhfuth … fä fof … ŋantnägwath.*

wati fä fof yan\yak/a fof (.) mä
then DIST EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/walk EMPH (.) where
swan\yak/m (.) mä
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/walk (.) where
zän\fref/a (.) nömä futh-futh
SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/come.up.from.river (.) yamcake REDUP-scraps
(.) fä fof (.) ŋan\tnäg/wath
(.) DIST EMPH (.) 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/lose

'Well, he walked there ... where he was walking, where he came up ... those yamcake scraps got scattered there.'

127 *mane yanra e zrä zöfäthak bä brä brä … zafe ŋazi fr … nä fof ethn berä*

mane yan\r/a e
who 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be until
z=\rä/ zöfäthak bä
PROX=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be PLACE.N MED
b=\rä/ b=\rä/
MED=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be MED=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

(.) zafe ŋazi fr (.) nä fof e\thn/
(.) old coconut stem (.) INDF EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:STAT/be.lying
b=e\rä/
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'And he walked up to here *Zöfäthak*, over there by the old coconut trees. There are some (stones) lying down there.'

128 *watik nä fä fof ŋantnägwath fof*

watik nä fä fof ŋan\tnäg/wath fof
then INDF DIST EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/lose EMPH

'Well, some more were dropped there.'

129 *fä fof sakuka "oh, zane zf zunthorakwé."*

fä fof sa\kuk/a oh zane zf
DIST EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV/stand oh DEM:PROX IMM
zun\thorak/wé
1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:IPFV:VENIT/search

'There he stood (and said) "Oh, this is what I was looking for."'

130 *fz zamara afa kfokfo zakarisa ... bäne zakarisa ythama*

fz za\mar/a afa_kfokfo
forest SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/see hooded_butcherbird
za\karis/a (.) bäne za\karis/a
SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/hear (.) RECOG SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/hear
ythama
bird_of_paradise

'He saw the forest, he heard the *afa kfokfo* bird, he heard that one ... the bird of paradise.'

131 *watik krenafth "nima wyak. zbo kar rä farem kar."*

watik kre\nafth/ nima wo\yak/
then 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/speak like_this 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk
zbo kar \rä/ farem_kar
PROX.ALL place 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be PLACE.N

'He said "I go this way. There is a place here, *Faremkar*."'

132 *watik, fthé yaka bobo, foba krekaris "oh, füthan nä zbo kabe yamnzr."*

watik fthé \yak/a bobo foba
then when 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/walk MED.ALL DIST.ABL
kre\karis/ oh fütha=n nä zbo kabe
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/hear oh PLACE.N=LOC INDF PROX.ALL man
ya\m/nzr
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell

'When he walked there, he heard (someone) from over there "Oh, some man lives here in *Fütha*"'

133 *we foba krekaris "oh, farem karen kabe yé."*

we foba kre\karis/ oh farem_kar=en kabe
also DIST.ABL 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/hear oh PLACE.N=LOC man
\yé/
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'He also heard (someone) from over there "Oh, a man lives in *Faremkar*"'

134 *watik yako.*

watik \yak/o
then 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/walk

'Then he walked away.'

135 *faremaneme kabe z sathora.*

farem=aneme kabe z sa\thor/a
PROP.N=POSS.NSG man ALR 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV/arrive

'The *Farem* clan's man had already arrived.'

136 *bafane bada fof ... fatamaane.*

baf=ane bada fof (.) fatama=ane
RECOG=POSS.SG ancestor EMPH (.) PROP.N=POSS.SG

'that one's ancestor ... Fatama's (ancestor).'

137 *farem thden watik foba fof sräkor "foba fof bä fä fof gnamnzé! ey, fisor bthanen käms!"*

farem thd=en watik foba fof
PLACE.N middle=LOC then DIST.ABL EMPH
srä\kor/ foba fof bä fä
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak DIST.ABL EMPH 2.ABS DIST

fof gna\m/nzé ey fisor_bthan=en
EMPH 2SG.SBJ:IMP:STAT/dwell hey PLACE.N=LOC
kä\m/s
2SG.SBJ:IMP:PFV/dwell

'In the middle of Farem, he told him from there: "You stay right there. Hey, you settle at *Fisor Bthan*."'

138 *wati we nä sräthoro ... bäne ... wazu.*

wati we nä srä\thor/o (.) bäne (.)
then also INDF 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:PFV:ANDAT/arrive (.) RECOG (.)
wazu
PROP.N

'Then, another one arrived ... that one ... *Wazu*'

139 *fä fof sräkor "watik, foba fof käms wazufa."*

fä fof srä\kor/ watik foba
DIST EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak then DIST.ABL
fof kä\m/s wazu=fa
EMPH 2SG.SBJ:IMP:PFV/dwell PLACE.N=ABL

'He told him there: "Okay, you settle there at *Wazu*."'

140 *watik fthé zamara katan fäth ane zfrärm*

watik fthé za\mar/a katan fäth ane
then when SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/see small DIM DEM
zf\rä/rm
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'He looked at the place. It was a small patch.'

141 *"kwa nzä zä zf kwramnzr? nima ŋabrigwé."*

kwa nzä zä zf kwra\m/nzr nima
FUT 1SG.ABS PROX IMM 1SG.SBJ:IRR:IPFV/dwell like_this
ŋa\brig/wé
1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/return

"'Will I stay right here? I will go back this way."'

142 *moba fthmäsü zänbrima watik ... nasi nömä ane fof tnägsi thenthkäfa rrfar ... futhfuth.*

moba fthmäsü zän\brim/a watik (.) nasi
MED.ABL while SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/return then (.) long_yam
nömä ane fof tnäg-si
yamcake DEM EMPH lose-NMLZ
then\thkäf/a r-rfar (.)
SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/start REDUP-crumb (.)
futh-futh
REDUP-scrap

'While he was coming back from there, he started dropping this yamcake ... the crumbs ... the scraps.'

143 *zä zf e zane zf zethno zerä*

zä zf e zane zf
PROX IMM until DEM:PROX IMM
z=e\thn/o
PROX=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:STAT:ANDAT/be.lying
z=e\rä/
PROX=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'Right here until these (stones) who are lying right here.'

144 *fä fof ane futhfuth thuntnägwrm*

fä fof ane futh-futh thun\tnäg/wrm
DIST EMPH DEM REDUP-scrap SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/lose

'Over there he was dropping the scraps.'

