

A grammar of Komnzo

Christian Döhler

Studies in Diversity Linguistics 22



Studies in Diversity Linguistics

Editor: Martin Haspelmath

In this series:

1. Handschuh, Corinna. A typology of marked-S languages.
2. Rießler, Michael. Adjective attribution.
3. Klamer, Marian (ed.). The Alor-Pantar languages: History and typology.
4. Berghäll, Liisa. A grammar of Mauwake (Papua New Guinea).
5. Wilbur, Joshua. A grammar of Pite Saami.
6. Dahl, Östen. Grammaticalization in the North: Noun phrase morphosyntax in Scandinavian vernaculars.
7. Schackow, Diana. A grammar of Yakkha.
8. Liljegren, Henrik. A grammar of Palula.
9. Shimelman, Aviva. A grammar of Yauyos Quechua.
10. Rudin, Catherine & Bryan James Gordon (eds.). Advances in the study of Siouan languages and linguistics.
11. Kluge, Angela. A grammar of Papuan Malay.
12. Kieviet, Paulus. A grammar of Rapa Nui.
13. Michaud, Alexis. Tone in Yongning Na: Lexical tones and morphotonology.
14. Enfield, N. J. (ed.). Dependencies in language: On the causal ontology of linguistic systems.
15. Gutman, Ariel. Attributive constructions in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic.
16. Bisang, Walter & Andrej Malchukov (eds.). Unity and diversity in grammaticalization scenarios.
17. Stenzel, Kristine & Bruna Franchetto (eds.). On this and other worlds: Voices from Amazonia.
18. Paggio, Patrizia and Albert Gatt (eds.). The languages of Malta.
19. Seržant, Ilja A. & Alena Witzlack-Makarevich (eds.). Diachrony of differential argument marking.
20. Hölzl, Andreas. A typology of questions in Northeast Asia and beyond: An ecological perspective.
21. Riesberg, Sonja, Asako Shiohara & Atsuko Utsumi (eds.). Perspectives on information structure in Austronesian languages.
22. Döhler, Christian. A grammar of Komnzo.

ISSN: 2363-5568

A grammar of Komnzo

Christian Döhler

Döhler, Christian. 2018. *A grammar of Komnzo* (Studies in Diversity Linguistics 22).
Berlin: Language Science Press.

This title can be downloaded at:

<http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/212>

© 2018, Christian Döhler

Published under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 Licence (CC BY 4.0):

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

ISBN: 978-3-96110-125-2 (Digital)

978-3-96110-126-9 (Hardcover)

ISSN: 2363-5568

DOI:[10.5281/zenodo.1477799](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1477799)

Source code available from www.github.com/langsci/212

Collaborative reading: paperhive.org/documents/remote?type=langsci&id=212

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort

Typesetting: Christian Döhler, Sebastian Nordhoff

Proofreading: Ahmet Bilal Özdemir, Ivica Jeđud, Jaime Peña, Jeffrey Pheiff, Jeroen van de Weijer, Jingting Ye, Kilu von Prince Klara Kim, Lachlan Mackenzie, Laura Melissa Arnold, Ludger Paschen, Mykel Brinkerhoff, Sebastian Nordhoff, Sune Gregersen, Yvonne Treis

Fonts: Linux Libertine, Libertinus Math, Arimo, DejaVu Sans Mono

Typesetting software: \LaTeX

Language Science Press

Unter den Linden 6

10099 Berlin, Germany

langsci-press.org

Storage and cataloguing done by FU Berlin

Freie Universität



Berlin

For Nakre and Tayafe

Contents

Acknowledgments	vii
Abbreviations	ix
1 Preliminaries	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Typological overview	3
1.2.1 Introduction	3
1.2.2 Phonology	3
1.2.3 Morphology	4
1.2.4 Distributed exponence	5
1.2.5 Syntax	6
1.3 The Farem people and their language	8
1.3.1 Location	8
1.3.2 Geography and environment	10
1.3.3 Agriculture and subsistence	14
1.3.4 Demography and vitality	18
1.3.5 History	19
1.3.6 Mythology and the origin of people	25
1.3.7 Social organisation	26
1.3.8 Exogamy	27
1.3.9 Kinship terminology	28
1.3.10 Person reference and name avoidance	32
1.3.11 Language ideology and multilingualism	34
1.4 Komnzo within the Yam languages	36
1.4.1 Phonology	37
1.4.2 Lexicon	39
1.4.3 Morpho-syntax	40
1.4.4 Summary	41
1.5 Previous work and methodology	42
1.5.1 Previous work	42
1.5.2 This project	43
1.5.3 The text corpus	45
2 Phonology	47
2.1 Consonant phonemes	47
2.1.1 Obstruents	48

Contents

2.1.2	Nasals	51
2.1.3	Trill, tap - /r/	51
2.1.4	Approximants	52
2.1.5	Minimal pairs for Komnzo consonants	52
2.2	Vowel phonemes	54
2.2.1	Phonetic description and allophonic distribution of vowels	55
2.2.2	The non-phonemic status of schwa	57
2.2.3	Minimal pairs for Komnzo vowels	58
2.3	Regular phonological processes	60
2.3.1	Gemination	60
2.3.2	Final-devoicing	61
2.3.3	Glottal stop insertion	61
2.4	The syllable and phonotactics	62
2.4.1	Syllable structure	62
2.4.2	Consonant clusters	63
2.4.3	Syllabification and epenthesis	67
2.4.4	Minimal word	68
2.4.5	Stress	71
2.5	Morphophonemic Processes	72
2.5.1	Vowel harmony after =wä	72
2.5.2	Dissimilation between prefix and verb stem	73
2.5.3	Approximant ↔ high vowel	74
2.6	Loanwords and loanword phonology	75
2.7	Orthography development	76
3	Word classes	79
3.1	Nominals	79
3.1.1	Overview of criteria	80
3.1.2	Nouns	80
3.1.3	The semantics of the gender system	84
3.1.4	Property nouns	86
3.1.5	Adjectives	89
3.1.6	Quantifiers and numerals	91
3.1.7	Locationals	95
3.1.8	Temporals	97
3.1.9	Personal pronouns	99
3.1.10	Interrogatives	99
3.1.11	Indefinites	102
3.1.12	Demonstratives	105
3.2	Verbs	115
3.3	Adverbs	120
3.4	Particles	121
3.4.1	TAM particles	121

3.4.2	Discourse particles	125
3.5	Clitics	126
3.5.1	Nominal enclitics	126
3.5.2	Verbal proclitics	127
3.6	Connectives	129
3.7	Ideophones	130
3.8	Interjections	133
4	Nominal morphology	135
4.1	Introduction	135
4.2	Reduplication	135
4.3	The form and function of case markers	136
4.4	Absolutive	139
4.5	Ergative = <i>f</i> , = <i>è</i>	140
4.6	Dative = <i>n</i> , = <i>nm</i>	143
4.7	Possessive marking	144
4.7.1	Possessive = <i>ane</i> , = <i>aneme</i>	144
4.7.2	Close possession	145
4.8	Spatial cases	148
4.8.1	Locative = <i>en</i>	148
4.8.2	Allative = <i>fo</i>	150
4.8.3	Ablative = <i>fa</i>	151
4.9	Temporal cases	152
4.9.1	Temporal locative = <i>thamen</i>	153
4.9.2	Temporal purposive = <i>thamar</i>	153
4.9.3	Temporal possessive = <i>thamane</i>	153
4.10	Instrumental = <i>me</i>	154
4.11	Purposive = <i>r</i>	156
4.12	Characteristic = <i>ma</i>	157
4.13	Proprietary = <i>karä</i>	162
4.14	Privative = <i>märe</i>	164
4.15	Associative = <i>ä</i>	166
4.16	Similative = <i>thatha</i>	167
4.17	Further nominal morphology	168
4.17.1	Emphatic = <i>wä</i>	168
4.17.2	Exclusive = <i>nzo</i>	170
4.17.3	Etcetera = <i>sü</i>	170
4.17.4	Distributive = <i>kak</i>	171
4.17.5	Diminutive = <i>fäth</i>	172
4.18	A few historical notes	173
5	Verb morphology	177
5.1	Introduction	177
5.2	Morphological complexity	177

Contents

5.3	Stem types	182
5.3.1	The formal relationship of extended and restricted stems	182
5.3.2	Dual marking with extended and restricted stems	184
5.3.3	The combinatorics of extended and restricted stems	185
5.3.4	A comparative note on multiple stems	185
5.4	Alignment and verb templates	187
5.4.1	Grammatical relations	187
5.4.2	Morphological templates	189
5.4.3	Valency alternations	192
5.4.4	The prefixing template	195
5.4.5	The middle template	199
5.4.6	The ambifixing template	206
5.5	Person, gender and number	209
5.5.1	Person	209
5.5.2	Gender	218
5.5.3	Number	218
5.6	Deixis and directionality	230
5.6.1	The directional affixes <i>n-</i> and <i>-o</i>	231
5.6.2	The deictic clitics <i>z=</i> , <i>b=</i> , <i>f=</i> and <i>m=</i>	232
6	Tense, aspect and mood	237
6.1	Introduction	237
6.2	The combinatorics of TAM	237
6.2.1	The prefix series	240
6.2.2	The irrealis prefix <i>ra-</i>	245
6.2.3	The past suffix <i>-a</i>	245
6.2.4	The durative suffix <i>-m</i>	246
6.2.5	The imperative suffixes	249
6.3	The TAM particles	250
6.3.1	The imminent particle <i>n</i>	250
6.3.2	The apprehensive particle <i>m</i>	251
6.3.3	The potential particle <i>kma</i>	253
6.3.4	The future particle <i>kwa</i>	254
6.3.5	The iamitive particle <i>z</i>	255
6.3.6	The habitual particle <i>nomai</i>	257
6.4	Some remarks on the semantics of TAM	258
6.4.1	Tense	258
6.4.2	Aspect	260
6.4.3	Mood	263
7	Syntax of the noun phrase	267
7.1	Introduction	267
7.2	The structure of the noun phrase	267
7.3	The DETERMINER slot	268

