A grammar of Komnzo

Christian Döhler

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Christian Döhler

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4 Nominal morphology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the nominal morphology of Komnzo. With the exception of the close possessive construction, all nominal morphology is encliticised or suffixed to the element over which it has scope, which is almost always the noun phrase. There is little to no allomorphy in the enclitic and affix formatives. There are no declension classes. There are special marking patterns for animate referents, which include a number distinction.

I begin by a description of reduplication, which is only found with nominals (§4.2). The remainder and bulk of this chapter describes case and further morphological markers. I introduce the reader to the 17 cases and their respective functions in §4.3. After this, each case is discussed in turn (§4.5 - 4.16). In §4.17, I describe three enclitics and one suffix which are not related to case. Finally, in §4.18, I offer a few concluding remarks on the formal and functional overlap between particular case markers.

4.2 Reduplication

There are two reduplication patterns in Komnzo. They differ only formally, not in their meaning, and words for which reduplication is a productive morphological process can form both patterns. I use the terms partial reduplication and full reduplication. In the former, the reduplicant is only the first consonant of the word. In the latter, the whole word is reduplicated.

Semantically, reduplication expresses non-prototypicality, plurality, or both. In (1), *ttrikasi* 'stories' is formed from *trikasi* 'story', and reduplication expresses plurality. In (2), the reduplication of *yawi* 'seed' refers to 'coins', i.e. it expresses non-prototypicality in addition to plurality.

(1) *komnzo nima fä zämnzerake nä* ***ttrikasi*** *keke.*
komnzo nima fä zä\mnzer/ake nä t-trika-si keke
only like.this DIST 1NSG:SBJ:PST:PFV/fall.asleep INDF REDUP-tell-NMLZ NEG
'We just fell asleep there, no more stories.' [tci20120922-25 ALK #45]

(2) *ŋareane* ***yawiyawime*** *kwa ŋonathr ane kabef.*
ŋare=ane yawi-yawi=me kwa ŋo\na/thr ane kabe=f
woman=POSS.SG REDUP-seed=INS FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/drink DEM man=ERG.SG
'That guy is going to drink with his wife's money.' [tci20111004 TSA #182]

The nominal subclasses which can be reduplicated are nouns, adjectives, property nouns and quantifiers. Example (3) shows the quantifier *tüfr* expressing that many different jobs are involved in raising a pig. In (4), the adjective *tnz* 'short' is reduplicated, meaning that the man was just a bit short. In (5), the adjective *kafar* 'big' is reduplicated, meaning that the elders of the Mayawas of Firra had been killed in the headhunting raid.

(3) *zena keke miyo worä ruga mgthksi … znsä* ***ttüfr****.*
zena keke miyo wo\rä/ ruga mgthk-si (.) znsä t-tüfr
today NEG desire 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be pig feed-NMLZ (.) work REDUP-plenty
'Today, I do not want to feed pigs … (too) much work.' [tci20120805-01 ABB #819-820]

(4) *nafafis yf nagawa …* ***tnztnz*** *kabe sfrärm.*
nafa-fis yf nagawa (.) tnz-tnz kabe sf\rä/rm
3.POSS-husband name nagawa (.) REDUP-short man 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be
'Her husband's name (was) *Nagawa* … he was a bit short guy.'
[tci20120901-01 MAK #17-18]

(5) *nafanme mayawa* ***kkafar*** *z bramöwä thäkwrath firran.*
nafanme mayawa k-kafar z bramöwä thä\kwr/ath
3NSG.POSS mayawa REDUP-big ALR all 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/kill
firra=n
firra=LOC
'All their Mayawa elders had been killed in Firra.' [tci20111107-01 MAK 127]

In addition to productive reduplication with the above meanings, reduplications are found across the lexicon to form new meanings. There is a large number of reduplications in plant names and in the names for animals, especially bird and fish species. Often the pattern of reduplication establishes a semantic link between biota of different species, families or even kingdoms. I describe this phenomenon in §11.2.

Lastly, I want to mention that there are some reduplicative orphans which lack a corresponding simplex, for example *gwargwar* 'mud' or *ŋarŋar* 'bamboo paddle'.

4.3 The form and function of case markers

I follow Blake (1994) in making a distinction between core cases and peripheral cases. Core cases in Blake's typology "encode complements of typical one-place and two-place transitive verbs" (1994: 32), i.e. they are required by the verb's argument structure. I define core cases in Komnzo as those cases whose referent can be indexed in the verb. Thus, core cases are the absolutive, ergative and dative case. Note that the absolutive is zero-marked. The possessive is also counted as core case, because the possessor can be raised and indexed in the verb. Peripheral cases are those cases whose referents are not required by the structure of the verb, nor can they be indexed in the verb. I will use the term semantic cases for these.

Following Andrews (2007b), I understand semantic roles to refer to "thematic relations" or "deep cases" (Fillmore 1968). From these, one can derive grammatical functions

Table 4.1: The Komnzo case system

		case	semantic roles by function		
			adnominal	clausal	interclausal
core cases		ABS		agent, experiencer, theme, patient	agent, experiencer, theme, patient
		ERG		agent	agent
		DAT		recipient, beneficiary	
		POSS	possessor		
semantic cases	spatial	LOC		location	simultaneity
		ALL		goal of motion	
		ABL		source of motion	
	temporal	TEMP.LOC		location in time	
		TEMP.PURP		goal in time	
		TEMP.POSS	origin	origin in time	
	other	INS		instrument, manner	result, manner
		PURP		purpose	purpose
		CHAR	origin	source, reason, purpose	reason, purpose
		PROP		association	association, manner
		PRIV		absence	
		ASSOC		association, inclusion	association
		SIMIL		comparison	

such as A, S, and P (Dixon 1972).[1] In the following, the terms core case and semantic case are used to refer to the cases, while the term semantic role is used to refer to the underlying semantics.

Following Evans and Dench (1988), who discuss the ways in which case can be used to establish three levels in Australian languages, I recognise three distinct levels at which cases operate in Komnzo. First, there is the adnominal level which relates one noun phrase within a matrix noun phrase. Secondly, there is the clausal level which operates directly below the clause level. Thirdly, there is the interclausal level which indicates that one clause is the argument of another clause. Table 4.1 provides an overview of the cases and their functions. Note that semantic cases can be subdivided into spatial, temporal and other.

As mentioned above, there is little allomorphy with the case markers. Examples are the locative, allative and ablative case, which have different formatives for animate and inanimate referents. It can be said that Komnzo nominal morphology is relatively simple, especially when compared to its verb morphology (see chapter 5). The formatives are given in Table 4.2.

We find that case markers make a distinction between animate and inanimate refer-

[1] "I will use the term 'semantic role' to refer to both the specific roles imposed on NPs by a given predicate (..) and to the more general classes of roles, such as 'agent' and 'patient'. Semantic roles are important in the study of grammatical functions [A, S and P] since grammatical functions usually express semantic roles in a highly systematic way" (Andrews 2007b: 136).

Table 4.2: Case markers in Komnzo

case	inanimate	animate	
		singular	non-singular
ABS	∅	∅	*=é* (*=yé*)
ERG	*=f*	*=f*	*=é* (*=yé*)
DAT	n/a	*=n*	*=nm*
POSS	*=ane*	*=ane*	*=aneme*
LOC	*=en* (*=n*)	*=dben*	*=medben*
ALL	*=fo*	*=dbo*	*=medbo*
ABL	*=fa*	*=dba*	*=medba*
TEMP.LOC	*=thamen*	n/a	n/a
TEMP.POSS	*=thamane*	n/a	n/a
TEMP.PURP	*=thamar*	n/a	n/a
INS	*=me*	n/a	n/a
PURP	*=r*	n/a	n/a
CHAR	*=ma*	*=ane=ma*	*=aneme=ma*
PROP	*=karä* / *=kaf*	*=karä* / *=kaf*	*=karä* / *=kaf*
PRIV	*=märe*	*=märe*	*=märe*
ASSOC[a]	*=ä*	*=r*	*=ä*
SIMIL	*=thatha*	n/a	n/a

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

ents. For certain cases, there are designated formatives for animate referents, for example all the spatial cases. Only with animate referents is there a number distinction (SG vs. NSG) in the case markers. Consider examples (6-8). The first example shows the locative case on *mnz* 'house', and the context of the story reveals that this is about several houses. The case marker, however, does not encode number. Examples (7) and (8) show that this is different for animate referents, and the case markers make a singular versus non-singular distinction.

(6) *kwot namäme thfanakwrm … **mnzen** thwarakthkwrmo.*
kwot namä=me thfa\nak/wrm (.) mnz=en
properly good=INS 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/put.down (.) house=LOC
thwa\rakthk/wrmo
SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:PST:DUR:AND/put.on.top
'She was sorting (the things) properly … She put the things back in the houses.' [tci20120901-01 MAK #38-39]

(7) ***mizidben*** *sokoro zewära.*
mizi=dben sokoro ze\wär/a
pastor=LOC.ANIM.SG school SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/happen
'The school was at the pastor('s place).' [tci20120904-02 MAB #16]

(8) ***nafangthmedben*** *byamnzr.*
nafa-ngth=medben b=ya\m/nzr
3.POSS-younger.sibling=LOC.ANIM.NSG MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell
'He stays at his small brothers' place.' [tci20120814 ABB #216]

As Table 4.2 shows, most case markers employ an /m/ or /me/ element to mark non-singular number. I refrain from segmenting this element as a separate morph for two reasons. First, the /m/ or /me/ does not occur in all cases, for example not the ergative case. Secondly, its position is not fixed. With the possessive, /me/ follows the possessive marker *=ane*. With the dative, only /m/ follows the dative marker *=n*. With spatial cases /me/ precedes the locative, allative and ablative marker. I will offer an explanation of this in the final section of this chapter (§4.18).

These formatives attach to the rightmost element of the phrase, but have scope over the whole noun phrase. In example (9), the adjective *katan* 'small' precedes the noun *nzram* 'flower' and the case marker attaches to the latter. Example (10) shows the same adjective postposed to the noun *yfö* 'hole'. Again, the case marker attaches to the rightmost element.

(9) ***katan nzramma*** *emarwr.*
katan nzram=ma e\mar/wr
small flower=CHAR 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/see
'You (can) identify them from the small flowers.' [tci20130907-02 JAA #211]

(10) *watik* ***yfö katanr*** *kwa yarenzr.*
watik yfö katan=r kwa ya\re/nzr
then hole small=PURP FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/look
'Then, he will look around for a small hole.' [tci20130903-04 RNA #26]

4.4 Absolutive

The absolutive case is almost always unmarked. The non-singular clitic (*=é*), (*=yé*) when it follows a vowel, is rarely used. On the clausal level the absolutive encodes the single argument of intransitive verbs (11), or the patient argument of transitive verbs (12).

(11) ***nzä*** *zä zf wamnzr.*
nzä zä zf wa\m/nzr
1SG.ABS PROX IMM 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell
'I live right here.' [tci20130823-08 WAM #85]

(12) ***nzä** fthé fof afaf schoolen zwäthba.*
nzä fthé fof afa=f school=en
1SG.ABS when EMPH father=ERG.SG school=LOC
zwä\thb/a
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:PST:PFV/put.inside
'That was when father put me in school.' [tci20120924-01 TRK #5]

When a nominalised verb functions as the patient of a matrix clause, it appears with no overt case marking. It could be analysed as being marked with absolutive case, though for reasons of parsimony I will not gloss it as such. This commonly occurs with phasal verbs, like in (13), where the speaker shows me how to make a whistle from a coconut leaf.

(13) ***myuknsi** srethkäfe. zane zf ymyuknwé.*
myukn-si sre\thkäf/e zane zf
roll-NMLZ 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start DEM:PROX IMM
y\myukn/wé
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/roll
'We would start twisting it. I am twisting this here.' [tci20120914 RNA #45]

Overt marking of non-singular number is possible if the referent is animate. The formative is *=é* if the host is consonant-final, and *=yé* if it is vowel-final. Hence, there is a syncretism between absolutive and ergative non-singular. This pattern of syncretism is also found in the first person pronouns (§3.1.9), where *ni* is used for both ergative and absolutive non-singular. As a case marker on absolutive noun phrases it is very rare. One example is given in (14).

