

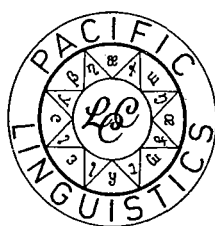
PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

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IMONDA, A PAPUAN LANGUAGE

by

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Setting

Imonda is a Papuan language spoken in Sandaun Province (West Sepik) of Papua New Guinea. Its speakers number 274 according to the census of September 1983. They live in two major villages and a few small hamlets clustered around Imonda government station, which is located at approximately 3°20' South latitude/141°10' East longitude. The names of the two villages are Põs (grass) and Mol (daughter).

##### 1.1.1 Historical remarks

The Imonda trace their history to an area, to the north-west, across what is currently the border with the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya. They have been at and around the present location for many generations. Probably the earliest contact with people from outside New Guinea was with Malay bird of paradise hunters around the turn of this century. The western part of New Guinea had been part of the eastern Indonesian trade network since 'time immemorial', the two most important trade 'items' being birds of paradise and slaves. Bronze finds in the Lake Sentani area suggest that this early trade may have reached further towards the eastern part of the island at some stage. What is fairly clear is that when European exploration of New Guinea began, this trade did not reach beyond Geelvink Bay along the north coast. The Malay traders ventured east of Geelvink Bay in the second part of last century and established a settlement in Humboldt Bay, just across the present border on the north coast. From their foothold in Humboldt Bay, they went inland, crossing the then practically non-existent border, and penetrated quite far into the Sepik area. The traders crossed the Bewani mountains to the south of Imonda and spread over an area that was delimited by the Sepik to the south and roughly 142°30' East longitude. In places the contact between the Malays and the local people appears to have been rather sustained, as European explorers in the thirties and forties encountered locals who were fluent in Malay (see for instance McCarthy 1936:12 and Allied Geographical Section 1943:140). As for the Imonda area, no knowledge of Malay seems to have spread there. In fact, people are not aware that the language of these early intruders and the one they were exposed to during the Dutch period (see below) were identical. Nowadays, people have only a vague idea of these trading visits and no-one is left who

has any first-hand knowledge. Neither the language of the Imonda people, who knew the Malays by the name of *sue-na-id men of fire*, nor any of the surrounding related languages (on the Papua New Guinea side of the border, at any rate), seem to have been influenced by the Malay spoken by the bird traders (for more details on this early contact, see Appendix (C)).

The plume trade collapsed in the twenties and it was not until World War 2 that other outsiders arrived on the scene. This time it was the turn of the Japanese army which had to retreat inland under American pressure. It would appear that they stayed at Imonda for a few days, where they got involved in a few skirmishes with frightened locals of whom two were killed. Having availed themselves of the local women, burned down houses and slaughtered pigs, the Japanese went further westwards where they were annihilated in a bombing raid.

After the war, the next outsiders to arrive were the Dutch. The border was at that stage still ill-defined and the Australians, who controlled what is now Papua New Guinea, showed little interest in ascertaining the exact position of the border. It was therefore only natural for Dutch influence to spill over the border, as they were more active on the other side in westernising the people. The area on the eastern side of the border that was under Dutch control is known as the Waris enclave (see Van der Veur 1966), as it is inhabited by speakers of the Waris language, a close relative of Imonda. Many of the Waris went to Dutch schools where they learned Malay, in which many are still perfectly fluent. The Dutch did not establish any schools at Imonda, but went there regularly (and also further east) on patrols on which they hired people as carriers, or for work in Hollandia (present-day Jayapura) and other places. Thus, the Imonda too were strongly exposed to the Malay language and many had a fair grasp of it. Along with the Dutch came Western material culture and the associated Malay vocabulary, both of which were taken over by the people. Today there are hundreds of Malay loanwords in Imonda and related languages. The loanwords are mainly nouns used to refer to newly introduced objects, but there are also others such as verbs, adjectives or interjections. The influence of Malay did not reach beyond loanwords.

With the imminent Indonesian takeover of Dutch New Guinea, the Australians moved into the Waris area and assumed control in 1962. After that, the importance of Malay declined rapidly and it was replaced by Tok Pisin. Today all Imonda villagers are perfectly fluent in Tok Pisin and it is this language which is likely to be the greatest challenge to the integrity of Imonda in the future. So far, the influence of Tok Pisin seems to have been limited to loanwords of which there are a great many, some of them actually replacing previous Malay loanwords; for some aspects of the influence of the Malay language see Appendix (C).

After the arrival of the Australians, Imonda was made into a subdistrict station and an airstrip was built there. This prompted the coming of a fairly large number of people from surrounding areas, some of whom spoke unrelated languages, a fact which helped to further spread the use of Tok Pisin. Up to 1962, the Imonda used to live on a hill in an easily defensible village now called 'Imonda on the Rocks'. They then split into two groups and established the two villages previously mentioned, Mol and Pōs, in more accessible terrain. Papua New Guinea's independence in 1975 brought no changes to the people of Imonda and development has been very slow indeed and is likely to remain slow for some time to come.



### 1.1.2 Imonda and its surrounding languages

In 1973 Laycock published a preliminary classification of the languages of the Sepik area. There we find Imonda listed as a member of the Waris family of languages, which, in conjunction with two other language families, make up the Border Stock, which in turn belongs to the Trans-New Guinea Phylum, which comprises a large percentage of Papuan languages (Laycock 1973). The languages assigned by Laycock to the Waris family are as follows: Manem, Senggi, Waris, Waina-Sowanda, Daonda, Simog and Amanab. Manem and Senggi are spoken almost exclusively on the Indonesian side of the border. Waina-Sowanda is spoken to the south of Imonda and has villages on either side of the border. As far as the Papua New Guinea side is concerned, this language must be split in two. One is spoken at the villages of Umeda and Punda and I have (arbitrarily) opted for the name Punda in this grammar. I have chosen Sowanda as the name for the rest of the original Waina-Sowanda language area. Amanab lies further to the south and seems to have only a few speakers on the Indonesian side. The languages of Daonda and Simog are to be found to the east of Imonda (see map in Appendix (A)).

As far as Imonda is concerned, Laycock listed it as a dialect of Waris, saying that it is "very distinct, and is regarded by Imonda villagers as a separate language" (Laycock 1973:46). This is certainly not the place to go into the vexed problem of how different two speech varieties have to be — if this is indeed the criterion — to warrant their being given independent language status. I will just note that: first, Imonda and Waris are indeed considered to be two different languages by the speakers of both languages. Second, mutual intelligibility is absent. The Imonda are in general able to speak Waris, but not vice versa. Frequently, communication between the two groups is carried out in Tok Pisin. Lastly, it needs to be mentioned that Daonda and Imonda may be in fact more closely related to one another than either is to Waris.

### 1.2 Previous work on the Waris languages

Word lists have been collected of all the Waris languages, some of which have also been published (for references see Laycock 1973; Voorhoeve 1975:43). Some notes on Waris are also contained in Voorhoeve (1971). Ethnographic data on the Waina area and some scattered words are to be found in Gell (1975). S.I.L. missionary-linguists have studied some of the Waris languages. In particular, Brown has worked in the Waris area since the early seventies. Out of this work resulted the as yet only in-depth study on any of the Waris languages. Brown's article was published in 1981 and was concerned with three important aspects of Waris (case marking, shape classifiers and existential verbs), to which I will have occasion to refer below.

### 1.3 Objective and methodology

The aim of this work is to provide a description of the grammar of the Imonda language in an insightful way which reflects the language as faithfully as possible. Therefore, I have tried to keep as closely as possible to the

actual language data. This study is not meant to be an application of a particular model to a language nor is it meant to be a discussion of linguistic theory, using data from Imonda for the purpose of illustration. This grammar is primarily descriptive, but some discussion of certain theoretical issues has been included where this seemed either to facilitate an understanding of the relevant grammatical points themselves, or where the Imonda data were seen to be particularly relevant and illuminating to those issues. The one section that contains a rather detailed and lengthy discussion of a theoretical nature concerns topic marking (9.2.1). This is justified, I believe, by the fundamental importance of topic marking in the working of the grammar.

Occasionally, and without any attempt at systematisation, I have included a few remarks on how a particular feature or construction of Imonda grammar compares with other Papuan languages in particular and Universal Grammar in general. In Appendix (A) some of the more prominent and interesting features of Imonda grammar are compared with the corresponding features in some of the other Waris languages.

The descriptive framework used is basically structuralist. Categories and structures are set up on a language-internal basis and their functions discussed within the system. Informal discussion characterises all of this grammar, first in the interest of readability and second in order not to obscure important grammatical facts. The very first step in the analysis of any hitherto unknown language must be to present a correct account of the basic structures. This task is best carried out by simply examining the raw data without preconceived ideas or the straitjacket of a formalism which leads the analyst to look for certain things and overlook others. The basic, but by no means simple, task complete, theories may then be tested against the body of data for their adequacy. While formal theories have of late a tendency to become outdated before they make their way out of the underground into the published literature, a first-step language description which is theory-neutral has some hope of retaining some usefulness.

Writing a theory-neutral, informal grammar does not imply, however, that it is written in a theoretical vacuum. It is clearly impossible to write a grammar without a meta-language, and this constantly changes in the light of theoretical studies. It is the duty of the descriptive linguist to keep abreast of these changes and to take account of the insights into language structure provided by such studies.

#### 1.4 The data

The data on which this grammar is based have been collected during two field trips of a total duration of 10 months. The corpus in the narrow sense consists, first, of roughly seven hours' worth of transcribed text, part of which has been used for a concordance of about 35000 morpheme entries, and second, of material that was elicited in sessions with informants. Virtually all of the examples in the grammar have been taken from running text.

## 1.5 Organisation of the grammar

The emphasis of this grammar is on the morphosyntactic structures of the language. However, as the sound system of Imonda, or any other Waris language for that matter, has never been described, I have included a brief treatment of this in chapter 2.

Chapter 3 establishes the parts of speech on a language internal, morpho-syntactic basis. With the exception of verbs, which are discussed in chapter 5, the formal properties of the classes thus established are examined in some detail and related to semantic properties.

Chapter 4 discusses the internal structure of the noun phrase (NP) and aspects of its functions in the clause. Three types of functions of the NP may be distinguished: semantic, syntactic and pragmatic. The only pragmatic function that is discussed in detail is that of topic marking. Since not only NPs but also clauses can receive topic marking, this is given a unified treatment in chapter 9, part of which is devoted to inter-clausal relations. Part of chapter 7 is devoted to the question of whether certain types of NPs might have a specific syntactic relation to the predicate. The conclusion reached there is that we can single out the syntactic relations of subject and object. These are the core NPs of the clause which are syntactically specifically handled and whose semantic relation to the predicate is not overtly indicated but dictated by the semantics of the predicate itself. In opposition to these two types of NPs are the peripheral NPs which do not stand in a particular syntactic relation to the predicate and whose semantic relation to the predicate is overtly indicated by one of a series of case clitics. These case clitics are also discussed in chapter 4.

The connection between that section of chapter 4 that deals with case marking (4.3) and that section of chapter 7 that deals with the syntactic relations of NPs to the predicate (7.1) is a close one. This connection is further accentuated by the fact that the case clitic *-m* has both syntactic and semantic functions. Syntactically it functions as an object marker while semantically it is a goal marker and as such functions as a marker of peripheral NPs. This particular case clitic could both be described in chapter 4 and chapter 7, according to its respective function. However, a unified description is clearly desirable and this is provided in chapter 7, section 7.3.

Chapter 5 deals with the verbal complex. The verb is of central importance in the grammar of Imonda. A number of syntactic and semantic relations are cross-referenced on the verb, which provides a means of keeping track of NPs in discourse which are very frequently elided. Clauses often do not consist of anything but a verb or what I call for the sake of convenience the verb phrase (VP). The VP is a structure that is bounded on the left by a set of verbal prefixes which I call the precore, and on the right by a set of verbal suffixes which I call the postcore. The core of the VP consists minimally of a verb stem which may optionally be followed by one or more roots which have a variety of functions. The postcore suffixes are normally directly attached to the core. However, certain core elements and certain syntactic constructions require that they be pegged on the pro-verb *fe* *make*, *do*. This pro-verb has independent word status and may be separated from the preceding core by a number of elements. The organisation of chapter 5 is as follows: section 5.2 examines the precore and section 5.3 discusses the postcore. Anything in between the precore and the postcore is discussed in 5.4. The pro-verb *fe*, i.e. its functions and status within the VP, are discussed in 5.4.5.

Chapter 6 is devoted to a particularly fascinating aspect of Imonda grammar, that of the noun-classification system. There is a set of about 100 classificatory prefixes which are used with certain verbs. It appears that these prefixes are reanalysed verb stems which at an earlier stage of the language were used as first verb stems in serialisation. While it is quite common for verb stems in serialisation to be reanalysed and assume new functions, Imonda may be unique in having reinterpreted serial verbs as noun-classification prefixes.

Chapter 7 first discusses the possibility of NPs having a specific syntactic relation to the predicate. The relations of subject and object are set up and verbs are then classified on the basis of their taking one or both of these NP types. One set of verbs displays an ergative pattern. They are 1-place predicates whose NP behaves morphologically and syntactically like the object of 2-place predicates. After discussing the verbal predicate the existential predicate is examined. This type may contain a variety of structures, all of them being optionally linked to the obligatory subject by one of five existential verbs. As mentioned above, the last section of this chapter is concerned with a discussion of the case marker *-m*, one of the functions of which is that of object marking.

Chapter 8 looks at further aspects of the clause. In the first section the various negation strategies are examined. It is felt that this aspect of Imonda grammar is important and warrants a functional approach and so is given a unified treatment. The second section is again functional and treats notions associated with mood and modality. Here I am following Foley and Van Valin (1984) in their division of this rather ill-defined field into three categories. One is concerned with illocutionary force under which heading the traditional concepts of imperative and interrogative are dealt with. The second category (status) deals with the reality or irreality of the proposition expressed by the clause, while the third one (modality) is concerned with the speaker's attitude to the event.

The third section of chapter 8 briefly demonstrates the free ordering of clause constituents. The fourth section discusses what I have termed the D-form. This is a clitic which may appear on any part of speech and which has a variety of functions, one of which is in talking about something distant, hence its name. Section 8.5 discusses a number of emphatic clitics, some of which may occur on all parts of speech with the exception of particles.

The last issue dealt with in this chapter concerns the ubiquitous suffix *-l*, which I have (arbitrarily) termed 'nominaliser', as this is one of its functions. It also functions as an adjective marker and appears on nouns that are in some way relational, as for instance those that denote part of a whole.

Chapter 9 examines clause linkage. There are no morphosyntactic means for conjoining independent clauses. Clauses, often reduced to a verb, are simply juxtaposed. The possibility of analysing such reduced clauses as constituting a special case of verb serialisation is considered and dismissed. There are a few types of dependent clauses, of which by far the most important one is that of topic clause. Topic has over the past few years figured prominently in the linguistic discussion which, however, has not resulted in a clear understanding of the phenomenon or a widely accepted terminology to describe it. This being so, I have included a somewhat lengthy discussion of the theoretical issues which have direct bearing on topic marking in Imonda.

A systematic analysis of discourse is outside the scope of this grammar. However, certain phenomena of grammar cut across the traditionally strict division between sentence and discourse level. Thus, topicalised clauses have 'sentential' and 'discourse' functions and a complete account of this phenomenon cannot be given without appealing to discourse. Topic clauses with sentential functions are contrastive topics and correspond to adverbial clauses in English. Those with discourse function are resumptive topics. They 'summarise' the information contained in the previous clause and present it as a topic, that is, as a framework against which the subsequent clause needs to be interpreted. These resumptive topics simply provide a back-reference to the preceding clause, provide discourse cohesion and cannot be said to be subordinate to the following clause. This pattern is well known from Philippine languages (also from New Guinea languages).

Formally, topic clauses are marked by a suffix on the verb. The same suffix may also mark adverbial and NP topics, both clause-internal and clause-external topics. Topic marking might therefore be described at least at three different levels, namely clause, sentence and discourse. However, what is clearly one and the same phenomenon needs to be given a unified treatment and this is provided in chapter 9.

### 1.5.1 A note on the use of glosses

The problem of choosing appropriate glosses for morphemes is a thorny one and the solution adopted in this grammar may not be the best one. Where a given morpheme fulfils one function or a few very closely related functions, there is no problem and we may use a consistent gloss. Thus, the verbal prefix *e-* is simply a subject number marker (dual) and never performs another function. Often, however, what is clearly one and the same morpheme has various functions and the question arises whether we should use different glosses accordingly. If we do so in principle, then the further question is how different the individual functions have to be for us to choose different glosses. This is where the difficulty lies. Thus, the verbal suffix *-na* agrees with benefactives and possessors and these two functions could arguably be indicated by different glosses. On the other hand, the case marker *-m* has a host of functions (7.3) the central one of which is that of goal marker. Other functions are more or less closely related to the one of goal marking and there seems to be no non-arbitrary cut-off point for introducing new glosses. Besides goal, *-m* marks recipients and benefactives, which may be regarded as goals, objects that actually are goals, but it also functions as a disambiguator, marking all [+Human] objects. It seems best to use just one gloss for all these cases. This has the additional advantage that we do not have to invent glosses for those occurrences of *-m* where its function is entirely opaque (for examples see chapter 7).

Therefore, one gloss is normally used for a given morpheme throughout this grammar. Where this results in total obscurity, the reader is referred to the index, which provides references to the appropriate places, where the functions of these morphemes are discussed. Occasionally, and possibly inconsistently, I have abandoned the principle of 'one gloss per morpheme'. Thus, the goal marker sometimes substitutes for the locative marker and in this function it is glossed accordingly (i.e. LOC); or the suffix *-ia* has the two distinct functions of marking location and cause and it is glossed according to its

particular function as either LOC or CAU. Apart from such minor exceptions, however, the principle of 'one gloss per morpheme' has been maintained throughout this grammar.

## 1.6 Sketch of Imonda

Imonda has a simple consonant system and a vowel system (ten phonemes) that is complex by TNGP standards (for typical TNGP features, see Wurm, Laycock and Voorhoeve 1975:179-189). It has no phonologically relevant tones and no elaborate morphophonemics. Basic clause constituent order is flexible, with the exception of the verb, which is final. The order of elements within the NP is a bit more rigid, but there is still considerable flexibility. Relative clauses precede and adjectives follow the head, whereas the possessive NP may precede or follow. Imonda is heavily verb orientated. The structure of the NP is fairly simple, there being no concord and, with a marginal exception, no marking of number or gender. This also applies to the pronoun system, which displays a four-way contrast of first, second, third person and an inclusive form. There is a special adjective marker, which also functions as an indicator of part-whole relationships in nouns and furthermore is used for nominalisation (8.6). The following NPs are cross-referenced on the verb for number: the syntactic function of subject and object and the semantic functions of recipient, beneficiary, possessor and accompanier. While the latter five categories are marked by affixes, the first one, i.e. subject, is marked for plural by stem vowel raising. Imonda NPs may be divided into core and peripheral on a syntactic basis. The semantic function of the core NPs (subject and object) is not overtly indicated and dictated by the predicate. The semantic function of the peripheral NPs, however, is predominantly indicated either by case marking alone, or by a combination of case marking and cross-reference marking. As far as the pragmatic function of NPs is concerned, Imonda possesses a topic clitic, which is of very high frequency.

Imonda displays a good deal of verb serialisation. In fact, this appears to have been more elaborate at an earlier stage of the language, when transitive verb stems could be concatenated with one set of verbal affixation. This serialisation of transitive verbs has given rise to a covert noun-classification system by way of reanalysis of the first verb in the serialisation (see chapter 6).

Tense, aspect, negation and interrogation are indicated in part on the verb and in part by clause level particles. There are no relation-changing rules like passive. In contrast to many TNGP languages, Imonda does not have a switch-reference system. While there are NP-co-ordinating suffixes, there are no conjunctions to either co-ordinate or subordinate clauses. Independent clauses are co-ordinated by simply juxtaposing the, while dependent clauses are marked by verbal affixation. Of overriding importance is the topic clause, marked with a verbal clitic, which may function as relative clause, protasis in conditional constructions, temporal and cause clause, among others.

## 1.7 Abbreviations and symbols

ACC	Accompanier	MO	Motion
ADJ	Adjective	NAM	Proper name
ADV	Adverb	NEG	Negative
BEN	Benefactive	NOM	Nominaliser
CAU	Causal	NP	Noun phrase
CF	Counterfactual	NPL	Non-plural
CL	Classifier	NS	Non-singular
CO	Co-ordination	OB	Object
COM	Completive	PER	Perfect
COMI	Comitative	PL	Plural
CON	Connective	POS	Possessive
D	Distance	PR	Pronoun
DEM	Demonstrative	PRO	Progressive
DER	Derivational	PROH	Prohibitive
DET	Determiner	PRS	Present
DIM	Diminutive	PRT	Particle
DL	Dual	PST	Past
DO	Direct object	PX	Proximity
DUM	Dummy	Q	Interrogative
DUR	Duration	REC	Recipient
EL	Elevational	REL	Relative
EMP	Emphatic	SG	Singular
EXC	Exclamation	SI	Simultaneous
EXCL	Exclamatory	SRC	Source
FU	Future	SU	Subject
GL	Goal	TNGP	Trans-New Guinea Phylum
HAB	Habitual	TNS	Tense
HUM	Human	TO	Topic
ICL	Inclusive	VP	Verb phrase
IMM	Immediate future	1	First person
IMP	Imperative	2	Second person
INS	Instrument	3	Third person
INT	Intensifier	[ ]	Phonetic transcription
INT	Intensity	/ /	Phonemic transcription
IO	Indirect object	*	Ungrammatical
IRR	Irrealis	?	Marginally grammatical
LNK	Link	X > Z	X goes to (or is realised as) Z
LOC	Locative	X < Z	X is derived from Z

## CHAPTER 2

### THE SOUND SYSTEM

#### 2.1 Preamble

As the main emphasis of this work is on the morphosyntactic structures of Imonda, I will content myself in this chapter with discussing only the main points of the sound system. In what follows, I will present a fairly detailed analysis of the phoneme system and discuss the actual realisations of the phonemes (allophonic variation). Two cases that are somewhat problematical for the phonemic analysis are discussed in some detail. This concerns the high mid vowels (2.3.2.4) and labialised consonants (2.3.1.4). This chapter concludes with a discussion of the only morphophonemic change of importance.

#### 2.2 Introduction

Imonda is a mainstream Trans-New Guinea (TNG) language as far as its consonant system is concerned but is more complex than most Papuan languages in its vowel system. All sounds are produced with egressive pulmonic airstream mechanism. There are 12 consonant phonemes which are articulated at the bilabial, alveolar and velar places of articulation. The vowel system is unusually complex by Papuan standards, there being basically ten phonemes. According to Foley (forthcoming), Papuan languages with more than eight distinctive vowels are as yet unattested. In addition to the ten basic vowels that are common to all speakers, there are two high mid vowels which may be regarded as marginally phonemic for some speakers.

As far as suprasegmentals are concerned, tone and stress have no contrastive function, stress being approximately equal on all syllables. Furthermore, there are no elaborate morphophonemic changes.

As in most languages, in Imonda we find a good deal of variation in pronunciation. We know that phonemic or phonetic differences among speakers of the same language often have social correlates such as age, status or sex. As far as regional differences are concerned, they are of no importance in the case of Imonda, since, as was pointed out in the introduction, it was spoken in a single village until 1962 and since then in two villages situated very close to one another. It has been found, without rigorous testing, that most speech variations in Imonda may be interpreted in terms of age difference. In the following description of the sound system I shall therefore give two versions



wherever appropriate. They are meant to typify the idealised speech of old versus young. Y stands for the pronunciation of young speakers, while O stands for that of older people. For some features this idealisation is very close to the actual state of affairs in so far as version X is consistently used by older speakers and vice versa. With some other features there is a strong tendency for this to be true; that is, both old and young speakers have two versions of a given segment in their repertoire, but are fairly consistent in using only one of them.

The fact that most of these variations seem to correlate with old versus young does not, however, indicate a sound change in progress. They may in some cases, but in others I strongly suspect that they not only reflect age difference but also difference in social status. That is, as speakers grow older, they abandon some of their linguistic habits and modify their speech so as to better signal their new position in the community. The case of the high mid vowels is revealing in this respect and will be discussed in some detail in 2.3.2.4.

## 2.3 Phoneme inventory

There are 12 consonants, ten vowels, and three marginal phonemes. One marginal is the alveolar trill which only occurs in sound-imitating words. The other two are the above mentioned high mid vowels.

### 2.3.1 Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar
Nasal	m	n	
Plosive	p/b	t/d	k/g
Lateral (Approximant)		l	
Fricative	f	s	h
Trill		(r)	

There are basically three places of articulation; bilabial, alveolar and velar. Voice is distinctive in the plosives only. Consonant length is functional. Consonant contrasts, length and allophonic variation will be discussed below in this order.

## 2.3.1.1 Consonant contrasts

## A: Bilabials

All the bilabials contrast initially and medially:

Initial:		Medial:	
fe	<i>make, do</i>	afa	<i>mother</i>
pe	<i>fall down</i>	-api	<i>throw down</i>
bef	<i>you (emphatic)</i>	aba	<i>sago</i>
mel	<i>hole</i>	Ama	<i>name</i>

In final position, /f/ and /p/ are neutralised, their realisation being [f]:

Final:	
if	<i>breadfruit</i>
sab	<i>rainbow lory</i>
sum	<i>behind</i>

The neutralisation of /f/ and /p/ is also apparent in the process of integration of loanwords into the system. Final /p/ in loanwords is realised as [f], such as in *cup* which becomes [kaf]. However, there are some instances of secondary final [p] in the language. As discussed in chapter 8 (8.6), nouns that designate parts of wholes or that are seen in some way to be relational, may take a final -l. When this -l is dropped, a preceding vowel tends to be reduced in polysyllabic words. This vowel reduction is more pronounced in Y than in O. The word *po water*, rarely occurring with -l (8.6), undergoes the same vowel reduction when it occurs as the second stem in a compound. While O never reduces the vowel completely or at least maintains lip rounding on /p/, in Y's speech there is sometimes no trace of the vowel left:

*ekukō-po faeces water* > [ekukōpo] / [ekukōp]

## B: Alveolars

The alveolars contrast in all three positions:

Initial:		Medial:		Final:	
ne	<i>eat</i>	ini	<i>armpit</i>	an	<i>who</i>
se	<i>cut</i>	isi	<i>pig chase</i>	es	<i>sago</i>
les	<i>pile up</i>	ōlō	<i>mountain</i>	āl	<i>tree sp.</i>
ti	<i>tree</i>	ete	<i>big brother</i>	at	<i>leech</i>
di	<i>younger brother</i>	pada	<i>finish</i>	id	<i>men</i>

## C: Velars

The velars also contrast in all three positions:

Initial:		Medial:		Final:	
ku	<i>louse</i>	ekukō	<i>faeces</i>	aik	<i>girdle</i>
hu	<i>penis</i>	ihu	<i>mango</i>	ōh	<i>this, here</i>
ga-	<i>classifier</i>	mugō	<i>completely</i>	tòg	<i>illness</i>

### 2.3.1.2 Geminates and long consonants

Geminates are often defined as long consonants or as 'adjacent segments that are the same, such as the two consonants in the middle of Italian "folla" [folla] *crowd*' (Ladefoged 1975:278). It seems to me that a useful distinction could be made between long consonants and geminates. Ladefoged's Italian example would be an instance of the former, as there are not two segments involved. In fact, the lateral tongue position is just maintained relatively longer than in the short lateral. The term geminate could then be reserved for a sequence of two identical consonants (as suggested by Ladefoged but not illustrated by his example), where there are two distinct onsets. In Imonda we find instances of both types.

#### A: Long consonants

Long consonants have been noted for /n/ and /l/. Length seems to be functional only in initial position:

nne	<i>food</i>	vs.	ne	<i>you</i>
nnõl	<i>uncle</i>	vs.	nõl	<i>seed</i>
llõ	<i>fish</i>	vs.	lõ	<i>tooth</i>

Contrasts occur in final position too, but only over morpheme breaks:

õ-n-n *he said to them* vs. õ-n *he said*  
(õ *say*; -n- BEN/NS; -n PST)

mal-l *scar* vs. fal *arrow*  
(mal *scar*; -l NOM)

In final position over morpheme break, long [f] also occurs:

sof-f *wash sago* vs. nõf *eye*  
(-f PRS)

Long [f] occurs in Y but not in O, which has two distinct onsets (see next section).

#### B: Geminates

Geminates – in Imonda at any rate – represent an intermediate step in the development from 'Cons. X – (Vowel) – Cons. X' to 'Long cons. X'. (Note that in this section, long consonants are symbolised X:, and geminates XX.) Thus, whereas Y has [f:] in sof-f *wash sago* (see above), O has [ff], i.e. two distinct onsets, but no intermediate vowel. There are other verbs ending in final -f that are exactly parallel to sof-f. Sometimes three different pronunciations are heard:

malõlõ	<i>millipede</i>	1.	[malõlõ]
		2.	[mallõ]
		3.	[mal:õ]

Vowels between identical consonants tend to be dropped, which results in geminates:

pëpeha	<i>fall</i>	>	[ppexa]
ekukõ	<i>faeces</i>	>	[ekkö]

## 2.3.1.3 Allophonic variation

/m/ /n/ : The voiced bilabial and alveolar nasals occur initially, medially and finally. There are no allophones. Note that some occurrences of the nasal consonants are not phonemic but belong to the realisation of stop phonemes (see below).

/b/ /d/ /g/ : Initially, the voiced plosives are slightly prenasalised. In medial position they are heavily prenasalised. This holds also over morpheme or word boundary:

- (1) ne-baihef [nembaixef]  
 2 -EMP  
*(it was) you*

In final position, there is a good deal of allophonic variation. [mph]/[nth]/[ŋkh]: One version is a strongly prenasalised, aspirated, voiceless or devoiced lenis stop. [nth] and [ŋkh] are the norm for Y, but very rare for O. [mph] often occurs in Y, but never in O. The most commonly found allophone for O is a strongly prenasalised plosive with voiced release. Y shows this allophone only for /b/ with some frequency.

/p/ /t/ /k/ : The voiceless stops are unaspirated in initial and medial position. In final position /p/ is realised as the voiceless, bilabial fricative [f] (see above). /t/ and /k/ do occur finally. They are realised as voiceless, aspirated plosives in Y and as voiceless plosives with voiced release in O. In addition, O has a heavily aspirated allophone of /t/ ([th]) in all positions. Instead of aspiration, there is sometimes friction release, i.e. [ts].

/l/ : The voiced alveolar lateral approximant occurs in all three positions without noticeable allophonic variation.

/f/ /s/ /h/ : The alveolar fricative /s/ is found initially, medially and finally and is voiceless throughout. The same applies to the velar /h/ with the exception that it may optionally be voiced intervocalically. In Y's speech, /h/ sometimes loses its friction preceding a vowel, in which case it is realised as a voiceless vowel of the same quality as the one it precedes.

The bilabial fricative /f/ is voiceless initially and voiced medially. Voicing in intervocalic position is automatic only word internally:

safa taro [sava]  
 ka-fa I [kava] (ka I; -fa TO)

Note that, as shown in the second example, intervocalic voicing is maintained over morpheme boundaries, if they are not at the same time word boundaries. In the latter case there is no voicing:

- (2) adeia ka fe-f [fef]  
 work I do-PRS  
*I am working*

Intervocalic voicing of /f/ gives a clue as to the word status of *adjective plus pro-verb* *fe make, do* discussed in 5.4.5.1. The initial fricative of *fe* in the following example is voiced after the final vowel of the preceding adjective:

- (3) abu -fe-f [ambuvif]  
*ripe-do-PRS*  
*it is ripe*

The voicing of /f/ seems to indicate that the two morphemes constitute one word. Notice also the raising of the vowel of *fe* to the height of the preceding vowel.

In final position, /f/ is voiceless in Y and normally voiced in O.

#### 2.3.1.4 Labialisation

I have said that there are basically 12 consonant phonemes in Imonda. Now consider the following pairs:

he *cut* vs. huef [xwef] *emphatic particle*  
 pete *small* vs. pueta [pweta] *silent*

The sequence Cw symbolises a monosegmental, labialised consonant. The feature labialisation is contrastive in velar and labial consonants before front vowels. Labialised consonants are however not recognised as independent phonemes, as they can be straightforwardly derived from an underlying sequence of unlabialised consonant plus high back vowel /u/. The reasons are as follows: first, labial and velar consonants are automatically labialised preceding a back vowel. This is a purely phonetic process and also applies to loanwords:

agõ	<i>woman</i>	[aŋgwõ]
kõfõ	<i>cut</i>	[kwõfõ]
agu	<i>ear</i>	[aŋgwu]
Kota baru	<i>old name of present-day Jayapura</i> [kwõtambaru]	

Labialisation also occurs medially after a back vowel:

õme	<i>vagina</i>	[õmwe]
kopi	<i>coffee</i>	[kwopwi]

An underlying /u/ in those cases where a labialised consonant precedes a front vowel helps to maintain the phonetic conditioning of labialisation. Note that labial or velar consonants may not precede a diphthong starting with [w] at surface level. We would be unable to account for this restriction, assuming phonemic status of labialised consonants.

Alveolar consonants do not coalesce with a following /u/ preceding a vowel to produce a labialised consonant:

sue	<i>fire</i>
tui	<i>butterfly</i>

Another phonetic process involving /u/, which has not been examined in detail, needs to be mentioned here. In polysyllabic words, /u/ flanked by voiceless consonants tends to be much reduced. The preceding consonant becomes labialised and /u/ is realised as a very short voiceless vowel. However, contrary to the cases mentioned above, /u/ does not lose its syllabicity:

- (4) id agõ kusi -f  
       men women gather-PRS  
       people gather

The item *kusi gather* is pronounced as described above; it is bisyllabic and stands in contrast to *ksi fuck* (SU=PL), which has a real consonant cluster and is monosyllabic.

### 2.3.2 Vowels

There are ten vowel phonemes common to both Y and O. In addition, there are two high mid vowels, which are only found in O and whose phonemic status is marginal (2.3.2.4). No diphthongs are treated as monophonematic units; the reasons for this are outlined in 2.3.2.3.

#### 2.3.2.1 Vowel system

The left-hand chart represents the vowel phonemes with the familiar IPA symbols, whereas the right-hand chart displays the corresponding typographic conventions used in this grammar:

Front	Mid	Back	Front	Mid	Back
i	[i/ɨ]	u	i	[i/ɨ]	u
e		o	e		o
ɛ	ə	ɔ	è	ë	ò
æ	a	ɒ	ã	a	õ

#### 2.3.2.2 Contrasts

The most common strategy for marking subject plural is by raising of the ultimate stem vowel of the verb. This provides a handy tool for illustrating vowel contrasts:

- /e/ vs. /i/ : /se/ vs. /si/ *cut*  
 /o/ vs. /u/ : /pos/ vs. /pus/ *dig*  
 /a/ vs. /ã/ : /sah/ vs. /sãh/ *call*  
 /a/ vs. /è/ : /sah/ vs. /sèh/ *search*  
 /õ/ vs. /ò/ : /õ/ vs. /ò/ *say*  
 /ë/ vs. /i/ : /sëh/ vs. /sih/ *search*

The stem vowel is normally raised by one step. /a/ is unique in sometimes being raised to /ǎ/ and sometimes to /è/. Note that /ə/ is raised to the high front position /i/. Singular verb forms with the stem vowel at height 3, i.e. /è/ or /ò/, have not been observed and thus, contrast between height 3 and 2 cannot be shown with verb forms. The following noun series shows contrast in medial position for ten vowels:

tèh mul	firewood
mol	daughter
mòl	claw
mõl	tree trunk
mal	scar
māl	river bank
mèlablõ	crab
mel	hole
mil	blunt
mèl	unmarried (of woman)

Initial:

In initial position, /è/, /è/ and /o/ do not occur:

/i/ vs. /e/ :	i grass	vs. e stomach
/e/ vs. /ǎ/ :	ed that, there	vs. ǎs tremble
/ǎ/ vs. /a/ :	ǎb wild fowl	vs. aba sago
/õ/ vs. /ò/ :	õsõ garden	vs. òlf point
/ò/ vs. /u/ :	òd heart	vs. udõ netbag

Final:

In final position all vowels occur:

/i/ vs. /e/ :	ti tree	vs. kse fuck
/e/ vs. /è/ :	nne food	vs. naglè see
/e/ vs. /a/ :	ne eat	vs. sa coconut
/a/ vs. /õ/ :	ma interjection	vs. mõ talk
/õ/ vs. /o/ :	nnõ kinship term	vs. fo banana
/è/ vs. /e/ :	nè bush	vs. ne you

The vowels /ǎ/, /è/ and /ò/ occur in final position only as a result of vowel raising in verbs, e.g.:

nagla	see	>	naglè
la	burn	>	lǎ

In addition to this, all words may end in /è/ through the addition of the D-marker, one of whose manifestations is /è/ (see 8.4):

(5)	ka-f	õ	-n	-õ	ne-è	[nè]
	1	-EMP	say	-PST-D	2	-D
	I thought it was you					

### 2.3.2.3 Remarks on allophonic variation

As the vowels are analysed without the help of spectrograms, their phonetic description is somewhat vague. The vowels are basically related to the value of the cardinal vowels in the IPA chart.

## A: High vowels and the question of diphthongs

The high front and back vowels /i/ and /u/ have approximately the value that is associated with these symbols in the IPA chart. However, preceding and following another vowel, they lose their syllabicity and become approximants [y] and [w]. They may thus function as syllable onsets and codas:

- (6) ka-na ièf [yèf]  
 1 -POS house  
 my house
- (7) kau [kaw]  
 chin  
 chin

Whether monosyllabic diphthongs are best interpreted as complex vowel phonemes or as sequences of vowel plus glide is a vexed question. The analysis of diphthongs offered here has a tinge of what has become known as the 'hocus pocus' approach (O'Connor 1973:211; Fischer-Jørgensen 1975:78). The main reason for the diphenematic solution is that for all diphthongs that could be analysed as monophonematic there are instances that derive from the coalescence of two segments. The immediate future marker -i (5.3.6.2) and the imperative marker -u (5.3.4.2) combine with the final vowel of a preceding morpheme to produce such diphthongs. As these diphthongs have to be interpreted as biphenematic in any case, it is clearly economical to extend this analysis to all instances of these diphthongs:

- (8) sue la -u  
 fire light-IMP  
 light a fire!

/la-u/ is realised as [law], i.e. the quality of this diphthong is the same as in kau *chin*, mentioned above.

The same argument can be adduced to argue against the introduction of two additional phonemes, the approximants /y/ and /w/. It is clear that we need an underlying /u/ for the imperative marker. Its realisation is [+syllabic] following a consonant:

- (9) ka-m fa-ai -h -u  
 1 -GL CL-give -REC-IMP  
 give me!

We therefore need a phonological rule that removes the syllabicity from /u/ if it is suffixed to a morpheme that ends in a vowel, such as in example (8) above. Again, it is clearly economical to extend this rule to all instances of /u/ following a vowel. A slight modification of the rule gets it also to apply to /u/ preceding a vowel. Exactly the same applies to /i/ preceding and following a vowel, as is apparent from the next three examples:

- (10) kai  
 Q  
 Question particle
- (11) sue ka la -i  
 fire 1 light-IMM  
 I am going to light a fire



/kai/ is realised as [kay] and /la-i/ as [lay], i.e. the two diphthongs are identical. The following example shows the syllabic version of the immediate future marker -i:

- (12) ne-m ka fa-ai -h -i  
 2 -GL 1 CL-give-REC-IMM  
*I am going to give you*

The locative marker -ia is normally realised as a monosyllabic diphthong [-ya]. However, after certain consonants such as /k/ or certain consonant clusters the desyllabification rule is blocked:

- (13) ekuk -ia  
*distance-LOC*  
*in the distance*
- (14) òd -l -ia  
*heart-NOM-LOC*  
*in the middle*

The above discussion implies that syllabic and non-syllabic high vowels never contrast, which is in fact correct. Note that a prevocalic /u/ has the effect of labialising certain preceding consonants, a matter which was discussed in 2.3.1.4.

#### B: Other vowels

Like the high vowels /i/ and /u/, the vowels /e/, /a/, /o/ and /ə/ also have approximately the value that is associated with these symbols in the IPA chart. /è/ corresponds roughly to the IPA half open front vowel, but is often somewhat centralised, especially in O's speech. /ã/ is more open than /è/ and has approximately the quality of the front vowel in English *sad*. /õ/ is a very low rounded back vowel. /ò/ is slightly higher than /õ/ and, just like the front vowel /è/, often centralised. Some preliminary comparative work has shown that the greatest degree of vowel variation in the Waris languages is connected with these two centralised vowels. While the other vowels are fairly constant in the languages I have looked at, the corresponding vowels for /è/ and /ò/ vary widely:

	Imonda	Waris	Punda	Sowanda
<i>house</i>	ièf	dèf	iuf	iuf
<i>tree sp.</i> ( <i>Pometia</i> <i>pinnata</i> )	pèf	puèf	pif	pif
<i>heart</i>	òd	id	ir	ed
<i>moon</i>	uòs	uès	uus	uis

The Proto-Waris vowels corresponding to present-day Imonda /è/ and /ò/ may well have been more clearly central. Subsequent raising and fronting or backing depending on the language and individual environments would have yielded the present-day vowel qualities. This would seem to be the most likely hypothesis for accounting for the divergence in these particular vowels. Note that the centralised allophones of /è/ and /ò/ are auditorily fairly close to /ə/.

Vowels are slightly lengthened before voiced consonants. This is a purely phonetic process and vowel length is normally not functional. The one exception to this concerns the rule of final -m deletion, where a preceding vowel maintains its length after the deletion of the conditioning factor and thus vowel length is functional where the deleted -m is an instance of the goal case marker (see 2.4.1).

#### 2.3.2.4 High vowel centralising

In addition to the vowels so far discussed there are two others, namely two high, mid, rounded and unrounded vowels, whose status within the phonemic system is problematic. These vowels are largely confined to O, the corresponding vowels for Y being the high, unrounded front or rounded back vowels. Auditorily, the difference between the centralised and the non-centralised variants is quite marked and seems bigger than between certain other vowels in the system such as /a/ and /ã/. It appears to be impossible to specify a conditioning environment for the occurrence of the central vowels.

Here are some examples:

nis	<i>tie up</i>	[nɪs]	fulhõ	<i>go up</i>	[fɯlxõ]
ti	<i>tree</i>	[tɨ]	nug	<i>fill in</i>	[nɯŋg]
tih	<i>festival</i>	[tɨx]	lus	<i>bug</i>	[lɯs]
nih	<i>skin</i>	[nɨx]	kub	<i>bird</i>	[kwɯmb]
fil	<i>lime</i>	[fɨl]	lu	<i>stick</i>	[lɯ]
kil	<i>frog</i>	[kɨl]	nuso	<i>pig chase</i>	[nɯsõ]
dil	<i>younger brother</i>	[dɨl]			
lilh	<i>dizziness</i>	[lɨlx]			
si	<i>night</i>	[sɨ]			
sisil	<i>platform</i>	[sɨsɨl]			

The feature of high central vowels is one of many that is associated with adulthood. It is acquired fairly late in life, sometime during adolescence. Young boys never have it but on approaching adulthood they start acquiring this feature. As is to be expected, this acquisition is a slow process, starting with some items and then gradually spreading to all relevant ones. Furthermore, adolescents do not necessarily start with the same items and a fair bit of variation has been observed (no worthwhile data are at hand for women). The following anecdote shows that the high vowel variation may not be entirely confined to the subconscious level: a young man was asked to give the equivalent of the English *tree*. Spontaneously, he volunteered *ti* with a clear high front vowel, i.e. [tɨ]. However, after a few moment's reflection he offered the following comment: "Well, [tɨ] does not sound too good, it should be [tɨ̃]". In order to shed more light on the social correlate of the high central vowels, more statistical material would be required than I collected; therefore, I leave the discussion at these few remarks.

Another question worth considering is the phonemic status of these vowels. It has been pointed out that where O has ɨ/ɯ, Y has i/u. This would seem to indicate a purely allophonic status of the centralised vowels. However, it has also been mentioned that there does not seem to be a phonetically specifiable environment. In fact, minimal pairs can be found:

ti	<i>tea</i>	vs.	tɨ	<i>tree</i>
di	<i>money</i>	vs.	dɨ	<i>younger brother</i>
si	<i>later</i>	vs.	sɨ	<i>night</i>
li	<i>put</i> [SU=PL]	vs.	lɨ	<i>lie</i>

These are the only pairs that I have found and all of them present problems. The first two examples clearly involve loanwords, one from English (*tea*), the other from Malay (*duit*). The third example is problematic as the adverb *si later* hardly ever occurs on its own, but almost always in conjunction with another, preceding adverb of identical meaning, namely *suam*. Note that *si* occurs also in *unisi tomorrow*, again with uncentralised *i*. It is likely that *si* in *unisi*, *si later* and *si night* is in fact the same item, but that the centralisation only happened where *si* occurred independently. The fourth example may present the best minimal pair. The high front vowel in *li put* results from stem vowel raising, a device used for indicating subject plural (see 5.3.1.1); such raised vowels never undergo centralising.

It appears that the high central vowels must be assigned marginal phonemic status. Their occurrence cannot be phonetically specified nor are they in free variation with the non-centralised vowels.

To finish off this discussion I would like to point out that the centralisation of both front and back vowels results in high mid vowels that are auditorily very close. And indeed, we find words with 'confusion' as to the rounding of the high vowels. These words include:

lu	<i>stick</i>	[lu/lɨ/lɨ/li]
kub	<i>bird sp.</i>	[kwumb/kwɨmb/kɨmb/kimb]
luhi	<i>shoulder</i>	[luxi/lu/lɨ/li]

## 2.4 Phonological rules

Phonological rules fall into two categories: first, those rules that are phonetically specifiable are the phonological rules proper and second, those that are dependent on grammatical information, i.e. morphophonemic rules. A full treatment of phonological rules is outside the scope of this chapter and I will only discuss the one major morphophonemic rule of significance and the one phonetically specifiable rule that has potentially very serious consequences for the working of the syntax.

### 2.4.1 Final -m deletion

Final -m may be optionally elided after vowels in connected speech:

ia(m)	<i>later</i>
mai(-m)	<i>anyhow</i>

As pointed out earlier, vowels are lengthened before voiced consonants. This vowel lengthening is maintained after the deletion of the final -m. This prevents the potentially destructive deletion rule from 'undermining' the case marker -m, which is of great importance in the grammar (7.3). Vowel length may thus become functional:

- (15) atha ka-m t -ai -h -u [ka:]  
*sugarcane* 1 -GL CL-*give*-REC-IMP  
*give me some sugarcane!*

This rule only applies in connected speech and informants are consistent in rejecting the m-less form as ungrammatical upon elicitation.

#### 2.4.2 The /a/ - /i/ alternation

As briefly mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Imonda does not display complicated morphophonemic changes. The /a/ - /i/ alternation is in fact the only major rule that needs to be discussed.

There are seven verbal suffixes that have two allomorphs which are distinguished from one another in their vowel(s), one having /a/ and the other /i/:

- la-li (marks emphasis, see 5.3.2)  
 ta-ti (irrealis, see 5.3.4)  
 fan-fin (perfect, see 5.3.5.3; also the emphatic form: fanaf/finif)  
 fna-fni (imperfective, see 5.3.5.2)  
 fa-fi (non-past marker, see 5.3.5.1)  
 na-ni (past tense, see 5.3.5.4)  
 na-ni (benefactive, see 5.3.3)

The rule for the distribution of the allomorphs is as follows: if the verb is not marked for subject plural, the allomorph with the vowel /a/ occurs:

- (16) ka-m iaha-ta -me  
 1 -GL *die* -IRR-Q  
*am I going to die?*
- (17) ka-m õ -na -u  
 1 -GL *say*-BEN-IMP  
*tell me!*
- (18) Sefia ka-m g -ai -h -fan  
 NAM 1 -GL CL-*give*-REC-PER  
*Sefia has given it to me*

If the verb is marked for subject plural, and if this is indicated by stem vowel raising, then the /i/-allomorph occurs:

- (19) ka-m fa-ehè -ni -u  
 1 -GL CL-*put*/SU=PL-BEN-IMP  
*put it there for me!*
- (20) ehe-m ò -ni -fin  
 3 -GL *say*/SU=PL-BEN-PER  
*they have told him*
- (21) ka-m at naglè -li -n  
 1 -GL COM *see*/SU=PL-EMP-PST  
*they have discovered me*

If subject plural is marked on the verb not by vowel raising but by some other means like suppletion or the prefix ai- in the case of motion verbs (for details see 5.3.1.1), then the change from /a/ to /i/ generally does not occur:

- (22) ehe id ai-uagl-ta -me  
 3 men PL-go -IRR-Q  
*are they going?*
- (23) hla -la -u  
 eat/SU=PL-EMP-IMP  
*eat! (you all)*

Occasionally, however, the vowel change occurs in these cases as well, my main informant volunteering the comment that this is not too good:

- (24) shaulõ -ti -me  
 sleep/SU=PL-IRR-Q  
*are they asleep?*

There are however instances where this usually non-functional morphophonemic variation is resorted to for indicating subject plural. For instance, verbs of motion lose their subject plural marking prefix ai- when they occur as roots in serialisation. In these cases, a change of vowel in the eligible morphemes may function as number marker:

- (25) Pai kafli-uagl-li -fin.  
 NAM grab -go -EMP-PER  
*The Pai people grabbed her and went away.*

In example (25) the markers of emphasis (li) and perfect (fin) indicate subject plural.

CHAPTER 3  
PARTS OF SPEECH

In this chapter I will classify stems on the basis of their shared morpho-syntactic behaviour. The primary criterion of classification is the ability of stems to take affixation. A stem may be defined as that part of the word which is left when all inflectional affixes are 'shorn' (Anderson forthcoming) or 'stripped' (Hockett 1958:240). Classes of stems established by morpho-syntactic criteria are related with semantic properties and sometimes further subdivided on a semantic basis.

To begin with, stems can be divided into two categories on the basis of whether they can host affixes<sup>1</sup>. Those that cannot do so I call particles<sup>2</sup>. Those that may bear affixation may be subdivided according to whether they may take the past tense marker -n or not. Those stems that do so, typically depict events or processes and are therefore called verbs. The structure of verb

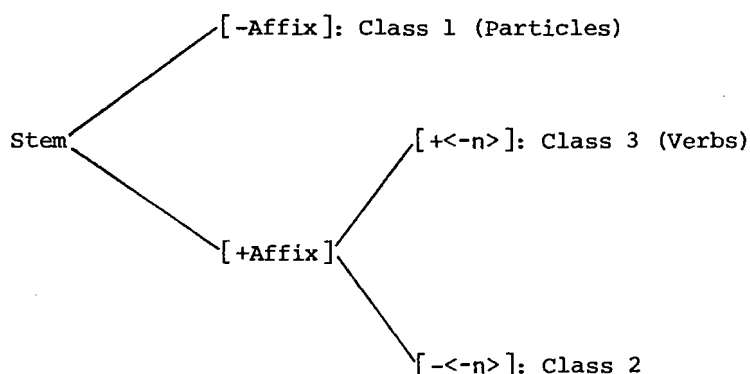


Figure 3-1

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<sup>1</sup>The term 'affix' as used in this grammar subsumes the notion of 'clitic'.

<sup>2</sup>There is one minor exception; the D-form (discussed in 8.4) may cliticise onto any part of speech, including particles.

stems and their associated morphology will be discussed in chapter 5. A classification of verb stems in terms of their valency may be found in chapter 7<sup>1</sup>.

Particles are discussed immediately below in 3.1. Class 2 stems are further subdivided and examined in 3.2 – 3.7.

### 3.1 Particles

Particles may be divided into two classes on the basis of whether they constitute meaningful utterances on their own or not. Those that do not are clause-level particles with a grammatical function:

së	negative particle (8.1)
an	prohibitive marker (8.2.1)
kai	question marker (8.2.1)
të	emphasis particle (5.3.6.1)

Those particles that may stand on their own fall into two classes:

#### a) Interjections

ba	<i>yes</i>
uos	<i>come on</i>
afi	<i>hey</i>
uõ	<i>hey</i>

b) Particles that depict an event or indicate a state of affairs or imitate the sound of an event. Imonda possesses a great many of these particles:

nia	<i>so small</i>
bou	<i>closed</i>
thithi	<i>sound of cutting</i>

This is where we find the sound [r], which is not part of the phoneme system:

kurè	<i>sound of breaking tree</i>
------	-------------------------------

The following is an example taken from a narrative:

- (1) ed-uõ, id sōh sōh sōh puhõ -la -n -b  
 PX-TO *men come come come come up*-EMP-PST-DUR  
*and then, all of the men came out*

The particle sōh depicts the coming out of the men. Note that it is not a verb, being invariable and not able to take affixation. In the above example, sōh is followed by puhõ *come up*, which is a proper verb and may host the relevant affixation.

---

<sup>1</sup>Some complex verb stems may not directly take any of the suffixes described in 5.3 (including -n) but require that they be pegged onto the pro-verb *fe make, do*. This matter is discussed in 5.4.

### 3.2 Adverbs

Class two stems are further categorised as follows: those stems that take case marking may all<sup>1</sup> act as head of a noun phrase and so I term them nominals. Those that may not take case marking typically function as scene setting adjuncts and may therefore be called adverbs.

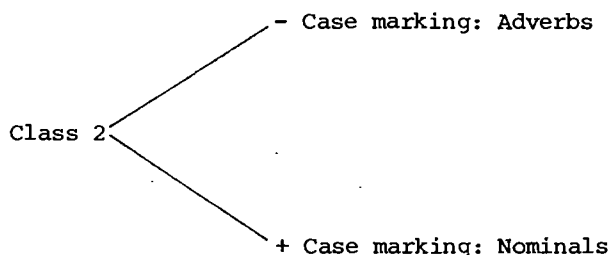


Figure 3-2

In this section I will discuss adverbs. Imonda possesses a fair number of monomorphemic adverbs. On top of this, the clitic *-nam* derives many additional adverbs. It is impossible to give these items a unitary semantic definition. They all help to set an event in a local and temporal context or else they describe the way the event happens. Alternatively, they may inquire as to these circumstances. The items in this latter category are traditionally called 'interrogative adverbs'.

#### 3.2.1 Interrogative adverbs

Imonda does not possess any monomorphemic interrogative adverbs. There are two bound interrogative stems, which, with the relevant affixation, function as interrogative adverbials.

#### 3.2.2 The interrogative stem *ah*

*ah* is a bound interrogative pronoun stem which, with case marking, forms specific interrogative adverbials. This is discussed below in 3.6.3 and I will only give one example here:

- (2) *ah-ia*  
 Q -LOC  
*where?*

---

<sup>1</sup>With one minor exception, see 3.3.2.



In addition *ah* combines with the deictic *sa-l* (3.6.4) to form *ah-sa-l* [*asal*] *how* and with *tōgō* *thus* to form *ah-tōgō* [*atungwō*] *how*. *Ah-sa-l* may be further suffixed with the combination of nominaliser plus goal marker (8.6) to derive *ah-sa-l-l-m* *why*. The derivational clitic *-nam* derives the interrogative time adverb *ah-na-nam* *when* (see below).

### 3.2.2.1 The interrogative stem *maga*

*Maga* is a second pronoun stem which takes case markers to derive adverbials (see 3.6.3).

- (3) *maga-ia*  
*what-CAU*  
*because of what (why)?*
- (4) *maga-ia -m*  
*what-LOC-GL*  
*what for (why)?*

### 3.2.3 Time adverbs

Time adverbs provide a time reference with respect to the speech act. Some are monomorphemic:

- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| <i>iauō</i>      | <i>now</i>   |
| <i>iam</i>       | <i>later</i> (covers a few hours subsequent to the speech act)   |
| <i>ōm</i>        | <i>yesterday</i>   |
| <i>nuf</i>       | <i>two or more days ago</i>  |
| <i>madh/medh</i> | <i>still</i>   |
| <i>suam</i>      | <i>later</i>   |
| <i>si</i>        | <i>later</i> (usually co-occurs with <i>suam</i> : <i>suam si</i> ; <i>si</i> occurs also as the noun <i>night</i> ) |
- (5) *market-na id madh ai-pia -f -me*  
*market-POS men still PL-come-PRS-Q*  
*are the market people still coming?*

Some are polymorphemic:

- |                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>u-ni-si</i>   | <i>tomorrow</i>               |
| <i>im-ni-si</i>  | <i>day after tomorrow</i>     |
| <i>mag-ni-si</i> | <i>two or more days ahead</i> |

These three items are clearly segmentable into *si* *night*, a morpheme *ni* and an initial morpheme that varies. The first two, i.e. *u* and *im*, do not occur outside these items, whereas *mag* occurs as the quantifier *one*, *another one* (see 3.7). It is not unreasonable to assume that the medial morpheme *ni* derives from the possessive marker *na* (see 4.1.2.4).

Other polymorphemic time adverbs are:

- |                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| <i>iauō-ia-m</i> | <i>in earlier days</i> |
| <i>iauō-m</i>    | <i>later</i>           |

The morpheme *iauõ* occurs as an independent time adverb *now*, as indicated above. As for *ia* and *m*, they are homophonous with the locative and goal case markers (see 4.3). The adverb *iam* *later* usually co-occurs with *iauõm*:

- (6) *iauõm iam ka uagl fe-f*  
*later later I go do-PRS*  
*I will go later*
- (7) *nõmot iauõiam tõgõ fi-fni*  
*before before thus do-PRO*  
*a long time ago they used to do it like this*

### 3.2.4 Quantifier adverbs

The following are quantifier adverbs and mean *a lot*:

*afèt*  
*saha or: saha-nam*

In the following example *saha/afèt* may not be construed attributively:

- (8) *tõbtõ saha/afèt store-ia alõh-f*  
*fish a lot store-LOC be -PRS*  
*there is fish in great abundance at the store*

(For nominal quantifiers see 3.7.)