7.4	The MODIFIER slots	272
7.5	The HEAD slot	273
7.5.1	Introduction	273
7.5.2	Ellipsis of the HEAD	274
7.5.3	Compounds	275
7.6	The inclusory construction	278
8	Clausal syntax	287
8.1	Introduction	287
8.2	Constituent order	287
8.3	Clause types	288
8.3.1	Non-verbal clauses	288
8.3.2	Copula clauses	289
8.3.3	Intransitive clauses	291
8.3.4	Impersonal clauses	292
8.3.5	'Passive' clauses	294
8.3.6	Reflexive and reciprocal clauses	294
8.3.7	Suppressed-object clauses	296
8.3.8	Transitive clauses	298
8.3.9	Ditransitive clauses	299
8.3.10	Experiencer-object constructions	300
8.3.11	Cognate and pseudo-cognate object constructions	303
8.3.12	Light verb constructions	306
8.4	Questions	310
8.5	Negation	312
9	Complex syntax	315
9.1	Introduction	315
9.2	Coordinated clauses	317
9.3	Complement clauses	319
9.3.1	Phasal verbs	319
9.3.2	Complements of knowledge	320
9.3.3	Complements of desire	322
9.4	Adverbial clauses	323
9.4.1	Purposive adverbials	323
9.4.2	Temporal adverbials	324
9.4.3	Manner adverbials	326
9.5	Relative clauses	327
9.6	Conditional and time clauses	331
9.7	Direct speech and thought	333
10	Information structure	335
10.1	Introduction	335
10.2	Clitics and particles	335

Contents

10.3	The paragraph marker <i>watik</i>	339
10.4	Fronted relative clauses	339
10.5	TAM categories and event-sequencing	342
11	Aspects of the lexicon	347
11.1	Introduction	347
11.2	Sign metonymies	347
11.2.1	Overview	347
11.2.2	Metaphor	348
11.2.3	Metonymy	349
11.2.4	Conclusion	351
11.3	Landscape terminology	351
11.3.1	Conceptualisation of landscape	351
11.3.2	Place names	353
11.3.3	Mixed place names	355
11.3.4	Social landscape	357
	Sample text: Nzürna trikasi	361
	Sample text: Kwafar	381
	Sample text: Fenz yonasi	409
	List of recordings	423
	References	429
	Index	439
	Name index	439
	Language index	441
	Subject index	443

Acknowledgments

This grammar of Komnzo started out as my PhD project at the Australian National University in Canberra. Since 2016, there have been many additions and revisions to this grammar, but the majority of the contents are the same as in the final version of my dissertation. These changes are the result of the comments given by reviewers, editors and proof-readers as well as the ever-increasing knowledge I receive from my Komnzo speaking friends.

This book would not have been possible without the support of the Farem people who took on the task of teaching me their language. I am deeply grateful to them for welcoming me in their community, for feeding me and keeping me safe at all times, for the patience they have had with my probing questions, and above all for sharing their language and culture with me. It is impossible to acknowledge everyone who assisted in teaching me Komnzo, for every exchange provided a contribution to my knowledge. Amongst my indigenous teachers were: Abia Bai, Nakre Abia, Daure Kaumb, Riley Abia, [†]Marua Bai, Lucy Abia, Sékri Karémbu, Janet Abia, Steven Karémbu, Caspar Mokai, Karo Abia, Kaumb Bai, Moses Abia and Albert Mokai.

My principal supervisor Nicholas Evans first suggested the Tonda languages as an area of research. Nick's enthusiasm and challenging criticism has helped me to sharpen my analysis and description of Komnzo. His open-mindedness about fieldwork and his holistic approach to language documentation made me see fascinating details of the language. I have greatly appreciated the contributions of I Wayan Arka, Andrew Pawley, Mark Ellison and Mark Donohue, who took over supervision at various periods over the years. I thank Ulrike Mosel, Ger Reesink and Martin Haspelmath for reviewing the dissertation. Their positive as well as their challenging comments have greatly improved this grammar. I am indebted to the administrative staff at the School of Culture, History and Language who have helped me navigating the bureaucracy. I would like to thank Jo Bushby, Penelope Judd, and Stephen Meatheringham. I am grateful to Kay Dancey at cartographic unit for the linguistic map of the Morehead district (see Figure 1.1).

There are a number of people who have helped me with specific knowledge and advice concerning virtually all aspects of carrying out research in the Morehead district. I would like to thank Mary Ayres who invited me to her house in Philadelphia and shared her fieldnotes from Rouku. Paul O'Rear and Risto Sarsa have answered many questions and requests about Rouku and Yokwa. Thanks also to Garrick Hitchcock and Kevin Murphy for sharing their knowledge about and experience in working in this part of the country. I also thank Jeff Siegel for his help both in Morehead and in other places where we have met. I want to thank Cezar Fernandez and the staff of New Century Hotel in Daru, who continue to make my brief stays in this town a pleasant experience, and Douglas Dawi,

Acknowledgments

Andrew Little, Peter Paradi, and Charlie Subam for transporting me and my equipment safely between Daru and the Morehead district.

Over the years, I have received financial support from the DOBES project of the Volkswagen Foundation, the Stephen and Helen Wurm Bequest at ANU, The Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology and the ACR Centre of Excellence for the Dynamics of Language at ANU. I thank all these institutions for making language documentation and description possible. I thank especially Vera Szöllösi-Brenig for organising the DOBES project, as well as Paul Trijlsbeek, Han Sloetjes and Alexander König for providing technical training and assistance.

I thank the staff at Language Science Press, especially Sebastian Nordhoff and Martin Haspelmath. Moreover, I am grateful to the numerous volunteers who spent their valuable time during the publication process of this book. I embrace you in the spirit of true open-access publishing.

To my family and friends who have provided me with moral and practical support over the years, I am deeply grateful. Too many years and too many people have passed by to thank everyone, but particular thanks go to Darja Hoenigman, Aung Si, Charlotte van Tongeren, Sebastien Lacrampe, Penny Johnson, Gary Kildea, Matthew Carroll, Beth Evans, Alena Witzlack-Makarevich and Sonja Riesberg. Lastly, I want to thank my parents Regina and Jörg, my brother Matthias and his family for their continued support over the last years.

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. 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 mechanisms 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. This is followed by 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, and affixes that are used for focus. These are sometimes glossed as intensifiers, emphasisers, or they are sometimes translated into English by ‘only’ or ‘also’. All of these 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 emphatic 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 presupposes 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 (§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 frequency 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) 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* *ɲare* as “devil woman” (1983: 93). In contrast to mythical stories, or knowledge about magic and sorcery, *nzürna* stories are public stories, which are 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 escaped from the fire, but his wife was killed. The text excerpt picks up where main action is over. 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 zābtha.*
 ‘After this, the fire had finished.’
 2 *wati nagawa ɲabrigwa ... sir*
 ‘Then Nagawa returned ... to see’
 3 *“komnzo rä o z kwarsir mnin?”*
 ‘Is she still alive or did she burn in the fire?’
 4 *ɲabrigwa ... 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 ... nafaṇareanema.*
‘He was just crying ... for his wife.’
- 7 *wati, fi nābi zābrima.*
‘Thus, he went back for good.’
- 8 *zmbo yamn̄r ane woga oten.*
‘This man lives now here in Ote.’
- 9 *emoth fāthä ämn̄r.*
‘He lives with his daughters.’
- 10 *watik, kabeyé komnzo fā nomai sumarwre ... ymarwre fthé ...*
‘Well, the people still see him there ... we see him when ...’
- 11 *fā ṇaritaḵwr nima firrafo yak ... we nima ṇabrigwr.*
‘he crosses (the river) on his way to Firra ... and also when he returns.’
- 12 *tnz fāth ane kabe yé*
‘He is a short man.’
- 13 *ane nzūrna ṇareane zokwasi nimame fof rā fof.*
‘That Nzūrna woman’s story is just like that.’
- 14 *mane bobo firran zwamn̄rm.*
‘the one, who was staying in Firra.’
- 15 *tüfr yam nā fefe thwafiyokwrm ...*
‘She did many things, ...’
- 16 *fi fathfa ane fof wāfiyokwa ...*
‘but this one thing she did in public ...’
- 17 *nā karma kabe mane yanatha mogarkamma*
‘eating that man from another village ... from Mogarkam.’
- 18 *nafane zokwasi ... ane trikasi fobonzo wythk fof brā.*
‘her story ... that story ends there. It is over.’
- 19 *ane nzūrna ṇareanema*
‘about that Nzūrna woman.’
- 20 *watik, fobo fof zrākoré*
‘Well, that is what I told you.’
- 21 *nā karen nima nā buné bānema ...*
‘In other villages (there are) others ...’
- 22 *nā nzūrna ṇare zokwasi trikasi bā rāro ...*
‘other Nzūrna woman stories are there ...’
- 23 *fi ane kar woga mane erā fi ane miyatha erā*
‘but it is those village people who know about these.’
- 24 *nzefé nzüwābragwé nima ni miyatha nrā*
‘I followed like we know (this story).’