(14) ***nzone amayé** bä thfamrnm ksi karen.*
nzone ama=é bä thfa\m/rnm ksi kar=en
1SG.POSS mother=ABS.NSG MED 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell bush place=LOC
'My two mothers lived there in the bush.' [tci20150919-05 LNA #240]

Only in the syntactic context of the inclusory construction is the absolutive non-singular obligatory (§7.6). Elsewhere it is optional, and tokens in the corpus are infrequent.

4.5 Ergative *=f*, *=è*

The ergative case marker is *=f* (SG) or *=é* (NSG). The ergative usually operates at the clausal level. It encodes the semantic role of actor or stimulus. Example (15) is taken from a "*Nzürna* story". These stories are widespread in the Morehead region. The main character *nzürna*, but also the plot of the stories, bears some resemblance to the classic European witch stories.

(15) *okay, ausi zakora "ŋame,* ***nzürna ŋaryf*** *wanmrinzr!" …* ***ausif*** *sakora "anema fof gukonzé" nima "kmam foba gniyaké!"*
okay ausi za\kor/a ŋame nzürna
okay old.woman 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak mother nzürna
ŋare=f wan\mri/nzr (.) ausi=f
woman=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/chase (.) old.woman=ERG.SG
sa\kor/a ane=ma fof
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak DEM=CHAR EMPH
gu\ko/nzé nima kma=m foba gni\yak/é
1SG:SBJ>2SG:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/speak QUOT POT=APPR DIST.ABL 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/walk
'Okay, he said to the old woman: "Mother, the *Nzürna* woman is chasing after me!" The old woman told him: "That is why I told you: Don't go there!"'
[tci20120827-03 KUT #114-115]

Examples (16) and (17) show the ergative non-singular formative. This is *=é* when the word is consonant-final and *=yé* when it is vowel-final. Example (16) is taken from a procedural text about a little whistle made from a coconut leaf. In example (17), the speaker complains about some families whose children seem to be shifting from Komnzo to Wära.

(16) *rusa räkumgsir zane äfiyokwrth …* ***sraké.***
rusa räkumg-si=r zane ä\fiyok/wrth (.)
deer attract-NMLZ=PURP DEM:PROX 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make (.)
srak=é
boy=ERG.NSG
'They make this one for attracting deer … the boys (make it).' [tci20120914 RNA #61]

(17) *… a* ***ŋameyé*** *nafanme zokwasimöwä thwasäminzrmth*
(.) a ŋame=é nafanme zokwasi=me=wä
(.) and mother=ERG.NSG 3NSG.POSS speech=INS=EMPH
thwa\sämi/nzrmth
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/teach
'… and the mothers were teaching their own language (to the children).'
[tci20120924-02 ABM #37-38]

The ergative case can be used to encode inanimate actors who for some reason are attributed an actor-like behaviour. As with other case enclitics, there is no number distinction for inanimate referents, i.e. the non-singular *-é* is not used. Therefore, I do not gloss the number value for *=f* when attached to inanimate referents. Example (18) comes from a hunting story where the speaker reaches the camp of his family in the night and sees a gaslamp hanging on the bamboos. Here, the wind (*füsfüs*) is marked with the ergative.

(18) *nabi tutin fä fof zumirwanzrm* ***füsfüsf.***
nabi tuti=n fä fof zu\mirwa/nzrm füsfüs=f
bamboo branch=LOC DIST EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:PST:DUR/swing wind=ERG
'The wind was swinging (the lamp) on the bamboo branch.' [tci20111119-03 ABB #117]

Example (19) is taken from a myth in which the island of New Guinea and the continent of Australia were still connected. The myth describes the rising sea-level and how the people had to take refuge on both sides. The inanimate referent *no* 'water' is flagged with the ergative case.

(19) ***nof** nä nima thärkothmako … nä nima thänkothma nzezawe.*
no=f nä nima thär\kothm/ako (.) nä nima
water=ERG some like.this SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV:AND/chase (.) some like.this
thän\kothm/a nze-zawe
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV:VENT/chase 1NSG.POSS-right
'The water chased some away like this … and it chased some here to our side like this.' [tci20131013-01 ABB #125-126]

Experiencer-object constructions, in which the stimulus receives the ergative and the experiencer the absolutive, are quite common. Constructions of this type have been described for Kalam by Pawley et al. (2000) and for Nen by Evans (2015b). As in Kalam, experiencer-object constructions are often used to express bodily and mental processes. In example (20), after an evening by the fire, the speaker proclaims that she will go to sleep now because 'fear has already grabbed her'.

(20) ***wtrif** z zwefaf.*
wtri=f z zwe\faf/
fear=ERG ALR 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/hold
'I am already scared.' (lit. 'Fear already holds me.') [tci20130901-04 RNA #164]

Example (21) comes from a story about a man who was angry and tried to shock people at a feast. The fact that he was infuriated is expressed literally as 'anger/grudges finished him'. Note that (21) is an exception to the rule that inanimate referents do not receive number marking for case enclitics. Such exceptions are rare in the corpus. There is one more example of this type in the grammar (page 302 example 41), which is also an experiencer-object construction. I take this as evidence, that experiencer-object constructions rank the stimulus argument higher in animacy, i.e. the stimulus is portrayed as being animate. See §8.3.10 for a more detailed discussion of experiencer-object constructions.

(21) ***nokuyé** fthé sabtha.*
noku=yé fthé sa\bth/a
anger=ERG.NSG when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/finish
'That is when he got really angry.' (lit. 'That is when anger finished him.')
[tci20120909-06 KAB #39]

The ergative case can also be attached to nominalised verbs, as in (22). This example is about a Marind headhunter who was trying to distract the people by imitating the sound that dogs make when they chew on bones. The poor guy was so busy making this noise that he did not hear how the villagers were approaching him. Hence, it is the infinitive of 'crack' which receives the ergative case in (22).

(22) *bäne thuwänzrm fof … zarfa surmänwrm* ***ane wäsifnzo.***
bäne thu\wä/nzrm fof (.) zarfa
DEM:MED 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/crack fof (.) ear
su\rmän/wrm ane wä-si=f=nzo
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/close DEM crack-NMLZ=ERG=ONLY
'He was cracking those (coconut shells). This cracking was blocking his ears.'
[tci20120818 ABB #67-68]

Thus, the ergative case can also function at the interclausal level. Example (23) shows that the infinitive to which the ergative is attached may also take an object. In the example a malevolent spirit, who lives in a tree, is about to be burned by an angry mob. She does not notice the fire at first because she is too concentrated on weaving a mat. The 'mat weaving' receives the ergative.

(23) *mni wthomonwath a zräföfth … fi* ***yame yrsifnzo*** *zukonzrm boba wämne yfön fof.*
mni w\thomon/wath a
fire 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:PST:IPFV/pile.firewood and
zrä\föf/th (.) fi yame yr-si=f=nzo
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:IRR:PFV/burn (.) but mat weave-NMLZ=ERG=ONLY
zu\ko/nzrm boba wämne yfö=n fof
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:PST:DUR/do MED.ABL tree hole=LOC EMPH
'They piled up the firewood and started to burn it … but she was concentrated on weaving the mat there in the tree hole.' (lit. 'The mat weaving did her.')
[tci20120901-01 MAK #155-156]

Contructions showing the ergative at the interclausal level are infrequent in the corpus. Note that in both examples above, the exclusive clitic *=nzo* is attached to the ergative-marked infinitive in order to highlight that it was "only that event" which acted on a person.

4.6 Dative *=n, =nm*

The dative case marker is *=n* (SG) or *=nm* (NSG). It operates at the clausal level and encodes the semantic role of (animate) recipient or goal. If it is attached to a place name, as in example (24), the people of that place are meant, not the place. The dative is categorised as a core case because a dative marked noun phrase is indexed in the verb, as in the verb form *thägathinza* in (24). Unlike in other Tonda languages, for example in Ngkolmpu (Carroll 2017), the dative case cannot be used adnominally to mark a possessor.

In example (24), the speaker talks about the different places where he used to own a garden plot. Example (25) comes from a set of stimulus videos.

(24) *nzone daw bä mane rera safsen …* ***nafanm*** *thägathinza …* ***safs karnm.***
nzone daw bä mane \rä/ra safs=en (.) nafanm
1SG.POSS garden MED which 3SG.F:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be safs=LOC (.) 3NSG.POSS

thä\gathi/nza (.) safs kar=nm
SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:PST:IPFV/leave (.) safs village=DAT.NSG
'As for my garden there in Safs, I left it for them … for the Safs people.'
[tci20120805-01 ABB #652-653]

(25) *emoth a srak markai no ŋarinth … emothf yarithr* ***srakn****.*
emoth a srak markai no ŋa\ri/nth (.) emoth=f
girl and boy white.man water 2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/pour (.) girl=ERG.SG
ya\ri/thr srak=n
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/give boy=DAT
'The boy and the girl are pouring (each other) wine. The girl gives (it) to the boy.'
[tci20111028-01 RNA #27-28]

The formatives in Table 4.2 might suggest a syncretism between the dative case and the locative case. The singular marker of the dative is *=n*, and the locative marker is also *=n* when it attaches to a vowel-final word (for consonant-final words, it is *=en*). However, no syncretism takes place because (i) inanimates do not take dative *=(e)n*, and (ii) animate referents receive a special formative of the locative case (*=dben*). Moreover, there is some variation for the dative when it is attached to a vowel-final word. For example, the word *ŋafe* 'father' with the dative *=n* can be pronounced as [ŋaβen], [ŋaβeʔðn] or [ŋaɸjðn] (26).

In terms of meaning, there is some overlap between the allative and the dative case. Example (26) concludes an origin myth, and the speaker points out how the story was passed on from the ancestor. The noun phrase *ŋafynm* 'for/to the fathers' marks a goal. This could be equally expressed with an allative case marker *ŋafemedbo* 'to the fathers'.[2]

(26) *trikasi mane nŋatrikwé fof …* ***ŋafynm*** *… badafa ane fof ŋanritakwa fof.*
trik-si mane n=ŋa\trik/wé fof (.) 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:OBJ:PST:IPFV:VENT/pass EMPH
'The story which I have just told … was really passed to the fathers from the ancestor(s).'
[tci20131013-01 ABB #405]

4.7 Possessive marking

4.7.1 Possessive *=ane*, *=aneme*

The possessive case is *=ane* (SG) or *=aneme* (NSG). It marks the semantic role of possessor, and the noun or noun phrase to which it attaches always functions adnominally. Examples (27) and (28) show animate possessors. Example (27) is taken from a story about marriage customs and (28) is from a procedural about traditional fishing baskets.

[2] Note that the verb *ŋanritakwa* 'it (was) passed' does not index the dative noun phrase *ŋafynm* 'for/to the fathers', but instead occurs in a suppressed-object construction (§8.3.7).

Note that all occurrences of the possessive case in (28) are within noun phrases whose nominal head is omitted because it can be recovered from the context.

(27) ***bafane mezü*** *rera …* ***masenane mezü****.*
bafane mezü \rä/ra (.) masen=ane mezü
RECOG.POSS.SG widow 3SG.F:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.) masen=POSS.SG widow
'She was this one's widow … Masen's widow.' [tci20120814 ABB #18-20]

(28) *wati, net ane mane erä* ***markaianeme*** *erä ane … zane zf …* ***kar kambeaneme*** *zfrärm …* ***nzenme****.*
wati net ane mane e\rä/ markai=aneme
then net DEM which 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be white.man=POSS.NSG
e\rä/ ane (.) zane zf (.) kar kambe=aneme
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be DEM (.) DEM:PROX IMM (.) village man=POSS.NSG
zf\rä/rm (.) nzenme
3SG.F:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) 1NSG.POSS
'As for those nets, they are the white man's (nets). This right here, this was the village people's (fishbasket) … ours.' [tci20120906 SKK #53-56]

Examples (29) and (30) show the possessive case with inanimate possessors. When the host word is vowel-final, there are different variants. In careful pronunciation, a glottal stop is inserted, for example [ɸiraʔane] in (29). In fast speech, this does not occur. Either the vowel is lengthened (if the word ends in /a/) or a glide is inserted, for example [ɸira.ne] in (29) and [ðarisijane] in (30). However, sometimes a velar nasal is inserted, and example (29) could be realised as [ɸiraŋane].