145 *nä bä enthn e nima zyaro e masu.*

nä bä en\thn/ e nima
INDF MED 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:STAT:VENIT/be.lying until like_this
z=ya\r/o e masu
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:ANDAT/be until PLACE.N

'There are some lying there ... and then walked that way until *Masu*.'

146 *foba fof sathora "nzukar, zä zf ämnzr!"*

foba fof sa\thor/a nzu-kar zä
DIST.ABL EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV/arrive 1SG.POSS-place PROX
zf ä\m/nzr
IMM 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell

'He arrived over there (and said) "This is my place. (My people) will live right here!"'

147 *watik menz kar ane fof zräkorth bäne ... yari.*

watik menz kar ane fof zrä\kor/th
then myth place DEM EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/call
bäne (.) yari
RECOG (.) PLACE.N

'Well, they call this story place what ... *Yari.*'

148 *yari sathora fof.*

yari sa\thor/a fof
PLACE.N 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV/arrive EMPH

'He really arrived at *Yari.*'

149 *watik fä fof ... no nzigfukarä fi fof sathora fof.*

watik fä fof (.) no nzigfu=karä fi fof
then DIST EMPH (.) rain rain_stone=PROP 3.ABS EMPH
sa\thor/a fof
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/arrive EMPH

'Over there ... he arrived with the rain magic stone.'

150 *fi mane yanra nzigfu nä fofosa yfathwa fof nasi, wawa, duga, fiskar ... ranzo fä dagon eräro.*

fi mane yan\r/a nzigfu nä fofosa
3.ABS who 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be rain_stone INDF heart
y\fath/wa fof nasi wawa duga
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/hold EMPH long_yam yam taro
fiskar (.) ra=nzo fä dagon e\rä/ro
cassava (.) what=ONLY DIST food 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/be

'As he came, he had this rain stone and another magic stone ... for long yams, yams, taro and cassava ... whatever food there was.'

151 *anekaräsü swamnzrm fof.*

ane=karä=sü swa\m/nzrm fof
DEM=PROP=ETC 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell EMPH

'He was staying with these ones.'

152 *fthé wawa thuworthrmth.*

fthé wawa thu\wor/thrmth
when yam 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/plant

'When (the people) were planting yams.'

153 *watik sfrärm e wawa taga kwot thkarthé kwafiyokwrmth.*

watik sf\rä/rm e wawa taga kwot thkarthé
then 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be until yam leaf properly hard
kwa\fiyok/wrmth
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/make

'Then he was there until the yam leaves were becoming dry.'

154 *watik fthé fof wawa taga nä thurtnwrm ... nasi taga ... kemar taga ... taga bäne bera biskar duga.*

watik fthé fof wawa taga nä thu\rtn/wrm
then when EMPH yam leaf INDF SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/pull.off
(.) nasi taga (.) kemar taga (.) taga bäne
(.) long_yam leaf (.) yamtype leaf (.) leaf RECOG
b=e\r/a biskar duga
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be cassava taro

'That was when he pulled of some yam leaves, long yam leaves, *kemar* leaves and those leaves there ... cassava and taro.'

155 *watik nzigfu mrmr foba sfrärm ... ane tagame sumyuknwrm.*

watik nzigfu mrmr foba sf\rä/rm (.)
then magic_stone inside DIST.ABL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.)
ane taga=me su\myuk/nwrm
DEM leaf=INS SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/wrap

'The magic stone was there inside. He was wrapping it with these leaves.'

156 *surdiknwrm ... watik wawa zfthen swäzin*

su\rdikn/wrm (.) watik wawa zfth=en
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/tie.around (.) then yam base=LOC
swä\zin/
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:ITER/put.down

'He tied it around. Then he used to put it down to the yams.'

157 *sfthnm e wawa fthé thwemar nima thkarthé zäkorth.*

sf\thn/m e wawa fthé
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be.lying until yam when
thwe\mar/ nima thkarthé
2|3SG:SBJ:>2|3PL:OBJ:ITER/see like_this hard
zä\kor/th
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/become

'(The stone) was lying until he saw that the yams became hard.'

158 *watik ausiausi thukonzrm "käthfe kabe!"*

watik ausi-ausi thu\ko/nzrm
then REDUP-old_woman SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/say
kä\thf/e kabe
2PL:SBJ:IMP:PFV/walk people

'Then he said to the women: "People, go!!"'

159 *ausiausi thfyakm ŋanz ffrümenzoma ...*

ausi-ausi thf\yak/m ŋanz
REDUP-old_woman 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/walk garden_row
f-frü=me=nzo=ma (.)
REDUP-single=INS=ONLY=CHAR (.)

'The women went (and took) from each patch ...'

160 *wawa ane ... ebar fr wawa ebar fr kafar*

wawa ane (.) ebar fr wawa ebar fr kafar
yam DEM (.) head stem yam head stem big

'those yams ... the best yams and big yams.'

161 *watik nä ŋanzma wawa näbi nä ŋanzma nä ŋanzma nä ŋanzma nimanzo watik*

watik nä ŋanz=ma wawa näbi nä ŋanz=ma nä
then INDF garden_row yam one INDF garden_row INDF
ŋanz=ma nä ŋanz=ma nima=nzo watik
garden_row INDF garden_row like_this=ONLY then

'one yam from one patch, from another patch, from another patch, from another patch ... in this way.'

162 *mnime thufränzrmth ... watik thufthakwrmth foba ... karome thurzathrmth.*

mni=me thu\frä/nzrmth (.) watik
fire=INS 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/singe (.) then
thu\fthak/wrmth foba (.) karo=me
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/take.out.of.fire DIST.ABL (.) oven=INS
thu\rza/thrmth
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/cook.in.oven

'They were singeing the hair off (the yams), then they took them out of the fire and cooked them in the ground oven.'

163 *zizi ane fof thfzänzrmth bobo ... far mä surärzrmth.*

zizi ane fof thf\zä/nzrmth bobo
afternoon DEM EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/carry MED.ALL
(.) far mä su\räz/rmth
(.) post where 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/erect

'In the afternoon, they carried these (yams) where they had erected a post.'

164 *mathkwi o karawa o kukuma o ote ...*

mathkwi o karawa o kukuma o ote (.)
PROP.N or PROP.N or PROP.N or PROP.N or (.)

'*Mathkwi* or *Karawa* or *Kukuma* or *Ote* ...'

