A grammar of Komnzo

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For Nakre and Tayafe

Contents

3 Word classes

In this chapter I describe the major and minor word classes of Komnzo. I provide the necessary criteria to determine the word class of a given lexical item based on its morphological possibilities, syntactic distribution and semantic content. This chapter contains detailed information about smaller word classes or subclasses which will not be discussed elsewhere in the grammar. For these I list all known members for quick reference.

The seven word classes are nominals (§3.1), verbs (§3.2), adverbs (§3.3), particles (§3.4), clitics (§3.5), connectives (§3.6), and interjections & ideophones (§3.7). nominals constitute a superclass comprising a variety of subclasses: nouns (§3.1.2), property nouns (§3.1.4), adjectives (§3.1.5), quantifiers & numerals (§3.1.6), locational nominals (§3.1.7), temporal nominals (§3.1.8), personal pronouns (§3.1.9), interrogatives (§3.1.10), indefinites (§3.1.11), indefinites (§3.1.11), and demonstratives (§3.1.12).

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

3.1 Nominals

Nominals are the largest word class in Komnzo, consisting of a number of subclasses. The largest are the open subclasses of nouns (§3.1.2) and property nouns (§3.1.4) which both readily accept borrowings from other languages, particularly English and Motu. Adjectives (§3.1.5) constitute a minor, closed class. The nominal superclass includes a number of other small, closed word classes. These are quantifiers and numerals (§3.1.6), locationals (§3.1.7), temporals (§3.1.8), free pronouns (§3.1.9), interrogatives (§3.1.10) and demonstratives (§3.1.12).

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

3.1.1 Criteria for distinguishing between nouns, property nouns and adjectives

Before addressing each subclass in turn, it is necessary to give an overview of the distinction between nouns, property nouns and adjectives. The two main criteria involved are the ability to act as the head of a noun phrase, and the ability to trigger agreement in both gender and number. Further criteria are the ability to enter into a possessive construction, the possibility of taking the adjectivaliser *-thé* and the different functions of the instrumental case *=me*. This section only lists the criteria. Examples are given in the following sections, which address each subclass in turn (§3.1.2-4).

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

Agreement in gender and number is only triggered by nouns. Gender in Komnzo is covert (see §3.1.3), and the agreement target for gender is the 3rd singular prefix of the verb. Number agreement is marked at various morphological sites on the verb including the undergoer prefix, the actor suffix, and the duality affix (see §5.5.3). Adjectives fail to trigger gender or number agreement. Property nouns also fail to trigger gender agreement, because they are not indexed in the prefix. However, property nouns trigger a default SG number agreement in the suffix, for example in experiencer-object constructions where a property noun can be the stimulus flagged with the ergative case (see §8.3.10). Nouns trigger both gender and number agreement. Hence, the criterion of agreement groups property nouns with adjectives and singles out nouns.

As far as the other criteria are concerned, possessive constructions are only possible with nouns and property nouns and not with adjectives. The adjectivaliser *-thé* is common with particular nouns, optional with property nouns, but ungrammatical with adjectives. The instrumental case marker *=me* serves its prototypical function with nouns, but property nouns and adjectives function function as adverbials when marked with the instrumental case. Table 3.1 provides an overview of the criteria.

Table 3.1: Feature matrix for nominals

	nouns	property nouns	adjectives
gender agreement	+	-	-
number agreement	+	-[a]	-
head of NP	+	+	-
possessive construction	+	+	-
adjectivaliser *-thé*	+	+/-	-
INS case	instrument	adverbial	adverbial

[a] indexed by a default SG in experiencer-object constructions (see §8.3.10)

3.1.2 Nouns

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

Semantically nouns can be subdivided into common nouns, kinship nouns, and proper nouns. Common nouns depict the natural world (*no* 'rain', *ttfö* 'creek', *ymd* 'bird') as well as artifacts (*mnz* 'house', *nag* 'grass skirt', *kufraru* 'bamboo flute') or abstract concepts (*bthan* 'magic', *wath* 'dance (n)', *dradr* 'taboo'). Common nouns are syntactically least restricted, i.e. they enter into most constructions and can be marked for all cases compared to the other nominal subclasses. Kinship nouns can intrinsically be specified for gender (*ŋafe* 'father', *ŋame* 'mother') or be flexible as to which gender is assigned (*nane* 'elder sibling', *ngth* 'younger sibling'). Many kinship terms are self-reciprocal (*ŋäwi* 'maternal uncle ↔ sister's child', *yamit* 'exchange cousin ↔ exchange cousin'). Kinship nouns frequently enter the close possessive construction (see §4.7.2). Proper nouns consist of personal names and place names. Place names are always feminine and they are often compounds made up of a plant name and the word *zfth* 'base, stem, reason' like in the place name *gani zfth* ('Endiandra brassii + base'). Proper nouns are hardly ever modified by demonstratives, quantifiers or adjectives.

Nouns are distinct from other nominals in being the only lexical items which trigger gender agreement. The agreement target is the 3^{rd} person singular prefix of the verb (see §5.5.2). The semantics of the gender system is described in the following section (see §3.1.3). Additionally, nouns trigger number agreement, in this they resemble other nominals subclasses such as pronouns. The agreement target for number depends on the type of argument, but it involves three distinct verbal affix slots (the undergoer prefix, the actor suffix, and the duality marker). The verb morphology will be laid out in chapter 5, but we get a glimpse of the agreement system below in the examples (5-8).

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

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

(1) *wati* ***nzedbo*** *zanrifthath* ***mayawanmedbo*** *rouku* ***bänefo*** *…* ***masufo****.*
wati nzedbo zan\rifth/ath mayawa=medbo rouku
then 1NSG.ALL 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:PST:PFV/send mayawa=ALL.ANIM.NSG rouku
bäne=fo (.) masu=fo
RECOG=ALL (.) masu=ALL
'Then they send the word to us … to the Mayawas in Rouku … to there … to Masu.' [tci20120814 ABB #34-35]

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

(2) ***znsä*** *kwabznwrme dagon fawr.*
znsä kwa\bz/nwrme dagon faw=r
work 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/work food payment=PURP
'We worked for food.' [tci20120924-01 TRK #50]

(3) *thrma n kwot thräre bänema* ***znsäznsär*** *thwanyan.*
thrma n kwot thrä\r/e bäne=ma znsä-znsä=r
later IMN properly 1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/do MED=CHAR REDUP-work=PURP
thwan\yan/
2|3DU:SBJ:RPST:IPFV:VENT/walk
'Later, we will get them out properly because you came for work.'
[tci20130907-02 JAA #251]

In order to derive adjectives, some nouns take the adjectivaliser suffix *-thé*. We can see this most clearly in the color terms: *kwayanthé* 'white' from *kwayan* 'light' or *frkthé* 'red' from *frk* 'blood'. The productivity of *-thé* is rather limited and there are a number of lexical items which show frozen morphology. For example, *yfrsé* 'black' from *yfr* 'Syzygium sp' (used for black paint) shows an irregular variant, *-sé* instead of *-thé*. For *dbömsé* 'blunt' there is no corresponding noun without the suffix. The restrictions in terms of productivity can be explained by the presence of a class of property nouns to be discussed below in §3.1.4. There is an alternative strategy for deriving color and shape adjectives. This involves the formation of a compound with the word *woku* 'skin' which takes adjectivaliser suffix. The Komnzo equivalent for English 'green' is expressed by *wämne taga wokuthé* (Lit. 'tree leaf skin-like') or the translation of 'round' is *aki wokuthé* (Lit. 'moon skin-like'). An example of this is given in (4) below, where the speaker characterises a man as looking a bit 'boyish'.

(4) *fi* ***sraksrak wokuthé*** *yara.*
fi srak-srak woku-thé ya\r/a
3.ABS REDUP-boy skin-ADJZR 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be
'He was a bit boyish.' [tci20131013-02 ABB #211]

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

(5) ***brbrf garda*** *bifnza.* brbr=f garda
spirit=ERG.SG canoe(ABS)
b=y\fn/nza
MED=2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/hit
'The spirit was hitting (against) the canoe there.' [tci20120904-02 MAB #87]

(6) ***masun*** *ni fä nzwamnzrm.* masu=n ni fä nzwa\m/nzrm
masu=LOC 1NSG DIST 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell
'We were staying in Masu over there.' [tci20120821-02 LNA #100]

Nouns typically function as the head of a noun phrase or as the head of a nominal compound. Compounds are described in §7.5.3. Example (7) shows the noun *waniwani* 'picture, shadow' as the head of the noun phrase modified by the demonstrative *zane* and the adjective *katan*. Nouns may act as modifiers within a noun phrase. In the nominal compound in (8) the two nouns act as head (*kam* 'bone') and modifier (*tauri* 'wallaby'). In the examples NPs are marked off by [].

(7) *fof zäbth zane katan* ***waniwani.***
fof zä\bth/ [zane katan waniwani]
EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/finish DEM:PROX small picture
'This little movie is finished.' [tci20120914 RNA #63]

(8) *ŋathayé* ***tauri kam*** *yanathrth.*
ŋatha=yé [tauri kam] ya\na/thrth
dog=ERG.NSG wallaby bone 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/eat
'The dogs are chewing a wallaby bone.' [tci20120818 ABB #42]

3.1.3 The semantics of the gender system

The gender system is covert as there are no formal elements on a given noun showing its gender. Instead, the two categories, feminine and masculine, are shown in the verb prefix. Nouns have either fixed gender (most nouns) or flexible gender (kinterms, certain animals).

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

Words with fixed gender allow us to set up some general semantic rules. For example, elongated, big objects are usually masculine, while small round objects are feminine. Lexemes related to place and land are usually feminine. Abstract concepts or nominalised verbs are usually feminine. Most fish species are masculine, with the exception of the numerous catfish types, which are all feminine. Other species, like birds, are much more varied. Table 3.2 gives an overview of the semantic characteristics and lists some examples as well as exceptions.

A number of words always occur as in plural, which means that no gender is triggered in the agreement target. Only some of them are mass nouns, like *kithuma* 'sago pulp' and *grau* 'red clouds'. Some are bordering the semantics of mass nouns, for example *ŋarake* 'fence' and *nag* 'grass skirt'. On the other hand, words like *no* 'water' are feminine and not plural. Interestingly, body parts like arms and legs are often used in the plural, even though the language has a dual number category.

A few stems differ in their meaning depending on gender. For example, *mni* means 'fire' when feminine, but 'firewood' when masculine. Other examples are: *ekri* (F) 'flesh' vs. *ekri* (MASC) 'meat', *no* (F) 'water' vs. *no* (MASC) 'rain' and *efoth* (F) 'day' vs. *efoth* (MASC) 'sun'.

Words with flexible gender are mostly kinterms, for example sibling terms, which encode relative age difference, but not gender. Thus, the word *nane* can mean 'older brother' or 'older sister'. Many kinterms are reciprocal and may hold between a man and a woman. For example *ŋäwi* is used between a person and her/his mother's brothers. It other words, a young girl or boy calls her/his mother's brother *ŋäwi*, but he uses the same term back to her/him. The same is true for a man's parents in-law. He calls both of them *enat* and they call him the same. Sometimes this can be specified by adding the word for man or woman, for example *enat ŋare* 'mother in-law' (Lit. 'parent-in-law woman').

Other nouns with flexible gender are animals for which a sex distinction is noticeable, for example *tauri* 'wallaby', *ruga* 'pig' or *ŋatha* 'dog'. Yet other species like fish or insects are not flexible. Birds for which there is a visible difference between male and female adults are assigned different lexemes altogether. For example, the male eclectus parrot (Eclectus roratus) is referred to as *krara*, and the female as *tiŋa*, but in Komnzo both lexemes are masculine. Mismatches between biological gender and linguistic gender are quite common with birds. Two more examples are *nzöyar*, the fawn-breasted bowerbird (Chlamydera cerviniventris) and *ythama*, the raggiana bird of paradise (Paradisaea raggiana). For both species, the names seem to refer only to the male birds, which can be explained by the fact that the females are less visible both in their plumage as well as in their behaviour. The Komnzo words, *nzöyar* and *ythama*, are assigned to the feminine category, and they are often talked about as being female birds.