### 3.2.5 Manner adverbs

In addition to the above, there are adverbs of manner, speed, negation, frequency and location, which are here all lumped together under the heading *manner*:

<i>pueta</i>	<i>secretly, silently</i>
<i>unam</i>	<i>slowly</i>
<i>ekenam</i>	<i>fast</i>
<i>ainam</i>	<i>fast</i>
<i>amanam</i>	<i>fast</i>
<i>tõgõ</i>	<i>thus</i>
<i>abõ</i>	<i>anyhow</i>
<i>maim</i>	<i>anyhow</i>
<i>auaia</i>	<i>no (see 8.1)</i>
<i>peh</i>	<i>empty handed</i>
<i>lldanam</i>	<i>differently</i>
<i>haifõ</i>	<i>again</i>
<i>anuõ</i>	<i>often</i>
<i>sum</i>	<i>behind</i>

- (9) *ka maim ha-pia -f*  
*I anyhow MO-come-PRS*  
*I am coming for no particular purpose*
- (10) *tõgõ lõl -u*  
*thus talk-IMP*  
*talk like this!*

Adverbs are formally distinguished from particles by their ability to host affixes, as pointed out above. The following examples show adverbs taking emphasis, question and topic markers (8.2.1.1/8.5/9.2.1):

- (11) tōgō-fla fe-u  
*thus-EMP do-IMP*  
*do it like this!*
- (12) tōgō-me  
*thus-Q*  
*like that?*
- (13) auaiā-fa, ed-fa auaiā  
*no -TO PX-TO no*  
*if not, then not*

Particles on the other hand may not take any of these suffixes:

- (14) \*ba -fa, ed-fa ba  
*yes -TO PX-TO yes*  
*if yes, then yes*

### 3.2.6 Derived Adverbs

A number of adverbs listed above end in *-nam*. This is indeed a clitic that derives adverbials from other parts of speech. Items like *unam slowly* or *ainam fast* have been listed above because they do not occur without *-nam*.

#### 3.2.6.1 Adjective *-nam*

Some adjectives may form adverbs by shedding their final *-l* (see 3.3) and taking the clitic *-nam*:

ebeš-l *good* > ebeš-nam  
 kuii-l *long* > kuii-nam  
 tit-l *ignorant* > tit-nam

- (15) ōh-nèi ebeš-nam fe-u  
*PX-SRC good-DER do-IMP*  
*do this well!*
- (16) tit -nam e -tagla -ual-fna  
*ignorant-DER DL-go round-DL -PRO*  
*they (2) went round in ignorance*

Both the adjectives and their derived adverbs may occur in ascriptive existential predicates. The adjective denotes inherent and the adverb temporary quality (see 7.2.8.2).

#### 3.2.6.2 *-nam* as an NP clitic

Time adverbs may be derived from certain nouns by *-nam*. The resulting meaning is 'at the time of what the noun refers to':

po-nam	<i>at the time of rain (po rain)</i>
ōkōba-nam	<i>during daytime (ōkōba sun)</i>
kuke-nam	<i>in late afternoon (kuke frog)</i>
si-nam	<i>at night (si night)</i>

The suffix -nam may in fact be suffixed to the last item in the NP of which the above nouns are the head:

- (17) ed-nèi si kubui-nam  
 PX-SRC *night* INT -DER  
*in the middle of that night*
- (18) ōkōba kubui-nam  
 sun INT -DER  
*in the midday heat*

In this function -nam may also occur with some pronouns and one quantifier (3.6 and 3.7):

ed-nèi-nam [enanam]	<i>at that time</i>
PX-SRC-DER	
ōh-nèi-nam [ōxnanam]	<i>at this time</i>
PX-SRC-DER	
ah-nèi-nam [axnanam]	<i>at what time</i>
Q -SRC-DER	
sal -nam	<i>at a time like this</i>
like-DER	
mag-na -nam	<i>at some other time</i>
one-POS-DER	

In these constructions -nam behaves like the case clitics discussed in chapter 4. However, as it is not a freely productive process and in view of the other characteristics of -nam, I do not treat it as a case marker, but rather as a derivational clitic.

### 3.2.6.3 Numerals

From *sabla two* -nam derives an adverb: *sabla-nam in twos*:

- (19) sabla-nam be-f e -uagl-ual-u  
*two -DER 2 -EMP DL-go -DL -IMP*  
*you two go together!*

### 3.2.6.4 Pronouns

Adverbs may be derived from personal pronouns (3.6.1). They are in their emphatic form and are linked to -nam by -na:

ka-f-na-nam	<i>by myself</i>
be-f-na-nam	<i>by yourself</i>
ehe-f-na-nam	<i>by him-/her-/itself</i>
ple-f-na-nam	<i>by ourselves</i>

- (20) fo ehe-f -na -nam tōplifō-n  
*banana* 3 -EMP-LNK-DER *break* -PST  
*the banana stalk broke by itself*

### 3.3 Adjectives

Nominals have been defined above as those stems that may take case marking and may act as head of a noun phrase. One group of nominals may not bear the possessive marker *-na*. The stems thus formally characterised typically ascribe properties to entities and may therefore be called adjectives.

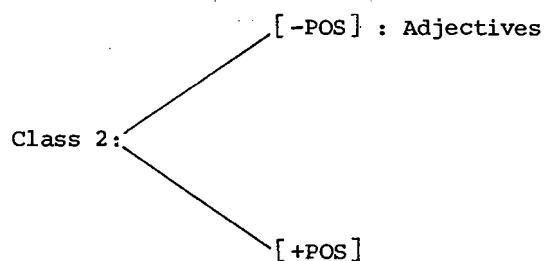


Figure 3-3

Adjectives are the topic of this section. They are subject to further subdivisions. Most adjectives may not modify proper nouns and are formally characterised by a final *-l*. These are the adjectives proper and henceforth the term adjective will be restricted to these items<sup>1</sup>. The few residual items may modify proper nouns and do not end in a final *-l*. They also constitute the only class of nominals that may not act as head of a NP. Like other nominals, however, they may bear case marking. These items may be subdivided on semantic grounds into intensifiers and exclamatory words.

#### 3.3.1 Adjectives proper

Although there is a grammatically identifiable class adjectives in Imonda, it is also true that adjectives and nouns are very closely related. It has just been mentioned that adjectives end in *-l*, but so do many nouns. In particular, it is those nouns that denote part of a whole that end in *-l*. This

<sup>1</sup>The only adjective proper that does not occur with a final *-l* is *abei bad*. However, this item does not often occur on its own but rather takes part in the adjective compound *abei kulō-l bad* (*kulō-l old*).

morpheme also functions as a nominaliser and has still further functions; it is discussed in detail in 8.6. Nouns and adjectives ending in -l may shed this morpheme under (not always) well defined conditions. For instance, nouns denoting parts lose their -l when they enter into a compound construction with the noun denoting the whole, but have -l in a possessive construction:

- (21) ti kēla  
*tree branch*  
*tree branch*
- (22) ti -na kēla -l  
*tree-POS branch-NOM*  
*branch of a tree*

While a possessive paraphrase of this type is sometimes possible for nouns, it is never possible for adjectives. Adjectives follow the noun they modify with an optional -l in some cases, while in other cases -l is obligatory:

- (23) ti kuii(-l) / ebes-l  
*tree tall(-NOM) good-NOM*  
*tall/good tree*
- (24) \*ti -na kuii-l  
*tree-POS tall-NOM*  
*tall tree*

Adjectives in Imonda form an open class and I will not subcategorise them here on a semantic basis, but just list a few items:

ebes-l	<i>good</i>	hute-l	<i>short</i>
kulō-l	<i>old</i>	efs-l	<i>flat</i>
nēme-l	<i>new</i>	tit-l	<i>ignorant</i>
sē-l	<i>sharp</i>	fōku-l	<i>ripe</i>
mi-l	<i>blunt</i>	gege-l	<i>white</i>
kuii-l	<i>long</i>		

Some adjectives such as ebes-l *good* or gege-l *white* must occur with -l in attributive position, whereas others such as kuii-l *long* or mi-l *blunt* may occur without -l. There is no semantic or other explanation for this fact. From some adjectives adverbs may be derived with the suffix -nam (3.2.6), the final -l being dropped. Adjectives may occur in ascriptive existential predicates (7.2.8.2).

As will be discussed in chapter 8 (8.6), verbs may be adjectivalised with the nominaliser -l: e.g. he *cut* > ti he-l *the cut tree*.

### 3.3.2 Intensifiers

There are five intensifiers that have come to my attention:

pete  
kubui  
sēsuo  
nōfnō  
ehfm(-enèi)

These items have been classified above as nominals on the basis of their ability to host the case clitics (4.3), if they occur as the last word in a noun phrase:

- (25) ne-m ka id kubui-na -ia -m uõn-uagl-f  
 2 -GL 1 men INT -POS-LOC-GL ACC-go -PRS  
*I am going with you to that big village*

Unlike all other nominals, however, they may not head a NP. The intensifiers are furthermore unique in their determiner potential. By far the two most common ones are *pete* and *kubui*, which may determine any part of speech except particles. The others are of relatively rare occurrence and the details of their distribution vary. I will discuss *pete* and *kubui* in some detail and only give a few illustrative examples of the others.

### 3.3.2.1 *pete* and *kubui*

The following examples show the different parts of speech that may be determined by *kubui* and *pete*. *kubui* intensifies and *pete* 'minimises':

Noun:

- (26) ti kubui  
 tree INT  
*a big tree*
- (27) pon *pete* ka-m ha -f  
 hunger INT 1 -GL affect-PRS  
*I feel a little hungry*

Adjective:

- (28) mēna õh-nèi kuii-l kubui  
 road PX-SRC long-NOM INT  
*this road is very long*
- (29) ed-nèi abka -l *pete*  
 PX-SRC small-NOM INT  
*that small one*

Adverb:

- (30) mõhm *pete* ale -u  
 first INT stay-IMP  
*stay for a while!*

Quantifier:

- (31) ièf ti mugasl *pete* fe-n  
 house tree one INT do-PST  
*he made just one house post*

Pronoun:

- (32) sna -l *pete* bēsèi adeia fe fe-f  
 like-NOM INT what work do do-PRS  
*a small one like this is not able to do this job*

- (33) bēsèi pete fa-i -pia -f -me  
*what INT CL-LNK-come-PRS-Q*  
*what is he bringing? (expected to be not much)*

pete and kubui may also occur within the core of the VP following the verb stem; for a discussion see 5.4.3.1:

Verb:

- (34) ale -pete fe-u  
*stay-INT do-IMP*  
*stay for a little while!*
- (35) ka uagl-kubui fe-fna  
*1 go -INT do-PRO*  
*I was going a long way*

pete and kubui, when they determine a noun, designate prominence if [+Countable] and big quantity if [-Countable] in the case of kubui, and the opposite in the case of pete. They are also used in this way with proper nouns:

- (36) Muit kubui  
*NAM INT*  
*big man Muit*

The exception to the above rule is provided by the phrase *id kubui a lot of people/men*, where kubui determines a plural count noun, if indeed it is a count noun. Notice: \**id pete few people*.

### 3.3.2.2 Other intensifiers

The remaining three intensifiers occur much more rarely and do not have an equally wide distribution. The item *nōfnō*, having the same function as pete, seems to be restricted to occurring with adjectives and adverbs, while the other two, which may substitute for kubui, may also determine nouns. None of them may determine verbs. Often one finds two or three intensifiers co-occurring:

- (37) abka -i nōfnō pete  
*small-NOM INT INT*  
*small*
- (38) ekuk -ia kubui ehemenèi  
*distance-LOC INT INT*  
*very far away*
- (39) if sēsũ kubui  
*breadfruit INT INT*  
*a big breadfruit tree*



### 3.3.3 Exclamatories

There are two exclamatory items, which must immediately follow the head noun. *kőkők* expresses slight astonishment and *kulõ* (which may well be related to the homophonous *kulõ(-l)* *old*) is an endearing exclamatory:

- (40) *iduag kőkők, bèsèi mõi lõl -f -m-ai*  
*official EXCL what talk talk-PRS-Q-EMP*  
*oh iduag, what is he saying!?*
- (41) *ièf kőkők!*  
*house EXCL*  
*what a house! (it is dilapidated)*
- (42) *bag kulõ, sapoh pete ka-m!*  
*mate EXCL tobacco INT 1 -GL*  
*hey mate, give me a bit of tobacco!*
- (43) *udõ kulõ nème-l, õh-fa*  
*netbag EXCL new -NOM PX-TO*  
*this one here is a new netbag*

*kőkők* and *kulõ* may co-occur, in this order:

- (44) *iduag kőkők kulõ!*  
*official EXCL EXCL*  
*that iduag!*

Like the intensifiers discussed above, the exclamatories may host case clitics:

- (45) *ka ièf kőkők-ia ale -lõh -f -ba, ...*  
*1 house EXCL-LOC stay-stand-PRS-TO*  
*I live in a rotten house, ...*

### 3.4 Kinship terms

So far we have the following subcategorisation of the nominals:

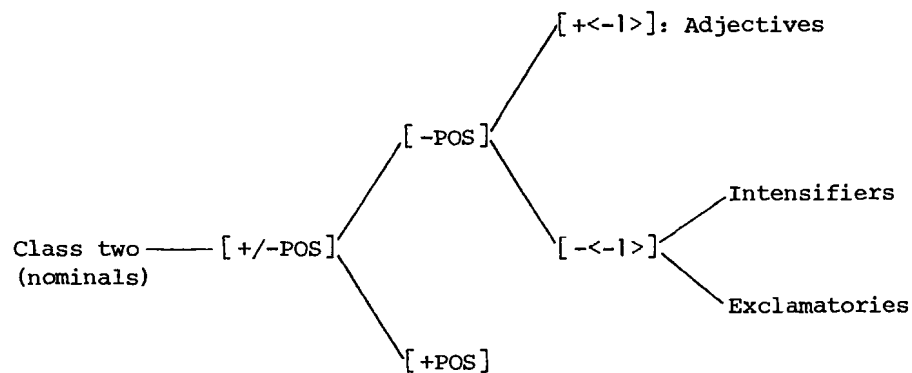


Figure 3-4

Of the nominals that may bear possessive marking one group accepts the possessive marker *-pef*. This is the semantically well-defined class of kinship terms, which will be the topic of this section.

Almost all of the remaining nominals are characterised by the fact that they may not act as determiners. The bulk of these thus negatively defined items refer to physical objects and may therefore be called nouns. Of the few remaining items that may act as determiners some, when they function as NP head, may be determined by *ed-nèi* *that*, while the balance cannot be so determined. Those that may be so, share the characteristic of denoting quantity and I therefore call them quantifiers. Those items that may not be determined by *ed-nèi* have shifting reference and I thus call them pronouns:

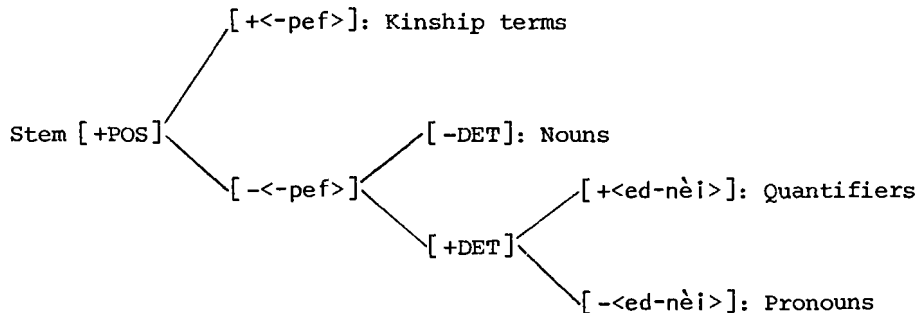


Figure 3-5

This section deals with kinship terms. Besides their ability to take the possessive marker *-pef*, they are formally characterised by two additional criteria. First, dual and plural are optionally marked by *nèglel* and *nègal*, respectively. Second, kinship terms all end in *-l*, which is dropped if they are used as terms of address.

### 3.4.1 Number marking

Here are two examples showing the number markers; they lose their final *-l* if followed by *-pef*:

- (46) nnõ -nèga-pef-m ka õh-nèi fa-ai -h -f  
*uncle-PL -POS-GL 1 PX-SRC CL-give-REC-PRS*  
*I give this to your uncles*
- (47) agõ -nègle-pef õsõ -ia -m fõhõ -ual-n  
*women-DL -POS garden-LOC-GL go down-DL -PST*  
*your two wives have gone to the garden*

### 3.4.2 Possessive -pef

The possessive marker -pef seems to be related to the emphatic second person pronoun bef. Emphatic pronouns are formed by suffixing -f to the base form (3.6.1). In the second person emphatic form bef there is an irregular change of consonant from ne *you*, if indeed they are related. Possession is usually shown by cliticising the possessive marker -na onto the possessor (4.1.2.4). In the following example the emphatic form of the personal pronoun has to be used because of co-reference (3.6.1):

- (48) be-f -na f -ia -u  
 2 -EMP-POS CL-get-IMP  
*get yours!*

It seems that the emphatic personal pronoun of the second person has lost the possessive marker (-na) and has become a clitic with kinship terms. In addition, it has undergone initial devoicing:

- (49) aia -pef ka-m hēlfe-n  
 father-POS 1 -GL kill -PST  
*your father has killed me*

Kinship terms lose their final -l if followed by -pef, as shown in example (49).

Note that only number marking may separate -pef from the kinship term stem:

- (50) mo -nēga-pef  
 daughter-PL -POS  
*your daughters*

But not:

- (51) \*mo sabla-pef  
 daughter two -POS  
*your two daughters*

Instead:

- (52) mo -pef sabla  
 daughter-POS two  
*your two daughters*

Often kinship terms are doubly possessed:

- (53) ne-na mo -pef-m uai-uagl fe-f  
 2 -POS daughter-POS-GL ACC-go do-PRS  
*I will go with your daughter*

### 3.4.3 Nominaliser

Kinship terms shed the nominaliser -l (8.6) when they are used as terms of address:

- (54) ka-na aia -l  
 1 -POS father-NOM  
*my father*

- (55) aia!  
 father  
 father!

All of the four features just discussed apply to all kinship terms of which the following are a few examples:

mo-l	<i>daughter</i>
õbo-l	<i>boy</i>
afa-l	<i>mother</i> (afa-pef > [apef])
aia-l	<i>father</i>
ete-l	<i>elder sibling</i>
ued-l	<i>younger sister</i>
di-l	<i>younger brother</i> (di-pef > [dipif])
auõ-l	<i>ancestor</i>
nnõ-l	<i>uncle</i>
lue-l	<i>affine</i>

### 3.5 Nouns

Nouns have been formally singled out above as those nominals that may bear possessive marking, but do not function as determiners. They can be subdivided into common and proper nouns according to whether they may be qualified by adjectives. Proper nouns may not be thus qualified. The ability of nouns to bear the locative marker immediately following the stem divides both common and proper nouns into two subclasses. Those that may do so have referents that are [+Human]. Those that may do so within the class of proper nouns are place names:

- (56) Vanimo-ia- m uagl-f  
 NAM -LOC-GL go -PRS  
*I am going to Vanimo*
- \*Alan-ia -m ka uagl-f  
 NAM -LOC-GL l go -PRS  
*\*I am going to Alan*

The strategy employed is exactly as in English, where the possessive 's is used and the possessed omitted. In Imonda the possessive marker -na (4.1.2.4) intervenes between proper noun and locative -ia. In this construction -na is realised as [n]:

- (57) Alan-na -ia -m ka uagl-f  
 NAM -POS-LOC-GL l go -PRS  
*I am going to Alan's*

Within the common nouns whose referents are [+Human] there is a group of five items that show number marking. Non-plural, i.e. singular and dual, is marked with the suffix -ianèi, which is otherwise used as the source case marker (4.3.3). The unsuffixed noun refers to more than two:

agõ	<i>women</i>
id	<i>men</i>
toad	<i>boys</i>
modòd	<i>girls</i>
õgòt	<i>enemies</i>

- (58) agõ -ianèi sabla ha-pia -ual-f  
 women-NPL two MO-come-DL -PRS  
*there are two women coming*

(In some cases the suffix -ianèi is dropped, see 4.1.2.3.)

The source of this number marking is clearly partitive, 'one from among the group of X'. In addition to these five nouns, -ianèi is used with the personal pronouns (3.6.1) in much the same way:

- (59) ka -ianèi-m ainam iaha-t  
 I -NPL -GL quickly die -CF  
*one of us would die quickly*

### 3.5.1 Postpositional nouns

Consider the following example:

- (60) kebl òd -l -ia uai-hapu  
 village heart-NOM-LOC ACC come up  
*he came up to the middle of the village*

The item òd-l<sup>1</sup> is a noun which in example (60) enters into a compound<sup>2</sup> with kebl *village*. Its function is here to indicate a more precise location than the mere locative clitic -ia (4.3.2) would be able to do. In many languages this function is fulfilled by special adpositions, which in many cases may also function as locative adverbs, e.g. in English: 'outside the house' and 'he went outside'. The same is found in Imonda where some postpositional nouns may also function as locative adverbials:

- (61) òd -l -ia li -f  
 heart-NOM-LOC lie-PRS  
*it is in the middle*

In Imonda postpositional nouns fall into two categories on a semantic basis: those that specify location and those that indicate cause.

<sup>1</sup>Ordinarily, nouns denoting parts of a whole shed their final -l in a compound (see 8.6); òd-l, however, keeps -l in its postpositional use.

<sup>2</sup>Whether in fact all of the postpositional nouns described in this section can be analysed as forming a compound with a preceding noun is debatable. At least the independently occurring noun mēna *road*, which in its postpositional function renders *by way of*, seems to be well on the way to becoming a 'proper' postposition and may function as a 'phrasal postposition':

mēna hute mēna-m  
 road short road-LOC  
*by way of the short road*

Further research is needed to ascertain the extent of this phenomenon.

## 3.5.1.1 Locative postpositional nouns

Nouns that function as postpositionals may be divided into two categories; the first one comprises those items that may occur as independent nouns, whereas the other category contains those items that have lost their independent noun status and must always carry the appropriate locative, goal or source marker.

## Dependent nouns

səgai	<i>below</i>
si	<i>on top</i>
pal	<i>beside</i>
sha	<i>through</i>
huls	<i>on top</i>
mōh	<i>near</i>
mu	<i>near</i>
nanal	<i>beside</i>
pada	<i>beside</i>

## Independent nouns

òd-l	<i>in the middle</i>	[heart]
me	<i>inside</i>	[hole]
mul	<i>at the edge</i>	[chips of wood]
mēna	<i>by way of</i>	[road]
mās	<i>behind</i>	[back]
mig-l	<i>beside</i>	[trunk]
nihl	<i>inside</i>	[meat]
ana-l	<i>above</i>	[sprout]

Of the second group only *òd-l heart* and *ana-l sprout* may also function as adverbials, the former keeping its -l whereas the latter loses it:

- (62) ana -ia li -f  
*above-LOC lie-PRS*  
*it is up there*

Here are some examples showing the postpositional and adverbial use of the above nouns:

- (63) ièf pal -ia ed li -f  
*house beside-LOC PX lie-PRS*  
*it is beside the house*
- (64) ed-nèi tēh huls-ia afō-n  
*PX-SRC firewood top -LOC sit-PST*  
*he sat down on top of the firewood*
- (65) sēgai-m ed li -f  
*below-LOC PX lie-PRS*  
*it is down there*

Like other nouns, postpositional nouns may be possessed:

- (66) ka-na huls-ia afō-u  
*l -POS top -LOC sit-IMP*  
*sit down on top of me!*

There are a couple of nouns that do not occur independently, i.e. they must have the relevant case marking, but are different from group one nouns in that they function only as adverbials and not as postpositions:

(67) ekuk -ia lõh -f  
*distance-LOC stand-PRS*  
*it is far away*

(68) aba -ia puhõ  
*outside-LOC come up*  
*he came outside*

All of these dependent nouns have become so fused with the case marker that they may not be separated by anything. The intensifiers, for instance, which normally precede case marking when they determine a noun (3.3.2), follow case marking with the above nouns. This underlines the adverbial character of these nouns:

(69) ekuk -ia kubui li -f  
*distance-LOC INT lie-PRS*  
*it is a long way off*

(70) mu -ia pete ed lõh -f  
*vicinity-LOC INT PX stand-PRS*  
*it is fairly close over there*

See example (25) in this chapter for an illustration of the ordinary position of intensifiers within the NP before case marking.

### 3.5.1.2 Cause postpositional nouns

There are four items in this category, two of which occur independently:

Independent		Dependent	
uus	<i>anger</i>	ní	<i>anger</i>
hol	<i>wrath</i>	mõs	<i>anger</i>

The following two examples show the independent use of uus and hol:

(71) hol ka-m ha -f  
*wrath 1 -GL affect-PRS*  
*I am very angry*

(72) malhu-m uus -ia uõl -fan  
*pig -GL anger-CAU shoot-PER*  
*he shot at (his) pig in anger*

Here are some examples showing the postpositional use:

(73) agõ hol -m / mõs -m ehe-m uõl -fan  
*women wrath-CAU / anger-CAU 3 -GL shoot-PER*  
*he shot him because of his wife*  
*(because he had slept with her)*

(74) po ni -m lõl -f  
*water anger-CAU talk-PRS*  
*they are talking because of the creek*  
*(they have an argument over the creek)*

mõs also occurs in mõsfe *be angry* and has a fuller, independent form mõskafna.

Although unusual, a possessive construction may occasionally occur with the cause postpositionals, as here shown with mõs:

- (75) agõ auõ -l -na mõs -m së fa-ne -i -me  
*women equal-NOM-POS anger-CAU NEG CL-eat-PST-NEG*  
*she did not eat because of the second wife*  
*(because her husband had maltreated his second wife)*

In 7.3.5.3, in the discussion of the goal marker -m, it is mentioned that sometimes this case marker may assume the functions of -ia, which indicates location and cause (4.3.2). This is especially true in the case of postpositional nouns. Sometimes only -m is possible such as in the case of mõs, and sometimes it is definitely preferred, as in the case of hol. Sometimes one finds both markers side by side:

- (76) ti sëgai-m ed li -f  
*tree below-LOC PX lie-PRS*  
*it is under the tree*
- (77) ti sëgai-ia fa-shi -lõh-f  
*tree below-LOC CL-stick-be -PRS*  
*it is stuck below the tree*

### 3.5.1.3 The special case of la

la is a dependent locative postpositional noun, which does not occur as an adverbial. Like some other items it takes the goal marker -m to indicate both goal and location. It may be glossed as *area*:

- (78) sagõt la -m ale -f  
*bush area-LOC stay-PRS*  
*he is around the bush*
- (79) õsõ la -m uagl-fan  
*garden area -GL go -PER*  
*he has gone garden-wards*

la is an important item with a number of idiosyncratic properties:

1. It occurs very frequently and is often used where a simple case marker would appear to be sufficient, such as in the following example:

- (80) haifõ lal la -m lal -ia -m uagl-n  
*again source area-GL source-LOC-GL go -PST*  
*he went again to the source of the river*

2. In contrast to the other postpositional nouns, it displays case-marker properties; it acts as a suffix to the bound interrogative pronoun stem ah (3.6.3) and to the two demonstrative pronouns õh and ed (3.6.2):

- a. ah-la-m *whither* (this is far more common than ah-ia-m, with the locative -ia and the goal -m marking goal, see 3.6.3)
- b. ed-la-m *around there* (note also the phonetic fusion: [elam])



c. *õh-la-m around here*

(81) ah-la -m ne uagl-f  
Q -area-GL 2 go -PRS  
*where are you going?*

(82) ed-la -m ed li -f  
PX-area-LOC PX lie-PRS  
*it is around there*

3. *la* may also be suffixed to the three pronouns *ah*, *ed* and *õh* without a further suffixing of the case marker *-m*. While *ah-la-m* means *whither* (see example (81) above), *ah-la* means *how, by what route*:

(83) ah-la peha -ta -m  
Q -area descend-IRR-Q  
*how will you get down?*

The difference between *õh-la* and *õh-la-m* and between *ed-la* and *ed-la-m* is at present unclear.

4. The two elevational suffixes *-gõ down* and *-puhõ up*, which only occur with the demonstrative pronouns *õh* and *ed* (see 3.6.2), may be suffixed to *la* (which appears without *-m*), if this itself is suffixed to these pronouns, e.g. *ed-la-gõ down there*.

In view of the above facts it appears that *la* is on the way to becoming a case marker<sup>1</sup>.

Concluding this section, here is summary of the distinctions discussed above:

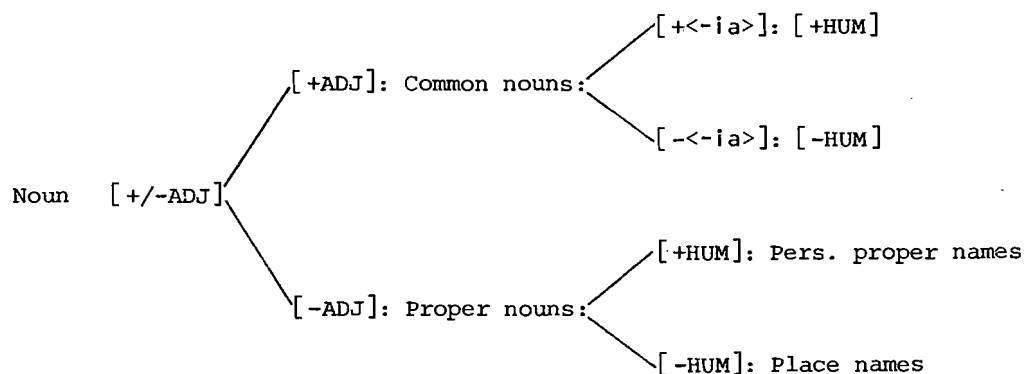


Figure 3-6

<sup>1</sup>That postpositions may develop into case markers is not unheard of. The Turkish postposition *ile with, by means of*, for instance, seems to be another example of such a development. In colloquial Turkish it is normally reduced to *le*, which is then subject to vowel harmony (see Lewis 1953:52-53).

### 3.6 Pronouns

Pronouns have been singled out above as those nominals that may function as determiners, may not take the possessive clitic *-pef* and may not be determined by *ed-nèi that*.

Pronouns may be divided into four categories on semantic and formal grounds. The first three categories comprise the personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns. Apart from these there is the deictic item *s(n)a-l*, which displays unique properties.

#### 3.6.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are formally distinct from other pronouns by their ability to form an emphatic form terminating in *-f*. Imonda possesses four personal pronouns which distinguish person only:

1	ka
2	ne
3	ehe
ICL	pël

With respect to case marking the personal pronouns behave like [+Human] nouns, i.e. possessive marking must intervene between the pronoun and the locative marker:

(84) ka-na -ia -m uagl-u  
 1 -POS-LOC-GL go -IMP  
*go to my place!*

As mentioned above, all pronouns may act as determiners and this ability is resorted to in order to mark plural with the item *id men*, when need arises:

(85) ehe id -m õ -n -u  
 3 men-GL say-BEN/NS-IMP  
*tell them!*

This is particularly frequent with the third person pronoun *ehe*, which loses its final vowel: [exind]. It appears that *id* is on the way to becoming a pronoun plural marker. It is also used in this way with the interrogative an *who* (3.6.3).

Emphatic forms of the personal pronouns are derived from the base form by suffixing *-f*:

ka-f	>	kaf
ne-f	>	bef
ehe-f	>	ehef
pël-f	>	plef

Notice the two irregularities in the second person and in the inclusive. As is the case with the English reflexives, emphatic pronouns in Imonda have two functions, only one of which is emphatic.

If there is co-referentiality between the subject and either the object, recipient, benefactive or possessor, the emphatic pronouns have to be used for the non-subject position:

- (86) ehe-f -m lapi -fan  
3 -EMP-GL *shoot*-PER  
*he has shot himself*
- (87) ka ka-f -na -ia -m uagl-f  
1 1 -EMP-POS-LOC-GL *go* -PRS  
*I am going home*
- (88) ehe-f -m e -kse -ual-puhõ e -fe-fn -b  
3 -EMP-GL DL-*fuck*-DL -HAB DL-*do*-PRO-DUR  
*they were fucking each other all the time*

The emphatic pronouns may also be used instead of the simple ones for the sake of emphasis:

- (89) be-f ne -u  
2 -EMP *eat*-IMP  
*you eat it yourself!*

### 3.6.2 Demonstratives

Imonda possesses two deictic pronouns, which are ambiguous between what would traditionally be called demonstrative pronoun and demonstrative locative adverb. I will first deal with the 'adverbial' use of õh and ed, which refer to some place or thing close by, or less close by, respectively:

Both õh and ed may function as deictic place adverbs in their base form:

- (90) ed uagl-f  
PX *go* -PRS  
*there he goes*
- (91) õh-me  
PX-Q  
*here?*

Both may take the locative suffix -ia (4.3.2), but if they do they are normally followed by the unsuffixed form again:

- (92) õh-ia õh li -f  
PX-LOC PX *lie*-PRS  
*it is here*

To indicate source and goal they take the relevant case markers (4.3):

- (93) ed-ia -m uagl-u  
PX-LOC-GL *go* -IMP  
*go there!*

In addition they may take the elevational suffixes -gõ *down* and -puhõ *up* (the latter is homophonous with the verb stem *go up*).

- õh-puhõ *up here*  
ed-gõ *down there*

Both ed and õh may take the suffix -na, which seems to render the location referred to more vague:

õh-na      *over here*  
 ed-na      *over there*

The items õh and ed are also transparent in esm *thither*, which forms a pair with õsm *hither*:

(94) ed-s-m [esm] snõpõlm, õh-s-m [õsm] pòb kubui  
 PX-?-GL      well      PX-?-GL      flood INT  
*on my way over there it was okay, but coming back here,*  
*there was a big flood*

The two deictics may be suffixed with the source marker -nèi (4.3.3) to derive unambiguous demonstrative pronouns:

(95) õh-nèi-m ka õ -f  
 PX-SRC-GL 1      say-PRS  
*I am talking about that one*

ed drops its consonant before the suffix -nèi:

(96) ed-nèi-m fa-ai -h -u [enèim]  
 PX-SRC-GL CL-give-REC-IMP  
*give it to that one!*

While the goal and possessive markers (-m and -na) may be suffixed to the source marker -nèi, the locative -ia may not be so and is instead suffixed to the deictic stem. In this case we therefore have perfect ambiguity between an adverbial and pronominal interpretation:

(97) be-f utafõ fe-be õh-ia -m ka ha-pia fe-f  
 2 -EMP go do-SI PX-LOC-GL 1 MO-come do-PRS  
*when you leave, I will come here/for this one*

The next example displays no ambiguity. The suffix -ia on ed fulfils here a cause function. An adverbial interpretation of ed is impossible because uagl *go* would require the goal marker being suffixed to -ia:

(98) auõ -l -m iaha-na -ba ed-ia uagl-fan  
 grandfather-NOM-GL die -PST-TO PX-CAU go -PER  
*his grandfather having died, he went because of this*

In its base form, ed may anaphorically refer back to a clause. This is especially so where the clause is a topic functioning as protasis in conditional constructions (9.2.1):

(99) ude ale -ta-ba, ed-fa, edel -m ue-ne -t  
 dog stay-IRR-TO PX-TO fellow-GL CL-eat-CF  
*if the dog had been there, it would have*  
*devoured that fellow*

The elevational suffixes -gõ *below* and -puhõ *above* as well as the suffix -na, all discussed above, may also be suffixed to the unambiguous pronoun forms:

(100) ed-nèi-puhõ kebl -ia -m uagl-fan  
 PX-SRC-EL village-LOC-GL go -PER  
*he has gone to that village up there*

### 3.6.3 Interrogative pronouns

Imonda has four interrogative pronouns, two of which are in complementary distribution:

an	<i>who</i>
bēsèi	<i>what</i>
maga	<i>what</i>
ah-	<i>which</i>

The last of the above four items, ah- *which*, behaves very much like the two deictics discussed in the last section. It is also ambiguous between an 'adverbial' and 'pronominal' use. In contrast to òh and ed, however, it is a bound stem. For ah- to function as an interrogative locative adverb it takes the relevant case marking:

ah-ia	<i>where</i>
ah-ia-nèi	<i>whence</i>
ah-ia-m	<i>whither</i> <sup>1</sup>
(-m 'GL'; -ia 'LOC'; -nèi 'SRC')	

(101) ah-ia -nèi ha-pia -f  
Q -LOC-SRC MO-come-PRS  
*where are you coming from?*

(102) ah-ia ale -f  
Q -LOC stay-PRS  
*where is she?*

As is the case with òh and ed, the source marker -nèi is suffixed to ah- to form an interrogative pronoun:

(103) ah-nèi-m ò -f  
Q -SRC-GL say-PRS  
*which one are you talking about?*

The item an *who* behaves like the personal pronouns in that it may form a quasi-plural form with id men:

(104) an id ai-pia -f  
*who men PL-come-PRS*  
*what people are coming? who is coming?*

While in example (104) it is possible to analyse an as functioning as a determiner of id, this is not so in the following ones:

(105) an id agõ ha-pia -f  
*who men women MO-come-PRS*  
*what women are coming?*

(106) an id id agõ ha-pia -f  
*who men men women MO-come-PRS*  
*what people are coming?*

<sup>1</sup>This form is rarely used. Much more frequently, the form ah-la-m occurs. The morpheme la is a postpositional noun with unique properties, see 3.5.1.3.

In fact, where *an* functions as a determiner, it must be pluralised with *id* if the noun is plural; the only exception to this is where the noun is *id men*:

- (107) *an id ha-pia -f* (\**an id id*)  
*who men MO-come-PRS*  
*who (what men) is (are) coming?*

*an* may refer to [+Animate] only:<sup>1</sup>

- (108) *an ude/\*kapul*  
*who dog plane*  
*what dog/\*plane?*

The third interrogative *bèsèi* refers to [-Animate]:

- (109) *bèsèi -m nagla-f*  
*what -GL see -PRS*  
*what are you looking at?*

Sometimes *bèsèi* is followed by the element *toad*, which is homophonous with the noun *toad boys*; *toad* is added for emphasis:

- (110) *bèsèi toad ha-pia -f*  
*what EMP MO-come-PRS*  
*what is coming?*

Case markers other than *-m* (goal) may not be suffixed to *bèsèi*. Instead the fourth interrogative pronoun *maga* is used:

- (111) *maga-ia -m uagl-f* [\**bèsèi-ia-m*]  
*what-LOC-GL go -PRS*  
*what are you going for?*

This complementary distribution of *maga* and *bèsèi* also holds where they are used as determiners:

- (112) *bèsèi kapul* [\**maga*]  
*what plane*  
*what plane?*
- (113) *maga di -na* [\**bèsèi*]  
*what money-INS*  
*with what money?*

### 3.6.4 s(n)a-l

*s(n)a-l* is a deictic with unique properties. Like adjectives it may shed its final *-l* (in which case the nasal may not be dropped, i.e. *sna*), when it is not in head position.<sup>2</sup> However, it is most commonly in head position and may

<sup>1</sup>The referent of someone's name is considered to be [+Animate], thus:

- nama-fa an*  
*name-TO who*  
*what is his name?*

<sup>2</sup>The nasal and the lateral may not be dropped at the same time; thus, the following forms are found: [*sna*], [*sna*], [*sa*], but not [*\*sa*].

take the full range of case marking. Its basic meaning is *one like this* (for the sake of convenience the gloss *like* will be used throughout):

(114) sna -l -m õ -f  
*like-NOM-GL talk-PRS*  
*I am talking about one like this*

(115) sna -l -na hetha-fan  
*like-NOM-INS hit -PER*  
*he has hit her with one like this (e.g. stick)*

Like other pronouns and some nouns, it may take the derivational clitic -nam, resulting in the meaning of *at such a time like this* (3.2.6):

(116) sa -l -nam ha-pia -fan  
*like-NOM-DER MO-come-PER*  
*she came at a time like this*

s(n)a-l repeated a few times conveys the meaning of *all sorts of x*, where the referent of *x* is identified by context:

(117) iduag sna -l sna -l sna -l  
*official like-NOM like-NOM like-NOM*  
*white people have all sorts of gadgets*  
*(recorder, camera and the like)*

When s(n)a-l is used in non-head position it precedes the noun:

(118) aia -l madh lõl -ula-n -fna;  
*father-NOM still talk-INT-BEN/NS-PRO*  
*their father was still telling them stories;*  
  
 sna mō sna mō sna mō  
*like story like story like story*  
*all sorts of stories*

s(n)a-l is also used as a postposition corresponding to English *like*. In this function it triggers case marking (-m) on the preceding head if it appears l-less (see also 7.3.5.1):

(119) po -m sna  
*water-GL like*  
*like water*

If the nominaliser is present, i.e. [s(n)al], then case marking is absent:

(120) sebuhe ude sna -l ha-pia -fan  
*ghost dog like-NOM MO-come-PER*  
*the ghost came like a dog*

With pronouns, only the full form is available:

(121) ka sna -l (\*ka-m sna)  
 l *like-NOM*  
*like me*

The head may also consist of the bound question morpheme ah (3.2.2):

(122) sugõ ah-sa -l ha-pia -f -me  
*ghost Q -like-NOM MO-come-PRS-Q*  
*what shape will the ghost come in?*

(ah loses its -h before sa-l: [asal].)

### 3.7 Quantifiers

Quantifiers were singled out above as those nominals that may be determined by *ed-nèi that*. In non-head position they generally follow the head (see 4.1.2.3). The following quantifiers have come to my attention:

mugasl	<i>one</i>
sabla	<i>two</i>
mugõ	<i>one, another one, some</i>
mag	<i>one, another one</i>
mag-na	<i>another one</i>
mag-lam	<i>some</i>
nubulam	<i>plenty</i>
abkanam	<i>a little</i>
mòd	<i>plenty, all</i>
tomòd	<i>plenty, all</i>

#### 3.7.1 Numerals

Imonda possesses the 'Australian' number system, i.e. a binary system (Laycock 1975:222). Higher numerals are compounded of the basic ones. In these compounded numerals *mugõ* replaces *mugasl*:

1	mugasl
2	sabla
3	sabla mugõ
4	sabla sabla
5	sabla sabla mugõ

(123) id sabla mugõ ed ai-uagl-f  
*men two one PX PL-go -PRS*  
*there are three men walking over there*

#### 3.7.2 *mugõ one, another one, some*

Apart from obligatorily replacing *mugasl* in higher numerals, *mugõ* does so frequently in other cases as well:

(124)	mugasl/mugõ	ka-m	fa-ai	-h	-u
	<i>one /one</i>	1	-GL	CL-give-REC-IMP	
	<i>give me one!</i>				

#### 3.7.3 *mag* and its derivatives

*mag one, another one* may both function as head of a NP and as a determiner:

(125)	mag	haifõ	uõl	-n
	<i>one again</i>	<i>shoot-PST</i>		
	<i>he shot one/another one again</i>			



- (126) mag iduag -m õ -na -n  
*one official-GL say-BEN-PST*  
*he said to an/another official*

mag and mugõ are often interchangeable:

- (127) mag/mugõ ne së eg -i -me  
*one 2 NEG follow-PST-NEG*  
*one of you did not follow her*  
*(i.e. no-one of you followed her)*

The morpheme *na* in the form *mag-na* *another* may be derived from the possessive marker *-na* (see 4.1.2.4). Therefore, *mag-na kebl* in the following example would originally have been *another one's village* > *another village*:

- (128) mag-na kebl -ia -m ka-fa uagl-f  
*one-POS village-LOC-GL 1 -TO go -PRS*  
*I am going to another village*

As is the case with a number of pronouns (3.6.1), *mag-na* has a plural form arrived at by the addition of *id men*: *mag-na-id* [*magnind*]. Both *mag-na* and *mag-na-id* may function as determiner and head:

- (129) mag-na -id id agõ madh ale -f  
*one-POS-men men women still stay-PRS*  
*some people still stay*
- (130) mag-na -id sagõt-ia -m fõhõ-n  
*one-POS-men bush -LOC-GL go -PST*  
*some (women) went to the bush*
- (131) mag-na -na lõ -fan  
*one-POS-INS shoot-PER*  
*he shot with another one (arrow)*

*mag-na-id* has an alternative, also derived from *mag*, namely *mag-lam*:

- (132) mag -lam ò -fni  
*some-DER say-PRO*  
*some were saying*
- (133) agõ mag -lam tõbtõ soh -m fõhõ-n  
*women some-DER fish search-GL go -PST*  
*some women went fishing*

#### 3.7.4 tomòd and mòd

The two items *tomòd* and *mòd* both mean *plenty*, *all*, the latter being restricted to [+Human]:

- (134) id mod ai-uagl-f  
*men plenty PL-go -PRS*  
*plenty of people are going*
- (135) abue tomòd [\*mòd] së lõh -f -me  
*spinach plenty NEG stand-PRS-NEG*  
*there is not a lot of spinach*

### 3.8 Compounding

In this section I will consider complex stems that consist of more than one stem.<sup>1</sup> In 3.9 complex stems involving derivational affixation will be briefly examined.

There are two types of compounds where two noun stems are combined to form a third, complex noun stem. In addition there are a number of minor strategies to derive adjective compounds.

#### 3.8.1 Compound nouns

##### 3.8.1.1 Additive compounds

Two common nouns may be compounded to form a complex noun stem the meaning of which is a co-ordination of the individual stems:

aik - peda	<i>girdle and gourd</i>
fal - falgõ	<i>arrow and bow</i>
mõs - efde-l	<i>snout and tail</i>
muglõ - fah-l	<i>leg and arm</i>
id - agõ	<i>men and women</i>
tëta - es	<i>meat and sago</i>
di-l - ete-l	<i>younger and elder brother</i>

This process is very productive. Normally, the order of the two nouns is rigid, but occasionally it may be reversed:

nnõ-l - õbo-l	<i>uncle and nephew</i>
õbo-l - nnõ-l	<i>nephew and uncle</i>

But only:

di-l - ete-l	<i>younger and elder brother</i>	(*ete-l - di-l)
lõ - mõs	<i>tooth and nose (i.e. face)</i>	(*mõs - lõ)

These compounds trigger number agreement marking on the verb:

(136) di	-l	ete	-l	ha-pia	-ual-f
	<i>younger brother-NOM</i>	<i>elder b.-NOM</i>	<i>MO-come-DL</i>	<i>-PRS</i>	
	<i>the two brothers are coming</i>				

Instead of forming a compound, the constituent stems could be co-ordinated with the clitic -i, where the referents are [+Human] or with the clitic -na, where [-Human] (see 4.2.2):<sup>2</sup>

(137) di	-l	-i	ete	-l	-i
	<i>younger brother-NOM-CO</i>		<i>elder brother-NOM-CO</i>		
	<i>the younger and the elder brother</i>				

<sup>1</sup>Compound verb stems are discussed in 5.4.

<sup>2</sup>A third option would be -- in the case of two [+Animate] referents -- for one noun to be marked with the accompanier prefix uai- (see 5.2.2).

- (138) tēta-na es -na ka ne -i  
 meat-CO sago-CO l eat-IMM  
 I want to eat sago and meat

### 3.8.2 Determiner-determined

The second type of compound noun consists of a noun stem preceded by another stem which determines or modifies it in some way. The determining stem is most often a noun, but it may also be a verb or adjective stem.

#### 3.8.2.1 Noun-noun

kau ta	<i>chin hair (beard)</i>	(kau chin; ta hair)
ièf ti	<i>house tree (post)</i>	(ièf house; ti tree)
ōsō adeia	<i>garden work</i>	(ōsō garden; adeia work)
sebuhe agō	<i>devil woman</i>	(sebuhe devil; agō woman)
nne sue	<i>food fire</i>	(nne food; sue fire)
	<i>(fire lit for cooking)</i>	

#### 3.8.2.2 Adjective-noun

abka-l tetoad	<i>birdlet</i>	(abka-l small; tetoad bird)
tē-l po	<i>urine</i>	(tē-l lukewarm; po water)
tit agō	<i>ignoramus</i>	(tit ignorant; agō woman)
abu-l fo	<i>those types of banana</i>	(abu-l ripe; fo banana)
	<i>that are eaten when ripe</i>	

#### 3.8.2.3 Verb-noun

tad mō	<i>blasphemous talk</i>	(tad eat, swear; mō talk)
sēgafō uōs	<i>new moon</i>	(sēgafō rise; uōs moon)

What is the reason for treating the above as compounds rather than as combinations of modifier plus head noun? The reasons are manifold. First, the compounds behave as unitary constituents, no part of which may be deleted without change in meaning or reference. This is in contrast to modifying adjectives for instance, which may well function as head of an NP, especially once the referent has been introduced in discourse, e.g. ebes-l *the good one*; but not: \*kau chin, from kau ta *chin hair (beard)*. Second, the order of elements in a compound is fixed and nothing may intervene. This again is in contrast to determiners and modifying adjectives as will be seen in the next chapter. Adjective-noun compounds present the biggest problem. In chapter 4 it is stated that adjectives must follow the head noun, in contrast to some determiners which may precede or follow:

(139) ièf ka-na	or:	ka-na ièf
house l -POS		l -POS house
my house		my house

The above examples of adjective stems preceding noun stems seem to contradict the rule that adjectives have to follow the noun. For instance, the adjective *abka-l* *small*, which above is seen occurring before tetoad *bird*, may also occur after the noun:

- (140) tetoad abka -l  
*bird small-NOM*  
*small bird*

However, it is not the case that *abka-l* may occur before any noun:

- (141) \*abka -l malhu ka uõl -fan  
*small -NOM pig l shoot-PER*  
*I have shot a small pig*

In fact, there is a meaning difference between *abka-l tetoad* and *tetoad abka-l*. In the first case, with the adjective preposed, the referent must be one from among those species of birds that are inherently small. In the second case, any bird that happens to be small may be the referent. Let us look at another example:

- (142) fo abu -l  
*banana ripe-NOM*  
*ripe banana*

The referent of *fo abu-l* may be any banana that happens to be ripe. However, with the adjective preposed, i.e. *abu-l fo*, the referent is one from among the species of bananas that are eaten when ripe, without there actually being a need for it to be ripe.

### 3.8.2.4 Proper noun plus noun

This type of compound is distinct from the preceding ones in that the determiner noun is a proper noun:

- ama pafeia      *the Ama rock*  
 pök safä      *the Pok taro*

### 3.8.3 Compound adjectives

#### 3.8.3.1 meg-na

The noun *meg* *mouth* bearing the instrumental marker *-na* (4.3.4) may combine with a preceding adjective, noun or verb to form a compound adjective:

- |                    |                                      |                  |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| sapoh meg-na       | <i>keen smoker</i>                   | (sapoh tobacco)  |
| uatèi meg-na       | <i>keen betelnut-chewer</i>          | (uatèi betelnut) |
| ebes mag-na        | <i>careful eater</i>                 | (ebes good)      |
| nògu meg-na        | <i>rotten-food eater</i>             | (nògu rotten)    |
| alëg meg-na        | <i>greedy</i>                        | (alëg be greedy) |
| fa-ne -pada meg-na | <i>greedy (eating up everything)</i> |                  |
| CL-eat-finish      |                                      |                  |

At first sight the above examples look like compound nouns with the instrumental clitic *-na*, e.g. *he is with a tobacco mouth*. The instrumental force of *-na* has however been lost and it forms now a unity with *meg*.

For instance, nothing may intervene:

(143) ne -fa alëg meg -na kubui iaulõ-f  
 2 -TO *greedy mouth*-INS INT *be* -PRS  
*you are very greedy*

But not: \*alëg meg kubui-na

Compare this with the following case where -na fulfils its proper role as an instrumental that cliticises onto the last word in the phrase:

(144) kata nõf kubui-na  
*glass eye* INT -INS  
*with big glasses*

But not: \*kata-nõf-na kubui

While the above examples may all be interpreted literally, there are also idiomatic examples:

adeia meg-na	<i>hard-working</i>	(adeia work)
pe meg-na	<i>cowardly</i>	(pe-l cowardly)
sue meg-na	<i>brave</i>	(sue-l brave)

### 3.8.3.2 uõgõ

The item uõgõ, which on its own means *drum*, may participate with a preceding noun in a compound that functions as an adjective. It expresses that the person it is predicated of is smart with respect to what the noun refers to:

adeia uõgõ	<i>hard-working</i>	(adeia work)
malhu uõgõ	<i>great pig-hunter</i>	(malhu pig)
uatèi uõgõ	<i>great betelnut-chewer</i>	(uatèi betelnut)

### 3.8.3.3 ude

Basically the same compounds can be formed with the item ude taking the place of uõgõ. ude used outside compounds means *dog* but also occurs as an adjective ude-l *good*. Some examples:

tetoad ude	<i>great bird-shooter</i>	(tetoad bird)
adeia ude	<i>hard-working</i>	(adeia work)

ude may also be compounded with verbs:

magfe ude	<i>generous</i>	(magfe distribute)
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### 3.8.3.4 kuel

The item kuel, which does not occur independently, combines with a preceding adjective, verb or noun into a compound that functions as an adjective:

pe kuel	<i>cowardly</i>	(pe-l cowardly)
adeia kuel	<i>hard-working</i>	(adeia work)
magfe kuel	<i>generous</i>	(magfe distribute)
uatèi kuel	<i>great betelnut-chewer</i>	(uatèi betelnut)

As can be seen from the examples in this and the last three sections, *kuel*, *uõgõ*, *ude* and *meg-na* all have similar distribution. All four are moderately productive.

### 3.8.3.5 *hoi*

The negative particle *hoi* (8.1.5) enters into a compound with a preceding noun to form a complex adjective which expresses that the referent of the noun it is predicated of lacks whatever the noun refers to:

<i>nne hoi</i>	<i>food-less</i>
<i>agõ hoi</i>	<i>woman-less (single)</i>

(145) *abo maim nne hoi ale -u*  
*just anyhow food NEG stay-IMP*  
*just stay without food!*

While 'noun *hoi*' adjectives may usually be interpreted literally, there are also idiomatic examples:

<i>nõf hoi</i>	<i>eye-less (stingy)</i>
<i>òd hoi</i>	<i>heartless</i>

### 3.8.3.6 The adjective *tit ignorant*

With a couple of nouns the role of *hoi* is played by the adjective *tit-l ignorant*; in these compounds it loses its *-l*:

<i>nõf tit</i>	<i>blind</i>	( <i>nõf eye</i> )
<i>mõ tit</i>	<i>dumb</i>	( <i>mõ talk</i> )

### 3.8.3.7 Adjective plus adjective

There are a number of adjective compound stems, which follow the following pattern: the first stem is an independently occurring adjective stem, while the second stem may not occur on its own and functions like an intensifier. In these compounds the first adjective stem loses its final *-l*:

<i>puede-l</i>	<i>unripe</i>	>	<i>puede kaka-l</i>
<i>gaga-l</i>	<i>small</i>	>	<i>gaga mòt-l</i>

While the two stems *kaka* and *mòt* have not been observed outside the above examples, *keke* may form compounds with at least four adjectives:

<i>kõbu-l</i>	<i>black</i>	>	<i>kõbu keke-l</i>
<i>sue-l</i>	<i>red</i>	>	<i>sue keke-l</i>
<i>abu-l</i>	<i>red</i>	>	<i>abu keke-l</i>
<i>põs-l</i>	<i>straight</i>	>	<i>põs keke-l</i>

Sometimes the second stem represents a partial reduplication of the first one:

<i>gege-l</i>	<i>white</i>	>	<i>gege page-l</i>
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Finally, mention must be made of some isolated cases of adjective compounds that consist of two adjective stems which also occur outside these compounds. The first adjective loses its final -l. Note that the order of the two adjectives may not be reversed, e.g.

mēdh gaga-l      *small*  
 (mēdh-l *small, not fully grown; gaga-l small, dry*)

saha kulō-l      *bad*  
 ahei kulō-l      *bad*

kulō-l is an independently occurring adjective (*old*). saha does not seem to occur as an independent adjective, but only in conjunction with the pro-verb fe *make, do* used as an existential verb (see 5.4.5.1): saha fe *be bad*. The item ahei is an independently occurring adjective (*bad*) and is the only adjective proper that does not end in a final -l (see footnote, page 31).

(146) ne-fa an -m nōmot ed-nèi saha kulō-l i -ab-ai -h -n  
 2 -TO *who*-GL *before* PX-SRC *bad old* -NOM CL-PL-give-REC-PST  
*who did you give that bad one to earlier on?*

Like other adjectives, these compound adjectives can derive adverbs by means of the clitic -nam (see 3.2.6), e.g. saha kulō-nam *badly*.

### 3.9 Affixation

#### 3.9.1 -tō

There is an unproductive diminutive suffix -tō which only appears with a handful of nouns:

pafeia      *stone*  
 udō      *netbag*  
 ōflō      *knife*  
 falgō      *bow*  
 iafle      *fish species*  
 mōm      *fish species*

(147) udō -tō pete ka-na ah-ia  
*netbag*-DIM INT 1 -POS Q -LOC  
*where is my small netbag?*

Nothing may separate -tō from the noun which makes it clear that this is not some kind of an intensifier with a limited distribution:

(148) \*pafeia pete tō      but:      pafeia-tō pete  
*stone* INT DIM      *stone* -DIM INT  
*a very small stone*      *a very small stone*

#### 3.9.2 -nam

The clitic -nam derives adverbs and adverbials from nominals. This has already been discussed in 3.2.6.

### 3.9.3 The nominaliser -l

One of the functions of the nominaliser -l is deriving adjectives from verbs. All aspects of this suffix are discussed in 8.6.

### 3.9.4 -iam

The suffix -iam, which is homophonous with the combination of locative marker -ia and goal marker -m, derives time adverbials from certain nominals and adverbs:

migu-iam	<i>on Sunday</i>	(migu <i>Sunday</i> )
maga-iam	<i>when</i>	(Where the locative and goal markers fulfil their 'proper' function, this means <i>what for</i> [see 3.6.3].)
aunubul-iam	<i>for the last time</i>	(aunubul <i>last</i> )
iauõ-iam	<i>before</i>	(iauõ <i>now</i> )

### 3.9.5 -nanal

nanal derives adjectives from time adverbs. As opposed to underived adjectives, they must precede the noun:

õm-nanal	<i>yesterday's</i>	(õm <i>yesterday</i> )
nõmot-nanal	<i>former</i>	(nõmot <i>earlier</i> )

- (149) nõmot -nanal kebl -ia -m ai-fuhõ -n  
*before-DER village-LOC-GL PL-go up-PST*  
*they have gone up to the former village*

### 3.9.6 -ianèi

The combination of locative and source markers -ia-nèi, which marks source of motion verbs (4.3.3), functions also as a partitive derivational suffix. It may be suffixed to nominals and adverbs, the latter thereby changing to adjectives:

- (150) ka-ia -nèi-m ainam iaha-t  
 l -LOC-SRC-GL *fast die -CF*  
*one of us would die quickly*
- (151) mu -ia -nèi-m ka õ -f  
*vicinity-LOC-SRC-GL l say-PRS*  
*I am talking about one from nearby*
- (152) iauõ -ia -nèi kebl -ia -m uagl-fan  
*before-LOC-SRC village-LOC-GL go -PER*  
*he has gone to the former village*

With a set of five nouns -ianèi has become an obligatory non-plural marker: agõ-ianèi sabla *two women* (see 3.5).



