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TITLE OF THESIS: A DESCRIPTION OF THE ABUN LANGUAGE
PHONOLOGY AND BASIC MORPHO-SYNTAX

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A Description of the Abun Language

Phonology and Basic Morpho-syntax

Submitted by

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A thesis submitted in total fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Abbreviations

1PL	First person plural pronoun
1SG	First person singular pronoun
2PL	Second person plural pronoun
2SG	Second person singular pronoun
3INDEF	Third person indefinite pronoun
3PL	Third person plural pronoun
3SG	First person singular pronoun
ANAPH	Anaphoric referent
AQM	Alternative question marker
ASST	Assertive modal marker
BEN	Benefactive preposition
CLASS	Classifier
COMP	Complement marker
COMPL	Completive aspect marker
COUNT	Count marker
CQM	Confirmative question marker
DEM	Demonstrative marker
DET	Determiner
EXTREF	External referent
FOC	Focus marker
FQM	Final question marker
FRUST	Frustrated action marker
FVV	Foreign verb verbaliser
INCOMPL	Incomplete aspect marker
INTENSE	Intensifier
IQM	Initial question marker
LOC	Locative preposition
MHORT	Mild hortative
NEG	Negative particle
NMP	Noun modifying particle
NOM	Nominaliser
PERF	Perfect aspect marker

PERL	Periative preposition
PERS	Personaliser
POSS	Possessive marker
POSSIB	Possibility modal marker
PROB	Probability modal marker
RECIP	Reciprocal particle
REFL	Reflexive particle
REL	Relative conjunction
STHORT	Strong hortative
TRANS	Transitiviser
YNQM	Yes-no question marker

Summary

This thesis presents the first extensive description of the phonology, morphology and basic syntax of the Abun language, which is spoken by about 3,000 people in Irian Jaya, Indonesia.

After a discussion of Abun phonology, including syllable structure and tone, an examination of Abun's morphology creates the basis for the organisation of the rest of the thesis. Abun being an isolating language has very little affixation. As a result of this there is a preponderance of closed word classes. Furthermore, all the functions performed by affixation in synthetic languages such as tense, aspect, mood and grammatical relations therefore require the use of different strategies in Abun. Two basic strategies are employed to perform these functions, namely, the use of word order and particles.

The role of word order as the basis upon which grammatical relations are indicated is discussed in chapters on clause and phrase structure.

The role of clause final particles which are used to indicate mood, aspect, modality and negation are the focus of the final chapters of the thesis.

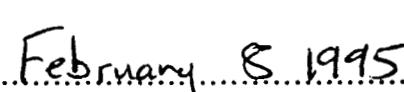
Statement of Authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

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Signed .....

Date ..... 1995

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This thesis has benefited at many points by interaction with my wife, Christine, as she also has struggled with the intricacies of Abun grammar as she has been preparing an M.A. thesis entitled, 'Complex Constructions in Abun'.

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Introduction

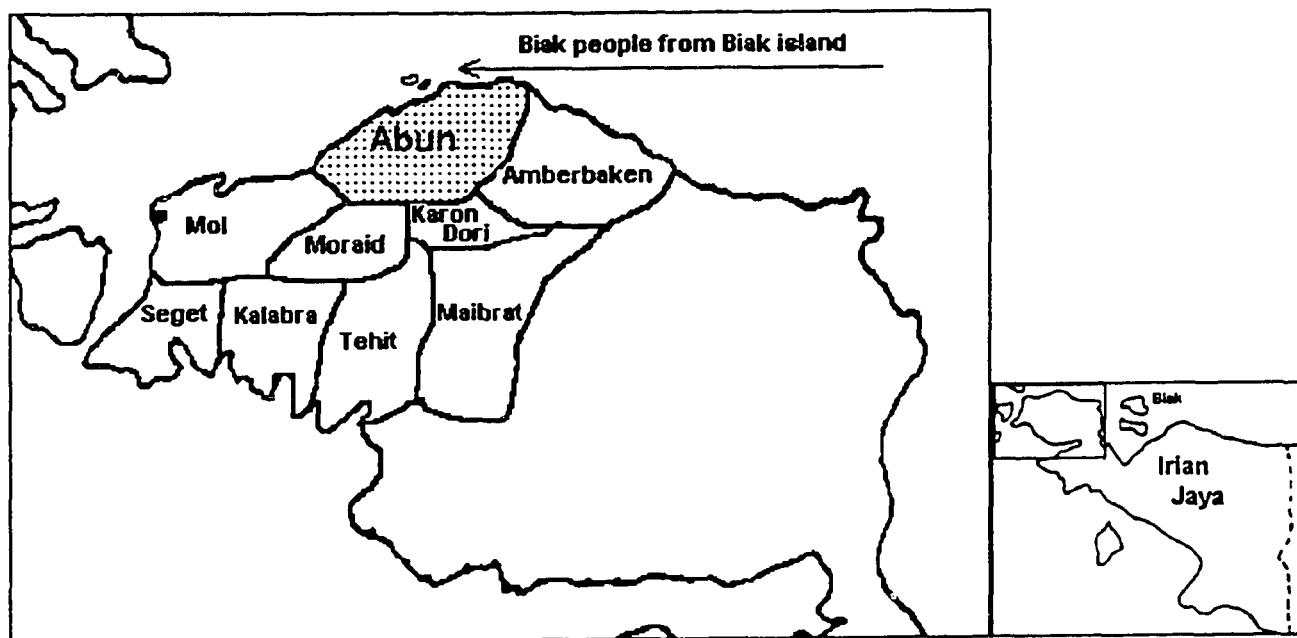
Part I

1. Introduction

1.1 The location of the Abun language

The Abun language is spoken in Irian Jaya, Indonesia, in the northern area of the Bird's Head Peninsula. The language is spoken in the subdistricts of Sausapor and Mega. It is bordered by several other languages: to the east, Amberbaken (also known as Mpur or Kebar); to the south, Karon Dori (also known as Mare, a dialect of Mai Brat) and Moraid; and to the west, Moi as seen on the figure below.

FIGURE 1 - MAP OF ABUN AND SURROUNDING LANGUAGES



There are approximately three thousand speakers who live in eighteen villages, ten on the coast and eight interior, as well as in isolated hamlets.

There are four identifiable dialects all of which are mutually intelligible, although intelligibility decreases when greater geographic distance is involved. The names given to the dialects are those used by the speakers themselves

and concern the different terms for the first person singular pronoun. Further details follow in 1.7.

1.2 The name of the Abun language

Abun is the name given to the language by the people themselves, *a* means 'language', and *bun* means 'bush, jungle'. They call themselves the **Yenden** people, *ye-* 'person' and *nden* 'interior, land'. Sometimes they refer to the name of their language as *Anden*, but more commonly *Abun*. Rarely do they call themselves the **Yembun** people; rather they say that they, the Yenden people, speak the Abun language.

The Abun language has been known by various names including Karon Pantai, Madik and Yimbun. The name Karon Pantai, as it is listed in Voorhoeve (1975a:48), is the name given to the Abun speaking people by the Biak people. The Moi people to the west call them Madik, the meaning of which is uncertain. Voorhoeve (1975a:48) listed the name Madik as a separate language for what has since been analysed as the Abun Ji dialect (Berry & Berry 1987). The Amberbaken to the east call them the Yimbun, or Yembun, a name which they obviously acquired from the Yenden themselves. This name is commonly used at the western end of the language group.

The Biak name of Karon Pantai relates to the first contact between the two groups. The Biak people arrived from the island of Biak around the turn of the twentieth century and settled along the north coast of the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya, as in figure 1 above. Their initial contact with the Abun speaking people was rather unusual. Some of the Biaks landed on the mainland and found several Abun speaking people who had feigned death and smeared maggots over their bodies. The Abun speaking people did this in the hope that the

Biaks would just ignore them and leave. But the Biaks soon discovered that they were still alive. As a result of this, they used the Biak term, Karon, meaning 'maggot eaten body' to describe the Abun speaking people. Later a further distinction was made between those who lived near the coast and those who lived on the Tamrau ranges, thus the addition of the Indonesian words *pantai* 'coast' and *gunung* 'mountain'. So the Biak people called them the Karon Pantai people, and named their language Karon Pantai as well. The mountain group, which is a different language, they named Karon Gunung (listed as Karon Dori by Voorhoeve 1975:48).

Those in the closest major town, Sorong, use the Biak name Karon or Karon Pantai to refer to this people. Abun speaking people will often refer to themselves as Karon people when talking to outsiders. Even so, Abun speaking people do not like the name Karon because of its negative connotations. And since the name, Abun, has now been introduced into the literature by Silzer & Clouse (1991) and Grimes (1992), this thesis will use Abun as the name for the language spoken by the Yenden people.

1.3 Previous studies

Abun has received only cursory mention by various authors such as Wurm (1982:206), and Voorhoeve (1975b:720). Also Voorhoeve (1975a) has word lists for Abun (Karon) and Abun Ji // dialect (Madik). Berry & Berry (1987) include a report on Abun as one of several languages surveyed in the west Bird's Head peninsula.

This thesis therefore is the first extensive description of basic Abun grammar. Another thesis by Christine Berry (to appear) describes complex constructions in Abun.

1.4 Scope of research

This description is an attempt to provide a comprehensive view of the basic structure of Abun. It deals with the phonology, morphology and basic syntax of the language, with attention drawn at many points to established linguistic universals.

The present description of basic Abun grammar is based upon data collected during field work in the Abun area under the auspices of the cooperative project between Cenderawasih University of Irian Jaya and the Summer Institute of Linguistics between October 1986 and December 1992. The bulk of the data was collected in the villages of Werur Besar and Sausapor.

The data used consists of over 35,000 words of transcribed oral texts and 10,000 words of written Abun text which include traditional stories, narratives, dialogues, speeches and procedural descriptions.

1.5 The general linguistic situation

1.5.1 Classification of the Abun language

The Abun language is classified as a Papuan language by Wurm (1982:206). It belongs to the small West Papuan Phylum. It is part of the Bird's Head Superstock, the Central Bird's Head Stock, and more specifically the North Bird's Head Family, of which Abun and Madik are listed as members. While Wurm listed Abun and Madik as separate languages, Berry & Berry (1987) have presented further information regarding lexical similarities and structural similarities which indicate that Abun and Madik are dialects of the same language. Therefore Abun is a family level isolate in the Central Bird's Head Stock.

Wurm's classification of Abun as a Papuan language seems to be based mainly on its lexical inventory, with special reference to its set of personal pronouns. There are a considerable number of Austronesian loanwords in the West Papuan Phylum (WPP) languages, and when only non-Austronesian lexical items are compared, the lexical interrelationship between the WPP languages is much closer. WPP languages in the Bird's Head contain a small Trans-New Guinea Phylum lexical element, some of which may be due to borrowing from the South Bird's Head Stock (which is part of the TNG Phylum), or may be traces of an old TNG Phylum substratum (Wurm 1982:204). The personal pronouns are clearly Papuan, belonging to Wurm's set III (Wurm 1982:40). Abun personal pronouns do not distinguish between first person plural inclusive and exclusive, whereas this is universal for Austronesian languages. Neither are there bound subject markers on the verb, which is a feature of Austronesian languages. Thus Abun's pronouns are more akin to Papuan languages rather than Austronesian languages.

However Abun has a number of Austronesian features. Most notable is the rigid word order of *svo* as distinct from the Papuan *sov* word order (Wurm 1982:64). Other significant Austronesian features include: a very simple derivational morphology; uncomplicated and very little inflectional affixation; the common use of particles where verb affixation would be used in Papuan languages; the use of prepositions instead of postpositions or case marking; no special sentence medial verbs; a decimal numbering system unlike the normal Papuan binary, trinary or quinary systems (Wurm 1982:64); the existence of reduplicated adverbs; simple morphophonemic changes and the common use of labialised consonants. While lexically Abun is predominantly Papuan, grammatically it has more in common with Austronesian languages.

1.5.2 The influence of surrounding languages on Abun

The influence of surrounding languages on Abun has been significant. It is particularly easy to see the influence of Biak and Indonesian, as will be demonstrated below, but less so the influence of the three neighbouring languages of Moi, Mpur and Mai Brat (Mare). This is no doubt because the contact with Biak and Indonesian has been closer and more continuous.

There are two tribal groups that have migrated to the region where Abun is spoken, the As and the Biak people. The As language group, who migrated from Gag island before the turn of the century, came to live in the subdistrict of Mega where the Abun Ji dialect is spoken. The Biak people, who fled from the island of Biak, came into the Sausapor area in the early 1900s and have had a significant influence on the language of the Abun people. The Biak people brought the Christian message to the Abun people and in doing so used many of their own phrases and words. Words such as *rur* 'spirit', *nadi* 'pray', *som* 'worship' were introduced from the Biak language. The word for 'God', *Yefun* has come from the Biak *fun* 'respected person' combined with the Abun personaliser prefix *ye-* 'person'. Also many words for fish and terms related to the sea and seaside have been assimilated from the Biak language.

The Abun speaking people have not just had contact with the Biak people. Trade in *kain timur* '(antique) eastern cloth' with neighbouring language groups has had an influence on Abun. *Kain timur* is one of the Abun speaking people's main tokens of wealth and is used for paying bride price as well as fines. It originates from East Timor.

Most villagers stay close to their own village and do not travel far. Even so, the Indonesian language has found its way to some extent even to the remotest

Abun village. Many Indonesian words also accompanied the introduction of Christianity and government systems, and have become part of Abun vocabulary. Indonesian words such as *selamat* 'save', *ampuni* 'forgive', *perintah* 'command, rule', *desa* 'village' and *berkat* 'bless' have been introduced although Abun speakers seldom understand the meaning of some of these Indonesian terms.

Several Indonesian and Biak verbs have been included in common use in Abun even though in many cases there is an Abun lexical item for the same idea. A *bi-* prefix, probably borrowed from the Biak language, is attached to verbs that are introduced from other languages. All borrowed verbs are verbalised with what could be named, the foreign verb verbaliser (FVV) prefix. Example (1) shows the borrowing of the Indonesian word *mengerti* 'understand'; (2) uses the Biak word *win* 'sail'.

- (1) *Isak bi-mengerti su-gato nan ki ne.*
Isak FVV-understand NOM-which 2SG say DET
'Isak understands what you are saying.'
- (2) *Men bi-win mu mo ef.*
1PL FVV-sail go Loc island
'Let's sail to the island.'

Abun speaking people have borrowed words to handle new concepts such as sailing. In (2) the word is borrowed from Biak. The Abun people traditionally lived on and around the Tambrau ranges and so did not have cause to sail anywhere. Other verbs that have been introduced from Indonesian are *tutup* 'close', *buka* 'open' for closing and opening doors. Doors are also a new thing for the Abun. In the past they just had a *nu-syo* 'house opening; doorway' (lit. house-mouth) with no door as such.

Often the words borrowed by the Abun speaker do not retain the original pronunciation. Abun does not have a separate velar nasal phoneme. The velar nasal occurs only medially preceding a voiced velar plosive. So when words are borrowed such as *bunga* 'flower', the *ng* (which represents a velar nasal) is pronounced as a prenasalised plosive by Abun speakers. When a velar nasal is word final in borrowed words such as *kosong* 'nil, empty, zero', it is pronounced as an alveolar nasal, (*koson*).

Words borrowed from other languages are also changed in pronunciation not just according to Abun phonology but also because the first ones who heard the words that were borrowed did not recall and repeat the words accurately. For example, the Biak word *farkor* 'study' was somehow changed to *faskor* by the speakers of Abun Ji dialect whereas Abun Ye dialect speakers do not make any change.

Indonesian conjunctions have also found their way into the Abun language. The main conjunctions adopted from Indonesian are *kalau* 'if, when', *sebelum* 'before', *baru* 'then (in colloquial use)', *jadi* 'so, therefore'. Indonesian conjunctions are frequently used in addition to Abun conjunctions because the placement of Abun conjunctions in the sentence often differs from the Indonesian placement. In Indonesian the word *sebelum* 'before' is sentence initial, whereas in Abun the expression *nde tó* 'before' occurs at the end of the first sentence as in (3).

- (3) Men yo mu nde tó, men git su-git.
 1PL NEG go NEG INCOMPL 1PL eat NOM-eat
 'Before we go let's eat.'

The Abun speaker who borrows the Indonesian *sebelum* 'before', also keeps his own language's expression for the same idea. So the use of the more redundant form as in (4) is common.

- (4) ***Sebelum men yo mu nde tó, men git su-git.***
 before 1PL NEG go NEG INCOMPL 1PL eat NOM-eat
 'Before we go let's eat.'

This is not just limited to conjunctions but also to other items such as the Indonesian prohibition *jangan* 'do not'. In Abun negation requires that *yo* and *nde* bracket the predicate as in (3). In the prohibitive form the *yo* is omitted. Example (5a) is the traditional way of saying 'Don't cry!', but Abun speakers who have been influenced by Indonesian add *jangan*, as in (5b). However (5c) is unacceptable.

- (5) a. ***Nan wo nde.***
 2SG cry NEG
 'Don't cry!'
- b. ***Jangan nan wo nde.***
 do.not 2SG cry NEG
 'Don't cry!'
- c. ****Jangan nan wo.***
 do.not 2SG cry
 'Don't cry!'

Abun speakers have borrowed some Indonesian words to make meanings more specific. The Abun word *jam* has the meaning of both 'to know' and 'to understand', as in (6) and (7). They have equated *jam* with the Indonesian word *tahu* 'to know', but have borrowed the Indonesian *mengerti* 'to understand' in many cases to differentiate the two concepts, as in (7b).

- (6) ***Ji jam an gum.***
 1SG know 3SG name
 'I know his name.'

- (7) a. *Ji jam nan bi sukdu.*
 1SG understand 2SG POSS words.
 'I understand what you are saying.'
- b. *Ji bi-mengerti nan bi sukdu.*
 1SG FVV-understand 2SG POSS words.
 'I understand what you are saying.'

Some borrowed words undergo a shift in meaning from the original meaning in the source language. For example, even though the Abun have a way to express intensification, they have borrowed an Indonesian word, *jadi* 'to happen, become' and mixed this with *nde* 'not' to make *jadi nde* 'INTENSIFIER'. They actually have many ways of expressing intensification (see 5.5), but they have borrowed this, even though the actual use of the Indonesian is not standard. The meaning of *jadi nde* according to its components is 'did not happen'. But the meaning given to it is 'happened very much', as in (8).

- (8) *An wo jadi nde.*
 3SG cry happen NEG
 'He cried very much.'

There has been a significant amount of borrowing notably from the Biak and Indonesian languages so much so that Abun speakers say that the 'original' Abun is no longer spoken.

1.6 Abun and other West Papuan Phylum languages

The closest language lexically to the Abun language is Mai Brat (and in particular, the Karon Dori dialect), which is also part of the Central Bird's Head Stock, but is in a different family, the Central Bird's Head Family. Even then the lexical relationship is rather low, somewhere in the order of 10 -15% are cognate depending upon the dialects compared. (Berry & Berry 1987:30 show figures of 6 - 8% cognate for a dialect of Mai Brat and each of the three main Abun dialects. This is based on a word list of 200 words. However, when the

Swadesh 100 list is used the percentages tend to be about 5% higher as illustrated in Berry & Berry (1987:56).

The other West Papuan Phylum languages show a lexical similarity of between 3 and 6% (Berry & Berry 1987:30), or about 8 - 11% based on the 100 word Swadesh list. According to the critical percentages used for classification of languages based on lexicostatistical comparison in Voorhoeve (1975:16), these other languages would be considered as part of a different stock to Abun. A figure of 12% - 27% of shared cognates would result in the classification of the languages as belonging to the same stock, but different families. So Abun and Mai Brat belong to one stock, but they are in different families, on the basis of lexical similarity. The other languages in the West Papuan Phylum in the Bird's Head belong to other stocks.

Phonologically Abun and other WPP languages are very similar in terms of the number and types of phonemes and syllable structure. However, there are several differences between Abun and the closest related language, Mai Brat. Specifically, there is one additional consonant phoneme in Mai Brat /h/, and a much wider variety of consonant clusters, including /sr/, /hr/ /rkn/, /mk/, /msy/, /mf/ which do not occur in Abun. Also in Abun tone is significant, but not in Mai Brat. To the east, Mpur also has several contrastive tones.

Syntactically all WPP languages are similar. All have SVO sentence structure. Even so, there are differences between Abun and Mai Brat as revealed in Brown (1991:43-61). Brown's paper on nominal phrases alone reveals that Mai Brat has an obligatory subject person agreement prefix on verbs. According to Wurm (1982:208), "An important structural and typological feature of the West Papuan Phylum languages is the indication of both subject and object of the verbs by prefixes, with a masculine-feminine gender distinction in the 3sg."

This may be true of most other members of WPP, but for Abun there are no such prefixes on verbs and nor is there a masculine-feminine distinction. Abun stands in stark contrast to other WPP languages at this point.

An examination of Brown's examples also reveals that in Mai Brat possessive phrases, where kinship relationships are involved, the possessor and the possessum are juxtaposed. However in Abun, a linker, *bi* is used. Thus there are some significant differences between Abun and the closest related WPP language, Mai Brat, but most of the basic syntax is similar. For a more detailed comparison of Abun with other WPP languages in terms of phonology and syntax see Berry & Berry (1987:30-35).

1.7 Abun dialects

There are four distinct dialects of Abun. Each one is known by the word used for the first person singular pronoun in the dialect. The table below lists each

TABLE 1.1 ABUN DIALECTS

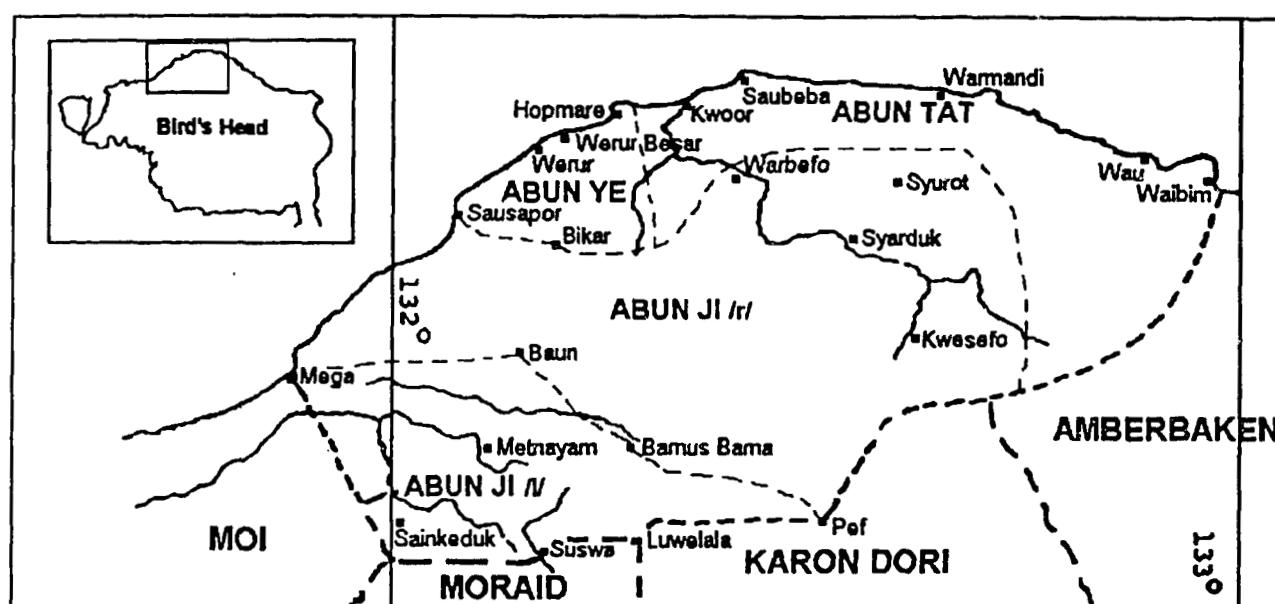
Dialect	Location	Number of Speakers ¹
Abun Tat	north-eastern region	600
Abun Ye	middle coastal region	400
Abun Ji /r/	coastal and interior region north of the Som river	1200
Abun Ji /l/	region south of the Som river	800

dialect together with the location and estimated number of speakers. Below in figure 2 each dialect location can be seen.

¹These figures are from the surveys published in Berry and Berry (1987:59)

The two Abun Ji dialects are primarily distinguished by the use of either /r/ or /l/ in their respective phonemic systems.

FIGURE 2 - MAP OF VILLAGES AND DIALECTS OF ABUN



Each dialect is mutually intelligible, but the greater the distance from each other the greater is the likelihood of lower intelligibility because the dialects are in a chain from Abun Ji /l/ to Abun Ji /r/ to Abun Ye to Abun Tat. Thus speakers of Abun Tat fr ., Waibim find it difficult to understand everything that speakers of Abun Ji /l/ from Mega say. Berry & Berry (1987:47) list the lexical similarity of Abun Tat (Wau) with Abun Ye (Sausapor) as 86%, Abun Tat (Wau) with Abun Ji /l/ (Mega) as 82%, but Abun Tat (Wau) with Abun Ji /l/ (Metnayam) as 74%. The further away from each other, the lower is the lexical similarity. Abun Ye speakers, being most central, understand the all other dialects best. The majority of text analysed and discussed in this thesis is from Abun Ye and Abun Ji /r/ dialects.

Phonology & Morphology
Part II

2. Phonology

2.1 Introduction

The sound system of Abun is relatively simple and consists of 20 consonants 5 simple vowels and seven diphthongs. Also there are three distinct tones, high/rising, low and falling.

2.2 Consonants

The consonant phonemes of Abun are displayed in table 2.1 below.

TABLE 2.1 - CONSONANTS

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
plosives - voiceless	p	t		k
plosives - voiced	b	d	j *	g
plosives - prenasalise	mb	nd	nj *	ng *
d				
fricative	f	s	š*	
nasal	m	n	ñ*	
glides	w	r	y*	

*American script is used.

In IPA: j = dʒ, nj = ndʒ, š = ſ,

y = j, ñ = n, ng = ng

2.2.1 Plosives

Plosives are differentiated by voicing and prenasalisation at four different points of articulation. Plosives are distinguished from the other consonants in

that they are [-continuant, -sonorant]. Phonetically the palatal plosives are affricates. Plosives are differentiated by the features listed in Table 2.2 below.

TABLE 2.2 - PLOS: "SS"

	p	t	k	b	d	j	g	mb	nd	nj	ng
voicing	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
anterior	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
coronal	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-

There is a gap in the consonant phoneme chart in that a voiceless palatal (/tš/) does not occur as a separate phoneme. A voiceless palatal affricate [tš] occurs in the Abun Ji dialect on occasion in free variation with the palatal fricative [š] as in (9). At this point in time there are no contrasts but only free variation between these two. In the future the voiceless palatal affricate [tš] may be added to the inventory of Abun phonemes due to the influence of Indonesian where both the palatal fricative and this palatal affricate contrast.

- (9) /še/ [še ~ tše] 'big'
 /šeša/ [šeša ~ tšetša] 'go out'

Futhermore, in the Abun Tat dialect to the east there is no separate /j/. In that dialect [j] is in free variation with [y] as in (10).

- (10) /jam/ [jam ~ yam] 'understand'
 /sukjimnot/ [sukjimnot ~ sukyimnot] 'love'

Neither does the /nj/ phoneme occur in the Abun Tat dialect. Rather it is an allophone of /ñ/ as in (11).

- (11) /nje/ [nje ~ ñe] 'people'
 /suknjpeg/ [suknjpeg ~ sukñep] 'gentle'

Affricates are widely attested in the world's languages according to Ruhlen (1976:141). He found that 70% of languages he studied had affricates.

However in the Indo-Pacific area only 28% of languages studied had affricates. Therefore, it is probable that Abun did not have affricates [tš], [j] and [nj] in the past, but that in recent years with the influence of the national language, Indonesian, these are becoming distinct phonemes. To date, only [j] and [nj] have achieved this.

Prenasalised plosives are analysed as units. They could have been analysed as consonant clusters to make the phonemic inventory simpler, but this reason does not have a place in linguistic analysis and description according to Herbert (1986:76). An attempt has been made to discover "what is, in some sense, psychologically 'real' for the native speaker," as Herbert puts it. There are several reasons that could be advanced to support the unit interpretation including timing considerations, irreversibility of the components and sonority hierarchy considerations, but the most significant is syllable structure considerations, in particular an analysis of word initial consonant clusters. The only non-suspect word initial consonant clusters are pr, br, fr, kr and gr. No non-suspect examples of CCC clusters occur word initial. Therefore, in examples such as *mbre* 'antique cloth', /mb/ must be interpreted as a unit because no non-suspect CCC pattern exists. This is in accordance with Pike (1947:60) in his fourth premise, which says that "Characteristic sequences of sounds exert structural pressure on the phonemic interpretation of suspicious segments or suspicious sequences of segments". Thus /mb/ and the other prenasalised plosives, have been interpreted as complex units.

The feature of prenasalised plosives is chiefly found in Indo-Pacific languages and the Nilo-Saharan languages according to Ruhlen (1976:140). Ten percent of the 693 languages he studied have this feature, whereas in these two areas 36% of the languages studied had prenasalised plosives. Of the eight ways that prenasalisation may interact with voicing, the most common systems are 'p

^mb' and 'p b ^mb' accounting for 31 and 30 of the languages respectively. The full system of 'p ^mp b ^mb' was only found in five languages and 'p ^mp b' in two. Other possible systems such as '^mp b', '^mp ^mb', 'p ^mp ^mb' and '^mp b ^mb' were neither found nor expected. Abun fits the 'p b ^mb' system.

All plosives occur word initial and word medial, but not all occur word final. Contrasts between voiced and the voiceless plosives are neutralised word final, that is, voiceless plosive occur word final, but voiced and prenasalised plosives do not.

Examples of plosives :

(12) [pɛt]	/pet/	'to split'
[gap]	/gap/	'mouse'
[napawá]	/napawá/	'remember'
[but]	/but/	'to arrest'
[tɛkto]	/tekto/	'for'
[gɪt]	/git/	'to eat'
[dɪk]	/dik/	'one'
[kidar]	/kidar/	'to lie'
[sukrot]	/sukrot/	'song (type)'
[kwɪk]	/kwik/	'rotten'
[gam]	/gam/	'river mouth'
[bogé]	/bogé/	'fish'
[mban]	/mban/	'to hit'
[sukmbrau]	/sukmbraw/	'decoration'
[nde]	/nde/	'not'
[sukndo]	/sukndo/	'good thing'
[njak]	/njak/	'prickle'
[suknjeŋ]	/suknjeŋ/	'smooth'
[ŋgwɛ]	/ngwe/	'garden'

[mangores] /mangores/ 'spinach'

2.2.2 Fricatives

There are three voiceless fricatives in the Abun language, and no voiced ones. Fricatives are distinguished from the other consonants in that they are [+continuant, -sonorant]. All fricatives occur word initial, medial and final with the exception of /š/ which neutralises to /s/ syllable finally. They are differentiated as follows:

TABLE 2.3 - FRICATIVES

	f	s	š
anterior	+	+	-
coronal	-	+	+

Examples of fricatives:

- | | | |
|--------------|---------|-------------|
| (13) [fr̥em] | /frem/ | 'landslide' |
| [mɔf̥it] | /mofit/ | 'seven' |
| [kaf̥] | /kaf/ | 'crab' |
| [ses] | /ses/ | 'full' |
| [m̥isé] | /misé/ | 'evil' |
| [šešar] | /šešar/ | 'to go out' |

2.2.3 Nasals

Nasals are distinguished from other consonants in that they are [-continuant, +sonorant]. All nasals occur word initial, medial and final with the exception of /ñ/, which neutralises to /n/ word finally. The three nasals are differentiated by the same features as fricatives, as seen in the table below:

TABLE 2.4 - NASALS

	m	n	ñ
anterior	+	+	-
coronal	-	+	+

Examples of nasals:

- | | | |
|------------|----------|------------|
| (14) [mən] | /men/ | 'we' |
| [tam] | /tam/ | 'to story' |
| [nak] | /nak/ | 'below' |
| [jimnot] | /jimnot/ | 'love' |
| [san] | /san/ | 'cloth' |
| [ñak] | /ñak/ | 'diarrhea' |

2.2.4 Glides

There are three glides in Abun, /w r y/. Glides are distinguished from other consonants in that they are [+continuant, +sonorant], and from the vowels in that they are [-syllabic]. The /w/ has been listed at the labial point of articulation because it functions more like the labial stops morphophonemically. For example when the prefix *suk-* is added to a stem beginning with the velar stops, the /k/ is elided. However when *suk-* is added to a stem beginning with labials /b p w/, the /k/ is not elided. The glides are differentiated by the same features as for fricatives and nasals, as listed in the table below:

TABLE 2.5 - GLIDES

	w	r	y
anterior	+	+	-
coronal	-	+	+

Glides occur word initial, medial and final as in the examples below. There are no final consonant clusters.

- | | | |
|-----------|-------|--------------|
| (15) [ré] | /ré/ | 'this' |
| [frɔ] | /frɔ/ | 'to prepare' |

[paré]	/pare/	'slowly'
[šur]	/šur/	'water'
[wí]	/wí/	'scorpion'
[duwé]	/duwé/	'to say'
[yε]	/ye/	'difficult'
[sukya]	/sukya/	'wok'
[na <u>u</u>]	/naw/	'palm wine'
[ka <i>l̩i</i>]	/kayi/	'only'
[be <i>i</i>]	/bey/	'sago'

2.2.5 Summary of consonant features

Table 2.6 lists distinctive feature values for all of the consonants.

TABLE 2.6 - CONSONANT DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

	p	t	k	b	d	j	g	mb	nd	nj	ng	f	s	š	m	n	ñ	w	r	y
continuant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
sonorant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
voicing	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
anterior	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
coronal	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+

2.3 Vowels

The five Abun vowels are distinguished from the consonants in that they are [+syllabic], and by inference [+continuant, +sonorant]. They form a typical 5 vowel system as displayed in table 2.7.

TABLE 2.7 - VOWELS

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low		a

The following table shows the distinctive features of these five vowels:

TABLE 2.8 - VOWELS DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

	i	e	a	u	o
high	+	-	-	+	-
low	-	-	+	-	-
back	-	-	+	+	+

Abun vowels tend to be more tense when in open syllables or when tone is high. For the high vowels, /i/ and /u/, tensing is particularly noticeable in open syllables as seen in (16). For the mid vowels, /e/ and /o/, tensing is more noticeable when tone is high, as in (17). Abun's one low vowel, /a/, has no perceptible allophonic variations.

- | | | |
|--------------|--------|-----------------|
| (16) [i.bɪt] | /ibɪt/ | 'bad' |
| [ti] | /ti/ | 'stand' |
| [ɪs] | /ɪs/ | 'to go down' |
| [kuk] | /kuk/ | 'to swallow' |
| [ut] | /ut/ | 'to stick' |
| [du] | /du/ | 'to say' |
| (17) [bók] | /bók/ | 'salt' |
| [bɔk] | /bok/ | 'to put inside' |
| [ót] | /ót/ | 'sharp' |
| [ɔt] | /ot/ | 'number' |
| [ndó] | /ndó/ | 'bitter' |
| [ndo] | /ndo/ | 'good' |
| [sém] | /sém/ | 'to sleep' |
| [sem] | /sem/ | 'salt water' |
| [bé] | /bé/ | 'kangaroo' |
| [be] | /be/ | 'later' |

There are also seven complex syllable peaks (diphthongs) in Abun - ai, au, ei, eu, oi, ou and ui. These could be interpreted as single units consisting of movement from lower to higher (ai, au, ei, eu, oi and ou) or back to front (ui). However they have been interpreted as VC clusters on the basis that they never occur before a consonant within a syllable. Indeed a unit interpretation is also viable based on non-suspect syllable patterns, but the absence of a CVC syllable, where the V is a diphthong, is significant. Thus for this reason diphthongs, which are not very common in Abun, have been interpreted as sequences of VC clusters.

Example of diphthongs:

(18)	[na <u>u<td>/naw/</td><td>'palm wine'</td></u>	/naw/	'palm wine'
	[we <u>u<td>/wew/</td><td>'banana'</td></u>	/wew/	'banana'
	[ko <i>ɪ</i>]	/koy/	'short'
	[a <i>ɪ</i> .na]	/ay.na/	'moon'
	[Aba <i>ɪ</i> dim]	/Abaydim/	'Abaydim (name)'

2.4 Syllable structure

Although some linguists doubt the reality of the syllable as a phonologically definable linguistic unit (Herbert 1986:67), it is a useful aid in description. In Abun, syllable structure may be given simply as (C)(C)V(C). This assumes the definition of a syllable as a sequence of sounds containing one peak of prominence. The peak is represented by a vowel.