(29) *faw wbrigwath …* ***firraane zanma*** *fof.*
faw w\brig/wath (.) firra=ane zan=ma fof
payback 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:PST:IPFV/return (.) firra=POSS.SG killing=CHAR EMPH
'They brought the payback … because of the killing of Firra.' [tci20111119-01 ABB #5-6]

(30) *wati, nima fof kwafiyokwrme … tharisi taemen …* ***tharisiane efoth*** *fthé zfrärm.*
wati nima fof kwa\fiyok/wrme (.) thari-si taem=en (.)
then like.this EMPH 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/make (.) dig-NMLZ time=LOC (.)
thari-si=ane efoth fthé zf\rä/rm
dig-NMLZ=POSS.SG day when 3SG.F:SBJ:PST:DUR
'Well, this is what we were doing … in the harvesting time … when it was the day of harvesting.' [tci20120805-01 ABB #354-356]

4.7.2 Close possession

There is a second possessive construction in Komnzo, which involves a prefix. The formatives are given in Table 4.3. Formally, these prefixes seem to be reductions of personal pronouns. Surprisingly, they originate not from the possessive but the dative pronouns (§3.1.9). This is evident from the vowel quality which signals the number distinction. For

example, the first person singular possessive pronoun is *nzone* 'my', and the first singular dative pronoun is *nzun* 'for me'. The possessive prefixes of the first and second singular show the /u/ vowel of the latter, not the /o/ vowel of the possessive series. Note that the number distinction is lost in the third person. This is caused by the fact that in the third person pronouns (possessive as well as dative) there is no change in the vowel quality. The close possessive construction can also occur with other nominals, which are then treated like prefixes. I will discuss this at the end of this section.

Table 4.3: Possessive prefixes

person	SG	NSG
1	*nzu-*	*nze-*
2	*bu-*	*be-*
3	*nafa-*	

I label this type of possessive marking "close possession" rather than "inalienable possession". Although close possessive marking is used for entities which are characterised as being inalienable, for example kin terms or the origin of a person, close possessive marking is not obligatory for these concepts, but merely one of two options. Furthermore, some of the concepts which fall under the rubric of inalienability, for example body-part terms, rarely occur in the close possessive construction in Komnzo. Finally, for those lexical items which can be used in both possessive constructions, there is a semantic difference between normal versus close possession.

From a historical perspective, frequency can help to explain the emergence of the close possessive construction (see Bybee (2010: 142) for a discussion of frequency and language change). Given that some lexical items occur frequently in a possessive construction, we can assume that, in the course of time, the preceding pronoun reduced in form and turned into a prefix. Frequency is only one explanation and the inherently relational nature of some lexical items, such as kin terms, can also provide a pathway for the emergence of the close possessive construction. It is important to point out that the prefix pattern was not extended to all other nominals. On the contrary, the two marking patterns were associated with a semantic distinction between (normal) possession and close possession. Synchronically, this means that there is no clear-cut categorisation as there is with alienable/inalienable systems. Some lexical items are judged ungrammatical by my informants in a close possessive construction. For example, I was told that **nzumnz* 'my house' is ungrammatical, and *nzone mnz* should be used instead. However, I am cautious about these judgements, because I have overheard the very construction in conversation. On the other hand, informants agree that there are many lexical items which can alternate between the two possessive constructions, depending on how a speaker wants to frame the connection between possessed and possessor, for example *nzone kar* 'my village' (normal possession) or *nzukar* 'my village' (close possession). Finally, there is no class of words for which close possession is obligatory.

Example (31) shows the possessive prefix on the word *kar* 'village/place'. The example is taken from a myth, where the two protagonists are withholding a particular food source from each other.

(31) *"be nzun fof kwathungr!* ***bukaren*** *ane fof bä safak emgthkwa."*
be nzun fof kwa\thung/r bu-kar=en ane
2SG.ERG 1SG.DAT EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:RPST:IPFV/trick 2SG.POSS-village=LOC DEM
fof bä safak e\mgth/kwa
EMPH MED saratoga 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV/feed
"'You have played a trick on me! In your place there, you have been feeding these saratogas."' [tci20110802 ABB #121-122]

Example (32) shows a double possessive construction 'their father's story' involving both types of possessive marking. Note that (32) could also be expressed using a possessive pronoun as *nafane ŋafeane trikasi*.

(32) ***nafaŋafeane trikasi*** *ŋariznth.*
nafa-ŋafe=ane trik-si ŋa\ri/znth
3.POSS-father=POSS.SG tell-NMLZ 2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/hear
'They are listening to their father's story.' [tci20111004 RMA #164]

Close possession is also possible with personal names as possessors. In this case, the personal name is treated like a prefix, i.e. it is syllabified together with the possessed. This can be seen in example (33). The possessor is the personal name *Bäi* [ᵐbˈæ͡ɪ], and the possessed is *fzenz* [ɸˈətseⁿts] 'wife'. A normal possessive construction would add the possessive case to the possessor: *Bäiane fzenz* [ᵐbˈæjane ɸˈətʃeⁿts] 'Bäi's wife'. Both words receive stress separately, and both are syllabified independently. In the close possessive construction, the two words are syllabified as one word: *Bäyfzenz* [ᵐbˈæjəɸtʃeⁿts]. Note that the initial consonant of *fzenz* is resyllabified as a coda, the epenthetic vowel [ə] occurs between the two words, and *fzenz* does not receive separate stress. All this is evidence that the possessor (the personal name) is treated like the prefixes described above.

(33) *wati,* ***bäyfzenzf*** *zwäkor "bone dagon fof erä!"*
wati bäi-fzenz=f zwä\kor/ bone dagon fof
then bäi-wife=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/speak 2SG.POSS food EMPH
e\rä/
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be:
'Then, Bäi's wife said to me "Your food is here!" ' [tci20120922-24 MAA #81]

Note that in this construction there is no morph signalling the possessive relation, i.e. there is no possessive case marker. Only the fact that the possessor and possessed are syllabified as one word shows the presence of possessive semantics. Consequently, there is no "possessive" in the gloss, and only the hyphen between the two words shows that they are in a (close) possessive relationship.

For some items in a close possessive construction, there is an /a/ element between possessor and possessed, as in example (34) *kowi-a-fis* 'Kowi's husband'. Thus, in these cases there is an overt marker of the close possessive construction. The /a/ element seems to be a reduction of the possessive case marker *=ane*. The example is taken from a conversation about food taboos. The speaker is joking about his sister – a young unmarried woman.[3]

(34) *fi* ***kowiafisanemanzo*** *fthé z änathre … kowiane kabe fthé srarä.*
fi kowi-a-fis=ane=ma=nzo fthé z
but kowi-POSS-husband=POSS.SG=CHAR=ONLY when ALR
ä\na/thre (.) kowi=ane kabe fthé
1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/eat (.) kowi=POSS.SG man when
sra\rä/
3SG.MASC:IO:IRR:IPFV/be
'Only from Kowi's husband we will eat (food) … If Kowi had a husband.'
[tci20120922-26 DAK #137-138]

4.8 Spatial cases

There are three spatial cases in Komnzo: the locative (*=en*), allative (*=fo*) and ablative (*=fo*). All three cases have special formatives for animate referents with a number distinction (SG, NSG): locative (*=dben*, *=medben*), allative (*=dbo*, *=medbo*) and ablative (*=dba*, *=medba*). They function at the clausal level and are categorised as semantic cases. Unlike neighbouring languages, for example Nama and Nen, there is no perlative case in Komnzo. All three spatial cases have various semantic extensions. For example, they can be used in a temporal sense, even though there is a set of dedicated temporal case markers (§4.9).

All three animate non-singular case markers show some variation in their pronunciation. For example, *kabe=nmedben* and *kabe=medben* 'with/at the people' are both grammatical. The former contains an /n/, whereas the latter does not. I will offer an explanation for this in §4.18.

4.8.1 Locative *=en*

The locative case marker is *=en*, for example *mnz=en* 'in the house'. If the host word ends in a vowel, the formative is *=n*, for example *mni=n* 'in the fire'. There are designated formatives for animate referents, which make a singular versus non-singular contrast. Example (35) shows the locative case in its basic use. Example (36) comes from a text about a young boy who drowned in the Morehead river after he got stuck underwater

[3] The fact that in example (34) the possessive case *=ane* is encliticised to *kowiafis* 'Kowi's husband' is not relevant for the point here. This always occurs when the characteristic case is attached to an animate referent (§4.12).

in the mud. The example is a detailed description of how the body was recovered from the river.

(35) *nzone fäms byé* ***safsen***
nzone fäms b=\yé/ safs=en
1SG.POSS exchange.man MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be safs=LOC
'My exchange man is there in Safs.' [tci20120805-01 ABB #269]

(36) *zä thabr thentharfa … ŋakarkwa gwargwarfa … srefzath … neba thabr nima sfrärm* ***nagayedben*** *… neba … nebame kwansogwrm* ***nabin****.*
zä thabr then\tharf/a (.) ŋa\kark/wa
PROX arm 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV:VENT/put.under (.) 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/pull
gwargwar=fa (.) sre\fzath/ (.) neba thabr
mud=ABL (.) 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/pull.out (.) opposite arm
nima sf\rä/rm nagaye=dben (.) neba (.) neba=me
like.this 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR child=LOC.ANIM.SG (.) opposite (.) opposite=INS
kwan\sog/wrm nabi=n
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/ascend bamboo=LOC
'He put the arm underneath … he pulled him from the mud … he pulled him out … one arm was like this on the boy … the other … with the other he climbed up on the bamboo.' [tci20120904-02 MAB #189-193]

The locative can be translated to English with the prepositions 'in', 'on' or 'at'. In order to express that some entity is inside something else, one can use the locational nominal *mrmr* 'inside' (37). See §3.1.7 for locationals. Note that example (37) shows that the locative marker attaches to the last item *mrmr* 'inside' of the phrase *firra kar mrmr* 'inside the village of Firra'.

(37) ***firra kar mrmren*** *kabe thwamnzrm fobo.*
firra kar mrmr=en kabe thwa\m/nzrm fobo
firra village inside=LOC man 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell DIST.ALL
'The people lived inside the village of Firra.' [tci20120901-01 MAK #27]

The locative case can be extended to cover various abstract, non-spatial domains. In example (38) it is used temporally: 'on that day' and 'in the afternoon'. Example (39) shows a metaphorical use of the locative case: *zokwasi=n* 'in words'. This sentence was a description of a man who got infuriated at the demand of some of his relatives to give them his daughter as an exchange sister.

(38) ***ane efothen*** *…* ***ane zizin*** *… Kukufia we sathora fof.*
ane efoth=en (.) ane zizi=n (.) Kukufia we sa\thor/a
DEM sun=LOC (.) DEM afternoon=LOC (.) kukufia also 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV/arrive
fof
EMPH
'On that day … in the afternoon, Kukufia arrived again.' [tci20100905 ABB #105-107]

(39) *fi* ***zokwasin*** *kwanänzüthzr.*
fi zokwasi=n kwa\nänzüth/zr
3.ABS speech=LOC 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/bury
'He got into a fuss.' (lit. 'He buried himself in words.') [overheard]

The above functions of the locative were all at the clausal level. At the interclausal level, the locative can also be used with a nominalisation as the counterpart of an adverbial subordinator where it encodes an event that occurs simultaneously with that of the main clause. Example (40) is taken from a story about a malevolent spirit who had killed a man. In the example, she realises that others have discovered the truth.