## CHAPTER 4

### FORM AND FUNCTION OF THE NOUN PHRASE

In this chapter I will be first concerned with the internal structure of the noun phrase (NP) and second with the means of signalling the functions of the NP in the clause.

The NP consists minimally and obligatorily of a head, the various manifestations of which are discussed in 4.1.1. In addition to the head there may be one or more determiners and an adjective phrase. The former are examined in 4.1.2 and the latter in 4.1.3.

NPs may be co-ordinated by means of one of two clitics that immediately follow the last word of either both NPs, or, more commonly, only the second NP. Co-ordination of NPs is discussed in 4.2. Co-ordinated NPs function as single constituents and so it is not surprising that case marking, which is one of the means to indicate the functions of the NP in the clause, follows co-ordination marking. Case marking is discussed in 4.3.

Following case marking there may appear a number of clitics that are not unique to the NP. They are markers of topic, emphasis, interrogation and 'distance'; these clitics, which I have termed 'outer modifiers', are discussed in 4.4. Like the case marking clitics, the outer modifiers have no NP internal function but have to do with the functions of the NP in the clause.

#### 4.1 NP constituents

##### 4.1.1 The head

In the last chapter it was pointed out that all nominals (with the exception of intensifiers, as mentioned in 3.2) may function as head of an NP. The following example shows as head an adjective (*õnea-l*), a noun (*id-ianèi*), a pronoun (*ehe*), a kinship term (*aia-l*) and a quantifier (*sabla*):

- (1) *õnea -l / id -ianèi / ehe / aia -l / sabla paha(-ual)-n*  
*knowing-NOM men-NPL 3 father-NOM two ford -DL -PST*  
*the knowing one / man / he / father / two crossed the river*

The NP head may also be manifested by a possessive NP or by a relative clause, both of which will be discussed below:

- (2) *ka-na ed li -f*  
*1 -POS PX lie-PRS*  
*mine is over there*

A relative clause functioning as head precludes further expansion of the NP:

- (3) ed uagl-f -ie ka-na ete -l  
 PX go -PRS-SI l -POS elder brother-NOM  
*the one who is walking over there is my elder brother*

(In one special construction verbs may function as NP head, see 4.1.2.4).

The minimal NP therefore may consist of:

- NP → Head: - Noun  
 - Pronoun  
 - Kinship term  
 - Quantifier  
 - Adjective  
 - Possessive NP  
 - Relative clause

Where a NP is in non-subject position its head may furthermore be manifested by a reduced clause, which usually consists of a verb stem only, or a verb stem and its object. A NP head consisting of a reduced clause precludes further expansion. It always takes case marking on its verb. Depending on the type of construction, the verb is nominalised with -l (8.6). I will discuss the individual cases of clausal NPs in the various sections concerned with the case markers that go with them, and give here only one example:

- (4) ti helö-ia löh -ö -n -b  
*tree chop-LOC stand-LNK-PST-DUR*  
*he was chopping down trees*

#### 4.1.2 Determiners

The following may determine the head of an NP:

1. Kinship term
2. Pronoun
3. Quantifier
4. Possessive NP
5. Relative clause

##### 4.1.2.1 Kinship terms

If a kinship term acts as a determiner, it must precede the head position which must be filled by a proper name. The final -l (8.6) of the kinship term is dropped:

- (5) auö Mui  
*ancestor NAM*  
*ancestor Mui*

## 4.1.2.2 Pronouns

Pronouns have been divided into four classes in chapter 3. All of them may act as determiners. Interrogative pronouns and s(n)a-l, the lone item of class four, must precede the head, while personal and demonstrative pronouns may either precede or follow:

- (6) ah-nèi ièf  
Q -SRC house  
*which house?*
- (7) sna ièf  
*like house*  
*a house like this*
- (8) ka sebuhe tōgō fi-li -t  
1 devil thus do-EMP-CF  
*we devils should have done it like that*
- (9) (ed-nèi) ief (ed-nèi)  
PX-SRC house PX-SRC  
*that house*

Of all pronominal determiners the demonstratives have the greatest freedom of movement. The following example shows a demonstrative pronoun in posthead position preceded by a possessive NP and a numeral:

- (10) ièf ka-na sabla òh-nèi  
house 1 -POS two PX-SRC  
*these two houses of mine*

Personal pronouns may also function as determiners in their emphatic form, in which case they usually follow the head:

- (11) ka ka-f fe-fan  
1 1 -EMP do-PER  
*I have done it myself*

In chapter 8 (8.5), a range of emphatic clitics is discussed. These all have a wide distribution. Here mention must be made of an emphasis increasing clitic which is peculiar to the emphatic pronoun determiners. Instead of ka ka-f one often finds ka ka-f-auō *I myself alone*, or with an additional emphasis clitic ka ka-f-auō-suō:

- (12) ka ka-f -auō-suō fe-fan  
1 1 -EMP-EMP-EMP do-PER  
*I myself alone have done it*
- (13) ne be-f -auō fa-ne -u  
2 2 -EMP-EMP CL-eat-IMP  
*you alone eat it up!*

The clitic -auō does not occur outside this construction. At first glance, the sequence kafauō seems to be made up of the pronoun ka plus a combination of the two topic markers -fa and -uō (see 9.2.1). The following argues against this morphemic analysis:

1. The two topic markers never co-occur:

- (14) \*ed-nèi ti -fa-uō  
PX -SRC tree-TO-TO  
*that tree*

2. If a pronoun acts as a determiner of a pronoun, it must be in the emphatic form. This rules out cases like: ka ka-fa, where the non-emphatic pronoun determiner is topicalised. The emphatic determiner may however be topicalised: ka ka-f-fa.

Having ruled out the double topic analysis, one other segmentation needs to be discarded. One might be tempted to analyse the emphatic pronoun marker -f as being derived from the topic -fa, whose vowel resurfaces before -uõ. However, -uõ may directly follow -f and so this interpretation is also untenable (aia-l ehe-f-uõ *father himself*).

Given these facts, there is no alternative to analysing kafauõ as /ka-f-auõ/, i.e. the emphatic pronoun followed by an emphatic clitic which never occurs other than with emphatic pronouns.

#### 4.1.2.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers were described in 3.7. A few remarks concerning their order within the NP need to be added.

Numerals in general follow the head:

- (15) agõ -ianèi sabla e -ha-pia -ual-f  
*women-NPL two DL-MO-come-DL -PRS*  
*two women are coming*

They may precede only rarely and only with few nouns. One such case is with the noun toad *boy(s)*, which is one of the five items that take number marking (3.5). If the numeral precedes, number marking is not applicable and the noun undergoes a slight shift in meaning and may now refer to adults as well:

- |      |                     |                   |
|------|---------------------|-------------------|
| (16) | toad-ianèi mugasl   | mugasl toad       |
|      | <i>boys-NPL one</i> | <i>one fellow</i> |
|      | <i>one boy</i>      | <i>one fellow</i> |

The remaining quantifiers also follow the head with the exception of mugo *one*, mag *another one* and its derivatives mag-lam *some* and mag-na *another one*, which may either precede or follow the head, with the exception of mag-na, which must precede:

- (17) mag -na kebl -ia -m ka-fa uagl-f  
*another-POS village-LOC-GL 1 -TO go -PRS*  
*I am going to another village*

#### 4.1.2.4 Possessive NP

The possessive NP consists of NPl plus the possessive clitic -na:

POS NP → NPl-na

NPl is distinct from NP in that it may not include an adjective:

- (18) an -na ièf  
*who-POS house*  
*whose house?*

- (19) \*iaha-l -na ièf  
*sick -NOM-POS house*  
*the house of the sick one*

It is clear that a possessive NP may itself include a determiner manifested by a possessive NP. Thus, multiple embedding is possible:

- (20) ka-na aia -l -na ièf  
*l -POS father-NOM-POS house*  
*the house of my father*
- (21) di -l ehe-f -na ete -l -na f -ia  
*younger brother-POS 3 -EMP-POS elder brother-NOM-POS CL get*  
*the younger brother got his elder brother's*

The preferred position of possessive NP determiners within an NP is before the head, but it may also follow the head, especially where the head of the possessive NP is a pronoun:

- (22) ta ehe-na  
*hair 3 -POS*  
*her hair*

Ordinarily, the referent of the POS NP is, loosely speaking, the possessor of the referent of the head NP. There are however two cases where this is not so:

A: NPl-na pe-m 'for fear of NPl'

This is the only instance of an objective genitive. It is also unique in allowing the NPl head to be manifested by a verb stem or an adjective. *pe* is the noun *fear* which obligatorily occurs with the suffix -m, here taking the place of -ia, which normally marks cause (see 7.3.5.3):

- (23) mëna kuii-na pe -m  
*road long-POS fear-CAU*  
*for fear of the long road*
- (24) an -na pe -m  
*who-POS fear-CAU*  
*for fear of whom?*
- (25) titfi -na pe -m  
*not know-POS fear-CAU*  
*for fear of not knowing*

B: 'Compound'

The noun *toad boy(s)* enters into a compound with a preceding item which expresses some quality of the person the compound is predicated of. In this compound construction *toad* may refer to either sex:

- |            |                  |                |
|------------|------------------|----------------|
| adeia toad | <i>worker</i>    | (adeia work)   |
| tit toad   | <i>ignoramus</i> | (tit ignorant) |

This compound is pluralised by substituting *id men* for *toad* and turning the first item into a possessive NP, which functions as a determiner of *id*:

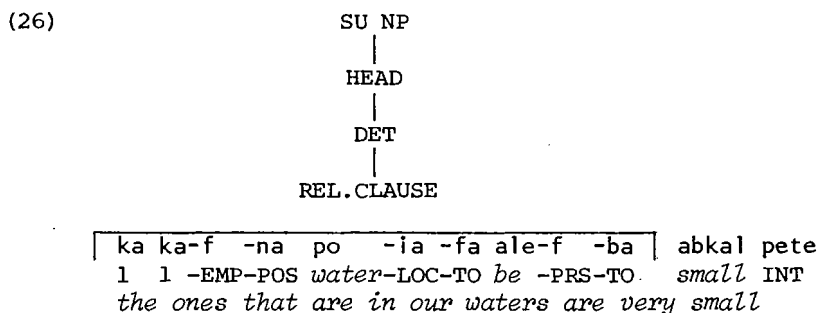
- |             |                    |
|-------------|--------------------|
| adeia-na id | <i>workers</i>     |
| tit-na id   | <i>ignoramuses</i> |

This construction is discussed here because it involves the possessive clitic -na. However, for the following reasons it might be more appropriately regarded as a special type of compound:

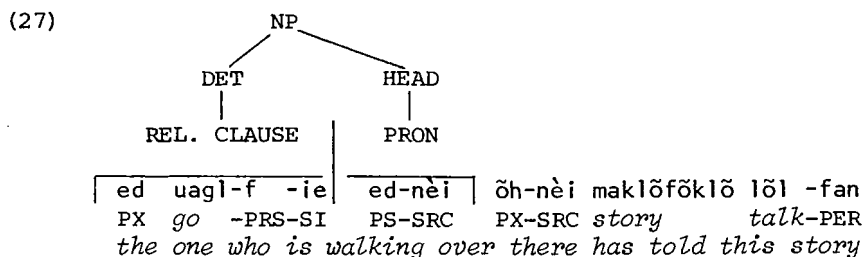
1. The vowel of the clitic is always truncated and may not be present, which is in contrast to the normal use of -na, e.g. adeia-na id: [andeyanind].
2. The order of elements is absolutely rigid, which again is unlike the normal possessive construction: \*id adeia-na.
3. The item carrying the possessive clitic may be a noun or an adjective, the latter again being impossible with true possessors.
4. It is the plural of a compound construction.

#### 4.1.2.5 The relative clause

Imonda does not possess any morphological, syntactic or other means to unambiguously mark a clause as being a relative clause. What I am calling here relative clauses are formally predominantly interrogative or topic clauses. The function of these clauses is however clearly to restrict the range of referents of the head noun, which is what relative clauses do. Comrie defines for cross-linguistic purposes the relative clause as consisting "of a head and a restricting clause. The head in itself has a certain potential range of referents, but the restricting clause restricts this set by giving a proposition that must be true of the actual referents of the overall construction" (Comrie 1981:136). I will adopt this functional definition with the slight modification that the head need not necessarily be present. The following is an example where the head is absent in both the matrix and the subordinate clause, or in other words, the relative clause functions as the head of the subject NP of the matrix clause:



The following example shows a relative clause in non-head position:



Imonda is a language without severe restrictions on accessibility of NP position to relative clause formation. The role of the head noun in the embedded clause may be subject, object, oblique and possessor (Comrie 1981:149). The role of the head noun in the relative clause is either unmarked (gap type) or indicated by a pronoun. There are two major strategies for forming relative clauses. First, the relative clause may be formally identical with an interrogative clause. Second, the verb of the relative clause may bear one of three suffixes -ie/ -ba/ -i, none of which is exclusively a relative clause marker.

#### The 'question' relative clause

This type of relative clause is formally identical with an interrogative clause, the only difference being the lack of question intonation. The head noun is represented in the relative clause with an interrogative pronoun or adverb. In the following four examples the role of the head noun is object (28), locative (29)/(30) and subject (31):

- (28) ehe-f nōmot ah-nèi-m f -ia -i -me ed-nèi-na haifō ga-fia-na  
3 -EMP before Q -SRC-GL CL-get-PST-Q PX-SRC-POS again CL-get-BEN  
*he got again the one of that one he himself had earlier married*
- (29) agō auō -l ah-ia po -ia peha -ula-fna-me ed-ia puhō  
women equal-NOM Q -LOC water-LOC descend-INT-PRO-Q PX-LOC come up  
*he arrived at the spot where the women were swimming*
- (30) tēh ah-ia alōh-fna-me ed-ia afō  
firewood Q -LOC be -PRO-Q PX-LOC sit  
*he sat down where the firewood was*
- (31) an nōgōl-puhō -i -me ehe-f sabla i -abt-n  
who see -come up-PST-Q 3 -EMP two CL-DL -PST  
*the one who spotted them took two*

Sometimes the head noun in the relative clause may be represented by a full NP with the interrogative pronoun functioning as a determiner. Compare the following two examples:

- (32) Christina ah-ia ale -f -me ed-nèi kebl -ia -m ka uagl-f  
NAM Q -LOC stay-PRS-Q PX-SRC village-LOC-GL l go -PRS  
*I am going to the village where Christina is staying*
- (33) ehe ah-nèi kebl -ia ale -f -me ed-ia -m ka uagl-f  
3 Q -SRC village-LOC stay-PRS-Q PX-LOC-GL l go -PRS  
*I am going to the village where she is staying*

The head noun in example (33) is manifested by a pronoun in the main clause and a full NP in the relative clause.

In the following example the head is the demonstrative adverb tōgō thus:

- (34) ete -l ah-tōgō fa-i -pia -i -me ehe tōgō fa-i -pia  
elder brother-NOM Q -thus CL-LNK-come-PST-Q 3 thus CL-LNK-come  
*he brought what (how) his elder brother had brought*  
(ah-tōgō may be reduced to at)

#### The 'subordinate' type

This type of relative clause is formally marked on the verb by one of three suffixes, which mark the clause as dependent. In this respect it differs from

the question-type relative clause which could stand in isolation. As mentioned above, none of the three suffixes is primarily a relative clause marker. The suffix *-ie* marks non-past simultaneous actions (9.1.2) and also functions as a topic marker (9.2.1.4). The second suffix *-ba* is a clausal topic marker; this is discussed in detail in 9.2.1. Lastly, the suffix *-i* marks past events where the connection between them and another past or present event needs to be stressed (5.3.6.2). Frequently, *-i* occurs in clauses functioning as relative clauses.

The same freedom of relativisation is found with this type as with the question type, i.e. any position may be relativised. The suffix *-i* is restricted to occurring in clauses with a verb marked with either of the past markers *-na* (5.3.5.4) or *-fna* (5.3.5.2); *-ie* occurs only with the non-past marker *-f* (5.3.5.1), while the topic marker *-ba* has no restrictions.

The role of the head in the subordinate clause may either be not indicated at all, or, less commonly, marked by a demonstrative pronoun. In the following examples the role of the head in the relative clause is:

(35) Object:

õm ka nagla-na -ba ed-nèi uõgõ ka f -ia -i  
*yesterday* 1 see -PST-TO PX-SRC drum 1 CL-get-IMM  
*I want to get the drum I saw yesterday*

(36) Possessor:

malhu-na lõ -l ka i -õb-na -na -ba ed-nèi-m fa-ai -h -n  
*pig -POS tooth-NOM 1 CL-PL-BEN-PST-TO PX-SRC-GL CL-give-REC-PST*  
*I gave it to the one whose pig teeth I had received*

(37) Recipient:

nuf sëlana lëg-ai -h -na -ba ed-nèi abue nis-ai -h -fan  
*before shorts CL -give-REC-PST-TO PX-SRC spinach CL -give-REC-PER*  
*the one I earlier on gave shorts to has given me some spinach*

(38) Locative:

maluõ titi-uõl fe-f -ie ed-nèi bucket-m ka õ -f  
*clothes wash-PL do-PRS-SI PX-SRC bucket-GL 1 say-PRS*  
*I am talking about the bucket you wash your clothes in*

In the next example the head noun is represented by a demonstrative pronoun in the relative clause:

(39) ed-nèi anuõ -l -m tagla -f -ie ed-nèi-m  
 PX-SRC often-NOM-GL go round-PRS-SI PX-SRC-GL  
*to those who often take it, it seems*  
 hute fe-n -f, mëna-fa  
*short do-BEN/NS-PRS road-TO*  
*short, the road*

The head may also be determined by more than one relative clause, in which case the individual relative clauses are simply juxtaposed without any formal marking:



- (40) aia -l -na hu f -ia -na -i ehe-f -na òme -ia -m  
*father-NOM-POS penis CL-get-PST-REL 3 -PRS-POS vagina-LOC-GL*  
*he said to the one who had grabbed his father's penis*
- fa-apsahõ-na -i ed-nèi-m ò -na -na -õ  
*CL-enter -PST-REL PX-SRC-GL say-BEN-PST-D*  
*and stuck it into her vagina:*
- pël unisi uagl-ual fe-f -è  
*ICL tomorrow go -DL do-PRS-D*  
*tomorrow we will go*

#### 4.1.3 The adjective phrase

The elements of the AP were discussed in 3.3. The adjective phrase (AP) may contain an exclamatory, an intensifier, an adjective or a combination of the three, all of which follow the head.<sup>1</sup> The two exclamatories kőkõ and kulõ and the intensifiers may modify both common and proper nouns. The exclamatories must immediately follow the head noun:

- (41) Kaiuõ kőkõ  
 NAM EXCL  
*Kaiuo!*

kőkõ and kulõ may co-occur, as is demonstrated in example (44) in chapter 3.

The following examples show an intensifier, adjective, and a combination of both qualifying a noun:

- (42) ièf kubui  
*house INT*  
*big house*
- (43) ièf iõbõ-l  
*house big -NOM*  
*big house*
- (44) ièf iõbõ-l kubui  
*house big -NOM INT*  
*very big house*

There is considerable flexibility in the ordering of intensifiers and adjectives. The ordering in the above example may easily be reversed: ièf kubui iõbõ-l. The AP does not normally contain more than one adjective, but instances of multiple intensifiers are common:

- (45) if ehefmenèi sèsuõ kubui iaulõ-f  
*breadfruit INT INT INT be -PRS*  
*there is an enormously huge breadfruit tree*

In contrast to exclamatories and intensifiers, adjectives may not normally modify proper nouns. However, the two items abka-l *small* and iõbõ-l *big, fat* may be used to distinguish between people of identical name. Used thus, these

<sup>1</sup>As pointed out before, only adjectives proper can also function as NP head.

adjectives mean *young* and *old*, respectively, without any implication of actual height:

- (46) Nos abka -l /iöbõ-l  
 NAM *small*-NOM *big* -NOM  
*young/old Nos*

The adjectives used to refer to people's height are *kuii-l tall* and *hute-l short*.

Adjectives follow the head and cases of preposed adjectives are to be regarded as compounds (see 3.8). This needs two qualifications. First, the order in the last example above, where a proper noun is modified, may be reversed: *abka-l Nos young Nos*. Second, certain derived adjectives precede the head:

- (47) nōmot -nanal kebl -ia -m uagl-n  
 before-DER *village*-LOC-GL *go* -PST  
*he went to the former village*

## 4.2 Co-ordination

### 4.2.1 -i

Two NPs whose referents are [+Human] may be co-ordinated by the clitic *-i*. The co-ordinating clitic may occur on both NPs:

- (48) ehe-i ka -i  
 3 -CO 1 -CO  
*he and me*
- (49) mo -l -i afa -l -i e -uagl-uäl-f  
 daughter-NOM-CO mother-NOM-CO DL-go -DL -PRS  
*daughter and mother are going*

Or it may occur only on the second NP:

- (50) afa -l -m aia -l -i -m nōf e -fe-sëlöh -ual-n -b  
 mother-NOM-GL father-NOM-CO-GL eye DL-do-in vain-DL -PST-DUR  
*they (2) were looking for their mother and father in vain*

Sometimes one of the NPs is omitted, such as in the following example, which is the opening topic clause of a story:

- (51) nōmot -fa ököba-nam edel -i föhö-uäl-na -ba  
 before-TO sun -DER fellow-CO go -DL -PST-TO  
*some time ago (he) and (another) fellow having gone*

Co-ordinated NPs function syntactically and semantically as a single constituent at clause level and thus they must share identical case marking. Case marking may, and normally does, occur on both NPs, but sometimes only the second of the co-ordinated NPs is marked. Case marking follows co-ordination marking:

- (52) Pus-i -m Auiimi-i -m lapi -ual-n  
 NAM-CO-GL NAM -CO-GL shoot-DL -PST  
*they shot Pus and Auiimi*
- (53) Pus-i Auiimi-i -m -fa segfi-uäl-n  
 NAM-CO NAM -CO-GL-TO bury -DL -PST  
*they buried Pus and Auiimi*

While the syntactic and semantic role of co-ordinated NPs must be the same, this is not the case as far as their pragmatic role is concerned. The topic marker *-fa* (discussed in detail in 9.2.1) in example (53) may best be interpreted as marking the complex NP as a whole. However, the constituent NPs of the co-ordinated NP may receive individual topic marking. In the following example *-fa* marks only the first NP as a topic and may not be construed as covering the whole of the co-ordinated NP (as is to be expected, interrogatives may never be topicalised):

- (54) *ne -fa an -i ha-pia -ual-n*  
 2 -TO *who*-CO MO-*come*-DL -PST  
*you and who came?*

The referents of NPs co-ordinated with *-i* are thought of as being of equal status. Where one is perceived as being superior in some sense, the accompaniment construction is used (see 5.2.2). Thus, for instance, example (54) above would be as follows:

- (55) *ne-fa an -m uai-pia -n*  
 2 -TO *who*-GL ACC-*come*-PST  
*who did you come with?*

#### 4.2.2 *-na*

NPs whose referents are [-Human] may be co-ordinated with the clitic *-na*, which again may appear on all of the co-ordinated NPs or just on the last one:

- (56) *sa -na fo -na ka ne -i*  
*coconut-CO banana-CO 1 eat-IMM*  
*I want to eat coconut and bananas*
- (57) *tëta-na es -na alõh-f*  
*meat-CO sago-CO be -PRS*  
*there is meat and sago*

The clitic *-na* may not freely co-ordinate NPs with human referents:

- (58) \**Kaiuõ-na Nos-na e -ha-pia -ual-f*  
 NAM -CO NAM-CO DL-MO-*come*-DL -PRS  
*Kaiuo and Nos are coming*

There are however certain pairs of human nouns which may be linked with *-na*. These cases need to be listed in the lexicon:

- (59) *id -na agõ -na sagõt-ia -m at fõhõ-n*  
*men-CO women-CO bush -LOC-GL COM go -PST*  
*the men and the women have gone to the bush*  
 (The compound *id agõ* would be more common.)

In certain cases only the second noun may bear *-na*:

- (60) *agõ toad-na õsõ -ia -m mugõ uagl at fe-n*  
*women boys-CO garden-LOC-GL completely go COM do-PST*  
*the women and children have already gone to the garden*

Another pair is *mo-l tëla-na* *daughter and husband*.

Yet another special use of *-na* must be mentioned. With a number of kinship terms (3.4) *-na* may occur if it is followed by *sabla* *two*:

- (61) lue -na sabla  
*affine-CO two*  
*two affines*

The kinship term loses its final -l. This construction is not possible with all kinship terms and is never possible with a numeral other than two.

- (62) \*lue -na sabla mugõ  
*affine -CO two one*  
*three affines*

#### 4.2.3 Other linking strategies

NPs co-ordinated with -i or -na form a NP constituent at clause level. There are two further co-ordination strategies, which only serve the purpose of enumeration and which I will briefly illustrate.

##### 4.2.3.1 -mo

NPs may be enumerated with the clitic -mo:

- (63) t̄eta-mo, sa -mo, safa-mo, sapoh -mo...  
*meat-CON coconut-CON taro-CON tobacco-CON*  
*meat, coconut, taro, tobacco...*

(For the use of -mo with verbs see 5.3.8.3/9.2.3.)

##### 4.2.3.2 D-form

The distance form as discussed in chapter 8 (8.4) may be used in the same way as -mo:

- (64) es -e, sapoh -o, if -e...  
*sago-D tobacco-D breadfruit-D*  
*sago, tobacco, breadfruit...*

#### 4.3 Case marking

So far I have been concerned with the internal structure of the NP. In the following I will examine the function of NPs in the clause. NPs can have semantic, grammatical and pragmatic functions. The only pragmatic function of NPs that is discussed in this grammar is topic marking (see 4.4.1 and 9.2.1). My concern in this section is with the semantic function of NPs. How are the semantic roles of NPs signalled in the clause? Although the semantic function of an NP is clearly distinct from the syntactic one, there is nevertheless some interaction between the two. The syntactic function of NPs is discussed in some detail in chapter 7. The conclusion reached there is that there are two types of NPs that are syntactically distinctly marked. These two NP types are closely associated with agenthood and patienthood and I have therefore called them subject and object. It is precisely the semantic roles of these core NPs that are not marked by morphosyntactic means. These NPs, as argued in

chapter 7, belong to the predicate frame and their semantic roles are dictated by the semantics of the predicate itself. This is in contrast to peripheral NPs, which do not belong to the predicate frame. The semantic function of peripheral NPs is therefore not apparent from the predicate itself and it thus needs to be overtly indicated. Like most Papuan languages Imonda has two means to do this, case marking and cross-referencing. All aspects of the latter are discussed in 5.3.1 and I will only refer to it insofar as it pertains to the present discussion. Let us now look at case marking. In this grammar this term is used to refer to a set of morphological cases to which functions are assigned:

1. -∅
2. -ia
3. -nèi
4. -na
5. -m

These five case markers will now be discussed.

#### 4.3.1 Unmarked NP

There are three types of unmarked NPs, namely subject, object and predicate NP. Subject and object are defined in chapter 7. The former is always unmarked, whereas the latter is marked with -m under conditions specified in 7.3. The semantic roles of these NPs are variable and, as pointed out, dictated by the predicate. All syntactic and semantic aspects of these core NPs are discussed in chapter 7 and I will have nothing to say about them here.

Besides subject and object, the predicate NP of certain existential predicate types is also unmarked for case. Furthermore it is not cross-referenced on the optionally occurring existential copula verb (the existential predicate is discussed in 7.2.8).

- (65) ehe toad-ianèi  
       3 boys-NPL  
       *he is a boy*

#### 4.3.2 -ia 'locative; causal'

The primary function of the case suffix -ia is to mark location and cause. Common nouns whose referents are [-Human] may directly bear -ia while those whose referents are [+Human] must take the possessive marker -na preceding -ia:

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| (66) | ièf -ia<br>house-LOC<br><i>at the house</i>   | mèna-ia<br>road-LOC<br><i>on the road</i>                             |
| (67) | ka ka-f -na -ia<br>1 1 -EMP-POS-LOC<br><i>at my place</i>   | aia -l -na -ia<br>father-NOM-POS-LOC<br><i>at (my) father's place</i> |
| (68) | maga-ia kalabus-ia -m uagl-n<br><i>what-CAU prison -LOC-GL go -PST</i><br><i>why did he go to prison?</i> |   |

It is clear that in example (67) a noun, which is left out, conditions the possessive marker. This conditioning noun is however not always obvious, as in the following example where *-ia* indicates cause:

- (69) Bob-na -ia adeia sē e -fe-i -me  
 NAM-POS-CAU work NEG DL-do-PST-NEG  
*we did not do any work because of Bob*

In order to indicate a more precise location or nature of the cause a postpositional noun may be used. This is discussed in 3.5.1 and I will only give an example here:

- (70) ièf me -ia  
 house hole-LOC  
*inside the house*

The locative marker may also be suffixed to nouns denoting some activity like 'play' or state like 'hunger'. It is then followed by one of the existential verbs (7.2.8.6) and the construction means 'being in the state of what is referred to':

- (71) mōbkōb-ia /pon -ia ale -f  
 play -LOC hunger-LOC stay-PRS  
*he is playing/hungry*

Clausal NPs may be used in the same way. The clausal NP is reduced and normally consists of either the verb or the verb plus its object. The locative marker is directly attached to the stem:

- (72) tōbtō soh -ia ale -f  
 fish search-LOC stay-PRS  
*he is looking for fish*

Lastly, *-ia* may occur in a reduced conditional clause. As discussed in chapter 9, topic clauses can function as protases in conditional constructions:

- (73) ne aia -l -m ue-ne -f -ba  
 2 father-NOM-GL CL-eat-PRS-TO  
*if you eat (your) father*

An alternative to this full topic clause is to reduce it to the main part of the condition and suffix this with the locative marker *-ia* before adding the topic clitic, in its allomorphic shape *-fa*, which occurs with non-verbs (see 9.2.1). Non-nominal elements must be nominalised with *-l* (8.6):

- (74) ue-ne -l -ia -fa  
 CL-eat-NOM-LOC-TO  
*if you eat*

This reduced conditional construction occurs infrequently; verbs may not take any core or peripheral NPs:

- (75) nagla-l -ia -fa ka sēfō-f -t  
 see -NOM-LOC-TO l buy -PRS-CF  
*if I saw it, I would buy it*
- (76) \*sa nagla-l -ia -fa  
 coconut see -NOM-LOC-TO  
*if I saw a coconut*

But:

- (77) sa nagla-f -ta -ba ka sēfō-f -t  
*coconut see -PRS-IRR-TO 1 buy -PRS-CF*  
*if I saw a coconut, I would buy it*

The locative marker also occurs before the markers of source (see next section) and goal (see 7.3).

#### 4.3.3 -nèi 'source'

Source is indicated by the suffix -nèi, which has to be preceded by the locative marker -ia:

- (78) Vanimo-ia -nèi ha-pia -fan  
 NAM -LOC-SRC MO-*come*-PER  
*he has come from Vanimo*
- (79) po me -ia -nèi  
 water hole-LOC-SRC  
*from underneath the water*
- (80) ah-ia -nèi kafli-abt-i -pi -n  
 Q -LOC-SRC grab -DL -LNK-*get*-PST  
*where did you get the two (women) from?*

The source is usually a place but as in the case of the locative -ia, the source may also be a noun denoting some activity:

- (81) sēmeia aia -l -fa haifō sagl -ia -nèi puhō  
 morning father-NOM-TO again festival-LOC-SRC come  
*in the morning their father came back from the festival*

Without the locative suffix, the source marker -nèi derives unambiguous pronouns from the proximity markers ōh and ed and the interrogative ah, all three of which are ambiguous between an adverbial and pronominal interpretation (see 3.6.2):

- (82) ōh-ia -m ha-pia -f  
 PX-LOC-GL MO-*come*-PRS  
*he is coming here/for this one*
- (83) ōh-nèi-m ka ō -f  
 PX-SRC-GL 1 say-PRS  
*I am talking about this one*

The source marker preceded by -ia functions as an obligatory non-plural marker with a set of five nouns (3.5) and as a partitive derivational suffix (3.9).

#### 4.3.4 -na 'instrumental'

The suffix -na has a variety of functions. It is a possessive marker on NPs (4.1.2.4) and verbs (5.3.1.6), functions as a co-ordination suffix (4.2) and it occurs as a peripheral case marker. It is this last function I am concerned with here. Primarily, the peripheral NP case marked with -na refers to the object with which the action is carried out:

- (84) tiaga-na hetha-fan  
*stick-INS hit -PER*  
*he hit him with a stick*
- (85) tëla -l -na fal -na lapi -fan  
*husband-NOM-POS arrow-INS shoot-PER*  
*she shot with her husband's arrows*

The -na marked NP may also denote an abstract instrument:

- (86) ka ka-f -na mō -na lōl -f  
*l l -EMP-POS language-INS talk-PRS*  
*I am talking in my own language*

With existential verbs the -na marked NP refers to an 'instrument' that the subject possesses. The instrumental NP can thus function as an ascriptive predicate (7.2.8):

- (87) ha tōf -na lōh -f  
*snake skin-INS stand-PRS*  
*she has a snake skin*
- (88) e -na iaulō-f  
*belly-INS be -PRS*  
*she is pregnant*

In conjunction with a preceding element ga, -na has a comitative function with NPs whose referents are [+Human]:

- (89) Iad toad-gana mōbkōb-ia ale -f  
*NAM boys-COMI game -LOC stay-PRS*  
*Iad is playing with the boys*

#### 4.3.5 -m 'goal'

The positive case markers discussed above all have a semantic function, that is they indicate the semantic role of the NP they are suffixed to. On the other hand, they do not have a significant syntactic function. This is in contrast to -m, which has both a semantic and a syntactic function. It is primarily a goal marker, but also has the syntactic function of marking objects. It is for this reason that this case marker is discussed in chapter 7 (7.3), where the syntactic function of NPs is considered.

#### 4.3.6 The Papuan perspective

Including the case marker -m, which in its 'peripheral' use is mainly a goal and purpose marker (7.3), but occasionally also substitutes for -ia (7.3.5.3), we therefore have the following case marking system for peripheral NPs in Imonda:

Locative	-ia	(-m)
Cause	-ia	(-m)
Goal	-m	
Source	-nèi	
Instrument	-na	



This is rather a typical Papuan case system. Foley (forthcoming) recognises five typical peripheral case relations in Papuan languages, which are just those found in Imonda. He says that quinary systems, i.e. ones that keep all five relations distinguished, are as yet unattested. The quaternary systems discussed by Foley are of two types; those that lack a peripheral cause case and those, like Alambak, which conflate cause and source. Imonda also has a quaternary system, but of a different type, conflating locative and cause. Imonda can be said to display a part ternary system where the goal marker -m assumes the functions of -ia, i.e. where goal, locative and cause are conflated.

#### 4.4 Outer modifiers

Topic, emphasis, question and distance markers may cliticise onto the NP, following case marking. As these clitics are not confined to the NP, I shall only briefly illustrate them here and refer to the relevant sections where they are discussed in detail.

##### 4.4.1 Topic marking

The topic markers -fa and -uõ may cliticise both on NPs and adverbs; they are discussed in 9.2.1:

- (90) kël -uõ ed-ia -m tad-i -uagl-n  
*bone-TO PX-LOC-GL CL -LNK-go -PST*  
*the bones, he carried them over there*
- (91) ka-m -fa es uai-hla-fna  
*1 -GL-TO sago ACC-eat-PRO*  
*they were eating sago with me*

##### 4.4.2 Emphatic clitics

There are a number of emphatic clitics which in general may cliticise onto all parts of speech save particles (see 8.5):

- (92) ka ka-f -m -fa, tëlpo-ia -m -gas  
*1 1 -EMP-GL-TO urine-LOC-GL-EMP*  
*as for myself, (give it to me) only for urine*

##### 4.4.3 Interrogative

The interrogative marker -m(e) (see 8.2.1.1) may - in the absence of a verb - cliticise onto NPs or adverbs:

- (93) õh-nèi-m -me, ed-nèi-m -me  
*PX-SRC-GL-Q PX-SRC-GL-Q*  
*(are you talking about) this one, or that one?*

#### 4.4.4 The D-form

The various uses of the distance form are discussed in 8.4. It may cliticise on verbs, adverbs and NPs. The following example shows a case-marked noun followed by the emphasis clitic *-gas*, which in turn precedes the distance marker:

- (94) *òd -l -ia -gas-è*  
*heart-NOM-LOC-EMP-D*  
*right in the middle*

CHAPTER 5  
VERBAL MORPHOSYNTAX

### 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will be concerned with the verb phrase (VP). The VP obligatorily consists of a core which is minimally manifested by a verb stem. In addition there may be a precore and a postcore, both of which consist of bound affixes. Categories marked in the precore comprise, among others, number of subject and of accompanier and the noun classification. The precore is discussed below in 5.2. The postcore (5.3) contains suffixes that mark tense, number, question, negation and other categories and it also hosts a number of suffixes that mark the clause the verb occurs in as dependent.

The core may contain, in addition to the obligatory verb stem, a number of what I call, for want of a better term, roots. While any one verb may occur as the verb stem of the VP, the root position is highly constrained. The roots have widely varying status. Some may productively co-occur with a wide range of verbs while others are restricted to occurring with only a few verbs. An important class of roots consists of the motion verbs which are used to indicate simultaneity, consecutivity or direction vis-a-vis the main verb. Other roots have aspectual functions. As many roots are actually verb stems, I will occasionally use the term (verb) serialisation where appropriate in the discussion of the expanded core in 5.4.

Some roots require that the postcore categories be pegged onto the pro-verb *fe* *make*, *do*, i.e. that they must not be immediately suffixed to the core. A number of syntactic constructions require the same. This auxiliary verb is an independent word and may be separated from the preceding core by intervening words such as adverbs and particles. *fe* is the single most important verb in the language and section 5.4.5 is devoted to a discussion of its various uses and its status within the VP.

The term 'verb phrase' is used non-traditionally in this grammar as a convenient label for a grammatical structure which is bounded on the left by the set of precore affixes (5.2) and on the right by the set of postcore affixes (5.3).

### 5.2 Precore

The precore comprises basically three positions. The first two are manifested by number marking while the third one is taken up by the noun-classifying

prefixes. In addition to these three positions which are not restricted to a particular class of verbs, there are four other prefixes that may only occur with verbs of motion.

### 5.2.1 The dual marker e-

Subject dual may be indicated by the prefix e- if the referent of the noun is [+Human]. All aspects of number marking are discussed in 5.3.1. The following example shows the dual marker in conjunction with the accompaniment prefix which is discussed in the next section:

- (1) ièf -ia e -uai-puhõ  
*house-LOC DL-ACC-come up*  
*they (2) arrived home with him*

### 5.2.2 Accompaniment marking

The verbal prefix uai-/uõn- cross-references an accompanier NP, which is case marked with -m (see 7.3). uai- marks a singular participant, uõn- two or more:

- (2) õbo-l -m sagõt-ia -m uai/uõn-fõhõ -n  
*boy-NOM-GL bush -LOC-GL ACC go down-PST*  
*he went to the bush with his son/sons*
- (3) pueta sum uai-eg -ula-f  
*secretly behind ACC-follow-INT-PRS*  
*she followed them secretly with him*

The accompanier NP is very frequently omitted, as is the case in example (3) above. The subject of the sentence is always in some sense superior to the other participant(s), as for instance in the case of father vs. child. If two participants are seen as equal, then the NP co-ordinating suffix -i is used (see 4.2):

- (4) Nos-i Kaiuõ-i e -ha-pia -ual-f  
 NAM-CO NAM -CO DL-MO-come-DL -PRS  
*Nos and Kaiuo are coming*

Notes:

- a) uai- also occurs as a classifier (see chapter 6).  
 b) uai- > uau-/\_li *lie, sleep*

### 5.2.3 Noun-classification prefixes

A separate chapter (6) deals with the noun-classification system. Nothing may separate the classifiers and the verb stem except those number markers that only occur in conjunction with the classifiers (this is discussed in 6.2.1.2). The following two examples illustrate the classifiers preceded by the number markers discussed above:

- (5) udō e -bas-abt-na -ba  
*netbag DL-CL -DL -PST-TO*  
*after they (2) had taken their netbags<sup>1</sup>*
- (6) tēh uai-i -ab-hō -puhō fe-n -b  
*firewood ACC-CL-PL-put-come up do-PST-DUR*  
*he stacked up a lot of firewood with him*

#### 5.2.4 Motion verb prefixes

##### 5.2.4.1 ha-/hela-

Verbs of motion (see 7.2.2.1) sometimes take one of the two prefixes ha- or hela-:

ha-peha            *go down*  
 hela-uagl         *go*  
 (ha > hō/ \_ v[+back] : /ha-puhō/ = [xōpuxō] *go up*)

These two prefixes do not seem to have any semantic content. With the verb *pia come*, ha- is obligatory for subject singular, but is dropped if the subject plural marker ai- or the accompanier marker uai- (but not uōn-) are prefixed:

ha-pia        vs.    ai-pia  
 uai-pia      vs.    uōn-ha-pia

The prefix ha- has become totally fused with a few other motion verbs:

hapu            *go up*  
 hamēne         *come back*  
 hana            *go (= na in the related language Simog)*

In these three verbs ha- is now perceived to be part of the verb stem and ha- may again be prefixed to the now simple stem: ha-hapu.

If the subject is plural then the root *luhi* (5.4.1.10) is used in serialisation after the verb of motion. hela- may not occur if subject=plural: ha-hapu-luhi (\*hela-hapu-luhi).

##### 5.2.4.2 iaha-

The prefix *iaha*<sup>2</sup> is used with verbs of motion to indicate that the event occurs repetitively. It triggers the pro-verb *fe* (see 5.4.5):

- (7) iaha -uagl fe  
       *often-go do*  
       *go often*

<sup>1</sup>The verb stem *ia get, take*, which obligatorily takes a classifier, is deleted after the object dual marker *abt*, see 6.2.1.2.

<sup>2</sup>This may well be bimorphemic in origin; note, however, that a prefix *ia-* with non-motion verbs does not occur.

- (8) afa -l -na e -ia -m iaha -saihõ fe-lõh-fna  
*mother-NOM-POS belly-LOC-GL often-enter do-HAB-PRO*  
*he went into his mother's belly again and again*

The number markers discussed in the first two sections (e- and uai-/uõn-) precede the motion prefixes:

- (9) uõn-ha-puhõ -n -b ièf -ia -m uõn-saihõ  
*ACC-MO-come up-PST-DUR house-LOC-GL ACC-enter*  
*he came up with them and entered the house*

#### 5.2.4.3 The subject plural marker ai-

Subject plural of motion verbs is marked by the prefix ai- which immediately precedes the stem (see 5.3.1.1). The prefix ai- is mutually exclusive with the other motion verb prefixes. As mentioned in 5.2.4.1, motion verbs prefixed with ha- indicate subject plural by means of the root luhi. The following example shows ai- preceded by the accompaniment marker:

- (10) unisi ne-m -fa sugõ -na kebl -ia -m  
*tomorrow 2 -GL-TO spirit-POS village-LOC-GL*  
*tomorrow I will go down to the village*  
 uõn-ai-peha fe-f -è  
*ACC-PL-go down do-PRS-D*  
*of the spirits with you*

#### 5.2.4.4 The prefix fe-

The prefix fe, which apart from motion verbs also occurs with lõh *stand*, indicates that the *standing* or motion occurs stealthily.

- (11) an fe -saihõ-f  
*who secretly-enter-PRS*  
*who enters (secretly)?*

It is of course possible that this is yet another use of the ubiquitous verb fe *make, do* (see 5.4.5). If so, then this is the only instance of a root preceding the verb stem.

### 5.3 Postcore

The following section on the postcore morphology has been divided into eight positions on the basis of possible morpheme combinations. Example (12) shows the first five positions, the last one being manifested by the non-past marker. Example (13) shows positions five to eight, starting with the non-past marker:

- (12) pël e -magfe -uai-la -n -ta -f  
*ICL DL-distribute-DL -EMP-BEN/NS-IRR-PRS*  
*we (2) will distribute this to you*
- (13) ne tögõ fe-f -ta -ba-õ  
*2 thus do-PRS-IRR-TO-D*  
*if you did it like this*

The actual assignment of individual postcore morphemes to one of these eight positions is again mainly dictated by the possible morpheme combinations. Occasionally, however, this does not produce an unambiguous assignment to a given position. In these cases I have assigned the morpheme arbitrarily to that position which is semantically most plausible. A case in point is the imperative suffix. It may co-occur with morphemes from positions 1 to 3 and from position 8. It is mutually exclusive with morphemes from positions 4 to 7, to any one of which it could therefore be assigned. In this case I have grouped it together with the irrealis in conjunction with which it forms the 'mood' position.

Note that the eight postcore positions to be discussed correspond to eight subsections of this section.

### 5.3.1 Number agreement

The first postcore position is filled by the subject/object number agreement markers -uõl and -ual. However, all aspects of number agreement with one exception are discussed in this section, as it seems appropriate to give this aspect of Imonda grammar a unified treatment. Other verbal positions that contain number markers are referred to this section.

There are six kinds of NPs that are cross-referenced on the verb for number: the syntactic relations of subject and object and the semantic relations of recipient, benefactive, possessor and accompanier (for a discussion of semantic and syntactic relations see 4.3 and 7.1).

The marking of accompanier has been dealt with in 5.2.2 and I will not add anything to it here. The remaining five relations will now be examined. Note that number agreement is one of the defining criteria for grammatical relations (see chapter 7).

#### 5.3.1.1 Subject

Singular is unmarked. Dual may be marked by the prefix e- if the subject is [+Human], or by the suffix -ual, or by a combination of both. Thus, with the verb uagl *go* we may find:

e-uagl / e-uagl-ual / uagl-ual

Here is an example:

- (14) tēh -fa e -i -ab-hõ -puhõ fe-n  
*firewood-TO DL-CL-PL-put-come up do-PST*  
*they stacked up the firewood*

If the verb starts in a vowel the prefix e- may take an optional linking -h-:

- (15) pēl e -h -eg -i  
 ICL DL-LNK-follow-IMM  
*let us (2) follow*

If the subject is [-Human] only -ual may occur:

- (16) sue ta -ual-f (\*e-ta-f)  
*fire burn-DL -PRS*  
*there are two fires burning*

While e- only marks subject number, -ual may also mark objects (see below).

#### PLURAL

There are several strategies to indicate plural:

##### a) Vowel raising

The most common means of indicating subject plural is by raising the last vowel of the verb stem to the next higher vowel position. Examples of those vowel alternations that I have found are listed below. Although /a/ is raised to /ã/ in some cases, it more often skips one level and is raised to /è/. Most of the verbs that display vowel raising are transitive (see also chapter 7).

/e/ > /i/	se - si	<i>tear out</i>
	fe - fi	<i>make, do</i>
/o/ > /u/	pos - pus	<i>dig out</i>
	soh - suh	<i>search</i>
/a/ > /ã/	la - lã	<i>light fire</i>
	sah - sãh	<i>call</i>
/õ/ > /ò/	õ - ò	<i>speak, talk</i>
	lõl - lòl	<i>speak, talk</i>
/ë/ > /i/	së - si	<i>wash after birth</i>
	sëh - sih	<i>search</i>
/a/ > /è/	nagla - naglè	<i>see</i>
	epsha - epschè	<i>fart</i>

##### b) Suppletion

A number of verbs have suppletive plural formation:

ne - hla	<i>eat</i>
löh - lëfah	<i>stand</i>
löhö - lëfaha	<i>not like</i>
hönö - pueg	<i>make netbag</i>
li - shaulö	<i>sleep</i>
li - alöh	<i>lie</i>

- (17) aia -m kles ue-hla-f  
*father-GL mosquito CL-eat-PRS*  
*father is stung by mosquitos*

##### c) ai-

Plural of subjects of verbs of motion is indicated by the prefix ai- (see also 5.2.4.3):

uagl > ai-uagl	<i>go</i>
puhö > ai-puhö	<i>come up</i>

- (18) ka ka-f modòd -m -fa uön-ai-tafö-f  
 l l -EMP *daughter-GL-TO ACC-PL-go -PRS*  
*we ourselves will go with our daughters*



ai- may also mark [-Countable] nouns, if they refer to a big quantity:

- (19) po / pòb ai-pia -f  
*water / flood PL-come-PRS*  
*a lot of rain/big flood is coming*

d) -uõl

Subject plural of some intransitive verbs is indicated by the suffix -uõl, which occurs more commonly as an object marker (see 5.3.1.2). This suffix triggers the pro-verb fe (5.4.5). Here are some examples:

- |        |              |
|--------|--------------|
| nuhõ   | <i>vomit</i> |
| kuaksõ | <i>cough</i> |
| iaulõ  | <i>be</i>    |

e) fia

A few verbs form the plural by adding the root fia:

- |                         |                    |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| ale > a-fia (irregular) | <i>sit, remain</i> |
| afõ > afõ-fia           | <i>sit down</i>    |

fia is also used to mark plural if the verb stem is followed by the root ula (see 5.4.1.11).

- |                            |                                  |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| sne-ula > sne-ula-fia      | <i>pound sago</i>                |
| uagl-ula > ai-uagl-ula-fia | <i>go (notice double plural)</i> |

f) No marking

If a noun refers to a group of individuals or objects that are perceived of as a collective then the verb is often unmarked for plural:

- (20) id kubui isi -ia -m fõhõ -n  
*men INT hunt pigs-LOC-GL go down-PST*  
*lots of men went pig hunting*

g) pia and uagl

The verb stems pia *come* and uagl *go* occurring in serialisation after the lexical verb stem (5.4.1.9) may be used to mark subject plural:

- (21) pafeia-l -m liha -pia -n  
*stone -NOM-GL change-come-PST*  
*they all turned into stones*  
*(\*he turned into a stone)*
- (22) id mòd sapoh hoi ale-uagl-f  
*men plenty tobacco NEG be -go -PRS*  
*nobody has got any tobacco*  
*(lit.: everybody is tobacco-less)*
- (23) \*Iad sapoh hoi ale-uagl-f  
*NAM tobacco NEG be -go -PRS*  
*Iad has not got any tobacco*

h) Often the plural form of the verb is used where the subject is not in prominence. The subject may not overtly occur. Thus, in the following two examples the verb õ *say* occurs in the raised form ò, which is normally used for subject plural. In these cases the subject is singular, however, and may not occur overtly:

- (24) ah-tõgõ (\*ne) ò -f  
 Q -thus 2 say-PRS  
*what's up?*
- (25) edel -m (\*ka) ò -ni -f  
 fellow-GL 1 say-BEN-PRS  
*I am talking about this fellow*

Examples (24) and (25) are grammatical with the starred subject pronouns if these are interpreted as being plural.

### 5.3.1.2 Object

In this section I will be concerned with object marking of verbs that do not take a noun-classifying prefix. Object marking of verbs that do take such a prefix is quite different and is discussed in chapter 6, which is devoted to the noun-classification system (6.2.1.2).

As is the case for subjects, object singular number is not positively marked on the verb.

A: Dual

Most commonly, object dual is indicated by the suffix -ual, which, as was pointed out above, also marks subject dual:

- (26) Pus-i -m Auiim-i -m lapi -ual-n  
 NAM-CO -GL NAM -CO -GL shoot-DL -PST  
*he shot Pus and Auii*
- (27) ièf sabla nibia-ual-l -m õ -f  
 house two build-DL -NOM-GL say-PRS  
*I want to build two houses*

If SU=PL, instead of raising the stem vowel of the verb, the vowel in the dual marker is raised:

- (28) ti he -ual-n  
 tree cut-DL -PST  
*he chopped down two trees*
- (29) ti he -uäl-n  
 tree cut-DL -PST  
*they chopped down two trees*

As -ual marks both subjects and objects there could be ambiguity in cases of interaction of two quantified NPs. It seems, however, that in such cases -ual is interpreted as marking OB and e- is used to mark SU:

- (30) \*ièf mugasl ka nibia-ual-f  
 house one 1 build-DL -PRS  
*we two build one house*
- (31) ièf mugasl ka e -nibia-f  
 house one 1 DL-build-PRS  
*we two build one house*
- (32) ièf sabla nibia-ual-f  
 house two build-DL -PRS  
*I build two houses*

- (33) ièf sabla e -nibia-ual-fan  
*house two DL-build-DL -PER*  
*we two have built two houses*

ual appears as an integral part of a number of transitive verb stems that depict events that result in the halving of the object, i.e. they all mean *break* and are used with different types of objects:

poual	puiual
smatual	beual
tëglauual	koual
toual	

- (34) atha toual-u  
*sugarcane break-IMP*  
*break the sugarcane!*

ual in these verbs may even be repeated, without the object being dual:

- (35) atha toual-ual-u  
*sugarcane break-DL -IMP*  
*break the sugarcane!*

Residual cases:

1. eg *follow* suffixes -l if the object is non-singular, i.e. there is no distinction between dual and plural.
2. *heulõ hear* changes to *heual* for non-singular objects.
3. Certain stems with a medial -d- or -h- change this to -th- for dual. I have found five such stems of which only one occurs independently: *pada put* > *patha*. The other four occur only with a classifier:

- |              |   |            |                          |            |
|--------------|---|------------|--------------------------|------------|
| a. CL-hõdõ   | > | CL-hõthõ   | <i>put on top</i>        | (6.2.1.5)  |
| b. CL-keda   | > | CL-ketha   | <i>hang up</i>           | (6.2.1.6)  |
| c. CL-nugahõ | > | CL-nugathõ | <i>fill in</i>           | (6.2.1.7)  |
| d. CL-ueha   | > | CL-uetha   | <i>put into the fire</i> | (6.2.1.11) |

B: Plural

Most commonly, object plural is expressed by the suffix -uõl, which occupies the same position as -ual, i.e. immediately to the right of the stem. The pro-verb *fe make, do* (5.4.5) is triggered by -uõl:

- (36) ehe-m ièf nibia -uõl fè-na -f  
 3 -GL house build -PL do-BEN-PRS  
*I build houses for him*
- (37) id -m e -uõl -uõl fe-n  
 men-GL DL-shoot-PL do-PST  
*we (2) shot a lot of men*

Objects that are [-Countable] may also be marked by -uõl if a big quantity of what they refer to is involved:

- (38) nagu sof -uõl fe-n -b  
*sago wash-PL do-PST-DUR*  
*he washed plenty of sago*

A further function of -uõl is to stress intensity of action. While in the first of the following three examples -uõl could be viewed as marking a big quantity of what the subject NP refers to, the other two examples are not open

to such an interpretation:

- (39) po agu me -ia -nèi peha-uõl fe-la -n -b  
*water ear hole-LOC-SRC fall-PL do-INT-PST-DUR*  
*plenty of water was falling down out of his ears*
- (40) muglõ ka-na fëdfe-uõl fe-f  
*leg 1 -POS hurt -PL do-PRS*  
*my leg hurts a lot*
- (41) tëla -l -m kobia-uõl fe-na -n  
*husband-NOM-GL start-PL do-BEN-PST*  
*she was terribly startled by her husband*

Obviously, intensity of action will often proportionately increase with object number (e.g. 'shoot with great intensity at people' = 'shoot many people') and so strict number marking may be of a secondary nature. From its use as a plural number marker it is only a small step for -uõl to be used to convey *know how to; be in the habit of doing*:

- (42) õh-nèi ka së fa-ne -uõl fe-f -me  
 PX-SRC 1 NEG CL-eat-PL do-PRS-NEG  
*I do not customarily eat this*
- (43) õh-nèi adeia ka së fe-uõl fe-f -me  
 PX-SRC work 1 NEG do-PL do-PRS-NEG  
*I do not know how to do this work*

A number of verbs have idiosyncratic plural marking:

- |          |               |   |                               |
|----------|---------------|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. eg    | <i>follow</i> | > | eg-l (marks dual and plural)  |
| 2. he    | <i>cut</i>    | > | he-lõ                         |
| 3. heulõ | <i>hear</i>   | > | heual (marks dual and plural) |
| 4. nagla | <i>see</i>    | > | nògõl                         |

In addition to the above there is the non-singular marker -abu which is used with a few verbs. This is discussed below in 5.3.1.5.

### 5.3.1.3 Recipient

There is only one item in this category. The verb *ai give* obligatorily has a suffix -h to mark a singular recipient. This morpheme is deleted for non-singular recipient:

- (44) ehe-m fa-ai -h -t  
 3 -GL CL-give-REC-CF  
*she should have given it to him*
- (45) ehe-m fa-ai -∅ -t  
 3 -GL CL-give-REC/NS-CF  
*she should have given it to them*

This item is further discussed in 6.2.1.1.

## 5.3.1.4 Beneficiary

Beneficiaries are obligatorily case marked with -m (see chapter 7) and cross-referenced on the verb for singular by the suffix -na. As discussed in chapter 7, beneficiaries do not belong to the frame of the verb and, in principle, any verb may take one:

(46) ehe-m lōl -na -n  
3 -GL talk-BEN-PST  
*I talked to him*

(47) ka-m òlf -na -u  
1 -GL show-BEN-IMP  
*show me!*

Notice that: -na > -nō/ V[+back] \_\_\_ /; therefore: lōl-na-n = [lōlnōn]

If SU=PL, then generally: -na > -ni; this rule is discussed in 2.4.2, as it has wider application:

(48) ehe id ka-m lōl -ni -fin  
3 men 1 -GL say/PL-BEN-PER  
*they have told me*

If the beneficiary is non-singular, then: -na > -n. The preceding vowel of the verb stem is raised by one step, which has the effect that subject number is not distinguishable in those verbs that employ vowel raising to mark subject plural:

(49) ehe-m õ -n -n [ònn]  
3 -GL say-BEN/NS-PST  
*I (we) said to them*

If -n is followed by a consonant (with the exception of /n/), a ə is inserted:

(50) ka-m fi -n -fin [finəfin]  
1 -GL do/PL-BEN/NS-PER  
*they did it for us*

While the beneficiary NP is obligatorily case marked, there is some variation as regards number marking. Generally speaking, marking normally occurs, but some verbs have 'optional' marking under conditions which are not uniform and not entirely clear at present. With the verb õ *say*, for instance, the decisive factor seems to be whether the referent of the beneficiary is [+Human] or not. If it is, marking is compulsory; if it is not, there is no marking:

(51) ka-m õ -na -u [\*õ-u]  
1 -GL say-BEN-IMP  
*tell me!*

(52) ièf -m õ -f [\*õ-na-f]  
house-GL say-PRS  
*I am talking about the house*

But with the verb nēg *think*, marking is optional for a [+Human] singular beneficiary:

(53) ehe-m ka nēg -(na)-f  
3 -GL 1 think-BEN-PRS  
*I am thinking of her*

With a plural beneficiary, however, the agreement is obligatory. Or, the intransitive verb *tutuhõ* *laugh* is optionally marked if the beneficiary NP is *bèsèi* *what*, but is otherwise obligatorily marked:

- (54) *bèsèi* -m *tutuhõ*-(na)-f  
*what* -GL *laugh* -BEN -PRS  
*what are you laughing about?*
- (55) *ehe*-m *ka* *tutuhõ*-na -f  
 3 -GL 1 *laugh* -BEN-PRS  
*I am laughing about him*

There is one case of exceptional marking of beneficiary. The subject number markers are used for the beneficiary where there is partial or complete co-referentiality with the subject:

- (56) *ka* *ka*-f -m *e* -h -õ -f  
 1 1 -EMP-GL DL-LNK-*talk*-PRS  
*I am talking about us (2)*
- (57) \**ka* *ka*-f -m *õ* -n -f  
 1 1 -EMP-GL *talk*-BEN/NS-PRS  
*I am talking about us (2)*
- (58) *ka* *ka*-f -m *ò* -f  
 1 1 -EMP-GL *talk*-PRS  
*I am talking about us (3+)*

As discussed earlier, stem vowel raising is widely employed to mark subject plural. In example (58) *ò* represents the raised form of *õ*. In this example it is used to mark recipient plural. In these cases subject number can no longer be marked and example (58) could also mean *we are talking about ourselves*.