The most common syllable is CV. Any consonant can occur in the syllable onset of this type of syllable. Also any of the five vowels can occur as the peak. The only restriction is that *wu* is unacceptable. All consonants may be absent, resulting in simple V syllables. Examples of these two syllable types are listed in (19).

(19) V	/i/	'sick'
CV	/šú/	'long'
V.CV	/a.na/	'that one'
CV.CV	/mo.re/	'here'
V.CV.CV	/o.nde.wo/	'however'
CV.CV.CV	/su.be.re/	'so that'

The next most common syllable type is CVC. The onset can be any consonant and the peak is any one of the five vowels. The coda is limited to the phonemes /p t k f s m n w r y/, that is, voiceless obstruents, nasals and glides. The obstruent /š/ and the nasal /ñ/ are neutralised to /s/ and /n/ respectively in the coda position. The initial consonant may be absent, resulting in VC syllables. Examples of these syllable types are listed in (20).

(20) CVC	/kam/	'sun'
VC	/ón/	'stomach'
VC.CV	/ay.na/	'moon'
V.CVC	/i.bit/	'bad'
CVC.V	/way.i/	'also'
VC.CV	/or.ge/	'and then'
CV.CVC	/su.gum/	'money'
V.CVC.CV	/a.bok.še/	'spirit name'
CV.CVC.VC	/ma.ngor.es/	'spinach'
CVC.CV	/tep.su/	'same'
CVC.CVC	/nuk.bót/	'to story'
CVC.V.CVC	/suk.i.bit/	'bad thing'
CVC.VC.CV	/suk.am.no/	'parable'
CVC.CV.CV	/suk.si.ri/	'wrong thing'
CVC.CV.CVC	/suk.da.ret/	'random thing'
CVC.CVC.CV	/jim.not.ku/	'love'

The least common syllable patterns are CCV and CCVC, where the first element of the CC cluster consists of one of eight phonemes listed below in

table 2.9. Either of the glides, /r/ or /w/ can be the second element, however the glide /y/ does not occur in this position (+ means occurs, - means does not occur).

TABLE 2.9 - WORD INITIAL CONSONANT CLUSTERS

	r	w
p	+	-
b	+	-
mb	+	-
f	+	-
k	+	+
g	+	+
ng	+	+
m	-	+

The first consonant in these clusters is always [-coronal]. The [-coronal] consonants /m/ and /w/ are not found in the non-suspect clusters with /r/, but they are distinguished from the other [-coronal] consonants in that both /m/ and /w/ are sonorant. Thus non-suspect CC clusters in Abun are in general made up of:

C	+	C
[-cor]		/r/
[-son]		

However when the second element is /w/, then the first consonant is usually [-anterior].

There is only one aberration to this, and that is the existence of /mw/. There are very few words beginning with /mw/. It is possible that these may have been introduced from the Ambergaken language to the east. The word used for 'many' in Abun Ji dialect is *ok*, while in Abun Tat it is *mwa*. The other /mw/ words also figure more prominently in the Abun Tat dialect which is at the western extremity of the Abun language.

Examples of the CCV and CCVC types of syllables are listed in (21).

(21)	CCV	/bro/	'to boil'
	CCVC	/krok/	'to rattle'
	CV.CCVC	/ye.bris/	'boy'
	CVC.CCVC	/suk.mraw/	'decoration'
	CCV.CV.CVC	/kro.wa.dik/	'surprised'
	CV.CV.CCV	/me.ka.gri/	'we three'

Apart from consonant clusters commencing a syllable there are clusters across syllable boundaries. The first element must be one of the eight phonemes that are in the coda position of a syllable as listed vertically in table 2.10. The second component can be one of 20 phonemes as displayed horizontally in the table below.

We can make the following observations from table 2.10:

1. Geminates clusters do not occur. Several other consonants are analogous to geminate clusters such as a voiceless plosive followed by a voiced plosive (/pb/, /td/, /tj/, /kg), fricatives with other fricatives (/fs/, /fš/, /sf/, /sš/) and the cluster /nñ/ does not occur.
2. Apart from geminate clusters, the /k/ phoneme precedes all consonants word medially, with the exception that a word medial /kñ/ has not yet been found in the data to date. The only prefix in Abun ending with a consonant is *suk-* 'NOM'. This may account for the fact that virtually all consonants follow /k/.

TABLE 2.10 - WORD MEDIAL CONSONANT CLUSTERS

(+ means occurs, - means cannot occur, 0 means may occur, but there are no examples in the data to date)

	p	t	k	f	s	š	m	n	ñ	w	r	y	b	d	j	g	mb	nd	nj	ng
p	-	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	-	+	0	+	-	-	-	-
t	0	-	+	0	+	0	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
k	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
f	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
s	0	0	+	-	-	-	+	+	0	+	+	-	+	0	0	+	-	-	-	-
m	0	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
n	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
w	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	0	0	-	0	0	+	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
r	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	-	0	+	+	0	+	-	-	-	-
y	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	+	0	0	0	-	0	+	0	0	-	-	-	-

3. Nasals before prenasalised plosives are usually assimilated to the point of articulation of the prenasalised plosive. Nasals do not always assimilate word medially to a following oral or nasal stop, such as in *semda* 'dream', *benbot* 'do according to', *jamgwatu* 'sweet potato', *jamñi* 'sweet potato (variety)'.
4. Plosives, nasals and the glide /r/ may all be followed by fricatives.
5. Nasals are not followed by /r/.
6. Only the /k/ phoneme precedes prenasalised plosives.
7. Both /s/ and /n/ followed by /y/ word medially become /š/ and /ñ/ respectively.
8. There are many blank spaces left because Abun is basically a monosyllabic language, and although a particular combination does not occur in the data to date, the possibility is not ruled out. Words with /p f ñ

y w/ medially are rather uncommon thus resulting in many '0' spaces in those rows and columns.

A cluster of three consonants word medially is rare in Abun. The only cases found are listed below.

(22)	/šap.kwa/	'tongs'
	/jam.gwa.sem/	'manioc'
	/mas.kwa/	'angry'
	/kem.kret/	'wait'
	/suk.mbraw/	'decoration'

These are the only clusters of three consonants word medial found in over 100,000 words of data to date. Even *kemkret* is suspect. It could actually be two words *kem kret*.

2.5 Morphophonemic rules

2.5.1 *k* deletion

The voiceless velar stop /k/ is deleted before velar stops in normal speech.

$$k \rightarrow \emptyset / _ C \\ [-ant, -cont]$$

(23) /suk+gít/	→	/sugít/	'food'
/suk+kos/	→	/sukos/	'song'

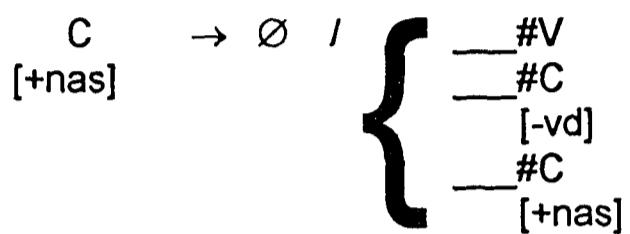
2.5.2 Nasal deletion

The nasal of a prenasalised stop is elided where prenasalised stops are preceded by a nasal across word boundaries, according to the following rule.

$$C \\ [+nas, -son] \rightarrow C / C \\ [-nas] \# _ \\ [+nas, +son]]$$

- (24) /jam#nde/ → /jam de/ 'don't know'
 /án#mbaú/ → /án baú/ 'he is well'

The two pronouns, *nan* '2SG' and *men* '1PL' are exceptions to the norm in that the final nasal is deleted at the word boundary when it is followed by a vowel, a voiceless consonant or a nasal.



- (25) /nan#ít/ → /na ít/ 'get up'
 /men#kem/ → /me kem/ 'we stay'
 /nan#má/ → /na má/ 'come'

For these two pronouns only, a word final nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of a following voiced stop across word boundaries as in the following rule:

C	+	C	→	C
[+nas]		[+vd]		[+nas]
		[-cont]		[-cont]
		[αant]		[αant]
		[βcor]		[βcor]

Or, put more simply,

$$\begin{array}{l} N + b \rightarrow mb \\ N + d \rightarrow nd \\ N + g \rightarrow ng \end{array}$$

- (26) /men#ben/ → [mem.ben] /mem ben/ 'we do'
 /nan#da/ → [nan.da] /nan da/ 'drink'
 /men#gat/ → [men] gat] /men gat/ 'we spear'
 /nan#gwát/ → [naŋ gwát] /nan gwát/ 'bring'

2.5.3 *r* deletion

The alveolar glide /r/ is deleted preceding morpheme boundaries. The only instances observed involve the form /šúr/ 'water' which forms compounds with the names of rivers and creeks.

$$r \rightarrow \emptyset / _ +$$

- (27) /šúr+nju/ → /šúnju/ 'Nju river'
 /šúr+yan/ → /šúyan/ 'Yan river'

2.6 Stress

In Abun stress is predictable. Stress occurs on the last syllable of each word. The following examples illustrate this. Stress is indicated by ' preceding the stressed syllable.

- (28) /ye.'bris/ 'male'
 /bo.'gé/ 'fish'
 /kwé.'nú/ 'tree sap'
 /i.'bit/ 'bad'
 /no.wa.'rék/ 'lightening'
 /man.gor.'es/ 'spinach'

2.7 Tone

Tone in Abun has a low functional load and may be disappearing as a useful contrastive feature. There are three contrastive tones, high/rising, low, and falling. In this section high or rising tone is marked with an acute accent mark above the vowel of the syllable, falling tone is marked with a grave accent, and low tone is unmarked. Elsewhere in this thesis, tone is only marked where it is germane to the discussion, as normally the context makes it clear to an Abun speaker what tone is required. In (29a) òn has a falling tone, whereas in (29c)

on has a low tone. In (29a) *buk* has a low tone, whereas in (29b) *búk* has a rising tone.

- (29) a. *An òn buk.*
 3SG stomach tight
 'She is pregnant.'
- b. *An òn búk.*
 3SG stomach lump
 'He has a stomach lump.'
- c. *An on buk.*
 3SG stools tight
 'He needs to defecate.'

The three way distinction of tones can be seen in the following, but in (a) the word *sye* is a verb, while in the other two examples it is an adjective. (Note: *sy* is used here to represent the phoneme /š/).

- (30) a. *Syúr syé.*
 water flow
 'The water flows.'
- b. *Syúr syé.*
 water flood
 'a big flood.'
- c. *Syúr sye.*
 water big
 'a big river.'

Other sets where tone affects the lexical meaning of Abun words are *i* '(be) sick' and *i* '(be) happy'; *ndò* 'good' and *ndó* 'bitter'. There are very few minimal pairs in the same word class, so the functional load borne by tone in Abun is very low.

Tone is also used in some instances to indicate plurality. The most common use of tone here is to differ between the singular and plural forms of the third person pronoun, in which '3PL' is /áŋ/ with a rising tone, while '3SG' is /an/ with

a low tone, as in (31). Other examples of where high/rising tone is used to pluralise are seen in (32).

- (31) /an bro sugít/ 'he boils the food'
 /án bro sugít/ 'they boil the food'

- (32) /ndam/ 'bird' /ndám/ 'birds'
 /nu/ 'house' /nú/ 'houses'
 /gwa/ 'taro tuber' /gwá/ 'taro tubers'

Tone sandhi also occurs in Abun. Ladefoged (1993:255,6) says, "Even in a tone language the pitch of the voice changes continuously ... assimilations occur between tones in much the same way as they do between segments. When a high tone precedes a low tone, then the low tone will usually begin with a downward pitch change. ... There seems to be a tendency in the languages of the world for tone assimilations to be perseverative—the tone of one syllable hanging over into that of later syllables—rather than anticipatory..."

In Abun, where a high/rising tone precedes a low tone, the low tone begins with a downward pitch, that is, it appears to be a falling tone. So, in (33a), when *ma* is preceded by *án* it has a falling tone, but when it is preceded by *an* as in (33b), *ma* has a level low tone.

- (33) a. *Áni ma mo-ré rè.*
 3PL come LOC-here PERF
 'They have come here.'
 b. *An ma mo-ré rè.*
 3SG come LOC-here PERF
 'He has come here.'

When a low or falling tone precedes a high tone, the high tone begins with an upward pitch, like a rising tone. The particle, *ít* in (34a), although normally a high tone, has a rising variant in this case due to the influence of *jám*, which

has a falling tone. When *jām* is replaced with *git*, which has a high tone, as in (34b), it also has a level high tone.

- (34) a. *An jām it.*
3SG know COMPL
'He finally knows.'
- b. *An git it.*
3SG eat COMPL
'He finally ate.'

Note regarding the orthography of Abun as used elsewhere in this thesis:

The orthography used in the remainder of this thesis uses the phonemic symbols presented in the consonant and vowel charts (Tables 2.1 and 2.7 above), with the exceptions that /š/ is written as sy, and /ñ/ is written as ny. Also diphthongs such as /au/, /eu/, /oi/ and /ai/, although interpreted earlier as VC, are written as au, eu, oi and ai respectively. This then reflects the practical orthography used in Abun as a result of the influences of Indonesian orthography.

3. Morphology and word classes

Traditionally major classes of words that are grammatically distinguished in a language have been called parts of speech. In this chapter, after a brief discussion of morphological typology (3.1), we will explore the parts of speech distinctions that are significant for the Abun language (3.2), the components of each word class and their formation (3.3 and 3.4).

Of particular interest is the analytical or isolating nature of the Abun language which therefore has very little affixation and as a result a prominent role for closed function word classes.

In addition, many of the free forms in Abun are undergoing the process of grammaticalisation to become affixes, since they focus on grammatical function rather than lexical meaning. These free forms are handled together with the affixes in this description of Abun morphology.

3.1 Typology

The Abun language is best classified as an isolating or analytic language since it largely has a one to one correspondence between words and morphemes as is illustrated by the following sentence:

- (35) *Men ben suk mo nggwe yo, men ben suk sino.*
1PL do thing LOC garden then 1PL do thing together
'If we do things at the garden, then we do it together.'

Furthermore, words in Abun are mostly monosyllabic. A sampling of the first 200 words in each of five stories each by a five different speakers reveals that 80.8% of the words are monosyllabic, 17.8% have two syllables and only 1.4% have three or more.

In relation to morphological typology, Comrie (1989:46) discusses two indices, the index of synthesis and the index of fusion, the most significant for Abun being index of synthesis. This index has two extremes. At one extreme are isolating languages, which have a one to one correspondence between morphemes and words. At the other extreme are polysynthetic languages which have a high level of morpheme to word ratio. Each language fits somewhere along this continuum. Abun is particularly noteworthy because it is very close to the isolating end of the spectrum. Examples of affixation and word compounding exist, but the vast majority of Abun words consist of only one morpheme. Analysis of the sample mentioned above reveals an average morpheme to word ratio of 1.13. This compares with English 1.68, Sanskrit 2.59 and, at the other end of the scale, Eskimo, with 3.72 (Lyons 1968:188).

The second index that Comrie discusses is the index of fusion which measures the extent to which morphemes within the word are readily segmentable, with the extremes being agglutination and fusion. The few affixes which occur in Abun are easily segmentable. There is some slight variability of morpheme shape predictable in terms of general phonological rules discussed in 2.5. Abun then, has an agglutinating morphology within its relatively small amount of polymorphemic words. Very little fusion is evident.

Comrie (1989:46ff) discusses several languages in relation to the index of fusion including Turkish, Hungarian and Russian. Turkish is relatively agglutinating, Hungarian exhibits more fusion, and Russian even more fusion again. Abun, however is more like Turkish in that it is close to the agglutinating end of the continuum.

Therefore Abun is an isolating language, mostly monosyllabic and, in the few cases of affixation and word compounding that do occur, the morphemes are easily segmentable.

The implications of very little affixation in Abun are that other strategies are required to effect what is normally achieved through affixation. For example, in many languages affixation on the head of a noun phrase defines grammatical relations. However, in Abun, word order alone defines core grammatical relations, while prepositions are used with obliques. Number is expressed with a classifier and a number word, rather than an affix. Possession is not marked with an affix, but instead a linker is used between the possessor and the possessum.

Very little affixation occurs on Abun verbs. Instead of person/number agreement affixes on verbs, only free form pronouns are used. While other languages in the West Papuan Phylum have both free pronominal forms and person/number prefixes on verbs, including the most closely related language, Maibrat, Abun does not. Time adverbs, temporal prepositional phrases and some conjunctions indicate notions of time normally carried by tense affixes. Polarity, aspect, mood and modality are conveyed by the use of particles, not by affixation on verbs as is common in Papuan languages (Foley 1986).

The processes of word building in Abun are therefore rather limited. The following processes are evident: limited suffixation on verbs (3.3.1); three prefixes for nouns (3.3.2); word compounding, principally in nouns (3.3.2) and some adjectives are used as manner adverbs (3.3.3 and 3.3.4).

3.2 Establishing word classes

In this section the parts of speech appropriate for the Abun language will be defined after a discussion of the basis upon which the distinctions are made.

In establishing the parts of speech classification for the Abun language grammatical criteria have been employed, namely, the word's distribution, its range of syntactic functions and the morphological or syntactical categories for which it is specifiable. These criteria are listed by Schachter (1985:3) who states they are not open to the objections of unclear application that traditional definitions are.

Once the types of word classes are established on the basis of grammatical criteria, they are then given a label that reflects their characteristics, so words that express actions, processes and the like are called verbs. A label for a word class is decided upon after the word class has been established.

Honey (1972:277) makes the point that "the object of the grammarian is to establish categories of words which are most efficient for enabling him to make the most comprehensive and, at the same time, the simplest grammatical statements..." Honey developed systematic syntactic statements whereby he established his system of word classes for Vietnamese (which is also an analytical language like Abun) on the basis of positional relationships of certain selected words and/or classes of words. Some of his methods have been applied to establish a set of word classes for Abun.

The word classes in Abun have been divided into open and closed classes. Open classes of verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs have a membership that is in principle unlimited. Closed classes, which in Abun are noun adjuncts,

verb adjuncts, conjunctions, proforms, particles and interjections, have a fixed and generally small number of words.

3.3 Open word classes

There are four open word classes discussed below, verbs (3.3.1), nouns (3.3.2), adjectives (3.3.3) and adverbs (3.3.4), as shown in the table below.

TABLE 3.1 - OPEN WORD CLASSES

Open Class:	Subclasses:	
	open	closed
Verbs	Intransitive Transitive Ditransitive	
Nouns	Proper Common Compound	Body parts Relator
Adjectives		
Adverbs	Temporal Manner	Degree Directionals

According to Schachter (1985:4) the distinction between *nouns* and *verbs* is one of the few universal parts-of-speech distinctions. Regarding the distribution of nouns in Abun, they may directly follow or precede the possessive linker *bi* but never directly follow the predicate marker *yo*. Conversely verbs never directly follow *bi*, but may directly follow *yo*.

Adjectives are distinguished from nouns and verbs in 3.3.3. Many adjectives do double duty as adverbs and there are several other distinct adverb subclasses discussed in 3.3.4.

3.3.1 Verbs

Verbs in Abun have three subclasses, transitive, intransitive and ditransitive. These subclasses are distinguishable on the basis that intransitive verbs do not occur with objects, transitive verbs do, whereas ditransitive verbs occur with an object as well as an 'indirect object' in the form of a prepositional phrase. A subclass of intransitive verbs can be transformed into transitive verbs by the suffixation of -wa.

Suffixation on verbs is relatively limited in Abun. Four suffixes occur, three of these resulting from grammaticalisation of prepositions, and the fourth from the coalescence of an adverb. The following table lists verb suffixes.

TABLE 3.2 - ABUN VERB SUFFIXES

Suffix	Meaning
-wa	'transitive/benefactive'
-bot	'extends scope'
-ket	various
-gat	'intensifier'

Three of the suffixes that occur with verbs come from the prepositions, *wa* 'BENEFACTIVE', *bot* 'PERLATIVE' and *ket* 'along'. These three prepositions occur in their free form, but also they have become attached to some verbs and nouns with which they frequently co-occur. For example, the benefactive preposition has become affixed to some verbs to form verbs that have a different meaning incorporating a benefactive notion. Likewise the other two prepositions have also become affixed to some verbs. This procedure follows the grammaticalisation principle of divergence proposed by Hopper (1991:22), "when a lexical form undergoes grammaticalisation to a clitic or affix, the original

form may remain as an autonomous element..." Indeed the original form of each of these prepositions has remained as an autonomous element, but it has also changed to become an affix. The change of status from a free form preposition to an affix is based on the grounds of both prosody and meaning change of the resultant form. The fourth suffix is derived from the adverb *gat* 'INTENSITY'. The grammaticalisation of each affix is discussed below.

The grammaticalisation of wa

One of the suffixes that is an inflection on verbs or derives verbs from nouns is -wa. This suffix has resulted from the lexical form, *wa* 'BENEFACTIVE', undergoing grammaticalisation.

Frequently the free form *wa* is separated from the verb as in (36). It is common also for *wa* to be adjacent to the verb, and it is in these cases coalescence results in a semantic shift as well as a change in prosody. This occurs because the object is frequently omitted in Abun grammar, leaving the verb adjacent to *wa*. The preposition does not coalesce in all cases, but particularly when the interpretation of the verb and *wa* is no longer compositional, then it is clear that *wa* has become the suffix -wa. According to Anderson (1985:42), the inflected verb, once formed, is then like all words, subject to shift, specialization, generalization and other changes of meaning. This is seen in (43) as well as in (46).

(36)	<i>An</i>	<i>fro</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>yo</i>	wa	<i>men.</i>
	3SG	prepare	house	a	BEN	1PL
'He prepared a house for us.'						

The suffix -wa has two basic uses in Abun. One transitivises intransitive verbs and the other changes the meaning of transitive verbs to include a benefactive notion.

There are several intransitive verbs that may be transitivised by the addition of the suffix *-wa*. Verbs like *nyu* '(be) fearful', *i* '(be) happy', *fo* '(be) unclean', *ti* 'stand', *kem* 'sit' are transitivised in this way, (37) and (39) show intransitive forms, while (38) and (40) show transitive forms. In (40), the form *kem* is shortened to *ke* due to common use, normally the nasal would not be elided as seen in (41) below.

- (37) *Ji nyu.*

1SG fear
'I am afraid.'

- (38) *Nu nyu-wa men o nde.*

2PL fear-TRANS 1PL again NEG
'Don't fear us anymore.'

- (39) *Ji kem.*

1SG sit
'I sit.'

- (40) *Noru ne yen ke-wa Lamber nombrak.*

night DET 3INDEF sit-TRANS Lamber morning
'That night they guarded Lamber's (body until) the morning.'

The transitive verb *syim-wa* 'shut' can be derived by the suffixation of *-wa* to the noun *syim* 'hand' as in (41).

- (41) */sak syim-wa nu-syo.*

Isak hand-TRANS house-mouth
'Isak shut the door.'

In addition to transitivising some intransitive verbs and nouns, the suffixation of *-wa* to transitive verbs changes the meaning to include a benefactive notion. In (42), the transitive verbs *me* 'see' and the preposition *wa* have combined together to form the inflected word, *mewa* 'take care of' in (43). The benefactive notion combined with 'seeing' the canoe results in the idea of 'taking care of the canoe'.

- (42) *Marinus me kwem.*
 Marinus see canoe
 'Marinus saw the canoe.'
- (43) *Marinus me-wa kwem.*
 Marinus take.care.of canoe
 'Marinus takes care of the canoe.'

Similarly the verb *kon* 'cook' and *wa* coalesces to result in a different meaning. In (44) the transitive verb *kon* 'cook' is used in its normal sense, but if we cooked food for Isak then the benefactive preposition would be a free form as in (45). However, to celebrate something, which comes from the idea of cooking for something, results in the suffixation of *-wa* as in (46).

- (44) *Men kon su-git.*
 1PL cook NOM-eat
 'We cooked food.'
- (45) *Men kon su-git wa Isak.*
 1PL cook NOM-eat BEN Isak
 'We cooked food for Isak.'
- (46) *Men kon-wa nu ari.*
 1PL cook-BEN house Sunday
 'We celebrated (the opening of) the church.'

Other verbs that change in their semantic scope as a result of the suffixation of *-wa* are:

(47)	<i>bi</i>	'give'	<i>biwa</i>	'pay for'
	<i>ki</i>	'say'	<i>kiwa</i>	'ask for'
	<i>napa</i>	'recall'	<i>napawa</i>	'remember'

There are also a few verbs that no longer have an uninflected form such as *syaretwa* 'to listen to'; *rewa* 'to deny'; *sakanwa* 'to meet at a nominated location not at either person's home'; *eswa* 'to wait for'. The forms, *syaret*, *re*, *sakan* and *es* no longer occur.

The grammaticalisation of *bot*

Bot, too, has undergone a process of grammaticalisation. The free form *bot* is a PERLATIVE preposition, meaning 'along, about or through'. In (48) the normal use of this preposition as 'about' is shown.

- (48) *Pa siker nok bot kwa-yo-kwa-yo*
 young.man tease wild.pig PERL thing-a-thing-a
 'The young men teased the wild pig about many things.'

The form *bot* has in many cases become combined with verbs. The resultant forms have a different semantic scope when compared to the uninflected forms, for example, *wat* 'separate' and *watbot* 'examine' in (49) and (50). The uninflected *wat* means 'separate', while *watbot* contains the perative notion of separating about or along a particular path, that is, examining.

- (49) *Nggon we wat nok onyar i, be onyar i.*
 women two separate wild.pig intestine own kangaroo intestines own
 'The two women separated the wild pig's intestines from the kangaroo's intestines.'

- (50) *An wat-bot buku.*
 3SG separate-PERL book.
 'She studies the book.'

Some verbs that combine with *bot* and have meaning changes to include a perative notion are:

(51)	<i>wat</i>	separate/divide	<i>wat-bot</i>	examine
	<i>jam</i>	know, understand	<i>jam-bot</i>	believe
	<i>tik</i>	pull	<i>tik-bot</i>	draw conclusions
	<i>ki</i>	say	<i>ki-bot</i>	discuss
	<i>nut</i>	think	<i>nut-bot</i>	think about
	<i>mu</i>	go	<i>mu-bot</i>	go along
	<i>is</i>	go down	<i>is-bot</i>	go down along

The grammaticalisation of ket

Ket also follows the same grammaticalisation procedure as *bot* and *wa*. The free form *ket* is a LOCATIVE preposition. It precedes the location of the path of the action. For example, the location where goods were being carried in (52) is along the ground, that is, by foot, and the location of the path of the cutting across in (53) was towards the interior (rather than the sea).

- (52) *Men sam suk ket bur.*
 1PL carry things LOC earth
 'We carried the things, walking along.'
- (53) *Men tot ket nden.*
 1PL cut LOC interior
 'We cut across to the interior (path).'

Frequently, as stated above, objects are omitted in Abun resulting in the preposition *ket* being adjacent to a verb. This has resulted in the combining of some verbs with *ket* with a subsequent semantic shift. The free form *ket* occurs adjacent to the verbs *mu* 'go', *ti* 'stand', *tot* 'cut', *e* 'fall over', but there is no evidence of semantic shift or change of prosody in these cases, so *ket* remains as a free form and is not affixed to these verbs. However, *ket* has become a suffix in the case of the two adjectives *mbrin* 'unconscious' (54) and *ye* 'difficult' (55). This is clear because of both prosody and significant meaning changes in these two examples. Another example of a change of meaning when -*ket* is suffixed is with the verb *ki* 'say'. The resultant word is *ki-ket* 'slander'.

- (54) *Ji mbrin-ket nan gum re.*
 1SG unconscious-LOC 2SG name PERF
 'I have forgotten your name.'
- (55) *Ji ye-ket we ji ben suk ga-ne.*
 1SG difficult-LOC because 1SG do thing REL-DET
 'I'm surprised because I did that thing.'

The grammaticalisation of *gat*

The free form *gat* 'to spear, join' is a regular verb as in (56), and it also behaves as an adverb meaning that an action is done with intensity or penetratingly. In (57) *gat* signifies that the act of entering new students of witchcraft into the training house was not just at its old pace, but that now there was a new emphasis on doing it, and that emphasis was more intense.

- (56) *Musa gat nok.*

Musa spear wild.pig
'Musa speared the wild pig.'

- (57) *An sok pa ye-won ne, i-be gat.*

3SG enter young.men PERS-knowledge DET its-new INTENSE
'He is putting in young men (to train as) shamen, lots of new ones.'

Adverbs are post object in Abun clauses. Since objects are frequently elided, the adverb often directly follows the verb, just like the prepositions *wa*, *bot* and *ket*. Some verbs and nouns undergo prosody and semantic changes when they co-occur with the adverb *gat*, and so they coalesce. In these cases, the semantic changes are not always equal to the compositional meaning of the components. However the inflected verbs do have notions of intensity or pressure. The conversion of status from a free form (the adverb) to an inflection on the verb is clear due to prosody and semantic changes. In (58) the verb *wer* 'to try (to seduce)' combines with -*gat* to form *wer-gat* 'make a determined effort, work hard at'. Likewise the verb *ki* 'speak' combined with -*gat* forms *kigat* 'speak persuasively'. Furthermore the verb *i* '(be) sick' combines to form *i-gat* '(be) frequently sick' (59).

- (58) *An wer-gat an baca.*

3SG push-INTENSE 3SG read.
'S/he pushed herself intensely to be able to read.'

- (59) *An yo i-gat saga nyim nde re.*

3SG NEG sick-INTENSE like beforeNEG PERF
'She is not always sick like she had been.'

An alternative analysis is to consider this as word compounding, where it is actually the verb, *gat* that is coalescing with another verb. Sentences like (60) show that indeed both the verb and adverb *gat* can occur in the one clause. The verb makes clear that they are spearing each other and the adverb conveying the manner in which they were doing it. In fact, *ndi* and *gat* in (60) are not compounding, rather both verbs stand alone on prosody grounds and there is certainly no change of compositional meaning compared to each verb's meaning when they occur in this way. This is a case of serial verbs. In contrast to this when the adverb and a verb co-occur then coalescence occurs. So in (61) *ndi-gat*, the *-gat* refers to the intensity of fighting. Instead of an independent stress centre on each morpheme the primary stress is on *-gat*, according to the stress patterns found in Abun words.

- (60) *An we ndi gat yu gat.*
 3PL two fight spear each.other INTENSE
 'They (two) fought, spearing each other furiously.'
- (61) *An we ndi-gat.*
 3PL two fight-INTENSE
 'They (two) fought furiously.'

A few nouns have also combined with *-gat* to form verbs, such as: *syim-gat* 'hand-INTENSE: to start' and *syo-gat* 'mouth-INTENSE: to order'.

- (62) *Pilot syim-gat kaparok uk satu o.*
 pilot hand-INTENSE airplane sound return again
 'The pilot started up the plane again.'
- (63) *An syo-gat pa kem.*
 3SG mouth-INTENSE child sit.
 'He ordered the child to sit.'

Some verbs no longer have the uninflected forms in the language. For example, the form *syaugat* 'to command' occurs, but *syau* does not.

3.3.2 Nouns

Within the noun class there are five distinct subclasses, proper nouns, common nouns, compound nouns, body parts, and relator nouns, the last two of these subclasses being closed ones. Proper nouns, which together with pronouns always directly precede *bi* 'possessive linker', consist of words such as names of people or places. They are distinguished from common nouns in that they never occur after the possessive linker. The subclass of body parts occur in inalienable possessive constructions and are juxtaposed to the possessor, see 5.3 for more details.

Nouns are in general a single morpheme, but can also consist of multiple morphemes. Multiple morphemes are derived from single morpheme nouns or some other form classes through the processes of affixation and compounding.

There are three *prefixes* on nouns, a nominaliser, *suk-*, a personaliser, *ye-*, and *i-*, a possessive pronoun prefix for non-human referents which replaces the whole of a non-human whole-part relationship in compound nouns. They are listed in the table below.

TABLE 3.3 - ABUN NOUN PREFIXES

Prefix	Type	Meaning
<i>suk-</i>	class changing	'nominaliser'
<i>ye-</i>	sub-class	'personaliser'
<i>i-</i>	sub-class	'part of whole'

Since both *suk* and *ye* also occur as free forms, an alternative analysis would be to describe them as being used in forming noun compounds.¹ However, the choice of prefix is preferred here because all three prefixes involved convey grammatical rather than lexical information. Furthermore affixes may also exist as free forms, such as *in* in the English *in-put*.

The nominaliser, *suk-*

In the same way that the prepositions discussed above are grammaticalised, the free lexical form *suk* 'thing' has also undergone grammaticalisation to become a nominalising prefix. The following examples show that the free form *suk* can be the object, albeit undefined in (64), and undefined items that are possessed as in (65). This free form is also used in a pronominal way to refer back to a situation, or certain inanimate things. In (66) *suk* refers to a list of items including cassowary, blackbird and possum.

- (64) *Me kon suk su syur.*
 1PL cook thing with water
 'We cook things in water.'

- (65) *Men ndau an bi suk kadit kapar.*
 1PL unload 3SG POSS thing from ship
 'We unloaded his things from the ship.'

- (66) *Suk ne fo sane pa wogan git nde.*
 thing DET forbidden so child small ear NEG
 'Those things are forbidden, so small children must not eat them.'

This prefix is derivational forming nouns from verbs and adjectives. So, for example, instead of just saying, *An git suk*. 'They ate things', one could say, *An git sugit*. 'They ate food.' Here the prefix *suk-* combines with the verb *git* 'eat' to form the noun *sugit* 'food'.

¹ It appears that this dilemma is common, to quote Anderson (1985:45) "The line between compounding and stem modification is not always easy to draw..., but this is not a matter of major importance since the division is primarily a matter of convenience."

A subclass of verbs including activities such as eat, grow, plant, fight, decorate, dance and any speaking type of verb such as say, advise, tell stories, sing or chant can be prefixed with *suk-*. Adjectives can also be prefixed by *suk-*. Intransitive motion verbs do not combine with this prefix. There is only one example in the data of a noun, *bo* 'fruit' combining with *suk-*. The phonological rule, that geminates do not occur in Abun, results in the ellipsis of *k* preceding velar oral stops. In addition, the primary stress occurs on the final syllable and so the prefix, *suk-* is unstressed. Some examples are below.

(67)	<i>mbrau</i>	'to decorate'	<i>suk-mbrau</i>	'decoration'
	<i>du</i>	'to speak'	<i>suk-du</i>	'news/story'
	<i>sara</i>	'to dance'	<i>suk-sara</i>	'dance'
	<i>git</i>	'to eat'	<i>su-git</i>	'food'
	<i>i</i>	'sick'	<i>suk-i</i>	'sickness'
	<i>kwop</i>	'die'	<i>su-kwop</i>	'funeral'
	<i>ndo</i>	'good'	<i>suk-ndo</i>	'goodness'
	<i>gum</i>	'round'	<i>su-gum</i>	'money'
	<i>nggi</i>	'strong'	<i>suk-nggi</i>	'strength'
	<i>bo</i>	'fruit'	<i>sukbo</i>	'container'

The personaliser, *ye-*

Similar to *suk*, the free lexical form, *ye* 'person' also undergoes grammaticalisation to become a personaliser prefix, yet remains elsewhere as an autonomous element. The free form occurs as an undefined or indefinite third person pronoun (68). In such cases it has its own independent stress.

- (68) **Ye** *mu* *mo* *nden.*
 3INDEF go LOC outside
 They (indefinite) went outside.'

This independent stress is lost when the personaliser, *ye-* combines with nouns to form names for persons in different roles or positions. The prefix is a derivational prefix and the resultant forms, which are in a different subclass, are frequently not equal to the compositional meaning of the components. In (69) the one who stands on a tree stump does so because he is a leader in society. In (70) a man who has not been trained at one of the shaman training schools (where Abun men are trained to relate to spirit beings and so become 'priests' of their animistic religion) is considered to be not a 'normal' man but literally a woman-person.

- (69) *ye-kwe-su*
 PERS-tree-head
 'tree stump person, (leader)'

- (70) *ye-nggon*
 PERS-woman
 'male who is not a shaman'

Not all the affixed forms are idiomatic, but aspects of a particular person's origin or features are referred to, such as:

- (71) *An ye-nden.*
 3SG PERS-inland
 'He is a non-coastal (inland) person.'

- (72) *An ye-ka-kwo.*
 3SG PERS-body-white
 'He is a white person.'