- 25 *nzekaren ane yam kwaɸiyokwrm ...*
 ‘She did this in our village ...’
- 26 *nzenme ɲafyé mā thwamnzrm*
 ‘where our fathers lived.’
- 27 *ɲafyé we nzenm natrikwath*
 ‘The fathers also told us (about it).’
- 28 *nima zbo zf zakoré. ɸɸ zäbthé*
 ‘I have said it now. I am finished.’

[tci20120901-01 MAK #201-238]

The intensifier *ɸɸ* occurs in lines 13, 16, 18, 20, and 28. In line 13, the narrator marks the end of the story by stating the story is “just like that” and *ɸɸ* 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 ɸɸ* or *nimame ɸɸ* ‘just like this’. Such a reply rarely occurs without *ɸɸ*. In lines 16 and 20, *ɸɸ* occurs after the demonstratives *ane* (DEM) and *fobo* (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 to an end now. In lines 18 and 28, *ɸɸ* 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, *ɸɸ* 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 as ‘she only exists’. In line 6, *=nzo* is cliticised to *ya* ‘cry, wail’ and thus translates literally as ‘he was shouting out only wails’. In line 18, *=nzo* is attached to a demonstrative *fobo* 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 *komnzo* and *=nzo* have a contrastive function, i.e. setting something 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 becomes 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* (§4.17.1).

10.3 The paragraph marker *watik*

The word *watik* or sometimes *wati* means ‘enough’. I often overheard it being used with together the adjectivaliser suffix *-thé* and the instrumental *=me*. Thus, *watikthéme* ‘(I have) enough’ is a common reply to an offer to have more food or more tea. In narratives or procedural texts, *watik* is often used to mark a new thought or the beginning 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 (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 square brackets]. Usually the relative clause follows the matrix clause.

- (2) *dgwrfa enrgegwr bäne dgwr [boba mane themare] berä.*
 dgwr=fa en\rgeg/wr bäne dgwr boba
 orchid=ABL 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/pull-off DEM:MED orchid MED.ABL
 mane the\mar/e b=e\rä/
 which 1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:PFV/see 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). 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 ä\nor/
 drum which 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout dance=CHAR 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout
 (.) zane frü=me=wä
 (.) 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/ (.) farem=ane zokwasi fefe
 komnzo language which 3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) farem=POSS.SG language real

ane fof \rä/ (.) komnzo
 DEM EMPH 3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) komnzo
 ‘When it comes to Komnzo, this is 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 bracket 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 ... ηafe*
 mane yn\zä/nza (.) büdisn mä
 who SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV:VENT/carry (.) büdisn where
 nz\rugr/m (.) oroman fä fof sa\mar/a (.)
 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/sleep (.) old.man DIST EMPH SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:PST:IPFV/see (.)
 ηafe
 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 swamnzm.*
 kukufia mane ya\r/a masu=n swa\m/nzm
 kukufia which 3SG.MASC:PST:IPFV/be masu=LOC 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 swamnzm* ‘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 (7) shows, how this change in topic is expressed.

- (7) a. *fafen nge zi swathizrm ... ekri zi ... kofä ysmä.*
 fafen nge zi swa\thi/zrm (.) ekri zi (.) kofä
 meanwhile child pain 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/die (.) body pain (.) fish
 ys=ma
 bone=CHAR
 ‘In the meantime, the child was in pain ... body pain from the fish bones.’
 b. *watik [nafañafe mane yanra] nagayé thrathorthm.*
 watik nafa-ñafe mane yan\r/a nagayé
 then 3.POSS-father which 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENT/be children
 thra\thorthm/
 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/search
 ‘Then ... 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 (*yanra*) 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 wives 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 ... ñakwir e Masu kräkwther.*
 kukufia näbi za\math/a dunzi=karä (.) ña\kwi/r e
 kukufia one 3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/run arrow=PROP (.) 3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/run until
 masu krä\kwther/
 masu 3SG:IRR:PFV/change
 ‘Kukufia ran away with the arrow (inside him) ... He was running until Masu where he changed (his appearance).’
 b. *[nafane ñare mane zfrärm] ... edama ... thrma ñare. wati mämen fobo zämira fof.*
 nafane ñare mane zfrä\r/m (.) eda=ma (.) thrma ñare
 3SG.POSS woman which 3SG.F:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) two=CHAR (.) after woman
 wati mäme=n fobo zä\mir/a fof
 then breast=LOC DIST.ALL 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/hang EMPH
 ‘It was his wife ... the second ... the latter wife. He was hanging on her breast.’
[tci20100905 ABB #117-121]

The narrator first describes Kukufia’s escape in (8a) and then changes the topic to the wife on whose breast the little baby boy is hanging (8b). The new topic is again introduced by a fronted relative clause. Kukufia’s fate is sealed as the father quickly recognises 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* ‘who, which’.

10.5 TAM categories and event-sequencing

Foley points out that Papuan languages often exploit their rich TAM systems for pragmatic purposes (2000: 389). TAM marking and discourse notions such as foregrounding has been discussed by many authors, for example by Hopper (1979). One such example from the Papuan language Sentani comes from Hartzler (1983) who has shown that 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, and descriptions of a path.

I will begin by comparing the above-mentioned 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 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 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 ñathkärwr.*
 ‘Well, it will begin like this:’
 2 *tagon rthé thrarakthkwrth thräbthth*
 ‘The food will be placed on the platform. That will be finished.’
 3 *zöbthé fefe kwa ... chris e nafañare maki ernth fof.*
 ‘First, they are putting the paint on Chris and his wife.’
 4 *maki fthé thrarnth ... fthé thrabthth ...*
 ‘When they have put on the paint ... when they have finished ...’
 5 *watik, foba kwa änrokonth.*
 ‘next they will escort them this way.’
 6 *fthé thrnthbth nima ...*
 ‘When they will bring them in ...’
 7 *faf mä kwa nge fathasi zn rä fof ...*
 ‘to the place where the children’s feast will take place ...’

¹Future reference is expressed periphrastically with the particle *kwa* which may occur with non-past indicative and irrealis inflections.

- 8 *kwa änrökonth kwot bobomr ...*
 ‘they will escort them up until ...’
- 9 *thranthaiŋth faf znfo.*
 ‘they will arrive at the place.’
- 10 *watik kwa emsakrnth.*
 ‘Next, they will sit them down.’
- 11 *thramsth kramsth*
 ‘They will sit them down. They will sit down.’
- 12 *watik, zöbthé fefe kwa äyoknth a ätriknth nima:*
 ‘Well, first, they will advise them and they will say:’

[tci20110817-02 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 only to be lectured about codes of conduct and the expected behaviour.

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 foregrounding.

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

²De 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.

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	<i>wati fam änatha:</i> He was thinking:	PST:IPFV
2	<i>“kwa ṇabrigwé skerur.”</i> “I will go back for coconut wine.”	NPST:IPFV
3	<i>zbär kretharuf gardafo.</i> In the night, he got into the canoe.	IRR:PFV
4	<i>kwanrafinzrm gardame.</i> He was paddling here with the canoe.	PST:DUR
5	<i>mane yanra zäzr mnz ... finzo ... kabe matak</i> When he got to Zäzr Mnz ... (it was) only him ... nobody else	PST:IPFV
6	<i>yokwa kar ane fof... matak</i> the same thing in Yokwa ... nobody	no verb
7	<i>garda sräzin ... yaniyak aki kwayanen ... mnz.</i> He <u>put down</u> the canoe ... and came in the moonlight ... to the house.	<u>IRR:PFV</u> NPST:IPFV
8	<i>nä skerur ṇasongwr.</i> He climbed a (coconut) wine palm.	NPST:IPFV
9	<i>warfo ... fä ṇonathr.</i> Up there ... he was drinking.	NPST:IPFV
10	<i>zrämbth we nä ṇazifo kresöbäth.</i> He finished and climbed another coconut.	2x IRR:PFV
11	<i>fä ṇonathr.</i> He was drinking.	NPST:IPFV
12	<i>we nä kabeane ṇazifo kresöbäth</i> and again he climbed another man’s coconut.	IRR:PFV
13	<i>mane ṇasogwa warfo ...</i> As he climbed on top ...	PST:IPFV
14	<i>kräms drari wrbr.</i> He <u>sat down</u> and untied the bamboo container.	<u>IRR:PFV</u> NPST
15	<i>fof n zäznoba.</i> He was about to drink.	PST:PFV
16	<i>zamthetha drari.</i> He lifted up the bamboo container.	PST:PFV

17	<i>bäw! ɲazi tafokarä ane zägarnza.</i> Bang! The coconut leaf broke off (with him).	PST:IPFV
18	<i>zane zäkurfa ziyé</i> This one here split.	PST:PFV
19	<i>zenta ɲagarwa</i> He split his crotch.	PST:IPFV
20	<i>fainr fr sazika</i> He went into the pineapple plant.	PST:PFV
21	<i>fä swanorm “ara ara” ... kambe matak</i> There he was shouting “ah ah” ... no people (heard him)	PST:DUR

[tci20120904-01 MAB #42-69]

Several observations which pertain to event sequencing as well as foregrounding 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) rather than 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 follows 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.