### 5.3.1.5 The number agreement marker -abu

A number of verbs mark non-singular number of 'objects' with -abu. All of these verbs end either in -(f)ia or else they are polymorphemic consisting of an adjunct plus the proverb *fe make, do* (5.4.5.1). The following changes occur:

1. (f)ia + abu > (f)abu
2. fe + abu > fabu

Note the close resemblance of -abu with the agreement markers used with classifiers (6.2.1.2).

In some cases the syntactic status of the NP -abu agrees with is unclear. In these cases it is unclear whether the NP functions as object of the verb or whether it is a peripheral NP (for a distinction between peripheral and core see chapter 7). We can distinguish four categories:

1. abu may be replaced by the benefactive marker -n; in this case we can view the NP as a peripheral NP in the semantic relation of beneficiary to the verb:

- (59) *ehe*-m *iõspõs* *fe*-abu-f      or:      *ehe*-m *iõspõs* *fe*-n-f  
 3 -GL *trick* *do*-NS -PRS  
*he is tricking them*

2. *abu* may be replaced by the object agreement markers *-ual/-uõl*; in this case we may regard the NP as being syntactically a DO:

- (60) *an ka-m polfia -abu-m* or: *an ka-m polfia-ual-u*  
 PROH 1 -GL *wake up*-NS -NEG  
*do not wake us up!*

3. In some cases alternative marking with both *-ual* and *-n* is available. In such cases the syntactic status of the NP is unresolvable:

- (61) *ka-m numeha fe-abu-u /fe-ual-u/fe-n-u*  
 1 -GL *teach do*-NS -IMP  
*teach us!*

4. Verbs in this category have no alternative marking and therefore the syntactic status of the NP is again doubtful:

- (62) *ehe-m ka kulfia-i kulfia-abu-i*  
 3 -GL 1 *help -IMM help -NS -IMM*  
*I am going to help him / them*  
 \**kulfia-n-i* / \**kulfia-ual-i*

While the distinction between direct object and peripheral NPs (in this case beneficiary) is clear-cut in principle, there are nevertheless some cases where this distinction is somewhat blurred, i.e. in these cases it is difficult to decide whether the verb is basically intransitive or transitive.

There are some other verbs where there is doubt as to their syntactic status with respect to transitivity, but in those cases the source of doubt is apparent and it seems that those verbs are in the process of changing category (see 5.4.5.1).

### 5.3.1.6 Possessor

As we have seen, the number agreement marker for beneficiaries is *-na*. This suffix is also used to mark [+Human] possessors. In this function it is optional. The phonological rules applying to *-na* are the same as above (5.3.1.4). *na* is consistently glossed 'BEN' (benefactive), irrespective of its function:

- (63) *an sebuhe -na nne fa-ne -na -m*  
 PROH *devil -POS food CL-eat-BEN-NEG*  
*do not eat the devil's food!*
- (64) *peda fla-pe -ual-n -fan*  
*penis gourd CL-fall -DL -BEN/NS-PER*  
*their penis gourds fell down*

(In example (64) *-ual* refers to the number of *peda* and *-n* to the number of possessors.)

- (65) *õbo-l -m at iaha-n -n*  
 son-NOM-GL COM *die -BEN/NS-PST*  
*their son has died*

(The case marker *-m* in example (65) is conditioned by the verb and not by 'BEN', i.e. the NP is syntactically an OB.)

It seems that first and second singular possessors may not be cross-referenced:

- (66) \*ka-na ièf ed lõh -na -f  
 1 -POS house PX stand-POS-PRS  
*my house is over there*
- (67) ka-na ièf ed lõh -n -f  
 1 -POS house PX stand-BEN/NS-PRS  
*our house is over there*

That beneficiaries and possessors should be marked identically is by no means rare. The same occurs for instance in Telefol (Healey 1965:13). In her examples the author consistently uses paraphrases such as 'the dog died for him' for 'his dog died' implying that the 'benefactive' is really at the root of this construction. While this may be true for Telefol, it certainly is not for Imonda, given the identity of verbal and nominal possessive marker (4.1.2.4) and given examples such as the following, where any such 'BEN' interpretation seems impossible:

- (68) òme -m nagla-na -n  
 vagina -GL see -BEN-PST  
*he saw her vagina*

### 5.3.2 The emphasis marker -la

The suffix -la is ubiquitous and adds emphasis. It is subject to the morphophonemic rule described in 2.4.2:

- (69) e -lõl -ual-la -n -b  
 DL-talk-DL -EMP-PST-DUR  
*they (2) were talking a long time*
- (70) puhõ -la -u  
 go up-EMP-IMP  
*go up!*
- (71) unisi ka uagl-la -ta -f  
 tomorrow 1 go -EMP-IRR-PRS  
*tomorrow I will go*

la may not occur in the negative imperative:

- (72) an fa-ne -m! (\*an fa-ne-la-m!)  
 PROH CL-eat-NEG  
*do not eat!*

The starred example is grammatical if it is used as a rhetorical question (see 8.2.1.1):

- (73) an fa-ne -la -m  
 who CL-eat-EMP-Q  
*who eats this? (i.e. I do not want to eat it)*



### 5.3.3 Benefactive

The third postcore position is again reserved for number marking. As this is discussed in 5.3.1 I will only give an example here of the two postcore number agreement markers occurring in conjunction with each other:

- (74) sa        sabla ka-m pōt-api -peha -ual-na -u  
*coconut two 1 -GL CL -throw-descend-DL -BEN-IMP*  
*throw me two coconuts down!*

As for the ability of 'BEN' to occur within the core, see 5.4.4.

### 5.3.4 The 'mood' position

In the fourth postcore position we find the irrealis and the imperative markers.

#### 5.3.4.1 Irrealis

Irrealis is marked by -ta, which is subject to the morphophonemic rule described in 2.4.2. The only tense suffix it may precede is the non-past marker -f (5.3.5.1):

- (75) ka-m -fa pe -ual-ta -f  
 1 -GL-TO *fall*-DL -IRR-PRS  
*we (2) will fall down*
- (76) iam ka-m hēlfi -ti -f  
 later 1 -GL *kill* -IRR-PRS  
*they will kill me later*

If the tense position is unfilled the irrealis is followed by either the interrogative or topic suffix (5.3.7.1/5.3.7.2):

- (77) ka-m pe -ta -me  
 1 -GL *fall*-IRR-Q  
*will I fall down?*

If the irrealis is followed by topic marking, the clause expresses a hypothetical topic (9.2.1):

- (78) kapul ha-pia auaiā fe-ta -ba  
*plane MO-come no do-IRR-TO*  
*if the plane did not come*
- (79) ehe-m fa-eha-na -ta -ba  
 3 -GL CL-*put*-BEN-IRR-TO  
*if you had put it there for him*

#### 5.3.4.2 Imperative

Imperative is marked by the suffix -u. By looking at the irrealis as a kind of 'subjunctive', we could call this the 'mood' position (for a discussion of mood and modality see chapter 8 (8.2)):

- (80) ha-pia -u  
MO-*come*-IMP  
*come!*
- (81) ka-m safa fla-fia-na -u -è  
1 -GL *taro* CL -*get*-BEN-IMP-D  
*get me some taro!*
- (82) uõn-puis-la -u  
ACC-*cut* -EMP-IMP  
*cut it (together with them)!*

The negative imperative or prohibitive is formed discontinuously by the free particle an and the negative suffix -m (5.3.7.1/8.2.1.2).

### 5.3.5 Tense

The fifth postcore position is the tense position. There are four tense suffixes all of which are subject to the morphophonemic rule described in 2.4.2. Three situate the event in the past while one is used to indicate non-past. Two of the past tense suffixes also have aspectual value. Tense marking is not obligatory and the tenseless core is used for a variety of purposes. Apart from the tense suffixes discussed here there is the further postcore suffix -i, one of the functions of which is that of past tense marking (see 5.3.6.2). I will now discuss the four tense markers plus the uses of the tenseless core one by one.

#### 5.3.5.1 Non-past marker -f

The suffix -f marks events and states that do not have an explicit past reference. Ordinarily, the events depicted or the states described occur or hold at the time of the speech act:

- (83) tēla -pef ha-pia -f  
*husband*-POS MO-*come*-PRS  
*your husband is coming*
- (84) uatēi meg -na ale-f  
*betelnut mouth*-INS *be* -PRS  
*he is a keen betelnut-chewer*

As is the case with present tense markers in many other languages, -f is really neutral or unmarked with respect to tense. It is generally used in clauses that do not have a particular time reference, such as clauses expressing general truths, interrogative clauses, if-clauses etc.:

- (85) ne tōgō fe-f -ta -ba, tēta nubulam uõl -f -t  
2 *thus do*-PRS-IRR-TO *game plenty shoot*-PRS-CF  
*if you did it like this, you would shoot plenty of game*

(Conditional constructions are discussed in 9.2.1.2.)

Although -f may refer to future events, often the pro-verb fe *make, do* (which itself hosts -f), is used for this purpose (5.4.5):

- (86) unisi pël e -uagl-ual-la -ta -f  
*tomorrow ICL DL-go -DL -EMP-IRR-PRS*  
*tomorrow we will go*
- (87) unisi haifõ ha-pia fe-f  
*tomorrow again MO-come do-PRS*  
*he will come again tomorrow*

A fuller form -fa occurs before the suffix -i (see 5.3.6.2).

### 5.3.5.2 Imperfective

The suffix -fna is used to indicate habitual and progressive events in the past. The following example which is taken from the beginning of a narrative shows the habitual function of -fna:

- (88) tögõ fe-lõh-fna;                      tëla -l -fa  
*thus do-DUR-PRO                      husband-NOM-TO*  
*they used to do it like this; when her husband*
- ha-pia -fna-ba, pe -m peha -fna  
*MO-come-PRO-TO fear-CAU go down-PRO*  
*came, she would run away in fear*

The next example illustrates the progressive aspect. The first clause depicts a completed event and is marked with the simple past tense marker -n. The event of the second clause, however, is ongoing and not completed and is consequently marked with -fna:

- (89) mõs -l -na puhõ-n; õmõsõ-l -na madh puhõ-fna  
*head-NOM-INS come-PST tail -NOM-INS still come-PRO*  
*(the bird) had come outside with its head, but was still in*  
*the process of coming outside with its tail*

There is a fuller form of -fna, namely -fnaf, which is triggered by the emphasis particle të:

- (90) ka id kubui të ale -fnaf  
*1 men INT EMP stay-PRO*  
*lots of us were staying there*

Note that the intransitive verbs *lõh stand* and *puhõ come up*, when they are used as roots in serialisation (see 5.4.1.12 and 5.4.1.4) also express imperfective aspect. These two roots often co-occur with -fna, as for instance in example (88) above.

If followed by the topic marker -ba, -fna may refer to future events:

- (91) aia tëta uõl -fna-ba ka-m ufe  
*father game shoot-PRO-TO 1 -GL cry*  
*when father is shooting game, he will cry for me*
- (92) ne-m f -ia -fna-ba, ne-fa ebes-nam ale -ual-u  
*2 -GL CL-get-PRO-TO 2 -TO good-DER stay-DL -IMP*  
*when he has married you, you two keep well!*

## 5.3.5.3 Perfect

Verbs suffixed with *-fan* depict an event that is seen as focussing on a resulting state and so I will call this the perfect aspect.

- (93) ka-m pe -fan  
1 -GL *fall*-PER  
*I have fallen down (and now I am dirty)*
- (94) ehe-na afa -l -m iaha-fan  
3 -POS *mother*-NOM-GL *die* -PER  
*his mother has died*
- (95) ne-fa an -na nēbl sugō -ual-ula-f  
2 -TO *who*-POS *grub* *collect*-DL -INT-PRS  
*whose grubs do you think you are collecting?*
- ōh ka-na, ka ka-f e -nagla-fan  
PX 1 -POS 1 1 -EMP DL-*see* -PER  
*these are ours, we have discovered them*

As is the case with the imperfective, there is a fuller form, namely *-fanaf*, which is almost always triggered by the emphasis particle *tē*:

- (96) ne -gas tē f -ia -fanaf  
2 -EMP EMP CL-*get*-PER  
*it is you who has taken it*

Although informants accept *-fanaf* without preceding *tē*, they themselves always naturally use the two in conjunction with each other. If *-fan* precedes the counterfactual marker *-t* (5.3.6.1), it occurs as *-fana*.

In questions and negations *-fan* may not occur:

- (97) \*an ne-m g -ai -h -fan  
*who* 2 -GL CL-*give*-REC-PER  
*who has given you this?*

Instead, the past tense marker *-n* or the suffix *-i* occur (see next section and 5.3.6.2).

## 5.3.5.4 Past tense

The suffix *-n* is the neutral past tense marker. It occurs predominantly in negation and question, where *-fan* is impossible:

- (98) an ne-m g -ai -h -n  
*who* 2 -GL CL-*give*-REC-PST  
*who has given you this?*

In answer to this question, *-fan* would be most likely to occur:

- (99) Sefia ka-m g -ai -h -fan  
NAM 1 -GL CL-*give*-REC-PER  
*Sefia has given it to me*

In conjunction with the particle *at*, *-n* expresses perfective aspect:

- (100) at iaha-n  
com *die* -PST  
*he has died*

This discontinuous completion marker is rivalled by the use of the verb stem *pada* *hold, put* as a root in serialisation, where it assumes the meaning of *finish* (see 5.4.1.1):

- (101) sne            -pada -n  
           *pound sago-finish-PST*  
           *he has finished pounding sago*

Both strategies may be used simultaneously: at *sne-pada-n*.

Sometimes the verb is omitted altogether and *at* elliptically expresses perfective aspect of the understood verb (see also 7.2.7):

- (102) uòs -fa at (puhõ -n)  
           *moon-TO COM come up-PST*  
           *the moon has risen*

There is a fuller form of *-n*, namely *-na*, which occurs before the suffixes marking topic (5.3.7.2), counterfactuality (5.3.6.1), question/negation (5.3.7.1) and before the suffix *-i* (5.3.6.2):

- (103) ka sē nagla-na -me  
           1 NEG see -PST-NEG  
           *I did not see it*

In past questions and negation *-n* is often replaced by *-i* (see 5.3.6.2).

### 5.3.5.5 Zero-marking

Verbs are often unmarked for tense. This happens especially in discourse for the introduction of a new action:

- (104) ... ese-è, peha  
           EXC-D *go down*  
           ... *well, he went down*

Although this is rare, the first clause of a narrative may have a tenseless verb; the following is the beginning of a story:

- (105) ed-uõ, õsõ ièf -ia -m uagl-ual, tëla -l -i agõ -l -i  
           PX-TO *garden house-LOC-GL go -DL husband-NOM-CO woman-NOM-CO*  
           *well, they went to the garden house, the husband and wife that is*

The verb of a main clause that is preceded by a subordinate clause is very frequently untensed; usually in these cases, the verb appears with the D-marker (see 8.4):

- (106) po feha-f -ba ka ale -è  
           *water fall-PRS-TO 1 stay-D*  
           *if it rains, I will stay*
- (107) uòs puhõ-na -ba ka ha-pia  
           *moon rise-PST-TO 1 MO-come*  
           *when the moon rose, I came*
- (108) uòs puhõ-l -m fe-fna-be ka tögõ uagl-è  
           *moon rise-NOM-GL do-PRO-SI 1 thus go -D*  
           *when the moon was about to come out, I left*

One more use of the unmarked verb deserves mentioning here. As was pointed out in 5.3.4.2, the imperative mood is formed with a verbal suffix -u, e.g. *nagla-u look!*. The unmarked verb obligatorily preceded by the particle *së* may also function as an imperative, meaning *have a try at*:

- (109) *ahēi, së sah -n*  
 EXC IMP *call*-BEN/NS  
*come on, try and call them!*

### 5.3.6 Position six

The irrealis marker -ta, the counterfactual -t and the suffix -i, which serves a variety of functions, occupy this position. The irrealis also occurs in pretense position (see 5.3.4.1); in this slot here, the irrealis must be preceded by the non-past marker -f and followed by topic marking. This verb form only occurs in protases of conditional constructions, which are discussed in 9.2.1.2.

#### 5.3.6.1 The counterfactual marker -t

The suffix -t may well derive from the free particle *të*, whose foremost function is that of an emphasis marker:

- (110) *tögö të lõh-la fe-f*  
 thus EMP *be* -EMP *do*-PRS  
*that is the way it is*

*të* may also function as a modal particle, as can be seen in the following example where the verb is elided. In this function *të* may be glossed as *likely* or *probably*:

- (111) *Uoi toad-na-m të*  
 NAM *boys*-CO-GL EMP  
*it is probably Uoi and his kids*

Notice the occurrence of the suffix -t in the same example with the verb added:

- (112) *Uoi toad-na-m të hëlfē-fana-t*  
 NAM *boys*-CO-GL EMP *kill* -PER -CF  
*he has probably killed Uoi and his kids*

The next example shows the suffix -t expressing probability without the free particle *të*:

- (113) *ögòt fa-i -tafò-ni -t*  
 enemy CL-LNK-go -PST-CF  
*the enemy has probably carried it away*

By far the most frequent function of -t is however that of a marker of counterfactuality. In this function it may not be preceded by tense marking with the exception of the non-past marker -f. It may be translated as *would/should/could VERB* or *would/should/could have VERB-ed*:

- (114) *ne ka-m eg -t*  
 2 1 -GL *follow*-CF  
*you should have followed me*

- (115) ka-fa ah-tōgō paha -t  
 1 -TO Q *thus* cross-CF  
*how could/should/would I cross it?*
- (116) ah-tōgō puhō -t  
 Q -*thus* come up-CF  
*how could she (have) come up*
- (117) maga di -na ka uagl-t  
 what money-INS 1 go -CF  
*what money would/should/could I go with?*

It regularly occurs in counterfactual conditionals (see 9.2.1.2):

- (118) ude ale -ta -ba ne-m ue-ne -t  
 dog stay-IRR-TO 2 -GL CL-eat-CF  
*if the dog had been present, he would have eaten you*

In conjunction with non-past marking, -t normally occurs only in conditional constructions (for an example see (85) above). Rarely, this also occurs outside conditionals:

- (119) ka uagl-f -t, mōhm ale -f  
 1 go -PRS-CF, *still* stay-PRS  
*I should go, but I am staying for a while*

As pointed out, where -t functions as a counterfactual, it either follows the verb stem directly or may be preceded by the non-past marker. However, where -t serves to express probability, it is preceded by the full range of tense marking and may not be attached directly to the stem. The function of -t is therefore unambiguous in the following two examples:

- (120) ehe-m iaha-na -t  
 3 -GL die -PST-CF  
*it is probably she who has died*
- (121) ehe-m iaha-t  
 3 -GL die -CF  
*he should die!*

### 5.3.6.2 The suffix -i

a) If the verbal positions preceding and following -i are not manifested, then -i expresses immediate future with an additional modal overtone which varies according to person. With the first person, -i renders *going to* with an element of will:

- (122) po ka ne -i  
 water 1 drink-IMM  
*I am going to drink water; I want to drink water*

With the second person, this element of will is very slight. With the inclusive, -i is hortative (*let us*):

- (123) pël e -uagl-ual-i  
 ICL DL-go -DL -IMM  
*let us go!*

With the third person, -i is used to issue indirect orders:

- (124) sapoh ka-m f -ai -h -i -è  
 tobacco 1 -GL CL-give -REC-IMM-D  
*he shall give me tobacco!*

It may be preceded by the non-past marker -f, here manifested in its fuller form -fa, which is subject to the morphophonemic rule described in 2.4.2. The presence of -fa adds emphasis for all persons except the third one, which undergoes a change of meaning. With a third person subject -fa-i renders *may* (see also 8.2.3):

- (125) ka nagla-fa -i  
 1 see -PRS-IMM  
*I want to see it*

- (126) uagl-la -fa -i  
 go -EMP-PRS-IMM  
*let her go; she may go*

b) In 5.3.5.3 it was pointed out that the perfect marker -fan may not occur with questions and negation and that instead the past tense marker -n must occur. There is a further option. Instead of -n the suffix -i may also be used with past negation and questions. In this function, -i is glossed as PST (past):

- (127) ehe sē ha-pia -i -me  
 3 NEG MO-come-PST-NEG  
*he did not come*

- (128) kai ha-pia -i -me  
 Q MO-come-PST-Q  
*did he come?*

However, -i may not mark past tense in a simple declarative clause:

- (129) \*ōm ha-pia -i  
 yesterday MO-come-PST  
*he came yesterday*

We therefore have the following situation. The neutral past tense marker -n has no restrictions, whereas the perfect marker -fan and the suffix -i seem to be in complementary distribution, the latter occurring in interrogative and negative clauses and the former in declarative clauses. The question is whether this complementary distribution is only formal or whether it is functional as well. In other words, is -i also a marker of perfect aspect? It seems that this is not the case and that -i and the neutral past marker -n may be used interchangeably in interrogative and negative clauses, both being preferred in different constructions which, however, has nothing to do with aspect. For instance, in negative clauses -i is definitely preferred:

- (130) ka sē nagla-i -me  
 1 NEG see -PST-NEG  
*I did not see it*

As far as interrogative clauses are concerned, in yes/no questions -i is again prevalent, whereas in content questions -n is more frequent:

- (131) an ne-m ò -na -n  
 who 2 -GL say-BEN-PST  
*who has told you?*



- (132) ne kai nagla-i  
 2 Q see -PST  
*have you seen it?*

Comparative evidence, however, suggests that -i may have been a perfect marker at an earlier stage of the language. In the related languages of Sowanda, Waris and Punda -i does indeed seem to perform this function:

- (133) Sowanda:

ka-m mumus-i  
 1 -GL trip -PER  
*I have tripped*

- (134) Punda:

ka iuf -ia -nai idapia-i  
 1 house-LOC-SRC come -PER  
*I have come from the village*

c) If the relevance of some past event marked by -n (5.3.5.4) or -fna (5.3.5.2) with respect to some other event needs to be stressed, then -i may be suffixed to either of these two. The aspect neutral past marker -n occurs here in its fuller form -na. In this function -i is glossed as 'REL':

- (135) beer hla -fna-i; ed-ia hēlfe-l -m ō -fna  
*beer drink-PRO-REL; PX-CAU beat -NOM-GL say-PRO*  
*they had been drinking beer; that is why he wanted to beat him up*

- (136) nuf ka llōf -m nagla-peha -na -i -è;  
*earlier 1 writing-GL see -go down-PST-REL-D*  
*the other day I went up to have a look at the writing;*  
 iauō haifō ka tē fulhō-i  
*now again 1 EMP go up-IMM*  
*now I will go up there again*

In this function, -i occurs frequently in relative clauses, which often provide the background against which the main clause is to be understood. The following example stems from the same narrative as example (40) in chapter 4:

- (137) aia -l -na hu f -ia -na -i  
*father-NOM-POS penis CL-get-PST-REL*  
*he gave it to the one who had "appropriated*  
 ed-nèi-m i -ab-ai -h -n  
*PX-SRC-GL CL-PL-give-REC-PST*  
*to herself" his father's penis (i.e. because she had done so)*

In fact, -i may be used (maybe in extension) in any relative clause involving past tense, irrespective of its function.

- (138) po -ia -m nōmot g -api -peha -na -i ed-nèi ha-pia  
*water-LOC-GL earlier CL-throw-go down-PST-REL PX-SRC MO come*  
*the one who had thrown her into the water came along*

The relative clause is discussed in 4.1.2.5.

### 5.3.7 Position seven

The seventh postcore position contains a host of suffixes most of which will only be mentioned here and be referred to another chapter.

#### 5.3.7.1 The interrogative/negative suffix -m(e)

The suffix -m(e) marks negation and question; for negation it occurs in conjunction with the particle *së* and for question optionally with the particle *kai*. Negation is discussed in 8.1 and question formation in 8.2.1.1:

(139) *po kai li -f -me*  
*water Q lie-PRS-NEG*  
*is there water?*

(140) *po së li -f -me*  
*water NEG lie-PRS-NEG*  
*there is no water*

#### 5.3.7.2 Topic

The topic marker -ba is discussed in detail in 9.2.1. It may be suffixed to the markers of non-past (-f), past tense (-n), past progressive (-fna) and future (-i), the phonetic realisation in the latter case being [-amba]:

(141) *po ha-pia -f -ba, ka ale -f*  
*water MO-come-PRS-TO 1 stay-PRS*  
*if it rains I will stay*

#### 5.3.7.3 -be

The suffix -be marks the clause it occurs in as a subordinate clause which depicts a background event that occurs simultaneously with some other event. This suffix fulfils the function of English temporal 'as', 'when' (see 9.2.2):

(142) *si kilfia-la -fna-be, eg -peha -la -fna*  
*night fall -EMP-PRO-SI follow-go down-EMP-PRO*  
*they followed them down, when it was getting dark*

#### 5.3.7.4 -ie

The suffix -ie is used as an alternative topic marker (9.2.1), as a relative clause marker (4.1.2.5), and as a marker of non-past simultaneous action (9.1.2). The following example shows its latter use:

(143) *ehe nõ -l ulõ -f -ie, pël õh-ia adeia e -fe-uaf -ie*  
*3 seed-NOM plant-PRS-SI ICL PX-LOC work DL-do-DL -PRS-SI*  
*she will be planting seeds, while we are working here*

## 5.3.7.5 -b

The suffix -b indicates intensity and duration of the event. A number of examples may be found in 9.1:

- (144) na sne -ula-n -b  
 sago pound-INT-PST-DUR  
 I was pounding sago for a long time

It may occur after the past tense marker -n, the past progressive marker -fna (the latter losing its final vowel) and after -i in its function as an immediate future marker (5.3.6.2). Oddly, the duration marker occurs much more frequently after the neutral past marker -n than after the past progressive -fna. If a verb stem ends in a consonant, then a linking vowel is usually inserted between it and the past tense marker -n. This linking vowel is [a], which is backed to [ɔ̃] after back vowels and often fronted and raised after front vowels (not higher than [è]). The linking vowel is often very long drawn out to stress the duration of the event:

- (145) uagl-a -n -b ièf -ia puhö [waŋlaaaaaanmb]  
 go -LNK-PST-DUR house-LOC come up  
 they walked and walked and then arrived at the village

Just like the linking vowel, the immediate future marker -i is normally long drawn out before -b, in which case the vowel quality is [e] before eventually rising to [i].

- (146) uòs uagl-i -b ed-ia peha [waŋleeeeeeeimb]  
 moon go -IMM-DUR PX-LOC go down  
 the moon is going to walk across the sky and then sink down  
 over there

## 5.3.8 Position eight

The last postcore position is reserved for three suffixes, which are not restricted to the VP, but may be suffixed to an NP as well (-mo), or indeed to any part of speech (-ai; -D).

## 5.3.8.1 -ai

The suffix -ai adds emphasis and often carries a slight undertone of reproach or humour (see 8.5.5):

- (147) kiap kőkők-ai, bèsèi mō lōl -f -m-ai  
 kiap EXCL-EMP what talk talk-PRS-Q-EMP  
 oh kiap, what is he saying
- (148) ebes-nam-ai ka tē fe-fanaf-ai  
 good-DER-EMP I EMP do-PER -EMP  
 I have done O.K.!

### 5.3.8.2 The D-marker

The last position may also be occupied by the D-marker. This serves various functions among which figures its use in talking about something distant, hence its name. This is discussed in 8.4:

- (149) uagl-u -è  
       go -IMP-D  
       go!

### 5.3.8.3 -mo

In chapter 4 (4.2.3.1) we saw the use of -mo as a NP suffix for the purpose of enumeration. It may also link two clauses, in which case it must be preceded by the non-past marker -f (see also 9.2.3):

- (150) nne ne fa-ne -f -mo, ka adeia fe-f  
       food 2 CL-eat-PRS-CON, 1 work do-PRS  
       you eat and I work

## 5.4 The core

In this section I will be examining the roots that may follow the lexical verb stem within the core. Note that the stem and following roots, in conjunction with the pre- and postcore, constitutes one word. There is strict ordering of elements, individual elements within the core may not take individual intonation contour, all of the verbal morphology applies to the whole core and lastly, individual core roots may not take individual arguments (e.g. subject). However, some core roots require the postcore categories to be pegged onto the pro-verb *fe* *make*, *do*. This auxiliary verb is itself an independent word and may be separated from the core by certain intervening elements; this is discussed below in 5.4.5.

The first distinction we can impose on roots is that of productive vs. unproductive roots. While some may occur in conjunction with any lexical verb as long as semantically it makes sense, others have severely restricted distribution. In some cases roots may be limited to one lexical verb. In such cases the semantic contribution may not be apparent and it may be more economical to simply list the combination of full verb plus root in the lexicon as a new lexical item (verb). Here are some examples:

1. *gaga* only occurs with the verb *uõl shoot*; it does not occur outside the VP. Its semantic contribution is transparent. *gaga* triggers *fe*:

- (151) uõl -gaga fe-fan  
       shoot-big do-PER  
       he has shot something big

2. Like the root *gaga*, *gabu* only seems to occur with *uõl shoot*. The two roots are semantically identical:

- (152) uõl -gabu  
       shoot-big  
       shoot something big

3. sa(l)da occurs after nagla *see* and heulõ *hear* and its contribution is roughly as follows: *see/hear something and keep it in mind for future use.*

4. tutuhi also seems to occur only with nagla *see* and heulõ *hear*. Its semantic contribution is *attentively*.

5. fia occurs with nagla *see*, heulõ *hear*, hetha *hit* and possibly with one or two other verbs. It marks intensity. This root has also other functions (5.4.1.11):

(153) ka-m e -nagla-fia-u -è  
 1 -GL DL-see -INT-IMP-D  
*look at me closely!*

6. nagtõ occurs with a number of verbs and suggests that the action expressed by the lexical verb is not complete:

(154) ti ka he -nagtõ -hape -fan  
 tree 1 cut-imcomplete-come back-PER  
*I have chopped the tree halfway through and have come back*

7. pòl does not seem to occur with any other verb but kamõ *say "give me"* (<ka 1 / -m GL / õ *say*). pòl triggers the pro-verb fe *make, do*:

(155) anuõ ka-m kamõ -pòl fi-ni -f  
 often 1 -GL say "give me"-? do-BEN-PRS  
*they often say "give me" to me*

8. pe occurs as a root in compound stems that denote *rot, decay*:

bëlse-pe rot  
 blaufe-pe rot  
 fëthe-pe rot

As an independent verb pe means *fall down*. The stems bëlse and blaufe occur independently with the same meaning as in serialisation with pe, but fëthe only occurs with pe.

There are many more of these roots with severely limited distribution. Of much more importance and interest are those roots with wide distribution and/or grammatical function. Those roots may be subdivided as follows:

1. Grammatical roots
2. Verbs of motion
3. Others

#### 5.4.1 Grammatical roots

The category 'grammatical roots' contains roots with predominantly aspectual and other grammatical functions but it also contains some roots of adverbial character. Practically all of the roots discussed below may also occur as independent verb stems, in which case they have radically different meanings.

##### 5.4.1.1 pada *finish*

pada used as a lexical verb means *put, shut, hold*:

- (156) *kë -l tad-pada-hape*  
*bone-NOM CL -put -come back*  
*he put the bones there and came back*

Used as a root, *pada* renders *finish* and is used to express perfective aspect (see also 5.3.5.4):

- (157) *at ne -pada -n*  
 COM *eat-finish-PST*  
*he has finished eating*
- (158) *ed-nèi ebes-l -fa paha -pada -n*  
 PX-SRC *good-NOM-TO cross-finish-PST*  
*those good ones had finished crossing over*

In its root function, *pada* also occurs in imperatives, where it may be translated as 'be finished with whatever the lexical verb refers to':

- (159) *mugõ uagl-ual-pada fe-la -u*  
*completely go -DL -finish do-EMP-IMP*  
*be gone!*
- (160) *ainam uai-fuhõ -pada -u*  
*quickly ACC-go up-finish-IMP*  
*be quickly finished with your climb!*

#### 5.4.1.2 *sabeha pretend*

Used as full lexical verb *sabeha* means *work magic*. Used as a root, it indicates that the event depicted by the lexical verb is in some sense not 'the real thing', that it was only begun but not finished. The root *sabeha* will be glossed as *pretend*:

- (161) *nòn li -sabeha*  
*sleep lie-pretend*  
*have a short nap; lie down to rest without actually dropping off*
- (162) *abõ puis-sabeha haifõ uagl*  
*anyhow cut -pretend again go*  
*he just cut a little and then went away again*

#### 5.4.1.3 *sëlõh in vain*

The root *sëlõh in vain* does not occur as a full verb. However, it seems to be bimorphemic in origin and derived from *lõh stand*. It changes to *sëfah* for plural subject, which has a parallel in the plural of *lõh*, i.e. *lëfah*:

- (163) *nõf fe-ual-sëlõh -n -n*  
*eye do-DL -in vain-BEN/NS-PST*  
*I searched for the two in vain<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup>Note that the non-overt object is doubly marked, see 5.4.5.1.

## 5.4.1.4 puhõ 'habitual'

puhõ marks habitual action. It may be related to puhõ *go up*. This aspectual requires fe:

- (164) adeia e -fe-ual-puhõ fe-fna  
*work DL-do-DL -HAB do-PRO*  
*they (2) used to do a lot of work*

## 5.4.1.5 lõh 'habitual, durative'

This aspectual derives from the lexical verb lõh *stand, be*. One of its functions as an aspectual is to mark habitual action in which case it is interchangeable with puhõ:

- (165) ed-ia ka nõn li -lõh-f  
 PX-LOC I *sleep lie-HAB-PRS*  
*I (habitually) sleep over there*

Or: li-lõh-puhõ fe

lõh is occasionally used as a durative marker, but in this function it is rare and apparently restricted to certain verbs:

- (166) po feha-lõh-õ -n -b  
*water fall-DUR-LNK-PST-DUR*  
*it was raining for a long time*

But:

- (167) \*na sne -lõh-õ -n -b  
*sago pound-HAB-LNK-PST-DUR*  
*he was pounding sago for a long time*

lõh has two further functions. First, it may be used with lexical verbs that depict actions which are performed while standing. This is parallel to the use of verbs of motion (5.4.2). Second, it is used as an existential with a preceding transitive verb (5.4.1.12).

## 5.4.1.6 nõg

nõg indicates that the action has not been completed or has been performed in vain. In its former meaning it may often be replaced by sabeha and in its latter use by sëlõh. nõg triggers fe.

- (168) ehe id -m lõl -nõg fe-n -n  
 3 *men-GL talk-in vain do-BEN/NS-PST*  
*she talked to them in vain*

## 5.4.1.7 api

Many verbs may be followed by api and additionally and optionally by fõhõ (the latter being also used as an independent verb *go down*). If the subject is plural, then: v-api-fa-fõhõ. The semantic impact of api(-fõhõ) is entirely unclear:

- (169) seg ainam këna -api-föhö-u  
*platform quickly build-? -? -IMP*  
*construct a platform quickly!*

api may also occur as a full verb *throw down*, in which case it obligatorily takes a classifier (6.2.1.4).

#### 5.4.1.8 ula 'intensity'

ula is a very frequently occurring aspectual root. As a full verb it obligatorily takes a classifier (6.2.1.8) and has the meaning of *hold*:

- (170) ablö ka-fa ue-i -ula -fna  
*crab 1 -TO CL-LNK-hold-PRO*  
*I was holding a crab*

In its root use ula marks intensity and duration of the event or action with durative verbs and iterative action with punctual verbs:

- (171) unam nël -ula-u  
*carefully pick fruit-INT-IMP*  
*pick them carefully!*
- (172) \*f -ia -ula-u  
 CL -get-EMP-IMP  
*get it!*
- (173) na sne -ula-n -b ököba-na pe -m ha-pia  
*sago pound-INT-PST-DUR sun -POS fear-CAU MO-come*  
*I was pounding sago and then came back because of the scorching sun*
- (174) \*abof-m ka at bö -ula-n  
*fly -GL 1 COM kill-INT-PST*  
*I have killed the fly*
- (175) abof-m anuö -l -m ka bö -uöl fe-ula-fna  
*fly -GL often-NOM-GL 1 kill -PL do-INT-PRO*  
*I was killing lots of flies*

Although ula is productive and very frequent, there are some verbs that have 'opted' for an alternative intensity marker and with these verbs ula may not co-occur:

- (176) po feha-löh-f (\*feha-ula-f)  
*water fall-DUR-PRS*  
*it is raining*

ula is followed by fia if the subject is plural (see below in 5.4.1.11):

- (177) tögö fe-ula-fia-fna  
*thus do-INT-PL -PRO*  
*they were doing it like this*



5.4.1.9 pia *come* and uagl *go*

The verbs *pia come* and *uagl go*, in one of their uses as roots, may indicate subject plural (see 5.3.1.1 for a discussion of all aspects of subject plural marking).

## 5.4.1.10 luhi

The root *luhi* is used to indicate subject plural of motion verbs that carry the prefix *ha-* (see 5.2.4).

## 5.4.1.11 fia

As mentioned above in 5.4.1.8, the root *fia*<sup>1</sup> marks subject plural of verbs that occur with the aspectual root *ula*. *fia* is also the regular subject plural marker of a few other verbs, as pointed out in 5.3.1.1.

5.4.1.12 löh *stand* and li *lie*

The two intransitive verbs *loh stand* and *li lie* may be used as existential verbs, as discussed in 7.2.8.6. In this function they may also occur as roots after a transitive verb. In clauses containing such a predicate core there may be only one core NP, which is syntactically an object. Logically, the NP is the object of the transitive verb and the subject of the existential verb (see also 7.2.2.2):

(178) aia -l -m gè-shi -löh-fna  
*father-NOM-GL CL-stick into-be -PRO*  
*father was stuck in it*

(179) pilin ed-ia fa-hödö -löh-f  
*plate PX-LOC CL-put up-be -PRS*  
*the plate is up there*

With *li* there is an additional problem. The transitive verb preceding it in the complex core has been reanalysed as a noun-classificatory prefix and has lost its verbal status. In some cases, such as in the following example, the source verb has dropped out of use (this is discussed in chapter 6):

(180) udö ah-ia bas-li -f  
*netbag Q -LOC CL -lie-PRS*  
*where is the netbag?*

## 5.4.2 Motion verbs

A verb of motion following a lexical verb may have one of three functions:

<sup>1</sup>This root is homophonous with the verb 'get', see 6.2.1.2.

1. It expresses simultaneous action.
2. It expresses consecutive action.
3. It indicates the direction of the action.

#### 5.4.2.1 Simultaneity

The referent of the subject of the lexical verb simultaneously also performs the movement expressed by the motion verb:

- (181) ièf -ia -m e -lõl -uagl-f  
*house-LOC-GL DL-talk-go -PRS*  
*they (2) are going home, talking*
- (182) ehe nõf fe-pia -n  
 3 *eye do-come-PST*  
*he came searching*

With some lexical verbs there appears a linking -i- between it and the motion verb (this linking -i- also occurs with classifiers, see chapter 6):

- (183) tetoad paiha-i -pia -n  
*bird fly -LNK-come-PST*  
*the bird came flying*
- (184) kog -m ka heulõ-i -hapu -n  
*noise-GL l hear -LNK-come up-PST*  
*I came up hearing the noise*

(Note that in these two examples the final vowel of the verb stem is truncated.)

#### 5.4.2.2 Consecutivity

Some motion verbs are used as roots to indicate consecutive action. By far the most common ones thus occurring are:

1. kōhō *go*
2. hape *come back*
3. hēlha *return*

While kōhō and hēlha also occur as lexical verbs outside their use in serialisation, hape may not do so. kōhō as an independent verb is not the regular verb for 'go', but means rather *go past/away*. uagl is the unmarked verb *go*:

- (185) ehe-m õ -na -hape -u  
 3 -GL *say-BEN-come back-IMP*  
*tell him and come back!*
- (186) ne-m ka iasuhō-kōhō-i  
 2 -GL l *leave -go -IMM*  
*I am leaving you (and am going away)*

peha *go down* and uagl *go* may also be used to express consecutive actions (the latter rarely):

- (187) *nagla-peha -u*  
*see -go down-IMP*  
*have a look and come down!*
- (188) *sebuhe at ne -ha-uagl-n*  
*devil COM eat-MO-go -PST*  
*the devil has eaten and gone away*

Other motion verbs such as *pia come*, *fuhõ go up* or *fulhõ go up* may not be used for consecutivity.

#### 5.4.2.3 Direction

Motion verbs occurring as roots may indicate the direction of the action expressed by the preceding lexical verb. In this function they trigger *fe*:

- (189) *piha -peha fe-u*  
*shoot-go down do-IMP*  
*shoot down!*
- (190) *gè-shi -saihõ fe-u*  
*CL-stick into-enter do-IMP*  
*stick it into it!*

As pointed out above, where motion verbs are used to express simultaneous or consecutive actions, the subjects of the lexical and motion verb are co-referential. For many examples in the present category it is the object of the lexical verb that undergoes the movement expressed by the motion verb and so we might be tempted to identify the subject of the motion verb with the object of the lexical verb. However, there are cases such as the following three, where the object undergoes no movement and these examples make it clear that the motion verbs indicate the direction of the action expressed by the main verb:

- (191) *kafli-fuhõ fe-u*  
*grab -go up do-IMP*  
*grab it up there!*
- (192) *kafli-peha fe-u*  
*grab -go down do-IMP*  
*grab it down there!*
- (193) *agõ ka-m nagla-peha fe-ula-fia-fna*  
*women 1 -GL see -go down do-INT-PL -PRO*  
*the women were looking down at me*

The presence of the pro-verb *fe* is absolutely essential; notice the following contrast:

- (194) *lõl -peha -na -f*  
*talk-go down-BEN-PRS*  
*go down, talking to him*
- (195) *lol -peha fe-na -f*  
*talk-go down do-BEN-PRS*  
*talk down to someone*

If a motion verb in its directional use occurs after the verb *api* *throw*, which obligatorily takes a noun classifier (see 6.2.1.4), then *fe* is dropped:

- (196) òh-nèi fa-api -uagl-u  
 PX-SRC CL-throw-go -IMP  
*throw this away!*

#### 5.4.2.4 Residual cases

There are a few cases of serialisation involving motion verbs that cannot be neatly classified in terms of the above three categories. In these cases, the subject of the motion verb is unmarked and not co-referential with the subject of the lexical verb which appears case marked with *-m*. The primary function of this case marker is that of indicating goal (7.3); its function in these examples is unclear:

- (197) ehe-m pafeia-ia -m nagla-i -uagl-fan  
 3 -GL stone -LOC-GL see -LNK-go -PER  
*he has shown him the rock*
- (198) aia -l po -m lö -i -pia- fan  
 father-NOM water-GL shoot-LNK-come-PER  
*his father came in the rain*

Note:

- (199) po ka-m lö -f  
 water l -GL shoot-PRS  
*rain hits me*

The second example has an alternative form:

- (200) aia -l po -m fa-i -pia -f  
 father-NOM water-GL CL-LNK-come-PRS  
*his father is coming in the rain*

*fa* is the semantically least marked noun classifier (chapter 6), the connection between which and its source verb<sup>1</sup> is completely opaque. This example might constitute a fossilised construction 'dating' from the time when *fa* functioned as a full verb in the language. Synchronically and productively, *fa-i-pia* is now the unmarked verb *carry* (see 6.2.3):

- (201) bèsèi fa-i -pia -f  
 what CL-LNK-come-PRS  
*what are you carrying?*

It must be emphasised that the above examples represent isolated cases of a non-productive construction.

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<sup>1</sup>It is not unlikely that *fa-*, unlike other classifiers, may in fact not be derived from a verb at all; see discussion in 6.1.

### 5.4.3 Others

The roots discussed so far have been of two kinds: first, roots that are non-productive and idiosyncratic to a small number of verbs; second, roots with aspectual or other grammatical function and motion verb roots, almost all of which also occur as independent verb stems. The last category of roots which needs to be set up consists of elements that may also occur outside the VP. All of these roots trigger the pro-verb *fe make, do*.

#### 5.4.3.1 Intensifiers

The two most frequently occurring intensifiers, *pete* and *kubui*, which were discussed in 3.3.2, may occur as roots in which case they qualify the action expressed by the lexical verb, if this is intransitive:

(202) *ale -pete fe-u*  
*stay-INT do-IMP*  
*stay for a while!*

(203) *uòs lèha -kubui fe-f*  
*moon shine-INT do-PRS*  
*the moon shines brightly*

*pete* (but not *kubui*) may also occur with transitive verbs, in which case it qualifies the object:

(204) *málhu ka uól -pete fe-fan*  
*pig 1 shoot-INT do-PER*  
*I have shot a small pig*

(205) *ehe-m iaha-pete fe-fan*  
*3 -GL die -INT do-PER*  
*he died young*

#### 5.4.3.2 *kulõ-l*

The adjective *kulõ-l old* may be used as a root, in which case it sheds its final *-l* and assumes the meaning of *badly*. Very often the adverb *saha kulõ-nam badly* also occurs in the same clause:

(206) *saha kulõ-nam ne nibia-kulõ fe-n*  
*bad old -DER 2 build-old do-PST*  
*you have built (the house) badly*

#### 5.4.3.3 Emphatic clitics

Of the emphatic clitics discussed in 8.5, *-gas*, *-fla* and *-ga* may also occur in the VP as roots:

(207) *ainam -fla ne -fla uagl-fla fe-u*  
*quickly-EMP 2 -EMP go -EMP do-IMP*  
*go quickly!*

They may co-occur:

- (208) ne fulhõ-gas-fla fe-u  
 2 climb-EMP-EMP do-IMP  
*climb up completely!*

#### 5.4.4 Elements that may shift into the core

Nothing save number marking may intervene between the elements of the compound verb stem. The number markers in question are the object dual and the benefactive markers. The ordinary position for the latter is outside the core (5.3.3), but it may occasionally occur within it. It regularly occurs immediately after the verb *õ say*, maybe because of the frequency of this combination. Notice the following contrast:

- (209) õ -na -pada -n  
 say-BEN-finish-PST  
*he has told him*

- (210) lõl -pada -na -n  
 say -finish-BEN-PST  
*he has told him*

The dual marker -ual tends to occur immediately following the lexical verb stem:

- (211) at fa-ne -ual-pada -n  
 COM CL-eat-DL -finish-PST  
*they (2) have eaten*

Occasionally, -ual may follow roots. In the following example it may either follow the verb stem directly or follow the root (*tagla go round*):

- (212) mõbkõb fe-tagla -ual-a -n -b  
 game do-go round-DL -LNK-PST-DUR  
*they (2) were playing*

- (213) mõbkõb fe-ual-tagla -n -b  
 game do-DL -go round-PST-DUR  
*they (2) were playing*

We have seen that a number of roots trigger the pro-verb *fe* which serves as a peg for the postcore categories such as tense. *fe* is the most frequent and important verb in the language and it is put to many uses, both in syntax and in word formation. The overriding importance of *fe* warrants its detailed discussion in a separate section. At the end of the section I will say a few words about the status of *fe* within the VP.

#### 5.4.5 The pro-verb *fe make, do*

*fe* is basically a transitive verb *make, do*:

- (214) bēsèi adeia fe-f  
 what work do-PRS  
*what are you doing?*

While the syntactic status of *adeia work* in this example is clearly that of an object (it occurs independently and may take modifiers), in other cases it is often difficult to decide what the status of an 'item' preceding *fe* is. For want of a better term I will call these items 'adjuncts'.

#### 5.4.5.1 Adjuncts + *fe*

a) Some adjuncts are easily recognisable as adjectives stripped of their final -l. In these combinations *fe* assumes the role of an existential verb.<sup>1</sup> The degree of fusion of the two elements (adjective + *fe*) varies. Some behave like unitary lexical items, while others preserve their two-word status more clearly. Observe the following contrast:

(215) *ka tit fe-f*  
 1 *ignorant do-PRS*  
*I do not know*

(216) *ehe nõftit fe-f*  
 3 *blind do-PRS*  
*she is blind*

(*nõftit* is itself a derived adjective consisting of *nõf eye* and *tit ignorant*.)

In the first example *tit* and *fe* behave like a unit and may not be separated by anything:

(217) *së tit fe-f -me (\*tit së fe-f-me)*  
 NEG *ignorant do-PRS-NEG*  
*does not know*

Furthermore, there is phonetic fusion of the two elements, the realisation being [titëvif], i.e. there is intervocalic fricative voicing<sup>2</sup> and also vowel harmony. In every respect *nõftit* and *fe* behave in the opposite manner. They may be separated for instance by negation or number marking and there is no phonetic fusion:

(218) *nõftit së fe-f -me*  
*blind NEG do-PRS-NEG*  
*is not blind*

b) The adjunct only occurs in conjunction with *fe* and the combination forms an inseparable unit that functions as a transitive verb. This unit is therefore written as one word:

<sup>1</sup>Some adjective + *fe* combinations also seem to occur as transitive verbs, with *fe* functioning as a causative verb. The extent of this phenomenon is – unfortunately – unclear; here is an example:

*afa -m -fa at saha kulõ fe-n*  
*mother-CL-TO COM bad old do-PST*  
*he has raped my mother*

<sup>2</sup>A ə is inserted to break up the non-permissible cluster *tf*; see also example (3) in chapter 2.

sägafe	beat
hëlfe	beat, kill
nëfe	sharpen

So for instance:

- (219) ehe-m hëlfe-ual-fan  
 3 -GL kill -DL -PER  
*he has killed them (2)*

c) The most interesting adjuncts are those where we can actually witness the 'fusion process'. The adjunct nõf occurs as an independent lexical item *eye*; in conjunction with fe it renders the idea of *search*:

- (220) ne-m ka nõf fe-fan / fe-na -fan  
 2 -GL 1 eye do-PER / do-BEN-PER  
*I have been looking for you*

In this example nõf is the object of fe and the case-marked NP (ne) is the beneficiary which may be optionally marked for number on the verb by -na (5.3.1.4). Notice that nõf may be shifted away from fe:

- (221) nõf ne-m ka fe-na -fan  
 eye 2 -GL 1 do-BEN-PER  
*I have been looking for you*

However, if the object searched for is [-Human], then neither can nõf be separated from fe nor may the beneficiary number marker -na occur. Instead the object agreement markers are used. This means that the former beneficiary of fe (i.e. nõf) has become part of a new transitive verb, whereas the former peripheral NP (beneficiary) has become the object:

- (222) \*nõf ka pafeia-m fe-f  
 eye 1 stone -GL do-PRS  
*I am looking for a stone*
- (223) pafeia efs -l sabla-m ka nõffe -ual-f  
 stone flat-NOM two -GL 1 search-DL -PRS  
*I am looking for two flat stones*

The intermediate stage that nõf-fe currently occupies in the language is further highlighted by examples such as the following, where both beneficiary and object number markers are employed simultaneously for the same NP:

- (224) ehe-m ka nõf fe-ual-sëlõh -n -n  
 3 -GL 1 eye do-DL -in vain-BEN/NS-PST  
*I looked for them (2) in vain*

d) Some adjuncts, while being transparently derived from nouns, have completed the fusion process just described and now form a transitive verb with fe. The difference between these cases and the ones described above in category b) is that, while in the latter category the adjuncts are completely opaque, in this category transparency is maintained and the adjuncts may even occur independently, but with a change of meaning:

agafe	tie up
segfe	bury

agafe refers to the action of tying up something in such a way that one can carry it dangling down from one's shoulders, i.e. provide the object with a handle:



- (225) òh-nèi agafe -ual-u  
 PX-SRC *tie up*-DL -IMP  
*tie these two up!*

aga-l does occur as an independent noun *handle*:

- (226) aga -l sabla fe-ual-u  
*handle*-NOM *two do*-DL -IMP  
*make two handles!*

On the one hand, aga-l has maintained its independent status and on the other hand, it has fused as an adjunct with fe to produce a unitary transitive verb. In example (225) aga may not be separated from fe and the two constitute a simple transitive verb. agafe occurs with the object òh-nèi which is marked for dual number. In example (226), however, aga-l simply functions as the object of fe and is itself marked for dual number on the latter.

Another example is provided by segfe *bury*, which is historically derived from seg *platform* plus fe. The connection between these two is explained in Appendix (B).

e) There are numerous adjuncts that do not seem to occur save in combination with fe. However, as they can be separated from fe by certain particles such as the negation or negative imperative particles, we still have to regard these adjuncts as objects (OBs). In some cases, modification of the adjunct is also possible which supports its independent status. As is to be expected, there are different degrees of fusion. Here are some examples:

- (227) ihl an fe-m  
*snore* PROH *do*-NEG  
*do not snore!*
- (228) enesene sè fe-f -me  
*comfort* NEG *do*-PRS-NEG  
*she does not make herself comfortable*
- (229) an ka-m ehehele fe-n -m  
 PROH 1 -GL *block view do*-BEN/NS-NEG  
*do not block our view!*

f) Verbs from other languages can be readily integrated into the language by using them as 'adjuncts' of fe, the latter serving as a peg for the verbal morphology. There are a great many Tok Pisin verbs used in this way:

pinis fe	<i>finish</i>	
taitim fe	<i>tighten</i>	
kapsaitim fe	<i>pour</i>	
ranawe fe	<i>run away</i>	
singautim fe	<i>call</i>	
lusim fe	<i>leave</i>	
tau fe	<i>know</i>	[ < Malay: tahu ]

Often objects or other elements such as adverbs are taken over wholesale with the corresponding verb:

- (230) sè kilim tru fe-i -me  
 NEG *kill completely do*-PST-NEG  
*he did not kill him altogether*

- (231) kalabusim ol fe-fan  
*imprison them do-PER*  
*he imprisoned them*

In category a) we saw fe being used as an existential verb in conjunction with adjectives. Loan adjectives may be used in this way:

- (232) paul liklik fe-f  
*wrong INT do-PRS*  
*it is slightly wrong*

#### 5.4.5.2 Other uses of fe

So far I have noted the use of fe as a transitive verb and have examined the status of adjunct + fe constructions. In addition to this, fe has a variety of other uses.

1. fe may be used to mark future tense (see also 5.3.5.1):

- (233) unisi ka Vanimo-ia -m uagl fe-f  
*tomorrow 1 NAM -LOC-GL go do-PRS*  
*tomorrow I will go to Vanimo*

2. fe may be added for the sake of emphasis:

- (234) pon ka-m ha fe-f  
*hunger 1 -GL affect do-PRS*  
*I am hungry*

3. The emphasis particle tē and the adverb mugõ *completely* obligatorily trigger fe:

- (235) mugõ iaha fe-n  
*completely die do-PST*  
*he has died completely*
- (236) tōgõ tē lõh-la fe-f  
*thus EMP be -EMP do-PRS*  
*that is the way it is*

4. As mentioned before, a number of roots require the postcore verbal morphology to be pegged onto fe. The number agreement marker -uõl also triggers the pro-verb (see 5.3.1.1).

