

**Data Papers on
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Abau Grammar

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Papers in the series Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages express the authors' knowledge at the time of writing. They normally do not provide a comprehensive treatment of the topic and may contain analyses which will be modified at a later stage. However, given the large number of undescribed languages in Papua New Guinea, SIL-PNG feels that it is appropriate to make these research results available at this time.

René van den Berg, Series Editor

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	DYN	dynamic modality
ACC	accompaniment	EMPH	emphasis
ACT	actuality	EXCL	exclamation
ADDR	addressive	EXCT	exactness
ADJ	adjective	F	feminine
ADV	adverb	FIN	final
AGREE	agreement	FUT	future
ANTCP	anticipation	GEN	genitive
BEN	benefactive	GL	general topic
CAUS	causative	HAB	habitual
CFT	counterfactual	HOR	hortative
CHD	change of direction; (focus shift)	HUM	human
CL#	class plus noun category number	IMM	imminent
CMT	comitative	IMP	imperative
CMPL	completive	INCH	inchoative
CMPND	compound	INDF	indefinite
CNT	continuous	INT	intensity
COMP	comparative	INTF	intensifier
CONJ	conjunction	INTN	intention
CUR	currently ongoing	IPFTV	imperfective
DDEM	distal demonstrative	KIN	kinship reference
DEM	demonstrative	LIM	limitation
DIR	directional	LOC	locative
DU	dual	M	masculine
DUB	dubitative	MAN	manner
DUP	duplication	N	noun
DUR	durative aspect	NP	noun phrase
		NEG	negation
		NH	non-human

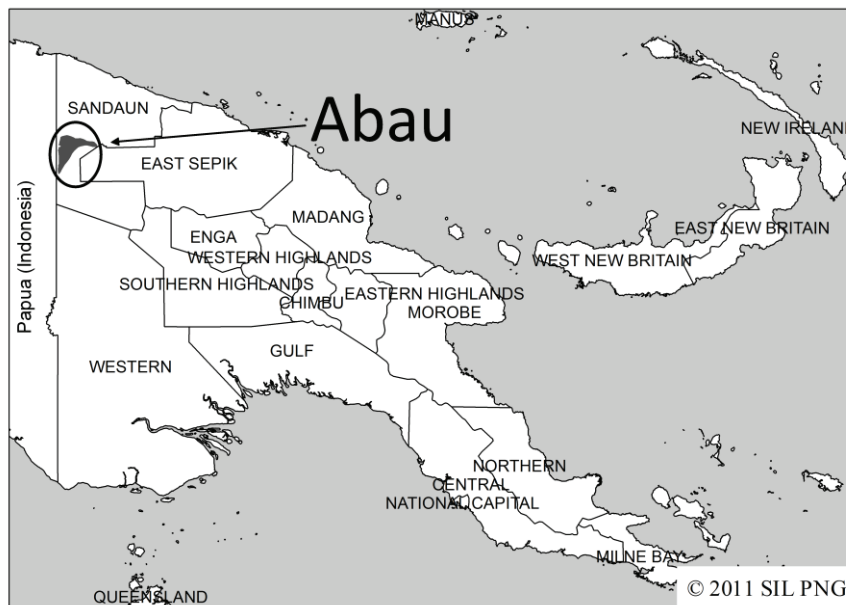
NOMS	nominaliser	SLCT	selective
OBJ	object	SP	speech utterance marker
P1/P2	fronted topicalised constituents	SPD	speed
P3	tail position	SUB	subject
PDEM	proximal demonstrative	TOP	topic, topicalised
PFT	perfect	V	verb
PFTV	perfective	VP	verb phrase
PL	plural	1, 2, 3	first, second, third person
PP	postpositional phrase	//	phonemic notation
PROH	prohibitive	<	orthographic notation
PURP	purpose	[]	phonetic notation
Q	interrogative marker	.	syllable break (between phonemes)
RCM	relative clause marker	-	morpheme break
RCP	reciprocal	#	word break
RDPL	reduplication	OBJ<SUB	object moves away from subject
RPT	repetitive	OBJ>SUB	object moves towards subject
RSTR	restrictive		
S	phonemics: semi-vowel		
S	singular		
SEQ	sequential		
SIM	similarity		

1. Introduction

1.1 Location and population

Abau is a language spoken by more than 7000 people in Sandaun (formerly West Sepik) Province, Papua New Guinea (see map 1). The language area consists of the villages to the immediate east and west of the Green River Station, as well as the villages along the Sepik River and its tributaries, starting at the border with Indonesian Papua (the Indonesian province of Papua, formerly Irian Jaya) all the way down to the border with the East Sepik. The area depends mainly on air transport for supplies, since there are no roads to connect the Green River Area with the coast and transport via the Sepik River has proven to be troublesome.

MAP 1: THE ABAU AREA WITHIN PNG



1.2 Language name

The language name Abau means infertile land. It is any area of open grassy land without trees that cannot be used for food gardens. The more than 1 kilometre long Green River Airstrip was built on such land. The local people continued to refer to the area as Abau, and consequently the Green River Station Area with its airstrip became known as Abau. The name eventually transferred to the people group and the language. (The word Abau is also used adverbially to indicate barrenness in a woman. When following the word *makwey* ‘head’ it means bald.)

1.3 Affiliation and earlier studies

In Wurm’s classification system (Laycock 1973; Laycock and Z’graggen 1975; Wurm 1982), Abau is classified as an isolate at the lowest level within the Upper Sepik Stock, Upper Sepik Super-stock, Sepik sub-phylum, Sepik-Ramu phylum.

More recent research by Foley (2005) and Ross (2005) regards Abau as a member of the Sepik family, related to other languages of the upper and middle Sepik river valley, and the Sepik hill country, but not to the languages of the Lower Sepik or Ramu families.

There have been several previous attempts at describing the Abau language, but little published research. Wordlists were collected by patrol officers F.R. Cawley (1919) and N.J. Cavanagh (1961); Cawley published his wordlists in several Papua Annual Reports between 1917 and the 1930s. Kay Liddle, who was the missionary at Green River in 1960-62 for Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML), filled seven notebooks with texts, typical constructions, a phonemic statement and the beginnings of a dictionary. However this material has never been published.¹

Three linguistic surveys of the language have been published. Loving and Bass (1964) conducted a survey on behalf of the Australian administration; they refer to the language as “Green River”, and note that if administrative officers at Green River station learned the language, they would be able to communicate with 3/5 of their administrative area. The second was conducted by Donald Laycock of Australian National University, who published a brief wordlist (Laycock 1965a) and

¹ Information compiled from Loving and Bass (1964); Laycock (1973); Carrington (1996).

description of the phonology (Laycock 1965b). A sociolinguistic survey was also conducted by Martin (1981).

The only other primary publications have been a two-page grammar sketch by Laycock and Z'graggen (1975: 744-746), and materials by Bailey (1975) – focusing mainly on phonology and discourse. His phonology write-up, especially in the areas of the vowels, differs greatly from the findings by Lock (2007).

1.4 Dialects

The Abau people recognise only general speech differences between some villages and have no names of dialect areas. On the basis of the sociolinguistic survey by Bill Martin (1980) the language group was divided into three dialects. My wife and I carried out a second survey in 1984. It basically confirmed Martin's findings to divide the Abau Language in three dialects: Up-River, Central and Down-River dialect. It was noted, however, that differences within the Down-River dialect needed to be looked at. Six villages belong to this group and it was observed that speakers of the three most eastern villages (Beimaf, Senou and Wagu) had far more difficulties communicating with speakers of the Central Dialect than the speakers of the other three Down-River dialect villages (Baiwai, Bifro and Baio).

In 1993, another small survey was done to compare the central dialect with the six villages of the Down-River Dialect. (Through circumstances it was not possible to survey Senou, the village that is located between Beimaf and Wagu.)

It is obvious that a language survey done in an unknown language yields less precise results than a survey done after a number of years of language research, since the surveyor has a better grasp of the phonetics of the language and the ability to avoid incorrect glosses due to miscommunication. We found that it was misleading to exclusively rely on cognate figures. For example, the central dialect village Yabru shares a cognate percentage of 97% with Wagu, the most eastern village of the language group. This high cognate figure suggests good mutual intelligibility which is, however, not the case.

TABLE 1: DIALECT COGNATE PERCENTAGES

	Buna <i>Central</i>	Mukways <i>Central</i>	Bifro <i>Down-R</i>	Baiwai <i>Down-R</i>	Baio <i>Down-R</i>	Beimaf <i>Down-R B</i>	Wagu <i>Down-R B</i>
Yabru <i>Central</i>	100	100	100	100	98	97	97
Buna <i>Central</i>		100	100	100	98	97	97
Mukways <i>Central</i>			100	100	98	97	97
Bifro <i>Down-River</i>				100	98	97	97
Baiwai <i>Down-River</i>					98	97	97
Baio <i>Down-River</i>						99	99
Beimaf <i>Down-River</i> <i>Border</i>							100

In the next table the cognate readings are broken up into two figures. The first number shows the number of words that are phonemically identical. The second number after the slash indicates the number of words that are different but can be still regarded as cognate. The total of the two numbers should be the same as the cognate figure in the table above. The table below shows that the number of identical words between Yabru and Wagu is only 64% and that a third of the Wagu vocabulary consists of words that have at least one different vowel or consonant than their Yabru counterparts. This fact logically has a negative effect on the ease of communication between Yabru and Wagu speakers.

TABLE 2: DIALECT COGNATE BREAKDOWN

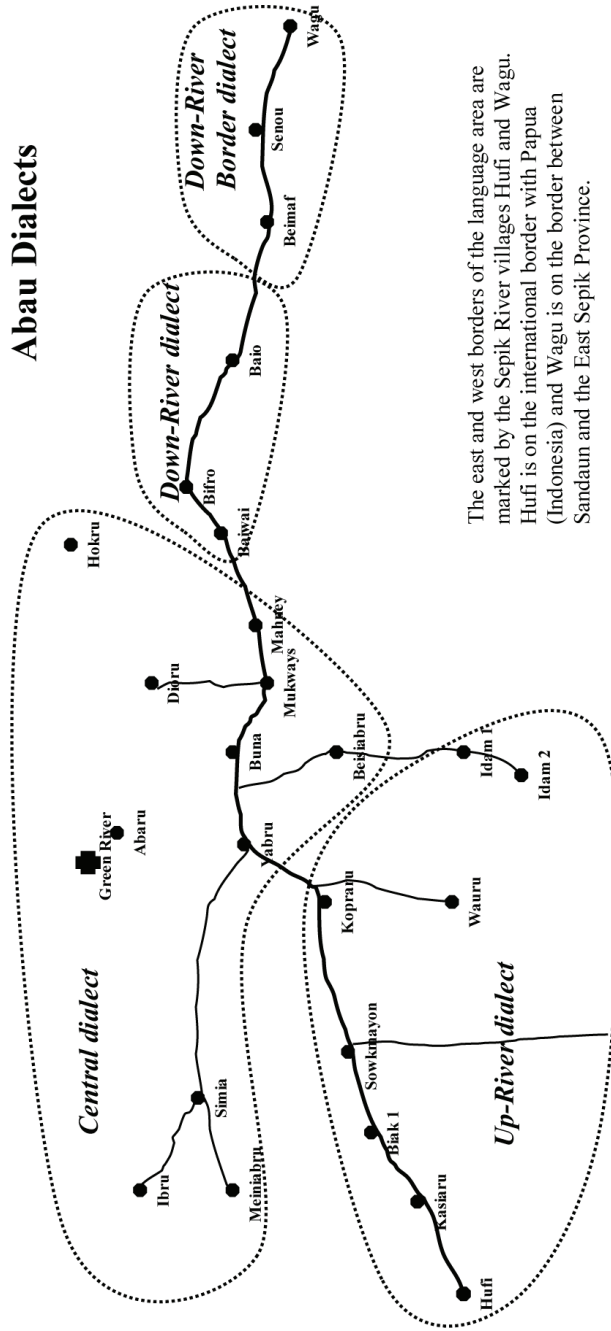
	Buna <i>Central</i>	Mukways <i>Central</i>	Bifro <i>Down-R</i>	Baiwai <i>Down-R</i>	Baio <i>Down-R</i>	Beimaf <i>Down-R B</i>	Wagu <i>Down-R B</i>
Yabru <i>Central</i>	100/0	92/8	87/13	85/15	82/16	65/32	64/33
Buna <i>Central</i>		92/8	87/13	85/15	82/16	65/32	64/33
Mukways <i>Central</i>			93/7	91/9	83/15	65/32	64/33
Bifro <i>Down-River</i>				98/2	91/7	66/31	65/32
Baiwai <i>Down-River</i>					91/7	67/30	66/31
Baio <i>Down-River</i>						73/26	71/28
Beimaf <i>Down-River</i> <i>Border</i>							93/7

In conclusion, as Martin suggested the villages Yabru, Buna, Beisiabru, Hokru, Dio, Abaru, Simia, Meiniabru, Ibru, Mukways and Mahney can be combined in the Central dialect.

The villages Hufi, Kasiaru, Biak 1, Sowkmayon, Kopraru, Idam 1, Idam 2 and Wauru can be grouped in the Up-River dialect. The remaining 6 villages were grouped by Martin as the Down-River dialect.

The findings of the 1993 survey strongly suggest to make a further division. The villages Baiwai, Bifro and Baio form the Down-River dialect. The three villages Wagu, Beimaf and Senou have their own dialect, which could be called, in view of their proximity to the province border with the East Sepik, the Down-River Border dialect.

MAP 2: THE ABAU LANGUAGE AREA



The east and west borders of the language area are marked by the Sepik River villages Hufi and Wagu. Hufi is on the international border with Papua (Indonesia) and Wagu is on the border between Sandaun and the East Sepik Province.

1.5 Language use and bilingualism

Three languages are used among the twenty five villages that make up the Abau language group: Abau, Tok Pisin and in restricted context English.

Abau is likely to be used in gatherings that deal with issues like sorcery, disputes about land, women and property, marriage arrangements, funeral rites, etc.

The further an Abau speaking village is removed from the Green River Station, the higher the likelihood that discussions take place in Abau rather than Tok Pisin. The Green River Station accommodates a large number of non-local people who serve the large Green River areas as administrators, police officers, teachers, medical and agricultural workers. Many of them do not speak any of the local languages surrounding the Green River Station Area.

Tok Pisin is likely to be used when a key person involved in a discussion does not have a good control of the Abau language. The number of the people in that category is still increasing through intermarriage. When the topic of discussion relates to a notion that has been introduced by outsiders (e.g. the clinic, school, church, planting of rubber trees) it becomes more likely that the communication takes place in Tok Pisin.

English is used nearly exclusively within the school system or with visitors to the area who do not speak Tok Pisin. Even teachers will prefer Tok Pisin over English when they are out of the school context.

Tok Pisin is widely used in all villages which are only one day travel away from the Green River station and understood by children and adults of all ages. It is less frequently used in villages which are further away from Green River, but even there it is understood by all age groups. This is remarkable given the fact that hardly anyone spoke or understood Tok Pisin in the 1950s. Abau is still a vital language, but the number of young people who feel more comfortable in Tok Pisin than in Abau is slowly growing. These young people have often been away for long periods from the language area because of High School or work. There is a strong appreciation of their own language and culture, but on the other hand there is no real shame involved in admitting to have poor mother tongue language skills.

1.6 Use of the Abau language in writing

After the completion of the basic work on the phonology analysis, a week-long orthography conference was organised where a group of twelve educated and influential Abau speakers made decisions on the Abau orthography. See Lock and Lock (1993) for more background information on the decision process.

We were able to facilitate the growth of a large educational program. The Abau Training Centre developed and played a major role in training more than 100 local teachers and producing primers and reading books in Abau. Thanks to the high level of local involvement, it was possible to start schools for children in all 25 Abau speaking villages. The education program started in 1990 when a third of the Abau speaking villages had a literacy rate of less than 5%. The curriculum started out as a one year program, changed to a two year program in 1993, and in 2005 a third year was added. The Abau village school enrollment figures represent approximately 2000 children who learned to read and write through the Abau schools. Children are tested yearly and more than 80% of these children qualify as adequate to good readers.

The Training Centre also opened its doors for courses for adults. These courses combined the reading and writing of Abau with such other topics as mathematics, calculator use, simple bookkeeping, manual typewriter skills, correspondence courses on family life and religion, creative topics such as arts and music, etc.

For more background on the set-up and the philosophy behind this program, see Lock (2008), a paper presented at an International Conference on Language Development.

1.7 Typological overview of Abau

Abau has nominative-accusative orientation in both its syntax and its case marking. Default ordering of arguments is Subject Object Verb (SOV). This ordering frequently varies for pragmatic reasons. Topic is overtly marked on noun phrases, and is clearly distinguished from subject. The presence or absence of topic marking on NPs divides every predication into a left-located topic-marked component and a right-located comment.

Abau appears to be an extreme example of the tendency to “thematisation” described by de Vries (2005: 368). He notes that in a number of Papuan languages thematic constituents are “a juxtaposed series of thematic constituents that have pragmatic relations of relevance to the clauses that follow but are syntactically and intonationally separate units.” This pattern occurs often in Abau. However, whereas in many Papuan languages this pattern is associated with the beginning of a text and the number of noun phrases per verb declines drastically once the story is under way (de Vries 2005: 369), in Abau topic-marked noun phrases remain frequent throughout entire texts.

In the typology of head-marking and dependent-marking languages introduced by Nichols (1986), Abau is an extreme example of a dependent-marking grammar.² Examples of this tendency are:

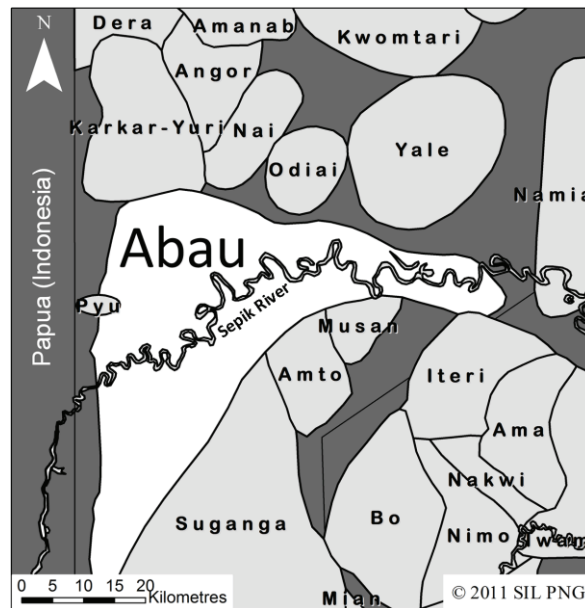
- a. The high proportion of nouns to verbs already described.
- b. A complex system of dependent noun phrase markers which follow almost every noun, and establish its pragmatic, syntactic and semantic role.
- c. The existence of both a gender system (marked on the noun phrase markers), and a cross-cutting system of numeral classifiers, used with the numerals one, two and three.
- d. Verbs do not inflect for tense, aspect, mood or person. Verb stems are affixed only for direction and manner of action. The distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect is indicated by clause-final particles in the case of non-indicative clauses, and by intonation over the verb phrase for indicative clauses.

1.8 Neighbouring languages

The Abau language area is located in an area of extreme linguistic diversity. Foley (2005) marks Abau as the westernmost member of the Sepik language family, along with languages downstream from it. The Sepik language family includes Namia, Ak, Pouye and Iwam but none of these languages can be regarded as a close geographic neighbour.

² I am indebted for this observation to Simon Overall (La Trobe University) who dialogued with Ian Tupper on the prominent features of the Abau grammar.

MAP 3: ABAU AND NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES



The languages which border the Abau language area are unrelated and show minimal affiliation between each other. The proximity of these languages is illustrated by the fact that practically all these language groups have at least one village community which is located within a day's walking distance from the Green River Government Station. Starting near the Indonesian border and going clockwise around the Abau language the following eight neighbouring languages are found (see map 3):

Karkar-Yuri (pop. 1400) – north-west from Green River Station all the way to the Indonesian border; was formerly thought to be an isolate, but is now known to be a member of the Pauwasi family (Lewis 2009).

Angor (pop. 1200) – north of Green River with majority of villages around Amanab; together with Dera a member of the Senagi family, and not currently considered to be closely related to any other languages (Ross 2005).

Nai (pop. 750) – also referred to as Biaka; three village communities between Green River Station and Amanab; related to Kwomtari; 30% cognate (Loving and Bass 1964; Baron 1983).

Odiai (pop. 250) – also known as Busa; three village communities located Northeast of Green River, west of the Horden River; isolate (Lewis 2009).

Yale (Yalë) (pop. 700) – also referred to as Nagatiman; located 30 kilometres northeast of the Green River Station between the Horden and Senu Rivers; isolate (Lewis 2009).

Amto (pop. 250) – also known as Ki; located in Rocky Peak Districts; Amto-Musan language family (Lewis 2009).

Siawi (pop. 300) – also known as Musan; located toward the headwaters of the Left May River on the Samaia River east of Amto; Amto-Musan language family (Lewis 2009).

Pyu (pop. 100) – only one village community, known as Biak 2 (Biak 1 is an Abau speaking village); located near the Indonesian Border and along the Biak River, a tributary of the Sepik River (Laycock 1973; Conrad and Dye 1975). Laycock (1973) suggested that Pyu is related to Kwomtari, but Baron (1983) found no evidence for this.

According to some sources (e.g. Laycock 1973; Lewis 2009), Yetfa (Biksi) also has speakers on the Papua New Guinean side of the border, west from the Abau language area. This was based on survey word lists from Biak 2 village, where the primary language is Pyu. The women surveyed had married into Biak 2 from a Yetfa-speaking village on the Indonesian side of the border, as documented in articles on the language by Laycock (1972), and Conrad & Dye (1975).³ My own travels and surveys did not lend any support to the claim that there are mother-tongue Yetfa speakers in Papua New Guinea apart from those who have settled in Biak 2 as a result of marriage exchange.

Namia, located east from Green River, belongs the Sepik language family but is too far away to be considered a geographic neighbour. The same is true for the Suganga (West-Miamin), located in the south, since none of their village communities is found close to any Abau speaking communities.

³ I am indebted to Ian Tupper and Chase Reynolds for this background information.

1.9 Abau culture

Culture

The river is viewed as the maternal uncle (*kam*). It is treated with respect, because it gives water to wash and drink and it is a source of food. The ceremonial washing that takes place in the river after an extended time of mourning is a very important cultural event. The cleansing water of the river enables the mourner to return to normal life again.

Clan ties are strengthened by marriage exchange and by a number of other customs that involve food exchanges. The most notable among them is the custom of pig exchange. Many piglets are raised for the benefit of a member on the maternal side of the family, who lives in expectation of this gift for many years. The food exchange that takes place when the pig is eaten is very significant.

Christianity

The first Christian church workers arrived in the mid-1950s with a Brethren Church background. Their work in Papua New Guinea was done under the name CMML. Their main focus was literacy, medical work and the establishment of village churches. These village churches soon started to operate under local leadership and were called Christian Brethren Churches (CBC). Some of the villages further away from the Green River station have aligned themselves with other churches, e.g. Catholic Church, Pentecostal Church and 'Holiness' Church.

Economy

The Abau are river people. Their main mode of transport is by canoe. The vast flat area of swamps, rivers and lakes accounts for their staple of sago and fish. They can be described as hunters and gatherers, in spite of the fact that they plant gardens. They tend not to rely heavily on their gardens, as yearly flooding of the Sepik River often destroys their crops.

The area depends on air transport for most of its fuel and store-food supplies. Boat transport along the Sepik is possible but slow and expensive. Normal village life does not come with a lot of expenses with the notable exception of the necessity to pay for high school fees. People have tried a number of cash crops (coffee, rubber in the 1980s, and vanilla

more recently) and none of them proved economically viable, due to low world market prices and the high costs of air transport to the nearest coastal town Vanimo.

Education

In the late fifties, CMML (Christian Missions in Many Lands) started with their first literacy efforts in Tok Pisin and later also in English among children and adults. Eventually a primary school in English for children was established at Green River. This was the only school in the Abau area till 1974. However, in that year the Idam government station was opened and the Idam primary school was established. Other primary schools were gradually added: Yabru (1978), Bifro (1980) Ibru (1982).

A few more primary schools were established in the late eighties and nineties (Mukways, Sowkmayon, Kasiaru, Wauru and Wagu). Many of these remote schools had their share of problems and a few negative trends had set in. It became increasingly hard to get teachers for these isolated village schools. Schools became understaffed or the positions became filled by local teachers who took more liberty in being absent from their school duties. Most of these schools (with the exception of Green River) were too small to enroll a new first grade every year. They only did so every other year or even less frequently. These developments had a bad effect on the quality of education. Most children are still enrolled in schools but the drop-out rate has increased.

A positive development was the establishment of the Green River High School in the early nineties. This small High School can pride itself in good academic achievements of its students that got nation-wide acclamation.

In 1997 and 1998, Papua New Guinea implemented a dramatic education reform of its school system. The new set-up promotes the use of the mother tongue which became the primary language of instruction within the Elementary School. Oral English is introduced in the last and third year of Elementary Education. After these three years of Elementary School the children are enrolled in the third year of Primary School. Unfortunately, these elementary schools were established in only nine of the 25 villages. The more remote villages missed out and have asked the Abau Training Centre for continued assistance to run schools in the

vernacular until the provincial education office will establish an Elementary School in their village.

Anthropological research

Well-documented anthropological research can be found on the site of The Upper Sepik-Central New Guinea Project (<http://www.uscngp.com/papers>). This research group aims “to explore the relationships between material culture on the one hand, and language, geographical propinquity, population, subsistence and environment on the other, in two adjacent regions of Papua New Guinea – the upper Sepik basin and the highlands of central New Guinea – during a relatively narrow time span before major impact by foreign cultures.”

Of special interest is the research of Fyfe and Bolton (2010) with their analysis of associations between string bag variability, language and geographical distance in the upper Sepik basin and Border Mountains. Also noteworthy is the well-written collection of Abau legends by Craig (1980) and various other articles by the same author. Craig (1980: 8-9) records a number of local legends which suggest that the Abau speakers originally moved into the language area from further downstream (east) along the Sepik.

1.10 Acknowledgements

This current grammar write-up is based on research conducted by me over a period of more than 20 years under the auspices of the Papua New Guinea Branch of SIL International. My wife and I learned to speak the language, collected stories and studied the local culture. We were able to involve a large number of Abau speakers in the establishment of the current orthography and in the development of a three year curriculum in the vernacular for the 25 Abau speaking villages along the Sepik River. The vast majority of the examples in this grammar paper have been taken from a corpus of non-elicited texts of 85,000 words.

We want to thank the Yabru community for allowing us to live among them since September 1982. We especially thank our friends and fellow-workers Obow Inaru and Alex Nomben, who, along with many others, have helped us to gain many valuable insights into the language.

A special word of thanks goes to our colleagues within SIL whose encouragement and input have been essential in gaining insights in the

structure of the Abau language. I want to thank Bob Conrad not only for his assistance in producing the Abau Grammar essentials in 1985 (unpublished manuscript) but also for his willingness to be one of the editors in the final stages of the current document. Secondly, I want to thank the late Cindi Farr for her enthusiasm and keen insights into how information is marked for relative prominence within Abau texts. A major part of this paper was finished under her supervision in 1999.

In 2007, I was encouraged to make the research available to the wider public. SIL colleague Ian Tupper probed me with many questions about the wording of certain sections that needed further work. He also kindly gave me many suggestions and editorial comments for the other sections. I believe they have improved the overall clarity of this grammar. Thanks are also due to Lisa Halverson who did a fine job in preparing the manuscript for publication, John Carter who produced two of the maps, several people in Ukarumpa who did the final proofreading and René van den Berg who oversaw the whole process as series editor.

Lastly, I want to thank my wife Maija for her encouragement and support. The current grammar write-up does not reflect sufficiently the many warm and meaningful friendships she helped to develop with our Abau friends.

2. Phonology

This chapter presents a brief outline of the phonology of Abau, including phonemes and allophones. It gives some background on the vowel analysis which is called for in light of the fact that various researchers have come up with different vowel inventories. It also deals with the topics stress, syllable and word structure and morphophonemics. The phonology of Abau is only summarised here. For a more detailed write-up, see Lock (2007).

The phonological system of Abau is based on fourteen phonemes: nine consonants and five vowels.

2.1 Consonant phonemes and allophonic variation

Abau has the following nine consonant phonemes as outlined in Table 3.

TABLE 3: ABAU CONSONANTS

	Labial	Alveolar	Velar
Stop	/p/ [p] [p ^h] [b]		/k/ [k] [k ^h]
Liquid		/r/ [t] [ɺ] [d] [r]	
Fricative	/h/ [h] [m̥] [ɸ] [ŋ̥]	/s/ [s]	
Nasal	/m/ [m]	/n/ [n] [ŋ]	
Glide	/w/ [w]	/y/ [j]	

Abau has no alveolar stop phoneme, although one of the allophones of /r/ is a voiceless alveolar stop [t] when it precedes the alveolar fricative [s], e.g. /uwrsa/ [utsa] ‘people’. It is also noteworthy that in the Down-River Dialect initial /s/ can be realised by either [s] or [t], e.g. /sa/ [sa] ~ [ta] ‘woman’. This fluctuation between [s] and [t] is not a feature of the central dialect and is therefore not incorporated in the table above.

2.1.1 Phonetic contoid changes

The consonants /h/, /r/ and /p/ have different phonetic representations depending on the vowel following. In certain environments more than one possible phonetic variation has been observed. Table 4 does not reflect that fluctuation, but only lists the phonetic variant that is most likely to occur.

TABLE 4: PHONETIC CHANGES IN CONTOIDS PRECEDING VOCOIDS

	[i]	[ɪ]	[j]	[e]	[ɛ]	[ʌ]	[a]	[ɔ]	[o]	[w]	[ʊ]	[u]
/h/	ϕ	ϕ	ϕ	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h
/r/	d	d	d	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ
/p/	p	p	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b

2.2 Vowel phonemes and allophonic variation

Abau has been analysed as having a five-vowel system. Two front, one central and two back vowels. One could argue on the basis of phonetics that Abau has seven vowels: three front, one central and three back vowels. It is interesting that Laycock (1965) makes the following footnote when he posits three front vowels and three back vowels for the Abau language: “My impression, though it cannot be substantiated at the moment, is that Abau /ɛ ɔ/ corresponds to Wogamusin/Iwam /e o/, and that Abau /e o/ have developed for vowel+semivowel sequences.”

The current analysis of the Abau language containing only two front vowels and two back vowels is indeed based on analysing a phonetic front vowel and a phonetic back vowel as a sequence of a vowel and semivowel. As can be seen from Table 5, the vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ] are not analysed as separate vowel phonemes: [ɪ] is analyzed as the phonetic realization of the phonemes /iy/ and [ʊ] is analyzed as /uw/.

TABLE 5: ABAU VOCOIDS WORK CHART

	Front	Central	Back
High	/i/ [i]		/u/ [u]
	/iy/ [ɪ]		/uw/ [ʊ]
Low	/e/	/a/	/o/
	[e] [ɛ]	[ʌ] [a]	[o] [ɔ]

/ri/	[di]	spear
/riy/	[dɪ]	able to
/re/	[ɫɛ]	come
/ra/	[ra]	eat
/ro/	[rɔ]	shoot
/ru/	[ru]	copulate
/ruw/	[rʊ]	bone of a cassowary

Foley (1986: 52-53), citing Bailey, states that Abau has a six vowel system. Bailey (1975: 9) posits two front vowels, one central vowel and three back vowels. He concludes that the Abau phonemic system is basically asymmetrical. However, research by Lock (2007) shows that Abau has a very symmetric vowel and semi-vowel inventory. The language also demonstrates symmetry in the way the five vowels and the two semivowels occur together. The following contrastive features are important for the way sequences are formed:

the feature [±High] divides the seven vocoids in: /i/, /u/, /w/, /y/
versus the low vowels /e/, /a/, /o/

the contrast between [Front] and [Back] separates /i/, /e/, /y/ from /u/, /o/, /w/ and leaves the central vowel /a/ in the middle, which is in agreement with the fact /a/ has fewer restrictions on its distribution than the non-central low vowels /e/ and /o/. The table below shows on what basis various sequences are allowed or not allowed.

TABLE 6: ALLOWED AND NON-ALLOWED SEQUENCES

Non-allowed sequences:	
Pairs of identical vowels or semi-vowels	* ii, aa, yy, ee, <i>etc</i>
Pairs of low vowels	* ae, ea, oe, eo, <i>etc</i>
A low vowel followed by a semi-vowel or high vowel with an opposing [Front/Back] value.	* oi, oy, eu, ew
Allowed sequences:	
High vowels and semi-vowels can be followed by all low vowels	ia, ya, ie, ye, ua wa, io, yo, uo, wo, <i>etc</i>
The central vowel /a/ can be followed by all semi-vowels and high vowels	ai, ay, au, aw
/e/ or /o/ can be followed by all semi-vowels or high vowels with identical [Front/Back] value.	ei, ey, ou, ow

The non-exhaustive list below gives a picture of the wide distribution of semi-vowels and high vowels co-occurring with another vowel.

/ri/	[di]	spear
/riy/	[dɪ]	able to
/rei/	[lei]	cut
/rey/	[lej]	go
/rie/	[diɛ]	climb
/hye/	[ɸiɛ]	him (OBJ)
/ru/	[ru]	copulate
/ruw/	[rʊ]	bone of a cassowary
/rows/	[rows]	fill up (water)
/rous/	[rous]	chase
/ros/	[rɔs]	mold (stove)
/kuor/	[kuɔr]	sore, wound
/kwor/	[kwɔr]	cane bangle

/kior/	[kior]	frog (sp.)
/kyor/	[kjor]	down
/kuan/	[kuan]	cross over
/kwan/	[kwan]	flattery
/san/	[san]	chewed food
/sawn/	[sawn]	lung
/saun/	[saun]	to dig
/say/	[saj]	throw
/sai/	[sai]	planting stick

2.3 Tone, stress and syllables

Bailey (1975: 33) states that “nouns exhibit lexemic tone, although relatively few examples of contrastive lexical tone pairs have been discovered so far”. Laycock and Z’graggen (1975: 744-5) queried the correctness of Bailey’s claim that Abau was tonal, since it countered a previous statement by Laycock (1965b) that Abau, Iwam and Wogamusin are not tonal. Foley cites Bailey’s observations (1986:64). We have found no evidence of a system of lexical tone or for the tone distinctions on nouns and verbs that were presented by Bailey (1975: 32-37). The minimal pairs Bailey listed all proved to be incorrect interpretations, see Lock (2007: 21-22).

The stress in Abau always occurs word initially. Bailey never commented on stress. Laycock (1965b) states that stress occurs word initially, or occurs on the second syllable when the word contains /ə/. As stated before, the current analysis does not have this central vowel. Six of the seven examples with /ə/ mentioned by Laycock (1965b:117) are analysed currently as /o/. These words have the stress on the first syllable (e.g. *hohkwe* ‘the two of them’). The phoneme /ə/ in the seventh word is analysed as /ow/ (*low* ‘to defecate’).

In defining the syllable we will rely on a basic phonological assumption, that the same sequential constraints which operate at the beginning of a word are also operative at the beginning of a syllable, even if this syllable does not occur word initially. Similarly, the same

sequential constraints which operate at the end of a word should be operative at the end of a syllable.

The following word initial consonant clusters have been observed. When they occur word medially, they are analysed as occurring syllable initially.

TABLE 7: CONSONANT CLUSTERS

Consonant clusters formed with /y/ and /w/	Consonant clusters formed with /r/, /m/ and /n/
/hw/ /hy/ /pw/ /py/ /kw/ /ky/ /sw/ /sy/ /nw/ /mw/ /my/ /rw/ /ry/	/hr/ /hn/ /hm/ /pr/ /pn/ /kr/ /kn/ /sr/ /mr/

The following rules apply to divide words into syllables:

1. Keep consonant cluster together
2. Syllable break for words containing a VV string: V-V
3. Syllable break for words containing a VCV string: V-CV

/ankin/	an.kin	‘if’	no initial or final /nk/ possible
/rownriy/	rown.riy	‘share’	no final or initial /nr/ possible
/hiywayr/	hiy.wayr	‘look after’	no final or initial /yw/ possible
/poya/	po.ya	‘many’	no final /oy/ possible
/omok/	o.mok	‘later’	syllable break: V-CV
/huonok/	hu.o.nok	‘get’	syllable break: V-V.
/lohre/	lo.hre	‘change into’	keep consonant cluster /hr/ together
/apuayr/	a.pu.ayr	‘wife’s sister’s husband’	syllable breaks: V-CV and V-V

2.4 Orthography

In 1989, when most of the phonological analysis was done, a week long orthography conference was organised in Yabru village which was attended by educated and influential Abau speakers. The goal was to determine the orthography of the Abau language on the basis of long word lists that focused on phonemes in various environments and on particular contrasts and minimal pairs. It also exposed the conference participants to the various ways Abau people had spelled in testing situations. See Lock (1993) for more information on the procedures and the reasons behind this orthography conference.

Based on the recommendations of this conference, the orthography follows the phonemic analysis with two exceptions:

1. The phoneme /r/ is represented in the orthography by <r>, <l> and <d>. The following spelling rules determine the available alternatives:

- a. Word initial /r/ is written as <l>.
 - e.g. /reir/ 'take out' is spelled as: <leir>
- b. /r/ is written as <d> preceding /n/
 - e.g. /yorney/ 'finger' is spelled as: <yodney>
- c. /r/ is written as <r> elsewhere.
 - e.g. /hror/ 'the two of us' is spelled as: <hror>

2. Word initial clusters of a high vowel and a low vowel are written with an extra word initial semi-vowel that will agree with the high vowel for the feature [back]. Thus:

- a. /#iV/ is written as <yi>V
 - e.g. /ia/ 'fire' is spelled as: <yia>
- b. /#uV/ is written as <wu>V
 - e.g. /ueir/ 'garden' is spelled as: <wueir>

2.5 Word boundaries and stress

The phonological word is defined as a unit with one primary stress. In Abau, primary stress is associated with the first syllable of the phonological word. The syllable with primary stress is assigned higher pitch and intensity than the other syllables. The lowest pitch occurs on the last syllable.

In example (1), syllable breaks are marked by full stops. Word initial stress is marked by number 1 and the gradual falling tone over the syllables by lower numbers. The numbers given only indicate the relative pitch within each word. A syllable carrying a higher pitch than the previous syllable always marks the onset of a new word and is therefore marked by 1 regardless of its absolute value in terms of pitch or intensity. In (1) the word *me* has a higher pitch than the final syllable *ma* in the previous word and therefore *me* is regarded as a separate word, in spite of the fact that its pitch is lower than the onsets of the other words in the utterance, and even lower than the pitch on the second syllable in *a.ni.ma*.

- (1) '1 2 '1 2 '1 2 '1 2 3 '1 '1 2 '1
Ha.no i.pey ho.kwe a.ni.ma me ya.pru.e la.
 my mother 3S.F.TOP beans OBJ.PL well eat
 'My mother enjoys eating beans.'

The distribution of the primary stress is used as a criterion for marking word boundaries. The following rule can be formulated: A pitch-carrying unit should be analysed as the onset of a new word, whenever this unit carries a higher pitch than its preceding unit.

The converse of this rule is not true. It is possible that a pitch-carrying unit with a lower pitch than its preceding unit is the onset of a new word. In (2), *pa* cannot be marked as a new word on the basis of the pitch distribution, since *pa* does not carry a higher pitch than the preceding *ley*. However, these two pitch-carrying units are separate words as is demonstrated in (3).

- (2) '1 2 '1 2 '1 '1 2
Ha.kwe sa.pa mon ley pa.
 1S.TOP forest LOC go NEG.PFTV
 'I did not go to the forest.'

In (3), the verb *ley* is replaced by a three-syllable verb *lanio*. The pitch over the unit *pa* is higher than the pitch over the final syllable of *lanio*, thus indicating a word break. On the basis of example (3) and others like it, the negation marker *pa* is given its own word status.

- (3) '1 2 '1 2 '1 '1 2 3 '1
Ha.kwe sa.pa mon la.ni.o pa.
 1S.TOP forest LOC walk NEG.PFTV
 'I did not walk in the forest.'

The peak or highest pitch within the clause occurs on the first pitch-carrying unit of the head of the verbal phrase. The highest pitch within a nominal phrase occurs on the head noun.

Word boundaries are also determined on the basis of vowel distribution. Abau recognises two [+high] vowels (i, u) and three [-high] vowels (e, a, o). A restriction on the distribution of the vowels is that no sequences of low vowels are allowed. In (4), no word boundary between *lira* and *o* can be marked on the basis of pitch difference. However, a word boundary can be marked on the basis of vowel distribution. As *ao* is disallowed in Abau, *lira* and *o* are analysed as separate words.

- (4) '1 2 '1 '1 2 '1 2 3
Hun.kwe hye pe.se li.ra o.
 2S.TOP 3S.M.OBJ PROH look SP
 'Do not look at him.'

2.6 Morphophonemics

2.6.1 Morphophonemic changes within the verb phrase

The following morphophonemic changes only occur within a verb or between verbs. An initial lateral *l-* on a verb reduces to zero in the following environments:

- Rule A: the verb is prefixed by a verbal prefix ending in a consonant or high vocoid (includes semi-vowels *y* and *w.*);
- Rule B: the verb is preceded by another verb.

Morphophonemic Rule A is exemplified in Table 8. The verbal prefixes listed in the first column cause the deletion of initial *l-*.

TABLE 8: DELETION OF VERB-INITIAL *l* WHEN PREFIXED

Prefix	Meaning	Affixed to verb	Example	Meaning
<i>nak-</i>	Accompani- ment (ACC)	<i>ley</i> - go	<i>nak-ey</i>	go with something
		<i>la</i> - eat	<i>nak-a</i>	eat with something
<i>hiy-</i>	Cause (CAUS)	<i>lei</i> - cut (meat)	<i>hiy-ei</i>	oversee the cutting of meat
		<i>la</i> - eat	<i>hiy-a</i>	provide food
<i>nuw-</i>	Intensity (INT)	<i>ley</i> - go	<i>nuw-ey</i>	really go
<i>saw-</i>	Speed (SPD)	<i>le</i> - come	<i>saw-e</i>	come quickly
<i>kor-</i>	Limitation (LIM)	<i>liwak</i> - sit	<i>kor-iwak</i>	sit for a little while, just sit
<i>ar-</i>	From above (DIR:above)	<i>lokre</i> - shout	<i>ar-okre</i>	shout from above
<i>am-</i>	From near (DIR:near)	<i>lopri</i> - collect	<i>am-opri</i>	collect from a place nearby

As Table 9 demonstrates, verb initial *l* is not deleted following a prefix ending in the non-high central¹ vowel *a*:

¹ Abau has no verbal prefixes ending in the mid-low vowels *e* and *o*. So it cannot be stated with certainty whether the non-application of the deletion rule occurs only after low central vowels or after all low vowels.

TABLE 9: NO DELETION OF VERB-INITIAL *l* WHEN VERBAL PREFIX ENDS IN CENTRAL VOWEL *a*

Prefix	Meaning	Affixed to verb	Example	Meaning
<i>ma-</i>	Repetition (RPT)	<i>ley</i> - go	<i>ma-ley</i>	go again, go back
		<i>lousne</i> - appear	<i>ma-lousne</i>	appear again
<i>ka-</i>	From the side (DIR:side)	<i>liwak</i> - sit	<i>ka-liwak</i>	sit at the side

Morphophonemic Rule B which applies between verbs is shown in example (5) where the second verb *liwak* is reduced to *iwak*.

- (5) *Kwa lyawriy iwak e.*
kwa lyawriy liwak e
 HOR enter sit OBJ
 'Come in and sit down.'

The initial *l-* is deleted in all verbs in a serial verb construction following the initial verb:

- (6) *Hiykwe Buna-uwrsa me lanio ira*
Hiy-kwe Buna-uwr-sa me lanio lira
 3S.M.SUB-TOP Buna-man-woman OBJ.PL walk see
ohruw a.
lohruw la.
 talk eat
 'He went around visiting and talking to the Buna people.'

The application of the deletion rule of the initial *l-* is restricted to verbs and not to other parts of the verb phrase. There is only one verb in (7). This verb *lira* is preceded by the dynamic modality marker *liy* and followed by the negation marker *ley*. No deletion of initial *l-* takes place, as these markers are not regarded as verbs.

- (7) *Hakwe hne liy lira ley.*
Ha-kwe hwon-e liy lira korey
 1S.SUB-TOP 2S-OBJ DYN see NEG
 'I am not able to see you.'

2.6.2 Vowel harmony

The following morphophonemic rules are optional. They are frequently applied but not obligatory. Both base forms and morphophonemically derived forms exist side by side. The two optional rules are:

Rule C: $o \rightarrow e / _ Ce\#$

Rule D: $o \rightarrow a / _ Ca\#$ (in which C=consonant)

- (8) *none* ‘nose’ is used interchangeably with *nene*
kora ‘direct speech, addressive’ is used interchangeably with
kara
hrome ‘1PL.OBJ’ is used interchangeably with *hreme*

In (8), *hrome* is derived from *hrom* ‘1PL.SUB’. It can take the genitive suffix *-o*, or the objective suffix *-e*. When suffixed with the front vowel *-e* the optional vowel harmony Rule C can change *hrome* into *hreme*.

Table 10 shows the application of morphophonemic Rule C. The last column shows the base forms and the second-last column shows the morphophonemically derived forms.

TABLE 10: RULE C - VOWEL HARMONY TRIGGERED BY *e*

Citation form	Meaning	Genitive	Frequently used objective	Less frequently used alternative (OBJ)
<i>hok</i>	she (3S.F)	<i>hoko</i>	<i>heke</i>	<i>hoke</i>
<i>hror</i>	we (1DU)	<i>hroro</i>	<i>hrere</i>	<i>hrore</i>
<i>hoh</i>	you/them (2/3DU)	<i>hoho</i>	<i>hehe</i>	<i>hohe</i>
<i>hrom</i>	we (1PL)	<i>hromo</i>	<i>hreme</i>	<i>hrome</i>
<i>sehe</i>	this (3S.M)	-	<i>sehe</i>	<i>sohe</i>
<i>sokwe</i>	this (3S.F)	-	<i>sokwe</i>	- (<i>seke, soke</i>) ²
<i>seme</i>	these (3PL)	-	<i>seme</i>	<i>some</i>

² These forms only occur in the upper dialect and are not acceptable in the central dialect.

Table 11 shows the application of morphophonemic Rule D. The first column shows the base forms and the last column shows the morphophonemically derived forms. Rule D does not apply in the environment of a double consonant, so there are no derived forms for *kokwa* and *sokwa*.

TABLE 11: RULE D - VOWEL HARMONY TRIGGERED BY *a*

Emphatic speech markers suffixed by addressive (see §7.4.6)	Meaning	Alternative derived form
<i>kora</i>	feminine emphatic speech marker, (addressee masculine)	<i>kara</i>
<i>kokwa</i>	feminine emphatic speech marker, (addressee feminine)	-
<i>koma</i>	feminine emphatic speech marker, (addressee plural)	<i>kama</i>
<i>sora</i>	masculine emphatic speech marker, (addressee masculine)	<i>sara</i>
<i>sokwa</i>	masculine emphatic speech marker, (addressee feminine)	-
<i>soma</i>	masculine emphatic speech marker, (addressee plural)	<i>sama</i>

2.6.3 Vowel harmony in kinship terms

All kinship terms have two forms, a term of address and a term of reference. Table 12 shows that the suffixation of kinship terms for the terms of reference is realised by the suffixes *-ih*, *-uh* and *-oh*. The suffix *-eh* does not occur as a counterpart of *-oh*. It should also be noted that only one kinship term (*hiom*) exhibits the kinship suffix *-oh*. A quick overview of the other kinship terms that are suffixed by *-ih* and *-uh* shows that the choice of suffix is determined by the front feature of the last vowel or glide within the word. When the last vowel or glide of the kinship term exhibits the feature front, it is suffixed by *-ih*. In all other cases it is suffixed by *-uh*.

TABLE 12: VOWEL HARMONY IN THE SUFFIXATION OF KINSHIP TERMS

Term of address	Term of reference	Selection of suffix	Relationship
<i>napwe</i>	<i>napwe-ih</i>	<i>e > ih</i>	cousin (son of maternal uncle)
<i>ine</i>	<i>ine-ih</i>	<i>e > ih</i>	sister (term used by males)
<i>oryay</i>	<i>oryay-ih</i>	<i>ay > ih</i>	older brother (term used by males)
<i>nay</i>	<i>nay-ih</i>	<i>ay > ih</i>	younger sibling ³
<i>pway</i>	<i>pway-ih</i>	<i>ay > ih</i>	older sister (term used by females)
<i>purway</i>	<i>purway-ih</i>	<i>ay > ih</i>	grandmother
<i>apuayr</i>	<i>apuayr-ih</i>	<i>ayC > ih</i>	wife's sister's husband
<i>apaw</i>	<i>apaw-uh</i>	<i>aw > uh</i>	grandfather (also: ancestor)
<i>uwr</i>	<i>uwr-uh</i>	<i>uwC > uh</i>	husband
<i>swawr</i>	<i>swawr-uh</i>	<i>awC > uh</i>	brother in law
<i>kam</i>	<i>kam-uh</i>	<i>aC > uh</i>	maternal uncle
<i>hiom</i>	<i>hiom-oh</i>	<i>oC > oh</i>	brother (term used by females)

Kinship terms with different origins

<i>ipey</i>	<i>pouh</i>		mother (also: daughter of maternal uncle)
<i>aio</i>	<i>orih</i>		father (also: paternal uncle)

It is interesting that the terms of address for father and mother (*aio* and *ipey*) have a different origin than the terms of reference (*orih* and *pouh*). The latter forms appear to have the kinship endings *-ih* and *-uh*, but they do not have counterparts in the language without these suffixes. Native speakers object to use a hyphen in *orih* or *pouh*, whereas they write a hyphen before all other kinship suffixes.

Baron (1985:10) observes that the similarity in kinship terms in the former West Sepik (currently Sandaun) province is clearly beyond chance

³ *Nay-ih* is a term of reference used by both males and females for a younger same-sex-sibling. *Hiom-oh* is the term of reference used by females for brothers both younger and older. *Ine-ih* is the term used by males to refer to both younger and older sisters.

and he posits the influence of Malay in the development of especially the kinship terms for father and mother as one possible explanation for this phenomenon. The Abau terms *aio* ‘father’ and *ipey* ‘mother’ are certainly related to their Malay equivalents *ayah* ‘father’ and *ibu* ‘mother’.

2.7 Reduplicated stems

A number of nouns, verbs and modifiers are completely reduplicated to convey intensification: repetition, duration, increased intensity, or plurality of participants.

Most complete reduplications have an accepted non-reduplicated counterpart, but not all of them, as shown in Table 13. Entries marked by * do not occur in Abau.

TABLE 13: REDUPLICATED FORMS AND BASE FORMS

Reduplicated form		Base form	
<i>uwrsa harhar</i>	‘several people’	<i>uwrsa har</i>	‘a number of people’
<i>me sor-a-sor</i>	‘discuss’	<i>me sor</i>	‘talk, tell’
<i>nanpanan</i>	‘think, contemplate’	<i>nan</i>	‘think’
<i>uwrsa poya-poya</i>	‘various people’	* <i>uwrsa poya</i>	-
<i>me kupaku</i>	‘to warn’	* <i>me ku</i>	-
<i>me weih-a-weih</i>	‘to convince’	* <i>me weih</i>	-
<i>aiai</i>	‘food’	<i>ai</i>	‘animal, food item’
<i>wayh-wayh</i>	‘all friends, relatives’	<i>wayh</i>	‘relative’
<i>senkin senkin</i>	‘all kinds of’	<i>senkin</i>	‘thus, kind’

The last three entries in Table 13 *aiai*, *wayh-wayh*, and *senkin senkin* occur in example (9).

- (9) *Homkwe ai-ai senkin senkin mokwe*
 hom-kwe ai-ai so-enkin so-enkin mo-kwe
 2/3PL-TOP food-food DDEM-MAN DDEM-MAN GL.PL-TOP
hmo wayh-wayh me lowndiy kow.
 hom-o wayh-wayh m-e lowndiy kow
 2/3PL-GEN friend-friend PL-OBJ share BEN
 ‘They dished out all kinds of food to the whole group of relatives.’

There are four major reduplication strategies. The base form is always repeated in its complete form. The reduplicated form either follows the base form immediately, or occurs after an inserted duplication morpheme. The four strategies are:

1. Reduplicated form simply duplicates the base form, e.g. *me loh-loh* ‘persuade’
2. Reduplicated form and base form are linked by reduplication morpheme *-a-*, e.g. *mei-a-mei* ‘long’
3. Reduplicated form and base form are linked by reduplication morpheme *-pa-*, e.g. *me wowr-pa-wowr* ‘to rebuke’
4. Reduplicated form and base form are linked by reduplication morpheme *-ma-*, e.g. *lira pe-ma-pe* ‘to stare’

All two-syllable words follow strategy 1, as shown in example (10)

- (10) *me wod.na-wod.na* ‘to infuriate’
me wa.rei-wa.rei ‘to deny a truth’

Table 14 illustrates that reduplication of one syllable words is not governed by phonological rules. Examples in the left columns are contrasted with examples that feature different types of reduplication within a similar phonological environment. For example, all four reduplication strategies occur in an analogous environment in the following four compounds: *kwan-a-kwan*, *sian-sian*, *nan-pa-nan*, *mon-ma-mon*.

TABLE 14: FOUR TYPES OF REDUPLICATION

Example of reduplication		Contrasting example in similar environment	
<i>lowp-a-lowp</i>	‘all’	<i>me piap-ma-piap</i>	‘to slander’
<i>me sor-a-sor</i>	‘to discuss’	<i>me wowr-pa-wowr</i>	‘to rebuke’
<i>me wor-a-wor</i>	‘to give advice’	<i>nan kwor-pa-kwor</i>	‘think and fret’
<i>mei-a-mei</i>	‘long’	<i>me hne-ma-hne</i>	‘to defame’
<i>me hok-a-hok</i>	‘to scare’	<i>me loh-loh</i>	‘to persuade’
<i>me weih-a-weih</i>	‘to convince’	<i>wayh-wayh</i>	‘friends’
<i>me kwan-a-kwan</i>	‘to speak very friendly’	<i>me sian-sian</i>	‘to stir up’
<i>nan-pa-nan</i>	‘to contemplate’	<i>me mon-ma-mon</i>	‘to speak offensively’
<i>me ku-pa-ku</i>	‘to warn’	<i>lira pe-ma-pe</i>	‘to stare’
<i>nan seyr-pa-seyr</i>	‘to be puzzled’	<i>weyr-weyr</i>	‘to scream’

3. *Nouns and noun phrases*

De Vries (2005: 367) makes the point that Papuan languages generally give the noun phrase a low priority.

In the majority of Papuan languages the verb is the head of the verbal clause, and the only obligatory constituent. The nominals in the clause could be considered optional modifiers of this head... Many Papuan languages avoid nouns and anaphoric use of independent pronouns to an extreme extent in referent tracking, especially in the tracking of active or given subject and object referents.

Abau does not fit this particular categorization of Papuan languages. Clauses in Abau without a noun phrase are extremely rare. Also noun phrases which are not overtly marked for their specific role are relatively rare. The vast majority of noun phrases are marked for their pragmatic, semantic or syntactic function to such an extent that the unmarked noun phrase stands out because of its relative rareness.

Abau has a rich inventory of markers which occur by themselves NP finally and which contain much grammatical information. Himmelmann (2001: 838-839) calls these syntactic noun phrase markers pronominal articles and Tupper (2009) makes mention of the usage of similar pronominal articles in the neighbouring Namia language.

The vast majority of Abau noun phrases occur with a terminal phrase marker. They can be non-syntactic pragmatic markers (§3.6 and Table 23), syntactic markers (§3.7, §3.8 and Table 28), and semantic markers indicated by postpositions (§3.9 and Table 29). The tables referred to give exhaustive lists of the various categories. We have analysed all the pronominal forms listed in §3.6 through §3.9 as NP markers rather than as a pronominal copy NP.

Noun phrases with zero marking are relatively rare. Within a narrative text less than 10% of the noun phrases have zero marking (see §3.11).

Pragmatic marking is realised with the help of the topic marker *-kwe* which cannot occur by itself, but is always suffixed to a pronoun.

The NP final marking not only marks the NP for its syntactic, semantic and/or pragmatic role, but in most cases also reflects the gender and/or number of the head of the NP. Many of these markers are also affixed for demonstrative force. These demonstratives need to be explained against the background of their counterparts which do not have deictic force. For that reason the demonstratives are not in one section but are discussed in various sections. The manner demonstrative in §3.5.5, the non-syntactic demonstrative in §3.6.2, the syntactic demonstrative in §3.8.

Summary overview of Chapter 3:

It basically describes the structure and function of nouns and noun phrases. It includes sections on the form and use of personal pronouns (§3.1); the form, use and gender of the noun (§3.2, §3.3); numerals (§3.4) and adjectives (§3.5). An extensive overview of all pragmatic (§3.6), syntactic (§3.7, §3.8) and semantic (§3.9) noun phrase markers. The chapter concludes with a full discussion of the structure of the noun phrase (§3.10) and the absence of NP marking (§3.11).

3.1 Personal pronouns

3.1.1 Form

There is only one class of free personal pronouns, whose members take suffixes to indicate grammatical case. The nominative suffix is a zero morpheme, the genitive *-o* and the objective *-e*. Pronouns are differentiated for gender only in the third person singular. The pronominal system recognises singular, dual and plural number. In dual and plural, there is no distinction between 2nd and 3rd person.

TABLE 15: PERSONAL PRONOMINAL FORMS

	Nominative	Genitive	Objective
1st singular	<i>ha</i>	<i>han-o</i>	<i>han-e</i>
2nd singular	<i>hwon</i>	<i>hm-o</i>	<i>hne-e</i>
3rd singular, masculine	<i>hiy</i>	<i>hy-o</i>	<i>hy-e</i>
3rd singular, feminine	<i>hok</i>	<i>hok-o</i>	<i>hok-e</i>
1st dual	<i>hror</i>	<i>hror-o</i>	<i>hror-e</i>
2nd/3rd dual	<i>hoh</i>	<i>hoh-o</i>	<i>hoh-e</i>
1st plural	<i>hrom</i>	<i>hrom-o</i>	<i>hrom-e</i>
2nd/3rd plural	<i>hom</i>	<i>hm-o</i>	<i>hm-e</i>

The nominative form is used for subject, the objective form for both indirect and direct object, and the genitive encodes possession.

The presence of /n/ in the first person singular genitive and objective (*hano* and *hane*) seems anomalous. The most likely explanation is that /ha/ was previously /han/ and that the letter /n/ was deleted in the nominative, but not in the genitive and objective. This is also consistent with the proposal by Foley (2005: 132) that *n was the first person formative in Proto Sepik.”¹

Another morphophonemic process that can be observed is syncope, which affects the nominative pronouns *hwon*, *hiy* and *hom* when suffixed by the genitive *-o* and the objective *-e*. This morphophonemic process only takes place among these personal pronouns and is not observed anywhere else (see §2.6.2).

¹ Based on Bailey (1975), Foley hypothesises (2005: 136) that Abau distinguishes between animate direct objects (which take a suffix *-ne*) and inanimates (taking a suffix *-e*). Such a distinction does not exist though. The suffix is *-e* for both animate and inanimate objects.

3.1.2 Function of personal pronouns

Personal pronouns can function as NPs. A personal pronoun in the nominative form functions as subject. In (1), the bolded nominal pronoun *hiy* ‘he’ fills the subject slot.

- (1) *Enekwei kamon hokwe **hiy** ley.*
 enekwei kamon ho-kwe hiy ley
 time one.CL2 GL.M-TOP 3S.M.SUB go
 ‘One day he left.’

Personal pronouns can be topicalised. This is achieved by adding the bound morpheme *-kwe* to the personal pronoun. In (2), the bolded pronoun is marked for both subject and topic.

- (2) *Enekwei kamon hokwe **hiykwe** sapa*
 enekwei kamon ho-kwe hiy-kwe sapa
 time one.CL2 GL.M-TOP 3S.M.SUB-TOP forest
mon ley.
 mon ley
 LOC go
 ‘One day he went to the forest.’

The three bolded personal pronouns in (3) function as NPs and all three are overtly marked for syntactic case. The first two bolded pronouns are also marked for topic.

- (3) ***Hiykwe** sapa mon ley. **Hiykwe***
 hiy-kwe sapa mon ley hiy-kwe
 3S.M.SUB-TOP forest LOC go 3S.M.SUB-TOP
***hane** me nonkway kow pa.*
 han-e me nonkway kow pa
 1S-OBJ speak know BEN NEG.PFTV
 ‘He went to the forest. He did not tell me.’

In (4), the four bolded pronouns are all marked for syntactic case. The first three function as independent NPs. The last bolded pronoun is marked for genitive and part of the underlined NP.

- (4) *Hiykwe hane senkin me, 'Hakwe*
 hiy-kwe han-e so-enkin me ha-kwe
 3S.M.SUB-TOP 1S-OBJ DDEM-MAN speak 1S.SUB-TOP
hno sa ke lira pa.'
 hwon-o sa k-e lira pa
 2S-GEN woman 3S.F-OBJ see NEG.PFTV
 'He said to me, "I did not see your wife.'"

3.1.3 Topicalisation of object pronouns

A NP that consists of a personal pronoun marked for object can be topicalised in two ways. It can either host the topic marker *-kwe* (5) or it can be followed by the general topic marker *kokwe* (6) and (7).

- (5) *Hyekwe sawk lokrue pa.*
 hiy-e-kwe sawk lokrue pa
 3S.M-OBJ-TOP CHD die NEG.PFTV
 'He did not die.' Or: 'As for him, he did not die.'
- (6) *Hye kokwe sawk peik nak-wak.*
 hiy-e ko-kwe sawk peik nak-lwak
 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP CHD ill ACC-be
 'As for him, he was ill.'
- (7) *Sa hme kokwe Kawi hiy*
 sa hom-e ko-kwe Kawi hiy
 then/and 2/3PL-OBJ GL.F-TOP Kawi 3S.M.SUB
me kow.
 me kow
 speak BEN
 'Kawi told them.' Or: 'It was Kawi who told them.'

When a personal pronoun (and also a NP, see §3.7.4 and §3.9.8) is already syntactically or semantically marked it is always topicalised by the feminine topic marker *kokwe* regardless of number or gender. In (6), *kokwe* follows a masculine pronoun marked for object and in (7) a plural pronoun marked for object. For examples of the feminine topic marker *kokwe* following a postpositional semantic marker, see examples (152) and (153). The objective personal pronoun marked by *-kwe* appears to vary freely with the one marked by *kokwe*. There seems to be no semantic difference between *hyekwe* 'as for him' (5) and *hye kokwe* 'as for him'

(6). Both forms are fully accepted; the shorter form might be simply an abbreviation of the longer version.

3.1.4 Pronoun modification

The personal pronoun can be modified by the suffixes listed in Table 16.

TABLE 16: PERSONAL PRONOUN MODIFICATION

Function	Suffix	Occurrence	Examples	Gloss	
Topic (TOP)	<i>-kwe</i>	All personal pronouns can be suffixed with <i>-kwe</i>	<i>ha-kwe</i> <i>han-e-kwe</i>	‘I’ ‘to me, me’	
Restrictive (RSTR)	<i>-kwaw</i>	<i>-kwaw</i> suffixed to a subject pronoun	<i>ha-kwaw</i>	‘I by myself’	
	<i>-aw</i>	<i>-aw</i> suffixed to an object pronoun	<i>hane-aw</i>	‘only me’	
Selective (SLCT)	<i>-kiaw</i>	Only suffixed to subject pronouns	<i>ha-kiaw</i>	‘it is I’	
Reciprocal (RCP)	<i>-ayay</i>	Occurs only after the selective marker. Personal pronoun is repeated.	<i>hom-kwe</i> <i>hom-kiaw-</i> <i>ayay</i>	‘they among themselves’	
Emphatic (EMPH)	<i>-aw</i>	After a pronoun modifier			
			<i>-aw-aw</i>	<i>hane-aw-aw</i>	‘only me!’
			<i>-kwaw-aw</i>	<i>ha-kwaw-aw</i>	‘I by myself!’
			<i>-kiaw-aw</i>	<i>ha-kiaw-aw</i>	‘it is I!’
			<i>-ayay-aw</i>	<i>homkwe</i> <i>hom-kiaw-</i> <i>ayay-aw</i>	‘they among themselves’

The restrictive suffix *-kwaw* is not derived from *-kwe* suffixed by *-aw*. Also the selective suffix *-kiaw* is not related to the topic marker *-kwe*.

Topic markers are used to mark constituents for background, while restrictive and selective markers mark constituents as foreground information. (For the distinction between background and foreground: §8.1, §8.2 and Table 45.)

Secondly, NPs can never be topic-marked twice within the same noun phrase. The NP *poup hiykiaw hokwe* in (8) is topicalised by the general topic marker *hokwe*. *Hiykiaw* ‘3S.M-SLCT’ can therefore not host a topic marker itself.

- (8) *Poup hiykiaw hokwe hyo*
 poup hiy-kiaw ho-kwe hiy-o
 spirit 3s.M.SUB-SLCT GL.M-TOP 3S.M-GEN
wayhah-nayh me me-huonok e ley.
 wayh-ih-nayh m-e me-huonok e ley
 friend-KIN-relative PL-OBJ speak-call PURP go
 ‘The spirit himself (= he took it upon himself) went off in order to get all his relatives.’

The NP *aio hiykwaw hokwe* in (9) is also topicalised by *hokwe*. We can therefore conclude that the *kw-* in *-kwaw* is not related to the topic marker *-kwe*. *Hiykwaw* ‘3S.M-RSTR’ cannot host a topic marker since it is part of a NP that is topic marked by *hokwe*.

- (9) *Aio hiykwaw hokwe yeyk se*
 aio hiy-kwaw ho-kwe yeyk s-e
 father 3S.M.SUB-RSTR GL.M-TOP canoe 3S.M-OBJ
liy meio.
 liy meio
 DYN work
 ‘Father can make a canoe by himself (i.e. he can do it alone).’

The difference between the restrictive and the selective marker becomes evident when comparing (9) and (10). Both markers single out a referent from a potentially much larger group. The restrictive marker does so by drawing attention to the fact that the referent is alone and not joined by other available candidates. The selective marker singles out one referent by drawing attention to the fact that this referent, rather than other possible referents, was selected.

- (10) *Aio* ***hiykiaw*** *hokwe* *yeyk* *se*
 aio hiy-kiaw ho-kwe yeyk s-e
 father 3S.M.SUB-SLCT GL.M-TOP canoe 3S.M-OBJ
liy *meio*.
 liy meio
 DYN work
 ‘Father himself can make a canoe (i.e. of all candidates who could, he can certainly do it).’

It should be noted that the bolded pronouns in examples (8), (9) and (10) do not function as the head of the NP. They modify the head of the NP as a NP marker. These types of constructions are dealt with in later sections (§3.6 - §3.8). However, given the proper context, these personal pronouns could occur by themselves with or without the NP final topic marking. Within a context where the referent is understood example (8) can be adapted to (11).

- (11) *Hiykiaw* *hyo* *wayhih-nayh* *me*
 hiy-kiaw hiy-o wayh-ih-nayh m-e
 3S.M.SUB-SLCT 3S.M-GEN friend-KIN-relative PL-OBJ
me-huonok *e* *ley*.
 me-huonok e ley
 speak-call PURP go
 ‘He himself (= he took it upon himself) went off in order to get all his relatives.’

The restrictive marker *-kwaw* can only be suffixed to a subject pronoun. It contrasts uniqueness of the marked entity in contrast to other possible entities. The restrictive marker *-aw* when suffixed directly to an object pronoun has the same function. This is demonstrated in (12) and (13).

- (12) *Hromkwe* *hme* *liy* *lira* *ley*.
 hrom-kwe hom-e liy lira korey
 1PL.SUB-TOP 2/3PL-OBJ DYN see NEG
Homkwaw *hreme* *lira*.
 hom-kwaw hrom-e lira
 2/3PL.SUB-RSTR 1PL-OBJ see
 ‘We are not able to see them. It is only them who see us.’

- (13) *Hano sa hokwe mo hane-aw*
 han-o sa hok-kwe mo han-e-aw
 1S-GEN woman 3S.F.SUB-TOP EMPH 1S-OBJ-RSTR
nanpanan.
 nanpanan
 think
 ‘My wife only likes me (implied: she does not like other men).’

The selective suffix *-kiaw*, and the restrictive suffixes *-kwaw* and the restrictive marker *-aw* can be made more emphatic by adding the emphatic suffix *-aw*.

In (14), the selective suffix *-kiaw* is combined with the emphatic suffix *-aw*.

- (14) *Mey sokukwe hon non hon non.*
 mey so-ko-kwe hon non hon non
 job DDEM-GL.F-TOP difficult CMT difficult CMT
***Hiykiaw-aw** liy meio.*
 hiy-kiaw-aw liy meio
 3S.M.SUB-SLCT-EMPH DYN work
 ‘That work is very difficult. Only he himself can do it.’

In (15), the restrictive suffix *-aw* is suffixed by the emphatic marker *-aw*.

- (15) *Hiykwe hoke-aw-aw nanpanan.*
 hiy-kwe hok-e-aw-aw nanpanan
 3S.M.SUB-TOP 3S.F-OBJ-RSTR-EMPH think
 ‘He thought of her and her alone.’

The reciprocal concept of ‘among themselves’ is expressed by

- a. repeating the personal pronoun,
- b. suffixing the selective marker *-kiaw* to the last personal pronoun,
- c. adding the reciprocal marker *-ayay* as a final suffix.

- (16) *Homkwe* *homkiaw-ayay* *senkin* *pese*
 hom-kwe hom-kiaw-ayay so-enkin pese
 2/3PL.SUB-TOP 2/3PL-SLCT-RCP DDEM-MAN PROH
lohruw-a *me* *o.*
 lohruw-la me o
 talk-eat speak SP
 ‘Do not talk like that among yourselves.’

A personal pronoun can be modified simultaneously by three markers, which occur in a set order: selective marker *-kiaw*, reciprocal marker *-ayay* and finally the emphatic marker *-aw*. This ordering can be seen in (17):

- (17) *Uwr* *homkwe* *sawk* *hom-kiaw-ayay-aw* *kasaw*
 uwr hom-kwe sawk hom-kiaw-ayay-aw kasaw
 man 2/3PL.SUB-TOP CHD 2/3PL-SLCT-RCP-EMPH nose
lon *hohuaw.*
 lon hohuaw
 do be.angry
 ‘The men were angry with each other.’

3.2 Nouns

The following sections discuss nouns. Nouns are treated early in this chapter, in spite of the fact that many of the NP markers which carry information on the gender and number of a noun have not been discussed. This order has nevertheless been chosen, since a treatment of the NP final markers, numerals and adjectives cannot be done without a proper understanding of the noun word.

3.2.1 Simple nouns

Nouns in Abau do not carry any distinctive marks for number and gender nor do they carry any information on noun classes or semantic or syntactic function. This type of information is carried by noun phrase final markers, including numerals. In (18), the three underlined nouns are not affixed for number, gender or function. The bolded *somokwe* topicalises the noun *uwr* ‘man’ and marks it for plural. The postposition *sok* ‘EXCT’ marks the noun *ki* ‘ground’ for location, the personal pronoun *homkwe* ‘3PL.SUB-TOP’ refers to the noun *uwr* ‘man’ and gives it agent function. Finally the feature human of the noun *sa* ‘woman’ is carried by the

numeral *prueyn*. Number, gender and object role are carried by the feminine object marker *ke*.

- (18) *Uwr somokwe* *sawk ki* *ompok sok*
 Uwr so-mo-kwe sawk ki ompok sok
 man DDEM-GL.PL-TOP CHD ground middle EXCT
lwak menkin, sawk homkwe *sa*
 lwak menkin, sawk hom-kwe sa
 be when CHD 2/3PL.SUB-TOP woman
sokruan prueyn ke lonyay.
 sokruan prueyn k-e lonyay
 young one.human 3S.F-OBJ meet
 ‘When those people were in the middle of the road (= half way on their journey), they met a young woman.’

Affixation on nouns is very limited. Kinship terms used as terms of address have no affixation, but kinship terms used as terms of reference are suffixed (see Table 12).

- (19) *kam* ‘maternal uncle
 (term of address)’ *kam-uh* ‘maternal uncle
 (term of reference)’
napwe ‘cousin
 (term of address)’ *napwe-ih* ‘cousin
 (term of reference)’

When the semantics of the nouns allows, nouns can be affixed by the restrictive maker *-aw* and the intensifier *-ar*.

- (20) *Uwrsa homkwe nays-aw peyk huon.*
 uwr-sa hom-kwe nays-aw peyk huon
 man-woman 2/3PL.SUB-TOP tooth-RSTR bite OBJ>SUB
 ‘The people met (him) just biting (their) teeth
 (= idiomatic expression for embarrassment).’
- (21) *Hiykwe uwr-ar korey.*
 hiy-kwe uwr-ar korey
 3S.M.SUB-TOP man-INTF NEG
 ‘He is not a real man.’

These markers *-aw* and *-ar* are never affixed to verbs, but can be affixed to adjectives. For the difference between nouns and adjectives, see §3.5.

3.2.2 Compound nouns

There are many compound nouns in Abau. They are simply formed by noun roots placed in juxtaposition. They can be distinguished from single-morpheme nouns with the same number of syllables by their intonation patterns. For example *ompiy* ‘skirt (grass)’ is a regular two syllable word, but *om-pi* ‘village-ridge’ is a two syllable compound noun. The pitch contrast between the two syllables within the first word is relatively small, but very distinct in the compound noun. The second noun of a compound noun sequence always carries a very distinct low pitch. This is further exemplified by (22), where the pitch on the second noun *yok* ‘shoot’ is the lowest within the utterance. This low pitch is marked with number 3 to contrast with the last syllable of other two-syllable words that do not have such a low pitch.

- (22) 1 2 1 3 1 1 2 1
Hiy.kwe yoh.yok me sa.ro pa.
 hiy-kwe yoh-yok m-e saro pa
 3S.M-TOP banana-shoot PL-OBJ plant NEG.PFTV
 ‘He did not plant the banana shoots.’

3.2.3 Endocentric noun compounds

There are four types of semantic relationship encoded by endocentric noun compounds in Abau. (The noun compound is called an endocentric construction as both constituents are nouns and therefore belong to the same word class.) Endocentric compounds encode four types of semantic relationship, which are listed below.

1) Whole-part. The first noun modifies the second noun in a whole-part relationship.

In (23) the compound noun *omku-saw* ‘banyan tree hole’ represents a whole-part relationship.

- (23) *Homkwe hreme omkuw-saw mon hiy-wayr.*
 hom-kwe hrom-e omkuw-saw mon hiy-lwayr
 2/3PL-TOP 1PL-OBJ banyan.tree-hole LOC CAUS-stay
 ‘They looked after us in a hole of the banyan tree.’

Other examples where the first noun modifies the second noun in a whole-part relationship:

- (24) *now-ma* (lit. tree-leaf) 'leaf of a tree'
mango-i (lit. mango-fruit) 'fruit of the mango tree'

2) Specifier. The first noun modifies the second noun for category, e.g. *yeyk-yier* 'place to moor canoes'.

In (25), the initial noun of the compound noun *yeyk-yier* 'place to moor canoes' specifies the category of the subsequent noun.

- (25) *Sawk omok yeyk-yier mon hiy-ey.*
 sawk omok yeyk-yier mon hiy-ley
 CHD later canoe-place LOC CAUS-go
 'Later they led us to the place where canoes are moored.'

Other examples where the first noun modifies the second noun for category:

- (26) *mango-now* (lit. mango-tree) 'mango tree'
hoyow-wayh (lit. fun-friend) 'friend one jests with'

3) Size. The second noun modifies the first noun for size, e.g. *a-ney* 'small house'.

Other examples:

- (27) *sa-ney* (lit. woman-child) 'girl'
huok-waw (lit. pig-round) 'round sturdy pig'

4) Generic category. Both nouns function equally in the compound to express a generic category of entities e.g. *uwr-sa* 'people' (lit. man-woman) and *ney-sa* 'family' (lit. child-woman).

Other examples where two equal nouns combine to indicate a generic category:

- (28) *yeik-ompow* spear-arrow 'weapons'
sune-iha leg-hand 'body, or: body parts'

In (29), two semantically different compound nouns are listed with identical constituents in different order. *Ney-sa* is literally 'child (or: small)-woman' and *sa-ney* is literally 'woman-child (or: small)'. The meaning of each compound noun is determined by its compound noun type.

- (29) *ney-sa* ‘family’ Compound noun type 4 -
equal nouns indicate generic category.
sa-ney ‘girl’ Compound noun type 3 -
second noun modifies first for size.

One could also argue that *sa-ney* ‘girl’ is type 2 and that the noun *ney* ‘child’ is modified for category.

3.2.4 Exocentric noun compounds

At least two types of exocentric compound nouns have been observed where the constituents making up the compound noun belong to different word classes.

1. A juxtaposed verb and noun forming a compound noun, whereby the verb modifies the noun for category. (30)

2. A juxtaposed modifier and noun forming a compound noun, whereby the modifier modifies the noun category. (31)

- (30) *Sawk lous-uwr homkwaw hin.*
sawk lous-uwr hom-kwaw hin
CHD hunt-man 2/3PL.SUB-RSTR shoot
‘But just the hunters shot (it).’

- (31) *Homkwe yaprue-uwrsa korey.*
hom-kwe yaprue-uwr-sa korey
2/3PL-TOP good-man-woman NEG
‘They were not “good people”.’

3.3 Nouns and gender

Abau has both gender (masculine/feminine) and a cross-cutting system of numeral classifiers, as do the related languages Iwam, Wogamusin and Chenapien (Laycock and Z’graggen 1975). This feature is also characteristic of some Indic, Dravidian, Iranian and Arawak (South America) languages (Aikhenvald 2000: 185). As stated before, number and gender are not marked on the noun word itself but are indicated by pronouns, demonstratives, numerals and other grammatical markers that follow the noun. The relationship between gender and number classifiers is discussed §3.4.6.

The gender of concrete nouns is determined largely by the form of the object, especially its shape and size. A noun that refers to an entity that can have various sizes can therefore occur either with masculine or feminine gender. The gender categories distinguished by Abau are given in Table 17.

TABLE 17: GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF GENDER ASSIGNMENT

	Masculine	Feminine
Spirits and humans Domesticated animals	- marked according to inherent gender	- marked according to inherent gender
Animals	- large animals	- small animals
Concrete entities	- three-dimensional - liquids - long and extended	- two-dimensional - flat surface with little height - round with little height
Abstract entities		- always assigned feminine gender

In §3.3.1, the details of the default principles of gender assignment are discussed. In §3.3.2 the apparent freedom in the selection of gender for temporal expressions is commented on.

3.3.1 Specifics of gender assignment

a. Human beings and spirits are differentiated on the basis of their inherent sex

Nouns referring to human beings (including kinship terms) and spirits are assigned gender on the basis of their inherent sex. Gender is not assigned to animals on the basis of inherent sex, except for domestic animals like pigs and dogs. The gender choice for nouns referring to other animals is determined by the form and size of the animal.

b. Abstract and non-material nouns are nearly always feminine

Non-material and abstract nouns like *ok* ‘talk’, *aw* ‘fight’, *weyn* ‘behaviour’, *yayh* ‘song’, *mey* ‘work’, *oksa* ‘sound’, *hay* ‘magic’, *nonkway* ‘knowledge’ are all feminine. One exception observed is the word *prawk* ‘smell, scent’ which is masculine. It is possible that smell is considered material rather than non-material.

c. Objects regarded as two-dimensional are feminine

No object is of course truly two-dimensional, but thin objects like leaves, tablets and coins are feminine. Insects, possibly on the basis that they are regarded as two-dimensional, are also feminine nouns. The contrast between two-dimensionality (feminine) and three-dimensionality (masculine) is essential in gender determination. Two other features, however, play a role in determining the gender of objects for which it is hard to determine whether they should be classified as two-dimensional or as three-dimensional. Objects with regular three-dimensional features tend to be masculine, except if they have a very flat surface (see c1) or if the roundness of the object (not in a 3- but only in a 2-dimensional way) is a very salient feature (see c2).

c1. Objects with a flat surface which are not too voluminous are feminine

An object that has a flat surface and not too voluminous is regarded as feminine. In the Abau world view, all fish are regarded as having a flat surface and are therefore feminine. The feature of a flat surface is also dominant in nouns like *howk* ‘lake’ and *iwa* ‘swamp’, but not in *yawp* ‘river’. The latter is masculine, because here the feature of extendedness is predominant. Body parts that have a flat surface and which are not too voluminous are regarded feminine, e.g. *iha* ‘hand’, *sune* ‘foot’, *nweyk* ‘ear’. Most other body parts are considered three-dimensional and are assigned masculine gender. This includes *makwey* ‘head’, *kasaw* ‘nose’, *nene* ‘eye’, and *uron* ‘heart’.

c2. Objects which are round from a two-dimensional perspective are feminine

When objects have two dimensional roundness as the predominant feature, they are classed as feminine. The generic word for ‘snake’ *sok* is

masculine. Apparently, its extendedness is in focus. However, a particular green garden snake *wondeis* is referenced with feminine pronominal markers. This snake is often coiled up in the form of a circle and this feature might be in focus here. Also included in this set of two-dimensional roundness are the nouns *hne* ‘bird’s nest’ and *kan* ‘a vine woven into a circle’. However, the loan word *bal* ‘ball’ is masculine, because the roundness is here three-dimensional.

d. Objects regarded as three-dimensional are masculine

When the feature three-dimensionality is regarded as predominant the noun is marked masculine. This depends on the perception of the speaker, which may vary as is illustrated in examples (32) and (33). Truly three-dimensional entities are certain fruits: *su* ‘coconut’ *am* ‘breadfruit’. As long as the three-dimensional feature is predominant the entity can be small, e.g. *nene* ‘eye’. This set also includes all liquids, e.g. *hu* ‘water’, *nioh* ‘blood’, *sueyr* ‘rain’.

The distinction between two-dimensional or three-dimensional depends on the perception of the speaker. The choice is sometimes arbitrary, e.g. the word *mein* ‘stone’ occurs in a wide variety of forms and sizes. When features like flatness and roundness are in focus the noun *mein* is regarded as feminine. When, however, the features of three-dimensionality or large size are in focus the noun *mein* is regarded as masculine.

The word *a* ‘house’ is masculine, in spite of the fact that the object has a number of flat surfaces. The predominant features which are in focus are its large size and its three-dimensionality.

e. Animal categories are distinguished according to size

Larger animals tend to be masculine, smaller animals tend to be feminine. Large animals, like *mu* ‘crocodile’, *pareis* ‘wallaby’, *nwoh* ‘dog’ are masculine. Animals that have as the salient feature extendedness, like *sok* ‘snake’, *mnow* ‘eel’ and *kie* ‘lizard’, are all masculine.

Larger birds, like *worim* ‘flying fox’, *wayp* ‘eagle’, and *mowr* ‘hornbill’ are masculine, but a moderate-sized bird like *sokua* ‘cockatoo’ is regarded as feminine and so are all birds that are smaller than the cockatoo.

The noun *pruam* ‘cassowary’ is regarded as feminine.² This constitutes an exception to the size feature. The feminine gender choice could be the result of the Abau world view. In a well-known creation story a cassowary gives birth to a human being.

f. Long or extended objects are masculine

Long objects like *now* ‘tree’, *now-pay* ‘log’, and *iroum* ‘stick’ are masculine on the basis of the feature of extendedness. But nouns like *now-ku* ‘tree stump’, *youk* ‘paddle’, *ku* ‘axe’, and *seik* ‘knife’ are feminine, most likely because of salient other features like roundness and smoothness of flat surface area.

The word *youk* ‘paddle’ is a good example of the speaker’s perception in ascertaining the correct gender. A Sepik paddle is very long and also has a large flat blade. The speaker can focus on the feature of smooth surface, or on the feature of extendedness. The outcome changes the assignment of gender. In (32), the speaker refers to a tree as paddle, since he plans to make a paddle out of this tree. The focus is here on the feature extendedness of the tree and the noun is marked masculine. In (33), the speaker refers to a finished paddle which always has a large flat and smooth canoe blade. The predominant feature has to do with a flat and smooth surface. The noun is therefore marked feminine.

(32) *Hakwe youk se seyr.*
 Ha-kwe youk se seyr
 1S.SUB-TOP paddle 3S.M-OBJ cut
 ‘I cut the “paddle” tree.’

(33) *Hakwe youk ke lira.*
 Ha-kwe youk ke lira
 1SUB-TOP paddle 3S.F-OBJ see
 ‘I see the paddle.’

Gender is assigned to loan words based on appearance features. In (34), the loan word *pen* ‘pen’ is masculine, because of the salient feature of extendedness. The loan word *radio* is feminine based on the fact that this object has flat and smooth surfaces.

² The default gender is feminine. However, when the speaker knows that he is referring to a male cassowary, the noun is marked masculine.

- (34) *Hunkwe* *hyo* *pen se* *lira o?*
 hwon-kwe hiy-o pen s-e lira o
 2S.SUB-TOP 3S.M-GEN pen 3S.M-OBJ see Q.SP.IPFTV
- Hunkwe* *hyo* *redio ke* *lira o?*
 hwon-kwe hiy-o redio k-e lira o
 2S-TOP 3S-GEN radio 3S.F-OBJ see Q.SP.IPFTV
 ‘Do you see his pen? Do you see his radio?’

The same lexical entry can appear with either gender marking, according to the speaker’s perception of the entity. Consider example (35).

- (35) a. *howk-hrou kokwe*
 ‘roundly formed fishing lake’ (feminine)
- b. *howk-hrou hokwe*
 ‘long stretched-out fishing lake’ (masculine)

The compound noun *howk-hrou* ‘fishing lake’ normally occurs with a feminine general topic marker, based on its two-dimensional roundness (or possibly the smoothness of the surface area). However, in the case of (35b), the feature of extendedness is in focus, so the noun occurs with the masculine general topic marker.

Other examples have been observed in texts. Depending on the perspective of the speaker, the words *makwey* ‘head’ and *yeik* ‘spear’ can be assigned masculine or feminine gender. When the speaker wants to refer to the flat top part of the head, he may express that either with the compound noun *makwey-kokway* ‘the flat part of the head’, or by assigning feminine gender to the single noun *makwey*. In that case, the flat part of the head is understood. Conversely, by assigning masculine gender to the noun *makwey*, the complete head is understood.

- (36) *makwey-kokway kokwe*
 ‘the flat part of the head’ (feminine)
- makwey kokwe*
 ‘head’ (focus is on flat part of the head) (feminine)
- makwey hokwe*
 ‘head’ (focus is on complete head) (masculine)

Likewise, if for *yeik* ‘spear’ the focus is on its sharp point made by a flat blade, *yeik* occurs with a feminine marker. However, if the long shaft of the spear is the focus, the noun occurs with a masculine marker.

When the speaker wants to focus on unusual size he may change the gender on the noun. Smaller animals like *wompow* ‘mouse’ tend to be marked feminine. Our current data corpus has one example where *wompow* ‘mouse’ is marked masculine when it was qualified by the adjective *aiopey* ‘big’.

3.3.2 Gender change on temporal NPs

The phrase final marking of a noun phrase always agrees with the head of the NP in terms of gender and number. However, the gender marking of temporal noun phrases seems to be inconsistent. Temporal nouns when marked by an objective marker as in (37) are always marked by a masculine objective marker. However, when this same noun is marked phrase finally by a topic marker as in (38) and (39), the NP marker can be either feminine (38) or masculine (39). There is no easy explanation at hand to explain this variance in gender choice.

- (37) *Homkwe arawh se-aw wayr won nayr.*
 hom-kwe arawh s-e-aw lwayr won nayr
 2/3PL-TOP night 3S.M-OBJ-RSTR stay lie night
 ‘They slept and remained there just for the night.’
- (38) *Ara, pokon arawh kokwe hrorkwe yawp mon*
 ara pokon arawh ko-kwe hrorkwe yawp mon
 ADDR.M today night GL.F-TOP 1DU-TOP river LOC
non-hiokeyn nayr ey.
 non-hiokeyn nayr ey
 DU-go.by.canoe night INTN
 ‘Man, as for tonight, the two of us should paddle together to the river.’
- (39) *Enekwei kamon arawh hokwe, uwr prueyn*
 enekwei kamon arawh ho-kwe uwr prueyn
 time one.CL2 night GL.M-TOP man one.CL1
hiykwe, hyo a arian mon liawon
 hiy-kwe hiy-o a arian mon liawon
 3S.M.SUB-TOP 3S.M-GEN house own LOC lie.down

nayr liok.
 nayr liok
 night in.vain
 ‘At a certain night a certain man tried - without desired result
 - to sleep in his house.’

When editing texts, native speakers seem to be inconsistent in assigning gender to temporal constructions. Sometimes, they reverse changes that they made before. In the case of temporal noun phrases, it appears that masculine marking occurs when the NP is foreground information, as in (37) and that it is more likely to be feminine when it is topicalised background information. Example (39) however has a topicalised NP that is assigned masculine gender. Topicalised NPs apparently can be both masculine and feminine and it appears that the more left-located a temporal NP is, the more likely it is assigned feminine gender.

Example (40) starts out with two topicalised temporal phrases that follow each other. The most left located NP is marked feminine and the NP following is marked masculine.

- (40) *Paraw paraw-ar kokwe hromo apaw-om*
 paraw paraw-ar ko-kwe hrom-o apaw-om
 past past-INTF GL.F-TOP 1PL-GEN ancestor-group
mo enekwei hokwe an-pion mokwe
 m-o enekwei ho-kwe an-pion mo-kwe
 PL-GEN time GL.M-TOP fish-meat GL.PL-TOP
uwrsa hakamay homkwaw nuw-a wayr.
 uwr-sa hakamay hom-kwaw nuw-la lwayr
 man-woman oldest 2/3PL.SUB-RSTR INT-eat stay
 ‘In the past, in the time of our ancestors, in regard to fish
 meat, only the adults would really eat it.’

3.4 Numerals

In this section numerals and their place within the noun phrase are discussed (§3.4.1). It includes comments on the use of numerals above three (§3.4.2) and also a discussion on the numerals one to three which are realised by twelve different numeral sets (§3.4.3). Size and appearance of the noun modified by the numeral play an important role in the selection of the numerals. The various usages of the numeral one are highlighted

(§3.4.4). Finally, the declining use of the numeral classifier system is commented on (§3.4.5) and the section concludes with a discussion of how the criteria on which basis numerals are assigned to nouns, and the criteria on which basis the gender of a noun is determined overlap and differ from one another (§3.4.6).

3.4.1 Numerals and NP order

Numerals follow the head noun of a noun phrase, and agree in class with the noun they modify. (The twelve noun classes are discussed in section §3.4.3). The Abau number system is limited in its scope. English and Tok Pisin numbers are used for numbers above twelve, and often even for numbers lower than twelve. Traditionally, there was no easy way to express quantities above 20 or even above 12. The use of higher numbers has been mainly introduced through the formal school system which is in English. Abau speakers will therefore use the English forms of the numerals even if the pronunciation of the numerals is affected by their use of Tok Pisin and Abau. The use of the loanword numeral apparently triggers English and Tok Pisin grammatical ordering. When an Abau numeral is used the numeral will follow the noun as in (41).

- (41) *Hakwe yeyk kreys se lira.*
 Ha-kwe yeyk kreys s-e lira
 1S.SUB-TOP canoe two.CL2 3S.M-OBJ see
 ‘I saw two canoes’

In (42), the loan word numeral ‘201’ precedes the noun under influence of English and Tok Pisin grammatical ordering.

- (42) *Hohkwe hane kokwe sawk 201 kina*
 hoh-kwe han-e ko-kwe sawk 201 kina
 3DU.SUB-TOP 1S-OBJ GL.F-TOP CHD 201 kina
senkin kow.
 so-enkin kow
 DDEM-MAN give
 ‘The two of them gave me 201 kina.’

3.4.2 Abau numbers above three

Abau numerals are in reasonably frequent use up to five. The numbers six to twelve are used to a much lesser extent. Above that, the numeral for

20 is sometimes used. Table 18 indicates the various ways numbers from 4-12 as well as 20 can be expressed.

TABLE 18: ABAU NUMBERS 4-12, 20

Number	Abau					Calculation	
4	<i>iha</i> hand	<i>iha-aw</i> hand-RSTR (= four fingers)				4	
4	<i>iha</i> hand	<i>yorpow</i> thumb	<i>lopa</i> NEG			5-1	
5	<i>iha</i> hand	<i>sirom</i> one				1x5	
6	<i>iha</i> hand	<i>sirom</i> one	<i>pruw</i> navel	<i>non</i> CMT		5+1	
7	<i>iha</i> hand	<i>sirom</i> one	<i>mu</i> breast	<i>nareys-ar</i> two-INTF	<i>non</i> CMT	5+2	
8	<i>iha</i> hand	<i>sirom</i> one	<i>mu</i> breast	<i>nareys-ar</i> two-INTF	<i>pruw</i> navel	<i>non</i> CMT	5+2+1
9	<i>iha</i> hand	<i>sirom</i> one	<i>iha</i> hand	<i>iha-aw</i> hand-RSTR		5+4	
9	<i>iha</i> hand	<i>sirom</i> one	<i>iha</i> hand	<i>yorpow</i> thumb	<i>lopa</i> NEG	5+5-1	
10	<i>iha</i> hand	<i>seys</i> two				2x5	
11	<i>iha</i> hand	<i>seys</i> two	<i>pruw</i> navel	<i>non</i> CMT		2x5+1	
12	<i>iha</i> hand	<i>seys</i> two	<i>mu</i> breasts	<i>nareys-ar</i> two-INTF		2x5+2	
20	<i>iha</i> hand	<i>seys</i> two	<i>sune</i> foot	<i>seys</i> two		2x5+2x5	

Laycock distinguishes between true ‘number systems’ and ‘tally systems’. He says “the latter are used only for direct counting, or ‘mapping’ of a set of objects against some other measuring code. There are no ‘numerals’ in a tally system, so that one may not receive a reply to

the question ‘how many?’, or find the points of the tally-system qualifying nouns, as do true numerals. The typical tally-systems of languages of the New Guinea area are the ‘body-parts’ counting systems.” (Laycock 1975: 219). Later, he mentions Abau as an example of a language which has both a body-parts tally-system and a numeral system which is quinary (i.e. has distinct numbers up to 5) (Laycock 1975: 222).

The numbers below have been observed in contexts where they qualify nouns. This might not have been always the case. Abau speakers have been observed to think for a short while before they can match numbers above five with the corresponding Abau number expressions. The attempt to use Abau number expressions to modify nouns might be the result of education and numeracy in the English language. It has been observed that many Abau speakers use English numerals for quantities above five. Abau numerals are used as the following example from a written story illustrates:

- (43) *Aiai mokwe sankaw lwawk, nar iha*
 Ai-ai mo-kwe so-ankaw lwawk nar iha
 fish-fish GL.PL-TOP DDEM-degree go.into pike hand
sirom, an imon, weir iha seys
 sirom nar imon weir iha seys
 one.CL4 catfish one.CL7 fish.sp. hand two.CL4
senkin lwawk.
 so-enkin lwawk
 DDEM-MAN go.into
 ‘Fish got into (the net) to this degree, five pikes, one catfish
 and ten *weir* fish.’

3.4.3 Abau numerals one, two and three

Nouns can be divided into two groups on the basis of their gender (masculine and feminine). They can also be divided into twelve groups on the basis of what numeral they occur with. These numerals are in Aikhenvald’s terminology numeral classifiers (Aikhenvald 2000: 17).

Whereas the gender of a noun is indicated through noun phrase markers, the numeral class of a noun is determined by the set of numerals used for 1, 2, and 3. These class concordances are only expressed by the

first three numbers. Numbers above four (see Table 18) can be used to modify all countable nouns.

