

A Grammar of Lembena

Paul Heineman

SIL (Papua New Guinea Branch)

30 March, 1998

This paper is a first attempt at a description of the grammar of the Lembena language. Lembena is a Papuan language spoken by approximately 1500 people living on the border of Enga and East Sepik Provinces west of the Yuat river.

Table of Contents

1.	Abbreviations	5
2.	Introduction	7
3.	Phonology	8
3.1	Phonological Conventions.....	8
3.2	Morphophonemic Conventions	8
4.	Words.....	10
4.1	Nouns	10
4.1.1	Proper Names.....	10
4.1.2	Common Nouns	10
4.2	Pronouns.....	14
4.2.1	Personal Pronouns.....	14
4.2.2	Emphatic Pronouns.....	15
4.3	Other Pro-forms	16
4.3.1	Pro-verbs.....	16
4.3.2	Pro-adverb	17
4.4	Directionals	17
4.5	Verbs	19
4.5.1	Verb Stems	19
4.5.2	Stem Level Verbal Aspect.....	20
4.5.3	Causative	21
4.5.4	Benefactive	22
4.5.5	Finite Verb Forms.....	24
4.5.6	Medial Verb Forms.....	32
4.5.7	Manner Verb Forms	35
4.6	Adjuncts	35
4.7	Adjectives.....	38
4.8	Adverbs.....	39
4.9	Article	40
4.10	Clitics	41
4.10.1	Nominalizing Clitics.....	41
4.10.2	Case Marking Clitics	42
4.10.3	Attributive Clitic	44
4.10.4	Equative Clitic	48
4.10.5	Plural Marking Clitic	49
4.10.6	Context Marking Clitic	49
4.10.7	Intensifier Clitic.....	51
4.10.8	Conjunction Clitic	52
4.10.9	Argumentative Clitic	53
4.10.10	Similarity Clitic.....	54
4.10.11	Conditional Clitic	54
4.10.12	Contrast Clitic.....	55
4.11	Numerals.....	56
4.12	Conjunctions	57
4.12.1	Coordinate Conjunction.....	57
4.12.2	Associative Conjunction	58
4.12.3	Alternative Conjunction	58

4.13	Interrogatives	59
5.	Phrase Structure	61
5.1	Noun Phrase	61
5.1.1	Pronominal NP	61
5.1.2	Proper Name NP	62
5.1.3	Modified NP	62
5.1.4	Appositional NP	65
5.1.5	Conjoined NP	66
5.1.6	Embedding of NPs	67
5.2	Adjective Phrase	67
5.3	Numeral Phrase	67
5.4	Verb Phrase	67
5.4.1	Parameters	68
5.4.2	Verb Phrase Types	71
6.	Clause Structure	81
6.1	Main Clause Types	81
6.2	Order of Elements in VP Based Clauses	81
6.3	Grammatical Relations in VP Based Clauses	81
6.3.1	Core Grammatical Relations	81
6.3.2	Ergative marked Constituents	83
6.3.3	Referential marked Constituents	83
6.3.4	Associative marked Constituents	84
6.3.5	Context marked Constituents	84
6.4	Order of Elements in Equative Clauses	85
6.5	Grammatical Relations of Equative Clauses	85
6.6	Clause Types	85
6.6.1	Verb Phrase Based Clauses	86
6.6.2	Equative Clause	87
7.	Complex Sentence Structure	89
7.1	Conjoining of Clauses	89
7.1.1	Coordinate Clauses with Different Subjects	89
7.1.2	Coordinate Clauses with Identical Subjects	89
7.1.3	Association	90
7.1.4	Alternation	91
7.2	Nominalized Clauses	91
7.2.1	Nominalized Clauses as Core Grammatical Relations	91
7.2.2	Nominalized Clauses as Oblique Arguments	92
7.3	Complementation	92
7.3.1	Cognition	92
7.3.2	Quotation	93
7.3.3	Manipulation	93
7.3.4	Intention (Purpose)	94
7.3.5	Desire	94
7.3.6	Modal constructions	94
7.4	Adverbial Clauses	95
7.4.1	Clause with clitic = <i>sa</i>	95
7.4.2	Clause with clitic = <i>ga</i> . Also with = <i>ya=ga</i>	95
7.4.3	Constituents marked by the conditional clitic = <i>tamo</i> . Also = <i>yako</i>	95
8.	Bibliography	96

9. Appendix 1: Glossed Text..... 97

1. ABBREVIATIONS

-	Morpheme boundary
=	Clitic boundary
REFF	Referential marker (Female)
REFM	Referential marker (Male)
VIC	Vicinity
CMPA	Comprehensive Aspect
INTA	Intermittent Aspect
POT	Potential
PRFA	Perfect Aspect
CAUS	Causative
BENI	Benefactive; Inclusive
BENX	Benefactive; Exclusive
FPT	Far Past Tense
FUT	Future Tense
IPT	Immediate Past Tense
NPT	Near past tense
PRT	Present tense
1d	1 st person, Dual number subject marker
1p	1 st person, Plural number subject marker
1sDECL	1 st person, Singular number subject; Declarative illocutionary force
1sIMP	1 st person, Singular number subject; Imperative illocutionary force
1s~DECL	1 st person, Singular number subject; Non-declarative illocutionary force
23d	2 nd /3 rd person, Dual number subject marker
23p	2 nd /3 rd person, Plural number subject marker
2dpIMP	2 nd person, Dual/Plural number subject; Imperative illocutionary force
2s	2 nd person, Singular number subject marker
2sIMP	2 nd person, Singular number subject; Imperative illocutionary force
3IMP	3 rd person subject; Imperative illocutionary force
3sFUT~DECL	3 rd person, Singular number subject; Future tense; Non-declarative illocutionary force
3sDECL	3 rd person, Singular number subject; Declarative illocutionary force
3s~DECL	3 rd person, Singular number subject; Non-declarative illocutionary force
DECL	Declarative illocutionary force
INT	Interrogative illocutionary force
D.SS	Desiderative; Same subject
G.SS	Progressive; Same subject
I.SS	Irrealis; Same subject
P.SS	Purpose; Same subject
S.SS	Simultaneous related action; Same subject
B.SS	Basic; Same subject
MNR	Manner
DISP	Dispersive manner
HZRD	Haphazard manner
INTS	Intensive manner
PROG	Progressive manner
RCPR	Reciprocal manner
RNDM	Random manner
SIML	Simulative manner
+DEG	Greater degree clitic
ARG	Argumentative clitic

ASS	Associative case clitic
ATTR	Attributive clitic
CERT	Certainty clitic
CNJ	Coordinate conjunction clitic
CTRST	Contrast clitic
CTX	Context clitic
DIM	Diminutive nominalizer clitic
DNM	Dual Nominalizer clitic
EQ	Equative clitic
ERG	Ergative case clitic
EVID	Evidential clitic
FINL	Finalitive (clitic?)
NEQ	Negative Equative
NOM	Nominalizer clitic
PNM	Plural nominalizer clitic
PLR	Plural clitic
RFR	Referential case clitic
XPT	Expected clitic
CORJ	Coordinate conjunction
ASSJ	Associative conjunction
ALTJ	Alternative conjunction
NEG	Negation
OCC	Occasion

2. INTRODUCTION

Lembena (Ethnologue LEQ) is a language spoken by approximately 1500 people who live on the border of Enga and East Sepik Provinces west of the Yuat River. It is a Papuan language of the Enga Subfamily, West Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock, Central New Guinea Phylum.

The name *Lembena* is actually the name of one of the ten clans of people who speak the language. By historical accident, linguistic researchers and other outsiders have adopted this clan name as the name of the language although the people themselves have not traditionally used it that way. It has been the practice of the people to refer to their language as ‘talk of X clan’, ‘X’ being the name of their particular clan. Thus when a linguistic researcher literally dropped out of the skies (in a helicopter) and elicited a word list from the first man he could contact, that man proudly identified the language for the linguist as *Lebena pii* - ‘Lembena talk’. It should be remembered that, from the perspective of the speakers of this language as a whole, there is no one name for the language.

The data upon which this analysis is based consists of a mix of transcribed oral texts, native authored written texts and elicited examples and paradigms. They were collected during the period from June 1991 to December 1996 from a variety of language helpers, both preliterate and literate. A special word of appreciation needs to be said for Matthew Takole of Itopeno village, who has put in countless hours writing, transcribing and editing text material in support of the overall Lembena translation and literacy program.

Thanks are also due to the participants of various teacher training courses and writers’ workshops for their efforts in writing a wide variety of both original and traditional stories which have formed the core of an emerging library of Lembena literature besides providing a rich source of varied text material for this author’s use.

Features of interest in the grammar of the Lembena language include a complex system of directionals, a high degree of verbal complexity and the extensive use of clitics for many grammatical functions.

3. PHONOLOGY

The phonemes of Lembena with their corresponding orthographic symbols are as follows:

/ a b d e g i di k l ʎ m n ɲ o p s t u w j /
 < a b d e g i j k l ly m n ny o p s t u w y >
 < A B D E G I J K L Ly M N Ny O P S T U W Y >

Whenever the sequence /di/ is followed by a vowel other than /i/, /di/ is realized by a port-manteau phone. This phone, a voiced palatal affricate, is represented by the orthographic symbol <Jj>. Thus there are twenty letters in the practical orthography (two of which are digraphs), but only nineteen phonemes in the sound system of the language. There are some recent loans from Pidgin and English such as *Juta*, ‘Judah or Jew’, *Jone*, ‘John’ and *Jutusaleme*, ‘Jerusalem’ which are contributing to the incorporation of /dʒ/ as a phoneme of the language.

3.1 Phonological Conventions

1. Final vowels are typically devoiced and sometimes are deleted.
2. /t/ is generally pronounced as an alveolar flap intervocalically, (e.g. [ʼa.ɪq], /ata/, *ata*, ‘sit’).
3. /k/ is backed to [q] in the environment of preceding or following /a/, (e.g. [a.^{ɪn}da.qq], /adaka/, *adaka*, ‘at the house’).
4. The voiced plosives /b, d, g/ are always prenasalised. When these plosives occur as the onset of a final syllable, and the final vowel is devoiced or deleted, these are also typically devoiced, (e.g. [ʼa.^{ɪn}ta], /ada/, *ada*, ‘house’).
5. The sequence /di/, when it occurs before a vowel other than /i/ is pronounced as a voiced prenasalised palatal affricate [dʒ], (e.g. [ma.^{ɪn}di.^ɪli.me], /madilime/, *madilime*, ‘she is carrying’, becomes [ma.^{ɪn}dʒe.^ɪle.me], /madileme/, *majeleme*, in the perfect aspect).
6. /l/ is typically pronounced as a lateral flap intervocalically, (e.g. [a.^ɪpe.le], /apele/, *apele*, ‘rain’). In the environment of preceding and/or following /i/, the contrast between /l/ and /ʎ/ is neutralized, both phonemes being realized as [ʎ].

Lembena surface forms admit only open syllables and there are no consonant clusters. Thus the only syllable patterns in the language are V, VV, CV and CVV.

3.2 Morphophonemic Conventions

The following ordered rules describe the morphophonemic conventions of Lembena.

1. Morpheme Initial V deletion: $V_{[-HIGH]} \rightarrow \emptyset / V_ _ C$
 example: *pi + ala + me* → *pilame*
aku + opo + we → *akupowe*
2. Vowel Assimilation (1): $e \rightarrow a / a_ _ (C) \begin{cases} a \\ o \end{cases}$
 example: *p + ae + ala + me* → (Rule 1) → *paelame* → (Rule 2) → *paalame*

3. Vowel Assimilation (2): $a \rightarrow e/V_{[+HIGH]}^- e(C)e$
 example: $pi + ae + ele + me \rightarrow$ (Rule 1) $\rightarrow piaeleme \rightarrow$ (Rule 3) $\rightarrow pieeleme$
 (The output of this rule becomes the input to Rule 5 which generates *pieleme*.)
4. Morpheme Final V Deletion: $\left\{ \begin{matrix} e \\ o \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow \emptyset / C_- e$
 example: $p + ele + e + ne \rightarrow pelene$
 $p + ae + opo + e + ne \rightarrow$ (Rule 1) $\rightarrow paepoene$
 \rightarrow (Rule 2) $\rightarrow paapoene$
 \rightarrow (Rule 4) $\rightarrow paapene$
5. Equi-vowel Deletion: $V_1 V_1 \rightarrow V_1 / V_-$
 example: $pieeleme \rightarrow pieleme$
6. Vowel Harmonization (1): $e \rightarrow i / V_{[+HIGH]}^- l_-$
 example: $pi + ele + me \rightarrow$ (Rule 1) $\rightarrow pileme \rightarrow$ (Rule 6) $\rightarrow pilime$
7. Homorganic Consonant Deletion:
 $C_{[+LABIAL]} \rightarrow \emptyset / V_{[-LOW]}^- - \left\{ \begin{matrix} o \\ a \end{matrix} \right\} - C_{[+LABIAL, +OBSTRUENT]}$
 example: $pi + opo + ma + ne \rightarrow$ (Rule 1) $\rightarrow pipomane \rightarrow$ (Rule 7) $\rightarrow piomane$
8. Vowel Harmonization (2): $lo \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} li \\ lu \end{matrix} \right\} / \left\{ \begin{matrix} i_-_- \\ u_-_- \end{matrix} \right\}$
 examples: $pi + alo \rightarrow$ (Rule 1) $\rightarrow pilo \rightarrow$ (Rule 8) $\rightarrow pili$
 $aku + alo \rightarrow$ (Rule 1) $\rightarrow akulo \rightarrow$ (Rule 8) $\rightarrow akulu$

4. WORDS

4.1 Nouns

Nouns are the class of lexical items which are typically the heads of the **noun phrases**, (see section 5.1), which occur as arguments of verbs, naming the referents about which the verb predicates a given meaning. Some nouns may also occur with a modifying function preceding other nouns, as in *isa kudu*, ‘tree hole’ referring to a hole in a tree.