3.1.4 Property nouns

There is a class of lexical items in Komnzo which shares features of both nouns and adjectives. I will refer to them as property nouns because they denote either physical prop-

Table 3.2: The semantics of the gender system

SEMANTICS	gender	examples	exceptions
big, elongated objects	MASC	*naifa* 'bushknife' *wämne* 'tree' *nabi* 'bow' *turama* 'python' *with* 'banana' *nasi* 'long yam'	*sifren* 'grass knife' *waga* 'leg'
small, round objects	F	*yawi* 'seed, fruit' *wawa* 'yam' *yare* 'bag' *brnze* 'lips' *riwariwa* 'ring' *kwanz* 'bald head'	*nzagum* 'fly' *tora* 'dog whistle' *tef* 'spot'
plants, trees	MASC	*rugaruga* 'tree type' (Gmelina ledermanii) *withwith* 'vine type' (Pseudouvaria sp) *mür* 'grass type' (Cyprus sp)	*ŋazi* 'coconut' *gb* 'black palm type' (Livistona sp)
fish	MASC	*find* 'giant glassfish' (Parambassis gulliveri) *kwazür* 'narrow-fronted tandan' (Neosilurus ater) *wifaza* 'seven-spot archerfish' (Toxotes chatareus)	catfish types *katif* 'trout morgunde' (Mogurnda mogurnda)
catfish	F	*zök* 'broad-snouted catfish' (Potamosilurus latirostris) *thrfam* 'daniel's catfish' (Cochlefelis danielsi)	*ikan lele* 'walking catfish' (Clarias batrachus)
events	F	*zan* 'fighting' *borsi* 'game, laughter' *si zübraksi* 'prayer'	*wath* 'dance'
landscape	F	*mni* 'fire' *kar* 'place, village' *zra* 'swamp' *daw* 'garden' *ŋars* 'river'	

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

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

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

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

Note that with intransitive verbs, like the copula, property nouns function as nominal predicates. A clause like (10) can only be interpreted as having an ellipted subject which is 3^{rd} person singular masculine. It cannot be analysed in a way that *frasi* 'hunger' is the argument of the copula.

(10) ***frasi*** *yé.*

frasi \yé/
hungry 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'He is hungry.' not: 'It is hunger.'

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

Secondly, property nouns indexed in the actor suffix trigger a default singular number agreement. This occurs in experiencer-object constructions (11) or in the middle template (12). In (11), the property noun *thkar* 'hardness' is flagged with the ergative case, and it is indexed in the suffix of the verb *fiyoksi* 'make'. This example is from an myth in which a crocodile creates a large pool of water, because it got stuck, which is translates literally as 'hardness made it'. In (12), the property noun *twof* 'heat' is in the absolutive case, and it is indexed in the suffix of the middle verb *sogsi* 'ascend'. In both examples, the indexed person/number value is 2|3SG. See §8.3.10 for experiencer-object constructions and §5.4.5 for a description of the middle template.

(11) *ŋanraknza zbo zf ziyé. zä zf fthé* ***thkarf*** *yafiyokwa ziyé.*
ŋan\rak/nza zbo zf z=\yé/ zä
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENT/crawl PROX.ALL IMM PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST/be PROX
zf fthé thkar=f ya\fiyok/wa
IMM when hardness=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/make
z=\yé/
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'It crawled here to this place. That is when it got stuck right here.' (Lit. 'Hardness did it.') [tci20120922-09 DAK #17-18]

(12) *nafane* ***twof*** *kresöbäth nzafarfo.*
nafane twof kre\söbäth/ nzafar=fo
3SG.POSS heat 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/ascend sky=ALL
'Its heat rose up to the sky.' [tci20110810-01 MAB #45-46]

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

In both predicative and attributive constructions, property nouns take the adjectivaliser *-thé* optionally. An attributive construction in English like 'the embarrassed man' could be expressed as *fäsi kabe* or *fäsithé kabe*. The former could be translated as a compound 'shame man' and the latter 'embarrassed man'. Hence, when it comes to property nouns no clear distinction can be drawn between attributive constructions and nominal

compounds in a predicative construction. Moreover, a predicative construction like English 'The man is ashamed' can also be expressed with or without the adjectivaliser *-thé* as either *kabe fäsi yé* or *kabe fäsithé yé*.

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

(13) ***garamgaram*** *srethkäf. "kwa ŋabrigwr? efoth byé!"*
garamgaram sre\thkäf/ kwa
sweet.talk 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start FUT
ŋa\brig/wr efoth b=\yé/
2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/return sun MED=3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/be
'She started sweet-talking him: "Will you go back? The sun is already setting!"'
[tci20120901-01 MAK #88-89]

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

(14) *krärme srärirfth.* ***wri*** *kwosi sfthnm.*
krär=me srä\rirf/th wri kwosi
kava=INS 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/kill intoxicated dead
sf\thn/m
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/lie.down
'They put him down with Kava. Then, he was lying down dead drunk.'
[tci20120909-06 KAB #95-96]

Property nouns marked with the instrumental case have an adverbial function. In example (15), the property noun *ktkt* 'narrow' is the single argument of the intransitive verb. In the text, a group of headhunters prepare to attack a hamlet. The sentence is accompanied by a gesture which resembles the movement of the arms as if embracing a person. Here *ktkt* is not functioning as a secondary predicate and it would be wrong to translate this as: 'They became narrow'. Note that the verb is indexing 2|3SG and not 2|3NSG. Hence, a more literal translation is adequate: 'Narrowness became/happened' or a dummy subject 'It became narrow'. In example (16), the same property noun *ktkt* takes

the instrumental case and functions adverbially. Here the speaker explains how the plant *grnzari* (Chantium Sp) grows.

(15) *kwot kar fthé wkrkwath wkrkwath wkrkwath a* ***ktkt*** *zäkora fof.*
kwot kar fthé 3x(w\krk/wath) a ktkt
properly village when 3x(2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:PST:IPFV/block) and narrow
zä\kor/a fof
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/become EMPH
'They were blocking and blocking the village by narrowing (the circle).'
[tci20111119-03 ABB #134]

(16) ***ktktme*** *erfikwr. nima fefe fof yrfikwr.*
ktkt=me e\rfik/wr nima fefe fof
narrow=INS 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/grow like really EMPH
y\rfik/wr
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/grow
'They grow closely together. This one really grows like that.'
[tci20130907-02 RNA #705]

3.1.5 Adjectives

Adjectives form a small class of lexical items in Komnzo. Semantically, adjectives denote size (*kafar* 'big, great', *katan* 'small', *yabun* 'fat, big', *tnz* 'short', *zanfr* 'tall'), quality (*namä* 'good', *gathagatha* 'bad'), age (*zafe* 'old', *zöftha* 'new'), physical property (*kwosi* 'rotten, dead', *kwik* 'sick', *tayo* 'ripe, dried', *gauyé* 'fresh, unripe') and human propensity (*dmnzü* 'silent', *yoganai* 'tired', *zäzr* 'exhausted'). Color adjectives, as we have seen in §3.1.2, are derived from nouns by suffixing *-thé*. There are a few adjectives which show irregular forms of this suffix (*zisé* 'painful' from *zi* 'pain') and/or which lack a corresponding noun or property noun (*dbömsé* 'blunt'). Hence, these are treated as adjectives which show frozen morphology. In terms of size, there are about two dozen adjectives in Komnzo. The low number can be explained by the presence of a class of property nouns (see §3.1.4).

There are three adjectives in Komnzo which are special in that they always follow the element which they modify. Two denote human propensity: *bana* 'poor, pitiful, hapless' and *kwark* 'deceased, late' (18). The third denotes quality: *fefe* 'true'.

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

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

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

(17) *wati, kofä fthé brigsir n krär, **katanf** kwa ynbrigwr zbo.*
wati kofä fthé \brig/-si=r n krä\r/ katan=f
then fish(ABS) when return-NMLZ=PURP IMN 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/do small=ERG.SG
kwa yn\brig/wr zbo
FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/return PROX.ALL
'When the fish tries to get out, the small (basket) will bring them back here.'
[tci20120906 MAB #56-57]

(18) *nzwamnzrm fof … oromanä fof … oroman **kwarkä**.*
nzwa\m/nzrm fof (.) oroman=ä fof (.) oroman
1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell EMPH (.) old.man=ASSOC.PL EMPH (.) old.man
kwark=ä
deceased=ASSOC.PL
'We just stayed with the old man … with the late old man.'
[tci20130911-03 MBR #72-73]

(19) *bobomrwä arufe krathfänzr … **zagr** karfo.*
bobo=mr=wä arufe kra\thfä/nzr (.) zagr kar=fo
MED.ALL=PURP=EMPH arufe 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/fly (.) far village=ALL
'He would fly all the way to Arufe … to a distant village.'
[tci20130903-04 RNA #144-145]

As with property nouns, adjectives with an instrumental case can function adverbially. In (20), the adjective *gathagatha* 'bad' modifies the verb. In the example, a mother is scolding her daughter because she walks carelessly through the long grass. In (21) the adjective *kwosi* 'rotten, dead' functions predicatively. In this procedural text, the speaker demonstrates how to roll a little whistle from a coconut leaf. However, the first attempt to blow the whistle fails because the coconut leaf was not fresh.

(20) *kabothma! tayafe **gathagathamenzo** niyak! kabothma!*
kaboth=ma tayafe gathagatha=me=nzo n\yak/ kaboth=ma
snake=CHAR tayafe bad=INS=ONLY 2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk snake=CHAR
'Tayafe, you walk in a bad way! (Watch out) for the snakes!'
[tci20130907-02 JAA #143]

(21) *keke kwot yanor. zane **katanme** kwosi yé.*
keke kwot ya\nor/ zane katan=me kwosi
NEG properly 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST/shout DEM:PROX small=INS dead
\yé/
3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/be
'It doesn't whistle properly. This one is a little rotten.'
[tci20120914 RNA #55-56]

3.1.6 Quantifiers and numerals

The quantifier subclass typically contains lexical items that are "modifiers of nouns that indicate quantity and scope" (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 37). Quantifiers in Komnzo fall into two subclasses: non-numerical quantifiers (§3.1.6.1) and numerical quantifiers (§3.1.6.2), henceforth referred to as quantifiers and numerals respectively.

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

3.1.6.1 Quantifiers

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

Quantifiers may precede or follow the noun which they modify. That being said, it is much more common for a quantifier to follow the noun as in (22) and (23). Instances of a preceding quantifier are not attested in the corpus, but only verified through elicitation. (But see (28) below (and footnote 3) for a possible example).

(22) *kofä **bramöwä** fthé kränmtherth watik zzarä kwot threnthfär … nä totkarä.*
kofä bramöwä fthé krän\mther/th watik zzar=ä kwot
fish all when 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENT/come.up then net=ASSOC properly
thren\thfär/ (.) nä tot=karä
2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENT/jump (.) other spear=PROP
'When all the fish come up, then they jump in with the nets … others with spears.' [tci20110813-09 DAK #28]

(23) *sitauane ŋare mane erna minu erna … nge **matak**.*
sitau=ane ŋare mane e\r/na minu
sitau=POSS.SG woman which 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be barren.woman
e\rn/a (.) nge matak
2|3DU:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.) child nothing
'As for Sitau's two wives, they were barren women without children.'
[tci20120814 ABB #469]

Quantifiers may take the distributive suffix (*-kak*) which can be translated as 'each' to English. For semantic reasons, neither *matak* 'nothing' nor *bramöwä* 'all' take this suffix. Two examples of the distributive suffix are given below in (24) and (25). In the first example, the how they harvested 'each yam'. In the second example, the speaker emphasises that she caught plenty of different food: a lizard, several fish and a turtle.

(24) *we kwot we **näbikakme** … we nä wawa thfrärmth katan o kafar.*
we kwot we näbi-kak=me (.) we nä wawa
also properly also one-DISTR=INS (.) also INDF yam

thf\rä/rmth katan o kafar
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/do small or big
'Again, they took them out (of the garden plot) one by one … small or big ones.'
[tci20131013-01 ABB #364]

(25) *watik, faso **tüfrkak** erä.*
watik, faso tüfr-kak e\rä/
then, meat plenty-DISTR 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'Okay, there is plenty of different meat.' [tci20120821-01 LNA #68]

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

(26) *kabe ane **frümenzo** tnägsi zethkäfath.*
kabe ane frü=me=nzo tnäg-si ze\thkäf/ath
man DEM single=INS=ONLY lose-NMLZ 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/start
'The people began to scatter.' (Lit. 'They began losing themselves alone')
[tci20131013-01 ABB #54]

The distributive and the instrumental may also be suffixed to the same quantifier. In this case, their order is fixed: the instrumental follows the distributive as shown in example (27). The example also shows that, like other nominals, quantifiers can be reduplicated to indicate plurality. Here, the speaker talks about types of bows and how different men use these according to their abilities and preferences.

(27) *zawe **ffrükakmenzo** erä.*
zawe f-frü-kak=me-nzo e\rä/
preference REDUP-single-DISTR=INS=ONLY 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'They each have their preferences.' [tci20120922-23 MAA #104]

Example (28) shows *etha* meaning 'few'. Note that the word *etha* can also mean 'three', which I describe in §3.1.6.2.