The order in which the twelve numeral classes are listed below follows Laycock and Z'graggen (1975: 745-746). The numeral classifiers in class 1 to 7 mark relatively large groups of nouns, while the numeral classifiers in class 8 to 12 can only be used with a small number of nouns. This is in all likelihood caused by the fact that the numeral classifiers in class 8 through 12 express many more specifics than only quantity. Not only their number, but also their grouping (e.g. bundles), or their partition (e.g. chopped-up parts) can be in focus. In English, grouping words like flock, bunch, bundle, etc. only occur with a limited number of nouns. Similarly, it can be assumed that Abau numeral classifiers that express specifics about the form or compilation of the noun they modify have a very limited distribution.

Criteria for the different classes are related to humanness, surface, grouping, dimensionality, and extendedness. Countable nouns which cannot be classified by their physical appearance are not restricted to one class; they belong to classes 2, 3 or 4.

The distinction between human and non-human within the numeral classifiers is observed by all speakers, but young people do not seem to be aware of all the other distinctions. They tend to overuse class 2 as a default for nearly all non-human nouns.

TABLE 19: NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

Class	Characteristics	One	Two	Three
1	Human beings; spirits	<i>pru-eyn</i>	<i>pru-eyns</i>	<i>pru-ompri</i>
2	Non-human	<i>ka-mon</i>	<i>k-reys</i> ³	<i>k-rompri</i> ⁴
3	Small objects with some volume	<i>na-mon</i>	<i>na-reys</i>	<i>na-rompri</i>

³ Based on the form *nareys* one would expect *ka-reys*.

⁴ Based on the form *narompri*, the underlying form could be *ka-rompri*.

TABLE 19 (CONT'D)

Class	Characteristics	One	Two	Three
4	Flat surface objects; experience nouns	<i>si-rom</i>	<i>s-eyys</i>	<i>s-ompri</i> ⁵
5	Long, relatively thin objects	<i>pi-ron</i>	<i>pi-reys</i>	<i>pi-rompri</i>
6	Geographical locations	<i>u-mon</i>	<i>u-reys</i>	<i>u-rompri</i>
7	Flat objects with hardly any volume	<i>i-mon</i>	<i>i-reys</i>	<i>i-rompri</i>
8	Certain type trees (see description below)	<i>li-mon</i>	<i>li-reys</i>	<i>li-rompri</i>
9	Bundles of long non-cut items	<i>ein-mon</i>	<i>ein-deys</i>	<i>ein-dompri</i>
10	Temporal	<i>leik-mon</i>	<i>leik-reys</i>	<i>leik-rompri</i>
11	Bundles of long cut items	<i>hnaw-mon</i>	<i>hnaw-reys</i>	<i>hnaw-rompri</i>
12	Part of a long object	<i>houk-mon</i>	<i>houk-reys</i>	<i>houk-rompri</i>

The choice of numeral conveys information that the noun itself cannot supply. For example, *su piron* ‘one coconut’ must refer to the whole coconut palm and not to just the fruit, as the numeral *piron* indicates the feature extendedness. In contrast *su kamon* ‘one coconut’ is likely to be used when one wants to refer to a single coconut fruit, since the class 2 numeral *kamon* does not indicate the feature extendedness.

A noun can be marked by different numeral classifiers on the basis of different appearance or grouping. The noun *pey* ‘sugarcane’ can be marked by four different classes of numeral sets:

⁵ It is unclear where the final *-m* in *sirom* originated from. The numerals *seys* and *sompri* might have *sireys* and *sirompri* as underlying forms.

- (44) *pey piron* ‘one sugar cane (not cut)’ Class 5
pey howkmon ‘one piece of sugar cane’ Class 12
pey eindmon ‘one bundle of sugar cane, stored’ Class 9
pey hnawmon ‘one bundle of sugar cane, ready for transport’ Class 11

3.4.3.1 Class 1 - Human beings and spirits

The numeral classifiers of class 1 modify nouns that are human beings, including all beings of the spirit world. The main function of numerals two and three is to establish quantity, as in (45) and (46). The numeral one is often used to introduce new participants and less often to ascertain quantity (see §3.4.4.3).

- (45) *Sa sokukwe parasa pruumpri*
 sa so-ko-kwe parasa pruumpri
 woman DDEM-GL.F-TOP devil.woman three.CL1
me lira.
 m-e lira
 PL-OBJ see
 ‘The woman saw three devil women.’
- (46) *Sa prueyn hokwe, hoko ney*
 sa prueyn hok-kwe hok-o ney
 woman one.CL1 3S.F.SUB-TOP 3S.F-GEN child
prueysar me nion non-wayr.
 prueys-ar m-e nion non-lwayr
 two.CL1-INTS PL.OBJ with DU-stay
 ‘A certain woman lived together with her two children.’

3.4.3.2 Class 2 - Most animals and default class for nouns that do not fit any of the other classes

The numeral classifiers of class 2 count non-human entities, though these entities can be animate, since nearly all animals belong to this class. (Certain types of fish belong to another class.)

- (47) *huok kamon* ‘one pig’
a kreys ‘two houses’
waramelon krompri ‘three watermelons’

The numerals in this class also count objects which do not prominently possess any of the features of the other classes described below. As stated before, the younger generation do not consistently use the wide range of 12 possible classes but tend to use this class 2 as the default class for all non-human referents.

3.4.3.3 Class 3 - Small and three-dimensional objects

The class 3 numeral classifiers modify nouns denoting small objects which have some volume. This is in contrast with the class 7 numeral classifiers which modify nouns containing small, mainly two-dimensional objects. The term ‘small’ refers to entities smaller than a watermelon or coconut. This class also contains the abstract noun *ok* ‘talk’, although *ok* ‘talk’ can also be modified by a class 2 numeral classifier.

(48)	<i>nene namon</i>	‘one eye’
	<i>mein namon</i>	‘one stone (small size)’
	<i>yoh narompri</i>	‘three (single) bananas’
	<i>ok nareys</i>	‘two talks (= two bits of information)’

3.4.3.4 Class 4 - Tangible nouns with flat surface; non-tangible nouns that express experience

This class modifies all tangible nouns that have a flat surface. This includes nouns with the following glosses: *youn* ‘mushroom’, *iha* ‘hand’, *someykiow* ‘shoulder’, *sey* ‘bed’, *howk* ‘lake’, *nweyk* ‘ear’. Also a number of abstract or non-tangible nouns, such as: *hay* ‘magic’, *yayh* ‘song’, *prawk* ‘scent’, *now* ‘dream’ and natural phenomena like *howniy* ‘wind’ and *yia* ‘fire’. It is hard to posit a common feature that ties these non-tangible nouns together apart from the fact that they can all be viewed as impact-making experiences.

(49)	<i>yia sirom</i>	‘one fire’
	<i>iha seys</i>	‘two hands’
	<i>howk sompri</i>	‘three lakes’
	<i>yayh sirom</i>	‘one song’

3.4.3.5 Class 5 - Extendedness

Class 5 numeral classifiers modify nouns which manifest the feature extendedness. Included in this group are long objects such as trees and long pieces of equipment like machetes, spears and paddles, etc.

- (50) *yeik piron* ‘one spear’
youk pireys ‘two paddles’
yodne pirompri ‘three fingers’

3.4.3.6 Class 6 - Geographical locations

Class 6 numeral classifiers modify nouns which refer to geographical entities like garden, mountain, village, and river, and are assigned masculine gender. Feminine nouns referring to geographical entities (e.g. *howk* ‘lake’ and *iwa* ‘swamp’) have been observed as modified by numeral classifiers from class 2 and 4.

- (51) *wueir umon* ‘one garden’
yier ureys ‘two villages’
yawp urompri ‘three rivers’

3.4.3.7 Class 7 - Two-dimensional

Class 7 numeral classifiers modify nouns that refer to flat objects which have very little volume, e.g. paper, various leaves and flowers, rings or tablets.

- (52) *mamey imon* ‘one letter or a sheet of paper’
nomne ireys ‘two tablets or two shells’
huwhay irompri ‘three flowers’

3.4.3.8 Class 8 - Selected trees

The existing data corpus lists only two nouns that can be modified by this class 8. Both are relatively short trees that spread out into long leaves or palm branches at their top. The numerals of these classes refer to the whole tree.

- (53) *yoh limon* ‘one banana tree’
naw lireys ‘two sago trees’

3.4.3.9 Class 9 - Bundle of long objects (stored)

Class 9 and 11 are similar, since both refer to countable bundles. Nouns that are modified by class 9 numerals are bundles of items piled up at a certain location, but not placed or tied together for the purpose of transport.

- (54) *now-ho einmon* ‘one bundle of piled-up sticks’
owah eindeys ‘two bundles of piled-up sago fronds’

3.4.3.10 Class 10 - Temporal

Only two temporal nouns have been observed to occur with class 10 numerals.

- (55) *enekwei leikreys* 'two days'
eypok leikmon 'one daytime'

3.4.3.11 Class 11 - Bundle of long objects (transported)

Similar to the class 9 numerals, the class 11 numerals also modify nouns that are placed in bundles. When a class 11 numeral is used, these bundles are tied together (often for the purpose of transport).

- (56) *pey hnawrompri* 'three tied-together bundles of sugar cane'

3.4.3.12 Class 12 - Pieces or chunks from long objects

The feature extendedness is prominent in classes 5, 9 and 11, and also in class 12. Class 12 numerals have one additional characteristic. They refer to entities that are cut off or broken off chunks or pieces from a larger item.

- (57) *now-yia howkmon* 'one piece of fire wood'
pey howkreys 'two pieces of sugar cane'

An object that is a piece from a larger entity that is *not* characterised by the feature extendedness cannot be modified by a numeral from this class. In (58), the NP *hopion namon*, is referring to a piece of meat that is basically round and not bigger than the size of a coconut. The choice of the class 3 numeral places restrictions on the size. The second example *hopion kamon* displays a class 2 numeral, which can potentially refer to a large chunk of pig meat.

- (58) *hopion namon* 'one piece of pig meat' (class 3 numeral)
hopion kamon 'one part of pig meat' (class 2 numeral)

3.4.4 Non-quantifying uses of the numeral one

3.4.4.1 Introducing participants

The numeral one is frequently used to introduce new participants in a story. It encodes indefinite new participants, times and locations. The numeral one follows the noun it modifies and marks this noun as a new participant that belongs to a larger group. For example in (59), a

policeman is introduced in the story with the numeral one, to identify him as a unique individual different from all other members that belong to the group policemen.

- (59) *Enekwei sohokwe Kupe se kokwe*
 enekwei so-ho-kwe Kupe s-e ko-kwe
 time DDEM-GL.M-TOP Kupe 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP
polis prueyn hiy huonok.
 polis prueyn hiy huonok
 police one.CL1 3S.M take
 ‘At that time Kupe was taken along by a certain policeman.’

This introductory use of the numeral one is not restricted to human participants only. Animals, inanimate objects, location, time can all be introduced with the numeral one.

In (60), a temporal, a location and an object are all introduced by the numeral *kamon*.

- (60) *Enekwei kamon hokwe, aio hiykwe kipay*
 enekwei kamon ho-kwe aio hiy-kwe kipay
 time one.CL2 GL.M-TOP father 3S.M-TOP area
kamon mon ley nok, seyp kamon
 kamon mon ley nok seyp kamon
 one.CL2 LOC go SEQ black.palm one.CL2
se lira.
 s-e lira
 3S.M-OBJ see
 ‘One day, father went to a certain area and then he saw a black palm.’

3.4.4.2 Repeated use of the numeral one referring to the same noun

A participant is introduced only once by the numeral one. If the numeral is used again in combination with the same noun, the numeral refers to another member of the same category and should be translated by ‘another’. In (61), the numeral *kamon* refers to the noun ‘coconut’ (known from the context). Its repetition in the second clause indicates the introduction of another coconut.

- (61) *Hakwe kamon nays non peyk nake, kamon*
 ha-kwe kamon nays non peyk nak-le kamon
 1S-TOP one.CL2 tooth CMT bite ACC-come one.CL2
iha non nak-aye
 iha non nak-laye
 hand CMT ACC-come.down
 ‘I brought one (coconut) with my teeth, and another one down
 with my hand.’

3.4.4.3 Numeral one as quantifier

The numeral one often has the function of introducing new participants, but it can also simply be a quantifier. The numeral one has a quantifying function when the numeral is suffixed by *-aw* ‘restrictive’ as in (62). The numeral one can be suffixed twice in a row by the suffix *-aw*. The second suffix *-aw* adds emphasis (see §3.1.4). It is best to interpret *prueyn-aw* as ‘one’ or ‘just one’ and *preyn-aw-aw* as ‘only one’.

- (62) *Hmo pion mokwe aiopey korey.*
 hom-o pion mo-kwe aiopey korey
 2/3PL-GEN meat GL.PL-TOP big NEG
Unsaney prueyn-aw liy la.
 uwr-sa-ney prueyn-aw liy la
 man-woman-child one.CL1-RSTR DYN eat
 ‘Their meat (i.e. the meat of a small bird type) is not much.
 Just one person can eat it.’

The numeral one also has a quantifying function when it follows a topicalised NP as in (63). The numeral is not part of the topicalised noun phrase *wik hokwe*. The numeral *kamon* is part of the non-topicalised part of this clause.

- (63) *Wik hokwe, kamon senkin isay hawon.*
 wik ho-kwe kamon so-enkin isay hawon
 week GL.M-TOP one.CL2 DDEM-MAN permit lie
 ‘In regard to weeks, it was one, that he allowed it to lie like
 that. (= He allowed it to remain there for one week.)’

The concept of ‘one by one’ is expressed by a repetition of the numeral one, whereby the last numeral is suffixed by *-aw* ‘restrictive’. If it

is in regard to people the expression is *prueyn prueyn-aw*. If it refers to objects like coconuts, the expression is *kamon kamon-aw*.

- (64) *Homkwe omkuw-su mon ka-nak-ey ankin,*
hom-kwe omkuw-su mon ka-nak-ley ankin
 2/3PL-TOP banyan-area LOC DIR:side-ACC-go if
peyr prueyn prueyn-aw.
peyr prueyn prueyn-aw
 firstly one.CL1 one.CL1-RSTR
 ‘When you go into the banyan tree area, you should first of all
 go one by one.’

3.4.5 Declining use of the numeral classifier system

A shift is taking place in the use of numeral classifiers at the expense of the classes 3 to 12. Many tend to use class 2 numerals to modify all non-human nouns. Table 20 gives examples of differing observed usages of the numerals by speakers of the language. The second column gives ‘non-standard’ usage observed in younger speakers.

TABLE 20: SHIFT IN THE USAGE OF NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

Usage among older speakers	Usage among younger speakers	Gloss
<i>muli nareys</i> (class 3)	<i>muli kreys</i> (class 2)	‘two lemons’
<i>yiowk sirom</i> (class 4)	<i>yiowk kamon</i> (class 2)	‘one swamp’
<i>now piron</i> (class 5)	<i>now kamon</i> (class 2)	‘one tree’
<i>mnuw umon</i> (class 6)	<i>mnuw kamon</i> (class 2)	‘one mountain’
<i>huwhay irompri</i> (class 7)	<i>huwhay krompri</i> (class 2)	‘three flowers’

3.4.6 Relationship between the assignment of gender and numeral class of nouns

As stated before, the gender of a noun is in large part determined by its physical form and may actually be assigned a different gender if its physical appearance is sufficiently different (see §3.3). The choice of the Abau numeral is also in many cases determined by the physical form of the noun it modifies and the choice of the numeral classifier can be

changed if the form of the object denoted by the noun changes. It should be noted that nouns belonging to the same class do not automatically have the same gender, e.g.:

<i>uwr</i> ‘man’ (masc)	<i>sa</i> ‘woman’ (fem)	- class 1 nouns.
<i>a</i> ‘house’ (masc)	<i>yeyn</i> ‘moon’ (fem)	- class 2 nouns.
<i>now-ho</i> ‘stick’ (masc)	<i>youk</i> ‘paddle’ (fem)	- class 5 nouns.

Table 21 below lists a number of nouns which are modified by one of the twelve classes of numerals. For each noun the gender is given. Most nouns do not have inherent gender and may be given a variety of numeral classifiers depending on the feature being highlighted. Nouns denote entities which can have many different physical forms and appearances which impact the selection of the numeral classifier and gender assignment. Classes 1 to 5 are truly mixed for gender. Classes 6 to 12 seem to stick to one gender only.

A summary of the gender and numeral class assignment of nouns:

Class 1, which represents human beings, is naturally represented by both genders.

Class 2 is the default class; not surprisingly, it also has mixed gender.

Class 3 is represented by small, round, three-dimensional items.

Because of the three-dimensional factor it attracts mostly masculine objects. However, if the feature roundness is regarded as more prominent, the nouns are assigned feminine gender e.g. *payr* ‘a rather round fish’, *yeyn* ‘moon’.

Class 4 is partly characterised by the feature flat surface. This feature is also characteristic for feminine nouns. The ‘experience’ nouns are frequently feminine, though not always, e.g. *prawk* ‘scent’ is masculine. The class four numeral is also used for masculine nouns like *owk* ‘string bag’ and *ine-maku* ‘forehead’. The selection of masculine gender gives reason to believe that another determining factor is in play than the feature flat surface. It is unclear though what this category could be.

Class 5 numerals are characterised by length. As stated before the feature extendedness is a mark of masculine nouns as contrasted with the feature flat surface which relates to feminine nouns. The gender of an object with both features (e.g. *youk* ‘paddle’, *pisu* ‘machete’, *ku* ‘axe’) is generally determined by the feature flat

surface. However, in determining numeral class, the feature extendedness is more prominent; thus words like *youk* ‘paddle’, *pisu* ‘machete’ and *ku* ‘axe’ do not come under class 4 but under class 5.

Class 6 is a group of solely masculine nouns that represent geographical entities. Feminine geographical entities like *howk* ‘lake’ and *iwa* ‘swamp’ are not part of this class.

Class 7 is a group of solely feminine nouns which are characterised by two-dimensionality.

As stated above, the numeral classifiers of classes 8 to 12 mark a very restricted number of nouns. It is noteworthy that they are all masculine nouns. In the present data corpus, only two members have been observed for classes 8 and 10. Members of classes 9, 11 and 12 all refer to long objects, and are therefore masculine.

TABLE 21: NOUNS OBSERVED IN TEXTS, MARKED FOR GENDER & NUMERAL CLASS

	Masculine	Feminine
1 prueyn	<i>uwr</i> ‘man’	<i>parasa</i> ‘devil woman’ <i>sa</i> ‘woman’
2 kamon	<i>bal</i> ‘ball’ <i>ey</i> ‘sun’ <i>makwey</i> ‘head’ <i>mnow</i> ‘eel’ <i>mu</i> ‘crocodile’ <i>PMV</i> ‘transport vehicle’ <i>sospen</i> ‘saucepan’	<i>mey</i> ‘work’ <i>okpey</i> ‘story’ <i>popor</i> ‘ant’ <i>sokwa</i> ‘cockatoo’ <i>yeyn</i> ‘moon’
3 namon	<i>am-i</i> ‘breadfruit nut’ <i>hopion</i> ‘piece of meat’ <i>nene</i> ‘eye’ <i>sayr</i> ‘apple (sp)’	<i>ok</i> ‘talk’ <i>payr</i> ‘round fish (sp)’ <i>sa-u</i> ‘name (F)’

TABLE 21 (CONT'D)

	Masculine	Feminine
4 sirom	<i>ine-maku</i> 'face' <i>owk</i> 'string bag' <i>prawk</i> 'scent'	<i>ehey</i> 'wailing' <i>hay</i> 'magic' <i>hir</i> 'fence' <i>howk</i> 'lake' <i>howniy</i> 'wind' <i>iha</i> 'hand' <i>iwa</i> 'swamp' <i>nweyk</i> 'ear' <i>sike</i> 'buttock' <i>sune</i> 'foot' <i>yayh</i> 'song' <i>yia</i> 'fire'
5 piron	<i>now</i> 'tree' <i>pen</i> 'pen' <i>ur</i> 'vine' <i>yeik</i> 'spear'	<i>kueim</i> 'branch' <i>pisu</i> 'machete' <i>sarep</i> 'grass knife' <i>youk</i> 'paddle'
6 umon	<i>eyh</i> 'trench, ditch' <i>wueir</i> 'garden' <i>yawp</i> 'river' <i>yier</i> 'village'	
7 imon		<i>an</i> 'flat fish (sp)' <i>ma</i> 'leaf' <i>tablet</i> 'tablet'
8 limon	<i>naw</i> 'sago tree' <i>yoh</i> 'banana tree'	
9 eindmon	<i>owah</i> 'sago stalk' <i>now-ho</i> 'stick' <i>sowor-now</i> 'bracing stick'	
10 leikmon	<i>enekwei</i> 'day, time' <i>eypok</i> 'day time'	
11 hnawmon	<i>owah</i> 'bracing stick' <i>pey</i> 'sugarcane'	
12 howkmon	<i>now-yia</i> 'firewood' <i>pey</i> 'sugarcane'	

3.5 Adjectives

In this section the limited use of adjectival modifiers within Abau is commented on and illustrations of alternative devices to express descriptive notions are given. The contrast between nouns and adjectival modifiers is discussed.

3.5.1 The extent of the use of adjectival constructions

The number of adjectives is very low. It covers in broad strokes the range of sizes (e.g. *aiopey* ‘big’, *sowpwareney* ‘small’, *mei* ‘long’, *hiymiy* ‘tall’, etc.), age (e.g. *naw* ‘old’, *iwon* ‘young’ or ‘new’) and various quality indications (*piap* ‘bad’, *yaprue* ‘good’, *ihey* ‘excellent’).

Colours are not really adjectives but are descriptive of other items that reflect that particular colour, e.g. *or* ‘black’ also means ‘burnt wood’. *Ou* ‘red’ is also used in compound nouns that contain reddish colours, e.g. *yoh-ou* ‘ripe banana’, *naw-ou* ‘reddish sago’. (These words exhibit the pitch pattern that is distinctive for compound nouns, §3.2.2.) Other colour terms are formed with the help of the NP marker *eyn* ‘similar’, e.g. *woukmow-si eyn* ‘similar to the excrement of a dove’ (= greenish) or *wouknow-hu eyn* ‘similar to the juice of ginger (= yellowish)’. The origin of *weys* ‘white’ is not really known. It can be used in compound nouns *ohi-weys* ‘skin-white (= white person)’ or *pekney-weys* ‘spotless entity-white (= pristine white)’.

Many concepts which are expressed by adjectives in English are expressed in Abau by a combination of a noun and a verb or a noun with the comitative marker *non*, as illustrated in (65):

- (65) *Hiykwe iha lopa.*
 3S.M-TOP hand NEG
 ‘He has no hands (= he is stingy).’
- Hiykwe kasaw lon-peys.*
 3S.M-TOP nose do-swell
 ‘He swells his nose (= he is jealous).’
- Hiykwe kasaw lon-hohuaw.*
 3S.M-TOP nose do-breath
 ‘He is breathing (his) nose (= he is angry).’

Hiykwe siowp lokrue.
 3S.M-TOP stomach die
 ‘He is dying (his) stomach (= he is hungry).’

Hiykwe peik non.
 3S.M-TOP sickness CMT
 ‘He is with sickness (= he is sick).’

Hiykwe omeme ihey-ar non.
 3S.M-TOP things excellent-INTF CMT
 ‘He is with very good things (= he is rich).’

3.5.2 Similarity in distribution of the intensifier and restrictive marker within the NP

Nouns and adjectives are both structurally distinct from verbs as they cannot be affixed by any of the verbal affixes listed in §4.2.1, Table 33. Structurally nouns are not different from modifiers. Both host similar affixes like *-ar* ‘intensifier’ and *-aw* ‘restrictive’. See examples (20) and (21).

These markers can also be used with adjectives, as is illustrated below.

In (66), the intensifier *-ar* is affixed to a temporal noun *paraw* and the adjective *ihey* (which is part of a NP).

- (66) *Paraw-ar kokwe Yeyn o, Ey o,*
 paraw-ar ko-kwe yeyn o ey o
 past-INTF GL.F-TOP moon and sun and
hohkwe wayh ihey-ar non-wak.
 hoh-kwe wayh ihey-ar non-lwak
 3DU-TOP friend excellent-INTF DU-be
 ‘Long ago the Moon and the Sun were really good friends.’

In (67), the adjectives *ihey* ‘excellent’ and *haraw* ‘short’ are modified by respectively *-ar* and *-aw*.

- (67) *Hiykwe yier **ih**ey-ar mon ma-ley iwak*
hiy-kwe yier ihey-ar mon ma-ley liwak
 3S.M.SUB-TOP village good-INTF LOC RPT-go sit
*nieys, enekwei **haraw-aw**.*
nieys, enekwei haraw-aw.
 rest time short-RSTR
 ‘He came to a very good place to sit and rest (= holidays), for just a short time.’

Although the suffix *-aw* in (67) has been interpreted as ‘restrictive’ a case could be made that the marker *-aw* affixed to adjectives should be labelled ‘emphatic’. As discussed in §3.1.4, the marker *-aw* can have the meaning ‘emphatic’ under certain circumstances. Example (68) illustrates the same interpretation dilemma of *-aw*.

- (68) *Skul sohokwe mei-**aw**-ar nuw-wak,*
skul so-ho-kwe mei-aw-ar nuw-lwak
 school DDEM-GL.M-TOP long-RSTR-INTF INT-be
*yier-**ar** mon lwak pey.*
yier-ar mon lwak pey
 place-INTF LOC be NEG.IPFTV
 ‘That school is just far away, it is not in the very village (= it is not where we live).’

In (68), the restrictive marker *-aw* precedes *-ar* in the predicate modifier *mei-aw-ar*. The marker *-aw* can be analysed as restrictive ‘just very far’ or as emphatic ‘really very far’.

3.5.2.1 Further distribution of intensifier and restrictive marker

For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that the intensifier *-ar* and the restrictive marker *-aw* not only mark nouns and adjectives but also pronouns (§3.1.4) and numerals (§3.4.4.3.).

In (69), the numeral *kamon* ‘one’ is marked by the restrictive marker *-aw*.

- (69) *Yeyk hokwe, hakwe enekwei kamon-aw*
 yeyk ho-kwe ha-kwe enekwei kamon-aw
 canoe GL.M-TOP 1S-TOP time one.CL2-RSTR
saw-meio lowpway.
 saw-meio lowpway
 SPD-work completely
 ‘As for the canoe, I finished it quickly in only one day.’

In (70), the intensifier *-ar* is affixed to a personal pronoun which is modified by *-kwaw* ‘restrictive’.

- (70) *Hano uwr ey, hunkwaw-ar sara.*
 han-o uwr ey hwon-kwaw-ar so-ra
 1S-GEN man EXCL 2S.SUB-RSTR-INTF EMPH.SP.M-ADDR.M
 ‘Oh, my husband, it is really just you.’

3.5.3 Contrast between nouns and modifiers

Nouns and modifiers (referring not only to adjectives, but also to adverbs) differ in

- 1) distribution
- 2) government.

In terms of their distribution, nouns always precede modifiers within the noun phrase and precede the NP final marker.

- (71) *Hano aiai-yok ihey mokwe pan po*
 han-o aiai-yok ihey mo-kwe pan po
 1S-GEN food/plant-shoot excellent GL.PL-TOP grass PFT
nak-lonhiy swakuwmay.
 nak-lonhiy swakuwmay
 ACC-hide cover
 ‘My outstanding plant shoots have been covered over by grass.’

In (71), *ihey* ‘excellent’ is part of the noun phrase modifying the head noun. *Ihey* ‘excellent’ cannot be analysed as part of the compound noun *aiai-yok* ‘plant shoots’ because it does not have the contrastive intonation contour that is typical for compound nouns. (See §3.2). It is followed by the NP final topic marker *mokwe* that agrees in number with the head of the NP.

In terms of government, adjectives do not and cannot determine the number and gender of phrase final markers, whereas nouns do. This is even true for a noun phrase without a surface noun. In Abau, a modifier followed only by a phrase final marker can constitute a headless NP. The actual head is an ellipted noun which is recoverable from the context. This ellipted noun, not the modifier, determines the gender and number signalled by the phrase final marker.

- (72) *Ara, ai mokwe, hakwe pokon aiopey*
 ara ai mok-we ha-kwe pokon aiopey
 ADDR.M fish GL.PL-TOP 1S.SUB-TOP today big
ke sakeyn hin ey.
 k-e sakeyn hin ey
 3S.F-OBJ into.water shoot INT
 ‘Man, as for fish, today I am going to shoot a big one in the water.’

In (72), the ellipted noun is *ai* ‘fish’. The feminine, singular object marker *ke* agrees with this ellipted noun, not with the modifier, *aiopey* ‘big’, which has no gender or number. In (73), the ellipted noun in the NPs *piap me* and *yaprue me* is *am* ‘breadfruit’.

- (73) *Am lowpwarowp yaprue korey. Hiykwe*
 am lowpwarowp yaprue korey hiy-kwe
 breadfruit all good NEG 3S.M-TOP
piap me sasow, sawk yaprue me la.
 piap m-e sasow sawk yaprue m-e la
 bad PL-OBJ throw CHD good PL-OBJ eat
 ‘All the breadfruit was not good. He threw the bad ones away, but he ate the good ones.’

3.5.4 Modifiers functioning as adjectives, adverbs and predicates

Modifiers can fill different functions depending on their positions within the clause. They can function as modifiers within the noun phrase, or as modifiers of the verb phrase (adverbial phrase), or they can function as the predicate of the sentence.

- (74) *Aiai yaprue somokwe yaprue nuw-ie.*
 aiai yaprue so-mo-kwe yaprue nuw-lie
 food good DDEM-GL.PL-TOP good INT-go.up
 ‘That good food really comes up well.’

In (74), the first *yaprue* ‘good’ modifies the head of NP and precedes the demonstrative topic marker which agrees in number with the head of the NP. The second *yaprue* ‘good’ is not part of the NP it follows. It is an independent adverbial phrase that modifies the verb phrase (§4.4).

Modifiers can also function as the predicate of the clause as is illustrated in (75):

- (75) *Hmo owh mokwe, har mokwe aiopey,*
 hom-o owh mo-kwe har mo-kwe aiopey
 2/3PL-GEN body GL.PL-TOP some GL.PL-TOP big
har mokwe sowpwareney.
 har mo-kwe sowpwareney
 some GL.PL-TOP small
 ‘In regard to their bodies (= size), some were big and some were small.’

3.5.5 Adjectival use of the manner demonstratives

There are two manner demonstratives which are mostly used adverbially but also used adjectivally: the proximal and distal manner demonstratives *enkin* and *senkin*.

The attributive use of this manner demonstrative should not be confused with its adverbial use. When used adverbially it refers to manner; when used adjectivally its meaning shifts as can be seen in the examples below.

In (76) and (77), the manner demonstratives *senkin* and *enkin* are used attributively. The manner demonstrative *senkin* can be repeated as is shown in (76) expressing the concept of ‘various’.

- (76) *Hiykwe wueir meio nok, wueir-aiai senkin*
 hiy-kwe wueir meio nok wueir-aiai so-enkin
 3S.M-TOP garden work SEQ garden-food DDEM-MAN
senkin me saro.
 so-enkin m-e saro
 DDEM-MAN PL-OBJ plant
 ‘He made a garden and then he planted various types of
 garden food.’

The proximal manner demonstrative *enkin* is frequently combined with *enekwei* ‘time’ to mark present time (in contrast with the past). In (77), *enkin* is used attributively.

- (77) *Enekwei enkin ohokwe Kembu hiykwe*
 enekwei enkin o-ho-kwe Kembu hiy-kwe
 time MAN PDEM-GL.M-TOP Kembu 3S.M-TOP
kalabus wayr, Vanimo mon.
 kalabus lwayr Vanimo mon
 prisoner stay Vanimo LOC
 ‘Presently, Kembu is imprisoned in Vanimo.’

The adverbial use of *senkin* is discussed in §4.4.2.

3.6 Pragmatic NP markers with and without demonstrative force

The next four sections will deal with all the NP final markers. They are presented in order.

Section §3.6 deals with all the NP markers that occur NP finally which are marked pragmatically but not syntactically. Table 23 gives an overview of all possible non-syntactic pragmatic NP markers with and without demonstrative force.

Sections §3.7 and §3.8 deal with all the NP markers that give the NP syntactic function. For a summary overview of all syntactic NP markers including syntactic demonstrative markers, see Table 28.

Section §3.9 deals with the markers for postpositional phrases. An overview of all postpositions is found in Table 29.

The rest of section §3.6 deals with NP markers that are not marked syntactically but only pragmatically for topic.

3.6.1 Non-syntactic, pragmatic NP markers without demonstrative force

Topic or givenness (defined in §8.1) in Abau is marked by *-kwe* and refers to all information that the speaker assumes is present or readily accessible in the addressee's consciousness. A more extensive discussion on the concept of topic is found in §8.1. Noun phrases are marked for pragmatic function only by the topic marker *-kwe* which is attached to a bound morpheme that carries information on the number and/or gender of the head of the NP. These markers are listed in Table 22.

TABLE 22: NON-SYNTACTIC PRAGMATIC NP MARKERS

Num+ gender	General NP topic markers (GL)	
	-Topic	+Topic
S.M	<i>ho*</i>	<i>hokwe</i>
S.F	<i>ko*</i>	<i>kokwe</i>
PL	<i>mo*</i>	<i>mokwe</i>

NPs which are only marked pragmatically without a syntactic role are treated as background information and occur in the beginning of the sentence.

In (78) and (79), the initial NPs are only marked for pragmatic role. The NP is the topic the speaker wants to comment on. In (78), the bolded NP is not syntactically marked for object, although the NP has patient role within the clause. In (79), the bolded NP has agent role, but is not marked syntactically for subject.

- (78) ***Uwr hokwe*** *awia hom po lo.*
 Uwr ho-kwe awia hom po lo
 man GL.M-TOP enemy 2/3PL.SUB PFT shoot
 'As for the man, the enemies have shot him.'

- (79) *Uwr hokwe hyo saruw me lo*
 Uwr ho-kwe hiy-o saruw me lo
 man GL.M-TOP 3S-GEN relatives OBJ.PL shoot
kekie pak?
 kekie pak?
 put.many DUB
 ‘As for the man, might (he) have killed his relatives?’

3.6.2 Non-syntactic, pragmatic NP markers with demonstrative force

Non-syntactic, pragmatic NP markers can be given demonstrative force when prefixed by the proximal demonstrative marker *o-* or by the distal demonstrative marker *so-*. Demonstrative topic markers behave like general topic markers in that they occur noun phrase finally, always host the topic suffix *-kwe*, and only assign a pragmatic role to the NP. Table 22 has been extended into Table 23 to contain all the non-syntactic NP markers.

TABLE 23: NON-SYNTACTIC TOPIC MARKERS AND NON-SYNTACTIC DEMONSTRATIVE MARKERS

Num+ gender	General NP topic markers (GL)		Proximal Demonstratives (PDEM)		Distal Demonstratives (DDEM)	
	-Topic	+Topic	-Topic	+Topic	-Topic	+Topic
S.M	<i>ho*</i>	<i>hokwe</i>	<i>o-ho*</i>	<i>o-hokwe</i>	<i>so-ho*</i>	<i>so-hokwe</i>
S.F	<i>ko*</i>	<i>kokwe</i> ⁶	<i>o-ku*</i>	<i>o-kukwe</i>	<i>so-ku*</i>	<i>so-kukwe</i>
PL	<i>mo*</i>	<i>mokwe</i>	<i>o-mo*</i>	<i>o-mokwe</i>	<i>so-mo*</i>	<i>so-mokwe</i>

A count of general demonstrative topic markers in 5,500 sentences showed that out of every 10 demonstrative topic markers, less than one is marked by the proximal prefix *o-*. The proximal demonstrative topic marker is used in the following contexts:

- a. the entity referred to is being held or can be touched;
- b. the entity referred to is a temporal which relates to present time.

⁶ *Kokwe* might have been *kukwe* in the past, which would explain the feminine forms *okukwe* and *sokukwe* in this table.

In (80), the demonstrative topic marker *ohokwe* is used to refer to a proximal entity, contrasting with *somokwe*, which refers to a more distant entity:

- (80) *Youk ohokwe hano, sawk youk*
 youk o-ho-kwe han-o sawk youk
 paddle PDEM-GL.M-TOP 1S-GEN CHD paddle
somokwe hano korey.
 so-mo-kwe han-o korey
 DDEM-GL.PL-TOP 1S-GEN NEG
 ‘This paddle is mine, but those paddles are not mine.’

The distinction between *o-* and *so-* is used extensively to contrast the present time with the past. In (81) *ohokwe* combined with *enkin* (which can be deleted without affecting the basic meaning) indicates the present time, while *sohokwe* is used in (82) to indicate a particular time in the past.

- (81) *Enekwei enkin ohokwe Kembu hiykwe*
 enekwei enkin o-ho-kwe Kembu hiy-kwe
 time MAN PDEM-GL.M-TOP Kembu 3S.M.SUB-TOP
kalabus wayr, Vanimo mon.
 kalabus lwayr Vanimo mon
 prisoner stay Vanimo LOC
 ‘Presently, Kembu is imprisoned in Vanimo.’
- (82) *Paraw kokwe hromo apaw-om mey*
 paraw ko-kwe hrom-o apaw-om mey
 past GL.F-TOP 1PL-GEN ancestor-group job
krai-ar meio pa. Payhokuaw,
 krai-ar meio pa pay-ho-kwe-uaw
 strength-INTF work NEG.PFTV Q:what-GL.M-TOP-reason
enekwei sohokwe homkwe ku o,
 enekwei so-ho-kwe hom-kwe ku o
 time DDEM-GL.M-TOP 2/3PL.SUB-TOP axe and
pisu o, sohom lopa.
 pisu o so-hom lopa
 knife and DDEM-2/3PL NEG.NOMS
 ‘In the past, our ancestors did not accomplish a lot of work.
 Because at that time they did not have axes and machetes.’

Distal demonstrative topic markers are far less likely to refer to location and time than their counterparts, the proximal demonstrative topic markers. The former is more frequently used anaphorically to keep track of already introduced participants within a story. This is illustrated in (83) where a snake is introduced in the first sentence and further information is given in the second. As can be seen from (83), the Abau demonstrative *sohokwe* overlaps with the use of the English definite article *the*.

- (83) *Sa sok hiy lousne. Sok*
 sa sok hiy lousne sok
 then/and snake 3S.M.SUB appear snake
sohokwe *aiopey hay.*
 so-ho-kwe aiopey hay
 DDEM-GL.M-TOP big very
 ‘Then a snake appeared. The snake was very big.’

When the general topic marker occurs with a demonstrative prefix, it is also only marked for pragmatic role and not for syntactic role or semantic role as can be seen from example (84) and (85). The bolded NP fills the role of agent in (84) and the role of patient in (85), but in both cases the NP is not syntactically marked.

- (84) ***Huok*** *sohokwe,* *hano aio se peyk.*
 huok so-ho-kwe han-o aio s-e peyk
 pig DDEM-GL.M-TOP 1S-GEN father 3S.M-OBJ bite
 ‘As for that pig, it bit my father.’
- (85) ***Huok*** *sohokwe,* *hano aio hiy hin.*
 huok so-ho-kwe han-o aio hiy hin
 pig DDEM-GL.M-TOP 1S-GEN father 3S.M.SUB shoot
 ‘As for that pig, my father shot it.’

All pragmatic markers within this section are per definition topicalised. The important role of these non-syntactic topic markers in verbless clauses is discussed in §6.2. The importance of the dichotomy between topicalised NPs and non-topicalised NPs is further explained in §8, as well as the importance of the presence or absence of topicalised NP-final markers in foregrounded or background text (see §8.6 and §8.8).

3.7 Syntactically marked NPs without demonstrative force

Noun phrases can be marked syntactically for subject, object and genitive. These NP markers are differentiated for number and/or gender. The subject and object marker can be topicalised, but not the genitive.

TABLE 24: SYNTACTIC NP MARKERS WITH AND WITHOUT TOPIC MARKING

Syntactic case	Syntactic NP marker	
	Pronoun	+Topic
	§3.7.1	§3.7.2
Subject – S.M	<i>hiy</i>	<i>hiy-kwe</i>
Subject – S.F	<i>hok</i>	<i>ho-kwe</i> ⁷
Subject – DU	<i>hoh</i>	<i>hoh-kwe</i>
Subject – PL	<i>hom</i>	<i>hom-kwe</i>
	§3.7.3	§3.7.4
Object – S.M	<i>se</i>	<i>se kokwe</i>
Object – S.F	<i>ke</i>	<i>ke kokwe</i>
Object – PL	<i>me</i>	<i>me kokwe</i>
	§3.7.5	
Genitive – S.M	<i>so</i>	
Genitive – S.F	<i>ko</i>	
Genitive – PL	<i>mo</i>	

A noun phrase is marked for subject by means of a noun phrase final marker which is identical in form to the third person personal pronoun subject (§3.1.1). When the NP is topicalised the topic marker *-kwe* is suffixed to the pronoun.

There are three object NP markers without demonstrative force and they are not based on the personal pronoun set. The object NP marker itself cannot host a topic marker, but can be followed by a topic marker.

⁷ *hok* ‘3S.F.SUB’ suffixed by *-kwe* ‘TOP’ is written as *hokwe*, but the underlying form is */hok-kwe/*. The final *k* in *hok* is deleted when suffixed by the topic marker *-kwe*.

The genitive cannot be topicalised. A noun phrase is marked for genitive by a member of a closed set of three members. The genitive marker relates the NP it marks to the NP it precedes. (See also §3.10.1.1 and §3.8.3.)

3.7.1 Subject NP marker

In (86), the NP final marker *hoh* ‘the two of them’ gives subject function to the NP. It agrees in person and number with the head of the NP *sa* ‘woman’.

- (86) *Sa hoh non-ira me, “Okar.”*
 sa hoh non-lira me ok-ar
 woman 3DU.SUB DU-see speak talk-INTF
 ‘The two women looked and said, “True.”’

The same set of subject markers marks animate and inanimate actors as can be seen in (87) where *howniy* ‘wind’ is marked for subject.

- (87) *Hyo a sohokwe howniy hok*
 hiy-o a so-ho-kwe howniy hok
 3S.M-GEN house DDEM-GL.M-TOP wind 3S.F.SUB
lway kros say kow.
 lway kros say kow
 blow break move.PL BEN
 ‘As for his house, the wind blew it down destroying it.’

3.7.2 Topicalisation of the subject NP marker

In (88), the NP marker *hokwe* ‘she’ occurs NP finally and consists of the subject marker *hok* and the topic marker *-kwe*. The NP marker agrees in number and gender with the head of the NP, the proper name *Yamayo*.

- (88) *Yamayo hokwe ney se po liwak.*
 Yamayo hok-kwe ney s-e po liwak
 Yamayo 3S.F.SUB-TOP child 3S.M-OBJ PFT sit/deliver
 ‘Yamayo has delivered a child.’

In (89), the noun phrase marker *hiy* is suffixed by the topic marker *-kwe* and marks the NP for topic and subject. It is noteworthy and characteristic that all topicalised NPs occur in the beginning of the clause and all NPs that are not marked for topic precede the VP.

- (89) *Hakwe sok se hok, sawk hano*
 ha-kwe sok s-e hok sawk han-o
 1S.SUB-TOP snake 3S.M-OBJ fear CHD 1S-GEN
oryay hiykwe sok sehe
 oryay hiy-kwe sok so-h-e
 older.brother 3S.M.SUB-TOP snake DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
hane hin kow.
 han-e hin kow
 1S-OBJ shoot BEN
 ‘I was afraid of the snake, but my older brother killed that snake for me.’

3.7.3 Object NP markers without demonstrative force

Abau has three object NP markers without demonstrative force (*se*, *ke* and *me*), and six object NP markers which have it (the latter group is discussed in §3.8.2). All object NP markers display a final *-e* which signals object. They are all differentiated for gender and/or number. They mark the NP as a referential item or identifiable participant.

In (90), the NP *yeyk se* is marked for object by the NP marker *se*. This marker also marks the noun for masculine singular. The NP *aio hiykwe* is marked for subject and topic by the NP marker *hiykwe*.

- (90) *Aio hiykwe yeyk se meio.*
 aio hiy-kwe yeyk s-e meio
 father 3S.M.SUB-TOP canoe 3S.M-OBJ work
 ‘Father makes a canoe.’

The use of the masculine object marker is also illustrated in (91). The marked NP refers to an identifiable referent.

- (91) *Sawk uwr prueyn se now hiy*
 sawk uwr prueyn s-e now hiy
 CHD man one 3S.M-OBJ tree 3S.M.SUB
yay kane kaw.
 lyay kane kaw
 place.down break.off put.inside
 ‘And a tree fell and broke over a certain man.’

In (92), the object marker *ke* marks the feminine object *hyo pisu* ‘his knife’.

- (92) *Kenu hiykwe hyo pisu ke*
 Kenu hiy-kwe hiy-o pisu k-e
 Kenu 3S.M.SUB-TOP 3S.M-GEN knife 3S.F-OBJ
lonok nok, ley.
 lonok nok ley
 take.one SEQ go
 ‘Kenu took his bush knife and then he went.’

3.7.4 Topicalisation of object NPs

The topicalisation of object NPs is not straightforward. The topicalisation of object pronouns (§3.1.3) is slightly different from the topicalisation that occurs on object NP markers. NPs marked for object that have a noun as head of the NP are topicalised by the feminine topic marker *kokwe* regardless of gender and number.

In (93), the bolded NP *Keno se kokwe* is marked syntactically for object and pragmatically for topic. The gender and number of the head noun is marked by the singular masculine object marker *se* and not by the NP final topic marker *kokwe* which has feminine gender. The topic marker *kokwe* takes into its scope the noun with its object marking.

- (93) ***Keno se kokwe ur hiy***
 Keno s-e ko-kwe ur hiy
 Keno 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP vine 3S.M.SUB
way-a-way kuayk nayr.
 lway-a-lway kuayk nayr
 tangle-DUP-tangle fall night
 ‘As for Keno, a vine tangled around causing him to fall in the night.’

In (94), the NP *Kupe se kokwe* is both topicalised and marked for object. This double marking is in this example required, since the normal syntax order SOV is changed to OSV. (For more discussion see §6.5.1.)

- (94) *Enekwei sohokwe* **Kupe se** **kokwe**
 enekwei so-ho-kwe Kupe s-e ko-kwe
 time DDEM-GL.M-TOP Kupe 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP
polis prueyn hiy huonok.
 polis prueyn hiy huonok
 police one.CL1 3S.M.SUB call
 ‘As for that time, regarding Kupe, a certain policeman took
 him along.’

In (95), the object *kuey me* ‘grubs PL-OBJ’ is topicalised by the topic marker *kokwe*. Again, the head of the noun phrase is marked for number by the object marker *me* and not by the feminine singular topic marker *kokwe*.

- (95) **Kuey me kokwe hano sa ko orih**
 kuey m-e ko-kwe han-o sa k-o orih
 grubs PL-OBJ GL.F-TOP 1S-GEN woman 3S.F-GEN father
hiy lowk, Lapwan sopei mon.
 hiy lowk Lapwam sopei mon
 3S.M.SUB cut Lapwan river.mouth LOC
 ‘As for the grubs, my wife’s father cut them out (of the tree)
 at the Lapwan’s river mouth.’

Forms like *se-kwe* in (96) have been observed in some oral texts, but are not accepted by all.

- (96) **Uwr se-kwe hakwe lira pa.*
 man 3S.M.OBJ-TOP 1S-TOP see NEG.PFTV
 ‘As for the man, I did not see him.’

The use of *sekwe* and even *sokwe* as a contraction of *se kokwe* has been especially observed in the central dialect. This usage is considered incorrect by other dialects since the usage of *sekwe* and *sokwe*, is similar or identical to the distal demonstrative object marker *sokwe* (§3.8.2). When editing texts, even speakers of the central dialect tend to change *sekwe* to *se kokwe*. Similar contractions of *ke kokwe* and *me kokwe* into shorter forms have not been observed.

3.7.5 Genitive NP markers

There are only three genitive NP markers (*so*, *ko* and *mo*) which occur NP finally in an embedded NP that modifies the main NP.

In (97), the two bolded NPs are marked by the genitive markers *mo* and *so*. These markers also convey information about the gender and/or number of the NPs they follow. The bolded NPs are embedded within a NP. They both modify the NP they precede. (See also §3.10.1.1.)

- (97) *Ney mo tisa hiykwe senkin me,*
 ney m-o tisa hiy-kwe so-enkin me
 child 3PL-GEN teacher 3S.M.SUB-TOP DDEM-MAN speak
skul so a-suwr hokwe nonow non.
 skul s-o a-suwr ho-kwe nonow non
 school 2S-GEN house-roof.cap GL.F-TOP hole CMT
 ‘The children’s teacher said, “The school’s roof cap contains
 holes.’”

3.8 Syntactic demonstrative NP markers

Syntactic demonstrative NP markers identify subject and object and differentiate proximal and distal markers. The syntactic demonstrative NP marker can be used in genitive constructions but there is no separate genitive demonstrative NP marker.

3.8.1 Subject demonstrative NP marker

As was shown in §0, a NP can be marked as subject by the NP subject markers *hiy*, *hok*, *hoh* and *hom*. The NP subject markers can also be given demonstrative force as is shown in Table 25. The basic forms of the subject demonstrative NP markers are similar to the subject pronoun NP markers dealt with in §0, differing only in the addition of the distal or proximal demonstrative prefix *so-* or *o-*.

TABLE 25: SUBJECT DEMONSTRATIVE MARKERS

Syntactic case	Proximal Demonstratives	Distal Demonstratives
	DEM	DEM
Subject – S.M	<i>o-hiy</i>	<i>s-o-hiy</i>
Subject – S.F	<i>o-hok</i>	<i>s-o-hok</i>
Subject – DU	<i>o-hoh</i>	<i>s-o-hoh</i>
Subject – PL	<i>o-hom</i>	<i>s-o-hom</i>

It is important to note that subject demonstratives can never occur with the topic marker *-kwe*. Also, in contrast to the subject pronoun NP markers, subject demonstrative NP markers cannot function by themselves as the head of the NP.

The subject demonstrative is used when the entity it marks has agent role and needs to be distinguished from other known alternatives.

In (98), *sohok* ‘DDEM-3S.F’ tags the bolded NP as the subject of its clause.

- (98) *Hok yeyk mon nak-kair kwawk liok sawk*
 hok yeyk mon nak-kair kwawk liok sawk
 3S.F canoe LOC ACC-remove put.inside in.vain CHD
mowkwar sohok ka-sau nok.
 mowkwar so-hok ka-sau nok
 turtle DDEM-3S.F side-run DUR
 ‘She tried in vain to lift up (the turtle) and put it in the canoe,
 but that (specific) turtle ran away.’

In (99), the second bolded NP is marked by the demonstrative subject marker *sohom*. The first bolded NP is not marked by a syntactic demonstrative NP marker, but by a demonstrative NP marker (*sokukwe*) which only signals its pragmatic function.

- (99) ***Woyo-hne sokukwe sawk uwr sohom***
 woyo-hne so-ko-kwe sawk uwr so-hom
 fowl-nest DDEM-GL.F-TOP CHD man DDEM-2/3PL.SUB
ma-lorowh.
 ma-lorowh
 RPT-dig
 ‘As for the wild fowl nest, those men dug it out as well.’

In (100), *sohiy* ‘DDEM-3S.M.SUB’ tags the bolded NP as the subject of its clause.

- (100) *Ihey mo yeyk kreys-ar sohiy*
 ihey m-o yeyk kreys-ar so-hiy
 white.man PL-GEN canoe two.CL2-INTF DDEM-3S.M.SUB
nake menkin, uwrsa homkwe hakan.
 nak-le menkin uwr-sa hom-kwe hakan
 ACC-come when man-woman 2/3PL-TOP flee
 ‘When those two (specific) planes came, the people fled.’

3.8.2 Object demonstrative markers

All NP object markers belong to an exhaustive set consisting of nine members and are characterised by a final morpheme *-e* ‘object’. The three object NP markers dealt with in §3.7.3 can be combined with the demonstrative markers *so-* and *o-*. These six demonstrative object markers are affected by vowel harmony rules which are dealt with in section §2.6.2. The underlying forms of the six object demonstrative markers are given in the last column of Table 26.

TABLE 26: OBJECT DEMONSTRATIVE MARKERS

	Proximal	Distal	Object demonstrative - Underlying forms
S.M	<i>ehe</i>	<i>sehe</i>	<i>o-h-e</i> ⁸ ‘PDEM-3S.M-OBJ’ <i>so-h-e</i> ‘DDEM-3S.M-OBJ’
S.F	<i>okwe</i>	<i>sokwe</i>	<i>o-k-e</i> ⁹ ‘PDEM-3S.F-OBJ’ <i>so-k-e</i> ‘DDEM-3S.F-OBJ’
PL	<i>eme</i>	<i>seme</i>	<i>o-m-e</i> ‘PDEM-3PL-OBJ’ <i>so-m-e</i> ‘DDEM-3PL-OBJ’

The NP object demonstrative cannot host the topic marker *-kwe*. A NP containing an object demonstrative is topicalised by the feminine topic marker *kokwe* regardless of the number and gender of the head noun. This

⁸ The masculine form here is represented by *-he* and not by *-se*, as one would expect from looking at the definite object marker column in the table. No explanation for this change has been found.

⁹ The underlying form of *okwe* is /*o-ke*/ and that of *sokwe* is /*so-ke*/. The insertion of the *w* is puzzling as this morphophonemic change does not have a comparable counterpart elsewhere.

use of the feminine topic marker is also observed in NPs marked for semantic case. (Compare Table 29.)

In (101), the plural demonstrative object marker *seme* is used in the bolded NP.

- (101) *Hunkwe hanekwe **ok seme** kwa*
 hwon-kwe han-e-kwe ok so-m-e kwa
 2S.SUB-TOP 1S-OBJ-TOP talk DDEM-PL-OBJ HOR
ma-le sor kow.
 ma-le sor kow
 RPT-come tell BEN
 ‘You should come back and tell me these talks (= stories).’

The use of the masculine demonstrative object marker is illustrated in (102).

- (102) ***Wueir sehe** ma non-hor pie*
 wueir so-h-e ma non-hor pie
 garden DDEM-3S.M-OBJ RCM DU-clean firstly
hokwe, hohkwe a mon manak-ey.
 ho-kwe hoh-kwe a mon ma-nak-ley
 GL.M-TOP 3DU-TOP house LOC RPT-ACC-go
 (From a story that previously introduced the garden): ‘After they had cleared that garden area, the two of them returned home.’

In (103), the feminine demonstrative object marker is used in the NP *pruam sokwe*. The masculine demonstrative object marker *sehe* that precedes the verb phrase is not part of a NP. It occurs by itself and is used to express a causative relationship. The use of these causal demonstratives preceding the verb phrase is discussed in §4.4.3.

- (103) *Hiy **pruam sokwe** ma nwaksu hokwe,*
 hiy pruam so-k-e ma nwaksu ho-kwe
 3S.M cassowary DDEM-3S.F-OBJ RCM chase GL.M-TOP
pruam sokukwe hye kokwe, sawk
 pruam so-ho-kwe hiy-e ko-kwe sawk
 cassowary DDEM-GL.M-TOP 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP CHD

hekweyr sehe nak-sau kweyr kow.
 hekweyr so-h-e nak-sau kweyr kow
 laughter DDEM-3S.M-OBJ ACC-run laugh BEN
 ‘When he chased this cassowary, the cassowary – as a result –
 ran and laughed at him.’

In (104), the bolded NP is marked by the demonstrative object marker *sokwe* which is suffixed by the restrictive marker *-aw*

(104) *Hiykwe mowkwar sokwe-aw lway nok.*
 hiy-kwe mowkwar so-k-e-aw lway nok
 3S.M.SUB-TOP turtle DDEM-3S.F-OBJ-RSTR carry DUR
 ‘He took only that turtle along.’

3.8.3 The use of the genitive in NPs marked by a syntactic demonstrative

Genitive markers (*so*, *ko* and *mo*) are always embedded within a main NP. Genitive markers themselves cannot be affixed by the demonstrative markers *o-* and *so-*, but they can occur in NP constructions that contain a demonstrative NP marker. The genitive marker follows the marker that has demonstrative force (e.g. *sohiy so*, *sohok ko*, *sohom mo*).

It is interesting that the subject demonstrative marker is used in these genitive constructions. The subject demonstrative marker loses its subject function since the function of the NP is determined by the final NP marker. The phenomenon that the subject marker loses its subject force when followed by another NP marker is also observed when the subject marker is followed by a postposition (§3.9.9).

TABLE 27: GENITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS FOLLOWING A DEMONSTRATIVE NP MARKER

Syntactic case	Proximal demonstrative followed by genitive marker	Distal demonstrative followed by genitive marker
	DEM	DEM
Genitive – S.M	<i>o-hiy so</i>	<i>s-o-hiy so</i>
Genitive – S.F	<i>o-hok ko</i>	<i>s-o-hok ko</i>
Genitive – PL	<i>o-hom mo</i>	<i>s-o-hom mo</i>

In (105), the subject demonstrative *sohiy* is followed by the masculine genitive marker *so*. The genitive construction *yier sohiy so* modifies as a pre-head genitive constituent the head of the main NP *uru* ‘name’. This main NP is marked by the masculine topic marker *hokwe* which agrees in number and gender with the head of the NP, *uru* ‘name’.

- (105) *[Yier sohiy so] uru hokwe Vanimó.*
 yier so-hiy s-o uru ho-kwe Vanimo
 place DDEM-3S.M.SUB 3S.M-GEN name GL.M-TOP Vanimo
 ‘The name of that place was Vanimo.’

In (106), the subject demonstrative *sohok* is followed by the genitive marker *ko*. The bolded genitive construction modifies the head of the NP *weynpaweyn* ‘behaviour’. This NP is marked by the feminine object marker *ke* which agrees in number and gender with the head of the NP.

- (106) *Hiykwe [sa sohok ko] weynpaweyn*
 Hiy-kwe sa so-hok k-o weynpaweyn
 3S.M-TOP woman DDEM-3S.F 3S.F-GEN behaviour
ke lira menkin, hiykwe kar ley.
 k-e lira menkin, hiy-kwe kar ley
 3S.F-OBJ see when 3S.M-TOP glad go
 ‘When he saw the behaviour of that (particular) woman, he was very glad.’

3.8.4 Overview of all syntactic NP markers

All the information on syntactic NP markers given in §3.7 and §3.8 is brought together in Table 25. The table gives an overview of all syntactic NP markers and how they are topicalised (by *-kwe* or *kokwe*). It is noteworthy that demonstratives marked for subject, object or genitive are never topicalised.

The three distal object demonstrative markers (*sehe*, *sokwe* and *seme*) and the distal manner marker (*senkin*) are not only used adjectivally but also adverbially. When used adverbially these demonstratives immediately precede the verb phrase as an adverbial phrase that consists of only one member. The adverbially used demonstrative encodes a relationship of logical consequence between the clause it occurs in, and the clause or sentence it anaphorically refers to (§4.4.2 and §4.4.3).

TABLE 28: OVERVIEW OF ALL POSSIBLE SYNTACTIC NP MARKERS

Syntactic case	Syntactic NP marker		Proximal demonstratives	Distal demonstratives
	Case	+Topic	DEM	DEM
SUB – S.M	<i>hiy</i>	<i>hiy-kwe</i>	<i>o-hiy</i>	<i>s-o-hiy</i>
SUB – S.F	<i>hok</i>	<i>ho-kwe</i> ¹⁰	<i>o-hok</i>	<i>s-o-hok</i>
SUB – DU	<i>hoh</i>	<i>hoh-kwe</i>	<i>o-hoh</i>	<i>s-o-hoh</i>
SUB – PL	<i>hom</i>	<i>hom-kwe</i>	<i>o-hom</i>	<i>s-o-hom</i>
OBJ – S.M	<i>se</i>	<i>se kokwe</i>	<i>e-h-e</i>	<i>s-e-h-e</i>
OBJ – S.F	<i>ke</i>	<i>ke kokwe</i>	<i>o-kw-e</i>	<i>s-o-kw-e</i>
OBJ – PL	<i>me</i>	<i>me kokwe</i>	<i>e-m-e</i>	<i>s-e-m-e</i>
GEN – S.M	<i>so</i>		<i>o-hiy so</i>	<i>s-o-hiy so</i>
GEN – S.F	<i>ko</i>		<i>o-hok ko</i>	<i>s-o-hok ko</i>
GEN – PL	<i>mo</i>		<i>o-hom mo</i>	<i>s-o-hom mo</i>

3.9 Noun Phrases marked semantically – postpositional phrases

NPs encoding semantic roles in the clause other than agent and patient are structurally postpositional phrases. In this section the different structural shapes of these NPs are discussed.

a) +NP +Postposition

NPs that occur in this category are:

1. Locative NP NP + *mon*
2. Exactness NP NP + *sok*
3. Comitative NP NP + *non*
4. Similarity NP NP + *eyn*

¹⁰ *hok* suffixed by *-kwe* is written as *hokwe*, but the underlying form is /*hok-kwe*/.

b) +NP +Object marker + Postposition

NPs that occur in this category are:

5. Accompaniment NP NP + Object Marker + *nion*
6. Comparative NP NP + Object Marker + *hieyn*

c) +NP +Ablative marker

NPs that occur in this category are:

7. Ablative NP NP + Ablative marker that agrees in number and gender with subject

In Table 29, the semantic NP markers are listed as another clearly marked category. All noun phrases marked for semantic function can also be topicalised by a phrase final topic marker.

TABLE 29: POST-POSITIONAL NP MARKERS SIGNALLING SEMANTIC FUNCTION

Semantic case	NP marker	S.M	S.F	PL	Topicalised
Locative	<i>mon</i>				<i>mon kokwe</i>
Exactness	<i>sok</i>				<i>sok kokwe</i>
Comitative	<i>non</i>				<i>non kokwe</i>
Similarity	<i>eyn</i>				<i>eyn kokwe</i>
Accompaniment	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>se / ke / me</i>
	<i>nion</i>	<i>nion</i>	<i>nion</i>	<i>nion</i>	<i>nion kokwe</i>
Comparative	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>se / ke / me</i>
	<i>hieyn</i>	<i>hieyn</i>	<i>hieyn</i>	<i>hieyn</i>	<i>hieyn kokwe</i>
Ablative	<i>ko se</i>	<i>ko se</i>	<i>ko ke</i>	<i>ko me</i>	<i>ko se / ko ke / ko me kokwe</i>

It is perhaps more accurate syntactically to term some of these structures postpositional phrases. The animate accompaniment and the comparative have an object marked NP that does not function as the object of the clause but as the object of the postposition. Syntactically, the animate accompaniment and comparative phrases are postpositional phrases. However, for the sake of symmetry and economy in presentation, I will call them NPs marked by postpositions which indicate semantic case

role. The intonation pattern supports this approach, as there is no pause after the object marker in the Accompaniment NP and the Comparative NP.

3.9.1 Locative

Locative NPs are marked by the postposition *mon* ‘LOC’. The locative postposition itself does not carry any additional information about exact position or movement. This information is mostly carried by the verb or by location nouns that precede the locative marker *mon*. In (107), the locative marker *mon* can be used with a motion verb and also with a stative verb.

- (107) *Aio hiykwe sapa mon ley.*
 aio hiy-kwe sapa mon ley
 father 3S.M.SUB-TOP forest LOC go
Ipey hokwe a mon lwak.
 ipey hok-kwe a mon lwak
 mother 3S.F.SUB-TOP house LOC be
 ‘Father went to the forest. Mother is in the house.’

Location can be further specified by a set of location nouns, which are placed after the noun or compound noun they specify for location. This is done in two ways. Either the location noun is juxtaposed with the head noun as in (108) where *eir* ‘top’ follows *now-mowr*. Alternatively a genitive construction may be used, as in (109) where *ohri* ‘close’ follows the genitive construction *uwr mo*.

- (108) *Ey hiykwe now-mowr eir mon liawon.*
 ey hiy-kwe now-mowr eir mon liawon
 sun 3S.M.SUB-TOP tree-tip top LOC lie.down
 ‘The sun was just over the top of the trees.’
- (109) *Sawk huok sohokwe, uwr mo ohri mon*
 sawk huok so-ho-kwe uwr m-o ohri mon
 CHD pig DDEM-GL.M-TOP man PL-GEN near LOC
ley pa.
 ley pa
 go NEG.PFTV
 ‘That pig did not go close to the men.’

The following nouns in conjunction with *mon* specify a positional location:

- | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|----------|--|----------------|-----------------------------|
| | <i>ohri</i> | ‘close’ | | <i>meykyay</i> | ‘side’ |
| | <i>ayaw</i> | ‘high’ | | <i>ouon</i> | ‘under, inside’ |
| | <i>eir</i> | ‘top’ | | <i>meyki</i> | ‘after (<i>time</i>)’ |
| | <i>ompok</i> | ‘middle’ | | <i>meyki</i> | ‘after (<i>location</i>)’ |
- (110) *Popo-i somokwe seme lie,*
 popo-i so-mo-kwe so-m-e lie
 papaya-seed DDEM-GL.PL-TOP DDEM-PL-OBJ go.up
- hyo a meykyay mon kokwe.*
 hiy-o a meykyay mon ko-kwe
 3S.M-GEN house side LOC GL.F-TOP
 ‘So those papaya fruits were growing at the side of his house.’
- (111) *Homkwe skol-a ouon mon lwak.*
 hom-kwe skol-a ouon mon lwak
 2/3PL-TOP school-house under LOC be
 ‘They were inside (or: under) the school building.’
- (112) *Ney homkwe aiopey hay lwak ankin,*
 ney hom-kwe aiopey hay lwak ankin
 child 2/3PL.SUB-TOP big very be as/while
- homkwe now ayaw mon lie.*
 hom-kwe now ayaw mon lie
 2/3PL.SUB-TOP tree high LOC go.up
 ‘When children are big they climb high in trees.’

Mon normally encodes location in space. But it can also encode location in time, particularly in conjunction with *meyki* ‘behind, after’ (113).

- (113) *Kaunsil so meyki mon posokwaw*
 kaunsil s-o meyki mon po-so-kwaw
 councillor 3S.M-GEN after LOC Q-HUM-RSTR.SUB
- hin so?*
 hin so
 shoot Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘Who shot after the councillor (did)?’

The positional noun *meyki* ‘behind, after’ also refers to location in space, as in (114).

- (114) *Hiykwe hyo meyki mon sau ney nok,*
 hiy-kwe hiy-o meyki mon sau ney nok
 3S.M-TOP 3S.M-GEN after LOC run go SEQ
hye lokin kuayk.
 hiy-e lokin kuayk
 3S.M-OBJ hit fall
 ‘He ran after him and then tripped him.’

When the noun specified for location has the feature [+ human], there is a strong preference to use the genitive to form the locative construction, as (115) illustrates.

- (115) *Hiykwe uwrsa mo eir mon lwak*
 hiy-kwe uwr-sa m-o eir mon lwak
 3S.M.SUB-TOP man-woman PL-GEN top LOC be
e nan.
 e nan
 PURP think
 ‘He wanted to be on top of the people (= wanted to be the most important person).’

However, (116) demonstrates that location nouns that modify human nouns do not always need to be preceded by a genitive marker.

- (116) *Hokwe uwrsa ompok-aw mon*
 hok-kwe uwr-sa ompok-aw mon
 3S.F.SUB-TOP man-woman middle-EMPH LOC
non-meio wayr pa.
 non-meio lwayr pa
 DU-work stay NEG.PFTV
 ‘She did not live in the midst of people.’

The location words are analysed as nouns on the basis of distribution. In (117), *ompok* is preceded by a genitive marker and followed by an objective marker, which is a position that can only be filled by nouns.

- (117) ***Sok-sopok*** ***so*** ***ompok*** ***se*** ***lei***
 sok-sopok s-o ompok s-e lei
 snake-corpse 3S.M-GEN middle 3S.M-OBJ cut
andor nok, pisu non.
 landor nok pisu non
 cut DUR knife CMT
 ‘The dead snake’s middle was cut through (= the snake was cut in half) with a knife.’

3.9.2 Exactness

The postposition *sok* marks both temporal and locative phrases for exactness, i.e. exact location in space or time. In (118), *sok* marks exact time.

- (118) *Paraw-ar, yia 1972 sok kokwe, Australia-uwr*
 paraw-ar yia 1972 sok ko-kwe Australia-uwr
 past-INTF year 1972 EXCT GL.F-TOP Australia-man
har homkwe hromo kipay mon le.
 har hom-kwe hrom-o kipay mon le
 some 2/3PL-TOP 1PL-GEN area LOC come
 ‘In the past, in 1972, some Australians came to our area.’

Like the locative *mon*, *sok* can also occur with location nominals. It has been observed in texts with *ompok* ‘middle’, *eir* ‘top’, *ohri* ‘close’ and *meyki* ‘behind, after (when referring to time)’.

- (119) *Hremekwe sawk nop hiy ar-nak-owkway*
 hrom-e-kwe sawk nop hiy ar-nak-lowkway
 1PL-OBJ-TOP CHD ironwood 3S.M.SUB DIR:up-ACC-pull
nok, iway ompok sok.
 nok iway ompok sok
 DUR deep.water middle EXCT
 ‘As for us, the ironwood tree pulled us exactly in the middle of the deep river.’

3.9.3 Comitative

Comitative NPs are marked by the postposition *non*. The marker *non* ‘comitative’ has a number of uses:

1. Relational (120-122)
2. Instrumental (123-124)
3. Inanimate Accompaniment (125-126)

1. The comitative relates a noun phrase in the predication as a component or a possession of another NP in that predication as in (120) and (121).

(120) *Mu homkwe orow non.*
 mu hom-kwe orow non
 crocodile 2/3PL-TOP tail CMT
 ‘Crocodiles have tails.’

(121) *Hiykwe peik piaparaw non.*
 hiy-kwe peik piaparaw non
 3S.M-TOP illness bad CMT
 ‘He has a bad illness.’

The comitative *non* can also be used in an embedded construction. It relates the embedded NP marked by the comitative to the head of the NP.

In (122), the modifying NP *owk non* ‘with string bag’ relates this entity as being associated to the head of the noun phrase it modifies, i.e. *yoh* ‘banana’. The two entities coexist together forming a new entity as it were.

(122) *Yoh owk non sokukwe sa*
 Yoh owk non so-ko-kwe sa
 banana string.bag CMT DDEM-GL.F-TOP woman
hokwe nake pa.
 hok-kwe nak-le pa
 3S.F-TOP ACC-come NEG.PFTV
 ‘As for these bananas with/in the string bag, the woman did not bring them.’

2. It encodes instrument when the NP immediately precedes a transitive verb phrase. In that position it will follow the object NP, as in (123). As previously stated, phrases that occur between a non-topic-

marked object NP and the verb phrase are unusual and noteworthy. When such a phrase is marked by *non*, it always encodes instrument.

- (123) *Hiykwe* *hyo* *a* *se* ***ya non***
 hiy-kwe hiy-o a s-e ya non
 3S.M.SUB-TOP 3S.M-GEN house 3S.M-OBJ fire CMT

loum kaw *kow*.
 loum kaw kow
 burn put.inside BEN
 ‘He burned his house with fire.’

Example (124) illustrates the same point. The NP marked by the comitative *non* is instrumental in force, as it follows the non-topic-marked object NP *ney prueyn se*.

- (124) *Pouh* *hokwe* *sawk* *ney* *prueyn* *se*
 pouh hok-kwe sawk ney prueyn s-e
 mother 3S.F.SUB-TOP CHD child one.CL1 3S.M-OBJ

ku non *lowk* *kampror*, *makwey* *sok*.
 ku non lowk kam-pror makwey sok
 axe CMT beat hold-break head EXCT
 ‘Mother cracked one child with an axe right on the head.’

3. Non-human accompaniment is marked by the comitative marker *non*, as example (125) and (126) show. Both NPs immediately precede a motion verb and therefore the NPs do not express instrument, but rather non-human accompaniment. (Human accompaniment is dealt with in the next section.)

- (125) *Hakwe* *ki* *ley* *ankin*, ***ompow non***
 ha-kwe ki ley ankin ompow non
 1S.SUB-TOP ground go as/while bow CMT

nak-anio.
 nak-lanio
 ACC-walk
 ‘When I go out (to the forest), I walk around with my bow.’

- (126) *Huok-ai mokwe, hiykwe nwoh non*
 huok-ai mo-kwe hiy-kwe nwoh non
 pig-animal GL.PL-TOP 3S.M-TOP dog CMT
hiynaw o.
 hiy-naw lo
 CAUS-roam shoot
 ‘As for pigs and (other) animals, he roamed around with the
 dog and shot them.’

3.9.3.1 Postpositional comitative noun phrase embedded within another noun phrase

The comitative can be used to embed a postpositional noun phrase within another noun phrase. The embedded noun phrase follows and modifies the head of the noun phrase and is followed by the noun phrase final marker. In the examples below the head of the NP and the NP final marker are bolded; the embedded noun phrase is underlined.

In (127), the head of the noun phrase *uwr* ‘man’ is modified by the embedded postpositional noun phrase *yeik-ompow non* ‘with bow and arrows’. The noun phrase is marked by the masculine marker *se* which agrees in number and gender with the head of the noun phrase *uwr* ‘man’.

- (127) *Hakwe uwr yeik-ompow non se*
 ha-kwe uwr yeik-ompow non s-e
 1S.SUB-TOP man arrow-bow CMT 3S.M-OBJ
lira huon.
 lira huon
 see OBJ>SUB
 ‘I saw a man coming with bow and arrows.’

Embedded postpositional phrases with *non* affect the gender marking on the NP they modify. In (128), the noun phrase head *ney* ‘child’ is modified by the embedded postpositional noun phrase *owk non* ‘with string bag’. This sentence was taken from a story about a male child. The noun phrase, however, is marked by the feminine object marker *ke* which does not agree in gender with the head of the noun phrase *ney* ‘child’. It is assumed that the object marker for this noun phrase with the embedded postpositional phrase is selected on the basis of the total physical appearance of the entity encoded.

- (128) *Hokwe sa ney owk non*
 hok-kwe sa ney owk non
 3S.F.SUB-TOP then/and child string.bag CMT
ke nak-huor.
 k-e nak-huor
 3S.F-OBJ ACC-hanging.down
 ‘She carried the child with (in) the string bag.’

A noun phrase modified by an embedded postpositional phrase can also be topicalised. In (129), the NP is marked by the general NP topic marker *kokwe*.

- (129) *Hiykwe huok-nays owk non kokwe, kamon,*
 hiy-kwe huok-nays owk non ko-kwe kamon
 3S.M-TOP pig-tooth string.bag CMT GL.F-TOP one.CL2
senkin nak-huor yay sawan.
 so-enkin nak-huor lyay sawan
 DDEM-MAN ACC-hanging.down place.down hang
 ‘As for the pig tusks with (= in) the string bag, he carried one of them, hanging (over his shoulder).’

3.9.4 Similarity

The postposition of similarity or resemblance *eyn* ‘like’ can modify nouns (130), personal pronouns (131) and modifiers (132).

In (130), *eyn* modifies the genitive construction it follows.

- (130) *Hmo owh mokwe now mo ma*
 hom-o owh mo-kwe now m-o ma
 2/3PL-GEN body GL.PL-TOP tree PL-GEN leaf
eyn lwak.
 eyn lwak
 SIM be
 ‘Their skin is like the leaves of a tree.’

In (131), the NP *hano eyn* is a NP with an ellipted head. The postposition *eyn* modifies the genitive pronoun and its ellipted head *pen*.

- (131) *Pen sohokwe hano eyn lira.*
 pen so-ho-kwe han-o eyn lira
 pen DDEM-GL.M-TOP 1S-GEN SIM see
 ‘That pen looks like mine.’

In (132), it modifies the predicate modifier *yaprue* ‘good’.

- (132) *Onkioh hakwe peik non, sawk pokon hakwe*
 onkioh ha-kwe peik non sawk pokon ha-kwe
 yesterday 1S-TOP ill CMT CHD today 1S-TOP
yaprue eyn lwak.
 yaprue eyn lwak
 good SIM be
 ‘Yesterday I was sick, but today I feel somewhat alright.’

3.9.5 Accompaniment

Human accompaniment is encoded by an object NP marked by the postposition marker *nion*. The noun in this phrase is obligatorily animate, as illustrated in (133). The object marker does not indicate that the NP is the object of the clause, but rather that it is the object of the postposition *nion*. In spite of the presence of the object marker, the accompaniment NP is analysed as a single NP. The intonation pattern over the clause seems to confirm this. Normally a NP final object marker can be followed by a pause, but there is no pause between the object marker *se* and the postpositional marker *nion*.

In (133), places where a speaker pauses or can potentially pause are indicated by '. The bolded post-positional NP forms one intonational unit.

- (133) *Hakwe 'hano aio se nion 'huok*
 ha-kwe han-o aio s-e nion huok
 1S-TOP 1S-GEN father 3S.M-OBJ ACC pig
'lanio ous ley.
 lanio lous ley
 walk chase INCH
 ‘I am going to hunt pigs with my father.’

Accompaniment can also be marked on a NP consisting only of a personal pronoun. In (134), the pronoun is marked for object and followed by *nion*.

- (134) *Wayh ara, hane nion ley e.*
 wayh ara han-e nion ley e
 friend ADDR.M 1S-OBJ ACC go OBJ.IMP
 ‘Friend, just come with me.’

3.9.6 Comparative

Like the NP Accompaniment, the NP Comparative hosts an object marker, which does not function as the object of the clause, but as the object of the postposition. The NP Comparative is marked by the direct object and the postpositional marker *hieyn*. The NP forms one intonational unit.

- (135) *Huok homkwe howniy ke hieyn liy sau.*
 huok hom-kwe howniy k-e hieyn liy sau
 pig 2/3PL-TOP wind 3S.F-OBJ COMP DYN run
 ‘Pigs are able to run like the wind.’

Comparative can also be marked on a NP consisting only of a personal pronoun. In (136), the pronoun is marked for object and followed by *hieyn*.

- (136) *Hunkwe hane hieyn lon e.*
 hwon-kwe han-e hieyn lon e
 2S-TOP 1S-OBJ COMP do OBJ.IMP
 ‘Just do like me.’

3.9.7 Ablative

Noun phrases functioning in the ablative case are marked by the ablative marker *ko* followed by one of the object markers *se*, *ke* or *me*. The ablative *ko* is homophonous with the genitive feminine *ko*, but in contrast to the genitive marker, the ablative marker *ko* does not change for gender or number.

The object marker following the ablative *ko* is governed by the subject in terms of its person and number. In (137), the feminine object marker *ke* in the underlined NP corresponds to the feminine subject *hokwe*.

- (137) *Hokwe yier kamon ko ke ma-le.*
 hok-kwe yier kamon ko k-e ma-le
 3S.F.SUB-TOP place one.CL2 ABL 3S.F-OBJ RPT-come
 ‘She came back from a certain village.’

Likewise, the object marker of the ablative noun phrase in (138) and (139) corresponds in gender and number to the subject and not to the head of its NP. In (138) the noun *now* ‘tree’ is masculine, but the object marker corresponds with the gender of the subject.

- (138) *Hokwe* *now ayaw ko ke* *loksow*.
 hok-kwe now ayaw ko k-e loksow
 3S.F.SUB-TOP tree top ABL 3S.F-OBJ climb.down
 ‘She came down from the tree top.’

In (139), the plural object marker *me* in the underlined NP corresponds to the plural subject *mu homkwe* (crocodiles).

- (139) *Mu* *homkwe* *hu-ouon ko me*
 mu hom-kwe hu-ouon ko m-e
 crocodile 2/3PL-TOP water-under ABL PL-OBJ
ar-eirsow *ha*.
 ar-leirsow ha
 DIR:up-come.to.surface OBJ<SUB
 ‘The crocodiles came up out of the water.’

In (140), the object marker *se* in the underlined NP agrees with the subject *hiykwe* in gender and number, and not with the head of its NP, the feminine noun *sey* ‘platform’.

- (140) *Hiykwe* *sawk* *sey ko se*
 hiy-kwe sawk sey ko s-e
 3S.M.SUB-TOP CHD platform ABL 3S.M-OBJ
kyor-oreys *liok*.
 kyor-loreys liok
 DIR:down-jump in.vain
 ‘He jumped down – unsuccessfully – from the platform.’

3.9.8 Topicalisation of postpositional phrases

It was previously noted that phrases that are marked for subject or object can only be topicalised by the feminine topic marker *kokwe*. The same is true for postpositional phrases. They can only be topicalised by the feminine *kokwe* even if the head of the NP has masculine gender or plural number.

In (141), the feminine general NP topic marker *kokwe* topicalises the bolded NP that hosts the locative marker *mon*.

- (141) *Hiykwe yoh-ney senkin senkin*
 hiy-kwe yoh-ney so-enkin so-enkin
 3S.M.SUB-TOP banana-small DDEM-MAN DDEM-MAN
me nak-anio saro wayr, hyo wueir iwon
 m-e nak-lanio saro lwayr hiy-o wueir iwon
 PL-OBJ ACC-walk plant stay 3S.M-GEN garden new
mon kokwe.
 mon ko-kwe
 LOC GL.F-TOP
 ‘He went around planting various banana shoots in his new garden.’

In (142), the feminine topic marker *kokwe* occurs phrase finally in a NP that is marked by *nion* ‘accompaniment’. The head of the NP is masculine, but NPs already marked for syntactic or semantic case are always topicalised by the feminine topic marker.

- (142) *Mowr hiykwe sawk aw sehe*
 mowr hiy-kwe sawk aw so-h-e
 hornbill 3S.M.SUB-TOP CHD fight DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
lono, wayp se nion kokwe.
 lono wayp s-e nion ko-kwe
 fight eagle 3S.M-OBJ with GL.F-TOP
 ‘So the hornbill started a fight with the eagle.’

As in (141) and (142), topicalised NPs which also host a semantic marker often occur in tail position. It is possible though, for a topicalised NP with a semantic marker to occur more sentence initially, as is shown in (143).

- (143) *Hiykwe sapa mon kokwe aiai ki lanio*
 hiy-kwe sapa mon ko-kwe aiai ki lanio
 3S.M-TOP forest LOC GL.F-TOP food ground walk
a e ley.
 la e ley
 eat PURP go
 ‘He went into the forest in order to hunt around for food.’

3.9.9 Subject demonstrative in postpositional phrases

The subject demonstrative can occur in constructions with the semantic case markers *sok* (exactness) and *non* (comitative) where the demonstrative loses its subject force (compare §3.8.3). The construction of a subject demonstrative followed by a topicalised semantic case marker is rare and has only been observed for these temporal phrases. The bolded NPs contain the subject demonstrative *sohiy* with the semantic markers *sok* (144) and with *non* (145).

- (144) ***Enekwei sohiy*** ***sok*** ***kokwe*** *hiykwe*
 Enekwei so-hiy sok ko-kwe hiy-kwe
 time DDEM-3S.M.SUB EXCT GL.F.TOP 3S.M.SUB-TOP
now hyo oryay hiy hye ma
 now hyo oryay hiy hye ma
 tree 3S.M.GEN older.brother 3S.M.SUB 3S.OBJ RCM
mesous, serey lwak.
 me-sous, serey lwak
 speak-forbid there be
 ‘At that specific time, he was at the tree that his brother had forbidden him.’

- (145) ***Enekwei sohiy*** ***non*** ***kokwe*** *hiykwe*
 Enekwei so-hiy non ko-kwe hiy-kwe
 time DDEM-3S.M.SUB CMT GL.F.TOP 3S.M.SUB-TOP
Hai Skul mon mon-sorasor.
 Hai Skul mon mon-sorasor
 High School LOC do-study
 ‘During that particular time he was studying at the High School.’

3.10 Noun phrase structure

This section outlines the structure of the noun phrase. Four noun phrase types are posited.

- a. The standard noun phrase
- b. Headless noun phrase
- c. Noun phrase headed by a personal pronoun
- d. Conjoined NP

TABLE 30: THE STANDARD NOUN PHRASE

<u>+</u> Pre-head	<u>+</u> Head	<u>+</u> Post Head				
+Genitive modifier	+noun / compound N	+Qualifier	+Quantifier	+Gram. Marker	+Postpositions	+Topic marker
Constituent with Genitive marker <i>-o</i>	Single noun or two nouns juxtaposed	Descriptive words	Numerals, Indefinite quantifier	Subject, Object and Genitive markers	Locative, Comitative, Accompaniment	Suffix <i>-awe</i> , General Topic markers

3.10.1 Standard noun phrase

The standard NP occurs with an obligatory head, an optional pre-head and potentially five optional post-head modifying constituents. The head consists of a noun or a nominal compound. The highest pitch within the noun phrase is on the first syllable of the head. The pre-head constituent is a possessive modifier, realised by a genitive pronoun or by a genitive prepositional phrase. The post-head modifying constituents describe the nominal head, or its deictic position in the communication situation. The constituents of the standard noun phrase are ordered in Table 30.

3.10.1.1 Pre-head constituents

The only phrase constituents able to appear before the head are independent pronouns or phrases marked with the genitive suffix *-o*. In (146), the first *hano* ‘my’ is an independent personal pronoun with genitive marking, modifying the head noun *sa* ‘woman’. The second *hano* is a genitive pronoun modifying *kam* ‘uncle’. The noun phrase *hano kam* ‘my uncle’ itself is modified by the genitive marker *so*. Together they form a possessive phrase modifying the head noun *ney* ‘child’:

- (146) *Hano sa hokwe hano kam so*
 han-o sa hok-kwe han-o kam s-o
 1S-GEN woman 3S.F.SUB-TOP 1S-GEN uncle 3S.M-GEN
ney korey.
 ney korey
 child NEG
 ‘My wife is not the daughter of my maternal uncle.’

In (147), the head of the noun phrase is the final noun *ney* ‘child’, which is modified by four underlined genitive constructions.

- (147) *Hiykwe hano ipey ko hiom*
 hiy-kwe han-o ipey k-o hiom
 3S.M.SUB-TOP 1S-GEN mother 3S.F-GEN brother
so *ney ko* *ney.*
 s-o ney k-o ney
 3S.M-GEN child 3S.F-GEN child
 ‘He is my mother’s brother’s daughter’s son.’

3.10.1.2 Head constituent

The head of the noun phrase is either a noun or a compound noun. All standard noun phrases are underlined and the head constituent is bolded.

- (148) **Enekwei** kamon hokwe, hiykwe **ku ke**
 enekwei kamon ho-kwe hiy-kwe ku k-e
 time one.CL2 GL.M-TOP 3S.M-TOP axe 3S.F-OBJ
lway nok, sapa mon nak-ey.
 lway nok sapa mon nak-ley
 carry SEQ forest LOC ACC-go
 ‘One day, after taking his axe, he went to the forest.’

Example (149) has two compound nouns: *nop-uwr* ‘ironwood man’ and *yoh-wueir* ‘banana garden’.

- (149) **Enekwei** kamon hokwe, **nop-uwr** hiy
 enekwei kamon ho-kwe nop-uwr hiy
 time one.CL2 GL.M-TOP ironwood-man 3S.M.SUB
le nayr nok, yoh-wueir se lanio
 le nayr nok yoh-wueir s-e lanio
 come night SEQ banana-garden 3S.M-OBJ walk
ira nayr.
 lira nayr
 see night
 ‘At one time, the man from the ironwood tree (= spirit) came and looked around at the banana garden during the night.’

3.10.1.3 Post-head constituents

Constituents following the head of the noun phrase include qualifiers, numeral/quantifier, object/subject marker, semantic case role markers, and topic markers.

The noun phrases in (146) and (149), as well as most of the NPs in (150-153) have been analysed for constituent types in Table 31.

TABLE 31: EXAMPLES OF STANDARD NOUN PHRASES

	± Genitive	+HEAD	±Qualifier	±Quantifier	± Syntactic markers	±Post-position	±Topic marker
(146)	<i>hano kam so</i>	<i>ney</i>					
(149)		<i>nop-uwr</i>			<i>hiy</i>		
(149)		<i>yoh-wueir</i>			<i>se</i>		
(150)	<i>hoko</i>	<i>koua</i>	<i>iwon</i>		<i>ke</i>		
(151)		<i>sa</i>	<i>navp</i>	<i>prueyn</i>	<i>hok-</i>		<i>-kwe</i>
(151)	<i>hoko</i>	<i>ney</i>		<i>prueysar</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>nion</i>	
(151)		<i>sapa</i>				<i>mon</i>	
(152)		<i>yoh-ney</i>		<i>senkin senkin</i>	<i>me</i>		
(152)	<i>hyo</i>	<i>wueir</i>	<i>iwon</i>			<i>mon</i>	<i>kokwe</i>
(153)		<i>wayp</i>			<i>se</i>	<i>nion</i>	<i>kokwe</i>

- (150) *Hokwe hoko koua iwon ke peyn.*
 hok-kwe hok-o koua iwon k-e peyn
 3S.F-TOP 3S.F-GEN grass.skirt new 3S.F-OBJ tie.around
 ‘She put on her new grass skirt.’
- (151) *Paraw paraw-ar kokwe sa nawp prueyn*
 paraw paraw-ar ko-kwe sa nawp prueyn
 past past-INTF GL.F-TOP woman old one.CL1
hokwe, hoko ney prueysar me
 hok-kwe hok-o ney prueys-ar m-e
 3S.F.SUB-TOP 3S.F-GEN child two.CL1-INTS PL-OBJ
nion non-wayr, sapa mon.
 nion non-lwayr sapa mon
 with DU-stay forest LOC
 ‘Long ago an old lady lived with her two children in the forest.’
- (152) *Hiykwe yoh-ney senkin senkin*
 hiy-kwe yoh-ney so-enkin so-enkin
 3S.M.SUB-TOP banana-small DDEM-MAN DDEM-MAN
me nak-anio saro wayr, hyo wueir
 m-e nak-lanio saro lwayr hiy-o wueir
 PL-OBJ ACC-walk plant stay 3S.M-GEN garden
iwon mon kokwe.
 iwon mon ko-kwe
 new LOC GL.F-TOP
 ‘He went around planting various banana shoots in his new garden.’
- (153) *Mowr hiykwe sawk aw sheh lono,*
 mowr hiy-kwe sawk aw so-h-e lono
 hornbill 3S.M-TOP CHD fight DDEM-3S.M-OBJ fight
wayp se nion kokwe.
 wayp s-e nion ko-kwe
 eagle 3S.M-OBJ with GL.F-TOP
 ‘So the hornbill started a fight with the eagle.’

3.10.2 Headless noun phrase

The headless noun phrase is very much like the standard noun phrase, except that its head is deleted. A pre-head or post-head constituent

(modifier and/or quantifier) is the only obligatory constituent of this NP. The deleted head is understood from the context.

In (154), a quantifier refers to the deleted noun *huok* ‘pig’. This quantifier and the masculine object marker *se* both refer to the ellipted noun.

- (154) *Huok somokwe hakan. Sawk hakwe*
 huok so-mo-kwe hakan sawk ha-kwe
 pig DDEM-GL.PL-TOP flee CHD 1S.SUB-TOP
kamon se hin.
 kamon s-e hin
 one.CL2 3S.M-OBJ shoot
 ‘The pigs fled, but I shot one (of them).’

In (155), the topic *mu* ‘crocodiles’ is understood, and so the noun is ellipted:

- (155) *Mu somokwe sowpwareney*
 mu so-mo-kwe sowpwareney
 crocodile DDEM-GL.PL-TOP small
homkwaw. Hiy sa sehe me,
 hom-kwaw hiy sa so-h-e me
 2/3PL.SUB-RSTR 3S.M then/and DDEM-3S.M-OBJ speak
hyo wayh se, “Ara, aiopey-ar
 hiy-o wayh s-e ara aiopey-ar
 3S.M-GEN friend 3S.M-OBJ ADDR.M big-INTF
me-aw non-nekie inon e.”
 m-e-aw non-nekie linon e
 PL-OBJ-RSTR DU-hold carry OBJ
 ‘Those crocodiles were only small crocodiles. Therefore he said to his friend, “Man, let’s just only take the big ones.”’

An ellipted noun can be referred to by both a modifier and a quantifier as is shown in the elicited example (156).

- (156) *Ara, **aiopey-ar** **krompri** me-aw non-nekie*
 ara aiopey-ar krompri m-e-aw non-nekie
 ADDR.M big-INTF three PL-OBJ-RSTR DU-hold
inon e.
 linon e
 carry OBJ
 ‘Man, let’s just only take three big ones.’

Especially in verbless clauses, the ellipted head of the NP can also be referred to by a pre-head constituent, either by a possessive pronoun (157) or by a noun marked for genitive (158).

- (157) *Youk sokukwe **hyo.***
 youk so-ko-kwe hiy-o
 paddle DDEM-GL.F-TOP 3S.M-GEN
 ‘That paddle is his.’
- (158) *Youk sokukwe **aio** so.*
 youk so-ko-kwe aio s-o
 paddle DDEM-GL.F-TOP father 3S.M-GEN
 ‘That paddle is father’s.’

3.10.3 Noun phrase with a pronoun as head

A personal pronoun (in either subject or object form) can head a NP. This type of NP mostly consists of only the head (§3.1.2), but can also be followed by an oblique marker and/or topic marker.

In (159), the head of the bolded NP is followed by the oblique marker *nion* ‘Accompaniment’

- (159) *Hakwe **hehe** **nion** non-ohruw-a pa.*
 ha-kwe hoh-e nion non-lohruw-a pa
 1S-TOP 2/3DU-OBJ ACC DU-talk-eat NEG.PFTV
 ‘I did not talk with the two of them.’

In (160), the head of the bolded NP is followed by the general topic marker *kokwe*.

- (160) *Hiykwe **hane** **kokwe** ok kamon ke*
 hiy-kwe han-e ko-kwe ok kamon k-e
 3S.M.SUB-TOP 1S-OBJ GL.F-TOP talk one.CL2 3S.F-OBJ

me nonkway kow pa.
 me nonkway kow pa
 speak know BEN NEG.PFTV
 ‘He did not give me one talk (= piece of information).’

3.10.4 Conjoined noun phrase

A list of nouns joined together by the conjunction *o* ‘and’ forms the head of the conjoined NP.

A conjoined noun phrase can function as either the subject or object of its containing clause. The final noun phrase marker indicates the syntactic function of the noun phrase. In (161), the object demonstrative *seme-aw* has as its scope both nouns, *wayh* ‘yam’ and *yoh* ‘banana’.

- (161) *Hakwe wayh o, yoh o, seme-aw la*
 ha-kwe wayh o yoh o so-m-e-aw la
 1S-TOP yam and banana and DDEM-PL-OBJ-RSTR eat

nok, anwaw nak-iawon.
 nok anwaw nak-liawon
 SEQ sleep ACC-lie.down
 ‘I just ate those yams and bananas, and then I lay down and slept.’

In (162), the conjoined NP is marked by the nominative pronominal marker *homkwe*, which indicates that the underlined NP functions as subject of the clause.

- (162) *Hoko ipey o, aio o, homkwe*
 hok-o ipey o aio o hom-kwe
 3S.F-GEN mother and father and 2/3PL.SUB-TOP

heke kasaw lon hohuaw.
 hok-e kasaw lon hohuaw
 3S.F-OBJ nose do angry
 ‘Her mother and her father were angry with her.’

A conjoined NP is not limited to only two constituents. Whenever a longer list is introduced the occurrence of the manner adverb preceding the VP is necessary. In example (163), the adverb *senkin* is obligatory to introduce a list of conjoined NPs.

- (163) *Wueir sohokwe, hiykwe senkin*
 wueir so-ho-kwe, hiy-kwe so-enkin
 garden DDEM-GL.M-TOP 3S.M.SUB-TOP DDEM-MAN
saro, yoh-yok o, how-yok o, pey-yok
 saro yoh-yok o how-yok o pey-yok
 plant banana-shoot and taro-shoot and sugarcane-shoot
o, aiai-yok har o.
 o aiai-yok har o
 and food-shoot some and
 ‘As for his garden, he planted thus: banana shoots and taro
 shoots and sugarcane shoots and some other food type
 shoots.’

3.11 Zero marking on noun phrases

More than 90% of all noun phrases are marked by topic, syntactic and semantic markers. This section discusses the function of zero marking on the noun phrase. Zero marking here means the absence of any of the topic, syntactic and semantic markers listed in Table 22, Table 25, Table 26, and Table 29.

3.11.1 Zero marking as a result of noun incorporation

Zero marking on nouns can partly be explained by the occurrence of noun incorporation. Mithun (1984:848-9) states:

Compounding is done for a reason. Some entity, quality, or activity is recognised sufficiently often to be considered name-worthy in its own right. ... Such compounding has a significant effect on the role of the N involved. In *He is off berry-picking*, the word *berry* does not refer to a specific berry, nor to a particular bushful of berries: it qualifies the V, describing the type of picking in progress. Because it does not refer, it is not marked for definiteness or number.