(40) *wtri we z zära nima "z zwemarth …* ***ane yam fiyoksin****."*
wtri we z zä\r/a nima z zwe\mar/th (.)
fear also ALR 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/do QUOT ALR 2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/see (.)
ane yam fiyok-si=n
DEM event make-NMLZ=LOC
'She was already afraid and said: "They have already seen me doing that thing."'
[tci20120901-01 MAK #150-152]

4.8.2 Allative *=fo*

The allative case marker is *=fo* for inanimate referents and *=dbo* (SG) or *=medbo* (NSG) for animate referents. It encodes a spatial goal. Example (41) describes how the speaker and his family received the news that a widow from the neighbouring village should get remarried (to one of his friends).

(41) *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 sent the word to us … to the Mayawas in Rouku … to there … to Masu.'
[tci20120814 ABB #34-35]

The allative can be translated as movement 'to' or 'towards' some entity (41), but also as movement 'inside' some entity (42).

(42) ***zbo*** *n zräthbé* ***yare kwosifo****.*
zbo n zrä\thb/é yare kwosi=fo
PROX.ALL IMN 1SG:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:IRR:PFV/put.inside bag old=ALL
'I will try and put it here … in the old bag.' [tci20130907-02 RNA #261]

The allative can also be used metaphorically, as in example (43), which is taken from a public speech.

(43) ***zokwasifo*** *buthorakwr.*
zokwasi=fo b=wo\thorak/wr
speech=ALL MED=1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/arrive
'I get to the point now!' (lit. 'I arrive there to the words.') [tci20121019-04 ABB #135]

The animate/inanimate distinction mentioned in §4.8 can be used to mark definiteness of animate referents, for example animals. In (44), the speaker points out that sorcerers usually do not attack a person directly, but they put a deadly spell on a person's dog or some other animal. Later, when the animal suffers and dies, the human victim will also die. Thus, in (44) 'the dog' and 'the wallaby' are generic, and therefore marked with the (inanimate) allative case marker. In contrast, example (45) is taken from a story about a dog and a crow. Both have been introduced previously and are known to the speaker as individual characters. Consequently, the dog in (45) is marked with the animate allative.[4]

(44) ***taurifo*** *tmatm zrafiyokwr o* ***ŋathafo****.*
tauri=fo tmatm zra\fiyok/wr o ŋatha=fo
wallaby=ALL event 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/make or dog=ALL
'(The sorcerer) does this to a wallaby or to a dog.' [tci20130903-04 RNA #114-115]

(45) *kofä ane zätr … ymdane zr yföfa* ***ŋathadbo****.*
kofä ane zä\tr/ (.) ymd=ane zr yfö=fa ŋatha=dbo
fish DEM 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/fall (.) bird=POSS tooth hole=ABL dog=ALL.ANIM
'That fish fell down … from the bird's mouth to the dog.' [tci20111107-03 RNA #68-69]

Although it is possible to attach the allative to temporal nouns like *efoth* 'day', there are no corpus examples of this, and it is generally quite rare. The reason for this is the existence of a temporal purposive case marker *=thamar* (§4.9.2).

4.8.3 Ablative *=fa*

The ablative case marker is *=fa* for inanimate referents and *=dba* (SG) or *=medba* (NSG) for animate referents. Example (46) shows the (inanimate) ablative case marker, and example (47) shows the animate ablative case marker.

(46) ***torres strait islandfa*** *thunrärm … ane masis.*
torres strait island=fa thun\rä/rm (.) ane masis
torres strait island=ABL 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENT/be (.) DEM matches
'Those matchboxes came from the Torres Strait Islands.' [tci20120909-06 KAB #10]

(47) *trikasi zane mane wnrä … nzä mane ŋatrikwé …* ***badabadamedba*** *wnrä.*
trik-si zane mane wn\rä/ (.) nzä mane
tell-NMLZ DEM:PROX which 3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/be (.) 1SG.ABS which
ŋa\trik/wé (.) badabada=medba wn\rä/
1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell (.) ancestor=ABL.ANIM.NSG 3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/be
'As for this story … which I am telling … it comes from the ancestors.'
[tci20110802 ABB #15-17]

[4] Unfortunately, there is no corpus example of a referent which undergoes a change from inanimate allative to animate allative when tracked through a discourse.

The ablative can be used with a temporal meaning. There is only one corpus example of the case marker *=fa* (48), but the deictic demonstratives are frequently used with temporal semantics. Example (48) concludes a headhunting story in which the speaker points out that the population has increased after this had ceased. The word *zenafa* ('from now') is best translated as 'nowadays'.

(48) *wati, **zenafa** … ni tüfr nagayé kwakonzre.*
wati zena=fa (.) ni tüfr nagayé kwa\ko/nzre
then today=ABL (.) 1NSG plenty children 1PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/become
'Nowadays, we have got plenty of children.' [tci20111107-01 MAK #150-151]

Example (49) shows the use of the deictic demonstrative *foba* 'from over there' with a temporal meaning, i.e. it expresses a starting point. In the example, the speaker states why he does not know what happened to his family's rain magic stones, and *foba* means 'from that time onwards'.

(49) *nzenme ŋafe fthémäsü kwosi yara … watik **foba** ni miyamr nrä mafadben zena ethn.*
nzenme ŋafe fthémäsü kwosi ya\r/a (.) watik foba
1NSG.POSS father meanwhile dead 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.) then DIST.ABL
ni miyamr n\rä/ mafa=dben zena
1NSG ignorance 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be who=LOC.ANIM.SG today
e\thn/
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/lie.down
'In the meantime our father died … and from then one we don't know with whom (the rain stones) are today.' [tci20131013-01 ABB #399]

The allative can also be used metaphorically, as in example (50), which is taken from a picture task. In the picture story, a man refuses to drink with his mates, because his alcoholism had brought him to jail. Thus, the allative on the word *zrin* 'problem' means 'from this problem'.

(50) *ane **zrinfa** watik ziyara.*
ane zrin=fa watik z=ya\r/a
DEM problem=ABL enough PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be
'He had enough of this problem here.' [tci20111004 MAE #2]

4.9 Temporal cases

Komnzo has a set of temporal case markers: the temporal locative, purposive and possessive. All three temporal cases only attach to temporal nominals (§3.1.8), like *ezi* 'morning' or the interrogative *fthé* 'when'. I adopt the labels locative, purposive and possessive because of the formal and semantic similarities with the respective cases. Formally, the temporal case markers consist of *=tham(a)* plus the case marker after which they are named. For example, the temporal locative is *=thamen*. At the present time, there is no etymological explanation for the *=tham(a)* element.

4.9.1 Temporal locative *=thamen*

The temporal locative indicates that something took place in a particular time frame. It is the time frame, usually a temporal nominal, to which the temporal locative attaches. Hence, it overlaps with the locative case, which can also be used on temporal nominals. Expressions like *ane efoththamen* 'in that day' (with a temporal locative) and *ane efothen* (with a locative) are equivalent. There is only a handful of corpus examples of the temporal locative. Example (51) comes from a narrative in which a young boy was attacked by a sorcerer at night in his garden. The young man shot the sorcerer with an arrow, and the sorcerer ran away. The next day a trail of blood could be seen as far as until the garden entrance. In the example, the speaker points out that he was bleeding only at the beginning and the temporal locative attaches to *zöftha* 'first'. Thus, it locates the predicate 'bleed' into that time frame. In this case, the resulting form is not *zöfthathamen* as would be expected, but it is reduced to *zöfthamen*.

(51) ***zöfthamen*** *zamatho frk komnzo zä wtnägwrmo …*
zöftha=thamen za\math/o frk komnzo zä
first=TEMP.LOC SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV:AND/run blood only PROX
w\tnäg/wrmo
SG:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:RPST:DUR:AND/lose
'At first, when he started to run and he was just losing blood here …'
[tci20130901-04 YUK #40]

4.9.2 Temporal purposive *=thamar*

The temporal purposive case indicates that something is meant for a particular point in time. The case marker attaches to a temporal nominal, which specifies that point in time. Example (52) comes from a procedural text about poison-root fishing. While the speaker explains all the steps, others in the background are busy preparing and cooking the fish. At the end of the recording, he points out how some of the food is 'for the afternoon' and the leftovers are 'for tomorrow'.

(52) *okay,* ***zizithamar*** *kwa ane fof erä … nä thzé* ***kaythamar*** *thrägathinze.*
okay zizi=thamar kwa ane fof e\rä/ (.) nä thzé
okay afternoon=TEMP.PURP FUT DEM EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) some ever
kayé=thamar thrä\gathinz/e
tomorrow=TEMP.PURP 1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/leave
'Okay, those are for the afternoon … whatever (is there), we will leave it for tomorrow.' [tci20110813-09 DAK #60]

4.9.3 Temporal possessive *=thamane*

The temporal possessive case indicates that something is from a particular point in time. It attaches to a temporal nominal, which specifies that point in time. Example (53) comes from a story in which the two protagonists are withholding a particular food source from

each other. In (53a), one of them sees a ground oven in the other's camp and asks him about it. The other one responds in (53b) by saying that it is 'yesterday's oven'. Here the temporal possessive inherits the possibility of functioning adnominally from the possessive case.

(53) a. *"nzungath, rar karo zane erä?"*
nzun-gath ra=r karo zane e\rä/
1SG.POSS-friend what=PURP earth.oven DEM:PROX 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
"My friend, what is this earth oven for?"

b. *"keke … kadakada sutränwé … kayé.* ***kaythamane karo*** *rä!"*
keke (.) kadakada su\trän/wé (.) kayé
NEG (.) yamcake 1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/slice (.) yesterday
kayé=thamane karo \rä/
yesterday=TEMP.POSS ground oven 3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
"No, I cut the yam cake … yesterday. This is yesterday's oven."
[tci20110802 ABB #90-94]

In example (54), the temporal possessive case appears at the clause level, not within a noun phrase. The example is from a stimulus picture task. The last part of the task is to retell a story from a first-person perspective. In the example, one of the participants instructs the other one to retell the story 'from today onward'.

(54) *nima befe we zakwther!* ***zenathamane*** *be katrikwé!*
nima befe we za\kwther/ zena=thamane
like.this 2SG.ERG.EMPH also 2SG:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:IMP:PFV/change today=TEMP.POSS
be ka\trik/wé
2SG.ERG 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/tell
'You change it like this! You tell it from today.' [tci20111004 MAE #5]

4.10 Instrumental *=me*

The instrumental case is used for material and immaterial instruments. It usually operates at the clausal level. Example (55) is taken from a conversation about a sorcerer who – after being shot – received help from his friend. The friend closed the wound 'with mud'. Example (56) comes from the same story and shows an immaterial instrument. The origin of sorcerer could be identified because he spoke Wära or 'with Safis language'. Example (57) comes from a public speech, where the speaker announces that he speaks on behalf of two older men ('speak with their mouths').

(55) *naf we* ***gwargwarme*** *ane yfö yanrmänwa.*
naf we gwargwar=me ane yfö yan\rmän/wa
3SG.ERG also mud=INS DEM hole 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/close
'He also closed that hole on him with mud.' [tci20130901-04 RNA #123]

(56) ***safs zokwasime*** *zenafthma.*
safs zokwasi=me ze\nafth/ma
safs language=INS 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/talk
'He talked in Wära.' (lit. 'He talked with Safs language.') [tci20130901-04 RNA #57]

(57) ***nafanme zr yföme*** *ŋanafé … sowai a karbu … zena zbär.*
nafanme zr yfö=me ŋa\na/fé (.) sowai a karbu (.) zena
3NSG.POSS tooth hole=INS 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/speak (.) sowai and karbu (.) today
zbär
night
'Tonight, I am talking for them, for Sowai and Karbu.' (lit. 'I talk with their mouths.') [tci20121019-04 ABB #91-92]

At the interclausal level the instrumental case is used for resultative constructions (58). Resultative constructions typically employ the copula and a nominalised verb form: *rfithzsime* translates literally as 'with hiding'.

