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Complex Sentences in the Abun Language

Submitted by

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

School of Linguistics
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Abbreviations

1p	First person plural pronoun
1s	First person singular pronoun
2p	Second person plural pronoun
2s	Second person singular pronoun
3INDEF	Third person indefinite pronoun
3p	Third person plural pronoun
3s	First person singular pronoun
ANAPH	Anaphoric referent
AQM	Alternative question marker
ASST	Assertive modal marker
BEN	Benefactive preposition
CERT	Certainty
CLASS	Classifier
COMP	Complement marker
COMPL	Compleutive aspect marker
COUNT	Count marker
CQM	Confirmative question marker
DEM	Demonstrative marker
DET	Determiner
DET.indef	Indefinite determiner
DEIC	Deictic marker
DIR	Directional marker
EXTREF	External referent
FOC	Focus marker
FQM	Final question marker
FRUST	Frustrated action marker
FVV	Foreign verb verbaliser
HABIT	Habituality modal marker
INCOMPL	Incompletive aspect marker
INDEF	Indefinite article
INTENSE	Intensifier
IO	Indirect object preposition
IQM	Initial question marker

IRR	Irrealis
LOC	Locative preposition
NEG	Negative particle
NMP	Noun modifying particle
NOM	Nominaliser
PERF	Perfective aspect marker
PERL	Periative preposition
PERS	Personaliser
POSS	Possessive marker
POSSIB	Possibility modal marker
PRED	Predicate marker
PROB	Probability modal marker
R	Realis
RECIP	Reciprocal particle
REFL	Reflexive particle
REL	Relative conjunction
SIM	Simultaneity clitic
SUBJ	Subjunctive mood marker
TRANS	Transitiviser
YNQM	Yes-no question marker

Summary

This thesis is a description of the complex sentences in the Abun language of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. It is a companion work to the thesis by K.Berry entitled *A Description of the Abun Language - phonology and basic morpho-syntax.*

In the introductory chapter a brief description is given of basic Abun phonology, morphology, and syntax. Abun is an isolating language in which particles and word order are the principal syntactic devices.

In the second chapter relative clauses are discussed including relative clause formation strategy and the various relative clause types. The third chapter discusses sentential complementation. Complement clauses can be either marked by a complementizer or unmarked. For those that are unmarked, various means of identifying clause embedding are presented.

The final two chapters describe clauses traditionally referred to as adverbial subordinate clauses. Here it is shown how Abun complex sentences do not fit neatly into a traditional subordinate/coordinate subdivision. Certain features of Papuan clause chaining languages can be found in these sentence types. Abun 'adverbial' clauses can be divided into four types depending on the type of conjunction within the complex sentence. These conjunctions are postpositional temporal conjunctions, prepositional conjunctions, compound conjunctions and negative conjunctions.

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.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Signed..... C. M. Berry

Date 16.3.95

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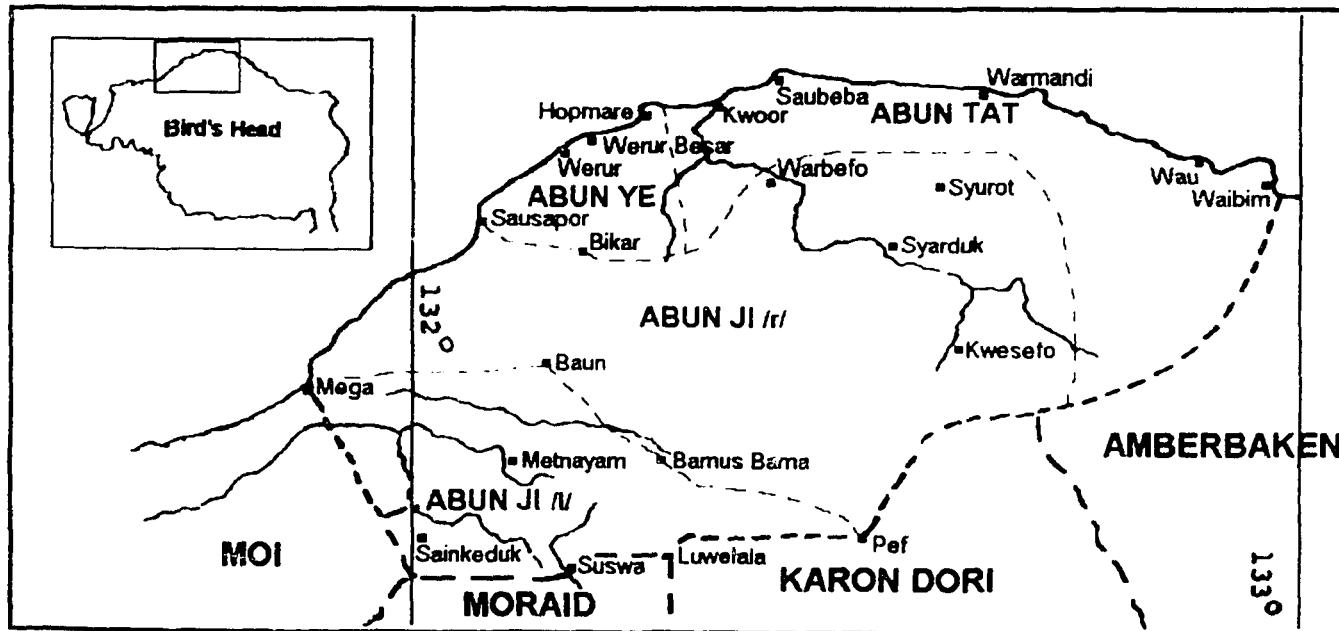
1. Introduction

This thesis is a description of the complex sentences of the Abun language of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. The fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken during a period of several years ranging from 1987 to 1992 when the author lived amongst the Abun speaking people. This fieldwork was undertaken in conjunction with the author's husband, Keith Berry, who has produced a companion thesis describing the phonology and basic clause morpho-syntax of the Abun language. Therefore various elements of Abun grammar are only briefly referred to in this thesis because they are outlined in greater detail in the work of Keith Berry (1995).

1.1 Location of villages and dialects

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 governmental subdistricts of Sausapor and Mega. It is bordered by the Mpur (also known as Kebar or Amberbaken) language to the east; the Karon Dori (also known as Mare) dialect of Mai Brat to the south and the Moi language to the west. There

MAP 1 ABUN VILLAGES AND DIALECTS



are approximately three thousand speakers who live in sixteen villages as well as in isolated hamlets, as in map 1.

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.

TABLE 1 ABUN DIALECTS

Dialect	Location	Number of Speakers ¹
Abun Tat	northern 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

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

1.2 Background

1.2.1 The name of the language-*Abun*

Abun is the name through which the people of the area refer to their own language,- *a* means 'language', and *bun* means 'bush, jungle'. They refer to

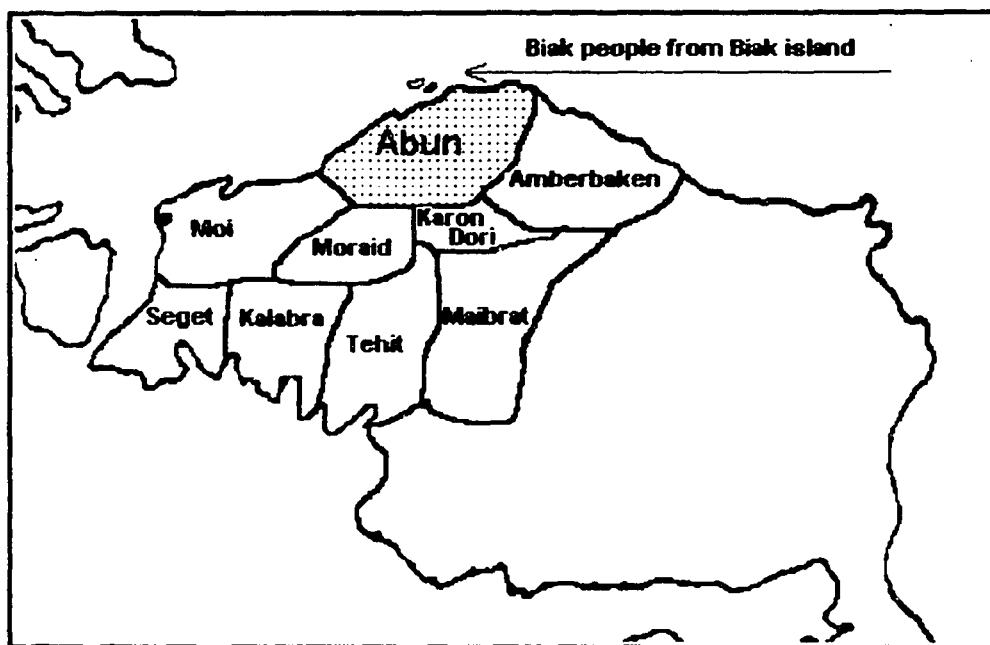
¹These figures are from the surveys published in Berry and Berry (1987:59)

themselves as the **Yenden** people, *ye-* meaning 'person' and *nden* 'interior, land'. Sometimes they refer to the name of their language as *Anden*, but *Abun* is the most common and widespread term. On rare occasions they call themselves the **Yembun** people; however the people say they are the Yenden people, and that they speak the Abun language.

1.2.2 History

The Abun language has been known by various other names including Karon Pantai, Madik and Yimbun. Its first recorded name was Karon Pantai. This name is the one listed in Voorhoeve (1975:48), and is also the name used by the Dutch in writings such as the journal of Reverend F. Kamma who visited the area in 1934 and any writings of the Dutch colonial administrators.² Karon was the name given to the Abun speaking people by the Biak people, immigrants to the area from the island of Biak which is to the north. The Moi people to the west call them Madik, the meaning of which is uncertain. Voorhoeve (1975:48) listed the name Madik as a separate language for what has since been analysed

MAP 2 ABUN AND SURROUNDING LANGUAGES



²I am indebted to Bert Voorhoeve who acquired the journal of Reverend Kamma for me from the library of ANU and also to Mr J. Dykstra who translated it into English. Various other writings of the Dutch Colonial period are only available in Dutch and therefore I have not been able to make use of them.

as the Abun Ji dialect (Berry & Berry 1987). The Amberbaken (also called the Kebar and Mpur) 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 for the Yenden relates to the first contact between the two groups. The Biak people arrived from the island of Biak near the end of the nineteenth century and settled along the north coast of the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya, as shown in the map above. Their initial contact with the Abun speaking people was rather unusual. Some of the Biaks, after landing their canoes on the coast, found several Abun speaking people with maggots smeared over their bodies. The Abun speaking people hoped through this attempt at feigning death that the Biaks would leave their area. But the Biaks soon discovered that they were still alive. As a result, they used the Biak term, *Karon*, meaning 'maggot eaten body'. Later a further distinction was made between those who lived near the coast and those who lived on the Tamrau ranges, with the addition of the Indonesian words *pantai* 'coast' and *gunung* 'mountain'. So the Biak people called them Karon Pantai. The mountain group, who speak a different language, they named Karon Gunung (listed as Karon Dori by Voorhoeve 1975:48).

It was a common practice for the Biak tribe to denote neighbouring tribes with derogatory names. The tribe to the east the Biaks referred to as the 'Amberbaken', literally the 'strange bodies'. These people who live in the Kebar valley refer to their language as Mpur. A tribe further to the east again the Biaks referred to as the 'Manikion' (sometimes spelt as Manichion). This means 'dregs of the oil'. This tribe is now referred to as the Soub. In colonial times the Biak tribe were promoted by the Dutch who advanced them in their education both locally in Dutch New Guinea (as Irian Jaya was then known) and in Holland. For

this reason these derogatory names have come into written use either in linguistic articles or in administrative documents.

For many years the Abun speaking people did not move out of their tribal homelands except for war, on slave raiding parties or to exchange certain goods, in particular the cloth referred to throughout the entire Bird's Head region as *kain timur* 'eastern cloth'. Even today the majority of Abun speakers have not left their tribal area and have not ventured out to the Indonesian towns. Prior to the incorporation of Irian Jaya into Indonesia in 1963 there were only two documented visits by non-Irianese to the interior of the Abun speaking area - that of Reverend Kamma and another by an Amboinese man in an official capacity. This lack of 'outside contact' was most likely due to the fact that the Abun still practiced cannibalism.

Therefore in the closest major town, Sorong, the Biak name Karon or Karon Pantai is still used to refer to this people. Because it is the only name understood by outsiders (those who are not Abun speakers), Abun speaking people will often refer to themselves as Karon when talking to outsiders. Even so, Abun speaking people do not like the name Karon because of its derogatory connotations. The name, Abun, has now been introduced into linguistic 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 Linguistic overview

1.3.1 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 (Karon Pantai) 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. Berry and Berry calculated over eighty per cent lexical similarity between Madik and Karon Pantai. Further data and information obtained since that time indicate identical syntactic patterns. There are some phonological differences but not enough to hinder mutual intelligibility. What has formerly been known as the Madik language has been reclassified as part of the Abun Ji dialect.³ The language formerly known as Karon Pantai has been reclassified as Abun, since Karon Pantai was used to cover a wide area which included all the Abun dialects. Therefore Abun is a family level isolate in the Central Bird's Head Stock.

1.3.2 Papuan versus Austronesian features of the Abun language

Wurm's classification of Abun as a language of Papuan type 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. WPP languages in the Bird's Head also 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 maybe 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), see Table 2 below. Abun personal pronouns do not distinguish between first person plural inclusive and exclusive, a Papuan feature. Other Papuan (or perhaps non-Austronesian) features include: no

³The Abun Ji dialect which is numerically the largest can be broken down into two further dialects. The author has not had the opportunity to research this further as the speakers of these dialects live in remote areas that can only be reached by trekking or by helicopter.

bound subject markers on the verb, phonologically relevant tone and an irrealis-realism (or non-past/past) distinction which is marked only on complex sentences. Perhaps the most striking Papuan features of Abun syntax are found at the level of the complex sentence, the subject of this thesis. In some Abun complex sentences there is no clear syntactic marking to distinguish those clauses which could be considered subordinate from those which might be termed coordinate. This lack of subordinate/coordinate distinction is found in Papuan clause-chaining languages. Likewise, in Papuan clause-chaining languages the semantic notions of temporal sequence and simultaneity are strongly marked (Longacre 1985:264). These notions also feature strongly in Abun complex sentences.

TABLE 2 ABUN PRONOUNS

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

Person	singular		plural	
1	<i>ji/ye/tat</i>	'I'	<i>men</i>	'we'
2	<i>nan/a</i>	'you'	<i>nin/nu</i>	'you'
3	<i>an</i>	'he/she'	<i>án</i>	'they'
3f	<i>mom</i>	'she' (archaic)		

However, Abun has a number of Austronesian features. Most notable is the rigid word order of SUBJECT-VERB-OBJECT (SVO) as distinct from the Papuan SOV word order (Wurm 1982:64). Other significant Austronesian features include: a very simple derivational morphology; with 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; no special sentence

medial verbs; a decimal numbering system as compared to the Papuan binary, trinary or quinary systems, and the existence of reduplicated adverbs.

Despite these features which could make it appear that grammatically Abun has more in common with Austronesian languages, Abun has some unique features which distinguish it from both Papuan and Austronesian languages. The use of particles in Abun is so extensive that it is far greater than in Austronesian languages such as Indonesian. Particles are the main means of grammatical communication with affixation playing an extremely minor role. In comparison the neighbouring West Papuan languages of Moi, Mai Brat, Mpur (Amberbaken) and Meah all have bound subject agreement prefixes on the verb. Abun is the only language of this entire geographic region which does not have this feature. Due to the lack of affixation in Abun syntax other grammatical strategies have been developed. In particular the use of bracketing (whereby two particles act as boundary markers for a particular grammatical constituent) serves to identify some important grammatical features, namely negation, interrogatives and relative clauses. Therefore Abun does not neatly fit into either of the neighbouring language classifications, that is Austronesian or Papuan, but shares features of both.

1.3.3 The influence of surrounding languages on Abun

The influence of surrounding languages on Abun has been significant. There have been three major linguistic influences on the Abun language—from the Biak language, from the neighbouring related languages, particularly Mai Brat and Mpur, and from the national language, Indonesian.

The influence of the Biak language

There are two language 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 off Halmahera before the turn of the century, came to live in the subdistrict of Mega where the Abun Ji dialect is spoken on the border of the language area. This group is numerically very small and does not appear to have had any significant influence on the Abun language. On the other hand 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. Biak is an Austronesian language and is completely unrelated to Abun. The Biak people brought the Christian religion to the Abun people and in doing so used many of their own phrases and words. Words such as *rur* 'spirit', *nadi* 'pray' and *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 prefix *ye-* 'person'. The Biak people being islanders had a far greater number of terms for fish and other things related to the sea than the Abun people who are traditionally semi-nomadic hunters. Therefore all these things have been borrowed from the Biak language. Examples are *yen* 'sand', *kasem* 'shark' and *karabat* 'sea eel'.

However these influences are lexical only. There are some minor syntactic influences from the Biak language. A *bi-* prefix, most likely borrowed from the Biak language, is attached to any verbs that have been introduced from other languages. All borrowed verbs are verbalised with what could be named, the foreign verb verbaliser (FVV) prefix. Example (1) uses the Biak word *win* 'sail', and example (2) uses the Indonesian word *pindah* 'to move one's location' .

- (1) *Men bi-win mu mo ef*
 1p FVV-sail go LOC island
 'Let's sail to the island.'

- (2) Men ***bi-pindah*** mu mo **Bamogwim**
 3p FVV-move go LOC Bamogwim
 'We shifted to Bamogwim'

Win 'sail' is a sea-faring term borrowed from the Biak language. However, what is most odd and uncharacteristic about this feature is that in Abun no verb prefixes exist at all. Some older speakers who are fluent in the Biak language also use the interrogative particles *ke/ka* 'possibility'. Those Abun speakers who have lived all their lives in the mountainous hinterland and have only recently come to the coast have no knowledge of these terms.

The influence of neighbouring languages

The Abun speaking people have had trade contact with the neighbouring tribal groups who speak related languages. Trade with neighbouring language groups in *kain timur* '(antique) eastern cloth' has been the main historical reason for contact (apart from war and slave raids). *Kain timur* is one of the Abun speaking people's main tokens of wealth. It originates from East Timur and other neighbouring Indonesian islands. *Kain timur* is measured according to its length and this is no doubt the reason for the decimal numbering system that all the tribes that trade in *kain timur* have. Nearby languages of the Papuan phylum, such as Arandai, do not have this decimal system.

The influence of these neighbouring related languages sometimes accounts for the surprising divergence of basic vocabulary, including personal pronouns, that is found among the Abun dialects. For example, first person singular in the most northern dialect is *tat*. In the southern area this form appears as *ji*. However Mai Brat first person singular is *ta* or *tio*. The final question marker (i.e. interrogative particle) can either be *ne* or *o*. Again in Mai Brat the interrogative particle is *o*.

Lexical Similarities with neighbouring WPP Languages

One of the distinguishing features of the West Papuan Phylum is the distinct lack of lexical similarity amongst all member languages. Lexicostatistical correlates are all extremely low and excepting for the Tehit and Moraid languages are all below twenty per cent. 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. This 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.) When the Swadesh 100 list is used the percentages tend to be about 5% higher as illustrated in Berry & Berry (1987:56). These word lists do not contain commonly used cultural items of the people of this area. For example the word *gwi* 'witch' is common to both Mai Brat and Abun. The word *bafnik* 'evil being' has been borrowed from Mpur to Abun. The type of *kain timur* cloth known as *toba* is understood by all languages in the region that trade in this type of cloth. Therefore in reality the lexical relationship is probably closer than surveys reveal.

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 are 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 on the basis of the Swadesh 100 word list Abun and Mai Brat were recorded as belonging to one stock, with a lexical similarity of approximately 11%, but they are belong to different families.

The other languages in the West Papuan Phylum of the Bird's Head belong to other stocks.

Influence of the national language, Bahasa Indonesia

Most villagers stay close to their own village and do not travel far. Even so, Bahasa Malayu has been used as a trading language in this area for several centuries. To this day the particular dialect of Indonesian spoken in this area is closer to Bahasa Malayu than standard Indonesian. Since the incorporation of Irian Jaya into Indonesia a larger number of speakers are becoming bilingual in Abun and Indonesian. However, for many Abun is the only language that they know.

Many new terms have come to the Abun speaking people in Indonesian, for example *sabun* 'soap', *besi* 'iron' and *bangko* 'seat'. Many Indonesian words also accompanied the introduction of Christianity and have become part of the Abun vocabulary. Indonesian words such as *ampuni* 'forgive', and *berkat* 'bless' have been introduced although Abun speakers seldom understand the meaning of these Indonesian terms.

The influence of Indonesian upon Abun grammar is becoming more significant as a force of language change than the mere incorporation of new lexical items. This is most obvious in the village of Sausapor, a government administrative centre. This is most readily seen in the area of complex sentences, the field of discussion of this thesis. The Abun language has a wealth of conjunctions, more than Indonesian. However, in Sausapor, the area where Abun Ji is spoken, many of these are being replaced by Indonesian terms. The most common of these are *tapi* from Indonesian *tetapi* 'but' and *baru* literally 'new', which is used to mean 'next' or 'and then'. A more serious change involves that of word order. In Indonesian the conjunction is placed before both sentences

that are to be joined. In Abun this is not the case. The conjunction is placed between the sentences that are to be joined. Some speakers may remove the Abun conjunction altogether and replace it with an Indonesian one at the beginning of the sentence. The more common practice is to use both the Abun form and the Indonesian form within the one sentence. This can be seen with such conjunctions as *kalau* 'if' (Abun does not have a single conjunction that means 'if'), *sebelum* 'before' (Abun uses 'not yet') and *asal* 'as long as/condition'. In examples (3) and (4) below the Indonesian form is underlined and the relevant Abun form is highlighted.

- (3) Sebelum an yo mu **nde** tó an nai an bi yor.
 before 3s NEG go not still 3s take 3s POSS spear
 'Before he left he took his spear.'

Some are also increasing their usage of the Indonesian negator *bukan* which only negates nouns. Again the Abun negator is retained resulting in forms such as:

- (4) Bukan an **nde**
 not 3s NEG
 'Not him.'

Often the words borrowed by the Abun speaker do not always retain the original pronunciation. Abun does not have a velar nasal phoneme. The velar nasal occurs, but only preceding the velar voiced stop /g/. So when words are borrowed such as *bunga* 'flower', another /g/ is added and are pronounced as *bungga*. Or when they are word final such as the word *kosong* 'nil, empty, zero', they are pronounced as *koson*.

1.4 Phonology

The sound system of Abun is relatively simple and consists of 20 consonants and 5 simple vowels. Also there are three tones, high, low and upgliding.⁴

The consonant phonemes of Abun are displayed in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3: CONSONANTS

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

* In IPA: j = dʒ, nj = ndʒ, š = ſ,
y = j, ñ = n, ng = ng

Prenasalised plosives are interpreted as units rather than sequences due to syllabic structural pressure. There are no non-suspect CCC clusters word initial. That means that *mbre* 'antique cloth' must be interpreted as *m̚bre*, a CCV syllable.

⁴ The phonological analysis of Abun has been undertaken by K. Berry and is described in the thesis on Abun phonology and syntax by K. Berry (1995). The tables in this section are taken from that paper.

The Abun vowels form a typical 5 vowel system as displayed in Table 4.

TABLE 4: VOWELS

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low		a

In Abun, syllable structure may be given simply as (C)(C)V(C). 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 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/, i.e. voiceless obstruents, nasals and glides. The least common syllable patterns are CCV and CCVC, where the possible CC clusters are br, mbr, pr, fr, kr, gr, ngr, mw, kw, gw, and ngw.

Tone is a significant feature of Abun phonology. In the Abun language, there are three phonemic tones - high, low and upgliding. High and upgliding tone are both marked where necessary by an identical symbol, an accent above the vowel. Low tone is not marked. In the lexicon tone does not appear to have a high functional load, thus eliminating the need for all three tones to be distinctly marked in the orthography. In the major word classes there are very few minimal pairs, though plenty of sub-minimal ones.

- (5) An on buk
 3S stomach tight
 'She is pregnant.'

- (6) An ón búk
 3S stomach lump
 'He has a stomach lump.'

- (7) An ón buk
 3S stools tight
 'He needs to defecate.'

1.5 Morphology

1.5.1 Typology

In relation to morphological typology Comrie (1989:46) discusses two indices, namely the index of synthesis and the index of fusion as a means of comparing languages. The index of synthesis compares the ratio of morphemes to words in any given language and at one extreme are the languages of the isolating type and at the other are languages of the polysynthetic type. Using this typology Abun would be described as an isolating language where the ratio of morphemes to word is rather low. A sampling of the first 200 words in each of five stories each by a five different speakers reveals an average morpheme to word ratio of 1.13. This compares to English with a ratio of 1.68 or Eskimo which has a ratio of 3.72 (Lyons 1968:188). The virtual one to one correspondence between words and morphemes in the Abun language can be illustrated by the following sentence:

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

Comrie's second index, that of fusion, compares the extent to which morphemes within the word are readily segmentable. Obviously there is little scope for fusion in an isolating language and in fact the polymorphemic words are easily segmentable, so there is no fusion. There is some slight variation of morpheme shape which is predictable by the few phonological rules that are found in Abun.

Therefore, so far as it is applicable, Abun morphology could be described as agglutinating.

All in all Abun has a basically monosyllabic word structure. A sampling of a typical story reveals that about 80% of the words are monosyllabic, about 15% have two syllables and only 5% have three or more.

1.5.2 Affixation

Affixation could not be said to be a feature of Abun morphology. Rather, a great variety of compounding exists in Abun. There are a limited number of forms which have been analysed as affixes for Abun. Of these, three are prefixes on nouns and four are suffixes on verbs. Table 5 summarises this information.

TABLE 5 ABUN AFFIXES

Nouns			Verbs		
Prefix	Type	Meaning	Suffix	Type	Meaning
suk-	class changing	'nominaliser'	-wa	class changing	'transitive/benefactive'
ye-	sub-class	'personaliser'	-bot	adverbial	'extends scope'
i-	sub-class	'part of whole'	-gat	adverbial	'intensifier'
			-ket	adverbial	(unpredictable)

1.5.2.1 Verb suffixes

Of the four verb suffixes three are historically derived from free form prepositions and one from an adverb. The suffix -wa originates from the preposition wa 'BENEFACTIVE/for', as seen in example (9) below.

- (9) An fro nu yo wa men
 3s prepare house a BEN 1p
 'He prepared a house for us.'

Because the object can be frequently omitted in Abun clause structure this leaves the verb adjacent to *wa*, providing the opportunity for coalescence. Therefore verb forms are created that have a benefactive meaning. This extended 'benefactive' meaning can be seen below.

- (10) *Marinus me kwem*
 Marinus see canoe
 'Marinus saw the canoe.'

- (11) *Marinus me-wa kwem*
 Marinus take.care.of canoe
 'Marinus took care of the canoe.'

However, there are certain verbs that no longer exist in Abun without the -*wa* suffix. The verbs *syaretwa* 'listen to' and *rewa* 'deny' no longer exist as *syaret*, and *re*. It appears that in the formation of these verbs there has been a certain amount of grammaticalisation occurring, with various free forms becoming affixes on these verbs (Hopper 1991:19ff).

In Abun, a number of free forms now behave as affixes due to the principle of coalescence, whereby adjacent forms collapse together to function as a single unit. The decision to regard certain parts of compounds as affixes has been based on this principle of grammaticalisation. In particular the principle that Hopper terms 'divergence' seems to describe best the situation that occurs in Abun. He defines divergence as 'when a lexical form undergoes grammaticalisation to a clitic or affix, the original form may remain as an autonomous element...' (Hopper 1991:22) The type of change described here also occurred in Latin where various prefixes became inseparable from the root,

'carry'. The decision to consider the forms listed in Table 5 as affixes rather than parts of compounds has also been based on prosody and meaning change of the resultant form, so much so that there is no longer synchronic identification of the two formerly independent forms. All those forms here considered as affixes behave like derivational affixes in that they function either to change class or result in a meaning change which is in many cases unpredictable⁵. However, all these words could be alternatively analysed as compound forms. Given that compounding is more commonly found in Abun morphology than affixation, such an analysis is equally viable.⁶

The suffix -wa has another usage to that described above. It can also be used to change non-transitive words such as intransitive stative verbs or nouns into transitive verbs. It could be on the basis that the 'benefactive' verbs described above are all inherently transitive that the -wa suffix has come to be used in a way that is no longer related to the meaning of the preposition wa. Hopper describes this process as 'specialisation' (Hopper 1991:25). Wa as a class-changing transitive suffix will be described further in 1.6.1, but one example is given below.

- (12) */sak syim-wa nu-syo*
 Isak hand-TRANS house-mouth
 'Isak shut the door.'

A second verb suffix -bot is derived from the free form preposition *subot/bot* meaning 'PERLATIVE/along/about' (with *subot* being the more common variant).

⁵A more detailed argument as to why these compound forms have undergone historical change to affixation is found in the paper by K. Berry (1995).

⁶It 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."

- (13) *An ki subot suk mwa*
 3s talk about thing many
 'He talked about many things.'

While on some occasions the addition of *-bot* to a verb root will result in an unpredictable meaning change, more frequently the addition of *-bot* results in a meaning change that could best be described as adverbial. By the addition of this suffix the meaning of the root has been changed to indicate that the action was more thorough, more involved or more drawn out. Example (14) illustrates this.

- (14) *Suk-siri yenggras ki-bot or it*
 NOM-wrong elders talk-extend finish COMP
 'These problems, the elders have finished discussing about (them).'

The third verb suffix *-ket* as a free form is the preposition *ket*, which may function as a locative meaning 'across'. It has another usage whereby with a non-locative argument it has the meaning 'against' or perhaps 'to direct emotion against someone'. This usage is shown in example (16) below.

- (15) *An maskwa ji*
 3s angry 1s
 'He is angry with me.'

- (16) *An maskwa ket ji*
 3s angry against 1s
 'He directed his anger against me.' or 'He was strongly opposed to me.'

This suffix is only used with a small number of stative verbs and the resultant meaning change is completely unpredictable. Example (37) shows the verb *ye-ket* 'to be surprised' from the verb root *ye* 'to be difficult'.

- (17) An ye-ket Set mo sugato an ki ne
 3s difficult-against Set at thing-REL 3s say DET
 'He was surprised with Set at that which he said (or because of what he said).'

A fourth verb suffix *-gat* can occur as a verb *gat* 'to spear' or as an adverb *gat* 'with intensity'.

- (18) An sok pa yewon ne i-be gat
 3s enter young.men shaman DET their-new intensely
 'He is really putting in (a lot of) new young men (to train) as shamans.'

As with prepositions adverbs may also occur adjacent to a verb which allows the two forms to coalesce. As a suffix *gat* carries over this adverbial meaning of intensity producing meaning changes on the root with something of this adverbial element included.

- (19) An ki-gat ji syo mbre is an
 3s talk-intensely 1s give eastern.cloth IO 3s
 'He persuaded/forced me to give some eastern cloth to him.'

The suffixes described above are derivational in nature, so they do not modify all verbs, but rather just a relatively small number. The meaning changes involved are by no means consistent and in some cases unpredictable.

1.5.2.2 Noun prefixes

In Abun verbs are modified by means of a suffix. Nouns on the other hand, are modified by a prefix. In the analysis below three forms are described as noun prefixes. The choice of the term 'prefix' is preferred here because all three prefixes involved convey grammatical rather than lexical information. Compounds may have meanings that are lexically idiosyncratic. Affixes frequently involve meaning changes that are syntactic in nature.

The noun prefix *-suk* is a class-changing affix. The word *suk* is the general concrete noun 'thing'. Verbs and adjectives can be changed into nouns in Abun by the prefixation of *suk-* 'nominaliser'. Examples (20) and (21) below illustrate its use.

- (20) *An git su-git*
 3s eat NOM-eat
 'He eats food.'