5. fe is also used as a peg in negative constructions. The suffixes marking topic (5.3.7.2) and counterfactuality (5.3.6.1) are mutually exclusive with the negation suffix -me (5.3.7.1). If they are present, the ordinary discontinuous negation marking sē...-me may therefore not be used (see 8.1). Instead, the negative adverb auaia *no* is used. The core is followed by auaia which in turn precedes fe, which displays the relevant postcore categories:

- (237) ha-pia auaia fe-ta -ba  
*MO-come no do-IRR-TO*  
*if she did not come*
- (238) iëf -ia ale auaia fe-t  
*house-LOC stay no do-CF*  
*you should not have stayed at home*

The same construction is also used if the NP contains *fe* in its function as a future marker:

- (239) ehe uagl auaiā fe fe-f  
 3 go no do do-PRS  
*he will not go*

#### 5.4.5.3 The status of *fe*

As pointed out above, a number of roots and syntactic constructions require the postcore categories to be pegged onto *fe*. While the VP that does not involve this auxiliary verb behaves like a word, this is not the case where *fe* is involved. *fe* within the VP behaves itself like a lexical verb and may take all the relevant affixes and roots:

- (240) ale -ual-puhō fe-lōh-la -n  
*stay-DL -HAB do-HAB-EMP-PST*  
*they (2) stayed for a long time*  
 (fe is triggered by puhō)
- (241) e -puis-uōl e -fe-n -b  
*DL-cut -PL DL-do-PST-DUR*  
*they cut them for a long time*  
 (fe is triggered by -uōl)

The auxiliary verb may be separated from the preceding lexical verb stem by adverbs or particles, which shift into the VP:

- (242) mugō uagl at fe-n  
*completely go COM do-PST*  
*he has gone*  
 (fe is triggered by mugō)
- (243) iaha -saihō-puhō anuō -l -m fe-lēfah-f  
*often-enter-HAB often-NOM-GL do-HAB -PRS*  
*they enter frequently*  
 (fe is triggered by puhō)

In all of the above cases the peg-verb has an obvious conditioning factor. There are, however, also a few adverbs which tend to occur within the VP without there being a prior conditioning of *fe*. By shifting into the VP, they themselves trigger *fe*. *sna first* is an example:

- (244) nagla sna fe-u  
*see first do-IMP*  
*have a look first!*

This is however not a general, productive process and the items that may behave like *sna* must be listed in the lexicon:

- (245) \*nagla haifō fe-u  
*see again do-IMP*  
*look again!*

But:

(246) haifõ nãglã-u  
      *again see -IMP*  
      *look again!*

#### 5.4.5.4 Comparative remarks

Auxiliary verbs of the type of *fe* are well known from other Papuan languages. While *Imonda* has only one, others, such as the Highlands languages *Enga* or *Yagaria* have a number of verbs, each with a specific meaning, which may act as pro-verbs in compounds, following an adjunct. *Yagaria*, for instance, has sixteen auxiliaries (Renck 1975:152), *hu-* (glossed as *be, say, do*) being the most common one. Apart from functioning as a peg with adjuncts, *hu-* is also used as a support verb in certain syntactic constructions, thus paralleling *Imonda fe*. For a detailed description of *hu-*, see Haiman's grammar of *Hu(v)a*, a dialect of *Yagaria* (Haiman 1980:117-135); for *Enga*, see Lang 1975.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE NOUN-CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

#### 6.1 Introduction

In 5.4, while discussing the expanded core, we saw that verb stems used as roots are basically of two types: first, motion verbs; second, verbs with aspectual or other grammatical functions. Foley and Olson (forthcoming) develop a rudimentary hierarchy of what they call 'nuclear serialisation', i.e. serialisation of verb stems that share all core arguments and aspect marking. They state that motion verbs are most eligible for the restricted slot and this, as we have seen, we find in Imonda. The top position in the hierarchy is occupied by certain Papuan languages that allow multiple open slots. Barai and Yimas display serialisation with two or more transitive verbs, as shown in the following Barai example:

- (1) a na ine tua kore -j -ie  
*you I stick break off throw-trans-2sg*  
*you broke off and threw a stick at me*

In Imonda we find examples that seem entirely parallel to this pattern, i.e. serialised transitive verbs (note the use of double quotes in the following examples):

- (2) if ka-m fēt -ai -h -u  
*breadfruit 1 -GL remove from fire-give-REC-IMP*  
*take the breadfruit out of the fire and give it to me!*
- (3) sa ka-m pōt -ai -h -u  
*coconut 1 -GL pick-give-REC-IMP*  
*pick the coconut and give it to me!*
- (4) ed-nèi puis-ai -h -u  
*PX-SRC cut -give-REC-IMP*  
*cut this and give it to me!*
- (5) ed-nèi puis-ne -u  
*PX-SRC cut -eat-IMP*  
*cut this and eat it!*

At first glance we seem to have straightforward examples of serialisation. fēt, pōt and puis all occur as independent verbs:

- (6) ed-nèi fēt -ual-u  
*PX-SRC remove from fire-DL -IMP*  
*take those two out of the fire!*

The verb *ne eat* in example (5) also occurs independently:

- (7) ed-nèi ne -u  
 PX-SRC *eat-IMP*  
*eat this!*

The verb *ai give*, however, is not an independent verb; it shows up only in serial constructions. It is rather odd that a language should not have an independent verb *give*. In fact, a bit of testing soon reveals that these examples do not mean anything else but *give*. The meaning of the 'verbs' preceding *ai* in the above 'serialisations' is not present. A breadfruit or a coconut may be on the ground or on the table, yet we have to use the above constructions if we want someone to give either of these objects to us. Likewise, *puis-ne* only means *eat*, without there being any cutting involved. The difference between (5) and (7) is that in the former we have some idea what sort of food is being talked about whereas this is not so in the latter case. This additional information is carried by *puis*, the element which at first seemed to be a full verb taking part in a serial construction. Note that *puis* (and likewise *fèt* and *põt*) does occur as a free verb (*cut*) but it has lost its verbal status in constructions such as the ones above. In fact, the former full verb has been reanalysed as a noun-classifying prefix. The common factor of all objects of verbs that are preceded by *puis* is that they are usually cut up before being eaten, as is meat. Likewise, the common factor of objects of verbs that are preceded by *fèt* is that people put them into the fire, as with breadfruit or firewood. This shows clearly that the range of objects a given classifier takes is determined by the original meaning of the verb from which it derived.

So far we have seen three examples of classifiers whose source verbs still occur in the language and are even phonologically identical with them. There are however a number of classifiers that do not have a related verb at all or if they do then the connection is opaque due to phonological reduction or semantic shift. It is significant that these classifiers occur very frequently.

- (8) flauī ka-m fa-ai -h -u  
*axe* 1 -GL CL-*give-REC-IMP*  
*give me the axe!*
- (9) iahaf ka-m l -ai -h -u  
*tulip* 1 -GL CL-*give-REC-IMP*  
*give me some tulip!*<sup>1</sup>
- (10) sa ka-m pui-ai -h -u  
*coconut* 1 -GL CL -*give-REC-IMP*  
*give me the coconut!*
- (11) tōbtō ka-m u -ai -h -u  
*fish* 1 -GL CL-*give-REC-IMP*  
*give me the fish!*
- (12) po ka-m i -ai -h -u  
*water* 1 -GL CL-*give-REC-IMP*  
*give me some water!*

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<sup>1</sup> iahaf is a tree with paired edible leaves; Tok Pisin: *tulip*

- (13) udõ ka-m bas-ai -h -u  
*netbag* 1 -GL CL -give-REC-IMP  
*give me the netbag!*
- (14) sue ka-m g -ai -h -u  
*fire* 1 -GL CL-give-REC-IMP  
*give me fire!*
- (15) maluõ ka-m lëg-ai -h -u  
*clothes* 1 -GL CL -give-REC-IMP  
*give me a piece of clothing!*

Let us briefly look at these classifiers one by one:

(Example 9) l-:

This classifier collocates with edible greens. It may be derived from the verb *les put on top of each other*, but native speakers do not see any link between the two. Interestingly, the loanword 'book' can take this classifier too.

(Example 10) pui:

In this case the classifier seems to be related to the verb *puiual break in two*. The range of objects is defined accordingly, i.e. whether they are normally broken or not. The introduced item 'biscuit' is subsumed under this category.

(Example 11) u-:

For this classifier, which occurs in the shape of *ue-* before verbs beginning with a consonant, I was unable to find a related verb. The objects that go with it are small animals such as fish and frogs. So, presumably, this verb (dropped out of use?) must have meant something like *capture* or *kill*.

(Example 12) i-:

There is a related verb *i scoop water out*. This does however not refer to the ordinary fetching of drinking water, but rather to the specific case of scooping water out of an area dammed up for the purpose of collecting fish. It seems that the link between the classifier and the source verb is not transparent to the native speakers.

(Example 13) bas-:

Both *bas-* and another classifier *guas-* are used for *udõ netbag* and for neither is there a transparent source verb.

(Example 15) lëg-:

This is the classifier that is used for clothing and generally for flat objects. It is derived from *lëg give birth*, but the connection between the two is remote. In addition to functioning as a classifier with all relevant verbs, *lëg* has idiosyncratically maintained its full verbal status preceding *eha put*, which obligatorily takes a classifier:

- (16) Nos-na agõ -l lëg -abt-eha-n  
 NAM-POS woman-NOM *give birth*-DL -put-PST  
*Nos' wife has given birth to twins*

(Examples 8/14) fa-/g-:

These two classifiers are by far the most frequently occurring ones. There is absolutely no hope of finding verbs from which they might have been derived,

given the disparate sort of objects they collocate with. Quite often, and especially so in the case of *fa-*, these classifiers can replace others. It is therefore not surprising to learn that the vast majority of introduced items can co-occur with them.

On the basis of opaque classifiers it would be impossible to shed light on their origin. However, we have already seen a few cases where the source verb still exists in the language and where it is obvious that the range of objects of a classifier is determined by the meaning of the source verb.

Valuable evidence can be gained from examining other members of the Waris language family. There we find the same system in operation in some of the Waris languages such as Waris or Daonda. In fact, Brown, in the only published article on the Waris languages, was the first to draw attention to the classifiers, which he analysed as shape prefixes (see below, section 6.4). Some Waris languages such as Simog have not developed along the same lines and it is there where the serialisation stage, claimed to be the source of the system, can be found:

- (17) sa        ga-m    fik -u  
       *coconut* l -GL *give*-IMP  
       *give me a coconut!*

Simog *fik* corresponds to Imonda *faih* which consists of the classifier *fa-*, the verb stem *ai* and the recipient marker *-h*, which goes to zero for non-singular beneficiary. *k* in Simog is part of the stem and is not subject to deletion, non-singular being signalled by a suffix *-n*.

- (18) bo        ga-m    ifi-k    -u  
       *water* l -GL *get-give*-IMP  
       *get the water and give it to me!*

- (19) is        ga-m    kufè -k    -u  
       *sago* l -GL *break-give*-IMP  
       *break some sago and give it to me!*

In examples (18) and (19) we see *give* in serialisation with a preceding transitive verb. All that is left of *give* here is *k*, the first syllable being dropped. The first verb in these serialisations has full verbal status and is not semantically depleted.

In Imonda *eha put* is a verb that only occurs with a preceding classifier. The corresponding verb in Simog is *faka* and again the first syllable drops out when it occurs in serialisation:

- (20) uei        skè-ka -u  
       *banana* *cut-put*-IMP  
       *cut the bananas and put them over there!*

Again two consecutive actions are expressed and there can be no question of reanalysis.

The reader may have noticed that both Simog verbs above begin with *f-*. Furthermore the first syllable in both *fik* and *faka* is dropped in serialisation. It is indeed a curious fact that some of the important verbs in Imonda that take classifiers should have cognates in Simog that start with *fV-*. Apart from *fik* and *faka* there is also *fea get* and *faski stick into*, both of which however do not lose their initial syllable in serialisation. The cognates of these two in Imonda are *-ia get* and *-shi stick into*, both of which must occur



with a classifier. The most widely used and semantically most neutral classifier is *fa-* for which there is no trace of a source verb in the language. The evidence from Simog suggests an explanation why this should be so. It is not unreasonable to assume that *fa-* has never derived from a verb at all and that it was originally part of the verb stem. If so and assuming that the same elision took place in Imonda as in Simog, then *fa-* may have been dissociated from the stem owing to its frequent 'absence' in serialisation and this may have been the initial impetus for the reanalysis.

Whether anything along the lines just discussed may have initiated the reanalysis of former serial verbs as noun-classifying prefixes is clearly speculative. Other factors which surely must have played a key role in this process are the phonological reduction of some of the former serial verbs and the semantic shift some of them underwent. This has been described above with reference to examples (8)–(15). Both phonological reduction and semantic shift would clearly contribute to an obscuring of the serial construction. The same holds true of those cases where a verb loses its independent status and may only occur in a serial construction. All of this, i.e. reduction, semantic shift and the loss of independent verb status, has occurred with very frequently used verbs. Whether this may have actually triggered reanalysis or whether it may be one of its consequences is impossible to say. Either way it would have contributed to the process of reanalysis.<sup>1</sup>

## 6.2 Verbs that take classifiers

Generally speaking the verbs that occur with classifiers are those for which it would make sense to enter into serialisation with a preceding verb that denotes the handling of an object. So it is verbs like 'give', 'put', 'go' that take the classifiers but not verbs like 'hear' or 'like'. In this section I will examine these verbs a bit closer.

### 6.2.1 Verbs with obligatory classifier

There are a number of very frequently occurring verbs that may never be used without a classifier.

<i>ai</i>	<i>give</i>	<i>nugahõ</i>	<i>fill in</i>
<i>eha</i>	<i>put</i>	<i>shi</i>	<i>stick into</i>
<i>pi</i>	<i>get</i>	<i>api</i>	<i>throw</i>
<i>(f-)ia</i>	<i>get</i>	<i>ula</i>	<i>hold, possess</i>
<i>keda</i>	<i>hang up</i>	<i>uluh</i>	<i>hold (PL=lëfah)</i>
<i>hõdõ</i>	<i>put up</i>	<i>ue(-eha)</i>	<i>put into fire</i>

I will now discuss the idiosyncrasies of the more important of these verbs. This will also give us the opportunity to examine number marking insofar as it differs from the general pattern outlined in 5.3.1.

<sup>1</sup>See Givón (1975) for an attempted explanation of the reanalysis of serial verbs as prepositions in Niger-Congo languages (see also below, section 6.6). His discussion is largely irrelevant to the present question.

## 6.2.1.1 ai give

REC=SG		REC=PL	
SU=SG	SU=PL	SU=SG	SU=PL
fa-ai-h	fa-ãi-h	OB=SG fa-ai-∅	fa-ai-∅
i-abt-ai-h	i-abt-ãi-h	OB=DL i-abt-i	i-abt-i
i-ab-ai-h	i-ab-ãi-h	OB=PL i-õb-i	i-õb-i
lëg-ai-h	lëg-ãi-h	lëg-i	lëg-i
lëg-abt-ai-h	lëg-abt-ãi-h	lëg-abt-i	lëg-abt-i
lëg-ab-ai-h	lëg-ab-ãi-h	lëg-õb-i	lëg-õb-i

The verb *give* is unique in Imonda in that it is the only verb that has the number marker *h* to mark recipient singular. For non-singular recipients:  $h > \emptyset$ . From the above table we may note the following:

1. The classifier *fa-* goes to *i-*, where the object is non-singular.
2. *abt* marks object dual and *ab/õb* marks plural; they are the regular number markers in the classifier construction (see 6.2.1.2 below).
3. *ai give* is raised to *ãi* where SU=PL and REC=SG; subject number is not distinguished where REC=PL. For recipient plural *ai* goes to *i* in all cases except with *fa-*, where the object is singular.
4. The classifier *i-* often takes the place of other classifiers if the object is non-singular:

(21) maluõ ka-m lëg-abt-ai -h -u or: i-abt-ai-h-u  
*clothes 1 -GL CL -DL -give-REC-IMP*  
*give me two pieces of clothing!*

## 6.2.1.2 (f)ia get

	SU=SG	SU=PL
OB=SG	f(a)-ia/lëg-fia	f(a)-iè/lëg-fiè
OB=DL	i-abt/lëg-abt	i-ãbt/lëg-ãbt
OB=PL	i-õb(òb)/lëg-õb-e	i-òb/lëg-òb-i

1. This case lends more support to the hypothesis advanced above that what is synchronically the classifier *fa-* was originally part of the following verb. After many classifiers *get* appears as *fia*; with some this is compulsory, with some it is optional.
2. (f)ia is raised to (f)iè for subject plural.
3. (f)ia is deleted altogether where the object is dual. If the object is plural then (f)ia goes to zero with the classifier *i-*; with other classifiers (f)ia goes to *e* which is raised to *i* for subject plural.
4. *òb* is often used for object plural, irrespective of subject number.

## OBJECT NUMBER MARKING

*abt* and *õb/ab* are the usual object dual and plural markers that occur in the classifier construction. These two never occur with simple verbs (*abu*,

discussed in 5.3.1.5, may be related):

- (22) fēt -ual-u (\*fēt-abt-u)  
 remove from fire-DL -IMP  
 take two out of the fire!
- (23) fēt-abt-u  
 CL -DL -IMP  
 get two!

In the first example fēt is used as a full verb *take out of the fire*, whereas in the second one it functions as a classifier with the verb (f)ia *get* being deleted altogether (discussion above). The following pair of examples illustrates the same point. The verb nēhe *tie up* takes the ordinary object number markers (5.3.1.2) when used as a full verb (24), but in its role as a classifier it takes abt or öb (25):

- (24) tēla -l -i -m agō -l -i -m nēhe-ual-n  
 husband-NOM-CO-GL woman-NOM-CO-GL tie -DL -PST  
 she tied up husband and wife
- (25) sabla ka-m nēh(e)-abt-ai -h -u  
 two 1 -GL CL -DL -give-REC-IMP  
 give me two (bunches)!

abt/öb also occur as object markers with full verbs in serialisation with motion verbs. In these cases öb often marks non-singular number (two or more) while abt is sometimes not available:

- (26) ne-m ka heual-öb-i -pia -fna  
 2 -GL 1 hear -NS-LNK-come-PRO  
 I came here hearing you (2+)  
 (heual already indicates object non-singular [5.3.1.2]).
- (27) ed-nēi kafli-abt-i -uagl-n  
 PX-SRC grab -DL -LNK-go -PST  
 he grabbed the two and went away

Although abt and öb/ab are the usual object number markers in the classifier construction, sometimes the 'ordinary' ones discussed in 5.3.1.2 may occur; if so, then fa- does not change to i-:

- (28) sabla ka-m fa-ai -h -ual-u  
 two 1 -GL CL-give-REC-DL -IMP  
 give me two!

Sometimes they may co-occur: i-abt-ai-h-ual-u.

With some verbs that take classifiers, however, abt/öb may never occur, e.g. api *throw down* and ue-(eha) *put into fire*. Other idiosyncrasies will become apparent in the discussion of the relevant verbs below.

### 6.2.1.3 eha put

eha *put* changes to hō if the object is plural: i-ab-hō.

- (29) tëh ka-m i -ab-hõ -na -u  
*firewood* 1 -GL CL-PL-*put*-BEN-IMP  
*put some firewood there for me!*

#### 6.2.1.4 *api* throw

*api* has two functions. First it functions as the verb *throw*, in which case it obligatorily takes a classifier. Second, it often occurs as a root after a full verb without apparent meaning contribution (5.4.1.7):

- (30) uõl-*api* -peha [wõlapixa]  
 CL -*throw-go down*  
*throw something down*
- (31) uõl -*api*-peha [wõlapixa]  
*shoot-? go down*  
*shoot something down*

#### 6.2.1.5 *hõdõ* put up

*hõdõ* *put up* must take a classifier with singular and dual objects, in the latter case changing to *hõthõ*. If the object is plural *hõdõ* changes to *hohlõ*, which may not occur with a classifier.

#### 6.2.1.6 *keda* hang up

*keda* *hang up* behaves like *hõdõ*. It takes a classifier with singular and dual objects, changing to *ketha* in the latter case and has the suppletive stem *kal* without classifier for plural objects:

- (32) ehe-na udo õh-ia bas-keda-lõh -na -fna  
 3 -POS *netbag* PX-LOC CL -*hang-stand*-BEN-PRO  
*her netbag was hung up here*

#### 6.2.1.7 *nugahõ* fill in

The verb stem *nugahõ* *fill in* is again closely parallel to the two stems discussed in the last two sections, *keda* and *hõdõ*. It must take a classifier for non-plural objects, changes 'shape'<sup>1</sup> for object plural, for which it may not take a classifier. Object dual of *nugahõ* is again marked the same as that of the other two verbs. The relevant forms are:

OB=SG CL-*nugahõ* OB=DL CL-*nugathõ* OB=PL *nug*

<sup>1</sup>It appears that the stem *nugahõ* is bimorphemic, consisting of *nug* and *ahõ*. The latter morpheme may be related to *eha* *put* (see 6.2.1.3), which however does not have an infix for the marking of object dual.

- (33) es udō -ia ko-nugahō  
*sago netbag-LOC CL-fill in*  
*he put the sago into the netbag*

#### 6.2.1.8 ula *hold, possess*

ula has the meaning *hold, possess* when preceded by a classifier. If the subject is plural, then ula is followed by fia. This verb stem also functions as an aspectual root (5.4.1.8). With the classifier fa-, ula changes to ulò. With the classifier sugō-, ula also functions as an existential verb (7.2.8.6).

- (34) es -gas ko-ula -fna  
*sago-EMP CL-hold-PRO*  
*he was holding sago only*

#### 6.2.1.9 uluh *hold*

uluh *hold* goes to lëfah for subject plural. There is a clear connection to the intransitive verb lõh / lëfah *stand*.

- (35) afa -l bag lëg-uluh-fna  
*mother-NOM bag CL -hold-PRO*  
*his mother was holding the bag*

#### 6.2.1.10 shi *stick into*

shi *stick into* is used for object singular and dual with an obligatory classifier. For plural object the suppletive stem eh is used which is raised to ih for subject plural.

- (36) bësèi gè-shi -lõh -f -me  
*what CL-stick-stand-PRS-Q*  
*what is stuck in here?*

#### 6.2.1.11 ue(-eha) *put into fire*

ue *put into fire* may not occur independently, but only seems to occur with the classifier nēhe, which is derived from the verb nēhe *tie up*. It may however take the usual range of classifiers if it is followed by eha, which may be derived from eha *put* (but see 6.2.1.7), where the object is non-plural, and seg, where the object is plural. Object dual is marked like that of the verbs keda, hōdō and nugahō, discussed above. Here are the relevant forms:

- OB=SG CL-ue-eha  
 OB=DL CL-ue-etha  
 OB=PL CL-ue-seg + pro-verb fe (5.4.5)

- (37) ago nēhe-ue -seg fi-ula-fia-f  
*women CL -put-put do-INT-PL -PRS*  
*the women are putting it all into the fire*

6.2.1.12 *pi get*

*pi get* is separated from the preceding classifier by a 'linking' *i*. The only other verbs that behave the same in this respect are the motion verbs (see below).

- (38) agõ -ianèi-m ue-i -pi -na -ba  
*women-NPL -GL CL-LNK-get-PST-TO*  
*having gotten the woman*

(The classifier *ue-* implies that the woman was dead.)

## 6.2.2 Verbs with optional classifier

Some verbs may occur either with or without classifier, without there being any change of meaning:

ne	<i>eat</i>
pada	<i>hold</i>
li	<i>lie, be</i>

For an illustration of *ne eat* see examples (5) and (7) at the beginning of this chapter. Here is an example with *pada*:

- (39) mad ga-pada-n  
*axe CL-hold-PST*  
*she held the axe*

Note that *pada* also functions as an aspectual root (see 5.4.1.1).

6.2.2.1 The existential verb *li*

In 5.4.1.12 I mentioned that the two intransitive posture verbs *lõh stand* and *li lie* may, in their function as existentials, occur as roots after a transitive verb, whereby the logical object of the transitive verb is the logical subject of the existential verb. Syntactically, the NP functions as an object (see also 7.2.2.2):

- (40) ed-nèi ed fa-keda -lõh-f  
*PX-SRC PX CL-hang up-be -PRS*  
*it hangs over there*

Despite the fact that this serialisation strategy is still productive, reanalysis of the transitive verbs preceding *li* has happened. In the following example *li* does not function as a root verb in serialisation but as the main verb stem which is preceded by the classifier *bas-*:

- (41) udõ ne-na ed bas-li -f  
*netbag 2 -POS PX CL -lie-PRS*  
*your netbag is over there*

If the classifier ends in a vowel, then this vowel is raised to the next higher level, except for *a*, which is raised to *è*; the vowel of the existential drops out:

he	<i>cut</i>	+	li	>	[xil]
ulõ	<i>plant</i>	+	li	>	[ulõl]
fla	<i>tear out</i>	+	li	>	[flèl]

No changes occur if the classifier ends in a consonant, as for instance in example (41) above. If the subject number is dual or plural, the following forms are found:

- (42) udõ sabla bas-abt-ihî-li-f [basambtixilf]  
*netbag two CL -DL -put-be-PRS*  
*there are two netbags*
- (43) udõ sabla mugõ bas-h -alõh -f  
*netbag two one CL -put-be/PL-PRS*  
*there are three netbags*

alõh is the regular plural form of li (7.2.8.6); as alõh already marks plural there is no need for the plural marker ab, which occurs elsewhere with the classifiers (6.2.1.2). The morphemes ihî and h I have glossed as *put*, as this is most probably where they are derived.<sup>1</sup> Synchronically, the verb for *put* is eha, which obligatorily takes a classifier (6.2.1.3).

### 6.2.3 Motion verbs

Motion verbs may occur with classifiers. As in the case of pi *get* they take a linking vowel i:

- (44) sa ka põt-i -uagl-f  
*coconut 1 CL -LNK-go -PRS*  
*I am carrying a coconut*

It is clear that, synchronically, motion verbs with a classifier have to be analysed as transitive verbs meaning 'carry'.

- (45) bēsèi fa-i -uagl-f  
*what CL-LNK-go -PRS*  
*what are you carrying?*

The only exception is provided by kōhõ *go*, which assumes the meaning *get* if preceded by classifiers (kōhõ also behaves atypically in serialisation (5.4.2)).

Notice the importance of this linking vowel:

- (46) i -õb-i -uagl  
*CL-PL-LNK-go*  
*carry*

<sup>1</sup>In the related language Simog faka *put* may optionally occur before the existential ii *be*, if the object of faka is singular:

èr-ia faka-ii-f  
 PX-LOC *put -be-PRS*  
*it is there*

- (47) i -ōb-uagl  
 CL-PL-go  
*get and go*

In example (46) we have the classifier i- with object plural marking linked by i to the motion verb uagl, which here functions as the transitive verb *carry*. In example (47) we have the verb *get*, which is deleted if the object is non-singular (6.2.1.2), in serialisation with the motion verb (5.4.2).

There are a few verbs which have developed like classifiers in serialisation with a motion verb and which may not occur as independent verbs any more. The difference between them and real classifiers is that their verbal meaning is still fully present and the following motion verb has not undergone a semantic shift to 'carry'.

- (48) ka-m iōs -ōb-i -tafō-u  
 1 -GL *lead*-NS-LNK-go -IMP  
*lead us; you go first!*

(With singular objects *lead* is *ias*; neither form occurs independently.) The verb stem *fig* *follow*, *chase* in the following example is another instance of a bound stem that is structurally parallel to classifiers but has maintained its full meaning:

- (49) ehe-m fig -abt-i -uagl-n  
 3 -GL *follow*-DL -LNK-go -PST  
*he followed them (2)*

### 6.3 Notes on the classifiers

A number of classifiers have already been discussed. As pointed out, some of them do not seem to have a source verb in current use. However, the vast majority are transparently derived from verbs that also occur independently. Now, how many classifiers are there in the language? Given the origin of this construction it is to be expected that their number is large, as one can do many things with objects before giving/carrying or putting them away. I have counted around one hundred classifiers, but there may be a good many more verbs that have lost their verbal status in serialisation. A number of classifiers need further comment:

1. In 5.2.2 I discussed the verbal prefix *uai-*, which agrees in number with a case-marked NP that is semantically an accompanier:

- (50) ka-m -fa es uai-hla-ula-fia-fna  
 1 -GL-TO *sago* ACC-eat-INT-PL -PRO  
*they were eating sago with me*

*uai-* also functions as a classifier:

- (51) agō ka-m uai-i -pi [waipi]  
 women 1 -GL CL -LNK-get  
*the women got me*

The classifier *uai-* does not have a current source verb in the language. Whether it is in fact derived from a verb at all or whether it is derived from the accompaniment marker is impossible to tell. Examples involving both the accompaniment marker and the classifier were — upon elicitation — accepted by



my main informant:

- (52) ago ka-m uai-uai-i -pi  
*women 1 -GL ACC-CL -LNK-get*  
*the women got me (with him)*

2. A number of classifiers are jokingly used with *ai give* and *shi stick into* to render the meaning of *fuck*; among these are *blaf-* (< *ruin*), *kelõ-* (< *peel*), *fa-* and *põt-* (< *pick fruit*).

3. We have seen that *fa-* goes to *i-* where the object is non-singular. With the noun *falgõ bow* just the reverse happens.

4. Some classifier + verb constructions have become so fused that they may even take a second classifier:

- (53) malhu uõl-ue-hla-n  
*pig CL -CL-eat-PST*  
*they ate the pig*

*uõl-* derives from the verb *uõl shoot*, whereas *ue* does not have a current source verb. This latter fact may very well explain why *ue-hla* seems to be perceived as a monomorphemic verb.

#### 6.4 Integration of loan items

As many important verbs such as 'give', 'put' or 'carry' may not occur without classifiers, it is interesting to see how speakers accommodate loanwords into the system.

Imonda has two options for the integration of loanwords into the classificatory system. Those verbs that may not occur without classifiers either take one of the two semantically least marked classifiers, i.e. *fa-* or *g-* (see discussion above in 6.1), or the new object triggers one of the more specific classifiers, if native speakers can associate the introduced item with one of their traditional culture because of similarity in shape or use.

Most of the introduced items may occur with either *fa-* or *g-*, the former being used more widely. However, there are some which may not do so:

- (54) kopi ka-m i -ai -h -u  
*coffee 1 -GL CL-give -REC-IMP*  
*give me coffee (liquid)!*

Substituting either *fa-* or *g-* for *i-* would render this example unacceptable. Sometimes an informant would hesitate and would not be all that sure whether a given construction is acceptable or not:

- (55) ?beer ka-m g -ai -h -u  
*beer 1 -GL CL-give-REC-IMP*  
*give me some beer*

It appears that in this example *logu-*, related to the verb 'fill in' is preferred.

The use of more transparent classifiers is more revealing as far as reinterpretation is concerned. Here we get additional support for the view that erstwhile full verbs were semantically depleted and reanalysed as classifiers.

One of our first examples involved the classifier *põt-*, which has a related verb of identical phonemic shape 'pick fruit'. The introduced item 'ball' also takes this classifier. It is clear that the link between ball and coconut is shape. This, incidentally, was the main evidence for Brown to treat the classifiers as being shape conditioned (Brown 1981). Brown was the first to draw attention to the classifiers in the Waris languages. He noted a set of 15 verbal prefixes in Waris and analysed them as being conditioned by the shape of the object of the verb. He also mentioned that many of these prefixes seemed to have related verbs. However, he did not discuss the link between verb and classifier and instead dedicated his attention to establishing the semantic domains of the 'shape classifiers'. As we have seen, the range of objects of a given classifier is determined by the meaning of the full verb from which it was derived, i.e. it is not shape that it is conditioned by. However, examples such as *põt-* show that some reinterpretation in direction of shape basis may be going on. Alternatively, the fact that ball takes the same classifier as coconut may be conditioned by the fact that people hold them both the same way (M. Scheller, personal communication).

The next example presents another apparent shape-based choice:

- (56) *ue/ban ka-m kul-ai -h -u*  
*rope/belt 1 -GL CL -give -REC-IMP*  
*give me the rope/belt!*

The verb associated with the classifier *kul-* is *kulõ coil up*

We have already seen another case of shape-based choice of classifier, namely that of 'book' which was classified together with 'greens', presumably due to its having many leaves, i.e. pages, put on top of one another. Often one cannot decide whether it is shape or use which was the basis of the choice. This is for instance the case with introduced containers which usually take the same classifiers as those of traditional origin. A typical example of use-based choice is the classification of 'rifle' along with the traditional bow.

## 6.5 Noun-class membership

I have mentioned that there are roughly 100 classifiers in the language and therefore the same number of noun classes must be recognised. Two questions arise in this connection that have not yet been dealt with. Does the noun-classification system classify all nouns of the language and is multiple class membership possible? Given the origin of the classification system it comes as no surprise that the system classifies only nouns whose referents are concrete objects that can be handled. Thus, abstract nouns such as *pon hunger*, or concrete objects such as *uõs moon*, which would not normally be handled by humans, are not subject to classification. As for the second question, it is again clear that, given the origin of the system, multiple class membership is not only possible, but the rule. Objects are handled in many different ways and usually go through a series of stages in this handling process. Thus, for instance, a coconut first has to be picked, then the husk is removed, then the shell is broken and removed before the edible part is eaten. The noun *sa coconut* may be used to refer to the coconut in all these various stages (besides also being used to refer to the palm tree). However, *sa* belongs to different noun classes depending on the state the coconut is in.

The classifier pōt- (< *pick fruit*), for instance, makes it clear that the coconut still has its husk. Or a fish might be caught, killed, wrapped up in leaves and put in the fire. The noun tōbtō *fish* may be used to refer to the fish in all its various stages but the actual noun class changes. Thus, the classifier fēt- (< *remove from fire*) indicates that the fish has been cooked and is ready to be eaten.

The number of nouns a given class may contain varies greatly. The general rule is that the more specific the meaning was of the verb from which the classifier derived, the fewer nouns the class contains. Thus, the classifier nēhe-, which derives from the verb nēhe *tie up* delimits a class with many items, but the classifier tit-, which derives from the verb tit with the very specific meaning of *pick betelnut*, delimits a class with only one item, namely uatēi *betelnut*.

## 6.6 Conclusion

The noun classification system is one of the most intriguing aspects of Imonda grammar. The rise of this system seems to be of recent origin and appears to be an ongoing process. From the evidence presented above there can be no doubt that we are presented with a case of reanalysis of a serial construction. Serial verbs are prone to reanalysis. It is especially common for them to assume grammatical functions. In African linguistics, for instance, there has been a lengthy debate about how serial verbs are best interpreted synchronically (e.g. Givón 1975; Lord 1973). Compare the following two examples from Yoruba (Givón 1975:83):

(57) mo mú \wé wá fún ɔ  
 I took book came gave you  
 I brought the book for you

(58) mo sɔ fún ɔ  
 I said gave you  
 I said to you

In the first example fún could still be interpreted literally as a full verb, whereas in the second example this is impossible. Givón and others argue on the basis of such examples for a reanalysis of originally full verbs as prepositions in Niger-Congo languages.

Reinterpretation of the verb 'give' as a valence increasing device which adds a recipient/benefactive to the verb frame is particularly frequent and also occurs in the New Guinea area, as for instance shown for Abelam by Laycock (Laycock 1965:55) or for Awtuw by Feldman (1983). Similar phenomena are also attested from South-east Asia (e.g. Clark 1978).

Imonda and some other Waris languages may be unique in having reanalysed serial verbs as noun-classifying verbal prefixes. Much idiosyncratic behaviour is associated with this newly developed system, only the more important of which has been discussed above. There are about one hundred covert noun classes at present in the language, in fact as many as the number of verbs that could occur in serialisation with verbs that now take the classifiers. Whether Imonda will simplify this system and reduce this enormous number of noun classes, only time can tell.

To conclude this chapter, here is one more example which shows both the origin of the construction and how the classifiers are at present used in the language:

- (59) ka-m abue nō -l -m sna fuditfe-i -ba,  
 l -GL *spinach seed*-NOM-GL *like tie up* -IMM-TO  
*having wrapped me up like spinach seeds,*  
 fuditfe-i -uagl ièf -ia ias fuditfe-eha-u  
 CL -LNK-go *house*-LOC PRT CL -put-IMP  
*you will carry (me) and put (me) into the house*

In the first clause *fuditfe* is used as a full verb *tie up*, whereas in the second and third clause it is used as a classifier.

## CHAPTER 7

### PREDICATE STRUCTURE

In this chapter I will be looking at the clause from the point of view of its predicate structure. Predicates are of two types: first, those that obligatorily involve a verb and second, those that optionally do so. The latter type is the existential predicate, where the (optional) verb only has a copula function, linking the subject to the complement. Copula verbs in Imonda, numbering five, are of considerable interest and are discussed in 7.2.8.6. The verbal predicate will be discussed from the point of view of what has customarily been called transitivity or, with reference to valence, 1-place predicate clause, 2-place predicate clause and so on (e.g. Vater 1978). The NPs that belong to the predicate frame are referred to variously in the literature, as arguments, core NPs and 'actants', among others. These NPs are seen as cognitively obligatory and conditioned by the verb. This is in contrast to peripheral NPs (adjuncts, 'circonstants') which are seen as having a scene setting function, are not conditioned by the predicate and may occur whenever semantically plausible. In principle this is a clear-cut distinction. In most languages most predicates have either one or two such core NPs which are clearly dictated by the verb. These are the traditional intransitive and transitive verbs. In many and perhaps most languages the central status of these NPs is specially signalled in the grammar by the fact that they stand in a grammatical or syntactic relation to the verb. These syntactic relations are traditionally known as subject and object. In English, for instance, the difference between subject/object and peripheral NPs is quite clear. The grammatical relation NPs are formally distinct by not being marked by a preposition, they express a variety of semantic relations and several syntactic rules refer crucially to them. Number agreement, for example, refers to the subject NP and not to a specific semantic relation such as actor. Often a third syntactic relation, that of indirect object, is said to exist, both in universal syntax and in individual languages; this is discussed below.

So far I have been talking of two different distinctions. On the one hand we have the distinction between core and peripheral NPs, the former but not the latter being dictated by the predicate. On the other hand we have the distinction between those NPs that have in addition to their semantic and pragmatic function one that is purely grammatical or syntactic and those NPs that do not do so. Grammatical relation NPs always belong to the frame of the verb, i.e. they are arguments of the verb, but not all NPs that belong to the frame of the predicate also stand in a grammatical relation to the verb.

Although the distinction between NPs that belong to the predicate frame and those that do not is clear in principle, it is nevertheless often difficult to ascertain the status of a given NP. The case of 'put' is often cited as an example of a verb with a locative NP in its frame, which is not an NP that stands in a grammatical relation to the verb (e.g. Longacre 1976:35). It would in fact appear that there is not a clear dichotomy between NPs that are dictated by the predicate (core) and those that are of a scene setting nature (periphery), but rather a continuum. A goal NP of a motion verb is presumably less peripheral than a temporal NP (for a discussion of the difficulty in finding criteria that neatly distinguish between complements and adjuncts see Vater 1978).

This distinction between core NPs, which are diagnostic of a particular case frame, and peripheral NPs, which are not, is of course of central importance to case grammar. Case grammar groups predicates together on a semantic basis into classes with shared frames, i.e. what nuclear NPs are dictated by the verb. As mentioned above, the approach chosen here is different. As we will see below, the two grammatical or syntactic relations of subject and object can be identified for the grammar of Imonda on a language internal morphosyntactic basis. Predicates are then subdivided on the basis of the occurrence of these NPs. It is clear that such a classification is not complete. Not all peripheral NPs can freely co-occur with every verb and sometimes, as mentioned, peripheral NPs are actually required by the verb. Such restrictions are occasionally noted but a full account of this is outside the scope of this chapter. The semantic function of peripheral NPs is considered in 4.3 and below in 7.3.

## 7.1 Grammatical relations defined for Imonda

After a transformational interlude the concepts of subject, object and indirect object have received increasing attention in the linguistic literature, with the effect that there is currently a great deal of confusion surrounding, and various definitions of, these notions. In order to clarify what is meant by these labels in the grammar of Imonda, I will briefly enter into a discussion of the most relevant aspects.

### 7.1.1 Subject

Subject is the grammatical relation that has received by far most attention in the literature (e.g. Keenan 1976; Foley and Van Valin 1977; Dixon 1979; Comrie 1981). Keenan proposes that in every language the subject NP can be identified on the basis of roughly 30 characteristic properties. Whichever NP shows the largest number of these properties may be assigned subject status. It is clear that subjecthood is thus not absolute but a matter of degree; and NPs may be more or less 'subjecty'. Comrie defines the prototype of subject as the intersection between agent and topic (Comrie 1981:101). I will not go into a discussion of these proposals but will say a little about Dixon's approach, as this is immediately relevant for Imonda.

Dixon assumes the universality of the transitive-intransitive dichotomy and takes the agent of a transitive clause (A), the other (cognitively) obligatory NP of a transitive clause (O) and the only obligatory NP of an intransitive

clause (S) to be universal functions (Dixon 1979:111). Traditionally, the class A-S has been regarded as subject as these NPs show uniform syntactic behaviour in the better known Indo-European languages. This traditional definition is based on surface syntactic properties, for instance in the case of English, those of verb agreement, passive, equi-NP deletion and many more. Giving a universally valid definition of subject at surface level runs into problems in the case of ergative languages which group S and O together and not S and A. To cite the standard example, Dyirbal displays a split ergative pattern. Nouns and adjectives and 3rd person pronouns follow an ergative/absolutive case-marking pattern, while 1st and 2nd person pronouns follow a nominative/accusative pattern (Dixon 1979:63). Dyirbal is one of those languages where ergativity is not only morphological but also syntactic. A number of syntactic constructions, for instance co-ordination, refer crucially to S and O (for a discussion see Dixon 1979:127-129). Despite all this morphological and syntactic evidence Dixon refrains from calling the class S-O subject, as this would seem useless for cross-linguistic purposes. In particular, it would not be in line with Comrie's proposal, that "assigning the same name to grammatical relations established independently in different languages, it must be the case that the relations in the two languages have a reasonable degree of overlap, for instance in terms of occurrence in translation equivalents" (Comrie 1981:60). The 'subject' in Dyirbal would semantically typically be an undergoer and would certainly not correspond to the traditional subject which is semantically predominantly agent. Instead of subject Dixon introduces the term pivot to characterise the class of S-O. He defines pivot as a language specific syntactic category at 'shallow structure'. Dyirbal has a S-O pivot, in that a lot of its syntax crucially functions in terms of S-O; English on the other hand has a S-A pivot, the bulk of its syntax working in terms of S-A. In other words, the traditional subject can be equated with pivot for the grammar of English.

Dixon does not discard the notion of subject altogether, but redefines it as a universal category at deep structure (in contrast to pivot, which is a language specific category at shallow structure). It was mentioned above that Dixon considers S, A and O to be universal functions and he groups S and A together as the essentially semantic deep structure universal category of subject. He holds that "any attempt to establish true universals must be semantically based" (Dixon 1979:102) and claims that his grouping of S and A is made "entirely on semantic grounds" (Dixon 1979:102). That this is not the case can be seen from another statement: "ideally, we should define 'subject' as {A,Sa}, linking A with a subtype of S which can be agent. But we have noted that no language consistently distinguishes Sa from So in all aspects of its grammar. It is the category S that functions as a syntactic prime, in the syntax of every language. The semantic link between A and the subtype Sa of S is generalized, as it were, so that A and S are grouped together to make up the universal syntactic-semantic category 'subject'" (Dixon 1979:108-109). Given the universality of S, A and O, subject defined as the class S-A is indeed universal but the question arises whether this is a universal category of significance. We have already seen that subject thus defined plays a marginal role in the case marking and syntax of Dyirbal. Dixon holds "that certain universal syntactic phenomena follow from the properties of 'subject'" (Dixon 1979:109). He discusses three such phenomena of which the most important one is imperative. All languages - according to Dixon - treat S and A the same with respect to imperative formation. Whether a verb may occur in the imperative depends obviously on its semantics, whether the state or

activity expressed by the verb is controllable. Dixon himself mentions the case of Guaraní which has split S-marking and where only S(a) verbs may have an imperative, i.e. those intransitive verbs whose S is semantically an agent. It would seem, then, that Dixon's category of subject plays no role in the imperative formation in this language. Imperative formation also plays a role in the discussion of subject status in Imonda, as will be seen below.

The position adopted in this grammar is more traditional and more surface orientated. The assignment of subject status would be no problem for Imonda, if it were not for a handful of verbs which show an ergative pattern, not only morphologically but also syntactically. With all but these few verbs S and A behave identically and are morphosyntactically specially marked. The two major morphosyntactic characteristics of these S and A are:

1. S and A are not case marked.
2. S and A are cross-referenced on the verb for dual and plural by one of the means discussed in 5.3.1.1.

With respect to these properties, S and A of the vast majority of verbs behave the same and I will take these two properties to be the diagnostic properties of subject. The Imonda subject is thus comparable to the subjects in other languages. It is important to note that this definition is a language specific surface structure definition. The Imonda subject refers to almost the same range of NPs as Dixon's universal deep structure subject would refer to, with the exception of some verbs where S patterns like O. These S will therefore not be recognised as subjects in this grammar. A discussion of these ergative verbs will follow below in 7.2.2.2.

The Imonda subject is maximally unmarked, it is never case marked and has no verbal agreement for singular number. In contrast to peripheral NPs, its semantic relation to the verb is not overtly indicated by morphosyntactic means, but is dictated by the verb. Most often the subject NP functions semantically as agent. Here are some examples:

- (1) ehe sue uikl -f  
 3 fire light/PL-PRS  
*they light a fire*

The NP ehe in example (1) is cross-referenced for number on the verb by vowel raising (SU = SG: uekl), a device reserved for subject.

- (2) tëla -l -m lapi -fan  
 husband-NOM-GL shoot-PER  
*(she) shot her husband*

The NP in example (2) cannot be the subject since it is case marked. The subject is elliptically elided.

- (3) agõ -ianèi sabla e -ha-pia -ual-fan  
 women-NPL two DL-MO-come-DL -PER  
*the two women came*

The NP in example (3) must be the subject, as it is cross-referenced with the prefix e-, which agrees only with subjects.

- (4) ka-m pe -fan  
 1 -GL fall-PER  
*I fell down*



The patient NP in example (4) is case marked and is therefore not the subject of the clause. Note also that the verbal prefix *e-*, marking subject dual number, would be inapplicable: \**e-pe-fan*.

Examples (1) and (3) both involve a subject NP whose referent is an agent with control over the event depicted by the verb. In the following illustrative examples this is not the case:

- (5) *kau ka-na kēls -fan*  
*chin* 1 -POS *swell*-PER  
*my chin has swollen up*
- (6) *òd -na ka safö -fan*  
*heart*-INS 1 *forget*-PER  
*I have forgotten*
- (7) *ta ka-m fe-na -f*  
*head* 1 -GL *do*-BEN-PRS  
*I have a headache (my head does for me)*

### 7.1.2 Direct object

Considerably less attention has been paid to finding a universally applicable definition for object. Dixon defines object as the one of the two (cognitively) obligatory NPs in transitive clauses which cannot be the agent (Dixon 1979:108). But whether a category object thus defined is of syntactic relevance is an open question. It seems safe to say that most languages accord what is semantically typically the undergoer of the verb special syntactic treatment which is clearly distinct from that of peripheral NPs. Comrie, for instance, identifies a grammatical relation of object in Huichol on language internal grounds as that NP which is cross-referenced on the verb by a set of prefixes and which has the property of becoming subject through passivisation. He chooses the term direct object for the NP thus identified on comparative grounds, because semantically it corresponds closely to object NPs in other languages. This object NP is semantically typically an undergoer, but may also be a recipient (Comrie 1981:63).

For the grammar of Imonda we can also identify on language internal, morphosyntactic grounds, a second grammatical relation which holds between certain NPs and their predicates. As the NPs thus formally identified typically function as undergoers of their verbs, we can call this the object. The object in Imonda is defined as:

1. The NP which is either case unmarked or marked with *-m* under conditions specified in 7.3.3.
2. The NP cross-referenced on the verb for dual and plural by one of the means discussed in 5.3.1.2.

The grammatical relation NPs of subject and object are therefore formally quite distinct from peripheral NPs by being either case unmarked or only optionally marked and by having verbal agreement for dual and plural, but not for singular. Peripheral NPs, on the other hand, are always case marked and have either no verbal agreement or if they do, then they are positively marked for singular (for peripheral NPs see below the discussion on indirect object, and 4.3).

The two criteria adduced for defining objecthood single out two clearly distinct types of objects. On purely semantic grounds they will have to be divided into two groups which I will call core and peripheral objects.

The core objects are the 'real' objects, the occurrence of which determines the valence of the verb. From a semantic point of view, what was said above for the subject also holds for the core object, namely that the semantic relation between it and the verb is indicated not by morphosyntactic means but by the semantics of the verb. This again is in contrast to peripheral NPs whose semantic relation to the verb is signalled by case marking and verbal agreement. Using Longacre's terminology (Longacre 1976), the object NP may stand, for instance, in the following semantic relations to the verb:

## (8) Experiencer:

pon ka-m ha -f  
*hunger* 1 -GL affect-PRS  
*I am hungry*

## (9) Patient:

Ōh-nèi fa-api -uagl-u  
 PX-SRC CL-throw-go -IMP  
*throw this away!*

## (10) Range:

nne ka ne -i  
*food* 1 eat-IMM  
*I am going to eat*

The semantic relation between the object NP and the verb in the above three examples is clearly not overtly indicated. This is entirely so in the second and third examples, but also in the first one, where the NP is case marked but this by itself is not sufficient, as -m has various functions (7.3). This is in contrast to the following example, where the semantic relation of a peripheral NP is clearly signalled as that of accompanier by a combination of case marking and verbal agreement (see 5.2.2):

(11) ehe-m uai-uagl-u  
 3 -GL ACC-go -IMP  
*go with him!*

There is a second type of NP that is formally marked like an object, but is semantically quite distinct from the core object in that it clearly does not belong to the frame of the verb, but is entirely peripheral, hence the term 'peripheral object'. Semantically, the peripheral object NP indicates the frequency of the event or action expressed by the verb:

(12) nòn sabla mugõ ale -uõl fe-na -ba haifõ ha-pia  
*night two one stay-PL do-PST-TO again MO-come*  
*having stayed for three nights I returned*

The object NP nòn sabla mugõ is case unmarked and cross-referenced on the verb with the object plural suffix -uõl. The semantic contribution of this object is clearly peripheral and its interpretation is in no way dependent on the verb. Numerals on their own functioning as peripheral objects correspond to English 'once', 'twice', etc:

- (13) mugas| ka uag|-n  
*one 1 go -PST*  
*I went once*

The numeral *sabla* *two* normally adds the combination of nominaliser and goal marker, when it occurs as a peripheral object (see 8.6):

- (14) sabla-| -m ka uag|-ual-n  
*two -NOM-GL 1 go -DL -PST*  
*I went twice*
- (15) sabla sabla-| -m ka uag|-uõ| fe-n  
*two two -NOM-GL 1 go -PL do-PST*  
*I went four times*

The exact extent of this phenomenon is at present unclear. In particular it is unclear whether, in principle, any verb can take a peripheral object NP. Further research would also be needed to determine the effect of the interaction of peripheral and core objects on verbal agreement marking. In the following classification of verbs on the basis of their valence the peripheral object will be ignored. Furthermore, throughout this grammar the term 'object' refers to the core object unless stated otherwise.

### 7.1.3 Indirect object

Having defined the notions of subject and direct object for the syntax of Imonda we now turn to a discussion of indirect object which is often regarded as another grammatical relation. Relational grammar regards SU, DO and IO as basic or primitive relations and sets them aside from the 'impure' relations such as "Instrumental, Locative, and Benefactive, which, unlike the pure relations, have independent semantic content" (Johnson 1977:153). IO as a syntactic relation has come in for strong criticism. Comrie points out the questionability of it even for English syntax and says that "this particular grammatical relation seems to be the one that requires most re-thinking cross-linguistically" (Comrie 1981:61). Faltz (1978) discusses the status of IO in universal syntax and says that it "can only be reasonably defined by its semantics (e.g. as referring to the recipient of an act of giving, sending, telling, etc)" (Faltz 1978:76). Faltz points out that cross-linguistically one can distinguish three categories for IO. First, they may behave like DOs; in this category the IO behaves as if it were the direct object and the 'real' DO may lose some of the characteristics associated with DO. To illustrate this we may look at two sentences from Alambak, a language of Papua New Guinea:

- (16) yima -r fëh-m fak-më -r -m  
*person-3SM pig-3PL get-R.PST-3SM-3PL*  
*a man got the pigs*

Here the object is unmarked for case and is co-referenced by the second pronominal suffix on the verb (i.e. m). In a bitransitive sentence, however, the object position is taken up by the recipient (IO) and the direct object is relegated to final position and loses its cross-reference on the verb:

- (17) yima -r met -t hay -më -r -t fëh-m  
*person-3SM woman-3SF give-R.PST-3SM-3SF pig-3PL*  
*a man gave a woman the pigs*

In this example it is *met woman* which occupies the object slot and is cross-referenced on the verb by *t*. (These examples are taken from Bruce 1984:209; his terminology is actually different but this does not affect the argument.)

The second category consists of those languages that treat IO on a par with oblique objects, using an adpositional phrase with the IO noun phrase as object; English is an example here. Finally, the third category consists of those languages which have a special dative case for the IO; Latin can serve as an example here. Given the differences in behaviour of the NPs functioning as 'IOs' it is quite futile to attempt a universal definition of IO. Of course it is always possible to define it semantically (recipient, benefactive) but this is without syntactic consequences.

Leaving now the discussion of the feasibility of a universally significant category 'IO', what is the language specific situation in Imonda? Is there a syntactically definable category of IO? It appears that NPs whose referents are recipients or beneficiaries pattern like peripheral NPs but also have some core NP properties. There is clearly no justifiable syntactic relation of IO in the language. Let us now see how the syntactic handling of the prime candidates for IO status, namely recipient and beneficiary, compares with that of the core and peripheral NPs. In chapter 4 we have seen that case marking signals the semantic function of peripheral NPs and that these peripheral NPs do not stand in a particular syntactic relation to the predicate. Furthermore, none of those peripheral NPs is cross-referenced on the verb. This is in contrast to the two core NPs, subject and object, which are cross-referenced on the verb for non-singular number and are not case marked, in the case of subject, or 'optionally' so in the case of object. As pointed out, the semantic function of the two core NPs is dependent on the verb and not indicated by morphosyntactic means. Core and peripheral NPs are therefore clearly distinct in a number of ways. The 'optional' case marker for objects is *-m*, a detailed discussion of which may be found below in 7.3. This same case marker also marks recipient and beneficiary obligatorily. These two semantic functions are distinguished by verb agreement. Beneficiaries are marked by the verbal suffix *-na* for singular and *-n* for non-singular (5.3.1.4):

- (18) *ka-m ð -na -u*  
 1 -GL *say*-BEN-IMP  
*tell me!*

Beneficiaries never belong to the verb frame and may in principle be added to any verb. The following example shows *ð say* without beneficiary:

- (19) *an ð -f*  
*who say*-PRS  
*who is talking?*

The next example with the intransitive verb *lõh stand* illustrates the same point:

- (20) *ka-m tēla -l -l -m lõh -n -u -è*  
 1 -GL *husband*-NOM-NOM-GL *stand*-BEN/NS-IMP-D  
*stand up for us as a husband! (be our husband!)*

(In this example the first instance of the nominaliser has the function of marking the noun as relational (8.6.1); the second instance of the nominaliser in conjunction with the goal marker signals the peripheral semantic relation of 'as, in the shape of' (8.6.3.1).)

As for recipient, Imonda displays the unique case of *give*, which is a verb ai which obligatorily takes a classifier (6.2.1.1) and whose recipient is marked by a suffix -h for singular, which is dropped for non-singular recipient:

- (21) ka-m fa-ai -h -u  
 1 -GL CL-*give*-REC-IMP  
*give me!*
- (22) ka-m fa-ai -∅ -u  
 1 -GL CL-*give*-REC/NS-IMP  
*give us!*

In contrast to beneficiaries, the recipient verbal agreement marking is obligatory. There is no other verb in the language that behaves similarly.

The evidence presented suggests that there is no syntactic category IO in Imonda. Syntactically, the semantic relations of recipient and beneficiary are differently handled, the former being restricted to one verb, whereas the latter is in principle possible with any verb. While I do not recognise a grammatical relation of IO, there are nevertheless a number of factors that indicate that the beneficiary/recipient NP is less peripheral than the clearly peripheral NPs discussed in 4.3.

First, beneficiary and recipient have number agreement on the verb, which puts them in line with the core NPs. Note, however, the core relations subject and object are maximally unmarked, having agreement only in non-singular, whereas beneficiary and recipient are positively marked for singular. In fact, there is another clearly peripheral NP, that of accompanier, which is exactly parallel to the beneficiary in being obligatorily case marked with -m and likewise obligatorily cross-referenced on the verb for number (singular versus non-singular) (see 5.2.2/7.3.4).

Second, in 5.3.1.5 and 5.4.5.1 I presented a few cases of NPs whose status is either unresolvable or ambivalent between an object and beneficiary interpretation. I also discussed some cases of NPs that have changed from periphery (beneficiary) to core (object) status or are currently in the process of doing so. Nothing of the sort occurs with any of the clearly peripheral NPs.

Last, it has been mentioned that one of the differences between core and peripheral NPs is that the semantic role of the former seems to be less clearly indicated by overt means and is more dependent on the verb than is the case for the latter. This distinction holds not only in Imonda but also in many languages. This distinction is however not an absolute one but more one of degree. Thus, although what I term beneficiary is usually just that, namely a beneficiary, this sometimes is not the case, as can be seen in the following example:

- (23) ude-m tuthò-ni -f  
 dog-GL laugh-BEN-PRS  
*they are laughing about/at the dog*

It is clear, however, that semantic considerations are secondary and certainly not instrumental in defining grammatical relations.

Concluding this discussion then, one can say that the beneficiary and recipient NP constitutes a middle ground between core and periphery, but that there is no compelling evidence to accord it a special syntactic status. I will briefly mention another viable analysis of beneficiary/recipient in 7.2.4.

## 7.2 Predicate structure

Having discussed the grammatical relations between NPs and the predicate, we can now proceed to examine the different predicate structures.

### 7.2.1 $\emptyset$ -place predicates

There are no verbs that may never take an argument NP. However, there is the unique case of *bëseha* *dawn* which deserves a specific mention. For a long time I regarded this verb as the only  $\emptyset$ -place predicate of Imonda. Despite its frequent occurrence I never found it with an accompanying NP. In a related language (Simog) this same verb (*bësè*) however does occur with a subject NP (*nõf eye*) and upon eliciting, it was also found to occur in Imonda. Informants however find the occurrence of this NP decidedly odd and of questionable grammaticality. *bëseha* is an isolated case. Other verbs in the same semantic field behave diametrically opposite to *bëseha* in that their subject NP has to be overtly present:

(24) po feha -f  
*water fall -PRS*  
*it is raining*

(25) si kilfia-f  
*night fall -PRS*  
*the sun is setting*

### 7.2.2 1-place predicates

Verbs with a valence of one are divided into two classes; first, those verbs that take a subject NP and second those that have an object NP.

#### 7.2.2.1 Subject + predicate

By definition the NP in this category is never case marked with -m. On formal grounds we can further subdivide the verbs in this category.

A: Verbs of motion take a prefix *ai-* to indicate subject plural:

uagl	go	hamëne	come back
peha	go down	hana	go
puhõ	go up	hapu	go up
saihõ	enter	hëlha	return
fuhõ	go up	tagla	walk about
fõhõ	go down	paha	ford

(26) saihõ-la -u  
*enter-EMP-IMP*  
*enter!*

(27) an ed tagla -f  
*who PX go round-PRS*  
*who is going round there?*

Two verbs are irregular:

hapia > ai-pia      come  
 utafõ > ai-tafõ    go

The element ha in hapia, which is obligatory in the SG form, is the same element which is often prefixed to motion verbs without apparent semantic contribution. The dropping of u in utafõ, however, is idiosyncratic to this verb. A productive prefix u does not occur in the language.

As just mentioned, a second characteristic feature of verbs of motion is that they can be optionally prefixed with either of the two prefixes ha- or hela-. These and some other prefixes that only occur with motion verbs are described in 5.2.4.

Furthermore, motion verbs are turned into transitive verbs by adding a noun-classifying prefix. They assume the meaning of 'carry':

(28) sue fět                    -i -fuhõ -u  
       *fire remove from fire-LNK-go up-IMP*  
       *bring up the fire!*

This is discussed in 6.2.3.

B: As already discussed in 7.2.1, some weather predicates are formally singled out by the obligatory occurrence of their subject NP. This is in contrast to other verbs whose subjects are very frequently deleted (see below).

C: A group of verbs that may occur either in an intransitive frame or in a transitive frame are the 'causative' verbs. The subject of these verbs which is semantically a patient may also occur as an object if a causer is introduced in the subject position:

fudui	<i>extinguish</i>	plakõ	<i>break</i>
poual	<i>break</i>	fteke	<i>snap</i>

For an example see 7.2.3.

D: Further categories could be established on the basis of what device the verbs employ to indicate subject number. As there is no semantic correspondence to the categories thus set up I will not go into this matter.