Nouns prototypically denote persons, places, time intervals or things. Things denoted by Lembena nouns may be concrete, such as *isa*, ‘tree’, or *ipuli*, ‘ground’ or abstract, such as *kalai*, ‘work’, or *buu*, ‘anger’. Lembena nouns are unmarked for number. Most of the suffixes attested on nouns are actually clitics (see section 4.10 Clitics). Inflectional suffixes which operate on the noun at the word level are treated below.

Lembena nouns may be subdivided into proper names and common nouns. Proper names are discussed first.

4.1.1 Proper Names

Proper names are a subclass of nouns which consists of the labels used by Lembena speakers to refer uniquely to specific individuals or groups of people and to places, objects or geographical features when these have been assigned such unique labels. The use of a proper name to refer to an entity or group of entities, automatically narrows the scope of reference to one unique entity or group of entities out of a class of potentially many similar entities. Thus *Mitisi* refers to a unique member of the class of entities denoted by the common noun *winya*. ‘dog’. By orthographic convention Lembena proper names are spelled with an initial capital letter.

Lembena exhibits a pair of suffixes which occur on proper names of people when they are used to refer to the people rather than address them. The first of these, *-pe*, occurs on names of males. So the name *Goluwa* becomes *Goluwape* when used to refer to the man of that name. The form for female names is *-me*. The name *Saga* becomes *Sagame* when used to refer to the woman of that name.

The suffix *-lapa* occurs on place names or names of physical features such as rivers to denote the vicinity of that place or feature. For example, the area near the river called *Kegelema* is called *Kegelemalapa*.

4.1.2 Common Nouns

Common nouns refer to members of a class of concepts, prototypically things, which are regarded as the same for referential purposes, i.e. they share one or more salient semantic features in common. Thus *winya*, a common noun, refers to any member of the class of animate creatures having four legs, a tail, bodies covered with fur, teeth suited to a carnivorous diet, capable of barking and howling noises and which have been domesticated by humans.

Within the class of common nouns, we can recognize two further sub-classes: locative nouns and temporal nouns which are discussed later in sections 4.1.2.1 and 4.1.2.2. The remainder of Lembena common nouns refer to concrete objects such as *ana*, ‘stone’, nominalized events such as *kalai*, ‘work’, emotions such as *kodo*, ‘sorrow’, places such as *elee*, ‘ridge’, ambient conditions such as *penya*, ‘fine weather’ and persons such as *kali*, ‘man’.

TABLE 1 illustrates a very limited sample of Lembena common nouns

Lembena Noun	English Gloss	Lembena Noun	English Gloss
<i>abolo</i>	river bed	<i>ede</i>	rope
<i>ada</i>	house	<i>eekana</i>	year
<i>ana</i>	stone	<i>gapui</i>	chin
<i>apele</i>	rain	<i>ipa</i>	water
<i>buu</i>	anger	<i>kalai</i>	work
<i>dalebo</i>	doorway	<i>mapu</i>	sweet potato

TABLE 1: A small sampling of typical Lembena nouns

4.1.2.1 Locative Nouns

Locative nouns are a closed subclass of nouns which normally refer to locations in, on or near objects. The locative nouns are displayed in TABLE 2, below.

Lembena Locative Noun	English Gloss	Lembena Locative Noun	English Gloss
<i>adinae</i>	location between	<i>kamaka</i>	location outside
<i>akemae, kemae, ketae</i>	top	<i>kiliwoi</i>	location alongside
<i>daate</i>	interior (buildings only)	<i>kokote</i>	location within
<i>daka</i>	inner part	<i>patakili</i>	location beside
<i>ikili</i>	location close to	<i>tegesa, tepesa</i>	location nearby
<i>ipi</i>	back or bottom	<i>tupaki</i>	location underneath
		<i>tuku</i>	location in middle of

TABLE 2: Lembena locative nouns with glosses

Locative nouns occur often in collocation with other concrete nouns. In example 1, the noun *ipuli*, ‘ground’, provides the reference by which the location ‘within’ makes sense.

- 1) *Ipuli kokote koloï wai pame lamine.*
ipuli kokote koloï wai p-a-me l-a-mi-ne
 ground within earthworm become strike-FPT-3sDECL say-FPT-23p-DECL
 ‘He became like an earthworm within the ground, they said.’

The noun which would normally occur with the locative noun may be deleted if context makes it clear what the locative noun refers to. This is especially true of *daate*, ‘interior’, which can only refer to the interior of buildings, and *kamaka*, ‘location outside’. See the following example.

- 2) *Daate ulu tedamu pili salo kalawala Sakataeyape*
daate u-alo tedamu pi-alo s-alo kal-awala Sakataeya-pe
 interior go-B.SS offering do-B.SS cook-B.SS giveEXCL-P.SS name-REFM
daate uame.
daate u-a-me
 interior go-FPT-3sDECL

‘Going inside (the temple), Zechariah went in to burn the offering.’

Locative nouns occur frequently with the suffix *-te*, ‘side’, plus clitics which further specify the location being referred to.

- 3) *Onoi baa isaga piili ipuliga piili dee sabo*
onoi baa isa=ga pii-alo ipuli=ga pii-alo dee sabo
 ant it tree=RFR be-B.SS ground=RFR be-B.SS and rotten.log
tupakitena piili piigenae.
tupaki-te=na pii-alo pii=ege=na=e
 underneath-side=NOM be-B.SS be=ATTR=NOM=EQ

‘The ant typically lives in trees, in the ground and on the underside of rotten logs.’

Certain of the locative nouns may be used with a temporal sense as in example 4.

- 4) *Baa penya dee eledepa adinae onaga namuna baa*
Baa penya dee elede=pa adinae o=na=ga namuna baa
 it dry.season and rainy.time=ASS between that=NOM=RFR edible.bamboo it
igenae.
i=ege=na=e
 come=ATTR=NOM=EQ

‘This edible bamboo comes up between dry and rainy seasons.’

The locative nouns may also be used with a figurative sense as in example 5.

- 5) *Ona baa adinaesa kali ona Abiyape tatanae.*
o=na baa adinae=sa kali o=na Abiya-pe tata=na=e
 that=NOM he between=CTX man that=NOM Abijah-REFM clan=NOM=EQ
 ‘He was a ‘between man’ (priest) of the clan of Abijah.’

4.1.2.2 Temporal Nouns

In a similar way, Lembena employs a closed class of **temporal nouns** to refer to intervals or points of time. Some of these temporal nouns refer to absolute time, such as *okoli*, ‘month’, and *eekana*, ‘year’. Others refer to relative time, such as *alebo*, ‘the day before yesterday’, and *wiyana*, ‘tomorrow’. The full list of temporal nouns attested in the data on which this paper is based is displayed in **TABLE 3**, below.

Lembena Temporal Noun	English Gloss	Lembena Temporal Noun	English Gloss
<i>ada tobe, ada iwalu</i>	midnight	<i>gii</i>	time (generic)
<i>adataka</i>	midday	<i>ipuli gii</i>	day (lit.: 'place time')
<i>adipa</i>	now, at this time	<i>okoli</i>	month (lit.: moon)
<i>aema</i>	later	<i>penya</i>	dry season
<i>akapu</i>	today	<i>satiti, madeya</i>	week
<i>aleaka</i>	afternoon	<i>waba</i>	time before
<i>alebo</i>	day before yesterday	<i>wau</i>	evening
<i>duku</i>	occasion	<i>wauka</i>	night
<i>duma</i>	day after tomorrow	<i>wiyaka</i>	yesterday
<i>eekana</i>	year	<i>wiyakae</i>	next day
<i>elede</i>	rainy season	<i>wiyana</i>	tomorrow

TABLE 3: Lembena temporal nouns with glosses

Example 6 illustrates several temporal nouns in context. All of these sentences consist of equative clauses which encode habitual or customary actions and, in this example, are unspecified for subject.

- 6) *Penya pilimenapa ee pada yalo piigenae.*
penya pi-ele-me = na = pa ee pada y-alo pii = ege = na = e
 dry.season do-PRT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS garden space put-B.SS be=ATTR=NOM=EQ
- Ee ona okoli laamanaga pigenae. Okoli*
ee o = na okoli laamana = ga pi = ege = na = e okoli
 garden that=NOM month two=RFR do=ATTR=NOM=EQ month
- tepomanaga ee ona pakalo yegenae.*
tepoana = ga ee o = na pak-alo y = ege = na = e
 three=RFR garden that=NOM chop.down-B.SS put=ATTR=NOM=EQ
- Oialo satiti kikopaki waki lalo piigenae.*
oi-ae-alo satiti kikopaki waki lalo pii = ege = na = e
 do.like.that-PRFA-B.SS week four wait say-B.SS be=ATTR=NOM=EQ
- 'As the dry season happens, (we) are ones who set out a garden space. The second month (we) are ones who do (remove brush from) the garden. The third month (we) are ones who chop down (the trees in) the garden and put it. Having done like that (we) are ones who wait for four weeks.'

Example 7 illustrates the temporal noun *aleaka* as head of a noun phrase, which is indicated by underlining.

- 7) *Aleaka onapa yawale ona baa dee adaka igenae.*
aleaka o = na = pa yawale o = na baa dee ada = ka
i = ege = na = e
 afternoon that=NOM=ASS pig that=NOM he again house=CTX
 come=ATTR=NOM=EQ
- 'In the afternoon, the pig is one who comes again to the house.'

4.2 Pronouns

4.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Lembena **personal pronouns** are displayed in **TABLE 4**.

English Gloss	Full form	Shortened form
1st singular	<i>nabala</i>	<i>naba</i> or <i>naa</i>
2nd singular	<i>nibala</i>	<i>niba</i> or <i>nii</i>
3rd singular	<i>bala</i>	<i>baa</i>
1st dual	<i>nalibala</i>	<i>naliba</i> or <i>nali</i>
2nd and 3rd dual	<i>nilibala</i>	<i>niliba</i> or <i>nili</i>
1st plural	<i>nanibala</i>	<i>naniba</i> or <i>nani</i>
2nd and 3rd plural	<i>nyabala</i>	<i>nyaba</i> or <i>nyaa</i>

TABLE 4: Personal pronouns, shortened forms

The distinctions between 2nd and 3rd person dual, and between 2nd and 3rd person plural, are neutralized.¹ Personal pronouns can occur as subject or object of verb, as possessor in apposition to the possessed noun or as an oblique argument with the clitic = *kisa*, ‘PERSONAL CONTEXT’.

All of the personal pronouns can occur in shortened forms. The shortened forms of the personal pronouns are also displayed in **TABLE 4**. These forms are most common in appositional noun phrases where the pronoun is coreferential with the associated noun or noun phrase, as in example 8.

- 8) *Kali laama = na nili noli mada uapine.*
kali laama = na nili noli mada u-a-pi-ne
 man two=NOM they.dual animal hunting go-FPT-23d-DECL
 ‘Two men went hunting animals.’

There are no possessive pronouns *per se* in the Lembena language. Possession can be indicated by use of the referential case clitic = *ga* following either nouns or personal pronouns. The resulting surface forms for the personal pronouns are displayed in **TABLE 5**.

¹ The forms *alapu*, *olapu*, *abu*, *obu*, *ananu*, and *onanu* may be used in place of the 3rd person dual or plural personal pronouns. These forms consist of the directionals *a*, ‘this’ or *o*, ‘that’, plus the dual nominalizing clitic = *lapu*, ‘DUAL NOMINALIZER’, the plural nominalizing clitic = *bu*, ‘PLURAL NOMINALIZER’, or the unmarked nominalizing clitic = *na*, ‘NOMINALIZER’, plus the clitic = *nu*, ‘PLURAL’. (See section 4.10 for full discussion of clitics.)

English Gloss	Possessive form
1st singular	<i>nabalaga</i> or <i>naga</i>
2nd singular	<i>nibalaga</i> or <i>niga</i>
3rd singular	<i>balaga</i> or <i>baga</i>
1st dual	<i>nalibalaga</i> or <i>naliga</i>
2nd and 3rd dual	<i>nilibalaga</i> or <i>niliga</i>
1st plural	<i>nanibalaga</i> or <i>naniga</i>
2nd and 3rd plural	<i>nyabalaga</i> or <i>nyaga</i>

TABLE 5: Possessive pronouns

It is common for the personal pronouns to be used possessively without the presence of the referential case clitic, (see example 9), but the use of the clitic makes possession explicit, as in example 10.

- 9) *Nabala ada anaakae lame.*
nabala ada a=na=aka=e l-a-me
 I house this=NOM=+DEG=EQ say-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘“This very one is my house”, he said’

- 10) *Ada ona niga lamo.*
ada o=na ni=ga =lamo
 house that=NOM you=RFR =EVID
 ‘Evidently that house is yours.’

4.2.2 Emphatic Pronouns

Only one emphatic pronoun has been discovered so far, which is *bapa*, ‘he/she, emphatic’. This emphatic pronoun may be used as a personal pronoun functioning as a core argument of the verb or it may function as a possessive pronoun with the added emphatic meaning, as in example 11.

- 11) *Oili pili wetalo oo kali ona bapa adaka*
nyanaa
oi-alo pi-alo wet-alo o kali o=na bapa ada=ka
nyanaa
 do.like.that-B.SS do-B.SS finish-B.SS that man that=NOM heEMPH house=CTX
 nearer.far.below
iame lamine.
i-a-me l-a-m-i-ne
 come-FPT-3sDECL say-FPT-23p-DECL
 ‘When he finished doing that the man came back down to his own house, they said.’

4.3 Other Pro-forms

4.3.1 Pro-verbs

Lembena has two proverbs which can substitute for one or more event concepts in a clause or sentence. The first *oi-*, ‘do.like.that’ is far more common than the second *ai-*, ‘do.like.this’.² Example 12 illustrates the use of *oi-*.

- 12) *Ona waba nanibala taege dee auage onanuma*
o = na waba nanibala taege dee auage
o = na = nu = ma

that=NOM before we father.ATTR CORJ grandfather.ATTR
 that=NOM=PLR=ERG

oiamine.

oi-a-mi-ne

do.like.that-FPT-23p-DECL

‘Before, our fathers and grandfathers did like that.’

Example 13 is the only example in my text corpus illustrating the use of *ai-*.

- 13) *Onapa nabala nyapalo ialo adaka piiawenapa*
o = na = pa nabala nyap-alo i-ae-alo ada = ka pii-a-
we = na = pa

that=NOM=ASS I leave-B.SS come-PRFA-B.SS house=CTX be-FPT-
 1sDECL=NOM=ASS

Gote onama aialogena...