- (21) *An ku suk-i sye*
 3s meet NOM-sick big
 'He has got a severe sickness/illness.'

Another noun prefix *ye-* is similar to *suk* in that it also functions as a free form. The noun *ye* means 'person/persons unknown or unspecified.' As a prefix *ye-* makes all nouns it prefixes [+ HUMAN]. It behaves similarly to *suk* in that it also changes class, even though here it is only a sub-class change. It is frequently used for names, both in surnames and tribal names. As a prefix *ye* loses its primary meaning of 'persons unknown or unspecified', for with the addition of *ye* the noun becomes quite specific. In these cases it behaves almost like a classifier in that any entity that is human can not be named without *-ye*.

- (22) *An ye-nau*
 3s PERS-palm.wine
 'He is a drunkard.'

- (23) *Men ndo-wa men bi ye-syim we, ye-Korea yo si*
 1p ask-about 1p POSS PERS-arm two PERS-Korea a with
ye-Amerika yo
 PERS-America a
 'We asked about our two friends, a Korean and an American.'

These prefixes like verb suffixes appear to have undergone a grammaticalisation process in that they have coalesced with the noun they have

preceded. In the process they have acquired grammatical status, whereas as free forms they retain their lexical meaning.

The third noun prefix is slightly different to the two described above. This final noun prefix does not occur as a free form in Abun. Abun distinguishes between alienable and inalienable possession. Inalienable possession is used for body parts and certain other possessive relationships which could best be described as 'whole-part'. The whole-part relationship is only applicable for living entities, such as plants, animals and people. The whole is the possessor and the part is the thing possessed. For example 'leaf' is always *kwe-nat* 'tree-leaf' and 'feathers' are always *ndam-go* 'bird-hair'. Within these compound forms the second morpheme is always bound. The first morpheme is not bound and may be omitted. If this morpheme, that is the possessor or the 'whole', is omitted, it must be replaced by the proform *i-*. The translation of this proform is equivalent to the English possessive 'its'. This produces examples like (24) and (25).

(24)	A	<i>go</i>	<i>ndam-som</i>	<i>yo,</i>	a	<i>gwim</i>	<i>i-da</i>	<i>ne</i>
	2s	cut.up	bird-bat	when.IRR	2s	peel	its-skin	DET

wé *kadit*
to.one.side from

'When you prepare a bat, you peel its skin right off...'

(25)	a	<i>tik</i>	<i>i-onyar</i>	<i>wé</i>	<i>kadit</i>
	2s	pull	its-intestines	to.one.side	from

'.you pull its intestines right out from it...'

1.5.2.3 Clitic *-i*

Besides the affixes mentioned above, there is also a clitic which occurs in the Abun language. This clitic, *-i*, only occurs in compound structures, never in a simple clause. The clitic adds the meaning that the events that are expressed

within the compound sentence occurred simultaneously. The clitic must be bound to both clauses of the compound sentence in order to convey the meaning of simultaneity. It is the final element in these clauses but since it is phonologically bound it always takes secondary stress in the word that it forms a part of. This clitic will be described further in Chapter 4 under Subordinate Conjunctions, but an example is given below.

(26)	<i>Men</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>Syurur</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>titi</i>	<i>ma-i</i>
	1p	some.of	at	Syurur	1p	DET	run.away	go-SIM
	a	mo	Fef	a	mu-i			
	2p	at	Fef	2p	go-SIM			

'Those of us from Syurur we quickly came here, while you from Fef, you went too.'

1.5.3 Compounds

A wide variety of compounds exist in the Abun language. Evidence that a form is a compound rather than a phrase comes from the rules of stress placement. In Abun, if a word does consist of more than one syllable, stress is always syllable final. Compounding is a strategy frequently used to describe new or introduced items. Also compounding is used to create various demonstrative and locative words.

Noun Compounds

Some compounds have been created to describe items foreign to the culture. For example *kwem-ok* 'canoe-fly: aeroplane' and *suk-mise* 'thing-evil: gun'. These compounds have the structure noun + verb. Other noun compounds describe already known items and have the structure noun + noun. For example *nu-syo* 'house-mouth: door/doorway', *jok-wak* 'stone-hole: cave', and *gwem-bo* 'face-fruit: nose.'

Locative and demonstrative compounds

The three deictic particles *ré* 'this/here' *ne* 'that/there' and *tu* 'over there' can be used to create a variety of compounds, some locative, some not. Another particle *to*, a subordinating particle⁷, can be used to create a small group of compounds.

TABLE 6 ABUN COMPOUNDS

	<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	
deictic	<i>to-ré</i> here	<i>to-ne</i> there	<i>to-tu</i> 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-to</i> topicaliser
simile	<i>sa-ré</i> like.this	<i>sa-ne</i> like.that		<i>sa-to</i> for. example

1.6 Syntax

1.6.0 Overview of Abun syntax

Abun has been described above as an isolating language which makes little use of affixation in its grammatical system. Therefore the functions that are frequently ascribed to affixation in synthetic languages must in Abun grammar be indicated by other means and strategies. Affixation is frequently a means whereby other languages indicate such things as tense, aspect and mood. Also affixation is often present to signify grammatical relations such as Subject, Object, Indirect Object etc. However, as described above, all affixation in Abun is derivational in nature and is mainly concerned with class changes. These affixes relate on the whole to phrase level syntax and do not affect the internal structure of the clause.

⁷This particle is described fully in Chapter 2, Relative Clauses.

Therefore when it comes to grammatical relations or the variations of tense, aspect and mood to be found in Abun there are two key strategies which express these concepts:

1. Word Order
- and 2. Particles

The dual means of fixed word order and the use of particles will account for all types of syntactic variation which in synthetic languages would be carried largely by affixation.

1.6.1 Core grammar and grammatical relations

The Abun language, like all languages of the West Papuan Phylum has SUBJECT VERB OBJECT word order. This word order is inflexible, insofar as the position of an entity in relation to the verb will encode what its grammatical relation is. The grammatical relations of subject and object are encoded by word order alone, with the subject always that constituent which immediately precedes the verb, and if there is an object it will immediately follow the verb.

Because of the lack of inflectional affixation it is not possible through this means to ascertain whether Abun is either a nominative-accusative language or an ergative-absolutive language. There are no affixed forms to indicate case marking on nouns. There are no different pronominal forms which could indicate the different cases of nominative, accusative and genitive. The pronouns of Table 2 are invariant in form whether they refer to Subject, Object or Possessor. It is word order alone that gives the key to these grammatical relations. On this grounds, both S, subject of the intransitive clause and A, subject of the transitive clause are treated alike. So Abun is a nominative-

accusative language. S and A precede the verb, whereas O, object immediately follows the verb.

Other grammatical relations including that of Indirect Object are indicated by free form prepositions. Again word order is crucial. The indirect object, which in Abun is a prepositional phrase, always follows the direct object. A recipient, for example, could not immediately follow the verb. This could not happen unless the direct object was omitted and the recipient retained. In fact the only constituents of the Abun clause which are free to move are those which are adverbial in nature. Free form adverbs or adverbial phrases which express time or location are free from the otherwise rigid word order of the Abun clause. Abun word order is shown as follows:

(ADJUNCT) + SUBJECT + VERB + (OBJECT) + (INDIRECT OBJECT) + (ADJUNCT)

The adjunct in an Abun clause, (meaning various prepositional phrases expressing locative, instrument, benefactive etc) is normally the final element following the object and indirect object if they are present. If the adjunct expresses location it may be fronted to precede the subject. This is usually done to change the focus and often changes the semantic scope of the predicate.⁸ A time adjunct will normally precede the subject.

1.6.2 Grammatical relations hierarchy and Abun

It has been proposed that the grammatical relations of subject, object, indirect object and obliques can be considered to form a hierarchy. This notion of

⁸In modern syntactic theory the constituent that is smaller than a sentence is the phrase. However in the tagmemic theory devised by K.L.Pike (see for example Longacre 1983 p269ff) the constituent smaller than the sentence is the clause. If this theory of constituent division is followed then Abun word order is rigid in every aspect. If in Abun a time or location adjunct is fronted then it is no longer inside the clause but it is part of a sentence. This difference, when the adjunct is no longer part of a predicate is most clearly seen in negative indicative sentences. These differences are more fully discussed in K. Berry (1995).

hierarchy is prominent in the theory of Relational Grammar. The hierarchy is of the following form; grammatical relations are typically less marked at the higher end (that is the subject end) of the hierarchy, particularly in regard to case marking. In contrast person-number agreement is more likely to be marked at the higher end of the hierarchy⁹. Abun conforms to this hierarchy, in that the core or nuclear grammatical relations (subject and object) are unmarked. It is not until reaching the lower levels of the hierarchy, that is the indirect object and oblique relations that case marking is evident, which for Abun is by means of free form prepositions. Abun has no person-number agreement marked on its verbs. This is an unusual areal feature in that every other language of the West Papuan Phylum marks person-number subject agreement on the verb. This information has been summarised in Table 7 outlining grammatical changes which occur along the grammatical relations hierarchy for Abun. In Abun, as in English, the hierarchy is also evident in the basic word order:

SUBJECT - OBJECT- INDIRECT OBJECT - OBLIQUES/ADJUNCTS.

Table 7 GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS HIERARCHY

RELATION	WORD ORDER	INDICATIONS
SUBJECT	precedes Verb	Ø
OBJECT	follows Verb	Ø
INDIRECT OBJECT	follows Object	takes indirect object preposition <i>is/nai*</i>
OBLIQUE	occurs clause final follows Object or Indirect object	takes appropriate preposition to indicate locative, benefactive, instrument etc

*The choice of preposition varies according to the speaker's dialect.

⁹See Blake (1990:26ff) for further discussion of this hierarchy.

The examples below illustrate the different Abun clause types.

1. Intransitive:

- (27) *An ku*
 3s cough
 'He coughs.'

- (28) *Ji nyu*
 1s fear (stative verb)
 'I am afraid.'

Intransitive clauses consist minimally of a Subject and Verb in that order.

2. Transitive:

- (29) *An git boge*
 3s eat fish
 'He eats fish.'

- (30) *Nu nyu-wa men o nde*
 2p fear-TRANS 1p again NEG
 'Don't fear us any more' or 'Don't you be afraid of us any more.'

Transitive clauses consist minimally of a Subject, Verb and Object in that order.

Example (30), a transitive clause, also differs from example (28), an intransitive clause, in that in (30) the stative verb *nyu* 'fear' takes an object. With verbs such as *nyu*, which may occur as intransitive, the presence of the object is always indicated, by the suffix *-wa*. In the same way the presence of an implied object is also indicated by *-wa*. It is a common practice in Abun conversation to omit objects and also various types of adjuncts if these have been previously mentioned in the immediate context. Example (31) below shows the use of *-wa* with an implied object.

- (31) *Ji i-wa*
 1s happy-TRANS
 'I am happy about that/to do that.'

Therefore a clause of the structure SUBJECT + VERB + -WA is also transitive because the addition of -wa indicates an implied object.

3. Ditransitive:

- (32) *Ji syo sugum is an*
 1s gave money IO 3s
 'I gave (the) money to her.'

In example (32) the shift down the grammatical relations hierarchy is clearly shown with the introduction of prepositions to mark the relation of indirect object. The indirect object preposition varies according to dialect. This preposition can either be *is* (Abun Ji) or *nai* (Abun Ye and Abun Tat) and many speakers use either.

4. Clause with Adjuncts (Prepositional Phrase):

Various types of prepositional phrase may be added to the basic clause. As seen above, the ditransitive clause is of this structure, namely a prepositional phrase added to a transitive clause. There are several other types of prepositional phrase which are illustrated below.

- (33) *An mu mo nu*
 3s go LOC house
 'He went to the house.'

- (34) *An ma kagit Filipus bi nu*
 3s come from Filipus POSS house
 'He came from Filipus' house.'

- (35) *Pa sap wo kwai su mban*
 young.man cut fish kwai with axe
 'The young man cut the eel with an axe.'

(36)	<i>An</i>	<i>git</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>kasem</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>gato</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>kon</i>	<i>ji</i>	
	3s	eat	1s	POSS	shark	own	REL	1s	cook	for	1s
					<i>bi</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>ne</i>				
					POSS	house	DET				

'She ate my (own, emphasis) shark that I cooked for my family (lit. house).'

A full list of Abun prepositions is given below:

indirect object	is/nai	'to'
locative	mo	'at/to'
	subot	'against/along'
	kagit	'from'
	karowa	'near'
	ket	'across/against'
instrument	su	'with'
accompaniment	si	'with'
benefactive	wa	'for'

There is a larger form of the locative phrase which is used with the preposition *mo*. *Mo* can be understood to mean general location and when a more specific location is intended another locative word follows the noun. These locative nouns which follow the head of the locative phrase could be described as 'relator nouns'¹⁰.

For example:

<i>mo</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>mit</i>	'inside the house'
<i>mo</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>git</i>	'in front of the house'
<i>mo</i>	<i>kwe</i>	<i>ke</i>	'at the base of the tree'
<i>mo</i>	<i>kwe</i>	<i>ndet</i>	'in between the trees'
<i>mo</i>	<i>kwe</i>	<i>nim</i>	'above the tree' etc

5. Verbless clauses:

In Abun there are a small number of verbless clauses. These verbless clauses are equational in nature and they consist merely of two noun phrases, without

¹⁰See Blake (1994: 16-18, 205)

any linker or copula between them. One type shown in example (37) equates two noun phrases. Another type, illustrated by example (38), consists of a noun phrase as subject and a locative prepositional phrase as predicate.

- (37) *An Ye-den*
 3s PERS-jungle/bush/interior
 'He (is a) Yenden (lit. bush person).'

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

1.6.3 Abun particles

The effect of word order in Abun syntax to indicate grammatical relations has already been described. The second major strategy that Abun uses, that of particles, is used to convey the concepts of mood and aspect. The term 'particle' is used to mean a free form word that is a member of a closed class. It is an invariant form that never occurs in an environment where it could be described as 'bound'.

Because the use of word order is significant in Abun, mood or aspect particles must also follow the rules of word order. If a clause includes a mood or aspect particle, that particle will always be in clause final position. An Abun clause then has the following structure:

(ADJUNCT) + SUBJECT + VERB + (OBJECT) + (INDIRECT OBJECT) + (ADJUNCT) +
 (ASPECT) + (MOOD)

Given this structure for an Abun clause, it can be seen that the mood or aspect particles are not bound as affixes.. The particles may occur after either the verb, the object, the indirect object or an adjunct depending on the length 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.

No reference has yet been made to tense. In Abun, concepts concerned with tense are carried by time words or phrases and sequential conjunctions. In the case of complex sentences there are two subordinate conjunctions which convey tense concepts. These two conjunctions are described as being 'realis', where a preceding clause refers to events already past, or 'irrealis', where a preceding clause refers to events that have not actually occurred, being either in future time or hypothetical. These subordinate conjunctions will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 4.

1.6.3.1 Mood particles

In Abun the constituent termed 'mood' is unmarked for the indicative and marked for other types. It is indicated by means of a clause final particle. One interesting feature of the mood particles is that in two instances, that of interrogative and indicative negative two particles are used to indicate these moods. 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 appears to be optional, perhaps influenced by the national language Indonesian, which does not possess such a particle.

The indicative negative also makes use of two particles. These particles jointly outline the constituent "predicate". One of these particles is a member of the

small group of particles described as predicate markers. The meanings of the predicate markers range across the entire spectrum of concepts that are normally referred to as tense, aspect or mood.¹¹ The other particle, which occurs after the predicate is considered the primary negative particle, because used on its own it may answer a question in the negative.

The various mood particles are listed in table 8, followed by examples of the various mood types.¹²

TABLE 8 - MOOD PARTICLES

MOOD	PARTICLES	
INDICATIVE	unmarked	
INTERROGATIVE	(te) clause e	yes/no Q
	(te) clause <i>bado</i>	alt Q
	(te) clause + interrogative word + <i>ne/o</i>	info Q
	(te) clause <i>suma ne</i>	'what'
	<i>u ne</i>	'which'
	<i>mo u ne</i>	'where'
	<i>je u ne</i>	'who'
	<i>sa u ne</i>	'how'
	<i>ot ne</i>	'how many'
IMPERATIVE	clause <i>tom/se</i>	
WEAK IMPERATIVE/ SUBJUNCTIVE	clause <i>et</i>	
PROHIBITIVE	clause <i>nde</i>	
NEGATIVE (INDICATIVE)	<i>yo</i> clause <i>nde</i>	
FRUSTRATED ACTION	clause <i>ware</i>	

¹¹ Lyons (1968:317) noted that in some languages the concepts of 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.

¹² The analysis of mood in Abun is presented slightly differently in the fuller paper by K Berry 1995. In that paper the moods here termed Imperative and Weak Imperative are termed 'Strong Hortative' and 'Mild Hortative' respectively. The negative is also treated separately in that paper, so that Prohibitive and Negative are discussed separately to Mood particles.

Interrogatives:

(39) ***Te nan bi ai kem tó e?***
 IQM 2s POSS father live still YNQM

'Is your father still alive?'

(40) ***Te men frot an bado nde e?***
 IQM 3p inform 3s TAG NEG FQM

'Do we tell him or not?'

(41) ***Nan jan suma ne?***
 2s plant what FQM
 What did you plant?

(42) ***Nan mu mo u ne?***
 2s go LOC which FQM
 'Where are you going?'

(43) ***Te nan jan weu sa u ne?***
 IQM 2s plant banana like which FQM
 'How do you plant bananas?'

Imperative:

(44) ***Nan mu tom!***
 2s go IMP
 'Go!'

Weak imperative:

(45) ***Men mu et***
 1p go SUBJ
 'Let's go!'

(46) ***Nu we en sem tekto men git si suk et***
 2p two draw sea in.order 1p eat with things SUBJ
 'You two draw water from the sea so we can eat (the food) with (salt), please.'

The 'weak imperative' differs from the imperative in that it is a weaker or milder form of command. It can behave very similar to a subjunctive, as in 'let us', 'may

we'. Being a milder type of command on other occasions it is more equivalent to the English 'please'.

Prohibitive:

- (47) *Nan git ndam-syor ne nde!*
 2s eat bird-cassowary DET NEG
 Don't eat that cassowary!

- (48) *Nggon git ndam-syor nde*
 Women eat bird-cassowary NEG
 'Women must not eat cassowary.'

The prohibitive mood is not the same as a negative imperative. Example (48) shows that the meaning can be regulatory or enforcing a prohibition and so this mood is not limited to negative commands.

Negative:

- (49) *Noru gado an yo git ndam-syor nde*
 night last 3s NEG eat bird-cassowary NEG
 'Last night he did not eat cassowary.'

- (50) *An yo mu karowa nje nde*
 3s NEG go near people NEG
 'He didn't go near the people.'

By comparing example (49) with (48) above, the negative mood makes use of one extra particle compared to the prohibitive mood, which uses only one. In Abun, it is possible to use a different type of negative construction when a unit larger than a clause, such as a complex sentence, is being negated. There are several negative conjunctions, which accomplish this and these will be examined in greater detail in 5.6.

Frustrated action:

- (51) An *ben* *syu-syo* *wa* *nok* ***ware***
 3s 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.'

- (52) An *pet* *ndam* ***ware***, *kunus* *yo* *kom* *nde*
 3s 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).'

The meaning of *ware* is inherently negative and so it has been interpreted as another mood in Abun. 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.

Negative Interrogatives:

When there is an interaction of two moods, which is only the case with negative interrogatives, then the negative always occurs prior to the final interrogative particle.

- (53) *Ben* *sa* *u* *anato* *nan* *yo* *ma* *more* *nde* *ne?*
 do like which FOC 2s NEG come here NEG FQM
 'How is it that (or why) you did not come here?'

This interaction reveals that the word order of the primary negative particle *nde* is very important in Abun. For if there is also an aspect particle within the clause, the negative must precede it. This is not the case for any other mood. This means that for these types of clause Abun word order is as follows.

SUBJECT + *yo* + VERB + *nde* + (ASPECT) + (INTERROGATIVE)

1.6.3.2 Aspect and modality particles

The various aspect particles that are found in Abun are not obligatory. There are a limited number, listed as follows:

ASPECT	TYPE	GLOSS	MEANING
<i>re</i>	perfective	PERF	'already'
<i>it</i>	completive	COMPL	'completed'
<i>tó</i>	incompleteive	INCOMPL	'yet, still'

The perfective aspect, *re*, has the meaning that an event has already taken place. It is used to confirm the actuality of the event and implies a continuing relevance of it. The completive aspect, *it*, emphasises the finality or completed state of a particular event or action. In contrast, the incompleteive aspect, *tó*, is used to indicate that a particular event or action is not yet completed and the ongoing nature of that particular action. All of these aspect particles in Abun may be used irrespective of the particular time frame of the state or event. That is to say whether the event occurs in past, present or future time does not change the meaning of the aspect or limit its use. Normally there is only one aspect particle in any clause. The following examples illustrate the usage of Abun aspect particles.

- (54) *Pa ne kwop re*
 child that die PERF
 'That child had died.'

- (55) *An jam baca ndo it*
 3s know read good COMPL
 'She had finally knew how to read well.'
 or 'She has completed learning how to read properly.'

- (56) *An nuk suk-du tó*
 3s tell.story NOM-speak INCOMPL
 'He is still telling (his) story.'

- (57) *Men yo mu nde tó*
 1p NEG go NEG INCOMPL
 'We are not going yet.'

There are also a limited number of particles which some writers refer to as 'modality' rather than as aspect. Modality has been defined as the speaker's attitude or opinion regarding the proposition that the sentence expresses (Lyons 1977:452). Modality particles, like aspect particles are small in number and represent a closed class.

MODALITY	TYPE	GLOSS	MEANING
<i>bayok</i>	probability	PROB	'maybe, could, probably'
<i>ya</i>	possibility	POSSIB	'might'
<i>go</i>	serious intent	ASST	'should, could really'

Abun modal particles illustrate degrees of doubt or certainty that the speaker wishes to express. When *bayok* 'probably' is used the speaker is expressing a lack of certainty. The particle *ya* 'might' expresses a greater degree of certainty. However, with the particle *go* 'serious intent' the speaker is trying to communicate in the strongest way possible that he believes that what he is saying is true. It could therefore be termed the 'assertive' modality. The examples below illustrate the particle meanings and show how they interact with other particles.

- (58) *Ji bi sugum yo tep nde bayok*
 1s POSS money NEG enough NEG PROB
 'I probably don't have enough money.'

- (59) *Prisila ma sap Barbarina o ya*
 Prisila come cut Barbarina again POSSIB
 'Prisila might come and cut Barbarina again.'

- (60) *Ji mu it are go!*
 1s` go COMPL now intent
 'Hey, I'm definitely going *now!* (italics intended for emphasis)

- (61) *Kadit nau re sangge anato ben to*
 From palm.wine PERF true reason do to causative

men yo kem ndo nde re bayok
 1p NEG live good NEG PERF probably

'Because of (my drinking) palm wine, it is true, that is probably the reason that caused us not to live happily (together).'

In example (60) a modality particle occurs after an aspect particle, and example (61) is an instance of both aspect and modality particles following the negative. Therefore the order of these particles is as follows:

NEGATIVE+ASPECT+MODALITY

1.6.4 Phrase structure

Before finishing this brief study of Abun syntax a few words need to be said about phrase structure. This area of Abun grammar is consistent with what has already been stated about the syntax of the Abun language in that word order plays a crucial role and particles, rather than affixation, are used to represent significant constituents.

A brief look at two areas, noun phrases and possessive phrases, will show that free form particles make up a significant part of Abun phrase structure.

1.6.4.1 Noun phrases

In an Abun noun phrase any modifiers and the determiner follow the head. The phrase has the following structure:

HEAD (MODIFIERS) (DETERMINER)

It is preferred that the number of modifiers within the phrase is no more than two. The various modifiers within the noun phrase may be of the following type: another noun, adjective, or quantifier, (where a quantifier may be general or consist of a classifier + numeral). These modifiers appear in the noun phrase in the following order:

(OTHER NOUN) (ADJECTIVE) [(CLASS)-QUANTIFIER]

Only one modifier from a particular class may occur within the noun phrase. For example although a noun phrase may consist of up to two modifiers only one may be an adjective. If a number is present it normally occurs together with a noun classifier and so this is considered as a single unit modifying the noun. Where there is more than one modifier within the phrase co-occurrence restrictions apply.¹³ The examples below illustrate the various possibilities using different classes of modifiers.

- (62) *nggon be yo*
 woman new DET.indef
 'a new wife'

- (63) *yenggras mwa ne*
 older.men many DET
 'the many older men'

¹³For a discussion of co-occurrence restrictions and word order within the noun phrase see the paper by K. Berry 1995, chapter 5.

- (64) *wam do-ketke*
 time count-beginning
 'the first time'
- (65) *nggwe jamsem sye*
 garden cassava big
 'big cassava garden'
- (66) *mbre toba sak gri*
 eastern.cloth toba CLASS three
 'three lengths of "toba" cloth'
- (67) *suk-du wokgan dik yo*
 NOM-speak little one DET.INDEF
 'a little story'

If it is desired to modify a noun phrase with more than two modifiers of the same class, for instance by two adjectives, then the preference is to juxtapose this next to the noun phrase in some way. This could be by means of a verbless clause or it may be by means of a relative clause. For example:

- (68) *Ji bi pa do-nggon we, pa ne wok tó*
 1s POSS child count-female two child DET small INCOMPL
 'I have two girls. The girls are still small.'

1.6.4.2 Determiners

There are several determiners in Abun. There are three deictics (described earlier in 1.5.3) *ré*, *ne* and *tu*. There is also another type of determiner which expresses an unknown/unspecific, known/specific distinction. The determiner *yo* has the meaning 'a, some' and could be considered indefinite. The determiner *ne* may not always mean 'that' but may be translated as 'the, specific' and so contrasts with *yo*.

Several particles also occur within the noun phrase and like the determiners, when present, they are in the phrase final position. These are *ga* 'anaphoric

referent, previously mentioned noun', *ana* 'means of focus' and to 'demonstrative/external referent'. When these particles compound with the determiners *ré*, *ne* and *tu* they likewise retain phrase final position.

1.6.4.3 Possessive phrases

Abun distinguishes between alienable and inalienable possession. Inalienable possession is used when referring to parts of the body, 'whole-part' relationships (described earlier in 1.6.2.2, such as 'tree-leaf', 'bird-feathers', etc) but not when referring to kinship terms. Inalienable possession is unmarked. The word order of the phrase is: POSSESSOR + POSSESSED. No form of marking whatever marks either possessor or possessed. When the possessor is indicated by a pronoun no distinctive possessive pronouns are used. Juxtaposition is sufficient to indicate the possessive relationship.

- (69) *Jan* *sip-bot* *Dina* *gwes*
 lasso draw-along Dina leg
 'The lasso drew tight around Dina's leg.'

- (70) *Ji* *syim* *fot*
 1s arm break
 'My arm is broken.'

Alienable possession is used to describe all other possessive relationships. In these cases Abun uses the possessive word *bi*. It is not possible to say that *bi* marks either the possessor or the possessed in the possessive phrase. *Bi* joins the two as a linker (Croft 1990: 28-32). Thus the alienable possessive phrase has the order of:

POSSESSOR + *bi* + POSSESSED

This analysis indicates that the possessive phrase is neither head nor dependent marked. This is a probable outcome of the fact that Abun does not use affixation to convey syntactic information but rather relies on word order and particles for these purposes.

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

- (72) ***Ji si Marta anato kem mewa men bi suk***
 1s with Marta FOC stay guard 1p POSS things
 'Marta and I are the ones who will stay (behind) and look after our things.'

The alienable possessive phrase may be contracted, in that either possessor or possessed may be omitted from the possessive phrase provided the immediate context gives sufficient information. For example

- (73) ***Sadrak bi im ré ben bi suk ot ye***
 Sadrak POSS mother DEM do POSS things sharp very
 'Sadrak's mother does things rather callously/ has a short temper.'

In example (73) above the possessor preceding *bi suk* has been omitted. Likewise a noun that is possessed may be omitted also, shown in the following example.

- (74) ***Markus it mo kwem wokgan gato Martinus bi ne***
 Markus climb LOC canoe little REL Martinus POSS DET
 'Markus got into the small canoe that belonged to Martinus.'

Just as the alienable possessive phrase can be contracted it can also be expanded. To emphasise or clarify ownership of a particular item the particle *i* can be added to the phrase. This particle has similar meaning to the English word 'own'.

(75) *Ji bi nu i*
 1s POSS house own
 'my own house'

(76) *Ji bi suk i anane*
 1s POSS things own FOCUS
 'Those are *my* things there!' (italics added to indicate emphasis)

When the possessed noun is omitted from these types of phrases the resultant meaning is similar to the English pronouns 'mine, his etc'.

(77) *Te Isak nai sugum bi-wa ji bi i*
 then Isak take money pay-for 1s POSS own
 'Then Isak took money to pay for mine'.

There are yet other types of noun phrases in Abun; however, the above description gives typical patterns within the limited scope of this introductory chapter. The purpose of this brief overview of Abun syntax has been to lay a sufficient foundation for the following chapters. The characteristics of Abun subordinate clauses and co-ordinate sentences are consistent with the overall principles described here.

2 Relative Clauses

In this section subordinate clauses of the type known as relative clauses will be discussed. In Abun, relative clauses can be divided into the two basic types, restrictive and non-restrictive. The restrictive type is by far the more common and more flexible grammatical structure and so it will be discussed in more detail here. This discussion will attempt to show that the Abun relative clause utilises a relative conjunction together with a strategy called a gap strategy in order to relativise various grammatical relations.

By using a different conjunction a non-restrictive relative clause is also possible in the Abun language as well as a third type which could be described as an indefinite relative clause. These will be described in detail below.

2.1. The structure of relative clauses in Abun.

Relative clauses have been described as consisting minimally of a head and a restricting clause (Comrie:1989:143). How do Abun relative clauses compare to this general description? This discussion illustrates that the Abun relative clause consists minimally of a head, a relative conjunction and a clause that is either restricting or non-restricting. In some cases a determiner follows the relative clause. Examples of these clauses are shown below.

(1) Abun restrictive relative clause

HEAD + CONJUNCTION - *gato* + RESTRICTING CLAUSE

- (1) *Men mu gu ye gato man siri su men bi nggon*
 1p go kill person REL do wrong with 1p POSS woman
 'We will go and kill the person who committed adultery with our (clans)
 woman.'

(2) Abun restrictive relative clause with determinerHEAD + CONJUNCTION - *gato* + RESTRICTING CLAUSE + DETERMINER

- (2) *Men mu de syur mo syur wak gato nie ben ne*
 1p go go.in water at water hole REL people make DET
 'We went and washed at the well that people had made.'

(3) Abun indefinite relative clauseHEAD + CONJUNCTION - *to* + RESTRICTING CLAUSE

- (3) *Ye to gwa ye-won dabe yo ye*
 Person REL punch person-knowledge ear when.IRR person
ne bi denda su mbre
 that pay fine with eastern.cloth
 'Anyone who punches a shaman (lit. knowledge person) on the ear, then
 that person must pay a fine with (antique) eastern cloth.'

(4) Abun non-restrictive relative clauseHEAD + CONJUNCTION- *to* + NON-RESTRICTING CLAUSE + DETERMINER

- (4) *An ki nai Martinus to-re to kra Domingas*
 3s say IO Martinus DEIC-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 here, who married Domingas)
 (whose) name was Simam Yorfen that...'

2.2 The head of the relative clause

The head which is to be relativised may consist of either a noun phrase (5) a pronoun, as in example (6), or a pro-form, in examples (7),(8) and (9) below.

- (5) *Suk-jan gato án jan mo nggwe ne bere te*
 NOM-plant REL 3p plant in garden ANAPH FUT die
 'Plants that they plant in that garden will die.'

- (6) **Nan gato ben suk-daret bu ji bari re**
 2s REL do NOM-random always 1s not.want PERF
 'You, who always behave carelessly, I want nothing to do with you!'