Use of the *ye-* prefix is also made in the Abun people's names. Almost all clan names, which are used like a family name, are formed by the prefixing of *ye-* to a verb or adjective, such as *Ye-njau* 'PERS-bite', *Ye-bro* 'PERS-boil', *Ye-rin* 'PERS-pour', *Ye-nnggren* 'PERS-shine', *Ye-kese* 'PERS-evil'.

Noun compounds

In addition to the stem modification processes such as those discussed above, a significant feature of Abun is word compounding. Words are formed by the combination of two or more members of open lexical classes such as *kapar-ok* 'boat-fly: airplane', *kwe-ngwot* 'tree-packaged: book'. The components of these compounds are noun + verb and they form nouns. This may be expressed as [N–V]_N, in the same format Anderson (1985:46) uses. Other compounds, such as *gwem-bo* 'face-fruit: nose', *nu-syo* 'house-mouth: doorway' consist of noun + noun to form a noun and can be expressed as [N–N]_N.

The compound status of the examples given here is confirmed by the way the forms have shifted in meaning, which is more common for words than for phrases (Anderson 1985:43). So a *ye-gwes-wai* 'PERS-leg-pass: leg passing person' is actually a mediator, a *kwe-ngwot* 'tree-packaged: packaged tree' is a book and so on. But the main factor determining the compound status of the forms is the fact that stress in Abun is predictably syllable final, so the lack of stress on the initial syllables indicates that in the Abun mind a new word is derived. Thus in *kapar-ok* the final syllable, *ok* is stressed, while the syllables *ka* and *par* are not. If this was a clause, in the unusual event of a boat flying, then *par* of *kapar* would be stressed and the word *ok* would have its own independent stress.

Some noun compounds consist of the personaliser and noun and verb, [N–V]_N, or a noun and adjective [N–Adj]_N. For example, *ye-gwes-wai* 'PERS-leg-pass: mediator', *ye-da-mok* 'PERS-skin-raw: foreigner' *ye-pa-sye* 'PERS-child-big: important person'.

Non-human 'whole-part' compounds are combinations of nouns where the second member is a bound morpheme. All of these may be represented as

$[N-N]_N$, since they are combinations of nouns, and the resultant form is also a noun, eg. *gur-bo* 'coconut-fruit', *su-go* 'head-hair', *be-ku* 'kangaroo-flesh: kangaroo meat'. In addition, bird names are compounds. The word *ndam* 'bird' occurs in isolation, but the second morpheme (bird type) does not, for example, *ndam-kokor* 'bird-fowl: domesticated fowl', *nda-wam* 'bird-crow: crow', *nda-som* 'bird-bat: fruit bat'. All of these types of compounds indicate a possessor-possessed or whole-part relationship. For example, the generic word for tree is *kwe*. But when leaves are referred to, the form is *kwe-nat* 'tree-leaves'. The first morpheme *kwe*, is a free form morpheme, but the latter morpheme *-nat* 'leaves' is bound. Leaves are never referred to as **nat*. Likewise branch, bark, roots are formed using *kwe* together with the respective bound morpheme, *kwe-guk* 'branch', *kwe-da* 'bark' and *kwe-nos* 'roots'. The 'whole' in these types of whole-part relationships is not just limited to *kwe*, but also other plants also such as *gur-nat* 'coconut-leaves', *bei-nat* 'sago palm-leaves'. Furthermore other living things such as birds, animals and fish and some inanimate objects and their parts are also compounds. For example, *ndam-go* 'bird-feathers', *wo-dar* 'fish-scales', *yor-ot* 'spear-tip'. The morpheme representing the part is always bound.

Noun compounds and the *i-* prefix

After the initial reference to a 'whole-part' type noun in a discourse, further reference can be made to the item by replacing the morpheme representing the whole with the prefix, *i-*. Therefore after an initial reference to *kwenat*, additional reference to that item later in the discourse is made by using the prefix *i-* as a pronominal referent and so the form would be *i-nat* 'its-leaves'. Likewise with the other types of whole-part relationships, *ndam-go* becomes *i-go* 'its-feathers', *wo-dar* becomes *i-dar* 'its-scales' and *yor-ot* becomes *i-ot* 'its-tip'. In such words both morphemes are bound.

In human whole-part relationships or inalienable possession, the prefix *i-* is not used, rather the person's name or person pronoun is used, for example, *Musa syim* 'Musa's arm/hand', *ji syim* 'my arm/hand', *an gwas* 'his/her leg'. The possessive pronoun for human inalienable possession is the same as the subject and object pronoun for each person. Furthermore the body part (*syim*, 'arm', *gwas* 'leg' etc.) may occur as a free form and is not a bound morpheme as is the case of the 'part' in non-human whole-part relationships. Therefore the prefix, *i-* is only used as an inalienable possessive pronoun prefix for non-human referents, replacing the 'whole' in the 'whole-part' relationship in the same way a pronoun replaces a noun.

Relator nouns

The final noun subclass is relator nouns. These may appear in some cases as the head or as a modifier in a locative prepositional phrase (see 5.4.2 for examples). Words in this subclass can be broken into two subsubclasses, those that stand on their own and those that compound with *de* 'side'. There are nine in the former group and six in the latter. These are listed in the following two tables.

TABLE 3.4 - RELATOR NOUNS

Relator Noun	Meaning
<i>mit</i>	'inside'
<i>git</i>	'in front of'
<i>yu</i>	'on top of'
<i>ke</i>	'at the base of'
<i>ndet</i>	'in between'
<i>nim</i>	'above'
<i>nim</i>	'eastern'
<i>ket</i>	'western'
<i>de</i>	'at the side'

TABLE 3.5 - COMPOUND RELATOR NOUNS

Relator Noun	Meaning
<i>deju</i>	'upstream side'
<i>deti</i>	'sea side'
<i>dedari</i>	'behind'
<i>derut</i>	'at the back of'
<i>desnak</i>	'underneath'
<i>denden</i>	'outside'

3.3.3 Adjectives

Adjectives are a class of words denoting qualities or attributes, which in Abun functionally modify nouns, and frequently function as predicates (73a). Adjectives are distinct from verbs in that they function as head of adjectival phrases and in those phrases can specify degree such as comparative and superlative (73b, c). Furthermore although structurally both adjectives and verbs directly follow the predicate marker *yo*, verbs never directly precede the intensifier *wai*, whereas adjectives do.

- (73) a. *Yenggras ne nggi*
 old/respected.man DET strong
 'The old man is strong.'
- b. *Yenggras ne nggi wai kadit nan.*
 old/respected.man DET strong INTENSE from 2SG
 'The old man is stronger than you'
- c. *Yenggras ne nggi wai ore.*
 old/respected.man DET strong INTENSE complete
 'The old man is the strongest.'

The class of adjectives in Abun hovers on the borderline of being an open or closed word class. While on the one hand adjectives do occur as predicates and also specify degree, features of an open class of adjectives, many adjectival meanings are expressed through verbs, which is more typical of a

language with a closed adjective class according to Schachter (1985:16). Relativisation of verbs express the equivalent of a modifying adjective. For example:

- (74) *Pa gato jam suk mwa ma.*
 child REL know things many come.
 'The boy who knows many things came. or The *intelligent* boy came.'
- (75) *An sok-bot nu-syo gato kak ne.*
 3SG enter-along house-mouth REL open DET
 'He entered though the *open* door.'

Among the adjectives which modify the head of a noun phrase, syntactically only one class can be distinguished because only one adjective can modify a noun head in a noun phrase. The modification of a noun by more than one adjective requires the use other constructions which are discussed in 5.2.1.

In the corpus of data to hand a total of 38 adjectives have been distinguished, but there may well be others, thus it is included as an open word class. Semantically distinctions can be made to form groups of colour, size, quality or age adjectives, but syntactically they all function in the same way.

There is one adjective compound formed by two adjectives, [ADJ–ADJ]_{Adj}, *wok-gan* 'small-little: young and small'.

3.3.4 Adverbs

The class of adverbs, which function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns (Schachter 1985:20), is a heterogeneous group in Abun consisting of several subclasses, 'directional' adverbs, 'time' adverbs, 'manner' adverbs and 'degree' adverbs. Directional and degree adverb subclasses are closed, and the number of manner adverbs are limited. Time adverbs have more flexibility with some compounding evident.

The *directional adverbs* subclass, which includes words such as *nim* 'east(erly)', *ju* 'upstream', act as adverbs when they occur outside the phrase, that is, directly following a determiner as in (76b) and (77b). This same subclass of words (listed as relator nouns above) may also occur within the phrase to modify the head of a locative prepositional phrase as seen in (76a) and (77a). This subclass of relator nouns does 'double duty' acting both as modifiers of a phrase, and as a closed subclass of directional adverbs in which case they occur outside the phrase.

- (76) a. *mo banbo sye nim ne*
 LOC mountain big east DET
 'on the big eastern mountain'
- b. *mo banbo sye ne nim.*
 LOC mountain big DET east
 'on the big mountain in the easterly direction'
- (77) a. *mo Nyarwon bi nu de-ju ne*
 LOC Nyarwon Poss house side-upstream DET
 'on the upstream side of Nyarwon's house'
- b. *mo Nyarwon bi nu ne de-ju*
 Loc Nyarwon Poss house DET side-upstream
 'at Nyarwon's house, upstream side'

The second subclass of adverbs is *time adverbs*, which consists of words such as *ik* 'tomorrow', *kamekre* 'yesterday', and compound constructions like *kam-dik-kam-dik* 'day-one-day-one: everyday' and *ber-gan* 'later-little: shortly', are usually sentence initial in their distribution, but may also be part of the predicate. This subclass of adverbs alone has considerable options in its placement in the sentence, for example,

- (78) a. **Kam-dik-kam-dik** *an ma mo ji bi nu.*
 day-one-day-one 3SG come LOC 1SG POSS house
 'Everyday he came to my house.'
- b. *An kam-dik-kam-dik ma mo ji bi nu.*
 3SG day-one-day-one come LOC 1SG POSS house
 'Everyday he came to my house.'

- c. *An ma kam-dik-kam-dik mo ji bi nu.*
 3SG come day-one-day-one LOC 1SG POSS house
 'He came everyday to my house.'
- d. *An ma mo ji bi nu kam-dik-kam-dik.*
 3SG come LOC 1SG POSS house day-one-day-one
 'He came to my house everyday.'

The third subclass of adverbs is *manner adverbs*. This subclass is not as 'open' as a regular open class because many adverbial meanings are expressed in other ways, such as associative prepositional phrases *su sangge* 'with truth: truly', or the use of adjectives without any special markings, the possibility of which Schachter (1985:22) mentions, where there are languages in which the class of adjectives do double duty, modifying verbs as well as nouns. Abun's adjectives do that type of double duty, for example, *ndo* in (79) is a manner adverb, whereas *ndo* in (80) is an adjective. Alternatively one may say that some adjectives undergo conversion to form a subclass of manner adverbs.

- (79) *An ben an bi suk i ne ndo.*
 3SG do 3SG POSS thing own DET good
 'He does his things well.'
- (80) *An it san ndo sepatu ndo.*
 3SG wear clothes good shoes good
 'He was wearing good clothes and good shoes.'

Manner adverbs consist of a small group of adjectives (about 12) that do double duty as adjectives and manner adverbs such as *ndo* 'good/well', *ibit* 'bad/badly', *nggi* 'strong/strongly', *ot* 'sharp/sharply'. In addition there is another group that only behave as adverbs such as *kekro* 'quickly', *pare* 'slowly'

and a reduplicated form², *nyip-nyap* 'finely crushed'. All manner adverbs are distinguished distributionally in that they fall outside the noun phrase or possessive phrase, directly following the determiner as seen in (79).

'Degree' adverbs are a small closed subclass of adverbs which modify manner adverbs as well as adjectives. Distributionally they always directly follow an adjective or an adverb. There are two adverbs in this subclass, *teker* 'very/too' and *wai* 'more than/passing' as seen in (81) below and (82) above.

- (81) *An nuk ye teker.*
 3SG speak people INTENSE
 'She spoke (about) people too much.'
- (82) *An bes an nggwa kok wai ore.*
 3SG lift 3SG body high INTENSE complete
 'He lifted up (exalted) himself as the highest.'

3.4 Closed Word Classes

In Abun there are six basic closed word classes consisting of noun adjuncts, verb adjuncts, conjunctions, proforms, particles and interjections. Each of these and their subclasses will be discussed in turn below.

With regard to closed classes, Schachter (1985:23) makes the comment that there is a correlation between the prominence of closed classes in a language and the position of the language on the analytic-synthetic scale. The more analytic the language is, the more prominent is the role of closed classes. Schachter (1985:24) adds, "...much of the semantic and syntactic work done by the members of closed word classes in analytic languages is done instead by affixes in synthetic languages." Abun, being heavily analytic, therefore, has many distinct types of closed classes and very few affixes.

² Reduplicated forms occur in Abun but number less than ten. There are some verbs like *rup-rek* 'twinkle', and *fot-fat* 'break' and a noun, *mok-muk* 'body'.

TABLE 3.6 - CLOSED WORD CLASSES

Closed Classes:	Subclasses	Subsubclasses
Noun adjuncts	Possessive linker	
	Prepositions	
	Classifiers	
	Quantifiers	General Cardinal Numerals Ordinal Numerals
Determiners		Articles Deictics Referents
Verb adjuncts	Predicate markers Verbal particles	
Conjunctions	Coordinating Subordinating	
Proforms	Pronouns Prosentences Interrogative proforms	
Particles	Topicaliser Negation Aspect Mood Modal	
Interjections		

The closed classes in Abun are distinguished on the basis of syntax, for example, pronouns (together with proper nouns) may be directly followed by the possessive linker *bi*, predicate markers always directly precede a verb or predicate adjective, prepositions always precede their noun, and particles, except the topicaliser, are always sentence final.

3.4.1 Noun adjuncts

There are several subclasses of noun adjuncts including the possessive *linker* *bi*. (for more detailed use of this linker see 5.3); ten prepositions; many quantifiers (including general quantifiers, cardinal and ordinal numerals); classifiers and determiners (which have three subsubclasses and many compounds forms).

Below is a list of the *prepositions* used in Abun with their English equivalent. More details of their use is found in 5.4.

TABLE 3.7 - ABUN PREPOSITIONS

Preposition	English	Preposition Type
<i>is/nai</i>	'to'	dative
<i>mo</i>	'at/ to'	spacio-temporal
<i>subot/bot</i>	'about/along'	
<i>kagit/kadit</i>	'from'	
<i>karowa</i>	'near'	
<i>ket</i>	'across/ at (non-locative)'	
<i>wade/kom mo</i>	until/for	
<i>su</i>	'with'	associative, instrumental, temporal
<i>wa</i>	'for'	benefactive/purposive

Quantifiers may be either general or a specific numeral. The general quantifiers are *mwa* 'many', *bok* 'several' and *deyo* 'some'. They follow adjectives, when present, in the noun phrase.

The Abun *numeral* system is a decimal system. This is common in the West Papuan phylum to which Abun belongs, but the languages belonging to the neighbouring Trans-Papuan phylum, some of which are in the south of the Bird's Head peninsula of Irian Jaya, have a binary and additive system. The

table below lists the Abun numerals. Note that *sop* means 'and/in addition'. The same word is also used in *an syim-sop-kwa* 'lit. his arm-addition-thing: his finger'.

TABLE 3.8- ABUN CARDINAL NUMERALS

Abun	English
<i>dik</i>	one
<i>we</i>	two
<i>gri</i>	three
<i>at</i>	four
<i>mumek</i>	five
<i>mumat</i>	six
<i>mufit</i>	seven
<i>munggwo</i>	eight
<i>musi</i>	nine
<i>musyu</i>	ten
(<i>musyu dik</i>) <i>sop dik</i>	eleven
(<i>musyu dik</i>) <i>sop we...</i>	twelve
(<i>musyu dik</i>) <i>sop mumek</i>	fifteen
<i>musyu we</i>	twenty
<i>musyu we sop dik</i>	twenty one
<i>musyu gri</i>	thirty
<i>musyu musyu dik</i> or <i>wotin</i> ³ <i>dik</i>	one hundred
<i>wotin dik musyu at</i> <i>sop mumek</i>	one hundred and forty five
<i>ribu</i> ⁴ <i>dik</i>	one thousand

Ordinal numerals are formed by a combination of *do* and each numeral except for *do-ketke* 'first', or the dialectal variant, *do-futmo* 'first'. Every other ordinal numeral is formed by the combining of *do* and the appropriate cardinal numeral. For example, *do-mumek* 'fifth', *do-musyu dik sop we* 'twelfth' and so on.

³ *wotin* is borrowed from the Biak language.

⁴ *ribu* is borrowed from Indonesian.

When the quantifier is a specific numeral normally a *classifier* precedes it to indicate something of the shape and size of the object. There are many types of classifiers that may be used depending upon the type of noun in the phrase head. In Table 3.9 the common classifiers are listed with the types of nouns to which they apply.

TABLE 3.9 - NOUN CLASSIFIERS

Classifier	Noun Type
bo	fruit, motor
but	bundles of things
ge	person, animal,
gwes	bamboo (cut pieces)
is	tuber
ka	person
ke	tree, house
koi	stick (cut pieces)
sak	cloth
wak	cloth

There are several subclasses of *determiners* including what may be called articles that deal with a specific/unspecific distinction, these are *yo* 'a' and *ne* 'the'. A second subclass is the deictics which consist of *ré* 'this', *ne* 'that' and *tu* 'that (distant)'. Thirdly there is a referents subclasses which consists of a anaphoric referent, *ga* and a external referent *to*. Also the three deictic particles and the subordinating conjunction *to* (a different *to* to the external referent) form compounds with the referents, as well as the focus, or topicaliser, particle, *ana*, the simile particle, *sa*, and the general locative preposition *mo*, as shown in the table below:

TABLE 3.10 - DETERMINER RELATED COMPOUNDS

Deictic	<i>ré</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>to</i>
locative	<i>mo-ré</i> here	<i>mo-ne</i> there	<i>mo-tu</i> over. there	
external	<i>to-ré</i> is.here	<i>to-ne</i> is.there	<i>to-tu</i> is.over. there	
anaphoric	<i>ga-ré</i> latter/ recent	<i>ga-ne</i> former/ then	<i>ga-tu</i> back. then	<i>ga-to</i> relative conjunction
focus	<i>ana-ré</i> this.is/ now	<i>ana-ne</i> that.is/ then		<i>ana-</i> <i>to</i> topicaliser
simile	<i>sa-ré</i> like.this	<i>sa-ne</i> like.that		<i>sa-to</i> for. example

3.4.2 Verb adjuncts

There are two subclasses in the closed class of verb adjuncts. First there are certain verbs that combine with *verbal particles*. These particles, such as *ma* 'come', *mu* 'go' and *kem* 'stay' do double duty as verbs, but when used as *verbal particles* are discontinuous with the verb and follow the object, see 5.1 for more details. Some of the verbal particles, like *we* 'away', are not used as any other part of speech. Some verbs with verbal particles are listed in the table below:

TABLE 3.11 - VERBAL PARTICLES

Verb	Verbal Particle	Meaning
<i>gwat</i>	<i>mu</i>	take (carry ... go)
<i>gwat</i>	<i>ma</i>	bring (carry ... come)
<i>grem</i>	<i>kwop</i>	put away
<i>grem</i>	<i>kem</i>	put down
<i>bi</i>	<i>mu</i>	send away
<i>bi</i>	<i>ma</i>	send here
<i>bare</i>	<i>we</i>	throw away

A second subclass consists of four *predicate marker particles* which always directly precede the verb when present. The meanings of the predicate markers range across the entire spectrum of concepts that are normally

referred to as tense, aspect or mood.⁵ See C. Berry (1995) for more details. They are contained in the table below:

TABLE 3.12 - PREDICATE MARKERS

Particle	Meaning	Used in:
yo	this did not happen	simple sentences
waii	this happened exactly as before (same verb and object)	simple sentences
da	this did actually happen	complex sentences
do	this is in the process of happening together with ...	complex sentences

3.4.3 Conjunctions

There are many conjunctions in Abun. The conjunctions which coordinate clauses are more closely associated with the first conjunct in the sentence since a pause occurs after the conjunction. Schachter (1985:47) says that this type of conjunction "can be characterised as *postpositional* since they form structural conjuncts with the conjuncts they follow." This is surprising since it is expected that they would follow Abun's general word-order characteristic, that is, prepositional.

The table below lists both the coordinating and subordinating conjunctions found in Abun. Many of the conjunctions are formed by compounding, and the benefactive preposition wa does double duty as a subordinating conjunction. For more detailed discussion about Abun conjunctions see C. Berry (1995).

⁵Lyons (1968:317) noted that in some languages these concepts may merge into one another. In attempting to define the precise meaning of the predicate markers they can be loosely described as falling into this broad area.

TABLE 3.13 - CONJUNCTIONS

<i>Coordinating</i>		<i>Subordinating</i>	
e	'and'	do	complementiser
si	'with, and'	to	unrestricted relative conjunction
bado	'or'	gato	restricted relative conjunction
wo	'but'	sa	'while, when, as' (realis)
o-nde-wo	'again-NEG-but: but really'	yo	'when...then' (irrealis)
te	'then'	o-nde-sa	'again-NEG-while: otherwise (would)'
e-te	'and-then'	o-nde-yo	'again-neg-when: otherwise (will), unless'
or-e-te	'completely-and-then: after that/then'	or-e-te-yo	'completely-and-then-when: and next/and so'
		wa	'for, in order to'
		we	'because'
		sawe	'in case, lest'
		sane	'so, therefore'
		sude	'so that'
		anato	'that is the reason'
		kapre	'although'
		i...i (clitic)	simultaneous action

3.4.4 Proforms

Abun has three subclasses of proforms including pronouns, prosentences, interrogative proforms.

There is only one set of *pronouns* in Abun which are used for subject, object and possessor listed in the table below. There is significant dialectal variation, with the three main dialects being distinguished by their first person singular pronoun. In addition to dual forms trial and greater are possible by the in accordance with the noun phrase structure. Thus *me-ka-gri* 'we three' or *an-ka-at* 'they four' are frequently used in story telling.

TABLE 3.14 - PRONOUNS

(NB. Dialect variants of Abun pronouns are represented in the following way: *nin/nu*.)

Person	singular	dual	plural
1	<i>ji/ye/tat</i>	<i>me-ka-we</i>	<i>men</i>
2	<i>nan/a</i>	<i>nin-(ka)-we</i>	<i>nin/nu</i>
3	<i>an</i>	<i>an-(ka)-we</i>	<i>án</i>
3f	<i>mom</i> (archaic)		
non-human	<i>i-</i>		

In addition to the above pronouns, Abun has a reciprocal pronoun and two reflexive forms, *dakai* and *wadigan* which modify to the appropriate pronoun above (for further details regarding the distinction between these two see 5.2.1) and , *yu*. The same form of this pronoun is used for all persons.

The Abun *prosentence subclass* consists of one member, which is also the primary negation particle, *nde*. This word is used to answer questions with a 'no' and as such is equivalent to a negative sentence. Affirmative answers use an echo system rather than a prosentence (see 6.1 for more details).

There are three members of the *interrogative proforms subclass*, namely, *u* 'which', *suma* 'what' and *ot* 'how many'. These forms combine with other words to form interrogative expressions such as, *mo u* 'Loc which: where', *kam ot* 'day how.many: when'. For more details see 6.4.

3.4.5 Particles

There are several subclasses of particles including a topicaliser particle, a particle used for negation, three aspect, three modal and eight mood particles.

The term particle is used to mean a free form word that does not take any type of inflection. It is an invariant form that never occurs in an environment where it could be described as 'bound'.

The topicaliser, or focus, particle is *ana(to)* which always occurs after the subject and before the verb. See 4.7.2 for more details about the use of this particle.

There is one negative particle, *nde*, which occurs after the predicate and before aspect mood or modal particles. Used on its own it may answer a question in the negative. To form the indicative negative this particle along with the predicate marker, *yo*, form a linked pair of particles. These particles jointly bracket the constituent "predicate". Used in a sentence without *yo*, *nde* makes the mood of the sentence prohibitive. For further details see chapter 8.

If a clause includes an aspect, modal or mood particle, that particle will always be in clause final position in that order. The particles may occur after either the verb, the object, the indirect object or an adjunct depending on the constituents of the particular clause concerned. Also these particles are not clitics in that the particle takes equivalent phonological stress along with every other word in the clause.

The three aspect particles listed in the table below are optional. For more details see 7.1.

TABLE 3.15 - ASPECT PARTICLES

Particle	Aspect Type	Meaning
re	perfect	'already'
it	completive	'completed'
tó	incompletive	'yet, still'

There are a limited number of particles which some writers refer to as '*modality*' rather than as aspect (Foley 1986:152ff). In Abun three modal particles are used which are listed in the table below and are discussed in more detail in 7.2.

TABLE 3.16 - MODAL PARTICLES

Particle	Modal type	Meaning
bayok	probability	'maybe, could, probably'
ya	possibility	'might'
go	assertive	'should, could really, certainly'

In Abun the constituent termed *mood* is an element of the clause expressed through the means of a clause final particle. The indicative mood is unmarked. One interesting feature of the mood particles is the use of two particles as a linked pair to indicate interrogation. In a similar way, negation of indicative sentences uses a linked pair of particles. In Abun, the strategy of using two particles (as opposed to one) is for the purpose of delineating constituent boundaries. Thus the constituent "interrogative" is marked by two particles, one termed the initial question marker, IQM, occurring clause initially and the other, the final question marker, FQM, which ends or closes the interrogative. In modern usage the initial question marker *te* appears to be optional, perhaps

influenced by the national language, Indonesian, which does not possess such a particle. The FQM differs according to the type of interrogative.

A table of the eight mood particles is listed below. For further information about mood particle listed here see chapter 6.

TABLE 3.17 - MOOD PARTICLES

Particle(s)	Mood Type
<i>te</i>	interrogative (IQM)
<i>e</i>	interrogative (FQM yes/no Q)
<i>fe</i>	interrogative (FQM confirm Q)
<i>bado</i>	interrogative (FQM alt Q)
<i>ne/o</i>	interrogative (FQM info Q)
<i>tom/se</i>	strong hortative
<i>et</i>	mild hortative
<i>ware</i>	frustrated action

3.4.6 Interjections

There are several interjections in Abun, such as *mban!* 'expression of surprise/alarm' (for example, when a coconut falls nearby); *mara!* 'expression of disgust' (for example, when someone doubts the integrity of another person, this interjection would begin a defense); *bei!* 'expression of surprise'. According to Schachter (1985:58) "The class of interjections often includes words which are phonologically distinctive." However, in contrast to this, those interjections observed so far fit within the regular phonological patterns of the language.

Basic Part Word Order

4. Clause structure

The focus of this chapter is the structure of an Abun main clause. Firstly some comments are made regarding the core grammar and grammatical relations (4.1) followed by a note regarding how the grammatical relations hierarchy relates to Abun (4.2). A discussion of clause types (4.3), peripheral constituents which are here labelled adjuncts (4.4), and clause final particles (4.5), completes the picture of the Abun verbal main clause. In section 4.6 Abun verbless clauses are discussed.

A feature of Abun clauses is their fairly rigid word order, especially in the core, but also in the periphery. The acceptable variations are limited. There are several syntactic information packaging options in Abun clauses such as a passive-like constructions, topicalisation and cleft-like constructions which are discussed in 4.7.

4.1 Core grammar and grammatical relations

The basic word order of an Abun clause, like all other West Papuan Phylum languages, is SUBJECT VERB OBJECT.

Firstly, in regard to subjects, Andrews (1985:104) points out that in a great many languages a subject grammatical relation is clearly marked by the coding features of ordinary main clauses. For example, in English, subjects are primarily marked by the coding feature of preverbal position, and in some limited cases indicated by case marking and cross-referencing. Abun subjects are similar to English in that they are clearly encoded by word order. No case marking or other coding devices signify an Abun subject. Rather Abun subjects

are always the constituent realised by a noun phrase that immediately precedes the verb.

The direct object in an Abun transitive clause is also encoded by word order alone. Abun objects are always the constituent realised by a noun phrase that immediately follows the verb.

According to Andrews (1985:69) the first step in analysing the system of grammatical relations in a language is to identify A, S, and O, where A is transitive subject (prototypically an agent), S is intransitive subject (either agent or patient) and O is transitive object (prototypically a patient). Typologically languages differ according to how these grammatical relations group. Nominative/accusative systems combine A and S functions, whereas absolute/ergative systems combine S and O functions.

On this basis, Abun is a nominative-accusative language since it combines the S and A functions. Abun combines S and A on a syntactic level, the syntactic-coding being word order. S and A precede the verb, whereas O follows the verb. In an intransitive clause, a subject (S) precedes the verb, as in (83). The same is true for a transitive clause, the subject (A) precedes the verb and an object (O) follows, as in (84).

- (83) *Men kas.*
 1PL run
 SUBJECT VERB
 'We ran.'

- (84) *Men gwa Isak.*
 1PL hit Isak
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT
 'We hit Isak.'

Morphologically the constituents of noun phrases are the same irrespective of the grammatical role filled by the noun phrases. In (84) the subject of the transitive clause (A) is first person plural, while an identical form is also the object (O) of (85) and subject of the intransitive clause (S) in (83). All Abun pronouns are invariant in form whether they refer to the subject, object or possessor. See table 14 in 3.4.4. for a full list of pronouns.

- (85) *Isak gwa men.*
 Isak hit 1PL
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT
 'Isak hit us.'

Most other grammatical relations, including that of dative, are encoded by the use of prepositions. In addition to being encoded by prepositions, word order is still fairly rigid. For example, dative, where present, follows an object and precedes other prepositional phrases. Locative phrases with the preposition *mo* usually follow all other prepositional phrases.

Free form adverbs or adverbial phrases which express time or location are free from the otherwise rigid word order of the Abun clause, with the exception that they cannot occur preceding the direct object (see 4.4.1).

Thus, an Abun main clause consists of:

(ADJUNCTS) SUBJECT VERB (DIRECT OBJECT) (INDIRECT OBJECT) (ADJUNCTS) [PARTICLES]

Adjunct means free form adverbs or adverbial phrases and various prepositional phrases expressing, associative, instrumental, benefactive etc. The subject is obligatory and is rarely elided, even in subordinate clauses. Particles may optionally occur clause finally to indicate polarity, aspect, modality or mood. A detailed discussion of these particles is the subject of the last three chapters of this thesis.

Objects may be topicalised by fronting. Adjuncts expressing location or time may also be fronted and thereby precede the subject in certain contexts (see 4.7 below). Those expressing time usually precede the subject, whereas those expressing location are only fronted on rare occasions.

4.2 Abun and the grammatical relations hierarchy

Blake (1990:1) summarises some of the basic notions of relational grammar and includes a discussion of grammatical relations that can be arranged in a hierarchy, namely subject, object, indirect object and obliques (that is, adjuncts). Each level of the hierarchy can be distinctly marked, for example, the presence of case marking or adpositions tends to be associated with the oblique end of the hierarchy.

In arranging the grammatical relations of the Abun language in a hierarchy it can be seen that each level is marked in a distinct way, as listed in table 1 below. Firstly the subject is marked by word order, it is simply preverbal. Second, the object also is marked by word order, it is postverbal. Next, at the level of indirect object a change in marking takes place. Higher in the hierarchy word order alone marks the grammatical relations, but for indirect objects and obliques grammatical relations are marked by prepositions, with word order taking a secondary role.

TABLE 1 - GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS HIERARCHY

Relation	Indication
Subject	precedes verb
Object	follows verb, and intransitive verbs require class changing suffix, -wa
Indirect Object	follows object, and takes indirect object preposition <i>is/nai*</i>
Adjunct	occurs clause final following object or indirect object, and takes appropriate preposition to indicate locative, benefactive, instrument etc.

4.3 Clause types

The number of arguments associated with each verb differs. Three types exist in Abun, intransitive, requiring one argument (4.3.1), transitive, requiring two arguments (4.3.2) and ditransitive, requiring three arguments (4.3.3). In Abun no verbs have specific valency markings except for the use of the -wa suffix which forms transitive verbs out of intransitive verbs (see 3.3.1).

4.3.1 Intransitive clauses

The verbs in intransitive clauses may be simple verbs of motion such as *kas* 'run', *mu* 'go', *ma* 'come', *titi* 'flee', *ok* 'fly', *e* 'fall over', *ges* 'fall down', *sun* 'get up' or verbs of body functions such as *semda* 'dream', *ro* 'urinate', *ku* 'cough', or verbs relating to a state such as *sem* 'be asleep', *kwop* 'be dead', *nyu* 'be afraid', *i* 'be sick', *i* 'be happy' *det* 'be broken', *kam* 'be hot'.

The basic structure of an intransitive clause is SUBJECT + VERB. The verbs are in most cases uninflected except for those inflections discussed in 3.3.1. The subject is obligatory since no cross referencing on the verb indicates who or what the subject was. The closest related language, Maibrat, does have a

subject person prefix on the verb, but Abun does not, necessitating the continual use of the subject. So, for example, in (86) *Isak* is obligatory.

- (86) *Isak ma.*
 Isak came
 SUBJECT VERB
 'Isak came.'

Likewise the verb is obligatory. Any verb in isolation is ungrammatical. An intransitive clause may consist of several verbs together as in (87). Serial verbs like this function as a unit.

- (87) *An kas mu sem mo nden.*
 3SG run go sleep LOC bush
 SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE PHRASE
 'He ran and slept in the bush.'

Intransitive clauses may also contain prepositional phrases. These phrases usually follow the verb as in (87), and will be discussed in greater detail below, regarding position in 4.4.2, and regarding types in 5.3.

4.3.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses contain verbs such as *sap* 'cut', *git* 'eat', *gwa* 'hit', and *nai* 'get'. The basic structure is SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT. Example (88) illustrates a transitive clause.

- (88) *Men git boge-ku.*
 1PL eat fish-flesh
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT
 'We ate fish.'

The subject, as for intransitive clauses, is obligatory. The object is also notionally obligatory, however, object ellipsis frequently occurs in discourse. In (89) there are two transitive clauses, the first contains *sugit* 'food' as the object. However in the second clause the object is elided. The speaker could say an

git sugit or, including the object, and still be acceptable grammatically. In all cases where the object is elided it is recoverable from the context.

- (89) *An git su-git.* *An git* or.
 3SG eat NOM-eat 3SG eat completely
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT SUBJECT VERB
 'He ate the food. He ate (it) all.'

Transitive clauses may also include serial verbs depending upon speaker preference. A pronoun may be used to separate verbs such as in (90), whereas others run several verbs together, *Ji mu git*. 'I went and ate.' Three verbs have been observed together in the data, as seen in (91). Conceivably more than three could be acceptable given suitable semantic connections. In serial verb constructions like this, intransitive verbs precede transitive verbs. Where transitive verbs precede intransitive verbs an object intervenes.

- (90) *Ji mu ji git su-git mo nu.*
 1SG go 1SG eat NOM-eat LOC house.
 SUBJECT VERB SUBJECT VERB OBJECT LOC PHRASE
 'I went and ate at home.'

- (91) *Ye-suk-mise ma nai gwat an mu ket.*
 PERS-NOM-evil come capture carry 3SG go west
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT VBPCL ADVERB
 'The police came and caught him and took him westward.'

4.3.3 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses include verbs that require three arguments such as *syo* 'give', *kadum* 'show', and *bi* 'send'. They are constructed in a similar way to transitive clauses but also include an obligatory dative prepositional phrase as the third argument. A ditransitive clause consists of:

SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT + DATIVE

The dative argument here is obligatory. It is filled by a prepositional phrase that begins with the preposition *is* (Abun *Ji*) or, dialectal variant, *nai* (Abun

Ye/Tat) and it usually precedes other types of prepositional phrases, as seen in (92) and (93).

- (92) *Men kadum men bi tiket is ye-suk-mise.*
 1PL show 1PL POSS ticket to PERS-NOM-evil
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT DATIVE
 'We showed our tickets to the police.'

- (93) *Nggon ne syo suk-ne nai an bi im mo nu.*
 girl DEM give NOM-DET to 3SG POSS mother LOC house
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT DATIVE LOCATIVE
 'That girl gave those things to her mother at home.'

Frequently the object is omitted where it is understood from the context. In (94) the object, 'three plates', is elided from the second clause. This is possible because it is recoverable from the context that three plates were given to Isak. In the same way the indirect object itself, when recoverable from the context can be elided, except for the preposition. In (95) it is clear that the third person singular referred to in the first clause is the recipient of the ginger.

- (94) *An nai brek gri, an syo is Isak.*
 3SG get plate three 3SG give to Isak
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT SUBJECT VERB DATIVE
 'He took three plates (of food), he gave (them) to Isak.'