Gote o = na = ma ai-ae-alo = ege = na

God that=NOM=ERG do.like.this-PRFA-B.SS=ATTR=NOM

‘Then when I had left and come home and was remaining, God’s doing like this...’

One of the most common uses of *oi-* is in tail-head linkage with a preceding sentence as illustrated in example 14.

- 14) *Pee ona ipapege lomalo pepete eli palo adage pialo*
pee o = na ipapege lom-alo pepete eli p-alo ada = ege pi-
ae-alo

eel.trap that=NOM bamboo cut.across-B.SS strip split strike-B.SS house=ATTR do-
 PRFA-B.SS

pee nyawe. Oialo ipaga olawe.

pee ny-a-we oi-ae-alo ipa = ga ol-a-we.

eel.trap weave-FPT-1sDECL do.like.that-PRFA-B.SS water=RFR immerse-FPT-
 1sDECL

‘(About) the eel trap, I cut bamboo and split off strips and having made the house (cage) I made an eel trap. Having done like that, I immersed (it) in the water.’

Lembena also has a negative verb *na-*, ‘not’, though it is not often used. See example 15.

- 15) *Nanibala kali ona minalo isakopege naeleme.*
nanibala kali ona min-alo isak-opo-ege na-ele-me
 we man that hold-B.SS stand-POT-ATTR not-PRT-3sDECL

‘We are unable to rouse the man.’

² The alternation of the vowels *o* and *a* in these two verbs corresponds to the same alternation in the directionals. See section 4.4.

The interrogative pro-verb *bei-*, ‘what action’, is discussed under section 4.13 Interrogatives.

4.3.2 Pro-adverb

Lembena has two pro-adverbs *opa*, ‘that.way’, and *apa*, ‘this.way’, which have senses similar to the English word ‘thus’ but incorporate a distal (*opa*) - proximal (*apa*) opposition.³ As with the pro-verbs *oi-* and *ai-*, the distal pro-adverb *opa* occurs much more often.

- 16) *Onapa kali onama opa lakalame.*
o = na = pa kali o = na = ma opa l-akal-a-me
 that=NOM=ASS man that=NOM=ERG that.way say-BENX-FPT-3sDECL

‘Then the man spoke in this way.’

Note that in English we would prefer the expression *in this way*, in most instances where Lembena would use *opa*, ‘that.way’.

4.4 Directionals

Directionals are a small closed class of words which indicate the location in space (and sometimes time) of a referent with respect to the speaker. The full range of directionals is listed in **TABLE 6**.

Lembena Directional Stem	English Gloss	Lembena Directional Stem	English Gloss
<i>mee</i>	a (indefinite)		
<i>a</i>	this (definite)		
<i>o</i>	that (definite)		
<i>sa</i>	nearer just there	<i>ila</i>	nearer above
<i>so</i>	farther just there	<i>ilo</i>	farther above
<i>sana</i>	nearer there	<i>ilana</i>	nearer far above
<i>sono</i>	farther there	<i>ilono</i>	farther far above
<i>ma</i>	nearer over there	<i>nya</i>	nearer below
<i>mo</i>	farther over there	<i>nyo</i>	farther below
<i>mala</i>	nearer way over there	<i>nyana</i>	nearer far below
<i>molo</i>	farther way over there	<i>nyono</i>	farther far below

TABLE 6: Lembena directionals with English glosses

On closer observation, it is evident that the directionals realize the intersection of two systems. The first is a system based on the polar opposition of *near(er)* and *far(ther)* and shows up in the opposition of the vowel *a* to the vowel *o*. This system can refer both to space and to time. The first three lines of **TABLE 6** contain forms that are specified only for the first system and they express the full range of possibilities, *unspecified*, *near* or *far*.

This first system intersects a second system which signals relative spatial orientation in the horizontal and vertical axes. There are five possibilities in specifying the location on the

³ See footnote 2, on page 16.

horizontal plane, if we count the possibility of *unmarked*. The other four possibilities are *sV-*, ‘just there’, *sVnV-*, ‘there’, *mV-*, ‘over there’, *mVnV-*, way over there. It’s a bit difficult to gloss these forms in English because they represent a more finely divided perspective on space than what we are accustomed to. The vowel slots, shown by *V* in the previous sentence are filled by either *a* or *o* depending on the form’s specification within the first system.

In the vertical plane there are five possible levels of specification, again if we include *unmarked*. The other four possibilities are *ilV*, ‘above’, *ilVnV*, ‘far above’, *niV*, ‘below’, and *niVnV*, ‘far below’. The vowel slots are filled as already mentioned with either *a* or *o*.

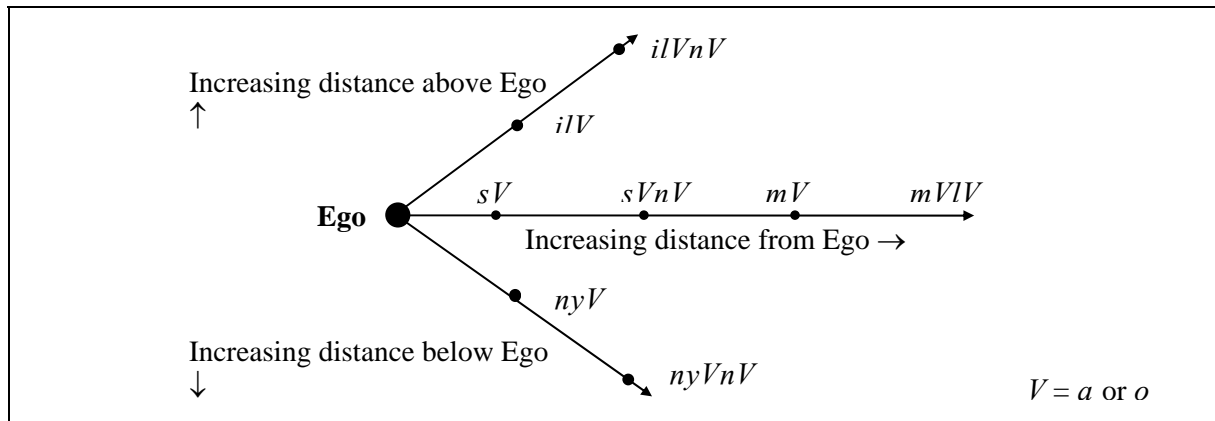


FIGURE 1: Lembena directionals

FIGURE 1 illustrates graphically the relationships within the Lembena directional system. As already mentioned, each form can have two surface realizations depending on how it intersects the polar relationship near-far indicated by the choice of *a* or *o* vowel.

The directionals very commonly have one or more appended clitics such as one of the nominalizing clitics and a case marking clitic. If a directional occurs without any affixation, the monosyllabic directionals will be realized by forms with reduplication of the vowel. So we find *o = na*, ‘that=NOM’, but *oo*, ‘that’.

The directionals in the first three rows of TABLE 6 carry the heaviest functional load. *Mee* includes within its range of functions a function parallel to the English indefinite article *a(n)*. *Aa* and *oo*, among other functions, include a function parallel to the English demonstrative adjectives *this* and *that* signifying a previously mentioned or otherwise known referent. This is seen in example 17, which displays the first two sentences of a story. The man, a previously unknown participant, is introduced by *Kali meena*, ‘a man’. In the next sentence this same participant is referred to by *Kali onama*, ‘that man(=ERG)’, since he is now a known, previously mentioned participant.

- 17) *Kali meena baa waba piiame.*
kali mee = na baa waba pii-a-me
 man a=NOM he before be-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘There once was a man.’
- Kali onama ai pakalo nege mana o = na naa*
kali o = na = ma ai pak-alo n-ege mana o = na naa
 man that=NOM=ERG sago chop-B.SS eat-ATTR knowledge that=NOM NEG
daegenae.
d-ae = ege = na = e
 see-PRFA=ATTR=NOM=EQ
 ‘The man was one who did not know how to cut and eat sago.’

Though the directionals most commonly occur following the nouns they refer to, they can precede the noun as in example 18. Ordinarily the noun with the directional preceding it will

also be followed by a second directional. The two directionals must be semantically compatible but may not be cognate forms. In example 18 the first directional, *ilo*, encodes more specific information about the location of the referent of the noun while the following directional, *o*, encodes only definiteness.

- 18) *Ilo kali olapu ada pilipine.*
ilo kali o=lapu ada pi-ele-pi-ne
 farther.above man that=DNM house do-PRT-23d-DECL
 ‘Those two men up there are building a house.’

In defective sentences such as might constitute an answer to a question it is possible to find a preceding directional plus noun without the following directional as in example 19.

- 19) *Oo kali.*
o kali
 that man
 ‘That man.’

4.5 Verbs

Verbs are an open class of lexical items which typically encode actions, states and changes of states. The prototypical function of verbs in clauses is as the nucleus of the predicate, although they do have other functions in the verb phrase as well. The form of the verb can be described as having one of the following three structures:

- Finite verb: → +V_{STEM} +TENSE {+SUBJECT ±ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE} (cf. 4.5.5, page 24)
 Medial verb: → +V_{STEM} +SAME SUBJECT (cf. 4.5.6, page 32)
 Manner verb: → +V_{ROOT} +MANNER (cf. 4.5.7, page 35)

4.5.1 Verb Stems

Both finite and medial verbs are built on a **verb stem**. The structure of the verb stem, V_{STEM}, is as follows:

$$V_{STEM} \rightarrow +V_{ROOT} \pm ASPECT \pm CAUSATIVE \pm BENEFACTIVE$$

Only the verb root (V_{ROOT}) is obligatory.

ASPECT refers to a member of the set of aspect marking suffixes. (See section 4.5.2, Stem Level Verbal Aspect.)

CAUSATIVE refers to the causative suffix *-as*. (See section 4.5.3 Causative.)

BENEFACTIVE refers to one of the two suffixes *-adi*, INCLUSIVE BENEFACTIVE (BENI), which refers to 1st and 2nd person beneficiaries, or *-akal*, EXCLUSIVE BENEFACTIVE (BENX), which refers to 3rd person beneficiaries. (See section 4.5.4 Benefactive.)

All of these stem level suffixes are optional.

It is also possible to have a compound root in the verb stem although this is not very common. Examples which have been encountered so far include the two roots *s-*, ‘cook’, and *n-*, ‘eat’, as in the word *sanalo*⁴, ‘cook and eat-B.SS’; the two roots *d-*, ‘see’, and *mi-*, ‘get’, as in the word *damialo*, ‘meet-PRFA-B.SS’; the two roots *p-*, ‘strike’, and *t-*, ‘shine’, as in the word *patalo*, ‘coat-B.SS’; and the two roots *wat-*, ‘follow’, and *min-*, ‘hold’, as in the word *wataminalo*, ‘obey-B.SS’. This does not appear to be a productive process in the language and these particular forms most likely only occur because of the very high frequency of co-occurrence of each of these pairs of verb roots.

⁴ Note the presence of epenthetic *a* vowel between consonants to preserve (C)V(C)V... syllable pattern. Also in the other examples of compound roots.

4.5.2 Stem Level Verbal Aspect

Aspect refers to the speaker's perspective toward the internal temporal structure of the event about which he is speaking.

Aspect can be encoded in a variety of ways in Lembena. The perfect, comprehensive and intermittent aspects are marked by aspect suffixes on the verb root. Continuative, completive, persistive and repetitive aspects are encoded by phrasal constructions. More than one aspect may be encoded in the same clause, as long as they are semantically compatible. Discussion of aspect verb phrases and simultaneous encoding of more than one aspect can be found in section 5.4.1.4.

The slot within the stem labeled ASPECT can be filled by one of three suffixes: the perfect aspect suffix, the comprehensive aspect suffix, or the intermittent aspect suffix.

4.5.2.1 Perfect

The **perfect aspect** construction encodes the speaker's perspective that, at a given point in time relative to the time of the utterance, the event predicated with respect to the subject of the clause is fully accomplished. The relative time reference is encoded by the tense marking on the verb which can be past, present or future, as examples 20 through 22 show.

The underlying form of the perfect aspect suffix (PRFA) is *-ae*. Through the operation of morphophonemic rules, the surface form may be *-ae*, *-aa*, *-a*, or *-e*. The perfect aspect verb stem is formed as follows:

$$+V_{\text{ROOT}} +\text{PRFA} \pm\text{CAUSATIVE} \pm\text{BENEFACTIVE}$$

This stem is then inflected with tense, subject marking and illocutionary force for finite verb forms, or with a medial verb suffix in medial verb forms..

Examples 20 through 22 illustrate the perfect aspect of finite verbs.

- 20) *Nabalama pii onaaka laawe.*
Nabala=ma pii o=na=aka l-ae-a-we
 I=ERG talk that=NOM+=DEG say-PRFA-FPT-1sDECL
 'I had said that very same thing.'
- 21) *Kali ona ieleme.*
kali o=na i-ae-ele-me
 man that=NOM come-PRFA-PRT-3sDECL
 'That man has come.'
- 22) *Balama nibala isa minaapome.*
Bala=ma nibala isa min-ae-opo-me
 he=ERG you tree hold-PRFA-FUT-3sDECL
 'He will have defeated you.' (Literally: 'He will have gotten your tree.')

Example 23 illustrates the perfect aspect of a medial verb.

- 23) *Mina adaka ialo modo pili nee kalalo dee*
mi-ana ada=ka i-ae-alo modo pi-alo nee kal-alo dee
 get-S.SS house=CTX come-PRFA-B.SS care.for do-B.SS food give-B.SS and
magili palo kalalo piiame lamine.
magili p-alo kal-alo pii-a-me l-a-mi-ne
 rat strike-B.SS give-B.SS be-FPT-3sDECL say-FPT-23p-DECL
 'Having brought it home, he cared for it, giving it food and killing rats and giving them to it, they said.'