- (7) **Sane kwa gato me-ka-we yo ben ndo nde,**
 so part.some.of REL 1p-CLASS-two NEG do good NEG
 an-we ki suk-du gato bere os men
 3p-two say nom-speak REL FUT help 2p

'So the part which the two of us didn't do very well, they (two) told us things (lit. 'news') that would help us.'

- (8) **Ji ki do do gato yenggras ki ete**
 1s say COMP the.one REL elders say then
 yenggras i-mo ete be ji kra
 elders happy-exist then FUT 1s marry

'I said whichever (woman) the elders nominate for me and are happy with I would marry.'

- (9) **Ndam kokor do gato ku suk-i yo men**
 bird fowl some.of REL get NOM-sick yo when.IRR 1p
 gu wé
 kill off

'With our chickens, if there are some that are sick then we kill (them) off.'

The pro-forms *kwa* and *do* both have a similar meaning. They both refer back to a previously mentioned noun phrase which usually represents a group of undefined size. When either *kwa* or *do* are used they refer to part of the previously mentioned whole. *Kwa* can only be used with non-tangible referents (that is, nouns that cannot be counted or considered specific items). For this reason it is best translated as 'part of' or 'some of'. *Do* can only be used with specific or tangible referents.

In the instance where the head of the relative clause is the noun *suk* 'thing/things' this noun merges with the relative clause conjunction to create a

compound form. The final *k* is lost so that the resultant form is *sugato* 'thing that/that which', as in examples (10) and (11) below.

- (10) *Pa git su-gato sye mo nde.*
 child eat things-that big exist NEG
 'The children must not eat anything that is large (ie. large animals) at all.'
- (11) *Men nut-bot su-gato men ben nyim ne*
 1p think-about things-that 1p do before DET
 'We thought about what we did earlier.'

2.3 The relative conjunction *gato*

The relative conjunction *gato* is made up of two morphemes: *ga* 'anaphoric referent/the former' and *to* 'noun modifying particle (NMP)'. *Gato* may be translated as 'that', 'which', 'who' etc. In quick speech it is abbreviated to *ga*, indicating that the particle *to* which carries a grammatical meaning rather than a lexical one is not always considered necessary. *Gato* is not a relative clause pronoun since neither *ga* or *to* can be used on their own to replace nouns, as will be further discussed below. However, *gato* cannot be described as a general subordinating conjunction (as is the case with English 'that'). *Gato* is exclusively used to mark constructions of the restrictive relative clause type. A study of its two component morphemes shows how it fulfils this role.

2.3.1 Anaphoric referent *ga*

The particle *ga* 'anaphoric referent' was briefly introduced in Chapter 1 as a type of determiner (see 1.6.4.2 and also 1.5.3). As such it can never be used on its own as a pronoun to replace some previously mentioned noun. *Ga* always modifies a noun and is always part of a noun phrase. It assists in referring back to a previously mentioned noun. In discourse it serves to distinguish secondary participants from the main participant/speaker. The noun which *ga* modifies will

have been introduced earlier as a secondary participant. When this participant is mentioned again *ga* is added as if to remind the hearers. In the examples below several sentences of the discourse have been included to show how this particle is used.

- (12) *Ji ki do A me-wa ber-gan Prisila ku Barbarina ré*
 1s say COMP 2s look-TRANS later-little Prisila meet Barbarina this

- Ji do ma sa Prisila ga wai mo ji*
 1s PRED come when-R Prisila ANAPH go.past at 1s

'I said "You look out (for yourself). In a little while Prisila will meet Barbarina." As I was coming along Prisila, that I had just mentioned, came past me.'

- (13) *Sepenyel mu fro bi suk or an ma*
 Sepenyel go prepare POSS things finish 3s come
 ti kenyak ji mo ji bi nu. Ji si
 seaward plan.to.meet 1s at 1s POSS house 1s with
 an ga mu mo syu-Nggwe
 3s ANAPH go to river-Garden

'After Sepenyel went to prepare his things he went to meet me at my house. I went together with him (the last mentioned) to Garden River.'

In the English translation of these sentences it seems awkward to include the literal meaning of *ga* 'the one that was last mentioned.' In Abun discourse, however, it is a necessary inclusion as a means of identifying participants. When *ga* is joined to the noun modifying particle *to* to make up the relative conjunction *gato*, *ga* serves to identify or mark the head of the relative clause as a specific referential identity. Although within the relative clause *ga* does not actually indicate that the head has been already mentioned, it does indicate that the head is specific in that it is either known to the hearers or present within the events being described. For a restrictive relative clause *ga* identifies the head that is to be modified. Instead of having the meaning 'the noun/participant that

'we were just talking about' as it would in a discourse, here it means 'this is the noun that we are going to describe further.'

2.3.2 The function of the noun modifying particle *to*

The noun modifying particle *to* (from here onwards abbreviated to NMP) serves to indicate that a noun has been modified in some way other than through means of an adjective. In some cases this modification will be another noun phrase added to give extra clarification to the speaker's meaning. For example,

- (14) *Wo suk-fo to ndam syor ne yo, nu-we git nde*
 but thing-taboo NMP bird cassowary DET when.IRR 2p-two
 eat NEG

'But a forbidden thing, that is that cassowary, you two cannot eat.'

In other cases the modification is a noun phrase embedded within a locative phrase to clarify the location further.

- (15) *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.'

When a speaker wishes to give illustrations of his subject matter then *sa* 'like' is added to *to* forming *sato* 'for example/such as'. The noun phrases that follow *sato* are all embeddings of the noun phrase which *to* modifies.

- (16) *Regina ben siri su pa yesok sato Amol e*
 Regina do wrong with child youth such.as Arnol and
Lambertus e sato ye Timor
 Lambertus and such.as person Timor

'Regina committed adultery with (some) young men such as Arnol and Lambertus, and such as the Timorese man.'

In all of the above examples the modification that *to* identifies is a noun phrase. However since relative clauses are also modifications of a noun, *to* has the grammatical role of indicating that these clauses are embedded or subordinate. Instead of describing *to* as a noun modifying particle, an alternative is to describe it as a general subordinating conjunction. If a conjunction can embed phrase within phrase as in examples (14) and (15) above then this is certainly the best description of *to*.

2.3.3 Gato- a relative marker or a relative conjunction?

Comrie's definition that a relative clause consists minimally of a head and a restricting clause, given earlier, does not seem to leave room for a relative conjunction as a unit in its own right within the relative clause. Under Comrie's definition it is necessary to place such items as relative pronouns or relative markers within the restricting clause. For instance relative pronouns are considered clause initial. However, since *gato* is not a relative pronoun it cannot be considered as part of the restricting clause. In regard to the particle *ga*, it is always a part of a noun phrase. For example, it is possible to say *Yohana ga* 'Yohana who I just mentioned' or *an ga* 'he, the one I just mentioned' as described in 2.3.1 above. But this is not the case for the particle *to*. It is not possible to say *Yohana to* for this has no meaning. Because the grammatical function of *to* is to identify a subordinate structure of some kind, it cannot stand as part of a noun phrase, but rather it is the initial component of the subordinate structure.

The two morphemes of *gato* thus enable it to behave as a conjunction or linker. The first morpheme *ga* could be said to be actually part of the noun phrase head of the relative clause. The second morpheme *to* is the initial component of the restricting clause. The combined form *gato* therefore behaves like a bridge or

linker between both head and restricting clause giving rise to the description stated earlier in 2.1.

HEAD + CONJUNCTION- *gato* + RESTRICTING CLAUSE

This structure is similar to English relative constructions when two elements such as 'that which' in 'He knows that which he wants' merge to the single element 'what' in 'He knows what he wants.'

There are also other reasons for considering *gato* a relative conjunction and not simply some sort of relative particle. Although the particle *ga* serves to identify the head, there are subordinating conjunctions in Abun that are likewise part of the clause that precedes them (see section 4.2). They may not be removed from it. Although these subordinating conjunctions are considered part of the initial clause and are clause final, being subordinating conjunctions a secondary clause follows them. They can never be sentence final in the same way that *to* may never be sentence final (or for that matter phrase or clause final)¹.

Thus the relative conjunction *gato* is an integral part of both head and clause and cannot be separated from either. The fact that the conjunction behaves additionally as a linker between the two parts is not unusual in Abun grammar.² This is another reason for considering *gato* a conjunction and not a particle because it shows consistent behaviour with the rest of the language.

¹These conjunctions will be described in detail in Chapter 4.

²See the paper by K. Berry 1995, Chapter 5 where the possessive marker *bi* is analysed as a possessive linker.

2.4 The components of the restricting clause

Besides consisting of a fuli clause, the restricting clause may consist of a single word. This single word may be an adjective as in example (17), or an adverb as in (18).

- (17) *Kwa ga ndo yo, men nai,*
 those.things REL good when.IRR 3p take
 wo kwa ga ibit yo men misyar.
 but those.things REL bad when.IRR 3p ignore
 'Those things that are good we take, but those things that are bad we ignore.'

- (18) *Ye-wis Ye-nden ye-wis gato ketke*
 people-type people-interior people-type REL beginning
 'The Bush people tribe was the tribe who (were from) the beginning.'

The clause may also consist of a single phrase such as a locative phrase, example (19), or an instrumental phrase, as in example (20).

- (19) *men syesyar men bi suk mwa gato mo nu*
 1p put.out 1p POSS things many REL at house
 ré *dakai* or
 this just end
 'we gave out (in payment) many of our possessions that (were) in this house (until) there was nothing left.'

- (20) *Nggon git su-ga su manik nde*
 women eat thing-REL with oil not
 'Women must not eat things that (are cooked) with oil.'

It is possible to have more than one relative clause modifying a head as in example (21).

(21) Yenggras	gato	Mauren	gato	kwop	ré	anato	ma	si
elder	REL	Mauren	REL	die	this	FOC	come	with
Yulianus								
Yulianus								

'The elder whose (name was) Mauren who died recently was the one who came with Yulianus.'

2.5 Relative clause formation strategy

In any relative construction, the noun phrase that is denoted 'head' holds a grammatical relation in both clauses of that construction, namely in the main clause and in the relative clause. Cross-linguistically, it appears that there is more significant variation in encoding the grammatical relation of the head in the embedded clause, than is found in the main clause (Comrie 1989:147, 153). Comrie distinguishes four major strategies for encoding the head within the relative clause. These he terms non-reduction, pronoun retention, relative pronoun and gap. Non-reduction means 'that the head noun appears in full, unreduced form, in the embedded sentence, in the normal position and/or with the normal case marking.' (Comrie 1989:147) With pronoun retention the head noun is represented in the embedded clause as a pronoun. When a relative pronoun is used, it is in clause initial position and it is marked for case. With any of these three strategies the role of the head noun within the relative clause is overtly indicated (Comrie 1989:151). The fourth strategy, however, does not provide any overt indication of the role of the head within the relative clause at all. The head is actually omitted from the relative clause. For this reason it is called a gap strategy. A study of Abun relative clause structure shows that Abun uses the fourth strategy in Comrie's list, the gap strategy.

Abun does not make any overt reference to the head noun within the restricting clause. The embedded clause does not retain a pronoun referring to the head noun, nor is there a relative clause pronoun which specifically refers to the head

noun, nor is there a full noun phrase inside the embedded clause. The head is omitted in the restricting clause thereby creating a gap. But since the restricting clause does not contain any reference to the head noun, how can one know what grammatical relation the relativised argument holds?

As explained previously in Chapter 1, Abun does not actually mark the case of nouns. The grammatical relations of Subject, Object etc, are normally marked by word order. Therefore it is the word order of the relative clause that provides the clues for encoding the grammatical relation of the head. The location of the gap created by the omission of the head gives the answer to this.

For example

(22) Me	<i>mu</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>gato</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>siri</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>bi</i>
1p	go	kill	person	REL	do	wrong	with	1p	POSS
<i>nggon</i> woman									

'We (will) go (and) kill the person who has slept with our woman (woman from our clan).'

In (22) above the restricting clause following *gato* contains no subject. There is a gap between the relative conjunction *gato* and the verb phrase *man siri* 'do wrong' indicating that the embedded clause contains no overt subject. Therefore the grammatical relation of the head *ye* 'person' within the restricting clause is subject. Compare this example with the relation of the relativised argument in example (23):

(23) <i>Ji</i>	<i>nut-bot</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>gato</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>i-wa</i>	<i>ne</i>
1s	thought-about	person	REL	1s	happy-TRANS	DET

'I thought about the person that I liked.'

Here there is a gap after the verb *iwa* 'like' even though the transitive suffix -wa indicates that this verb is a transitive verb. Therefore in this case the head *ye*

'person' is interpreted as having the grammatical relation of object in the relative clause.³

2.5.1 The role of the determiner

It was said in 2.1 above that some restrictive relative clauses are closed with a determiner. The demonstrative pronouns *ré* 'this' and *ne* 'that' have several functions in Abun and one of these is to behave as a determiner. Unlike with English determiners it is not obligatory to use the determiner after a noun in Abun.

What factors govern the use of the determiner in the relative clause? It is not found in every instance of a restrictive relative clause. Example (22) above has no determiner in contrast to example (23) in which the restrictive relative clause is closed by the determiner *ne*. These two examples differ in two ways. Firstly, in example (22) the relativised argument of the clause has the grammatical relation of subject. In (23) the relativised argument has the grammatical relation of object. Secondly, due to Abun word order the location of the gap in each restricting clause is different. In example (22) the gap is clause initial since the subject in Abun is clause initial. In (23) the gap would have been clause final if the determiner had not closed the restricting clause. The determiner, by closing the clause, actually assists in locating the gap, and thereby assists in encoding the grammatical relation of the head.

The determiner's role in locating the gap is most clearly seen when a direct object is to be relativised. The determiner *ne* is used frequently when a direct object is to be relativised, but not in all instances. To understand how the

³It is to be noted here that this clause also contains a determiner which will be discussed in section 2.5.1 below. The determiner is more common when the head has the grammatical relation of object.

determiner is used in locating the gap in the restricting clause several examples are set out below. In (24) to (27) both the head and the relative conjunction have been highlighted. Further elements within the restricting clause are underlined to show where the determiner has been omitted. Example (24) shows the determiner as it normally appears, at the end of the relative clause.

- (24) *Men ki nai yu do suk gato men ye mo
1p say IO. REFLEX COMP things REL 1p difficult exist
re ne, men ku re
PERF det 1p get PERF*

'We said to each other that the things that we needed, we have gotten them.'

In the following examples, (25) to (27), the omitted direct object is not the final element of the relative clause, as is the case in (24) above where the determiner *ne* closes the relative clause. In examples (25) and (26) there is a phrase which follows the gap, an adjunct phrase in (25) and an indirect object phrase in (26).

- (25) *An ndo mo ji bi nggon subot ji bi buku
3s ask to 1s POSS woman about 1s POSS book
gato an gre mo bot
REL 3s burn LOC fire*

'He asked my wife about my book that she burned in the fire.'

- (26) *Pa nut du an ben suk mwa gato an bi im
child think COMP 3s do things many REL 3s POSS mother
duno is an
teach IO 3s*

'The child thought that he (would) do the many things that his mother (had) taught to him.'

In example (27) below the word *ka* 'form/body' actually is a reference to the head of the relative clause within the restricting clause. In English this needs to be translated as 'it's body' so that a pronoun replacing the head is now within the

restricting clause. In these instances there is now actually no gap (created by the omission of the head) within the restricting clause because a word such as *ka* refers to the head, which in this example has the grammatical relation of direct object. This creates no need for the determiner *ne* to be used.

(27) *Yen kendo do nu-fo ne nu gato*
people call COMP house-taboo DET house REL

ye me ka mo nde
people see form exist NEG

'People call it the sacred house, the house that must not be seen.'(or that people must not see the form of it.)'

In all of these examples, although they represent relativisations of a direct object, the determiner has not been used. The word order of these examples is sufficient to locate the gap, created by the omission of the head, since prepositional phrases must always follow a direct object. In these cases the gap is not clause final and there is no need to indicate the boundary of the restricting clause. Therefore whenever there is an adjunct or complement of some kind within the structure of the restricting clause the determiner does not need to be used. So a relativisation of the direct object may have the following composition:

or
HEAD+*gato*+SUBJ+ VERB+GAP+DET
HEAD+*gato*+SUBJ+ VERB+GAP+ADJUNCT/COMPLEMENT

The same situation is evident when a non-direct object is being relativised. In example (28) below, the preposition *su* 'with' indicates a prepositional phrase. The gap is indicated by the presence of the preposition without the noun which normally accompanies it. Although the gap here is clause final it is part of the prepositional phrase. Part of the phrase is present so it is not necessary to use

ne since there is another means through which the location of the gap may be encoded.

- (28) *Suk-i gato an kamba su an ye*
 NOM-sick REL 3s wear.out with 3s difficult
teker ware
 too.much FRUST

'The sickness that she was worn out with, she suffered terribly (with it), so that she could not do anything.'

Example (29) is similar to example (28).

- (29) *Yen fro nggumwak ga men sem mo*
 people prepare room REL 1p sleep LOC
 'The people prepared a room that we would sleep in.'

The way that the determiner is used can be shown in the following summary of restricting clause types:

HEAD = SUBJ	GAP + VERB ± OBJECT ± ADJUNCT/COMPLEMENT
HEAD = OBJ	SUBJ + VERB + GAP + DET
HEAD = OTHER	SUBJ + VERB + GAP + ADJUNCT/COMPLEMENT
HEAD = OTHER	SUBJ + VERB + PREP + GAP ⁴

Therefore it appears that the main function of the determiner is to locate the position of the gap within the relative clause when the gap occurs in a clause final position. Usually it is by word order that the gap is located within the restricting clause. Since the determiner acts to close the clause like some kind of boundary marker then it is still possible to locate the gap in these situations. Givón (1990:659-60) stated that the gap strategy is most commonly found in languages with rigid word order, as is the case with Abun. However, he felt that

⁴ Probably the formula should contain ± OBJECT, but no examples with an object occur in the corpus.

"processing rate" would be longer in such languages as well as 'increased error rate, and increased dependence on context' (Givón 1990:660ff). If there were no boundary marker it would not be fully clear where the gap was and such 'increased errors' as Givón describes could arise. But the device of a boundary marker behaves as another means for hearers to correctly encode what they hear.⁴ There are some instances where some speakers will use *ne* to close the relative clause even though the gap is not clause final. It may be that they want to add extra certainty that the relative clause is in fact closed.

2.5.2 Abun relative clauses and the Accessibility Hierarchy

Keenan and Comrie in their work on relative clauses (1977) devised a hierarchy they called the Accessibility Hierarchy which summarised their findings across a wide sample of languages. They had investigated the types of constraints across languages on which grammatical relations could be relativised. Comrie later refined this hierarchy so that 'The hierarchy subject > direct object > non-direct object > possessor defines ease of accessibility to relative clause formation.' (Comrie 1989:156). He stated that: if a language can form relative clauses on a given position on the hierarchy, it can also form relative clauses on all positions higher (to the left) on the hierarchy.' (Comrie 1989:156).

How do Abun relative clauses compare to this hierarchy? Does this hierarchy hold true for Abun? In section 2.5.1 above several examples were given which showed that various positions along the hierarchy could be relativised. In fact in Abun all positions on Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy can be filled.

⁴It is my experience in living among Abun speakers that such errors that Givón imagines rarely arise. Because word order is the main means of encoding grammatical relations there are very strong internal expectations in the mind of the hearer which are not necessary for languages which use case marking or affixation for deriving meaning. The device of the boundary marker is strongly used throughout Abun grammar to assist hearers in encoding meaning. It is used in negative constructions and in interrogatives and is discussed in detail in the paper by K.Berry 1995, Chapters 6 and 8.

Keenan, when referring to the different strategies that a language may use to form relative clauses noted that 'pronoun retaining strategies are (a) more effective means of forming RCS (restrictive relative clauses) than RPRO (relative pronoun) or gapping strategies' (Keenan 1985:156), since he considered that more positions along the hierarchy could be relativised when the pronoun was retained. Although Abun does not use a pronoun retaining strategy but rather uses a gap strategy this does not prevent a wide range of positions being relativised. There do not appear to be restrictions on relative clause formation in Abun. However the last level of the hierarchy, that of 'possessor', has limited formation possibilities in Abun. Examples (30) through to (37) below illustrate the formation of relative clauses at different levels along the accessibility hierarchy.

Relativisation of Subject

- (30) *Or-o yenggras ki nggon gato kem mo*
 after-again elders speak woman REL live at
syur Kwor Dora wa ji
 river Kwor Dora for 1s

'And again the elders asked about a woman who lived at Kwor river, Dora, for me (to marry).

- (31) *An si yetu ka we gato gum do Daud*
 3s be.with people CLASS two REL name COMP Daud
si Harun
 with Harun'

'She was with two people who were called Daud and Harun.'

Relativisation of Direct Object

- (32) *Ji nut-bot suk-du gato an ki ne*
 1s think-about NOM-speak REL 3s say DET
 'I thought about the things that he said.'

- (33) *Ngwe ne, ngwe gato Adam si Hawa mewa ne*
 garden that garden REL Adam with Hawa look.after DET
or it
end COMPL

'That garden, the garden that Adam and Hewa looked after is no more.'

Relativisation of Non-direct Object

- (34) *Suk-i gato an kamba su an ye*
 NOM-sick REL 3s wear.out with 3s difficult
teker ware
too.much FRUST

'The sickness that she was worn out with, she suffered terribly (with it), so that she could not do anything.'

- (35) *Ye gato nan syo jok ror is ne gum do Simon*.
 person REL 2s give stone sharp IO DET name COMP Simon
 'The man to whom you gave the sharpening stone is Simon.' or 'his name is Simon.'

- (36) *Ji mu kenyak nu gato Isak sem mo ne*
 1s go` locate house REL Isak sleep at DET
 'I went to find the house that Isak slept at.'

Relativisation of Possessor

In section 1.6.4.3 it was explained that a possessive phrase had the structure

POSSESSOR + *bi* + POSSESSED

In a possessive phrase the possessor precedes the possessive linker *bi* which in turn precedes that which is possessed. The following example shows that *gato* may follow the possessor of a possessive noun phrase, making it possible for the possessor to be relativised. In such structures the possessor of the possessive phrase has been omitted.

(37) *Yan gato bi im mo Arlince ne an mu*
 Yan REL POSS mother exist Arlince DET 3s go

kagit kampung ré
 from village this

'Yan, whose mother is Arlince, he went from this village.'

This construction although possible is not common. It is most likely to be used in response to a question. If a question was asked "Which Yan are you talking about?" a reply such as *Yan gato bi im mo Arlince ne* 'Yan whose mother is Arlince' is common. However, this structure within a full sentence is not preferred. Example (38) below would not be acceptable.

(38) **Harun gato bi ai mo Sorom kem su ji bi*
 Harun REL POSS father exist Sorom live with 1s POSS
im do-wok tepsu an bi pa kon
 mother class-small just.as 3s POSS child cook

'Harun, whose father is Sorom, lives with my aunt as their adopted child.'

Instead this statement would be given as:

(39) *Harun gato Sorom bi pa ne kem su*
 Harun REL Sorom POSS child DET live with
 'Harun, who is Sorom's child, lives with.....'

Therefore within a full or complete sentence as in example (39) it is not acceptable to relativise the possessor. In an incomplete or partial sentence, such as an answer to a question or as a modification of a noun in apposition to a full clause, such as example (37), a relativisation of the possessor is possible. It is only possible to relativise the possessor in limited circumstances. It is not preferred as part of a complex sentence. This could be said to confirm that the possessor position is the lowest on the hierarchy.

2.6 'Adverbial' relative clauses

In Abun the relative clause may be used with a head which refers to the adverbial concepts of time, location, and manner. In Abun a subordinate adverbial clause can be formed by means of the relative conjunction *gato*. Abun does not possess adverb forms such as the English 'when', 'where' or 'how' which may themselves act as conjunctions at the head of a subordinate adverbial clause. Instead a time word, another conjunction or a locative preposition together with *gato* serve as the conjunctions in these cases.

In example (40) below *sugato* 'with that' has come to mean 'the time that' or 'when'. This is an adaptation of *tepsu gato* where *tepsu* means 'like' or 'just as'. *Tepsu gato* is used as a general, non-specific time expression in the same way as the English 'when'.

(40)	Sugato	<i>Fredik</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Pontius</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>watbot</i>	<i>bus</i>	<i>an-we</i>
	with.that	Fredik	with	Pontius	go	examine	rope	3p-two
	<i>ku</i>	<i>nok</i>	<i>dik</i>	<i>yo</i>		<i>di</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>bus</i>
find wild.pig one DET.indef struggle in rope								

'At the time that (when) Fredik and Pontius went to examine (their) rope (pig trap) they found a wild pig struggling in the rope.'

Another expression used to denote 'when' is *tom gato* 'the time that'

(41)	<i>Ji</i>	<i>nuk-bot</i>	<i>tom</i>	gato	<i>yen</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>mo-re</i>
	1s	tell.story-about	time	REL	people	kill	REFLEX	at-here
'I will tell about the time that there was fighting here.'								

In example (42) below the general locative noun *nat* 'place' is modified or relativised in exactly the same way as the non-locative noun *nu* 'house' in example (43). In fact the English translation of (43) needs to omit any relative marker and replace it with 'where' to make good sense but no such alternative construction is available in Abun.

- (42) Men gwat mu-kom mo nat gato men gu nok mó
 1p bring go-reach to place REL 1p kill wild.pig exist
 'We brought (it) up to the place that we had killed the wild pig.'

- (43) Men mu kagit nu gato men kra su mone
 1p go from house REL 1p marry with there
 'We went from the house where we were married.'

In all these examples so far the construction used to form these subordinate adverbial clauses is identical to that of the relative clause. A head (usually a noun) is followed by the relative conjunction *gato* which is then followed by the subordinate, restricting clause. However, there are other instances of adverbial clauses where there is no identifiable head to make the structure comparable to a relative clause. In these cases two clauses are joined by *gato* combined with some other form. In examples (44) and (45) below the conjunction *sa* 'like/as' precedes *gato* to create an adverbial clause of manner.

- (44) An da ben mó sarewo an yo ben kete
 3s actual do exist however 3s NEG do too.much
 bado yo teker sa gato nyim ne nde re
 maybe NEG too.much like REL earlier DET NEG PERF
 'Although she does (these things) she does not do (them) very much, I mean, not like (she did them) before.'

- (45) Nggon we but gre nak ge we sa ga ye
 woman two catch frog nak CLASS two like REL person
 we but o
 two catch again
 'The two women caught two 'nak' frogs in the same way that the two men (had) caught (two nak frogs earlier).'

In examples (46) and (47) the locative *mo* 'at' precedes *gato* to create an adverbial clause of reason. Here the events expressed in the second clause are the reason for the events of the first.

- (46) *Ji sa ji mbrin ji waiyu mo gato wo-kwai*
 1s laugh 1s faint 1s turn.around at REL fish-kwai
tik Sepenyel gwes or ges ne
 pull Sepenyel leg then fall that

'I laughed so much I rolled around at the eel pulling on Sepenyel's leg (so that he) fell over there.' (The eel was tied on to the leg.)

- (47) *Ji maskwa Musa mo gato an gu Rahayu bi im*
 1s angry Musa at REL 3s hit Rahayu POSS mother
 'I was angry with Musa at him hitting Rahayu's mother.'

These types of construction can only be translated in English, not as subordinate adverbial clauses, but as nominalised complements. Example (47) could also be expressed as example (48) below and both are equally acceptable.

- (48) *Ji maskwa Musa we an gu Rahayu bi im*
 1s be.angry Musa because 3s hit Rahayu POSS mother
 'I was angry with Musa because he hit Rahayu's mother.'

Perhaps in these cases the clause that follows *mo gato* does not represent an adverbial clause of reason because no conjunction which indicates reason such as *we* 'because' has been used. Rather an additional clause has been joined into the sentence by means of the locative preposition *mo* in exactly the same way that a locative phrase would be joined to the clause. In Abun with predicates such as *sa* 'laugh' and *maskwa* 'be angry' additional arguments may be required in the clause to indicate not the object of these predicates but rather the reason behind the action. If this reason is expressed as a full clause, the clause is embedded into the main clause by the dual means of the locative preposition *mo* and the relative conjunction *gato*⁵.

⁵The concept of prepositions which behave as conjunctions will be developed further in Chapter 5.

In these types of example we find that *gato* is used in clauses that could not be described as restrictive relative clauses. Wherever *sa gato* and *mo gato* are used they appear to join clauses rather than modify a head. In these cases the clauses that follow *gato* are full clauses. There is no gap in these clauses because they are not relative clauses. It was discussed earlier that *gato* was a relative conjunction rather than a relative marker (section 2.3.3). It seems then that in its function as a conjunction *gato* may join subordinate clauses to larger structures, even though these are not relative clauses and are adverbial in meaning.

2.7 Indefinite relative clauses

In the previous section clauses that departed from the standard relative clause type were discussed. In this section another type of relative clause, the 'indefinite' relative clause, will be shown to differ from the 'standard' restrictive relative clause. These types of clause, due to the non-referential nature of the head, I have termed indefinite relative clauses to distinguish them from relative clauses of the regular variety. Structurally they differ from regular relative clauses in that only the noun modifying particle *to* is used, rather than the relative conjunction *gato* and they do not require the use of the determiner, as in example (49).

- (49) *Suk to a ku mone yo a gu wé*
 thing REL 2s find there when.IRR 2s kill away
 'Anything that you find there, kill it (dispose of it).'
 or 'Whatever you find there, get rid of it.'

Huddleston terms the English equivalent of this type of construction a 'fused relative' construction to distinguish it from other types of relative clause. In English a non-specific referent is marked by some type of *wh* phrase, by means of *whoever*, *what* or *where* (Huddleston 1984:403). Givón also finds these types

of relative problematic since they do not line up with his semantic definition of a restrictive relative clause, namely that 'A *relative clause* codes a proposition one of whose participants is coreferential with the head noun that is modified by that clause.' (Givón 1990:646) If the head noun is non-referential then there cannot be strict referential identity since many of these relative constructions concern hypothetical situations or unknown situations.

In Abun the fact that these are a different type of relative construction is grammatically marked. Abun is a language in which it is important to mark the distinction between that which is real and known and that which is hypothetical and unknown. Normally within the noun phrase if any information in a sentence is not given (that is already known) then the determiner *yo* 'indefinite, a/an' is used in conjunction with the noun concerned. Therefore Abun grammar marks the fact that nouns may refer to either actual entities or hypothetical ones. When a noun represents the head of a relative clause it is important in Abun to mark this noun so that it can be interpreted as referring to some specific known referent or to some hypothetical entity.

It was explained earlier that the relative conjunction was composed of two morphemes, the particles *ga* and *to*. In section 2.3.2 the particle *ga* was explained as serving to identify or mark the head of the relative clause as a specific referential identity. In the types of construction described as indefinite relative clauses the noun of the head has no real world semantic referent at the time of utterance. There may be a range of possible referents but none that is specific or known. Therefore this noun cannot be modified by *ga*. The simple solution in Abun is that these nouns are modified by the general subordinating particle *to* only. Since *ga* is absent it is obvious that these nouns have no specific referent and are therefore interpreted as non-referential. In English the

same constructions need the addition of 'any' or 'ever' to make this clear, as examples (50) and (51) indicate.

- (50) *Ré-yo nggon to nu ki yen dakai kra*
now-then woman REL 2p say people.indef just marry
sor ji bari re.
only 1s not.want PERF

'Now then, any woman that you speak (about for me to marry, let other) people marry her, I don't want to.' or 'Now then, whichever woman.....'

- (51) *Kapten du mo coron do ye to kem*
captain speak at speaker that people REL stay
mo keras ekonomi sure it ma
in class economy now COMPL come

'The captain announced over the loud speaker that: "Anyone who is in economy class come now."

or 'The captain announced over the loud speaker that: "Whoever is in economy class come now.'

