A Grammar of the Dom Language

A Papuan Language of Papua New Guinea

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Abbreviations

-	morpheme boundary	INC	inclusive
=	clitic boundary	INF	infinitive
+	clitic boundary 2	LOC	locative
1	first person	MUT	mutual knowledge
2	second person	NEG	negative
3	third person	NONVIS	non-visual sensory evidential
COMPL	completive	NSG	non-singular
CONJ	conjunctive	PERM	permissive
DEM	demonstrative	PL	plural
DS	different subject	POSS	possessive
DL	dual	PQM	polar question marker
EMO	emotive	Q	quotative
EXC	exclusive	QM	question marker
EXPL	explicative	SG	singular
FUT	future	SRD	subordinative
IMM	imminent	SS	same subject
IMP	imperative	VOC	vocative
IND	indicative		

Maps

Chimbu Language Family
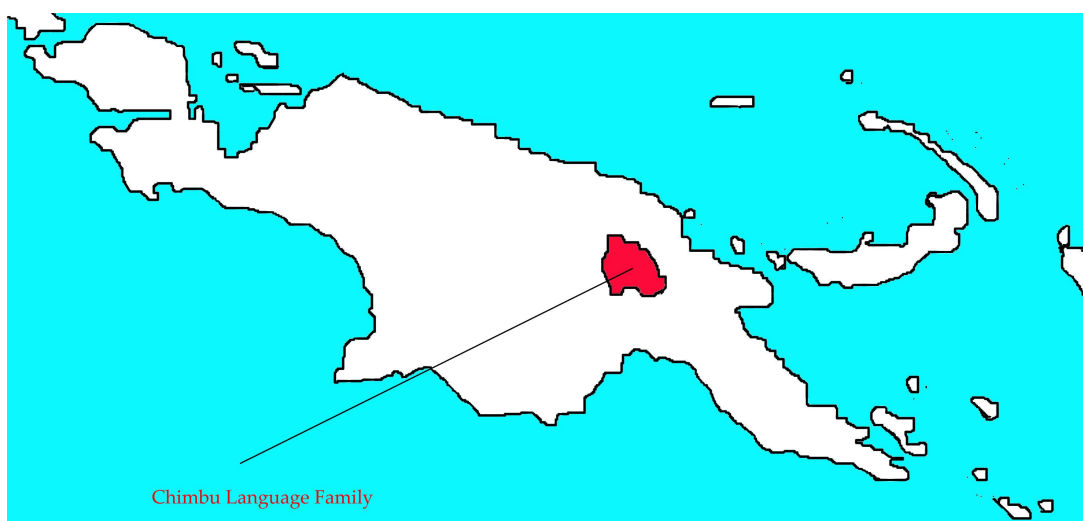
Map. 1: Chimbu Language Family in New Guinea
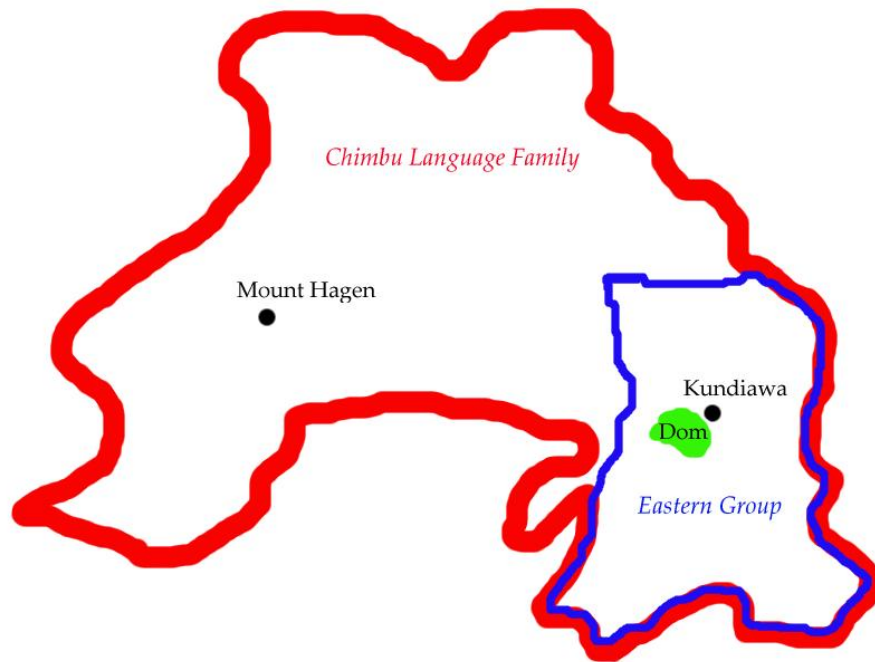
Map. 2: Dom within Chimbu Language Family
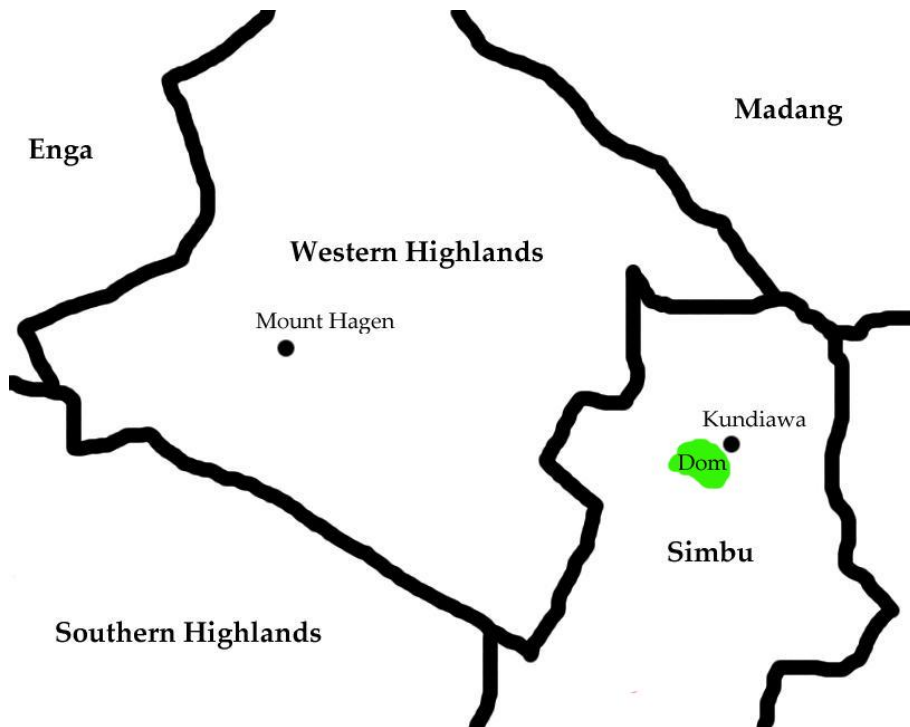
Map. 3: Dom area and the provincial border

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Geographical and demographic background

The Dom language is spoken over a continuous territory in the Dom area in the Gumine District and in a part of the Sinasina District of the Simbu Province (formerly called Chimbu) in the highlands of Papua New Guinea. The language is mainly spoken in this area, but also in some settlements in towns and cities, and some enclaves also exist in different areas. Grimes (2005) reports that the number of speakers is 12,000, based on 1994 information.

The total number of Dom people is estimated at around 16,000. Although no recent statistical data are available for Dom speakers, their number should roughly amount to the population of the Dom-speaking area plus a few hundreds in urban areas. Dom-speaking area in Gumine district is most parts of Mt. Digine Rural Local Level Government (LLG) area, for which the 2000 Census reports a population figure of 13,505. Subtracting 950 people living in three Ol Dale wards (proper, 1 and 2), which are Yure-speaking areas, from the above census figure makes 12,555. Precise distribution of other Dom speakers from Sinasina district is not clear, but Kagugl Ward in Tabare Rural LLG, which has a population of 1,559, is one area where the Kiwa Ku group of the Dom people dwell. The total sum of 14,114 still does not include information about the people missed by the census, remaining Dom speakers in Sinasina and Dom speakers in urban areas.

It is not clear how accurate the census figure is, but currently there is no closer estimate available. The figure reported by the census drastically differs from that of electorate registration list made in 2002, which contains the number 25,898 for voters (who should be adults by definition) living in Mt. Digine Rural LLG, but this is the extremely unreliable data, since a number of faux declarations have been found in the list.

1.2 Socio-linguistic setting

Most Dom people are subsistence farmers, with sweet potatoes as their staple food, as with the case with other New Guinea highlanders. Breeding pigs is considered to be very important, but not many people can afford to have pigs.

Sun-worship was one of the most important elements in Dom's beliefs although Christianity is now becoming the dominant religion. The Sun as a divine entity used to be referred to as *Ŋyau ɼar* 'grandfather sun'. In order to communicate with the Sun, The Dom used strange-shaped stones, and as recently as in 1999 the author witnessed the fear of the people

during the 1999 solar eclipse.

There used to be many ceremonies such as initiation ceremony called ⌐*ne* ⌐*bare* V*kangwa*, and pig-killing ceremony (Λ*bola* V*ike*), both are hardly practised anymore. Ceremony for friendship between tribes (Λ*komna* Λ*bl*) and wedding ceremony (V*apal* Λ*ulpe*) are still carried out, but are not very common. Some traditions Dom people still often observe include the 'compensation' ceremony (Λ*yal* Λ*no*), the ceremony for peace agreement (⌐*bo* V*bulgwa*), and funeral (Λ*gaul*). Most ceremonies, except for the initiation, involve food exchange. The custom of courting ⌐*ge* V*kau* or ⌐*ge* Λ*dugwa* is still popular among the younger people.

Almost all adult Dom speakers are fluent in Tok Pisin (⌐*ka* V*kopa* ⌐*ka* 'birds' language'), the lingua franca of the area. Older speakers are less fluent in Tok Pisin, while some children acquire Tok Pisin as their first language, prior to Dom. Many Dom speakers are to some extent fluent in Kuman, which is the most prestigious vernacular in the Simbu Province and used to be a lingua franca of missions. People still use Kuman prayers and hymns in many Catholic churches in the Dom area. Kuman is also used in songs in the custom of courting.

Eloquence is considered necessary to exercise leadership since all the ceremonies involve speeches by leaders. Typically, leaders are fluent in Kuman and able to deliver speeches in Kuman when necessary. The author witnessed ceremonies held in Dom area with the participation of Kuman speakers, where all leaders from Dom made speeches in Kuman.

Although Kuman has been considered prestigious and serving as a common language regionally, Tok Pisin is becoming more and more powerful as its substitute and currently the principal source of borrowings in Dom is Tok Pisin. It should be noted, though, that it is difficult to determine whether some recent borrowings of English origin are borrowed directly from English or via Tok Pisin.

English has been used as a medium of instruction. This seems to be one of the reasons why most people living in villages do not complete primary education. Many of them complain that they have dropped out because teachers spoke only English, which is incomprehensible to them.

Most borrowings from Tok Pisin are new words for newly introduced objects and concepts, proper names, and high numbers as shown below.

(1) a. Λ*kar* 'car', Λ*lam* 'lamp', Λ*ain* 'iron', Λ*sipsip* 'sheep', Λ*skul* 'school, to study', Λ*aussik* 'hospital', Λ*malaria* 'malaria', Λ*pepa* 'paper, book'

      b. Λ*gorka* 'Goroka', Λ*akn* 'Mount Hagen', Λ*mospi* 'Port Moresby'

      c. Λ*pipti* 'fifty', Λ*andret* 'hundred'

However, many borrowings are now fairly common although the same concepts have been known in Dom. They include lower numbers, nominal concepts, and verbal concepts as shown in the examples below, where the corresponding native Dom words are given in parentheses.

(2) a. Λ*wanpla* (*tenan* ⌐*ta*) 'one', Λ*tupla* (V*su*) 'two', Λ*tripla* (V*suta*) 'three'

      b. Λ*blat* (*miam*) 'blood', Λ*sik* (⌐*npl*) 'sickness', Λ*tit* (V*siki*) 'teeth', Λ*taim* (*ek*, *ikne*) 'time', Λ*birua* (*kura* ⌐*kol*) 'enemy', Λ*boksen* (*kikone*) 'fist',

      c. Λ*baim* (V*top* ⌐*s-*) 'to buy', Λ*tanm* (V*kurl* ⌐*s-*) 'to turn', Λ*stori* ⌐*d-* (⌐*ka* V*pore* *el-*) 'to tell a story', Λ*at* V*pai-* (*por* V*pai-*) 'to be difficult'

      d. Λ*plawa* 'flower', Λ*pren* 'friend', Λ*gaten* 'garden'

      e. Λ*waki* 'Wahgi river', Λ*kundiawa* 'Kundiawa'

Some borrowings are new as nouns, but they have corresponding Dom expressions in the form of verb phrases. For example, ∧*plawa* 'flower' is ∨*kuipe* ∧*sugwe* 'it blooms', ∧*pren* 'friend' is ∨*ye* ∧*neke* 'I have (someone) as a friend', and ∧*gaten* 'garden' is ∧*yal* ∧*neke* 'I have (something) in my garden.'

The use of borrowed proper names such as ∧*waki* 'Wahgi river' and ∧*kundiawa* 'Kundiawa', which correspond to the administrative names, is becoming common among the speakers even though there are native Dom words such as ∧*nera* (⌐*nule*) 'Wahgi river' and ⌐*kuriawa* 'Kundiawa'.

Older speakers tend to use Dom cognates for place names in other Simbu dialect speaking areas, using ∧*yoml* for ∧*yogomuʟ* (place name), ⌐*ella* for ∧*eduʟa* (tribe name) and so on, while younger speakers use the names in the original dialects.

All loanwords in Dom are borrowed as nouns. Verbs in Tok Pisin always have to be supported by some native verbs to be predicated.

1.2.1 Tribes and clans

The Dom people call themselves ∨*dom* [ⁿdom∧], which is primarily the name of the language, but can also refer to the language community and the area where the language is spoken.

A typical New Guinea Highlanders, the Dom people reside patrilocally, that is to say, men inherit land from their fathers to use throughout their lifetime, while women, upon marriage, go to live in the village of the husband from a different clan. They identify their clan affiliation patrilineally. The ethnic identity as Dom or Simbu seems to be of less importance to them than the clan affiliation. Weaker unity of Dom as a tribe has been pointed out by Brown, the author of "The Chimbu" (Brown 1972) who started to visit the present-day Simbu province in 1958:

> The largest named groups, Yonggamugl and Dom, are congeries of clans and units like subtribes that have a cultural and linguistic identity but, as far as I know, not joint activities. (Brown 1995: 14)

Dom community in Gumine district consists of the following seven clans.

(3) ∧*non=*⌐*ku*, ∨*kurpi*, ∨*koma=*⌐*ku*, ∧*kum=*⌐*ku*, ∧*ilai=*⌐*ku*, ∧*gor=*⌐*ku*, ∨*kopan*

The Dom in Sinasina district, about which the present author has not aquired much information, are usually called ⌐*kiwa=*⌐*ku* or ⌐*naba* ⌐*tu* ∨*dom* by those in Gumine, but it has not been confirmed by the present author that it is a single clan.

As a rule, the Dom people do not marry people from the same clan and the idea of clan itself is often expressed as the taboo on marriage inside the same group. However, three clans: Koma Ku, Kum Ku and Ilai Ku prohibit intermarriage among the clans, and they can be seen as a clan complex in terms of the intermarriage system, though they do not have an ethnic identity which is reflected by the lack of one name for the three groups. Two clans Non Ku and Kurpi are also said to have had a taboo on intermarriage between the two and are frequently paired as in the expression ∨*kurpi* ∧*non=*⌐*ku*. Another paired expression for two clans is ∧*gor=*⌐*ku* ∨*kopan*, which used to constitute one exogamous unit according to Jacobsen (1992). Thus, the seven clans of Dom in Gumine district are divided into three major groupings.

(4) a. *Ꮴkurpi Ʌnon=⌐ku*
   b. *Ʌgor=⌐ku Ꮴkopan*
   c. *Ꮴkoma=⌐ku, Ʌkum=⌐ku, Ʌilai=⌐ku*

The split of clans seems to start from the controversial act when someone in the clan breaks the code on marriage taboo and is established when gradual increase of 'illegal' marriages finally reaches a stage at which the society has to accept them. This is probably how Non Ku and Kurpi were split. A similar process has just started in the Non Ku clan, where a few controversial marriages between members of sub-clans are reported.

Warfare is another feature of clan distinction. Armed fighting is a clear indication that the enemies belong to different clans.

Although all varieties of the Dom language are mutually intelligible, the speakers recognise small dialectal differences among clans. A cursory survey carried out by the present author suggests the existence of phonetic, prosodical and lexical differences among the clans.

Female non-Dom speakers, mainly those who married a Dom, constantly migrate into the Dom area. Most women come to speak Dom after marriage except for Kuman speakers, who usually continue to use their language in communicating with their husbands and relatives.

Many asylum seekers from Bari acquired their own land in the Dom area probably more than 30 years ago, and the majority of young Bari speak Dom as their first language.

The closest relative of the Dom language appears to be the language of Era (*⌐era*), which is sometimes classified as a Dom language by non-Era Dom people as well as Era themselves. Grimes (2005) classifies Era as a dialect of Dom. The language of Kia tribe is also very similar to Dom.

1.2.2 Names and Naming

Naming a newly born baby after the person from whom the parents received and will receive benefit is the convention in Dom. The namesake (*Ꮴdim*) of the baby is expected to willingly look after the baby. People seem to be pleased with their namesakes.

Having a biblical name as a 'Christian name' is almost the norm even though the denomination to which one belongs in many cases does not require that. Thus, a 'Christian name' can be in fact a non-baptismal name, but just a name in Tok Pisin or English. Some 'Christian names' have English origin as in *ɅPaias*, *ɅPol* and *ɅMaikol*, and other have Latin or German origin as *ɅPius*, *ɅPaulus* and *ɅMikael*.

When names are formally mentioned or more information is needed to identify a person, names are often combined with other names or the fathers' name. Recently, some people use their fathers' names as their surnames and a few people even started to inherit this surname from their fathers, probably due to western influence.

The Dom display reluctance in using proper names when addressing and referring to elder people. Kinship terms such as *Ꮴape* 'my father', titles such as *Ʌkansol* 'councillor', or sometimes nicknames are chosen to address those people towards whom the speaker wishes to show respect. People usually call their namesake *Ꮴdie* 'my namesake' or by another name of the namesake but never the same name as the speaker's.

Personal names can be followed by the honorific clitics =*⌐ku* for old women and =*⌐bia* for old men, or by the noun *Ʌkuml* 'unmarried man' for men.

Names can be preceded by an appositive noun, *Ʌyal* 'man' or *Ꮴapal* 'woman'.

It is very common to use nicknames. Quite often, two people in friendly relationship share one term as a nickname to call each other, which other people do not use to address these two. This nickname is based on some past event which reminds them of their amicable relationship. According to some Dom people, it is not appropriate to call people with whom they are in a really friendly relationship by one's own names. Most often, the keyword underlying this kind of nicknames is food, for example, as √*kola* 'a kind of edible tree leaves' or ∧*bisket* 'biscuit'. Basically the same custom was reported in Stasch (2002) for Korowai in Indonesian Papua.

Various non-linguistic oral sounds such as whistling are used for signalling one's presence and identity of oneself when not visible to others. These sounds are often shared by another person in a close relationship, such as a spouse.

Many tribe and clan names end with =⌐*ku*, =⌐*kane*, =∧*gau* or =√*gauma* as in the following.

   (5) ∧*non*=⌐*ku*, ⌐*ella*=(⌐)*kane*, ⌐*dua*=(∧)*gau*, ∧*gelwa*=√*gauma*

The elements which precede =⌐*ku* and =⌐*kane* are often names of existing tribe or clan, which are the original tribe/clan names of the common female ancestor. =∧*gau* and =√*gauma* indicate that the preceding element is a male ancestor's name, which include existing personal names.

A tribe or clan name followed by √*ike* 'house' means 'the territory of the tribe/clan'.

Many place names consist of two phonological words and the second element may sometimes be an enclitic.

   (6) a. √O   ⌐N*ule* 'the hamlet of O Nule'
          hand river

       b. √Y*aire*=⌐M*aule* 'the hamlet of Yaire Maule'
           PLN=flat.land

Even new place names follow this same pattern.

   (7) a. ∧W*ara* ∧G*ita* 'the hamlet of Wara Gita'
          water   guitar

       b. ∧B*ota* ∧B*akrap*   'the hamlet of Bota Bakrap'
          border   broken.down

Neighbouring tribes, languages and place names are usually called by the Dom cognates of the names used by these tribes.

   (8) a. ⌐E*lla* (Kuman: /eduʟa/ [enduʟa], Naure: /√erula/ [e˩ru˩la˥])
       b. √G*olm* (Golin: /golin/)

1.3   Linguistic background

1.3.1   Genetic relationships

The language family to which Dom belongs is named differently by authors as Hagen-Wahgi-Jimi-Chimbu family (Wurm 1960), Central family of East New Guinea Highlands

stock (Wurm & Hattori 1983), Chimbu family (Foley 1986), and Chimbu-Wahgi (Osmond 2001).

Foley (1986: 278) points out that "only the Chimbu family remains without any potential genetic links outside the highlands. Further, of the three language families, the languages of the Chimbu family are typologically the most aberrant." and suggests that "the speakers of the Chimbu family are the oldest of the present-day inhabitants of the central highlands."

The closest sister languages/dialects of Dom are distributed in the northern part of Simbu province, which amounts to the eastern bit of the area covered by the family, constituting a dialect chain, with no distinct boundaries of mutual intelligibility. For example, Dom and Kuman, which share the border, find it hard to understand each other, but Naure and Bari, that are western neighbours of both Dom and Kuman, pose much less difficulty when communicating with both Dom and Kuman speakers, although 'real' mutual intelligibility is often blurred, by the fact that people in the area usually enjoy passive multilingualism faciliated by the similarity of their languages.

Sound correspondences among the languages in the dialect chain are quite straightforward as shown in Appendix B. The dialect chain or the eastern group of Chimbu family includes: Dom, Kuman, Bari-Naure, Yuri, Kia, Golin, Salt-Yui, Sinasina, and Chuave.

The remaining languages in the Chimbu language family, which are distributed to the west of the eastern group, in turn, belong to a single dialect continuum according to Merlan and Rumsey (1991: 322).

There is a sharp language boundary between the eastern and the western group.

1.3.2   Typological profile

The basic facts about the structure/language system of Dom are the following:

1. Dom has a simple phonemic inventory with five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and thirteen consonants /p, b, m, t, d, n, k, g, s, l, r; w, y/. Long versus short vowel contrast is found only for /a/ vs. /aː/ in the word-final position of polysyllabic words. Stops exhibit a contrast between voiced prenasalised and voiceless non-prenasalised stops. Word-final /e/ is freely dropped if the word is polysyllabic. Non-phonemic [ɨ] can be inserted between consonants. When words consisting of one consonant are pronounced in isolation, the vowel *i* is added after this consonant.

2. The language utilises a word-tone system (with some complications), where three patterns, high (⌐), falling (⌐) and rising (⌐) are distinguished for words.
Major word classes include: nouns (large, open), adjectives (larg-ish with around 50 items, closed), verbs (larg-ish with around 140 items, closed). Other small closed classes are: pronouns, postpositions, demonstratives, interjections.

3. Dom is an exclusively suffixing language, in which no prefix has been found. It is mildly fusional only at the boundaries between person-number suffixes and mood suffixes.

4. Dom does not show a high degree of synthesis. The maximal number of suffixes which can be attached to the root is three. There are many lexical units consisting of more than one word.

5. Dom is a head-marking language. There are subject cross-reference markers on verbs and possessive markers on nouns, both indicating person-number while core NP argu-

ments are not marked for case.

6. Head-final language: verbs are always the final constituents of the clause. The in-transitive clause is always in SV order and AOV is the preferred order for transitive clauses. The final clause is the main clause in a clause chain. Possessor noun phrases, attributive nominals and relative clauses precede the head nouns. However, there are head-initial exceptions such as: adjectival modifiers in noun phrases. Adjectives including numerals and demonstratives follow the head nouns. Intensifiers in adjectival phrases follow the head adjectives.

7. Verb serialising language: Serial Verb Constructions are used for valency increasing process, evidentiality, aspects and some lexicalised/idiomatised verbal concepts.

8. Clause chaining language: there are two types of verbal moods, final and medial in the language. A sentence should be completed by a clause with a final verb, while other preceding sequences of clauses have medial verbs. A sentence can be very long, with clauses piling up inside to the extent that one paragraph or even one full-fledged discourse unit can be expressed by one sentence.

1.3.3   Papuan context

Many features have been identified as characterising a group of Papuan languages, Trans-New-Guinea languages, as summarised in Haiman (1980: xxxii-lii), and Wurm (1982: 54-64) Reesink (1987: 11-20) among others. See also Yoshida (1980), Foley (1986), Lynch (1998), Donohue (2003), and Hideki (2003). Dom also has many Papuan-like features such as lexical use of pitch distinctions, demonstrative system with vertical distinction, head-final constituent order (with noun-adjective exception), adjunct-verb combination, verb serialisation, clause chaining, and switch reference.

Unlike many other languages in New Guinea Highlands, which are known to have several lateral phonemes, Dom has only one lateral.

1.4   Previous work

Simbu people started to interact with people from the outer world after the discovery of the dense populations in the New Guinea highlands in the 1930's. As in other areas of New Guinea, missionaries were the first to explore the area and most linguistic data of Simbu languages was provided by them.

The earliest published material mentioning Dom is Capell (1948) based on a pioneering survey made in 1947, which includes a comparison of the Kuman, Sinasina, Dom and Tjuave (=Chuave) languages of what he called Chimbu Group, that is, the eastern dialect chain of the Simbu language family. Although it is difficult to identify the dialects from which he collected the data from a few words on the lists in the paper, judging from the phonetic realisation of the collected data it is rather not the Non Ku dialect which is the main concern of this grammar, but some dialect of Dom which often realises /g/ as [ŋ] and /r/ as [d] before [n]. The name of the language 'Dom' has been known to linguists since the publication of Capell, and occasionally mentioned as in Wurm (1960), Deibler and Trefry (SIL) (1963), Wurm (1982), and Foley (1986).

With the exception of the above studies, there has been no comprehensive linguistic

description of Dom published. There exists, however, worth mentioning is a booklet, *Ileku Dialect of the Dom Tribe in the Kundiawa District of the Chimbu Province, Papua New Guinea* (mimeo, 29pp., year of publication and author unknown), written by a missionary of the New Tribes Mission and a copy of a word list of Dom by Dick Loyd SIL. Both works are based on Ilai Ku dialect from Kel. Non-linguistic information on Dom people is available in an anthropological study by Jacobsen (1992).

There are published grammars of languages from the eastern group of the Chimbu language family, the dialect continuum containing Dom: Kuman (Bergmann 1953), the Tabare dialect of Sinasina (McVinney & Luzbetak 1954), Golin (Bunn 1974, Evans, Besold, Stoakes, & Lee 2005) and Salt-Yui (Irwin 1974).

The Chuave language is also studied by Swick (1966) and Thurman (1975). Kuman has been treated in many descriptive studies as Trefry (1969), Lynch (1983), Piau (1981) and Hardie (2003). There are also three dictionaries of Kuman Bergmann (1965 66), Hannemann (1969) and Nilles (1969), and one textbook (Trefry & Trefry 1967). There is one mimeo dictionary of Chuave (Swick 1969).

1.5 Present study

This description of Dom is based on material collected by the author from a wide variety of speakers during a total of two and a half years in the field. The fieldwork was conducted during ten trips in the period of 1997-2004. Some parts of the earlier version of this study were presented as Tida (2000), Tida (2001), Tida (2002c), Tida (2002b), Tida (2002a), Tida (2003b), Tida (2003a), and Tida (2004).

The textual corpus resulted from the fieldwork contains over 100,000 words and comes mainly from the Sipagul village, where most dwellers belong to the Gelwa Gauma subclan of the Non Ku clan. While most consultants who constantly helped me during my survey were young to middle-aged Gelwa Gauma males from the Sipagul area, data has also been obtained from females, elders, members of the neighbouring Kurpi clan, Bari people living in Sipagul village who speak Dom as their first language, and from other areas and clans.

Chapter 2

Phonology

2.1 Vowels

The vowel system of Dom consists of five short vowels and one long vowel as shown in Table 2.1.

i		u
e	o	
a		aː

Table. 2.1: Vowels

2.1.1 Minimal pairs

The following minimal pairs illustrate the vowel distinctions.

(1) e-i   ⌐*de* 'faeces', ⌐*di* 'axe'
   o-u   ⌐*kol* 'part', ⌐*kul* 'grass'
   e-o-a   Λ*pel* 'to dig', Λ*pol* 'to pull out', Λ*pal* 'to skin'
   a-aː   Λ*bna* 'border', Λ*bnaː* 'frame over the fireplace'

2.1.2 Lengthening

A vowel in a syllable with a contour pitch is lengthened, and in this environment, the distinction of vowel length is not phonemic as discussed in §2.4. The distinction between long *aː* and a short *a* is observed for the last syllable of polysyllabic words with a falling tone.

2.1.3 /e/

The default realisation of /e/ is a mid to low-mid front vowel [e]~[ɛ], but the range of variation displayed by /e/ is quite wide.

A word-final /e/ can optionally become subject to various rules listed below if the word is a native polysyllabic non-verb. The rules for deriving the allophones of the phoneme /e/

are the following.

(2) a. /e/ → [o] / [+labial] (C) __# (optional)
          ⌐*kole* [ko˥lo˥] 'part'
          Ⅴ*ape* [a˩po˦] 'my father'
     b.   [ə] / __# (optional)
     c.   ∅ / __# (optional)
          Λ*korale* [ko˥ral∨] 'chicken'
          Ⅴ*ble* [ᵐbʎ̩] 'her/his head'
     d.   [e]∼[ɛ] / elsewhere

These optional rules are not applied to the word-final /e/ of monosyllabic words, of verbs and of loanwords. Thus, /e/ in the following words is always realised as [e]∼[ɛ].

(3) a. ⌐*me* 'taro' (*[⌐mo]), ⌐*ge* 'girl' (*[ᵑgə˥])
     b. Λ*moke* 'I stay' (*[mo˥ko˩])
     c. Λ*mande* 'Monday' (*[man˥də˩]), Λ*toksawe* 'message' (*[tok˥sa˥wo˩])

Such a wide range of realisation is probably possible because polysyllabic native non-verbs almost never end with /o/ and backness or roundedness needs no specification. This might partly account for the fact that younger speakers, who use an increasing number of loanwords which make a distinction between /e/ and /o/ in the word-final position of polysyllabic non-verbs, also tend to pronounce the word-final /e/ not as [o] nor [ə] but invariably as [e]∼[ɛ]. However, younger speakers tend to apply the *e*-deletion rule.

The rule of *e*-deletion is optional but fairly typical when the target word is followed by a clitic, as in the following.

(4) a. Λ*molm*=Λ*mo* 'he stays or?' (← Λ*molme*=Λ*mo*)
     b. Λ*koral*=⌐*rae* 'that chicken which we know' (← Λ*korale*=⌐*rae*)

Some words which end in the vowel /e/ have an allomorph with /i/ instead of /e/, as in the following.

(5) a. ⌐*ge* ∼ ⌐*gi* 'girl'
     b. Ⅴ*ke* ∼ Ⅴ*ki* 'to build'
     c. Ⅴ*ike* ∼ Ⅴ*iki* 'house, hair'

2.1.4   [ɨ] and /i/ insertion

Non-phonemic [ɨ] can be inserted between consonants.

(6) Λ*pke* [pɨ˥ke˩] 'I hear'

The quality of this sound ranges from central to more fronted on the one hand and from high to mid on the other. Length of [ɨ] is short to very short. In particular, [ɨ] is very short before a sonorant.

This sound is not regarded as a vowel phoneme because (a) its occurence is predictable and often optional, (b) it can occur at underlying syllable boundary and (c) only the obligatory [ɨ] seems to serve as a pitch-bearing unit.

It can occur between any consonant clusters consisting of obstruents or nasals. [ɨ] should appear obligatorily when the first element of such cluster is the onset of the syllable and the second element is an obstruent as in [pɨ˥ke˩] 'I hear'.

The usual realisation of ∧*komna* 'vegetable' is [kom˥na˩], and its syllabification is clear when it is pronounced syllable by syllable. Yet, a short transitional [ɨ] is heard sometimes, if not very often, as in [komᶦ˥na˩].

This sound is often written with the letter 'i' by the speakers, but the following minimal pairs confirm that the distinction should be made between /i/ and ∅ ([ɨ]).

(7) a. *V̍kine* 'side', *V̍kne* 'carry and'
     b. *V̍pipke* 'Two people heard', *V̍ppke* 'We two heard'
     c. ⌐*kila* 'hawk', ⌐*kla* 'rasp'
     d. ∧*gil* 'dry', ∧*gl* 'to put in'

(8) a. ∧*bil* 'bill, Bill', ∧*bl* 'big'
     b. ∧*nil* 'nail, needle', ∧*nl* 'water'

When words consisting of one consonant are followed by a pause, a vowel *i* is added after the consonant.

(9) 'I ask' ⌐*d* ∧*p-ke* [ⁿdi pɨke]

Thus:

(10) ∅ → /i/ / # C__ #

The form with an inserted /i/ can alternatively have [ɨ] instead of /i/ when it is not phonetically set off from the following word.

(11) 'I ask' ⌐*d* ∧*p-ke* [ⁿdɨpɨke] ∼ [ⁿdipɨke]

2.1.5   /i/

/i/ is a high front unrounded vowel.

There are only a few examples of the vowel /i/ in a syllable with both onset and coda consonants.

(12) ⌐*dinna* 'my chest', *V̍dim* 'his/her namesake', *V̍mim* 'choked'

Some borrowed words avoid the vowel /i/ in a syllable with both onset and coda, especially when the onset consonant is /s/ and the coda consonant is a sonorant, as in the following.

(13) a. ∧*marasn* 'medicine' (< marasin)
      b. ∧*pasm* 'to close' (< pasim)
      c. ∧*wisl* 'whistle' (< wisil)

2.1.6   /o/

/o/ is realised as a mid to low-mid back rounded vowel [o]∼[ɔ].

/o/ is very rare in the word-final position of polysyllabic words. A few exceptions consist of verbs with mood suffix ending in /o/ and some cases which are considered to be recent developments because they show free allomorphic variation with some other vowels word-finally. ⌐*yoko* 'few, little' has alternate forms ⌐*yoka* and ⌐*yokau* and ∨*nono* 'we (inc.)' alternates with ∨*none*.

Lengthened /o/ is often realised as [oɔ].

(14)   a.   ∨*to* [toɔʌ]
       b.   ʌ*ko* [koɔ∨]

2.1.7   /u/

/u/ is a high back rounded vowel.

2.1.8   /a/

The vowel /a/ is a low unrounded central vowel. The vowel /a/ is the first element of frequently used vowel sequences.

2.1.9   Sequence of vowels

Some morphemes with a vowel sequence /au/ show variants such as ⌐*yokau* ∼⌐*yoko* ∼⌐*yoka* 'few, little'. The sequence /au/ is pronounced as [ou∼ɔu] when preceded by /w/.

Two sequences of vowels, /au/ and /ai/, are the most freely distributed sequences and show high frequency of occurrence. Only these two types of sequence are found in the second syllable of a word. Other sequences occur only in the first syllable of a word.

The sequence /eu/ also exhibits wide distribution. The three sequence types, /au/, /ai/ and /eu/, are found verb-root-internally while other combinations of vowels are not.

The sequence /eu/ often shows perturbation among /eu/, /iu/ and /yu/.

Other frequently occurring sequences include /iu/ and /ua/. /ui/ and /oi/ are also not uncommon.

/ae/ is found in only one morpheme ⌐*rae* which marks mutual knowledge. The default realisation of the sequence /ae/ is [æ]. Less frequently, it is realised as [ɑe̜]. The *e*-deletion rule applies to the second element /e/ of this sequence, leaving only the first element /a/ alone.

All the instances of /oa/ are preceded by a velar consonant as in ⌐*koa* 'bean sp.' and ⌐*goa* 'to tie up'.

/io/, /ia/ and /uo/ occur only in the predicate-final position.

Morpheme-internal /ei/ is found only in two native words ∨*ei* (place name) and ⌐*ei* 'dead end' but many loan words contain this sequence.

Words containing [ea] show alternations such as [aja] ∼[eja] ∼[ea].

There seem to be no morpheme-internal /ao/, /eo/, /oe/, /ou/, /ue/, /ie/ sequences in native words.

Some loan personal names have /eo/ or /oe/ sequences, but often have a nativised version with other sequences or with an inserted glide as in ʌ*eo*∼ʌ*ea*, ʌ*teo*∼ʌ*tio* and ɲ*joel*∼ɲ*jowel*.

2.2   Consonants

Dom has thirteen indigenous consonant phonemes, and three loan phonemes /j/ [ⁿdʒ], /c/ [tʃ]∼[ts] and /ʟ/ [ʟ], which are unstable to a varying degree.

	bilabial	alveolar	alveopalatal	velar
voiceless stops	p	t		k
prenasalised voiced stops	b	d		g
nasals	m	n		
voiceless affricate			(c)	
prenasalised voiced affricate			(j)	
fricative		s		
lateral		l		(ʟ)
flap		r		
approximants	w		y	

Table. 2.2: Consonants

In addition to consonant phonemes given in the table, the use of non-prenasalised voiced stops [b, d, g] and the affricate [dʒ] in the word-medial position, pronounced slightly long with obvious intention of distinguishing them from both voiceless stops and prenasalised voiced stops, by speakers fluent in Tok Pisin has been observed for some loanwords, but these sounds are highly marginal and treated as allophones of /p/, /t/, /k/ and /c/.

2.2.1   Minimal pairs

The following examples are morphologically simple minimal pairs, illustrating the consonant distinctions.

(15) a. *Vsu* 'two', *Vtu* 'thick', *Vdu* 'squeeze', *Vnu* 'aim at', *Vku* 'hold in the mouth', *Vgu* 'shave', *Vpu* 'blow' *Vmu* 'his/her back', *Vyu* 'harvest taro'
   b. ⌈*me* 'taro', ⌈*be* '(animal) cry', ⌈*ne* 'eat', ⌈*te* 'give', ⌈*de* 'burn, faeces', ⌈*ge* 'single girl' ⌈*ye* 'he/she'
   c. *Vta* 'dawn', *Vda* 'stuck', *Vma* 'pluck', *Vwa* 'hitched', *Vya* 'fall'
   d. ∖*por* 'big', ∖*pol* 'pull out', ∖*pon* 'hoe up'

Further examples can be found in Appendix A.1.2.

2.2.2   Prenasalisation and gemination

Voiceless stops undergo optional gemination in the word-initial position.
The consonants /b/, /d/, /g/ and /j/ are realised as prenasalised voiced stops in most dialects. Word-initial prenasalisation does not seem to exist in Era and Kiwa Ku dialects. In these dialects word-initial voiced stops can optionally be geminated instead.
Perhaps, these facts along with limited distribution of prenasalised stops as discussed

below suggest different origins for the word-initial prenasalisation and the non-word-initial prenasalisation. Word-initial prenasalisation might have been partial gemination of voiced stops in its nature, whereas non-word-initial prenasalised stops are reanalysed homorganic consonnat clusters consisting of a nasal and a stop.

2.2.3   Obstruents

2.2.3.1   /p/

The default realisation of /p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop. In connected speech, /p/ is voiced and fricativised between vowels.

(16) ⌐*kupa* [ku˥βa˥] 'stick'

2.2.3.2   /b/

/b/ is a prenasalised voiced bilabial stop.

In most attested cases, /b/ in the non-word-initial position is preceded by a nasal consonant as follows.

(17)   a. 'marking stake' Ⱨ*gnbe*
       b. Mol Danba (place name) ∧*mol* ⌐*danba*

Only one exception to this is adversative ∧*iba* 'but', which has the form =∧*ba* when it cliticise to some word.

2.2.3.3   /k/

/k/ is a voiceless velar stop. Like /p/, /k/ is usually realised as a voiced fricative between vowels in connected speech.

(18) Ⱨ*ike* [i⌐ɣe˦] 'house'

Thus:

(19)   a. [−cor,−prenas] → [+voiced] / V__V
       b. [−cor,−prenas,+voiced] → [+cont] / V__V

2.2.3.4   /g/

In many dialects, the default realisation of /g/ is a voiced velar prenasalised stop [ŋg]. In Era and Kiwa Ku dialects, the consonant /g/ is a velar nasal [ŋ] in the word-medial position, and a voiced velar stop [g] in the word-initial position.

The sequence /gw/ is often pronounced as a nasal labio-velar approximant [w̃] by the speakers of dialects of Kurpi, Ilai Ku and Era. Kiwa Ku has a labio-velar approximant /w/ in place of /gw/.

Underlyingly, few words have a /g/ morpheme-internally. In most cases, morpheme internal /g/ is preceded by a nasal phoneme /n/ or /m/ as in ⌐*bnge* 'crooked' and ⌐*dɪnge* 'smoke-covered'.

Word-internal /g/ appears when a person-number suffix which ends with a nasal conso-
nant is followed by a mood suffix which starts with /k/ as in the following.

(20) a. {Λkor-pn-ke} (leave-1PL-IND) → Λ*korpge* 'we leave'
      b. {Λkor-m-ka} (leave-3SG-SRD) → Λ*korgwa* 's/he leaves and ...'
      c. {Λmol-n-kal} (stay-2SG-LOC) → Λ*mogal* 'where you stay'

In contrast, apart from loanwords, the voiceless non-prenasalised counterpart /k/ does
not occur word-internally after a nasal.

e-deletion of indicative verbs often results in a word with /g/ or /gw/ in the utterance-
final position. /g/ is a simple velar nasal [ŋ] and /gw/ is pronounced as a labialised velar nasal
[ŋʷ] utterance-finally.

2.2.3.5   /t/

/t/ is a voiceless alveolar stop. Unlike /k/ and /p/, /t/ is neither voiced nor fricativised
between vowels. In native words /t/ occurs only in the word-initial position. /t/ is usually
followed by a non-high vowel.

2.2.3.6   /d/

/d/ is a prenasalised voiced alveolar or a post-alveolar stop, and it sometimes has a more
strongly retracted variant with a retroflex quality before /o/ and after /w/. The same range of
variation in the place of articulation is found in /n/.

Underlyingly, /d/ appears only in the morpheme-initial position. This might be the reason
for perturbation between /d/ and /g/ as in Λ*komdi*∼ Λ*komgi* 'committee' and perhaps, the
word Λ*sar* in Λ*sar* ⌐*kep*⌐ 'Saturday, small *sar*' and Λ*sar* Λ*bl* 'Sunday, big *sar*' is a merged
form of the words for 'Saturday' and 'Sunday', to which new loanwords Λ*sarere*∼ Λ*sarre*
'Saturday' and Λ*sade* 'Sunday' correspond respectively.

2.2.3.7   /s/

/s/ is a voiceless alveo-palatal fricative [ʃ] before /u/ and sometimes also before /o/.
Otherwise /s/ is realised as a voiceless alveolar sibilant fricative [s].

(21) a. /s/ → [ʃ] / __ u
      b. /s/ → [ʃ] / __ o (optional)
      c. /s/ → [s] / elsewhere

Not uncommonly, the affricates [ts] and [tʃ] are used in free variation with [s] and [ʃ], respec-
tively.

In most cases, /s/ is found in the word-initial position and is followed by a high vowel /i/
or /u/.

2.2.3.8   /r/

The default realisation of /r/, as an onset, is a voiced alveolar flap but it has a free al-
lophonic variation of a trill. Another, however not very commonly heard allophone is an

alveolar stop without release [t ̚] or [d ̚] before [n] of the consonant /n/ or a prenasal of /d/. Some dialects seem to employ this allophone more frequently than the Non Ku dialect upon which this grammar is mainly based. In the syllable final position it is usually trilled. /r/ never occurs word-initially.

Some morphemes show free variation in which /r/ alternates with /n/, or /r/ with /l/ as in the following examples.

(22) a. ∧*tenan*∼∧*teran* 'one, only'
      b. ∧*bnan* ∧*bol* ∼∧*bran* ∧*bol* 'forcibly'

(23) a. ⌜*garml*∼⌜*galml* 'young'
      b. ∧*nera*∼∧*nela* 'Wahgi river'

There is no word-initial /r/ in the native words. The presence of the clitic =⌜*rae* for 'mutual knowledge' marking shows that a clitic can start with /r/.

/r/ can be syllabic.

2.2.3.9 /l/ and /ʟ/

/l/ is realised as a voiced alveolar lateral, and is optionally devoiced utterance-finally or before a voiceless consonant. The consonant /l/ optionally undergoes regressive assimilation of the place of articulation when followed by a velar stop.

(24) a. /l/ → [ʟ] / __ [velar] (optional)
      b. [+lateral] → [-voice] / __ {[-voice], #} (optional)

Thus:

(25) a. [jal̥∨] ∧*yal* 'man'
      b. [jaʟ∨ ᵑgaˑl̥∨] ∧*yal* /*gal* 'male infant'
      c. [jaʟ̥∨ koβe ̚] ∧*yal*=⌜*kope* 'men'

In contrast, the alveolar nasal /n/ is never assimilated by the following velar consonant, keeping the contrast between /ng/ [ng] and /g/ [ŋg], and it is rarely devoiced under any conditions.

(26) a. [wan˩gwe˦] /*wangwe* 'He moves around'
          [waŋ˩gwe˦] /*wagwe* 'It is hitched'
      b. [kun˩gwe˦] /*kungwe* 'He has diarrhea'
          [kuŋ˩gwe˦] /*kugwe* 'He bites'

Native words may contain the consonant /l/ only in the non-word-initial position.

l is optionally deleted before /k/, but not before /g/. Thus:

(27) [+lateral] → ∅ / __k (optional)

Here are some examples.

(28) ⌜*mo*+/*k-ike*   ∼∧*mol*+/*k-ike*
      stay+NEG-1SG.IND   stay+NEG-1SG.IND

(29) a. ∧*yal*=⌜*kope* ∼⌜*ya*=⌜*kope* 'men'
          man=PL   man=PL

    b. *Ɩapal*   *ʌkum*   ~*Ɩapa*   *ʌkum*   'woman with sorcery power'
        woman sorcery   woman sorcery

Sometimes the trigger of the rule, the consonant /k/, is realised slightly longer than usual.

    Word-medial *lk* sequence seems to be archaic. This sequence is observed only in utterances produced by the older generation and younger speakers replaced it with a simple *k*. This means that the *l*-deletion rule became obligatory for younger speakers word-medially.

(30) a. *ʌmo-ke*   ~*ʌmol-ke*   'I stay.'
         stay-1SG.IND   stay-1SG.IND

      b. *ʌwaka* ~*ʌwalka* 'testicles'
         waka   waka

    A few speakers fluent in Kuman consistently use the velar lateral [ʟ] in loanwords from Kuman containing /ʟ/ as in the following examples, while the other speakers substitute the segment with /k/.

(31) a. *ʌyobʟo* [jomˈbⁱʟˈʟo] (nickname 'bone')
      b. *ʌeduʟa* [enˈduˈʟaʟ] (tribe name 'Endugla')

As in the Kuman language, this segment has a wide range of variants, such as voiceless [ʟ̥], or as a voiceless lateral with strongly fricative quality accompanied by homorganic plosive [k͡ʟ̥].

    A phonetically long /l/ occurs only between two syllables and it is considered to be the sequence of the coda /l/ of the preceding syllable and /l/ in the onset of the following syllable:

(32) a. [sⁱlːa] /ˈslla/
        'to drop'
      b. [telːe] /Ɩtelle/
        'to hiss and crackle'
      c. [elːa] /ˈella/
        'Endugla tribe'

    /l/ does not appear word-initially in native words. One clitic =ˈla (locativiser) starts with /l/.

    As Kuman does not have word-initial liquids, /ʟ/ does not occur word-initially.

2.2.3.10   /s/, /t/ and /l/

    There are a few minimal pairs that show /s/ and /t/ contrast in the same environment.

(33) a. *ʌso* 'hit!' *ʌto* 'give!'
      b. *Ɩsu* 'two' *Ɩtu* 'thick'

Many words show alternation between /s/ and /t/ before high front vowels, with forms with /s/ as dominant allomorphs in most cases. The following are pairs in free variation:

(34) a. *ʌti*~*ʌsi* 'running away'
      b. *ʌti ʌsugwa*~*ʌsi ʌsugwa* 'bush'
      c. *ʌkap ʌtine*~*ʌkapʌsine* 'marsupial sp.'

    d. ⱴ*tipi*∼ⱴ*sipi* 'right here forth'
    e. ⋀*tia*∼⋀*sia* intensifier for ⋀*por* 'big'
    f. ⱴ*tipi*∼ⱴ*sipi* 'here forward'
    g. ⋀*tiu*∼⋀*siu* 'swear words'

In reduplicated words, there is an alternation between /s/ + high vowel sequence and /t/ + non-high vowel sequence as in the following.

(35) a. ⌈*siula* ⱴ*taula* 'a kind of grasshopper'
      b. ⌈*su* (⌈)*tau* 'to grab'

The following perturbation in borrowed words might serve as an example of alternation between a form more faithful to the source (⋀*tutul* and ⋀*sosis*) and a nativised one (⋀*susul* and ⋀*tosis*).

(36) a. ⋀*tutul*∼⋀*susul* 'assistant village chief' (<tultul)
      b. ⋀*tosis*∼⋀*sosis* 'sausage'

A word-final /t/ in borrowings is often replaced with /l/ by elder speakers.

(37) a. ⋀*kot*∼⋀*kol* 'court'
      b. ⋀*bret*∼⋀*brel* 'Brett (personal name)'

The following are considered to be the cases of hypercorrection pertaining to this relationship between /t/, /s/ and /l/.

(38) a. ⋀*taul*∼⋀*saul* 'towel'
      b. ⋀*painapol*∼⋀*painapot* 'pineapple'
      c. ⋀*raskol*∼⋀*raskot* 'rascal'

Considering the phonotactics of native words suggesting that they were once (not far back in history) in complementary distribution, morphophonological alternation between /s/ and /t/, and the perturbation pattern among /s/, /t/ and /l/ found in loanwords it seems plausible that /s/, /t/, and /l/ were allophones ([s], [t] and [l]) of one phoneme /t/, which used to be realised as [s], [t] or [l] after application of the following rules.

(39) a. /t/ → [s] / # __ [+high]
      b. /t/ → [t] / # __ [-high]
      c. /t/ → [l] / elsewhere

2.2.3.11 /c/ and /j/

/c/ is a non-prenasalised voiceless alveopalatal affricate [tʃ] and /j/ is its prenasalised voiced counterpart [ⁿdʒ]. /c/ and /j/ appear only in loan words.

Since /s/ can be realised as [tʃ], it is often difficult to determine whether a speaker distinguishes /c/ from /s/.

Older people replace /j/ with /d(i)/ as in ⋀*dias*∼ ⋀*jas* 'justice' and ⋀*dim*∼ ⋀*jim* (a personal name).

2.2.4   Nasals

2.2.4.1   /n/

/n/ is a voiced alveolar or post-alveolar nasal. Sometimes a retroflex variant can be heard as is the case for /d/.

/n/ can be syllabic as in:

(40) [gⁱņ] 'mushroom' /⌐gn/

Long /n/, like long /l/, occurs only between two syllables and it is considered to consist of two /n/'s. All the instances of long /n/ are, morphologically speaking, the results of suffixation of the first person possessive /-na/ to roots that end with /n/, and no long /n/ is found morpheme internally.

(41)   a.   [bonːa] 'my knee' /Vbonna/
       b.   [bⁱņːa] 'my thigh' /⌐bnna/

Other attested /nn/ sequences have the first /n/ as the onset and the second as the nucleus.

(42) [nⁱņ] 'a kind of shell' /Λnn/

2.2.4.2   /m/

/m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal. /m/ can be syllabic. When a /p/ is followed by a syllabic /m/, the stop usually remains unreleased.

(43) [ko⌋pˀm̩⊣] 'his nephew' /Vkopm/

2.2.5   Approximants

2.2.5.1   /y/

/y/ is a palatal approximant. /y/ occurs as an onset of the syllable.

2.2.5.2   /w/

/w/ is a labio-velar approximant.

As the second segment of onset clusters, /w/ can follow a velar consonant. There are a few cases of /s/ preceding /w/ in the onset, but they are mainly loans. /w/ also occurs as the second segment of coda clusters.

An underlying /Cwo/ sequence is very unstable and usually replaced by a single /o/.

(44) /swo/ [ʃwo∨]∼[ʃo∨] 'Hit!'

(45)   a.   /Vkango/ [kan⌋go⊣] 'You saw it and'
       b.   /Vkangwo/ [kan⌋gwo⊣]∼[kan⌋go⊣] 'S/He saw it and'

Thus the following optional rule.

(46) /w/ → ∅ / C __ o (optional)

Younger speakers drop /w/ in some words where older speakers use a /Cw/ sequence.

(47)   a. /Ʌkwepa/ ∼ /Ʌkepa/ 'sweet potato'
      b. /Ʌkorwal/ ∼ /Ʌkoral/ 'chicken'

A /w/ between consonants is realised as labialisation of the preceding consonant. The consonant following /w/ may also be weakly labialised.

(48)   /kanwdæ/ [kanʷdæ] 'S/he sees/saw it as we know.'
     cf. /kandæ/ [kandæ] 'You saw it, as we know.'

(49)   /molwdae/ [molʷdæ] 'S/he stayed/stays as we know'

In the example (48) there is usually no release between the labialised alveolar nasal [nʷ] and the voiced alveolar stop [d]. A short high back vowel [u] is heard when there is a release.
     Labialised consonants, however, are not recognised as independent phonemes.

2.2.6   Sonorant assimilation

(50)   a. Ʌ*yal*=Ʌ*ya* [jalˋlaːˋ]
      b. Ʌ*yal*=⌐*rae* [jalˋlæ⌐]

Thus:

(51) /r/, /y/ → [l] / l = _____

(52)   a. ⌐*noman*=⌐*la* [no⌐man⌐=na⊣]
      b. *V̷aln*=⌐*rae* [alnˌ=næ⊣]

Thus:

(53) /r/, /y/ → [n] / n = _____

2.2.7   Metathesis

Some word-final consonant sequences exhibit metathesis. Underlying sequences are in free variation with the metathesised version as in the following.

kr and *rk*:

(54) 'risp' ⌐*gikr* ⌐*gokr* ∼ ⌐*grke* ⌐*gorke*

pl and *lp*:

(55)   a. 'downside' Ʌ*yopl* ∼ Ʌ*yolp*
      b. 'flip side' Ʌ*apl* ∼ Ʌ*alp*

pk and *kp*:

(56)   a. 'dirty' *V̷depke* ∼ *V̷dekpe*
      b. 'mountain' Ʌ*mepke* ∼ Ʌ*mekpe*

2.3   Syllable structure and phonotactics

2.3.1   Syllable structure

The following examples represent monosyllabic words (C: consonants, V: vowels).

(57) C   ⌐*d* 'say.INF'
      CC   Λ*nl* 'water', √*pr* 'flying'
      CCC   Λ*brm* (place name), ⌐*mnm* 'husbands sister, brother's husband (from female)'
      (C)V   ⌐*ka* 'word', √*o* 'hand'
      (C)wV √*gwe* 'to take out'
      (C)VV Λ*ai* 'place', √*tau* 'some'
      (C)VC Λ*tep* 'on the top', Λ*op* 'handle' √*kal* 'thing', Λ*al* 'dog'
      (C)VVC Λ*yaum* 'his grandfather', √*paim* 'they sleep'

Words with (C)V(V)CC structure as exemplified below may seem to be monosyllabic:

(58)   a. Λ*korm* 'he discards'
       b. √*yauln* 'you open'

However, the final CC sequence of these words actually constitutes a separate syllable where the second C (sonorant) is the nucleus. There are some other words with a (C)VCC syllable structure as Λ*yolp* 'downside'. The morpheme is in free variation with Λ*yopl* which is a more frequently used form, and Λ*yolp* is considered to be a metathesised version of Λ*yopl*. Λ*yopl* is considered to be disyllabic with syllable boundary between /o/ and /p/.

All the syllable types above are also observed for polysyllabic words. The range of syllable structures that the final syllable of polysyllabic words exhibits seems to be confined to these patterns. They can be generalised as:

(59)   a. C
       b. CC(C)
       c. (C)(w)V(V)(C)(C?)

There are syllable structures found only in words with more than one syllable. Common patterns are:

(60) CwV   √*kwa.re* 'already', Λ*su.gwi* 'hit.3SG.DEM'
      CwVC   √*jo.gwal* 'put.3SG.LOC', √*gwep.ke* 'We two take out'
      (C)VCC √*karp.ke* 'We two see', Λ*korp.ge* 'We discard'
      (C)VVCC √*baulp.ke* 'We two trick', √*yaulp.ge* 'We open'

Here we obtain an onset cluster Cw and clear cases of coda clusters. Since /w/ is the only consonant which can form a complex onset, it is convenient to distinguish /w/ from other consonants (abbreviated as C).

At first glance, the mood suffixes starting with /kr/, for example the mutual knowledge -*krae*, produce considerably diverse patterns of syllable structures. The patterns are as in the following.

(61) CCCC   √*knpk.rae* 'We two carry, as we know', √*e.klpk.rae* 'We two split firewood, as we know'

CCw   *\plw.dae* 'He knows, as we know',

CCCw   *\kngw.rae* 'He carries, as we know', *\ku.klgw.rae* 'He hugs, as we know'

(C)VCCC   *\karpk.rae* 'We two see, as we know', *\alpk.rae* 'We two stand, as we know',

(C)VVCC   *\baulp.dae* 'We trick, as we know', *\baulk.rae* 'I trick, as we know'

(C)VVCCC   *\baulpk.rae* 'We two trick, as we know'

(C)Vw   *\naw.dae* 'He goes, as we know', *\paw.dae* 'He sleeps, as we know'

(C)VCw   *\molw.dae* 'He stays, as we know', *\kanw.dae* 'He sees, as we know'

(C)Vw   *\go.liw.dae* 'They die, as we know'

(C)VVw   *\paiw.dae* 'They sleep, as we know', *mo.\laiw.dae* 'They will stay, as we know'

(C)VCCw   *\molgw.rae* 'He stays, as we know', *\karpg.rae* 'We see, as we know'

(C)VVCw   *\baulw.dae* 'He tricks, as we know'

(C)wVCC   *\gwepk.rae* 'We two take out, as we know'

(C)wVw   *\gwew.dae* 'He takes out, as we know', *\wew.dae* 'He cuts, as we know'

(C)wVCw   *\gwegw.rae* 'He takes out, as we know', *\wegw.rae* 'He cuts out, as we know'

wVCCw   *\welgw.rae* 'He rolls, as we know'

Note that many additional patterns in polysyllabic words pertain to /w/. The syllable structures illustrated above follow the two templates:

(62) a. C
      b. CC(C)(C/w)
      c. (C)(w)V(V)(C)(C)(C/w)

Additional elements which are added for polysyllabic words are /w/ as the final element of the onset cluster and (C/w) as the final element of the coda cluster.

2.3.2   Syllabification

Hereafter, the dot '.' is used to indicate a syllable boundary. /\kana/ 'my name' is syllabified as /ka.na/ whereas /⌐kna/ 'his/her ear' as /kn.a/. /\kam/ 'banana' consist of one syllable whereas /\kamn/ has a syllable boundary: /ka.mn/. Given these facts, the syllable structure patterns described above can be made in the following way, scanning a segment string one by one:

(63) a. A syllable should not cross over a word boundary.
      b. A vowel or a sonorant can be in the nucleus.
      c. A consonant can be an onset or a coda.

(64) a. Only /w/ is allowed for the second part of onset clusters. (The onset should consist of only one consonant otherwise)
      b. A syllable cannot have a coda, if the following two segments form a possible onset-nucleus combination.
      c. If 64b does not apply, a syllable can take the following consonant as a (part of its) coda.
      d. If the following segment is a vowel, take it as a nucleus.

    e. A sonorant is syllabic when it follows the onset of the syllable.

    f. [ɨ] should be inserted and used as syllable nucleus when an obstruent follows the onset of the syllable.

    g. If the syllable still does not have a nucleus, /i/ is inserted after the onset.

2.3.3   Phonotactics

The constraints regarding phoneme alignment in a word described in the preceding section can be summed up as in the table 2.3.3.

	word-initial	verbal-suffix-initial	clitic-initial	elsewhere
/p/, /k/, /m/, /n/	+	+	+	+
/r/, /l/	−	+	+	+
/b/, /t/, /s/, /y/, /w/	+	−	+	−
/d/, /g/	+	+	+	−
/c/, /j/	+	−	−	+
/ʟ/	−	−	−	+

Table. 2.3: Distribution of consonant phonemes

2.4   Tones

2.4.1   The way tones contrast

In the Dom language pitch is employed distinctively as illustrated by the following minimal pairs.

(65) a. [jaː˩] 'right/back.here' [jaː˦] 'fall', [ja˥] 'doobry'

    b. [wam˩] (personal name), [wam˦] 'to hitch.3SG', [wam˥] 'son.3SG.POSS'

    c. [ᵐbo˥la˩] 'pig', [ᵐbo˩la˥] 'plant (posts)!', [ᵐbo˥la˥] 'write!'

Starting from monosyllabic words, I will examine how it is employed according to patterns of pitch on each syllable.

2.4.1.1   Observed pitch patterns

2.4.1.1.1   Monosyllabic words

(66) a. [ᵐbⁱn̩˥] 'thigh.3SG POSS', [ka˥] 'word', [ᵑgal˥] 'rough'[1], [kal˥] 'leg.3SG POSS'

    b. [nⁱl̩˩] 'water', [kaː˩] 'name.3SG POSS', [ᵑgal˩] 'string.bag', [kai˩] 'cry'

    c. [taː˦] 'dawn.INF', [pr̩ː˦] 'fly', [kal˦] 'thing', [ᵑgal˦] 'child', [kai˦] 'needle'

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[1] A phrasal verb *gal elgwe* 'to be rough'. *gal* alone is not used as a noun or an adjective.

As can be seen from above, there are three pitch patterns for monosyllabic words: a high pitch (66a), a falling pitch (66b) and a rising pitch (66c). In the case of a rising pitch (66c), the pitch usually does not rise very high, but it may rise high in certain environments. (e.g. followed by a clitic, cf. §2.4.5)

Since long vowels can only be observed with a falling pitch and a rising pitch, the vowel length seems to be non-distinctive and to be a phenomenon connected to tone as far as monosyllabic words are concerned.

2.4.1.1.2   Disyllabic words

If the three patterns of pitch observed for monosyllabic words were to be distinguished for every syllable, three times three = nine-way distinctions for disyllabic words should be expected. However, the fact is that fewer distinctions are found as shown below.

There are disyllabic words with a high pitch on all the syllables as below.

(67)   [muˈkalˈ] 'a kind of bamboo', [eˈkuˈ] 'afterwards', [kⁱˈn̩ˈaˑˈ] 'ear.3SG POSS', [keˑˈpⁱl̩ˈ] 'small'

In these words, vowels before or after a syllabic consonant are pronounced somewhat longer.

The following are examples that begin with a high pitch and end with a low pitch.

(68)   a. [joˈpa˩] 'yopa tree', [molŋˈgwa˩] 'stay.3SG.SRD', [eˈkⁱl̩˩] 'far', [ᵐbⁱn̩ˈa˩] 'edge'

   b. [molʷn̩ˈdæːⱯ] ∼ [molʷn̩ˈdæ˩] 'stay.3SG.MUT', [ʃuŋˈgwiˑⱯ] ∼ [ʃuŋˈgwi˩] 'hit.3SG.DEM'

   c. [joˈpal↘] 'people', [amˈlaː↘] 'light', [arˈwai↘] 'long', [ᵐbⁱn̩ˈaː↘] 'rack for firewood'

Examples (68a) are characterised by a high pitch on the first syllable and a low pitch on the second syllable. All the words that follow this pattern have an open second syllable that ends with a short vowel, or have a syllabic consonant in the second syllable.

Examples (68b) are similar to (68a) in that they display the same pitch pattern as one variation, where the first syllable is high and the second syllable is low. They have another pitch pattern as a variation, where their second vowels can be longer and with some pitch rising. When they are pronounced carefully in isolation, this variation is predominant, but the rise in pitch on the second syllable is not distinctive. Therefore, it is considered to constitute the same group along with the pitch pattern as (68a). The pattern that has a variation with a pitch rising a little at the end is limited to verbs with certain endings, so it seems to result from the intonation related to their functions overriding the pitch pattern.

Examples (68c) have a high pitch on the first syllable and a falling pitch on the second syllable. All the words that exhibit this pattern have a long vowel, a vowel sequence or a closed syllable in the second syllable.

These examples suggest that (68a) - (68c) have the same form as HL in the tonal tier, and that the assignment of pitch values to each syllable is realized differently according to a phonological condition based on the number of morae in the second syllable. If this is the case, the long vowel that occurs in [amˈlaː↘] of (68c) is intrinsic and thus differs in their nature from those of monosyllabic words that seem to be non-distinctive.

The following patterns begin with a low pitch and show a higher pitch near the end of a word. This higher pitch is not always at a mid level as shown here, but can be quite high when

followed by a clitic (see §2.4.5). Conversely, it may not show high rise in other environments. This phonetic trait is fully consistent with that of monosyllabic words with a rising tone.

(69) a. [e˩kⁱ˩˥] 'step.INF', [a˩pa˥] '*apa* bird', [molŋ˩gwa˥] 'wear.3SG.SRD',
         [a˩pal˥] 'woman'
     b. [nu˩lai˥] ∼ [nu˩lai˧] personal name, [a˩lau˥] ∼ [a˩lau˧] 'mistake',
         [kur˩wal˥] ∼ [kur˩wal˧] 'to be crumpled'
     c. [na˩kal˧˩] 'what', [joŋ˩gwal˧˩] 'put.3SG.LOC'
     d. [au˩pal˧] ∼ [au˩pa˩le˥] 'sister.3SG POSS',
         [mⁱn̩˩aˑn̩˧] ∼ [mⁱn̩˩aˑ˩ne˥] 'smell'
     e. [ka.ral˧] 'see.FUT.1SG', [pai.nan˧] 'sleep.FUT.CONJ(DS)'

Examples (69a) have a low pitch on the first syllable and a higher pitch on the second syllable. The constraint of morae observed in (68) does not exist here.

Examples (69b) show the same pattern as (69a) or a variational pattern with the second syllable rising a little. This variation occurs only when the second syllable has either a vowel sequence or a vowel + a consonant and there is only a sonorant between the two syllables. Therefore, this pattern is considered to be the same as (69a) but to exhibit variation due to phonological conditions.

Examples (69c) have *kal*, *gal*, *gwal* in the second syllable. This pattern can only be found in two morphemes: *nakal* which is a contracted form of *nal kal* (what thing) and verbs with the suffix -*kal*. Forms like these are not found with the pitch pattern of (69a) and they exhibit the same phenomena as the patterns (69a). For instance, when [na˩kal˧˩] is followed by a clitic, the second syllable is higher than usual without falling as [na˩kal˥ we˧˩]. Thus, this can be regarded as the same pattern as above*².

Examples (69d) have a low pitch on the first syllable and a weak rise on the second syllable. All of these have become disyllabic words by undergoing *e*-deletion at the end of trisyllabic words.

Examples (69e) have a second syllable that begins low and rises weakly, but their first syllable can be either high or low. Thus there seems to be no specification of pitch value on the first syllable. This pattern can be found only with a suffix that indicates future tense. For this reason, in the transcription only the syllable boundary is indicated without a symbol for pitch on the first syllable. To give an actual example, they could be rendered as [ka˥ral˧]∼[ka˩ral˧]. Furthermore, the pitch of the first syllable may be at a mid level. In this grammar, when there is no symbol of pitch in the phonetic transcription, it means that the pitch can take on any level.

As seen above, three groups of basic pitch patterns can be recognized for disyllabic words: 1) all high, 2) high at the beginning and low at the end, 3) low at the beginning and higher at the end. There are additional patterns: one that only appears in disyllabic words resulting from *e*-deletion at the end of words, and another that has no specification of tone on

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*² (69c) can also be regarded as a rising pitch pattern on morphological grounds. The following parenthesized forms are stems. All the examples are in the third person singular and they are: forms that end with a person-number suffix, the subordinative, and forms indicating where the event takes place, from the left to the right.

(70) a. 'hit'([si˥]): [ʃum˧˩], [ʃuŋ˥gwa˩], [ʃuŋ˥gwal˧˩]
     b. 'be'([mol˧˩]): [molm˧˩], [molŋ˥gwa˩], [molŋ˥gwal˧˩]
     c. 'be/put'([jeː˧]): [jom˧], [joŋ˩gwa˥], [joŋ˩gwal˧˩]
     See §2.4.7.2 for the relationship between the verbal conjugation and tone.

the first syllable.

2.4.1.1.3 Trisyllabic words

Next, we will look at the examples of trisyllabic words. In Dom, there are very few simple words without suffixes consisting of three or more syllables. For this reason, it is impossible to show data with various syllable structures combined, but the patterns are very similar to those of disyllabic words.

(71) [noˈmaˈneˈ] 'to think', [aˈraˈˈpⁱˈ] 'to be cut'

(72) a. [ᵑguˈmaˈna˺] 'nose.1SG POSS', [aˈraˈwa˺] 'pumpkin',
        [ⁿdeˈkoˈpⁱn̩˺] 'rainbow'
     b. [eˈraŋˈgweˈↄ] ∼ [eˈraŋˈgwe˺] 'wear.FUT.3SG.IND',
        [moˈliˈmoːↄ] ∼ [moˈliˈmo˺] 'be.3PL.PQM'
     c. [moˈliŋˈgwal↘] 'be.3PL.LOC'

(73) a. [au˺paˌle˧] 'sister.3SG POSS', [o˺mⁱˌˌna˧] 'eye.1SG POSS'
     b. [pai.raˈˌpⁱˌ˧] 'sleep.FUT.1DL', [je.naŋˌgwe˧] 'put.FUT.3SG.IND'

Examples (71) have a high pitch on every syllable. Examples (72a) begin with a high pitch and have a low pitch only on the final syllable, which is limited to words that have an open final syllable that ends with a short vowel or a final syllable with a syllabic consonant. Examples (72b) show variations between the same pitch pattern as (72a) and another pattern with a pitch rising a little on the last syllable. The latter is considered as the intonation related to particular endings of words overriding their lexical pitch. Examples (72c) have a high pitch at the beginning and a falling pitch on the final syllable. Forms with the final syllable consisting of a vowel + a consonant have been found for this pattern. Examples (73a) have a low pitch at the beginning and a higher pitch on the final syllable. Examples (73b) begin with a low pitch, if we start from the second syllable, and have a higher pitch on the final syllable, but the pitch of the first syllable can be at a high, low or mid level. Thus, the pitch value of the syllable is considered unspecified.

The examples above demonstrate that there are three basic pitch patterns for words regardless of the number of syllables.

A pattern different from these will appear in §2.4.5, and those which at first glance do not seem to conform to these patterns will appear in (118) and (121), but for the convenience of discussion these will be examined in detail later.

2.4.1.2 Pitch assignment

As can be seen above, if we assume that in Dom there are basically three pitch patterns regardless of the number of syllables, even though there are differences in realization due to phonological conditions, what contrast can be interpreted not as tones in the sense of the pitch of each syllable, but as pitch patterns which have words as their domain.

(74) tones: high (H), falling (HL), rising (LH)

Therefore, assuming that the words have an H in tonal tier if all the syllables are at a high pitch, an HL if the pitch begins at a high level and ends at a lower level, and an LH if the pitch begins at a low level and rises a little at the end, I would like to consider the rules for assigning basic pitch values.

I call the pitch of each syllable and finer elements such as H, L "pitch values", each pitch value "a high pitch", "a low pitch", "a falling pitch" and "a rising pitch". On the other hand, as for the tones of words I will make a distinction by calling each tone "a high tone", "a falling tone" or "a rising tone".

The first question is whether it is syllables or morae that bear pitch values.

(75) a. L H   b. L H   c. L H   d. L H
          \/ | | | | \\
          σ   σ σ   σ σ   σ σ σ
          ∧ | /\ | /\ | | |
       [kal]'thing'   [apa]'*apa* bird' [apal]'woman'   [aupale]'his sister'
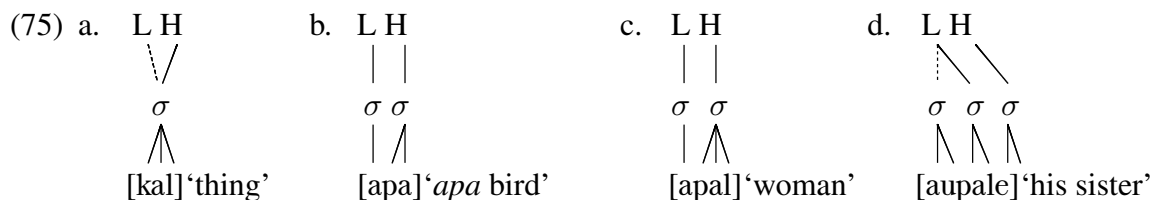
Here if we only assume that "value assignment is carried out by associating values to syllables starting from the end of a word", then by the general constraint, "floating values and syllables without values are prohibited", unassociated values are associated to appropriate syllables, and unassociated syllables are associated to appropriate values (broken lines).

However, in the following examples, pitch realizations for falling tone words consisting of two or more syllables are different according to whether the final syllable is monomoraic or bimoraic.

(76) a. H L   b.   H L   c.   H L   d.   H L
          \/ | | \ | \ \
          σ   σ σ   σ σ   σ σ σ
          ∧   /\ \   / /\   / / /\
       [nⁱl]'water'   [jopa]'*yopa* tree' [jopal]'people' [ŋgumana]'my nose'
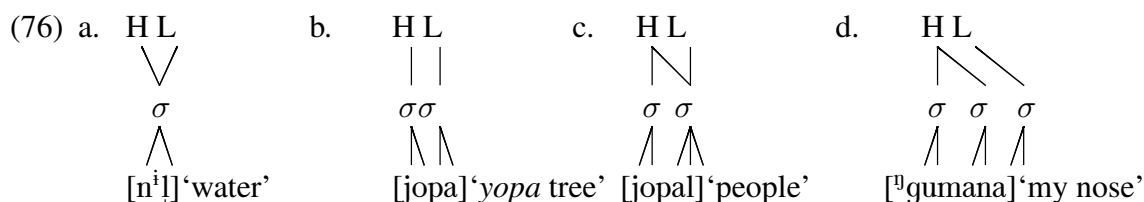
The point here is that in (76c), in contrast with (76b), an association line from an H is linked to the final syllable too. This association is motivated by heavy weight of the syllable. It is obvious that a concept of mora is necessary, and it is more natural to assume that morae bear pitch values as far as a falling tone concerned as shown below.

(77)   a.   [jopa] '*yopa* tree'   b.   [jopal] 'people'
                | | | ||
               μ μ   μ μμ
                | | / /
               H L   H L
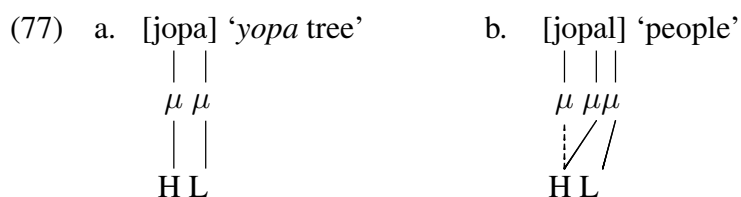
However, this time it is necessary to account for the appearence of a rising tone as shown below.

(78)   a.   [apa] '*apa* bird'   b.   [apal] 'woman'
                | | | ||
               μ μ   μ μμ
                | | | \/
               L H   L H
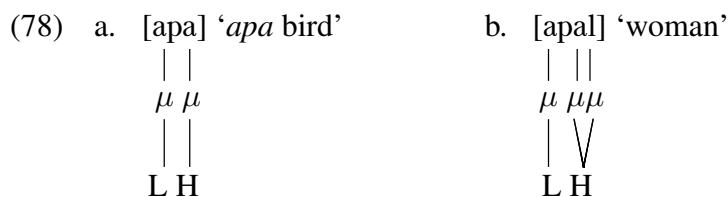
The point in question is that there are two lines coming out of an H in (78b).

In other words, if we assume that it is the syllables that bear pitch values, it is necessary to account for the realization of pitch in the falling tone that differs according to the number of morae in the final syllable. And if we assume that it is the morae that bear pitch values, it is necessary to account for the realization of pitch in the rising tone that appears higher on the final syllable regardless of the number of morae in the final syllable.

I will compare and examine what specific rules make it possible to account for these phenomena within the two approaches.

If we assume that syllables bear values, a following interpretation is possible.

(79)   a. Pitch values are linked to syllables starting from the end of a word.
      b. In the case of a falling tone (HL), H is linked to the final syllable if it is bimoraic.

As can be seen from the examples above, H is linked to the syllable that contains the penultimate (second from the last) mora in the case of a falling tone. But in this approach, only the morae in the final syllable matter, so a rule like (79b) can be assumed.

If we assume that unassociated values are linked to the appropriate syllables, and unassociated syllables to the appropriate values by a general constraint that syllables with no associated pitch values are prohibited, the realization of the basic pitch patterns for all the examples in the previous section can be explained.

If we assume that morae bear values, it is necessary to explain the realization of the pitch in the rising tone. In the case of a rising tone, even if the final syllable is bimoraic, pitch is realized higher, so the following rules can be assumed.

(80)   a. Pitch values are linked to morae starting from the end of a word.
      b. Linking an L and an H within the same syllable in this order (LH) is avoided.

The following representation illustrate how pitch values are assigned according to these rules.

(81) a. [kal] 'thing'   b. [apa] '*apa* bird'   c. [apal] 'woman'   d. [aupale] 'his sister'

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{[kal]} & \text{[apa]} & \text{[apal]} & \text{[aupale]} \\
\mu\ \mu & \mu\mu & \mu\ \mu\mu & \mu\mu\ \mu\ \mu \\
\text{L H} & \text{LH} & \text{L H} & \text{L H}
\end{array}
$$

If we compare (79) with (80), (80), which regards morae as units bearing pitch values, is a more general statement. In this sense, it is a better interpretation. The constraint (80b) applies as long as it does not violate the constraint prohibiting floating values and syllables without values so that the following (82a, b, c) should not occur.

(82) a. [kal] 'thing'   b. [kal] 'thing'   c. [apal] 'woman'

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{[kal]} & \text{[kal]} & \text{[apal]} \\
\mu\ \mu & \mu\ \mu & \mu\ \mu\mu \\
\text{L H} & \text{L H} & \text{L H}
\end{array}
$$

With optional *e*-deletion after the assignment of pitch values to the syllables as seen below, the rising pitch occurs on the final syllable.

(83) [aupale]'sister.3SG POSS'   [aupal]

    || | | || ||

    μμ μ μ   μμ μμ

    \\/ /   →   \\/ /

    L H   L H
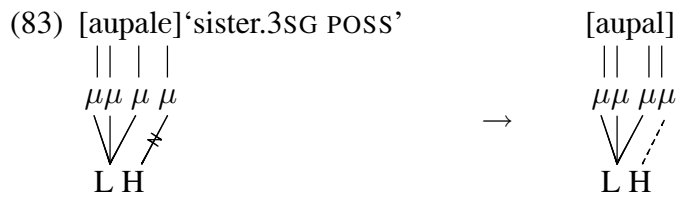
As shown above, words with a rising tone that undergo *e*-deletion result in forms whose final syllable is bimoraic.

In the previous section, I gave those examples where a rising pitch occurs on the final syllable, which yield atypical patterns over the word. Words with a falling or a high tone can also undergo *e*-delition as shown below, and we can see that in the falling tone the L is delinked once and the value is reassociated.

(84) [i˥me˩] 'down over there', [im˅]
    [o˥ma˥le˥] 'high noon', [o˥mal˥]

If we compare (84) with (83), we can tell from the rising pitch in the final syllable that the words had an *e* at the end in the case of words with a rising tone that underwent *e*-deletion, but in the case of words with a falling tone and a high tone, we cannot tell whether they had an *e* at the end even if we look at the forms after *e*-deletion.

Finally, I would like to examine what is counted as morae in Dom including the relationship to the length of vowels.

As we have seen in the previous section, in the case of monosyllabic words, long vowels occur only in words with a falling tone or a rising tone that consist of open syllables. This seems to demonstrate the existence of a constraint that one mora cannot bear more than one pitch value. In fact, when [kaː˅] and [taː˥] are followed by a suffix, short vowels appear as shown below.

(85) a. [ka˥-na˩] 'name.1SG POSS'
      b. [ta-ŋ˩gwe˦] 'dawn.3SG.IND'

However, in the case of disyllabic words, there is only a very small number of examples that should be regarded as intrinsic long vowels as in [am˥laː˅]. This shows the existence of long vowels with a small functional load.

Thus, we can acknowledge that short vowels are monomoraic and that long vowels are bimoraic. [æ] is phonemically a vowel sequence *ae*, but phonetically it is monomaraic, whereas the other vowel sequences are bimoraic. Onset consonants do not form morae, but coda consonants form morae.

The realization of pitch is in accordance with pitch values linked to each mora. For instance, in [kal˥] [a] is pronounced low and [l] higher.

However, regarding the coda consonants it is worth mentioning that it is not only sonorants that can form morae. In Dom there are very few words that have non-sonorant consonants at the end, but sound forms after *e*-deletion and loanwords from Tok Pisin sometimes have non-sonorant consonants at the end. The following are examples of indigenous words.

(86) a. [ek˅] 'time'
      b. [ip˥] 'up here forward' (∼[i˩pe˦])

In these words, the contour pitch of vowels can be observed.

2.4.2 Tone and intonation

The following examples are the same as in (68b) and (72b).

(87) a. [mol˥moːʎ] 'be.3SG.pqm', [molŋ˥gweˑʎ] 'be.3SG.IND',
      [molʷn˥dæːʎ] 'be.3SG.MUT'
      b. [e˥raŋ˥gweˑʎ] 'wear.FUT.3SG.IND', [mo˥li˥moːʎ] 'be.3PL.pqm',
      [mo˥liʷn˥dæːʎ] 'be.3SG.MUT'

They have variations with pitch rising at the end, but these variations are limited to verbs with particular endings, namely those which indicate the indicative mood, the polar interrogative mood, and the mutual knowledge form.

It is assumed that there is an intonation connected to these functions which is realized as in (87) when it is superimposed on forms of a falling tone. Under these circumstances vowels are lengthend due to the constraint that one mora cannot bear more than one pitch value.

The words in (87) are examples of variation with such intonation. When the words in (87a) are pronounced [mol˥mo˩], [molŋ˥gwe˩], [molʷn˥dæ˩], speakers feel that it is less polite to pronounce the words that way. Thus, it seems that this is not an intonation directly connected to the functions of the endings above, but an intonation expressing politeness related to those functions.

Pitch patterns like (87) do not occur with verbs which have stem conjugating according to the rising type, or which are followed by the negative element √kl, even if they are followed by the endings at issue.

(88) a. [kan˩gwe˧] 'see.3SG.IND'
      b. [mo˥+kuŋ˩gwe˧] 'be+NEG.3SG.IND'
      c. [si˥+kuŋ˧gwe˩] 'hit+NEG.3SG.IND', [kanʎ+kuŋ˧gwe˩] 'see+NEG.3SG.IND'

When words have an intrinsic rising tone as in (88a) and (88b), the intonation obviously collides with the higher pich at the end of the word.

The examples (88b) and (88c) are verbs with a negative element. As seen in (88b), the negative element itself has a rising tone, but in some cases it loses the rising tone and gets a clitic-type tone as in (88c) (see §2.4.5). The reason why rising intonation does not appear even in the forms like (88c) is either of the following: 1) intonation is not associated with the function of negation; 2) an operation that removes tones after the assignment of intonation.

Words with the endings listed here tend not to undergo *e*-deletion even if they have an *e* at the end. Among these -*ke* indicating the indicative and the mutual knowledge -*krae* have an *e* at the end. This phenomenon does not depend on whether the intonation appears clearly as in (87) or does not as in (88). It may have something to do with the constraint stating that syllables with more than one pitch value cannot be monomoraic.

2.4.3 Unspecified pitch value

In (69e) and (73b), the pitch value of the syllable before the future suffix is unspecified. The reason is one of the following: 1) the future suffix hinders an L from linking to the syllable concerned; 2) the L that was linked to the syllable was delinked by the effect of the suffix.

To use *kar-a-l* 'see-FUT-1SG' and *pai-ra-pl* 'sleep-FUT-1DL' as examples, processes like the ones below are supposedly due to the latter possible reason.

(89)   a.   [ka.ral] 'see.FUT.1SG'   [ka.ral]   [ka.ral]
            | || | || | ||
            μ μμ   μ μμ   μ μμ
            |⚡/| ⚡/⫙   /⚡
            L H   →   L H   →   L H
       b.   [pai.rapⁱ]] 'sleep.FUT.1DL'   [pai.rapⁱ]]   [pai.rapⁱ]]
            || | | || | | || | |
            μμμ μ   μμμ μ   μμμ μ
            |//   ⚡//   / /
            L H   →   L H   →   L H
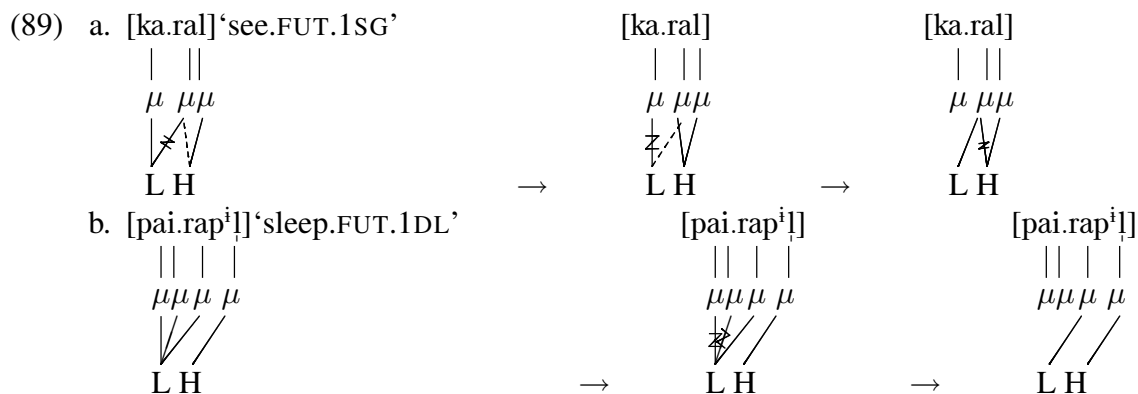
The examples (89a) and (89b) are disyllabic and trisyllabic respectively. The first stage shows pitch value assignment including delinking by the constraint of prohibiting LH from being linked to the same syllable. The second stage shows that when the first syllable is delinked from pitch values, the pitch values seek to link to new objects. The third stage shows the final sound forms.

The line that is once delinked during the first stage in (89a) is linked again during the next stage and the line that is linked during the first stage is delinked during the last stage. This is a wasteful operation. It is better to assume that the part before the future suffix is left outside the tonal domain and that no pitch values are assign to the first syllable from the beginning. That is, some words have a lexically specified end point of pitch association somewhat similar to accent.

2.4.4   Is pitch in Dom 'genuine' tone?

The term 'tone' is used differently by various linguists. It is sometimes used to refer to all kinds of linguistic systems where pitch has a distinctive function. For example, "tone" in the widely-used term "tone-bearing unit" amounts to "pitch value" in this grammar.

In the narrow sense of the word, 'tone' is traditionally used for languages whose syllables have at least one toneme and languages that employ pitch whose domain is a word are called word-pitch systems:

> "A tone language may be defined as a language having lexically significant, contrastive, but relative pitch on each syllable." (Pike 1948: 3)

In this distinction, the definition of tone is based on whether the domain of the prosodic feature is a syllable or a word, which is a larger unit than a syllable. Then, from this standpoint the system of Dom is not 'tone' but a word-pitch system.

The term 'pitch accent' is widely used for certain languages that can be considered word-pitch systems, for instance, the Tokyo dialect of Japanese. This is an appropriate name for a language in which places of the accent[*3] are contrastive, but it is inappropriate for languages like Dom in which pitch patterns are contrastive since it is not an issue 'where the accent is',

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[*3] Japanese accentologists often call accent 'accent nucleus'.

but 'what the pattern is' in such a language. However, there are no suitable names that represent this feature. The two terms 'tone' and 'accent' are both commonly used, but according to the domain-based definition, tone and accent would be categorised as follows.

(90) a. tone
    b. no tone
- word-pitch system
  - word-domain melody-contrast system (Dom)?
  - pitch **accent**
- stress **accent**

Sometimes, the concept of "tone" is used in contrast with "pitch-accent" systems as in the following.

> Tonal systems have been reported for a number of Papuan languages, but on the whole these seem better analysed as pitch-accent systems rather than as genuine tonal systems. (Foley 1986: 63)

If the lexical use of pitch distinction in Dom, a Papuan language, is not a 'genuine' tone, and if it cannot be appropriately called pitch accent, the question arises as to whether this kind of system is typologically idiosyncratic. In fact it seems quite the opposite.

Whether a system is genuine tone system or not depends on the definition of the term, and the following use of the terms "tone" and "accent" as two types of phonological contrast is now becoming common.

Hayata (1997):

(91) a. Accent: a prosodic property which is contrastive in terms of its location
    b. Tone: a prosodic property which contrasts in shape

Donohue (1997):

(92) a. Syllable-tone type: One tone per syllable
    b. Word-tone type: One tone per phonological word
    c. Pitch-accent type: One marked syllable per phonological word

Following this terminology, I use "tone" as referring to those phonological entities which are contrastive in melodies and "pitch" for phonetic realisation.