References

- Anderson, Stephen R. 1992. *A-Morphous Morphology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Andrews, Avery. 2007a. Relative clauses. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, volume II: Complex constructions (2nd edition)*, 206–236. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Andrews, Avery. 2007b. The major functions of the noun phrase. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, volume I: Clause structure (2nd edition)*, 132–223. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arka, I Wayan. 2012. Projecting morphology and agreement in Marori, an isolate of Southern New Guinea. In Nicholas Evans & Marian Klamer (eds.), *Melanesian languages on the edge of Asia: Challenges for the 21st century*. (Language Documentation & Conservation Special Publication No. 5). Manoa: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Arkadiev, Peter M. 2008. Thematic roles, event structure, and argument encoding in semantically aligned languages. In Mark Donohue & Søren Wichmann (eds.), *The typology of semantic alignment*, 101–117. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ayres, Mary C. 1983. *This side, that side: Locality and exogamous group definition in Morehead area, Southwestern Papua*. Chicago: University of Chicago dissertation.
- Baerman, Matthew. 2012. Paradigmatic chaos in Nuer. *Language* 88(3). 467–494.
- Baerman, Matthew, Greville G. Corbett, Dunstan Brown & Andrew Hippisley. 2006. *Surrey Typological Database on Deponency*. Surrey Morphology Group. University of Surrey. URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15126/SMG.15/1>.
- Baker, Mark. 1996. *The polysynthesis parameter*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ballard, Chris. 2010. Synthetic histories: Possible futures for Papuan Pasts. *Reviews in Anthropology* 39(4). 232–257.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 2011. Grammatical relations typology. In Jae J. Song (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of linguistic typology*, 399–444. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Biggs, Bruce. 1963. A non-phonemic central vowel type in Karam, a “Pygmy” language of the Schrader Mountains, Central New Guinea. *Anthropological Linguistics* 5(4). 13–17.
- Blake, Barry. 1994. *Case*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blevins, Juliette. 1995. The syllable in phonological theory. In John A. Goldsmith (ed.), *The handbook of phonological theory*, 206–244. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.
- Blevins, Juliette & Andrew Pawley. 2010. Typological implications of Kalam predictable vowels. *Phonology* 27. 1–44.
- Boevé, Alma & Marco Boevé. 2003. *Arammba grammar essentials*. Ukarumpa: SIL Unpublished Ms.

References

- Bybee, Joan L. 2010. Markedness: Iconicity, economy and frequency. In Jae J. Song (ed.), *Handbook of linguistic typology*, 131–147. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bybee, Joan L. & Östen Dahl. 1989. The creation of tense and aspect systems in the languages of the world. *Studies in Language* 13(1). 51–103.
- Bybee, Joan L., Revere Perkins & William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Caballero, Gabriela & Alice C. Harris. 2012. A working typology of multiple exponence. In Ferenc Kiefer, Mária Ladányi & Péter Siptár (eds.), *Current issues in morphological theory: (ir)regularity, analogy and frequency. Selected papers from the 14th International Morphology Meeting, Budapest, 13–16 May 2010*, 163–188. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Carroll, Matthew. 2017. *The Ngkolmpu Language – with special reference to distributed exponence*. Canberra: Australian National University dissertation.
- Chappell, John. 2005. Geographic changes of coastal lowlands in the Papuan past. In Andrew Pawley, Attenborough Robert, Jack Golson & Robin Hide (eds.), *Papuan pasts: Cultural, linguistic and biological histories of Papuan-speaking peoples*, 525–540. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Clifton, John M., Geoff Dyall & Paul O’Rear. 1991. *The linguistic situation south of the Fly River, Western Province*. Ukarumpa: SIL Unpublished Ms.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect: An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard & Michael Cysouw. 2012. New Guinea through the eyes of WALS. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 30(1). 65–94.
- Comrie, Bernard & Sandra A. Thompson. 2007. Lexical nominalization. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, volume III: Grammatical categories and the lexicon (2nd edition)*, 334–381. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coulmas, Florian. 1982. Some remarks on Japanese deictics. In Jürgen Weissenborn & Wolfgang Klein (eds.), *Here and there: Cross-linguistic studies on deixis and demonstration*, 209–223. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Cristofaro, Sonia. 2004. Past habituais and irrealis. In Yuri A. Lander, Vladimir A. Plungian & Anna Y. Urmanchieva (eds.), *Irrealis and irreality*, 256–272. Moscow: Gnosis.
- Croft, William. 1991. *Syntactic categories and grammatical relations: The cognitive organization of information*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- de Vries, Lourens. 2005. Towards a typology of tail–head linkage in Papuan languages. *Studies in Language* 29(2). 363–384.
- Diessel, Holger. 1999. The morphosyntax of demonstratives in synchrony and diachrony. *Linguistic Typology* 3(1). 1–49.
- Dik, Simon C. 1997. *The theory of functional grammar, part I: The structure of the clause*. K. Hengeveld (ed.). Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dingemanse, Mark. 2012. Advances in the cross-linguistic study of ideophones. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 6(10). 654–672.

- Dixon, R. M. W. 1972. *The Dyirbal language of North Queensland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 2003. Demonstratives: A cross-linguistic typology. *Studies in Language* 27(1). 61–112.
- Donohue, Mark. 2008. Complexities with restricted numeral systems. *Linguistic Typology* 12(3). 423–429.
- Drabbe, Peter. 1955. *Spraakkunst van het Marind: Zuidkust Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea. Studia Instituti Anthropos, volume 11*. Wien-Mödling: Missiehuis St. Gabriel.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 2007. Word order. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, volume I: Clause structure (2nd edition)*, 61–130. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Evans, Nicholas. Forthcoming. *A grammar of Nen*.
- Evans, Nicholas. 1995. *A grammar of Kayardild: With historical-comparative notes on Tangkic*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Evans, Nicholas. 1997. Sign metonymies and the problem of flora-fauna polysemy in Australian languages. In Darrell T. Tryon & Michael Walsh (eds.), *Boundary rider: Essays in honour of Geoffrey O'Grady*, 133–153. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2009. Two pus one makes thirteen: Senary numerals in the Morehead-Maró region. *Linguistic Typology* 13(2). 321–335.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2010. Semantic typology. In Jae J. Song (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of linguistic typology*, 504–533. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2012a. Even more diverse than we had thought: The multiplicity of Trans-Fly languages. In Nicholas Evans & Marian Klamer (eds.), *Melanesian languages on the edge of Asia: Challenges for the 21st century* (Language Documentation & Conservation Special Publication No. 5), 109–149. Manoa: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2012b. Nen assentives and the problem of dyadic parallelisms. In Andrea C. Schalley (ed.), *Practical theories and empirical practice: Facets of a complex interaction*, 159–183. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2014. Positional verbs in nen. *Oceanic Linguistics* 53(2). 225–255.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2015a. Inflection in Nen. In Matthew Baerman (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of inflection*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2015b. Valency in Nen. In Andrej L. Malchukov & Bernard Comrie (eds.), *Valency classes in the world's languages*, 1049–1096. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2017. Quantification in Nen. In Denis Paperno & Edward Keenan (eds.), *Handbook of quantification in natural language, volume II*, 571–607. New York: Springer.
- Evans, Nicholas, I Wayan Arka, Matthew Carroll, Christian Döhler, Eri Kashima, Emil Mittag, Kyla Quinn, Jeff Siegel, Philip Tama & Charlotte van Tongeren. 2017. The languages of Southern New Guinea. In Bill Palmer (ed.), *The languages and linguistics of the New Guinea area*, 641–774. Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter.
- Evans, Nicholas & Alan C. Dench. 1988. Multiple case-marking in Australian languages. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 8(1). 1–47.

References

- Evans, Nicholas & Alan C. Dench. 2006. Introduction. In Felix K. Ameka, Alan C. Dench & Nicholas Evans (eds.), *Catching language: The standing challenge of grammar writing*, 1–40. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Evans, Nicholas & Julia C. Miller. 2016. Nen. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 46(3). 331–349.
- Evans, Nicholas & Hans-Jürgen Sasse. 2002. Introduction. In Nicholas Evans & Hans-Jürgen Sasse (eds.), *Problems of polysynthesis*, 1–13. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Fedden, Sebastian O. 2011. *A grammar of Mian*. Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter.
- Fillmore, Charles. 1968. The case for case. In Emmon Bach & Robert T. Harms (eds.), *Universals in linguistic theory*, 1–25. London: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Foley, William A. 1986. *The Papuan languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foley, William A. 2000. The languages of New Guinea. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29. 357–404.
- Frawley, William. 1992. *Linguistic semantics*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Garde, Murray. 2013. *Culture, interaction and person reference in an Australian language: An ethnography of Bininj Gunwok communication*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Geniušienė, Emma. 1987. *The typology of reflexives*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Givón, Talmy. 1994. Irrealis and the subjunctive. *Studies in Language* 18(2). 265–337.
- Givón, Talmy. 2001. *Syntax: An introduction, volume II*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Goddard, Cliff. 1985. *A grammar of Yankunytjatjara*. Alice Springs: Institute of Aboriginal Development.
- Golson, Jack. 2005. Introduction to the chapters on archaeology and ethnology. In Andrew Pawley, Attenborough Robert, Jack Golson & Robin Hide (eds.), *Papuan pasts: Cultural, linguistic and biological histories of Papuan-speaking peoples*, 221–234. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Grummit, John & Janell Masters. 2012. *A survey of the Tonda sub-group of languages*. Ukarumpa: SIL Electronic Survey Report 2012-018. URL: <http://www.sil.org/silesr/2012/silesr2012-018.pdf>.
- Gurevich, Olga. 2006. *Constructional morphology: The Georgian version*. Berkley: University of California dissertation.
- Hale, Kenneth L. 1976. The adjoined relative clause in Australia. In R. M. W. Dixon (ed.), *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*, 78–105. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Hammarström, Harald. 2009. Whence the Kanum base-6 numeral system? *Linguistic Typology* 13(2). 305–319.
- Hartzler, Margaret. 1983. Mode, aspect, and foregrounding in Sentani. *Language & Linguistics in Melanesia* 14. 175–194.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1997. *Indefinite pronouns*. Oxford: Clarendon.