(28) ***tüfrmär** kafarkafar nrä … komnzo **ethanzo**.*
tüfr=mär kafar-kafar n\rä/ (.) komnzo etha=nzo
plenty=PRIV REDUP-big 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) only few=ONLY
'We are not many old people … just a few.' [tci20121019-04 ABB #187-188]

Note in passing that in (28)[3] the quantifier *tüfr* 'plenty' is negated by using the privative case *=mär*. This is also possible with *etha*.

The two quantifiers *matak* 'nothing' and *bramöwä* 'all' deviate in their behaviour from other quantifiers. As mentioned above, they do not take the distributive suffix. Furthermore, they do not take the instrumental case *=me*. At least for *bramöwä* there might be

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

an explanation as to why this is the case. The emphatic marker *=wä* forces the preceding morpheme to harmonise its vowel. If the preceding morpheme is the instrumental marker, it will change from *=me* to *=mö*. It follows that, historically, *bramöwä* could be *bra=me=wä*. Since there is no corresponding lexical item *bra*, we are left to speculate, and accept it as a case of frozen morphology.

3.1.6.2 Numerals

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

The senary system is predominantly employed in ritualised counting as described in §1.3.3.1. The number of yams counted during a feast quickly runs up to severals thousands, for large feasts even tens of thousands. On the other hand, everyday counting hardly ever goes above four or five, and English numerals are borrowed in situations where approximation of larger numbers is insufficient, for example when trading goods, charging one's mobile phone credit, or counting the eleven members of a soccer team. Hence, we find a double numeral system in Table 3.3 below. One set of numerals is commonly used, but it is restricted to low numbers. A second set is employed only in ritualised counting, but it is unrestricted.

Table 3.3: The numeral system

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

[4] The term for five shows two variants. The term for six also shows two variants one of which is a combination

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

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

Numerals can take the same morphology as quantifiers (see §3.1.6.1). There are no corpus examples of a numeral taking either the distributive suffix or the instrumental case clitic, but example (29) illustrates the use of both. I was taught the phrase *näbikakme käznob!* 'drink it one by one!' before I administered pain relief tablets to my friends and informants. I was corrected whenever I falsely used only the instrumental *näbime käznob*, which means 'drink it in one go!' (Lit. 'with one').

(29) *nä kabe* ***näbikakmenzo*** *… finzo miyatha thfrärm fof.*
nä kabe näbi-kak=me=nzo (.) fi=nzo miyatha thf\rä/rm
some men one-DISTR=INS=ONLY (.) 3.ABS=ONLY knowledge 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be
fof
EMPH
'Some people (one-by-one) … only they held that knowledge.'
[tci20120909-06 KAB #13]

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

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

(30) *fi sraksrak wokuthé yara* ***ethama*** *mane yara.*
fi srak-srak woku-thé ya\r/a etha=ma mane
3.ABS REDUP-boy skin-ADJZR 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be three=CHAR who(ABS)
ya\r/a
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be
'As for the third one, he looked a bit boyish.' [tci20131013-02 ABB #211]

(31) ***ethama*** *bäne mane zrarä fof … wfathwr ane fof.*
etha=ma bäne mane zra\rä/ fof (.)
three=CHAR RECOG.ABS who(ABS) 3SG.F:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be EMPH (.)
w\fath/wr ane fof
2|3SG:SBJ>3SGF:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/hold DEM EMPH
'At the third attempt she will really hold her up.' [tci20110817-02 ABB #106-107]

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

(32) *wati, fi* ***näbi*** *zäbrima. zbo yamnzr ane woga oten.*
wati fi näbi zä\brim/a zbo ya\m/nzr
then 3.ABS one SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/return PROX.ALL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell
ane woga ote=n
DEM man ote=LOC
'Then he returned for good. This man now lives here in Ote.'
[tci20120901-01 MAK #210-211]

3.1.7 Locationals

Komnzo has a small closed class of lexical items which I call locationals. Historically, some members of this subclass are derived from nouns. Locationals may act as hosts case clitics, but for spatial cases only (locative, allative, and ablative). Table (3.4) lists all nine members.

Locationals occur always as modifiers which follow the head of the noun phrase. A typical example is provided in (33) with *banban* 'underneath'. The speaker describes how people reacted when the Imperial Japanese Air Service flew attacks on Merauke in Dutch New Guinea during WWII.

(33) *fi fthé fof duga taga* ***banbanen*** *boba kwatharwrmth fof.*
fi fthé fof duga taga banban=en boba
3SG.ABS when EMPH taro leaf underneath=LOC MED.ABL
kwa\thar/wrmth fof
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/go.underneath EMPH
'That was really when they went underneath the taro leaves.'
[tci20131013-02 ABB #231-232]

Table 3.4: Locationals

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

I analyse these as locational nominals rather than postpositions, because like all nominals, they are marked for case. Additionally, as we can see in the third column of Table 3.1.7, some of the locational nominals are historically derived from nouns. For these, I propose a path of development from a nominal compound to a lexical item of a different nominal subclass. As an example, let us hypothesise about the origin of *warfo* 'above'. In a first stage, there would have been a nominal compound *mnz war* 'house top' made up of two nouns *mnz* 'house' and *war* 'top'. Nominal compounds are described in (§7.5.3). This compound can be marked with the allative case productively, thus, producing *mnz warfo* 'to the top of the house'. In a second stage, *warfo* became a single lexical item 'above' and lost the specific allative semantics. As a consequence, it can now be marked for spatial cases, for example the locative case (*-n*), producing *mnz warfon* 'on top of the house'. This is commonly found in Komnzo, although presently there is no example in the corpus. Lexicalisation of this kind has progressed to varying degrees with the four locationals where a nominal derivation is a possible scenario. While *warfo*, *kamfa* and *zrfa* are commonly marked with the locative case clitic, this does not occur with *zfthen*. Hence, *zfthen* is at a transitional stage between a noun with productive morphology (the locative case *=en*) and a locational. The choice depends on whether one analyses *zfth* in expressions like *mnz zfth* 'house base' as part of a noun+noun compound or as a noun+locational construction.

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

(34) *zena kwa ŋatrikwé fof … nimame zrethkäfé zane ezi* ***mrmren****.*
zena kwa ŋa\trik/wé fof (.) nima=me zre\thkäf/é
today FUT 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell EMPH (.) like.this=INS 1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/start
zane ezi mrmr=en
DEM:PROX morning inside=LOC
'Today, I will tell (a story) … I will start like this in this morning.'

[tci20110802 ABB #28-29]

3.1.8 Temporals

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

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

The uniting characteristic of this class is its ability to inflect for temporal case. There are three temporal cases in Komnzo: the temporal locative (*=thamen*) 'at that time', the temporal possessive (*=thamane*) 'that time's' and the temporal purposive (*=thamar*) 'for that time'. Temporal cases are discussed in §4.9. In the following examples, the temporal purposive case is used on the noun *ezi* (35), on the time adverbial *nama* and the English loanword 'Friday' (36) and on the temporal adjective *thrma* (37). In (35) they speaker tells his friends to leave the work on a sago palm for the next day. In (36), the speaker begins his description of a namesake ceremony which is about to be held two days later. Finally, in (37), two speakers go through a set of stimulus pictures and try to sort them into a narrative.

(35) *nze thäkora "fefe yé **ezithamar**. ezi n kwot sräfrmnze."*
nze thä\kor/a fefe \yé/
1SG.ERG 1SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak really 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV.be
ezi=thamar ezi n kwot
morning=TEMP.PURP morning try properly
srä\frm/nze
1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/prepare
'I told them: "It is there for the morning. We will try and prepare it in the morning."' [tci20120929 SIK #65]

(36) *fam monme erä … **namathamar fraidethamar** … nge fathasi yamyam monme kwa ŋankwir.*
fam mon=me e\rä/ (.) nama=thamar
thought how=INS 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) +|-2days=TEMP.PURP

fraide=thamar (.) nge fath-si yam-yam mon=me kwa
friday=TEMP.PURP (.) child hold-NMLZ REDUP-event how=INS FUT
ŋan\kwir/
2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/run
'(My) thoughts for the day after tomorrow, for Friday, are like this. This how the children's ceremony will takes place.' [tci20110817-02 ABB #3-5]

(37) *zane mane rä* ***thrmathamar*** *zane rä.*
zane mane \rä/ thrma=thamar zane
DEM:PROX which 3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be later=TEMP.PURP DEM:PROX
\rä/
3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'As for this one, this is for later.' [tci20111004 RMA #236-237]

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

(38) *frasinzo nzwamnzrm* ***ezifa*** *bobomr mor efoth.*
frasi=nzo nzwa\m/nzrm ezi=fa bobomr mor efoth
hunger=ONLY 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell morning=ABL until neck day
'We were staying very hungry from the morning until mid day.'
[tci20120924-01 TRK #37]

(39) *wati,* ***zenafa*** *… ni tüfr nagayé kwakonzre.*
wati zena=fa (.) ni tüfr nagayé kwa\ko/nzre
then today=ABL (.) 1NSG plenty children 1PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/become
'Nowadays, we, the children, have become plenty.' (Lit. 'From now on…')
[tci20111107-01 MAK #149-150]

(40) *twofthé fthé krafiyokwr. ane* ***thrmafa*** *zränthore.*
twof-thé fthé kra\fiyok/wr ane thrma=fa
heat-ADJZR when 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/make DEM after=ABL
zrän\thor/e
1PL:SBJ>3SG:F:IRR:PFV:VENT/carry
'It has dried then. After that we bring it (the drum) here.'
[tci20120824 KAA #78-79]

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

(41) *zane namä* ***ezi mrmren*** *nzä kwa trikasi ŋatrikwé.*
zane namä ezi mrmr=en nzä kwa trik-si ŋa\trik/wé
DEM:PROX good morning inside=LOC 1SG.ABS FUT tell-NMLZ 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell
'In this beautiful morning, I will tell a story.' [tci20111119-01 ABB #2-3]

3.1.9 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns form a closed subclass of nominals distinguishing three persons in both singular and non-singular number. Personal pronouns have distinct forms for case (absolutive, ergative, dative, possessive, associative, characteristic, locative, allative, ablative, and purposive), although some cases are not found in the pronouns (proprietive, privative, instrumental, and similative). The full list is given below in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Personal pronouns

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

[a] The associative forms encode DU versus PL (§7.6).

We can see from Table 3.5 that, as with the case markers, there is no number distinction in the absolutive. Only the first person is an exception here. On the other hand, in the first person non-singular, the absolutive and ergative categories are neutralised. Furthermore, Table 3.5 shows that the characteristic pronouns are built from the possessive forms by suffixing *-ma*. The three local cases and the purposive pronouns share formal similarity with the dative pronouns, namely the [u] vowel in the singular forms. Personal pronouns typically constitute a complete noun phrase (§7.1). Unlike nouns, personal pronouns cannot be modified by demonstratives or quantifiers.

3.1.10 Interrogatives

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

(42) *ŋafyf **ra** kwa nm enzänzr?*
ŋafe=f [ra] kwa nm en\zä/nzr
father=ERG.SG what FUT maybe 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/carry
'What might the father be carrying?' [tci20111004 RMA #79]

(43) *eh, **ra** gru zane ŋamitwanzr nabi tutin?*
eh [ra gru zane] ŋa\mitwa/nzr nabi tuti=n
eh what shooting.star DEM.PROX 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/swing bamboo branch=LOC
'Hey, what shooting star is swinging here on the bamboo branch?'
[tci20111119-03 ABB #127]

The roots which are syntactically most active are the interrogative pronouns *ra* 'what' and *mane* 'who, which'. Both can host almost all case clitics as we can see in Table 3.6.[5]

We can make two observations from Table 3.6. First, as with other nominal morphology, only animates are marked for number. Secondly, the root *rma* 'why' patterns with *ra*. Thus, it reflects a reduction of an earlier more transparent form *rama* consisting of *ra* with the characteristic case marker *-ma* (Lit. 'for what').

The interrogatives *mä* 'where', *mobo* 'whither', *moba* 'whence' are not shown here because these interrogatives - along with *mane* 'which' - are part of a paradigm of demonstratives. As I will show below, Komnzo demonstratives make a fourway distinction between proximal, medial, distal, and interrogative. Compare Table 3.8 in §3.1.12 for the full set of demonstratives. The interrogative *mane* Table 3.6 can also be used for inanimates as in *mane kar* 'which village'.

Other interrogatives show a behaviour that aligns them with their respective nominal subclass. The temporal interrogative *rthé* 'when' may be marked for temporal case, for example *rthéthamane* 'from what time' in (44), where the speaker explains that he will move his garden plot closer to the road each year.