Note that the pitch bearing unit or the target of pitch (value) assignment is different from tonal domain. Both are needed to account for the phonetic realisation of tones.

Either stress or pitch can serve as phonetic correlates of accents, while the word constitutes the accentual domain. In the case of tone, pitch is the phonetic correlate, while the tonal domain can be a syllable, a foot[*4] or a word.

Thus we can establish the prosodical typology as shown in table 2.4.

Recently, the situation in the tonology of New Guinean languages changed. As Donohue put it:

[*4] Two languages of Papua New Guinea, Yabem and Bukawa, may demonstrate the foot-level tone. "In both Yabem and Bukawa tone is a feature of the foot, such that the two syllables of a foot have like tone." (Ross 1993)

domain	phonological contrast	phonetic correlates	
word	location	stress	Russian
		pitch	Tokyo Japanese
	patterns		Dom
foot			Yabem Bukawa
syllable			Chuave?
morpheme=syllable			Mandarin

Table. 2.4: Typology of tone systems

> In most areas of New Guinea the lexical use of pitch distinctions is the norm, rather than the exception, and the kinds of tonal systems encountered in New Guinea reflect the full range of tonal diversity found anywhere in the world. (Donohue 2003)[*5]

Several languages in the area has been known to have word-level tone, and there are languages in the area which have been reanalysed as having word-level tone. Among them are languages from Simbu: Kuman (Hardie 2003) and Golin (Evans et al. 2005).

The Dom-type tonal system seems to be typical in the region.

In this grammar, phonemic tones are represented by placing ⌐, ﹨ and V before segmental representation of high-, falling- and rising-tone types respectively. Words with unspecified pitch value on the first syllable will be represented as *karⱽal* and *paiⱽrapl*.

2.4.5   Clitic-type tone

The following examples are words of falling, rising and high tones followed by the clitic *kope* (plural marker).

(93)   a. [jal﹨=ko⌐pe⌐] 'men'
       b. [a˩pal⌐=ko˧pe˩] 'women'
       c. [ᵑge⌐=ko˧pe˩] 'girls'

When it follows a word of a falling tone like (93a), this clitic has a high pitch on all the syllables. But in (93b) and (93c), it has a pitch pattern starting lower than the last pitch of the preceding word and falling a little more, [ko˧pe˩]. This pattern is different from those we have seen so far. It occurs when a clitic follows a word that is not of a falling tone, and from this point on I will call this a clitic-type tone. Another characteristic feature of this type is when hosts of a rising tone are pronounced in isolation, they usually do not end at a very high pitch as in [a˩pal˧], but that when they are followed by a clitic, they always end at a high pitch as in [a˩pal⌐].

Therfore, the question is whether the intrinsic tone of the clitic is a high tone like ⌐kope or a clitic-type tone like [ko˧pe˩]. Let us examine the behaviour of the clitic *ja* 'and' in differnt environments.

(94)   a. [kam﹨=jaː﹨] 'banana and'
       b. [ke˩pa⌐=jaˑⱽ] 'sweet potato and'

[*5]   Donohue (1997) also says, "[A]ll the different kinds of typologically relevant tone systems occur in this one area (New Guinea: note by the author)".

   c. [ᵐbo˥=ja˙√] 'sugarcane and'

Here in (94b) and (94c) a similar clitic-type tone is observed, but in (94a), which is an example of the clitic following a word of a falling tone, a falling tone is observed.

These clitics show a special clitic-type tone when they follow a word that is not of a falling tone, but when they follow a word of a falling tone, they show differnt tones complying with the three basic pitch patterns. This phenomenon is also true of the other clitics. What this shows is: i) that a clitic-type tone is unique to clitics, but is not their intrinsic tone; ii) that clitics have their intrinsic tones complying with the three basic pitch patterns, as can be observed only when they follow a word of a falling tone, as in (93a) and (94b), and that they lose their intrinsic tones when they follow a word not of a falling tone, resulting in bearing a pitch starting lower than the final pitch of the preceding word and falling a little.

Since clitics are not pronounced in isolation, their intrinsic tones are not those which are produced in isolation.

Based on the interpretation above, phonetic forms like (93) and (94) will be transcribed as *Njal=⌈kope*, *Vapal=(⌈)kope*, *⌈ge=(⌈)kope* and *Nkam=Nja*, *Vkepa=(N)ja*, *⌈bo=(N)ja*. Intrinsic tones are parenthesized to indicate a clitic-type tone.

The following examples have two clitics in a row.

(95) a. [ⁿdua∨=la˥=mer˧]*6 'door=LOC=around'
       Ndua=⌈la=(⌈)mer
    b. [el∧=ra˧=wa˩] 'like this=MUT=ENC.WA'
       Vel=(⌈)rae=(N)wa

As shown above, a clitic-type tone does not always appear at mid-level, but only relatively lower than the host.

Forms that exhibit a clitic-type tone are as in the following.

(96) a. =Nja 'and', =Nwe (ENC.WE), =Nua ∼ (N)wa (ENC.WA), =Nba 'but'
    b. =⌈gra 'only', =⌈di 'that (COMP)', =⌈la 'at the locus of', =⌈rae 'that (MUT)', =⌈kane (PL), =⌈kope (PL), =⌈mere 'such as/around'
    c. =Vkene and (DS)

As examples of forms of slightly different nature, let us examine examples of verbs followed by the negative element *+kl* (*+kl*∼*+ki*∼*+ku*∼*+k*).

(97) a. [jer˥+ki˩ke˧] 'remove+NEG.1SG.IND'
    b. [pai∧+kⁱ˦] 'sleep+NEG.INF'
    c. [u˥+kɨp˧ke˩] 'come+NEG.1DL.IND'

What we notice in examples (97) is that these examples behave a little differently from the three basic tones and the clitic-type tone.

If we focus on the negative elements and the parts that follow, it can be seen that a rising tone appears in (97a) as in [+ki˩ke˧], but a clitic-type tone appears in (97b) and (97c) as in [+kⁱ˦] and [+kɨp˧ke˩], respectively.

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*6 In these examples *⌈mere* and *⌈rae* appear as [mer], [ra] respectively due to *e*-deletion at the end of words. =Nua ∼ *(N)wa* has an allomorph *ua* when it retains its intrinsic tone and an allomorph *wa* when it has a clitic-type tone.

If we look at the hosts, their pitch rises up to a high level in (97b) as in [pai˧˥], just like a rising tone preceding a clitic. Hence, it is inferred that the negative element has an intrinsic rising tone, but that it also has a clitic-type tone like the clitics.

What is of interest is that *+kl* of negation influences verb stems by altering a falling tone into a high tone and deleting an *l* at the end of stems of a falling tone, and it inflects, which are unlikely characteristics for a clitic to have. If it is a suffix, we cannot say 'tones which have a word as their domain', and high pitch occurs on [jer] before a rising tone, which seems to be the intrinsic tone.

The verb *jer* has a high tone before the negative element, but in the infinitive form, which is the verb root form, it has a falling tone as in [jer˥˩], and constantly appears in a falling tone in other conjugated forms too, as in [je˥re˩] 'remove and', [jer˥ka˩] 'I removed then', and [jerŋ˥gwe˩]∼[jerŋ˥gweˑ˥] 's/he removed'. After such verb roots with an intrinsic falling tone, the forms of the negative element and thereafter always retain a rising tone. On the other hand, verb roots with an intrinsic falling tone always change into a high tone before the negative element.

Therefore, this realization is not atypical if we consider the order in which verb roots are changed into a high tone after the decision of whether the form of the negative element and its following part is changed into a clitic-type tone.

Thus, a reasonable interpretation is made possible by regarding verb roots and the negative element plus its following part as separate tonal units.

In verbs with the negative element *+kl*, each tonal domain exhibits word-like characteristics in terms of phonotactics.

Firstly, the onset *k* of the second tonal unit is not altered into a voiced fricative whereas word-medial *k* is often realised as ɣ between vowels.

Secondly, let us look at the following forms.

(98)   a. [ta˥ u˥ +kⁱ˦+kⁱ˨] 'come+NEG+NEG'
       b. [ta˥ e˩kⁱ˥ +kⁱ˦+kⁱ˨] 'step+NEG+NEG'

These examples are verbs with the negative element in the reduplicated infinitive (verb root) form, which is followed by a light verb *el-* to indicate habitual behaviour. Here the negative element *+kl* is reduplicated. This shows that the negative element *+kl* is relatively too independent to be considered a suffix.

This weak bonding between the negative element and the stem with word-like sound characteristics on the forms consisting of the negative element plus its following part is perfectly coherent with the assumption of two tonal domains.

The morphemes *+ia* and *+io* indicating the mood also undergo unlikely processes for clitics such as the alternation in the first segment. However, they also exhibit a clitic-type tone as in the following examples.

(99)   a. [u-m˥˩+ia˥] 'come-3SG+EXPL'
       b. [mol˥˩+la˥] 'stay-1SG+EXPL'
       c. [jo-m˧˥+ia˩] 'be-3SG+EXPL'

The elements like these have such characteristics as suffixes generally do, but they are regarded as clitics with characteristics similar to those of the suffixes. Thus, in this grammar their boundaries are indicated with + as clitics of a slightly differnt character.

The same pitch as the clitic-type tone is sometimes observed on constituents of phrases. The following examples have been found.

(100) a. [yal◡ ŋgaꞏl◡] 'boy' (◠yal 'man' ◡gal 'child')
       b. [a˩pal˥ ŋgaꞏl◡] 'girl' (◡apal 'woman' (◡)gal 'child')

(101) a. [kiam◠ kiam˧] 'two wives of the same husband'
          (◡kia-m 'another wife of one's husband.3SG.POSS')
       b. [mor◠ mor˧] 'discrete, different' (◡mor 'different')

The clitic-like pitch is often observed for nouns of high and rising tones premodified by nominals as in (100) and the reduplicant of nouns or adjectives as in (101).

2.4.6   Tone of loanwords

Many loanwords from Tok Pisin and other langauages are given a falling tone as in the following. Forms in parentheses are those in Tok Pisin from which they derive.

(102) a. [ᵐbus◡] 'bush' (bus), [wot◡] 'voting' (vot), [lam◡] 'lamp' (lam), [trai◡] 'try (of rugby)' (trai)
       b. [ᵐbe˥na˩] 'leech' (bena), [pa˥wa˩] 'electricity' (pawa)
       c. [so˥sol◡] 'dance' (sosol), [sli˥pas◡] 'sandal' (slipas), [pi˥pi˥a˩] 'rubbish' (pipia)
       d. [sol˥wa˥ra˩] 'sea' (solwara)
       e. [ᵐba˥ka˥rap◡] 'to break' (bagarap)

Here, depending on whether the final syllable is monomoraic or bimoraic, as in (102b) for disyllabic words for example, it appears that words bear slightly different pitch patterns as in [ᵐbe˥na˩] and [so˥sol◡]. But by interpreting that the whole word as being given a falling tone, we can clearly see a tendency for overwhelming majority of words to bear a falling tone.

Borrowed numerals without suffix *-pla* is unstable in terms of pitch. For instance, *wan* 'one' can be realized as [wan◠], [wan˥] or [wan◡].

There are a few words with a rising tone. Some of them have undergone changes in segments, so they may be old loanwords.

(103) a. [ᵐbar˩ʃu˧] 'aeroplane' (balus)
       b. [ke˩la˧] 'bald' (kela)
       c. [a˩la˩pe˧] 'cloth' (laplap)

Only one loanword with a high tone has been found.

(104) [ʃu˥] 'shoe'

Also, in the case of borrowed proper nouns, there are a few words with a rising tone.

(105) a. [ⁿdʒon◡] personal name, [wa˥ki˩] name of a river,
          [mos˥pi˩] name of a place*⁷, [pa˥lus◡] personal name,
          [ti˥mo˥ti˩] personal name, [ma˥te˥as◡] personal name
       b. [mas˩ta˧] personal name, [wa˩ri˧] personal name

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*⁷ [mos˥pi˩] is the abbreviation for the capital of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby.

(106)   a. [wan�треб] 'one' (wan)
   b. [ᵐbar⌟ʃu⊦] 'aeroplane' (balus), [ke⌟la⊦] 'bald' (kela)
   c. [a⌟la⌟pe⊦] 'cloth' (laplap)

 The following example is a place name in the area where Kuman, which is considered to be genetically related to Dom, is spoken. Although it is possible that (107) is a cognate of the Kuman form and should not be regarded as a loanword, it displays an interesting fluctuation.

(107) [ku⌟ria⌟wa⊦] name of a town (Kundiawa) ∼ [ku˥ria˥wa⌟] ∼ [kun˥dia˥wa⌟]

The first sound form in (107) is observed among older informants, but younger ones prefer the last form [kun˥dia˥wa⌟], which is closer to the form in Tok Pisin. Another form [ku˥ria˥wa⌟] is also observed, which is an eclectic form composed of the two.

2.4.7   Suffixes and tone

2.4.7.1   The tones of nouns and suffixes

 The following examples illustrate pitch patterns of suffixed nouns.

(108)   a. [oː𝄻] 'hand.3SG POSS', [oˑn𝄻] 'hand.2SG POSS', [o⌟na⊦] 'hand.1SG POSS'
   b. [ᵑgu˥ma⌟] 'nose.3SG POSS', [ᵑgu˥man∖] 'nose.2SG POSS', [ᵑgu˥ma˥na⌟] 'nose.1SG POSS'
   c. [kⁱn̩˥aˑ˥] 'ear.3SG POSS', [kⁱn̩˥aˑn˥] 'ear.2SG POSS', [kⁱn̩˥aˑ˥na˥] 'ear.1SG POSS'

Suffixation increases the number of morae or syllables of words and assignment of pitch contour to each syllable also varies, but the melodies over the whole words remain unchanged. This shows that nominal roots retain the same phonemic tones under suffixation.

(109)   a. ⱽo-∅, ⱽo-n, ⱽo-na
   b. ∖guma-∅, ∖guma-n, ∖guma-na
   c. ⌐kna-∅, ⌐kna-n, ⌐kna-na

 No nominal suffixes have an effect on the tone.

2.4.7.2   The tones of verbs and their conjugation

 Verbs are classified into four major categories based on the tone of their roots and the tone of their conjugated forms. The verbs belonging to the same category display the same pattern of tonal change.

 Table 2.5 shows the examples of conjugation of ⌐te 'to give', ∖er 'to wear', ∖mol 'to stay' and ⱽkan 'to see'. All have indicative endings and the lower row of each conjugation shows verb stems with a future suffix.

 This illustrates the fact that even in the cases of tonal alternation, what changes is not the pitch on each syllable, but a pitch pattern of the whole word. See §4.1 for further information about verbal inflection.

 There are two types of perturbation of pitches concerning contraction of verbal forms.

 The locative form of verbs is made by attaching *-kal*, which is contracted form of the subordinative mood *-ka* followed by the clitic =⌐la. *karkal* 'where I see' has two exponents as in (110).

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1DL	2DL/3DL	1PL	2PL/3PL
「te	∖teke	∖tege	∖togwe	∖topke	∖teipke	∖topge	∖teigwe
'give'	∖terake	∖tenage	∖tenagwe	**te∨rapke**	**te∨raipke**	**te∨rapge**	∖tenaigwe
∖er	∖erke	∖erge	∖ergwe	∖erpke	∖eripke	∖erpge	∖erigwe
'wear'	∖erake	∖erage	∖eragwe	∖erapke	∖eraipke	∖erapge	∖eraigwe
∖mol	∖moke	∖moge	∖molgwe	**∨mopke**	**∨meipke**	**∨mopge**	∖moligwe
'be'	mol∨ake	mol∨age	mol∨agwe	mol∨apke	mol∨aipke	mol∨apge	mol∨aigwe
∨kan	∨karke	∨kange	∨kangwe	∨karpke	∨karipke	∨karpge	∨kanigwe
'see'	kar∨ake	kan∨age	kan∨agwe	kar∨apke	kar∨aipke	kar∨apge	kan∨aigwe

Table. 2.5: Tone alternation and verbal inflection

(110)   a.   [kar⌐kal⊣]
        b.   [kar⌐kal∖]

These pitch patterns seem to reflect the fact that the form *-kal* has in-between status as a simple suffix and a suffix followed by a clitic as in the following.

(111)   a.   [kar⌐kal⊣] *∨karkal*
        b.   [kar⌐kal∖] *∨karka=(「)l*

This occurs only when the conjugated form of a verb has a rising tone and never occurs for a verb with a falling tone. Thus, *mokal* 'where I stay' appears as (112a) but not as (112b).

(112)   a.   [mo⌐kal∖] *∖mokal*
        b.   *[mo⌐kal⌐] *∖moka=「l*

Demonstrative ∖i∼「i can follow the subordinative *-ka*.

2.4.8   Word and tonal domain

2.4.8.1   Reduplication

In Dom there are words that are not used in isolated forms but are used together with particular light verbs. These words often have reduplicated forms as in the following.

(113)   a.   [a⌐wa⊣] 'getting inverted': [a⌐wa⌐ ma⌐wa⊣]
        b.   [ⁿdiu∖] 'shaking': [ⁿdiun⌐dau∖]
        c.   [ᵑgup⌐] 'getting cut': [ᵑgup⌐ map⌐]

The reduplicated forms as a whole do not seem to be single words, for a pause can be inserted between two elements. It also appears that the two elements belong to separate tonal units.

At reduplication, although the second element often alters its onset consonant to *m* and its vowel is replaced with *a*, it retains the intrinsic tone of the original form. In contrast, the first element retains the original form in terms of segments, but its pitch has been neutralized into a high tone with a high pitch on all syllables. These can be represented as the following.

(114)   a.   ∨awa, 「awa ∨mawa
        b.   ∖diu, 「diu ∖dau

    c. ⌐gup, ⌐gup ⌐map

A question that arises here is that among other existing reduplicated forms some look like single words at first glance as the following whose reduplicated elements are never used in other ways.

(115) a. [ᵑgⁱn̩⌐gⁱn̩↘] 'name of a grass'
      b. [kuim⌐kaim↗] 'butterfly'

If these behave phonologically as words and the whole length is a single tonal domain, then (80) cannot predict assignment of tone to each syllable.

(116) a. * ↘gngn [ᵑgⁱn̩⌐gⁱn̩↓]
      b. * ↗kuimkaim [kuim↓kaim⊣]

Therefore, as in the previous examples each element is a separate tonal domain as in the following.

(117) a. ⌐gn↘gn 'name of a grass'
      b. ⌐kuim↗kaim 'butterfly'

In these, as in the previous examples, the tone of the former element is neutralized at redupulication, and they exhibit exactly the same patterns.

    The second element has word-like phonetic properties, such as occurrence of voiced stops that are rare except at the beginning of a word.

    Thus, in reduplicated forms tonal units are also divided at the morpheme boundary and they do not display phonological unity as a word.

2.4.8.2 Verbs

The next examples are forms of the third person singular in the indicative of verbs which conform to the conjugation of a rising-tone type. In (118c) and (118d) the first syllables appear with a high pitch and they do not fit the three basic pitch patterns.

(118) a. [e↓kⁱ]-ŋ↓gwe⊣] 'step-3SG.IND'
      b. [pe↓rar-ŋ↓gwe⊣] 'dig-3SG.IND'
      c. [si⌐ma-ŋ↓gwe⊣] 'wake someone up-3SG.IND'
      d. [wan⌐du-ŋ↓gwe⊣] 'look for-3SG.IND'

From a standpoint of proposing the three patterns of tones whose domain is a word, we can set up a new different pattern for the pitch pattern like (118c) and (118d). But here again, it seems appropriate to establish two units of tonal domains, for the verbs in (118c) and (118d) seem to behave phonologically as consisting of two words. One of the important examples of the behaviour is the reduplicated infinitive forms in the following that indicate habitual actions employed with the light verb *el-*.

(119) a. [e↓kⁱ⊣ e↓kⁱ⊣]
      b. [pe↓rar↗ pe↓rar↗]
      c. [si⌐maː↗ maː↗]
      d. [wan⌐dun↗duː↗]

Examples in (119) are the reduplicated infinitive forms of the verbs in (118). We cannot interpret that the reduplicated parts are decided by phonological conditions such as the number of syllables or moras. Then this phenomenon is based on lexical information and they behave phonologically as if there were a word boundary between the preceding and the following elements. Similar behaviour is observed for the negative element as seen in Chapter 2.4.5.

As another point to comment on, *si*, which appears in the preceding element in (119c), is an obligatory, indispensable element, but it might be related to *si* which can optionally precede certain verbs or *si* 'hit.INF' which can precede other verbs to make them transitive. In addition, the phoneme *d*, which rarely occurs except in word-initial position, occurs in the beginning of the second element in (119d).

The characteristics like these for them to behave phonologically as words agree well with the assumption of two units of tonal domains. The words in the examples above can be represented as below.

(120) a. ⟍eklgwe
       b. ⟍perargwe
       c. ⌐si⟍magwe
       d. ⌐wa⟍dugwe

There are very few verbs within which more than one tonal unit may be assumed.

2.4.8.3   Non-verbs

The following examples cannot be completely analysed into morphemes[*8], but they do not fit the tonal patterns set up in this paper if they are regarded as one word.

(121) a. [ka⌐ko⌐pa⊣] 'bird'
       b. [ʃu⌐nam⌐ba⌐] 'morning'
       c. [kui⟍mol⌐] 'morning/tomorrow'

Examples (121a) and (121b) exhibit the same behaviour and properties as the forms that contain a word boundary.

Firstly, regarding (121a) alternation of *k* and *p* between vowels into voiced fricatives in fast speech (§2.2.3.3) does not take place.

(122) ??[ka⌐ɣo⌐βa⊣],

Secondly, example (121b) contain *b* in word-medial position, which rarely occur except in word-initial position, and their second elements display the same pitch patterns as the realization of a clitic-type tone.

These consist of more than one word at least phonologically, thus it can be concluded that the tonal domain is not the whole length of forms listed above. If this interpretation is possible, two tonal units can be set up for (121c) in the same fashion though there happen to be no properties that can corroborate the existence of a word boundary.

[*8] For some words speakers always have a sense of etymology. For example, *kakopa* 'bird' consists of *kap* 'edible animal' + *kopa* (unknown).

McVinney and Luzbetak (1954) analyses *kuimol* 'morning' in Sinasina into *kui* 'again' + *mol* 'to be'. In Dom the corresponding forms are [kui⟍] 'new/again' and [mol⟍] 'to be' respectively, and their simple junction is tonally different from [kui⟍mol⌐] 'morning/tomorrow'.

(123) a. ⌐ka ∨kopa

     b. ∨suna ( )ba,

     c. ∧kui ⌐mol,

In the case of (123b), the second elements can be interpreted as bearing a clitic-type tone, but it is not clear what their intrinsic tones are.

2.4.9   Summary and conclusion

Here, I will summarize what I discussed above clarifying the main points of description and interpretation of this paper.

First, the fundamental facts about the tonal domain, patterns and realization are as the following.

(124) a. The tonal domain of Dom is normally a word.

     b. Three basic patterns of tone are distinguished: high tone, falling tone and rising tone.

     c. Clitics lose their intrinsic tone when they follow a word which does not have a falling tone, and they are pronounced at a lower pitch than the preceding word.

     d. Assignment of pitch values to each mora is carried out starting from the end of a word before *e*-deletion at the end of a word takes place.

Based on the above, I examined more deeply the tone given to loanwords, the relation with morphology, and the domain of tone. The following have come into light as a result.

(125) a. Loanwords are basically given a falling tone.

     b. There are clitics that cause their host phonological changes (+∨*kl* of negation, +⌐*a* and +∧*o* indicating the mood).

     c. Verbs are classified into four groups based on the tone of their roots and the tone of their conjugated forms.

     d. In relation to the tone, suffixes are classified as the following.

         i) Suffixes irrelevant to tone (all the nominal suffixes and some verbal suffixes)

        ii) Suffixes that bear a tone and cancel the tone of the stem (the future -∨*na*)

       iii) Suffixes that change the tone of the stem (the person-number suffixes *-pl*, *-ipl*, and *-pn*)

     e. There are forms with more than one tonal domain. Each tonal domain often has word-like prosodic features other than tone.

Pitch patterns given to loanwords are almost exclusively realizations of a falling tone. Many suffixes do not have an intrinsic tone and pitch patterns that suffixed forms exhibit are considered a realization of the tones that roots have. Verbal conjugation correlates closely with tone. In forms with more than one tonal domain, each tonal domain has word-like prosodic features. All these facts support the basic interpretations of tone in Dom listed in (124).

In fact, in no language there is an a priori 'word' as a linguistic entity. The word is phonologically identified according to some diagnosis such as phonotactics, phonological rules referring to 'word boundary' or 'word-internal position' as its condition, prosodical behaviours as one single unit and so on. There can be also morphological and syntactic

indications of wordhood. For instance, morphologically, the presence and the absence of word boundary can be marked by morphemes which can only occur at the edge of a form and some forms which can only occur inside another form, and syntactically, those which cannot be a target of syntactic operation separately may not be regarded as constituting single words. In general, it is possible that these features are not coherent in marking the wordhood.

Tonal domain is one of the most important characteristics which delineate the phonological word in Dom. I rely mainly on the tonal behaviour of forms when identifying the word in general, since no morphological or syntactic criteria seem able to positively identify the word in Dom. This point will be discussed in §4.3.

Chapter 3

Word classes

3.1   Overview of word classes

Word classes in Dom can be divided into open classes and closed classes.

(1)   a. Nouns
          Minor sub-classes:
            i. Inalienably possessed nouns (closed)
           ii. Pronouns (small; closed)
          iii. Locative nouns (large; open)
           iv. Time nouns (large; open)
            v. Verbal nouns (large; open)
           vi. Adverbial nouns (small; closed)
          vii. Question words (small; closed)
      b. Verbs (largish; closed)
      c. Adjectives
          Minor sub-classes:
            i. Colour terms (open)
           ii. Quantifiers (open)
          iii. Numerals (open)
           iv. Demonstratives (small; closed)
            v. Intensifiers (small; closed)
      d. Adverbs
      e. Interjections
      f. Postpositions
      g. Particles

Words in Dom are categorised into several classes in terms of their morphological status, possible positions in the constituent order and their possible syntactic functions.

Verbs and inalienably possessed nouns are inflecting word classes with obligatory endings, and all the other words have no inflection.

Adjectives include numerals and demonstratives. They are aligned after the words which they modify, whereas all the other modifying words or phrases precede the modified words (§5.1).

The possibility of being intensified as well as intensifier selection are two other criteria to be applied in sub-categorising words.

Detailed morphosyntactic and semantic criteria for the classification given above and its further subdivision are described in the following sections.

Syntactic behaviour of lexical items is largely determined by the prototypical meaning of the items.

3.2 Nouns

Nouns may be negatively defined as those words which do not take on verbal inflection morphologically and cannot postmodify but can premodify other noun phrases syntactically. When they are heads of core NP arguments, they do not inflect for case, but they may be followed by postpositions when they serve as peripheral constituents.

Nouns function as heads of noun phrases. As heads of noun phrases, they may be followed by modifying adjectives, and can be premodified by nominals such as possessors, attributive nominals, and relative clauses.

Loanwords from Tok Pisin and English are predominantly nouns, except that there are a few words which may possibly be categorised as adjectives. except for a few cases where they are assigned to adjectives.

There are seven sub-classes of nouns which deviate from prototypical nouns in their grammatical behaviour. They are: inalienably possessed nouns, pronouns, locative nouns, time nouns, verbal nouns, adverbial nouns, and question words. I will discuss them in the following subsections.

3.2.1 Inalienably possessed nouns

Inalienably possessed nouns form a distinct subclass of nouns in that they are obligatorily marked by possessive suffixes(§4.2.1), which indicate the person and number of the possessor. The stem of an inalienably possessed noun is a bound form.

Inalienable nouns in Dom consist mostly of terms referring to body parts (ʌ*guma* 'nose', ⋁*o* 'hand') and kinship (⋁*mam* 'mother', ⌐*wi* 'husband') terms, plus a few nouns with other meanings such as 'name' (ʌ*ka*), 'sorry' (ʌ*mli*) and 'shadow' (ʌ*kuya*).

3.2.2 Pronouns

Personal pronouns in Dom include the items in table 3.1.

	1	2
general (exc.)	⌐*na*	
non-singular (exc.)	⌐*no*	⌐*en*
non-singular (inc.)	⋁*none*	
non-singular	⌐*ne*	

Table. 3.1: Personal pronouns

The first person exclusive pronoun ⌐*na* and the second person pronoun ⌐*en* can be used as any number (singular, dual or plural) which is obligatorily marked in some moods of the verb forms when the pronoun is the subject of the sentence. All three sentences in example (2) have ⌐*na* as their subject but it is cross-referenced differently on each verb, as singular in (2a), dual in (2b) and plural in (2c).

(2) a. ⌐***na***　　√*mu*=⌐*la*　　　　⌐*er*　∧*e-ka*
　　　　1EXC　back.3SG.POSS=LOC　to　go-1SG.SRD

　　　　'After his departure, I went and ...'

　b. ⌐***na***　⌐*ere*　∧*o-pka*
　　　　1EXC　to　go-1DL.SRD

　　　　'We two went and ...'

　c. √*ana*　⌐***na***　⌐*ere*　∧*o-pga*　　　∧*o-pga*
　　　　then　1EXC　to　go-1PL.SRD　go-1PL.SRD

　　　　'Then, we (more than two) went for a while and ...'

The following are the examples for the second person pronoun ⌐*en*.

(3) a. ⌐***en***　∧*er*　∧*ya*　　　　　∧*u-∅-o*
　　　　you　to　right/back.here　come-2SG-IMP

　　　　'You(SG) come here!'

　b. ⌐***en***　√*apal*　⌐*sul*　　√*kor*　　⌐*ere*　⌐*nul*　⌐*w-ill-o*
　　　　you　woman　two.person　already　to　river　come-2DL-IMP

　　　　'You two women come to the river now!'

　c. ⌐***en***　∧*mal*　∧*ya*　　　　　∧*d-na-im-a*
　　　　you　near　right/back.here　say-FUT-2/3PL-PERM

　　　　⌐*ere*　∧*ya*　　　　　⌐*u-y-o*
　　　　to　right/back.here　come-2PL-IMP

　　　　'You (more than two) come here to talk near here!'

The first person non-singular exclusive pronoun ⌐*no* and the first person non-singular inclusive pronoun √*none* can be used only for more than one person. When their referents are cross-referenced on the verb, dual or plural is used as in the following.

(4) a. ⌐*no*　　　∧*yopal*　∧*i*　⌐*ta*　√*ka*+(√)*k-pga*
　　　　1NSG.EXC　person　DEM　NEG　see+NEG-1PL.SRD

　　　　'We the people did not see and ...'

　b. ⌐*no*　　　⌐*ul*　√*pa-pka*
　　　　1NSG.EXC　sleep　lie-1DL.SRD

　　　　'We (two) slept and ...'

(5) a. √*ene*　√*none*　　　⌐*para*　　　⌐*ere*　⌐*p*　　mol-√*a-pn*
　　　　then　1NSG.INC　enough/all　to　go.INF　stay-FUT-1PL

　　　　'Now, let us all go and stay there!'

　b. √*none*　　　pai-√*ra-pl*　∧*d-o*
　　　　1NSG.INC　lie-FUT-1DL　say-IMP

　　　　'Say that we (two) should stay over night!'

When the object of the sentence is the exclusive first person or the second person, the pronoun can occur before the predicate complex as an object noun phrase, right before the verb as an object person marker, or in both positions. The following examples illustrate the situation where the same pronoun occurs twice in one sentence as the object noun phrase and as the object person marker.

(6) a. Γ**en** Vkaman Γta   Γ**en** Γte+(V)k-gwa   Vsipi
         you   law   NEG you   give+NEG-3SG.SRD   forth.here
         'The elder generation now did not give you discipline, you see?'

    b. Vkware Vau   Λtopl   Λkol   Γyu   Γ**na**   Γ**na**   Γte-re
        already hold.INF covering tie.up.INF fetch.INF 1EXC   1EXC   give-CONJ(SS)
        '(She) has already wrapped it up and brought it to me and ...'

    c. Γ**na**   Γta   Γ**na**   Γs   Γne=(V)k-n=wa   ∅
        1EXC   NEG   1EXC   hit.INF   eat=NEG-2SG=ENC.WA

        Vyel   Λdu-gwa
        like.this   say-3SG.SRD
        ' "You do not catch and eat me," it(earthworm) said so.'

The first person non-singular pronoun Γne, which is neutral in terms of exclusive/inclusive distinction, is usually used as the object pronoun, both in the position of the object noun phrase and the object marker, although its use as the subject has also been attested. Sometimes Γne is found in the object marker position with a different first person non-singular pronoun in the object noun phrase position. When the object of the sentence is Vnone 'we (inc.)', the object marker should be Γne.

(7) a. 'Γu   V**non**   Γ**ne**   ye-Vna-m+(Γ)ia
         come.INF   1NSG.INC   1NSG   put/there.be-FUT-3SG+EXPL
         'He will come and be a friend to us ...'

    b. Γ**no**   Γd   Γ**ne**   Γte-re   Vyel   Λel-gwa
        1NSG.EXC   say.INF   1NSG   give-CONJ(SS)   like.this   make-3SG.SRD
        'He said to us and did like that and ...'

It might be that optional object marking in Dom follows the general principle stated by Silverstein (1976) that pronouns rank the highest in their default agentivity. Object-marking may be required to make it clear that the most likely would-be subject is in fact the object of the clause.

It seems convenient to define pronouns in Dom as those elements which can occur in the object marking position. This object marking position will be discussed later in §5.6.2.

There is an expression for a third person human Γye 'he/she', but it is not used as often as the other personal pronouns. It does not share the characteristic behaviour of pronouns described above, that is, it does not serve as the object marker. Γye may be a reduced form of Λyal Λi (man this) 'this man' or perhaps it might have been borrowed from Kuman, which unarguably has the third person pronoun ye in terms of morphological behaviour. Alternative expressions are various definite noun phrases, among which the most frequent ones include Λyal Λi 'the/this/that man', Vapal Λi 'the/this/that woman', Vkal Λi 'the/this/that thing', and Λi 'this/that'.

3.2.3 Locative nouns

Locative nouns are those nouns which can head a locative noun phrase without a locativiser. The locativiser =Γla is obligatory in the example (8a) while such an element may not be added to the place name Λkundiawa in (8b).

(8) a. Λ**kopi=Γla** Λ*p-o* 'Go to the coffee garden!'
         coffee=LOC go-IMP

   b. Λ*kudiawa* Λ*p-o* 'Go to Kundiawa!'
       PLN go-IMP

The intensifier Λ*won* can modify locative nouns to indicate the exact location specified by the speaker.

Locative nouns are similar to adjectives in that they can be placed between the two words Γ*u* Γ*p-* of the inchoative construction (§6.8), and in the resultative slot before the auxiliary Λ*er-* (§6.4.2).

Locative nouns include place names, other nouns denoting places and those nouns which are always followed by demonstratives.

3.2.3.1 Independent locatives

Locative nouns denoting a general 'place' (9a), depicting the topography and the like (9b), referring to an absolute location (9c), and place names (9d) belong to a sub-class of independent locative, since unlike in the case of dependent locatives, no reference point can be added or assumed.

(9) a. Λ*ai* 'place', Γ*ba* '(strange) place', Λ*dm* 'land'

   b. Γ*nule* 'river', Γ*dmn* 'bush, woods', Λ*da* 'slope', Λ*praa* 'flat road', Γ*mle* 'sky, up', V*maune* 'ground, down', Γ*kul* 'the top of the mountain', Γ*maule* 'flatland', Λ*nol* 'in public', V*suna* 'town', Λ*taun* 'town'

   c. V*same* 'down near the Wahgi river', Λ*dmna* 'up in the bush', Λ*gerl* 'the northern area', Λ*bomai* 'the southern area', Λ*kopl* 'the eastern area', Λ*kuman* 'the western area', Λ*bapka* 'the area to the north of the Wahgi river', Λ*kune* 'the area to the south of the Wahgi river'

   d. V*Yaire=(Γ)Maule*, V*O* Γ*Nule*, Λ*Kolwa* Λ*Kui*

Independent locatives of absolute location (9c) denote particular places just like the place names (9d) do, but the words as in (9c) are probably different from the genuine proper nouns because to the Dom speakers they seem to be descriptive. Contrasting V*same* 'down near the Wahgi river' with Λ*dmna* 'up in the bush' as two different ecological zones, the Dom often try to translate and explain the locatives of absolute location when they speak in Tok Pisin, while they never translate proper nouns unless talking about etymology.

3.2.3.2 Relative locus

Relative locus is a subclass of locative nouns which denote a location relative to some reference point, as in the following examples.

(10) a. *Λtep* 'on, on the top, on the surface', *Λapl* 'underneath, behind', *Γila* 'inside',
         Λmena 'outside' *Γmle* 'up in, on', *Λyopl* 'down at', *Vmaune* 'bottom, down at',
         Vsuna 'centre', *Λbna* 'margin'
      b. *Λmala* 'near', *Λekl* 'far'
      c. *Γkol* 'back (as in 'go back' or 'give back')' *Γba* 'halfway'

Locative nouns denoting relative locus can be optionally preceded by a modifier which
sets the reference point, as in the following examples.

(11) a. *[Λkaramui] Λmala Λo-pga*
         Karamui   nearby go-1PL.SRD

         'we went near Karimui ...'
      b. *[Vkepa   Λkomna (Λ)el   Λyal-gwal]   Vsuna Λim=Γrae*
         sweet.potato vegetable make.INF plant-3SG.LOC centre down.there=MUT

         'down there inside the place where vegetables are planted'
      c. *[Λbil (V)ke   Vpa-gwal   Λai] Vsuna Λipe=Γrae   Λo-pke*
         Bill boil/build.INF lie-3SG.LOC place centre up.there=MUT go-1DL.IND

         'We two went inside the place where Bill lives.'

Often, the reference point is not overtly expressed, but understood from the context.

(12) a. *Vbika Λmala Λmena (Λ)du-gwa   Λya*
         fern   nearby outside say-3SG.SRD right/back.here

         'the fern that is outside nearby, here'
      b. *[Vtemn Λbola Vike Vke   Vyogwal   Λi]*
         PRN   pig   house build.INF put/there.be-3SG.LOC DEM

         Λbola Γila   Λkl   Vpa-gwa
         pig   inside side lie-3SG.SRD

         'Where Temn has built a pigsty, a pig was sleeping inside.'

The reference point of *Λmala* 'near' and *Λmena* 'outside' in (12a) is the place where the
utterance is made, and the context is clear enough in (12b) where the location setting phrase
'where Temn has built a pigsty' is the reference point of *Γila* 'inside' but does not modify it.

3.2.3.3   Bases for deictics

Some locative nouns are obligatorily followed by a deictic element (a demonstrative or
the adjective *Vyel* 'like this') to constitute a locative noun phrase. They are:

(13) *Γkol* 'side', *Λmal* 'near', *Λel* 'area', *Γsu* 'around'

Most commonly, they are immediately followed by a demonstrative:

(14) a. *Γen (Λ)mal Λya   Λd-na-im-a*
         you near   right/back.here say-FUT-2/3PL-PERM

         Λer Λya   Γu-y-o
         to   right/back.here come-2PL-IMP

         'You come here to cast votes here.'

b. Λ***mal*** V***yel****=(Γ)mer* Λ*mol-e*
near like.this=as/about stay-CONJ(SS)
'I stayed nearby like this and ...'

However, the base plus a demonstrative can be interrupted by other elements. The intervening elements can be an intensifier (15a), a predicate (15b), or other locative noun phrases in apposition with the base (15c), as in the following examples.

(15) a. Γ*en* Λ*al* Λ*bol* Λ***mal*** Λ*wen* Λ***i*** Γ*mol-l-o*
    you dog with near truly DEM stay-2DL-IMP
    'You stay just here with the dog!'
  b. Γ*na* Λ***mal*** Λ*mol* V***pai-ki***
    1EXC near stay.INF lie-1SG.DEM
    'I am still alive here.'
  c. Λ*yopal* V*ike* Λ*ai* Γ*ba* Γ*ta* V*ne-m* Γ*u* Λ***mal***
    person house place halfway another father-3SG.POSS come.INF near
    V*suna* Λ***i*** V*kan-gi* V*kan=(V)pare*
    centre DEM see-2SG.DEM see.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)
    'You, the man whose homeland is abroad came inside here and saw that ...'

These serve as the bases of deictic locational phrases.

3.2.4 Time nouns

Time nouns are those nouns which head a temporal noun phrase and which can be introduced into a sentence without performing a syntactic function as an argument.

Time nouns refer to a point in time or a period of time.

(16) a. Λ*elma* 'today, now, recently'
  b. V*gran* 'yesterday'
  c. Γ*gwema* 'before'
  d. V*kware* 'already, at that time, long ago'
  e. Λ*kui*Γ*mol* 'tomorrow, the next day'
  f. V*ekma* or V*tal* 'the day before yesterday, a few days ago, the day after tomorrow, a few days later'

The intensifier Λ*wone* can modify time nouns to intensify temporal distance or to mark that it is precisely the time denoted by the item as in the following.

(17) a. Γ*gwema* Λ*wone* 'long before'
  b. Λ*elma* Λ*wone* 'right now'

V*kware* 'long ago' belongs to time nouns while Λ*komne* 'beforehand' is an adjective. Thus V*kware* premodifies the head noun while Λ*komne* follows the head noun, as in the following.

(18) a. V*kware* Λ*yal* 'man of before'
    already man
  b. V*al-a* Λ*komne* 'elder brother'
    brother-1SG.POSS beforehand

Words for 'time' such as the native word Λikne and the borrowed word Λtaim are time nouns which can head a temporal noun phrase. They are usually used in combination with other words, often serving as temporal noun phrase marker as in the following.

(19) a. Λ**taim** Γta
          time   a
          'once'
      b. Λkrismas   Λ**ikn**=Γrae
          Christmas   time=MUT
          'on Christmas, as we know'
      c. Γar   Λdo-gwa   Λ**ikne**
          sun   burn(intr.)-3SG.SRD   time
          'when the sun shone strong, '
      d. Λel-igwa   Λ**taim** Λ**ikn** Λi
          make-2/3PL.SRD   time   time   DEM
          'when they did, '

There are several phrasal time nouns as in the following.

(20) a. Λkui⌐mol=(Γ)kane 'morning'
      b. Γomale (Λkulma) 'noon'
      c. Vsuna=(Γ)ba 'morning'
      d. Vgran Λkl 'night'
      e. Vgran Vsuna 'late at night'
      f. Vekma Vtal 'everyday, recently'

Some time nouns can be modified by intensifiers other than Λwone as in the following.

(21) a. Vgran Vsuna Γ**ki** 'midnight'
      b. Λelma=Γ**gra** 'just now'

Intensifiers precede the clitic =Γkane.

(22) Λkui Γmol Γ**ki**=Γkane 'early in the morning',

The names of days of week and of months are mostly loanwords. They are common nouns, but share some characteristics of time nouns:

(23) a. Λmade 'Monday', Λtude 'Tuesday', Λtride 'Wednesday', Λpode 'Thursday', Λpraide 'Friday', Λsar Γkepl 'Saturday', Λsarere 'Saturday', Λsar Λbl 'Sunday', Λsade 'Sunday'
      b. Γwan Λmun 'January', Γtu Λmun 'February' ...

Thus, Λtride 'on Wednesday' is less common as a temporal noun phrase than Λtride Λikn 'on Wednesday', where the general time noun Λikn heads the phrase.

Another type of time nouns are those which refer to the units of duration.

(24) a. Λek 'day, time', Λsar 'week', Γba 'month', Λbola Vike 'year'
      b. Λwik 'week', Λmun 'month', Λkrismas 'year, Christmas', Λia 'year'

The examples (24) head quantifiers following them and the whole phrase refers to a period of time.

3.2.5   Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns can be defined as the nouns with verbal meanings and their own valency (of one or more arguments), which need to be used with a particular verb so that the combination of a verbal noun plus a verb can serve as a predicate of a sentence.

(25) a. *Veri* *Γte-*   'to be fat'
          fat   give-

   b. *Ʌam* *Γd-*   'to sit'
          sit   say-

   c. *Vpia*   *Γs-*   'to throw'
          throw   hit-

   d. *Ʌkiul* *Γs-*   'to cut/to be cut'
          cut   hit-

Veri in the example (25a) carries the meaning of 'to be fat', but this word cannot be used in isolation. The verb *Γte* 'to give', which loses its original meaning when combined with *Veri*, is required in this case and together they form a complex predicate. There are verbal nouns with stative meaning such as this word, and there are verbal nouns denoting intransitive actions as in the example (25b) 'to sit down', verbal nouns denoting transitive actions like 'to throw' in the example (25c), and ambitransitive ones meaning a change of state as in (25d).

   We should distinguish nouns in idiomatic expressions from defective nouns.

(26) *Ʌde-na*   *Ʌgol-gwe*   'I am angry.'
       intestines-1SG.POSS   die-3SG.IND

The example (26a) consists of two words meaning 'my intestines' and 'it dies' respectively, and the whole sentence has the meaning 'I am angry'. *Ʌdena* is the subject of the predicate *Ʌgolgwe* and the expression literally means 'my intestines die'. The noun *Ʌdena* does not show any restriction in selecting the predicate when it means 'intestines'.

(27) a. *Ʌnl*   *Ʌsu-gwe*   'Water boils.'
          water   hit-3SG.IND

   b. *Vekn*   *Ʌgal-gwe*   'She adorns herself.'
          decoration   burn(tr.)-3SG.IND

In the examples (27a) and (27b), the nouns retain their original meanings but the verbs are used in different meanings from their lexical meanings when used in isolation. The noun *Ʌnl* is the subject in (27a), and the noun *Vekn* is the object in (27b). The two nouns can be modified freely by adjectives, and can become the subject or object of any other predicate. Many idiomatic expressions fall into this type.

   Verbal nouns, on the other hand, cannot appear in different environments. They need to be combined with a particular verb.

   Some words can be inserted between a verbal noun and a propping verb.

(28) a. *⌐gl   ⌐ta   ⌐d+(V)kl-gwe*
          strong   NEG   say+NEG-3SG.IND
          'It is not strong.'

      b. *⌐gl   \ba   \du-gwe*
          strong   very   say-3SG.IND
          'It is very strong.'

However, a phrase consisting of a verbal noun and a light verb usually cannot be disrupted by arguments of the complex predicate (§5.6.3).

Verbal lexical items in Tok Pisin are systematically borrowed as verbal nouns. Most borrowed verbal nouns require *\el* 'to make, to do' as in the following examples.

(29) a. *\pasm \el-*   'to close'
          close   (make)-

      b. *\baim \el-*   'to buy'
          buy   (make)-

      c. *\bakrap   \el-*   'to be broken down'
          broken.down   (make)-

Some borrowed verbal nouns can be optionally combined with other verbs.

(30) a. *\baim ⌐s-*   'to buy'
          buy   (hit)-

      b. *\bakrap   Vpai-*   'to be broken down'
          broken.down   (lie)-

A few borrowed verbal nouns are combined with several verbs. Selecting different light verbs can result in the semantic difference.

(31) a. *\bam   \bol-*   'to collide with each other'
          collide (be.hit)-

      b. *\bam   ⌐s-*   'to collide with'
          collide (hit)-

(32) a. *\win   ⌐s-*   'to win'
          win   (hit)-

      b. *\win Vpai-*   'to be great'
          win   (lie)-

Verbal nouns are classified into active and stative, in terms of their grammatical behaviour and the semantic range they cover.

Light verbs in active verbal noun constructions can be replaced by the prohibitive *\koro*, as in the following.

(33) a. *⌐kaVkan \el   Vpai-ka*   'I kept screaming.'
          scream   make.INF lie-1SG.SRD

      b. *⌐kaVkan \kor-o*   'Don't scream.'
          scream   discard-IMP

Example (33a) shows that the verbal noun ⌐ka√kan should be used with the light verb ʌel 'make', and in the example (33b), where it is used with ʌkoro, it is not accompanied by ʌel, which is otherwise required.

The combination of a verbal noun and a light verb can take part in a serial verb construction, where no other elements can be placed between verbs and substitution of a part of the serial verb is not allowed in normal cases. The example (34a) is a serial verb construction, in which the second part consists of a verbal noun and a light verb. The example (34b) shows that only the light verb is replaced by ʌkoro and the example (34c) shows that the particle ⌐ta can be placed between a verbal noun and a verb.

(34) a. ⌐ne   ʌpek   ⌐er+√kl-o   'Don't scarf it down.'
           eat.INF   scarf.down   to/off+NEG-IMP

      b. ⌐ne   ʌpek   ʌkor-o   'Don't scarf it down.'
           eat.INF   scarf.down   discard-IMP

      c. ⌐ne   ʌpek   ⌐ta   ⌐er+√kl-gwe   'He did not scarf it down.'
           eat.INF   scarf.down   NEG   to/off+NEG-3SG.IND

A verbal noun, rather than the whole phrase consisting of a verbal noun and a verb, displays a strong tie with the preceding verb in a serial verb construction.

The use with the prohibitive ʌkoro is one occasion where the combination of a verbal noun and a particular light verb is dissolved. Stative verbal nouns cannot be combined with the prohibitive ʌkoro.

The default intensifier for stative verbal nouns is ʌba 'very', while the default intensifier for adjectives is ʌwone 'very'. Some stative verbal nouns use lexical intensifiers in the way some adjectives do (§3.4.4).

Active verbal nouns cannot be used with these intensifiers. Instead, they are often reduplicated to add an implication of frequency or intensity (§4.4).

3.2.6   Adverbial nouns

Most adverbial nouns are used with the adverbialiser =⌐d (§3.8.5) but some are combined with the following =⌐tere or =ʌbol.

(35) a. ⌐kle=⌐d 'quietly, smoothly'
      b. ⌐dm=⌐d 'well'
      c. √kui=⌐d 'persistently'
      d. ʌorpl=⌐d 'fast'
      e. ʌgal=⌐tere 'terribly'
      f. ʌml=⌐tere 'miserably'
      g. ʌbnan=ʌbol 'forcibly'

The adverbial nouns seem to originate from constructions containing verbal nouns followed by a verb in the infinitive or a conjunctive verb which has lost its conjugated forms. There are existing verbal forms such as ⌐d 'say (INF)', ⌐te-re 'give and (CONJ(SS).SS)' and ʌbol 'be damaged (INF)', corresponding to the elements following an adverbial noun.

In addition to conjugational possibility of the following elements, adverbial nouns differ from stative verbal nouns with regards to the intensifier they select. Stative verbal nouns

select ∧*ba* when intensified while adverbial nouns take ∧*wone* like adjectives.

3.2.7   Question words

Formally simple question words in Dom consist of the following four items.

(36)   a. √*nal* 'what'
     b. √*ala* 'who'
     c. √*aule* 'where'
     d. √*auna* 'when'

Frequently used phrases which contain a question word include:

(37)   a. √*nal* √*kal*, √*na-kal* 'what (thing)'
     b. √*nal* ∧*ikn*, √*auna* ∧*ikn* 'when, what time'
     c. √*nal*=(⌐)*mere* 'how, like what, how many, how much'
     d. √*nalm* ∧*to* 'how many'
     e. √*nalm* ∧*el-*, √*nam* ∧*el-* 'do like what, do what'
     f. √*nam* ∧*elgwa* 'why'

3.3   Verbs

Verbs can be morphologically defined as those words which inflect for mood, and have the structure of verbs, which is described in §4.1.1. There is only a handful of verb roots in Dom. The full listing of verb roots which have been confirmed to conjugate is given in Appendix A.2, and the list shows what a word class with a limited number of items looks like. Some verb-like shaped elements are found in nominals such as ⌐*a* √*yalgwa* (personal name) and ⌐*ne* √*gurgwa* 'Adam's apple' which include verb-like √*yal-* and √*gur-* for which the corresponding verbs have not been identified. Only around 140 verbs have been found in Dom.

Nonetheless, this limited stock of verbs is sometimes overgenerously wasteful.

For instance, the following examples seem to denote very specific meanings.

(38)   a. √*eul-* 'to split firewood'
     b. √*gwe-* 'to take food out of the earth oven'
     c. √*yopl-* 'to get kindling coal'
     d. √*mekn-* 'to have wrinkles'
     e. √*gu-* 'to shave'
     f. √*kun-* 'to urinate or defecate involuntarily'

Some verbs in Dom carry meanings which are often expressed by non-verbal items in other languages.

(39)   a. √*gr-* 'to be night'
     b. √*ta-* 'to be day time'
     c. √*dr-* 'to be yellow'
     d. √*ber-* 'to have a hole'

Moreover, there is a number of semantic fields which are segmented by means of different verbal roots. Classic examples from the New Guinea Highlands are existential verbs.

(40) a. √*mol*- 'be, abound': most animals, water, dusts
      b. √*pai*- 'lie': creeping creatures, stable things (rock, tree)
      c. √*ye*- 'put, be': stone, movable things
      d. √*d*- 'say, be': things specific to some place, or existing in general (land, natural products of the land)

It can be problematic whether existential verbs fall into a distinct category with the use of the members depending on the subject. Apparently, the distinction between existential verbs is based on what exist as well as how it exists. Moreover, many objects are predicated by verbs not listed above as 'there is/are' expressions: √*s* 'hit, sprout' for √*ari* 'leaf' and √*kuipe* 'flower', √*kol* 'set fruit' for √*mle* 'fruit' and √*gn* 'mushroom', √*bol* 'grow' for √*ere* 'tree', and so on.

Many verbal items describing putting and carrying are distinguished solely by the difference in the verbal roots.

(41) a. √*ye*- 'put, be'
      b. √*pal*- 'attach to'
      c. √*gl*- 'put in (a string bag)'
      d. √*er*- 'put (with some orientation), wear'
      e. √*da*- 'stick to'
      f. √*mol*- 'put on the armlet'
      g. √*to*- 'carry/put on the neck, dissect'
      h. √*me*- 'carry on the head'
      i. √*kn*- 'carry (hanging) on the shoulder'
      j. √*kau*- 'carry (putting) on the shoulder, put on a hat/cap'

(42) a. √*ke*- 'cook by steam'
      b. √*gal*- 'roast'
      c. √*bl*- 'cook in ashes'
      d. √*u*- 'put over the fire'

(43) a. √*dl*- 'to pull out (plants)'
      b. √*pl*- 'to pull out (plants)'
      c. √*gor*- 'to pull out (teeth)'
      d. √*pol*- 'to pull out (banana shoots, testicles)'
      e. √*yer*- 'to remove (anything)'

Also, many other verb roots as in the following examples are rarely used.

(44) a. √*kekn*- 'to gnaw'
      b. √*gokn*- 'to crunch'
      c. √*opr*- 'to scoop'

This explains why only a handful of most frequently used verbs in Dom are semantically heavily loaded, and thus have very general meanings, are polysemous, or show homophony.

(45) √**kan**-   'see, know (visually), judge (from visual evidence), try, have experience'

Λpl-   'hear, perceive (non-visually), know, believe, understand, think, wear (loin-cloth)'

(46) Λmol-   '(animate beings) stay, there is (water, dust), be stuck in, be heaped up'

Vyu-   'harvest (taro, edible tree leaves, but not for example sweet potato), gather (vines)'

Λbl-   'be rotten, be digested, be muddy, be washed by rain, smear, put into ash to bake'

(47) Vke-   'build (house), steam or boil (foods), be healed'

Γs-   'hit, gather, get, play (music), flood, catch (cold), rain, bloom, (water) boil'

Λbol-   'be damaged by, cut (meat), fight, be fatty, water (flowers), cost, write, decorate, use (a stick to walk), beat (a drum)'

Λkol-   'fill (water), bind, move (one's body), make (tools with blade), build (a bridge), bury (banana), bear (fruits), stick to, have an amicable or close relationship with'

What is meant by a verb can be made clear by referring to the extra-linguistic context or by formulating expression. For example, the verb Λpl- 'to preceive' can occur in the following environments:

(48) a. *Vmnan*   Λ*pl-*
          smell   perceive-
          'feel smell'

     b. Γ*ne*   Λ*pl-*
          eat.INF   perceive-
          'feel taste (of)'

     c. Λ*du-gwa*   Λ*pl-*
          say-3SG.SRD   perceive-
          'hear what he says'

     d. Λ*wai*   *Vyo-m*   Γ*d*   Λ*pl-*
          good   put/there.be-3SG   Q   perceive-
          'think that it is good'

Different constructions and collocations are used to distinguish different meanings or to specify the precise meaning of the verb Λpl- in the above examples. What contributes to the meaning is the noun *Vmnan* 'smell' in (48a), the verb Γ*ne* 'eat' in (48b), the subordinative clause Λ*dugwa* 'he says' in (48c), and the quotative clause Λ*wai Vyom Γd* 'that it is good' in (48d).

Many verbal concepts are delivered in the form of verbal lexical phrases such as verbal noun-verb combinations and serial verbs.

There are also various types of idiomatic expressions. Verbal lexical items include simple verbs, verbal noun+verb and idiomatic phrases containing a verb (noun+verb or verb+verb).

Verbs denote events or states. Verbs denoting states can have an inchoative or stative interpretation determined pragmatically.

Many verbal grammatical categories in Dom are realised syntactically, rather than by means of morphology.

3.4 Adjectives

Since many words denoting properties belong to stative verbal nouns, adjectives in Dom are a relatively small word class, which can be formally defined as non-inflectional and filling a special syntactic slot. Beside the most typical modifying position after noun phrases (49a), adjectives can be put before the negative copula Γ*ta* Γ*man* (49c), before existential verbs to be predicated (49b), between the two words Γ*u* Γ*p-* (come go) in the inchoative construction (49d), and in the resultative slot before the auxiliary Λ*er-* (49e).

(49) a. Λ*yal* Λ***arwai*** 'tall man'
  man long

 b. Λ*kam* Λ***bol*** V*yo-gwe* 'banana is ripe.'
  banana ripe be-3SG.IND

 c. Λ*yopal* Λ*i* Γ***kepl*** Γ*ta* Γ*man* 'The person was not small.'
  person DEM small NEG be.not

 d. Γ*u* Λ***kama*** Λ*o-gwe* 'it became black.'
  come.INF black go-3SG.IND

 e. Λ*kul* Γ*i* Λ***bl*** Λ*er-* 'look after him so that he grows up'
  look.after.INF take.INF big to/off-

The semantic range denoted by the words with the above syntactic features covers dimension, value, age, time, qualification, and number.

Most adjectives cannot be repeated without the implication of plurality, whereas many verbal nouns can be repeated for the purpose of emphasis. In the following example, Λ*arwai* 'long' is repeated and it means that there are several long finger nails.

(50) V*o* V*eula* Λ***arwai*** Λ***arwai*** V*pa-gwe*
  hand.3SG.POSS nail long long lie-3SG.IND
  'Its finger nails are long.'

Adjectives can be intensified by Λ*won*.

(51) a. Λ*wai* Λ*wone* 'very good'
  good truly

 b. Λ*arwai* Λ*wone* 'very long'
  long truly

Intensification can be realised by means of repetition as well.

(52) Γ*para* Γ*para* 'all'
  enough/all enough/all

As stated above, repetition of an adjective usually implies plurality.

(53) V*mor* V*mor*
  different different
  'different from each other, separate'

3.4.1 Colour terms

Two basic colour terms in Dom are Λ*ba* 'red' and Λ*kama* 'black'.
Γ*muru* 'all' can be used as the intensifier of the colour terms.

(54) Λ*ba* Γ*muru* 'all red'

Colour terms usually occur in combination with a verb when used as predicates. As with verbal nouns, a different verb is used for a different colour term, as in the following examples.

(55) a. Γ*mor* Λ*er-*   'be blue'
          blue   (to/off)

      b. Λ*ba* Λ*dal-* 'be red'
          red   (call)

      c. Λ*kama* Λ*s-*   'be black'
          black   (hit)

      d. V*kepa* Λ*s-*   'be white'
          white   (hit)

      e. Γ*gr* Λ*kumi* Λ*bol-*   'be pink'
          pink   (be.hit)

In the constructions above, colour adjectives behave rather like adjectival nouns.

The most functionally unmarked verb for predicating colour seems to be Λ*er-*. Several adjectival as well as non-adjectivival colour terms can be predicated by Λ*er-*.

(56) a. V*dr* Γ*komla* Λ*er-*   'be yellow'
          yellow   (to/off)

      b. Λ*ukl*   Λ*er-*   'have the colour of ash, be gray'
          ashes   (to/off)

V*kepa* 'white' is used with a lexical intensifier V*kaile*.

3.4.2 Quantifiers

Dom has numeral roots only for one and two.

(57) a. Λ*tenan* Γ*ta*/Λ*teran* Γ*ta* or Γ*ta* 'one'
      b. V*su* 'two'

Λ*tenan* Γ*ta* is the full form of 'one', consisting of the word Λ*tenan* 'only, only one, the same' and Γ*ta* 'a, one, another, different'. Either word can be used to denote 'one', but some lexical collocations require the form Γ*ta* as in the following compound numerals, while a few others require the form Λ*tenan* as in V*su* Λ*tenan* (lit. two one) 'few', Λ*tenan*=Γ*d* 'one each, one by one', and Γ*u* Λ*tenan* Γ*p-* (lit. come one go) 'be united, be reconciled'.

Counting above two involves complex expressions, obtained by addition to the base 'two'.

(58) a. V*su* Γ*ta* 'three'

b. ⌐su ⌐i ⌐su ⌐i 'four'
c. ⌐su ⌐i ⌐su ⌐i ⌐ta 'five'
d. ⌐su ⌐i ⌐su ⌐i ⌐su ⌐i 'six'

In addition to this binary system, the language may also use the word for 'hand' ⌐o- and the word for 'foot' ⌐kal- as the base 'five', making a mixture of base 'two' and base 'five'.

(59) a. ⌐o-n   ⌐kole ⌐muru
    hand-NSG.POSS side   whole

    'five = the whole hand on one side'

b. ⌐o-n   ⌐kole ⌐i-re   ⌐ta ⌐i-re
    hand-NSG.POSS side   take-CONJ(SS) a   take-CONJ(SS)

    'six = taking the whole hand on one side and another'

c. ⌐o-n   ⌐kole ⌐i-re   ⌐su ⌐i-re
    hand-NSG.POSS side   take-CONJ(SS) two take-CONJ(SS)

    'seven = taking the whole hand on one side and two'

d. ⌐o-n   ⌐kole ⌐i-re   ⌐su ⌐ta ⌐i-re
    hand-NSG.POSS side   take-CONJ(SS) two a   take-CONJ(SS)

    'eight = taking the whole hand on one side and three'

e. ⌐o-n   ⌐kole ⌐kole
    hand-NSG.POSS side   side

    'ten = both hands'

f. ⌐o-n   ⌐kole ⌐kole ⌐kal-n   ⌐kole ⌐kole
    hand-NSG.POSS side   side   leg-NSG.POSS side   side

    'twenty = both hands and both feet'

This follows the pattern which Lean (1992) calls the 'digit tally system with (2,5,20) cyclic pattern' for Simbu numeral system, or Type C (two numerals plus hands and feet) in the classification of the counting methods proposed by Smith (1988).

   The linguistic counting system reflects the gestural counting system of the Dom, which starts with bending the little finger of one hand up to the thumb, proceeds by bending fingers and the thumb of the other hand, the toes of one foot, and finally the toes of the other foot.

   Most younger speakers use Tok Pisin numerals for four and above, and they occasionally use Tok Pisin numerals for less than four.

(60) ʌwanpla '1', ʌtupla '2', ʌtripla '3', ʌpopla '4', ʌpaipla '5', ʌsikspla '6', ʌsepenpla '7', ʌetpla '8', ʌnainpla '9', ʌtenpla '10'

Loan numerals follow the head noun like the native numerals:

(61) ⌐ep-ma   **ʌpaipla** ⌐i=(⌐)rae   ʌbol
    wife.3SG.POSS-NSG 5   DEM=MUT   with

    'his five wives and ...'

The loan numerals are usually used for numbers greater than two. In the following example, the native numeral ⌐su for 'two' and the loan numeral ʌtripla 'three' co-occur in one clause.

(62) ∧*bola* ∨*elle* ∨*su* ⌐*s-re* ∧*walabi* ∧*tripla* ⌐*s-re* ∨*e-pga*
 pig wild 2 hit-CONJ(SS) wallaby 3 hit-CONJ(SS) make-1PL.SRD

 'we caught two wild boars and three wallabies and...'

Quantifiers other than numerals include the following.

(63) a. ∨*tau* 'some'
 b. ⌐*para*, ⌐*para* ⌐*para* 'all'
 c. ∨*mel*, ∨*mel* ⌐*ki*, ∨*mel* ∨*kine* 'many'
 d. ⌐*yokau*, ⌐*yokau* ⌐*ta* 'few'
 e. ∧*slau*, ∧*slau* ⌐*ta* 'few'

∨*tau*, ⌐*yokau* ⌐*ta* and ∧*slau* ⌐*ta* can precede adjectives or stative verbal nouns to express their degrees:

(64) a. ∧*ari* **⌐*yoko* ⌐*ta*** ∧*arwai* ∧*su-gwe*
 leaf few a long hit-3SG.IND

 'Its leaves are slightly long.'

 b. ∧*yopal* **∨*tau*** ∨*mel* ⌐*ki* ∧*pl-im-o?*
 person some a.lot.of very perceive-2/3PL-PQM

 'Did a bit many people know that?' (lit.)

3.4.3 Demonstratives

Dom has an elaborate system of demonstratives consisting of twelve items. The most general one is ∧*i* 'this, that', which can be used both deictically and anaphorically without specifying the location of the referent. Other demonstratives, involving spatial specification, cannot be used as anaphoras and are distinguished on the horizonal axis and on the vertical axis. The system of demonstratives and their use are discussed in Chapter 9.

3.4.4 Intensifiers

There are general intensifiers ∧*wone*~∧*wene* and ∧*ba* in Dom. As a rule, adjectives and adverbial nouns can be intensified by ∧*wone*, and verbal nouns with scalar meaning can be intensified by ∧*ba* as in the following.

(65) a. ∧*arwai* ∧**wone**
 long truly

 'very long'

 b. ⌐*kona* ∧**won**=⌐*d* ∨*mo-gwe*
 slow=ADV truly=adverbialiser climb-3SG.IND

 'It (the *galma* tree) grows very slowly.'

(66) a. ⌐*gl* ∧**ba** ∧*du-gwe*
 strong very say-3SG.IND

 'It (a fruit) is very hard.'

b. *Vkau Λ**ba** ⌐s Λmol Λo-pga*
   full   very hit.INF stay.INF go.1PL.SRD
   'We are going really packed (on the tray of the truck)'

The manner deictic *Vyel* 'like this' may be modified by Λ*wone* to make *Vyel* Λ*won* 'exactly like this'.

Time and place nouns can be modified by Λ*wone* as in the following examples.

(67) a. *⌐ml Λ**won** Λip*   'very far up there'
     up truly up.there

   b. *Λelma Λ**wen** Λgi=⌐gra*   'just now, at this very time'
     now   truly DEM=just

The intensifier Λ*wone* can also modify other nouns although its range of use is limited.

(68) Λ*bola* Λ*won* 'true pig'
    pig   truly

In the example (68), the word Λ*bola* 'pig', which in isolation can be used for other animals, is modified by Λ*wone* to eliminate the semantic possibility of construing the word as animals other than pigs. Λ*wone* has the meaning of 'true' when it modifies a noun with a classifier-like function.

Other intensifiers such as ⌐*ki* 'horribly' can be combined with a limited number of words.

(69) a. *Vmel ⌐ki* 'so many'
   b. *Λarwai Λknai ⌐ki* 'very long'
   c. *⌐kepl ⌐ki* 'very small'
   d. *Λdepl ⌐ki* 'very greedily'
   e. *Λkui⌐mol ⌐ki=(⌐)kan* 'early in the morning',

=⌐*gra* 'just' is combined with a limited number of adjectives. It is always the last component of a noun phrase.

(70) ⌐*yoko=(⌐)ta=(⌐)gra* 'just a bit', *Vbasu=(⌐)gra* 'just short', ⌐*kepl=(⌐)gra* 'just small', ⌐*kle=(⌐)di=(⌐)gra* '', Λ*dopl=⌐gra*, Λ*wai Vwon=⌐gra*, Λ*elma=⌐gra*

Interestingly, some lexical items in Dom select, in addition to the above mentioned intensifiers, the special intensifier for those items, which cannot be used with any other forms.
    Adjectives with lexical intensifiers:

(71) a. ⌐*kepl V**kine*** 'small'
   b. Λ*arwai Λ**knai*** 'long'
   c. *Vkepa V**kaile*** 'white'

Stative verbal nouns with lexical intensifiers:

(72) a. ⌐*gl Λ**kalaa** ⌐d-* 'strong, hard'
   b. *Vnika ⌐**kor** ⌐d-* 'hot'
   c. ⌐*ml Λ**diure** Λne-* 'sharp'
   d. *Veri Λ**kawal** ⌐te-* 'fat'
   e. *Vu Λ**taka** ⌐d-* 'light (not heavy)'

    f. *Vsni* **Λtai** *Γs-* 'abundant (harvest)'

    g. *Γnpl* **Λdam** *Λel-* 'sick'

    h. *Λnu* **Vpo** *Λs-* 'catch cold'

Some lexical intensifiers can be used to intensify several items as in the following.

(73) a. *Λpor* **Λsia** 'big'

      b. *Λbl* *Λwon* **Λsia** 'big'

(74) a. *Vmel* **Vkine** 'many'

      b. *Γkepl* **Vkine** 'small'

Similarly to these lexical intensifiers there are certain elements which are combined with nouns. Some nouns can be paired with special elements which never occur in isolation and do not even seem to have semantic contents. For example, *Λkorale* 'chicken' is sometimes used as *Λkorale Vbaka* without any obvious semantic difference and the element *Vbaka* which forms a phonological word never occurs with other words. The only difference I have been able to notice so far is that while the simple *Λkorale* 'chicken' can metaphorically refer to a pig in leader's ceremonial speech or in a talk at a court, *Λkorale Vbaka* cannot be used to refer to things other than chicken. The following combinations are similar.

(75) a. *Γomale* **Λklma** 'noon'

      b. *Λkuria* **Vmarka** 'song'

      c. *Λbona* **Λgana** 'luggage'

      d. *Λbl* **Λmala** 'stick'

Nouns such as *Γomale* 'noon' and *Λkuria* 'song' in the example (75a) are both polysemous with other meanings being 'early' and 'spell', respectively. The elements that follow them serve to specify the meaning of the words.

    Λal 'dog' can be used for smaller domestic animals or dog-like animals, but *Λal Λpomai*, where the specifying element follows *Λal*, can only mean 'dog'. *Λpomai* in the combination *Λal Λpomai* 'dog' is similar to the noun phrase construction with a classifying word in it, such as *Λal Γmia* 'cat'. On the other hand, a cat can be referred to by either the classifying or general *Λal* or the specific *Γmia*, whereas a dog can only be referred to by the classifying *Λal* and not by the specifying *Λpomai*, which narrows down the number of possibilities of having expressions with a more basic meaning (a dog in this case).[*1]

    The use of the general intensifier *Λwone* with a noun as in (68) seems to have exactly the same function as these specifying elements. They can be called lexical intensifiers for nouns.

    Similar polysemy has not been observed for *Γepi* 'cassowary', *Vgon* 'cockroach', *Λdeklm* 'worm' and *Γwerma Λdarma* 'tadpole' in the example (76), all of which are full-fledged meaningful words, so it is not clear why they are paired with the following specifying words which are apparently meaningless.

(76) a. *Γepi* **Λkopia** 'cassowary',

      b. *Vgon* **Λgunaa** 'cockroach',

      c. *Λdeklm* **Λmapa** 'worm',

[*1] The word *Λal* is primarily for dogs because cats were introduced to the region after the contact with Western people and are still rare in rural areas.

ᒷ d. ⌐*werma* ∧***darma*** 'tadpole'

3.5   Adverbs

There are not many words which show distinct characteristics and their main syntactic function is to be adverbial phrases. There seem to be very few adverbs in Dom. The following items appear only as adverbials in sentences.

(77)   a. ∨*tarape* 'quickly'
      b. ∧*depl* 'greedily'
      c. ∧*nek* ∧*na* 'stumblingly', ⌐*bi* ∧*bi* 'crawlingly'

Many adverbial phrases consist of a root which cannot be used in isolation and the adverbialising clitic =⌐*d* (§3.8.5).

Perhaps, many more items should be included in this class. Some items classified as particles in this grammar belong to the group of candidates. Another type of words which might be regarded as adverbs are intensifiers and such adjectives as ⌐*eku* 'afterwards' and ∧*komn* 'beforehand', which can be used as a time setting phrase. Yet another type would be such abstract nouns as ⌐*ul* 'sleep' and ∧*kunl* 'theft', which can be used as manner adverbials.

In addition, it would be possible to regard locative nouns, spatial demonstratives and time nouns discussed in this grammar as adverbs.

However, there seems to be no strong enough reason to categorise, for example, locative nouns and other nouns, or spatial demontratives and other adjectives as belonging to separate word-classes.

Moreover, the above candidates for adverbs do not behave uniformly. One would have to categorise adjective-like items or noun-like items as additional adverbs, or alternatively, regard all those candidates as adverbs and, in turn, set up subcategories for adverbs of inhomogeneous nature.

3.6   Interjections

Many interjections deviate from the sound system of Dom. Non-phonemic sounds used in interjections include [ə], [ʔ], [ʙ], and [m̥], among others. Some interjections do not have well-behaved lexical tones.

3.6.1   Responses

Interjections for answering questions can be positive or negative. Roughly speaking, a positive answer corresponds to the clause which can be obtained by changing the asked question into a declarative sentence, while a negative answer corresponds to the declarative version of the asked question with the opposite polarity. Although a positive response and a negative response correspond to 'yes' and 'no', respectively when they are used for answering the positive question, if the question is negative, the default reading of the positive response is 'no' (*awo*) and the interpretation of the negative response is 'yes', as in the following.

(78)   a.   ⌐ka   Λkipi   ⌐ta   ⌐d+(∨)k-n-o?
            word   lie   NEG   say+NEG-2SG.PQM
            'Didn't you lie?'
       b.   **awo**   ⌐ka   Λkipi   ⌐ta   ⌐d+(∨)k-ike
            right   word   lie   NEG   say+NEG-1SG.IND
            'Right, I did not lie.'

However, the choice of the response depends on what the inquirer supposes the fact to be. When a negative question such as (78a) is utterred with an assumption that the affirmative should be true, that is, with an implication 'you must have lied' in this case, the response should be negative ([ʔm̩ʔm̩]) to deny the inquirer's assumption.

Positive responses to interrogative, imperative, or vocative clauses I have observed include [m̩ː] 'right', [əː], and pulmonic ingressive sounds.

(79)   (Λ\Mntai:)   Λpl   ⌐mol-a.   'Listen.'
                    perceive.INF   stay-IMP.

       (∨Ul:)   m̩.   'OK.'
                yes

Declarative future forms with a first person subject can also be an alternative 'yes' response to an imperative, e.g. Λpl mol∨ake 'I will listen' instead of m̩ in the example above.

The most common response to the vocative is wa 'I'm here' which usually has rising intonation, but [əː] and ∨nakal 'What?' are also fairly common.

(80)   a.   ⌐na   ⌐d   ⌐al   Λdu-gwi   **wa**   ⌐ta   ⌐d+(∨)k-ike
            1EXC   Q   call.name say-3SG.DEM   I'm here   NEG   say+NEG-1SG.IND
            'When they called my name, I did not say "I'm here." '
       b.   (Jonatan:)   ⌐bosipe,   (Bosipe:)   ə:
            (Jonatan:) Bosipe!   (Bosipe:) Yes.

Not all 'yes' items used in responses to interrogatives can be used as responses to the imperative and the vocative. ∨ene 'then', [awo] 'yes/right' is used for affirmation and mainly to answer questions and hortative expressions.

(81)   Λkomna   pai-∨nan   ne-∨ra-pl=(Λ)wo'   Λd-ka
       vegetable lie-CONJ(DS)   eat-FUT-1DL=ENC.WA   say-1SG.SRD
       Λi   '**awo**'   Λdu-gwa
       DEM   awo   say-3SG.SRD
       'I said, "If the vegetables are there, let us two eat", and she said, "alright".'

The negative response [ʔoʔoː]/[ʔəʔəː] 'no' can be used for all kinds of responses.

(82)   a,   ⌐ul   ∨pai-yo   ∨kai   Λbol   ⌐en   Λte-ra-l=Λua   Λdu-m=Λba
            sleep lie-SG.IMP   needle   be.hit.INF   you   give-FUT-1SG=ENC.WA   say-3SG=but
            ⌐na   **ʔoʔo:**   ⌐ul   ⌐ta   ∨pai+(∨)kl-a-l=(Λ)wa   Λd-ke.
            1EXC   no   sleep   NEG   lie+NEG-FUT-1SG=ENC.WA   say-1SG.IND
            'She said, "Lie down. I will give you an injection." but I said, "No, I won't lie down." '

3.6.2 Interjections for calls, shoos and calling attention:

Bilabial trill with rising intonation is used to call pigs.

(83) [ʙːꜛ] 'calling pigs'

The following interjections are used to call a person who is far from the speaker and to respond to this call.

(84) a. ꟛ*kui* ꟛ*kui* 'You come!'
      b. ꟛ*oi* ꟛ*oi* 'I'm coming'

To express annoyance:

(85) *ipa*! 'Go away! / I don't like it!'

There are two 'here it is' expressions.

(86) a. ꟛ*me* 'Here it is.'
      b. ꟛ*ya* 'Here it is.'

The example in (86b) could be the proximal demonstrative ꟛ*ya* (Chapter 9), but this use of demonstratives is not found with other demonstrative words.

3.6.3 Others

Other interjections include:

(87) a. [ʃːɸʃː] 'Thanks'
      b. [ei] 'Oops!'
      c. [eijoː] 'Oh no!'
      d. [aijaː] 'Wow!'

Below are idiomatic expressions which can be used interjectionally.

(88) a. ꟛ*kor-o* (leave.it-IMP)
      b. ꟍ*mo-n* ꟛ*neya* (testicle-your I.eat)
      c. ꟝*al-a* (brother-my)
      d. ꟛ*yal*=ꟍ*kop*=ꟛ*o* (man=PL=VOC)

3.7 Postpositions

3.7.1 Comitative

There are three postpositions which introduce peripheral noun phrases of accompaniment, ꟛ*bol*, =ꟍ*bole* and =꟝*ken*. Of these three, ꟛ*bol* and =ꟍ*bole*, which are similar in form and no difference in their use is known, might be free variants of one morpheme. ꟛ*bol* is the most common form used in this function. ꟛ*bol* and =ꟍ*bole* can be used with inanimate noun phrases while =꟝*ken* cannot. None of them can be used to introduce an instrument.

(89) a. *Vmna*   *Λbol* *Γere* *Γp* *Λnman* *Vtoli* *Λo-pka*
     mother.1SG.POSS with to go Nman Toli go-1DL.SRD
     'I went to Nman Toli with my mother.'

    b. *Γen* *Λgal* *Vsuna* *Λbol* *bl-Va-l=(Γ)d*   *Λe-g+Γi=(Λ)we*
     you shirt   with smear-FUT-1SG=Q make-2SG+DEM=ENC.WE
     'You are going to cook it with the shirt [covering it]!'

    c. *Vkawa* *Λropet* *Λlain*   *Λbol* *Λyopal* *Λbol* *Λeligwa=Γmere*
     Kawa Ropet group with person with make-2/3PL.SRD=as/about
     'about what Kawa Ropet and the people did'

3.7.2   Instrumental *Λpal*

The postposition *Λpal* introduces a peripheral noun phrase denoting the instrument.

(90) a. *Vo*   *Λ**pal*** *Vbin-gwa*   *Vkal*
     hand.3SG.POSS by produce-3SG.SRD thing
     'something made by hand'

    b. *Λtokples*   *Λ**pal*** *Λelmai* *Λmala* *Γd*   *Λgikmai* *Λto-pge*
     vernacular by now nearby say.INF Giglmai give-1PL.IND
     'now we are talking to Giglmai in our vernacular language.'

3.7.3   Manner =*Γmere*

The clitic =*Γmere* can follow any noun phrase or clause with a verb in the subordinative mood. It marks similarity/identity or approximation/equality of number, degree, manner or appearance, as in the following.

(91) a. *ΛKuman* *ΛBos*   *Λgar-i*   *Γdi*   *Λbol-gwa=mere*   *Va*
     PRN   body-3SG.POSS axe be.hit-3SG.SRD=as/about open
     Γd   *Vyo-gw*
     (say).INF put/there.be-3SG.IND
     'The skin of Kuman Bos was open just as if damaged by an axe.'

    b. *Λyopal* *Λpopla* *Γi*   *u-Vra-pga=(Γ)mere*   *Λkun*   *Γta* *(Λ)e+Vk-gwe*
     person 4   DEM come-FUT-1PL.SRD=as/about enough NEG make+NEG-3SG.IND
     '[The capacity of the raft] was not enough for the four of us to get on.'

    c. *Λmosis=Γmere* *Γta* *Vyo-go*   *ΛwaΓti=(Γ)mer* *Γta* *Vyo-go*
     PRN=as/about a and.3SG.CONJ(DS) PRN=as/about a and.3SG.CONJ(DS)
     Λmetiu=Γmere *Γta* *Vyo-go*   *Γgurau* *bal-Va-pn=(Γ)d*   *Γer*
     PRN=as/about a and.3SG.CONJ(DS) bread.tree chop-FUT-1PL=Q to
     Λdmna *Λe-igwe.*
     woods go-2/3PL.IND
     'One in the age like Mosis, one in the age like Wati, and one in the age like Metiu went up to the bush to pick leaves of bread tree.'

   d. ⌐ba   √su=(⌐)mere   √pai-ke
      moon   two=as/about   lie-1SG.IND

      'I slept for two months.'

   e. √kar-pka=(⌐)mere   ∧stori ⌐d   ∧kor-pki
      see-1DL.SRD=as/about   story   say.INF   COMPL-1DL.DEM

      'Now we two told the story completely as we had seen.'

   f. √kukl-igwa=(⌐)mere   ⌐er ⌐ila ∧e-im   ∧du-gwe
      hug-2/3PL.SRD=as/about   to   inside go-2/3PL   say-3SG.IND

      'It is said that he went in with the girls holding him tight.'

   g. SN: ∧du=⌐mere   ⌐ta ⌐s+(√)k-pga   ⌐ka   ∧du-pge
          frog=as/about a   hit+NEG-1PL.SRD   word say-1PL.IND

      'The thing is that we caught frogs in an unusual way'

      M: ∧mapn=⌐ta ∧s-na-igw
         many   hit-FUT-2/3PL.IND

      'You might have caught so many?'

3.7.4   Locative=⌐la

   The primary function of the locative ⌐la is to make a non-locative noun phrase into a locative noun phrase (§3.2.3, §5.2.8). Two clitics, =⌐mle 'on' and =⌐wale 'on the surface' are sometimes used as near equivalents.

   The clitic =⌐la can introduce an instrument noun phrase.

(92)   a. ∧kar=⌐la ∧u-n=∧mo   √maun ∧u-n?
         car=LOC   come-2SG.QM=or   below come-2SG.QM

      'Did you come by a car or walk here?'

   b. ⌐po ∧wiks=⌐mer(e) √yel=⌐ta ∧redio=⌐la ∧pl   √mo-pga
      four week=as/about like.this radio=LOC   perceive.INF stay-1PL.SRD

      'We were listening to the radio [waiting for the anouncement] for about four weeks or so.'

=⌐la can be used for signalling the cause.

(93) '∧o, ⌐na   ∧trapol=(⌐)la=(⌐)rae ∧yal ⌐sul   ∧i   ∧bol   ∧bakrap
      oh   1EXC trouble=LOC=MUT   man two.person DEM be.hit.INF buggered.up

     √e-ipl=(∧)o'   ⌐d ⌐na √kan-e
     make-2/3DL=EXPL   Q   1EXC see-CONJ(SS)

     ' "Oh, these two were beaten and had a hard time because of my trouble!" I saw ...'

   Some dialectal differences are found in the use of =⌐la.

3.8   Particles

3.8.1   Direction

   The verbs of going and coming are often preceded by the optional particle ⌐ere.

(94) a. *(⌐ere)* Λ*e-ke*   'I go.'
          to   go-1SG.IND

   b. *(⌐ere)* Λ*u-ke*   'I come.'
          to   come-1SG.IND

The expression denoting the place toward which the movement is directed is placed between the particle and the verb, as in the following.

(95) ⌐*ere* ⌐*ila*   Λ*e-ke*
       to   inside go-1SG.IND

   'I go home.'

The negation particle ⌐*ta* can precede this particle.

(96) ⌐*ta*   ⌐*er* Λ*mala* ⌐*u+(V)k-m*   Λ*du-gwe.*
       NEG   to   nearby come+NEG-3SG   say-3SG.IND

   'It is said that [the dog] did not come close.'

In most cases, the particle ⌐*ere* is followed by verbs of going or coming, and appears to be a discontinous (and optional) part of the verbal items. However, it can be used rather like a preposition in such a sentence as:

(97) Λ*mal* Λ*ya*   ⌐***ere*** √*suna* Λ*ip*   Λ*ekl* ⌐*ta*   √*ye+kl-gwe*
       near   right/back.here to   centre up.there far   NEG   be+NEG-3SG.IND

   'It is not far from here to the town.'

Such sentences with preposition-like ⌐*ere* as in (97) can be always paraphrased by simply inserting one word for 'go' or 'come':

(98) Λ*mal* Λ*ya*   ⌐***ere*** √*suna* Λ*ip*   Λ***na-gi***   Λ*ekl* ⌐*ta*
       near   right/back.here to   centre up.there go.FUT-2SG.DEM   far   NEG

   √*ye+kl-gwe*
   be+NEG-3SG.IND

   'If you go from here to the town, it is not far.'

In the example above, the particle ⌐*ere* serves as a useful marker to distinguish the destination which follows it from the starting point Λ*mal* Λ*ya* which precedes it.

   Noun phrases describing the purpose of the movement should also precede the particle ⌐*ere*, which allows only noun phrases of destination in the immediately following slot.

(99) Λ*misa* ⌐*ere* Λ*o-pge*   'We go for the mass.'
       mass   to   go-1PL.IND

This particle may be more appropriately regarded as the first part of fossilized idiomatic verb serialisation.

3.8.2 Temporary substitution

The particle ⌐*ya* is used as a temporary substitute for what the speaker could not immediately find the appropriate expression for, as in (100a). The element substituted by ⌐*ya* should be expressed afterwards as in (100b).

(100) a. *'Λbil Γen Λte-ra-1+Γa Λkor=Vpare Γen Vkn*
      bill you give-FUT-1SG+EXPL but=and (SS) you carry.on.shoulder.INF

    Λmol=Vpare Γen Γya el-Va-n=(Λ)wa' Λdu-pge.
      stay.CONJ(SS)=and (SS) you thingy make-FUT-2SG=ENC.WA say-1PL.IND

    ' "I will give you a bill, so you will take it and you shall do **that**." I said.'

    b. *'Γna Λbil Γen Λte-ra-ka Γmer Λi Γen Γna Λte-na-n=Λua'*
      1EXC bill you give-FUT-1SG.SRD as/about DEM you 1EXC give-FUT-2SG=ENC.WA

    Γd Vyel Λd-ke.
      Q like.this say-1SG.IND

    'I said like this, "You shall give me just as much as I will charge you in the bill." '

The particle *Γya* is often used with *Γte* as in the following.

(101) *ΛKaspar Vyo-go Γte [Γya Vyo-go] [ΓMyal ΛMetyu*
    PRN and.3SG.CONJ(DS) uh thingy and.3SG.CONJ(DS) PRN

Vyo-go]
and.3SG.CONJ(DS)

'Kaspar and eh, that person, Myal Metyu ...'

3.8.3 'With all one's might' particle

The particle *Λpl* is used to convey the meaning of "V with all one's might" in the construction V$_i$ *Λpl* V$_i$.

(102) *Γkupa Γs Γp Λkam Veri Λgur Λpl Λgurka*
    stick hit.INF go.INF banana stem pull.INF with.all.might pull-1SG.SRD

Λkam Veri Vgi Γd Λkor-gw.
banana stem fast (say).INF COMPL-3SG.IND

'I swam there to pull the banana stem with all my might, but the banana stem was too fast.'

3.8.4 Focus markers

The additive *Vama* 'also, too' and exclusive/spontaneous *Vnene* 'by oneself, own' are, like postpositions, placed after noun phrases, but can be used in isolation without head nouns.

(103) *[ΛAiwil] Vike Vke Vpa-gwa [Γi Vnene] Λgal-gwe*
    PRN house build.INF lie-3SG.SRD DEM oneself burn(tr.)-3SG.IND

'Aiwil burnt the house he built and lives by himself.'

Reciprocal:

(104) *Val Γta Val Γta Γi Vnene Λwi Λs*
    brother.3SG.POSS a brother.3SG.POSS a DEM oneself hit.INF

Λgol-gwe
die-3SG.IND

'Two brothers killed each other.'

When *Vama* follows quantifiers, it expresses addition.

(105)   *Vtau*   *Vama*   Λ*yu*   Γ*na*   Λ*to-gwe.*
       some   too   just   1EXC   give-3SG.IND
       'They gave me some more for free.'

The particle *Vkeman*, which has various manifestations such as *Vkoman∼ Vkemn∼ Vken*, 'nothing but, only', cannot be used in isolation, but unlike postpositions, it is often found between two serialised verbs.

Vama and *Vkeman* can have a scope over the whole clause.

Such adjectives as Λ*tenan* 'only one, the same' Γ*muru* 'all and only' have similar semantics.