These indefinite relative clauses also differ from regular restrictive clauses in that no determiner is used. The determiner has been described as a device for assisting hearers in locating the gap within the restricting clause thereby decreasing the likelihood of possible error (see 2.5.1). Since in these cases the head is non-referential with no specific referent intended there is no possibility of error. If there is no specific referent intended then no mistake in encoding can be made. Hence the determiner is not needed in this relative clause type.

2.8 Non-restrictive relative clauses

Non-restrictive relative clauses are less common than restrictive relative clauses. They have two main structural differences from the restrictive clause type. Firstly, the relative conjunction is *to*, the general noun subordinating particle. Secondly, all non-restrictive relative clauses must be closed by the

boundary marker, the determiner *ne*. There are several reasons for this. The non-restrictive relative clause is structurally different from the indefinite relative clause in that the determiner is used in the non-restrictive type. In a non-restrictive relative clause the semantic content 'is presented as a separate piece of information.' (Huddleston 1984:401) It is a type of parenthetical insertion not essential to the speaker's main communication. It can be easily seen that in Abun the conjunction *to* and the determiner *ne* are the parentheses which bracket the additional information which has been included within the main clause. So the determiner is an essential element in this clause type because the hearer must know when the inserted or additional information ends. Example (52), given earlier in this chapter as example (4) shows how both *to* and *ne* bracket additional information which has been included for the hearers' benefit.

(52)	An	<i>ki</i>	<i>nai</i>	<i>Martinus</i>	<i>to-re</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>kra</i>	<i>Domingas!</i>
	3s	say	IO	Martinus	DEIC-this	REL	marry	Domingas
	<i>ne</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>gum</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>Simam</i>	<i>Yorfendo</i>	
	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...'

Examples (53) and (54) also show the non-restrictive clause type as additional information.

(53)	Na	<i>me</i>	<i>fen</i>	<i>dik</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>nor</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>bur</i>
	2s	see	sea.turtle	one	DET.indef	REL	float	DET	down

'Look at that turtle which is floating (around) down there!'

(54)	An	<i>ndo-bot</i>	<i>su-git</i>	<i>dik</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>bok</i>
	3s	ask-about	NOM-eat	one	DET.indef	REL	1p	people	several
	<i>ne</i>	<i>git</i>	<i>su-git</i>	<i>ne</i>					
	ANAPH	eat	NOM-eat	DET					

'He asked about some (kinds of) food, which all of us would eat.'

In example (54) there is another structural difference which may occur with this type of clause. Because the clause is added or non-essential information the head of the relative clause has actually been retained within the non-restricting clause so that there is no gap as there would be in the restricting kind. This kind of construction has only been found within the non-restrictive type.

There appear to be limitations also as to those positions which may be filled on the accessibility hierarchy by the non-restrictive relative clause. While it appears that both a subject and direct object can be relativised in this way it appears that positions lower on the hierarchy cannot. The example below, given as example (28) in section 2.5.2 is a relativisation of a non-direct object for a restrictive clause. When exactly the same information is presented in a non-restrictive form, as in example (56) below, it actually becomes a relativisation of a subject.⁶ Since the non-restrictive relative clause is the less frequent type this restriction is not surprising.

(55)	Suk-i	gato	<i>an</i>	kamba	<i>su</i>	<i>an</i>	ye
	NOM-sick	REL	3s	wear.out	with	3s	difficult
	<i>teker</i>		<i>ware</i>				
	too.much		FRUST				

'The sickness that she was worn out with, she suffered terribly (with it), so that she could not do anything.'

(56)	Suk-i	to	ben	<i>an</i>	ne	ben	<i>an</i>	kamba	teker
	NOM-sick	REL	do	3s	DET	make	3s	worn.out	too.much
'The sickness, which she had, made her really worn out.'									

In summary, non-restrictive relative clauses are used by speakers of Abun. There is not always a noticeable phonological pause as in English. But speakers must bracket or delineate the boundary of the clause by *to* and *ne*.

⁶The clause *suki ben an* 'lit. the sickness did her' is the Abun cultural way of expressing that she got or had a sickness. In Abun thinking whatever is more powerful or stronger must be made the subject of the sentence.

The same information when put into both a restrictive and non-restrictive form may sometimes be structurally quite different since a non-restrictive clause may be removed from the main clause. The main clause will be able to stand on its own structurally complete. This is not the case with a restrictive relative clause because it is subordinate to the main clause and its inclusion is necessary for the communication to be complete.

This concludes the discussion of Abun relative clause types.

3. Complement Clauses

3.0 Abun complement clause types

This chapter describes the type of subordinate clause which has been described as sentential complementation. Sentential complementation has been defined as 'the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate.' (Noonan 1985:42). In this chapter this type of complementation will be referred to simply as a complement clause or as a complement, but with the meaning of sentential complementation. It can be difficult to distinguish complement clauses from adjunct clauses (see discussion in Section 3.1.4). Except where it is clear that we are dealing with an adjunct, I will use the term 'complement'.

In Abun there are only two types of complement clause:

- 1 those that are preceded by the complementizer *do*.
- 2 those that do not take the complementizer.

This chapter discusses both types of complement clause in detail and looks at further possibilities where some complement taking predicates are capable of both complement types. The means of identifying complement clause types will be shown to be found outside of the complement clause, rather than within it.

3.1 Complementizer *do*

The purpose of the complementizer is to identify the subordinate clause it precedes as a complement. Abun has only one complementizer and it is the free form particle *do*. *Do* precedes the complement clause, just as the relative clause conjunction *gato* precedes the relative clause. According to Noonan 'complementizers typically derive historically from pronouns, conjunctions,

adpositions or case markers...' (Noonan 1985:47) In Abun the homophonous *do*-'some of' has various functions such as *do-gato* 'the ones/those who', *do-yo* 'some of', *do-wok* 'the small one' and (*wam*) *do-gri* 'the third (time)'. While these could possibly be related to the complementizer *do*, another more likely origin is from a verb *du* 'to speak'. In the Abun Ji dialect the complementizer is usually pronounced as *du* (a few speakers use *dudo*). *Du* appears to be obsolescent verb meaning 'to say, to speak', still evident in the noun *suk-du* lit. NOM-speak 'story, news' and the verbs *duwe* 'say, teach', *dumu* 'grumble' and *duwer* 'argue against'. In present day Abun the verb to say is *ki*. *Du* 'to say' could have become a complementizer. This happens in some other languages. In Thai, for instance, *wāa* 'to speak' has become a complementizer introducing direct and indirect speech. As we see in the following section *do* introduces complements of predicates expressing speech and thought.

3.1.1 The use of the complementizer *do*

The complementizer *do* may be used with a wide variety of predicates in Abun. *Do* is used after predicates which express utterance, attitude, pretence, knowledge and distribution. Any verb which expresses speaking, thinking or knowing is capable of taking a complement preceded by *do*. These types of complement always function as the object in Abun. When *do* precedes a complement clause, this clause is always a complete clause. Various examples of Abun complement-taking predicates are described below.

Utterance predicates

In Abun predicates which express some type of verbal utterance or communication use the complementizer *do*. This is the most common form of complement. The following examples show predicates representing different types of communication.

- (1) *Ji ki do sane-yo men mu sino*
 1s say COMP SO-when.IRR 1p go all
 'I said "So then, we will all go together."
- (2) *An ki nai ye gato wat sugit ne do nan*
 3s say IO person REL divide food DET COMP 2s
 syo brek gri
 give plate three
 'He said to the person serving the food (that) "Give (me) three plates."
- (3) *Yen nuk do kam nyim tu-ya ndaf wa*
 people tell.story COMP days earlier distant-very.distant easy for
 yen it mu mo gu
 people climb DIR LOC sky
 'People tell stories that a very long time ago it was easy for people to climb up into the sky.'
- (4) *Nggon tu brek ma ndo mo an dudo ji bi suma*
 Woman DET turn DIR ask at 3s COMP 1s give what
 is nan o?
 IO 2s FQM
 'The woman turned around and asked him "What shall I give you?"
 or "What do you want from me?"
- (5) *An tom su men do nin mukom motu*
 3s prior.agree with 1p COMP 2p reach there-distant
 yo nin kemkret ji mone
 then.IRR 2p wait.for 1s there
 'He arranged with us that "When you get there, you wait for me there."
- (6) *An saiye do Yorfen a nai ji et*
 3s shout COMP Yorfen 2s take 1s SUBJ
 'He shouted "Yorfen, please help me!"

In Abun the difference between direct and indirect quotation is not marked in the syntax. This difference is not achieved by a pause or absence of a complementizer but rather a difference in the personal pronouns used. Example

(7) below shows an indirect quotation. The pronouns used in this example appear unusual from an English speaker's perspective, in that within the quotation the addressee is referred to as a 'you', but the speaker is referred to as an 'he'.

(7)	<i>An</i>	<i>tom</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>nde</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>a</i>
	3s	arrange	1s	COMP	2s	go	NEG	then.IRR	2s
	<i>kem</i>	<i>wade ber</i>	<i>noru ré</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>watbot</i>		<i>or</i>	
	stay	until later	night this	3s	come	examine		thorough	
	et								
	SUBJ								

'He arranged with me that "Don't go, you stay until later tonight and he would come and examine (you) thoroughly."

The use of pronouns in this way indicates that this is an indirect quotation because the speaker is referred to in the third person. This 'unusual' mix of pronouns is common in Abun reported speech. Example (8) below is also an indirect quote. Again the only means of identifying it as such is by the pronouns used and not by some other syntactic device.

(8)	<i>Yen</i>	<i>kendo</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>gwat</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>suk</i>	<i>e</i>
	people	call	1p	COMP	1p	bring	1p	POSS	things	and
	<i>men</i>	<i>grem</i>								
	1p	put								

'They called us to bring our things and leave (them there).'

The pronouns of example (8) are in the first person rather than in the second person which would be the normal situation if this was a direct quote of a request or command.

Predicates which express force or manipulation, if they are verbal in nature take *do* in the same way as other utterance predicates. So the verbs *syaugat*

'command' and the weaker syogat 'order/tell' behave as other utterance predicates when taking a complement.

- (9) An **syaugat** men-ka-we do men-ka-we ki suk-du
 3s command 1p-CLASS-twocomp 1p-CLASS-twosay NOM-speak

ré o nde
 this again NEG

'He commanded the two of us not to tell this story again.'

- (10) An *syogat* *yenggon* *do* a *mu* *ré*
 3s order male.not.shaman COMP 2s go this
 yo a *gwat* *mbam* su *tak*
 then.IRR 2s carry axe with ?

'He ordered the man who was not a shaman: "If you are going now, it is of first importance that you take an axe..."'

Attitude Predicates

These types of predicate refer to the state of mind of an actor in a narrative or story rather than what that person might say. These predicates refer to various mental states such as 'think', 'imagine' 'dream' and 'intend'.

- (11) *Ji nut do an bi obat ne nggi wa be*
 1s think COMP 3s POSS 'medicine' DET strong for later
 an gu ji ré
 3s kill 1s this

'I thought that his magic was strong (enough) for him to kill me.'

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------|-----------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| (12) | <i>Pa</i> | <i>we</i> | <i>es</i> | <i>ndam.</i> | <i>Pa</i> | <i>we</i> | <i>gen</i> | <i>do</i> | <i>án</i> | <i>we</i> |
| | Child | two | wait.for | | bird | child | two | intend | COMP | 3p |
| | <i>gu</i> | | <i>ndam</i> | | | | | | | |
| | kill | | bird | | | | | | | |

'The two children (sat crouching), waiting for the bird. The two children intended that they would kill the bird.'

- (13) *Ji semda do men-ka-we ti mo nden*
 1s dream COMP 3s-CLASS-two stand at outside
 'I dreamed that the two of us were standing outside...'
- (14) *An mit do an kra Andar to bi im o*
 3s plan COMP 3s marry Andar add POSS mother also
 'He planned to marry Andar, in addition to her mother (who he was already married to)

Various emotional states are also included in this type of predicate. In examples (15) and (16) below the stative verbs *maskwa* 'be angry' and *nokwa* 'be worried about' take the complementizer *do*.

- (15) *Supanyel mask-wa do Regina ben siri su nje*
 Supanyel angry-TRANS COMP Regina do wrong with people
 'Supanyel was angry that Regina committed adultery a number of times.'
- (16) *An nok-wa do be yen ki an gum ibit*
 3s worry-TRANS COMP later people say 3s name bad
 'He was worried that people would slander him.'

Likewise / 'be happy' may take complementizer *do*.

- (17) *Yen sino i do an kra su ye-gwes-wai*
 people all be.happy COMP 3s marry with PERS-leg-pass
 'Everyone was happy that she was to marry a (man who was a) mediator.'

However, the verbs *iwa* 'want' (lit. happy-TRANS) and *bariwa* 'not want, not like' do not behave in the same way. These verbs do not appear to take the complementizer *do*. For instance, it is not possible to say the following:

- (18) **Ji i-wa do ji tu nau wa ji da*
 1s happy-TRANS COMP 1s bend nau.tree for 1s drink
 'I wanted that I made palm wine for me to drink.'

The correct form is example (19) below where no complementizer is used at all. This is actually a complement of a different type and will be described further in section 3.2.

- (19) *Ji i-wa ji tu nau wa ji da*
 1s happy-TRANS 1s bend nau.tree for 1s drink
 'I wanted to make palm wine for me to drink.'

Pretence predicates

There are not a large number of pretence predicates. The main verb used is *kidar* 'lie, trick, deceive'. These verbs also take the complementizer.

- (20) *An kidar nje do an yewon*
 3s lie people COMP 3s shaman
 'He lied to people that he was a shaman.'

- (21) *Ji syeret os wa an do Ji farkor tó*
 1s look.for way for 3s COMP 1s study still
 'I looked for a way (not to marry) her (and it was) that I was still at school'
 or 'I made an excuse to her that I was still at school.'

Knowledge predicates

Predicates which involve knowing certain information or passing on information also take the complementizer *do*. Verbs such as *jam* 'know', *duno* 'advise/teach' and *taru* 'send a message' come into this category and so these also take the complementizer *do*.

- (22) *An jam do an karowa ne nde*
 3s know COMP 3s close.to there NEG
 'He knew not to (go) close to there.'

- (23) Yewon **duno** subot **mendo** pa wokgan pa wok
 shaman teach regarding 3p COMP child young child small
 sye git wo-kwai nde
 big eat fish-kwai NEG

'The shamans teach in regard to us (males) that young children and larger children must not eat eels.'

- (24) An **taru** **do** rus ma sor we
 3s send.message COMP clan come just because
 ye-su-go-far yo maskwa o nde
 PERS-head-hair-wavy neg angry again NEG

'He sent a message that the clan could come because the 'wavy-haired' tribe were not angry (with them) any more.'

Verbs such as remember, either *napawa* or *napa-kom* 'remember back' may also take the complementizer.

- (25) Ye-pa-sye **napa-kom** mo án we ré **do** án
 PERS-child-big remember-reach at 3p two this COMP 3p
 we ma kagit bur yi
 two come from country other

'The important man remembered about these two that they had come from another country.'

Predicates of division

The last type of predicate which may take the complementizer *do* is somewhat different to the others. The other predicates include those of communication, mental activity, thoughts and some emotions all of which are associated with an experiencer. However, predicates of division require an agent. Whether the predicate expresses a division of goods or a division of labour the account of how the division occurred is preceded by the complementizer. Example (26) describes a division of goods and example (27) a division of labour.

(26)	Yen	<i>syo</i>	<i>do</i>	Sara	<i>bi</i>	<i>nji</i>	<i>do-sye</i>	<i>ku</i>
	People	give	COMP	Sara	POSS	brother	count-big	get
	<i>mbre</i>		<i>musyu</i>		<i>dik</i>	<i>sop-mek</i>	<i>yo,</i>	Sara
	eastern.cloth	ten			one	addition-five	some	Sara
	<i>mbre</i>		<i>musyu</i>	<i>dik</i>	<i>sop-mek</i>	<i>yo</i>	Sara	<i>bi</i>
	eastern.cloth	ten		one	addition-five	some	Sara	POSS
	<i>do-wok</i>		<i>ku</i>	<i>mbre</i>		<i>musyu</i>	<i>dik</i>	<i>sop-mek</i>
	count-small	get		eastern.cloth	ten		one	addition-five
								some

'They distributed the eastern cloth in that Sara's elder brother received fifteen pieces, Sara received fifteen pieces and Sara's younger brother received fifteen pieces.'

(27)	Án	<i>ka-gri</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>syo</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>de-ré</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ti</i>
	3p	CLASS-three	DET	divide	RECIP	COMP	count-this	DET	stand
	<i>mo</i>	<i>ros</i>	<i>de-ré</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>nggut</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>de-ré</i>
	at	fence	count-this	DET	stand	for	pull.upgrass	count-this	
	<i>ne</i>	<i>eswa</i>	<i>bot</i>						
	DET	guard	fire						

'The three of them divided (up the work) in that one worked on the fence, one pulled up the weeds and one watched over the fire.'

In the above examples the complementizer actually precedes not one embedded clause but three. However, the complementizer is not repeated before each clause. The complementizer is used to identify the entire complement no matter how many clauses may be embedded into it. In the case of verbs expressing division, the extent of the division is perceived as an intellectual activity and so the description of this is preceded by *do*.

Other predicates using the complementizer

It is unusual in Abun for a predicate which involves some kind of physical action involving an agent to take the complementizer except for predicates of division described above. There are some exceptions to this. Example (28) below involves the verb *sokbot* 'to look over'. Such a verb does not normally entail a

complement. However in the example below the action of 'looking over' resulted in a thought and it is actually the actor's thought which is preceded by *do*. The expression 'I thought that' has been omitted.

- (28) *Ji sok-bot do Moses syim ga bi nggon*
 1s look-along COMP Moses arm REL POSS woman
 sap ana u ne?
 cut FOCUS which FQM
 'I looked all over (thinking) that " Which one of Moses' arms did his wife cut/strike?"'

In example (29) below the verb *kadum* 'show' means 'explain'. Since in this case it is acting as a verb of communication it also takes *do*.

- (29) *Bere ji dakai kadum an do an gwat ji bi*
 soon 1s myself show 3s COMP 3s carry 1s POSS
 suk-duno mu ki nai ye mwa
 NOM-advice go say IO people many
 'Soon I myself will show/explain to him that he will take my message and go and say (it) to many people.'

Likewise there are some instances where a statement is made and then an explanation is made of this statement. In these instances *do* precedes the explanation in the same way that *do* preceded a description of a division of labour or goods. In these cases *do* is equivalent to the English 'in that', as shown in the example below:

- (30) *Sane men kem mo nden ware do yenggras ne ba*
 so 1p stay at jungle in.vain COMP older.man that go
 re ge pe men bi suk ma ré
 PERF then.R carry 1p POSS things DIR here
 'So we did not stay out in the bush for very long, in that the old man came out there and carried all our things back to here.'

3.1.2 Use of *do* preceding less than a full clause

It was stated above that *do* identified a complement and that this was always a full clause. There are cases where *do* does not precede a full clause. Where this is the case, the complement consists of a single noun phrase only. One instance of this will be looked at under section 3.1.3 'Noun complementation'. The following examples show cases where a phrase and not a clause follows the complementizer.

- (31) *An bi yenggras nut do suk-i*
 3s POSS older.people think COMP NOM-sick
 'Her older relatives thought that (it was) a sickness.'

- (32) *An gen do ye-kampung bado gane-yo*
 3s assume COMP PERS-village ALT there-indef
 'He assumed that perhaps (they were) villagers from some place.'

In example (33) below the predicate *kendo* 'call' is used in the sense of giving a name. The complement, which is the name or title *bam* or 'master' shaman, consists only of this noun phrase.

- (33) *Án kendo do yewon bam Án bi ye-guru*
 3p call COMP shaman bam 3p POSS PERS-teacher
 ane
 that.is
 'They are called 'bam' or 'master' shamans. That is (they are) their teachers.'

Names are considered as complements and will be looked at in the next section.

3.1.3 Noun complementation

The previous discussion listed the various predicate types which may take complements in Abun. Some nouns may take complements also and where this

is the case the complementizer *do* is used. Noun complementation is limited to two types: describing names and describing thoughts.

Complement taking nouns: Naming

In order to give a name for a place or a person the complementizer always precedes the name given. The noun head which takes the complement consists of an inalienable possessive phrase of which the noun *gum* 'name' is a part. In these cases the complement does not consist of a full clause but only the noun phrase describing the name.

- (34) *Nggon ne gum do Edia Yesia*
 woman DET name COMP Edia Yesia
 'The woman's name was Edia Yesia.'

Only when an actual name is given is the complementizer used. Titles or social position are not considered names and so in these cases the complementizer *do* is not used, as in example (35) below.

- (35) *Erensi bi ai gato kwop ne tom ne gum yesan tó*
 Erensi POSS father REL die DET time DET name chief still
 'Erensi's father who has since died was at that time still the village leader.'
 or 'had the name of village leader.'

Complement taking nouns: Thoughts

Thoughts and plans may also take complements. The conceptual thought or plan may be expressed by means of a noun phrase, having the structure of a possessive phrase. The complements described here differ from naming complements in that the complement in these cases always consists of a full clause, not just a single noun phrase.

(36) **An wa bi suk-jimnot i do an wa kra Andar**
 3s FOC POSS NOM-think own COMP 3s FOC marry Andar

kagit Lamber
 from Lamber

'His particular plan (was) that he would marry Andar rather than Lamber.'

Occasionally the stative particle/verb may follow the possessive phrase as in example (37) below; however, it is more usual for this to be omitted. *Sukjimnot* 'thought, plan, intention' appears to be the only Abun noun which may take complements in this way.

(37) **An bi suk-jimnot mó do bere an ma gu Lamber**
 3s POSS NOM-think exist COMP later 3s come kill Lamber
 'His thinking was that later he would come and kill Lamber.'

3.1.4 Complement clause structure in Abun

When a subordinate clause is a complement it is common for the complement to function as the subject or object of the larger clause into which it is embedded. In Abun complements may function as objects of a clause and this type of complement will be described under section 3.2. However, the type of subordinate clause that has been under discussion here, those that use the complementizer *do*, do not function in this way.

When the complementizer is used, the constituent that follows does not function as the direct object of the main clause. Three arguments are put forward here to support this analysis:

- (1) A *do*-clause can follow an intransitive verb.
- (2) When the verb is transitive a *do*-clause can co-occur with the direct object.
- (3) Abun word order indicates that a *do*-clause functions as an oblique.

These arguments will now be expanded further.

(1) The *do*-clause may follow an intransitive verb

The following examples show two intransitive verbs, *saiye* 'shout' and *i* 'be happy'.

- (38) An ***saiye do Yorfen*** a *nai ji et*
 3s shout COMP Yorfen 2s take 1s SUBJ
 'He shouted "Yorfen, please help me!"'

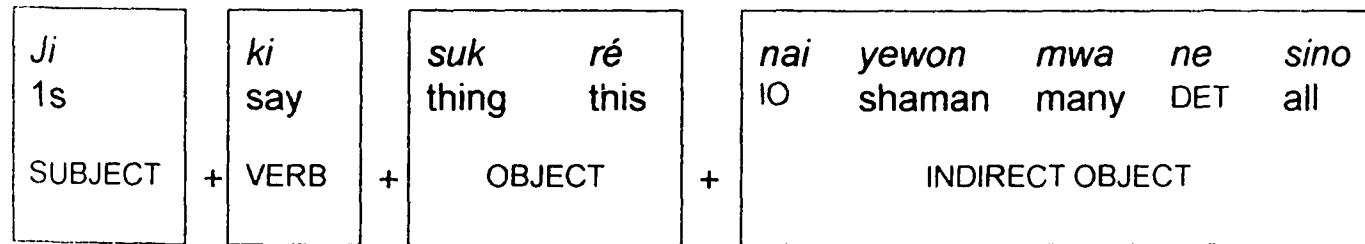
- (39) Yen *sino i do an kra su ye-gwes-wai*
 people all be.happy COMP 3s marry with PERS-leg-pass
 'Everyone was happy that she was to marry a (man who was a) mediator.'

In fact, as indicated earlier in Section 3.1.1 the transitive form of the verb *i* 'be happy' (*i-wa* 'want/be happy about') can never occur together with the complementizer *do*.

(2) The *do*-clause may follow a direct object

In a simple clause constituents that may follow the direct object are the indirect object and obliques. This structure is illustrated in the example below.

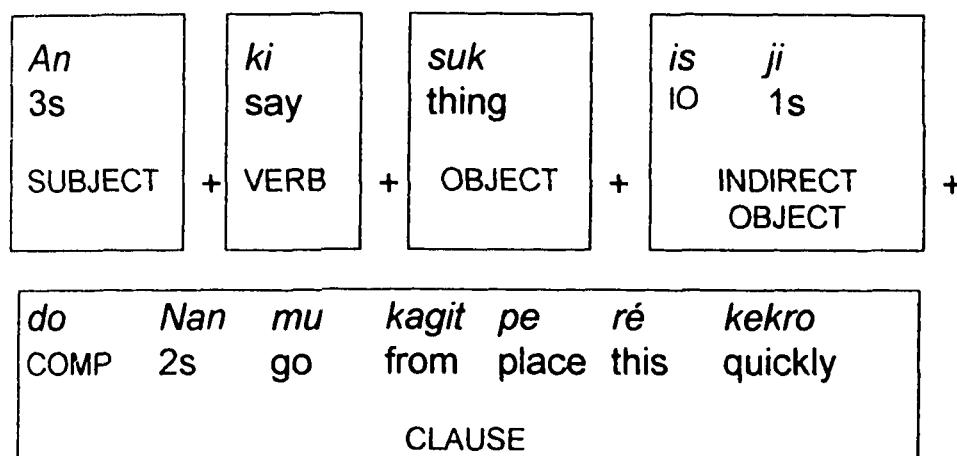
(40)



'I said these things to all of the shamans.'

Example (41) has exactly the same structure but differs in one aspect. Example (41) contains a clause following the indirect object.

(41)

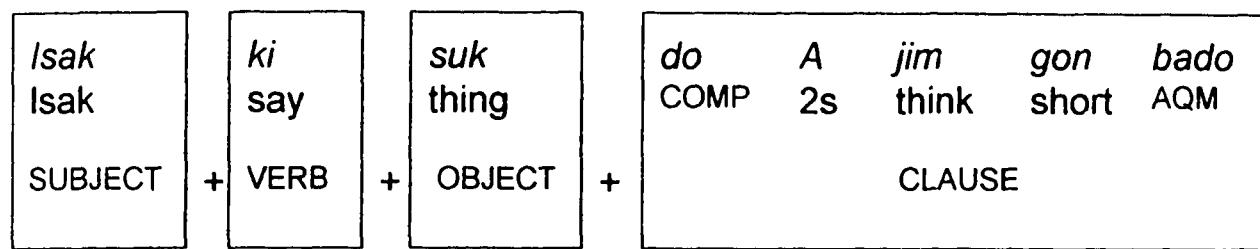


'He said something to me that I should leave this place quickly.'

The embedded clause of (41) is in apposition to the object *suk* 'thing'. It is an expansion of the object or gives clear content to it. It is certainly not common to have a structure as full as this but (41) shows that if there is a *do*-clause it occurs after the object and indirect object if these constituents are present. In (41) the object, here *suk* 'thing', is a generic non-specific noun without any known or specific content until the *do*-clause is given. Because the *do*-clause is a more internally complex constituent than a single noun such as *suk*, the placing of the *do*-clause in sentence final position, rather than immediately following the object, is an example of the heavy-to-the-right movement principle. This principle of word order evident in many languages shifts larger complex units to the right, that is towards the end of the sentence, to reduce burden on the short term memory (Mallinson and Blake:1981 151,156ff).

Examples (42), (43) and (44) below are also typical of the types of sentence which contain *do*-clauses in addition to direct objects.

(42)



'Isak said something that 'Are you stupid?' or What Isak said was 'Are you stupid?'

Examples (43) and (44) differ from sentences like (42) above. In (42) the object is a non-specific noun *suk* 'thing'. However, in examples (43) and (44) the object, in these examples the pronouns *men* 'we/us' and *ji* 'I/me', is quite specific. In example (44), for instance, the absence of the indirect object preposition *is* indicates that the pronoun *ji* is actually the object.

- (43) *Yen kendo men do men gwat men bi suk e*
 people call 1p COMP 1p bring 1p POSS things and
men grem
 1p put

'They called us to bring our things and leave (them there).'

- (44) *An syogat ji do ji so nyom wa an*
 3s order 1s COMP 1s buy machete for 3s
 'He told me to buy a machete for him.'

Both of these above examples are referred to later in this chapter under section 3.3. The transitive verbs involved, *kendo* 'call' and *syogat* 'order', belong to a predicate type that is capable of taking complement clauses both with and without a complementizer.

(3) The *do*-clause may follow an indirect object or a prepositional phrase

Abun word order is such that if there is a prepositional phrase then this follows the indirect object and it is the final constituent of the clause. If the clause contains no prepositional phrase then the indirect object is the final constituent. In example (45) below the *do*-clause occurs after an indirect object. Since in Abun a direct object never follows an indirect object it is not possible that the *do*-clause of this example could be considered to function as the object of the main clause.

(45)

Yerom Yerom SUBJECT	ki say VERB	nai IO yewon shaman INDIRECT OBJECT	do COMP Nan 2s bi POSS nyanggon female relative	ne that	i sick
CLAUSE					

'Yerom (a spirit) said to the shaman that 'Your female relative is sick.'

Likewise in example (46) below, given earlier as example (5), the *do*-clause follows a prepositional phrase.

(46) An 3s	tom prior.agree	su with	men 1p	do COMP	nin 2p	mukom reach	motu there-distant
yo then.IRR	nin 2p	kemkret wait.for	ji 1s	mone there			

'He arranged with us that "When you get there, you wait for me there."

It is not possible to have the direct object following a prepositional phrase. Therefore the *do*-clauses in examples like (46) cannot be considered to function as a direct object. The constituent {*do* + complement clause} is an additional constituent within the clause. The complementizer *do* links these clauses to the

main clause in the same way that Abun prepositions link embedded clauses to the main clause.¹

3.1.5 Negative raising

When a complement clause contains a negative, it is possible in the great majority of the world's languages for the negative marker to be removed from the complement and 'raised' into the matrix clause (Noonan 1985:90). This has been termed 'negative raising' and is generally possible with a limited set of predicates such as 'think', 'believe', 'want' etc. Negative raising does not occur in Abun. There are a number of reasons for this.

Lexical restrictions

The limitation of the predicate types which allow negative raising involve further restrictions for Abun. Abun, in common with the languages of the Papuan region does not have a wide range of single morpheme vocabulary to indicate states of mind. The verbs 'know', 'understand', 'hear' and 'believe' may all be expressed by the one verb *jam*. The verb 'believe' which may allow negative raising in some languages does not exist as a separate lexicon entry in Abun. Another candidate for negative raising is the verb 'want'. In the process of negative raising a matrix clause verb 'want' becomes 'do not want' after negative raising has taken place. Although it is possible to change the Abun verb *iwa* 'want' to *yo iwa nde* 'not want', the more usual practice is to use the inherently negative word *bari/bariwa* 'not want'. Because it is more common for Abun speakers to use *bari* rather than *yo iwa nde* the possibility of negative raising does not arise due to the choice of negative strategy taken, namely a negative word rather than a negative particle.

¹In Chapter 5 Section 5.1 it is shown that Abun prepositions not only link phrases to clauses but also link embedded clauses.

Syntactic restrictions

Since the predicates 'want' and 'believe' cannot allow negative raising due to lexical restrictions, the only other predicate eligible for negative raising in Abun would be *nut* 'think'. Examples of negative raising with this predicate are not found in Abun. The following examples show a complement clause containing a negative (47) and then an unacceptable sentence where this negative has been 'raised' (48).

- (47) *Ji nut do ji yo ku nan gro o nde*
 Is think COMP 1s NEG meet 2s eye again NEG
 'I thought that I would not see you (ever) again.'