(44) *highway kwa wthayfakwé fi **rthéthamane**? … ysokwren?*
highway kwa w\thayfak/wé fi rth=thamane (.)
road FUT 1SG:SBJ>3SG.F:NPST:IPFV/bring.out but when=TEMP.POSS (.)
ysokwr=en
rainy.season=LOC
'I will bring (the garden) up to the road, but when? … in which year (will I get there)?' [tci20130823-06 STK #164-165]

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

(45) *bä **monme** miyatha zäkor komnzo fi nimäwä miyatha zfrärm … komnzo zokwasi.*
bä mon=me miyatha zä\kor/ komnzo fi
2SG.ABS how=INS knowledge 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST.PFV/become komnzo 3.ABS

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

Table 3.6: Interrogative pronouns

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

[a] The associative forms encode DU versus PL (§7.6).

nima=wä miyatha zf\rä/rm (.) komnzo zokwasi
like=EMPH knowledge 3SG.F:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) komnzo language
'How you have learned Komnzo, she also knew it … the Komnzo language.'
[tci20130911-03 MBR #18]

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

(46) ***rnzamé*** *thzé krekarth … asar kabe o tabuthui kabe? … neba thrakogr krekarth bäne … tauri woku.*

rnzam=é thzé kre\kar/th (.) asar kabe o tabuthui kabe (.)
how.many=ERG.NSG ever 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/pull (.) four man or five man (.)
neba thra\kogr/ kre\kar/th bäne (.) tauri woku
opposite 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:STAT/stand 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/pull RECOG (.) wallaby skin
'However many will pull … four or five people? They will stand opposite and pull that one … the wallaby skin.' [tci20120824 KAA #89-92]

3.1.11 Indefinites

The indefinite determiner in Komnzo is *nä*, and it covers the meaning of 'some, other, another'. I show below that *nä* behaves morpho-syntactically like a demonstrative. Note that the numeral *näbi* 'one' is etymologically related to the indefinite. Historically, this analysis is supported by other Yam languages, for example Nen where *ämb* means 'some' and *ämbs* means 'one' (Evans 2017). In Komnzo, *nä* is used to form the indefinite pronoun *nä bun* 'someone, some other'. In example (47), there are two occurences of *nä bun* in dative case and in characteristic case.

(47) *fi* ***nä bunn*** *saro!* ***nä bunanema*** *be zawob!*
fi nä.bun=n sa\r/o
but someone=DAT.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:IMP:PFV:AND/give
nä.bun=ane=ma be za\wob/
someone=POSS.SG=CHAR 2SG.ERG 2|3SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/eat
'But you give it (the yam) to someone else! You eat from someone else's!'
[tci20120805-01 ABB #763-764]

Historically, *nä bun* seems to derive from a combination of *nä* plus the second person singular dative pronoun *bun* (see Table 3.5), but it is unclear how this has happened. Synchronically, speakers no longer parse the two components as separate items.[6] This is reflected in its grammatical behaviour: *nä bun* can be marked for the same range of cases as personal pronouns, and like personal pronouns it may consitute a complete noun phrase. Table 3.7 below lists all the case forms of *nä bun*.

Like the demonstratives (§3.1.12), the indefinite *nä* can stand alone and take a subset of case clitics. These are the instrumental (*näme* 'with some other'), characteristic (*näma* 'because of some other'), purposive (*nämr* 'for some other'), proprietive (*näkarä* 'with some other'). More commonly *nä* functions as an indefinite determiner as in: *nä kar* 'some, other place' → 'somewhere' or *nä rokar* 'some, other stuff' → 'something' or *nä kayé* 'some yesterday|tomorrow' → 'sometime'. This can be extended to *nä kabe* 'some, another man' → 'someone'. Two examples of this are given below in (48) and (49).

(48) *wati ane* ***nä kayé*** *thräkorth "ft kabe."*
wati ane nä kayé thrä\kor/th ft kabe
well DEM INDF yesterday 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/say ft people
'Sometimes, they call those ones "*ft people*"'. [tci20120814 ABB #322]

[6] Hence, it might also be written as one word, *näbun* instead of *nä bun*.

Table 3.7: The indefinite pronoun

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

[a] The associative forms encode DU versus PL (§7.6).

(49) *masu mane rera **nä far** fä yrästhgra.*
masu mane \rä/ra nä far fä
masu which 3SG.F:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be INDF post DIST
y\räs/thgra
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:STAT/be.erected
'As for Masu, there was another post planted over there.'
[tci20120805-01 ABB #472]

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

(50) *zokwasimär ŋafiyokwa … **keke nä zokwasi**.*
zokwasi=mär ŋa\fiyok/wa (.) keke nä zokwasi
word=PRIV 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/make (.) NEG INDF words
'He was speechless … no words whatsoever' [tci20110802 ABB #115-116]

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

(51) ***keke mane nä** yanyaka keräfi fumaksir fof.*
keke mane nä yan\yak/a keräfi fumak-si=r
NEG who INDF 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENT/walk arrow pull.out-NMLZ=PURP
fof
EMPH
'Nobody came to pull out that arrow.' [tci20120814 ABB #144]

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

(52) *zwärifthmo … **kabe miyatha keke nä** … **keke ra nä** miyatha thfkonzrm. finzo miyatha zfrärm.*
zwä\rifthm/o (.) kabe miyatha keke nä (.) keke
3SG:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:RPST:PFV:AND/hide (.) people knowledge NEG INDF (.) NEG
ra nä miyatha thf\ko/nzrm fi=nzo
what INDF kowledgeable 3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/become 3.ABS=ONLY
miyatha zf\rä/rm
knowledge 3SG.F:SBJ:PST:DUR/be
'She hid away (the fire) … no one knew … she told them nothing. Only she knew.'
[tci20131008-01 KAB #27-29]

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

(53) *zbo kwa srä**zine** **maf thzé** srewakuth.*
zbo kwa srä\zin/e maf thzé
PROX.ALL FUT 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/put.down who.ERG ever
sre\wakuth/
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/pick.up
'We will put it down here (for) whoever will pick it up.'
[tci20130907-02 RNA #479]

3.1.12 Demonstratives

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

Dixon defines a demonstrative as "any item, other than 1st and 2nd pronouns, which can have pointing (or deictic) reference" (2003: 61-62). We can see in Table 3.8 below that among the more typical functions of demonstratives, i.e. spatial functions, there are some which border the notion of 'deictic reference'. These functions are recognitional ('shared knowledge'), anaphoric ('tracking'), immediate ('attention'), interrogative ('lack of knowledge'), and apprehensive ('warning'). In spite of this diversity of functions, the main formatives constitute a neat paradigm with a four-way distinction between proximal, medial, distal and interrogative. This quadripartite structure builds formally on the

initial consonants: *z*, *b*, *f* and *m* respectively. The structure of the system is quite similar to Japanese demonstratives as decribed by Coulmas (1982).

Table 3.8: Demonstratives

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

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

Following Diessel (1999), I will outline the syntactic distribution of demonstratives first. In Table 3.8, a number of demonstratives appear in shaded cells. These have additional functions and to some extent different syntactic distributions. They will be discussed in separate sections to follow.

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

3.1.12.1 Pronominal and adnominal demonstratives

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

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

moba zane nm nz=yan\yak/
where.ABL DEM:PROX maybe IPST=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/walk
'Where might this (man) have come from?' [tci20120901-01 MAK #87]

(55) ***zane*** *namä ezi mrmren nzä kwa trikasi ŋatrikwé.*
zane namä ezi mrmr=en nzä kwa trik-si ŋa\trik/wé
DEM:PROX good morning inside=LOC 1SG.ABS FUT tell-NMLZ 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell
'In this beautiful morning, I will tell a story.' [tci20111119-01 ABB #2-3]

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

(56) *arammba yare* ***zaneme*** *zf äfiyokwre.*
arammba yare zane=me zf ä\fiyok/wre
arammba bag DEM:PROX=INS IMM 1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make
'We make the Arammba bags with this one right here.'
[tci20130907-02 JAA #410]

(57) *ebar fobo fof zäbtha.* ***zanemr*** *zena znrä.*
ebar fobo fof zä\bth/a zane=mr zena
head DIST.ABL EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/finish DEM:PROX=PURP today
z=n\rä/
PROX=1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'From this time onwards, the head-hunting finished. For this (reason), we are here today.' [tci20111107-01 MAK #148-149]

(58) *nafanmedben keke znsä rä.* ***zanemanzo*** *ŋathwekwrth … yusi fathasimanzo.*
nafanmedben keke znsä \rä/ zane=ma=nzo
3NSG.ANIM.LOC NEG work 3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be DEM:PROX=CHAR=ONLY
ŋa\thwek/wrth (.) yusi fath-si=ma=nzo
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be.happy (.) grass hold-NMLZ=CHAR=ONLY
'The (hard) work is not theirs (but ours). They are happy with doing just this … just the weeding.' [tci20130823-06 STK #109-111]

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

sra\rä/ kwot
3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be properly
'If this (root) is not here, they won't buy it. Only with all of this will, they buy it.'
[tci20130907-02 RNA #471-473]

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

(60) *naf nima "samg!* ***bänema*** *nä buné fof yruthrth byé … keke kwosi yathizr."*
naf nima sa\mg/ bäne=ma
3SG.ERG QUOT 2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PFV/shoot DEM:MED=CHAR
nä bun=é fof y\ru/thrth
INDF=ERG.NSG EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/shoot
b=\yé/ (.) keke kwosi ya\thi/zr
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) NEG dead 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/die
'He said: "Shoot it! because others are shooting hard and it is not dying."'
[tci20131013-01 ABB #101-103]

What has been mentioned above, also holds for the interrogative *mane* 'who, which' in Table 3.8. Like other interrogatives, it can be used as a relative pronoun, and it can be marked for a subset of the case clitics: absolutive *mane* 'who, which', characteristic *manema* 'because of which', instrumental *maneme* 'with which', and purposive *manemr* 'for which'.[7] Below, an example with *maneme* is given in (61).

(61) *ane fathnzo zfrärm. … wämne keke … dödönzo … dödö* ***maneme*** *ŋarenwre fath.*
ane fath=nzo zf\rä/rm (.) wämne keke (.) dödö=nzo (.) dödö
DEM clearing=ONLY 3SG.F:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) tree NEG (.) dödö=ONLY (.) dödö
mane=me ŋa\ren/wre fath
which=INS 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sweep clearing.
'It was a clear place … no trees … only *dödö* … that *dödö* with which we sweep the place.' [tci20120821-02 LNA #25-27]

The description of demonstratives leaves us with an analytic problem. Is there justification for setting up two separate subcategories: demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative determiners? The fact that they can stand for a whole noun phrase is not sufficient evidence for setting up an independent subcategory of demonstrative pronouns because the head of a noun phrase can be omitted and leave only a modifier including a demonstrative determiner. The demonstratives described here do not take the full range of cases as other pronouns, for example the personal pronouns (3.1.9), the indefinite (3.1.11) and recognitional pronoun (3.1.12.6). Therefore, I decribe them simply as demonstratives with a pronominal and adnominal function.

[7] The animate referents for cases other than the absolutive are expressed by the interrogatives in Table 3.6.

3.1.12.2 Adverbial demonstratives

Table 3.8 includes a column of adverbial demonstratives (e.g. *zä* 'here') with a dedicated form for the allative (*zbo* 'hither') and the ablative case (*zba* 'from here'). These are used for verbal modification as in example (62) with *zä* 'here' and in example (63) with *foba* 'from there' and *zbo* 'hither'.

(62) *taurianeme moth **zä** wnthn.*
tauri=aneme moth zä wn\thn/
wallaby=POSS.NSG path PROX 3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/lie.down
'The wallabies' path lies here.' [tci20130903-01 MKW #35]

(63) *wati, ane **foba** ŋanmonziknwr. **zbo** wänyak. zane mnz zf wrwr.*
wati ane foba ŋan\monzikn/wr zbo
then DEM DIST.ABL 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/prepare PROX.ALL
wän\yak/ zane mnz zf
3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/walk DEM:PROX house IMM
w\r/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/build
'Then, this (bird) prepares over there and she comes here to build her nest right here.' [tci20120815 ABB #48]

3.1.12.3 Clitic demonstratives

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

Komnzo possesses a set of deictic verbal proclitics which I call clitic demonstratives. Compare Table 3.8 above. They are used for identification and can attach to any inflected verb. In example (64) two brothers are trying to kill a creature by shooting an arrow into its heart.