Noun incorporation in Abau is indicated by the juxtaposition of an unmarked object NP with a verb. As Mithun stated the noun is indeed “not marked for definiteness or number” and occurs without any object marking that is normally expected for nouns having patient role. In spite

of the close relationship between the unmarked noun and the verb it precedes, the Abau noun does not become part of the verb phrase as is further explained below.

Noun phrases that are frequently zero marked are incorporated nouns acting as patient. These nouns do not need to be recognised as definite, unique entities, since the activity the patient is involved in is in focus, rather than the patient itself. In (164), the nouns *naw* ‘sago’ and *yayh* ‘song’ do not need to be recognised as definite, unique entities. The focus is on the activity that is expressed by the noun in combination with the verb phrase (‘sago making’ and ‘sing-sing dancing’).

- (164) *Hromkwe naw mayr nok, yayh lowk.*
 hrom-kwe naw mayr nok yayh lowk
 1PL-TOP sago scrape SEQ song beat
 ‘After we did sago-scraping, we did song-drumming (= after we scraped sago, we sang/danced songs).’

In (165), *hope* ‘tobacco’ and *loum* ‘burn’ form the general activity ‘smoking’.

- (165) *Aio hiykwe hope loum.*
 aio hiy-kwe hope loum
 father 3S.M-TOP tobacco burn
 ‘Father is smoking tobacco.’

In (166), the N V construction *wueir meio* can be glossed ‘garden working’. This construction specifies the type of work, namely garden work; it does not refer to a specific garden. Therefore the noun *wueir* is not marked as the object of the clause. In the second clause, the noun phrase *wueir-aiai senkin senkin* (various kinds of garden produce) is marked by the plural objective pronominal marker *me*, because it refers to a specific activity in a specified location.

- (166) *Hiykwe wueir meio nok, wueir-aiai*
 hiy-kwe wueir meio nok wueir-aiai
 3S.M.SUB-TOP garden work SEQ garden-food
senkin senkin me saro.
 so-enkin so-enkin m-e saro
 DDEM-MAN DDEM-MAN PL-OBJ plant
 ‘He did garden work and then he planted various kinds of garden produce.’

In (167), the noun *yayh* ‘song’ does not refer to a particular song but combines with the verb to specify a generic activity. However, in (168), *yayh* ‘song’ refers to identifiable songs which were practised. Therefore the noun phrase is marked as the object of the clause.

- (167) *Arawh lwak nayr menkin, homkwe yayh lowk nayr.*
 arawh lwak nayr menkin hom-kwe yayh lowk nayr
 night be night when 2/3PL-TOP song beat night
 ‘When it was night they did song-drumming.’
- (168) *Hohkwe sawk yayh me seme non-owk*
 hoh-kwe sawk yayh m-e so-m-e non-lowk
 3DU-TOP CHD song PL-OBJ DDEM-PL-OBJ DU-beat
sor-a-sor nayr.
 sor-a-sor nayr
 track-RDPL-track night
 ‘So the two of them practised those songs together all night.’

Noun incorporation in Abau is marked by the absence of the object marker on the NP. The noun is placed as close as possible to the verb phrase. However, modal and negation markers and interrogatives can intervene between the noun and the verb phrase. In other words, the noun and the verb do not combine into a single word, as in the English example ‘berry-picking’ above. In (170), the noun is separated from the verb phrase by a negation marker, and in (171) by an interrogative.

- (169) *Homkwe yayh lowk nayr.*
 hom-kwe yayh lowk nayr
 2/3PL-TOP song beat night
 ‘They did song-drumming during the night.’
- (170) *Homkwe yayh pese lowk o.*
 hom-kwe yayh pese lowk o
 2/3PL-TOP song PROH beat SP.IPFTV
 ‘Do not do song-drumming.’
- (171) *Hakwe yayh paneke lowk nayr so.*
 ha-kwe yayh paneke lowk nayr so
 1S-TOP song why beat night Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘Why did I do song-drumming all night?’

In spite of the fact that modal markers and interrogatives may intervene between a zero marked noun and the verb phrase, Abau

recognises a form of noun incorporation that is manifested by NPs that are not marked and consist of a single noun. Table 32 gives a number of examples of noun incorporation that occur so frequently that they behave as formulaic expressions in Abau. Noun incorporation accounts for most of the zero marking on noun phrases.

TABLE 32: UNMARKED NOUN OBJECTS INCORPORATED IN VERBS

Noun Incorporation	Meaning
<i>yier lousne</i>	‘arrive home (lit. village arrive)’
<i>ney mow</i>	‘give birth (lit. child bear)’
<i>eheyr lyuk</i>	‘cry tears (lit. crying cry)’
<i>uron lowk</i>	‘feel sorry (lit. heart beat)’
<i>yia lowm</i>	‘burn (down) (lit. fire burn)’
<i>huok lous</i>	‘hunt a pig (lit. pig chase)’
<i>hu hawr</i>	‘take a bath (lit. water wash)’
<i>ni low</i>	‘urinate (lit. urine urinate)’
<i>nays peyk</i>	‘be surprised/shamed (lit. teeth bite)’
<i>yeyk meio</i>	‘make a canoe (lit. canoe make)’
<i>kar ley</i>	‘be happy (lit. gladness go)’
<i>hekweyr kweyr</i>	‘to laugh (lit. laughter laugh)’
<i>now liawon</i>	‘have a dream (lit. dream sleep)’
<i>naw mayr</i>	‘make sago (lit. sago scrape)’
<i>hu lows</i>	‘fetch water (lit. water collect)’
<i>siowp lokrue</i>	‘be hungry (lit. stomach die)’

3.11.2 Fronted object NP with zero marking

Above it was stated that noun incorporation is restricted to unmarked NPs that consist of one single noun. NPs consisting of more than one member can occur with zero marking on the NP. They are left-located and occur even sentence initial. This left dislocation is normally reserved for all topicalised NPs. Sentence-initial NPs with zero marking are rather rare and therefore noteworthy.

In (172), the NP object *hno ihey mo yeyk* is separated from the rest of the predicate by a pause which is marked by a comma.

- (172) *Hno ihey mo yeyk, ha po*
 hwon-o ihey m-o yeyk, ha po
 2S-GEN white.man PL-GEN canoe 1S.SUB PFT
nakway kow.
 nak-lway kow
 ACC-carry BEN
 ‘Your plane (lit. ‘your white man’s canoe’) - I have paid for it.’

A zero marked sentence-initial NP is more prominent than a sentence initial topic-marked NP. It could be seen as a way to mark both the topic one wants to discuss and the comment made on the topic as new information. In the example above the option of flying home by plane was not mentioned within the text. The introduction of the very topic was new information as well as the comment that the ticket had already been bought.

The unexpected fronting of the NP signals pivotal material, crucial to the development of the utterance argument (sometimes contrasting with the addressee’s pre-conceptions). Even if the introduction of the topic by means of a zero marked NP has the flavour of new information, the subsequent comment made about the NP contains the most prominent new information.

Thus a zero marked left-dislocated NP is analysed as a NP that introduces a relatively unexpected topic that still requires further commentary. In other words: although backgrounded to the information presented in the sentential core, a zero-marked left-located NP is much higher on the scale of prominence than a topic-marked NP without case marking, the default mechanism for giving background information (see §8.6 for more on prominence). The difference between a zero marked and a topicalised left-located NP is demonstrated by comparing the nearly identical examples (173) and (172). The fronted NP in (172) is only marked by a pause, the fronted NP in (173) is marked by a general topic marker. The fronted NPs in both examples are viewed as background information, but the NP in (172) is the more prominent of the two.

- (173) *Hno ihey mo yeyk hokwe, ha*
 hwon-o ihey m-o yeyk ho-kwe, ha
 2S-GEN white.man PL-GEN canoe GL.M-TOP 1S.SUB
po nakway kow.
 po nak-lway kow
 PFT ACC-carry BEN
 ‘As for your plane, I have already paid for it.’

Example (174) is taken from the story of the two brothers (see appendix). When the younger brother’s shoulder is pulled from two sides, he expresses the fear that his shoulder might be pulled off. The shoulder was not mentioned yet and the topic *hano somekyow* (my shoulder) is introduced as a new topic, which is indicated by the absence of marking on the NP.

- (174) *Ara, hano somekyow, pau lon-kair*
 ara han-o somekyow pau lon-kair
 ADDR.M 1S-GEN shoulder CUR.CMPL move-remove
sow ohriar lwak.
 sow ohriar lwak
 off near be
 ‘Man, my shoulder - it is at the point of being taken out (of joint).’

3.11.3 Zero marking in verbless clauses or in clauses with only a stative verb

Lack of case marking also characterises NPs with comment function in verbless clauses or clauses with the existential/stative verb *lwak* ‘be’ by definition. The comment slot cannot be topicalised, as it contains the information that the speaker wants to treat as new.

In the verbless sentence (175), *kaman* ‘wild pig’ is an unmarked NP with comment function.

- (175) *Huok sohokwe kaman.*
 huok so-ho-kwe kaman
 pig DDEM-GL.M-TOP wild.pig
 ‘The pig was a wild pig.’

Likewise in the following sentence predicated by the stative *lwak* ‘be’, the comment constituent, *wayh ihey-ar* ‘really good friends’ is unmarked.

- (176) *Hohkwe wayh ihey-ar non-wak.*
 hoh-kwe wayh ihey-ar non-lwak
 2/3DU-TOP friend excellent-INTF DU-be
 ‘The two of them were really good friends.’

3.11.4 Zero marking in constructions with *senkin*

Noun phrases with the semantic role of agent or patient occur without any syntactic, semantic or pragmatic marking when preceding the adverbial demonstrative *senkin*.

In (177), the NP *paraw paraw-ar kokwe* (a long time ago) fills the topic component. The bolded NP *uwr prueyn* (one man) is part of the comment component and has agent function. The adverbial demonstrative *senkin* ‘DDEM-MAN’ refers forward to forthcoming discourse and its presence requires the absence of any syntactic marking on the preceding NP.

- (177) *Paraw paraw-ar kokwe uwr prueyn*
 paraw paraw-ar ko-kwe uwr prueyn
 past past-INTF GL.F-TOP man one
senkin lwayr.
 so-enkin lwayr
 DDEM-MAN stay
 ‘A long time ago there lived a certain man like this.’

The absence of subject marking in the example above is not due to the use of the numeral. New participants are often introduced with the numeral one, but the use of the numeral does not require absence of syntactic marking. New participants can also be introduced by a NP that hosts a syntactic marker. If that happens the adverbial demonstrative is obligatorily absent. For example in (178), the NP *uwr prueyn hiy* ‘a certain man’ introduces a new participant. The NP is marked syntactically for subject by *hiy* and the adverbial demonstrative *senkin* is not used.

- (178) *Sa hiy hakan liok, sawk uwr prueyn*
 sa hiy hakan liok sawk uwr prueyn
 then 3S.M.SUB flee in.vain CHD man one
hiy hye nweyh sawr kwawk prosue.
 hiy hiy-e nweyh sawr kwawk prosue
 3S.M.SUB 3S.M-OBJ grab hold.fast be.inside stopped
 ‘He attempted in vain to run away, but a certain man stopped
 him by grabbing him and holding (his arms) tight around
 him.’

The use of the adverbial demonstrative *senkin* requires the preceding noun phrase not to have any syntactic, semantic or pragmatic marking. It is postulated that the NP is not marked because it functions as a non-referential item or participant, where the activity rather than the item or participant affected by the activity is in focus. In (179), the NP *huok kamon* ‘pig one’ has the function of patient in the clause, but is not marked for object. The use of the adverbial demonstrative *senkin* highlights the importance of the activity as expressed by the verb phrase and makes the NP non-referential.

- (179) *Kupe hiykwe huok kamon senkin hin.*
 Kupe hiy-kwe huok kamon so-enkin hin
 Kupe 3S.M-TOP pig one.CL2 DDEM-MAN shoot
 ‘Kupe shot a pig like this.’ Or: ‘This is how Kupe’s pig
 shooting went.’

When the adverbial demonstrative *senkin* is not used, a noun phrase with patient role, even when introduced with the numeral one, is marked for object, as is shown in (180) where the bolded NP is marked by the masculine object marker *se*.

- (180) *Kupe hiykwe huok kamon se hin.*
 Kupe hiy-kwe huok kamon s-e hin
 Kupe 3S.M.SUB-TOP pig one.CL2 3S.M-OBJ shoot
 ‘Kupe shot a certain pig’

In (181), the bolded noun phrase has the role of patient, but is not marked for object because it is followed by the adverbial demonstrative *senkin*. Again, the activity, rather than the NP with patient role is in focus.

- (181) *Hiykwe* ***hyo*** ***ney-sa*** *senkin*
 hiy-kwe hiy-o ney-sa so-enkin
 3S.M.SUB-TOP 3S.M-GEN child-woman DDEM-MAN
hiy-ey.
 hiy-ley
 CAUS-go
 ‘He took his wife and children along like this.’ Or: ‘This is
 how the leading along of his family went.’

In (182), the bolded noun phrase has the role of patient and is marked accordingly as object by the object marker *me*, since it is not followed by the adverbial demonstrative *senkin*.

- (182) *Hromkwe* ***uwr har*** ***me*** *hiy-ey* *ey.*
 hrom-kwe uwr har m-e hiy-ley ey
 1PL.SUB-TOP man some PL-OBJ CAUS-go INTN
 ‘We want to take along a few men.’

In (183), the first two forms of *senkin* ‘DDEM-MAN’ are used attributively, modifying the head of the NP *aiai* ‘fish’. The final *senkin* is used adverbially. The bolded NP has patient role but is obligatorily not marked for object because of the following adverbial demonstrative.

- (183) *Zet so* *yawk* *sohokwe* ***aiai***
 Zet s-o yawk so-ho-kwe aiai
 Zet 3S.M-GEN fishing.net DDEM-GL.M-TOP fish
senkin ***senkin,*** *senkin* *lwawk.*
 so-enkin so-enkin so-enkin lwawk
 DDEM-MAN DDEM-MAN DDEM-MAN step.into
 ‘As for Zet’s net it caught all kinds of fish like this.’

4. *Verbs, verb phrases and adverbial phrases*

This chapter deals with the non-nominal part of the clause that basically consists of the verb phrase and the adverbial phrase. In §4.1 the establishment of verb phrase boundaries is discussed. In §4.2 the internal structure of verbs is dealt with. The structure of the verb phrase with its internal modifiers is discussed in §4.3. Lastly, the adverbial phrase is discussed in §4.4 with special attention to the adverbial use and function of distal demonstratives.

4.1 Verbal and adverbial constituents contrasted

Adverbial constituents and verbal constituents tend to follow each other. It is therefore important to state on what basis words within a clause are viewed as part of the verb phrase or as part of an adverbial phrase. The differences between verbal constituents and adverbial constituents are listed below. Secondly, it is also important to make explicit how the boundaries of the verb phrase are established, see §4.1.1.

Verbal constituents:

1. can occur as the only constituent of the verb phrase;
2. are affected by the morphophonemic process of initial *l*-deletion (see §2.6.1);
3. can be preceded by a modal marker;
4. can carry the highest pitch within the VP and even the clause.

Adverbial constituents:

1. cannot occur as the only constituent of the verb phrase;
2. do not undergo initial *l*-deletion;

3. cannot be preceded by a modal marker;
4. cannot carry the highest pitch within the VP or clause.

4.1.1 Determining the boundaries of the verb phrase

Verb phrase boundaries are defined with the help of three important features. They are listed here in order of their usefulness in the determination of verb phrase boundaries:

- a. The beginning of the verb phrase is easily recognisable since it always carries the most salient stress which is associated with the highest pitch within the clause, see (1);
- b. A number of markers which are not part of the verb phrase work together to form negation and interrogative constructions that enclose the entire verb phrase, see (2) and (3);
- c. Phrases in Abau are frequently separated by distinct pauses. If there is a pause, one can assume it marks the end of a phrase, since a pause does not occur within a phrase. Not every phrase is clearly separated by pauses, but there is often a distinct pause between the last topicalised constituent within the clause and the non-topicalised constituent following, see (4).

In (1), *yaprue* ‘good’ is not part of the VP since it does not carry the most salient stress within the clause. The most prominent stress within the clause is on *lie* ‘go.up’ and this signals the beginning of the VP. Therefore, *yaprue* ‘good’ is analysed as a separate adverbial modifier modifying the verb phrase.

		PEAK
(1)	<i>Aiai hiy ma saro somokwe</i>	<i>yaprue 'lie.</i>
	aiai hiy ma saro so-mo-kwe	yaprue lie
	food 3S.M RCM plant DDEM-GL.PL-TOP	good go.up
	‘The food that he planted grew really well.’	

Secondly, a number of constructions that mark negation or questions make use of constituents that enclose the entire verb phrase.

In (2), the VP is embraced by two constituents that express negated dynamic modality *liy ... ley* ‘DYN ... NEG’. The modal marker *liy* ‘DYN’ is not part of the VP since it does not carry the highest pitch. The negation word *ley* is not part of the verb phrase since it functions at sentence level. The VP is underlined and the onset of the VP is marked by an apostrophe.

- (2) *Aiai hiy ma saro somokwe liy*
 aiai hiy ma saro so-mo-kwe liy
 food 3S.M RCM plant DDEM-GL.PL-TOP DYN
 'lie ley.
 lie korey
 go.up NEG
 'The food that he planted cannot grow really well.'

In (3), the VP is embraced by the interrogative *paneke* 'why' and the speech marker *o*. The interrogative *paneke* is not part of the VP since the most salient stress (and also associated highest pitch) is carried by *mon* 'do'. The speech marker *o* is not part of the verb phrase since it functions at sentence level.

- (3) *Hiykwe sa senkin me, "Hane*
 hiy-kwe sa so-enkin me, "han-e
 3S.M.SUB-TOP then DDEM-MAN speak 1S-OBJ
senkin paneke 'mon kowkow yay
 so-enkin paneke mon kowkow yay
 DDEM-MAN why do fear place
nayr o?"
 nayr o?"
 night SP.IPFTV
 'He then said this, "For what reason was I made so terrified in the night?"'

In (4), a clear pause occurs after the last topicalised phrase within the clause.

- (4) *Arawh kokwe uwr sohokwe*
 arawh ko-kwe uwr so-ho-kwe
 evening GL.F.S-TOP man DDEM-GL.M.S-TOP
 'nuw-ey ha.
 nuw-ley ha.
 INT-go OBJ<SUB
 'In regard to this man he really went (from there).'

The pause separates the NP *uwr sohokwe* from the verb phrase *nuw-ey ha*. The onset of the verb phrase is not only marked by the preceding pause but also by the presence of the most salient stress within the clause on the onset of the VP.

4.2 Verbs

Verbs are structurally different from nouns and modifiers as they are the only word class of which the members occur with the verbal prefixes listed in Tables 33 and 34 below. Verbs do not take affixes for person, gender or tense, but can carry the verb phrase final distinctive intonation that contrasts the perfective and the imperfective. In (5a-e), the verb *meio* ‘work’ occurs without affixation in five sentences that have subjects that differ in person and gender. Various temporal phrases place the event in the past, present or future without affecting the form of the clause-final verb.

- (5) a. *Onkioh hiykwe yier mon meio.*
 onkioh hiy-kwe yier mon meio
 yesterday 3S.M.SUB-TOP village LOC work.PFTV
 ‘Yesterday he worked in the village.’
- b. *Onkioh hromkwe yier mon meio.*
 ‘Yesterday we worked in the village.’
- c. *Enkin kokwe hokwe yier mon meio.*
 ‘At this time she is working in the village.’
- d. *Hokwe yier mon meio.*
 ‘She is working in the village.’
- e. *Hokwe yier mon meio.*
 ‘She worked in the village.’

The marking on the final vowel of the verb phrase reflects verb phrase final intonation. Verb phrase final intonation is analysed as an aspectual contrast between the perfective (marked by `) and the imperfective (marked by ^). The relationship between intonation and verbal aspect is discussed in §5.1.

Motion verbs, transitive and intransitive verbs do not manifest any contrastive morphology on the verb itself or on the verb phrase. Verbs can therefore not be divided into different semantic classes on the basis of their own morphology or the presence of particular markers within the verb phrase.

4.2.1 Verb prefixes

The verb takes a number of prefixes encoding manner and direction. The primary stress (associated with highest pitch) shifts from the first

syllable of the head verb to the verbal prefix. Tables 33 and 34 list these *manner* and *directional* prefixes. Manner prefixes indicate the *mode* in which an event is/was performed, and directional prefixes focus on the *direction* of the verbal action.

TABLE 33: MANNER VERBAL PREFIXES

Manner prefixes	Gloss and meaning
<i>nak-</i>	ACC (accompaniment): an additional activity or non-human entity accompanies the verbal event
<i>hiy-</i>	CAUS (Causative): oversee, in charge
<i>non-</i>	DU (dual): accompaniment of an animate partner
<i>saw-</i>	SPD (speed, urgency)
<i>kor-</i>	LIM (limitation): can refer to limited duration or limited effort/involvement
<i>kiy-</i>	ACT (actuality): refers to the execution of an actual event
<i>nuw-</i>	INT (intensity): performance is done well and/or with a level of intensity
<i>ma-</i>	RPT (repetitive): refers to repeated action, or to further additional action

TABLE 34: DIRECTIONAL VERBAL PREFIXES

Directional prefixes	Meaning
<i>a-</i>	‘at some distance’
<i>amor-</i>	‘right there’
<i>am-</i>	‘near’
<i>ka-</i>	‘side’
<i>kay-</i>	‘across’
<i>lay-</i>	‘straight forward’ (horizontally)’
<i>lak-</i>	‘towards the river’
<i>lam-</i>	‘away from the river’
<i>lik-</i>	‘alongside the river, downstream’
<i>lim-</i>	‘alongside the river, upstream’
<i>kyor-</i>	‘downward (vertically)’
<i>ar-</i>	‘upward (vertically)’

The 12 directional prefixes cannot co-occur with each other. The prefix adds spatial and directional information to the verb it is attached to. Spatial distinctions are made in regard to

- proximity: ‘near’ (*am-*), ‘at some distance’ (*a-*), and ‘right there’ (*amor-*);
- vertical distinctions: ‘down’ (*kyor-*) and ‘up’ (*ar-*);
- horizontal distinctions: ‘side’ (*ka-*), ‘across, one side to another’ (*kay-*) and ‘straight’ (*lay-*);
- movement from the river (*lam-*) and movement towards the river (*lak-*);
- location in downstream direction (*lik-*) and location in upstream direction (*lim-*).

In (6), the prefix *lay-* with the verb *hiok* ‘paddle upstream’ expresses the action of paddling in a straight line in upstream direction. The prefix *lim-* with the verb *lwak* ‘to be’ expresses location in an area that is defined

as upstream area (*nuw-* is treated below; it indicates a level of intensity or purpose).

- (6) *Hohkwe* **lay-hiok** *nok, sawk*
 hoh-kwe lay-hiok nok, sawk
 2DU.SUB-TOP DIR:forward-paddle SEQ CHD
- Peymawe se* *lira. Hiykwe* *urayh* *sok*
 Peymawe s-e lira. hiy-kwe urayh sok
 Peymawe 3S-OBJ see 3S.SUB-TOP upstream.area EXCT
- lim-nuw-wak,** *sowm* *pror* *e.*
 lim-nuw-lwak, sowm pror e.
 DIR:upstream.area-INT-be fish.basket weave OBJ
 ‘The two of them paddled straight ahead and then saw
 Peymawe. He was right there in the upstream area in order to
 weave fish baskets.’

In (7), the prefix *lak-* with the verb *sasow* ‘throw’ expresses the action of ‘throwing towards the river’.

- (7) *Hiy* *omkuw-kueim* *kamon* *ke*
 hiy omkuw-kueim kamon k-e
 3S.M.SUB banyan.tree-branch one.CL2 S.F-OBJ
- lak-sasow** *ha,* *yawp-sopei* *mon.*
 lak-sasow ha, yawp-sopei mon.
 DIR:towards.river-throw OBJ<SUB river-mouth LOC
 ‘He threw a branch of the banyan tree into the mouth of the
 river.’

The rest of this section focuses on the manner prefixes. Several of the examples below and elsewhere in the paper contain instances of directional prefixes. For quick reference:

Proximity prefixes *a-*, *amor-* (8) and *am-* (15).

Horizontal direction prefixes *ka-* (12), *kay-* (53) in §11.1.1, and
lay- (6).

Vertical direction prefixes *kyor-* (140) in §3.9.7 and *ar-* (11).

Prefixes with reference to the river *lak-* (7), *lam-*, *lik-* and *lim-* (6).

The verbal prefix *ma-* often means ‘again’ indicating the repetition of a certain action. It is used that way in (8), where the agent repeats the action of standing and listening.

- (8) *Sawk hye kokwe ai kamon hiy*
 sawk hiy-e ko-kwe ai kamon hiy
 CHD 3S.SUB-OBJ S.F-TOP animal one 3S.M.SUB
kiy-me huon, senkin, “Kwe, kwe, kwe.”
 kiy-me huon so-enkin kwe kwe kwe
 ACT-speak OBJ>SUB DDEM-MAN kwe kwe kwe
Hiykwe sa sehe amor-orok
 hiy-kwe sa so-h-e amor-orok
 3S.M.SUB-TOP then DDEM-3S.M-OBJ DIR:right.there-stand
ne nok, ma-lorok onuayk popriy.
 ne nok, ma-lorok lonuayk popriy.
 SUB>OBJ SEQ RPT-stand hear good
 ‘But a certain animal moving towards (him) spoke to him like
 this, “Kwe, kwe, kwe.” He then – as a result – came towards
 (the animal) and then listened again attentively.’

The scope of *ma-* can be broadened to refer to a further, but different action by the same person in the same context. The meaning of the prefix *ma-* shifts from ‘again’ to ‘also’. The latter use is illustrated in (9) where *ma-me-woro* ‘RPT-speak-console’ does not refer to a repeated instance of the action of consolation, but to a further action of the agent that was performed as well (i.e. she laughed at the child and then also consoled the child).

- (9) *Ipey hok nuw-kweyr lowpway nok, ney*
 ipey hok nuw-kweyr lowpway nok, ney
 mother 3S.F.SUB INT-laugh completely SEQ, child
ke ma-me-woro woro huonok. Sa omok
 k-e ma-me-woro woro huonok sa omok
 S.F-OBJ RPT-speak-console console hold then later
ney ke kiy-mesopok, “Hwon paneke
 ney k-e kiy-mesopok hwon paneke
 child S.F-OBJ ACT-ask 2S.SUB why
nuw-hok ko?”
 nuw-hok ko
 INT-fear Q.SP.PFTV.F
 ‘Mother really laughed and having completed that she then
 also consoled and held the child. Then later she asked the
 child, “Why were you so very afraid?”’

Example (9) also illustrates the difference between *nuw-* ‘INT’ and *kiy-* ‘ACT’. In (9) are two instances of the prefix *nuw-* ‘INT’. They both express intensity of action. The prefix *kiy-* refers to the verb as an actual event that is or needs to be executed. It is often used with verbs referring to speech: a certain statement is made, or a question is asked. In (10), the prefixed verb *kiy-a* refers to the actual execution of the event of eating.

- (10) *Hror a monaw non-wak ankin, po*
 hror a mon-aw non-lwak ankin pokon
 1DU house LOC-RSTR DU-be when/if today
- payme kiy-â?*
 pay-m-e kiy-la
 Q:what-PL-OBJ ACT-eat.IPFTV
 ‘When we will be in the house, what are we going to eat today?’

The prefix *non-* ‘DU’ is only used in reference to humans. The prefix is nearly always present on the main verb when the subject of the clause has dual number. There is an overlap in meaning with *non* ‘comitative’ (see §3.9.3) since both express the idea of single entities working together. However, the verbal prefix *non-* is grammatically quite different from the NP final marker *non*. The latter marker does not require or imply dual number, while the prefix *non-* always implies dual number.

The prefix *non-* ‘DU’ contrasts with *nak-* ‘ACC’ on the features of humanness and agency. The prefix *non-* ‘DU’ implies two humans who are together in an agent role. The prefix *nak-* ‘ACC’ implies the accompaniment of a non-human constituent which is not in agent role.

Examples (11) and (12) are part of the same story. The prefix *non-* in *non-hiy-naw* conveys the presence of a human subject with dual number. The use of *nak-* in *nak-a* in (12) expresses a non-human constituent (in this case *sowk* ‘sago jelly’) which does not have agent role.

- (11) *Hohkwe nwoh non ki hiy-ey, sapa mon.*
 hoh-kwe nwoh non ki hiy-ley, sapa mon
 2DU.SUB-TOP dog CMT ground CAUS-go forest LOC
Hoh non-hiy-naw nok liok menkin,
 Hoh non-hiy-naw nok liok menkin
 2DU.SUB DU-CAUS-roam DUR unsuccessful when
sawk Kupe hiykwe sok se
 sawk Kupe hiy-kwe sok s-e
 CHD Kupe 3S.M.SUB-TOP snake S.M-OBJ
ar-ira, now mon.
 ar-ira now mon
 DIR:upward-see tree LOC
 ‘The two of them went hunting with the dog in the forest.
 When the two of them roamed together leading on (the dog) -
 being unsuccessful - Kupe looked up and saw a snake in a
 tree.’
- (12) *Kupe hiy ka-me sau ne, “Ara,*
 Kupe hiy ka-me sau ne, ara
 Kupe 3S.M.SUB DIR:side-speak run SUB>OBJ 3S.M.ADDR
sok sohokwe pokon ha sowk
 sok so-ho-kwe pokon ha sowk
 snake DDEM-GL.S.M-TOP today 1S.SUB sago.jelly
non po nak-a a.”
 non po nak-a a.”
 CMT IMM.FUT ACC-eat FUT
 ‘Kupe speaking sideways and running towards (it) said,
 “Man, in regard to this snake, I will eat it today along with
 sago jelly.”’

The prefix *hiy-* ‘CAUS’ implies a subject which controls or causes the event or state expressed by the predicate. In (11), the prefix *hiy-* occurs twice. In both instances it refers to the fact that the agent controls or causes the dog to hunt. *Ki ley* ‘hunting’ (literally ‘ground go’) is expressed as *ki hiy-ey* to convey the control of the hunters over the dog. The same is true for *hiy-* in *non-hiy-naw*. The prefix *hiy-* implies the presence of a constituent that is under the control of the agent. The constituent that is under the control of the agent is always animate and frequently human, as

can be seen from other examples in this paper: e.g. (53), (12) in §5.2.1, and (46) in §5.3.2.

The prefixes *saw-* ‘SPD’ and *kor-* ‘LIM’ assign to the verb increased speed and limitation of involvement, respectively. Examples can be found elsewhere: (15), (73) in §7.4.2, (53) in §8.6.2, and (62) in §10.2.3, and Table 5: Deletion of verb-initial *l* when prefixed.

4.2.1.1 Preferred order of verbal prefixes

The preferred order of verbal prefixes observed in natural texts is summarised in Table 35. The prefixes *kor-* ‘LIM’ and *hiy-* ‘CAUS’ have been placed on separate levels of the table, since their ordering in relation to the other prefixes could not be established. These two prefixes have not been observed to co-occur with *kiy-* ‘ACT’, *saw-* ‘SPD’, *non-* ‘DU’ or with each other.

TABLE 35: ORDER OF CO-OCCURRING PREFIXES

Initial		Middle part			Final		
Directional prefixes	<i>ma-</i>	<i>kiy-</i>	<i>saw-</i>	<i>non-</i>	<i>nuw-</i>	<i>nak-</i>	verb
	‘RPT’	‘ACT’	‘SPD’	‘DU’	‘INT’	‘ACC’	
			<i>kor-</i>				
			‘LIM’				
			<i>hiy-</i>				
			‘CAUS’				

Directional prefixes do not co-occur with each other and always precede all non-directional verbal prefixes. While the relative ordering of the prefixes in Table 35 is established, there are no examples of a complete string of all possible combinations. Examples (13), (14) and (15) demonstrate the ordering of prefixes in natural speech.

Manner prefixes can co-occur, e.g. (13): *ma-* ‘RPT’, *non-* ‘DU’ and *nak-* ‘ACC’ with the verb *nekiok-* ‘crawl’.

- (13) *Hoh naw non-mayr lowpway nok nok, yier*
 hoh naw non-mayr lowpway nok nok yier
 3DU sago DU-scrape completely DUR SEQ place
mon ma-non-nak-nekiok nok lopay.
 mon ma-non-nak-nekiok nok lopay
 LOC RPT-DU-ACC-crawl DUR afternoon
 ‘The two of them finished scraping sago and then they went slowly back together (with sago) to the village in the afternoon.’

Up to four verbal prefixes can co-occur as (14) illustrates.

- (14) *Hiykwe sawk sehe*
 hiy-kwe sawk so-h-e
 3S.M.SUB-TOP CHD DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
ma-kiy-nuw-nak-weyrweyr.
 ma-kiy-nuw-nak-weyrweyr
 RPT-ACT-INT-ACC-scream
 ‘And so he really screamed again then with a reason.’
 (*nak-* indicates that the screaming was accompanied by something - in this case ‘fear’)

Directional prefixes do not co-occur with each other, but a directional prefix can co-occur with manner prefixes, as in (15), where the directional prefix *am-* ‘near’ co-occurs with the modal prefixes *saw-* ‘SPD’ and *nak-* ‘ACC’.

- (15) *Sa kior hok hu mon*
 sa kior hok hu mon
 then/and frog 3S.F.SUB water LOC
am-saw-nak-owr swakeyn
 am-saw-nak-lowr swakeyn
 DIR:near-SPD-ACC-step move.into.the.water
nok, nak-heyh kuan.
 nok nak-heyh kuan
 DUR ACC-swim cross.water
 ‘And the frog jumped from nearby quickly into the water with something (*nak-* indicates that the swimming was done with something; here: a burning stick) and then crossed the water with it.’

4.3 The structure of the verb phrase

The Abau verb phrase consists of members that come from three distinct constituent categories. The only nuclear constituent is a minimum of one verb from the first constituent category. Up to four verbs from this category have been observed to co-occur within the verb phrase. The second category consists of general qualifiers that qualify the verb for quality or quantity. They cannot occur by themselves within the verb phrase. The third category consists of a variety of modifiers that deal with the three subcategories of participant interaction, time and appraisal of process. The three subcategories can all be represented in a single verb phrase and mostly in the order given, though exceptions to this ordering have been observed.

As stated before, the perfective and imperfective are marked by intonation contour. The basic contrast is the pitch over the final syllable of the verb phrase. A large number of verb phrases only consist of members of category one, but many verb phrases will also host members of category two and three. The last constituent of the verb phrase is marked for perfective or imperfective. This is not true when speech markers and negation markers are added to the sentence. These markers are not part of the verb phrase, but they (rather than the verb final constituent) distinguish between perfective and imperfective (see §7.3 and §7.4).

Table 36 shows the three categories of constituent members along with a number of examples. It should be noted that the lists of words under the three subcategories of the third group are exhaustive. The examples under the second category however, are part of a much larger group with many members.

The three categories in Table 36 can be labeled as follows: category 1: one or more verbs; category 2: qualifying adverbial modifiers; category 3: reciprocal, temporal and evaluative modifiers.

TABLE 36: THE VERB PHRASE STRUCTURE

1 HEAD - Up to four verbs	2 Free and bound qualifiers	3		
		Reciprocal, temporal and evaluative modifiers (mostly in order given below, but not obligatorily)		
		Reciprocal participant and position interaction	Time	Evaluative
	Examples	Members	Members	Members
	<i>popriy</i> 'correct'	<i>huon</i> object moves to subject	<i>nayr</i> 'night'	<i>liok</i> 'attempt (unsuccessfully)'
	<i>yaprue</i> 'good'	<i>ne</i> subject moves to object	<i>lapay</i> 'after- noon'	<i>lokruok</i> 'attempt (repeatedly unsuccessful)'
	<i>sowkriy</i> 'plenty'	<i>ha</i> object moves away from subject (or subject moves away from location in intransitive constructions)	<i>kok</i> 'day time'	
	<i>lowpway</i> 'completely'	<i>hains</i> moves away from object	<i>nerie</i> 'morning'	
	<i>-leior</i> 'deceptive'	<i>kow</i> 'BEN' (object towards recipient)		
	<i>-piapmapiap</i> 'badly'	<i>naruok</i> 'ANTCP' subject acts in expectation of other participant		
		<i>wayr</i> 'CON' (continuous, subject, and possibly object remain in same state or event)		

In (16), a serial verb construction of four verbs is demonstrated. The numbers above the constituents of the verb phrase indicate to what type of verb constituent they belong. They refer to the three categories outlined in Table 36.

- (16) *Hromkwe mu me*
 Hrom-kwe mu m-e
 1PL.SUB-TOP crocodile PL-OBJ
 1 1 1 1
ley anio okin à.
 ley lanio lokin la
 go walk hit eat.PFTV
 ‘We went and walked and hit (= killed) and ate crocodiles.’

Example (17) contains a series of three verbs and a temporal modifier.

- (17) *Worim homkwe eypok seyn*
 worim hom-kwe eypok seyn
 bat 2/3PL-TOP day HAB
 1 1 1 3
sian anio a kok pey.
 sian lanio la kok pey
 get.up walk eat day.time NEG.IPFTV
 ‘The bats are not in the habit of flying around to find food during the day time.’

At least one single verb occurs obligatorily in the VP. Qualifiers and modifiers can follow optionally.

- (18) *Hiy saro lowpway hain nok,*
 hiy saro lowpway hain nok
 3S.M.SUB plant completely SUB<OBJ SEQ
 1 3
a mon ma-ley lapây.
 a mon ma-ley lapay
 house LOC RPT-go afternoon.IPFTV
 ‘He finished planting everything and left (that place) and then was going back to his house in the afternoon.’

Modifiers from category three that signal participant interaction, time and process evaluation can occur together as is shown in (19).

- (19) *Enekwei kamon sawk sa prueyn hok hano*
 enekwei kamon sawk sa prueyn hok han-o
 time one.CL2 CHD woman one.CL1 3S.F 1S-GEN
- 1 3 3 3**
- a mon hakan ne nayr liòk.*
 a mon hakan ne nayr liok
 house LOC flee SUB>OBJ night unsuccessfully.PFTV
 ‘One time a woman fled unsuccessfully (= without intended results) to my house during the night.’

The evaluative markers of the third category *liok* and *lokruok* mostly occur verb phrase finally. This is true for *liok* in (19) but example (20) with *lokruok* demonstrates that these evaluative markers do not always occur verb phrase finally. By placing the evaluative marker *lokruok* after the verb *lira* ‘see’ this verb becomes the scope and focus of the evaluative marker.

- (20) *Pokon nerie kokwe, homkwe hane*
 pokon nerie ko-kwe hom-kwe han-e
 today morning GL.F-TOP 2/3PL-TOP 1S-OBJ
- 1 3Eval. 3Partic. 3Temp.**
- lira lokruok wayr nayr*
 lira lokruok lwayr nayr
 see in.vain.RPT stay night
- ankin, hane pa po parionay.*
 ankin han-e pa po parionay
 if 1S-OBJ CUR PFT become.lost
 ‘If you fail to see me return in the early morning, I have gone missing.’

4.3.1 Verb phrase head

Verbs function as the head of verb phrases. As described in §4.2.1, only verbs host verbal prefixes. Up to four verbs may occur as the compound head of the VP.

4.3.1.1 Morphophonemic processes within the verb phrase

Some morphophonemic changes take place exclusively within verbs and become therefore a means to distinguish verbs from other members of

the verb phrase. More than half of the Abau verbs start with the phoneme *l*. A deletion rule (§2.6.1) affects all verbs starting with the phoneme *l* unless the verb occurs VP initially in which case it retains the phoneme *l*.

In (21), the first verb *lyawriy* ‘enter’ triggers the initial *l*-deletion rule, changing the subsequent verbs *liwak* ‘sit’ and *lira* ‘see’ to *iwak* and *ira*.

- (21) *Hunkwe hano kamara se lyawriy iwak*
 hwon-kwe han-o kamara s-e lyawriy liwak
 2S-TOP 1S-GEN camera 3S.M-OBJ enter sit
ira e.
 lira e
 see OBJ.IMP
 ‘Come in and sit down and look at my camera.’

The *l*-deletion rule applies to all verbs except the initial one.

- (22) *Hromkwe mu me ley anio okin a.*
 hrom-kwe mu m-e ley lanio lokin la
 1PL-TOP crocodile PL-OBJ go walk hit eat
 ‘We went and walked and hit (= killed) and ate crocodiles.’

The sentence in (23) consists of two clauses with two underlined VPs. Every initial verb retains its word initial <|>. The VP initial *lyawriy* ‘enter’ and *lanio* ‘walk’ do not undergo changes, but *lira* ‘see’ is reduced to *ira* by the deletion rule because it does not occur verb phrase initially.

- (23) *Homkwe lyawriy nok, lanio ira, uwrsa*
 hom-kwe lyawriy nok lanio lira uwr-sa
 2/3PL-TOP enter SEQ walk see man-woman
sohom mo aiai seme.
 so-hom m-o aiai so-m-e
 DDEM-2/3PL PL-GEN food DDEM-PL-OBJ
 ‘They entered and then they walked and looked around at the food of those people.’

In this paper a VP with a sequence of verbs is not analysed as a serial verb phrase with several heads, but as having a compound verb as its head. The criteria distinguishing the head of the VP lend themselves to a compound analysis.

1. Prefixes only occur with the first verb in the series.
2. Other than the first verb, all verbs in the series undergo the morphophonemic process of *l*-deletion.
3. One intonational pattern without pauses dominates the entire string. The first verb receives the highest pitch in the intonation contour.
4. Other than an intervening qualifier, the head is an uninterrupted unit of 1-4 verbs within a VP that has definite pre-head and post-head constituents that modify the unitary head.

4.3.1.2 Motion verbs precede other action verbs

Verbs specifying movement or position occur initially in the verb sequence. In (24), a verb encoding position, *sawan* ‘hang’, initiates the sequence. The temporal constituent *nayr* ‘night’ is part of the underlined VP (§4.3.3.3).

- (24) *Pomkwo sokukwe am-i se*
 pomkwo so-ko-kwe am-i s-e
 flying.fox DDEM-GL.F-TOP breadfruit-fruit 3S.M-OBJ
sawan a nayr.
 sawan la nayr
 hang eat night
 ‘This flying fox was hanging and eating the breadfruit in the evening.’

A motion verb, *lanio* ‘walk’, initiates the verb phrase in (25), while the second verb undergoes initial *l*-deletion.

- (25) *Ara, hakwe huok lanio inakok lopay ley.*
 ara ha-kwe huok lanio linakok lopay ley
 ADDR.M 1S-TOP pig walk hunt afternoon INCH
 ‘Man, I am going to hunt pigs in the afternoon.’

In (26), the initial motion verb is prefixed. The scope of the verbal prefix covers all four verbs. The three verbs following undergo initial *l*-deletion.

- (26) *Hiykwe Buna-uwrsa me*
 hiy-kwe Buna-uwr-sa me
 3S.M-TOP Buna-man-woman OBJ.PL
ma-lanio ira ohruw a.
 ma-lanio lira lohruw la.
 RPT-walk see talk eat
 ‘He went around and visited and talked to the Buna people
 and ate (with them).’

4.3.2 Qualifier

The word qualifier is chosen to describe adverbial constituents. They are not verbs themselves, but can intervene between true verbs. (A true verb is here defined as a verb that can host a verbal prefix.) This group of qualifiers can be further differentiated into free and bound qualifiers. Bound qualifiers have to co-occur with a very limited number of verbs. Their distribution is therefore very restricted. Free qualifiers, on the other hand, can qualify nearly all verbs and can even intervene between verbs.

4.3.2.1 Free adverbial qualifier

Adverbial qualifiers modify verbs. They differ from verbs in that they cannot co-occur with the verbal prefix set. In (27), *ihey* ‘excellent’ modifies the verb it follows.

- (27)
- | | | | | | |
|-----------------|------------|---------------|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Hrorkwe</i> | <i>nyo</i> | <i>seme</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| <i>hror-kwe</i> | <i>nyo</i> | <i>so-m-e</i> | <u><i>nak-me</i></u> | <u><i>ihey</i></u> | <u><i>hain.</i></u> |
| 1DU-TOP | lad | DDEM-PL-OBJ | ACC-speak | excellent | SUB<OBJ |
- ‘The two of us spoke well (= greetings) to those boys and left.’

It needs to be noted that modifiers can precede the head of the verb phrase. However, these modifiers are not part of the verb phrase since they do not carry the highest pitch within the clause. In (28), *yaprue* ‘good’ precedes the head of the verb phrase and is analysed as an adverbial phrase (see §4.4).

- (28)
- | | | | |
|---|---------------|----------|-----------------|
| | | 1 | |
| <i>Aiai somokwe,</i> | yaprue | | <u>'nuw-ie.</u> |
| aiai so-mo-kwe | yaprue | | nuw-lie |
| food DDEM-GL.PL-TOP | good | | INT-go.up |
| 'As for that food, it grows really well.' | | | |

Unlike verbs, modifiers cannot co-occur with verbal prefixes. Modifiers occurring inside a verb phrase modify its head, just as modifiers that occur within the noun phrase modify its head. Modifiers that are not part of a NP or VP modify the clause.

Three bolded modifiers occur in (29) and illustrate the various positions that modifiers can occur in. The first modifier *iwon* 'new' is part of the NP and modifies the head of the NP *wueir-omeme* 'garden-produce'. The second modifier *yaprue* 'good' follows the NP and precedes the VP. It is analysed as an adverbial phrase that modifies the clause. The last modifier *ihey* 'excellent' is part of the VP and modifies the head of the VP *lie* 'go.up'.

- (29)
- | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Hyo</i> | <i>wueir-omeme</i> | <i>iwon</i> | <i>somokwe</i> | <i>yaprue</i> |
| Hiy-o | wueir-omeme | iwon | so-mo-kwe | yaprue |
| 3S.M-GEN | garden-things | new | DDEM-PL-OBJ | good |
| | | | | |
| | | 1 | 2 | |
| | | <u><i>lie</i></u> | <i>ihey</i> | |
| | | lie | ihey | |
| | | go.up | excellent | |
| 'As for his new garden produce, it grew well in excellent fashion.' | | | | |

The number of free verbal qualifiers is rather small. Some frequently occurring qualifiers are:

<i>popriy</i>	'good'	<i>lowpway</i>	'completely'
<i>sowkriy</i>	'plenty'	<i>nonay</i>	'prolonged'
<i>ihey</i>	'excellent'	<i>kraipakrai</i>	'strongly (duplication formed with <i>pa</i> 'DUP', see §2.7)'
<i>liyay</i>	'many'		

Qualifiers are normally positioned after the last verb in the VP head. In that position they modify all the preceding verbs. However, free qualifiers have been observed to interrupt the sequence of verbs. In the intermediate position the free qualifier modifies the verb it follows, not the one it precedes.

In (30), the qualifier *popriy* modifies the verb *mon* and not the next verb *sawan*.

- (30) *Hiykwe ahney ma heyn krwe ey sokwe*
 hiy-kwe ahney ma heyn krwe ey so-k-e
 3S.M-TOP bird RCM trap cut INTN DDEM-3S.F-OBJ
- 1 2 1
ma-nak-mon popriy sawan hain.
 ma-nak-mon popriy sawan hain
 RPT-ACC-do good hang SUB<OBJ
 ‘He fastened (the thing) that traps and catches birds very well
 and hung it up.’

4.3.2.2 Bound qualifiers

Many bound verbal modifiers complement the meaning of a basic verb e.g. *lira* ‘see’ or *me* ‘speak’, *mon* ‘do, cause’ etc. The productivity of this device is illustrated in Table 37 with the verb *me* ‘speak’. The distribution of the bound qualifiers is very restricted and very few bound qualifiers can be found that occur with more than one verb. The verbs *me* ‘speak’ and *mon* ‘do, cause’ both occur with a large number of bound modifiers, but they share surprisingly few qualifiers. A few were found like: *me-sous* ‘forbid’ and *mon-sous* ‘stop, halt’. Also a construction with the duplicated *sor* ‘count, gauge’: *me-sor-a-sor* ‘to discuss’ *mon-sor-a-sor* ‘to study, practice’. Some of these constructions are only related, like: *me-piap-ma-piap* ‘to defame’ and *mon piapay* ‘to damage’. Also, *me-wowr-pa-wowr* ‘to rebuke, correct’ and *mon wowr-a-wowr* ‘steer’. In the last example the qualifiers are formed by different duplication mechanisms.

TABLE 37: BOUND VERBAL MODIFIERS

Verb <i>me</i> qualified	Meaning	Verb <i>me</i> qualified	Meaning
<i>me-hne-ma-hne</i>	‘to defame’	<i>me-samis</i>	‘to overrule’
<i>me-kupaku</i>	‘to speak emphatically’	<i>me-sasay</i>	‘to command’
<i>me-kwan-a-kwan</i>	‘to speak very friendly’	<i>me-saweih</i>	‘to sway someone’s opinion’
<i>me-leior</i>	‘to deceive’	<i>me-sopok</i>	‘to ask’
<i>me-loray</i>	‘to promise’	<i>me-sor-a-sor</i>	‘to discuss’
<i>me-lowp-lowp</i>	‘to embarrass someone’	<i>me-sous</i>	‘to forbid’
<i>me-memeir</i>	‘to illustrate’	<i>me-sumun</i>	‘to warn against’
<i>me-mon-ma-mon</i>	‘to speak offensively’	<i>me-warei-warei</i>	‘to deny a truth’
<i>me-nanei</i>	‘to trick’	<i>me-weih-a-weih</i>	‘to persuade’
<i>me-papaw</i>	‘to comfort’	<i>me-wodna-wodna</i>	‘to infuriate’
<i>m-piap-ma-piap</i>	‘to defame, to dishonour’	<i>me-wor-a-wor</i>	‘to give advice, guide’
<i>me-prosue</i>	‘to call someone back’	<i>me-woro-woro</i>	‘to plead, encourage’
<i>me-puar</i>	‘to refuse’	<i>me-wowr-pa-wowr</i>	‘to rebuke, correct’

These words are adverbial qualifiers, not bound verbs. The following evidence supports this claim:

1. None of the adverbial qualifiers occurring in Table 37 following the verb *me* can occur by itself verb phrase initially.

2. The *l*-deletion rule does not apply, e.g. *leior* ‘deceive’, *loray* ‘promise’ and *lowplowp* ‘embarrass’ occur after the initial verb *me* ‘speak’, but they are not reduced to *eior*, *oray*, and *owp-owp*.

- (31) a. *me-leior* ‘to deceive’ * *me eior*
 b. *me-loray* ‘to promise’ * *me oray*
 c. *me-lowp-lowp* ‘to embarrass someone’ * *me owp-owp*

4.3.3 Modifiers within the verb phrase

4.3.3.1 Grammaticalised verbs

A number of verbal constituents function at two levels. First of all they can function as verbs. They have been analysed as such because they can be prefixed by verbal markers and use the normal slot within the VP that is reserved for the head of the VP. However, these verbs can also occur as a member of the third category of verb phrase. This position impacts the meaning and the function of the verb. For instance, in (32) the grammaticalised verb *naruok* ‘wait’ is separated from the preceding verb *kekie* ‘put’ by the qualifier *sowkriy* ‘many’. The grammaticalised verb is part of the verb phrase, because it carries the verb phrase final intonation contour for the perfective.

- (32) *Uwruh hiy hu hawr non-aw, sah*
 uwr-ih hiy hu hawr non-aw sa-uh
 man-KIN 3S.M water wash CMT-RSTR woman-KIN
- 1 2 3
- hokwe aiai me kekie sowkriy naruòk.*
 hok-kwe aiai m-e kekie sowkriy naruok
 3S.F.SUB-TOP food PL-OBJ put PL.many ANTCP.PFTV
 ‘While the husband was having a bath, the wife got all the
 food out in anticipation (of his return)’

VPs with these verbs could be analysed as serial verb phrases, because a qualifier intervenes between the verb in position 1 (head) and the ‘adverbial verb’. The verb has grammaticalised in these contexts. It functions more like an auxiliary indicating a grammatical category (either case or aspect) than as a lexical verb. The auxiliary and lexical verb definitions for three grammaticalised verbs are given in Table 38.

TABLE 38: AUXILIARY AND LEXICAL DEFINITIONS FOR
LWAYR, *KOW*, *NARUOK* AND *NOK*

Meaning VP final	Functioning as a grammaticalised verb	Functioning as a verb
Continuative (CNT) – state or event is in progress and continues	<i>lwayr</i> – continuation of the event or state expressed by the predication	<i>lwayr</i> – to stay
Benefactive (BEN) – only used with transitive verbs – the stated event or action is for the benefit of a recipient	<i>kow</i> – event which has an expressed (or understood) agent and patient benefits a recipient	<i>kow</i> – to give
Anticipation (ANTCP) – only used with transitive verbs – relationship between subject and object	<i>naruok</i> – an activity by the agent in anticipation of the involvement of another participant	<i>naruok</i> – to wait
Durative (DUR) – often used with motion verbs or other action verbs to express duration of event	<i>nok</i> – action of agent that progresses for a period of time	does not function as verb

Example (33) illustrates the use of *lwayr* ‘stay’ as an auxiliary verb encoding continuous aspect. It is strange though, that the *l*-deletion rule took place. This goes against an earlier generalisation that constituents of the verb phrase that belong to the second and third category do not undergo *l*-deletion. In spite of this reservation, the verb *lwayr* is analysed as a verb that can function as a member of the first category (as a verb) and as a member of the third category (as a grammaticalised verb).

- (33) *Enekwei*, *enekwei* *hokwe* *senkinaw*
 enekwei enekwei ho-kwe so-enkin-aw
 time time 3S.F.GL-TOP DDEM-MAN-RSTR

1 1 3
lira pawk wàyr.
 lira pawk lwayr
 see search CNT.PFTV
 ‘She continued to watch and search day after day.’

The verbs in Table 38 can occur together. Below *kow* ‘BEN’ and *wayr* ‘CNT’ occur together modifying the main verb *kweyr* ‘laugh’.

(34) *Uwr-sa yier ko homkwe hye*
 uwr-sa yier k-o hom-kwe hiy-e
 man-woman place 3S.F-GEN 2/3PL-TOP 3S.M-OBJ
 1 3 3
kweyr kow wàyr.
 kweyr kow lwayr
 laugh BEN CNT.PFTV
 ‘The people from the village laughed at him all the time.’

As stated above the grammaticalised verbs *lwayr*, *naruok* and *kow* can also function as verbs. The duration marker *nok* does not have such a counterpart. It is only observed as a sequential marker, but it is doubtful that the two are related, although both are concerned with the continuation of the agent’s activity.

In (35), both the sequential marker *nok*, and the duration verb *nok* are used. The durative marker is part of the verb phrase (rather than a clausal marker), because it carries the intonation contour for the imperfective.

(35) *Bulet hiykwe popo-meyk se lokriy*
 Bulet hiy-kwe popo-meyk s-e lokriy
 Bullet 3S.M.SUB-TOP pawpaw-root 3S.M-OBJ leave
hain nok, yokun-uwr sohiy so
 hain nok yokun-uwr so-hiy s-o
 SUB<OBJ SEQ theft-man DDEM-3S.M 3S.M-GEN
meyki meyki-aw sau ono nôk.
 meyki meyki-aw sau lono nok
 after after-RSTR run bark DUR.IPFTV
 ‘Bullet left the base of the pawpaw tree and kept running barking after this thief.’

When these verbs occur as the initial verb in a verb sequence, they are glossed as verbs that belong to the first category. In (36), *lwayr* is glossed

as ‘stay’, and not as continuous aspect. In (37) *kow* is glossed as ‘give’ and *naruok* as ‘wait’.

- (36)
- | | | | | | |
|--|--|----------|---------------------|------------|--------------|
| | | | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| | <i>Hom arawh se</i> | | <u><i>lwayr</i></u> | <i>won</i> | <i>nayr.</i> |
| | hom arawh s-e | | lwayr | won | nayr |
| | 2/3PL night | 3S.M-OBJ | stay | lie | night |
| | ‘They spent the night sleeping (there).’ | | | | |
- (37)
- | | | | | | |
|--|--|-------------------|-----------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| | | 1 | | 1 | |
| | <i>Yoh, hane</i> | <u><i>kow</i></u> | <i>e.</i> | <i>Hane</i> | <u><i>naruok</i></u> <i>e.</i> |
| | yoh han-e | kow e | | han-e | naruok e |
| | banana | 1S-OBJ | give | OBJ.IMP | 1S-OBJ wait OBJ.IMP |
| | ‘Give me (some) bananas. Wait for me.’ | | | | |

4.3.3.2 Participant direction constituents

A small group of verbal constituents give information about the movements of subject and object in relationship to each other.

1. When the object is moving away from the subject, *ha* OBJ<SUB is used, as in (38).
2. When the subject is moving away from the object, *hain* SUB<OBJ is used, as in (39).
3. When the subject is moving towards the object, *ne* SUB>OBJ is used, as in (40).
4. When the object is moving towards the subject, *huon* is used, as in (41). OBJ>SUB

- (38)
- | | | | | | |
|--|---|-------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| | <i>Hiykwe</i> | <i>sawk</i> | <i>hyo</i> | <i>nay</i> | <i>se</i> |
| | hiy-kwe | sawk | hiy-o | nay | s-e |
| | 3S.M-TOP | CHD | 3S.M-GEN | younger.sibling | 3S.M-OBJ |
| | <i>kweyr</i> | <i>kow</i> | <i>ha</i> | <i>nayr.</i> | |
| | kweyr | kow | ha | nayr | |
| | laugh | BEN | OBJ<SUB | night | |
| | ‘He laughed at his younger brother who was going off in the night.’ | | | | |

- (39) *Hromkwe howk sokwe lokin hain liok.*
 hrom-kwe howk so-k-e lokin hain liok
 1PL-TOP lake DDEM-3S.F-OBJ hit SUB<OBJ in.vain
 ‘We hit this lake (implicit: with poisonous vines to catch fish)
 and left it (being) unsuccessful.’
- (40) *Pouh hokwe ney se penkin*
 pouh hok-kwe ney s-e po-enkin
 mother 3S.F-TOP child 3S.M-OBJ Q-MAN

am-nuw-me-sopok ne nayr ko?
 am-nuw-me-sopok ne nayr ko
 DIR:near-INT-speak-ask SUB>OBJ night Q.SP.PFTV.F
 ‘What did the mother ask her child when she went to him in
 the night?’
- (41) *Sa-nawp sokukwe lira huon pa,*
 sa-nawp so-ko-kwe lira huon pa
 woman-old DDEM-GL.F-TOP see OBJ>SUB NEG.PFTV

makromawe se kokwe.
 makromawe s-e ko-kwe
 iguana 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP
 ‘The old woman did not see the iguana coming towards her.’

4.3.3.3 Temporal constituents

Indications of time are often expressed by NPs that display the normal NP final marking. In (42), the noun *onkioh* ‘yesterday’ is marked by the general topic marker *kokwe*.

- (42) *Onkioh kokwe hakwe hno aio*
 onkioh ko-kwe ha-kwe hwon-o aio
 yesterday GL.F-TOP 1S-TOP 2S-GEN father

se lira.
 s-e lira
 3S.M-OBJ see
 ‘Yesterday, I saw your father.’

There is however, a closed set of four temporal constituents that are part of the verb phrase. These are not analysed as nouns but as adverbial modifiers. The four members of this class are:

<i>nerie</i>	‘morning’	4:00 AM till 10:00 AM
<i>kok</i>	‘noon’	10:00 AM till 4:00 PM
<i>lopay</i>	‘afternoon’	4:00 PM till 7:00 PM (till darkness)
<i>nayr</i>	‘night’	7:00 PM till 4:00 AM

These four adverbial temporals relate roughly to the temporal nouns *leisnon* ‘dawn/morning’, *eypok* ‘noon’, *eyrowpwar* ‘afternoon/dusk’ and *arawh* ‘evening/night’. The temporal noun phrase often occurs in the same sentence with the adverbial temporal. In (43) the temporal noun *arawh* ‘evening/night’ is combined with the adverbial constituent *nayr* ‘night’.

- (43) *Huok sohokwe sawk arawh lei a nayr.*
 huok so-ho-kwe sawk arawh lei la nayr
 pig DDEM-GL.M-TOP CHD night cut eat night
 ‘As for that pig, it was slaughtered and eaten during the night.’

However, temporal nouns do not have a one-to-one relation with temporal adverbs. In (44), the NP constituent *arawh* ‘night’ occurs concomitantly with the VP constituent *nerie* ‘morning’. This seeming semantic mismatch enables the speaker to fine-tune the temporal setting for an event. In (43), *arawh* is defined as night time only, but in (44) *arawh* in combination with *nerie* ‘morning’ establishes the temporal setting as the last night watch before dawn.

- (44) *Hiykwe arawh non-aw ley nerie, skul mon.*
 hiy-kwe arawh non-aw ley nerie skul mon
 3S.M-TOP night CMT-RSTR go morning school LOC
 ‘He went to school in the morning while it was still dark.’

4.3.3.4 Evaluative markers

Both *liok* ‘in vain’ and *lokruok* ‘repeatedly unsuccessful’ are evaluative modals that mark the verb phrase for attempted activity without the desired results. The adverbial *liok* ‘in vain’ is used when the failed activity is attempted only one time (45); *lokruok* ‘repeatedly unsuccessful’ is used when the failed activity is attempted a number of times (46).

- (45) *Hokwe sawk woyo-hne kamon ke*
 hok-kwe sawk woyo-hne kamon k-e
 3S.F-TOP CHD fowl-nest one 3S.F-OBJ
lorowh liok.
 lorowh liok
 dig in.vain
 ‘She tried in vain to dig out a wild fowl’s nest.’
- (46) *Hiy nuw-anio kampwor kampwor lokruok, tenk*
 hiy nuw-lanio kampwor kampwor lokruok tenk
 3S.M INT-walk open open in.vain.RPT tank
lowpwarowp me.
 lowpwarowp m-e
 all PL-OBJ
 ‘He walked around trying in vain, over and over again, to
 open the (water) tanks.’

Example (47) describes the unsuccessful event of searching and shouting during the night. The evaluative *lokruok* is used to express this prolonged lack of getting the desired results.

- (47) *Arawh enekwei sohokwe uwr sehiy*
 arawh enekwei so-ho-kwe uwr so-hiy
 night time DDEM-GL.M-TOP man DDEM-3S.M
so ney-sa homkwe hye
 s-o ney-sa hom-kwe hiy-e
 3S.M-GEN child-woman 2/3PL-TOP 3S.M-OBJ
liwowr pawk nayr lokruok.
 liwowr pawk nayr lokruok
 shout search night in.vain.RPT
 ‘That night this man’s family (lit. children and wife) shouted
 and searched in vain for him all during the night.’

4.4 Adverbial phrase

The following sections deal with various modifiers that immediately precede the verb phrase but are not part of the verb phrase (see also the discussion in §4.1.1). These adverbial modifiers are analysed as adverbial phrases and they can be divided in three different categories:

- a. Adverbial modifiers (§4.4.1).

- b. Adverbially used demonstratives that give causal force to clauses they anaphorically refer to. The manner demonstrative (§4.4.2) and the object or causal demonstrative (§4.4.3).
- c. Adverbial interrogatives (§7.5.3). The latter group is discussed in chapter seven together with other types of interrogatives. The adverbial interrogatives function as adverbial phrases in a similar way to the two groups above.

Some of the shared characteristics of these adverbial phrases are:

- a. By definition they are never topicalised.
- b. They immediately precede the VP, although modal and negation markers can intervene.
- c. They consist of only one word.

4.4.1 Adverbial modifiers

Adverbial modifiers are similar in form to the adjectives discussed in §3.5. However, an adverbial modifier can never be part of a NP but forms an adverbial phrase by itself. The adverbial phrase immediately precedes the verb phrase.

Adverbial modifiers are positioned as closely as possible to the verb phrase, but they are not constituents of the verb phrase (cf. §4.1.1). There are only a few adverbials and they always consist of a single word. Adverbials never host topic markers and as a logical result of their proximity to the verb phrase, they never precede the subject or object NP.

In (48), the adverbial modifier *puraw* ‘for nothing’ immediately precedes the verb phrase.

- (48) *Hromkwe wueir mokwe puraw meio pey,*
 hrom-kwe wueir mo-kwe puraw meio pey
 1PL-TOP garden GL.PL-TOP nothing work NEG.IPFTV
- hromkwe mo aiai-yok me saro*
 hrom-kwe mo aiai-yok m-e saro
 1PL.SUB-TOP EMPH food-shoot PL-OBJ plant

e *meio*.
 e meio
 PURP work
 ‘We did not make our garden for nothing, we made it to plant
 shoots in.’

As stated above, adverbial modifiers can be separated from the VP by intervening modal markers, examples (49) and (50), or negation markers, example (51).

In (49) the modal marker *liy* ‘DYN’ separates the adverbial *puraw* ‘in vain’ from the main verb *meio* ‘go’.

(49) *Hakwe hano yeyk se puraw liy*
 ha-kwe han-o yeyk s-e puraw liy
 1S-TOP 1S-GEN canoe 3S.M-OBJ nothing DYN
meio ley.
 meio korey
 work NEG
 ‘I cannot make my canoe without having any profit of it.’

In (50), *yaprue* ‘good’ is an adverb.

(50) *Aiai hiy ma saro somokwe yaprue*
 aiai hiy ma saro so-mo-kwe yaprue
 food 3S.M RCM plant DDEM-GL.PL-TOP good
ka nuw-ie.
 ka nuw-lie
 3.HOR INT-go.up
 ‘As for the food he planted, just allow it to grow well.’

In (50), *yaprue* ‘good’ is not part of the preceding NP. If it were an adjectival modifier, it would have preceded the NP final marker *somokwe*. It is not part of the verb phrase because the highest stress and associated pitch within the clause is carried by *nuw-ie* ‘INT-go.up’. Nor can *yaprue* ‘good’ be a modal marker, since the clause already has a modal marker, i.e. *ka* ‘hortative’. Therefore, *yaprue* ‘good’ is a separate adverbial that modifies the verb phrase.

In (51), the adverb *kraiar* ‘many’ is separated from the verb phrase by the intervening prohibitive marker *peie*.

- (51) *Hunkwe kraiar peie lowndiy kow o.*
 hwon-kwe kraiar peie lowndiy kow o
 you-TOP many PROH share give EMPH.SP.IPFTV
 ‘Do not share around liberally.’

4.4.2 Adverbial manner demonstrative

The distal and proximal manner demonstrative *senkin* and *enkin* can be used adjectivally (§3.5.5). The distal manner demonstrative is also extensively used adverbially. The adverbial use of *enkin* is very limited as is discussed below. When used adverbially it directly precedes the verb phrase as an adverbial phrase that consists of only one member. Demonstratives typically have anaphoric reference, and this is also the case for the adverbial manner demonstratives (exceptions are discussed below).

Typically, *senkin* used adverbially (immediately preceding the VP as a separate constituent) anaphorically refers to a previous clause or sentence. This is shown in examples (52) and (53). The bolded manner adverbial *senkin* ‘thus/in that way’ anaphorically refers to the underlined clause.

- (52) *Hromkwe sawk aw seme lono. Hrom*
 hrom-kwe sawk aw so-m-e lono hrom
 1PL-TOP CHD fight DDEM-PL-OBJ fight 1PL

senkin *lon menkin, polis homkwe sawk*
 so-enkin lon menkin polis hom-kwe sawk
 DDEM-MAN do when police 2/3PL-TOP CHD

hreme seme me-sakawk.
 hrom-e so-m-e me-sakawk
 1PL-OBJ DDEM-PL-OBJ speak-stop
 ‘So we started a fight. When we did so/thus, the police stopped us.’
- (53) *Napwe-ih se non-huonok nok, wueir*
 napwe-ih s-e non-huonok nok wueir
 relative-KIN 3S.M-OBJ DU-call SEQ garden

se hiy-anio ira hniyhniyay. Hohkwe
 s-e hiy-lanio lira hniyhniyay hoh-kwe
 3S.M-OBJ CAUS-walk see cause.fatigue 3DU-TOP

napwe-ih se kokwe senkin
 napwe-ih s-e ko-kwe so-enkin
 relative-KIN 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP DDEM-MAN

ma-non-sawk-sawk.

ma-non-sawksawk

RPT-DU-exchange

‘They took the relative along and showed him the garden,
 making him very tired. In that way they got even with him.’

In most cases, an adverbially used demonstrative refers anaphorically to an understood entity. This is true for the manner demonstratives but there are a few notable exceptions. The manner demonstrative has cataphoric force in clauses that introduce direct speech (54) or an itemized list (55).

- (54) *Hiykwe senkin me, “Hakwe hne*
 hiy-kwe so-enkin me ha-kwe hwon-e
 3S.M-TOP DDEM-MAN speak 1S-TOP 2S.OBJ

lira pa.”

lira pa

see NEG.PFTV

‘He said thus “I did not see you.”’

- (55) *Hiykwe senkin saro, yoh o, how o.*
 hiy-kwe so-enkin saro yoh o, how o
 3S.M-TOP DDEM-MAN plant banana and taro and
 ‘He planted like this, bananas and taros.’

Most quotes are introduced by *senkin* rather than *enkin* and some speakers prefer to use *senkin* exclusively when used adverbially. The attributive use of *enkin* as part of a NP is accepted by all, but its adverbial use is often scrutinized, though not rejected altogether. When used, the adverbial use of *enkin* stands out, and probably adds emphasis to the speech act. Example (56) is taken from a translated Bible passage; the manner adverb could be rendered as ‘in this particular way’. (See also (59) on the use of *enkin* to introduce direct speech.)

- (56) *Hiykwe owhnan-ok kamon kokwe enkin*
 hiy-kwe owh-nan-ok kamon ko-kwe enkin
 3S.M-TOP body-reflection-talk one.CL2 GL.F-TOP thus
me kow, “Uwr prueyn hiykwe omeme
 me kow uwr prueyn hiy-kwe omeme
 speak BEN man one.CL1 3S.M-TOP things
kraiar non.”
 kraiar non
 many CMT
 ‘He told a parable in this (particular) way, “A certain man had a lot of possessions.”’
- (57) *Polis homkwe hye senkin me kow,*
 polis hom-kwe hiy-e so-enkin me kow
 police 2/3PL-TOP 3S.M-OBJ DDEM-MAN speak BEN
“Kupe, hunkwe yier mon ma-ley e.”
 Kupe hwon-kwe yier mon ma-ley e
 Kupe 2S-TOP place LOC RPT-go OBJ
 ‘The police told him (as follows), “Kupe, you should go back to your village.”’

4.4.2.1 The manner adverbial in tail position

When the manner adverbial *senkin* introduces direct speech, it normally precedes the verb phrase. However, it is possible to place *senkin* in tail position. Examples (58) and (59) demonstrate the use of *senkin* and *enkin* in tail position just before a quote.

- (58) *Uwr-sa yier ko homkwe hye*
 uwr-sa yier k-o hom-kwe hiy-e
 man-woman place 3S.F-GEN 2/3PL-TOP 3S.M-OBJ
kweyr kow wayr, senkin, “Keno hunkwe
 kweyr kow lwayr so-enkin Keno hwon-kwe
 laugh BEN stay DDEM-MAN Keno 2S-TOP
huok liy hin ley.”
 huok liy hin korey
 PIG DYN shoot NEG
 ‘The people of the village laughed at him in the following way, “Keno, you are not able to shoot a pig.”’

- (59) *Hiykwe kar nakey nok, Kupe se*
 hiy-kwe kar nak-ley nok Kupe s-e
 3S.M-TOP gladness ACC-go SEQ Kupe 3S.M-OBJ
nak-me lowp-lowp, enkin, “Kwa nak-wakiawkeyn
 nak-me lowp-lowp enkin kwa nak-wakiawkeyn
 ACC-speak embarrass MAN HOR ACC-sit
yuk e.”
 lyuk e
 cry OBJ
 ‘He had a happy time and then embarrassed Kupe in this
 (particular) way, “Just sit down and cry.”’

4.4.3 Adverbial causal demonstrative

The demonstrative object marker set (see §3.8.2) consists of three distal object markers (*sehe*, *sokwe* and *seme*) and three proximal object markers (*ehe*, *okwe* and *eme*). In contrast to the proximal object demonstratives, the distal object demonstratives can also be used adverbially as a causal demonstrative.

When the distal object demonstratives, *sehe*, *sokwe* and *seme* are used attributively they are part of an object NP. When an object demonstrative is used adverbially it is the only constituent of the adverbial phrase that immediately precedes the VP. Its function is to express a causal relationship.

Not all demonstratives can be used both adverbially and attributively. The distal manner demonstrative *senkin* is used frequently, but the use of the proximal manner demonstrative *enkin* is rare. No occurrences of the adverbial use of the proximal object demonstratives *ehe*, *okwe* and *eme* have been observed.

For the sake of comparison one example is given of the attributive use of an object demonstrative. In (60), the masculine object demonstrative *sehe* modifies the head of the NP *how* ‘taro’. The demonstrative anaphorically refers to the entity *how* ‘taro’ that was introduced previously.

- (60) *Uwrsa homkwe how aiopey hay*
 uwr-sa hom-kwe how aiopey hay
 man-woman 2/3PL.SUB-TOP taro big very
sohokwe nuw-hok wayr. Sawk enekwei
 so-ho-kwe nuw-hok wayr sawk enekwei
 DDEM-GL.M-TOP INT-fear remain CHD day
kamon, sa prueyn hok ley nok, how
 kamon, sa prueyn hok ley nok, how
 one woman one 3S.F go SEQ taro
sehe nekie.
 so-h-e nekie
 DDEM-3S.M-OBJ take
 ‘The people were really afraid of the big taro. Then one day, a woman went (there) and took that taro.’

The object demonstratives are more often used adverbially than attributively. When used adverbially, one of the three distal demonstrative object markers (*sehe*, *sokwe* or *seme*) occurs as the only member of a phrase constituent immediately preceding the verb phrase. The demonstrative object marker refers to a previous clause or sentence. The distal object demonstrative encodes a relationship of logical consequence between the clause it occurs in and the clause or sentence to which it anaphorically refers.

A demonstrative object marker can only mark a relationship of logical consequence when it is used adverbially. Two conditions need to be met:

- a. the demonstrative marker immediately precedes the verb phrase;
- b. the demonstrative marker is the only constituent within the phrase. If it is part of a noun phrase it cannot anaphorically refer to a clause or sentence. (E.g. *sehe* in (60) is not used adverbially but attributively because it is part of a NP.)

The choice of the gender or number of the adverbial demonstrative depends on the gender and number of the most prominent noun phrase that is involved in the effects of the causal relationship. In most cases this is the constituent who experiences the effects of the action. This choice, however, is arbitrary and the speaker may choose to establish agreement with the agent rather than the patient. See example (63).

When one of the members of the adverbial demonstrative set is placed directly before the verb phrase the speaker indicates that the event of the clause the marker occurs in is enabled, but not necessarily forced by the previous clause or sentence. It is a relationship of logical consequence and whether the relationship is more causal or circumstantial depends on the various contexts.

In (61), the bolded masculine adverbial demonstrative *sehe*, anaphorically relates to the previous sentence. The relationship it indicates is one of logical consequence. The second adverbial demonstrative *seme* anaphorically relates to a subordinate clause marked by *ankin* ‘while/when’. The adverbial demonstrative *seme* establishes a logical relationship between the event of the log breaking and the people falling into the water.

(61)	<i>Now</i>	<i>hokwe</i>	<i>seyr</i>	<i>sopruw.</i>	<i>Sa</i>	<i>now</i>
	now	ho-kwe	seyr	sopruw	sa	now
	tree	GL.M-TOP	and/also	rotten	then/and	tree
	<i>se</i>	<i>sehe</i>		<i>lonkaun</i>	<i>ankin,</i>	<i>hom</i>
	s-e	so-h-e		lonkaun	ankin	hom
	3S.M-OBJ	DDEM-3S.M-OBJ	break	while/as	2/3PL	
	<i>lowpwarowp</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>seme</i>	<i>kuakèyn,</i>		
	lowpwarowp	sa	so-m-e	kuakeyn		
	all	then/and	DDEM-PL-OBJ	fall.in.water.PFTV		
	<i>hu</i>	<i>mon.</i>				
	hu	mon				
	water	LOC				

(Context: crossing a stream over a log) ‘The log was rotten. So as the tree consequently broke, they all, as a result, fell into the water.’

In (61), the masculine adverbial demonstrative *sehe* agrees in number and gender with the most prominent (and in this case only) NP of the sentence it refers to. This NP *now hokwe* ‘the tree’ occurs in the anaphorically referred to sentence and it is also mentioned within the clause itself, *now se* ‘tree 3S.M.OBJ’. It should be noted that the demonstrative *sehe* cannot be analysed as part of the noun phrase *now se*, since a noun phrase cannot be marked by both the object marker *se* and the demonstrative marker *sehe*.

The plural adverbial demonstrative *seme* agrees in number with the NP most affected by the event: the plural subject *hom lowpwarowp* ‘2/3PL all’.

In (62), the adverbial demonstrative *sehe* immediately precedes the verb phrase. It follows the NP object *hoko uwrub se* ‘her husband’ which has its own object marker *se*. The demonstrative marker *sehe* is therefore not part of the preceding NP. The marker *sehe* establishes a relationship of logical consequence between the woman seeing the bird and the woman reporting this. The adverbial marker *sehe* agrees in number and gender with the most prominent NP within the event indicated by the clause: the masculine NP object *hoko uwrub se* ‘her husband’.

- (62) *Sa hokwe sa ahney se lira,*
 sa hok-kwe sa ahney s-e lira
 woman 3S.F-TOP then/and bird 3S.M-OBJ see
ki mon lorok a se. Hokwe sa
 ki mon lorok la s-e hok-kwe sa
 ground LOC stand eat 3S.M-OBJ 3S.F-TOP then/and
hoko uwr-uh se sehe me
 hok-o uwr-ih s-e so-h-e me
 3S.F-GEN man-KIN 3S.M-OBJ DDEM-3S.M-OBJ speak
kow, “Ara, ahney ehie.”
 kow ara ahney o-h-i-e
 BEN ADDR.M bird PDEM-3S.M-there-OBJ
 ‘The woman then saw a bird, standing and eating on the
 ground. Consequently she said to her husband, “Man, there’s
 a bird over there.”’

In (63), the speaker establishes agreement in number and gender between the adverbial demonstrative *seme* and plural subject *skul-uwr-ney sa-ney homkwe* ‘the school boys and girls’ rather than the singular, masculine object *hye* ‘3S.OBJ’. The presence of *kow* ‘BEN’ plays a role in this. The object noun phrase *hye* is not the patient but the recipient of the verbal action. NPs that have a patient role are more likely to correspond in gender and/or number with the adverbially used object demonstrative.

- (63) *Hiy hyo omeme me seyn say nok,*
 hiy hiy-o omeme m-e seyn say nok
 3S.M 3S.M-GEN things PL-OBJ undress move.PL SEQ
sawk apaw liwak. Skul-uwr-ney sa-ney
 sawk apaw liwak skul-uwr-child sa-ney
 CHD naked sit school-man-child woman-child
homkwe sawk hye seme kweyr kow,
 hom-kwe sawk hiy-e so-m-e kweyr kow
 2/3PL-TOP CHD 3S.M-OBJ DDEM-PL-OBJ laugh BEN
apaw ma liwak sehe.
 apaw ma liwak so-h-e
 naked RCM sit DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
 ‘He took off all his clothes and sat down naked. That’s why
 the school boys and girl laughed at him, about (the fact that
 he) was sitting naked.’

The relationship of logical consequence encoded by the adverbial demonstrative object marker is not always a purely causal relationship. It can be a circumstantial relationship where a change in circumstances enables another event to take place.

In (64), the adverbial demonstrative *sehe* relates the temporal subordinate clause marked by *ankin* ‘as/when’ to the event in the main clause. The two clauses do not relate in a purely causal sense, but they relate to each other in a logical sense. The change in circumstances as expressed by the temporal clause, allowed the event in the main clause to take place.

- (64) *Sa aio hiykiaw lonuayk sian ankin,*
 sa aio hiy-kiaw lonuayk sian ankin
 then/and father 3S.M-SLCT hear get.up as/while
sa hehe sehe nwaksu
 sa hoh-e so-h-e nwaksu
 then/and 2/3DU-OBJ DDEM-3S.M-OBJ chase
ha nàyr.
 ha nayr
 OBJ<SUB night.PFTV
 ‘When father himself woke up and got up, he consequently
 chased after the two of them during the night.’

Example (65) illustrates the same point. The feminine adverbial demonstrative *sokwe* relates the two clauses in a logical sense. The change in circumstances as expressed by the temporal clause (getting closer to the village), allowed the event in the main clause to take place (hearing the animal's noise). The events of the main clause are enabled, but not forced or caused by the event expressed in the subordinate clause. The feminine demonstrative *sokwe* agrees with the feminine NP object *wown-oksa ke* 'cuscus-noise OBJ.F' and not with the masculine NP subject *hiykwe* '3S.SUB'.

- (65) *Hiy yier ohriar sok lwak liok menkin,*
 hiy yier ohriar sok lwak liok menkin
 3S.M place near EXCT be in.vain when
hiykwe sawk wown-oksa ke sokwe
 hiy-kwe sawk wown-oksa k-e so-k-e
 3S.M-TOP CHD cuscus-noise 3S.F-OBJ DDEM-3S.F-OBJ
lonuayk.
 lonuayk
 hear
 'When he had come in close proximity to the village, he
 consequently heard the noise of a cuscus.'

The adverbial demonstrative indicating a causal relationship can also be used in a negated sentence with the help of the existential verb *lwak* (see example (66)).

- (66) *Uwr sohokwe eypok lousne pa, yier*
 uwr so-ho-kwe eypok lousne pa yier
 man DDEM-GL.M-TOP day appear NEG.PFTV place
mon kokwe. Uwrsa yier ko homkwe
 mon ko-kwe uwr-sa yier ko hom-kwe
 LOC GL.F-TOP man-woman place GEN 2/3PL.SUB-TOP
sawk lira huon pa seme lwak.
 sawk lira huon pa so-m-e lwak
 CHD see OBJ>SUB NEG.PFTV DDEM-PL-OBJ be
 'The man did not arrive during the day. That's why the people
 of the village did not see him come back.'

5. *Tense, Aspect and Mood*

This chapter deals with the categories of tense, aspect and mood. As in many other languages it is difficult to make sharp distinctions between grammatical tense, aspect and mood, since these concepts are conflated to some degree in Abau. The discussion in §5.1 makes clear that Abau makes a distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect and that the verb or verb phrase does not display tense distinctions. The markers discussed in §5.2 all precede the verb phrase and grammatically behave the same. Some of these markers are more modal (see §5.2.1 and §5.2.2) and others more aspectual in nature. Finally in §5.3, the aspect and modal markers following the verb are discussed. These markers express the following distinctions: inchoative, intention, desirability and doubtfulness.

Markers which mark the clause for mood and negation are dealt with in §7 where the clause-final imperative, indefinite future, interrogative, emphatic indicative and negation markers are discussed.

5.1 Perfective and imperfective

The intonation contour associated with the verb differentiates perfective or completive aspect (which often overlaps with actions finished in the past) from imperfective or incompletive aspect (which often overlaps with present, future and habitual).

The perfective and imperfective are used as follows:

When a speaker refers to events that happened in the past he will use the perfective unless he wants to indicate that the event he refers to still continues to exist, either within the framework of real life or within the framework of his current communication. Essentially, the perfective aspect refers to a single event conceived as a unit, while the imperfective aspect represents an event in the process of unfolding or a repeated or habitual event.

Earlier research acknowledges the existence of verb phrase final intonation, but explained the variations as tense distinctions rather than an aspect difference. Bailey (1975:36-37) states that “verbs exhibit grammemic tone” and “in some constructions tone is the minimal difference that indicates past or present tense.” Lock (2007:23) comments that, “(i)t has not been conclusively established that the different tone on the final verb marks the difference between past and present tense”. In this paper the difference in intonation contour is analysed as the difference between imperfective (IPFTV) and perfective (PFTV) and these terms (and associated abbreviations) are used throughout.

The distinctive intonation contour mainly occurs on the last constituent of a verb phrase that is not followed by a clause-final marker (see §5.1.2). The verb phrase intonation over the final syllable of the VP is a very salient feature and sets the imperfective apart from the perfective. The perfective is indicated by a flat, relatively low single pitch on the final syllable of the verb phrase. The imperfective is indicated by a rising and falling pitch, also on the final syllable of the verb phrase. The two aspects are symbolised by diacritics over the VP final vowel: the symbol [^] for the imperfective as in (1), and [`] for the perfective as in (2).

- (1) *Hakwe yier mon lêy.*
 1S.TOP village LOC go.IPFTV
 ‘I am going to the village.’
- (2) *Hakwe yier mon lèy.*
 1S.TOP village LOC go.PFTV
 ‘I went to the village’

The imperfective often overlaps with the present and the past. This is not always the case as is demonstrated in (3) and (4).

- (3) *Hiy saro lowpway hain nok, a*
hiy saro lowpway hain nok a
 3S.M.SUB plant completely SUB<OBJ SEQ house
mon ma-lêy.
 mon ma-ley
 LOC RPT-go.IPFTV
 ‘He finished planting everything and left (that place) and then was going back to (his) house.’

The final clause of a sentence often has imperfective aspect when it follows a clause with the sequential marker *nok*, as in (3) above. (For more discussion see §9.5.4.)

- (4) *Hakwe mey kraiar po meio*
 ha-kwe mey kraiar po meio
 1S.SUB-TOP work many PFT work.IPFTV
 ‘I have finished a lot of work.’

For more discussion on the perfect marker *po*, see §5.2.6.

5.1.1 Other features of the VP final intonation

When one compares the intonation contour over the two syllable verb *lokin* ‘hit’ in (5) and (6), the contrast between imperfective and perfective stands out because of the final syllable. But it should be noted that there is also a smaller difference in the pitch on the onset of the first syllable of *lokin*. It is somewhat more salient and higher in (5) than in (6). (The contrast is symbolised by markings over the initial vowel of the verb, whereby \bar{o} represents a higher onset than \acute{o} .)

The difference in pitch might be simply a natural tone adjustment in anticipation of the more contrastive pitch difference on the final syllable. In this paper, only the verb phrase final pitch on the final syllable is marked in those examples where the distinction between perfective and imperfective is relevant.

- (5) *Hakwe now non lō.kîn.*
 1S.TOP timber CMT hit.IPFTV
 ‘I am hitting with a stick.’
- (6) *Hakwe now non lô.kîn.*
 1S.TOP timber CMT hit.PFTV
 ‘I hit (struck) with a stick’

5.1.2 Post VP marking of the perfective and imperfective

Clause-final markers which distinguish morphologically between perfective and imperfective are discussed in §7. A number of other clause-final markers which have their own distinct intonation contours do not distinguish between perfective and imperfective. In §7.1 and §7.2 the objective marker *e* in imperatives and the future markers *a*, *ane* and *aney* are discussed. Another set of clause-final modal markers that express

other aspects like inchoative, intention, desirability and dubitative are discussed in §5.3. All these markers in §7 and §5.3 follow the verb phrase and have their own distinctive intonation contours which neutralise any contrastive intonation that might have been on the final syllable of the verb phrase.

A quick overview of the clause-final markers which distinguish morphologically between perfective and imperfective is given in Table 39 below. These clause-final markers follow the VP. Many of these markers are only distinguished in modality by intonation. Further discussion and examples, including a description of what intonation contours the diacritics stand for, can be found in the sections as indicated in the table.

TABLE 39: CLAUSE-FINAL MARKERS THAT DISTINGUISH BETWEEN PERFECTIVE AND IMPERFECTIVE

Mode	Imperfective aspect	Perfective aspect	See section
Negation	<i>pey</i>	<i>pa</i>	§7.3.1
Interrogative	<i>õ</i>	<i>sõ, kõ, mõ</i>	§7.4
Emphatic negation	<i>ȭ</i>	<i>sȭ, kȭ, mȭ</i>	§7.4
Emphatic declarative	<i>ö</i>	<i>sö, kö, mö</i>	§7.4

5.2 Modal and aspect markers preceding the verb phrase

5.2.1 Deontic modality markers *kwa*, *kwaw* and *ka*

The deontic modal markers *kwa*, *kwaw*, and *ka* express deontic modality, which includes a wide semantic range: hortative, permissive, and imperative. In example (7), *kwa* marks an imperative. Verb phrases marked by the hortative marker *kwa* always display perfective aspect. (In all the examples in chapter 5, the relevant VP is always underlined and the marker under discussion is bolded.)

- (7) *Hunkwe now-ma kowp non kwa*
 hwon-kwe now-ma kowp non kwa
 2S-TOP tree-leaf not.mature CMT HOR
wanyày.
 wanyay
 breathe.hot.air.PFTV
 ‘You should breathe the hot air of young leaves.’

Like the English phrase ‘please, sit down’, *kwa* signals a polite command in (8). The intent of the speaker is to grant permission.

- (8) *Ama, homkwe kwa kiy-iwak sir naruòk,*
 ama hom-kwe kwa kiy-liwak sir naruok
 ADDR.PL 2/3PL-TOP HOR ACT-sit sit.PL wait.PFTV
hakwe peyr a mon ma-ley.
 ha-kwe peyr a mon ma-ley
 1S-TOP firstly house LOC RPT-go
 ‘Men, please sit and wait (here), I will first go back to my house.’

In (9), the speaker entreats the people to listen well.

- (9) *Ama, hakwe hmo memba, homkwe hano*
 ama ha-kwe hom-o memba hom-kwe han-o
 ADDR.PL 1S-TOP 2/3PL-GEN member 2/3PL-TOP 1S-GEN
ok ke kwa nuw-onuayk liyày.
 ok k-e kwa nuw-lonuayk liyay
 talk 3S.F-OBJ HOR INT-hear individually.PFTV
 ‘Men, I am your member (= leader), each one of you please listen to my speech.’

Speakers use *kwaw* ‘HOR.RSTR’ to make their command or permission the exclusive, single issue that needs to be focused on. It is used in contexts where the purpose is to make an earnest request rather than give a command. The underlying form consists of the hortative marker *kwa* and the restrictive marker *-aw*.

- (10) *Ney-om homkwe iha lopa peie la o.*
 ney-om hom-kwe iha lopa peie la o
 child-group 2/3PL-TOP hand NEG PROH eat IPFTV
Homkwe iha kwaw lowndiy à.
 hom-kwe iha kwa-aw lowndiy la
 2/3PL-TOP hand HOR-RSTR share eat.PFTV
 ‘Children, do not eat without a hand (= being selfish). You should just eat and share with your hand (= share liberally).’
- (11) *Hunkwe penkin nanpanan me, hunkwe*
 hwon-kwe po-enkin nanpanan m-e hwon-kwe
 2S-TOP Q-MAN think PL-OBJ 2S.SUB-TOP
hane kwaw me nonkway kòw.
 han-e kwa-aw me nonkway kow
 1S-OBJ HOR.RSTR speak know BEN.PFTV
 ‘Whatever you think, just make sure to inform me.’

Whereas *kwa* and *kwaw* are used in commands addressing second person singular and plural referents, *ka* is used in hortative sentences which refer to third person singular or plural.

- (12) *Hakwe senkin nan, hromkwe sueyr*
 ha-kwe so-enkin nan hrom-kwe sueyr
 1S-TOP DDEM-MAN think 1PL.SUB-TOP rain
se me huonok e, sueyr hiy hreme
 s-e me huonok e sueyr hiy hrom-e
 3S.M-OBJ speak call OBJ rain 3S.M 1PL-OBJ
ka hiy-mòn.
 ka hiy-mon
 3.HOR CAUS-do.PFTV
 ‘I think that we should call the rain and let the rain help us.’
- (13) *Aiai hiy ma saro somokwe yaprue*
 aiai hiy ma saro so-mo-kwe yaprue
 food 3S.M RCM plant DDEM-GL.PL-TOP good
ka nuw-iè.
 ka nuw-lie
 3.HOR INT-go.up.PFTV
 ‘As for the food (plants) he planted, just allow them to grow well.’

5.2.2 Dynamic modality marker *liy*

The marker of dynamic modality¹ *liy* encodes an evaluation of the subject's potential or ability. In (14) *liy* 'DYN' indicates potential. (Context of previous: *If you follow this advice, then ...*)

- (14) *Suw, hno peik kokwe liy lon-kanê.*
 suw hwon-o peik ko-kwe liy lon-kane
 then 2S-GEN ill GL.F-TOP DYN make-break.off.IPFTV
 '(If you do this) then your illness can (will potentially)
 discontinue.'

In (15) *liy* 'DYN' indicates ability. When the marker *ley* follows the verb phrase it is analysed as a variant of *korey* 'NEG' (§7.3.7).

- (15) *Hakwe hye hieyn liy lanio ley.*
 ha-kwe hiy-e hieyn liy lanio korey
 1S-TOP 3S.M-OBJ like DYN walk NEG
 'I cannot walk like him.'

In (16) *liy* 'DYN' indicates a combination of potential and ability.

- (16) *Hunkwe mey meio lopa lwak ankin, hakwe*
 hwon-kwe mey meio lopa lwak ankin ha-kwe
 2S-TOP job work NEG be if 1S.SUB-TOP
kar liy ley ley.
 kar liy ley korey
 gladness DYN go NEG
 'If you do not do your job, I will not be happy.'

See §7.3.7 for the markers encoding negated dynamic modality.

5.2.3 Habitual marker *seyn*

The aspectual marker *seyn* indicates habitual action.

¹ Von Wright (1951:28) refers to 'dynamic' modality which is concerned with ability and disposition, as in: "John can speak German." This terminology is adopted in Palmer (2001).

- (17) *Anay homkwe kipay kamon-aw seyn lwak*
 anay hom-kwe kipay kamon-aw seyn lwak
 bandicoot 2/3PL-TOP area one-RSTR HAB be
pey.
 pey
 NEG.IPFTV
 ‘Bandicoots are not in the habit of living at just one place.’
- (18) *Omok eir mon seyn nak-iawôn.*
 omok eir mon seyn nak-liawon
 later top LOC HAB ACC-lie.down.IPFTV
hmo ney me sueyr lows
 hom-o ney m-e sueyr lows
 2/3PL-GEN child PL-OBJ rain collect
ame.
 ame
 undesired.hypoth.event
 ‘After that they (= the mother birds) sleep on top of them, as
 it would not be good if their children were rained on.’

5.2.4 Use of *senaw*

The aspect marker *senaw* has two different usages. First of all, it is used to describe habitual action. In (19) and (20) *senaw* describes habitual action and the verb phrase has imperfective intonation.

- (19) *Ahney somokwe aiopey nuw-wak ankin,*
 ahney so-mo-kwe aiopey nuw-lwak ankin
 bird DDEM-GL.PL-TOP big INT-be if/when
hunkwe hmo oksa me senaw
 hwon-kwe hom-o oksa m-e senaw
 2S-TOP 2/3PL-GEN sound PL-OBJ habitually
lonuâyk.
 lonuayk
 hear.IPFTV
 ‘When those birds are big, you can hear (habitually) the
 sounds they make.’

- (20) *Yeih hiykwe nwoh so premon*
 yeih hiy-kwe nwoh s-o premon
 morning.bird 3S.M-TOP dog 3S.M-GEN potato
me yokun senaw nakâ.
 m-e yokun senaw nak-la
 PL-OBJ theft habitually ACC-eat.IPFTV
 ‘The morning bird habitually stole the dog’s potatoes.’

The marker *senaw* is also used to express undesired consequences that potentially still could take place. The difference between *senaw* ‘HAB’ and *senaw* ‘lest’ is marked by the aspect on the verb, since the former is accompanied by imperfective and the latter by perfective. In English the latter can be translated as ‘it would not be good if’ or ‘lest’. The use of *senaw* ‘lest’ is demonstrated in (21) and (22).

