A grammar of Komnzo

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For Nakre and Tayafe

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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.

The head of a noun phrase can be a noun (§3.1.2), a property noun (§3.1.4), a personal pronoun (§3.1.9), the indefinite pronoun (§3.1.11), the recognitional demonstrative (§3.1.12.6) or an interrogative (§3.1.10). 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 dropped from the clause, in which case only the indexing in the verb provides information about the arguments. Consequently, inflected verbs can and often do stand alone 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 structure of functional slots. Each slot may be filled by particular elements. The abstract structure is shown in Figure 7.1.

I analyse the element in the HEAD slot as a semantic head which refers to the same entity as the whole phrase. This element is also the syntactic head, in that it governs the agreement in the verb form. However, this is only visible 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]

[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

(determiner)	(premodifier)		(head)	(postmodifier)
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 (§3.1.7), a few adjectives are limited to this slot (§3.1.5).

Figure 7.1: The structure of the noun phrase

The DETERMINER slot is separate from the PREMODIFIER 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 PREMODIFIER slot, of which there can be multiple instances in the same noun phrase. Secondly, 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 PREMODIFIER slot.

There are two modifier slots, because some word classes, for example locationals, can only occur in the POSTMODIFIER slot and not in the PREMODIFIER slot. Otherwise, almost all elements which are possible in the PREMODIFIER slot are also possible in the POSTMODIFIER slot.

Property nouns escape a clear assignment to the PREMODIFIER slot, because they can optionally take the adjectivaliser suffix *-thé*. In this case, they are derived adjectives in the PREMODIFIER slot, but derived adjectives show differences in their syntactic behaviour compared to non-derived adjectives. Without the adjectivaliser, property nouns can be a modifier element of a nominal compound. This is discussed in §7.5.3.

7.3 The DETERMINER slot

The DETERMINER slot can be filled with demonstratives (1), interrogatives (2), possessive pronouns (3) and whole noun phrases 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.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sleep DEM:PROX nest=LOC
'She does not sleep in this nest here.' [tci20120815 ABB #19]

occur with proper nouns (e.g. personal names) as well as personal pronouns.

(2) *wayti erä o* [***ra*** *yawi*] *erä?*
wayti e\rä/ o ra yawi e\rä/
watermelon 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be or what round thing 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 zwa\ythk/
1SG.POSS tell-NMLZ DIST.ALL EMPH 3SG.F: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 (.) ane kabe=ane
intestines DIST.ALL EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/hang (.) DEM man=POSS
wth
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.F: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 z=ä\m/nzr
bagu=CHAR man (.) DIST.ABL (.) now mifne=LOC PROX=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell
'The Bagu people … from over there … live here in Mifne (or: 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.

(7) [[***nä karma***] ***kabe***] *mane yanatha … mogarkamma*
nä kar=ma kabe mane ya\na/tha (.)
INDF village=CHAR man which 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/eat (.)
mogarkam=ma
mogarkam=CHAR
'It was a man from another village who she ate … from Mogarkam.'
[tci20120901-01 MAK #225]

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 PREMODIFIER 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 PREMODIFIER 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 fath=fa
plenty event INDF really SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/make (.) but clear.place=ABL
ane fof wä\fiyok/wa
DEM EMPH SG:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:PST:IPFV/make
'She really did many other things … but she did this in public.'
[tci20120901-01 MAK #223-224]

We saw in (7) that the determiner belongs 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 the 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 (.) gfi yf
safs=CHAR man INDF DIST.ALL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell (.) gfi name
'Another man from Safs lived there … by the name of Gfi.' [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 thägathizath
1NSG.POSS mayawa=CHAR man INDF DIST 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 thä\kothm/ako
water=ERG.SG INDF like.this 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV:AND/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 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 gwam=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 the 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 modifier is an adjective in the PREMODIFIER slot. In example (16), the adjective follows the head in the POSTMODIFIER 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 thwa\thofik/nm
3.ABS=ONLY DIST EMPH DEM big girl=ERG.SG 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 (§3.1.7) and a few adjectives (§3.1.5) only occur in the POSTMODIFIER slot, not in the PREMODIFIER slot. One such adjective is *kwark* 'late, deceased' in (17). It occurs in the POSTMODIFIER 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 kre\karis/o
then (.) 3.POSS-father deceased=ERG.SG (.) wäni=ERG.SG SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV:AND/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.

7.5.1 Introduction

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 e\rn/
old woman=POSS.SG children (.) DEM=ONLY EMPH 2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
eda=nzo (.) nä mane ya\r/ako ausi=ane kabe
two=ONLY (.) INDF which 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:AND/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 (F)' and *zurzirakwa* 'he tied it (F)' 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.F:OBJ:PST:DUR/do
zwa\frm/nzrm (.) zu\rzirak/wa fof
SG:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:PST:DUR/prepare (.) SG:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:PST:IPFV/tie EMPH
'Over there, he made his bowstring. He prepared it. He tied it.'
[tci20131013-01 ABB #235-236]

7.5.2 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 za\r/ath
DEM:PROX two=EMPH REDUP-small (.) fosam daisy 3.ABS 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:PFV/do

dd e\thari/nath
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 zba wazi
fishing.line 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/start hang-NMLZ (.) INDF PROX.ABL side
(.) nä boba wazi
(.) INDF MED.ABL side
'They started hanging the fishing lines … some on this side and some on the other side.' [tci20150906-10 ABB #52-53]

Example (23) is a description of a fish trap. These long bamboo baskets always consist 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 krä\r/ (.)
3SG.POSS child (.) then fish when return-NMLZ=PURP IMN 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/do (.)
katan=f kwa yn\brig/wr zbo (.)
small=ERG.SG FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/return PROX.ALL (.)
keke kwa krän\mätr/
NEG FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENT/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]

7.5.3 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.