- Haspelmath, Martin. 2001. The European linguistic area: Standard Average European. In Martin Haspelmath, Wulf Oesterreicher & Wolfgang Raible (eds.), *Language typology and language universals* (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft), 1492–1510. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2007. Coordination. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, volume II: Complex constructions (2nd edition)*, 1–51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2013. Negative indefinite pronouns and predicate negation. In Matthew Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The world atlas of language structures online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. URL: <http://wals.info/chapter/115>.
- Haspelmath, Martin & Thomas Müller-Bardey. 2004. Valency change. In Geert Booij, Christian Lehmann & Joachim Mugdan (eds.), *Morphologie / Morphology. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Flexion und Wortbildung / An international handbook on inflection and word-formation*, chap. 107, 1130–1145. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Heath, Jeffrey. 1984. *Functional grammar of Nunggubuyu*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2005. *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hercus, Luise & Jane Simpson. 2002. Indigenous placenames: An introduction. In Luise Hercus & Jane Simpson (eds.), *The land is a map*, 1–23. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. 1996. Demonstratives in narrative discourse. In Barbara Fox (ed.), *Studies in anaphora*, 205–254. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hitchcock, Garrick. 2004. *Wildlife is our gold: Political ecology of the Torassi River borderland, southwest Papua New Guinea*. Brisbane: University of Queensland dissertation.
- Hitchcock, Garrick. 2009. William Dammköhler's third encounter with the Tugeri (Marind-Anim) – manuscript XX. *The Journal of Pacific History* 44(1). 89–97.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1979. Aspect and foregrounding in discourse. In Talmy Givón (ed.), *Discourse and syntax*, 213–241. New York: Academic Press.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1990. Where do words come from? In William Croft, Keith Denning & Suzanne Kemmer (eds.), *Studies in typology and diachrony: Papers presented to Joseph H. Greenberg on his 75th birthday*, 151–160. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Keenan, Edward L. & Matthew S. Dryer. 2007. Passives in the world's languages. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, volume I: Clause structure (2nd edition)*, 325–361. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kemmer, Suzanne. 1993. *The middle voice*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Kennedy, Christopher & Louise McNally. 2005. Scale structure, degree modification, and the semantics of gradable predicates. *Language* 81(2). 345–381.
- Knauff, Bruce M. 1993. *South coast New Guinea cultures: History, comparison, dialectic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- König, Ekkehard. 1991. *The meaning of focus particles: A comparative perspective*. London & New York: Routledge.

References

- Kubota, Yusuke. 2010. Marking aspect along a scale: The semantics of *-te iku* and *-te kuru* in Japanese. *Semantics and Linguistic Theory* 20. 128–146.
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 1983. *A grammar of Manam* (Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications No. 18). Manoa: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 1991. Semantic change and heterosemy in grammaticalization. *Language* 67(3). 475–509.
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 2000. Inclusory pronominals. *Oceanic Linguistics* 39(1). 1–32.
- Luraghi, Silvia. 2001. Syncretism and the classification of semantic roles. *STUF – Language Typology and Universals* 54(1). 35–51.
- Luraghi, Silvia. 2003. *On the meaning of prepositions and cases: The expression of semantic roles in Ancient Greek*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- MacGregor, William. 1890. *Annual report on British New Guinea from 1st July 1889 to 30th June 1890 with appendices*. Brisbane: Govt Printer. URL: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-82702440>.
- MacGregor, William. 1896. *Annual report on British New Guinea from 1st July 1895 to 30th June 1896 with appendices*. Brisbane: Govt Printer. URL: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-82720595>.
- Makihara, Miki & Bambi B. Schieffelin. 2007. Cultural processes and linguistic mediations: Pacific explorations. In Miki Makihara & Bambi B. Schieffelin (eds.), *Consequences of contact: Language ideologies and sociocultural transformations in Pacific societies*, 3–30. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Matthews, Peter H. 1974. *Morphology: An introduction to the theory of word-structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meakins, Felicity & Rachel Nordlinger. 2014. *A grammar of Bilinarra: an Australian Aboriginal language of the Victoria River District (NT)*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Mel'čuk, Igor. 1973. The structure of linguistics signs and possible formal-semantic relations between them. In Rey-Debove Josette (ed.), *Recherches sur les systèmes signifiants: symposium de varsovie*, 103–135. The Hague; Paris: Mouton.
- Merlan, Francesca. 1981. Land, language and social identity in Aboriginal Australia. *Mankind Quarterly* 13. 133–148.
- Merlan, Francesca. 1985. Split intransitivity: Functional oppositions in intransitive inflection. In Johanna Nichols & Tony Woodbury (eds.), *Grammar inside and outside the clause: Some approaches to theory from the field*, 324–362. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Merlan, Francesca. 2001. Form and Context in Jawoyn placenames. In Jane Simpson, David Nash, Mary Laughren, Peter Austin & Barry Alpher (eds.), *Forty years on: Ken Hale and Australian languages*, 367–383. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Mithun, Marianne. 1991. Active/agentive case marking and its motivations. *Language* 67(3). 510–546.
- Mithun, Marianne. 2009. Polysynthesis in the Arctic. In Marc-Antoine Mahieu & Nicole Tersis (eds.), *Variations on polysynthesis: The Eskimo-Aleut languages*, 3–18. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Mühlhäusler, Peter. 2006. Naming languages, drawing language boundaries and maintaining languages with special reference to the linguistic situation in Papua New Guinea. In Denis Cunningham, David E. Ingram & Kenneth Sumbuk (eds.), *Language diversity in the Pacific: Endangerment and survival*, 24–39. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Murray, John H. P. 1912. *Papua or British New Guinea*. London: T. Fisher Unwin. URL: <https://archive.org/details/papuaorbritishne00murr>.
- Ochs Keenan, Elinor & Bambi B. Schieffelin. 1976. Topic as a discourse notion. In Charles N. Li (ed.), *Subject and topic*, 335–384. New York: Academic Press.
- Olsson, Bruno. 2013. *Iamitives: Perfects in Southeast Asia and beyond*. Stockholm: Stockholm Universitet MA thesis.
- Olsson, Bruno. 2017. *The Coastal Marind language*. Singapore: Nanyang Technological University dissertation.
- Paijmans, Kees. 1970. Land evaluation by air photo interpretation and field sampling in Australian New Guinea. *Photogrammetria* 26(2-3). 77–100.
- Paijmans, Kees, D. H. Blake & P. Bleeker. 1971. Land systems of the Morehead-Kiunga area. In Kees Paijmans, D. H. Blake, P. Bleeker & J. R. McAlpine (eds.), *Land resources of the Morehead-Kiunga area, territory of Papua and New Guinea (Land Research Series No. 29)*, 19–45. Melbourne: Commonwealth Scientific & Industrial Research Organization, Australia.
- Pawley, Andrew. 1966. *The structure of Karam*. Auckland: University of Auckland dissertation.
- Pawley, Andrew. 2005. Introduction to the chapters on historical linguistics. In Andrew Pawley, Attenborough Robert, Jack Golson & Robin Hide (eds.), *Papuan pasts: cultural, linguistic and biological histories of Papuan-speaking peoples*, 1–14. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Pawley, Andrew, Simon P. Gi, Ian S. Majnep & John Kias. 2000. Hunger acts on me: the grammar and semantics of bodily and mental process expressions in Kalam. *Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications, Grammatical Analysis: Morphology, Syntax, and Semantics* (29). 153–185.
- Pawley, Andrew, Attenborough Robert, Jack Golson & Robin Hide. 2005. *Papuan pasts: Cultural, linguistic and biological histories of Papuan-speaking peoples*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Pollard, Carl J. & Ivan A. Sag. 1987. *Information-based syntax and semantics*. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language & Information.
- Ray, Sidney H. 1907. Papuan languages west of the Fly river. In Sidney H. Ray (ed.), *Linguistics*, vol. III (Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits), 291–301. Cambridge University Press.
- Ray, Sidney H. 1923. The Languages of the western division of Papua. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 53. 332–360.
- Ray, Sidney H. 1926. *A comparative study of the Melanesian Island languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