165 *watik ane far fof sfrästhgrm wawa fobo fof thunakwrm.*

watik ane far fof sf\räs/thgrm wawa
then DEM post EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be.erected yam
fobo fof thu\nak/wrm
DIST.ALL EMPH SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/put.down

'Well, that post was standing there and he put the yam down (on its base).'

166 *fobo ffé né wawa kwanäbünzrmth ... kwosi kwakonzrmth bänemr e ... tayo tfotfo.*

fobo ffé né wawa kwa\näbü/nzrmth (.) kwosi
DIST.ALL really IMN yam 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/decompose (.) rotten
kwa\ko/nzrmth bäne=mr e (.) tayo tfotfo
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/become MED=PURP until (.) ripe almost

'Those yam were about to decay, about to become rotten ... and (the planted yams were) almost ripe.'

167 *tayo wawa fthé kwakonzrmth ...*

tayo wawa fthé kwa\ko/nzrmth (.)
ripe yam when 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/become (.)

'When the yams were becoming ready ...'

168 *rfnaksir bobo zarfa thfrärm ... mäta garaita*

rfnak-si=r bobo zarfa thf\rä/rm (.) mäta
tase-NMLZ=PURP MED.ALL ear 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) PLACE.N
garaita
PLACE.N

'they heard about the tasting from Mata and Garaita.'

169 *nafa fthé kwänrfnth ... "ayo!" wrwr fof zefaro ... swänrifthth*

nafa fthé kwän\rfn/th (.) ayo wrwr fof
3NSG.ERG when 2|3PL:SBJ:ITER/taste (.) watch.out eastwind EMPH
ze\far/o (.) swän\rifth/th
SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:ANDAT/set.off (.) 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:ITER/send

'When they were tasting the yam (they shouted) "Watch out!!" and the eastwind embarked. They send (the message) here.'

170 *watik we masu karé kwekaristh "oh, nafa z zärfnth."*

watik we masu kar=é kwe\karis/th oh nafa
then also PLACE.N place=ERG.NSG 2|3PL:SBJ:ITER/hear oh 3NSG.ERG
z zä\rfn/th
ALR 2|3PL:SBJ:RPST:PFV/taste

'The Masu people used to hear this (and said) "Oh, they have started tasting (the yams) already."'

171 *we kwot we näbikakme we nä wawa thfrärmth katan o kafar ... thuwoknzrmth ... watik kwarzathrmth.*

we kwot we näbi-kak=me we nä wawa
also properly also one-DISTR=INS also INDF yam
thf\rä/rmth katan o kafar (.)
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/do small or big (.)

thu\wok/nzrmth (.) watik
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/choose (.) then
kwa\rza/thrmth
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/cook.in.oven

'Again they took some yam ... one by one, big or small ... they selected them ... and then they cooked them in the oven.'

172 *tawar ane thfrärmth ŋazi thurwrmth ... kwot thufathwrmth kobakob*

tawar ane thf\rä/rmth ŋazi
yam.pulp DEM 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/do coconut
thu\rw/rmth (.) kwot
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/scrape (.) properly
thu\fath/wrmth kobakob
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/hold round_object

'The took out the yam pulp and mixed it with scraped coconut ... and then they formed little round balls out of it.'

173 *kwarfnakwrmth watik nima kwanrzrmth.*

kwa\rfnak/wrmth watik nima kwan\rz/rmth
SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/taste then like_this SG:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/throw

'Then they tasted (the yams) and they threw (their arms) this way.'

174 *fatr nima thwafiyokwrmth "ayo! farem bnm fräro!" ... nima fof*

fatr nima thwa\fiyok/wrmth ayo
upper_arm like_this 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/make watch.out
farem bnm f=\rä/ro (.)
PROP.N 2NSG.DAT DIST=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/be (.)
nima fof
like_this EMPH

'They threw the arms like this (and shouted) "Watch out! Farem people, this is for you!" ... just like this.'

175 *watik ane fthé kwärit ane tmatm*

watik ane fthé kwä\rit/ ane tmatm
then DEM DEM when 2|3SG:SBJ:ITER/pass.by DEM event

'Each time when that ritual was over ...'

176 *rfnaksi tmatm thumarwrmth e ... rrr kwan fthé bäne kwäkorth ... tayo kwot thuwäkwrm*

rfnak=si tmatm thu\mar/wrmth e (.)
taste-NMLZ event 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/see until (.)
rrr_kwan fthé bäne kwä\kor/th (.) tayo kwot
rustling_sound when RECOG 2|3PL:SBJ:ITER/become (.) ripe properly
thu\wäk/wrm
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/ripen

'when they saw the tasting rituals ... when the leaves were rustling ... when (the yams) were ripe ...'

177 *watik fthé fof yaka swefafth.*

watik fthé fof yaka swe\faf/th
then when EMPH digging_stick 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:ITER/hold

'that was when they picked up the digging stick (and the harvest began).'

178 *anenzo fof ... ane tmatm kwaritakwrm e zbo bäydbo ... bäy kafar zäkora*

ane=nzo fof (.) ane tmatm kwa\ritak/wrm e
DEM=ONLY EMPH (.) DEM event SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/cross.over until
zbo bäy=dbo (.) bäy kafar zä\kor/a
PROX.ALL PROP.N=ALL.SG (.) PROP.N big SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/become

'That was it. That ritual was passed on to *Bäi* ... *Bäi* had become a big man.'

179 *nafaŋafyf ... nafane ŋafyf ane fof sara fof ... foba fof otef.*

nafa-ŋafe=f (.) nafane ŋafe=f ane fof
3.POSS-father=ERG.SG (.) 3SG.POSS father=ERG.SG DEM EMPH
sa\r/a fof (.) foba fof
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:PST:PFV/give EMPH (.) DIST.ABL EMPH
ote=f
PROP.N=ERG.SG

'His father ... his father gave his this (tradition) ... all the way from *Ote*'

180 *watik naf we ane fof thwamonegwrm no bäne ... no nzigfu a fofosa frä ... dagon fofosa fof.*

watik naf we ane fof thwa\moneg/wrm
then 3SG.ERG also DEM EMPH SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/look.after
no bäne (.) no nzigfu a fofosa
rain RECOG (.) rain rain_stone and heart
f=\rä/ (.) dagon fofosa fof
DIST=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) food heart EMPH

'He also looked after that rain magic stone and the other stone there ... the food magic stone.'