(58) *nge kwa erifthznth … nafaŋamayé …* ***rifthzsime*** *kwa enrn.*
nge kwa e\rifth/znth (.) nafa-ŋame=é (.)
child FUT 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3DU:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/hide (.) 3.POSS-mother=ERG.NSG (.)
rifthz-si=me kwa en\r/n
hide-NMLZ=INS FUT 2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/be
'The mothers will hide the two children … They will be hidden.'
[tci20110817-02 ABB #72-73]

The instrumental case is frequently used on property nouns (59) and adjectives (60) with an adverbial function. In example (59) the speaker talks about customs surrounding the yam harvest, and in (60) he explains why he is not planting big gardens anymore. In both examples, the instrumental case derives a manner adverb.

(59) ***zünzme*** *befe fthé zanathé bonemäwä keke tüfr thrarä.*
zünz=me befe fthé za\na/thé bone=ma=wä keke
greed=INS 2SG.ERG.EMPH when 2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/eat 2SG.POSS=CHAR=EMPH NEG
tüfr thra\rä/
plenty 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be
'If you eat greedily, your own (yams) will not be plenty.' [tci20120805-01 ABB #760]

(60) *watik, nzone tmä we* ***katanme*** *ŋarsörm.*
watik nzone tmä we katan=me ŋa\rsö/rm
then 1SG.POSS strength also small=INS 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:DUR/recede
'Well, my strength has gone down a little.' [tci20120805-01 ABB #664]

The instrumental case can also be attached to demonstratives, as in (61), where the speaker explains to me how to protect one's bamboo bow against insects. In (62), the instrumental is attached to *mane* 'which' and used as a relative pronoun 'with which'.

(61) ***ngazime*** *o zaru … nzanzama … watik* ***aneme*** *zminzakwé zabth.*
ngazi=me o zaru (.) nzanza=ma (.) watik ane=me
coconut=INS or candlenut (.) woodworm=CHAR (.) then DEM=Ins
z\minzak/wé za\bth/
2SG:SBJ>3SG.F:IMP:IPFV/paint 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/finish
'With coconut or candlenut, because of the woodworm. Finally, you paint (the bow) with that one and it is finished.' [tci20120922-23 MAA #81-83]

(62) *kitr zane erä … yame yrsima … amaf* ***maneme*** *yame wrwr.*
kitr zane e\rä/ (.) yame yr-si=ma (.)
river.pandanus DEM:PROX 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) mat weave-NMLZ=CHAR (.)
ama=f mane=me yame w\r/wr
mother=ERG.SG which=INS mat 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/weave
'This is *Kitr*, for weaving mats … with which mother weaves the mat.'
[tci20130907-02 JAA #235-236]

The instrumental attaches productively to several interrogative pronouns: *ra=me* 'with what' or *mane=me* 'with which'. The interrogative *mon* 'how' can occur with or without the instrumental case; both *mon* and *monme* can be used interchangeably.

4.11 Purposive *=r*

The purposive case is used at the clausal and interclausal level. It expresses someone's intention (63 and 64) or the inherent purpose of some entity (65). In example (63), a man informs his younger brothers about his plans for the night. Example (64) comes from a procedural about gardening and the speaker explains the purpose of the different steps involved.

(63) *naf ni nzräkor "ngthé … nima nyak ŋarsfo etfthmöwä* ***kofär*** *… zbär kwa* ***zuzir*** *ŋarzre."*
naf ni nzrä\kor/ ngthé (.) nima
3SG.ERG 1NSG 2|3SG:SBJ>1PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak younger.sibling (.) like.this
n\yak/ ŋars=fo etfth=me=wä kofä=r (.) zbär kwa
1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/go river=ALL sleep=INS=EMPH fish=PURP (.) night FUT
zuzi=r ŋa\r/zre
fishing=PURP 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/throw
'He said to us: "Hey small brothers! We will go to the river … overnight … for fish. We will throw the fishing line in the night."' [tci120904-02 MAB #26-29]

(64) *efäefä krarzrth* ***ŋaraker*** *…* ***wotuwotu räzsir****.*
efäefä kra\r/zrth ŋarake=r (.) wotu-wotu räz-si=r
aisle 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/throw fence=PURP (.) REDUP-stick erect-NMLZ=PURP
'They cut an aisle for the fence … for erecting the sticks.' [tci20120805-01 ABB #51-52]

The last noun phrase in (64) and in (65) show the purposive case operating at the interclausal level. In both cases the purposive case marker is attached to an infinitival adjunct. In (65), the speaker talks about sorcerers who visit a deceased man's grave after the burial to extract certain body parts. In both examples, the clause marked with the purposive contains the infinitive as well as the object of the event in the ablative, for example *tmä yarisi* 'strength giving' in (65).

(65) *fi fenz ane **bänemrnzo** rä … **tmä yarisir**.*
fi fenz ane bänemr=nzo \rä/ (.) tmä
but body.liquid DEM RECOG.PURP=ONLY 3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) strength
yari-si=r
give-NMLZ=PURP
'but the body liquid is only for this … for giving power.' [tci20130903-04 RNA #139-140]

The noun phrase or the infinitival adjunct marked with *=r* ascribes a specific purpose, and in this ascriptive function, the purposive overlaps with the characteristic case. Hence, in (65) both *tmä yarisir* and *tmä yarisima* would be grammatical and identical in meaning. I described the nature of this overlap in §4.12.

There is a set of purposive personal pronouns in Komnzo. All the pronouns share a *-nar* element, for example *nzunar* 'for me', *nzenar* 'for us'.[5] However, these pronouns are rarely used, in fact so rarely that I came accross them only very late in my fieldwork. Moreover, there is not a single token in the text corpus. As one would predict from the semantics of the purposive case, these pronouns encode a beneficiary or a goal. But this function is already covered by the dative case. I will offer a hypothetical semantic shift scenario at the end of this chapter which partly explains why the purposive pronouns are so rarely used.

4.12 Characteristic *=ma*

The characteristic case covers a number of semantic roles which are source, reason and purpose. The characteristic operates at all three levels: adnominal (66), clausal (67) and interclausal (68). In example (66), *karma* 'from the village' functions within a matrix noun phrase. In this example, the characteristic could be left out, and *ane karma kabe* or *ane kar kabe* are both grammatical.[6] In example (67), the characteristic case attaches to a separate noun phrase and functions at the clause level. In example (68), the speaker comments on the exhausting work of dragging a sago palm trunk. The characteristic case attaches to an infinitival adjunct ('dragging') and, thus, operates at a interclausal level.

[5] See Table 3.5 on page 99.

[6] In *zane kar kabe*, the phrasal head consists of a compound *kar kabe*. In *zane karma kabe*, the noun phrase *zane kar* is embedded in a matrix noun phrase. Thus, the reference of the demonstrative *zane* is different between the two examples. In the former case *zane* refers to the complex head, but in the latter case *zane* refers only to the head of the embedded noun phrase. See §7.5 for a discussion of noun phrases.

(66) *keke thufnzrm … **ane karma kabe***
keke thu\fn/zrm (.) ane kar=ma kabe
NEG 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/hit (.) DEM village=CHAR man
'She was not killing them … the people from this village.' [tci20120901-01 MAK #50]

(67) ***zane karma** minzü fefe nafa dagon swafiyokwrmth bänema z zbo ŋabrüza.*
zane kar=ma minzü fefe nafa dagon
DEM:PROX village=CHAR very real 3NSG.ERG food
swa\fiyok/wrmth bäne=ma z zbo
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:PST:DUR/make RECOG=CHAR ALR PROX.ALL
ŋa\brü/za
SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/drown
'From this village, they made a lot of food for him because he drowned here.'
[tci20150906-10 ABB #296-297]

(68) *festh tayo tayo nrä … **bäne thärkusima**.*
festh tayo tayo n\rä/ (.) bäne thärku-si=ma
body weak weak 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) DEM:MED drag-NMLZ=CHAR
'Our bodies are weak from that dragging (of the sago).' [tci20120929-02 SIK #66-67]

In example (68), the semantic role of spatial origin or source is extended to non-spatial origin, that is reason or cause. Note that the source of motion cannot be expressed using the characteristic case. Instead the ablative *=fa* has to be used. Non-spatial origin is also found at the clausal level, for example in (69) where the speaker explains why she was hesitant at first about working for the anthropologist Mary Ayres.

(69) *nzä **ane markai zokwasima** wtri kwarärm.*
nzä ane markai zokwasi=ma wtri kwa\rä/rm
1SG.ABS DEM outsider language=CHAR fear 1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/be
'I was afraid of that white man's language.' [tci20130911-03 MAA #15]

Example (70) concludes a recording taken inside a yam house where the speaker has talked about the different types of yams and the sorting principle in the storage house. He launches a whole battery of noun phrases marked with the characteristic case to express what the story 'was about', and thus the case marker can also be used to express the topic of a conversation. In the example, the noun phrases are marked by angled brackets.

(70) *watik zane zizin [**wawama**] [**trikasi tharisima**] [**tafoma**] [**sagusaguma**] … mon eworthre … mane [**dagonma**] erä … mane tafo erä … zbo zf zbthe brä trikasi … eso kafar [**bone namä yarizsima**].*
watik zane zizi=n wawa=ma trik-si thari-si=ma
then DEM:PROX afternoon=LOC yam=CHAR tell-NMLZ harvest-NMLZ=CHAR
tafo=ma sagu-sagu=ma (.) mon
yam.type=CHAR REDUP-yam.type=CHAR (.) how
e\wor/thre (.) mane dagon=ma e\rä/ (.)
1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/plant (.) which food=CHAR 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.)

mane tafo e\rä/ (.) zbo zf
which yam.type 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) PROX.ALL IMM
z\bth/e b=\rä/ trik-si (.)
1DU:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:RPST:PFV/finish MED=3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be tell-NMLZ (.)
eso kafar bone namä yariz-si=ma
thanks big 2SG.POSS good listen-NMLZ=CHAR
'Well, in this afternoon … (we talked) about yams, the story about harvesting, about Tafo yams and Sagu Sagu yams … how we plant them … which ones are for eating … which ones are for Tafo (storing). We have finished it now there. Thank you for listening.' [tci20121001 ABB #215-221]

Note that the last two tokens of *=ma* in example (70) are different in their semantics. The noun phrase *dagonma* does not translate as 'about the food', but as 'for eating'. The last token of *=ma* can be translated as both reason or purpose: *eso kafar [bone namä yarizsima]* 'thanks because of your listening' or 'thanks for your listening'. Without examples like these the labels 'source' and 'cause' would be sufficient descriptions for this case marker. However, quite frequently *=ma* encodes a purpose and, therefore, I prefer the cover term 'characteristic'.

Consider example (71) which comes from a walk through the forest. Along the path, the speaker shows me a particular grass. The leaf of this grass can be placed between the lips, and one can produce a high cheeping sound by blowing through it. She explains that this can be used 'for attracting snakes', thus, the characteristic is marking a purpose in (71a). After demonstrating how to produce the sound, she repeats in (71b) why the snake is coming (*kwanma* 'because of the sound') and concludes that she would not usually blow this grass (*anema* 'therefore'). Here the characteristic case marks a reason.

(71) a. ***kaboth räkumgsima*** *yé.*
kaboth räkumg-si=ma \yé/
snake attract-NMLZ=CHAR 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'It is for attracting snakes.' [tci20130907-02 RNA #612]

b. *kaboth kwa ŋankwir* ***ane kwanma*** *…* ***anema*** *fof keke efsgwre.*
kaboth kwa ŋan\kwi/r ane kwan=ma (.) ane=ma
snake FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/run DEM noise=CHAR (.) DEM=CHAR
fof keke e\fsg/wre
EMPH NEG 1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/blow
'The snake will run here because of that sound … therefore we do not blow them.' [tci20130907-02 RNA #615-616]

In her analysis of Ancient Greek, Luraghi suggests that "the notion of Reason, which, as remarked by Croft (1991), mediates between Cause and Purpose, really constitutes a kind of undifferentiated area, in which the reason that motivates an agent to act is cognitively equivalent to the purpose of the action, so that the two notions overlap completely" (2003: 46). See also Luraghi (2001) for a cross-linguistic study of semantic roles. In Komnzo, this overlap does not play out as a diachronic process, but as coexisting

uses of the characteristic case. Example (72) supports the point made by Luraghi. The noun *yasema* can be translated into English as cause/motivation ('because of meat') as well as purpose ('for meat'). The reason for the action and the purpose of the action are expressed by *=ma*.