References

- Reesink, Ger. 1987. *Structures and their functions in Usan: A Papuan language of Papua New Guinea*. Vol. 13 (Studies in Language companion series). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Reesink, Ger. 2009. A connection between Bird's Head and (Proto) Oceanic. In Bethwyn Evans (ed.), *Discovering history through language*, 181–192. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Ross, Malcolm. 2005. Pronouns as a preliminary diagnostic for grouping Papuan languages. In Andrew Pawley, Attenborough Robert, Jack Golson & Robin Hide (eds.), *Papuan pasts: Cultural, linguistic and biological histories of Papuan-speaking peoples*, 15–66. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Rumsey, Alan. 1990. Wording, meaning, and linguistic ideology. *American Anthropologist* 92(2). 346–361.
- Saeed, John I. 1984. *The syntax of focus and topic in Somali*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Sarsa, Risto. 2001. *Studies in Wára verb morphology*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki MA thesis.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 2002. Recent activity in the theory of aspect: accomplishments, achievements, or just non-progressive state. *Linguistic Typology* 6(2). 199–271.
- Schachter, Paul & Timothy Shopen. 2007. Parts-of-speech systems. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, volume I: Clause structure (2nd edition)*, 1–60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schultze-Berndt, Eva. 2000. *Simple and complex verbs in Jaminjung*. Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen dissertation.
- Siegel, Jeff. 2014. The morphology of tense and aspect in Nama, a Papuan language of Southern New Guinea. *Open Linguistics* 1. 211–231.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1976. Hierarchy of features and ergativity. In R. M. W. Dixon (ed.), *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*, 112–171. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1979. Language structure and linguistic ideology. In Paul Clyne, Williams Hanks & Carol Hofbauer (eds.), *The elements: A parasession on linguistic units and levels*, 193–247. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Singer, Ruth. 2001. *The inclusory construction in Australian languages*. Melbourne: The University of Melbourne honours thesis.
- Smith, Carlota. 1997. *The parameter of aspect (2nd edition)*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Sutton, Peter. 1978. *Wik: Aboriginal society, territory and language at Cape Keerweer, Cape York Peninsula*. Brisbane: University of Queensland dissertation.
- Thompson, Sarah A., Robert E. Longacre & Shin J.J. Hwang. 2007. Adverbial clauses. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, volume II: Complex constructions (2nd edition)*, 237–300. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Turner-Lister, Robert & J. B. Clark. 1935. *A dictionary of the Motu language of Papua (2nd edition by P. Chatterton)*. Sydney: Pettifer.
- Usher, Timothy & Edgar Suter. 2015. The Anim languages of Southern New Guinea. *Oceanic Linguistics* 54(1). 110–142.

- van Enk, Gerrit & Lourens de Vries. 1997. *The Korowai of Irian Jaya: Their language in its cultural context* (Oxford Studies in Anthropological Linguistics). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- White, John P. & James F. O'Connell. 1982. *A prehistory of Australia, New Guinea and Sahul*. Sydney: Academic Press.
- Wichmann, Søren & Jan Wohlgemuth. 2008. Loan verbs in a typological perspective. In Thomas Stolz, Dik Bakker & Rosa Salas Palomo (eds.), *Aspects of language contact: New theoretical, methodological and empirical findings with special focus on Romancisation processes*, 89–121. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Williams, Francis E. 1936. *Papuans of the Trans-Fly*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Wurm, Stephen A. 1971. Notes on the linguistic situation of the Trans-Fly area. In Thomas E. Dutton, Clemens L. Voorhoeve & Stephen A. Wurm (eds.), *Papers in new guinea linguistics* 14, 115–172. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Wurm, Stephen A. 1975. *New Guinea area languages and language study, 1: Papuan languages and the New Guinea linguistic scene*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Zwicky, Arnold & Geoffrey Pullum. 1983. Cliticization vs. inflection: English *n't*. *Language* 59(3). 502–513.

Name index

- Andrews, Avery, 137, 326
Arka, I Wayan, 43
Arkadiev, Peter M., 195
Ayles, Mary C., 23, 26, 30, 36, 43, 346, 349
- Baerman, Matthew, 189, 196
Baker, Mark, 175
Ballard, Chris, 19
Bickel, Balthasar, 185
Biggs, Bruce, 57
Blevins, Juliette, 4, 57, 67
Bybee, Joan L., 261
- Caballero, Gabriela, 177
Carroll, Matthew, 43, 143, 174, 184
Chappell, John, 20, 21
Clark, J. B., 30, 307
Clifton, John M., 37, 39, 40, 42
Comrie, Bernard, 3, 258, 260
Cysouw, Michael, 3
- De Vries, Lourens, 3
Dench, Alan C., 45
Dixon, R. M. W., 113, 137
Donohue, Mark, 16, 93
Drabbe, Peter, 258
Dryer, Matthew S., 286
- Evans, Nicholas, 4, 16, 19, 36, 43, 45, 57, 102, 113, 175, 184, 185, 193, 195, 197, 215, 221, 229, 258, 293, 344
- Fedden, Sebastian O., 183
Fillmore, Charles, 136
Foley, William A., 3
Frawley, William, 258
- Goddard, Cliff, 111
Golson, Jack, 20
Grummit, John, 43
Gurevich, Olga, 179
- Harris, Alice C., 177
Haspelmath, Martin, 103, 185, 313, 323
Heath, Jeffrey, 111
Hitchcock, Garrick, 22
Hopper, Paul J., 184
- Kennedy, Christopher, 260
Knauff, Bruce M., 15
Kubota, Yusuke, 260
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek, 193, 283, 332
- MacGregor, William, 22
Makihara, Miki, 34
Masters, Janell, 43
Matthews, Peter H., 179
McNally, Louise, 260
Meakins, Felicity, 88
Merlan, Francesca, 34, 195, 350
Miller, Julia C., 57
Mithun, Marianne, 175, 195
Murray, John H. P., 10
- Nordlinger, Rachel, 88
- O'Connell, James F., 19
Olsson, Bruno, 43
- Paijmans, Kees, 10, 11, 354
Pawley, Andrew, 4, 19, 57
- Ray, Sidney H., 1
Reesink, Ger, 97

Name index

Ross, Malcolm, 3

Rumsey, Alan, 34

Saeed, John I., 332

Sarsa, Risto, 42

Schachter, Paul, 91

Schieffelin, Bambi B., 34

Schultze-Berndt, Eva, 88

Shopen, Timothy, 91

Siegel, Jeff, 4, 43, 184, 195, 258

Silverstein, Michael, 34, 295

Sutton, Peter, 34

Thompson, Sarah A., 327

Turner-Lister, Robert, 30, 307

Van Enk, Gerrit, 3

White, John P., 19

Williams, Francis E., 22, 25, 28, 36, 43,
346, 353

Wohlgemuth, Jan, 115

Wurm, Stephen A., 3, 36, 37, 39, 40

Language index

- Anta, 1, 8, 22¹¹, 35, 37–42, 125, 164, 184, 209, 212, 242, 353⁹, 354
- Arammba, 1, 37, 40, 42, 106, 184, 351, 354, 354¹⁰
- Awyu-Dumut, 3¹
- Bahasa, 76
- Bilinarra, 88
- Bininj Gunwok, 111
- Blafe, 1, 37–41, 43, 184, 346, 347, 353⁹
- Boumaa Fijian, 113
- Dyirbal, 113
- English, 1, 19, 36, 47, 76, 77, 79, 82, 88, 92–94, 97, 109, 111, 112, 114, 115, 115¹¹, 126, 149, 159, 167, 171, 191, 201¹⁷, 218³³, 230, 277⁴, 290, 307, 310, 313, 324, 331, 332, 334, 335, 338, 348, 351
- German, 35, 44¹⁶
- Hiri Motu, 76, 77, 115
- Idi, 8³
- Jaminjung, 88
- Japanese, 105
- Kalam, 4, 57, 142, 298
- Kanum, 40, 93, 184⁷, 354
- Kayardild, 113
- Keraki, 8, 16, 27, 43
- Kiwai, 22, 354
- Kānchā, 1, 22¹¹, 25, 30, 35, 37–42, 184, 351
- Kémä, 1, 22¹¹, 37, 40, 42, 43
- Manam, 332
- Marind, 21–23, 43, 142, 183, 258, 311, 354
- Marori, 39, 43
- Mian, 183
- Morehead-Maró, 1, 36
- Nama, 4, 8, 29, 33, 38, 39, 43, 49¹, 148, 184, 195, 195¹⁴, 258, 344, 351, 352, 353⁹
- Nambu, 36, 38–40, 43, 49¹, 62, 184, 184⁸, 185
- Nen, 4, 36, 39, 43, 44, 57, 102, 142, 148, 184, 185, 193, 195, 208²³, 221³⁵, 229, 258, 293, 346
- Ngkolmpu, 37, 40, 43, 143, 174, 179, 184, 184⁷
- Nuer, 179
- Nunggubuyu, 111
- Nä, 185, 195
- Pahoturi River, 8³, 21
- Ránmo, 1, 37–41
- Sentani, 263, 338
- Somali, 332
- Suki, 22, 209, 354
- Tonda, 1, 22, 36, 37, 39–43, 48, 94, 110, 125, 143, 174, 179, 182, 184, 184⁸, 212
- Usan, 97
- Wartha, 1, 37–41, 110, 184, 350–352
- Wára, 1, 8, 19, 22¹¹, 25, 30, 35–42, 46¹⁹, 184, 209, 212

Language index

Wära, 94, 141, 154, 164, 242, 249, 253,
256¹², 345, 347, 352, 353⁹, 354

Wèré, 1, 22¹¹, 37–42, 184, 185, 353⁹

Yam languages, 4, 16, 21, 22, 36, 41, 43,
93, 102, 174, 177, 193, 195, 229,
236, 261, 293