181 *foba e ni kafar ŋankonzake.*

foba e ni kafar ŋan\ko/nzake
DIST.ABL until 1NSG big 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/become

'Later we became big.'

182 *nzesinenwä ane fof komnzo thfrnm ane eda ... eda rokar fof.*

nze-si=en=wä ane fof komnzo
1NSG.POSS-eye=LOC=EMPH DEM EMPH still
thf\rn/m ane eda (.) eda rokar fof
2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/be DEM two (.) two things EMPH

'We still saw those two with our own eyes ... those two things.'

183 *e nama masun ane yam tmatm z zwabrgwre fof.*

e nama masu=n ane yam tmatm z
until recently PLACE.N=LOC DEM custom event ALR
zwa\brg/wre fof
1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/follow EMPH

'Until recently we followed that tradition in Masu.'

184 *e watik foba zänbrimake zena mänwä zä namnzr zf ... znrä.*

e watik foba zän\brim/ake zena mä=wä
until then DIST.ABL 1PL:SBJ:RPST:PFV/return today where=EMPH
zä na\m/nzr zf (.) z=n\rä/
PROX 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell IMM (.) PROX=1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'Then we returned from there to where we are living now ... right here.'

185 *watik fi fthmäsü kwik ... kwosi yara ... greg täwdben ane thfrärm.*

watik fi fthmäsü kwik (.) kwosi ya\r/a (.)
then 3.ABS meanwhile sick (.) dead 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.)
greg_täw=dben ane thf\rä/rm
PROP.N_father=LOC.SG DEM 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'In the meanwhile (father) has become sick and died. Those things were with Greg's father.'

186 *ane bäne ... nzigfu thfrnm edawä.*

ane bäne (.) nzigfu thf\rn/m eda=wä
DEM RECOG (.) magic_stone 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/be two=EMPH

'Those were magic stones ... those two.'

187 *watik nzenme ŋafe fthmäsü kwosi yara.*

watik nzenme ŋafe fthmäsü kwosi ya\r/a
then 1NSG.POSS father meanwhile dead 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be

'Well, our father died in the meantime ...'

188 *watik foba ni miyamr nrä mafadben zena ethn.*

watik foba ni miyamr n\rä/ mafa=dben zena
then DIST 1NSG ignorant 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be who=LOC.SG today
e\thn/
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be.lying

'and since then we do not know with whom these (magic stones) are now.'

189 *z thrifthmath fof*

z th\rifthm/ath fof
ALR 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3DU:OBJ:PST:PFV/hide fof

'They already hid them.'

190 *watik ane bäne mane rera ... ane trikasi mane nŋatrikwé fof ... ŋafynm badafa ane fof ŋanritakwa fof*

watik ane bäne mane \rä/ra (.) ane trik-si
then DEM RECOG which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.) DEM tell-NMLZ
mane n=ŋa\trik/wé fof (.) ŋafe=nm
which IPST=1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell EMPH (.) father=DAT.NSG
bada=fa ane fof ŋan\ritak/wa fof
ancestor=ABL DEM EMPH SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/pass EMPH

'As for this one ... that story which I have just told ... it really passed from the ancestor to the fathers.'

191 *bada aki kwark benrera fof ... zath kwark enrera e ŋafydbo we nzedbo fof né zänrita nima*

bada aki kwark b=en\rä/ra
ancestor grandfather deceased MED=2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be
fof (.) zath kwark en\rä/ra e
EMPH (.) grandfather deceased 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be until
ŋafe=dbo we nzedbo fof né zän\rit/a
father=ALL.SG also 1NSG.ALL EMPH ALR SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/pass
nima
like_this

'The ancestors came ... the late grandfathers came until (it came) to father. It was about to pass to us also.'

192 *watik maf keke wäbragwr ane*

watik	maf	keke	wä\brag/wr
then	who.ERG.SG	NEG	2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/follow
ane			
DEM			

'Well, nobody follows this (anymore).'

B.3 *Bthan kabe*

This text was told by Nakre Abia. The topic of sorcerers or magicians (*bthan kabe*) is both onmipresent and secretive. While sorcery is often talked and gossiped about, no one ever talks about the details or particular accusations. The only place for public accusations are court cases where there are several mediators and a strict code which regulates speaking time and turn-taking. It took me long time to find someone explaining the different beliefs surrounding the actions of sorcerers. This short text was offered to me by Nakre. Her narrative was prompted by a set of minimal pair, one of which was the word *fenz* 'body liquid'. It may refer to puss or to the liquids inside a rotting corpse. Nakre told me that sorcerers visit the graves of recently deceased people and extract body parts including the liquid. The next day, I asked her to tell me about this.[4]

1 *bänema kwa ŋatrikwé ... nzefé.*

bäne=ma kwa ŋa\trik/wé (.) nzefé
RECOG=CHAR FUT 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell (.) 1SG.ERG.EMPH

'I will talk about this.'

2 *fenz ane mane ŋonathrth ... kwosifr kabeaneme ... bthan kabeyé.*

fenz ane mane ŋo\na/thrth (.) kwosifr
body_liquid DEM which 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/drink (.) corpse
kabe=aneme (.) bthan kabe=yé
man=POSS.NSG (.) magic man=ERG.NSG

'The body liquid that they drink ... the dead people's (body liquid) ... the sorcerers.'

3 *trikasi zrethkäfé*

trik-si zre\thkäf/é
tell-NMLZ 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/drink

'I start the story.'

4 *bthan kabe fthé fenz yonasi ... bänemr zrethkäfth mätraksir.*

bthan kabe fthé fenz yona-si (.) bäne=mr
magic man when body_liquid drink-NMLZ (.) RECOG=PURP
zre\thkäf/th mätrak-si=r
2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/start take_out-NMLZ=PURP

'When the sorcerers drink the body liquid, they start by bringing out this one.'

[4]The source code for this text is: tci20130903-04.

5 *kzi kwa yafiyokwrth.*

kzi kwa ya\fiyok/wrth
bark_tray FUT 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make

'They make a barktray.'

6 *srafiyokwrth karesama kzi. srärzirth.*

srafiyokwrth karesa=ma kzi
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/make paperbark=CHAR barktray
srä\rzir/th
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/tie

'They make a bark tray from the paperbark tree. They tied it.'

7 *watik kwa eyak. nima kwosifr fthé ... kabe fthé ynänzüthzrth baden ...*

watik kwa e\yak/ nima kwosifr fthé (.) kabe
then FUT 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk like_this corpse when (.) man
fthé y\nänzüth/zrth bad=en
when 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/bury ground=LOC

'Then they go. When they have buried the corpse ... the man in the ground ...'