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 (F in this case). Likewise, although

Table 7.1: Nominal compounds

TYPE OF COMPOUND	example	COMPONENTS		gloss
noun + noun	*wawa mnz*	*wawa* yam	*mnz* house	'yamhouse'
	wath kabe	*wath* dance	*kabe* man/people	'dancer(s)'
property noun + noun	*wri kabe*	*wri* intoxication	*kabe* man/people	'drunkard'
noun + property noun	*zan miyo*	*zan* killing	*miyo* desire	'bloodlust'
nom. verb + noun	*borsi zokwasi*	*bor-si* play-NMLZ	*zokwasi* words	'joke'
noun + nom. verb	*si zübraksi*	*si* eye	*zübrak-si* close.eye-NMLZ	'prayer'

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: $[[[wämne\ taga]_3\ yf]_2\ kabe]_1$. 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/ nima (.) kabe
RECOG.ERG.SG when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/finish like.this (.) man
zan miyo=f
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. 'bush place girls'). 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 is 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 POSTMODIFIER 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 b=e\rä/ (.)
pig five=ONLY 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be like.this MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.)
mgthk-si ruga
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 t-tüfr
today NEG desire 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be pig feed-NMLZ (.) work 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 (see §5.4.3), for example *msaksi* 'dwell, sit (v.i.), set (v.t.)'. It is no surprise 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 (see §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 full set and one or more subsets. In Komnzo, the full set is always expressed in the verb form. Therefore, 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 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

[2] *Zan* 'hit, kill' is irregular in that its infinitive is not based on the normal stem-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 subset expressed in the associative phrase, both are included in the full set which is expressed 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 y\näbü/nth
maureen=ERG.NSG sago(ABS) 2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/beat
kowi=r
kowi=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 thzé (.)
some boy=ASSOC.PL FUT 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk (.) who=ASSOC.PL ever (.)
moses=ä
moses=ASSOC.PL
'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

[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).

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.

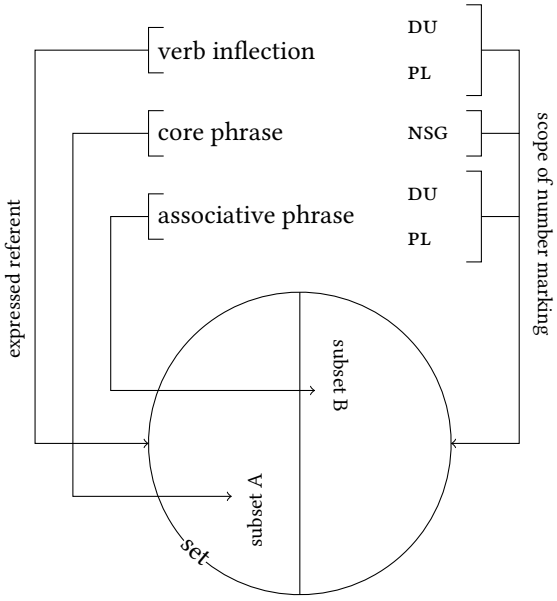

Figure 7.2: The inclusory construction

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 (see §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.

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. Secondly, most forms are built from the ergative pronominal. For example, the third person abso-

[5]Naturally, this is only possible if there are more than two participants in the total set.

Table 7.2: Associative case / pronominals

	person	dual	plural
	1	*ninrr*	*ninä*
personal pronouns	2	*bnrr*	*bnä*
	3	*nafrr*	*nafä*
RECOGNITIONAL		*bafrr*	*bafä*
INDEFINITE		*nä bunrr*	*nä bunä*
INTERROGATIVE		*mafrr*	*mafä*
CASE ENCLITIC		*=r*	*=ä*

lutive 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 neutralises 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 (see §3.1.9). 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 nane=r
firewood 2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/break mother=ERG.NSG 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 bnrr
man=ERG.SG girl=ABS.NSG 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3DU:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/see 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 ä\ri/n nafrr
father=ERG.SG boy=DAT.NSG arrow 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 (.) fi neba
1NSG 3PL.ASSOC=EMPH ground 1PL:SBJ>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV/split (.) 3.ABS opposite
e\rä/ (.) ni neba
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 nafä
(.) RECOG=CHAR 1NSG 3PL.ASSOC 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/stroll 1NSG 3PL.ASSOC
nzwa\m/nzrm
1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell
'… because we walked around with him. We lived with him.' [tci20120805-01 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 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 (see §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
maureen=ERG.SG and kowi=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

[6] The inclusory construction can be seen as a syntactic equivalent to distributed exponence in the verb morphology (see §5.2).

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 ausi fäth nä berä … ttrikasi ŋatrikwrth … nä oromanr o nä kaber fi bämrn … skiski warfo. monme fi yatrikwr … nafan?*
ane fof ya\m/nzr b=\yé/ wri
DEM EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be drunk
kabe=nzo (.) ane bramöwä (.) fof ausi fäth nä
man=ONLY (.) DEM all (.) EMPH old.woman DIM INDF
b=e\rä/ (.) t-trik-si ŋa\trik/wrth (.) nä
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) REDUP-tell-NMLZ 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell (.) INDF
oroman=r o nä kabe=r fi b=ä\m/rn (.)
old.man=ASSOC.DU or INDF man=ASSOC.DU 3.ABS MED=2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit (.)
skiski warfo monme fi ya\trik/wr (.) nafan
platform on.top how but 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/tell (.) 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) concentrates 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*." (2000: 30, emphasis in original)

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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-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 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.