- (21) *Ney sehe kwa nekie prosue, senaw*
 ney so-h-e kwa nekie prosue senaw
 child DDEM-3S.M-OBJ HOR hold stopped lest
makuâyk.
 makuayk
 fall.PFTV
 ‘Take hold of that child, lest he fell.’
- (22) “*Hai, hunkwe paneke nekie prosue so?*”
 hai hwon-kwe paneke nekie prosue so
 O.K. 2S-TOP why hold stopped Q.SP.PFTV.M
 “*Ara, ney hiy senaw makuâyk.*”
 ara ney hiy senaw makuayk
 ADDR.M child 3S.M lest fall.PFTV
 “‘Why did you take hold of (him)?’” “‘Man, lest the child
 fell.’”

In (23), *senaw* is followed by a verb phrase that is marked for the perfective.

- (23) *Hror meiaw mon noney e. Seyr*
 hror mei-aw mon non-ley e seyr
 1DU long-EMPH LOC DU-go OBJ.IMP and/also
hromo mu se uwrsa hom
 hrom-o mu s-e uwr-sa hom
 1PL-GEN crocodile 3S.M-OBJ man-woman 2/3PL
senaw lirà.
 senaw lira
 lest see.PFTV
 ‘Let’s go far away. Lest the people saw our crocodile.’

Senaw ‘lest’ which precedes the VP can be replaced by *lak* ‘undesirable’ which follows the VP. For more discussion see §5.3.3.

- (24) *Hror meiaw mon noney e. Seyr*
 hror mei-aw mon non-ley e seyr
 1DU long-EMPH LOC DU-go OBJ.IMP and/also
hromo mu se uwrsa hom
 hrom-o mu s-e uwr-sa hom
 1PL-GEN crocodile 3S.M-OBJ man-woman 2/3PL
lira lak.
 lira lak
 see lest
 ‘Let’s go far away. It would not be good if the people saw our crocodile.’

5.2.5 Current action markers *pa* and *pau*

The aspectual marker *pa* marks currently ongoing action. The duration is not in focus, but rather the fact that it is taking place now, either within real time or within the time frame of the story teller. This aspect of ‘current ongoingness’ is abbreviated by CUR.

In (25), the speaker relates a past event, but he wants the listener to view the hunting as an event that takes place within the present of his developing discourse. The present marker *pa* always co-occurs with an imperfective intonation contour over the verb phrase. In the last sentence *pa la* ‘CUR eat’ the speaker uses *pa* ‘CUR’ to signal a current action presently in progress.

- (25) *Ey hiy now-mowr eir mon liawon hain*
 ey hiy now-mowr eir mon liawon hain
 sun 3S.M.SUB tree-top top LOC lie.down SUB<OBJ
menkin, hiy pa inakêy. Sa sehe
 menkin hiy pa inakey sa so-h-e
 when 3S.M CUR hunt.IPFTV then/and DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
ka-onuayk ne, "Pa lâ."
 ka-lonuayk ne pa la
 DIR:side-hear SUB>OBJ CUR eat.IPFTV
 'When the sun was positioned over the top of the trees, he
 went hunting at that time. Then he heard it coming from the
 side, "(He) is eating at this moment.'"

In (26), the aspect marker *pa* precedes the verb *mon*, which is again modified by the purpose complement *ley e* 'go PURP'. The verb *mon* in combination with motion verbs indicates volition (see §6.7).

- (26) *Hiy pa ley e môn, sawk hyo*
 hiy pa ley e mon sawk hiy-o
 3S.M CUR go PURP do.IPFTV CHD 3S.M-GEN
an-yeik hokwe sawk mnow aiopey se
 an-yeik ho-kwe sawk mnow aiopey s-e
 fish-arrow GL.M-TOP CHD eel big 3S.M-OBJ
hin.
 hin
 shoot
 'He was intending to leave then, but his hook caught a big
 eel.'

The aspectual marker *pau* 'currently completed' encodes the completion or result of a present action. When *pau* occurs the VP is obligatorily marked for the imperfective. The present action encoded in the marked verb phrase in (27) has just reached completion. *Pau* does not mark events that are viewed as belonging to the past, but events that have reached the phase of completion and continue to have current relevance.

- (27) *Ey hiy pau kuaykeyn lopây. hiy*
 ey hiy pau kuaykeyn lopay hiy
 sun 3S.M CUR.CMPL set afternoon.IPFTV 3S.M
pa mê, “Wo, ha ey, ha po ai
 pa me wo ha ey ha pokon ai
 CUR speak.IPFTV EXCL 1S EXCL;pity 1S today food
lopa ley a.”
 lopa ley a
 NEG go FUT
 ‘The sun had just gone down now in the afternoon, and then
 he was saying, “O, poor me, I’ll have to go without food.”’

5.2.6 The perfect marker *po*

In (28), the verb phrase initial aspect marker *po* ‘perfect (PFT)’² refers to finished action the outcome of which continues to be relevant. The VP-final syllable is marked for imperfective which is expected for events or states that are described in terms of continuity into the presence.

- (28) *Ara, horuom sohokwe*
 ara horuom so-ho-kwe
 ADDR.M crowned.pigeon DDEM-GL.M-TOP
hakiaw-aw po lâ.
 ha-kiaw-aw po la
 1S-SLCT-EMPH PFT eat.IPFTV
 ‘Man, I have eaten this crowned pigeon by myself.’

In (29), *po* ‘PFT’ marks the verbal action of ‘devouring’ as a past event of which the effect continues to be true. The verbal intonation signals the imperfective. The speaker wants the listener to view this event with a continuing relevance within his discourse.

² This paper uses the terms PERFECTIVE and PERFECT and they should not be confused. The perfect (PFT) encodes what is variously described as a past action with present relevance or a present state resulting from a past action. The perfective (PFTV) aspect refers to a single event conceived as one complete unit. (This in contrast to the imperfective aspect which represents an event in the process of unfolding or a repeated or habitual event.) See also Comrie (1976:65) where he states that a verb can be both perfect and imperfective.

- (29) *Nwoh piaparaw kamon hye po peyk*
 nwoh piaparaw kamon hiy-e po peyk
 dog bad one 3S.M-OBJ PFT bite
hnar â.
 hnar la
 tear.off eat.IPFTV
 ‘A bad dog has torn him apart and eaten him (= devoured him).’

The marker *po* ‘PFT’ is not a tense marker, but an aspectual marker that signals perfect. In (30), *po* co-occurs with *o*. The latter is a speech marker that indicates imperfective aspect, which is often used to signal current or ongoing events. (These speech utterance markers are discussed in §7.4.)

- (30) *Hunkwe yoh-ney how-ney mokwe po*
 hwon-kwe yoh-ney how-ney mo-kwe po
 2S-TOP banana-shoot taro-shoot GL.PL-TOP PFT
saro lowpway ô?
 saro lowpway o
 plant completely Q.SP.IPFTV
 ‘As for the banana and the taro shoots, have you planted them all?’

In (31), the marker *po* ‘PFT’ expresses a state or condition that continues to hold true or with continuing results. The intonation over the verb *lwak* ‘be’ signals the imperfective.

- (31) *Ahney sawk hno wayh po lwâk.*
 ahney sawk hwon-o wayh po lwak
 bird CHD 2S-GEN friend PFT be.IPFTV
payhokuaw, hiykwe someykyow
 po-ay-ho-kuaw hiy-kwe someykyow
 Q-what-GL.M-for.reason.of 3S.M-TOP shoulder
sian ey non.
 sian ey non
 get.up INTN CMT
 ‘Bird, but (this) is your friend, because he has wings to fly with.’

It is noteworthy that the aspect marker *po* can occur within a clause that is marked for perfective. When *po* occurs in the apodosis of a

counterfactual condition (32), the final VP intonation is low, which marks perfective. This construction is further discussed in §5.2.8.

- (32) *Sawk hiykwe nioh ley lowpway hokwe,*
 sawk hiy-kwe nioh ley lowpway ho-kwe
 CHD 3S.M-TOP blood go completely GL.M-TOP
hiykwe po lokruè.
 hiy-kwe po lokrue
 3S.M-TOP PFT die.PFTV
 ‘If he had lost his blood completely, he would truly have died.’

5.2.7 Imminent and indefinite future

Two discontinuous morphemes which mark imminent and indefinite action are: *po ... a* ‘imminent future’ and *ya ... a* ‘indefinite future’. The marker *po* is used in other contexts as well (see §5.2.6) and the different usages of the marker *po* are summarized in §5.2.8.1.

When *po* ‘IMM.FUT’ co-occurs with the clause-final indefinite future marker *a*, it encodes immediate future. The marker *a* ‘FUT’ is not part of the verb phrase. It is a clause-final marker that carries an intonation that is different from VP final intonation contour for the perfective and the imperfective. It is somewhat similar to the intonation for the imperfective but nevertheless different, since the pitch over the future action marker is higher and the change in pitch is less salient. It is only a gradual small fall in pitch height.

- (33) *Pion sohokwe hakwe po nak-a a.*
 pion so-ho-kwe ha-kwe po nak-a a
 meat DDEM-GL.M-TOP 1S.TOP IMM.FUT ACC-eat FUT
 ‘As for that meat, I am about to eat it’
- (34) *Hiy me, “Enekwei ha uwr yeik ompow non*
 hiy me enekwei ha uwr yeik ompow non
 3S.M speak time 1S man arrow bow CMT
se lira huon ankin, hakwe ok po
 s-e lira huon ankin ha-kwe ok po
 3S.M-OBJ see OBJ>SUB if/when 1S-TOP talk IMM.FUT

sian me a, hno mawk eir mon.
 sian me a hwon-o mawk eir mon
 get.up speak FUT 2S-GEN head top LOC
 ‘He (= the bird) said, “When I see a man with a bow coming,
 I will immediately fly and make noise above your head.”’

Similarly, phrase initial *ya*, meaning indefinite future, always co-occurs with phrase terminal *a*. See (35) and (36).

- (35) *Homkwe senkin nan, “Kupe hiykwe*
 hom-kwe so-enkin nan Kupe hiy-kwe
 2/3PL-TOP DDEM-MAN think Kupe 3S.M.SUB-TOP
ya nuw-ey sawor-awor kawk
 ya nuw-ley sawor-awor kawk
 INDF.FUT INT-go disappear-DUP put.inside
ha a.
 ha a
 SUB<LOC FUT
 ‘They thought, “At some time Kupe will disappear
 completely (= will never return).”’

The current hypothesis is that *po* in these contexts is derived from *pokon* ‘today, future’³ and that *ya* is derived from *yaw* ‘tomorrow’. Both *po* and *ya* have grammaticalised into aspectual-relative time markers which together with verb phrase final *a* ‘Future’ express the concepts of imminent future and indefinite future.

- (36) *Omok hno makwey sohokwe hano yeik*
 Omok hwon-o makwey so-ho-kwe ha-no yeik
 later 2S-GEN head DDEM-GL.M-TOP 1S-GEN arrow
okukwe, ya hin a.
 o-ko-kwe, ya hin a.
 DDEM-GL.F-TOP INDF.FUT shoot FUT
 ‘Later, as for you your head, my arrow will shoot it (at some
 unmarked future time).’

It should be noted that the future marker *a*, when it does not co-occur with the two aspect markers *po* ‘imminent future’ and *ya* ‘indefinite future’, is only observed in interrogatives (see §7.2). In contrast,

³ This *po* is homophonous with *po* ‘COMPLETIVE’. See §5.2.8.1 for all uses of *po*.

constructions formed with *po ...a* and *ya ... a* are used exclusively in affirmative sentences.

5.2.8 Counterfactual

When *po* is followed by a VP marked for the perfective it marks counterfactual (CFT). In (37) an unmet hypothetical condition is followed by a counterfactual clause.

- (37) *Sawk hiykwe nioh ley lowpway hokwe,*
 Sawk hiy-kwe nioh ley lowpway ho-kwe,
 CHD 3S.M-TOP blood go/flow totally 3S.M-TOP
hiykwe po lokruè.
 hiy-kwe po lokrue
 3S.M-TOP CFT die.PFTV
 ‘If he had lost all his blood, he would have died.’

The marker *po* co-occurs with the imperfective and the perfective. When *po* co-occurs with a VP marked for imperfective it marks an event that happened in the past but continues to have its effect on the present (38). When *po* co-occurs with a VP marked for the perfective it marks an event that would have taken place in the past but did not (39).

The verb phrase in (38) is marked for the imperfective.

- (38) *Ara, horuom sohokwe*
 ara horuom so-ho-kwe
 ADDR.M crowned.pigeon DDEM-GL.M-TOP
hakiaw-aw po lâ.
 ha-kiaw-aw po la
 1S-SLCT-RSTR PFT eat.IPFTV
 ‘Man, I have eaten this crowned pigeon all by myself.’

The verb phrase in (39) is marked for the perfective.

- (39) *Hunkwe hu hawr e ley hokwe, hunkwe*
 Hwon-kwe hu hawr e ley ho-kwe hwon-kwe
 2S-TOP water wash OBJ go 3S.M-TOP 2S-TOP
paraw po ma-lè.
 paraw po ma-le
 before CFT RPT-come.PFTV
 ‘If you had gone to bath, you would have returned before
 (= earlier).’

More discussion on counterfactual constructions is found in §9.5.5.

5.2.8.1 Summary overview on the use of *po*

The marker *po* is used in various ways. The variety of these applications can be confusing. In this section the various uses are listed with a short description and a reference to examples.

TABLE 40: SUMMARY OVERVIEW ON THE USE OF *PO*

Marking	Grammatical function	Meaning	Ex.
1. <i>po</i> + VP marked for imperfective	Perfect	Past event continues to effect present	(38)
2. <i>po</i> ... <i>a</i>	Imminent future	Execution of planned action is near	(33)
3. <i>po</i> + VP marked for perfective	Counterfactual	A potential event did not take place because a condition was not met	(37)
4. <i>po</i>	Temporal - occurs in a position that cannot be taken by aspect markers	Abbreviation of <i>pokon</i> 'today'	(40) (41)

The fourth category has not been described yet. *Po* 'temporal' does not function here as a modal marker, but is analysed as a temporal possibly derived from *pokon* 'today'. This analysis is based on the fact that a modal marker has to precede the verb phrase immediately, but as can be seen from (40) and (41) *po* does not immediately precede the verb phrase and therefore cannot be analysed as a modal marker.

In (40), *po* is separated by an intervening subject NP from the verb phrase, which means that *po* cannot be an aspect marker, as it does not immediately precedes the VP. It is separated from the VP by the subject

pronoun *hakiaw-aw* ‘I myself’. The marker *po* ‘temporal’ is analysed as a shortened version of *pokon* ‘today’.⁴

- (40) *Ara, horuom sohokwe po*
 ara horuom so-ho-kwe pokon
 ADDR.M crowned.pigeon DDEM-GL.M-TOP today
hakiaw-aw lā.
 ha-kiaw-aw la
 1S-SLCT-EMPH eat.IPFTV
 ‘Man, I am going to eat this crowned pigeon by myself
 today.’

In (41), *po* does not precede the VP which disqualifies it from being an aspect marker.

- (41) *Hror a monaw nonwak ankin, po*
 hror a mon-aw non-lwak ankin pokon
 1DU house LOC-RSTR DU-be when/if today
payme kiy-ā?
 pay-m-e kiy-la
 Q:what-PL-OBJ ACT-eat.IPFTV
 ‘When we will be in the house, what are we going to eat
 today?’

5.2.9 Co-occurrence of currently complete and perfect aspect markers

To indicate a completed process with current ongoing relevance to the present situation *pau* ‘CUR.CMPL’ combines with *po* ‘PFT’ to form *pau po*. It marks an event that was completed recently in the past and its finished result continues to have significance for the present time.

⁴ Refers only to future, not to past. E.g. *pokon* ‘later today’ cannot be used in translating the sentence ‘I saw him today’. One needs to use *arakwon* ‘earlier today’.

- (42) *Akwa, hroro akayr hokwe yok*
 akwa hror-o akayr ho-kwe yok
 ADDR.F 1DU-GEN betelnut GL.M-TOP shoot
pau po kei naye ö.
 pau po kei naye o
 CUR.CMPL PFT sprout night EMPH.SP.IPFTV
 ‘Woman, our betelnut has completely sprouted during the night.’
- (43) *Hiykwe ey-aw ey-aw, senkinaw-aw*
 hiy-kwe ey-aw ey-aw so-enkin-aw-aw
 3S.M-TOP sun-RSTR sun-RSTR DDEM-MAN-RSTR-EMPH
lanio hniy hniy-ay kok. Siowp pau
 lanio hniy hniy-ay kok siowp pau
 walk heat heat/sweat day.time intestines CUR.CMPL
po nuw-okruê.
 po nuw-lokrue
 PFT INT-die.IPFTV
 ‘As for him, with only the sun out (in the sky), he just kept walking in the heat of the day. His stomach was really dying (= he had become really hungry).’

5.3 Clause-final aspect and modal markers

The following four sections deal with clause-final markers that give modal and aspectual force to the clause. They have their own clause-final intonation which is different from the perfective and the imperfective. Since they indicate different aspects, one should probably not expect them to be the same. Nevertheless some of the distinctions in the pitch over these final markers are striking, especially the difference between the low pitch over *ley* ‘inchoative’ and the relatively high pitch over *ey* ‘intention’.

TABLE 41: INTONATION CONTOUR OVER CLAUSE-FINAL MODAL OR ASPECT MARKER

Modal marker	Semantic force	Intonation contour	Reference
<i>ley</i>	inchoative	low and level pitch	§5.3.1
<i>ey</i>	intention	high and level pitch	§5.3.2
<i>lak</i>	potentially undesired consequences in future	low and level pitch	§5.3.3
<i>ame</i>	potentially undesired consequences in past	low and level pitch	§5.3.3
<i>pak</i>	dubitative	between low and high, level pitch	§5.3.4

5.3.1 Inchoative

When the verb *ley* ‘go’ occurs as a motion verb it occurs at the beginning of the verb phrase as motion verbs tend to do. The same form *ley* ‘inchoative’ can also be used as a clause-final marker. In (44), both uses are demonstrated. The verb *ley* ‘go’ occurs as the head of the VP and the clause marker *ley* ‘INCH’. As an inchoative marker, it encodes immediate planned action, i.e. ‘I am going to do X’.

- (44) *Hakwe hano wueir se ma-ley ira ley.*
 ha-kwe han-o wueir s-e ma-ley lira ley
 1S-TOP 1S-GEN garden 3S.M-OBJ RPT-go see INCH
 ‘I am going to go out to see my garden again.’

As a motion verb, *ley* ‘go’ marks movement away from the speaker’s point of reference. It does not have that meaning when it functions as clause-final modal marker. This is exemplified in (45), where *ley* occurs twice: As a motion verb in the first sentence and as a modal marker in the second sentence after *le* ‘come’ which is a motion verb that marks movement towards the speaker’s point of reference.

- (45) *Hakwe peyr a mon ma-ley. Sa omok*
 ha-kwe peyr a mon ma-ley sa omok
 1S-TOP firstly house LOC RPT-go then/and later
eyn ma-le ley.
 eyn ma-le ley
 like RPT-come INCH
 ‘I will first go home. Then later on I am going to come back.’

5.3.2 Intention marker *ey*

The marker *ey* modifies the clause for intended action. It does not give a time indication; only intention is expressed. In (46), *ey* ‘intention’ marks the clause for intended action; the temporal NP *pokon-enekwei hokwe* ‘this day’ specifies the time.

- (46) *Hakwe hnekwe skul mon hiy-ey ey,*
 ha-kwe hwon-e-kwe skul mon hiy-ley ey
 1S-TOP 2S-OBJ-TOP school LOC CAUS-go INTN
pokon-enekwei hokwe.
 pokon-enekwei ho-kwe
 today-time GL.M-TOP
 ‘I will bring you to school, this day.’

In (47), *ey* ‘INTN’ marks the clause for intended action, the temporal NP *pokon kokwe* ‘today’ specifies the time.

- (47) *Wayh-om, hakwe pokon kokwe, kuey mo*
 wayh-om ha-kwe pokon ko-kwe kuey m-o
 friend-group 1S-TOP today GL.F-TOP grubs PL-GEN
okpey ke mesor ey.
 ok-pey k-e me-sor ey
 talk-part 3S.F-OBJ speak-count/tell INTN
 ‘Friends, today I intend to tell the story of grubs.’

The intentional marker *ey* can encode future aspect as is seen in (48).

- (48) *Heyn sohokwe hano lian mon-aw*
 heyn so-ho-kwe han-o lian mon-aw
 sin DDEM-GL.M-TOP 1S-GEN own LOC-RSTR
senkinaw lwak ey.
 so-enkin-aw lwak ey
 DDEM-THUS-RSTR be INTN
 ‘This guilt will continue to be on myself (= I will continue to blame myself).’

5.3.3 Desirability

The VP final markers *lak* and *ame* mark clauses for potential undesirable consequences. *Lak* ‘lest’ is used when the undesirable event could potentially still take place, while *ame* is used when the undesirable event did not take place because conditions for the event to take place were not met.

In (49), *lak* marks the clause that states the undesirable consequence. The danger of the child falling is still present.

- (49) *Ney sehe kwa nekie prosue,*
 ney so-h-e kwa nekie prosue
 child DDEM-3S.M-OBJ HOR hold stopped
makuayk lak.
 makuayk lak
 fall lest
 ‘Take hold of that child, because it would not be good if he fell.’

In contrast, *ame* marks a clause expressing undesirable consequences that did not take place, since the conditions for the event to happen were not met. It is clear from (50) that the potential event of the child falling did not take place because a change in circumstances made falling impossible.

- (50) “*Hai hunkwe paneke nekie prosue so?*”
 hai hwon-kwe paneke nekie prosue so
 O.K. 2S.SUB-TOP why hold stopped Q.SP.PFTV.M
 “*Ara, ney hiy makuayk ame.*”
 ara ney hiy makuayk ame
 ADDR.M child 3S.M.SUB fall undesired.hypoth.event
 “‘Why did you grab and hold (him)?’ ‘Man, because
 otherwise the child would have fallen.’”

In (51) and (52), *lak* occurs as the clause marker, since the undesirable consequences are still potentially possible.

- (51) *Ara, pokon yaprue non-aw hin e,*
 ara pokon yaprue non-aw hin e
 ADDR.m today good CMT-RSTR shoot OBJ.IMP
hrorkwe puraw non-meio ie lak.
 hrorkwe puraw non-meio lie lak
 1DU-Top nothing DU-work go.up lest
 ‘Listen, today we should shoot well, because it would not be
 good if we had gone up and built (these bird shelters) for
 nothing.’

The marker *lak* can also be used when the potential future undesirable consequence is framed in a negated clause. In order for the negated clause to be marked by the clause-final marker *lak*, the verb *lwak* ‘be’ needs to be used as an auxiliary verb to the negated clause.

- (52) *Ara, hano sawin kokwe hunkiaw kwa*
 ara han-o sawin ko-kwe hwon-kiaw kwa
 ADDR.M 1S-GEN widow GL.F-TOP 2S.SUB-SLCT HOR
nak-huon, sawk hano ney pahaw me
 nak-huon sawk han-o ney pahaw m-e
 ACC-marry CHD 1S-GEN child orphan PL-OBJ
hiy-a pa lwak lak.
 hiy-la pa lwak lak
 CAUS-eat NEG.PFTV be lest
 (*Dying man to brother*) ‘Man, marry my widow, because it
 would not be good if my orphaned children would not be
 looked after.’

In (53), the clause-final marker *ame* marks the clause for an undesired consequence that did not take place since the conditions for the event to take place were not met.

- (53) *Ara, hunkwe hyo sawin ke*
 ara hwon-kwe hiy-o sa-win k-e
 ADDR.M 2S-TOP 3S.M-GEN woman-widow 3S.F-OBJ
nakhuon pa sehe lwak, hyo
 nak-huon pa so-h-e lwak han-o
 ACC-marry NEG.PFTV DDEM-3S.M-OBJ be 1S-GEN
ney pahaw me hiy-a ame.
 ney pahaw m-e hiy-la ame
 child orphan PL-OBJ CAUS-eat undesired.hypoth.event
 ‘Man, you did not marry his widow, because otherwise you
 would have had (the undesired consequence) to look after his
 children.’

5.3.4 Modal marker *pak* encoding doubt

The dubitative marker *pak* ‘it is not certain that’ marks propositions for which there is a strong element of doubt. The modal marker *pak* marks verbal as well as verbless clauses. In (54), *pak* ‘DUB’ modifies a verbless clause.

- (54) *Hiykwe hyo orih se senkin*
 hiy-kwe hiy-o orih s-e so-enkin
 3S.M-TOP 3S.M-GEN father 3S.M-OBJ DDEM-MAN
me, “Somokwe mo ai-ar pak.”
 me so-mo-kwe mo ai-ar pak
 speak DDEM-GL.PL-TOP EMPH food-INTF DUB
 ‘He said to his father, “That might (or might not) be real
 food.”’

The dubitative *pak* can mark a verbal clause as well, as in (55).

- (55) *Uwr-nawp ohokwe, arakwon poup po*
 uwr-nawp o-ho-kwe arakwon poup po
 man-old PDEM-GL.M-TOP earlier.today spirit PFT
kros a kok pak.
 kros la kok pak
 tear.apart eat day.time DUB
 ‘As for that man, he may (or may not) have been torn apart
 and eaten by the devil spirit earlier today.’

The dubitative *pak* can be used in a list of propositions that are all individually marked for doubtful certainty as in (56).

- (56) *Hiykwe sa senkin nanpanan, “Uwr*
 hiy-kwe sa so-enkin nanpanan uwr
 3S.M-TOP then/and DDEM-MAN think man
hokwe awia po lo pak, o huok po
 ho-kwe awia po lo pak o huok po
 GL.M-TOP enemy PFT shoot DUB or pig PFT
la pak.
 la pak
 eat DUB
 ‘He then thought, “As for this man, he may have been killed
 by enemies, or he may have been eaten by pigs.”’

The dubitative marker *pak* can be modified by the future markers *a*, *ane*, and *aney* (see §7.2).

6. *Clause*

6.1 Clause types

Abau only manifests two basic clause types. The verbless clause and the verbal clause. Both clause types can be divided in a topic part and a comment part. The first clause type consists of a topic constituent with a juxtaposed comment constituent without a verb phrase or only accompanied by the existential-stative verb *lwak*. The verbless clause has two basic constituents: an optional topic constituent (although it always needs to be understood) and an obligatory comment constituent.

The verbal clause always has a verb phrase which is the nucleus of the verbal clause (see §4.3). This clause type follows SOV order by default and displays the syntactic marking of subject and object.

The verbless clauses are discussed first (see §6.2). Then constructions with the stative verb *lwak* are examined (see §6.3). These constructions are very similar to the verbless clauses. Lastly, verbal clauses are discussed (see §6.4).

6.2 Verbless clauses

Verbless clauses can be divided in two basic parts:

1. one or more noun phrases marked by topic markers
hosting *-kwe*,
2. an obligatory complement constituent functioning as the comment. The comment constituent never hosts *-kwe*.

These two parts are separated by a short, but clear pause. The first part consisting of topicalised constituents is the given setting or the background against which the comment is made. The comment constituent contains the new information that the speaker wants to convey.

6.2.1 The constituents of the verbless clause

6.2.1.1 Topicalised constituent in a verbless clauses

The topic in a verbless clause can be marked by plural (1) and singular masculine (2) or singular feminine (3) NP topic markers.

- (1) *An har mo woki mokwe aiopey.*
 an har m-o woki mo-kwe aiopey
 fish some PL-GEN mouth GL.PL-TOP big
 ‘Regarding the mouths of some catfish, they are big.’
- (2) *Popo hokwe ai yaprue.*
 popo ho-kwe ai yaprue
 papaya GL.M-TOP food good
 ‘As for papaya fruit, it is good food.’
- (3) *Pisu kokwe haraw.*
 pisu ko-kwe haraw
 knife GL.F-TOP short
 ‘As for the knife, it is short.’

Verbless clauses always have a topic constituent marked by *-kwe*. In (4), the topic NP is marked by the NP topic marker *mokwe*.

- (4) *How har mokwe weyspey.*
 how har mo-kwe weyspey
 taro some GL.PL-TOP white
 ‘As for some taros, they are white.’

A topic constituent cannot be marked for the syntactic roles of subject or object in a verbless clause. Example (5) is ill-formed, because the topic NP is marked as a subject NP, which is incorrect in a verbless clause.

- (5) **How har homkwe weyspey.*
 how har hom-kwe weyspey
 taro some 2/3PL-TOP white
 ‘Some taros are white.’

The topic constituent in a verbless clause can occur with a postposition, as in (6) below. (Topic refers to topic constituents; comment refers to the comment part of the clause which never has any topic marking by definition.)

- (6) **Topic** *Paraw* ***kokwe*** **Topic** *hromo* *sihway* *sihway*
 paraw ko-kwe hrom-o sihway sihway
 past GL.F-TOP 1PL-GEN group.wise group.wise
- Comment**
- mo* *yier* *mon* ***kokwe***, *ihey* *mo*
 m-o yier mon ko-kwe ihey m-o
 PL-GEN place LOC GL.F-TOP white.man PL-GEN
- ahney kakaruk lopa.*
 ahney kakaruk lopa
 bird chicken NEG
 ‘Long ago, in everyone’s villages, we did not have the white men’s birds (= chickens).’

In (6), the underlined locative NP marked by the postposition *mon* fills the role of topic constituent. Like all topic constituents, this type of topic constituent is also obligatorily topicalised. However, it can only be topicalised by the singular feminine NP topic marker *kokwe*. The masculine gender of *yier* ‘place’ does not impact the topic marker, since *yier* ‘place’ is marked by the locative marker *mon*. This phenomenon takes place for all NPs marked for a semantic role. They can only be topicalised by the topic marker *kokwe*, regardless of the gender and number of the head of the NP.

It should also be noted that the topic part of a verbless clause can consist of more than one topic constituent as the example above shows. In (6) above, a temporal noun phrase and a locative noun phrase are both separately topicalised. These two topicalised NPs form together the topic part of the verbal clause.

In (7), the comitative NP marked by *non* fills the role of topic constituent. The phrase is topicalised by the topic marker *kokwe*.

- (7) **Topic** *Hyo* *huok-nays* *owk* *non* ***kokwe*** *aiopey*.
 hiy-o huok-nays owk non ko-kwe aiopey
 3S.M-GEN pig-tooth string.bag CMT GL.F-TOP big
 ‘His pig tusk with (in) its string bag is big.’

6.2.1.2 The comment slot in verbless clauses

Modifiers (1) or noun phrases that contain a modifier (2), as well as the comitative NP (8) and the similarity NP (9) have been observed to function in the comment slot of verbless clauses. The comment slot of a clause is always defined as the part that contains non-topicalised constituent(s).

In (8), the topic constituent is topicalised by the feminine topic demonstrative *sokukwe*. The comment slot is filled by a comitative NP, *ney non* ‘with child’.

(8)	Topic		Comment	
	<i>Nwoh</i>	<i>sokukwe</i>	<i>ney</i>	<i>non.</i>
	nwoh	so-ko-kwe	ney	non
	dog	DDEM-GL.F-TOP	child	CMT
	‘That dog had puppies.’			

In (9), the comment slot is filled by a similarity NP, *uwr yaprue eyn* ‘like a good man’.

(9)	Topic		Comment	
	<i>Uwr</i>	<i>sohokwe</i>	<i>uwr</i>	<i>yaprue eyn.</i>
	uwr	so-ho-kwe	uwr	yaprue eyn
	man	DDEM-GL.M-TOP	man	good like
	‘That man is like a good man.’			

In (10), the comment slot is filled by the modifier *yaprue* ‘good’.

(10)	Topic		Topic	
	<i>Enkin</i>	<i>kokwe,</i>	<i>aio</i>	<i>so</i>
	enkin	ko-kwe	aio	s-o
	MAN	GL.F-TOP	father	3S.M-GEN
				<i>irowp</i>
				<i>hokwe</i>
				irowp
				ho-kwe
				arm
				GL.M-TOP
	Comment			
	<i>yaprue.</i>			
	yaprue			
	good			
	‘At this time, father’s arm is alright.’			

Although rare, it is possible to only state the comment part of a clause. This comment part is by definition not topicalised. This construction is used for titles of stories, or for short headings that only name the subject that will be discussed.

The comment NP in (11) was written above a text that described how to build a house.

- (11) **Comment**
A meio yor.
 a meio yor
 house work way
 ‘The way of house building.’

In (12), the title of a well-known legend is given at the beginning of the story.

- (12) **Comment**
Uwr-oryay-kiy mo okpey ok.
 uwr-oryay-kiy m-o ok-pey ok
 man-older.brother-two PL-GEN talk-part talk
 ‘The story of the two brothers.’

6.3 Stative and existential verb *lwak* ‘to be’

6.3.1 Stative verb relating comment to topic

The stative verb *lwak* ‘to be’ can be placed after comment constituents with minimal semantic difference. Its presence basically changes an utterance stated in absolute terms (13) into an utterance that is placed into a time frame (14). (The verb *lwak* is marked for imperfective.)

- (13) *Wawp mokwe weyspey.*
 wawp mo-kwe weyspey
 bird.sp GL.PL-TOP white
 ‘As for *wawp* birds, they are white.’ (General truth stated absolutely.)
- (14) *Wawp mokwe weyspey lwâk.*
 wawp mo-kwe weyspey lwak
 bird.sp GL.PL-TOP white be.IPFTV
 ‘As for *wawp* birds, they are being white.’ (A present truth that may or may not change.)

The presence of the existential verb *lwak* in (14) gives the comment a time reference. Comrie (1976: 103-106) describes the difference in terms of the distinction between contingent state and absolute state. In (14), the existential verb *lwak* marks the whiteness of the birds as contingent. This fact can potentially change whereas the absence of the stative verb *lwak* in

(13) gives the utterance an absolute timeless truth value. Compare also (10) and (17) where (10), without *lwak*, states a timeless truth or state of affairs. There is no indication that the state described was ever different. Example (17) places the predicate in a time frame which suggests uncertainty whether this state was different in the past or will be different in the future.

Existential clauses encode temporary, contingent conditions. The topic constituent is by definition topicalised. The verb *lwak* 'to be' relates the comment to the topic in terms of characteristics.

- (15) *Pruam mokwe ahney me hieyn-aw lwâk.*
 pruam mo-kwe ahney m-e hieyn-aw lwak
 cassowary GL.PL-TOP bird PL-OBJ like-RSTR be.IPFTV
 'As for cassowaries, they are just like birds.'

- (16) *Woyo mo i mokwe haraw lwâk.*
 woyo m-o i mo-kwe haraw lwak
 fowl PL-GEN leg GL.PL-TOP short be.IPFTV
 'As for the legs of fowls, they are short.'

In (17), two topics are given and the comment *yaprue* 'good' fits with either one.

- (17) *Enkin kokwe aio so irowp hokwe*
 enkin ko-kwe aio s-o irowp ho-kwe
 MAN GL.F-TOP father 3S.M-GEN arm GL.M-TOP
yaprue lwâk.
 yaprue lwak
 good be.IPFTV
 'At this time, as for father's arm, it is alright.'

Existential clauses having the verb *lwak* can occur with a topic marker and be either marked or unmarked for subject. In (18), the topic constituent is marked with the NP subject marker *hom* '2/3pl' which is suffixed with the topic marker *-kwe*. The verb *lwak* can be marked for the imperfective (18) or perfective (19).

- (18) *Wawp homkwe weyspey lwâk*
 Wawp hom-kwe weyspey lwak
 bird.sp 2/3PL-TOP white be.IPFTV
 'Wawp birds are white'

- (19) *Wawp homkwe weyspey lwàk*
 Wawp hom-kwe weyspey lwak
 bird.sp 2/3PL-TOP white be.PFTV
 ‘*Wawp* birds were white’

6.3.2 Existential verb relating topic and comment

If *lwak* ‘to be’ relates the topic to the comment in terms of characteristics, it can be deleted. See (13) and (14). If *lwak* ‘to be’ relates the topic to the comment in terms of time or location, it cannot be deleted. In (20), the verb *lwak* functions not as a stative verb that relates the topic with characteristics, but as an intransitive verb that relates the topic with location. The verb *lwak* relates the comment (the locative NP) to the topic (a participant within the story). The motion verb *lanio* ‘walk’ in (21) fulfils a similar function in regard to location.

- (20) *Huok kamon aiopey hokwe ki sapa kamon*
 huok kamon aiopey ho-kwe ki sapa kamon
 pig one big GL.M-TOP ground forest one
mon lwak.
 mon lwak
 LOC be
 ‘As for a certain big pig, it was (= lived) in a certain forest area.’
- (21) *Huok kamon aiopey hokwe ki sapa kamon*
 huok kamon aiopey ho-kwe ki sapa kamon
 pig one big GL.M-TOP ground forest one
mon lanio.
 mon lanio
 LOC walk
 ‘As for a certain big pig, it walked in a certain forest area.’

The verb *lwak* ‘to be’ has the existential meaning ‘to live’ in contexts that refer to time and location. This was already shown in (20) where a topicalised participant was related to a comment that expressed location. It is also possible to topicalise the location or temporal and relate this constituent to a comment that signals the participant. If this is done, the modifier *senkin* ‘DDEM-MAN’ is obligatorily present preceding *lwak*.

In (23) and (22) the topic constituents relate respectively to location and time. In order to relate these topic constituents to a comment

constituent that signals an animate participant, the manner demonstrative *senkin* needs to precede *lwak*.

- (22) *Om kamon **hokwe** uwr nawp prueyn*
 om kamon ho-kwe uwr nawp prueyn
 village one GL.M-TOP man old one
***senkin** lwàk.*
 so-enkin lwak
 DDEM-MAN be.PFTV
 ‘At a certain place, a certain old man lived thus.’

- (23) *Paraw paraw-ar **kokwe** wayp so ney*
 paraw paraw-ar ko-kwe wayp s-o ney
 past past-INTF GL.F-TOP eagle 3S.M-GEN child
*prueyn **senkin** lwàk.*
 prueyn so-enkin lwak
 one DDEM-MAN be.PFTV
 ‘A long time ago, a certain son of an eagle lived thus.’

6.4 Verbal clauses

The verbal clause is discussed in the following sections, starting with the most nuclear part of the clause: the verb phrase. More phrase constituents will be added to the verb phrase in the following sections, starting with non-topicalised constituents that have no syntactic or semantic case marking, working towards a fully developed verbal clause that has constituents that display all variations of topic, syntactic and semantic markings. In the examples below all the verb phrases are underlined for easy recognition.

6.4.1 Verbal clause consisting only of VP and modal marker

A verbal clause can consist of just a VP often accompanied by a modal marker in order to make a meaningful expression. In (24), the verb phrase is preceded by the prohibitive *peie* followed by a speech marker. In (25), the verb phrase is preceded by the hortative marker *kwa*.

- (24) *Peie lira o!*
 peie lira o
 PROH see EMPH.SP.IPFTV
 ‘Don’t look!’

- (25) *Kwa ley!*
 kwa ley
 HOR go
 ‘Go!’

6.4.2 Verbal clause consisting of VP preceded by an adverb or incorporated noun

The VP in a verbal clause can be modified by an adverb that precedes the verb phrase as in (26) or by an adverbial interrogative as in (27). (See for more discussion §4.4 and §7.5.3)

- (26) *Yaprue hin e!*
 yaprue hin e
 well shoot OBJ
 ‘Shoot well!’
- (27) *Paneke hakan ko?*
 paneke hakan ko
 why flee Q.SP.PFTV.F
 ‘Why did you (female) flee?’

Incorporated nouns, i.e. nouns that work in close corporation with a verb to establish one single meaning will precede the verb phrase without any syntactic or other marking. In (28), the noun *kar* ‘happiness’ occurs without any marking. Incorporated nouns always precede the verb phrase unless a modal marker like *kwa* ‘HOR’ intervenes. (See also §3.11.1)

- (28) *Kar kwa ley e.*
 kar kwa ley e
 happiness HOR go OBJ
 ‘Be happy.’

6.4.3 Verbal clause including non-syntactic topicalised constituents

A verbal clause can be further extended by topicalised constituents that do not display any syntactic or semantic case marking. It was noted in §6.2 that verbless clauses consist of a topic and a comment part. The topic part of the verbless clause is mostly filled by a topicalised noun phrase and the comment part is often filled by a non-topicalised modifier. This internal clause division of a topicalised part and a comment part can be found in verbal clauses as well. The topicalised part is nearly always

expressed, but if it is not (like in §6.4.1 and §6.4.2) it is always understood. When the topicalised part is expressed, the topicalised constituent(s) will host the topic marker *-kwe*. In (29), the topic part of the clause is filled by the topicalised NP *yeyk ohokwe* ‘this canoe’. The rest of the clause is the comment part of the clause (see §8.4).

(29)	Topic		Comment				
	<i>Yeyk ohokwe</i>		<i>yaprue</i>	<i>meio</i>	<i>popriy</i>	<i>pa!</i>	
	yeyk o-ho-kwe		yaprue	meio	popriy	pa	
	canoe PDEM-GL.M-TOP		good	work	well	NEG.PFTV	
	‘You did not make this canoe well!’						

The topic part of the sentence can be filled by a personal pronoun as in (30).

(30)	Topic		Comment			
	<i>Hunkwe</i>		<i>yaprue</i>	<i>lwak</i>	<i>o?</i>	
	hwon-kwe		yaprue	lwak	o	
	2S.SUB-TOP		well	be	Q.SP.IPFTV	
	‘Are you well?’					

It needs to be noted that topicalised nominal personal pronouns can be analysed as either topicalised subjects (marked both syntactically and pragmatically) or as personal pronouns that are only pragmatically marked for topic and not for subject. See discussion in §6.5.2.

The topic part of a clause can be filled by more than one NP. In (31), a topicalised temporal phrase (*pokon kokwe*) and a topicalised subject phrase (*hakwe*) form together the topic part of the sentence.

(31)	Topic		Topic		Comment		
	<i>Pokon kokwe</i>		<i>hakwe</i>		<i>liwak nieys kok</i>	<i>ey.</i>	
	pokon ko-kwe		ha-kwe		liwak nieys kok	ey	
	today GL.F-TOP		1S.SUB-TOP		sit rest day.time	INTN	
	‘Today, as for me, I intend to sit down and rest during the day.’						

6.4.4 Verbal clause including constituents marked for semantic case

Semantic case marking is realised by postpositional phrases. A postpositional locative noun phrase can occur in the topic part of a clause, as in (32). The postpositional phrase *yier serey mon kokwe* is marked for

mon lanio.
 mon lanio
 LOC walk

‘As for a certain big pig, it walked in a certain forest area.’

6.4.5 Verbal clause including constituents marked for syntactic case

NPs can be marked for subject and object. If they occur in the topic part of the sentence, they have topic marking as well. If they occur in the comment part of the sentence, they are without topic marking.

Example (36) displays normal SOV order: a topicalised subject and a non-topic marked object followed by the verb phrase. An indirect object is not expressed but signalled by the benefactive *kow*.

(36)	Topic			Comment	
	<i>Hyo</i>	<i>wayh</i>	<i>hiykwe</i>	<i>hopion</i>	<i>se</i>
	hiy-o	wayh	hiy-kwe	hopion	s-e
	3S.M-GEN	friend	3S.M.SUB-TOP	pig.meat	3S.M-OBJ
		<u><i>nak-yay</i></u>	<u><i>kow.</i></u>		
		nak-lyay	kow.		
		ACC-place.down	BEN.		
		‘His friend brought meat.’			

The inclusion of the recipient *hye* ‘3S.M.OBJ’ does not cause any syntactic changes for the other constituents of the clause in (37). It should be noted that the direct object and indirect object are both marked by the same object marker *-e*.

(37)	Topic			Comment	
	<i>Hyo</i>	<i>wayh</i>	<i>hiykwe</i>	<i>hye</i>	<i>hopion</i>
	hiy-o	wayh	hiy-kwe	hiy-e	hopion
	3S.M-GEN	friend	3S.M.SUB-TOP	3S.M-OBJ	pig.meat
		<u><i>se</i></u>	<u><i>nak-yay</i></u>	<u><i>kow.</i></u>	
		s-e	nak-lyay	kow.	
		3S.M-OBJ	ACC-place.down	BEN.	
		‘His friend brought him meat.’			

One may exchange the positions of the subject and object to give a more prominent role to the subject. In OSV order, the object NP is nearly always topicalised and the subject NP is not, because the subject is treated

as new information as is shown in (38). (For more discussion, see counterexample of a non-topicalised fronted object NP (19) in §8.4, and also §6.5.1 and §8.6.)

- (38) **Topic** **Comment**
- Keno se kokwe ur hiy*
 Keno s-e ko-kwe ur hiy
 Keno 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP vine 3S.M.SUB
- way-a-way kuayk nayr.
 way-a-way kuayk nayr
 tie-DUP-tie fall night
 ‘As for Keno, a vine tangled him causing him to fall in the night.’

6.5 General structure of the verbal clause

The verb phrase is the only obligatory element in the verbal clause. Neutral order in Abau is SOV, but this order can readily be altered for pragmatic reasons. Background or given information is placed at the beginning of the sentence and topicalised accordingly. Foreground or prominent information is placed preceding the verb phrase. The phrase that immediately precedes the VP forms the comment of the utterance.

TABLE 42: STRUCTURE OF THE CLAUSE

	Topic part of clause	Comment part of clause	
Basic parts of the clause	NP Topic constituents [+TOP]	Non-verbal constituents [-TOP]	Verbal constituent
Possible number of constituents	0 to 3	Rarely 0, usually 1, sometimes 2	one VP
Possible candidates	NP _[+TOP -SYNT] , SUB _[+TOP] OBJ _[+TOP] PP _[+TOP]	SUB _[-TOP] OBJ _[-TOP] PP _[-TOP] MOD _[-TOP]	VP

Abau sentences sharply distinguish topicalised and non-topicalised segments. In terms of the pragmatics of the communication situation it

means that given or background information is clearly distinguished from new or foreground information. Constituents containing new information are never topicalised and precede the verb phrase. Topicalised constituents conveying given information are found clause-initially. A topicalised constituent can only precede, not follow, a non-topicalised constituent within the clause.

6.5.1 Positioning of subject and object

Neutral or frequently observed order within the clause places the subject before the object. The verb phrase occurs clause-finally. In (39), the object *kuey me* ‘grubs PL-OBJ’ follows the subject *hano sa ko orih hiykwe* ‘my wife’s father’.

- (39) $S_{[+TOP]}$
Hano sa ko orih hiykwe
 han-o sa k-o orih hiy-kwe
 1S-GEN woman 3S.F-GEN father 3S.M.SUB-TOP
- $O_{[-TOP]}$ VP
kuey me lowk.
 kuey m-e lowk
 grubs PL-OBJ cut
 ‘My wife’s father cut the grubs (from the inside of the sago palm).’

Placing *kuey me* ‘grubs OBJ’ before *hano sa ko orih hiy* (my wife’s father) yields a syntactically ill-formed structure.

- (40) $O_{[-TOP]}$ $S_{[-TOP]}$ VP
 **Kuey me hano sa ko orih hiy lowk.*
 ‘The grubs were cut by my wife’s father.’

The order of subject and object can be reversed, and that nearly always results in the topicalisation of the object NP. As a result of the reversal the subject will immediately precede the verb phrase and cannot be topicalised any longer. In (41), *kuey me* ‘grubs PL-OBJ’ is marked by the feminine topic marker *kokwe* and precedes the non-topicalised subject. As a result the subject becomes more prominent and emphasised.

- (41) $O_{[+TOP]}$ $S_{[-TOP]}$
Kuey me kokwe hano sa ko
 kuey m-e ko-kwe han-o sa k-o
 grubs PL-OBJ GL.F-TOP 1S-GEN woman 3S.F-GEN
 VP
orih hiy lowk.
 orih hiy lowk
 father 3S.M.SUB cut
 ‘(It was) my wife’s father (who) cut the grubs.’

A topicalised constituent that functions as patient within the predication is not obligatorily marked for object. In (42), *kuey mokwe* has the semantic function of patient, but is not marked by the plural object marker *me*, but by the plural topic marker *mokwe*. Grammatically it is not marked as the object of the clause, but rather as a sentential topic that will be commented on.

- (42) $NP_{[+TOP]}$ $S_{[-TOP]}$
Kuey mokwe, hano sa ko
 kuey mo-kwe han-o sa k-o
 grubs GL.PL-TOP 1S-GEN woman 3S.F-GEN
 VP
orih hiy lowk.
 orih hiy lowk
 father 3S.M.SUB cut
 ‘In regard to grubs, my wife’s father cut them out.’

Animate objects can be placed clause-initially as well. In (43) the indirect object consisting of the object personal pronoun *hye* ‘3S.M.OBJ’ precedes the non-topicalised NP subject.

- (43) $O_{[+TOP]}$ $S_{[-TOP]}$
Hye kokwe sawk si hiy
 hiy-e ko-kwe sawk si hiy
 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP CHD excrement 3S.M.SUB
 VP
lonuayk me ha.
 lonuayk me ha
 hear speak OBJ<SUB
 ‘But it was the excrement that responded to him.’

Temporal NPs and locative NPs often convey background information and are therefore placed clause-initially and topicalised. They are only found in the comment part of the clause if the temporal or the locative is treated as new information.

In (44), the NP *enekwei kamon hokwe* ‘one day’ is treated as background information within the sentence where it occurs. Therefore it is not marked syntactically or semantically, only pragmatically. The NP *John hiykwe* ‘John 3S.M.SUB-TOP’ is a topicalised subject. The object is syntactically marked by *me* but is not topicalised. The incorporated noun *yokun* ‘theft’ that precedes the verb phrase is by definition not marked for object (§3.11.1).

(44)	NP _[+TOP]			S _[+TOP]	
	<i>Enekwei</i>	<i>kamon</i>	<i>hokwe,</i>	<i>Jon</i>	<i>hiykwe</i>
	enekwei	kamon	ho-kwe	Jon	hiy-kwe
	time	one	GL.M-TOP	Jon	3S.M.SUB-TOP
	O _[+TOP]			O _[INCORP]	VP
	<i>Kenu</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>wueir-aiai</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yokun la.</i>
	Kenu	s-o	wueir-aiai	m-e	yokun la
	Kenu	3S.M-GEN	garden-food	PL-OBJ	theft eat
	‘One day, Jon stole Kenu’s garden food.’				

6.5.2 Pragmatic and syntactic marking on NPs consisting of a personal pronoun

It needs to be noted again that NPs with a noun as head can be marked in more diverse ways than NPs that consist only of a personal pronoun. NPs which have a noun as head are marked by a separate final noun phrase marker while NPs that consist only of a personal pronoun often do not have such a separate NP marker. For the latter group syntactic information is in most cases not marked by a separate marker, but carried by the personal pronoun itself.

Secondly, there is a wide range of NP final markers for NPs with a noun as the head of the NP. These markers give the NP a pragmatic role, or a syntactic role, or both. The range of options of NP markers for NPs that have only a personal pronoun as head is more limited. Table 43 gives an overview of the various markings on NPs with a noun as head of the NP, versus NP with only a personal pronoun as head of the NP. When studying

TABLE 43: THE MARKING OF NPS WITH A NOUN AS HEAD VERSUS NPS WITH A PERSONAL PRONOUN AS HEAD

	Without syntactic or semantic marking	Subject marked	Object marked	Semantically marked (ex. with <i>non</i> 'CMT')
Noun phrases				
without NP final topic marking	NP <i>huok</i>	SUB.NP <i>huok hiy</i>	OBJ.NP <i>huok se</i>	PP ¹ <i>huok non</i>
<hr/>				
with NP final topic marking	NP <i>huok hokwe</i>	SUB.NP <i>huok hiykwe</i>	OBJ.NP <i>huok se kokwe</i>	PP <i>huok non kokwe</i>
<hr/>				
Personal pronouns				
Non-topicalised pers. pronouns	NP * * <i>hiy</i> ²	SUB.NP <i>hiy</i>	OBJ.NP <i>hye</i>	PP <i>hiy non</i>
<hr/>				
Topicalised pers. pronouns	NP <i>hiykwe</i> ³	SUB.NP <i>hiykwe</i>	OBJ.NP <i>hyekwe</i>	PP * <i>hiy non kokwe</i>

¹ PP stands for postpositional phrase (see §3.9).² A non-topic marked *hiy* can never represent a pronoun without syntactic function.³ See discussion below whether *hiykwe* can represent a non-syntactic topic-marked form of the pronoun.

this table it will become obvious that the distribution for the latter type of NP is more restricted.

It is suggested in this grammar that the difference between the pragmatic and syntactic marking of the topicalised NPs that consist of only a pronoun has been neutralized. Some data seem to suggest that the set of personal subject pronouns can be used to mark only topic, and not subject. For instance, it is possible for the same topicalised pronoun to occur twice in one sentence. In (45), the initial personal pronoun *hakwe* 'I' only introduces the entity as a topic that will be commented on. The second *hakwe* is a syntactic argument in the clause, functioning as the syntactic subject.

(45)		NP _[+TOP]	NP _[+TOP]		S _[+TOP]
	<i>Akwa,</i>	<i>hakwe</i>	<i>arakwon-arawh</i>	<i>kokwe</i>	<i>hakwe</i>
	akwa	ha-kwe	arakwon-arawh	ko-kwe	ha-kwe
	ADDR.F	1S-TOP	earlier-night	GL.F-TOP	1S.SUB-TOP
	O _[INCORP]	VP			
	<i>now</i>	<i>lian</i>	<i>ira</i>	<i>nayr.</i>	
	now	liawon	lira	nayr	
	dream	lie.down	see	night	
		'Woman, as for me, last night I had a dream.'			

A NP consisting of only a personal pronoun is analysed on the basis of its position within the clause. In (45) the first *hakwe* 'I' is followed by another topicalised NP and as a result one may conclude that the NP *hakwe* 'I' is not marked for subject, but only for topic. The further a personal pronoun is located to the left, the higher the probability that the personal pronoun is introduced only as a topic, and the subject role is not in focus (see §8.3.3 for other examples). The further a personal pronoun is placed to the right, the higher the probability that the subject role is in focus. When the subject NP consisting of a personal pronoun is not topicalised, the NP is prominent.

The subject personal pronoun *ha* 'I' in (46) is not marked for topic. It therefore occurs in the comment part of the clause. Its subject function is very much in focus.

- (46) $\text{NP}_{[+TOP]}$ $\text{NP}_{[+TOP]}$ $\text{S}_{[-TOP]}$
Pokon kokwe hyo pion hokwe ha
pokon ko-kwe hiy-o pion ho-kwe ha
today GL.F-TOP 3S.M-GEN meat GL.M-TOP 1S.SUB

VP
po la a.
po la a
IMM.FUT eat FUT
‘Today, as for his meat, I am about to eat it.’

As stated above, NPs consisting of a topicalised personal pronoun could be analysed as having both syntactic and pragmatic marking, or as having only pragmatic marking. Their position within the clause is the determining factor. The personal pronoun NP needs to be followed by at least one other topicalised constituent before it can be analysed as a constituent that has lost its syntactic role.

The NP *homkwe* in (47) hosts the subject personal pronoun *hom* and the topic marker *-kwe*. Since the topicalised NP immediately precedes a phrase that is not topicalised (*wayh seme* ‘these yams’) one can conclude that the topicalised NP *homkwe* ‘you’ functions as the subject of the clause.

- (47) $\text{S}_{[+TOP]}$ $\text{O}_{[-TOP]}$ $\text{PP}_{[-TOP]}$
Homkwe *wayh seme* *ya mon*
hom-kwe wayh so-m-e ya mon
2/3PL-TOP yam DDEM-PL-OBJ fire LOC

modal VP
kwa naws.
kwa naws
HOR cook
‘As for you, just cook those yams over the fire.’

6.5.3 Inclusion of indirect object NP

In ditransitive clauses the marking on the NP object and NP indirect object is identical. The neutral or most frequently observed order of the two arguments has the indirect object preceding the direct object, as in (48). This feature of Abau syntax is consistent with the universal tendency for indirect objects to precede direct objects, since indirect objects tend to be higher on the animacy hierarchy (Hopper and Thompson

1980: 259-261). Usually indirect objects are [+human, +animate], in contrast to direct objects, which are usually [-human, ±animate].

- (48) $S_{[+TOP]}$ $IND.O_{[-TOP]}$
Hyo wayh hiykwe hye
 hiy-o wayh hiy-kwe hiy-e
 3S.M-GEN friend 3S.M.SUB-TOP 3S.M-OBJ
 $O_{[-TOP]}$ **VP**
kuey-seik se nak-yay kow a.
 kuey-seik s-e nak-lyay kow la
 grubs-dried 3S.M-OBJ ACC-place BEN eat
 ‘His friend gave him semi-dried grubs to eat.’

In (48), neither direct object nor indirect object is topicalised by *-kwe*. They both mark information that the speaker treats as new. It is possible to topicalise the indirect object and not the object. In (49), the topicalised indirect object precedes the topicalised subject, while the object immediately precedes the verb phrase without any topic marking. This construction reduces the prominence of the recipient and raises the prominence of the patient, since it is the only non-topicalised role within the clause.

- (49) $IND.O_{[+TOP]}$ $S_{[+TOP]}$
Uwruh nawp se kokwe hokwe
 uwr-ih nawp s-e ko-kwe hok-kwe
 man-KIN old 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP 3S.F.SUB-TOP
 $O_{[-TOP]}$ **VP**
mnow aio se nwaws yay kow.
 mnow aio s-e nwaws lyay kow
 eel big 3S.M-OBJ cook place BEN
 ‘In regard to her old husband, she cooked a big eel for him.’

Although the indirect object usually precedes the direct object, the speaker can move the indirect object closer to the verb phrase. The result is that the prominence of the recipient is raised at the expense of the prominence of the patient. In (50), the direct object (*hno yeyk se kokwe*) is treated as given information, but the indirect object (*hane*) as new information.

- (50) *Hunkwe hno yeyk se kokwe*
 hwon-kwe hn-o yeyk s-e ko-kwe
 2S.SUB-TOP 2S-GEN canoe S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP
hane kwa me kow.
 han-e kwa me kow
 1S-OBJ.TOP HORT speak give
 ‘You, in regard to your canoe, just give it to me.’

In (50), the direct object is topicalised. One could delete the topic marker *kokwe* as is done in (51) and still have a grammatically correct sentence. The speaker now treats both the patient and the recipient as new information.

- (51) *Hunkwe hno yeyk se hane kwa*
 hwon-kwe hn-o yeyk s-e han-e kwa
 2S.SUB-TOP 2S-GEN canoe S.M-OBJ 1S-OBJ.TOP HOR
me kow.
 me kow
 speak give
 ‘You, just give your canoe to me.’

It is relatively rare though, to have two object NPs following each other which are both not topicalised, since it means that the speaker gives prominence to two NPs at the same time. Normally the speaker treats only one NP constituent as new information. More discussion on decreasing or increasing the prominence of sentence constituents is given in §8.6.

6.5.4 Constituents that can follow a non-topicalised object NP

The object NP in a transitive clause tends to be the new information the speaker wants to convey, and as a result the speaker will move this NP towards the VP. It is therefore most often the object NP that immediately precedes the verb phrase. It is possible for the subject NP to immediately precede the verb if the speaker want to give more prominence to the agent than to the object NP. However, as we saw above, the OSV order requires that the object NP becomes topicalised.

There are three constituents that can follow a non-topicalised object NP and immediately precede the verb phrase. Since they follow a non-

topicalised NP, they cannot be topicalised as well. The three clause constituents are:

1. Adverbial, demonstrative and interrogative modifiers (§4.4, §4.4.2 and §7.5.3). Ex.(52) and (53);
2. Incorporated nouns (§3.11.1). Ex. (54) and (55);
3. Postpositional noun phrases (§3.9). Ex. (56), (57), (58) and (59).

6.5.4.1 Adverbial modifier preceding the VP

In (52), the adverbial modifier *puraw* occurs between the NP object and the VP:

- (52) $S_{[+TOP]}$ *Pomkwo hokwe* $O_{[-TOP]}$ *hno nene se*
 pomkwo hok-kwe hwon-o nene s-e
 bat 3S.F-SUB-TOP 2S-GEN eye 3S.M-OBJ
 ADV VP
puraw mon swapreir yay.
 puraw mon swapreir lyay
 nothing do hit place
 ‘The bat dropped her (droppings) on your eye for no good reason.’

- (53) $S_{[+TOP]}$ *Ney lowpwarowp skul ko homkwe Sapo* $O_{[-TOP]}$
 ney lowpwarowp skul ko hom-kwe Sapo
 child all school GEN 2/3PL-TOP Sapo
 ADV VP
se yaprue nan.
 s-e yaprue nan
 3S.M-OBJ good think/like
 ‘All the children of the school think well of Sapo.’

6.5.4.2 Incorporated nouns preceding the VP

In (54) and (55), the incorporated nouns *eheyr* ‘crying’ and *kar* ‘gladness’ occur between the NP object and the VP. An incorporated noun does not refer to a specific identifiable entity, but helps to define or complete the meaning of the verb.

- (57) **NP_[+TOP]** *Ompeys* *kokwe* **S_[+TOP]** *uwr* *prueyn* *hiykwé*
 ompeys ko-kwe uwr prueyn hiy-kwe
 two.days.ago GL.F-TOP man one 3S.M.SUB-TOP
O_[-TOP] *yawp* *kamon* **se** **PP_[-TOP]** *masi* **non** *lokin* **VP** *ha*.
 yawp kamon s-e masi non lokin ha
 river one 3S.M-OBJ vine CMT hit OBJ<SUB
 ‘About two days ago (or: recent past) a certain man hit
 (= hitting of vines against each other to cause poison to flow
 into river) a river with poisonous vines.’

Locatives very rarely intervene between an object marked non-topicalised NP and the VP, unless the speaker wants to emphasize that the locative is the prominent and new information he wants to communicate. In (58), the speaker treats the non-topicalised noun phrase *yier mon* ‘to the village’ as the information he wants to foreground.

- (58) **S_[+TOP]** *Uwr* *prueys* *hohkwe* **O_[-TOP]** *huok* **se** **PP_[-TOP]** *yier*
 uwr prueys hoh-kwe huok s-e yier
 man two.CL1 2/3DU.SUB-TOP pig 3S.M-OBJ place
VP
mon *lway* *nakey*.
 mon lway nak-ley
 LOC carry ACC-go
 ‘Two men carried the pig to the village (and not to anywhere else).’

Other postpositional phrases can precede the verb phrase as well, and occur after a non-topicalised object NP. In (59), the postpositional phrase marked for exactness occurs after the Object NP, because the speaker treats the information where the person was hit as the most prominent information.

- (59) [Sub-clause] O_[-TOP]
Senkin me lowpway menkin, sawk ipey
 so-enkin me lowpway menkin sawk ipey
 DDEM-MAN speak completely when CHD mother
- PP_[-TOP] VP
- ke makwey sok lam-pror kawk.*
 k-e makwey sok lam-pror kawk
 3S.F-OBJ head EXCT hold-break be.inside
 ‘After (he) had said that, he hit and struck mother right on the head.’

The non-topicalised postpositional comparative noun phrase marked by the comparative *-e hieyn* ‘like’ can also precede the verb phrase but it never follows an Object NP.

- (60) NP_[+TOP] S_[+TOP] PP_[-TOP]
Hno yeyk hokwe, hiykwe hane hieyn
 hwon-o yeyk ho-kwe hiy-kwe han-e hieyn
 2S-GEN canoe GL.M-TOP 3S.M.SUB-TOP 1S-OBJ COMP
- modal VP NEG
liy meio kow ley.
 liy meio kow korey
 DYN work BEN NEG
 ‘As for your canoe, he cannot make it like me.’

The postpositional accompaniment noun phrase which is marked by *-e nion* ‘ACC’ has not been observed following a non-topicalised NP object. However, it can occur before an object noun phrase, as is shown in (61).

- (61) S_[+TOP] PP_[-TOP] O_[-TOP]
Hiykwe hehe nion hoho wueir
 hiy-kwe hoh-e nion hoh-o wueir
 3S.M.SUB-TOP 2/3DU-OBJ ACC 2/3DU-GEN garden
- VP
- se non-anio ira.*
 s-e non-lanio lira
 3S.M-OBJ DU-walk see
 ‘He walked and observed their garden with the two of them.’

6.5.5 Subject and object deletion

When the speaker assumes the addressee can identify a referent without further reference, the NP representing that entity may be deleted. This is most obvious in procedural texts where the focus is on the activity rather than on the one who performs the activity. The speaker treats the subject as given or background information, and often mentions the subject only once, at the beginning of a procedural or descriptive text, as in (62) to (66), where the narrator tells about a man who built a house. The explicit subject *hiykwe* '3S.M.SUB-TOP' is only used once, at the beginning of the narrative. This contrasts with the free translation in English, which requires a free personal pronoun in every clause.

- (62) *Enekwei kamon hokwe uwr prueyn hiykwe*
 enekwei kamon ho-kwe uwr prueyn hiy-kwe
 time one GL.M-TOP man one 3S.M.SUB-TOP

a meio.

a meio

house work

'One time a certain man built a house.'

- (63) *Hiykwe peyr nop-i me seyr*
 hiy-kwe peyr nop-i m-e seyr
 3S.M.SUB-TOP firstly ironwood-post PL-OBJ split

nok, ar me nak-owk say.

nok ar m-e nak-lowk say

SEQ swamp.tree PL-OBJ ACC-cut many.PL

'Firstly **he** split ironwood timber and then cut swamp-trees as well.'

- (64) *Sawk nop-i me lopru inon kreik.*
 sawk nop-i m-e lopru linon kreik
 CHD ironwood-post PL-OBJ dig carry put.in.plenty
 'He then brought (them) in and dug in the ironwood posts.'

- (65) *Musow yay nok, pros.*
 musow lyay nok pros
 bearer place.down SEQ put.crossway
 'He placed the bearers on top and then put (the floor joists) crossways.'

- (66) *Sawk a-suwr se nakie*
 sawk a-suwr s-e nak-lie
 CHD house-house.top 3S.M-OBJ ACC-go.up
nok, sowor.
 nok sowor
 SEQ roof.support
 ‘He put up the roof rafters and then placed the roof supports.’

The ellipsis of object NPs happens in a similar manner, but occurs more often than subject NP ellipsis. In (67), the object NP *huok se* ‘pig 3S.M.OBJ’ is overtly present only in the first sentence. It is ellipsed in subsequent sentences, because its referential status carries over.

- (67) *Hom huok se way nok nok, yier mon*
 hom huok s-e lway nok nok yier mon
 2/3PL pig 3S.M-OBJ carry DUR SEQ place LOC
nakey. Hom lei nok, la.
 nak-ley hom lei nok la
 ACC-go 2/3PL cut SEQ eat
 ‘They carried the pig and then brought it to the village. They cut it up and then ate it.’

In (68), the subject NP *aio* ‘father’ and the object NP *yeyk-now* ‘canoe log’ are both mentioned in the beginning lines. Neither subject nor object is referred to by any marker or entity in the third sentence, since they are both understood referents.

- (68) *Aio hiykwe yeyk meio e nan.*
 aio hiy-kwe yeyk meio e nan
 father 3S.M.SUB-TOP canoe work PURP think
Hiy yeyk-now kamon se lowk kuayk
 hiy yeyk-now kamon s-e lowk kuayk
 3S.M canoe-tree one 3S.M-OBJ cut fall
nok, meio lowpway. Yia nwaws nok, hu
 nok meio lowpway yia nwaws nok hu
 SEQ work completely fire cook SEQ water

mon lowk wakeyn.
 mon lowk wakeyn
 LOC pull be.in.water
 ‘Father wanted to make a canoe. He cut a ‘canoe-tree’ and then completed it. **He** burned **it** off with fire (lit. he fire-burned it off) and then pulled **it** into the water.’

6.6 Relative clauses

There are two main types of nominalised clauses: relative clauses (§6.6) and object complement clauses (§9.4). The relative clause is marked by the complementiser *ma*. Several definitions exist of the relative clause. We will adopt Keenan’s (1985:141-2) definition of a relative clause as a full noun phrase consisting of a nominal head, a determiner and a restrictive clause. In Abau there is no structural difference between a restrictive and unrestrictive relative clause. Since this section is concerned with structure, the word ‘restrictive’ here should be understood as referring to both categories. Relative clauses modify the head of a NP, and are linked to the head by a relativiser. The relative clause may either precede (§6.6.1) or follow (§6.6.2) the head it modifies.

6.6.1 Relative clauses preceding the head noun

Relative clauses preceding the head they modify are normally marked by *ma* preceding the first verb. The relative clause follows SOV order and it is important to note that the constituents of the relative clause cannot be topicalised. The relative clause functions as a modifier for a head noun that can be topicalised, but modifiers themselves (including the relative clause as modifier) cannot be topicalised. In the examples below the relative clauses are underlined, the head of the NP is bolded and if this NP has a syntactic, semantic or pragmatic phrase marker it is bolded as well.

In (69) the head of the containing NP is *yier*. The relative clause *mango-now ma lorok* precedes it. This construction, where the relative clause precedes the head it modifies, occurs less frequently than the construction where the relative clause follows the head it modifies.

- (69) *Hoh sa sehe non-ey, mango-now*
 hoh sa so-h-e non-ley mango-now
 3DU then/and DDEM-3S.M-OBJ DU-go mango-tree
ma lorok yier mon.
 ma lorok yier mon
 RCM stand place LOC
 ‘So the two of them went together to the place where the
 mango trees were.’

In (70), the noun *yier* ‘place’ is modified for type by the preceding relative clause.

- (70) *Ha sawk hehe yeyk ma hawon yier*
 ha sawk hoh-e yeyk ma hawon yier
 1S CHD 3DU-OBJ canoe RCM lie place
mon sehe hiy-ey.
 mon so-h-e hiy-ley
 LOC DDEM-3S.M-OBJ CAUS-go
 ‘I led the two of them to the place where canoes are moored.’

In (71), the noun *yerki* ‘road’ is modified for category by the preceding relative clause.

- (71) *Sapa mon kokwe kar ma nakanio yerki lopa.*
 sapa mon ko-kwe kar ma nak-lanio yerki lopa
 forest LOC GL.F-TOP car RCM ACC-walk road NEG
 ‘In the forest are no roads that cars can drive on.’

Subject personal pronouns can occur within a relative clause, but are never marked for topic. In (72), the subject personal pronoun *hrom* is not marked for topic. The relative clause modifies the topicalised noun *enekwei* ‘time’.

- (72) *Hrom serey ma ley ney-ney enekwei*
 hrom so-erey ma ley ney-ney enekwei
 1PL.SUB DDEM-LOC RCM go go-go time
sohokwe, nyo prueyn hiykwe
 so-ho-kwe nyo prueyn hiy-kwe
 DDEM-GL.M-TOP lad one 3S.M.SUB-TOP

sawk hakan.
 sawk hakan
 CHD flee
 ‘At that time when we all went out there, one boy fled.’

All examples of relative clauses preceding the head noun in §6.6.1 are of locations and times. No examples have been observed where a syntactic object or subject is preceded by a relative clause.

6.6.2 Relative clauses following the head noun

In most cases the relative clause follows, rather than precedes, the NP head it modifies. The relative clause comes between the head noun and the NP marker or postposition which indicates the grammatical function of the head.

The order of the relative clause and the head of the NP in example (69) is reversed in (73) where the relative clause follows the head of the NP it modifies. The relativiser in these constructions is also *ma*, and, as in all relative clauses, none of the constituents of the relative clause can be topicalised. The relative clause functions as an embedded modifier clause within the NP, which has its own NP marking. In the examples below the relative clause is underlined, the head of the NP is bolded and if this NP has a syntactic, semantic or pragmatic phrase marker it is bolded as well.

- (73) *Hoh sa sehe non-ey, yier*
 hoh sa so-h-e non-ley yier
 2/3DU then/and DDEM-3S.M-OBJ DU-go place
mango-now ma lorok mon.
 mango-now ma lorok mon
 mango-tree RCM stand LOC
 ‘So the two of them went together to the place where the
 mango trees were.’

The postposed relative clause functions as a constituent modifying a NP. The NP can be topicalised, but as stated before, the relative clause that functions as a modifier cannot. In (74), the modified NP is marked by the NP final marker *seme* ‘DDEM.OBJ.PL’. This marker agrees in number with the head of the NP *now-i* ‘tree fruit’ it modifies.

- (74) *Pruam hokwe now-i ki mon ma*
 pruum hok-kwe now-i ki mon ma
 cassowary 3S.F-TOP tree-fruit ground LOC RCM
makuayk sakuayk seme lanio a.
 makuayk sa-kuayk so-m-e lanio la
 fall RPT-fall DDEM-PL-OBJ walk eat
 ‘The cassowary ate all the fruit that had fallen on the ground.’

In (75), *hopion* ‘pig meat’ is the head of the NP, which agrees in number with the final NP marker *mokwe*. The intervening embedded relative clause functions as a modifier within the NP.

- (75) *Homkwe hopion mein non ma loro neyh*
 hom-kwe hopion mein non ma loro neyh
 2/3PL-TOP pig.meat stone CMT RCM stick.into wrap
mokwe won non nuw-a.
 mo-kwe won non nuw-la
 GL.PL-TOP grease CMT INT-eat
 ‘They ate with fat (= ate with appetite) the meat that had been wrapped (into leaves) and (cooked) with stones.’

In (76), the relative clause contains the noun *aio* ‘father’, which is marked as subject of the relative clause by the subject NP marker *hiy* ‘3S.M.SUB’. This subject is not marked by the topic marker *-kwe*, as no topic-marking with *-kwe* can occur within the relative clause. The NP that is modified by the relative clause is marked by the feminine topic marker *kokwe* which agrees in gender and number with the head of the NP *sa-sokruan* (young woman).

- (76) *Sa-sokruan aio hiy ma nekie hain*
 sa-sokruan aio hiy ma nekie hain
 woman-young father 3S.M.SUB RCM hold SUB<OBJ
kokwe, wayh-ih Sepiawe se nak-me
 ko-kwe wayh-ih Sepiawe s-e nak-me
 GL.F-TOP friend-KIN Sepiawe 3S.M-OBJ ACC-speak
kow ha.
 kow ha
 BEN OBJ<SUB
 ‘The young woman that father had taken and left behind, he had given to his friend, Sepiawe.’

In (77), the embedded relative clause contains a NP subject *hok* ‘3S.F.SUB’ and a NP object *hyo makwey kokway ke* (his hat). Neither constituent can be topicalised since they are part of the embedded relative clause. The NP is modified by the topic marker *kokwe* which agrees in number and gender with the head of the NP *now-kon* ‘tree-branch’.

- (77) *Hiykwe now-kon hok hyo*
 hiy-kwe now-kon hok hiy-o
 3S.M-TOP tree-branch 3S.F.SUB 3S.M-GEN
makwey-kokway ke ma mon swair
 makwey-kokway k-e ma mon swair
 head-hat 3S.F-OBJ RCM do went.in
sow kow kokwe, nonkway lwak pa.
 sow kow ko-kwe nonkway lwak pa
 completely BEN GL.F-TOP know be NEG.PFTV
 ‘He was unaware of the tree branch which had pierced his hat.’

A temporal noun can also be relativised on. In (78), the antecedent noun *enekwei* ‘time’ is modified by a relative clause and marked by the NP final marker *hokwe* which agrees in number and gender with the head of the NP.

- (78) *Enekwei hiy wueir-a mon ma lwayr*
 enekwei hiy wueir-a mon ma lwayr
 time 3S.M.SUB garden-house LOC RCM stay
nayr hokwe, sawk parasa iwa ko
 nayr ho-kwe sawk parasa iwa ko
 night GL.M-TOP CHD devil.woman swamp GEN
hok ka-ie nayr.
 hok ka-lie nayr
 3S.F.SUB side-go.up night
 ‘At the time that (= when) he spent the night in the garden house, the devil woman from the swamp climbed up (to the house) during the night.’

6.6.3 Headless relative clauses

The head of a relative clause is sometimes only understood but not expressed. In (79), a clause that has the features of a relative clause, modifies a temporal NP head that is not expressed. The meanings of (78)

and (79) are very similar. They are also grammatically not very different. The first part of (78) is analysed as a noun phrase containing a modifying clause. The first part of (79) also contains a modifying clause, but the head of the NP has been ellipited.

- (79) *Hiy wueir-a mon ma lwayr nayr*
 hiy wueir-a mon ma lwayr nayr
 3S.M.SUB garden-house LOC RCM stay night
hokwe, sawk parasa iwa ko
 ho-kwe sawk parasa iwa ko
 GL.M-TOP CHD devil.woman swamp GEN
hok ka-ie nayr.
 hok ka-lie nayr
 3S.F.SUB side-go.up night
 ‘When he spent the night in the garden house, the devil
 woman from the swamp climbed up (to the house) during the
 night.’

In (80), the singular phrase final marker *hokwe* does not correspond in number with the plural subject *hom*, but with the deleted antecedent *enekwei*, which is singular and masculine. Although this construction clearly derives from a relative clause that modifies a headless relative clause, it functions as a temporal clause which is further discussed in §9.5.1.

- (80) *Hom wueir mon ma ley hokwe,*
 hom wueir mon ma ley ho-kwe
 2/3PL garden LOC RCM go GL.M-TOP
hiykwe now lowk e ley kok.
 hiy-kwe now lowk e ley kok
 3S.M.SUB-TOP tree cut PURP go day.time
 ‘When they went to the garden, he went to cut trees during the
 day.’

The non-expressed antecedent for relative clauses does not always refer to time. The meaning of the non-expressed antecedent is determined by context and grammatical features. Examples of deleted antecedents are generic entities such as ‘the fact that’ or ‘the thing’ or ‘the place’. Example (81) is taken from a text where a man sits high in a tree until a bird comes to the place where he is. The NP containing the relative clause is marked by the locative *mon*, which modifies the ellipited noun for

location. In this context the relative clause *hiy ma liwak* means ‘where he sat’ and it modifies an unexpressed noun that in the English translation could be rendered as ‘the place’.

- (81) *Enekwei kamon sawk ahney kamon hok sian*
 enekwei kamon sawk ahney kamon hok sian
 time one CHD bird one 3S.F fly
ney, hiy ma liwak mon.
 ney hiy ma liwak mon
 go 3S.M.SUB RCM sit LOC
 ‘One day a certain bird flew to (the place) where he was sitting.’

In (82), the relative clause *hano makwey mon ma non-iarok kreysysar* also modifies a non-expressed NP head. The numeral *kreysyar* which terminates the relative clause together with the objective demonstrative *eme* indicates that the unexpressed noun is related to countable objects. The English translation expresses the deleted antecedent as ‘the things’.

- (82) *Hano makwey mon ma non-iarok kreysyar*
 han-o makwey mon ma non-liarok kreys-ar
 1S-GEN head LOC RCM DU-be.up two.CL2-INTF
eme me, pay mo?
 o-m-e me pay mo
 PDEM-PL-OBJ speak Q.what Q.SP.PFTV.PL
 ‘Speaking about these two (things) standing on my head, what are they?’

6.6.4 Negated relative clause

The negation of a relative clause is slightly complex. A relative clause is negated by the existential verb *lwak* preceded by the relative clause marker *ma*. Three related examples below give a build-up in the complexity of the structure of a negated relative clause. Example (83) contains a topicalised NP that has patient role. The NP is not marked by an object marker but only by the feminine topic marker *kokwe* preceding a non-topicalised subject and the verb phrase.

- (83) *Hano sa-nawp kokwe makromawe hiy*
 han-o sa-nawp ko-kwe makromawe hiy
 1S-GEN woman-old GL.F-TOP iguana 3S.M.SUB
kros a.
 kros la
 tear.apart eat
 ‘As for my old woman (= wife), an iguana tore her apart.’

In (84), the head of the noun phrase *sa-nawp* ‘woman-old’ is modified by an embedded relative clause and is still marked by the same feminine topic marker *kokwe*.

- (84) *Hano sa-nawp onkioh ma lousne*
 han-o sa-nawp onkioh ma lousne
 1S-GEN woman-old yesterday RCM appear
kokwe, makromawe hiy kros a.
 ko-kwe makromawe hiy kros la
 GL.F-TOP iguana 3S.M tear.apart eat
 ‘As for my old woman (= wife), who returned yesterday, an iguana tore her apart.’

In (85), the embedded relative clause is negated. It is not possible for the feminine topic marker *kokwe* to immediately follow an embedded clause that has a negation marker. This is not surprising since the imperfective negation marker *pa* is a clause marker, while the feminine topic marker *kokwe* is a phrase marker. Based on the fact that the relative clause marker *ma* occurs twice within the noun phrase, we need to conclude that we have two embedded clauses within the noun phrase. The first relative clause marker is part of the relative clause that modifies the head of the noun phrase *sa-nawp*. ‘old woman’ The second relative clause marker *ma* is part of the relative clause *ma lwak*, which has as its scope the NP head plus the negated first relative clause. The feminine topic marker *kokwe* terminates the NP and, as in the other two examples, agrees in gender and number with the head of the NP *sa-nawp* ‘old woman’.

- (85) **NP_{head}** **Rel.CI1**
Hano sa-nawp onkioh ma lousne pa
 han-o sa-nawp onkioh ma lousne pa
 1S-GEN woman-old yesterday RCM appear NEG.PFTV

Rel.C12 NP_{marker}
ma lwak **kokwe,** makromawe hiy kros a.
 ma lwak ko-kwe makromawe hiy kros la
 RCM be GL.F-TOP iguana 3S.M tear.apart eat
 ‘As for my old woman (= wife), who did not return yesterday,
 an iguana tore her apart.’

In (86), the underlined embedded phrase relativises an ellipted noun which is understood as ‘the fact that’. It is possible to negate a relative clause that modifies an ellipted noun as is demonstrated in (87). A relative clause consisting of the relative clause marker *ma* and the stative verb *lwak* follows the first embedded relative clause. The second relative clause has as its scope the same head plus the first relative clause.

(86) *Hakwe* *hwon yia ma ley sian* *se*
 ha-kwe hwon yia ma ley sian s-e
 1S-TOP 2S fire RCM go get.up 3S.M-OBJ
lon hohuaw.
 lon hohuaw
 do angry
 ‘I am angry with (the fact) that you lighted the fire.’

(87) Rel.C11
Hakwe *hwon yia ma ley sian pa*
 ha-kwe hwon yia ma ley sian pa
 1S-TOP 2S fire RCM go get.up NEG.PFTV

Rel.C12 NP_{marker}
ma lwak *se* *lon hohuaw.*
 ma lwak s-e lon hohuaw
 RCM be 3S.M-OBJ do angry
 ‘I am angry with (the fact) that you did not light the fire.’

6.6.5 Adjectival clause marking simultaneous or current action

The adjectival clause discussed in this section is similar to the relative clause in that the modifying clause appears between the head noun and the NP marker which indicates the grammatical function of this head noun. However, relative clauses are marked by the relative clause marker *ma* and the adjectival clause discussed in the section does not make use of the

marker *ma*, which sets this modifying clause apart from the relative clause.

The function of this modifying clause is not to identify a referent, but to add extra information to an already identified referent. The verbal action expressed in the adjectival clause takes place simultaneously with the action of the clause it is embedded in.

In (88), the clause *hyo wayh hiy kan ke lorok ho* ‘his friend was standing and making a rope’ is an embedded adjectival clause which is not marked by the relative clause marker *ma*. The adjectival clause refers to an action that is in progress simultaneously with the action of the main clause as indicated by the verb phrase *le ira* ‘came look’. The object marker *se* agrees in number and gender with the head of the noun phrase *wayh* ‘friend’.

- (88) *Hiykwe hyo wayh hiy kan ke*
 hiy-kwe hiy-o wayh hiy kan k-e
 3S.M-TOP 3S.M-GEN friend 3S.M band 3S.F-OBJ
lorok ho se le ira,
 lorok ho s-e le lira
 stand twist.around 3S.M-OBJ come see
popo-meyk mon.
 popo-meyk mon
 papaya-root LOC
 ‘He came and saw his friend, who was standing and twisting a ring rope (= used for climbing coconuts) at the base of a papaya tree.’

In (89), the adjectival clause *hiy naksaw* ‘which was grunting’ is also formed without the relative clause marker *ma*. The clause is therefore analysed as indicating simultaneity in the actions of the main clause and the adjectival clause.

- (89) *Peypey pa, hromkwe huok hiy naksaw*
 peypey pa hrom-kwe huok hiy nak-saw
 to.last NEG.PFTV 1PL-TOP pig 3S.M.SUB ACC-grunt
se lonuayk.
 s-e lonuayk
 3S.M-OBJ hear
 ‘It did not last long and we heard the grunting pig.’

In (89) above, the hearing and the grunting of the pig take place simultaneously. When the relative clause marker *ma* is used in the embedded clause simultaneity is no longer implied as is demonstrated in (90).

- (90) *Peypey pa, hromkwe huok hiy ma*
 peypey pa hrom-kwe huok hiy ma
 to.last NEG.PFTV 1PL-TOP pig 3S.M RCM
nak-saw se lira.
 nak-saw s-e lira
 ACC-grunt 3S.M-OBJ see
 ‘It did not last long and we saw the pig which had grunted.’

6.6.6 Relative clauses modifying the comment constituent of a verbless clause

The comment constituent of a verbless clause can be modified with a relative clause. It requires the use of the comitative postposition *non* preceded by a syntactic NP marker. In order to understand this somewhat complex construction, it is helpful to look at some examples that do not contain relative clauses but that display a similar noun phrase marking.

As stated before most verbless clauses can be divided into a topic part of often one, but possibly more topicalised constituents; and a comment part which is basically a non-topicalised constituent which supplies a comment on the most important topic constituent (See examples (1)-(4), (6) and §6.2).

It is possible, though, to state only the comment, which means that the verbless clause has no expressed topicalised constituent, but only a non-topicalised constituent. This often happens for titles of stories, or for short headings that specify only the subject that will be discussed. The basic construction of these type of clauses is as follows:

A noun word followed by a syntactic subject NP marker which is marked by the comitative *non*. The syntactic marker loses its subject force since it is marked by the postposition *non*.

In (91), the entire clause is analysed as the comment part. Therefore, by definition, the NP marker *hom* ‘2/3PL’ is not topicalised. The NP marker marks the head noun for number.

- (91) *ahney hom non*
 ahney hom non
 bird 2/3PL CMT
 'birds'

This same basic construction can be extended with a modifying adjective as in (92), where *seirpey* 'heroic' modifies the head of the NP *uwr* 'man'. The clause does not contain a topic part, but only a comment part.

- (92) *uwr seirpey hiy non*
uwr seirpey hiy non
 man heroic 3S.M CMT
 'the heroic man'

A clause that consists only of a comment part can contain a genitive construction. In (93), the genitive phrase *wueir ko* 'garden S.F.GEN' modifies the head of the NP *aiai* 'food'. The NP marker *hom* '2/3PL' agrees in number with the same head of the NP.

- (93) *aiai wueir ko hom non*
 aiai wueir k-o hom non
 food garden S.F-GEN 2/3PL CMT
 'food from the garden'

Like the examples above, (94) is basically a single noun phrase that fills the topic part of the clause. The head of the noun phrase is modified by the underlined relative clause which modifies the head of the NP *aiai* 'food'.

- (94) *aiai wueir ma swar hom non*
 aiai wueir ma swar hom non
 food garden RCM grow 2/3PL CMT
 'food that grows in the garden'

Example (95) is a story title without any topicalised constituents. The entire utterance belongs to the comment part of the clause. The head of the NP is *nweyr* 'snail' and is followed by a modifying relative clause. The NP final marking *hiy non* hosts the masculine singular NP marker *hiy* which agrees in number and gender with the singular masculine noun *nweyr* 'snail'.

- (95) *nweyr hiy iwasa ko a se ma*
 nweyr hiy iwasa k-o a s-e ma
 snail 3S.M crab 3S.F-GEN house 3S.M-OBJ RCM
lie hiy non
 lie hiy non
 go.up 3S.M CMT
 ‘the snail who went into the shell of the crab’

The examples so far were restricted to verbless clauses that consisted only of a comment part and no topic part. However, the basic construction of the examples above does not change if a topic constituent is included in the verbless clause. The constituent in the topic slot is simply the referent that is commented on in the comment part. The comment part of the non-verbal clause can host only the personal pronoun with the comitative, when the comment part marks the referent in the topic part for identity.

The comment part in (96) consists of one NP. The NP head *huwha-ma* ‘flowers’ is modified by the relative clause *hwon ma lopru kreik* ‘which you buried’. The NP ending *hoh non* agrees in number with the head of the NP. The comment part marks the referent in the topic part *hrorkwe* ‘the two of us’ in the category of identity.

- (96) **Topic** **Comment**
Hrorkwe huwhay-ma hwon ma lopru kreik
 hror-kwe huwhay-ma hwon ma lopru kreik
 1DU-TOP ornament-leaf 2S RCM dig plenty
hoh non.
 hoh non
 3DU CMT
 ‘The two of us are the flowers which you buried into the ground.’

The comment part in (97) consists of one NP. The NP head *sok* ‘snake’ is modified by the relative clause *hom sune iha lopa ma lwak* ‘which do not have feet and hands’. The NP ending *hom non* agrees in number with the head of the NP *sok* ‘snake’. The comment part marks the referent of the topic part *okpey sokukwe* ‘this story’ for identity.

- (97) **Topic** *Okpey sokukwe* **Comment** *sok hom sune iha*
 ok-pey so-ko-kwe sok hom sune iha
 talk-part DDEM-GL.F-TOP snake 2/3PL foot hand
lopa ma lwak ohom non.
 lopa ma lwak o-hom non
 NEG RCM be PDEM-2/3PL CMT
 ‘As for this story, it is about snakes not having feet and hands.’

6.6.7 Embedded attributive clauses encoding function or intended function

Attributive clauses that modify the head of the noun phrase for its function or intended function are marked by *ey* ‘intention’. It is important to note that this modal marker *ey* ‘INTN’ does not occur exclusively in attributive clauses but also in main clauses as discussed in §5.3.2 and also illustrated in (98).

- (98) *Yaw arawh nonaw kokwe hakwe*
 yaw arawh non-aw ko-kwe ha-kwe
 tomorrow night CMT-RSTR GL.F-TOP 1S-TOP
iwa mon heynaw ey.
 iwa mon heynaw ey
 swamp LOC hunt.with.dogs INTN
 ‘Tomorrow night I intend to hunt with the dogs in the swamp.’

The clause-final intention marker *ey* is also widely used to mark embedded attributive clauses that modify the head of the NP it follows. The embedded clause marked by *ey* ‘INTN’ is followed by a NP final marker of the NP it modifies. The embedded clause functions as a modifier for the NP it is positioned in.

In (99), the intentional marker *ey* indicates that the clause *mu say* ‘shoot crocodiles’, is an embedded attributive clause modifying the head of the noun phrase *yeik* ‘arrows’. The attributive clause functions as part of the NP and modifies the head of the NP for function or intended function.

- (99) *Hohkwe yeik mu say ey me*
 hoh-kwe yeik mu say ey m-e
 2/3DU-TOP arrow crocodile shoot INTN PL-OBJ
nak-inon kreik nok.
 nak-linon kreik nok
 ACC-carry plenty DUR
 ‘The two of them took along many arrows that were intended
 to be used to shoot crocodiles with.’

In (100), *hu lowswa ey* ‘for drinking water’ is a post-head relative clause encoding function or intended function. The masculine objective marker *se* agrees in gender and number with the head of the noun phrase *yiawk* ‘cup’.

- (100) *Hiykwe sawk yiawk hu lowswa ey*
 hiy-kwe sawk yiawk hu lowswa ey
 3S.M.SUB-TOP CHD cup water drink INTN
se pawk.
 s-e pawk
 3S.M-OBJ search
 ‘He was looking for a cup (meant) for drinking water.’

In (101), the embedded attributive clause modifies the head of the NP *ki-eyh* ‘ground hole’. The NP final marker *se* agrees in number and gender with the head of the noun phrase.

- (101) *Har homkwe ki-eyh huok neyh ey*
 har hom-kwe ki-eyh huok neyh ey
 some 2/3PL-TOP ground-hole pig ground.cook INTN
se lopru.
 s-e lopru
 3S.M-OBJ dig
 ‘Some dug a hole in the ground (meant) for ground-cooking
 pig.’ (Background: pig meat wrapped in banana leaves is
 cooked in a ground oven)

The attributive clause can also be placed in tail position, often without the NP head it modifies. The attributive clause modifies the head (or the ellipted head) of the NP.

In (102), the attributive clause is placed in tail position. The head of the attributive clause *ai* ‘fish/food’ is not positioned in the tail but in the

main clause. The attributive clause within the tail is therefore, in fact, without a head, but with the NP final marker *mokwe* that agrees in number with the ellipted head of the NP.

- (102) *Hakwe ai hin pa, hano ney-sa*
 ha-kwe ai hin pa han-o ney-sa
 1S-TOP animal shoot NEG.PFTV 1S-GEN child-woman
me nion non-a ey mokwe.
 m-e nion non-la ey mo-kwe
 PL-OBJ with DU:together-eat INTN GL.PL-TOP
 ‘I did not shoot any animals which would have served to feed
 my family.’

6.7 Clauses or phrases marked by reason marker *hokuaw*

Hokuaw marks both phrases and clauses that express a reason for the occurrence of the event in the main clause. *Hokuaw* is related to the interrogative *payhokuaw*, which means literally ‘for reason of what’ and was analysed as follows:

po-ay -ho -kuaw
 Q-what GL.M CAUS (for reason of)

Characteristics of the reason construction marked by *hokuaw* are as follows:

- a. It is marked by a construction final *hokuaw*.
- b. It can mark NPs and clauses.
- c. Topic marked NPs do not occur before the verb phrase of this reason clause.

In (103) and (104) the structure marked by *hokuaw* is not a clause but a noun phrase:

- (103) *Woion hiykwe sawk hyo wayh Saso*
 Woion hiy-kwe sawk hiy-o wayh Saso
 Woion 3S.M.SUB-TOP CHD 3S.M-GEN friend Saso
se hokuaw pamays sehe
 s-e ho-kuaw pamays so-h-e
 3S.M-OBJ GL.M-CAUS rope DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
kane.
 kane
 break.off
 ‘Woion hanged himself because of his friend Saso.’
- (104) *Ara, hunkwe ahney somokwe, hane*
 ara hwon-kwe ahney so-mo-kwe han-e
 ADDR.M 2S-TOP bird DDEM-GL.PL-TOP 1S-OBJ
hokuaw apay pese lwak o.
 ho-kuaw apay pese lwak o
 GL.M-CAUS taboo PROH be NEG.SP.IPFTV
 ‘Man, as for those birds, do not abstain from eating them just
 for my sake.’

In (105), the causal marker *hokuaw* marks a clause that has been nominalised by the negation marker *lopa* (§7.3.4).

- (105) *Hrom hromo apaw mo sow me meio*
 hrom hrom-o apaw m-o sow m-e meio
 1PL 1PL-GEN ancestor PL-GEN rule PL-OBJ work
lopa hokuaw, hromkwe piap lwak.
 lopa ho-kuaw hrom-kwe piap lwak
 NEG.NOMS GL.M-CAUS 1PL-TOP bad be
 ‘Because we did not follow the rules of our ancestors, we are
 doing poorly (now).’

In example (106), the underlined reason clause interrupts the main clause.

- (106) *Hohkwe sawk ki-sapa eym leym*
 hoh-kwe sawk ki-sapa eym leym
 3DU.SUB-TOP CHD ground-forest darkness dim
***hokuaw.** ma-nak-sor nok pa.*
 ho-kuaw ma-nak-sor nok pa
 GL.M-CAUS RPT-ACC-track DUR NEG.PFTV
 ‘The two of them did not continue to hunt, because it was becoming really dark in the forest.’

Example (106) can be restructured so that the subordinate reason clause will follow the main clause in tail position as in (107).

- (107) *Hohkwe sawk ma-nak-sor nok pa,*
 hoh-kwe sawk ma-nak-sor nok pa
 3DU-TOP CHD RPT-ACC-track DUR NEG.PFTV
*ki-sapa eym leym **hokuaw.***
 ki-sapa eym leym ho-kuaw
 ground-forest darkness dim GL.M-CAUS
 ‘The two of them did not continue to hunt, because it was becoming really dark in the forest.’

7. Clausal modifications

In the following sections five types of clause modifications which are all marked by a clause-final marker are discussed. The first section deals with the imperative marker *e* and the second section with future marker *a*. It needs to be noted that these markers do not occur obligatorily in all predications that express a command or refer to future event. The imperative marker *e* can be regarded as marking jussive mood, while the future marker *a* seems to be mainly used in contexts with a high level of uncertainty. The third section deals with negation markers and the fourth with direct speech markers. The markers in these last two sections are differentiated for the perfective and imperfective. Interrogatives are dealt with in the final and fifth section of this chapter.