8 *fthé one week srakor ...*

fthé one week sra\kor/
when one week 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:PFV/become

'after one week has passed ...'

9 *fthé fof krefar ane bthan kabe bobo ... fokam znfo, fokam mnzfo ... sikwankwanme zbär thd.*

fthé fof kre\far/ ane bthan kabe bobo (.)
when EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/set_off DEM magic man MED:ALL (.)
fokam zn=fo fokam mnz=fo (.) sikwankwan=me zbär thd
grave place=LOC grave house=LOC (.) secret=INS night middle

'then the sorcerer sets off to go to the grave yard, to the grave house ... secretly in the middle of the night.'

10 *kabef keke kwa sremar.*

kabe=f keke kwa sre\mar/
man=ERG.SG NEG FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see

'No one will see him.'

11 *süsübäthen kwa yak ... tosinmäre ... kwayanmäre.*

süsübäth=en kwa \yak/ (.) tosin=märe
darkness=LOC FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk (.) flashlight=PRIV
(.) kwayan=märe
(.) light=PRIV

'He will walk in the darkness ... without a flashlight ... without light.'

12 *kwa yak. yfrsé gwonyamekarä kwa yé.*

kwa \yak/ yfrsé gwonyame=karä kwa
FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk black clothes=PROP FUT
\yé/
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'He will go. He will wear black clothes.'

13 *keke kwa kwayanthé gwonyamekarä bänema kabef sremar ... kabeyé sremarth*

keke kwa kwayan-thé gwonyame=karä bäne=ma kabe=f
NEG FUT light-ADJZR clothes=PROP RECOG=CHAR man=ERG.SG
sre\mar/ (.) kabe=yé
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see (.) man=ERG.NSG
sre\mar/th
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see

'No bright clothes because someone might see him ... people might see him.'

14 *watik yfö katanr kwa yarenzr.*

watik yfö katan=r kwa ya\re/nzr
then hole small=PURP FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/look_around

'Okay, he will look around for a small hole.'

15 *katan yfö fthé zremar ... ebarfa fä fof kwa bäne ythorthr ... nabi a mrrab.*

katan yfö fthé zre\mar/ (.) ebar=fa
small hole when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see (.) head=ABL
fä fof kwa bäne
DIST EMPH FUT RECOG.ABS
y\thor/thr (.) nabi a
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/insert (.) bamboo and
mrrab
small_bamboo_type

'When he sees a small hole, he will insert this one at the headend (of the grave) ... the bamboo, the small bamboo.'

16 *mrrab zbo zanfr byé.*

mrrab zbo zanfr b=\yé/
small_bamboo PROX.ALL long MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'A small bamboo about this long.'

17 *ane fof sräsryöfth bobo yfön.*

ane fof srä\sryöfth/ bobo
DEM EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/send MED.ALL
yfö=n
hole=LOC

'He will send this one into the hole.'

18 *watik fobo fof srayak.*

watik fobo fof sra\yak/
then DIST.ALL EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/walk

'Okay, it will go like this.'

19 *kzi zräzin nabi tonze ... mrrab tonze.*

kzi zrä\zin/ nabi tonze
barktray 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/put_down bamboo close
(.) mrrab tonze
(.) small_bamboo close

'He will put the barktray close to the bamboo ... close to the small bamboo.'

20 *fenzane bäne ... mrrab bäne kwa ... wämneme yrthakunzr.*

fenz=ane bäne (.) mrrab bäne kwa (.)
body_liquid RECOG.ABS (.) small_bamboo RECOG.ABS FUT (.)
wämne=me y\rthaku/nzr
stick=INS 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/spray

'The body liquid's ... that small bamboo ... with that stick, he sprays it.'

21 *watik fenz ane kwa ŋankarkwr naf*

watik fenz ane kwa ŋan\kark/wr naf
then body_liquid DEM FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/pull 3SG.ERG

'He sucks up the body liquid.'

22 *fobo fof krayagunzr kzifo.*

fobo fof kra\yagu/nzr kzi=fo
DIST.ALL EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/pour barktray=ALL

'and he pours it into the barktray.'

23 *nafawatikthmenzo ... ke ka krärtf ... ane kzi*

nafa-watik-th=me=nzo (.) keke kwa
3.POSS-enough-ADJZR=INS=ONLY (.) NEG FUT
krä\rtf/ (.) ane kzi
2|3SG:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/fill_up (.) DEM barktray

'(There is) enough for him. It won't be filled up ... that barktray.'

24 *fthé zremar nima "watikthmenzo zfrä" mrrab ane sräfum.*

fthé zre\mar/ nima
when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see like_this
watik-th=me=nzo zf\rä/ mrrab
enough-ADJZR=INS=ONLY 3SG.FEM:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/be small_bamboo
ane srä\fum/
DEM 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/pull_out

'When he looks at it (and says) "That was enough." he pulls out the small bamboo'

25 *watik kwot zrarmänwr ... yfö. watik krefar fof.*

watik kwot zra\rmän/wr (.) yfö watik
then properly 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/close (.) hole then
kre\far/ fof
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/set_off EMPH

'Then he closes up the hole. Then he sets off.'

26 *bäne zrazänzr ... fenz ... kzikaf ... mä ke kwa kabef sremar ane yam fiyoksin*

bäne zra\zä/nzr (.) fenz
RECOG.ABS 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/carry (.) body_liquid
(.) kzi=kaf (.) mä keke kwa kabe=f
(.) barktray=PROP (.) where NEG FUT man=ERG.SG
sre\mar/ ane yam fiyok-si=n
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see DEM event do-NMLZ=LOC

'He carries that one ... the body liquid ... with the barktray ... (to some place) where no one can see him doing that thing.'

27 *kwa wrifthzr.*

kwa w\rifth/zr
FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/hide

'He will hide it.'

28 *watik fi zöbthé zane bäne kramanziknwr ... zzarfa, wämne, bäne ferä ... ymd thäbu nzabu.*

watik fi zöbthé zane bäne kra\manzikn/wr
then but first DEM:PROX RECOG.ABS 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/prepare
(.) zzarfa wämne bäne f=e\rä/ (.) ymd
(.) ginger stick RECOG.ABS DIST=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) bird
thäbu nzabu
hair wing

'But first he will prepare those ones ... ginger, some sticks, and those one ... bird feathers or wings.'