(64) *naf nima "keke fi miyamr erä fofosa mä rä. nze komnzo **zimarwé** fof."*
naf nima keke fi miyamr e\rä/ fofosa mä
3SG.ERG QUOT NEG 3.ABS ignorance 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be heart where
\rä/ nze komnzo
3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV.be 1SG.ERG only
z=y\mar/wé fof
PROX=1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/see EMPH
'He said: "They don't know where its heart is. I can see it here."'
[tci20131013-01 ABB #104-105]

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

(65) *fi zena zane zf dö sakwré **zyé**.*
fi zena zane zf dö sa\kwr/é
but today DEM:PROX IMM goanna 1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:RPST:PFV/hit
z=\yé/
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'But today I have killed this goanna here.' [tci20120821-01 LNA #67]

(66) *yasifa foba fof ni zane zewärake zena **znrä**.*
yasi=fa foba fof ni zane ze\wär/ake zena
yasi=ABL DIST.ABL EMPH 1NSG DEM:PROX 1PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/crack today
z=n\rä/
PROX=1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'From Yasi, we originate from him and (therefore) we are here today.'
[tci20111107-01 MAK #86]

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

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

(67) *zane kabe zf yé **zyé**.*
zane kabe zf \yé/ z=\yé/
DEM:PROX man IMM 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'It is this man right here.' [tci20111004 RMA #51]

The verbal clitic *m=* is a special case. It can be attached to a copula which will produce a question. In example (68) the speaker looks around for a particular tree type to show to me. Then she suddenly finds it.

(68) ***myé** yorär? yorär zyé … zikogr.*
m=\yé/ yorär yorär z=\yé/
where=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be yorär yorär PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
(.) z=y\kogr/
(.) PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:STAT/stand
'Where is *yorär*? *Yorär* is here … It stands here.'
[tci20130907-02 JAA #449-451]

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

(69) *aya msar **mkrätrth**!*
aya msar m=krä\tr/th
oh ant APPR=2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/fall
'Oh, the ants might fall down!' [tci20130907-02 RNA #678]

3.1.12.4 Anaphoric *ane*

In Table 3.8 *ane* has been glossed as a general demonstrative (DEM), even though it is placed in the paradigm position where one would expect the distal demonstrative. However, *ane* has no spatial reference, but it is used for anaphoric reference. It marks a referent which has been established in the preceding context. Consequently, *ane* marks definiteness and is the opposite of the indefinite *nä* (§3.1.11). Both cannot occur in the same noun phrase.

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

The anaphoric demonstrative behaves in other respects like the demonstrative pronouns and determiners (cf. §3.1.12.1). One exception is the agreement described in §3.1.12.3 between the demonstrative in the main clause and the demonstrative identifier. Since *ane* has no spatial reference, it may combine with the proximal and the medial demonstrative identifier as can be seen in example (70) and (71) respectively.

(70) *fintäth **ane ziyé** … yemaneme dagon.*
fintäth ane z=\yé/ yem=aneme dagon
fintäth DEM PROX=3SG.MASC:NPST.be cassowary=POSS.NSG food
'This *fintäth* (fruit) here is the cassowaries' food.'
[tci20130907-02 RNA #316]

(71) *watik, nge **ane** zefar **byé** ruga monegsir.*
watik nge ane ze\far/ b=\yé/ ruga
then child DEM 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/set.off MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be pig

moneg-si=r
wait-NMLZ=PURP
'Then, the boy there set off to take care of the pig.' [tci20130901-04 YUK #7]

3.1.12.5 Immediate *zf*

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

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

(72) *zane **zf** kwa esinzre zöbthé.*
zane zf kwa e\si/nzre zöbthé
DEM:PROX IMM FUT 1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/cook first
'We will cook these (yams) here first.' [tci20121001 ABB #62]

3.1.12.6 Recognitional *baf*

Following (Himmelmann 1996), I use the term "recognitional demonstrative" for the Komnzo word *baf*. Himmelmann describes a distinct recognitional use of demonstratives, which has become grammaticalised in some languages. Amongst these are a number of Australian languages, for example Nunggubuyu (Heath 1984) and Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1985). See (Himmelmann 1996: 231ff.) for further discussion. Komnzo *baf* counts as another example for this grammaticalisation. I analyse *baf* as a pronoun because it can be marked for all cases. In contrast to other demonstratives, there are both animate and inanimate forms (See Table 3.9).

Murray Garde characterises the recognitional demonstrative in Bininj Gunwok as reflecting "a belief on the part of the speaker that sufficient common ground exists for hearers to make the necessary inferences" (2013: 250). In Komnzo *baf* has a number of uses which all echo the notion of common ground. A speaker may use *baf* to introduce a referent which he believes the hearer to know about. This can be a first mention of a referent which is not topical or in focus (i.e.: from an earlier part of a narrative). Moreover, the recognitional is often used as a filler in tip-of-the-tongue situations like 'whatchamacallit' in English. The recognitional can be described as an invitation to the addressee to ask for the referent or, more commonly, to fill in herself the appropriate word. Hence, the recognitional can be used pragmatically to keep a conversation going and assure the addressee's attention. Often the recognitional is employed as a strategy of circumspection, for example if the speaker is in a taboo relationship with a specific person and, therefore has to avoid using her proper name.

Example (73) is a first mention of a particular person in a narrative. Although not required, it is quite common for the speaker to fill in the 'missing' referent after a short lapse. Thus, the phrase *masenane mezü* 'Masen's widow' refers back to *bafane mezü* 'that one's widow'.

(73) *mabata fi mezü zwamnzrm.* ***bafane*** *mezü rera … masenane mezü.*
mabata fi mezü zwa\m/nzrm baf=ane mezü
mabata 3.ABS widow 3SG.F:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell RECOG=POSS.SG widow
\rä/ra (.) masen=ane mezü
3SG.F:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.) masen=POSS.SG widow
'Mabata stayed as a widow. She was that one's widow … Masen's widow.'
[tci20120814 ABB #18-20]

The recognitional demonstrative is built on the medial demonstrative, as we can tell by the initial consonant *b*. It follows that the recognitional must have emerged through semantic extension from the medial demonstrative, and only later developed distinct forms for all the cases. We find that a number of forms serve a double function. For example, *bäne* can function as demonstrative pronoun ('that') and as recognitional pronoun ('the one I presume that you know about'). But the two differ in their combinatorics. While the demonstrative can modify as well as replace a nominal head of a phrase, the recognitional operates only pronominally. I have already shown in example (73) that it is quite common for a speaker to fill in the intended referent of a recognitional herself, sometimes after the clause, sometimes after a short pause. This leaves us with the problem of distinguishing the medial demonstrative from the recognitional in a phrase like *bäne kabe*. However, prosody will signal which of the two is it. If both words belong to the same intonation contour, it is the medial demonstrative: 'that man'. If there is short break in the intonation or a longer pause, it is the recognitional: 'that one … the man'. The other case forms which are formally identical are impossible to distinguish in a clear way. For example, *bänema* 'therefore, because' is often used to connect another clause (cf. §3.1.12.1). In this case we always find a break in the intonation. It is best to interpret the formal identity as a signal of the semantic extension of the medial demonstrative. That being said, it would be wrong to conclude that the recognitional is merely a function of the medial demonstrative.

As we can seen in Table (3.9), the recognitional can be marked for all cases. In this respect the recognitional surpasses even personal pronouns in the richness of its distinctions because there are animate and inanimate case forms.

3.1.12.7 Manner demonstrative *nima*

Komnzo has a manner demonstrative *nima* which is best translated as 'like this' or 'do this way'. In some languages this function is assigned to the class of verbs, for example Boumaa Fijian and Dyirbal (Dixon 2003: 72). In other languages it is a nominal, for example Kayardild (Evans 1995: 214). *Nima* falls in the latter category. It is a nominal which can be marked for a subset of cases (instrumental, characteristic, purposive, proprietive,

Table 3.9: The recognitional pronoun

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

[a] The associative forms encode DU versus PL (§7.6).

and privative). It shares no morphosyntactic characteristics with verbs, but may either modify a verb (74) or express a whole event (75). Example (74) is from a pig hunting story and *nima* is accompanied by the appropriate gesture describing how and where the person was standing. In (75) it expresses the whole following clause ('that I was walking towards them').

(74) *ruga ŋankwira* ***nima*** *sankuka bä byé.*
ruga ŋan\kwir/a nima san\kuk/a bä
pig 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENT/run like.this 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENT/stand MED
b=\yé/
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'The pig came running and he stood like this over there.'
[tci20110810-02 MAB #34]

(75) *fi miyamr thfrärm* ***nima*** *… nzä we ane fof kwofiyakmo nafanmedbo … we nzä miyamr kwofrärm.*
fi miyamr thf\rä/rm nima (.) nzä we ane fof
3.ABS ignorant 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be like.this (.) 1SG.ABS also DEM EMPH
kwof\yak/mo nafanmedbo (.) we nzä miyamr
1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR:AND/walk 3NSG.ALL (.) also 1SG.ABS ignorant

kwof\rä/rm
1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/be
'They did not know about this … (that) I was walking towards them … and I did not know either.' [tci20111119-03 ABB #136-137]

Nima is used for three functions: deictic reference (actual or mimicked), anaphora, or introducing direct speech. With an instrumental case marker *nimame* is often used as an emphatic affirmative, as English 'Just like this!' In (76) the speaker explains how his grandmother grew very old because she followed all the food taboos.

(76) *nafaŋamane zokwasi nafaŋafane zokwasi naf mon zekarisa.* ***nimame*** *fof!*
nafa-ŋame=ane zokwasi nafa-ŋafe-ane zokwasi naf mon
3.POSS-mother=POSS.SG language 3.POSS-father=POSS.SG language 3SG.ERG how
ze\karis/a nima=me fof
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/hear like.this=INS EMPH
'She listened to her mother's words and to her father's words. Just like this!'
[tci20120922-26 DAK #60]

When introducing direct speech *nima* may occur with a speaking verb (77) or just by itself (60 above). In these instances, it is glossed as a quotative marker (QUOT). This function is further described in §9.7.

(77) *nzä* ***nima*** *zukorth "be fafä zane nagayé fäth zä thamonegwé!"*
nzä nima zu\kor/th be fafä zane
1SG.ABS QUOT 2|3DU:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak 2SG.ERG after.this DEM.PROX
nagayé fäth zä tha\moneg/wé
children DIM PROX 2SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/take.care
'The two told me: "You take care of these small children here!"'
[tci20121019-04 ABB #91-92]

3.2 Verbs

Verbs are by far the most complex lexical items in Komnzo with respect to morphology. Here, only a brief overview and some of the definitional criteria for identifying a particular item as a verb are given. For a full discussion of verbal morphology in Komnzo the reader is referred to chapters 5 and 6.

With around 380 members, verbs are the second largest word class after nouns. In spite of its size, verbs constitute a closed word class. There are no observed cases of loanwords or neologisms. Evidence for the closed status comes from two observations. First, the lack of derivational morphology (and shared roots) within the word class, but also between verbs and other word classes. Secondly, the fact that loanwords which are verbs in the donor language never end up in the verb class in Komnzo.

Within the word class of verbs there is no productive derivational morphology. Only a few non-productive patterns can be discerned, but the interpretation of these remains

highly speculative. One such example is the pair of verbs *knsi* 'roll' and *myuknsi* 'roll, twist'. The former is often used for rolling cigarettes, while the latter is used for rolling up a tape measure. Hence, we could translate them as *knsi* 'roll lengthwise' and *myuknsi* 'roll widthwise', ignoring the second sense of *myuknsi* 'twist'. Without the nominaliser, the stems are *kn* and *myukn*, and a possible hypothesis is that the *myu* says something about the orientation of the object that is rolled up. However, *myu* is not a word in Komnzo, nor is the pattern attested elsewhere in verb lexicon. A second example is the pair *misoksi* 'look up' and *risoksi* 'look down'. The formal difference lies only in the first consonant. I analyze these as idiosyncrasies of particular stems which might reflect frozen derivational morphology.

The same observation can be made for the relation between the verb class and other word classes. There are currently only four examples where a verb stem is identical or similar to a nominal element and a semantic bridge can be established. The first is the verb *rmrsi* 'rub, grind' and the property noun *rmr* 'roughness'. The second is the verb *miyogsi* 'beg, ask for' and *miyo* which can be either a property noun 'desire' or a noun 'wish, taste'. The third is the verb *wasisi* 'shine light on' and the word for the Masked Owl *wasi*.[8] The last example is the verb *fokusi* 'miss out on sth.' and the word *fokufoku* which describes a patch of bush that was not burned or a patch of grass that was not cut down. There is a clear semantic overlap in the nominal and verbal semantics, but we cannot determine the direction of derivation. However, the scarcity of such examples is striking.