4.5.2.2 Comprehensive

The **comprehensive aspect** construction encodes the perspective that the event is done to every relevant or applicable thing within the context of the utterance. The underlying form of the comprehensive aspect suffix (CMPA) is *-amodaa*. Through the operation of morphophonemic rules, the surface form may be *-modaa*, or *-amodaa*. The comprehensive aspect verb stem is formed as follows:

+V_{ROOT} +**CMPA** ±CAUSATIVE ±BENEFACTIVE

This stem is then inflected with tense, subject marking and illocutionary force for finite verb forms, or with a medial verb suffix in medial verb forms.

Examples 24 and 25 illustrate the comprehensive aspect of finite verb forms. In example 24, we have a concrete use of the comprehensive aspect construction and in example 25 a more figurative use. To this point I have found no examples of the comprehensive aspect in a medial verb form. But I believe this is due to the relative infrequency of use of this aspect overall and not to any restriction on the occurrence of the comprehensive aspect in medial verb forms.

This may in fact be: *namoda(a) alame*.

- 24) *Balama nee namodaalame.*
Bala = ma nee n-amodaa-ala-me
 he=ERG food consume-CMPA-IPT-3sDECL
 ‘He ate all the food.’ or ‘He ate everything there was to eat.’
- 25) *Balama pii lamodaalame.*
Bala = ma pii l-amodaa-ala-me
 he=ERG talk say-CMPA-IPT-3sDECL
 ‘He said it all.’ or ‘He said everything there was to say.’

4.5.2.3 Intermittent

The **intermittent aspect** encodes the perspective that an event is repeated intermittently, or off and on, over an indefinite span of time.

The underlying form of the intermittent aspect suffix (INTA) is *-aey*, with surface realizations of *-aey*, or *-ey*, depending on the phonological shape of the root. The intermittent aspect verb stem is formed as follows:

+V_{ROOT} +**INTA** ±CAUSATIVE ±BENEFACTIVE

This stem is then inflected with tense, subject marking and illocutionary force for finite verb forms, or with a medial verb suffix in medial verb forms.

Example 26, taken from a native authored short story, illustrates the intermittent aspect in the medial verb nucleus of a dependent clause.

This may in fact be: *ieya alo*.

- 26) *Yada minalo aealo dee adaka ieyalo aegenae.*
yada min-alo ae-alo dee ada = ka i-aey-alo ae = ege = na = e
 bow hold-B.SS go.about-B.SS and house=CTX come-INTA-B.SS
 go.about=ATTR=NOM=EQ
 ‘He is one who goes around holding his bow, coming now and then to his house.’

4.5.3 Causative

The **causative** construction encodes the sense that one participant, the agent, acts to cause another participant to perform some action or to undergo some process, or acts to cause some change of state in another usually inanimate participant, or acts to bring about the completion of some action or process.

CAUSATIVE can be filled only by the causative suffix. The form of the causative stem is as follows:

$$+V_{\text{ROOT}} \pm \text{ASPECT} + \text{CAUSATIVE} \pm \text{BENEFACTIVE}$$

The underlying form of the causative suffix (CAUS) is *-as*. The causative suffix is realized in surface forms as either *-as*, or *-s* depending on whether the preceding segment is a consonant or a vowel, respectively. The causative stem is then inflected with tense, subject marking and illocutionary force for finite verb forms, or with a medial verb suffix in medial verb forms.

Examples 27 and 28 illustrate the use of the causative suffix.

- 27) *Pii onaga lalo wetaseleme.*
pii o = na = ga l-alo wet-as-ele-me
 talk that=NOM=RFR say-B.SS finish-CAUS-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘He finished it by what he said.’
- 28) *Omeye winya palo kumasamenapa mina*
Ome-eye winya p-alo kum-as-a-me = na = pa mi-ana
 offspring-ATTR dog strike-B.SS die-CAUS-FPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS get-S.SS
adaka ulu molya pakalo onaga kauwane onama
ada = ka u-alo molya pak-alo o = na = ga kauwane o = na = ma
 house=CTX go-B.SS grave bury-B.SS that=NOM=RFR cassowary that=NOM=ERG
winya palo wini piame.
winya p-alo wini pi-a-me.
 dog strike-B.SS defeat do-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘Since the young (cassowary) struck the dog and caused it to die and I took it home and buried it, the cassowary defeated the dog.’

4.5.4 Benefactive

Benefactive encodes a reference to the participant to whom or for whom the action or process of the predicate occurs. This sometimes, but not always, coincides with what is referred to as the grammatical relation indirect object. The structure of the benefactive stem is as follows:

$$+V_{\text{ROOT}} \pm \text{ASPECT} \pm \text{CAUSATIVE} + \text{BENEFACTIVE}$$

BENEFACTIVE can be filled by either the inclusive benefactive suffix or the exclusive benefactive suffix.

. The benefactive stem is then inflected with tense, subject marking and illocutionary force for finite verb forms, or with a medial verb suffix in medial verb forms.

4.5.4.1 Inclusive Benefactive

The underlying form of the **inclusive benefactive** suffix (BENI) is *-adi*, with surface realizations written as *-di*, *-adi*, *-j*, and *-aj*, depending on the phonological context. (See section 2 for the explanation of use of the orthographic symbol $\langle j \rangle$.)

The presence of the inclusive benefactive suffix indicates that the event denoted by the verb occurs to the benefit or detriment of either the speaker or the hearer. Examples 29 and 30 illustrate the use of the inclusive benefactive in declarative verb forms.

- 29) *Aema nibala ee wiyajomane.*
aema nibala ee wiy-adi-opo-ma-ne
 later you garden plant-BENI-FUT-1p-DECL
 ‘Later we will plant a garden for you.’

- 30) *Balama nabala pii wiajame.*
Bala = ma nabala pii wi-a-adi-a-me
 he=ERG I talk perceive-PRFA-BENI-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘He had listened to what I said (for me).’

Example 31 illustrates the inclusive benefactive in imperative verb forms.

- 31) *Nabala waba pija nibala aema pidiwanale.*
nabala waba pi-di-a nibala aema pi-di-wa = nale
 I first do-BENI-2sIMP you later do-BENI-1S=XPCT
 ‘First you do something for me, later I will do something for you.’

Example 32 illustrates the inclusive benefactive in a medial purpose verb form.

- 32) *Nanibala isa midiwala ua.*
nanibala isa mi-di-wala u-a
 we wood get-BENI-P.SS go-2sIMP
 ‘Go get our wood for us.’

4.5.4.2 Exclusive Benefactive

The underlying form of the **exclusive benefactive** suffix (BENX) is *-akal*, with surface realizations of *-akal* and *-kal*, depending on whether the preceding segment is a consonant or vowel, respectively.

The presence of the exclusive benefactive suffix indicates that the event denoted by the verb occurs to the benefit or detriment of an entity other than the speaker or the hearer. The entity may be human, animate non-human, or inanimate.

Example 33 illustrates the exclusive benefactive in the stem of a declarative verb.

- 33) *Dokosa onama Katatope nee naegena*
dokosa o = na = ma Katato-pe nee n-ae-ege = na
 doctor that=NOM=ERG Karato-REFM tooth hurt-PRFA-ATTR=NOM
ikuakaleleme.
iku-ae-akal-ele-me
 pull.out-PRFA-BENX-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘The doctor has extracted Katato's painful tooth for him.’

Example 34 illustrates the exclusive benefactive in the stem of a hortatory verb.

- 34) *Kasee ona ometakaga lubakalope.*
kasee o = na ometaka = ga lub-akal-opo-e
 road that=NOM child=RFR open-BENX-FUT-2s
 ‘Open the door (road?) for the child.’

Example 35 illustrates the exclusive benefactive in the stem of a medial verb form.

- 35) *Nibalama kai kalai pikalalo pilipe?*
Nibala = ma kai kalai pi-akal-alo pi-ele-pe
 you=ERG who work do-BENX-B.SS do-PRT-INT
 ‘For whom are you doing work?’

The two benefactive suffixes, *-adi* and *-akal*, are obviously related to the two verbs *di-*, meaning ‘give (to 1st or 2nd person recipient)’ and *kal-*, meaning ‘give (to 3rd person recipient)’.

4.5.5 Finite Verb Forms

Finite verbs occur as the nuclei of the verb phrases of (1) main clauses, (2) embedded clauses functioning as the complement of predicates using verbs of speech or perception such as the verb *l-*, ‘say’, and the verb *panai-*, ‘think’, and (3) clauses embedded by use of one or more clitics.

Finite verb forms have the structure

$$+V_{\text{STEM}} +\text{TENSE} \{+\text{SUBJECT} \pm\text{ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE}\}$$

V_{STEM} refers to a verb stem, (see section 4.5.1 Verb Stems). TENSE refers to a member of the set of suffixes marking tense. SUBJECT refers to a member of the set of suffixes indexing the person and number of the subject. $\text{ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE}$ refers to a member of the set of suffixes marking the illocutionary force of the predicate. SUBJECT and $\text{ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE}$ are bracketed to show that in some cases they are expounded by a single portmanteau morpheme. In this section I will discuss the obligatory marking of tense and subject indexing, and the optional marking of illocutionary force which are the distinguishing formal features of finite verb forms in the declarative or interrogative illocutionary forces.

4.5.5.1 Tense marking

Tense refers to relative time reference, that is the time of the event encoded in a predication relative to the time of the utterance. Lembena marks five tenses: far past, near past, immediate past, present and future. The range of meaning for each tense with respect to the time of the utterance is approximately as follows:

- Far past - From the distant past up to the previous day.
- Near past - This tense is rarely used, but generally refers to sometime in the previous several days.
- Immediate past - Earlier on the same day.
- Present - Same time as the utterance.
- Future - Later the same day and on into the distant future.

Underlying and surface forms of all of the tense suffixes are shown in **TABLE 7**. Refer to the morphophonemic rules in section 3.2 for an explanation of the processes which generate these surface forms.

	Underlying form	Surface forms
Far past	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>
Near past	<i>-e</i>	<i>-e, -Ø</i>
Immediate past	<i>-ala</i>	<i>-ala, -al, -ala</i>
Present	<i>-ele</i>	<i>-ele, -el, l, -li, -ele</i>
Future	<i>-opo</i>	<i>-opo, -op, -opo, p, -oo, -o</i>

TABLE 7: Tense suffixes, underlying and surface forms.

TABLE 8 illustrates the full paradigm of the five tenses in the declarative illocutionary force for the verb *n-*, ‘consume’, which is declarative of verb stems ending in a consonant or non-high vowel, and **TABLE 9** illustrates the full paradigm for the verb *pi-*, ‘do’, which is de-

clarative of verb stems ending in a high vowel. Each of these tables shows surface forms with morpheme breaks displayed underneath.

Far past:	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person	<i>nawe</i>	<i>napane</i>	<i>namane</i>
	<i>n-a-we</i>	<i>n-a-pa-ne</i>	<i>n-a-ma-ne</i>
2nd person	<i>naene</i>	<i>napine</i>	<i>namine</i>
	<i>n-a-e-ne</i>	<i>n-a-pi-ne</i>	<i>n-a-mi-ne</i>
3rd person	<i>name</i>	<i>napine</i>	<i>namine</i>
	<i>n-a-me</i>	<i>n-a-pi-ne</i>	<i>n-a-mi-ne</i>
Near past:			
1st person	<i>newe</i>	<i>nepane</i>	<i>nemane</i>
	<i>n-e-we</i>	<i>n-e-pa-ne</i>	<i>n-e-ma-ne</i>
2nd person	<i>nene</i>	<i>nepine</i>	<i>nemine</i>
	<i>n-∅-e-ne</i>	<i>n-e-pi-ne</i>	<i>n-e-mi-ne</i>
3rd person	<i>neme</i>	<i>nepine</i>	<i>nemine</i>
	<i>n-e-me</i>	<i>n-e-pi-ne</i>	<i>n-e-mi-ne</i>
Immediate past:			
1st person	<i>nalawe</i>	<i>nalapane</i>	<i>nalamane</i>
	<i>n-ala-we</i>	<i>n-ala-pa-ne</i>	<i>n-ala-ma-ne</i>
2nd person	<i>nalaene</i>	<i>nalapine</i>	<i>nalamine</i>
	<i>n-ala-e-ne</i>	<i>n-ala-pi-ne</i>	<i>n-ala-mi-ne</i>
3rd person	<i>nalame</i>	<i>nalapine</i>	<i>nalamine</i>
	<i>n-ala-me</i>	<i>n-ala-pi-ne</i>	<i>n-ala-mi-ne</i>
Present:			
1st person	<i>nelewe</i>	<i>nelepane</i>	<i>neleman</i>
	<i>n-ele-we</i>	<i>n-ele-pa-ne</i>	<i>n-ele-ma-ne</i>
2nd person	<i>nelene</i>	<i>nelepine</i>	<i>nelemine</i>
	<i>n-el-e-ne</i>	<i>n-ele-pi-ne</i>	<i>n-ele-mi-ne</i>
3rd person	<i>neleme</i>	<i>nelepine</i>	<i>nelemine</i>
	<i>n-ele-me</i>	<i>n-ele-pi-ne</i>	<i>n-ele-mi-ne</i>
Future:			
1st person	<i>nopowe</i>	<i>noopane</i>	<i>noomane</i>
	<i>n-opo-we</i>	<i>n-oo-pa-ne</i>	<i>n-oo-ma-ne</i>
2nd person	<i>nopene</i>	<i>noopine</i>	<i>noomine</i>
	<i>n-op-e-ne</i>	<i>n-oo-pi-ne</i>	<i>n-oo-mi-ne</i>
3rd person	<i>noome</i>	<i>noopine</i>	<i>noomine</i>
	<i>n-oo-me</i>	<i>n-oo-pi-ne</i>	<i>n-oo-mi-ne</i>

TABLE 8: Paradigm of the verb *n-*, ‘consume’, in all tenses. (Declarative illocutionary force)