Yankunytjatjara, 111

Subject index

- ablative, 81, 83, 95, 99, 108, 137, 139, 148, 151, 158, 233
- absolute, 6, 41, 81, 99, 107, 136, 139, 140, 160, 185, 186, 199, 205, 207, 276, 279, 289, 290, 292, 296, 300, 325
- adjectivaliser, 58, 67, 80, 82, 88, 90, 266, 275, 335
- adjective, 80, 83, 90, 126, 131, 136, 265, 270, 275
- adverb, 100
- affricate, 50
- agent, 119, 187, 188, 276, 294
- alignment, 175, 195, 196
- allative, 81, 83, 95, 96, 99, 108, 129, 137, 139, 144, 148, 150–152
- allomorph, 52, 67, 210
- alveolar, 3, 47, 48, 50, 51, 60, 76, 77
- anaphoric, 105, 110, 174
- andative, 117, 177, 212–214, 229, 230, 233
- animate, 4, 81, 111, 135, 137, 138, 140, 143, 144, 148, 150, 151, 160, 172
- apprehensive, 105, 110, 233, 248, 249, 251, 261, 287, 310
- approximant, 56, 75–77
- archive, 45, 46, 417
- aspect, 5, 41, 115, 117, 123, 175, 177–180, 182–185, 222, 223, 235, 236, 243, 244, 247, 253, 255, 256, 258–261, 287, 315, 341
- associative, 83, 99, 126, 161, 165, 166, 170, 276–283
- backgrounded, 245, 263, 338, 339
- backshifting, 236
- benefactive, 206, 240
- beneficiary, 6, 120, 157, 160, 187, 188, 192, 197, 207, 297, 298
- case, 4, 6, 7, 79–83, 86, 87, 89–92, 94–97, 99–102, 104, 107, 108, 111, 112, 118–120, 122, 126, 129, 135–145, 147–170, 172–174, 185, 186, 189, 191, 192, 199, 203, 205, 207, 226, 227, 229, 233, 243, 265, 266, 268, 270, 273, 274, 276, 278, 279, 281–283, 286, 289–294, 297–299, 312, 313, 316–318, 320, 322, 325
- characteristic, 83, 95, 99, 100, 102, 106, 107, 113, 157–161, 172, 266, 268, 274, 281, 312, 313, 325, 332
- clan, 26–29
- clause, 137, 150, 154, 285, 287, 289, 290, 292, 294–296, 298, 309–313, 315, 317–321, 323, 327
- clitic, 106, 108–110, 123, 126, 127, 139, 143, 169, 231–233, 236, 239, 249, 288, 310
- cognate object, 195, 301, 303
- combinatorics, 175, 235, 256
- comitative, 283
- complement, 7, 288, 313, 315
- conditional, 129, 313, 320, 321, 327, 328
- conjunction, 54, 281, 283
- consonant clusters, 47, 49, 51, 57, 60, 62, 63, 67, 68
- coordination, 185, 281, 309, 311, 314
- copula, 74, 105, 109, 110, 117, 195, 230, 232, 233, 242, 287–289, 304, 310, 335, 336
- corpus, 45, 46, 417

Subject index

- dative, 6, 83, 99, 102, 136, 139, 143–145, 157, 160, 172–174, 186, 189, 205, 207, 276, 297, 298, 315, 325
- deictic, 4, 75, 105, 108, 114, 127, 151, 152, 229–233, 248, 249
- deixis, 175, 229
- demonstrative, 32, 34, 83, 102, 104, 105, 107–113, 119, 152, 161, 164, 168, 174, 231–233, 265, 266, 272, 274, 279, 285, 288, 312–314, 329, 334
- deponent, 189, 194, 196, 198, 199, 207, 227, 228
- determiner, 99, 102, 107, 266–270
- devoicing, 37, 48, 50, 60, 61
- diminutive, 171
- diphthong, 52, 76, 77
- direct speech, 114, 313, 314, 329
- direction, 117, 213, 315
- directional, 38, 116, 175, 177, 229, 230, 316
- directionality, 4, 115, 117, 175, 229
- distal, 100, 105, 110, 229, 231
- distributed exponence, 5, 43, 179, 221
- distributive, 91–94, 171
- ditransitive, 185, 187, 188, 190, 192, 193, 199, 205, 207, 219, 227, 294, 297, 301, 315
- dual, 5, 6, 41, 81, 117, 180, 182–185, 195, 211, 216–226, 228, 277–280
- durative, 5, 183, 212, 213, 235, 236, 238, 241, 243–246, 253, 255, 258–260, 263, 328, 339
- dynamicity, 185, 189, 195, 196
- ellipsis, 90, 271
- emphatic, 83, 106, 119, 126, 168, 169, 265, 269, 331
- enclitic, 60, 125, 126, 135, 168–171, 251, 293, 331, 332, 334
- epenthesis, 47, 52, 54, 57, 62, 67, 69, 74, 127, 211, 231
- epenthetic vowel, 3, 4, 57, 58, 60, 67–69, 71, 73, 74, 127, 209
- ergative, 6, 41, 80, 83, 87, 99, 101, 118, 126, 136, 139–143, 185, 186, 199, 203, 269, 270, 273, 276, 277, 279, 292, 294–296, 298–300, 311, 324, 325
- etcetera, 170
- exclusive, 83, 106, 125, 126, 143, 169, 293
- exogamy, 27–29, 354
- experiencer, 142, 187, 190, 285, 298–300
- experiencer-object, 80, 81, 87, 142, 190, 205, 298–300
- exponence, 5, 175, 177–179
- extended stem, 41, 74, 180, 182, 183, 191, 210, 212, 218
- feminine, 81, 84, 86, 87, 216, 221, 226, 287, 315
- focus, 111, 124–126, 331, 332, 334
- frequency, 124, 146, 164, 184, 210
- fricatives, 3, 47, 50, 60
- future, 97, 121, 246, 248, 252, 258, 287, 338
- geminate, 64
- gender, 4, 80, 81, 84, 86, 87, 115–117, 175, 177, 216, 271, 273, 315
- genitive, 325
- gloss, 5, 116, 127, 140, 147, 170, 172, 179, 186, 187, 209, 220, 223, 253, 283, 323
- glottal stop, 4, 62, 67
- goal, 6, 143, 144, 150, 157, 160, 188, 190, 203, 206, 297
- grammatical relations, 186
- habitual, 122, 248, 255
- head, 7, 80, 83, 86, 90, 95, 96, 101, 107, 112, 265, 266, 268–275, 302, 316, 317
- heterosemy, 193
- iamitive, 122, 248, 253–255, 258, 260
- identifier, 109, 110, 119, 164, 232, 233
- ideophone, 130, 131, 291, 302

- immediate, 104, 105, 111, 249
- immediate past, 75, 117, 127, 183, 235, 236, 238, 244, 248, 249, 256
- imminent, 239, 248, 249, 259, 261
- imperative, 110, 121–123, 127, 208, 208²³, 209, 215, 222, 233, 235, 236, 240, 246, 247, 250, 251, 259, 261, 310, 328
- imperfective, 5, 122, 178, 183, 185, 235, 236, 238, 241, 243, 245, 247, 258–261, 339, 341
- impersonal, 190, 201, 202, 290–294
- inanimate, 4, 111, 137, 141, 150, 151, 204, 344
- inclusory, 140, 165, 276–279, 281–283
- indefinite, 102, 103, 108, 265, 267–270, 272, 279, 310
- indirect object, 120, 179, 186–189, 195, 207, 227, 297
- indirect speech, 329, 330
- infinitive, 118, 142, 175, 192, 193, 207, 315
- information structure, 263, 331
- instrumental, 80, 83, 89–91, 99, 102, 106, 107, 113, 154–156, 292, 321, 325
- intensifier, 124, 331, 334
- interjection, 131
- interrogative, 100, 101, 103–105, 107, 152, 156, 229, 231, 265, 279, 308, 310, 323
- intransitive, 87, 120, 139, 185, 189, 199, 204, 276, 289, 292, 293, 302, 303
- irrealis, 121, 123, 127, 128, 215, 222, 223, 227, 228, 233, 235, 236, 239, 240, 243–246, 258, 261, 263, 328, 338
- iterative, 5, 183, 222, 235, 241, 245, 254, 261
- kinship, 28, 30, 32, 80, 81, 354
- landscape, 11, 343, 347, 349, 353
- language ideology, 19, 35, 37
- large plural, 5, 6, 195, 216, 217, 219–221
- lateral, 76, 77
- light verb, 88, 115, 242, 298, 301, 303–308, 316, 317, 330
- linking consonant, 209, 211–213
- loanword, 8, 48, 76, 97, 307
- locational, 96, 98, 149, 265, 286
- locative, 52, 60, 67, 81, 83, 95–97, 99, 137–139, 144, 148, 149, 152, 153, 173, 192, 320, 321, 325
- manner adverb, 120, 155
- masculine, 84, 87, 216, 221, 273, 287
- matrix clause, 315, 320, 323, 325, 326
- medial, 100, 105, 109, 110, 112, 127, 229, 231–233
- metaphor, 36, 343, 348
- metonymy, 343
- middle, 87, 120, 187, 188, 190, 191, 193, 195–197, 199–204, 206, 228, 240, 289–294, 296, 301
- minimal pair, 47, 52, 57, 58, 60, 67, 403
- minimal word, 47, 55, 56, 62, 63, 69, 71
- modifier, 83, 266, 270
- mood, 115, 117, 120, 223, 228, 233, 235, 256, 261–263, 315, 338, 339
- morphophonemic processes, 73
- multilingual, 35
- multilingualism, 19, 351, 353
- multiple exponence, 5, 177, 178
- name avoidance, 32
- nasal, 51, 54, 55, 60, 63–66, 76
- nasalisation, 55
- nasals, 3, 38, 51, 60, 184
- negation, 309
- negator, 103, 111, 123, 286, 309, 310
- neutralisation, 207, 209, 211, 213, 227, 229, 243
- nominal, 4, 79, 81, 83, 86–88, 92, 96, 97, 99–101, 104, 106, 112, 113, 115, 118–120, 125, 126, 131, 135–137, 144, 146, 149, 152, 153, 168, 169, 209, 265, 266, 268, 273,