7.1 The objective marker *e* in imperatives

The objective marker *e* occurs in imperatives that have an adhortative flavour. The illocutionary force of the predication is not a command, but rather an appeal. It can be used with a subject in the second person (1), but also frequently with a subject in the first person (2) and (3). The imperative marked by the clause-final *e* is used to encourage the addressee(s) to perform a mutually agreeable action, often together with the speaker.

- (1) *Ara, hunkwe hano a se*
Ara, hwon-kwe ha-no a s-e
ADDR.M 2S.SUB-TOP 1S-GEN house 3S-OBJ
hiy-meio e.
hiy-meio e.
CAUS-build OBJ.IMP
'Man, please help me to have my house built.'

- (2) *Wein akwa, hrorkwe yeik ompow*
 wein akwa, hror-kwe yeik ompow
 woman ADDR.F 1DU.SUB-TOP arrow bow
non meio e.
 non meio e.
 CMT make OBJ.IMP
 ‘Woman, let’s make arrows along with bows.’
- (3) *Ara sa-sokruan ihey omokwe*
 ara sa-sokruan ihey o-mo-kwe
 ADDR.M woman-young excellent PDEM-GL.PL-TOP
hrorkwe non-huon e.
 hror-kwe non-huon e
 1DU.SUB-TOP DU-marry OBJ.IMP
 ‘Man, let’s marry these excellent young ladies.’

The objective marker *e* can also be used in combination with the hortative marker *kwa* and is only used in clauses with a subject (4), or an understood subject (5) in the second person.

- (4) *Hunkwe peyr skul mon kwa ley e.*
 hwon-kwe peyr skul mon kwa ley e
 2S-TOP first school LOC HOR go OBJ.IMP
 ‘First you should go to school.’
- (5) *Aiai eme kwa la ir e,*
 aiai o-m-e kwa la ir e,
 food PDEM-PL-OBJ HOR eat try OBJ.IMP
yaprue-ar ihey.
 yaprue-ar ihey
 good-INTF excellent
 ‘Just try and eat this food; it is very good.’

7.1.1 The objective marker *e* used with interrogatives

Concepts like ‘whenever’ and ‘wherever’ are expressed by repetition of the interrogative adverbial before the verb and the object marker *e* immediately following the verb phrase.

- (6) *Nwoh hiy penkin penkin lon e pareis*
 nwoh hiy po-enkin po-enkin lon e pareis
 dog 3S.M Q-MAN Q-MAN do OBJ kangaroo
hiy seyn, siraw non-mon.
 hiy seyn siraw non-mon
 3S.M too with DU-do
 ‘Whatever the dog did, the kangaroo did it with him.’
- (7) *Hiykwe perey perey lanio e, nwoh non*
 hiy-kwe po-erey po-erey lanio e nwoh non
 3S.M-TOP Q-place Q-place walk OBJ dog CMT
hiy-anio.
 hiy-lanio
 CAUS-walk
 ‘Wherever he walked, he went with his dog.’

7.2 Indefinite future markers *a*, *ane* and *aney*

The future marker *a*, and the indefinite future markers *ane* and *aney* occur clause-finally. The indefinite future markers *a-ne* and *a-ney* are analysed as consisting of the future marker *a* with the morpheme *-ne* ‘move towards’ and *-ney* ‘move away’ respectively. The markers *a*, *ane* and *aney* encode, with the help of interrogatives, the indefinite future.

7.2.1 The future marker *a*

It is noteworthy that the future marker *a* occurs only in affirmative sentences when it co-occurs with either the aspect markers *po* ‘IMM.FUT’ or *ya* ‘INDF.FUT’ (see §5.2.7 where *po ... a* and *ya ... a* are analysed as discontinuous morphemes).

In (8), the future marker *a* co-occurs obligatorily with *po* ‘IMM.FUT’ in an affirmative sentence to express immediate future.

- (8) *Pion sohokwe hakwe po nak-a a.*
 pion so-ho-kwe ha-kwe po nak-a a
 meat DDEM-GL.M-TOP 1S.TOP IMM.FUT ACC-eat FUT
 ‘As for that meat, I am about to eat it.’

When *a* ‘FUT’ does not co-occur with the aspect markers *po* ‘IMM.FUT’ or *ya* ‘INDF.FUT’, its distribution is restricted to questions. In (9), the future marker *a* is used with the interrogative *penkin*. (All markers

occurring before and after the verb phrase are bolded. The verb phrase itself is underlined.)

- (9) *Ama, hromkwe siowp lokrue, hromkwe*
 ama hrom-kwe siowp lokrue hrom-kwe
 ADDR.PL 1PL-TOP intestines die 1PL-TOP
penkin *lon a?*
 po-enkin lon a
 Q-MAN do FUT
 ‘Men, we are hungry, what are we going to do?’

7.2.2 The indefinite future marker *ane* and *aney*

The indefinite future markers *ane* and *aney* also occur only in questions. Speakers tend to interchange *ane* and *aney* when editing texts. Both markers are used to express future uncertainty and signal some sort of predicament. There is a tendency to use *ane* to describe a future predicament that seems to have no solution available and *aney* to describe a predicament for which options for a resolution can be offered. In (10) and (11), *ane* is used to express the lack of options the subject has to resolve the issue at hand.

- (10) *Hakwe hano nwoh-ney hokwe pay me*
 ha-kwe han-o nwoh-ney ho-kwe pay m-e
 1S-TOP 1S-GEN dog-small GL.M-TOP Q:what PL-OBJ
kiy-kow-a ane?
 kiy-kow-la a-ne
 ACT-BEN-eat IND.FUT.come
 ‘What might I bring my small dog to eat? (= there is nothing I could possibly give him)’
- (11) *Ha penkin lon ane? Ki ohokwe,*
 ha po-enkin lon a-ne ki o-ho-kwe
 1S Q-MAN do IND.FUT-come ground PDEM-GL.M-TOP
ku pay non meio e ko?
 ku po-ay non meio e ko
 axe Q-what CMT work PURP Q.SP.PFTV.F
 ‘What shall I do? As for this ground, with which axe will I work it? (Background information: He did not have or own an axe)’

In (12) and (13) *aney* is used, since the subject of the clause is still considered to have options available to resolve the issue at hand.

- (12) *Ha ey, akayr perey suko me*
 ha ey akayr po-erey suko m-e
 1S EXCL:pity betelnut Q-place originating PL-OBJ
layow aney?
 layow a-ney
 chew IND.FUT-go
 ‘Poor me, where will I go to get betelnut to chew?’

- (13) *Hakwe meinowon okukwe pay*
 ha-kwe mein-owon o-ko-kwe po-ay
 1S-TOP stone-half(=money) PDEM-GL.F-TOP Q-what
me nakway aney?
 m-e nak-lway a-ney
 PL-OBJ ACC-carry IND.FUT-go
 ‘As for this money, what shall I buy for it?’

The indefinite future markers *a*, *ane* and *aney* can occur after the modal marker *pak* ‘Dubitative’. They are used in interrogatives about future uncertainties. The difference between *pak aney* and *pak ane* has again to do with the level of control. When the agent has some measure of control over future uncertainties *pak aney* is used (14). A low measure of control is expressed by *pak ane* (15).

- (14) *Hakwe Vanimo mon yerki penkin non ley*
 ha-kwe Vanimo mon yerki po-enkin non ley
 1S-TOP Vanimo LOC road Q-MAN CMT go
pak aney?
 pak a-ney
 DUB IND.FUT-go
 ‘In what way might I go to Vanimo?’ (Implied information:
 still options left)

- (15) *Hiykwe Vanimon mon yerki penkin non ley*
 hiy-kwe Vanimon mon yerki po-enkin non ley
 3S.M-TOP Vanimon LOC road Q-MAN CMT go
pak ane?
 pak a-ne
 DUB IND.FUT-come
 ‘In what way can he go to Vanimon?’
 (Implied information: no options seem to be left)

It is hard to determine when *pak a* should be used in contrast to *pak ane* and *pak aney*. There seems to be a tendency to use *pak a* for situations that indicate future uncertainty which do not require immediate action to resolve this uncertainty. This is in agreement with how *ane* and *aney* have been analysed. Example (16) and (17) at least confirm this analysis. It needs to be repeated though that it is hard to find unanimity among native speakers when the three options of *pak a*, *pak ane* and *pak aney* are discussed.

- (16) *Hiykwe omok Vanimon mon ley pak ane?*
 hiy-kwe omok Vanimon mon ley pak a-ne
 3S.M-TOP later Vanimon LOC go DUB IND.FUT-come
 ‘Might he be going to Vanimon later on?’
- (17) *Ok sokukwe, omok hane me pak a?*
 ok so-ko-kwe omok han-e me pak a
 talk DDEM-GL.F-TOP later 1S-OBJ speak DUB IND.FUT
 ‘As for that talk, might it be said of me (or: to me) later on?’

7.3 Negation

7.3.1 Negating verbal clauses

The negation markers, *pey* and *pa* occur clause-finally. The marker *pey* is used to negate clauses with imperfective aspect and *pa* is used to negate clauses with perfective aspect. As stated before, the imperfective often has present time reference, as can be seen in (18). It is used for the habitual (19) and (20) and can be expected to be used whenever a general truth, or characteristic behaviour or features are described.

- (18) *Hakwe hye nonkway lwak pey.*
 ha-kwe hiy-e nonkway lwak pey
 1S-TOP 3S.M-OBJ know be NEG.IPFTV
 ‘I do not know him.’

Example (19) is negated by the imperfective negation marker *pey*, as can be expected in a predication that expresses habitual behaviour.

- (19) *Homkwe sowr-yawp-ar mon seyn mow*
 hom-kwe salt-yawp-ar mon seyn mow
 2/3PL-TOP salt-river-INTF LOC HAB give.birth
keyn pey.
 keyn pey
 be.in.water NEG.IPFTV
 ‘They (= certain frogs) do not give birth in the ocean.’

In (20), the speaker treats the state of ‘not looking well’ as a habitual event that continues to be true at the present time. It is therefore marked by the imperfective negation marker *pey*.

- (20) *Nwoh hiykwe owhma pownaw nuw-wâk.*
 nwoh hiy-kwe owhma pownaw nuw-lwak
 dog 3S.M.SUB-TOP hair hairy INT-be.IPFTV
Hye kokwe yaprue lira pey.
 hiy-e ko-kwe yaprue lira pey
 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP good see NEG.IPFTV
 ‘The dog was very hairy. He was not good-looking.’

In (21), the speaker treats the negated predicate as a state of affairs that started in the past and continues to have relevance in the present. The speaker uses, therefore, the imperfective negation marker *pey*.

- (21) *Uwr hokwe pruum-oiow-aw lwak, hiykwe*
 uwr ho-kwe pruum-oiow-aw lwak hiy-kwe
 man GL.M-TOP cassowary-bone-RSTR be 3S.M-TOP
huok mokwe sawk hin pey.
 huok mo-kwe sawk hin pey
 pig GL.PL-TOP CHD shoot NEG.IPFTV
 ‘As for that man, he is (limited) to the bones of the cassowary only (= derogatory remark for a man who never killed a pig). As for pigs, he never shoots one.’

The negation marker *pa* is used to negate clauses with perfective aspect. As stated before, the perfective often has past time reference.

- (22) *Enekwei sehiy non hakwe hano sa*
 enekwei so-hiy non ha-kwe han-o sa
 time DDEM-3S.M CMT 1S-TOP 1S-GEN woman
ke nonkway lwak pa.
 k-e nonkway lwak pa
 3S.F-OBJ know be NEG.PFTV
 ‘At that time I did not know my wife.’

- (23) *Wo, senkin lira menkin, hiy sawk kar*
 wo so-enkin lira menkin hiy sawk kar
 EXCL DDEM-MAN see when 3S.M CHD gladness
ley pa.
 ley pa
 go NEG.PFTV
 ‘Well, when (he) saw that, he was not very happy.’

A sentence with an imperfective negation marker can be followed by a sentence with a perfective negation markers, as can be seen in (24).

- (24) *Nwoh hiykwe owhma pownaw nuw-wak. Hye*
 nwoh hiy-kwe owhma pownaw nuw-lwak hiy-e
 dog 3S.M-TOP hair hairy INT-be 3S.M-OBJ
kokwe yaprue lira pey. Nwoh hiykiaw
 ko-kwe yaprue lira pey nwoh hiy-kiaw
 GL.F-TOP good see NEG.IPFTV dog 3S.M-SLCT
lira nonkway pa.
 lira nonkway pa
 see know NEG.PFTV
 ‘The dog was very hairy. He was not good-looking. The dog himself did not know it.’

The first negation marker *pey* marks the state of affairs as a habitual state or a general truth. The subject is not expressed in the first sentence, but the imperfective negation marker allows the subject to be chosen from a wide selection of possible agents, unrestricted by time. The narrator could have used the perfective marker *pa*, but then the implied subject can only be sought in the context of the story which includes the given time frame of the story. The change of *pey* to *pa* would necessitate an

adaptation of the free translation, e.g. ‘no one considered him good-looking’.

The second sentence is treated by the narrator as an event that is placed in the past. It is therefore marked by the perfective negation marker *pa*.

7.3.2 Negating verbless clauses

The negation markers *pey* and *pa* can be used only after a VP. In order to negate a verbless clause the negation marker *lopa* is used. In a verbless clause it is used to express the absence of ownership as in (25) and (26).

- (25) *Hiykwe yeyk lopa.*
 hiy-kwe yeyk lopa
 3S.M-TOP canoe NEG.NOMS
 ‘He does not have a canoe.’

- (26) *Hano aio hiykwe mein-owon lopa.*
 han-o aio hiy-kwe mein-owon lopa
 1S-GEN father 3S.M-TOP stone-half(=money) NEG.NOMS
 ‘My father does not have any money.’

If one wants to negate ownership one uses *lopa*, if one wants to negate characteristics one uses clause-final *korey*.

- (27) *Hiykwe uwr-ar korey.*
 hiy-kwe uwr-ar korey
 3S.M-TOP man-INTF NEG
 ‘He is not a real man.’

- (28) *Wawp mo pion mo-kwe aiopey korey.*
 wawp m-o pion mo-kwe aiopey korey
 crane PL-GEN meat GL.PL-TOP big NEG
 ‘The meat of the crane bird is not very much.’

A second way to negate a verbless clause is to use the negation speech utterance markers. The negator *korey* can be replaced by the negation speech utterance marker *sō*. (Use of the diacritics is explained in §7.4.1)

The negation speech utterance marker expresses more emphasis than the negator *korey*, as is shown in (29) and (30).

- (29) *Hunkwe uwr-ar korey.*
 hwon-kwe uwr-ar korey
 2S.M-TOP man-INTF NEG
 ‘You are not a real man.’
- (30) *Hunkwe uwr-ar sō.*
 hwon-kwe uwr-ar so
 2S.M-TOP man-INTF NEG.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘You are absolutely not a real man.’

Speech utterance markers do not signal only emphatic negation, but also interrogation and emphatic declaration, depending on the intonation over the speech utterance marker (§7.4). The emphatic negation markers were highlighted here so as to keep the topic negation together in the analysis.

7.3.3 Additional functions of negator *korey*

Korey also functions as negator of an entire discourse segment, occurring immediately following the segment.

- (31) “*Hunkwe sapa mon wayr nayr so?*”
 hwon-kwe sapa mon lwayr nayr so
 2S-TOP forest LOC stay night Q.SP.PFTV.M
 “*Korey.*”
 korey
 NEG
 “‘Did you spend the night in the forest?’” “No.””

Korey marks emphasis when it is used in combination with one of the clause-final negation markers *pey* or *pa*. The negation word *korey* occurs before the verb phrase, as illustrated in examples (32-34).

- (32) *Hakwe hye korey lira pa.*
 ha-kwe hiy-e korey lira pa
 1S-TOP 3S.M-OBJ NEG see NEG.PFTV
 ‘I did not see him at all.’

- (33) *Aiai mokwe homkwe hane korey*
 aiai mo-kwe hom-kwe han-e korey
 food GL.PL-TOP 2/3PL-TOP 1S-OBJ NEG
kow pa.
 kow pa
 BEN NEG.PFTV
 ‘They did not give any food to me.’
- (34) *Ney somokwe sawk peik korey lwak*
 ney so-mo-kwe sawk peik korey lwak
 child DDEM-GL.PL-TOP CHD ill NEG be
pey, seyr korey lokrue pey.
 pey, seyr korey lokrue pey.
 NEG.IPFTV and/also NEG die NEG.IPFTV
 ‘As for those children, they do not have any sicknesses and they certainly will not die.’

7.3.4 The negation marker *lopa*

Example (35) demonstrates the most frequent use of the negator *lopa*, where it follows a nominal and indicates non-possession. It negates the NP *aiai-yok* ‘seedlings’.

- (35) *Uwr aiai-yok lopa lwak ankin, wueir liy*
 uwr aiai-yok lopa lwak ankin wueir liy
 man food-shoot NEG be if/when garden DYN
meio ley.
 meio korey
 work NEG
 ‘If a man does not have any seedlings, he cannot work a garden.’

A NP marked by the negation marker *lopa* has the opposite meaning of a NP marked with the comitative marker *non*. It is the contrast between non-possession and possession. Compare (35) and (36).

- (36) *Uwr aiai-yok non lwak ankin, wueir liy meio.*
 uwr aiai-yok non lwak ankin wueir liy meio
 man food-shoot CMT be if/when garden DYN work
 ‘If a man has seedlings, he can work a garden.’

The negation marker *lopa* normally marks only nominals indicating non-possession. It also immediately follows the nominal. The negators *pey* and *pa* (§7.3.1) are used to negate verbal clauses as is demonstrated in (37).

- (37) *Hiykwe sapa mon nakey sawk hiykwe*
 hiy-kwe sapa mon nak-ley sawk hiy-kwe
 3S.M-TOP forest LOC ACC-go CHD 3S.M-TOP
huok hin pa.
 huok hin lopa
 pig shoot NEG.PFTV
 ‘He went into the forest, but he did not shoot a pig.’

Although not very frequent, the negator *lopa* can follow a verb, as in (38), and in doing so it nominalises the clause as an event that never took place. The noun *huok* ‘pig’ and the verb *hin* ‘shoot’ form together the nominal construction of ‘pig shooting’.

- (38) *Keno hiykwe nyo warkiayr. Hiykwe huok*
 Keno hiy-kwe nyo warkiayr hiy-kwe huok
 Keno 3S.M-TOP lad young.man 3S.M-TOP pig
hin lopa.
 hin lopa
 shoot NEG.NOMS
 ‘Keno was a young lad. He never had (the experience) of shooting a pig.’

The negator *lopa* in (39) negates the nominalised construction *kuey la* ‘grub-eating’. By using the negator *lopa* ‘NEG.NOMS’, which is used for nominal constructions, rather than the valid alternative of the verbal negator *pey* ‘NEG.IPFTV’, the speaker emphasises the absolute non-occurrence of the event over an extended period of time.

- (39) *Sawk hunkwe senkin lon pa lwak*
 sawk hwon-kwe s-enkin lon pa lwak
 CHD 2S-TOP DDEM-MAN do NEG.PFTV be
ankin, hunkwe kuey la lopa.
 ankin, hwon-kwe kuey la lopa
 if 2S-TOP grubs eat NEG.NOMS
 ‘But if you do not do so, then there is never any grub-eating.’

7.3.5 Negation markers in subordinate clauses

The imperfective negation marker *pey* is not used in a subordinate clause, but the perfective negation marker *pa* and the nominalising negator *lopa* are both used. The latter might be preferred when the complete absence of the negated activity is the focus, but the semantic difference between the use of *pa* or *lopa* in subordinate clauses is very small. Both negators seem to be quite interchangeable within subordinate clauses.

When a negation marker occurs in a subordinate clause, it needs to be followed by the stative verb *lwak* ‘to be’ to form a grammatically correct sentence.

In (40), the negator *lopa* occurs within a subordinate clause marked by *ankin* ‘if’. The negator *lopa* is obligatorily followed by the stative verb *lwak*.

- (40) *Ey hiy lo lopa lwak ankin,*
 ey hiy lo lopa lwak ankin
 sun 3S.M.SUB shine NEG.NOMS be if
now homkwe aiai liy leip ley.
 now hom-kwe aiai liy leip korey
 tree 2/3PL-TOP food DYN bear NEG
 ‘If the sun never shines, the trees would not bear any fruit.’

The perfective negation marker *pa* can also be used within a subordinate clause, as is demonstrated in (41). The stative verb *lwak* is still obligatorily present. In (41), the verb *hawr* ‘wash’ is followed by the perfective negation marker *pa*.

- (41) *Hromkwe hu hawr pa lwak ankin,*
 hrom-kwe hu hawr lopa lwak ankin
 1PL.SUB-TOP water wash NEG.PFTV be if/when
peik har hromo owh mon liy lousne.
 peik har hrom-o owh mon liy lousne
 ill some 1PL-GEN body LOC DYN appear
 ‘If we don’t wash, some sicknesses will appear in our body.’

Example (42) demonstrates the same use of the negator *lopa* in combination with the stative verb *lwak* in a subordinate clause.

- (42) *Hunkwe mey meio lopa lwak ankin,*
 hwon-kwe mey meio lopa lwak ankin
 2S-TOP job work NEG.NOMS be if
hakwe kar liy ley ley.
 ha-kwe kar liy ley korey
 1S-TOP gladness DYN go NEG
 ‘If you never do your work, I will not be happy.’

7.3.6 Prohibitive

The markers *pese ...o* obligatorily bracket the VP of the clause to encode the prohibitive. The prohibitive marker *pese* seems to be interchangeable with *peie*. No differences in use and meaning have been discovered. Both markers always co-occur with the speech marker *o* that follows the verb phrase immediately.

The marker *pese* (or *peie*) always immediately precedes the VP. The clause-final *o* is analysed as a direct speech marker that marks emphasis. Clause-final *o* can mark negation (see §7.4.2), but based on the low pitch over the vowel the marker is analysed as an emphatic marker.

In (43-45), the markers *pese ... o* embrace the VP. The scope of negation covers all the constituents of the underlined VP.

- (43) *Hunkwe nwoh kow-a ankin, hye kokwe*
 hwon-kwe nwoh kow-la ankin hiy-e ko-kwe
 2S-TOP dog BEN-eat if/when 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP
oiow me pese lopri say kow o.
 oiow m-e pese lopri say kow o
 leg PL-OBJ PROH take.PL move.PL BEN EMPH.SP.IPFTV
 ‘When you feed your dog, do not feed and throw any bones to him.’

In (44), the scope of negation includes the adverbial modifiers on the verb.

- (44) *Hunkwe yeyk se pese meio lowpway*
 hwon-kwe yeyk s-e pese meio lowpway
 2S-TOP canoe 3S.M-OBJ PROH work completely
nayr o.
 nayr o
 night EMPH.SP.IPFTV
 ‘Do not finish the canoe during the evening.’
- (45) *Huok pese lokin kwor o.*
 huok pese lokin kwor o
 pig PROH hit die EMPH.SP.IPFTV
 ‘Do not kill pigs.’

The verb phrase initial negators, *peie* and *pese*, are both used interchangeably to negate the imperative.

- (46) *Homkwe iha lopa peie la o.*
 hom-kwe iha lopa peie la o
 2/3PL-TOP hand NEG PROH eat EMPH.SP.IPFTV
 ‘Do not eat without sharing (lit. without hands).’

7.3.7 Negating dynamic modality

Negated dynamic modality is marked by the combination of the dynamic modal marker *liy* which precedes the verb phrase, and the negation marker *ley* which immediately follows the verb phrase. The last marker should not be confused with the two homophonous forms *ley* ‘go’ and *ley* ‘inchoative’. When clause-final *ley* co-occurs with *liy* ‘DYN’ it negates dynamic modality. It is assumed that *ley* in this context is a variant of *korey* ‘NEG’.

- (47) *Hakwe yeyk se liy meio ley.*
 ha-kwe yeyk s-e liy meio korey
 1S-TOP canoe 3S.M-OBJ DYN work NEG
 ‘I am not able / I should not / I am not available to make the canoe.’

Liy signifies ability, in the senses availability/possibility (48), capability (49), and appropriateness (50).

- (48) *Hakwe yeyk se liy meio lowpway nayr*
 ha-kwe yeyk s-e liy meio lowpway nayr
 1S-TOP canoe 3S.M.OBJ DYN work completely night
ley. Hakwe enekwei lopa.
 korey ha-kwe enekwei lopa
 NEG 1S-TOP time NEG.NOMS
 ‘I am not able (= do not have the opportunity) to finish the
 canoe during the evening. I do not have time.’
- (49) *Kupe hiykwe a liy meio ley, hiykwe*
 Kupe hiy-kwe a liy meio korey hiy-kwe
 Kupe 3S.M-TOP house DYN work NEG 3S.M-TOP
krai lopa.
 krai lopa
 strength NEG.NOMS
 ‘Kupe is not able to build a house, he does not have the
 strength to do it.’
- (50) *Hakwe hu kosi-pno non hokwe, hakwe*
 ha-kwe hu kosi-pno non ho-kwe ha-kwe
 1S-TOP water clay-clod CMT GL.M-TOP 1S.SUB-TOP
liy hawr ley.
 liy hawr korey
 DYN wash NEG
 ‘As for muddy water, I cannot wash in that.’

7.3.8 Continued negation of an activity or state

When one wants to express that a certain state or activity ceased to exist and will continue to be in this ceased state for the indefinite future, the negation marker *pase* NEG.CNT is used in combination with a clause-final object marker *e*. The negation construction is best translated in English by ‘not anymore’.

This negation is not used in the imperative mood like the prohibitive, but is utilized in the indicative mood. The negation marker *pase* ... *e* has as its focus a continuing negated state of affairs. In (51), it expresses the notion that a certain action that was part of the past will not happen in the future anymore.

- (51) *Sehiy so meyki sok sawk hehe*
 so-hiy s-o meyki sok sawk hoh-e
 DDEM-3S.M 3S.M-GEN after EXCT CHD 2/3DU-OBJ
pase ma-non-o me e.
 pase ma-non-lo me e
 NEG.CNT RPT-DU-shoot speak OBJ
 ‘After that time he did not attack the two of them verbally any more.’

Example (52) expresses the same idea. The past reality of seeing and being with his friend has ceased to exist and this negated state will continue.

- (52) *Hiykwe hyo wayh se eheyr non*
 hiy-kwe hiy-o wayh s-e eheyr non
 3S.M-TOP 3S.M-GEN friend 3S.M-OBJ crying CMT
lyuk pawk liok, sa pase lira e.
 lyuk pawk liok sa pase lira e
 cry search in.vain then/and not see OBJ
 ‘While crying, he looked for his friend in vain, but he did not see him any more.’

In (53), the activity of planting that took place in the past is discontinued for the foreseeable future.

- (53) *Uruh hiykwe sawk lay-wueir sehe*
 uruh hiy-kwe sawk lay-wueir so-h-e
 husband 3S.M-TOP CHD tapioc-garden DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
pase ma-meio saro e.
 pase ma-meio saro e
 not RPT-work plant OBJ
 (Context: After a bush spirit disrupted the garden work) ‘The husband did not work on planting his tapioc garden any more.’

The negation construction *pase ...e* does not only negate one single event taking place at one time, but it has an extended time as its scope. The context of (54) supports this, since the marker *lokruok* refers to many unsuccessful attempts (§4.3.3.4) and the negation construction *pase ... e* also refers to an extended time.

- (54) *Uruh hiykwe aiai senkin senkin*
 uruh hiy-kwe aiai so-enkin so-enkin
 husband 3S.M-TOP food DDEM-MAN DDEM-MAN
nuw-kow lokruok, hokwe pase la e.
 nuw-kow lokruok hok-kwe pase la e
 INT-BEN in.vain.RPT 3S.F-TOP not eat OBJ
 ‘The husband tried many (times) in vain to give all kinds of
 food, but she continued not to eat any.’

7.3.9 Negative indefinites

Concepts like nothing (55), no-one (56), no way (57) nowhere (58) etc. are expressed by the combination of an interrogative and a verb phrase final *ley*. Resulting sentences are viewed by native speakers as statements and not as questions. The interrogative precedes the verb phrase either as an adverbial interrogative (ex. 56) or as part of a NP (ex. 55). The verb phrase is immediately followed by a clause-final *ley* that is analysed as a variant of *korey* ‘NEG’ (see §7.3.7 for a comparable analysis of the dynamic modality negation *liy ... ley*).

- (55) *Ok lopa, sa pay ok*
 ok lopa sa po-ay ok
 talk NEG.NOMS then/and Q-what.Non.HUM talk
ke ma-lohruw a ley.
 k-e ma-lohruw la korey
 3S.F-OBJ RPT-talk eat NEG
 ‘Alright, nothing needs to be said anymore.’
- (56) *Hyo iha kokwe posokwaw*
 hiy-o iha ko-kwe po-so-kwaw
 3S.M-GEN hand GL.F-TOP Q-DDEM-RSTR.SUB
kandieys kow ha ley.
 kandieys kow ha korey
 pull.out BEN OBJ<SUB NEG
 ‘No one could pull his hand free.’

- (57) *Hiykwe* *sawk* ***penkin*** *ma-laye*
 hiy-kwe sawk po-enkin ma-laye
 3S.M.SUB-TOP CHD Q-MAN RPT-come.down
e ***ley.***
 e korey
 PURP NEG
 ‘He had no way to come down (from the tree).’
- (58) *Aiai* ***perey*** *kekie* *sue* *hain* ***ley.***
 aiai po-erey kekie sue hain korey
 food Q-place put hidden SUB<OBJ NEG
 ‘There was no place to hide and leave the food.’

7.4 Speech utterance markers

Sentence final speech utterance markers modify a sentence for the following three categories: interrogative, emphatic negation and emphatic declarative. They are a feature of spoken language in direct interaction. These markers are only used when something needs to be asked or emphatically be declared or negated. The set of speech utterance markers consists of the imperfective speech utterance marker *o* and the perfective speech utterance markers *so*, *ko* and *mo*. The same set of imperfective and perfective speech utterance markers mark the three mentioned categories. The markers only differ in the intonation contour they carry. Specifics for the three categories are given in Table 44.

The imperfective speech marker *o* and the perfective speech markers *so*, *ko* and *mo* occur with the following differing intonations that determine whether they mark the sentence for interrogative, emphatic negation or emphatic declarative. (These diacritics are only used in this grammar write-up but not in the currently accepted orthography.)

TABLE 44: INTONATION OF THE SPEECH MARKERS

Modal force	Imperfective speech marker	Intonation description	Perfective speech marker	Intonation description
Interrogative	<i>ō</i>	high and gradually falling	<i>sō, kō, mō</i>	mid and gradually falling
Emphatic negation	<i>ō</i>	high-mid and level	<i>sō, kō, mō</i>	mid and level
Emphatic declarative	<i>ō</i>	mid-low and level	<i>sō, kō, mō</i>	low and level

In the sections below more detail is given about the intonation of the various markers.

These markers have some resemblance in form to the proximal and distal demonstratives and also to the genitive markers. The proximal demonstrative is represented by *o-* (§3.6.2) and so are the imperfective speech utterance markers. The imperfective often has present tense reference. This is consistent with the pattern in many languages where proximal signals cataphoric reference and more distant signals anaphoric reference (e.g. the table at Dixon 2003:83). However, the perfective speech utterance markers *so*, *ko* and *mo* do not really match the distal demonstrative. It should be noted that they are identical in form to the three genitive markers. They function at different levels though, one marking embedded noun phrases and the other clauses or even sentences.

A speech utterance is not obligatorily marked with any of the markers listed in Table 44. Many utterances like (59) can be made that have no sentence final speech marker.

- (59) *Aio hiy me, "Hakwe siowp lokrue."*
 aio hiy me ha-kwe siowp lokrue
 father 3S.M speak 1S-TOP intestines die
 'Father said, "I am hungry."'

The interrogative, however, is nearly always marked with a sentence final speech utterance marker. The use of the interrogative speech marker is sometimes left out when an adverbial interrogative marker (§7.5.3) is

used in combination with the inchoative marker *ley* (§5.3.1) and the intentional marker *ey* (§5.3.2). This is demonstrated in (60) and (61).

- (60) *Naw mokwe, hromkwe pay non lowk*
 naw mo-kwe hrom-kwe po-ay non lowk
 sago GL.PL-TOP 1PL-TOP Q-what CMT cut
mayr ley?
 mayr ley
 scrape INCH
 ‘As for the sago, with what are we going to cut and scrape the sago?’
- (61) *Wueir hokwe penkin lwak ey?*
 wueir ho-kwe po-enkin lwak ey?
 garden GL.M.S-TOP Q-MAN be INT
 ‘How will the garden be / What will the garden be like?’

The modal markers *ley* ‘INCH’ and *ey* ‘INTN’ can occur with a clause-final speech utterance marker. See examples (85) and (86).

7.4.1 Use of the perfective speech markers *so*, *ko* and *mo*

The same speech markers are used in verbal and verbless clauses. In the latter case only the perfective speech utterance markers can be used and never the imperfective speech marker *o*. The perfective speech marker immediately follows the comment constituent of a verbless clause.

The following perfective (PFTV) speech utterance markers (SP) are recognised:

so ‘SP.PFTV.M’

ko ‘SP.PFTV.F’

mo ‘SP.PFTV.PL’

The emphatic negation speech marker (*sō*, *kō* or *mō*) is used in short verbless constructions. Examples (62), (63) and (64) show agreement in number and gender between the speech utterance marker and the head of the NP it follows.

- (62) *Hano a sō.*
 han-o a so
 1S-GEN house NEG.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘This is not my house.’
- (63) *Sa sokukwe hano ipey kō.*
 sa so-ko-kwe han-o ipey ko
 woman DDEM-GL.F-TOP 1S-GEN mother NEG.SP.PFTV.F
 ‘As for that woman, she is not my mother.’
- (64) *Huok somokwe, hno huok mō.*
 huok so-mo-kwe hwon-o huok mo
 pig DDEM-GL.PL-TOP 2S-GEN pig NEG.SP.PFTV.PL
 ‘As for those pigs, they are not yours.’

As stated before (§7.3.2), the speech markers *sō*, *kō* and *mō* in (62-64) can all be replaced by *korey* which has less emphasis.

The speech utterance markers have different modal force depending on the intonation used: interrogative (Q), emphatic negation (NEG) and emphatic declarative (EMPH).

Interrogative: The intonation over the speech marker is a glide shifting from mid-level to low.

Emphatic negation: The intonation over the speech marker is a non-changing pitch at mid level.

Emphatic declarative: The intonation over the speech marker is a non-changing pitch at low level.

Neutral declarative	<i>Hano a.</i>	‘This is my house.’
Interrogative	<i>Hano a sō?</i>	‘Is this my house?’
Emphatic negation	<i>Hano a sō.</i>	‘This is (certainly) not my house.’
Emphatic declarative	<i>Hano a sō.</i>	‘This is (certainly) my house.’

As stated above: direct speech is not obligatorily marked by the markers *so*, *ko* and *mo*. A declarative verbless clause can be formed without any of these markers present, as can be seen in example (65).

- (65) *Sa sokukwe hano ipey.*
 sa so-ko-kwe han-o ipey
 woman DDEM-GL.F-TOP 1S-GEN mother
 ‘As for that woman, she is my mother.’

The interrogative speech marker *ko* exhibits a glide that starts at mid-level falling to low.

- (66) *Sa sokukwe hano ipey kō?*
 sa so-ko-kwe han-o ipey ko
 woman DDEM-GL.F-TOP 1S-GEN mother Q.SP.PFTV.F
 ‘As for that woman, is she my mother?’

The perfective emphatic negation speech marker *ko* exhibits a non-changing pitch at mid level.

- (67) *Sa sokukwe hano ipey kō!*
 sa so-ko-kwe han-o ipey ko
 woman DDEM-GL.F-TOP 1S-GEN mother NEG.SP.PFTV.F
 ‘As for that woman, she is (certainly) not my mother!’

The perfective emphatic declarative speech marker *ko* exhibits a non-changing pitch at low level.

- (68) *Sa sokukwe hano ipey kō.*
 sa so-ko-kwe han-o ipey ko
 woman DDEM-GL.F-TOP 1S-GEN mother EMPH.SP.PFTV.F
 ‘As for that woman, she (certainly) is my mother.’

The examples above deal with verbless clauses, but the same distinctions between interrogative, negation and emphatic declarative can be made in verbal clauses as is demonstrated in the three examples below.

The intonation contour as given in Table 44 distinguishes between interrogative (69), emphatic negation (70) and emphatic declarative (71).

- (69) *Ipey hokwe payhokuaw saw kō?*
 ipey hok-kwe po-ay-ho-kuaw saw ko
 mother 3S.F-TOP Q-what-for.reason scream Q.SP.PFTV.F
 ‘Why did mother shout?’

- (70) *Hanekwe onon hiy supow sok peyk*
 han-e-kwe onon hiy supow sok peyk
 1S-OBJ-TOP centipede 3S.M big.toe EXCT bite
ha sō!
 ha so
 OBJ<SUB NEG.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘A centipede did not bite me in my big toe!’

- (71) *Hanekwe onon hiy supow sok peyk*
 han-e-kwe onon hiy supow sok peyk
 1S-OBJ-TOP centipede 3S.M big.toe EXCT bite
ha sö.
 ha so
 OBJ<SUB EMPH.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘A centipede bit me in my big toe.’

The perfective speech marker agrees in number and gender with a NP within the sentence it modifies. In general that is the object NP. When no object NP occurs, it agrees with the subject NP. See for more discussion §7.4.4.

7.4.2 Usage of imperfective speech marker *o*

The imperfective speech marker, which overlaps with the present, habitual and future is not differentiated for gender and number. Like the perfective speech markers it exhibits various intonation contours that can give the clause the modal force of emphatic negation, interrogative, or emphatic affirmative. This marker can only be used in verbal sentences.

The intonation contour for the imperfective speech markers for these three categories is not identical to the intonation contour for the perfective speech markers. The perfective and imperfective markers agree for the features of level pitch and falling pitch. The major difference is the pitch height. The intonation contour for the imperfective exhibits for all three categories a higher onset. E.g. the glide over the interrogative *o* starts and ends at a higher pitch than the glide over the interrogative speech markers *so*, *ko* and *mo*. The markers for the emphatic negation and the emphatic declarative have a level intonation contour. The relative pitch height for the imperfective is higher than for the corresponding imperfective markers. In an attempt not to overload the examples with too many diacritics I have not marked this difference in pitch height between the perfective and imperfective.

The intonation contour associated with sentences encoding the imperfective speech markers distinguishes the interrogative (72), the negative (73), and the emphatic declarative (74).

In (72), the imperfective interrogative speech utterance marker *o* exhibits a glide that starts at a high level falling to mid.

- (72) *Hunkwe ney swanyo prueysyar ke perey*
 hwon-kwe ney swanyo prueysyar k-e po-rey
 2S-TOP child daughter two.CL1 3S.F-OBJ Q-place
hiy-ey ð?
 hiy-ley o
 CAUS-will Q.SP.IPFTV
 ‘Where are you bringing your two daughters to?’

In (73), the imperfective emphatic negation speech marker *o* exhibits a non-changing pitch at a high-mid level (termed this way to indicate that it is a higher pitch than the corresponding perfective negation speech marker).

- (73) *Hunkwe i se-aw saw-sau e,*
 hwon-kwe i s-e-aw saw-sau e
 2S-TOP leg 3S.M-OBJ-RSTR SPD-run OBJ.IMP
payhokuaw, enkin skul hokwe
 po-ay-ho-kuaw enkin skul ho-kwe
 Q-what-GL.M-for.reason.of MAN school GL.M-TOP
ohriar kiy-wak ð.
 ohriar kiy-lwak o
 near ACT-be NEG.SP.IPFTV
 ‘Run very quickly, because the school is not very close.’

The imperfective emphatic declarative speech marker *ko* in (74) exhibits a non-changing pitch at mid-low level (termed this way to indicate that it is a higher pitch than the corresponding perfective emphatic declarative speech marker).

- (74) *Hiy lokre me, senkin, “Uwr prueyn hiykwe*
 hiy lokre me so-enkin uwr prueyn hiy-kwe
 3S.M shout speak DDEM-MAN man one 3S.M-TOP
mango yokun lie owr a kok ð.”
 mango yokun lie lowr la kok o
 mango theft go.up pick eat day.time EMPH.SP.IPFTV
 ‘He shouted, “Someone has climbed up in the mango tree and is picking and eating all the fruit right now.”’

7.4.3 Observed usage of the speech markers

Apart from the interrogative speech marker, speech utterance markers are not used extensively, since there are other devices to make declarative sentences or to negate predications.

The emphatic declarative is used to either contradict a possible alternative or to stress the truth value of newly given information. The device is available but many declarative statements can be made without using this speech utterance marker.

Example (74) appears with a sentence final emphatic declarative speech marker *o*. The emphatic marker does not occur obligatorily, since (74) can also be expressed without the emphatic speech marker as in (75).

- (75) *Hiy lokre me, senkin, "Uwr prueyn*
hiy lokre me so-enkin uwr prueyn
 3S.M shout speak DDEM-MAN man one
hiykwe mango yokun lie owr a kok."
hiy-kwe mango yokun lie lowr la kok
 3S.M-TOP mango theft go.up pick eat day.time
 'He shouted, "Someone has climbed up in the mango tree and
 is picking and eating all the fruit.'"

Several devices can be used to negate utterances, making e.g. use of the negation markers *pey* and *pa* (see §7.3.1). Emphasis can even be added by other means than the emphatic negation markers (see §7.3.3). These other negation constructions are far more productive. So the previous example (73) can also be expressed as:

- (76) *Hunkwe i se-aw saw-sau e,*
hwon-kwe i s-e-aw saw-sau e
 2S-TOP leg 3S.M-OBJ-RSTR SPD-run OBJ.IMP
payhokuaw, enkin skol hokwe
po-ay-ho-kuaw enkin skol ho-kwe
 Q-what-GL.M-for.reason.of MAN school GL.M-TOP
ohriar kiy-wak pey.
ohriar kiy-lwak pey
 near ACT-be NEG.IPFTV
 'Run very quickly, because the school is not very close.'

In (77), the final marker *sō* ‘NEG.SP.PFTV.M’ indicates negation in a verbless clause. The markers *pey* and *pa* cannot occur in a verbless clause. But the clause-final marker *sō* in (77) can be substituted by *korey* ‘NEG’ as is shown in (78).

- (77) *Hrorkwe liy non-ey. Sawk hakwe uwr-ar*
 hror-kwe liy non-ley sawk ha-kwe uwr-ar
 1DU-TOP DYN DU-go CHD 1S-TOP man-INTF
sō.
 so
 NEG.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘The two of us can go together. But I am not a real man.’
- (78) *Hrorkwe liy non-ey. Sawk hakwe uwr-ar*
 hror-kwe liy non-ley sawk ha-kwe uwr-ar
 1DU-TOP DYN DU-go CHD 1S-TOP man-INTF
korey.
 korey
 NEG
 ‘The two of us can go together. But I am not a real man.’

7.4.4 Agreement of speech markers *so*, *ko* and *mo*

In verbless clauses the speech marker agrees in number and gender with the NP topic. This is not surprising since the nature of verbless clauses is such that only one topic is encoded. The comment constituent only gives additional new information about the topic. In (79), the speech marker *mo* agrees in number with the NP *huok somokwe* ‘those pigs’.

- (79) *Huok somokwe hano aio so*
 huok so-mo-kwe han-o aio s-o
 pig DDEM-GL.PL-TOP 1S-GEN father 3S.M-GEN
huok mö.
 huok mo
 pig EMPH.SP.PFTV.PL
 ‘As for those pigs, they certainly are my father’s pigs.’

In verbal clauses with only one NP the speech marker will naturally agree in number and gender with that NP as is shown in (80) where the speech marker *mo* agrees with the NP *ney homkwe* ‘the children’.

- (80) *Ney homkwe perey ma-nakey mō?*
 ney hom-kwe po-rey ma-nak-ley mo
 child 2/3PL-TOP Q-place RPT-ACC-go Q.SP.PFTV.PL
 ‘Where are the children going to?’

If the clause hosts more than one NP, the choice can be difficult. Two rules might compete with each other:

1. The speech marker agrees with the NP that has patient role.
2. The speech marker agrees with the NP that precedes the VP.
 (This is frequently a non-topicalised NP but not always as (80) demonstrates.)

There is no conflict between the two rules in (81). The speech marker *so* agrees with the NP that has the patient role. The same NP also precedes the VP. The singular masculine speech marker *so* agrees in gender and number with the object NP *hoko ney se*.

- (81) *Pouh hokwe hoko ney se penkin*
 pouh hok-kwe hok-o ney s-e po-enkin
 mother 3S.F-TOP 3S.F-GEN child 3S.M-OBJ Q-MAN

ma-hiy-sor kraipakrai sō?
 ma-hiy-sor kraipakrai so
 RPT-CAUS-talk strongly Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘How did mother convince her son?’

There is a conflict between the two rules in (82). Based on the two rules there were potentially two different choices since the NP that precedes the VP and the NP that has patient role are two different NPs. In (82), the speech marker agrees with *huok* ‘pig’ as the head of the NP, based on the first rule that the speech marker agrees with the NP that has patient role. The NP which precedes the VP (second rule) is the singular interrogative *posokwaw* ‘who’ which is by default always masculine. If the speech marker had agreed in gender and number with this NP the sentence final marker would have been *sō*. It is obvious from (82) that the first rule was applied, in spite of the fact the patient NP is further to the left and not even syntactically marked as object.

- (82) *Huok hir ouon ko mokwe*
 huok hir ouon k-o mo-kwe
 pig fence under 3S.F-GEN GL.PL-TOP
posokwaw kampi kow ha mō?
 poso-kwaw kampi kow ha mo
 Q-DDEM-RSTR.SUB open BEN OBJ<SUB Q.SP.PFTV.PL
 ‘As for the pigs inside the fence, who let them out?’

When these two rules conflict, it is up to the speaker to choose which constituent to focus on. In (83), the choice of the speech marker *ko* can be defended on the basis of rule 2 and the use of the speech marker *so* can be defended on the basis of rule 1. If the speaker wants to focus on the mother as actor, *ko* will be selected, if the speaker wants to focus on the child as patient *so* will be selected.

- (83) *Ney se kokwe ipey hok*
 ney s-e ko-kwe ipey hok-kwe
 child 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP mother 3S.F.SUB-TOP
penkin lon kō/sō?
 po-enkin lon ko/so
 Q-MAN do Q.SP.PFTV.F/M
 ‘What did mother do to her child?’

In summary, the object NP is the most likely candidate to govern the number and gender of the sentence final speech marker. Normally, it is the object NP that precedes the verb phrase, which makes the choice of gender and number for the speech marker straightforward, since the two rules agree with each other. In (84), it would grammatically be incorrect to establish agreement in gender and number between the subject and the speech marker. (The feminine speech marker *ko* can only be utilised if the object NP precedes the subject NP.)

- (84) *Ipey hokwe ney se penkin*
 ipey hok-kwe ney s-e po-enkin
 mother 3S.F-TOP child 3S.M-OBJ Q-MAN
lon sō?
 lon so
 do Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘What did mother do to her child?’

7.4.5 Speech markers following clause-final modal markers

A clause marked by the modal marker *ey* ‘intention’ or by the modal marker *ley* ‘inchoative’ (§5.3) can only be followed by a perfective speech utterance marker and never by an imperfective speech marker. In (85), *ey* ‘INT’ necessitates the use of the perfective interrogative speech marker *sō* in spite of the fact that the event referred to is a future event. The reason for this phenomenon is related to the fact that *ey* ‘INT’ and *ley* ‘INCH’ are clause-final markers. The speech utterance marker is a sentential marker. The use of the perfective speech marker treats the sentence it marks as a single event.

- (85) *Ara, hrorkwe yawk lway nok*
 ara hror-kwe yawk lway nok
 ADDR.M:listen 1DU-TOP fishing.net carry DUR
- pa, pokon pay non leyway sakeyn*
 pa pokon po-ay non leyway sakeyn
 NEG.PFTV today Q-what CMT scoop throw.in.water
- ey sō?*
 ey so
 INTN Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘Man, we didn’t bring a fishing net, what do we intend to scoop with?’

In (86), the clause-final inchoative aspect marker *ley* can only be followed by the sentence-final perfective negation speech marker.

- (86) *Nwoh hiykwe senkin nan, “Hakwe liy*
 nwoh hiy-kwe so-enkin nan ha-kwe liy
 dog 3S.M-TOP DDEM-MAN think 1S-TOP DYN
- lono kow ley, hane pion me kow-a*
 lono kow korey han-e pion m-e kow-la
 bark BEN NEG 1S-OBJ meat PL-OBJ BEN-eat
- ley sō.”*
 ley so
 INCH NEG.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘The dog thought, “I won’t bark, (because) they are not going to give me any meat.”’

The last part of example (85) above can also be formed without the intentional marker *ey*. When deleted, the speech marker follows the VP and not a clause-final marker. The predication refers to a non-finished present time event, which means that the imperfective speech marker needs to be selected as is shown in (87).

- (87) *Hrorkwe pay non leyway sakeyn*
 hror-kwe po-ay non leyway sakeyn
 1DU-TOP Q-what CMT scoop throw.in.water
õ?
 o
 Q.SP.IPFTV
 ‘What are we (or: will we be) scooping with?’

7.4.6 Emphatic declarative speech marker with the addressee

As stated before the perfect speech utterance markers *so*, *ko* and *mo* are mainly used to mark the interrogative mood, but also to indicate emphatic negation and emphatic declarative.

The emphatic declarative speech marker can be suffixed with an addressee morpheme. There are three independent vocatives which are used to address one or more persons: masculine *ara*, feminine *akwa* and plural *ama*. Their independent use is exemplified in (88).

- (88) *Hok mesopok “Ara, hno sa pokwo?”*
 hok me-sopok ara hwon-o sa po-kwo
 3S.F.SUB speak-ask ADDR.M 2S-GEN wife Q-GL.F
Hiy ma-sahre me, “Akwa, hakwe
 hiy ma-sahre me akwa ha-kwe
 3S.M RPT-return speak ADDR.F 1S.SUB-TOP
nonkway lwak pey.”
 nonkway lwak pey
 know be NEG.IPFTV
 ‘She asked, “Man, where is your wife?” He answered,
 “Woman, I do not know.”’

From the masculine *ara*, feminine *akwa* and plural *ama* a set of three addressee suffixes *-ra*, *-kwa*, and *-ma* is derived. The initial *a* is absorbed

at the juncture when these addressee markers are suffixed to the three emphatic declarative speech utterance markers *so*, *ko*, or *mo*.

When the three addressee markers are suffixed to the three speech markers *so*, *ko* and *mo* a total of nine different surface forms result as can be seen in Table 45.

TABLE 45: EMPHATIC SPEECH MARKERS SUFFIXED WITH THE ADDRESSIVE MARKERS

Addressive markers	Masculine speech marker <i>so</i>	Feminine speech marker <i>ko</i>	Plural speech marker <i>mo</i>
Masculine addressee: <i>ara</i>	<i>so-ra</i>	<i>ko-ra</i>	<i>mo-ra</i>
Feminine addressee: <i>akwa</i>	<i>so-kwa</i>	<i>ko-kwa</i>	<i>mo-kwa</i>
Plural addressee: <i>ama</i>	<i>so-ma</i>	<i>ko-ma</i>	<i>mo-ma</i>

In (89), the final marker *so* ‘EMP.SP.PFTV.M’ makes a spoken assertion more emphatic.

- (89) *Sawk uwr sohokwe senkin ma-sahre*
sawk uwr so-ho-kwe so-enkin ma-sahre
 CHD man DDEM-GL.M-TOP DDEM-MAN RPT-return
me kow, “Hakwe Muruw seirpey
me kow ha-kwe mu-ruw seirpey
 speak BEN 1S-TOP crocodile-man fierce
sö!”
so
 EMP.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘And the man answered, “I myself am the fierce crocodile
 man!”’

In (90), the same emphatic assertion is made with the inclusion of the addressee. The marker *so-ra* consist of two parts: *so-* the emphatic negation speech marker and *-ra*, the masculine singular addressee.

- (90) *Hakwe Muruw seirpey sora.*
 ha-kwe mu-ruw seirpey so-ara
 1S-TOP crocodile-man fierce EMP.SP.PFTV.M-ADDR.M
 ‘Man, I myself am the fierce crocodile man!’

Careful attention need to be paid to the fact that each of the nine forms in Table 45 consist of two morphemes. These two morphemes have their own gender and number. The first morpheme (*so*, *ko*, or *mo*) generally marks the gender and number of the object, or in its absence, the gender and number of the subject (see §7.4.4 for exceptions). The second morpheme (*-ra*, *-kwa*, or *-ma*) marks the gender and number of the addressee(s).

In (91), the morpheme *so* agrees with the topic constituent of the sentence, the subject *hakwe*, which is masculine, since it refers to a male referent. The morpheme *-ma* agrees with the plural addressee (the older brothers).

- (91) *Hiykwe senkin me, hyo oryay*
 hiy-kwe so-enkin me hiy-o oryay
 3S.M-TOP DDEM-MAN speak 3S.M-GEN older.brother
me, “Hakwe, hmo nay arian
 m-e ha-kwe hom-o nay arian
 PL-OBJ 1S-TOP 2/3PL-GEN younger.sibling own
soma!”
 so-ama
 EMP.SP.PFTV.M-ADDR.PL
 ‘He said to his older brothers, “Men, I am your very own younger brother!”’

In (92), the speech marker that includes the addressee *kora* is used in a verbless clause. The first part of the marker *ko-ra* agrees with the feminine topic constituent *weyn* ‘custom’ and the second part of *ko-ra* agrees with the masculine gender of the addressee.

- (92) *Weyn sokukwe piap kora!*
 weyn so-ko-kwe piap ko-ara
 custom DDEM-GL.F-TOP bad EMP.SP.PFTV.F-ADDR.M
 ‘Man, that deed is really bad!’

In (93), the speech and addressee marker *so-kwa* occurs sentence finally. The first part *so-* agrees with the head of the masculine subject

kam ‘maternal uncle’ and the second part *-kwa* agrees with the feminine addressee.

- (93) *Uwruh hiy ma-sahre me, hyo sah*
 uwr-ih hiy ma-sahre me hiy-o sa-uh
 man-KIN 3S.M RPT-return speak 3S.M-GEN woman-KIN
ke, “Hno kam hiykwe lawk-lawk
 k-e hwon-o kam hiy-kwe lawk-lawk
 3S.F-OBJ 2S-GEN uncle 3S.M-TOP ignorant-ignorant
sokwa.”
 so-akwa
 EMP.SP.PFTV.M-ADDR.F
 ‘The husband said to his wife, “Woman, your maternal uncle
 is really out of his mind.”’

7.4.7 Speech markers *so*, *ko* and *mo* suffixed for dubitative

The speech markers *so*, *ko* and *mo* can be followed by the marker *ney* which can also follow the future marker *a* (see §7.2). Whereas the future marker *a* can be suffixed by both *-ney* and *-ne*, the speech utterance markers *so*, *ko* and *mo* can only be suffixed by *-ney* which is analysed as a marker that indicates uncertainty and doubt. The following forms can occur: *soney*, *koney* and *money*. These sentence final markers obligatorily co-occur with an interrogative preceding the verb phrase.

In (94), the first bolded speech marker is suffixed with the dubitative marker *-ney*. An obligatory interrogative *pay* ‘what’ precedes the verb phrase. The speech marker has feminine gender which is triggered by the interrogative *pay*. The form of what was seen triggered the selection of feminine gender (see §3.3 for form of noun and gender). The second bolded speech marker *ko-* is suffixed by the plural addressive marker *-ma*.

- (94) *Hiy me, hyo wayh me, “Pay*
 hiy me hiy-o wayh me po-ay
 3S.M.SUB speak 3S.M-GEN friend speak Q-what
koney? *Ihey mo mein-owon*
 ko-ney ihey m-o mein-owon
 Q.SP.PFTV.F-DUB white.man PL-GEN stone-half

hok lwon koma!”
 hok lwon ko-ama
 3S.F.SUB sleep EMP.SP.F-ADDR.PL
 ‘He said to his friends, “What might that be? Men, money is lying there!”’

In (95), the speech utterance is marked by *soney*. The first part *so-* agrees in gender and number with the subject, a male person (see text “The two brothers” in appendix). The feminine noun *yayh* ‘song’ is an incorporated noun and therefore does not determine the gender and number of the speech marker as a NP object would. The dubitative marker *-ney* is suffixed to the speech marker. The obligatory interrogative in this example is *paneke* ‘why’.

(95) *Hakwe yayh paneke lowk nayr soney?*
 ha-kwe yayh paneke lowk nayr so-ney
 1S-TOP song why beat night Q-SP.PFTV.M-DUB
 ‘Towards what end might I have had a singsing last night?’

In (96), the speech marker *ko-* agrees in gender and number with the head of the topic NP *sa* ‘woman’. It is suffixed by the dubitative marker *-ney*. The obligatory interrogative is *pay* ‘what’ and occurs in the NP *pay sa* where *pay* is used adjectivally in the meaning of what kind (§7.5.2).

(96) *Sa hokwe pay sa koney?*
 uwr ho-kwe po-ay sa ko-ney
 woman GL.M-TOP Q:what woman Q.SP.PFTV.F-DUB
 ‘What kind of woman might she be?’

In (97), the speech marker *mo-* agrees in number with the NP object and is suffixed by *-ney* ‘DUB’. The object NP *pay awia me* (what kind of enemies) also hosts the obligatory interrogative.

(97) *Uwr hokwe pay awia me nuw-me*
 uwr ho-kwe po-ay awia m-e nuw-me
 man GL.M-TOP Q-what enemy PL-OBJ INT-speak
su ha money?
 su ha mo-ney
 chase OBJ<SUB Q.SP.PFTV.PL-DUB
 ‘As for that man, what kind of enemies might he have chased away?’

7.4.8 Agreement speech marker *hi*

When the speaker wants to express agreement or endorsement the sentence will be marked with *hi*. This sentence final marker often co-occurs with the object marker which marks the sentence as a command. The sentence final *hi* expresses the speaker's endorsement and agreement with the given command.

In (98), the agreement marker *hi* is added to express full endorsement.

- (98) *Pouh-nawp hok me, ney ke, "Kwa nakey*
 pouh-nawp hok me ney k-e kwa nak-ley
 mother-old 3S.F speak child 3S.F-OBJ HOR ACC-go
e hi."
 e hi
 OBJ.IMP AGREE
 'The mother said to her daughter, "You should really feel free to go."'

The object marker *e* expressing imperative can be deleted, making the statement less of a directive, as is shown in (99)

- (99) *Pouh-nawp hok me, ney ke, "Kwa nakey*
 pouh-nawp hok me ney k-e kwa nak-ley
 mother-old 3S.F speak child 3S.F-OBJ HOR ACC-go
hi."
 hi
 AGREE
 'The mother said to her daughter, "Feel free to go."'

In (100), the speaker expresses endorsement or agreement by a sentence final *hi*.

- (100) *Mu-pion mokwe ney mo ai-ar.*
 mu-pion mo-kwe ney m-o ai-ar
 crocodile-meat GL.PL-TOP child PL-GEN food-INTF
Hunkwe ney sowpwareney-ar non lwak ankin,
 hwon-kwe ney sowpwareney-ar non lwak ankin
 2S-TOP child small-INTF CMT be if/when

hunkwe *hye* *mu-pion* *kwa* *kow* *a*
 hwon-kwe hiy-e mu-pion kwa kow la
 2S-TOP 3S.M-OBJ crocodile-meat HOR BEN eat

e **hi.**
 e hi
 OBJ.IMP AGREE
 ‘Crocodile meat is the children’s favourite. If you have
 children, you really should feed them crocodile meat.’

7.5 Interrogatives

All interrogatives are based on the bound morpheme *po-* ‘interrogative’. Vowel syncopation takes places in a number of interrogatives, reducing *po-* to *p-*. These morphophonemic changes are discussed in the relevant sections.

Interrogatives function either as an adverbial or as the head or a modifying part of a noun phrase, or as an adverbial immediately preceding the verb phrase. The overview of all interrogatives in Table 46 does not list the possible feminine and plural forms in an attempt not to overload the table with too much detail. The table also does not indicate which of the listed interrogatives can also function as a modifier of the head of the NP (§7.5.2)

TABLE 46: OVERVIEW OF ALL INTERROGATIVE TYPES

	Subject	Object	Adverbial	Predicate	Section
Human who	<i>posokwaw</i>	<i>pose</i>			§7.5.1.1
Non-human what	<i>pay</i> <i>hiykwaw</i>	<i>pay se</i>			§7.5.1.2
Identifying what/where				<i>poho</i>	§7.5.1.3
Selective which	<i>pohiy</i>	<i>pohe</i>			§7.5.2.1

TABLE 46 (CONT'D)

	Subject	Object	Adverbial	Predicate	Section
Location where			<i>perey</i>		§7.5.3.1
Manner how			<i>penkin</i>		§7.5.3.2
Measure how much			<i>pankaw</i>		§7.5.3.3
Reason why			<i>payhokuaw</i>		§7.5.3.4
Goal to what end			<i>panoke</i>		§7.5.3.5

Interrogatives fill different grammatical slots. Three different functions have been observed. The interrogative can function as:

- a. a pronoun interrogative functioning as head of the NP (101). When head of the NP, the pronoun interrogative can be marked for subject or object or marked by a postpositional noun phrase marker (§7.5.1).
- b. a noun phrase modifier which either precedes or follows the head of the NP (102). The interrogative modifies the head of the noun phrase. This includes constructions with the interrogative marked for genitive (§7.5.2).
- c. an adverbial interrogative immediately preceding the verb phrase (103). The adverbial interrogative is never part of the noun phrase, but functions as a separate adverbial phrase (See §7.5.3).

In (101), the non-human pronominal interrogative *pay* is head of the NP and marked for object.

- (101) *Hiykwe hane pay se kow so?*
 hiy-kwe han-e po-ay s-e kow so
 3S.M-TOP 1S-OBJ Q-what 3S.M-OBJ BEN Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘What did he give me?’

In (102), the interrogative modifier *pay* modifies the head of the noun phrase *ahney* ‘bird’.

- (102) *Ahney sohokwe pay ahney so?*
 ahney so-ho-kwe po-ay ahney so
 bird DDEM-GL.M-TOP Q-what bird Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘As for that bird, what kind of bird is it?’

In (103), the adverbial interrogative *pankaw* constitutes a separate adverbial phrase that precedes the verb phrase. The use of *pankaw* in forming polar and measurement questions is discussed in §7.5.3.3.

- (103) *Hano wueir-omeme mokwe pankaw lanio*
 han-o wueir-omeme mo-kwe po-ankaw lanio
 1S-GEN garden-things GL.PL-TOP Q-DEGREE walk
opriy o?
 opriy o
 take Q.SP.IPFTV
 ‘Were my garden goods taken away?’

In the next two sections the interrogative as the head of the noun phrase and the interrogative as a noun phrase modifier are discussed. The adverbial interrogative is discussed in §7.5.3.

7.5.1 The interrogative as head of the noun phrase

The interrogative is the head of the noun phrase and can be marked syntactically for subject and object. In some environments it can also be marked by a postpositional marker.

The following interrogative pronouns have been observed that can function as head of the NP:

- a. Human interrogatives (seeking to identify from an open group)
- b. Non-human interrogatives (seeking to identify from an open group)
- c. Location interrogatives (seeking to identify location or name).

7.5.1.1 Human interrogative functioning as head of the NP

The human interrogative is used for any living being treated as a ‘person’, including humans, spirits and animals behaving like humans. They are not differentiated for gender or number on the interrogative word itself. The human interrogative is used to select from an open group. (This in contrast to the interrogative set represented by *pohiy*, which is used to

seek the identity of an entity from a closed group of potential alternatives.)

- (104) *Hano yoh mokwe, posokwaw nuw-a*
han-o yoh mo-kwe po-so-kwaw nuw-la
 1S-GEN banana GL.PL-TOP Q-HUM-RSTR.SUB INT-eat
mo?
 mo
 Q.SP.PFTV.PL
 ‘As for my bananas, who ate them?’

The analysis of *so* as a human marker is made with some hesitation, because this distinction is not found elsewhere. Animate and inanimate agents can often be referred to by the same referential markers (e.g. compare the use of subject pronoun in §3.7.1). In spite of this hesitation on the correct meaning of the morpheme *so-*, it is clear that the usage of this particular interrogative is limited to human beings.

Table 47 shows the human interrogative in various functions. The human interrogative is the head of the NP when it functions as subject or object. The human interrogative can also precede the head noun of the NP. In that position it should be analysed as either a modifier interrogative (see §7.5.2) or a genitive interrogative.

TABLE 47: HUMAN INTERROGATIVE - IDENTIFICATION FROM OPEN GROUP

	Surface form	Underlying form	Ex.
Subject	<i>posokwaw</i>	<i>po-so-kwaw</i> Q-HUM-RSTR.SUB	(104)
Genitive	<i>poso</i>	<i>po-so-o</i> Q-HUM-GEN	(106)
Object	<i>pose ~ pese</i>	<i>po-so-e</i> Q-HUM-OBJ	(108)
Modifier in NP (§7.5.2)	<i>poso</i> NOUN	<i>po-so</i> Q-HUM	(118)

The suffix *-kwaw* in *posokwaw* is analysed as a restrictive marker (see §3.1.4 on the analysis of *-kwaw* when suffixed to pronouns). The

interrogative *posokwaw* references the subject in verbal clauses (104) or can fill the comment slot in a verbless clause (105).

The question in (105) is asked of a female. This information is carried by the feminine speech marker *ko* that follows the interrogative.

- (105) *Hunkwe* ***posokwaw*** *ko?* *Hno*
 hwon-kwe po-so-kwaw ko hwon-o
 2S-TOP Q-HUM-RSTR.SUB Q.SP.IPFTV.F 2S-GEN
sau *hane* *kwa* *me* *kow.*
 sau han-e kwa me kow
 name 1S-OBJ HOR speak BEN
 ‘Who are you? Tell me your name.’

As stated above, the basic form for the personal interrogative is *poso*. The genitive would be **poso-o*, which reduces by vowel syncope to *poso*. Examples (106) and (107) demonstrate the use of the genitive interrogative.

- (106) *Hiykwe* ***poso*** *wayh* *so?*
 hiy-kwe po-so-o wayh so
 3S.M.SUB-TOP Q-HUM-GEN friend Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘Whose friend is he?’
- (107) *Hai,* *ya-kuw* *somokwe* ***poso***
 hai ya-kuw so-mo-kwe po-so-o
 O.K. fire-smoke DDEM-GL.PL-TOP Q-HUM-GEN
ya-kuw *mo?*
 ya-kuw mo
 fire-smoke Q.SP.PFTV.PL
 ‘As for those smoke clouds, whose smoke clouds are they?’

The object form of the human interrogative is marked by *-e*. The surface form *pose* (or *pese* when the optional vowel harmony rule is applied) is not suffixed for gender or number.

- (108) *Hai,* *hiykwe* *mnuw* *mon* ***pese***
 hai hiy-kwe mnuw mon po-so-e
 O.K. 3S.M-TOP mountain LOC Q-HUM-OBJ
hiy-ie *mo?*
 hiy-lie mo
 CAUS-go.up Q.SP.PFTV.PL
 ‘Who (plural) did he lead up the mountain?’

Example (108) seeks to discover the identity of more than one person, but the plural number is not indicated by the interrogative *pese* but by the clause-final plural speech marker *mo*.

- (109) *Hiykwe pisu se kokwe pese*
hiy-kwe pisu s-e ko-kwe po-so-e
 3S.M-TOP knife S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP Q-HUM-OBJ
kow so?
kow so?
 give Q.SP.PFTV.S.M
 ‘To whom did he give the knife?’

In (109), the speaker anticipates that the answer to the question is a single recipient and therefore the singular speech marker *so* is used. If the speaker does not know if the answer will refer to a male or female recipient, the masculine speech marker *so* is used. The feminine speech marker *ko* is only used if the speaker knows that the recipient of the knife is a female.

7.5.1.2 Non-human interrogative functioning as head of the NP

The non-human interrogative is *pay* ‘what’, derived from with the interrogative prefix *po-* and the suffix *-ay*. (Vowel syncope rule: $V \rightarrow \emptyset / _ V\#$)

This question word is used to seek to establish the identity of non-human entities which includes animals (but not spirits) and all non-animate nouns. The interrogative is marked for gender and number by a separate pronoun or marker following the interrogative. The interrogative can be followed by some of the postpositional markers or by a pronoun that is syntactically marked for object and subject.

When the non-personal interrogative functions as subject, it is obligatorily copied by a personal subject pronoun suffixed with *-kwaw*. The marker *-kwaw* is analysed as the restrictive marker (see §3.1.4). In combination with the non-human interrogative it can be translated as ‘what in particular’. In (110), *hiykwaw* follows the interrogative *pay*:

TABLE 48: NON-HUMAN INTERROGATIVE - IDENTIFICATION OF NON-HUMAN OBJECTS

	Subject NP	Genitive	Object NP	Postpositional NP	Modifier within NP
S.M	<i>pay hiykwaw</i>	Not	<i>pay se</i>		
S.F	<i>pay hokwaw</i>	observed	<i>pay ke</i>		
DU	<i>pay hohkwaw</i>		<i>pay se/ ke</i>		
PL	<i>pay homkwaw</i>		<i>pay me</i>		
Modifier					<i>pay</i> NOUN
with Comitative				<i>pay non</i>	
with Punctiliar				<i>pay sok</i>	
with Locative				<i>pay mon</i>	
Ex.	(110)		(111)	(113)	(117)

- (110) *Hoho owh mon kokwe pay hiykwaw*
 hoh-o owh mon ko-kwe po-ay hiy-kwaw
 3DU-GEN body LOC GL.F-TOP Q-what 3S.M.SUB-RSTR
lousne ey so?
 lousne ey so
 appear INTN Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘As to the two of them, what thing appeared to them (= what
 in particular happened to them)?’

In (111), the interrogative *pay* functions as the object of the clause and is therefore followed by the object marker *se*.

- (111) *Hiykwe hane pay se kow*
 hiy-kwe han-e po-ay s-e kow
 3S.M.SUB-TOP 1S-OBJ Q-what 3S.M-OBJ give
so?
 so
 Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘What did he give me?’

In verbless clauses the interrogative is *pay*. The speech marker following in (112) functions on sentence level and corresponds in gender and number with the topic noun phrase *ai hokwe*.

- (112) *Ai hokwe, pay so?*
 ai ho-kwe po-ay so
 food GL.M-TOP Q-what Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘As for this food, what is it?’

The non-personal interrogative can be followed by the comitative *non*, the locative *mon* or the exact locative *sok*, as can be seen from the column which lists NPs with postpositional markers. No number and gender distinctions occur in these postpositional constructions.

- (113) *Naw mokwe, hromkwe pay non lowk*
 naw mo-kwe hrom-kwe po-ay non lowk
 sago GL.PL-TOP 1PL-TOP Q-what CMT cut
mayr a ley?
 mayr la ley
 scrape eat go
 ‘As for the sago, with which (thing) are we going to cut and
 scrape it?’

7.5.1.3 Verbless location interrogative

The three location interrogatives in this section *poho*, *pokwo* and *pomo* are used exclusively as the comment constituent in verbless questions. They are frequently used to seek information about the location of an entity (114).

- (114) *Hno uru poho? Hiykwe a mon lwak.*
 hwon-o uru po-ho hiy-kwe a mon lwak
 2S-GEN man Q-GL.M 3S.M.SUB-TOP house LOC be
 ‘Where is your husband? He is in the house.’
- (115) *Hyo ney pomo? Homkwe yier mon*
 hiy-o ney po-mo hom-mwe yier mon
 3S-GEN child Q-GL.PL 2/3PL-TOP village/home LOC
lwak pey.
 lwak pey
 be NEG.IPFTV
 ‘Where are his children? They are not in the village.’

Location is always the focus, except when one wants information about a person’s name. This is an interesting exception. Names in the local culture form a major part of a person’s identity and their use (and especially non-use) is controlled by many cultural customs. It is not always appropriate to directly ask a person’s name. It is possible that these cultural sensitivities have influenced the form of questions about names.

Example (116) contains a request to give name identification.

- (116) *Hno uru poho? Hano uru hokwe John.*
 hwon-o uru po-ho han-o uru ho-kwe John
 2S-GEN name Q-GL.M 1S-GEN name GL.M-TOP John
 ‘What is your name? My name is John.’

7.5.2 The interrogative as nominal modifier

A number of interrogatives may precede the head of the NP. In that position they classify the head phrase for categories as location, kind, manner, uniqueness etc. The interrogative forms together with the noun it precedes a unified stress unit. This stress unit is exceptional in the sense that the interrogative takes the initial stress within the NP. This stress contour is somewhat similar to the stress contour over compound nouns,

where the initial noun always has the primary stress, even when the first noun within the compound noun modifies the second.

The following interrogatives can take the role of modifier within the noun phrase.

- pay* – non-human entity identification
poso – human entity identification
perey – location identification
penkin – manner identification
pohiy, pohok, pohom – request identification in contrast to other known entities (§7.5.2.1)

In (117), *pay* precedes the head of the NP and displays a very prominent stress and forms with the noun it modifies one unified stress unit. The interrogative is used to ascertain a certain subset of the entity it modifies.

- (117) *Ahney sohokwe, pay ahney so?*
 ahney so-ho-kwe po-ay ahney so
 bird DDEM-GL.M-TOP Q-what bird Q.SP.PFTV.M
Hromkwe pokon-aw kiy-onuayk nerie.
 hrom-kwe pokon-aw kiy-lonuayk nerie
 1PL-TOP today-RSTR ACT-hear morning
 ‘As for that bird, what (kind of) bird is it? We heard it just now in the morning.’

The interrogative *poso* can be a modifier in a NP preceding the head of the noun phrase as is exemplified in (118) and (119). The interrogative *poso* is not an embedded NP marked for genitive case here as is true for (106) and (107). In a genitive construction two entities are compared with each other: the owner and the owned. In the examples below, however, there is only one entity within the NP whose identity is enquired after by means of the modifying interrogative.

- (118) *Hano owk, 'poso uwr hiykwaw huor*
 han-o owk po-so uwr hiy-kwaw huor
 1S-GEN string.bag Q-HUM man 3S.M-RSTR hang
nok so?
 nok so
 DUR Q.SP.PFTV.M
 'As for my string bag, what man (or: who) took it?'
- (119) *Uwrsa serey ma lwak mokwe,*
 uwr-sa so-rey ma lwak mo-kwe
 man-woman DDEM-there RCM be GL.PL-TOP
'poso uwrsa mo?
 po-so uwr-sa mo
 Q-HUM man-woman Q.SP.PFTV.PL
 'Those people over there, what people (or: who) are they?'

The intonation contour for *poso* functioning as a genitive interrogative and for *poso* functioning as an interrogative modifier differs greatly. In (118) and (119), the interrogative *poso* takes the most prominent stress (as indicated by ') and the noun following has secondary stress. In (120), *poso* is a genitive interrogative and has therefore a less prominent stress than the noun *owk* 'string bag' it precedes.

- (120) *Owk sokukwe, poso*
 owk so-ko-kwe po-so-o
 string.bag DDEM-GL.F-TOP Q-HUM-GEN
'owk ko?
 owk ko
 string.bag Q.SP.PFTV.F
 'As for this string bag, whose string bag is it?'

Usually the interrogative modifier follows rather than precedes the noun it modifies. In (121), the location interrogative *perey* is used as a modifier in the NP *yier perey mon*.

- (121) *Hokwe 'yier perey mon lwak o?*
 hok-kwe yier po-rey mon lwak o
 3S.F-TOP place Q-place LOC be Q.SP.IPFTV
 'At what location is she?'

In (122), *penkin* occurs as a modifier within the NP *peik penkin non*.

- (122) *Hai, uwr sohokwe, 'peik po-enkin non*
 hai uwr so-ho-kwe peik penkin non
 O.K. man DDEM-GL.M-TOP illness Q-MAN CMT
so?
 so
 Q.SP.PFTV.M
 'As for that man, what kind of sickness has he?'

The modifier *penkin* can also precede the noun it modifies. In (123), it takes over the primary stress from the noun it modifies.

- (123) *Hai, uwr sohokwe 'po-enkin peik*
 hai uwr so-ho-kwe penkin peik
 O.K. man DDEM-GL.M-TOP Q-MAN illness
non so?
 non so
 CMT Q.SP.PFTV.M
 'As for that man, what kind of sickness has he?'

There seems to be no semantic difference between (122) and (123).

7.5.2.1 Selective interrogatives functioning within the noun phrase

The interrogatives in this section correspond with the demonstrative personal subject pronouns *sohiy, sohok, sohoh, sohom*, and the demonstrative object markers *sehe, sokwe, seme* (see Table 26). These interrogatives ask for identification of a referent from among a closed group.

These interrogative forms are the only interrogatives that indicate number and gender and which express syntactic roles. Like their demonstrative counterparts, these interrogatives occur as NP final markers, or occur in a NP with the head deleted. They cannot precede the noun and never occur in the role of modifier.

The morpheme *hiy* in *pohiy* normally indicates subject, but not when followed by another syntactic or semantic marker. The final marker determines NP's case. In the table below it is shown that the set *pohiy, pohok* and *pohom* can be followed and ruled by the genitive marker following or by the semantic markers *non* 'comitative' or *sok* 'exactness' following.

TABLE 49: SELECTIVE INTERROGATIVES

	Subject	Genitive	Object	NPs with <i>non, sok</i>
S.M	<i>po-hiy</i>	<i>po-hiy so</i>	<i>po-h-e</i> (also: <i>pehe</i>)	<i>po-hiy non / sok</i>
S.F	<i>po-hok</i>	<i>po-hok ko</i>	<i>po-kwe</i>	<i>po-hok non / sok</i>
DU	<i>po-hoh</i>	<i>po-hoh so / ko</i>	<i>po-he / po-kwe</i>	<i>po-hoh non / sok</i>
PL	<i>po-hom</i>	<i>po-hom mo</i>	<i>po-me</i> (also: <i>peme</i>)	<i>po-hom non / sok</i>
Ex.	(124)	(125)	(126) (127)	(128) (129)

In (124), the interrogative marker occurs NP finally, indicating the NP functions as subject:

- (124) *Hye kokwe uwr pohiy ma-sahre*
hiy-e ko-kwe uwr po-hiy ma-sahre
 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP man Q-3S.M.SUB RPT-return
onuayk me so?
lonuayk me so
 hear speak Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘Which man did answer him?’

In (125), the genitive construction is shown. The embedded NP *uwr pohiy so* modifies the head of the NP *sa* ‘woman’.

- (125) *Uwr prueysyar erey ma lwak ehe*
uwr prueysyar erey ma lwak o-h-e
 man two.CL1 here RCM be PDEM-3S.M-OBJ
me, hai, uwr pohiy so sa
me hai uwr po-hiy s-o sa
 speak O.K. man Q-3S.M 3S.M-GEN woman
hok nakwon o?
hok nak-won o
 3S.F ACC-lie Q.SP.IPFTV
 ‘Talking about these two men here, which man’s wife is lying down (sick)?’

In (126), the head of the NP *uru* ‘name’ is modified by the selective interrogative *pehe*. This interrogative belongs to the set of object interrogatives. It is used because the questioner seeks information about a member of a closed group:

- (126) *Hai, hiykwe uru pehe nakinariy*
 hai hiy-kwe uru po-h-e nakinariy
 O.K. 3S.M.SUB-TOP name Q-3S.M-OBJ call
kow so?
 kow so
 BEN Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘OK, which name did he give?’

In (127), the NP *pome* has an ellipted head *awia* ‘enemies’.

- (127) *Hai, hunkwe awia mokwe, pome*
 hai hwon-kwe awia mo-kwe po-m-e
 O.K. 2S-TOP enemy GL.PL-TOP Q-PL-OBJ
lono o?
 lono o
 fight Q.SP.IPFTV
 ‘OK, in regard to enemies, which ones do you fight against?’

In (128), the interrogative is followed by the semantic case marker *sok* in the NP *enekwei pohiy sok* ‘what exact time’.

- (128) *Hiykwe enekwei pohiy sok le so?*
 hiy-kwe enekwei po-hiy sok le so
 3S.M.SUB-TOP time Q-3S.M EXCT come Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘What time exactly did he come?’

The selective interrogative is obligatorily accompanied by the comitative postposition *non* when it occurs in a verbless clause, as in (129) and (130).

- (129) *Kupe so pen hokwe, pohiy non*
 Kupe s-o pen ho-kwe po-hiy non
 Kupe 3S.M-GEN pen GL.M-TOP Q-3S.M CMT
so?
 so
 Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘As for Kupe’s pen, which one is it?’

The use of *non* in the meaning of comitative seems strange here, since there is no notion of ‘with’, unless we assume a non-expressed subject. In that case example (129) can be translated: ‘As for Kupe’s pen, with which one is he?’

- (130) *Uwr prueysyar sohokwe aio so*
 uwr prueysyar so-ho-kwe aio s-o
 man two.CL1 DDEM-GL.M-TOP father 3S.M-GEN
nayih hokwe pohiy non so?
 nay-ih ho-kwe po-hiy non so
 younger.sibling-KIN GL.M-TOP Q-3S.M CMT Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘As for these two men, which one is father’s younger
 brother?’ (Or, taking into account the possible usage of *non*:
 ‘As for these two men, the younger brother of father, with
 which one is he?’)

7.5.3 Adverbially used interrogatives

Section 7.5.2 dealt with interrogatives that function as a NP or as a modifying part of a NP . Five interrogatives which are used adverbially are discussed in this section. They cannot be marked for syntax and they are listed in Table 50. When used adverbially these interrogatives immediately precede the verb phrase.

Three of the five interrogative have counterparts that are adverbial referents which indicate location, manner and measurement.

TABLE 50: INTERROGATIVES WHICH OCCUR AS AN ADVERBIAL PHRASE

		Adverbial	Demonstrative counterpart
Location	where	<i>perey</i>	<i>(s)erey</i> ‘there’
Manner	how	<i>penkin</i>	<i>(s)enkin</i> ‘thus’
Measurement question	how many	<i>pankaw</i>	<i>(s)ankaw</i> ‘this much’
Polar question	yes or no	<i>pankaw</i>	
Reason	why	<i>payhokuaw</i>	
Goal	to what end	<i>paneke</i>	

7.5.3.1 Locative interrogative

The basic adverbs of location are *serey* ‘there’ and *erey* ‘here’. (These forms are derived from *ley* ‘go’, prefixed by the distal demonstrative *so-* and the proximal demonstrative *o-*, resulting in *sorey* and *orey*. (The vowel harmony rule also allows the forms *serey* and *erey*.)

The derived location interrogative is *perey* ‘where’ (or the less frequent *po-erey*; both forms are acceptable). In (131), the location interrogative is used as an adverb.

- (131) *Sep hiy me, “Hano wayh hiykwe*
Sep hiy me han-o wayh hiy-kwe
 Sep 3S.M.SUB speak 1S-GEN friend 3S.M.SUB-TOP
perey ley ey?”
 po-rey ley ey
 Q-place go INTN
 ‘Sep said, “Where is my friend intending to go?”’

7.5.3.2 Manner/contents interrogative

The manner or contents interrogative is *penkin* ‘how’, derived from *po-* prefixed to *enkin*. It is used adverbially as in (132) and (133).

- (132) *Hunkwe penkin nan o, hror*
hwon-kwe po-enkin nan o hror
 2S-TOP Q-MAN think Q.SP.IPFTV 1DU
ma-non-hiok e?
 ma-non-hiok e
 RPT-DU-paddle OBJ
 ‘How are you thinking (= what do you think), shall we paddle on?’
- (133) *Hror-kwe penkin non-on a, arakwon*
hror-kwe po-enkin non-lon a arakwon
 1DU-TOP Q-MAN DU-do FUT earlier.today
hrore ma mon mawmaw mokwe?
hror-e ma mon mawmaw mo-kwe
 1DU-OBJ RCM do offend GL.PL-TOP
 ‘What shall the two of us do, (regarding) how we were offended against earlier today?’

7.5.3.3 Measurement and polar interrogative

The interrogative *pankaw* ‘to what extent’ is derived from *po-ankaw* ‘Q-Degree’. When used with perfective aspect, it is a request for measurement or quantity. When used with imperfective aspect, it indicates a polar question.

1. Measurement question

Example (134) shows the use of *pankaw* in a clause ending with a perfective speech utterance marker, indicating a request for a measurement or quantity.

- (134) “*Hai hiykwe hyo mey-uwr mokwe*
hai hiy-kwe hiy-o mey-uwr mo-kwe
 O.K. 3S.M.SUB-TOP 3S.M-GEN job-man GL.PL-TOP
pankaw me iaup mo?” “*Iha seys.*”
 po-ankaw me liaup mo iha seys
 to.what.extent speak mark Q.SP.PFTV.PL hand two.CL4
 “‘As for his workmen how many did he appoint?’ ‘Ten.’”

It is not obligatory that *pankaw* follows immediately the NP it modifies for measurement. In (135) the subject *hunkwe* ‘2S.TOP’ intervenes. The determining factor is the clause-final speech marker *so* that marks the clause for perfective.

- (135) “*Huok-won-hu mokwe, hunkwe pankaw*
huok-won-hu mo-kwe hwon-kwe po-ankaw
 pig-grease-water GL.PL-TOP 2S-TOP Q-to.what.extent
nakway so?” “*Hakwe kamonaw*
nak-lway so ha-kwe kamon-aw
 ACC-carry Q.SP.PFTV.M 1S-TOP one-RSTR
nakway so.”
 nak-lway so
 ACC-carry Q.SP.PFTV.M
 “‘Regarding the cooking oil, how many (bottles) did you
 buy?’ ‘I bought one.’”

In (136), the clause-final speech marker *mo* marks perfective aspect. The question formed with *pankaw* is therefore not a polar question but a quantity question.

- (136) *Hunkwe youk mokwe pankaw*
 hwon-kwe youk mo-kwe po-ankaw
 2S-TOP paddle GL.PL-TOP Q-to.what.extent
mo?
 mo
 Q.SP.PFTV.PL
 ‘How many paddles do you have?’

In (137), the topic marker *mokwe* which occurred in (136) has been deleted. The noun phrase *youk* ‘paddle’ is separated by a pause from *pankaw*. The clause is still marked by *mo* for perfective aspect, the question is therefore a quantity question.

- (137) *Hunkwe youk pankaw mo?*
 hwon-kwe youk po-ankaw mo
 2S-TOP paddle Q-to.what.extent Q.SP.PFTV.PL
 ‘As for paddles, how many do you have?’

Whenever *pankaw* occurs in a clause with perfective intonation, it always co-occurs with a perfective speech utterance marker. No examples of clauses with a request for measurement using the interrogative *pankaw* have been observed without a speech utterance marker.

2. Polar question

When *pankaw* occurs in a clause with imperfective aspect, it indicates a polar question.

In (138), the clause-final verb *lwak* ‘to be’ has imperfective aspect as signalled by the clause intonation. The sentence is a polar question which is not a request to give the number of workmen, but to verify or deny the state as described in the predicate.

- (138) “*Hai, hiykwe mey-uwr kraiar non*
 hai hiy-kwe mey-uwr kraiar non
 O.K. 3S.M.SUB-TOP job-man many CMT
pankaw lwák?” “*Ohow.*”
 po-ankaw lwak ohow
 Q-to.what.extent be.IPFTV no
 “‘Did he have many workmen?’” “‘No.’”

In (139), the interrogative *pankaw* precedes a VP that is marked for the imperfective. The clause therefore constitutes a polar question.

- (139) “*Hunkwe wueir-ai ai pankaw hiy-a*
 hwon-kwe wueir-ai ai po-ankaw hiy-la
 2S-TOP garden-food Q-to.what.extent CAUS-eat
kôk?” “*Ha po hiy-a kôk.*”
 kok ha po hiy-la kok
 day.time.IPFTV 1S PFT CAUS-eat day.time.IPFTV
 “‘Did you provide (the people) with food during the day?’”
 “‘(Yes), I provided them with food during the day.’”

3. Use of measurement and polar questions in verbless clauses

Verbless clauses do differentiate between measurement and polar questions in spite of the fact that verbless clauses do not differentiate between perfective and imperfective aspect. When the interrogative speech utterance marker is needed, only *so*, *ko* and *mo* are selected but never *o*.

In (140), the interrogative *pankaw* occurs clause-finally in a verbless clause. There is no co-occurring speech marker. The question is understood as a polar question.

- (140) “*Hunkwe youk pankaw?*” “*Oo.*”
 hwon-kwe youk po-ankaw oo
 2S-TOP paddle Q-to.what.extent yes
 “‘Do you have any paddles?’” “‘Yes.’”

When the interrogative speech utterance marker is added to a verbless clause, it marks a measurement question.

- (141) “*Hunkwe youk pankaw mo?*” “*Iha sirom.*”
 hwon-kwe youk po-ankaw mo iha sirom
 2S-TOP paddle Q-to.what.extent Q.PL hand one
 “‘How many paddles do you have?’” “‘Five.’”

7.5.3.4 Reason interrogative

The interrogative pro-word encoding reason consists of the non-human interrogative *pay* ‘what’ (derived from *po-ay* ‘Q-what’) followed by the pronoun *hokuaw* ‘for what reason?’. *Hokuaw* ‘for what reason?’ has as constituents: the general topical marker *ho-* and *-kuaw* ‘for reason of’. *Hokuaw* is used by itself at clause level. (See for further discussion §6.7)

In (142) *payhokuaw* is used as an adverbial phrase.

- (142) *Homkwe hano owk kokwe*
 hom-kwe han-o owk ko-kwe
 2/3PL-TOP 1S-GEN string.bag GL.F-TOP
payhokuaw loprū mo?
 po-ay-ho-kuaw loprū mo
 Q-what-GL.M-for.reason.of destroy Q.SP.PFTV.PL
 ‘Why did you (plural) destroy my string bag?’

In (143), it functions as the comment of a verbless sentence.

- (143) *Hai, sohokwe payhokuaw*
 hai so-ho-kwe po-ay-ho-kuaw
 O.K. DDEM-GL.M-TOP Q-what-GL.M-for.reason.of
so?
 so
 Q.SP.PFTV.M
 ‘As for that (you just said), why is it?’

In (144), *payhokuaw* functions as a conjunction. It is possible that this use of the interrogative ‘why’ as ‘because’ had been influenced by Tok Pisin, where the interrogatives *bilong wanem* ‘why’ and *long wanem* ‘because’ are used as a reason conjunction. Although the constituents of *payhokuaw* ‘because/why’ correspond closely to the constituents of Tok Pisin *long wanem* ‘why’, people believe that the usage of this word is true Abau, pre-dating the advent of Tok Pisin in the area (§9.3.3).

- (144) *Hiykwe nuw-hok, payhokuaw,*
 hiy-kwe nuw-hok po-ay-ho-kuaw
 3S.M.SUB-TOP INT-fear Q-what-GL.M-for.reason.of
yier sohokwe aiopey hay.
 yier so-ho-kwe aiopey hay
 place DDEM-GL.M-TOP big very
 ‘He was really afraid, because that place was very big.’

7.5.3.5 Goal interrogative

The interrogative *paneke* ‘why’ is possibly derived from *pay-nok e* ‘in order to do what’. The following sentence is correct in some dialects of Abau.

- (145) *Hunkwe paneke e le o?*
 hwon-kwe paneke e le o
 2S-TOP why OBJ come Q.SP.IPFTV
 ‘Why did you come? (Lit. In order to do what did you come?)’

The analysis above is given with some hesitation. The interrogative is presently pronounced as *paneke*, while there seems to be no reason why the first syllable was reduced from *pay* to *pa*. In light of the lack of convincing evidence, the interrogative *paneke* will be simply labeled ‘why’ in the interlinear examples.

The interrogatives *payhokuaw* and *paneke* can be interchanged in most contexts. But some speakers make a distinction. If the above analysis on the semantic origin of both terms is correct it suggests a distinction between *reason* and (mental) *goal*. The former (*payhokuaw*) might be used when motives and explanations are asked for, the latter (*paneke*) when intentions and objectives are sought after. It has been noted that rhetorical questions tend to be constructed with *paneke*, although not all the time. This is probably not surprising since a rhetorical question sometimes focuses on the goal and sometimes on the reason of a certain issue. The three examples with *payhokuaw* above all seem to fit the definition here, since they can all be viewed as questions regarding background and source motive.

Example (146) illustrates a rhetorical question. It is probably arbitrary whether the question zooms in on the reason (for what reason) or the goal (to what end).

- (146) *Hano ai ey, pa po ley sie. Hakwe yayh*
 han-o ai ey pa po ley sie ha-kwe yayh
 1S-GEN food EXCL CUR PFT go EXCL 1S-TOP song
paneke lowk nayr soney?
 paneke lowk nayr so-ney
 why beat night SP.M-Q.wonder
 ‘My food is gone completely. Why did I do a singsing during the night?’

Example (147) illustrates goal.

- (147) *Hiykwe* *sawk* *hme* *senkin* *mesopok*
 hiy-kwe sawk hom-e so-enkin me-sopok
 3S.M.SUB-TOP CHD 2/3PL-OBJ DDEM-MAN speak-ask
huon, “*Homkwe paneke le mo?*”
 huon hom-kwe paneke le mo
 OBJ>SUB 2/3PL-TOP why come Q.SP.PFTV.PL
 ‘He then said to them while they were coming to him, “Why did you come?”’

8. *Structure and function of sentence topic and comment*

Constituents within the sentence are marked or positioned in such a way that the sentence can be easily divided in a topic part and a comment part. Some sentences also have a third part: a phrase or clause in tail position. The division between the topic and comment part is a prominent feature of the language and plays an important role in the creation of comprehensible and logical communication.

The focal point of this chapter is to shed light on the distinctions in relative prominence of the various phrase constituents within a sentence. It starts with a discussion on the concept of topic (§8.1) and the overall structure of an Abau sentence (§8.2). This is followed by a presentation of the structure and the internal ordering of the constituents within both the topic part (§8.3) and the comment part (§8.4) of the sentence. A discussion about the tail position (§8.5) is also included. The chapter concludes with discussions how constituents within the sentence can be given less or more prominence (§8.6), how participants are tracked (§8.7), and lastly, what features distinguish the backgrounding, foregrounding and climax within a discourse (§8.8).

8.1 **Defining topic**

Topic or givenness (which often implies definiteness) in Abau is marked by *-kwe* and refers to all information that the speaker assumes is present or readily accessible in the addressee's consciousness. Chafe (1976:30) defines givenness and the problems related to this choice of terminology this way.

Given (or old) information is that knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance. So-called new

information is what the speaker assumes he is introducing into the addressee's consciousness by what he says. The terminology has been and continues to be misleading to linguists and psychologists who use it. Calling something 'old information' suggests it is 'what the listener is expected to know already' and 'new information' is 'what the listener is not expected to know already,' something that is being introduced into the addressee's knowledge for the first time... But a speaker who says 'I saw your father yesterday' is unlikely to assume that the addressee had no previous knowledge of his father, even though by the usual criteria your father would be considered new information. The point is that the speaker has assumed that the addressee was not thinking about his father at the moment. Terms like 'already activated' and 'newly activated' would convey this distinction more accurately, but are awkward; we will probably have to live with the terms 'given' (or 'old') and 'new'.

In Abau, the topic marker *-kwe* marks information that the speaker presents as background information, whether or not the addressee has ready access to it. Constituents marked by the topic marker *-kwe* occur sentence initially. The topicalised constituents form together the setting or the background against which the rest of the predication is asserted. This topic part sets the stage for the rest of the predication. Participants and props are mentioned as part of this stage setting. The comment part of the sentence expresses new information.

8.2 Sentence structure

Dik's language-independent pattern-schema can be applied to the Abau sentence structure. His basic schema is: THEME, PREDICATION, TAIL (Dik 1980: 15).

The same schema expressed with more detail (Dik 1980: 20)

P2, P1 (V) S (V) O (V), P3

This can be adopted for the Abau language to: P2 , P1 S O V , P3

The THEME is expressed by the left-dislocated P2 position and the TAIL by the right-dislocated P3 position. The PREDICATION is everything

in between. In this schema, S and O stand for the neutral or unmarked positions of Subject and Object. The V indicates the position of the verb phrase. P1, P2, and P3 indicate special positions used for special purposes, and the commas stand for breaks in the intonation. P1 is the clause internal topic, the P2 position is used for elements which are left-dislocated, i.e. they are outside the intonational boundaries of the clause (cf. Dooley and Levinsohn 2001: 67-69) and the P3 is the right-dislocated constituent or tail.