One wonders, then how new verb meanings enter the language. The clearest answer to this question comes from loanwords. Komnzo speakers were exposed to Hiri Motu during a short period in the 1950's when the local Mission school was run by Motu-speaking teachers. Since the 1960's the dominant educational as well as administrative language has been English. All loanwords which are verbs in Hiri Motu or English end up in the nominal subclass of property nouns, not in the verb class. Some Komnzo examples are *durua* 'help', *tarawat* 'law, rightfulness' from Motu, *senis* 'change' and *boil* 'boil' from English. It is the complex verb morphology, for example stem types sensitive to aspectual distinctions, which prevents new material from being incorporated into the verb class. Instead, these loan verbs are property nouns in Komnzo, and they are employed in a light verb construction (see §8.3.12). Cross-linguistically, this is a common strategy to integrate loan verbs (Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2008).[9]

Morphosyntacically, we can define verbs as those lexemes which inflect for gender, person, number, tense, aspect, mood, valency, and directionality as can be seen in examples (78) and (79). With the exception of person and number, these are only found in verbs. The glossing of these grammatical categories, however, cannot be done straight-

[8] The Masked Owl (Tyto novaehollandiae), like most owls, has large eyes.

[9] From observation it is clear that younger speakers have already begun to replace some Komnzo verbs with English loans using a light verb construction with 'do'. For example, *thofiksi* 'disturb' is commonly expressed as *disturb ŋarär*, whereby *ŋarär* is the inflected verb 'do', and the expression can be literally translated as 'he does the distraction/disturbing'. One may predict that this pattern will become more dominant in the future. The shift from minor to major patterns in contact situations has been described by Heine and Kuteva (2005: 44).

forwardly, because a number of them can only be understood after unifying values from different morphological slots. For example, the aspectual value PST:DUR in (78) is encoded simultaneously in the verb stem, the prefix and the durative suffix. Prior to this unification, each morpheme taken by itself is underspecified with respect to any particular grammatical category. The only exceptions are the two directional affixes. In this subsection, I will employ a double glossing style as in the chapters on verb morphology (chapters 5 and 6). A segmented, itemised glossing line is given first, while a second line shows the unified gloss in smaller print. Morphological complexity in verbs is discussed in §5.2, where the reader will also find a more detailed justification for the double-lined glossing convention.

(78) *nafane nagayé **thfrärm**. naf **thwamonegwrm**.*
nafane nagayé thf-rä-rm naf
3SG.POSS children 2|3NSG.β2-COP.ND-DUR 3SG.ERG
2|3PL:PST:DUR/be
thu-a-moneg-wr-m-∅
2|3NSG.β1-VC-take.care.EXT-ND-DUR
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/take.care
'They were her children. She took care of them.' [tci20120901-01 MAK #47]

(79) *fi fthé **enthorakwa** … mnz kabe fof. nima **thäzigrthma** "nä tmatm fefe **nzŋawänzr**. manema kabe zä naf **nziyanathr**?"*
fi fthé e-n-thorak-w-a-∅ (.) mnz kabe fof nima
3.ABS when 2|3NSG.α-VENT-arrive.EXT-ND-PST-2|3SG (.) house people EMPH QUOT
2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT/arrive
th-ä-zingrthm-a nä tmatm fefe
2|3NSG.γ-VC.ND-look.around.RS-PST some event real
2|3PL:PST:PFV/look.around
nz=ŋ-a-wä-nzr-∅ mane=ma kabe zä naf
IPST=M.α-VC-break.EXT-ND-2|3SG which=CHAR man PROX 3SG.ERG
IPST=2|3SG:NPST:IPFV/break
nz=y-a-na-thr-∅
IPST=3SG.MASC.α-VC-eat.EXT-ND-2|3SG
IPST=2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST/eat
'At that time the house owners returned to the village. They looked around and said, "Something terrible has happened. From which village was the man who she ate here?"' [tci20120901-01 MAK #106-111]

Examples (78) and (79) show the intricate architecture of Komnzo verbs. The verb forms in both examples are inflected for various grammatical categories. The agreement target for gender is the 3rd person singular prefix on the verb, as can be seen in the last verb 'eat' in example (79). Person and number are encoded in the undergoer prefix as well as the actor suffix. However, these slots are underspecified: the 2nd and 3rd person

in the non-singular are neutralised in both slots. The 1st non-singular and 2nd singular are neutralised in the prefixes. These can be disambiguated by the free pronouns. In both slots, dual and plural are neutralised. The system of number marking combines a singular vs. non-singular opposition in the prefix and suffix with a dual vs. non-dual opposition in the duality affix. Thereby, one arrives at the three number values (SG, DU, PL). For about half a dozen high frequency verbs, such as the copula (78), the stem itself is sensitive to duality. For all other verbs, duality is either encoded by a prefix as in the second verb 'look around' in (79) or by a suffix as in all other verbs in (78) and (79). The morphological site of duality marking depends on the stem type. Almost all verbs in Komnzo have two stems from which aspectual distinctions can be build. I label the two stem types 'restricted' (RS) and 'extended stem' (EXT). It follows that tense, aspect and mood are expressed by a combination of verb stem, prefixes, and further suffixal material. As for the prefixes, there are five different prefix series labelled α, β, $\beta 1$, $\beta 2$, and γ and an immediate past proclitic (for example in the last two verbs of 79). Beyond TAM, the prefixes encode information about person, number, and gender. Examples for the suffixal material are the durative suffix (DUR) in both verb forms in (78) and the past suffix (PST) in the first two verb forms in (79). The TAM value is calculated by unifying these different exponents. As the final category to mention here, the first verb 'arrive' in (79) is inflected for directionality. The two values of direction are ventive 'towards' (VENT) and andative 'away' (AND).

Verbs are the only lexical items which can take the nominalising suffix (*-si*). Nominalisations or infinitives are used as a citation form in the dictionary. Frequently, nominalisations were frequently given to me as *zokwasi ebar* 'head words' for an inflected verb form. Nominalisations are non-finite forms without inflectional material. Nominalisations can be treated like underived nouns. They can function as complements of phasal verbs (*finish, start, become*) or infinitival adjuncts. Example (80) is taken from story in which two birds have a competition on how long each one can hold its breath under water. Thus, *fsisi zäbthath* can be translated as 'the counting finished'. Example (81) can be translated as 'in the planting (season)'.

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

ane zu-a-fsi-nzr-m-∅ (.) kwot e bobo-wä bäne
DEM 3SG.F.β2-VC-count.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3SG (.) properly until MED.ALL-EMPH DEM:MED
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.F:IO:PST:DUR/count

z-ä-faf-a-th (.) fsi-si
M.γ-VC.ND-hold.RS-PST-2|3NSG (.) count-NMLZ
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/hold

z-ä-bth-a-th
M.γ-VC.ND-finish.RS-PST-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/finish

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

[tci20130923-01 ALA #28-30]

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

'He slept over there … like this in the dry season … like this in the planting season.'
[tci20131013-02 ABB #140-142]

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

(82) *zarfa surmänwrm ane* ***wäsifnzo****.*
zarfa su-rmän-wr-m-∅ ane wä-si=f=nzo
ear 3SG.MASC.β2-close.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG DEM break-NMLZ=ERG=ONLY
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/close
'That breaking noise was blocking his ears.' [tci20120818 ABB #68]

(83) *ŋafyf frthé bant wäfiyokwa, kidn ane rifthzsime zfrärm.*
ŋafe-f fthé bant w-a-fiyok-w-a-∅ kidn ane
father-ERG when ground 3SG.F.α-VC-make.EXT-ND-PST-2|3SG ancient.fire DEM
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:PST:IPFV/make
rifthz-si=me zf-rä-rm
hide-NMLZ=INS 3SG.F.β2-COP.ND-DUR
3SG.F:SBJ:PST:DUR/be
'When God made the Earth, the ancient fire was hidden.'
[tci20120909-06 KAB #62-63]

(84) *fi miyomär yé. wri kabeaneme* ***ttrikasi*** *naf krarizr.*
fi miyo=mär \yé/ wri kabe=aneme
3.ABS desire=PRIV 3SG.MASC.α.COP.ND drunk man=POSS.NSG
3SG.MASC:α:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
t-trik-si naf k-ra-ri-zr-∅
REDUP-tell-NMLZ 3SG.ERG M.β-IRR.VC-hear.EXT-ND-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/hear
'He doesn't want to listen to those drunk people's stories.'
[tci20111004 RMA #140]

(85) *…* ***tharisiane*** *efoth fthé zfrärm.*
(.) thari-si=ane efoth fthé zf-rä-rm
(.) dig-NMLZ=POSS.SG day when 3SG.F.β2-COP.ND-DUR
3SG.F:PST:DUR/be
'… when it was harvesting season' [tci20120805-01 ABB #356]

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

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

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

(86) *myuknsi srethkäfe … zane zf ymyuknwé.*
myukn-si s-rä-thkäf-é (.) zane zf
roll-NMLZ 3SG.MASC.γ-IRR.ND-start.RS-1SG (.) DEM:PROX IMM
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start
y-myukn-w-é
3SG.MASC.α-roll.EXT-ND-1SG
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/roll
'I (usually) start rolling (the leaf). I roll this one right here.'
[tci20120914 RNA #45]

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

part of a separate intonation group. The only exceptions are the emphatic particle *fof* (§3.4.2) and the demonstrative identifier (§3.1.12.3).

Verbs can be subcategorised along both grammatical and semantic lines. As for the latter, we find a class of positional verbs, which take a special stative suffix and encode postural or positional semantics, for example *migsi* 'hang', *thorsi* 'be inside', *rngthksi* 'be in a tree fork' (§5.4.4.2). Morphologically, one interesting fact is that only a small part of intransitive verbs are purely prefixing. Most intransitive verbs employ both the prefix and the suffix. In this case, an invariant middle prefix is used and the single argument is indexed in the suffix (§5.4.5). Transitive verbs index their subject in the suffix and the object in the prefix. Most stems can be applicativised by adding the *a-* prefix. In this case, the referent of the person prefix changes from the object (or subject of a prefixing verb) to an indirect object (usually a recipient, beneficiary, or raised possessor). I label the *a-* prefix VC for 'valency change'. This is because *a-* is used to increase as well as to decrease the valency of a verb. Thus, the above-mentioned middle construction always takes the *a-* prefix. A general feature of Komnzo verbs is a high degree of flexibility, whereby most stems may enter various morphological templates and a handful of stems can be cycled through all. This is discussed in detail in §5.4.

3.3 Adverbs

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

Temporals have been discussed in §3.1.8. They are a functional subclass of nominals which can have an adverbial function. Spatial adverbials are expressed by the rich set of demonstratives discussed in §3.1.12.2. Hence, only manner adverbs comprise a word class in their own right. These are uninflecting words which are fairly free with respect to their position in the clause. Most commonly, they occur in preverbal position. Table 3.10 lists the currently attested manner adverbs.

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

3.4 Particles

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

Table 3.10: Manner adverbs

KOMNZO	gloss
eräme	'together'
kwot	'properly'
matar	'quietly'
minzü	'very, too much'
nezä	'in return'
nm, nnzä	'perhaps, maybe'
nimäwä	'likewise'
ŋarde	'for the first time'
gaso	'badly'
gräme	'slowly'
dmnzü	'silently'
rürä	'alone, lonely'
watmame	'for a daytrip'
yakme	'fast'
nzagoma	'in advance'
ŋwä	'instead (of)'

3.4.1 TAM particles

There are five particles which are part of the tense-aspect-mood system. Most frequently, they occur in preverbal position, but other elements may intervene. These are important for TAM because even though Komnzo has a rich set of TAM related inflections on the verb, some categories can only be expressed by means of the particles, for example *kwa* for futurity and *z* for the completion. The five particles are shown in Table 3.11 below. I will address these in turn. Note that there are the proclitics *n=* and *m=*, which play a role in TAM marking as well. Depending on their morpho-syntactic context they can be analysed as clitics or as particles. This point is discussed below in §3.5.2.

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

(87) *katakatan **kwa** zöbthé thrängathinzth nima: "**kwa**! komnzo **kwa**!"*
kata-katan kwa zöbthé thran\gathi/nzth nima kwa
REDUP-small FUT first 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV:VENT/stop QUOT FUT
komnzo kwa
only FUT
'First, they will stop the small children (from jumping in). They will say: "Wait!