- (95) *Ji si an ma, ji bi ri nai.*
 1SG with 3SG come 1SG give ginger to
 SUBJECT VERB SUBJECT VERB OBJECT DATIVE
 'He and I came (to the house), and I gave the ginger to (him).'

4.4 Adjuncts

Adjuncts express spatio-temporal settings of events and other secondary participants and information not contained in the core arguments. Adjuncts are distinguished from the core arguments by syntactic positioning outside of the core and by marking with prepositions. Adjuncts of a clause are therefore typically filled by adverbial phrases (4.4.1) and prepositional phrases (4.4.2).

4.4.1 Adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases consist of an adverb and an optional intensifier. In most cases such phrases are realised by an adverb alone.

There are several types of adverbs discussed in 3.3.4 such as time adverbs, manner adverbs, directional adverbs and degree adverbs. Degree adverbs are used in forming adverbial and adjectival phrases and will be discussed later in 5.5. The other three types occur as free forms or as the head of an adverbial phrase. There is some flexibility in their placement in the Abun sentence, but as a general rule time adverbs are sentence initial while manner and directional adverbs generally follow the object and precede prepositional phrases.

The most flexible as to their placement in an Abun sentence are time adverbs. An example below repeated from 3.3.4 illustrates this. Usually time adverbs are sentence initial, but to change the focus and semantic scope of the predicate, they may follow the verb. This is particularly significant in negative indicative sentences which are discussed in 8.5. Also time adverbs can occur between a subject and verb on rare occasions, as in (96b), breaking the normal pattern of Abun main clauses.

- (96) a. **Kam-dik-kam-dik** *an* *ma* *mo ji bi nu.*
 day-one-day-one 3SG come LOC 1SG POSS house
 ADVERB SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE PHRASE
 'Everyday he came to my house.'
- b. *An* **kam-dik-kam-dik** *ma* *mo ji bi nu.*
 3SG day-one-day-one come LOC 1SG POSS house
 SUBJECT ADVERB VERB LOCATIVE PHRASE
 'Everyday he came to my house.'
- c. *An* *ma* **kam-dik-kam-dik** *mo ji bi nu.*
 3SG come day-one-day-one LOC 1SG POSS house
 SUBJECT VERB ADVERB LOCATIVE PHRASE
 'He came everyday to my house.'

- d. An ma mo ji bi nu **kam-dik-kam-dik.**
 3SG come LOC 1SG POSS house day-one-day-one
 SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE PHRASE ADVERB
 'He came to my house everyday.'

In Abun adverbs of manner there is some flexibility, but they generally follow the object, where present. Therefore in intransitive clauses these adverbs directly follow the verb (97a) or an another adjunct (97b), but are unacceptable preverbal (97c) or following any polarity, aspect, modality or mood particle.

- (97) a. An sem not mo gum-wak re.
 3SG sleep quietly in wall-hole PERF
 SUBJECT VERB ADVERB LOCATIVE PHRASE ASPECT
 'She has been sleeping quietly in the room.'
- b. An sem mo gum-wak not re.
 3SG sleep in wall-hole quietly PERF
 SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE PHRASE ADVERB ASPECT
 'She has been sleeping quietly in the room.'
- c. *An not sem mo gum-wak re.
 3SG quietly sleep in wall-hole PERF
 SUBJECT ADVERB VERB LOCATIVE PHRASE ASPECT
 'She has been sleeping quietly in the room.'

Usually an adverb indicating the manner of the action not only follows the object but also precedes the dative as seen in (98a). It also may follow any adjunct including the dative as in (98b), but it may not occur in any position ahead of the object as in (98c) to (98e).

- (98) a. An syo su-git kekro is ji
 3SG give NOM-eat quickly to 1SG
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT ADVERB DATIVE
 'He gave food quickly to me.'
- b. An syo su-git is ji kekro
 3SG give NOM-eat to 1SG quickly
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT DATIVE ADVERB
 'He gave food to me quickly.'

- c. **An* *syo* ***kekro*** *su-git* *is ji*
 3SG give quickly NOM-eat to 1SG
 SUBJECT VERB ADVERB OBJECT DATIVE
 '*He gave quickly food to me.'
- d. **An* ***kekro*** *syo* *su-git* *is ji*
 3SG quickly give NOM-eat to 1SG
 SUBJECT ADVERB VERB OBJECT DATIVE
 'He quickly gave food to me.'
- e. ****Kekro*** *an* *syo* *su-git* *is ji*
 quickly 3SG give NOM-eat to 1SG
 ADVERB SUBJECT VERB OBJECT DATIVE
 'Quickly he gave food to me.'

Adverbs indicating direction also occur in the same position, that is, following the object and preceding any prepositional phrase (99). These adverbs are free form relator nouns (see 3.3.2) such as *ti* 'sea, north', *bur* 'earth, down', *nim* 'above, east', *ket* 'west', and *nden* 'interior, south'.

- (99) *Me* *wai* *yu* *mu* *ti* *mo* *Dom.*
 1PL turn.around ourselves go seaward LOC Sorong
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT VBPCL ADVERB LOCATIVE
 'We turned around to go seaward at Sorong.'

4.4.2 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of dative, spacio-temporal, benefactive, manner, associative, and instrumental phrases. Prepositional phrases follow an object. When there is a dative prepositional phrase, it usually precedes other prepositional phrases. The order among the other types of phrases is somewhat fluid.

The following examples illustrate the position of various types of phrases in the clause. For more details regarding the types of prepositional phrases see 5.4. Several types of phrases begin with a preposition *su* 'with', for example, temporal phrases (100), associative phrases (101), instrumental phrases (102) and (103) and manner phrases (104).

- (100) *An kem mo kampung ré su tahun musyu mufit sop gri.*
 3SG live LOC village DET in year ten seven and three.
 SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE PHRASE TEMPORAL PHRASE
 'He was living in this village in (nineteen) seventy three.'
- (101) *Nan ma kem su men.*
 2SG come live with 1PL
 SUBJECT VERB ASSOCIATIVE PHRASE
 'Come and live with us.'
- (102) *An gwa Simon su kwe koi sye.*
 3SG hit Simon with tree piece big.
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT INSTRUMENTAL PHRASE
 'He hit Simon with a big piece of wood.'
- (103) *Isak syo su-git is men su an syim mo nden.*
 Isak give NOM-eat to 1PL with 3SG hand LOC bush
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT DATIVE INSTRUMENTAL LOCATIVE
 'Isak gave us food with his hand in the bush.'
- (104) *An sok mo Yefun bi rus su sange.*
 3SG enter into God POSS family with true
 SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE MANNER
 'He truly entered into God's family.'

Benefactive phrases begin with the preposition *wa* 'for' (105). Locative phrases generally begin with the locative preposition *mo* 'at, in, on' (100) or can also begin with *ket* 'along' (106), *bot* 'about' (107), or *kadir* 'from' (108). The preposition *kadir* is also used to form temporal phrases (109).

- (105) *An so semen mo-re wa an bi nu.*
 3SG buy cement LOC-here for 3SG POSS house.
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT LOCATIVE BENEFACTIVE
 'He bought cement here for his house.'
- (106) *Men mu ket sem de ne.*
 1PL go along sea side DET.
 SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE
 'We went along the seaside.'
- (107) *An saye bot nu bot nden nu de ne ju.*
 3SG shout about house about outside house side DET east(near)
 SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE LOCATIVE
 'She shouted (for me) about the houses, about the outside of the houses just up to the east (of the village).'

- (108) *Men mu kadit Dom mu mo Uigwem.*
 1PL go from Dom go to Uigwem.
 SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE VERB LOCATIVE
 'We went from Dom to Uigwem.'

- (109) *Ji ben kadit ketke sor kom mo-re.*
 1SG do from beginning until to LOC-here
 SUBJECT VERB TEMPORAL
 'I have done (that) all the time up until now.'

The position of prepositional phrases relative to each other is somewhat fluid as is normally the case for adjuncts. However, in the corpus of data it is clear that there is a preference for *su* (associative and instrumental) phrases to precede *mo* locative phrases.

Of the adjuncts, temporal phrases more commonly precede the subject as in (110), and they may be placed just like time adverbs illustrated in (96) above.

- (110) *Su futmo ye mu nai su-git mo nggwe.*
 with first 3INDEF go get NOM-eat LOC garden
 'At first people went to get food from the garden.'

Prepositional phrases can occur in series as in the case of locative phrases with the prepositions *bot* as in (107) above, and *mo* (111).

- (111) *Yen taru mu mo nje mo nden mo Syubun.*
 3INDEF send.message go LOC 3INDEF LOC bush LOC Syubun
 SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE LOCATIVE LOCATIVE
 'They sent a message to the people in the bush at Syubun.'

4.5 Particles

The role of particles in Abun clauses is significant. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 in the last section of this thesis are devoted to a discussion thereof. To complete the general picture of Abun main clauses, here is a brief summary of the role of particles used to convey notions of negation, aspect, modality and mood. They all occur clause final in the following order:

(NEGATION) (ASPECT) (MODALITY) (MOOD)

Each particle is optional. They may co-occur where semantically feasible. Furthermore, the particle expressing negation may co-occur with another particle, *yo*, which is preverbal, forming a linked pair, as discussed in 8.2. Likewise the particle expressing interrogative mood may co-occur with a sentence initial particle, *te*, forming a linked pair, as discussed in 6.1.

4.5.1 Negation

Givón (1984:336) comments that NEG-markers tend to attach themselves as morphemic operators almost always to the verb. However Abun differs markedly from the norm in that its main NEG-marker, *nde*, is not attached to the verb, and is frequently distant from the verb, being one of the clause final particles. For prohibitive sentences *nde* is used as in (112) and (113), but for negative indicatives the predicate (V, O and all ADJUNCTS) is bracketed by two particles, *yo* and *nde* as seen in (114) and (115). For a more detailed discussion of negation see 8.1.

- (112) *Nggon git su-ge ga sye nde.*
 women eat NOM-body REL big NEG
 'Women must not eat big animals.'

- (113) *Nan mu nde.*
 2SG go NEG
 'Don't go!'

- (114) *An yo gwat kwem nde.*
 3SG NEG bring canoe NEG
 SUBJECT NEG PCL VERB OBJECT NEG PCL
 'He did not bring the canoe.'

- (115) *Ji yo syo mbre is Musa mo nu nde.*
 1SG NEG give antique.cloth to Musa LOC house NEG
 SUBJECT NEG PCL VERB OBJECT DATIVE LOCATIVE NEG PCL
 'I didn't give antique cloth to Musa at the house.'

4.5.2 Aspect

The verb in Abun is uninflected for either tense, mood or aspect. Aspect particles add increments to the meaning of the verb and occur clause final. In Abun, aspect particles, which are optional, refer to the distribution of time or contour of an action or state of affairs. They are:

<i>re</i>	'PERFECT'
<i>it</i>	'COMPLETIVE',
<i>tó</i>	'INCOMPLETIVE'

Examples of each type are given in (116) to (118). For further details about aspect in Abun see 7.1.

- (116) *An we mu re.*
 3PL two go PERF
 SUBJECT VERB ASPECT
 'They (two) had gone.'

- (117) *Nggon we sap yu it.*
 women two slash each.other COMPL
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT ASPECT
 'The two women had already slashed each other.'

- (118) *An ben suk mo nggwe tó*
 3SG do thing LOC garden INCOMPL
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT LOCATIVE ASPECT
 'He is still working in the garden'

Aspect particles follow prepositional phrases and a final negative particle, *nde*, where present. It is uncommon for two aspect particles to occur together, but it is possible with a negated incomplete that is perfect as seen in (119).

- (119) *Ji yo jam kom mo mit nde tó re.*
 1SG NEG know up.to LOC inside NEG INCOMPL PERF
 'I still have not yet understood the whole thing.'

4.5.3 Modality

Modal markers optionally occur where the attitude of the speaker is marked grammatically near the end of a clause, following negation or aspect particles and just preceding any mood marking. Modals in Abun are:

<i>ya</i>	'POSSIBILITY', (120)
<i>bayok</i>	'PROBABILITY' (121)
<i>go</i>	'ASSERTIVE' (122)

They are all clause final, and where semantically possible may occur with negation, aspect and mood particles. For more details see 7.2. Examples are:

- (120) *Prisila ma sap Barbarina o ya.*
 Prisila come cut Barbarina again POSSIB
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT ADVERB MODAL
 'Prisila might come and cut Barbarina again.'
- (121) *An jam it bayok.*
 3SG know COMPL PROB
 SUBJECT VERB ASPECT MODAL
 'He probably already knows.'
- (122) *Ye ga sa-ne be ben siri su an ne go!*
 person REL like-that later do wrong with 3SG DET ASST
 SUBJECT ADVERB VERB OBJECT ASSOCIATIVE MODAL
 'A person like that will really commit adultery with her.'
- (123) *An ben suk ye ndo nde go fe?*
 3SG do things difficult good NEG ASST CQM
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT ADJECTIVAL PHRASE MODAL MOOD
 'He really made things very very difficult, didn't he?'

4.5.4 Mood

According to Lyons (1968:307) the term mood "is best defined in relation to an 'unmarked' class of sentences which express simple statements of fact, unqualified with respect to the attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying."

In Abun the *indicative* mood is unmarked while the other two basic types of mood are marked by the use of particles which occur clause final. In addition Abun also marks another mood, that of frustrated action. A list of all Abun mood particles is given in table 3.16 in 3.4.5.

Interrogative mood, in addition to the question word itself, has two particles that bracket the clause, *te* 'INITIAL QUESTION MARKER' for all types of questions and a final question marker which is one of:

<i>ne</i>	'INFORMATION FINAL QUESTION MARKER' (124)
<i>e</i>	'YES-NO FINAL QUESTION MARKER' (125)
<i>bado</i>	'ALTERNATIVE QUESTION MARKER' (126)
<i>fe</i>	'CONFIRMATIVE QUESTION MARKER' (127)

The initial question marker is optional, however the final question marker is obligatory. More details of interrogative structure types are found in chapter 6.

- (124) (*Te*) *nan jan suma mo nggwe ne?*
 IQM 2SG plant what LOC garden FQM
 MOOD SUBJECT VERB OBJECT LOCATIVE MOOD
 'What did you plant in the garden?'

(125) (*Te*) *an ma it e?*
 IQM 3SG come COMPL FQM
 MOOD SUBJECT VERB ASPECT MOOD
 'Has he arrived yet?'

(126) (*Te*) *nin jam Yefun bi geret bado nde e?*
 IQM 2PL know God POSS family AQM NEG FQM
 MOOD SUBJECT VERB OBJECT MOOD
 'Do you know God's family name or not?'

(127) (*Te*) *Ji kem rok mo-re it fe?*
 IQM 1SG live long LOC-here COMPL FQM
 MOOD SUBJECT VERB ADVERB LOCATIVE ASPECT MOOD
 'I have lived a long time here, haven't I?'

The initial question marker, *te*, is used to alert the hearer that a question is about to be asked. It is more commonly used within a complex sentence rather than simple sentences, as in (128). In a sample of 194 questions in the corpus of data, *te* occurred 41 times, that is about 21% of questions used *te*.

- (128) *Nggwe ga nan kem sure te nu but bado,*
 garden REL 2SG live now IQM 2PL clear AQM
nok git suk-jan mo nggwe mit ne bado?
 wild.pig eat NOM-plant LOC garden inside DET AQM

'In the garden where you are living, have you cleared it (and worked it), or have pigs eaten the plants in the garden?'

For *imperative*, the following particles are clause final, *se* (Abun Ji) and the dialectal variant, *tom* (Abun Tat) 'STRONG HORTATIVE' (129), *et* 'MILD HORTATIVE' (130), *nde* 'PROHIBITIVE' (131). The unmarked form, 'BASIC IMPERATIVE' (132), is distinguished from indicative mood by context. For further discussion regarding imperative mood see 6.2.

- (129) *Nggon mise, men gat yu o se!*
 woman evil 1PL spear each.other again STHORT
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT ADVERB MOOD
 'Evil woman, let's spear each other again!!!'

- (130) *Nan me Sadrak bi im et!*
 2SG see Sadrak POSS mother MHORT
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT MOOD
 '(Go and) see Sadrak's mother!'

- (131) *Nan wo nde!*
 2SG cry IMP
 SUBJECT VERB MOOD
 'Don't cry!'

- (132) *Nan sam nan bi suk ma kekro!*
 2SG carry 2SG POSS thing come quickly
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT VPTCL ADVERB
 'Bring your things here quickly.'

Frustrated action mood uses the particle *ware*, as in (133). The nearest English equivalent would be 'in vain', 'to no avail' or 'but without success.' Its meaning is that an action was attempted but the goal of the action was not achieved. It is clause final like other moods following modal markers. See 6.3 for more details.

- (133) *Yen syuret an mo-ne ware.*
 3INDEF look.for 3SG Loc-there FRUST
 SUBJECT VERB OBJECT LOCATIVE MOOD
 'They looked for him there without success.'

4.6 Verbless clauses

In Abun there is a small number of verbless clauses. Three of them are simply juxtaposed, while a fourth uses the complement particle, *do* to attribute a proper name. The four types are:

- Equational clauses: attribute a nominal to the subject (134).
- Name clauses: attribute a proper name to the subject (135).
- Descriptive clauses: attribute an adjective to the subject (136).
- Locational clauses attribute a location to the subject (137).

- (134) *An ye-nden*
 3s PERS-jungle/bush/interior
 'He (is a) Yenden (lit.bush.person).'

- (135) *Pa gum do Ofni.*
 child name COMP Ofni
 'The child's name is Ofni.'

- (136) *Ofni bi nu sye.*
 Ofni POSS house big
 'Ofni's house is big.'

- (137) *An mo nu*
 3s LOC house
 'He (is) at (the) house.'

The first two types are negated by the use of *nde* only (see 8.1.3), while the latter two require the use of a linked pair of negative particles *yo.. nde*, as discussed in 8.2.3 and 8.2.4.

Name clauses require the use of the complement particle. The same particle is also used to introduce direct and indirect speech. For a full discussion regarding these complements in Abun, see C Berry (1995).

4.7 Syntactic information packaging options in Abun clauses

According to Foley & Van Valin (1985:299) there is a wide variety of syntactic information packaging options used in languages. They discuss the options of passive, dative shift, left-dislocation, topicalisation, and cleft constructions.

Of these passive, dative shift, left-dislocation and cleft constructions, as defined by Foley & Van Valin, do not occur in Abun. However, passive-like constructions (4.7.1), topicalisation (4.7.2), and cleft-like constructions (4.7.3) do occur in Abun.

4.7.1 Passive-like voice

According to Foley & Van Valin (1985:299) passives characteristically present the undergoer argument as the subject. They also say that traditionally the subject has been described as the constituent which specifies what the sentence is *about*, meaning that passive sentences are understood to be *about* the undergoer argument.

In Abun there is no passive construction as such, but a shift in focus of a sentence, or, what the sentence is *about*, to the undergoer argument can be achieved by a different means. In Abun this is achieved by using an indefinite

pronoun, *ye* as subject of a sentence. This effectively removes focus from the subject by backgrounding the subject, and so transfers focus to the undergoer argument.. So instead of saying, 'The bag was taken to the bush', the Abun people say , 'Someone took the bag to the bush' as in (138).

- (138) **Ye gwat yu ne mu mo nden.**
 3INDEF take bag the go LOC bush
 'The bag was taken to the bush.'

The sentence here is *about* the bag, not *about* the indefinite subject, 'someone'. The use of an indefinite pronoun in this way therefore results in a semantic force similar to an agentless passive.

This is similar to what Foley & Van Valin (1985:334) say, "There are many languages that lack all of the constructions... [of both backgrounding and foregrounding passives]. Nevertheless, they do have means of expressing that a non-actor is more important than the actor.", as seen in (138) above.

4.7.2 Topicalisation

Foley & Van Valin (1985:355) define topicalisation as a procedure used to place an NP other than a subject sentence-initial. In contrast to passive structures which are clause-internal, Foley & Van Valin consider topicalisation as clause-external. They say, "Topicalisation ... involve(s) the occurrence of an external topic NP followed by a sentence which relates to it in some way."

In Abun, simple prepositioning is used to foreground objects and *mo* locative phrases with no pronoun trace left in the sentence. The foregrounded item becomes the topic upon which a comment follows. For example,

- (139) **Yu ne ye gwat mu mo nden.**
 bag ANAPH 3INDEF take go to bush
 'The bag, someone took (it) to the bush.' or 'The bag was taken to the bush.'
- (140) **Mo nden ne men git boge.**
 LOC bush ANAPH 1PL eat fish
 'In the bush we ate fish.'

Foley & Van Valin (1985:356) claim that "...the primary functions of these [topicalised] constructions are to introduce new referents into a discourse, or to reintroduce a referent which was previously introduced but which has not been mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse."

The function of topicalisation in Abun is the second of those mentioned above, namely, to reintroduce a previously introduced referent. However, the referent may have been mentioned in the immediately preceding sentence, such as in (141).

- (141) **An mu me su-git yak mo nden.** .
 3SG go see NOM-eat jump LOC outside
Su-git jon ne men grem kop mo dapur.
 NOM-eat cooked ANAPH 1PL put aside LOC kitchen

'He went quickly outside to see the food. The cooked food, we had put aside in the kitchen.'

In Abun topicalisation does not occur in isolation. The object or location must have been mentioned in previous discussion. For this reason, in all cases of topicalisation in Abun, the determiner, or more specifically, the anaphoric referent, *ne*, is obligatory. In (141) 'food' was already mentioned in the sentence previous to the one where it is topicalised.

Foley & Van Valin (1985:301) also make the point that in most languages passive is restricted to core constituents while topicalisation is not. In Abun

such passive-like constructions are limited to the core, whereas topicalisation is also possible with peripheral constituents, but only with *mo* locative phrases, as seen in (142). Topicalisation of other phrase types such as benefactive (143) or instrumental (144) is unacceptable to an Abun speaker.

- (142) ***Mo kampung mit ne an gu ye or re.***
 LOC village inside ANAPH 3SG kill 3INDEF completely PERF
 'Inside that village she had killed everyone.'

- (143) ***Wa Wonja Marta kon su-git.**
 BEN Wonja Marta cook NOM-eat
 'For Wonja, Marta cooked food.'

- (144) ***Su mbam an gu ndar ne kwop.**
 with axe 3SG kill dog DET die
 'With an axe he killed the dog.'

Regarding the frequency of topicalisation in Abun, in a sample of five different stories by five different speakers, seven examples of topicalisation were found, four of object fronting, and three of *mo* locative phrase fronting. This represented about 1.5% of the clauses examined. Thus topicalisation, although possible, is uncommon in Abun.

4.7.3 Cleft-like constructions

According to Huddleston (1984:459) the general effect of a cleft construction is to give added prominence to a particular constituent, which he calls the highlighted element.

The Abun equivalent of what translates across into English as a cleft is not syntactically a cleft construction. In other words, there is no subordinate clause, or division into two clauses that causes prominence of a particular constituent. Instead a particle *anato* serves to highlight the constituent immediately preceding it, and intensifies any focus or topics already structured.

For example, compare unmarked (145a) with the cleft-like construction in (145b),

- (145) a. *Ron bi wa men.*
Ron pay for 1PL
'Ron paid for us.'
- b. *Ron ana-to bi wa men.*
Ron FOC-NMP pay for 1PL
'It was Ron who paid for us.' or 'Ron is the one who paid for us.'

Anato is a compound of *ana* 'FOCUS' and *to* 'NOUN MODIFYING PARTICLE'. *To* usually indicates that embedding will follow. Such embedding refers back to and modifies the noun preceding. In other words, *to* introduces more information about the preceding noun. So we know that any noun followed by *to* is going to have some modification. In this case the additional information conveyed by adding *to* to the noun is that of prominence, highlighting or additional focus.

5. Phrase structure

The structure of phrases in Abun is consistent with what has already been stated about its syntax, namely, that fixed word order and particles, rather than affixation, are used to signify meaning.

This chapter consists of a survey of phrase types, namely, verb phrases (5.1), noun phrases (5.2), possessive phrases (5.3), prepositional phrases (5.4), adverbial and adjectival phrases (5.5), quantifier phrases (5.6) and complex phrases (5.7). The head of each phrase type is indicated by *word order*, and word order alone. The table below summarises the structure of each of these phrase types.

TABLE 5.1 - PHRASE TYPES

Phrase Type	Structure
Verb Phrases	(PREDICATE MARKER) VERB (VERBAL PARTICLE)
Noun Phrases	HEAD (MODIFIERS) (DETERMINER)
Possessive Phrases	
Inalienable	NP[POSSESSOR] NP[POSSESSUM]
Alienable	NP[POSSESSOR] <i>bi</i> NP[POSSESSUM]
Prepositional Phrases	PREPOSITION NP
Adverbial Phrases	ADVERB (INTENSIFIER)
Adjectival Phrases	ADJECTIVE (INTENSIFIER)
Quantifier Phrases	(CLASSIFIER) QUANTIFIER

5.1 Verb phrases

For the purposes of this discussion we shall define a verb phrase not as a total predicate, but limited to the verb and its modifiers, as discussed by Schachter (1985:41). In Abun, verb phrases are defined as consisting of a verb as head, with optional predicate markers and verbal particles.

Auxiliaries, which carry notions of tense, aspect, mood, modality, polarity and voice are not considered as part of the Abun verb phrase since they are separated from the verb, not only by any object, but also by any adverbs and adjuncts in the sentence. Aspect, mood, polarity and modality particles can only be contiguous with the verb when there are no object(s), adverbs or adjuncts. Therefore, for Abun, such particles are not analysed here as part of the verb phrase, but are considered separately because they operate on the clause level. They are discussed separately in chapters 6, 7, and 8.

Thus an Abun verb phrase consists of

(PREDICATE MARKER) VERB* (VERBAL PARTICLE)

(*a direct object, where present, occurs between its verb and the verbal particle)

One of the two modifying components is a *predicate marker particle*. There are four predicate marker particles which always directly precede the verb when present. They are listed in the table below:

TABLE 5.2 - PREDICATE MARKERS

Particle	Meaning
yo	did not happen
waii	happened exactly as before (same verb and object)
da	did actually happen
do	is in the process of happening together with ...

The first of these particles, *yo*, is the first particle of a linked pair of particles, where the second particle is *nde* 'NEGATIVE'. *Yo* occurs only in negative indicative sentences (146). For further discussion of this predicate marker and its role in delineating the scope of negation see 8.5.

- (146) *An yo ma mo nu nde.*
 3PL NEG come LOC house NEG
 'They did not come to the house.'

The second of the predicate markers, *waii*, indicates that the action is the same type of action as the previous one. The object is also the same type of object, as seen in the sentences below:

- (147) *Men mu nai sugit ete Apner ki nai Isak do Nan waii mu nai sugit.*
 1PL go get food then Apner said to Isak COMP 2SG also go get food
 'We went to get food, then Apner said to Isak, "You also go and get some food".'
- (148) *An we sam nyim mo nu ete men waii sam wari.*
 3SG two carry ahead LOC house then 1PL also carry behind
 'They (two) carried (things) ahead of us to the house and we also carried (things) after them.'

The third and fourth predicate markers are used in complex sentences only. Below is one example of each. For further discussion see C Berry (1995).

- (149) *Yunus da sok-wa Isak sare...*
 Yunus actually look-TRANS Isak but
 'Yunus actually looked at Isak but (he didn't do anything).'

- (150) *Men do is mone sa men yo ku auto nde.*
 1PL PM came.down there then(REALIS) 1PL NEG find car NEG
 'And when we landed there we did not find a car.'

The other modifying component of Abun verb phrases is *verbal particles* which are particles attached to certain verbs, like 'up' in the English, 'He *looked up* the words.', which may, in English, also be in the form, 'He *looked the words up*'. This type of verbal particle is referred to by Schachter (1985:45) who

comments that they frequently have a directional or locative notion. Abun has similar forms. Take, for example,

- (151) a. *An gwat buku ma mo nu.*
 3SG carry book come LOC house
 'He brought the book to the house.'

- b. *An gwat buku mu mo nu.*
 3SG carry book go LOC house
 'He took the book to the house.'

- (152) *Pa bare jamsem ne we mo nden.*
 child throw cassava DET away LOC outside
 'The child threw away the cassava outside.'

- (153) *An grem buku ne kwop mo nu mit.*
 3SG put book DET down LOC house inside
 'He put the book down inside.'

In English the verbal particles 'up', 'down' and so on, may be continuous or discontinuous with the verb. In Abun, however, the particle is discontinuous when there is a direct object, as seen in the examples above. When the verb is intransitive, the verbal particle is continuous with the verb, as in:

- (154) *Nan jam we.*
 2SG move away
 'Get out of the way!'

Schachter (1985:45) states that in some languages verbal particles are derived from adpositions, while in other languages they are not. None of the Abun verbal particles appear to have been derived from adpositions. Instead most of the verbal particles are derived from verbs, *mu* 'go', *ma* 'come', *kwop* 'die'. Some, such as *we* 'away' are only used as verbal particles.

5.2 Noun phrases

An Abun noun phrase typically has the following structure:

HEAD (MODIFIERS) (DETERMINER)

The **head** of a noun phrase is normally filled by a member of the noun word class as in (155), but may also be filled by a pronoun, as in (156), with a restricted set of modifiers, that is, other nouns and adjectives do not co-occur with a pronoun when it is head of a noun phrase, only classifiers, quantifiers and determiners may co-occur with pronouns, as seen in (156).

- (155) *Ndar kwo git boge ge we or re.*
 dog white eat fish CLASS two completely PERF
 'The white dog had completely eaten the two fish.'

- (156) *Án ka we ne git boge.*
 3PL CLASS two DET eat fish
 'Those two ate fish.'

A proper name will usually occur alone, but may be modified by a relative clause, as seen in (157).

- (157) *Mauren gato kwop ré ...*
 Mauren REL die recently
 Mauren who had died recently...

Modifiers are optional. The types, their order and co-occurrence restrictions are discussed below in 5.2.1.

Determiners, like modifiers, are optional. They are used less frequently than determiners are in English. They will be discussed in 5.2.2 below.

Since modifiers and determiners are optional frequently a noun phrase consists of a single noun, for example:

- (158) **Fredik bari-wa git yetu.**
 Fredik not.want-TRANS eat people
 'Fredik does not want to eat people.'

Noun phrases fill subject and object positions, as seen in the examples below. They also fill head positions in possessive phrases and prepositional phrases which shall be discussed in sections 5.3 and 5.4 respectively.

- (159) **Men dakai git nok ku koi bok yo.**
 1PL REFL eat wild.pig flesh CLASS several DET
 'We ourselves ate several pieces of wild pig meat.'

- (160) **Yetu ge we gwa ndar er ne su kwe koi.**
 people CLASS two hit dog red DET with wood piece
 'Two men hit the red dog with a piece of wood.'

5.2.1 Noun phrase modifiers

All modifiers in noun phrases are posthead. They occur after the head and before any determiner which may occur. Such modifiers may consist of members from each of the following classes of words or phrases.

- other nouns
- adjectival phrase, consisting of adjectives such as colour (black, white), size (big, small) or quality (hard, soft), followed by an optional intensifier
- quantifier phrase, optionally preceded by a classifier, with quantifiers:
 - general (many, few, some)
 - cardinal numerals (one, two ...)
 - ordinal numerals (first, second)

These modifiers appear in the noun phrase in the following order:

(OTHER NOUN) (ADJECTIVAL PHRASE) (QUANTIFIER PHRASE)

For example:

(161) <i>nok</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>sye teker</i>	<i>koi</i>	<i>bok</i>	<i>yo.</i>
wild.pig	flesh	big INTENSE	CLASS	several	DET
HEAD	NOUN	ADJ PHRASE	CLASS	QUANT	DET
'several very big pieces of wild pig meat.'					

A noun phrase of the type given in the example above, although acceptable to an Abun speaker, is rather 'heavy'. By that we mean normally they would not include as many modifiers together in this way. In order to retain the modification in a more natural style, various strategies are employed to limit the number of modifiers in any one noun phrase. These are discussed later in this section.

Each modifier type will now be discussed with further examples.

First, *other nouns* may modify the head of a noun phrase. This type of construction is usually referred to as a complex noun phrase, but since the addition of another noun following the head modifies the head analogous to other modifiers we have chosen to discuss as a modifier. Examples of this type are:

(162) <i>nggwe</i>	<i>jamsem</i>	<i>ne</i>
garden	cassava	DET
'the cassava garden'		

(163) <i>mbre</i>	<i>toba</i>	<i>sak</i>	<i>gri</i>
eastern.cloth	toba	CLASS	three
'three lengths of "toba" cloth'			

The use of *adjectival phrases* as modifiers of the heads of noun phrases is by far the most common type of modification. In most cases an adjectival phrase is realised by a single adjective only, such as colour (164), size (165), and quality (166). This type of modification follows any other nouns that modify the

head of the noun phrase. For more complex examples of adjectival phrases see 5.5.

- (164) *Ye gu minda kri.*
 people kill butterfly yellow.
 'They killed yellow butterflies.'

- (165) *os nggwot ne*
 path narrow DET
 'the narrow path'

- (166) *os ibit yo*
 way bad DET
 'a bad way'

Quantifier phrases may have either general quantifier, an ordinal numeral or a cardinal numeral as its head, and is preceded by an optional classifier when the head is general quantifier or ordinal numeral, and an obligatory classifier when the head is a cardinal numeral. See 5.6 for a discussion of quantifier phrases. Some examples are:

- (167) *Nggon(ge) mwa ma.*
 woman CLASS many come.
 'Many women came.'

- (168) *An bi nu (ke) do-gri.*
 3SG POSS house CLASS the.one.which-three
 'His house is the third one.'

- (169) *Ji ku ndar sye ge at.*
 1SG meet dog big CLASS four
 'I found four big dogs.'

Within an Abun noun phrase there are *limitations* concerning modifiers. There are, of course, semantic restrictions as to which modifiers may co-occur with others, but apart from that, there is pressure to limit the number of modifiers, such that the maximum noun phrase will normally include only one of each type of modifier. Thus a noun phrase with two adjectives is unacceptable. If a

speaker desires to say something like 'two big white dogs', which involves two adjectives, it is unacceptable to the Abun speaker to say (170); rather, relativisation is usually employed, as in (171a, b).

- (170) **ndar kwo sye ge we*
 dog white big CLASS two
 'two big white dogs'

- (171) a. *ndar kwo ge we gato sye*
 dog white CLASS two REL big
 'two white dogs that are big' or 'two big white dogs'
 b. *ndar sye ge we gato kwo*
 dog big body two REL white
 'two big dogs that are white' or 'two big white dogs'

One may posit that the relative clause modifies the noun phrase as a whole since it follows the determiner, as seen in (172) below. (See further discussion in 5.2.3.)

- (172) *suk wokgan yo gato men mbrinket*
 thing small DET REL 1PL forget
 'some small things that we forgot' or 'some small forgotten things'

Alternatively, frequently the speaker may also juxtapose one of the adjectives in the form of an appositional verbless clause, as seen in (173). This type of modification is more typical when the noun phrase fills the object position. In this case the modification is syntactically outside of the noun phrase, it is like a parenthetical comment.

- (173) *ndar kwo ge we, ndar ne sye*
 dog white body two dog DET big
 'two white dogs, the dogs are big"

5.2.2 Determiners in noun phrases

There are five distinct types of determiners used in Abun noun phrases. The first type is the unspecific/specific distinction. The others are: deictics,

anaphoric referents (which refer to a previously mentioned person/thing), external referents (which refer to the proximity of an item in relation to the speaker), and reflexives. Both anaphoric and external referents may compound with deictics. These particles occur in phrase final position. Table 5.2 lists each type and the relevant particles, each of which will be discussed in turn below.