Far past:	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person	<i>piawe</i> <i>pi-a-we</i>	<i>piapane</i> <i>pi-a-pa-ne</i>	<i>piamane</i> <i>pi-a-ma-ne</i>
2nd person	<i>piaene</i> <i>pi-a-e-ne</i>	<i>piapine</i> <i>pi-a-pi-ne</i>	<i>piamine</i> <i>pi-a-mi-ne</i>
3rd person	<i>piame</i> <i>pi-a-me</i>	<i>piapine</i> <i>pi-a-pi-ne</i>	<i>piamine</i> <i>pi-a-mi-ne</i>
Near past:			
1st person	<i>piwe</i> <i>pi-∅-we</i>	<i>pipane</i> <i>pi-∅-pa-ne</i>	<i>pimane</i> <i>pi-∅-ma-ne</i>
2nd person	<i>piene</i> <i>pi-∅-e-ne</i>	<i>pipine</i> <i>pi-∅-pi-ne</i>	<i>pimine</i> <i>pi-∅-mi-ne</i>
3rd person	<i>pime</i> <i>pi-∅-me</i>	<i>pipine</i> <i>pi-∅-pi-ne</i>	<i>pimine</i> <i>pi-∅-mi-ne</i>
Immediate past:			
1st person	<i>pilawe</i> <i>pi-la-we</i>	<i>pilapane</i> <i>pi-la-pa-ne</i>	<i>pilamane</i> <i>pi-la-ma-ne</i>
2nd person	<i>pilaene</i> <i>pi-la-e-ne</i>	<i>pilapine</i> <i>pi-la-pi-ne</i>	<i>pilamine</i> <i>pi-la-mi-ne</i>
3rd person	<i>pilame</i> <i>pi-la-me</i>	<i>pilapine</i> <i>pi-la-pi-ne</i>	<i>pilamine</i> <i>pi-la-mi-ne</i>
Present:			
1st person	<i>piliwe</i> <i>pi-li-we</i>	<i>pilipane</i> <i>pi-li-pa-ne</i>	<i>pilimane</i> <i>pi-li-ma-ne</i>
2nd person	<i>piline</i> <i>pi-l-i-ne</i>	<i>pilipine</i> <i>pi-li-pi-ne</i>	<i>pilimine</i> <i>pi-li-mi-ne</i>
3rd person	<i>pilime</i> <i>pi-li-me</i>	<i>pilipine</i> <i>pi-li-pi-ne</i>	<i>pilimine</i> <i>pi-li-mi-ne</i>
Future:			
1st person	<i>pipowe</i> <i>pi-po-we</i>	<i>piopane</i> <i>pi-o-pa-ne</i>	<i>piomane</i> <i>pi-o-ma-ne</i>
2nd person	<i>pipene</i> <i>pi-p-e-ne</i>	<i>piopine</i> <i>pi-o-pi-ne</i>	<i>piomane</i> <i>pi-o-mi-ne</i>
3rd person	<i>piome</i> <i>pi-o-me</i>	<i>piopine</i> <i>pi-o-pi-ne</i>	<i>piomine</i> <i>pi-o-mi-ne</i>

TABLE 9: Paradigm of the verb *pi-*, ‘do’, in all tenses. (declarative illocutionary force)

4.5.5.2 Subject Marking

As already stated, Lembena finite verbs are obligatorily marked for subject. There is no direct object marking on Lembena verbs. One observation that can be made from the paradigms in TABLE 8 and TABLE 9 is the neutralization of contrast between second and third person forms in the dual and plural numbers. This is consistent with the neutralization of the same contrasts in the free pronouns.

Subject marking on the verb follows a nominative-accusative pattern with the subject of an intransitive clause and the subject of a transitive clause being marked identically.⁵ Example 36 illustrates a sentence expounded by an intransitive clause and example 37 illustrates a sentence expounded by a transitive clause. The subject marking on the finite verbs of the two sentences are the same.

- 36) *Kali aduwa meena baa piiame*
kali aduwa mee = na baa pii-a-me
 man unmarried.man a=NOM he be-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘There was a young man.’

- 37) *Oo piome ona ipa muda onaga yame*
o piome o = na ipa muda o = na = ga y-a-me
 that eel that=NOM water pool the=NOM=RFR put-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘He put the eel into the pool.’

The subject marking suffixes are tabulated in TABLE 10, and these are consistent throughout all the tenses. The two forms of the subject marking suffix for 2nd person singular number are allomorphs of the underlying form *-e*. The 1st person and 3rd person singular forms are portmanteau morphemes also encoding illocutionary force. The declarative form for 1st singular is *-we* while the non-declarative form is *-wa*. The declarative form for 3rd singular is *-me* while the non-declarative form is *-na*, which has an allomorph *-la* in verbs marked for future tense. In the 2nd person singular and all dual and plural forms the subject marking suffixes are separate from the illocutionary force suffixes which follow.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 st person	DECL: <i>-we</i> NON-DECL: <i>-wa</i>	<i>-pa</i>	<i>-ma</i>
2 nd person	<i>-e, -i</i>	<i>-pi</i>	<i>-mi</i>
3 rd person	DECL: <i>-me</i> NON-DECL: <i>-na, -la</i>		

TABLE 10: Subject marking suffixes

4.5.5.3 Illocutionary force

Illocutionary force suffixes signal what the speaker is trying to do by his utterance. Illocutionary forces are declarative, interrogative, and imperative.

4.5.5.3.1 Declarative illocutionary force

The **declarative** illocutionary force is normally used to make assertions about a certain state of affairs. Declarative illocutionary force is signaled by the declarative (DECL) suffix *-ne* which occurs on finite verb forms which are marked for 2nd person singular, or any dual

⁵ Noun phrases corresponding to the core arguments of the verb are marked according to an absolutive-ergative pattern, see Section 6.3.1 Core Grammatical Relations.

or plural subject number. On forms which are marked for 1st or 3rd person singular subject, declarative illocutionary force is signaled by portmanteau suffixes which encode both subject marking and illocutionary force. The form for 1st person singular is *-we* and for 3rd person singular is *-me*. These are illustrated in the preceding section in **TABLE 8** and **TABLE 9**.

Thus, the form of the declarative verb is as follows:

$$+V_{STEM} +TENSE \{+SUBJECT +DECL\}$$

where $\{+SUBJECT +DECL\}$ may be realized by two morphemes or one portmanteau morpheme.

The declarative illocutionary force suffix *-ne* is dropped when the clause is embedded by direct cliticization with either the nominalizing clitic $=na^6$ plus a following case marking clitic, or the context clitic $=sa$. If the clause is embedded by a following directional plus clitics, as in example 39, the declarative suffix remains. Examples 38 and 39 illustrated the same two clauses joined in two different ways. In example 38 the first clause is subordinated by direct cliticization with $=na=pa$. In example 39 the first clause is subordinated by the following directional word *o*, followed by the clitics $=na=pa$. Note that in the first example the declarative suffix is not present on the verb of the first clause, but it is present in the second example. Either is acceptable and there appears to be no difference in meaning. The first seems to be preferred, most likely because it is phonologically more ‘streamlined’ and should probably be regarded as a contraction of the second. Further analysis may discover other factors which motivate a speaker’s choice between the two options.

- 38) *Adaka uamanapa nanibalama winya ona damane.*
ada=ka u-a-ma=na=pa nanibala-ma winya o=na d-a-ma-ne
 house=CTX go-FPT-1p=NOM=ASS we=ERG dog that=NOM see-FPT-1p-DECL
 ‘When we went home, we saw the dog.’

- 39) *Adaka uamane onapa nanibalama winya ona damane.*
ada=ka u-a-ma-ne o=na=pa nanibala=ma winya o=na d-a-
ma-ne
 house=CTX go-FPT-1p-DECL that=NOM=ASS we=ERG dog that=NOM see-FPT-
 1p-DECL
 ‘When we went home, we saw the dog.’

4.5.5.3.2 Interrogative illocutionary force

The **interrogative** illocutionary force is used to question a certain state of affairs. The structure of the interrogative verb is as follows:

$$+V_{STEM} +TENSE +SUBJECT \pm INT$$

Lembena interrogatives may be classed as either polar questions or information questions. In either case, the interrogative illocutionary force is marked by the interrogative (INT) suffix *-pe*, or by rising intonation or by both. Example 41 illustrates the polar interrogative form of the declarative sentence in example 40.

- 40) *Nanibala adaka oomane.*
nanibala ada=ka Ø-opo-ma-ne
 we house=CTX go-FUT-1p-DECL
 ‘We will go home.’

⁶ The = symbol is being used to mark the location of a clitic’s junction with the constituent over which it operates. See section 4.10 on clitics.

- 41) *Nanibala adaka oomape?*
nanibala ada = ka Ø-opo-ma-pe
 we house=CTX go-FUT-1p-INT
 ‘Will we go home?’

In the case of 1st and 3rd person singular forms the portmanteau morpheme encoding the person and number of the subject and declarative illocutionary force will be replaced in the interrogative sentence with the portmanteau morpheme encoding the same person and number but non-declarative illocutionary force. Compare examples 42 and 43.

- 42) *Kali ona ilame.*
kali o = na i-ala-me
 man that=NOM come-IPT-3sDECL
 ‘That man came.’
- 43) *Kali ona ilanape?*
kali o = na i-ala-na-pe
 man that=NOM come-IPT-3s-DECL-INT
 ‘Did that man come?’

In equative predicates, the interrogative suffix is appended after the equative clitic = *e*.

- 44) *Onanu yawale negenae.*
o = na = nu yawale n = ege = na = e
 that=NOM=PLR pig consume=ATTR=NOM=EQ
 ‘They are pork eating ones.’
- 45) *Onanu yawale negenaepe?*
o = na = nu yawale n = ege = na = e-pe
 that=NOM=PLR pig consume=ATTR=NOM=EQ-INT
 ‘Are they pork eating ones?’

Lembena also has questions adding *wae(pe)?*, ‘no?’, after the sentence with interrogative illocutionary force, such as in example 46.

- 46) *Nibala wida mipegenaepe wae?*
nibala wida mi-opo = ege = na = e-pe wae
 you woman get-POT=ATTR=NOM=EQ-INT NEQ
 ‘Are you one who will marry a woman, or no?’

The preceding examples all illustrate polar questions. In information questions, Lembena employs, in addition to the interrogative illocutionary force marker, a wide variety of interrogative particles as well as an interrogative verb. These are free forms which substitute for some constituent of the clause. These will be discussed in section 4.13 Interrogative.

4.5.5.3.3 Imperative illocutionary force

The **imperative** illocutionary force is used to give commands or exhort. The underlying forms of the imperative illocutionary force suffixes are displayed in **TABLE 11**.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 st person	-awa	-aba	-ama
2 nd person	-a, -e	-alapa	
3 rd person	-ena		

TABLE 11: Underlying forms of imperative illocutionary force suffixes.

The imperative illocutionary force suffixes also encode at least partial information about the person and number of the subject. Imperative verbs are not marked for tense. The stem of an imperative verb may include causative and benefactive markers but I have not found any examples including aspect. It appears that neither of the categories of suffixes which relate to time, tense or aspect, may be marked on imperative forms. Thus the structure of the imperative stem ($V_{IMP\text{ STEM}}$) is as follows:

$$+V_{ROOT} \pm CAUSATIVE \pm BENEFACTIVE$$

and the structure of the imperative verb is as follows:

$$+V_{IMP\text{ STEM}} +IMPERATIVE$$

where IMPERATIVE will be filled by one of the imperative illocutionary force suffixes listed in TABLE 11.

The paradigm of imperative verb forms is displayed in TABLE 12, based on the verb *n-*, ‘consume’, and in TABLE 13, based on the verb *pi-*, ‘do’.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 st person	<i>nawa</i>	<i>naba</i>	<i>nama</i>
2 nd person	<i>naa</i>	<i>nalapa</i>	
3 rd person	<i>nenā</i>		

TABLE 12: Imperative of *n-*, ‘consume’.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 st person	<i>piwa</i>	<i>piba</i>	<i>pima</i>
2 nd person	<i>pia</i>	<i>pilapa</i>	
3 rd person	<i>pina</i>		

TABLE 13: Imperative of *pi-*, ‘do’.

Note that there is neutralization of contrast between 2nd person dual and plural and also among all numbers of 3rd person. 1st person forms are not attested as free forms in the data I have collected though they do occur in compounded forms such as *nawanale*, *nabanale* and *namanale*.⁷ The 2nd person singular form of verb stems consisting of a single consonant, such as *d-*, exhibit reduplication of the vowel. The 2nd person singular imperative suffix has a variant *-e* when it occurs in a quote⁸, as in example 47.

- 47) *Nabalama ee wiye lalo sapolo pakadiliwe.*
nabala = ma ee wiye-e l-alo sapolo pak-adi-ele-we.
 I=ERG garden plant-2sIMP say-B.SS shovel buy-BENI-PRT-1sDECL

‘I am buying a shovel so you can plant a garden’, (Lit.: ‘I am buying a shovel for you saying, ‘plant a garden!’)

2nd person forms of the imperative occur commonly in commands such as example 48.

⁷ At this point in time, I am unable to elaborate on the meaning of *-nale* or the change in meaning of the imperative forms when *-nale* is affixed.

⁸ Quoted imperatives are the most common way of encoding different actor purpose. See section 7.3.4 Intention.

- 48) *Mina ia!*
mi-ana i-a
 get-S.SS come-2sIMP
 ‘Bring (it)!’

The 2nd person imperative may also occur in a request such as example 49.

- 49) *Kiko ja.*
kiko di-a
 hand giveNCL-2sIMP
 ‘Let me shake your hand.’ (lit.: ‘Give me your hand.’)

4.5.6 Medial Verb Forms

Medial verbs occur in one of six forms: basic medial verbs, purpose medial verbs, irrealis medial verbs, desiderative medial verbs, simultaneous medial verbs and progressive medial verbs. A significant feature of medial verb forms is that they are not marked for subject, tense or illocutionary force. In keeping with this feature, medial verbs only occur when the subject of two or more verbs in a series of clauses is the same. In most cases, the last verb of the series will be a finite form and carry the subject, tense and illocutionary force marking. The exception is the case where the main clause is an equative clause, since equative clauses lack finite verbs.

4.5.6.1 Basic medial verbs

BASIC SAME SUBJECT (B.SS), *-alo*, occurs (1) suffixed to a verb stem to form the nucleus of the verb phrase of a simple dependent clause when there is no change of subject in the clause following and none of the semantic features encoded by the other same subject suffixes is present, or (2) as the initial component of an aspect phrase followed by one of the aspect verbs *pii-*, ‘be’, *wet-*, ‘finish’ or *nyap-*, ‘not ceasing’. (See section 5.2.) I refer to these forms with the BASIC SAME SUBJECT suffix as **basic medial verbs**.