Table 3.11: TAM particles

komnzo	gloss	function	translation
kwa	FUT	future	'will'
z	ALR	iamitive[a]	'already'
nomai	HAB	habitual	'often', 'always'
kma	POT	potential	'might', 'could'
keke or *kyo*	NEG	negator	'not'

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

Just wait!"' [tci20110813-09 DAK #25]

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

(88) *foba yakkarä enrera "oh, firran z thäkwrth."*
foba yak=karä en\rä/ra oh firra=n z
DIST.ABL walk=PROP 2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENT/be oh firra=LOC ALR
thä\kwr/th
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:PFV/hit
'They came fast from there (and said:) "Oh, they already killed them in Firra."'
[tci20131013-02 ABB #80]

(89) *z safäs?*
z sa\fäs/
ALR 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:RPST:PFV/present
'Did you show him already?' [tci20130907-02 RNA #540]

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

(90) *fi swathugwrm gaso. nimanzo **nomai** swafiyokwrm e **nomai nomai nomai**.*
fi swa\thug/wrm gaso nima=nzo nomai
3SG.ABS 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/trick badly like.this=ONLY HAB

swa\fiyok/wrm e 3x(nomai)
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/make until 3XHAB
'He tricked him badly. He kept on doing this to him for a long, long time.'
[tci20110802 ABB #95-96]

(91) ***nomair*** *kwa namnzr kwot kwot kwot kwot e namä kakafar kwot käkorm.*
nomair kwa na\m/nzr 4x(kwot) e namä k-kafar kwot
HAB FUT 2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell 4x(properly) until good REDUP-big properly
kä\kor/m
2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/become
'You will live forever … all the time until you really grow old.'
[tci20120922-26 DAK #16]

The potential marker *kma* occurs with verbs of different aspect values. It marks counterfactuality with deontic or epistemic interpretation, for example potentiality of an event ('could' or 'could have') or obligation ('should' or 'should have'). In example (92), the speaker blames his wife for not telling him about a bushfire. In example (93), the speaker describes how he fought a bushfire in his garden. The particle *kma* is discussed in §6.3.3.

(92) *nzä tosaiŋama* ***kma*** *kwräkor "käthf!" nzä nima fefe kwamnzrm kifa sfrwrmé.*
nzä tosai-a-ŋame kma kwrä\kor/
1SG.ABS baby-POSS-mother POT 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak
kä\thf/ nzä nima fefe kwa\m/nzrm kifa
2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/walk 1SG.ABS like.this really 1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/sit rattan.wall
sf\r/wrmé
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST.DUR/weave
'The baby's mother could have told me "You go!" but I was just sitting like this and weaving the rattan wall.' [tci20120922-24 STK #8-10]

(93) ***kma*** *wämne ane fof kwakarkwé ane fof … wämnef mane thänarfa … keke … watikthémäre.*
kma wämne ane fof kwa\kark/wé ane fof (.) wämne=f mane
POT tree DEM EMPH 1SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/pull DEM EMPH (.) tree=ERG.SG which
thä\narf/a (.) keke (.) watik-thé=märe
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/press.down (.) NEG (.) enough-ADJZR=PRIV
'I should have pulled that tree off … the one that was pushing down (the fences). No (it was) not enough'. [tci20120922-24 MAA #42-43]

With verbs in imperative or irrealis mood, *kma* frequently occurs together with the clitic *m* which will be dicussed in more detail below (§3.5.2). This combination of clitic, particle and verb inflection expresses a prohibitive. In this case, the clitic *m* may encliticise to *kma*. In fact, the resulting word *kmam* can stand as an utterance by itself meaning: 'Don't!' or 'Don't do it!' Below in (94) one such example is given, which comes from a public speech during a dance. For further discussion, the reader is referred to §3.5.2 and §6.3.2.

(94) *gatha fam **kmam** gnräré monwä z fam thäkuke.*
gatha fam kma=m gn\rä/ré mon=wä z fam
bad thought POT=APPR 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be HOW=EMPH ALR thought
thä\kuk/e
1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:PFV/erect
'You must not think bad about how we made up our minds.'
[tci20121019-04 ABB #243-244]

The negator *keke* occurs in preverbal position (95). In rapid speech it is something shortened to *ke*. There is a second negator *kyo* (96), which is mostly used by older speakers. Both negators can stand alone in an exclamation or as the answer to a question. Example (95) comes from a story about the speaker's father's generation. Example (96) is taken from a conversation about food taboos.

(95) *tüfr kabe **keke** thfrärm.*
tüfr kabe keke thf\rä/rm
plenty people NEG 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be
'They were not many people.' [tci20120805-01 ABB #517]

(96) ***kyo** kwa nr kabeyé thranathrth … nima ivanaŋame brä.*
kyo kwa nr kabe=é thra\na/thrth (.) nima
NEG FUT belly people=ERG.NSG 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/eat (.) like.this
ivan-a-ŋame b=\rä/
ivan-POSS-mother MED=3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'The pregnant people will not eat them … like Ivan's mother there.'
[tci20120922-26 MAB #38]

I was told that the teachers in the mission school during the 1960's discouraged their students from using *kyo* [kǰjo] because 'it is a bad word'. At the time, the teachers were Motu speakers and this was also the language of instruction. In Motu, the word *kio* [kijo] means 'vagina'. We can only hypothesise that the teachers of the mission school enacted pressure strong enough to replace the word *kyo* with the word *keke* whose origin is thus far unknown. Alternatively, the two negators might have existed simulaneously an the teachers' pressure only skewed their respective frequency of use. The topic of negation is described in §8.5.

3.4.2 Discourse particles

There are three discourse particles in Komnzo: *we* 'also', the intensifier *fof* and the word from which the language name is derived, *komnzo* 'only, still'. These are used for different types of focus.

The particle *we* functions as an additive focus marker. I translate it with English 'also'. It usually has scope over a whole proposition. It is rather flexible with respect to its position, and it may occur several times in a clause. Semantically, it always presuposes some event that has been established in the previous discourse. We can see this in example

(97) where the speaker makes an additional comment as to why his time as a busy yam gardener has come to an end.

(97) *kafar z zäkora fof … kafar … watik, nzone tmä **we** katanme ŋarsörém.*
kafar z zä\kor/a fof (.) kafar (.) watik nzone tmä we
big ALR 1SG:PST.PFV/become EMPH (.) big (.) then 1SG.POSS strength also
katan=me ŋa\rsör/m
small=INS 2|3SG:RPST.DUR/recede
'I have grown old … and also, my strength has also gone down a little.'
[tci20120805-01 ABB #662-664]

The particle *fof* is the word which occurs with the highest frequency in the corpus (around 2,000 tokens). It marks presentational focus of quite a wide range of elements. It always follows the element over which is has scope. This may be an adjunct (98), an argument (99), or the whole clause if it occurs after the verb (second *fof* in 99). In the examples below the rectangled brackets indicate the scope of the particle. Both examples come from a procedural text, in which the speaker presents his yam storage house. He explains the system by which the yams are piled up and sorted.

(98) *watik zanenzo fthé **fof** krägathinzth zethn … dagonma **fof**.*
watik zane=nzo [fthé fof] krä\gathinz/th
then DEM:PROX=ONLY [when EMPH] 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/stop
z=e\thn/ (.) dagon=ma fof
PROX=2|3PLSBJ:NPST:STAT/lie.down (.) food=CHAR EMPH
'That is the time, when only these ones are left. These lying here … (are) really for eating.' [tci20121001 ABB #107]

(99) *ŋazäthema wawa ane **fof** erä **fof**.*
[ŋazäthe=ma [wawa ane fof] e\rä/ fof]
[ŋazäthe=CHAR [yam DEM EMPH] 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be EMPH]
'These yams are really from Ŋazäthe.' [tci20121001 ABB #158]

The particle *komnzo* functions as a contrastive focus marker which has scope over the predicate. The clitic *=nzo* is its nominal counterpart. This will be described below in §3.5. The formal relationship between *komnzo* and *=nzo* holds true for other Tonda varieties. For example, Anta to the north has a corresponding particle *anta* and a clitic *=nta*.

In example (100), we see that *komnzo* has scope over the predicate; the copula in this case. I have often overheard women scolding their children by saying *komnzo kämés* 'Just sit down!' In the example below, a man returns to the place where the people of Firra took revenge on his wife after she had killed one of them.

(100) *wati nagawa ŋabrigwa sir. **komnzo** rä o z kwarsir mnin?*
wati nagawa ŋa\brig/wa si=r [komnzo
then nagawa 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/return eye=PURP [only

\rä/] o z kwa\rsir/ mni=n
3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be] or ALR 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/burn fire=LOC
'Then Nagawa returned to check: was she still alive or did she burn in the fire?'
[tci20120901-01 MAK #167-170]

3.5 Clitics

Proclitics and enclitics are attested in Komnzo. The former are found only with verbs, whereas the latter attach to nominals. I follow selected criteria based on the literature on clitichood, especially (Zwicky & Pullum 1983) and chapter 8 of (Anderson 1992). The relevant criteria in Komnzo are (i) clitics operate on a phrase rather than a word level, (ii) clitics show a low degree of selectivity with respect to their hosts and (iii) clitics can attach to other clitics. A further criterion which pertains only to the verbal proclitics and the (nominal) exclusive enclitic is: (iv) clitics are reduced forms of independent lexical items.

3.5.1 Nominal enclitics

All the case markers in Komnzo are analysed as clitics. Evidence for the first two criteria is given in examples (101) and (102) below, where the ergative attaches to the rightmost element of a given phrase. The phrase boundaries are marked by rectangled brackets in the examples. In (101), the noun phrase is *eda kwayan kabe* 'two, white men'. In (102), the adjective has been postposed and consequently is the last element of the phrase. Although, case markers are attached only to nominals, there show a low degree of selectivity within this macro-word class. For a detailed discussion of the case markers, the reader is referred to §4.3.

(101) *waniwanime* [*eda kwayan* ***kabeyé***] *yzänmth.*
waniwani=me eda kwayan kabe=yé
picture=INS two white man=ERG.NSG
y\zä/nmth
2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/carry
'The two white people are taking a picture of it.' [tci20120821-01 LNA #35]

(102) *famé wathofiyokwrmth fof … zbomr e* [*eda kabe* ***kafaré***] *zukorth "paituaf nima bänemr ŋarär."*
fam=é wa\thofiyok/wrmth fof (.) zbomr e
thought=ERG.NSG 2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:DUR/disturb EMPH (.) PROX.PURP until
eda kabe kafar=é zu\kor/th paitua=f nima
two men big=ERG.NSG 2|3DU:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/say old.man=ERG.SG like.this
bänemr ŋa\rä/r
MED.PURP 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/do
'These thoughts were disturbing me until the two big men told me: "The old man thinks like this."'
[tci20121019-04 SKK #22-24]

The other nominal enclitics are no case markers: exclusive *=nzo* (ONLY), empathic *=wä* (EMPH) and et cetera *=sü* (ETC). The first forms the nominal counterpart of the particle *komnzo* (§3.4.2). This clitic satisfies criteria (iv) in that it is a reduced form of an independent lexical item. It functions as a contrastive focus marker and I translate it to with English 'only'. Hence, in example (103), the woman picks up the yamstick with only one thing on her mind. Note that this example shows that the clitic *=nzo* satisfies criteria (iii): the ability to attach to other clitics. The exclusive enclitic *=nzo* will be discussed again §4.17.2.

(103) *yaka **zanrnzo** srewakuth.*
yaka zan=r=nzo sre\wakuth/
yamstick fight=PURP=ONLY 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/pick.up
'She picked up the yamstick to kill him.' [tci20120901-01 MAK #86]

The emphatic enclitic *=wä* shows similar behaviour. It will be addressed in §4.17.1. The et cetera enclitic *=sü* only attaches to the associative or proprietive case markers. It will be discussed in §4.17.3.

3.5.2 Verbal proclitics

Verbal clitics are exclusively proclitics. They do not fully satisify the criteria given above. For example, they only attach to one word class (verbs) and they have scope only over the inflected verb. On the other hand, all but one verbal proclitic are reduced forms of independent lexical items.

Additional evidence against analysing them as prefixes comes from phonology. In those cases where the proclitic creates an initial syllable through epenthesis, this syllable will not receive stress. For example, *bŋasogwr* 'he is climbing there' is marked with the medial proclitic *b=*. Since all proclitics only consist of a single consonant, through syllabification an epenthetic vowel is inserted: [^{m}bə̆ŋˈaso^{ŋ}g^{w}ə̆r]. On the surface, the second syllable is stressed. However, stress remains word-initial, because the clitic is not a part of the phonological word. Stress in Komnzo verbs is strictly word-initial and prefixes which create an initial syllable (even if filled with the epenthetic vowel) will be stressed, for example *ŋazi wsogwr* 'He climbs the coconut' is realised as [ŋatʃi wˈə̆so^{ŋ}g^{w}ə̆r].

The first set of verbal proclitics are the clitic demonstratives. These are deictic proclitics which attach to an inflected verb form: *z=* PROX, *b=* MED, and *f=* DIST. They are described in §3.1.12.3 and §5.6.2.