- (48) **Ji yo nut do ji ku nan gro o nde*
 1s NEG think COMP 1s meet 2s eye again NEG
 'I did not think that I would (ever) see you again.'

Example (48) is unacceptable for a number of reasons. One of these reasons is due to an Abun negative being formed by two negative particles rather than only one. The dual negative particles that are used in Abun must bracket or enclose the entire verb phrase (in transformational grammar terms) or predicate (in traditional grammar terms, meaning all the constituents that follow the subject). Because of this any subordinate clause that is under the matrix clause is always included within the grammatical scope of the negation. This means that although it is the verb of the matrix clause that is being negated the final negative particle will not occur until after the subordinate clause. The following example illustrates this, where the subordinate clause is of the relative type, with the negative particle *nde* actually occurring after the relative clause without negating the relative clause itself.

- (49) *An yo ki su-gato ibit subot nan mó nde*
 3p NEG say thing-REL bad about 2s exist NEG
 'They did not say anything that was bad about you at all.'

In order for negative raising to take place as has been attempted in (48) only one negative particle will move, the particle *yo*, in order to negate the matrix verb *nut* 'think'. Due to the structure and word order of complex negative constructions in Abun it is not possible to shift the second negative particle *nde* and retain a grammatical sentence. Abun rules of word order do not allow this. Normally in languages that allow negative raising the means of negation is syntactically removed from the subordinate clause and 'raised' into the main clause. Because Abun negation involves the use of two particles both of these cannot be 'raised' from the complement clause.

However, there is a second syntactic restriction which disallows negative raising in Abun. The type of predicate described in 3.1.1 above are rarely negated in such a way as to contain a subordinate, complement clause. Perhaps these structures are considered too clumsy or lengthy. Therefore the majority of complement predicates are not negated in this way, let alone the small subset which is said to allow negative raising in other languages. If these verbs are negated it is usually in the form of simple sentences without complements as in the following examples.

- (50) *Tabita yo ki suk nde*
 Tabita NEG say thing NEG
 'Tabita did not say anything.'

- (51) *Men yo ndek suk daret kagit nin nde*
 1p NEG ask.for thing random from 2p NEG
 'We did not ask for all kinds of things from you.'

- (52) *An yo kidar suk mó nde*
 3p NEG lie thing exist NEG
 'They did not lie about anything at all.'

It is very uncommon to find a matrix clause that is negated in which the subordinate clause is of the complement type. The examples below show some of the few instances where a negated complex sentence contains a complement.

- (53) Moses *yo ki gado an kra su Barbarina o nde*
 Moses NEG say earlier 3s marry with Barbarina again NEG
 'Moses did not say earlier that he would marry Barbarina again.'

- (54) Men *bi yenggras jam nde áñ bi nji*
 1p POSS elders know NEG 3p POSS brother
Kasmowon anato ye-su mo Syu-bun
 Kasmowon TOP PERS-head at river-Bun
 'Our older relatives did not know that their brother Kasmowon was the one who was the head man at Bun River.'²

It can be seen here that although these complex sentences do contain a complement the complementizer *do* is not used. Example (55) below is structurally equivalent to (54) the only difference being that the verb of the matrix clause is positive and not negative.

- (55) Yesan *ben suk ré subere yen jam do*
 chief do thing this so.that people know COMP
Wonsuwis anato ye-pa-sye
 Wonsuwis TOP PERS-child-big

'The chief did these things so that people knew that Wonsuwis was an important person.'

²Example (48) uses the verb *jam nde* 'not know'. This verb behaves irregularly when it is in the negative in that it does not always use the second negative particle *yo* (compare example (47)). It is the author's opinion that *jam nde* 'not know' has come to behave as if it were a single lexical form in the same way as the inherently negative word *bari* 'not want'. This accounts for the irregular pattern found in (48) whereby the negative particle *nde* occurs immediately after the matrix clause verb rather than after the embedded clause which is the normal pattern. This deviation only occurs with the verb *jam*.

In an indicative sentence the complementizer *do* is used. Yet the change to negative results in the complementizer being omitted. This leads to the conclusion that Abun speakers do not use the complementizer in complex negative constructions.³ On this basis example (48) which retained the complementizer is incorrect. These structural limitations show that negative raising is not possible in Abun.

3.2 Embedded complements

The second type of complement to be found in Abun does not make use of the complementizer. For want of a better label I have called these complements 'embedded'. There are mainly two types of predicate which do not need to have a complementizer: those which involve desiderative or attitudinal predicates and those which involve some type of force, that is a manipulative predicate. These semantic distinctions are illustrated by the type of verb suffix used. Attitudinal predicates make use of the suffix -wa, while those indicating some sort of force or pressure (manipulative) use -gat. Examples of these verb types which do not use a complementizer are *iwa* 'want' and *bariwa* 'not.want/dislike', being attitudinal predicates, and *wergat* 'persuade/pressurise' and *krokbat* 'annoy/stir up' being manipulative predicates. Other manipulative predicates will be later in the chapter.

The following examples illustrate these complement types.

- (56) An *i-wa* *ji* *jam* *mo* *an* *sor*
 3s happy-TRANS 1s listen to 3s only
 'She wanted me to listen only to her.'

³More language data would be needed to see if this change was consistent.

- (57) An **bari-wa** an **jam** mo **ji**
 3s not.want-TRANS 3s listen to 3s
 'She did not want to listen to me.'
- (58) An **krokbat** ye **mwa maskwa** **yu**
 3s stir.up people many angry REFLEX
 'He stirred up many people (making them) angry with each other.'
- (59) Men yo **wergat** ye-wis **yi ben-bot** **suk ré nde**
 1p NEG force PERS-kind other do-about thing this NEG
 'We do not force other tribes t do these things.'

In other languages, besides Abun, a different predicate type can mean a different complement type. For instance Givón states that it is 'more common to find subordinating morphemes in complements of cognition-utterance verbs, as compared with manipulative or modality verbs.' (1990:553) Givón's categories roughly compare to the Abun categories described above. All Abun utterance predicates use the complementizer (his 'subordinating morpheme') when the complement is intended to refer to direct speech.⁴ His 'modality' predicates include the verb 'want' which is under discussion here and also other verbs which are not in the class of verbs for Abun.⁵ In English attitudinal and manipulative predicates are distinguished by having a complement of an infinitival structure. Utterance predicates have complements which use a subordinating conjunction 'that'. Givón further distinguished predicates such as English 'want' and the manipulative predicate 'order' in that the infinitival complements of these verbs could not tolerate further embedded clauses such as relative clauses, clefts etc (1979:68). In Abun these predicates likewise take complements that are structurally quite different from the 'utterance predicates' and others described in section 3.1 above. The manipulative predicate *ben*

⁴One predicate *kendo* 'call' does not use the complementizer if the complement does not represent direct speech. This distinction will be looked at further in Section 3.2.3

⁵These include start, finish and try which are all adverbs in Abun, namely *sim* 'just started' or 'finished/completely' *bergan* 'almost'.

'make', discussed later, does not take a complementizer. A predicate such as 'LET' does not have a distinct lexical form in Abun and is always rendered as *iwa* 'happy to.' Likewise the predicate *os-wa* 'help', although not a desiderative predicate, makes use of the suffix *-wa* to indicate an embedded complement clause. For example:

- (60) Sane Markus os-wa duno an
 so Markus help teach 3s
 'So Markus helped to teach her.'

Besides not taking the complementizer *do* these complement types are structurally different in another important way. These complement types function as the object of the main clause. On the other hand those which use a complementizer do not, as was shown in section 3.1.4 earlier. The complement clauses of 3.1 were described as fitting in to Abun sentence structure in the following way:

SUBJECT + VERB + (OBJECT) + (INDIRECT OBJECT) + {DO + COMPLEMENT CLAUSE}

The complement clause types under discussion here are structurally quite different. These complement clauses function as the object and so the sentence has the following structure:

SUBJECT + VERB+ OBJECT

Earlier, example (41) above was shown in such a way that its constituent structure was fully described. If example (56) is repeated in the same way the structural difference between the complement types is more clear.

(56)

An 3s SUBJECT	<i>i-wa</i> want VERB	<i>ji</i> 1s	<i>jam</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>sor</i>
OBJECT (COMPLEMENT CLAUSE)						

'She wanted me to only listen to her.'

What evidence is there to support this analysis that when no complementizer is used the complement clause is actually the object of the main clause rather than an additional constituent within it? There are actually two points at issue here. Firstly that clauses like *ji jam mo an sor* from (56) above are actually full clauses and as such they are complement clauses embedded into a larger structure, rather than being separate assertions. The second point at issue is that these clauses represent the object of the main clause that they are embedded into. Each of these points will be looked at in turn.

3.2.1 Means of identifying the complement clause in Abun

Since this particular clause type contains no complementizer what is the basis for assuming that these are complement clauses? These clauses are without any type of marking and lack some means of syntactic identification which could identify them as complements. There is a type of complement termed 'paratactic' which does not use a complementizer. These clauses are not subordinate but rather are considered as independent clauses capable of standing on their own.⁶ All of the constituents which follow the predicates in examples (56) to (59) above have the structure of a simple Abun clause. For instance *an jam mo ji* 'she listens to (or obeys) me' from (57) and *ye mwa maskwa yu* 'many people were angry with each other' from (58) are all good Abun clauses. It could be possible then to consider these clauses as paratactic

⁶ see Noonan (1985: 59-60) for a discussion on this.

complements since they are capable of standing on their own as independent clauses. Given that the complex sentences that contain these clauses are unmarked to indicate embedding or subordination what means can be used to identify them as subordinate complement clauses, embedded within the larger sentence?

Givón has listed several means by which complement clauses can be syntactically encoded (1990:538ff). These various means show some type of syntactic variation by which it can be determined that the clause functions as an argument of a predicate. One such type of syntactic evidence he terms 'predicate raising' which results in forms like 'let go' or 'make eat'. Abun does not appear to have any of these forms. Another means is through case marking of the subject of the complement verb. Since Abun is a language which lacks any form of case-marking this is not a means through which a complement clause could be marked. Another means that he refers to is that of a subordinating morpheme or complementizer. Complement clauses types with such a marker have been described earlier (in section 3.1 above). He lists one other means of encoding a clause as a complement clause, that of verb morphology or finiteness. In these cases the complement clause is usually reduced with the verb not taking a subject and the verb morphology being distinct from that found in indicative clauses. Can this means of encoding a complement be used for Abun? Does Abun have an infinitive form of the verb?

3.2.1.1 Abun verb morphology

Applying traditional labels such as infinitive or participial to Abun is difficult. Since Abun lacks subject-verb agreement and various other means by which the verb may be marked, the structural definitions that are applied to complement types of other languages (synthetic rather than isolating languages) cannot be applied to Abun. In Abun the morphological shape of the verb never changes.

It is invariant. There are no verb participles in Abun so it is not possible to have a participial complement. Neither is there an infinitive in Abun.

Determining what is an infinitive for Abun is somewhat difficult in that such definitions are usually based on variations of the basic verb showing person-number marking of the subject. As has already been stated the Abun verb is invariant since changes to aspect and mood are carried by particles and subject-verb agreement is not marked in Abun. If an infinitive is said to be a verb that is 'not able to take a subject NP' this definition is also problematic because verbs in Abun normally take a subject NP. In Abun verbs are never said in isolation. For example, if an enquiry is made as to the Abun terms for such words as 'come' 'go' etc the reply is always given using a personal pronoun, usually second person singular. Therefore 'come' would be given as *na ma* 'you come' and 'go' would be given as *na mu* 'you go'. An infinitive cannot be elicited because such a verbal form does not exist. On some occasions the overt subject of a clause may be omitted but this is an option the speaker has and is not obligatory. Predicates which take the -wa suffix may allow the subject of the complement clause to be elided if it is co-referential with the subject of the main clause. For example

- (61) *Ji i-wa da ron a-ré*
 1s happy-TRANS drink medicine FOC-this
 'I am happy to (or agree to) take some medicine now.'

This type of ellipsis is not common, as it is more usual that the subject is repeated. In either case the form of the verb is the same whether there is a subject NP or not. Therefore it is not possible to determine what is an infinitive verb form in Abun. Since Abun verb morphology is always invariant it cannot be stated that Abun has a separate infinitive verb form. Neither does it have a participial form. It follows then that because Abun has no verbal infinitives,

neither can it have infinitive complements. Therefore this means of encoding a complement clause by means of distinctive verb morphology is not applicable for Abun. Because changes to verb morphology within the complement clause cannot identify complement types this means that other methods need to be used.

Givón did not list any other means of syntactically encoding a complement clause. The various means that he has described with the exception of the "subordinating morpheme" are all means of identifying the complement clause as a complement clause by some type of syntactic marking within the complement clause itself. These means have proved unproductive for Abun. Noonan, like Givón, lists various ways of identifying complement clauses and he lists one means being 'the external syntactic relations of the complement construction as a whole.' (1985:44) It seems that for Abun the only way of identifying complement clauses is not from within the embedded complement clause but outside of it. One means that is external to the complement clause is the complementizer. If there is no complementizer as in the cases under discussion here, there is other 'external evidence' which can indicate that the complement clause is embedded within the main clause. There are various structural indications of subordination in Abun and two of them will be given here to provide evidence that these complement clauses are in fact subordinate to the main clause as embedded objects. The first deals with the structure of a negative sentence and the second concerns the transitive implications of the suffixes on the main clause verbs found in these types of construction.

3.2.1.2 Negation of complex sentences

It has already been shown in regard to negative raising (3.1.5) that a clause can be shown to be subordinate by the placement of the negative particle *nde*. If a

main clause is to be negated the negative particle *nde* only occurs after any subordinate clause which may be embedded within that main clause. Example (59) given earlier, and repeated below is an example of this and has a manipulative verb (verb with -gat suffix) in the main clause.

(59)	<i>Men</i>	<i>yo</i>	wergat	<i>ye-wis</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>ben-bot</i>	<i>suk</i>	<i>ré</i>
	1p	NEG	force	PERS-kind	other	do-about	thing	this
<i>nde</i>								
NEG								

'We do not force other tribes to do these things.'

Example (62) below shows the other type of verb under consideration here, verbs which may take -wa suffix, and the pattern of negation is the same. The subordinate clause, in these cases complement clauses which do not have a complementizer, is within the grammatical scope of the main clause negation.

(62)	<i>Men</i>	<i>yo</i>	nyu-wa	<i>men</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>suk-du</i>	<i>ré</i>	<i>nde</i>
	1p	NEG	fear-TRANS	1p	go	say	NOM-say	this	NEG
'We are not afraid to go and tell this story.'									

The syntax of these examples indicates that these types of complement are in fact subordinate because the final negative particle *nde* occurs after the complement. In order to create two separate assertions in Abun, each clause would need to have both negative particles in the correct positions, using a total of four particles in all rather than the two only that are used in these examples. Although there is an absence of any other form of syntactic marking to indicate that there is a complement clause embedded here, the presence of only two negative particles indicates that only one verb has been negated and that is the verb of the main clause. The second clause must be an embedded clause because the position of the second negative particle *nde* indicates that this clause is included within the scope of the main clause negation. Because there

are only two negative particles there can only be one sentence here. Therefore on the basis of the structure of the indicative negative, these complement clauses are subordinate.⁷

3.2.1.3 Transitive nature of the -wa suffix

The purpose of the -wa suffix is to indicate that a part of speech, usually a verb that is not normally transitive is transitive in the utterance given. Therefore -wa changes the valency of the verb from having only one argument to two. Usually -wa changes stative verbs into transitive verbs and some of these, namely *iwa* 'want', *bariwa* 'do not want' and *nyuwa* 'be afraid of' are capable of taking the types of complements under discussion here. Any verb which has the -wa suffix is transitive even if the object is not overtly stated. The following examples indicate this.

- (63) *Nu nyu nde*
 2p fear NEG
 'Don't fear.'

- (64) *Nu nyu-wa men o nde*
 2p fear-TRANS 1p again NEG
 'Don't be afraid of us any more.'

- (65) **Nu nyu men o nde*
 2p fear 1p again NEG
 *'Don't fear us any more.'

⁷The placement of the final negative particle is also significant in another way. In the simple Abun clause only aspect particles or interrogative particles may follow the final negative particle. Therefore a constituent such as 'Adjunct' may not follow after the negative particle. Thus the constituent structure given for these sentences cannot include an adjunct and is limited to the pattern SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT.

(66) *Ji nut do an bi obat nggi wa be an gu*
 1s think COMP 3s POSS magic strong for later 3s kill

ji ré Sane ji nyu-wa sor
 1s this So 1s fear-TRANS just

'I thought that his magic was strong enough to kill me. So I was just afraid (of him).

The significance of example (65) is that a stative verb like *nyu* 'fear' cannot take an object unless the -*wa* has been added as in (64). Therefore example (65) is unacceptable since an object follows the stative verb *nyu*. Frequently Abun speakers use verbs which have had -*wa* added and omit the object which -*wa* implies. Normally the object is understood from the immediate context. This is the case in example (66) above. The preceding sentence to the clause containing *nyuwa* 'be afraid of' has been given so that it can be seen that the object is understood or omitted. The implications of this for complement structures are that -*wa* indicates that the verb must take an object and that in these cases the object is actually the entire clause, as indicated in the example below.

(67) *An i-wa ji si an mu mo nggwe*
 3s be.happy-TRANS 1s with 3s go to garden
 'She wanted me to go with her to the garden.'

The structure of (67) differs from example (39), here repeated as example (68). In (68) the complementizer and the complement clause are not the object of the verb *i* 'be happy' because *i* is an intransitive verb. Therefore the *do*-clause does not have the grammatical relation of object (as shown in section 3.1.4 above).

(68) *Yen sino i do an kra su ye-gwes-wai*
 people all happy COMP 3s marry with PERS-leg-pass
 'Everyone was happy that she was to marry a (man who was a) mediator.'

Because the clauses of the type similar to that of example (67) function as objects they must be understood as complements even though no complementizers are used. These clauses are therefore embedded clauses.

The other types of verb under consideration here are those which take the manipulative suffix *-gat*. Besides *wergat* 'force/persuade' and *krokgat* 'stir.up' the verbs *syogat* 'order' and *syaugat* 'command strongly' may also take embedded complements. Of these verbs only *wer* 'seduce/persevere' exists as a separate verb form without the suffix. *Wer* when it has the meaning 'to persevere' or 'to try to work out' is an intransitive verb. However, when a verb takes the *-gat* suffix it becomes transitive. Because the structure of the complement clauses involved here is identical to those where the matrix clause verb has the *-wa* suffix it is reasonable to posit a similar analysis for these complement clauses. A verb which uses *-gat* must have an object and in these cases the complement clause is the object.

3.2.2 Embedded complement clause as object

Having shown that these complement clauses are subordinate, even though they possess no overt grammatical marking to indicate this status, the second claim is that these embedded clauses function as the object of the complement taking predicate. In one sense this might seem obvious since a complement clause is by definition a notional object of some predicate and in the structures under discussion here it is hard to see how it might function as anything else. Nevertheless there could be differences of opinion over the types of constituent divisions being made for these sentences. Two examples will be shown again being representative of the two different predicate types.

(69) <i>Men</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>wergat</i>	<u><i>ye-wis</i></u>	<i>yi</i>	<i>ben-bot</i>	<i>suk</i>	<i>ré</i>
1p	NEG	force	PERS-kind	other	do-about	thing	this
			<i>nde</i>				NEG

'We do not force other tribes to do these things.'

(70) <i>Men</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>nyu-wa</i>	<u><i>men</i></u>	<i>mu</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>suk-du</i>	<i>ré</i>	<i>nde</i>
1p	NEG	fear-TRANS	1p	go	say	NOM-say	this	NEG

'We are not afraid to go and tell this story.'

For these two examples, given earlier as (59) and (62) respectively, the entire complement clause (underlined) is considered to be the object of the complement taking predicates. Thus the object of *wergat* 'force' in (69) is *yewis yi ben suk ré* 'other tribes do these things' and in (70) the object of the verb *nyuwa* 'be afraid of' is *men mu ki sukdu ré* 'we go and tell this story'.⁸

However, it could be posited that the entire embedded clause is not the object of the complement taking verbs but rather a single noun phrase only, namely *yewis yi* 'other tribes' in (69) and *men* 'we' in (70). This would appear to be appropriate with manipulative verbs like *wergat* 'to force' where the person forced is an argument of the verb. However, this type of constituent division poses a few problems. Because Abun has no case marking to put a noun like *men* into the accusative it cannot be seen whether this noun has been marked to show it is in the object relation. In fact there is no marking anywhere in the structure to show what is the object or where various constituent divisions can be made. The evidence previously given attempts to establish that these clauses function as a single unit. If this is not the case then what follows these verbs must be two divisions: one for the noun phrase which will function as the

⁸ See Jacobsen (1986, pp 40, 113, 118) for analyses of complement clauses in Government and Binding Theory.

object and a second division for what is left, a truncated subjectless clause. This is the type of division that is made in Relational Grammar, for verbs like *want* or *expect*, where only part of the embedded clause assumes the function of direct object and the rest takes the relation of *chômeur* 'unemployed' (Blake: 1990:93ff). It is a 'raising analysis' where a constituent that belongs logically to the complement clause is said to be raised to the object of the matrix clause.

This is a possible analysis since Abun clauses are unmarked to show any type of constituent marking. However, this analysis is not preferred due to structural grounds, which are assumed to reflect the grammatical structure of Abun more accurately.

Firstly, with both predicate types involved the entire clause which functions as the object can be replaced by a single noun phrase which can function as the object. For example:

- (71) An ki do an kra su ji sare-wo ji
 3s say COMP 3s marry with 1s like.this-but 1s

 bari-wa *an* *re*
 not.want-TRANS 3s PERF

'She said that she would marry me however I did not want her.'

- (72) *Kapre* *an* *bari-wa* *Rahel* *bi* *ai* *wergat* *an*
 Although 3s not.want-TRANS Rahel POSS father persuade 3s
 'Although she did not want (to come) Rahel's father persuaded her.'

It could be said that if only a single noun phrase can constitute the direct object, as in the above examples, then this would confirm the analysis that only a part of the embedded clause functions as the direct object. However these sentences show that for Abun sentence structure only a single constituent division follows the predicate. This single division consists of the direct object.

There is a single division only, rather than two constituent divisions following the predicate as is posited by the alternative analysis. If it is assumed that there are two constituents which follow the predicate in these cases-one a direct object and the other a truncated clause, we are left with determining the constituent status of these truncated clauses. In some languages like English, it is possible to have reduced subordinate clauses which have no overt subject as in the following: "Having eaten the hamburger, he got on with the rest of his work." However Abun does not appear to have subjectless subordinate clauses. If example (70) is considered again,

- (70) *Men yo nyu-wa men mu ki suk-du ré nde*
 1p NEG fear-TRANS 1p go say NOM-say this NEG
 'We are not afraid to go and tell this story.'

what is the status of *mu ki sukdu ré*? Subjectless constituents like this do not exist elsewhere in the language. There are occasions when a subject may be omitted. Sometimes in narratives where the subject is the same or a succession of events is given in quick succession the subject may be omitted.

- (73) *Ye gato jam nde Yefun gum tó men ki subot bere*
 people REL know NEG Yefun name still 1p say about later
jam napa-wa nyu-wa
 know remember-TRANS fear-TRANS
 'People that do not yet know God's name, we talk about (it to them), later (they) will know, remember (and) be afraid of (him).'

(74)	<i>Pa</i>	<i>sap</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>mbam</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>titi</i>	<i>ndo</i>	<i>nde</i>	<i>syur</i>	<i>sa</i>
	child	strike	with	axe	NEG	get.away	good	NEG	water	dry
	<i>rek</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>titi</i>		<i>ndo</i>	<i>nde</i>	<i>dipa</i>		<i>dipa</i>
	open	and	NEG	get.away		good	NEG	struggle		struggle
	<i>mo</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>dik</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>sor</i>					
	LOC	place	one	DET	just					

'The young man struck (it) with the axe, (it) couldn't not get away at all. The stream was dry, and (it was) shallow, (and it) could not get away at all, (it) was just struggling, struggling in one place.'

In both these examples there are several clauses where the subject was omitted. In both cases the omitted subject was not in the immediate context of the clauses concerned. The omitted subject was given several clauses earlier. In example (73) the omitted subject 'people' was given only two clauses preceding. However, in example (74) the omitted subject is 'eel' and is given four clauses prior to the first which takes 'eel' as its subject. It can be seen that in Abun omitted subjects only occur in certain types of narrative, particularly where these subjects have several actions attributed to them. In these instances the subjects are omitted from either simple clauses or coordinate clauses. These clauses are not subjectless embedded clauses.⁹

On this basis it is concluded that a subjectless subordinate clause is not a valid clause type in Abun. A sentence having the constituent division SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT is quite common in Abun. However, a sentence which has the constituent division

SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT + (VERB + OBJECT)

is not. In the above the embedded clause is subjectless.

There are languages, such as English which allow fronting of subordinate clauses. Frequently, when a subordinate clause is fronted it consists of verb

⁹An alternative analysis is that these are treated as serial verbs.

and object only. However, in Abun it is not possible to front any subordinate or embedded clause. Since fronting is not possible this cannot be used as a test of subordination. Therefore it is preferable to analyse these complement clauses as the object of the main clause rather than positing the alternative structure discussed here.

Noonan makes the claim that 'All languages have an S-like indicative complement type, and all languages have some sort of reduced complement type in opposition to the indicative' (Noonan 1985:133). In comparing languages he posits a minimum of these two complement types which constitute the smallest kind of complement system that is found in the world's languages. According to his definition, Abun has only one complement type, not two, for all Abun complement clauses are indicative clauses. However, I would like to suggest that Abun does have two complement types- those with complementizers and those without (in this paper termed 'embedded'). The basis for these distinctions is not found within the complement clause itself. This has been the basis on which Noonan and others have made their division of complement types. This basis has come from the alteration in structure of the complex sentence of which the complement is a part. External rather than internal considerations have been the basis for the division of Abun complement types. In this way Abun is different in its complement structure to other languages that have been described.

3.3 Additional possibilities

So far two types of complement have been described, those that use the complementizer and those that do not. There are certain predicates which, when they take a complement, they do so only by using the complementizer. I would like to call this type of predicate Type 1. Then there are a small number of predicates which, when they take a complement the complementizer is never

used, so that the complement clause is an embedded object. I would like to call these type of predicate Type 2. Then there is another type of predicate Type 3, which is able to take complement clauses of both types i.e. with and without the complementizer. Table One lists these three predicate types.

TABLE 1 - PREDICATE TYPES

	TYPE 1 with COMP	TYPE 2 without COMP	TYPE 3 with and without COMP
utterance predicates	<i>ki</i> 'say' <i>ndo</i> 'ask' <i>tom</i> 'promise/arrange' <i>saiye</i> 'shout' etc		<i>kendo</i> 'call'
attitude predicates	<i>nut</i> 'think' <i>gen</i> 'intend' <i>mit</i> 'plan to/desire to' <i>i</i> 'be happy to'	<i>iwa</i> 'want' <i>bariwa</i> 'not want'	
knowledge predicates	<i>duno</i> 'teach/advise' <i>taru</i> 'send a message'		<i>jam</i> 'know/hear'
manipulative predicates		<i>wergat</i> 'persuade/force' <i>krokgat</i> 'stir up/annoy'	<i>syogat</i> 'order' <i>syaugat</i> 'strongly command'
pretence predicates			<i>kidar</i> 'lie/trick'

Sentences which take predicates termed Type 1 have been previously analysed to have the following structure:

SUBJECT + PREDICATE 1 + (OBJECT) + (INDIRECT OBJECT) + { DO + COMPLEMENT CLAUSE}

This type of predicate can have a maximum valency of three, if the complement clause is considered in apposition to the direct object.

Sentences which take predicates termed Type 2 have been analysed as follows:

SUBJECT + PREDICATE 2 + COMPLEMENT CLAUSE AS OBJECT

This type of predicate has a valency of only two.

Sentences which take predicates termed Type 3 have two possible representations.

SUBJECT + PREDICATE 3 + OBJECT + {DO + COMPLEMENT CLAUSE}

OR

SUBJECT + PREDICATE 3 + COMPLEMENT CLAUSE AS OBJECT

Again if the complement clause is considered in apposition to the direct object then like those of type 2 they have a valency of only two, but the sentence contains an additional constituent. In the alternative structure the sentence is identical to that for predicate Type 2.

Examples of predicates of this third type are given below showing both possibilities, with and without the complementizer *do*.

Manipulative predicates

There are two manipulative predicates which when they take a complement clause may be with or without the complementizer. These are *syogat* 'order' and *syaugat* 'command strongly'.

- (75) An *syogat* *ji* *do* *ji* so *nyom* wa *an*
 3s order 1s COMP 1s buy machete for 3s
 'He told me to buy a machete for him.'

- (76) An *syogat* *pa* *jogru* *san*
 3s order child take.off clothes
 'He ordered the girl to take off (her) clothes.'

Example (75) shows *syogat* 'order/tell' with the complement clause as an appositional constituent within the sentence in addition to the direct object, the pronoun *ji* '1s'. In (76), however, the entire embedded complement clause is the object. In this case no complementizer is used since a complementizer is only used when the complement clause is in apposition to the direct object. The English translation of both (75) and (76) does not show these structural differences as both complement clauses have been translated using infinitive verb forms. A more structurally correct translation of (75) would be something like 'He ordered me to do this: Buy a machete for me.'

Similar examples are given below for *syaugat* 'command'. Example (77) appeared earlier as example (9).

- (77) An ***syaugat*** *men-ka-we* *do* *men-ka-we* *ki* *suk-du*
 3s command 1p-CLASS-twoCOMP 1p-CLASS-twosay NOM-speak
 ré *o* *nde*
 this again NEG
 'He commanded the two of us not to tell this story again.'

- (78) *Ji* ***syaugat*** *yen* *ma* *but* *nin*
 1s command people come capture 2p
 'I commanded you to be captured.'

Utterance predicates

There is only one utterance predicate, *kendo* 'call' which exhibits these two structural possibilities. Example (79) below earlier appeared as example (8).

- (79) *Yen* ***kendo*** *men* *do* *men* *gwat* *men* *bi* *suk* *e*
 people call 1p COMP 1p bring 1p POSS things and
 men *grem*
 1p put
 'They called us to bring our things and leave (them there).'

- (80) An **kendo** Erensi ma dom
 3s call Erensi come too
 'He called Erensi to come too.'

Pretence predicates

Another predicate that is similar is the pretence predicate *kidar* 'lie/trick/deceive'.

Example (81) appeared earlier as example (20).

- (81) An **kidar** nje do an yewon
 3s lie people COMP 3s shaman
 'He lied to people that he was a shaman.'

- (82) Erensi **kidar** pa ne mu
 Erensi deceive child DET go
 'Erensi deceived the child into going (away).'

It appears that only a small number of predicates may behave this way, exhibiting two distinct structural possibilities. As the above examples illustrate there appear to be certain restrictions which limit the number of predicates capable of doing this. One restriction limits predicates to those that are transitive. Any intransitive verb can only occur with the complementizer present. The second restriction appears to be one of co-referentiality. Givón describes the sharing of referents across contiguous clauses and terms this 'referential continuity' (1993:15). In describing co-reference limitations for English complement clauses he notes that 'The subject of the complement of a modality verb must be co-referential with the *subject* of the main verb and the subject of the complement of a manipulative verb must be co-referential with the *object* of the main verb (italics his).' (Givón 1993:16) In Abun co-reference restrictions also apply but naturally are different for those which Givón has described for English. In Abun, if these predicates can take both an object and complement constituent then there needs to be agreement between the object and the complement constituent. In three of the above examples, (75), (77) and (79),

the object of the predicate is co-referential with the subject of the complement clause. In all of these cases the subject of the complement clause is replaced by a pronoun which agrees in number and person with the object of the matrix clause. However, example (81) showing a pretence predicate varies in that the subject of the complement clause agrees with the subject of the main clause predicate. Here again a pronoun is used to indicate agreement. The means of pronominal reference to the subject of the complement clause is typical of all cases where these two constituents are co-referential. Unlike English where only in manipulative predicates does the object of these predicates agree with the subject of the complement, as shown in Table One, this restriction is shared by other predicate types.¹⁰ Therefore it appears that if a particular predicate can take complements both with and without a complementizer then co-reference restrictions operate.