Basic medial verbs have the structure:

+V_{STEM} +BASIC SAME SUBJECT

The underlying form of BASIC SAME SUBJECT (B.SS) is *-alo*. Surface forms are *-alo* after consonant final stems, *-li* after stems ending in *i*, *-lu* after stems ending in *u*, and *-lo* elsewhere.

Example 50 illustrates the use of medial verb forms in a series of dependent clauses in a sentence. The medial verbs are marked with the BASIC SAME SUBJECT suffix *-alo*.

- 50) *Oialo kipu nyalo isate salo nee salo*
oi-ae-alo kipu ny-alo isate s-alo nee s-alo
 do.like.that-PRFA-B.SS bamboo.strip move-B.SS fire cook-B.SS food cook-B.SS
nalo aliamine.
n-alo ali-a-mi-ne
 consume-B.SS sleep-FPT-23p-DECL
 ‘Having done that they pulled the bamboo strip back and forth, started a fire, cooked food, ate it and went to sleep.’

The medial verb *Oialo* in this example illustrates the SAME SUBJECT suffix appended to a verb stem consisting of the verb root *oi-*, plus the perfect aspect suffix *-ae*. The other medial verbs have minimal stems with none of the optional suffixes.

4.5.6.2 Purpose Medial Verbs

Lembena sentences can encode purpose in a variety of ways. If there is no change of subject between the clause expressing purpose and the following clause, purpose is encoded us-

ing a **purpose medial verb** form as the nucleus of the clause encoding the purpose. The structure of the purpose verb is as follows:

+V_{STEM} +SAME SUBJECT PURPOSE

The underlying form of PURPOSE SAME SUBJECT (P.SS) is *-awala*, which has surface realizations of *-awala* after stems ending in a consonant or *-wala* after stems ending in a vowel.

Examples 51 and 52 illustrate the use of the purpose medial verb.

- 51) *Balama kalai meena piwala sapolo pakeleme.*
bala=ma kalai mee=na pi-awala sapolo pak-ele-me
 he=ERG work a=NOM do-P.SS shovel buy-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘He is buying a shovel in order to do some work.’

- 52) *Meepala ee dalo pee dawala uame*
mee-pala ee d-alo pee d-awala u-a-me
 one-OCC garden see-B.SS eel.trap see-P.SS go-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘Once, he went to look at his garden and his eel trap.’

4.5.6.3 Irrealis Medial Verbs

The third type of medial verb form is the **irrealis medial verb**. Irrealis medial verbs encode statements about what is NOT the case within the context of an utterance. All instances of irrealis medial verbs in the data corpus are negated forms. The structure of the irrealis verb is as follows:

+V_{stem} +SAME SUBJECT IRREALIS

The underlying form of IRREALIS SAME SUBJECT (I.SS) is *-eta*, with surface realizations of *-eta* after consonant final stems and *-ta* after vowel final stems.

Example 53 illustrates an irrealis medial verb as nucleus of the verb phrase of a dependent clause.

- 53) *Wiyaka nibala leu naa alita kale adipa kekena melene.*
wiyaka nibala leu naa ali-eta =kale adipa kekena m-ele-e-ne
 yesterday you sleep.n NEG sleep.v-I.SS =CERT now tiredness feel-PRES-2s-DECL
 ‘Because you did not sleep yesterday, now you are tired.’

4.5.6.4 Desiderative Medial Verb

The fourth type of medial verb is the **desiderative medial verb**. This type encodes desire to accomplish the goal which is expressed by the clause. The structure of the desiderative medial verb is as follows:

+V_{STEM} +DESIDERATIVE SAME SUBJECT

The underlying form of DESIDERATIVE SAME SUBJECT (D.SS) is *-awani*, with surface realizations of *-awani* after consonant final stems and *-wani* after vowel final stems.

Example 54 illustrates the use of the desiderative medial verb.

- 54) *Adu nawani maalo ee leleme.*
adu n-awani m-ae-alo e l-ele-me
 breast consume-D.SS feel-PRFA-B.SS cry say-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘Desiring to nurse, he is crying.’
- 55) *Eka ona baa nee nalo ipa nawani pilime.*
eka o=na ba nee n-alo ipa n-awani pi-ele-me
 bird that=NOM 3s food consume-B.SS water consume-D.SS do-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘The bird desires to eat food and drink water.’

- 56) *Nabala akapu pusa pawani pilimenapa piiliwe.*
nabala akapu pusa p-awani pi-ele-me
 gloss
 ‘free_translation’

4.5.6.5 Simultaneous Medial Verb

The fifth type of medial verb form is the **simultaneous medial verb**. This form is used when two related actions are carried out by the same subject simultaneously. If the actions are simultaneous but viewed as unrelated, a basic medial verb will be used. The structure of the simultaneous medial verb is as follows:

+V_{STEM} +SIMULTANEOUS SAME SUBJECT

The underlying form of the SIMULTANEOUS SAME SUBJECT is *-ana* with surface realizations of *-ana* after consonant final stems and *-na* after vowel final stems.

Examples 57 and 58 illustrate the use of the simultaneous medial verb. In example 57, note that the holding of the walking stick and the act of coming along the trail to get home are viewed as inter-related actions. Likewise in example 58 carrying the wood on the shoulder and coming are viewed as related.⁹

- 57) *Kali yawale aiyeme kali yai pagali mina adaka iame*
kali yawale aiy-e-me kali yai pagali mi-ana ada=ka i-a-me
 man pig bite-NPT-3sDECL man stick walking.stick get-S.SS house=CTX come-
 FPT-3sDECL

‘The man whom the pig bit got (held) a walking stick and came to (his) house.’

- 58) *Kali meena isa wolo pana ilime.*
kali mee=na isa wolo p-ana i-ele-me
 man a=NOM tree carry.on.shoulder strike-S.SS come-PRT-3sDECL

‘A man, carrying a piece of wood on his shoulder is coming.’

In example 59, the events in the two dependent clauses are simultaneous with the event of the main clause, but not related, therefore the BASIC SAME SUBJECT suffix is used instead of the SIMULTANEOUS SAME SUBJECT suffix.

- 59) *Balama wee lalo kalai pili adaka piilime.*
bala=ma wee l-alo kalai pi-alo ada=ka pii-ele-me
 he=ERG song say-B.SS work do-B.SS house=CTX be-PRT-3sDECL

‘He is singing a song and working and being at home.’

4.5.6.6 Progressive Medial Verb

The sixth type of medial verb is the **progressive medial verb**. It encodes the sense of an action performed progressively, often in conjunction with some other event. The structure of the progressive medial verb is as follows:

+V_{STEM} +PROGRESSIVE SAME SUBJECT

The underlying form of the PROGRESSIVE SAME SUBJECT suffix (G.SS) is *-amana*, which is realized in surface forms as *-amana* or *-mana*, depending on the phonological shape of the verb stem. The progressive medial verb may be repeated twice. Example 60 illustrates the use of the progressive medial verb.

- 60) *Nilibala wetee kala akalo damana iapine.*
nilibala wetee kala ak-alo d-amana i-a-pi-ne
 they2 extremely fear.n fear.v-B.SS see-G.SS come-FPT-23d-DECL

‘They two were afraid and looking (progressively) they came.’

⁹ The phrase *wolo pana* in example 58 is an adjunct + verb construction. See section 4.6 Adjuncts.

Example 61 illustrates a use of the progressive medial verb with the adjunct plus verb *yaka l-*, ‘read’. Note that the progressive medial verb is repeated.

- 61) *Nibalama Baipole ona eepa pili yaka lamana lamana*
nibala = ma baipole o = na eepa pi-alo yaka l-amana l-amana
 you=ERG Bible that=NOM small do-B.SS read say-G.SS say-G.SS
pili lope yako dalo wiwala piline.
pi-alo l-op-e ya-ko d-alo wi-awala pi-ele-e-ne
 do-B.SS say-FUT-2s if-ARG see-B.SS understand-P.SS do-PRT-2s-DECL
 ‘If you go on reading the Bible little by little, you will understand.’

4.5.7 Manner Verb Forms

The structure of the **manner verb** is:

+V_{ROOT} +MANNER

where MANNER refers to one of the set of manner suffixes. The underlying forms and meanings of the manner suffixes are as follows:

<i>-akinikini</i>	‘haphazardly’, (HZRD)
<i>-ayaguyagu</i>	‘randomly’, (RNDM)
<i>-eyale</i>	‘as if, similarly’, (SIML)
<i>-akodape</i>	‘intensively, carefully’, (INTS)
<i>-alya</i>	‘dispersively, without purposeful direction’, (DISP)
<i>-alolo</i>	‘reciprocally’, (RCPR)
<i>-amana</i>	‘progressively, little by little’, (PROG)

Manner verbs cannot occur by themselves as nuclei of verb phrases but require a following auxiliary verb. Together the manner verb form and the auxiliary verb form a manner verb nucleus of a verb phrase. (See 5.4.1.1 Verb Nuclei: Simple vs. Adjunct vs. Manner.)

4.6 Adjuncts

Lembena makes extensive use of verb phrases comprised of one of a small set of verbs with a preceding uninflected word. Most of these words have not been found to occur except in verb phrases. The class comprised of these words I call **adjuncts**. A phrase consisting of adjunct plus verb is called an **adjunct verb nucleus**. (See section 5.4.1.1 Verb Nuclei: Simple vs. Adjunct vs. Manner)

The verbs which most commonly occur with these adjuncts are *l-*, ‘say’, *pi-*, ‘do’, *p-*, ‘strike’, *t-*, ‘shine’, *y-*, ‘put’, and *n-*, ‘eat’. *L-*, ‘say’, is by far the most productive with nearly three times the number of possible constructions as the next in the list. In most cases the basic meaning of these verbs does not contribute to the meaning of the verb phrase as a whole. For example, the adjunct verb phrase *kalabe lalo* means ‘peel bark from a tree (with a bush knife)-B.SS’. The normal meaning of *lalo*, ‘say-B.SS’, is not a component of the meaning ‘peel bark from a tree’.

Following are six tables displaying representative examples of adjuncts associated with each of the verbs listed above.

Lembena Ad-junct + Verb	English Gloss	Lembena Ad-junct + Verb	English Gloss
<i>aagala lalo</i>	‘split’	<i>patuku lalo</i>	‘pound in’
<i>akaa lalo</i>	‘be lightweight’	<i>pee lalo</i>	‘increase’
<i>apeke lalo</i>	‘turn’	<i>sii lalo</i>	‘hurt intensely’
<i>ge lalo</i>	‘call name’	<i>tae lalo</i>	‘be wild’
<i>kalabe lalo</i>	‘peel bark with a knife’	<i>tobi lalo</i>	‘bore a hole’
<i>koekoe lalo</i>	‘misbehave’	<i>topo lalo</i>	‘tie up’
<i>laga lalo</i>	‘sprout’	<i>waki lalo</i>	‘wait’
<i>minae lalo</i>	‘raise’	<i>wee lalo</i>	‘sing’
<i>moko lalo</i>	‘release’	<i>yaka lalo</i>	‘read’
<i>pabu lalo</i>	‘shatter’	<i>yapaka lalo</i>	‘spring shut’ (of a trap)
<i>pakai lalo</i>	‘burst out’		

TABLE 14: Lembena adjunct constructions based on the verb *l-*, ‘say’

Lembena Ad-junct + Verb	English Gloss	Lembena Ad-junct + Verb	English Gloss
<i>aloo pili</i>	‘exchange’	<i>modo pili</i>	‘look after’
<i>ema pili</i>	‘move’	<i>poleka pili</i>	‘be tired or apathetic’
<i>iika pili</i>	‘be enough’	<i>teba pili</i>	‘recook food’
<i>imabu pili</i>	‘be physically tired’	<i>wado pili</i>	‘dry over fire’
<i>keda pili</i>	‘be heavy’	<i>walu pili</i>	‘hide’
<i>makadi pili</i>	‘attempt’		

TABLE 15: Lembena adjunct constructions based on the verb *pi-*, ‘do’

Lembena Ad-junct + Verb	English Gloss	Lembena Ad-junct + Verb	English Gloss
<i>eli palo</i>	'split off'	<i>laga palo</i>	'split in half'
<i>ii palo</i>	'itch'	<i>muluba palo</i>	'grow new skin'
<i>koba palo</i>	'transform'	<i>saki palo</i>	'count'
<i>kobolo palo</i>	'chant'	<i>waso palo</i>	'wash'
<i>kuje palo</i>	'have diarrhea'	<i>wolo palo</i>	'carry on shoulder'
<i>lada palo</i>	'step into hole'		

TABLE 16: Lembena adjunct constructions based on the verb *pa-*, 'strike'

Lembena Ad-junct + Verb	English Gloss	Lembena Ad-junct + Verb	English Gloss
<i>abo talo</i>	'rot'	<i>papo talo</i>	'crack'
<i>lugu talo</i>	'prise out'	<i>waeyaga talo</i>	'be careful'
<i>olopo talo</i>	'be hungry'	<i>woi talo</i>	'germinate'
<i>palugu talo</i>	'grow as vine'		

TABLE 17: Lembena adjunct constructions based on the verb *t-*, 'shine'

Lembena Adjunct + Verb	English Gloss	Lembena Adjunct + Verb	English Gloss
<i>gii yalo</i>	'laugh'	<i>loma yalo</i>	'pray'
<i>imabu yalo</i>	'rest'	<i>mada yalo</i>	'be blind'
<i>kaki yalo</i>	'be soft'	<i>tae yalo</i>	'increase'
<i>kege yalo</i>	'be lost'		

TABLE 18: Lembena adjunct constructions based on the verb *y-*, 'put'

Lembena Ad-junct + Verb	English Gloss	Lembena Ad-junct + Verb	English Gloss
<i>kada nalo</i>	'decrease'	<i>palu nalo</i>	'be overripe'
<i>kii nalo</i>	'become cold'	<i>soke nalo</i>	'smoke (tobacco)'
<i>meda nalo</i>	'mature, harden'		

TABLE 19: Lembena adjunct constructions based on the verb *n-*, 'consume'

In addition to the adjunct plus verb constructions using these six common verbs, there are a few others which appear to be the same construction but which make use of other verbs. These are listed with the normal meaning of the verb component in parentheses, if known, in TABLE 20.