29 *watik ane thrma ane fof krefar fokamfo.*

watik ane thrma ane fof kre\far/ fokam=fo
then DEM after DEM EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/set_off grave=ALL

'Okay, after this, he sets off from the grave.'

30 *ane fthé zrarinakwr ... kzin. zräbth.*

ane fthé zra\rinak/wr (.) kzi=n
DEM when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/pour (.) barktray=LOC
zrä\bth/
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/finish

'He finishes pouring that in the barktray.'

31 *watik yonasir fof zrärifthm.*

watik yona-si=r fof zrä\rifthm/
then drink-NMLZ=PURP EMPH 2|3SG:SG:IRR:PFV/hide

'He really hides for drinking.'

32 *zöbthé bäneme kwa wrthakunzr ... zzarfame bänema gatha miyosé rä.*

zöbthé bäne=me kwa w\rthaku/nzr (.)
first RECOG.=INS FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/spray (.)
zzarfa=me bäne=ma gatha miyosé \rä/
ginger=INS RECOG=CHAR bad taste 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'First, he will spray it with this one ... with the ginger, because it has a bad taste.'

33 *nafane miyo keke namä wärä.*

nafane miyo keke namä wä\rä/
SG.POSS taste NEG good 3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/be

'Its taste is not good.'

34 *zrarthakunzr zräbth.*

zra\rthaku/nzr zrä\bth/
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/spray 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/finish

'He finished sprinkling (the ginger).'

34 *wati bäne ane kwa yfethakwr ... ymd nzabu.*

wati bäne ane kwa
then RECOG.ABS DEM FUT
y\fethak/wr (.) ymd nzabu
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/dip_in (.) bird feather

'Then he dips in this one ... the bird wing.'

35 *srafethakwr ... keke kwa zane touch srarär ane fenzme.*

sra\fethak/wr (.) keke kwa zane
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/dip_in (.) NEG FUT DEM:PROX
touch sra\rär/ ane fenz=me
touch 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:IRR:IPFV/do DEM body_liquid

'He would dip it in ... He should not touch this here (lips) with the body liquid.'

36 *kwan krakurwr.*

kwan kra\kur/wr
throat 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/split

'It hurts the mouth.'

37 *zrarär kwanen ... bänema ... thafma ... gatha miyoma.*

zra\rär/ kwan=en (.) bäne=ma (.) thaf=ma
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/do throat=LOC (.) RECOG=CHAR (.) bitter=CHAR
(.) gatha miyo=ma
(.) bad taste=CHAR

'It will do that to the mouth ... because of its bitterness ... because of its bad taste.'

38 *zrarär … zrafethakwr we … zbo sranakwr … krafigthkwr.*

zra\rär/ (.) zra\fethak/wr
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/do (.) 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/dip_in
we (.) zbo sra\nak/wr (.)
also (.) PROX.ALL 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:IRR:IPFV/put_down (.)
kra\figthk/wr
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/lick

'He does that: He dips it in and places it here (in the mouth) and licks it.'

39 *we nimanzo kwot e zräbth ane fenz.*

we nima=nzo kwot e zrä\bth/ ane
also like_this=ONLY properly until 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/finish DEM
fenz
body_liquid

'Like this, he will finish off that body liquid.'

40 *fthé zräbth kzi ane kwa yfönzr mnime fewama.*

fthé zrä\bth/ kzi ane kwa
when 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/finish barktray DEM FUT
y\fö/nzr mni=me fewa=ma
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/burn fire=INS smell=CHAR

'When he is finished, he will burn the barktray in the fire because its stench.'

41 *mnime sräföf watik.*

mni=me srä\föf/ watik
fire=INS 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/burn enough

'He burns it in the fire and then its over.'

42 *kräbrim nafane mnzfo.*

krä\brim/ nafane mnz=fo
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/return 3SG.POSS house=LOC

'He returns to his house.'

43 *kwa yrugr e … baf fthé sräbth nima kabe zan miyof.*

kwa y\rugr/ e (.) baf fthé
FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sleep until (.) RECOG.ERG.SG when
srä\bth/ nima kabe zan
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/finish like_this man killing
miyo=f
desire=ERG.SG

'He sleeps until ... when that one grabs him, that desire to kill someone.'

44 *okay fthé fof krefar.*

okay fthé fof kre\far/
okay when EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/set_off

'Okay, that is when he sets off.'

45 *keke kwa mnzen ane tmatm zrafiyokwr ane yam.*

keke kwa mnz=en ane tmatm zra\fiyok/wr ane yam
NEG FUT house=LOC DEM event 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/make DEM event

'He will not do these things in the house.'

46 *zagr kwa yak ksi karen. bä sramnzr.*

zagr kwa \yak/ ksi kar=en bä
far FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk bush place=LOC MED
sra\m/nzr
3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/dwell

'He will go far away to the savannah. He will stay there.'

47 *foba fof krefar kabe zanr.*

foba fof kre\far/ kabe zan=r
DIST.ABL EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/set_off man killing=PURP

'It is really from there, that he goes and kills people.'

48 *si kwa zöbthé ŋazübrakwr warfo kabedbo.*

si kwa zöbthé ŋa\zübrak/wr warfo kabe=dbo
eye FUT first 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/pray above man=ALL.ANIM.SG

'He will first pray to god.'

49 *warfo kabe kwa ykonzr "befe mitafo sabrim! nzun fefe kwagathif!"*

warfo kabe kwa y\ko/nzr
above man FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/speak
befe mitafo sa\brim/
2SG.ERG.EMPH spirit 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:IMP:PFV/return
nzun fefe kwa\gathif/
1SG.DAT body 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:IMP:PFV/leave

'He says to god: "You take the spirit! Leave the body for me!"'

50 *watik ane kabe kwa yfänzr.*

watik ane kabe kwa y\fä/nzr
then DEM man FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/show

'Then he points to this man.'

51 *kabe yf kwa ybräknwr nima "bäi! bäiane mitafo be sabrim! nzun fefe kwagathif!"*

kabe yf kwa y\bräkn/wr
man name FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/call_out
nima bäi bäi=ane mitafo be
like_this PERS.N PERS.N=POSS.SG spirit 2SG.ERG
sa\brim/ nzun fefe
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:IMP:PFV/return 1SG.DAT body
kwa\gathif/
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:IMP:PFV/leave

'He calls out that man's name like this: "Bäi! You return Bäi's spirit. Leave the body for me!"'