3.8.5   Adverbialiser =Γ*d*

The clitic =Γ*d* is used to introduce certain forms into a sentence as adverbials.

When the adverbialiser =Γ*d* is placed after numerals, the phrase has a distributive meaning '... for each' or '... by ...' as in the following.

(106)   a.   Λ*tenan=*Γ*d* 'one by one',
          one=ADV

      b.   *Vsu=(*Γ*)d*   'two by two',
          two=ADV

      c.   Γ*yoko=(*Γ*)d* 'little by little'
          few=ADV

In the following example (107), the distributional meaning of quantifiers is marked twice: by repeating the quantifier Λ*tenan* and by the following adverbialiser =Γ*d*.

(107) Λ*ka* *Vkopa*   Λ*tenan*   Λ*tenan=*Γ*d*   Λ*paipla*   Γ*s*   Λ*te-ka*   *Vau-igwe*
       bird   one   one=ADV   5   hit.INF   give-1SG.SRD   hold-2/3PL.IND
       'I caught five birds, one for each boy, and the boys held them in their hands.'

Many adverbials of manner have =Γ*d* as the necessary last element as in the following.

(108)   a.   Γ*kle=(*Γ*)d* 'quietly', Γ*dm=(*Γ*)d* 'well', Γ*mon=(*Γ*)d* 'softly', Γ*kona=(*Γ*)d* 'slowly',
          Λ*mukm=*Γ*d* 'fast', Λ*orpl=*Γ*d* 'quickly', *Vkui=(*Γ*)d* 'persistently' *Vpi=(*Γ*)d* '(talk) on and on'

      b.   *Vtektai* *Vtektai=(*Γ*)d* 'hobbling'

The bases of adverbials in the examples above cannot be used in isolation. They are treated as adverbial nouns (§3.2.6) in this grammar. Most bases with =Γ*d* are mimetics. [*2]

The use of the adverbialiser Γ*d* as a quotative marker is described in §8.2.

[*2]   Ideophones in Shona can be introduced by the word for a quotative marker (Güldemann 2002).
     As a nominal modifier *ti* serves to:
       1. introduce reported discourse,
       2. mark sentential complementation and related clause linkage,
       3. introduce ideophones and related expressions,
       4. identify an entity by name and introduce nominal lists,
       5. introduce expressions of quality and manner,

3.8.6   Negative =Ʋkl

Although the negative Ʋkl is considered to be a clitic as is discussed in §2.4.5, it is like a word in that it fills the verb position in the constructions such as V_i V_i el- 'V habitually' and V_i-nal V_i- 'must V, must have V-ed'.

(109) a. *⌐u+(Ʋ)kl   (Ʋ)kl   ∧el-gwe*
            come+NEG   NEG   make-3SG.IND
            'He usually does not come.'

     b. *⌐gwema   ∧dua   ∧de-m   Ʋyal   ⌐ta   Ʋpai+(Ʋ)kl-al   (Ʋ)kl-gwa*
            first   rat   intestines-3SG.POSS   tail   NEG   lie+NEG-IMM   NEG-3SG.SRD
            'Rats must have had no tails long ago.'

3.8.7   Abrupt imperative =∧ka

An imperative verb (§4.1.5.3) can be followed by the clitic =∧wa which appeals more strongly to the hearer.

(110) *∧s-o=∧wa*
         hit-2SG.IMP=WA.IMP
         'Hit!'

The clitic =∧wa often causes the final *o* of the imperative mood suffix to drop provided the imperative verb is polysyllabic as in the following.

(111) a. *∧kor-o=∧wa*
            discard-2SG.IMP=WA.IMP

     b. *∧kor=∧wa*
            discard.2SG.IMP=WA.IMP
            'Leave it!'

An infinitive verb followed by the clitic =∧ka is used as a more abrupt imperative than realised by the imperative suffix *-a*. =∧ka imperative often indicates irritation.

3.8.8   Polar questions with non-verbal predicate =∧yo

Polar questions with a non-verbal predicate are marked by the clitic =∧yo∼=∧no.

3.8.9   Phrase-final =∧we

The clitic =∧we follows a noun phrase or a clause with a verb in the subordinative mood marking the phrase-final position. It cannot follow a final predicate and an infinitive verb, and it cannot follow premodifiers of nouns.

---

6. denote a specific quality or amount without a following constituent.
     (Güldemann 2002:268)

This clitic is obligatory in a quoted clause with a nominal predicate, but it is optional in other environments where its precise function remains elusive.

(112) a. ⌐*na*   ∨D*om* ∨*gal.*
        1EXC   Dom   child

      'I am a Dom.'

    b. ⌐*na*   ∨D*om* ∨*gal*=*(∧)we.*
        1EXC   Dom   child=ENC.WE

      'I am a Dom.'

3.8.10   Clause-final =∧*ua*∼=(∧)*wa*

The clitic =∧*ua*∼=(∧)*wa* follows emotive verbs, the mutual knowledge clitic for nominals =⌐*rae* and the mutual knowledge form of verbs suffixed by -*krae*, to make a final clause. An independent-word version of this clitic is ∧*iwa*, which behaves in the same way as the clitic version except for its tonal behaviour and segmental shape.

The semantic and functional difference between the indicative mood and the clitic ∧*ua* is sometimes very subtle and remains elusive, but the clitic =∧*ua* is considered to signal that the clause belongs to a different level of discourse as discussed below.

This clitic has the form =∧*ua* when preceded by a word with a falling tone and =(∧)*wa* after a word with a rising tone. The clitic =∧*ua*∼=(∧)*wa* has a free variant =∧*uo*∼=(∧)*wo*.

The contrast between the clitic =∧*ua*∼=(∧)*wa* and the clitic =∧*we* manifests itself when they are used after a noun phrase with =⌐*rae* or a verb with -*krae*. Appearing after this mutual knowledge form, the clitic =∧*ua*∼=(∧)*wa* signals that the preceding form is a usual predicate while the clitic =∧*we* signals that the preceding form is an absolute topic question (§5.7.1).

(113) ∧*dogo* ∧*mal* ∧*i*   ⌐*de*   ∨*pa-gwa*   ∧*u-kra*=(∧)***wa***   ⌐*d*
      fire   near   DEM   burn(intr.).INF   lie-3SG.SRD   come-1SG.MUT   Q

    ⌐*er* ∧*kui* ∨*mo*   ∨*kan-m*=∧*ba*
      tree   again   climb.INF   see-3SG=but

    'Thinking, "A fire was burning near here and I came", he climbed a tree and looked (around) in turn.'

In the example (113) the verb ∧*u-krae* is cliticised by =(∧)*wa* which would be optional if it were used as an independent sentence.

In reported speech this clitic is used in the place of indicative as discussed in §8.3.

Introduction or closing of discourse and insertion are often marked by the clitic ∧*ua*∼(∧)*wa*

(114) ∧*elma* ∧*di-ki*
      now   say-1SG.DEM

    ∨*nen*   ∨*man*   ∧*el-gwa*=⌐*mere*   ∧*di*=∧*ua*
      father-NSG.POSS   mother-NSG.POSS   make-3SG.SRD=as/about   say.1SG=ENC.WA

    'What I said now is about what our parents' generation did.'

In the example (114), the speaker suddenly steps back from what he has been talking about and summarises his speech as if his whole story told so far was an instance of long reported

speech. This is an example of a meta-discourse comment on what he talked about marked by the clitic ∧*ua*. Dom narratives often contain such discourse closing remarks marked by this clitic.

∧*ua*-marked sentences also appear frequently in introductory remarks as in (115a) or as an inserted meta-discourse comment as in (115b).

(115)   a.   ∧N*up*∧K*ua*   Γ*eks* ∧*kansol* ∧K*onya* ∧G*lmai* √*ne-m*
            NupKua subclan ex- council PRN   PRN   father-3SG.POSS

            ∧*yal* ∧*mapne* ∧*elma* Γ*ka*   Γ*ta* ∧*d-ral*   ∧*el*=∧*ua*
            man   aged   now   word   a   say-IMM   make.1SG=ENC.WA

            'I, ex-councilor for Nup Kua subclan, whose name is Konya, who is the father of Glmai and is old, am now going to tell a story.'

        b.   √*ene* √*yel*   ∧*mol*   Γ*er* ∧*o-pga*
            then   like.this   stay.INF   to   go-1PL.SRD

            [Γ*i*   Γ*ka*   ∧*kol* ∧*el-e*   √*e-pga*=(Γ)*mere*   ∧*du-pn*=∧*ua*]
            DEM   word   court   make-CONJ(SS)   make-1PL.SRD=as/about   say-1PL=ENC.WA

            √*yel*   ∧*du-pgi*   Γ*d-r*   ∧*mol*=√*pare*
            like.this   say-1PL.DEM   say-CONJ(SS)   stay.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)

            'OK, we are like this, — we are talking about how we judge and so on — when we judge like this, after that ...'

Such use of the clitic ∧*ua* probably signals that the sentence is at a different level of discourse.

The use in marking an inserted phrase as in (115a) is very similar to the use of the explicative +Γ*ia*.

=∧*ua* and +Γ*ia* for background information are often used to list several events which are usually not in a causal relationship or in temporal sequence. In this use =∧*ua* and +Γ*ia* seem to be equivalent because they can be mixed in one listing. The following examples consist of a sequence of sentences, where all sentences but the last one are listed with =∧*ua* and +Γ*ia* probably used as equivalents.

(116)   a.   ∧*yu* *ye-*√*na-gwa*   √*yo-m*=(Γ)*wa,*
            just be-FUT-3SG.SRD   be-3SG=ENC.WA

            'There are [bones] without anything.'

        b.   ∧*blagket* √*wel*   ∧*te-nagwa*   ∧*to-m*+Γ*ia,*
            blanket   roll.INF   give-FUT-3SG.SRD   give-3SG+EXPL

            'There are [bones] covered by blanket.'

        c.   √*alap* (√)*wel*   ∧*te-na-gwa*   ∧*tom*=∧*ua,*
            cloth   roll.INF   give-FUT-3SG.SRD   give-3SG=ENC.WA

            'There are [bones] covered with a cloth.'

        d.   ∧*sel*   √*wel*   ∧*tenagwa*   ∧*to-m*+Γ*ia,*
            sheeting   roll.INF   give-FUT-3SG.SRD   give-3SG+EXPL

            'There are [bones] covered with a sheeting.'

        e.   Γ*ila*   Γ*i*   ∧*wena*=Γ*ta* √*ye*   Γ*er* ∧*o-gwe.*
            inside   DEM   far=a   be.INF   to   go-3SG.IND

            '[In this way] the bones were spread all over the inside [of the cave].'

The verb with ∧*ua* can be used for confirmation:

(117) ˥Npap: ∨*tanan* ˥*ta=(*˥*)rae* ∧*dua=*∧*ya* ˥*mia* ∨*me-ipl*   ∧*du-gwe*
          day   a=MUT   rat=and   cat   stay-2/3DL   say-3SG.IND

          'It is said that once there lived a rat and a cat.'

      ∧Mntai: ∧*dua=*∧*ya* ˥*mia* ˥*ka*   ∨*pore el-*∨*al*   ∧*e-n=*∧***ua***
            rat=and   cat   word   story   make-IMM   make-2=ENC.WA

            'So, you are going to tell a story about a rat and a cat, right?'

      ˥Npap: ∧*m*   ˥*ka*   ∨*pore el-*∨*al*   ∧*e-ke*
            Yes   word   story   make-IMM   make-1SG.IND

            'Yes, that's right.'

      ∧Mntai: ∧*wai*
           good

           'Good.'

During elicitation, some speakers tend to use ∧*ua* marked verbs rather than verbs in the indicative mood. Possibly, they select the clitic to present data in form of a citation.

Jim Burdett (p.c.) reports that Dom people prefer to use the clitic *=*∧*ua/=(*∧*)wa* in all the sentences of Bible translation. There are several possible reasons for that. It may perhaps be stylistic preference as Burdett's interpretation, but it may be used to express the whole texts as content of reported speech.

3.8.11   Explicative

The explicative clitic *+*˥*ia* follows a verb in the emotive mood. The explicative clitic itself marks a mood and the emotive form of the verb seems to serve as the host of the clitic without its own meaning. A verb with this clitic is used as a final verb.

A clause which ends with the explicative clitic conveys background information, which often expresses reason for the event, as in the following sentence.

(118) ∧*dogwa* ∨*go-m+(*∧*)ia.*   ∧*el*   ˥*gal-o.*
      fire   go.out-3SG+EXPL   make.INF   burn(tr.)-2SG.IMP

      'The fire went out. Make a fire.'

The explicative clitic often serves to mark an inserted clause. For instance in the following example, the clause with the clitic intrudes into the flow of the sentence.

(119) ˥*na=(*˥*)rae*   ˥*u*   ˥*ila*   ∧*o-pga*
      1EXC=MUT   come.INF   inside   go-1PL.SRD

      [∨*kamn* ∨*b-pga*   ∨*tolpe*   ˥*s*   ∧*kor-m+*˥***ia***]
      rain   smear-1PL.SRD   all.wet   (hit).INF   COMPL-3SG+EXPL

      ∧*trausis=*∧*ya*   ∧*gal* ∨*suna=(*∧*)ya* ∧*andawei=*∧*ya*   ˥*i*   ˥*para*   (∧)*gul*
      trousers=and   shirt=and   underwear=and   DEM   enough/all   put.off.INF

      (∧)*er*   ∧*kor-e*
      to/off.INF   COMPL-CONJ(SS)

      'As for us, we went inside — we got soaked by rain and we were all wet — and we took off our trousers, shirts, underwear and all these things completely and '

Counter-factual:

(120) ΛK*um* Γ**N***ul*=(Γ)*ra*=(Λ)*we* Λ*sande* Λ*lotu* Λ*elma* Γ*ta* V*kan*+(V)*k-pge.*
   PLN=MUT=ENC.WE   sunday   Mass   now   NEG   see+NEG-1PL.IND

  Λ*yopal*   Γ*ta*   Γ*p*+(V)*kl-gwe.*
  person   NEG   go+NEG-3SG.IND

  *[*Λ*na-m*+Γ**ia]**,*   Λ*mal* Γ*yap*=(Γ)*rae*   Λ*birua* Γ*kol* Γ*kol* Λ*molgwa*
  go.FUT-3SG+EXPL   near   right/back.up.here=MUT   enemy   side   side   stay-3SG.SRD

  Λ*wou*   V*ye*   Λ*kor-gwe.*
  evacuated   put/there.be.INF   COMPL-3SG.IND

'We do not attend Mass at Kum Nul every Sunday now. People do not go. **They would go**, [but] surrounded by the enemies near here on all sides, people evacuated [the chirch].'

3.8.12 Conjunctions

3.8.12.1 Sequential =V*pare*, =V*kene*

The conjunction =V*pare* is used after a verb in the same-subject conjunctive mood (§4.1.5.4) and the conjunction =V*kene* after a verb in the different-subject conjunctive mood (§4.1.5.5). Conjunctive verbs can express temporal relations of both overlap and succession, but when followed by one of these two conjunctions they can express only succession.

3.8.12.2 Concessive Λ*kore*

The verb Λ*kor-* 'do away' in the same-subject conjunctive mood (Λ*kore*), with the sequential =V*pare* following it optionally, can be used as a conjunction. Λ*kore* 'but' can follow the clitic =Λ*ba*, a subordinative predicate (in V-*ka* form) a demonstrative predicate (in V-*ki* form) or a mutual knowledge predicate (in V-*krae* form) to form a concessive subordinate clause.

3.8.12.3 Adversative =Λ*ba*

The adversative clitic =Λ*ba* can follow emotive predicates, subordinative predicates, and nominal predicates with mutual knowledge =Γ*rae* along with the verbs in the mutual knowledge form -*krae*.

The most frequent form preceding the clitic =Λ*ba* is the emotive. Nominal predicates followed by the clitic are not found in texts very often.

(121) a. Γ*na*   V***pal-ka**=(Λ)**ba**   V*gran*   Λ*salm* Λ*e-ka*   Λ*wai* Λ*su-m*=Λ*ua.*
   1EXC   put-1SG.SRD=but   yesterday   sell   make-1SG.SRD   end   (hit)-3SG=ENC.WA

   'I had [it] with me, but yesterday I sold [it] and it ran out.'

  b. V*nono*   V***war-pkra**=(Λ)**ba**
   1NSG.INC   move.around-1DL.MUT=but

   'We two were walking around, but ...'

    c. ∧*konan* ∧***ikn***=⌐***ra*=(∧)*ba* ∧*kore*
        work   time=MUT=but   but
        '[It is] the time for work, but ...'

The phrase ∧*dum*=∧*ba*, which literally means 'he said but/it is said but', is a lexicalised combination with the meaning of 'but'. It follows a clause with a subordinative verb as in the example (122).

(122) ⌐*no*   ⌐*gwema*   √*gal*   √*mo-pga*   ∧*ikn*   ∧*ipe*   √*kar-pga*
       1NSG.EXC   first   child   stay-1PL.SRD   time   up.there   see-1PL.SRD

       ∧***dum*=∧*ba***
       but

       'Long before when we were boys, we saw it, but ...'

When the preceding clause is to be linked by the clitic =∧*ba* is the final clause of the preceding sentence, the verb is repeated as the host of =∧*ba*.

(123) '∧G*lmai*=∧*yo!*
       PRN=VOC

       ⌐*er*   ⌐*ino*   (∧)*el-gwa*   ∧*il*=∧*we*   (∧)M*or* (∧)D*aula* ∧K*opl*=∧*we*
       to   smoke   make-3SG.SRD   there=ENC.WE   PLN=ENC.WE

       ∧*du-gwa*   √***yo-m*=(∧)*wa****.'   ∧*du-gw.*
       say-3SG.SRD   put/there.be-3SG=ENC.WA   say-3SG.IND

       '√*yo-m*=(∧)*ba*   ⌐*kepl*   ⌐*ta* √*maun* ∧*el-gwa*   ∧*il*   √*kan-n-o?*   ...
       put/there.be-3SG=but small   a   below   make-3SG.SRD   there see-2SG-PQM

       ∧*du-gw.*
       say-3SG.IND

       ' "Glmai! The place over there where there is smoke is called Mor Daula Kopl." he said, "But do you see the place which has a small dent there?" '

Less frequently, ∧*ba* 'but' is used as a full word sentence-initially, functioning as a conjunction.

3.8.12.4   Conjunction for nominals =∧*ya*

The clitic =∧*ya* is used for additional listing of noun phrases. Each element of the listing can be marked by =∧*ya*. This is not an obligatory marker for the listed components. Pause and a break of intonational unit can also be used to mark the listed components.

(124) ⌐*na*=(∧)***ya***   ⌐K*nm* ∧B*omai*=∧***ya*** ⌐S*l*=(∧)***ya*** √W*emn* ∧K*ombani*=∧***ya*** (∧)M*ntai* ∧B*ernat,*
       1EXC=and PRN=and   PRN=and   PRN=and   PRN

       (∧)K*uman* ∧B*os,* ⌐D*ua*
       PRN   PRN

       'I, Knm Bomai, Sl, Wemn Kombani, Mntai Bernat Kuman Bos, and Dua'

3.8.12.5   Dubitative =∧mo

Dubitative is marked by the clitic =∧mo. The clitic =⌐mara is also used in the same way. The dubitative =∧mo can follow a noun phrase or a non-polar interrogative phrase.

(125)   a. √kal   ∧resa=∧**mo**   ∧i=⌐rae   ⌐i-re   ∧mala   ∧gar-na
           thing   razor=or   DEM=MUT   take-CONJ(SS)   nearby   body-1SG.POSS

           ∧i=⌐rae   ∧bol-gw+∧i.
           DEM=MUT   be.hit-3SG.DEM

           '... she took the thing, [is it called] razor? [anyway] she took that thing you know,
           ...'

       b. ∧kor-a-m=∧**mo**   ⌐d √kar-krae
           discard-FUT-3SG   Q   see-1SG.MUT

           'I was seeing, thinking, "I wonder if he gives up." ...'

       c. ⌐ge √apal   ∧ulpe   ∧e-ga=∧**mo**
           girl woman wedding   make-2SG.SRD=or

           ∧yopal ∧gol-gwa   ⌐di √bl √gal ∧te-ga=∧**mo**   √kal ⌐ta ∧egi
           person die-3SG.SRD   pay   give-2SG.SRD=or   thing a   make-2SG.DEM

           ⌐en √nene   ∧el   √ye-igo
           you oneself make.INF   put/there.be-2/3PL

           ⌐na   ⌐na   ∧apl=⌐la   ∧el   √ye-ko
           1EXC   1EXC   invisible.side=LOC   make.INF   put/there.be-1SG.CONJ(DS)

           √e-pkrae,
           make-1DL.MUT

           ∧i=⌐rae   ∧maunten ∧kol-gwa=⌐mere   √pa-m+(∧)io.
           DEM=MUT   mountain   be.close-3SG.SRD=as   lie-3SG+EXPL

           'When you do something like a wedding ceremony or giving money for someone's
           death, you do it by yourselves and we do it by ourselves as both of us know, but
           this is like the mountain standing between us two groups.'

The clitic =∧mo is used for alternative questions.

(126)   a. ⌐en √bl   ∧ne-na-n=∧mo   ⌐kal   ∧ne-na-n-e?
           you head.3SG.POSS   eat-FUT-2SG=or   leg.3SG.POSS   eat-FUT-2SG-QM

           'Do you want to eat the head, or eat the legs?'

       b. √kan=(∧)mo   ⌐ta   √kan+(√)k-n-e?
           see.2SG=or   NEG   see+NEG-2SG-QM

           'Did you see or not?'

Chapter 4

Morphology

Dom has a rather simple morphology. Suffixation is the only device which is extensively used and alternation in vowels and tones is at best a concomitant of suffixation. Moreover, there is no productive derivational morphology nor case declension of nouns. Phenomena discussed in this chapter encompass verbal conjugation, possessive forms of nouns, compounds and reduplications.

Simple as the morphological processes are, many phenomena should be included in this chapter so that the reader knows how to produce all appropriate forms of words in Dom.

4.1   Morphology of verbs

4.1.1   Verb structure

The structure of verbs can be simply stated as (1), where all the elements constituting a verbal form that follow the stem are optional.

(1) stem+negative-future-person.number-mood

Upon closer scrutiny, the reality appears to be a bit more complicated. For example, the forms are altered segmentally and tonally when they are followed by certain suffixes and there are several types of alteration patterns, which vary according to the classes of stems (§4.1.2).

Most mood suffixes require a person-number suffix with which verbs in a few other moods cannot even contain, and the slot for person-number suffixes is used for a distinct set of number suffixes for the verb in the imperative mood. These varieties of verb structure are treated in §4.1.5.

4.1.2   Variation in conjugation patterns and classes of verb stems

Verb stems are divided into four major classes based on the tone of their roots and the pattern of tonal alternation in their paradigm. Table 4.1 shows the paradigm of verbs in the emotive mood (§4.1.5.9). The first row of each representative example verb shows non-future forms and the second row contains forms with the future suffix. Tonal alternation seen in the paradigm can be accounted for in terms of interaction between the stem's preference toward a certain tone and the influence of suffixes on the tone.

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1DL	2DL/3DL	1PL	2PL/3PL
\er 'wear'	\eri	\ern	\erm	\erpl	\eripl	\erpn	\erim
	\eral	\eran	\eram	\erapl	\eraipl	\erapn	\eraim
/pal 'put'	/pali	/pal	/palm	/palpl	/palipl	/palpn	/palim
	pal/al	pal/an	pal/am	pal/apl	pal/aipl	pal/apn	pal/aim
⌐te 'give'	\tei	\ten	\tom	\topl	\teipl	\topn	\teim
	\teral	\tenan	\tenam	**te/rapl**	**te/raipl**	**te/rapn**	\tenaim
\mol 'stay'	\mol	\mon	\molm	**/mopl**	**/moipl**	**/mopn**	\molim
	mol/al	mol/an	mol/am	mol/apl	mol/aipl	mol/apn	mol/aim

Table. 4.1: Verbal paradigm – Emotive

The verbs with a falling tone ending with *r* in the infinitive form, such as \er in Table 4.1, appear with a falling tone in all conjugated forms. Thus, it is never affected by suffixes and invariably shows a falling tone in all its conjugated forms.

However, the verbs with a rising tone in the infinitive form, such as /pal in Table 4.1, which retain their rising tone in the non-future forms, have a different pitch pattern in the future forms, that is, the tonal domain starts from the second syllable while the melody itself remains a rising tone. The conjugated forms of the verbs of this class have a different pitch pattern only when the future suffix is added to them. Thus, the future suffix can be considered to affect this class in terms of tonal alternation and in this regard this class is sensitive to the future suffix.

In the case of the verbs with a falling tone ending with an *l* in the infinitive form, such as \mol in the table 4.1, the tonal alternation is caused by the future suffix and yields a rising tone with its domain starting from the second syllable in the same way as in rising-tone verbs. In addition, the non-future forms of such verbs can be affected by the suffixes of 1DL, 2DL/3DL, and 1PL, where the tone over the whole word becomes rising. Since all these cross-reference markers which cause the tonal alternation involve *p*, I will refer to these suffixes as cross-reference markers with *p*. The suffixes in question, namely, the future suffix and cross-reference markers with *p*, always affect the stems in this class, and this class is the most susceptible to suffixation.

Verbs, which have a high tone in the infinitive form, such as ⌐te 'give' in Table 4.1, are different from verbs constituting the above classes. Conjugated forms making up the paradigm appear mostly with a falling tone. The verb displays a different tonal pattern only when the two suffixes, namely, the future suffix and a cross-reference marker with *p* are employed at the same time.

A simplified relationship between four major conjugational classes and tonal alternation caused by suffixes is shown in Table 4.2.

(2)   a.   ⌐ → V / [____, verb] [FUT and cross-ref *p*]
          ⌐ → \ / [____, verb] ... [cross-ref]
     b.   \ → V / [____, Falling-*l* verb] ... [FUT or cross-ref *p*]

The verbs belonging to each type, roughly classified according to the tonal alternation patterns, have other properties in common. In the following sections, the respective classes,

class	FUT+ cross p	only FUT	only cross p
falling r	−	−	−
high	+	−	−
rising	+	+	−
falling l	+	+	+

Table. 4.2: Tonal alternation caused by the suffixes

their properties and relations between them will be discussed in more detail.

4.1.2.1 Classes of verbs based on inflection patterns

4.1.2.1.1 The high-tone class
There is a limited number of verbs found to belong to the high-tone type:

(3) a. ⌐*s* 'hit', ⌐*d* 'say', ⌐*p* 'go'
    b. ⌐*i* 'get', ⌐*u* 'come'
    c. ⌐*te* 'give', ⌐*de* 'burn', ⌐*ne* 'eat'

A high vowel is inserted after a mono-consonantal root when the consonant is the only underlying segment of the syllable.

The vowel in the stem is rounded or becomes back in 3SG, 1DL, and 1PL.

(4) a. $\emptyset \rightarrow$ [+high] / [____,]
    b. [+front] $\rightarrow$ [-front] / [____, high-tone class verb] + [3SG/1DL/1PL]

The verb p 'to go' is the only verb in Dom which employs suppletion. The form p is used as the stem for the infinitive form, the imperative form, the form suffixed with the same-subject conjunctive *-re*, and when it is followed by the negative element +V*kl*. In other words, it is used when the mood does not allow a tense contrast or a person-number distinction. The form *na* is used for the future form, *e* in other cases.

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1DL	2DL/3DL	1PL	2PL/3PL
⌐p 'go'	\ei	\en	\om	\opl	\eipl	\opn	\eim
	\nal	\nan	\nam	Vnapl	Vnaipl	Vnapn	\naim
⌐s 'hit'	\si	\sn	\sum	\supl	\sipl	\supn	\sim
	\sral	\snan	\snam	sVrapl	sVraipl	sVrapn	\snaim
⌐i 'get'	\i	\in	\yum	\yupl	\ipl	\yupn	\im
	\iral	\inan	\inam	iVrapl	iVraipl	iVrapn	\inaim
⌐u 'come'	\wi	\un	\um	\upl	\wipl	\upn	\wim
	\ural	\unan	\unam	uVrapl	uVraipl	uVrapn	\unaim

Table. 4.3: Verbal paradigm for p, s, i and u – Emotive

As for tone, a high tone appears in the bare root form (infinitive), and the form suffixed with same-subject conjunctive *-re*. A falling tone appears in other cases except for the fu-

ture 1DL, 2DL/3DL, 1PL, when the stem becomes outside the tonal domain and the part that consists of the future suffix and the suffixes that follow have a rising tone.

The forms with a person-number suffix do not appear with a high tone. The combination of the high-tone verb stem plus person-number seems to avoid the high tone.

All the verbs here have basic meanings.

4.1.2.1.2 The falling-tone *r* class

The verbs belonging to the falling-tone *r* type have a falling tone and end with an *r* in the infinitive form. The following verbs belong to this type.

(5) Λ*er* 'wear/move', Λ*yer* 'remove', Λ*kor* 'discard/leave', Λ*gur* 'pull'

The verb Λ*dawal-* 'to put together', which is slightly different from the above verbs with regard to the number of syllables and the final segment of the root, belongs to the same class.

The stem has a high tone when it is followed by the negative element *+kl*. In all other conjugated forms a falling tone is retained.

There seems to be a common tendency with respect to the meanings of the verbs in this class. All verbs in this class have meaning related to movement.

4.1.2.1.3 The falling-tone *l* class

The verbs belonging to the falling-tone *l* type have a falling tone and end with an *l* in the infinitive form. There are many verbs belonging to this type. For example:

(6) a. Λ*pl* 'hear', Λ*bl* 'get drenched', Λ*gl* 'put into a bag'
     b. Λ*pol* 'take out', Λ*bol* 'fight, suffer', Λ*mol* 'be', Λ*kol* 'fill', Λ*gol* 'die'
     c. Λ*pal* 'chop', Λ*bal* 'cut', Λ*dal* 'call', Λ*kal* 'bite', Λ*gal* 'roast, burn', Λ*yal* 'plant'
     d. Λ*gul* 'be slack', Λ*kul* 'bear',
     e. Λ*el* 'make', Λ*pel* 'dig'

Verbs with a diphthong or more than one syllable have not been found in this class.

Stem-final *l* is deleted when directly followed by a person-number suffix other than 1SG, 3SG and 3PL as in (7a) and (8a), but is retained when followed by 3SG and 3PL as in (7b) and (8b).

(7) a. Λ*mo-n*   V*mo-pl*   V*mo-ipl*   V*mo-pn*
         stay-2SG   stay-1DL   stay-2/3DL   stay-1PL

     b. Λ*mol-m*   Λ*mol-im*
         stay-3SG   stay-2/3PL

     c. Λ*mol*
         stay.1SG

(8) a. Λ*mo-ge*   V*mo-pke*   V*mo-ipke*   V*mo-pge*
         stay-2SG.IND   stay-1DL.IND   stay-2/3DL.IND   stay-1PL.IND

     b. Λ*mol-gwe*   Λ*mol-igwe*
         stay-3SG.IND   stay-2/3PL.IND

     c. Λ*mo-ke*   ∼Λ*mol-ke*
         stay-1SG.IND   stay-1SG.IND

(9) l → ∅ / [____, falling *l* verb] + [2SG/ 1DL/ 2/3DL/ 1PL] (obligatory)

No phonological explanation seems to account for this morphophonological *l*-deletion.

The case of 1SG is tricky because there is -*l* allomorph used for marking the first person singular and at first sight it is not clear whether the word-final *l* as in (7c) is a part of the stem or the first person singular suffix. The indicative form of the first person singular shows alternation between the form with *l* and the form without *l* as shown in (8c) and this conforms to the optional *l*-deletion rule described in §2.2.3.9 as a phonological rule. Therefore, it can be concluded that the suffix indicating the first person singular is not a conditioning factor of morphophonological *l*-deletion (2.2.3.9), but another rule to conflate the double *l* into a single *l* is needed.

(10) ll → l / ____ .(obligatory)

This rule is probably phonological since no geminate *l* sequence is found word-finally in Dom and there is a conflation rule for *n* as well (see rule (71) in §4.2.1).

Verb stems with the vowel *o* as in (6b) can optionally have irregular forms for 2/3DL and 2/3PL, both of which start with a vowel *i*, as in the following examples of the stem Λ*mol* 'stay'.

(11)   a. *Vme-pke*   {Λmol + ipl + ke}
           stay-2/3DL.IND

       b. Λ*mel-gwe*   {Λmol + im + ke}
           stay-2/3PL.IND

(12)   a. o → [+front] / [____, falling *l* verb] + [2/3DL, 2/3PL] (optional, obsolete)
       b. i → ∅ / e (C) ____ (only for verbal suffixes, optional)

The stem receives a high tone when followed by the negative element +*kl*. The stem loses the tone when followed by the future suffix.

4.1.2.1.4   **The rising-tone class**   The verbs belonging to the rising-tone type are found to be the largest in number. Some examples follow.

(13)   a. *ta* 'dawn', *nu* 'whet', *ke* 'build', *ye* 'put'
       b. *pai* 'sleep', *geu* 'curve', *eul* 'chop', *wau* 'dig'
       c. *kan* 'see', *wan* 'walk', *bin* 'assemble', *mal* 'seethe with'
       d. *gr* 'draw in', *kn* 'put on the shoulder', *dl* 'uproot'
       e. *tomn* 'wear out', *yopl* 'get kindling', *ekl* 'step', *kupr* 'get wrenched'
       f. *perar* 'dig'

This type covers a variety of sound forms. In particular, stems containing a diphthong have only been found in this type, and the majority of disyllabic stems belong to this class.

Most stems are not modified by suffixes. However, there are three minor subclasses which exhibit irregular conjugations as in table 4.4. When the verb *pai* is directly followed by the suffix indicating 3SG, 1DL, or 1PL, the stem takes the form *pa*. The verb *ye* also modifies its form into *yo* in the same environment. When *kan* and *wan* are followed by a person-number suffix for 1SG, 1DL, 1PLor 2/3DL, they take the forms of *kar* and *war* respectively. The alternation between *n* and *r* is also seen in the future suffix -*na* (§4.1.3).

(14)   a. i → ∅ / [____, verb *Vpai*-] + [suffix 3SG/1DL/1PL]
       b. [+front] → [-front] / [____, verb *Vye*-] + [suffix 3SG/1DL/1PL]

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1DL	2DL/3DL	1PL	2PL/3PL
√ye 'put'	√yei	√yen	√yom	√yopl	√yeipl	√yopn	√yeim
	ye√ral	ye√nan	ye√nam	ye√rapl	ye√raipl	ye√rapn	ye√naim
√pai 'sleep'	√pai	√pain	√pam	√papl	√paipl	√papn	√paim
	pai√ral	pai√nan	pai√nam	pai√rapl	pai√raipl	pai√rapn	pai√naim
√kan 'see'	√kari	√kan	√kanm	√karpl	√karipl	√karpn	√kanim
	kar√al	kan√an	kan√am	kar√apl	kar√aipl	kar√apn	kan√aim

Table. 4.4: Verbal paradigm for *ye*, *pai* and *kan* – Emotive

    c. n → r / [____, verb √*kan-*/√*wan-*] + [suffix 1SG/1DL/1PL/2/3DL]

4.1.2.1.5 Other classes

In addition to the classes enumerated above, ⌜*man* 'be not' with an irregular defective conjugation takes verbal suffixes, and it does not come under any of the above types. It takes only a restricted range of suffixes and clitics and often lacks person-number cross-reference marker where it is otherwise required (15a, b). The following examples include all the observed forms of ⌜*man*.

(15) a. ⌜*man-ga*
        be.not-SRD

      b. ⌜*man=(ʌ)wa*
        be.not=ENC.WA

      c. ⌜*man-gwa*
        be.not-3SG.SRD

      d. ⌜*man-m=(ʌ)wa*
        be.not-3SG=ENC.WA

      e. ⌜*man-gwe*
        be.not-3SG.IND

      f. ⌜*man-an*
        be.not-3SG.CONJ(DS)

As can be seen from the above examples, ⌜*man* has a high tone in all the conjugated forms. The forms in (15a) and (15b) are not marked for person-number, but the position between the stem and the subordinative suffix and that between the stem and the clitic *(ʌ)wa* should be filled by a cross-reference marker for some other verb stems. The forms in (15a), (15b), (15c) and (15d) exemplify the fact that ⌜*man* can take the third person singular suffix.

4.1.3 Tense

The tense system of Dom makes a distinction between marked future and unmarked non-future for most moods. The imperative, the imminent, the infinitive and the conjunctive mood suffixes do not allow the root to take the future suffix.

The future tense is marked by the suffix {-na}, which shows the following variations: *-na~-ra~-a*. The factors that determine which allomorph is to be used are the final segment

of a verbal root and the following person-number suffix. When the final segment of a verbal root is a consonant, the form *-a* is used as in the following.

(16) a. Λ*er-a-n*   'You will wear'
          wear-FUT-2SG

      b. *mol-√a-ka*   'I will stay and ...'
          stay-FUT-1SG.SRD

When the final segment of a verbal root is a vowel, the form *-na* or *-ra* is used, depending on the type of person-number suffix. Person-number suffixes with a nasal segment, the second person singular *-n*, the third person singular *-m* and the third person plural *-im* select the future form *-na* while other person-number suffixes, among which one suffix, namely the first person plural *-pn* has a nasal segment, select the form *-ra* as in the following examples (17).

(17) a. Λ*te-na-m*
          give-FUT-3SG

      b. *pai-√ra-l*
          lie-FUT-1SG

      c. *pai-√ra-pn*
          lie-FUT-1PL

Thus:

(18) a. n → ∅ / C ____
      b. n → r / V ____...1SG,1DL,1PL,2/3DL
      c. n → n / V ____...2SG,3SG,2/3PL

The same type of alternation among *n*, *r*, and ∅ occurs under the same conditions for *n* in the imminent mood suffix *-nal* (§4.1.5.2), and the different-subject conjunctive of irrealis in third person *-nan* (§4.1.5.5).

    The future morpheme {-na} is the first element to be suffixed to the verbal root.

    A suffix-combination of the future tense plus the first person singular, which usually appears as *-nal*, has a suppletive allomorph *-(i)p* which occurs in free variation with it, when the mood is emotive or interrogative. The following examples illustrate the use of *-(i)p*.

(19) a. Λ*ne-ip-o?*   ∼ Λ*ne-ra-l-o?*
          eat-FUT.1SG-PQM   eat-FUT-1SG-PQM

          'Shall I eat?'

      b. *√au-ip=(Γ)d*   Λ*el-wdae*
          hold-FUT.1SG.EMO   make-3SG.MUT

          'she intended to hold, but '

4.1.4   Person-number

    Cross-reference markers on verbs distinguish singular, dual and plural where the term "plural" is for the morphemes that signal primarily the number of more than two in the three-way distinction system. The term "non-singular" is used for those morphemes which contrast only with the singular, as in the system of possessive suffixes on inalienablly possessed nouns.

There are two systems of person-number marking on verbs. The system used by all moods except for the imperative is shown in Table 4.5.

	1	2	3
singular	-i∼-∅	-n	-m
dual	-pl	-ipl	
plural	-pn	-im	

Table. 4.5: Person-number suffixes for verbs

As can be seen from Table 4.5, the second and third person distinction is not made in dual and plural. This is a fairly common pattern for languages spoken in the New Guinea Highlands.

Person-number suffixes are conditioning factors for some morphophonological rules described in the previous sections. These rules can be summarised as:

(20) a. **delete [+lat]**
       {\mol-n} (stay-2SG) → /\mon/
       {\mol-ipl} (stay-2/3DL) → /∨moipl/
      b. ***n* to *r* or [−nas] effect**
       {⌐s-na-l} (hit-FUT-1SG) → /\sral/
       {∨kan-i} (see-1SG) → /∨kari/
      c. **rounding or [−front] effect**
       {⌐te-m} (give-3SG) → /\tom/
       {∨pai-pl} (lie-1DL) → /∨papl/
      d. **rising tone effect**
       {\mol-pn} (stay-1PL) → /∨mopn/
       {⌐te-na-ipl} (give-FUT-2/3DL) → /te∨raipl/

Table 4.6 shows which person-number suffix functions as the conditioning factor for which of the rules.

	delete [+lat] effect	[-nas] effect	[-front] effect (starting with [+labial])	rising effect (with *p* inside)
i∼l∼ ∅ (1SG)	−	+	−	−
n (2SG)	+	−	−	−
m (3SG)	−	−	+	−
pl (1DL)	+	+	+	+
ipl (2/3DL)	+	+	−	+
pn (1PL)	+	+	+	+
im (2/3PL)	−	−	−	−

Table. 4.6: Stem-form conditioning person-number suffixes

The person-number system in the imperative mood is illustrated in §4.1.5.3.

4.1.5   Mood

Moods vary in terms of the morphological patterns of which verbal suffix can or cannot co-occur with. There are four patterns for verbal suffix co-occurrence. All the mood suffixes can co-occur with the negative clitic.

The verbs in the infinitive mood, the same-subject conjunctive mood and the imminent mood can be cliticised by the negative *+kl* but it cannot take any verbal suffixes:

(21)   stem(+negative)-mood

The verbs in the imperative mood are obligatorily marked for number, but not for person:

(22)   stem(+negative)-number-mood

The different-subject conjunctive suffix also requires a person-number suffix, but the verbs in this mood cannot take the future suffix.

(23)   stem(+negative)-person.number-mood

Other mood suffixes, which constitute a vast majority, require a person-number suffix directly before them and the verbs in these moods can optionally take the future suffix, that is, they make a distinction between the tenses. The template of the verbal structure in the above moods can be stated as in the following.

(24)   stem(+negative)(-future)-person.number-mood

These suffix co-occurrence templates indicate the degree of finiteness. Alternatively, if we talk about dichotomous finiteness, the moods which follow the last template form finite verbs, which are fully inflected.

Mood suffixes are subject to different morphophonological rules according to their segmental shape. In this regard, it is convenient to classify the moods into three types: mood suffixes starting with *k*, mood suffixes starting with *kr*, and all the others.

Verbs with mood suffixes starting with *k* which follow a nasal consonant of person-number suffixes undergo the following morphophonological change.

(25)   a.   n-k...[mood] → g
      b.   m-k...[mood] → gw

For example:

(26)   a.   {\kor-pn-ke} (leave-1PL-IND) → *korpge* 'we leave'
      b.   {\kor-m-ka} (leave-3SG-SRD) → *korgwa* 's/he leaves and ...'
      c.   {\mol-n-kal} (stay-2SG-LOC) → *mogal* 'where you stay'

After applying the aforesaid conflation rule, the following morphophonological rules optionally (but commonly) apply to the mood suffixes with the morpheme-initial *kr* cluster.

(27)   a.   gr → d (mood-internal, optional)
      b.   gwr → wd (mood-internal, optional)

Thus:

(28) a. {√kan-n-kri=\yo} (see-2SG-QM=PQM) → √kangri=\yo ∼ √kandi=\yo
          'Did you see?'
      b. {\mol-m-krae} (stay-3SG-MUT) → \molgwrae ∼ \molwdae
          'S/he stays, as you know.'

The paradigm of verbs with mood suffixes starting with *k* is illustrated by the indicative forms in Table 4.7.

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1DL	2DL/3DL	1PL	2PL/3PL
Γte	\teke	\tege	\togwe	\topke	\teipke	\topge	\teigwe
	\terake	\tenage	\tenagwe	te√rapke	te√raipke	te√rapge	\tenaigwe
\er	\erke	\erge	\ergwe	\erpke	\eripke	\erpge	\erigwe
	\erake	\erage	\eragwe	\erapke	\eraipke	\erapge	\eraigwe
\mol	\moke	\moge	\molgwe	√mopke	√meipke	√mopge	\moligwe
	mol√ake	mol√age	mol√agwe	mol√apke	mol√aipke	mol√apge	mol√aigwe
√pal	√palke	√palge	√palgwe	√palpke	√palipke	√palpge	√paligwe
	pal√ake	pal√age	pal√agwe	pal√apke	pal√aipke	pal√apge	pal√aigwe

Table. 4.7: Verbal paradigm - the indicative

The paradigm for verbs in other moods the suffixes of which start with *k*, for example the subordinative mood suffix *-ka*, can be obtained by changing the last *e* of a verb in the indicative mood to *a*.

The paradigm of verbs with mood suffixes starting with *kr* is represented by the mutual knowledge forms in Table 4.8.

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1DL	2DL/3DL	1PL	2PL/3PL
Γte	\tekrae	\tedae	\todae	\topkrae	\teipkrae	\topdae	\teiwdae
	\terakrae	\tenadae	\tenawdae	te√rapkrae	te√raipkrae	te√rapdae	\tenaiwdae
\er	\erkrae	\erdae	\erwdae	\erpkrae	\eripkrae	\erpdae	\eriwdae
	\erakrae	\eradae	\erawdae	\erapkrae	\eraipkrae	\erapdae	\eraiwdae
\mol	\mokrae	\modae	\molwdae	√mopkrae	√meipkrae	√mopdae	\moliwdae
	mol√akrae	mol√adae	mol√awdae	mol√apkrae	mol√aipkrae	mol√apdae	mol√aiwdae
√pal	√palkrae	√paldae	√palwdae	√palpkrae	√palipkrae	√palpdae	√paliwdae
	pal√akrae	pal√adae	pal√awdae	pal√apkrae	pal√aipkrae	pal√apdae	pal√aiwdae

Table. 4.8: Verbal paradigm - mutual knowledge

Syntactically, moods can be divided into two major types, medial and final according to their basic syntactic behaviour. Final moods are used to mark the main predicate of a simple sentence or the final clause in a clause chain, while a verb with a medial mood can only form a medial clause in a clause chain.

Demonstrative forms of verbs can be used as predicates of both medial and final clauses, indicative, emotive, interrogative and imperative are final moods, and all other moods are medial.

4.1.5.1   Infinitive

The infinitive is the bare root form of a verb which is used as a non-final component of serial verbs (Chapter 6). The vowel *i* is added, if a mono-consonantal root is uttered in isolation and the vowel *e* can be optionally added after a rising-tone verb which has a root-final consonant.

(29) a. ⌐*s*   ∼⌐*si*
              hit.INF   hit.INF

  b. ⌐*de*
              burn(intr.).INF

  c. √*ke*
              boil/build.INF

  d. √*pai*
              lie.INF

(30) a. Λ*mol*
              stay.INF

  b. Λ*kor*
              discard.INF

  c. √*kan*   ∼√*kane*
              see.INF   see.INF

  d. √*sikl*   ∼√*sikle*
              cut.off.INF   cut.off.INF

No elements can be cliticised except for the negative +√*kl*.

4.1.5.2   Imminent

The imminent mood suffix *-nal* consists of the same phoneme string as the suffix complex *-na-l* for future first person singular in the emotive mood, even showing the same allomorphy *-nal*∼*-ral*∼*-al* conditioned by the type of the verbal root. At first glance it also has similar semantics, yet the morpheme marking the imminent mood has to be set up as a different mood, since it is used in distinct syntactic contexts and verbs in this mood have no morphological possibility of inflecting for different person-number. The following examples illustrate the difference.

(31) a. *war-√al*   Λ*u-ke*
              move.around-IMM   come-1SG.IND
              'I came to hang around'
  b. *war-√al*   Λ*u-pke*
              move.around-IMM   come-1DL.IND
              'We two came to hang around'

(32) a. *war-Ɣa-l*   *Γd Λu-ke*
          move.around-FUT-1SG   Q   come-1SG.IND
          'I came to hang around'
      b. *war-Ɣa-pl*   *Γd Λu-pke*
          move.around-FUT-1DL   Q   come-1DL.IND
          'We two came to hang around'

Verbs in the imminent mood are used in the following three constructions.

(33) a. V-*nal el-* (inceptive)
              'be about to V'
      b. V-*nal p-/u-* (purposive)
              'go/come to V'
      c. V$_i$-*nal* V$_i$- (assumed)
              'must have V-en'

Verbs in the imminent mood are used in the first part of the assumed evidential (epistemic modality of necessity) construction, V$_i$-*nal* V$_i$-.

(34) a. *Λyal Λmapn Λwon Λtenan Λtenan=Γd Γila   Γi   mol-Ɣal   Λmol-im=Λba*
          man   aged   truly one   one=ADV   inside DEM stay-IMM stay-2/3PL=but
          Λkore
          but
          'There must remain very few very old men (who know the white magic) alive in this region but ...'
      b. *ΛNup ΛDomnik Γila   Λi   pa-Ɣral   Ɣpa-m+(Λ)io*
          PRN   inside DEM lie-IMM   lie-3SG+EXPL
          'Nup Domnik must be hiding near here in the bush.'

4.1.5.3   Imperative

There are two imperative suffixes as shown in table 4.9. The main difference between the

singular	*-o*	*-a*
dual	*-l-o*	*-l-a*
plural	*-i-o/-ni-o*	*-i-a/-ni-a*

Table. 4.9: Imperative suffixes with number markers

o-series and the *a*-series of imperative mood suffixes seems to lie in the degree of abruptness. *-a* series may convey a meaning of abruptness whereas *-o* series does not. Another difference is that *-a* imperative is found much less frequently in quoted clauses.

Imperative suffixes distinguish between singular, dual, and plural number, displaying the three-way distinction characteristic of the cross-reference markers on verbs. Morphemes ∅ for singular, *-l* for dual, *-i/ni* for plural can be extracted from these imperative suffixes,

which do not appear to correlate with any person-number morphemes found in other systems of Dom, and are only used with the imperative suffixes *-o* and *-a*.

	SG	DL	PL
⌐*ne* 'eat' (High)	Λ*no*	⌐*nello*	⌐*neyo*/⌐*nenio*
Λ*kor* 'do away' (Falling-r)	Λ*koro*	Λ*korlo*	Λ*korio*
Λ*mol* 'stay' (Falling-l)	⌐*molo*	⌐*mollo*	⌐*molio*
√*kan* 'see' (Rising)	√*kano*	√*kanlo*	√*kanio*

Table. 4.10: Imperative suffixes and tone alternation

The basic four conjugational classes behave differently also in the imperative paradigm, as can be seen in Table 4.10.

Additional H or HL pitch contour can be heard as imperative intonation, which may possibly encode politeness.

The dual has a geminate form *-ll* when the verb root ends with a vowel, as can be seen in the example of dual imperative of ⌐*ne* 'eat' in table 4.10. Plural *-i* becomes *-y* between vowels, following the resyllabification rule. Another allomorphism between plural-marking *-i* and *-ni* appears to be in free variation, but *-ni* tends to be used for verbs whose root-final sound is a vowel, probably to avoid homophony of plural *-y* with singular *-y*.

The allomorph *-y* is used to mark the singular, if the verb root has a rising tone and ends with a vowel, yielding the same form for singular and plural as in (35a), but speakers from the old generation also allow regular *-∅* for the singular, as in (35b).

(35)   a. √*au-y-o*   'You(SG/PL) hold!'
            hold-SG/PL-IMP

       b. √*aw-∅-o*   'You(SG) hold!'
            hold-SG-IMP

There are two clitics =Λ*ka* and =Λ*wa* (§3.8.7) marking abruptness of the imperative.

4.1.5.4   Same-subject conjunctive *-re*

The same-subject conjunctive has allomorphs *-re~-e*. Verb stems with a high tone and verb stems which end with a vowel take the form *-re* as in (36) while other verb stems take the form *-e*, as in (37).

(36)   a. ⌐*s-re*
            hit-CONJ(SS)

       b. ⌐*de-re*
            burn(intr.)-CONJ(SS)

       c. √*ke-re*
            boil/build-CONJ(SS)

       d. √*pai-re*
            lie-CONJ(SS)

(37) a. ∧*mol-e*
　　　stay-CONJ(SS)

　　b. ∧*kor-e*
　　　discard-CONJ(SS)

　　c. ∨*kan-e*
　　　see-CONJ(SS)

　　d. ∨*sikl-e*
　　　cut.off-CONJ(SS)

In summary:

(38) r → ∅ / [+cons, verb stem final, non-high tone] - ____

Because the word final *e* can be deleted, the forms which take *-e* can be realised in the same form as the bare root forms.

There are archaic variants *-rre* and *-rere*. These variants, in turn, conform to the above rule, having allomorphs *-re* and *-ere*, respectively.

Verbs with the negative morpheme can appear in this mood.

(39) a. ⌐*ta*　∨*kan+(∨)kl-e*
　　　NEG　see+NEG-CONJ(SS)
　　　'does not see and ...'

　　b. ⌐*ta*　⌐*mo+∨kl-e*
　　　NEG　stay+NEG-CONJ(SS)
　　　'does not stay and'

Person-number and tense are not distinguished for verbs in the same-subject conjunctive mood.

Same-subject conjunctive can be used in the following constructions.

(40) a. VP_1-*re* VP_2 (conjunction)
　　　'VP_1 and VP_2'
　　b. VP_1-*re* VP_2-*re* ∧*el-* (co-ordination strategy)
　　　'VP_1 and VP_2'
　　c. VP_i-*re* VP_i-*re* VP_j (simultaneous)
　　　'VP_j while VP_i-ing'

(41) ∧*gris*　∧*er-e*　　　∧*mri* ∧*er-e*　　　∧*el-m+*⌐*ia*
　　grease　to/off-CONJ(SS)　salt　to/off-CONJ(SS)　make-3SG+and
　　'She put grease and put salt (on the mushrooms).'

Verbs in the same-subject conjunctive *-re* can be followed by the clitic *=∨pare* 'after that' and phrase final *=∧we* but not by other clitics.

4.1.5.5　Different-subject conjunctive *-ko*

The same-subject conjunctive has free variants, *-ko*, *-ke* and *-kro*, of which *-ko* is the most common form. Verbs in this mood distinguish person and number of the subject and polarity, but not tense.

The different-subject conjunctive mood with third person singular is underlyingly marked by -*gwo*, but this morpheme string has various manifestations. The form -*go* is often used due to the optional phonological rule of *w*-deletion (§2.2.5.2); it has extra allomorphs -*nan*~-*ran*~-*an*.

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1DL	2DL/3DL	1PL	2PL/3PL
Γte	Λteko	Λtego	Λtogwo / Λtenan	Λtopko	Λteipko	Λtopgo	Λteigwo
Λer	Λerko	Λergo	Λergwo / Λeran	Λerpko	Λeripko	Λerpgo	Λerigwo
Λmol	Λmoko	Λmogo	Λmolgwo / molVan	Vmopko	Vmeipko	Vmopgo	Λmoligwo
Vkan	Vkarko	Vkango	Vkangwo / kanVan	Vkarpko	Vkaripko	Vkarpgo	Vkanigwo

Table. 4.11: Verbal paradigm - different-subject conjunctive

Some people optionally make the distinction between the allomorphs -*gwo/-go* and -*nan* to mark the realis and irrealis. In the example (42), -*an* is used for the irrealis listing (42b) and -*go* is used for realis listing (42c).

(42) a. *Γna   Γp   Λpektri Λkonan Λel   Λmo-ka*
          1EXC   go.INF   factory work   make.INF   stay-1SG.SRD

          Λpektri Λkonan Λe-k+Γi
          factory   work   make-1SG.DEM

          'I went and was working at a factory: my working at the factory was like,'

   b. *Γblek Λmasta Λyal Γta   **mol-Van**   Λpektri Λbos Γi   Λyal*
       native.boss   man   another   stay-3SG.CONJ(DS)   factory boss DEM   man

       *Γta   **mol-Van**   el-Va-gwi=(Γ)rae*
       another   stay-3SG.CONJ(DS)   make-FUT-3SG.DEM=MUT

       Γna   Λkonan Vdu   Γd   el-Va-l=(Λ)ba
       1EXC   work   straight (say).INF make-FUT-1SG=but

       'I would work properly, if the black master was someone else and the boss was someone else,'

   c. *Γblek Λmasta ΓDua Λ**mol-go**   ΓSl   Λpektri Λbos Λ**mol-go***
       native.boss   PRN   stay-3SG.CONJ(DS)   PRN   factory boss stay-3SG.CONJ(DS)

       Λel-gwa
       make-3SG.SRD

       'but the black master was Dua and the boss of the factory was Sl (who are both my relatives)'

   d. *Γna   Λkonan Λe-ki*
       1EXC   work   make-1SG.DEM

       Γna   Λmoni   Λi   Λkatm Γta   Γs+(V)kl-a-wda=(Λ)wa   Γd
       1EXC   money   DEM   cut   NEG   hit+NEG-FUT-3SG.MUT=ENC.WA   Q

       Γna   Λkonan Γta   Γe+Vk-ike
       1EXC   work   NEG   make+NEG-1SG.IND

       'so my working was that I did not work, thinking that they would not cut the pay.'

This distinction between the realis and irrealis is not made in other person-number forms, as in the following.

(43) a. *√bergwa*   *∧yu-na-gw+Γi*   *Γi*   *∧nol*   **∧er-ko**
        1.kina.coin   fetch-FUT-3SG.DEM   take.INF   visible.side   to/off-1SG.CONJ(DS)

        ∧ples ∧klia   *√kan-go*   *∧wai*   *∧s-na-gwo*   *√bol=(Γ)la=Γra=(∧)we*
        in.plain.view   see-2SG.CONJ(DS)   end   (hit)-FUT-3SG.SRD   bed=LOC=MUT=ENC.WE

        'After I put some money which they should have brought here into plain view and you will see, then, on this basis, '

   b. *∧u-pka*   *∧Dama √kepa*   *wou-√ral*   *∧o-go*
        come-1DL.SRD   PRN   sweet.potato   dig-IMM   go-3SG.CONJ(DS)

        Γna   *√kola √mn*   *√yu-ko*   *∧el-gw*
        1EXC   fig   shoot   harvest-1SG.CONJ(DS)   make-3SG.IND

        'We two came and then, Dama went to dig sweet potatoes and I picked off new shoots of *kola* tree.'

The first person subject of an irrealis listing in the example (43a) and that of a realis listing in the example (43b) are identically marked with *-ko*.

In many instances, an allomorph *-nan* acts as a free variant of *-gwo* when used in listing constructions, but it becomes an obligatory form, when functioning as conditional.

The distinction between the realis and irrealis is expressed by tense for other moods.

When used to describe counter-factual concomitant circumstance, this conjunctive seems to be capable of preceding a clause with the same subject, as in the following example.

(44) *Γna*   *[√ik-na*   *∧bo-ko]*   *∧mena*   *√kuna*   *Γi*   *pai-√ra-l-o?*
      1EXC   hair-1SG.POSS   be.hit-1SG.CONJ(DS)   outside   around   DEM   lie-FUT-1SG-PQM

      'Will I sleep outside, having feather with me?'

However, the following use is more common.

(45) *Γna*   *Γka √kopa*   **∧mo-ko**   *[√ik-na*   *∧bol-an]*   *∧mena*
      1EXC   bird   stay-1SG.CONJ(DS)   hair-1SG.POSS   be.hit-CONJ(DS)   outside

      √kuna   *Γi*   *pai-√ra-l-o?*
      around   DEM   lie-FUT-1SG-PQM

      'Will I sleep outside, having feather with me as if I were a bird?'

The differences between (44) and (45) are in the subject cross-reference on *√ikna ∧bol-* and in the additional word *∧moko* in (45).

Different-subject conjunctive can be used in the following constructions.

(46) a. VP$_1$-*ko* VP$_2$ (conjunction)
        'VP$_1$ and VP$_2$'
   b. VP$_1$-*ko* VP$_2$-*ko* *∧el-* (co-ordination strategy)
        'VP$_1$ and VP$_2$'
   c. VP$_i$-*ko* VP$_i$-*ko* VP$_j$ (simultaneous)
        'VP$_j$ while VP$_i$-ing'
   d. VP$_1$-*ko* VP$_2$ (conditional, with future tense on both clauses if applicable)
        'If/When VP$_1$, VP$_2$'

Verbs in the different-subject conjunctive mood can be followed by the clitic =√*kene* 'after that' and phrase final =Λ*we* but not by other clitics.

4.1.5.6   Permissive *-a*

Verbs in the permissive mood are usually used in medial clauses in imperative or interrogative sentences. A restricted range of verbs can be used as the matrix verb.

Permissive clauses with second person subject future tense is used as a purposive clause which is subordinate to a clause with verbs of coming and going in the imperative mood as in the following example.

(47) a. ⌐*en   [Λne-na-n-a]   Λp-o*
          you   eat-FUT-2SG-PERM   go-2SG.IMP

      'You go to eat!'

      b. *[⌐ere √na-pn-a]   Λu-o*
          to   go.FUT-1PL-PERM   come-2SG.IMP

      'You come so that we all go!'

The events denoted by verbs in the permissive followed by Λ*koro* are often what the speaker would have liked to avoid, but could not, as in the following:

(48) a. *kel-√a-m-a   Λkor-o*
          count-FUT-3SG-PERM   discard-2SG.IMP

      'He will count, leave him (though we are not happy with his counting).'

      b. *'aya! ⌐na   √nen   ⌐wi-na   Λbol-m-a   Λkor-o'*
          oh   1EXC   oneself   husband-1SG.POSS   be.hit-3SG-PERM   discard-2SG.IMP

      ⌐d √kukl   Λkai Λel-m   Λdu-gwe.
      Q   hug.CONJ(SS)   cry   make-3SG   say-3SG.IND

      'Saying, "Oh no, my husband was injured", she held him and cried, it is said.'

Sometimes verbs in the permissive form are used with imperative verbs other than the verbs of coming/going and Λ*kor*. In the following example, Λ*sul* ⌐*molo* 'wait' is used in the matrix clause.

(49) *[⌐na   √kepa   √bik   ⌐s   Λkor-ko   ⌐en   Λnl*
      1EXC   sweet.potato   wash   (hit).INF   COMPL-1SG.CONJ(DS)   you   water

      *pai-√na-n-a]   Λ**sul** ⌐**mol-o***
      (lie)-FUT-2SG-PERM   wait   stay-2SG.IMP

      'You may wash yourself after I finish washing sweet potatoes, wait.'

Permissive verbs can be followed by perception verbs in the interrogative mood with second person cross-reference, √*kanno?* 'do you see?' (50a) or Λ*pno?* 'do you hear?' (50b), marking a tag question.

(50) a. *Λelma Λyal √ike   √ama √Apa (√)ke   √pa-m-a   √kan-n-o?*
          now   man   house   too   PRN   build.INF   lie-3SG-PERM   see-2SG-PQM

      'Now, Apa lived in the men's house, too, right?'

b. *√barsu ⌐u   Λogwa   ⌐ka   Λdi-ya   Λp-n-o?*
   airplain come.INF go.3SG.SRD word say-1SG.PERM perceive-2SG-PQM

'I am talking about airplanes passing over us, OK?'

Verbs in the permissive mood can be followed by demonstratives. In the following example, there are two sentences, both consisting of a permissive clause with a tag question. The second sentence has a demonstrative Λ*ile* between the verb in the permissive (Λ*molma*) and the tag question.

(51) Λ*Nup* Λ*Gla* Λ*Kama* ⌐*ta* Λ*u-gwa*   Λ*Kolwa* Λ*Kui* Λ*mol-m-a*   *√kan-n-o?*
     PRN   a   come-3SG.SRD PLN   stay-3SG-PERM see-2SG-PQM

Λ*mo-gi*   *√tau* Λ*Bual* ⌐*Maul* Λ*mol-m-a*   Λ***il*** *√kan-n-o?*
stay-2SG.DEM some   PLN   stay-3SG-PERM there see-2SG-PQM

'The sub-clan Nup Gla Kama came and they live at Kolwa Kui, right? Among you here, some live at Bual Maul there, right?'

Counterfactual assertions can be made in the permissive mood with future tense, which is followed by a clause stating the circumstance that makes the event impossible.

(52) a. *ne-√ra-pn-a*   Λ*nl*   ⌐*ta* ⌐*mo+√kl-gwe*
        eat-FUT-1PL-PERM water a   stay+NEG-3SG.IND

'We would drink, but there is no water.'

b. Λ*kura*   Λ*kui*   *bol-√a-pn-a*   ⌐*ne* Λ*su-gwa*   *√kal*   Λ*i*
   fight   again   be.hit-FUT-1PL-PERM hit   hit-3SG.SRD   thing   DEM

Λ*s-na-m+⌐ia*   ⌐*d* Λ*kura* ⌐*ta* ⌐*bo+√k-pge.*
hit-FUT-3SG+EXPL Q   fight   NEG   be.hit+NEG-1PL.IND

'We would fight again, but afraid that the enemy would hit us as they did before, we did not fight.'

4.1.5.7 Indicative *-ke*

The indicative suffix *-ke* serves as the most neutral marker of the declarative mood in contrast with the emotive (§4.1.5.9), or the explicative (§3.8.11) cliticised by =Λ*ua*, +⌐*ia*, and +⌐*io*. The indicative *-ke* cannot be followed by any suffixes or clitics. As a rule, a verb in the indicative mood signals that the sentence is completed and stops at that point, since an indicative predicate may form only a final clause and final clauses with verbs in this mood are rarely quoted.

4.1.5.8 Subordinative *-ka*

The subordinative suffix *-ka* has a wide range of uses and generally it seems to signal the fact that the predicate it is attached to is not the final element of the sentence. Clauses with a subordinative mood predicate are either nominalised or subordinate.

Verbs in the subordinative mood can be followed by a clitic such as =Λ*we* marking the phrase final position, the adversative =Λ*ba*, the locative =⌐*la*, the manner =⌐*mere*, and the mutual knowledge =⌐*rae.*

Three forms related to the subordinative are *-kal*, *-ki* and *-krae* which are contracted forms of the subordinative suffix followed by the locativiser =⌐*la*, the demonstrative ∧*i*~⌐*i* and the mutual knowledge =⌐*rae*, respectively.

The tone of contracted forms is unstable.

4.1.5.9   Emotive mood

The emotive mood suffix *-∅/-e* expresses exclamation when used in a non-quoted clause as in the following examples.

(53) a. √*kamn* ∧*su-m-e*   'It rains!'
        rain   hit-3SG-E

    b. √*ike*   ∧*wai* √*ke-n-e*   'You built a good house!'
        house   good   build-2SG-E

The example (53a) does not purport to inform someone or to assert the fact that it rains, but it expresses the emotion of the speaker who is somehow moved by this fact. Also, when the sentence in the example (53b) is uttered, the speaker should be aware of the fact that this proposition is not a universal truth but their own subjective judgement and that their utterance may be denied by someone else, which is likely to happen if the builder in (53b) is humble enough.

This emotive mood suffix (*-∅/-e*) marks the mood which is often used for verbs in reported thought, as in the following.

(54) a. ⌐*na*   ∧*yer*   ∧*kor-i=*⌐*d*   ∧*pl-e*
        1EXC remove.INF discard-1.SG.EMO=Q perceive-CONJ(SS)

      'I thought, "I removed completely [the arrow]" and ...'
    b. √*kar-pki*   ∧*yu* ⌐*er* ∧*mena* ∧*u-m=*⌐*d*   √*kar-pki*   ∧*kore*
        see-1DL.DEM just to   outside come-3SG.EMO=Q see-1DL.DEM but

      'When we two saw [it], we thought, "He came out without anything," but'

When a verb in the emotive mood is used in reported speech (with the quoting verb ⌐*d*- 'say'), the verb almost always inflects for the third person singular indicative without an overt subject as in the following examples.

(55) a. ∧***u-m***   ∧*du-gwe*
        come-3SG.EMO   say-3SG.IND

      'It is said that he came.'
    b. ∧*kuria* ⌐*ta* ∧*d-ipki*   √*el*   ∧***d-ipl***   ∧*du-gwe*
        song   a   say-2/3DL.DEM like.this say-2/3DL.EMO say-3SG.IND

      'It is said that the song those two sang is like this.'

This construction is considered to mark hearsay evidentials.

The emotive suffix seems to mark the clause that contains a proposition which is not everyone's truth but the source speaker's subjective view.

Clauses with a verb in the emotive are made subordinate when followed by the adversative clitic =∧*ba*.

(56) *[⌐na   ⌐s-re   '⌐er ∧p-o'   ∧du-m=∧ba]*
　　　1EXC hit-CONJ(SS) to   go-2SG.IMP say-3SG.EMO=but

　　　⌐na   √ama ⌐ta   ⌐p+(V)k-ike.
　　　1EXC too   NEG go-1SG.IND

　　　'He hit me and said "You go!" but still, I did not leave.'

Sentences with a verb in the emotive, with the future tense followed by the clitic *=∧ba* 'but', which obviously result from ellipsis of the following main clause, are used as optative constructions, as in the following.

(57) *√gal   ∧i=⌐rae   '√kamn ta-√na-m=(∧)ba,   ta-√na-m=(∧)ba'   ⌐d*
　　　child DEM=MUT world dawn-FUT-3SG.EMO=but dawn-FUT-3SG.EMO=but Q

　　　√ka   ∧mol-gwa   ⌐ul   ⌐ta   √pai+(V)ku-gwe.
　　　see.INF stay-3SG.SRD sleep NEG lie+NEG-3SG.IND

　　　'Saying 'May it dawn! May it dawn!', this boy was waiting and he did not sleep.'

The particle *∧kore* never follows the optative construction while it can follow the same form when used for forming an adversative subordinate clause.

　　　When a verb in the emotive mood is followed by such clitics as *=∧ua, +⌐ia, +⌐io, =∧mo* and *=∧ba*, the suffix serves only for forming the host form for clitics and does not function as the emotive mood marker. Therefore, the emotive suffix is not glossed as EMO, when followed by these clitics.

4.1.5.10   Interrogative

　　　Dom distinguishes two types of questions, polar and non-polar (§5.7.1) and different morphemes are used to mark a question. The suffix *-o* is used for polar questions. It differs from the homophonous suffix *-o* which encodes the imperative in the number-suffix set it selects, as illustrated below.

(58) a. *∧mo-n-o   √mo-ipl-o   ∧mol-im-o*
　　　　　stay-2SG-PQM stay-2/3DL-PQM stay-2/3PL-PQM

　　　　　'Do you(SG.) stay?' 'Do you two stay?' 'Do you(PL.) stay?'

　　　b. *⌐mol-∅-o   ⌐mol-l-o   ⌐mol-i-o*
　　　　　stay-SG-IMP stay-DL-IMP stay-PL-IMP

　　　　　'You(SG.) stay!' 'You two stay!' 'You(PL.) stay!'

A non-polar interrogative is marked by the suffix *-e*, which conjugates in exactly the same way as the emotive mood suffix.

　　　Another suffix *-kri* can be used for marking the non-polar interrogative mood. This suffix can be followed by *=∧yo*, in which case the clause forms a polar interrogative sentence.

4.1.6   Derivation

　　　There appear to be only a few derivational processes applied to verbs which change their word class affiliation into noun.

　　　Nominalisation is usually marked by the subordinative mood suffix with the third person singular subject marker.

(59) a. *∧do-gwa*   'fire',
         burn(intr.)-3SG.SRD

   b. *√dr-gwa*   'yellow'
         yellow-3SG.SRD

(60) a. *√ber-gwa*   'that which has a hole, one Kina coin'
         hole-3SG.SRD

   b. *∧kap   ∧sin   ∧mol-gwa*   'that which has a cuscus on it, ten toea coin'
         animal   cuscus   stay-3SG.SRD

   c. *⌈epi   ∧mol-gwa*   'that which has a cassowary on it, twenty toea coin'
         cassowary   stay-3SG.SRD

   d. *∧bal-gwa*   'that which is whittled, (heptagonal) fifty toea coin'
         chop-3SG.SRD

(61) a. *√gane √pai+(√)klgwa* 'gane paiklgwa banana', *√diun ∧ugwa* 'Diun Ugwa beans',
   b. *√ble √pagwa* (woman's name), *∧bol √yogwa* 'Bol Yogwa subclan'
   c. *∧nl √mogwa* (place name),

A few nominals apparently contain the *-gwa* ending, but the corresponding verb roots have not been identified.

(62) a. *⌈ne   √gur-gwa*   'Adam's apple',
         eat.INF   ??-3SG.SRD

   b. *√a   √yal-gwa*   (place name)
         ??   ??-3SG.SRD

The examples above consist of proper nouns and words with very specific meanings.

Sometimes it is hard to distinguish this nominalisation as derivation from the syntactic process where the subordinative mood is used to nominalise a clause. However, the examples above cannot inflect for person-number, tense, or mood in usual cases.

There are few cases of spontaneous utterances and some elicited ones, which show that the examples above can appear in demonstrative or mutual knowledge form instead of subordinative.

(63) a. *√gan   √pai+(√)k-gwi   √ya-pga*
         banana.flower   lie+NEG-3SG.DEM   plant-1PL.SRD

      'When we plant this *gan paikgwa* banana, ' (spontaneous)
   b. *∧Nl √Mowdae*
      PLN

      'That Nl Mogwa we know' (elicited)

The demonstrative form of verbs *-ki* and the mutual knowledge form of verbs *-krae* are contracted forms of subordinative plus the demonstrative *∧i* and the mutual knowledge marker *=⌈rae* respectively. Speakers found it difficult to inflect these forms when they recognise them as distinct moods, while the possibility of treating two forms as equivalents of original forms is not excluded absolutely.

Two verbs *√ta-* 'dawn' and *√gr-* 'night' in the different-subject conjunctive mood with irregular forms for third person singular irrealis, that is, *ta√nan* 'if it dawns' and *gr√an* 'if it is

night' respectively, change their forms into the following.

(64)   a. √*tanan* 'day'
      b. √*gran* 'yesterday, night'

These two forms are used as time nouns.

4.2   Morphology of nouns

4.2.1   Possessive suffixes

The system of possessive suffixes is shown in Table 4.12.

	1	2	3
singular	-na	-n	-m
non-singular		-ne	

Table. 4.12: Possessive suffixes

Possessive suffixes indicate person and number of the possessor and are obligatory for the inalienably possessed nouns (§3.2.1). 'Non-singular' number here means two or more people, where the system lacks the dual, while plural in the person-number marking system of verbs means three or more people in the system containing the dual. Also, this system does not make a distinction between the inclusive and the exclusive, whereas the person-number system of pronouns distinguishes the two.

Alienable nouns can optionally, but rather rarely, take possessive suffixes, in which case the suffixes appear to show closeness of possession.

(65)   a. ⌐en Λ*bola-n*   'your pig'
         you   pig-2SG.POSS

     b. ⌐*na*   Λ*pren-na*   'my friend'
         1EXC   friend-1SG.POSS

     c. ⌐*na*   ⌐*ka-na*   'my words'
         1EXC   word-1SG.POSS

Possessive suffixes in the above examples are all optional, and ⌐*en* Λ*bola* instead of (65a) is grammatical and more common. Dom tends not to use these suffixes for alienable nouns whereas other Simbu languages do (ex. Chuave and Kuman). In particular, younger Dom speakers do not use possessive forms of alienable nouns.

Inalienably possessed nouns must be in possessive forms. Here are examples of roots which take the unmarked forms of possessive suffixes.

(66)   a. ⌐*wa-na*   ⌐*wa-n*   ⌐*wa-m*   ⌐*wa-ne*
         son-1SG.POSS   son-2SG.POSS   son-3SG.POSS   son-NSG.POSS

     b. √*kop-na*   √*kop-n*   √*kop-m*   √*kop-ne*
         nephew-1SG.POSS   nephew-2SG.POSS   nephew-3SG.POSS   nephew-NSG.POSS

The roots ⌐*wa-* and √*kop-* in the above examples are bound forms and cannot be used without a possessive suffix. Roots which take the unmarked set of possessive suffixes include the following: ⌐*yap-* 'flank of the belly', Λ*wou-* 'wife's mother', ⌐*wa-* 'son', √*kop-* 'sister's child', √*kia-* 'husband's another wife', ⌐*kep-* 'younger siblings', ⌐*ap-* 'elder siblings', √*gau-* 'grandchild', Λ*de-* 'intestine', ⌐*mn-* 'husband's sister/(ego: female) brother's wife' Λ*yau-=*⌐*bia* 'husband's father', √*ai-=*⌐*bia* 'husband's mother'.

Table 4.12 shows the most common, unmarked, variants of possessive suffixes. The possessive suffixes taken on by alienable nouns are always the unmarked ones. Possessive suffixes for the first person singular and third person singular attached to inalienably possessed nouns have the following variants.

(67) a. -{-*na*} (first person singular): -*na*, -*a*, -*e*
      b. -{-*m*} (third person singular): -*m*, -*i*, -*e*, -∅

Inalienably possessed roots that are suffixed by -*a* and -*e* for the first person singular always select -*e* and -*m* as the third person singular, respectively. The following examples illustrate this regularity.

(68) a. √*al-a*   √*al-e*
         brother-1SG.POSS   brother-3SG.POSS

         Λ*apl-a*   Λ*apl-e*
         daughter-1SG.POSS daughter-3SG.POSS

      b. √*ay-e*   √*ai-m*
         grandmother-1SG.POSS   grandmother-3SG.POSS

         Λ*yaw-e*   Λ*yau-m*
         grandfather-1SG.POSS   grandfather-3SG.POSS

The roots which show the same inflectional pattern as the examples in (68a) end with *l*, and six roots belonging to this class have been found: √*al-* 'brother', Λ*apl-* 'daughter', √*aupal-* 'sister', √*kel-* 'brother.in.law', √*yol-* 'cousin (excluding sons of the brother of the father)', √*kol-* 'daughter.in.law'.

The roots which have the same inflectional pattern as the examples in (68b) end in a high vowel and, as a result of resyllabification, the vowel becomes the onset of the following syllable when it is surrounded by other vowels. Five roots have been found to belong to this class: √*ai-* 'grandmother', √*di-* 'namesake, aunt on father's side', √*moi-* 'uncle on mother's side', Λ*yau-* 'grandfather', Λ*imau-* 'wife's father/daughter's husband'.

There are two roots which have irregular forms in the first person singular. A suppletive root √*ape* is used for 'my father' and in √*m-na* 'my mother' the vowel *a* in the root irregularly disappears, as in the following.

(69) a. √*ape*   √*ne-m*
         father.1SG.POSS   father-3SG.POSS

      b. √*m-na*   √*ma-m*
         mother-1SG.POSS   mother-3SG.POSS

The possessive suffix for the first person singular is -*na* except for (68) and (69), but the variants -*i* ∼ -∅ ∼ -*e* are found in the third person singular form of the possessive suffix as in the examples below.

(70) a. √*ep-na*   √*ep-i*
          wife-1SG.POSS   wife-3SG.POSS

          ʌ*gar-na*   ʌ*gar-i*
          body-1SG.POSS   body-3SG.POSS

     b. ⌜*bn-na*   ⌜*bn*
          thigh-1SG.POSS   thigh.2/3SG.POSS

          √*dan-na*   √*dan*
          belly-1SG.POSS   belly.2/3SG.POSS

     c. ʌ*gla-na*   ʌ*gla*
          mouth-1SG.POSS   mouth.3SG.POSS

          √*o-na*   √*o*
          hand-1SG.POSS   hand.3SG.POSS

     d. √*oml-na*   √*oml-e*
          eye-1SG.POSS   eye-3SG.POSS

          √*glaip-na*   √*glaip-e*
          tongue-1SG.POSS   tongue-3SG.POSS

Examples in (70a) select *-i* as the third person singular possessive suffix. Six roots belong to this class: √*ep-* 'wife', ʌ*gar-* 'body', √*mr-* 'liver/lung', ʌ*ml-* 'worrying about someone', √*kopl-* 'navel', √*sik-* 'teeth'.

Roots which end with *n* take a zero suffix in the third person singular form. The second person singular possessive suffix *-n* drops after inalienably possessed roots which end in *n*, probably to avoid a geminate consonant in the word-final position.[*1] Consequently, the inalienably possessed nouns with *n* in root-final position have the same form for the second and third person singular possessor, which is identical to the bare root form, as illustrated in (70b). Five roots show this pattern in terms of possessive forms: ⌜*bn-* 'thigh', √*bon-* 'shin', √*dan-* 'belly', ⌜*din-* 'chest', ʌ*on-* 'waist'. This class can be a sub-class of the class discussed below if we assume a conflation rule which changes the doble *n* into a single *n* as in the following.

(71) nn → n / ____ .(obligatory)

If their conditions were identical, a further generalisation would be possible to make the above rule for double *n* conflation and the rule (10) for double *l* conflation into one rule with a coronal sonorant as its target. However, the *n*-conflation rule is applied only to the inalienably possessed roots given above.

Examples of inalienably possessed noun roots in (70c) also take -∅ as the third person singular form of the possessive suffix, but they are different from the above examples with repect to whether the root-final segment is a consonant or a vowel, and with respect to the allomorphs of the second person singular suffix. The roots given below use the more common *-n* as the second person singular form. Nine roots belong to this class: ʌ*gla-* 'mouth', ʌ*guma-* 'nose', ʌ*kipa-* 'shoulder', ʌ*pauna-* 'chin', ⌜*kna-* 'ear', ⌜*no-* 'neck', √*o-* 'hand', √*mu-* 'back', ⌜*wi-* 'husband'.

[*1] This morphophonological rule does not seem to exist in the dialect of ⌜*kiwa=ku* tribe, where the forms such as √*dan-n* (belly-2SG.POSS) 'your belly' is resyllabified as √*da.nn* [da˩n'ⁿ̩˩].

	1SG	3SG	
na/m class	*-na*	*-m*	(66)
a/e class	*-a*	*-e*	(68a)
e/m class	*-e*	*-m*	(68b)
na/i class	*-na*	*-i*	(70a)
na/∅ class	*-na*	∅	(70b,c)
na/e class	*-na*	*-e*	(70d)

Table. 4.13: Inflectional classes for inalienably possessed nouns

(70d) shows examples of the possessive suffix *-e* as the third person singular form. Eight roots have been found to fall into this class; Two of them have *p* in the root-final position and six of them have *l* in the root-final position: √*glaip-* 'tongue', √*sup-* 'female genital', √*mapl-* 'forehead', √*oml-* 'eye', ⌐*kal-* 'leg', √*dal-* 'rib', ⌐*ail-* 'above.collar.bone', √*bl-* 'head'.

In summary, there are six major inflectional classes for inalienably possessed nouns, as given in the table 4.13. The *a/e* class and the *e/m* class include only kin terms. The *na/e* class and the subclass of *na/∅*, illustrated in (70b), include only body parts.

4.2.2   Derivational morphology

Dom has no productive derivational morphology applied to nominals. There are two unproductive derivational suffixes: *-ml* and *-ma(n)*. The suffix *-ml* is used to derive some locative nouns and a few nouns referring to groups of people are suffixed by *-ma(n)* as in the following.

(72)   a.   Λ*gla-ml*   'entrance', Λ*bna-ml*   'border'
           mouth-ML   border-ML

       b.   √*gal-ma*   'boys', Λ*yopal-ma*   'people'
           child--MA(N)   person--MA(N)

Some words similar in their forms and semantics might give us a hint of old derivational relationship as in the following.

(73)   a.   Λ*nl* 'water', ⌐*nle* 'liquid', ⌐*nule* 'river'
       b.   ⌐*kla* 'to grate' ⌐*kula* 'to mash'
       c.   ⌐*ere* 'tree, fire', √*eri* 'stem'
       d.   √*mle* 'small round thing like grain', √*omle* 'eye', √*gumle* 'small protuberance like nipple'

4.3   Compounding and wordhood in Dom

Most types of morphologically complex words in Dom have been included up to here. There are only two minor types left to discuss.

Firstly, spatial demonstratives consist of two bound forms as discussed in §9.1

Secondly, a few combinations of words in Dom have contracted forms in which the elements are fused into one as in the following.

(74) a. *ˇnal ˇkal* 'what'
          what thing

       b. *ˇna-kal* 'what'
          what-thing

(75) a. *ʌmol-gwa=ˉla* 'where he stays'
          stay-3SG.SRD=LOC

       b. *ʌmol-gwa-l* 'where he stays'
          stay-3SG.SRD-LOC

In general, the contracted forms have the same range of usage as the full forms, but are different in their segmental shapes and in the tonal domain. Dom seems to have only this type of compounds and the number of contracted items is not large. Contracted items which have been found include:

(76) a. *ˇna-kal* ∼ *ˇnal ˇkal* (what thing)
       b. *ˇnal-m* ∼ *ˇna-m* ∼ *ˇnal=(ˉ)mere* (what like)
       c. *-kal* ∼ *-ka=ˉla* (SRD=LOC)
       d. *-ki* ∼ *-ka ʌi* (SRD DEM)
       e. *-krae* ∼ *-ka=ˉrae* (SRD MUT)

There are a number of idiomatic combinations of roots in Dom, but for several reasons none of them seem to be examples of genuine compounds.

First, the components of complex lexical items can be intervened by other elements as in the following examples.

(77) a. *ʌmapn=ˉta* 'many'
          behaviour=another

       b. *ʌmapn ʌwon=ˉta* 'very many'
          behaviour truly=another

Example (77a) is an adjectival phrase which means 'many'. It consists of two components and glosses under each component give the possible origin of morphemes. As can be seen from the meanings of original morphemes, the meaning of the whole is not transparent and has changed as if in a compound word. Nevertheless, if the form is modified by the intensifier *ʌwon*, it should follow right after the original head as in the example (77b), indicating that the whole form did not become a word.

The same thing happens for many adverbial phrases, too, as in the following example.

(78) a. *ˉkle=ˉd* 'quietly'
          quiet=ADV

       b. *ˉkle ˉkle=ˉd* 'very quietly'
          quiet quiet=ADV

       c. *ˉkle ʌwon=ˉd* 'very quietly'
          quiet truly=ADV

In the example (78a), we can easily recognise two phonological components. The second component is the adverbialiser clitic =⌐d, which is found in many adverbial phrases. Only the first part is the domain of a process of emphatic repetition as in (78b). The first component cannot be used in isolation and has no meaning without the second component, as if the whole formed a complex word with a fossilised derivational affix. However, again, these two components can be intervened by the intensifier ∧won as in (78c). Therefore, the two components do not form a grammatical word.

The components of would-be compounds can carry their own inflection if they belong to an inflecting category as in the following.

(79)   a. *√ne-m*   *√al-e*   'his/her relatives'
           father-3SG.POSS   brother-3SG.POSS

       b. *√ne-na*   *√al-a*   'my relatives'
           father-1SG.POSS   brother-1SG.POSS

In the example (79a), the coordinative combination of *√nem* 'his/her father' and *√ale* 'his/her brother' has a more general meaning 'his/her relatives' without dropping the first occurence of the possessive suffix, which would be expected in the compounding process. The example (79b) is the same phrase with the first person possessor where both components take the first person suffix. Inflection on both words means that such combinations consist of two separate words. Nevertheless, this combination shows another formal characteristic that assures that the combination is a lexical item rather than a simple syntactic composition: while the first component of *√ne-* *√al-* 'relatives' follows the regular inflection (which makes *√nena*) as shown above, the word *√ne-* 'father' uses a suppletive form *√ape* for the first person possessive form.

Similar situation can be seen in some combinations in a determinative relationship as in the following.

(80)   a. *√bl-e*   ∧*gal*   'hat'
           head-3SG.POSS   string.bag

       b. *√bl-na*   ∧*gal*   'my hat'
           head-1SG.POSS   string.bag

(80a), which literally means 'cloths for head', can be used for 'a hat' for anyone while (80b) is only used for 'a hat for my head', showing that the first element remains to be an inflecting word.

Yet another type of phonemena concerning wordhood in Dom is observed in reduplicated forms as in the following example.

(81)   a. Γ*aya d-*
           oh   say-
           'to exclaim'
       b. Γ*aya* Γ*maya d-*
           oh   oh   say-
           'to exclaim vigorously'

The form Γ*aya* is a common interjection and the combination with the verb Γ*d-* 'say' forms an idiomatic verbal expression for 'to exclaim'. It is not a simple 'to say 'aya!' '   since

reduplicated ⌐aya ⌐maya is not a felicitous interjection while the form ⌐aya ⌐aya is often used as an interjection. ⌐maya occurs only as the reduplicant of ⌐aya in the verbal expression ⌐aya ⌐d- 'to exclaim'. ⌐aya ⌐maya as a whole does not form a single word as the following construction is possible.

(82) a. ⌐aya ⌐maya d-re
oh   oh   say-CONJ(SS)

'exclaimed vigorously and'

   b. ⌐aya ⌐d-re   ⌐maya d-re
oh   say-CONJ(SS)   oh   say-CONJ(SS)

'exclaimed vigorously and'

The examples (82a) and (82b) are equivalent expressions, the latter having an intervening element between ⌐aya and ⌐maya.

The important point here is that the above mentioned criteria are only valid for negative examination of wordhood: if a lexical item is intervened by other words between its parts, it is not a single word; if inflectional elements are retained at the boundary of two components, they cannot be said to constitute one word. The combinations discussed above consist of two words which: (a) always occur together, rather than scattered through the clause (the criterion of cohesiveness); (b) occur in a fixed order; (c) have a conventionalised coherence and meaning. These three conditions (a-c) are listed as universal criteria for a grammatical word in Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002: 19). Although the complex forms in Dom under discussion are compound-like in these respects, according to some criteria for wordhood the diangnosis is negative. However, it cannot be concluded from the discussion above that the only structures that fail to qualify as a word are strange idiomatic expressions consisting of several words, since the given criteria sometimes accidentally fail to be applicable to certain suspicious candidates for compounds as in the following.

(83) a. √ai-m   √gau-m
grandmother-3SG.POSS   grandchild-3SG.POSS

'grandmother and grandchild'

   b. ∧yal √apal
man   woman

'man and woman'

Both examples of expressions in (83) are frequently used without a conjunction =∧ya 'and' and when they are modified by the numeral √su, which in fact co-occurs with these phrases frequently, they mean 'a grandmother and a grandchild' and 'a man and a woman', respectively. That is, they do not mean 'a grandmother and two grandchildren' nor 'a man and two women'. They are lexicalised units in that they do not allow a numeral to modify a part of them. They are like √nem √ale 'relatives' in the example (79), but they have more transparent meanings. However, tests for wordhood are not applicable to these units. Both parts of (83a) should be suffixed by the third person singular morpheme, because they possess each other. In the case of (83b), neither parts are inalienably possessed nouns and possessive suffixes are not obligatory.