Lembena Adjunct + Verb	English Gloss	Lembena Adjunct + Verb	English Gloss
<i>mada katulu</i>	'break in two by bending'	<i>mukumuku</i> <i>minalo</i>	'mow short' (hold)
<i>maa yagalo</i>	'waste'	<i>pasi nyalo</i>	'bend in two' (move back and forth)
<i>mada ulu</i>	'go hunting' (go)	<i>tidipu tadipu</i> <i>minalo</i>	'obstruct' (hold)

TABLE 20: Lembena adjunct constructions

In two of the constructions listed above, the verb component has not been encountered apart from the adjunct so a determination of its meaning independent from this construction can not be made.

4.7 Adjectives

Adjectives are a rather small closed class of descriptive words which occur most frequently following the head noun of the noun phrase or, in nominalized form, as the predicate nominal of an equative clause. Example 62 illustrates the adjective *eepe* in the slot following the head noun of the noun phrase.

- 62) *Nabala Titipu waba ometakaga piialo ada eepe meekanu*
nabala Titipu waba ometaka = ga pii-ae-alo ada eepe mee = ka = nu
 I Titipu before child=RFR be-PRFA-B.SS house small a=DIM=PLR
pili mana miawe.
pi-alo mana mi-a-we
 do-B.SS knowledge get-FPT-1sDECL

'When I, Titipu, was a child, I learned how to make small houses.'

Example 63 illustrates the adjective *lodoge*, nominalized by the unmarked nominalizing clitic = *na*, as predicate nominal of the equative clause.

- 63) *Kasee ona lodogena.*
Kasee o = na lodoge = na = e
 road that=NOM long=NOM=EQ

'That road is a long one.'

TABLE 21 lists the forms that have been encountered so far.

Lembena Adjective	English Gloss	Lembena Adjective	English Gloss
<i>adai</i>	important	<i>muu</i>	short
<i>adaipa</i>	big	<i>mulupa</i>	first
<i>adate</i>	domestic	<i>nepa</i>	ornery
<i>anige</i>	actual	<i>netepa</i>	last
<i>apata</i>	steep	<i>nuga</i>	plenty
<i>apatapata</i>	very steep, sloped	<i>odege</i>	strong
<i>dolimala</i>	yellow	<i>ogepe</i>	insignificant
<i>eepa</i>	small	<i>ogepege</i>	bad
<i>elebage</i>	flat/vertical	<i>olige</i>	hard
<i>gege</i>	huge	<i>omikiki</i>	young
<i>ibuli</i>	wild (pig)	<i>opoyage</i>	crooked
<i>ipage</i>	unripe	<i>pae</i>	abandoned
<i>kaka</i>	alive	<i>petege</i>	wide
<i>kamoe</i>	good	<i>poge</i>	red
<i>kawapoluge</i>	round	<i>potai</i>	strong
<i>kawata</i>	round	<i>sinobe</i>	very small
<i>keda</i>	heavy	<i>tabuka</i>	brown
<i>kewage</i>	white	<i>tapatapa</i>	ready
<i>keyage</i>	clean, good	<i>tipia</i>	poor
<i>kini</i>	true	<i>tolae</i>	right-hand, straight
<i>kobelekabele</i>	multicolored	<i>tolapae</i>	proper
<i>lama</i>	flat/horizontal	<i>wabage</i>	old
<i>lige</i>	weak	<i>wabuge</i>	black
<i>lodge</i>	long	<i>wenege</i>	new
<i>lugaluga</i>	submissive	<i>yai</i>	left-hand
<i>momogoge</i>	red	<i>yanage</i>	narrow

TABLE 21: Lembena adjectives with English glosses

4.8 Adverbs

Adverbs are a small closed class of words which occur preceding the elements that they modify. Those elements can include clauses, verbs or adjectives. Lembena adverbs are uninflected.

Lembena Adverb	English Gloss	Lembena Adverb	English Gloss
<i>abeabe</i>	poorly	<i>ii</i>	very ₁
<i>alapu</i>	illicitly	<i>olomataka</i>	irretrievably
<i>apa</i>	in this manner	<i>opa</i>	in that manner
<i>au</i>	well	<i>pedepede</i>	suddenly
<i>ebee</i>	just, merely, only	<i>tetepetepe</i>	closely
<i>edelapo</i>	together	<i>wakasa</i>	very ₂
<i>elekaiki, elekaima</i>	gently, quietly, slowly	<i>wetee</i>	extremely
<i>emugae, ugae</i>	purposelessly	<i>yapa</i>	quickly

TABLE 22: Lembena adverbs with English glosses

The following three examples illustrate Lembena adverbs in context.

- 64) *Kato ona abeabe waseleme.*
kato o=na abeabe was-ele-me
 car that=NOM poorly fix-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘He is repairing the car poorly.’
- 65) *Eka apage onanu tabega elakaiki yope*
eka apage o=na=nu tabe=ga elakaiki y-opo=e
 bird egg that=NOM=PLR table=RFR gently put-FUT-2s
 ‘Put those eggs gently on the table.’
- 66) *Wetee kato igala minawani melewe.*
wetee kato igala min-awani m-ele-we
 extremely car nose hold-D.SS feel-PRT-1sDECL
 ‘I really want to drive a car.’

4.9 Article

Lembena has only one **article** (ART) *ale* which occurs preceding nouns and marks them as referring to previously mentioned, known referents. The following example includes two overt references to a hunter who was one of two main characters of the story from which this sentence is drawn. The first reference is *aa kali meena*, ‘one of these men’. The second reference, *ale kali*, ‘the man’ makes use of the article to connect this reference anaphorically to the preceding reference. The preceding reference does not have to be within the same sentence.

- 67) *Aa kali meena ili pawanale lalo pegulamenapa*
a kali mee=na i-alo p-awa-nale l-alo pegul-a-me=na=pa
 this man a=NOM come-B.SS strike-1sIMP-XPT say-B.SS arrive-FPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS
yawale ale kali akodana ulu isa lategega tuu lalo
yawale ale kali akod-ana u-alo isa latege=ga tuu l-alo
 pig ART man push-S.SS go-B.SS tree base=RFR toward say-B.SS
aiyamenapa aigiya lalo piiame.
aiy-a-me=na=pa ai=giya l-alo pii-a-me
 bite-FPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS ‘ai’=CTRST say-B.SS be-FPT-3sDECL

‘When one of these men arrived, saying “let me kill (the pig)”, and then as (the) pig, pushing the man, pinned (him) against a tree and bit him, he was saying “ai!”’

4.10 Clitics

Clitics constitute a small closed class of forms which occur sometimes free and sometimes bound to the preceding element. Clitics are used to signal many grammatical and semantic relationships, both within a clause and between clauses and carry a heavy functional load in the language. These clitics do not occur in fixed positions relative to any word class but migrate to the position immediately following the last morpheme of the syntactic unit upon which they operate, which may be a word, phrase or clause. Thus all Lembena clitics are enclitics. I refer to the constituent upon which a clitic operates as the **scope** of the clitic.

Since clitics do not behave the same as suffixes, I use an equal sign (=) in the interlinear examples to designate the boundary between a clitic and the syntactic constituent upon which it operates. Note that the equal sign marks the boundary between the clitic and the entire preceding constituent that is the scope of the clitic, not just the immediately preceding word. I also precede clitics with the equal sign when citing them in isolation. In each of the following examples, the scope of the clitic is shown by underlining.

4.10.1 Nominalizing Clitics

The three **nominalizing clitics**, =*na*, ‘nominalizer’ (NOM), =*lapu*, ‘dual nominalizer’ (DNM), and =*bu*, ‘plural nominalizer’ (PNM), indicate that the preceding constituent is functioning as a nominal argument in the clause. All three can occur on words and phrases, but only =*na* occurs on clauses in which case it embeds those clauses as arguments in other clauses.

At the word level the nominalizing clitics can occur on adjectives, directionals and nominals (including pronouns, locative nouns, common nouns and proper nouns). However, =*na* does not occur on nominals except when they occur as predicate nominals, in which case it is followed by the equative clitic =*e*. (See section 4.10.4, below)

Example 68 illustrates the use of =*na* with word level scope, in this case on the adjective *kamoe*, ‘good’.

- 68) *Kamoena piawe.*
kamoe = na pi-a-we
 good=NOM do-FPT-1sDECL
 ‘I made good ones.’

Example 69 illustrates the proper noun *Daipitipe* as a predicate nominal followed by the unmarked nominalizer and equative clitic.

- 69) *Jesipe nyege Daipitipenae.*
Jesi-pe nyege Daipiti-pe = na = e
 Jesse-REFM son David-REFM=NOM=EQ
 ‘Jesse’s son was David.’

Example 70 illustrates the use of =*na* with phrase level scope, in this case on the noun phrase *kali mee*, ‘a man’, and example 71 illustrates the noun phrase *wida o*, ‘that woman’, with the dual nominalizer =*lapu*.

- 70) *Kali meena baa waba piiame.*
kali mee = na baa waba pii-a-me
 man a=NOM he before be-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘There once was a man.’

- 71) *Wida olapu dalo opa lakalame.*
wida o = lapu d-alo opa l-akal-a-me
 woman that=DNM see-B.SS thus say-BENX-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘Seeing the two women, he spoke to them in that way.’

Example 72 illustrates the plural nominalizer =*bu* with phrase level scope on the noun phrase *oo pii o*, ‘that word’.

- 72) *Oo pii obu nabalama lelewe.*
o pii o = bu nabala = ma l-ele-we
 that talk that=PNM I=ERG say-PRT-1sDECL
 ‘I am saying those words.’

Example 73 illustrates the use of =*na* with clause level scope, in this case on the clause *Noli naa poname*, ‘game was not evident’.

- 73) *Noli naa ponamenapa aiya meena palo mina*
noli naa pon-a-me = na = pa aiya mee = na p-alo mi-ana
 animal NEG be.clearly.visible-FPT-3S=NOM=ASS cuscus a=NOM kill-B.SS get-S.SS
pusalo nalo aliapine.
pus-alo n-alo ali-a-pi-ne
 cook.in.ground-B.SS consume-B.SS sleep-FPT-23d-DECL
 ‘As there was no game, they killed a cuscus, got it, cooked it, ate it and slept.’

The use of =*na* on clauses is very common in Lembena. Since a clause with =*na* is functioning as an argument within another clause with the clause embedded as head of a noun phrase, it may be followed by one of the case marking clitics, as appropriate. If the clause is embedded as direct object or non-ergative subject it will be unmarked for case as in example 74.

- 74) *Kadasalo misi pii iame ona polalo lelewe.*
kadas-alo misi pii i-a-me o = na pol-alo l-ele-we
 start-B.SS religion talk come-FPT-3sDECL that=NOM proclaim-B.SS say-PRT-1sDECL
 ‘I am telling forth that religious talk (Christianity) started and came (to us).’

4.10.2 Case Marking Clitics

Lembena has three **case marking clitics**: =*pa*, =*ga*, and =*ma*, which are restricted in their distribution to noun phrases. =*Pa* marks the **associative case**, which encodes the sense that the constituent on which it operates is in some way associated with another constituent. This association could be committive¹⁰, temporal or logical. When used to relate two noun phrase constituents, =*pa* has a committive sense, indicating that the two referents are involved in the event encoded by the predicate together with one another. The associative clitic may occur on both or only one of the two constituents.

Example 75 illustrates the associative clitic with committive sense on the noun *nyege*, ‘son’, one of two noun phrases filling the subject slot in the clause.

- 75) *Kali meena nyegepa piiapine.*
kali mee = na nyege = pa pii-a-pi-ne
 man a=NOM son=ASS be-FPT-23d-DECL
 ‘There were a man and (his) son.’

¹⁰ As used in this paper, **committive** refers to a relationship between two constituents characterized by being or acting together. It is similar to but not identical to the additive sense of the conjunctive relationship. In English, ‘John built the house with Bill’ expresses a committive relationship. ‘John and Bill built the house’ expresses a conjunctive relationship.

The associative clitic frequently occurs on temporal noun phrases as in example 76. In these cases it signals that the event of the clause occurs at the time indicated by the temporal expression.

- 76) *Ipuli gii meenapa ometaka ona baa toea kosalo pawala*
ipuli gii mee=na=pa ometaka o=na baa toea kos-alo p-
awala
 place time a=NOM=ASS child that=NOM he lizard look.for-B.SS strike-
 P.SS
uame.
u-a-me
 go-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘At a certain time, the child went to find and kill lizards.’

The use of =*pa* on a nominalized clause, as in example 77, embeds that clause as an argument in the main clause. This is a common way to relate two associated events when each event has a different subject. (If there is no change of subject a medial verb with SAME SUBJECT marking will normally be used. See section 4.5.6.1 Basic medial verbs.)

- 77) *Ulu damenapa toea omege meena nai yoili*
piime.
u-alo d-a-me=na=pa toea omege mee=na nai yoi-alo pii-e-
me
 go-B.SS see-FPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS lizard offspring a=NOM sun bask-B.SS be-
 NPT-3sDECL
 ‘As he went and looked, a baby lizard was basking in the sun.’

Note that although the English free translation encodes this as a subordinate and main clause, in Lembena one clause is embedded as an argument within another clause.

=*Ga* marks the **referential case**, which encodes the sense that a constituent or an event should be understood in reference to another constituent. This reference could be spatial, logical or possessive. If =*ga* is used in a logical sense it marks a reason-result relationship between two constituents, with the reason being marked by =*ga*.

The following example illustrates the use of =*ga* to embed a nominalized clause as the reason in a clause expressing the result. The fact that the piece of wood is short is the reason for the command to go get another one.

- 78) *Isa ana muu dikeleme onaga wakale*
isa a=na mu dik-ele-me o=na=ga wakale
 wood this=NOM short become-PRT-3sDECL that=NOM=RFR another
meena miwala ua.
mee=na mi-awala u-a
 a=NOM get-P.SS go-2sIMP
 ‘This piece of wood is short so go get another one.’

Example 79 illustrates =*ga* on a noun phrase consisting of the pronoun *ba*, ‘he’, with possessive sense.