### 7.2.2.2 Object + predicate

According to Dixon a language has ergative traits if it treats S like O and differently from A (Dixon 1979:60). Imonda fits this definition. S of certain verbs is treated like O of transitive verbs in four ways:

a) S is case marked

(29) ehe-m iaha-fan  
       3 -GL *die* -PER  
       *he has died*

(30) ehe-m äs -f  
       3 -GL *tremble*-PRS  
       *she is trembling*

The goal marker -m is used to mark a variety of peripheral NPs plus certain objects (see 7.3). In the above examples we find -m marking S.

## b) Number cross-referencing on verb

As pointed out in 5.3.1.2, the most common way of indicating object dual is by way of the verbal suffix *-ual*. S of ergative verbs is marked likewise:

- (31) ehe-m iaha-ual-fan  
 3 -GL *die* -DL -PER  
*they (2) have died*
- (32) ehe-m ka nagla-ual-n  
 3 -GL I *see* -DL -PST  
*I saw them (2)*

But the dual marker *-ual* can also mark subjects and is therefore ambiguous. However, the verbal prefix *e-*, which may only mark dual of [+Human] subjects, is ungrammatical with S of ergative verbs and therefore S again behaves like O and not like A:

- (33) \*ehe-m e -iaha-n  
 3 -GL DL-*die* -PST  
*they (2) died*

But:

- (34) ehe e -uagl-ual-n  
 3 DL-*go* -DL -PST  
*they (2) went*

c) Intensifier *pete*

If the intensifier *pete* occurs within the verb phrase, it qualifies the action of the verb in case of an intransitive verb or it modifies the object in case of a transitive verb (5.4.3.1). With ergative verbs it qualifies S:

- (35) ehe-m iaha-pete fe-fan  
 3 -GL *die* -INT *do*-PER  
*he died as a new-born child*

## d) Imperative

In the above discussion of the grammatical relation of subject I mentioned the fact that Dixon appealed to imperative formation as evidence for the syntactic significance of his deep structure subject, saying that this operation consistently refers to a grouping of S-A in all languages, irrespective of surface morphological properties of individual languages. He mentioned, however, the case of Guaraní, which does not seem to lend support to this claim. Imonda, too, is a language with a split ergative system and imperative formation is problematic for those verbs that do display an ergative pattern.

If S is overtly present, then the imperative marker *-u* (5.3.4.2) is not applicable and *-i*, which may be used to give orders to third persons, occurs instead (5.3.6.2):

- (36) ne-m iaha-i (\*ne-m iaha-u)  
 2 -GL *die* -IMM  
*die!*

However, in the absence of S, *-u* may occur, although this is marginal.

- (37) iaha-u  
*die* -IMP  
*die!*



We have now seen that some S behave like O in four ways. The defining criteria of object are applicable to these S and they are therefore considered to be objects in this grammar. It follows from this that there are subject-less sentences in Imonda.

There are only a few verbs that condition an ergative pattern; the following have come to my attention:

iaha	<i>die</i>	ās	<i>tremble</i>
tēgafō	<i>die</i>	lēlfia	<i>tremble</i>
defō	<i>die</i> (S=PL)	klelefō	<i>slip</i>
pe	<i>fall</i>	bēlse	<i>rot</i>

The referent of S of the above verbs is in every case clearly a patient without control over the action expressed by the verb. A great many verbs that might be expected to behave like the above group display a transitive pattern with the patient being syntactically the object:

- (38) ue ka-m uesmosfe-n  
*root* 1 -GL *trip* -PST  
*I tripped*
- (39) ièkēka ehe-m ha -f  
*craziness* 3 -GL *affect*-PRS  
*he is crazy*
- (40) pon ka-m ha -ual-f  
*hunger* 1 -GL *affect*-DL -PRS  
*we (2) are hungry*

An alternative to the pattern illustrated in the last two examples, where the patient is the object (note the object verbal agreement marking in the last example), is for the patient to be marked as the beneficiary of the verb *fe* *make, do*, there being no possibility of an object:

- (41) ta ka-m fe-na -f  
*head* 1 -GL *do*-BEN-PRS  
*I have got a headache (my head does for me)*
- (42) pon ka-m fe-n -f  
*hunger* 1 -GL *do*-BEN/NS-PRS  
*we are hungry*

Some verbs have the patient or undergoer marked as a subject:

- (43) ka kobia -fan  
 1 *startle*-PER  
*I have startled*

Only a handful of verbs condition an ergative pattern and the question arises whether this is in fact the appropriate analysis. Dixon notes that "if any case in an 'ergative' language has zero realization, it will be absolutive" (Dixon 1979:62). This is clearly not the case in Imonda where A is always unmarked and O and some Ss are marked.

We could be tempted to view these cases as being parallel to the ones like 'trip' where we have an overt SU (a root made me trip), the difference being that SU is obligatorily deleted at surface level. This analysis is rejected because it would be completely ad hoc and untestable; besides, we would be unable to explain why iaaha never occurs as a transitive verb *kill*.

There is a second category of 1-place predicates where the NP is case marked, but here the verbal core is a complex one consisting of a transitive verb in serialisation with an existential verb (*li* or *lõh*) (see 5.4.1.12):

- (44) *õgòt -ianèi-m po -ia ga-api -peha-lõh-f*  
*enemy-NPL -GL water-LOC CL-throw-down-be -PRS*  
*the enemy lies thrown down in the water*

The NP in this example is clearly the logical DO of *api throw* and at the same time the logical SU of the existential verb *lõh*. Syntactically, the NP in constructions of this sort is a DO and whether it is case marked depends on the same criteria that condition the marking of NPs of simple transitive verbs as set out in 7.3. The logical subject of the transitive verb may not occur overtly. Here is another example, where the object NP is not case marked:

- (45) *pafeia kubui ed-ia ga-keda -lõh-fna*  
*stone INT PX-LOC CL-hang up-be -PRO*  
*a big stone was hanging down there*

### 7.2.3 2-place predicates

In this category we deal with the traditional transitive verbs. They all take a subject and an object. As pointed out before, one of the means of establishing grammatical relations is by number agreement. In section 5.3.1.1 I stated that stem vowel raising can only indicate plural of subjects. In fact, this can be narrowed down further: it appears that the great majority of verbs with this feature are transitive verbs.

To indicate subject plural number of most transitive verbs the stem vowel in monosyllabic verbs or the last vowel in polysyllabic verbs is raised to the next higher level. Examples of those vowel alternations that I have found are listed below. Although /a/ is raised to /ã/ in some cases, it more often skips one level and is raised to /è/.

/e/ > /i/	se	-	si	tear out
	fe	-	fi	make, do
	kse	-	ksi	fuck
	les	-	lis	pile up leaves
	the	-	thi	cut grass
	uekl	-	uikl	light fire
/o/ > /u/	une	-	uni	call, sing out
	pos	-	pus	dig out
	soh	-	suh	search
/a/ > /ã/	la	-	lã	light fire
	sah	-	sãh	call
/õ/ > /ò/	lõl	-	lòl	speak, talk
	helõ	-	helò	cut (trees)
	kulõ	-	kulò	roll up
	lõ	-	lò	shoot
	ulõ	-	ulò	plant
/ë/ > /i/	sëh	-	sih	search
	nël	-	nil	pick fruit

/a/ > /è/	nagla	-	naglè	see
	sma	-	smè	kill
	hetha	-	hethè	beat
	kal	-	kèl	hang up (e.g. clothes [OB=PL])
	këna	-	kènè	build house
	pada	-	padè	shut
	tas	-	tès	clean

Not only is stem vowel raising largely confined to transitive verbs, but also most transitive verbs do have this feature. Some verbs have suppletive stems, e.g. *ne - hla eat* (for details see 5.3.1.1).

Transitive verbs are subject to further classification. One group of verbs can derive intransitive verbs by dropping the subject, which expresses the causer, and making the undergoer object into the subject. These are the causative verbs already mentioned in the discussion of intransitive verbs:

(46) ehe-f -na -nam plakõ-n  
 3 -EMP-LNK-DER break-PST  
*it just broke (by itself)*

(47) an plakõ-m  
 PROH break-NEG  
*do not break it!*

Optionality of object is a further criterion for subdividing transitive verbs. While many verbs may take a wide range of objects, some are very restricted in their object choice, the extreme case being only one option. Objects of such verbs may not be dropped. Here are some examples:

sue	la	light a fire
fire	light	
sue	uekl	make a fire
fire	make	
ièf	nibia	build a house
house	build	

Note that these are not instances of idiomatic verbs consisting of an adjunct and a verb stem, such as those discussed in 7.2.5. The above nouns behave like ordinary objects, i.e. they may be modified and cross-referenced:

(48) sue sabla uekl -ual-u  
*fire two light-DL -IMP*  
*light two fires!*

Other transitive verbs may freely delete their objects. Two groups can again be distinguished. The object of most transitive verbs is only deleted in context and is 'understood'. With the following verbs for instance, object deletion would not normally be acceptable in an out-of-the-blue context:

CL-eha	put
CL-ai	give
hetha	hit

A few verbs delete their objects apparently absolutely freely. Verbs of this sort are sometimes said to be used 'absolutely'. Here are some examples:

ne            eat  
 kse          fuck  
 heulõ        hear

(49) Õm            ka sē ne -i -me  
*yesterday* 1 NEG eat-PST-NEG  
*yesterday I did not eat*

(50) heulõ sna fe-u  
*hear first do-IMP*  
*listen first!*

Verbs of this sort are sometimes analysed as occurring in both a transitive and an intransitive frame (for a discussion see Lyons 1969:360). The distinction between these verbs and those that have only contextual object deletion is clear in principle and seems intuitively necessary, but categorisation of individual verbs would nevertheless often be difficult. As nothing hinges on the elaboration of this distinction, I will not discuss this further.

Transitive verbs could also be classified according to whether the object is case marked or according to their occurrence with noun-classifying prefixes; the former is discussed below in 7.3 and the latter in chapter 6.

#### 7.2.4 3-place predicates

In the discussion of indirect object above I reached the conclusion that there is no compelling evidence in Imonda for setting up a third grammatical relation besides subject and object. I also pointed out, however, that what are ordinarily the prime candidates for indirect object, namely recipients and beneficiaries, seem to be less peripheral than the clearly peripheral types of NP that were discussed in chapter 4. It will be recalled that the recipient of 'give' is a unique case in Imonda and that beneficiaries never belong to the verb frame, that they are in principle possible with all verbs and that they are syntactically unambiguously marked by being obligatorily case marked and by verbal agreement. Instead of maintaining the strict core/periphery dichotomy one could perhaps better capture the middle ground status of beneficiaries by viewing the agreement marker -na as a valence increasing device that adds a new argument to the frame:

(51) Õh-nèi maklõfõklõ ne-m ka lõl -na -f  
 PX-SRC story 2 -GL 1 tell-BEN-PRS  
*I am telling you this story*

In this example the agreement marker introduces the beneficiary *ne you* into the verb frame.

Another candidate for the same sort of analysis is the accompaniment marker *uai-/uõn-* (see 5.2.2 and 7.3.4). I have analysed the accompanier NP as a clearly peripheral NP which is always case marked and cross-referenced and may also in principle occur with any verb. This NP is case marked with -m, whose primary function is that of goal marker, but also marks recipients and beneficiaries and certain types of objects. The link from there to that of accompanier marking is obscure. However, this use of -m might be purely syntactic, namely that of marking a secondary object which has been added to the verb frame by means of the valence increasing device *uai-/uõn-*:

- (52) aia -l òbo-l -m sagòt-ia -m uai-uagl-fan  
 father-NOM son-NOM-GL bush -LOC-GL ACC-go -PER  
 the father has gone to the bush with his son

This analysis would neatly explain the marking of the accompanier NP. However, it seems impossible to test the 'objecthood' of the accompanier NP by any means and as nothing depends on the acceptance or rejection of this analysis I will leave it at this.

### 7.2.5 Idiomatic verbs

Some verbs enter into a construction with an adjunct to derive an idiomatic meaning. There are several subcategories:

1. The verb stem only occurs with the adjunct and has no independent meaning:

- (53) ka òd -na safō -fna  
 I heart-INS forget-PRO  
 I forgot

The stem safō never occurs on its own, but always in conjunction with the adjunct òd *heart*, which is marked with the instrumental case marker. Another example is the verb stem idui, which only occurs with the adjunct nòn *sleep* to derive the meaning *fall asleep*. Parallel to nòn idui is the further example mō kukō *lie*, where the adjunct is a noun (*talk*) and the verb does not occur independently. The two adjuncts nòn and mō are not treated as objects since they may not be determined or qualified in any way.

2. The verb stem also occurs independently:

- (54) nòn li -f  
 sleep lie-PRS  
 he is sleeping

The stem li occurs independently in the meaning of *lie*. In conjunction with the noun adjunct nòn *sleep*, it assumes the meaning of *sleep*. Again, nòn may not be determined or qualified in any way and so I do not regard it as the object of li. Another example is the verb peha *go down*, which takes the adjunct po *water* marked as a locative, to derive the meaning of *wash*:

- (55) po -ia peha -la -u  
 water-LOC go down-EMP-IMP  
 wash yourself!

3. The pro-verb fe *make, do* must also be mentioned here. This independently occurring verb may take a large number of adjuncts, many of which do not occur outside this construction. The syntactic status of these adjuncts is variable. Some of them have become fused with fe to the point where they form a total unity, the adjunct no longer being modifiable or separable and the complex verb functioning as a transitive verb (this is discussed in detail in 5.4.5.1).

### 7.2.6 Deletability of NPs

The predicate classification presented above has been based on the occurrence of NPs that stand in one of the two grammatical relations to the verb. As is

probably true of all languages, grammatical relation NPs may be elided in context. But the difference between a language like English and Imonda is the regularity with which this happens in the latter. It is in fact a pervasive feature of Imonda discourse that verbs occur stripped not only of core NPs, but also of peripherals. A story might begin like this:

- (56) aia -l sagòt-ia -m uai-uagl-n;  
*father-NOM bush -LOC-GL ACC-go -PST*  
*the father went to the bush with his kid;*
- uai-uagl-a -n -b po -ia puhõ  
*ACC-go -LNK-PST-DUR water-LOC come up*  
*they walked and walked and then arrived at the river*

In the first clause the accompanier NP (marked on the verb by uai-) is omitted. In the following clauses the subject NP is left out as well. It is not uncommon to find clauses that start a story where even the subject is missing.

Imonda is by no means a unique Papuan language in being 'verb-centred' to a considerable degree. The same phenomenon is also attested from other Papuan languages. Foley, for instance, reports that discourse in Yimas, a member of the Lower-Sepik Family, "is characterized by a very high ratio of verbs to nouns, on an average, eight verbs to every noun" (Foley and Van Valin 1984:327). In such a situation, it is crucial for languages like Yimas or Imonda to have some means of keeping track of participants through discourse. Foley describes in some detail the elaborate gender system found in Yimas and analysed by him as having precisely that function. Core arguments in Yimas are cross-referenced for gender class and number by a series of prefixes, "which carry most of the load of referential tracking" (Foley and Van Valin 1984:327). Cross-reference marking also plays a major role for 'tracking participants' in Imonda. I will not go into a detailed discussion of this discourse phenomenon but will only briefly point out that Imonda possesses two kinds of verbal agreement marking that help in this task. First, recipient, benefactive, accompanier and possessor are all cross-referenced for singular and non-singular number on the verb. Subject and object are marked for dual and plural. Second, the noun-classifying prefixes, described in chapter 6, also help in keeping track of who and what is being talked about in a given discourse.

### 7.2.7 Deletability of verbs

The predicate is central to the definition of the clause. But just as certain NP types which are diagnostic of a particular clause type may be dropped in context, so the verb is sometimes dropped. There is however a difference. NPs are regularly dropped and there is a strong tendency for them to be signalled only in the verbal morphology. Deletion of verbs, on the other hand, is a much more restricted phenomenon. There are, however, certain well-defined cases where the deletion of the verb cannot be said to be simply contextual, but where this is the norm. It is these cases that I will briefly discuss.

### 7.2.7.1 Give

The verb *give* (CL-ai (see 6.2.1.1)) is normally deleted in an imperative construction:

- (57) sapoh ka-m  
 tobacco 1 -GL  
*give me some tobacco!*

The sequence 'NP – NP-m' in isolation can only be understood as an order to give the referent of the unmarked NP to the referent of the case-marked NP:

- (58) garis ka-m  
 match 1 -GL  
*give me a match! (\*get me a match!)*

### 7.2.7.2 Source and goal

Motion verbs are frequently omitted if a NP indicating goal or, less frequently, source is overtly present:

- (59) ne-fa ah-la -m  
 2 -TO Q -area-GL  
*where are you going?*
- (60) ne-fa ah-ia -nèi  
 2 -TO Q -LOC-SRC  
*where are coming from?*
- (61) ka tëlp -m  
 1 urine-GL  
*I am going for the purpose of urinating*

### 7.2.7.3 Perfective aspect

In 5.3.5.4 I discussed the discontinuous marking of perfective aspect 'at...verb-n'. The particle *at* often plays this role on its own, the verb being deleted:

- (62) uòs at (puhō-n)  
 moon COM come-PST  
*the moon has risen*

This is a more marginal case of a 'verb-deletion' clause, as it only seems appropriate to delete the verb if it is understood from the context what the verb is. This is in contrast to the case of 'give', where the nature of the deleted verb is understood by convention.

### 7.2.7.4 Same event

If two juxtaposed clauses depict the same event occurring at the same time but involving different subjects, then the second clause may be reduced to the subject which forms an intonation unit with the preceding clause (see 9.1.2):

- (63) ne peha -fna ka  
 2 descend-PRO 1  
*you were going down and I was going down*

### 7.2.8 Existential predicates

Clauses with an existential predicate are of the following form. First, they obligatorily have a subject NP. Second, the predicate may consist of a NP, adjective phrase, adverb or a comparative. NP predicates are either not case marked or bear locative, goal or instrumental marking. Third, existential predicates may optionally contain a copula verb. This is semantically empty and has purely a linking function. There are five existential verbs three of which function as classificatory verbs, whereas two are semantically neutral.

#### 7.2.8.1 Equative

In equative clauses the referent of X in X=Y is identified with the referent of Y. The predicate consists of a case-unmarked NP:

- (64) Nos-fa Mui-na aia -l (löh -f)  
 NAM-TO NAM -POS father-NOM (stand-PRS)  
*Nos is Mui's father*

While an existential verb (löh in the above example) may occur in equative predicates, it is more common for them to be verbless. Here is another example:

- (65) nama-fa an (löh -f -me)  
 name-TO who (stand-PRS-Q)  
*what is his name?*

#### 7.2.8.2 Ascriptive

An ascriptive predicate ascribes a property to an entity. The predicate usually consists of an adjective phrase or a case-unmarked NP:

- (66) ehe kuii-l (löh -f)  
 3 long-NOM (stand-PRS)  
*he is tall*
- (67) ed-nèi ièf abka -l pete  
 PX-SRC house small-NOM INT  
*that house is very small*
- (68) ka toad-ianèi bal-m  
 1 boys-NPL DUM-NEG  
*I am not a boy*

The ascriptive predicate can also contain an adverb:

- (69) òh-nèi maklōfōklō tōgō löh -f  
 PX-SRC story thus stand-PRS  
*this story is like this*



The following is an example consisting of a topicalised subject NP and a quantifier adverb:

- (70) ude-fa saha  
 dog-TO plentiful  
*dogs were plentiful (there were plenty of dogs)*

Some adjectives derive adverbs by means of the clitic -nam (3.2.6). Both the adjective and the derived adverb may be used in ascriptive complements. The adverb denotes temporary or subjective quality and the adjective inherent or objective quality:

- (71) ka-fa ebes-nam pete ale -f  
 1 -TO good-DER INT stay-PRS  
*I am feeling sort of O.K.*
- (72) ehe ebes-l ale -f  
 3 good-NOM stay-PRS  
*she is good/nice/beautiful*
- (73) adeia -l ale -f  
 diligent-NOM stay-PRS  
*she is (by nature) a good worker*
- (74) adeia -nam ale -f  
 diligent-DER stay-PRS  
*she is working again, her illness being over*

In the next pair of examples the first one attributes to a person a quality that is not readily open to a temporary and subjective interpretation and so the adverb is ungrammatical:

- (75) ehe hute -l (\*hute -nam) lõh -f  
 3 short-NOM (short-DER) stand-PRS  
*he is short*

In the second example a subjective interpretation is more plausible and therefore both the adjective and the adverb are applicable:

- (76) mëna hute -l /hute -nam gè-li -f  
 road short-NOM/short-DER CL-lie-PRS  
*the road is short/feels short*

An ascriptive predicate may also contain a comparative NP. This consists of a NP followed by the unique item sna-l, which is basically a deictic but may also function as a 'postposition', corresponding to the English *like* (3.6.4). Under conditions specified in 7.3.5.1, sna-l triggers case marking on the preceding NP:

- (77) ka sna lõh -f  
 1 like stand-PRS  
*he is like me*

Furthermore, an ascriptive predicate may consist of an instrumental NP. In 4.3 it was pointed out that NPs marked with the instrumental case marker may be used to ascribe properties to entities:

- (78) fou ed-nèi-fa sna nih -na  
 turtle PX-SRC-TO like skin-INS  
*that turtle was shaped like that  
 (with such a skin)*

- (79) ed-nèi agö -ianèi e -na ale-fna  
 PX-SRC women-NPL belly-INS be -PRO  
*that woman was pregnant*

Lastly, the predicate may consist of any part of speech except particles, suffixed with the nominaliser -l and further with the goal marker -m (see 8.6). The meaning of this is 'destined to be whatever is referred to':

- (80) ka-fa nne hoi-l -m  
 l -TO food NEG-NOM-GL  
*I am destined to be foodless*  
*(I will have to go without food)*
- (81) ale -l -m -gau  
 stay-NOM-GL-EMP  
*he is destined to stay up there*

#### 7.2.8.3 Locative

Locative predicates consist of a NP marked with the locative case marker -ia (with the exception of the two deictic pronouns discussed in 3.6.2, which need not bear case marking in their locative function). Although the copula verb is not compulsory in this construction, there is nevertheless a strong tendency for it to be present:

- (82) ah-ia (li -f)  
 Q -LOC (lie-PRS)  
*where is it?*
- (83) ka-na mu -ia -gas (löh -f)  
 l -POS vicinity-LOC-EMP (stand-PRS)  
*mine is fairly close*
- (84) bui -ia (ale -f)  
 prison-LOC (stay-PRS)  
*he is in prison*

#### 7.2.8.4 Possessive

The possessive predicate contains a NP that hosts the possessive clitic -na (4.1.2.4):

- (85) ehe-na öh-fa  
 3 -POS PX-TO  
*it is his, this one here*
- (86) ièf öh-nèi an -na (löh -f)  
 house PX-SRC who-POS (stand-PRS)  
*whose house is this?*

### 7.2.8.5 Existence

Another clause type involving existential verbs must be mentioned here. As we will see below, three of the five existential verbs may also function as intransitive posture verbs (sit, stand, lie). In their existential function they are devoid of meaning and only serve a linking purpose. The existence clause constitutes a kind of middle ground. This clause may only consist of a subject and a predicate, the latter obligatorily containing an existential verb. Here the existential verb has no linking function and is obligatory, unlike in other existential predicate types. However, unlike in its use as an intransitive posture verb, the existential verb is devoid of meaning. This clause type has basically two semantic functions. First, it may simply predicate the existence of the referent of the subject NP. This is one of the ways to express possession and normally a possessive determiner is present:

- (87) ne-na motorbike kai li -f -me  
 2 -POS motorbike Q lie-PRS-Q  
*do you have a motorbike?*  
 (Lit: *does your motorbike exist?*)
- (88) Ule-na ièf malhu lõh -fna  
 NAM-POS house pig stand-PRO  
*Ule had a pig*

If there is no overt possessor, it is not normally the existence of the referent of the subject NP which is predicated, but rather the existence in a particular place:

- (89) po kai li -f -me  
 water Q lie-PRS-Q  
*is there any water?*
- (90) Muit ale -la -f  
 NAM stay-EMP-PRS  
*Muit is here/there/in*

This is clearly entirely parallel to the locative clause type where an exact location is indicated:

- (91) po ièf -ia li -f  
 water house-LOC lie-PRS  
*there is water in the house*
- (92) ka-na õh  
 1 -POS PX  
*mine is here*

The parallelism between the existence, locative and possessive predicate types lends support to Lyons' claim that "... in many, and perhaps in all, languages existential and possessive constructions derive (both synchronically and diachronically) from locatives" (Lyons 1969:390).

### 7.2.8.6 Existential Verbs

Existential verbs play a prominent part in many Papuan languages. Lang (1975) found seven such verbs in Enga. Piau (1981) discusses the existential verbs in Kuman, another Highlands language (for comparative data and further

references see these two articles). In Imonda there are five verbs that function as a copula in existential predications. Three of these five verbs are posture verbs that have semantic content (unlike 'be' in English) and can be used as full intransitive verbs as well. Of the balance, one is an all-purpose existential verb without semantic content, whereas the other one functions both as a transitive and as an existential verb.

#### A: POSTURE EXISTENTIALS

There are three intransitive verbs that indicate the posture of the object in question as conceived of by native speakers. In their existential function they can also be used with a variety of other nouns, where there is no posture link.

##### *lõh stand*

In its primary function as an intransitive posture verb, *lõh* is used with nouns such as *id men*, *agõ women*, *ti tree*, *ièf house*:

- (93) *agõ -ianèi sabla ed-ia ekuk -ia lõh -ual-fna*  
*women-NPL two PX-LOC distance-LOC stand-DL -PRO*  
*the two women were standing there in the distance*

In its function as a classificatory existential verb, it also occurs with many nouns whose referents are not intrinsically tall or erect. Here are some frequently occurring nouns that take *lõh*:

<i>pèi</i>	<i>star</i>	<i>maklõfõklõ</i>	<i>story</i>
<i>uòs</i>	<i>moon</i>	<i>mõ</i>	<i>talk, story</i>
<i>õkõba</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>fèthe</i>	<i>ground</i>
<i>si</i>	<i>night</i>	<i>egl</i>	<i>sand</i>
<i>õsõ</i>	<i>garden</i>		

For an example see (69) in this chapter.

While *lõh* in its intransitive use may equally well refer to men and women, there is a strong tendency for it to refer to men only when used as an existential in ascriptive predicates. With women the posture verb *ale sit* is far more likely to occur:

- (94) *Bob kuii-l lõh -f*  
 NAM *long-NOM stand-PRS*  
*Bob is tall*
- (95) *Louise kuii-l ale-f*  
 NAM *long-NOM sit-PRS*  
*Louise is tall*

##### *ale sit, remain, stay*

*ale* is used as a full verb and as an existential with nouns whose referents may assume a sitting posture such as people or animals like *tetoad bird*, *kles mosquito*, *ude dog*. *ale* is most likely to be used with both men and women in its existential use in locative predications.

- (96) *Kaiuõ ah-ia ale-f*  
 NAM Q -LOC *sit-PRS*  
*where is Kaiuo?*

The use of *ale* with plural nouns will be looked at below.

li *lie*

li is the most frequently occurring existential verb. In its basic form it is used with nouns such as:

po	<i>water</i>
ale-l	<i>egg</i>
pafeia	<i>stone</i>

However, in most instances it occurs with a classifier (chapter 6), which, if transparent, indicates the state the object in question is in:

- (97) udō ka-na ah-ia bas-li -f  
*netbag* 1 -POS Q -LOC CL -*lie*-PRS  
*where is my netbag?*  
 (bas = opaque classifier)
- (98) ti ed he -li -f  
*tree* PX CL -*lie*-PRS  
*the tree lies/is over there*  
 (he cut)

The use of li (lõh may be used similarly) in serialisation constructions, which lie at the root of these two examples, is discussed in 5.4.1.12.

If the noun is plural the following situation obtains:

a) li > alõh

- (99) pafeia nubulam alõh -f  
*stone plenty be/PL-PRS*  
*there are lots of stones*

li has a suppletive plural form in the expression nõn li *sleep*; plural = shaulõ.

b) ale may take the plural marker -uõl (5.3.1.1) (not available for [+Human]). However, usually it does not undergo any change if the subject is plural.

- (100) agõ nubulam ale-f  
*women plenty sit-PRS*  
*there are a lot of women*

ale in its 'intransitive' use *sit* has an irregular plural form afia.

c) lõh has an irregular plural form lëfah that may be used if the subject number is a few (roughly between three and seven):

- (101) ièf malhu sabla sabla lëfah -f  
*house pig two two stand/PL-PRS*  
*there are four domestic pigs*

Usually, however, for plural subject either ale or lõh are used:

- (102) ti nubulam ale-f/ lõh -f  
*tree plenty sit-PRS/ stand-PRS*  
*there are many trees*

## B: iaulõ

iaulõ is an existential verb without semantic content. It may be used with any noun. The alternative form laulõ is often found with younger speakers:

- (103) tinbi kubui ed-ia iaulõ-fna  
*python* INT PX-LOC *be* -PRO  
*there was a large python there*
- (104) õme sue keke-l -gas laulõ-na -f  
*vagina red* INT -NOM-EMP *be* -BEN-PRS  
*her vagina is extremely red*<sup>1</sup>

For subject plural the suffix -uõl is used (5.3.1.1): iaulõ-uõl; this is not available for nouns whose referents are [-Human].

C: sugõ-ula

The use of sugõ-ula as an existential verb is secondary and may be of recent origin. Primarily it is a transitive verb. It consists of the classifier sugõ and the verb stem ula *hold, have* (see 6.2.1.8):

- (105) sa ka põt-ula -f  
*coconut* 1 CL -*have*-PRS  
*I have a coconut*

sugõ-ula is the only CL-ula construction that may also be used as an existential verb:

(106) Transitive use:

- ale-l nubulam ka sugõ-ula -f  
*egg-NOM plenty* 1 CL -*have*-PRS  
*I have a lot of eggs*

(107) Existential use:

- ka-na ale-l nubulam sugõ-ula -f  
 1 -POS *egg-NOM plenty* CL -*hold*-PRS  
*I have a lot of eggs*

(sugõ is a classifier that may be used if OB=PL; it probably derives from sugõ *get*.)

The extension of use from transitive to existential of the CL-ula construction may be due to the fact that possession may not only be expressed by CL-ula but also by a construction involving a 'proper' existential verb, as discussed above in 7.2.8.5:

- (108) blas li -f -me  
*rice lie-PRS-Q*  
*is there any rice?/do you have any rice?*
- (109) blas fa-ula -f -me  
*rice CL-have-PRS-Q*  
*do you have any rice?*

Even if this were the case, it would still remain entirely unclear why only one particular classifier, namely sugõ, has undergone this development.

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<sup>1</sup>For the adjective compound sue keke-l see 3.8.3.7.

### 7.3 The case marker -m

At the beginning of this chapter I discussed the grammatical relations of subject and object and pointed out that the case marker -m 'optionally' marks objects. In fact, this is the only case marker that is of syntactic significance and has not merely a semantic function. This is why I have chosen to deal with -m in this chapter where the syntactic functions of NPs are examined. All other case markers, which only signal the semantic role of the NP in the clause but are syntactically irrelevant, are dealt with in chapter 4.

The case marker -m has the following three main functions:

1. It marks oblique NPs that express goal, purpose, recipient and beneficiary.
2. It marks the oblique accompanier NP.
3. It marks certain types of objects.

There are also a few minor functions of this case marker, which will be briefly discussed after an examination of its basic use. Apart from one minor case (see 7.3.5.3), -m is consistently glossed GL (goal) throughout this grammar, irrespective of its function.

#### 7.3.1 Goal and purpose NPs

It appears that the basic function of -m is that of a goal marker. If the goal of a verb of motion is expressed by a place referring NP then that NP is suffixed with the locative suffix -ia (see 4.3.2) plus the goal marker -m, in that order:

- (110) ièf -ia -m ka uagl-f  
*house-LOC-GL I go -PRS*  
*I am going home*

Very rarely, the locative suffix is omitted:

- (111) nē -m at uagl-n (or: nē-ia-m)  
*bush-GL COM go -PST*  
*he has gone to the bush*

If the NP refers to the purpose of a motion verb, the same situation obtains:

- (112) tēh -ia -m uagl-fan  
*firewood-LOC-GL go -PER*  
*he has gone to collect firewood*

Again rarely, the locative suffix -ia may be omitted:

- (113) tēta -m ai-fōhō-n  
*game -GL PL-go down*  
*they have gone hunting for game*

If the purpose consists of defecating or urinating then -ia may not occur. Notice the following contrast:

- (114) ekukō -m fōhō -n  
*faeces-GL go down-PST*  
*he has gone for the purpose of defecating*

- (115) ekukõ -ia -m fõhõ -n  
*faeces-LOC-GL go down-PST*  
*he has gone to collect faeces*

If the NP indicates the purpose of the action expressed by a non-motion verb, then -ia must always occur:

- (116) kles -ia -m ka f -ia -fan  
*mosquito-LOC -GL 1 CL-get-PER*  
*I got it for the mosquitos*

The goal NP of a motion verb may be realised by a clause. This embedded clause ordinarily consists of either a verb only, or a verb and its object. There must be co-reference of the subjects of matrix and embedded clause. As far as the marking of the embedded clause is concerned, there are three possibilities:

1. The combination of locative and goal markers -ia-m is suffixed to the verb as in the above cases:

- (117) tõbtõ soh -ia -m ka uagl-f  
*fish search-LOC-GL 1 go -PRS*  
*I am going to search for fish*

2. The goal marker -m is directly suffixed to the verb stem:

- (118) tõbtõ soh-m ka uagl-f

3. The verb is nominalised by means of the suffix -l (8.6) and then suffixed with -m:

- (119) tõbtõ soh-l-m ka uagl-f

In the above case all three possibilities are equally possible, without any meaning difference. The nominalised version is unmarked and always possible whereas the other two constructions may or may not be acceptable depending on the verb. There is also some variation among speakers in this respect.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>There is a second type of purpose clause the exact nature of which is at present not fully understood. It seems to occur only with transitive verbs that depict the handling of an object. The two types of purpose clauses differ in the degree of cohesion with the main clause. The purpose clause of motion verbs is fully embedded or integrated in the matrix clause. It is case marked and appears in the same position as a non-clausal purpose NP. The cohesion between the second type of purpose clause and the main clause is less inasmuch as it follows the main verb and may be set off by a pause. However, it is also case marked with -m (\*-l-m/\*-ia-m). Again there must be co-referentiality of the two subjects. The object of the matrix clause is replaced in the subordinate clause by the interrogative pronoun *maga what* (3.6.3), which bears the instrumental case marker -na (4.3.4):

- tëla -l -na falgõ i -õb-n  
*husband-NOM-POS bow CL-PL-PST*  
*she got her husband's bow*
- iam maga-na uõl -m  
*later what-INS shoot-GL*  
*in order to shoot with it later*



### 7.3.2 Recipient and beneficiary

It has already been mentioned in the discussion of the grammatical relation of indirect object that recipients and beneficiaries are obligatorily marked by -m. The leap from goal to recipient/beneficiary marking is a small one and semantically plausible:

(120) ka-m fa-ai -h -u  
 1 -GL CL-give-REC-IMP  
*give me!*

(121) Kaiuõ-m fa-eha-na -u  
 NAM -GL CL-put-BEN-IMP  
*put it there for Kaiuo!*

Note that marking on the noun is also obligatory where the referent of the noun is [-Human]:

(122) tot iakõ-m g -abt-ai -h  
 breast bee -GL CL-DL -give-REC  
*she gave her breasts to the bee*

### 7.3.3 Object

In the discussion of the syntactic relation of object it was pointed out that sometimes case marking occurs. The case of case marked objects of intransitive verbs has already been dealt with in 7.2.2.2. This section will now examine the conditions under which objects of transitive verbs are marked.

#### 7.3.3.1 'Optional' object marking

Verbs that depict events that are directional, i.e. events that involve movement towards a goal, take the case marker -m if the directional aspect of the event is emphasised:

(123) ti he  
 tree cut  
*fell a tree*

The noun *ti* is unmarked because the speaker is not interested in the directional aspect of the hitting of the tree with an axe. However, if someone were to hit the tree in order to check the blade of the axe, then the noun would be marked. That -m marks the directional aspect of the action may become clearer in the following example:

(124) koi nubulam ka uõl -uõl fe-n  
 cassowary plenty 1 shoot-PL do-PST  
*I have shot a lot of cassowaries*

Here again the directional aspect of the shooting is of no importance and the speaker simply tells us that he has killed a lot of cassowaries. However, someone might examine a cassowary that has just been shot by someone else and upon seeing a scar, indicating an earlier shotwound, he might exclaim:

- (125) òh-nèi koi -m nòmot ka uól -sabeha -n  
 PX-SRC cassowary -GL earlier 1 shoot-in vain-PST  
*I had a shot at this cassowary earlier on (but it did not die)*

Or, upon hearing gunshots in the distance:

- (126) tēta -m wól -f  
 game -GL shoot/PL-PRS  
*they are shooting for game (not at people)*

Verbs that are inherently directional necessarily entail case marking:

- (127) malhu-m ka falifiha -n  
 pig -GL 1 shoot and miss-PST  
*I had a shot at that pig but missed it*

To further illustrate the directional function of -m here is another example:

- (128) fēthe pos  
 ground dig  
*dig up some ground (in order to take it to the house  
 for a fireplace)*
- (129) fēthe -m pos  
 ground-GL dig  
*dig in order to find something (e.g. a frog)*

That the -m marked NP is in fact an object and not an oblique goal NP is demonstrated by the fact that it can be cross-referenced on the verb for number with the object markers discussed in 5.3.1.2:

- (130) òh-nèi po sabla-m i -ual-u  
 PX-SRC water two -GL empty-DL -IMP  
*search these two creeks*

### 7.3.3.2 Obligatory object marking

Some verbs have obligatory marking on the object. Most of them are clearly directional and so the obligatory marking is not surprising in the light of what has been said above. Here are some examples:

- eg follow  
 kafli grab, seize  
 hetha hit, knock

- (131) òh-nèi po -m eg -u  
 PX-SRC water-GL follow-IMP  
*follow this creek!*
- (132) iduag -m tòf -m hetha-na  
 official-GL door-GL knock-BEN  
*he knocked on the door for the official*

In example (132) tòf is the object and iduag the beneficiary, which is cross-referenced on the verb by -na.

Objects of cognitive verbs are also obligatorily marked:

nagla            see  
 heulõ            hear  
 fõhõ            smell  
 òd-na safõ      forget

(133) mëna-m    kai nagla-i    -me  
       road-GL Q    see    -PST-Q  
       *did you see the road?*

#### DISAMBIGUATION

The goal marker -m also serves the purpose of disambiguation. Ambiguity is most likely in case of interaction of two NPs whose referents are [+Human]. In order to forestall any misunderstanding as to which is subject and which is object, Imonda marks all [+Human] objects with -m. Note the contrast between (134) and (135) and between (136) and (137):

- (134) aia    -l    edel -m ue-ne -uõl fe-f  
       father-NOM human-GL CL-eat-PL do-PRS  
       *her father habitually eats humans*
- (135) ne ka-na malhu õm            uõn-ue-ne -na -ba  
       2 1 -POS pig yesterday ACC-CL-eat-PST-TO  
       *because you ate my pig with them yesterday*
- (136) mo        -l    -m ka-m f -ai -h -u  
       daughter-NOM-GL l -GL CL-give-REC-IMP  
       *give me your daughter!*
- (137) udõ        ka-m bas-ai -h -u  
       netbag l -GL CL -give-REC-IMP  
       *give me the netbag!*

As far as interaction of animals is concerned, Imonda may and often does, but need not mark the object with -m:

- (138) tinbi ha    -m ue-ne -fan  
       python snake-GL CL-eat-PER  
       *the python has swallowed the (other) snake*  
       (*ha = specific, small snake*)

Whether the occurrence of -m in cases like this 'snake example' should be viewed as disambiguation is questionable, as real world knowledge makes doubt as to the agent and undergoer very unlikely. In the above example it is quite clear that only tinbi may be the agent.

#### 7.3.4 Accompanier

All of the different functions of the case marker -m discussed so far can be derived without much difficulty from its core meaning of goal marker. In addition to this, the same marker is also used for a number of other functions where the connection to goal marking is entirely obscure. These additional functions have been divided into minor ones and that of marking of accompanier, described in this section.

The semantic relation of accompanier is one further instance of a peripheral NP being marked by -m. So far we have seen the marking of goals, recipients and beneficiaries. Like the latter two, the accompanier NP is not only case

marked but also cross-referenced on the verb. The prefixes *uai-* and *uõn-* mark it for singular and non-singular, respectively:

- (139) *ude-m uõn -uagl-n*  
*dog-GL ACC/NS-go -PST*  
*he went with the dogs*

Further remarks on the accompanier NP can be found in 5.2.2 and in 7.2.4.

Here is a summary of the semantic and syntactic functions of NPs marked with *-m*; also displayed are the ways in which these functions are disambiguated:

	NUMBER AGREEMENT		
	SG	DL	PL
Goal	-	-	-
Recipient	-h	-	-
Benefactive	-na	-n	-n
Accompanier	<i>uai-</i>	<i>uõn-</i>	<i>uõn-</i>
Object	-	-ual	-uõl

### 7.3.5 'Minor' functions of *-m*

#### 7.3.5.1 *s(n)a-l*

*s(n)a-l* is an item with unique properties which is discussed in detail in 3.6.4. One important use of *s(n)a-l* is as a postposition corresponding to English 'like'. In this function it triggers *-m* marking on the preceding NP:

- (140) *sebuhe ude-m sna ha-pia -f*  
*devil dog-GL like MO-come-PRS*  
*the devil comes like a dog*  
*(in the shape of a dog)*
- (141) *kuke-m sna flapi-uagl-n*  
*frog-GL like flee -go -PST*  
*he fled quickly, hopping like a frog*

With pronouns, *s(n)a-l* may not drop the nominaliser and case marking is absent:

- (142) *ka sna -l (\*ka-m sna/\*ka sna)*  
*1 like-NOM*  
*like me*

Notice that the NP followed by *s(n)a-l* may itself already bear case marking:

- (143) *sue -ia -m sna*  
*fire-LOC-GL like*  
*like on a fire*

#### 7.3.5.2 Following the nominaliser *-l*

The goal marker follows the nominaliser *-l* in a variety of constructions. This is discussed in detail in 8.6

### 7.3.5.3 Substituting for the locative marker

In certain cases -m may replace -ia in either its locative or its cause function (4.3.2). Where this is the case -m is glossed either as CAU (cause) or LOC (locative):

(144) ed-nèi māl -m lōh -f  
 PX-SRC *bank-LOC stand-PRS*  
*it is on that side of the river*

(145) po -m mōskafna fe-f; agō -l po i -pi -t  
 water-CAU *anger do-PRS woman-NOM water CL-get-CF*  
*he is angry because of the water; his wife should have got water*

The replacement of -ia by -m is especially prominent in the case of nouns being used as postpositions (see 3.5.1):

(146) agō hol -m uōl -fan  
 woman *wrath-CAU shoot-PER*  
*he shot him because he had slept with his wife*

### 7.3.5.4 Obscure use of -m

There are a few rare occurrences of -m where the triggering factor is completely obscure:

(147) po -m fa-i -pia -fan  
 water-GL CL-LNK-*come*-PER  
*he came in the rain*

Ordinarily, fa-i-pia means *carry* (see 6.2.3) and its object is not -m marked:

(148) bēsèi fa-i -pia -f  
 what CL-LNK-*come*-PRS  
*what are you carrying?*

This is also discussed in 5.4.2.4.

### 7.3.6 Final -m deletion

There is an optional rule of final -m deletion. This occurs only in connected speech. When questioned, informants invariably give the form with -m, the m-less form being regarded as ungrammatical. This rule is a general phonological rule. Lengthening of the vowel preceding -m and conditioned by the latter is maintained and so -m is recoverable (see 2.4.1):

(149) lauō-na sugō -l ka-m eg -n [kam] or [ka:]  
 NAM -POS *devil-NOM 1 -GL follow-PST*  
*Iauo's devil followed me*

### 7.3.7 Imonda -m and universal grammar

Imonda is consistent with Greenberg's universal 41 which says that "if in a language the verb follows both the nominal subject and nominal object as the

dominant order, the language almost always has a case system" (Greenberg 1963:96). The most common explanation for this fact is disambiguation. As Moravcsik points out "all languages can provide for the formal differentiation of noun phrases that denote otherwise identical referents performing different participant functions in an event" (Moravcsik 1978:251). Note that Moravcsik does not simply say that there are formal means to distinguish subject from object but only that there are such means where it matters. It typically matters in the case of interaction of two referents of identical status (in practice this means two humans in the majority of cases). In this case ambiguity can arise and it is here that we find formal means to distinguish between the respective referents. Imonda employs -m to mark all object NPs whose referents are [+Human]. Or from a semantic point of view, Imonda marks all human undergoers. This is in accordance with Dixon's view that "it is plainly most natural and economical to 'mark' a participant when it is in an unaccustomed role" (Dixon 1979:86).

### 7.3.7.1 The Papuan perspective

In a recent study, Whitehead (1981) looks at the way 35 Papuan languages treat their core arguments. He comes up with the following table for the case marking of A (performer of transitive predication), S (performer of intransitive predication) and O (undergoer of transitive predication) (the labels used here are different from Whitehead's):

	A	S	O	Number of Languages
1	-	-	-	13
2a	+*	+*	-	5½
2b	-	-	+	6½
2c	+*	+*	+	3
3	+	-	-	7

[+ 'marked'; - 'unmarked'; \* 'identity']

Of the 35 languages of the sample all but one are verb-final. Of these, 12 show no marking at all. Of the remaining 22, 15 have an accusative/nominative system and seven are ergative. These figures do not lend much support to the claim by Li and Lang that "those Papuan languages which have case systems are mostly ergative" (Li and Lang 1979:309).

Whitehead includes Waris, the close relative of Imonda, in his language sample and subsumes it wrongly under category 2b. In actual fact Waris, like Imonda, has a split ergative system. To cover these two languages we would have to divide three into two subcategories, according to whether A is positively marked and the other two categories unmarked or the other way round. Whitehead points out that these 35 Papuan languages do not lend support to Greenberg's Universal 41 (see above), as 12 have no case marking at all; worse still only seven out of the remaining 22 have obligatory marking. While the 35% that have no case system whatsoever may be problematic for Greenberg, the 68% of those languages where marking is 'optional' are not. The author notes that often it is only animate or, more narrowly, human referents that are marked and suggests that in these cases it is not case at all that is marked but rather something else like focus. But, as was pointed out above, disambiguation is especially called for where human referents are involved.

Given this, it is not really surprising that 'optional' case marking is partly conditioned by animacy (for more details see Feldman and Seiler, 1983). Concluding this section we can say that Imonda is a fairly mainstream Papuan language in so far as it has an 'optional' case system (marking that is not strictly controlled by grammatical relations) and also in so far as it does not distinguish between patient and recipient in NP marking. However it seems to be unique (among the languages of the sample, anyway) in its treatment of S.

## CHAPTER 8

### THE CLAUSE

In this chapter I will be looking at further aspects of the clause. Negation, question formation, word order, emphatic clitics, modalities and what I call the distance form are the topics of this chapter. Also contained in this chapter (8.6) is an examination of the nominaliser *-l*. This morpheme functions as an adjective and part-of-whole marker and has a variety of other uses, including that of nominalisation.

#### 8.1 Negation

##### 8.1.1 *auaia*

The adverb *auaia no* has several functions one of which is to elliptically negate a proposition, thus being parallel to the English 'no':

- (1) *po kai li -f -me*  
*water Q lie-PRS-Q*  
*is there any water? Answer: auaia no*

Contrary to the English 'no', however, *auaia* may also negate a presupposition carried by a question:

- (2) *an ha-pia -f*  
*who MO-come-PRS*  
*who is coming? Answer: auaia no (no-one)*

A speaker asking this question presumably presupposes that someone *is* coming. *auaia* negates this presupposition.

*auaia* may occur after a clause to indicate that the action expressed by the preceding verb was unsuccessful:

- (3) *isi -tagla -n -b auaia*  
*hunt pigs-go round-PST-DUR no*  
*they hunted and hunted pigs, but no, they did not shoot any*

If a clause whose verb features the topic marker *-ba* (5.3.7.2), the counterfactual *-t* (5.3.6.1), the interrogative marker *-m* (5.3.7.1), or the pro-verb *fe* *make*, *do* used as a future marker (5.4.5.2), is to be negated, then the core of the VP is followed by *auaia* which in turn precedes the pro-verb *fe*, which displays the relevant postcore categories (see 5.4.5):



- (4) ne ue-ne auaiā fe-f -ba, ne-m ka hēlfe fe-f  
 2 CL-eat no do-PRS-TO 2 -GL 1 kill do-PRS  
*if you do not eat him, I will kill you*

### 8.1.2 sē...-m

Verbal predicates that do not involve any of the suffixes mentioned in the last section are usually negated by the discontinuous marker sē...-m. sē is a clause particle while -m is a verbal suffix, which occurs in the penultimate postcore position (5.3.7.1) and which is used to mark both negation and interrogation.<sup>1</sup> Depending on the particular negation or question type, -m appears in a fuller form with a vowel. In conjunction with sē, -m is realised as -me:

- (5) ehe sē eg -l -uagl-f -me  
 3 NEG follow-OB/NS-go -PRS-NEG  
*he does not follow them*
- (6) Muiť sē puhō -i -me  
 NAM NEG come up-PST-NEG  
*Muiť did not turn up*

(The suffix -m also occurs in conjunction with the prohibitive marker an, see 8.2.1.2.)

### 8.1.3 at

Negation may also be formed by another discontinuous strategy, the free clause particle at in conjunction with either the distance form (8.4) or with the negation suffix -m:

- (7) at ōh-nēi-m ka ō -f -m  
 NEG PX-SRC-GL 1 say-PRS-NEG  
*I am not talking of this one*
- (8) ka-fa at maim ale-f -è  
 1 -TO NEG anyhow be -PRS-D  
*I am not without anything*

Co-occurring with the distance form, at may negate any predicate type:

- (9) at hute -l -è  
 NEG short-NOM-D  
*this is not short*

### 8.1.4 bal

There is a second negation strategy for verbless predicates; instead of using the discontinuous marking at...-D, the negative suffix -m may be pegged onto the dummy element bal, which follows the predicate:

<sup>1</sup>For negative interrogatives see below in 8.2.1.1.

- (10) ka toad-ianèi bal-m  
 1 boys-NPL DUM-NEG  
*I am not a boy*
- (11) ebes-l bal-m  
 good-NOM DUM-NEG  
*it is not good*

### 8.1.5 hoi

A verbal clause may also be negated by the element *hoi*, which follows the verb, which must be tenseless:

- (12) toad ale hoi  
 boys stay NEG  
*there were no boys*
- (13) ehe iöbõ-l lõh hoi  
 3 tall-NOM stand NEG  
*he is not tall*

Non-verbal predicates may not be negated by *hoi*: \*ehe iöbõ-l hoi. *hoi* may also negate any part of speech X in isolation, rendering: 'not X'. The context makes it clear what exactly is negated:

- (14) tögõ hoi = tögõ sě lõl -uõl fe-f -me  
 thus NEG thus NEG talk-PL do-PRS-NEG  
*not like this that is not how you say it*
- (15) tegõ hoi; po ha-pia -f  
 cloud NEG water MO-come-PRS  
*not clouds; rain is coming*

In this function *hoi* may be replaced by *auaia* or by the before-mentioned particle *at*:

- (16) at ka-õ  
 NEG 1 -D  
*not me*

*hoi* functions also as the second element in an adjectival compound, the first being a noun. The referent of the noun qualified by the adjective lacks whatever the noun in the compound refers to. *hoi* has therefore the same function as the English derivational suffix *-less* (see 3.8.3.5):

- (17) ehe agõ hoi ale -f  
 3 women NEG stay-PRS  
*he is not married*

### 8.1.6 -ga...-ma

If negation of a verbal predicate needs to be stressed, then the verbal negation suffix may occur with a following vowel *a* [ma]. The clause particle *sě* is dropped, but the negative emphatic clitic *-ga*, which may occur with any part of speech except particles, almost always occurs (8.5):

- (18) adeia-ga ka -ga fe-f -ma  
 work -EMP 1 -EMP do-PRS-NEG  
*I do not do any work at all*

Rarely, ma occurs without -ga:

- (19) Christina kulõ ne-m fa-api -pia -na -na -ma  
 NAM EXCL 2 -GL CL-throw-come-BEN-PST-NEG  
*good old Christina has not sent you anything*

## 8.2 Mood and modalities

Mood and modality are clearly among those terms that stand most in need of definition. Foley and Van Valin observe that "these terms have been used in confusing and overlapping ways in the Western grammatical tradition" and suggest that they "cover three grammatical categories which must be clearly distinguished" (Foley and Van Valin 1984:213). In the following I will adopt their categories which are as follows. The first category is *illocutionary force* which covers imperative and interrogative. While the former is traditionally referred to as a special mood, interrogative is only rarely described so (e.g. Lyons 1969:307). The second category often referred to with 'mood' concerns the reality or irreality of an event. Foley and Van Valin borrow the term *status* from Whorf to cover this case. The third category covered by the terms mood and modality is termed *modality* and essentially "characterizes the speaker's estimate of the relationship of the actor of the event to its accomplishment, whether he has the obligation, the intention, or the ability to perform it" (Foley and Van Valin 1984:214).

### 8.2.1 Illocutionary force

The illocutionary force of an utterance may be defined as "its status as a promise, a threat, a request, a statement, an exhortation, etc." (Lyons 1977:731). It is clear that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between a certain grammatical sentence structure and a particular illocutionary force. A request, for instance, may be expressed by a positive or negative clause with the verb in the indicative or imperative mood, among others. However, it is also clear that certain distinctions in illocutionary force tend to be grammaticalised in the verb system of languages. These distinctions are the traditional domain of mood. In particular, languages tend to have inflectionally distinct verb forms that characteristically express the illocutionary force of command. These verb forms are then said to be in the imperative mood. Verbs are also often marked for the expression of questions and we could then talk of the interrogative mood (for a discussion of this point see Lyons 1977:747). Imonda displays a set of mutually exclusive verbal suffixes which, partly in conjunction with clause particles, typically function to convey the illocutionary force of command or question. It is with these two categories that I will be concerned in the following. That is, I will only look at those aspects of illocutionary force for which the term mood has been employed in the literature. It is clear that imperative and interrogative constitute only a tiny aspect of illocutionary force. Their preferential treatment derives from the fact that only these two categories are formally marked.

## 8.2.1.1 Interrogative

Questions may be divided into three types; those which require the acceptance or rejection of the proposition questioned (yes/no questions), those that question a constituent by means of an interrogative (content questions) and those that ask the hearer to choose one from among several options (alternative questions). Questions may be genuine, i.e. designed to elicit information, or they may be rhetorical.

## A: YES/NO QUESTIONS

There are two strategies to change indicative into interrogative clauses. First, by a clause particle *kai* and second by the same suffix *-m* that is used for negation. This latter usually appears as [me] or lowered to [mè] in fusion with the D-form (8.4):

(20) ne kai nagla-i  
2 Q see -PST  
*did you see it?*

(21) ne uagl-f -me  
2 go -PRS-Q  
*are you going?*

*kai* and *-m* may co-occur:

(22) kai ne hēlfe-uāi-i -me  
Q 2 kill -DL -PST-Q  
*did you kill the two?*

The suffix *-m(e)* may be attached to any part of speech save particles in elliptical questions:

(23) ed-me-è  
PX-Q -D  
*there?*

Rarely, *-m* is realised as [mō]

(24) ne tōgō ō -f -mō  
2 thus say-PRS-Q  
*are you talking like this?*

As mentioned above, the suffix *-m* serves both as a negation and an interrogative marker. For negative interrogatives the periphrastic construction involving the pro-verb *fe* *make*, *do* is therefore resorted to. Negation is expressed by the adverb *auaia* *no* (see also above 8.1.1) which follows the core of the VP; the suffix *-m* is then pegged onto the pro-verb and serves as interrogative marker:

(25) kapul ōm ha-pia auaia fe-i -me  
*plane yesterday MO-come no do-PST-Q*  
*didn't the plane come yesterday?*

(26) po kai li auaia fe-f -me  
*water Q lie no do-PRS-Q*  
*isn't there any water?*

## B: ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS

Alternative questions are formed by suffixing *-m(e)* to the different options:

- (27) òh-nèi-me-è, ed-nèi-me-è  
PX-SRC-Q -D PX-SRC-Q -D  
*this or that?*
- (28) kapul ha-pia -f -me-è, auai-a-me-è  
plane MO-come-PRS-Q -D no -Q -D  
*is the plane coming or not?*

## C: CONTENT QUESTIONS

The interrogative adverbs and pronouns discussed in chapter 3 (3.6.3) are used to form content questions. In addition, the question suffix -m(e), discussed above, may optionally occur:

- (29) an ha-pia -n  
who MO-come-PST  
*who came?*
- (30) bèsèi hëlfe-la -i -me  
what kill -EMP-PST-Q  
*what killed him?*
- (31) an -me-è  
who-Q -D  
*who?*

## D: RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

In rhetorical content questions the question suffix -m is not preceded by tense marking and appears either in the phonetic shape [m] or [mõ]:

- (32) ne -fa ah-la peha -ta -m  
2 -TO Q -area go down-IRR-Q  
*how will you get down?! (there is no escape)*
- (33) an uagl-la -m  
who go -EMP-Q  
*who is going?! (not me; I cannot be bothered)*

Rhetorical yes/no questions do not have the question particle kai and the question suffix -m is phonetically realised as [m]:

- (34) òh-nèi-m ka õ -f -m  
PX-SRC-GL 1 say-PRS-Q  
*am I talking about this?! [implying 'no']*

## 8.2.1.2 Imperative

Imperative is the classic case of mood and is one of those categories that is very frequently marked on the verb. One can distinguish positive from negative imperative, the latter of which I will call 'prohibitive'. Imonda has a verbal suffix -u (5.3.4.2) to mark imperatives and it displays discontinuous marking for the prohibitive, namely a free particle an in conjunction with the negative suffix -m, discussed in 8.1:

- (35) ne be-f -auõ-gas ne -u  
2 2 -EMP-EMP-EMP eat-IMP  
*you only eat!*

- (36) peha -la -u  
*come down-EMP-IMP*  
*come down!*
- (37) sebuhe-na nne an fa-ne -n -m  
*devil -POS food PROH CL-eat-BEN/NS-NEG*  
*do not eat the food of the devils*

Note that in prohibitives the negation marker -m is always realised as [m] and never as [me] (8.1). This could give rise to confusion with rhetorical questions involving the interrogative pronoun *an who*, where the interrogative marker is also realised as [m]. In order to forestall such ambiguity Imonda prohibits the emphasis suffix -la (5.3.2) from occurring in negative imperatives, whereas it requires it in rhetorical questions involving an *who*:

- (38) an fa-ne -m  
 PROH CL-eat-NEG  
*do not eat!*
- (39) an fa-ne -la -m  
*who CL-eat-EMP-Q*  
*who is eating?! (i.e. I do not want to eat)*

The prohibitive and the -u marked imperative are used to give orders to the addressee. In addition to this, Imonda employs the verbal suffix -i (5.3.6.2) as an imperative marker for third persons as well as a kind of pseudo-imperative (hortative) for the inclusive:

- (40) baiu ka-m lëg -ai -h -i -è  
*shirt 1 -GL CL -give-REC-IMM-D*  
*he shall give me a shirt!*
- (41) uagl-uai-i  
 go -DL -IMM  
*let us go!*

### 8.2.2 Status

Status is concerned with the speaker's view of the actuality of the event. It is a continuum from 'realis' to 'irrealis' which includes several intermediate points of 'certainty' such as 'likelihood' and 'possibility'. Realis and irrealis are the traditional domain of mood (along with imperative), due to the fact that the classical languages such as Latin signal these distinctions by means of verbal morphology.