Whenever the criteria examined above are applicable, they fail to identify a compound in Dom, although the semantics of many combinations is like that of compounds in other lan-

guages and some shows clear indication that the combination is a lexicalised one. It is thus obvious that Dom makes extensive use of lexical items consisting of several words that are qualified not only as separate phonological words, but also as separate grammatical words. It might be possible that further investigation would reveal some combinations are real compounds, but in this grammar, I treat a phonological word as a word since the criteria for identifying a phonological word are more robust and no positive evidence has been found for the existence of compounds in Dom except for a few contracted forms, although a language without compounding morphology seems rather unusual.

4.4 Reduplication

Reduplication described here is rather different from that in other languages in that the process does not create a word but a phrase, in the way discussed in the previous section. It is a process of repeating a form, which is lexical and morphological and it is different from the syntactic repetition. I would like to call this process reduplication.

What distinguishes the reduplication from syntactic repetition is 1) the fact that the reduplication involves doubling of a form while syntactic repetition can consist of more than two forms and 2) morphophonological alternation occurs in reduplicated forms but it never takes place in syntactic repetition.

First, an adverbial phrase consisting of an adverbial noun and the adverbialiser =⌐d can have a reduplicated root as in the following.

(84) a. ⌐kle=⌐d 'quietly, smoothly'
       ⌐kle ⌐kle=⌐d
      b. ⌐dm=⌐d 'well'
       ⌐dm ⌐dm=⌐d
      c. \gopee=⌐d 'creeping like a snake'
       \gopee \gopee=⌐d
      d. \orpl=⌐d 'fast'
       \orpl \orpl=⌐d

Adverbial nouns never show sound alternation in reduplicants.

Some verbal nouns have reduplicated forms without any alternation in segmental forms, but the tone of the first part can be optionally changed into high and frequently is.

(85) a. ⌐pika ⌐pika (⌐d-) 'to quake'
      b. \ala \ala (\el-) 'to pote'
      c. ⌐au ⌐au (⌐d-) 'to bark'
      d. ⌐dal ⌐dal (⌐d-) 'to be pressed'
      e. Vdu Vdu (⌐d-) 'to become straight'
      f. ⌐ura ⌐ura (⌐d-) 'to be soft'

Some underived reduplicatives, that is, reduplicated forms neither part of which is an existing lexical item, follow the same pattern.

(86) a. ⌐gn \gn 'spiky grass'
      b. ⌐bar ⌐ bar 'a kind of beans'
      c. ⌐dala ⌐dala 'a kind of mushroom'

d. ⌐*mor* ⌐*mor* 'a kind of mushroom'

In addition, many reduplicants of verbal nouns (87) and underived reduplicatives (88), have the vowel *a* in the first syllable instead of the original vowel of the base.

(87) a. ∧*kunal* ∧*kanal (*⌐*s-)* 'mash, pulp'
      b. ⌐*gukl* ⌐*gakl*/⌐*gaukl (*⌐*d-)* 'hole'
      c. ⌐*por* ⌐*par (*⌐*te-)* 'break, bust'
      d. ⌐*bo* ⌐*ba (*⌐*d-)* 'break in two'
      e. ⌐*kol* ⌐*kal (*⌐*s-)* 'break'
      f. ⌐*peu* ⌐*pau (*⌐*d-)* '(teeth, bones) fracture'
      g. ∧*deu* (∧*dau)* ∧*el-* 'to shake'
      h. ∧*kiul* ∧*kaul (*⌐*s-)* 'cut'
      i. ∨*dna* ∨*dana (*⌐*d-)* 'rip, tear'

(88) a. ⌐*gop* ⌐*gap* 'spider'
      b. ⌐*kuim* ∨*kaim* 'butterfly'
      c. ⌐*bl* ∧*bal* 'fish'

   Thus:

(89) (V) → a / #(C)__ (reduplicant) (optional)

The application of the rule in (89) is lexically determined and is not predictable.

   The reduplicants of verbal nouns below exemplify the characteristic of reduplicatives with a change in the initial consonant of the reduplicant, having an initial *m* instead of the initial consonant of the base. In all the cases, the vowel of the first syllable of the base is *a*.

(90) a. ⌐*bara* ⌐*mara (*⌐*d-)* 'collapse'
      b. ∨*bal* ∨*mal (*⌐*s-)* 'rip, tear'
      c. ⌐*pawa* ⌐*mawa (*⌐*d-)* 'break'
      d. ∨*pala* ∨*mala (*⌐*d-)* 'split'
      e. ⌐*kala* ⌐*mala (*⌐*s-)* 'break off'
      f. ⌐*garu* (⌐*maru)* ⌐*d-* 'spill'
      g. ⌐*arapl* ⌐*marapl (*⌐*d-)* 'break'
      h. ⌐*au* (⌐*mau)* ⌐*d-* 'hole'
      i. ∨*awa* (∨*mawa)* ⌐*te-* 'inverted'
      j. ⌐*gup* ⌐*map* 'cut'

Many reduplicants of verbal nouns have the *ma* word-initially replacing the initial consonant plus the following vowel (if any) of the base.

(91) a. ∧*beke* ∧*make (*⌐*d-)* 'break'
      b. ⌐*slla* ⌐*malla (*⌐*d-)* 'drop down'
      c. ⌐*pol* ⌐*mal (*∧*el-)* 'pull out',
      d. ⌐*yowa* ⌐*mawa (*∨*ye-)* 'crooked'
      e. ⌐*gel* ⌐*mal (*⌐*te-)* 'twisted'

No reduplicants are found to have the initial *m* unless the following vowel is *a*, while some reduplicants have the vowel *a* instead of the underlying nucleus without having the initial *m*. Therefore, the following rule should be ordered after the rule (89).

(92) (C) → m / #__a (reduplicant) (optional)

Some reduplicants have consonant plus vowel elements other than *ma* as in the following.

(93) a. ⌜*derwal* ⌜*barwal (*∖*el-)* 'mash, pulp'
      b. ∨*urwal* ∨*korwal (*⌜*d-)* 'smash to pieces'
      c. ⌜*pia* ∨*waya (*⌜*s-)* 'to rock'

Some place names have reduplicated forms which conform to these rules as in the following.

(94) a. ∨*Karl* ∨*Marl*
      b. ⌜*Meru* ∖*Garu*

To sum up, reduplication in Dom is lexical, since the repeated form is not immediately predictable from the root form, though it shows a certain tendency and follows the rules described above. It is morphological, since the form of the word is in issue. It is different from another repetition process which is syntactic, for the whole form always consists of two components, but never more than two.

Chapter 5

Syntax

5.1 Constituent order

In most cases, the head-final order is followed in Dom. Predicates are invariably the final constituents of the clause. The intransitive clause is always in subject-predicate order and subject-object-predicate is the preferred order for transitive clauses as in the following.

(1) a. ˩yal ˅su ˅al-ipke.   (SV)
         man two stand.up-2/3DL.IND

     'Two men stand'

  b. ˥na   ˅kepa   ˩ne-ke   (AOV)
         1EXC sweet.potato eat-1SG.IND

     'I eat a sweet potato.'

A sentence can optionally contain an 'adjunct nominal' (§5.6.3) as a core argument, that is, a nominal which is unmarked and selected by the verb. The default order of constituents in Dom is maximally: *subject - object - adjunct - predicate*.

In a sentence with a three-place predicate, the recipient noun phrase usually follows the gift noun phrase as in the following.

(2) [˥Ella   ˅Naur]   [˩moni] [˥na] [˩te-na-m=˩ua]   (A-Gift-Recip-V)
       tribe.name tribe.name money 1EXC give-FUT-3SG=ENC.WA

     'The Naure sub-tribe of the Ella tribe shall give me money.'

Adverbials precede the predicate.

(3) ˩orpl=˥d   ˩u-o   (Adv-V)
       quickly=ADV come-2SG.IMP

     'Come quickly'

Subordinate clauses such as purposive (4a) and conditional (4b) precede the matrix predicate. (See Chapter 7 and 8 for complex sentences.)

(4) a. [˥er ˥ila   ˩na-l   ˥d] ˩u-ke
         to   inside go.FUT-1SG Q   come-1SG.IND

     'I came to go home.'

b. *[∧Kundiawa ∧na-gwa] ∧yal ⌐i ∧sml ∨ne-m ∧kar*
   PLN   go.FUT-3SG.SRD man DEM bow father-3SG.POSS car

   ∨au ⌐i-r ⌐u-re ⌐s gol-∨a-wdae.
   hold.INF take-CONJ(SS) come-CONJ(SS) hit.INF die-FUT-3SG.MUT

   'If he (the enemy) goes to Kundiawa, that man (our friend) will drive a patrol car and hit him almost dead.'

The only elements which might be said to follow the predicate are demonstratives and the mutual knowledge marker (Chapter 9).

(5) a. *∨yo-gwa ∧ime*
       be-3SG.SRD down.there

       'There it is [as you can see] down over there!'

   b. *∧mo-ka=⌐rae*
       stay-1SG.SRD=MUT

       'I stay as we know.'

Here, the demonstratives and the mutual knowledge marker follow the verb in subordinative mood. These are considered to be a part of the predicate.

Adjectives follow the head noun as in (6a), while other noun modifiers precede the head noun as in (6b), where an attributively used noun *∧yal* 'man' premodifies the head noun *∨gal* 'child'.

(6) a. *∨gal ∧bl* (NA)
       child big

       'big child'

   b. *∧yal ∨gal* (N(mod)-N)
       man child

       'male child (boy)'

Numerals and demonstratives follow the head noun, and when there are both numerals and demonstratives, demonstratives follow numerals as in the following.

(7) a. *∧yal ∨**su*** (N-Num)
       man two

       'two men'

   b. *∧yal ∧**i*** (N-Dem)
       man DEM

       'this man'

   c. *∧yal ∨su ∧i* (N-Num-Dem)
       man two DEM

       'these two men'

Adjectives can be followed by an intensifier.

(8) *⌐er ∧wai ∧**won** ⌐ta* (N-A-Intens-Num)
    tree good truly a

    'a very good gree'

Premodifiers of the noun include possessor noun phrases as in (9a), reference points for relative locations as in (9b) and relative clauses, which are in fact nominalised clauses modifying a noun phrase in Dom (§7.1.2), as in (9c).

(9) a. Λ*yal* Λ*i*   V*kal*
         man   DEM   thing
         'thing of this man'
     b. Λ*kam*=Γ*la*   V*suna*
         banana=LOC   centre
         'inside of banana'
     c. *[(V)ke*   V*pa-gwa]*   Λ*yal*   Λ*i*=Γ*rae*
         build.INF   lie-3SG.SRD   man   DEM=MUT
         'that man who lives [there]'

Auxiliary verbs (§6), which are function words taking part in serial verbs, follow the main verbs.

(10) Γ*ne*   Λ*kor-gwe*
      eat.INF   COMPL-3SG.IND
      'He eats [it] completely.'

Dom uses postpositions with one arguable exception of a preposition (§3.8.1 and §6.9.2.2).

(11) a. *[*Λ*gapl* Λ***bol]*** Λ*ne-na-n*=Λ*mo*   Γ*ki*   Λ*s-na-n?*
         skin   with   eat-FUT-2SG=or   skin   hit-FUT-2SG.QM
         'Will you eat [it] with the skin, or peel off?'
      b. *[*Γ***er*** Λ*mena]* Λ*u-ke*
         to   outside   come-1SG.IND
         'I came out.'

Word order change is not used for any syntactic purposes such as formation of interrogative sentences, but the topic can be placed sentence-initially.

(12) V***apal***   Γ***i***   V*ala*   Λ*su-m?*
      woman   DEM   who   hit-3SG.QM
      'This lady, who hit her?'
      alternative reading: 'Who did she hit?'

The topic can be default position of a subject of an equational sentence (13a), an extra-sentential (13b) or the position occupied by a constituent which has been left-dislocated for topicalisation (13c), where the object V*apal* V*su* Λ*i* is in the sentence-initial position.

(13) a. V***apal***   V***su*** Λ***i***   Γ*na*   V*ep-na*
         woman   two   DEM   1EXC   wife-1SG.POSS
         'These two women are my wives.'
      b. V***apal***   V***su*** Λ***i***   Γ*na*   V*ep-na*   V*mo-ip-ke*
         woman   two   DEM   1EXC   wife-1SG.POSS   stay-2/3DL-IND
         'As for these two women, my wives are'

c. *[Vapal Vsu Ni]* ⌐na   ⌐i   *Vwar-ke*
   woman two DEM 1EXC take.INF move.around-1SG.IND
   'As for these two women, I have them as spouses.'

(14) a. Ɲ*al* [⌐na   Ɲde-na   Ɲgol-gwa]   Ɲs-ke.
      dog 1EXC intestines-1SG.POSS die-3SG.SRD hit-1SG.IND
      'The dog, I was angry [with it] and I hit.'

   b. Ɲ*Aiwil* [Vike   Vke   Vpa-gwa]   ⌐i   Vnene   Ɲgal-gwe
      PRN   house build.INF lie-3SG.SRD DEM oneself burn(tr.)-3SG.IND
      'Aiwil burnt the house where he lives by himself.'

Constituent orders are summarised in the following list.

- AOV, SV
- Adverbial-V
- Conditional-matrix
- Purposive-matrix
- N-demonstrative
- N-numeral
- N-adjective
- Adjective-intensifier
- Attributive NP-N
- Possessor-N
- relative clause-N
- N-Postposition
- V-Aux
- No inversion for polar or non-polar question
- Wh-in-situ
- Left-dislocation of the topic

5.2   Noun phrase structure

Nouns head noun phrases, although there are some exceptions.

The head noun can be omitted, if it is clear from the context. In the following example, among four listed items, only the last one ⌐*kepl* 'small' lacks the preceding head *Vgal* 'child'.

(15) Ɲ*yal* V*gal*=(Ɲ)*ya* V*apal*   V*gal*=(Ɲ)*ya* V*gal*   Ɲ*bl*=Ɲ*ya* ⌐*kepl*=(Ɲ)*ya*
     man   child=and   woman   child=and   child big=and   small=and
     'boys, girls, big children and small [children]'

5.2.1   Juxtaposition

5.2.1.1   Apposition

Appositions are abundant in Dom. The following is an example of apposition.

(16) *[⌐ge] [∨apal   ∨gal]*
     girl   woman   child
     'Girl, female child'

Numerals and demonstratives usually modify the whole construction.

(17) a. *[∨gal] [∧yal ⌐garml] ⌐ta* 'a boy, a young man'
        child   man   young   a
    b. *[∧yal] [⌐ka   ∧kipi ∧du-gwa   ∧yal] ∧i   ∧win ⌐s-re*
       man   word   lie   say-3SG.SRD man   DEM   win   hit-CONJ(SS)
       'When the man, the man who told a lie won (the election) ...'

A temporal noun phrase can be in apposition with another temporal noun phrase as in (18a), and a locative noun phrase can be appositive with a locative noun phrase as in (18b).

(18) a. *⌐na   [∧taim ⌐ta] [⌐ar ∧do-gwa   ∧ikne] ∧mal ∧ya*
        1EXC   time   a   sun   burn(intr.)-3SG.SRD time   near   right/back.here
        ∨mo-pdae
        stay-1PL.MUT
        'Once, when the sun was strong, we were here and ...'
    b. *[∨yaire(⌐)maule] [∧boda] [(∧)mal ∧i]   ∧mo-ke*
       PLN   border   near   DEM   stay-1.SG.IND
       'I am here at the hamlet of Yaire Maule, at "the border".'

Similar to appositions is the restatement of verb phrases or any phrases, which is considerably common in Dom (Chapter 7).

(19) *∧elma ⌐ere ∧mala   ∧ugwa*
     now   to   nearby   come-3SG.SRD
     ∧Bual ⌐Maul ∧u-gwa
     PLN   come-3SG.SRD
     ∧u-m=⌐ba   ∧kore
     come-3SG=but   but
     'Now he came close, he came to Bual Maule, he came but ...'

5.2.1.2 Noun classifiers

   Noun classifiers are those nouns with a more general meaning which optionally precede the head noun to form one noun phrase and in most cases add no semantic information except about the category the referent of the head noun belongs to. They do not constitute a (sub-) word class of nouns and the classifying position is open to any noun as a rule.

(20) a. *∧nl   ⌐nul* 'river'
        water   river
    b. *⌐ka   ∨pore* 'story'
       word   story

   c. ⌐ere ∧korl   '*korl* tree'
      tree   korl.tree

The construction containing a specifying noun preceded by a classifying noun is very much like apposition in that the reference of the specifying noun is usually included in the reference of the classifier. It is different from apposition in that phonetically, the whole construction forms one intonational unit and syntactically, each component of the classifying-specific combination is a nominal lexical item whereas apposition can consist of full-fledged noun phrases.

    When a classifier precedes a polysemous word, it may serve to distinguish the different meanings. The following are ∧*aml* 'peanut, pandanus sp. (which bears nut-like fruit)' V*kom* 'cassava, yam'

(21) a. ⌐ere ∧*aml*   'pandanus which bears the nut-like fruit'
        tree   peanut/pandanus sp.

      b. ⌐*kul* ∧*aml*   'peanut'
        grass   peanut/pandanus sp.

(22) a. ⌐ere V*kom*   'cassava'
        tree   cassava/yam

      b. ∧*kan* V*kom*   'yam'
        vine   cassava/yam

    Some nouns occur with their classifiers more often than others, and a few nouns occur almost exclusively with or without the classifier. For instance ⌐*ka* ∧*kipi* 'lie' can be used without ⌐*ka* and such use is quite common, while ⌐*ka* V*pore* 'story' is usually used with ⌐*ka*. The classifier ⌐*ka* seems almost obligatory in ⌐*ka* ∧*siu* 'curse' and ⌐*ka* ∧*wane* 'true'.

    Adverbial nouns (§3.2.6) and verbal nouns (§3.2.5) can be accompanied by a classifier as in the following.

(23) a. ⌐*ka*   ⌐*dm=*⌐*d*   'well'
        word   well=ADV

      b. ⌐*ka*   V*pore* ∧*el-*   'tell a story'
        word   story   make

    Loanwords are often accompanied by classifiers, as in the following.

(24) a. ∧*bola* ∧*sipsip* 'sheep'
        pig   sheep

      b. ⌐*ka*   ∧*kot* 'court'
        word   court

      c. ∧*nl*   ∧*bia*   'alcohol'
        water   alcohol

      d. ∧*bl*   ∧*nil*   'needle'
        stick   needle

A classifier before loanwords must have been very informative in earlier days, when the newly introduced concepts were not well known. Younger speakers tend not to use classifiers

before loanwords.

A classifier can be a loanword itself.

(25) a. ʌ*malaria* ʌ*taipot*   'typhoid (as a kind of malaria!)'
       malaria   typhoid

   b. ʌ*pasm*   ʌ*dua* 'door'
       to.close   door

5.2.2 Repetition

Repetition of a noun can be used to express reciprocity, as in the following.

(26) ʌ*birua*   ʌ*birua*   ˅*me-ipka*
    enemy   enemy   stay-2/3DL.SRD

'The two are enemies for each other.'

Sometimes it is plurality which is expressed by repetition of a noun or a noun phrase.

(27) a. ˅*kal*   ˅*kal*
        thing   thing
        'several things'

   b. ʌ*yal*   ˅*ike*   ˅*ike*   ʌ*yal*   ˅*ike*   ˅*ike*
       man   house   house   man   house   house
       'every men's house'

5.2.3 Preference for pairing words

Dom has many idiomatic combinations consisting of two nouns, as in the following.

(28) a. ʌ*yal* ˅*apal* 'man and woman', ˅*nem* ˅*ale* 'father and brother, close relatives' ˅*aim* ˅*gaum* 'grandmother and grandchild'

   b. ˅*o* Γ*kale* 'hands and legs', ʌ*guma* ʌ*gla* 'nose and mouth, face', ˅*mu* ˅*dan* 'back and belly'

   c. Γ*de* ˅*bul* ''

   d. ˅*kepa* ʌ*komna* 'sweet potato and vegetable, foods', Γ*me* ˅*kom* 'taro and cassava', Γ*bo* ʌ*kam* 'sugarcane and banana', ʌ*aml* ʌ*kopa* '*aml* pandanus and *kopa* pandanus', Γ*kupa* ʌ*diune* 'different edible *pitpit*', ˅*orl* Γ*koa* '*orl* beans and *koa* beans', ʌ*dni* ˅*pima* 'different vegetables' Γ*gurau* Γ*tapn* 'two vegetables'

   e. ʌ*dua* Γ*ka*˅*kopa* 'rats and birds, animals', ʌ*dua* ʌ*kap* 'rats and marsupials, animals', ʌ*al* ʌ*bola* 'dogs and pigs, domestic animals'

   f. ʌ*baune* ʌ*kawal* 'bird of paradise and a kind of black bird', ʌ*siune* ˅*meule* 'two kinds of birds', ʌ*siune* ʌ*omn* 'two kinds of birds'

   g. Γ*ere* ʌ*kan* 'trees and vines', ʌ*yopa* ʌ*dala* '*yopa* tree and *dala* tree', ʌ*gen* ʌ*galma* '*gen* tree and *galma* tree', ʌ*diul* ʌ*kuipa* '*diul* tree and *kuipa* tree'

   h. Γ*diwi* Γ*bula* 'cicada and locust'

   i. Γ*ere* ʌ*kopl* 'ol mumu l.en', ˅*ike* Γ*gul* 'houses and fences', ʌ*dip* ʌ*kar* 'cars'

   j. Γ*mle* ʌ*yopl* 'uphill and downhill', Γ*mle* ˅*maune* 'up and down', ʌ*tep* ʌ*apl* 'top and beneath', ʌ*nol* ʌ*apl* 'visible side and invisible side', Γ*ila* ʌ*mena* 'inside and outside'

Some of the combinations consist of antonymous pairs as in ʌ*yal* ⱴ*apal* 'man and woman', while others consist of synonymous pairs as in ⱴ*orl* ⌐*koa* '*orl* beans and *koa* beans'.

Sometimes it is the cultural background that accounts for paring. For instance, ⱴ*kepa* ʌ*komna* 'sweet potato and vegetable, food' refers to the two important kinds of food in the Dom-speaking area. However, with some pairs it is very difficult to identify the reason behind pairing, as in a pairing of names of two different trees, ʌ*yopa* ʌ*dala* '*yopa* tree and *dala* tree', where the two trees are recognised as 'brothers' but the speakers do not have any ideas about similarity between the two trees or contrast in their use. The ʌ*yopa* ʌ*dala* pair reminds the Dom of a popular fairy-tale in Appendix C.2.

Paired items cannot be modified separately.

(29) a. ʌ*yal* ⱴ*apal* ʌ*mapn* ⱴ*su*
    man woman aged two
    'a old man and a old woman'
   b. ⱴ*al* ⱴ*aupal* ⱴ*su* ʌ*i*
    brother.3SG.POSS sister.3SG.POSS two DEM
    'the brother and the sister'

According to Lean (1992: 60 of Appendix B: Vol 9), Strauss and Tischner (1962) observed that "Pairing is used widely in the culture. They speak, for example, of *mugh moi ragl*, "the sky and earth pair", *ants kadlimp ragl*, "the sun and moon pair", *rumbugh rongmo ragl*, ...". See also Lancy and Strathern (1981).

5.2.4 Premodification

Nominals which attributively modify a noun phrase precede the head without overt marking for their syntactic or semantic relationship. The nature of the semantic relationship between a premodifier and the head noun can be of various kinds and includes a whole-part relation, material-product relation, affiliation, and attributive as in the following.

(30) a. ⌐*ere* ʌ*ari* 'tree leaves'
    tree leaf
   b. ⌐*kale* ⱴ*mle* 'toe'
    leg.3SG.POSS finger
   c. ⱴ*kom* ⌐*kla* 'grated cassava cake'
    cassava to.grate
   d. ⱴ*dom* ʌ*yopal* 'Dom people, a Dom man/woman'
    Dom person
   e. ʌ*yal* ⱴ*gal* 'male infant'
    man child

(31) a. ʌ*kai* ⌐*nle* 'fluid due to cry, tears'
    cry liquid
   b. ⌐*kale* ʌ*topl* 'covering for feet, shoe'
    leg.3SG.POSS covering

    c. *Λkomna*   *Λkunl* 'vegetable theft, theft'
       vegetable theft

    d. *Λkomna*   *Λkunl* *Λyal* 'man of vegetable theft, thief'
       vegetable theft   man

    e. *Λnu* *Γpr*   *Λyal* 'man of snivel'
       flu   snivel man

    f. *Γkal* *Γki* *Λyal*
       leg   bad man

      'the man with a handicapped leg'

Without overt marking, the semantic relationship between a premodifier and the head should be understood from the extra-linguistic knowledge. The following examples might be illustrative.

(32) a. *Λgiul* *Λmarasn*   'medicine for pain, painkiller'
       pain   medicine

    b. *Λbola* *Λmarasn*   'medicine for (growing) pigs'
       pig   medicine

    c. *Vgon*   *Λmarasn* 'medicine for (killing) cockroaches'
       cockroach medicine

Subordinative clauses can be used as premodifiers, as in the following.

(33) a. *[Λnmbona* *Λdo-gwa]*   *Λbanis*
       wound   (burn(intr.))-3SG.SRD bandage

      'bandages for wounds'

    b. *[Λgiul* *Λsu-gwa]*   *Λmarasn*
       pain   (hit)-3SG.SRD medicine

      'medicine for pain'

As will be discussed in Chapter 7, some cases of subordinative premodifiers serve as a relative clause forming strategy in Dom.

Attributive premodifiers cannot have a specific referent, definite or indefinite. When the premodifier has a referent which is specific or referential, it is construed as a possessor, as in the following examples.

(34) a. *Λyal* *Vgal*
       man child

      'male child'

    b. *Λyal* *Λi*   *Vgal*
       man DEM child

      'child of this man'

    c. *Λyal* *Γta* *Vgal*
       man   a   child

      'child of a man'

5.2.5   Coordination

Noun phrases listed coordinatively are often accompanied by =Λya or =Λmo. =Λya is used for additive listing and =Λmo for alternative listing.

Listings of noun phrases with the clitic =Λya are often finalised by the demonstrative Λi∼Γi (§9.2.1).

(35) Λpauna-n   Γyopla=(Γ)la=Λ**ya** Λguma-n   Λgla-n=(Γ)la=Λ**ya**
    chin-NSG.POSS   bone=LOC=and   nose-NSG.POSS   mouth-NSG.POSS=LOC=and

    Vmu-n   Vdan=(Γ)la   Γi   Λbol=Vpare
    back-NSG.POSS   belly.NSG.POSS=LOC   DEM   be.hit.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)

    'we were hit on the jawbone, nose and mouth, back and belly and ...'

The verb Vye- 'put, be' in the different-subject coordinative mood is used to coordinate human noun phrases, as in the following.

(36) Γer Λo-pgi   ΛJoni ΛBoi V**yo-go**   Γna   V**ye-ko**
    to   go-1PL.DEM   PRN   and-3SG.CONJ(DS)   1EXC   and-1SG.CONJ(DS)

    VDelpa   V**yo-go**   Vene,   VMasta ΛKoral   V**yo-go**   Γer
    PRN   and-3SG.CONJ(DS)   then   PRN   and-3SG.CONJ(DS)   to

    Λo-pge
    go-1PL.IND

    'Those who went were Joni Boi, I, Delpa, and uh, Masta Koral.'

Vye- in the different-subject conjunctive mood can also be used together with the additive coordinator =Λya as in the example below.

(37) Vapal   Γsul=(Λ)**ya**   ΛWambre V**yo-go**   Λe-igwi
    woman   two.person=and   PRN   and-3SG.CONJ(DS)   go-2/3PL.DEM

    'When the two women and Wambre went...'

Listings with dubitative =Λmo are often finalised by Γta (§9.2.1).

5.2.6   Vocative

Kinship terms with a first person possessor and proper nouns can be used without any marker to call the referent.

(38) a. Vape   'Dad!'
       father.1SG.POSS

    b. Λglmai 'Glmai!'
       PRN

Vocative clitics =Λa, =Λya, =Λo, =Λyo and =Λe are optionally used with proper nouns, kinship terms referring to the speaker's relatives and other noun phrases.

(39) a. Λyopa=Λa 'Yopa!'
    b. Λandreas=Λya 'Andreas!'

    c. *∧glmai=∧yo* 'Glmai!'

(40) *√al-n=(∧)o*
    brother-NSG.POSS=VOC
    'Brother!'

(41) a. *∧yal=⌐kop=(∧)o*
      man=NSG=VOC
      'Guys!'

      b. *√ai-m*   *√gau-m*   *⌐sul=(∧)a*
         grandmother-3SG.POSS grandchild-3SG.POSS two.person=VOC
         'You two, the grandmother and the grandchild!'

5.2.7   Temporal noun phrases

    Temporal noun phrases are those that can serve as peripheral phrases which convey information about temporal setting. Time nouns head the temporal phrases.

(42) a. *[∧**elma** ∧gia]*   *⌐ta* *√pal+(√)kl=(∧)wa.*
      now   right/back.here NEG put+NEG.1SG=ENC.WA
      'I do not have it right now.'

      b. *[⌐**omal** ∧**klma** ∧wen]* *∧w-i=∧ua*
        day.time   truly   come-1SG=ENC.WA
      'I came in broad daylight.'

      c. *'⌐en [⌐eku=(⌐)we]*   *[∧kansol ⌐ta ∧u-na-gwa*   *∧s-na-ga*
        you afterward=ENC.WE council a come-FUT-3SG.SRD hit-FUT-2SG.SRD
      *∧**ikn** ∧i=∧we]*   *√tope ⌐i*   *∧ne-na-n=∧ua.'*   *∧du-gwa*
        time DEM=ENC.WE pay take.INF eat-FUT-2SG=ENC.WA say-3SG.SRD
      'They said, "In the future, when the councilor system comes and one of you is elected, you will receive the [postponed] salary." '

Nominalised clauses with a verb in the subordinative mood may function as temporal settings.

(43) *[⌐pu*   *∧du-gwa]*   *∧s-ra-l+a*
    afternoon (say)-3SG.SRD hit-FUT-1SG+EXPL
    'I will hit (him) in the afternoon.'

    Time nouns can be predicated by the verb *√ye*.

(44) *[∧taim]* *[(∧)nain ∧oklok=⌐mer]*   *√yel*   *√yo-gwa*
    time   9   o'clock=as/about like.this put/there.be-3SG.SRD
    'It was about nine o'clock and ...'

Alternatively, the verb *∧mol* 'stay' can also be used for predication. In the following example (45b), *√mopge*, the first person plural indicative form of *∧mol* is used in response to (45a).

(45) a. *∧taim* *√nal=(⌐)mere* *√yome?*
      time   what=as/about be-3SG-QM
      'What time is it?'

b. *[⌐tu]   Ⅴmo-pge*
   two.oclock   stay-1PL.IND

'It is two oclock. / We are at two oclock.'

The general question words for temporal noun phrases are *Ⅴnal ∧ikn* (what time) 'when' or *Ⅴauna ∧ikn* (when time) 'when'. Less commonly *Ⅴauna* 'when' is also used. Variation between *Ⅴnal ∧ikn* and *Ⅴauna ∧ikn* might only be due to dialectal differences.

5.2.8   Locative noun phrases

Locative noun phrases are those phrases which are headed by locative nouns and can function as peripheral constituents which convey information about locational setting, or such phrases as ones denoting the destination selected by verbs of movement. Some nouns are intrinsically locative (§3.2.3) and do not need the clitic *=⌐la* to form a locative noun phrase, while other nouns should be followed by *=⌐la* in the same syntactic environment. The clitic *=⌐la* is derived from the locative noun *⌐ila* 'inside'.

Thus, the place name "Kundiawa" in the example (45a) is used as a noun phrase of destination selected by the verb *⌐p* 'go' without *=⌐la* after it, while "coffee" in the example (45b) is followed by *=⌐la* in the same environment.

(46) a. *∧kudiawa ∧p-o*
         PLN   go-IMP

      'Go to Kundiawa!'

      b. ***∧kopi=⌐la*   *∧p-o***
         coffee=LOC   go-IMP

      'Go to where coffee trees are (=the coffee field)!'

In some environments, the use of *=⌐la* is optional as in the following.

(47) a. *⌐kal-na=(⌐)la   ∧don ∧el-gwe*
         leg-1SG.POSS=LOC   itch   (make)-3SG.IND

      'My foot feels itchy.'

      b. *⌐kal-na   ∧don ∧el-gwe*
         leg-1SG.POSS   itch   (make)-3SG.IND

      'My foot feels itchy.'

In some other environments, the use of *=⌐la* seems optional only for certain types of noun phrases, such as ones denoting body parts (48a, b) and are obligatory for other types of noun phrases as in (48c, d).

(48) a. *⌐kal-na=(⌐)la   ∧gaul Ⅴwou-ke*
         leg-1SG.POSS=LOC   scratch   dig-1SG.IND

      'I scratched my foot'

      b. *⌐kal-na   ∧gaul Ⅴwou-ke*
         leg-1SG.POSS   scratch   dig-1SG.IND

      'I scratched my foot'

    c. *Vkrara=(Γ)la Λgaul   Vwou-ke*
       mat=LOC   scratch   dig-1SG.IND
      'I scratched the mat'

    d.**Vkrara Λgaul   Vwou-ke*
       mat   scratch   dig-1SG.IND
      'I scratched the mat'

In other cases, the presence or absence of =Γ*la* makes a significant difference in possible interpretation, as in the following.

(49) a. *Γer=(Γ)la Λmo-ke*   'I am at the tree.'
          tree=LOC   stay-1SG.IND

      b. *Γer   Λmo-ke*   'I am a tree'
          tree   stay-1SG.IND

When the predicate is suffixed by *-kal*, which is the contracted form of the subordinative suffix plus the locativiser, the clause is locativised and used as a location setting phrase that refers to the place where the event occurs, as in the following examples.

(50) a. *[Γna   Γke Vpai-kal] Λu-gwa*
          1EXC live   come-3SG.SRD
          'He came where I live and ...'

      b. *Γna   Γmuku Γp   [Vm-na   Λmol-gwal]   Γp-re*
          1EXC run   go.INF mother-1SG.POSS stay-3SG.LOC go-CONJ(SS)
          'I ran, went to where my mother was and ...'

Alternatively, the predicate may also be suffixed by the subordinative mood *-ka* followed by the locativiser clitic =*la* to form a locative noun phrase, but such a construction is much less frequent.

    A premodifier of a relative locative noun phrase is itself a locative noun phrase, as in the following.

(51) a. *Λdram=Γla   Λapl*
          drum.can=LOC   invisible.side
          'inside of the drum can'

      b. *[Γna   Λmo-kal]   Λai=Γrae*
          1EXC stay-1SG.LOC place=MUT
          'That place where I am'

    Abstract nouns can be followed by =Γ*la* when the situation is metaphorically expressed as a place.

(52) *Γna   Λelmai Γat Λaip=Γla Vmo-pga*
     1EXC now   hard.life=LOC stay-1PL.SRD
    'we are living a hard life' (lit. 'in a hard life')

    The question word for locative noun phrases is *Vaule*.

5.3   Person and Number

Different person-number systems are used for pronouns (table 5.1), possessive suffixes on nouns (table 5.2), and cross-reference markers on verbs (table 5.3).

First person pronouns make a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. Both ⌐*na* and ⌐*no* can be used for non-singular exclusive, but only ⌐*na* is used for the singular. There is no personal pronoun for the third person in Dom.

	1	2
general (exc.)	⌐*na*	
non-singular (exc.)	⌐*no*	⌐*en*
non-singular (inc.)	√*none*	
non-singular	⌐*ne*	

Table. 5.1: Personal pronouns

The person-number system of possessive suffixes draws a distinction between singular and non-singular. The identical form is used for first, second and third person non-singular.

	1	2	3
singular	-na	-n	-m
non-singular		-ne	

Table. 5.2: Possessive suffixes

Cross-reference markers make a distinction among singular, dual and plural. second person and third person are not distinguished for dual and plural. Number is marked by cross-

	1	2	3
singular	-i∼-∅	-n	-m
dual	-pl	-ipl	
plural (three or more)	-pn	-im	

Table. 5.3: Cross-reference markers on verbs

referencing suffixes on verbs, but is not necessarily marked on pronouns or on noun phrases. The use of the first or second person cross-referencing suffix does not require the first or second person pronoun to be in the subject position. The rules for determining person and number of cross-reference markers on verbs are not a pure syntactic subject-verb agreement process, but are more semantically/pragmatically-based, as illustrated below.

As a rule, the use of dual and plural is almost obligatory for humans but is optional and uncommon for non-human animate objects, and is scarcely used for inanimate objects.

(53) a. *⌐kila   ∧kulam   √su   (∧)mal   ∧ya   **√me-ipka***
     eagle   parrot   two   near   right/back.here stay-2/3DL.SRD

     'There lived two birds, an eagle and a parrot here and'

   b. *∧moni   (√)mel   √kin   ∧wone   ∧tausen   ∧tausen   **√pa-gwa***
     money   a.lot.of very   truly   thousand thousand lie-3SG.SRD

     'A lot of money, thousands and thousands, was in [the bag] and'

   c. *√ene   √barsu   ∧u-gwa   √kan-gi   √mel   ⌐ki   √mel   ⌐ki*
     then   airplain come-3SG.SRD see-2SG.DEM a.lot.of very a.lot.of very

     ∧u-m=∧mo   *√su   ∧tenan=⌐d   **∧u-m?***
     come-3SG=or   two   one=Q   come-3SG.QM

     'Alright, as for the airplanes you saw, did many of them come or did a few of them come?'

However, the above mentioned semantic classes of human, non-human animate and inanimate should not be taken as rigid classes that determine the agreement pattern, since the number distinction in Dom seems to be more discourse-based.

The singular form of the verb can be used regardless of the actual number of referents even for humans when the speaker does not acknowledge the significance of the referents' individuation as in the following examples.

(54) a. *∧yopal   √mel⌐ki   ⌐u   ∧no-gwe*
     person   a.lot.of come.INF   eat-3SG.IND

     'Many people came and ate.'

   b. *∧yopal   √mel⌐ki   ⌐u   ∧ne-igwe*
     person   a.lot.of come.INF   eat-2/3PL.IND

     'Many people came and ate.'

Examples in (54) are given as having 'the same' meaning, though the first sentence has the singular form of the verb *⌐ne-* and the second has the plural form.

The following example has three verbs in one sentence, all having the singular form, but the first occurrence refers to three people, the second one to one person, and the third one to two people.

(55) *√apal   ∧kul   √ye-ka*
     woman   look.after.INF   put/there.be-1SG.SRD

     *√suta   ⌐i   **∧mol-gwa***
     three   DEM   stay-3SG.SRD

     *⌐ta   ⌐i   **∧gol-gwa***
     a   DEM   die-3SG.SRD

     *√su   ∧i   ∧yal   ⌐er   **∧o-gwe**.*
     two   DEM   man   to   go-3SG.SRD

     'I had daughters, there were three of them, one died, and the other two left to marry men.'

The example (56) below refers to the addressees, who are actually a number of people that came to attend a ceremony. Although the addressees are constantly described as two groups with the nominals *⌐kole ⌐kole* 'the both sides' and *⌐en ∧yal √su* 'you two people (you

two sub-clans)', number marking on the verb is singular, which does not correspond to the nominal linguistic form (which should trigger the dual) nor the number of actual referents (which should be marked as plural).

(56)   Γ*na*   V*kapal-ma*   Λ*apl=*Λ*ya*   Γ*kul=(*Λ*)ya*
      1EXC   distant.relative-PL   invisible.side=and   top=and

      Γ*kol*   Γ*kole*   Γ*u*   Λ*mol=*V*pare*   Λ*witnism*   Λ*el-e*
      side   side   come.INF   stay.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)   witness   make-CONJ(SS)

      Γ*u*   Γ*na*   *kar-*V*al=(*Γ*)d*   Γ*u*   Λ***mo-ga***
      come.INF   1EXC   see-FUT.1SG=Q   come.INF   stay-2SG.SRD

      Λ*tegkiu*   Γ*d*   Λ*mol=(*V*)pare*
      thank.you   say.INF   stay.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)

      Γ*en*   Λ*yal*   V*su*   Γ*kol*   Γ*kole*   Γ*en*   Λ*tei+*Λ*yo*
      you   man   two   side   side   you   give-1SG+EXPL

      'My distant relatives from both the back of the mountain and the top of the mountain who came to be here and are witnessing [this], you came to see me, so I thank both sides of you.'

Number-neutralised use of singular forms is observed for second person and third person as in the examples above, but the use of the first person singular form seems impossible when the number of the referents is more than one as in (57).

(57)*V*mel*Γ*ki*   Γ*er*   Λ*e-ke*
      a.lot.of   to   go-1SG.IND
      (Many of us went)

Conversely, the first person plural form can be used for a single referent as in (58a,b).

(58)   a.   Γ*na*   ***ne-*V*ra-pn+(*Γ*)a***
          1EXC   eat-FUT-1PL-EXPL

          'I shall eat.'

      b.   'Λ*bil*   Γ*en*   Λ*te-ra-l+*Γ*a*   Λ*kor=*V*pare*   Γ*en*   V*kn*
          bill   you   give-FUT-1SG+EXPL   but=and (SS)   you   carry.on.shoulder.INF

          Λ*mol=*V*pare*   Γ*en*   Γ*ya*   *el-*V*a-n=(*Λ*)wa'*   Λ***du-pge***.
          stay.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)   you   thingy   make-FUT-2SG=ENC.WA   say-1PL.IND

          ' "I will give you the bill, so you will take it and you shall do that." I said.'

In many cases, the number on verbs is not determined in accordance with the subject noun phrase, but reflects the number of referents.

In the following example (59), the first pronoun which can be used irrespective of the number Γ*na* is in the subject position and it refers to one person. The act of saying is done with another person Λ*Nup*. The number marking on the verb is dual.

(59)   Γ*na*   Λ*Nup*   Λ*bol*   V*yel*   Λ*du-pke*   'I said like this with Nup.'
      1EXC   PRN   with   like.this   say-1DL.IND

A unit or a group may be counted as one, as in (60a), where the dual is used for two groups, but not necessarily so as in (60b), where plural is used to refer to two groups.

(60) a. *VNulai=(V)Gauma ΓAur=(V)Gauma Λkura **Vbo-ipke**
        clan name   clan name   fight   fight-2/3SG.IND
        'The clan Nulai Gauma and Aur Gauma fought.'
     b. *ΛNma=VGalma Γi   Γkol   Λer-gwa*
        clan name   take.INF side   to/off-3SG.SRD

        ΛDka=ΓKane Γi   Γkol   Λer-gwa
        clan name   take.INF side   to/off-3SG.SRD

        *Γkol Γkol Λkura **bol-Va-pn**   Γd   Λel-igwe*
        both.side   fight   fight-FUT-1PL   Q   make-2/3PL.IND
        'One side is Nma Galma and another is Dka Kane; both sides were thinking of fighting.'

(61) *ΛWamna ΛPilip Λlain   Γi   Γkol   Λer-gwa*
        PRN   group take.INF side   to/off-3SG.SRD

     ΛNup ΛKua — ΛNup ΛKua=Λya ΛNup=ΓBia Γi   Γkol   Λer-ipka
        clan name   clan name=and   subclan name take.INF side   to/off-2/3DL.SRD

     VWem ΓBnap=Λya ΛGelwa ΛBl Γi   Γkol   Λer-gwa
        clan name=and   clan name   take.INF side   to/off-3SG.SRD

     Λkura Λbl Vbeipka
        fight   big fight-2/3DL.SRD
        'One side is Wamna Pilip's people, i.e. Nup Kua, so one side is the clan of Nup Kua including the subclan of Nup Bia, and another is Wem Bnap and Gelwa Bl; These two fought a big war.'

In Dom a full noun phrase does not have an intrinsic person-number property which is marked as agreement on the verb, unlike some other languages, where noun phrases are not automatically classified into third person category. Person-number marking on the verb is determined according to the actual person-number of the referent, not according to the nature of the correferential noun phrase.

(62) *Λyopal Λpopla Γi   u-Vra-pga=(Γ)mere*
        person   4   DEM   come-FUT-1PL.SRD=as/about
     Λkun   Γta   Γe+Vk-gwe
        same   NEG   (make)+NEG-3SG.IND
        'It (the raft made of banana stem) was not enough for us four to get on.'

In the example (62), the subject noun phrase is *Λyopal Λpopla Λi* 'these four people' and the verb is marked as first person plural, because the actual referent of the noun phrase is a group of people including the speaker himself.

Number neutralisation also occurs in possessive suffixes. The third person is more likely to undergo number neutralisation than the first and second person.

(63) *Λyal Vgal Γta Vyo-go   Vapal Vgal Γta Vyo-go*
        man   child a   and-3SG.CONJ(DS)   woman child a   and-3SG.CONJ(DS)
     Vne-m   Λgol-m   Λdu-gwe
        father-3SG.POSS die-3SG   say-3SG.IND

'A boy and a girl, their father died, it is said.'

The data given above seems to suggest that cross-reference markers in Dom are not an agreement in a strict sense, which can imply an accordance between two forms, but they are shifters themselves. Further types of mismatch between cross-reference markers and noun phrases are discussed in Chapter 8.

Switch reference is another means by which Dom tracks the referent of the subject. Switch reference is relevant only to the pair of conjunctive mood suffixes , -*ko* for the different subject and -*re* for the same subject. Individuation is relevant also for the distinction made by the two suffixes. The subjects with highly induviduated referents should follow the principle of switch reference, as in (64a, b), while the subjects with less individuated referents can be suffixed by either suffix, as in (65a, b).

(64) a. Ⅴ*suna*   ∧*ip*   ∧*yal*   ∧*kru*   ∧*mol-igwi*   ∧*saina*   ∧*mol-go*
          centre   up.there man   white stay-2/3PL.DEM China stay-3.SG.CONJ(DS)

          ∧*korea* ∧*mol-go*   ∧*jepen* ∧*mol-go*   ∧*el-gwe*
          Korea   stay-3.SG.CONJ(DS) Japan   stay-3.SG.CONJ(DS) make-3SG.IND

          'The white men who live in the town up over there consist of Chinese, Korean and Japanese.'

      b.*Ⅴ*suna*   ∧*ip*   ∧*yal*   ∧*kru*   ∧*mol-igwi*   ∧*saina*   ∧*mol-e*   ∧*korea*
          centre   up.there man   white stay-2/3PL.DEM China stay-CONJ(SS) Korea

          ∧*mol-e*   ∧*jepen* ∧*mol-e*   ∧*el-gwe*
          stay-CONJ(SS)   Japan   stay-CONJ(SS)   make-3SG.IND

(65) a. Γ*na*   ∧*al*   ∧*bola*   ∧*kul*   ∧*ne-ka*   ∧*mol-igwi*   ∧*al*
          1EXC   dog   pig   look.after.INF eat-1SG.SRD   stay-2/3PL.DEM dog

          ∧*mol-go*   ∧*bola* ∧*mol-go*   ∧*koral*   ∧*mol-go*
          stay-3.SG.CONJ(DS) pig   stay-3.SG.CONJ(DS) chicken stay-3.SG.CONJ(DS)

          ∧*el-gwe*
          make-3SG.IND

          'Those which I keep as domestic animals are dogs, pigs and chikens.'

      b. Γ*na*   ∧*al*   ∧*bola*   ∧*kul*   ∧*ne-ka*   ∧*mol-igwi*   ∧*al*
          1EXC   dog   pig   look.after.INF eat-1SG.SRD   stay-2/3PL.DEM dog

          ∧*mol-e*   ∧*bola* ∧*mol-e*   ∧*koral*   ∧*mol-e*   ∧*el-gwe*
          stay-CONJ(SS)   pig   stay-CONJ(SS)   chicken stay-CONJ(SS)   make-3SG.IND

          'Those which I keep as domestic animals are dogs, pigs and chikens.'

5.4   Tense

Dom makes a two-way distinction between marked future tense and unmarked non-future (§4.1.3).

Verbs without the future tense suffix can be used to refer to an immediately following event, as in the following common farewell expression.

(66) Γ*ere* ∧*e-ke*
          to   go-1SG.IND

'I go.' (the speaker has not yet left the place.)

The same sentence (66) can be used to express the past event 'I went.'

In contrast, verbs in the future tense should be used when the speaker is talking about the next day plan, as in the following.

(67) ⌐*ere* ∧*na-ke*
     to   go.FUT-1SG.IND
     'I will go.'

Future declarative sentences can be uttered with a simple expectation or intension (if the event is controllable). For instance, readings of the sentence above can be 'I think I will go' without referring to the speakers intention, or 'I want to go' including intension. It hardly ever means 'I want to go although I will not be able to go', the meaning which can be rendered by some non-declarative sentences such as the optative construction (§4.1.5.9) or some non-final clauses such as quoted thought.

Tense distinction is made basically according to this time division, but there are several deviations.

First, consider the following conversation:

(68) a. ∧*yal* ∧*i*   ⌐*muku* ∧*du-gwe*
        man DEM run   say-3SG.IND
        'He ran fast.'
     b. ∧*yal* ∧*i*   ⌐*muku* ∧*d-na-gwe*
        man DEM run   say-FUT-3SG.IND
        'He [is the kind of man who] runs fast as we know! [I can just imagine]'

In this use, the future tense might appear similar to the assumed-evidential construction V_i-*nal* V_i 'must have V-en', but it seems that the future tense is used to express potentiality or to describe the nature of the subject.

There is some data which shows the future tense can really be used with the meaning closer to the assumed-evidential construction, as in the following.

(69)SN: ∧*du=*⌐*mere*   ⌐*ta* ⌐*s+(V)k-pga*   ⌐*ka* ∧*du-pge*
        frog=as/about a   hit+NEG-1PL.SRD   word say-1PL.IND
        'The thing is that it was not like frog catching. / we caught frogs in an unusual way.'

   M: ∧*mapn=*⌐*ta* ∧*s-na-igw*
      many   hit-FUT-2/3PL.IND
      'You should have caught so many?'

Secondly, when the future tense is used in combination with other linguistic forms or in other constructions, it seems to express more a generalised concept of irrealis. It includes the optative construction (§5.7.2.4) and the conditional clause chain (§7.2.5).

However, the future tense marker is not necessary in some constructions with irrealis reading as in the following.

(70) a. *Valau*   *ʌel*   *ɾta ɾer ɾp*   *ɾml ʌi*   **Vkar-pl-a=(ʌ)we**
          wrong   make.CONJ(SS)   a   to   go.INF   up   DEM   see-1DL-PERM=ENC.WE

          ʌyopal ʌi   *ɾna*   **Vkar-pko=(ʌ)we.**
          person   DEM   1EXC   see-1DL.CONJ(DS)=ENC.WE

          'By accident, if we two went up and looked, we two should have seen the [dead]
          man.'

      b. *Vkan=(V)par*   *ɾka*   *Vkan*   **el-Val**   **Ve-pke**
          see.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)   word   shout   make-IMM   make-1DL.IND

          'We two would have seen [him] and gone almost mad shouting aloud.'

The following might be considered to be a counter-factual expectation expressed in the form
of reported thought with future tense.

(71) *ɾkan ʌi*   *'ʌkor-o'*   *ɾta ʌd-na-m*   *ɾd ʌp-krae*
       guy   DEM   discard-2SGIMP   a   say-FUT-3SG   Q   perceive-1SG.MUT

       'awo'   *ʌd-igwe.*
       yes/right   say-2/3PL.IND

       'I thought, "Those guys will say 'Don't' " but they said, "Yes".'

This is so because of the nature of quotes in Dom which allow only direct-speech like be-
haviour of tenses. The expectation expressed in the example (71), "Those guys will say
'Don't' ", turned out to be false, but it was just a simple expectation (not counter-factual) at
the time when it was expressed.

5.5   Predicate structure

A verbal predicate minimally contains one verb, but it can consist of two serialised verbs
or it can be a verb preceded by a verbal nominal. A verbal nominal can be separated from the
following verb by the negative particle *ɾta* and/or an object cross-reference marker.

Some syntactic processes can make the predicate more complex maintaining the unity
of the predicate, where the whole construction has only a single value for polarity, tense and
mood and it can take the single argument structure. For example, duplication of the main verb
is involved in the assumed-evidential construction V_i-*nal* V_i 'must have V' and the habitual
construction V_i V_i *ʌel* 'to V habitually', where tense, person-number and mood of the whole
predicate are marked only once at the final verbal item as in the following.

(72) a. *ʌknan*   *[gol-Val*   *ʌgo-ge]*
          hunger   die-IMM   die-2SG.IND

          'You must be hungry.'

      b. *[ɾu*   *ɾu*   *ʌel-gwe]*
          come.INF   come.INF   make-3SG.IND

          'He (habitually) comes.'

The imminent construction V-*nal* *ʌel* 'be about to V' and the inferred evidential construction
V-*ka* *Vpai-* are among those constructions which make the predicate more complex:

(73) a. *[ʌd-ral]*   *[ʌe-ke]*
          make-IMM   make-1SG.IND

        'I am going to talk'
   b. *[Λu-ga   Vpa-gwe]*
      come-2SG.SRD   INFERRED-3SG.IND
      '(I have evidence that) you came.'

In the inferred evidential construction as in (73b), person-number of the subject is cross-referenced on the first component. Also, the first component makes a tense distinction, but it cannot inflect for different moods. The second element is always marked as third person singular for person-number and non-future for tense, but it can inflect for different moods.

    A noun phrase or an adjective can be used as a non-verbal predicate. A non-verbal predicate which is followed by the negative ⌈*ta* ⌈*man* 'be not' can be seen as another type of a predicate complex.

    Repetition of verbs in the infinitive mood (Chapter 6) taking part in a serial verb construction or in the subordinative mood (§7.2.2) expresses long duration of the event, whereas repetition of verbs in the conjunctive mood (§7.2.3) expresses an attendant circumstance. Repeated verbs which form a predicate complex cannot be the final clause of the sentence.

    In addition to these constructions which constitute a predicate complex, there appear to be also other elements which are inside a predicate complex. The elements that are considered to be inside a predicate complex include 'adjunct nominals', the negative particle ⌈*ta* and object cross-reference markers, which precede verbal items inside a predicate complex, and the demonstratives and clitics, which follow verbal items.

  (74) [adjunct] [negative] [pronominal object] [**verbal items**] [demonstratives]=[clitics]

5.6   Transitivity and related issues

    Transitivity of verbal lexical items determines what constructions are available for the clause. Verbal lexical items in Dom include verb roots as well as such predicate complexes as adjunct-verb combinations and lexicalised serial verbs.

    Before going on to discuss transitivity in Dom, a close examination of subjecthood and objecthood is in order.

5.6.1 Subjects

    In Dom, no constituent other than the predicate needs to be overtly expressed in a sentence with the exception of absolute-topic type clauses (§5.7.1, §9.3.1.3), where only a topic is present in the sentence. However, some noun phrases are authorised by a verbal item to be present without postposition in a sentence. Arguments are those noun phrases which are selected by verbs. Such constituents as expressions setting temporal and locational frames and topics, which are freely introduced to a clause, are not arguments.

    The subject can be defined as those core arguments which are cross-referenced on verbs. Although there is no case marking of core arguments in Dom, it is usually not so difficult to identify the subject in a sentence.

    However, since number distinction is rarely made for inanimate subject, verbs which take only an inanimate subject are almost always in the third person singular form, in which case it is not clear from the subject cross-reference marker if the inanimate nominal is a true subject

or is in some other syntactic function predicated by an impersonal verb as in the following.

(75) a. ⌐*gn*   ∧*kol-gwe*
mushroom   set.fruit-3SG.IND

'The mushroom matured/There is a mature mushroom'

b. ∧*nl*   ∧*su-gwe*
water   hit-3SG.IND

'Water boiled'

c. *V̌kamn*   *V̌ta-gwe*
rain/area   dawn-3SG.IND

'It dawned'

d. ∧*malaria* ⌐*na*   *V̌au-gwe*
malaria   1EXC   hold-3SG.IND

'Malaria caught me'

e. ⌐*na*   ⌐*npl* ∧*el-gwe*
1EXC   sick   make-3SG.IND

'I am sick'

There is only one possible candidate for the subject in each of the sentences above, ⌐*gn* 'mushroom' (75a), ∧*nl* 'water' (75b), *V̌kamn* 'world' (75c), ∧*malaria* 'malaria' (75d), and ⌐*npl* 'sickness' (75e).

Some cases have been found, in which the context makes individuation of an inanimate subject higher than usual and a number other than singular is marked for inanimate subject as in the following example, where the two mushrooms are cross-referenced as dual on the verb.

(76) ⌐*gn*   *V̌su* ∧*i*   ∧*kun* ∧*kun* *V̌ko-ipke*
mushroom   two   DEM   same   same   set.fruit-2/3DL.IND

'The two mushrooms look alike '

Sometimes verbs with an inanimate subject are inflected for other persons when the subject is personified as in the following.

(77) a. ∧*nl*   ∧*s-o*
water   hit-2SG.IMP

'Water, boil!'

b. ∧*nl*   ∧*si=*∧*ua*   ∧*du-gwe*
water   hit*[1].1SG=ENC.WA   say-3SG.IND

' "I'm boiling," water is saying, '

Dom seems to have no zero-place predicates. Meteorological predicates and time predicates can take *V̌kamn* 'world' (or the reduced form ⌐*kam*) as a core argument, as in the following.

(78) a. *V̌kamn*   *V̌gr-gwe*
rain/area   get.dark-3SG.IND

'Night falls.'

   b. *∨kamn   ∧su-gwe*
      rain   hit-3SG.IND
      'It rains.'

In view of the above facts, I wish to make the following two assumptions:

(79) a. There is no zero-place predicate.
      b. Any predicate takes at least one subject as its argument.

5.6.2   Objects

Pronominal objects sometimes occur twice in a single clause.

(80) a. *⌐**na**   ⌐**na**   ∧kul   ∨yo-gwa*
         1EXC   1EXC   give.birth.INF   to.nurse-3SG.SRD

         'she gave birth to me and'
      b. *⌐**na**   ⌐**na**   ∨aul   ∧yu-gwa*
         1EXC   1EXC   taking.person   fetch-3SG.SRD

         'he took me here and'

At first sight this might be seen as a simple repetition of the object pronoun, but the second occurrence is always an element closest to the verb as in the following.

(81) a. *⌐**en** ∧kui   ∧pepa ⌐**en** [∧tei+⌐ya]   ∨au-yo*
         you   again paper you   give.1SG+EXPL hold-IMP

         'I give you a paper again. Take it.'
      b. *⌐**na**   ∨kal   ∧i   ⌐**na**   [∧to-gwa]*
         1EXC   thing DEM   1EXC   give-3SG.SRD

         'He gave this thing to me (and ...)'

As in the example (81a, b) the three-place predicate *⌐te* 'give' chooses the recipient noun phrase as the object.

   The negative particle *⌐ta*, which usually prefers the position right before the verb (§5.7.4.1), should precede the second slot for a pronominal object as shown in the examples below.

(82) a. *⌐na   [⌐ta] ⌐**na**   [∨ka+(∨)kgw]*
         1EXC   NEG   1EXC   see+NEG.3SG.IND

         'She did not see me.'
      b. *∧gaman   ∨top [⌐ta] ⌐**ne**   [⌐te+(∨)kl-gw]*
         government pay   NEG   1NSG   give+NEG-3SG.IND

         'The government did not pay money to us.'

This second occurrence of the pronominal object is considered to be located inside the predicate complex as an optional object person marker. I shall call the pronominal object in the slot that is closest to the verb an object cross-reference marker.

   Identifying the object of a sentence is not as easy as with the subject. Unmarked constituent order *subject - object - verb* is sometimes helpful, but a construction like one in the following example might be a problem.

(83) ⌐na   ʌam ʌd-ke
     1EXC   sit   (say)-1SG.IND

     'I sit down.'

In the example (83), the verbal noun ʌam 'sit' is used in combination with the verb ⌐d 'say'. The verb has lost its original meaning as the main verb here. Is it a transitive clause with the object ʌam 'sitting down'?

The object cross-reference marker enables us to identify the object, if the object is animate. It is also useful because, as the following example shows, we need another syntactic position in Dom grammar.

(84) ⌐na   ʌgiul ⌐na   ʌkal-gwe
     1EXC   pain 1EXC   bite-3SG.IND

     'She bit me.'

In the example above, ʌgiul is an element which means 'pain' or 'bite'. It is not the object since the object slot is occupied by ⌐na which is cross-referenced before a simple verb and the preferred order of ʌgiul is after the object. Then, we need an additional syntactic slot for a nominal after the object and before the object cross-reference marker. This additional slot can be a possible position for ʌam 'sit' in the example (83) as well, and in the following discussion I would like to show that it should be the case.

5.6.3 'Adjunct'

Some types of clauses in Dom have an additional unmarked nominal before a simple verb which is neither the subject nor the object. Often, the additional element is a verbal noun. This kind of element is called 'adjunct nominal' in the Papuan tradition (Foley 1986). Donohue (2005) suggests a sister position to V underneath a V' node for adjunct nominals in the phrase structure. I would like to use the term 'adjunct nominal' for a syntactic slot, distinguishing it from verbal nouns as a subclass of nouns.

As discussed above, the adjunct nominal can be identified by the absence of cross-referencing, that is, the adjunct nominal is not cross-referenced as the subject or the object. The default constituent order of *subject - object - adjunct - verb* is another diagnostic feature. In addition, they can participate in contiguous serial verb constructions as a part of phrasal verb (Chapter 6) and serial verb constructions can be used as another test frame. In the following example (85a), ᴠalke 'stand' is serialised with ᴠau 'hold' and transitivised. This type of verb serialisation scarcely allows a nominal element between two verbs, apart from adjuncts, for example ʌam in (85b).

(85) a. *[ᴠau]*   *[ᴠal-ke]*
         hold.INF   stand.up-1SG.IND

         'I make [someone] stand up (by hand).'
      b. *[ᴠau]*   *[ʌam ʌd-ke]*
         hold.INF   sit   (say)-1SG.IND

         'I make [someone] sit down (by hand).'

An adjunct nominal is the place closer to a predicate single-root verb in its syntactic alignment and is considered to be placed inside the predicate complex. An adjunct nomi-

nal and a light verb cannot usually be intervened by other arguments with some exceptions discussed below. Hereafter, I use the term 'verb' to refer to both a single-root verb and an adjunct-verb combination.

Adjunct nominal position is not always occupied by nouns with verbal semantics. The adjunct slot is open to some other nouns as well. In the following example (86), ʌ*kan* 'rope' which can be used independently as a noun, is placed between the object and a single-root verb.

(86) ʌ*bola* ʌ*kan* ʌ*kol-e*
      pig   vine   tie.up-CONJ(SS)
      'tied the pig up with rope and...'

On the other hand, verbal nouns also seem to sometimes have other syntactic functions, that is, there seem to be two alternative syntactic positions for verbal nouns. A verbal noun can be placed inside a predicate complex or it can head an object.

Consider the following examples.

(87) a. ˹*na*   ʌ*gal*   ˅*bike* ʌ*si-ke*   'I washed a string bag.'
         1EXC   string.bag   wash   (hit)-1SG.IND

      b. ʌ*gal*   ˹*na*   ˅*bike* ʌ*si-ke*
         string.bag 1EXC   wash   (hit)-1SG.IND

      c. ʌ*gal*   ˅*bike* ˹*na*   ʌ*si-ke*
         string.bag wash   1EXC (hit)-1SG.IND

      d.*˹*na*   ˅*bike* ʌ*gal*   ʌ*si-ke*
         1EXC   wash   string.bag (hit)-1SG.IND

      e.*˅*bike* ˹*na*   ʌ*gal*   ʌ*si-ke*
         wash   1EXC   string.bag (hit)-1SG.IND

      f.*˅*bike* ʌ*gal*   ˹*na*   ʌ*si-ke*
         wash   string.bag   1EXC (hit)-1SG.IND

(87a) shows the unmarked constituent order: *subject - object - adjunct - verb*. In (87b) the object ʌ*gal* is left-dislocated as a topic. Another possible order is shown in (87c) and all other possibilities for the ordering of nominals yield ungrammatical sentences. What is clear from these sentences is that ʌ*gal* 'string bag' should precede ˅*bike* 'washing' but the question is why.

My current hypothesis is that the sentence (87a) is ambiguous in its syntactic structure. There are two construals for (87a), rendered roughly as 'I washed a string bag' and 'I did string bag washing'. The former construal has ʌ*gal* 'string bag' as an object of the predicate complex ˅*bike* ʌ*sike* 'I washed' and this object can be topicalised as in (87b) while the latter has the noun phrase ʌ*gal* ˅*bike* 'string bag washing' which can also be topicalised as in (87c), as an object predicated by ʌ*sike* 'I did', where the verb ˹*s* has no lexical content and carries verbal inflection.

(88) a. subject$_1$ object$_2$ adjunct$_3$
      b. subject$_1$ object$_{2+3}$

Some further evidence may support this hypothesis. First, there are some lexicalised noun phrases consisting of an object plus verbal noun which can be used as arguments of

different predicates. For instance, ⌜*kula* 'mash' is a verbal noun which should be combined with ⌜*s* 'hit' to be predicated as in the following.

(89) *[√kom]* *[⌜kula √su-gwe]*
    cassava mash (hit)-3SG.IND
    '(S)he mashed cassava'

⌜*kula* cannot be used in isolation and is usually used as a predicate in the way illustrated above. The combination *√kom* ⌜*kula* is lexicalised with the meaning of 'mashed cassava' and can be used with verbs other than ⌜*s*.

(90) *[√kom* *⌜kula]* *[√no-gwe]*
    cassava mash eat-3SG.IND
    '(S)he ate mashed cassava'

There is a tie between ⌜*kula* and ⌜*s* on the one hand, and between *√kom* and ⌜*kula* on the other. This example illustrates the fact that a verbal noun can head a noun phrase in which it is premodified by a nominal.

Furthermore, a type of ambitransitive verbs discussed in the following section behaves in a similar way.

5.6.4 Ambitransitive verbs

There are groups of verbs which can be used both transitively and intransitively. In this grammar the dual transitivity exhibited by this kind of verbs is called ambitransitive. Here are the examples of transitive and intransitive usages of *√kuk* ⌜*d* 'to peel, to be peeled'.

(91) a. *√au*   *√**kuk** ⌜**d***   *√er-ke*
      hold.INF peel (say).INF to/off-1SG.IND
      'I peeled off [the burnt skin] by hand.'
   b. *√**kuk** ⌜**d***   *⌜er √o-gwe*
      peel (say).INF to go-3SG.IND
      'It (the burnt skin) is peeled off.'

In the above examples, the transitive use (91a) of *√kuk* ⌜*d* is serialised with two additional verbs *√au* 'hold, do by hand' and *√er* 'move, do off'. *√au* is itself transitive and *√er* usually follows a transitive verb. The whole construction is marked for person-number of the subject, the first person, who acts and causes the change of state, i.e. 'peeling'. In contrast, the intransitive use (91b) of *√kuk* ⌜*d* is followed by ⌜*er* ⌜*p* which selects intransitive verbs and means that something is 'off'. The whole construction is marked as having a third person singular subject, which is the burnt skin.

When the elements other than the phrasal verb *√kuk* ⌜*d* in the above examples are stripped off, the simple *√kuk* ⌜*d* shows strong preference for intransitive reading.

(92) *√kuk* *√du-gwe*
    peel say-3SG.IND
    'It is peeled.'

Here is another example of *√bal* ⌜*s* 'tear', which shows the almost identical behaviour.

(93)   a. Λ*gal*   V*bal* Λ*su-gwe*
           string.bag   tear   (hit)-3SG.IND

           'The string bag is torn.'

       b.*Λ*gal*   V*bal* Λ*si-ke*
           string.bag   tear   (hit)-1SG.IND

           (I tore the string bag.)

       c. Λ*gal*   **V*au***   V*bal* Λ*si-ke*
           string.bag   hold.INF   tear   (hit)-1SG.IND

           'I tore the string bag by hand.'

The phrasal verb V*bal* Γ*s* 'tear' has both intransitive and transitive readings but without some elements accompanied its preferred interpretation is intransitive one as in (93a) and the transitive use is often even rejected as unacceptable as in (93b). It can be used transitively when serialised with V*au* 'hold' which expresses how the act of tearing is done as in (93c).

In general, transitive verbs which denote manner of the event are often preposed to transitive use of ambitransitive verbs. Preposed transitive manner verbs which have been observed frequently include the following.

(94)   Γ*s* 'hit', V*au* 'hold, by hand', V*ekl* 'tread, by foot', V*ku* 'put in mouth, by mouth', Λ*kal* 'bite', Λ*gal* 'burn (tr.)', Λ*bal* 'cut', V*wel* 'roll', Λ*gur* 'pull', V*gu* 'shave', Λ*er* 'put, wear'

What is characteristic about this verb list is that it does not include complex predicates of the adjunct-verb combination type.

Ambitransitive verbs in Dom can be used intransitively without any condition, but their transitive use appears to be possible only in the appropriate context, which shows considerable degree of agentivity of the agent.

Another linguistic context which is frequently observed regarding transitive use of ambitransitive verbs is an immediately preceding instrument noun.

(95)   V*kepa*   Γ***di*** Γ*kol*   Λ*s-ke*
       sweet.potato axe   break   (hit)-1SG.IND

       'I cut the sweet potato into two.'

In the example (95), the ambitransitive Γ*kol* Γ*s* 'break' is preceded by Γ*di* 'axe'. Two comments should be made here. First, in the actual situation the act of cutting was done with a knife. When Γ*di* is used in other contexts, it means only 'axe'. When used in this position before an ambitransitive verb, it means that the act is performed by some cutting tool with a blade. Second, an instrument noun phrase is usually followed by Γ*ire* 'taking' or the postposition Λ*pal* as in the following.

(96)   a.*V*kepa*   Γ***di*** Γ***kupa*** Γ*s*   Γ*kol*   Λ*s-ke*
           sweet.potato machete   hit   break   (hit)-1SG.IND

           (I cut the sweet potato with a machete)

       b. V*kepa*   Γ***di*** Γ***kupa*** Γ***i-re***   Γ*s*   Γ*kol*   Λ*s-ke*
           sweet.potato machete   take-CONJ(SS)   hit   break   (hit)-1SG.IND

           'I cut the sweet potato with a machete'

Γ*di* 'axe' seems to be placed before an ambitransitive verb to signal that the verb is used transitively. The same use is observed also for Γ*kupa* 'stick'.

Preposed manner verbs, and preposed instrumental nouns serve as a linguistic context which guarantees the transitive use of an ambitransitive verb, and I shall call these transitivity markers. However, this does not seem to be necessary syntactic marking. Consider the following.

(97) a. Γ*s*　　√*telle*　∧*d-ke*
　　　　hit.INF　noise　(say)-1SG.IND
　　　　'I made a noise.'

　　b.*√*telle*　∧*d-ke*
　　　　noise　(say)-1SG.IND
　　　　(I made a noise.)

　　c. Γ*s*　　√*telle*　∧*d-n-o*　　　√*telle*　∧*d-ke*
　　　　hit.INF　noise　(hit)-2SG-PQM　noise　(say)-1SG.IND

　　　'Did you make a noise?' 'I made a noise'

In example (97a), the ambitransitive phrasal verb √*telle* Γ*d* '[someone] sounds [something], [something] sounds' is used transitively with the preposed transitivity marker Γ*s* 'hit'. Without a transitivity marker, it is usually not allowed to be used transitively as in (97b), but with a certain context the transitive use is allowed as in (97c), where the question is made with the transitive marker Γ*s* while the answer lacks it.

Also note that in (97a) the transitive marking Γ*s* 'hit' is not necessary to express the act of hitting. It just serves as a generalised marker for transitivity.

This seems to be the same pattern as Γ*s* in the following example.

(98) Γ*s*　　∧*gal*　　∧*g-ke*
　　　hit.INF　string.bag　put.into-1SG.IND
　　　'I put [it] in a string bag.'

In (98), the transitive phrasal verb ∧*gal* ∧*gl* 'put in a string bag' is preceded by an optional Γ*s* without any apparent semantic difference from ∧*gal* ∧*gl* as such. Some idiomatic serial verbs which are transitive also contain Γ*s* as their first part.

When the object is a body part of the subject, ambitransitive verbs sometimes lack those elements which mark transitivity. In the following examples, ∧*wala* ∧*gal* 'to extend' and √*kurara* ∧*el* 'to wave', both of which have 'hand' as their object, are not preceded by a transitive verb or an instrument noun.

(99) a. Γ*na*　√*o-na*　　　　∧*wala*　∧*ga-ke*
　　　　1EXC　hand-1SG.POSS　extend　(burn(tr.))-1SG.IND
　　　　'I extended my arms'

　　b. √*o*　　　　　√*kurara*　√*kurara*　　∧*el-m-o*
　　　　hand.3SG.POSS　wave.RED　wave.RED　(make)-3SG-PQM
　　　　'Was she waving her hands?'

Perhaps, these examples behave differently because of low semantic transitivity of body movement events.

Some ambitransitive verbs can be used transitively without any elements marking transitivity as in (100a).

(100)   a.   *Λkiul   Λsu-gwe*
             cut   hit-3SG.IND

             'He cut it, it was cut'

        b.   *Γs   Λkiul   Λsu-gwe*
             hit.INF   cut   hit-3SG.IND

             'He cut it'

The preferred interpretation for the ambiguous sentence (100a) is a transitive one. This happens probably because some changes of state are difficult to occur without a causer. If *Γs* is used as an optional transitivity marker, it disambiguates the readings as in (100b).

Transitivity marking is obligatory for some verbs as in the following examples (101a-c).

(101)   a.   *Γs   Λgo-ke*
             hit.INF   die-1SG.IND

             'I killed.'

        b.   *Vau   Val-ke*
             hold.INF   stand.up-1SG.IND

             'I made him stand up (using my arms)'

        c.   *Γs   Λkai   Λel-gwe*
             hit.INF   cry   make-3SG.IND

             'hit and make someone cry'

Verbs in (101) usually take a human object. Transitive use of the verbs with a human object can be available only when the causer is physically involved in the relevant state of change. For example, (101b) cannot be used when the subject makes someone stand up by verbal command, even if the manner verb is replaced by *Γd* 'say' which would seem appropriate.

The intransitive use also is often accompanied by an intransitive manner verb as in the following.

(102)   *Vbl-n   [Γde]   [Vbla   Λd-na-wdae]*
        head-2SG.POSS   burn(intr.).INF   burst   (say)-FUT-3SG.MUT

        'Your head will be burnt and explode (as a matter of course).'

Here, the ambitransitive *Vbla Γd* 'explode, squib' is used as intransitive and is preceded by an intransitive verb *Γde* 'be burnt' which shows how the event occurs.

Syntactic and semantic behaviour of ambitransitive verbs seems to differ according to semantic sub-types. In what follows, I will discuss the groups of ambitransitive verbs and their charcteristics.

5.6.4.1   Verbs of breaking

There are many verbs of breaking and tearing in Dom and most of them are ambitransitive:

(103)   *[Γs] Γpawa (Γmawa) Γd-* 'break', *[Vau/Vekl] Γbara (Γmara) Γd-* 'decay', *[Γs/Vau/Vekl; Γkupa/Γd]*
        Λbeke (Λmake) Γd- '(hard thing) break', *[Vau/Vku/Λkal] Γarapl (Γmarapl) Γd-* '(long
        soft thing) break', *[Vau/Γs] Vbal (Vmal) Γs-* 'rip, tear', *[Vau/Vekl/Vku] Vdna (Vdana) Γd-*

'rip, tear', *[√au/√ekl] √urwal (√korwal) ⌐d-* 'smash into pieces', *[∧gal/⌐si/√au/√ekl] ⌐derwal (⌐barwal) ∧el-* 'mash, pulp', *[√au/⌐s/√ku/√ekl] ⌐kala (⌐mala) ⌐s-* 'break off', *[√au/⌐s] √pala (√mala) ⌐d-* 'split', *[⌐s] ⌐por (⌐par) ⌐te-* 'break, bust', *[⌐s] ⌐bo (⌐ba) ⌐d-* 'break in two', *[⌐s/√ekl/√ku;⌐di] ⌐kol (⌐kal) ⌐s-* 'break', *[⌐s/√au/√ekl/√ku] ⌐pa ⌐d-* 'break', *[√au/⌐s/√ekl] ⌐guru ⌐di-* '(house) tumble', *[√au] ⌐peu (⌐pau) ⌐d-* '(teeth, bones) fracture', *[√au] ∧gula ⌐d-* 'fall down', *[√ekl/√au] ∧bara ∧gal-* 'chafe', *[⌐s] √krn ∧gul-* 'chafe', *[⌐si/∧bal/√gu] ∧kuk ⌐d-* 'chafe, bark*[⌐si/√au/√ekl] ⌐au (⌐mau) ⌐d-* 'hole', *[⌐si/√au] √ber-* 'hole', *[⌐si/∧gal/√ku] ⌐gukl (⌐gakl/⌐gaukl) ⌐d-* 'hole', *[√au] √non-* 'pull out', *[⌐s; ⌐di] ⌐ewa ⌐di-* 'break', *[⌐s] ∧ara ∧bol-* 'break', *[⌐s] ⌐gara ⌐d-* '(glass) break', *[⌐s] ∧wal ∧kul-* '(tree) bark', *[√ekl] √bl ⌐d-* 'break (into two)', *[⌐s; ⌐di] ∧kiul (∧kaul) ⌐s-* 'cut', *[√au] √kurwal ∧pal-* 'scrunch', *[√au] ⌐dr ⌐d-* 'collapse', *[⌐si] ⌐ul ∧gul-* 'slip out', *[⌐si] ⌐puku ⌐d-* 'break off'

Optional transitive markers observed with these verbs are shown in brackets, where I separate manner verbs from instrumental nouns by a semicolon. I also use this representation below.

These verbs are often used with the resultative auxiliary *√ye* (§6.5.2).

(104)   ⌐gukl   ⌐d   √yo-gwe
       hole   (say).INF   be-3SG.IND
       'There is a hole.'

There are other verbs denoting change in shape, inclination, or corporeal state, which behave ambitransitively:

(105)   *[∧gur/√au] √du ⌐d-* 'straighten', *[√au/⌐s] ∧dul ⌐d-* 'stretch', *[⌐s/√au] ⌐gel (⌐mal) ⌐te-* 'twist', *[√au/√ku] √geu-* 'crook (and take off)', *[√au/√ku/⌐s] ⌐yowa (⌐mawa) √ye-* 'crook', *[√au] ∧parke ⌐d-* 'crook', *[√au] ⌐gu ⌐d-* 'bent', *[∧gur] ⌐ma ⌐d-* 'bent', *[⌐s/√au] ∧wala ∧gal-* 'extend', *[√au] ⌐eula ⌐d-* 'distort', *[√au] √kul ⌐d-* 'distort', *[∧bal] √pen √ye-* 'bald', *[∧bal] ∧kela √ye-* 'bald (loanword)', *[⌐s] √ku ∧pel-* 'distort', *[⌐s] √pema √ke-* 'become round'

(106)   *[⌐s] √awa (√mawa) ⌐te-* 'inverted, reversed', *[√au] ∧praa √wa-* 'lean' *[√au] ⌐ina ⌐d-* 'reversed'

(107)   *[√au] √al-* 'stand/make (by hands) someone stand', *[√au] ∧am ⌐d-* 'sit/make (by hands) someone sit', *[⌐s] ∧gol-* 'die/kill'

5.6.4.2   Verbs of spilling

Verbs of spilling are ambitransitive. In the case of spilling verbs, events are usually non-volitional even when they are used transitively. This shows that one cannot argue that volition is a necessary condition for transitive use of ambitransitive verbs.

(108)   *[√au/⌐s/∧er/√sul] ⌐garu (⌐maru) ⌐d-* 'spill, drop', *[√wel] ∧pria ⌐s-* 'crumble', *[√wel] √sul ⌐d-* 'crumble, spill', *[√au/⌐s] ⌐slla (⌐malla) ⌐d-* 'fall, crumble', *[√wel] √slpi ⌐s-* 'spill', *[⌐s] ⌐praml ⌐s-* 'spatter', *[√ekl] ∧kawaa ⌐te-* 'fall, slip off' *[⌐s] ∧paral ⌐d-* 'veer away, go off' *[⌐s] ⌐kl ⌐d-* 'off'

5.6.4.3 Verbs of shaking

Verbs of shaking illustrated below are ambitransitive.

(109) *[Γsi] Λdeu (Λdau) Λel-* 'shake', *[Vau] Γgar (Γmar) Γd-* 'shake, wobble', *[Vau] Γpika (Γpika) Γd-* 'shake, wobble', *[Vau] Γpia Vwaya Γs-* 'shake', *[Vau/Γsi] Vkurl (Varl) Γs-* 'spin, turn', *[Γsi/Λgur] Vpl (Vpl) Γdi-* 'spring', *Γol (Γol) Γs-* 'jump', *[Vau] Vkurara (Vkurara) Λel-* 'wave'

Events denoted by the verbs of shaking are repetitive in their nature.

5.6.4.4 Verbs of sounding

The following are a group of ambitransitive verbs with the meaning of sounding.

(110) *[Γs] Γbn (Γban) Γd-* 'crack, snap', *[Γs] Vgun (Vgan) Γd-* 'bang', *[Γs] Vbr (Vmar) Γd-* 'noise as of engine', *[Γs] Γbe (Γma/Γba) Γd-* 'dingdong', *[Γs] Vbla (Vtola) Γd-* 'bang', *[Γs/Vau] Γkula (Γkaula) Γd-* 'rustle, crinkle', *[Γs] Vtelle (Vpolle) Γd-* 'rustle', *[Vau/Γs] Vsi Γd-* 'pfft (noise of air)', *[Λgur/Λgal] Γbl Γtol (Γmal Γtol) Γd-* 'snappy fire', *[Γs/Λgal] Vmu (Vmau) Γd-* 'roaring noise', *[Γs/Λgal/Vekl] Vnuku (Vnaku/Vnuku) Γd-* 'to tramp', *[Γs] Γgara Γd-* 'clang', *[Γs] Γgulu Γd-* 'ting, cling', *[Γs] Γkl (Γkui) Γd-* 'rattle', *[Γs] Vgere Vgere Γd-* 'riffle'

All the verbs of sounding shown here are phrasal verbs with the light verb *Γd-* 'to say'.

Most of these verbs can be used transitively, if followed by the verb *Γs* 'hit', as in (111).

(111) a. *Λbelo   Λsu-gwa   Γbe   Λdu-gwe*
      bell   hit-3SG.SRD sound (say)-3SG.IND
      'Someone struck a bell (and) it sounded'

    b. *Λbelo   Γs   Γbe   Λdu-gwe*
      bell   hit.INF sound (say)-3SG.IND
      'Someone struck and sounded a bell'

However the verb *Γs* 'hit' as a transitive marker preceding the verbs of sounding is often used without having the meaning of 'hit'.

Sounding verbs basically take a less animate argument for S when used intransitively and O for transitive use.

There are verbs with a similar meaning which have an animate argument in the S function, namely, verbs of crying, such as in the following. However, they are intransitive verbs without ambitransitivity.

(112) a. *Γwi Γs-* 'yell', *Vkon-* 'shout "o!"', *Vmal-* '(several persons) shout "o!" ', *Vo Γd-* '(several persons) shout "puo!" ', *Λalaa Γs-* '(women) scream "ahyahwoo!" ', *Γge Γgo Γd-* 'scream "aya!" or "e! e!" ', *Γwi Λawa Λel-* '(several persons) sing out "wawela wawela!" oh "o! aheh!" ', *Vo Vwa Γd-* 'shout with joy', *Λkai Λel-* 'cry (in sorrow)', *Λkai Vtom Γs-* 'lament', *Λawa Λbal-* 'shout', *Γka Vkane Λel-* 'cry (in pain)'

    b. *Γbe Γd-* '(animal) cries', *Γau (Γmau) Γd-* 'bark', *Γar (Γmar) Γd-* 'bark', *Vgu Γd-* 'oink', *Vdi Γd-* 'squeak'

Most of the verbs of crying shown above are phrasal verbs (112a) and various light verbs are used. Verbs in (112b) consist of mimetics plus ˹d 'say'.

The verb ˹be ˹d- 'to sound, to cry' belongs to both categories, crying and sounding, but when it is used with the meaning of 'cry', it does not exhibit ambitransitivity.

(113)   a. Λkoral   Λs-ka   ˹be Λdu-gwe
             chicken   hit-1SG.SRD   cry   (say)-3SG.IND

           'I struck a fowl (and) it cried'

         b.*Λkoral   ˹s   ˹be   Λdi-ke
             chicken   hit.INF   cry   (say)-1SG.IND

           (I struck and thereby sounded a fowl)

5.6.4.5   Verbs of dawning

This term refers to verbs denoting the passage of time, which usually take ∨kamn 'world' as their subject as in (114a). They can alternatively take an animate subject, who spends time doing something as in (114b), where the first person plural subject is marked on the verb.

(114)   a. ∨kamn   ∨tagwe
             world   dawn-3SG.IND

           'It dawned.'

         b. Λmol   ˹i   ˹p   ∨kamn   ∨ta-pge
             stay.INF   take.INF   go.INF   world   dawn-1PL.IND

           'We stayed up [all night] until dawn.'

Preposed manner verbs are obligatory when used with animate subjects.

(115)*∨kamn   ∨ta-ke   (I dawned/I was up until morning)
        world   dawn-1SG.IND

The following group of verbs are time verbs or verbs of dawning which show ambitransitivity.

(116) ∨kamn ˹pu ˹d- 'evening', ∨kamn Λkama ˹s- 'to get dark', ∨kamn ˹s Λbol- 'night',
        ∨kamn ∨gr- 'night', ∨kamn Λtoki ˹s- 'dawn', ∨kamn ∨ta- 'dawn'

In addition to these verbs, ∨ye preceded by a temporal noun phrase can be used in the same way.

Verbs of dawning are different from other subtypes of ambitransitive verbs in several ways. When used with a human subject, manner verbs can be intransitives, and they are often complex.

(117)   a. Λkat   ˹s   Λmol   ∨kamn   ∨gr-gwa
             card   (hit).INF   stay.INF   world   get.dark-3SG.SRD

           'She was (absorbed in) playing cards until dark. / She made a night of it playing cards.'

         b. Λponde   ˹d   ∨kamn   ∨ta-pgi
             Thursday   say.INF   world   dawn-1PL.DEM

           'On Thursday [night], we had a courtship party until dawn.'

Moreover, this use is probably not transitive since *√kamn* always follows the manner verb whereas the syntactic alternation discussed for other subtypes of ambitransitive verbs shows the correspondence between intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O), where the transitive object precedes the whole serial verb construction.

We can still consider this as an alternation pattern similar to the ones discussed before, and it differs from the other types only in that the serial verb construction involved here allows non-contiguous structures.

Alternatively, it is possible that in the syntactic alternation shown by verbs of dawning, *√kamn* functions as an intransitive subject (S) in one construction, and as an adjunct nominal in another construction, which can be intransitive or transitive depending on the preceding predicate.

(118)   a. subject$_1$
        b. adjunct$_1$

However, phrasal verbs of dawning need a more complex process:

(119)   a. subject$_1$ adjunct$_2$
        b. adjunct$_{1+2}$

5.6.4.6   Verbs of sickness

Idiomatic phrasal verbs meaning sickness display two different types of behaviour in terms of cross-reference markers.

(120)   a. *⌐na*   *∧dukl*   *∧de-ke*   'I have scabies.'
           1EXC   scabies   (burn(intr.))-1SG.IND

        b. *⌐na*   *∧dukl*   *∧do-gwe*   'As for me, there is scabies (on my skin).'
           1EXC   scabies   (burn(intr.))-3SG.IND

As illustrated in the above example, verbs of sickness may be marked for person-number identical with the person who is sick, and also may inflect for the third person singular regardless of who the sick person is.

In the example (120a), the experiencer of this event, namely, *⌐na* '1EXC' is the subject and the word for sickness (*∧dukl* 'scabies' in this case) is the object or adjunct, whereas the sickness word is the subject and the experiencer is an extraposed topic in (120b). The words which show this pattern include:

(121)   a. *⌐npl ∧el-* 'sick', *⌐de-* 'ambustion', *∧nm ⌐de-* 'wound', *∧nmbona ⌐de-* 'wound', *∧dukl ⌐de-* 'scabies', *√nu- 'shiver'*, *∧kui √ye-* 'cure', *∧nu ⌐s-* 'have a cold', *∧sik ∧el-* 'sick'
        b. *(⌐s) ∧arkan ∧el-* 'feel well, recover'

The transitive use of sickness verbs is not accompanied by a manner verb or an instrumental noun, which is common or even necessary in the transitive use of other ambitransitive verbs.

Verbs of sickness are more frequently used with invariable third person singular marking, and this fact seems congruent with the behaviour of verbs of dawning.

One item, the word meaning 'feel well, recover' Λ*arkan* Λ*el-* has an alternative form Γ*s* Λ*arkan* Λ*el-* where the infinitive verb Γ*s* 'hit' precedes the basic form. The two forms are in free variation and the presence of Γ*s* has no effect upon transitivity of the forms. This serialisation is possible probably because Λ*arkan* is in the adjunct nominal position.

Another group of verbs which show the same pattern of syntactic alternation, but with an additional argument, are verbs of disability, as in the following.

(122) a. Γ*na*   Γ*kna-na*   V*gi*   Λ*du-gwe*
           1EXC   ear-1SG.POSS   deaf   (say)-3SG.IND

       "I am deaf."
       "I am frenetic."

    b. Γ*na*   Γ*kna-na*   V*gi*   Λ*d-ke*
           1EXC   ear-1SG.POSS   deaf   (say)-1SG.IND

       "I am deaf. / I did not hear."
       "I am frenetic. / I forgot"

In these examples, the only possible syntactic function for each constituent in (122b) is the subject for Γ*na*, the object for Γ*knana*, the adjunct for V*gi* and the verb for Λ*dke* if we exclude the possibility of Γ*knana* V*gi* being one noun phrase.