The second set of verbal proclitics comprises *m=* and *n=*. Depending on their morphosyntactic context, they can be classified as either clitics or particles. The *m=* proclitic was briefly addressed in §3.1.12.3. We saw in Table 3.8, that *m=* patterns with the interrogatives. Thus, it patterns with the three deictic proclitics. However, this is a marginal function, because it is found only with the copula. More frequently, *m=* occurs with verb forms in irrealis or imperative mood. In this case it adds the meaning of apprehension ('X might happen!') as in (104). Furthermore, with imperative verb forms only and the potential particle *kma* it expresses prohibition ('don't do X!') as in (94). In these latter function,

m is analyzed as a particle rather than a proclitic. These functions will be discussed in detail in §6.3.2.

(104) *thambrnzo* ***mthäkwr*** *fafä.*
thambr=nzo m=thä\kwr/ fafä
hand=ONLY APPR=2SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IMP:PFV/hit afterwards
'You might go home empty handed afterwards.' (Lit. 'You might hit only your hands afterwards.') [tci20121019-04 ABB #126]

The second clitic *n=* also serves a double function. If attached to a verb inflected for non-past, it marks immediate past.[10] I gloss it IPST and analyse it as a proclitic. See example (105) which was uttered at the end of a recording.

(105) *trikasi mane* ***nŋatrikwé*** *fof … ngafynm … badafa ane fof ŋanritakwa fof.*
trik-si mane n=ŋa\trik/wé fof (.) ŋafe=nm (.)
tell-NMLZ which IPST=1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell EMPH (.) father=DAT.NSG (.)
bada=fa ane fof ŋan\ritak/wa fof
ancestor=ABL DEM EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENT/cross EMPH
'As for the story that I have just told, it was passed to (our) fathers from the ancestors.' [tci20131013-01 ABB #403-405]

The second function of *n* occurs with verbs in one of the past tenses or in irrealis mood. It expresses that an event was 'about to occur' or that someone was 'trying to do' something. I call this the imminent function and here I analyse *n* as a particle rather than a proclitic because it can occur in various positions. This is shown in (106) where *n* occurs in preverbal position, and in (107) where is occurs freely in the clause. In (106), the speaker reports how she saw something moving the in grass in her garden. In (107), the speaker talks about trying to extinguish a fire in his garden. I refer the reader to §6.3.1 for further discussion of *n*.

(106) *wati foba fof* ***n*** *zäbrimé … wati nzun nima "kaboth kma zamath."*
wati foba fof n zä\brim/é (.) wati nzun nima kaboth
then DIST.ABL EMPH IMN 1SG:SBJ:RPST.PFV/return (.) then 1SG.DAT QUOT snake
kma za\math/
POT 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/run
'Well, I was about to return from there … and I thought to myself "This must be a snake running off."'' [tci20120821-01 LNA #9-10]

(107) *kwankwiré zbo* ***n*** *fam zäré damaki yföfo … "keke watikthémär zagr fefe rä."*
kwan\kwir/é zbo fam zä\r/é damaki
1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/run PROX.ALL IMN thoughts 1SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/do

[10] Note that this is shown in the unified gloss: both non-past (NPST) and immediate past (IPST) are marked on the verb. This is because the latter is expressed by a clitic, whereas the former is part of the verb morphology proper.

yfö=fo (.) keke watik-thé=mär zagr fefe \rä/
dynamite.well hole=ALL (.) NEG enough-ADJZR=PRIV far really

3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'I was running around here considering (going to) the water well, but I thought "No, not enough, it is too far."' [tci20120922-24 MAA #49-50]

3.6 Connectives

There are a number of small words in Komnzo which I label connectives. These serve to connect various constituents: noun phrases, clauses, discourse, etc. The most common ones are *a* 'and', *o* 'or', and *e* 'until'. The last of the three is usually a long, stretched out vowel. See examples (108), (109), and (110) respectively.

(108) *nagayé zbo thgathinzako … mantma kafarwä **a** srak nge … katanwä.*
nagayé zbo th\gathinz/ako (.) mantma kafar=wä
children PROX.ALL 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3DU.OBJ:PST:PFV:AND/leave (.) female big=EMPH
a srak nge (.) katan=wä
and boy child (.) small=EMPH
'He left the two children here … the big girl and the small boy.'
[tci20100905 ABB #21-23]

(109) *nafaŋamaf wnfathwr **o** ynfathwr.*
nafa-ŋame=f wn\fath/wr o
3.POSS-mother=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:NPST:VENT/hold or
yn\fath/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:VENT/hold
'(The child's) mother holds her or holds him.' [tci20111004 RMA #327-328]

(110) *nzä nima waniyak **e** srn kränrsöfthé zrafo.*
nzä nima wa\niyak/ e srn krän\rsöfth/é
1SG.ABS like.this 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/come until srn 1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENT/descend
zra=fo
swamp=ALL
'I came like this until I walked down to the swamp in Srn.'
[tci20111119-03 ABB #96]

The three adverbial demonstratives in the allative case may also be used to express meaning 'until' both in a spatial and temporal sense. However, they they have to marked for the purposive case, thus producing the forms *zbomr* from *zbo*, *bobomr* from *bobo*, and *fobomr* from *fbo*. This is not possible with the corresponding ablative forms, i.e. *zbamr*, *bobamr* and *fobamr* are all ungrammatical. Example (111) shows one occurrence of *bobomr* with a temporal meaning of 'until'. Here, the speaker describes her daily routine in the high school in Daru

(111) *frasinzo nzwamnzrm ezifa* ***bobomr*** *mor efoth.*
frasi=nzo nzwa\m/nzrm ezi=fa bobomr mor efoth
hunger=ONLY 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/sit morning=ABL until neck day
'We were staying very hungry from the morning until mid day.'
[tci20120924-01 TRK #37]

The word *fthé* 'when' may be used to connect clauses as causal, temporal or conditional sequences (see §9.4.2 and §9.6). It may also be used without reference to another clause, in which case it can be translated as 'at the time when'. See example (112) below for a causal sequence.

(112) *kafar ŋarr* ***fthé*** *srarä, nzmärkarä* ***fthé*** *srarä … zöftha nagayé keke kwa sranathrth.*
kafar ŋarr fthé sra\rä/ nzmär=karä fthé
big bandicoot when 3SG.MASC:IRR:IPFV/be grease=PROP when
sra\rä/ (.) zöftha nagayé keke kwa
3SG.MASC:IRR:IPFV/be (.) new children NEG FUT
sra\na/thr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/eat
'If it is a big bandicoot, if it is one with grease, then the young children will not eat it.' [tci20120922-26 DAK #82-83]

3.7 Ideophones and interjections

3.7.1 Ideophones

Komnzo ideophones depict almost exlusively sounds and, thus, cover the lower spectrum of the implicational hierarchy of sensory imagery as discussed in (Dingemanse 2012: 663). Komnzo ideophones cover a range of auditory phenomena: sounds from nature, animal sounds, human made noises, bodily noises, human made signals. Table 3.12 groups them according to their semantics.

Example (113) introduces the topic in the context of a rather gruesome story about an unsuccessful headhunting expedition. The ideophone *grr kwan* depicts the gurgling or rasping sound of someone breathing; in this example someone dying.

(113) *wgathiknath fobo fof. frknzo zwanorm.* ***grr kwannzo*** *fobo zwanorm.*
w\gathik/nath fobo fof frk=nzo
2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:PST:IPFV/leave DIST.ALL EMPH blood=ONLY
zwa\nor/m grr.kwan=nzo fobo zwa\nor/m
3SG.F:SBJ:PST:DUR/shout rasping.sound=ONLY DIST.ALL 3SG.F:SBJ:PST:DUR/shout
'The two left her while she was bleeding from there (the throat). She was just gurgling.' [tci20111119-01 ABB #154]

Ideophones occur as a compound with the word *kwan* 'noise, shout, sound'. This should not be taken as evidence that speakers are merely mimicking a particular auditive phenomenon in an ad hoc way. On the contrary, ideophones are conventionalised

lexical items like any other word. I will use the term ideophone only for those lexical items which do not have a lexical meaning other than the sound they depict. We can observe a gradient from lexical items to ideophones. For example *wth kwan* 'fart' consists of *wth* 'excrete, faeces' + *kwan*. It is a noun + noun compound and it would be wrong to call *wth* an ideophone. On the other end of the spectrum we have *brr kwan* 'the sound of a bilabial trill' which consists of *brr* + *kwan*. The former refers only to the particular sound and I will therefore call *brr* an ideophone. There are some transitional cases like *thmdi kwan* 'sound of a sigh during sleep,' which is in principle decomposable as *thm* 'nose' + *di* 'back of the head' + *kwan*. However, speakers do not decompose this word anymore, but understand *thmdi* as one lexical item that refers to a particular sound.

There are only two exceptions, which do not fit the above description: *buay* means 'someone taking off in a hurry, fleeing, running away' and *bra* means 'something is finished, depleted, or gone'. Both lexical items differ in their semantics, i.e. *buay* expresses movement and *bra* expresses a (visual) state. They also differ in syntactic behaviour because they occur without the word *kwan*. However, I analyse them as ideophones following Dingemanse who defines ideophones as "marked words that depict sensory imagery" (2012: 655).

There are a few special phonological characteristics of ideophones. For example, I have shown in §2.6 that the bilabial stop [b] is not an indigenous phoneme in Komnzo. We find [b] in a number of ideophones, for example *bübü kwan* 'the sound a hunter makes when hitting the ground to attract wallabies'.

Ideophones can be modified by another nominal, an adjective or another noun. In example (114), we see the ideophone *ta kwan* 'a high-pitched clicking, breaking sound' as part of a compound modified by *zr* 'tooth'.

(114) *mnzfa boba kwanrizrmth nzarwonaneme **zr ta kwan**.*
mnz=fa boba kwan\ri/zrmth nzarwon=aneme zr
house=ABL MED.ABL 2|3PL:SBJ:PST.DUR.VENT/hear barramundi=POSS.NSG tooth
ta.kwan
clicking.sound
'They were hearing the snapping of the barramundis from the house.'
[tci20120922-21 DAK #8]

3.7.2 Interjections

Interjections in Komnzo are a small class of uninflecting words used to express delight, bewilderment, a negative attitude, approval or refusal, commands, greetings, or vocatives. Interjections form a separate intonation group, and they stand as an utterance by themselves. Table 3.13 gives an overview of the most common interjections.

Table 3.12: Ideophones

SOUNDS FROM NATURE	
susu kwan	sound of a running stream of water
buku kwan	sound of splashing water (fish jumping, people washing)
ba kwan	sound of something heavy falling on the ground
bü kwan	sound of a coconut falling on the ground
rürü kwan	sound of thunder (in the distance)
wär kwan	sound of thunder (close)
u kwan	sound of strong wind
ANIMAL SOUNDS	
sö kwan	sound of wallabies grunting
gu kwan	sound of an animal grunting (e.g.: pigs, dogs)
gww kwan	sound of barking dogs
BODILY SOUNDS	
nzam kwan	sound of smacking one's lips
gwrr kwan	sound of swallowing something
thmss kwan	sound of someone snuffling, snorting
grr kwan	sound of stertorous or rasping breathing
thmdrr kwan	sound of snoring
thmdi kwan	sound of a sigh during sleep
brr kwan	bilabial trill (baby babbling or someone farting)
HUMAN MADE NOISES	
ta kwan	sound of something that breaks or cracks, e.g.: twigs
tä kwan	sound of chopping trees
yo kwan	sound of an arrow hitting something
tütü kwan	sound of steps, someone walking
rrr kwan	sound of rustling through dried leaves
suku kwan	sound of someone walking in water
HUMAN MADE SIGNAL SOUNDS	
bübü kwan	sound of a hunter hitting the ground to attract wallabies
ws kwan	sound made to send the dogs after some animal
äs kwan	sound made to call the dogs
knzu kwan	sound of people shouting out for someone (usually [u:])
fifiya kwan	sound of whistling (a song)
siya kwan	sound of someone signaling by whistling
ti kwan	sound of someone singing in the distance
si kwan	hissing sound [s] in order to attract someone's attention
dm kwan	a signal of amazement produced as a series of alveolar clicks
mü kwan	a signal of approval or a backchannel marker produced as [m:]

Table 3.13: Interjections

FORM	translation (and context)
aiwa	'oh no' (used to signal compassion, negative surprise, emphasizing with another person's misfortune)
awe	'come!'
awkot	(used as a sudden surprise, e.g.: somebody trips over a log)
awow	'ok' (used to signal agreement)
ayo	'watch out' (used as a warning sign)
kare	'go (away)!'
kiwar	'good hunting luck' (used to wish a successful hunting either a person or ritually after setting a trap, hanging a fishnet, etc.)
monzé	'yes, of course' (used as a sign of agreement)
razé	'yeah' (used as a sign of emphatic agreement or approval)
si rore rore	(shouted out by women during poison-root fishing)

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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.