Realis is unmarked in Imonda whereas irrealis is marked on the verb by the suffix -ta (see 5.3.4.1). The irrealis is only applicable in non-past events, which is not surprising as events that have not occurred yet are likely to be much less certain. The irrealis occurs especially frequently in questions and in hypothetical conditionals (for a discussion of the latter see 9.2.1):

- (42) po feha-ta -me auaia-me  
*water fall-IRR-Q no -Q*  
*is it going to rain or not?*

- (43) ka ne -ta -ba, ka-m iaha-t  
 1 eat-IRR-TO 1 -GL die -CF  
*if I had eaten it, I would have died*

While there are no morphosyntactic means to express epistemic necessity, there are two ways to express likelihood, possibility or probability. First, by means of the particle *kai*, whose primary function is that of a question marker (8.2.1.1):

- (44) ed kai li -f  
 PX PRT lie-PRS  
*it is likely to be over there; it is possibly there*
- (45) tōgō kai  
 thus PRT  
*it is probably like that*

Second, by means of the verbal suffix -t. As this is discussed in some detail in 5.3.6.1, I will only illustrate it here:

- (46) ehe-m iaha-na -t  
 3 -GL die -PST-CF  
*it will be he who has died*
- (47) ne ièf -ia -m uagl-fna-t  
 2 house-LOC-GL go -PRO-CF  
*you were on your way home (apparently, probably)*

### 8.2.3 Modality

While illocutionary force and status are reasonably well defined concepts, Foley and Van Valin's third category modality seems to be somewhat ill defined. Their concept modality is meant to cover the cases of obligation, intention and ability (see their quote above). This is somewhat reminiscent of 'deontic modality', which has to do "with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents" (Lyons 1977:823). What cases exactly modality is meant to cover is unclear and this seems to be quite a general problem with the term modality as used by linguists. In English, for instance, a set of verbs is defined as modal auxiliaries (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973:37) on the basis of a set of morphosyntactic properties. These modal auxiliaries are said to express a modality (Halliday 1970:328). This language-specific definition, which includes *will* but excludes *want*, certainly does not contribute to providing a general definition of modality. Modality thus formally defined for the grammar of English seems to be useless for cross-linguistic purposes. However, the semantic categories expressed by the English modals are often taken to delimit modality, either implicitly or explicitly, and the task of the linguist describing some language would then seem to be to find out how these categories are expressed in that language. Haiman, for instance, in his discussion of modality in the New Guinea Highlands language Hua, makes this approach explicit by saying that "Hua lacks all of the modal words: there is no lexemic equivalent for can, must, should ..." (Haiman 1980:441). Haiman then goes on to describe how Hua expresses the semantic categories expressed by the English modals.

This approach is quite clearly unsatisfactory. The alternative, defining modality on a semantic basis, is also problematic, since, as Palmer points out,

"it is not at all clear how, precisely, modality should be defined in semantic terms, and any precise definition may well exclude a great deal of what we wish to describe in actual languages. In particular, if the semantic system is presented as a logical system, it will have little in common with natural languages" (Palmer 1979:1).

Palmer suggests that both form and meaning should be taken into consideration. The semantic definition delimits the general field of modality but "precisely what is to be handled within that concept will depend on the formal features of the language being described" (Palmer 1979:2).

The question of modality cannot be further pursued here. In the following short discussion of Imonda modality I will simply assume that there is a generally accepted semantic concept of modality. I will take the verbal morphology as the delimiter of the field and will briefly review to what extent this has modal functions.

#### 8.2.3.1 The suffix -i

The suffix -i following the non-past marker -fa expresses permission with third person subjects:

(48) uagl-la -fa -i  
*go -EMP-PRS-IMM*  
*she may go*

(49) fe-la -fa -i  
*do-EMP-PRS-IMM*  
*he may do it*

This suffix may also express intention or will:

(50) ka të fe-i  
 1 EMP do-IMM  
*I want/intend to do it*

All aspects of this suffix are discussed in 5.3.6.2.

#### 8.2.3.2 -uõl

In section 5.3.1 I discussed the plural marker -uõl. This suffix also encodes habitual action, 'know how to' and ability, all of which are clearly closely related. Example (51) shows the habitual and (52) the modal use of -uõl:

(51) tëta ka sē fa-ne -uõl fe-f -me  
*meat 1 NEG CL-eat-PL do-PRS-NEG*  
*I do not habitually eat meat*

(52) õh-nèi ti ka sē fulhõ-uõl fe-f -me  
 PX-SRC tree 1 NEG climb-PL do-PRS-NEG  
*I am not able/do not know how to climb this tree*



The gloss 'PL' (plural) is maintained irrespective of the function of -uõl.<sup>1</sup>

### 8.2.3.3 The counterfactual suffix -t

In 5.3.6.1 the counterfactual suffix -t is discussed in some detail. It may be glossed with the English modal verbs 'would', 'should' and 'could'. For a discussion I refer to 5.3.6.1 and give here just an illustrative example:

- (53) òm ha-pia -t  
*yesterday* MO-come-CF  
*you should have come yesterday*

## 8.3 Word order

The order of elements within the NP and the clause is fairly flexible. There are more constraints on the order of constituents of the NP, a matter which is discussed in chapter 4. As far as clause constituent order is concerned, there is only one constraint, namely the requirement for the verb to occur in final position. The order of the other constituents does not affect the grammaticality of the clause. However, different orderings have different pragmatic effects. As this is an area I have not thoroughly investigated, I shall merely give a few examples which illustrate the flexibility in the order of constituents, taking into account only adverb, subject, object and recipient/benefactive:

- (54) SU-OB:  
ka pafeia sue fe-i  
1 stone fire do-IMM  
*I am going to make a fire (for cooking)*

<sup>1</sup>There is another strategy to express inability the exact nature and extent of which I do not fully understand at present. This strategy involves interrogative pronouns or adverbials (3.6.3), some of which trigger the pro-verb fe (5.4.5). Here are some illustrative examples:

- agõ bèsèi nagla fe-f  
*women what see do-PRS*  
*the women may not watch it*
- ah-ia ebes-nam lõl -f  
Q -LOC good-DER talk-PRS  
*she cannot talk well*
- põl -ia bèsèi peha fe-f õsõ -ia -m  
fence-CAU what go down do-PRS garden-LOC-GL  
*because of the fence (the pigs) are not able*  
*to get into the garden*

- (55) OB-SU:  
 ne-m ka lapi fe-f  
 2 -GL 1 shoot do-PRS  
*I will shoot you*
- (56) REC-OB:  
 ka-m mugõ fa-ai -h -u -è  
 1 -GL one CL-give-REC-IMP-D  
*give me one!*
- (57) OB-BEN-SU:  
 õh-nèi ne-m ka f -ia -na -ta -me  
 PX-SRC 2 -GL 1 CL-get-BEN-IRR-Q  
*shall I get this one for you?*
- (58) ADV-SU-OB:  
 haifõ ehe-f ed-nèi pinisim fe  
 again 3 -EMP PX-SRC finish do  
*she finished that again*
- (59) SU-OB-ADV:  
 ka ne-m haifõ ah-tõgõ eg -la -m-õ  
 1 2 -GL again Q thus follow-EMP-Q-D  
*why should I follow you again*

While I am not saying anything on the pragmatic impact of different constituent orderings, there are nonetheless two strategies that deserve a special mention. Constituents may be 'moved' outside the clause, either to the right or the left. They are separated from the clause by a pause. The shifting of a constituent to the left is a topicalisation strategy and the constituent always bears topic marking:

- (60) mag -na -nam-fa, aia -l agõ -l -i e -uagl-ual-n  
 other-LNK-DER-TO father-NOM woman-NOM-CO DL-go -DL -PST  
*some other time, his father and his wife went away*

(This is further discussed in 9.2.1.)

The occurrence of a constituent to the right of the clause can be aptly called 'afterthought strategy'. It has been pointed out that NPs are commonly omitted if their presence is not absolutely essential. The afterthought strategy is resorted to for clarification, if there is any doubt in the speaker's mind whether the intended message is unambiguous. As the afterthought constituent clarifies what is being talked about, it is not surprising that it is usually topic marked:

- (61) mẽna-ia heual-lõh -fna, sebuhe-fa  
 road-LOC hear -stand-PRO ghost -TO  
*he stood listening on the road, that ghost*
- (62) mu -ia lõh -n -fna, na -fa  
 vicinity-LOC stand-BEN/NS-PRO sago-TO  
*it was close by, the sago tree*

## 8.4 The D-form

What I term the D-form has several functions one of which is its use in talking to someone at a distance, hence its name. It consists of a mid vowel of either height two or three, [+/- back], which may be suffixed to any part of speech, including particles. If it occurs with a verb it must occupy the last position in the VP. The name giving function of the D-form may be seen in the following example:

- (63) ha-pia -u -è  
 MO-*come*-IMP-D  
*come!*

The phonetic realisation of D depends on the construction it is used in, on grammatical information and on the quality of the preceding vowel. In some constructions D is realised as a close mid vowel and in others as an open mid vowel. In some constructions the feature [back] is entirely dependent on the quality of the preceding vowel, while in others, grammatical information is decisive. An important function of the D-form is as a cohesive device used in sentential constructions, in connecting NPs and also in discourse.

### 8.4.1 Enumeration

The D-form is used to bind constructs together in enumeration; D is here of height two and if the word it is suffixed to ends in a consonant, it agrees with the preceding vowel in the feature [back]:

- (64) es -e sapoh -o if -e ...  
 sago-D tobacco-D breadfruit-D  
*sago, tobacco, breadfruit ...*

If the word ends in a vowel, the rules are basically the same, but the two vowels may fuse to some extent; here /a/ behaves like a back vowel and combines with D into a back vowel in polysyllabic words:

- (65) õflõ -o [õvlo], atha -o [atxõ], sa -õ ...  
 knife-D sugarcane-D coconut-D  
*knife, sugarcane, coconut ...*

Verb stems with their relevant objects may also be connected in this way:

- (66) nõ -l ulõ -o, tēh papõ -o, po i -pi -e, sue uekl -e  
 seed-NOM plant-D firewood break-D water CL-get-D fire light-D  
*planting seeds, breaking firewood, fetching water, lighting fires*

While the tense D-form is frequently employed to link grammatical constructs of equal status in the way just described, it may also be used in discourse just as a cohesive feature; an example can be found in Appendix (B), line 36.

### 8.4.2 Distance

In talking about something distant the D-form is very likely to be used. Here again D is realised as a tense mid vowel:

- (67) ed-la -m nagla-u -e, ed-e, ed uagl-f -e ekenam -o  
 PX-area-GL see -IMP-D, PX-D, PX go -PRS-D quickly-D  
*look over there, there, up there it is going, quickly*

(The rules with respect to the feature [back] are the same as above, but [o] occurs after the derivative suffix -nam and [e] after the imperative and non-past suffix.)

The D-form is used to talk to someone at some distance or generally when one raises one's voice, as in anger:

- (68) auaia-õ at uagl-n -õ  
 no -D PER go -PST-D  
*no, he has gone*

#### 8.4.3 Cohesion

The D-form [height three] is used as a cohesive feature at sentence level to bind clauses together. It is especially prominent in quotations; here it almost always occurs both on the verb of saying and on the verb, or more generally, the last word of the quotation clause:

- (69) ka-fa õ -n -õ ebes-l -è  
 1 -TO say-PST-D good-NOM-D  
*I thought she was all right*
- (70) afa -l õ -n -õ bësèi ne ed fi-f -è  
 mother-NOM say-PST-D what 2 PX do-PRS-D  
*mother asked them what they were doing there*

A final [height two] vowel assimilates to the following D:

- (71) ka-fa õ -n. -õ po -õ[põ] / me -è[mè]  
 1 -TO say-PST-D water-D hole-D  
*I thought it was water/a hole*

The D-form also occurs frequently with clauses preceded by a topic clause, especially when the two indicate consecutive actions:

- (72) ehe uagl-na -ba ka tǒgǒ uagl-è  
 3 go -PST-TO 1 thus go -D  
*after he had left I went away, too*

#### 8.4.4 The D-form with at

The [height three] D-form often occurs in conjunction with the negation particle at (8.1):

- (73) at ka uagl-f -è  
 NEG 1 go -PRS-D  
*I am not going*
- (74) at ne be-f -auõ uagl-fan-õ  
 NEG 2 2 -EMP-EMP go -PER-D  
*you did not go by yourself*

## 8.5 Emphatic clitics

Imonda possesses a variety of emphatic clitics, some of which may occur after any part of speech save particles, while others may only occur after nominals and adverbs, i.e. not with particles or verbs. With NPs the clitics simply follow the last word and case marking if there is any. Those clitics that may occur with verbs trigger the pro-verb *fe* *make*, *do* (5.4.5), with the exception of *-ai* (5.3.8.1). In the kind of emphasis and the range of distribution the clitics overlap to some extent and some of them may also co-occur. Not all logically possible combinations of clitics have been checked and I will only indicate the important ones below. I will illustrate the clitics one by one:

-suõ	-fla
-huef	-gau
-baihef	-ga
-gas	-ai

(-auõ only occurs with emphatic pronoun determiners and is disregarded here, see 4.1.2.)

### 8.5.1 -suõ

The clitic *-suõ* may occur after nominals and adverbs, but not verbs:

- (75) òh-ia -suõ ale -u  
 PX-LOC-EMP *stay*-IMP  
*you stay here!*
- (76) ehe-na kebl -ia -suõ mugõ ale fe-è  
 3 -POS *village*-LOC-EMP *completely* *stay* do-D  
*he stays in her village for good*

One frequent way of indicating the end of a story is by the demonstrative òh *here, this* with the clitic *-suõ*, usually followed by a second clitic *-huef*: òh-suõ-huef *that is it*.

### 8.5.2 -huef and -baihef

The clitic *-huef* and its variant *-baihef* may not occur with verbs and may not be followed by another clitic. In fact, these two clitics may only occur after the last constituent of a clause, which is often reduced:

- (77) ka-huef; ka të ha-pia -la fe-f  
 1 -EMP 1 EMP MO-*come*-EMP do-PRS  
*me! I will come*
- (78) aia! ka-fa òh-huef  
 father 1 -TÓ PX-EMP  
*father! I am here*

The second frequent way of concluding a story (see above) involves again *-huef*, this time preceded by the topic marker *-uõ*, which in its turn is preceded by the demonstrative *ed there, that*: ed-uõ-huef *that is it*:

- (79) ed-uõ-huef, õh-nèi maklõfõklõ-fa  
 PX-TO-EMP PX-SRC *story* -TO  
*that is it, this story here*

### 8.5.3 -gas

The clitic -gas may occur with verbs and may often be translated as *completely* or *only*:

- (80) fulhõ-gas fe-u  
*climb-EMP do-IMP*  
*climb up all the way!*
- (81) malhu-fa, an ue-hla-m; koi -gas ue-hla-u  
*pig -TO PROH CL-eat-NEG cassowary-EMP CL-eat-IMP*  
*do not eat pigs; eat only cassowaries!*

This clitic may precede -fla (see below) and huef, e.g. tõgõ-gas-huef *like that*.

### 8.5.4 -fla

The clitic -fla behaves like -gas in that it may cliticise onto anything except particles. The following example contains three occurrences of fla:

- (82) ainam -fla ne-fla uagl-fla fe-u  
*quickly-EMP 2 -EMP go -EMP do-IMP*  
*go quickly!*  
 (-fla > -bla / m \_\_\_/: [ainambla])

-fla may be preceded by the clitics -gas or -suõ, e.g. sabla-suõ-fla *two*.

### 8.5.5 -ai

The clitic -ai also may occur after any part of speech apart from particles, but is different from -gas and -fla in that it does not trigger the pro-verb fe *make, do*, but rather cliticises onto the verb directly (see 5.3.8.1):

- (83) ebes-nam-gas ka të fe-fanaf-ai  
*good-DER-EMP 1 EMP do-PER -EMP*  
*I have done it well*
- (84) Iad kõkõ-ai, mõ ah-tõgõ lõl -f -m-ai  
 NAM EXCL-EMP *talk Q -thus speak-PRS-Q-EMP*  
*this Iad, what is he talking about!?*

### 8.5.6 -gau

The clitic -gau is not available for verbs; here are two examples:

- (85) ka-fa edel meg -na -gau  
 1 -TO *human mouth*-INS-EMP  
*I eat humans*  
 (For the compound construction with meg-na see 3.8.)
- (86) ka-fa ne-na pren -l sēh -l -gau  
 1 -TO 2 -POS *friend*-NOM *friend*-NOM-EMP  
*I am your friend*

### 8.5.7 -ga

The clitic -ga may occur with verbs. It very frequently co-occurs with the negation marker -ma (8.1.6) and carries negative implications:

- (87) bēsèi -ga ne fe-n  
*what* -EMP 2 *do*-PST  
*what have you done!* (*you have not achieved anything*)
- (88) ebes-l -ga li -f -ma  
*good*-NOM-EMP *lie*-PRS-NEG  
*it is no good at all*

## 8.6 The nominaliser -l

In chapter 3 I pointed out that all adjectives and many nouns end in a final -l. In addition it was briefly mentioned that this morpheme also functions as a nominaliser. This section will now discuss the various uses and functions of this morpheme. Regardless of its respective function, -l is consistently glossed as 'NOM' (nominaliser) throughout this grammar.

### 8.6.1 The occurrence of -l with nominals

All non-derived adjectives end in -l; with some of them, -l occurs obligatorily, while with others it is optional:

- (89) mēna hute(-l)  
*road short*-NOM  
*a short road*
- (90) òflō sē -l  
*knife sharp*-NOM  
*a sharp knife*

All adjectives however lose their -l when they are suffixed with -nam (3.2.6) to derive an adverb or when they occur in predicative position with the pro-verb fe *make, do*, used as an existential (5.4.5.1):

hute-l	<i>short</i>	>	hute-nam	<i>short</i>
sē-l	<i>sharp</i>	>	sē fe	<i>be sharp</i>

In addition to adjectives, -l occurs with a great many nouns which denote a part of a whole, or which are otherwise 'relational'. The following categories can be distinguished.

## 8.6.1.1 Body parts

If the body part is linked to its possessor by means of the possessive marker -na, then it occurs with -l where the possessor is [-Human] and without -l where it is [+Human]:

- (91) ehe-na ta (\*ta-l)  
 3 -POS *hair*  
*his hair*
- (92) tetoad-na ta -l (\*ta)  
*bird* -POS *feather-NOM*  
*bird feathers*

In a compound construction, however, -l must not occur: tetoad ta (\*ta-l) *bird feathers*.

Human body parts appear with a final -l when they are used as objects:

- (93) òme -l tēla -l -m fa-i -uagl-ni -n  
*vagina-NOM husband-NOM-GL CL-LNK-go -BEN-PST*  
*they took her vagina to her husband*

A few body parts have developed a meaning difference between the form with -l and the one without it:

ekukō	<i>faeces</i>	vs.	ekukō-l	<i>bowels</i>
tēlp	<i>urine</i>	vs.	tēlpo-l	<i>bladder</i> (final -o is reduced in the short form)
tōf	<i>blood</i>	vs.	tōfo-l	<i>skin</i> (same vowel reduction) (tōfo-l is the form consistently given on elicitation, but in connected speech tōf can also be heard)
im(-u)	<i>anus</i>	vs.	imu-l	<i>last part of digestive tract</i>
nih	<i>body</i>	vs.	nih-l	<i>meat</i>
ōmō	<i>pubic area</i>	vs.	ōmō-l	<i>buttocks</i>

The only body part which never appears without a final -l is tāl *testicle*. In this case, however, the lateral is part of the stem as becomes clear on the basis of comparative evidence (see Appendix (A)).

## 8.6.1.2 Kinship terms

Kinship terms are clearly relational and all end in -l. In contrast to body parts, however, they must occur with -l if possessed:

- (94) ka-na di -l  
 1 -POS *younger brother-NOM*  
*my younger brother*

As terms of address they shed their -l: afa! *mother!*.

Notice the difference between agō *woman* and agō-l *wife*.

In the same category as kinship terms belong the two words for *ghost, soul, spirit, devil*, i.e. sugō and sebuhe:



- (95) sebuhe ha-pia -n  
*ghost* MO-come-PST  
*a ghost came*

A ghost is a dead person's soul that appears in human shape. In example (95) it is immaterial whose soul it is, it is simply an enemy. But if it is possessed, then: ehe-na sebuhe-l *his soul*.

### 8.6.1.3 Other cases

Objects which are perceived as being part of a whole generally end in -l. This is especially true of parts of trees and plants but to some extent also of man-made objects. If such parts occur as NP heads, they must have -l:

këla-l	<i>branch</i>
pëla-l	<i>root</i>
möfo-l	<i>fruit</i>
aga-l	<i>handle</i>

If they occur as the second part of a compound, then the -l is dropped; so for instance with *ti tree* or *udö netbag*:

ti këla	<i>branch</i>
ti pëla	<i>root</i>
udö aga	<i>netbag handle</i>

Where a possessive paraphrase is possible the possessed part must have -l, so for instance: *ti-na këla-l*. These items are therefore exactly parallel to [-Human] body parts, as discussed above.

The nouns *pëla-l root* or *këla-l branch* refer to parts of the noun *ti tree*. Here the actual lexemes for the whole and for the parts are different. There are however a few cases where the part is referred to by the same lexeme as the whole, but with the suffix -l. This is so in the case of some fruits, where the -l form refers to the edible part of the fruit:

sa	<i>coconut</i>	vs.	sa-l	<i>coconut meat</i>
fo	<i>banana</i>	vs.	fo-l	<i>edible part of banana</i>

But it also occurs with other nouns:

ti	<i>tree</i>	vs.	ti-l	<i>tree trunk</i>
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In the above examples, and in most instances quite generally, there is a part-whole relation. But there are other cases where there is only a relation 'of some sort', such as in the following example where the first stem in the compound indicates the cause of the second stem:

- (96) fal mal or: fal-na mal-l  
*spear scar* -POS -NOM  
*spear scar*

Let us now look at a few nouns that do not normally display the -l alternation:

ièf	<i>house</i>	atha	<i>sugarcane</i>
pafeia	<i>stone</i>	mëna	<i>road</i>
sapoh	<i>tobacco</i>	udö	<i>netbag</i>

All of the above and countless others have the characteristic that they are not typically part of something else. With the last item, *udõ netbag*, this was true at least until European culture began to intrude. At that stage people were introduced to trousers and pockets and, in extension, *udõ* started to be used to refer to pocket. But as pocket is typically a part of a whole, *udõ* was transferred into the -l category.

Another excellent example that illustrates the relational character of -l, is provided by *po water*. When *po* is used to refer to general water, rain or creeks it has no -l. When it refers to *wound water* or *coconut water* it does end in -l.

It appears that theoretically any noun may be suffixed with -l when it becomes relational. This becomes apparent where someone's soul assumes the shape of an animal or, infrequently, any physical object:

- (97) aia -na koi -l  
 father-POS cassowary-NOM  
 father's cassowary, i.e. father in the shape of a cassowary

In a simple possessive relationship there is no -l: *aia-na koi father's cassowary, i.e. the one he looks after*.

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that there is a close parallel between adjective and noun. Nevertheless they are equally clearly distinct on semantic and syntactic grounds. While both adjectives and nouns may head a NP, only the latter may do so felicitously in an 'out-of-the-blue' context:

- (98) sapoh (\*ebes-l) ka-m fa-ai -h -u  
 tobacco (good-NOM) 1-GL CL-give-REC-IMP  
 give me tobacco (\*the good one)!

Syntactically, adjectives are distinguished from nouns on the following basis. First, they may not be possessed:

- (99) agõ -ianèi-na / \*ebes-l -na udõ  
 women-NPL -POS/ good-NOM-POS netbag  
 the netbag of the woman/\*the good one

Second, adjectives differ from part-of-whole nouns by their inability to form a possessive paraphrase:

- (100) koi ale  
 cassowary egg  
 cassowary egg
- (101) koi kulõ  
 cassowary old  
 an old cassowary
- (102) koi -na ale-l  
 cassowary -POS egg-NOM  
 cassowary egg
- (103) \*koi -na kulõ-l  
 cassowary -POS old -NOM  
 an old cassowary

Third, part-of-whole nouns in a compound may not end in -l, whereas attributive adjectives either must have -l (e.g. *ebes-l good*), or may have it (e.g. *kulõ-l old*). Fourth, the pro-verb *fe make, do* may only be used as an existential

verb with certain adjectives, yet never with nouns:

- (104) ebes fe-f  
*good do-PRS*  
*it is good*
- (105) \*tòf fe-f  
*door do-PRS*  
*it is a door*

### 8.6.2 Nominalisation

The nominaliser -l derives nominals from adverbs and verbs.

#### 8.6.2.1 Adjectivalisation

Verbs may be turned into adjectives by suffixing -l to the stem. Intransitive verbs derive adjectives that correspond to English present participles while transitive verbs derive adjectives that correspond to English past participles:

##### A: INTRANSITIVE VERBS

iaha	<i>die</i>	>	iaha-l	<i>dying, sick</i>
tagla	<i>go round</i>	>	tagla-l	<i>walking</i>

This is not a freely productive process and those verbs that may take -l have to be listed in the lexicon. There are also cases of serialised stems that may undergo adjectivalisation:

tagla-saihõ	<i>go round-enter</i>	>	tagla-saihõ-l	<i>toddling</i>
	<i>i.e. toddle</i>			

These derived adjectives behave like primary adjectives in every respect; for instance, they may take case marking but may not be modified by adverbs:

- (106) mòd kusi -puhõ -l -ia  
*plenty gather-come up-NOM-CAU*  
*because of the many people who gathered,*
- pël adeia së e -fe-i -me  
 ICL *work NEG DL-do-PST-NEG*  
*we did not do any work*
- (107) \*mòd òm kusi -puhõ -l -ia  
*plenty yesterday gather-come up-NOM-CAU*  
*because of the many people who gathered yesterday*
- (108) mòd òm kusi -puhõ -fan  
*plenty yesterday gather-come up-PER*  
*plenty of people gathered yesterday*

##### B: TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs derive adjectives very productively:

tëta puis	<i>cut meat</i>	>	tëta puis-l	<i>the cut meat</i>
tí he	<i>chop a tree</i>	>	tí he-l	<i>a chopped down tree</i>
sapoh këk fe	<i>roll a smoke</i>	>	sapoh këk fe-l	<i>a rolled smoke</i>

Derived adjectives behave like ordinary adjectives:

- (109) uisafõ uõl -l -ia po feha-lõh-f  
*crocodile shoot-NOM-CAU water fall-DUR-PRS*  
*it keeps raining because they shot a crocodile*  
*(because of the shot crocodile)*

Derived adjectives may also head a NP:

- (110) ka ka-f -na uõl -l -fa ka maim fa-ne -f  
 l l -EMP-POS shoot-NOM-TO l anyway CL-eat-PRS  
*the prey shot by myself I eat anyway*

### 8.6.2.2 Clausal NPs

Goal NPs of motion verbs and benefactive or object NPs of certain verbs may consist of a clause. As far as the former are concerned, there are three strategies to mark the verb of the goal clause. It may be suffixed with the combination of locative and goal markers, which is the usual way of marking goals (7.3). Alternatively, the verb may be nominalised with -l and then further suffixed with the goal marker. The third option is for the goal marker to be directly suffixed to the verb stem. Of the three options only the one involving nominalisation is always possible (for the other options see 7.3):

- (111) põl nēhe -l -m uagl-f  
*fence construct-NOM-GL go -PRS*  
*I am going to build a fence*
- (112) nõ -l ulõ -l -m at uagl-n  
*seed-NOM plant-NOM-GL COM go -PST*  
*he has gone planting seeds*

A very small number of non-motion verbs may take a clausal benefactive or object NP. As is the case with all clausal NPs, it usually consists only of a verb or a verb and its object. The verb is nominalised and further suffixed with the goal marker. Of the following examples the first two show benefactive clausal NPs and the third one is an instance of an object clause:

- (113) ha-pia -l -m õ -fan  
 MO-come-NOM-GL say-PRO  
*he was talking of coming*
- (114) õh-nèi fla-fia-l -m ka tit fe-f  
 PX-SRC CL -get-NOM-GL l ignorant do-PRS  
*I do not know how to get this out*
- (115) mëna adeia fe-l -m fe-f  
 road work do-NOM-GL do-PRS  
*he is about to do some work on the road*  
*(fe plus clausal object = be about to)*

### 8.6.2.3 Adverbs

Adverbs are defined as those non-verbal items that may take affixation but not case marking. However, they may be nominalised with *-l* and then accept case marking. The following three examples show nominalised adverbs in a reduced conditional clause (see 4.3.2) suffixed with the locative marker *-ia* (example (116)) and as beneficiaries of the verb 'say', suffixed with the goal marker *-m* (examples (117) and (118)):

- (116) *tōgō-l -ia -fa ka uagl fe-f*  
*thus-NOM-LOC-TO 1 go do-PRS*  
*if so, I will go*
- (117) *nōmot ne adeia fe-l -m ō -fna,*  
*earlier 2 work do-NOM-GL say-PRO*  
*earlier you were talking about doing work*
- iauō haifō auai-a-l -m ō -f*  
*now again no -NOM-GL say-PRS*  
*and now you say no again*
- (118) *ōm -l -m ō -fna*  
*yesterday-NOM-GL say-PRO*  
*I was talking about yesterday*

### 8.6.3 Secondary occurrence of *-l* with nominals

The primary use of *-l* with nominals is that of an adjective and part-of-whole marker, as discussed above in 8.6.1. In addition to this, it also fulfils other syntactic function on nominals, as is shown in the following.

#### 8.6.3.1 As

A productive syntactic process is the suffixing of nouns with *-l*, resulting in the meaning of 'as; in the shape of what the noun refers to'. For reasons unknown the goal marker *-m* is further suffixed to *-l* in almost all cases:

- (119) *ka-m na -l -m hi -u*  
*1 -GL sago-NOM-GL cut-IMP*  
*fell me as a sago tree!*
- (120) *ka-m tēla -l -l -m lōh -n -u -è*  
*1 -GL husband-NOM-NOM-GL stand-BEN/NS-IMP-D*  
*be our husband (stand up for us as a husband)!*

(The first instance of *-l* marks the noun as relational.)

- (121) *if ta -l -m pōt-eha-n*  
*breadfruit head-NOM-GL CL -put-PST*  
*he put a breadfruit as head*

- (122) nōmot ti he -na -ba, tēh -l -m  
*before tree cut-PST-TO firewood-NOM-GL*  
*having chopped down the tree earlier,*

agō at f -ia -n  
*women COM CL-get-PST*  
*the women have collected it as firewood*

- (123) ed-nèi-m agō -l -l -m f -ia -fan  
*PX-SRC-GL woman-NOM-NOM-GL CL-take-PER*  
*he took her as his wife*

(The first instance of -l marks the noun as relational: agō *woman* > agō-l *wife*.)

In the above examples the occurrence of the goal marker -m is obligatory. With *pia come* and *puhō come up* it is optional:

- (124) sali -l (-m) ha-pia -fan  
*bandicoot-NOM(-GL) MO-come-PER*  
*he came in the shape of a bandicoot*

### 8.6.3.2 Pronouns and proper nouns

Personal pronouns and proper nouns may be suffixed with -l and again further with the goal marker -m, deriving 'as X's' where X is the referent of the nominal:

- (125) sa mugō ka -l -m pōt-eha-u  
*coconut one 1 -NOM-GL CL -put-IMP*  
*put a coconut as mine!*

Note that ka-l-m is not the beneficiary of the verb and there is no number agreement. This is in contrast to the following, where the -m marked NP is the beneficiary and is therefore cross-referenced on the verb:

- (126) sa mugō ka-m pōt-eha-na -u  
*coconut one 1 -GL CL -put-BEN-IMP*  
*put a coconut there for me!*

Another example:

- (127) ōh-nèi be-f -l -m pōt-i -uagl-u  
*PX-SRC 2 -EMP-NOM-GL CL -LNK-go -IMP*  
*carry this as yours!*

### 8.6.3.3 Numerals

In 7.1.2 I briefly discussed what I called the peripheral object. This object indicates the frequency of the action expressed by the verb. Numerals functioning as peripheral objects have the same function as the English 'once', 'twice' and so on. In this function *sabla two* is normally affixed with the combination of nominaliser plus goal marker:

- (128) *sabla-l -m ka uagl-ual-n*  
*two -NOM-GL 1 go -DL -PST*  
*I went twice*

#### 8.6.4 Other uses of the nominaliser

There are two more uses of *-l* that must be mentioned. In the discussion of existential predicate types in 7.2.8, we saw that an ascriptive predicate may consist of any nominalised part of speech (apart from particles) which is further suffixed with the goal case marker. In rough terms this construction may be glossed as 'destined to be what is referred to' (for more examples see 7.2.8):

- (129) *abu -l fo õh-fa, abu -l -l -m*  
*ripe-NOM banana PX-TO ripe-NOM-NOM-GL*  
*this is a type of banana that is eaten when ripe,*  
*it is destined to ripen*
- (130) *pon ne-m haifõ ha -f -me?*  
*hunger 2 -GL again affect-PRS-Q*  
*are you hungry again?*
- ha -l -m -huef*  
*affect-NOM-GL-EMP*  
*bound to be hungry*

Lastly, there are certain adverbs that end in *-l-m*:

<i>mag-l-m</i>	<i>why (mag one, another one)</i>
<i>ah-sal-l-m</i>	<i>why (see 3.6.4)</i>
<i>lohnam-l-m</i>	<i>completely (lohnam does not occur independently)</i>
<i>snõpõ-l-m</i>	<i>well (snõpõ does not occur independently)</i>
<i>iõspõs-l-m</i>	<i>trickingly (iõspõs fe to trick)</i>
<i>anuõ-l-m / anuõk-l-m / anuõ</i>	<i>often</i>

## CHAPTER 9

### SENTENTIAL SYNTAX

This last chapter will be concerned with clause linkage. Constructions involving two clauses may be of the following kinds: if the two clauses have the same status, they are co-ordinated; they may be both independent or mutually dependent. Clauses A and B are of unequal status if A is dependent on B, but B not on A. Unilaterally dependent clauses may be divided into clauses that are unmarked for case and clauses that are case marked and function as a NP constituent of the matrix clause. In this chapter I will be concerned only with co-ordinated clauses (9.1) and dependent clauses unmarked for case (9.2). Case-marked clauses are discussed in those sections of earlier chapters dealing with case marking (4.3/7.3).

A word on the relative clause: there are no formal means to unambiguously mark a clause as being a relative clause. Some case-unmarked dependent clause types as well as some independent clause types may *function* as relative clauses; this matter is discussed in 4.1.2.5.

#### 9.1 Co-ordination

##### 9.1.1 Co-ordination of independent clauses

The first thing to point out is that Imonda, in line with many other Papuan languages, possesses no conjunctions to co-ordinate independent clauses.

In chapter 5 (5.4) verb serialisation is discussed in some detail. Serialisation as described there consists of a lexical verb stem followed by one or more verb stems that are highly constrained and have mainly aspectual and other grammatical functions. The combination of these serialised verb stems is considered to constitute one word on the following grounds. First, there may be no pause between the stems and individual intonation contours of the stems is impossible. Second, the order of the serialised elements is strict. Third, the serialised stems share one set of verbal morphology and may not have individual arguments.

Consider the following example:

- (1) agō -ianèi-m ainam fa-i -kōhō fa-eha kse  
women-NPL -GL *quickly* CL-LNK-go CL-put fuck  
*he grabbed the woman, laid her down and fucked her*



Three analyses can be envisaged. This construction may be composed of three independent sentences, or it may represent one sentence consisting of three co-ordinated clauses, or it may constitute just one clause with three verbs strung together in a serial construction. Let us look at this last hypothesis first. The above sequence of verbs is different from the serialisation cases discussed in chapter 5 in that the verbs have individual morphology (the first two each have a classifier prefix), but it might still be regarded as a case of serialisation, albeit a different one.

The term 'serial verb construction' is still a somewhat hazy notion. As James points out, it is used "to refer to anything from a series of fully inflected, concatenated predicates, with varying language specific constraints ... to a highly constrained and specialized set of verb stems which may co-occur with other verbs, with or without unique inflectional properties, for specific semantic and/or pragmatic purposes" (James 1983:27). Bradshaw defines serialisation as "the stringing together of finite verb phrases in one clauselike intonation unit without any marker of subordination or co-ordination" (Bradshaw 1982:25). Here are two examples illustrating this; the first one comes from Pike on Vagala (Ghana), quoted by Foley and Olson (forthcoming):

- (2) ù kpá kíyzèé mòng ówl  
*he take knife cut meat*  
*he cut the meat with a knife*

The second example is from Labu, an Austronesian language of Papua New Guinea:

- (3) kôma li à pia  
*wind (3S.PT-)blow tree (3S.PT)fall.down)*  
*the wind blew the tree down* (Siegel 1984:112)

As in the above Imonda example, in these Vagala and Labu constructions we find consecutive actions expressed by predicates which are simply juxtaposed. Foley and Olson (forthcoming) argue that examples such as (2) which have long been discussed as instances of serial verb constructions are monoclausal in nature. One argument for this is that such serial constructions are in some sense semantic unities and not simply a compounding of individual predicates. This semantic unity is indicated in the Vagala example by assigning the first predicate a prepositional function.<sup>1</sup> The Imonda example, however, displays no such semantic unity. There are simply three predicates expressing consecutive actions. The monoclausal character of serialised verbs is also emphasised if there are tense constraints on the individual verbs and if there are constraints with respect to core arguments, the most common restriction being that "all verbs require the same subject" (Foley and Olson, forthcoming). In example (1) above, we find in fact that the individual predicates all share the same subject (not overtly marked) and the same tense (zero marking). Despite this, cases such as (1) are not to be regarded as monoclausal serialisation constructions, for reasons now outlined.

The phonological evidence argues not for a monoclausal analysis, but rather for three independent clauses. The three predicates have individual intonation contours, with a fall on each of them. On top of this there are short breaks between the predicates. This is in contrast to those cases of verb stems in series discussed in chapter 5, which behave as a phonological word without

<sup>1</sup>In some languages serial verbs have been claimed to have undergone reanalysis as prepositions. For some remarks on this see 6.6.

possibility of individual intonation contours on the stems.

Intonation evidence therefore suggests that example (1) consists of three juxtaposed clauses, two of which are reduced to the verbs, without core arguments. This kind of juxtaposing of clauses reduced to only a bare verb stem is a regular feature of Imonda discourse. These constructions always express consecutive actions, which is in contrast to the serialisation constructions of chapter 5. There is no need for analysing such constructions as anything else but juxtaposed reduced clauses, as such bare verb-stem clauses may also occur in isolation, for instance in a narrative to introduce a new action after a long pause, which precludes the possibility of their being analysed as part of some overall construction. Also, although juxtaposed reduced clauses often share the same subject, tense or mood, they need not do so:

- (4) agõ -ianèi-m ainam fa-i -kõhõ, kse -n -b utafõ  
*women-NPL -GL quickly CL-LNK-go fuck-PST-DUR go*  
*he grabbed the woman, fucked her and went away*
- (5) ka-m abue nõ -l -m sna fuditfe-i -ba,  
 l -GL *spinach seed-NOM-GL first tie up -IMM-TO*  
*having wrapped me up like spinach seeds,*  
 fuditfe-i -uagl ièf -ia ias fuditfe-eha-u  
 CL -LNK-go house-LOC PRT CL -put-IMP  
*you will carry (me) and put (me) in the house*

(Note that *fuditfe tie up* is a full verb in the first clause and a classifier in the other two clauses [see chapter 6].)

- (6) pòb nèh-abt-i -uagl-a -n -b  
*flood CL -DL -LNK-go -LNK-PST-DUR*  
*the tearing water carried the two away*  
 uese -l -m kafli  
*liana-NOM-GL grab*  
*and then he grabbed on to a liana*

In example (4) there is a change in tense and in example (5) the first clause is topicalised (9.2.1), the second clause is tenseless and the third clause is in the imperative mood. Example (6) finally shows a change of subject.

Verbs are the most important part of Imonda clauses, and core and peripheral arguments are usually omitted if they are not absolutely essential to the understanding. The next example shows again three juxtaposed reduced clauses, two of which consist of verbs only, while one is represented by the negation adverb *auaia*:

- (7) nègfe-uai-a -n -b, auaia, nègfe-uai-kõhõ  
*wait -DL -LNK-PST-DUR no wait -DL -go*  
*he waited and waited for them (2), but no,*  
*he waited for them and went away*

To conclude this section: Imonda possesses no morphosyntactic means to co-ordinate independent clauses. Clauses may be simply juxtaposed without any formal link. Frequently, juxtaposed clauses are reduced, often containing nothing but a verb. However, sequences of such reduced clauses are not to be regarded as monoclausal as they may have individual intonation contours, individual tense/mood marking, and individual core arguments. Semantically they do not form a unity (unlike the Vagala example cited above), but rather

depict consecutive events. As far as the term verb serialisation is concerned, in this grammar this term is restricted to those cases where the individual stems form a tightly knit unity with one set of verbal morphology (5.4), and is not used for cases of reduced clauses that are neither semantically, syntactically nor phonologically tightly bound. Juxtaposed clauses need not necessarily involve a verb at all, in which case the term 'verb serialisation' would be obviously inappropriate. In order to emphasise these points and further illustrate Imonda clause linkage, I shall now give a series of examples, all involving the duration marker -b. This verbal suffix stresses the duration and intensity of the action and is often followed by a clause indicating the subsequent event. Ordinarily, there is no pause between the two clauses and the intonation is level throughout with a sharp drop in pitch over the last word of the second clause, which suggests that they are perceived as two co-ordinated clauses. Note that the vowel preceding the duration marker is frequently long drawn out to emphasise even more the intensity of the event:

- (8) ièf -ia li -n -b puhõ [liiiinmb]  
*house-LOC lie-PST-DUR come up*  
*he slept and slept and slept in the house and then got up*

In this example the first clause has the verb in past tense followed by the duration marker, while the second clause is reduced to the verb, which is tenseless. The two clauses share the same subject, which is not overtly marked.

The next two examples show a change of subject, which is overtly marked only in (9):

- (9) e -nëgfe-na -n -b tëla -l puhõ  
*DL-wait -BEN-PST-DUR husband-NOM come up*  
*the two of them waited for him and then their husband arrived*
- (10) shaulõ-n -b bëseha  
*sleep -PST-DUR dawn*  
*they slept and slept and then dawn came*

The following example shows the second clause reduced to an adverbial, the verb being omitted:

- (11) uai-uagl-a -n -b kebl -ia  
*ACC-go -LNK-PST-DUR village-LOC*  
*she walked with him (and then arrived) at the village*

Here is one last example, involving the co-ordination of two reasonably expanded clauses:

- (12) uòs uagl-i -b õlõ -ia mugõ peha fe  
*moon go -IMM-DUR garden-LOC completely go down do*  
*the moon will wander (across the sky) and then go down*  
*altogether behind the mountains*

### 9.1.2 Co-ordination of mutually dependent clauses

There is only one case we have to consider in this category. If two non-past verbal clauses express simultaneous events, then the verbs may carry the suffix -ie:

- (13) ehe nne fa-ne -f -ie, pël adeia e -fe-f -ie  
 3 food CL-eat-PRS-SI ICL work DL-do-PRS-SI  
*she may eat while we work*

If the events are in the past there is no formal marking and the clauses are simply juxtaposed with rising intonation over the first clause:

- (14) tëla -l ièf -ia -m saihö-fna, ehe pe -m peha -fna  
 husband-NOM house-LOC-GL enter-PRO 3 fear-CAU descend-PRO  
*while her husband was entering the house, she left in fear*

The verbal suffix -be, which expresses simultaneity and which is discussed below in 9.2.2, may sometimes substitute for the first instance of -ie:

- (15) ed-ia ale -f -ie / ale fe-be ka tögõ uagl-f -ie  
 PX-LOC stay-PRS-SI / stay do-SI 1 thus go -PRS-SI  
*when she is there, I will go*

If such juxtaposed clauses depict the same event, the verb of the second clause may be dropped (see also 7.2.7):

- (16) unisi nne -fa i -öb-löh -f -ie ka  
 tomorrow food-TO CL-PL-stand-PRS-SI 1  
*tomorrow you will be collecting food and I  
 (will be collecting food)*

The suffix -ie may sometimes substitute for the clausal topic marker -ba (see 9.2.1).

## 9.2 Subordination

The clauses to be discussed below fulfil functions that would, in many other languages, be expressed by adverbial clauses. Adverbial clauses are usually analysed as constituents of another clause (for instance for English see Quirk et al 1972:743; but see also Thompson/Longacre forthcoming). In Imonda, however, the cohesion between the dependent clause and some other clause is much weaker. I will be looking at four types of dependent clauses; of overriding importance is the topic clause.

### 9.2.1 Topic

#### 9.2.1.1 Introduction

Topic is a very important category in the grammar of Imonda. NPs, adverbs and verbs may receive topic marking. If the verb is topic marked, the clause it appears in functions as a topic vis-a-vis some other clause. The topic clause fulfils the same function as, for instance, adverbial clauses in English. Before going into a discussion of the details of topic marking in Imonda, I will try and clarify the notion of topic itself. Over the past decade or so, topic has figured prominently in the linguistic discussion (e.g. in Li, ed. 1976). Despite this there still is no widely accepted definition for topic and this concept is used in varying and conflicting ways in the literature. I will briefly outline the different positions and stress those aspects that are important for the understanding of the functions of topic marking in Imonda.

The following is probably the most widely found definition of topic and its complementary term 'comment' (the same applies to alternative and essentially equivalent labels such as 'theme' and 'rheme'): "we will call the person or thing about which something is said 'topic', and the statement made about this person or thing 'comment'" (Lyons 1969:335). The terms 'topic' and 'comment' are traditionally closely associated with the concepts of 'subject' and 'predicate' in Indo-European languages. It is however clear that this parallel holds only to a limited extent, as can be seen from the following English example, where the topic is not the subject: *this rice, I really hate*. Often topic and comment are analysed in terms of 'givenness' and 'newness'. Instead of a discussion of the different traditional definitions and usages, I simply refer to Haiman (1978), where this is done in detail. Of more immediate concern here is the question of how topics are to be syntactically handled. This question will lead us back again to various definitions of topic. The following English constructions are all widely recognised as topicalisation strategies. They clearly have different functions, which is however unimportant here:

1. 'As for' construction

(17) As for *Bob*, he is a bit of a weirdo.

2. Topicalisation

(18) *This movie* I saw ages ago.

3. Left-dislocation

(19) *The new Woody Allen movie*, I would really like to see it tonight.

Topicalisation is distinguished from left-dislocation by not having a pronominal copy of the topic within the clause.

4. Right-dislocation/afterthought

(20) I can't believe they're for real, *the maniacs who pay \$100 a gram for cocaine*.  
(Andrews forthcoming:28).

The NPs in italics in the above constructions are clearly the topics of their respective sentences. The above are by no means the only topicalisation strategies, just the more common ones. There are two kinds of topics. First, those that are given by the context are called resumptive topics. Second, those that are newly introduced into the discourse, not trackable to the preceding discourse are called contrastive topics. *You know NP*, or *remember NP*, are other ways of introducing contrastive topics.

The question arises of how to syntactically handle those topic constructions, where the topic is somehow removed from the clause. Some of the above labels, such as left- or right-dislocation would seem to imply the shifting of the NP out of the clause. In these cases, although the NP is a clause external topic in surface structure, movement from a clause internal position is plausible, as a pronominal copy is left behind inside the clause. However, in the case of the 'as for' construction we run into problems. In the above example the NP is actually taken up in the main predication by a pronominal copy; but this need not be the case, as is well known:

(21) As for Paris, the Eiffel Tower is really spectacular.  
(Dik 1978:137)

In this example, the NP introduced by 'as for' is not directly the topic about which the main predication provides some comment, but rather it sets the scene, or as Chafe puts it, "sets a spatial, temporal, or individual domain within which the main predication holds" (Chafe 1976:50). There is no way the 'as for' NP can be plausibly extracted from the main clause in the above example. At this juncture two options present themselves. We can either extend our use of topic, i.e. modify our definition to cover these 'as for' cases, or we keep a restrictive definition of topic and invent a new label for the above construction. The first position is adopted by Haiman (1978), among others, and the second by Dik (1978) and also by Foley and Van Valin (1984). I will briefly discuss their respective positions in turn.

#### HAIMAN'S POSITION

Haiman invokes the notion of *universal morphology*, by which he means that "similarities of form are reflections of underlying similarities of meaning" (Haiman 1978:586). In Hua, a Highlands language of Papua New Guinea, he notes morphological similarities between the marking of topic and that of the protasis in conditional constructions. His principle of universal morphology would suggest that topic marking and the protasis have something in common. He examines the various definitions of conditionals and topics in the literature and reaches the conclusion that they are surprisingly similar. In order to be able to analyse protases as topics he modifies the definition of topic somewhat and comes up with the following: "The topic represents an entity whose existence is agreed upon by the speaker and his audience. As such, it constitutes the framework which has been selected for the following discourse" (Haiman 1978:585; see also for references to other writers, who define topic in very similar terms). Topic thus defined would indeed seem to characterise conditional clauses as well as the more traditional topic. Note that it would also characterise the above discussed 'as for' cases. However, this broad definition of topic would also seem to characterise a whole range of other clauses, as I will further discuss below.

#### DIK'S POSITION

A definition of topic that is broader than the traditional one seems also called for to cover certain much discussed phenomena. Japanese has the particle *wa* one of the functions of which seems to be that of marking topic:

- (22) *kuzira wa honyuu-doobutu desu*  
*whale mammal is*  
*a whale is a mammal*  
 (Kuno 1972:270)

*wa* may also mark NPs that are clause external and that do not belong to the verb frame of the main predication, thus being parallel to the English 'as for' construction:

- (23) *Amerika wa Kariforunia e itta*  
*America wa California Dir go-Past*  
*as for America, I went to California*  
 (Dik 1978:146)

While the traditional definition of topic would be too restrictive to handle examples of this sort, Haiman's would be broad enough. However, Dik opts for a different solution. He introduces the term *theme* to cover example (23), maintaining *topic* for example (22). Dik proposes the following sentence schema:

(Theme), Predication, (Tail)

A sentence consists of a predication (i.e. clause), preceded by an optional theme and followed by an optional tail. While the tail covers cases of clarifying afterthought character, the theme covers the left-dislocation and topicalisation strategies, i.e. those strategies that have scene setting function. Both theme and tail are linked to the predication by way of the principle of relevance. So, for instance, a speaker confronted with: 'as for Joan's lover, I had spaghetti on toast again last night' would try and unravel the connection between the theme and the predication, naturally assuming that the speaker intends the theme to be relevant in the interpretation of the predication.

The main argument for establishing a theme function different from the topic is provided by those cases where we actually find both in the same construction:

- (24) inu to ieba , Taroo wa poti o mi -ta  
*dog about speaking, Taroo wa Patsy Obj see-Past*  
*speaking about dogs, Taroo saw Patsy*  
 (Dik 1978:146)

Here we find the theme not marked by *wa*, and the subject of the predication marked as topic by *wa*. There are also examples where both theme and topic are marked with *wa*:

- (25) Tookyoo wa kuuki wa kitanai  
*Tokyo wa air wa be-dirty*  
*in Tokyo, the air is dirty*  
 (Dik 1978:147)

Other arguments for separating a clause internal topic, which is part of the verb frame, from a clause external topic, i.e. theme, concern the before-mentioned relative independence of the latter vis-a-vis the clause, which is often further accentuated by a pause or hesitation utterances such as *well*, or *ehm* (see Dik 1978:136).

Dik's approach is also followed by Foley and Van Valin, though they use different terminology. They call Dik's clause external theme topic, while calling the clause internal topic pivot. A pivot is basically that NP that is crucially involved in interclausal syntactic constructions, such as ellipsis in co-ordination. For English, as Foley and Van Valin note, the pivot may be equated with the surface syntactic subject (Foley and Van Valin 1984:111). In their discussion of pivot and topic, Foley and Van Valin flatly state that 'pivots are what the sentence is about' (Foley and Van Valin 1984:134), which takes us right back to the beginning where it was mentioned that the notions of subject and topic have long been closely associated with each other. This equation of pivot or subject with topic is obviously unfortunate, even disregarding clause external topics, as has long been recognised. Pivot or subject is clearly a syntactic function whereas topic is pragmatic in nature. While subjects or pivots often are clause internal topics, this need not be so and, as Dik points out, "any term of a predication, regardless of its semantic and syntactic function, may qualify for Topic function, given the appropriate pragmatic conditions" (Dik 1978:143). The next example shows this clearly; here we have a sentence consisting of a theme and a clause where the syntactic object is the obvious topic:

- (26) As for John, nobody likes him.  
 (Dik 1978:143)

## NON-NP TOPICS

Let us now go back for a moment to our initial definition of topic, taken from Lyons. He states that the topic is a person or a thing about which some comment is made. This definition implies that only NPs may be topics. Under a somewhat broader definition of topic adopted by Haiman and others, other constructions such as clauses may also be topics. As we have seen, Haiman specifically argues for the protasis clause to be regarded as a topic for the apodosis. In fact, it seems that Haiman's topic or Dik's theme characterise not only conditionals but all adverbial clauses. They all set some kind of framework against which the main predication is to be interpreted. This ties in well with Longacre's suggestion that for many languages a sentence should be analysed as consisting of a nucleus plus sentence margins 'draped around the edges'. He defines sentence margins as "functional slots whose fillers are typically adverbial clauses" (Thompson and Longacre forthcoming). Adverbial clauses are usually analysed as being subordinate to some main clause, but often the cohesion between the two is very tenuous. This is for instance obvious with so-called speech act adverbial clauses:

- (27) If you're interested, the Lakers just won.  
(Thompson and Longacre forthcoming)

Adverbial clauses of this sort do not relate to the main clause in any way. Often adverbial clauses have the functions of providing discourse or paragraph cohesion. This is especially striking in languages such as the Philippine languages that use adverbial clauses for intersentential linking. In these languages sequential events are of the following sort: She did X. Having done X, she did Y. Having done Y, she did Z. In other words, each sentence begins with a back reference to the preceding sentence which then functions as the framework against which what follows is to be interpreted (for more discussion see Thompson and Longacre forthcoming). This pattern is also well attested in Papua New Guinea. Such adverbial clauses have a scene setting function for the main predication and could easily qualify as topics in Haiman's sense, or as themes in Dik's sense. It is in fact clear that Dik's schema of theme-predication-tail has a lot in common with Longacre's division of sentence into nucleus and margins. This being so, it comes as no surprise to find languages where the topic/theme function of adverbial clauses is explicitly marked. I have already mentioned the case of conditionals in Hua; another language is the Tibeto-Burman language of Lisu, where apparently all subordinate clauses are topicalised (Hope 1974:63). Fore, a Papuan language of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock has the marker *-pa* to mark topic clauses (this was pointed out to me by W. Foley):

- (28) a *-ka -'kubu-!N -pa mǎe-'kubu-y -e*  
*it-see-FUT -he (EMPH)-FOC get-FUT-he-INDIC*  
*if he sees it, he will get it*  
(Scott 1978:131)

The suffix *-pa* may also mark NP topics (Scott 1978:98). The feature of topic clauses seems in fact quite widespread in the Highlands languages of Papua New Guinea (see for instance also Franklin 1971:119).

Imonda is also one of these languages. I will now proceed to discuss topic marking in Imonda and will start with clausal topics.



### 9.2.1.2 Clausal topics

The primary topic marker in Imonda is a suffix -fa which has the allomorph -ba after a bilabial nasal and if it occurs on a verb. The topic marker may occur with any part of speech except particles. If the verb is topicalised, it is the clause the verb occurs in that functions as a topic. Topic clauses serve a variety of functions which are illustrated in the following. Imonda also has two secondary, rarer topic markers, -uõ for non-verbs, and -ie for clausal topics.

#### DISCOURSE FUNCTION

The occurrences of topic clauses that I analyse as having purely a discourse function are those that simply repeat the preceding clause (or part thereof), without adding anything new (resumptive topics). This is a cohesive discourse device used in relating consecutive actions and follows the pattern:

A happened. A having happened, B happened. B having happened, C happened. Imonda thus parallels the Philippine pattern briefly discussed above. While the topic clause may repeat the preceding clause in full, it usually repeats only the verb. Here are two examples:

- (29) es ne -n -b utafõ. utafõ-na -ba  
*sago eat-PST-DUR go go -PST-TO*  
*She ate sago and then went. Having gone she*  
 ed-ia fa-keda-hape.  
*PX-LOC CL-hang-come back*  
*hung him up there and came back.*
- (30) ièf -ia puhõ. puhõ -na -ba saiõ.  
*house-LOC come up come up-PST-TO enter*  
*He arrived at the house. Having arrived*  
 saiõ-na -ba õ -n -õ  
*enter-PST-TO say-PST-D*  
*he entered. Having entered he said ...*

The cohesion between the topic clause and the subsequent clause is very weak. Often, the intonation pattern suggests that the topic clause is actually more tightly bound to the preceding clause with which it may form an intonation unit, being separated from the following clause by a pause. The same also applies to the pronoun *ed there, that* (3.6.2), which, when topicalised, may assume the role of back-reference marker, thereby substituting for the topic clause:

- (31) li -n -b li -n -b li -na -ba/ed-uõ, ... uagl.  
*lie-PST-DUR lie-PST-DUR lie-PST-TO/PX-TO ... go*  
*He slept and slept and then (having slept), ... he went away.*

Apart from this discourse function, topic clauses also fulfil the role of English adverbial clauses.