(72) *nabimäre fthé gnräré bone nagayé kwa änor … **yasema**.*
nabi=märe fthé gn\rär/é bone nagayé kwa
bow=PRIV when 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be 2SG.POSS children FUT
ä\nor/ (.) yase=ma
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout (.) game=CHAR
'When you are without a bow, your children will cry for meat / because of meat.'
[tci20120922-23 MAA #89-91]

The characteristic case competes with the purposive case in marking the semantic role of purpose. In many utterances, they can be used interchangeably. Consider examples (73) and (74), where both can be used to express an inherent purpose of some entity ('the leaf is for rolling cigarettes'). Likewise, in (71a), the purposive could be used (*kaboth räkumgsir yé* 'it is for attracting snakes'). An intentional purpose of some individual (e.g. 'he goes for hunting') is most frequently expressed by the purposive case, not by the characteristic.

(73) *zane mane yé … bänemr yrärth … **sukufa knsir**.*
zane mane \yé/ (.) bänemr
DEM:PROX which 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) RECOG.PURP
y\rä/rth (.) sukufa kn-si=r
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/do (.) tobacco roll-NMLZ=PURP
'As for this one … they use it for that … for rolling cigarettes.'
[tci20130907-02 RNA #506-508]

(74) *ane taga mane erä **sukufa knsima** we erä.*
ane taga mane e\rä/ sukufa kn-si=ma we
DEM leaf which 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be tobacco roll-NMLZ=CHAR also
e\rä/
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'As for those leaves, they are also used for rolling cigarettes.'
[tci20130907-02 RNA #567]

With animate referents, the dative is used to mark a goal or beneficiary. The purposive case can be used for more abstract animate referents, for example *fäms ŋare=r* 'for/as exchange woman'.[7] The characteristic case cannot serve for marking purpose in this sense. Instead, with animate referents it always marks a reason, origin or cause. Additionally, animate referents must take the possessive case first, and then the characteristic *=ma* attaches to the possessive. In example (75), a young man explains how the food will be

[7] Example (31) on page 208 provides a textual example of *fäms ŋarer*.

shared during an upcoming feast. The characteristic is attached to the possessive pronouns. Example (76) comes from a story in which the wife of a man had been killed, and at the end of the story he cries bitterly because of her. In both examples, the characteristic case attaches to a possessive: *nzenmema* and *nafaŋareanema*. It is ungrammatical to use the unmarked (absolutive) forms: **nima* and **nafaŋarema*.

(75) *we nafa **nzenmema** sräthoroth … ni **nafanmema** fof sränthore.*
we nafa nzenme=ma srä\thor/oth (.) ni
also 3NSG.ERG 1NSG.POSS=CHAR PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV:AND/carry (.) 1NSG
nafanme=ma fof srän\thor/e
3NSG.POSS=CHAR EMPH 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV:VENT/carry
'They will take it from us and we will take it from them.' [tci20120929-02 SIK #97-98]

(76) *yanzo bobo yanora **nafaŋareanema**.* ya=nzo bobo
cry=ONLY MED.ALL
ya\nor/a nafa-ŋare=ane=ma
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/cry 3.POSS-woman=POSS=CHAR
'He cried badly there because of his wife.' [tci20120901-01 MAK #208-209]

The characteristic suffix is used to derive cardinal numerals: *eda* 'two' ⟶ *edama* 'second' (§3.1.6.2). In example (77), the speaker explains what I have to do during an upcoming namesake ceremony.

(77) *chrisf yathugwr keke kwa srefaf yakme … **ethama** mane yé … kwa fthé fof yfathwr.*
chris=f ya\thug/wr keke kwa
chris=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/trick NEG FUT
sre\faf/ yakme (.) etha=ma mane
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/hold quickly (.) three=CHAR which
\yé/ (.) kwa fthé fof
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) FUT when EMPH
y\fath/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/hold
'Chris will trick him, he will not hold him quickly … Only at the third (time) … (that is) when he will really hold him.' [tci20110817-02 ABB #89-91]

The characteristic case is frequently used on demonstrative pronouns, as in (71b), meaning 'therefore'. In some words, the characteristic case has become lexicalised, for example: *rma* 'why' from *ra* 'what' plus *=ma* or *karama wath* 'karama dance' from *kara* which is a place in the West. Other lexical items show a *ma* element, but the connection to the characteristic case is hypothetical at the moment, for example *nzagoma* 'for later, in advance' and *madma* 'female'.

4.13 Proprietive *=karä*

The use the term "proprietive" for this case enclitic because it constitutes a functional opposition with the private case, i.e. 'having something' versus 'not having something'. There are two variants for the proprietive *=karä* and *=kaf*. They operate at the clausal and interclausal level and express the semantic role of association ('with something' or 'with someone') or property ('having some quality', 'having some object'). The latter role often employs an existential construction, as in (80) and (81). In its semantics, the proprietive overlaps with the associative case. The main difference lies in the kinds of referents encoded. The associative often encodes animate referents, while the proprietive is rarely found with animate referents. See (79) for one such example. I discuss the difference between the associative and the proprietive in §4.15.

Although the proprietive *=karä* attaches to one noun phrase relating it semantically to another noun phrase, the two NPs do not form a syntactic constituent, i.e. the proprietive does not function adnominally. In example (78), the speaker is boasting about his big yam garden: 'I am the one with the biggest garden'. In example (79), a woman describes a namesake ceremony, where the mother 'with her child' are hidden behind a curtain of coconut leaves waiting to be officially presented to their relatives. In both examples, the NPs marked with the proprietive are printed in bold, and the NP to which it associates some entity is underlined.

(78) *nzänzo zä zf worä* ***kafarwä dawkarä*** *fof.*
nzä=nzo zä zf wo\rä/ kafar=wä daw=karä fof
1SG.ABS=ONLY PROX IMM 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be big=EMPH garden=PROP EMPH
'I am the only one here with a really big garden.' [tci20120805-01 ABB #655]

(79) *nzä zweyafürath* ***ngekarä*** *… samtherath warfo "nge zyé!"*
nzä zwe\yafür/ath nge=karä (.)
1SG.ABS 2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:IO:PST:PFV/open child=PROP (.)
sa\mther/ath warfo nge
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/lift.up above child
z=\yé/
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'They opened it for me with the child. They lifted him up high (and said) "Here is the boy!"' [tci20130823-08 WAM #43]

The proprietive is frequently used with the copula to express a property or quality of something: 'with dust' in (80), or someone: 'with facial hair' in (81). The kinds of properties assigned are usually portrayed as being of temporary nature.

(80) ***gwrmgkarä*** *zane kar rä.*
gwrmg=karä zane kar \rä/
dust=PROP DEM:PROX place 3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'This is a dusty place.' [tci20121019-04 ABB #7]

(81) *kabe yé … **fäk thäbukarä** yé.*
kabe yé (.) fäk thäbu=karä \yé/
man 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) jaw hair=PROP 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'This is a man. He has a beard.' [tci20111004 RMA #90]

Examples (82) and (83) contrast the proprietive case with the instrumental case. In example (82), the speaker talks about local medicine and how one has to mix the liquid of a particular plant with water. Hence, *nokarä* has to be translated as addition: '(together) with the water'. In example (83), the shallow water on the riverbank acts as an instrument making it easier to roll a heavy sago stem. Consequently, *nome* has to be translated as: 'with (the help of) the water'.

(82) ***nokarä** swathknwé! … ane käznob!*
no=karä s\wathkn/wé (.) ane käz\nob/
water=PROP 2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/stir (.) DEM 2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/drink
'You stir it with water and drink that!' [tci20130907-02 RNA #189]

(83) *sathkäfake bi frezsi thenzgsi … **anemöwä** töna sakorake … zane **nome**.*
sa\thkäf/ake bi frez-si thenzg-si (.)
1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/start sago bring.up.from.river-NMLZ roll-NMLZ (.)
ane=me=wä töna sa\kor/ake (.) zane
DEM=INS=EMPH high.ground 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/become (.) DEM:PROX
no=me
water=INS
'We started bringing up the sago from the river by rolling it … with that we brought it to the high ground … with the water.' [tci20120929-02 SIK #57-58]

The proprietive case operates at the interclausal level when it is attached to a nominalised verb (84). Unlike the instrumental case, the proprietive does not form a resultative construction. In (84), the relationship between *borsi* 'laugh' and the predicate 'he looks' is one of association or simultaneity. It can also be translated as a manner adverbial ('He stands laughingly.'). In example (85) the father comes while telling a story. In contrast, in resultative constructions, the result of some previous event is emphasised. For example, in (86) the speaker points to a stack of yams in his storage house stressing the fact that he has piled up different types of yam tubers. This can be analysed as a pseudo-passive construction (§8.3.5).

(84) *gon z zefaf … **borsikarä** efoth ymarwr.*
gon z ze\faf/ (.) bor-si=karä efoth
hip ALR 1SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/hold (.) laugh-NMLZ=PROP sun
y\mar/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/see
'He has his hands on his hips. As he looks up at the sun, he laughs.'
[tci20111004 RMA #502-503]

(85) *nafaŋafe* ***trikasikarä*** *yanyak.*
nafa-ŋafe trik-si=karä yan\yak/
3.POSS-father tell-NMLZ=PROP 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENT/walk
'The father walks here while he is telling a story.' [tci20111004 RMA #329]

(86) *zane* ***fukthksime*** *erä.*
zane fukthk-si=me e\rä/
DEM:PROX mix-NMLZ=INS 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'These ones have been mixed.' [tci20121001 ABB #178]

At the clausal level, the proprietive can also attach to a nominalised verb. Example (87) is the description of a picture card which depicts a prisoner sitting in his cell. Example (88) comes from the same recording, when the prisoner is set free and handed back his belongings. These two examples presuppose some kind of result – 'has been tied' and 'has been opened', respectively – but the previous event remains implicit. For example, in (88) the speaker draws attention to the fact that the door is open with the help of a demonstrative identifier *brä*. If the instrumental case was used instead (*yafüsime*), the result of the opening event would be emphasised.

(87) *wati ane fof yamnzr … fam ngarär … fafen* ***wäthsikarä*** *yé.*
wati ane fof ya\m/nzr (.) fam nga\rär/ (.)
Then DEM EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit (.) thoughts 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/do (.)
fafen wäth-si=karä \yé/
during tie-NMLZ=PROP 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'Well, that one is sitting … he is thinking … with his hands tied.'
[tci20111004 RMA #133-134]

(88) *zrfö bana z seyafürth … zrfö* ***yafüsikarä*** *brä.*
zrfö bana z se\yafür/th (.) zrfö yafü-si=karä
door poor ALR 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:RPST:PFV/open (.) door open-NMLZ=PROP
b=\rä/
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'They have already opened the door for the poor guy. There, the door is open!'
[tci20111004 RMA #432-433]

There is a second variant of the proprietive marker, which is *=kaf*. In terms of frequency, the distribution of the two formatives is rather skewed: *=kaf* is attested 30 times in the corpus compared to 240 occurences of *=karä*. The distribution patterns neither with age or with the language portfolio of individual speakers. In the closely related varieties Wära and Anta both formatives are also attested.

4.14 Privative *=märe*

The privative case *=mär* or *=märe* expresses the opposite of the proprietive. It is used to indicate that some entity lacks something (90), someone (89) or some quality (91). The

privative operates usally at the clausal level. Like the proprietive case, it can establish a semantic link between two noun phrases, but the two noun phrases do not form a syntactic constituent. In example (89), the speaker talks about older lineages of his clan. The example contrasts the proprietive and the privative case. The absence (*ngemär*) or existence (*ngekarä*) marked on *nge* 'child' relates those noun phrases to *fi* 'they' and *bäi*, respectively. In the following examples (90 and 91), the noun phrase to which the privative-marked noun phrase links is omitted.