TABLE 5.3 - DETERMINERS

Type	Particles		
Specificity	yo 'a, some' 'Unspecific'	ne	'the, that' Specific
Deictics	ré 'this, here'	ne 'that, there'	tu 'over there'
Anaphoric Referents	ga-ré latter/ recent	ga-ne former/ then	ga-tu back. then
External Referents	to-ré is.here	to-ne is.there	to-tu is.over. there
Reflexive	dakai '-self'	wadigan	'-self alone'

The first determiner type of specificity contrasts *unknown/known* or *unspecific/specific* and requires the use of the particles *yo* 'a, some' for the former and *ne* 'the' for the latter. The following examples illustrate each of these determiners:

- (174) An rem kwokwe bo yo.
 3SG had egg.plant CLASS DET
 'She had some egg plants (unspecific quantity)'

- (175) *ye yo bi nggarmom muk yo.*
 person DET give iron piece DET
 'Someone gave a piece of iron (to him)' (unknown person/piece of iron)

- (176) *Nggon ne it san dik yo.*
 woman DET wear clothes one DET
 'The woman wore a dress.' (known woman, unspecific dress)

The second type of determiner, the *deictic* type, has the form *ré*, *ne* or *tu*. These refer to locational or temporal characteristics of the situation within which an utterance takes place. *Ye* 'person' in combination with each of these results in

- ye ré* 'this person (here)'
ye ne 'that person (there)'
ye tu 'those people (distant)'

There is a progression from close to near to distant in meaning from *ré* to *ne* to *tu*, not only in a locative sense, but also in a temporal sense, recent, not-so-recent to distant past, as well as in a referential sense, *ré* 'this (just previously referred to)', *ne* 'that' (slightly further removed reference) and *tu* 'that (distant) (even further removed)'. Each of these senses is determined from the context.

Examples of each of the deictics are below. The temporal meaning of now, or at some other time is seen in (177) and (179), reference to Fredik (meaning the one we know (or can locate, as distinct from other Frediks) in (177), and locative meanings of the deictics, 'here' in (177), 'there' in (179) and 'distant' in (180) and (181). See table 3.10 in 3.4 for a list of these and other determiner compounds.

- (177) *Su ré Fredik ré kem mo-ré re.*
 with DET Fredik DET lives LOC-DET PERF
 'Now this Fredik already lives here.'

- (178) *Men ki-bot suk-du ne.*
 1PL say-about NOM-speak DET
 'We discussed that news.'

- (179) *Su ne nggon ne ben suk-ibit mo-ne.*
 with DET woman DET do NOM-bad LOC-DET
 'At that time, that woman did a bad thing there.'

- (180) *Ye ket-bot nden tu.*
 people way-along bush DET
 'They went along the distant bush (track).'

- (181) *An we ne mu mo banbo tu nim*
 3SG two DET go LOC mountain DET east
 Those two went to the distant eastern mountain.'

The deictic, *tu*, can have the meaning 'respected', rather than distant, in relation to old/respected men or women, *yenggras tu* 'that old/respected man' and *nggongras tu* 'that old/respected women'. The idea of respect also encompasses those who are more powerful, as in the example below of a killing party:

- (182) *Yeko ne kwop or. Yeko tu*
 killing.party DET die or. completely killing.party DET(respected)
ana mu gu ye ne or re.
 TOP go kill people DET or completely PERF

'That killing party completely died. The (other respected/better) killing party were the ones who had completely killed those people.'

A third type of determiner is that of *anaphoric referent*. One particle, *ga*, is used to refer back to a person or thing mentioned. This can be used to distinguish several people of the same name who could be understood to be part of a story as in the examples:

- (183) *Ji sok-bot Yohana ga.*
 1SG look-about Yohana ANAPH
 'I looked at Yohana (previously mentioned).'

- (184) *Prisila ga sa.*
 Prisila ANAPH laugh
 Prisila (previously mentioned) laughed.

Or, when a person has been mentioned and the speaker wants to ensure that the hearers understand that the pronoun, in the example below, *an* '3SG', does actually mean the last person mentioned, the anaphoric referent is added.

- (185) *Ji si an ga mu mo nden.*
 1SG with 3SG ANAPH go LOC bush
 'I together with him (previously mentioned) went to the bush.'

This anaphoric referent may then also be combined with the deictics, *ré*, *ne* or *tu* to produce the compounds *garé*, *gane* and *gatu*. (It is on the basis of word final stress patterning that these forms are considered as compounds.) The difference between these three compounds is the proximity of reference in the mind of the speaker. Those persons or things that were mentioned are referred to by the use of *gare* 'this/these, just mentioned' as in (186) and (187); *gane* 'that/those, just mentioned' as in (188) and (189); and *gatu* 'that/those, mentioned in the past' as in (190).

- (186) *Nggon we ga-re ben suk-ndo.*
 women two ANAPH-here do NOM-good
 'These two women do things well.'
- (187) *Nggon we ben suk ga-re ndo.*
 women two do thing ANAPH-here good
 'The two women did these things well.'
- (188) *An git ri ga-ne.*
 3SG eat ginger.root ANAPH-there
 'He ate that ginger root. (that one previously mentioned)'
- (189) *Ji ku suk-ye mwa ga-ne.*
 1SG get NOM-difficult many ANAPH-there
 'I had those many difficulties.'
- (190) *Nin kidar ji mo nggon ga-tu it.*
 2PL deceive 1SG LOC woman ANAPH-there (distant) COMPL
 'You have deceived me about those women (the ones you talked about in the distant past)'

The fourth type of determiner is the *external referent*, *to*. This particle refers to the external setting where the utterance occurs and the proximity of the person or thing under discussion to that place. When this particle occurs as a free form, it introduces additional modifying phrases or clauses (see 5.2.3). It may also compound with the deictic particles *ré*, *ne* and *tu*, and is used by a speaker who wants to make reference to something he is touching while he speaks, *tore* in (191) and (192), or he is pointing to while he speaks, *tone* in (193), or he is pointing to in the distance, *totu* in (194).

- (191) *An gwa ji gro to-re.*
 3SG hit 1SG eye EXTREF-here
 'He hit my eye (speaker is pointing to his eye).'
- (192) *Men kem mo kampung to-re.*
 1PL live LOC village EXTREF-here
 'We live in this village (the one where the speaker relates the story).'
- (193) *Nan me ji de to-ne.*
 2SG see 1SG blood EXTREF-there
 'See my blood (the speaker points to it)'
- (194) *Nggon we ma mo banbo to-tu.*
 women two came LOC mountain EXTREF-there(distant)
 'The two women came to that mountain (speaker points to location in the distance)'

The final type of determiner is *reflexives* such as *himself*, *yourself*, and *themselves*. The form *dakai* 'REFLEXIVE', is used for all persons and numbers and usually co-occurs with a pronoun or person's name, as seen in the (195) and (196), but also co-occurs with nouns modified by quantifiers (197).

- (195) *Yemina dakai kon Barbarina wip ne sor.*
 1SG REFL cook Barbarina sore DET just
 'Just Yemina herself cared for Barbarina's sore.'
- (196) *Men i-wa men dakai ki-bot men dakai.*
 1PL happy-TRANS 1PL REFL speak-about 1PL REFL
 'We ourselves wanted to talk about ourselves.'

- (197) *Nggon ge gri dakai mu.*
 woman CLASS three REFL go
 'The three women themselves went.'

In addition, the form, *wadigan* 'alone' is reflexive, meaning 'by himself/alone', 'by itself/alone', 'by themselves/alone' and so on, as in the examples below:

- (198) *sugit suge wadigan*
 food animal alone
 'meat by itself' or 'meat alone' or 'only meat'
- (199) *mbre sye wadigan*
 antique.cloth big alone
 'valuable antique cloth alone'

This form implies separateness from other people or things, while *dakai* implies a distinctiveness from other people. So in (200), Isak was by himself rowing the canoe, no one else was present. Whereas if *dakai* replaced *wadigan* then the implication is that Isak as distinct from the others rowed the canoe, that is, there could have been others with him in the canoe.

- (200) *Isak wadigan mbros kwem.*
 Isak alone row canoe
 'Isak rowed the canoe by himself.' or 'Isak alone rowed the canoe.'

5.2.3 Post-determiner noun phrase modifiers

There are other ways to modify a noun phrase apart from using the modifiers discussed above. Phrases or clauses may be added to a noun phrase by the use of the 'NOUN MODIFYING PARTICLE', or by the juxtaposition of locative prepositional phrases (in order to modify the head of the noun phrase in regard to its location). A special case, *sino* 'all together', is also discussed at the end of this section.

In these instances an Abun noun phrase consists of:

HEAD (MODIFIERS) (DETERMINER) (MODIFIERS)

Usually only one modifier follows the determiner, but more than one is possible as in (213) below.

The noun modifying particle (NMP) introduces a phrase or clause which modifies the head of a noun phrase. Phrases and clauses introduced by NMP are added to the noun phrase and modify it. Consider the example:

- (201) *Wo suk-fo to ndam syor ne yo, nu-we git nde.*
 but thing-taboo NMP bird cassowary DET then.IRR 2PL-two eat NEG
 'But a forbidden thing, that is the cassowary, you two must not eat.'

The phrase 'the cassowary' introduced by the NMP, modifies the forbidden thing. Again in (202) below the noun *banbo* 'mountain' is modified by the addition of the phrase 'the Waibe'.

- (202) *Men gwa bei yamo banbo to Waibe ne de rut.*
 1p beat sago at mountain NMP Waibe DET side far
 'We beat the sago on the mountain, that is on Waibe mountain on the far side.'

The NMP also joins unrestrictive relative clauses to a noun phrase in order to modify a noun as seen in the following example:

- (203) *An ki nai Martinus to-re to kra Domingas*
 3SG say to Martinus EXTREF-this REL marry Domingas
ne bi ai gum do Simam Yorfen do...
 DET POSS father name COMP Simam Yorfen COMP
 'He said to Martinus' father (the Martinus (who lives) here, who married Domingas) (whose) name was Simam Yorfen that...'

When *sa* 'like, as' compounds with *to*, the compound form *sato* 'for example/such as' results. The use of this form precedes complex noun phrases which are added to modify or explain the head of the noun phrase, as seen in the example below. (See 5.7 for more details on complex noun phrases.)

- (204) *Regina ben siri su pa yesok sato Arnol e Lambertus e.*
 Regina do wrong with child youth such.asArnol and Lambertus and
 'Regina committed adultery with (some) young men such as Arnol and
 Lambertus.'

Furthermore the anaphoric referent *ga* also compounds with *to* and forms *gato*, the relative conjunction, which is used to form restrictive relative clauses. Examples show how they modify the nouns in the phrases below. Note that the form *ne* 'DET' is frequently a relative clause boundary marker, as distinct from the same form used as a determiner in the noun phrase.

- (205) *Suk-jan gato án jan mo nggwe ne bere te.*
 NOM-plant REL 3PL plant LOC garden DET later die
 'Plants that they plant in that garden will die.'
- (206) *Men mu de syur mo syur wak gato nje ben ne.*
 1PL go go.in water LOC water hole REL people make DET
 'We went and washed at the well that people had made.'
- (207) *Yenggras gato Mauren gato kwop ré anato ma.*
 elder REL Mauren REL die recently FOC come
 'The elder whose (name was) Mauren who died recently was the one who came.'

Such clauses also modify the head of a noun phrase, and are one possible option where the speakers desire to include more than one adjectival type of modification to a noun phrase as explained in 5.2.1 above. For more details regarding restrictive and unrestrictive relative clauses see C. Berry (1995).

A locative prepositional phrase frequently modifies the head of a noun phrase, as in the following examples. The clothes spoken of in (208) are 'clothes at the sea' which modifies the noun, clothes, to mean *modern* clothes as distinct from 'clothes in the bush' which means the traditional bark cloth worn in the bush.

- (208) *san mo sem ne.*
 clothes LOC sea DET
 'modern clothes ('sea' clothes cf 'bush' clothes)'

Other locative prepositional phrases modify the noun by indicating its location. Thus it is clear which garden in (209), and which people in (210) (211) are being spoken about.

- (209) *mo nggwe mo banbo to-tu nim*
 LOC garden LOC mountain EXTREF-there(distant) east
 'at the garden on the distant eastern mountain'
- (210) *Nin mo Fef ma mo Syurur Sye.*
 2PL Loc Fef came Loc Syurur Sye
 'You Fef (people) come to Syurur Sye.' or 'You in Fef come to Syurur Sye.'
- (211) *Yetu mwa mo nu mit ne gu yu.*
 people many LOC house inside DET fight RECIP
 'Many people in the house fought each other.'

Finally, there is a special modifier that occurs after determiners, namely, *sino* 'all/together'. *Sino* is always the final constituent of a noun phrase whenever it occurs as seen in (212) and (213). It modifies the whole phrase similar to relative clauses. This is similar also to English where 'all' modifies the whole noun phrase as in 'all the king's men...'.

- (212) *yenggras mwa ne sino*
 old.men many DET all
 'all the many old respected men'
- (213) *ye-wis yi ga mo bur ré sino*
 person-family other REL LOC land this all
 'all the other tribes which are in this land'

This modifier is out of character with all the other single word modifiers in that it follows the determiner. It could be that it was originally a phrase *si no* 'with completeness' that has compounded to form the single word. In that case *sino* would be considered as a noun phrase itself and the whole utterance would be considered as two noun phrases conjoined, with *si no* being the second noun phrase. For further discussion of complex phrases see 5.7.

5.3 Possessive phrases

Abun has two possessive constructions types which in other languages have been referred to as 'alienable' and 'inalienable' possession (Crystal 1985:12). Alienable possession is that type of possession where the item possessed (hereafter known as possesum) is seen as having only a temporary, or non-essential dependence on the possessor such as, 'his house', or 'the woman's book'. On the other hand, inalienable possession is where the possesum has a permanent or necessary relationship with the possessor such as 'her arm'.

Of the ten different genitive construction types discussed by Croft (1990:28-32), Abun makes use of only two, and uses them to distinguish between alienable and inalienable possession. The first of these construction types used in Abun is simple juxtaposition of two noun phrases, one representing the possessor and one representing the possesum. This type of construction is used to form Abun inalienable genitive constructions, as in (214). Frequently the noun phrases are realised by only a pronoun and a noun, juxtaposed in that order, as seen in (215).

- (214) *Ndar sye ne gwas de-dari fot.*
 dog big DET leg side-back broken
 POSSESSOR(NP) POSSESSUM (NP)
 'The big dog's back leg is broken.'

- (215) *Ji syim fot.*
 1SG arm broken
 'My arm was broken.'

A less common strategy discussed by Croft (1990:32) is that of the use of a linker. He says, "The linker is invariant or contrasts only with simple juxtaposition, and functions merely to link the possessor and head noun grammatically." This is the second type of genitive construction found in Abun. Abun alienable genitive constructions use this type of strategy. The

possessive marker, *bi* is a linker. It links the possessor and the possessum, as seen in (216), (217) and (218).

- (216) *Gap sye ne bi gan ge we kwop re.*
rat big DET POSS young.one CLASS two die PERF
POSSESSOR POSSESSUM

'The big rat's two young offspring had died.'

- (217) *Ji ben ji bi nggwe.*
1SG do 1SG POSS garden

'I made my garden.'

- (218) *Ji bi pa ge we mu mo nu.*
1SG POSS child CLASS two go LOC house

'My two children went home.'

The noun phrase that represents the possessor undergoes no morphological change when it is juxtaposed or linked to the possessum. The possessum likewise is not marked morphologically in any way. Even the linker, *bi*, can be shown to be a free form (and will be in 5.3.2) and thus be considered separate from both the possessum or the possessor. Abun possessive phrases syntactically appear to be like coordinate noun phrases, one form juxtaposed and the other using the linker *bi* as the coordinating particle, just like *si* is used to conjoin noun phrases (see 5.7).

Consistent with the absence of morphological marking in possessive phrases noted here, Abun does not have a set of possessive pronouns, but uses the same set of pronouns as are used in all other phrase types. In contrast to this, in an early cursory analysis of Abun (previously named, Karon), Voorhoeve wrote (in Wurm 1975:720) that possessive prefixes had been noted with kinship terms: *tabai* 'my father' and *nambai* 'your father', being cited as examples. However in slow speech these two forms are: *tat bi ai* '1SG POSS father: my father' and *nan bi ai* '2SG POSS father: your father' (these phrases are in the Abun *tat* dialect, where *tat* is '1SG'). No markings are made on either the

head or the dependent in possessive phrases. The same pronouns are employed in possessive phrases as are employed in noun phrases that occur in subject and object positions, that is, there is *no special set of possessive pronouns in Abun*. In this way Abun differs from many other languages.

The choice of which type of possessive construction to employ is determined by the lexicon. The inalienable class of nouns which includes body parts, name, and analogously, the parts of whole-part relationships such as tree-trunk, fish-scales, as discussed in 3.2.3, is restricted and could be considered a closed set. All other nouns belong to an open set of nouns and includes names of places, objects, kinship terms, and advice. Many languages with the alienable/inalienable distinction include kinship terms in the inalienable category, but, in Abun, kinship terms are considered to be alienable.

Now we turn to a more detailed discussion of each of the two types of genitive constructions, inalienable (5.3.1) and alienable (5.3.2).

5.3.1 Inalienable possession

Abun inalienable possessive phrases may be represented as:

NP[POSSESSOR] NP[POSSESSUM]

where for pronominal reference the possessor may be replaced by *i-* in the case of non-human referents or be elided in the case of body part referents.

In inalienable possession, the possessor and the possessum are simply juxtaposed as in (219). This type of possessive construction is used for body parts (such as my arm, his leg) and more generally for whole-part relationships

(such as tree-leaves, deer-meat, house-opening (doorway). Also a person's name is considered as inalienable possession, as in (220) and (221).

- (219) *Wo kwai tik Sepenyel gwas.*
 fish kwai pull Sepenyel leg
 'The Kwai fish pulled Sepenyel's leg.'

- (220) *An gum do Marta.*
 3SG name COMP Marta
 'Her name is Marta.'

- (221) *Marta gum sye do Yekese.*
 Marta name big COMP Yekese
 'Marta's surname is Yekese.'

Whole-part relationships, in principle, follow the same structure as inalienable possessive phrases, and could be analysed as separate words or as compounds. Here they are analysed as compounds since the possessor is a bound root. It never stands on its own in normal utterance. It is structurally bound to the preceding word, which represents the 'whole'. So *rom* 'liquid' in (222) is bound to 'coconut'. No evidence has been found that words like *rom* have ever been free forms.

- (222) *Ji da gur-rom.*
 1SG drink coconut-liquid
 'I drink coconut milk.'

The 'whole' may not just be a single word, but may also be a noun phrase, 'a young coconut', that compounds with the bound root, 'liquid', as seen in (223).

- (223) *da [gur bo dek]-rom si git i-ka nde e*
 drink coconut CLASS young-liquid with eat its-flesh NEG and
 '...don't drink young coconut milk and eat its flesh, and..'

There is one structural difference between inalienable possessive phrases and 'whole-part' compounds and that is the possessor in the phrase may be elided, whereas in the compound it cannot. In the latter case, the possessor or 'whole'

is replaced with a prefix *i*- . For example, a free form (or the 'whole' in whole-part relationships), such as *kwe* 'tree', in (224), can be replaced by the non-human possessive pronoun prefix, *i*-, as seen in (225). (See 3.2.3 for further discussion about the *i*- prefix.)

- (224) *Ji yo kwe-muk e kwe-guk.*
 1SG gather tree-trunk and tree-branch
 'I gathered up the trunks and branches.'

- (225) *Ji yo i-muk e i-guk.*
 1SG gather its-trunk and its-branch
 'I gathered up the trunks and branches.'

However for body parts the possesum is an unbound form. The *i*- prefix is not used with this type of construction when the possessor is elided. So when, say, an arm is referred to on subsequent occasions the free form of the possesum is sufficient, ellipsis of the possessor is acceptable, as seen in (226).

- (226) *Men sorom men syim.* *Men sorom syim mo nu.*
 1PL shake 1PL hand 1PL shake hands LOC house
 'We shook hands. We shook hands in the house.'

Both body parts and whole-part relationships can be combined as in (227) and (228). In the latter case, the nails belong to the fingers which belong to the arm (whole-part relationships) and the arm belongs to him (body part relationship).

- (227) *Prisila sap Moses syim-brot toko re.*
 Prisila cut Moses arm-vein apart PERF
 'Prisila had cut Moses' veins in his arm apart.'

- (228) a. *Yen gwat an syim-sopkwa-bris.*
 3INDEF cut 3SG arm-finger-nail
 'They cut his fingernails.'
- b. *Yen gwat an syim sopkwa bris.*
 3INDEF cut 3SG arm finger nail
 'They cut his fingernails.'

An alternative analysis of whole-part relationship structures is shown in (228b) above, where each item is treated as a separate word and, in this case, *sopkwa
bris* is an inalienable possessive phrase which is juxtaposed to and modifies another inalienable possessive phrase, *an syim*.

5.3.2 Alienable possession

Abun alienable possessive phrases consists of:

NP[POSSESSOR] ***bi*** NP[POSSESSUM]

This structure is used for all possessive phrases, except for those discussed above. The possessor noun phrase is commonly realised as a pronoun (229), proper name (230), and may also be a longer noun phrase (231). The possessum is a noun phrase which is commonly realised by a single noun (230) or may be a longer expression (232).

- (229) ***An bi nggon jam nde to.***
 3SG POSS wife know NEG INCOMPL
 'His wife didn't know yet.'

- (230) ***Andar bi im ma.***
 Andar POSS mother come
 'Andar's mother came.'

- (231) ***Yetu ge dik yo bi nu anane.***
 person CLASS one DET POSS house DEM
 'This is someone's house.'

- (232) ***Ji mu mo ji bi nggwe jamsem nim ne.***
 1SG go LOC 1SG POSS garden cassava east DET
 'I went to my eastern cassava garden.'

The linker, *bi*, is a free morpheme. Sometimes the possessor can be elided from the linker, as in (233). Sometimes the possessum can also be elided from the linker, as in (234). It is also possible for both possessor and possessum to be elided, as in (235), leaving the linker stand on its own. In all cases this may only occur when the possessor and possessum are recoverable from the

context. For example, in (235), it is known that the possessum is a wife because that was the topic of discussion.

- (233) *Sadrak bi im ré ben bi suk ot ye.*
 Sadrak Poss mother DEM do POSS thing sharp very.
 'Sadrak's mother does her things very callously.' or 'Sadrak's mother is callous.'
- (234) *Markus it mo kwem wokgan gato Martinus bi ne.*
 Markus board LOC canoe small REL Martinus POSS DET
 'Markus got into the canoe which was Martinus'.
- (235) *Nan kra bi bado Moses kra bi, bado nin me-wa ndo.*
 2SG marry POSS or Moses marry POSS or 2PL see-TRANS good
 'If you are going to marry yours (wife), or Moses marry his (wife), then take good care (of them).'

The Abun possessive phrase construction influences the way Abun speakers construct their Indonesian. Instead of using standard Indonesian, *rumah saya* 'my house', they say *saya punya rumah* as in (236). The word *punya* means 'to have, possess' in Indonesian, however standard Indonesian does not employ 'have' in possessive phrase constructions.

Indonesian:

- (236) *Saya punya rumah roboh.*
 1SG POSS house fallen.down
 'My house has fallen down.'

Alienable possessive phrases may be intensified by the addition of *i*. In this case the form would be:

NP[POSSESSOR] ***bi*** NP[POSSESSUM] ***i***

This particle changes the intensity of possession in a similar way to the English, 'his own house', as distinct from 'his house'. The following examples illustrate this type of phrase:

- (237) *ji bi nu i*
 1SG POSS house INTENSE
 'my own house'

- (238) *an bi bur i*
 3SG POSS land INTENSE
 'his own land'

This type of construction is further used to distinguish two different ownerships in contrast to each other, as in the following:

- (239) *Ji bi bur i anare, nan bi bur i anatu.*
 1SG POSS land INTENSE DEM(here) 2SG POSS land INTENSE
 DEM(there)
 'This is my own land here, that is your own land there.'

- (240) *Yewon bi sukduno i tara re*
 shaman POSS teaching INTENSE different PERF
Yefun bi sukduno i tara re.
 God POSS TEACHING intense different PERF

'The shaman's own teachings are different to God's own teachings.'

5.3.3 Recursive possessive phrases

Possessive phrases may be embedded within one another, for alienable possession, by the addition of the linker and the possesum, as in (241) and (242), or for inalienable possession, by the addition of the possesum, as in (243).

- (241) *Rachel bi ai bi nyom*
 Rachel Poss father POSS machete
 'Rachel's father's machete'

- (242) *An bi nji bi nggon bi nu*
 3SG POSS brother POSS wife POSS house
 'His brother's wife's house'

- (243) *Rachel bi ai syim*
 Rachel Poss father arm
 'Rachel's father's arm'

5.4 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a noun phrase preceded by a preposition. Prepositional phrases fill dative, locative, instrumental and other adjunct positions in the sentence. In table 5.4 is a list of the prepositions used in Abun with their English equivalent, and categorised into four different general types. This is table 3.7 repeated here for convenience.

A general feature of prepositional phrases that will be illustrated below is the possibility of ellipsis of the head of the phrase, leaving the preposition stand alone. In such cases the head is readily recoverable from the context.

TABLE 5.4 - PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE TYPES

Preposition	English	Preposition Type
is/nai	'to'	dative
mo	'at/ to'	spacio-temporal
subot/bot	'about/along'	
kagit/kadit	'from'	
karowa	'near'	
ket	'across/ at (non-locative)'	
wade/kom mo	until/for	
su	'with'	associative, instrumental, temporal
wa	'for'	benefactive/purposive

The prepositions in these phrases differ from the linker *bi* used in possessive phrases because *bi* only links two noun phrases whereas this group of prepositions is used for verb (predicate)-argument NP relations. Each preposition will be discussed in turn.

5.4.1 Dative phrases

A phrase filling the dative function is a prepositional phrase with either *is* or *nai* as the preposition. These two prepositions are dialectal variants, *is* is used in Abun Ji and *nai* is used in Abun Ye and Abun Tat. This prepositional phrase type is distinguished from other types because Abun speakers strongly prefer to place it directly following the object of the sentence.

As with all prepositional phrases, the preposition precedes a noun phrase such as a possessive phrase (244), a noun phrase (245), or the ellipsis thereof (246).

- (244) a. *Nggon ne syo suk-ne nai an bi im.*
 girl DEM give NOM-DEM to 3SG POSS mother
 'That girl gave those things to her mother.'
- b. *Nggon ne syo suk-ne is an bi im.*
 girl DEM give NOM-DEM to 3SG POSS mother
 'That girl gave those things to her mother.'
- (245) *Ji nuk suk-mwa ne is pa wok ne.*
 1SG speak thing-many DET to child small DET
 'I told all those things to the small child.'
- (246) *Pa bi im syo syur is da nde.*
 child POSS mother give water to drink NEG
 'The child's mother must not give water to (the child) to drink.'

5.4.2 Spacio-temporal phrases

A group of phrases with the prepositions *mo*, *bot*, *kagit*, *karowa*, *ket* and *wade* generally have locative, directional or temporal notions. Locative (*mo*) prepositional phrases are by far the most common type, and they differ structurally to the other types in this category. Again, each spacio-temporal prepositional phrase consists of a preposition followed by a noun phrase. Of the several prepositions listed in the table above under this type, each will be discussed in turn below. Firstly,

mo

is the general locative preposition meaning 'in, at, to', as seen in the examples below:

- (247) *Ye mu nai su-git mo nggwe.*
 people go get NOM-eat LOC garden
 'They went to get food at the garden.'

- (248) *Men mu mo Filipus bi nu.*
 1PL go LOC Filipus POSS house
 'We went to Filipus' house.'

Several locative prepositional phrases may occur together such as in (249). Both *mo* and *bot* have a tendency for recursiveness. The limitations to the number of phrases appear to be pragmatic.

- (249) *Yen taru mu mo nje mo nden mo Syubun.*
 people send.message go LOC people LOC bush LOC Syubun
 'They sent a message to the people in the bush at Syubun.'

Mo is a general locative preposition, and when a more specific location, such as 'in front of', 'next to', or 'behind' is intended, another locative word further specifies the location. Such modifications are only found in locative prepositional phrases where the preposition is *mo*. For example:

<i>mo nu mit</i>	'inside the house'
<i>mo nu git</i>	'in front of the house'
<i>mo nu yu</i>	'on top of the house'
<i>mo nu ke</i>	'at the base of the house'
<i>mo nu ndet</i>	'in between the houses'
<i>mo nu nim</i>	'above the house'
<i>mo banbo nim</i>	'eastern mountain'
<i>mo nu de</i>	'at the side of the house'
<i>mo nu de ju</i>	'upstream side of the house'
<i>mo nu de ti</i>	'sea side of the house'

<i>mo nu de dari</i>	'behind the house'
<i>mo nu de rut</i>	'at the back of the house'
<i>mo nu des nak</i>	'underneath the house'
<i>mo nu de nden</i>	'outside the house'

These locative words which follow the head of a locative phrase could be described as 'relator nouns'. They can become the head of the phrase when the actual head of the phrase is elided, such as, *mo mit* 'inside (the house)', *mo nden* 'outside (the house)'.

Many of the relator nouns are preceded by *de* 'side' as can be seen in the list above. So the form of the locative prepositional phrase may be further defined as: *mo* + NP, where an additional modifier, a relator noun or [*de* + relator noun] can be included preceding the determiner and following other modifiers in the noun phrase., such as in (250a) and (251a).

When the same directional word or relator noun follows the determiner of the phrase the meaning is different. Compare (250a) with (250b), and (251a) with (251b). In the latter cases the directional word is now outside of the prepositional phrase. When it is within the prepositional phrase (which has its boundary delineated by the determiner) it modifies the head of the phrase .

- (250) a. *mo banbo sye nim ne*
 Loc mountain big east DET
 'on the big eastern mountain'
- b. *mo banbo sye ne nim.*
 Loc mountain big DET east
 'on the big mountain in the easterly direction'
- (251) a. *mo Nyarwon bi nu de ju ne*
 Loc Nyarwon Poss house side upstream DET
 'on the upstream side of Nyarwon's house'

- b. *mo Nyarwon bi nu ne de ju*
 Loc Nyarwon Poss house DET side upstream
 'at Nyarwon's house, upstream side'

Recursive prepositional phrases may also include relator words, for example,:

- (252) *mo nggwe mo banbo tatu nim*
 LOC garden LOC mountain distant east
 'at the garden on the distant eastern mountain'

- (253) *mo nggwe moré ju*
 LOC garden close upstream
 'at the nearby upstream garden'

More than one relator noun in either order (*yu nim* or *nim yu*) can modify the noun head of a phrase, for example:

- (254) a. *mo banbo yu nim ne*
 LOC mountain top east DET
 'on the top of the eastern mountain'
- b. *mo banbo nim yu ne*
 LOC mountain east top DET
 'on the top of the eastern mountain'

subot/bot

Bot which is a shortening of *subot*, introduces a phrase which could be described as perative in meaning, that is, 'about, along or through'. *Bot* is preferred in fast speech. The following examples illustrate this type of prepositional phrase. *Bot* has undergone a process of grammaticalisation to become a suffix on some verbs, as discussed in 3.3.1.

- (255) *Pa siker nok bot kwa-yo-kwa-yo.*
 young.man tease wild.pig about thing-a-thing-a
 'The young men teased the wild pig about many things.'

- (256) *An mu subot yen ne ket ya ne.*
 3SG go along sand DET west flat DET
 'He went along the sand in a westerly direction on the flat part.'

This type of prepositional phrase can be recursive, (257). Speakers have a strong preference for *bot* phrases to precede *mo* phrases, as seen in (258), and, when the noun phrase is recoverable from the context, ellipsis of the phrase itself is possible, leaving only the preposition (259).

- (257) *An saye bot nu bot nden nu de ne ju.*
 3SG shout about house about outside house side DET upstream
 'She shouted (for me) about the houses, about the outside of the houses just up to the upstream side (of the village).' or 'She shouted out (for me) outside each house on the upstream side (of the village)'
- (258) *An gu bot rus mo kampung ne.*
 3SG kill about family LOC village DET
 'She killed all the families in the village.'
- (259) *Nggon mise syun ma bot.*
 woman evil chase come about
 'The evil woman chased after (them).'

kagit/kadit

Here again is a dialect variation, *kadit* and *kagit* are identical in meaning and use. This preposition has several shades of meaning. The basic meaning is 'from', and this can be from a location (260), a situation (261), or a point in time (262).

- (260) *An ma kagit Filipus bi nu.*
 3s come from Filipus POSS house
 'He came from Filipus's house.'
- (261) *An ge kadit an bi suki ne.*
 3SG healed from 3SG POSS sickness DET
 'He is healed from the sickness.'
- (262) *Ji ben kadit ketke sor kom mo-re.*
 1SG do from beginning only until LOC-here
 'I have just done (that) all the time up until now.'

karowa

The preposition *karowa* means 'near, close to', and may also be used as an adverb. Its main use is locative (263) and (264a), but it is also used in a temporal sense (265). In some contexts the head of the phrase can be elided, leaving the preposition stand alone (264b).

- (263) *Men mu mo os mit karowa nu-ari Ebenezer.*
 1PL go LOC road middle near house-Sunday Ebenezer
 'We were walking on the middle of the road near the church, Ebenezer.'
- (264) a. *Nan yo mu karowa Moses bi pe i nde*
 2SG NEG go near Moses POSS place own NEG
 'You are not to go near Moses' own place.'
- b. *Nan mu karowa nde.*
 2SG go near NEG
 'Don't go near (Moses' place).'
- (265) *Karowa kam dek...*
 near sun cool
 'Close to sunset,...'

ket

The form *ket* is another locative preposition. It precedes the location of the path of the action. For example, the location of the path where goods were being carried in (266) is along the ground, that is, by foot, and the location of the path of the movement in (267) was towards the interior (rather than the sea). The preposition undergoes grammaticalisation to become a suffix on some verbs which is discussed in 3.3.1.

- (266) *Men sam suk ket bur.*
 1PL carry things LOC earth
 'We carried the things, walking along.'
- (267) *Men tot ket nden.*
 1PL cut LOC interior
 'We cut across to the interior (path).'

- (268) *Pa mu ket os kwa syu ne.*
 child go LOC path the.one long DET
 'The child went on the long path.'

- (269) *Ji ben ket ji i.*
 1SG do LOC 1SG desires
 'I did (things) according to my desires.'

wade/kom mo

Another type of spacio-temporal prepositional phrase is formed with the preposition *wade/kom mo* 'until/for'. These two forms are used interchangeably, for example,

- (270) a. *Men kem mone wade kam-gwe rek.*
 1PL live there for day-two full
 'We stayed there for two full days.'
- b. *Men kem mone kom mo kam-gwe rek.*
 1PL live there until LOC day-two full
 'We stayed there for two full days.'

- (271) *An gwat su kre ré mu wade noru mit jam musi.*
 3SG take with afternoon this go until night middle hour nine
 'He took it from this afternoon until the middle of the night, nine o'clock.'

5.4.3 Associative phrases

The preposition used for associative as well as instrumental and temporal prepositional phrases is *su*. *Su* is mainly used in prepositional phrases that mean association. The examples below illustrate an 'association' with humans (272) and (273), and also things, such as those in the canoe with Isak in (274).

- (272) *Nan sam kwem su Isak.*
 2SG carry canoe with Isak
 'Carry the canoe with Isak.'
- (273) *An grem pa su an bi im.*
 3SG put child with 3SG POSS mother
 'She left the child with her mother.'

- (274) *Isak mbros kwem su suk e bukur e ne.*
 Isak row canoe with things and bowls and DET
 'Isak rowed the boat with things, bowls and so on.'

Furthermore the preposition can by itself act as a proform for the whole phrase in cases where, from the context, the contents of the phrase are known. In the example below the speaker was talking about his wife's sickness and how it necessitated the construction of a house in the bush. So he built the house 'with that situation in mind', and only requires the preposition *su* to communicate that. There is no need for a pause or any other phonological device to signify this phrase. Another phrase beginning with the preposition, *mo*, makes it clear that the *su* phrase has been completed.

- (275) *Ji go nu wok su mo nden ne.*
 1SG build house small with LOC bush DET
 'I built a small house (with that situation in mind) in the bush.'

Examples of phrases where *su* has an instrumental meaning are:

- (276) *Alfon gwa Simon su kwe koi sye.*
 Alfon hit Simon with wood piece big
 'Alfon hit Simon with a big piece of wood.'

- (277) *Ji kon an gwes su weu gan.*
 1SG cook 3SG leg with banana young
 'I treated his leg with a young banana.'

- (278) *An gu Musa su an bi im bi nggarmom muk.*
 3SG kill Musa with 3SG POSS mother POSS iron pipe
 'He killed Musa with his mother's iron pipe.'

In context all but the preposition in a prepositional phrase may be elided. This is a common feature for all prepositional phrases. Thus in a discussion about going to get a young banana tree, and bring it back home to prepare a treatment, one could then say,

- (279) *Be ji kon an gwes su.*
 later 1SG cook 3SG leg with
 'Later I will treat his leg with (it).'

The use of *su* can also include temporal ideas, the phrase, 'with the cool sun' means 'in the late afternoon'. They may be sentence initial as in (280), or part of the predicate following the verb as in (281) and (282), while (283) shows how the preposition itself may be sufficient where the phrase is elided.