Dik (1980: 16) defines THEME and TAIL as follows:

The theme specifies the universe of discourse with respect to which the subsequent predication is presented as relevant.

The tail is defined as an “afterthought” to the predication, information meant to clarify or modify it.

Dik gives an English example that follows the schema THEME, PREDICATION, TAIL.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| (1) Theme (P2) | Predicate (P1 S O V) | Tail (P3) |
| <i>As for my brother,</i> | <i>he never saw her again,</i> | <i>the poor child.</i> |

He adds that in certain languages, constructions like this may be strongly marked or even at the fringe of grammaticality, whereas in other languages, they may almost represent the usual way of constructing a sentence. He also states that the theme will very often be some term presented in “absolute” form, i.e. without any specified semantic or syntactic function (1980:16).

As for the predication marked by P1 S O V, Dik (1980:20-21) states the following:

The positions marked by S, V and O are called “pattern positions” for Subj, Verb and Obj. These are the positions where constituents of this type end up if they have not been brought into P1 by the rules determining the use of this special initial position.

Dik further comments about the P1 position that “either Topic or Focus, or both will often favour the initial position in the clause, if this is available.” In Abau, the P1 position is always a topicalised constituent and never belongs to the comment part of the sentence.

Dik clearly distinguishes between the pragmatic functions of TOPIC and FOCUS, and comments that they can be only assigned to the constituents of the predication proper. (1980:16)

The topic presents the entity “about” which the predication predicates something in the given setting.
The focus presents what is relatively the most important or salient information in the given setting.

Alternatively, and much more simply applied to Abau: topic is the given entity the sentence is about and comment is the new information stated about the topic. The concepts above are very helpful, since the majority of constituents are clearly marked for topic or comment function. The P3 (tail) position also features extensively. Furthermore, there is a clear tendency that all constituents containing background information are placed to the left.

However, the formulaic distinction between P2 and the rest of the predication is too rigid and too absolute. Constituents that could potentially be analysed as setting the theme for the predication are indeed left-located, but these constituents are heavily marked for the pragmatic function of TOPIC. This contradicts Dik’s assumption that these THEME constituents are unmarked.

In Abau there is, however, a very sharp separation between the topic part and the comment part of the sentence. The topic part contains constituents that are nearly all without exception topicalised by some marker that hosts the topic marker *-kwe*. In contrast, none of the constituents within the comment part of the sentence can be topicalised. The topic part of the sentence often contains more than one constituent and one could make further distinctions between them in how they relate to the rest of the clause. However, a distinction between a P2 (Theme) constituent as different from a topic-marked P1 constituent would seem to be artificial. It does more justice to the language to focus on the clear dichotomy between the topic part and the comment part of the sentence. In later discussions further distinctions between the constituents of the topic part will be made, but not with the goal to distinguish between a P2 theme constituent and a topic-marked P1 constituent. In the examples below constituents are labelled P2 and P1. This distinction is made on the following basis: the last topicalised constituent within the topic part of the clause is labelled P1; all topicalised constituents preceding P1 are labelled

P2. The topicalised P1 also frequently displays syntactic or semantic marking. And even when not syntactically marked as subject or object, P1 has agent or patient function within the predication. A P2 constituent is placed in the beginning of the clause and is overtly marked. Its relation to the rest of the sentence seems to be more than just “specifying the universe of discourse.” For our purposes it is best to divide the Abau sentence in TOPIC, COMMENT, TAIL. The topic part generally consists of P1 and P2 constituents and the comment part consists of only non-topicalised constituents. A predication nearly always consists of a topic part and a comment part, although it is possible that the predication only contains a comment part if the topic part is understood. The tail is not an obligatory part of the predication. It mostly hosts only one constituent which may occur with or without topic marking.

The Abau sentence can be divided into three parts: TOPIC, COMMENT, TAIL as illustrated by Table 51.

This model includes the verbless clause where the topic part of the predication is taken by topicalised constituents and the comment part is taken by a non-topicalised constituent.

The topic constituents can be either NPs or clauses. Clauses in this position are always marked by a topic marker or a subordinating conjunction that takes the role of marking the subclause for topic. NPs in this position are nearly always marked by a phrase final marker. Exceptions to this rule are the temporal nouns *pokon* ‘today’ and *peyr* ‘firstly’ which can occur unmarked. (§8.3.1.2) Also, although rare, unmarked NPs can occur in the topic part only set apart from the rest of the predication by a pause. (§8.3.1.3 and also §3.11.2)

TABLE 51: GENERAL ABAU SENTENCE STRUCTURE

	Topic	Comment	Tail
Type of information:	Background or given information	New information	Modifying or clarifying background information
Position:	Fronted beginning of sentence	Follows the last topicalised constituent	Follows the clause-final VP or the comment constituent of a verbless clause
Consists of:	<p>Constituents which are topicalised by <i>-kwe</i> or by a conjunction (more than 95%)</p> <p>NPs marked by a phrase final pause</p> <p>Unmarked temporals <i>pokon</i> ‘today’ and <i>peyr</i> ‘firstly’</p>	<p>Non-topic-marked phrases includes the verb phrase</p>	<p>Either topic-marked or non-topic-marked NPs</p>

8.3 The topic part of the sentence

Topicalised noun phrases, but also dependent clauses (§8.3.2), can occur as constituents within the topic part of the sentence. The topicalised noun phrases will be discussed first.

8.3.1 NPs with a noun as head

In Table 52, topicalised noun phrases are divided into seven categories based on the NP final marking:

TABLE 52: TOPICALISED NPS WITH A NOUN AS HEAD OF THE NP

Type of NP marking	Phrase final marking for NPs with a noun as head of the NP		
	M.S	F.S	PL
1 General topic pronoun	<i>hokwe</i>	<i>kokwe</i>	<i>mokwe</i>
2 Demonstrative topic pronoun (proximal)	<i>ohokwe</i>	<i>okukwe</i>	<i>omokwe</i>
Demonstrative topic pronoun (distal)	<i>sohokwe</i>	<i>sokukwe</i>	<i>somokwe</i>
3 Topic marked subject pronoun	<i>hiykwe</i>	<i>hokwe</i>	<i>homkwe</i>
4 Topic marked object pronoun	<i>se</i> <i>kokwe</i>	<i>ke</i> <i>kokwe</i>	<i>me</i> <i>kokwe</i>
5 Topic pronoun after postpositional phrase (PP)	PP <i>kokwe</i>	PP <i>kokwe</i>	PP <i>kokwe</i>
6 The temporal <i>pokon</i> ‘today future’ and <i>peyr</i> ‘firstly’ are zero marked	Zero marking		
7 NPs with zero marking but followed by a distinctive pause, separating the NP from the rest of the predication (§3.11)	Marked by distinctive pause		

The first five types of NPs are placed in a graded order for the degree of background status. Noun phrases only marked for pragmatic role (category 1 and 2) are likely to occur first within the topic slot of the sentence. Topicalised noun phrases marked for syntactic or semantic case (category 3, 4, and 5) will normally follow the NPs from the first two categories. The last two categories mentioned (6 and 7) do not occur frequently but are mentioned for the sake of completeness.

In general, the noun phrases in category 1 and 2 are higher in background status than the noun phrases represented by category 3, 4 and 5. However, the decisive factor in determining the degree of background status is not the *marking* but the *position* of the topicalised NP constituent within the topic part of the sentence. The closer the constituent is near the comment part of the sentence, the more it is removed from background

status. The last topic constituent of the topic part of the sentence is the topicalised constituent that immediately precedes the comment part of the sentence. This constituent is analysed as the P1 constituent in Dik's formula. In Abau, the P1 constituent is always topicalised, and so are all the constituents preceding it, unless they are constituents belonging to category 6 and 7. All constituents that precede this P1 constituent are analysed as P2 constituents, although – as stated before – the Abau P2 seems to be too heavily marked to fit Dik's definition of the P2 or Theme constituent.

8.3.1.1 Category 1 to 5

As stated before, topicalised noun phrases marked for syntactic or semantic case (category 3,4,5) normally follow NPs which are only marked pragmatically (category 1 and 2).

In (2), the temporal NP, *pokon kokwe*, is only marked pragmatically (category 1). It is followed by a NP that is both syntactically and pragmatically marked (category 3). These two noun phrases together form the topic slot of the sentence.

(2)	P2(cat.1)		P1(cat.3)		
	<i>Pokon</i>	<i>kokwe</i>	<i>hano</i>	<i>aio</i>	<i>hiykwe</i>
	pokon	ko-we	han-o	aio	hiy-kwe
	today	GL.F-TOP	1S-GEN	father	3S.M.SUB-TOP
	Comment				
	<i>yeyk</i>	<i>kamon</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>meio</i>	<i>ley.</i>
	yeyk	kamon	s-e	meio	ley
	canoe	one.CL2	3S.M-OBJ	work	go
	'As for today, my father is going to make a canoe.'				

In (3), the expected order is observed: a topicalised NP only marked pragmatically is placed before a NP marked pragmatically and syntactically. The initial noun phrase is marked by the general masculine topic marker, *hokwe*. The second NP is marked for subject and topic by *hiykwe*.

- (3) **P2(cat.1)** **P1(cat.3)**
Wueir hokwe Maika hiykwe sawk
 wueir ho-kwe Maika hiy-kwe sawk
 garden GL.M-TOP Maika 3S.M.SUB-TOP CHD
Comment
yaprue meio.
 yaprue meio
 good work
 ‘As for the garden, Maika made it very well.’

It is possible for NPs from category 1 and 2 to follow NPs from category 3, 4 and 5. In (4), the topic part of the sentence consists of 3 topicalised noun phrases. The first and the third one are only marked pragmatically and belong to category 1. The second NP *uwr prueyn hiykwe* ‘a certain man’ is marked for both subject and topic and belongs to category 3. The NP *wueir hokwe* ‘garden GL.M-TOP’ is the last topic-marked constituent that precedes the comment part of the sentence. It therefore takes the P1 position. It is important to note that the NP has patient role, although it is not marked as an object NP. The patient role gives the NP more prominence. It is the most important topic that the speaker wants to make a comment about. The focus of the sentence is the non-topicalised constituent that precedes the verb phrase, *ki sapa-ar mon* ‘in the real/deep forest area’.

- (4) **P2(cat.1)** **P2(cat.3)**
Paraw kokwe uwr prueyn hiykwe
 paraw ko-kwe uwr prueyn hiy-kwe
 past GL.F-TOP man one 3S.M.SUB-TOP
P1(cat.1) **Comment**
wueir hokwe ki sapa-ar mon
 wueir ho-kwe ki sapa-ar mon
 garden GL.M-TOP ground forest-INTF LOC
meio kwawk sue.
 meio kwawk sue
 work put.inside hide
 ‘In the past, as for a certain man, concerning him, he made his garden hidden away in the deep forest.’

Example (5) illustrates the same point. A NP that is marked pragmatically and syntactically (*hromo apaw-om homkwe*) can precede a

NP that is only marked pragmatically (*sowk-yia mokwe*). Again, it is important to note that the NP in the P1 slot has patient role.

- (5) **P2(cat.1)** **P2(cat.3)**
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|--|
| <i>Paraw</i> | <i>paraw-ar</i> | <i>kokwe</i> | <i>hromo</i> | <i>apaw-om</i> | |
| paraw | paraw-ar | ko-kwe | hrom-o | apaw-om | |
| past | past-INTF | GL.F-TOP | 1PL-GEN | ancestor-group | |
-
- | | P1(cat.1) | | | Comment | |
|---------------|------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|--|
| <i>homkwe</i> | <i>sowk-yia</i> | <i>mokwe</i> | <i>mein</i> | <i>non</i> | |
| hom-kwe | sowk-yia | mo-kwe | mein | non | |
| 2/3PL-TOP | sago.jelly-fire | GL.PL-TOP | stone | CMT | |
- sian huwn a wayr.*
sian huwn la lwayr
 get.up rise eat stay
 ‘Long ago, as for our ancestors, they prepared the fire (= cooked) sago jelly by boiling it with (the help of hot) stones and (then) ate it.’

NPs from category 5 can also function as a P1 constituent as can be seen in (6) and (7). The first NP in (6) is marked for location by the postpositional marked *mon*.

- (6) **P1(cat.5)** **Comment**
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------|------------|--------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| <i>Yeyk</i> | <i>mon</i> | <i>kokwe</i> | <i>sawk</i> | <i>ha</i> | <i>o,</i> | <i>aio</i> |
| yeyk | mon | ko-kwe | sawk | ha | o | aio |
| canoe | LOC | GL.F-TOP | CHD | 1S | and | father |
- o, hrorkwaw nonwak.*
o hror-kwaw non-lwak
 and 1DU-RSTR.SUB DU-be
 ‘As for (those) in the canoe, it was just I and my father who sat there.’

In (7), a topicalised NP marked for subject (category 3) precedes a topicalised postpositional noun phrase (category 5).

(7)	P2(cat3)	P1(cat.5)			Comment
	<i>Hiykwe</i>	<i>hehe</i>	<i>nion</i>	<i>kokwe</i>	<i>ok</i>
	hiy-kwe	hoh-e	nion	ko-kwe	ok
	3S.M-TOP	2/3DU-OBJ	with	GL.F-TOP	talk
	<i>ma-non-ohruw-a pa.</i>				
	<i>ma-non-lohruwa pa</i>				
	RPT-DU-talk		NEG.PFTV		
	'As for him, with the two of them, he did not talk to them again.'				

8.3.1.2 Category 6

In (8), the unmarked temporal *peyr* 'firstly' precedes a topicalised NP and in (9), the unmarked temporal *pokon* 'today' precedes a topicalised constituent. This is unusual, since all temporal noun phrases that occur in the topic part of the clause are normally topicalised, e.g. see (11).

In (8), the unmarked temporal *peyr* 'firstly' precedes the topicalised subject pronoun *hromkwe* 'we'. The temporal is therefore part of the topic and is analysed as a topicalised constituent in spite of the fact that it has no surface marking.

(8)	P2(clause with <i>ankin</i>)					P2
	<i>Hromkwe</i>	<i>how</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>mon</i>	<i>ankin, peyr</i>
	hrom-kwe	how	la	e	mon	ankin peyr
	1PL-TOP	taro	eat	PURP	do	if/when firstly
	P1	Comment				
	<i>hromkwe</i>	<i>ki-pay</i>	<i>yaprue</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>lira</i>	
	hrom-kwe	ki-pay	yaprue	s-e	lira	
	1PL.SUB-TOP	ground-piece	good	3S.M-OBJ	see	
	<i>pâwk.</i>					
	pawk					
	search.IPFTV					
	'When we want to eat taro, we will first look for a good piece of land.'					

In (9), *pokon* 'today' precedes the topical NP *hromkwe* 'we' which has P1 position, and therefore the temporal constituent *pokon* is analysed as a topicalised constituent, not by its marking but by its position. The speaker might or might not pause after *pokon*.

- (9) **P2** *Okpey ok okukwe* **P2** **P1**
ok-pey ok o-ko-kwe **pokon hromkwe**
 talk-part talk PDEM-GL.F-TOP today 1PL-TOP
Comment
uwr prueysyar so okpey ke
uwr prueysyar s-o ok-pey k-e
 man two.CL1 3S.M-GEN talk-part 3S.F-OBJ
lonuayk ey.
 lonuayk ey
 hear INTN
 ‘As for this story, we are going to hear the story of two men today.’

In (10), the unmarked temporal NP *pokon* ‘today’ precedes two topicalised constituents: the NPs *hunkwe* ‘you’ and *aiai somokwe* ‘those fish’.

- (10) **P2** **P2** **P1**
Ara, pokon hunkwe aiai somokwe
 ara pokon hwon-kwe aiai so-mo-kwe
 ADDR.M today 2S-TOP fish DDEM-GL.PL-TOP
Comment
hnuaw nok nok, neyh.
 hnuaw nok nok neyh
 collect DUR SEQ wrap
 ‘Man, as for now, you should take those fish and then wrap them up (in leaves).’

The NP *pokon* ‘today’ does not obligatorily occur without a noun phrase final marker, as can be seen in (11) where *pokon* is followed and marked by the general feminine topic pronoun *kokwe*.

(11)	P2	P1	Comment		
	<i>Hakwe</i>	<i>pokon</i>	<i>kokwe</i>	<i>kuey</i>	<i>mo okpey</i>
	ha-kwe	pokon	ko-kwe	kuey	m-o ok-pey
	1S-TOP	today	GL.F-TOP	grubs	PL-GEN talk-part
	<i>ke</i>	<i>mesor</i>	<i>ey.</i>		
	k-e	me-sor	ey		
	3S.F-OBJ	speak-count	INTN		
	'As for me, today I will pass on the story/information about grubs.'				

8.3.1.3 Category 7

A NP with zero-marking that precedes a topicalised NP is analysed as a constituent with special topic status. For example, in (12), *yeyk* 'canoe' is an unmarked NP which precedes a topicalised NP. It has patient role, but is not marked as object, nor is it marked for topic. It is separated from the main clause by a pause. It is therefore analysed as a part of the topic, but a topic constituent with special status.

(12)	Topic	P1	Comment	
	<i>Yeyk,</i>	<i>hromkwe</i>	<i>senkin</i>	<i>lon.</i>
	yeyk	hrom-kwe	so-enkin	lon
	canoe	1PL-TOP	DDEM-MAN	do
	'As for canoes - we make them as follows.'			

The example above is repeated in (13), but this time *yeyk* 'canoe' is marked by a general topic marker. There is not a significant difference in meaning. Example (13) displays the standard formation of a topic followed by a comment. In (12), the absence of topic marking signals that the topic itself is more than given information and has an element of newness.

(13)	P2	P1	Comment	
	<i>Yeyk</i>	<i>hokwe</i>	<i>hromkwe</i>	<i>senkin lon.</i>
	yeyk	ho-kwe	hrom-kwe	so-enkin lon
	canoe	GL.M-TOP	1PL-TOP	DDEM-MAN do
	'As for canoes, we make them as follows.'			

See §3.11.2 for more discussion and examples.

8.3.2 Subordinate clauses and relative clauses as topics

Subordinate clauses occur in a sentence initially with the rare exception of a subordinate clause placed in tail position. Subordinate clauses are marked by various clause-final conjunctions (e.g. *menkin* ‘when’, *ankin* ‘if’, *nok* ‘SEQ’ etc.) or marked by clause-final topic pronouns. Temporal and locative subordinate clauses fall into this latter category. These subordinate clauses are actually noun phrases with an ellipted head and an embedded relative clause (see e.g. §6.6.3). Subordinate clauses marked by clause-final conjunctions are discussed in §9.5, but are mentioned here since they function as topicalised constituents that occur sentence initial.

The subordinate clause functions as sentence topic. The main clause always contains the comment part of the sentence. Subordinate clauses differ from the main clause on the basis of the following criteria:

Intonational criteria:

Only main clauses have a sharp drop in pitch at their terminus. Subordinate clauses preceding the main clause are marked by a mid-pitch at their terminus and bracketed from the rest of the sentence by a pause. Subordinate clauses that follow the main clause (i.e. in the P3 position) are bracketed by an initial pause, and are also marked by a mid-pitch at their terminus.

Grammatical criteria:

1. Main clauses terminate with a verb phrase (VP). Subordinate clauses terminate with either a NP topic marker (e.g. *hokwe*) or a clause marker (e.g. *ankin* ‘if’, *menkin* ‘when’).
2. In main clauses, the subject or object NP can be marked by the topic marker *-kwe*. In subordinate clauses the topic marker *-kwe* can only occur at the terminus. Any subject or object within the subordinate clause cannot be topic-marked.

Two subordinate clauses are displayed in (14). The initial temporal constituent (containing an embedded clause signalled by the relative clause marker *ma*) is marked by the masculine topic pronoun *hokwe* that agrees in gender and number with the ellipted head *enekwei* ‘time’. This temporal constituent is followed by a second temporal constituent which is marked by the clause marker *menkin* ‘when’. The internal subjects

within both clauses (*hiy* and *hom*) are obligatorily not topic-marked by *-kwe*. The subject *hiykwe* ‘3S.M.TOP’ is topic-marked, because it is part of the main clause. It takes the P1 position since it precedes the comment part of the predication.

(14) **P2(NP with embedded clause)**

Kupe hiy ma ley pie hokwe,
 Kupe hiy ma ley pie ho-kwe
 Kupe 3S.M.SUB RCM go firstly GL.M-TOP

P2(subordinate clause)

polis hom hye ihey mo
 polis hom hiy-e ihey m-o
 police 2/3PL.SUB 3S.M-OBJ white.skin PL-GEN

				P1	Comment
<i>aiai kow a menkin,</i>	<i>hiykwe</i>				<i>wouk</i>
aiai kow la menkin	hiy-kwe				wouk
food BEN eat when	3S.M.SUB-TOP				vomit

nak-e nonsay.

nak-le non-say

ACC-come pour-move.with.force

‘As for the time Kupe went away for the first time, when the police gave him some white men’s food, he vomited.’

In (15), the second P2 constituent is an embedded clause which is signalled by the relative clause marker *ma*. The embedded clause modifies the deleted head *enekwei* ‘time’. The P2 constituents are marked by the topic marker *hokwe* which agrees in gender and number with the ellipted head. In these relativised constructions no other internal topic markers are allowed other than the constituent-final one. The noun phrase *Sanow o, nayih o*, is only marked by *hoh* ‘2DU.SUB’ without the topic marker *-kwe*. The sentence initial NP *paraw-ar kokwe* ‘long ago’ is analysed as a separate P2 constituent containing background information.

- (15) **P2** **P2(NP with relative clause)**
Paraw-ar kokwe, Sanow o, nay-ih
 paraw-ar ko-kwe Sanow o nay-ih
 past-INTF GL.F-TOP Sanow and younger.sibling-KIN
- P2**
- o, hoh paswaw ma lwak hokwe, hohkwe*
 o hoh paswaw ma lwak ho-kwe hoh-kwe
 and 2/3DU small RCM be GL.M-TOP 2/3DU-TOP
- P1** **Comment**
a hokwe mnuw kamon mon meio wayr.
 a ho-kwe mnuw kamon mon meio lwayr
 house GL.M-TOP mountain one LOC work stay
 ‘Long ago, when Sanow and his younger brother were small,
 as for the two of them, they built a house in the mountains.’

8.3.3 NPs with a personal pronoun as head

NPs that have a personal pronoun as head differ slightly from NPs that have a noun as head. A topicalised NP with a noun as head of the NP can be marked for both subject and topic or only for topic. A topicalised NP with a personal pronoun as head of the NP has only the option to be marked for the combination of subject and topic, but cannot be marked for topic only. (See also §6.5.2)

NPs with a noun as head of the noun phrase can be marked in three different ways, as Table 53 illustrates, using the noun *uwr* ‘man’. NPs with a personal pronoun as head of the noun phrase can be marked in only two different ways.

TABLE 53: SYNTACTIC MARKING AND TOPIC-MARKING ON PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Type of NP	Subject	Subject and Topic	Topic
Head of NP is noun	<i>uwr hiy</i> man 3S.SUB	<i>uwr hiykwe</i> man 3S.SUB.TOP	<i>uwr hokwe</i> man 3S.TOP
Head of NP is personal pronoun	<i>hiy</i> 3S.SUB	<i>hiykwe</i> 3S.TOP	*

Topicalised NPs that have a subject personal pronoun as head will always be given agent function within the sentence. However, a number

of examples have been observed in which the same personal pronoun occurs twice within the sentence. It seems that the first occurrence of the personal pronoun focuses on the topic function of the referred-to participant, while the second occurrence of the same personal pronoun focuses on the subject function of the referred-to participant.

In (16), the noun phrase *hunkwe* occurs twice. The first *hunkwe* occurs before the topicalised noun phrase marked by *mokwe*. Although its marking already sets the NP apart for agent function, it still seems that the topic status rather than the agent function of the personal pronoun is in focus. It is therefore marked as a P2 constituent. The second *hunkwe* is the last topicalised constituent before the comment part of the sentence and is therefore analysed as a P1 constituent. Its subject function is central here.

- (16)
- | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|------------|--|
| | P2 | P2 | | | |
| <i>Hai, hunkwe</i> | <i>hano</i> | <i>i-mawk</i> | <i>mokwe,</i> | | |
| hai hwon-kwe | han-o | i-mawk | mo-kwe | | |
| O.K. 2S-TOP | 1S-GEN | bone-head | GL.PL-TOP | | |
| P1=S | | | | | |
| <i>hunkwe</i> | <i>liy</i> | <i>le</i> | <i>ira</i> | <i>o?</i> | |
| hwon-kwe | liy | le | lira | o | |
| 2S.SUB-TOP | DYN | come | see | Q.SP.IPFTV | |
- ‘As for my skull, can you come and check it?’ (Lit. ‘As for you, as for my skull, can you come and check it?’)

In (17), the NP preceding the temporal relative clause, *hiykwe* ‘he’ is topic-marked, and is therefore a separate sentential constituent in the P2 position. The relative clause *skul me ma lanio ira hokwe* is also a P2 sentential constituent. The second *hiykwe* is a P1 constituent with subject function within the main clause.

- (17)
- | | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|------------|---------------|
| | P2 | P2 | | | | |
| <i>Hiykwe</i> | <i>skul</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>lanio</i> | <i>ira</i> | <i>hokwe,</i> |
| hiy-kwe | skul | m-e | ma | lanio | lira | ho-kwe |
| 3S.M-TOP | school | PL-OBJ | RCM | walk | see | GL.M-TOP |
| P1=S | Comment | | | | | |
| <i>hiykwe</i> | <i>ihey</i> | <i>mo</i> | <i>youk</i> | <i>non</i> | | |
| hiy-kwe | ihey | m-o | youk | non | | |
| 3S.M.SUB-TOP | white.man | PL-GEN | paddle | CMT | | |

nak-hiok-keyn ira.
nak-hiok-keyn lira
 ACC-paddle-in.the.water see
 ‘When he was going around visiting the schools, he did the
 visiting with an outboard motor (lit. white man’s paddle).’

In (18), the first *hiykwe* ‘3S.M-TOP’ occurs as a P2 constituent. It is followed by a NP modified by a relative clause marked by *sokukwe*. The second *hiykwe* ‘3S.M-TOP’ is a P1 constituent with clear subject function.

- (18) P2 P2
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|-----------------|------------|------------|------------|
| <i>Hiykwe</i> | <i>sawk</i> | <i>sah-nawp</i> | <i>hok</i> | <i>hyo</i> | <i>owh</i> |
| hiy-kwe | sawk | sah-nawp | hok | hiy-o | owh |
| 3S.M-TOP | CHD | wife-old | 3S.F.SUB | 3S.M-GEN | body |
- P1=S
- | | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| <i>mon ma</i> | <i>ar-nuw-sawan</i> | <i>sokukwe,</i> | <i>hiykwe</i> |
| mon ma | ar-nuw-sawan | so-ko-kwe | hiy-kwe |
| LOC | RCM | DIR:up-INT-hang | DDEM-GL.F-TOP 3S.M-TOP |
- sawk preiryay hakan.*
sawk preiryay hakan
 CHD startled flee
 (Context: a frightened wife falls on her husband in the middle
 of the night) ‘As for him, in regard to his wife hanging on to
 his body, he got startled and fled.’

8.4 The comment part of the sentence

The comment component of the sentence is marked by the obligatory absence of the topic marker *-kwe*. The comment part is preceded by the topic part of the sentence. The break between the topic component and the comment component of the sentence is in nearly all cases marked by the last constituent of the topic slot that hosts the constituent-final topic marker *-kwe*.

Nearly all sentences occur with a topic and a comment part, but only the latter is obligatory, as can be seen in (19). The example is taken from a story in which a group of people cut trees in the forest until disaster hits. Neither object NP nor the subject NP are topicalised; both belong to the comment part of the sentence. It is very unusual to have a non-topicalised NP object in a clause with OSV order. It is generally regarded as incorrect grammar (see §6.5.1) but might be permitted here because it forms the

climax of the story. The speaker treats both noun phrases as new information, and no topic markers are used.

(19)	OBJ	SUB	VP	
	<i>Sawk uwr prueyn se</i>	<i>now hiy yay</i>		
	sawk uwr prueyn s-e	now hiy lyay		
	CHD man one 3S.M-OBJ	tree 3S.M	place.down	
	<i>kane kawk.</i>			
	kane kawk			
	break.off put			
	‘A tree came down on a certain man, breaking (his back).’			

The following table shows the various parts of the comment part of the predication.

TABLE 54: CONSTITUENTS IN THE COMMENT PART OF THE PREDICATION

	Constituents	Abbr.	Examples
Obligatory in verbless predication	single modifier	Comment	(20)
	or NP comment		(21)
Obligatory in verbal predication	verb phrase	VP	(22)
Optional in verbless predication	subject NP	SUB	(19)
	object NP object	OBJ	(23)
	incorporated noun preceding VP	Incor.N	(24)
	adverbial phrase	ADVP	(25)
	modal marker preceding VP	Modal	(26)
	postpositional phrase (PP)	PP	(27) (28) (29)

In the examples below the comment part of each sentence is bolded. The different constituents making up the comment part are labelled separately. The various constituents making up the topic part are labelled as well.

In (20), the topic slot is filled with two constituents, *hakwe* '1S.TOP' and *huok mokwe* 'pigs.GL.PL.TOP'. The comment slot is filled by the modifier phrase *kamon-aw* 'one-RSTR'.

(20)	P2	P1	Comment:Numeral
	<i>Hakwe</i>	<i>huok mokwe,</i>	<i>kamon-aw.</i>
	ha-kwe	huok mo-kwe	kamon-aw
	1S-TOP	pig GL.PL-TOP	one.CL2-RSTR
	'As for me, regarding pigs, (I) have only one.'		

One can delete the topic marker *mokwe*. As a result the topic part of the sentence is only filled by one constituent, *hakwe* 'I', and the comment part is filled by the NP comment *huok kamon-aw* 'pig one-RSTR'.

(21)	P1	Comment:NP
	<i>Hakwe</i>	<i>huok kamon-aw.</i>
	ha-kwe	huok kamon-aw
	1S-TOP	pig one.CL2-RSTR
	'As for me, I have only one pig.'	

In (22), the comment part only contains the verb phrase. It is relatively rare to only have the verb phrase fill the comment component of the predication.

(22)	P1	Comment:VP
	<i>sawk Ari hiykwe</i>	<i>me-puar</i>
	sawk Ari hiy-kwe	me-puar
	CHD Ari 3S.SUB-TOP	speak-refuse
	'but Ari refused'	

In (23), a temporal NP and the subject NP are topicalised. The comment part consists of a NP object and the verb phrase.

(23)	P2	P1	Comment:OBJ
	<i>Onkioh</i>	<i>kokwe</i>	<i>hakwe</i>
	onkioh	ko-kwe	ha-kwe
	yesterday	GL.F-TOP	1S-TOP
		+ VP	
	<i>aio</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>lira.</i>
	aio	s-e	lira
	father	3S.M-OBJ	see
	'Yesterday, I saw your father.'		

In (24), both the NP subject and the NP object are topicalised. The comment part consists of the incorporated noun *hekweyr* ‘laughter’ and the verb phrase.

(24)	P2			P1	
	<i>Wo, uwr har</i>	<i>homkwe</i>	<i>sawk hye</i>		
	wo uwr har	hom-kwe	sawk hiy-e		
	EXCL man some	2/3PL-TOP	CHD 3S.M-OBJ		
	Comment:Incor.N+VP				
	<i>kokwe hekweyr</i>		<i>nuw-kweyr kow.</i>		
	ko-kwe hekweyr		nuw-kweyr kow		
	GL.F-TOP laughter		INT-laugh BEN		
	‘Well, some people, they really laughed at him.’				

In (25), the comment component consists of the adverbial phrase *yaprue* ‘well’ and the verb phrase.

(25)	P2	P1	Comment:ADVP+VP		
	<i>Yeyk hokwe, hakwe</i>	<i>yaprue</i>	<i>meio lowpway.</i>		
	yeyk ho-kwe ha-kwe	yaprue	meio lowpway		
	canoe GL.M-TOP 1S-TOP	well	work completely		
	‘As for the canoe, I made it well.’				

The comment part of a sentence can be just the verb phrase, often modified by a modal marker. In (26), the comment part consists of the dynamic modal marker *liy* and the verb phrase it modifies.

(26)	P2			P1	
	<i>Sawk howniy aiopey hay kamon lousne ankin,</i>				
	sawk howniy aiopey hay kamon lousne ankin				
	CHD wind big very one appear if/when				
	P2			P1	
	<i>hno a sohokwe howniy hokwe</i>				
	hwon-o a so-ho-kwe howniy hok-kwe				
	2S-GEN house DDEM-GL.M-TOP wind 3S.F.SUB-TOP				
	Comment:Modal+VP				
	<i>liy lway kros say kow.</i>				
	liy lway kros say kow				
	DYN blow break move.PL BEN				
	‘If a big wind would come, as for your house the wind would be able to blow it down destroying it.’				

In (27) and (28), the comment part is filled by a postpositional noun phrase followed by the verb phrase.

- (27) **P1** **Comment:PP**
Hyo kasaw hokwe sawk inan-pi
 hiy-o kasaw ho-kwe sawk inan-pi
 3S.M-GEN nose GL.M-TOP CHD sago-sharp.edge
 + **VP**
se hieyn-aw nuw-ira.
 s-e hieyn-aw nuw-lira
 3S.M-OBJ like-RSTR INT-see
 ‘As for his nose, it looked as sharp as the edge of a sago needle.’
- (28) **P2** **P1** **Comment:PP**
Mu-ohi hokwe Kupe hiykwe kampani
 mu-ohi ho-kwe Kupe hiy-kwe kampani
 crocodile-skin GL.M-TOP Kupe 3S.M-TOP company
 + **VP**
mo mon nakey.
 m-o mon nak-ley
 PL-GEN LOC ACC-go
 ‘As for the crocodile skin, Kupe took it to a company.’
- (29) **P1** **Comment:PP** +
Kie hiykwe howk ouon ko se
 kie hiy-kwe howk ouon ko s-e
 lizard 3S.M-TOP lake under ABL 3S.M-OBJ
VP
leirsow heyh.
 leirsow heyh
 come.to.surface swim
 ‘The lizard came from the depths of the lake to the surface.’

8.5 Tail position

A NP marked for object and topic-marked by *-kwe* can also be placed in tail position or P3 position, intonationally cut off from the preceding predicate and separated by a pause. Tails are also referred to as afterthoughts or right-dislocated elements. According to Dik (1981:152-54) the P3 slot is not meant for new information or information totally

independent of the predication, but rather information that supplements or modifies the predication.

Givón (1987:182) suggests that P3 constituents only take the previous clause in their scope, perhaps elaborating on what has already been said in the clause. This is true in Abau, where the tail is always interpreted anaphorically, i.e. it contains old information. The speaker is unlikely to place a new referent in tail position to which the listener had no access through previous reference or simple deduction.

The verb phrase is typically the last constituent of a sentence or clause, unless a nominal constituent is placed in tail position. The final intonation over the verb phrase is not affected by the P3 constituent following. A short pause sets the two clearly apart. The P3 position is normally filled by a noun phrase, ex. (30) and (31) or NPs with an embedded modifying clause (ex. §8.5.1).

Right-dislocated noun phrases are marked in one of the following three ways:

- a. only marked pragmatically (30).
- b. marked pragmatically and also for syntactic or semantic case (31).
- c. marked grammatically and not pragmatically (32).

In (30), the speaker wants to ascertain that the listeners know what participant has agent role, so the NP *huok sohokwe* ‘this pig’ is placed in tail position, separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause. The NP has agent role within the sentence but is only marked with the demonstrative topic marker.

(30)

<i>Sa</i>	<i>hye</i>	<i>lopri</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kuayk,</i>	<i>huok</i>	P3
<i>sa</i>	<i>hiy-e</i>	<i>lopri</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>kuayk</i>	<i>huok</i>	
then/and	3S.M-OBJ	take.PL	eat	fall	pig	

sohokwe.
so-ho-kwe
DDEM-GL.M-TOP
‘And (the pig) grabbed and bit him, causing him to fall, that pig.’

Example (31) is taken from a story about two birds. The listener expects both participants to play a role within the story line. The activity

of one of the two birds is mentioned. The speaker decides to refer to the other participant as well and utilises the tail position. The NP in P3 position is topicalised and marked with a post-positional marker indicating accompaniment.

- (31) *Mowr hiykwe sawk aw sehe lono,*
 mowr hiy-kwe sawk aw so-h-e lono
 hornbill 3S.M-TOP CHD fight DDEM-3S.M-OBJ fight
P3
korwompow se nion kokwe.
 korwompow s-e nion ko-kwe
 k.o.bird 3S.M-OBJ ACC GL.F-TOP
 ‘So the hornbill fought with the *korwompow* bird.’

In (32), the NP in tail position does not host a topic marker, it is only syntactically marked with the object marker *me*.

- (32) *Hiykwe omeme poya poya seme*
 hiy-kwe omeme poya poya so-m-e
 3S.M-TOP things various various DDEM-PL-OBJ
P3
lowndiy kow lowpway, uwrsa serey
 lowndiy kow lowpway uwr-sa so-rey
 share BEN completely man-woman DDEM-there
kuko me.
 kuko m-e
 from.there PL-OBJ
 ‘He shared out all his various belongings, to the people from there.’

NPs are placed in tail positions for pragmatic reasons. One can always delete a NP in tail position with no damage to the grammatical correctness of the sentence. However, the deletion might affect the clarity of the communication. Some reasons for including a tail constituent:

1. To correct potential lack of information. The speaker fears that the communication was incomplete or unclear and wants to ensure that the listener can keep track of the identity and/or roles of the various referents (30);
2. Avoid diverting information. An attempt is made to keep related information together, and so additional, potentially interfering, information is placed in tail position (34).

In (30) above, the tail position is used for a participant that has been introduced already and can be deduced from the context. The speaker nevertheless adds the participant in the tail of the predication to rule out any confusion.

Example (33) illustrates a similar point. One can delete the tail without causing the sentence to be grammatically incorrect. The semantic domain of the verb *lwawk* ‘step into’ anticipates an object that has sides. This verb is frequently used with the noun *yeyk* ‘canoe’. In spite of the fact that the listener can be expected to supply the location *yeyk* ‘canoe’, the speaker still adds the information to rule out confusion.

- (33) *Sawk nyo-ar hiy lwawk pa, sa*
 sawk nyo-ar hiy lwawk pa sa
 CHD lad-INTF 3S.M step.into NEG.PFTV then/and
- P3**
poup hiy lwawk, yeyk sohokwe.
 poup hiy lwawk yeyk so-ho-kwe
 spirit 3S.M step.into canoe DDEM-GL.M-TOP
 ‘The real (= human) lad did not step in, but the spirit did - in regard to that canoe.’

In (34), a temporal NP occurs in the tail position. It is different from example (33), where the information in the tail completes the thought expressed in the main clause. In (34), the tail contains additional information. Its absence would not lead to miscommunication, since the main information preceding the P3 constituent is complete in itself. By placing the additional information in the tail, the speaker keeps the central information in the main clause concise and together.

- (34) **P2** **P1** **Comment**
Hakwe hnekwe skul mon hiy-ey
 ha-kwe hwon-e-kwe skul mon hiy-ley
 1S-TOP 2S-OBJ-TOP school LOC CAUS-go
- P3**
ey, pokon-enekwei hokwe.
 ey pokon-enekwei ho-kwe
 INTN today-time GL.M-TOP
 ‘I will bring you to school, today.’

It is relatively rare for the tail position not to be topicalised. The pragmatic topic marker consigns background status to the topicalised

constituent. If the tail occurs without a topic marker, the status of the constituent changes and it starts to have the capacity to mark new information. Compare the following two examples:

Example (35) is part of a dialogue between two sisters. The tail could have been deleted, as the listener only needed to keep track of two participants.

- (35) *Pway-ih* *hokwe* *sawk* *ok* *piap* *ok*
 pway-ih hok-kwe sawk ok piap ok
 older.sister-KIN 3S.F-TOP CHD talk bad talk

P3

sokwe *nak-me,* *nay-ih*
 so-k-e nak-me nay-ih
 DDEM-3S.F-OBJ ACC-speak younger.sibling-KIN

ke *kokwe.*

k-e ko-kwe
 3S.F-OBJ GL.F-TOP

‘(Consequently) the older sister spoke bad words, to her younger sister.’

In (36), the NP in tail position is not topic-marked and should therefore not be treated as background information. Without the information expressed in the tail, the listener could not have deduced with certainty the identity of the recipient that *kow* ‘benefactive’ anticipated.

- (36) *Hiykwe* *hyo* *swawruh* *se*
 hiy-kwe hiy-o swawr-ih s-e
 3S.M-TOP 3S.M-GEN brother.in.law-KIN 3S.M-OBJ
mesopok, *hyo* *huok* *kreysyar* *ke*
 me-sopok hiy-o huok kreys-ar k-e
 speak-ask 3S.M-GEN pig two.CL2-INTF 3S.F-OBJ

P3

me *kow* *e,* *hye.*

me kow e hiy-e
 speak BEN OBJ 3S.M-OBJ

‘He asked his brother-in-law to give his two pigs, to him.’

8.5.1 Clauses in tail position

Although rare, a subordinate clause can be placed in tail position. These clauses contain given information or information that can be easily

accessed by deduction. These clauses can be deleted without affecting the grammatical correctness or intonation of the main clause.

The following two examples have been taken from the story “The two brothers” (§11.1.1). In (37), a subordinate clause with *ankin* is placed in tail position. As the context of the story is the shooting of over-flying birds, the contents of the clause in P3 position can be deduced by the listener.

- (37) *Ara pokon yaprue non-aw hin e,*
 ara pokon yaprue non-aw hin e
 ADDR.M today good CMT-RSTR shoot OBJ.IMP
P3
ahney sian ne ankin.
 ahney sian ne ankin
 bird get.up SUB>OBJ if/when
 ‘Man, you should only shoot your very best, when a bird flies near.’

A noun phrase that contains a relative clause can also occur in tail position. In (38), the relative clause (bolded) modifies the head of the noun phrase *now* ‘tree’.

- (38) *Hom wueir se lousne menkin,*
 hom wueir s-e lousne menkin
 2/3PL garden 3S.M-OBJ appear when
nay-ih hiy sa oryay-ih
 nay-ih hiy sa oryay-ih
 younger.sibling-KIN 3S.M then/and older.brother-KIN
P3
se sehe mesair kow, now aiopey
 s-e so-h-e mesair kow now aiopey
 3S.M-OBJ DDEM-3S.M-OBJ show BEN tree big
wueir ompok mon ma lorok se.
 wueir ompok mon ma lorok s-e
 garden middle LOC RCM stand 3S.M-OBJ
 ‘When they arrived in the garden, the younger brother consequently showed the older brother - the large tree standing in the middle of the garden.’

Examples (37) and (39) are taken from the same story about two bird hunters. In (39), the NP in tail position *ahney senkin senkin* ‘all kinds of birds’ is modified by the bolded relative clause. The P3 constituent (as all P3 constituents) can be deleted without loss of grammatical correctness. The object noun phrase in the P3 slot is not present in the main clause. However, the referent *ahney* ‘birds’ is signalled in the main clause by *huon* ‘OBJ moves to SUB’. The listener can deduce the arrival of the birds from the context, but the added tail constituent completes the information and rules out ambiguity.

- (39) *Hoh non-ie yawriy iwak liok menkin, sa*
 hoh non-lie lyawriy liwak liok menkin sa
 2DU DU-climb enter sit in.vain when then/and
- P3**
- mei-aw ka-ira huon, ahney senkin*
 mei-aw ka-lira huon ahney so-enkin
 long-RSTR DIR:side-see OBJ>SUB bird DDEM-MAN
- senkin **hom lon-sian on-sian ne me.***
 so-enkin hom lon-sian lon-sian ne m-e
 DDEM-MAN 2/3PL do-get.up do.get.up SUB>OBJ PL-OBJ
 ‘When they had hardly climbed up and had entered and sat (in their shelter), they saw (them) from far away, all kinds of birds flying and coming towards them.’

8.5.2 Tail constituents in clauses with transitive verbs

Instead of occurring as clauses embedded in the main clause, cause and reason clauses are often extraposed from the main clause to P3, the tail position in the sentence.

These cause and reason constructions are primarily encoded by clauses that look like headless relative clauses (see §6.6.3). The tail constituents are terminated by a demonstrative marked for either subject or object. A subject demonstrative in final P3 position indicates cause, an object demonstrative indicates reason. Both reason and cause P3 constructions are preceded by an adverbial causal demonstrative in the main clause.

These reason and cause clauses in the tail position have the following features:

- a. The normal relative clause features: no internal topic marking on any of the constituents; the use of the relativiser *ma* preceding the verb phrase.
- b. Tail final marking consists of a demonstrative marker that is either marked for subject (cause) or object (reason).
- c. The tail construction makes the goal or cause explicit that the adverbial causal demonstrative (§4.4.3) in the main clause already referred to.

In (40), the P3-final demonstrative marker *sokwe* signals object and therefore the tail functions as a reason clause. The main clause contains the adverbial causal demonstrative *sokwe* which expresses a causal relationship between this main clause and what went before in the previous sentence, or wider previous context. By adding the optional P3 constituent, the speaker makes the reason for the laughter explicit.

(40)	<i>Man</i>	<i>hokwe</i>	<i>sawk</i>	<i>mowkwar</i>	<i>ke</i>	
	man	ho-kwe	sawk	mowkwar	k-e	
	crayfish	GL.M-TOP	CHD	turtle	3S.F-OBJ	
						P3
	<i>sokwe</i>	<i>nuw-kweyr</i>	<i>kow,</i>	<i>hok</i>	<i>piaparaw</i>	
	so-k-e	nuw-kweyr	kow	hok	piaparaw	
	DDEM-3S.F-OBJ	INT-laugh	BEN	3S.F.SUB	bad	
	<i>ma</i>	<i>nokriy</i>	<i>keyn</i>	<i>sokwe.</i>		
	ma	nokriy	keyn	so-k-e		
	RCM	roll	in.the.water	DDEM-3S.F-OBJ		

‘So the crayfish laughed at the turtle, because she had rolled into the water.’

The only difference between (40) and (41) is the final marking on the P3 constituent. In (41), the clause-final demonstrative *sohok* signals subject, and therefore the tail functions as a causal clause. The difference is reflected in the alternative translation of these two examples. Like in (40), the tail position is only added to avoid ambiguity, not to give totally new information.

- (41) *Man hokwe sawk mowkwar ke*
 man ho-kwe sawk mowkwar k-e
 crayfish GL.M-TOP CHD turtle 3S.F-OBJ
- P3**
- sokwe nuw-kweyr kow, hok piaparaw*
 so-k-e nuw-kweyr kow hok piaparaw
 DDEM-3S.F-OBJ INT-laugh BEN 3S.F.SUB bad
- ma nokriy keyn **sohok.***
 ma nokriy keyn so-hok
 RCM roll in.the.water DDEM-3S.F.SUB
 ‘So the crayfish laughed at the turtle, because she rolled into the water.’

An alternative free translation can be given for (41) that expresses the agent role of the tail constituent: ‘The fact that (the turtle) rolled into the water caused the crayfish to laugh at the turtle.’

In (42), the sentence-final *sohiy* marks the tail as subject. The tail therefore has agent function and expresses cause. The tail makes the causal relationship explicit that the adverbial causal demonstrative marker *sehe* in the main clause already referred to. The tail-final masculine subject marking *sohiy* ‘DDEM-3S.M.SUB’ agrees in gender and number with the masculine subject of the tail *hiy* ‘3S.M.SUB’. The tail contains a bolded complement clause marked by the object marker *e* (for similar constructions see e.g. §6.6.4 and §9.4.1).

- (42) *Hokwe uwr-uh se kasaw*
 hok-kwe uwr-ih s-e kasaw
 3S.F.SUB-TOP man-KIN 3S.M-OBJ nose
- P3**
- sehe** lon hohuaw, **hiy** **sa***
 so-h-e lon hohuaw hiy sa
 DDEM-3S.M-OBJ do angry 3S.M.SUB woman

prueyn ma-nak-huon e ma
 prueyn ma-nak-huon e ma
 one.CL1 RPT-ACC-marry PURP RCM

mon sohiy.

mon so-hiy

do/want DDEM-3S.M.SUB

‘The woman was consequently really angry with her husband for the fact that he wanted to marry another woman.’

An alternative free translation can be given for (42) that expresses the agent function of the tail constituent: ‘(The fact) that he wanted to marry another woman made her really angry with her husband.’

In (43), the clause-final *sohok* marks the tail as subject. The tail has therefore agent function and expresses cause. The tail makes the causal relationship explicit that was referred to by the adverbial causal demonstrative *seme* in the main clause. The tail final feminine subject marker *sohok* agrees in gender and number with the feminine subject of the tail *hmo prueyn hok* ‘one (F) of them’.

(43) *Enkin hokwe peirsiow homkwe eheyr*
 enkin ho-kwe peirsiow hom-kwe eheyr
 MAN GL.M-TOP frog 2/3PL-TOP crying

ipey-ar seme lyuk wayr wayr,
 ipey-ar so-m-e lyuk lwayr lwayr
 important-INTF DDEM-PL-OBJ cry stay stay

P3

hmo prueyn hok howk-hu yia non mon
 hom-o prueyn hok howk-hu yia non mon
 2/3PL-GEN one.CL1 3S.F.SUB lake-water fire CMT LOC

ma lorswakeyn okrue wakeyn sohok.

ma lorswakeyn lokrue lwakeyn so-hok

RCM jump.into.water die croak DDEM-3S.F.SUB

‘These days the frogs continually cry very loudly because one of them jumped into the boiling lake water and died croaking.’

8.5.3 Tail constituents in intransitive clauses

It was demonstrated in §6.7 that an Object NP in a clause that has a VP filled by a motion verb functions as purpose constituent. Similarly, a

constituent that is marked for object indicates purpose, if the main clause has a verb phrase filled by a motion verb. In (44), the constituent in tail position is a NP with an embedded clause (bolded) that modifies the masculine head *om-huok*. The NP final *sehe* agrees with the head of the NP in gender and number.

- (44) *Uwr homkwe yerki kamon mon ley. Sa*
 uwr hom-kwe yerki kamon mon ley sa
 man 2/3PL-TOP road one.CL2 LOC go woman
- P3**
- homkwe umon mon ley, om-huok ma lira*
 hom-kwe umon mon ley om-huok ma lira
 2/3PL-TOP one.CL6 LOC go village.pig RCM see
- me pawk sehe.***
 me pawk so-h-e
 speak search DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
 ‘The men went one way. The women went the other way for
 the purpose of (the activity of) looking for the village pig.’

8.5.4 Contents or manner clauses in tail position

Apart from reason, cause and purpose, contents or manner can also be expressed by a subordinate clause with the assistance of the manner adverb *senkin*.

A main clause with the manner adverb *senkin* expresses the concept of manner or contents. Additional information about the manner or contents can be given by an optional constituent in tail position. The tail position can be formed in three possible ways:

- a. a relative clause with a deleted head, followed by a final *senkin*;
- b. a relative clause with a deleted head, followed by a final *senkin* plus the same verb repeated that occurred in the main clause;
- c. a relative clause with a deleted head.

The most common form is to simply mark the clause with *senkin*, which corresponds with the adverbial *senkin* in the main clause, as is demonstrated in (45).

- (45) *Seseyn, nay-ih hiykwe*
 seseyn nay-ih hiy-kwe
 accordingly younger.sibling-KIN 3S.M.SUB-TOP
senkin *lon,*
 so-enkin lon
 DDEM-MAN do
P3
oryay-ih hiy ma me sor-a-sor
 oryay-ih hiy ma me sor-a-sor
 older.brother-KIN 3S.M.SUB RCM speak tell-DUP-tell
*kow **senkin.***
 kow so-enkin
 BEN DDEM-MAN
 ‘All right, the younger brother did as the older brother had
 instructed him.’

Below, two more options are given for the formation of the tail constituent. The first alternative is the adverbial *senkin* in tail position followed by the verb of the main clause, in this case: *senkin lon*. Or lastly, the tail constituent can occur without the adverbial *senkin* or any additional verb. Both clauses have the same translation.

- ... *oryay-ih hiy ma me sor-a-sor*
 oryay-ih hiy ma me sor-a-sor
 old.brother-KIN 3S.M.SUB RCM speak tell-DUP-tell
*kow, **senkin** lon.*
 kow so-enkin lon
 BEN DDEM-MAN do
 ... *oryay-ih hiy ma me sor-a-sor*
 oryay-ih hiy ma me sor-a-sor
 old.brother-KIN 3s.m.Sub RCM speak tell-DUP-tell
kow.
 kow
 BEN
 ‘All right, the younger brother did as the older brother had
 instructed him.’

In (46), the tail constituent expresses manner and is marked by *senkin* which corresponds with *senkin* in the main clause.

- (46) *Hiykwe* *hyo* *wueir* *se* *senkin*
 Hi-y-kwe hi-y-o wueir se so-enkin
 3S.M.SUB-TOP 3S.GEN garden M.OBJ DDEM-MAN
- saro, hiy paraw kam so*
 saro, hiy paraw kam so
 plant 3S.M in.the.past maternal.uncle M.S-GEN
- yier mon ma lira senkin.*
 yier mon ma lira so-enkin
 place LOC RCM see DDEM-MAN
- ‘He planted his garden (like this) the way he had seen in his uncle’s village.’

8.6 Decreasing or increasing the prominence of sentence constituents

Predications, nearly without exception, contain a topic and a comment component. The speaker makes choices in what he marks as topic or comment. The outcome of these choices determines the prominence of the various sentence constituents. There are various ways to raise or lower the prominence of the constituents.

The most common order within Abau is SOV, but this order can easily be changed to OSV. The syntactic role of NPs is not determined by their place within the sentence but by their NP marking. As stated before, nearly all NPs are marked syntactically and/or pragmatically. A large percentage of NPs is marked for either subject or object, and the speaker might make use of SOV or OSV order depending on the prominence he wants to assign to the NPs (see §8.6.1). NPs which are not marked for subject or object are very often topicalised by general topic markers (§3.6). In spite of this lack of syntactic marking, these NPs can still have patient or agent function, which is mostly determined by the context. Their marking, or lack of marking, also determines how NPs are given more or less prominence (see §8.6.2).

8.6.1 Changing prominence of subject

Normal order within Abau is SOV, but based on prominence choices a speaker can change this order. In (47), the order is changed to OSV. The object NP *Keno se kokwe* is obligatorily topicalised, because it has been left-located and is therefore placed in the topic part of the sentence (see

§8.3). The topicalised object precedes the non-topicalised subject *ur hiy* ‘vine 3S.SUB’, and as a result the subject is part of the comment part of the sentence (see §8.4). The subject NP becomes the most prominent NP at the expense of the object NP, which would have been the most prominent constituent in an SOV clause.

- (47) *Keno se kokwe, ur hiy*
 Keno s-e ko-kwe ur hiy
 Keno 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP vine 3S.M.SUB
way-a-way kuayk nayr.
 lway-a-lway kuayk nayr
 wrap-DUP-wrap fall night
 ‘In regard to Keno, (it was) a vine (that) wrapped around him causing him to fall.’

In the example above the subject was given more prominence. It is also possible to suppress the subject. A subject has to be expressed when the object is not topicalised, but one can omit the subject if the object NP is topicalised by *-kwe*. In examples (48) and (49) respectively, *hmekwe* ‘3PL.OBJ.TOP’ and *hye kokwe* ‘3S.M.OBJ.TOP’ are understood to undergo the events encoded in the respective VPs. This construction is widely used when there is no need or no desire to express the agent of the predication.

- (48) *Hmekwe iha nonaw liy nekie way.*
 hom-e-kwe iha non-aw liy nekie lway
 2/3PL-OBJ-TOP hand CMT-RSTR DYN hold carry
 ‘They can be picked up by hand.’

In (49), no subject is expressed.

- (49) *Hye kokwe yeyn iha sirom senkin*
 hiy-e ko-kwe yeyn iha sirom so-enkin
 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP moon hand one.CL4 DDEM-MAN
hiy-mon sor-a-sor wayr.
 hiy-mon sor-a-sor lwayr
 CAUS-do tell-DUP-tell stay
 ‘He was taught for five months.’

A subject can be inserted in the examples above without changing the form or order of the other constituents, e.g. example (48) is rewritten with an inserted subject *hromkwe* ‘we’ in (50).

- (50) *Hmekwe hromkwe iha nonaw liy*
 hom-e-kwe hrom-kwe iha non-aw liy
 2/3PL-OBJ-TOP 1PL.SUB-TOP hand CMT-RSTR DYN
nekie way.
 nekie lway
 hold carry
 ‘We can pick them up by hand.’

When the object NP is no longer topicalised, a subject needs to be expressed in order to create a grammatically correct sentence. In (51), a subject (filled by *hakwe* ‘1S.SUB’) is required since the NP object *hye* ‘3S.M’ is not topic-marked.

- (51) *Hakwe hye yeyn iha sirom senkin*
 ha-kwe hiy-e yeyn iha sirom so-enkin
 1S.SUB-TOP 3S.M-OBJ moon hand one.CL4 DDEM-MAN
hiy-mon sor-a-sor wayr.
 hiy-mon sor-a-sor lwayr
 CAUS-do tell-DUP-tell stay
 ‘I taught him for five months.’

In (52), the non-topic-marked object *hme* requires a subject, which is supplied by *homkwe* ‘2/3PL-TOP’.

- (52) *Homkwe hme iha nonaw liy nekie way.*
 hom-kwe hom-e iha non-aw liy nekie lway
 2/3PL-TOP 2/3PL-OBJ hand CMT-RSTR DYN hold carry
 ‘You can pick them up by hand.’

8.6.2 Agents and patients without syntactic marking

In (53), the first two NPs are topicalised. Within the predication they fill the semantic function of respectively agent and patient but they are not syntactically marked for subject and object. The listener is able to assign the roles of agent and patient based on the logics of the semantics rather than word order. (It is possible to reverse the order of the two first NPs with the same marking). The speaker suppresses in this way the prominence of both NPs, enabling the time constituent preceding the VP *enekwei kamonaw* (in one day) to be the most prominent constituent of the sentence.

- (53) **P2** *Uwr sohokwe,* **P1** *yeyk hokwe,*
uwr so-ho-kwe *yeyk ho-kwe*
 man DDEM-GL.M-TOP canoe GL.M-TOP
Comment:ADVP + **VP**
enekwei kamon-aw saw-meio lowpway.
 enekwei kamon-aw saw-meio lowpway
 time one-RSTR SPD-work completely
 ‘As for that man, in regard to the canoe, he made it in only
 one day.’

Inanimate nouns can be marked as subject, as has been seen from previous examples (e.g. (§3.7.1, ex. (87)) and 47). In (54), the head of the NP *an-yeik* ‘fishing hook’ is not marked by a topicalised subject pronoun but by the general topic pronoun *hokwe*. This lowers the prominence of this constituent and raises the prominence of the NP object (marked as object by *se*).

- (54) **P1**
Sawk hyo an-yeik hokwe sawk
 sawk hiy-o an-yeik ho-kwe sawk
 CHD 3S.M-GEN fish-arrow GL.M-TOP CHD
Comment:OBJ + **VP**
mnow aiopey se hin.
 mnow aiopey s-e hin
 eel big 3S.M-OBJ shoot
 ‘But, as for his fishing hook, it hooked a big eel.’

When the NP is marked by the topicalised subject pronoun *hiykwe* ‘3S.M-TOP’ the constituent still remains part of the topic part of the predication, but it raises its prominence.

- (55) **P1**
Sawk hyo an-yeik hiykwe sawk
 sawk hiy-o an-yeik hiy-kwe sawk
 CHD 3S.M-GEN fish-arrow 3S.M.SUB-TOP CHD
Comment:OBJ + **VP**
mnow aiopey se hin.
 mnow aiopey s-e hin
 eel big 3S.M-OBJ shoot
 ‘But his fishing hook hooked a big eel.’

In (56), the NP *sok-uwr sohokwe* ‘snake-man’ is only pragmatically marked with the demonstrative topic pronoun. It has the role of agent within the predication but is not syntactically marked as subject. This construction raises the prominence of the object NP within the comment part of the sentence.

(56)	P1				
		<i>Sawk sok-uwr sohokwe</i>			
		sawk sok-uwr so-ho-kwe			
		CHD snake-man DDEM-GL.M-TOP			
	Comment:OBJ		+	VP	
	<i>ney</i>	<i>prueyn</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>lei</i>	<i>a</i>
	ney	prueyn	s-e	lei	la
	child	one.CL1	3S.M-OBJ	cut	eat
		‘The/this snake-man cut up and ate a certain child.’			

8.7 Introduction and tracking of participants

Entities that have not been referred to within a discourse can be introduced via NPs that are often marked by the numeral one. This is certainly true for the introduction of animate participants but also true for the introduction of major props. The numeral *prueyn* ‘one’ is used for the introduction of a major human participant (see §8.7.1).

NPs not mentioned before can be introduced without the use of the numeral one if the NP is considered to be part of an understood *script*, i.e. a known setting, e.g. hunting or fishing, where the presence of certain items do not need special introduction since they are assumed to be there (see §8.7.2).

Once NPs are introduced they are tracked in various ways as described in §8.7.3.

8.7.1 New entities introduced by the numeral one

The function of the numeral one is not to mark quantity (although it is implied) but to establish identity. Out of a field with many possible candidates, one particular entity is set apart and introduced within the story. The numeral is not used if the head of the noun phrase can only refer to one possible candidate (e.g. sun, moon, sea, etc.).

New major entities introduced within a discourse occur in a marked noun phrase construction that contains the numeral one. In (57), the NP *uwr prueyn hiykwe* ‘a certain man’ refers to a new participant. His identity as an individual participant is established by the numeral *prueyn* ‘one’. The NP is also marked for subject and topic. The NP *hyo wueir iwon se* ‘a new garden’ is also a new entity; but the NP can be viewed to be part of the script ‘garden making’.

(57)	P2			P1=SUB		
	<i>Enekwei</i>	<i>kamon</i>	<i>hokwe,</i>	<i>uwr</i>	<i>prueyn</i>	<i>hiykwe</i>
	enekwei	kamon	ho-kwe	uwr	prueyn	hiy-kwe
	time	one	GL.M-TOP	man	one.CL1	3S.M-TOP

Comment

hyo wueir iwon se now lowk kok.
hiy-o wueir iwon s-e now lowk kok
 3S.M-GEN garden new 3S.M-OBJ tree cut day.time
 ‘At a certain time, a certain man was making his new garden, cutting trees during the day.’

It is possible to introduce a new participant with (57) or without (58) a topic marker. When no topic marking occurs the quantifying meaning of the numeral is also in focus (see also discussion on non-quantifying uses of the numeral one in §3.4.4).

In (58), the participant *ai* ‘fish’ is introduced by the numeral *kamon* ‘one’ and marked for its grammatical function within the sentence by the object marker *ke*. It is placed in the comment part of the sentence and can therefore not be topicalised. The numeral *kamon* does double function, introducing the new participant as well as quantifying the number of fish.

(58)	P1			Comment	
	<i>Wayp</i>	<i>sohokwe</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>kamon</i>	<i>ke</i>
	wayp	so-ho-kwe	ai	kamon	k-e
	eagle	DDEM-GL.M-TOP	fish	one.CL2	3S.F-OBJ

nekie way nok nok, nak-sian a iwak.
nekie lway nok nok nak-sian la liwak
 hold carry DUR SEQ ACC-get.up eat sit
 ‘The eagle took hold of a fish, carrying it away, and then flew up (to something) and sat and ate it.’

Example (59) is taken from a text which describes a number of accidents that happened when a group of people fell into the water. One man of the group is singled out now by the use of the numeral one. The NP is only marked pragmatically and not syntactically. The speaker makes the nature of the accident (breaking of teeth) the focus of the sentence. The NP that introduces the participant occurs sentence-initially and is therefore treated as background information.

(59)	P1		Comment	
	<i>Uwr prueyn hokwe,</i>	<i>nays</i>	<i>me</i>	
	uwr prueyn ho-kwe	nays	m-e	
	man one.CL1 GL.M-TOP	tooth	PL-OBJ	
	<i>arnuw-kror</i>	<i>say</i>	<i>lowpway.</i>	
	ar-nuw-kror	say	lowpway	
	DIR:up-INT-break.off	move.PL	completely	
	'As for a certain man, his teeth were struck and broken off completely.'			

New entities can also be introduced in NPs that are marked for semantic case. In (60), the noun *yier* 'place' is introduced and is marked by the numeral *kamon* 'one' and the locative *mon*. The locative noun phrase occurs in the comment part of the sentence and is therefore not topicalised.

In the second sentence the introduced noun *yier* 'place' is referred to again, this time by the demonstrative topic marker *sohokwe* since it is no longer an indefinite entity. As stated before, the demonstrative topic pronoun never introduces new entities but is used to keep track of already introduced participants.

(60)	<i>Uwr oryay-kiy</i>	<i>sohokwe</i>	<i>yier</i>	<i>kamon</i>
	uwr oryay-kiy	so-ho-kwe	yier	kamon
	man two.brothers	DDEM-GL.M-TOP	place	one.CL2
	<i>mon non-wayr.</i>	<i>Yier</i>	<i>sohokwe</i>	<i>seyr</i>
	mon non-lwayr	yier	so-ho-kwe	seyr
	LOC DU-stay	place	DDEM-GL.M-TOP	and/also

uwrsa krai-ar senkin nuw-meio wayr.
uwr-sa krai-ar so-enkin nuw-meio lwayr
 man-woman strength-INTF DDEM-MAN INT-work stay
 ‘The two brothers stayed together in a certain place. As for
 that place there were also many people living and doing their
 work.’

8.7.2 New entities introduced without the numeral one

Not all new entities referred to for the first time within a discourse need to be introduced by the numeral one. A new entity only requires the numeral one if there is a need to set it apart from other possibilities. E.g. in (61) *paraw kokwe* ‘the past’ is not marked by the numeral one, since the reference is not understood to have multiple meanings. Also when a familiar setting assumes the presence of a certain entity, it does not need to be modified by the numeral one. These entities are part of a script. E.g. *pisu ko-kwe* ‘knife GL.F-TOP’ in (61), since all hunters are expected to carry a knife with them.

- (61) *Paraw kokwe Kupe hiykwe sowm*
paraw ko-kwe Kupe hiy-kwe sowm
 past GL.F-TOP Kupe 3S.M-TOP fishing.basket
pror e ley nayr. Yerki ompok hokwe,
pror e ley nayr yerki ompok ho-kwe
 place PURP go night road middle GL.M-TOP
sok aiopey hay hiykwe yerki mon hawon
sok aiopey hay hiy-kwe yerki mon hawon
 snake big very 3S.M.SUB-TOP road LOC lie
huon. Kupe hiykwe pisu kokwe meiaw
huon Kupe hiy-kwe pisu ko-kwe mei-aw
 OBJ>SUB Kupe 3S.M.SUB-TOP knife GL.F-TOP long-EMPH
mon sehe ka-nuw-sasow ha.
mon so-h-e ka-nuw-sasow ha
 LOC DDEM-3S.M-OBJ DIR:side-INT-throw OBJ<SUB
 ‘A long time ago, Kupe went out in the night to place fish
 baskets. Half way, a snake encountered him lying in the
 middle of the road. So, as for his knife, Kupe threw it far
 away.’

In (62), the first bolded noun phrase had not been referred to in the discourse, but the context only allows one possible entity for *sapa* ‘forest’. If the numeral one had been used here, it would have conveyed the meaning that the subject fled to a different forest, rather than into the surrounding forest.

The second bolded NP introduces the noun *ur* ‘vine’, which is part of the script forest. The numeral one is not used, although it could have been used. The fact that the speaker wanted to place the NP *ur hiy* ‘the vine’ in the comment part of the predication possibly impacted choices. New participants or important props are often introduced with the help of the numeral one in the topic part of the predication and not in the comment part. If a NP that hosts the numeral one is not topicalised, its function becomes blurred. It seems to both quantify and introduce new participants. The fact that the new entity is not backgrounded but foregrounded and has agent function helps to build the climax of the story.

(62) *Hoh sa sapa mon nak-hakan nok nayr.*
 hoh sa sapa mon nak-hakan nok nayr
 2/3DU then/and forest LOC ACC-flee DUR night

Keno se kokwe ur hiy way-a-way
 Keno s-e ko-kwe ur hiy way-a-way
 Keno 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP vine 3S.M tie-DUP-tie

kuayk nayr.

kuayk nayr

fall night

‘The two of them were fleeing into the forest during the night.

As for Keno, a vine tangled and tripped him in the night.’

8.7.3 Marking on previously introduced definite entities

Once an entity is introduced, the speaker has a number of reference options. In comparing first and second occurrence of entities the following differences are observed. When an introduced entity is referred to again, it occurs without the numeral *one* and it may be marked by one of the following markers:

- a. general demonstrative pronoun (63);
- b. a noun phrase with a personal pronoun as head of the NP (64);
- c. a syntactically marked NP (65).

In (63), the participants *nyo* ‘lad’ and *woyo* ‘fowl’ are introduced with the help of the numeral one. Both participants are referred to again with the help of the demonstrative topic pronoun, respectively by the masculine *sohokwe* and the feminine *sokukwe*.

- (63) *Paraw kokwe nyo prueyn hiykwe woyo-hne*
 paraw ko-kwe nyo prueyn hiy-kwe woyo-hne
 past GL.F-TOP lad one.CL1 3S.M-TOP fowl-nest
ley orowh nerie, ki sapa mon. Nyo
 ley lorowh nerie ki sapa mon nyo
 go dig morning ground forest LOC lad
sohokwe sawk woyo kamon senkin
 so-ho-kwe sawk woyo kamon so-enkin
 DDEM-GL.M-TOP CHD fowl one.CL2 DDEM-MAN
hin way nok. Woyo sokukwe yeik
 hin lway nok woyo so-ko-kwe yeik
 shoot carry DUR fowl DDEM-GL.F-TOP arrow
non hin.
 non hin
 CMT shoot
 ‘A long time ago a boy went and dug out fowl nests in the morning, in the forest. This boy shot a fowl and took it along. This fowl was shot with an arrow.’

NPs consisting of only a third person personal pronoun refer anaphorically to animate entities. In (64), *homkwe* ‘2/3PL-TOP’ refers to the known entity *ipey-aio* ‘parents’ of the previous sentence.

- (64) *Ari hiykwe ipey-aio non. Homkwe*
 Ari hiy-kwe ipey-aio non hom-kwe
 Ari 3S.M-TOP mother-father CMT 2/3PL-TOP
yier kamon aiopey hay mon non-wayr.
 yier kamon aiopey hay mon non-lwayr
 place one.CL2 big very LOC DU-stay
 ‘Ari has parents. They live in a big place.’

In (65), the entity *nwoh* ‘dog’ is introduced in the first sentence in a comitative NP marked by *non*. In the second sentence this same participant is referred to with a syntactically marked NP.

- (65) *Enekwei kamon hokwe Kupe hiykwe nwoh*
 enekwei kamon ho-kwe Kupe hiy-kwe nwoh
 time one.CL2 GL.M-TOP Kupe 3S.M-TOP dog
non hiy-ey nayr. Sawk hyo nwoh
 non hiy-ley nayr sawk hiy-o nwoh
 CMT CAUS-go night CHD 3S.M-GEN dog
hiykwe huok se lono nok.
 hiy-kwe huok s-e lono nok
 3S.M.SUB-TOP pig 3S.M-OBJ bark DUR
 ‘One day Kupe went out with his dog during the night. His
 dog was barking at a pig.’

An introduced participant might be deleted altogether:

- a. in predications in which the speaker only wants to express the object, because there is no need or desire to express the subject (see §8.6);
- b. in predications with clause sequential markers with an understood subject. See (66) and §9.5.4.

In (66), the first bolded NP introduces a new entity with the numeral *prueyn* ‘one’. In subsequent clauses with the sequential marker *nok*, the subject NP is understood and zero-marked. Below, the second sentence refers to the introduced participant with the third person personal pronoun *hiykwe*. After the sequential marker *nok* it can be deleted again. (The omitted participant is indicated by Ø.)

- (66) *Ompeys kokwe uwr prueyn hiykwe*
 ompeys ko-kwe uwr prueyn hiy-kwe
 two.days.ago GL.F-TOP man one.CL1 3S.M-TOP
Apaw mon liau nok, Ø huok kamon
 apaw mon liau nok Ø huok kamon
 Green.River LOC ascend SEQ Ø pig one.CL2

se *nakway.* ***Hiykwe*** *nakway* *nok* *nok*,
 s-e *nak-lway* *hiy-kwe* *nak-lway* *nok* *nok*
 3S.M-OBJ ACC-carry 3S.M-TOP ACC-carry DUR SEQ

Ø *yier* *mon* *ma-nak-e.*

Ø *yier* *mon* *ma-nak-le*

Ø *place* LOC RPT-ACC-come

‘A couple of days ago a man went up to Green River and bought a pig. He bought and carried it and then arrived with it in the village.’

8.8 Backgrounding, foregrounding and climax within narrative discourse

As stated before, the sentence has an obligatory comment component and is nearly always preceded by a topic component. Sentences form discourses; and within a discourse distinctions can be made between backgrounded and foregrounded sentences. The climax of a discourse has its own features.

8.8.1 Backgrounding within discourse

Backgrounding within a discourse is marked by clauses that display very little syntactic marking. Constructions without a VP (§6.2) or with the stative verb *lwak* ‘to be’ (§6.3), the use of NPs with only pragmatic marking (§3.6.1) are typical within sentences that are part of backgrounded text within a discourse. General time indications or local settings often belong in this latter group.

The four sentences in (67) are all analysed as backgrounded text. None of them contains a syntactically marked NP in the comment component of the predication. The one entity with patient role within the predication *uwrsa mo pion mokwe* ‘people’s flesh’ is not marked for object but is marked by the general topic marker. In the last sentence the agent *huok sohokwe* ‘this pig’ is not marked for subject but it is pragmatically marked by the demonstrative topic pronoun.

- (67) *Paraw paraw-ar hokwe huok seirpey*
 paraw paraw-ar ho-kwe huok seir-pey
 past past-INTF GL.M-TOP pig fierceness-ADJR
kamon senkin lwak. Hiykwe uwrsa
 kamon so-enkin lwak hiy-kwe uwr-sa
 one.CL2 DDEM-MAN be 3S.M-TOP man-woman
mo pion mokwe won non nuw-a. Hiykwe
 m-o pion mo-kwe won non nuw-la hiy-kwe
 PL-GEN meat GL.PL-TOP grease CMT INT-eat 3S.M-TOP
senkinaw lon wayr. Omok eyn sawk sa
 so-enkin-aw lon lwayr omok eyn sawk sa
 DDEM-MAN-RSTR do stay later like CHD woman
prueyn hokwaw lwak menkin, huok
 prueyn hok-kwaw lwak menkin huok
 one.CL1 3S.F-RSTR.SUB be when pig
sohokwe nuw-ey ha.
 so-ho-kwe nuw-ley ha
 DDEM-GL.M-TOP INT-go OBJ<SUB
 ‘A very long time ago there was a fierce pig. It really liked to
 eat human flesh. It just continued doing so. After some time,
 when only one woman was left, the pig went away (from
 there).’

Examples (68)-(69) are consecutive sentences from the same text. Example (68) starts with a clause formed with the stative verb *lwak* followed by a verbless clause. Two clauses are constructed with the manner adverb *senkin* which gives the clause features that are similar to verbless clauses (see §3.11.4). In (69), the change from background to foreground is signalled by the presence of the syntactic marker *hiykwe* ‘3S.M.SUB.TOP’ in the last sentence followed by the non-topicalised object NP *hyo wueir se* ‘his garden’.

In (68), the first four sentences do not have a syntactically marked NP that is part of the comment component of a predication.

- (68) **P1** **Comment**
Paraw paraw-ar kokwe, uwr prueyn
 paraw paraw-ar ko-kwe uwr prueyn
 past past-INTF GL.F-TOP man one.CL1

		P1	Comment		
<i>senkin</i>	<i>lwak.</i>	<i>Hyo</i>	<i>uru</i>	<i>hokwe</i>	<i>Kupe.</i>
so-enkin	lwak	hiy-o	uru	ho-kwe	Kupe
DDEM-MAN	be	3S.M-GEN	name	GL.M-TOP	Kupe
P1	Comment				
<i>Hiykwe</i>	<i>wueir</i>	<i>kamon</i>	<i>senkin</i>	<i>meio.</i>	
hiy-kwe	wueir	kamon	so-enkin	meio	
3S.M-TOP	garden	one.CL2	DDEM-MAN	work	
P1	Comment				
<i>Wueir</i>	<i>sohokwe</i>	<i>yier</i>	<i>ohriar</i>	<i>mon</i>	
Wueir	so-ho-kwe	yier	ohriar	mon	
garden	DDEM-GL.M-TOP	place	near	LOC	
<i>lwak pa.</i>					
lwak pa					
be NEG.PFTV					
‘A long time ago there was a man. His name was Kupe. He had made a garden. This garden was not close to the village.’					

In (69), the subject NP *hiy-kwe* ‘3S.M-TOP’ is topicalised, but the object NP following (*hyo wueir se*) is not marked for topic. The absence of topic marking and the increase of syntactically marked NPs signals the change from backgrounded text to foregrounded text within the discourse.

(69)	P2	P1=SUB		
	<i>Enekwei</i>	<i>kamon</i>	<i>hokwe,</i>	<i>hiykwe</i>
	enekwei	kamon	ho-kwe	hiy-kwe
	time	one.CL2	GL.M-TOP	3S.M.SUB-TOP
	Comment:O			
	<i>hyo</i>	<i>wueir</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>hor nok,</i>
	hiy-o	wueir	s-e	hor nok
	3S.M-GEN	garden	3S.M-OBJ	clean SEQ
	Comment:O			
	<i>ahney</i>	<i>kamon</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>lira.</i>
	ahney	kamon	s-e	lira
	bird	one.CL2	3S.M-OBJ	see
	‘One day he cleaned his garden and then he saw a bird.’			

8.8.2 Foregrounding within a narrative discourse

Foregrounded text within a discourse is marked by predications that have syntactically marked NPs within the comment component. Non-

topicalised subject NPs, and to even a larger extent non-topicalised object NPs mark foregrounded sentences. A series of sentences that have very few non-topicalised subject and object NPs are likely to be regarded as background text.

Examples (70) and (71) are consecutive sentences in the same text. In (70), the first sentence contains a non-topicalised NP object (*uwr prueysyar so okpey ke*), which could be a sign of foregrounded text. However, the other two NPs in the sentence are topic-marked and one of them is a general time reference which normally is not part of foregrounded text.

(70)	P2		P2	P1=SUB
	<i>Okpey-ok</i>	<i>okukwe</i>	<i>pokon</i>	<i>hromkwe</i>
	okpey-ok	o-ko-kwe	pokon	hrom-kwe
	story-talk	DDEM-GL.F-TOP	today	1PL.SUB-TOP
	Comment:OBJ			
	<i>uwr</i>	<i>prueysyar</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>okpey ke</i>
	uwr	prueysyar	s-o	okpey k-e
	man	two.CL1	3S.M-GEN	story 3S.F-OBJ
	<i>lonuayk ey.</i>			
	lonuayk ey			
	hear INTN			
	‘As for the story, we will hear today the story of the two brothers.’			

Example (71) does not contain any non-topicalised subject or object NPs. The two sentences in (71) are therefore analysed as backgrounded text.

(71)	P1		Comment	
	<i>Okpey</i>	<i>okukwe</i>	<i>senkin</i>	<i>mesor.</i>
	okpey	o-ko-kwe	so-enkin	me-sor
	story	PDEM-GL.F-TOP	DDEM-MAN	speak-count
	P1		Comment	
	<i>Uwr</i>	<i>oryay-kiy</i>	<i>sohokwe</i>	<i>yier</i>
	uwr	oryay-kiy	so-ho-kwe	yier
	man	older.brother-two	DDEM-GL.M-TOP	place

kamon mon non-wayr.
 kamon mon non-lwayr
 one.CL2 LOC DU-stay
 ‘The story is told like this. Those two brothers stayed in a certain place.’

Examples (72) and (73) are consecutive sentences of the same text. Example (72) contains backgrounded information. The first sentence is a construction with the adverbial modifier *senkin*. The second sentence is a verbless clause.

(72) *Seyr homkwe nwoh aiopey hay kamon*
 seyr hom-kwe nwoh aiopey hay kamon
 and/also 2/3PL-TOP dog big very one.CL2
senkin kow-a. Nwoh sohiy so
 so-enkin kow-la nwoh so-hiy s-o
 DDEM-MAN BEN-eat dog DDEM-3S.M 3S.M-GEN
uru hokwe Bulet.
 uru ho-kwe Bulet
 name GL.M-TOP Bullet
 ‘They also looked after a dog. The name of this dog is Bullet.’

In (73), the transition is made from backgrounded information to foregrounded information. The first sentence contains a NP marked for subject, but it is still topicalised. The second sentence contains the non-topicalised subject NP *Bulet hiy* ‘Bulet 3S.M.SUB’ which is syntactically marked and part of the comment component of the predication. This flags the sentence as foregrounded information.

The marking on *yokun-uwr sohokwe* ‘this thief’ is noteworthy. In the first occurrence the NP has patient role; in the second instance it has agent role. However, the NPs are not marked for subject or object; they are only marked by the demonstrative topic pronoun.

- (73) **P2** **P1=SUB**
Enekwei kamon hokwe, yokun-uwr prueyn
 enekwei kamon ho-kwe yokun-uwr prueyn
 time one GL.M-TOP theft-man one.CL1
hiykwe *le nok, Ari so a*
 hiy-kwe le nok Ari s-o a
 3S.M.SUB-TOP come SEQ Ari 3S.M-GEN house
P1
mon lyawriy. Yokun-uwr sohokwe sa
 mon lyawriy yokun-uwr so-ho-kwe sa
 LOC enter theft-man DDEM-GL.M-TOP then
Comment:SUB
Bulet hiy sehe peyk hnar
 Bulet hiy so-h-e peyk hnar
 Bullet 3S.M DDEM-3S.M-OBJ bite tear.off
P1
mahnar kuayk. Yokun-uwr sohokwe
 ma-hnar kuayk yokun-uwr so-ho-kwe
 RPT-tear.off fall theft-man DDEM-GL.M-TOP
Comment
senkin nak-weyrweyr me, “Woiow ha e,
 so-enkin nak-weyrweyr me woiow ha e
 DDEM-MAN ACC-scream speak EXCL 1S OBJ
woiow ha e.”
 woiow ha e
 EXCL 1S OBJ
 ‘One time, a thief came and entered Ari’s house. As for the thief, Bullet bit him to pieces and tripped him. The thief screamed out, “Poor me, poor me.”’

8.8.3 Climax

The climax within a discourse is marked by a decrease in the number of topicalised noun phrases and an increase in NPs that are syntactically or semantically marked.

In (74), the NP *sok hiy* ‘snake 3S.M.SUB’ refers to a new participant within the discourse. This participant is not introduced by the numeral one, although the insertion of the numeral would be grammatically

correct. In order to build the climax of the story, the new participant and the action performed are immediately foregrounded.

- (74) *How hom loun menkin, hoh*
 How hom loun menkin hoh
 taro 2/3PL.SUB cook when 3DU.SUB
non-wakiawkeyn a. Sa sok hiy lousne.
 non-wakiawkeyn la sa sok hiy lousne
 DU-sit eat then snake 3S.M.SUB appear
 ‘When the taroes were cooked, the two of them sat down and ate (them). Then a snake appeared.’

The numeral can be inserted in the last sentence of the example above. The presence of the numeral in (75) gives more emphasis to its status as an individual participant. Its effect is that it lessens the prominence given to the action performed. This type of construction does not signal the climax of a story.

- (75) *Sa sok kamon hiy lousne.*
 sa sok kamon hiy lousne
 then snake one.CL2 3S.M.SUB appear
 ‘Then a certain snake appeared.’

Three NPs are used in (76) and none of them are topicalised, but they are all marked for subject or object. The absence of topic marking on syntactically marked NPs signals the climax of the discourse.

- (76) *Hiy ma-hnuayk liok, sawk now hiy*
 hiy ma-hnuayk liok sawk now hiy
 3S.M.SUB RPT-dive in.vain CHD tree 3S.M.SUB
hyo kasaw se say huon.
 hiy-o kasaw s-e say huon
 3S.M-GEN nose 3S.M-OBJ move.PL OBJ>SUB
 ‘He dived unsuccessfully again, but a tree struck his nose with force.’

9. *Complex sentences*

Interclausal and intersentential relationships are the topic of this chapter. A simple sentence consists of one clause. Complex sentences contain two or more clauses in either coordinate (§9.3) or subordinate (§9.4) relationship. The subordinate clause is marked by a clause-final marker that is marked by a mid-level, i.e. non-final clause intonation.

These clause-final markers are not the only cohesive devices within discourse. A number of connectives or cohesion markers can occur at different places within the clause or sentence. The placement of these cohesion markers impacts their scope (§9.1). Some cohesion markers only occur clause or sentence-initially and are often separated by a pause from the rest of the clause (§9.2).

9.1 Cohesive devices operating at sentence and discourse level

The three cohesion markers *sawk*, *sa* and *seyr* are different from all the other connectors mentioned in this chapter. All other connectors occur clause-initially or clause-finally. The three cohesion markers *sawk*, *sa* and *seyr* however, can be found following a noun phrase within a clause. They are different from the cohesion markers in §9.2 which basically only occur clause-initially. The three cohesion markers can also occur in main clauses, as well as in subordinate clauses. This is different from the conjunctions described in §9.3 which only join main clauses and different from the conjunctions in §9.4 which only occur in subordinate clauses in clause-final position.

These three cohesion markers have the same distribution, occurring clause-initially or after a NP. The following observations can be made for all three markers:

- a. When the cohesion marker occurs clause-initially, it takes the previous clause(s) into its scope. The cohesion marker relates the

clause it is part of with the previous clause for the particular type of cohesion the marker represents.

- b. When the cohesion marker follows a NP, it takes that NP into its scope. The cohesion marker relates this NP with the predication that follows the NP for the particular type of cohesion the marker represents.

Example (1) demonstrates that conjunctions and cohesion markers are not mutually exclusive, since a cohesion marker like *sa* can follow a conjunction like *menkin* ‘when’.

- (1) *Hiy yier kamon ko se ma-le*
 hiy yier kamon k-o s-e ma-le
 3S.M place one 3S.F-GEN 3S.M-OBJ RPT-come
menkin, sa siowp nuw-okrue.
 menkin sa siowp nuw-lokrue
 when then/and intestines INT-die
 ‘When he had come back from a certain village, he then was hungry.’

9.1.1 Cohesion marker *sawk* as developmental marker

The cohesion marker *sawk* sometimes expresses a contrastive relationship between clauses or sentences. However, many occurrences of *sawk* have been observed which cannot be translated by ‘but’. It is more accurate to say that the cohesion marker *sawk* marks a change of direction (CHD) from previously given information. Direction here is not to be understood in a geographical sense, but as coherency in the stream of continuing communication. The marker *sawk* is used when the speaker wants to mark a change in focus in the developing stream of his communication. The change referred to can be a major departure from the previous communication or simply a minor adjustment in focus. The cohesion marker *sawk* is analysed as a developmental marker based on the description of Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:93):

Whereas connectives like *and* and some additives instruct the hearer to associate information together, some conjunctions convey the opposite and constrain the reader to move onto the next point. We will call these connectives developmental markers because they indicate that the material so marked represents a new development in the story or argument, as far as the author's purpose is concerned.

The cohesion marker *sawk* represents a new step or development in the author's story or argument. It takes into its scope the previous phrase if it follows a NP, and the previous clause/sentence if it occurs clause-initially. The predication that follows contains the change in direction that furthers the development of the author's story or argument.

In (2), the first *sawk* occurs clause-initially and therefore takes into its scope the preceding clause(s). The development marker *sawk* marks the whole clause; it is part of as a new development within the story line. The second *sawk* occurs after the NP *Kupe hiykwe* 'Kupe 3S.M-TOP' and therefore its scope is restricted to this noun phrase. The change in direction is a change in focus: The author marks this NP as the major participant who will play a role in the further development of the story line.

- (2) *Aio hiykwe yeyk non hiok nerie. Hiy*
 aio hiy-kwe yeyk non hiok nerie hiy
 father 3S.M-TOP canoe CMT paddle morning 3S.M
urayh sok nuw-wak liok, sawk
 urayh sok nuw-lwak liok sawk
 upstream.land EXCT INT-be in.vain CHD
hyekwe Kupe hiykwe serey
 hiy-e-kwe Kupe hiy-kwe so-rey
 3S.M-OBJ-TOP Kupe 3S.M.SUB-TOP DDEM-there
wakiawk ira huon. Kupe hiykwe sawk
 wakiawk lira huon Kupe hiy-kwe sawk
 sit see OBJ>SUB Kupe 3S.M-TOP CHD

hye *sehe* *me* *kow* *huon*,
 hiy-e so-h-e me kow huon
 3S.M-OBJ DDEM-3S.M-OBJ speak BEN OBJ>SUB

“*Ara, hunkwe perey ley ley?*”
 ara hwon-kwe perey ley ley
 ADDR.M 2S-TOP Q-place go INCH

‘Father took off by canoe in the morning. He had not yet made it to the upstream part (of the village), but Kupe sat there and saw him coming. Kupe now called to him (= father) coming towards him (= Kupe), “Man, where are you going?”’

As can be expected, the usage of *sawk* increases in frequency when the speaker wants to convey a rapid succession of changing or dramatic events, or when the speaker comes to the climax of his story, as in (3) and (4). By contrast, procedural texts and descriptive texts lacking a climactic structure often have been found without a single occurrence of *sawk*. (See examples in §11.3 and §11.4.)

Texts with action narratives evidence many occurrences of the word *sawk*. In (3) and (4), the connective *sawk* occurs four times. The first occurrence of *sawk* only takes the NP *hohkwe* ‘3DU-TOP’ into its scope. The other three occurrences of *sawk* are clause-initial and they take the previous clause(s) into their scope.

It is not simple to give an adequate free translation of the four occurrences of *sawk* in (3) and (4). A translation for *sawk* is further complicated when it co-occurs in the same clause with the cohesion marker *sa* and the adverbial causal demonstrative *sehe*, as in (4). The underlined object demonstrative *sehe* preceding the verb phrase expresses a logical consequence relationship (§4.4.3). The underlined marker *sa* (§9.1.2) is another connective that also helps to further the development of the story. It has a temporal function.

- (3) *Hohkwe sawk sehe ma-non-nakey*
 hoh-kwe sawk so-h-e ma-non-nak-ley
 3DU-TOP CHD DDEM-3S-OBJ RPT-DU-ACC-go
kie. Sawk man non loway
 kie sawk man non loway
 go.downstream CHD crayfish CMT scoop
sakeyn kie.
 sakeyn kie
 throw.in.water go.downstream
 ‘So consequently the two of them now went back going
 downstream. And/but they threw out (the hooks) with the
 crayfish (being) downstream.’
- (4) *Sawk hyo wayh-ih Peni so huk*
 sawk hiy-o wayh-ih Peni s-o huk
 CHD 3S.M-GEN friend-KIN Peni 3S.M-GEN hook
hokwe, man aiopey hay ke hin.
 ho-kwe man aiopey hay k-e hin
 GL.M-TOP crayfish big very 3S.F-OBJ shoot
Sawk Jon hiykwe sa sehe
 sawk Jon hiy-kwe sa so-h-e
 CHD Jon 3S.M.SUB-TOP then/and DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
am-saw-uwray nekie liok.
 am-saw-luway nekie liok
 DIR:near-SPD-pull hold in.vain
 ‘But the hook of his friend Peni caught a big crayfish. And
 consequently Jon now tried - unsuccessfully - to pull it in very
 quickly.’

9.1.2 Sequential cohesion marker *sa*

The cohesion marker *sa* indicates sequential cohesion between two events. It encodes temporal succession. The sequencing *sa* expresses is not related to contrast or change in focus or direction, but to the iconic order of the events in the real world.

When *sa* occurs after a NP, it takes this NP into its scope and highlights its importance as participant in the subsequent action. In (5), the connective *sa* is placed after the NP *homkwe* ‘2/3PL.TOP’. The connective takes this NP into its scope and marks its importance as a

participant in the event following. The connective itself sequences the two events mentioned in the two sentences.

- (5) *Ipey-aio homkwe sawk kar ley pa.*
 ipey-aio hom-kwe sawk kar ley pa
 mother-father 2/3PL-TOP CHD gladness go NEG.PFTV
Homkwe sa eheyr lyuk, hmo
 hom-kwe sa eheyr lyuk hom-o
 2/3PL-TOP then/and crying cry 2/3PL-GEN
ney se.
 ney s-e
 child 3S.M-OBJ
 'The parents were not happy. Then they mourned for their child.'

When *sa* occurs clause or sentence-initially, it encodes temporal succession.

Example (6) contains the sequential cohesion marker *sa* twice. It marks the event in the clause it is part of as subsequent to the event mentioned in the previous clause.

- (6) *Kenu hiykiaw seyr pa po ley, wueir*
 Kenu hiy-kiaw seyr pa po ley wueir
 Kenu 3S.M-SLCT and/also CUR PFT go garden
mon kokwe. Sa Jon hiykwe yoh
 mon ko-kwe sa Jon hiy-kwe yoh
 LOC GL.F-TOP then/and Jon 3S.M-TOP banana
se lok liok. Sa Kenu hiykiaw
 s-e lok liok sa Kenu hiy-kiaw
 3S.M-OBJ move in.vain then/and Kenu 3S.M-SLCT
sehe le nok, lira, yokun-uwr se.
 so-h-e le nok lira yokun-uwr s-e
 DDEM-3S.M-OBJ come SEQ see theft-man 3S.M-OBJ
 '(Context: Jon had already secretly gone to Kenu's garden)
 Kenu himself had also left for the garden. Then Jon tried -
 unsuccessfully - to take away bananas. So then Kenu himself
 came and saw the thief.'

It is worthwhile to compare the sequential cohesion marker *sa* with the clause-final sequential marker *nok* (§9.5.4). Whereas the cohesion

marker *sa* can be used when there is a change of subject, the sequential conjunction marker *nok* can only be used to describe a series of events when there is no change of subject. The sequential marker *sa* is used in two different clauses in (6) and both clauses host a subject that is different from the previous clause. The sequential marker *nok* is used once to connect two clauses which both have the same subject, though the subject is only expressed in the first clause.

Example (7) illustrates the same point. The conjunction marker *nok* connects two clauses with the same subject. The sequential cohesion marker *sa* starts a clause which has a different subject than the preceding clause.

- (7) *How hom loum menkin, ine-ih hok or*
 how hom loum menkin ine-ih hok or
 taro 2/3PL burn when sister-KIN 3S.F blackness
me lowr say nok, liwak a. Sa
 m-e lowr say nok liwak la sa
 PL-OBJ scrape off SEQ sit eat then/and
sok hiy lousne.
 sok hiy lousne
 snake 3S.M.SUB appear
 ‘When the taros were cooked, the sister scraped off the black
 (burned parts) and then sat down to eat. Then a snake
 appeared.’

9.1.3 Addition cohesion marker *seyr*

Like *sawk* and *sa*, the cohesion marker *seyr* occurs clause-initially or following a NP. It expresses added or extended information, and can often be translated in English by ‘also’ or ‘as well’. The added information is not time oriented. It supplies more information about an already introduced participant. This information will never contradict what was already known.

In (8), a town is described as having a large number of people. The description of the town is extended. The cohesion marker *seyr* is followed by the comment *ki ko yeyk mokwe kraiar* ‘a large number of cars’. This does not contradict the information already given about the town, but is in harmony with it.

- (8) *Rabaul hokwe yier aiopey hay, uwrsa*
 Rabaul ho-kwe yier aiopey hay uwr-sa
 Rabaul GL.M-TOP place big very man-woman
kraiar. Seyr ki ko yeyk
 kraiar seyr ki k-o yeyk
 many and/also ground 3S.F-GEN canoe
mokwe kraiar.
 mo-kwe kraiar
 GL.PL-TOP many
 ‘Rabaul is very big, there are many people. And also many cars.’