(89) *sitau bagi fi zabthath* ***ngemär*** *… bäinzo* ***ngekarä*** *yara fof.*
sitau bagi fi za\bth/ath nge=mär (.) bäi=nzo nge=karä
sitau bagi 3.ABS 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/finish child=PRIV (.) bäi=ONLY child=PROP
ya\r/a fof
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be EMPH
'Sitau and Bagi, they died without children … only Bäi had children.'
[tci20120814 ABB #508]

(90) *frasi kwa nrä* ***ŋanzmäre*** *fthé gnräré*
frasi kwa n\rä/ ŋanz=märe fthé gn\rä/ré
hunger FUT 2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be ROW=PRIV when 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be
'You will be hungry, if you don't have a row (of yams in the garden).'
[tci20130822-08 JAA #54]

(91) ***miyomäre*** *worä … mrn ŋarake* ***miyomäre****.*
miyo=märe wo\rä/ (.) mrn ŋarake miyo=märe
desire=PRIV 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) clan garden desire=PRIV
'I don't want to make a family/clan garden (anymore).' [tci20130823-06 STK #77]

There is one lexeme where the privative case has become lexicalised. The property noun *miyatha* 'knowledge' or 'knowledgeable' is used in constructions expressing a positive epistemic state; usually of the structure *miyatha worä* 'I know', literally: 'I am with knowledge' or 'I am knowledgeable'. The negation of this statement is most commonly done by using the property noun *miyamr* 'ignorance' or 'ignorant', which contains *miya* and an element *mr*. The latter is a reduced and lexicalised form of the privative case marker *=mär*. We can see this in example (92), which comes from a myth where two brothers are trying to kill a creature by shooting an arrow into its heart.

(92) *naf nima "keke fi* ***miyamr*** *erä fofosa mä rä."*
naf nima keke fi miyamr e\rä/ fofosa mä
3SG.ERG QUOT NEG 3.ABS ignorant 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be heart where
\rä/
3SG.F:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'He said "No, they do not know where the heart is."' [tci20131013-01 ABB #104-105]

4.15 Associative *=ä*

The associative case is used to express accompaniment at the clausal level or simultaneity with another event at the interclausal level. The formative is *=ä*. Like other case markers, the associative encodes number for animate referents. The enclitics are *=r* and *=ä*, and there is a set of pronominals shown in Table 4.4. These formatives differ in two points from the other case markers. First, the number distinction is between dual (*=r*) and plural (*=ä*). Secondly, the value encodes the number of the total set, i.e. someone in the company of one (dual) or more persons (plural). These forms are used in a construction for which I adopt the term "inclusory construction" based on Lichtenberk (2000) and Singer (2001). I describe the inclusory construction in the context of the syntax of the noun phrase (§7.6).

Table 4.4: Associative case / pronominals

	person	dual	plural
personal pronouns	1	*ninrr*	*ninä*
	2	*bnrr*	*bnä*
	3	*nafrr*	*nafä*
RECOG		*bafrr*	*bafä*
INDF		*nä bunrr*	*nä bunä*
interrogative		*mafrr*	*mafä*

The associative case overlaps in its function to mark accompaniment with the proprietive case (§4.13). Although both cases can be used for animate and inanimate referents, their distribution is rather skewed. The corpus contains 270 tokens of the proprietive case, of which 17% (46) are animate referents versus 83% (224) inanimate. Many of the animate referents can be accounted for by fixed expressions with a more ideosyncratic reading. For example, *ŋare=karä* 'with woman' and *nge=karä* 'with child' can also mean 'married' and 'having a family' respectively. For the associative case, the distribution is reversed. The corpus contains 159 tokens of the associative case, of which 85% (135) are animate referents versus 15% (24) inanimate. It follows that the associative case is mainly used to mark the accompaniment of a person, while the accompaniment of or the association with some inanimate entity is only a minor pattern. In spite of that I use only inanimate referents in the remainder of this section and refer the reader to the description of the inclusory construction in §7.6.

The associative case can operate at the clausal level (94) or at the interclausal level (93). Example (93) is taken from a storyboard picture task where the speaker describes one of the pictures as part of a narration. The associative is attached to the nominalised verb *thweksi* 'rejoice' which acts as an infinitival adjunct.

(93) *kfänrsöfth* ***thweksiä.***
kfän\rsöfth/ thwek-si=ä
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:ITER:VENT/descend rejoice-NMLZ=ASSOC
'She always came down (the stairs) and was happy.' [tci20120925 MKA #369]

Example (94) is taken from a story about a boy who drowned in the Morehead river. A group of policemen were on guard to deter crocodiles, while another man was trying to recover the body from the river. The phrase *markai nabiä* 'with shotguns' (lit. 'with white man bows') can also be marked with the proprietive case like the preceding phrase *gardakarä* 'with canoes' (93).

(94) *fath wäfiyokwath neba wazi neba wazi … frisman fi gardakarä* ***markai nabiä*** *… bara kwarafinzrmth … nümgarma*
fath wä\fiyok/wath neba wazi neba wazi (.)
clearing 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make opposite side opposite side (.)
frisman fi garda=karä markai nabi=ä (.) bara
policeman 3.ABS canoe=PROP white.man bow=ASSOC (.) paddle
kwa\rafi/nzrmth (.) nümgar=ma
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/paddle (.) crocodile=CHAR
'They cleared the place along both sides … the policemen with canoes and shotguns … they were paddling because of crocodiles.' [tci20120904-02 MAB #162-165]

The third example (95) comes from visiting one of the many waterholes around Rouku, where people catch fish with poison-root during the dry season. The speaker points out how thoughtfully ('with thoughts') the ancestors looked after this place.

(95) *kofä kwot kwarkonzrmth namä yamme … nä kafar zra zane zf* ***famä*** *zumarwrmth nafa zf … kafar kwarké.*
kofä kwot kwa\rko/nzrmth namä yam=me (.) nä kafar
fish properly 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/distribute good custom=INS (.) some big
zra zane zf fam=ä zu\mar/wrmth nafa
swamp DEM:PROX IMM thought=ASSOC 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.F:OBJ:PST:DUR/see 3NSG.ERG
zf (.) kafar kwark=é
IMM (.) big deceased=ERG.NSG
'They shared the fish in a good way. They looked after this swamp here thoughtfully … the late elders.'
[tci20120922-21 DAK #37-38]

4.16 Similative *=thatha*

The similative case functions at the clause level, and its semantics are quite comparable to the English expressions 'like X' or 'similar to X'. In example (96)[8], the speaker shows

[8]The word *pike* [pɪke] comes from Wrigley's PK® chewing gum, which has the initials of Philip Knight Wrigley printed in big letters on the package.

me a plant called *ŋaziŋazi* ‘Exocarpus sp’ and comments that its fruits taste a bit like chewing gum and that it is similar to *ŋazi* ‘coconut’.

(96) *ŋaziŋazi … **pikethatha** yé … **ŋazithatha** … nafane yawi.*
ŋaziŋazi (.) pike=thatha \yé/ (.) ŋazi=thatha (.)
ŋaziŋazi (.) chewing.gum=SIMIL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) coconut=SIMIL (.)
nafane yawi
3SG.POSS fruit
‘Ŋaziŋazi … its fruit is like chewing gum … like a coconut.’
[tci20130907-02 RNA #308-309]

Hence, the element marked with *=thatha* is portrayed as being similar to another element. Often enough that second element is established from context and the respective noun phrase is omitted, as in example (97), where the speaker describes a man hanging upside down from the branch of a tree.

(97) ***bidrthatha** zbo sumithgrm … wämnen.*
bidr=thatha zbo su\mi/thgrm (.) wämne=n
flying.fox=SIMIL PROX.ALL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR:STAT/be.hanging (.) tree=LOC
‘He was hanging like a flying fox … on the tree.’ [tci20130901-04 RNA #48]

There are a few cases where the similative case is attached to recognitional pronoun *bänethatha* ‘like that one’ or to the manner demonstrative *nimathatha* ‘like in this way’, as in example (98), where the speaker comments that some plants along the way look as if they had been planted by someone.

(98) ***nimathatha** erä … kma thuworthrth.*
nima=thatha e\rä/ (.) kma thu\wor/thrth
like.this=SIMIL 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) POT 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/plant
‘These (plants) look a bit like … as if they planted them.’ [tci20130907-02 JAA #281]

4.17 Further nominal morphology

This section describes a number of nominal enclitics or suffixes that do not mark a semantic role.

4.17.1 Emphatic *=wä*

The emphatic enclitic *=wä* is used to intensify its host. For example, attached to the temporal adjective *zafe* ‘old’, it means ‘really long ago’ (99). If it is attached to a possessive pronoun, it is often translated as ‘my own’ instead of ‘my’ (100). As Komnzo has no dedicated marker for comparatives, the emphatic enclitic can be used for this (101).

(99) *nze kwa natrikwé bun … no kzima … **zaföwä** ni monme no kzi thwafiyokwrme.*
nze kwa na\trik/wé bun (.) no kzi=ma (.)
1SG.ERG FUT 1SG:SBJ>2SG:IO:NPST:IPFV/tell 2SG.DAT (.) rain barktray=CHAR (.)
zafe=wä ni mon=me no kzi thwa\fiyok/wrme
old=EMPH 1NSG how=INS rain barktray 1NSG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/make
'I will tell you … about the rain-making barktray … a really long time ago … how we were making the rain-making barktray.' [tci20110810-01 MAB #1-3]

(100) ***nzonewä** zane zf erä!*
nzone=wä zane zf e\rä/
1SG.POSS=EMPH DEM:PROX IMM 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'These ones right here are my own!' [tci20121001 ABB #129]

(101) ***katakatanwä** thfrä. nzenme kafar erä.*
kata-katan=wä thf\rä/ nzenme kafar
REDUP-small=EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/be 1NSG.POSS big
e\rä/
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'Those (yams) were smaller. Ours are big.' [tci20120805-01 ABB #403]

Some words seem to have lexicalised the emphatic enclitic, i.e. they do not occur without *=wä*. One example is *nzüthamöwä* 'time' (in the sense 'instance of something happening'). This word can take the *=nzo* 'only' enclitic, for example *näbi nzüthamöwänzo* 'only one time'. Elsewhere, the emphatic enclitic *=wä* and the exclusive enclitic *=nzo* may not co-occur. Other examples are *bramöwä* 'all' and *gadmöwä* 'good fortune'. Note that all three contain a /mö/ element. I suspect that this is a lexicalised version of the instrumental case marker *=me*. The vowel of the instrumental *=me* is regularly rounded in the presence of *=wä*. However, removing these putative lexicalised enclitics from these words results in three non-words: **nzütha*, **bra* and **gad*.

The emphatic enclitic can attach to lexical items preceding the case marker. Example (102) is from a story about two characters who each have a ford in the river where they place their fishing baskets. In *edawäneme*, the enclitic has scope over the numeral *eda* 'two'. Thus, it is emphasizing the fact that there are two, which suggests a distributive reading: 'each one had a trapping place'. If the enclitic was attached after the case marker (*edaanemöwä*), the possession would be emphasised: 'two of their own'. Example (102) is the only instance in the corpus where the emphatic enclitic occurs between a lexical item and a case marker. Hence, it is a possible yet very rare construction.

(102) *krsi zn we fä thwarnm … **edawäneme**.*
kr-si zn we fä thwa\rn/m (.) eda=wä=aneme
block-NMLZ place also DIST 2|3DU:IO:PST:DUR/be (.) two=EMPH=POSS.NSG
'They also had a fishing place there … each had one.' [tci20110802 ABB #58-59]

4.17.2 Exclusive *=nzo*

The exclusive enclitic *=nzo* has been described in §3.5. It forms the nominal counterpart to the discourse particle *komnzo* 'only' (§3.4.2) from which the language gets its name. The exclusive enclitic can attach to all nominals including pronouns, thus it occurs with a high frequency in the corpus. It usually attaches to the last element of the noun phrase over which it has scope. It is glossed as ONLY in the examples.