In fact, the combination Γ*kna* V*gi* can be used to refer to 'deaf' without being followed by Γ*d* while V*gi* in isolation cannot. Thus, Γ*knana* V*gi* as a whole can be an object or even an adjunct.

The verbs which exhibit this type of alternation include:

(123) a. *(*Λ*guma)* Λ*kule* Λ*el-* '(nose) have a flat nose', *(*V*omle)* Γ*dr* Γ*d-* '(eye) blind', *(*Γ*kale)* Λ*kerwa* Γ*s-* '(leg) bent legs', *(*Γ*kna)* V*gi* Γ*d-* '(ear) deaf', *(*V*glaipe)* V*guli* Γ*d-* '(tongue) twisted tongue', *(*Λ*gla)* V*dna* Γ*d-* '(mouth) cleft lip',
    b. Λ*gu* V*gel-* 'disabled', Λ*du* Γ*d-* 'frenetic'
    c. *(*Γ*s)* Λ*gerke* Λ*el-* 'limp', Γ*s* V*eri* Γ*te-* [*2] 'deformed'

Also in this list, verbs in the last sub-group have Γ*s* as their first element.

For verbs of sickness the S/Adjunct alternation of nouns for sickness and subsequent extraposition of the experiencer seems to occur.

(124) a. subject$_1$ adjunct$_2$
    b. topic$_1$ subject$_2$

There are several possibilities concerning the syntactic alternation involving the verbs of disability. If the sequence Γ*knana* V*gi* does not constitute a phrase, the alternation pattern is a new one as in the following.

(125) a. topic$_1$ subject$_2$ adjunct$_3$
    b. subject$_1$ object$_2$ adjunct$_3$

If this sequence is a noun phrase with one syntactic function, either (126) or (127) is the syntactic alternation concerning verbs of disability.

(126) a. topic$_1$ subject$_{2+3}$

---

*2 The obligatoriness of Γ*s* in Γ*s* V*eri* Γ*te-* is not known to me.

        b. subject₁ object₂₊₃

(127)   a. topic₁ subject₂₊₃
        b. subject₁ adjunct₂₊₃

Among these three, the last one is the same pattern as exhibited by the verbs of sickness.

My tentative assumption is that Γ*knana* V*gi* as a whole might form one noun phrase in the way similar to some object-adjunct combinations, such as Λ*gal* V*bike* and V*kom* Γ*kula* in §5.6.3.

In addition to the verbs of sickness, such verbs as Λ*ipn* Γ*de-* 'heavy', V*u* Γ*d-* 'light', Λ*kul* Γ*te-* 'wet', V*tolpe* Γ*s-* 'all wet' show the same alternation in subject cross-reference. They can form either 'I am heavy'-type constructions or 'I is heavy'-type constructions. The implication is that this alternation in cross-reference is certainly semantically based, but is not lexically determined by the prototypical meaning of the verbs.

Although some verbs of state denote symptoms they have meanings similar to ambitransitive sickness verbs, the subject marker on them is always that of third person singular. The following are the examples of such verbs:

(128)   a. Λ*giul* Γ*s-* 'hurt', Λ*knan* Γ*s-* 'hungry', Γ*s* Γ*ne-* 'irritating, sting', Λ*don* Λ*el-* 'itchy, delicious, ecstasy', *(V*omle*)* V*mal-* '(eye) dizzy', Γ*torapl* Γ*d-* 'tired', Γ*paul* V*ya-* 'tired', *(Λ*kap*)* V*ken* V*go-* 'tired, satisfied', Λ*kun* Λ*el-* 'enough', Γ*ki* V*pai-* 'too much, tired, satisfied'
        b. Γ*umn* Γ*u-* 'a boil', Γ*palan* Γ*u-* 'sweat', Λ*mepl* Γ*u-* 'get nausea', Λ*guma* Λ*nu* Γ*u-* 'snivel', Γ*kol* V*ape* Λ*bal-* 'pus'

In (128) the verbs are illustrated with their subjects. Phrases in (128b) express emergence of a sickness or a symptom, where Γ*u-* 'come' is used in the sense of 'emerge'.

Below are examples of a verb of stimulus.

(129)   a. Λ*giul*   Λ*su-gwe*   'It hurts./Pain attacks.'
            pain   (hit)-3SG.IND

        b. Λ*giul*   Λ*go-ke*   'I feel pain.'
            pain   feel-1SG.IND

(130)   V*kur* V*ye-* 'scorched', V*yau-* 'swell up', V*mr-* 'scar', Λ*purl* Γ*ne-* 'ulcer' V*ke-* 'heal over'

5.6.4.7   Verbs of anger

Verbs of anger are idiomatic expressions most of which would compositionally denote the condition of the intestines. The angry person is expressed as the possessor of the intestines.

(131)   a. Λ*dem* V*kupr-* 'angry', Λ*dem* Λ*gol-* 'angry', Λ*dem* Λ*giul* Γ*s-* 'angry', Λ*dem* Γ*ki* Γ*s-* 'angry', Λ*dem* V*mri* V*gui* Γ*s-* 'become calm'
        b. *[*Γ*s/*V*au]* V*gui* Γ*s-* 'becom calm'

Anger verbs can take a noun meaning intestines as the subject, but they can alternatively take the angry person in question as the subject. This is the same alternation pattern as the one observed for sickness verbs in the above examples.

Anger verbs with an experiencer subject are observed mostly in imperative sentences and in applicative constructions with ⌐te- which introduces the target of anger. They are rarely accepted in other types of sentences as illustrated by the following examples.

(132) a. ⌐na   Λde-na   Λgol-gwe
           1EXC   intestines-1SG.POSS   die-3SG.IND

           'I am angry.'
       b. ⌐na   Λde-na   Λgol   ⌐en   Λte-ke
           1EXC   intestines-1SG.POSS   die.INF   you   give-1SG.IND

           'I am angry with you.'
       c. ??⌐na   Λde-na   Λgo-ke   (I am angry.)
           1EXC   intestines-1SG.POSS   die.1SG.IND

       d. ⌐na   Λde-na   **Λgo-ki**   Λgol   ⌐en   Vnen   Λte-ke
           1EXC   intestines-1SG POSS   die-1SG.DEM   die.INF   you   oneself   give.1SG.IND

           'It is you that I am angry with.'

There are some verbs denoting emotion, which are marked as third person singular regardless of the experiencer, as in the following.

(133) ⌐na   Λnl   kol-Va-ka   **⌐ge**   **Λdu-gwe**
        1EXC   water   fill-FUT-1SG.SRD   in.no.mood   (say)-3SG.IND

        'I don't feel like drawing water.'

The verb ⌐ge ⌐d in the second clause in the example (133) cannot take the experiencer as its subject like in (134a) below but when serialised with the perception verb Λpl, the whole construction can have an experiencer subject as in (134b).

(134) a.*⌐na   ⌐ge   Λd-ke
          1EXC   in.no.mood   (say)-1SG.IND

          'I don't feel like (it).'
       b. ⌐na   Λnl   kol-Va-ka   **⌐ge**   **⌐d**   **Λp-ke**
          1EXC   water   fill-FUT-1SG.SRD   in.no.mood   (say).INF   perceive-1SG.IND

          'I don't feel like drawing water.'

5.7   Sentence types

A sentence can be simple or complex. Complex sentences are mainly discussed in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8. Sentences in Dom can be classified in several ways, such as:

(135) a. simple - complex
       b. declarative - interrogative -imperative
       c. affirmative - negative

Sentences with a non-verbal predicate can be seen as a type of sentences. In Dom, clauses with a non-verbal predicate always constitute a simple sentence, that is, they can only be a final clause and they cannot be preceded by subordinate clauses. In this section, I deal with marked sentence types, interrogative, imperative, equational clauses with a non-verbal predicate, and negation.

5.7.1   Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences in Dom can never be formed with a simple change in the intonation pattern of the declarative sentence. Interrogative sentences are marked by mood suffixes (§4.1.5.10) for verbal predicates and by clitics in non-verbal predicates, as in the following.

(136)   a.   ⌐*na=(∧)yo?*
                 1EXC=PQM

                 '(Is it) me?'

           b.   ⌐*para=(∧)yo?*
                 enough/all=PQM

                 '(Is it) enough?'

           c.   ∧*mo-n-o?*
                 stay-2SG-PQM

                 'Are you staying?'

           d.   ∧*mo-di=∧yo?*
                 stay-2SG.QM=PQM

                 'Are you staying?'

The example above is in the form of a polar question, namely, a yes-no question. Polar question with non-verbal predicates are marked by the clitics =∧*yo*∼=∧*no* while the ones with verbal predicates are marked by the suffix *-o* or the sequence of a suffix and a clitic *-kri=∧yo*.

The forms are different for non-polar questions, such as constituent ('wh'-) questions, as in the following.

(137)   a.   ∧*i*   ∨*ala(=∧we)?*
                 DEM   who=ENC.WE

                 'Who is this?'

           b.   ∨*ala*   ∧*mo-n-e*
                 who   stay-2SG-QM

                 'Who are you?'

Non-polar questions with non-verbal predicates do not require any markers, but they are optionally marked by the clitic =∧*we*, whereas non-polar questions with verbal predicates are marked by the suffix *-e*, which is often dropped according to the phonological rule of *e*-deletion, or the suffix *-kri*.

The dubitative clitic =∧*mo* is used for alternative questions. All alternatives are in the non-polar interrogative mood (*-(e)*) and non-final alternatives are cliticised by =∧*mo* as in the following.

(138)   ∧*pawa*   ⌐*en*   ∧*i-na-gwi*   ∧**p-n=∧mo**   ⌐**p+∨k-n-e***?'*
           electricity   you   take-FUT-3SG.DEM   perceive-2SG=or   perceive+NEG-2SG-QM

           'Did you consider the fact that the electricity would shock you, or not?'

(139) U: *Voml-e*   *Λtenan* *Vpa-gwe*
          eye-3SG.POSS   one   lie-3SG.IND

          'There is only one eye.'

      M: **Vmapl=(Γ)la**   **Vpa-m=(Λ)mo** **Voml=(Γ)la**   **Vpa-m?**
          forehead.3SG.POSS=LOC   lie-3SG.QM   eye-3SG.POSS=LOC   lie-3SG.QM

          'Is it on the forehead or in one of the places where the eyes should be?'

      U: *Vmapl=(Γ)la*   *Λmala* *Λtenan* *Λwon* *Vpai*   *Λkor-gwi*
          forehead.3SG.POSS=LOC   nearby   one   truly   lie.INF COMPL-3SG.DEM

          'Here on the forehead, there is really only one eye, like this.'

Another type of non-polar question has the form consisting only of a topic noun phrase frequently marked by the clitic *Λwe*. Such questions ask about the topic but the information required by the sentence cannot be clear without the context since no overt question word is included. The conversation below, which actually happens to follow the conversation in the example above, contains two such questions.

(140) M: **Λguma=Λwe?**   '(How about) the nostrils?'
          nose.3SG.POSS=ENC.WE

      U: *Λguma*   *Vama* *Λtenan* *Vpa-gwi*
          nose.3SG.POSS   too   one   lie-3SG.DEM

          Λgla   *Λtenan* *Vpai*   *Λkor-gwi*
          mouth.3SG.POSS   one   lie.INF COMPL-3SG.DEM

          'There is also only one nostril, like this. There is only one mouth, like this.[*3]'

      M: *Vo?*
          hand.3SG.POSS

          'Arms?'

      U: *Vo*   *Λteran*
          hand.3SG.POSS   one

          'One arm.'

The first occurrence of this absolute topic as a question, *Λguma*, is marked by the clitic =*Λwe* and the second *Vo* is unmarked. The context makes it clear that the man who asks the question is interested in how many arms there are.

    How the absolute topic is construed varies considerably with the context. Possibilities of pragmatic interpretation other than 'how many' are illustrated below.

(141) a. *Γen* *Λka-n=Λwe?*
          you   name-2SG.POSS=ENC.WE

          '(What is) your name?'

      b. *Γen=(Λ)we?*
          you=ENC.WE

          '(How about) you?'

---

*3 There is nothing strange about having one mouth, though.

   c. ⌐*na*   ⌐*di=(⌐)we?*
      1EXC axe=ENC.WE
     '(Where is/Can you give me back) my axe?'

   d. ∨*kepa*   ∧*i=*∧*we?*
      sweet.potato DEM=ENC.WE
     '(How did you get) these sweet potatoes?'

In the examples above, the interpretation is given according to the context in which the tokens are utterred, but different interpretations are also possible in different situations. (141a) could be 'Who was your name put after?' (141b) could be 'Why are you here?' and so on. The question in this form can be rhetorical just as other interrogatives can. For example, (141b) with the interpretation 'Why are you here?' can be a reproach 'You should not be here.' These examples have nothing in common except that a response is required in the non-rhetorical interpretation to describe the topic. These sentences contain only the topic to prompt the hearer to give further information about it. Demonstrative forms of verbs can also be used in this way (§9.3.1.3).

    The non-polar question marker *-e* followed by the dubitative clitic *=*∧*mo* makes dubitative construction 'I wonder if ...' as in (142a). The clitic *=*∧*mo* in this construction is often followed by the hesitation marker ⌐*te* as in (142b).

(142) a. ∧*yopal* ∨*mel*   ⌐*ki*   ∨*pa-im=(*∧*)mo?*
        person a.lot.of very lie-2/3PL=or
       'I wonder if many people slept (in that house).'

      b. ⌐*ila* (∧)*ke*   ∨*pa-igwal*   ∧*i* ⌐*ta* ∨*pal-im=(*∧*)mo* ⌐*te?*
        inside boil/build.INF lie-2/3PL.LOC DEM a put-2/3PL=or uh
       'I wonder if they put (the magical stone) in the house where they lived, or?'

    A sentence containing a question word forms another type of non-polar interrogative sentences.

(143) a. ∧*i*   ∨**ala** ∧*el-m-e?*
        DEM who make-3SG-QM
       'Who did this?'

      b. ⌐*u*   ∨**aul** ∧*o-m-e?*
        come.INF where go-3SG-QM
       'Where did it go?'

One question word can be a sentence as in (144).

(144) a. ∨*aule?*
       where
       'Where?'

      b. ∨*nakal?*
       what

    Premodifying element of nominals can be a question word A question word can act as the premodifying element of nominals, as in the following example.

(145) √aul √gal
 where child
 'A boy of where (is he)?'

The preceding clause in a clause chain can contain a question word as in the following.

(146) a. √aul ∧kol-gwa √ul-n-e?
 where fill-3SG.SRD pick-2SG-QM
 'You picked [the mushrooms] that grow where?'
 b. ⌐na [√kal √ta √nakal ∧u-na-gwa ⌐ka ∧du-m]=⌐d √mo-pgi
 1EXC thing a what come-FUT-3SG.SRD word say-3SG=Q stay-1PL.DEM
 ∧kore
 but
 'We were there, wondering, "They are talking about what kind of thing will come?" '

A question word may appear in a subordinate clause with a verb in the conjunctive mood:

(147) a. ⌐en √nakal ∧pl ∧u-n-e?
 you what perceive.CONJ(SS) come-2SG-QM
 'What did you think and come? / For what did you come?'
 b. ⌐en [[√ala ∧pl] ⌐wa√du ∧w-igwa] ∧mol-im-e?
 you who perceive.CONJ(SS) search.INF come-2/3PL.SRD stay-2/3PL-QM
 'You are those who came in search thinking about who?'

Also in a purposive clause:

(148) a. √ai-m √gau-m ⌐sul=(∧)a
 grandmother-3SG.POSS grandchild-3SG.POSS two.person=VOC
 [√aul ∧nal] ∧w-ipl-e?' ∧du-gwa
 where go.IMM come-2/3DL.QM say-3SG.SRD
 ' "You two, grandmother and grandchild, you came to go where?" he said and'
 b. ⌐en [[√nakal ∧mal ∧i √ye-ga] ⌐i ∧ne-ral] ∧u-n-e?
 you what near DEM put/there.be-2SG.SRD DEM eat-IMM come-2SG-QM
 'What do you have here and did you come to take and eat?'

An interrogative clause can contain several question words as in the following.

(149) '√e ⌐en √nam∧el-gwa ⌐p √aukul (√)wan ∧mo-ga
 no! you what.happen-3SG.SRD go.INF where move.around.INF stay-2SG.SRD
 ∧u-n-e?' ∧du-dae
 come-2SG-QM say-3SG.MUT
 ' "Oh no! Why did you go and where were you hanging around before you came back?" she said ...'

Plurality can be expressed by repeating a question word as in the following example.

(150) ⌐en ∧elmai ∨ala ∨ala ∧w-im-e?
    you now   who who come-2/3PL-QM
    'Who are you, you who came today?'

5.7.1.1 Non-question meanings of interrogative

5.7.1.1.1 Question words   A question word can be used in a non-interrogative sentence, where it has the meaning of 'all the things' or 'whatever' as in the following.

(151) ∧bola=∧ya ∧korwal ∨kal **∨nakal** ∨ye-gw+⌐i   ⌐para   ∧won
    pig=and   chicken thing what put/there.be-2/3PL.DEM enough/all truly
    ∨ke   ⌐ne   ⌐ne   ⌐ne   ∧kor
    cook.by.steam.INF eat.INF eat.INF eat.INF COMPL.CONJ(SS)
    'They cooked and ate pigs, chickens and all the things whatever they had and ...'

∨nal=(⌐)mere 'how many/much' can be used to mean 'many, much'.

(152) ∧yopal ∨nal=(⌐)mere ∧u-gwa
    person what=as/about come-3SG.SRD
    ⌐ila   ∧i   ⌐kau   ⌐s   ∧mol-gwi=⌐rae=(∧)we
    inside DEM full hit.INF stay-3SG.DEM=MUT=ENC.WE
    'So many people came and the house is crowded, '

5.7.1.1.2 Rhetorical questions   Rhetorical questions are those interrogative sentences which do not require responses. The proposition inquired about in a rhetorical question usually has an obvious truth value.

    When the questioned proposition is true, it is often expressed in the rhetorical question as not desirable for the speaker.

(153) ⌐me ∨kom ∧wai ∧el   ∧yal-gwo   ⌐u   ⌐ila   ∧ya
    taro cassava good make.INF man-3SG.SRD come.INF inside right/back.here
    ∧el   ∧mol-m-o?
    make.INF stay-3SG.PQM
    'Is he doing this [with a threatening attitude] coming inside here, while he cultivates good taros and cassavas?'

(154) ∧yopal ⌐kol ∧ya   ⌐ta mol-∨an=∨kene   ∨ama pai-∨ra-pkra=(∧)wa.
    person side right/back.here a   stay-3SG.CONJ(DS)=and (DS) too lie-FUT-1DL.MUT=ENC.WA
    ⌐na   ⌐bn-na   ∨ya   ∨yo-m+(⌐)ia.
    1EXC thigh-1SG.POSS fall.INF put/there.be-3SG+EXPL
    ∧yal ∧i   ⌐suwan ∧s-ral   ⌐er ∧o-m-o?   ∧d-iki.
    man DEM joy   hit-IMM to go-3SG.PQM say-1SG.DEM
    ' "There should be someone at my side here so that I could sleep with him. My thigh is heavily injured. Did he go away to enjoy something?" I said.'

5.7.1.1.3   Expressions of salutations:

(155)   a. *Λmo-n-o?*
          stay-2SG-PQM
          'Do you stay?' (hello)

   b. *Γer   Λu-n-o*
          to   come-2-PQM
          'Do you come?' (hello)

   c. *Γer   Λe-n-o*
          to   go-2-PQM
          'Do you go?' (farewell)

   d. *Γila   Vpai-re   Λu-n-o*
          inside   lie-CONJ(SS)   come-2-PQM
          'Did you sleep home and come?' (good morning)

   e. *Vpai-ga   Γere   Λu-n-o*
          lie-2SG.SRD   to   come-2-PQM
          'Did you sleep and come?' (good morning)

These expressions should be used in the appropriate person and number according to the situation.

5.7.2   Imperative sentences

The most common way of marking the imperative in Dom is suffixation (§4.1.5.3), while clitics can be used to express abruptness (§3.8.7) and there are also some alternative strategies, as will be illustrated. Various semantic types of verbs can take the imperative mood. The following examples are of a transitive and an intransitive verb in the imperative mood. The latter appears with a purposive clause.

(156)   a. *Γna   Γna   Vkan-o*   'Look at me.'
              1EXC   1EXC   see-SG.IMP

   b. *Λnl   pai-Vna-n-a*   *Λp-o*   'Go to wash yourself.'
          water   lie-FUT-2SG-PERM   go-IMP

The verb of saying in the completive SVC with a complement clause:

(157) *Λkopl   Λgapa=Γla   Vpa-gwa   Vwau   Λsu-gwa   Voml*
       stone   ground=LOC   lie-3SG.SRD   dig.INF   hit-3SG.SRD   eye.3SG.POSS

   Vpagwa=(Γ)mer=(Γ)mer   Λi=Γrae   Γd   Λkor-a
   lie-3SG.SRD=as/about=as/about   DEM=MUT   say.INF   COMPL-IMP

   'Talk fully about the stone under the ground, which they dug up and which has eyes on it (before you go further).' (interrupting the hearer talking)

The predicate of an imperative sentence in a quotative clause is usually suffixed by *-o* and not by *-a*:

(158) ⌐en √bol=(⌐)la √sipi   ⌐ul **√pai** ⌐**mol-o** ∧du-m=∧ba
  you bed=LOC forth.here sleep lie.INF stay-IMP say-3SG=but

  'She said, "Lie down and stay on this bed." but ...'

Verbs with an inanimate subject, including verbs denoting meteorological phenomena, have been found with the imperative mood suffix. These forms are grammatical, but usually they require special context.

(159) a. ∧nl   ∧**s-o**
        water hit-IMP

        'Water, boil!' (humorous expression)

    b. ⌐te∧kopn √pol   ∧**d-o**   ⌐kam∧tai ⌐gara ∧**d-o**   ⌐d √yel
        rainbow twinkle (say)-IMP lightning growl (say)-IMP Q like.this

        ⌐d-re   ∧kuria ∧npn   ∧su-gwe.
        say-CONJ(SS) song npn.spell hit-3SG.IND

        Saying 'Appear, rainbow! Roar, thunder!', they sang the song of white magic.

However, stative verbs such as ⌐gl ⌐d- 'strong, hard', ∧ipn ⌐de- 'heavy', and √pepl ⌐d- 'full' have not been found in imperative form unless they appear in a resultative serial verb construction.

(160) ∧kol   √pepl ⌐d   ⌐na ∧**t-o**
     fill.INF full (say).INF 1EXC give-IMP

     'Get a full fill of water for me.'

No imperative form of the negative copula verb ⌐ta ⌐man- has been recorded nor has it been possible to elicit.

There are no imperative forms for the first and third person. Imperative forms of verbs cannot be marked with the future suffix, while most verb forms in other moods make a distinction between marked future tense and unmarked non-future.

5.7.2.1   Purposive phrases in imperative sentences

A purposive phrase in a clause where the matrix predicate is an imperative of verbs of 'going' or 'coming' is marked differently from that in a declarative clause.

(161) a. ∧**s-na-n-a**   ∧**p-o**
        hit-FUT-2SG-PERM go-IMP

        'Go to fight!'

    b. √Arl ⌐Aur √galma ∧**s-ra-l**=⌐**d**   ⌐**p**
        PRN PRN people hit-FUT-1SG=Q go.INF

        'He went thinking of fighting with people supporting Arl Aul and...'

As in the example (161a), the imminent ending -a is used to mark the purposive, for the matrix predicate is the verb of going or coming in the imperative, whereas the purposive in (161b) is expressed with a usual quoted thought.

5.7.2.2   Negative imperative

The particle 「*ta* (§5.7.4.1) is not used for the verb in imperative mood. In the following examples, 「*go=Ⅴkl-o* and 「*er+Ⅴkl-o* are not preceded by the otherwise expected particle 「*ta*.

(162)   a.   *a*   「*na*   ∧*wi=*「*ya*   ∧*kurl* 「**go=Ⅴkl-o**   「*d-re*
          a!   1EXC   come.1SG=EXPL   fear   die=NEG-IMP   say-CONJ(SS)

          'She said, "Ah, it's me coming. Do not fear." and ...'

     b.   Ⅴ*kal*   ∧*pipia*   Ⅴ*maun*   「**er+Ⅴkl-o**
          thing   rubbish   below   to/off+NEG-IMP

          'Don't throw rubbish down.'

The same number distinction as with positive imperatives is made for negative imperatives.

(163)   a.   「*ne+(Ⅴ)kl-l-o*   'You two don't eat.'
          eat+NEG-DL-IMP

     b.   「*en*   ∧*nl*   Ⅴ**pai=(Ⅴ)kl-i-o**   ∧*mena*   ∧*i*   Ⅴ*kan*   「*mol-i-o*
          you   water   lie=NEG-PL-IMP   outside   DEM   see.INF   stay-PL-IMP

          'Don't swim (around here). And wait outside.'

The negative imperative of verbs meaning disability is used with a command meaning whereas a positive imperative of this kind of verbs is used only as an insult (§5.7.2.3). In the following case, disability is construed as temporary.

(164)   ∧*du*   「**d+(Ⅴ)kl-o**   ∧*yal*   ∧*du*   ∧*mo-n-o*
       crazy   (say)+NEG-IMP   man   crazy   stay-2SG-PQM

       'Don't be silly. Are you crazy?'

The imperative of ∧*kor* 'discard, leave, do away' is generally used as a negative imperative.

(165)   ∧*prans=*「*rae*   ∧**kor-o**   「*d+(Ⅴ)kl-o*   「*d-re*
       PRN=MUT   discard-IMP   say+NEG-IMP   say-CONJ(SS)

       Prans said, "Stop (saying) that. Don't say that." and, ...

This prohibitive ∧*koro* can replace light verbs in verbal noun constructions forming a prohibitive. In the following example, the verbal noun 「*ka*Ⅴ*kan*, which should otherwise be always used with the light verb ∧*el* 'make', is used with ∧*koro*.

(166)   a.   「*ka*   Ⅴ*kan*   ∧*el*   Ⅴ*pai-ka*   'I kept screaming.'
          word   scream   make.INF   lie-1SG.SRD

     b.   「*ka*   Ⅴ*kan*   ∧**kor-o**   'Don't scream.'
          word   scream   discard-IMP

In this way, the prohibitive ∧*koro* replaces only the last verb. In the following example the auxiliary ∧*er* in negative imperative is substituted with the prohibitive.

(167) a. ∧*mol*   ∧*kel*   ⌐*d*   ∧*im*   ⌐*er*+√*kl-a*
          stay.INF   block   (say).INF   down.there   to/off+NEG-2SG.IMP
          'Don't block [the road] down.' (the speaker wants to go up)
     b. ∧*mol*   ∧*kel*   ⌐*d*   ∧*im*   ∧*kor-a*
          stay.INF   block   (say).INF   down.there   but-2SG.IMP
          'Don't block [the road] down.'

5.7.2.3   Non-command meanings of imperatives

5.7.2.3.1   Invective use: The imperative of verbs denoting disabled state is used only for insulting.

(168) a. √*oml-e*   ⌐*dr*   ∧*d-o*
          eye-3SG.POSS   blind   (say)-IMP
          'You blind!'
     b. ⌐*kna*   √*gi*   ∧*d-o*
          ear.3SG.POSS   deaf   (say)-IMP
          'You deaf!'

5.7.2.3.2   Farewell expressions:

(169) a. ⌐*mol-o*
           stay-IMP
           'Stay.' (when the speaker is leaving)
     b. ⌐*ere*∧*p-o*
           go-IMP
           'Go.' (when the addressee is leaving)

These expressions should be used with appropriate number marking on the verb according to the situation.

5.7.2.3.3   'How are you doing?' expression:

(170) ∧*d-o*
        say-IMP
        'Say.'

The addressee can then say what he is up to, how he is doing, talk about anything he wants to start the conversation with or even say something that will get him out of the conversation.

5.7.2.4   Imperative strategies

   The following sentences were given by a speaker as having the same basic meaning with the difference in the degree of politeness.

(171) a. *√kepa*   *⌐na*   *Λt-o*   'Give me some sweet potatoes.'
           sweet.potato   1EXC   give-IMP

       b. *√kepa*   *Λi*   *Λne-ra-l-o*   'May I eat some sweet potatoes?'
           sweet.potato   DEM   eat-FUT-1SG-PQM

       c. *√kepa*   *Λne-ra-l=Λba*   'If I may eat some sweet potatoes...'
           sweet.potato   eat-FUT-1SG=but

The example (171b) is a future interrogative with a first person subject and the example (171c) is an optative construction (future tense marker + 'but') with first person subject.

The optative construction can be used for polite commands with a second person subject as in (172a), and is more common than the imperative for verbs with meteorological or temporal meaning as in (172b).

(172) a. *⌐na*   ***Λte-na-n=Λba***
           1EXC   give-FUT-2SG=but

           'I hope you will give it to me.'

       b. *√gal*   *Λi=⌐rae*   *√kamn*   ***ta-√na-m=(Λ)ba***   ***ta-√na-m=(Λ)ba***   *⌐d*
           child   DEM=MUT   rain   dawn-FUT-3SG=but   dawn-FUT-3SG=but   Q

           √ka   *Λmol-gwa*   *⌐ul*   *⌐ta*   *√pai+(√)k-gwe*
           see.INF   stay-3SG.SRD   sleep   NEG   lie+NEG-3SG.IND

           'Thinking, "May it dawn. May it dawn", this boy was waiting (for the dawn) and he did not sleep.'

A deontic construction consisting of suffixes for future tense + second person + subordinative mood is another alternative with command meaning.

(173) a. *(Λ)On* *ΛBi*   *√gal=(⌐)kop* *⌐balotΛpepa* *√tau*   *⌐no*
           SUBCLAN.NAME   child=PL   ballot.paper   some   1NSG.EXC

           Λte-na-ga=Λwe   *Λdu-gwa*
           give-FUT-2SG.SRD=ENC.WE   say-3SG.SRD

           'People of On Bi subclan said, "You should give us some of the ballot papers." '

       b. *Λwai*   ***pl-√a-ga***
           good   perceive-FUT-2SG.SRD

           'You should be happy.'

The non-future interrogative with a first person non-singular subject can be used as a hortative expression.

(174) a. *⌐erΛo-pn-o*
           go-1PL-PQM

           'Let's go./Do we go?/Did we go?'

       b. *Λdu-pl-o*
           say-1DL-PQM

           'Let's talk./Do we two talk?/Did we two talk?'

The verbs of going and coming in this expression 'let's', as in the imperative mood (§5.7.2.1), can appear in the imminent mood to form a purposive phrase.

(175) *[Var   ⌐yu   Vke   ne-Vra-pl-a]   ⌐er ∧o-pl-o'*
       pick.up.INF fetch.INF cook.by.steam.INF eat-FUT-1DL-PERM   to   go-1DL-PQM
       'Let us two go to collect [them], bring [them back], cook [them], and eat [them]!'

Nonetheless, this *-o* should not be regarded as indicating the imperative mood, for the behaviour of these *-o*-suffixed verbs is almost congruent with interrogative verbs apart from the above mentioned case. Two important differences are: imperative suffix has another form *-a* for an abrupt command while *-o* in this use cannot be replaced by *-a*; the stem of the verb of going should be *p* before the imperative suffix while *e~o* is used for verbs in the interrogative mood.

A longer expression without an imperative or optative would be much milder as in the following example.

(176) *Val-a=(∧)o   Vto   ⌐ta Vpa-m-o*
       brother-1SG.POSS=VOC   tabacco   a   lie-3-PQM

       Vto   Vdl   ∧go-ka   ⌐ki Vpa-mi+(∧)o
       tabacco   bad.odour   die=1SG.SRD   bad lie-3+EXPL

       'Brother, do you have tobacco? I am really hungry for the bad odour of tobacco.'

Performative prohibitive.

(177) *⌐man   ∧di-ke*
       taboo   say-1SG.IND
       'I say it is taboo (about an activity).'

5.7.2.5   Imperatives and discourse

Imperatives are frequent in everyday conversation and are not considered to be rude, but speakers may use expressions without imperatives to be more polite.

Imperatives are also frequently found in quotative constructions. Sentences such as the following examples, which would be redundant in other languages, are common in Dom. This might be partly because Dom has no causative verbs nor a word for 'order'.

(178) a. *∧bola ∧gur   ⌐i   ∧u-o   ∧du-gwa*
          pig   pull.INF take.INF come-IMP   say-3SG.SRD
          ∧bola ∧gur   ⌐i   ∧u-gwa
          pig   pull.INF take.INF come-3SG.SRD
          'They said, "Bring the pigs here pulling them." and people took the pigs there pulling them...'
      b. *⌐u   Vmaun ⌐p-ini-o   ∧du-gwa*
          come.INF   below go-PL-IMP   say-3SG.SRD
          ⌐na   ⌐u   Vmaun ∧o-pdae
          1EXC come.INF   below go-1PL.MUT
          'They said, "Come down." and when we went down...'

5.7.2.6   ʌ*koro* in neighbouring dialects

Most dialects of the Simbu language possess lexical items whose semantics and usage appear to be very similar to that of ʌ*koro* 'Don't do it.' in Dom. Some are apparently cognates whereas others are not. Dom speakers report that the corresponding word is [kondo] in Kuman, [kero] in Yuri, [bidero] in Golin, [maido] in Chuave and [maldo] in Sinasina. They use the words for ʌ*koro* to identify a dialect.

(179) a. ┌*ka*   ʌ*kondo*   'the Kuman language'
           word   'kondo'

       b. ʌ*kondo*   ʌ*du-gwe*   'He says "kondo". / He is a Kuman speaker.'
           'kondo'   say-3SG.IND

This case of Kuman language is interesting because Kuman has no language name used by Simbu people, and linguists have found it difficult to name it. Although it is now called Kuman by linguists, it still seems problematic, because 'kuman' just means 'west' or 'western part' in Kuman language and other Simbu dialects including Dom. Dom people successfully identify the Kuman language by mentioning only one word 'kondo' from the language. But we cannot define Dom as the 'koro' language, because 'koro' is also used by the Bari-Naure from the territory next to Dom. Fortunately, we have a language name for Dom.

5.7.3   Equational clauses

Those clauses which contain a non-verbal predicate are called equational clauses. The following are examples of equational clauses with a topic NP followed by a non-verbal comment.

(180) ┌*na*   ʌM*ntai* ʌM*arkus*
       1EXC   PRN

       'I am Mintai Markus'

A non-verbal predicate may stand alone, forming an equational clause without a topic, provided that the topic can be understood from the context as in the following.

(181) a. ʌ*wai*
           good

           '[It is] good.'

       b. ∨*yel*
           like.this

           '[It is] like this.'

       c. ʌ*yal* ┌*garml* ┌*ta* ʌ*gan* ┌*s*   ʌ*gol*   ʌ*kor-gwe*.   ┌**na=(┌)mere**.
           man   young   a   gun   hit.INF   die.INF   COMPL-3SG.IND   1EXC=as

           'He shot one young man dead with a gun. [The young man] is like me [in terms of age].'

    d. *Γguema Γprowisol Γgapman   Λmemba Λek   Vsu Λwin Λsu-gwa   Λyal*
       first   provincial government member time two win   hit-3SG.SRD man
       '(He is) the man who was elected twice to the provincial government.'

The topic NP can be omitted when it is clear from the context.
    As a quoted clause, the comment phrase needs to be cliticised by *=Λwe.*

(182) a. *[Γna   Λka-na   ΓBnapo=(Γ)we] Λd-a*
       1EXC name-1SG.POSS PRN=ENC.WE   say-IMP
       'Say, "My name is Bnapo." '
     b. *[Λbaun Λkan Λgapa   Λwai=Λwe] Γd   Γd   Λyopal Γp*
       PLN   ground good=ENC.WE say.INF say.INF person go.INF
       Λyal   Γne   Γne   Λel-igwal   Λai   Λdu-gwe
       plant.INF eat.INF eat.INF make-2/3PL.LOC place say-3SG.IND
       'It is the place where people used to go to cultivate crops, saying that Baun Kan is
       a good place.'

    Negation of a non-verbal predicate is marked by *Γta Γman* as in the following.

(183) a. *Λyopal Λi   [Γkepl Γta   Γman]*
       person DEM small NEG be.not
       'This person is not small.'
     b. *Γkiap   Γka   Γta   Γman*
       white.people word NEG be.not
       '(It is) not the white people's language.'

    Instead of a non-verbal equational clause, verbal predicates are usually used to code
equational propositions. The predicate can be existential or non-existential.

(184) a. *gol-Va-pga   Λpor pai-Vna-wda=(Λ)wa.*
       die-FUT-1PL.SRD   big   lie-FUT-3SG.MUT=ENC.WA
       [Λlaip Vkal   Λbl   Λdu-m+Γia.]
       life   thing big   say-3SG+EXPL
       'It is serious if we will die. Life is a big deal'
     b. *Γna   VDom Vgal Λu-ke*
       1EXC Dom   child come-1SG.IND
       'I, a Dom boy, came.' (I am a Dom boy)

(185) a. *Λi   ΓsiVkoki   Γbe Λdu-m-o*
       DEM bird's.name cry say-3SG-PQM
       'Is it *sikoki* bird that sings?'
     b. *Γbe Λdu-gwi   ΓsiVkoki   Γbe Λdu-m-o*
       cry say-3SG.DEM bird's.name cry say-3SG-PQM
       'As for that singing, is *sikoki* bird singing?'

5.7.4   Negation

Negation of the verbal predicate usually takes the form ˹ta V+√kl- where the particle ˹ta is optional even if more than usual. Equational clauses are negated by adding ˹ta ˹man after the non-verbal predicate, where the particle ˹ta seems almost obligatory.

5.7.4.1   Negation and the particle ˹ta

Verbs with the negative morpheme *kl* in non-imperative moods are usually preceded by the particle ˹ta, which has obviously originated from the word ˹ta 'one'. This might have been originally used emphasise negation, but now it has no effect of emphasis and it is considered to function as a generalised negative polarity item, which behaves like a discontinuous part of the negative, as in the following example.

(186) ˹na   ˺kurl   ˹ta   ˹***go+√k-pge***
        1EXC   fear   NEG   die+NEG-1PL.IND

        'We (exc.) did not fear.'

There are a few examples of negative verbal predicates without ˹ta in spontaneous utterances, but the small number examples in the corpus and elicitation reveal that the particle is not an obligatory part of negation.

(187)   a. ˹ta   ˹mo+√kl-gwe
              NEG   stay+NEG-3SG.IND

              'She/He does not stay'
        b. ˹mo+√kl-gwe
              stay+NEG-3SG.IND

              'She/He does not stay'

The particle ˹ta should precede contiguous serial verbs. For instance, it cannot be inserted between ˹de and √pai+(√)k-gwa in the following example.

(188)   a. ˹***ta***   ˹de   √pai+(√)k-gwa
              NEG   burn(intr.).INF   lie+NEG-3SG.SRD

              'The fire had gone out and ...'
        b. ˹***ta***   ˺kul   √ye+(√)k-ike
              NEG   give.birth.INF   to.nurse+NEG-1SG.IND

              'I had not yet given birth to the baby.'
        c. ˺yopal   ˹***ta***   ˹p   √ka+(√)k-igwe
              person   NEG   go.INF   see+NEG-2/3PL.IND

              'People did not go and see.'

The particle √ama 'too, either' can come in between the particle ˹ta and the following verb.

(189) ˹i   ˹na   ˹***ta***   √ama √ka+(√)k-ike
        DEM   1EXC   NEG   too   see+NEG-1SG.IND

        'This, I do not see either.'

The particle ⌐*ta* precedes the object cross-reference marker.

(190) a. ⌐***ta***   ⌐*en*   ⌐*s+(V)kl-a-m+ia*
            NEG   you   hit+NEG-FUT-3SG+EXPL
            'He will not hit you.'

       b. ⌐*na*   ⌐***ta***   ⌐*na*   ⌐*s*   ⌐*ne+(V)k-n=(⌐)wa*
            1EXC   NEG   1EXC   hit.INF   eat+NEG-2SG=ENC.WA
            'You haven't caught and eaten me.'

       c. V*mel*   ⌐*ki*   ⌐***ta***   ⌐*na*   ⌐*te+(V)k-gw*
            a.lot.of   very   NEG   1EXC   give+NEG-3SG.IND
            'He did not give me a lot.'

The particle ⌐*ta* may precede non-contiguous serial verbs.

(191) a. Λ*kap*   ⌐*kul*   ⌐***ta***   [Λ*gal]*   ⌐*na*   [⌐*te+(V)k-ga]*
            animal   grease   NEG   (burn(tr.)).INF   1EXC   give+NEG-2SG.SRD
            'You have not yet paid us back the price for the bride.'

       b. ⌐***ta***   ⌐*na*   V*aul*   [⌐*yu]*   Λ*mena*   [⌐*p+(V)k-gwe]*
            NEG   1EXC   where   fetch.INF   outside   go+NEG-3SG.IND
            'He did not take me out.'

Apart from the subject noun phrases sometimes follow the particle ⌐*ta*. Λ*kunl* 'theft' is preceded by ⌐*ta* in (192a) and Λ*kan* 'vine' follows ⌐*ta* in (192b).

(192) a. ⌐***ta***   Λ*kunl*   ⌐*s*   (V)*ke*   ⌐*ne+(V)kl-gwe.*
            NEG   theft   hit.INF   boil/build.INF   eat+NEG-3SG.IND
            'The thief might have not stolen, killed, cooked, and eaten [the pig].'

       b. Λ*bola* Λ*i*   V*mel*   V*kin*   Λ*won*   ⌐***ta***   Λ*kan*   Λ*kol*   ⌐*te+(V)ku-gwe.*
            pig   DEM   a.lot.of   very   truly   NEG   vine   fill.INF   give+NEG-3SG.IND
            'They did not give many pigs.'

The particle ⌐*ta* can precede a verb in the conjunctive mood (either the same or different subject) possibly marking the scope of negation, as in the following.

(193) a. V*ama* ⌐*dul*   ⌐***ta***   V*ye-re*   V*kal*   Λ*kan*   V*yel*   ⌐*ta* V*ama* V*ye-re*
            too   trace   NEG   be-CONJ(SS)   thing   kind   like.this   a   too   be-CONJ(SS)
            ⌐*e+V*kl-gw.*
            make+NEG-3SG.IND
            '... nonetheless, there was no trace and there was nothing like that either.'

       b. ⌐*en*   ⌐*para*   ⌐*para*   Λ*yal*   ⌐***ta***   *mol-V*an*   ⌐*i*
            you   enough/all   enough/all   man   NEG   stay-3SG.CONJ(DS)   take.INF
            V*wan+(V)kl-a-im+(⌐)ia.*
            move.around+NEG-FUT-2/3PL+EXPL
            'It is not the case that there is someone else and you all will marry them.'

This position of the particle ⌐*ta* before a conjunctive verb is also affected by presence of a serialised verb and object cross-reference, moving it further to the left. In the example

(194a) ˥*ta* precedes the verb ˥*p* of a pre-movement serial verb construction and it precedes the pronominal object ˥*ne* in (194b).

(194)   a.   Λ*kura*   Λ*nol*   ˥*i*   ˥*ta*   ˥*p*   bol-V*an*   V*kan+(V)k-pge*
             fight   visible.side   DEM   NEG   go.INF   fight-CONJ(DS)   see+NEG-1PL.IND
             'We do not see him fighting in the public.'
        b.   Λ*yal*   Λ*kru*   Λ*i*   V*top*   ˥*ta*   ˥*ne*   Λ*te-nan*   ˥*ne+(V)ki-ug.*
             man   white   DEM   pay   NEG   1NSG   give-SG.CONJ(DS)   eat+NEG-1PL.IND
             'The white man did not give us payment and we did not use the money.'

The position before a conjunctive verb and the position before a matrix negative verb can both be filled by the particle ˥*ta* in the same sentence, as in the following.

(195)   a.   Λ*i*   V*tau*   ˥*ta*   Λ*d-nan*   ˥*ta*   ˥*p+Vk-ike*
             DEM   some   NEG   say-CONJ(DS)   NEG   perceive+NEG-1SG.IND
             'I have not heard anyone (else) saying that.'
        b.   (Λ)*elma*   Λ*gia*   Λ*yopal*   ˥*yopla*   ˥*ta*   ˥*mal*   Λ*i*   ye-V*nan*
             now   right/back.here   person   bone   NEG   near   DEM   be-3SG.CONJ(DS)
             ˥*ta*   V*kan+(V)k-pge.*
             NEG   see+NEG-1PL.IND
             'Now, we do not see dead people's bones here.'
        c.   V*kal*   ˥*ki*   ˥*ta*   Λ*el-e*   Λ*yopal*   ˥*ta*   ˥*s*   ˥*go+Vk-gwa*
             thing   bad   NEG   make-CONJ(SS)   person   NEG   hit.INF   die+NEG-3SG.SRD
             'He does not do anything bad and kill people.'

In the same way, the position before the first component of a non-contiguous serial verb and the position before the second component can both be filled by the particle ˥*ta*, as in the following.

(196)   Λ*gapa*   V*yo-gwal*   V*mo-gwi*   Λ*orpl=*˥*d*   ˥*ta*   V*mo*
        ground   put/there.be-3SG.LOC   climb-3SG.DEM   quickly   NEG   climb.INF
        ˥*u*   Λ*bl*   ˥*ta*   ˥*p+(V)k-gw.*
        come.INF   big   NEG   go+NEG-3SG.IND
        'The *galma* tree, which grows in the place with ground, does not grow fast.'

5.7.4.2   Negation and other grammatical categories

Although the morpheme of negation V*kl* follows most type of serialised verbs as can be seen in the examples above, it precedes the non-visual sensory evidential ˥*d*.

(197)   Λ*yopal*   ˥*ta*   ˥*u+(V)kl*   Λ*du-gwe*
        person   NEG   come+NEG   NONVIS-3SG.IND
        'It feels like people did not come.'

The negative V*kl* behaves rather like a serialised verb in some constructions.

For example, the habitual construction $V_i V_i$ Λ*el* 'to V habitually' requires the verb to be doubled as in (198).

(198)   a. *Λu-gwe*
           come-3SG.IND
           'He comes'

   b. *Γu   Γu   Λel-gwe*
           come.INF   come.INF   make-3SG.IND
           'He habitually comes.'

When the predicate involves verb serialisation, it requires only the last verb among the seri-
alised verbs to be doubled, as in the example (199).

(199)   a. *Vau   Λno-gwe*
           hold.INF   eat-3SG.IND
           'He has it.'

   b. *Vau   Γne   Γne   Λel-gwe*
           hold.INF   eat.INF   eat.INF   make-3SG.IND
           'He usually has it.'

Now, when the verb is in the negative form, the most likely part to be doubled in the habitual
construction is the negative morpheme as in (200b), although the doubling of the verb plus
the negative element as a whole is sometimes allowed as well, as in (200c).

(200)   a. *Γta   Γu+(V)kl-gwe*
           NEG   come+NEG-3SG.IND
           'He does not come'

   b. *Γta   Γu+(V)kl   (V)kl   Λel-gwe*
           NEG   come+NEG.INF   NEG.INF   make-3SG.IND
           'He usually does not come'

   c. *Γta   Γu+(V)kl   Γu+(V)kl   Λel-gwe*
           NEG   come+NEG.INF   come+NEG.INF   make-3SG.IND
           'He usually does not come'

Another syntactic process which treats the negative morpheme as a single target or as a verb
is the construction of assumed evidential, V_i-al V_i 'must have V-en'.

(201)   a. *gol-Val   Λgol-gwe*
           die-IMM   die-3SG.IND
           'He must have died (because we have not seen him for long).'

   b. *Γguema   Λdua   Λde-m   Vyal   Γta   Vpai+(V)kl-al*
           first   rat   intestines-3SG.POSS   tail.3SG.POSS   NEG   lie+NEG-IMM
       (V)kl-gwa
           NEG-3SG.SRD
           'Rats should have had no tails long ago (according to your story)'

5.7.4.3   Negation in discourse

(202)   Λ*yopal*   Λ*i*   Γ*kepl*   Γ*ta*   Γ*man*
        person   DEM   small   NEG   be.not
        'This person was not small. (very big)'

(203)   Γ*po*   Λ*siln*   Γ*ta*   Γ*i+(∨)kl-gwe*
        4   10.toea   NEG   take+NEG-3SG.IND
        Γ*paip*   Λ*siln*   Λ*yu-gwe*
        5   10.toea   take-3SG.IND
        'They do not receive forty toea (for one cigarette), but they require fifty toea.'

Negation can be used to express the fact that the speaker cannot render the situation in adequate words, or the reality is somewhat more than the expression itself. This meta-linguistic negation is often accompanied by the clitic =Γ*mere* after a nominal element in the sentence, as in the following.

(204)   a.   Γ*na*   Λ*de-na=*Γ*mer*   Γ*ta*   Γ*go+∨kl-m+(*Γ*)ia*
           1EXC   intestines-1SG.POSS=as/about   NEG   die+NEG-3SG+EXPL
           'I was not like angry. (lit.) / I was extremely angry.'
    b.   SN: Λ*du=*Γ*mere*   Γ*ta*   Γ*s+(∨)k-pga*   Γ*ka*   Λ*du-pge*
              frog=as/about   a   hit+NEG-1PL.SRD   word   say-1PL.IND
           'The thing is that it was not like frog catching. / we caught frogs in an unusual way.'
           M: Λ*mapn=*Γ*ta*   Λ*s-na-igw*
              many   hit-FUT-2/3PL.IND
           'You might have caught so many?'

The negative Γ*man* for a non-verbal predicate can follow a subordinative clause to mark an unsuccessful event as in the following.

(205)   Γ*al*   Γ*d*   ∨*wan-gwa*   Γ*man-gwe*
        call.name   say.INF   move.around-3SG.SRD   fail-3SG.IND
        He went around calling his name in vain.

As in the example (205), Γ*man* in this use usually takes on the third person singular cross-reference marker and is not preceded by the particle Γ*ta*.

The preceding subordinative verb can be repeated to mark the fact that the unsuccessful effort took longer.

(206)   '∨*nal=(*Γ*)mere*   *el-∨a-pn-e?*'   Γ*d*
        what=as/about   make-FUT-1PL-QM   Q
        Γ*na*   Λ*pl*   Λ*moka*   Λ*moka*   Γ*man-gwa*
        1EXC   perceive.INF   stay-1SG.SRD   stay-1SG.SRD   be.not-3SG.SRD
        'How shall we do?' I thought and thought but no (I didn't come up with a good idea).

Chapter 6

Verb serialisation

A serial verb construction is a string of verb phrases, which has no subordinate marking on either verb phrase and has a single subject for the whole construction. Since a verbal form without any marking in Dom is called infinitive in this grammar, all the verbs except for the last one are in the infinitive. Verbal inflection is carried only by the last verb of this string of verbs and the inflection on the last verb has scope over the whole construction. For instance, in the following example, five verbal items are serialised.

(1) ⌐na   _{a.}[⌐p] Λain Λi   _{b.}[√kukl] _{c.}[√gi Λba ⌐d]   _{d.}[Λmol]
   1EXC go.INF metal DEM hug.INF   fast very (say).INF   stay.INF
   _{e.}[Λkor-ka]
   COMPL-1SG.SRD

'I went and ended up holding the pipe (or something made of metal) very tight and ...'

In this example, five verbal items are serialised without any overt marking of their relationship. The preceding four items are in the infinitive mood and the last component of this serial verb is marked for a mood other than the infinitive, which shows the end point of this serialisation.

Note that the verbal item (1c) itself has a complex structure, consisting of a verbal noun √gi 'fast' which carries the main meaning, an intensifier Λba and a verb root ⌐d. This type of phrasal verbs behave as per a single-root verb in serial verb construction in most cases.

Another point that should be made here is that there is a noun phrase Λain Λi 'this metal' inserted between the verbs. This interruption is possible in certain types of serialisation, in this case, the type of premovement plus the main event. Serial verbs which can be intervened by noun phrases will be called non-contiguous serial verb constructions.

Some serial verb constructions are contiguous, that is, their components cannot be intervened by noun phrases. Components (1b), (1c), (1d) and (1e) are contiguously serialised.

Some verbs serve to mark grammatical categories in serial verb constructions, but they have a different meaning when playing the role of main verbs. Λkor in (1e) is such a verb, which has the meaning of 'discard, leave' when used as the main verb and marks completive aspect, when serialised with other verbs. Although such verbs are not set up as a distinct (sub-)word class, it is convenient to call them 'auxiliaries', not only because they are often semantic equivalents of auxiliary verbs in other languages, but also because the special use of the verbs can be labeled in a simple way.

The relationship among sub-events coded by serial verbs is closer than that of verbs in a clause chain.

(2) a. Λ*belo* Λ*su-gwa*   Γ*be*   Λ*du-gwe*
         bell   hit-3SG.SRD   sound   (say)-3SG.IND
         'Someone struck a bell (and) it sounded'
     b. Λ*belo* Γ*s*   Γ*be*   Λ*du-gwe*
         bell   hit.INF   sound   (say)-3SG.IND
         'Someone struck and sounded a bell'

Components in a serial verb construction occur in a fixed order. It seems convenient to classify serial verb constructions in Dom into several types to examine the order of their components.

Iconic order is used for sequential serial verbs (3a) but for synonymous serial verbs (3b) an arbitrary order is used.

(3) a. [preceding sub-event] [following sub-event]
     b. [similar event 1] [similar event 2]

Active verbs which are serialised as manner sub-events precede the verb denoting the main event while stative manner verbs follow the main verb (4a). All grammatical auxiliary verbs follow the main verb and they are, in turn, lined up in a fixed order (4b). The movement prior to the main event is coded by the verbs of coming and going preceding the main verb (4c).

(4) a. [active manner] [**main**] [stative manner]
     b. [**main**] NP [recipient marker] NP [goal marker] [aspect] [negative] [evidential]
     c. [pre-movement] ... [**main**]

(5) a. *[√we]*   *[Γyu]*   *[√pia Γs]*   Γ*nul* *[Λer-e]*
         cut.down.INF fetch.INF   throw hit.INF   river to/off-CONJ(SS)

         'We two cut (the banana tree), brought it, threw it to the river, and ...'
     b. Γ*na*   √*kepa*   Λ*komna*   √*ar-iki=rae*
         1EXC   sweet.potato   vegetable   pick.up-1SG.DEM=MUT

         Λ*kui*   *[Γi]*   *[Γp]*   *[Γte]*   Γ*kol* *[Λer]*   *[Λkor-i=Λua]*
         again   take.INF   go.INF   give.INF   back   to/off.INF   COMPL-1SG=ENC.WA
         'As for the food I picked up, I brought and gave it back.'

Infinitive verbs can be repeated to express long duration of an event. Most repetitions of infinitive verbs occur in limited types of serialisation discussed in this chapter. Verbs serialised for pre-movement, verbs preceding aspectual serial verbs or increasing valency can be repeated. Repetition can take place twice or more than twice. In the following example, repeated infinitive verbs precede the aspectual Λ*kor*.

(6) a. *[Γ**ne**]*   *[Γ**ne**]*   *[Λkor-ka]*
         eat.INF   eat.INF   COMPL-1SG.SRD
         'I completely ate [it] after a while'

　　　b. *⌐para*　　*Λwon [∨ke]*　　　　*[⌐**ne**]*　*[⌐**ne**]*　*[⌐**ne**]*　*[Λkor]*
　　　　　enough/all truly cook.by.steam.INF eat.INF eat.INF eat.INF COMPL.CONJ(SS)
　　　　　'I ate all the things completely and ...'

(7)　a. *Λkopa=⌐rae [∨au]*　　*[⌐**ne**]*　*[⌐**ne**]*　*[∨pal]*　*[Λkor-e]*
　　　　　pandanus　　hold.INF eat.INF eat.INF put.INF COMPL-CONJ(SS)
　　　　　'we ate that pandanus grease using hands first '

　　　b. *Λyal*　*∨tau*　*Λi=⌐rae*　　*⌐er*　*[Λ**gal**]*　　　*[Λ**gal**]*　　　*[Λ**gal**]*
　　　　　man　some　DEM=MUT　tree　burn(tr.).INF　burn(tr.).INF　burn(tr.).INF

　　　　*[Λ**gal**]*　　　*[∨pal]*　　*[⌐ki Λkor-e,]*
　　　　burn(tr.).INF　put.INF　COMPL-CONJ(SS)
　　　　'these several men, as we know, finished making a fire in advance and'

6.1　Synonymous serial verbs

　　Some serial verbs contain verbs with synonymous meanings.

(8)　a. *∨aupal*　　　　*∨kepa*　　　*Λkomna*　*[⌐s]*　*[⌐yu]*　　*[Λ**bl**]*
　　　　　sister.3SG.POSS　sweet.potato　vegetable　hit.INF　fetch.INF　smear.INF

　　　　*[Λ**gal**]*　　*[∨**ke**]*　　　*Λel-go*
　　　　burn(tr.).INF　cook.by.steam.INF　make-3SG.CONJ(DS)
　　　　'The sister harvested crops, brought [them home], roasted in ashes, grilled and
　　　　steamed them while ...'

　　　b. *[⌐**wi**　⌐s]*　　*[∨**mal-e**]*　　　*⌐er Λe-igw+⌐i.*
　　　　　husband (hit).INF dizzy-CONJ(SS)　to　go-2/3PL+DEM
　　　　'[they] blared and yelled, and went ...'

6.2　Sequential

　　Sub-events which occur sequentially can be encoded as serial verbs. The first component
expresses the preceding sub-event and the second the following sub-event, as in the following.

(9)　*⌐er [∨su]*　　　　　*[gal-∨a-ka]*　　　　*⌐ta*　*⌐man-gwa.*
　　　to　gather.firewood.INF　burn(tr.)-FUT-1SG.SRD　NEG　be.not-3SG.SRD
　　　'I tried to gather firewood and make a fire but it was not successful.'

6.3　Manner

　　Active verbal items can be serialised to express the manner of action.

(10)　a. *Λgar-na*　　　*∨iki [∨au]*　*[Λgur-ke]*
　　　　　body-1SG.POSS　hair　hold.INF　pull-1SG.IND
　　　　　'I held and pulled my skin hair.'

    b. *Λs-ka*   *[Λbol]*   *[Λgolgwe]*
       hit-1SG.SRD be.hit.INF die-3SG.IND
       'I hit; he was injured by that and died.'

Stative verbal items describing manner can follow the main verb.

(11) a. *[Vau]*   *[Vgi Λd-o]*
       hold.INF   fast (say)-2SG.IMP
       'Hold tight!'
      b. *Γar [Γs]   [Γgl   Λdu-gwe]*
       sun hit.INF strong (say)-3SG.IND
       'The sun shines strongly.'

Manner serialisation is contiguous.

6.4   Valency increasing serial verbs

Two verbs *Γte* 'give' and *Λer* 'move' can be used as auxiliary verbs which follow the main verb to form serial verbs.

The additional noun phrase argument introduced by one of the two auxiliary verbs can be placed between the preceding main verb and *Γte* or *Λer* making the serial verb construction non-contiguous.

6.4.1   Introducing animate nominals: *Γte*

When a verb is followed by the verb *Γte-* 'give', the clause can contain an additional animate noun phrase referring to a benefactee, a recipient or an addressee. The first person pronoun *Γna* is introduced by the verb *Γte-* as an addressee of the event in the following example.

(12) a. *Vsl Λbol-gwe*   'S/he asks.'
       ask (be.hit)-3SG.IND

      b. *[Vsl Λbol]*   *Γna* *[Λto-gwe]*   'S/he asks me.'
       ask (be.hit).INF 1EXC give-3SG.IND

Various noun phrases can be placed between the preceding verb and *Γte-*. Among them there are nominalised clauses (§7.1.2) as in the following.

(13) *[Γd]*   *Λyopal Λmol-wdae*   *[Λte-ke]*
     say.INF person stay-3SG.MUT give-1SG.IND
     'I talked to the people who were there.'

Noun phrases introduced into a sentence by *Γte-* can be placed just before *Γte-* as in the examples above, or alternatively before the serial verbs. Longer noun phrases prefer the position before the whole serial verb construction, as in the following.

(14) *VPol=(Λ)ya Γkol Λmol-gwa*   *Λip*   *[Γd]*   *[Γte-re]*
     PRN=and   side stay-3SG.SRD up.there say.INF give-CONJ(SS)
     'She talked to Pol and other people up over there and ...'

The range of verbs which can be accompanied by ⌐te- is wide, but seems restricted semantically, and the role of a noun phrase which is introduced varies according to the semantic type of the main verb. In the following sections, the use of ⌐te in serial verb constructions is discussed for major semantic types of verbs.

6.4.1.1   Benefactive (to make something/to make something for)

The verbs of getting and making can be followed by ⌐te- to mean 'to get/make something for someone' or 'to get/make something and give to someone', where a recipient/benefactee noun phrase, which is otherwise not available, can be introduced to the sentence.

(15)   a.   Λbola   Vkepa   Vwau   Λto-m=Λba
            pig   sweet.potato   dig.INF   give-3SG=but

            'She dug sweet potatoes for pigs, but ...'
       b.   Λflawa   Vnu   ⌐na   Λto-gwe
            flour   knead.INF   1EXC   give-3SG.IND

            'She kneaded flour for me.'

In some contexts, the whole phrase appears to be semantically compositional, consisting of two consecutive sub-events 'to get or to make' and 'to give' as in (15a), where the sentence can be decomposed into sub-events 'she dug sweet potatoes' and 'she gave sweet potatoes to pigs', but in some contexts, there is no sub-event of giving as in (15b), where the labour of kneading flour is dedicated to the speaker. Interpretation of such phrases is determined by the context. The sentences above could have been used to describe different situations where the digging effort is done for the benefit of the pigs or kneaded flour is handed over to the speaker to eat. The whole construction denotes one integrated event and verbs in the construction cannot have different aspects.

The verbs of getting and making which are used with ⌐te include the following.

(16)   a.   Λel- 'make', Vke- 'cook by steam', Λgal- 'roast', Λbl- 'roast in ashes', Λbol- 'write',
            ⌐s Λbol- 'sew up', ⌐kla Λel- 'grate', ⌐kula ⌐s- 'mash', Vnu- 'knead', Vyol- 'plait
            (rope)', Vwel- 'roll', ⌐sVto- 'make a ladder', Λipi ⌐s- 'divide up',
       b.   Λpel- 'dig (hole)', Vke- 'build', Λkul- 'make a bed', ⌐s- 'make a road'
       c.   ⌐i- 'get', Λbal- 'buy, cut (harvest) sugar cane', Vwau- 'dig (harvest) sweet potato',
            Vsu- 'cut (gather) firewood', Λkol- 'fill water', Vyopl- 'get remains of fire from
            someone', Vul- 'pick', Vyu- 'dig (to harvest) taro, pick edible leaves', Vdekn- 'pick
            (a banana from the bunch)', ⌐ul ⌐s- 'pick (a tree leaf)', Vbul- 'harvest greens', Vwe-
            'fell (a tree)', Vgeu- 'twist (to pick something off)', ⌐s- 'harvest (vegetables)', Vbl
            ⌐s- 'buy', Vmiam Λel- 'remove the last sweet potatoes from an old garden and
            prepare for replanting', Var- 'pick up', Λgur- 'collect (a bill)', Λmai ⌐s- 'gather',
            Vmaul- 'pick up'

Verbs in (16a) and (16b) are verbs of making, but those in (16b) select objects which cannot be handed over. Verbs in (16c) are verbs of getting.

Many verbs of making and getting are single-root verbs and most verbs have derived meaning of making or getting from manner of making or getting.

6.4.1.2   Causative (to dress oneself/to dress someone)

Reflexive verbs can be causativised or de-reflexivised when followed by ⌐te-. For example, the verb Λer- 'to wear' followed by ⌐te- means 'to cause to wear' or 'to dress someone'. The causer then occupies the subject position instead of the original subject which is in turn placed in the slot for an additional argument. Most of these verbs are transitive verbs of wearing or grooming, as in the following list.

(17) a. Λer- 'to wear', Vkau- 'to put on (a hat), to put (a blanket) over', Λpl- 'to wear (a loincloth)', Vpal- 'to put on (shoes)' Vmol- 'to put on (a bracelet)', Vto- 'to put on (a necklace)', (Vekn) Λgal- 'to dress up oneself', (Λnl) Vpai- 'to bathe', (Λnl) Λbl- 'to be baptised'
      b. Λgul- 'to put off (cloths)', Vpul- 'to strip off (a loincloth)', Λyer- 'to remove'
      c. Λbal- 'to cut hair short', Vgu- 'to shave', Λgolm ⌐d- 'to clip hair', Vkom ⌐s- 'to comb', Vmel- 'to braid hair', ⌐mn ⌐s- 'to decorate with (mud)', Λbol- 'to apply (ointment)', Vkai Λbol- 'to get an injection', Λbl- 'to smear (grease, mud or ointment)', ⌐s Vda- 'to stick (a plaster) on', Vpal- 'to attach', Λka Vye-'to put name'
      d. Λsul ⌐d- 'to learn, to teach', Vbin- 'to learn, to teach'

Verbs in (17a) serve as a kind of reflexive predicates, when used with a certain type of objects and take the undergoer of the action as their subject. Thus, the sentence in (18a) can be used when the subject has his shoes on, in fact, even if someone else put them on his feet for him. These verbs of dressing in (17a) cannot have a causer-subject to which the change of state is not attributed as in (18b). The auxiliary ⌐te enables the sentence to have both a causer and an undergoer as in (18c), where the subject is the causer.

(18) a. ⌐kal   Λtopl   Vmol-ke
          leg.3SG.POSS   covering   put.on-1SG.IND

          'I put shoes on'
          'He put shoes on my feet'
      b. ⌐kal   Λtopl   Vmol-gwe
          leg.3SG.POSS   covering   put.on-3SG.IND

          'He put shoes on'
        *(He put shoes on my feet)
      c. ⌐kal   Λtopl   Vmol   ⌐na   Λto-gwe
          leg.3SG.POSS   covering   put.on.INF   1EXC   give-3SG.IND

          'He put shoes on my feet'

As is shown above, when not followed by ⌐te, these verbs can have only one subject, which should be the undergoer. The referent of the undergoer can be either identical to or different from that of the causer.

The verbs in the example (17b) behave in the same way, but are different in that when followed by ⌐te- they can be interpreted in two different ways as in the following.

(19) ⌐kal   Λtopl   Λgul   ⌐na   Λto-gwe
      leg.3SG.POSS   covering   put.off.INF   1EXC   give-3SG.IND
      'He took his shoes off and gave them to me.'

'He took my shoes off from my feet.'

Verbs in (17c) and (17d) can be used in the following ways.

(20)   a.   Γna   Vbl-na   Vike   Vmel-ke
            1EXC   head-1SG.POSS   hair   braid-1SG.IND

       'I braided my hair./I had my hair braided'

       b.   Γna   Vbl-na   Vike   Vmel-gwe
            1EXC   head-1SG.POSS   hair   braid-3SG.IND

       'She braided my hair.'

       c.   Γna   Vbl-na   Vike   Vmel   Λto-gwe
            1EXC   head-1SG.POSS   hair   braid.INF   give-3SG.IND

       'She braided my hair.'

6.4.1.3   Addressee (to talk/to talk to)

Verbs of saying and signalling can be followed by Γte-, where the role of an introduced noun is an addresee noun phrase.

(21)   a.   (Γka) Γdi- 'say (word)', (Γka) Λkipi Γdi- 'lie', (Γka) Vpore Λel- 'tell story', Γka Vmo Λpol- 'tell story', Vkel- 'count, read', Vkuipe Λbol- 'whistle', Λkaur Γdi- 'scold', Γal Γdi- 'call (person)', Vsl Λbol- 'ask', Λyana Γdi- 'ask (for)', Λdal- 'call (neme)', Λbeten Γdi- 'pray', Λek Λbal- 'set appointment time'

       b.   Vo Vkurara Λel- 'wave hands'

Certain verbs describing attitudes can be used in a similar way, where the person toward which the attitude is oriented.

(22)   Λwai Λel- 'do good', Λmapn Λwai Λel- 'do good deeds', Λmapn Γki Λel- 'do bad deeds', Vmu Vye- 'give back (to)', Λkot Λel- 'hold a court, sue', Λmol- 'stay (for)'

6.4.1.4   Concern (to be happy/to be happy with)

Γte- can introduce a human nominal specifying the orientation of the emotion expressed by the main verb.

(23)   a.   Λwai   Λp-ke
            good   perceive-1SG.IND

       'I am happy.'

       b.   Λwai   Λpl   Γen   Λte-ke
            good   perceive.INF   you   give-1SG.IND

       'I am happy with you.'

(24)   Λpl   Vmekl   Λte-ke
       perceive.INF   contact.INF   give-1SG.IND

       'It hit me that the person (did it...)'

(25) a. Λ*wai* Λ*pl-* 'be happy', Γ*gun* V*ye-* 'be delighted', Γ*ki* Λ*pl-* 'be unhappy', Λ*gai* Λ*gol-*
          'be ashamed', V*demn* Γ*si-* 'be thankful', Λ*epl* Λ*el-* 'laugh'
      b. Λ*dem* V*kupr-* 'be angry', Λ*dem* Λ*gol-* 'be angry', Λ*dem* Λ*giul* Γ*si-* 'be angry', Λ*dem*
          Γ*ki* Γ*si-* 'be angry'
      c. Λ*pl-* 'hear, think'

The phrasal verb Λ*dem* Λ*gol* 'to be angry' without Γ*te-* can be used to describe anger against
someone, but it cannot take a noun phrase referring to this person (§5.6.4.7).

6.4.2   Introducing locative nominals/adjectives: Λ*er*

The verb Λ*er* 'move' used as an auxiliary can follow a verbal item to introduce a locative
noun phrase in the goal role or as an adjective denoting the result of the event described by
the main verb.

6.4.2.1   Introducing the goal

The preceding verb is usually transitive. It is not the subject but the object which under-
goes movement or change of state. In the following example (26a), it is the transitive phrasal
verb V*pia* Γ*s* 'throw' which is used before Λ*er* and in (26b) it is the transitive use of the am-
bitransitive Γ*garu* Γ*d* 'slatter', where an additional element is placed between the main verb
and the auxiliary Λ*er* as a goal phrase.

(26) a. Λ*yal*   Γ*i*   V*o*   [V*pia*   V*s]*   Λ***kiul*** [Λ*er-m=*Λ*ba]*
          man   DEM   hand.3SG.POSS   throw   hit.INF   room   to/off-3SG=but

          Γ*di*   Γ*ta*   V*yo-m*   Λ*du-gw.*
          axe   a   be-3SG   say-3SG.IND

          'It is said that the man put his hand into the bedroom, but there was an axe there.'
      b. Λ*gal*   Λ*bin*   V*au*   Λ*mol*
          string.bag   bottom   hold.INF   stay.CONJ(SS)

          [V*au]*   [Γ*garu* Γ*d]*   V***maun*** [Λ*er-gwa]*
          hold.INF   slatter   (say).INF   below   to/off-3SG.SRD

          'he took the bottom of the string bag and slattered [it] (downwards).'

The verb Γ*te* can be used with the auxiliary Λ*er*, in which case the additional element
usually provides information about the direction or the location of the recipient. In (27a),
the element introduced by Λ*er* is a demonstrative Λ*ip* 'up over there' which specifies the
recipient's location as relatively higher than that of the speaker. In (27b), Γ*kol* 'back (as
returning direction)' is introduced by Λ*er* indicating that the direction is set toward the original
possessor.

(27) a. Γ*na*   (Λ)*paip*   Λ*silin*   [Γ*te]*   Λ***ip***   [Λ*er-ke]*
          1EXC   5   shilling   give.INF   down.there   to/off-1SG.IND
          'I gave 50 toea up to [him].'

   b. *Γna*   *Vkepa*   *Λkomna*   *Var-iki=(Γ)rae*   *Λkui*   *[Γi]*
     1EXC   sweet.potato   vegetable   pick.up-1SG.DEM=MUT   again   take.INF

     [Γp]   *[Γte]*   *Γkol*   *[Λer]*   *[Λkor-i=Λua]*.
     go.INF   give.INF   back   to/off.INF   COMPL-1SG=ENC.WA

     'I brought the food that I picked up and gave it back (to the possessor)'

When the slot for goal/result preceding Λ*er* is empty, it is used to mean that the object is removed away from something.

(28) a. *[Γi]*   *Λmena* *[Λer-]*   'take out'
       take.INF   outside   to/off

    b. *Γi*   *Λer-*   'take off, remove'
       take.INF   to/off

(29) *Λyal*   *Γta*   *Λmol*   *[Λkatm Γs]*   *[Λer-a-l=Λua]*   *Λdu-gwe*
     plant a stay.CONJ(SS) cut   hit.INF to/off-FUT-1SG=ENC.WA say-3SG.IND

     'There was a man and said, "I will cut (the bad bit of your hand) off." '

Some intransitive verbs can be used with the auxiliary function of Λ*er* as in the following.

(30) *[Λmol]*   *Vsuna*   *[Λer-o]*
     stay.INF   centre to/off-IMP

     'Move a little to the centre.'

When Λ*er* is used with an intransitive verb, it is the subject which experiences the movement.
    The range of the verbs which can be used with Λ*er* is not clear, but as far as transitive verbs are concerned, the use is very productive. Sending letters is often expressed by Λ*bol* 'write' with Λ*er* followed, and in front of a voice recorder the speakers refer to the event as Γ*d* Γ*ila* Λ*er* 'say (word) to the inside' or Γ*d* Λ*apl* Λ*er* 'say (word) to the invisible side'.

6.4.2.2 Introducing result or state

Adjectives can be introduced as result states by the auxiliary Λ*er*.

(31) a. *[Λkul]*   *[Γi]*   *Λbl* *[Λer-]*
       look.after.INF take.INF big to/off-

       'to look after him until he grew up' (lit. 'to look after into the state of [being] grown-up')

    b. *[Γs]*   *Γki*   *[Λer-ke]*
       hit.INF   bad to/off-1SG.IND

       'I broke / I hit it into bad state.'

Numerals, as a sub-class of adjectives, can also be in the goal/result slot, as in the following.

(32) *Γna*   *Λkui*   *Λkam*   *Veri=(Γ)rae* *Λbl* *Λmala* *Γs*   *[Γkol Γkol Γs]*   *Vsu*
     1EXC again banana stem=MUT stick   (hit).INF break   (hit).INF two

     [Λer=Vpare]
     to/off.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)

'Then I, using a stick, tore the stem of banana into two.'

The reciprocal use of the combination of a medial demonstrative and a proximal demonstrative (§9.2.2.3.3.4) often appears in the goal/result slot to express the reciprocity of the event.

(33) Λi   Γen Vnene   [Vkan] **Vile**   Λya   [Λer]   Λkor-igwe
     DEM you oneself see.INF forth.here right/back.here to/off.INF COMPL-2/3PL.IND
     'This, you saw each other.'

In this context, spatial demonstratives, which are a sub-class of adjectives, seem to serve as locative noun phrases rather than adjectives.

In many cases adjectives introduced by Λer function semantically as adverbials.

(34) a. Vgal Λmo-ka   [Λel]   Γta   [Λer-ka]
         child stay-1SG.SRD make.INF another to/off-1SG.SRD

         Λelma Λkui Λbl Λmo-ki   Λkui   [Λel]   Γta   [Λer-ke]
         now   again big stay-1SG.DEM again make.INF another to/off-1SG.IND
         'When I was small, I did [it] **differently**, and now being an adult as you see, I do [it] **differently**.'
      b. [Γd]   **Λkomn** [Λer-a-ka]   Λkore Valau Λel+Γla.
         say.INF beforehand to/off-FUT-1SG.SRD but   wrong make.1SG+EXPL
         'I should have mentioned him **first**, but I made a mistake.'

In the same way, intransitive verbs also precede the adjective plus Λer construction, as in the following.

(35) [Vpai] Γta   [Λer-gwe]
     lie.INF another to/off-3SG.IND
     '[It] is different.'

Intensifiers usually postmodify the preceding adjectives, stative verbal nouns, or other nouns (§3.4.4). Γki 'bad', which has the meaning 'very' as an intensifier, can be put before Λer to intensify the degree of the state denoted by the preceding stative verbal items.

(36) [Vnika Γd]   Γ**ki** [Λer-gwe]
     hot   say.INF very   to/off-3SG.IND
     'It is very hot.'

In this way, single-root stative verbs, which otherwise cannot be accompanied by intensifiers, can be intensified as in the following.

(37) a. Vto   Λi   Vau-gwe   'This cigarette is strong.'
         tabacco DEM hold-3SG.SRD
      b. Vto   Λi   [Vau]   Γ**ki** [Λer-gwe]   'This cigarette is very strong.'
         tabacco DEM hold.INF bad   to/off–3SG.SRD

It seems that a few stative verbal nouns can be placed in the goal/result slot as in the following.

(38) ⌐s   ⌐**ul**   ʌer-ke
hit.INF   sleep   to/off-1SG.IND
'I made [the baby] sleep.'

In the example (38), the use of ⌐s is rather similar to that of the transitive marker (§5.6.4).

6.5 Aspects

Some aspectual meaning are realised by serial verb constructions.

6.5.1 Existential verbs

Two existential verbs ʌmol and ꟸpai are serialised to mark aspects. When used as the main verb, the verb ʌmol is used in the meaning of 'be (of animate), be without rest (alive, awake), be heaped up' and the verb ꟸpai means 'lie, be attached to something, be inside'.

When the verb ʌmol follows the verb which takes an animate subject, the construction has the meaning of 'be (actively) V-ing'.

(39) a. ⌐na   ⌐p   ʌpektri ʌkonan [ʌel]   [ʌmo-ka]
1EXC go.INF factory work   make.INF stay-1SG.SRD

'I went and was working in a factory and ...'
   b. ʌbarawaki [ʌsul   ⌐d]   [ʌmol-gwa]
PLN   school (say).INF stay-3SG.SRD

'He was studying at a school in Barawagi and ...'

The verb ꟸpai can follow any verb to mark the meaning of 'be (just, still) V-ing'.

(40) [ʌblat ⌐s]   [ꟸpa-gwa]=(⌐)mer   ʌi   ʌne-ka
blood (hit).INF STILL-3SG.SRD=as/about DEM   eat-1SG.IND

'I ate [the meat] as it was still covered with blood.'

The verb ꟸpai can be followed by ʌmol. The following examples have ꟸpai ʌmol after the main verbs.

(41) a. ꟸ'glaip-i   ⌐na   ⌐t-o.'   [⌐d   ꟸpai   ʌmo-ka]
tongue-SG.POSS 1EXC give-IMP say.INF STILL.INF stay-1SG.SRD

'I kept saying, "Give me the tongue (of the pig)".'
   b. [ʌkai ʌel   ꟸpai   ʌmo-ka]   [ʌkai ʌel   ꟸpai   ʌmo-ka]   [ʌkai
cry make STILL stay-1SG.SRD cry make STILL stay-1SG.SRD cry

ʌel   ꟸpai   ʌmo-ka]
make STILL   stay-1SG.SRD

'I kept crying, crying and crying.'

The sequence ꟸpai ʌmol seems a near equivalent of a simple ꟸpai, since it can be used with a clause that contains an inanimate subject, as in the following.

(42) [ʌdon ʌel]   [ꟸpai]   [ʌmolgwa]   ꟸime
itch (make).INF STILL.INF stay-3SG.SRD forth.down.here

'Oh, your skin must still itch.'

The aspectual Λ*mol* can be followed by √*pai*:

(43) √*suna* [√*al*   Λ*mol*   √*pa-gwa*]
      centre   stand.up.INF   stay.INF   lie-3SG.SRD

   '... she was still standing in the middle [of the river]'

The sequence Λ*mol* √*pai* Λ*mol* can also be found:

(44) Γ*gur*   Λ*dua*   Γ*kui*   Λ*el*   [√*wan*   Λ*mol*   √*pai*
      lizard   rat   hunt   make.CONJ(SS)   move.around.INF   stay.INF   lie.INF

   Λ*mol-gwe]*
   stay-3SG.IND

   'Kila remained here hunting small animals like lizards and rats.'

When the main verb is √*pai*, the aspectual √*pai* cannot follow it directly, but Λ*mol* √*pai* can occur in this position.

(45) a. Γ*ul*   √*pai*   Λ*mol-gwe.*
          sleep   lie.INF   stay-3SG.IND

       'S/he is sleeping'
     b.*Γ*ul*   √*pai*   √*pa-gwe.*
          sleep   lie.INF   lie-3SG.IND

       (S/he is sleeping)
     c. Γ*ul*   √*pai*   Λ*mol*   √*pa-gwe.*   'S/he is still sleeping'
          sleep   lie.INF   stay.INF   lie-3SG.IND

The durative can be expressed by the verbs Γ*ere* Γ*p* 'go' or Γ*ere* Γ*u* 'come' serialised with the preceding verb.

6.5.2 Verbs of putting

The verb √*ye* is used transitively as 'to put' and intransitively as 'be, be put'. When used as an auxiliary, √*ye* is used to mark the resultative meaning of 'have V-ed (in place, permanently)'. It can follow both transitive and intransitive verbs.

(46) a. Γ*er*   Λ*ari* √*iki*   (√)*ke* **√*yopgal***   Γ*ila*   Λ*w-igwi*
          tree   leaf   house   build   put/there.be-1PL.LOC   inside   come-2/3PL.DEM

       'They came inside the 'tree-leaf' house we built [there].'
     b. Λ*Kuman* Λ*Bos* Λ*gar-i*   Γ*di*   Λ*bol-gwa=mere*
          PRN   body-3SG.POSS   axe   be.hit-3SG.SRD=as/about

       √*a*   Γ*d*   **√*yo-gw***
       open   (say).INF   put/there.be-3SG.IND

       'The skin of Kuman Bos was open just as if it was cut with an axe.'

In (46a), √*ye* follows a transitive verb. Not only is the act of building finished, also a house is there as a result. √*ye* follows the phrasal verb √*a* Γ*d* 'open' which is an ambitransitive verb with the meaning of change of state in (46b). The whole construction is used intransitively, where √*ye* signals the phase of the result state.

The use of auxiliary √ye does not seem to be confined to focus on the phase of the result state, but it cancels the semantic component of the acting proccess. In the following sentence (47) the nuance is more like 'The door is open' rather than the literal rendering of 'He has opened the door'.

(47) ᴧdua [√yaul]   [√yo-gwe]
       door open.INF put/there.be-3SG.IND

       'He has opened the door.'

Another verb of putting √pal is used only transitively and is distinguished from the verb √ye in the following way.

√ye is used to express the action of putting on the horizontal surface while √pal is used to describe putting the object so that it is attached to something or putting something inside. √pal as the main verb is often serialised with a verb of manner as in the following.

(48) ᴧbola [ᴧkan ᴧkol]   [√pal-e]
       pig   vine fill.INF put-CONJ(SS)

       '... they tethered pigs with ropes and ...'

In the example (48), the agents tethered the pigs and thereby they attached them to something.

The verb √pal can also be serialised as an aspect marker with the meaning of 'in advance, first, preparatorily, temporarily' as in the following.

(49) a. [⌐d]   [√**pal-ke**]
           say.INF put-1SG.IND

           'I said [it] in advance.' (promise, prediction)

      b. ⌐de √brm ⌐ta √ke   √pa-gwa   [√kan]   [√**pal-e**]
           bee   a   build.INF lie-3SG.SRD see.INF put-CONJ(SS)

           'He saw [and remembered] a nest of bees in advance' (so that he can get honey on his way back)

The aspectual use of √pal is rather different from its usage as the main verb.

The following examples show the difference between √ye and √pal functioning as aspect markers.

(50) a. [√ke]   [√**yo-gwe**]
           cook.by.steam   put-3SG.IND

           'He has cooked (and the food is ready to eat)'

      b. [√ke]   [√**pal-gwe**]
           cook.by.steam   put-3SG.IND

           'He has done something necessary for cooking (i.e. waiting for the thing to be cooked)'

(51) a. ᴧnl   ᴧkol   √ye-ke
           water fill.INF put-1SG.IND

           'I have drawn water.'

      b. ᴧnl   ᴧkol   √pal-ke
           water fill.INF put-1SG.IND

           'I did all for drawing water (and am waiting for it to fill up).'

A contrast similar to √*ye* and √*pal* in the transitive use is observed for intransitive use of √*ye* and √*pai*.

An often observed collocation also confirms the relationship between them.

(52)   a. √*ye-ka*   √*yo-gwe*
           put-1SG.SRD   be-3SG.IND
           'I put and it is there.'

       b. √*pal-ka*   √*pa-gwe*
           put-1SG.SRD   lie-3SG.IND
           'I put and it is (attached or inside) there'

The same association is observed for serialised √*ye* and √*pal* as in the following.

(53)   a. Γ*ila*   ʌ*yopl* Γ*yam*   Γ*maul* [Γ*s*]   [√*ye-ka*]   √*yo-gwe.*
           inside   down   right/back.down.here hole   hit.INF   put-1SG.SRD   put/there.be-3SG.IND
           'There is a place where I buried [him] down here.'

       b. ʌ*kopl* √*mulu* [ʌ*gal*]   [ʌ*gl*]   [√*pal-gwa*]   √*pa-gwe.*
           stone   round   string.bag   put.into.INF put-3SG.SRD   lie-3SG.IND
           'There is a round stone inside which he put in a bag'

However, as in the example (53b), √*pal* followed by √*pai* in this way seems only to have a reading of the main verb.

6.5.3   Verb of discarding

The verb ʌ*kor*∼ Γ*ki* ʌ*kor* has the meaning of 'discard, leave' as the main verb. When it is used as an aspect marker, it is used to mean 'completely'.

Stative verbs in Dom can describe a change of state as well as a state as such. Postposing ʌ*kor* causes the preceding stative verb to have an inchoative reading.

(54)   a. ʌ*yu* ʌ*mol*   ʌ*kor-gwe*
           just   stay.INF   COMPL-3SG.IND
           'He became well (without illness).'

       b. ʌ*yu* ʌ*mol-gwe*
           just   stay-3SG.IND
           'He was/became well'

6.5.4   Perception verbs

Perception verbs √*kan-* 'to see' and ʌ*pl-* 'to hear, to non-visually perceive' can follow a verb to add the implication of experience. I will show in this subsection that the verb √*kan-* has been grammaticalised to function as an auxiliary of experience, while the verb ʌ*pl-* retains its original meaning in the serial verb constructions.

6.5.4.1 *√kan-*

The verb *√kan-* means 'to see' when used as the main verb. There are only two perception verbs in Dom and the other one *ʌpl-* serves as the verb referring to the rest of the senses, meaning 'to perceive non-visually'. The verb *√kan-* has an auxiliary use marking an experience of the subject and it can roughly be rendered in English as 'have V-ed, try to V, know how to V'. For example, *꜔ne √kan-* (eat-see) is not 'eat and see', but 'have eaten', 'try to eat' or 'know how to eat'.

(55) a. *꜔en ʌbuai ꜔ne √kan-n-o*
       you betelenut eat.INF see-2SG-PQM

       'Have you ever chewed betelnuts? / Do you know how to chew betelnuts?'

    b. *√kai √ama ꜔ta ꜔bo+√k-ike*
       needle too NEG be.hit+NEG-1SG.IND

       ʌmarasn ʌi √ama ꜔ta [꜔ne] [√ka+(√)k-ike]
       medicine DEM too NEG eat.INF EXPERIENCE+NEG-1SG.IND

       'I had never got an injection. I had no experience in taking medicines, either.'

Non-visual sensory experience, which is the domain reserved for the verb *ʌpl* 'to perceive non-visually', is omitted from the 'experience' marked by *√kan*. For example, the taste is not and cannot be the issue in question in the examples above.

(56) a. *꜔ne √kan-*
       eat.INF see

       'have eaten, try to eat, know how to eat'

    b. *√au √kan-* 'have some experience of touching'
       hold.INF see

    c. *ʌel √kan-* 'have some experience of making'
       make.INF see

Many preceding verbs are transitive, but intransitive verbs are also allowed to precede *√kan*, if the event can be volitional in nature.

A verb followed by *√kan-* does not contain the component of seeing in any way. The verb *√kan-* in this construction serves as an auxiliary verb signifying trying, experience or knowledge.

6.5.4.2 *ʌpl-*

The verb *ʌpl-* 'to perceive non-visually' preceded by a verb indicating the manner of perception forms a serial verb. The first verb serves to specify which sense is referred to, as in the following examples. It can otherwise be vague.

(57) a. *√au ʌpl-* 'to feel by touching'
       hold.INF perceive-

    b. *꜔ne ʌpl-* 'to feel by eating'
       eat.INF perceive-

Serial verbs involving the perception verb *Λpl* are compatible with stimulus expressions with non-visual sensory evidentials, as in the following.

(58) *⌐na*　　*[Vau*　　　*Λp-ka]*　　　　　*⌐gl*　　*⌐d*　　　*Λdu-gwe*
　　　1EXC　hold.INF　perceive-1SG.SRD　strong　(say).INF　NONVIS-3SG.IND
　　　'I felt [it] with my hands and it was hard.'

6.6   Non-visual sensory evidential *⌐d*

Predicates of non-visual sensory stimuli can be followed by *⌐d-* to form serial verbs. The auxiliary *⌐d* adds the meaning of 'The speaker really feels/experiences that ...'.