52 *fthé krefar kabef keke kwa sremar bänema ...*

fthé kre\far/ kabe=f keke kwa
when 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/set_off man=ERG.SG NEG FUT
sre\mar/ bäne=ma (.)
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see RECOG=CHAR (.)

'When he sets off, no man should see him, because ...'

53 *mnzen fthé srarugr nagayé disturb o ŋare disturb srarär.*

mnz=en fthé sra\rugr/ nagayé disturb o
house=LOC when 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/sleep children disturb or
ŋare disturb sra\rär/
woman disturb 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/do

'if he sleeps in the house, the children or his wife might disturb him.'

54 *watik anema fof krämätr outside nä karfo ksi karen. fä sramnzr.*

watik ane=ma fof krä\mätr/ outside nä
then DEM=CHAR EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/bring_out outside INDF
kar=fo ksi kar=en fä sra\m/nzr
place=ALL bush place=ALL DIST 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/dwell

'Therefore, he goes outside to another place in the savannah. He stays there.'

55 *fä ane tmatm kwa kabe yafiyokwr. bthazan yfnzr.*

fä ane tmatm kwa kabe
DIST DEM event FUT man
ya\fiyok/wr bthazan
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make black_magic
y\fn/nzr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/hit

'He makes his things with the man there. He puts blackmagic on him.'

56 *foba fof krethfär ... mobo fthzé ... nima ... zba fthé roukuma nge srarä.*

foba fof kre\thfär/ (.) mobo fthzé (.) nima
DIST.ABL EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/fly (.) MED.ALL ever (.) like_this
(.) zba fthé rouku=ma nge sra\rä/
(.) PROX.ABL when PLACE.N=CHAR child 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be

'From there, he flies away to where ever (he wants). Like this, if it is a boy from here from Rouku.'

57 *zbär kwa yam zä wäfiyokwr zba krethfär safisfo.*

zbär kwa yam zä wä\fiyok/wr
night FUT custom PROX 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make
zba kre\thfär/ safis=fo
PROX.ABL 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/fly PLACE.N=ALL

'He will do that in the night. He will fly from here to Yokwa/Safs.'

58 *bä ... bthazan srafnzr bthanme srafnzr.*

bä (.) bthazan sra\fn/nzr
MED (.) black_magic 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/hit
bthan=me sra\fn/nzr
magic=INS 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/hit

'There he puts black magic on someone. He puts a spell on him.'

59 *e ... kränbrim we ane we zbär.*

e (.) krän\brim/ we ane we zbär
until (.) 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/return also DEM also night

'until ... he returns here again in the night.'

60 *keke kwa bä srarugr o srawäkwr.*

keke kwa bä sra\rugr/ o
NEG FUT MED 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/sleep or
sra\wäk/wr
3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/wake

'He will not sleep there or wake up there.'

61 *zbär we kwa ŋanbrigwr keke kwa mothen fi srayak fi krathfänzr.*

zbär we kwa ŋan\brig/wr keke kwa moth=en
night also FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/return NEG FUT path=LOC
fi sra\yak/ fi kra\thfä/nzr
3.ABS 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk 3.ABS 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/fly

'He will return in the night. He will not walk on the road, but he will fly.'

62 *nima ane wäfiyokwr.*

nima ane wä\fiyok/wr
like_this DEM 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make

'That's what he does.'

63 *fthé sräbth ... kabe bthazan srethkäf watik fä mane kwik erä fof.*

fthé srä\bth/ (.) kabe bthazan
when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:PFV/finish (.) man black_magic
sre\thkäf/ watik fä mane kwik
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/start then DIST who.ABS sick
e\rä/ fof
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be EMPH

'When he is finished. The black magic will set in. It is there, where they will get really sick.'

64 *keke, taurifo tmatm zrafiyokwr o ŋathafo ... o faso rrokar berä.*

keke tauri=fo tmatm zra\fiyok/wr o ŋatha=fo (.) o
NEG wallaby=ALL event 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/make or dog=ALL (.) or
faso r-rokar b=e\rä/
meat REDUP-stuff MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'No, he does that thing to a wallaby o dogs ... or some other food or animal there.'

65 *ane rrokarfo kwa tmatm yafiyokwr keke kwa nima nä kabedben.*

ane r-rokar=fo kwa tmatm
DEM REDUP-stuff=ALL FUT event
ya\fiyok/wr keke kwa nima nä
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/make NEG FUT like_this INDF
kabe=dben
man=LOC.ANIM.SG

'He makes that to those animals, not to another man.'

66 *fi ane kabeane mitafo kwa wthorthr.*

fi ane kabe=ane mitafo kwa
but DEM man=POSS.SG spirit FUT
w\thor/thr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/enter

'But it will go inside people's spirit.'

67 *nä faso rokarfo o fthzé ŋatha zräthb ...*

nä faso rokar=fo o fthzé ŋatha zrä\thb/ (.)
INDF meat stuff=ALL or ever dog 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:PFV/enter (.)

'It goes into some food things or dogs ...'

68 *ra fthzé srarä ... ymd.*

ra fthzé sra\rä/ (.) ymd
what ever 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be (.) bird

'whatever there may be ... a bird.'

69 *watik ane fof kwa tmatm yafiyokwr ŋatha yafiyokwr nafane yfkaf.*

watik ane fof kwa tmatm
then DEM EMPH FUT event
ya\fiyok/wr ŋatha
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/make dog
ya\fiyok/wr nafane yf=kaf
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/make 3SG.POSS name=PROP

'Well, he makes this thing. He does it do a dog with his (the men's) name.'

70 *nezä kabe kwa kwosi yé. keke ŋatha kwa kwosi srarä yakme.*

nezä kabe kwa kwosi \yé/ keke ŋatha
in_return man FUT dead 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be NEG dog
kwa kwosi sra\rä/ yak=me
FUT dead 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be run=INS

'In return, the man will die. But the dog will not die quickly.'

71 *mon tariasi fthé kratariwr ŋatha ...*

mon tari-si fthé kra\tari/wr ŋatha (.)
how weaken-NMLZ when 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/weaken dog (.)

'As the dog gets weak,'

72 *we kabe nimäwä kwa ŋatariwr ...*

we kabe nima=wä kwa ŋa\tari/wr (.)
also man like_this=EMPH FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/weaken (.)

'the man will also get weak ...'