In (9), the connective *seyr* takes the NP *now hokwe* (tree) it follows into its scope. The tree was already introduced in the text. The predication that follows the cohesion marker *seyr* gives additional information about the tree.

- (9) *Hom sawk now mon lokuan liok, menki*
 hom sawk now mon lokuan liok menki
 2/3PL CHD tree LOC cross.water in.vain other.shore
mon liau ha e. Now hokwe
 mon liau ha e now ho-kwe
 LOC ascend OBJ<SUB PURP tree GL.M-TOP
seyr sopruw.
 seyr sopruw
 and/also rotten
 ‘They tried without success to cross the tree to get to the other side. As for the tree now, it was rotten.’

9.2 Clause-initial cohesive markers

The markers in §9.2 can only occur clause-initially, with the exception of *seseyn* (§9.2.3) which can occur both clause-initially and clause-finally.

9.2.1 Projected logical consequence

Suw occurs at the beginning of a main clause to indicate projected logical consequence which will take place under certain future conditions as indicated by the speaker. *Suw* is not used in sentences referring to the

past. It often co-occurs with a subordinate clause marked with *ankin*, as is demonstrated in (10) and (11).

- (10) *Hrorkwe senkin non-on ankin, suw yaprue-ar.*
 hror-kwe so-enkin non-lon ankin suw yaprue-ar
 1DU-TOP DDEM-MAN DU-do if/when then good-INTF
 ‘If the two of us do it like that, then that’s good.’
- (11) *Hiykwe hreme nion noney lopa lwak ankin,*
 hiy-kwe hrom-e nion non-ley lopa lwak ankin
 3S.M-TOP 1PL-OBJ with DU-go NEG be if/when
suw seyr hakwe liy noney ley.
 suw seyr ha-kwe liy non-ley korey
 then and/also 1S-TOP DYN DU-go NEG
 ‘If he is not going with us, then I cannot go along either.’

The marker *suw* can also occur in a sentence without a conditional subordinate clause marked by *ankin*. However, its use still assumes that certain conditions will need to be met in order for the projected logical consequence to take place.

In (12), the action of raising a cat, has as its projected consequence getting rid of rats.

- (12) *Hunkwe wompow me lo pror kawk*
 hwon-kwe wompow m-e lo pror kawk
 2S-TOP rat PL-OBJ shoot drop.dead put.inside
e mon ankin, peyr pusi kamon kwa lway mno.
 e mon ankin peyr pusi kamon kwa lway mno
 OBJ do if/when firstly cat one HOR carry raise
Suw hno pusi hokwe hne liy hiy-mon.
 suw hwon-o pusi hok-kwe hwon-e liy hiy-mon
 then 2S-GEN cat 3S.F.SUB-TOP 2S-OBJ DYN CAUS-do
 ‘If you want to catch and kill rats, you should first raise a cat.
 Then your cat will be able to help you.’

One might wonder if *suw* is the non-topic-marked form of the deictic set represented by *sohokwe*. The fact that the connective refers anaphorically to the previous clause seems to speak in favour of this analysis. This analysis has not been accepted though, since the phonological shift from *so* to *suw* is hard to explain. Secondly, the fact

that its function is logical consequence, rather than just reference is also somewhat puzzling.

9.2.2 Discourse cohesion markers *sei* and *hai*

The cohesion markers *sei* and *hai* are similar in distribution. They occur clause-initially and are often set apart by a pause from the rest of the clause. They are also semantically very similar. Their use not only validates the sentence or discourse that went before as true, it also views it as completed. The function of the cohesion markers is to bring closure to what went before and to initiate a new starting point for the evolving discourse. Some speakers use the two markers interchangeably, although others feel they should be distinguished. Based on the observations of the latter group the following distinctions are noted:

- a. *Sei* ‘all right’ often expresses agreement to an already known or anticipated plan of action, while *hai* ‘O.K.’ may introduce or suggest a yet unknown or not expected plan of action.
- b. *Sei* is mostly used in direct speech and not in descriptive texts.
- c. *Hai* ‘O.K.’ is often used in questions.
- d. *Hai* is also often used in procedural text introducing new steps or activities. (Some speakers will use *sei* in procedural texts as well.)

Sei ‘all right’ often expresses agreement as can be seen in (13) and (14).

- (13) *Aio hiy me, “Ara, hakwe hano lian*
aio hiy me ara ha-kwe han-o lian
 father 3S.M speak ADDR.M 1S-TOP 1S-GEN own
se meio, hunkwe hno lian se
s-e meio hwon-kwe hwon-o lian s-e
 3S.M-OBJ work 2S-TOP 2S-GEN own 3S.M-OBJ
meio.” Ney hiy me, “Sei, ok lopa.”
meio ney hiy me sei ok lopa
 work child 3S.M speak alright talk NEG
 ‘Father said, “Man, I build my own one and you build your
 own one.” The son answered, “All right, no problem.”’

- (14) *Aio hiy me, "Hrorkwe pokon kokwe ahney*
aio hiy me hrorkwe pokon ko-kwe ahney
 father 3S.M speak 1DU-TOP today GL.F-TOP bird
ki non-anio kok ey." Ha ma-sahre me,
ki non-lanio kok ey ha ma-sahre me
 ground DU-walk day.time INTN 1S RPT-return speak
aio se, "Sei, mo kwahnaw ley e."
aio s-e sei mo kwahnaw ley e
 father 3S.M-OBJ alright EMPH HOR.should go OBJ.IMP
 'Father said, "As for today, the two of us will go hunt birds."
 I answered my father, "All right, let's go for it."

Hai occurs sentence-initially and gives special focus and importance to the sentence it precedes. It is used in conversation to request special attention for the statement it introduces. It is often used in questions as in (15).

- (15) *Aio hiy mesopok, "Hai, homkwe penkin lon*
aio hiy me-sopok hai hom-kwe po-enkin lon
 father 3S.M speak-ask O.K. 2/3PL-TOP Q-MAN do
kok mo?"
kok mo
 day.time Q.SP.PFTV.PL
 'Father asked, "OK, what did you do today?"'

Speakers disagree on whether or not *sei* and *hai* can be used interchangeably. Some speakers feel strongly that *sei* can be only used in direct speech. They would regard the substitution of *hai* in (16) with the marker *sei* as incorrect language use.

- (16) *Mu mokwe penkin mon hre mo?*
mu mo-kwe po-enkin mon hre mo
 crocodile GL.PL-TOP Q-MAN do turn.into Q.SP.PFTV.M
Hiykwe peyr senkin lon, peyr yorho
hiy-kwe peyr so-enkin lon peyr yorho
 3S.M-TOP firstly DDEM-MAN do firstly lizard.sp
se nekie way nok, mu kamon se
s-e nekie lway nok mu kamon s-e
 3S.M-OBJ hold carry SEQ crocodile one 3S.M-OBJ

mon hre won. Hai, hiykwe sapa mon
 mon hre won hai hiy-kwe sapa mon
 do turn.into lie O.K. 3S.M-TOP forest LOC
ma-ley nok, sawk kwekwe-ney se pawk ira.
 ma-ley nok sawk kwekwe-ney s-e pawk lira
 RPT-go SEQ CHD lizard.sp-small 3S.M-OBJ search see
 ‘How were crocodiles created? First he (= the ancestor) did
 like this, he took a *yorho*-lizard and turned it into a crocodile.
 OK, then he went into the forest and looked for a
kwekwe-lizard.’

9.2.3 Accordance cohesion marker (*seseyn*)

The cohesive marker *seseyn* can be paraphrased as ‘it was done as was said’. It occurs sentence-initially and is often set apart from the rest of the clause by a pause. This marker takes into its scope previous discourse and relates it to the predicate following, marking this predicate in accordance with the discourse that went before. *Seseyn* is always followed by a distinctive pause. In (17), *seseyn* refers back to a single sentence:

- (17) *Hom me, “Har homkwe howk ke hrou*
hom me har hom-kwe howk k-e hrou
2/3PL speak some 2/3PL-TOP lake 3S.F-OBJ stir.up
naruok e.” Seseyn, uwr har homkwe
naruok e seseyn uwr har hom-kwe
ANTCP PURP accordingly man some 2/3PL-TOP
howk ke hrou naruok.”
howk k-e hrou naruok
lake 3S.F-OBJ stir.up wait
 ‘They said, “Some should stir up the lake water in
 preparation. It was done accordingly, some men stirred up the
 lake in preparation.”’ (Context: Part of the group goes out
 before the others to start the process of stirring up poison in
 the water to kill the fish. The rest of the group joins in later
 when the poison starts to take effect.)

In (18), *seseyn* occurs sentence-initially. It takes into its scope the previous sentence, and connects it to the predication following, marking the latter in accordance with the former.

- (18) *Hiy me, sah-nawp ke, "Hunkwe anwaw*
hiy me sah-nawp k-e hwon-kwe anwaw
 3S.M speak woman-old 3S.F-OBJ 2S-TOP sleep
kwa lian, hakwe inaw liwak ey."
kwa liawon ha-kwe inaw liwak ey
 HOR lie.down 1S-TOP alive sit INTN
Seseyn, *sah-nawp hokwe senkin meio.*
seseyn sah-nawp hok-kwe so-enkin meio
 accordingly woman-old 3S.F-TOP DDEM-MAN work
 'He said to his good old wife, "You lie down and sleep, I will
 watch." It was done accordingly, his good old wife did so.'

The cohesive marker *seseyn* can also occur sentence-finally in clauses without a verb phrase. This construction is not completely similar to the regular verbless clause, since a clause with a final *seseyn* does not contain a topicalised constituent.

The last sentence of example (18) above is shortened into a verbless clause in (19). The cohesive marker *seseyn* still relates the previous discourse with the predication it is part of. The place of the cohesion marker has changed from clause-initial to clause-final. It occurs in a verbless clause which could be viewed as a verbless clause with *seseyn* as the comment constituent. However, the initial NP *sah-nawp hok* is not a topic marked constituent. The subject pronoun *hok* actually requires a VP. Therefore it might be better to analyse this as a clause with a deleted verb phrase. The verb phrase can be supplied from the previous sentence (in this case *meio* 'work') or needs to be a verb that relates preceding discourse in agreement with the statement *seseyn* occurs in.

- (19) *Sah-nawp hok seseyn.*
sah-nawp hok seseyn
 woman-old 3S.F.SUB accordingly
 'His good old wife did so.'

Example (20) demonstrates a similar construction. The marker *seseyn* anaphorically refers to the preceding unit of discourse and expresses agreement between the clause it occurs in and the preceding discourse. *Seseyn* occurs clause-finally in a verbless clause *hoh seseyn* '3DU.Sub accordingly' which does not contain a topic marked constituent. The subject pronoun *hoh* suggests that the VP has been deleted from the clause.

- (20) *Wayp hiy areysie ke me, “Akwa,*
wayp hiy areysie k-e me akwa
 eagle 3S.M small.bird 3S.F-OBJ speak ADDR.F
hrorkwe hroro ki-wayr-om mon liy
hror-kwe hror-o ki-lwayr-om mon liy
 1DU-TOP 1DU-GEN ground-stay-place LOC DYN
non-ey wayr nayr o?” Areysie hok
non-ley lwayr nayr o areysie hok
 DU-go stay night Q.SP.IPFTV small.bird 3S.F
me, “Ok lopa, sa pay ok ke
me ok lopa sa po-ay ok k-e
 speak talk NEG then/and Q-what talk 3S.F-OBJ
ma-lohruw a ley.” Hoh seseyn.
ma-lohruw la korey hoh seseyn
 RPT-talk eat NEG 3DU.SUB accordingly
 ‘The eagle said to the small bird, “Woman, can we go and
 hunt together nightly in our hunting area?” The small bird
 said, “No problem (lit. no talk), nothing else needs to be said
 about this.” The two of them did likewise.’

Seseyn occurs clause-finally in the last sentence of (20). It can occur clause-initially if the clause contains a verb phrase, as is demonstrated in (21).

- (21) ***Seseyn,*** *hohkwe senkin lon.*
seseyn hoh-kwe s-enkin lon
 accordingly 2DU.SUB-TOP DDEM-MAN do
 ‘It was done accordingly, the two of them did so.’

9.3 Coordination of clauses

Relationships between clauses are either coordinate or subordinate. Section §9.3 details coordinate relationships and §9.4 deals with subordinate main clausal relationships. Subordinate clauses that are embedded in NPs or function as a nominal complement are detailed in §6.6. They are not included in this discussion.

Coordination in sentences is indicated by mostly two and sometimes more juxtaposed clauses. These clauses have a similar intonation pattern and could be interchanged without any change in intonation pattern or

grammatical features. The linking device between these juxtaposed clauses is often only a pause, sometimes it is a marker, which can be deleted. (This is in sharp contrast with the features of a subordinated clause which has obligatory clause-final marking and exhibits a clause-final intonation that differs greatly from the main clause's intonation.)

Coordinate clauses do not have a clause-final marker bound intonationally to the clause. If a marker occurs, it is separated from the clauses it intervenes by pauses. (The pause preceding the marker is normally longer than the pause following.)

Coordinate clauses are constructed as follows:

- a. Coordinate clauses which are juxtaposed with no marking (§9.3.1).
- b. Alternative clauses which are broken up by the intervening alternative marker *o* 'or' (§9.3.2).
- c. Reason clauses which are broken up by the intervening interrogative *payhokuaw* 'why/because' (§9.3.3).

9.3.1 Juxtaposed coordinate clauses

In (22), the two bolded alternatives have been juxtaposed without a conjunction as marked by \emptyset . It is possible to insert the alternative marker *o* 'or' in this slot.

- (22) *Hroro ney hokwe awia **po lo pak**,*
 hror-o ney hok-kwe awia po lo pak
 1DU-GEN child 3S.F.SUB-TOP enemy PFT shoot DUB
***po lokrue pak.** Hrorkwe nonkway lwak pey.*
 po lokrue pak hror-kwe nonkway lwak pey
 PFV die DUB 1DU-TOP know be NEG.IPFTV
 'Our daughter, the enemy might have shot her, or, she might have died. The two us do not know.'

In (23), the two bolded clauses are juxtaposed and only separated by a pause.

- (23) *Aio hiy me, "Ara, **hakwe hano***
 aio hiy me ara ha-kwe han-o
 father 3S.M speak ADDR.M 1S-TOP 1S-GEN

lian se meio, hunkwe hno lian
 lian s-e meio hwon-kwe hwon-o lian
 own 3S.M-OBJ work 2S-TOP 2S-GEN own

se meio.”
 s-e meio
 3S.M-OBJ work
 ‘Father said, “Man, I build my own one and you build your
 own one.”’

9.3.2 Use of the alternative marker *o*

Alternatives are not only expressed by juxtaposed main clauses. Alternatives, especially when treated as a non-exhaustive list, can be an unlimited number of main clauses, which are broken up by the intervening marker *o* ‘or’.

Example (24) was taken from a graduation speech where the speaker explained why not everyone passed the exam. The bolded alternative marker *o* ‘or’ separates the two alternatives mentioned. This marker *o* occurs between the clauses and is intonationally not part of either clause. The use of the alternative marker *o* in oral texts is relatively rare. Like *payhokuaw* in the next section, a pause precedes and follows the marker *o*, setting it apart from the two clauses it joins.

- (24) *Homkwe sawk pese nan o, hmo*
 hom-kwe sawk pese nan o hom-o
 2/3PL-TOP CHD PROH think/like NEG.SP 2/3PL-GEN
- uron mokwe, ha mon piap-ay, o, tisa hom*
 uron mo-kwe ha mon piap-ay o tisa hom
 heart GL.PL-TOP 1S do bad-PL or teacher 2/3PL
- eksem-pepa me mon piapay, o, yaprue*
 eksem-pepa m-e mon piapay o yaprue
 exam-paper PL-OBJ do badly or good
- hiymon sor-a-sor popriy pa.*
 hiy-mon sor-a-sor popriy pa
 CAUS-do count-DUP-count good NEG.PFTV
 ‘Do not think in your heart that I cheated or that the teachers
 fouled up the exam papers or that (they) did not teach well.’

This marker might have become part of the language through the influence of Tok Pisin. Its intonation pattern has no counterpart elsewhere. The vowel is drawn out and often preceded (and sometimes even followed) by an unusually long pause that might simply be there to give the speaker sufficient time to formulate the next alternative.

It is noteworthy that the alternative marker *o* can be added to example (22) but not to (23). The first example can be thought of as a list that could be added to with other possible alternatives regarding the one referent (i.e. the daughter) discussed. The second example has two referents (i.e. father and son) and the two alternatives given state what each referent specifically will do. The use of the alternative marker would be incorrect in such a context.

9.3.3 Use of *payhokuaw*

There are no structural or intonational clause changes when one relates two clauses to each other by inserting the interrogative *payhokuaw* between them. This interrogative has the semantic force of 'because' and is preceded and followed by a marked pause.

In the two examples below one can simply delete the interrogative *payhokuaw* 'because' without causing change to the intonation patterns of each of the two clauses. The meaning of the sentence can still be understood if the listener can make the deduction that the second clause must express the reason for the main idea in the first clause.

- (25) *Hakwe nuw-hok, payhokuaw,*
 ha-kwe nuw-hok po-ay-ho-kuaw
 1S.SUB-TOP INT-fear Q-what-GL.M-for.reason.of
Rabaul hokwe yier aiopey hay.
 Rabaul ho-kwe yier aiopey hay
 Rabaul GL.M-TOP place big very
 'I was really afraid, because, Rabaul is a very big place.'

- (26) *Hakwe aiai la hain lopa,*
 ha-kwe aiai la hain lopa
 1S-TOP food eat SUB<OBJ NEG
payhokuaw, hakwe
 po-ay-ho-kuaw ha-kwe
 Q-what-GL.M-for.reason.of 1S-TOP
arawh-aw nuw-ey nerie.
 arawh-aw nuw-ley nerie
 night-RSTR INT-go morning
 ‘I did not eat when (I) departed, because I went really early
 (when it was still) night.’

This double use of the interrogative is comparable to the Papua New Guinean trade language, Tok Pisin, where the interrogative *bilong wanem* ‘why’ is also used in the meaning of both ‘why’ and ‘because’. It is not clear if this similar use of the Abau *payhokuaw* is the result of exposure to Tok Pisin, but both uses of *payhokuaw* are frequently observed and widely accepted both in written and oral expression.

9.4 Object complement clauses encoding purpose

Purpose can be expressed by an embedded clause marked by the purpose marker *e*, or, less frequently, by an object NP immediately preceding a verb phrase that contains a motion verb.

The latter construction is shown in (27). The NP *hmo ai la enekwei se* consists of an object NP modified by the embedded clause *ai la*. The head of the noun phrase *enekwei* ‘time’ is marked by the singular masculine object marker *se*. The object noun phrase cannot have the role of patient within a clause that has a VP that consists of an intransitive motion verb (*le* ‘come’). The object NP does not have the role of patient but of purpose.

- (27) *Uwrsa lowpwarowp homkwe hmo*
 uwr-sa lowpwarowp hom-kwe hom-o
 man-woman all 2/3PL-TOP 2/3PL-GEN
ai la enekwei se po nuw-e.
 ai la enekwei s-e po nuw-le
 food eat time 3S.M-OBJ PFT INT-come
 ‘All the people had arrived for their food-eating time.’

The purpose clause occurs more frequently. It is analysed as a predicate complement clause which is embedded in the main clause. It also precedes the VP that consists of one or more intransitive verbs. The complement purpose clause modifies the VP it precedes. The modifying purpose clause has its own verb phrase and is always marked by the clause-final object complementiser *e*.

The embedded purpose clause can contain its own internal object as in (28) or consist of just a single verb as in (29).

In (28), the NP object *huk* ‘hook’ in the underlined purpose clause is not marked for topic or object, since it is an incorporated noun (see §3.11.1). The purpose clause is a predicate complement to the main clause verb *ley* ‘go’.

- (28) *Hohkwe sawk ki-mawk kamon mon*
 hoh-kwe sawk ki-mawk kamon mon
 3DU-TOP CHD ground-area one.CL2 LOC
huk non-sakeyn e ley.
 huk non-sakeyn e ley
 hook DU-throw.in.water PURP go
 ‘The two of them went to a peninsula in order to throw out hooks.’

In (29), the underlined purpose clause consists of just the VP.

- (29) *Hyo sah hok me, uwr-uh*
 hiy-o sa-uh hok me uwr-ih
 3S.M-GEN woman-KIN 3S.F.SUB speak man-KIN
se, “Ara, hano man mokwe
 s-e ara han-o man mo-kwe
 3S.M-OBJ ADDR.M 1S-GEN crayfish GL.PL-TOP
la e loway pa.”
 la e loway pa
 eat PURP scoop NEG.PFTV
 ‘His wife said to the husband, “Man, I did not scoop crayfish for the purpose of eating them.”’

It is important to note that this objective marker *e* does not exclusively occur in complement clauses but also in main clauses as is illustrated in the two examples below.

In (30), the clause-final objective marker *e* occurs in two different clauses. The objective marker *e* marks the clause for imperative with an adhortative flavour (see §7.1). Adhortative mood does not have the force of a command; it is rather an appeal to find a mutually agreeable plan of action.

- (30) *Sawk prueyn hiy me, “Ki lous e,*
 sawk prueyn hiy me ki lous e
 CHD one 3S.M speak ground chase OBJ.IMP
huok-pruam hin samapowr a e.”
 huok-pruam hin samapowr la e
 pig-cassowary shoot hunt eat OBJ.IMP
 ‘But one man said, “Let’s chase them, let’s hunt down and eat
 pigs and cassowaries.”’

In a similar way in (31), the clause-final objective marker *e* marks the clause for adhortative imperative.

- (31) *Ha ma-sahre me, “Ohow, hakwe senkin*
 ha ma-sahre me ohow ha-kwe so-enkin
 1S RPT-return speak no 1S-TOP DDEM-MAN
nan, yier mon-aw ma-non-ey e.
 nan yier mon-aw ma-non-ley e
 think place LOC-RSTR RPT-DU-go OBJ
 ‘I replied, “No, I think that we should return to the village.
 (Or: I think, let’s go back to the village.)”’

As already demonstrated above, the clause-final object marker *e* ‘OBJ’ is widely used to mark embedded clauses that express purpose. The semantic meaning of the main verb modified by the complement clause allows for various expressions of purpose, e.g. volition, desire, goal, intention, etc.

Volition or desire is expressed by an object complement clause marked by *e* ‘OBJ’ preceding the verb *nan* ‘think’ (32) or by preceding the verb *mon* ‘do, make’ (33).

- (32) *Enekwei kamon hokwe, uwr prueyn hiykwe*
 enekwei kamon ho-kwe uwr prueyn hiy-kwe
 time one GL.M-TOP man one 3S.M-TOP
sapa mon ley e nan.
 sapa mon ley e nan
 forest LOC go PURP think/like
 ‘One day a certain man thought (= wanted) to go to the forest.’
- (33) *Hiykwe kiaw lowk meio e mon.*
 hiy-kwe kiaw lowk meio e mon
 3S.M-TOP drum cut work PURP do/plan
 ‘He planned (= wanted) to make a drum.’

Goal is expressed by an object complement clause marked by *e* ‘OBJ’ preceding any motion verb like *ley* ‘go’ (34) or *hiok* ‘paddle’ (35) or *loway* ‘scoop’ (36).

- (34) *Enekwei kamon hokwe hano aio hiykwe*
 enekwei kamon ho-kwe han-o aio hiy-kwe
 time one GL.M-TOP 1S-GEN father 3S.M-TOP
now lowk e ley nays.
 now lowk e ley nays
 tree cut PURP go night
 ‘One day my father went out in order to cut down trees while it was still dark.’
- (35) *Enekwei kamon hokwe uwrsa lowpwarowp*
 enekwei kamon ho-kwe uwr-sa lowpwarowp
 time one GL.M-TOP man-woman all
homkwe masi lorowh e hiok.
 hom-kwe masi lorowh e hiok
 2/3PL-TOP vine dig PURP paddle
 ‘One day all the people paddled upstream in order dig out (poisonous) vines.’

- (36) *Hokwe man mokwe la e loway pa.*
 hok-kwe man mo-kwe la e loway pa
 3S.F-TOP crayfish GL.PL-TOP eat PURP scoop NEG.PFTV
Hokwe huk sakeyn e loway.
 hok-kwe huk sakeyn e loway
 3S.F-TOP hook throw.in.water PURP scoop
 ‘She did not scoop (her net) for crayfish in order to eat them.
 She scooped (her net) in order (to have bait) to throw out
 fishing hooks.’

9.4.1 Object complement clauses

It is possible to modify the head of a noun phrase with an embedded clause that consists of an object complement clause plus the verb modified by the complement clause. In order to demonstrate this a basic object noun phrase is given in (37).

- (37) *Hiykwe sawk sa-sokruan prueyn ke lira.*
 hiy-kwe sawk sa-sokruan prueyn k-e lira
 3S.M-TOP CHD woman-young one 3S.F-OBJ see
 ‘He saw a young woman.’

A noun phrase can be modified by an adjectival clause that marks simultaneous or current action (§6.6.5). In (38), the underlined adjectival clause *hok le* ‘3S.F come’ modifies the head of the noun phrase *sa-sokruan* ‘young woman’.

- (38) *Hiykwe sawk sa-sokruan prueyn hok le ke lira.*
 hiy-kwe sawk sa-sokruan prueyn hok le
 3S.M-TOP CHD woman-young one 3S.F come
 ke lira.
 k-e lira
 3S.F-OBJ see
 ‘He saw a young woman coming.’

In (39), the object complement clause *hu lows e* is embedded within the adjectival clause *hok le*. The complement clause modifies the embedded clause for purpose. The noun phrase marker *ke* continues to agree in gender and number with the head of the noun phrase *sa-sokruan* ‘woman-young’.

- (39) *Hiykwe sawk sa-sokruan prueyn*
 hiy-kwe sawk sa-sokruan prueyn
 3S.M-TOP CHD woman-young one
hok hu lows e le ke lira.
 hok hu lows e le k-e lira
 3S.F water collect PURP come 3S.F-OBJ see
 ‘He saw a young woman coming to get water.’

9.5 Subordinate clause relating to the main clause

A subordinate clause precedes the main clause unless it is placed in P3 position which is relatively rare. A subordinate clause contrasts with the main clause in two areas.

- a. *Intonation.* A subordinate clause does not have a sentence final clause contour but ends with a mid-level tone that anticipates another clause.
- b. *Marking.* The subordinate clause occurs with a clause-final marker which is intonationally bound to it.

9.5.1 Temporal construction consisting of a deleted NP with a relative clause

One temporal construction already discussed before (§6.6.2) consists of a noun phrase with a relative clause that modifies the deleted head of the NP.

In (40), the bolded attributive clause modifies the deleted head *enekwei* ‘time’. This construction is very commonly used to express temporal relationships. The construction is marked by the masculine topic marker *hokwe*. The intonation of this NP with an embedded clause is very similar to temporal clauses marked by e.g. *menkin* ‘when’ and *ankin* ‘if’. In (40), the bolded attributive clause modifies the deleted head *enekwei* ‘time’. (The latter is marked by \emptyset).

- (40) \emptyset ***Ha serey ma lwak hokwe,***
 ha so-rey ma lwak ho-kwe
 1S DDEM-there RCM be GL.M-TOP

hakwe nuw-hok.
 ha-kwe nuw-hok
 1S-TOP INT-fear
 ‘When I was there, I was really afraid.’

The construction above can be used to express temporal, locative or contents relationships. In (41), the bolded clause modifies an ellipited head which refers to contents. One could posit *ok* ‘talk’ for the ellipited head.

(41) \emptyset ***Aio hiy huok ma inakok*** *hokwe,*
 aio hiy huok ma inakok ho-kwe
 father 3S.M pig RCM hunt GL.M-TOP

hakwe nonkway lwak pa.
 ha-kwe nonkway lwak pa
 1S-TOP know be NEG.PFTV
 ‘As for the talk that father was hunting pigs, I did not know it.’

9.5.2 Subordinate clauses encoding past temporal notions

All temporal clauses that refer to an event or state that is viewed as belonging to the past, co-occur with a main clause marked for perfective. Two temporal clauses should be distinguished: subordinate temporal clauses marked by *menkin* ‘when’ and by *ankin* ‘as, while’. A subordinate clause marked by *menkin* should be thought of as a single past event which functions as a time referent for the main clause. This overlaps with the perfective. A subordinate clause marked by *ankin* should be thought of as a state of affairs in process which impacts the main clause. This overlaps with the imperfective.

A clause marked by *menkin* views a time period as a single, unified event belonging to the past. The state of affairs in the main clause is placed within a time frame by the subordinate clause. This temporal clause is not impacting the state of affairs in the main clause apart from supplying it with a time referent. All subordinate clauses marked by *menkin* ‘when’ are followed by a main clause that is marked for the perfective.

In (42), the temporal clause is marked by *menkin* ‘when’. The event marked in the subordinate clause is viewed as one single, completed

event. The temporal conjunction *menkin* relates the subordinate clause to the main clause in regard to the specific time the activity took place.

- (42) *Uwr-sa hom yoh seme la menkin,*
 uwr-sa hom yoh so-m-e la menkin
 man-woman 2/3PL banana DDEM-PL-OBJ eat when
homkwe sawk won non là.
 hom-kwe sawk won non la
 2/3PL-TOP CHD grease CMT eat.PFTV
 ‘When the people ate those bananas, they ate them with
 appetite.’

Subordinate clauses are analysed as a topicalised constituent within the topic part of a sentence. In (43), the temporal constituent marked by *menkin* is analysed as a topicalised constituent, along with three other constituents marked by *-kwe*. The subordinate clause marked by *menkin* requires perfective marking for the main clause. The temporal subordinate clause does not need to be the first constituent in the sentence, as can be seen below.

- (43) **P2** **P2**
Sawk enekwei kamon hokwe, kwekwe hiykwe
 sawk enekwei kamon ho-kwe kwekwe hiy-kwe
 CHD time one.CL2 GL.M-TOP lizard 3S.M-TOP
P2(subordin. cl.)
hyo huok-naw ke ma-ley inakok nayr
 hiy-o huok-naw k-e ma-ley inakok nayr
 3S.M-GEN pig-trap 3S.F-OBJ RPT-go hunt night
P1 **Sub**
liok menkin, sawk hye kokwe ai
 liok menkin sawk hiy-e ko-kwe ai
 in.vain when CHD 3S.M-OBJ GL.F-TOP animal
VP
kamon hiy kiy-me huòn.
 kamon hiy kiy-me huon
 one.CL2 3S.M.SUB ACT-speak OBJ>SUB.PFTV
 ‘At a certain time, when the lizard went out - unsuccessfully -
 during the night to his pig trap, a certain animal came and
 spoke to him.’

In (45), *ankin* marks a past temporal clause and the main clause is therefore obligatorily marked for perfective. The state of affairs in the subordinate clause and in the main clause effect one another.

- (45) *Hiykwe sawk kapa me lokin wor say*
 hiy-kwe sawk kapa m-e lokin wor say
 3S.M-TOP CHD sago PL-OBJ hit remove move.PL
liok ankin, sawk hyo pisu hok hyo
 liok ankin sawk hiy-o pisu hok hiy-o
 in.vain while/as CHD 3S.M-GEN knife 3S.F 3S.M-GEN
woki ke nays non sehe
 woki k-e nays non so-h-e
 mouth 3S.F-OBJ tooth CMT DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
peyk iaròk.
 peyk liarok
 bite be.up.PFTV
 ‘While he was trying - with no good results - to cut sago
 leaves, his knife cut his mouth with its sharpness.’

In (46), the use of *ankin* rather than *menkin* indicates that the state of affairs in the subordinate clause is not only given as a single time reference. The marker *ankin* indicates that there is a relationship between the development of the state of affairs in the subordinate clause and the state of affairs in the main clause.

- (46) *Huok hokwe sawk howk-oion mon nak-ey*
 huok ho-kwe sawk howk-oion mon nak-ley
 pig GL.M-TOP CHD lake-peninsula LOC ACC-go
ankin, sawk Kupe hiy sehe
 ankin sawk Kupe hiy so-h-e
 while/as CHD Kupe 3S.M DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
hin piè.
 hin pie
 shoot firstly.PFTV
 ‘As the pig was going to the lake-peninsula, Kupe shot him
 for the first time (or: as the first one).’

The subordinate clause in (47) states an ongoing process that led to the state of affairs in the main clause.

- (47) *Hiykwe ley owsa liok ankin, hyekwe*
 hiy-kwe ley lowswa liok ankin hiy-e-kwe
 3S.M-TOP go drink in.vain while/as 3S.M-OBJ-TOP
sawk sehe nak-makuayk kèyn,
 sawk so-h-e nak-makuayk keyn
 CHD DDEM-3S.M-OBJ ACC-fall in.water.PFTV
hu mon.
 hu mon
 water LOC
 ‘While he was trying - unsuccessfully - to drink water, he fell
 into the river.’

9.5.3 Conditional relationships between clauses

A subordinate clause marked by *ankin* that is followed by a main clause marked for imperfective expresses a conditional or a circumstantial relationship.

In the following three examples, circumstances or conditions are in focus, rather than time of the event.

- (48) *Ney homkwe aiopey hay lwak ankin,*
 ney hom-kwe aiopey hay lwak ankin
 child 2/3PL-TOP big very be if/when
homkwe now ayaw mon liê.
 hom-kwe now ayaw mon lie
 2/3PL-TOP tree high LOC go.up.IPFTV
 ‘When children are big they climb high in the trees.’
- (49) *Yaim homkwe uwrsa me lira huon*
 yaim hom-kwe uwr-sa m-e lira huon
 duck 2/3PL-TOP man-woman PL-OBJ see OBJ>SUB
ankin, homkwe sawk hok sian nôk.
 ankin hom-kwe sawk hok sian nok
 if/when 2/3PL-TOP CHD fear get.up go.IPFTV
 ‘When ducks see people coming, they will fly away
 frightened.’

- (50) *Hromkwe how la e mon ankin, peyr*
 hrom-kwe how la e mon ankin peyr
 1PL-TOP taro eat PURP do if/when firstly
hromkwe ki-pay yaprue se
 hrom-kwe ki-pay yaprue s-e
 1PL.SUB-TOP ground-piece good 3S.M-OBJ
lira pâwk.
 lira pawk
 see search.IPFTV
 ‘When we want to eat taro, we will first look for a good piece
 of land.’

In examples (51) and (52) there is no imperfective marked in the two main clauses since both main verbs are followed by clause-final markers, respectively *ey* ‘INTN’, and *a* which in combination with the modal marker *po* indicates imminent future. The conjunction *ankin* functions in these examples the same way as if the imperfective were used: the subordinate clause specifies conditions or circumstances that impact the state of affairs in the main clause.

- (51) *Hiykwe hane senkin me, “Pokon*
 hiy-kwe han-e so-enkin me pokon
 3S.M-TOP 1S-OBJ DDEM-MAN speak today
hu non-hawr ankin, hrorkwe senkin
 hu non-hawr ankin hrorkwe so-enkin
 water DU-wash if/when 1DU-TOP DDEM-MAN
non-on ey.”
 non-lon ey
 DU-do INTN
 ‘He said to me, “When we wash ourselves today, we will do
 as follows.”’
- (52) *Hunkwe mey kwa meio. Hunkwe senkin*
 hwon-kwe mey kwa meio hwon-kwe so-enkin
 2S-TOP job HOR work 2S-TOP DDEM-MAN
lon ankin, hne kokwe sa po lira
 lon ankin hwon-e ko-kwe sa po lira
 do if/when 2S-OBJ GL.F-TOP woman PFT see

way a.
lway a
 covet IMM.FUT
 ‘You should work. If you do that, as for you, a woman is
 going to like you right away.’

9.5.4 Clauses in a sequential relationship

Clauses marked by the clause-final sequential marker *nok* are subordinate clauses. A clause can only be marked by *nok* when the subjects of both clauses are co-referential. Any clause that follows a clause marked by the sequential conjunction *nok* undergoes obligatory subject deletion and possibly even object deletion. The final main clause is marked for imperfective, but is not, as is often the case with the Abau imperfective, translated by an English present tense. From the perspective of the story teller, the event of this final main clause is still in progress. It has begun but it has not been terminated within the story line presented. The final VP is therefore marked imperfective.

In (53), the main clause of the first sentence is *yier mon nakey*. The subject *hom* ‘2/3PL.SUB’ is obligatorily deleted. It is repeated in the subordinate clause of the second sentence, since this clause does not immediately follow a clause marked by the sequential marker *nok*. The main clause of the second sentence is *la* ‘eat’. The NP subject is obligatorily deleted. The NP object is omitted as well, although this is not a direct result of the sequential marker *nok*, since the NP object was omitted in the subordinate clause as well.

(53) *Hom huok se way nok nok, yier*
hom huok s-e lway nok nok yier
 2/3PL.SUB pig 3S.M-OBJ carry DUR SEQ place
mon nakey. Hom lei nok, lâ.
mon nak-ley hom lei nok la
 LOC ACC-go 2/3PL.SUB cut SEQ eat.IPFTV
 ‘They carried the pig along and then brought (it) to the
 village. They cut (it) up and then they were eating (it).’

In (54), the subject *hakwe* ‘I’ is obligatorily deleted in the two clauses following the clause marked by the sequential marker *nok*. It is noteworthy that the NP object mentioned in the second clause is also omitted (along with the NP subject) in the main clause. The main clause

only consists of the verb phrase *hiy-naw*, ‘roam’. It is set apart from the preceding subordinate clauses by its distinctive clause-final intonation. It is marked with imperfective aspect, which indicates that the event is in progress, but has not been terminated.

- (54) *Sawk hakwe yier mon ma-ley nok,*
 sawk ha-kwe yier mon ma-ley nok
 CHD 1S.SUB-TOP place LOC RPT-go SEQ
nwoh me huonok nok, hiy-nâw.
 nwoh m-e huonok nok hiy-naw
 dog PL-OBJ call SEQ CAUS-roam.IPFTV
 ‘But I went back to the village and then took the dogs and
 then began roaming around with them.’

In (55), the subject *hom* ‘2/3PL.SUB’ is obligatorily deleted in all clauses that follow a clause marked by the sequential conjunction *nok*. It is noteworthy that the second and third clause refer to different direct objects, *yia ke* ‘fire’ and *an me* ‘cat fish’. The final clause is the main clause where both subject and object are deleted. The NP subject is supplied from the first clause where it was referred to. The NP object is supplied from the last clause that contained a NP object.

- (55) *Hom nuw-iau lowpway nok, yia ke*
 hom nuw-liau lowpway nok yia k-e
 2/3PL.SUB INT-ascend completely SEQ fire 3S.F-OBJ
lunay nok, an me leynow nok,
 lunay nok an m-e leynow nok
 make.fire SEQ catfish PL-OBJ cook SEQ
wakiawk kreik â.
 wakiawk kreik la
 sit plenty eat.IPFTV
 ‘They climbed up all the way, and then made a fire and then
 cooked catfish and then they were sitting down eating it all.’

In (56), the main clause is *ma-le* ‘RPT-come’ and occurs without a subject. The subject *hakwe* ‘1S.SUB’ is supplied in the first subordinate clause marked by *nok*. Since the verb in the last clause is a motion verb, no NP object needs to be supplied.

- (56) *Hakwe naw la hain nok ompow ke*
 ha-kwe naw la hain nok ompow k-e
 1S.SUB-TOP roam eat SUB<OBJ SEQ bow 3S.F-OBJ
lokriy hain nok ma-lê.
 lokriy hain nok ma-le
 leave SUB<OBJ SEQ RPT-come.IPFTV
 ‘I finished eating sago and then I left my bow behind and then
 I started to go back.’

The sequential marker *nok* can be used in three different ways. In all three constructions the marker *nok* places events referred to in a sequential order. However, additional grammatical marking in the main clause results in three different usages.

1. A sequence of events in the past. The main clause is marked for imperfective. The overall sentence refers to events that took place in the past, though from the perspective of the story teller, the event in the main clause is described as still in progress. See examples (53) and (54).
2. A sequence of events framed as an imperative. The main clause is marked for perfective. The whole sentence has imperative force. See examples (57) and (58).
3. A sequence of events which imply habitual or future aspect. The main clause is marked by the clause marker *ok*. See examples (59) through (61).

If a distinction exists between an intonation contour that marks the perfective and an intonation contour that marks the imperative, then this difference is very small. In (57) and (58) the intonation contour has been analysed as the perfective. In combination with the sequential marker *nok* and a second person subject, the examples have imperative force.

- (57) *Enkin kokwe hunkwe yier mon ma-ley nok,*
 enkin ko-kwe hwon-kwe yier mon ma-ley nok
 MAN GL.F-TOP 2S.SUB-TOP place LOC RPT-go SEQ
uwrsa me hiy-mon sorasòr.
 uwr-sa m-e hiy-mon sor-a-sor
 man-woman PL-OBJ CAUS-do tell-DUP-tell.PFTV
 ‘Now, you should go back to the village and teach the
 people.’

- (58) *Hiy me, "Ara, pokon hunkwe aiai*
hiy me ara pokon hwon-kwe aiai
 3S.M speak ADDR.M today 2S.SUB-TOP food
*somokwe hnuaw nok **nok**, nèyh."*
 so-mo-kwe hnuaw nok nok neyh
 DDEM-GL.PL-TOP collect DUR SEQ wrap.PFTV
 'He said, "Man, today you should collect and take those fish
 and then wrap them (in banana leaves)."'

When a sequence of events referring to the same subject is habitual or procedural in nature, the sequence is closed off by the marker *ok* 'Final Sequential Marker'.

Examples (59) - (61) describe habitual or procedural behaviour:

- (59) *Masi-nioh hom hmo nene sok son*
masi-nioh hom hom-o nene sok son
 vine-blood 2/3PL 2/3PL-GEN eye EXCT destroy
ankin, uwrsa homkwe yawk non
 ankin uwr-sa hom-kwe yawk non
 if/when man-woman 2/3PL-TOP fishing.net CMT
*loway kwawk **nok**, lokin kwor **ok**.*
 loway kwawk nok lokin kwor ok
 scoop put.inside SEQ hit die FIN.SEQ
 'When the poison of the vine damages their eyes (i.e. the eyes
 of the fish), the people scoop them up with the net and then
 kill them.'
- (60) *Uwrsa homkwe lay saro e mon ankin,*
uwr-sa hom-kwe lay saro e mon ankin
 man-woman 2/3PL-TOP tapioc plant PURP do if/when
*peyr wueir se hor **nok**, saro **ok**.*
 peyr wueir s-e hor nok saro ok
 firstly garden 3S.M-OBJ clean SEQ plant FIN.SEQ
 'When the people want to plant tapioc, they first clear a
 garden and then plant it.'

- (61) *Hiykwe senkinaw lon: awia aw*
 hiy-kwe so-enkin-aw lon awia aw
 3S.M.SUB-TOP DDEM-MAN-RSTR do enemy fight
*lono lowpway hain **nok**, yayh ma-nake*
 lono lowpway hain nok yayh ma-nak-le
 fight completely SUB<OBJ SEQ song RPT-ACC-come
owk nayr ok.
 lowk nayr ok
 beat night FIN.SEQ
 ‘He just kept doing this: fighting off his enemies and then
 coming back to have a singsing during the night.’

9.5.5 Counterfactual conditional

Counterfactual conditional sentences have the following characteristics:

- a. The conditional clause (protasis) is marked with the topic marker *hokwe* while all NPs which occur within the clause are obligatorily not marked for topic. (This is a normal feature of subordinate clauses to only have clause-final topic marking, see also §9.5.2.)
- b. The VP in the main clause (apodosis) is preceded by the perfect aspect marker *po*, encoding perfect aspect: It refers to a hypothetical action of which the effect would be felt in the present.
- c. The main clause is marked for perfective. (James (1982) notes that it is very common for counterfactual clauses to be expressed similarly to how events in the past would be expressed.)

It is noteworthy that a counterfactual condition is only marked by the masculine *hokwe* and never by the feminine *kokwe*, or by the plural *mokwe*. Normally, the marker *hokwe* (along with its counterparts *kokwe* and *mokwe*) only marks phrases (§3.6.1) and not clauses. The subordinate clause within a counterfactual conditional sentence seems to be the exception, although it is possible to posit that the marker *hokwe* nominalises the clause.

In (62), the underlined conditional clause has no clause-internal topic marking. Only the clause-final *hokwe* is topic marked. The aspect marker

po in combination with the perfective marked on the main clause expresses a hypothetical event.

- (62) *Homkwe hye ok non-sawksawk me*
 hom-kwe hiy-e ok non-sawksawk me
 2/3PL-TOP 3S.M-OBJ talk DU-exchange speak
pa. Hom me hokwe, hiy po
 pa hom me ho-kwe hiy po
 NEG.PFTV 2/3PL speak GL.M-TOP 3S.M.SUB CFT
lo sày.
 lo say
 shoot many.PFTV
 ‘They did not say anything back to him. If they had spoken,
 he would have shot (them).’

The same features are illustrated in (63). The underlined conditional clause is marked by *hokwe*. The main clause is marked for the perfective and contains the aspect marker *po*. (The clause-initial NP (*hiykwe*) is analysed as a separate constituent set apart from the conditional clause by a pause. If it had been part of the conditional clause it would not have been topicalised by *-kwe*.)

- (63) *Sawk hiykwe, nioh ley lowpway hokwe,*
 sawk hiy-kwe nioh ley lowpway ho-kwe
 CHD 3S.M-TOP blood go completely GL.M-TOP
hiykwe po lokruè.
 hiy-kwe po lokrue
 3S.M-TOP CFT die.PFTV
 ‘As for him, if he had lost his blood completely, he would
 truly have died.’

In light of the similarity in appearance, it is worthwhile to compare the subordinate counterfactual clause with a temporal construction marked by *hokwe*. A comparison of (64) and (65) show that both subordinate clauses are marked by a clause-final *hokwe* and also that both subordinate clauses do not have a topicalised NP. Both clauses are identical apart from the presence of the relativiser *ma* in (65), which always occurs to mark an embedded clause. In this case the modifying clause marks the deleted head *enekwei* ‘time’ (see §9.5.1). Both main clauses are marked for the imperfective, but the main clause in (64) has the modal marker *po* which in this context marks the counterfactual.

- (64) *Hom me hokwe, hiy po lo sày.*
 hom me ho-kwe hiy po lo say
 2/3PL speak GL.M-TOP 3S.M.SUB CFT shoot hit.PFTV
 ‘If they had spoken, he would have shot them.’
- (65) Ø *Hom ma me hokwe, hiy*
 hom ma me ho-kwe hiy
 2/3PL RCM speak GL.M-TOP 3S.M.SUB
lo sày.
 lo say
 shoot hit.PFTV
 ‘When they spoke, he shot them.’

A subordinate counterfactual clause can contain an embedded complement clause (see §6.7). In (66), the purpose clause *hu hawr e* ‘in order to wash’ precedes the verb phrase *ley* ‘go’.

- (66) *Hunkwe, hu hawr e ley hokwe,*
 hwon-kwe hu hawr e ley ho-kwe
 2S-TOP water wash PURP go GL.M-TOP
hunkwe paraw po ma-lè.
 hwon-kwe paraw po ma-le
 2S-TOP past CFT RPT-come.PFTV
 ‘As for you, if you had gone out to wash, you would have returned a long time ago.’

9.5.6 Encoding concessions

A concession clause precedes the main clause, and is set apart from the main clause by both a clause-initial and a clause-final pause.

The concession clause is characterised by:

- an initial *mo* for emphasis, which can also function as a concession in a similar way as ‘even’ is used in English;
- a final *hi* ‘agreement’ which is a clause marker that encodes endorsement/agreement (§7.4.8);
- the absence of topic-marked NPs within the concession clause.

- (67) *Mo hano ney lowpwarowp hom*
 mo han-o ney lowpwarowp hom
 even.EMPH 1S-GEN child all 2/3PL.SUB
lokrue lowpway hi, hakwe ok lopa.
 lokrue lowpway hi ha-kwe ok lopa
 die completely AGREE 1S-TOP talk NEG
 ‘Even if all my children die, I will not object.’

A verb phrase is not required in a concession clause, as is shown in (68):

- (68) *Ara, mo hrom meinowon 200 Kina non*
 ara mo hrom meinowon 200 kina non
 ADDR.M even.EMPH 1PL money 200 Kina CMT
hi, hromkwe ka liy nakway ley.
 hi hrom-kwe ka liy nak-lway korey
 AGREE 1PL-TOP car DYN ACC-carry NEG
 ‘Man, even if we had 200 Kina, we could not buy a car.’

In (69), the concession clause is followed by the existential verb *lwak* and the object marker *e*. The verb *lwak* obligatorily occurs because of the preceding negation marker (see discussion in §7.3.4). The object marker *e* is harder to explain. The object marker *e* can be deleted without causing grammatical changes to the sentence. Difference in meaning between constructions with and without the object marker *e* have not been discovered.

- (69) *Sawk uwrsa somokwe, mo hom*
 sawk uwr-sa so-mo-kwe mo hom
 CHD man-woman DDEM-GL.PL-TOP even.EMPH 2/3PL
uru ipey-ar lopa lwak e hi, hno
 uru ipey-ar lopa lwak e hi hwon-o
 name important-INTF NEG be OBJ AGREE 2S-GEN
eir mon lwak.
 eir mon lwak
 top LOC be
 ‘But those people, even if it were so that they did not have impressive names (= even if they are not admired), they will be on top of you (= be more important).’

9.5.7 Interrogatives used as indefinite pronouns

A subordinate clause constructed with the help of an adverbial interrogative preceding the verb phrase and followed by a clause-final aspect marker can encode indefinite manner, contents or location. The same semantic concept is expressed in English with the help of indefinite specifiers like ‘whatever’ and ‘wherever.’

The syntactic form of these constructions can be diagrammed as follows:

TABLE 55: ENCODING INDEFINITE LOCATION, MANNER AND CONTENTS

Adverbial interrogative (may occur singly or reduplicated)	VP	Aspect marker	Meaning
<i>perey (perey)</i>	VP	<i>e</i>	wherever
<i>perey (perey)</i>	VP	<i>ley</i>	to wherever
<i>penkin (penkin)</i>	VP	<i>e</i>	whatever (adverbial)
<i>pay</i>	VP	<i>e</i>	whatever (adjectival)

The interrogatives *perey* and *penkin* can be used once in these constructions or twice for emphasis. Example (70) would also be correct with a single *penkin* and (71) would also be correct with a double *perey*.

- (70) *Nwoh hiy penkin penkin lon e, pareis*
nwoh hiy po-enkin po-enkin lon e pareis
 dog 3S.M.SUB Q-MAN Q-MAN do OBJ wallaby
hiy seyn, siraw non-mon.
hiy seyn siraw non-mon
 3S.M.SUB too with DU-do
 ‘Whatever the dog did, the wallaby was also with him doing
 everything along with him.’

The difference between clause-final *e* and *ley* is related to the focus on location (*e* is used) or direction (*ley* is used). This type of subordinate clause is also characterised by the absence of the topic marker *-kwe* on the NP preceding the verb phrase.

In (71), the subject NP of the subordinate clause *wayp hiy* ‘eagle’ precedes the verb phrase and is obligatorily not topic-marked with *-kwe*.

The interrogative *perey* precedes the verb phrase, while the aspect marker *ley* occurs clause-finally in the subordinate clause.

- (71) *Wayp hiy perey sian anio sue ley,*
 wayp hiy po-rey sian lanio sue ley
 eagle 3S.M.SUB Q-place get.up walk hidden go
areysie po kiy-sian saman ha, hyo
 areysie po kiy-sian saman ha hiy-o
 bird.sp PFT ACT-get.up follow SUB<LOC 3S.M-GEN
meyki.
 meyki
 after
 ‘Wherever the eagle would fly to and hide, the *areysie* bird
 would fly nearby following her.’

In (72), the NP preceding the verb phrase *naw-pin-yiowk* is not marked with *-kwe*. The interrogative *perey* precedes the verb phrase and the aspect marker *e* occurs clause-finally.

- (72) *Seyr homkwe yiowk kamon-aw mon ley*
 seyr hom-kwe yiowk kamon-aw mon ley
 and/also 2/3PL-TOP swamp one.CL2-RSTR LOC go
pey. Naw-pin-yiowk perey lwak e,
 pey naw-pin-yiowk po-rey lwak e
 NEG.IPFTV sago.tree-sago-swamp Q-go be OBJ
senkin nuw-kuw liyay.
 so-enkin nuw-kuw liyay
 DDEM-MAN INT-cut lie-PL
 ‘They were not going to just one swamp. Wherever there was
 a swamp with sago and pin palm trees, they cut them down.’

The interrogative *pay* ‘Q-what’ can only be used adjectivally and cannot be reduplicated. In (73), *pay* ‘Q-what’ is followed by the plural object marker *me* and occurs only once.

- (73) *Hiykwe pay me la e, hiykwe*
 hiy-kwe po-ay m-e la e hiy-kwe
 3S.M-TOP Q-what PL-OBJ eat PURP 3S.M-TOP
wouk nake.
 wouk nak-le
 vomit ACC-come
 ‘Whatever he eats, he vomits.’

9.5.8 Temporal cohesion: a limited time span

The temporal notion ‘until’ combines temporal duration with a time limit. It is manifested as follows:

- the initial clause contains the manner adverb *senkinaw*;
- the final clause encodes a temporal limit and is marked for the perfective;
- the final clause does not have topic-marked constituents.

Example (74) has all these characteristics: The first clause contains the restrictive manner adverb *senkinaw* to express the idea of duration. The second clause has no topicalised constituents and is marked for the perfective. The two clauses together express the concept of ‘until’.

- (74) *Arawh mei-a-mei senkinaw nuw-kuw*
 arawh mei-a-mei so-enkin-aw nuw-kuw
 night long-DUP-long DDEM-MAN-RSTR INT-dance
nâyr, ey hiy lonkampru yay
 nayr ey hiy lonkampru lyay
 night.IPFTV sun 3S.M break place.down
neriè.
 nerie
 morning.PFTV
 ‘The whole long night he kept dancing, until the sun came up.’

Sentences that express an event or state over a limited time span need at least two clauses to express this notion. This particular construction is problematic in its clausal analysis. Subordinate clauses never follow the main clause, unless the subordinated clause is in tail (P3) position. The latter is not a possible analysis here, because it is not possible to reverse the order of the clauses, as can normally be done with P3 constituents.

Also the tail should not contain new information as the second clause in the construction above clearly does.

Alternatively, analysing the first clause as a subordinate clause is also problematic. This is because the first clause has no final clause marking that is comparable to other subordinate clauses, but ends with a VP, like all verbal main clauses.

In spite of their dependence on each other, it is deemed best to treat both clauses as main clauses which together express the concept of ‘until’.

In (75), the first clause occurs with the restrictive manner adverb *senkinaw* to express duration. This time the first clause is not marked by the imperfective as in (74), but by the modal marker *ey* ‘INTN’ which often has future reference. The second clause is marked for the perfective. Together they express the concept of ‘until’.

- (75) *Heyn sohokwe hano lian mon-aw*
 heyn so-ho-kwe han-o lian mon-aw
 sin DDEM-GL.M-TOP 1S-GEN own LOC-RSTR
senkinaw lwak ey, ha lokruè.
 so-enkin-aw lwak ey ha lokrue
 DDEM-MAN-RSTR be INTN 1S die.PFTV
 ‘That guilt will continue to be on/with me, until I die.’

10. Discourse types

10.1 General discourse features and organisation

Common features of nearly all oral and written discourses include:

1. an introduction;
2. a plot or a theme with its supporting arguments;
3. a conclusion.

Many texts also have a final formulaic closing statement, which often includes the restrictive manner adverb *senkinaw* ‘that is all’. For some discourse genres the introduction and conclusion can be as short as one sentence.

Discourses are organised either

- a. iconically, mirroring the order of events in the real world; or
- b. thematically around major topics and supporting points.

Iconically ordered narrative discourses and legends usually have a plot (build-up, crisis, resolution) for the main body of the discourse. Other discourse genres (descriptive, explanatory, hortatory) have a set of supporting points or arguments centred around a macro-theme. Even though either time-iconicity or thematicity is the primary organising strategy, most discourses manifest elements of both strategies.

10.1.1 Introduction to discourse

Introductions often convey background or known information, so it is not surprising that introductions in discourses are generously sprinkled with topic markers.

Example (1) is taken from the introduction of a letter (§11.7). It consists of two clauses separated by a comma. Both clauses have their

own topic and comment part. The constituents of the topic part of each clause have been marked by P1 and P2. The remaining part of each clause is marked comment.

- (1) **P1** **Comment** **CONJ** **P2**
Hakwe yaprue lwak, payhokuaw hromo
 ha-kwe yaprue lwak po-ay-ho-kuaw hrom-e
 1S-TOP good be Q-GL.M-for.reason.of 1PL.GEN
- P1=OBJ**
- God ayaw ko hiykwe hreme kokwe*
 God ayaw ko hiy-kwe hrom-e ko-kwe
 God above ABL 3S-TOP 1PL-OBJ GL.F-TOP
- Comment**
yaprue hiy-nuw-mon ihey.
 yaprue hiy-nuw-mon ihey
 good CAUS-INT-do excellent
 'I am doing well, because God from up high looks after us well.'

Example (2) consists of two clauses each with its own topic and comment part. It is taken from the first line of an expository text. All the P1 and P2 constituents are topic-marked.

- (2) **P1=SUB** **Comment** **P2**
Hromkwe nonkway, enekwei enkin ohokwe
 hrom-kwe nonkway enekwei enkin o-ho-kwe
 1PL-TOP know time MAN PDEM-GL.M-TOP
- P1=SUB**
uwr ompeys serey-uh homkwe
 uwr ompeys so-rey-ih hom-kwe
 man recent.past DDEM-there-? 2/3PL-TOP
- Comment**
sa po huon.
 sa po huon
 woman PFT marry
 'We know, that at this present time many men of this generation are married.'

At least one of the following elements is present in all introductions:

- a. acknowledgement of the addressee(s);
- b. the speaker's self-identification;
- c. an introduction to the contents to be presented;
- d. a reference to the context in which the message is communicated.

Example (2) above constitutes an introduction to the contents of an expository text. The introduction also contains a reference to the context in which the message is communicated *enekwei enkin ohokwe* 'this present time'. The addressees' and the speaker's identification have been combined in the word *hromkwe* 'we'.

Example (3) is taken from a procedural text (§11.3). The addressee *hunkwe* 'you' is acknowledged and an introduction in regard to the message is given (how to build a house).

- (3) *Hunkwe a meio ankin, hunkwe*
 hwon-kwe a meio ankin hwon-kwe
 2S-TOP house work if/when 2S-TOP
senkin kwa lon pie.
 so-enkin kwa lon pie
 DDEM-MAN HOR do firstly
 'When you build a house, this is how you start out.'

Example (4) is taken from the story of "The two brothers" (§11.1.1). The acknowledgement of the addressee and the identification of the speaker are collapsed in the pronoun *hromkwe* (we). This introduction references both the content (i.e. story of the two brothers) and the context within which it is communicated (which includes speaker and listeners, and also the temporal deictic centre of the current moment, when the story is being told).

- (4) **P2** *Ok-pey-ok okukwe,* **P2** *pokon* **P1** *hromkwe*
 ok-pey-ok o-ko-kwe pokon hrom-kwe
 talk-part-talk PDEM-GL.F-TOP today 1PL-TOP
Comment
uwr prueysyar so okpey ke
 uwr prueysyar s-o ok-pey k-e
 man two 3S.M-GEN talk-part 3S.F-OBJ
lonuayk ey.
 lonuayk ey
 hear INTN
 ‘As for this story, we are going to hear now the story of two men.’

The main point of hortatory and expository texts, and also letters, is normally not revealed in the introduction, and not even early in the body of the text. The main point of these three text types is often subjective and might be controversial. The speaker tries to anticipate and overcome potential resistance with introductory observations and statements. Only after stating these presuppositions will the speaker make his main point. (Examples are given in the sections dealing with hortatory and expository texts, and letters.)

This is not the case with procedural and descriptive texts, since their contents are mostly non-controversial and neutral. The theme of the text is therefore often mentioned in the introduction. The topic of procedural texts and descriptive texts can often be contained in a noun phrase or short clause. See (3) and (5).

Example (5) is taken from a descriptive text (§11.4) which was produced as a written text. The author gave it a title consisting of one non-topicalised NP that immediately relays the theme of the descriptive text. The title is sufficient introduction, so the description of the topic starts immediately in the next sentence. This is realised by a clause formed with the stative verb *lwak* ‘be’.

- (5) **Comment** *Wondeis mo me-nonkway-ok.* **P1** *Wondeis mo*
 wondeis m-o me-nonkway-ok wondeis m-o
 snake.sp PL-GEN speak-know-talk snake.sp PL-GEN

						Comment
<i>owh</i>	<i>mokwe</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>hieyn</i>	<i>lwak.</i>	
owh	mo-kwe	ma	m-e	hieyn	lwak	
body	GL.PL-TOP	leaf	PL-OBJ	like	be	
‘The information about <i>wondeis</i> snakes. The body of the <i>wondeis</i> snake is like leaves (= green).’						

The introduction to the content in time-iconic ordered texts often takes the form of

- a. a temporal (nearly always) or spatial setting, or
- b. an introduction of the principal participants.

Example (6) is taken from a non-fiction narrative which was produced as a written text. The time setting and the participants are introduced as background information and are therefore topicalised. The first line functions as an introduction to the story, but it also starts the story line. The second sentence moves the story line further along, which is exemplified by the fact that there is only one short topicalised constituent in the topic part of the clause versus various constituents in the long comment part of the sentence.

(6)	P2					P1=Sub
	<i>Enekwei</i>	<i>kamon</i>	<i>hokwe,</i>	<i>Peni</i>	<i>o,</i>	<i>Jon o,</i>
	enekwei	kamon	ho-kwe	Peni	o	Jon o
	time	one.CL2	GL.M-TOP	Peni	and	Jon and
	Comment					P1=Sub
	<i>hohkwe</i>	<i>arawh</i>	<i>nonaw</i>	<i>ley</i>	<i>nayr.</i>	<i>Hohkwe</i>
	hoh-kwe	arawh	non-aw	ley	nayr	hoh-kwe
	3DU-TOP	night	CMT-RSTR	go	night	3DU.SUB-TOP
	Comment					
	<i>sawk</i>	<i>ki-mawk</i>	<i>kamon</i>	<i>mon</i>	<i>huk</i>	
	sawk	ki-mawk	kamon	mon	huk	
	CHD	ground-head	one	LOC	hook	
	<i>non-sakeyn</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ley</i>	<i>nayr.</i>		
	non-sakeyn	e	ley	nayr		
	DU-throw.in.water	PURP	go	night		
	‘One time Peni and Jon went out during the night. The two of them went to a certain headland in order to throw out both their hooks during the night.’					

Example (7) is taken from the beginning of a story. The first sentence is framed with the stative verb *lwak* which is an indicator of background information. Two topicalised NPs give the setting for the comment that is expressed by the comment part of the first sentence. It is important to note that in the second sentence the participant *ohi-weys prueyn* ‘a white person’ is not introduced as background information. The second sentence has no topicalised constituents and the newly introduced participant is marked for subject. This is a clear indication that the story line has changed from background to foreground and that this sentence points towards a climactic event within the story line.

(7)	P2			P1=Sub	Comment	
	<i>Paraw</i>	<i>paraw-ar</i>	<i>kokwe</i>	<i>hromkwe</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>uru</i>
	paraw	paraw-ar	ko-kwe	hrom-kwe	ai	uru
	past	past-INTF	GL.F-TOP	1PL-TOP	food	name
	<i>popo</i>	<i>ok</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>sehiy</i>	<i>lopa lwak.</i>
	popo	ok	ma	me	s-o-hiy	lopa lwak
	<i>papaya</i>	talk	RCM	speak	PDEM-3S.M	NEG be
		Comment			Tail	
	<i>Sawk</i>	<i>ohi-weys</i>	<i>prueyn</i>	<i>hiy</i>	<i>lousne,</i>	<i>hromo</i>
	sawk	ohi-weys	prueyn	hiy	lousne	hrom-o
	CHD	skin-white	one	3S.M	appear	1PL-GEN
			P1	Comment		
	<i>yier</i>	<i>mon.</i>	<i>Sawk</i>	<i>hiykwe</i>	<i>popo</i>	<i>kamon</i>
	yier	mon	sawk	hiy-kwe	popo	kamon
	place	LOC	CHD	3S.M-TOP	papaya	one
	<i>senkin</i>	<i>nak-e.</i>				
	so-enkin	nak-le				
	DDem-MAN	ACC-come				

‘Long ago we did not have this food called papaya. But a white person came to our place. He brought a papaya like this.’

An introduction to the contents of a thematically oriented text is usually done in the very beginning of the text with a clearly stated reference to the global theme. In (8) and (9), the author introduces the theme for the whole discourse in the opening sentence and then continues to give details related to this theme.

- (8)
- | | P2 | P1 | Comment |
|---|----------------|--------------|--------------------|
| <i>Wayh-om,</i> | <i>hakwe</i> | <i>pokon</i> | <i>kokwe, kuey</i> |
| wayh-om | ha-kwe | pokon | ko-kwe kuey |
| friend-group | 1S-TOP | today | GL.F-TOP grubs |
| <i>mo okpey ke mesor ey.</i> | | | |
| m-o ok-pey k-e me-sor ey | | | |
| PL-GEN talk-part 3S.F-OBJ speak-count/tell INTN | | | |
| P1 | Comment | | |
| <i>Kuey homkwe ipey aio non.</i> | | | |
| kuey hom-kwe ipey aio non | | | |
| grubs 2/3PL-TOP mother father CMT | | | |
- 'Friends, today I will tell the story (= information) about grubs. Grubs have parents.'

Introductions to thematic texts can be very short since they are basically given to introduce the theme. In (9), the author has a very short introduction with only one topicalised NP *hakwe* (I) in the opening sentence that introduces the theme.

- (9) *Hakwe ahney horuom mesor ey.*
 ha-kwe ahney horuom me-sor ey
 1S-TOP bird crowned.pigeon speak-recount INTN
- Horuom mo owh penkin lwak e,*
 horuom m-o owh po-enkin lwak e
 crowned.pigeon PL-GEN body Q-MAN be OBJ
- seyr hmo yor o, hmo aiai o,*
 seyr hom-o yor o hom-o aiai o
 and/also 2/3PL-GEN way and 2/3PL-GEN food and
- hmo ney mow yier o, seme*
 hom-o ney mow yier o so-m-e
 2/3PL-GEN child give.birth place and DDEM-PL-OBJ
- me sor ey.*
 me sor ey
 speak tell INTN
- 'I am going to tell about the crowned pigeon. How the body of the crowned pigeon is, and also their customs, their food, their offspring, the place where they give birth, (I) am going to tell that.'

10.1.2 Iconic organisation in narrative and procedural texts

If an Abau speaker's communicative goal is to narrate or list a series of events, he or she will encode these events in sentences using temporal phrases, which chain the sentences in a coherent temporally ordered pattern. Changes in spatial and temporal settings and participants are significant elements in these discourses and may indicate new segments within a discourse.

Of these last three elements, the change in temporal setting is the most important indicator of a discourse break in narrative texts. NPs that may mark a discourse section break are temporal NPs that are modified by the numeral one e.g. *enekwei kamon* 'a certain day', *wik kamon* 'a certain week' etc. Other temporal changes include predications that place the story line in a different time setting with a temporal constituent that is not dependent for its meaning on the rest of the discourse, e.g. a reference to a date or to a known time period, like childhood, the days of the ancestors, the day someone died, etc. In procedural texts the logical order rather than the temporal order is in focus, although they might overlap.

Examples (10) and (11) are consecutive sentences in a story. The temporal phrase *enekwei kamon hokwe* 'a certain time' starts a new section within the discourse in (10). The next sentence (11) is part of the same paragraph, since it contains two references or links to the first sentence. Firstly, the temporal clause marked by *menkin* 'when' gives further detail to the time phrase already mentioned in (10). Secondly, the adverbial demonstrative *sehe* anaphorically refers to the previous sentence and establishes a logical connection between this sentence (10) and the main clause it occurs in.

- (10) *Enekwei kamon hokwe, aio hiykwe a*
 enekwei kamon ho-kwe aio hiy-kwe a
 time one GL.M-TOP father 3S.M-TOP house
aiopey hay se meio e nanpanan.
 aiopey hay s-e meio e nanpanan
 big very 3S.M-OBJ work PURP think
 'One day father thought of building a big house.'

- (11) *Leisnon lwak nerie **menkin**, hiykwe sawk*
 leisnon lwak nerie menkin hiy-kwe sawk
 morning be morning when 3S.M-TOP CHD
*a-now **sehe** ley kuw nerie.*
 a-now so-h-e ley kuw nerie
 house-tree DDEM-3S.M-OBJ go cut morning
 ‘So when it was morning he went out to do timber cutting (for the) house.’

A number of devices can be used to mark time within a text. These time indications help to structure the text into a logical sequence of events. Subordinate clauses with clause-final markers can mark time, e.g. *nok* ‘SEQ’, *menkin* ‘when’, *ankin* ‘as/while’ (§9.5). Internal markers within the verb phrase also mark time, e.g. *nayr* ‘night’, *kok* ‘day time’ etc. (§4.3.3.3). Temporal NPs like *enekwei sohokwe* ‘(at) that time’ or postpositional phrases (§3.9) are also used to mark or sequence time within a discourse.

Examples (12) through (14) are part of the same text. All constituents that mark time have been bolded. In (12), the marker *nok* ‘SEQ’ places the events in the first clause in sequential order: The Yabru man (lit. riverman) spoke after they all ate. The temporal adverb *kok* ‘day time’ places the given command in a time frame.

- (12) *Hom ai la lowpway **nok**, Yawpruw seirpey*
 hom ai la lowpway nok yawp-ruw seirpey
 2/3PL food eat completely SEQ river-man fierceness
hiy sah ke me hain, “Hunkwe
 hiy sa-uh k-e me hain hwon-kwe
 3S.M woman-KIN 3S.F-OBJ speak SUB<OBJ 2S-TOP
*wueir-ai ai kwa hiy-a **kok**, hano wayh*
 wueir-ai ai kwa hiy-la kok han-o wayh
 garden-food HOR CAUS-eat daytime 1S-GEN friend
so ney-sa me.”
 s-o ney-sa m-e
 3S.M-GEN child-woman PL-OBJ
 ‘After they had eaten, the fierce Yabru man, said in parting to his wife, “Supply my friend’s family with garden food during the day.”’

In (13), the marker *seseyn* ‘it was done accordingly’ anaphorically refers to the command given in the previous sentence. It has therefore cohesive function and helps to keep track of the sequential order of the various events. The temporal adverb *kok* ‘daytime’ and the temporal NP *enekwei sohokwe* ‘that day’, supply the events of the sentence they occur in with a time setting.

- (13) *Sah hok seseyn, wueir-ai ai hiy-a*
 sa-uh hok seseyn wueir-ai ai hiy-la
 woman-KIN 3S.F accordingly garden-food CAUS-eat
kok, enekwei sohokwe. Yawpruw
 kok enekwei so-ho-kwe yawp-ruw
 day.time time DDEM-GL.M-TOP river-man
seirpey so sune non homkwe awia
 seirpey s-o sune non hom-kwe awia
 fierceness 3S.M-GEN group CMT 2/3PL-TOP enemy
aw lono kok.
 aw lono kok
 fight fight day.time
 ‘The wife did accordingly, and looked after (them) with food during that day. The fierce Yabru man and company battled enemies during the day.’

In (14), the underlined temporal clause marked by *menkin* gives a time frame for the event described in the main clause.

- (14) *Ey hiy now-mour eir sok lwak menkin, hiy*
 ey hiy now-mour eir sok lwak menkin hiy
 sun 3S.M tree-end top EXCT be when 3S.M
ma-hiy-e, yier mon.
 ma-hiy-le yier mon
 RPT-CAUS-come place LOC
 ‘When the sun set over the tree tops, he guided (the others) back to the village.’

Procedural texts are often concerned with sequence rather than time, although the two overlap. The sequential marker *nok*, or postpositional phrases that indicate sequence, e.g. *meyki mon* ‘after’ are used very frequently. The adverbial verb phrase modifier *pie* ‘firstly’ also helps to

sequence events. These sequence indicators are demonstrated in (15) and (16) which are taken from a procedural text.

- (15) *Seme lonhan lonhan so meyki*
 so-m-e lonhan lonhan s-o meyki
 DDEM-PL-OBJ get.ready get.ready 3S.M-GEN after
mon hokwe, ki se meir pie,
 mon ho-kwe ki s-e meir pie
 LOC GL.M-TOP ground 3S.M-OBJ measure firstly
hno nop-i so meir mo
 hwon-o nop-i s-o meir m-o
 2S-GEN ironwood-post 3S.M-GEN measure PL-GEN
liyliy-aw.
 liyliy-aw
 similar-RSTR
 ‘After you have everything ready, the ground need be measured first, in accordance with the number of ironwood posts you have.’
- (16) *Senkin lon lowpway nok, ki-eyh lopru*
 so-enkin lon lowpway nok ki-eyh lopruw
 DDEM-MAN do completely SEQ ground-ditch dig
nok, nop-i me way inon kreik
 nok nop-i m-e lway linon kreik
 SEQ ironwood-post PL-OBJ carry transport plenty
lopalop ok.
 lopalop ok
 finish.off FIN.SEQ
 ‘After having done that, dig holes and then finish (the job) of placing all of the ironwood trees.’

10.1.3 Thematically organised texts

Thematically organised discourses and texts include descriptions, expositions, hortatory discourses and letters. Rather than centring around the activities of participants, they centre around a global theme supported by local topics. Examples are listed below, including the appropriate section of the appendix: a descriptive text about a certain type snake (§11.4); an expository text about divorce (§11.5); a hortatory text about care for a local aid post (§11.6).

In text types where opinion or persuasive argumentation are central, the speaker will make use of hortative commands and hypothetical questions to mark paragraph boundaries and even episode boundaries.

Some connectives and conjunctions are very useful in building up propositions that will support a certain premise or opinion. Examples include:

- Frequent use of inclusive devices. E.g. the use of *hromkwe* ‘we’; or the connective *seyr* ‘and also’ that joins constituents of equal status. (Can be used to add support or further evidence for one’s premise.)
- Frequent use of devices that express real or hypothetical conditions or alternatives, e.g. conditional clauses marked by *ankin* ‘if’; posing of hypothetical questions that will support the main idea.
- Frequent use of devices that express reason or logical consequences. E.g. conjunction *payhokuaw* ‘why, because’; the adverbial demonstratives *sehe*, *sokwe* and *seme*, to establish logical consequence.
- Frequent use of hortatory statements (*let’s ...*) or value statements (*this is good/bad*).

Examples (17-20) are consecutive sentences taken from a speech to encourage better maintenance of the village clinic. The first sentence in (17) is a value statement about the presence of the Aid Post. This is the supposition that the speaker will build on.

- (17) *Aid Post hromo yier mon ma kiy-wak*
 aid post hrom-o yier mon ma kiy-lwak
 aid post 1PL-GEN place LOC RCM ACT-be
ohokwe, yaprue ihey-ar.
 o-ho-kwe yaprue ihey-ar
 PDEM-GL.M-TOP good excellent-INTF
Hakwe kar ley.
 ha-kwe kar ley
 1S-TOP gladness go
 ‘(The fact) that the Aid Post is in our village is really excellent. I am very happy (about that).’

In (18), the audience is encouraged to rejoice in the presence of the clinic. The connective *seyr* ‘and, also’ indicates that, in addition to the speaker’s contentment with the clinic, the audience should also be pleased with the clinic as an asset for the village.

- (18) *Homkwe seyr kar kwa ley.*
 hom-kwe seyr kar kwa ley
 2/3PL-TOP and/also gladness HOR go
 ‘You should be happy as well.’

In (19), the conjunction *payhokuaw* ‘why, because’ is used to express reason in support of the theme.

- (19) *Payhokuaw, Aid Post ohokwe*
 po-ay-ho-kuaw aid post o-ho-kwe
 Q-what-GL.M-for.reason.of aid post PDEM-GL.M-TOP
hromo Uwrsa-ney lowpwarowp peik non
 hrom-o uwr-sa-ney lowpwarowp peik non
 1PL-GEN man-woman-child all ill CMT
me hiy-mon ey.
 m-e hiy-mon ey
 PL-OBJ CAUS-do INTN
 ‘Because - this Aid Post is here to help our people and all the children with sickness.’

In (20), a closing hortatory remark is made that includes both speakers and listeners.

- (20) *Hromkwe enkin ohokwe Aid Post se*
 hrom-kwe enkin o-ho-kwe aid post s-e
 1PL-TOP MAN PDEM-GL.M-TOP aid post 3S.M-OBJ
nekie kraiy e.
 nekie krai-ay e
 hold strength-PL PURP
 ‘At this time we should hold on to our Aid Post in a strong way.’

The following string of examples (21-22) are taken from a later part of the same speech. In (21), the speaker makes use of a hypothetical question to start a new paragraph.

- (21) *Hai, hwon peik nakwon, hunkwe perey*
 hai hwon peik nak-won hwon-kwe po-rey
 O.K. 2S.SUB ill ACC-lie 2S.SUB-TOP Q-there
nakey a?
 nak-ley a
 ACC-go INDF.FUT
 ‘If you are down with some illness, where would you go to?’

In (22), the speaker makes use of a conditional clause with *ankin* ‘if’ to support his main theme.

- (22) *Sawk hromkwe Aid Post se meio ihey*
 sawk hrom-kwe aid post s-e meio ihey
 CHD 1PL-TOP aid post 3S.M-OBJ work excellent
pa lwak ankin, APO hiykwe uwr
 pa lwak ankin APO hiy-kwe uwr
 NEG.PFTV be if/when health.officer 3S.M-TOP man
hakamay Vanimo ko me liy me kow
 hakamay Vanimo ko m-e liy me kow
 oldest Vanimo ABL PL-OBJ DYN speak BEN
nonkwây, homkwe Aid Post ehe
 nonkway hom-kwe aid post o-h-e
 know.IPFTV 2/3PL-TOP aid post PDEM-3S.M-OBJ
liy piar sakawk.
 liy piar sakawk
 DYN fence.in stop
 ‘But if we do not do a good job in working on the Aid Post, the APO (= local health officer) will inform the big men in Vanimo, and they can close down this Aid Post here.’

10.1.4 Conclusion in texts

Most discourse genres conclude with a formulaic closing containing the adverbial manner demonstrative *senkin* suffixed by the restrictive marker *-aw*.

Example (23) is the final sentence in the legend “The two brothers”.

- (23) *Okpey ok okukwe, senkinaw.*
 ok-pey ok o-ko-kwe so-enkin-aw
 talk-part talk PDEM-GL.F-TOP DDEM-MAN-RSTR
 ‘As for this story, it goes to here (= that is all).’

Example (24) is the final sentence of a letter.

- (24) *Hano ok o, mesopok sohom o,*
 han-o ok o me-sopok so-hom o
 1S-GEN talk and speak-ask DDEM-2/3PL and
senkinaw.
 so-enkin-aw
 DDEM-MAN-RSTR
 ‘As for my messages and questions, that’s all.’

Procedural texts may end with the phrase *senkinaw* as well, or with some other phrase that will indicate the end of the procedure explained. Example (25) is the final sentence of a procedural text.

- (25) *Owah-mey somokwe mey pariawey-ar.*
 owah-mey so-mo-kwe mey pariawey-ar
 sago.stalk-job DDEM-GL.PL-TOP job last-INTF
 ‘As for this job with the sago stalks, it is the last work.’

In some cases no formulaic expressions are used, but the speaker terminates with a fitting ending, e.g. returning to the village, resolution of a problem, or even advice to the addressee. The speaker links this ending in some cohesive way to the preceding discourse.

Example (26) is the last sentence of a non-fiction narrative, when the two men return home after an unsuccessful fishing trip. The object demonstrative *sehe* preceding the verb phrase, anaphorically refers to the reasons why they came home without food.

- (26) *Hohkwe sawk aiai lopa sehe*
 hoh-kwe sawk aiai lopa so-h-e
 3DU-TOP CHD food NEG DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
ma-ley, a mon kokwe.
 ma-ley a mon ko-kwe
 RPT-go house LOC GL.F-TOP
 ‘So the two of them went back home without food.’

Example (27) is the last sentence of the hortatory text about the Aid Post, which contains important advice to the addressees. The object demonstrative *sehe* establishes a logical relationship with the preceding discourse.

- (27) *Hakwe hme senkin **sehe** me,*
 ha-kwe hom-e so-enkin so-h-e me
 1S-TOP 2/3PL-OBJ DDEM-MAN DDEM-3S.M-OBJ speak
homkwe Aid Post se yaprue nonaw
 hom-kwe aid post s-e yaprue non-aw
 2/3PL-TOP aid post 3S.M-OBJ good CMT-RSTR
hiy-wayr e.
 hiy-lwayr e
 CAUS-stay OBJ.IMP
 ‘That’s why I am telling you this, so that you should look
 after the Aid Post in a good way.’

It is also not unusual, especially in hortatory or expository texts, to add a new supporting argument to the main point in the last sentence of the text. Example (28-29) is taken from an expository text that deals with the question: can men send away their wives in a childless marriage? The author argues against the dismissal of wives. He has several arguments, but the new supporting argument that women cannot be blamed for something they were born with is tagged nearly as an afterthought to the end. The feature of closing the discourse with a new supporting argument might in some cases be an indication of an ill-prepared speaker. However, the technique has been observed enough in speeches to consider the possibility that the speaker may use it as a device to convince his listeners. By bringing up a new argument in his final sentence, he leaves the listener with new evidence that supports his view. He thereby gives the impression that many more arguments in favour of his point of view might have been brought forward.

The speaker could have concluded with the hortatory remark in (28). However, he adds a new argument (29) and makes this the closing remark of the speech.

- (28) *Ha seyr senkin nan, uwrsa homkwe*
 ha seyr so-enkin nan uwr-sa hom-kwe
 1S and/also DDEM-MAN think man-woman 2/3PL-TOP
uwr non sa nonaw kwa lwak.
 uwr non sa non-aw kwa lwak
 man CMT woman CMT-RSTR HOR be
 ‘I think that people should remain with their husband and with their wife.’
- (29) *Seyr sa ney lopa ma lwak*
 seyr sa ney lopa ma lwak
 and/also woman child NEG RCM be
somokwe mo senkinaw
 so-mo-kwe mo so-enkin-aw
 DDEM-GL.PL-TOP EMPH DDEM-MAN-RSTR
le, ipey ko swaw mon kokwe.
 le ipey k-o swaw mon ko-kwe
 come mother 3S.F-GEN stomach LOC GL.F-TOP
 ‘And also women without children come like that out of the mother’s womb (= these women are born like that).’

Examples (30-31) come from a speech about the ills of smoking. The speaker has concluded his reasoning why he does not smoke. He could have made the final sentence in (30) his closing remark, but in (31) he adds one more argument (about the inability to play soccer) to convince the listener.

- (30) *Dokta homkwe seyr senkin me, “Hope*
 dokta hom-kwe seyr so-enkin me hope
 doctor 2/3PL-TOP and/also DDEM-MAN speak tobacco
mokwe yaprue korey. Hope mokwe peik non.
 mo-kwe yaprue korey hope mo-kwe peik non
 GL.PL-TOP good no tobacco GL.PL-TOP ill CMT
Hno sawn se mon piapay. Hunkwe
 hwon-o sawn s-e mon piapay hwon-kwe
 2S-GEN lung 3S.M-OBJ do badly 2S-TOP
saw-okrue, hope-peik hok wanohyay ankin.” Hakwe
 saw-lokrue hope-peik hok lwanohyay ankin ha-kwe
 SPD-die tobacco-ill 3S.F spread if/when 1S-TOP

- hope loun pa sehe lwak.*
 hope loun pa so-h-e lwak
 tobacco burn NEG.PFTV DDEM-3S.M-OBJ be
 ‘The doctor also says, “Tobacco is not good. It has diseases with it. It destroys your lungs. You will die quickly when you catch the tobacco sickness.” That’s why I do not smoke.’
- (31)
 Soka-gem seyn, hunkwe soka-gem senkin
 soka-gem seyn hwon-kwe soka-gem so-enkin
 soccer-game too 2S-TOP soccer-game DDEM-MAN
senkin liy lonkuwseyn ley. Hano
 so-enkin liy lonkuwseyn korey han-o
 DDEM-MAN DYN play NEG 1S-GEN
ok senkinaw.
 ok so-enkin-aw
 talk DDEM-MAN-RSTR
 ‘Playing soccer too, you will not be able to play any kind of soccer game. That’s all.’

10.2 Discourse genres

10.2.1 Narrative discourses

Legends do not contain formulaic expressions that would set them apart from other non-fiction narratives, so the comments in this section hold true for all narratives. The plot in iconically ordered narratives is composed of a number of episodes, encoded by paragraphs. The boundaries of episodes are indicated by two or more of the following:

- a. a change (or introduction) of main participants (especially if they occur without topic marking);
- b. a change of spatial setting indicated by motion verbs;
- c. a change of temporal setting.

A narrative can be divided into:

- a. an introduction: the needed background information to understand the plot;
- b. a plot: a series of events that describe the build-up, the handling and the aftermath of a crisis or challenge;
- c. a conclusion: an evaluative or informative ending to the story.

Examples (32-34) are part of one text. The first two examples give the needed background information to understand the plot of the story and the last example (34) describes the beginning of the crisis. In (32), the first participant *how kamon aiopey* ‘a certain big taro’ is introduced with a topic marker and so is the next participant *uwrsa homkwe* ‘the people’ in (33). The next NP *how aiopey hay sohokwe* ‘that big taro’ is also topicalised and although it has the semantic role of patient it is not marked for object. This demonstrates that (32) and (33) contain basically background information that helps the build-up of events for the plot of the story. All topic markers are bolded.

- (32) *How kamon aiopey **hokwe** ki-sapa kamon*
 how kamon aiopey ho-kwe ki-sapa kamon
 taro one big GL.M-TOP ground-forest one
mon lwak.
 mon lwak
 LOC be
 ‘A certain big taro was located in a certain area in the forest.’
- (33) *Uwrsa **homkwe** how aiopey hay*
 uwr-sa hom-kwe how aiopey hay
 man-woman 2/3PL-TOP taro big very
sohokwe nuw-hok wayr.
 so-ho-kwe nuw-hok lwayr
 DDEM-GL.M-TOP INT-fear stay
 ‘As for this taro, the people were really afraid of it.’

Example (34) does not contain any topicalised constituents and this signals the sentence as foreground and even climactic. Temporal references are often topic-marked and therefore the fact that the temporal reference *enekwei kamon* ‘a certain day’ has no topic marking indicates the speaker’s intent to highlight the event described in (34) as foreground. This is also illustrated by the fact that the agent *sa sokruan prueyn hok* ‘a certain young woman’ is introduced as a new participant without topic marking. (See §8.7.1 on introduction of new participants.)

- (34) *Sawk enekwei kamon, sa-sokruan prueyn*
 sawk enekwei kamon sa-sokruan prueyn
 CHD time one woman-young.woman one
hok ley nok, how sehe nekie.
 hok ley nok how so-h-e nekie
 3S.F.SUB go SEQ taro DDEM-3S.M-OBJ hold
 ‘One day, a certain young woman came and took this taro.’

The next short story (35-41) displays: (1) an introduction; (2) a plot; and (3) a conclusion.

(1) Introduction: Background of the main character Keno is given. The fact that he never shot a pig is mentioned as necessary background information. It is marked with the negation marker *lopa* which nominalises the clause. (All topic markers are bolded.)

- (35) *Paraw, paraw-ar kokwe nyo prueyn senkin*
 paraw paraw-ar ko-kwe nyo prueyn so-enkin
 past past-INTF GL.F-TOP lad one DDEM-MAN
lwak, yier kamon mon. Hyo uru hokwe
 lwak yier kamon mon hiy-o uru ho-kwe
 be place one LOC 3S.M-GEN name GL.M-TOP
Keno. Hiykwe huok hin lopa.
 Keno hiy-kwe huok hin lopa
 Keno 3S.M-TOP pig shoot NEG.NOMS
 ‘A long time ago there was a boy in a certain place. His name was Keno. He had never shot a pig.’

(2a) Plot: Build-up to the crisis or challenge. The information given in the introduction about the main character proves to be a source of derision that needs to be faced. The main character does not agree with the opinion of the other villagers about his hunting abilities. These facts establish the challenge. The storyline is moving from backgrounded information to foregrounded information. This is displayed in (36) by the use of direct speech and also by the use of the non-topicalised pronoun *ha*. The answer given by the main character is a clause without any topicalised constituent which is an indicator of foregrounded text.

- (36) *Uwrsa yier ko homkwe hye kweyr*
 uwr-sa yier ko hom-kwe hiy-e kweyr
 man-woman place GEN 2/3PL-TOP 3S.M-OBJ laugh

kow wayr, senkin, “Keno hunkwe huok liy
kow lwayr so-enkin Keno hwon-kwe huok liy
 BEN stay DDEM-MAN Keno 2S-TOP pig DYN
hin ley.” Sa Keno hiykwe hme
hin korey sa Keno hiy-kwe hom-e
 shoot NEG then/and Keno 3S.M-TOP 2/3PL-OBJ
senkin me kow, “Ha ya hin a.”
so-enkin me kow ha ya hin a
 DDEM-MAN speak BEN 1S IND.FUT shoot FUT
 ‘The people of the village laughed at him, “Keno, you can’t
 shoot a pig.” But Keno told them this, “Some day I will shoot
 one.”’

(2b) Plot: Handling of the challenge. The clause-initial temporal noun phrase marked by the numeral *enekwei kamon hokwe* (a certain day/time) points towards a new paragraph. It describes the manner in which the main character handles the challenge before him.

- (37) *Enekwei kamon hokwe, hiykwe naw-kuw*
enekwei kamon ho-kwe hiy-kwe naw-kuw
 time one GL.M-TOP 3S.M.SUB-TOP sago-axe
ke lway nok, sapa mon nak-ey. Hiykwe
k-e lway nok sapa mon nak-ley hiy-kwe
 3S.F-OBJ carry SEQ forest LOC ACC-go 3S.M-TOP
seyp kamon se lira nok, lowk inor
seyp kamon s-e lira nok lowk linor
 palm one 3S.M-OBJ see SEQ cut fence.off
hain. Wik hokwe kamon senkin
hain wik ho-kwe kamon so-enkin
 SUB<OBJ week GL.M-TOP one DDEM-MAN
isay hawon.
isay hawon
 permit lie
 ‘At a certain time he took his sago axe and went into the
 forest. He saw a black palm, cut it down and constructed a
 fence (nearby) and left. He let it lie there for a week.’

(2c) Plot: Climax of challenge. The fact that the subject *hiy* is twice not topicalised is a clear indication that this is foregrounded text. These lines are part of the climax of the story.

- (38) *Peypey pa, **hiy** ma-ley ira. Keno **hiy***
 peypey pa hiy ma-ley lira Keno hiy
 to.last NEG.PFTV 3S.M again-go see Keno 3S.M
me, “Wo, hano naw pa la koma.
 me wo han-o naw pa la ko-ma
 speak EXCL 1S-GEN sago CUR eat EMPH.SP.F-ADDR.PL
Hakwe pokon liy hin.”
 ha-kwe pokon liy hin
 1S.SUB-TOP today DYN shoot
 ‘Not long (after that) Keno went back to see. He said, “OK,
 my sago has been eaten from. I can shoot the pig today.”’

In (39-40), the plot further develops with the help of the marker *seseyn* ‘done accordingly’ which makes the transition from planned action to executed action. The subject *hiy* ‘3S.SUB’ occurs three times in (39-40) without topicalisation. Twice that is the result of the fact that it is obligatorily not topicalised because it occurs in a subordinate temporal clause. The subject *hiy* ‘3S.SUB’ occurs once (underlined) in the main clause. In that environment the absence of topicalisation is an indication that the subject is part of foregrounded text. In (40), the NP *uwrsa homkwe* is topicalised, which is an indication that the story line has reached a less climactic part of the story.

- (39) *Seseyn, ey **hiy** now-mowr eir mon liawon*
 seseyn ey hiy now-mowr eir mon liawon
 accordingly sun 3S.M tree-top top LOC lie.down
hain menkin, hiy pa inakey. Sa
 hain menkin hiy pa linakey sa
 SUB>OBJ when 3S.M.SUB CUR hunt then/and
sehe ka-onuayk ne, “Pa la.”
 so-h-e ka-lonuayk ne pa la
 DDEM-3S.M-OBJ side-hear SUB>OBJ CUR eat

Sa sehe hin nok, lie way nok.
 sa so-h-e hin nok lie lway nok
 then/and DDEM-3S.M-OBJ shoot SEQ go.up carry DUR
 ‘It went just like that, when the sun had just left the tops of
 the trees, he went out to hunt. And then he heard (it) coming,
 “It is eating now.” And so he shot (it) and took and carried
 (it).’

- (40) *Hiy yier nak-ousne menkin, uwrsa*
 hiy yier nak-lousne menkin uwr-sa
 3S.M.SUB place ACC-appear when man-woman
homkwe nays-aw peyk huon. Homkwe
 hom-kwe nays-aw peyk huon hom-kwe
 2/3PL-TOP tooth-RSTR bite OBJ>SUB 2/3PL.SUB-TOP
ok lopa lwak.
 ok lopa lwak
 talk NEG.NOMS be
 ‘When he arrived in the village, the people bit their teeth
 (were dumbfounded). They were speechless.’

(3) **Conclusion:** Evaluative remarks in regard to the outcome of the crisis.

- (41) *Uwrsa homkwe sa sehe*
 uwr-sa hom-kwe sa so-h-e
 man-woman 2/3PL-TOP then/and DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
lei nok, lowndiy a nayr. Uwr hakamay
 lei nok lowndiy la nayr uwr hakamay
 cut SEQ share eat night man oldest
homkwe Keno se kar nuw-ey nok,
 hom-kwe Keno s-e kar nuw-ley nok
 2/3PL-TOP Keno 3S.M-OBJ gladness INT-go SEQ
hyo uru se nak-ie.
 hiy-o uru s-e nak-lie
 3S.M-GEN name 3S.M-OBJ ACC-go.up
 ‘So the people cut up the pig, shared it around and ate it in the
 night. The big men were really happy with (= proud of) Keno,
 and they complimented him greatly.’

10.2.2 Procedural texts

Procedural texts often have an introduction and a conclusion, but they both can be very short. The ‘plot’ within a procedural text is concerned with the description of sequenced or logical steps that will enable someone to correctly perform an action. Procedural texts lack the emotions, conflict and participant cast of a narrative text, because procedural texts are in general not concerned with behaviour of people, but on how particular activities need to be performed. The actor(s) in a procedural text can be nameless or only be identified according to role.

Time is normally not indicated in absolute terms, since procedural texts do not focus on the description of past or current events. The focus is to give instruction on the right and logical sequence of actions related to a specific context. Imperfective aspect is widely used in procedural texts.

Examples (42-50) are taken from the procedural text ‘House building’ (§11.3). The bolded words and phrases are characteristic of how sequence is marked in procedural texts.

If a procedural text is produced in written form it might be supplied with a name. This is often just a non topicalised NP. In (42), the head of the NP is modified by the embedded clause *a meio*.

- (42) *A meio yor.*
 a meio yor
 house work way
 ‘The way of house building.’

In (43), the text starts with an introduction where the author identifies himself in combination with the theme that he will discuss. As in many procedural texts, this introduction is very short and in (44), the author immediately goes ahead to delineate the various steps of house building.

- (43) *Hakwe a meio yor ke me sor ley.*
 ha-kwe a meio yor k-e me sor ley
 1S-TOP house work way 3S.F-OBJ speak count/tell go
 ‘I am going to tell about the way to make a house.’

The agent of the next sentence is *hunkwe* ‘you’. The singular second personal pronoun stands here for any, not further defined, person who wants to undertake the task of house building.

- (44) *Hunkwe a meio ankin, hunkwe*
 hwon-kwe a meio ankin hwon-kwe
 2S.SUB-TOP house work if/when 2S.SUB-TOP
senkin kwa lon pie.
 so-enkin kwa lon pie
 DDEM-MAN HOR do firstly
 ‘When you build a house, this is how you start out.’

The agent in procedural texts only needs to be mentioned once. After that the agent does not need to be mentioned, except when the author wants to draw special attention to the agent. But an agent is obligatorily absent in a clause that follows a clause marked by *nok* ‘SEQ’.