(59) a. *Vmnan*　*Λsu-gwe*　　　'(Something) smells'
　　　　smell　hit-3SG.IND

　　 b. *Vmnan*　*⌐s*　　*Λdu-gwe*
　　　　smell　hit.INF　NONVIS-3SG.IND

(60) a. *Λdon*　　*Λel-gwe*　　　　'be delicious'
　　　　delicious　(make)-3SG.IND

　　 b. *Λdon*　　*Λel*　　　*Λdu-gwe*
　　　　delicious　(make).INF　NONVIS-3SG.IND

(61) a. *Voml-na*　　　*Vmal-gwe*　　　'dizzy'
　　　　eye-1SG.POSS　dizzy-3SG.SRD

　　 b. *Voml-na*　　　*Vmal*　　　*Λdu-gwe*
　　　　eye-1SG.POSS　dizzy.INF　NONVIS-3SG.SRD

(62) a. *⌐gl*　　*Λdu-gwe*　　　'It is hard'
　　　　strong　(say)-3SG.IND

　　 b. *⌐gl*　　*⌐d*　　　*Λdu-gwe*
　　　　strong　(say).INF　NONVIS-3SG.IND

Semantics of the sentences with *⌐d* does not seem to undergo significant changes compared to the sentences without *⌐d* in the examples (60) and (61) since the states or stimuli described by the sentences can only be experienced through non-visual perception. However, the difference is clear in the example (62) where the simple 'be hard' (a) might be expressed without direct experience, whereas the sentence with *⌐d* (b) should be uttered after touching or feeling the texture in some other way. The use of evidential *⌐d* is not obligatory. When it is used, the predicate cannot be a general statement or a state or event that was not experienced.

A drastic change in semantics is evident when it comes to predicates without the meaning of non-visual sensory stimuli for many events are typically perceived visually, as in the following.

(63) a. *Vkamn*　　*Λsu-gwe*
　　　　rain/area　hit-3SG.IND
　　　　'It rains'

      b. *√kamn   ⌐s   ∧du-gwe*
         rain/area hit.INF NONVIS-3SG.IND

         'It sounds/smells/feels like rain (though I do not see it). '

(64) a. *∧yopal ⌐ta ∧u-gwe*
        person a   come-3SG.IND

        'A man comes.'

      b. *∧yopal ⌐ta ⌐u   ∧du-gwe*
        person a   come.INF NONVIS-3SG.IND

        'It sounds (feels) as if a man is coming (though I do not see).'

⌐d cannot appear in a sentence describing states or events which cannot be perceived non-visually. The following example contains an event with visual stimuli.

(65)*∧*lam* ∧*dogwa*   ∧*amlaa* ∧*s*   ∧*du-gwe*
     lamp burn(intr.)-3SG.SRD light   hit.INF say-3SG.IND

    (A lamp is lit and is glowing.)

    All the usages of ⌐d above can be accounted for if it is considered an optional marker signalling that 'the speaker has the non-visual sensory evidence for the state or the event described by the preceding predicate'. This evidential ⌐d is an auxiliary in that it cannot stand alone to become a predicate and it always follows the main verb.

    The auxiliary ⌐d is the last element in a serial verb construction.

(66) a. *⌐na   ⌐para   ∧ne-ka   [⌐ki √pai] [∧kor]   [∧du-gwe]*
        1EXC enough/all eat-1SG.SRD bad lie.INF COMPL.INF NONVIS-3SG.IND

        'I ate enough and my belly got completely full.'

      b.*⌐na   ⌐para   ∧ne-ka   [⌐ki √pai] [⌐d]   [∧kor-gwe]*
        1EXC enough/all eat-1SG.SRD bad lie.INF NONVIS COMPL-3SG.IND

(67) a. *√oml-na   [√mal]   ⌐ki [∧er]   [∧du-gwe]*
        eye-1SG.POSS dizzy.INF very to/off.INF NONVIS-3SG.SRD

        '(I am feeling that) I am very dizzy.'

      b. *√dan-na   [√mo]   ⌐er ∧ekl [⌐p] [∧du-gwe]*
        belly-1SG.POSS climb.INF to far go.INF NONVIS-3SG.IND

        '(I am feeling that) my belly is full and protruding. '

      c. *√to   ∧wai [√pai] [∧kor]   [∧du-gwe]*
        tabacco good lie.INF COMPL.INF NONVIS-3SG.IND

        'This tobacco is really nice.'

The auxiliary ⌐d even follow the negative +√kl, unlike many other auxiliary verbs, except for ∧el in the habitual construction.

(68) *√kamn   √u=(⌐)d ⌐ta   [⌐s+(√)kl] [∧du-gwe]*
    rain/area a lot   NEG hit+NEG   NONVIS-3SG.IND

    'It feels as if it is not raining much.'

Many pieces of data I collected for this evidential ⌐d are from personal conversations and they describe the speaker's feeling or experience at the time of speaking. However, some data

show that the evidential ⌐d can be used for past experiences, as in the following example.

(69) √ene   Λmol   Λe-ka   Λe-ka   ⌐yoko=(⌐)ta=⌐gra [Λarkan   Λel
      then   stay.INF go-1SG.SRD   go-1SG.SRD   few=a=just   be.well make.INF

      Λdu-gwa]
      say-3SG.SRD

      '... then, after a while, I felt a bit better ...'

The usage of evidential ⌐d with future tense displays different syntactic behaviour and conveys a somewhat different nuance of 'afraid'.

(70) a. [√pul   ⌐s   **d-√ra-pn]**   ⌐d   √kan   ⌐kun   Λel
          break   hit.INF say-FUT-1PL   Q   see.INF possible make.CONJ(SS)

          Λel   √to   ⌐i   Λmena   Λer-pge
          make.CONJ(SS)   put.on.neck.INF   take.INF outside to/off-1PL.IND

          'Afraid that we would break [the musk gland] otherwise, watching carefully, we
          cut [the skin] and take it out.'

      b. Λaussik   √kal   ⌐ila   √yo-gwi
          hospital thing   inside   be-3SG.DEM

          [√au   Λ**d-ra-l]**=⌐d
          hold.INF   NONVIS-FUT-1SG=Q

          Λgar-na   [√bau   Λ**d-na-m]**=⌐d   ⌐kle=(⌐)d   Λmo-ke.
          body-1SG.POSS   touch   NONVIS-FUT-3SG=Q   silently=ADV   stay-1SG.IND

          'I stayed carefully, afraid that I would touch or my body would come into contact
          with the things inside the hospital.'

The evidential ⌐d can be used as the main verb as other auxiliary verbs in Dom do. As a main verb ⌐d means 'to say, to sound'. If we assume that the verb underwent a common change from a word with lexical contents to a functional word, ⌐d might have expanded its meaning from the sound or the event of auditory sensory stimuli to include events of more general non-visual sensory stimuli.

As the background for the development of 'to say, to sound' into a non-visual sensory evidential, it is important to point out that Dom divides the perceptual world into a visual and non-visual one with the perception verbs Λpl- 'perceive non-visually' and √kan- 'see'. Furthermore, the semantic derivation from 'to hear' to 'to perceive non-visually' is clear enough for the verb Λpl as the most basic meaning of the verb Λpl- is 'to hear'. Then, there seems to be a general preference in Dom for semantic expansion from the domain of auditory events to that of non-visual events.

As for evidentials, non-visual sensory evidence is marked by ⌐d while visual evidence has no marker. The semantic properties of this marker can be negatively defined as non-visual. It is the non-visual, not the visual, that is formally marked.

This asymmetry may have something to do with the tendency of lexicalization displayed by perception verbs noticed by Viberg (1983), if we consider the evidential ⌐d as functioning on a par with copulative perception verbs. [*1]

[*1] "With respect to the experiences, equivalents to *see* and *hear* are found in most languages of the sample, in
spite of the fact that straightforward equivalents are often lacking for *feel*, *taste* and *smell* (as experiences).

6.7 Adjoined motion and location

Motion prior to the main event is expressed by an infinitive verb forming the first component of a non-contiguous verb serialisation when the pre-movement is captured as an integral sub-event.

(71) a. Γere [Γp]   (Λ)yal Λno   [i-Vra-pn]   Γd Λo-pgi
     to   go.INF compensation take-FUT-1PL Q go-1PL.DEM
     'When we went to go and receive the compensation ...'

    b. Λyopal [Γp]   VMran [Λmol]   [Λkor-gwa]
     person go.INF PLN   stay.INF discard-3SG.SRD
     'people went and settled down in Mrane and ...'

Between the two serialised verbs, arguments required by the following verb, such as *Λyal Λno* in the example (71a) and *VMran* in the example (71b), can be inserted, making the construction non-contiguous. Types of arguments that can be inserted between a pre-movement and the main event are the most diverse as a non-contiguous serial verb construction.

The 'pre-movement' component can be accompanied by various elements.

(72) a. Γna   **Λpepa** *Vyo-gwal*   Λai   [Γp]   [Λmak Γs]   [Vpal-ke].
     1EXC paper be-3SG.LOC place go.INF mark hit.INF hit-1SG.IND
     'I went to where the paper (attendence record) was and I checked in advance.'

    b. [V**we**]   [Γyu]   [Vpia Γs]   Γnul [Λer-e]
     cut.down.INF fetch.INF throw hit.INF river to/off-CONJ(SS)
     'We two cut (the banana tree), brought it, threw it to the river, and ...'

In the above example (72a), a destination phrase precedes the verb of pre-movement Γp and in (72b) a sequential serial verb construction is involved, where *Vwe* 'cut down' is serialised as a preceding sub-event with the pre-movement Γyu 'bring and come'.

6.8 Inchoative construction

The form Γu X Γp- 'become X', where X is a locative noun phrase or an adjective, is inchoative construction.

(73) a. Γen Λgar-n   [Γu   **Λkama** Λogwe]
     you body-2SG.POSS come.INF black   go.3SG.IND
     'Your skin became dark.'

    b. Γkal   Γmal Λi   Vgorkan   [Γu   **Λnol**   Λo-gwe]
     leg.3SG.POSS near DEM blood.vessel come visible.side go-3SG.IND
     'The blood vessel at his [wounded] leg became visible.'

This could be captured by a lexicalization hierarchy that predicts which meanings are lexicalized by a special lexical item. But this hierarchy would only hold for experiences, since it seems partly to be reversed for the copulatives. Among them, *smell* seems to be one of the first to be lexicalized as a simple verbal root." (Viberg 1983: 136)

Inchoative serial verbs can be used with other serial verb constructions. They can be used as the result component of cause-result serialisation, preceded by the cause component, and they can be followed by the completive aspect ∧*kor* as in the following.

(74)   [⌐*kula* ⌐*d*]   ⌐*u*   ⌐*kepl* ⌐*p*   [∧*kor-wdae*]
       dry   (say).INF come.INF   small   go.INF   COMPL-3SG.MUT

       'When it is dry and becomes small completely, ...'

6.9   Idiomatic serial verbs

There are some serialised verbs whose components do not have transparent meanings.

6.9.1   Possessive serial verbs

Dom speakers express the concept of possession in various ways. Different predicates in bold face below were all translated into Tok Pisin as 'gat' (to have) by a Dom speaker.

(75)   a.   (∨*memn* ⌐*ki*   *bol*∨*-a-gi*   )
          doing   bad   (be.hit)-FUT-2SG.DEM

          ∧*bola* ∧**kul**   ⌐**ne=(∨)kl-e**
          pig   look.after.INF   eat=NEG-CONJ(SS)

          ∧*moni*   ⌐*ta* ∨*au*   ⌐**ne=(∨)kl-e**
          money   a   hold.INF   eat=NEG-CONJ(SS)

          ∨*ike*   ⌐*ta* ∨*ke*   ∨**pai=(∨)kl-e**   *el*∨*-a-n=(∧)mo*
          house   a   build.INF   lie=NEG-CONJ(SS)   make-FUT-2SG=or

          ∧*bola* ∧**kul**   ⌐**ne-re**   ∧*moni* ∨*au*   ⌐**ne-re**
          pig   look.after.INF   eat-CONJ(SS)   money   hold.INF   eat-CONJ(SS)

          ∨*ike*   ∨*ke*   ∨**pai-re**   ∨*apal*   ⌐*i*   ∨*wan-e*
          house   build.INF   lie-CONJ(SS)   woman   take.INF   move.around-CONJ(SS)

          el∨*-a-n?*
          make-FUT-2SG.QM

          '(If you do bad things,) won't you have pigs, money and a house, or will you have pigs, money, a house and a wife?'

      b.   yu   bai   no   **gat**   pik   na   yu   bai   no   **gat**   moni   na
          you   FUT   NEG   have   pig   and   you   FUT   NEG   have   money   and

          yu   bai   no   **gat**   aus,   yu   bai   mekim   olsem   o,
          you   FUT   NEG   have   house   you   FUT   do   like.this   or

          yu   bai   i   **gat**   pik   na   yu   bai   i   **gat**   moni,
          you   FUT   PRED   have   pig   and   you   FUT   PRED   have   money

          yu   bai   i   **gat**   aus   o   yu   bai   marit   na
          you   FUT   PRED   have   house   or   you   FUT   be.married   and

          bai   yu   mekim   olsem   o?
          FUT   you   do   like.this   or

In the example above Λkul Γne-, Vau Γne- and Vke Vpai- are all translated as 'gat' in Tok Pisin, and Γi Vwan, translated as 'marit' (be married to), is also listed in the same context. Dom has no general term for 'to have' and uses different serial verbs for controllable possession according to the type of things possessed. What I call controllable possession here practically corresponds to "possession" in everyday use, that is, possession based on a kind of ownership. Most relationships of inalienable possession are not controllable.

Possessive serial verbs can mean only controllable possession and the three constructions above are almost equivalent. See the examples below.

(76) a. (Λlam   Λi   ) Γen Vkal   Vyo-m-o
          lamp DEM   you thing be-3SG-PQM
          'Is this lamp yours?'

      b. Γna   Vkal   Γta Vye+(V)k-gwe
          1EXC   thing   a   be+NEG-3SG.IND
          'Not mine.'[*2]

(77) a. (Λlam   Λi   ) Γen Vau Λne-n-o
          lamp DEM   you have-2SG-PQM
          'Is this lamp yours?/Have you this lamp?'

      b. Γna   Γta Vau Γne+(V)k-ike
          1EXC   a   have+NEG-1SG.IND
          'Not mine./I have not.'

Possessive serial verbs are lexicalised combinations of verbs of making or getting and verbs of using or consuming. For example:

(78) a. Λyal   Γne-   d. Λbal   Vau-
          plant.INF   eat   chop.INF   hold
          'have (a garden of plants)'   'have (a stick for digging sweet-
      b. Λel   Vkau-   potato/a handle of an axe)'
          make.INF   carry.on.shoulder   e. Λkul   Vpai-
          'have (a cap or a hat)'   look.after.INF lie
      c. Λbal   Γs-   'have (a bed/bedclothes)'
          chop.INF   hit
          'have (a kind of arrow)'

Different serial verbs are used for different objects because there are different ways of making or getting and using these objects.

Some combinations are not semantically transparent, as in the following.

(79) a. Λpol   Γs-   as useful but wild plants in one's
          pull.off.INF   hit   own land)'
          'to have (natural resources such

---

b. ⌐s   √pal-
   hit.INF   put
   (the same as above)

b. √kan   ⌐ne-
   see.INF   eat
   (the same as above)

(80) a. √au   ⌐ne-
         hold.INF   eat
         'to have (the artificial things)'

Some possessive serial verbs illustrated below cannot be rendered in other languages as possessive verbs, but they satisfy the formal and semantic characteristics described above.

(81) a. √ke   √pai-
         build.INF   lie
         'to live in/to have (a house)'

     b. ∧kul   √ye-
        give.birth.INF   to.nurse
        'to have (a child)'

     c. ∧kul   ⌐ne-
        look.after.INF   eat
        'to keep/to have (a domestic ani-

mal or a girl in one's own clan)'

d. √ye   ⌐ne-
   be.friend.INF   eat
   'to be a friend of (someone)/to
   have (a friend)'

e. ⌐i   √wan-
   take.INF   move.around
   'to be a spouse of (someone)/to
   have (a spouse)'

6.9.1.1   Semantics of constituents

6.9.1.1.1   Verbs of making and getting
The first component of possessive serial verbs is a transitive verb of making or getting. In Dom, making or getting is often expressed indirectly by verbs which describe the manner in which something is made or got. Verbs describing action that is taken in order to make or get something can carry meaning of making or getting as such.

6.9.1.1.2   Verbs of consumption and using
Most of the verbs which serve as the second component of possessive serial verbs are transitive verbs with the meaning of consumption or use. 'Using' as a general concept can be expressed by the verb ⌐ne- 'eat' in some collocations as in ∧moni ⌐ne- 'use money'. The possessive combination of verbs used with ∧moni is √au ⌐ne- 'hold eat'. This might account for the fact that ⌐ne- is found in many possessive serial verbs. However, ⌐ne- itself cannot mean 'to use' with many types of objects, for example, ∧lam 'lamp' or ∧kar, which are associated with the possessive serial verb √au ⌐ne-.

Some verbs that are used as the second component of this type of serial verbs are intransitive, as in √wan- 'walk around' in ⌐i √wan- 'have a spouse' or √pai- 'lie' in √ke √pai- 'have a house'.

6.9.1.2   Usage of possessive serial verbs

6.9.1.2.1   The degree of idiomatization
Two verbs combined together in a possessive serial verb may retain their semantics in some contexts. In the example (78b), speakers might be conscious of the fact that caps are things that someone made and wears. Things become

clearer, if we look at the examples below, where all the combinations mean 'to have a string bag' but differ in the way it is carried, that is, 'carry on the head' (82a), 'carry on the shoulder' (82b) and 'carry on the neck' (82c). In this case, speakers have to choose a combination according to how the referent of the subject carries the bag, and cannot be unaware of the original meanings of components that form the serial verbs.

(82) a. ∧*el*   √*me-*   'to have a string bag'
          make.INF   carry.on.head

      b. ∧*el*   √*kn-*
          make.INF   carry.on.shoulder

      c. ∧*el*   √*to-*
          make.INF   put.on.neck

Here is another example similar to the one above.

(83) a. ∧*bal*   √*au-*   'to have a digging stick or a handle of an axe' (78d)
          chop.INF   hold

      b. ∧*bal*   √*pal-* 'to have a handle already fitted to an axe'
          chop.INF   put

      c. ∧*bal*   √*ye-*   'to have a digging stick or a handle ready to fit an axe with'
          chop.INF   put

As in the examples above, it is the second component which shows variation and it is not common for other possibilities to occur instead of the first component.

Possessive serial verbs are often used without any focus on how to make or get and how to use. Consider the following context.

(84) ∧*korai*   ∧*i*   √*ala* √*kal* √*yo-m-e*
     loincloth   DEM]   who   thing   be-3SG-QM

     'Whose is this loincloth?'
     ⌐*na*   ∧*el*   ∧*p-ke*
     1EXC   make.INF   wear-1SG.IND

     'It is mine./It is the one I made and wear.'

The serial verb in the example (84) is used in an answer to the question that asks who the possessor of the loincloth is, and it means 'to possess the loincloth'. In fact, the person who made it can be different from the subject of the possessive serial verb.

Some contexts require construing (otherwise possessive) serial verbs with a transparent meaning, derivable from the simple composition of semantics of each component.

(85) a. √*ala* ∧*korai*   ∧*p-n-e*
          who   loincloth   wear-2SG-QM

          'Whose loincloth are you wearing?'
          ⌐*na*   √*nen*   ∧*korai*   (∧*p-ke*)
          1EXC   oneself   loincloth   wear-1SG.IND

          'It is mine./I am wearing a loincloth belonging to myself.'

  b. ⋁*ala*   ⋀*korai*   ⋀*p-n-e*
     who   loincloth   wear-2SG-QM

     'Whose loincloth are you wearing?'
   *⌐*na*   ⋁*nen*   ⋀*korai*   ⋀*el*   ⋀*p-ke*
     1EXC   oneself   loincloth   make.INF   wear-1SG.IND

     Intended meaning: 'It is mine.'
  c. ⋀*korai*   ⋁*ala*   ⋀*el*   ⋀*to-gwa*   ⋀*p-n-e*
     loincloth   who   make.INF   give-3SG.SRD   wear-2SG-QM

     'Who made the loincloth for you and are you wearing it?'
     ⌐*na*   ⋁*nene*   ⋀*korai*   ⋀*el*   ⋀*p-ke*
     1EXC   oneself   loincloth   make.INF   wear-1SG.IND

     'I made it by myself and am wearing it.'

The example (85) is a conversation about a loincloth which the addressee of the question is
wearing and who made it, or how it was made is not the point at issue. The answer in (85b)
with the verb 'to make' contains superfluous unrequired information, becoming infelicitous
as an answer to the question. This means that the serial verb, which is idiomatized to mean
possession, may in some contexts retain its original meaning. The compositional meaning can
be used adequately in the right context as in (85c), where it is relevant who made the cloth.
We saw the examples of a combination of a verb of getting or making and a verb of using
retaining the original meaning of the verbs, but the semantics of such sequences is different
from that of other types of serial verbs. The event of getting or making took place only once
at the very beginning of the possession, but the event of using can take place occasionally
That is, the two components in a possessive serial verb have different aspects. There is an
alternative analysis, which assumes that verbs of using do not denote the event of using, but
the right to use.

     These serial verbs are idiomatic or lexical in that a) the combination of verbs with pos-
sessive meaning does not show a variation wide enough to be produced in each utterance
situation; b) the combination is restricted to that of two verbal roots and does not allow the
verbal noun plus the propping verb to take part in the serial verb although such construction
amounts to one predicate and can take part in other types of serial verbs; finally c) serial verbs
have in many contexts the meaning of possession, in which case the subject might not have
been involved in the event of getting or making.

6.9.1.2.2   The object of possessive serial verbs   It is one of the striking semantic dif-
ference between possessive serial verbs in Dom and 'to have' in English that the sentence in
the example (77) is possible in Dom (Below is repeated example).

(86) a. (⋀*lam*   ⋀*i*   ) ⌐*en*   ⋁*au* ⋀*ne-n-o*
        lamp   DEM   you   have-2SG-PQM

     'Is this lamp yours?/Do you have this lamp?'
     b. ⌐*na*   ⌐*ta*   ⋁*au* ⌐*ne+(⋁)k-gwe*
        1EXC   a   have+NEG-3SG.IND

     '[It is] not mine./I don't have [it].'

In English, the two sentences 'Is this lamp yours?' and 'Do you have this lamp?' which
are both translated as one sentence in Dom, have different meanings, that is, 'this lamp' in

the former sentence is the very lamp in the utterance situation but 'this lamp' in the latter sentence is the same type of lamp as the lamp in the utterance situation. The former use of the definite noun phrase is a purely deictic one and the latter categorical. It seems that the verb of having in many languages requires the deixis in the object to have a categorical interpretation while other verbs may take a deictic expression as its object with both, a purely deictic interpretation and a categorical one. As for Dom, both interpretations are possible.

Another peculiarity concerning the object of possessive serial verbs is that the serial verbs can be used to limit the range of nominal concepts, even if the object noun phrases are left out of the clause, since the combination of verbs differs depending on the type of the object.

(87) ⌐*na*   √*ke*   √*pai-ka*   'something I lived in/my house'
       1EXC   build.INF   lie-1SG.SRD

The serial verb √*ke* √*pai-* 'to live', which can only take √*ike* 'house' as its object, can thus mean 'house', for example, when nominalised by inflecting for the subordinative mood as in the example above (§7.1.2). *³

Even more interesting is the case where the concept is unknown to Dom in the form of a nominal expression.

(88) a. ⌐*na*   √*ye*   ∧*ne-ka*   'what I have as a friend/my friend'
             1EXC   to.nurse.INF eat-1SG.SRD

       b. ⌐*na*   ∧*yal*   ∧*ne-ka*   'what I have as a garden/my garden'
             1EXC   plant.INF   eat-1SG.SRD

Dom has possessive serial verbs √*ye* ⌐*ne-* 'to have as a friend' and ∧*yal* ⌐*ne-* 'to have as a garden' without having the nominal corresponding to this type of object. There are no frequently used native nominals for 'friend' or 'garden'.*⁴ Borrowings from Tok Pisin ∧*pren* and ∧*gaten* are becoming common nowadays, although 'what I have as a friend/garden' would be sufficient as well.

This usage is not confined to those situations where Dom lacks nominal expressions for referents. In the following example, the possessive serial verb ∧*kul* √*yega* (give.birth look.after.2SG.SRD) 'have as a child' is used in the meaning of 'your child' or 'the one who you gave birth to and looked after' though there are such nominal expressions as √*gal* 'child', ⌐*wan* 'your son'.

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*³ McVinney and Luzbetak (1954: 165-166) refer to the corresponding possessive expressions in Tabare dialect of Sinasina, which is a language closely related to Dom, as 'verbs functioning as substantives'. At least in Dom, nominalisation is not limited to possessive expressions.

*⁴ (∧*mik*) ∧*aipe* 'counterpart of food exchange', ∧*boma* ∧*dama* 'stick together', ⌐*kui* ⌐*kole* 'wing on the other side', or √*kepr* ⌐*kole* 'the other edge of fork end' might be the expressions most closely corresponding to 'friend' but they are all elicited after some reflection, and I have only a few occurrences of the words and no case of their use with possessive serial verbs √*ye* ⌐*ne* in the record of spontaneous utterances. The range of referents of these nominal expressions seem to differ from that of √*ye* ⌐*ne*, which is usually not used for people from the same clan.

⌐*gul* 'fence' is sometimes used to mean 'garden', as in the expression √*kepa* ⌐*gul* 'sweet potato garden', but the noun is usually not used with the possessive serial verb ∧*yal* ⌐*ne* (plant-eat) 'to have as a garden', which takes food as its object. All gardens used to be fenced, according to some Dom speakers, but now most gardens are not fenced, apart from the gardens close to the roads. This might be the reason why older speakers tend to use the word ⌐*gul* for gardens more often than younger speakers.

(89) ⌐na   \kul   Vye-ga   ⌐ta   ⌐mo+Vkl-a
     1EXC give.birth.INF to.nurse-2SG.SRD NEG stay+NEG.1SG-EXPL
     "I am not your child."

6.9.2   Other idiomatic serial verbs

6.9.2.1   Combinations not transparent semantically

There are other types of serialised verbs which are not transparent in their meanings, as in the following.

(90) a. ⌐d   \pl-   e. ⌐d   ⌐i-
         say.INF perceive-   say.INF take-
         'ask, talk'   'console, call (spirit)'
      b. ⌐s   \bol-   f. \bol   ⌐i-
         hit.INF be.hit-   be.hit.INF take-
         'sew, shut out light, be after dusk'   'have intermarriage relationship
      c. Vwel   ⌐u-   with'
         roll.INF come   g. Vkan   ⌐i
         'be just right for'   see.INF take
      d. ⌐d   Vye-   'find, meet'
         say.INF put-
         'seduce'

6.9.2.2   Fossilised combinations

Some idiomatic serial verbs seem to be fossilised combinations, where their first components do not conjugate as verbs.

(91) a. Vaul ⌐i-
         ?   take-
         'take (person to somewhere)'
      b. ⌐wa Vdu-
         ?   squeeze
         'search'

Examples in (91) are similar to contiguous serial verb constructions in that the negative particle ⌐ta cannot be placed between the two components, and in that some syntactic processes manipulating a single-root verb refer only to the second component as in the following.

(92) ⌐na   ⌐u   ⌐wa Vdu-pga   Vdu-pga   ⌐man-gwe,
     1EXC come.INF ?   search-1PL.SRD search-1PL.SRD be.not-3SG.IND
     'We came and searched but it was unsuccessful.'

In the example (92) subordinative Vdu-pga is repeated to signify the duration of the act of searching, leaving ⌐wa to stand alone. The target of repetition of the subordinative verb is

often a single-root verb rather than the whole predicate complex.

Some transitive verbal items consisting of two components have ⌐s 'hit' as their first components.

(93)   a. ⌐s   √pau-
           hit   ?
           'take sweet potatoes out of ashes'
       b. ⌐s   √ma-
           hit   wind/pull.out
           'wake someone up'

The use of the second component in the example (93a) has not been observed in isolation. ⌐s as the first component of idiomatic serial verbs as in (93) may have something to do with the transitive-marking ⌐s (§5.6.4), but the combinations in (93) have no corresponding intransitive version without ⌐s.

There are other types of what we may regard as idiomatic and fossilised combinations, where the first component is optional, as in (94) and (95).

(94)   a. *(⌐ki)* ⋀*kor-*
           ?   discard
           'leave, discard, do away'
       b. *(⌐ne)* ⌐*s-*
           ?   hit
           'hit'

(95)   a. *(⌐ere)* ⌐*p-*
           to   go
           'go'
       b. *(⌐ere)* ⌐*u-*
           to   come
           'come'

The examples in (95) are similar to non-contiguous serial verb constructions in that they allow a destination noun phrase and the negative particle ⌐ta between the two components. Unlike other optional mysterious elements as in (94), the first element ⌐ere can be alternatively regarded as an optional particle of direction marking (§3.8.1).

Chapter 7

Complex sentences

Sentences containing many clauses are common in Dom. Complex sentences in Dom can be classified into the following types:

(1) a. sentences containing nominalised clause(s),
     b. sentences with medial clause(s),
     c. sentences with subordinate clause(s) with a conjunction,
     d. sentences containing quote(s).

Some uses of conjunction were discussed in §3.8.12 and the last type of complex sentences is discussed in Chapter 8, which has distinct formal characteristics. In this chapter, I will illustrate the use of nominalised clauses and medial clauses preceding the final clause.

7.1   Nominalisation

A clause with a subordinative verb as its predicate can be used as a noun phrase. Since subordinative verbs can also be used to form medial clauses, as will be demonstrated in the following section, I will first explain why some clauses with subordinative verbs should be treated as nominalised clauses.

Look at the following example.

(2) *[Λde-m   Λmayam Λsu-gwa]=(Λ)ya*
     intestines-3SG.POSS   blood   hit-3SG.SRD=and

     [Λde-m   Λgiul Λsu-gwa]=(Λ)ya   Λi
     intestines-3SG.POSS   pain   hit-3SG.SRD=and   DEM

     Λwai Γs   Λkor-gwe
     end   hit.INF   COMPL-3SG.IND

     'Intestinal bleeding and pain in the guts stopped completely.'

In this sentence, the two clauses with subordinative verbs *Λdem Λmayam Λsugwa* and *Λdem Λgiul Λsugwa* are obviously noun phrases, as they are accompnied by the clitic *=Λya* conjoining the noun phrases. The noun phrase consisting of two conjoined clauses with subordinative verbs and the demonstrative *Λi* as a whole is also a noun phrase that functions as the subject of the complex predicate *Λwai Γs Λkorgwe* 'stopped completely'.

Nominalised clauses have the same range of syntactic functions as other noun phrases.

(3) a. ⌐kal   ∧i   [∧yopal ∨o=(⌐)mere]   ∨pa-gwe.
         leg.3SG.POSS   DEM   person hand.3SG.POSS=as lie-3SG.IND

         'Its feet are like human hands'

     b. ∨o   ∧i   [∧al   ∨o   ∨pa-gwa=(⌐)mere]   ∨yel
         hand.3SG.POSS   DEM   dog   hand.3SG.POSS   lie-3SG.SRD=as   like.this

         ∨pa-gwe.
         lie-3SG.IND

         'Its arms are like what the dog's fore-feet are like.'

7.1.1   Semantic head

Nominalised clauses with a subordinative verb often have an internal semantic head, as in the following.

(4) ⌐yur   ∧bol
     TRIBE.NAME   with

     [⌐sl=(⌐)ku   ⌐kaman=(⌐)ku ∧barawaki ∧mol-igwa]   ∧bol
     TRIBE.NAME   TRIBE.NAME   PLN   stay-3PL.SRD   with

     'Yur along with Sl-Ku and Kaman-Ku, who dwell at Barawagi ...'

In the example (4), the second noun phrase followed by the comitative particle is a clause with a subordinative verb whose literal rendering would be 'that Sl Ku tribe and Kaman Ku tribe are (living) at Barawagi', but clearly, the semantic head of the clause is 'Sl Ku tribe and Kaman Ku tribe' listed along with 'Yur tribe'. Here again, the comitative particle ensures that the preceding clause is nominalised one.

There is no special formal marking for relative clauses in Dom. Nominalised clauses with an internal semantic head are one strategy to make head-internal relative clauses.

The semantic head can be the subject of the clause, as in the example above, or it can be the object of the clause, as in the following.

(5) [∧komna ∨kal   ∨ipe   ∧ye-gwa]=∧ya
     vegetable thing seeds bring-2/3PL.SRD=and

     ∨ene [∧bola ∧kul-igwa ∨tau   ∧ye-gwa]   ∨kuna⌐i
     then   pig   look.after some bring-2/3PL.SRD DEM

     ∧kui   ⌐i   ∧mena   ⌐u-re   ∧el-igwe
     again take.INF outside come-CONJ(SS) make-2/3PL.IND

     'Then they brought back outside the seeds of vegetables they brought and some of the pigs they looked after and they brought, and they did like this.'

Also in the example above, there is a clear indication that the two clauses are nominalised, since the first clause is cliticised by =∧ya, the coordinator of nominal phrases.

The mutual knowledge marker =⌐rae and demonstratives can follow nominalised clauses with subordinative verbs. In the following exmaples (6a) the combination -ka=⌐rae is used while (6b) contains the contracted variant -wdae for third person singular suffix.

(6) a. *'[Vkal   Vpal-ka=⌐rae]   ∧no-gwa   Vpa-m+(⌐)ia,   Vala*
     thing   put-1SG.SRD=MUT   eat-3SG.SRD   INFERRED-3SG+EXPL   who

   ∧no-m-e?'   ⌐d-re
   eat-3SG-QM   say-CONJ(SS)

   'saying, "It seems that [somone] ate those things I kept. Who ate them?" '

 b. *[Vapal=(⌐)kop=∧ya   Vgal=kop   Vtau   ∧mol-wdae]   Vo*
   woman=NSG=and   child=NSG   some   stay-3SG.MUT   hand.3SG.POSS

   ⌐kal   ∧su-gwa
   leg.3SG.POSS   hit-3SG.SRD

   'Some women and kids, who were there, as you can expect, quivered all over.'

In the following example (7a), the medial demonstrative *Vsipi* follows a clause with a subordinative verb, and in (7b) the form *-gwi* is used to convey third person singular subordinative mood with the general demonstrative.

(7) a. *[Vgal ∧kul   Vye-ga   ∧mol-gwa   Vsipi]*
     child give.birth.INF   to.nurse-2SG.SRD   stay-3SG.SRD   forth.here

   ⌐d   ∧te-ge
   say.INF   give-2SG.CONJ(DS)

   ∧nl   ∧kol   ⌐na   ∧te-na-m=∧ua
   water   fill.INF   1EXC   give-FUT-3SG=ENC.WA

   'You should tell your child, who is at your side there, to get water for us,'

 b. *[[Vkepa   ∧komna   ⌐ta ∧ne-ka]   Vsuna   Vyo-gwi]*
   sweet.potato   vegetable   a   eat-1SG.SRD   centre   put/there.be-3SG.DEM

   ⌐para   ⌐i   ∧mena   ∧u-ra-l   ⌐d ∧el-gwe.
   enough/all   DEM   outside   come-FUT-1SG   Q   make-3SG.IND

   'All those foods which I ate and which were inside (of my stomach) were almost coming out.'

   Nominalised clauses make a tense distinction. Nominalised clauses in the example (8a) are in non-future tense whereas those in the example (8b) are in future tense.

(8) a. *∧yopal   ⌐ta [∧knan   Vpa-igwa]=(∧)mo [∧sik   ∧el-igwa]=∧mo*
     person   a   hunger   lie-2/3PL.SRD=or   sick   make-2/3PL.SRD=or

   'Those who are hungry or sick ...'

 b. *[∧yopal   ∧el   bol-Va-igwa]=(∧)ya   [∧gan   bol-Va-igwa]*
   person   arrow   be.hit-FUT-2/3PL.SRD=and   gun   be.hit-FUT-2/3PL.SRD

   ∧gar-i=⌐la   pai-Vna-gwa   ∧katm ⌐s   ∧er-a-pn=∧ua
   body-3SG.POSS=LOC   lie-FUT-3SG.SRD   cut   hit.INF   to/off-FUT-1PL=ENC.WA

   ∧du-gw
   say-3SG.IND

   'For the people who were hit by an arrow, if any, and for the people with bullets remaining in the body, if any, we will cut [a part of the skin] to take them off.'

7.1.2   Nominalised clauses as premodifiers

A nominalised clause can premodify a noun phrase. This construction provides another means of forming relative clauses, as in the following.

(9) a. *[Λensidisi Λmospi   Λim   Λkonan Λel-gwa]   [Λyal]*
         NCDC   Port.Moresby down.there   work   make-3SG.SRD man

         'a man who is working at NCDC (National Capital District Commission) in Port Moresby'

     b. *[Λno-gwa]   Λnl*   'drinking water'
         eat-3SG.SRD   water

     c. *[⌐Npap ΛGapriel=Λwe Λdu-gwa]   [Λyal ⌐ta]*
         PRN=ENC.WE   say-3SG.SRD man   a

         'a man called Npap Gapriel'

     d. *⌐ka Vkopa Λwai Λsu-dae   [Vne-m   Λkui Λmol-gwa]   Vgal*
         bird   good hit-3SG.MUT father-3SG.POSS again stay-3SG.SRD child

         ⌐te-re   ⌐ka Vkopa ⌐ki Λmol-gwa=Λya   ⌐ka Vkopa Λgol-gwa
         give-CONJ(SS) bird   bad stay-3SG.SRD=and bird   die-3SG.SRD

         Λkap   ⌐s   [Vne-m   Λgol-gwa] Vgal ⌐sul   Λi=⌐rae
         animal hit.INF father-3SG.POSS die-3SG.SRD child two.person DEM=MUT

         Λto-m   Λdu-gwe
         give-3SG   say-3SG.IND

         'they gave good birds they caught to kids whose fathers were alive, and they caught birds that are not good in quality and birds' carcass for the two kids whose father had died, according to hearsay.'

A nominalised clause with a demonstrative or the mutual knowledge marker can modify a noun as a possessor.

(10) *[Λyopal Λgapa   Λyopal Vmo-pgi]   Voml=(⌐)la   Λi*
     person ground   person stay-1PL.DEM eye.3SG.POSS=LOC DEM

     'before the eyes of us people on the earth, '

Unlike head-internal relative clauses, nominalised clauses which attributively premodify a noun phrase cannot be accompanied by a demonstrative or mutual knowledge *=⌐rae*.

A relative clause can contain a noun phrase coreferential with the modified noun phrase.

(11) a. *[Λ**yopal** ⌐ta Λspak Λbrus Λne-na-gwa]   [Λ**yopal** ⌐ta] Λu-na-gwa*
         person a   marijuana eat-FUT-3SG.SRD person a   come-FUT-3SG.SRD

         'If a man who is likely to smoke marijuana come ...'

     b. *[⌐dawa Λprans ⌐gena Λbona Λyal Λ**macta** Λ**ret** ⌐ta Vau   Λno-gwa]*
         PRN   PLN   man Mazda   red   a   hold.INF eat-3SG.SRD

         Λdaina
         truck

         'the truck which Dawa Prans, the man of Gena Bona owns a red Mazda' (lit.)

Nominalised clauses are often accompanied by a preceding appositive noun as in the following.

(12) *√**kal**   [Λnmbona Λdo-gwa   Λbanis]=Λya   √kuna⌐i*
      thing wound   burn(intr.)-3SG.SRD bandage=and   similar.DEM
      'those things, the bandages for wounds and things like that'

7.2   Clause chaining

In a clause chain, clauses connected by verbs in the conjunctive mood are in a closer relationship than clauses connected by verbs in the subordinative mood. In the sentence in (13), the plan of the subject of the first clause includes the part 'pig shall destroy the crops', which cannot be expressed by a clause with a verb in the subordinative mood which would serve as a simple conditional requiring the consequence as its main clause.

(13) *[⌐na   ⌐gul   Λi   ⌐para   √teul   Λer   Λkor-ko]*
      1EXC   fence DEM   enough/all pull.out.INF to/off.INF   COMPL-1SG.CONJ(DS)

      [Λbola ⌐er √suna ⌐p   √kepa   Λkomna   ⌐ne   Λkor-a-wda=(Λ)wa]
      pig   to centre go.INF sweet.potato vegetable eat.INF   COMPL-FUT-3SG.MUT=ENC.WA
      'I will pull out all these fences so that pigs can go inside [the garden] and destroy the crops completely.'

As a rule, the closeness of relationship expressed by the mood of the predicate in the preceding sentence is greater in the same-subject conjunctive than in the different-subject conjunctive, so the following hierarchy holds.

(14) infinitive > same-subject conjunctive > different-subject conjunctive > subordinative

The hierarchy above may well be demonstrated by the following example (15) of a long stretch of clauses forming one sentence.

(15) a. *'√ena ⌐para=(Λ)wa.'   ⌐d-re*
          then   enough/all=ENC.WA   say-CONJ(SS)
          'I said, "OK",'
      b. *⌐na   Λtaya √pu ⌐d   ⌐d   Λkor-e*
          1EXC   tyre   blow (say).INF (say).INF COMPL-CONJ(SS)
          'and after blew up a tyre tube completely,'
      c. *⌐i   ⌐p   Λnl=⌐la   Λtep √ye-re*
          take.INF go.INF   water=LOC   top put/there.be-CONJ(SS)
          'brought it [to the river], placing it on the water surface,'
      d. *⌐na   ⌐p   Λnl   Λtaya=⌐la Λtep Λip   √pai-ko*
          1EXC go.INF   water tyre=LOC top up.there lie-1SG.CONJ(DS)
          'and I got on the tyre tube on the water,'
      e. *(Λ)Gena Λic⌐Pius ⌐kal-na   (√)au   √gi   Λdu-go*
          PRN   leg-1SG.POSS hold.INF fast (say)-3SG.CONJ(DS)
          'Gena Pius held my legs tight,'

  f. ⌐Yam ʌnl ⌐kupa ʌsu-go
    PRN water swim (hit)-3SG.CONJ(DS)

   'and Yam swam,"

  g. ⱽyel   ʌo-pga
    like.this go-1PL.SRD

   'we went like this,'

  h. ʌnl=⌐la ⌐er ʌim   ʌo-pga
    water=LOC to down.there go-1PL.SRD

   'we went down on water,'

  i. ⌐wa (ⱽ)du-r   ⱽdu-re   ⌐er ʌim   ʌo-pga
    search-CONJ(SS) search-CONJ(SS) to down.there go-1PL.SRD

   'we went down searching,'

  j. ʌPaula=ʌya ʌKapia=ʌya ʌAknis=ʌya ⱽmaun ʌnl ʌbnaml ⌐er ʌim
    PRN=and PRN=and PRN=and below water border to down.there
   ʌe-igw.
    go-2/3PL.IND

   '[meanwhile] on the shore, Paula, Kapya and Aknis went down along the river-
   side.'

The four clauses (15a-d) are linked by the same-subject conjunctive verb and this unit in turn
is linked with (15e) and (15f) by the different-subject conjunctive. These three clauses with a
verb in the different-subject conjunctive have a common main clause (15g) which ends with
a verb in the subordinative. Three clauses (15a-g), (15h) and (15i) describe the same event
with additional information linked by the subordinative verb and the final sentence describes
another event that occurred simultaneously with the event in the preceding clauses. The
clause (15i) contains same-subject conjunctive phrases and (15b,c,d,e) contain serial verb
constructions.

  However, the hierarchical structure of complex clauses is not always easy to identify
according to correlated mood suffixes, and perhaps the speaker might not utter such long
sentences after having created the whole structure of sentences.

  Diverse functions of verbs in the subordinative mood may serve to exemplify this diffi-
culty. In the example above, the three clauses (15a-g), (15h) and (15i) contain a subordinative
verb and are listed in the way similar to appositions of noun phrases referring to a single event
providing different information, whereas the last clause (15j) is the event which occurred si-
multaneously with the event in the preceding clauses.

  Subordinative verbs seem to only signal the fact that the sentence does not stop there. In
the following example (16), the clauses (16a-e) are linked by the verbs in the subordinative
mood, where relationship among the clauses are formally not marked.

(16) a. ⱽkal ʌi ⌐er ʌwai ʌwon ⌐ta ʌdu-gwa
     thing DEM tree good truly a be-3SG.SRD

   'This thing is really a good tree;'

  b. ʌnl ⌐nul ʌim   ʌdu-gwa
    water river down.there be-3SG.SRD

   '[it] is down at the river;'

    c. ⌐*na*   ∨*kar-pga*
      1EXC   see-1PL.SRD

      'we see;'

    d. ⌐*er* ∧*i*   ∧*wai* ∧*won* ⌐*ta* ∧*du-gwa*
      tree DEM good truly a   be-3SG.SRD

      'the tree is a very good one,'

    e. ⌐*na*   ∧*elmai* ∧*stori* ∧*di=*∧*uo.*
      1EXC   now   story   say.1SG=ENC.WA

      'now I told the story [about it].'

Note also that verbs in the subordinative mood can be used in the nominalisation of the host clause, as illustrated in the preceding section.

Thus, very long sentences usually contain a chain of many clauses, each with a verb in the subordinative. For instance, the text in Appendix C.5 contains seven sentences, where the first three sentences are introductory remarks and the last two sentences are closing remarks, leaving only two extremely long sentences to express the gist of the story.

However, this does not mean that clauses with verbs in other moods cannot form a long sentence. The following example consists of one sentence with a sequence of many clauses mostly connected by verbs in the conjunctive mood.

(17) a. ⌐*te* ∧*kui*   ∧*konan el-*∨*a-g+*∧*i=*∧*we*
        uh again work   make-FUT-2SG.DEM=ENC.WE

        ∧*wai* ∧*won=*⌐*gra* ∧*e-g=*⌐*kane*
        good   truly=just   make-2SG.CONJ(DS)=and (DS)

        ⌐*no*   ∧*kansol* ∨*mo-pgi*   ⌐*para*   ∧*won* ∧*wai* ∧*pl-e*
        1NSG.EXC council stay-1PL.DEM enough/all truly good perceive-CONJ(SS)

        ∨*e-pgo*
        make-1PL.CONJ(DS)

        ⌐*te* ∧*yopal* ∧*komniti* ∧*i* ⌐*para*   ∧*wone* ∧*wai* ∧*wone* ∧*pl-e*
        uh person community DEM enough/all truly   good good perceive-CONJ(SS)

        el-∨*an=(*⌐*)kene*
        make-CONJ(DS)=and (DS)

        ' "Well, now, if you work just very well when you work, we the councilors here are all very happy, and, er, you the people's community are all very happy, so...'

    b. ∨*ene* ∨*nen*   ∧*konan* ∧*el*   ⌐*er* ∧*o-pg=*⌐*kane*
        then oneself work   make.INF to go-1PL.CONJ(DS)=and (DS)

        ∧*yopal* ∧*komniti* ∧*i* ∧*rispek* ∨*pai* ⌐*ne* ∧*te-nan*
        person community DEM respect lie.INF 1NSG give-CONJ(DS)

        ∧*konan el-*∨*a-pg+*⌐*i=(*⌐*)rae*
        work   make-FUT-1PL.DEM=MUT

        'now we will be working and if we work with the people's community respecting us, and in that situation,'

c. Λ*yopal* Λ*komniti*   Λ*i*   Λ*amamas el-*√*an*
   person   community   DEM   happy   make-CONJ(DS)

   Λ*kansol* Λ*i*   ⌐*para*   Λ*wone* Λ*wai* √*p-pgo*
   council   DEM   enough/all   truly   good   perceive-1PL.CONJ(DS)

   Λ*el=*√*pare*
   make.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)

   √*nen*   Λ*bl* √*oml=(*⌐*)ml=(*Λ*)ya*   Λ*yopal* Λ*gapa* Λ*yopal* √*mo-pgi*
   oneself big   eye.3SG.POSS=up=and   person   ground   person   stay-1PL.DEM

   √*oml=(*⌐*)la*   Λ*i*   Λ*konan* Λ*i*   Λ*wai* √*e-pg=(*⌐*)kane*
   eye.3SG.POSS=LOC   DEM   work   DEM   good   make-1PL.CONJ(DS)=and (DS)

   Λ*yopal* Λ*wai* pl-√*a-m=(*Λ*)wa*   Λ*d-ke.*
   person   good   perceive-FUT-3SG=ENC.WA   say-1SG.IND

'after the people's community is happy and we the councilors are happy, before the eyes of our great father (the God) and the eyes of us people on earth, we will work well and the people will be happy." I said.'

7.2.1   Appositive

Clauses connected by verbs in medial moods often seem to be the paraphrases of each other as in the following example (18) where two clauses in one sentence are given different labels a. and b..

(18) a. √***m-na***   √***ma-m***   Λ*bol* ⌐*kol* Λ*ipe*   √*mo-pka*
        mother-1SG.POSS   mother-3SG.POSS   with   side   up.there   stay-1DL.SRD

        'I was with my mother's mother up over there'
     b. ⌐***na***   √***ay-e***   Λ*bol* ⌐*kol* Λ*ipe*   √*mo-pka*
        1EXC   grandmother-1SG.POSS   with   side   up.there   stay-1DL.SRD

        'I was with my grandmother up over there ...'

Sometimes, an appositive clause chain consists of clauses containing different pieces of information as in the following examples (19).

(19) a. Λ*mena*   Λ*kam*   ⌐*ta* Λ*du-gwal*   Λ*ai*   ⌐*p*   √***kan-gwa***
        outside   banana   a   say-3SG.LOC   place   go.INF   see-3SG.SRD

        'He went outside to see the place where a banana was, "
     b. [Λ*bol* √*ye*   √*pa-gwa]*   √***kan-e***
        ripe   put/there.be.INF   lie-3SG.SRD   see-CONJ(SS)

        'he saw that the banana was ripe and ...'

The use of chaining containing the verb √*kan* 'see' such as in (19) is very common. It is possible that the first occurrence denotes the action and the second occurrence focuses on what is perceived.

7.2.2 Sequential

A sequential chain can be encoded by medial verbs in the subordinative mood and in the conjunctive mood.

(20) *[ⱽbol=(Γ)la ⱽpai Λmoko]*   *[Λyal Λkuru Λi   Λbuk Γta Γna*
   bed=LOC   lie.INF stay-1SG.CONJ(DS) man white DEM book a 1EXC

   Λto-gw]
   give-3SG.IND

   'When I was lying, the white man gave me a book.'

Some sequential chains seem to function on a par with voice in some languages.

(21) a. *Γna   Λkul   ⱽyo-gwa   ΓBnape Λmo-ke*
     1EXC give.birth.INF put/there.be-3SG.SRD PRN   stay-1SG.IND

     'He begot me and I, Bnape, was born.'
   b. *Λel   Λsu-gwa   Λbol   Λgol-gwe*
     arrow hit-3SG.SRD be.hit.INF die-3SG.IND

     'He shot [an enemy] and [the enemy] died./He shot (an enemy) dead.'

Nuances of sequential chains vary according to context. The following example may be used to show an adversative relationship between two clauses.

(22) *[Γkupa Γs   Γp   Λkam   ⱽeri Λgur   Λpl   Λgurka]*
   stick hit.INF go.INF banana stem pull.INF with.all.might pull-1SG.SRD

   [Λkam   ⱽeri ⱽgi Γd   Λkor-gw.]
   banana stem fast (say).INF COMPL-3SG.IND

   'I swam there to pull the banana stem with all my might, but the banana stem held fast.'

Verbs in the subordinative mood in a medial clause that is connected to the following clause with a sequential meaning can be repeated to signal long duration.

(23) *Γer Λ**u-pga**   Λ**u-pga**   Γba   Γyam   Λu-pn+Γa.*
   to come-1PL.SRD come-1PL.SRD halfway right/back.down.here come-1PL+EXPL

   'We walked towards here for a while and came halfway down here.'

7.2.3 Attendant circumstances

Attendant circumstances are expressed by repetition of verbs in the conjunctive mood, which are sensitive to the identity of the referent of the subject in the following clause.

(24) a. V_i-*re* V_i-*re* VP_j (same subject)
     'VP_j while VP_i-ing'
   b. V_i-*ko* V_i-*ko* VP_j (different subject)
     'VP_j while VP_i-ing'

These constructions differ from the repetition of verbs in the subordinative mood which marks duration.

Here are some examples:

(25)　a.　*Γwa (V)du-r*　　　*Vdu-re*　　　　*Γer*　*Λim*　　　*Λo-pga*
　　　　　search-CONJ(SS)　search-CONJ(SS)　to　down.there　go-1PL.SRD

　　　　　'we went down searching,'

　　　b.　'*ΛAdreas=Λya!'*　*Λdugo*　　　　*Λdugo*　　　　*Vwar-ke.*
　　　　　PRN=VOC　　　say-3SG.CONJ(DS)　say-3SG.CONJ(DS)　move.around-1SG.IND

　　　　　'I walked around with people saying "Adreas!" '

7.2.4　Purposive

Any sentence can contain a sub clause with a purposive meaning in the form of a quoted thought. In addition, a sentence with a verb of coming and going as a predicate can contain different types of clauses when functioning as a purposive clause (§4.1.5.2, §4.1.5.6 and §5.7.2.1).

The following pair of common greetings illustrates different forms of purposive.

(26)　a.　*Γul*　*pai-Vna-n-a*　　　*Λp-o*
　　　　　sleep　lie-FUT-2SG-PERM　go-2SG.IMP

　　　　　'Go to sleep!'

　　　b.　*Γul*　*pai-Vra-ka*　　　*Λe-ke*
　　　　　sleep　lie-FUT-1SG.SRD　go-1SG.IND

　　　　　'I am going to sleep.'

The example (26a) uses a verb in the permissive mood as the predicate of the purposive clause. The permissive mood is used to form purposive only when the matrix verb is a verb of coming or going in the imperative mood. The response to it (26b) shows that a verb in the subordinative mood is used to make a purposive clause. The matrix predicate of a purposive clause with a verb in the subordinative mood is also usually a verb of coming and going.

(27)　a.　'*[Γkol*　*Λip*　　　*Γwa du-Vra-ka]*　　*Γer*　*Λe-i=Λua.'*　　　*Λdu-gw.*
　　　　　side　up.there　search-FUT-1SG.SRD　to　go-1SG=ENC.WA　say-3SG.IND

　　　　　'She said, "I go to search up over there." '

　　　b.　*Vnone*　　　*[Γnul*　*Λdu*　*Γku*　*Λel-e*　　　　*Λbus*　*Vkuna*　*Γi*　　*ΓkaVkopa*
　　　　　1NSG.INC　river　frog　catch　make-CONJ(SS)　bush　around　DEM　bird

　　　　　Γs-re　　　*el-Va-pga]*　　　*Γer*　*Λsi*　*Λsu-gwal*　　*Vna-pn=Γwa*
　　　　　hit-CONJ(SS)　make-FUT-1PL.SRD　to　bush　hit-3SG.LOC　go.FUT-1PL=ENC.WA

　　　　　Λdu-m　　*Λdu-gwe.*
　　　　　say-3SG　say-3SG.IND

　　　　　'According to hearsay, he said, "Let's go where there is a lot of grass and weeds to catch frogs by the river and catch birds in the woods." '

The matrix verb *Λe-i=Λua* is in non-future tense which refers to the immediately following time in the example (27a) and the matrix verb *Vna-pn=Γwa* is in future tense in the example (27b).

The future tense is invariably used in purposive subordinative clauses. Non-future tense of the matrix verb *opge* in the following example (28) refers to the past.

(28) a. *[√kle ∖sar   ⌐kepl ∖ikn s-√ra-pga]   ∖ponde ∖ikn ⌐er ∖o-pge*
        ball   week   small   time   hit-FUT-1PL.SRD   thursday   time   to   go-1PL.IND
        'So that we play the rugby on Saturday, we went on Thursday.'

The tense in the purposive subordinative clause follows the relative tense system, having the event time in the matrix clause as its reference time. This means that this type of subordinative clauses is embedded in the matrix clause to a higher degree than other types of subordinatives.

Some clauses with a verb in the subordinative mood serving as complements follow the relative tense system, as in the following.

(29) a. *∖naip ∖no-gwa   √o-na   bol-√a-ka   ∖kurl ∖go-ke*
        knife   sharp-3SG.SRD   hand-1SG.POSS   be.hit-FUT-1SG.SRD   fear   die-1SG.IND
        'The knife is sharp, I am afraid it would cut my hand.'

    b. *∖na-ka   ⌐ge   ∖du-gwa*
        go.FUT-1SG.SRD   in.no.mood   (say)-3SG.SRD
        'I don't feel like going and'

7.2.5   Conditional

Conditional clauses can be formed by a verb in the different-subject conjunctive mood, the subordinative mood, or the demonstrative form. In this conditional chain, both conditional and consequent clauses should be marked as future tense, if tense distinction is applicable to the relevant mood.

(30) a. *[∖ne-na-ga]   [∖sik el-√a-n=(∖)wa]*
        eat-FUT-2SG.SRD   sick   make-FUT-2SG=ENC.WA
        'You will be sick, if you eat [it].'

    b. *[⌐en au-√na-ga=(∖)we]   [⌐mon=(⌐)d √au-yo]*
        you   hold-FUT-2SG.SRD=ENC.WE   gently   hold-IMP
        'When you hold it, hold it gently.'

Counter-factual conditionals are formed in the same way.

(31) a. *[gol-√a-ka]   [∖elmai ⌐ta   ⌐mo+√kl-a-l=(∖)ba]*
        die-FUT-1SG.SRD   now   NEG   stay+NEG-FUT-1SG=but
        (∖yal ∖kru ⌐u-re   √ber   ∖er-gwa   ∖ai
        man   white   come-CONJ(SS)   hole.INF   to/off-3SG.SRD   place
        ⌐na   ∖mal ∖mol   √pai-ki.)
        1EXC   near   stay.INF   lie-1SG.DEM
        'If I had died, I could not have been [here], (but the white man came and cut off [the arrow remaining in my leg], I am still alive here thanks to that.)'

    b. *[∖na-k+⌐i=(∖)we,] [∖bola ⌐i   √kan   ∖i-ra-l=∖ba,]*
        go.FUT-1SG.DEM   pig   DEM   see.INF   take-FUT-1SG=but
        'If I had gone, I should have found the pig, but ...'

The construction in (32), is used especially in counter-factual conditionals.

(32) *[√alau ʌel ˹ta ˹er ˹p ˹ml ʌi √kar-pl-a=(ʌ)we]*
    wrong make.CONJ(SS) a to go.INF up DEM see-1DL-PERM=ENC.WE

    [ʌyopal ʌi ˹na √kar-pko=(ʌ)we.]
    person DEM 1EXC see-1DL.CONJ(DS)=ENC.WE

    'By accident, if we two had gone up and looked, we two should have seen the [dead] man.'

In this construction, the conditional clause and the consequent clause have verbs either in the permissive mood (without future tense) or in the different-subject conjunctive mood. This use of the permissive mood and the different-subject conjunctive mood differs considerably from their ordinary usage (§4.1.5.5 §4.1.5.6).

    The two phrases, *√alau ʌel* 'by accident' and *˹ta* used in (32) often occur in conditional clauses.

7.2.6 Auxiliary-like matrix predicates

    The verb *√pai-* 'lie' with third person cross-reference following a subordinative clause is used to signal that the preceding subordinative clause does not denote the event the speaker has experienced, but the event inferred from another evidence.

(33) *√kamn ʌsu-gwa √pa-gwe*
    rain hit-3SG.SRD INFERRED-3SG.IND

    'It seems that it is raining' (since there is an evidence such as the ground is wet)

    The evidential *√pai-* can take various moods and can be used in different sentence types, as in the following examples.

(34) a. *(ʌ)Papa ʌPremia ʌogwi √kepa ˹ta √au ˹i-re*
      PRN go.3SG.DEM sweet.potato a hold.INF take-CONJ(SS)

      ʌogwa √pa-m+˹ia,
      go.3SG.SRD INFERRED-3SG+EXPL

      'As Papa Premia went, it seemed that he was with a sweet potato in his hand.'

   b. *'˹na √gal kul-√a-ka √pa-m=(ʌ)wa.' ˹d ʌkore*
      1EXC child give.birth-FUT-1SG.SRD lie-3SG=ENC.WA say.INF COMPL-CONJ(SS)

      ' "It seems that I am about to deliver the baby", I said and ...'

   c. *ʌgapa ʌkau ʌkau el-√a-gwa √pa-m ˹d ˹u-r*
      ground short.of make-FUT-3SG.SRD INFERRED-3SG Q come-CONJ(SS)

      ʌmol
      stay.CONJ(SS)

      'Thinking, "seemingly we will be short of land to live on", they came and were settled ...'

   d. *ʌWayak ʌel ʌkor=√pare ʌgal ʌbek ʌgl*
      PRN make.INF COMPL.CONJ(SS)=and (SS) string.bag bag put.into.INF

      ˹i-re ʌogwa √pam=ʌba ʌKulam ˹ta √kan+√kl-gwa,
      take-CONJ(SS) go.3SG.SRD INFERRED-3SG=but PRN NEG see+NEG-3SG.SRD

'It seems that Wayak had made it and went with it in his bag, but Kulam did not know that ...'

e. ⌈er Vaul=(⌈)mere Λo-m-e?
to where=as/about go-3SG-QM

⌈er ⌈kol Λo-gwa **Vpa-m=(Λ)mo** Λim Λo-gwa **Vpa-m-e?**
to back go-3SG.SRD lie-3SG=or down.there go-3SG.SRD lie-3SG-QM

'Where did it (the dog) go? Did it seem to go to the far shore or down there?'

In the examples above, the evidential *Vpai-* is in the explicative mood (34a), with the clitic Λ*ua* in a quoted speech (34b), in the emotive mood as a quoted thought (34c), with the adversative clitic (34d), and in the interrogative mood (34e).

Future tense and negation are marked at the preceding verb and not at the evidential *Vpai-* and the whole construction is considered to have the same tense and polarity. Sentences (34a, d, e) are in non-future tense whereas examples in (34b, c) are in future tense.

The inferred evidential *Vpai-* can appear in combination with non-visual sensory ⌈*d-* to signal inference from non-visual evidence. The clause in (34b) is uttered by a boy who thought he was pregnant because his belly moved as if there was a baby inside. This evidence could be either visible or invisible and the sentence is not marked as non-visual. To the boy who waited for the time to give birth, adults said that the thing will happen the next day as in (35a) and on this non-visual evidence, the boy came to believe that his time to give birth is the next day as in (35b), where the inferred *Vpai* is followed by ⌈*d.*

(35) a. '⌈en Λkul ye-Vna-ga
you give.birth.INF to.nurse-FUT-2SG.SRD

Λkui ⌈mol Λkul ye-Vna-n+(⌈)na.
tomorrow give.birth to.nurse-FUT-2SG+EXPL

Λelma ⌈ta Λkul Vye+(V)kl-a-n+(⌈)na.
now NEG give.birth.INF to.nurse+NEG-FUT-2SG+EXPL

Λelma Vgal Λelma=⌈gra Λmol-gwa
now child now=just stay-3SG.SRD

Λsm Λsm Λsu-m+(⌈)ia.' Λdu-gwa
jerk jerk hit-3SG+EXPL say-3SG.SRD

' "You will give birth [to the baby] tomorrow. You will not give birth now. Now, it is moving with jerks because the baby has just come into existence." they said, '

b. 'Λo. Vene Λkui ⌈mol Λkul ye-Vra-ka **Vpai**
oh then tomorrow give.birth.INF to.nurse-FUT-1SG.SRD INFERRED.INF

Λdu-m'=⌈d Λel Λmo-krae Λel Λmoka
NONVIS-3SG=Q make.INF stay-1SG.MUT make.INF stay-1SG.SRD

Λel Λmoka ⌈ta Λkul Vye+(V)k-ike.
make.INF stay-1SG.SRD NEG give.birth.INF to.nurse+NEG-1SG.IND

'and thinking "It seems that I will give birth tomorrow." I waited and waited but I didn't give birth.'

7.2.7 Coordination

A clause with a final verb can never be coordinated with formal marking, but only embedded as a quotative clause. Dom does not have a neutral 'and'-like morpheme to coordinate VPs or clauses. Coordination-like semantic relationships can be expressed as a clause chain as in the following.

(36) ⌐na   Λu-pkrae
    1EXC   come-1DL.MUT

    ['⌐na Λal Λkul   Λneka   ⌐s   Vke   Λno-m=Λua'
    1EXC dog look.after eat-1SG.SRD hit.INF cook.by.steam.INF eat-3SG=ENC.WA

    ⌐d-re]
    say-CONJ(SS)

    [Λkai Λel-e]
    cry   make-CONJ(SS)

    Λgapa   Λbl   Λmol-gwa
    ground smear.INF   stay-3SG.SRD

    'When we two came, he said, '[Someone] killed, cooked and ate the dog I kept.' cried, and was there with his face covered with mud (to mourn the dog).'

Here, all the medial endings indicate that the host-clause is syntactically subordinate. Semantically, the example in (36) denotes sequential events.

Events encoded in clauses with verbs in the medial mood can be simultaneous, as in the following.

(37) [VYani   Λgur-an]   [ΛSeli Vau   Vgi   Λd-go]   ⌐er
    PRN   pull-CONJ(DS)   PRN   hold.INF fast   (say)-2SG.CONJ(DS) to

    ⌐w-ll-o.
    come-DL-IMP

    'You two come with Yani pulling and you Seli holding tight'

To form pure coordination Dom uses a strategy in which the verb Λel- 'make, do' is used as a dummy predicate of the whole clause, and all coordinated phrases are listed in the form of conjunctive or subordinative as in the formulae in (38).

(38)   a. ... V₁xxx-re ... V₂xxx-re Λel- (same-subject conjunctive)
      b. ... V₁xxx-ko ... V₂xxx-ko Λel- (different-subject conjunctive)
      c. ... V₁xxx-ka ... V₂xxx-ka Λel- (subordinative)

Here '...' stands for any non-verbal elements in each listed phrase and 'xxx' for verbal suffixes and enclitics.

(39) Λnl=⌐la   Λu-gwa
    water=LOC   come-3SG.SRD

    [⌐no   ⌐u   Λpor ⌐p-re]
    neck.3SG.POSS   come.INF   big   go-CONJ(SS)

[∨bl   ⌐u   ∧por ⌐p-re]
head.3SG.POSS come.INF big   go-CONJ(SS)

[⌐kna   ⌐u   ∧por ⌐p-re]
ear.3SG.POSS   come.INF big   go-CONJ(SS)

[∨o   ⌐u   ∧por ⌐p-re]
hand.3SG.POSS come.INF big   go-CONJ(SS)

[⌐kal   ⌐u   ∧por ⌐p-re]
leg.3SG.POSS   come.INF big   go-CONJ(SS)

∧u-gw
come-3SG.IND

'(The dead body) floated down on the water. His neck became big, his head became big, his ears became big, his arms became big, his legs became big, and he came.'

(40) *'⌐en ∧s-igu=∧we*
you   hit-2/3PL.DEM

[⌐na   ∧bakarap   ∧e-ko]
1EXC buggered.up   make-1SG.CONJ(DS)

[∨ep-na   ∧bakarap   ∧el-go]
wife-1SG.POSS buggered.up   make-3SG.CONJ(DS)

[⌐na   ∧apl-a   ∧i   ∧bakarap   ∧el-go]
1EXC daughter-1SG.POSS DEM buggered.up   make-3SG.CONJ(DS)

∧el-m+⌐ia.
make-3SG+EXPL

'As you played, I was moved, my wife was moved, and my daughter was moved; It was like this.'

Chapter 8

Quotative Constructions

8.1 Direct and indirect speech

The following examples illustrate the distinction between a typical form of direct speech and a typical form of indirect speech in English.

(1) a. David said to me after the meeting, 'In **my** opinion, the arguments in favour of radical changes in the curriculum **are** not convincing.'
     b. David said to me after the meeting **that** in **his** opinion the arguments in favour of radical changes in the curriculum **were** not convincing.

(Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik 1985: 1021, emphasis mine)

The difference between the two examples above can be said to conform to the following description.

(2) a. [Direct speech] evokes the original speech situation and conveys, or claims to convey, the exact words of the original speaker in direct discourse
     b. [Indirect speech] adapts the reported utterance to the speech situation of the report in indirect discourse

(Coulmas 1986)

In other words, direct speech is more like an independent utterance using the 'original' deictic-centre, and indirect speech is completely integrated into the matrix clause, showing the 'shift' in the use of the deictic elements in direct speech.

Although this may be the most convenient way of describing reported speech, strictly speaking, the terms 'original speech' or 'to adapt' used here should not be taken literally, since, as it has been noticed by different authors,[*1] there may be a formal difference between direct and indirect speech even when the quoting verb is negated, is in imperative or interrogative form, or is in future tense, where there is no such thing as the 'original' speech. Therefore, the words 'original', 'adapt' or 'deictic adjustment' should not be understood in their literal senses. There might not exist any 'original' speech to be adapted to something or adjusted.

Avoiding the terms such as the 'shift' from the 'original', I would simply like to say that tense, personal pronouns and the presence of the complementizer are relevant to the distinc-

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[*1] In particular, Kamada (2000) lays emphasis upon this point, claiming that the reported speech is an immediate product of the quoter.

tion between direct versus indirect speech in such languages as English; tense and personal pronouns behave like in an independent utterance in direct speech, while in indirect speech, unlike in an independent utterance, tense, personal pronouns and the way of embedding show an indirect-speech-like characteristics, as in the English examples above. Throughout this chapter, I will use the notation shown in Table 8.1, where 'D' stands for the value DIRECT which indicates the parameter in question behaves in the same way as in an independent utterance, and 'I' stands for the value INDIRECT which means that the parameter shows indirect-speech-like characteristics.

	direct	indirect
tense	D	I
person	D	I
way of embedding	D	I

Table. 8.1: Dichotomy of direct vs. indirect speech

For example, the second row in Table 8.1 reads that the parameter 'tense' has the value DIRECT in direct speech, and it has the value INDIRECT in indirect speech.

This clear distinction does not hold for many languages, as Anderson and Keenan point out, "our impression is that English shifts a great deal with regard to person and time deixis, whereas not uncommonly in other languages we find that the form of deictics used in direct quotes is carried over into reported speech." (Anderson & Keenan 1985: 303)

For example, "The so-called sequence of tenses is a grammatical feature of indirect speech that many languages lack." (Coulmas 1986: 14)

This means that different parameters relevant to direct versus indirect speech may behave differently in some languages. In a language which does not employ the 'tense shift', as in the case in Dom, Japanese and Korean along with many other languages, direct speech has all properties of typical direct speech but indirect speech does not have the full properties of typical indirect speech since the use of tense always shows direct-speech-like characteristics, even in the 'indirect speech'. This situation is shown in table 8.2. In such a language, there are constructions where tense with the value DIRECT and other parameters with the value DIRECT co-occur, and other constructions where tense with a value DIRECT and other parameters with a value INDIRECT co-occur, as in the right column of Table 8.2. The former may be said to be direct speech in such a language and the latter, indirect speech.

	direct	indirect
tense	D	D
other parameters	D	I

Table. 8.2: Direct vs. indirect speech of languages without tense shift

Although the situation is different from the typical distinction between direct and indirect speech, the table 8.2 still shows a dichotomy between direct and indirect speech. But as I will show in this chapter, Dom has more than two co-occurrence patterns of parameters

concerning direct and indirect speech.

8.2   Quotative marker and types of quotes

In Dom, only the verb ⌐*d-* 'say' can introduce quotations without an overt marker as in the example (3).

(3) √*nam*∧*el-gwa*   ∧*e-n-e?*   ∅ ∧***du-dae***
     what.happen-3SG.SRD make-2SG-QM   say-3SG.MUT
     'When he said, "Why do you do [it]?" ...'

Other verbs of speaking need ⌐*d* in order to introduce a quotation, as in (4). The quotative marking ⌐*d* apparently originated from the bare root form of the verb ⌐*d*, and the same form serves as an adverbialiser (§3.8.5).

The quoting verb in the example (4a) is ⌐*ka* ⌐*te-* 'give word', which is an idiomatic expression meaning 'to scold', and a loan verb from Tok Pisin ∧*askm* ∧*el-* 'to ask' is the quoting verb in the example (4b).

(4) a. ⌐*en* ⌐*kl=(⌐)d* √*pai-yo* ⌐***d*** ⌐*na*   ⌐*ka*   ⌐*na*   ∧*to-gwe*
         you   silently   lie-IMP   Q   1EXC   word   1EXC   give-3SG.IND
         ' "Sleep quietly!", [she] scolded me.'

   b. √*nakal* ∧*el-gwa*   √*au*   ⌐*i-re*   ⌐*ere* ∧*ausik* ⌐*ila*   ∧*kl*
         what   make-3SG.SRD hold.INF   take-CONJ(SS)   to   hospital   inside   side

         ∧*u-n-e?'*   ⌐*d* ∧*askm* ∧*el-wdae*
         come-2SG-QM   Q   ask   make-3SG.MUT

         ' "Why did you come into the hospital with [the gun] in your hand?" he asked, but ...'

If the use of the form ⌐*d* was limited to the situations where the verbs of speaking take a quotation, it would be plausible to call it the bare root form i.e. infinitive of the verb of saying, but the form ⌐*d* is obviously reanalysed as the marker of the quotation, since it can be used with other kinds of matrix predicates, such as perception verbs, to introduce reported thought as in (5).

(5) a. √*nal=(⌐)mere*   *mol-*√*a-gwa*   ∧*u-m?*   ⌐***d***
         what=as/about   stay-FUT-3SG.SRD   come-3SG.QM   Q

         ⌐*no*   √*yel*   ⌐*d* ∧*pl*   √*mo-pge*
         1NSG.EXC   like.this   Q   perceive.INF   stay-1PL.IND

         ' "What kind of creature came?", we were thinking so.'

   b. '√*maumn* ⌐*er* ⌐*kol*   ∧*na-go*   ⌐*p-re*
         PRN   to   back   go.FUT-3SG.SRD   go.CONJ(SS)

         ∧*trausis* ∧*i*   ⌐*para*   ⌐*i-re*   ⌐*er* ∧*nan*   √*kene*
         trousers   DEM   enough/all   take-CONJ(SS)   to   go.CONJ(DS)   and (DS)

         ⌐*na*   ∧*yu*   ∧*gerl* ⌐*yorwa*   ⌐*ere*   ⌐*ila*   ∧*ipe*   √*na-pn-o?'*   ⌐*d*
         1EXC   just   naked   to   inside   up.there   go.FUT-1PL-PQM   Q

         ∧*pl-igwa*   ∧*ikn* ∧*i*
         perceive-2/3PL.SRD   time   DEM

> 'When they wondered, "Would Maumne go back and take all our trousers away to make us go back home all naked?" ...'

The examples (4) and (5) contain such verbs as ⌐ka ⌐te- 'to scold' or ∧pl- 'to perceive non-visually'. The quoted clauses express what is thought. This kind of quoted clauses is considered to be a constituent of the sentence selected by these quoting verbs.

The range of matrix verbs is wide. Any verb seems to be able to take a quotation introduced by the form ⌐d. When the matrix verbs are not verbs of saying or thinking, the relationship between the quoted clause and the matrix predicate is pragmatically understood. For example, the example (6a) consisting of a quote "people will see [it]" and the matrix clause "we put [it] into the trousers" connected by the quotative marker, should be interpreted as an action with a background idea by the referent of the subject, 'Thinking, "people will see [it]", we put [it] into the trousers' or 'Afraid that people would see [it], we put [it] into the trousers'

(6) a. ∧yopal kan-√a-mi-(⌐)a   ⌐*d* ∧traus   ⌐ila   ∧kl   √pal   ⌐ki∧kor-e...
     person see-FUT-3SG-EXPL   Q   trousers inside side put.INF COMPL-CONJ(SS)

     '(Afraid) "People will see [it]", we put [it] into the trousers'

   b. ⌐kan=⌐rae   √ka+√kl=√par=∧we
     fellows=MUT   see+NEG=and (SS)=ENC.WE

     ∧no-gwa   ⌐gn   √bre   ∧kol-m   ⌐*d* √ul-igwe
     eat-3SG.SRD   mushroom mushroom.name grow-3SG   Q   pick-2/3PL.IND

     'Those fellows did not survey [the mushrooms] and (just thinking/saying) "Edible mushrooms grow there!" they picked them.'

   c. '√ala ∧du-m?' ⌐*d* √kan   ∧ipe   ∧er-pga
     who say-3SG   Q   see.INF up.there to/off-1PL.SRD

     '(Wondering) "Who talked?" we look up and ...'

   d. '∧paip ∧silin=⌐mere   ∧topl   ∧kol   √pal-ka   ⌐en ∧te-i=∧ua.'
     5   shilling=as/about covering fill.INF put-1SG.SRD you give-1SG=ENC.WA

     ⌐*d* ⌐na   ∧to-gwe
     Q   1EXC give-3SG.IND

     '(Saying) "I give you what I bundled as 50 toea worth." he gave [it] to me.'

As in the example (6a), the quotative marker ⌐d can introduce a quoted clause into any sentence in Dom, even when the matrix predicate is not a quoting verb such as verbs of speech and verbs of thought. ..... Hence, we can see the distinction between quoting verbs and non-quoting verbs.

As described above, the quotative marker is not used to introduce a quotation when the matrix predicate is the verb ⌐d- 'say', while it is necessary with other verbs. However, if the quotation and the verb ⌐d- 'say' are interrupted by other words, the quotative marker can be used optionally.

(7) a. ⌐na   ⌐ta   ⌐na   ⌐s   ⌐ne=(√)k-n=wa   ∅
     1EXC   NEG   1EXC   hit.INF   eat=NEG-2SG=ENC.WA

     √yel   ∧du-gwa
     like.this   say-3SG.SRD

     ' "You do not catch and eat me," it(earthworm) said so.'

   b. ⌐te∧kopn ∨pol   ∧d-o   ⌐kam∧tai ⌐gara   ∧d-o   ⌐**d** ∨yel
     rainbow   twinkle (say)-IMP lightning growl   (say)-IMP Q   like.this

    ⌐d-re   ∧kuria ∧npn   ∧su-gwe.
    say-CONJ(SS) song   npn.spell hit-3SG.IND

    'Saying 'Appear, rainbow! Roar, thunder!', they sang the song of white magic.'

In both examples in (7), reported speech and the quoting verb ⌐d- 'say' are interrupted by the demonstrative of manner ∨yel 'like this'. The quotative marker ⌐d is absent in example (7a) and it is present in example (7b).

    The distribution of the quotative marker is summarised in (8) below, where 'S' stands for sentential complement or quoted clause. This order might be interpreted as the process of grammaticalization.

(8) a. S ∅ ⌐d-'say'
     b. S ⌐d verbs-of-speaking
     c. S ⌐d verbs-of-thinking
     d. S ⌐d any-verbs
     e. S (⌐d) inserted-phrase ⌐d-'say'

The absence of the quotative marker is obligatory in (8a) and a quote should be obligatorily marked by ⌐d in (8b-d). The quotative marker is optional in (8e)

    The quotative marker ⌐d has the same form as the bare root form showing that the quotative marker is derived from the verb ⌐d-. As Lord (1976) says, 'In a number of languages a 'that'-complementizer is homophonous with the verb 'say' '(p179) and the complementizers are considered to be developed from the word 'say' (Also Frayzyngier 1984 and Meyerhoff 2002). The quotative marker '⌐d' in Dom has a similar distribution to Ewe 'bé' described by Lord (1976), showing almost the same stage of grammaticalization. In fact, in such sentences as in the example (4), the quotative marker can be alternatively interpreted as the infinitive of the verb ⌐d-, being a component of serial verb construction.

    Reported speech may consist of several clauses. When reported speech consists of several clauses, the quotative marker ⌐d may (but not necessarily) be used only once for the whole reported speech as in (7b) or it may be added to each quoted clause as in the following example.

(9) ⌐er ⌐u   ⌐ila   ⌐p
   to   come.INF inside go.INF

   ∧kopa=⌐rae   (∨)ke   ne-∨ra-pn=(∧)wa   ⌐**d**
   pandanus=MUT cook.by.steam eat-FUT-1PL=ENC.WA   Q

   ∧Bna ∨gal ⌐kepl ∨aul ⌐i-re   ⌐er ∧p-o   ∅ ∧du-pge
   PRN child small where take-CONJ(SS) to go-IMP say-1PL.IND

   ' "Let us go in, cook pandanus and eat." "Bna, you take the little kids away", we said.'

This behaviour of the quotative marker ⌐d is not considered to be a parameter for direct and indirect speech.

    Considering that ⌐d serves as an adverbialiser (§3.8.5), and that clauses can be freely introduced to any sentences by ⌐d whether they have quoting verbs or not, quotes in Dom are introduced in a sentence as adverbials rather than nominalised complements selected by quoting verbs.

Many quoted clauses are preceded by a phrase such as /\el /\mol 'doing' or /\mol 'staying'. cf. Tok Pisin's *kirap na tok* (Smith 2002: 138).

8.3   Mood of the quoted predicates

Frequency with which we come across some moods varies according to whether the verb appears in quotative constructions or not. For example, Dom has several morphological means to express a command, i.e. imperative mood suffixes *-o* and *-a*, and clitics =/\ka and =/\wa, but forms other than *-o* are rarely encountered in quoted clauses.

The same thing is observed in question expressions, in which case one may have the inpression that only the polar interrogative *-o* and the non-polar interrogative *-e* can appear in quoted clauses, although other forms as *-kri=/\yo/=/\no* for polar questions and *-kri* for non-polar questions are used for a similar function in independent utterances.

Yet another example concerns the form of a non-verbal predicate. In a quoted clause, non-verbal predicates should almost invariably be marked by the clitic =/\we, while they can be either marked by =/\we or remain unmarked in other contexts.

Despite their rarity, all the forms mentioned above are judged to be grammatical in quoted clauses, when elicited. It is just that the mood in quotative clauses often does not behave in the same way as in independent utterances. Behaviour found uniquely in quotes which differs from that in independent utterances is by definition indirect-speech-like characteristics. This behaviour of moods can be accounted for, if we assume that moods with a similar function, which display maximal contrasts in an independent utterance, fall into one mood group, and they are neutralized at a certain level of indirect speech, where the most functionally unmarked forms are used as representatives of their mood groups.

Table 8.3 shows that the moods which belong to one mood group can contrast only in 'direct speech' having the value DIRECT, and this group has the value INDIRECT in indirect speech, that is, neutralisation of the contrast takes place in indirect speech, while tense has the value DIRECT both in 'direct speech' and 'indirect speech'.

	direct	indirect
tense	D	D
moods	D	I

Table. 8.3: Mood and directness

The situation of indicative *-ke*, emotive *-e* and the clitic =/\ua/=(/\)wa is a little more complex. The indicative mood is very frequently used in an independent utterance, but it is rarely seen in reported speech and in reported thought. All the forms – indicative, the clitic =/\ua and emotive mood – can appear both in a non-quotative construction and in a quoted clause, but with different frequency.

The indicative mood in a sentence can be changed into the clitic =/\ua~=(/\)wa without changing the basic meaning. The difference between the indicative and the clitic =/\ua~=(/\)wa is very subtle in non-quotative constructions.

(10)   a.   ⌐*er* ʌ*u-ke*   'I came/come.'
           come-1SG.IND

       b.   ⌐*er* ʌ*w-i=*ʌ*ua*   'I came/come.'
           come-1SG=ENC.WA

Although the clitic =ʌ*ua*∼=(ʌ)*wa* appears to signal that the clause belongs to a different level of discourse (§3.8.10), the most remarkable difference is in the frequency with which they occur: (10a) is frequent while (10b) is rare in independent utterances.

   In reported speech, the clitic =ʌ*ua* seems to take over the function of the indicative mood and the frequency is reversed: (11a) is frequent while (11b) is rare.

(11)   a.   ⌐*er* ʌ*w-i=*ʌ*ua*   ʌ*di-ke*   'I said, "I came/come".'
           come-1SG=ENC.WA   say-1SG.IND

       b.   ⌐*er* ʌ*u-ke*   ʌ*di-ke*   'I said, "I came/come".'
           come-1SG.IND   say-1SG.IND

The clitic =ʌ*ua/=*(ʌ)*wa* appears to take over the function of indicative mood in reported speech. Although we do not know what mood the Dom speakers use in inner speech, in a similar way, the emotive mood seems to substitute for the indicative in reported thought. The emotive mood is used in independent utterances.

   The indicative is not common in quoted speech, but when it is used in quoted speech, the listeners perceive the event as described more vividly.

(12)   a.   (=7a)⌐*na*   ⌐*ta*   ⌐*na*   ⌐*s*   ⌐*ne=*(*V*)*k-n=wa*
                   1EXC   NEG   1EXC   hit.INF   eat=NEG-2SG=ENC.WA

           *V*yel   ʌ*du-gwa*
           like.this   say-3SG.SRD

           ' "You(=a pig) do not catch and eat me(=an earthworm)," it(=the earthworm) said
           so.' (challenging the pig)

       b.   ⌐*ta*   ⌐*na*   ⌐*s*   ⌐*ne=*(*V*)*k-ge*
           NEG   1EXC   hit.INF   eat=NEG-2SG.IND

           ⌐*ta*   ⌐*na*   ⌐*s*   ⌐*ne=*(*V*)*k-ge*   ʌ*du-gwa*
           NEG   1EXC   hit.INF   eat=NEG-2SG.IND   say-3SG.SRD

           '[The earthworm] said [to the pig] "You don't catch and eat me! You don't catch
           and eat me!" '

The two examples in (12) are from the same text and their meanings do not differ fundamentally, but they are different with respect to the mood of the quoted predicate. The clitic =ʌ*ua* is used in the example (12a), while the example (12b) is a case of the indicative mood in a quoted clause. We should notice that in the example (12b), reported speech consists of a repetition of the same clause, which seems to have a discourse level function or to show expressiveness. The quoted clause here is considered to be more like an independent utterance, that is, more direct.

   There are other specific situations where we can easily obtain the indicative predicate in reported speech. First, when my language consultants correct my Dom expressions, saying 'You can't say it like that in Dom; you should say "...." ', to help me improve my Dom. Second, when one purports to mimic someone's voice or accent. In short, the indicative

predicate in reported speech is used when the speaker refers to a linguistic form as such or a sound as such. This is the extreme of direct speech and the indicative predicate is considered to be allowed in reported speech only at this level of directness. In fact, anything is allowed at this mimicking level of direct speech: speaking in a different language, whistling, and so on.

When the indicative mood is used in reported speech, it gives a feeling that the speaker is imitating the way of talking or that the precise form is relevant to the talk, which often makes the quotation more vivid.

I wish to suggest that the indicative, the clitic Λ*ua* and the emotive mood, which have different meanings in the non-quotative construction, form one mood group and their contrast is neutralised into the clitic Λ*ua* at a certain level of indirect speech, whereas it is neutralised into the emotive mood at a certain level of indirect thought in the same way as the imperative and the interrogative moods behave.

(13) Direct speech is universal; indirect speech is not.   (Li 1986: 39)

8.4   Person-number in quoted clauses

8.4.1   Direct person-number

All the cases of person with the value DIRECT are acceptable.

(14)   a. Λ*nl*   Λ*si*=Λ*ua*   Λ*du-gwe*
           water   hit*2.1SG=ENC.WA   say-3SG.IND

           ' "I'm boiling," the water is saying, '
       b. √*ene*   ⌐*en*   ⌐*ka*√*kan*   Λ*e-dae*
           then   you   scream   make-2SG.MUT

           √*pa-gwa*   √*kal*   Λ*yer*   Λ*kor-i*=Λ*ua*   Λ*du-gwe*
           lie-3SG.SRD   thing   remove.INF   discard-1SG=ENC.WA   say-3SG.IND

           ' "OK, you(=reporter) were crying aloud (during the surgery), [but] I completely removed what was inside (pus)," she said [to me].'
       c. '*gol*-√*a-ga*   ⌐*ki*   mol-√*a-m*+(Λ)*ia*   Λ*kuya-n*   ⌐*d*
           die-FUT-2SG.SRD   bad   stay-FUT-3SG+EXPL   spirit-2SG.POSS   say.INF

           i-√*ra-pn*=(Λ)*wa*'   Λ*d-igwe*.
           take-FUT-1PL=ENC.WA   say-2/3PL.IND

           'They said [to me], "It will be no good if you(=reporter) die, so let's call your soul back." '
       d. (√)*ke*   √*pa-gwa*   Λ*yal*   Λ*i*
           build.INF   lie-3SG.SRD   man   DEM

           'Λ*yopal*   ⌐*yopla*   √*yo-gwa*   kan-√*a-im*=(Λ)*wa*.'   Λ*dugw*.
           person   bone   be-3SG.SRD   see-FUT-2/3PL=ENC.WA   say-3SG.IND

           'The man who lives [there] said, "You shall see human bones there." '

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*2 Λ*nl* 'water' ⌐*s*- 'hit' is an idiomatic expression meaning 'water boils'.

In the example (14a), the speaker heard the noise of water boiling and said, 'water is saying, "I'm boiling," '. This kind of personification is quite common in Dom and the 'original' speaker here is water, and the deictic centre is determined according to the water's point of view. First person singular cross-reference marker is used in this example, just as it would be used in the 'original' speech, and this shows a direct-speech-like characteristic.

In the example (14b), ' "OK, you were crying aloud (during the surgery), [but] I completely removed what was inside (pus)," the doctor said [to me].' the speaker of the whole sentence is the person referred to by the second person pronoun, not by the first person pronoun, since this is just as it was said in the 'original' speech.

The same holds for reported thought as in the following.

(15) a. ⌐ka   ∧barwai   ∧won ∧du-m   ⌐d pl-√a-m=(∧)ba
     word for.a.long.time truly say-3SG.EMO Q perceive-FUT-3SG=but
     'One might think, "he(=reporter) is talking so long", but...'

b. ⌐bl ∧bal ⌐ta √kepa   ∧ne-ra-l=⌐d   ∧pl-gwi   ∧no-gwe
     fish   a   sweet.potato eat-FUT-1SG=Q perceive-3SG.DEM eat-3SG.IND
     'That fish who thought "I will eat foods" ate (the bait)'

In the example (15a), the referent of the third person singular cross-reference marker is the current speaker/reporter. The indirect version in English would be 'One might think that I am talking for so long', but here the speaker did not adjust the expression in the quote to his point of view and quoted it just as the original thought would be. This is a direct-speech-like characteristic. In the example (15b), the referent of the first person singular cross-reference marker is the fish.