- (280) *Su futmo ne an kra su Lamber.*
 with first DET 3SG marry with Lamber
 'In the first place, she married Lamber.'

- (281) *Prisila ti su noru ne mu mo an bi im.*
 Prisila flee with night DET go LOC 3SG POSS mother
 'Prisila fled at/during the night to her mother.'

- (282) *Men ne syesyar su tahun musyu mofit*
 1PL DET came.out with year ten seven
 'We came out in (19)70.'

- (283) *Tahun ne anato men syesyar su.*
 year DET the.one.which 1PL came.out with
 'That was the year in which we came out from the jungle.'

Su, which has an associative notion, can be replaced with *si*, which is used for coordination of noun phrases, as discussed below in 5.7.1. On some occasions, Abun speakers split coordinate noun phrases, like (284a) around the verb. When that occurs *si* acts like a preposition equivalent to *su*, as in (284b). In such a case *su* would also be acceptable, as seen in (284c). There is a progression from closer coordination to looser coordination of the participants from (284a) to (284c). When a coordinate noun phrase is not split around the verb, *su* cannot replace *si*, as in (284d). Usually coordinate noun phrases are not split. On more than 90% of the occurrences in the data, speakers do not split coordinate noun phrases, instead they prefer to keep them together, as in (284a), rather than split as in (284b).

- (284) a. *Apner si Fredik si Musa git sugit.*
 Apner with Fredik with Musa eat food
 'Apner, Fredik and Musa ate food (together).'

- b. *Apner git sugit si Fredik si Musa.*
 Apner eat food with Fredik with Musa
 'Apner ate food with Fredik and Musa.'
- c. *Apner git sugit su Fredik su Musa.*
 Apner eat food with Fredik with Musa
 'Apner ate food with Fredik and with Musa.'
- d.* *Apner su Fredik su Musa git sugit.*
 Apner with Fredik with Musa eat food
 'Apner, Fredik and Musa ate food (together).'

5.4.4 Benefactive phrases

The benefactive/purposive phrase has the preposition *wa* 'for'. This preposition has undergone a process of grammaticalisation as discussed in 3.3.1. Its common use is in benefactive prepositional phrases, for example,

- (285) *Ye fro suk wa men ka gri.*
 people prepare things for 1PL CLASS three
 'They prepared things for us three.'
- (286) *Ji kon wa ji bi nu ne sor.*
 1SG cook for 1SG POSS house DET only
 'I only cook for my household.'
- (287) *Sugane ye mu wa kam sye mo Uigwem.*
 at.that.time people go for day big LOC Uigwem
 'At that time they went for the celebrations at Uigwem.'

The preposition, *wa*, is also a conjunction. In the following example, the first *wa* is a purpose conjunction and the second a benefactive/purpose preposition.

- (288) *An ben mbros wa an mu wa lsak.*
 3SG do oar for 3SG go for lsak
 'He made an oar so he could go for (to help) lsak.'

5.5 Adverbial and adjectival phrases

Adverbial phrases in Abun consist of:

ADVERB + (INTENSIFIER)

Usually the optional intensifier is absent, leaving a single adverb as head of the phrase. This phrase type is limited in that only two particles can be used to intensify adverbs. The particle *wai*, which comes from the verb 'to pass', acts as an intensifier with adverbs. It has the sense of a surpassing manner of action. In other words, it is a comparative form. Thus in (289a) *wai* gives the idea that the speaker told his story much quicker than anyone else. However, the other intensifier, *teker*, has more of a superlative idea, so *kokro teker* can mean either 'fastest', or 'too fast' depending on the context. Frequently the use of *teker* implies intensified action mitigating against achieving its desired result, so in (289b) 'He told the story too quickly' implies that the hearers were prevented from understanding the story clearly.

- (289) a. An ki suk-du ne **kokro** wai
 3SG say NOM-say DET fast INTENSE
 'He told the story very quickly.'
- b. An ki suk-du ne **kokro** **teker**.
 3SG say NOM-say DET fast INTENSE
 'He told the story too quickly.'

Adverbial phrases occur after the object of a transitive sentence as in (289), or after the verb of an intransitive sentence, as in the following example.

- (290) Isak kas **nggi** **wai**.
 Isak run strong INTENSE
 'Isak runs very strongly.' or 'Isak is a very strong runner.'

Adjectival phrases are similar to adverbial phrases in that they consist of a head modified by an intensifier, that is, adjectival phrases consist of:

ADJECTIVE + (INTENSIFIER).

Usually the optional intensifier is absent, leaving a single adjective as head of the phrase.

Intensifiers used in adjectival phrases are the same as in adverbial phrases, with the addition of *ye* 'very' and *ndo nde* 'good NEG: very (with negative connotations)' as seen in the examples below. For extra intensification *ye* may occur with *ndo nde*, as in (292b).

- (291) a. *Ndar sye wai ma jau ji.*
 dog big INTENSE come bite 1SG
 'A very big dog (bigger than normal) came and bit me.'
- b. *Ndar sye teker ma jau ji.*
 dog big INTENSE come bite 1SG
 'An extremely big dog came and bit me.'
- c. *Ndar sye ye ma jau ji.*
 dog big INTENSE come bite 1SG
 'A very big dog came and bit me.'
- d. *Ndar sye ndo nde ma jau ji.*
 dog big good NEG come bite 1SG
 'A very big dog came and bit me.'
- (292) a. *sugit mo nu sare sugum sye ndo nde*
 food LOC house like.that money big good NEG
 'in a restaurant like that the food is very expensive'
- b. *sugit mo nu sare sugum sye ye ndo nde*
 food LOC house like.that money big very good NEG
 'in a restaurant like that the food is very, very expensive'

The intensifier *ye* differs from *wai* in that *ye* does not convey any comparative notions as *wai* does.

The general quantifier *mwa* 'many' may also be intensified in the same way as both adjectives and adverbs, as the following examples show.

- (293) a. *yetu mwa teker*
 people many INTENSE
 'too many people'
- b. *yetu mwa wai*
 people many INTENSE
 'very many people'

- (294) *Nggon ne ben siri mwa ye.*
 woman DET do wrong many very
 'The woman has done many many wrong things.'

- (295) *Nggon ne ben siri su ye mwa ye ndo nde.*
 woman DET do wrong with people many very good NEG
 'The woman has done wrong things with many, many people.'

5.6 Quantifier phrases

A quantifier phrase consists of:

(CLASSIFIER*) QUANTIFIER

(*a classifier is obligatory for cardinal numerals)

A *classifier* indicates something about the shape or size of an object that is head of a noun phrase in the same way as */loaves* in the English, "*three /loaves of bread*". There are many types of classifiers that may be used depending upon the type of noun in the phrase head, such as *ge* for persons or animals, *gwes* for long items, such as pieces of bamboo. In 3.4.1, table 3.9 lists each classifier and the types of nouns to which they apply.

General quantifiers are *mwa* 'many', *bok* 'several' and *de* 'some/part'. With more commonly used nouns, classifiers have a greater tendency to be absent. Some examples are:

- (296) *yenggras (ge) bok ne*
 old.men CLASS several DET
 'the several old respected men'

- (297) *yenggras (ge) mwa ne*
 old.men CLASS many DET
 'the many old respected men'

- (298) *Men git weu (bo) de yo.*
 1PL eat banana CLASS some DET
 'We ate some of the bananas.'

- (299) *Minda kri (ge) mwa ok kadit pe ne.*
 butterfly yellow CLASS many fly from place DET
 'Many yellow butterflies flew away from that place.'

- (300) *An nai jamsem (is) mwa.*
 3SG get cassava CLASS many
 'He took many cassava.'

Ordinal numerals which may be head of a quantifier phrase are formed by a combination of *do* 'the one which' and each numeral, except for *do-ketke* 'first', or the dialectal variant, *do-futmo* 'first'. Every other ordinal numeral is formed by combining *do* and the appropriate cardinal numeral. A classifier is optional with these. Some examples are:

- (301) *wam do-ketke*

time the.one which-one
 'first time'

- (302) *nu gwes kok kwat do-gri*

house leg high platform the.one which-three
 'the house on stilts' third level'

- (303) *An git weu (bo) do-at.*

3SG eat banana CLASS the.one.which-four
 'He is eating the fourth banana.'

Cardinal numerals may also be head of a quantifier phrase. Classifiers, however, are obligatory when a cardinal numeral is used, except for a few common cases such as *an (ge) we* 'they two', where the classifiers are sometimes elided due to common usage. Some examples of the use of cardinal numbers are seen in (304) to (307) below. A table listing cardinal numerals is found in 3.4.1.

- (304) *weubam bo at*
 pineapple CLASS four
 'four pineapples'

- (305) *dem gwes mufit*
 bamboo CLASS seven
 'seven sticks of bamboo'

- (306) *jamsem is musyu we*
 cassava CLASS ten two
 'twenty cassava tubers'

- (307) *ye ge gri*
 people CLASS three
 'three people'

5.7 Complex phrases

Complex phrases consist of two basic types, coordination and apposition.

Regarding the first of these, coordination, all languages possess strategies that permit various types of coordination to occur at the phrasal and sentential level, thereby forming complex phrases and sentences. According to Payne (1985b:3) there are "five basic co-ordination types which are realised linguistically both at phrasal and sentential levels: conjunction (*p and q*), postsection (*p and not q*), presection (*not p and q*), disjunction (*p or q*) and rejection (*not p and not q; not... p or q*)."

Payne (1985b:3) claims that most languages treat postsection, presection and rejection analytically as a combination of conjunction and negation, or disjunction and negation, that is, there is no distinct synthetic form. Abun also treats these three types of coordination analytically. Therefore only conjunction and disjunction are distinct categories in Abun.

The second basic type of complex phrase is that of apposition. Since this is structurally the same as one type of coordination (simple juxtaposition) it will be discussed under that section.

The table below summarises each complex noun phrase type and structure that will be discussed below.

TABLE 5.5 - COMPLEX NOUN PHRASES

Complex Phrase	Structure	Strategy Type
Conjunction	NP NP	juxtaposition - unmarked
	[NP e] \sqcap NP e	'and' - general linkage
	[NP si] \sqcap NP	'with' - closer linkage
Disjunction	NP bado NP bado	'or'

5.7.1 Conjunction

There are five different strategies used to conjoin phrases and sentences listed by Payne (1985b:25-37) consisting of the use of simple juxtaposition (he calls the 'zero' strategy), 'and', 'with', 'pronoun' and 'dual' strategies. Abun employs the first three types of strategies to conjoin phrases and sentences.

In *simple juxtaposition*, there are no markers of conjunction. It is a normal alternative existing alongside other strategies. This strategy is permitted at all levels from sentence to noun phrase, as well as in verb phrases (verb phrases, incidentally, only allow this type of strategy to give what appear to be serial verb formations). Examples are:

Sentence:

- (308) Ye kwam ye gu an.
 people hit.with.instr people hit.with.hand 3SG
 'They were hitting with a stick and (they were) punching him.'

Prepositional Phrase:

- (309) Ye ma kagit Pef kagit Bamogwem kagit Bikar.
 people come from Pef from Bamogwem from Bikar
 'They came from Pef, Bamogwem and Bikar.'

Noun Phrase:

- (310) An bi nggon nggon yi dom an rot nde.
 3SG POSS woman woman other also 3SG touch NEG
 'His wife and other women also he must not touch.'

Verb Phrase:

- (311) An kas mu sem mo nden.
 3SG run go sleep Loc bush
 'He ran and went and slept in the bush.'

- (312) *Ye-suk-mise ma nai gwat an mu ket.*
 PERS-NOM-evil come capture take 3SG go west
 'The police came and caught him and took him westward.'

Apposition, where the two heads involved stand in a mutually attributive relationship, (that is, each head is at the same time an attribute of the other head), is a special case of this unmarked type of coordination. Alternatively, when the heads are single nouns, as in (313) and (314), they may be analysed as a single noun phrase, as discussed in 5.2.1 above. Thus an apposition noun phrase in Abun has the structure of NP + NP. Two or more noun phrases are juxtaposed. For example,

- (313) *Men ye-nden git nggruk nde.*
 1PL PERS-bush eat turtle NEG
 'We, "Bush" people must not eat turtle.'

- (314) *Ye ne ye-su-go-te ye-Waropen.*
 person DET PERS-head-hair-black PERS-Waropen
 'That person is a *Papuan*, a *Waropen*.'

- (315) *Ji bi nji ye-guru mo nden kwop re.*
 1SG Poss brother PERS-teacher LOC bush die PERF
 'My brother, the inland teacher has died.'

With *recursive apposition*, the head of the noun phrase is repeated, as in (316). By way of contrast, in the case where a subsequent noun phrase modifies the first using the noun modifying particle, *to*, the head of the phrase is not repeated, as in (317).

- (316) *An it san be, san mo sem ne san*
 3SG put.on clothes new clothes LOC sea DET clothes
to-ré san pis
 EXTREF-this clothes wrap.around

'She put on *new clothes*, *modern clothes*, *these clothes*, *wrap around clothes*.'

- (317) *Wo suk-fo to ndam syor ne yo, nu-we git nde*
 but thing-taboo NMP bird cassowary that then.IRR 2p-two eat NEG
 'But a *forbidden thing*, that is that cassowary, you two can not eat.'

In the 'and' strategy, the coordinating particle, *e* is used as a conjunction in sentences and phrases. In the case of noun phrases the form is:

[NP *e*] ⁿ NP *e*

There is no distinction in meaning between the use of this particle and simple juxtaposition. Therefore examples are found in sentences, prepositional phrases and noun phrases similar to those given above. In all cases *e* may be added between the noun phrases, but not for verb phrases. This particle is widely used and conjoins phrases in subject positions (318), or object positions (319) in Abun sentences. Topicalised objects may also include complex phrases conjoined by *e* (320).

- (318) *Abi e Arun e Joni e nin gro mut et.*
 mother and Arun and Joni and 2PL eye close MHORT
 'Mum, Arun and Joni, close your eyes.'
- (319) *Nin we git suge sato nok e be e ron*
 2PL two eat animal like wild.pig and kangaroo and tree.kangaroo
e ne.
 and det
 'Eat animals such as wild pigs, kangaroos, tree kangaroos and the like.'
- (320) *Mbos e ndabu e ndam ga sye ne e an fowa sino.*
 pigeon and dove and bird REL big DET and 3PL forbidden all
 'Pigeons, doves and birds that are big, they are all forbidden (for women to eat).'

The 'with' strategy is widely used to conjoin noun phrases. It is rarely used in sentences, and is not permitted in prepositional phrase constructions. Payne points out that this is a very common strategy and that usually the coordinating particle is identical to the adposition marking the associative sense of 'with' (1985b:29). This is not quite true for Abun, where the coordinating particle is *si* 'with', while the associative preposition is *su* 'with', the two forms nevertheless appearing cognate.

The 'with' strategy is evident in Abun coordinate noun phrases in either of two ways:

1. [NP *si*] \sqcap NP

- (321) *Ji si Dina si Yulius si Isak, men ma nyim mo nu re.*
 1SG with Dina with Yulius with Isak 1PL come ahead LOC house PERF
 'I with Dina and with Yulius and with Isak, we had come ahead to the house.' or 'Dina and Yulius and Isak and I, we (all) had come ahead (of the others) to the house.'

2. NP \sqcap *si* NP

- (322) *Apner, Fredik si Musa git sugit.*
 Apner Fredik with Musa eat food
 'Apner, Fredik and Musa ate food (together).'

The former type is more emphatic than the latter in much the same way as in English where 'and' can be repeated, as illustrated in the second translation of (321) above.

A slightly hybrid version of the these two types is seen in the example below. This is due to the use of the first person sentence initial. In Abun, normally first person is mentioned first in a list of persons, that is, an Abun speaker always refers to himself first.

- (323) *Ji si Adolof Senderina Erlendsi Yususina si nggonggras Barbarina.*
 1SG with Adolof Senderina Erlendsi Yususina with Mrs. Barbarina
 '(We went to process sago at the river,) I with Adolof, Senderina, Erlendsi, Yususina and with Mrs. Barbarina.'

It should be noted that it is possible for the conjuncts to be split around the predicate to form: NP PRED *si* NP, where the second phrase could be analysed as an *si* (associative) prepositional phrase (discussed in 5.4.3). Note that the meaning of both (322) and (324) are similar, however the former construction is much more common. (Payne 1985b:32) indicates that this split of conjuncts occurs in other languages, such as Russian.

- (324) *Apner git sugit si Fredik si Musa.*
 Apner eat food with Fredik with Musa
 'Apner ate food together with Fredik and Musa.'

The 'with' strategy is not only used for joining phrases where the head is a name or a pronoun, but also where the head is another type of noun, a noun phrase or a possessive phrase, such as in the following examples:

- (325) *Suk sato sukom si bok si barisyan an git sore.*
 things like vegetables with salt with chili 3PL eat only
 'Only things like vegetables with salt and with chili they can eat.'
- (326) *Men kadum Syunsom si ef Um.*
 1PL point.out Syunsom with island Um
 'We pointed out Syumsom and Um island.'
- (327) *Rachel si bi im si bi ai mu re.*
 Rachel with Poss mother with POSS father go PERF
 'Rachel and her mother and father had already gone.'

The 'with' strategy is limited to the conjoining of noun phrases, and in some rare cases, in the joining of clauses with a common subject. The following example, where two clauses are joined, comes from a text where the speaker is giving advice on what children with diarrhea should not do.

- (328) *Pa da gur bo dek rom si git i-ka nde*
 child drink coconut CLASS young liquid with eat its-flesh NEG
 'Children must not drink young coconut milk together with eating its flesh.'
 or 'Don't drink young coconut milk and eat its flesh.'

There appears to be no limit as to how many phrases can be joined by *si* 'with' (or e 'and'). One recorded example has a list of nine places that Isak pointed out to the author of the story, *Isak kadum Jokya, Syugai, Syurgwem, Syukwo, Somsibo, Weyos, Bangkui, Bangkwau si Wai is ji*. This utterance used the pause much like English and concluded with *si* 'with' before the final place name.

The use of the 'with' strategy is more common with coordinate phrases in subject position. This is due to the fact that subjects are mostly agents. On the other hand, use of e is more common with coordinate phrases in object position, although there are exceptions as seen in (318).

Semantically there are some restrictions on the use of the 'with' strategy. The conjuncts must be seen as acting together, as in (327), Rachel and her parents went together. If they went separately, the speaker would use the 'and' strategy. Also, to employ the 'with' strategy, the conjuncts could be seen as being located close together. Thus in (326), the island and Syunsom were seen together, or pointed out together, and so si was used. Also in (325), the items spoken about are of the same type in the sense that vegetables are eaten together with either or both of salt and chili. If, however, these items were in a list and not necessarily eaten together then e would be used, as in (319), where different food items that would not be eaten together are listed.

There are times when si must be used and not e. In (329) the use of si means that the clothes mentioned are actually in the bags. If the clothes were separate from the bags then e would be more appropriate than si. The use of si therefore implies a togetherness much more so than the use of e.

- (329) Pa pe yu **si** san e sukmwa ne.
 child carry bag with clothes and many.things DET
 'The children carried the bags with clothes and the many (other) things.'

In (330), for example, Apner, Markus and RK are not together when the speaker refers to them. They are in different locations and are being spoken about at different points in time. Therefore since there is no 'togetherness' e is more appropriate.

- (330) *An nuk Apner e Markus e RK e.*
 3SG spoke.about Apner and Markus and RK and.
 'She spoke about Apner, Markus and RK.'

In summary, of the three strategies used for conjunction, namely, juxtaposition, 'and' and 'with', there is a strengthening of coordination from one to the next, that is, the first is more a general grouping of items, while the last is more a specific linking of items.

5.7.2 Disjunction

According to Payne (1985b:40) the majority of languages appear to possess at least one unequivocal strategy for disjunction, and this is invariably permitted at sentential and phrasal levels. This is true in Abun. The basic structure for disjunction is for the speaker to follow each phrase or sentence with the word, *bado*. In Abun disjunct phrases consist of: NP ***bado*** NP ***bado*** and so on. The form, *bado* is the alternative conjunction.

Examples of the use of *bado* from sentence to phrase level are:

Sentence:

- (331) *Pa yo ki nai bado Ester mu mo Barbarina ete ma bado...*
 child DET say to or Ester go LOC Barbarina and.then come or...
 'A child told (them) or Ester went to Barbarina and came (with the answer)...'

Prepositional Phrase

- (332) *Pa ne mo nu bado mo nggwe bado...*
 child DET LOC house or LOC garden or
 'The child is at home or in the garden.'

Possessive Phrase

- (333) *Barbarina titi mu kem mo gato Yulius bi nu ne ti bado*
 Barbarina flee go stay LOC REL Yulius POSS house DET sea or
Obet bi nu i bado...
 Obet POSS house own or...

'Barbarina fled and stayed at Yulius' house at the sea or Obet's house...'

Noun Phrases

(334) *An so pa ré temsu jot bado kokor bado.*
 3SG sell child this like pig or chicken or
 'He sold the child like a pig or a chicken.'

(335) *Erensi nai mbre toba ré sak we bado sak gri bado*
 Erensi took cloth toba this handspan two or handspan three or
sak at bado.
 handspan four or.

'Erensi took the *toba* cloth, (it was) two or three or four handspans.'

Payne (1985b:40) also points out that in certain environments the distinction between 'and' and 'or' (when the latter is indifferent in the choice between the elements), may be a minimal one. For example, in (319) above, an alternative translation would be, "Eat animals such as wild pigs (or), kangaroos (or), tree kangaroos or the like." Likewise there is some merging of 'and' and 'or' in examples (310) and (320). On the other hand, examples (318) and (330) may not be translated as 'or', but must only be 'and'.

Juxtaposition is sometimes used as an alternative to *bado*. It is particularly evident when quantifiers are used in noun phrases, such as (336).

(336) *mbre dik yo we yo*
 cloth one a two a
 'one or two cloths'

Other alternatives to *bado* that are frequently used as alternative conjunctions in spoken Abun are *ke* and *ka*. These come from Biak and Indonesian respectively, the latter being a corruption of the yes-no question particle, *kah*. This has come about because *bado* is used in asking alternative or tag questions as in, *An ma, bado, (nde e)?* 'He has come or (not)?' Frequently *nde e* is omitted, so the alternative conjunction may also act like a yes-no interrogative particle. Thus Abun speakers have adopted the Indonesian *kah* and use that just like they use their own *bado*, that is, as an alternative

conjunction and in alternative questions, even though in Indonesian *kah* is only a yes-no question marker, and not an alternative conjunction. The alternative conjunction in Indonesian is *atau*, which also is sometimes borrowed by Abun speakers. Examples are:

- (337) *Nan kra bi ka Moses kra bi ka Set kra bi ka*
2SG marry POSS or Moses marry POSS or Set marry POSS or
'If you marry yours, or Moses marries his, or Set marries his, ...'
- (338) *Men mu mo Resye ke Syukwor tuya ke Uigwem tuya ke.*
1PL go LOC Resye or Syukwor (distant) or Uigwem (distant) or.
'We will go to Resye or distant Syukwor or distant Uigwem.'

The Role of Participants
Part N

6. Marked moods

There are three moods which are marked in Abun, namely, interrogative, imperative and frustrated action. Mood is marked by a clause final particle which follows other particles (that is, those that mark negation, aspect and modality). Each marked mood will be discussed in turn.

6.1 Interrogative mood

Interrogative mood, like other moods in Abun, uses particles. Two particles are used to bracket or delineate the constituent being interrogated. The pattern of bracketing a grammatical constituent by particles is a feature of the Abun language. It is used in negation (see 8.2), and also in relative clauses, both restricted and unrestricted as discussed by C. Berry (1995).

The basic structure of an interrogative sentence in Abun is:

IQM clause FQM

The optional particle, *te*, (referred to as IQM 'Initial Question Marker') and another particle called FQM 'Final Question Marker' bracket the clause in question. For all question types *te* is the IQM, but the particle, FQM, varies according to the type of question being asked.

The initial particle, *te*, although now apparently totally optional, may well have been an obligatory part of interrogative structures in the past, before the influence of the national language, Indonesian. This is born out by the fact that those less influenced by the national language from interior villages use *te* much more than those on the coast, where the effects of the national language are more prevalent.

As a general rule, the pattern of intonation in interrogative sentences is a final falling contour. The exception is confirmative questions which have a final rising intonation.

All interrogatives are seeking some type of information, and on lexical grounds, namely the variation in the FQM particle, it is apparent that Abun has four basic types of interrogatives. The four types are the:

- * YES-NO (or NEXUS) question, one that seeks a comment on the truth of a proposition.
- * CONFIRMATIVE question, that seeks agreement, or confirmation from the addressee.
- * ALTERNATIVE question, which provide a list of possibilities from which the addressee selects an answer.
- * INFORMATION or QUESTION WORD question which seeks particular information such as 'who', 'what', 'how', 'why', 'when' and 'where'.

A summary of Abun question types, their structure and related final intonation pattern is contained in the following table. Each type will be discussed in turn below.

TABLE 1 - SUMMARY OF INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE TYPES

Question Type	Structure	Intonation
Yes-no	(te) clause e	final falling
Confirmative	(te) clause fe	final rising
Alternative	[(te) clause bado] ⁿ clause e	final falling
Information	(te) clause (incl question word) ne/o	final falling

6.1.2 Yes-no questions

There are many characteristics that distinguish yes-no questions from other structures in the world's languages. Characteristics listed by Sadock & Zwicky (1985:181) in order of frequency in their sample were: rising final intonation contour, a sentence initial particle, a sentence final particle, special verb morphology and word order. Abun yes-no questions are marked with an optional sentence initial particle and an obligatory sentence final particle.

The structure of a YES-NO question in Abun is:

(te) CLAUSE e

The 'Yes-No Question Marker', e, is always used in yes-no questions. However, the 'Initial Question Marker', te, is always optional and more often than not is omitted. Of those yes-no questions studied, about 35% used te. Examples (339) and (340) illustrate typical yes-no questions, showing that with or without te the meaning is the same.

- (339) a. *Te nan kra it e?*
 IQM 2SG marry COMPL YNQM
 'Are you married?'

- b. *Nan kra it e?*
 2SG marry COMPL YNQM
 'Are you married?'

- (340) a. *Te nan nai nan bi suk it e?*
 IQM 2SG get 2SG POSS things COMPL YNQM
 'Have you got your things?'

- b. *Nan nai nan bi suk it e?*
 2SG get 2SG POSS things COMPL YNQM
 'Have you got your things?'

One of the most striking characteristics of yes-no questions noted by researchers is a rising final intonation contour (Sadock & Zwicky 1985:181).

An analysis of the intonation patterns in Abun yes-no questions reveals the opposite, that is, a falling final intonation contour. The intonation pattern for interrogative sentences is the same as that for indicative sentences. Therefore intonation is not significant distinguishing feature of yes-no questions in Abun as it is in many other languages. Ultan (1978:230) points out that in his 79 language sample, those languages that had prepositions *always* had a rising terminal contour intonation pattern. Abun is clearly an exception to this (see diagrams 1 and 2 below which contrast yes-no and confirmative question intonation patterns).

There are three basic systems for short answers to yes-no questions, yes/no, agree/disagree and echo systems. Abun speakers use a mixture of these systems: an echo system for positive responses; and a negative particle, *nde*, for negative responses. They do not have *both* positive and negative particles for answering like the English 'yes' and 'no', but rather they only have the negative particle. When a question such as (341) is asked, a positive answer would be the echo, "There is cooked food." Frequently such answers may be even shortened further, a possible response to (341) being *mo*, 'there is'. A negative response would require the use of *nde* 'no'.

- (341) A kon suk a yo jon e?
2SG cook thing PAUSE some cooked YNQM
'Have you cooked anything?'

Although Abun speakers use an echo system for positive responses, their body language responses to yes-no questions uses a yes/no system. Raising of the eyebrows means 'yes', and turning up of their nose means 'no'.

6.1.2 Confirmative questions

This type of question asks for confirmation of a presumed situation. The structure is:

(te) CLAUSE **fe**

Such constructions are very similar to yes-no questions, but they have a rising final intonation contour and use the marker *fe* 'Confirmative Question Marker, CQM' sentence final, as in (342) and (343).

- (342) Te ji bi suk ane **fe?**
 IQM 1SG POSS thing DEM CQM
 'That's mine! Right?'

- (343) Ndo **fe?**
 good CQM
 'That's good! Right?' or 'That's good, isn't it?'

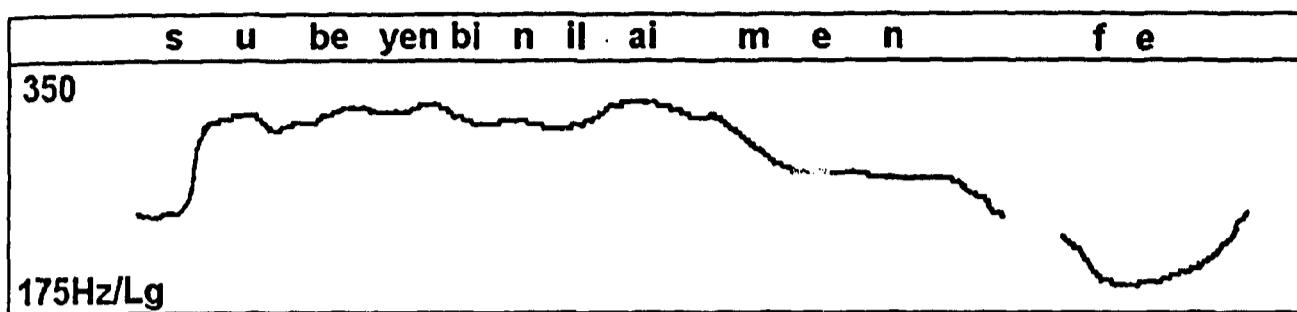
These questions presume a positive response and may also be called positively biased yes-no questions. Negatively biased yes-no questions, such as in (344), are unacceptable to an Abun speaker.

- (344) *Ndar anane nde **fe?**
 dog DET NEG CQM
 'That's not a dog, right?'

Confirmative questions do not only have a distinct FQM, but they are also distinguished from yes-no questions by a rising final intonation contour. Example (345) has the intonation pattern as shown in figure 3, which contrasts with the intonation pattern for the yes-no question of (346) shown in figure 4 below.

- (345) sube yen bi-nilai men **fe.**
 so.that 3PL FV-value 1PL CQM
 '...so that they can see how good we are, right?'

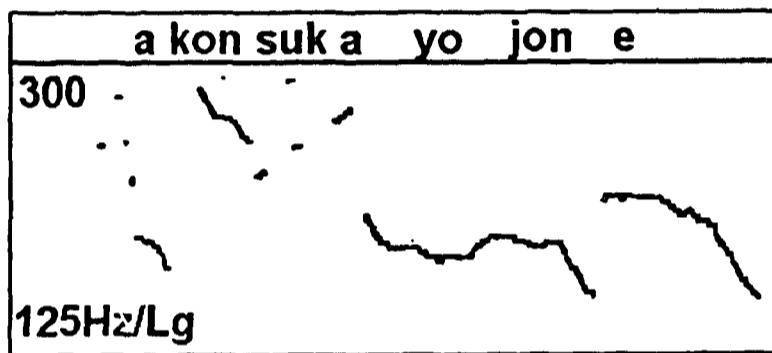
FIGURE 3 - INTONATION PATTERN OF A CONFIRMATIVE QUESTION



The following figure shows.

- (346) A kon suk a yo jon e?
 2SG cook thing PAUSE some cooked YNQM
 'Have you cooked anything?'

FIGURE 4 - INTONATION PATTERN OF A YES-NO QUESTION



6.1.3 Alternative questions

In an alternative question two or more possibilities are presented by the speaker. Combinations include two possibilities such as, "Do you want to go, or not?", where the alternative is a positive or negative reply; or "Do you want a banana, or a coconut?", where the alternative is between two items. Also more extensive lists of alternative items are possible, as well as those where one alternative is specified with the second alternative seeks information such as, "Is the palm wine sweet, or what?"

For an alternative question where there are two alternatives, the structure is:

(te) CLAUSE *bado* CLAUSE e

Example (347) illustrates two alternatives:

- (347) A *kra* Moses ***bado*** a *bari* e?
 2SG marry Moses AQM 2SG do.not.want YNQM
 Do you want to marry Moses, or don't you want to?

Instead of having a number of varied alternatives, a further possibility is to have just two alternatives, one being the negation of the other. In these cases the first alternative (which is positive) is followed by *bado*, while the second alternative is the negative particle, *nde*, followed by the yes-no question marker, *e*. Thus the structure of a positive-negative alternative question, is:

(te) CLAUSE ***bado nde e***

Example (348) illustrates this type of question.

- (348) *Te men frot án bado, nde e?*
 IQM 1PL inform 3PL AQM NEG YNQM
 'Will we tell him or not?'

This form is often shortened by the ellipsis of *nde e* resulting in a form like that of yes-no questions, but with a different FQM, that is, *bado*. Such a form, as in (349), is still a positive-negative alternative question. It has the same meaning as if *nde e* was present.

- (349) A *jam nadi, bado?*
 2SG know pray AQM
 'Do you know how to pray (or not)?'

This type of construction could be called a truncated positive-negative alternative question. The addition of *nde e* makes the question more forceful and is used in cases where a question, like example (349), is ignored or not answered quickly enough, so the speaker would reiterate the question with *nde e* in addition to *bado*.

A further variation of the type of alternative question is one where the final alternative seeks information. The final clause follows the same structure as information seeking questions, discussed in 6.1.4. Example (350) illustrates this type, where the last alternative is actually an information seeking question, and uses the particle, *ne* as FQM.

- (350) *Nau ne wik bado sa u ne?*
 palm.wine DET good.tasting AQM like which FQM
 'Does that palm wine taste good, or what?'

Regarding intonation in alternative questions, Abun has a falling final intonation contour on *bado* in much the same way as intonation falls in yes-no questions as well as indicative sentences.

No matter what type of alternative question is asked, the syntax is the same, that is the 'Alternative Question Marker' (AQM), *bado*, follows each alternative, except the last one which is followed by its relevant QM, usually the yes-no question marker, except for cases where the final alternative is one seeking information. The 'Initial Question Marker' (IQM) is optionally present, as for other question types. The structure of an alternative question (where $n + 1$ = the number of alternatives) is:

$[(te) CLAUSE \textbf{bado}]^n CLAUSE e.$

In (351) there are four alternatives. Each one, except the last, is followed by *bado*. It means that the clause which precedes it is in question as a possible alternative and every clause in an alternative question must be followed by *bado*. The comma before *bado* and the semi-colon after it represent a pause and a longer pause respectively.

- (351) Be *nggon gato syimfar ne te mu ben suk mo*
 will girl who pregnant DEM IQM go do things at
nggwe dom, bado; mu os syu dom, bado;
 garden also AQM go path long also AQM
sam suk de dom, bado;
 carry things heavy also AQM
an kem mo nu sore etejo an i nu, e?
 she stay at home only then she sweeps house YNQM

'When a woman is pregnant does she also go to the garden, does she go on long trips too, does she carry heavy things too, or does she just stay at home and sweep the house?'

6.1.4 Information seeking questions

Questions seeking information such as those asking 'who', 'what', 'how', 'why', 'when' and 'where' are all formed in Abun in a similar way. They follow the general bracketing pattern that is evident in negation. A question of this type is formed by using two particles or markers, *te*, which is always optional at the start of the sentence and FQM at the end. A interrogative proform is also used in conjunction with these markers. This is a rare combination according Sadock & Zwicky (1985:183), who say that inversion and special morphology frequently co-occur with interrogative words, whereas particles and contrastive intonation do not.

The structure of information seeking interrogative sentences in Abun is:

(*te*) S V O ADJUNCT (Q) FQM,

where FQM 'Final Question Marker' and (Q) represents a single interrogative word which may follow one of either the subject, the verb, the object or the adjuncts depending upon which constituent is being interrogated. Exceptions to this pattern occur when information seeking interrogative sentences are topicalised as in (352). This pattern is discussed in detail in 6.1.4.4.

- (352) *Ben sa u anato nan yo ma more nde ne?*
 do like which FOC 2SG NEG come here NEG FQM
 'How is it that you didn't you come here?' or 'Why didn't you come here?'

Regarding the initial marker, *te*, in a sample of 194 questions in text material *te* occurred 41 times, that is, about 21% of information seeking questions use *te*. Therefore questions like (353), without the IQM are more common than those with *te*.

- (353) *Ji bi suma is nan o?*
 1sg give what to 2SG FQM
 'What can I give to you?' or 'How can I help you?'