Knowledge predicates

The predicate *jam* 'know/hear/understand' also may be considered a type 3 predicate in that it may occur with or without a complementizer. However, this verb is structurally different in that it does not have an object immediately preceding the complement clause constituent as is the case with the other type 3 predicates. If *jam* has the meaning 'know' it is more likely to use the complementizer in conjunction with the complement clause. If *jam* has the meaning 'hear' it appears not to use the complementizer. The following examples illustrate these possibilities.

- (83) *Ji jam kwe mbrur kwe-nat kra kagit os ma it*
 1s hear wood snap tree-leaves crackle from path DIR COMPL
 'I heard wood snapping and leaves crackling coming from the path.'

¹⁰In particular predicates such as 'know', 'lie' and 'call' which Givón terms 'Perception-Cognition-Utterance' predicates and which apparently for English 'no co-reference with any argument in the main clause' is required (Givón 1993:16).

- (84) An **jam** an **baca** **huruf dik** **huruf dik**
 3s know 3s read letter one letter one
 She knew (how) to read one letter at a time.'

- (85) **Ji** **jam** **do** **sangge** **nau** **ré** **dom** **suk-ibit**
 1s know COMP true palm.wine this also NOM-bad
 'I know that it is true, this palm wine is also a bad thing.'

The following example is interesting in that it contains both types of complement clause within the one sentence. There is an embedded complement clause which is the object of the predicate *jam* 'hear'. This embedded clause contains yet another complement which in this case consists of the complementizer in conjunction with a complement clause.

- (86) **Ji** **jam** **an** **ke** **it** **do** **yesyim** **yesyim**
 1s hear 3s call.out COMPL COMP friend friend
nan **kas** **kekro**
 2s run quickly
 'I heard him calling out: "Friend! Friend! Run quickly!"'

3.4 More on manipulative predicates

Earlier in Section 3.2 manipulative predicates which made use of the suffix *-gat* were discussed. These predicates did not make use of the complementizer and the complements were analysed as embedded objects. However, the manipulative verb *ben* 'do/make' was not discussed because it is considered to be a predicate or a different type. Frequently *ben* has the meaning of 'do' and so cannot be considered manipulative. But when *ben* has the meaning of 'make' it can be used as a manipulative predicate. With this verb, as with other manipulative predicates, the complementizer is never used. The following examples are typical.

- (87) *Nan me su-ga ben an bi pa i ne*
2s see thing-REL make 3s POSS child sick DET
'You see the thing that has made (my) child sick'

- (88) *An ben motor ne kru re*
3s make motor that sink PERF
'He made that motor sink.'

These complements have a similar structure to those that were termed predicate type 2. In keeping with the structural analysis discussed earlier, here also the entire complement clause is considered to be the object of the main clause.

Since examples from all of the predicate types have been discussed fully, this concludes the discussion of Abun complement clauses.

4. Adverbial Clauses

4.1 Introduction

Various terms are used to describe how within a single sentence clauses interact to form a meaningful unit. Terms such as 'interclausal coherence' (Givón 1990), 'relationships within the clause complex' (Halliday 1985) and even 'clause combining' (Matthiessen and Thompson 1988) are among recent descriptions of what has been traditionally termed subordination. Traditionally three types of subordinate clause have been distinguished: 'those which function as noun phrases (called complements) [=noun clauses], those which function as modifiers of nouns (relative clauses), and those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions (called adverbial clauses).' (Thompson and Longacre 1985:172) Relative clauses and noun clauses have been described in the earlier chapters of this work. In this chapter I will begin a discussion of the third kind of subordinate clause, 'adverbial clauses' as they are found in Abun.

Adverbial subordinate clauses are said to modify a sentence in the same way that an adverb modifies a verb. Since the sentences that contain these subordinate clauses consist minimally of two clauses one clause could be termed the Head and the other the Modifier (Halliday 1985:192). Usually one clause, often termed the main clause is said to be grammatically 'free' or independent. As such it can stand on its own as a single clause. The subordinate clause is marked in some way, such as by means of verbal inflection, to indicate that it is 'bound' or dependent and thus cannot stand alone as a single clause. Languages that permit clauses to be joined in this way normally permit an alternative, termed coordination. In these cases the clauses although joined together in some way may stand on their own as independent clauses. However, there is another quite different type of "interclausal

grammatical organization" (to use Givón's terminology). This type is known as 'clause chaining' (Longacre 1985). Longacre states that languages of the clause chaining variety do not offer the grammatical options of subordinate-independent and coordinate constructions. 'The subordinate/coordinate distinction is irrelevant (in that there is no choice between the two) and both are absorbed into the medial/final distinction.' (Longacre 1985:239) To illustrate this Longacre gives two English sentences which illustrate the subordinate/coordinate options of a language such as English. These sentences, given below as (1a) and (1b) would not be syntactically distinct in a language of the clause chaining type.

- (1a) *After chopping the wood, John carried it to his house.*
- (1b) *John chopped the wood and carried it to his house.*¹

Example (1a) above consists of a subordinate temporal clause and an independent clause. The first clause is marked as subordinate in English by means of the participial verb form, the use of the conjunction 'after' and the absence of the subject. Example (1b) is given as an example of a 'coordinate construction' (Longacre 1985:239). Longacre's comment on these sentences, quoted above, is to the effect that a clause chaining language does not permit two different syntactic variants, as is possible in English. Only one is possible. Abun is not a clause chaining language. However, the influence of Papuan clause chaining languages can be seen when Longacre's examples are translated into Abun. The translations are given below as (2a) and (2b) respectively. There is little syntactic difference between these two examples.

¹It could be argued that strictly speaking the second clause of Longacre's example here cannot stand on its own because the pronoun has been omitted. In the Abun translation given later, this is certainly not the case as it is necessary to repeat the pronoun.

(2a)	Yohanes	pet	kwe-gu	or-ete	an	gwat	mu	mo
	John	split	tree-dry	after-then	3s	carry	DIR	to
	an	bi	nu					
	3s	POSS	house					

'After John chopped the wood he carried it to his house.'

(2b)	Yohanes	pet	kwe-gu	ete	an	gwat	mu	mo
	John	split	tree-dry	and.then	3s	bring	DIR	to
	an	bi	nu					
	3s	POSS	house					

'John chopped the fire wood and then carried it to his house.'

It can be seen by comparing these Abun sentences that there is no distinct subordinate marking on the verb of the first clause in (2a), which might distinguish this clause as a subordinate clause, neither is there a subordinate conjunction equivalent to 'after'. Abun or 'after' is an adverb which in (2a) compounds with the sequential conjunction ete 'and then.' Abun does not have an exact meaning equivalent for the English coordinate conjunction 'and'. In fact the only difference between these two examples in regards to constituent structure is the addition of or 'after' to the conjunction ete in example (2a). If the conjunctions orete and ete were removed from these examples, all four remaining clauses would be good, free standing independent clauses in Abun.

Therefore it appears that in common with languages of the clause chaining type, Abun lacks an obvious subordinate/coordinate distinction as found in Indo-European languages. Many of the clause chaining languages of the world are found in the island of New Guinea. In a clause chaining language 'There is a clause (characteristically final in a chain of clauses) that has a verb of distinctive structure that occurs but once in the entire chain while other (typically non-final) clauses have verbs of different structure.....Each non-final clause is marked so as to indicate whether the following clause has same subject or different subject

from itself.' (Longacre 1985:264) An example from a clause chaining language, Kanite of Papua New Guinea, is given below. Because of its length, it has been abbreviated from the original example given in Longacre (1985:266).

- (1) *his-u'a-ke-'ka*
do-we-DS-you
- (2) *naki a'nemo-ka hoyo ali-'ka.....*
so women-you garden work-you.....
- (7) *naki ha'no hu-talete-ke-ta'a*
so finish do-COMPL-DS-we
- (8) *naki viemoka-ta'a keki'yamo'ma ha'noma nehis-i-ana*
so men-we fence finish do-it-CONJ

'If we do this, you women work the garden,..... when that is finished we men will finish making the fence.'

In this example abbreviated from eight clauses, to the four given here, a transition marker, *ke* 'DS different subject' indicates a change of subject in the clause which is to follow. The final verb of this sentence *nehis-* has a distinctive form that contrasts to when it is non-final, as in the initial clause where it occurs as *his-*.

These languages usually mark within the clause chain the notions of temporal overlap (or simultaneity) and temporal succession (or sequence) as well as marking change of subject (switch reference) (Longacre 1985:267). Abun, a West Papuan language does not have the verb morphology typical of a clause chaining language. Nevertheless the notions of simultaneity and sequence are strongly marked on Abun complex sentences.² These features of the

²Besides these temporal notions there is a particle in Abun which can behave similarly to a switch reference particle. The particle *ga* is used to identify the second actor or participant in a narrative. Since Abun is not a clause chaining language it is not absolutely necessary to overtly mark the 'second actor'. It is the author's opinion that this is a Papuan language feature which has influenced Abun grammar. The particle *ga* is discussed further in K. Berry 1995 Chapter 5.

neighbouring Papuan languages have had some influence on Abun sentence structure. It is the author's opinion that just as clause chaining languages do not have a clear cut subordinate/coordinate distinction which is syntactically marked in complex sentences, neither does the Abun language. This also is a Papuan areal feature still evident in Abun even though Abun verb morphology has more in common with Austronesian languages. Therefore the adverbial clauses discussed in this and the following chapter, can only be considered as 'adverbial' subordinate clauses by semantic means; there is scarce syntactic marking to indicate subordinate status.

Traditionally a discussion of the 'adverbial' subordinate clauses of a language would subdivide clauses upon the basis of the semantic relationships expressed between the clauses such as time, location, reason, condition etc. In this discussion I prefer to group clause types according to common syntactic properties, as well as considering semantic similarities. In this and the following chapter adverbial clauses are not grouped together as subordinate clauses which contrast syntactically with coordinate clauses. Rather these clauses are differentiated according to the type of conjunction that is used to link them. In Abun conjunctions divide into two main types-postpositional and prepositional.

TABLE 1 ABUN CONJUNCTION TYPES

POSTPOSITIONAL CONJUNCTIONS	'tensed' conjunctions
PREPOSITIONAL CONJUNCTIONS	preposition conjunctions compounding conjunctions 'negative' conjunctions

There are a few other conjunctions which are used to link adverbial clauses which do not fit neatly into the four groups listed above. Two of these are adverbials which show some influence of the national language, Bahasa Indonesia upon their usage. The other is a noun modifier which has come to be used as a conjunction. This chapter will look at postpositional conjunctions, described as 'tensed' conjunctions, only. The following chapter will discuss prepositional conjunctions.

4.2 'Tensed' conjunctions

The Abun language does not for simple clauses distinguish a separate category of 'tense'. Simple clauses are marked by means of particles for mood, that is for sentences which are interrogative and imperative, for aspect, and for modality. None of these particles are obligatory and when used are always found in the clause final position (see 1.1.6.3 for a fuller description of this). However, there are two conjunctions frequently used in Abun which mark the clauses concerned in time frames in a less defined way than is normally the case for tense marking. Foley in his comparison of Papuan languages uses a term 'status' to describe time settings which are less precisely defined than the traditional term 'tense' (Foley 1986:159ff). His term STATUS can be loosely divided two ways, into 'real' time and 'unreal' time. 'Real' status refers to events occurring both in the past and present up to the moment of speaking. 'Unreal' status is for events that are yet to occur, including not only those that are considered certain but also those only in the scope of the possible or hypothetical. In Abun this distinction is marked by two temporal conjunctions: *sa* which is considered 'REALIS' and *yo* 'IRREALIS'. For Abun usage the term REALIS is used to refer to events which are already past or are continuing up to the present time. The term IRREALIS is used

to refer to events that are yet to happen, are likely to happen or are completely hypothetical.³

It is interesting to note that in his comparison of Papuan languages Foley distinguishes aspect and modality (his 'inner operators') from tense, status and mood ('outer operators'). Foley does not use the term 'mood' but instead describes it as 'illocutionary force' (see Foley 1986:143ff). In Papuan languages aspect and modality are usually indicated in some way on the verb stem, and are part of the predicate. But tense and the other 'outer operators' tend to be realised grammatically in different ways, on the sentence level. While Abun has not been classified as a Papuan language but is rather a West Papuan language, nevertheless this generalisation made for Papuan languages appears to have some significance. In Abun aspect and modality particles always are part of a single clause. Status, that is the difference between realis and unrealis time only occurs at the complex sentence level. In this way there appears to be a distinction in that the concepts of 'realis' and 'unrealis' are not marked on the individual clause in Abun as is commonly the case in many languages but are marked on the sentence by means of a conjunction.

The usage of these two 'tensed' or temporal conjunctions in Abun sentences is compared below.

4.2.1 The realis conjunction *sa*

When a language indicates the temporal setting of events expressed within clauses it may do so by a formal grammatical category tense, by time words or a combination of both strategies. In regard to complex sentences tense as a

³It may appear confusing to use Foley's definition of the terms REALIS and IRREALIS since these terms are often used to describe not tense, but mood (for example Givón 1984: 255). However, Foley's term 'status' which he divides further into 'realis' and 'unrealis' closely approximates the semantic distinction between the two postpositional conjunctions *sa* and *yo*.

category may be marked within the component clauses and particular conjunctions may convey particular 'marked' time meanings, such as 'before', 'after', 'as', 'while' etc. The Abun conjunction *sa* carries the grammatical information of 'realis', but in relation to specific time concepts is unmarked. Thus it could be considered a general time subordinator and translated into English as 'when.REALIS'. *Sa* indicates that the clauses it joins are in realis time setting. By usage of *sa* hearers know that the connected events expressed by the clauses are in the past, have already occurred. When clauses are joined by *sa* speakers usually pause after *sa*, indicating that *sa* is considered to be part of the preceding clause. Nevertheless *sa* is still a conjunction or means of joining two clauses in Abun. It is not possible to end a sentence with *sa*. Therefore clauses marked by *sa* are dependent temporal clauses in the same way as the English 'when' clause. *Sa* is a sentence medial subordinating conjunction and is a constituent of the first clause of a complex sentence which has the following structure:

[CLAUSE 1 + *sa*] + CLAUSE 2

The following examples are typical of the way *sa* is used in Abun.

- (3) *Men kem mo kampung sa Rahel bi ai farkor an*
 1p stay in village when.R Rachel POSS father teach 3s
 'When we stayed in the village, Rachel's father taught her.'
- (4) *Men sem mone kret Marten sa Marten*
 1p sleep there wait.for Marten when.R Marten
 ma kam Selasa
 come day Tuesday
 'We slept there, waiting for Marten and he came on Tuesday.'

As a general time subordinator the range of meanings conveyed by *sa* is wide. *Sa* is a temporal link between clauses and as such can be used to indicate the following range of meanings:

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) precedence | 'when/before' |
| (2) subsequence | 'when/after' |
| (3) simultaneity | 'when/while' |
| (4) point coincidence | 'when/as/, just then' |

Givón describes a general subordinator such as *sa* as being semantically 'less marked'. Conjunctions such as 'before', 'after' 'while' etc are considered to indicate 'specific temporal relations.' Therefore Givón considers that 'Such less-marked coding strategy is successful when the semantic specificity of the temporal relation can be *inferred* from other features of the two clauses- most commonly from the verb and its tense-aspect.' (1990:828) Since in Abun the conjunction itself indicates the 'tense' or time setting, it is not necessary to use other means in order to indicate the specific temporal relation concerned. In the examples below the extent of temporal relations that *sa* can convey is shown together with more specific means of indicating these.

(1) Precedence 'when/before'

- (5) *Me-ka-we gwat ma-kom mo nu sa ge gri*
 1p-CLASS-two bring come-reach to house when.R body three
kwop re
 die PERF

'When we carried (them) up to the house, three (fish) had already died.'
 or 'By the time we reached the house three had already died.'

- (6) *Ji ma sa an yo ma nde tó*
 1s come when.R 3s NEG come NEG INCOMPL
 'When I came he had not yet arrived.'
 or 'By the time I came he had not yet arrived.'

The above examples indicate temporal precedence, which in many languages is indicated by a specific time word meaning 'before'. Abun has no single word which can be translated as 'before'. Instead the negative particle *nde* combined with the incomplete aspect particle *tó* are used to indicate 'not yet'. In the above examples there are two additional means of inferring the time relation in addition to the conjunction itself. Example (5) has the second clause marked by the perfective aspect particle.⁴ In example (6) the temporal precedence relation is more explicitly marked by *nde* *tó* 'not yet/before' again on the second clause. These particles may behave as a conjunction without the need for the general subordinator *sa*. If used in a clause within a complex sentence *nde* *tó* has the specific meaning of 'before'. For example,

- (7) *Tepsu gane ji yo fai Apner nde tó Apner dom*
 just.like then 1s NEG know Apner NEG INCOMPL Apner also
yo fai ji nde
 NEG know 1s NEG

'At that time before I knew Apner, he did not know me either.'
 or 'At that time I did not yet know Apner....'

(2) Subsequence 'when/after'

- (8) *Men ma mo kampung sa men nai yor*
 1p come to village when.R 1p take spears
 'When we came to the village, we took the spears..'
- (9) *Men wat-bot or sa an ki do*
 1p separate-along finish when.R 3s say COMP
 'When we had finished examining (her), he said.....'
 or 'After we had examined (her) he said....'

⁴There is no need to mark the first clause for aspect since the meaning of *sa* is similar to that of the perfective aspect particle *re*.

In the above examples only one has any specific indications of the temporal relations involved. The word *or* has several meanings including 'finished', 'completely' and 'empty'. In example (9) *or* has the meaning that the action is finished and within a complex sentence *or* can have the connective meaning of 'after' (as in example (2a) at the beginning of this chapter). It is not necessary to use the general subordinator *sa* when the temporal relation of subsequence is intended. For example,

- (10) *Yewon ne ben suk ne or yen ma*
 shamans DET do things DET after people come
 'After the shamans did those things, the people came.'

(3) Simultaneity 'when/while'

- (11) *An kra Lamber sa an-we ku pa dik sor re*
 3s marry Lamber when.R 3p-two get child one only PERF
 'When she was married to Lamber, they only had one child.'
 or 'While she was married to Lamber,.....'

- (12) *Men gwa bei mó sa yen ki kabar ma do*
 1p pound sago exist when.R peoplesay news come COMP
 'When we were pounding sago, people brought some news that...'
 or 'As/while we were pounding sago....'

- (13) *Ye we ma sa ye we but gre nak we*
 person two come when.R person two catch frog nak two
 'When the two were coming, they caught two 'nak' frogs.'
 or 'As the two were coming (along) they caught two 'nak' frogs.'

The three examples above all show temporal simultaneity. As noted previously in common with other Papuan languages temporal simultaneity is strongly marked in Abun grammar. Besides the usage of the conjunction *sa* to indicate simultaneity, a compound form, *sare-sa*, is used to emphasise a simultaneous

relationship between clauses. The compound is created by the addition of the adverb *sare* 'like this.' The adverb *sare* is itself a compound consisting of the adverb *sa* 'like'⁵ and the determiner *ré* 'this'. When *sare* is used immediately after a verb it can convey a continuous or repetitive meaning to the action of the verb. For example

- (14) *Wermus titi sare ma ket yamo kampung tore*
Wermus run.away kept.on DIR west LOC village here
 'Wermus kept on running away (or making his escape) westward, towards the village here.'

Therefore on some occasions *sare* is joined to the conjunction *sa* to form *saresa* 'as, while' a conjunction which more specifically indicates the simultaneous relationship between the clauses joined.

- (15) *Ji kani ret nden saresa ji sokme*
1s look.around random land while 1s see
/sak ram
Isak move
 'As I was looking about everywhere, I saw Isak (moving) in the distance.'

For more exact simultaneity of the time relationship between two clauses Abun has another way of expressing this which is not by means of a conjunction. When the speaker intends to convey that the events of both clauses occurred at the same time then the clitic *-i* is added to both clauses. For precise simultaneity *sa* is not used being too general in meaning⁶.

⁵The adverb *sa* is homophonous with the conjunction *sa*. As an adverb it rarely appears as a free form. It is normally part of a compound such as *sare* 'like this', *sato* 'for example', *sagana* 'usually' etc. However it does appear as a free form in the interrogative *sa u?* 'like how?/how?'

⁶The fact that Abun grammar can mark the temporal notion of simultaneity in three overt ways, by the conjunctions *sa* and *saresa* and by the clitic *-i* indicates the grammatical importance of this notion.

- (16) *Suk-bo ba-i an sap yu-i*
 thing-fruit make.noise-SIM 3p strike REFLEX-SIM
 'At the time the bell was ringing they were cutting into each other.'

(4) Point coincidence 'when/just as'

- (17) *Ji ma sa nu or yen mu re*
 1s come when.R house empty people go PERF
 'When I came, the house was empty, everyone had gone.'

or 'By the time I came, the house was empty, everyone had gone.'

- (18) *An ndo mo pilot sa yesan desa su-gane ma*
 3s ask at pilot when.R chief area with-that come
 'When he was asking the pilot, just at that time the local area chief came.'

Apart from the conjunction *sa* this temporal relationship can be indicated by the time word *sugane* 'at that time/then'. Example (18) includes this.

Sa-realistic 'conditional'

The conjunction *sa* is most commonly used as a general temporal subordinator as described above and as such would best be translated into English as 'when'. However, *sa* can also be extended in its meaning to include the semantic concept of condition and to also include subjunctive modality. Longacre, in describing clause chaining languages states that, 'Temporal relations appear to be central in these languages and are extended metaphorically in other directions.' (Longacre 1985: 265) Certainly in regard to the conjunction *sa*, which normally functions as a temporal subordinating conjunction, its usage can be extended to include the notion of condition. Abun has no single lexical item that could be translated 'if'. There are a number of ways that the semantic concept of 'condition' is conveyed in Abun. One of them is by means of the conjunction *sa* used together with the time words *be/bere* 'later/will/future'. When the second clause of the complex sentence containing *sa* is marked by

be/bere the sentence has the same meaning as a conditional sentence and can be translated as 'if...then'. Also in some cases these sentences could be translated as in a way that could be considered as 'subjunctive'.⁷ Because *sa* is a conjunction which conveys time setting, or 'tense' these sentences, although referring to hypothetical events, must be marked as being in the past. It could be stated that a past tense or realis 'conditional' conjunction is a contradiction in terms. However, because Abun does not overtly mark the notion of conditional by means of a morpheme, other strategies are used to convey this notion. One means is by the combination *sa + be* which results in a conditional sentence in a past or realis time setting.

- (19) *Ji me su ji gro dom sa be ji jam*
 1s see with 1s eye also when.R FUT 1s believe
 'If I had also seen with my eyes then I would have believed.'

or 'Had I seen with my eyes also I would have believed.'

- (20) *Wo yen yo but nu-won ne nde*
 but people NEG capture house-shaman that NEG
sa bere yen gu yu tó bado?
 when.R FUT people kill REFLEX INCOMPL AQM
 'But if they had not set up the shaman training school they would be still killing each other, don't you think?'

4.2.2 The irrealis conjunction *yo*

In the previous section the conjunction *sa* was described as a temporal subordinating conjunction which could be rendered as 'when' in English. *Sa* was described as a 'realis' conjunction because its usage indicates a past time setting for the clauses that it links. In the same way the conjunction *yo* is also a temporal conjunction. It also may be rendered in English as 'when'. However,

⁷The notions often termed 'subjunctive', such as 'would have', 'should have' etc are more emphatically conveyed by the compound conjunction *sane-sa* 'had that been the case'. This conjunction is discussed in the following chapter, section 5.4.

yo differs from *sa* in that it is an irrealis conjunction. Any sentence marked by *yo* has an implied futurity. The meaning of *yo* contrasts with *sa* in that the events of clauses joined by *yo* have the meaning of future time, are possible events in the future or are completely hypothetical events, i.e, 'when.IRREALIS'. In Abun *yo* is used in basically four ways:

- (1) To express intent or plans 'when(future)...then'
- (2) To describe procedures in hypothetical situations 'when(hypothetical)...then'
- (3) To describe conditions in general hypothetical situations 'if/whenever...then'
- (4) To describe a compulsory consequence following a condition 'if...then(must)'

The following examples illustrate the way *yo* is used in Abun.

(1) to express intent, desire or future plans 'when(future)...(then)'.

- (21) A so a *bi* *suk* *it* *yo*, a *gwat* *more*
 2s buy 2s POSS things COMPL when.IRR 2s bring here
kret ji.
 wait.for me

'When you (will) have bought (all) your things, then bring them here and wait for me.'

- (22) *Me-ka-we* *mu-kom* *mo* *u* *yo* *ji* *mori*
 1p-CLASS-two go-reach to where.indef when.IRR 1s behind
a wadikgan mu nyim
 2s alone go ahead

'When we two get there, I will stay behind, you go ahead by yourself.'

Sentences of the above type where the speaker indicates future movements, plans intentions etc, are always marked by the irrealis conjunction *yo*. It is not necessary to mark any of the clauses within the sentence with the time words *be/bere* 'later/future'. For a single clause only these words would be necessary to mark this clause for future time. In the example below, which consists of two

independent clauses, it is necessary to mark the second clause with the temporal word *be* 'future/will'.

- (23) *Ji ben ji bi suk i Be a ma kon*
 1s do 1s POSS thing own FUT 2s come look.after
ji e
 1s FQM

'I do my own thing. Will you later come and look after me?'

For a complex sentence, however, the conjunction *yo* indicates the same meaning. It is not possible for a single clause to be marked by *yo*, because *yo* is a conjunction. Like *sa*, *yo* goes with the first clause of the complex sentence and not the second.

- (24) *A jam suk ba it yo men mu it ane*
 2s hear thing make.noise COMPL when.IRR 1p go COMPL then
 'When you hear the bell ring, we will go then.'

(2) procedural situations 'when (hypothetical)...(then)'

- (25) *Yen syesyar pa mo nu yo ye*
 people go.out youths in house when.IRR people
mwa ma.
 many come

'When they take the young men out of the house (then) many people come.'

- (26) *A go ndam-som yo a gwim i-da wé kadit*
 2s cut.up bird-som when.IRR 2s peel POSS-skin away from
 'When(ever) you cut up a bat, (then) you peel its skin away from (its body).'

Descriptions of procedures are hypothetical in nature and not fixed in any particular time setting. Therefore, as in the above examples, clauses are linked

by the irrealis conjunction *yo* to indicate that the events expressed within complex sentences are not actual events but possible ones.

(3) hypothetical/conditional situations 'whenever/if...(then)'

- (27) *Pa ben suk rere nggi nde yo kamo nde yo*
 child do things weak strong NEG NEG play NEG when.IRR
pa ga i ane.
 child that sick that.is
 'When a child does things weakly, is not strong, does not play, then that child is a sick child.'
- (28) *Nggon git nok it yo be ben nggon i*
 women eat wild.pig COMPL when.IRR FUT make women sick
 'Whenever women eat wild pig (this) causes them to become sick.'
 or 'If a woman eats wild pig (this) will make her get sick.'

- (29) *An we bi nyanggon-i sem yo an*
 3p two POSS female.relative-POSS sleep when.IRR 3p
we sem An we bi nyanggon-i mu
 two sleep 3p two POSS female.relative-POSS go
yo an we mu
 when.IRR 3p two go

'When their female cousin slept then those two slept. When their female cousin went then those two went.'

Examples (27) and (28) above show hypothetical situations which could happen at any future undisclosed time. These hypothetical situations could aptly be translated by 'whenever'. Thus *yo*, here translated as 'when' in English could also be translated as 'if' for these irrealis sentences. Givón notes that, 'In many languages, irrealis conditionals are marked identically as irrealis *when*-clauses, so that the slight difference between them is inferred from the context.'(1990: 830) This is the case for Abun. Examples (30) and (31) below are irrealis

conditional sentences and are marked by *yo* to express the conditional relationship between the clauses.

- (30) *Nan i yo men to Barbarina si nan kem*
 2s happy when.IRR 1p add Barbarina with 2s live
 'If you are happy (about it) we will (send) Barbarina to live with you.'

- (31) *Wo pa yo me suk nde tó yo,*
 but young.men NEG see things NEG INCOMPL when.IRR
 bere syogat
 FUT order
 'But if the young men haven't seen anything, (then) they order...'

It was stated earlier that Abun has no single lexical item to represent a conditional relationship between clauses. The tensed conjunctions *sa* and *yo* can be used to express this relationship but often no conjunction will be used at all. In the following example the first clause expresses a current state so that the time setting is neither past or future. Here neither *sa* or *yo* have been used to link the two clauses. There is no linker at all. The two clauses are juxtaposed and the conditional relationship that is expressed is inferred by the hearer from the known context.

- (32) *Nan bambri ji be ji ben obat mo a*
 2s not.care 1p FUT 1p do black.magic on 2s
 kwop go!
 die ASST
 '(If) you are not going to have me [marry me], (then) I will kill you with sorcery, so there!'

The conjunction *yo* is also used to link other clauses that could be described as 'hypothetical alternatives.' Abun has no single lexical item that represents alternation such as English 'or'. In questions often *bado* 'ALTERNATIVE QUESTION MARKER' is used. In a complex sentence involving several alternatives *yo* may

be used where the situation is not fully known and therefore hypothetical in some way. In such instances *yo* is best translated as 'whether'.

(33)	<i>An</i>	<i>mewa</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>nggon</i>	<i>ndo</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>ibit</i>
	3s	look.after	3s	POSS	woman	good	when.IRR	bad
	<i>yo</i>		<i>men</i>	<i>jam</i>	<i>nde</i>			
	when.IRR	1p	know	NEG				

'Whether he looks after his wife well or badly, we do not know.'

(4) compulsory consequence 'if...then (must)'

It has been shown that *yo* is used within sentences to express the future time setting of those sentences, to express possible events or hypothetical ones and also to express a conditional relationship between two clauses. It can also be used to link clauses where the event expressed by the second clause is a compulsory consequence of the event expressed by the first. These types of sentences are always hypothetical in nature, yet the additional link of consequence is contained within the meaning of the complex sentence. For example:

(34)	<i>Ye-to</i>	<i>gwa</i>	<i>yewon</i>	<i>dabe</i>	<i>yo,</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>ne</i>
	person-REL	hit	shaman	ear	when.IRR	person	that
	<i>bi</i>	<i>denda su</i>	<i>mbre</i>				
	pay	fine	with	eastern.cloth			

'Whenever someone hits a shaman on the ear, that person must pay a fine with antique cloth.'

(35)	<i>Suk-to</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>mone</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>jam</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>gu</i>
	thing-REL	2s	find	there	when.IRR	2p	know	2s	kill
	<i>wé</i>	<i>sor.</i>							
	off	just							

'Whatever you find there, you know you must just kill it.'

4.2.3 Constituent status of *sa* and *yo*

When both of these 'tensed' conjunctions mark a sentence they modify the first clause of the sentence only. Thus these sentences have the following structure

[CLAUSE 1 + *sa/yo*] + CLAUSE 2

Because a single clause cannot be modified by a grammatical category 'tense', *sa* and *yo* are considered subordinating conjunctions. However these 'tensed' conjunctions differ structurally to other Abun subordinating conjunctions in that they are postpositional. The complementizer *do* precedes the complement. Likewise compounding conjunctions such as *we* 'because' and *wo* 'but' precede the clause. This is to be expected since Abun is a language with SVO word order and has prepositions. The 'tensed' or temporal conjunctions *sa* and *yo* depart from the pattern that is elsewhere found in the language. In fact in VO word order languages generally 'the connecting morpheme appears *clause initially* — in the *following clause*.' (Givón 1990:889) These conjunctions being postpositional illustrate characteristics often found in OV languages. Because these two conjunctions show a difference in syntactic behaviour to other Abun conjunctions they are considered to be in a separate sub-class to the others.