73 *kwot e ŋatha fthé zä kwosi srarä kabe bä kwa kwosi yé.*

kwot e ŋatha fthé zä kwosi sra\rä/
properly until dog when PROX dead 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be
kabe bä kwa kwosi \yé/
man MED FUT dead 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'until (some time passes). When the dog dies, the man will also die.'

74 *bänema ŋatha ane nafane yfkaf sfrä.*

bäne=ma ŋatha ane nafane yf=kaf
RECOG=CHAR dog DEM 3SG.POSS name=PROP
sf\rä/
3SG.MASC:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/be

'Because that dog was with his name.'

75 *nimame ane fof bthan erä ... äfiyokwrth.*

nima=me ane fof bthan e\rä/ (.)
like_this=INS DEM EMPH magic 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.)
ä\fiyok/wrth
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make

'This is how the magic works, how they do it.'

76 CD: *rma fi ŋonathrth ane fenz?*

rma fi ŋo\na/thrth ane fenz
why 3.ABS 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/drink DEM body_liquid

'Why do they drink the body liquid?'

77 *okay, ane fenz mane ŋonathrth tmä naf fof ärithr.*

okay ane fenz mane ŋo\na/thrth tmä
okay DEM body_liquid which 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/drink strength
naf fof ä\ri/thr
3SG.ERG EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:NPST:IPFV/give

'Okay, as for the body liquid, which they drink, it gives them strength.'

78 *kwosifr kabeane tmäf fof ezänzr nä karfo.*

kwosifr kabe=ane tmä=f fof
corpse man=POSS.SG strength=ERG EMPH
e\zä/nzr nä kar=fo
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/carry INDF place=ALL

'The dead man's strength carries them to another place.'

79 *nä kayé kam kwa emätrakwrth ... kabe kam ... kwosifr kam.*

nä kayé kam kwa e\mätrak/wrth
INDF yesterday bone FUT 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/take_out
(.) kabe kam (.) kwosifr kam
(.) man bone (.) corpse bone

'Sometimes they extract a bone ... a human bone ... a bone from a corpse.'

80 *watik, ane fof thfäsir fof.*

watik ane fof thfä-si=r fof
then DEM EMPH fly-NMLZ=PURP EMPH

'Well, that one (is) really for flying.'

81 *ane kamf kwa yzänzr bobo nä karfo.*

ane kam=f kwa y\zä/nzr
DEM bone=ERG.SG FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/carry
bobo nä kar=fo
MED:ALL INDF place=ALL

'That bone will carry them away to another place.'

82 *fi fenz ane bänemrnzo rä ... tmä yarisir.*

fi fenz ane bäne=mr=nzo
but body_liquid DEM RECOG=PURP=ONLY
\rä/ (.) tmä yari-si=r
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) strength give-NMLZ=PURP

'But the body liquid is just for this ... for giving them strength'

83 *kamf fi ane kwa yzänzr bobo nima safs ...*

kam=f fi ane kwa
bone=ERG.SG 3.ABS DEM FUT
y\zä/nzr bobo nima
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/carry MED.ALL like_this
safs (.)
PLACE.N (.)

'The bone will carry there, for example to Safs ...'

84 *o wämnefr nima zagr kwa ŋathfänzr weam.*

o wämnefr nima zagr kwa ŋa\thfä/nzr weam
or PLACE.N like_this far FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/fly PLACE.N

'or Wämnefr. He will fly far this way to Weam.'

85 *fthzé bobomrwä arufe krathfänzr ... zagr karfo.*

fthzé bobomr=wä arufe kra\thfä/nzr (.) zagr
ever MED:ALL=EMPH PLACE.N 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/fly (.) far
kar=fo
place=LOC

'Where ever ... He will fly all the way to Arufi ... to places far away.'

86 *ane kam ane tmäf kwa yzänzr.*

ane kam ane tmäf kwa
DEM bone DEM strength FUT
y\zä/nzr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/carry

'That bone and that strength will carry him.'

87 *kam a fenz.*

kam a fenz
bone and body_liquid

'the bone and the body liquid.'

88 *eso kafar. anenzo katan trikasi zfrä.*

eso kafar ane=nzo katan trik-si zf\rä/
thank big DEM=ONLY small tell-NMLZ 3SG.FEM:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/be

'Thank you! That was just my small story.'

89 *trikasi nimanzo worä kabeyé mane watrikwrth.*

trik-si nima=nzo wo\rä/ kabe=yé
tell-NMLZ like_this=ONLY 1SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be man=ERG.NSG
mane wa\trik/wrth
which 2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:IO:NPST:IPFV/tell

'This is my version, which others are telling me.'

90 *fi srakéwä fthzé kwot kratrikwrth.*

fi srak=é=wä fthzé kwot kra\trik/wrth
but boy=ERG.NSG=EMPH whenever properly 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/tell

'But the boys talk about this all the time.'

91 *gadmöwä!*

gadmöwä
thanks

'Thank you!'

Appendix C

Sociolinguistic Questionaire

I include here the sociolinguistic questionaire that I administered to forty individuals in Rouku. Table C.1 lists the topics which I targeted and the respective questions.

Table C.1 Sociolinguistic questionaire

TYPE	QUESTION
Background information	What is your name?
	What is you age?
	What is your clan?
	Where were you born?
	Where did you grow up as a child?
	Who raised you? Who took care of you as a child?
	Did you go to school? When and where?
	Have you ever lived in another place/village/town? When did you move back to Rouku?
	How many people live in your household? Who are they?
Language competence	Which languages can you speak/understand?
	Which language do you read and write?
	Which language do you feel you can speak without having to feel other people will correct you?
Language use	Which is the language of your husband/wife?
	Which languages do you speak here in this house? Which do you speak most of time?
	Which language do you speak to your children?
	Where is your father from? Which language do/did you speak to him?
	Where is you mother from? Which language do/did you speak to her?
	Which languages do/did your grandparents speak? (to you?)

	Which languages do/did you use with your brothers and sister? Which languages did you speak with your friends in school? Which language do you use with someone you meet on the road? (if s/he speaks your language or another related language or a language you do not understand? In which language do you count? In which language do you dream/think? In which language do you like to joke?
Language attitude	What is your language? How many people speak your language? Do all the people in the village speak Komnzo? (Do some people mix? Why?) How do you feel about others in the village who do not speak Komnzo? What language do you think is the most beautiful language? What language is the most useful language? Which language(s) do you think your children will need to know?