The parameter PERSON has the value DIRECT, but when looking at the mood of the quoted clauses, one realised that (14a) and (14b) use the clitic ∧ua in reported speech, and (15a) and (15b) use the emotive mood in reported thought. It is very likely that the moods in those examples are neutralised as discussed above.

	direct	indirect
tense	D	D
cross-reference markers	D	D
personal pronouns	D	D
mood	D	I
example		(14), (15)

Table. 8.4: direct person

If this were the end of the story, the dichotomy of direct versus indirect speech would hold in Dom, too. However, the parameter PERSON can also have a value of INDIRECT in Dom.

8.4.2 Indirect person for both pronoun and cross-reference

Indirect person for both pronoun and cross-reference is observed as in the following example (16a), where both the second person pronoun ⌐en and the second person cross-

reference *-n* on the verb must not be as was utterred by the original speakers since the referent of the two forms (Glmai) was not present at the original speech situation. The corresponding sentence with DIRECT value for the person parameter is given in (16b).

(16) a. ⌈*en* ʌ*d-na-n*=ʌ*ua*   ʌ*d-igwe*
     you   say-FUT-2SG=ENC.WA   say-2/3PL.IND
     'They said that you(=Glmai) should talk." '

  b. ʌG*lmai* ʌ*d-na-m*=ʌ*ua*   ʌ*d-igwe*
     PRN   say-FUT-3SG=ENC.WA   say-2/3PL.IND
     'They said, "Glmai(=addressee) shall talk." '

	more direct		more indirect
tense	D	D	D
NP (=addressee)	D	D	I
3rd person cross-reference (=addressee)	D	D	I
indicative	D	I	I
example	(16a)		(16b)

Table. 8.5: Indirect person for the addressee

Indirect person for both pronoun and cross-reference occurs only when the addressee is the referent.

The following cases are very similar, but are considered to be a different type of construction.

(17) a. ⌈*en* ʌ*plet* ⌈*ta* V*ama* ʌ*ne-n*=ʌ*ua*   ⌈*d-a*
     you   dish   a   too   eat-2SG=ENC.WA   say-2SG.IMP
     i. 'You also ate a dish (of that), didn't you?'
     ii. 'You$_i$ say, "you$_j$ also ate a dish (of that)"!' (where $i \neq j$)

  b. ʌ*kot* ʌ*el*   ⌈*en* ʌ*te-ra-kra*=(ʌ)*wa*   ʌ*d-o*
     court make.INF   you   give-FUT-1SG.MUT=ENC.WA   say-2SG.IMP
     i. 'I will sue you, OK?'
     ii. 'Say, "I will sue you"!'

In the interpretation (ii), it is reported speech with a DIRECT personal pronoun and a DIRECT cross-reference marker, while in the interpretation (i), the construction is used to express something like a tag question or a request for confirmation such as "right?" or "OK?", probably emerged from the combination of the "confirmation" use of the clitics ʌ*ua* and ʌ*da*/ʌ*do* "say". This happens only when the quoting verb is ⌈*d* in the imperative mood.

8.4.3 Disagreement case

The following are examples of personal pronouns with indirect values. The indirect personal pronoun and the direct cross-reference marker co-occur. This case is observed only when the indirect personal pronoun is the first person pronoun, and the corresponding noun phrase with DIRECT value for person is not the first person pronoun.

(18) a. ⌐ta ⌐**na**   **kar-√al**   ⌐d ∧u-na-ga
           a   1EXC see-FUT.1SG Q   come-FUT.2SG.SRD

         'One of you, who would come here, [thinking,] "I will see him(=reporter)." '
         ⟨... [thinking,] "I will see$_{1sg}$ me."(lit.)⟩

      b. ⌐na   kan-√a-m   ⌐d ∧pl
           1EXC see-FUT-3SG Q   perceive.INF

         √o   √kurara √kurara ∧el-m-o?
         hand.3SG.POSS   wave()   make-3SG-PQM

         'Is she waving her hands, [hoping,] "he(=reporter) should see"?'
         ⟨... [hoping,] "I should see$_{3sg}$."(lit.)⟩

In (18a), the first person pronoun and the first person singular cross-reference on the verb have different referents, whereas in (18b) the first person pronoun and the third person singular cross-reference on the verb have the same referent.

	more direct			more indirect
tense	D	D	D	
3rd person cross-reference	D	D	D	
1st person cross-reference	D	D	D	
NP (=reporter)	D	D	I	
indicative	D	I	I	
example		(18)		

Table. 8.6: Use of 1st person pronoun and cross-reference

If the cross-reference markers on verbs are in what should be called agreement, this is a case of 'disagreement in agreement'. However, as is discussed in §5.3, the cross-reference markers on verbs are discourse-based rather than form-to-form correspondence, in which case some syntactic rule is needed to change one person into another in order to account for the disagreement. The person and number of nominals and those marked on verbs seem to be simply determined independently according to different principles.

There are further strange looking quotatives pertaining to the behaviour of person. Indirect use of a first person pronoun can co-occur with direct use of a second person pronoun as in the following.

(19) ∧M*aria*=∧a ⌐*na*   ∧w-i=∧ua   ∧d-krae
      PRN=VOC   1EXC come-1SG=ENC.WA say-1SG.MUT

     'When I said, "Maria! I came", ...'
     ⌐en ⌐**na**   ∧u-n-o   ∧du-gwa
      you 1EXC come-2SG-PQM say-3SG.SRD

     ' "Are you Palus(=reporter) who came?" she said, and ...'
     ⟨"You, I came$_{2sg}$?"... (lit.)⟩
     ⌐na   ∧w-i=∧ua.'   ∧d-krae
      1EXC come-1SG=ENC.WA say-1SG.MUT

     'I said, "I came." and then ...'

In the example (19), the second sentence contains the second person ⌜*en*, the first person ⌜*na*, and the second person singular cross-reference marker on the verb, all of which have an identical referent, namely, the reporter. INDIRECT value of person for the reporter is the first person and DIRECT value of person for him is the second person in this case, but if all the values were DIRECT, this equational clause would be a meaningless tautology. In general, equational clauses with a logically correct tautology are not informative and are pragmatically interpreted in different ways. This clause was not intended to be interpreted in such a way. The original speaker wanted to know whether the person she can deictically point to is the person who she knows by a certain term.

	more direct		more indirect
tense	D	D	D
2nd person pronoun (=reporter)	D	D	D
2nd person cross-reference (=reporter)	D	D	D
NP (=reporter)	D	D	I
indicative	D	I	I
example		(19)	

Table. 8.7: Use of 1st person and 2nd person pronoun

A further peculiarity is that an indirect use of a first person pronoun that refers to a single person can be used as a vocative. No other pronoun cannot be used as the vocative. The following examples illustrate the situation.

(20) ⌜***na!***   ⌜***na!***
      1EXC   1EXC

"Palus(=reporter)! Palus!" ⟨Me! me!(lit.)⟩
⋀*gol+*⌜*a*   ⋀*kam*   ⌜*yape*   ⋀*yer-o*
die-1SG.EXPL   banana   right/back.up.here   remove-IMP

"I am dying! Remove off the banana upon me."
⌜*d*   ⋁*pai*   ⋀*mol-gwa*
say.INF   lie.INF   stay-3SG.SRD

'He (Dama) kept saying.'

	more direct	more indirect
Vocative NP (=reporter)	D	I
example		(20)

Table. 8.8: Use of 1st person pronoun in vocative

8.4.4   Possessive suffixes

Possessive suffixes behave just like personal pronouns. In the following example, there are two readings, direct (a) and indirect (b), for personal pronouns and possessive suffixes.

(21) ʌ*yal* ʌ*i*   ⌐*na*   √***bl-na***   ⌐*ki* ʌ*el-m*=ʌ*ua*   ʌ*du-gwe*
   man DEM 1EXC head-1SG.POSS bad make-3SG=ENC.WA say-3SG.IND

   (a)'He said, "My head is bad (crazy)." '
   (b)'He said that my head is bad (crazy)." '

Possessive suffixes never disagree with the co-occurring pronouns:

(22) a. ʌ*yal* ʌ*i*   ʌ***en*** ʌ***ml-n***   ʌ*gol*=ʌ*ua*   ʌ*du-gwe*
     man DEM PRN sorry-2SG.POSS die.1SG=ENC.WA say-3SG.IND

     (i)'He said, "I am sorry about you." "
     (ii)'He said that he is sorry about you.'
   b. ʌ*yal* ʌ*i*   ʌ***Glmai*** ʌ***ml-i***   ʌ*gol*=ʌ*ua*   ʌ*du-gwe*
     man DEM PRN   sorry-3SG.POSS die.1SG=ENC.WA say-3SG.IND

     (i)'He said, "I am sorry about Glmai." "
     (ii)'He said that he is sorry about Glmai.'
   c. ʌ*yal* ʌ*i*   ⌐*na* ʌ***ml-na***   ʌ*gol*=ʌ*ua*   ʌ*du-gwe*
     man DEM 1EXC sorry-1SG.POSS die.1SG=ENC.WA say-3SG.IND

     (i)(He said, "I am sorry about me." ')
     (ii)'He said that he is sorry about me.'

8.5   Shifters other than person

All the shifters other than person, that is, tense, demonstratives, and other deictic expressions always seem to have the value DIRECT.

The verbs ⌐*p-* 'go' and ⌐*u-* 'come' in quotative clauses have always the value DIRECT, which is often not compatible with the situation of the matrix sentence.

(23) a. ʌ*Glmai* ʌ***o-m+***⌐***ia***,   √*gal-man*=(⌐)*rae* √*kan*   '*ʌGlmai* ʌ***u-m***=ʌ***ua***.'
     PRN   go-3SG+EXPL child-PL=MUT   see.CONJ(SS) PRN   come-3SG=ENC.WA

     ʌ*du-gw*
     say-3SG.IND

     'Glmai **went** (from Yaire Maule) there (Topl). Seeing him, boys there said, "Glmai **came**." '
     (The speaker was at Topl when he saw the event and told the story at Yaire Maule)
   b. √*ene* '*ʌGlmai*=ʌ*ya!* ⌐*er* ʌ*ya*   ⌐***u-o!***   ʌ*mal*   ʌ*ya*
     then PRN=VOC   to right/back.here come-2SG.IMP nearby right/back.here

     ʌ*stori* ⌐*d*   *mol-*√*a-pn*=(ʌ)*wa*   ʌ*d-ka*   ⌐*er* ʌ***o-gwa***
     story say.INF stay-FUT-1PL=ENC.WA say-1SG.SRD to go-3SG.SRD

     'Now, I said "Glmai! **Come** here! Let's stay together here and talk!" and he **went** (to us).'

Note that in the above examples, there is a discrepancy between quotative clauses and a matrix clauses as to the selection of a deictic verb of moving since the deictic centre of the matrix clause is strictly at the utterance situation, not where and when the event the speaker was involved in occurred. The example below has ⌜p- 'go' in the quotative clause and ⌜u- 'come' in the matrix clause.

(24) ⌜er ⌜ila ⌜p-re ⌜er ∧e-i=∧ua ⌜d ⌜er ∧u-gwe
to inside go-CONJ(SS) to go-1SG=ENC.WA Q to come-3SG.IND
'Saying "I am going home (at Yaire Maule).", he came.'
(The speaker was at Topl when he saw the event and told the story at Yaire Maule)

In the following example, the direction referred to by the demonstrative ∧ya 'right here' of the first occurence in the matrix sentence is the opposite of that in the quotative clause.

(25) ⌜na ⌜al ⌜d ⌜kol ∧ya ∧er-e
1EXC call.name say.INF side right/back.here to/off-CONJ(SS)

'∧Yal⌜Smna=∧a! ∧yopal ∧u-gwa ⌜en ∧s-na-m+⌜ia.
PRN=VOC person come-3SG.SRD you hit-FUT-3SG+EXPL

⌜er ∧ya ∧u-o' ∧d-ike.
to right/back.here come-2SG.IMP say-1SG.IND

'I (being at the other side of the river) called [him] toward the direction of this side of the river and said, "Yal Smna! People who came will hit you. Come here!" '

8.6 Conclusion

The following properties can be said to be peculiarities of Dom.

(26) a. The indicative, which is one of the most basic moods, cannot appear at a certain level of indirect speech.
b. Personal pronouns and cross-reference markers behave differently from each other.
c. The first person and the second person behave differently.
d. A vocative NP is not suppressed in indirect speech, but it is adjusted to the speaker's point of view and pronomilized if the referent of the vocative NP is the reporter.
e. Person and shifters other than person behave differently.

The tables of directness parameters above, except for the vocative NP table, can be integrated into the table 8.9. The parameters of cross-reference markers are mutually exclusive. It is clear from this table that there are at least four co-occurrence patterns of the directness values.

	more direct			more indirect
	0	1	2	3
tense	D	D	D	D
personal pronouns	D	D	D	D
1st person cross-reference	D	D	D	D
2nd person cross-reference	D	D	D	D
NP($\neq$reporter, $\neq$addressee)	D	D	D	D
3rd person cross-reference($\neq$r., $\neq$a.)	D	D	D	D
3rd person cross-reference(=reporter)	D	D	D	D
3rd person cross-reference(=addressee)	D	D	D	I
NP(=addressee)	D	D	D	I
NP(=reporter)	D	D	I	I
moods	D	I	I	I
example number	(12b)	(14)	(19)	(16a)

Table. 8.9: Scale of Directness

Chapter 9

Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Dom are a morpho-syntactically defined word class and serve primarily as spatial deixis in their semantics.

> In Several Papuan languages demonstrative forms are used both in contexts of referent identification, e.g. as demonstrative operators in noun phrases, and in topicality contexts, e.g. as topic markers with adverbial clauses and phrases, recapitulative clauses, new topic NPs and given topic NPs.
> (de Vries 1995: 514)

Concepts such as 'anaphor', 'new/old information', 'topic/focus', and 'definite/indefinite' are used not only for noun phrases, cutting across parts of speech. For instance, as for definiteness, Lyons (1999: 45) suggests that "definiteness is not only a feature of noun phrases, but occurs more widely".

9.1   Deictic use of Dom demonstratives

Dom has a deictic-anaphoric *Ni∼Ⴑi* which is neutral in spatial alignment, along with a group of deictic words listed in table 9.1, which share grammatical behaviour as described below.

	proximal	medial	distal
neutral	*Nya*	*Vsipi*	
uphill	*Ⴑyape*	*Vipe*	*Nipe*
level	*Ⴑyale*	*Vile*	*Nile*
downhill	*Ⴑyame*	*Vime*	*Nime*

Table. 9.1: System of demonstratives

The demonstratives with locational specification in Table 9.1 are distinguished on the horizonal axis and on the vertical axis. The horizonal axis basically divides the space referred to by the demonstratives in terms of distance from the speaker, as the labels 'proximal', 'medial' and 'distal' show. The proximal demonstratives, however, also cover the area behind the speaker even if the referent is located quite far away from the speaker, while medial and

distal demonstratives are defined basically in terms of proximity between the speaker and the referent in front in the speaker's sight.

In addition to the semantic differences between the general demonstrative Λ*i* and other demonstratives (hereafter referred to as spatial demonstratives) in the spatial specification and the anaphoric function, there are other syntactic and collocational differences: spatial demonstratives can be used as a locative noun phrase without a head locative noun while the general demonstrative cannot; a strong tendency is found for spatial demonstratives to modify locative noun phrases while such a tendency is not found for the general demonstrative, which can modify any noun phrase. Thus, examples such as in the following are frequently encountered.

(1)   a. ⌐*nul*   Λ*ile*
           river   there

           'that river over there'
      b. Λ*ekl*   Λ*ile*
           far   there

           'that distant place over there'
      c. V*kel-gwa*   Λ*ai*   V*suna*   Λ*ile*
           count-3SG.SRD   place   centre   there

           'that centre of the place over there where they count'
      d. Λ*B*ual ⌐*M*aule Λ*ile*
           PLN   there

           'that Bual Maule over there'
      e. ⌐*D*ale   V*ik*   Λ*ile*
           tribe.name   house   there

           'at that territory of the Dale tribe over there'

The following examples are rather infrequent:

(2)   a. Λ*bola* Λ*ile*
           pig   there

           'that pig over there'
      b. V*glaip-i*   Λ*ile*
           tongue-3SG.POSS   there

           'that [pig] tongue over there'

Medial and distal demonstratives differ only in the tone, except for the vertically neutral series which lacks the distal correspondent.

From the speaker's viewpoint, three levels, 'up', 'down' and 'mid', are distinguished on the vertical axis and in addition there are two spatial demonstratives (Λ*ya* and V*sipi*) neutral in terms of vertical alignment. Vertical distinction among demonstratives is fairly common among Papuan languages of Highlands region. Hua (Haiman 1980: 258-260), Fore (Scott 1978: 82) and Una (Louwerse 1988: 76) among many others have demonstratives distinguishing the vertical relationship to the speaker.

Spatial demonstratives can be broken into the following bound morphemes.

(3)   a. ⌐*ya*- 'proximal', V*i*- 'medial' and Λ*i*- 'distal'

      b. *-me* 'down', *-pe* 'up' and *-le* 'mid'

There are similarities between the proximal bound form ⌐*ya-* and the proximal-neutral ∧*ya* on the one hand, and between the distal bound form ∧*i-* and the general demonstrative ∧*i*(∼⌐*i*) on the other. A tempting approach is to regard the general demonstrative as distal-neutral. While this analysis may hold morphologically or perhaps historically, the general demonstrative ∧*i* is not included here in the system of spatial demonstratives since the potential of the general demonstrative is not confined to 'distal-neutral'.

      The general demonstrative ∧*i* and proximal-neutral ∧*ya* have infrequently used allomorphs ∧*gi* and ∧*gia*, respectively.

      Demonstratives are regarded as adjectives in terms of thier alignment after the head in a noun phrase.

      Demonstratives fall into a distinct sub-class of adjectives by virtue of the fact that they are the final independent words, following other adjectives in the noun phrase, and that they can follow a verb in the subordinative mood. For instance, in the following example (4), the order of ∨*su* and ∧*i* cannot be inversed.

(4) ∧*yal* ∨*su* ∧*i*
      man two DEM
      'these two men'

      The manner adjective ∨*yel* 'like this/that' is semantically demonstrative-like in that deictic reference or anaphoric reference are involved, but it does not fill the demonstrative slot in the phrase. ∨*yel* can be modified by an intensifier as in ∨*yel* ∧*won* 'just like this/that', whereas demonstratives cannot be modified by an intensifier. Also, there are a few cases where ∨*yel* is followed by a demonstrative. These facts show that ∨*yel* cannot be classified as belonging to the word class of demonstratives. Yet, it can co-occur with locative bases for deictics (§3.2.3.3) such as ∧*mal* 'near' and ∧*el* 'area' to make a deictic locative noun phrase as other demonstratives do.

      The mutual knowledge marker =⌐*rae* 'those which we already know' is similar to the general demonstrative ∧*i* in that sometimes it apparently functions as a remote anaphor, and in that it can be attached to a subordinative verb. However, the slot for =⌐*rae* is after the one for demonstrative and it can co-occur with demonstratives.

(5) ∧*kopl*=⌐*la* ∧*ipe*=⌐***rae***
      stone=LOC up.there=MUT
      'at that stone up over there as we know'

      The properties of demonstratives discussed so far are summarised in table 9.2.

      The Dom seem to rely heavily on relative locative nouns and demonstratives when they make a spatial reference. 'Right' and 'left', four cardinal points, or longitudinal alignment of 'front' and 'back' are not referred to frequently in Dom. Adjectives ⌐*wo* 'right' and ⌐*kora* 'left' can be used for the arms and sometimes also for other body parts, even if rarely, and one might come across them in some idiomatic expressions concerning the right and left arm, but they are scarcely used in everyday conversation, in particular, to point to some location or direction. Some words which imply north (∧*gerl*), south (∧*bomai*), east (∧*kopl*) and west (∧*kuman*), correlate with ethno-ecological zones rather than cardinal points in the strict sense, let alone ∧*bapka* 'the area to the north of Wahgi river' and ∧*kune* 'the area to the south of

	dem-slot	anaphor	LNP	deictic-LNP	follow srd	contraction
Λ*i*	+	+	−	+	+	+
spatial dem's	+	−	+	+	+	−
V*yel*	−	+	−	+	−	−
=Γ*rae*	−	+	−	−	+	+

Table. 9.2: Summary of the properties of demonstratives and demonstrative-like words

Wahgi river'.

In discourse, demonstratives are often used in the way that the speaker focuses only on a two-way contrast without reflecting the multilateral relationship in the system of spatial demonstratives. For instance, the following two examples focus on the contrast between the distal Λ*ile* and the proximal Λ*ya*.

(6) a. Γ*no*   Γ*er*   Λ*il*   Λ*o-pga*   Λ*yopal*   Γ*ta*   Γ*er*   Λ***ya***
    1NSG.EXC   to   there   go-1PL.SRD   person   a   to   right/back.here

    Λ*u-gwa*   V*demn*   Λ*i*   V*mnan*   Λ*su-gwa*   Λ*pl-gwe*
    come-3SG.SRD   musk.gland   DEM   smell   hit-3SG.SRD   perceive-3SG.IND

    'When we go there and someone comes here, the musk smells nice and he notices [it].'

b. Γ*aya* Γ*maya* Γ*d*
   oh   say.INF

   Λ*praa*   Λ*i*   Λ***il***   Γ*p*   Γ*p*   V*Balan* Λ*Arwai* Γ*p-re*
   transverse   DEM   there   go.INF   go.INF   PLN   go-CONJ(SS)

   Λ*kui*   Γ*er*   Γ*u*   Γ*kole*   Λ*e-k+*Γ*i*
   again   to   come.INF   back   go-1SG.DEM

   Γ*er*   Λ*Siul*   V*Topl*=(Λ)*ya*   Λ*Yorwa*   Λ*il*   Γ*p-re*
   to   PLN   PLN=and   PLN   there   go-CONJ(SS)

   Γ*er*   Λ***ya***   Γ*u-re*
   to   right/back.here   come-CONJ(SS)

   Λ*el*   V*wan*   Λ*mo-ka*
   make.INF   move.around.INF   stay-1SG.SRD

   V*gran*   Λ*i*   Γ*ul*   Γ*ta*   V*pai+(V)k-ika*
   yesterday   DEM   sleep   NEG   lie+NEG-1SG.SRD

   'Saying "Aya! Aya!" I went on this road all the way to Balan Arwai river, then on my way back I went over there to Topl Siul and Yorwa, and came here; that night, I wandered around like this without sleeping...'

9.2   Usages neither deictic nor anaphoric

Demonstratives are semantically characterised by their use as deixis and anaphor, but they have other derived usages as well. In this section, I shall illustrate the non-deictic and

non-anaphoric uses of demonstratives. this section.

9.2.1   Ʌi~Γi

Conjoined noun phrases are often finalised by the general demonstrative as in the following.

(7) a. *[Vmna]=(Ʌ)ya*   *[Vape]=(Ʌ)ya*   Ʌ*i*   Γ*na*   *Vaul*   Γ*i*
         mother.1SG.POSS=and   father.1SG.POSS=and   DEM   1EXC   where   take.INF

         Γ*p*   Γ*p*
         go.INF   go.INF

         'My mother and my father, these two ...'

     b. *[Γkal]=(Ʌ)ya*   *[Vo]=(Ʌ)ya*   Γ*i*   Ʌ*mena*   *(V)ye*   *Vpa-gwe.*
         leg.3SG.POSS=and   hand.3SG.POSS=and   DEM   outside   be.INF   lie-3SG.IND

         'His legs and his arms, these were still outside.'

(8) a. *[Ʌbola]=Ʌya*   *[Ʌal]*   Ʌ*i*   *'Ʌdogwa*   *Vyopl*   Ʌ*i-na-n-a*
         pig=and   dog   DEM   fire   get.kindling.INF   take-FUT-2SG-PERM

         Ʌ*p-o'*   Γ*d*   Ʌ*er-gwa*
         go-2SG.IMP   Q   to/off-3SG.SRD

         'He sent a pig and a dog, saying "Go get kindling." '

     b. *[Ʌpauna-n*   Γ*yopla=(Γ)la]=Ʌya*   *[Ʌguma-n*   Ʌ*gla-n=*Γ*la]=Ʌya*
         chin-NSG.POSS   bone=LOC=and   nose-NSG.POSS   mouth-NSG.POSS=LOC=and

         [Vmu-n   *Vda-n=(Γ)la]*   Γ*i*   Ʌ*bol=Vpare*
         back-NSG.POSS   belly-NSG.POSS=LOC   DEM   be.hit.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)

         'Jawbone, nose-mouth, and back-belly, we were injured in these and ...'

In the examples in (7), the demonstrative Γ*i* follows all the listed items which are cliticised by =Ʌ*ya*, while the example (8) lacks Ʌ*ya* for the last listed item.

Trickier are listing noun phrases with the final verb in the demonstrative form as in the following examples (9a) and (9b), where it is not clear whether the demonstrative form of the verb serves to signal the end of listing.

(9) a. *[Γer   Ʌari]=Ʌya   [Vkal   Vmnan   Ʌsu-gwi]*
         tree   leaf=and   thing   smell   hit-3SG.DEM

         'Tree leaves and something that smell good, these'

     b. *[Γno   Ʌtutul   Ʌsu-pga   Ʌyopal]=Ʌya*
         1NSG.EXC   assistant.village.chief   hit-1PL.SRD   person=and

         [Vmawa   Ʌren   Ʌsu-pga]
         mawa.ring   hit-1PL.SRD

         [Ʌkomgi   Ʌsu-pgi]
         committee   hit-1PL.DEM

         'We, the people who got the title of tultul, those who got the title of *mawa* ring and those who got into committees ...'

Frequent occurence of the demonstrative form of a verb as the last element of a noun phrase listing seems to prove that this is the same thing as the final independent general demonstra-

tive in a conjoined noun phrase.

This kind of noun phrases can consist of a single listed item, where the noun phrase is one of the instances to which the statement is applicable, and the implication is that there are more.

(10) a. ⌐*na*   (∨)*ap*   ∨*m-na=*(∧)*ya*   ∧**mol-gw+**⌐**i**
         1EXC father.1SG.POSS mother-1SG.POSS stay-3SG.DEM
       '[All those people like] my father and mother ...'
    b. ∧*marasn* ∧*giul* ∧*su-gwa*   ∧*marasn=*∧*ya* ⌐*i*   ⌐*na*   ∧*to-gwe.*
         medicine pain   hit-3SG.SRD medicine=and DEM 1EXC give-3SG.IND
       'She gave me [all the medicine like] painkiller'

These uses of the general demonstrative in a noun phrase listing environment might be derived from the anaphoric usage, but an anaphor in the same syntactic function as an immediately preceding antecedent is apparently meaningless as such. The additional information carried by the demonstrative seems to be the inclusiveness of the listing.

In contrast to the above inclusive listing, ⌐*ta* 'a' is used after an alternative listing signalled by the dubitative =∧*mo* on each item, as in the following.

(11) a. ∧*al=*∧*mo* ∧*bola=*∧*mo* ⌐*ka* ∨*kopa=*(∧)*mo* ⌐*ka* ∧*kan*   ⌐*ta* ∧*u-gwi*
         dog=or   pig=or   bird=or   many.kind.of.things a   come-3SG.DEM
       'When a dog, a pig, a bird, or something else came ...'
    b. ∧*tripla=*∧*mo* ∧*popla=*∧*mo* ⌐*ta* ∨*pa-gwa*
         three=or   four=or   a   lie-3SG.SRD
       'there are three or four ...'

An alternative listing can consist of a single listed item as well, where the noun phrase refers to those referents which the speaker is not sure what is the exact name for or those which the speaker mention as one example which can alternatively be a likewise thing, as in the following.

(12) a. ∨*apal*   ∧*i*   ∧*sis=*∧*mo* ⌐*ta* ∨*yo-gwa*   ∧*apl*   ∧*im=*⌐*rae*
         woman   DEM   scissors=or a   be-3SG.SRD invisible.side down.there=MUT
       ∧*er*   ∧*kikor-e*
         to/off.INF COMPL-CONJ(SS)
       'The lady put something like scissors there into [the skin] and ...'
    b. ∧*yopal*   ∧*gol-gwa*   ⌐*di* ∨*bl* ∨*gal*   ∧*te-ga=*∧*mo*   ∨*kal*   ⌐*ta*
         person   die-3SG.SRD condolence.money give-2SG.SRD=or   thing   a
       ∧*e-gi*
         make-2SG.DEM
       'When you do something like giving condolence money for a man who died ...'

Interestingly, the place before the particle ⌐*ta* can be occupied by a demonstrative or the manner deictic ∨*yel.*

(13) a. *Vgal* ⌐*kepl* Λ*mo-ka*　　Λ*ikne* Λ*naintin* Λ*sepenti* Λ*paip=*Λ*mo* **Λ*ip*** ⌐*ta*
　　　 child   small   stay-1SG.SRD   time   1975=or   up.there   a

　　　 ⌐*na* ⌐*i* ⌐*p* Λ*er-gwa*
　　　 1EXC   take.INF   go.INF   to/off-3SG.SRD

　　　 'When I was a small boy, long ago, in 1975 or so, [my mother] took me [to the hospital].'

　 b. Λ*sul* ⌐*gret* *Vwan=(*Λ*)mo* **Vyel** ⌐*ta* Λ*stat* Λ*el* Λ*d-ra-1* ⌐*d*
　　　 school   grade   one=or   like.this   a   start   make.INF   say-FUT-1SG   Q

　　　 Λ*e-ka=*⌐*mere*
　　　 make-1SG.SRD=as/about

　　　 'When I started to do something like my grade one or so ...'

In the example (13a), the uphill distal demonstrative Λ*ipe* is used to signal that there is a significant temporal distance and *Vyel* 'like this' is used in the example (13b).

　　There is another situation where the general demonstrative appears to serve as an anaphor of the immediately preceding element. When the clitic *=*⌐*mere* is used to signal similarity, in the meaning of 'like', Λ*i* or *Vyel* can follow the phrase.

(14) a. *[*Λ*Wa*⌐*ti=(*Λ*)ya* *VMosis* Λ*mol-gwa=*⌐*mer]* **Vyel** Λ*mo-ka* Λ*taim*
　　　 PRN=and   PRN   stay-3SG.SRD=as   like.this   stay-1SG.SRD   time

　　　 'When I was like how Wati and Mosis are now,' (When I was that small)

　 b. *[*Λ*el-igwa=*⌐***mer]*** Λ*i* Λ*stori* Λ*du-gwa* ⌐*na* Λ*p-k+*⌐*i*
　　　 make-2/3PL.SRD=as/about   DEM   story   say-3SG.SRD   1EXC   perceive-1SG.DEM

　　　 Λ*elma* Λ*d-k+*⌐*i.*
　　　 now   say-1SG.DEM

　　　 'Someone talked about how they did and here I talked about what I heard.'

This seems to signal the exactness of the similarity.

　　The general demonstrative Λ*i*∼⌐*i* can follow a generic term as in the following.

(15) ⌐*er* ⌐*wi* Λ*kaula* ⌐***i**=(*Λ*)we* Λ*nl* ⌐*nule* Λ*ime* Λ*du-gwa*
　　 tree   a.kind.of.tree   DEM=ENC.WE   water   river   down.there   yielded-3SG.SRD

　　 'The Wi Kaula tree grows by the riverside down there.'

This sentence is the first sentence of the discourse and the *wi kaula* tree was not part of the utterance situation. Therefore, the demonstrative ⌐*i* in this example is neither anaphoric nor deictic.

　　Another interesting situation where the general demonstrative is used is the occurrence with a definite noun phrase, such as a personal pronoun as in the following.

(16) Λ*bol* *Vdna* ⌐*d* ⌐*er* Λ*yopl* *Vyel* ⌐*u-re*
　　 cut.INF   tear   (say).INF   to   down   like.this   come-CONJ(SS)

　　 Λ*bol* *Vdna* ⌐*d* ⌐*er* ⌐*ml* Λ*ip* ⌐*p-re*
　　 cut.INF   tear   (say).INF   to   up   up.there   go-CONJ(SS)

　　 Λ*bol* *Vau* *Vdna* ⌐*d* ⌐*er* ⌐*ml* Λ*ip* ⌐*p-re* Λ*el-gwa*
　　 cut.INF   hold.INF   tear   (say).INF   to   up   up.there   go-CONJ(SS)   make-3SG.SRD

⌐**na** ∧**i** '⌐aya ⌐aya ⌐aya ⌐aya ⌐aya!' ∧d-ki.
1EXC DEM oh oh oh oh oh say-1SG.DEM

'She cut (my skin) down like this, cut up, and cut upper; meanwhile as for me, I was just screaming, "Aya! Aya! Aya! Aya! Aya!" '

This use of the demonstrative might be serving to mark topic change.

This functional continuum of deixis - anaphor - inclusiveness - generic - topic evokes the term definiteness.

9.2.2 Non-deictic use of spatial demonstratives

Some uses of spatial demonstratives are neither deictic nor anaphoric. They can be used to refer to an invisible area, they can be used with a reference point that is not the deictic centre.

9.2.2.1 Invisible area

Spatial demonstratives can sometimes refer to invisible referents.

Some uses of demonstratives for invisible referents are still deictic in that the reference is made according to the deictic centre.

Proximal demonstratives can be used for the referent behind the speaker and the referents may be out of sight of the speaker, which is not usual in other deictic uses of demonstratives. Distant demonstratives can refer to a remote area behind the obstacle. One can refer to something 'up over there behind the mountain' by ∧*ipe*.

Downhill demonstratives sometimes imply that the referents are invisible. One can use a downhill demonstrative for a referent at the bottom of the valley, which cannot be seen from the utterance situation. Far-distant places, such as Port Moresby, Australia or Japan, are often modified or referred to by ∧*ime* and these cases are considered to be non-deictic.

The elevation of the town Kundiawa is evidently lower than that of the hamlet of Yaire Maule, but people usually prefer uphill ∧*ipe* over downhill ∧*ime* to refer to the town, perhaps because downhill demonstratives can undesirably imply invisibility.

Spatial demonstratives can be used as time reference. ∧*ipe* is often used to signal the fact that the time referred to by the temporal noun phrase it modifies is far from the present time, as in the following.

(17) a. ⌐*gwema* ∧**ipe**
first   up.there
'long ago'

b. ⌐*eku*   ∧**ipe**
afterward   up.there
'far future'

c. ⌐*na*   V*gal* ⌐*kepl* ∧*mo-ka*   ∧*ikn* ∧**ipe**
1EXC child small stay-1SG.SRD time up.there
'(Long ago) when I was a little boy ...'

9.2.2.2   Aberrant deictic centre

Sometimes, the reference point of demonstratives is not at the canonical deictic centre. The demonstrative Λ*ya* is used to refer to the orientation toward the speaker 'at that time' (at the event time) rather than the utterance time in the following example.

(18)	Λ*yal*	Γ*i*	V*yel*	Γ*kna*	Λ*gur*	V*kan*	**Λ*ya***
	man	DEM	like.this	ear.3SG.POSS	pull.INF	see.INF	right/back.here

	Λ*er-e*	Λ*mol-gwe*
	to/off-CONJ(SS)	stay-3SG.IND

'He was looking here (at me), feeling helpless.'

Further aberration concerns the correlation among demonstratives.

(19)	a.	Λ*kul*	Λ*bl*	Γ*mle*	Γ*s*	V*pa-m*	Γ***yap***=(Λ)*wa*
		water.fall	big	up	(hit).INF	lie-3SG	right/back.up.here=ENC.WA

   ' "A big waterfall is up here." '

	b.	Γ*u*	Γ*mle*	Γ***yape***	Λ*p-o*	Λ*du-m*	Λ*du-gwe*
		come.INF	up	right/back.up.here	go-IMP	say-3SG	say-3SG.IND

   ' "Come up here." he said, informedly.'

	c.	V*gal*=Γ*rae*	Γ*p*	Γ*mle*	V***ipe***	Λ*odae*	Λ*kore*
		child=MUT	go.INF	up	forth.up.here	go.3SG.MUT	but

   'The child went up there, but'

In the example above, the first two sentences, which are uttered by a snake in a narrative, contain a deictically used proximal uphill Γ*yape*, whereas the correlated medial uphill V*ipe* in the last sentence refers to the same place. Generally, the place referred to by a proximal demonstrative (Γ*yape*) of a speech act participant can be referred to by a medial demonstrative (V*ipe*) of another speech act participant, but this relationship of demonstratives is carried over to a figure in a narrative and the narrator. This case might pertain to the protagonist in a narrative, the child, whose view point is applied as a deictic centre for the demonstratives.

9.2.2.3   Relative location

A spatial demonstrative can be used as a locative noun phrase without a head locative noun. Often, a spatial demonstrative in this usage is not deictic in its semantics nor does it follow the default segmentation of space.

9.2.2.3.1   Distance   Distal demonstratives, Λ*ile* in particular, are used to refer to the remote in general. In the following example, the speaker uses Λ*ile* as a locative noun which serves as the complement of an auxiliary Λ*er-* 'in the direction of ...' and expresses what he did to avoid looking at something. The verb phrase V*kan* Λ*ile* Λ*er-* would mean 'look over there', but in this case, the reference point is not the usual deictic centre and the direction is not specific.

(20) *Ɩkan*   *ˈba*   *ˈta*   *Λile*   *Λer*
    see.INF   halfway   another   there   to/off.CONJ(SS)
    'looked far away to different place'

9.2.2.3.2   Vertical alignment   Distal *Λipe* and *Λime* are used as a locative noun phrases designating a non-deictic, general 'up' and 'down'.

(21) a. *ˈere*   *Λipe*   *Λu-o*   'Come up!'
        to   up.there   come-IMP

    b. *Λsml*   *Ɩau*   *Λipe*   *Λer-e*
        bow   hold.INF   up.there   to/off-CONJ(SS)

        Λel=ˈrae   *ˈs*   *Λipe*   *Λer-ko*
        arrow=MUT   hit.INF   up.there   to/off-CONJ(DS)

        'I took the bow up and shot up an arrow, and then ...'

Λipe in the example (21a) should be *ˈyape* if used deictically, because the ordered movement is toward the speaker.

9.2.2.3.3   Longitudinal alignment   Medial demonstratives, *Ɩile* in particular, are used to refer to the forward/front in general, while proximal demonstratives, *Λya* among others, are used to refer to the backward/back in general. There is no lexical items in Dom used exclusively for anteroposterior alignment. The contrast between proximal and medial demonstratives or *Ɩmu=(ˈ)la* 'at the back' and *Λguma=ˈla* 'at the nose' is used as the main exponent of the longitudinal relationship between 'back' and 'front'.

9.2.2.3.3.1   Front   A medial demonstrative *Ɩile* is used as 'forward' in the following example.

(22) *Λdeklm=ˈrae*   *ˈere*   *Ɩile*   *Ɩile*   *ˈp-re*
    earthworm=MUT   to   forth.here   forth.here   go-CONJ(SS)
    'The earthworm kept on going forth'

9.2.2.3.3.2   Back   Proximal demonstratives are used with the meaning of 'back' in contrast with medial demonstratives. The meaning of backness conveyed by proximal demonstratives is clear in an idiomatic phrase of *ˈi* X *Λer*, where X stands for proximal demonstratives, which literally means 'take something to X', is used for 'leave somewhere behind'. The following examples contain the idiom with a proximal demonstrative and its medial counterpart used contrastively in the same sentence.

(23) a. *Ɩm-na*   *Ɩama*   *ˈer*   *Ɩim*   *ˈp-re*   *(Λ)pawa*
        mother-1SG.POSS   too   to   forth.down.here   go-CONJ(SS)   electricity

        Λpos   *Ɩpa-wdae*   *ˈi*   *ˈyape*   *Λer-e*   *ˈer*
        post   lie-3SG.MUT   take.INF   right/back.up.here   to/off-CONJ(SS)   to

        Ɩim   *Λo-gwe.*
        forth.down.here   go-3SG.IND

        'Still, my mother went down (forward), left behind that power pole up there, and went further down (forward).'

b. Γ*A* Γ*Nl* Λ*skul* V*ik* Λ*i* Γ*i* **Γ*yam*** Λ*er-e*
PLN   school house DEM take.INF right/back.down.here to/off-CONJ(SS)

[Γ*ml* Λ*kl* **V*ip*** Λ*iwe*] [Λ*aiwe* **Λ*ipe***] V*mna*
up   side forth.up.here ENC.WE highway up.there mother-1SG.POSS

V*kepa* V*wau* Λ*yu-gwa*
sweet.potato evacuated.INF fetch-3SG.SRD

'My mother left behind Anigle school down there, brought up (forward) the sweet potatoes she dug, at the highway up over there'

In the example (23a) non-deictic V*ime* and Γ*yape* are employed contrastively to mean forward and backward, respectively. In the example (23b), the combination consists of non-deictic Γ*yame* and V*ipe*, and is followed by the last demonstrative Λ*ipe*, which is deictic and has a canonical deictic centre.

9.2.2.3.3.3   Back and forth   In addition to the medial, the distal can also be used to mean forwardness in some context. The contrast between distal versus proximal can be used in the meaning of 'moving back and forth'. Downhill distal Λ*ime* and uphill proximal Γ*yape* are used contrastively in the following exmaple.

(24) Γ*al* Γ*d* **Λ*ime*** Γ*p* Γ*d* **Γ*yape*** Γ*u*
call.name say.INF down.there go.INF say.INF right/back.up.here come.INF

Γ*d* **Λ*ime*** Γ*p* Γ*d* **Γ*yape*** Γ*u* Λ*el-m+*Γ*ia*
say.INF down.there go.INF say.INF right/back.up.here come.INF make-3SG+EXPL

'He moved around from up here to down there from place to place, calling the name.'

9.2.2.3.3.4   Reciprocal   The contrast between medial demonstratives and proximal demonstratives can be used to signal reciprocity as in the following.

(25) a. Γ*na* Γ*d* **V*ile*** Λ*er-e* Γ*d* **Λ*ya***
1EXC say.INF forth.here to/off-CONJ(SS) say.INF right/back.here

Λ*er-e* Λ*d-ral* V*e-pl+*Λ*iwa*
to/off-CONJ(SS) say-IMM make-1DL+ENC.WA

'We two are going to talk each other/have a dialogue.'

b. V*none* Λ*de-ne* Λ*gol* **V*ipe*** Λ*ya*
1NSG.INC intestines-NSG.POSS feel.INF forth.up.here right/back.here

V*e-pke*
make-1DL.IND

'We two were angry with each other.'

9.2.2.4   Association of demonstratives with locative nouns

Locative nouns are often collocationally associated with a particular demonstrative. For instance, instead of talking about a simple Λ*yopl* 'downhill', Dom often uses Λ*yopl* Λ*ime*. When used deictically, a demonstrative following the locative noun specifies a spatial distinction, where Λ*yopl* Λ*ime* 'down over there' contrasts with Λ*yopl* Γ*yame* 'down right here'. Although this distinction is sometimes made, the use of Λ*yopl* Λ*ime* is often identical with that of simple Λ*yopl*.

Collocational association of locative nouns with spatial demonstratives is based on the derived meanings of some spatial demonstratives described above, in particular, invisibility, distance and vertical alignment.

Invisibility is implied by the demonstrative ∧*ime*, which is collocationally associated with ∧*apl* 'beneath, invisible side', ∨*suna* 'centre', and ⌐*ila* 'inside', if the place referred to is invisible.

∧*ekl* 'far' is often in company with ∧*ile* which implies a far distance.

⌐*mle* 'uphill, up' and ∧*tep* 'top' are frequently combined with ∧*ipe*, while ∧*yopl* 'downhill', ∨*maune* 'down' and ∧*apl* 'beneath' are with ∧*ime*, according to the referent's vertical alignment.

⌐*mle* 'uphill'	∧*yopl* 'downhill'
⌐*mle* 'up'	∨*maune* 'down'
∧*tep* 'top'	∧*apl* 'beneath'
∧*nol* 'visible side'	∧*apl* 'invisible side'
∨*suna* 'centre'	∧*bna* 'border'
⌐*ila* 'inside'	∧*mena* 'outside'
∧*mala* 'close'	∧*ekl* 'far'

Table. 9.3: Antonymous pairs of relative locative nouns

Most relative locative nouns have their antonymous counterparts as in table 9.3, but associations with spatial demonstratives are not necessary made for both. ∧*nol* 'visible side', ∧*bna* 'border' and ∧*mala* do not seem to have a frequently-associated demonstrative counterpart.

9.3   Verb phrases and demonstratives

Demonstratives can follow verbs in the subordinative mood (-*ka*) or verbs in the locative form (-*kal*), and can be placed between a verb in the emotive mood (-*e*) and a clitic ∧*wa*.

(26)   a. V-xxx-ka Demonstrative
　　　b. V-xxx-kal Demonstrative
　　　c. V-xxx-e Demonstative=(∧)wa

Here are some examples of these three constructions:

(27)   a. ∧*si*　⌐*er*　⌐*p*　　∨*Mran* ∧*mol*　　[∧*kor-gwa*　　　∧*ipe]*
　　　　　run　to　go.INF　PLN　　stay.INF　COMPL-3SG.SRD　up.there
　　　　　'They ran away to Mran and were settled down there.'
　　　b. ∧*p*　　　∧D*im*=∧*ya* [∧*mol-gwal*　∧*ile]* ⌐*p-re*
　　　　　go.INF　PRN=and　stay-3SG.LOC　there　go-CONJ(SS)
　　　　　'went to where Dim and his family live there and ...'
　　　c. ⌐*en*　∨*dan*=(⌐)*la*　　　　∨*ipe*　　　　∨*toli* ⌐*ta* [∨*pa-m* ∨***ipe***=(∧)*wa]*
　　　　　you　belly.2SG.POSS=LOC　forth.up.here　flea　a　lie-3SGforth.up.here=ENC.WA
　　　　　'There is a flea on your belly there!'

A subordinative clause followed by demonstratives as in (27a) can be used as a nominalised medial, and final clause, while a locative clause followed by demonstratives as in (27b) behaves as a locative noun phrase and a verbal form with a demonstrative inserted between the emotive mood and the clitic Λ*ua* as in (27c) can be used as a final verb.

V-*ka* Λ*i* and V-*ka*=(Γ)*rae* can be contracted as V-*ki* and V-*krae*, respectively and the contracted forms are used more often.

9.3.1   Demonstrative forms

Having the form of subordinative verbs followed by demonstratives, demonstrative forms of verbs have some common characteristics with subordinative verbs. Both can be used as:

(28)   a. nominalised clauses serving as arguments of the predicate, time and location settings, or topics,
  b. subordinate clauses of condition, concession and so on,
  c. hosts of the clitics =Λ*we*, =Λ*yo*, and all other clitics which can follow noun phrases,
  d. elements preceding the particle Λ*kore*.

First, demonstrative forms of verbs are used as nominals in the following examples.

(29)   a. Λ*gal*   Λ*bek* Λ*kama* Γ*ta* V*yo-gwi*   V*au*   Γ*kul* Γ*d-ill-o*
        string.bag bag   black   a   be-3SG.DEM hold.INF raise say-2DL-IMP
        'You two pick up that black bag which will be there.'
  b. Γ*s* Λ***bol-gwi***   Γ*er* Γ*ila* Γ*u-re*
        get.dark-3SG.DEM   to   inside come-CONJ(SS)
        'When it got dark, I/he/??? came home and ...'

(30)   a. Λ*Jonatan:*   Γ*guema* Γ*en* V*ne-n*   V*ma-n*   Λ*bol* Γ*ere*
                    first   you   father-2SG.POSS mother-2SG.POSS with   tree

      Λ*ari* V*iki* V*ke*   V*ye-re*   Λ*el-igwi*   V*nal*=(Γ)*mere*
      leaf   house build.INF   put-CONJ(SS) make-3PL.DEM   what=as/about

      Λ*el-im*
      make-3PL.QM

      Jonatan: 'Before, when you together with your parents' generation built the tree-leaf house, how did you do [it]?'
      Γ*Bosipe:* V*ke-gwi*=Λ***yo***
            build-3SG.DEM=PQM

      Bosipe: '[How] they built [it], huh?'
  b. Λ*mol-gwa*   Λ*ipe*=Λ***yo***
        stay-3SG.SRD   up.there=PQM
        '[Is it the time] when he was, huh?'

The following examples demonstrate that both demonstrative clauses and subordinative clauses can form conditional clauses.

(31) ⌐*na* Λ*bal* Λ***yu-ra-ki***
  1EXC chop.INF fetch-FUT-1SG.DEM

  V*di-e* Λ***u-na-gwa*** ⌐*na* Λ*s-na-wdae=(Λ)wa*
  namesake-1SG.POSS come-FUT-3SG.SRD 1EXC hit-FUT-3SG.MUT=ENC.WA

  'If I cut them and bring them here (as you are insisting), my namesake, if he comes, will hit me.'

However, demonstrative forms of verbs behave in a distinct way in that:

(32) a. they cannot be followed immediately by the adversative clitic =Λ*ba* or the manner clitic =⌐*mere*,
  b. they are used as the final predicate of drawing attention and discovery marking,
  c. they cannot attributively modify the following noun phrase,
  d. demonstrative clauses cannot be used as a subordinate clause marking sequential events without other implication.

The use of a word with a specific referent as an attributive premodifier is not available also for noun phrases, as is illustrated in §5.2.4, and (32c) is considered to be a general constraint for attributive premodification.

9.3.1.1 Focusing strategy

Unlike topicalisation of a noun phrase, which is realised as left-dislocation, topicalisation of a verbal predicate is done by adding a duplicate of the verb in the demonstrative form *-ki* in the sentence-initial position.

Topicalising the verbal predicate suffixed with the demonstrative form *-ki* can be seen as a strategy for focusing the remaining elements of the clause.

(33) a. ⌐*er* Λ***opgi*** [Λ*Joniboi* V*yo-go* ⌐*na* V*ye-ko*
    to go.1PL.DEM PRN and-3SG.CONJ(DS) 1EXC and-1SG.CONJ(DS)

    V*Delpa* V*yo-go* V*ene* V*Masta* Λ*Koral* V*yo-go]* ⌐*er*
    PRN and-3SG.CONJ(DS) then PRN and-3SG.CONJ(DS) to

    Λ*opge*
    go.1PL.IND

    'Among us, those who went: Joniboi, I, Delpa, and Masta Koral we went.'
  b. Λ*kuria* Λ***du-gwi*** [Λ*beten=⌐mere]* Λ*du-gwa*
    song say-3SG.DEM prayer=as/about say-3SG.SRD

    'How he sings: he sings like prayer.'
  c. ⌐*na* V***kar-ki*** [Λ*wai* Λ*su-m=⌐d]* V*kar-ke*
    1EXC see-1SG.DEM end (hit)-3SG=Q see-1SG.IND

    'What I thought: I thought that it is exhausted.'
  d. Λ***opgi*** [⌐*di=Λya* Λ*pistol=Λya* Λ*gan=Λya* ⌐*para* ⌐*i-re]*
    go.1PL.DEM axe=and pistol=and gun=and enough/all take-CONJ(SS)

    Λ*opga*
    go.1PL.SRD

    'When we went, we were with all of axes, pistols and guns in our hands and...'

9.3.1.2   Drawing attention, announcing discoveries

Demonstrative forms of verbs can be used to draw other's attention or express a speaker's discovery. The following are cases of drawing attention.

(34) a. *Ⅴape*   *Ⅴape*   *Γna*   *Ⅴpai-ka*   *Λya*=*Λwe*
        father.1SG.POSS father.1SG.POSS 1EXC lie-1SG.SRD   right/back.here=ENC.WE
        'Dad! Dad! I am here!'

     b. *Λbl Λmala Λbo-ka*   *Λnmbona Λdo-gwe*
        stick   be.hit-1SG.SRD   wound   (burn(intr.))-3SG.IND

        *Γta Λ**bo-ki***   *Γta Λ**bo-ki***   ...
        a   be.hit-1SG.DEM a   be.hit-1SG.DEM

        'I was stuck by a stick and the wound is formed. Here I was stuck. Here I was stuck by another.'

(35) a. *Γen* *Λgal Ⅴsuna Λbol bl-Ⅴa-l=(Γ)d*   *Λe-g+Γi=(Λ)we*
        you   shirt   with   smear-FUT-1SG=Q   make-2SG+DEM=ENC.WE
        'You are going to cook it with the shirt [covering it]!'

     b. *Λguma-n=Γla*   *Ⅴyo-gwa*   *Ⅴ**sipi***
        nose-2SG.POSS=LOC   be-3SG.SRD   forth.here
        'It is just there in front of you!'

In the following examples, the speaker informs other participants of the communication of a discovery.

(36) a. *Λkudiawa Λpawa*   *Ⅴgo-gwa*   *Λ**ipe***
        PLN   electricity   go.out-3SG.SRD   up.there
        'Kundiawa is having a blackout there!'[*1]

     b. *Λguma-na=Γla*   *Ⅴyo-gwa*   *Λ**ya***
        nose-1SG.POSS=LOC   be-3SG.SRD   right/back.here
        'Oh, it is just here in front of me.'

Drawing attention and discovery announcements might be considered as typical uses of deixis, but they are observed only for the demonstrative forms of verbs and not for noun phrases with a demonstrative. These expressions show how excited the speaker is.

Non-deictic use of demonstrative forms of verbs can also express this excitement of the speaker as in the following vivid description in a narrative.

(37) *Γer Λime*   *Λe-ipka*   *Λ**ime***
        to   down.there go-2/3DL.SRD   down.there
        'The two [floated] down there!'

[*1] Kundiawa is luminous when seen from some villages in Dom during night. People easily notice it from far away if the town has a blackout night.

9.3.1.3   Absolute topic

A demonstrative clause may imply the question as to the proposition, without the intetion of conveying the information about the described proposition as such, since the situation is immediately perceivable to the speech participants.

For instance, the sentence in the example (38a) describes the action of the addressee, which might be obvious to the addressee, and the speaker is requiring an explanation for it. The example (38b), which is uttered to the husband who has asked a Japanese if he wants some pawpaw, also contains a description of the addressee's action.

(38) a. ∧*sali*=∧*ya!* ⌐*en* ∧*popo* **∨*ul-ga***   **∨*sipi*=(∧)*we***
          PRN=VOC you pawpaw pick-2SG.SRD forth.here=ENC.WE

          'Sali! You are picking pawpaws there (in my garden without my permission)!'

   b. ∧*ne-na-wda*=(∧)*we*   ∨*sl* ∧***bo-gi***
          eat-FUT-3SG.MUT=ENC.WE ask (be.hit)-2SG.DEM

          'He will eat it (as a matter of course!). You asked him (for what)!'

(39) a. ∧*yopal* ∨*tau* ⌐*s*   *gol-*∨*a-pn*=(⌐)*d* ∧*pl-igwi*   ∨*ama*
          person some hit.INF die-FUT-1PL=Q perceive-3PL.DEM too

          ∨*bika* ∧*kol*=∨*pare*   ⌐*s*   ∧*gol*   ∧*gol*   ∧*el-im*
          fern   tie.up.CONJ(SS)=and (SS) hit.INF die.INF die.INF make-3PL

          ∧***du-dae***=(∧)*we*
          say-3SG.MUT=ENC.WE

          'It is said that when one thinks of killing someone, he tied ferns and used to kill. (What was it like? Tell me the story.)'

   b. ∧*e.* ⌐*en* ∧*boi*   ∨*na-pn*=(⌐)*d* ∧***e-iwdae***=(∧)*we.*
          oh you labourer go-1PL=Q   go-2/3PL.MUT=ENC.WE

          ∨*nam*∧*el-m-e?*
          how.make-3SG-QM

          'Oh! You have gone for some labours. What happened?'

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Appendix A

Materials

A.1 Minimal pairs

A.1.1 Tone

Minimal pairs for tonal contrasts.

A.1.1.1 One syllable one mora (underlyingly)

(1) a. ⌐*nm* (personal name), Λ*nm* 'wound'
 b. Λ*ka* 'name', =V*ka* 'almost', ⌐*ka* 'word'
 c. Λ*ya* 'right/back.here' V*ya* 'fall', ⌐*ya* 'doobry'
 d. V*ta* 'dawn.INF', ⌐*ta* 'another'
 e. Λ*ba* 'red', ⌐*ba* 'moon'
 f. Λ*mu* 'cold (food)', V*mu* 'back'
 g. Λ*wi* 'neighbours', ⌐*wi* 'husband'
 h. ⌐*pr* 'snivel', V*pr* 'flying()'
 i. ⌐*gl* 'strong()', Λ*gl* 'put.into.bag.INF'
 j. Λ*pl* 'hear.INF', V*pl* 'pluck.INF'

A.1.1.2 One syllable two morae

(2) a. Λ*wam* (personal name), V*wam* 'to hitch.3SG', ⌐*wam* 'son.3SG.POSS'
 b. Λ*gul* (tree's name), V*gul*!!! 'post', ⌐*gul* 'fence'
 c. Λ*kul* 'look.after.INF', V*kul* 'collect.INF', ⌐*kul* 'grass'
 d. Λ*dom* 'burn(intr.).3SG', V*dom* 'Dom'
 e. Λ*mol* 'stay.INF', V*mol* 'put.on.INF'
 f. V*din* 'namesake.2SG.POSS', ⌐*din* 'chest.2/3SG.POSS'
 g. Λ*dul* 'straight', ⌐*dul* 'trace'
 h. ⌐*ul* 'sleep', V*ul* 'pick.INF'
 i. Λ*kan* 'rope', V*kan* 'see.INF'
 j. Λ*golm* 'die.3SG, cut beard()', V*golm* 'Golin'
 k. ⌐*mor* 'blue', V*mor* 'different', Λ*mor* (personal name)

A.1.1.3   Two syllable

(3)   a.   Ʌ*tapn* 'heaping', Γ*tapn* 'a kind of fern'
      b.   Ʌ*topl* 'wrapping', V*topl* (place name)
      c.   Ʌ*yopl* 'down', V*yopl* 'to get kindling'
      d.   Ʌ*kurl* 'anger', V*kurl* 'turning'

(4)   a.   Ʌ*mri* 'salt', V*mri* 'liver'
      b.   V*bika* 'fern', Γ*bika* 'leaks'
      c.   Ʌ*bola* 'pig', V*bola* 'plant (posts)!', Γ*bola* 'write!'
      d.   Ʌ*dala* 'tree's name', Γ*dala* 'call!', V*dala* '(water) dry up'
      e.   Γ*yopla* 'bone', V*yopla* 'get kindling!'
      f.   V*bapka* 'we two cut (and)', Ʌ*bapka* (personal name)
      g.   Ʌ*pawa* 'electricity', Γ*pawa* 'break'

(5)   a.   Ʌ*ime* 'down yonder' V*ime* 'down there'
      b.   Ʌ*ipe* 'up yonder' V*ipe* 'up there'
      c.   Ʌ*ile* 'yonder' V*ile* 'there'

(6)   a.   Ʌ*togwe* 'he gives', V*togwe* 'he dissects'
      b.   Ʌ*sugwe* 'he hits', V*sugwe* 'he collects firewoods'
      c.   Ʌ*molgwe* 'he stays', V*molgwe* 'he put'
      d.   Ʌ*bolgwe* 'write, suffer', V*bolgwe* 'insert in the ground'
      e.   Ʌ*balgwe*, 'to cut' V*balgwe* 'to make one's way through bush'
      f.   Ʌ*palgwe* 'split', V*palgwe* 'put'
      g.   Ʌ*dalgwe* 'call (name)', V*dalgwe* 'water dries up'
      h.   Ʌ*kulgwe* 'look after, bear', V*kulgwe*
      i.   Ʌ*plgwe* 'hear', V*plgwe* 'pluck'
      j.   Ʌ*korgwe* 'do away', V*korgwe*

A.1.2   Consonants

(7)   a.   Γ*ka* 'word', Γ*ta* 'one', Γ*ba* 'moon',
      b.   Ʌ*ba* 'red', Ʌ*da* 'slope', Ʌ*ka* 'its name'
      c.   Ʌ*kai* 'cry', Ʌ*gai* 'shame', Ʌ*dai* 'cover', Ʌ*wai* 'good', Ʌ*mai* 'to gather', Ʌ*ai* 'place'
      d.   Ʌ*pal* 'to split', Ʌ*bal* 'to cut', Ʌ*dal* 'to call (name)', Ʌ*kal* 'to bite', Ʌ*gal* 'to burn (tr.)',
           Ʌ*yal* 'man, to plant', Ʌ*al* 'dog'
      e.   V*wau* 'to dig', V*yau* 'to be swollen', V*au* 'to hold', V*bau* 'to touch, step on', V*kau*
           'to carry on shoulder', V*tau* 'some',

(8)   a.   Γ*al* 'forked arrow' Γ*ar* 'sun
      b.   Ʌ*er* 'wear', Ʌ*el* 'make.INF'

A.2   Verb roots

(9)   a.   V*ain-*, V*al-*, V*ar-*, V*au-*, V*bal-*, V*bau-*, V*baul-*, V*be-*, V*bekl-*, V*ber-*, V*bin-*, V*bl-*, V*bol-*,

　　　　ⱽbul-, ⱽda-, ⱽdal-, ⱽdekn-, ⱽdeul-, ⱽdl-, ⱽdn-, ⱽdr-, ⱽdu-, ⱽdukn-, ⱽdul-, ⱽdun-, ⱽekl-,
ⱽeul-, ⱽgal-, ⱽgel-, ⱽgeu-, ⱽgo-, ⱽgokn-, ⱽgor-, ⱽgr-, ⱽgu-, ⱽgwe-, ⱽkan-*, ⱽkau-, ⱽke-,
ⱽkekn-, ⱽkel-, ⱽkeml-, ⱽkn-, ⱽkon-, ⱽkor-, ⱽkr-, ⱽku-, ⱽkwir-, ⱽkukl-, ⱽkul-, ⱽkun-
, ⱽkupr-, ⱽma-, ⱽmal-, ⱽmaul-, ⱽme-, ⱽmekl-, ⱽmekn-, ⱽmel-, ⱽmo-, ⱽmol-, ⱽmr-,
ⱽmukl-, ⱽnon-, ⱽnu-, ⱽomn-, ⱽopr-, ⱽpai-*, ⱽpal-, ⱽpar-, ⱽpau-**, ⱽpaul-, ⱽpekn-,
ⱽperar-, ⱽpin-, ⱽpir-, ⱽpl-, ⱽpul-, ⱽsikl-, ⱽsu-, ⱽsul-, ⱽta-, ⱽtapal-, ⱽtawar-**, ⱽteul-,
ⱽto-, ⱽtomn-, ⱽu-, ⱽul-, ⱽwa-, ⱽwair-, ⱽwan-*, ⱽwar-, ⱽwau-, ⱽwaul-, ⱽwe-, ⱽwel-,
ⱽya-, ⱽyau-, ⱽyaul-, ⱽye-*, ⱽyol-, ⱽyopl-, ⱽyu-

b. Λbal-, Λbl-, Λbol-, Λdal-, Λel-, Λgal-, Λgl-, Λgol-, Λgul-, Λkal-, Λkol-, Λkul-, Λmol-,
Λpal-, Λpel-, Λpl-, Λpol-, Λyal-

c. Γde-, Γd-, Γi-, Γne-, Γp-, Γs-, Γte-, Γu-

d. Λer-, Λgur-, Λkor-, Λyer-

e. Λdawal-

f. Γman-

A.3   Tribe names

(10) ΛNon=ΓKu

- ΛGelwa=ⱽGauma
  - ΛGelwa ΓKepl
  - ΛGelwa ΛBl
  - ΛOn ΛBi
- ΓDua=ⱽGauma
  - ΛKuipa ΛSua
  - ΛBaiman=ΓKane
  - ΛDka=ΓKane
- ⱽNulai=ⱽGauma
  - ΓTu=ΓBia=ⱽGauma
  - ΛNepl ΛWerke
  - ΓAi ⱽWara
  - ΛTine ΛWene
- ⱽBal=ⱽGauma
  - ΛDapa=ΓKane
  - ΓElla=ΓKane
  - ⱽKorwai=ΓBia=ΛGau

ⱽKurpi

- ⱽNul=ΛGau
  - ΛKunana=ΓKane
  - ⱽKopan=ΓKane
  - ΓIraula=ΓKane
- ΓDua=ΛGau
  - ΛSiun ΛArwai
  - ⱽKumai ΛBa

- – Λ Tapar Λ Kawaa
- Λ Yau=√Gauma
  - – √Kiun=√Gauma
  - – √Diul=⌐Bia=ΛGau
  - – ΛKawaa=⌐Bia=ΛGau
- ⌐Aur=√Gauma
  - – √Nema=⌐Kane
  - – ⌐Wama=⌐Kane

√Koma=⌐Ku

- Λ Dka=⌐Kane
- Λ Nma=√Galma
- ⌐Ella=⌐Kane
- ΛKuyam=⌐Kane

ΛKum=⌐Ku

- ΛKopl=⌐Kane
- ΛKuman=⌐Kane
- √Nul ⌐Para

ΛIlai=⌐Ku

- ⌐Nom=ΛGau
- ΛWalne=ΛGau
- ΛIlai=⌐Bia=ΛGau

ΛGor=⌐Ku

- ΛKopl=⌐Kane
- √Kalu=⌐Bia=ΛGau
- ΛKm=√Kaupa
- ΛGunaa=⌐Kane

√Kopan

- ΛSin=ΛGau
- ΛGal=√Gal
- √Garm=ΛGau

⌐Kiwa=⌐Ku

A.4   Our father in Heaven

A.4.1   Kuman

As spoken from memory by Sil Pita

Nem koi Wam koi Spiritu Sadu koi kangie mitna
Kaima
No nene epen suna motga

ene kagn sadu daraiLma
Ene ka diga epen suna primere maginaL koi praLma
Kaya elme ninamga pre elme ta no to
No kide ere tomga eredowa erime kide ere norikwa
No di prake di dikro
TaraL kide u no akenaLe d eran
Ene kan s eke edo
Kaima

- motga (motnga)
- diga (dnga)
- elme (erme)

A.4.2   Dom

As translated by Sil Pita

⌈No ⱽnene ⟍epen ⱽsuna ⟍moga
⌈En ⟍kan ⌈sadu dalⱽapga
⌈En ⌈ka ⟍dga ⟍epen ⱽsuna ⟍pligwa=⌈mere ⱽmaune ⱽkuna ⌈i ⌈para plⱽaigwa
⟍Komna ⱽkepa neⱽrapga ⟍ple ⌈ta ⌈no ⟍to
⟍Elmai ⟍el ⌈ki ⟍el ⌈no ⌈tego ⌈na ⱽama ⟍yerpga
ⱽkal ⌈ki ⌈ta ⌈u ⌈no auⱽrale ⌈d elⱽan ⌈en ⱽkane ⌈s ⟍ekl ⟍ero
⌈ka ⟍wone

Appendix B

Genetic relationship

Basic sound correspondences are shown in Table B.1. See Tida (2002b) for the detailed discussion.

The present study is based on reanalysis

Dom	Naure	Yogoml	Kuman	Golin	Sinasina	Chuave	Salt-Yui
a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e
i	i	i	i	i	i	i/iy	i
o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
u	u	u	u	u	u	u/uw	u
w	w	w	w	w	w	w/uw	w
y	y	y	y	y	y	y/iy	y
#p	#p	#p	#p	#p	#p	#p	#p
#b	#b	#b	#b	#b	#b	#b	#b
-p	-p	-b	-b	-b	-b	-b	-b
-p	-p	-p	-p	-b	-b	???	-b
m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
#t	#t	#t	#t	#t	#t	#t	#t
#d	#d	#d	#d	#d	#d	#d	#d
-r	-r	-d	-d	-r	-r	-r	-r
-r	-r	-r	-r	-r	-r	-r	-r
-l	-l	-l	-L, -l	-l	-l	-i	-l
s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
#k	#k	#k	#k	#k	#k	#k	#k, #h
#g	#g	#g	#g	#g	#g	#g	#g
-k	-k	-g	-g	-g	-g	-g	-g
-g	-g	-g	-g	-ng	-ng	-ng	-ŋ
n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n

Table. B.1: Sound correspondences

Languages other than Kuman and Yogoml neutralised word-medial b/p, d/r and k/g con-

trasts.

The following are illustration of sound correspondences for *m, b, t, d, n, s, k, l, e, a, o, i,* and *y,* the cases where corresponding sounds are so straightforward that we can immediately posit the proto-phoneme with the identical symbol.

(1)   a. 'taro' DM: ⌐me, NR: ⌐me, YM: me, KM: me(H), SY: me, CV: me
      b. 'moon' DM: ⌐ba, NR: ⌐ba, YM: ba, KM: ba(N,H,B), SS: ba, GL: ⌐ba
      c. 'sugarcane' DM: ⌐bo, NR: ⌐bo, KM: bo, GL: ⌐bo, SS: bo, CV: bo, SY: bo
      d. 'one, different' DM: =⌐ta, NR: ⌐ta, YM: ta, KM: ta, GL: ta, SS: ta, CV: ta
      e. 'axe' DM: ⌐di, NR: ⌐di, YM: di, KM: di(N,B,H:long i), CV: di
      f. 'say' DM: ⌐d-, NR: ⌐d-, YM: d-, KM: di-, SS: di-, GL: ⌐, CV: di-, SY: di-
      g. 'eat' DM: ⌐ne-, NR: ⌐ne-, YM: ne-, KM: ne-(B,H,N), GL: ⌐ne, SS: ne-, SY: ne-, CV: ne-
      h. 'hit' DM: ⌐s, NR: ⌐s, YM: s, KM: si, GL: ⌐si, SY: si
      i. 'word' DM: ⌐ka, NR: ⌐ka, YM: ka, GL: ⌐ka, KM: ka, SS: ka, CV: ka
      j. 'steam cook, build' DM: ∨ke-, NR: ∨ke-, YM: ke-, KM: kei-(H), GL: ⌐kii-, SY: ke-, CV: ke-
      k. 'man' DM: ∖yal, NR: ∖yal, YM: yal, KM: yaʟ, SY: yal, SS: yal, GL: yal, CV: yai
      l. 'stay' DM: ∖mol, NR: ∖mol, YM: mol, KM: moʟ, GL: ⌐mile, CV: moi

(2)   a. 'and' DM: =∖ya, SY: ya
      b. 'dog' DM: ∖al, NR: ⌐al, YM: al, SS: al, GL: awi, SY: awi

Dom lost word-medial voiced velar stops after the vowels *a* and *o,* and developed *u* from word-medial voiceless velar stops. Some word-medial velar stops are lost in also Golin and Salt-Yui.

(3)   a. 'hands' DM: ∨o, NR: ∨oke, YM: ogo, CV: ogo-nom, KM: ogo(B,H,N), GL: an, SS: oge, SY: an-a,
      b. 'on way' DM: ⌐ba, NR: ∨bak, CV: bagom, KM: bage(N,H), SS: bage
      c. 'place' DM: ∖ai, GL: ∖ai, NR: ∖akai, YM: agai, CV: agai
      d. 'lay a rope' DM: ∨jol-, NR: ∨jokr-, YM: jogl-, KM: joŋguʟ- (N)
      e. 'Yogoml' DM: ∖joml, NR: ∖jokml, YM: jogoml, KM: joŋgumuʟ(N,B)
      f. 'dawn' DM: ∨ta-, GL: taa-, SY: ta-, KM: tage(H,B,N), CV: tago-me, SS: tag-
      g. 'climb' DM: ∨mo-, CV: mogo-, NR: ∨mok-, YM: mogo-

(4)   a. 'good' DM: ∖wai, GL: ∨wai, SY: wai, NR: ∖wakai, YM: wakai, KM: wakai(N,B,H),
      b. 'afternoon' DM: ⌐pu ⌐d-, NR: ∨pok ⌐d-, YM: poko d-, SS: pudi-
      c. 'without anything special' DM: ∖yu, NR: ∖yok, YM: yoko, SS: yu
      d. 'hold' DM: ∨au-, GL: aa-, SY: a-, NR: ∨ak-, YM: ak-, KM: ake-, CV: age-,
      e. 'to swell' DM: ∨yau-, YM: yak-, KM: yaki (B, N), yake (H)
      f. 'cut in small pieces' NR: ∨ekr-, DM: ∨eul-, YM: ekr-, KM: ekire(B, N) ekere(H)
      g. 'carry on shoulder' DM: ∨kau-, NR: ∨kak-, YM: kak-, KM: kaki (B) kake (N, H)
      h. 'dig' DM: ∨wau-, NR: ∨wak-, YM: wak-, KM: wake (B, N, H)
      i. 'take out of ashes' DM: ⌐s ∨pau-, NR: ⌐s ∨pak-, YM: ⌐s pak-,

There is no *..ak, ..ake, ..ok* or *..oke* sequences in the word-final position of Dom native words.

B.1   How close are the Simbu dialects?

(5)   a. How many liquids? Is there /ʟ/? (synchronic)
   b. g (of the initial segment of mood suffix) →d (synchronic)
   c. What is correspondent of Kuman word-medial /d/ (diachronic)
   d. Tone (Word-domain? How many melodies?) (synchronic)
   e. Labial stops (diachronic)
   f. l (the final segment of verb stem) →r before future suffix? (diachronic)
   g. Liquids become stops under a certain condition? (T: yes, R: no) (synchronic)
   h. *-mn* vs *-pn* for first person (diachronic)
   i. Velar stops which Dom lost (diachronic)
   j. /-ra/ as an allomorph of the future morpheme (diachronic)
   k. [ŋ] as a variant of /n/ (synchronic)
   l. What happens when a mood suffix begins with /k/ follows a nasal person-number suffix (diachronic)
   m. Seven-way (Dom) or five-way (Golin) distinction for person-number marking on verbs (Synchronic)
   n. Prenasalisation (NC: synchronic)

Kuman	Yogoml	Naure	Dom	Golin	Sinasina	Chuave	Salt-Yui
+ ʟ = 3	2	2	2	2	2	- 1 = 1	2 ∼ 1
-	g→d	-	g→d	-	-	-	-
d	d	r	r	r	r	r	r
word*2	word*2?	word*4	word*3+1	word*3?	yes	word?	yes
b	b	p	p	b	b	b	b
l/r	l/r	l/r	l	l	l	i/r	l/n
T	T	T	R	R	R	R	R
-mn	-mn	-mn	-pn	-bin	-bin	-bun	-min
k, g	k, g	k	∅/w	∅	g	g	∅
-	-	-	-ra	-ra	-	-	-ra
/n/ [n]	/n/ [n]	/n/ [n]	/n/ [n]	/n/ [n, ŋ]	/ŋ/	/n/ [n, ŋ]	/ŋ/
-g	-g	-g	-g	-ng	-ŋg	-ng	-ŋ
7	7	7	7	5	5	7	5
NC	NC	NC	NC	-	-	-	-

Appendix C

Text

C.1 Frog

Told by Mntai Markus.
Recorded on 23 September 2000.

(1) 「*ker* 「*ker* Λ*di* Λ*i*[1]
(beginning.of.the.story)
Ker-ker di-i.

(2) V*gal*=「*ta* Λ*yal* V*gal* 「*ta* V*yogo* V*apal* V*gal* 「*ta* V*yogo*
child=a man child another and woman child another and
V*ne-m* Λ*gol-m* Λ*du-gwe*
father-3SG.POSS die-3SG say-3SG.IND
The father of a boy and a girl died.

(3) Λ*gol-m+*「*ia*[2] Λ*yal* 「*sul* Λ*i=*「*rae* Λ*mol* Λ*e-ipka*[3] {Λ*e*}
die-3SG+EXPL man two.person DEM=MUT stay.INF go-2/3DL.SRD
These two lived by themselves.

(4) Λ*taim=*「*ta* 「*i=*「*ra=*「*we* V*gal* V*tau* 「*u-re*
time=a DEM=MUT=ENC.WE child some come-CONJ(SS)
V*yel* Λ*du-m* Λ*du-gwe*
like.this say-3SG say-3SG.IND
One day some children came to their house and said this.

(5) V*none* 「*nul* Λ*du* 「*ku* Λ*el-e*
1NSG.INC river frog catch (make)-CONJ(SS)

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[1] 「*ker* 「*ker* Λ*di* Λ*i* is not used in conversation. It signals the beginning of a tale. The tone of each word in the phrase is not stable and they may be prosodically realised differently from the representation here.

[2] Repetition of the main verb in the preceding sentence functions as the conjunctive. The verb usually takes the form of an explanatory remark or the subordinative.

[3] The word *p-* 'go' has two other suppletive roots. *p-* is used for the infinitive (including the form used with the negative clitic), the imperative, and the conjunctive (for the same subject), *n-* for all the conjugations in the future tense, *e-/o-*, for the other forms. The last root shows regular vowel alternation of the high-tone verb.

Λ*bus* √*kuna* Γ*i* Γ*ka*√*kopa* Γ*s-re* *el-*√*a-pga*
bush around DEM bird hit-CONJ(SS) make-FUT-1PL.SRD

Γ*er* Λ*si* Λ*su-gwal* √*na-pn=*Γ*wa*
to be.bush (hit)-3SG.LOC go.FUT-1PL=ENC.WA

Λ*du-m* Λ*du-gwe*
say-3SG say-3SG.IND

"Let's go to the bush to catch frogs by the river and catch birds in the woods."

(6) Λ*du-gwa* √*gal* Γ*sul* Λ*i=*Γ*rae* Γ*dul*
say-3SG.SRD child two.person DEM=MUT follow

Λ*bol-gwa*[*4] Γ*er* Λ*e-im* Λ*du-gwe*
(be.hit)-3SG.SRD to go-2/3PL say-3SG.IND

The two children followed them and all of them went out.

(7) Γ*er* Γ*pi* Λ*si* Λ*su-gwal* Γ*p-re*
to go.INF be.bush (hit)-3SG.LOC go-CONJ(SS)

Γ*ka*√*kopa* Γ*si* Γ*er* Λ*e-iwdae* Γ*ka*√*kopa* Λ*wai* Λ*su-dae*
bird hit.INF to go-2/3PL.MUT bird good hit-3SG.MUT

√*ne-m* Λ*kui* Λ*mol-gwa* √*gal* Γ*te-re* Γ*ka*√*kopa*
father-3SG.POSS alive stay-3SG.SRD child give-CONJ(SS) bird

Γ*ki* Λ*mol-gwa=*Λ*ya* Γ*ka*√*kopa* Λ*gol-gwa* Λ*kap* Γ*si*
bad stay-3SG.SRD=and bird die-3SG.SRD animal hit.INF

√*ne-m* Λ*gol-gwa* √*gal* Γ*sul* Λ*i=*Γ*rae*
father-3SG.POSS die-3SG.SRD child two.person DEM=MUT

Λ*to-m* Λ*du-gwe*
give-3SG say-3SG.IND

They went to the bush catching birds, but when they caught good birds, they gave them to a child whose father was still alive, and when they caught bad quality birds or dead birds, they gave them to the two children whose father had died.

(8) Λ*to-m+*Γ*ia* Λ*yal* Γ*sul=*Γ*ae* √*au-re* √*au-re*
give-3SG+EXPL man two.person=MUT hold-CONJ(SS) hold-CONJ(SS)

Λ*el-e* Λ*kol* √*bal-o* Λ*du-gwa*
make-CONJ(SS) road cut.one's.way-SG.IMP say-3SG.SRD

Λ*kol* √*bal-go* Γ*er* Λ*e-im* Λ*du-gwe*
road cut.one's.way-3SG.CONJ(DS) to go-2/3PL say-3SG.IND

The two children, taking the birds, cut their way through the bush as the other children told them to do and they all went on their way.

(9) Γ*er* Γ*pi* Γ*pi* Γ*ba* Γ*i* Λ*e-im=*Λ*ba* √*gal*
to go.INF go.INF halfway DEM go-2/3PL=but child

√*ne-m* Λ*kui* Λ*mol-gwa* √*gal=*Γ*ae* Λ*el* Λ*mol*
father-3SG.POSS alive stay-3SG.SRD child=MUT make.INF stay.INF

[*4] The singular form may occasionally occur for the dual or the plural subject of the third person.

˅*ne-m*   Λ*gol-gwa*   ˅*gal* Λ*i=*⌐*rae*   ⌐*ne* ⌐*s-re*
father-3SG.POSS die-3SG.SRD child DEM=MUT hit hit-CONJ(SS)

⌐*s-re*   ˅*au*   ⌐*nu* ⌐*nau* ⌐*s-re*   Λ*el-m*
hit-CONJ(SS)   hold.INF push.RED (hit)-CONJ(SS) make-3SG

Λ*du-gwe*
say-3SG.IND

On their way, the children whose fathers were still alive hit and pushed around those two whose father had died.

(10) Λ*el-m+*⌐*ia*   ˅*gal* ⌐*sul=*⌐*ae*   Λ*kai* Λ*el*
make-3SG+EXPL child two.person=MUT cry make.CONJ(SS)

Λ*el*   ⌐*pi*   ⌐*ba*   ⌐*i*   Λ*e-ipkrae*   ⌐*p-r*
make.CONJ(SS) go.INF halfway DEM go-2/3DL.MUT go-CONJ(SS)

˅*kar-ipkrae*   ⌐*noman* ˅*mel* ˅*kin* ⌐*s-re*   Λ*el*
see-2/3DL.MUT think a.lot.of very (hit)-CONJ(SS) make.INF

⌐*pi*   ⌐*nul* Λ*e-ipkrae*   ⌐*p-re*   ˅*kar-ipkrae*
go.INF river go-2/3DL.MUT go-CONJ(SS) see-2/3DL.MUT

Λ*du* ⌐*geml*   Λ*por=*⌐*ta* Λ*mol-m* Λ*du-gwe*
frog black.frog big=a   stay-3SG say-3SG.IND

Crying, the two children arrived at a place and looked around. Feeling sad, they arrived at a river, where they saw a huge black frog.

(11) Λ*mol-m+*⌐*ia*   Λ*yal* ⌐*kuna=*⌐*rae*   Λ*orpl=*⌐*di* ⌐*pi*
stay-3SG+EXPL man age.sake=MUT quickly=Q go.INF

˅*gal* ˅*ne-m*   Λ*gol-gwa*   ˅*gal=*⌐*rae*   Λ*orpl=*⌐*di* ⌐*pi*
child father-3SG.POSS die-3SG.SRD child=MUT quickly=Q go.INF

Λ*du=*⌐*rae* Λ*su-dae*   Λ*kore*
frog=MUT hit-3SG.MUT but

Λ*du=*⌐*rae* ˅*yel*   Λ*du-m*   Λ*du-gwe*
frog=MUT like.this say-3SG say-3SG.IND

As the child whose father had died nimbly caught the frog, the frog said this.

(12) a. ⌐*wa-na=*Λ*o*   Λ*apl-a=*Λ*o*
son-1SG.POSS=VOC daughter-1SG.POSS=VOC

"My son, my daughter."

b. ⌐*en* ˅*me-ipl=*Λ*ba*
you stay-2/3DL=but

˅*gal* ˅*ne-m*   Λ*kui* Λ*mol-gwa*   ˅*gal* ˅*kuna*   Λ*ime*
child father-3SG.POSS alive stay-3SG.SRD child around down.there

⌐*en* Λ*mapn*   Λ*el*   ⌐*en* Λ*to-gwa*   ⌐*ki* ˅*kar-i+*⌐*ya*
you behaviour make.INF you give-3SG.SRD bad see-1SG+EXPL

"I do not approve of what the children whose fathers are alive did to you."

c. ⌐*na* ⌐*en* ˅*kan*   Λ*mol=*Λ*ua*   ⌐*ta* ˅*kan*   ⌐*mo+*˅*k-m=*⌐*d*[*5]
1EXC you see.INF stay.1SG=ENC.WA NEG see.INF stay+NEG-3SG=Q

⌐*p+√kl-o*
go+NEG-SG.IMP

"I am watching you. Do not think that I am not watching you."

    d. ⌐*na*   ⌐*en* √*kan*   ∧*mo-ka*   ∧*el-gwi*   ⌐*na*   ⌐*ki*
       1EXC you see.INF stay-1SG.SRD make-3SG.DEM 1EXC bad

       ∧*pl+*⌐*a*   ∧*kore* ∧*elmai=*∧*we*   ⌐*en* ⌐*p-r=*√*pare*
       perceive.1SG+PERM but   now=ENC.WE you go-CONJ(SS)=and (SS)

       √*ike*   √*ke*   √*pa-ipkal*[*6] √*ik*   √*mul* ∧*ip=*⌐*rae*
       house build.INF lie-2/3DL house back up.there=MUT

       kar-√*a-ipl=*∧*ba*   ∧*kore* ∧*gal*   ∧*bek* ∧*kama=*⌐*ta* √*yo-gwi*
       see-FUT-2/3DL=but but   string.bag bag black=a be-3SG.DEM

       √*au*   ⌐*kul* ⌐*d-ill-o*   ∧*du-m* ∧*du-gw*
       hold.INF raise (say)-DL-IMP say-3SG say-3SG.IND

"I felt bad because of what happened when I was watching you. You go home and you will find a black bag at the back of your house. Take it," said the frog.

(13) a. ∧*du-m+*⌐*ia*   √*gal*   ⌐*sul=*⌐*ae*   ∧*du-gwa=*⌐*mere*
       say-3SG+EXPL child two.person=MUT say-3SG.SRD=as/about

       ∧*kai* ∧*el*   ∧*el-e*
       cry (make).CONJ(SS) (make)-CONJ(SS)

       ⌐*mn*   ∧*bl*   ∧*kai* ∧*el*   ∧*el-e*
       lament (smear).CONJ(SS) cry (make).CONJ(SS) make-CONJ(SS)

       ⌐*er* ∧*w-ipka*   ∧*w-ipka*
       to come-2/3DL.SRD come-2/3DL.SRD

       √*ik*   √*ke*   √*pa-ipkal* √*ik*   √*mul* ∧*i=*⌐*rae*   ⌐*u-re*
       house build.INF lie-2/3DL house back DEM=MUT come-CONJ(SS)

       √*kepa*   √*wau*   ∧*yu-ipka*   ∧*bal*   ∧*gal*
       sweet.potato dig.INF fetch-2/3DL.SRD chop.INF burn(tr.).INF

       ∧*gal*   ∧*er* ⌐*ne-re*   √*al*   ∧*no-gwa*
       burn(tr.).INF and eat-CONJ(SS) brother.3SG.POSS eat-3SG.SRD

       √*aupal*   ∧*to-gwa*   ∧*no-go*   ∧*el-gwa*
       sister.3SG.POSS give-3SG.SRD eat-3SG.CONJ(DS) make-3SG.SRD

They walked back home as they were told, crying, missing their father. They came to the back of their house. They peeled the sweet potatoes which they had dug and carried them home, cooked and ate them. The brother ate and gave some to his sister, and she ate.

    b. ⌐*ul* *pai-*√*ra-pl=*⌐*di* ∧*el=*√*pare*
       sleep lie-FUT-1DL=Q make.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)

       ⌐*u*   ∧*mena* ⌐*pi*   √*kan-m=*∧*ba* √*ik*   √*mul* ∧*i=*⌐*rae*
       come.INF outside go.INF see-3SG=but house back DEM=MUT

[*5] In quotations of what someone other than the speaker says or thinks, the speaker is referred to by the first person singular pronoun ⌐*na* and the verb takes the third person singular form.

[*6] The serial verb √*ke* √*pai-* 'build a house and sleep in it' means 'to live in or to have a house'.

⌐kle=⌐di   Λgal   Λbek Λkama=⌐ta Vyo-m   Λdu-gw
silently=Q string.bag bag   black=a   be-3SG   say-3SG.IND

Before they went to sleep, they went out to look and there really was a black bag at the back of the house.

(14)   Λgal   Λbek Λkama Vyo-gwi=⌐rae   Vau   ⌐kul
       string.bag bag   black be-3SG.DEM=MUT   hold.INF   raise

       Λdu-dae   Vau   ⌐kul   ⌐d-re   Vkan-wdae
       (say)-3SG.MUT hold.INF raise (say)-CONJ(SS) see-3SG.MUT

       Λmoni ⌐ila   Λi   Vpa-m   Λdu-gwe
       money inside DEM   lie-3SG   say-3SG.IND

They lifted that black bag which was there. They lifted [it], looked [into it] and found money in it.

(15)   Λmoni Vmel   Vkin Λwone Λtausen   Λtausen   Vpa-gwa
       money a.lot.of very truly   thousand thousand lie-3SG.SRD

       Vgal   ⌐sul=⌐rae   ⌐i   Vye-re   Λsul   ⌐d-re
       child two.person=MUT   take.INF put-CONJ(SS) school (say)-CONJ(SS)

       Λel   Λe-ipki   ⌐pi   Λsawe   Vpa-gwa   ⌐si
       make.INF   go-2/3DL.DEM   go.INF knowledge lie-3SG.SRD   hit.INF

       ⌐ne-re*7   Vgal Vne-m   Λkui Λmol-gwa   Vgal
       eat-CONJ(SS)   child father-3SG.POSS alive stay-3SG.SRD child

       Λi=⌐rae   Λboi   Vku-ipl   Λdu-gwe
       DEM=MUT   hired.man   look.after-2/3DL say-3SG.IND

A lot of money, thousands and thousands, was in the bag. The two children kept the money, received an education, and when they graduated, they became successful and hired the children whose fathers were alive as servants.

(16)   Λstori Vyel   Λdi-ka   Λwai Λsu-gwe
       story   like.this   say-1SG.SRD end   (hit)-3SG.IND

This is the end of my story.

(17)   ⌐kupa Λaipa ⌐bl ⌐tol ⌐tal*8
       (end.of.the.story)

Kupa aipa bl-tol-tal.