The two final examples show clearly that while both conjunctions have several meanings in Abun, the predominant meaning is to give a time setting to the sentences concerned. The first clause of each sentence is almost identical to the other except for the choice of conjunction. The meaning difference is that the events expressed by sentence (36) had at that stage not yet taken place (being in the middle of a narrative), whereas sentence (37) (given earlier as example (20)) expresses events already concluded and is in fact a summary statement at the end of the same narrative. Therefore it is by the means of two

subordinating conjunctions that hearers can identify the time settings of Abun sentences.

(36)	<i>Wo</i>	<i>yen</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>nu-won</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>nde</i>	<i>yo</i>
	but	3p	capture	house-shaman	that	NEG	when.IRR
	<i>be</i>	<i>yen</i>	<i>yo ki</i>	<i>suk ndo</i>	<i>nde</i>	<i>tó</i>	<i>be yen</i>
	FUT	people	NEG say	thing good	NEG	INCOMPL	FUT people
	<i>gu</i>	<i>yu</i>		<i>tó</i>			
	kill	REFLEX		INCOMPL			

'But if they do not set up a 'shaman training school', then the people will not yet (get around to) talking about (the problem) properly, they will still kill each other.'

(37)	<i>Wo</i>	<i>yen</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>nu-won</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>nde</i>
	but	people	NEG	capture	house-shaman	that	NEG
	<i>sa</i>	<i>bere yen</i>		<i>gu yu</i>	<i>tó</i>	<i>bado?</i>	
	when.R	FUT	people	kill	REFLEX	INCOMPL	AQM

'But if they had not set up the shaman training school they would be still killing each other, don't you think?'

5. Prepositional Conjunctions

5.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter adverbial subordinate clauses, which were linked to the larger sentence by means of postpositional conjunctions, were described. In Abun, clauses are linked to form complex sentences in one of two ways- by means of postpositional conjunctions or by means of prepositional conjunctions. Clause types in Abun can be classified according to which type of conjunction is used, rather than a subordinate/coordinate distinction which depends upon clause-internal syntactic differences. In this chapter, the usage of prepositional conjunctions within sentences will be described. There are three types of prepositional conjunction. These three types are grouped together according to their common syntactic properties. Table 1 below outlines these groups and lists the common syntactic features that distinguish them from each other. There are a small number of conjunctions which do not fit neatly into these three groups. These 'exceptions' have not been included in Table 1 but are also discussed in this chapter.

TABLE 1 PREPOSITIONAL CONJUNCTIONS

Group	Features
1. Preposition conjunctions <i>wa</i> 'for' <i>tepsu</i> 'like' etc	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are also members of the class of prepositions • can embed single clauses within larger sentences • do not compound with other conjunctions
2. Compounding conjunctions <i>we</i> 'because' <i>wo</i> 'but' <i>te</i> 'then'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cannot be used to embed clauses but link two or more independent clauses • may compound with other conjunctions to extend their range of meaning
3. 'Negative' conjunctions <i>onde-wo</i> 'but really' <i>onde-sa</i> 'otherwise (would)' etc	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • consist of the clause negator <i>onde</i> • are always in compound form together with other conjunctions or time words

5.1 The preposition as conjunction

Traditionally prepositions and conjunctions have been considered as two separate word classes within a language. Recently Huddleston has proposed, at least for English, that prepositions and subordinating conjunctions be conflated into a single class (1984: 338). Some of the reasoning behind this that is applicable to Abun as well as English is that a number of these words 'enter into construction with either an NP or a clause.'(Huddleston 1984: 339) Abun prepositions behave like conjunctions in that a large number of the class of prepositions have the ability to link a clause to a larger construction. Where they differ from the other conjunction groups listed in Table 1 is in their ability to embed clauses within larger units. It will be shown later that other conjunctions in Abun (also prepositional) link independent clauses together. These conjunctions have been described as compounding conjunctions from their ability to create new forms and extend their range of meaning.

The following table lists those Abun prepositions that behave also as conjunctions. For some, when they are used to link a clause rather than an NP their original meaning is extended.

TABLE 2 PREPOSITION CONJUNCTIONS

	as PREPOSITION	as CONJUNCTION
<i>wa</i>	'for' BENEFACTIVE	'for/in order to' PURPOSE
<i>tepsu</i>	'like/same as'	'like/same as'
<i>wade</i>	'until'	'until'
<i>kadit</i>	'from/rather than'	'from/rather than'
<i>karowa</i>	'close to/near'	'close to'
<i>subot</i>	'about/along'	'about'
<i>su</i>	'with' INSTRUMENT	'with'

The majority of Abun prepositions may act as conjunctions. However, the general locative *mo* 'at/in' can only be used in association with the relative

clause marker *gato*.¹ Some of the prepositions such as *subot* 'along' *karowa* 'close to/near' and *su* 'with' are not commonly used as conjunctions. Examples of those that are more commonly used, both as prepositions and as conjunctions are given below.

'wa' 'for/in order to'

- (1) *An fro nu yo wa men*
 3s prepare house DET.INDEF for 1p
 'She prepared a house for us.'

- (2) *Marta tot su-gato gum do brer gwat ma wa men*
 Marta cut thing-REL name COMP brer bring DIR for 1p
git sugit mo
 eat food on

'Marta cut some 'brer' (leaves) and brought them back for us to eat our food on.'

The clause that follows the preposition *wa* in example (2) above is considered as a single constituent. As discussed in Chapter 3 earlier, there is no non-finite form of the verb in Abun, thus *men git sugit mo* represents a single clause.

- (3) *Yenggras Cosmus brek kwem su mu nden mo tanjung*
 mister Cosmus turn canoe head DIR land to point
Kasuwari wa men sem mone.
 Cassowary for 1p sleep there

'Mister Cosmus turned the head of the canoe towards the shore at Cassowary Point in order for us to sleep there.'

Since *wa* is a preposition, if a clause containing *wa* is negated the prepositional phrase is included within the negation. For example,

¹Examples of these are in Chapter 2, p20ff.

- (4) Yenggras yo ki nggon yo wa ji nde
elders NEG say women DET.indef for 1s NEG
'The elders did not speak to any women for me (to marry).'

Likewise if *wa* links a constituent that is as large as a clause, this clause is also included within the scope of the negation of the main clause verb. Example (5) below illustrates this.

- (5) Men yo ku oto wa men bes men bi suk yo
1p NEG find car for 1p lift 1p POSS thing NEG
mo nde
exist NEG

'We did not find any cars to carry our load (for us) at all.'

In sections 3.1.5 and 3.2.1.1 earlier it was shown how a clause can be considered as subordinate by the placement of the final negative particle *nde*. If a main clause is to be negated the negative particle *nde* only occurs after any subordinate clause which may be embedded within the larger sentence. Thus clauses joined by *wa* are embedded clauses within a larger sentence. So in example (5) above the preposition *wa* is used to link the clause *men bes men bi suk* 'we load our things' to a larger sentence. The placement of the negative particle *nde* as sentence final indicates that this clause is in fact embedded.

The following example is even more complex. The verb of the main clause is negative, and as is the case with main clause verbs in Abun, the second negative particle cannot occur until after any embedded clauses which are governed by the main clause. In this example there are three embedded clauses, one a relative clause and two that are embedded by means of *wa*, showing that *wa* is also recursive in nature. To add to the complexity the main clause is also an interrogative. Again, like the final negative particle the interrogative marker *e* occurs after the embedded clauses.

- (6) A *jam bisor gato ki mo ye yi wa ye yi waii gwat ri e suk sane ma wa yen gu su re nde e?*
 2s know bisor REL say to person other for person
 other also bring ginger and things like.that DIR for people
 kill with PERF NEG QM

'Don't you know (the meaning of) 'bisor' whereby (someone) asks someone else to get ginger and other sorts of things so that they (can use them to) kill with (by means of sorcery)?'

tepsu 'just like/equivalence'

- (7) *Ji kem temsu ari dik*
 1s stay like.equiv week one
 'I stayed for about a week.'
- (8) A *napawa pé temsu jam-biro kom mo kwe-guk*
 2s remember firmly just.like vine-biro grow on tree-branch
 'You remember (this) closely just like the 'biro' vine clings closely to the branch that it grows on.'

kadit 'from/rather than'

- (9) *Nggon syeyar kadit nu-gan*
 woman come.out from house-small
 'The woman came out from the women's house.'

- (10) Ye we git ***kadit*** nggon Dembok re
 person two eat rather.than woman Dembok PERF
 'The two men ate rather than Miss Dembok.'
 or 'The two men ate not leaving any food for Miss Dembok.'

- (11) Me-ka-we git more subere sugum wok sor ***kadit***
 1p-CLASS-two eat here so.that money small just rather.than
 men git sugit mo nu sane sugum sye ndo nde
 1p eat at house like.that moneybig good NEG
 'The two of us will eat here so that (we don't) pay much, rather than we eat at that house (restaurant) (where) it is really expensive.'

wade 'until'

- (12) *Men kem mone wade kam we rek*
 1p stay there until day two entire
 'We stayed there for all of two days.'
- (13) *Men mu wade men satu ma kadit Jayapura*
 1p go until 1p return DIR from Jayapura
 'We are going until we return here from Jayapura.'

sude/su-bere 'so that'

This conjunction is made up of the preposition *su* 'with' and the time word *bere* 'FUTURE/later'. In regards to the dialect variant *sude* no meaning component has been elicited for -de. Speakers that use *sude* often add *bere* indicating that this conjunction is used with events not yet realised. *Sude* is not used to link a noun phrase to a clause so in this way it could not be described as a preposition. However, it is the author's opinion that the form *sude* is derived from the preposition *su* 'with' and so it has been included here with other prepositions.

- (14) *Ji mu nyim kekro sude bere ji nai sugit*
 1s go ahead quickly so.that later 1s take food
 kekro kagit ye mwa
 quickly from people many
 'I will go ahead quickly so that I can get the food quickly because there are many people.'
- (15) *A me ri yo a grem subere ji*
 2s see ginger.root when.IRR 2s put so.that 1s
 mu kar Sem et.
 go go.get Sem SUBJ
 'If you find some ginger root then keep it (here) so that I can go and get Sem soon. (so that he can use the ginger root)'

In a language like English adverbial subordinate clauses can be distinguished from coordinate clauses in that the subordinate clause is not fixed in its position within the sentence. The subordinate clause may either be *pre-posed*, that is

sentence initial, or *post-posed*, that is sentence final. Such flexibility of sentence position is not possible in Abun. Therefore in Abun, the ability to pre-pose or post-pose an adverbial clause is not an indicator of subordination. It has already been discussed earlier (section 3.2.1.1) that there is no non-finite verb form that can be used to signify that a clause is subordinate. However, the placement of the final negative particle is an indicator in Abun that a clause is embedded within a larger sentence. By this means clauses that are linked to larger clauses by means of prepositions are shown to be subordinate, as in examples (5) and (6) above. However, prepositions and all conjunctions in Abun are sentence medial. A clause together with its linking conjunction cannot be fronted or pre-posed as is possible in a language like English. It has been claimed that 'All languages seem to allow the pre-posing of ADV-clauses.' (Givón 1990:844) This is not the case for Abun and therefore this cannot be used as an indicator of subordination.

5.2 Compounding conjunctions

The most striking feature of the second group of prepositional conjunctions is indicated by their name- 'compounding' conjunctions. From three 'base' forms- we 'because', wo 'but' and te 'then', a total of eight other compound conjunctions are created. This feature, the ability to act as a base form within a compound, is a significant syntactic feature which can be used to identify these three conjunctions as a distinct group or sub-class in Abun. Before the extent of these compounding possibilities is discussed, another syntactic feature common to these compounding conjunctions will be discussed first.

This second group of prepositional conjunctions, unlike those which are prepositions, does not have the ability to embed a clause within a larger unit. These conjunctions link two independent clauses together to form sentences

which cannot be easily described by the traditional labels of subordinate or coordinate. In chapter four it was explained that Abun has little syntactic evidence to support a subordinate/coordinate division of complex sentences. This is most likely due to the influence of Papuan clause-chaining languages which also do not have this division. In fact many languages, not only Abun, 'do not make a clear morpho-syntactic distinction between coordinate and subordinate clauses.' (Givón 1990:848) At first glance sentences which contain these conjunctions appear no different to those where a preposition is used as the means of clause linkage. To show this several sentences are given below. The first two, given earlier as examples (3) and (8) use the prepositions *wa* 'for' and *tepsu* 'like/same as'. Examples (18), (19) and (20) show *we* 'because', *wo* 'but' and *te* 'then' respectively.

- (16) *Yenggras* *Cosmus* *brek* *kwem* *su* *mu* *nden* *mo* *tanjung*
 mister Cosmus turn canoe head DIR land to point
Kasuwari *wa* *men* *sem* *mone*.
 Cassowary for 1p sleep there
 'Mister Cosmus turned the head of the canoe towards the shore at Cassowary Point in order for us to sleep there.'
- (17) *A napawa pé te psu jam-biro kom mo kwe-guk*
 2s remember firmly just.like vine-biro grow on tree-branch
 'You remember (this) closely just like the 'biro' vine clings closely to the branch that it grows on.'
- (18) *Nan ben suk ré kekro we men mu mo Jayapura*
 2s do thing this quickly because 1p go to Jayapura
 'You do this thing quickly because we are going to Jayapura.'
- (19) *Yan Sundoi ne kwop re wo Edia Yesa ne kem tó*
 Yan Sundoi DET die PERF but Edia Yesa DET live still
 'Yan Sundoi has already died but Edia Yesa is still living.'

- (20) *Ji ma it san te ji mu*
 1s come put.on clothes then 1s go
 'I came and put on clothes then I went.'

In all of the above cases none of the clauses preceded by prepositional conjunctions can be pre-posed, as this is not possible in Abun. In all of the sentences above there are no special verb forms used, as the form of the verb in Abun is invariant. Therefore it could be said that the constituent structure of these sentences is identical. However, this is not the case.

In the previous section it was shown that the placement of the final negative particle *nde* could be used to show that clauses which were linked by means of prepositions such as *wa* were subordinate. In example (6) earlier the final interrogative particle *e* also indicated that several clauses linked to the main clause by the preposition *wa* were subordinate. In Abun the mood particle is always the final constituent of the clause.² If this same indicator of subordination is applied to clauses that are linked by 'compounding' conjunctions what is the outcome? Can clauses linked by compounding conjunctions be shown to be embedded just as those linked by prepositions are? When this test of subordination is applied it can be seen that sentences which use compounding conjunctions are in fact different to those which make use of a prepositions. Example (5) is repeated below as example (21) to show this contrast.

- (21) *Men yo ku oto wa men bes men bi suk yo*
 1p NEG find car for 1p lift 1p POSS thing NEG
mo nde
 exist NEG

'We did not find any cars to carry our load (for us) at all.'

²This is discussed more fully in the paper by K. Berry 1995, Chapter 6.

In (21) above the main clause verb *ku* 'get' is negated and the final negative particle *nde* occurs after the embedded clause which is linked by the preposition *wa* 'for'. In example (22) below the means of clause linkage is the compounding conjunction *we* 'because'. The negative particles have been placed in exactly the same way as in (21) above, yet this is an unacceptable sentence.

- (22) **Ji yo ma we ji bi nggon i nde*
 1s NEG come because 1s POSS woman sick NEG
 'I did not come because my wife was sick.'

Example (22) above is structurally incorrect because when clauses are linked by a compounding conjunction such as *we* 'because', each clause must be individually marked for negation if negation is relevant. In example (23) below, only the verb of the first clause, *ma* 'come' is negated. The second negative particle *nde* occurs before the conjunction *we* indicating that the second clause is not a subordinate clause.

- (23) *Ji yo ma nde we ji bi nggon i*
 1s NEG com NEG because 1s POSS woman sick
 'I did not come because my wife was sick.'

When clauses are linked by compounding conjunctions they cannot be embedded, as is the case when clauses are linked by prepositions. In these cases each clause must be marked for negation and for mood, if this is applicable. Each clause could stand as an independent clause. Therefore the sentence which uses a compounding conjunction as the means of clause linkage is structurally different to those which use prepositions. The following examples indicate the mood and negative marking of clauses linked by these conjunctions.³

³It could be said that on this basis Abun does possess a subordinate/coordinate distinction of clause types. I have preferred not to incorporate this distinction within my analysis because as

- (24) A sun tom we boge jon it
 2s get.up IMP because fish be.cook COMPL
 'Get up, because the fish is cooked!'
- (25) Ji titi satu mo kampung sor we ji yo
 1s flee return to village just because 1s NEG
 bi os wa ji kem mo Dom nde
 POSS way for 1s stay at Dom NEG
 'I just fled back to the village because I did not have any way to stay (on) in Dom.'
- (26) Nggon syim karowa án nde we nggon ben
 women arm near 3p NEG because women make
 suk-ye wa án
 NOM-difficulty for them
 'Women must not physically touch them because this would make them ritually unclean (literally women make difficulties).'
- (27) An yo nut-bot an bi siri nde wo an mu
 3s NEG think-about 3s POSS wrong NEG but 3s go
 ki-bot ye yi bi siri
 talk-about people other POSS wrong
 'He does not think about (the things) he (does) wrong but he goes (and) talks about (the things) other people (do) wrong.'

The third conjunction that is included in the group of compounding conjunctions is the sequential conjunction *te* 'then'. Abun has no single conjunction which in meaning is precisely equivalent to a coordinate conjunction such as the English 'and'. However, *te* and its dialect variant *ge* in compound form produce a number of varying sequential conjunctions. It has been observed that the notions of temporal simultaneity and sequence 'are elaborated with considerable range and variety in Papua New Guinea.' (Longacre 1985:267) The number of sequential variants found in Abun is typical of a Papuan language and shows

pointed out at the beginning of Chapter 4 there is little syntactic marking to distinguish the two types. Rather I have preferred to distinguish the other syntactic feature that these conjunctions possess, namely the ability to compound and create new forms.

something of the influence of these languages on Abun syntax. It may be uncommon to group sequential conjunctions together with those meaning 'because' and 'but'. However, there are no syntactic distinctions found in Abun complex sentences which correlate with the semantic differences of these conjunctions and which would justify a further subdivision. Another type of conjunction, that which means 'alternation', such as the English 'or', is also normally considered together with a conjunction of contrast such as *wo* 'but'. Abun has no single morpheme which is used to indicate alternation.⁴ Therefore, for Abun, on the basis of common syntactic behaviour sequential conjunctions are included within the second group of prepositional conjunctions—the 'compounding' conjunctions. Examples of sentences containing *te* and its variant *ge* are given below.

- (28) *Men kem sane wade jam dik bayok te men*
 1p stay like.that until hour one perhaps then 1p
 jam kapar-ok uk
 hear ship-fly make.noise

'We stayed there for about an hour, then we heard the noise of the plane.'

- (29) *An maskwa ge an gu an bi nggon kam-dik*
 3s angry then 3s beat 3s POSS woman day-one
 kam-dik
 day-one

'He was angry then he beat his wife every day.'

5.3 Compound conjunctions

As stated earlier the most obvious way that this second group of prepositional conjunctions differ from prepositions is their ability to compound with other conjunctions. By doing so the range of semantic possibilities is greatly

⁴This is a feature marked on each clause which may represent a choice to the hearer. In interrogatives *bado* is used. Otherwise the temporal subordinate conjunction *yo* is used, or the particle *ka*, a borrowed term from the unrelated Biak language.

extended. Prepositions generally do not compound in Abun.⁵ The following table lists the three 'base' conjunctions and the compound forms that are derived from them. Examples of each compound follow the table.

TABLE 3 COMPOUND CONJUNCTIONS

CONJUNCTION	COMPOUND
we 'because'	sa-we 'in case, lest'
wo 'but'	sare-wo 'however' onde-wo 'but really'
te/ge 'then'	e-te 'and then' or-ete/or-ge 'after that then' ete-yo/or-ete-yo 'and next, and so' onde-ge 'otherwise-then'

sawe 'in case'

The compound sa-we is derived from sa 'like' and we 'because'. It expresses the meaning 'in case' and is used to link clauses where in one clause some undesirable aim or purpose should be avoided.

- (30) An *jam* do an karowa ne nde **sawe** an
 3s know COMP 3s go.near there NEG in.case 3s
 syim-tok *wo-kwai* *re* *basmi* *dom*
 hand-touch fish-eel this smell also

'He knew that he could not go near there in case he touched the eel (and its) smell (would be on him) too.'

⁵One exception is *su-bere* 'so that'. In this word the preposition *su* 'with' compounds with the time word *bere* 'later' to form a conjunction. Most conjunctions do not compound with time words as is the case here, the only exception being *onde-ber* 'otherwise.will' which will be discussed later.

- (31) *An i dek sane sawe ji mu meret*
 3s sick constant like.that in.case 1s go look.for

nggon be yo
 woman new DET.indef

'She was always sick like that in case I went and looked for a new wife.'

sarewo 'however'

The compound *sarewo* is made up of *sare* 'like.this' and *wo* 'but'. In many instances its meaning is interchangeable with *wo* 'but'. Often it is best translated as 'however.' While *wo* is used to express a semantic relationship of contrast between clauses *sarewo* is more likely to express the semantic relationship of contra-expectation.

- (32) *Án ki-bot sarewo yen mit-wa be yen*
 3p talk-about however people intend-TRANS later people

gu Nikodemus tó
 kill Nikodemus still

'They discussed (it); however, people still wanted to kill Nikodemus.'

- (33) *Yen kwa an mone sarewo an yo ge*
 people do.healing.magic 3s there however 3s NEG heal
ri kadit an bi suk-i ne nde
 straight from 3s POSS NOM-sick DET NEG

'They performed healing rituals on her there; however, she did not get properly healed from her sickness.'

The conjunction *wo* is a constituent of one another compound, *onde-wo* 'but really'. Since *onde* is a negative particle this conjunction will be discussed in the final section of this chapter on negative conjunctions.

5.3.1 Sequential clauses

The compound sequential conjunctions are not only made up of the conjunction *te* 'then' but are also made up of other morphemes. One of these is the adverb

or 'after/finished'. The other morpheme, the additive conjunction e 'and', is the closest to truly being a coordinate conjunction of any that are found in Abun. Before giving examples of the compound conjunctions derived from te, a brief sample of Abun sequential clauses is given below showing the use of these constituent morphemes which frequently feature in Abun sequential clauses.

Like Papuan languages Abun has a number of ways to mark temporal simultaneity and also temporal sequence. In regard to sequence especially there are quite a variety of options to express the relationship of temporal succession between clauses. Often clauses that are sequential in nature do not use any conjunctions at all. They are simply juxtaposed. For example

- (34) *Men gwa bei mone men git men ror men si ndar*
 1p pound sago there 1p eat 1p scrape 1p with dogs
 'We pounded sago there, we ate, we scraped (the sago palms), we
 (hunted) with dogs...'

On some occasions sequential clauses are joined by e which could be said to mean 'and'. However, it often acts more like a pause word and is never used to join nouns in a coordinate phrase. In these phrases si 'with' is used so that a coordinate phrase such as 'women and children' in Abun is *nggon si pa*. The conjunction e is used when the speaker is listing items, or closely related activities, hence it is described as an additive conjunction. When used to join clauses it is usually used with only two clauses and in a longer group of sequential clauses other sequential conjunctions may be used together with it or none at all.

- (35) *Men gu boge e men gu wo-nggwan e*
 1p kill fish.generic and 1p kill fish-nggwan and
wo-kwai e
 fish-eel and

'We killed fish of various sorts, we killed 'nggwan' fish, eels..'

- (36) *Men titi Men sem e men mu sem kagit*
 1p run.away 1p sleep and 1p go sleep from
suk-sara ne
 NOM-dance that
- 'We ran off. We slept and we went and slept rather than (continuing on with) the dance.'

- (37) *Ji sam mu ji grem kop e nggwe ne er*
 1s carry DIR 1s put fixed and garden DET clear
 'I carried (the wood) away, I left it somewhere and the garden was cleared.'

Also frequently used to join sequential clauses is *or-e* 'after-and' or more simply translated as 'and'. The addition of *or* 'finish/after' indicates that the action expressed by the previous clause is finished and so this adds to the sequential nature of the sentence.

- (38) *Nggon we si Abaidim kwas ore go ore tik*
 women two with Abaidim burn and cut.up and pull
on ne
 intestines DET
- 'The two women and Abaidim burned off (the hairs of the skin) and they cut (the meat) up and they pulled out the intestines.'

Thus the morphemes *e* and *or* are joined with *te/ge* to create other sequential conjunctions.

ete 'and then'

By far the most commonly used sequential conjunction in any narrative or dialogue is *e-te* 'and then'. It is more frequently used than both of its constituents, *e* and *te*.

- (39) *An taru wa men ete men ma*
 3s send.message for 1p and.then 1p came
 'He sent a message for us and then we came.'

- (40) *A ben sare ete be rus sa u ne*
 2s do like.this and.then later family how which QM
 'You do (things) like this and then how will it be for the family?'
 or 'If you keep doing things like this then what will the outcome be for the family?'

orete/orge 'after that then'

Yet another sequential conjunction is created by the addition of the adverb or 'after/finish' to the conjunction *ete* 'and then'. *Orete* and its dialect variant *orge* differ little in meaning to *ete*. The addition of *or* emphasises that the action expressed by the first clause of the sentence is finished before preceding on to the action of the second clause. The notion of immediate chronological sequence is made more evident by usage of *orete* rather than *ete*. Like *ete*, *orete* is frequently used.

- (41) *An kon su-git men git mone or-ete men mu*
 3s cook NOM-food 1p eat there after-then 1p go
 mo Syurur
 to Syurur
 'He cooked food, we ate there and then we went to Syurur.'

- (42) *Abaidim sem wade kam or-ete Abaidim sun*
 Abaidim sleep until day after-then Abaidim get.up
 'Abaidim slept until it was day and then Abaidim got up.'

- (43) *Ji ma or-e ji grem suk or-ge ji mu*
 1s come after-and 1s put things after-and 1s go
o re
 again PERF

'I came and I stored the things and then I went off again.'

By the illustration of the above examples it can be seen that the Abun speaker has a wide variety of options when wishing to link clauses that are sequential in nature. As well as not using any conjunction at all the speaker may choose from five different conjunctions in order to express the notion of temporal sequence. Therefore in any sentence of a sequential nature it is possible to find more than one sequential conjunction used.

- (44) *An gwa drom det pu or-ete yenggras Erensi*
 3s beat drum piece loud.noise after-then elder Erensi
gen ete Erensi sun
 startle and.then Erensi get.up

'She beat on the drum loudly and then old Erensi was startled and Erensi got up.'

eteyo/oreteyo 'and next/and so'

There are two more sequential conjunctions in Abun, but these two have the component of meaning of result or outcome added to that of temporal sequence. The conjunctions *ete* and *orete* when expanded by the tensed conjunction *yo* result in two new conjunctions meaning 'and so' where both the concepts of sequence and logical result are combined in one form. In this case the addition of *yo* does not indicate an irrealis or non-past time setting for the sentence as when *yo* is normally used. The addition of *yo* creates a new conjunction which differs in its range of meaning and usage to other sequential conjunctions. The way in which the usage of *oreteyo* differs to that of *orete* and other sequential conjunctions is shown by the examples below. Example (45) was earlier given as example (41).

- (45) An kon su-git men git mone or-ete men mu
 3s cook NOM-food 1p eat there after-then 1p go
 mo Syurur
 to Syurur

'He cooked food, we ate there and then we went to Syurur.'

- (46) An ben suk-ye oreteyo an bi pa kwop
 3s do NOM-difficulty and.so 3s POSS child die
 'He stirred up problems and then as a result his child died.'

Example (45) describes a series of events which presumably were accomplished in close chronological sequence. This is normally the case when the conjunctions *ete* and *orete* are used. However, example (46) does not describe events that occur in close chronological sequence. The time sequence between the two clauses concerned is more indefinite. Rather it seems that the second clause does not merely follow on chronologically after the first clause but follows as a *result* of the first one. The event expressed by the second clause arises from, or is due to the events of the first. Other examples below illustrate this.

- (47) Men is-bot jip mu nim mu bur ware Isak
 1p descend-along ladder go up go down FRUST Isak
 narar os eteyo men muri kom mo bur
 confused path and.so 1p lost reach to ground

'We went down along the stairs, we went up and down, but to no avail, Isak was confused as to where to go, and then as a result at the bottom of the stairwell we were lost.'

- (48) Nan bi mben gato kra nan bi nyanggon e ba
 2s POSS in.law REL marry 2s POSS sister and come
 akanwa nan ga-re eteyo suk- yo gat bado?
 agree.meet 2p ANAPH-DET and.next thing-INDEF stab perhaps

'Your in-law who married your sister went out to meet you and (what happened) next, did something spear him perhaps? [He had died.]

'What happened next?' could also be read as 'What was the outcome?'

Examples (47) and (48) show that something more than sequence is involved. In both of these examples there is some cause-effect relationship involving the two events that are linked by *ete-yo/or-ete-yo*. The second event is regarded as being the result or outcome of the first. Thus *eteyo/oreteyo* has been translated as 'and so' or 'and then as a result' to indicate its difference to other sequential conjunctions.

Oreteyo can also be used to link together a series of clauses which represent a list of steps or actions in a common process. In these cases, there is a common semantic thread expressed by the sequence of clauses, which concerns the completion of the process being described. To understand this better it can be seen in example (45) given earlier that while there is a semantic thread between the first two clauses, 'He cooked food, we ate there...', there is none between these first two and the final clause, 'and then (*orete*) we went to Syurur.' The event expressed by this final clause did not follow as a direct result of the events of the other two clauses. A conjunction like *orete* does not create any logical expectations. A clause such as 'and then we went to sleep' could have also followed the first two. This is not the case when *oreteyo* is used as example (49) shows below.

(49)	<i>Pa</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>krop</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>bok</i>	<i>jamtu</i>
	young.man	cut.up	young.man	make.hole	young.man	insert	vine
	<i>mo</i>	<i>oreteyo</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>far</i>	<i>jamtu</i>	<i>nggwa</i>	
	in	and.next	young.man	tie	vine	loop	

'The young men cut (it) up, they put holes (in it), they put vine through the holes and then they tied the vine into loops.'

Oreteyo is used to link the final clause in these sequences indicating that the outcome of the process has been reached. *Oreteyo* precedes the clause that expresses the end of a semantically related chain of events. In this way the

behaviour of the conjunction *oreteyo* is not unlike that of the final verb of a chain in clause chaining languages. In such languages the distinct markings that the verb takes for tense and person etc indicate that the end of the chain has been reached. Likewise by the choice of the conjunction *oreteyo* speakers can indicate that the end of certain sequences has been reached. Again there is something more than chronological sequence involved. Examples (50) and (51) show *oreteyo* used in this way. Here it has been translated 'and.next' to distinguish this usage from that in the earlier examples.

(50)	<i>Yen</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>semda</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>yen</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>suk</i>
	people	do.magic	semda	and	people	do.magic	thing
	<i>ne</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>worendam</i>	<i>oreteyo</i>	<i>yen</i>	<i>gwat</i>	<i>ma</i>
	DET	at	worendam	and.next	people	bring	DIR

'The people did the ritual for the 'semda' spirit and they did rituals for those things at the 'worendam' tree and next they brought (the things) back.'

(51)	<i>Men</i>	<i>grem</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>orete</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>sis</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>nggon</i>
	1p	put	on	mat	and.then	1p	push	DIR	pass	women
	<i>bi</i>	<i>det-i</i>		<i>ne-ya</i>	<i>oreteyo</i>	<i>yen</i>			<i>nai</i>	
	POSS	group-own		there-distant	and.next	people			took	

'We put (the things) on the mat and then we pushed (it) past the woman's group of relatives over there and then they took (it all).'