Subject index

- 278, 287, 290, 291, 299, 301–304, 307, 311, 326, 332
- nominalisation, 149, 185, 207, 301–303
- nominaliser, 115, 118, 175, 192
- non-dual, 41, 74, 117, 179, 182, 183, 209, 210, 216–220, 222–226, 228
- non-past, 5, 121, 127, 183, 235, 236, 238, 239, 245, 249, 252, 254, 256–258, 287, 341
- non-plural, 216, 217, 226, 227
- non-singular, 41, 81, 99, 117, 138–141, 148, 173, 179, 195, 208, 210, 213, 215, 216, 218, 224, 228, 240, 268, 277–281, 300
- non-verbal, 105, 287
- noun, 81–84, 86, 87, 89, 91, 96, 98, 118, 119, 130, 131, 216, 265
- noun phrase, 4, 7, 80–83, 86, 90, 99, 102, 107, 135, 137, 139, 144, 154, 157, 159, 165, 265–272, 274, 281, 282, 286, 294, 308, 310, 314, 323, 324
- noun phrases, 81
- number, 4–6, 41, 80–82, 87, 99, 100, 115–117, 135, 138–140, 145, 148, 173, 175, 177, 179, 186–188, 195, 206, 208, 211, 213, 214, 216–220, 223, 227, 229, 247, 271, 273, 276–281, 283, 315
- numeral system, 16, 17, 36, 93
- object, 86, 120, 143, 157, 179, 186, 187, 189, 190, 203–205, 207, 226, 227, 243, 269, 272, 285, 291, 294–299, 301, 304, 306, 307, 315, 319
- orthography, 37, 42, 47, 55, 57, 77
- participant, 195, 203, 223, 224, 226–228, 247, 276, 282
- particle, 104, 121–127, 239, 248–256, 258–260, 265, 269, 308, 310, 331, 332, 334
- passive, 163, 190, 201, 202, 221, 292
- past, 5, 74, 117, 128, 178, 183, 209, 211–213, 222, 232, 233, 235, 236, 238, 241–245, 253, 256, 257, 263, 287, 328, 341
- patient, 119, 139, 140, 187, 190, 202, 276, 292, 294, 325
- perfective, 5, 122, 183, 185, 197, 208, 208²³, 209, 221, 222, 235, 242, 243, 245, 247, 253, 255, 258–261, 263, 287, 339, 341
- person, 4, 41, 58, 81, 99, 115–117, 120, 140, 145, 172, 174, 175, 177, 186, 187, 207, 208, 208²³, 209–218, 221, 223, 224, 226, 228, 229, 240, 241, 243, 247, 248, 279, 281, 287, 315, 327
- person reference, 34
- phonology, 47, 48, 76, 127, 211
- place name, 81, 143, 349–351
- plosives, 3
- plural, 5, 6, 41, 81, 84, 117, 216, 217, 221, 226, 227, 247, 277–280, 315, 325
- portmanteau, 177, 218
- positional, 119, 120, 181, 194–197, 199, 217, 219–221
- possessed, 88, 118, 146, 147, 286, 297
- possessive, 41, 57, 58, 62, 80, 81, 83, 88, 97, 99, 118, 119, 135, 136, 139, 144–147, 152–154, 160, 168, 172–174, 186, 189, 192, 205, 207, 266, 268, 269, 281, 298
- possessive marking, 146, 147
- possessor, 6, 88, 118–120, 136, 143, 144, 146, 147, 174, 187, 188, 190, 192, 196, 197, 206, 207, 286, 297, 298
- potential, 123, 127, 248–251, 261, 310
- predication, 287, 310
- prefix series, 74, 117, 180, 183, 207, 214–216, 223, 235, 236, 241, 242, 247, 261
- privative, 83, 93, 99, 106, 113, 164, 165, 288, 310, 316, 318

- proclitic, 72, 117, 127, 233, 235, 238, 248, 249, 251
- prohibitive, 233
- pronominal, 108, 279, 282
- pronoun, 102, 107, 108, 111, 112, 145–147, 155, 168, 174, 203, 232, 265, 270, 277, 279, 280, 283, 289, 293, 295, 312, 313, 319, 323–325, 338
- property noun, 80, 86–89, 115, 265, 273–275, 290, 304–307, 316, 318
- propriative, 83, 99, 102, 106, 113, 126, 161–164, 166, 170, 288, 321
- proximal, 100, 105, 109, 110, 229, 231, 233, 255
- pseudo-cognate object, 195, 302
- purposive, 83, 97, 99, 102, 106, 107, 113, 122, 129, 151–153, 156, 157, 160, 289, 291, 313, 319, 320
- quantifier, 91–93, 101, 136, 258, 265, 268
- question, 110, 123, 249, 308
- quotative, 114, 329
- raising, 119
- realis, 223, 261–263, 338, 339, 341
- recent past, 5, 74, 178, 183, 222, 235, 236, 238, 241, 242, 244, 245, 250, 253, 256, 257, 287, 341
- recipient, 120, 143, 297, 325
- reciprocal, 81, 84, 178, 201, 202, 292–295
- recognitional, 32, 34, 105, 108, 111, 112, 168, 265, 279, 285, 312, 313, 319–322
- reduplication, 49, 50, 72, 82, 135, 136, 343, 344, 347
- reflexive, 201, 202, 240, 292–295
- relative clause, 270, 291, 295, 296, 311, 317, 322–327, 335–337
- restricted stem, 41, 74, 75, 180, 182, 183, 191, 197, 215, 222, 227, 287
- schwa, 3, 47, 54, 57, 58, 64, 67–71, 209, 210, 212
- semivowel, 50
- senary, 16, 17, 36, 93, 94
- similative, 58⁴, 83, 99, 167, 168
- simultaneity, 163, 165, 320
- singular, 5, 6, 41, 81, 87, 99, 117, 138, 144, 145, 148, 173, 179, 208, 215, 216, 218–221, 228, 240, 248, 278–281, 300
- SOV, 7, 119
- stative, 119, 188, 191, 192, 195, 197, 221
- stimulus, 80, 140, 142, 188, 190, 285, 298, 299
- stress, 47, 62, 71–73, 127, 147, 231
- subject, 86, 87, 89, 120, 179, 186–188, 205, 216, 288–291, 294, 295, 298, 301, 304, 311, 315
- subordination, 311, 313
- suppressed-object, 190, 199, 203, 292, 294–296
- syllabification, 47, 52, 57, 60, 62, 66–68, 71, 74, 127, 209
- syllable, 4, 47, 49, 50, 55–57, 60, 62–64, 67–69, 71–75, 127, 212, 231
- template, 6, 187
- temporal, 58, 96–98, 100, 129, 137, 148, 151–154, 168, 180, 230, 256, 260, 266, 292, 313, 319–322, 345, 347
- tense, 5, 43, 115, 117, 121, 177, 179, 222, 232, 233, 235, 236, 245, 256, 257, 287, 315, 341
- theme, 187, 190, 203, 276, 285, 294
- topic, 325, 335–338
- transitive, 136, 139, 185, 187–190, 192, 193, 195–197, 199, 201–205, 207, 216, 219, 227, 276, 292–294, 296–298, 304–307
- undergoer, 6, 68, 80, 81, 86, 87, 116, 119, 186–189, 192, 223, 224, 226, 227, 243, 285, 286, 292, 296, 298, 315
- valency, 4, 74, 75, 115, 120, 175, 185, 189,

Subject index

- 193, 199, 223, 225, 227, 243,
276, 297
- valency alternations, 191–193
- valency change, 120, 183, 186–189, 191,
195, 197, 199, 205–207, 215,
226–228, 297
- velar, 3, 38, 47, 49–51, 55, 56, 60, 63, 64,
67, 76, 184
- venitive, 74, 117, 225, 229–231, 337
- verb, 4, 41, 80, 81, 114, 115, 127, 175, 177,
179, 180, 185, 187–189, 191, 193,
197, 199, 205, 206, 210, 215, 219,
222, 229, 231, 235, 236, 238,
243, 245–247, 249, 281, 285,
289, 291, 292, 297, 301, 304,
308
- volitionality, 195
- vowel harmony, 57, 73
- word class, 79, 86, 88, 96, 114, 115, 126,
127, 273, 307
- zero, 74, 81, 182, 183, 207, 208, 208²³, 210,
211, 214, 223–225
- imminent, 128

A grammar of Komnzo

Komnzo is a Papuan language of Southern New Guinea spoken by around 250 people in the village of Rouku. Komnzo belongs to the Tonda subgroup of the Yam language family, which is also known as the Morehead Upper-Maró 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 of around 12 hours recorded and transcribed between 2010 and 2015.

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 that verbs may express, but also in the way these are encoded. Komnzo verbs exhibit what may be called ‘distributed exponence’, i.e. 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 can one 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.

ISBN 978-3-96110-125-2



9 783961 101252