#### TEMPORAL CLAUSES

The cohesion between the topic clause and the clause it depends on is much greater in this and the following sections, where the topic clause actually introduces new information (contrastive topics). In English there is a variety of temporal clauses introduced by conjunctions such as *when, as, after, before* and others. In Imonda these may all be rendered by topic clauses. Here are some examples:

- (32) Australia ale -fna-ba di nubulam magfe -löh-fna;  
 NAM stay-PRO-TO money plenty distribute-HAB-PRO  
*when the Australians were here, they used to distribute a lot*  
 iauõ Papua Niugini ale -f -ba di abkanam  
 now NAM NAM stay-PRS-TO money little  
*of money; now that the Papua New Guineans are here, there is  
 only little money*
- (33) migu mugasl ed-ia ale -na -ba õh-ia -m ha-pia  
 week one PX-LOC stay-PST-TO PX-LOC-GL MO-come  
*after having stayed there for one week, I came here*
- (34) õh-nèi adeia fe-pada -i -ba, tögõ uagl-è  
 PX-SRC work do-finish-IMM-TO thus go -D  
*when I have finished this work, I will go*

## CAUSE

If topic is defined as providing the framework for another utterance, i.e. the utterance is to be understood against the background of the topic, it is clear that the topic may indicate cause:

- (35) sebuhe-m ka at hëlfte -n, ka-na tëla -l -m ue-ne -na -ba  
 devil -GL 1 COM kill -PST 1 -POS husband-NOM-GL CL-eat-PST-TO  
*I have killed the devil, she having eaten my husband (because)*
- (36) fou õh-nèi-na ò -n -n ne-m ka  
 tortoise PX-SRC-INS say-BEN/NS-PST 2 -GL 1  
*the tortoises said this: "we having looked after*  
 uai-i -ulõ -fia-na -ba, an ka-m fa-ne -m  
 CL -LNK-hold-PL -PST-TO PROH 1 -GL CL-eat-NEG  
*you (because), do not eat us now!"*

## RELATIVE CLAUSE

Imonda does not possess any morphosyntactic means to unambiguously mark a clause as being a relative clause. It is mainly interrogative and topic clauses that may function as relative clauses. That topic clauses may act as relative clauses is by no means surprising as the role of (restrictive) relative clauses is to narrow down the range of referents of the head, i.e. to establish what is being talked about, which is a function of topics:

- (37) ed ha-pia -f -ba ed-nèi-m baiu lëg -ai -h -fan  
 PX MO-come-PRS-TO PX-SRC-GL shirt CL -give-REC-PER  
*I gave the shirt to the one who is coming over there*

## CONDITIONALS

Topic clauses may also function as protases in conditional constructions. On formal grounds we have to distinguish between three types of conditionals. In the first type the protasis indicates a simple topic or state of affairs, without there being any indication as to whether the speaker thinks this state of affairs is likely to occur. In this case the topic marker -ba is suffixed to the non-past marker of the verb in the protasis and the verb in the apodosis may be in present or future tense, or tenseless:

- (38) po feha-f -ba ka ale -f  
 water fall-PRS-TO 1 stay-PRS  
*if it rains, I will stay*

The second type of conditional has the topic marker following the irrealis *-ta*, suffixed to the non-past marker *-f*; this indicates that the speaker doubts that the proposition expressed by the protasis is likely to be true. The verb in the apodosis has the counterfactual suffix *-t* (5.3.6.1) following *-f*:

- (39) *ne tōgō fe-f -ta -ba, nubulam uōl -f -t*  
 2 *thus do-PRS-IRR-TO plenty shoot-PRS-CF*  
*if you did it like this, you would shoot a lot (but you do not)*

Notice that this is the only construction in which the irrealis *-ta* may follow the non-past marker *-f*. Here is another example:

- (40) *ka-na ièf nibia-f -ta -ba, ka uagl auaia fe-f -t*  
 1 -POS house build-PRS-IRR-TO 1 go no do-PRS-CF  
*if you would build a house for me, I would not go*

The third type expresses a counterfactual condition. The protasis involves again the irrealis *-ta*, but this time without the preceding non-past *-f*. The verb of the apodosis correspondingly loses its present tense marker and suffixes the counterfactual *-t* directly to the stem. The following dialogue shows clearly the counterfactual character of this construction:

- (41) *ne ka-m eg -t. auaia, ka sē heulō-i -me;*  
 2 1 -GL follow-CF no 1 NEG hear -PST-NEG  
*You should have followed me. No, I did not hear;*  
  
*ka heulō-ta -ba ne-m ka eg -t.*  
 1 hear -IRR-TO 2 -GL 1 follow-CF  
*if I had heard (you), I would have followed you.*

Conditional topic clauses are often redundantly followed by the topicalised pronoun *ed there, that* (3.6.2):

- (42) *ude ale -ta -ba, ed-fa ne-m ue-ne -t*  
*dog stay-IRR-TO PX-TO 2 -GL CL-eat-CF*  
*if the dog had been here, then he would have eaten you*

This example, incidentally, also shows clearly that the two morphemes *fa* and *ba* are in fact allomorphs and serve the same function. This example could be rephrased to stress the functional identity of the two even further: *given that the dog had been here, now given that, he would have eaten you.*

The following example shows this topicalised pronoun connecting protasis and apodosis both elliptically reduced to the adverb *auaia no*:

- (43) *auaia-fa, ed-fa auaia*  
*no -TO PX-TO no*  
*if not, then not (if there are not any, I will not buy any)*

To express concessive or semifactual clauses ('although', 'even if') the usual topic clause is followed by the main clause which contains the adverb *maim anyway*:

- (44) *po feha-f -ba, ka maim uagl fe-f*  
*water fall-PRS-TO 1 anyway go do-PRS*  
*even if it rains, I will go*

## 9.2.1.3 Non-clausal topics

Clausal topics or themes may be defined as providing the framework or background against which some event has to be understood; or, according to Sgall, as quoted in Haiman, topics provide a *Situationskulisse* (Haiman 1978:585). Non-clausal topics, if they are adverbs, seem to have the same function, as can be seen in the next example, which introduces a story:

- (45) nōmot -fa, edel -i sagòt-ia -m fōhō -ual-na -ba  
*before-TO fellow-CO bush -LOC-GL go down-DL -PST-TO*  
*some time ago, he and another fellow having gone to the bush ...*

Or in the reply to the question 'why are you coming': maim-fa *just like that, without any special reason.*

As for the topic marking of NPs, this seems to fulfil the function of indicating what is being talked about. NP topics may occur clause internal or dislocated to the left or right. The topic force is most pronounced in case of dislocation, such as in the following afterthought instance:

- (46) ude-gas abō kse -fna, agō -m -fa  
*dog-EMP only fuck-PRO women-GL-TO*  
*only dogs fucked them, the women that is*

(Notice that: -fa > -ba / m \_\_/; e.g. agō-m-fa [aŋgwōmba])

If a topic NP is dislocated, it is separated from the clause by a pause:

- (47) ōgòt -fa, ah-ia ale -f  
*enemy-TO Q -LOC stay-PRS*  
*where is the enemy?*

The topic force of a non-dislocated constituent seems comparatively weak:

- (48) ka ka-f òh-nèi po -m -fa iam eg fe-f  
*1 1 -EMP PX-SRC water-GL-TO later follow do-PRS*  
*I myself will follow this river*

The right-dislocated topic in example (46) clearly belongs to the case frame of the verb of the clause it is removed from and it also carries the appropriate case marking. Sometimes, a dislocated topic NP, while still belonging to the case frame of the verb, may lose the appropriate case marking:

- (49) ed-nèi ònea -l -na id -fa, hute fe-n -f, mēna-fa  
*PX-SRC knowing-NOM-POS men-TO short do-BEN/NS-PRS road-TO*  
*the knowing ones, (for them) it is short, the road that is*

The first topic in example (49) is the beneficiary of the verb (cross-referenced by -n), but has lost its case marking (-m) in the process of dislocation. Note that the subject of the verb is also dislocated and appears as an afterthought topic. Despite the fact that the connection between the verb and its NPs may be loosened by topicalisation in this way, it is always obvious that such NP topics have been removed from within the clause. In other words, Imonda is not a topic prominent language and does not allow so-called double subject constructions such as in the following example, which is again from Japanese (see Li and Thompson 1976:468):

- (50) sakana wa tai ga oisii  
*fish top. red snapper subj. delicious*  
*fish (topic), red snapper is delicious*

There is however one exceptional case. If a topic NP does not belong to the frame of the clausal predicate, then it is interpreted as conditional:

- (51) mēna ebes-l -fa, ka utafō-f  
 road good-NOM-TO 1 go -PRS  
*if the road is O.K., I am going*

On a final note, I would like to add that sentences may have more than one theme in Dik's sense, as is shown in example (45). A theme clause may also contain a topic:

- (52) tēla -l -fa ha-pia -fna-ba pe -m peha -fna  
 husband-NOM-TO MO-come-PRO-TO fear-CAU go down-PRO  
*when her husband arrived, she ran away in fear*

And lastly, Imonda allows more than one clause constituent to be topic marked:

- (53) nne -fa ne-fa nōmot at ne -ha-uagl-n  
 food-TO 2 -TO earlier COM eat-MO-go -PST  
*you ate your food before and went away*
- (54) ka-fa ne-na ōbo-pef-m -fa uai-uagl-f  
 1 -TO 2 -POS boy-POS-GL-TO ACC-go -PRS  
*I am going with your boy*

#### 9.2.1.4 Alternative topic marking

As mentioned above, the non-verbal topic marker -fa may be substituted for by -uō:

- (55) ōbo-l -m uai-pia -fna, edel agō -uō  
 boy-NOM-GL ACC-come-PRO human woman-TO  
*she was coming with her boy, that woman*
- (56) id kubui isi -ia -m fōhō -n; Nos-uō, eg -l -n  
 men INT hunt pigs-LOC-GL descend-PST NAM-TO follow-OB/NS-PST  
*plenty of men went down pig hunting; as for Nos, he followed*

As far as clausal topics are concerned, -ba may be substituted for in non-past by the suffix -ie, which otherwise functions as a marker of non-past simultaneity (9.1.2):

- (57) nitipag fe-la -f -ie, haifō ka tē ne -i  
 cold do-INT-PRS-SI again 1 EMP drink-IMM  
*it is cold and so I will have another cup*
- (58) be-f ō -la -f -ie, tōgō hoi  
 2 -EMP say-INT-PRS-SI thus no  
*the way you say, no, not like this*
- (59) ka nagla-f -ie ka f -ia fe-f  
 1 see -PRS-SI 1 CL-get do-PRS  
*if I see it, I will get it*

The ordinary topic marker -ba is perhaps most frequently replaced by -ie, where the topic clause functions as a relative clause (4.1.2.5):

- (60) ed uagl-f -ie ed-nèi-m ō -f  
 PX go -PRS-SI PX-SRC-GL say-PRS  
*I am talking about the one who is walking over there*

Summing up: as has become apparent in the above discussion, topic marking is of the greatest importance in the grammar of Imonda. It is ubiquitous and there is hardly any sentence where it does not crop up. With the exception of particles, any part of speech may be topicalised. Clause external topicalised NPs, adverbs and topicalised clauses have a scene setting or afterthought function. The pattern found in Imonda is not unique to this language. It is found in other languages of Papua New Guinea, such as in Fore, as was mentioned above. Also, it seems to be a feature of the Waris family as a whole. In Appendix (A) I have given a few examples from other Waris languages to illustrate the structural uniformity of these languages in this respect.

Topic marking takes care of a lot of the interclausal syntax. In comparison to topic marking, the other three subordination strategies discussed below are of minimal importance.

### 9.2.2 -be

The verbal suffix -be (see 5.3.7.3) indicates that the event expressed by the clause it occurs in happens at the same time as some other event. In other words, the -be marked clause functions as a temporal adverbial clause comparable to English 'when'-, 'as'- or 'while'-clauses:

- (61) si kilfia-la -fna-be, eg -peha -la -fna  
*night fall -EMP-PRO-SI follow-go down-EMP-PRO*  
*as/while it was getting dark, they followed them down*
- (62) ièf -na id fa-i -puhò-fni-be, ehe-f peha  
*house-POS people CL-LNK-come-PRO-SI 3 -EMP go*  
*as/when the people from the village arrived carrying (the body)*  
*she went down (into her grave)*

As was pointed out above, -be may also substitute for -ie in mutually dependent clauses; for an example see 9.1.2.

### 9.2.3 -mo

Mention must be briefly made here of a rarely occurring type of dependent clause. In 4.2.3.1 it was mentioned that NPs may be enumerated by means of the suffix -mo. This suffix may also occur on verbs following the non-past marker -f. The first of two clauses depicting simultaneous events may feature -mo:

- (63) ne sue uekl -f -mo, ka ekukõ -m  
*2 fire light-PRS-CON 1 faeces-GL*  
*you light a fire and I go to the toilet*

The cohesion between the two clauses is very weak, certainly weaker than in the case of -be, discussed in the last section. Occurring frequently with NPs, -mo is very rarely used with verbs and is of marginal importance.

9.2.4 The *ias* ... verb-m clause

First, here is an example of this clause type:

- (64) *ainam uagl-u; po ias feha-f -m*  
*quickly go IMP water PRT fall-PRS-Q*  
*go quickly! it is going to rain shortly*

It is the second of the above two clauses we are here looking at. It involves the particle *ias* and the verbal suffix *-m* which must follow the non-past marker *-f*. This clause is dependent on another clause and is ungrammatical on its own, unlike the English equivalent. The function of both *ias* and the suffix *-m* is unclear. Outside this construction, *ias* occurs only in imperative clauses, but never in an ordinary declarative clause:

- (65) *ias uagl-u*  
*PRT go -IMP*  
*go!*
- (66) *\*ias ka uagl-f*  
*PRT I go -PRS*  
*I am going*

*ias* is absolutely essential and may not be replaced by anything:

- (67) *ainam store-ia -m uagl-u; tòf ias (\*iam) kulfõ-f -m*  
*quickly store-LOC-GL go -IMP door PRT (later) shut -PRS-Q*  
*go quickly to the store! they are bound to shut it (\*later)*

The suffix *-m* is glossed above with 'Q', implying that it is the question suffix discussed in 8.2.1.1. But the function of *-m* is unclear. There is no trace of question intonation in the above examples. It was pointed out in 8.2.1.1 that the question suffix *-m* is usually realised as [m] in ordinary questions, but as [m] in rhetorical questions, in which case it is not preceded by tense marking. However, in the case under consideration *-m* is preceded by tense marking. At the present stage, this infrequently occurring clause type remains unclear.

The only constraint on the form of the clause the '*ias* clause' is dependent on is that it may not be in the past. It may be in the imperative, as in the above examples, or declarative. The order of the two clauses is free. The '*ias* clause' may be translated as *going to.../bound to...* and it indicates the reason for doing what is referred to by the clause it is dependent on:

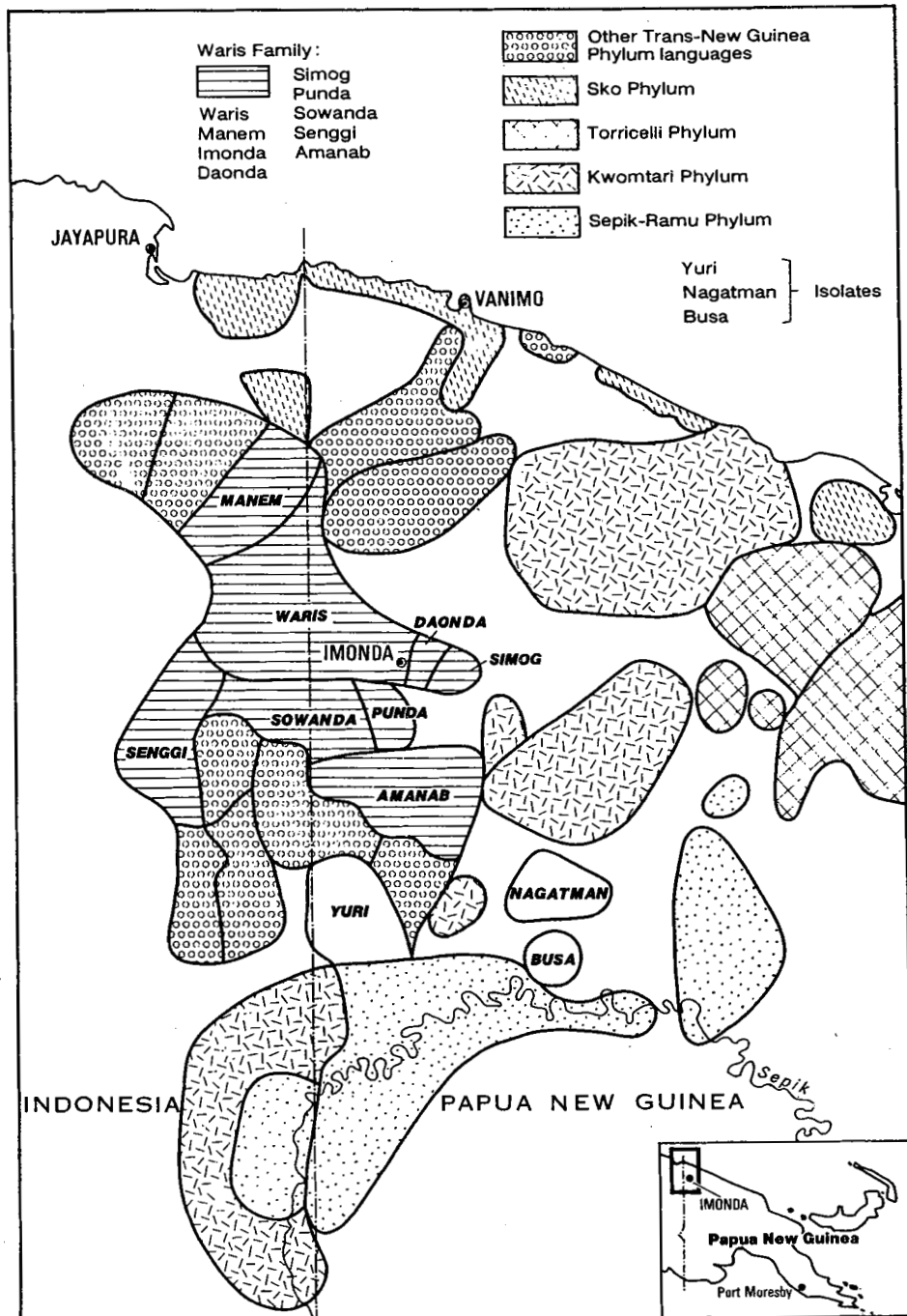
- (68) *id mòd kusi -puhõ ias fe-f -m;*  
*men plenty gather-come up PRT do-PRS-Q*  
*plenty of people are bound to gather;*
- ka haifõ nòn -ia -m saihõ-i*  
*I again sleep-LOC-GL enter-IMM*  
*I am going to sleep again*  
*(because a lot of people are going to gather, I want to*  
*get some sleep first)*

## APPENDIX A

### IMONDA AND RELATED LANGUAGES

In this appendix I will highlight some of the more important structures of Imonda that were discussed in preceding chapters and compare them with the corresponding constructions of other languages of the Waris family. This will give some impression of the degree of relatedness and structural affinity of these languages. I have collected data on all Waris languages on the Papua New Guinea side of the border with the exception of Amanab. The following map indicates the location of the Waris languages and also shows the linguistic complexity of the border area between the coast and the Sepik. It is based on Laycock's map (no. 6) in Wurm and Hattori (1981), but has been slightly modified in line with my own findings. In particular, I have added two more members to the Waris language family, namely Imonda and Punda. Imonda was formerly regarded as a dialect of Waris (Laycock 1973:46). Punda is a language spoken in the two villages of Umeda and Punda and is distinct from Sowanda (Waina) to which it was formerly thought to belong (Laycock 1973:47).





Imonda and surrounding languages

## A.1 Vocabulary

	IMONDA	DAONDA	WARIS	SIMOG	SOWANDA	PUNDA
<i>head</i>	ta	la	ku	mese	bõh	bahei
<i>hair</i>	ta	la	tě	ra	beta	tai
<i>testicle</i>	tāl	lai	təl	rai	tər	təri
<i>eye</i>	nõf	nõf	nõf	nõf	nõf	nõfoi
<i>nose</i>	mõs	bõs	mõs	bõs	põs	bõsei
<i>forehead</i>	mělëg	mèg	mi	mèg	merg	mekei
<i>chin</i>	kau	gau	kau	gau	kou	kauï
<i>ear</i>	agu	agu	agu	agu	agu	agei
<i>lips</i>	mebtõ	mèbtè	mèbta	mèftè	mèbte	mèmbtè
<i>tongue</i>	mède	mèlè	midè	mèrè	mèrrè	médè
<i>tooth</i>	lõ	iõ	lõ	iè	ra	rõr
<i>shoulder</i>	lu(-hi)	fag	liè	fag	ir	ihei
<i>neck</i>	uag	uag	uag	uagri	uag	uagei
<i>arm</i>	egla	ègia	ègla	èi	ègia	agai
<i>stomach</i>	e	èiè	èra	abuèrè	ehõf	
<i>penis</i>	hu	hu	ad	ku	hu	puihai
<i>vagina</i>	õme	èmuè	èmõ	èmuè	èmõ	õmè
<i>buttocks</i>	õmõl	èmè	ig	õm	im	bõi
<i>leg</i>	muglõ	gè	mugla	gi	mugè	mugè
<i>blood</i>	tõf	tõf	tõfol	taf	tõf	tõf
<i>bone</i>	kěl	gei	kěl	gei	kër	kèr
<i>back</i>	mās	mas	mès	gibui	mès	masi/kuibui
<i>heart</i>	òd	òli	id	èri	irr	èri
<i>man</i>	id	èli	tedo*	rua	irr	eid
<i>woman</i>	agõ	agõ	ugefli*	agõ	agõ	agõ
<i>younger brother</i>	dil	nili	baslël	niri	nirr	nidi
<i>elder brother</i>	etel	etei	ètèl	ètè	itir	ètèr
<i>mother</i>	afal	afai	afa	mi	afa	afai
<i>father</i>	aial	ai	ara	ai	aia	aiai
<i>bird</i>	tetoad	tua	toaua	tu	ièrrta	intè
<i>dog</i>	ude	ulè	ude	urè	urri	urè
<i>pig</i>	malhu	mõh	me	maiku	uuti	õhte
<i>cassowary</i>	koi	goi	uama	goi	rapa	iapa
<i>fish</i>	tõbtõ	tei	tabkõ	tei	tabhõ	tamhõ

	IMONDA	DAONDA	WARIS	SIMOG	SOWANDA	PUNDA
<i>mosquito</i>	kles	ègès	puata	agas	põta	pata
<i>sugarcane</i>	atha	atha	atha	atka	aïta	ahta
<i>banana</i>	fo	uoi	ufi	uoi	kõg	fõg
<i>tobacco</i>	sapoh	tahai	shai	takai	sapa	sapoh
<i>betelnut</i>	uatèi	utei	pul	utèi	pur	pur
<i>sagotree</i>	na	is	nè	is	is	iis
<i>garden</i>	õsõ	õsõ	õsa	asa	asa	asa
<i>fence</i>	põl	bohoi	puèl	bobai	pur	pur
<i>road</i>	mèna	mènes	mona	numos	mona	mèna
<i>house</i>	ièf	iof	dèf	iof	iuf	iuf
<i>water</i>	po	bo	po	bo	po	po
<i>fire</i>	sue	suè	suè	suè	sue	suè
<i>tree</i>	ti	li	ti	di	ti	ti
<i>stone</i>	pafeia	unè	hõn	uni	hon	hon
<i>mountain</i>	õlõ	õlõ	õlõ	ara	aihi	aihei
<i>ground</i>	fèthe	bèthè	pètha	bètkè	pok	pok
<i>netbag</i>	udõ	ula	uda	urõ	urra	ura
<i>axe</i>	mad	mar	mad	mar	marr	tèmah
<i>arrow</i>	fal	buènè	buèna	fai	far	far
<i>sun</i>	õkõba	akaba	õkõba	akaba	õkõba	akaba
<i>moon</i>	uòs	mafèr	uès	mèfèr	uus	uus
<i>star</i>	pèi	pai	pai	futri	põnõf	painõf
<i>long</i>	kuiil	guii	tokol	gugaii	kuihai	kuiei
<i>short</i>	hutel	gètei	hutèl	gètei	kèkès	mumnei
<i>old</i>	kulõl	guièi	kulõl	imnani	kurõr	samnakoi
<i>new</i>	nèmel	nèmei	nèmèl	ièftèni	nèmèr	surtèdei
<i>no</i>	auaia	auai	õuai	auai	õuai	õuai
<i>two</i>	sabla	sabla	sabla	sabra	sabia	sabra
1	ka	ka	kè	ga	ka	ka
2	ne	nè	iè	nè	iè	iè
3	ehe	èhè	hè	èk	èh	èh
ICL	pèl	bè	piè	bè	pièrri(?)	pe

## NOTE:

The items marked \* in the Waris list have been taken from Brown (1981:94), in a slightly modified form in accordance with the spelling convention adopted here.

### A.1.1 Observations

From the wordlists presented above it is clear that these languages are closely related. The percentage of shared cognates is high and sound correspondences are easily detectable but are not our immediate concern here. Some remarks on the orthography are however necessary. The Imonda spelling is obviously phonemic and that of the other languages near-phonemic. That is, I have not indicated those phonetic details that are clearly not distinctive such as secondary labialisation of consonants, prenasalisation of voiced stops or offglides in final vowels. It may be mentioned at this point that Punda is the only one of the six languages whose voiced stops are not prenasalised. Where it was not entirely clear whether two sounds represent different phonemes, the two sounds are differently symbolised. High vowels, whether syllabic or non-syllabic (glides), are transcribed with *i* and *u*, respectively. As far as the other vowels are concerned, the symbols used are the same as those explained in 2.3.2.1. Two points merit special discussion.

#### A.1.1.1 Number marking

In chapter 3 (3.5) I mentioned a set of five nouns that are unique in displaying affixation for number marking. What is ordinarily the source case marker is suffixed to these nouns and functions as a non-plural marker. The same phenomenon also occurs in the other languages with the possible exception of Punda and Sowanda. So, for instance, in Simog:

- |     |                         |       |
|-----|-------------------------|-------|
| (1) | agõ -ni                 | agõ   |
|     | women-SRC(NPL)          | women |
|     | woman                   | women |
| (2) | Imonda-ni ga puk -f     |       |
|     | NAM -SRC I come-PRS     |       |
|     | I am coming from Imonda |       |

While the structure is the same in the different languages, the actual lexical items that display number marking differ. Brown (1981:94) lists six items that have this feature, of which only one has a direct correspondence in Imonda. All nouns, however, which do feature number marking are [+Human]. It is one of the semantically odd characteristics of the Waris languages that they employ the source case marker as a number marker with a handful of human nouns. Note that in the above wordlist the only items that have number marking are those for 'man' and 'woman' which are given in their unaffixed form.

#### A.1.1.2 Nominaliser

In section 8.6 I discussed in some detail what I termed the nominaliser -l. One of its functions is that of a part-of-whole marker; that is, this morpheme tends to appear on nouns whose referents are parts of wholes or perceived to be relational in some other way (see 8.6). A second major function of -l is that of adjective marker. Furthermore, it functions as a nominaliser and fulfils still other functions. As can be seen from the wordlist above, all of the other five languages have a cognate morpheme that fulfils the same functions (at least that of part-of-whole and adjective marker). In Simog and

Daonda, for instance, the nominaliser is manifested by the phoneme /i/, which appears on all adjectives.

Note that in the wordlist the nominaliser is not separated from the lexical item by a morpheme boundary, mainly because there are some instances where it is not completely clear whether a final sound is an instance of the nominaliser or not. Of the six languages Punda displays idiosyncratic behaviour. It was mentioned in 8.6 that human body parts do not take the nominaliser, even if they occur in a possessive construction. This seems to be true of the other languages as well with the exception of Punda which consistently has the nominaliser, both in the free, elicited form and in the possessive construction:

- |     |          |        |          |
|-----|----------|--------|----------|
| (3) | nõfo-i   | ka-na  | nõfo-i   |
|     | eye -NOM | 1 -POS | eye -NOM |
|     | eye      |        | my eye   |

Comparative evidence makes it also clear that the final lateral in the Imonda *tāl* *testicle* is not an instance of the nominaliser but part of the stem. The corresponding word in Punda is /tèr-i/, where the final vowel represents the nominaliser, whereas the flap corresponds to the Imonda lateral in all cases but that of the nominaliser (see for instance the corresponding words for 'arrow' above).

## A.2 Source-Location-Goal

The Imonda case-marking system was discussed in chapters 4 and 7. We have seen that the case marker -m is primarily a goal marker but has also some purely syntactic functions (e.g. disambiguation). Locative is marked with -ia which also must precede the source marker -nèi as well as -m with verbs of motion. The following system therefore obtains:

- |     |           |          |                           |
|-----|-----------|----------|---------------------------|
| (4) | Imonda-ia | ale      | -f                        |
|     | NAM       | -LOC     | stay-PRS                  |
|     |           |          | she is at Imonda          |
| (5) | Imonda-ia | -m       | uagl-f                    |
|     | NAM       | -LOC-GL  | go -PRS                   |
|     |           |          | she is going to Imonda    |
| (6) | Imonda-ia | -nèi     | ha-pia -f                 |
|     | NAM       | -LOC-SRC | MO-come-PRS               |
|     |           |          | she is coming from Imonda |

The same system holds for both proper and common nouns, apart from minor exceptions, as discussed in 7.3. Basically the same system is also met with in the other languages with the exception of Simog. In this language the case marker -m, although it does occur in the system (see below), does not mark goals of motion verbs. Proper noun goals are entirely unmarked, while common noun goals are identically marked as the locative. Furthermore, the source marker -ní follows the locative marker -ia only after common nouns, while it is directly attached to proper nouns. The following system therefore holds:

## PROPER NOUNS:

- (7) Imonda-ia ga aia -f  
 NAM -LOC 1 stay-PRS  
*I am staying at Imonda*
- (8) Imonda ga si-f  
 NAM 1 go-PRS  
*I am going to Imonda*
- (9) Imonda-ni ga puk -f  
 NAM -SRC 1 come-PRS  
*I am coming from Imonda*

## COMMON NOUNS:

- (10) iof -ia aia -f  
 house-LOC stay-PRS  
*she is home*
- (11) iof -ia ga si-f  
 house-LOC 1 go-PRS  
*I am going home*
- (12) iof -ia -ni ga puk -f  
 house-LOC-SRC 1 come-PRS  
*I am coming from the house*

In Simog we therefore see what is the cognate form of the Imonda source marker -nèi functioning 'in its own right' in at least some instances. The absence of -m as a goal marker with motion verbs is however something of a puzzle, given that its core meaning in Imonda was analysed as that of a goal marker. Also, -m does not appear on nouns denoting purpose, which again is in contrast to Imonda. In Simog purpose is either zero-marked or takes the locative:

- (13) Imonda:  
 tëh -ia -m/ po -ia -m ka uagl-f  
 firewood-LOC-GL water-LOC-GL 1 go -PRS  
*I am going to look for firewood/water*
- (14) Simog:  
 diki/ bo -ia ga si-f  
 firewood water-LOC 1 go-PRS  
*I am going to look for firewood/water*

Having pointed out where -m does not occur in Simog, let us now look at those cases where it actually does occur. First of all, it occurs on recipients and benefactives:

- (15) sa ga-m fik -u  
 coconut 1 -GL give-IMP  
*give me a coconut!*

Second, -m marks the core NP of certain intransitive verbs (ergative), paralleling the Imonda cases discussed in (7.2.2.2):

- (16) èk-m iaka-f  
 3 -GL die -PRS  
*he is dying*

- (17) ga-m sisi-n  
 1 -GL *slip*-PST  
*I slipped*

Finally, -m also occurs with roughly the same sort of objects of transitive verbs as in Imonda:

- (18) èk-m kaka-f  
 3 -GL *hit* -PRS  
*he hits her*

Whether -m also occurs in conjunction with the nominaliser in constructions parallel to the ones discussed in 8.6 has not been investigated. It is hard to draw any conclusions from the evidence presented from Simog. It certainly does not seem to support my earlier contention that -m (in Imonda) is primarily a goal marker which has extended its function to benefactives, recipients and certain direct objects. It would be odd to assume that the goal marker has relinquished precisely its core function in the course of development in Simog. Various scenarios could be envisaged to try and account for the facts presented above, but they would all be purely speculative and so I will refrain from entering into a more detailed discussion. However, whatever the original state of affairs with respect to -m in the Waris languages may have been, there can be little doubt that synchronically in Imonda -m is best analysed as being primarily a goal marker with various other, secondary functions.

### A.3 Noun-classification system

In chapter 6 I discussed in some detail the intriguing noun-classification system found in Imonda. It will be remembered that this system arose from a reinterpretation of serial verb constructions. While serial verbs are well known to be prone to reanalysis, this specific kind which resulted in a covert noun-classification system has not, as far as is known, been reported from any other language. Of the other five Waris languages looked at here, this system is shared by Waris, Daonda and possibly Sowanda, but not by Simog and probably not by Punda. Compare the following Imonda and Daonda sentences:

- (19) Imonda:  
 sa        sabla ka-m põt-abt-ai -h -u  
*coconut two 1 -GL CL -DL -give-REC-IMP*  
*give me two coconuts!*

- (20) Daonda:  
 kërapo sabla ka-m puet-a -h -uè-u  
*coconut two 1 -GL CL -give-REC-DL-IMP*  
*give me two coconuts!*

In both languages the verbal meaning of põt and puet, respectively, has been lost and these former verbs function now as noun classifiers. The corresponding sentence in Simog is as follows:

- (21) sa        ka-m fik -u  
*coconut 1 -GL give-IMP*  
*give me a coconut!*

Simog displays the verb serialisation stage which is claimed to be at the root of the reanalysis. More observations on the synchronic state of affairs in Simog can be found in chapter 6. More detailed examination of the rest of the Waris languages would undoubtedly contribute to the understanding of the rise of this system.

#### A.4 Topic marking

The last point I would like to raise in this concluding glance at some other Waris languages is that of topic marking. In 9.2.1 the topic marker -ba/-fa was discussed in some detail. It was pointed out that this is of fundamental importance for the working of Imonda. Topic is not only used to mark the NP on whose referent some comment is made, but it marks clauses that fulfil the function that is performed by adverbial clauses in the more familiar European languages. Topic-marked clauses set the scene for another predication which is to be understood in the light of the topic clause. The exact link between the topic clause and the clause it provides the topic for must be inferred from the context. Furthermore, topic clauses also perform an important discourse function, as discussed in 9.2.1. Exactly the same applies also to the other Waris languages:

(22) Simog:

ne ga-m fik -ta -ba ne-m ga fik -t  
 2 1 -GL give-IRR-TO 2 -GL 1 give-CF  
*if you had given (that) to me, I would have given (this) to you*

(23) Daonda:

kapul abia-f -ta -fa ka as-f -t  
 plane come-PRS-IRR-TO 1 go-PRS-CF  
*if the plane came, I would go*

(24) Punda:

õm kapur idapia-ta -ba ka hasuhõ-t  
 yesterday plane come -IRR-TO 1 go -CF  
*if the plane had come yesterday, I would have left*

In these three examples the topic-marked clause functions as protasis in a conditional construction. These examples also illustrate nicely the close structural affinity between the Waris languages.



APPENDIX B

TEXT: Sugõ-na maklõfõklõ

The following text illustrates all of the major points of Imonda grammar discussed in previous chapters. Some explanations of certain grammatical features and other points of interest are provided in the comments after the text. A free translation of the text has also been added.

- 1) id kubui isi -ia -m fõhõ -n. tëla -l -uõ eg -l -n.  
men INT hunt pigs-LOC-GL go down-PST husband-NOM-TO follow-OB/NS-PST  
A lot of men went pig hunting. Her husband followed them.
- 2) agõ -l -m õ -na -n -õ ias ha-pia -u, õsõ -ia -m.  
woman-NOM-GL say-BEN-PST-D PRT MO-come-IMP garden-LOC-GL  
He said to his wife: come to the garden later.
- 3) mag-m toad-ianèi-m õ -na -i -ba uai-pia. ed-la ka-fa iam  
one-GL boys-NPL -GL say-BEN-IMP-TO ACC-come PX-area 1 -TO later  
Having asked one of the boys, you come. I will come
- 4) ha-pia fe-f isi -l -m fõhõ -na -ba, isi -tagla  
MO-come do-PRS hunt pigs-NOM-GL go down-PST-TO hunt pigs-go round  
there later. Having gone pig hunting, they hunted pigs for a
- 5) -n -b, isi -tagla -n -b auai.  
-PST-DUR hunt pigs-go round-PST-DUR no  
long time, they hunted pigs for a long time but no, they did not kill any.
- 6) tëla -l -fa isi -tagla -n. sugõ pëkama-ia -nèi puhõ.  
husband-NOM-TO hunt pigs-go round-PST ghost grave -LOC-SRC come up  
Her husband hunted for pigs. A ghost came out of his grave.
- 7) pëkama-ia -nèi puhõ -na -ba. ehe-fa õ -n -o ka-na tëla -l  
grave -LOC-SRC come up-PST-TO 3 -TO say-PST-D 1 -POS husband-NOM  
Having come up out of his grave. She thought: my husband is
- 8) ha-pia -f -è. ehe-f -na lõ mõs kōuasada. tëla -l -na  
MO-come-PRS-D 3 -EMP-POS tooth nose put on husband-NOM-POS  
coming. He had put on his face. Her husband's
- 9) lõ mõs.  
tooth nose  
face.

- 10) ha-pia -na. falgõ i -ab-hõ -na -ba. falgõ i -ab-hõ -na -ba nne  
MO-come-PST bow CL-PL-put-PST-TO bow CL-PL-put-PST-TO food  
Having come. Having put down his bow. Having put down his bow he
- 11) i -òb. safa, uèb. ed-nèi ne -n -b atha i -òb.  
CL-PL taro yam PX-SRC eat-PST-DUR sugarcane CL-PL  
got food. Taro, yam. He ate this and then got sugarcane.
- 12) atha ne -n -b es -e. es -na sog -na poi.  
sugarcane eat-PST-DUR sago-D sago-CO apika-CO pitpit  
He ate sugarcane and then sago. Sago, apika and pitpit.
- 13) ed-nèi-na ne. ed-nèi-na ne -n -b sapoh uatèi  
PX-SRC-CO eat PX-SRC-CO eat-PST-DUR tobacco betelnut  
He ate this with sago. He ate this and then got tobacco and
- 14) i -òb. udõ guas-ia -na -ba. sapoh uatèi  
CL-PL netbag CL -get-PST-TO tobacco betelnut  
betelnut. Having fetched his netbag. Having fetched tobacco
- 15) i -òb-na -ba. fil fle. ed-nèi ne -n -b agõ -ianèi-m  
CL-PL-PST-TO lime pepper PX-SRC eat-PST-DUR women-NPL -GL  
and betelnut. Lime and pepper. He ate this and then quickly
- 16) ainam fa-i -kõhõ fa-eha kse. kse -n -b  
quickly CL-LNK-go CL-put fuck fuck-PST-DUR  
grabbed the woman, laid her down and fucked her. He fucked and
- 17) kse -n -b kse -n -b. kse -pada -na -ba, utafõ.  
fuck-PST-DUR fuck-PST-DUR fuck-finish-PST-TO go  
fucked and fucked her. Having finished fucking her, he went.
- 18) falgõ i -òb. haifõ mugõ uagl fe. agõ -ianèi sum  
bow CL-PL again completely go do women-NPL behind  
He collected his bow. He went away again. The woman
- 19) pada -na. sum eg -n -b eg -n -b  
stand-BEN behind follow-PST-DUR follow-PST-DUR  
followed him. She followed him and followed him
- 20) nagla-i -eg -a -n -b. pèkama-ia -m peha -f.  
see -LNK-follow-LNK-PST-DUR grave -LOC-GL go down-PRS  
and followed him, watching him closely. He descended into his grave.
- 21) fèthe keual-na -ba, ed-la -suõ peha, haifõ pèkama -ia -m.  
ground open -PST-TO PX-area-EMP go down again grave -LOC-GL  
The earth having opened, there he descended again into his grave.
- 22) ehe-f -na pèkama-ia -m. peha -na -ba, agõ -ianèi nagla-n,  
3 -EMP-POS grave -LOC-GL descend-PST-TO women-NPL see -PST  
Into his own grave. Having descended, the woman looked,
- 23) ed peha -f. nagla-hape. nagla-hape -na -ba,  
PX descend-PRS see -return see -return-PST-TO  
there he descended. She looked and came back. Having looked and
- 24) haifõ ehe-fa ha-pia -f. tëla -l puhõ. tëla -l  
again 3 -TO MO-come-PRS husband-NOM come up husband-NOM  
returned, she came back again. Her husband arrived. Her husband

- 25) puhõ -na ia! nne ka-na i -òb-na -u! pon ka-m  
*come up-PST EXC food 1 -POS CL-PL-BEN-IMP hunger 1 -GL*  
*having arrived, well! Bring me my food!*
- 26) ha -f. pon ka-m ha -f. nne ka-m i -òb-na -u!  
*affect-PRS hunger 1 -GL affect-PRS food 1 -GL CL-PL-BEN-IMP*  
*I am hungry. I am hungry. Bring me my food!*
- 27) õ -na -n -õ haifõ bèsèi nne. nne -fa ne-fa nōmot at  
*say-BEN-PST-D again what food food-TO 2 -TO earlier COM*  
*She said: what food again. You have eaten your food*
- 28) ne -ha-uagl-n. ne-na auaia. auaia, nōmot ka-fa ah-nèi-nam  
*eat-MO-go -PST 2 -POS no no earlier 1 -TO Q -SRC-DER*  
*earlier on. Your food is gone. No, when did I come earlier.*
- 29) ha-pia -n. ka-fa õh mugõ ha-pia fe-f. ma! be-f -auõ  
*MO-come-PST 1 -TO PX completely MO-come do-PRS EXC 2 -EMP-EMP*  
*It is only now that I arrive here. Oh! You stay on*
- 30) ale -la -u! ka toad-m lōl -nòg  
*stay-EMP-IMP 1 boys-GL talk-in vain*  
*your own! I talked to the boys*
- 31) fe-sëlōh -n -ë -n -b. ka toad-m lōl -nòg  
*do-in vain-BEN/NS-LNK-PST-DUR 1 boys-GL talk-in vain*  
*in vain. I talked and talked*
- 32) fe-sëlōh -n -ë -n -b, mag ha-pia ha-pia, auaia,  
*do-in vain-BEN/NS-LNK-PST-DUR one MO-come MO-come no*  
*to the boys in vain, one is coming or not, but no, the boys simply*
- 33) toad agu-pa fi-n. ka ka-f -auõ-suõ ha-pia. ed-uõ.  
*boys ear-? do-PST 1 1 -EMP-EMP-EMP MO-come PX-TO*  
*listened, but did not come. I came on my own. And then.*
- 34) ièf -ia -m. nne ed-nèi ne -n -b ièf -ia -m utafõ.  
*house-LOC-GL food PX-SRC eat-PST-DUR house-LOC-GL go*  
*Homeward. He ate that food and then went home.*
- 35) e -uagl-ual. ièf -ia -m e -uagl-ual-na -ba, si -nam-fa  
*DL-go -DL house-LOC-GL DL-go -DL -PST-TO night-DER-TO*  
*They went. Having gone home, at night she was*
- 36) iaha-fna. si -nam iaha-na -ba, tēla -l sabeha-na koual-e.  
*die -PRO night-DER die -PST-TO husband-NOM magic -INS cut -D*  
*dying. She having died at night, her husband worked magic.*
- 37) toad-m abõ fe-na -õ mugõ fe-na -õ mugõ defõ fe.  
*boys-GL simply do-PST-D completely do-PST-D completely die do*  
*The boys simply did, completely did, completely died.*
- 38) ale hoi ale hoi toad-m mugõ defõ.  
*stay NEG stay NEG boys-GL completely die*  
*There was none of them, none of them left, all of the boys died.*
- 39) ed-nèi uus -ia koual-na -ba, mugõ eg -t.  
*PX-SRC wrath-CAU cut -PST-TO one follow-CF*  
*Because of that I worked magic, one should have followed her.*

- 40) ne-m maga-ia -m sah -nòg fe-sëlõh -n -n. mag ne sè  
 2 -GL what-LOC-GL call-in vain do-in vain-BEN/NS-PST one 2 NEG  
*Why did she call out for you in vain. None of you*
- 41) eg -i -me. sabeha-na koual-e. ed-uõ sëmèia segfi.  
 follow-PST-NEG magic -INS cut -D PX-TO morning bury  
*followed her. He worked magic. Then next morning they buried her.*
- 42) sëmèia kubui segfi. pèkama fi-ni -ba,  
 morning INT bury grave do-PST-TO  
*Early morning they buried her. Having dug the grave,*
- 43) segfi. segfi-ni -ba, fèthe -na haifõ fòf -ni -ba.  
 bury bury -PST-TO ground-INS again cover-PST-TO  
*they buried her. Having buried her. Having covered the grave again*
- 44) ièf. ièf nibiè-ni.  
 house house build-BEN  
*with soil. Next the house. They built a house for her.*
- 45) nne sobsaba fi-ni -n -b. uèb, nèga -mo. òsõ -ia -nèi  
 food cut do-BEN-PST-DUR yam think-CON garden-LOC-SRC  
*They cut garden food for her. Yam, and - er -. From the garden*
- 46) atha, poi, safa. ed-nèi sobsaba fi-ni -n -b ese-è.  
 sugarcane pitpit taro PX-SRC cut do-BEN-PST-DUR EXC-D  
*sugarcane, pitpit and taro. They were cutting this, and then.*
- 47) sebuhe-l mugõ uagl fe-na, ehe-f -suõ haifõ mugõ  
 ghost -NOM completely go do-PST 3 -EMP-EMP again completely  
*Her soul having gone altogether, he himself married her again*
- 48) ed-la -gõ f -ia, ed-la -gõ mēna -m. ed-la -gõ mugõ  
 PX-area-EL CL-get PX-area-EL road -LOC PX-area-EL completely  
*down there, down there. Having altogether married her*
- 49) f -ia fe-na -ba ehe-f mugõ ale -ual. ale -ual-na -ba.  
 CL-get do-PST-TO 3 -EMP completely stay-DL stay-DL -PST-TO  
*down there, the two of them stayed there. Having stayed there.*
- 50) ed-nèi-m, tēla -l sabeha koual-na -ba, id -m,  
 PX-SRC-GL husband-NOM magic cut -PST-TO men-GL  
*Those, her husband having worked magic, the men,*
- 51) id agõ -na toad-m, ed-nèi-m segfi-ula-f. fe-n -b.  
 men women-POS boys-GL PX-SRC-GL bury -INT-PRS do-PST-DUR  
*the sons of the people, those they buried. They did this.*
- 52) mugõ defõ fe. human-pul-gas ale -fna. em tasol.  
 completely die do inlaw-? -EMP stay-PRO  
*They had all died. Only their relatives lived on. That is it.*

## COMMENTS

- 3) ed-la: la is a postpositional noun with unique properties. It does not occur independently and may co-occur with the pronouns ed and ah (see 3.5.1.3). ed is a pronoun that is ambiguous between an 'adverbial' and a 'pronominal' reading (see 3.6.2).
- 3) toad-ianèi: The suffix -ianèi is composed of the locative -ia and the source -nèi; it functions as a non-plural marker with a set of five nouns (see 3.5).
- 10) ha-pia-na: This is a topic clause with the topic marker -ba omitted (see 9.2.1). This dropping of the topic suffix occasionally occurs after the past tense marker. However, the topic character of the clause is still apparent, as the past tense suffix occurs in the shape of -na, which is only used before certain suffixes, including the topic marker (see 5.3.5.4).
- 11) i-òb: The classifier f changes to i where the object is non-singular; òb is the object plural marker. The verb 'get' is dropped altogether where the object is non-singular (see 6.2.1.2). For the use of tenseless verb stems see 5.3.5.5.
- 12) sog: Kind of greens (*Hibiscus manihot*) (Tok Pisin: a(i)pika).
- 12) poi: Edible wild sugarcane (*Saccharum, spp.*) (Tok Pisin: pítpit).
- 13) ed-nèi-na: As discussed in 4.2, one of the members of a co-ordination construction is sometimes dropped. In this particular instance, convention supplies the missing noun *es sago*.
- 28) ne-ha-uagl: If uagl is used in serialisation for consecutivity (5.4.2), it tends to co-occur with the semantically empty motion verb prefix ha- (5.2.4). Without this prefix the preferred interpretation is that of simultaneity: ne-uagl *eat while going*.
- 33) agu-pa fe: Listen to someone's request but ignore it.
- 36) sabeha(-na) koual: The verb koual means *cut in two*. The expression sabeha(-na) koual refers to the hitting on the ground of uatèi *betelnut* or something else and uttering some magic formula.
- 41) segfe: This may be segmented into the pro-verb fe *make, do* and the adjunct seg (5.4.5.1). seg occurs as an independent noun, referring to a platform erected around a tree for the purpose of felling it. According to one of my informants, some neighbouring tribes like the Daonda or Simòg used to put the dead on such seg constructions some distance away from the village. He claimed that the Imonda did not do this but rather buried their dead. The use of segfe for *bury*, however, would suggest otherwise.

- 45) sobsaba: After someone has died, the Imonda do sobsaba, i.e. they go to that person's garden and cut some of his food, which is partly taken away and eaten and partly left in the garden to rot.
- 45) nēga-mo: nēga is a place-holding noun that always occurs when speakers cannot immediately think of the proper noun. This item behaves in every respect like a noun and may take the full range of case marking, e.g.:
- ōbo-l -m, nēga -m afa -l -m iaha-na -n  
*boy-NOM-GL think-GL mother-NOM-GL die -BEN-PST*  
*his boy, — er — his mother died*
- 48) ed-la-gō mēna-m: The postpositional noun *la area*, which is discussed in 3.5.1.3, functions here as a suffix to the demonstrative pronoun *ed there, that*. It is further suffixed by the elevational -gō *down* (3.5.1.3). *ed-la-gō* functions as a noun which enters into a compound with the postpositional noun *mēna road*, for which see footnote, page 39.
- 52) human-pul: human-pul or human is a kinship term. The exact meaning of pul is unclear; it also occurs after toad *boys*: toad-pul.
- 52) em tasol: The Imonda equivalent of this Tok Pisin expression is *ed-uō-huef* or *ōh-suō-huef* (see 8.5).

## TRANSLATION

Plenty of men went on a pig hunt. One fellow followed them later. He asked his wife to join him later in their garden. He said to her that she should ask one of the boys to accompany her there and that he himself would go there later. Those men hunted for pigs a long time but did not have any luck. While that woman's husband was hunting pigs, a ghost came out of his grave. She saw him and thought that it was her husband who was arriving. The ghost looked exactly like her husband. After he had arrived, he put down his bow and arrows and fetched some food. He got taro and yam and ate it up. Then he fetched sugarcane and sago which he ate up as well. He also ate apika and pitpit, together with sago. After that he had a smoke and chewed betelnut, which he took out of his netbag. He then got hold of the woman, laid her down and made love with her for a long time. Having done all of that he then took his bow and arrows again and left.

The woman followed him, watching him closely. She saw that the ground split open and that he descended into the open ground. In fact, he returned down into his own grave. Having observed this the woman went back to the garden. She stayed there and some time later her husband arrived. He immediately asked her to bring him some food, saying that he was hungry. His wife asked him what food he was talking about and told him that he had eaten his earlier on and that there was not any left. She reminded him that he had already eaten his food before he had gone away again. Upon hearing this her husband replied that he had not come earlier at all, that he had only just arrived. His wife then exclaimed that he would have to live on without her, as she was destined to die. She told him that she had asked all of the boys to accompany her to the garden but that none of them had been willing to do so. She said that she had gone to the garden on her own.

The two of them went home, after he had first had something to eat. That night this woman died. Because of this her husband then worked magic against the boys and they all died. All of the boys died, not one of them was left. That man said that one of them should have accompanied his wife to the garden and because none of them did, he worked magic against them. He was angry because she had asked them in vain and she had had to go by herself. The morning after the people buried that man's wife. They dug the grave and buried her. They also built a little house and cut some garden food for her. They got yam, sugarcane, pitpit and taro.

After that woman had died and her soul had left her, the ghost who had earlier visited her at her garden married her. He married her down in the underworld and they then stayed together. Meanwhile back in the village, the people buried all those boys that that man had worked magic against. They had all died and only their relatives were still alive.

## APPENDIX C

### THE INFLUENCE OF MALAY ON IMONDA

In the introduction I mentioned briefly that the Imonda people were exposed to some form of Malay at two different times prior to European contact. In this appendix I will elaborate a bit on this. It is sometimes assumed that Malay adventurers had been visiting the Sepik area for a long time before the arrival of the Europeans and that consequently the Malay lingua franca the European explorers came across in that area was of long standing. Also, Malay influence on Tok Pisin is sometimes attributed to this supposedly ancient trade language in the Sepik area (e.g. Rowley 1965:56). I have shown elsewhere that this is in fact not the case and that the visits by the Malays coincided with the arrival of the Europeans (Seiler 1982). The early reports from European explorers clearly indicate that Malay was completely unknown east of Geelvink Bay. Malay did not spread there until the Dutch started to show more interest in their long-forgotten colony and started actually to colonise it. This did not happen until well into the 19th century. It would appear that Malay traders did not establish a base in Humboldt Bay until the seventies or eighties of last century. Once that base was established, the traders spread out from there in their quest for bird of paradise plumes. They went inland and across the then only nominal border with what was then the German colony of Kaiser Wilhelmsland. At the peak of their activity the traders seem to have penetrated as far south as the Sepik (but not beyond) and as far east as about 142°30' east longitude (Seiler 1983). The plume trade collapsed soon after the turn of the century. This means roughly 40-50 years of more or less sustained contact between Malay traders and people of the Sepik, which is a far cry from the supposedly intensive contact over centuries. This contact was however long enough and intensive enough to leave a legacy of a Malay trade language in the Sepik area, which is well attested from early European exploration (for references see Seiler 1983). As far as the Imonda area is concerned this contact produced no knowledge of Malay on the part of the locals. Oral history has it that there was in fact not much in the way of verbal interaction between the two groups. As regards Malay influence on the Imonda language, there seems to be only one item that might be attributable to this early contact. The word (i)duag [induaŋk] is used to refer to anyone in authority or seen in some sense to be superior and it seems to derive from the Malay tuan. The same word was later, during the second phase of Malay influence, reborrowed, but this time did not undergo any drastic changes. Knowledge of Malay was so minimal that the locals did not realise that they were confronted with the same language again after World War 2, when the Dutch moved into the area.



The massive Malay element today found in the language is therefore clearly not due to the first period of contact with the Malays but rather stems from the second phase of contact, which lasted for about 15 years, beginning some time in the forties and ending with the Australians assuming control and introducing Tok Pisin in 1962. The source of knowledge of Malay in the Imonda area is twofold. Some people learned it on patrols with the Dutch or by working for them in places like Hollandia (Jayapura). Others were taught Malay at mission schools by Ambonese teachers the Dutch had brought in. The situation at the time (1984) of writing is that many of the older people are still perfectly fluent in Malay. Those born after 1960 do not know the language to any extent but this knowledge increases with decreasing distance from the border. Many people have relatives on the Indonesian side of the border and so some contact with Malay occurs.

Despite the proximity to the Malay-speaking area, this language has now lost its importance as a vocabulary source and has been completely superseded in this function by Tok Pisin. This is so not only in Imonda itself, but also in Waris, closer to the border. As the people were first exposed to European artefacts through the medium of Malay, it is clear that they also took over the relevant Malay vocabulary to refer to them. This vocabulary consists of hundreds of items. Some of them are fully entrenched in the language and are not likely to be superseded by the corresponding Tok Pisin terms. Examples are (the Malay source words here and below are given in modern Indonesian orthography):

kapul	<i>plane</i>	(<kapal)
bōlō	<i>ball</i>	(<bola)
garis	<i>matches</i>	(<garis <i>line, stroke</i> )
silmi	<i>mirror</i>	(<cermin)

Another category of Malay words consists of items that are definitely on the way out. They are hardly used today and, if they are, then only by older speakers, e.g.:

toko	<i>shop</i>	(<toko) (This is however still in current use in Waris.)
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A great many Malay items are currently rivalled by the corresponding Tok Pisin ones, most of which will probably win out, given the sociolinguistic situation. Some examples are:

sēlana	<i>trousers</i>	(<celana)	vs. Tok Pisin:	trausis
roti	<i>bread</i>	(<roti)	vs. Tok Pisin:	bret
sēlmūt	<i>blanket</i>	(<selimut)	vs. Tok Pisin:	blanket

The following is a selection of the most frequently used Malay loan nouns:

kapal	<i>plane</i>	<kapal	di	<i>money</i>	(<duit)
surat	<i>letter</i>	<surat	baiu	<i>shirt</i>	(<baju)
snapō	<i>rifle</i>	<senapan	sēlana	<i>trousers</i>	(<celana)
gula	<i>sugar</i>	<gula	ban	<i>belt</i>	(<ban)
blas	<i>rice</i>	<beras	pako	<i>nail</i>	(<paku)
pilin	<i>plate</i>	<piring	iam	<i>watch</i>	(<jam)
ikan	<i>fish</i>	<ikan	migu	<i>week,</i>	(<minggu)
aiam	<i>chicken</i>	<ayam		<i>Sunday</i>	
topi	<i>hat</i>	<topi	guru	<i>teacher</i>	(<guru)

The above is only a small selection of Malay nouns currently in use in Imonda. The overwhelming majority of Malay loanwords are in fact nouns, but the occasional verb, adjective or interjection also occurs:

## Verb:

titi fe	<i>wash</i>	(<cuci)
kunsi fe	<i>lock</i>	(<kunci <i>key</i> )

(As discussed in 5.4.5, verbs are borrowed by preposing them to the pro-verb fe *make, do.*)

## Adjective:

kotol	<i>dirty</i>	(<kotor)
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## Interjection:

ado	<i>ah!</i>	(<aduh)
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Apart from functioning as a source for loanwords the Malay contact language has not had any impact on Imonda or any of the other Waris languages on the Papua New Guinea side of the border.

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## INDEX

(This sketchy index consists primarily of items the abbreviations of which are used for the glosses throughout this grammar (see page 9). Some other grammatical labels of interest have also been included. The numbers refer to sections or subsections and occasionally to chapters.)

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