In example (103) the exclusive clitic attaches to a noun phrase with an adverbial function, *frme* 'straight'. In (104), it is attached to an adjective.

(103) *zokwasi mane rera komnzo **frmenzo** wyaka nzudbo.*
zokwasi mane re\r/a komnzo fr=me=nzo
speech which 3SG.F:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be only line=INS=ONLY
w\yak/a nzudbo
3SG.F:SBJ:PST:IPFV/walk 1SG.ALL
'As for the message, it just came straight to me.' [tci20120814 ABB #50-51]

(104) *zasath "bä **namänzo** nrä?" "keke nzä nimäwä worä."*
za\s/ath bä namä=nzo n\rä/ keke nzä
2|3DU:SBJ:PST:PFV/ask 2.ABS good=ONLY 2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be NEG 1SG.ABS
nima=wä wo\rä/
like.this=EMPH 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'They asked each other: "Are you alright?" "No, I am like this."'
[tci20120827-03 KUT #159]

4.17.3 Etcetera *=sü*

The enclitic *=sü* only attaches to either the associative or the proprietive case marker. It is often translated as "and all" by my informants. Consider example (105), in which a speaker reports how he and some of his brothers transported a heavy sago stem with a couple of canoes. The *=sü* enclitic expresses that there are more items than just the sago. Therefore, I label *=sü* as etcetera marker, and I gloss it with ETC.

(105) *masenf fä fof nzräs "kwa känthfe **bikaräsü** zbo!" … watik **bikaräsü** ŋarafinzake.*
masen=f fä fof nzrä\s/ kwa
masen=ERG.SG DIST EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ>1PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/call FUT
kän\thf/e bi=karä=sü zbo (.) watik bi=karä=sü
2PL:SBJ:IMP:PFV:VENT/walk sago=PROP=ETC PROX.ALL (.) then sago=PROP=ETC
ŋa\rafi/nzake
1PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/paddle
'Masen called out to us: "Come over here with the sago and all!" … Then, we paddled with the sago and everything.' [tci20120929-02 SIK #41-42]

Example (106) shows the etcetera enclitic attached to the associative case in an inclusory construction. The speaker describes how his friends slept in a camp where his father and other relatives were staying.

(106) *ni **ŋafyäsü** fä fof nrugra.*
ni ŋafe=ä=sü fä fof n\rugr/a
1NSG father=ASSOC.PL=ETC DIST EMPH 1PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/sleep
'We slept there with father and all the others.' [tci20110810-02 MAB #11]

Example (107) is taken from an origin myth in which two brothers are fighting with a creature. One of them warns his brother that he is going to shoot the creature now and he should be prepared. Hence, the second clause literally translates as "you must be with thoughts and all".

(107) *watik ngth biruthé! **famkaräsü** gnräré!*
watik ngth b=y\ru/thé
then younger sibling MED=1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/shoot
fam=karä=sü gn\rä/ré
thought=PROP=ETC 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be
"Okay brother, I will shoot him now. You have to think and be prepared!"
[tci20131013-01 ABB #108-109]

4.17.4 Distributive *-kak*

I analyse the distributive marker *-kak* as a suffix rather than an enclitic because it does not operate on the level of the phrase. It can only be suffixed to numerals and some quantifiers. Its meaning can be translated into English with 'each' or 'individually'. The distributive is often followed by the instrumental, as in (108). In this example, the speaker had lost his dogs during hunting. The distributive highlights that the dogs came back individually.

(108) *ŋatha katakatan thunthorakwrm **näbikakme**.*
ŋatha kata-katan thun\thorak/wrm näbi-kak=me
dog REDUP-small 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENT/arrive one-DISTR=INS
'The small ones were arriving one by one.' [tci20111119-03 ABB #69]

In example (109), a woman has finished presenting to me what she has caught during the day. This includes different fish, a goanna and a turtle. She concludes with the words "There is plenty of meat". This could be translated as *faso tüfr erä* without the distributive. The distributive in (109) expresses that she has caught different kinds of meat.

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

In example (110), the speaker tells me about different types of bows. He concludes by pointing out that different people like different types.

(110) *zawe* ***ffrükakmenzo*** *erä*
zawe f-frü-kak=me=nzo e\rä/
talent REDUP-alone-DISTR=INS=ONLY 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'People have different preferences.' (lit. 'There are different individual talents.')
[tci20120922-23 MAA #104]

4.17.5 Diminuitive *fäth*

I take the diminuitive *fäth* 'small one' as an example to describe a small group of lexemes which behave similar to the enclitics described above. However, I do not analyse them as enclitics but rather as lexemes on the verge of becoming grammaticalised. The two main reasons are: (i) they often occur by themselves without a host, and (ii) they have a more lexical meaning. Out of the four lexemes, two have to do with location: *zn* and *faf*, both mean 'place', and two have to do with smallness or compactness: *fäth* 'small one' (glossed as DIM) and *fur* 'bundle'.

Example (111) illustrates that *fäth* can occur as a free lexeme. However, *fäth* frequently occurs after a noun, as in (112) and (113). We could analyse *fäth* in (112) either as a compound of two nouns ('story' + 'small one'), or as a diminuitive enclitic which has scope over a preceding host. The latter analysis is supported by the fact that the two elements form an intonational unit.

(111) *nzone ŋafe fthé fof* ***katan fäth*** *sfrärm.*
nzone ŋafe fthé fof katan fäth sf\rä/rm
1SG.POSS father when EMPH small DIM 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be
'My father was a small boy at that time.' [tci20111107-01 MAK #34]

(112) ***trikasi fäth*** *fobo fof zwaythik fof.*
trik-si fäth fobo fof zwa\ythik/ fof
tell-NMLZ DIM DIST.ALL EMPH 3SG.F:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/come.to.end EMPH
'There, the small story comes to an end.' [tci20111119-03 ABB #197]

If there is a case marker present, it will attach to *fäth* (113); a fact which supports both analyses.

(113) ***emoth fäthnm*** *thrätrif.*
emoth fäth=nm thrä\trif/
girl DIM=DAT.NSG 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:RPST:PFV/tell
'He told the small girls.' [tci20120901-01 MAK #181]

On the basis of the arguments above, I decide to treat *fäth* as an independent lexeme. The same applies to *zn*, *faf* (both 'place') and *fur* ('bundle'). I analyse them as lexemes which are on the verge of becoming grammaticalised. Note that only for *fäth* I employ the gloss DIM instead of a more lexical one ('small one').

4.18 A few historical notes

The case markers presented in this chapter show some semantic and formal overlaps which invite speculations as to their emergence. I want to lay out some hypotheses here. My main point is that the dative and the possessive are historically related, and that the original form played some role in marking animacy.

In Table 4.5, we can see a subset of the personal pronouns for different cases and the respective case enclitics for animate referents. Note that only the first and second person are shown. The third person forms are not relevant for the argument advanced here. For reasons of comparison, the table includes the possessive prefixes, even though they are not case markers.

Table 4.5: Case marking with animate referents

	personal pronouns				case enclitics	
	1SG	1NSG	2SG	2NSG	SG	NSG
CHAR	*nzonema*	*nzenmema*	*bonema*	*benmema*	*=anema*	*=anemema*
POSS	*nzone*	*nzenme*	*bone*	*benme*	*=ane*	*=aneme*
POSS-	*nzu-*	*nze-*	*bu-*	*be-*	n/a	n/a
DAT	*nzun*	*nzenm*	*bun*	*benm*	*=n*	*=nm*
LOC	*nzudben*	*nzedben*	*budben*	*bedben*	*=dben*	*=(n)medben*
ALL	*nzudbo*	*nzedbo*	*budbo*	*bedbo*	*=dbo*	*=(n)medbo*
ABL	*nzudba*	*nzedba*	*budba*	*bedba*	*=dba*	*=(n)medba*

One observation from the table is that the characteristic pronouns are built from the possessive pronouns. For example, the first singular possessive *nzone* 'my' is used to express the meaning 'because of me' by simply attaching the characteristic case marker *=ma*. In fact, the pattern is so transparent that instead of analysing a form like *nzonema* as 1SG.CHAR an alternative analysis would be to analyse it in a more compositional way: *nzone=ma* 1SG.POSS=CHAR. This also holds true for nouns. Note that the use of the possessive is only required for animate referents. For example, *no=ma* 'because of the rain' can do without the possessive, but **kabe=ma* 'because of the man' is ungrammatical, and it has to be *kabe=ane=ma* (man=POSS.SG=CHAR). Hence, the possessive functions as a marker of animacy. I want to argue that in the other case formatives, we find frozen morphology that points to a similar strategy.

A second observation from the table lies in the formal similarity of the possessive and the dative case enclitics. The dative formatives resemble the possessive ones, but they lack the vowels: *=ane* (POSS) vs. *=n* (DAT), and *=aneme* (POSS.NSG) vs. *=nm* (DAT.NSG). Furthermore, the table shows that all case enclitics share an element marking non-singular number. This is /m/ for the dative and /me/ for all other cases. Again, we may analyse this element as a separate morpheme, for example *=ane=me* (=POSS=NSG) and *=n=m* (=DAT=NSG). In the remainder of this section, I want to argue for three points: (i) that

the possessive and the dative have developed from the same source, (ii) that the function of that source was to mark animacy, and (iii) that the source itself was segmentable into one morpheme marking animacy (*=n* or *=ane*) and a second morpheme marking non-singular number (*=m* or *=me*).

The main point of evidence comes from a variant of the non-singular formatives of the spatial cases. For example, the locative can be *=medben*, but there is a variant *=nmedben*. The latter includes an /n/ which is also found in the possessive and the dative enclitics. Note that for the possessive and the dative, /n/ is found in the singular and the non-singular formatives. For the non-singular formatives of the three spatial cases, I want to propose that the /n/-variant is the older one. Note that the /n/ element is also present in the singular formatives of the three spatial cases, but it is difficult to recognize it as a segment, because all three case enclitics begin with a prenasalised alveolar plosive [ⁿd]. Therefore, I want to suggest a more transparent analysis in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Revised analysis of case markers for animate referents

	=ANIM=case	=ANIM=NSG=case
POSS	*=ane*	*=ane=me*
DAT	*=n*	*=n=m*
LOC	*=n=dben*	(*=n*)*=me=dben*
ALL	*=n=dbo*	(*=n*)*=me=dbo*
ABL	*=n=dba*	(*=n*)*=me=dba*

The revised analysis in Table 4.6 suggests that the spatial case enclitics attached to an /n/ formative which was a marker of animacy. Moreover, there is the /me/ formative for marking non-singular number.

This analysis rests on the assumption that the dative and the possessive are historically related. There are four pieces of evidence to support this claim. First, the enclitics of the two cases are similar, if we assume that the dative formatives once had vowels: *=ane* > *=n* and *=aneme* > *=nm*. Secondly, the close possessive prefixes in Table 4.5 show that the vowel in the singular prefixes groups them with the dative, not with the possessive. The first person close possessive prefix is *nzu-* like the first person dative pronoun *nzun*, whereas the first person possessive pronoun is *nzone*. Thirdly, the argumentation in the preceding paragraph shows that the element *=nme*, which precedes the spatial case markers, is historically related to both the possessive and the dative. The fourth piece of evidence comes from a comparison with Ngkolmpu, a related Tonda language spoken in Indonesia. In Ngkolmpu, the dative marks the possessor role in its adnominal function (Carroll 2017).

This leaves us wondering about the pTonda or pYam system and the path of grammaticalisation in Komnzo. The scenario sketched out above suggests that the original system was more like Ngkolmpu, where one case marker serves both functions, dative and pos-

sessive. Alternatively, the predecessor could have had a much more general function. I have argued above that this function was to mark animacy. Although speculative at present, I want to point out that a possible source of the animacy marker could be the anaphoric demonstrative *ane*, which can occur in postposed position. For the moment, we can only speculate on the path of grammaticalisation. More data from the other Yam languages is needed to settle this question.

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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.

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