The final question marker (FQM) is either *ne* or *o*. The use of either one of these particles is obligatory. The particles *ne* and *o* are used interchangeably, with no change in meaning. So (354a) has the same meaning as (354b). These two particles appear to have been originally dialectal variants which have now been incorporated into all dialects. There is no apparent difference in meaning, *ne* is more common than *o*, occurring in 90% of all questions analysed.

- (354) a. *Nan jan suma ne?*
 2SG plant what FQM
 'What did you plant?'
 b. *Nan jan suma o?*
 2SG plant what FQM
 'What did you plant?'

Both particles (*te ...ne/o*) bracket the whole sentence irrespective of its complexity. In a complex sentence (355), two clauses are embedded, a relative clause and a dependent purpose clause. Both are bracketed by the initial and final particles.

- (355) *Te ye gato i ne git suma sube án ge ó ne?*
 IQM person REL sick DET eat what so.that 3PL well again FQM
 'People who are sick eat what so they will get well again?'
 or 'What do sick people eat so they will get well again?'

Information seeking questions have a final falling intonation contour similar to yes-no and alternative questions. Such type of intonation is not what would be expected according to the findings by Ultan (1978:230), where he points out that information questions have a considerably better than chance probability of having a rising terminal contour.

The question word follows the constituent that is the focus of interrogation. In (356), the subject, that is, 'the person who came', is the focus of interrogation, whereas in (357) the object, that is, 'the types of plants' is the focus of interrogation. In (358) the location is the focus of interrogation, and in (359) the indirect object is the focus of interrogation.

- (356) *Te je u ma more ne?*
 IQM person which come here FQM
 'Who came here?'

- (357) *Te nan jan suk-jan u ne?*
 IQM 2SG plant NOM-plant which FQM
 'Which plants did you plant?'

- (358) *Nan grem buku ne mo u ne?*
 2SG put book DEM LOC which FQM
 'Where did you put the book?'

- (359) *Te an syo buku ne nai je u ne?*
 IQM 3SG give book DEM to person which FQM
 'Who did he give the book to?'

With regard to the interrogative proforms used in information seeking questions, Abun has only three. According to Sadock & Zwicky (1985:184), theoretically it should be possible that only one single morpheme, glossed as 'what' is needed. So then all information questions would involve periphrasis (i.e. 'what person' for who, 'what place' for where etc.). However in practice the smallest system known to them is the Yokuts system with three interrogative words. Abun can therefore be added as one of the smallest systems known. The three proforms are:

<i>suma</i>	'what'	general interrogative
<i>u</i>	'which'	specific interrogative
<i>ot</i>	'how many'	pronominal interrogative

Table 1 shows each interrogative word and its periphrasis together with the equivalent question words in English.

TABLE 2 INTERROGATIVE EXPRESSIONS

Word	Abun	English
<i>u</i>	<i>je u</i> person which	who
	<i>je u bi</i> person which POSS	whose
	<i>Noun u</i> x which	which x
	<i>sa u</i> like which	how, what
	<i>mo u</i> LOC which	where
	<i>kadir u</i> from which	from where
	<i>ket u</i> way which	which direction
	<i>wa sa u</i> for like which	why
	<i>kap u</i> time which	when
<i>suma</i>	<i>suma</i> what	what
	<i>wa suma</i> for what	why
	<i>suma ben</i> what do	why (topicalised)
<i>ot</i>	<i>kap ot</i> time how.many	when
	<i>N ge¹ ot</i> x CLASS how.many	how many

¹See 3.4.1 for a list of classifiers and the types of nouns to which they apply.

Abun is even more unusual than Yokuts in that it does not have a distinct interrogative proform that makes a distinction between personal and impersonal ('who', and 'what' in English). Ultan (1978:229) points out that this contrast is almost always present. But instead Abun forms the pronominal interrogative, 'who' by a combination of *je* 'person' and *u* 'which'.

Each interrogative word with examples of various question types is discussed below.

6.1.4.1 *u* questions

The most widely used interrogative word is *u*. It is used to form the following types of interrogatives:

who

U forms questions inquiring about the identity of a person, who may be either the subject, (360), object, (361), or accompaniment, (362), in a sentence.

- (360) *Je u ma mo-re ne?*
 person which come Loc-here FQM
 'Who came here?'

- (361) *Ndar ne jau je u ne?*
 dog DET bite person which FQM
 'Who did the dog bite?'

- (362) *Nan kem su je u ne?*
 2SG live with person which FQM
 'Who do you live with?'

whose

Examples (363) and (364) illustrates a questions inquiring about the possession of a dog and pig respectively.

- (363) *Je u ana bi ndar ne ne?*
 person which FOC POSS dog DEM FQM
 'Who is it that owns that dog?' or 'Whose dog is that?'

- (364) *Nan gii je u bi jot ne?*
 2SG kill person which POSS pig FQM
 'Whose pig did you kill?'

which/what x

The following examples illustrate the use of *u* in asking questions about the identity of a particular thing, such as what type of fish in (365), or what type of plants in (366).

- (365) *Nan sok boge u ne?*
 2SG fish fish which FQM
 'What type of fish do you fish for?'

- (366) *Suk-jan u kom ndo ne?*
 NOM-plant which grow well FQM
 'Which plants are growing well?'

how, what

Questions that ask about the state of something, like a name (367), or a body size (368), and questions that ask about the manner in which something is to be done (369) and (370), all use *sa u* 'like which'.

- (367) *Nan gum sa u ne?*
 2SG name like which FQM
 'What is your name?'

- (368) *Nan bi ndar ka sa u ne?*
 2SG POSS dog body like which FQM
 'What is your dog like?'

- (369) *Nan jan weu sa u ne?*
 2SG plant banana like which FQM
 'How do you plant bananas?'

- (370) *An git an bi sugit i sa u ne?*
 3SG eat 3SG POSS food his.own like which FQM
 'How does he eat his food?'

Questions inquiring into what type of actions someone has done (371) or will do in the future (372) use *ben sa u* 'do like what'. There is an overlap in the use of *suma* and *u* in these types of questions. In both cases below *suma* could replace *u* and be syntactically correct. However when *suma* is used the answer sought would be more general in nature, consistent with the differentiation between these two interrogative words explained above.

- (371) *Kamekre nggon ne ben sa u ne?*
 yesterday women DEM do like which FQM
 'What did the women do yesterday?'

- (372) *Mo-re ye ben sa u sube yo ku suki sunggu nde ne*
 Loc-here people do like which so.that NEG get sickness mosquito NEG FQ
 'What do people here do so that they won't get malaria?'

where, from where, which direction

For questions regarding location, source or direction the appropriate preposition is used together with *u*. So for location, *mo u* means 'where' (373); source, *kagit u* 'from where' (374) and direction, *ket u* 'which direction' (375).

- (373) *Nan ontu mo u ne?*
 2SG umbilical.cord LOC which FQM
 'Where were you born?'

- (374) *An mu kagit u ne?*
 3SG go from where FQM
 'Where did he come from?'

- (375) *Nggon mise mu ket u ne?*
 woman evil go way which FQM
 'Which way did the evil woman go?'

why

Another type of question asked using *u* is questions that inquire as to the reason for a particular action, or inaction (376).

- (376) *Te nan fowa suk ne wa sa u ne?*
 IQM 2SG forbidden thing that for like which FQM
 'Why are you forbidden (to eat) that?'

when

Questions asking about time usually use the interrogative prounumeral, *ot*, however, when one is asked to specify the name of the day or month then *u* can be used as in (377).

- (377) *Kam u ete nan mu ne?*
 day which then 2SG go FQM
 'When will you be going?'

6.1.4.2 suma questions

The interrogative word, *suma* is used to form questions inquiring about the identity of something (378), the nature of a particular action (379), the reason for a particular action (380), or its topicalisation (381).

what

- (378) *Nan sok suma ne?*
 2SG fish what FQM
 'What do you fish for?'

- (379) *An ben suma o?*
 3SG do what FQM
 'What did he do?'

why

- (380) *Nan yo ma more nde wa suma ne?*
 2SG NEG come here NEG for what FQM
 'Why didn't you come here?'

why (topicalised)

- (381) *Suma ben anato nan yo ma more nde ne?*
 what do FOC 2SG NEG come here NEG FQM
 'What was the reason that you didn't come here?'
 or 'Why was it that you didn't come?'

The distinction between *u* and *suma* is one of specific and general. *U* is more specific than *suma*. Consider the (382) and (383) below.

- (382) *Nan jan suk-jan u ne?*
 2SG plant NOM-plant which FQM
 'Which plants did you plant?'

- (383) *Nan jan suma ne?*
 2SG plant what FQM
 'What did you plant?'

The former is looking for a more specific answer than the latter. We may get an answer like corn, cassava and tomatoes, whereas the answer to the second question may be something more general like, vegetables. Often the answer may not be different, but the latter is more likely to result in a less specific answer.

Suma is limited in its use as an interrogative word to ask questions such as 'what' or 'why'. However *u* is more widely used and is involved in periphrasis to form most types of questions such as 'who', 'whose', 'what', 'which', 'where', 'why', 'how' and 'when'.

The third interrogative word, *ot* 'how many' is used in forming questions relating to quantity and time, i.e., 'when' and 'how many'.

6.1.4.3 *ot* questions

The interrogative prounumeral, *ot*, is used to form questions about time and quantity. There is some overlap of *u* and *ot* in asking time questions. Compare (384) below with (377) above. The difference is that in (377) the answer would be expected to name a day or month or other point in time such as next year, whereas (384) would expect an answer such as 'in five days' or 'three months', that is, with some type of numerical response.

- (384) *Kam ot ete nan mu ne?*
 day how many then 2SG go FQM
 'When will you be going?'

There are no tense markers on verbs in Abun, so whether a time question such as (385) is in the past or future is determined by reference to the context, or by the special use of the word *ete*, 'then', as in (384), or *be* 'later' as in (386) to indicate future time.

when

- (385) *An ma more su kam ot ne?*
 3SG come here with day how.many FQM
 'When did he come here?' (i.e. how many days ago)

- (386) *Be an ma more su kam ot ne?*
 later 3SG come here with day how.many FQM
 'When will he come here?' (i.e. in how many days)

how many

To ask about the duration of some event *kom mo* is used instead of *su*, as in (387).

- (387) *Nan kem more kom mo kam ot ne?*
 2SG live here for to day how.many FQM
 'How long have you live here?'

Ot is also used in questions of quantity. In this type, *ot* follows the noun for a specific item such as 'pigs' or 'money' with its appropriate classifier, as in (388) and (389). Refer to section 3.4.1. for a list of classifiers and the types of nouns to which they apply.

- (388) *Nan bi jot ge ot ne?*
 2SG POSS pig body how.many FQM
 'How many pigs do you have?'

- (389) *Nan bi nu ke ot ne?*
 2SG POSS house base how.many FQM
 'How many houses do you have?'

The word *wam* 'times' does not require a classifier, as in (390) and (391).

- (390) *Te nan i su suk-i sunggu ne wam ot ne?*
 IQM 2SG sick with NOM-sick mosquito DEM times how.many FQM
 'How many times have you had malaria?'
- (391) *Nan mu wam ot mo Dom ne?*
 2SG go times how.many Loc Sorong FQM
 'How many times have you gone to Sorong?'

6.1.4.4 Topicalisation of information seeking questions

Information seeking questions, like indicative sentences, can be topicalised (see 4.7.2). In these forms the question word is followed by the demonstrative-focus word (or topicaliser) *anato*, as in (392). The use of this form brings *sukjan* 'plants' into greater focus or emphasis than the non-topicalised forms as in (393) and (394).

- (392) *Te suk-jan u anato nan jan ne?*
 IQM NOM-plant which FOC 2SG plant FQM
 'Which plants are the ones that you planted?'
- (393) *Te nan jan suk-jan u ne?*
 IQM 2SG plant NOM-plant which FQM
 'Which plants did you plant?'
- (394) *Nan jan suma ne?*
 2SG plant what FQM
 'What did you plant?'

In a sample of 127 information seeking questions, 25% were topicalised.

In Abun the constituents of a sentence that may be topicalised in questions are the subject (even though it is the topic, it may receive extra focus by the use of *anato*) as in (395) and object as in (392).

- (395) *Te je u anato ndar ne jau ne?*
 IQM person which FOC dog DET bite FQM
 'Who was it that the dog bit?'

Other constituents such as location in (396) cannot be topicalised.

- (396) **Mo u anato nan ontu ne?*
 LOC which FOC 2SG umbilical.cord FQM

6.1.5 Usage of interrogative sentences

Abun has no special form for rhetorical questions. Instead interrogative sentences can be used in a rhetorical sense, that is, the speaker is not only sure of the answer, but also requires no answer. So on some occasions although the structure is interrogative the illocutionary force is not. This is plain in narrative texts where the speaker continues after asking a 'question' because the answer is obvious. Examples taken from text are:

a negative statement, such as (397) and (398).

- (397) *Ji da sok ari sarewo Yefun ne sa u ne?*
 1SG even.though enter church.service but God DEM like which FQM
 'Even though I went to church, what was God like?'

or 'Even though I went to church, I couldn't understand who God was.'

- (398) *Ji yo bi os wa ji kem miu Dom nde*
 1SG NEG POSS way for 1SG live in Sorong NEG
be je u anato mewa ji ne?
 later person which FOC care.for 1SG FQM

'I had no way I could live in Sorong, who could take care of me?'

or 'I couldn't live in Sorong because there was no one there who would have taken care of me.'

An exclamation expressing surprise or even disgust, as in (399).

- (399) *An jimnot ware an ki do "Suma ben ji anato
3SG think FRUST 3SG say that what do 1SG FOC
ji sem mo nat ré e ji i sare ne?
1SG sleep LOC place this and 1SG sick like.this FQM*

'He thought about it with no success, "What ever made me sleep in this place and get sick like this?'

or 'He couldn't work out what made him sleep in a place like that that made him so sick.'

Example (399) comes from a narrative, and at this point there was no interaction with anyone. He was really disgusted with himself for doing such a stupid thing. In English we often ask ourselves, "Why did I do such a stupid thing?", in the sense, "What a stupid thing for me to have done!" So the semantic force of this interrogative structure is not to ask a question but to make a statement expressing disgust.

A statement expressing uncertainty, as in (400). This example comes from a narrative where the speaker was not interacting with anyone.

- (400) *An ki do "Ye ne yesugote ye Waropen bado?"
3SG say that person that Irianese person Waropen AQM
'He said, "Was that Irianese person a Waropen person?"*

or 'I think he said that the Irianese person was a Waropen person.'

A rebuke or negative command, as in (401).

- (401) *Nan nok wa suma ne?
2SG afraid for what FQM
'Why are you afraid?' or 'Don't be afraid!'*

The above type of interrogative structure is a rhetorical question found in cases where the speaker continues, not waiting for an answer. In the context of (401), people said (literally), "Why are you afraid? Go on inside!" In saying

this they effectively rebuked the one who was being slow about doing what he should have done.

A condition, as in (402).

- (402) *Yonatan bi ai ndo do "Te more nu sugit yo
Yonatan Poss father asked that IQM here house food a
yen bro jamsem yo bado? Ge ber men git sore."*
3PL boil cassava some AQM then later 1PL eat just

'Yonatan's father said, "If there is a restaurant here that boils cassava then let's just go and eat there."

6.2 Imperatives

Imperative sentences convey a request, command, order, suggestion, instruction or an entreaty. Sadock & Zwicky (1985:171) note that since human social life so frequently consists of activities of requesting, commanding and the like, that no language (it seems) lacks a form dedicated to imperative sentences. This is indeed true for Abun.

First we will make some general typological comments about Abun imperative sentences in relation to universal observations, (6.2.1), followed by a discussion of the types of imperative sentences found in Abun consisting of the basic imperative type (6.2.2) a group of two types that may be called hortative (6.2.3) and an other type labelled prohibitive (6.2.4).

6.2.1 Imperative typology and Abun

Because the imperative mood is basically connected with the second person and it relates to an action to be performed in the immediate future, the second person pronoun, tense and aspect distinctions are usually absent because they are implied. For this reason verbs in the imperative mood in many languages

are in their most basic form. Indeed Lyons (1977:746) points out that in many languages imperative sentences are characterised by a change in the form of the main verb of the sentence to its most simple form. However, in Abun, the form of the verb is exactly the same as for declarative and interrogative moods. On the other hand, consistent with most languages, tense and aspect distinctions, which are normally expressed by adverbs and particles in Abun, are not found in imperative sentences. Instead Abun uses optional particles to show strength of imperatives. These occur clause finally.

According to Sadock & Zwicky (1985:173) the removal of the subject pronoun and/or verbal concord affix is amazingly common. Abun, however, does not allow the removal of the subject in imperative sentences. On the contrary, subject is obligatory in all types of Abun speech acts.

Sadock & Zwicky (1985:171) also point out that there is considerable diversity in the way in which imperative sentences are marked, including pre- or post-sentential particles, verbal clitics, special verb morphology, and intonation. In Abun, imperative sentences maybe marked or simply left unmarked. Marked forms are distinguished by the use of one of three optional clause final (or post-sentential) particle. The three markers are:

TABLE 3- IMPERATIVE MARKERS

	Mild	Strong
Positive	<i>et</i>	<i>tom/se</i>
Prohibitive	<i>nde</i>	

6.2.2 Basic imperative

The basic imperative in Abun is simply unmarked where the subject of the sentence is second person, and the established time setting is not in the past (this is normally clear from the context, as indicated by adverbs, mood or aspect particles, since there are no tense markers in Abun). The examples below require a certain context to make them imperative sentences. Without knowing the context there could be several translations. Intonation is the same as for indicate sentences, but there may be greater force. For example:

- (403) *Nan git boge mone.*

2SG eat fish there

'Eat that fish!' or 'You are/were eating fish there.'

- (404) *Nan syo mbre sak dik is ji.*

2SG give antique.cloth CLASS one to 1SG

'Give me one antique cloth!' or 'You gave one antique cloth to me.'

- (405) *Nin ma mo Syurur kekro.*

2PL come LOC Syurur quickly

'Come quickly to Syurur!' or 'You came to Syurur quickly.'

6.2.3 Hortative

Sadock & Zwicky (1985:160) claim that "most languages have an imperative restricted to second person logical subjects." To show an exception to this they refer to Onondaga, which has a general imperative type that occurs in all persons and numbers and covers a wide range of more specific acts. In labeling such a sentence type, they argue that "The HORTATIVE is in some languages simply a first or third person form of the imperative.... We might say that ... (as in Onondaga), there is only a hortative form..." (1985:77). Abun likewise does not restrict the subject to second person, but also includes other persons, thus we have labelled the particles, *et* as 'MILD HORTATIVE' and *tom/se*

as 'STRONG HORTATIVE'.² Unmarked imperatives can also be used with first and third person as well as second person, as exemplified below.

first person

- (406) a. *Men mu mo nden.* (unmarked)
 1PL go LOC bush
 'Let's go into the bush.' or 'We went into the bush.'
- b. *Men mu mo nden et!*
 1PL go LOC bush MHORT
 'Let's go into the bush!'
- c. *Men mu mo nden tom!!*
 1PL go LOC bush STHORT
 'Let's go into the bush!!'
- d. *Men mu mo nden nde!*
 1PL go LOC bush NEG
 'Let's not go into the bush!' or 'We must not go into the bush.'

- (407) *Ji anato kwas et ji anato go et!*
 1SG FOC burn.off.hair MHORT 1SG FOC cut.up MHORT
 'I want to burn off its hair, I want to cut it up.' or
 'Let me burn off its hair and cut it up!'

- (408) *Men sam kwem mu ti tom!!*
 1PL carry canoe go sea STHORT
 'Let's carry the canoe to the sea!!'

second person

- (409) *Dao, nan ma gi ba mo ji et!*
 Dao 2SG come rub nettle LOC 1SG MHORT
 'Dao, come and rub the nettle on me!'
- (410) *Nu en sem tekto men git si suk et!*
 2PL draw sea in.order 1PL eat with things MHORT
 'Draw water from the sea so we can eat (the food) with (salt), [please]!'

- (411) *Nan mu tom!!*
 2SG go STHORT
 'Go!!'

²An alternative label that embraces a more general clause type than imperative that could also be used here is *jussive* as suggested by Huddleston (1984:360).

third person

- (412) *An gu bi ndar ne we et!*
 3SG kill POSS dog DET away MHORT
 'Let him kill his dog!' or 'He should kill his dog.'

- (413) *An jammo ji et!*
 3PL listen.to 1SG MHORT
 'Let them obey me!' or 'They should obey me.'

- (414) *Nan ki nai Yonas tom do an git sugit **tom!!***
 2SG say to Yonas STHORT COMP 3SG eat food STHORT
 'Tell Yonas that he is to eat food!!'

The difference between the use of the unmarked form, *et* and *tom* is that of the urgency with which the speaker wants the addressee to perform the act and also its forcefulness. *Tom* is a command, where the addressee has no option to refuse, whereas *et* and the unmarked form are requests, which allow the addressee more leeway to refuse or to comply with more slowly. So it may be said that the differences between the basic imperative, the mild and strong hortatives are that of immediacy and intensity, with the force of suggestion, request and command respectively. Thus in (415a) the request (if ascertained to be one from the context) is not as urgent as in (415b), whereas (415c) demands immediate action of the addressee. In (415d) is the negative imperative or prohibitive form which is mild to strong depending upon intonation.

- (415) a. *Nan mu me Sadrak bi im.*
 2SG go see Sadrak POSS mother
 'Go and see Sadrak's mother.' or 'You went to see Sadrak's mother.'
- b. *Nan mu me Sadrak bi im et!*
 2SG go see Sadrak POSS mother MHORT
 Go and see Sadrak's mother!'
- c. *Nan mu me Sadrak bi im **tom!!***
 2SG go see Sadrak POSS mother STHORT
 Go and see Sadrak's mother!!'

- d. *Nan mu me Sadrak bi im nde!*
 2SG go see Sadrak POSS mother NEG
 Don't go and see Sadrak's mother!

6.2.4 Prohibitive

The prohibitive form prohibits action, that is, for example, the addressee is prohibited from going to see Sadrak's mother in the example above. Compare the commands for action, in (415a-c) to the prohibition, using *nde*, in (415d). This example is a negative imperative applying to the second person.

The prohibitive form also encompasses first and third persons, hence the use of the label prohibitive rather than negative imperative. The term, prohibitive, includes all persons and numbers in the same way as requests and commands discussed above do. Examples (416) and (417) show that the meaning can be regulatory or enforcing a prohibition, making clear this form is not limited to negative imperatives. In these examples the third and first persons are prohibited respectively. For further discussion see 8.1.1.

- (416) *Nggon git ndam-syor nde!*
 Women eat bird-syor NEG
 'Women must not eat cassowary.'

- (417) *Men git sek nde!*
 1PL eat possum NEG
 'We must not eat possum.'

The particle *nde* does not indicate any difference in urgency, or force as the positive imperatives do. Instead *nde* simply conveys prohibition. It is unacceptable to include the hortative particles with *nde* such as:

- (418) **Nan git ji bi sugit tom nde!!*
 2SG eat 1SG POSS food STHORT NEG
 'Don't eat my food!!'

Sadock & Zwicky (1985:175) note that a striking feature of negative imperatives is how differently they are handled from negative declaratives. They say it is quite unusual for the marks of negation from other sentence types to be added to the imperative formula. Abun actually takes one of its negative particles used in declarative sentence types and uses it for making negative imperatives. Negation in declarative sentences is marked by a linked pair of particles *yo...nde*, whereas for negative imperatives, *nde* alone is used. Compare (419a) and (419b).

- (419) a. *Nan git gur nde!*
 2SG eat coconut NEG
 'Don't eat coconuts.'
- b. *Nan yo git gur nde.*
 2SG NEG eat coconut NEG
 'You do not eat coconuts.'

6.3 Frustrated action

Frustrated action is marked by the particle, *ware*, which syntactically occurs in the same position as other mood markers, that is, the last among a group of clause final particles. Thus we have analysed it as a mood. The particle *ware* could be translated as 'in vain', 'to no avail' or 'but without success.' Its meaning is that an action was attempted but the goal of the action was not achieved. For example:

- (420) *An ben syu-syo wa nok ware*
 3SG make rotan-mouth for wild.pig FRUST
 'He made a trap for wild pigs but he did not trap any' or 'He made a trap for wild pigs but to no avail.'
- (421) *An pet ndam ware, kunus yo kom nde*
 3SG shoot bird FRUST arrow NEG reach NEG
 'He shot a bird in vain, his arrow did not reach (it).' or 'He tried to shoot a bird, but his arrow missed (it).'

Frequently a clause is added following the use of *ware* as in the above example to give further information as to how the action was frustrated. In (420), by contrast we are not sure as to how the action was frustrated. It may have been that no pigs passed by the trap, or that when the trap went off it did not catch the pig.

Ware, in common with all mood markers, follows aspect and modal particles (such as *go* 'ASSERTIVE'), as seen in the following example:

- (422) *Ji duwer an mo sor ndo nde go ware.*
1SG argue 3SG LOC continually good NEG ASST FRUST
'I continually argued with him very much, I really did, but to no avail.'

7. Aspect and modality

Two classes of particles that optionally occur immediately preceding any mood particles are aspect and modality particles. These particles occur in that order.

7.1 Aspect

The notion of aspect, according to Comrie (1976:1-3) tends to be a less familiar notion to students of linguistics than other terms for verbal categories. In order to define the term, he firstly distinguishes it from tense. He points out that "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation." Lyons (1968:315) also distinguishes tense from aspect by noting that tense has to do with the location in time of an action or state, whereas aspect has to do with the distribution of time or contour of an action or state. He claims that the main aspectual notions of 'completion' and 'duration' are found in many languages.

Abun uses particles to express aspectual notions. The notion of 'completion' is expressed by two particles, *re* and *it*, while the notion of 'incompleteness' is expressed by a particle, *tó*. When these optional particles occur, they follow negative markers, where present, but precede mood and modality particles.

The use of clause final particles is a unique feature of the Abun language, and is a particularly unusual way to mark aspect. Foley (1986:143) points out that aspect tends to be indicated lexically in Papuan languages, most commonly by the use of serial verb constructions. He also notes that aspect is also frequently indicated in Papuan languages by bound verbal affixes. However, the possibility of indicating aspect by a clause final particle, as in Abun, is not mentioned in his discussion.

The three Abun aspect particles mentioned above which are used by an Abun speaker when they want to bring the aspect of completion, or incompletion into focus, are as follows:

TABLE 1 - ABUN ASPECT PARTICLES

Particle	Type	Definition
<i>re</i>	perfect	an action or state has or will have occurred, and has/will have continuing relevance
<i>it</i>	completive	an action or state is considered finished
<i>tó</i>	incompletive	an action or state is considered incomplete

Foley (1986:143) also points out, as do other writers (such as Comrie and Lyons), that aspect says nothing about the relationship between the time of the event and the time of the speech act, which tense does. Rather, aspect may describe the distribution of time of an action or state in the past, present or future.

7.1.1 Perfect aspect

Re, a totally different morpheme from the determiner, *ré* 'this', in the absence of any contextual of time reference indicates that an event has taken place. The use of *re* confirms the actuality of an event, and implies a continuing present relevance of it. Such is the definition of 'perfect' suggested by Comrie (1976:52). By comparing the examples in (423), one can see that the latter indicates the relevance of the cutting in the continuation of the story. On the other hand, the former says nothing about the continuing relevance of the cut, confirmed by the next sentence of its discourse which tells of how the story teller went to see Moses and the extent of the cut.

- (423) a. *Prisila sap Moses syim brot toko.*
 Prisila cut Moses hand vein broken
 'Prisila cut a vein in Moses' hand in half.'
- b. *Prisila sap Moses syim brot toko re.*
 Prisila cut Moses hand vein broken PERF
 'Prisila had cut a vein in Moses' hand in half.'

Again in (424), Prisila had gone to the mountain, and she was still there when the next part of the discourse took place, that is, the use of *re* indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation to the coming events. In a sense it provides the background or situation in which the coming events occur.

- (424) *An mu mo banbo re.*
 3SG go LOC mountain PERF
 'She had gone to the mountain.'

The use of the perfect aspect particle is also common with states such as death and marriage, for example:

- (425) *Pa ne kwop re.*
 child DET die PERF
 'The child had died.'

- (426) *An kra Andar bi im re.*
 3SG marry Andar POSS mother PERF
 'He had married Andar's mother.'

Comrie (1976:56) discusses four different types of perfect, namely, perfect of result, experiential perfect, the perfect of persistent situation and the perfect of recent past. He says that not all languages with forms for perfect meaning have the full range of meaning listed here. In Abun, the particle *re* covers the meaning of the first three types of perfect. In (427), (427b) is a perfect of result type in that a present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation, as defined by Comrie (1976:56). In this case it indicates that Fredik is still in Sorong, whereas (427a) does not necessarily imply that. Normally in

unmarked cases, the present time is implied unless another time is indicated by the context.

- (427) a. *Fredik mu mo Dom.*
 Fredik go Loc Sorong
 'Fredik went to/is going to Sorong.'
- b. *Fredik mu mo Dom re.*
 Fredik go Loc Sorong PERF
 'Fredik has gone to Sorong.'
- c. *Fredik mu mo Dom mo re.*
 Fredik go Loc Sorong LOC PERF
 'Fredik has been to Sorong.'

A second type of perfect is experiential perfect, which Comrie (1976:58) defines as a perfect aspect which "indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past up to the present." For this aspect an additional particle, the general locative preposition, *mo* directly precedes *re*. It means that, in (427c), for example that Fredik has been to Sorong at sometime (that is, he has experienced going to Sorong), but where he is now is not under discussion.

For perfect aspect, Comrie (1976:53) says that it may be present, which expresses a relation between present state and past situation; past, which expresses a relation between a past state and an earlier situation; or future, which expresses a relation between a future state and a situation prior to it. Examples in Abun of present perfect are as seen in (423b) and (427b). The form of past perfect, however, is only expressed in a complex sentence, where *re* occurs with *sa*, such as in (428).

- (428) *Domingas git mben dik ne or re sa Gerad bi im ma*
 Domingas eat plate oneDET completely PERF then Gerad POSS mother come
 'When Domingas had eaten one plate (of food), Gerad's mother came.'

The perfect in Abun is understood from the context (so (429) can be in either future or present time), or may be clarified by the use of temporal phrases, like *bere* in (430).

- (429) *Ji ben ji bi nggwe re.*
 1SG do 1SG POSS garden PERF
 'I will have been working in my garden.' or 'I had been working in my garden.'

- (430) *Ji mu aina dik sore bere ji satu re.*
 1SG go month one only later 1SG return PERF
 'I am only going for one month, then I will have returned.'

7.1.2 Completive aspect

Comrie (1976:18), in discussing perfective aspect,¹ makes the comment that very frequently perfectivity is characterised by completed action. He says that this is not quite correct, in that while perfective does indeed indicate a complete situation, to say it indicates a 'completed' situation puts too much emphasis on the termination of it. Perfective presents all parts, beginning, middle, and end as a single whole. It does not place emphasis on the end of a situation or any other part. The Abun particle *it*, however, does place emphasis on the end of a situation, and so here we have called it 'completive' aspect, rather than 'perfective' aspect.

Put in other words, the completive aspect in Abun is used by a speaker whenever they want to focus on the finality of an action. For example, when a decision has been made about something after discussion, the use of the particle *it* makes it clear that a *final* decision has been reached, as in (431).

¹ This is distinct from perfect aspect as used above. Comrie makes a sharp distinction between perfect and perfective. The aspects *re* and *it* in Abun are similar to what Comrie defines as perfect and perfective respectively, but the latter is slightly different from perfective in the way it places emphasis on the finality of the action, hence we have used the term completive instead of perfective for *it*.

- (431) *Suk-siri ne yenggras ki-bot it.*
 NOM-wrong DET elders speak-about COMPL
 'On that wrong-doing, the elders have discussed it (and made a final decision).'

Also when an Abun speaker tells a story, they frequently finish with (432). The particle *it* is clearly used to indicate finality or completed action. It is used to emphasise the terminal point of actions such as speaking (431), or killing (433) and states such as knowing (434).

- (432) *Or it.*
 completely COMPL
 'The end.'
- (433) *Sinus gu ge yo kwop it.*
 Sinus kill body a die COMPL
 'Sinus has already killed one (wife).'
- (434) *An jam baca ndo it.*
 3SG know read good COMPL
 'She already knows how to read well.' or 'Her knowledge of how to read well has been brought to completion.'

Compleutive aspect may emphasise the termination of a situation is either past or future. The examples above refer to the past in their contexts. Two examples below show how compleutive aspect may be used in a future.

- (435) *An bi nggon jam it e?*
 3SG POSS wife know COMPL FQM
 'Does your wife (finally) know yet?'
- (436) *Yesyim, nan git sugit kokro we noru it*
 friend 2SG eat NOM-eat quickly because night COMPL
bere wo kwai git it.
 later fish kwai eat COMPL

"Friend, eat the food quickly because it is already night time, the kwai fish will finally be biting.'

7.1.3 Incomplete aspect

A third aspect type in Abun is that of incomplete, that is, the termination point of an action or state has not yet taken place. In other words, that action or state is still going on. Traditionally this aspect type is known as imperfective or continuous. The particle *tó* is used clause finally to indicate this where necessary. Thus in (437) the action of speaking is still continuing, and in (438) the state of Lamberta being single still continues, and in (439) the action (or, should we say, inaction) of 'not going' continues.

- (437) *An nuk suk-du tó.*
 3PL speak NOM-say INCOMPL
 'They are still speaking.'
- (438) *Lamberta an nggon-nak tó.*
 Lamberta 3SG woman-single INCOMPL
 Lamberta is still a single woman.'
- (439) *Men yo mu nde tó.*
 1PL NEG go NEG INCOMPL
 'We are not going yet.'

Like the other aspects the incomplete may occur in the past, present or future. Those examples above illustrate incomplete aspect in the present. Example (440) is in the past (which requires a complex sentence), and (441) is in the future.

- (440) *Kamekre an git sugit tó ete kwis ges mo an.*
 yesterday 3SG eat NOM-eat INCOMPL and snake fall LOC 3SG
 'Yesterday he was still eating and a snake fell on him.'
- (441) *Be yen gu yu tó.*
 later people fight RECIP INCOMPL
 'People would still be fighting each other.'

7.1.4 Interaction of Abun aspects

The perfect and completive aspects are very similar in many respects. Abun speakers who know Indonesian translate *re* and *it* with one word, *sudah* which

is perfect aspect in Indonesian. Both of these aspects mean that something has occurred or will have occurred, with the latter giving greater emphasis to the finality of the action as explained above. In English this distinction is hard to express systematically. Take, for example, (442a) and (442b), both of these sentences mean that the coming has occurred, the former emphasises that the coming has occurred and he is still here, while the latter emphasises that his coming has finally occurred, with the implication that he is still here. So Abun speakers may use either depending upon which facet they want to emphasise.

- (442) a. *An ma re.*
3SG come PERF
'He has arrived.'
- b. *An ma it.*
3SG come COMPL
'He has finally arrived.'

An Abun speaker may also simply say, *An ma* 'He came/is coming', which does not emphasise either the persistence of the result (that is, that he is still there) or the finality of his coming. Normally, when a group of people are waiting for a particular person to arrive, and then someone sees him coming, they would announce as in (442b) because the finality of the action is of importance to the hearers.

In a language like Abun which does not use specific tense markers, these two aspect markers have a close relationship with past time, especially in the absence of any contextual indications of time reference, such as a temporal adverbial. Likewise, when aspect is unmarked there is a close relationship with present time. Comrie (1976:83) makes similar comments regarding the role of aspect in languages without tense markers.

In answer to a question like that in (435) above, one may answer including either of the aspect markers, *re* or *tó*. The actual answer given by the speaker was:

- (443) *An ki do "Nde re. An bi nggon jam nde to."*
 3SG say COMP NEG PERF 3SG PERF wife know NEG INCOMPL
 'He said, "No. His wife does not yet know."

He wanted to emphasise two aspects here. First his wife did not know and this 'not knowing' persisted (*nde re*), and, secondly, she did not yet know and this 'not knowing' still continued, or, in other words, the 'knowing' was not yet completed (*nde to*).

According to Comrie (1976:24), languages may combine several aspects where they are compatible and there are formal means to do so. Abun speakers may follow *tó* with *re*, as seen in (444), but no evidence has been found of *re* followed by *tó* or combinations of *tó* and *it*, or *re* and *it*.