In (45), *hunkwe* ‘you’ is the assumed agent, but does not need to be mentioned. As can be seen from the rest of the examples, the agent *hunkwe* is elided in all the examples following. The temporal adverb *peyr* ‘firstly’ and the adverbial constituent *koruay* ‘in preparation for’ help to place the various activities in the right sequence.

- (45) *Peyr nop-i me kwa lowk hnar*
 peyr nop-i m-e kwa lowk hnar
 firstly ironwood-post PL-OBJ HOR cut split
koruay.
 koruay
 preparingly
 ‘First you go out and you cut and split the ironwood posts in preparation (for the building).’

The sentence-initial marker *hai* ‘O.K.’ makes a clear break between the previous event and the one about to be mentioned. The one event is assumed to be finished before the next event starts. The sequential marker *nok* and a second use of *koruay* assist in establishing the sequence order.

- (46) *Hai, musow-now, pros-now, sowor-now,*
 hai musow-now pros-now sowor-now
 O.K. bearer-tree floor.joist-tree roof.support-tree
yakwa-now, kekie-yeyryeyr-now seme
 yakwa-now kekie-yeyryeyr-now so-m-e
 horizontal.beam-tree place-connectors-tree DDEM-PL-Obj
lowk say koruay nok, mays me
 lowk say koruay nok mays m-e
 cut move.PL preparingly SEQ cane PL-Obj
lokrwe say.
 lokrwe say
 cut.PL move.PL
 ‘OK, you cut in preparation all the bearers, floor joists,
 vertical and horizontal roof beams, and all the wall post
 connectors and then you cut all the vines.’

The verbal modifier *lowpway* expresses the completion of an action.

- (47) *Omeme somokwe yier mon-aw kekie*
 omeme so-mo-kwe yier mon-aw kekie
 things DDEM-GL.PL-TOP place LOC-RSTR put
kekke lowpway.
 kekke lowpway
 put completely
 ‘All these things have to be completely stored in the village.’

The postpositional phrase marked by the locative *mon* indicates time sequence here. Also the verbal modifier *pie* helps to establish the sequential order of the events.

- (48) *Seme lonhan lonhan so meyki*
 so-m-e lonhan lonhan s-o meyki
 DDEM-PL-Obj get.ready get.ready 3S.M-GEN after
mon hokwe, ki se meir pie,
 mon ho-kwe ki s-e meir pie
 LOC GL.M-TOP ground 3S.M-Obj measure firstly
hno nop-i so meir
 hwon-o nop-i s-o meir
 2S-GEN ironwood-post 3S.M-GEN measure

mo liyliy-aw.
 m-o liyliy-aw
 PL-GEN similar-RSTR
 ‘After having prepared everything, you need to measure the
 ground first, in accordance to the number of ironwood posts
 you have.’

In (49), the right order of the events is established with the help of the sequential marker *nok* and the final sequence-marker *ok*.

- (49) *Senkin lon lowpway nok, ki-eyh*
 so-enkin lon lowpway nok ki-eyh
 DDEM-MAN do completely SEQ ground-ditch
lopru nok, nop-i me way inon
 lopruw nok nop-i m-e lway linon
 dig SEQ ironwood-post PL-OBJ carry carry
kreik lopalop ok.
 kreik lopalop ok
 plenty finish.off FIN.SEQ
 ‘After having done that, dig holes and then finish (the job) of
 placing all of the ironwood trees.’

In (50), the first sentence is a temporal construction with *senkinaw*, marking a limited time span (§9.4.8). The NP *mey pariawey-ar* ‘very last work’ forms the end and the conclusion of the procedural text. The abrupt ending is not unusual within a procedural text, since there is often no need for evaluative comments once the description of the procedure is finished.

- (50) *Senkin-aw-aw, a se nuw-piar*
 so-enkin-aw-aw a s-e nuw-piar
 DDEM-MAN-RSTR-EMPH house 3S.M-OBJ INT-fence.in
sakoum kawk lowpway. Owah-mey
 sakoum kawk lowpway owah-mey
 turn.to.sides put.inside completely.PFTV sago.stalk-job
somokwe mey pariawey-ar.
 so-mo-kwe mey pariawey-ar
 DDEM-GL.PL-TOP job last-INTF
 ‘Keep going, until you have fenced in the house on all sides.
 The (wall) job with the sago stalks is the last one.’

10.2.3 Descriptive texts

Descriptive texts are similar to procedural texts in that they are informative and non-emotive. Procedural and descriptive texts both make extensive use of the imperfective, since these texts often prescribe or describe general or habitual behaviour. This is in contrast with narrative texts which make extensive use of the perfective to describe unique events that in their totality took place in the past.

Whereas procedural texts are concerned with the correct manner to perform a task, descriptive texts are concerned with the description of observed behaviour or characteristics. Descriptive texts centre around a global theme that is often a directly observable entity (e.g. animal, place, custom, activity).

Descriptive texts make frequent use of verbless clauses: a topicalised entity is supplied with a comment that either gives additional information to that entity or supplies the entity with a certain identity. In (51), the first topic NP is further defined for attributive characteristics, the second topic NP is further identified for role.

(51)	Topic	Comment	Topic	Comment
	<i>Uwr sohokwe</i>	<i>aiopey.</i>	<i>Hiykwe</i>	<i>tisa.</i>
	uwr so-ho-kwe	aiopey	hiy-kwe	tisa
	man DDEM-GL.M	big	3S.M-TOP	teacher
	'That man is big/tall. He is a teacher.'			

Descriptions of customary activities often feature the habitual modal marker *seyn* as illustrated in (52).

(52)	<i>Homkwe</i>	<i>iwar</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>aw</i>	<i>seyn</i>	<i>mon</i>	<i>pey.</i>
	hom-kwe	iwar	m-e	aw	seyn	mon	pey
	2/3PL-TOP	human	PL-OBJ	fight	HAB	do	NEG.IPFTV
	'They are not in the habit of attacking people.'						

Descriptive texts tend to have very few non-topicalised NPs that are syntactically marked for subject or object. This in contrast to narrative texts where non-topicalised NPs occur frequently. In (53-60), there is no occurrence of a non-topicalised subject and only one example of a non-topicalised object.

Descriptive texts are also characterised by a high number of verbless clauses or clauses formed with the stative verb *lwak* like e.g. (53) and

(54). The two topicalised NPs marked by *mokwe* occur in clauses that are formed with the stative verb *lwak*. (Below in (53-60), all topic markers are bolded.)

- (53) *Wondeis mo owh mokwe ma me*
 wondeis m-o owh mo-kwe ma m-e
 snake.sp PL-GEN body GL.PL-TOP leaf PL-OBJ

hieyn lwâk.

hieyn lwak

like be.IPFTV

‘The body of the *wondeis* snake is like leaves (= green).’

- (54) *Hmo owh mokwe nompou nompou lwâk.*
 hom-o owh mo-kwe nompou nompou lwak
 2/3PL-GEN body GL.PL-TOP weak weak be.IPFTV
 ‘Their bodies are very soft.’

Non-topicalised NPs with syntactic marking are relatively rare in descriptive texts. That is especially true for non-topicalised NPs marked for subject and to a lesser extent for non-topicalised NPs marked for object. The NP *iwar me* ‘people, human beings’ in (52) is an example of such an occurrence.

The bolded NPs in (55) and (56) are respectively marked for object and subject, but are topicalised as well.

- (55) *Hmekwe iha nonaw liy nekie wây.*
 hom-e-kwe iha non-aw liy nekie lway
 2/3PL-OBJ-TOP hand CMT-RSTR DYN hold carry.IPFTV
 ‘You can grab them with (your) hand and carry them around.’

- (56) *Uwrsa homkwe senaw lâ.*
 uwr-sa hom-kwe senaw la
 man-woman 2/3PL.SUB-TOP habitually eat.IPFTV
 ‘People are in the habit of eating (them).’

Participants and props that are referred to in a descriptive text often do not represent an individual, unique entity. This in contrast to narrative texts, where participants and props have their own identity and often play roles in specific, unique events. Many of the entities referred to in a descriptive text are not uniquely identifiable entities, but often function as representatives for their type or category. The marking on the NPs reflects this. In (57), *hmo pion mokwe* ‘their meat’ has patient role, but it is not

marked for object. It is only marked by the general topic marker *mokwe*. This is in line with the fact that the NP does not represent a single identifiable entity, but represents the meat of all other *wondeis*-snakes as well.

- (57) *Hmo pion mokwe won non nuw-â.*
 hom-o pion mo-kwe won non nuw-la
 2/3PL-GEN meat GL.PL-TOP grease CMT INT-eat.IPFTV
 ‘As for their meat, it is eaten with grease (= tastes really good).’

In (58-60), the subject *homkwe* occurs three times topicalised. No non-topicalised NPs that are syntactically marked occur in these sentences.

- (58) *Homkwe now mon hoaho*
 hom-kwe now mon ho-a-ho
 2/3PL.SUB-TOP tree LOC twist.around-DUP-twist.around
inakrôk.
 linakrok
 stand.IPFTV
 ‘They are located in trees, curled up.’
- (59) *Homkwe aiai ki sankaw seyn*
 hom-kwe aiai ki so-ankaw seyn
 2/3PL.SUB-TOP food ground DDEM-Degree HAB
lanio sayok a pey.
 lanio sayok la pey
 walk to.and.fro eat NEG.IPFTV
 ‘They don’t habitually go out to find their food.’
- (60) *Enekwei kraiar mokwe homkwe anwaw-aw*
 enekwei kraiar mo-kwe hom-kwe anwaw-aw
 time many GL.PL-TOP 2/3PL.SUB-TOP sleep-RSTR
kor-iawon sokwây.
 kor-liawon sokway
 little-lie.down lie-many.IPFTV
 ‘Most of the time they just sleep for long periods.’

Descriptive texts can contain instructive sections that look very similar to sections of a procedural text, e.g. the text “The snake” (§11.4) moves from descriptive to instructive in the second part of the text. When a descriptive text becomes instructive, an addressee is needed. Below, the

addressee is referred to by *hwon* ‘2S.SUB’ which functions as a universal ‘you’ taking into its scope all who hear or read this text.

In (61-63), possible scenarios are given in subordinate clauses marked by *ankin* ‘if’ which are followed by a main clause expressing a command. In (61), the command is marked by the prohibitive marker *pese*, and in (63), the command is marked by the hortative marker *kwa*.

- (61) *Hmo weyn kamon, senkin: Enekwei hwon*
 hom-o weyn kamon so-enkin enekwei hwon
 2/3PL-GEN custom one DDEM-MAN time 2S.SUB
wondeis ke lira irway ankin, peyr pese
 wondeis k-e lira lirway ankin peyr pese
 snake.sp 3S.F-OBJ see meet if/when firstly PROH
saw-okin kwor o.
 saw-lokin kwor o
 SPD-hit die NEG.IPFTV

‘One of their habits is like this: if you happen to see a *wondeis* snake, do not be too quick in killing it.’

- (62) *Peyr kwa mesopok, wayhih non senaw*
 peyr kwa me-sopok wayh-ih non senaw
 firstly HOR speak-ask friend-KIN CMT habitually

lwāk.

lwak

be.IPFTV

‘First ask (the snake); they often have a companion along.’

- (63) *Enekwei hwon mesopok ankin, woki mon*
 enekwei hwon me-sopok ankin woki mon
 time 2S speak-ask if/when mouth LOC

kwa lira kraipakrà.

kwa lira krai-pa-krai

HOR see strong-DUP.strong

‘When you ask (the snake), closely watch his mouth.’

10.2.4 Hortatory and expository discourses

Hortatory discourse resembles expository discourse in that they are both organised thematically and contain sentences that do not encode events and are not ordered iconically. Both types of discourse want to

inform, defend a particular course of action, or express the speaker's viewpoint. The focus of an expository discourse is directed towards building a sound argument, while the focus of a hortatory discourse is to modify the addressee's thinking or behaviour. Therefore, one will find that a hortatory discourse is often punctuated at various intervals by value-judgements, commands or suggestions using hortative forms and assertions. An expository text deals with arguments and counter arguments and the author can give a conclusion with or without exhortation. For example, in the text on problems in childless marriages (§11.5), the author only states his disapproval of men sending their wives away in the final paragraph, after he has delineated arguments in favour and against this behaviour.

Expository discourse deals with reasons, goals, contrasts, comparisons, conditions linked to consequences, etc. The expression of complicated ideas leads to the use of complex sentences with subordinate clauses. An individual clause might be complex as well when e.g. a noun is modified by embedded phrases or clauses, or when a subordinate clause is placed in tail position when the speaker fears that the sentence might not be fully understood.

In (64), the sentence contains a NP modified by a relative clause. It also has an object clause in tail position. The modified NP is embedded at two levels. The head of the NP *uwr* 'man' is marked for number by the phrase final plural demonstrative *somokwe*. The NP head *uwr* is modified by an embedded NP of which the head is *sa* 'woman'. This head is modified by the embedded relative clause *ney lopa ma lwak*. The demonstrative *seme* that precedes the verb phrase establishes a logical relationship between this clause and the previous one. The object clause in tail position gives more detail to the idea expressed in the main clause.

(64)	P1	(+embed.NP)	(+embed.NP)				
	<i>Uwr, hmo</i>	<i>sa,</i>	<i>ney lopa ma lwak</i>				
	uwr hom-o	sa	ney lopa ma lwak				
	man 2/3PL-GEN	woman	child NEG RCM be				
				Comment			
	<i>somokwe,</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>uron irweyk seme</i>				
	so-mo-kwe	sa	uron irweyk so-m-e				
	DDEM-GL.PL-TOP	then/and	heart different	DDEM-PL-OBJ			

		Tail			
<i>kamahre</i>	<i>kreik</i> ,	<i>hmo</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>lour</i>
kama-hre	kreik	hom-o	sa	m-e	lour
get.PL-turn.into	plenty	2/3PL-GEN	woman	PL-OBJ	step
<i>swaweyr</i>	<i>yay</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>e</i> .		
swaweyr	lyay	ha	e		
cause.to.move.away	place.down	OBJ<SUB	OBJ		

‘As a result the men whose wives do not have children are coming up with different ideas to send their wives away.’

Apart from the fact that the hortatory and the expository text differ in focus, the discourse types have many similar features. Cohesive connectives like *seyr* and *sawk* (§9.1) which are relatively rare in descriptive and procedural texts often link or contrast arguments that support the speaker’s main contentions. Conjunctions encoding reason (*payhokuaw* §9.3.3), condition/circumstances (*ankin* §9.5.3), or logical consequence (*sehe*, *sokwe*, *seme* §4.4.3) are used often.

In (65), the speaker makes use of reason and conditional conjunctions and links his argument to (66) by means of the contrastive connective *sawk*. The speaker contrasts the group of men with children and the group of men without children. All the conjunctions and cohesive markers in (65-68) are bolded.

- (65) *Har, ney non ma lwak somokwe, kar*
 har ney non ma lwak so-mo-kwe kar
 some child CMT RCM be DDEM-GL.PL-TOP gladness
- ley. Payhokuaw hom uwr nawp lwak*
 ley po-ay-ho-kuaw hom uwr nawp lwak
 go Q-what-GL.M-for.reason.of 2/3PL man old be
- ankin, hmo ney homkwe hme*
 ankin hom-o ney hom-kwe hom-e
 if/when 2/3PL-GEN child 2/3PL-TOP 2/3PL-OBJ
- ma-hiymon.*
 ma-hiy-mon
 RPT-CAUS-do
 ‘Those who have children are happy. Because, when they are old men, their children will look after them.’

- (66) *Sawk har, ney lopa somokwe honon*
 sawk har ney lopa so-mo-kwe honon
 CHD some child NEG DDEM-GL.PL-TOP difficult
honon, omok hom uwr nawp lwak ankin.
 honon omok hom uwr nawp lwak ankin
 difficult later 2/3PL man old be if/when
 ‘But those without children experience hardships, when they
 have become old men.’

Subordinate clauses normally precede the main clause, but in (66) the temporal clause is placed in tail position. As stated before, the tail position is not used for new information. The speaker simply wants to avoid ambiguity and adds the subordinate clause to make explicit what could have been understood from the context already.

Quotes are introduced by the adverbial manner demonstrative *senkin* (§4.4.2). The two consecutive arguments in (67-68) are linked by the cohesive marker *seyr* ‘and, also’. The marker *seyr* links entities that are similar to each other (§9.1.3). In this case it links two quotes that argue in favour of the same point.

- (67) *God so ok senkin me, “Uwr, sa*
 God s-o ok so-enkin me uwr sa
 God 3S.M-GEN talk DDEM-MAN speak man woman
ke huon our swaweyr yay ha
 k-e huon lour swaweyr lyay ha
 3S.F-OBJ marry step push.away place.down OBJ<SUB
ankin, hiykwe yokun-yor ke meio.
 ankin hiy-kwe yokun-yor k-e meio
 if/when 3S.M-TOP theft-way 3S.F-OBJ work
 ‘God’s word says this, “The man who marries his wife and
 gets rid of her again, he commits adultery (lit. works the steal
 custom).”’

- (68) *Seyr Pol so mamey kokwe senkin*
 seyr Po s-o ma-mey ko-kwe so-enkin
 and/also Pol 3S.M-GEN leaf-write GL.F-TOP DDEM-MAN
me, "Enekwei ohokwe uwrsa
 me enekwei o-ho-kwe uwr-sa
 speak time PDEM-GL.M-TOP man-woman
hmo yokun-yor mokwe pa kraiar nuw-wak.
 hom-o yokun-yor mo-kwe pa kraiar nuw-lwak
 2/3PL-GEN theft-way GL.PL-TOP CUR many INT-be
Uwr lowpwarowp homkwe hmo sa
 uwr lowpwarowp hom-kwe hom-o sa
 man all 2/3PL-TOP 2/3PL-GEN woman
arian non lwak e."
 arian non lwak e
 own CMT be OBJ
 'Paul's letter states as follows, "In the present time the
 people's adultery is abundant. Let all men have their own
 wife.'"

A hortatory text is marked by frequent exhortations. The examples below are taken from a speech by the local government member exhorting the people to show up for the village work party the next Monday (§11.6). The arguments used are a combination of veiled threats and appeals to parental concern for the well-being of their children. The speaker portrays himself both as the village leader they need to obey and as the concerned father figure who looks after everyone's well-being.

His discourse expresses three times a general command to look well after the Aid Post. This can be done by an adhortative command (§7.1) with the clause-final goal marker *e* as is done in (69).

- (69) *Hromkwe enkin ohokwe Aid Post se*
 hrom-kwe enkin o-ho-kwe aid post s-e
 1PL-TOP MAN PDEM-GL.M-TOP aid post 3S.M-OBJ
nekie kraiy e.
 nekie krai-ay e
 hold strength-PL OBJ
 'At this time we should really hold on to (= look after) our
 Aid Post in a strong way.'

The speaker's arguments are also made forceful by rhetorical questions that underline his arguments. Example (70) is a question which, though answered, is rhetorical in nature. It emphasises the fact that no alternatives for medical help are available. In (71), the speaker emphasises this point by listing the potential difficulties the people are likely to encounter if no action is taken.

- (70) *Hai, hwon peik nakwon, hunkwe perey*
 hai hwon peik nak-won hwon-kwe po-rey
 O.K. 2S ill ACC-lie 2S-TOP Q-there
nakey a?
 nak-ley a
 ACC-go INDEF
 'If you are down with some illness, where would you go to?'
- (71) *Haus Sik aiopey hay hokwe meiwaw-ar*
 haus sik aiopey hay ho-kwe mei-aw-ar
 house sick big very GL.M-TOP long-RSTR-INTF
lwak, seyr yerki yaprue-ar lopa.
 lwak seyr yerki yaprue-ar lopa
 be and/also road good-INTF NEG.NOMS
Seyr meinowon non.
 seyr meinowon non
 and/also money CMT
 'The big hospital is far away, and also the road is not very good. And it will (cost) money.'

Example (72) is another rhetorical question, with no need for further commentary.

- (72) *Hromkwe meinowon pay non nakey a,*
 hrom-kwe meinowon po-ay non nak-ley a
 1PL-TOP money Q-what CMT ACC-go INDEF
hrom peik lwak mokwe?
 hrom peik lwak mo-kwe
 1PL ill be GL.PL-TOP
 'With what money would we go, when we are ill?'

It is very rare that the main point of a public hortatory speech is made in the opening lines and then followed by supporting evidence. A speaker prefers to pave the way for his main point by mentioning supporting

reasons and arguments first. He anticipates potential resistance to his opinion or proposal and tries to answer these objections before he comes to his main point.

The local parliament member in his speech about the Aid Post had as goal to make the village people show up for community work on Monday. This point is only made towards the end of the speech (73), after the benefits of having the Aid Post have been mentioned and negative scenarios of the village without an Aid Post have been stressed. Even then, the speaker stays away from a direct command, but rather describes what should happen when he asks the people to work on the Aid Post.

- (73) *Hme ha senkin me ankin, 'Ama,*
 hom-e ha so-enkin me ankin ama
 2/3PL-OBJ 1S DDEM-MAN speak if/when ADDR.PL
Yabru-om, hromkwe Mande mokwe Aid
 Yabru-om hrom-kwe mande mo-kwe aid
 Yabru-group 1PL-TOP Monday GL.PL-TOP aid
Post-mey meio e', homkwe hano ok
 post-mey meio e hom-kwe han-o ok
 post-job work OBJ.IMP 2/3PL-TOP 1S-GEN talk
ko meyki ley nok, meidò.
 k-o meyki ley nok meio
 3S.F-GEN after go SEQ work.PFTV
 'When I say to you, "Yabru people, every Monday we should
 work on the Aid Post", you should then listen to my words
 and do the work.'

10.2.5 Personal letters

Personal letters have several features which distinguish them from other thematically organised texts. They have five components:

- a. name of the addressee;
- b. introductory greetings;
- c. stage setting or introduction to the main point;
- d. main point or request;
- e. closing, which has the writer's signature.

a. The name of the addressee is preferably another name than the officially given name. The addressee may be referred to by a nickname, e.g. *hiymeï hay* ‘the very tall one’ or a kinship term.

b. The introductory greetings include a statement about the author’s wellbeing and may include an enquiry about the addressee’s health, although the latter is not always needed as can be seen in §11.7. These introductory greetings are rarely skipped, not even in letters expressing anger. Like all discourse introductions, these greetings are heavily topic-marked.

c. The author sets the stage for introducing his main point or request first. This argumentation can either remove obstacles that hinder this main point or request or state certain facts that buttress it, e.g. (74-75).

d. The main point or request may be made less direct by introductory sentences that talk about the request but do not explicitly state it yet (76).

e. The conclusion consists of final greetings that focus primarily on the addressee and his or her family. The formulaic closing often includes *senkinaw* ‘that’s all’.

The letter in §11.7 contains a request to be allowed to work on a building project. The author is an elementary teacher who has left his work. The teacher removes the possible objection that he cannot be hired for the building project, since he has left his responsibilities as a teacher. He stresses the fact of his availability by explaining further why he is not likely to return to his teaching role. In examples (74) and (74), he also rules out the possibility of an offer to teach in a different village, by stating that he is not really interested in being a teacher.

(74) *Hunkwe hano ok, paraw ha ma me,*
 hwon-kwe han-o ok paraw ha ma me
 2S-TOP 1S-GEN talk past 1S RCM speak

po lonuayk.
 po lonuayk
 PFT hear

‘You have heard the words that I have spoken in the past.’

- (75) *Hakwe senkin me, hakwe elementary tisa*
 ha-kwe so-enkin me ha-kwe elementary tisa
 1S-TOP DDEM-MAN speak 1S-TOP elementary teacher
nuw-wak peyow ey hokwe, uron ipey
 nuw-lwak peyow ey ho-kwe uron ipey
 INT-be continually INTN GL.M-TOP heart important
hay nuw-wak pey.
 hay nuw-lwak pey
 very INT-be NEG.IPFTV
 ‘I said that as for continually being an elementary teacher, I
 was not really interested (lit. I was not with very important
 heart/thoughts).’

The main point, or main request of a letter is rarely placed in the beginning of the letter. The actual request in the letter in §11.7 is made towards the end of the letter, after the author has already elaborated on the fact that he is fully available for the job he is requesting. The author wants to make himself agreeable and non-controversial. The use of the non-contrastive *seyr* is also a helpful device in that respect.

The final request is not stated abruptly, but is introduced with a short introductory sentence that leads up to the question as is illustrated in (76).

- (76) *Hakwe hnekwe seyr mesopok kamon*
 ha-kwe hwon-e-kwe seyr me-sopok kamon
 1S-TOP 2S-OBJ-TOP and/also speak-ask one
senkin mesopok ley.
 so-enkin me-sopok ley
 DDEM-MAN speak-ask go
 ‘I am going to ask you a question.’

This introduction sentence is followed by two very different, unrelated requests (§11.7). The first request (to become enrolled in medical training) is immediately followed by the second request to be made part of the building crew for an upcoming building project. This last request was in all likelihood the reason why the letter was written (see §11.7 for last part of letter).

Appendices: Abau texts

11.1 Narrative (Legend)

The text of “The two brothers” has been analysed in reference to the three positions in the Abau sentence structure: topic part (P1 and P2), comment part (identified by the absence of topic marking) and tail (P3).

The last NP of the topic part of the sentence is always the P1 constituent and is by definition the most prominent constituent of the topic part. All NPs preceding this P1 constituent are P2 constituents. The comment part is marked by non-topicalised constituents like OBJ, SUB, PP, ADVP, VP, PP and the comment part of a verbless clauses is simply marked comment.) The tail is marked by a P3 constituent which is often topicalised, but not obligatorily. The meaning of the labels used are explained in the table below.

TABLE 56: LABELS USED TO MARK THE TEXT “THE TWO BROTHERS”

Topic part of the sentence		
CL.M	A subordinate clause marker.	§9.4
NP (unm)	A fronted NP which belongs in the topic part of the sentence in spite of its lack of topic marking.	§3.11.2
P1 P2	A non-syntactic, topicalised NP which occurs in the topic part of the sentence that is only marked pragmatically (<i>hokwe</i> , <i>kokwe</i> or <i>mokwe</i>).	§3.6.1
P1(DET)	A topicalised NP marked by a determiner:	§3.6
P2(DET)	non-syntactic demonstrative.	§3.1
	Other determiners: possessive pronoun, numeral.	§3.4
P1(OBJ)	A topicalised NP which is also marked for object.	§3.7.4
P2(OBJ)		
P1(PP)	A topicalised NP which also hosts a	§3.9
P2(PP)	postpositional.	

TABLE 56 (CONT'D)

Topic part of the sentence (cont'd)		
P1(SUB)	A topicalised NP which is also marked for subject.	§3.7.2
P2(SUB)		
Comment part of the sentence (beginning indicated by →)		
ADV	Adverbial phrase. The following categories have been included below: adverbial demonstratives, adverbial interrogatives, modal markers preceding the VP.	§4.4 §4.4.2 §7.5.3 §5.2
Comment	The comment constituent in verbless clauses, or in clauses formed with the stative verb <i>lwak</i> .	§6.2 §6.3
OBJ	A non-topicalised NP that is only marked for object.	§3.7
OBJ (unm)	A non-topicalised unmarked NP that relates to the VP as an object, but is obligatorily not marked for object (incorporated objects).	§3.11.1
PP	A non-topicalised NP that is only marked for semantic case.	§3.9
SUB	A non-topicalised NP that is only marked for subject.	§3.7
VP	Verb phrase.	§4.3
Tail part is filled by a P3 constituent (e.g. NP object or postpositional phrase, subord. clause)		
P3(OBJ)	The tail is filled by an object NP.	§8.5
P3(Sub. Clause)	The tail is filled by a subordinate clause.	§8.5.1

The cohesive discourse markers *seyr*, *sawk* and *sa* (§9.1) have been left unlabelled in the text below. Also clause-final markers (§5.3) and sentence final markers (§7) which follow the VP have not been marked separately. Subordinate clause markers are all indicated since, at sentence level, they mark the subordinate clause as the topic part of the sentence.

Various constituents are marked with a cross reference to a section that contains further clarification for the chosen label. The addressive (ADDR) is marked.

The two brothers

As told by Obow Inaru from Yabru village. Estimated birth year: 1943. Date written: 1989. The narrative “The two brothers” has three main participants: the older and younger brother, and a bush spirit.

Title is a NP that functions as a comment NP (see §6.2.1.2).

(1) →Comment

<i>Uwr</i>	<i>oryay-kiy</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>okpey</i>	<i>ok.</i>
uwr	oryay-kiy	m-o	ok-pey	ok
man	older.brother-two	PL-GEN	talk-part	talk

‘The story of the two brothers.’

(2) P2(DET)

<i>Okpey-ok</i>	<i>okukwe,</i>	<i>pokon</i>	<i>hromkwe</i>
ok-pey-ok	o-ko-kwe	pokon	hrom-kwe
talk-part-talk	DDEM-GL.F-TOP	today	1PL-TOP

→OBJ

<i>uwr</i>	<i>prueysyar</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>okpey</i>	<i>ke</i>
uwr	prueysyar	s-o	ok-pey	k-e
man	two.CL1	3S.M-GEN	talk-part	3S.F-OBJ

VP

lonuayk ey.

lonuayk ey

hear INTN

‘As for this story, we are going to hear now the story of two men.’

(3) P1(DET)

<i>Okpey</i>	<i>okukwe</i>	<i>senkin</i>	<i>mesor.</i>
ok-pey	o-ko-kwe	so-enkin	me-sor
talk-part	DDEM-GL.F-TOP	DDEm-MAN	speak-count

‘This story goes like this.’

- (4) **P1(DET)** **→PP**
Uwr oryay-kiy sohokwe yier
 uwr oryay-kiy so-ho-kwe yier
 man older.brother-two DDEM-GL.M-TOP place
VP
kamon mon non-wayr.
 kamon mon non-lwayr
 one.CL2 LOC DU-stay
 ‘These two brothers stayed together in a certain place.’
- (5) **P1(DET)** **→SUB**
Yier sohokwe seyr uwrsa
 yier so-ho-kwe seyr uwr-sa
 place DDEM-GL.M-TOP and/also man-woman
ADV VP
krai-ar senkin nuw-meio wayr.
 krai-ar so-enkin nuw-meio lwayr
 strength-INTF DDEM-MAN INT-work stay
 ‘As for this place there were also many (other) people living
 and doing their work.’
- (6) **P1(SUB)** **→Comment**
Hohkwe seyr ney non sa non.
 hoh-kwe seyr ney non sa non
 2DU.SUB-TOP and/also child CMT woman CMT
 ‘The two of them also had children and wives.’
- (7) **P1(SUB)** **→PP**
Nay-ih hiykwe seyr sa
 nay-ih hiy-kwe seyr sa
 younger.sibling-KIN 3S.M.SUB-TOP and/also woman
P1(SUB) OBJ(unm) VP
non, sawk hiykwe ney lopa lanio wayr.
 non sawk hiy-kwe ney lopa lanio lwayr
 CMT CHD 3S.M.SUB-TOP child NEG walk stay
 ‘The younger brother had a wife, but he was without any
 children.’

- (8) **P1(DET)** **→SUB**
Enekwei kamon hokwe oryay-ih hiy
 enekwei kamon ho-kwe oryay-ih hiy
 time one GL.M-TOP older.brother-KIN 3S.M.SUB
- VP** **P3(OBJ)** **ADDR** **P2**
me, nay-ih se, "Ara, pokon
 me nay-ih s-e ara pokon
 speak younger.sibling-KIN 3S.M-OBJ ADDR.M today
- P1(SUB)** **→OBJ**
kokwe hrorkwe omkuw-i kreysyar
 ko-kwe hror-kwe omkuw-i kreys-ar
 GL.F-TOP 1DU-TOP banyan.tree.post two.CL2-INTF
- VP**
ke non-ie inor kok ey."
 k-e non-lie linor kok ey
 3S.F-OBJ DU-climb fence.off day.time INTN
 'One day the older brother said to the younger one, "Man,
 today we will climb into two banyan trees and build hiding
 places there (= in order to shoot birds). "'
- (9) **→SUB** **VP** **P1(SUB)** **→ADV**
Nay-ih hiy me, "Hrorkwe liy
 nay-ih hiy me hror-kwe liy
 younger.sibling-KIN 3S.M.SUB speak 1DU-Top DYN
- VP** **P1(SUB)** **→OBJ(unm)**
non-ey inor. Seyr hakwe ahney-pion
 non-ley linor seyr ha-kwe ahney-pion
 DU-go fence.off and/also 1S-TOP bird-meat
- VP**
la ley."
 la ley
 eat go
 'The younger brother said, "We can go together to make
 hiding places. I want to eat bird meat.'"

- VP**
- senkin hom nuw-a.*
 so-enkin hom nuw-la
 DDEM-MAN 2/3PL INT-eat
 ‘As for the seeds of these two banyan trees, all kinds of birds do eat them.’
- (13) **P1(DET)**
Enekwei kamon leisnon hokwe sawk
 enekwei kamon leisnon ho-kwe sawk
 time one morning GL.M-TOP CHD
→ADV VP
sehe non-ie wakiawk nerie.
 so-h-e non-lie wakiawk nerie
 DDEM-3S.M-OBJ DU-climb sit morning
 ‘So the next morning, they climbed up (in the tree) and sat down.’
- (14) **→SUB VP P3(OBJ)**
Oryay-ih hiy me, nay-ih
 oryay-ih hiy me nay-ih
 older.brother-KIN 3S.M.SUB speak younger.sibling-KIN
ADDR P1 →ADV
se, “Ara pokon yaprue non-aw non-aw
s-e ara pokon yaprue non-aw non-aw
 3S.M-OBJ ADDR.M today good CMT-RSTR CMT-RSTR
VP P3(Sub.Clause)
hin e, ahney sian ne ankin.
 hin e ahney sian ne ankin
 shoot OBJ.IMP bird get.up SUB>OBJ if/when
 ‘The older brother said to his younger brother, “Man, you should only shoot your very best, if a bird flies near.”’
- (15) **P1(SUB) →ADV VP**
Hrorkwe puraw non-meio ie lak.”
 hrorkwe puraw non-meio lie lak
 1DU-Top nothing DU-work climb undesired
 ‘It would not be good if (the work) of climbing up and building would be for nothing.’

- (16) **P1(SUB)** **→ADV** **VP**
Hohkwe sawk sehe non-ie
 hoh-kwe sawk so-h-e non-lie
 they.DU-Top CHD DDEM-3S.M-OBJ DU-climb
wakiawk nerie.
 wakiawk nerie
 sit morning
 ‘So in the morning the two of them climbed up and sat there.’
- (17) **→SUB** **OBJ**
Oryay-ih hiy inor kamon ke,
 oryay-ih hiy inor kamon k-e
 older.brother-KIN 3S.M.SUB shelter one 3S.F-OBJ
- SUB** **OBJ**
nay-ih hiy inor kamon ke.
 nay-ih hiy inor kamon k-e
 younger.sibling-KIN 3S.M.SUB shelter one 3S.F-OBJ
 ‘The older brother in one hiding place and the younger brother in one hiding place.’
- (18) **SUB VP** **CL.M**
Hoh non-ie yawriy iwak liok menkin,
 hoh non-lie lyawriy liwak liok menkin
 2DU DU-climb enter sit in.vain when
- ADV VP** **P3(OBJ)**
sa mei-aw ka-ira huon, ahney
 sa mei-aw ka-lira huon ahney
 then/and long-RSTR DIR:side-see OBJ>SUB bird
- [RelativeClause]**
senkin senkin hom lon-sian
 so-enkin so-enkin hom lon-sian
 DDEM-MAN DDEM-MAN 2/3PL.SUB do-get.up
- ↓
on-sian ne me.
 lon-sian ne m-e
 do-get.up SUB>OBJ PL-OBJ
 ‘When they had hardly climbed up and gone to sit down in their shelter, they saw from far away all kinds of birds coming, which were flying towards them.’

- (22) **P1(SUB)** **→OBJ** **[RelativeClause]**
Poup hiykwe sawk ahney hiy ma
 poup hiy-kwe sawk ahney hiy ma
 spirit 3S.M.SUB-TOP CHD bird 3S.M RCM
 | **VP**
hin ha seme la.
 hin ha so-m-e la
 shoot OBJ<SUB DDEM-PL-OBJ eat
 ‘The bush spirit ate the birds which he (= younger brother) had shot.’
- (23) **→SUB** **VP** **P1(SUB)** **→OBJ**
Poup hiy me, “Hunkwe hano a
 poup hiy me hwon-kwe han-o a
 spirit 3S.M.SUB speak 2S-TOP 1S-GEN house
VP
se meio ie.
 s-e meio lie
 3S.M-OBJ work climb
 ‘The bush spirit said, “You climbed up and built (your shelter) in my house.”’
- (24) **P1(DET)** **→Comment**
Sohokwe now omkuw puraw
 so-ho-kwe now omkuw puraw
 DDEM-GL.M-TOP tree banyan.tree nothing
P2(SUB) **P1** **→ADV** **VP**
korey. Hunkwe pokon perey ley a?”
 korey hwon-kwe pokon po-rey ley a
 no 2S-TOP today Q-there go INDF
 ‘This is not a normal banyan tree [= it is my house]. Where will you be going to now? [= you have no way to escape].’

- (25) **P1(SUB)** **→OBJ**
Nay-ih *hiykwe* *sawk* *oryay-ih*
 younger.sibling-KIN 3S.M.SUB-TOP CHD older.brother-KIN
- ADV** **VP** **ADDR**
se *sehe* *liwowr* *me,* *“Ara,*
 s-e so-h-e liwowr me ara
 3S.M-OBJ DDEM-3S.M-OBJ shout speak ADDR.M
- Comment** **OBJ**
poup *ehe* *o.* *Hano*
 poup o-h-e o han-o
 spirit PDEM-3S.M-OBJ EMPH.SP.IPFTV 1S-GEN
- VP** **P1(SUB)** **→OBJ**
ahney me la. Seyr *hiykwe* *hane*
 ahney m-e la seyr hiy-kwe han-e
 bird PL-OBJ eat and/also 3S.M.SUB-TOP 1S-OBJ
- VP**
nak-a ley o.”
 nak-la ley o
 ACC-eat go EMPH.SP.IPFTV
- ‘Then the younger brother shouted to his older brother, “Man, here is a bush spirit. He is eating my birds. And he is going to eat me as well.”’
- (26) **SUB** **VP**
Oryay-ih *hiy* *lonuayk* *me* *hain*
 oryay-ih hiy lonuayk me hain
 older.brother-KIN 3S.M.SUB hear speak SUB<OBJ
- CL.M →PP**
nok, nay-ih *so* *owh*
 nok nay-ih s-o owh
 SEQ younger.sibling-KIN 3S.M-GEN body

- VP P1(SUB) →ADV VP**
mon ley, "Hunkwe peyr peie hakan
 mon ley hwon-kwe peyr peie hakan
 LOC go 2S-TOP firstly PROH flee
oksow o."
loksow o
 climb.down EMPH.SP.IPFTV
 'The older brother listened and then went to the younger
 brother, saying, "Do not flee by going down yet."'
- (27) **→OBJ ADV VP**
"Peyr hane kwa liwak naruok."
 peyr han-e kwa liwak naruok
 firstly 1S-OBJ HOR sit wait
 "Firstly sit there waiting for me."
- (28) **SUB VP CL.M**
Oryay-ih hiy sau ousne menkin,
 oryay-ih hiy sau lousne menkin
 older.brother-KIN 3S.M.SUB run appear when
→SUB VP P3(PP)
nay-ih hiy loksow, omkuw
 nay-ih hiy loksow omkuw
 younger.sibling-KIN 3S.M climb.down banyan.tree
ayaw ko hokwe.
 ayak k-o ho-kwe
 top ABL GL.M-TOP
 'When the older brother quickly came near, the younger
 brother climbed down from the top of the banyan tree.'
- (29) **P1(DET) →ADV VP**
Sawk poup sohokwe pase hakan e.
 sawk poup so-ho-kwe pase hakan e
 CHD spirit DDEM-GL.M-TOP NEG flee OBJ
 'But the bush spirit did not flee.'

- (30) **SUB** **OBJ(unn)**
Nay-ih *hiy* *ki* *ohriar*
 nay-ih *hiy* *ki* *ohriar*
 younger.sibling-KIN 3S.M.SUB ground near
VP **CL.M** **P1(SUB)**
maka-wak *menkin,* *oryay-ih*
 maka-lwak *menkin* *oryay-ih*
 just/only-be when older.brother-KIN
→OBJ
hiykwe *sawk* *iha* *kamon* *ke*
 hiy-kwe *sawk* *iha* *kamon* *k-e*
 3S.M.SUB-TOP CHD hand one 3S.F-OBJ
ADV **VP**
sehe *nekie* *huon.*
 so-h-e *nekie* *huon*
 DDEM-3S.M-OBJ hold OBJ>SUB
 ‘When the younger brother came near towards the ground, his
 older brother consequently took his one hand coming towards
 him.’
- (31) **P1(DET)** **→OBJ**
Poup *sohokwe* *seyr,* *hyo* *iha*
 poup *so-ho-kwe* *seyr* *hiy-o* *iha*
 spirit DDEM-GL.M-TOP and/also 3S.M-GEN hand
VP
kamon *ke* *ar-nekie* *huon.*
 kamon *k-e* *ar-nekie* *huon*
 one 3S.F-OBJ DIR:up-hold OBJ>SUB
 ‘And also the bush spirit grabbed one hand that came towards
 him.’
- (32) **→ADV** **VP**
Sawk *sehe* *non-owkway* *yakyak,*
 sawk *so-h-e* *non-lowkway* *yakyak*
 CHD DDEM-3S.M-OBJ DU-pull back.and.forth

- (39) →ADV VP →SUB ADV
Senkin lon nok. Poup hiy sankaw,
 so-enkin lon nok poup hiy so-ankaw
 DDEM-MAN do DUR spirit 3S.M DDEM-Degree
 →SUB ADV
hiy sankaw.
 hiy so-ankaw
 3S.M DDEM-Degree
 ‘It went on like this. The bush spirit went some distance, he
 (= the older brother) went some distance.’
- (40) →SUB PP
Poup hiy hyo yier arian
 poup hiy hiy-o yier arian
 spirit 3S.M.SUB 3S.M-GEN place own
 VP
mon nak-ousne.
 mon nak-lousne
 LOC ACC-appear
 ‘The bush spirit appeared (= arrived) in his own village.’
- (41) P1(SUB) →PP
Oryay-ih hiykwe seyr poup so
 oryay-ih hiy-kwe seyr poup s-o
 older.brother-KIN 3S.M-TOP and/also spirit 3S.M-GEN
 VP
yier mon lousne.
 yier mon lousne
 place LOC appear
 ‘The older brother also arrived in the bush spirit’s village.’

- (42) **SUB** **PP** **VP**
Poup hiy hyo a mon nak-ie
 poup hiy hiy-o a mon nak-lie
 spirit 3S.M.SUB 3S.M-GEN house LOC ACC-climb
- CL.M** **→OBJ** **VP** **P3(PP)**
nok, hye way kwawk, a-ohiysawk mon.
 nok hiy-e lway kwawk a-ohiysawk mon
 SEQ 3S.M-OBJ carry put.inside house-room LOC
 ‘The bush spirit climbed up into his house and then took and
 locked him inside a room of the house.’
- (43) **OBJ** **VP**
A-yerki se nak-piaray kraipakrai hain
 a-yerki s-e nak-piaray kraipakrai hain
 house-road 3S.M-OBJ ACC-lock strongly SUB<OBJ
- CL.M** **P1(SUB)** **→OBJ(unm)** **ADV**
nok, hiykwe sawk yayh seyn
 nok hiy-kwe sawk yayh seyn
 SEQ 3S.M.SUB-TOP CHD song HAB
- VP**
nak-ey owk nayr.
 nak-ley lowk nayr
 ACC-go beat night
 ‘He tightly locked the door behind him and then went and
 kept dancing during the night.’
- (44) **P1(SUB)** **→ADV** **VP** **OBJ(unm)**
Poup hiykwe senkin lon, yayh
 poup hiy-kwe so-enkin lon yayh
 spirit 3S.M.SUB-TOP DDEM-MAN do song
- ADV** **VP** **CL.M** **→OBJ**
sankaw sankaw lowk nok, hye
 so-ankaw so-ankaw lowk nok hiy-e
 DDEM-Degree DDEM-Degree beat SEQ 3S.M-OBJ

- (47) →SUB VP P1(SUB)
Nay-ih hiy me, "Hakwe
 nay-ih hiy me ha-kwe
 younger.sibling-KIN 3S.M.SUB speak 1S-TOP
 →Comment
ehe lwak."
 o-h-e lwak
 DEM-3S.M-OBJ be
 'The younger brother said, "I am here."'
- (48) →SUB VP
Hai, oryay-ih hiy ma-me-sopok,
 hai oryay-ih hiy ma-me-sopok
 O.K. older.brother-KIN 3S.M.SUB RPT-speak-ask
 P3(OBJ) P1(SUB)
nay-ih se, "Hunkwe
 nay-ih s-e hwon-kwe
 younger.sibling-KIN 3S.M-OBJ 2S-TOP
 →OBJ(unm) ADV VP
si pankaw nak-sese o?"
 si po-ankaw nak-sese o
 excrement Q-degree ACC-urged Q.SP.IPFTV
 'The older brother now asked the younger brother, "Do you have to excrete?"'
- (49) →SUB VP
Nay-ih hiy ma-sahre me kow,
 nay-ih hiy ma-sahre me kow
 younger.sibling-KIN 3S.M.SUB RPT-return speak BEN
 P3(OBJ) P1(SUB)
oryay-ih se, "Oo, hakwe mo
 oryay-ih s-e oo ha-kwe mo
 older.brother-KIN 3S.M-OBJ yes 1S-TOP EMPH
 →OBJ(unm) VP
si nak-sese o."
 si nak-sese o
 excrement ACC-urged EMPH.SP.IPFTV
 'The younger brother responded to the older brother, "Yes, I really have to excrete."'

- (50) **→SUB** **VP** **P1(SUB)**
Oryay-ih *hiy* *ma-me* *kow,* “*Hunkwe*
 oryay-ih *hiy* *ma-me* *kow* *hwon-kwe*
 older.brother-KIN 3S.M.SUB RPT-speak BEN 2S-TOP
- OBJ(unm)** **VP** **CL.M** **→OBJ**
si *low* *nok,* *seyr* *hno* *makwey*
 si *low* *nok* *seyr* *hwon-o* *makwey*
 excrement defecate SEQ and 2S-GEN head
- VP** **CL.M** **→PP**
owhma *se* *kanpre* *nok,* *si*
 owhma s-e *kampre* *nok* *si*
 hair 3S.M-OBJ break.off SEQ excrement
- VP**
eir *mon* *kiy-kekie* *hain.*”
 eir *mon* *kiy-kekie* *hain*
 top LOC ACT-put SUB<OBJ.PFTV
 ‘The older brother said again, “You must defecate and then
 you must break off a hair and then put it on top of the
 excrement to leave behind.”’
- (51) **P1(SUB)**
Seseyn, *nay-ih* *hiykwe*
 seseyn *nay-ih* *hiy-kwe*
 accordingly younger.sibling-KIN 3S.M.SUB-TOP
- ADV** **VP** **P3(RelativeClause)**
senkin *lon,* *oryay-ih* *hiy* *ma* *me*
 so-enkin *lon* *oryay-ih* *hiy* *ma* *me*
 DDEM-MAN do older.brother-KIN 3S.M RCM speak
- sor-a-sor* *kow* *senkin.*
 sor-a-sor *kow* *so-enkin*
 tell-DUP-tell BEN DDEM-MAN
 ‘So it happened - the younger brother did what the older
 brother had instructed him to do.’

- (52) **P1(SUB)** **OBJ**
Oryay-ih hiykiaw kokwe a-yerki
 oryay-ih hiy-kiaw ko-kwe a-yerki
 older.brother-KIN 3S.M-SLCT GL.F-TOP house-road
- VP CL.M OBJ**
se kampi nok, nay-ih
 s-e kampi nok nay-ih
 3S.M-OBJ open SEQ younger.sibling-KIN
- VP CL.M →VP P3(PP)**
se huonok nok, ma-non-ey, hoho
 s-e huonok nok ma-non-ley hoh-o
 3S.M-OBJ call SEQ RPT-DU-go 3DU-GEN
- yier arian mon.*
 yier arian mon
 place own LOC
 ‘The older brother himself opened the door and after than
 took the younger brother and then the two of them set off
 together to their own village.’
- (53) **P1(SUB)** **→OBJ(unm) VP**
Poup hiykiaw kokwe yayh kay-owk
 poup hiy-kiaw ko-kwe yayh kay-lowk
 spirit 3S.M-SLCT GL.F-TOP song across-beat
- neiane he.*
 neiane he
 occupied there
 ‘The bush spirit himself kept busy with making dances there.’
- (54) **P1(SUB)** **→OBJ(unm) VP**
Hiykwe nonkway lwak pa.
 hiy-kwe nonkway lwak pa
 3S.M.SUB-TOP knowledge be NEG.PFTV
 ‘He did not know (= what had happened).’
- (55) **SUB VP**
Sawk ey hiy lon-kampru yay
 sawk ey hiy lon-kampru lyay
 CHD sun 3S.M.SUB move-break.off place.down

- (59) **SUB** **VP**
Ey hiy lon-kampru yay nerie
 ey hiy lon-kampru lyay nerie
 sun 3S.M.SUB move-break.off place.down morning
CL.M P1(SUB) OBJ
menkin, hiykwe sawk a-yerki se
 menkin hiy-kwe sawk a-yerki s-e
 when 3S.M.SUB-TOP CHD house-road 3S.M-OBJ
VP CL.M →VP P1(SUB) →VP
hror nok, mesopok, "Hunkwe liwak he?"
 hror nok me-sopok hwon-kwe liwak he
 loosen SEQ speak-ask 2S-TOP sit still.there
 'When the sun had risen in the morning, he then untied the door and asked, "Are you still there?"'
- (60) **→SUB** **VP**
Sawk si hiy ma-sahre lonuayk
 sawk si hiy ma-sahre lonuayk
 CHD excrement 3S.M.SUB RPT-return hear
me huon.
 me huon
 speak OBJ>SUB
 'But the excrement replied to (him) as he came near.'
- (61) **SUB PP** **VP**
Hiy a ampok-ar mon nuw-yawriy ha
 hiy a ampok-ar mon nuw-lyawriy ha
 3S.M house inside-INTF LOC INT-enter SUB<LOC
CL.M →VP
nok, lira liok.
 nok lira liok
 SEQ see in.vain
 'He entered into the very inside of the house and then looked – without success.'
- (62) **→OBJ** **VP P1(SUB)**
Sawk si se lira. Hiykwe sawk
 sawk si s-e lira hiy-kwe sawk
 CHD excrement 3S.M-OBJ see 3S.M-TOP CHD

→OBJ(unm) ADV VP
 uron sehe lowk.
 uron so-h-e lowk
 heart DDEM-3S.M-OBJ beat
 ‘But he saw excrement. So he felt really disappointed (lit. ‘his heart was beating’).’

- (63) NP(unm) →ADV VP
 “Hano ai ey pa po ley sie.”
 han-o ai ey pa po ley sie
 1S-GEN food EXCL:pity CUR PFT go EXCL
 “‘Oh, my food is completely gone.’”

- (64) P1(SUB) →OBJ(unm) ADV VP
 Hakwe yayh paneke lowk nayr so-ney?”
 ha-kwe yayh paneke lowk nayr so-ney
 1S-TOP song why beat night Q.SP.PFTV.M-DUB
 ‘Why did I do dances all night?’”

- (65) P1(SUB) →OBJ
 Oryay-ih hiykwe nay-ih
 oryay-ih hiy-kwe nay-ih
 older.brother-KIN 3S.M.SUB-TOP younger.sibling-KIN
- ADV VP ADDR OBJ
 se senkin me kow, “Ara, hne
 s-e so-enkin me kow ara hwon-e
 3S.M-OBJ DDEM-MAN speak BEN ADDR.M 2S-OBJ
- SUB VP CL.M P1(SUB)
 poup hiy la hokwe, hakwe seyr
 poup hiy la ho-kwe ha-kwe seyr
 spirit 3S.M.SUB eat GL.M-TOP 1S-TOP and/also
- PP ADV VP
 yier mon peie lousne wayr e.”
 yier mon peie lousne lwayr e
 place LOC PROH appear stay OBJ
 ‘The older brother said to the younger brother this, “Man, if the bush spirit had eaten you, I as well would not have returned to the village to live there.’”

- (71) *Hohkwe sawk ki-mawk kamon mon huk*
 hoh-kwe sawk ki-mawk kamon mon huk
 3DU-TOP CHD ground-head one LOC hook
non-sakeyn e ley nayr.
 non-sakeyn e ley nayr
 DU-throw.in.water PURP go night
 ‘The two of them went to a certain headland in order to throw
 out both their hooks during the night.’
- (72) *Hoh non-hiok kie menkin, sawk*
 hoh non-hiok kie menkin sawk
 2/3DU DU-paddle go.downstream when CHD
Jon hiy me, Peni se,
 Jon hiy me Peni s-e
 Jon 3S.M speak Peni 3S.M-OBJ
 ‘When the two of them paddled together in downstream
 direction, Jon then said to Peni,’
- (73) *“Ara, hrorkwe yawk lway nok pa,*
 ara hrorkwe yawk lway nok pa
 ADDR.M 1DU-TOP fishing.net carry DUR NEG.PFTV
pokon pay non loway sakeyn
 pokon po-ay non loway sakeyn
 today Q-what CMT scoop throw.in.water
ey so?
 ey so
 INTN Q.SP.PFTV.M
 “‘Man, we did not bring a fishing net along, with what thing
 will we scoop from the water.’¹
- (74) *Man non po loway sakeyn kie.”*
 man non po loway sakeyn kie
 crayfish CMT CFT scoop throw.in.water go.downstream
 ‘We were supposed to throw out our hooks with the crayfish
 we scooped up in the downstream area.’”

¹ Cultural background: the fishing net was used to catch small crayfish to be used as bait.

- (75) *Hohkwe sawk sehe ma-non-hiok nok,*
 hoh-kwe sawk so-h-e ma-non-hiok nok
 2/3DU-TOP CHD DDEM-3S.M-OBJ RPT-DU-paddle SEQ
yawk se ma-lway nok nok,
 yawk s-e ma-lway nok nok
 fishing.net 3S.M-OBJ RPT-carry DUR SEQ
ma-non-nak-ey kie.
 ma-non-nak-ley kie
 RPT-DU-ACC-go go.downstream
 ‘As a result they paddled back together again and then took
 the fishing net along and then paddled in downstream
 direction again.’
- (76) *Sawk man non seyn loway sakeyn*
 sawk man non senkin loway sakeyn
 CHD crayfish CMT MAN scoop throw.in.water
kie.
 kie
 go.downstream
 ‘And they scooped into the water and threw out (their hooks)
 with crayfish (on it) in the downstream area.’
- (77) *Sawk hyo wayh-ih Peni so huk*
 sawk hiy-o wayh-ih Peni s-o huk
 CHD 3S.M-GEN friend-KIN Peni 3S.M-GEN hook
hokwe man aiopey hay ke hin.
 ho-kwe man aiopey hay k-e hin
 GL.M-TOP crayfish big very 3S.F-OBJ shoot
 ‘And as for the hook of his friend Peni, it hooked a very big
 crayfish.’
- (78) *Sawk Jon hiykwe sa sehe*
 sawk Jon hiy-kwe sa so-h-e
 CHD Jon 3S.M-TOP then/and DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
am-saw-luwray nekie liok.
 am-saw-luwray nekie liok
 DIR:near-SPD-pull hold in.vain
 ‘And so Jon quickly tried to pull it in - in vain.’

- (79) *Sawk man ko iha hok hyo*
 sawk man k-o iha hok hiy-o
 CHD crayfish 3S.F-GEN hand 3S.F 3S.M-GEN
onomuein se nekie kan-sopio kaw.
 onomuein s-e nekie kan-sopio kaw
 testicles 3S.M-OBJ hold take-pierce put.inside
 ‘But the claw of the crayfish just got hold and pierced into his
 testicles.’
- (80) *Wo, hiykwe sawk sehe nak-weyrweyr*
 wo hiy-kwe sawk so-h-e nak-weyrweyr
 EXCL 3S.M-TOP CHD DDEM-3S.M-OBJ ACC-scream
ankin, hyo wayhih hiykwe sa
 ankin hiy-o wayh-ih hiy-kwe sa
 if/when 3S.M-GEN friend-KIN 3S.M-TOP then/and
sehe kweyr kow.
 so-h-e kweyr kow
 DDEM-3S.M-OBJ laugh BEN
 ‘Well, so when he screamed out, his friend just laughed at
 him for that reason.’
- (81) *Wayh-ih hiy me, “Hunkiaw sara,*
 wayh-ih hiy me hwon-kiaw so-ara
 friend-KIN 3S.M speak 2S-SLCT EMPH.SP.M-ADDR.M
hwon krikri lon se, hnekwe
 hwon krikri lon s-e hwon-e-kwe
 2S.SUB go.hurriedly do 3S.M-OBJ 2S-OBJ-TOP
sehe nekie sara.”
 so-h-e nekie so-ara
 DDEM-3S.M-OBJ hold EMPH.SP.M-ADDR.M
 ‘His friend said, “You yourself (= it’s your own fault), it was
 you getting too excited and that’s why (he) got hold of you.”’
- (82) *Hoho yeyk hokwe sa sehe*
 hoh-o yeyk ho-kwe sa so-h-e
 2/3DU-GEN canoe GL.M-TOP then/and DDEM-3S.M-OBJ
koum keyn.
 koum keyn
 turn.over in.water
 ‘As a result their canoe turned over in the water.’

- (83) *Hohkwe sawk aiai lopa sehe ma-ley,*
 hoh-kwe sawk aiai lopa so-h-e ma-ley
 2/3DU-TOP CHD food NEG DDEM-3S.M-OBJ RPT-go
a mon kokwe.
 a mon ko-kwe
 house LOC GL.F-TOP
 ‘So the two of them went back home without food.’

11.3 Procedural text

Elicited from Obow Inaru from Yabru village. Estimated year of birth: 1943. Date written: 1985. A short step by step description of how one should build a village house.

- (84) *A meio yor*
 a meio yor
 house work way
 ‘The way of house building.’
- (85) *Hunkwe a meio ankin, hunkwe*
 hwon-kwe a meio ankin hwon-kwe
 2S-TOP house work if/when 2S-TOP
senkin kwa lon pie.
 so-enkin kwa lon pie
 DDEM-MAN HOR do firstly
 ‘When you build a house, this is how you start out.’
- (86) *Peyr nop-i me kwa lowk hnar*
 peyr nop-i m-e kwa lowk hnar
 firstly ironwood-post PL-OBJ HOR cut split
koruay.
 koruay
 preparingly
 ‘First you go out and you cut and split the ironwood posts in preparation (for the building).’

- (87) *Hai, musow-now, pros-now, sowor-now,*
hai musow-now pros-now sowor-now
 O.K. bearer-tree floor.joist-tree roof.support-tree
yakwa-now, kekie-yeyryeyr-now
yakwa-now kekie-yeyryeyr-now
 horizontal.beam-tree wall.post.connectors-tree
seme lowk say koruay nok,
 so-m-e lowk say koruay nok
 DDEM-PL-OBJ cut move.PL preparingly SEQ
mays me lokrwe say.
 mays m-e lokrwe say
 cane PL-OBJ cut.PL many.PL
 ‘OK, you cut in preparation all the bearers, floor joists,
 vertical and horizontal roof beams and all the wall post
 connectors and then you cut all the vines.’
- (88) *Omeme somokwe yier mon-aw kekie*
omeme so-mo-kwe yier mon-aw kekie
 things DDEM-GL.PL-TOP place LOC-RSTR put
kekke lowpway.
 kekke lowpway
 put completely
 ‘All these things have to be all stored up in the village.’
- (89) *Seme lonhan lonhan so meyki*
so-m-e lonhan lonhan s-o meyki
 DDEM-PL-OBJ get.ready get.ready 3S.M-GEN after
mon hokwe, ki se meir pie,
 mon ho-kwe ki s-e meir pie
 LOC GL.M-TOP ground 3S.M-OBJ measure firstly
hno nop-i so meir mo
 hwon-o nop-i s-o meir m-o
 2S-GEN ironwood-post 3S.M-GEN measure PL-GEN
liyliy-aw.
 liyliy-aw
 similar-RSTR
 ‘After having prepared everything, you need to measure the
 ground first in accordance with the number of ironwood posts
 you have.’

- (90) *Senkin lon lowpway nok, ki-eyh lopru*
 so-enkin lon lowpway nok ki-eyh lopruw
 DDEM-MAN do completely SEQ ground-ditch dig
nok, nop-i me way inon kreik
 nok nop-i m-e lway linon kreik
 SEQ ironwood-post PL-OBJ carry carry plenty
lopalop ok.
 lopalop ok
 finish.off FIN.SEQ
 ‘After having done that, dig holes and then finish (the job) of
 placing all of the ironwood trees.’
- (91) *Hai, musow-now, peiryeyk-now me meio*
 hai musow-now peiryeyk-now m-e meio
 O.K. bearer-tree bearer-tree PL-OBJ work
way ok.
 lway ok
 wrap.around FIN.SEQ
 ‘OK, then you do and fasten the bearers and the bearers
 (= ones not directly supported by ironwood trees).’
- (92) *Hai, prosnow me meio way ok.*
 hai prosnow m-e meio lway ok
 O.K. floor.joist PL-OBJ work wrap.around FIN.SEQ
 ‘OK, then you do the floor joists and fasten them.’
- (93) *Hai, a-suwr-now o, yakwa-now*
 hai a-suwr-now o yakwa-now
 O.K. house-house.top-tree and horizontal.beam-tree
o, seme lyay sowkriy meio
 o so-m-e lyay sowkriy meio
 and DDEM-PL-OBJ place.down many.PL work
way ok.
 lway ok
 wrap.around FIN.SEQ
 ‘OK, then you do and fasten all the rooftop timber and the
 horizontal roof beams.’
- (94) *Hai, sowor-now me kiy-nuw-sowor*
 hai sowor-now m-e kiy-nuw-sowor
 O.K. roof.support-tree PL-OBJ ACT-INT-place.roof.support

lowpway ok.
 lowpway ok
 completely FIN.SEQ
 ‘OK, then you place all the vertical roofing beams.’

- (95) *Sohiy so meyki mon hokwe, naw-ma*
 so-hiy s-o meyki mon ho-kwe naw-ma
 DDEM-3S.M 3S.M-GEN after LOC GL.M-TOP sago-leaf
me ma-kamanuor sei ok.
 m-e ma-kamanuor sei ok
 PL-OBJ RPT-take.off.PL fasten.leaves FIN.SEQ
 ‘After that you collect sago leaves and fasten them (to
 rafters).’

- (96) *A-kopma kraiar nuw-sei kawk*
 a-kopma kraiar nuw-sei kawk
 house-sago.leaves many INT-fasten.leaves put.inside
nok, say ok.
 nok say ok
 SEQ fasten FIN.SEQ
 ‘After you have made and heaped up many sago leaf rafters,
 then you fasten them (= sago leaf rafters are layered and tied
 to the roof).’

- (97) *Hai, air ma-lowk omniy son*
 hai air ma-lowk lomniy son
 O.K. areca.palm RPT-cut beat lay.side.by.side
ok.
 ok
 FIN.SEQ
 ‘After that you cut and beat out (= flatten into pieces) areca
 palms and lay (the flooring pieces) side by side.’

- (98) *Hai, owah ma-loun say nok, ma-piar*
 hai owah ma-loun say nok ma-piar
 O.K. sago.stalk RPT-hit move.PL SEQ RPT-fence.in
ok.
 ok
 FIN.SEQ
 ‘OK, then you cut a lot of sago stalks and then you fence in
 (the wall with these sago stalks).’

- (99) *Senkin-aw-aw, a se nuw-piar*
 so-enkin-aw-aw a s-e nuw-piar
 DDEM-MAN-RSTR-EMPH house 3S.M-OBJ INT-fence.in
sakoum kawk lowpway.
 sakoum kawk lowpway
 turn.to.sides put.inside completely
 ‘Keep going, till you have fenced in the house on all sides.’
- (100) *Owah-mey somokwe mey pariawey-ar.*
 owah-mey so-mo-kwe mey pariawey-ar
 sago.stalk-job DDEM-GL.PL-TOP job last-INTF
 ‘The (wall) job with the sago stalks is the last one.’

11.4 Descriptive text

Written by John Yauha from Dio village. Estimated year of birth: 1960. Date written: 1993. An informative text about the customs and characteristics of the *wondeis* snake.

- (101) *Wondeis mo me-nonkway-ok.*
 wondeis m-o me-nonkway-ok
 snake.sp PL-GEN speak-know-talk
 ‘The information about *wondeis* snakes.’
- (102) *Wondeis mo owh mokwe ma me*
 wondeis m-o owh mo-kwe ma m-e
 snake.sp PL-GEN body GL.PL-TOP leaf PL-OBJ
hieyn lwak.
 hieyn lwak
 like be
 ‘The body of the *wondeis* snake is like leaves (= green).’
- (103) *Hmo owh mokwe nompou nompou lwak.*
 hom-o owh mo-kwe nompou nompou lwak
 2/3PL-GEN body GL.PL-TOP weak weak be
 ‘Their bodies are very soft.’
- (104) *Homkwe iwar me aw seyn mon pey.*
 hom-kwe iwar m-e aw seyn mon pey
 2/3PL-TOP human PL-OBJ fight HAB do NEG.IPFTV
 ‘They are not in the habit of attacking people.’

- (105) *Hmekwe iha nonaw liy nekie way.*
 hom-e-kwe iha non-aw liy nekie lway
 2/3PL-OBJ-TOP hand CMT-RSTR DYN hold carry
 ‘You can grab them with (your) hand and carry them around.’
- (106) *Uwrsa homkwe senaw la.*
 uwr-sa hom-kwe senaw la
 man-woman 2/3PL-TOP habitually eat
 ‘People are in the habit of eating (them).’
- (107) *Hmo pion mokwe won non nuw-a.*
 hom-o pion mo-kwe won non nuw-la
 2/3PL-GEN meat GL.PL-TOP grease CMT INT-eat
 ‘Their meat is eaten with grease (= tastes really good).’
- (108) *Homkwe now mon hoaho*
 hom-kwe now mon ho-a-ho
 2/3PL-TOP tree LOC twist.around-DUP-twist.around
inakrok.
 linakrok
 stand
 ‘They are located in trees, curled up.’
- (109) *Homkwe aiai ki sankaw seyn lanio*
 hom-kwe aiai ki so-ankaw seyn lanio
 2/3PL-TOP food ground DDEM-Degree HAB walk
sayok a pey.
 sayok la pey
 to.and.fro eat NEG.IPFTV
 ‘They don’t habitually go out to find their food.’
- (110) *Enekwei kraiar mokwe homkwe anwaw-aw*
 enekwei kraiar mo-kwe hom-kwe anwaw-aw
 time many GL.PL-TOP 2/3PL-TOP sleep-RSTR
kor-iawon sokway.
 kor-liawon sokway
 just/little-lie.down lie.PL
 ‘Most of the time they just sleep for long periods.’

- (111) *Hmo weyn kamon senkin, enekwei*
 hom-o weyn kamon so-enkin enekwei
 2/3PL-GEN custom one DDEM-MAN time
hwon wondeis ke lira irway ankin,
 hwon wondeis k-e lira lirway ankin
 2S snake.sp 3S.F-OBJ see meet if/when
peyr pese saw-okin kwor o.
 peyr pese saw-lokin kwor o
 firstly PROH SPD-hit die IPFTV
 ‘One of their habits is like this: If you happen to see a
wondeis snake, do not be too quick in killing it.’
- (112) *Peyr kwa mesopok, wayhih non senaw lwak.*
 peyr kwa me-sopok wayh-ih non senaw lwak
 firstly HOR speak-ask friend-KIN CMT habitually be
 ‘First ask (the snake), they often have a companion along.’
- (113) *Enekwei hwon mesopok ankin, woki mon kwa*
 enekwei hwon me-sopok ankin woki mon kwa
 time 2S speak-ask if/when mouth LOC HOR
lira kraipakrai.
 lira kraipakrai
 see strongly
 ‘When you ask (the snake), closely watch his mouth.’
- (114) *Wayhih kamon hiy ohriar liarok ankin, hne*
 wayh-ih kamon hiy ohriar liarok ankin hwon-e
 friend-KIN one 3S.M near be.up if/when 2S-OBJ
po mesair kow a, sane non.
 po mesair kow a sane non
 IMM show BEN FUT tongue CMT
 ‘If another snake is nearby, (he) will show it to you with his
 tongue.’
- (115) *Sane penkin ka-lehokay e, suw*
 sane po-enkin ka-lehokay e suw
 tongue Q-MAN side-move.tongue OBJ then

hunkwe serey kwa lira.
 hwon-kwe so-rey kwa lira
 2S-TOP DDEM-there HOR see

‘Wherever his tongue points, then that is where you should look.’

- (116) *Enekwei har homkwe okar senaw mesair*
 enekwei har hom-kwe ok-ar senaw mesair
 time some 2/3PL-TOP talk-INTF habitually show
kow, wayhih nayh hom ohriar lwak ankin.
 kow wayh-ih nayh hom ohriar lwak ankin
 BEN friend-KIN relative 2/3PL near be if/when
 ‘At certain times they really can indicate the truth, in the case that the companions are nearby.’

- (117) *Sa wayhih nayh har homkwe ohriar*
 sa wayh-ih nayh har hom-kwe ohriar
 then/and friend-KIN relative some 2/3PL-TOP near
lwak pa lwak ankin, suw hoko sane
 lwak pa lwak ankin suw hok-o sane
 be NEG.PFTV be if/when then 3S.F-GEN tongue
kokwe hne liy lehokay mesair kow ley.
 ko-kwe hwon-e liy lehokay mesair kow ley
 GL.F-TOP 2S-OBJ DYN move.tongue show BEN not
 ‘Whenever her companions are not near by, then her tongue won’t be able to point you into any (direction).’

11.5 Expository text

Written by Jethro Iworiah from Yabru village. Estimated year of birth: 1970. Date written: 1998. A short text discussing reasons for and against divorcing childless wives.

- (118) *Hromkwe nonkway, enekwei enkin ohokwe*
 hrom-kwe nonkway enekwei enkin o-ho-kwe
 1PL-TOP know time MAN PDEM-GL.M-TOP
uwr ompeys serey-uh homkwe sa
 uwr ompeys so-rey-ih hom-kwe sa
 man recent.past PDEM-there-? 2/3PL-TOP woman
po huon.
 po huon
 PFT marry
 ‘We know, that at this present time many men of this generation have married wives.’
- (119) *Har homkwe ney non lwak, sawk har*
 har hom-kwe ney non lwak sawk har
 some 2/3PL-TOP child CMT be CHD some
homkwe ney lopa.
 hom-kwe ney lopa
 2/3PL-TOP child NEG
 ‘Some have children, but some have no children.’
- (120) *Har, ney non ma lwak somokwe kar*
 har ney non ma lwak so-mo-kwe kar
 some child CMT RCM be DDEM-GL.PL-TOP gladness
ley, payhokuaw hom uwr nawp lwak
 ley po-ay-ho-kuaw hom uwr nawp lwak
 go Q-what-GL.M-for.reason.of 2/3PL man old be
ankin, hmo ney homkwe hme
 ankin hom-o ney hom-kwe hom-e
 if/when 2/3PL-GEN child 2/3PL-TOP 2/3PL-OBJ
ma-hiymon.
 ma-hiy-mon
 RPT-CAUS-do
 ‘Those who have children are happy, because when they are old men, their children will look after them.’

- (121) *Sawk har, ney lopa somokwe honon*
 sawk har ney lopa so-mo-kwe honon
 CHD some child NEG DDEM-GL.PL-TOP difficult
honon, omok hom uwr nawp lwak ankin.
 honon omok hom uwr nawp lwak ankin
 difficult later 2/3PL man old be if/when
 ‘But those without children experience hardships when they
 have become old men.’
- (122) *Uwr, hmo sa, ney lopa ma lwak*
 uwr hom-o sa ney lopa ma lwak
 man 2/3PL-GEN woman child NEG RCM be
somokwe, sa uron irweyk
 so-mo-kwe sa uron irweyk
 DDEM-GL.PL-TOP then/and heart different
seme kamahre kreik, hmo
 so-m-e kama-hre kreik hom-o
 DDEM-PL-OBJ get.PL-turn.into plenty 2/3PL-GEN
sa me lour swaweyr yay
 sa m-e lour swaweyr lyay
 woman PL-OBJ step cause.to.move.away place.down
ha e.
 ha e
 OBJ<SUB OBJ
 ‘So the men whose wives do not have children are coming up
 with different ideas to send their wives away.’
- (123) *Okar, homkwe sa hmo sa*
 ok-ar hom-kwe sa hom-o sa
 talk-INTF 2/3PL-TOP then/and 2/3PL-GEN woman
me seme lour swaweyr
 m-e so-m-e lour swaweyr
 PL-OBJ DDEM-PL-OBJ step cause.to.move.away
yay ha.
 lyay ha
 place.down OBJ<SUB
 ‘It is true, they then indeed get rid of their wives.’

- (124) *Sawk hakwe kar ley pey, yor, sa*
 sawk ha-kwe kar ley pey yor sa
 CHD 1S-TOP gladness go NEG.IPFTV way woman
ney lopa me ma lour swaweyr
 ney lopa m-e ma lour swaweyr
 child NEG PL-OBJ RCM step cause.to.move.away
yay ha somokwe.
 lyay ha so-mo-kwe
 place.down OBJ<SUB DDEM-GL.PL-TOP
 ‘But I am not happy about the custom to get rid of the wives
 that do not have children.’
- (125) *Payhokuaw, sa ney lopa*
 po-ay-ho-kuaw sa ney lopa
 Q-what-GL.M-for.reason.of woman child NEG
mokwe, God so ney swanyo.
 mo-kwe God s-o ney swanyo
 GL.PL-TOP God 3S.M-GEN child daughter
 ‘Because, the women without children are God’s daughters.’
- (126) *God hiykiaw monhre.*
 God hiy-kiaw mon-hre
 God 3S.M-SLCT do-turn.into
 ‘God himself created (them).’
- (127) *God so ok senkin me, “Uwr, sa*
 God s-o ok so-enkin me uwr sa
 God 3S.M-GEN talk DDEM-MAN speak man woman
ke huon our swaweyr
 k-e huon lour swaweyr
 3S.F-OBJ marry step cause.to.move.away
yay ha ankin, hiykwe yokun-yor
 lyay ha ankin hiy-kwe yokun-yor
 place.down OBJ<SUB if/when 3S.M-TOP theft-way
ke meio.”
 k-e meio
 3S.F-OBJ work
 ‘God’s word says this, “The man who marries his wife and
 gets rid of her again, he commits adultery (lit. works the steal
 custom).”’

- (128) *Seyr Pol so mamey kokwe*
 seyr Po s-o ma-mey ko-kwe
 and/also Pol 3S.M-GEN leaf-write GL.F-TOP
senkin me, "Enekwei ohokwe
 so-enkin me enekwei o-ho-kwe
 DDEM-MAN speak time PDEM-GL.M-TOP
uwrsa hmo yokun-yor mokwe pa
 uwr-sa hom-o yokun-yor mo-kwe pa
 man-woman 2/3PL-GEN theft-way GL.PL-TOP CUR
kraiar nuw-wak. Uwr lowpwarowp homkwe
 kraiar nuw-lwak uwr lowpwarowp hom-kwe
 many INT-be man all 2/3PL-TOP
hmo sa arian non lwak e."
 hom-o sa arian non lwak e
 2/3PL-GEN woman own CMT be OBJ
 'Paul's letter states as follows, "In the present time the
 people's adultery is abundant. Let all men have their own
 wife.'"
- (129) *Ha seyr senkin nan, uwr homkwe*
 ha seyr so-enkin nan uwr hom-kwe
 1S and/also DDEM-MAN think/like man 2/3PL-TOP
sa kwa huon liyay.
 sa kwa huon liyay
 woman HOR marry individually
 'I also think that men should each marry his own wife.'
- (130) *Seyr sa homkwe uwr kwa liwak*
 seyr sa hom-kwe uwr kwa liwak
 and/also woman 2/3PL-TOP man HOR sit
liyay.
 liyay
 individually
 'And women should also marry their own husband.'

- (131) *Seyr sa ney lopa ma lwak*
 seyr sa ney lopa ma lwak
 and/also woman child NEG RCM be
somokwe mo senkinaw le,
 so-mo-kwe mo so-enkin-aw le
 DDEM-GL.PL-TOP EMPH DDEM-MAN-RSTR come
ipey ko swaw mon kokwe.
 ipey k-o swaw mon ko-kwe
 mother 3S.F-GEN stomach LOC GL.F-TOP
 ‘And also women without children come like that out of the
 mother’s womb (= these women are born like that).’

11.6 Hortatory text

As retold by Hunuk Nonsi from Yabru village. Estimated year of birth: 1950. Date elicited: 1987. A speech by the local village leader (a member of the local government) who attempts to motivate the people to participate in community work parties and work on the maintenance of the medical Aid Post.

- (132) *Memba so ok, Aid Post se ma*
 memba s-o ok aid post s-e ma
 member 3S.M-GEN talk aid post 3S.M-OBJ RCM
me hiy non.
 me hiy non
 speak 3S.M CMT
 ‘The member’s speech about the Aid Post.’
- (133) *Ama, uwrsa lowpwarowp Yabru ko om,*
 ama uwr-sa lowpwarowp Yabru ko om
 ADDR.PL man-woman all Yabru from village
hakwe hmo memba, homkwe hano ok
 ha-kwe hom-o memba hom-kwe han-o ok
 1S-TOP 2/3PL-GEN member 2/3PL-TOP 1S-GEN talk
ke kwa nuw-onuayk liyay.
 k-e kwa nuw-lonuayk liyay
 3S.F-OBJ HOR INT-hear individually
 ‘All people from Yabru village, I am your member, just listen
 to all that I have to say.’

- (134) *Pokon ohokwe hme kokwe Aid Post*
pokon o-ho-kwe hom-e ko-kwe aid post
today PDEM-GL.M-TOP 2/3PL-OBJ GL.F-TOP aid post
so mey ke kiy-me kow ey.
s-o mey k-e kiy-me kow ey
3S.M-GEN job 3S.F-OBJ ACT-speak BEN INTN
‘Today, I will talk to you about the work of the Aid Post.’
- (135) *Aid Post hromo yier mon ma kiy-wak*
aid post hrom-o yier mon ma kiy-lwak
aid post 1PL-GEN place LOC RCM ACT-be
ohokwe, yaprue ihey-ar, hakwe
o-ho-kwe yaprue ihey-ar ha-kwe
PDEM-GL.M-TOP good excellent-INTF 1S-TOP
kar ley.
kar ley
gladness go
‘(The fact) that the Aid Post is in our village is really excellent, I am very happy about that.’
- (136) *Homkwe seyr kar kwa ley.*
hom-kwe seyr kar kwa ley
2/3PL-TOP and/also gladness HOR go
‘You should be happy as well.’
- (137) *Payhokuaw, Aid Post ohokwe*
po-ay-ho-kuaw aid post o-ho-kwe
Q-what-GL.M-for.reason.of aid post PDEM-GL.M-TOP
hromo uwrsaney lowpwarowp peik non
hrom-o uwr-sa-ney lowpwarowp peik non
1PL-GEN man-woman-child all ill CMT
me hiy-mon ey.
m-e hiy-mon ey
PL-OBJ CAUS-do INTN
‘Because - this Aid Post is here to help our people and all the children with sickness.’

- (138) *Hromkwe enkin ohokwe Aid Post se*
 hrom-kwe enkin o-ho-kwe aid post s-e
 1PL-TOP MAN PDEM-GL.M-TOP aid post 3S.M-OBJ
nekie kraiy e.
 nekie krai-ay e
 hold strength.PL OBJ
 ‘At this time we should hold on to our Aid Post in a strong way.’
- (139) *Aid Post ohokwe peik me mon sakawk*
 aid post o-ho-kwe peik m-e mon sakawk
 aid post PDEM-GL.M-TOP ill PL-OBJ do stop
huon ey.
 huon ey
 OBJ>SUB INTN
 ‘This Aid Post stops the diseases coming (our) way.’
- (140) *Hai, hwon peik nakwon, hunkwe perey*
 hai hwon peik nak-won hwon-kwe po-rey
 O.K. 2S.SUB ill ACC-lie 2S-SUB.TOP Q-there
nakey a?
 nak-ley a
 ACC-go INDF.FUT
 ‘If you are down with some illness, where would you go to?’
- (141) *Haus Sik aiopey hay hokwe meiwaw-ar*
 haus sik aiopey hay ho-kwe mei-aw-ar
 house sick big very GL.M-TOP long-RSTR-INTF
lwak, seyr yerki yaprue-ar lopa.
 lwak seyr yerki yaprue-ar lopa
 be and/also road good-INTF NEG
 ‘The big hospital is far away, and also the road is not very good.’
- (142) *Seyr meinowon non.*
 seyr meinowon non
 and/also money CMT
 ‘And it will (cost) money.’
- (143) *Hromkwe meinowon pay non nakey a,*
 hrom-kwe meinowon po-ay non nak-ley a
 1PL-TOP money Q-what CMT ACC-go INDEF

- hrom peik lwak mokwe?*
 hrom peik lwak mo-kwe
 1PL ill be GL.PL-TOP
 ‘With what money would we go, when we are ill?’
 [= we don’t have the money to travel when we are ill].’
- (144) *Hromo yier ohokwe haus sik aiopey*
 hrom-o yier o-ho-kwe haus sik aiopey
 1PL-GEN place PDEM-GL.M-TOP house sick big
hay so meiw mon lwak, hromkwe
 hay s-o mei-aw mon lwak hrom-kwe
 very 3S.M-GEN long-RSTR LOC be 1PL-TOP
Aid Post se sehe nekie
 aid post s-e so-h-e nekie
 aid post 3S.M-OBJ DDEM-3S.M-OBJ hold
kraiy e.
 kraiy e
 strongly OBJ.IMP
 ‘Our village is at a far distance from the hospital, therefore we
 should look after our Aid Post in a strong way.’
- (145) *Hme ha senkin me ankin, “Ama,*
 hom-e ha so-enkin me ankin ama
 2/3PL-OBJ 1S DDEM-MAN speak if/when ADDR.PL
Yabru-om, hromkwe Mande mokwe Aid Post
 Yabru-om hrom-kwe mande mo-kwe aid post
 Yabru-group 1PL-TOP Monday GL.PL-TOP aid post
mey meio e.”
 mey meio e
 job work OBJ.IMP
 ‘If I say to you this, “You Yabru people every Monday we
 should work on the Aid Post.”’
- (146) *Homkwe hano ok ko meyki ley nok,*
 hom-kwe han-o ok k-o meyki ley nok
 2/3PL-TOP 1S-GEN talk 3S.F-GEN after go SEQ
meio.
 meio
 work
 ‘You should then listen to my words and work.’

- (147) *Homkwe peie kamaun sow o.*
 hom-kwe peie kamaun sow o
 2/3PL-TOP PROH ignore off IPFTV
 ‘Do not ignore (the command).’
- (148) *Homkwe lonuayk me yor ke-aw*
 hom-kwe lonuayk me yor k-e-aw
 2/3PL-TOP hear speak way 3S.F-OBJ-RSTR
nakruok e.
 nakruok e
 hold OBJ.IMP
 ‘Just hold on to the custom of obeying.’
- (149) *Hmo yor ok me kamaun sow yor*
 hom-o yor ok m-e kamaun sow yor
 2/3PL-GEN way talk PL-OBJ ignore off way
sokukwe kwahnaw lokriy ha e.
 so-ko-kwe kwahnaw lokriy ha e
 DDEM-GL.F-TOP HOR.should leave OBJ<SUB OBJ.IMP
 ‘The habit of ignoring the talk should be left behind
 (= discarded).’
- (150) *Homkwe seyr memba, ha enkin ohiy*
 hom-kwe seyr memba ha enkin o-hiy
 2/3PL-TOP and/also member 1S MAN PDEM-3S.M
o, uwr karmay har o, hmo ouon
 o uwr karmay har o hom-o ouon
 and man leader some and 2/3PL-GEN under
mon-aw lwak e.
 mon-aw lwak e
 LOC-RSTR be OBJ.IMP
 ‘You should subject yourselves to the member, as I am now,
 and also to the big men.’
- (151) *Sawk hromkwe Aid Post se meio ihey*
 sawk hrom-kwe aid post s-e meio ihey
 CHD 1PL-TOP aid post 3S.M-OBJ work excellent
pa lwak ankin, APO hiykwe uwr
 pa lwak ankin APO hiy-kwe uwr
 NEG.PFTV be if/when health.officer 3S.M-TOP man

hakamay Vanimo ko me liy me kow
 hakamay Vanimo ko m-e liy me kow
 oldest Vanimo ABL PL-OBJ DYN speak BEN
nonkway, homkwe Aid Post ehe
 nonkway hom-kwe aid post o-h-e
 know.IPFTV 2/3PL-TOP aid post PDEM-3S.M-OBJ
liy piar sakawk.
 liy piar sakawk
 DYN fence.in stop

‘But if we do not do a good job in working on the Aid Post, the APO (= local health officer) will inform the big men in Vanimo, and they can close down this Aid Post here.’

- (152) *Sawk yier kamon mon liy ma-nakey meio.*
 sawk yier kamon mon liy ma-nak-ley meio
 CHD place one LOC DYN RPT-ACC-go work
 ‘And it can be moved to another village to be built there.’
- (153) *Gavman hom senkin lon ankin, homkwe*
 gavman hom so-enkin lon ankin hom-kwe
 government 2/3PL DDEM-MAN do if/when 2/3PL-TOP
kwahnaw lokrue away keyn.
 kwahnaw lokrue laway keyn
 HOR.should die die everywhere
 ‘If the government does that, you will just die and perish everywhere.’
- (154) *Hano uron hokwe hme nion lwak.*
 han-o uron ho-kwe hom-e nion lwak
 1S-GEN heart GL.M-TOP 2/3PL-OBJ with be
 ‘I really care about you.’ (Lit. ‘My heart is with you.’)
- (155) *Hakwe hom peik nakwon sokway okrue e*
 ha-kwe hom peik nak-won sokway lokrue e
 1S-TOP 2/3PL ill ACC-lie lie.PL die OBJ.IMP
nan pey.
 nan pey
 think NEG.IPFTV
 ‘I am not desiring that you would all come down with sicknesses and die.’

- (156) *Hakwe hom owh yaprue lwak e nan.*
 ha-kwe hom owh yaprue lwak e nan
 1S-TOP 2/3PL body good be OBJ.IMP think/like
 ‘I want you to be with good bodies (= healthy).’
- (157) *Hakwe hme senkin sehe me,*
 ha-kwe hom-e so-enkin so-h-e me
 1S-TOP 2/3PL-OBJ DDEM-MAN DDEM-3S.M-OBJ speak
homkwe Aid Post se yaprue nonaw
 hom-kwe aid post s-e yaprue non-aw
 2/3PL-TOP aid post 3S.M-OBJ good CMT-RSTR
hiy-wayr e.
 hiy-lwayr e
 CAUS-stay OBJ.IMP
 ‘That’s why I am telling you this, that you should look after
 the Aid Post in a good way.’

11.7 Letters

Written by Jethro Iworiah from Yabru village. Estimated year of birth: 1970. Date written: September 1997. Letter from a local teacher who explains why he quit teaching. He has a request to be given a job on a local building project that is about to start.

- (158) *Hiymei hay*
 hiymei hay
 long very
 ‘Very tall one (nickname based on height)’
- (159) *Eyrowpwar yaprue-ar, Jisas hromo oryay*
 eyrowpwar yaprue-ar Jisas hrom-o oryay
 afternoon good-INTF Jisas 1PL-GEN older.brother
so uru non.
 s-o uru non
 3S.M-GEN name CMT
 ‘Good afternoon, in the name of our older brother Jesus.’

- (160) *Hakwe okney har hne nion non-ohruw-a*
 ha-kwe ok-ney har hwon-e nion non-lohruw-la
 1S-TOP talk-small some 2S-OBJ with DU-talk-eat
ley, mamey erey mon kokwe.
 ley ma-mey erey mon ko-kwe
 go leaf-write here LOC GL.F-TOP
 ‘I want to talk with you about some small things in this letter.’
- (161) *Hakwe yaprue lwak, payhokuaw*
 ha-kwe yaprue lwak po-ay-ho-kuaw
 1S-TOP good be Q-what-GL.M-for.reason.of
hromo God ayaw ko hiykwe hreme kokwe
 hrom-o God ayaw ko hiy-kwe hrom-e ko-kwe
 1PL-GEN God top ABL 3S.M-TOP 1PL-OBJ GL.F-TOP
yaprue hiy-nuw-mon ihey. Arawh eypok arawh
 yaprue hiy-nuw-mon ihey arawh eypok arawh
 good CAUS-INT-do excellent night day night
eypok, senkin-awaw.
 eypok so-enkin-aw-aw
 day DDEM-MAN-RSTR-EMPH
 ‘I am doing well, because God from up high looks after us well. Day and night, day and night, continuously.’
- (162) *Enekwei enkin ohokwe hakwe Sowkmayon*
 enekwei enkin o-ho-kwe ha-kwe Sowkmayon
 time MAN PDEM-GL.M-TOP 1S-TOP Sowkmayon
mon kiy-wak pey.
 mon kiy-lwak pey
 LOC ACT-be NEG.IPFTV
 ‘At the present time I am not staying in Sowkmayon.’

- (163) *Sowkmayon ney har homkwe hano omeme*
 Sowkmayon ney har hom-kwe han-o omeme
 Sowkmayon child some 2/3PL-TOP 1S-GEN things
har me yokun lopri, ha hano ney-sa
 har m-e yokun lopri ha han-o ney-sa
 some PL-OBJ theft take.PL 1S 1S-GEN child-woman
me Green River haus sik mon hiy-nakey
 m-e Green River haus sik mon hiy-nak-ley
 PL-OBJ Green River house sick LOC CAUS-ACC-go
non.
 non
 CMT
 ‘Some Sowkmayon children stole some of my possessions (at the time when) I had taken my family to the Green River health centre.’
- (164) *Hakwe Sowkmayon hokwe pa po*
 ha-kwe Sowkmayon ho-kwe pau po
 1S-TOP Sowkmayon GL.M-Top CUR.CMPL PFT
lokriy hain.
 lokriy hain
 leave SUB<OBJ
 ‘I have left Sowkmayon.’
- (165) *Hakwe senkin me iaup, “Term foa hokwe,*
 ha-kwe so-enkin me liaup Term foa ho-kwe
 1S-TOP DDEM-MAN speak mark Term 4 GL.M-TOP
hakwe ma-lohiok lopa.”
 ha-kwe ma-lo-hiok lopa
 1S-TOP RPT-move-paddle NEG
 ‘I marked the time for them as follows, “I will not paddle up for term 4.”’
- (166) *Hunkwe hano ok, paraw ha ma me,*
 hwon-kwe han-o ok paraw ha ma me
 2S-TOP 1S-GEN talk past 1S RCM speak
po lonuayk.
 po lonuayk
 PFT hear
 ‘You have heard the words that I spoke in the past.’

- (167) *Hakwe senkin me, hakwe elementary tisa*
 ha-kwe so-enkin me ha-kwe elementary tisa
 1S-TOP DDEM-MAN speak 1S-TOP elementary teacher
nuw-wak peyow ey hokwe, uron ipey
 nuw-lwak peyow ey ho-kwe uron ipey
 INT-be continually INTN GL.M-Top heart important
hay muw-wak pey.
 hay nuw-lwak pey
 very INT-be NEG.IPFTV
 ‘I said that as for continually being an elementary teacher, I
 was not really interested (lit. I was not with very important
 heart/thoughts).’
- (168) *Enkin ohokwe hakwe pa po lokriy*
 enkin o-ho-kwe ha-kwe pau po lokriy
 MAN PDEM-GL.M-TOP 1S-TOP CUR.CMPL PFT leave
hain, hakwe Sowkmayon mo ney me
 hain ha-kwe Sowkmayon m-o ney m-e
 SUB<OBJ 1S-TOP Sowkmayon PL-GEN child PL-OBJ
hiy-mon sorasor pey.
 hiy-mon sor-a-sor pey
 CAUS-do tell-DUP-tell NEG.IPFTV
 ‘At the present time I have left, and I am not teaching the
 Sowkmayon children.’
- (169) *Seyr Sowkmayon homkwe elementary klasrum*
 seyr Sowkmayon hom-kwe elementary klasrum
 and/also Sowkmayon 2/3PL-TOP elementary class.room
o, a lwayr ey o, somokwe peyr
 o a lwayr ey o so-mo-kwe peyr
 and house stay INTN and DDEM-GL.PL-TOP firstly
korey meio kow pa.
 korey meio kow pa
 no work BEN NEG.PFTV
 ‘The Sowkmayon people still have not built the elementary
 class room and a residence house (for the teacher to live in).’

- (170) *Hakwe sehe nak-wak.*
 ha-kwe so-h-e nak-lwak
 1S-TOP DDEM-3S.M-OBJ ACC-be
 ‘That’s why I am staying (here).’
- (171) *Hakwe hnekwe seyr mesopok kamon*
 ha-kwe hwon-e-kwe seyr me-sopok kamon
 1S-TOP 2S-OBJ-TOP and/also speak-ask one
senkin mesopok ley.
 so-enkin me-sopok ley
 DDEM-MAN speak-ask go
 ‘I am going to ask you a question.’
- (172) *Hunkwe hane mey kamon ke liy mon*
 hwon-kwe han-e mey kamon k-e liy mon
 2S-TOP 1S-OBJ job one 3S.F-OBJ DYN do
sorasor meio kow o?
 sor-a-sor meio kow o
 tell-DUP-tell work BEN Q.SP.IPFTV
 ‘Can you teach me a certain job/profession?’
- (173) *Hakwe kuor-hro a mon meio e*
 ha-kwe kuor-hro a mon meio e
 1S-TOP sore-dry house LOC work PURP
nanpanan.
 nanpanan
 think
 ‘I am thinking of working in an aid post (lit. house of drying sores).’
- (174) *Hano mesopok kamon kokwe, hakwe kapenta,*
 han-o me-sopok kamon ko-kwe ha-kwe kapenta
 1S-GEN speak-ask one GL.F-TOP 1S-TOP carpenter
projekt so a me meio kow ey
 projekt s-o a m-e meio kow ey
 project 3S.M-GEN house PL-OBJ work BEN INTN
me nion liy non-meio o?
 m-e nion liy non-meio o
 PL-OBJ with DYN DU-work Q.SP.IPFTV
 ‘One other question (is this), can I join the carpenters who are going to build the project building?’

- (175) *Hakwe hne sehe mey mesopok.*
 ha-kwe hwon-e so-h-e mey me-sopok
 1S-TOP 2S-OBJ DDEM-3S.M-OBJ write speak-ask
Hunkwe hane liy me meio o,
 hwon-kwe han-e liy me meio o
 2S-TOP 1S-OBJ DYN speak work Q.SP.IPFTV
kapenta me nion non-meio e?
 kapenta m-e nion non-meio e
 carpenter PL-OBJ with DU-work PURP
 ‘So I am writing to you; can you tell me to work with the
 carpenters?’
- (176) *Hunkwe penkin nanpanan me, hunkwe*
 hwon-kwe po-enkin nanpanan m-e hwon-kwe
 2S-TOP Q-MAN think PL-OBJ 2S-TOP
hane kwaw me nonkway kow.
 han-e kwa-aw me nonkway kow
 1S-OBJ HOR.RSTR speak know BEN
 ‘Whatever you think, just inform me.’
- (177) *Hano ok o, mesopok sohom o,*
 han-o ok o me-sopok so-hom o
 1S-GEN talk and speak-ask DDEM-2/3PL and
senkinaw.
 so-enkin-aw
 DDEM-MAN-RSTR
 ‘As for my messages and questions, this is it.’
- (178) *Jethro P. Iwo*
 Jethro P Iwo
 Jethro P Iwo
 ‘Jethro P. Iwo.’

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