5.3.2 Constituent status of compounding conjunctions.

The compounding conjunctions described here have been included with other Abun conjunctions that are classed as prepositional. With these conjunctions, however, it is not always easy to determine which clause they are considered to be a constituent of. The situation is further complicated when a postpositional conjunction such as *yo* is part of the compound conjunction. In regard to two of the compounding conjunctions, *we* 'because' and *wo* 'but', there is plenty of variation by speakers as to whether they pause before or after the conjunction. However, it appears that the larger or more complex the conjunction is speakers

are more likely to pause at the end of the first clause, placing this conjunction with the second clause. If for some reason less than a complex sentence is given, for instance as a shortened response in a dialogue, all of these conjunctions occur before the single clause that is given and never occur clause finally. Therefore sentences which contain compounding conjunctions have the following structure:

CLAUSE 1 + [CONJUNCTION + CLAUSE 2]

All conjunctions in Abun are typically sentence medial. While many of the clauses discussed here could be described as neither subordinate nor coordinate the role of the conjunction in Abun is to delineate the semantic relationship that exists between the linked clauses. Therefore if any constituent of these clauses is absent, including the conjunction, it is no longer possible to have a complex sentence expressing such semantic relationships as reason, contrast etc. In this way then the conjoined clauses become interdependent.

5.4 Influence of the national language on Abun complex sentence structure.

Over recent years a growing number of Abun speakers have become bilingual and speak the national language, Bahasa Indonesia. However, the number of those who are reasonably fluent is still small. This means that the influence of Bahasa Indonesia on Abun complex sentence structure is not yet great. Abun complex sentences differ quite markedly from Indonesian complex sentences. There are also several conjunctions in Indonesian which have no Abun counterpart. The most common of these are *kalau* 'if', *sebelum* 'before' and *atau* 'or'. Some Abun speakers add these Indonesian words alongside the existing Abun form. As yet these are not used to replace the Abun forms which represent these concepts.

The Indonesian language has, in a small way, influenced the structure of the Abun complex sentence. All Abun conjunctions are sentence medial so that sentence structure is as follows (constituency aside):

CLAUSE 1 + CONJUNCTION + CLAUSE 2

However, there are Indonesian conjunctions which are sentence initial. These sentences have the following structure:

CONJUNCTION + CLAUSE 1 + CLAUSE 2

This pattern has influenced Abun sentence structure in two cases. The first is with the concessive conjunction *kap-re* 'although'. The second is with the logical conjunction *sane* 'so'.

***kap-re* 'although'**

Kap-re is actually a noun phrase meaning 'this (period of) time'. *Kap* 'time (unspecified)' is an older word which is infrequently used. It survives as a variant of 'when INTERROGATIVE', *kap u?* 'when?'. The other variant is *kam u?* 'day which/when?'. *Kapre* has come to be used as a conjunction meaning 'although/even though.' Of the existing Abun conjunctions there is none that has the equivalent meaning of 'although'.⁶ Indonesian, however, is a language which strongly marks the semantic notion of concession. There are a number of forms which can be used including *meskipun* 'although', *walaupun* 'although' and also *sungguhpun* and *sekalipun*. Therefore it appears that the Abun temporal phrase *kap-re* has undergone a category change. In doing so, it fills a semantic concept which is strongly marked in the national language, but was not explicitly marked in Abun.

⁶The semantic notion of concession can be created in Abun by marking the first clause with the factitive predicate marker *da* and linking the two clauses by means of *sarewo* 'however'. This gives rise to a sentence with the meaning 'He actually *da* did X however *sarewo* Y.'

Not only has the influence of Indonesian created a conjunction out of a temporal phrase, but also its use in Abun follows the Indonesian sentence pattern. *Kapre* is a sentence initial rather than a sentence medial conjunction. As such it is the only sentence initial conjunction in Abun. It has been suggested that bilinguals 'create patterns in one of their languages which are structurally parallel to those found in the other.' (Thompson and Longacre 1985:205) This appears to be confirmed by the usage of *kapre*, which is most common with bilingual speakers who have been educated in Indonesian. The following examples show the influence of the Indonesian sentence structure. The first is in Bahasa Indonesia, the others are Abun examples.

- (52) *Walaupun ia sakit ia pergi ke kelas*
 although 3s ill 3s go to class
 'Although he was ill he went to class.'⁷
- (53) *Kapre an ben sane men jimnotku an tó*
 although 3s do like.that 3s love 3s still
 'Although he does (things) like that we still love him.'
- (54) *Kapre an bari-wa Rahel bi ai wergat an*
 although 3s not.want-TRANS Rahel POSS father persuade 3s
 'Even though she did not want (to do it), Rahel's father persuaded her.'

sane 'so'

The conjunction *sane 'so'* has also been influenced by the sentence structure of the national language. *Sa-ne* is actually an adverbial meaning 'like-that' or 'in that way'. It is used as an adverbial in example (50) above in the first clause- *an ben sane 'he did (things) like that.'* Like *kapre*, *sane* has come to be used as a conjunction. On many occasions *sane* may precede a single clause only. In these cases as in the example below, it acts as an adverb.

⁷This example is taken from Echols and Shadily (1975: 25)

- (55) Sane an i dom
 so 3s sick also
 'So she was sick also'

or 'It was like this, she was sick as well.'

Frequently with this type of sentence *sane* does not have the connective meaning of 'so', but rather *sane* is equivalent to a descriptive sentence such as 'It was like this..' or "It was this way.." Abun has neither a lexical equivalent to 'it' or the copula 'be', therefore *sane* in clause initial position can be adequately translated in this manner. The meaning of the adverbial *sane* has been extended to include that of a logical link between clauses and even between larger units such as paragraphs. The influence of Indonesian is such that *sane* may be either a sentence initial or sentence medial conjunction. Examples (56) and (57) below are from illiterate speakers. Here *sane* is a sentence medial conjunction following the usual Abun pattern.

- (56) Nin mu sino **sane** nin mewa yu
 2p go all so 2p look.after REFLEX
 'You all go together so you can look after each other.'

- (57) A kaim yenggras it **sane** a yo da
 2s body elder COMPL so 2s NEG drink
 nau o nde
 palm.wine again NEG

'You are an old man now, so you don't drink palm wine any more.'

Examples (58) and (59) are from speakers who have been educated in Indonesian. In these examples *sane* is a sentence initial conjunction.

(58) **Sane** men ben kwat pé sa men siker
 so 1p make platform secure when.R 1p tease

nok bot kwa yo kwa yo
 wild.pig about several DET.indef several DET.indef

'So when we had secured (the pig) to the platform, we teased it about all kinds of things.'

(59) **Sane** men sam kwem mu ti kwop karowa sem nap
 so 1p carry canoe DIR seaward leave near sea waves
 'So we carried the canoe towards the sea (and) left it near the water's edge.'

Unlike with *kapre* the influence of Indonesian is not so strong as to totally change *sane* from a sentence medial to sentence initial conjunction. Nevertheless it can be seen that *sane* does not behave like other prepositional conjunctions.

The conjunction *sane* has several variants all of which illustrate that the influence of the Indonesian language is still only partial. *Sane* in common with the compounding conjunctions also has the ability to compound with other conjunctions, creating new forms. *Sane-yo* and *sane-ge/te* are two variants which could both be translated as 'so then' or 'therefore'. Just as the distinction between *yo* and *sa* was primarily one of tense or time setting, this distinction is carried over to the conjunction *sane* by means of the compound forms. Thus *sane-ge* is 'therefore.R' and *sane-yo* 'therefore.IRR'.

sane-ge 'therefore.R'

The compound *sane-ge* uses the conjunction *ge* 'then' to indicate realis or past time rather than the subordinating conjunction *sa*. There are dialect variants *sane-te* and *sane-gede*. *Sane-ge* differs from *sane-yo* only in the sense that *sane-ge* links two clauses that express events that have already occurred or are already past.

(60) *An mu mo nggwe sane-ge men eswa an sor*
 3s go to garden therefore.R 1p wait.for 3s only

ndendu
 evening

'She had gone to the garden therefore we waited for her until evening.'

(61) *Ji tete ji kokro mó sane-ge ji jam nde*
 1s shake 1s terrify exist therefore.R 1s know NEG

su-ga ji ki ne
 thing-REL 1s say DET

'I was shaking, I was terrified therefore I did not know what I was saying.'

(62) *Be yerom ki do ana si nje gu an bi*
 later yerom say COMP FOC with people kill 3s POSS

yegon yerom ré e sane-ge an mu re
 male.relative yerom this and therefore.R 3s go PERF

'Later the yerom spirit would say that (the shaman) was the one who together with others killed his relative this (other) yerom, so the shaman went away (to avoid suspicion).'

In the above example the first clause represents not an actual event but only a possibility. However, this possibility, what the yerom spirit might say, occurred in the past according to the time setting of the narrative from which this sentence was taken. The last clause of the sentence is marked with the perfective aspect *re*. By this it is known that the events described have already taken place. Therefore these clauses are linked by *sane-ge* rather than *sane-yo* to indicate a past time setting.

sane-yo 'therefore.IRR'

When the temporal conjunction *yo* is joined to *sane*, creating *sane-yo*, then the various ranges of meaning attributable to *yo* can be added as well. In Chapter 4 it was stated that *yo* is used to indicate future events or plans, it can be used to describe hypothetical events and it can be used to describe procedural,

hypothetical events. *Sane-yo* is also used to link clauses of this nature. Examples (63) and (64) describe future intent and non-past time respectively.

- (63) Set bi ai mo ket tu re **sane-yo** me-ka-we
 Set POSS father at west distant PERF therefore.IRR 1p-CLASS-two
 mu kekro
 go quickly

'Set's father is already over there so we should go quickly.'

- (64) Nan bi nyanggon ne i kam-dik kam-dik
 2s POSS female.relative DET sick day-one day-one
sane-yo yo syesyar nde
 therefore.IRR NEG come.out NEG

"Your female relative is sick every day therefore she does not come out."

Example (65) below describes a hypothetical situation. Hence *sane-yo* rather than *sane-ge* is used.

- (65) Sato pa ne bi yenggras ben suk
 for.example young.man DET POSS elders do thing
 yo siri **sane-yo** yen gu pa ne
 DET.indef wrong therefore.IRR people hit young.man that
- 'For example if the young man's elders do something wrong then they will beat the young man.'

The following examples express events that are considered likely to happen, best expressed in English by 'whenever'. Here again *sane-yo* is the conjunction used.

- (66) Pa ki do án me it **sane-yo** án nut
 young.men say COMP 3p see COMPL therefore.IRR 3p think
 do pa me suk ana-ne
 COMP young.men see things FOC-DET

'If/when the young men say they have seen (something) therefore they (the shamans) think that the young men have really seen those (spirits).'

- (67) *Nggon ku pa yo sane-yo nggon rot an nde*
 women get child DET.indef therefore.IRR women touch 3s NEG
 'Whenever women give birth (other) women must not touch her.'
 or 'When a woman gives birth, if this is the case then (other) women must not touch her.'

sane-sa 'had that been the case'

These two variants of the conjunction *sane*, described above, overtly mark the time setting of the complex sentence by means of the additions of *ge* or *yo*. Normally the conjunction *ge* does not indicate time setting but rather indicates temporal sequence. It is used in this way because when the conjunction *sa* combines with *sane* the meaning of the compound form is not that of time setting. *Sa* has been described as a realis conjunction. This definition has been taken to primarily mean that *sa* can be used to indicate events occurring in the past. If events are marked for past time setting this is an indicator that these events are factual. In Abun the conjunction *sa* has a secondary usage that is derived from this 'factual' component of its meaning. This secondary usage can best be described as 'subjunctive.' The following examples illustrate this secondary usage which is evident in the compound form *sane-sa*.

- (68) *A napawa amam bi suk-du kamekre*
 2s remember daddy POSS NOM-speak yesterday
sane-sa kwis yo gu a nde
 had.that.been.the.case snake NEG bite 2s NEG
 'Had you remembered what Daddy said to you yesterday, the snake wouldn't have bitten you.'
 or 'If you had remembered what Daddy said to you yesterday, the snake would not have bitten you.'

The context for example (68) above is that a father has warned his son not to play in long grass, because often snakes are found there. The son ignores the warning and is bitten by the snake. The semantic thrust of *sane-sa* is to indicate

that 'had the events of clause one been factual then the events of clause two would not have happened.' Example (69) is similar:

(69)	<i>A</i>	<i>jam</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>suk-du</i>	<i>sane-sa</i>
	2s	hear	to	1s	POSS	NOM-speak	had.that.been.the.case
	<i>a</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>suk-ye</i>	<i>sare</i>	<i>nde</i>	
	2s	NEG	get	NOM-difficult	like.this	NEG	

'Had you listened to me, you would not have got into this trouble.'

or 'If you had listened to me you would not have got into this trouble.'

By comparing the usage of *sane-sa* with *sane-yo* it can be seen that *sa* and *yo* demonstrate a perfective/imperfective contrast. *Sane-sa* has the meaning 'had that been the case', which is perfective or realis. On the other hand *sane-yo* can mean 'that being the case' which is imperfective or unrealis. Example (70) shows *sane-yo* used in this way.

(70)	<i>Men</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>sane-yo</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>nai</i>	<i>pel</i>	<i>mo</i>
	1p	sick	that.being.the.case	1p	go	take	pills	at
<i>mantri</i>								
health.worker								
'If it is the case that we are sick, we go and get pills from the health worker.'								
or 'Whenever we are sick, we go and get pills from the health worker.'								

The last variant of *sane* is *sane anato*. This will be discussed in the following section.

5.5 *anato* 'causative' conjunction

In the previous section two conjunctions were described which primarily filled another category in Abun grammar besides that of 'conjunction'. *Kap-re* is a temporal phrase meaning 'this time.' *Sane* is an adverbial meaning 'like that' or

'in that way.' For both these forms the influence of the national language has affected the sentence structures in which they are used as conjunctions. There is one other Abun word which is used as a conjunction, but this word is primarily used as another part of speech. Unlike *kapre* and *sane*, this word, *anato* shows no influence from Indonesian in the way that it is used. *Anato* is primarily a noun modifier with the meaning of 'focus'. It is also used as a conjunction to link clauses together. Therefore this word fills two categories in Abun grammar. *Anato* does not fit into any other type of conjunction described so far, so it is discussed separately to other conjunctions.

The word *ana-to* consists of two morphemes *ana* 'FOCUS' and *to* 'NMP'.⁸ *Anato* frequently modifies a noun phrase to bring this noun phrase into focus, just like a cleft construction does in languages that are capable of cleft constructions. Since Abun does not possess a copula, the type of cleft construction found in English is not possible. Neither are passive constructions possible in Abun. However, the semantic possibilities engendered by both the passive and cleft constructions are handled in Abun by means of de-focus and focus respectively. A noun phrase may be brought into focus by means of *anato*. In this way *anato* functions as a noun modifier, as shown in the examples below.

- (71) Yewon ***anato*** *gu* *suk* *ne* *mori*
 shamans FOC kill thing that afterwards
 'The shamans were the ones who killed the things afterwards.'
 or 'It was the shamans who killed the things afterwards.'

- (72) *Siri* *ne* ***anato*** *ben* *suk-ye* *wa* *ji* *tó*
 wrong DET FOC make NOM-difficult for 1s still
 'Those sins are still making life hard for me.'
 or 'It is those sins that are still causing difficulties for me.'

⁸The Noun Modifying Particle or NMP to was discussed earlier in Chapter 2 under Relative Clauses.

The above examples are grammatically a single clause. In these cases *anato* always brings into focus or topicalises the noun that it follows. However, *anato* plays another role in Abun grammar. *Anato* may act as a conjunction to link two clauses together.

(73) *Ji ben siri ne anato ben ji ku suk-i*
1s do wrong DET FOC make 1s get NOM-sick

'I did wrong, that is why I get sicknesses.'
or 'It is because I did wrong that I get sick.'

Example (73) and (72) are structurally very similar. In example (72) a noun phrase is modified by *anato* followed by the verb *ben* 'make'. In example (73) a whole clause is 'modified' by *anato* which is again followed by the verb *ben*. It is possible in Abun thinking that just as a noun phrase may be brought into focus by means of *anato* a whole clause may also be brought into focus in the same way. In complex sentences *anato* together with the causative verb *ben* 'make' is often used to express a causative relationship between the two clauses resulting in an English rendering such as 'that is why' or 'that is the reason'. The English 'that' refers to the entire clause which *anato* follows.

In examples such as (73) above where the second clause predicate is *ben* 'make' it is easy to see that the type of focus brought about by the addition of *anato* is causative. However, in some complex sentences speakers omit the causative predicate *ben*. In these cases *anato* alone is used to express a causative relationship between the clauses concerned. For example:

(74) Ye mo nden maskwa ye mo sem **anato**
 people at interior angry people at sea CAUSE

be men ki-bot yawa or wé
 later 1p talk-about appease finish thorough

'The people in the jungle are angry with the people on the coast that is why we are going to talk this matter over thoroughly to bring it to an acceptable outcome.'

(75) An ki do an bi nggon bisor wa an
 3s say COMP 3s POSS woman request.sorcery for 3s

anato kam-dik kam-dik an gu an bi nggon bu
 CAUSE day-one day-one 3s beat 3s POSS woman always

'He said that his wife had asked people to kill him (by means of sorcery) that is why everyday he is always beating his wife.'

It appears that 'In most languages, the morpho-syntax does not distinguish between 'cause' and 'reason' adverbial clauses.' (Givón 1990:834) Yet this distinction is evident in Abun, *anato* being 'cause' and *wé* indicating 'reason (because)'. Generally when *anato* alone links two sentences its meaning is that the first clause 'is the reason for' the second.

All sentences described above have the structure:

CLAUSE 1 + [ANATO + CLAUSE 2]

Structurally then these sentences are similar to those which use compounding conjunctions. Phonologically speakers place *anato* as part of the second clause, pausing before *anato*. Therefore when *anato* is a conjunction it is a prepositional conjunction.

sane anato 'so that is the reason'

Abun speakers frequently use *anato* together with *sane*. These two conjunctions in combination result in a greater emphasis of the causative relationship that exists between the two linked clauses. By using *sane anato*

speakers are strongly emphasising that the event expressed in the first clause is the reason for the event expressed in the second clause.

- (76) *Regina ben siri su nje sane anato ndamso gu an bi pa kwop*
 Regina do wrong with people so CAUSE ghost harm
 3s POSS child die

'Regina committed adultery with various people so that is why the ghost (of her husband) killed his child.'

5.6 Negative conjunctions

The final group of Abun conjunctions all contain the negative particle *onde*. When a single clause is negated in Abun it is negated by means of two particles which bracket the verb phrase. So clause negation has the structure

SUBJECT + *yo* + VERB PHRASE + *nde*

But there is another type of negation in Abun which occurs on the level of the complex sentence. Within a complex sentence whatever is expressed by the first clause can be negated by means of *onde*. *Onde* always occurs together with some other conjunction. These create a group of conjunctions which are termed 'negative' conjunctions. Sentences that use these negative conjunctions have the following structure:

CLAUSE 1 + *onde*-CONJUNCTION + CLAUSE 2

Semantically this is most basically expressed as 'not clause one, clause two'. It has been claimed earlier in this chapter that Abun complex sentences show much influence from Papuan languages. It is interesting to note that Barai, an unrelated Papuan language, also has two distinct means of negation. One of these '*ba* ...negates the entire clause and roughly means 'it is not the case

that'...it is the only element that ever follows the verb in heavily verb-final Barai.' (Foley and Van Valin 1984:192) The fact that this form has an equivalent meaning to the Abun *onde* is another factor which confirms the influence of Papuan languages on Abun syntax.

Table 4 lists all the negative conjunctions. Fuller explanations and examples of each are given afterwards.

TABLE 4 NEGATIVE CONJUNCTIONS

CONJUNCTION	MEANING
<i>onde-wo</i>	'but really'
<i>onde-sa</i>	'otherwise.R (would)'
<i>onde-yo</i>	'otherwise.IRR (will)'
<i>onde-bere</i>	'otherwise.CERT'
<i>onde-ge</i>	'otherwise-then'

***onde-wo* 'but really'**

The negative meaning of *onde* can be clearly understood when it is part of the contrastive conjunction *onde-wo*. Any clauses linked by *onde* need to be understood semantically in the following way:

CLAUSE 1 event asserted	<i>onde-</i> not the case, instead	CLAUSE 2 real/alternative event
----------------------------	---------------------------------------	------------------------------------

The event expressed by clause one is stated positively; it is not marked as negative within the clause by means of the negative particles *yo* and *nde*. However, whatever was asserted by clause one is not the case, and so this clause is negated by means of *onde*. Therefore the event expressed by clause two is in the speakers opinion the real situation. If the clause is linked by a

negative conjunction other than *ondewo*, the event expressed by clause two indicates an alternative situation to that expressed in clause one. Thus *ondewo* links clauses expressing a false and true contrast. For example:

- (77) Yenggras *njim do ré ndar syut nok ondewo*
elders think COMP here dogs bark.at wild.pig but.really
ndar syut pa kaiyi
dogs bark.at child actual

'The old men thought that the dogs were barking at a wild pig but actually the dogs were barking at a child.'

- (78) An *ki do Sem ana ben brek ne ges ondewo*
3s say COMP Sem FOC make plate DET fall ges but.really
an dakai ben ges
3s self make fall

'He said that Sem was the one who made the plate fall but really he himself caused (it) to fall.'

***onde-sa* 'otherwise (would)'**

Onde-sa is made up of the sentence negator *onde* and the realis or past time conjunction *sa*. The combined meaning of the two creates a conjunction that is counterfactual. Again the structure of the sentence using *onde-sa* is broken down semantically below to explain clearly the meaning of these types of sentences.

CLAUSE 1	<i>onde-sa</i>	CLAUSE 2
event asserted	(if) not so, instead	different outcome, past

The event expressed by clause one is given in the indicative. These events may or may not be true. The second clause describes a situation that would arise in the event that clause one was negated. *Onde* represents the negation. *Sa* indicates a past time setting to both the event and the outcome described.

In this type of sentence both the event and the outcome may refer to hypothetical situations. Even so, *sa* indicates that whether hypothetical or not the events in question would have occurred at some time in the past, rather than in the future. In these sentences *onde* links clauses in a counterfactual manner giving the meaning: "If the events expressed by clause one had not happened then the events expressed by clause two would have." Since Abun has no English equivalent to the conditional 'if' this meaning is merely for the purposes of good translation. However 'Counter-fact propositions need not be associated with conditional ADV clauses.' (Givón 1990:831), as is the case here. That is to say, a counterfactual proposition does not need to be marked by overt conditional means only. A language may use other means to indicate this. For example:

- (79) *Su-gane men ku Ron onde-sa men yo ku sugum*
 with-that 1p meet Ron otherwise.R 1p NEG get money
 wa men ma nde
 for 1p come NEG

'At that time we met Ron, otherwise we would not have had money to come (here).'
 or 'If, at that time, we hadn't met Ron we would not have had money to come here.'

In the sentence above clause one expresses a factual situation which did actually occur-the participants met a man who gave them money. Clause two expresses a hypothetical situation which would have arisen if they had not received the money-they would not have been able to pay for fares to return to their village. The usage of *sa* indicates to hearers that this speculation is about past events. Example (80) below is similar. It contains the variant *onde-sor-sa*. This adds a component of meaning similar to 'it was just as well that..'

- (80) *Nu-won ga mo Aiwom ndo ndo sato yewon*
 house-shaman REL at Aiwom good good for.example shamans
yo gu yu o nde wo onde-sor-sa be yen
 NEG kill REFLEX again NEG but otherwise-just-R later people
gu yu tó
 kill REFLEX still

'It was good that they set up a shaman training school at Aiwom. It was good in that the shamans didn't kill each other any more. But otherwise they would still be killing each other.'

or 'But if not they would still be killing each other.'

In the preceding two examples the meaning component that *sa* adds to these clauses is that of its primary meaning -it is functioning as a tensed conjunction indicating past time. The following two examples differ from (79) and (80) above in that here *sa* is functioning according to its secondary usage-, it adds the notion of 'subjunctive' to the first clause. Abun has no lexical equivalent to the subjunctive 'should'. Therefore the translation of (81) below indicates this. In these examples the hypothetical or non-factual event is in the first clause; the factual event, describing what actually happened is in the second clause.

- (81) *Nin mbros kwem ne sino onde-sa pa de-yo*
 2p row canoe DET all otherwise-R young-man some.of-indef
wadigan mbros kwem sane ete be nobu sye
 alone row canoe like.that and.then later strong.wind big
an ben sa u ne?
 3s do how which QM

'You should have all rowed that canoe, otherwise if one of you rows alone and then there is a really violent wind, then what will he do?.'

Example (81) above is a reprimand by an older woman to certain young people. As such it could also be translated as 'Would that you had all rowed that canoe.' This also is subjunctive. It expresses a wish or desire that past events could

have occurred in a better way.⁹ What actually happened was that one young man was left to row the canoe alone against a strong wind. His comments are given below as example (82). The variant *onde-sor-sa* here adds the meaning 'it would have been better...'

(82)	<i>Ware</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>mbros</i>	<i>kwem</i>	<i>onde-sor-sa</i>	<i>no-fuf</i>	<i>sye</i>	<i>gwat</i>
	Ware	with	1s	row	canoe	otherwise-just-R	wind	big	carry
	<i>ji</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>kwem</i>						
	1s	with	canoe						

'It would have been better if Ware had rowed the canoe with me, rather than me struggling against the wind in the canoe (by myself).'

or 'If Ware had rowed the canoe with me, the strong wind would not have battered me about in the canoe.'

Because Abun has no morpheme to represent a hypothetical situation such as the English 'if', it is only by context and knowledge of the events described that hearers encode what is hypothetical and what is fact. The function of *onde* is to negate the contents of the preceding clause. On its own it does not attach truth value to these clauses. Therefore when *onde* is part of the conjunction *onde-wo*, it is used to express the semantic notion of 'contrary to expectation.' When part of the conjunctions *onde-sa* and *onde-yo*, *onde* is used to express the notion of 'contrary to fact'.

***onde-yo* 'otherwise (will)'**

Onde-yo differs in meaning to *onde-sa* in the matter of time setting only. In clauses linked by *onde-sa*, the 'tensed' conjunction *sa* indicates to hearers that the time setting of the sentence and its contents is in the past, events described therein have already occurred. However, when the conjunction changes to *yo*

⁹Just as Abun has no word for the modal 'should' neither does it have an equivalent to the subjunctive verb 'wish'. The subjunctive usage of *sa* is the nearest Abun equivalent for expressing this notion.

hearers understand that the event expressed by the second clause is non-past. These events have not actually occurred and may be hypothetical in nature also.

(83)	<i>Nan</i>	<i>fre</i>	<i>su-kwik</i>	<i>to-ne</i>	<i>bur</i>	<i>onde-yo</i>	<i>nan</i>
	2s	sweep	NOM-rotten	DEIC-DET	ground	otherwise.IRR	2s
	<i>yo</i>	<i>git</i>	<i>kukis</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>nde</i>		
	NEG	eat	biscuits	again	NEG		

'You sweep up that mess down there, otherwise you will not get any more biscuits!'

or 'If you do not sweep up that mess down there, you will not get any more biscuits!'

Givón makes the following comments about counterfactual conditionals which are relevant to this discussion of negative conjunctions. "In addition to the subordinators that (may) mark them, counterfact clauses tend to be marked, cross-linguistically, by a combination of two *semantically conflicting* verbal inflections:

(a) A prototypical **realis** operator, such as *past*, *perfective* or *perfect*; and,

(b) A prototypical **irrealis** operator, such as:

future, *subjunctive*, *conditional* or a *modal*." (1990:831)

According to Givón this 'semantic conflict' arises if a clause is marked with both a realis and irrealis 'operator' or one clause may be marked realis and the other irrealis. This situation may arise as given in example (84) below. The first clause is marked by the perfective aspect marker *re*. However, the usage of *onde-yo* in sentences is very similar to the usage of the conjunction *yo* on its own. If a sentence describes a predictive or procedural situation, then *onde-yo* is used.

(84) Yen gu or re onde-yo ye si ma
 people kill completely PERF otherwise.IRR people go.with come
 mo nu de yen bi ri nai
 to house side people give ginger.root IO

'They would kill off (all those people). If this is not possible the (young) people with them (the older shamans) will come to the side of the house (and) give ginger root to (the people they want to kill).

Onde should not be understood as a negative conditional such as the English 'unless'. It is possible to give an alternative translation for example (84) above as 'Unless you sweep up that mess down there, you won't get any biscuits!' However, as seen in examples (77) and (78) above, which use *onde-wo*, *onde* does not always have the meaning of a negative conditional. When used as part of *onde-wo* it has the meaning of negative contrast. Usage of *onde* indicates some kind of semantic contrast between the propositions involved. This is achieved by negation of the content of the first clause.

onde-bere 'otherwise.CERT'

This conjunction differs from the others by the addition of the time word *bere* 'FUTURE/later'. There are several variants of *bere* which need to be explained. These three variants concern the differences in the way Abun speakers view future time. These variants are:

- ber* 'soon, shortly'
- bere* 'later, definitely → will'
- be* 'later, likely/probably → could'

All these variants could be translated as 'later' or 'will' in regards to future time. *Ber* is used to indicate that the future time specified is in the **near** future. However, with *bere* and *be* the matter of future time proximity is unspecified. What is specified is the **degree of certainty** that the speaker attaches to the future event described. Hence, if the speaker feels that the event is a **certainty**

then *bere* is used, meaning 'definitely will'. If the speaker attaches less certainty to the future event taking place then *be* is used, meaning 'probably will' or 'could'. Both these time words can be joined to *onde* to create counterfactual conjunctions. These conjunctions link events that are non-past or future time in the same way as the conjunction *onde-yo*. By choosing *onde-bere* or *onde-be* rather than *onde-yo* the speaker adds the semantic element of 'degree of certainty' which is not present in the case of *onde-yo*. In regard to counterfactuals Givón notes that 'many languages allow further gradation, most particularly of events/states that are judged to be **unlikely but not altogether impossible.**' (1990:832) The gradations referred to here are from possibly true to not true. The gradation expressed in Abun is in the other direction, from probable to certain. Abun has no adverb or modal form which means 'definitely' or 'certainly'. Thus these concepts have been incorporated into these future time words. Examples showing the use of *onde-bere* and *onde-be* are given below.

- (85) Nan ma kem su ji more **onde-bere** suk-onde ré
 2s come live with 1s here otherwise-CERT NOM-hungry this
 ben nan
 do 2s

'You come and live with me, otherwise you will certainly suffer from this famine.'

- (86) A mu nai **onde-bere** ji gu a wo
 2s go take otherwise-CERT 1s hit 2s cry
 'You go and get (it) otherwise I will certainly hit you hard!'
 or 'If you don't go and get it I am going to hit you hard!'

- (87) A mu nai **onde-be** ji kwam a
 2s go take otherwise-could 1s beat 2s
 'You go and get it otherwise I could beat you!'
 or 'If you don't go and get it I could beat you!'

***onde-ge* 'otherwise-then'**

This final counterfactual conjunction does not indicate time setting of the clauses involved. The conjunction *ge* 'then' is joined to *onde* to indicate sequence of events. It is not as frequently used as the other counterfactuals. The example below has several variant translations since the negative contrast indicated by *onde* can be rendered in several ways in English.

- (88) *Nggon ne an ben siri su sane bere yen gu an*
 woman DET 3s do wrong with like.that later people kill 3s
su ri onde-ge yen gwat an mo nu-won
 with ginger.root otherwise-then people bring 3s to house-shaman
ge yen ndan yor mo
 then people thrust.into spear at

'That woman, (that) he had committed adultery with, like that, they will kill her with sorcery (lit. ginger root), otherwise then they will bring her to the shaman-house and then spear her (to death).'

or '...failing that then they will bring her to the shaman-house...'

or '...if this is not possible then they will bring her to the shaman-house...'

This concludes the discussion of negative conjunctions and it concludes the discussion of Abun conjunctions covered in this paper.

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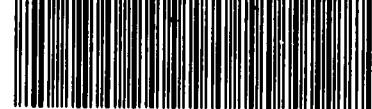
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