- (444) *An yo ma nde tó re.*
 3SG NEG come NEG INCOMPL PERF
 'He has still not come.'

7.2 Modality

Modality has been defined by Lyons (1977:452) as the attitude or opinion of the speaker towards the proposition that the sentence expresses or the situation that the proposition describes. Lyons considers modality to be a parenthetical sentence-adverb that expresses speaker's attitudes such as certainty, necessity, possibility, and doubt. In Abun, a syntactically distinct closed class of words expresses a speaker's attitude in some of these ways. The modals and their types are listed in the table below.

TABLE 2 - MODAL PARTICLES

Particle	Modal type	Meaning
ya	possibility	'might'
bayok	probability	'maybe, could, probably'
go	assertive	'should, could really, will certainly'

These particles are part of the cluster of clause final particles. They are optional and occur following any negative and aspect particles, and preceding any mood particles.

Similar to aspect, modality does not relate to the timing of the event or proposition about which the speaker expresses an attitude. Each modality type therefore can be used in sentences that are understood to be in the past or future.

A comparison of modal particles reveals that there is a greater degree of intensity from *ya* to *bayok* to *go*. This will be discussed in 7.2.4, after giving details about each particle first.

7.2.1 Possibility

The first type of modal particle is *ya* which expresses possibility, or 'might'. This type of modal can be associated with future time, as seen in (445) and (446), or in the past, as in (447).

- (445) *Prisila ma sap Barbarina o ya.*
 Prisila came cut Barbarina again POSSIB
 'Prisila might come and cut Barbarina again.'

- (446) *Be nggon ne ma o wa be ku men gane ya.*
 later woman DET come again for later meet 1PL DET POSSIB
 'The woman might come again in order see us.'

- (447) *Kamekre an ma mo-re ya.*
 yesterday 3SG come LOC-here POSSIB
 'He possibly came here yesterday.'

7.2.2 Probability

The particle that a speaker uses to indicate that a proposition expressed is probably true is *bayok*. The particle *bayok* is most commonly used when the speaker is confident of the general amount, but not sure of the exact number, both with quantities as seen in (448), and time (449).

- (448) *Yenggras ki-bot sor wam mek bayok.*
 elders speak-about until times five PROB
 'The elders spoke about (a marriage partner for me) probably five times.'
- (449) *Pa kem wade aina dik bayok.*
 child stay until month one PROB
 'The child probably stayed (there) for one month.'

Other expressions of probably having sufficient (450), or of probably receiving of help in the future (451), or probably of finally understanding something (452) all use the same particle. Note the position of the particle, it follows the negative particle, *nde* in (450), as well as aspect particles, such as *it* in (452).

- (450) *Ji bi sugum yo tep nde bayok.*
 1SG POSS money NEG enough NEG PROB
 'I probably don't have enough money.'
- (451) *Bere Yonatan bi ai os nan bayok.*
 later Nathan POSS father help 2SG PROB
 'Nathan's father will probably help you.'
- (452) *An jam it bayok.*
 3SG understand COMPL PROB
 'He probably finally understood.'

As noted above, modality says nothing about the time of an event and the time of the speech act in relation to it, rather modal particles express the speaker's attitude about a proposition, so modality is not related to tense. Thus, like

aspect particles, the modal particle *bayok* may be used irrespective of the time referred to, such as present in (450), future in (451), and past in (452).

7.2.3 Assertive

The third type of modality is assertive, which means that the speaker asserts very strongly that his attitude about the proposition is really true. In other words, the speaker parenthetically comments, "I really mean it.", or in Australian colloquial terms, "fair dinkum". In a culture where deception is considered positive, speakers need a way to convince the hearer that they mean business. So in Abun a modal particle, *go* is used to do this. For example:

- (453) *Nan ges go.*
2SG fall ASST

'You will surely fall.' or 'You will fall, I mean it.'

- (454) *An ndo mo ye yi an ndo mo ji sore go.*
3SG ask LOC person other 3SG ask LOC 1SG only ASST
'He asked another person, but he should have just asked me, really.'

- (455) *Be an bi ya gu an kwop re go.*
later 3SG Poss husband kill 3SG die PERF ASST
'Her husband will have killed her, I mean it.'

This modal particle can be used in the past, as seen in (454), but it is usually used in reference to an event that is about to take place, as seen in (453) and (455).

7.2.4 Differences between modal particles

Modal particles do not co-occur. To change from one to another results in a change of degree of intensity. There is a progression of certainty from one particle to the next. When mode is unmarked, nothing is indicated in the speaker's attitude. When *ya* is used the speaker expresses their attitude that

the proposition is possibly true, whereas *bayok* is a little stronger, that is, probably true, while *go* asserts the truth of the proposition very strongly, almost a certive attitude.

- (456) a. *Nan bro nan su be nan su-go buk or.*
 2SG scratch 2SG head later 2SG head-hair fall.out completely
 'If you keep on scratching your head all your hair will fall out.'
- b. *Nan bro nan su be nan su-go buk or ya.*
 2SG scratch 2SG head later 2SG head-hair fall.out completely
 POSSIB
 'If you keep on scratching your head all your hair might fall out.'
- c. *Nan bro nan su be nan su-go buk or bayok.*
 2SG scratch 2SG head later 2SG head-hair fall.out completely PROB
 'If you keep on scratching your head all your hair will probably fall out.'
- d. *Nan bro nan su be nan su-go buk or go.*
 2SG scratch 2SG head later 2SG head-hair fall.out completely ASST
 'If you keep on scratching your head all your hair will certainly fall out.'

8. Negation

Negation may take a variety of forms, such as 'negative verbs', negative particles or fully bound derivational morphemes (Payne 1985a:222). According to Payne, the use of negative particles is the most likely form of negation, as is the case in Abun.

This chapter presents the negation strategy used in Abun. Two particles form the basis of negation. The primary particle is *nde* which is a typical particle, a function word that is invariant. Consistent with the isolating nature of the Abun language, *nde* does not vary for tense, aspect, number or agreement. While *nde* is primary, a further particle, *yo*, also invariant, is used in conjunction with it, mainly in the negation of indicative sentences. These two particles bracket the predicate. In Abun whenever two particles are used like this the function is to mark the extent of a particular grammatical constituent. Bracketing by a pair of particles is not only one of the main strategies used in negation but is also used in the formation of relative clauses, both restrictive and unrestrictive (see C Berry 1995), as well as interrogative sentences (see 6.1). In most cases of negation, the pair of particles, *yo ... nde* bracket the predicate to negate Abun sentences.

The primary particle, *nde*, is used in all types of negation. Not only is it used as the primary negation particle, but standing alone it simply means 'no'. When a question is asked and the response is negative, a simple *nde* is sufficient in reply. In contrast, the other negative particle, *yo* is only used in conjunction with *nde*. So it can be said that *nde* is indeed the primary or basic negative particle.

The particle *nde* is required to form prohibitive sentences, positive-negative alternative questions and negative equational sentences (8.1).

The secondary particle *yo* is used in conjunction with the primary particle in the formation of the following sentence types: negative indicative sentences, negative information seeking interrogatives, negative descriptive sentences, negative location sentences and in the negation of subordinate clauses (8.2).

Placement of the negative particles when they occur is invariant, *yo always* precedes the predicate, while *nde always* follows the predicate. The following example illustrates negation of a simple indicative sentence, where both *yo* and *nde* are obligatory:

- (456) a. *An ma mo nu.*
 3PL come LOC house
 'They came to the house.'
- b. *An yo ma mo nu nde.*
 3PL NEG come LOC house NEG
 'They did not come to the house.'

In the above example the predicate, *ma mo nu* is bracketed by the linked pair of particles, *yo* follows the subject and precedes the predicate, and *nde* follows the predicate. If, for example, the subject of a negative indicative sentence is preceded by *yo*, this would be syntactically unacceptable to an Abun speaker. Word order here is rigid. The particles must bracket the whole predicate, PRED (includes v, o and any adjuncts). The subject is never included within the bracket for reasons discussed under the scope of negation in 8.5.

There are two patterns of negation found in Abun as follows:

S PRED *nde*

S *yo* PRED *nde*

They are unusual and have been documented in only a few languages. In SVO languages the negative particle normally precedes the verb (Payne 1985a:224). One would expect the particle *nde* to be preverbal, but instead in Abun it is not only postverbal but also postobject and adjunct. This pattern type, though uncommon, is also found in a few documented languages such as Bolewa, Ngizim, Angas, Ron, Gisiga, Higi and Tera (Payne 1985a:226).

Furthermore the second pattern type where a pair of linked negative particles occur is also uncommon. In French a linked pair of particles is used in negation, but this pair only brackets the verb and its associated clitics, whereas in Abun the linked pair brackets the whole predicate including object and adjuncts. However, this pattern type is an attested one in some Chadic languages such as Hausa, Jegu and Sura (Payne 1985a:225,6). The difference with these languages is that their word order is not rigid as in Abun. In Hausa both particles can move to bracket the constituent that is to be negated, and thereby very neatly indicate the scope and focus of negation (Schachter 1985:60).

Syntax of negation involving the use of *nde* (8.1), the use of *yo* (8.2), negation in subordinate clauses (8.3), negation in words (8.4) and a discussion of the scope of negation in Abun (8.5) provides an organising framework for the remainder of this chapter.

8.1 The use of *nde*

As indicated earlier, the simplest negative sentence is just the negative reply to a question, "Nde." In this section types of negative structures that require the use of *nde* without *yo* are discussed. Those types of structure are: prohibitive

sentences, positive-negative alternative questions, and negative equational sentences.

8.1.1 Prohibitive sentences

The primary negative particle, *nde* is the only negative particle used to form prohibitive sentences. The structure of this type of sentence is S PRED *nde*, as in (457b). The prohibitive sentence structure is used in Abun when the speaker wants to prohibit the subject doing a particular thing. Negative imperative sentences are the most common type of prohibitive sentence. Example (457a) is a simple indicative sentence, while (457b) is the same sentence transformed to become a negative imperative sentence.

- (457) a. *Nan wo.*
2SG cry
'You are crying.'
- b. *Nan wo nde!*
2SG cry NEG
'Don't cry!'

Here we have used the label prohibitive to cover a more general type of negative imperative (which includes first and third person, as well as second person) to distinguish it from the normal use of the term negative imperative, which implies a negative command to only the second person, as discussed by Sadock & Zwicky (1985:160) and in 6.2.3.

The same structure is used in Abun for all prohibitive sentences including first and third persons, as in (458) and (459). In these cases the English translation is more like "We must not eat possum!" or "Women must not touch cassowary!"

- (458) a. *Men git sek.*
 1PL eat possum
 'We are eating/ate possum.'
- b. *Men git sek nde.*
 1PL eat possum NEG
 'We must not eat possum.'
- (459) a. *Nggon syimtok ndamsyor.*
 women touch cassowary
 'The women are touching/touch cassowaries.'
- b. *Nggon syimtok ndamsyor nde.*
 women touch cassowary NEG
 'Women must not touch cassowaries.'

8.1.2 Positive-negative alternative questions

The primary negative particle is also used in asking positive-negative alternative questions. The structure of this type is:

S PRED bado **nde** e?

These questions could be called negative tag questions with a positive-negative alternative, "Do you want to go back to your wife, or not?", as in (460) where a person is being asked to make a decision between positive or negative alternatives.

- (460) *Nan satu mo nan bi nggon bado, nde e?*
 2p go.back LOC 2p POSS woman AQM NEG YNQM
 'Do you want to go back to your wife, or not?'

Example (461) has the same structure, but differs in meaning. It comes from a text where the speaker is lecturing another about his relationship with his wife. He is not asking whether the one addressed thinks about his wife, or not, as in a positive-negative alternative type of question. Rather he is using it as a rhetorical question with the meaning, "You don't think about your wife!" The context makes it clear when a negative tag question is being asked or is being used rhetorically.

- (461) *Nan nutbot nan bi nggon bado, nde e?*
 2SG think.about 2SG POSS woman AQM NEG YNQM
 'Don't you think about your wife?'

Negative yes-no interrogative structures such as, 'Are you not going?' are not used in Abun. Instead the Abun speaker would formulate this type of question as, *Nan mu e?* 'Are you going?'

8.1.3 Negative equational sentences

Equational sentences, which attribute a nominal to the subject, are negated by the use of *nde*. These sentence types are verbless and their structure as shown in the examples below is:

S NOMINAL *nde*

- (462) a. *An ye-nden.*
 3SG person-inland
 'He is an inland person.'
- b. *An ye-nden nde.*
 3SG person-inland NEG
 'He is not an inland person.'
- (463) a. *Ji bi ai yewon.*
 1SG POSS father shaman
 'My father is a shaman.'
- b. *Ji bi ai yewon nde.*
 1SG POSS father shaman NEG
 'My father is not a shaman.'

When the nominal is a demonstrative the same pattern is followed, as in (464) below.

- (464) a. *Ndar anane.*
 dog DET
 'That is a dog.'
- b. *Ndar anane nde.*
 dog DET NEG
 'That is not a dog.'

Where the subject is a possessed item the same structure is used. Example (465) illustrates alienable possession and (466) illustrates inalienable possession, and (465b) and (466b) show the negation of these type of equational sentences.

- (465) a. *An bi nu anane.*
 3SG POSS house DET
 'That is his house.'
- b. *An bi nu anane nde.*
 3SG POSS house DET NEG
 'That is not his house.'
- (466) a. *Ji de anane.*
 1SG blood DET
 'That is my blood.'
- b. *Ji de anane nde.*
 1SG blood DET NEG
 'That is not my blood.'

8.2 The use of yo

The negative particle *yo* is used in negative indicative sentences, information seeking interrogative sentences, negative descriptive and location sentences and in the negation of complex sentences. It is never used to negate a sentence by itself, but is always linked with the primary negative particle *nde*. These two particles form a linked pair that bracket the predicate of the sentence. The particle *yo* always occurs between a subject and predicate. The word order is rigid.

The use of linked pairs of negative particles is uncommon. However French is a well documented example of the use of a linked pair of negative particles. For example *je ne... pas*. The first particle *ne* is the primary particle and then *pas* is added. Payne (1985a:224) claims that in the case where such linked pairs of negative particles do occur, the second particle occurs because there

is a strong tendency for a single negative particle to be reinforced and emphasised by the addition of a second particle. Payne analyses *pas* as the added particle that reinforces the negation in French.

By way of contrast, Abun places the primary particle after the predicate, not before as in French. Also the operation of the secondary particle in Abun is not so much to reinforce the negation of a sentence as Payne claims of French, but rather to mark the predicate and thus delineates the scope of negation.

8.2.1 Negative indicative sentences

The basic structure of a negative indicative sentence is:

S yo PRED nde

Whatever elements are within the predicate, such as verb, object, any adjuncts, and embedded clauses, all are bracketed by the pair of particles, *yo* and *nde*. Irrespective of whether the sentence is intransitive, transitive or ditransitive *yo* remains constant in both form and position. Likewise, *nde* remains constant in form and position. Each of these sentence types are illustrated in the examples below.

- (467) a. *Pa mwa it mo kelas gri.* (intransitive)
 children many rise LOC class three
 'Many children did go up to grade three.'

- b. *Pa mwa yo it mo kelas gri nde.*
 children many NEG rise LOC class three NEG
 'Many children did not go up to grade three.'

- (468) a. *Men ku mbre ne mo nu.* (transitive)
 1PL find eastern.cloth DET LOC house
 'We found the eastern cloth in the house.'

- b. *Men yo ku mbre ne mo nu nde.*
 1PL NEG find eastern.cloth DET LOC house NEG
 'We didn't find the eastern cloth in the house.'

- (469) a. Ye syo sugum nai ji. (ditransitive)
 3INDEF give money to 1SG
 'They gave money to me.'
- b. Ye yo syo sugum nai ji nde.
 3INDEF NEG give money to 1SG NEG
 'They didn't given money to me.'

8.2.2 Negative information seeking interrogatives

In contrast to positive-negative alternative questions, negative interrogative sentences seeking information require both negative particles, *yo* and *nde*, such as in the following examples.

- (470) a. Te nan ma wa suma ne?
 IQM 2SG come for what FQM
 'Why have you come?'
- b. Te nan yo ma nde wa suma ne?
 IQM 2SG NEG come NEG for what FQM
 'Why didn't you come?'
- (471) a. Je u ana ma ne?
 person what TOP come FQM
 'Who has come?'
- b. Je u ana yo ma nde ne?
 person which TOP NEG come NEG FQM
 'Who has not come?'

Take note that the interrogative mood also has two bracketing particles, *te* the 'Initial Question Marker' and *ne* 'Final Question Marker'. The bracketing required to negate a clause falls within the bracketing required to form an interrogative construction, as seen in (470b).

8.2.3 Negative descriptive sentences

A descriptive sentence is defined as a sentence that attributes an adjective to a noun, for example, 'Musa has a big arm', or 'The book is old.' The behaviour of words that could be considered adjectives in Abun does not differ greatly from

that of verbs. These words can act as predicates, and so both particles are required to negate these sentence types. In such sentences the adjectival part of the sentence is negated using the linked pair of *yo* and *nde*. The structure of negative descriptive sentences as shown in the examples below is:

s *yo* ADJECTIVE *nde*

- (472) a. /sak bi nggwe sye.
 Isak POSS garden big
 'Isak's garden is big.'

- b. /sak bi nggwe yo sye nde.
 Isak POSS garden NEG big NEG
 'Isak's garden is not big.'

- (473) a. Musa i.
 Musa sick
 'Musa is sick.'

- b. Musa yo i nde.
 Musa NEG sick NEG
 'Musa is not sick.'

This same construction holds when the subject of the sentence is expanded, for example, by means of a relative clause such as 'The children who went up to third grade'. The description of this subject, namely *mwa* 'many', is negated in the same way, using the linked pair, as in the example below.

- (474) a. Pa ga it mo kelas gri ne mwa
 children who rise LOC grade three DET many
 'The children who went up to grade three were many.'

- b. Pa ga it mo kelas gri ne yo mwa nde
 children who rise LOC grade three DET NEG many NEG
 'The children who went up to grade three were not many.'

8.2.4 Negative location sentences

A location sentence attributes a location to the subject. Since location is one of the predicate elements it also is negated by using both particles. The structure as shown in the examples below is:

S yo LOCATIVE PHRASE/WORD nde

- (475) a. *Musa mo nu.*
 Musa LOC house
 'Musa is at home.'
- b. *Musa yo mo nu nde.*
 Musa NEG LOC house NEG
 'Musa is not at home.'
- (476) a. *Dao bi im mo-re.*
 Dao Poss mother LOC-here
 'Dao's mother is here.'
- b. *Dao bi im yo mo-re nde.*
 Dao Poss mother NEG LOC-here NEG
 'Dao's mother is not here.'

The locative phrase has the preposition, *mo* (as in the examples above), which also in some contexts means 'to exist', the negation of which follows the same pattern as in any negative indicative sentence, as in the example below.

- (477) a. *Sugum mo.*
 money exist
 'There is money.'
- b. *Sugum yo mo nde.*
 money NEG exist NEG
 'There is no money.'

8.2.5 Negation in complex sentences

Complex sentences, where a clause is embedded within a main clause, are negated in Abun in the same way as simple sentences. The pattern is:

S yo PRED nde,

where clauses may be embedded in the object position, such as in (478). The word order remains rigid in these constructions, with the whole of the predicate including the embedded clause bracketed by the particles.

- (478) a. *Ji me Isak ben suk mo nggwe.*
 1SG see Isak do things LOC garden
 'I saw Isak working in the garden.'
- b. *Ji yo me Isak ben suk mo nggwe nde.*
 1SG NEG see Isak do things LOC garden NEG
 'I did not see Isak working in the garden.'

A complement expressing indirect speech is introduced by a subordinating conjunction, *do*, and is also embedded in the object position as in (479). The negation of this type of complex sentence follows the same pattern as for a simple sentence.

- (479) a. *Moses ki gado do an kra su Barbarina o.*
 Moses say earlier that 3SG marry with Barbarina again
 'Earlier Moses said again that he would marry Barbarina.'
- b. *Moses yo ki gado do an kra su Barbarina o nde.*
 Moses NEG say earlier that 3SG marry with Barbarina again NEG
 'Earlier Moses did not say again that he would marry Barbarina.'

8.2.6 The interaction of *yo* and *nde*

In summary, the negation of a sentence with just the primary particle *nde* means that one is not allowed or prohibited to do a particular thing, as in (480b). In contrast to this, the addition of the secondary negative particle, or predicate marker, *yo*, changes the nature of the sentence to become simply a negative indicative statement, as in (480c).

- (480) a. *An ma.*
 3s come
 'He came.'
- b. *An ma nde.*
 3s come NEG
 'He cannot come.'
- c. *An yo ma nde.*
 3s NEG come NEG
 'He did not come.'

The use of *nde* alone implies that there is something that prevents or makes it impossible for the person to do something, as in the example, "He cannot come." We do not actually know why he cannot come. But when the speaker simply wants to make an indicative statement that he has not, or did not come, then the additional particle, *yo* makes that clear. That is, there was nothing preventing the person from coming, they just haven't come.

8.3 Negation in subordinate clauses

According to Payne (1985a:240), in many languages the devices which are used for negating subordinate clauses are different from those used in main clauses. He cites several examples, including Yoruba where the main clause negative particle is *kò*, while the particle used to negate subordinate clauses is *má*. In Abun most subordinate clauses are negated in the same way main clauses are negated, the only exception being negative purpose subordinate clauses, as in English, 'lest' (or 'in order that ... not').

For example, in (481a) the whole sentence is negated. By way of contrast, (481b) illustrates how the embedded clause itself may be negated, resulting in a different meaning. The same pair of negative particles is used.

- (481) a. *Ji yo me Isak ben suk mo nggwe nde.*
 1SG NEG see Isak do things LOC garden NEG
 'I did not see Isak working at the garden.'

- b. *Ji me Isak yo ben suk mo nggwe nde.*
 1SG see Isak NEG do things LOC garden NEG
 'I saw Isak not working at the garden.'

Again, when the subordinate clause is indirect speech introduced by the subordinating conjunction, *do*, the negation of that clause uses the same pair of linked particles. In (482a) the whole sentence is negated, whereas (482b) shows the negation of the subordinate clause.

- (482) a. *Moses yo ki gado do an kra su Barbarina o nde.*
 Moses NEG say earlier that 3SG marry with Barbarina again NEG
 'Earlier Moses did not say again that he would marry Barbarina.'
- b. *Moses ki gado do an yo kra su Barbarina o nde.*
 Moses say earlier that 3SG NEG marry with Barbarina again NEG
 'Earlier Moses said that he would not marry Barbarina again.'

Abun does have a form corresponding to the English 'lest' which consists of the preposition, *kadit* 'from' linking together with the primary negative particle, *nde* to bracket the subordinate clause as illustrated in (483).

- (483) *Nan os ji kadit ji ku suki nde.*
 2SG help 1SG lest 1SG get sickness NEG
 'Help me lest I get sick.' or 'Help me in order that I don't get sick.'

- (484) *Nan os ji kadit ji mu ket os ibit nde.*
 2SG help 1SG lest 1SG go along way bad NEG
 'Help me from not going on a bad way.' or 'Help me lest I go on a bad way.'

In both (483) and (484) the preposition *kadit* 'from' which normally preempts a noun phrase, in this case is followed by an embedded clause. Embedded clauses of this nature, when negated, do not use the secondary negative particle *yo*, even though they may be of the sentence type that normally requires both negative particles, since it has been replaced by *kadit*.

A further clarification of negation in subordinate clauses is necessary in the case where a relative clause in the object position is negated as well as the

whole sentence. In such a case only one *nde* is required, as in (485a). This particle forms the bracket for both the subordinate clause and the sentence. There are two occurrences of *yo* in (485a), whereas in (485b) only the relative clause is negated, while in (485c) the whole sentence is negated.

- (485) a. *An yo git roti gato yo it nde.*
 3SG NEG eat bread REL NEG rise NEG
 'He did not eat bread that was not risen.'
- b. *An git roti gato yo it nde.*
 3SG eat bread REL NEG rise NEG
 'He ate bread that was not risen.'
- c. *An yo git roti gato it nde.*
 3SG NEG eat bread REL rise NEG
 'He did not eat bread that was risen.'

A similar structure with two occurrences of *yo* and one of *nde* is used to indicate that a particular action has never been done, or not existed as in (486). Both occurrences of *yo* are preferred here because Musa does not eat fish and he has not ever done this. The second occurrence of *yo* can be omitted, but Abun speakers tend to include it to reinforce the point they are making - "Musa doesn't eat fish, he never does."

- (486) *Musa yo git boge yo mo nde.*
 Musa NEG eat fish NEG exist NEG
 'Musa has never eaten fish.'

8.4 Negation in words

Abun is a language with very little affixation. As may be expected there are no affixes used to negate words as in the case of English with words such as unhappy and dis-like. However, there are a number of verbs that are inherently negative in meaning such as:

- bari* 'do not want',
bagri 'do not want to eat'.

- bambrai* 'do not want to do something'
bandof 'do not feel comfortable with heights'
bagwo 'do not like being tickled'

Ba- could be analysed as a negative prefix, but the roots *-ni*, *-gri*, *-brai*, *-ndof* and *-gwo* do not occur as free morphemes.

These verbs remove the need for the use of the negative particles. Example (487a) is a negative indicative sentence. The use of an inherently negative verb, *bariwa* 'do not want to', as in (487b), without the negative particles has the same meaning. The use of the inherently negative verb with the negative particles makes the meaning a positive one, as in (487c)

- (487) a. *Ji yo i-wa ji mu mo nggwe nde.*
 1SG NEG want-TRANS 1SG go LOC garden NEG
 'I don't want to go to the garden.'
- b. *Ji bari-wa ji mu mo nggwe.*
 1SG do.not.want-TRANS 1SG go LOC garden
 'I don't want to go to the garden.'
- c. *Ji yo bari-wa ji mu mo nggwe nde.*
 1SG NEG do.not.want-TRANS 1SG go LOC garden NEG
 'I am not against going to the garden.' or 'I want to go to the garden.'

8.5 The scope of negation

Klima (1964), Reesink (1986) and Payne (1985a) discuss the scope of negation in terms of 'constituent' and 'sentential'. The negation of words or phrases may be called 'constituent negation', while the negation of predicates, sentences and more complex sentences have traditionally been called 'sentential negation.' These two terms were coined initially in relation to English. In the sentence, 'John is unhappy', the negation is defined as 'constituent' because the negation operates on one part (or constituent) of the sentence, while in 'John is not happy', the type of negation is defined as 'sentential'.

In Abun the scope of negation is usually sentential (or, more precisely, the negation of the predicate) and this is syntactically marked by use of the linked pair of negative particles (8.5.1). Take, for example, sentence (488), a simple negative indicative sentence where the two negative particles surround the predicate. In this case, the action (killing), the object (the wild pig) or the location (by the Nai river) all fall within the scope of negation. The subject (Isak), however, does not fall within the scope of negation here because subjects are usually contextually bound.

- (488) *Isak yo gu nok mo syur Nai de nde.*
 Isak NEG kill wild.pig LOC water Nai bank NEG
 'Isak did not kill a wild pig by the Nai river.'

As to which constituent is actually being negated in the mind of the speaker would in most cases be clear from the context, but there are syntactic strategies by which the scope of negation can be narrowed to focus on one constituent. This is discussed in 8.5.2.

8.5.1 The scope with both negative particles

The scope of negation is readily determined by the use of the linked pair of negative particles, *yo* and *nde*. These two particles bracket the predicate making the scope of negation syntactically evident. In Abun the scope of negation, when the linked pair of negative particles is used, is always encoded as a predicate since the linked particles **always** and **only** bracket a predicate. The subject can never be bracketed by the two negative particles.

Payne (1985a:199) points out that subjects are usually context bound and that contextually bound elements are removed from the scope of negation. What is actually negated is the contextually free part of the sentence. This, he says, "often gives the impression that sentential negation might better be described

as 'VP negation''. Indeed for Abun this is clearly the case because the syntax makes that evident by the way the two particles bracket the predicate (that is, the VP).

Therefore when both particles are used, the scope of negation excludes the subject. When we consider a situation where someone is discussing a hunting trip, one might say, 'Isak killed a pig near the Nai river'. In order to negate this sentence, one would say, 'Isak did not kill a pig near the Nai river.', as in (488). In this example, the subject, Isak, is not within the scope of negation because it is contextually bound, that is, Isak's actions were under discussion. It is the relationship between Isak and the killing of a pig near the Nai river that falls within the scope of the negation. The scope of negation when both particles are used is the predicate, as is evidenced by the position of the two negative particles.

So it is either the action (killing), the object (the wild pig) or the location (by the Nai river) that could be negated. All three of these fall within the scope of negation. The subject, Isak, does not. As to which constituent is actually being negated in the mind of the speaker would in most cases be clear from the context.

The shifting of words and phrases from outside to inside the bracketing of the linked pair negative particles illustrates that the two particles do in fact determine the scope of negation. In (489), if *kamdik-kamdik* 'everyday' is included within the bracket it is also included within the scope of negation. If it is inside the bracket as in (489c), then the frequency of eating fish is also negated, so the meaning changes to 'I do not eat fish everyday', or 'Not everyday I eat fish', implying that on some days fish is eaten, but not everyday. Example (489b) has 'everyday' outside of the bracket formed by the linked pair

of particles. In this way the action of eating, and the object, fish, are within the scope of negation, but not the frequency. The temporal word in this case is outside of the scope of negation. In this way the two negative particles delineate the scope of negation in the sense that whatever falls between them falls within the scope of negation.

- (489) a. *Ji git boge kam-dik-kam-dik.*
 1SG eat fish day-one-day-one
 'I eat fish everyday.'
- b. *Kam-dik-kam-dik ji yo git boge nde.*
 day-one-day-one 1SG NEG eat fish NEG
 'Everyday I do not eat fish.' or 'I never eat fish.'
- c. *Ji yo git boge kam-dik-kam-dik nde.*
 1SG NEG eat fish day-one-day-one NEG
 'Not everyday I eat fish.' or 'I do not eat fish everyday
 (I do sometimes).'

Phrases may be inserted either before the subject or within the predicate such as temporal phrases or locative phrases as seen in (489) and (490). Phrases placed outside *yo...nde* are outside the scope of negation.

- (490) a. *Isak yo ben suk mo nggwe nde.*
 Isak NEG do things LOC garden NEG
 'Isak did not do anything at the garden.'
- b. *Mo nggwe Isak yo ben suk nde.*
 LOC garden Isak NEG do things NEG
 'In the garden Isak did not do anything.'

In (490a), the garden falls within the scope of negation. Isak may not have been at the garden. He may have done things elsewhere. In (490b), the garden is outside the scope of negation. It is contextually bound, since a construction of this nature only occurs when the garden is being discussed. Information considered contextually free is bracketed by particles.

In complex sentences it is clear how the scope of negation changes according to what is bracketed. In (491), when the bracketing changes from the whole sentence to the complement, the meaning is significantly different.

- (491) a. *Moses yo ki gado do an kra su Barbarina o nde.*
 Moses NEG say earlier that 3SG marry with Barbarina again NEG
 'Moses did not say earlier that he would marry Barbarina again.'
- b. *Moses ki gado do an yo kra su Barbarina o nde.*
 Moses say earlier that 3SG NEG marry with Barbarina again NEG
 'Earlier Moses said that he would not marry Barbarina again.'

In a similar way the Chadic language, Hausa, syntactically marks the scope of negation by the use of two negative particles. In that language these particles can move around to bracket the subject or the predicate or other parts of the sentence. Examples are found in Schachter (1985:60). However word order is not rigid as it is in Abun. In Hausa both particles can move to bracket the constituent that is being negated, and thereby very neatly indicate the scope as well as the focus of negation. Abun's use of the linked particles is not as flexible in that, for example, the subject can never be surrounded by the linked pair of particles. However the subject may be included in the scope of negation which is discussed in the next section.

8.5.2 Narrowing the scope of negation

Example (488) above does not specify which of the components within the predicate are being negated. Was it not a wild pig killed? Was it not a killing? Was it not at that location? All of these components are within the scope of negation. To know which component is being negated one needs to refer to the context of the discussion. Since negative sentences are rarely said in isolation, that part which is being negated is usually known from the context.

In English there are several strategies used to narrow the scope of negation to the elements of the sentence or predicate that the speaker wants to negate. These include the use of phonological devices such as emphatic stress, or syntactic devices such as cleft constructions. So, for example, the use of intonation to stress components of the sentence is a way to negate a constituent as in, 'Isak did not eat the RICE [but the fish].' Or, 'Isak did not EAT the rice [but he just swallowed it].' Alternatively, or in addition, syntactic features may be used to negate a constituent. Topicalisation, for example, is used in English, 'It was not the rice that Isak ate.'

In the same way, Abun, like English, has some syntactic techniques that enable us to focus on the negation of a certain part of the sentence. Essentially the constituent to be negated needs to be bracketed by *yo* and *nde*. In order to achieve this the predicate needs to be transformed so that only one constituent is bracketed by the negative particles. As a result of limiting the scope of negation, elements within the predicate are topicalised or relativised. The scope can also be narrowed by a second use of the particle *yo*.

Firstly, by *topicalising* elements of the predicate the scope of negation is narrowed. Topicalisation of an element removes such an element from the scope of negation, thereby reducing the number of possibilities to which the negation may apply. So, for example, if the wild pig in (492a), is topicalised, it becomes (492b), meaning that either the action (killing) or the location fall within the scope of negation. If then the location is likewise topicalised, as in (492c), the result is that either the action or the object fall within the scope of negation. Also it is possible to front both the object and the location, thereby effectively narrowing the scope of the negation to the action alone. Thus in (492d), the wild pig near the Nai river is under discussion and Isak did not kill it, he must have done something else to it.

- (492) a. /sak yo gu nok mo syur Nai de nde.
 Isak NEG kill wild.pig LOC water Nai bank NEG
 'Isak did not kill a wild pig by the Nai river.'
- b. Nok ne /sak yo gu mo syur Nai de nde.
 wild.pig DET Isak NEG kill LOC water Nai bank NEG
 'That wild pig Isak did not kill by the Nai river.'
- c. Mo syur Nai de /sak yo gu nok nde.
 LOC water Nai bank Isak NEG kill wild.pig NEG
 'By the Nai river, Isak did not kill a wild pig.'
- d. Nok ga mo syur Nai de ne /sak yo gu nde.
 wild.pig REL LOC water Nai bank DET Isak NEG kill NEG
 '(Concerning) a wild pig that was by the Nai river, Isak did not kill
 (it).'

Secondly, in order to narrow the scope of negation to the modifier of a noun head of the subject, the predicate of the sentence may be *relativised* to become embedded within the subject position, with the modifier becoming the negated predicate. Take, for example, the modifier of the head of the noun phrase, *mwa* 'many', in (493a). Sentential negation of (493a) is shown in (493b). But to narrow the scope of negation to the constituent, *mwa*, a structural change is made to form (493c), where the item to be negated, *mwa* alone is bracketed by *yo* and *nde*. To achieve this the predicate of (493b) is relativised to become part of the subject and *mwa* is predicated and negated with the linked pair of negative particles, as in (493c).

- (493) a. Pa mwa it mo kelas gri.
 children many go.up LOC grade three
 'Many children went up to grade three.'
- b. Pa mwa yo it mo kelas gri nde.
 children many NEG go.up LOC grade three NEG
 'Many children did not go up to grade three.'
- c. Pa ga it mo kelas gri ne yo mwa nde
 children who rise LOC grade three DET NEG many NEG
 'The children who went up to grade three were not many.'

Finally, the scope can also be narrowed by the use of *yo* a second time in the sentence to intensify or emphasise the negation thereof, compare (494a) to (40b, c and d). This second use of *yo* is limited to occasions when it precedes the verb *mo* 'to exist'.

- (494) a. *Men yo ku an mo nde.*
 1PL NEG meet 3SG exist NEG
 'We have not ever met him.' or 'We have never met him.'
- b. *Men ku an yo mo nde.*
 1PL meet 3SG NEG exist NEG
 'We have met him, never.' or 'We have never met him.'
- c. *Men yo ku an nde.*
 1PL NEG meet 3SG NEG
 'We have not met him.'
- d. *Men yo ku an yo mo nde.*
 1PL NEG meet 3SG NEG exist NEG
 'We have not met him, never.' or 'We have NEVER met him.'

In Abun the use of topicalisation, fronting and relativisation of predicates or part thereof, or a second use of *yo* to narrow the scope of negation to focus on or emphasise one constituent of a sentence is not very common. In most cases the constituent being negated is understood from the context, obviating the need for such constructions.

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