English Translation

Ker-ker di-i.

The father of a boy and a girl died. After that they lived by themselves.

One day some children came to their house and said, "Let's go to the bush to catch frogs by the river and catch birds in the woods." The two children followed them and all of them

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*7 The serial verb ⌐si ⌐ne- 'hit and eat' means 'to earn money'.

*8 ⌐kupa Λaipa ⌐bl ⌐tol=⌐tal is not used in conversation. It signals the end of a tale.

went out. They went to the bush and caught birds, but when they caught good birds, they gave them to a child whose father was still alive, and when they got inferior birds or dead birds, they gave them to the two children whose father had died. The two children, taking the birds, cut their way through the bush as the other children told them to do and they all went on their way.

On their way, the children whose fathers were still alive hit and pushed around those two whose father had died. Crying, the two children arrived at a place and looked around. Feeling sad, they arrived at a river, where they saw a huge black frog.

As the child whose father had died nimbly caught the frog, the frog said, "My son, my daughter. I do not approve of what the children whose fathers are alive did to you. I am watching you. Do not think that I am not watching you. I do not approve of what I saw them do. You go home and you will find a black bag at the back of your house. Take it."

They walked back home as they were told, crying, missing their father. They came to the back of their house. They peeled the sweet potatoes which they had dug and carried them home, cooked and ate them. The brother ate and gave some to his sister, and she ate.

Before they went to sleep, they went out and saw a black bag was really at the back of the house. They took the bag, looked into it and found money in it. A lot of money, thousands and thousands, was in the bag. The two children kept the money, received an education, and when they graduated, they became successful and hired the children whose fathers were alive as servants. And that is the end of the story.

Kupa aipa bl-tol-tal.

C.2   Palele

Told by Mntai Markus.
Recorded on 22 September 2000.

(1) ⌐*ker* ⌐*ker* ∧*di* ∧*i*
   (beginning.of.the.story)
   Ker-ker di-i.

(2) a. √*ai-m*   √*gai-m*[*9]   ⌐*sul*   ⌐*ta*
      grandmother-3SG.POSS grandchild-3SG.POSS two.person a

   √*kepa*   ∧*komna*   ∧*kui* ∧*el*   √*ye-ipkal*[*10]   ∧*ime*
   sweet.potato vegetable new   make.INF put-2/3DL.LOC down.there

   √*wan*   ⌐*er* ∧*e-ipl*=∧*ba*
   move.around.INF   to   go-2/3DL=but

   A grandmother and her grandson went to their new garden where they had recently planted vegetables.

   b. √*wan*   ⌐*i*   ⌐*p-r*=√*pare*
      move.around.INF   take.INF   go-CONJ(SS)=and (SS)

[*9] √*gaim*(sic) was probably not intended to be in this form. What was said to be the correct form by the speaker is √*gaum*.

[*10] The serial verb ∧*el* √*ye-* 'work on (a garden) and leave it' means 'to have (a newly reclaimed garden)'.

Ⅴ*ai-m=*⌐*rae*   Ⅴ*guike*   Λ*el*
grandmother-3SG.POSS=MUT   bend.over (make).INF

Ⅴ*wan-go*   Ⅴ*gau-m=*⌐*rae*   Ⅴ*kan-m=*Λ*ba*
move.around-3SG.CONJ(DS)   grandchild-3SG.POSS=MUT   see-3SG=but

⌐*ka*Ⅴ*kopa* ⌐*ta* Ⅴ*pr* ⌐*d*   Ⅴ*ya*   Λ*komna*   Λ*yal-gwal*
bird   a   fly (say).INF   fall.INF   vegetable   plant-3SG.LOC

⌐*i=*⌐*rae*   Λ*su-m**11   Λ*du-gwe*
DEM=MUT   hit-3SG   say-3SG.IND

As they walked around, the grandmother bent over. The grandson saw a bird flying down to the garden where they had planted vegetables.

(3) Λ*su-m+*⌐*ia*   Ⅴ*gau-m=*⌐*rae*
hit-3SG+EXPL   grandchild-3SG.POSS=MUT

⌐*d*   Ⅴ*ai-m*   ⌐*te-re*
say.INF   grandmother-3SG.POSS   give-CONJ(SS)

Ⅴ*ay-e*   Ⅴ*ay-e*
grandmother-1SG.POSS   grandmother-1SG.POSS

Ⅴ*nono*   Ⅴ*war-pkra=*Λ*ba*   ⌐*ka*Ⅴ*kopa* ⌐*ta* Ⅴ*kan-o*
1NSG.INC   move.around-1DL.MUT=but   bird   a   see-SG.IMP

Ⅴ*ya*   Λ*komna*   Λ*kui* Ⅴ*ya-pkal*   Λ*su-m=*Λ*ua*   Λ*du-gwe*
fall.INF   vegetable   new   plant-1DL.LOC   hit-3SG=ENC.WA   say-3SG.IND

The grandson said to his grandmother, "Grandma! Grandma! We are walking around but look at the bird! It has just flown down to our new garden where we planted vegetables recently."

(4) Ⅴ*ai-m*   Λ*mol*   ⌐*d*   Ⅴ*gau-m*
grandmother-3SG.POSS   stay.INF   say.INF   grandchild-3SG.POSS

⌐*te-re*   Ⅴ*gau-na*   Λ*gla-n*   Λ*ba=*⌐*ra=*Λ*wa**12
give-CONJ(SS)   grandchild-1SG.POSS   mouth-2SG.POSS   red=MUT=ENC.WA

⌐*s*   Λ*gal*   Λ*ne-na-da=*Λ*wa*
hit.INF   burn(tr.).INF   eat-FUT-2SG.MUT=ENC.WA

⌐*u*   Ⅴ*aul*   Λ*o-m-e*   Λ*du-m*   Λ*du-gw*
come.INF   where   go-3SG-QM   say-3SG   say-3SG.IND

The grandmother said to her grandson, "Grandson, your mouth is red. You will catch it, cook it and eat it. Where did it go?"

(5) Λ*u-gwa*   Λ*mala*   Ⅴ*au-m+*⌐*ia=*Λ*wa*   Λ*du-gwa*
come-3SG.SRD   nearby   hold-3SG+EXPL=ENC.WA   say-3SG.SRD

Λ*si-pl*   Λ*du-gwe*
hit-2/3DL   say-3SG.IND

He said, "It came down and perched near here," and they caught it.

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*11 The serial verb Ⅴ*ya* (LOCUS) ⌐*si*- 'fall and hit (LOCUS)' means 'to fall down to (LOCUS)'.

*12 The phrase Λ*gla* Λ*ba* 'red mouth' needs to be studied further but seems to be used by the aged to express their affection toward infants.

(6) ⌐s-re   ⌐yu   ⌐ila   ∨ga-ipka   ∨ga-ipka
     hit-CONJ(SS) fetch.INF inside burn(tr.)-2/3DL.SRD burn(tr.)-2/3DL.SRD

     ∧do-go   ∨gau-m   ⌐d
     burn(intr.)-3SG.CONJ(DS) grandchild-3SG.POSS say.INF

     ∨ai-m   ⌐te-re
     grandmother-3SG.POSS give-CONJ(SS)

     ∨ay-e   ⌐en   ∨bl   ∧ne-na-n=∧mo
     grandmother-1SG.POSS you head.3SG.POSS eat-FUT-2SG=or

     ⌐kal   ∧ne-na-n-e   ∧du-m   ∧du-gwe
     leg.3SG.POSS eat-FUT-2SG-QM say-3SG say-3SG.IND

They brought it home and cooked it for a while until it was done. Then the grandson said to his grandmother, "Grandma, do you want to eat the head or the legs?"

(7) ∧du-gwa   ∧kore ∨ai-m=⌐rae   ⌐d
     say-3SG.SRD but   grandmother-3SG.POSS=MUT say.INF

     ∨gau-m   ⌐te-re   ∨gau-na   ⌐en
     grandchild-3SG.POSS give-CONJ(SS) grandchild-1SG.POSS you

     ∧gla-n   ∧ba ∧gla-n   ∧kui ∧ko-da=∧wa
     mouth-2SG.POSS red mouth-2SG.POSS new have-2SG.MUT=ENC.WA

     ∨bl   ∨kuna   ∨im   ∧n-o
     head.3SG.POSS around forth.down.here eat-SG.IMP

     ⌐na   ⌐kal   ∨yula=∧ya ⌐i   ∨bul   ∧te-go
     1EXC leg.3SG.POSS nail=and   DEM cut.INF give-2SG.CONJ(DS)

     ∧ne-ra-l=∧ua   ∧du-m   ∧du-gwe
     eat-FUT-1SG=ENC.WA say-3SG say-3SG.IND

His grandmother said to him, "Grandson, you have a red mouth, a new mouth. You eat the head and cut the feet (toes) for me. I will eat them."

(8) ∧du-gwa   ⌐kal=⌐rae   ∨bul   ∧to-go
     say-3SG.SRD leg.3SG.POSS=MUT cut.INF give-3SG.CONJ(DS)

     ∨ai-m   ∧no-go   ∨gau-m
     grandmother-3SG.POSS eat-3SG.CONJ(DS) grandchild-3SG.POSS

     ∨bl   ⌐ne-re   ∧kapm ∨suna   ⌐ne-re
     head.3SG.POSS eat-CONJ(SS) body   centre eat-CONJ(SS)

     el-∨a-l=⌐d*13   ∧pl-e   ∨ye   ∨pal-e
     make-FUT-1SG=Q perceive-CONJ(SS) put.INF put-CONJ(SS)

     ∧kapm=⌐rae ⌐ne   ∧o-m   ∧du-gwe
     body=MUT   eat.INF go-3SG say-3SG.IND

He cut the legs and gave them to her, and she ate them. The grandson put the meat down, so that he could eat the head and the body, and then he ate the body.

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*13 The construction V-FUT-1SG/DL/PL+⌐d means 'with the intention of V-ing'.

(9) a. ⌐ne ∧o-gwa √gau-m ∧no-gwa
   eat.INF go-3SG.SRD grandchild-3SG.POSS eat-3SG.SRD

   √ai-m √kan ∧mol-gwa
   grandmother-3SG.POSS see.INF stay-3SG.SRD

   As he was eating, his grandmother was just looking.

   b. √ai-m ⌐kal √yula ⌐ne ∧kor
   grandmother-3SG.POSS leg.3SG.POSS nail eat.INF COMPL.CONJ(SS)

   √kan ∧mol-gwa
   see.INF stay-3SG.SRD

   She had eaten the feet (toes) and was just looking.

   c. √gau-m ⌐ne ⌐ne ⌐ne ∧kor=√pare
   grandchild-3SG.POSS eat.INF eat.INF eat.INF COMPL.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)

   ∧kapm=⌐rae ⌐ne ∧kor=√pare √ya √bl
   body=MUT eat.INF COMPL.CONJ(SS)=and (SS) in.turn head.3SG.POSS

   ∧ne-ra-l=⌐d ∧el-wdae √ya ∧ukl=⌐la ∧su-m
   eat-FUT-1SG=Q make-3SG.MUT fall.INF ashes=LOC hit-3SG

   ∧du-gwe
   say-3SG.IND

   When the grandson finished the body and was about to eat the head, it fell into the ashes.

(10) ∧ukl=⌐la ∧su-gwa au-√ra-l=⌐d ∧el-wdae
   ashes=LOC hit-3SG.SRD hold-FUT-1SG=Q make-3SG.MUT

   √ya √iraun √bol=⌐la ∧su-m ∧du-gwe
   fall.INF thatch bed=LOC hit-3SG say-3SG.IND

   When he tried to get it, it fell onto the thatch.

(11) √iraun √bol=⌐la ∧su-gwa au-√ra-l=⌐d ∧el-wdae
   thatch bed=LOC hit-3SG.SRD hold-FUT-1SG=Q make-3SG.MUT

   √ya ∧yopa=⌐la ∧su-m ∧du-gwe
   fall.INF yopa.tree=LOC hit-3SG say-3SG.IND

   When he tried to get it, it fell into the *yopa* tree.

(12) √ya ∧yopa=⌐la ∧su-gwa au-√ra-l=⌐d ∧el-wdae
   fall.INF yopa.tree=LOC hit-3SG.SRD hold-FUT-1SG=Q make-3SG.MUT

   √ya ∧dala=⌐la ∧su-m ∧du-gwe
   fall.INF dala.tree=LOC hit-3SG say-3SG.IND

   When he tried to get it, it fell into the *dala* tree.

(13) √ay-e √ay-e
   grandmother-1SG.POSS grandmother-1SG.POSS

   ⌐ka√kopa √bl=⌐rae ∧ne-ra-l=⌐d ∧e-krae
   bird head.3SG.POSS=MUT eat-FUT-1SG=Q make-1SG.MUT

   √ya ∧ukl=⌐la ⌐s √ya √iraun √bol=⌐la ⌐s √ya
   fall.INF ashes=LOC hit.INF fall.INF thatch bed=LOC hit.INF fall.INF

∧*yopa*=⌐*la*　⌐*s*　√*ya*　∧*dala*=⌐*la*　⌐*s*　∧*el-m+*⌐*ia*
yopa.tree=LOC　hit.INF　fall.INF　dala.tree=LOC　hit.INF　make-3SG+EXPL

√*nal*=⌐*mere*　*el-*√*a-l-e*　∧*du-gwe*
what=as/about　make-FUT-1SG-QM　say-3SG.IND

He said, "Grandma, grandma. When I was about to eat that bird's head, it fell in the ashes, it fell onto the thatch, it fell into the *yopa* tree, and it fell into the *dala* tree. What shall I do?"

(14)　√*ai-m*=⌐*rae*　　　　　∧*mol*　√*gau-na*
　　　grandmother-3SG.POSS=MUT　stay.INF　grandchild-1SG.POSS

　　　∧*el-gwi*　　　∧*gla-n*　　　∧*ba*　∧*ko-ga*　　　∧*ne-ra-l*=⌐*d*
　　　make-3SG.DEM　mouth-2SG.POSS　red　have-2SG.SRD　eat-FUT-1SG=Q

　　　∧*e-gi*　　　∧*kore*　⌐*d*　　*pl-*√*a-pl*=∧*wa*[14]　　　⌐*d-re*
　　　make-2SG.DEM　but　say.INF　perceive-FUT-1DL=ENC.WA　say-CONJ(SS)

　　　∧*kuria*　⌐*ta*　∧*di-pki*　　　√*el*　　∧*di-pl*　　∧*du-gwe*
　　　song　a　say-2/3DL.DEM　like.this　say-2/3DL　say-3SG.IND

His grandmother said, "Grandson, as for what happened when you with a red mouth were going to eat, let's ask," and they sang a song like this.

(15)　∧*yopa*　　⌐*mo-ka*[15]　　∧*dala*　∧*na-l*　　∧*wi+*∧*yo*
　　　yopa.tree　stay-1SG.SRD　dala.tree　go.FUT-1SG　come.1SG+EXPL

　　　palele palele[16]　∧*dala*　⌐*mo-ka*　　∧*yopa*　∧*na-l*
　　　palele palele　dala.tree　stay-1SG.SRD　yopa.tree　go.FUT-1SG

　　　∧*wi+*∧*yo*　　　*palele palele*　∧*di-pl*　　∧*du-gwe*
　　　come.1SG+EXPL　palele palele　say-2/3DL　say-3SG.IND

They said, "Yopa moka dala nal wiyo. Palele. Palele. (I came from *yopa* to go to *dala*. Palele. Palele.) Dala moka yopa nal wiyo. Palele. Palele. (I came from *dala* to go to *yopa*. Palele. Palele.)"

(16)　∧*di-pka*　　　∧*wai*　∧*su-gwe*
　　　say-2/3DL.SRD　end　hit-3SG.IND

The end.

English Translation

Ker-ker di-i.

A grandmother and her grandson went to their new garden where they had recently planted vegetables. As they walked around, the grandmother bent over. The grandson saw a bird flying down to the garden where they had planted vegetables. The grandson said to his grandmother, "Grandma! Grandma! We are walking around but look at the bird! It has just

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[14] The serial verb ⌐*di* ∧*pl-* 'say and hear' means 'to ask'.

[15] ∧*moka* 'I stay' is used here in the high tone instead of the usual falling tone because this part of the text is a song.

[16] [pa⌐le⌐le⌐] is not a meaningful word and its tone cannot be identified in terms of the three tones of Dom.

flown down to our new garden where we planted vegetables recently." The grandmother said to her grandson, "Grandson, your mouth is red. You will catch it, cook it and eat it. Where did it go?" He said, "It came down and perched near here", and they caught it.

They brought it home and cooked it for a while until it was done. Then the grandson said to his grandmother, "Grandma, do you want to eat the head or the legs?" His grandmother said to him, "Grandson, you have a red mouth, a new mouth. You eat the head and cut the feet (toes) for me to eat." He cut the legs and gave them to her, and she ate them. The grandson put the meat down, so that he could eat the head and the body, and then he ate the body. As he was eating, his grandmother was just looking. She had eaten the feet (toes) and was just looking.

When the grandson finished the body and was about to eat the head, it fell into the ashes. When he tried to get it, it fell onto the thatch. When he tried to get it, it fell into the *yopa* tree. When he tried to get it, it fell into the *dala* tree.

Then he said, "Grandma, grandma. When I was about to eat that bird's head, it fell in the ashes, it fell onto the thatch, it fell into the *yopa* tree, and it fell into the *dala* tree. What shall I do?" His grandmother said, "Grandson, let's ask about what happened when you with a red mouth were going to eat," and they sang a song like this. "Yopa moka dala nal wiyo. Palele. Palele. (I came from *yopa* to go to *dala*. Palele. Palele.) Dala moka yopa nal wiyo. Palele. Palele. (I came from *dala* to go to *yopa*. Palele. Palele.)" The end.

C.3 Snake

Told by Mntai Markus.
Recorded on 23 September 2000.

(1) ⌐*ker* ⌐*ker* ʌ*di* ʌ*i*
    (beginning.of.the.story)
    Ker-ker di-i.

(2) √*gal* ⌐*ta* √*yogo* √*ma-m*   √*yogo* √*ne-m*   √*yogo*
    child a   and   mother-3SG.POSS and   father-3SG.POSS and

    ʌ*gaten* √*wan-im*   ʌ*du-gwe*
    garden move.around-3PL say-3SG.IND

    A child, her mother and her father went to the garden.

(3) a. √*wan*   √*wan*   ʌ*ere* √*kepa*   ⌐*s-re*
       move.around.INF   move.around.INF   and   sweet.potato hit-CONJ(SS)

       ʌ*komna*   ⌐*s-re*   ʌ*bin* √*ul-e*   √*orl*
       vegetable hit-CONJ(SS) bean   pick-CONJ(SS) winged.bean

       √*ul-e*   ⌐*er* √*su-go*   ʌ*el-gwa*
       pick-CONJ(SS) tree gather.firewood-3SG.CONJ(DS) make-3SG.SRD

       They walked around for a while, dug sweet potatoes, gathered vegetables, picked beans, and picked winged beans. One of them gathered firewood.

    b. √*ma-m*   √*kepa*   √*wou-gwa*   {√*wou* }
       mother-3SG.POSS sweet.potato dig-3SG.SRD

⟨∨⟩*me-re*   ⟨∧⟩*komna*   ⟨∧⟩*su-dae*   ⟨∨⟩*me-re*
carry.on.head-CONJ(SS)   vegetable   hit-3SG.MUT   carry.on.head-CONJ(SS)

⟨∧⟩*el-gwa*
make-3SG.SRD

The mother carried the sweet potatoes she had dug and the vegetables she had gathered.

c.   ⟨∨⟩*gal*   ⟨∧⟩*kul*   ⟨∨⟩*yo-dae*[17]   ⟨∧⟩*bin*   ⟨∨⟩*ul*
    child   give.birth.INF   to.nurse-3SG.MUT   bean   pick.INF

    ⟨∧⟩*to-dae*   ⟨∨⟩*me-re*   ⟨∨⟩*orl*   ⟨∨⟩*ul*
    give-3SG.MUT   carry.on.head-CONJ(SS)   winged.bean   pick.INF

    ⟨∧⟩*to-gwa*   ⟨∨⟩*me-re*   ⟨∧⟩*el-gwa*
    give-3SG.SRD   carry.on.head-CONJ(SS)   make-3SG.SRD

Her child carried the beans that the mother had picked and given to her child and winged beans, too.

d.   ⟨∨⟩*ne-m*   ⟨⌐⟩*er*   ⟨∨⟩*su-go*   ⟨∧⟩*el-gwa*
    father-3SG.POSS   tree   gather.firewood-3SG.CONJ(DS)   make-3SG.SRD

    ⟨⌐⟩*i-re*   ⟨⌐⟩*er*   ⟨⌐⟩*u*   ⟨⌐⟩*ila*   ⟨∨⟩*ke*   ⟨∨⟩*pa-igwal*
    take-CONJ(SS)   to   come.INF   inside   build.INF   lie-2/3PL.LOC

    ⟨∧⟩*w-im*   ⟨∧⟩*du-gwe*
    come-2/3PL   say-3SG.SRD

And the father gathered firewood. They carried all of it back home.

(4)   ⟨⌐⟩*u-r*=⟨∨⟩*pare*   ⟨∧⟩*nl*   ⟨∨⟩*muku*   ⟨∨⟩*yo-gwa*   ⟨∧⟩*sekim*
    come-CONJ(SS)=and (SS)   water   container   be-3SG.SRD   check

    ⟨∧⟩*el*   ⟨∨⟩*kan-wdae*   ⟨∧⟩*nl*   ⟨⌐⟩*ta*   ⟨⌐⟩*mo*+⟨∨⟩*k-m*   ⟨∧⟩*du-gwe*
    make.INF   see-3SG.MUT   water   NEG   stay+NEG-3SG   say-3SG.IND

    They came [home] and found the bamboo water bottle empty.

(5)   ⟨∧⟩*el-m*+⟨⌐⟩*ia*   ⟨∨⟩*ma-m*=⟨⌐⟩*rae*   ⟨⌐⟩*d*   ⟨∨⟩*ne-m*
    make-3SG+EXPL   mother-3SG.POSS=MUT   say.INF   father-3SG.POSS

    ⟨⌐⟩*te-re*   ⟨∧⟩*yal*   ⟨⌐⟩*kuna*=⟨∧⟩*o*
    give-CONJ(SS)   man   age.sake=VOC

    ⟨∨⟩*non*   ⟨∧⟩*wai*   ⟨∨⟩*wan*   ⟨∧⟩*u-pdae*   ⟨∧⟩*komna*
    1NSG.INC   good   move.around.INF   come-1PL.MUT   vegetable

    ⟨∧⟩*su-pga*   ⟨∧⟩*bl*   ⟨∨⟩*ki*   ⟨∧⟩*el*   *ne-*⟨∨⟩*ra-pn*=⟨∧⟩*ba*
    hit-1PL.SRD   smear.INF   cook.by.steam.INF   make.INF   eat-FUT-1PL=but

    ⟨∧⟩*nl*   ⟨⌐⟩*mo*+⟨∨⟩*k-m*+⟨⌐⟩*ia*   ⟨⌐⟩*en*   ⟨⌐⟩*p*   ⟨⌐⟩*nul*   ⟨∨⟩*il*=⟨⌐⟩*ae*
    water   stay+NEG-3SG+EXPL   you   go.INF   river   forth.here=MUT

    ⟨∧⟩*nl*   ⟨∧⟩*kol*   ⟨∧⟩*i-r*   ⟨∧⟩*u-na-n-a*   ⟨∧⟩*p-o*
    water   fill.INF   take-CONJ(SS)   come-FUT-2SG-PERM   go-SG.IMP

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[17] The serial verb ⟨∧⟩*kul* ⟨∨⟩*ye-*
    'give birth and nurse' means 'to have a child'.

Λ*du-m*   Λ*du-gwe*
say-3SG   say-3SG.IND

The mother said to the father, "We worked well and now we are going to cook and eat the food we gathered, but there is no water. Go get water from the river."

(6) Λ*du-m=*Λ*ba*   V*ne-m=*⌐*rae*   ⌐*d*   ⌐*kol*
say-3SG=but   father-3SG.POSS=MUT   say.INF   back

Λ*er=*V*pare*   V*yel*   Λ*du-m*   Λ*du-gwe*
to/off.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)   like.this   say-3SG   say-3SG.IND

But the father replied to her like this.

(7) a. ⌐*na*   Λ*kul*   V*ye-ga*   ⌐*ta*   ⌐*mo+*V*kl-a*
1EXC   give.birth.INF   to.nurse-2SG.SRD   NEG   stay+NEG.1SG-EXPL

"I am not your child.

    b. Λ*bl*   Λ*da-ka*[*18]   Λ*mol+*⌐*a*
big   (call)-1SG.SRD   stay.1SG+EXPL

I am a grown-up.

    c. V*gal*   Λ*kul*   V*ye-ga*   Λ*mol-gwa*   V*sipi*
child   give.birth.INF   to.nurse-2SG.SRD   stay-3SG.SRD   forth.here

⌐*d*   Λ*te-ge*
say.INF   give-2SG.CONJ(DS)

Λ*nl*   Λ*kol*   ⌐*na*   Λ*te-na-m=*Λ*ua*   Λ*du-m*   Λ*du-gwe*
water   fill.INF   1EXC   give-FUT-3SG=ENC.WA   say-3SG   say-3SG.IND

You should tell your child who is at your side there to get water for us," he said.

(8) Λ*du-m+*⌐*ia*   Λ*apl=*⌐*rae*   Λ*mal* Λ*i*   Λ*mol-gwa*
say-3SG+EXPL   daughter.3SG.POSS=MUT   near   DEM   stay-3SG.SRD

V*ma-m=*⌐*rae*   ⌐*d*   ⌐*te-re*
mother-3SG.POSS=MUT   say.INF   give-CONJ(SS)

Λ*apl-a=*Λ*o*   ⌐*en*   Λ*wai=*⌐*ra=*Λ*wa*
daughter-1SG.POSS=VOC   you   good=MUT=ENC.WA

Λ*nl*   Λ*kol*   ⌐*na*   Λ*te-na-n-a*   Λ*p-o*   Λ*du-m*   Λ*du-gwe*
water   fill.INF   1EXC   give-FUT-2SG-PERM   go-SG.IMP   say-3SG   say-3SG.IND

The mother said to her daughter standing there, "My daughter, you are a good girl. Go get water for us."

(9) Λ*apl=*⌐*ae*   ⌐*muku* ⌐*er* ⌐*p*
daughter.3SG.POSS=MUT   run   to   go.INF

⌐*nul*   Λ*nl*   *kol-*V*a-l=*⌐*d*   Λ*o-dae*   ⌐*p-r=*V*pare*
river   water   fill-FUT-1SG=Q   go-3SG.MUT   go-CONJ(SS)=and (SS)

⌐*muku* ⌐*er* ⌐*p*   ⌐*nul*   ⌐*p*   V*kan-m=*Λ*ba*
run   to   go.INF   river   go.INF   see-3SG=but

[*18] The phrasal verb Λ*bl* Λ*dal-* 'call big' means 'to grow up'.

∧*nl* ∧*kul* ∧*su-gwa*
water waterfall hit-3SG.SRD

∧*kol* ∧*kol* ∧*el-gwal* ⌐*i*=⌐*rae*
fill.INF fill.INF make-3SG.LOC DEM=MUT

⌐*ml* ∧*kl* ⌐*yap*=⌐*rae* ⌐*gar*∨*kl* ⌐*ki* ∧*mol-gwa* ⌐*ta* ⌐*u*
up side right/back.up.here=MUT snake bad stay-3SG.SRD a come.INF

∨*pai* ∧*mol-m* ∧*du-gwe*
lie.INF stay-3SG say-3SG.IND

Her daughter ran to the river to get water. She ran to the river and when she looked, an evil snake was lying at the top of a waterfall where she usually got water.

(10) ∨*pai* ∧*mol-m*+⌐*ia* ∧*apl*=⌐*ae* ⌐*ta* ∨*kan*+∨*kl*
lie.INF stay-3SG+EXPL daughter.3SG.POSS=MUT NEG see+NEG.INF

∧*nl* *kol*-∨*a-l*=⌐*d* ⌐*wa*∨*du-dae* ∧*kore*
water fill-FUT-1SG=Q search-3SG.MUT but

⌐*gar*∨*kl*=⌐*rae* ∨*yel* ∧*du-m* ∧*du-gwe*
snake=MUT like.this say-3SG say-3SG.IND

She did not see the snake as she was searching for water to fill. Then the snake said this.

(11) ∨*gau-na* ∨*gau-na* ∧*du-gwa*
grandchild-1SG.POSS grandchild-1SG.POSS say-3SG.SRD

∨*kan-gwa* ∧*kore*
see-3SG.SRD but

∧*nl* ∧*mala* ⌐*ml* ∧*ya* ∧*kul* ∧*su-m*+⌐*ia* ⌐*u* ⌐*ml*
water nearby up right/back.here waterfall (hit)-3SG+EXPL come.INF up

∧*ya* ⌐*kol-o* ∧*du-m* ∧*du-gwe*
right/back.here fill-SG.IMP say-3SG say-3SG.IND

He said, "Granddaughter, granddaughter." So she looked at it. It said, "There is a waterfall up here. Come and get water up here."

(12) ⌐*ye* ⌐*er* ⌐*p* ⌐*ml* ∨*ip* ∧*o-dae* ∧*kore*
s/he to go.INF up forth.up.here go-3SG.MUT but

∧*mala* ∧*mol-gwi* ∧*kor*=∨*pare*
nearby stay-3SG.DEM discard.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)

∧*kul* ∧*bl* ⌐*ml* ⌐*s* ∨*pa-m* ⌐*yap*=∧*wa*
waterfall big up (hit).INF lie-3SG right/back.up.here=ENC.WA

⌐*u* ⌐*ml* ⌐*yap* ∧*p-o* ∧*du-m* ∧*du-gwe*
come.INF up right/back.up.here go-SG.IMP say-3SG say-3SG.IND

When she went up there, he said, "Do not get water there. A big waterfall is right up here, so go right up here."

(13) ∨*gal*=⌐*rae* ⌐*p* ⌐*ml* ∨*ip* ∧*o-dae* ∧*kore*
child=MUT go.INF up forth.up.here go-3SG.MUT but

⌐gar√kl=⌐rae ∧orpl=⌐d   √gal=⌐rae   ⌐s   ∧pek
snake=MUT   quickly=ADV   child=MUT   hit.INF scarf.down

∧er   ∧kor-m   ∧du-gwe
(to/off).INF COMPL-3SG   say-3SG.IND

When the child went up there, the snake swallowed her instantly.

(14) √ne-m=∧ya   √ma-m=⌐rae   ∧apl
     father-3SG.POSS=and mother-3SG.POSS=MUT   daughter.3SG.POSS

     ∧u-na-gwal   √kan   ∧mol-gwa   ⌐ta ⌐pi+√k-m   ∧du-gwe
     come-FUT-3SG.LOC see.INF stay-3SG.SRD NEG go+NEG-3SG   say-3SG.IND

     Her father and her mother were waiting for their daughter to come back, but she did
     not.

(15) √e   ⌐d   ∧sul ∧mol   ⌐er ∧o-gwa
     anxious (say).INF wait stay.INF to   go-3SG.SRD

     √kamn gr-√a-l=⌐d   ∧el-m+⌐ia
     time   get.dark-FUT-1SG=Q make-3SG+EXPL

     ⌐muku ⌐u   ⌐nul √kan-wdae
     run   come.INF   river see-3SG.MUT

     ∧yal ⌐ki=⌐rae √pai   ∧mol-m   ∧du-gwe
     man bad=MUT lie.INF stay-3SG say-3SG.IND

     They were waiting anxiously for such a long time that it grew dark. They ran to the
     river and saw the evil one lying there.

(16) ∧orpl=⌐di   ⌐u-re   ⌐d   ∧pl-m   ∧du-gwe
     quickly=Q come-CONJ(SS) say.INF perceive-3SG say-3SG.IND

     They went quickly to it and asked it.

(17) ⌐na   √gal ∧kul   √ye-ka   ∧nl   kol-√a-l=⌐di
     1EXC child look.after.INF to.nurse-1SG.SRD water fill-FUT-1SG=Q

     ∧mal ∧u-gwi   ⌐ta √kan=∧mo ⌐ta   √kan+√k-n-e
     near come-3SG.DEM a   see.2SG=or NEG see+NEG-2SG-QM

     ∧du-dae   ∧kore {∧yal ⌐kuna=⌐rae   √apal } ⌐gar√kl
     say-3SG.MUT but   man age.sake=MUT woman   snake

     ⌐i=⌐rae   ∧el   ∧mol   √yel   ∧du-m   ∧du-gwe
     DEM=MUT make.INF stay.INF like.this say-3SG say-3SG.IND

     They said, "Did you see my child come here to get water?" But the snake said this.

(18) ∧aya ∧mal ⌐i   ∧u-na-gwa   ⌐na   kar-√a-l=∧ba
     gee! near DEM come-FUT-3SG.SRD 1EXC see-FUT-1SG=but

     ⌐ta   √kan+√kl=∧wa   ∧du-m   ∧du-gwe
     NEG see+NEG.1SG=ENC.WA say-3SG say-3SG.IND

     He said, "Oh, I would have seen her if she had come but I have not seen her."

(19) a. ∧du-gwa   √ene ∧wai ∧d-n+⌐a   ⌐na   ⌐wa√du ⌐er ⌐ml
        say-3SG.SRD then good say-2SG+EXPL 1EXC search   to   up

∨*ip*   ∨*na-pn*=∧*ba*   ⌐*en*   ∨*dan*=⌐*la*   ∨*ip*
forth.up.here   go.FUT-1PL=but   you   belly.2SG.POSS=LOC   forth.up.here

∨*toli*=⌐*ta* ∨*pa-m*   ∨*ip*=∧*wa*   ∧*yer-a-pn*+⌐*a*
flea=a   lie-3SG   forth.up.here=ENC.WA   remove-FUT-1PL+EXPL

∨*kan*   ∧*ya*   ∧*er-o*   ∧*du-gwa*
see.INF   right/back.here   to/off-SG.IMP   say-3SG.SRD

They said, "OK, I see. We will go up there to search for her. By the way, there is a louse on your belly. Let me pick it off. Turn to me."

b. ⌐*gar*∨*kl*=⌐*rae* ⌐*ka*∧*wan* ∧*du-m*=⌐*di*   ∧*pl-e*
snake=MUT   truth   say-3SG=Q   perceive-CONJ(SS)

⌐*si*   ∧*no-gwa*   ∨*dan*   ∨*mo-m*+⌐*ia*   ∧*pl-e*
hit.INF   eat-3SG.SRD   belly.3SG.POSS   climb-3SG+EXPL   perceive-CONJ(SS)

∨*dan*=⌐*rae*   ⌐*si*   ∨*kurl* ⌐*si*   ∧*nol*
belly.3SG.POSS=MUT   hit.INF   turn (hit).INF   visible.side

∧*er-m*=∧*ba*   ∨*ne-m*=⌐*rae*   ⌐*p-re*   ∧*naip* ⌐*si*
to/off-3SG=but   father-3SG.POSS=MUT   go-CONJ(SS)   knife   hit.INF

⌐*ki*∧*kor-gwa*   ∨*dan*   ∧*bol*   ∨*bla*   ∧*du-gwa*
COMPL-3SG.SRD   belly.3SG.POSS   be.hit.INF   burst (say)-3SG.SRD

⌐*gar*∨*kl*=⌐*ae* ∧*gol*   ∨*pa-gwa*
snake=MUT   die.INF   lie-3SG.SRD

∨*gal*   ∧*kul*   ∨*yo-dae*   ⌐*ila*   ∨*pai*   ∧*mol*
child   give.birth.INF   to.nurse-3SG.MUT   inside   lie.INF   stay.INF

∨*ape*   ∨*ape*
father.1SG.POSS   father.1SG.POSS

⌐*na*   ∨*pai-ka*   ∧*ya*=∧*we*   ⌐*d-re*
1EXC   lie-1SG.SRD   right/back.here=ENC.WE   say-CONJ(SS)

⌐*po*   ∧*ayaa*=⌐*di* ⌐*u*   ∧*nol*   ∧*o-m*   ∧*du-gwe*
hurray! gee!=Q   come.INF   visible.side   go-3SG   say-3SG.IND

The snake believed him and since he had eaten his fill, he turned his belly to them, then the father stabbed its belly with a knife. Its belly burst and it died. Their child in its stomach said, "Daddy! Daddy! I am here." She said, "Po. Aya!" and came out joyfully.

(20) ∧*di-ka*   ∧*wai* ∧*su-gwe*
say-1SG.SRD   end (hit)-3SG.IND

The end.

English Translation

Ker-ker di-i.

A child, her mother and her father went to the garden. They dug sweet potatoes, gathered vegetables, picked beans, picked winged beans, and gathered firewood. The mother carried the sweet potatoes she had dug and the vegetables she had gathered. Her child carried the

beans that the mother had picked and given to her child and winged beans, too. The father gathered firewood.

They carried all of it back home, and found their bamboo water bottle empty. The mother said to the father, "We worked well and now it is time to cook and eat the food we gathered, but there is no water. Go get water from the river." But he replied to her, "I am not your child. I am a grown-up. You should tell your child there to get water for us." The mother said to her daughter standing there, "My daughter, you are a good girl. Go get water for us."

Her daughter ran to the river to get water. There was an evil snake lying at the top of a waterfall where she usually got water. She did not notice it as she was searching for water to fill. Then the snake said, "Granddaughter, granddaughter." So she looked at it. It said, "There is a waterfall up here. Come and get water up here," but when she went up there, he said, "Do not get water here. A big waterfall is right up there, so go right up here." When the child went up there, the snake swallowed her instantly.

Her father and her mother were waiting for their daughter to come back, but she did not. They were waiting anxiously for such a long time that it grew dark. They ran to the river and saw the evil one lying there. They went quickly to it and asked it, "Did you see my child come here to get water?" But the snake said, "Oh, I would have seen her if she had come but I have not seen her." They said, "OK, I see. We will go up there to search for her. By the way, there is a louse on your belly. Let me pick it off. Turn to me." So the snake believed him and since he had eaten his fill, he turned his belly to them, then the father stabbed its belly with a knife. Its belly burst and it died. Their child in its stomach said, "Daddy! Daddy! I am here." She said, "Po. Aya!" and came out joyfully. The end.

C.4 A Hawk and a Parrot

Told by Maumne Palus.
Recorded on 2 October 2000.

(1) ⌐ker ⌐ker ∖di*[19]
     (beginning.of.the.story)
     Ker-ker di.

(2) ⌐kila ∖kulam ∨su ∖mal ∖ya ∨me-ipka
     hawk parrot two near right/back.here stay-2/3DL.SRD

     ⌐kipl ∖waki ⌐yam ∖bl ∖do-m ∖du-gwe*[20]
     bushfire Wahgi.river right/back.down.here big burn(intr.)-3SG say-3SG.IND

     Kila hawk and Kulam parrot lived here. [Once] there was a big fire in the bush down near the Wahgi.

(3) a. ∖yal ⌐sul ∖i
        man two.person DEM

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*[19] ⌐ker ⌐ker ∖di is not used in conversation. It signals the beginning of a tale and can have a different prosody.

*[20] ∖dugwe 's/he said' here does not mean that someone actually said so but it marks hearsay evidentials (§4.1.5.9), that is, it indicates this story was passed to the speaker from someone and is not the speaker's own idea. Using ∖dugwe is one of the styles of tales.

∨*al-a=*∧*o*
brother-1SG.POSS=VOC

⌐*kipl* ∧*bl* ∧*do-m+*⌐*ia*
bushfire big burn(intr.)-3SG+EXPL

∧*dua* ∧*kap=*⌐*ta* ∧*gol* *ye-*∨*na-gwa* ∨*ar* ⌐*yu* { *ke* }
rat animal=a die.INF be-FUT-3SG.SRD pick.up.INF fetch.INF

∨*ke* *ne-*∨*ra-pl-a* ⌐*er* ∧*o-pl-o*
cook.by.steam.INF eat-FUT-1DL-PERM to go-1DL-END.O

∧*di-pka*
say-2/3DL.SRD

These two said, "My brother! There is a big bushfire. Let's go and find rats or some animals which might be lying there dead, bring them [back], cook them, and eat them!"

b. ⌐*kol* ⌐*wa*∨*du* ⌐*er* ∧*im* ∧*e-ipka* ∧*e-ipka*[21]
side search.INF to down.there go-2/3DL.SRD go-2/3DL.SRD

⌐*kol* ⌐*wa*∨*du* ⌐*er* ∧*ip* ∧*w-ipka*
side search.INF to up.there come-2/3DL.SRD

They went up and down in search [of carrion] for a while.

c. ⌐*gur=*∧*ya* ⌐*gar*∨*kl=*∧*ya* ∧*dua=*∧*ya* ∧*gol* ∨*yo-gwa*
lizard=and snake=and rat=and die.INF be-3SG.SRD

∨*ar* ∧*gal* ∧*gl* ∧*yu-ipka* ∧*yu-ipka*
pick.up.INF string.bag put.into.INF fetch-2/3DL.SRD fetch-2/3DL.SRD

They picked up dead lizards, snakes and rats, put them in their bags, and carried them back.

d. ∧*mal* ∧*ya* ⌐*u-re* ∨*ke* ∨*pal-e*
near right/back.here come-CONJ(SS) cook.by.steam.INF put-CONJ(SS)

∧*kulam* ∧*kapan=*⌐*rae* ⌐*di* ⌐*kila* ⌐*te-re*[22]
parrot DIM=MUT say.INF hawk give-CONJ(SS)

∨*al-a=*∧*o* ∨*kal* ⌐*s* ∧*yu-pkrae*
brother-1SG.POSS=VOC thing hit.INF fetch-1DL.MUT

∨*ke* ∨*pal-pl+*⌐*a*
cook.by.steam.INF put-1DL+EXPL

ne-∨*ra-pka* ∧*nl* *gol-*∨*a-pkra=*⌐*wa*
eat-FUT-1DL.SRD water die-FUT-1DL.MUT=ENC.WA

∧*nl* ⌐*ne-re* ⌐*ne-re*[23] *ne-*∨*ra-pl+*⌐*a*
water eat-CONJ(SS) eat-CONJ(SS) eat-FUT-1DL+EXPL

⌐*en* ⌐*p*[24] ∧*nl=*⌐*ta* ∧*kol* ∧*yu-na-n-a* ∧*p-o*
you go.INF water=a fill.INF fetch-FUT-2SG-PERM go-SG.IMP

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[21] Repetition of the verb phrase in subordinative form followed by another clause indicates that the event lasts for some time. The duration is expressed by how many times the verb phrase is repeated.

[22] The serial verb ⌐*di* (SOMEONE) ⌐*te-* 'say and give someone' means 'to tell someone'.

[23] The construction V$_i$-re V$_i$-re is used to indicate attendant circumstances.

Λdu-gwa
 say-3SG.SRD

When they came back and were cooking them, Kulam said to Kila, "My brother! We are cooking the things we found and brought here. We will be thirsty, as you know, when we eat them. Why don't we drink water while we eat. Go get some water and come back."

e. *Λkulam* *Λi*   *Vkware* *Γkila* *Γd*   *Λer-ke*[*25]   *Γer*
    parrot   DEM   already   hawk   say.INF to/off-1SG.CONJ(DS)   to

   Λnan=Vkene
    go.CONJ(DS)=and (DS)

   Γna   *Γmuru* *Λne-ra-l+Γa=Γd*   *Λpl=Vpare*
    1EXC   whole   eat-FUT-1SG+EXPL=Q perceive.CONJ(SS)=and (SS)

   Vyel=Γd   *Λpl*
    like.this=Q   perceive.CONJ(SS)

   Γkila *Γd*   *Λer-ke*
    hawk   say.INF   to/off-1SG.CONJ(DS)

   Λnl   *kol-Va-gwa*   *Λna-gwal=Λwe=Γd*   *Λpl-e*
    water   fill-FUT-3SG.SRD   go.FUT-3SG.LOC=ENC.WE=Q   perceive-CONJ(SS)

   Γd   *Λer-gwa*
    say.INF   to/off-3SG.SRD

Kulam meant to eat the food all by himself after sending Kila off. With such intention, he thought about where he would send Kila to fetch water.

f. *Γkila=Γrae*   *Γen* *Λp-o*   *Λdu-gwa*   *Λkore*
    hawk=MUT   you   go-SG.IMP   say-3SG.SRD   but

   Λkulam=Γrae   *Λmol-e*   *Γen* *Λp-o*   *Λdu-gwa*
    parrot=MUT   stay-CONJ(SS)   you   go-SG.IMP   say-3SG.SRD

Kila said, "You go!" but Kulam said, "You go!"

g. *Γkila=Γrae*   *Γen* *Λp-o*   *Λdu-gwa*
    hawk=MUT   you   go-SG.IMP   say-3SG.SRD

Kila said, "You go."

h. *Λkulam* *Γen* *Λp-o*   *Λdu-gwa*
    parrot   you   go-SG.IMP   say-3SG.SRD

Kulam said, "You go."

i. *Γkol Γkol* *Γd*   *Vme-ipka*
    both.side   say.INF   stay-2/3DL.SRD

They kept arguing with each other.

j. *Vana* *Γkila=Γrae* *Λna-l=Λua*   *Γd-re*   *Λo-gwi*
    then   hawk=MUT   go.FUT-1SG=ENC.WA   say-CONJ(SS)   go-3SG.DEM

[*24] The word *p-* 'go' has two other suppletive roots. *p-* is used for the infinitive (including the form used with the negative clitic), the imperative, and the conjunctive (for the same subject), *n-* for all the conjugations in the future tense, *e-/o-*, for the other forms. The last root shows regular vowel alternation of the high-tone verb.

[*25] The serial verb *Γd Λer-* 'say off' means 'to send someone to somewhere'.

    Λ*kulam* Λ*kapan*=⌐*rae* Λ*nl*   √*muku*   ⌐*mukal*=⌐*ta* √*sikl*
    parrot DIM=MUT   water container bamboo=a cut.off.INF

    √*yo-gwa*   ⌐*kila* Λ*kapan* Λ*to-gwi*
    put-3SG.SRD hawk DIM give-3SG.DEM

    Λ*bin*   Λ*im*=⌐*rae*   ⌐*s*   ⌐*gukl* ⌐*d*
    bottom down.there=MUT hit.INF hole (say).INF

    √*ye-re*   ⌐*te*   ⌐*ki*Λ*kor-gwa*
    put-CONJ(SS) give.INF COMPL-3SG.SRD

When Kila said, "I will go," and was leaving, Kulam gave him a water container made of bamboo, in the bottom of which he had made a hole.

k. ⌐*kila* Λ*kapan*=⌐*rae* ⌐*i-re*   ⌐*er* Λ*o-gwa*
   hawk DIM=MUT take-CONJ(SS) to go-3SG.SRD

Kila took it and went.

l. ⌐*nul* Λ*nl* Λ*kol-gwi* √*kau* Λ*s-na-m*=⌐*d*   Λ*el*
   river water fill-3SG.DEM filled.up (hit)-FUT-3SG=Q make.INF

   Λ*mol-gwi*   Λ*mol* ⌐*er* Λ*o-gwa*   Λ*mol* ⌐*er* Λ*o-gwa*
   stay-3SG.DEM stay.INF to go-3SG.SRD stay.INF to go-3SG.SRD

   √*kau*   ⌐*ta* Λ*si*+√*k-gwa*
   filled.up NEG (hit)+NEG-3SG.SRD

He waited a long time by the river for the container to fill up with water, but it never did.

m. √*nam*Λ*el-m*=⌐*d*   Λ*bin*   Λ*im*=⌐*rae*   √*kan-wdae*
   what.happen-3SG=Q bottom down.there=MUT see-3SG.MUT

   ⌐*gukl* ⌐*d*   √*yo-gwa*
   hole (say).INF be-3SG.SRD

Wondering why, he examined the bottom of the container and saw there was a hole.

n. Λ*ei*Λ*yo*=⌐*d*   ⌐*er* ⌐*kol* Λ*u-gwi*
   oh.my.goodness=Q to back come-3SG.DEM

He said, "Eiyo!" and came back.

o. Λ*kulam* Λ*kapan* ⌐*wa*√*du-r*
   parrot DIM search-CONJ(SS)

   ⌐*al*   ⌐*d*   √*wan-gwa*   Λ*kore*
   call.name say.INF move.around-3SG.SRD but

   Λ*kulam* Λ*kapan* ⌐*ta* ⌐*mo*+√*k-gwe*
   parrot DIM NEG stay+NEG-3SG.IND

Searching for Kulam, he went around calling his name, but Kulam was not there.

(4) ⌐*al*   ⌐*d*   √*wan-gwa*   ⌐*man-gwe*
   call.name say.INF move.around-3SG.SRD fail-3SG.IND

He went around calling his name in vain.

(5) a. ⌐p   Λkomna*²⁶   Vke-pkrae   Vyaul   kar-Va-l=⌐d*²⁷
     go.INF   vegetable   cook.by.steam-1DL.MUT   open.INF   see-FUT-1SG=Q

   Vyaul-wdae
   open-3SG.MUT

   He opened [the earth oven] to see the food they cooked.

b. Λkulam Λkapan ⌐ne   ⌐ne   ⌐kiΛkor-e
   parrot   DIM   eat.INF eat.INF COMPL-CONJ(SS)

   ⌐de   ⌐te   Λkui   Λari   ⌐bi   ⌐d   Vpal   ⌐kiΛkor-gwa
   excrement (give).INF again leaf cover (say).INF put.INF COMPL-3SG.SRD

   Kulam had already eaten it all up, excreted it and covered the earth oven again
   with [banana] leaves.

c. ⌐kila=⌐rae   yaul-Va-l=⌐d   Λel-wdae
   hawk=MUT   open-FUT-1SG=Q   make-3SG.MUT

   ⌐de   Vo   Vbau-gwa
   excrement   hand.3SG.POSS touch-3SG.SRD

   As Kila tried to open [the oven], he got excrement on his hands.

d. ⌐kila   Λde-m   Λgol-gwa*²⁸
   hawk   intestines-3SG.POSS die-3SG.SRD

   Kila got angry.

e. ⌐waVdu   ⌐u   Λo-gwa   ⌐u   Λo-gwa   ⌐u
   search.INF come.INF go-3SG.SRD come.INF go-3SG.SRD come.INF

   Λo-gwa   ⌐u   Λo-gwa   ⌐ta   Vka+Λk-gw
   go-3SG.SRD come.INF go-3SG.SRD NEG   see+NEG-3SG.IND

   He searched for Kulam everywhere for such a long time, but he could not find
   Kulam.

f. Λkulam Λkapan Vkwar   ⌐p   Vkaula=⌐rae   Vgor   Λer
   parrot   DIM   already   go.INF   centre.post=MUT pull.out.INF   to/off.INF

   Λkor
   COMPL.CONJ(SS)

   ⌐p   Vmaun Λapl   Λim=⌐rae   Vpai   Λkor-e
   go.INF   below invisible.side down.there=MUT lie.INF   COMPL-CONJ(SS)

   Vkaula=⌐rae   Λkui   ⌐yu   Vpal   ⌐kol   Λer-e
   centre.post=MUT again fetch.INF put.INF   back   to/off-CONJ(SS)

   ⌐s   ⌐geu   ⌐d   Vpal-gw
   hit.INF fit.in (say).INF put-3SG.IND

   [It was because] Kulam had pulled out the centre post of the house, had gone
   down into the hole, had hidden there, had put the post back again, and had fitted it
   into the hole.

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*²⁶ This word is used not only for vegetables, but also for other kinds of food, which is usually not eaten everyday
    in contrast with Vkepa 'sweet potato', which can also mean 'everyday food'.
*²⁷ The construction V-FUT-1SG/DL/PL+⌐d means 'with the intention of V-ing'.
*²⁸ The phrase Λdem Λgol- means 'be/get angry' idiomatically.

(6) a.   Γ*kila*=Γ*rae*   Γ*p*   Ѵ*kaula*=Γ*rae*   Ѵ*gor*   Ѵ*kan-m*=∧*ba*
         hawk=MUT   go.INF   centre.post=MUT   pull.out.INF   see-3SG=but

         ∧*kulam*   ∧*kapan*=Γ*rae*   ∧*apl*   Γ*yam*=Γ*rae*
         parrot   DIM=MUT   invisible.side   right/back.down.here=MUT

         Γ*i*   Γ*ki*   ∧*er*   Ѵ*pai*   ∧*mol-gwa*
         take.INF   bad   to/off.INF   lie.INF   stay-3SG.SRD

         Kila pulled out that post and looked [into the hole]. Kulam was down there feeling
         bad.

    b.   Γ*kila*   ∧*de-m*   ∧*gol-gwa*   Γ*d*   Γ*s*   Γ*ki*∧*kor-gwa*
         hawk   intestines-3SG.POSS   die-3SG.SRD   axe   hit.INF   COMPL-3SG.SRD

         Kila got angry and swung an axe.

    c.   ∧*kulam*   ∧*kapan*   ∧*guma*   ∧*bol*
         parrot   DIM   nose.3SG.POSS   be.hit.INF

         ∧*kiul*   Γ*s*   Γ*ki*∧*kor-gwe*
         cut   (hit).INF   COMPL-3SG.IND

         Kulam was hit on the beak and it was cut off.

(7)   ∧*kulam*   ∧*kapan*   ∧*de-m*   ∧*gol-m*+Γ*ia*
     parrot   DIM   intestines-3SG.POSS   die-3SG+EXPL

     Kulam got angry.

(8) a.   Ѵ*al*   Γ*er*   ∧*u-gwi*
         stand.up.INF   to   come-3SG.DEM

         He stood up and came [to Kila].

    b.   Γ*kila*   ∧*kapan*   ∧*bol*   Γ*kol*   Γ*kole*   ∧*bol*   Γ*u*   ∧*e-pka*
         hawk   DIM   with   both.side   fight.INF   come.INF   go-2/3DL.SRD

         Γ*u*   ∧*e-pka*   Γ*u*   ∧*e-pka*
         come.INF   go-2/3DL.SRD   come.INF   go-2/3DL.SRD

         Γ*ki*   Ѵ*pai*   ∧*kor-m*+Γ*ia*
         bad   lie.INF   COMPL-3SG+EXPL

         He and Kila fought each other for such a long time that they got tired.

(9) a.   ∧*kulam*   ∧*kapan*   Γ*d*   Γ*kila*   ∧*kapan*   Γ*te-re*
         parrot   DIM   say.INF   hawk   DIM   give-CONJ(SS)

         Kulam said to Kila,

    b.   Ѵ*al-a*=∧*o*   ∧*wai*   Ѵ*mo-pkra*=∧*ba*
         brother-1SG.POSS=VOC   good   stay-1DL.MUT=but

         'My brother, we were good friends,

    c.   Γ*en*   Γ*na*   ∧*guma-na*   Γ*d*   ∧*kiul*   ∧*e-gi*
         you   1EXC   nose-1SG.POSS   axe   cut   make-2SG.DEM

         Γ*na*   Γ*ki*   ∧*pl*+Γ*a*
         1EXC   bad   perceive.1SG+PERM

         but [now] I am unhappy that you cut my beak off with an axe.

    d.   Γ*en*   ∧*mal*   Γ*i*   ∧*mol-e*
         you   near   DEM   stay-CONJ(SS)

⌐kipl   gal-√a-gwa   √kuna   ⌐i=⌐rae=∧ya
bushfire burn(tr.)-FUT-3SG.SRD around   DEM=MUT=and

√apal   √kepa   ∧mol   gal-√a-gwal=⌐rae
woman   sweet.potato rubbish   burn(tr.)-FUT-LOC=MUT

⌐gur   ∧dua ⌐kui ∧el-e
lizard rat   hunt make-CONJ(SS)

∧mal ∧i   √wan   ⌐mol-o
near DEM move.around.INF stay-SG.IMP

You stay here and hunt such things as lizards and rats where people burn bushes or where women burn rubbish in sweet potato gardens.

e. ⌐na   ⌐ere ∧Bomai √kamn √kuna   ∧im   ⌐p-re
    1EXC to   PLN   area   around   down.there go-CONJ(SS)

    ∧komna   √kal   √wai √yo-gwal   √kuna   ∧im   ⌐ne-re
    vegetable thing good be-3SG.LOC   around   down.there eat-CONJ(SS)

    ∧apl   √kuna   ∧im   ⌐er ⌐dmn=⌐la
    invisible.side around   down.there tree woods=LOC

    √kuna   ∧im   mol-√a-ka   ⌐er ∧e-i=∧ua
    around   down.there stay-FUT-1SG.SRD to   go-1SG=ENC.WA

    I am going to go to Bomai to eat, where the good food is, and to live deep in the forest."

f. ⌐d-re   ⌐er ⌐ml ⌐p-re   ⌐er ⌐p-re   ⌐er ∧o-gwa
    say-CONJ(SS) to   up   go-CONJ(SS) to   go-CONJ(SS) to   go-3SG.SRD

    He said and flew up in the sky and left.

g. ∧Bomai √kamn ⌐p-re   ⌐er ∧o-gwa
    PLN   area   go-CONJ(SS) to   go-3SG.SRD

    He went far away to Bomai.

h. ⌐kila ∧kapan=⌐rae ∧mal ∧ya   ∧mol-e   ⌐kipl
    hawk DIM=MUT   near right/back.here stay-CONJ(SS) bushfire

    ∧gal-gwal   √kuna   ⌐i=⌐rae   ⌐gur   ∧dua ⌐kui
    burn(tr.)-3SG.LOC around DEM=MUT   lizard rat   hunt

    ∧el   √wan   ∧mol   √pai   ∧mol-gwe
    make.CONJ(SS) move.around.INF stay.INF lie.INF stay-3SG.IND

    Kila remained here hunting small animals like lizards and rats.

(10) a. ∧elma   kan-√a-ga
          now   see-FUT-2SG.SRD

          ⌐kila ∧kapane ∧mal ∧i   √wan   ∧mol-e
          hawk DIM   near DEM move.around.INF stay-CONJ(SS)

          ⌐kipl   ∧gal-gwal   ∧i   ⌐gur   ∧dua ⌐kui ∧el
          bushfire burn(tr.)-3SG.LOC DEM lizard rat   hunt make.INF

          √wan-gwi
          move.around-3SG.DEM

          Now you will see that a hawk is living here hunting lizards and rats where people

burn bushes.

b. Λ*kulam*   Λ*kapan*   Λ*bol*   V*ama*   mol-V*a-ipl*=Λ*ba*
   parrot   DIM   with   too   stay-FUT-2/3DL=but

   V*yel*   Λ*el-gwa*   Λ*pl*   Λ*kulam*   Γ*er*   Λ*o-gwa*
   like.this   make-3SG.SRD   perceive.INF   parrot   to   go-3SG.SRD

   He would have been living together with the parrot, but because of this incident, the parrot went away.

c. Λ*Bomai*   V*kamn*   Γ*er*   Γ*dmn*   Λ*bl*=Γ*la*   V*kuna*   Λ*ime*
   PLN   area   tree   woods   big=LOC   around   down.there

   V*wan-gwa*
   move.around-3SG.SRD

   He lives deep in the forest in Bomai.

d. Γ*kila*   Λ*kapan*   Λ*mal*   Γ*i*   Λ*mol-e*   Λ*el*   Λ*mol-gwe*
   hawk   DIM   near   DEM   stay-CONJ(SS)   make.INF   stay-3SG.IND

   The hawk still lives here.

(11) Λ*wai*   Λ*su-gwe*
   end   (hit)-3SG.DEM

   The end.

English Translation

Ker-ker di.

Kila hawk and Kulam parrot lived here. Once when the bush down near the Wahgi river was on fire, these two said, "My brother! There is a big bushfire. There might be rats or some animals lying there dead. Let's go find them, bring them back, cook them, and eat them!"

They went up and down in search of carrion for a while, and picked up dead lizards, snakes and rats, put them in their bags, and carried them back home.

As they were cooking them, Kulam said to Kila, "My brother! We are cooking the things we found and brought here. We will be thirsty, as you know, when we eat them. Why don't we drink water while we eat. Go get some water and come back." Kulam was planning on eating them all by himself after sending Kila off. Planning like this, he thought about where Kila would go to get water after he sent him. But Kila said, "Hey, Kulam, you go!" Kulam said, "You go!" Kila said, "You go," and Kulam, too, said, "You go." And so they argued back and forth. Then Kila said, "I will go," and when he was leaving, Kulam gave him a water container made of bamboo, in the bottom of which he had made a hole. Kila took it and went away.

He waited a long time by the river for the container to fill up with water but it never did. Wondering why, he examined the bottom of the container and saw there was a hole. He said, "Eiyo!" and came back.

Looking for Kulam, he went around calling his name, but Kulam was not there. He went around calling his name in vain. He opened the earth oven to see the food they cooked, but the Kulam had already eaten it all up, excreted it and covered the earth oven again with banana leaves. As the Kila tried to open the oven, he got excrement on his hands. Kila got angry and searched for Kulam everywhere for such a long time, but he could not find Kulam, for Kulam

had pulled out the centre post of the house, gone down into the hole, hid there, put the post back again, and fitted it into the hole.

Kila pulled out that post and looked into the hole. Kulam was down there feeling bad. Kila got angry and swung an axe. Kulam was hit on the beak and it was cut off. Kulam got angry. He stood up and came to Kila. He and Kila fought each other for such a long time that they got tired.

Kulam said to Kila, "My brother, we were good friends, but now I am unhappy that you cut my beak off with an axe. You stay here and hunt such things as lizards and rats where people burn bushes or where women burn rubbish in sweet potato gardens. I am going to go to Bomai to eat, where the good food is, and to live deep in the forest." He flew up in the sky and left. He went far away to Bomai. Kila remained here hunting small animals like lizards and rats.

Now you will see that a hawk still lives here hunting lizards and rats where people burn bushes. He would have been living together with a parrot, but because of this incident the parrot went away and lives deep in the forest in Bomai. The hawk still lives here. The end.

C.5   A Dog and a Pig

Told by Maumne Palus.
Recorded on 24 September 2000.

(1) *Γna   Λkum Vkaman*[*29] *Λd-ral   Λel+Γa*
    1EXC   fairy.tale   say-FUT.INF   make.1SG+EXPL

    I am going to tell a fairy tale.

(2) *Γker Γker Γdi Γi*
    (beginning.of.the.story)

    Ker-ker di-i.

(3) *Λal   Λbola Vsu Λdogwa Vyopl   Λipka=Γmere*
    dog   pig   two   fire   get.kindling.INF   take.2/3DL=as/about
    Λd-ral   Λel+Γa
    say-FUT.INF   make.1SG+EXPL

    I am going to talk about a dog and a pig, who got kindling coal.

(4) a. *Λyal Vapal   Vsu=Γta Λkonan Λdmna Λip   Λel*
      man   woman two=a   work   woods up.there make.INF
      Vye-ipka   Λel   Λyal-e
      put-2/3DL.SRD   make.INF   plant-CONJ(SS)
      war-Va-pl=Γdi   Γer Vna-pl=Γdi   Γer Λe-ipka
      move.around-FUT-1DL=Q   to   go.FUT-1DL=Q   to   go-2/3DL.SRD

      A man and a woman went to their new garden up in woods which they had weeded to plant some vegetables to work.

[*29] *Λkum Vkaman*(sic) was probably not intended to be in this form. What is usually used is *Λkup Vkaman*.

b. ʌal   ʌbola   √su   ʌkul   ʌne-ipki   √aul
   dog   pig   two   look.after.INF   eat-2/3DL.DEM   taking.person

   ⌐i-re   ⌐para   war-√a-pn=⌐di   ⌐er   ʌip
   take-CONJ(SS)   enough/all   move.around-FUT-1PL=Q   to   up.there

   ʌe-ipka
   go-2/3DL

   They went up to the garden taking their dog and their pig with them to take a stroll together.

c. ʌdogwa   √yopl   ʌye-ipki   ⌐ba   ʌi
   fire   get.kindling.INF   bring-2/3DL.DEM   halfway   DEM

   √go-gwa
   go.out-3SG.SRD

   The kindling coal which they had with them went out on their way up to their garden.

d. ⌐pi   √suna   ʌip   ⌐p-re
   go.INF   centre   up.there   go-CONJ(SS)

   ʌkui   ʌdogwa   ʌel   gal-√a-pl=⌐di   ⌐wa√du-ipki
   again   fire   make.INF   burn(tr.)-FUT-1DL=Q   search-2/3DL.DEM

   ⌐ta   ⌐de   √pai+√k-gwa
   NEG   burn(intr.).INF   lie+NEG-3SG.SRD

   When they went into the middle [of the garden] and they took out the kindling to make a fire, it had gone out.

e. ʌbola=ʌya   ʌal   ʌi   ʌdogwa   √yopl   ʌi-na-n-a
   pig=and   dog   DEM   fire   get.kindling.INF   take-FUT-2SG-PERM

   ʌp-o   ⌐d   ʌer-gwa
   go-SG.IMP   say.INF   to/off-3SG.SRD

   One of the keepers sent the pig and the dog to get more.

f. ʌbola   ʌi   ⌐gwema   ⌐d   ʌer-gwa   ʌo-gwe
   pig   DEM   first   say.INF   to/off-3SG.SRD   go-3SG.SRD

   S/he sent the pig first and the pig went.

(5) a. ⌐p   ⌐p   ʌdogwa   √yopl   ⌐i-re   ʌu-gwa
       go.INF   go.INF   fire   get.kindling.INF   take-CONJ(SS)   come-3SG.SRD

    ʌkore   ⌐ba   ʌi=⌐rae   ʌkol   ⌐ba   ʌi=⌐rae
    but   halfway   DEM=MUT   road   halfway   DEM=MUT

    ʌdeklm=⌐ta   √pai   ʌmol-e
    earthworm=a   lie.INF   stay-CONJ(SS)

    ⌐na   ⌐ta   ⌐na   ⌐s   ⌐ne+√k-n=⌐wa   √yel   ʌdu-gwa
    1EXC   NEG   1EXC   hit.INF   eat+NEG-2SG=ENC.WA   like.this   say-3SG.SRD

    He went, got kindling coal, and on his way back an earthworm said, "You haven't caught and eaten me."

b. ʌbola=⌐rae   ʌde-m   ʌgol-gwa
   pig=MUT   intestines-3SG.POSS   die-3SG.SRD

The pig got angry.

c. Λ*deklm*   Λ*i*   Γ*s*   Λ*ne-ra-l=*Γ*d*   Γ*ila*   Λ*gapa=*Γ*la*
    earthworm   DEM   hit.INF   eat-FUT-1SG=Q   inside   ground=LOC

    Γ*i=*Γ*rae*   V*wau*   Λ*o-gwa*   V*wau*   Γ*er*   Λ*o-gwa*
    DEM=MUT   dig.INF   go-3SG.SRD   dig.INF   to   go-3SG.SRD

He dug the ground to catch and eat the earthworm.

d. Λ*deklm=*Γ*rae*   Γ*er*   V*il*   V*il*   Γ*p-re*
    earthworm=MUT   to   forth.here   forth.here   go-CONJ(SS)

    Γ*ta*   Γ*na*   Γ*s*   Γ*ne+*V*k-ge*
    NEG   1EXC   hit.INF   eat+NEG-2SG.IND

    Γ*ta*   Γ*na*   Γ*s*   Γ*ne+*V*k-ge*   Λ*du-gwa*
    NEG   1EXC   hit.INF   eat+NEG-2SG.IND   say-3SG.SRD

The earthworm kept on going and kept saying, "You haven't caught and eaten me."

e. Λ*bola=*Γ*rae*   Γ*s*   Γ*ne-r*   Λ*wai*   *pl-*V*a-l=*Γ*d*
    pig=MUT   hit.INF   eat-CONJ(SS)   good   perceive-FUT-1SG=Q

    V*wau*   Γ*er*   V*il*   V*il*   Λ*o-gwi*
    dig.INF   to   forth.here   forth.here   go-3SG.DEM

    V*wau*   Γ*er*   Γ*p*   Λ*mol-gwa*   Λ*dogwa*   V*yopl*
    dig.INF   to   go.INF   stay-3SG.SRD   fire   get.kindling.INF

    V*yo-dae*   V*kwar*   go-V*ra-l=*Γ*d*   Λ*el-gwa*
    put-3SG.MUT   already   go.out-FUT-1SG=Q   make-3SG.SRD

The pig kept on going, digging to catch it and to enjoy eating it. The fire he had got was already going out.

f. Λ*yal*   V*apal*   Γ*sul*   Λ*i=*Γ*rae*
    man   woman   two.person   DEM=MUT

    Λ*al=*Γ*rae*   Γ*d*   Γ*te-re*   Λ*bola*   Λ*o-dae*
    dog=MUT   say.INF   give-CONJ(SS)   pig   go-3SG.MUT

    Λ*dogwa*   V*yopl*   Λ*yu-wo*   Λ*du-pdae*   Λ*o-dae*
    fire   get.kindling.INF   fetch-SG.IMP   say-1PL.MUT   go-3SG.MUT

    Γ*ta*   Γ*u+*V*k-m+*Γ*ia*
    NEG   come+NEG-3SG+EXPL

    Γ*ila*   Γ*i*   V*kal*   Γ*ta*   Λ*el-m+*Γ*ia*
    inside   DEM   thing   another   make-3SG+EXPL

    Γ*p*   kan-V*a-n-a*   Λ*p-o*   Λ*du-gwa*
    go.INF   see-FUT-2SG-PERM   go-SG.IMP   say-3SG.SRD

The man and woman said to the dog, "The pig we sent to get kindling coal has not come back. Something has happened to him on his way. Go find him."

g. Λ*al=*Γ*rae*   Γ*eku*   Γ*p*   Γ*p*   Γ*ba=*Γ*rae*   V*kan-wdae*
    dog=MUT   afterward   go.INF   go.INF   halfway=MUT   see-3SG.MUT

    Λ*bola=*Γ*rae*   Λ*deklm*   Γ*s*   Γ*ne-r*   Λ*u-ra-l=*Γ*d*
    pig=MUT   earthworm   hit.INF   eat-CONJ(SS)   come-FUT-1SG=Q

        ʌpl-e   *ʌgapa=ˉla=ˉrae*   *Vwou*   *Vpa-m=ʌba*
        perceive-CONJ(SS)   ground=LOC=MUT   dig.INF   lie-3SG=but

        Vkan   *ʌkor-e*   *ʌal=ˉae*   *ˉp*   *ʌdogwa=ˉrae*
        see.INF   discard-CONJ(SS)   dog=MUT   go.INF   fire=MUT

        Vku   *ˉi-re*   *ˉer* *ˉu*
        put.in.mouth.INF   take-CONJ(SS)   to   come.INF

        Vne-m   *Vma-m*   *Vsu=ˉrae*   *ʌto-gwa*
        father-3SG.POSS   mother-3SG.POSS   two=MUT   give-3SG.SRD

        ʌel   *Vga-ipke*
        make.INF   burn(tr.)-2/3DL.IND

        The dog went afterwards and on his way he saw the pig digging the ground to catch and eat an earthworm before coming back. The dog took the kindling coal in his mouth, brought it back, and gave it to his keepers. His keepers made a fire.

(6) *ˉpara*   *ˉd*   *ʌkor-ke*
    enough/all   say.INF   discard-1SG.IND

    The end.

(7) *ˉkupa ʌaipa ʌbl ˉtol=ˉtal*[*30]
    (end.of.the.story)

    Kupa aipa bl tol tal.

English Translation

    I am going to tell a fairy tale. Ker-ker di-i.

    I am going to talk about a dog and a pig, who got kindling coal.

    A man and a woman went to their new garden up in woods which they had weeded to plant some vegetables to work. They went up to the garden taking their dog and their pig with them to take a stroll together. The kindling coal which they had with them went out on their way up to their garden. They took out the kindling to make a fire, but it had gone out.

    They sent the pig and the dog to get more. They sent the pig first and the pig went. He went, got kindling coal, and on his way back an earthworm said, "You haven't caught and eaten me." The pig got angry and dug the ground to catch and eat the earthworm. The earthworm kept on going and kept saying, "You haven't caught and eaten me." The pig kept on going, digging to catch it and to enjoy eating it. The fire he had got was already going out.

    The man and woman said to the dog, "The pig we sent to get kindling coal has not come back. Something has happened to him on his way. Go find him."

    Then the dog went after the pig and on his way he saw the pig digging the ground to catch and eat an earthworm before coming back. The dog took the kindling coal in his mouth, brought it back, and gave it to his keepers. His keepers made a fire.

    The end. Kupa aipa bl tol tal.

[*30] *ˉkupa ʌaipa ˉbl ˉtol ˉtal* is not used in conversation. It signals the end of a tale.

C.6 Stealing

Told by Maumne Palus.
Recorded on 7 July 1999.

(1) ⌐*na*   ∧*Dama* ∧*bol* ∧*aml*   ∧*kunul* √*wou-pka*
    1EXC PRN   with peanut theft   dig-1DL.SRD

    ∧*d-ral*   ∧*el+*⌐*a*
    say-FUT.INF make.1SG+EXPL

    I am going to tell a story about Dama and me digging up and stealing peanuts.

(2) a. ⌐*na*   ∧*Dama* ∧*bol* ∧*taim=*⌐*ta* ⌐*ba*   ∧*wai* ∧*won* ∧*do-gwa*
    1EXC PRN   with time=a   moon good truly burn(intr.)-3SG.SRD

    ⌐*er* ⌐*p*   ⌐*Gar* √*Mn* ⌐*Maul* ∧*ipe*
    to go.INF PLN   up.there

    √*Krwai* ∧*Plawa* ∧N*ogwa*[31] ∧*aml*   ∧*kul*   √*pal-gwa*
    PRN   peanut look.after.INF put-3SG.SRD

    ∧*ari* ⌐*er* ⌐*p*   ⌐*p*   √*pa-gwa*   √*wou-pka*
    leaf to go.INF go.INF lie-3SG.SRD   dig-1DL.SRD

    Once, on a full-moon night, I went with Dama up to Gar Mne Maul where peanut leaves grew well in the garden of Krwai Plawa Nogwa and we dug peanuts together.

  b. ∧*Dama* ⌐*eku*   ⌐*na*   √*mu-na=*⌐*la*   √*wau* ⌐*er* ∧*u-gw*
    PRN   afterward 1EXC back-1SG.POSS=LOC dig.INF to come-3SG.IND

    Dama came digging [peanuts] behind me.

(3) a. ⌐*na*   ⌐*guema=*⌐*kan* √*wau*   ⌐*er* √*il*   ⌐*p*   √*kar-ka*   ∧*kore*
    1EXC first=earlier   dig.INF to forth.here go.INF see-1SG.SRD but

    ∧*aul=*⌐*ta*   ∧*el*   ∧*i*   √*pa-gwa*   ∧*kama* ⌐*s*   √*pa-gwa*
    cordyline=a place DEM lie-3SG.SRD   black (hit).INF lie-3SG.SRD

    I went forward digging first and saw a cordyline shrub there, which was black.

  b. ⌐*na*   ∧*yopal* ∧*mol-m=*⌐*d* √*kan*
    1EXC person stay-3SG=Q see.INF

    I thought it was a person.

  c. ⌐*na*   ∧*barwai*   ∧*wone* √*kan*   ∧*mo-ka*   ∧*mo-ka*
    1EXC for.a.long.time truly   see.INF stay-1SG.SRD stay-1SG.SRD

    ∧*mo-ka*
    stay-1SG.SRD

    I watched it for a long time.

  d. ⌐*ta*   ∧*deu* ∧*dau* ⌐*e+*√*k-gw*
    NEG shake.RED make+NEG-3SG.IND

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[31] √*Krwai* ∧*Plawa* ∧*Nogwa* 'Krwai "The Flower-Eater" ' is a personal name. √*Krwai* is his real name and ∧*Plawa* ∧*Nogwa* 'eating flowers' is his nickname.

It did not shake.

e. √*an* Γ*na* Γ*kle* Γ*kle=*Γ*d* Γ*p* Λ*mala* √*kar-ka*

then 1EXC silently.RED=Q go.INF nearby see-1SG.SRD

I approached it silently and looked.

f. Λ*aul* √*pa-gwa* √*kan* Λ*kor-e*

cordyline lie-3SG.SRD see.INF PERF-CONJ(SS)

I found that it was a shrub.

g. Γ*er* Γ*kol* Γ*u* Λ*aml* √*wou* √*pai-krae*

to back come.INF peanut dig.INF lie-1SG.MUT

I came back and dug peanuts.

h. Λ*Dama* Λ*kui* Γ*p* Γ*na* √*wou* Λ*e-kal* Λ*ai=*Γ*rae* Γ*p*

PRN again go.INF 1EXC dig.INF go-1SG.LOC place=MUT go.INF

√*kan-m=*Λ*ba*

see-3SG=but

Dama, in turn, went to the place where I had dug peanuts, and he looked round.

i. Λ*aul* √*kar-kal* Λ*ai=*Γ*rae* Λ*kui* Λ*yal* Γ*i* √*kan-gwa*

cordyline see-1SG.LOC place=MUT again man DEM see-3SG.SRD

He, in turn, saw the same shrub where I had seen it.

j. Λ*yopal* Λ*mol-m=*Γ*d* √*kar-ka=*Γ*mer=*Γ*rae*

person stay-3SG=Q see-1SG.SRD=as=MUT

Λ*Dama* √*ama* Λ*yopal* Λ*mol-m=*Γ*d* √*kan-gwa*

PRN too person stay-3SG=Q see-3SG.SRD

He also thought that it was a person as I had.

k. Γ*p* Γ*na* √*kan* Λ*mo-ka=*Γ*mer=*Γ*rae* Λ*yal* Λ*i* Γ*p*

go.INF 1EXC see.INF stay-1SG.SRD=as=MUT man DEM go.INF

Γ*tol* Λ*barwai* Λ*won* √*kan* Λ*mol-m=*Λ*ba*

stare for.a.long.time truly see.INF stay-3SG=but

He went and watched it carefully for a long time in the same way as I had gone and watched it closely.

l. Γ*na* Λ*kopl=*Γ*ta* Λ*mal* Λ*i* √*yo-gwa* Γ*s* Λ*er-ka*

1EXC stone=a near DEM be-3SG.SRD hit.INF to/off-1SG.SRD

I threw a nearby stone at it.

m. Γ*p* Λ*aul=*Γ*la* Λ*mala* Λ*ile=*Γ*rae* Λ*bol* Γ*si* √*telle*

go.INF cordyline=LOC nearby there=MUT be.hit.INF noise

Λ*du-gwa*

say-3SG.SRD

It fell down near the shrub making a noise.

n. Λ*Dama* Λ*yopal* Λ*mol-m=*Γ*d* √*kar-krae* Λ*u-ral*

PRN person stay-3SG=Q see-1SG.MUT come-FUT.INF

Λ*mol-m=di* Λ*yal* Γ*i* √*al-a* Λ*inala* Λ*du-m=*Λ*ba*

stay-3SG=Q man DEM brother-1SG.POSS notice (say)-3SG=but

Oh, boy! Dama thought, "That looks like a person coming towards me."

o. Γ*na*   √*kwar*   Γ*muku* Λ*d-ra-l*=Γ*d*   Λ*e-ka*
    1EXC already run   (say)-FUT-1SG=Q make-1SG.SRD

I was already about to run.

p. Λ*Dama* Λ*o-gwa*=Γ*mere* Γ*gaul* Γ*ki* Λ*apl*   Λ*ime*
    PRN   go-3SG.SRD=as cliff bad invisible.side down.there

    Γ*p*   Λ*bol*   Γ*sa*   Γ*d*   Γ*ki*Λ*kor-gw*
    go.INF be.hit.INF disappear (say).INF COMPL-3SG.IND

Dama went down a cliff and disappeared out of sight.

(4) a. Γ*na*   Γ*eku*   Γ*p*   Λ*tep* Λ*ime*   Γ*p-re*
        1EXC afterward go.INF top down.there go-CONJ(SS)

        Λ*Dama* Λ*Dama* Λ*di-krae*
        PRN   PRN   say-1SG.MUT

I went down to the edge of the cliff, calling his name, "Dama! Dama!"

  b. √*wa*   Λ*du-gw*
        here.I.am say-3SG.IND

He said, "Here I am."

(5) a. Γ*en* √*nam*Λ*elgo* Λ*u-n-e*   Λ*di-krae*
        you   why   come-2SG-QM say-1SG.MUT

I asked, "Why did you come here?"

  b. Λ*Dama*=Γ*rae* Λ*yopal*=Γ*ta* Λ*u-ral*   Γ*d* Λ*el-gwi*
        PRN=MUT   person=a   come-FUT.1SG Q make-3SG.DEM

        Γ*na*   Λ*ti*   Λ*u-ka*   Λ*apl*=Γ*la*   Λ*u-ka*
        1EXC running.away come-1SG.SRD invisible.side=LOC come-1SG.SRD

        Λ*ya*=Λ*we*   Λ*du-gw*
        right/back.here=ENC.WE say-3SG.IND

Dama said, "A person was coming, so I ran away down here."

(6) Γ*na*   Λ*yopal* Γ*ta*   Γ*u*+√*k-m*+Γ*ia*
    1EXC person NEG come+NEG-3SG+EXPL

Γ*er* Λ*u-o*   Λ*di-ka*   Γ*er* Λ*tep* Λ*u-gw*
to   come-SG.IMP say-1SG.SRD to   top come-3SG.IND

I said, "No one is coming. Come," and he came up to the top.

(7) a. Λ*aul*   √*pa-wda*=Λ*wa*
        cordyline lie-3SG.MUT=ENC.WA

        Γ*en* Λ*barwai*   Γ*tol* √*kan-gi*   √*kan-e*
        you for.a.long.time stare see-2SG.DEM see-CONJ(SS)

        Γ*na*   Λ*ti*   Λ*na-n*=Γ*d*   Λ*kopl* Γ*s-re*
        1EXC running.away go.FUT-2SG=Q stone hit-CONJ(SS)

        Γ*na*   Λ*kipi* Λ*kol* Λ*e-krae*   Γ*en* Γ*p*
        1EXC pretending go-1SG.MUT you go.INF

        Γ*ila*   Λ*ime*   Λ*bol*   Λ*go-n*=Λ*ua*   Λ*di-ka*
        inside down.there be.hit.INF die-2SG=ENC.WA say-1SG.SRD

I said, "That was a shrub. I saw you watching it for a long time, and threw a stone at it to make you run away, and I pretended to go. You went down there and got roughed up."

b. √*al-a=o*   ⌐*na*   ⌐*na*   ⌐*s*   ∧*gol*   ∧*kor-n-a*
brother-1SG.POSS=VOC   1EXC   1EXC   hit.INF   die.INF   PERF-2SG-PERM

∧*kor-o*   ∧*du-gw*
discard-SG.IMP   say-3SG.IND

Dama said, "Oh, my brother! You killed me badly."

(8) a. √*ana*   ∧*u-pka*   ∧*aml*   √*wou*   √*war-pka*
then   come-1DL.SRD   peanut   dig.INF   move.around-1DL.SRD

∧*wai*   ∧*su-gwa*
end   (hit)-3SG.SRD

We went back and finished digging peanuts.

b. ⌐*i-re*   ⌐*er*   *u-*√*ra-pl=*⌐*d*   √*e-pka*
take-CONJ(SS)   to   come-FUT-1DL=Q   make-1DL.SRD

We were about to go back.

c. ∧*kam*   √*talpa*[*32]   ∧*por=*⌐*ta* √*pa-gwi*
banana   talpa.banana   big=a   lie-3SG.DEM

√*ama*   *we-*√*ra-pl=*∧*wa*   ∧*du-gw*
too   cut.down-FUT-1DL=ENC.WA   say-3SG.IND

He said, "There is a big *talpa* banana tree, let's cut it down (to get bananas) as well."

(9) a. √*ana*   *we-*√*ra-pka*   √*Krwai* ∧*Plawa* ∧*Nogwa* ∧*mala*
then   cut.down-FUT-1DL.SRD   PRN   nearby

√*pa-m=*√*sip=*⌐*wa*   *pl-*√*a-m+*⌐*ia*
lie-3SG=forth.here=ENC.WA   perceive-FUT-3SG+EXPL

⌐*na*   √*we*   ∧*er-al*   ∧*el-a*   ∧*kore*
1EXC   cut.down.INF   to/off-FUT.INF   make-1SG.PERM   on.one.hand

⌐*en*   √*kau-yo*   ∧*di-ka*
you   carry.on.shoulder-SG.IMP   say-1SG.SRD

I said, "Ok, but, hey, Krwai Plawa Nogwa is sleeping nearby, so when we cut it down, he will hear the noise. So I am going to cut it down and you catch it!"

b. ∧*yal*   ⌐*kuna*   ∧*i*   ⌐*kle=*⌐*d*   ⌐*p*   ∧*redi*   ∧*el*
man   age.sake   DEM   silently=Q   go.INF   ready   make.INF

∧*mol-gwa*
stay-3SG.SRD

He went quietly and got ready to catch it.

c. ⌐*na*   √*we*   ∧*er*   ∧*kor-ka*
1EXC   cut.down.INF   to/off.INF   PERF-1SG.SRD

I cut it down.

[*32] √*talpa* is one of the most common cooking bananas.

d. Λmapn=Γla Λime   Λnaip Γi-re   Λkatim Γs
   base=LOC down.there knife take-CONJ(SS) cut   hit.INF

   Vwe   Λer   Λkor-ka
   cut.down.INF to/off.INF PERF-1SG.SRD

   I cut it at the base with a knife.

e. Val-n*³³   Λi   kau-Vra-l=Γd   Λel-m=Λba
   brother-PL.POSS DEM carry.on.shoulder-FUT-1SG=Q make-3SG=but

   Our brother tried to catch it.

f. Λkam   Λipn   Γde   Γp
   banana heavy (burn(intr.)).INF go.INF

   Γmo-n   Λne-ya*³⁴
   penis-2SG.POSS eat-1SG.PERM

   Val-n   Λi   Γs   Γi   Γp   Vmaun Vpal-e
   brother-PL.POSS DEM hit.INF take.INF go.INF below put-CONJ(SS)

   Λkam   Γp   Λtep Λdawal-gwa
   banana go.INF top   put.together-3SG.SRD

   The banana tree knocked him down with all its weight bearing down upon him.

g. Val-n   Λi   Γna   Γna   Λgol+Γa   Λkam
   brother-PL.POSS DEM 1EXC 1EXC die+1SG.EXPL banana

   Γyape   Λyer-o   Γd   Vpai   Λmol-gwa
   right/back.up.here remove-SG.IMP say.INF lie.INF stay-3SG.SRD

   Our friend kept on saying, "Palus! Palus! I am dying. Take the bananas off me."

h. Γna   Λyer-ka
   1EXC remove-1SG.SRD

   I removed them.

i. Γna   Γna   Γs   Λgol   Λkor-gi=Λwe   Λdu-gwa
   1EXC 1EXC hit.INF die.INF PERF-2SG.DEM=ENC.WE say-3SG.SRD

   He said, "You really killed me."

j. Γna   Val-a   Λepl   Λel   Λgol   Λkor-e
   1EXC brother-1SG.POSS laugh make.INF die.INF PERF-CONJ(SS)

   Γmo-n   Λne-ya   Λkam=Λya   Λaml=Λya   Γkol Γkol
   penis-2SG.POSS eat-1SG.PERM banana=and   peanut=and both.side

   Vkau   Γi-re   Val-a
   carry.on.shoulder.INF take-CONJ(SS) brother-1SG.POSS

   Γer Γu-re   Γer Λu-pka   Λwai Λsu-gwe
   to come-CONJ(SS) to come-1DL.SRD end (hit)-3SG.IND

   We could not stop laughing. We took bananas and peanuts, and carried them back home, and that's the end of the story.

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*³³ The person-number system for the possessor is different from that for the verbal subject. Dual is not included in it and plural (more than one) does not distinguish the person.

*³⁴ Γmon Λneya 'I eat your penis' is an interjection usually used to express affection between males. In this context, it expresses funniness of the story.

English Translation

I am going to tell a story about Dama and me stealing peanuts.

Once, on a full-moon night, I went with Dama up to Gar Mne Maul where peanut leaves grew well in the garden of Krwai Plawa Nogwa. We dug peanuts together, Dama came digging peanuts behind me. I went forward digging first and saw a black cordyline shrub there. I thought it was a person. I watched it for a long time, but it did not shake. I approached it silently, and I found that it was a shrub.

When I came back and was digging peanuts, Dama, in turn, went to the place where I had dug peanuts, and he looked round. He, in turn, saw the same shrub, and also thought that it was a person as I had. He went and watched it carefully for a long time in the same way as I had gone and watched it closely.

I threw a nearby stone at it, which fell down near the shrub making a noise. Oh, boy! Dama thought, "That looks like a person coming at me." I was already about to run, and Dama went down a cliff and disappeared out of sight.

I went down to the edge of the cliff, calling his name, "Dama! Dama!" He said, "Here I am." I said, "Why did you come here?" Dama said, "A person was coming, so I ran away down here." I said, "No one is coming. Come," and he came up to the top.

I said, "That was a shrub. I saw you watching it for a long time, and threw a stone at it to make you run away, and I pretended to go. You went down there and got roughed up." Dama said, "Oh, my brother! You gave me hell."

We went back and finished digging peanuts, but when we were about to go back, he said, "There is a big *talpa* banana tree, let's cut it down (to get bananas) as well." I said, "OK, but, hey, Krwai Plawa Nogwa is sleeping nearby, so when we cut it down, he will hear the noise. So I am going to cut it down and you catch it!"

He went quietly and got ready to catch it while I cut it down. I cut it at the base with the knife, but when he tried to catch it, the banana tree knocked him down with all its weight, bearing down upon him. Our friend kept on saying, "Palus! Palus! I am dying. Take the bananas off me." I removed them. He said, "You really gave me hell." We could not stop laughing.

We took bananas and peanuts, and carried them back home, and that's the end of the story.

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