- 79) *Baga widagenu dee nyegenu yapa ai pakawala uamine.*
ba=ga widage=nu dee nyege=nu yapa ai pak-awala u-a-mi-ne
 he=RFR wife=PLR and son=PLR quickly sago cut-P.SS go-FPT-23p-DECL
 ‘His wives and sons quickly went to cut sago.’

Example 80 illustrates =*ga* on the noun phrase *ipuli sau*, ‘mountain’, encoding spatial reference.

- 80) *Ipuli sauga mokopale yalame.*
Ipuli sau = ga mokopale y-ala-me
 ground mountain=RFR cloud exist-IPT-3sDECL
 ‘Clouds were on the mountain.’

=*Ma* marks the **ergative case**, which encodes the sense that the marked constituent has an agent, instrument or causal role in the clause. Example 81 illustrates a noun phrase with a clause as head embedded by =*ma* as the cause in a clause expressing the effect. The fact that it rained is the direct cause of the ground being wet.

- 81) *Apele iame onama ipuli ana tobe leleme.*
apele i-a-me o = na = ma ipuli a = na tobe l-ele-me
 rain come-FPT-3sDECL that=NOM=ERG ground this=NOM wet say-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘Because it rained this ground is wet.’

Example 82 illustrates two uses of =*ma*: the first on the noun phrase *kali mee*, ‘a man’, marking it as agent; the second on the noun phrase *wa*, ‘ax’, marking it as instrument. In cases like this, semantic features such as animacy help to differentiate between the roles of similarly marked constituents. Word order also influences the interpretation since agent normally precedes instrument.

- 82) *Kali meenama wama isa pakeleme.*
kali mee = na = ma wa = ma isa pak-ele-me
 man a=NOM=ERG ax=ERG tree cut.down-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘A man is cutting down a tree with an ax.’

The following two examples illustrate the collocation of the dual and plural nominalizing clitics with the ergative case marking clitic.

- 83) *Komu dee Kauene olapuma meena meenapa pei lalo*
komu dee kauene o = lapu = ma mee = na mee = na = pa pei l-alo
 crocodile CORJ cassowary that=DNM=ERG a=NOM a=NOM=ASS pull say-B.SS
tada pupu napine.
tada.pupu n-a-pi-ne
 difficulty consume-FPT-23d-DECL
 ‘Crocodile and Cassowary those two pulled with a great struggle one with the other.’

- 84) *Nanawa Puna Puli Kalipa dee Wogimolo obu kali tepomana*
Nanawa Puna Puli Kalipa dee Wogimolo o = bu kali tepomana
 Nanawa Puna Puli Kalipa CORJ Wogimolo that=PNM man three
obuma majamine.
o = bu = ma madi-a-mi-ne
 that=PNM=ERG bear-FPT-23p-DECL
 ‘Nanawa, Puna, Puli, Kalipa and Wogimolo, these (sons) the three men begat.’

4.10.3 Attributive Clitic

The **attributive clitic** (ATTR) = *ege* encodes the sense that the constituent upon which it operates denotes a non-incidental attribute of a referent or is inseparably connected (literally or figuratively) to that referent. The scope of the attributive clitic can be an adjective which specifies an inherent quality. These include adjectives denoting physical shapes, sizes, colors and other qualities, as in **TABLE 23**.

Lembena Adjective with Attributive clitic	English Gloss	Lembena Adjective with Attributive clitic	English Gloss
<i>anige</i>	real	<i>olige</i>	hard ₂
<i>elebage</i>	vertical	<i>opoyage</i>	crooked
<i>gege</i>	huge	<i>petege</i>	flat, wide
<i>ipage</i>	unripe	<i>wabage</i>	old
<i>kawapaluge</i>	round	<i>wenege</i>	new
<i>keyage</i>	clean, pure	<i>yanage</i>	narrow
<i>kinige</i>	true	<i>momogoge</i>	red ₁
<i>lige</i>	weak	<i>poge</i>	red ₂
<i>lodge</i>	long	<i>wabuge</i>	black
<i>odege</i>	hard ₁	<i>kewage</i>	white
<i>ogepege</i>	bad		

TABLE 23: Lembena adjectives with attributive clitic

The scope of the attributive clitic can also be a noun denoting a referent that is somehow inseparably linked to or identified with another referent, specifically body parts and kinship terms. These are displayed in **TABLE 24** through **TABLE 27**.

Lembena Human Body Part	English Gloss	Lembena Human Body Part	English Gloss
<i>alege</i>	ear	<i>musage</i>	back
<i>apege</i>	fat	<i>musalige</i>	backbone
<i>gapuige</i>	chin	<i>nege</i>	tooth
<i>gatuge</i>	jawbone	<i>odege</i>	head
<i>ige</i>	hair	<i>ogo lege</i>	ankle
<i>kawage</i>	head	<i>olige</i>	bone
<i>kenawage</i>	shoulder	<i>olimage</i>	shin
<i>kiko lege</i>	wrist	<i>palage</i>	digit
<i>kogapuge</i>	tendon	<i>petege</i>	palm, sole
<i>latege</i>	buttocks	<i>lee pidige</i>	eye brow
<i>lege</i>	joint	<i>ogo tabege</i>	top of foot
<i>lee muge</i>	eye lid	<i>wapalege</i>	knee joint
<i>lige</i>	viscera	<i>kiko yanage</i>	upper arm
<i>malewage</i>	neck	<i>yanoge</i>	skin
<i>midige</i>	muscle	<i>wetoge</i>	hip

TABLE 24: Lembena human body part names with attributive clitic

Lembena Animal Body Part	English Gloss	Lembena Animal Body Part	English Gloss
<i>etege</i>	tail	<i>olomoge</i>	pupa
<i>ige</i>	hair, feather	<i>omuge</i>	carcass
<i>lige tege</i>	internal organs	<i>pebenoge</i>	cocoon
<i>nege</i>	tooth, beak	<i>pepackage</i>	wing
<i>ogoge</i>	leg		

TABLE 25: Lembena animal body part names with attributive clitic

Lembena Plant Part	English Gloss	Lembena Plant Part	English Gloss
<i>ige</i>	blossom	<i>satuduge</i>	trunk
<i>isage</i>	stem	<i>totoge</i>	sap
<i>latege</i>	stump	<i>tumuge</i>	growing tip
<i>pilige</i>	root	<i>yokoge</i>	leaf

TABLE 26: Lembena plant part names with attributive clitic

Lembena Kinship Term	English Gloss	Lembena Kinship Term	English Gloss
<i>aledage</i>	husband	<i>lyege</i>	male's brother's wife, female's sister's husband, wife's sister or husband's brother
<i>apage</i>	mother's brother	<i>miage</i>	wife's parent or son-in-law
<i>apuege</i>	grandmother	<i>nyege</i>	son
<i>aputige</i>	great-grandmother	<i>palige</i>	male's sister's husband, wife's brother,
<i>auage</i>	grandfather	<i>papage</i>	female's sister
<i>auapoge</i>	great-grandfather	<i>pilinige</i>	husband's sister
<i>ayege</i>	father's brother	<i>pimalige</i>	male's sister or female's brother
<i>ayenige</i>	husband's parent or daughter-in-law	<i>taege</i>	father
<i>edege</i>	mother	<i>wanege</i>	daughter
<i>gitage</i>	father's sister	<i>widage</i>	wife
<i>kaige</i>	cross cousin	<i>yagoge</i>	male's brother

TABLE 27: Lembena kinship terms with attributive clitic

There are some body parts, such as *kiko*, 'hand or arm'; *igala*, 'nose'; *toba*, 'belly' which rarely take the attributive clitic when referring to *human* body parts. When referring to the leg of a person *ogo* is used without the attributive clitic, which appears to be obligatory when referring to the leg of an animal. Likewise, a house used by people is *ada*, while an animal's house, nest, lair, web, etc. is *adage*. Human offspring are *ometaka*, while animal, bird or insect offspring are *omege*. A bird's egg is *apage*, an insect's egg *apalige*. Thus it appears that the requirement for the use of the attributive clitic is more rigorous for animal and plant parts than for human body parts.

Some other nouns which require the attributive clitic are:

- apage* 'bird's egg'
- apalige* 'insect's egg'
- auwege* 'self' (Reflexive)

<i>gege</i>	‘name’
<i>omege</i>	‘animal, bird or insect offspring’

In the case of kinship terms, the attributive clitic does not occur when they are used as terms of address. I am unaware of any kinship term which can occur (other than vocatively) without the attributive clitic.

Example 85 illustrated two instances of the attributive clitic, first on the kinship noun *ede*, ‘mother’. The second instance is on the quality adjective *keya*, ‘clean’, here used in reference to water used to wash a sore.

- 85) *Kapa onapa edegema ipa keyage meena mialo*
kapa o=na=pa ede=ege=ma ipa keya=ege mee=na mi-ae-
alo
 All.right that=NOM=ASS mother=ATTR=ERG water clean=ATTR a=NOM get-PRFA-
 B.SS
onapa sole meyalo wasa pakalame.
o=na=pa sole mey-alo wasa p-akal-a-me
 that=NOM=ASS salt throw-B.SS wash strike-BENX-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘All right then, (his) mother, having gotten some clean water, then throws salt in
 it and washes (the sore) for him.’

The attributive clitic can also occur on a clause or sentence expressing a habitual or customary action or state of another referent. When the attributive clitic occurs on a clause or sentence, it occurs on the uninflected stem of what would otherwise be the finite verb of the independent verb phrase. Such clauses or sentences bearing the attributive clitic, or **attributives**, have a distribution and function similar to adjectives.

Example 86 illustrates an attributive *panaige*, ‘think=ATTR’, preceding a noun which it modifies as part of a noun phrase.

- 86) *Panaige kali ona piilime.*
panai=ege kali o=na pii-ele-me
 think=ATTR man that=NOM be-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘The thinking man is here.’

Attributives may in turn be nominalized by an optional directional followed by the unmarked nominalizer *=na* in which case they have a distribution and function similar to nouns.

- 87) *Balaga panaige ona kapa wae.*
bala=ga panai=ge o=na kapa wae
 he=RFR think=ATTR that=NOM all.right NEQ
 ‘His thinking is not all right.’

4.10.4 Equative Clitic

We have already seen many instances of the **equative clitic** (EQ), *=e*, in examples in this paper. The equative clitic occurs on nouns or other nominalized constituents. This clitic functions to mark the constituent upon which it operates as predicate of the clause, i.e. a predicate nominal. Example 88 illustrates two instances of the equative clitic first on a proper noun, then on a noun phrase.

- 88) *Nabala Ututumena, nibalaga kalai widanae.*
nabala Ututu-me=na=e nibala=ga kalai wida=na=e
 I Ruth-REFM=NOM=EQ you=RFR work woman=NOM=EQ
 ‘I am Ruth, your servant woman.’

Clauses with predicates formed using the equative clitic do not have verb phrases. Equative predicates do often consist of an attributive nominalized by following =*na* and ending in the equative clitic, such as in example 89.

- 89) *Ai pakawala waba ulu ai degenae.*
ai pak-awala waba u-alo ai d=ege=na=e
 sago chop.down-P.SS before go-B.SS sago see=ATTR=NOM=EQ
 ‘In order to chop down a sago palm, we are ones who first go and find the sago palm.’

4.10.5 Plural Marking Clitic

=*Nu* is the **plural marking clitic** (PLR) which occurs on noun phrases. Example 90 illustrates the plural marking clitic on the minimal noun phrase *wida*, ‘woman’.

- 90) *Widanu bulu wita piamine.*
wida=nu bulu wita pi-a-mi-ne
 woman=PLR ‘bulu’ grass.skirt do-FPT-23p-DECL
 ‘Women wore ‘bulu’ grass skirts.’

Example 91 illustrates =*nu* on the noun phrase *baepole onaga pii ona*.

- 91) *Baepole onaga pii onanu yaka lalo naba tege*
baepole o=na=ga pii o=na=nu yaka l-alo naba tege
 Bible that=NOM=RFR talk that=NOM=PLR read say-B.SS I meaning
mili piigenae.
mi-alo pii=ege=na=e
 get-B.SS be=ATTR=NOM=EQ
 ‘I am one who reads the words from the Bible and learns from them (gets meaning).’

The plural marking clitic can co-occur with the case marking clitics according to the following formula:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NOUN} \\ \text{CONSTITUENT} + =na \end{array} \right\}_{\text{NP}} = nu = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} pa \\ ga \\ ma \end{array} \right\}$$

Example 92 illustrates =*nu* + =*ga* on the noun phrase *naya ipuli ona*, ‘that town ground’.

- 92) *Naya ipuli onanuga ulu degenae.*
naya ipuli o=na=nu=ga u-alo d=ege=na=e
 town ground that=NOM=PLR=RFR go-B.SS see=ATTR=NOM=EQ
 ‘(We) are ones who go to the towns and see (them).’

Example 104 on page 52 is an illustration of =*nu* plus the ergative case marking clitic =*ma*.

The clitic =*bu*, ‘PLURAL NOMINALIZER’, and the sequence of clitics =*na=nu*, ‘NOMINALIZER PLURAL’ seem to have the same meaning. Both *obu* and *onanu* occur in the data, but I am unable at this time to describe the factors influencing the choice of one over the other.

4.10.6 Context Marking Clitic

There is a **context marking clitic** (CTX), with the underlying form =*sa*, which marks the constituent upon which it operates as context or setting for the larger constituent within which it occurs. This context may be spatial, temporal, personal or situational. This clitic can have word, phrase or clause level scope. Besides the most common surface form =*sa*, the context

marking clitic has two lexically determined allomorphs, =*ka*, which occurs only on *ada*, ‘house’, resulting in the form *adaka*, and =*lika*, which occurs only on *ee*, ‘garden’, resulting in the form *elika*. A fourth allomorph, =*kisa*, occurs with personal pronouns, as in example 93. This allomorph always marks personal context and is written as a free form.

- 93) *Oliwenapa* *nabala kisa* *yenye dee pudu onanu*
oi-ele-we = na = pa *nabala = kisa* *yenye dee pudu*
o = na = nu
do.like.that-PRT-1sDECL=NOM=ASS I =CTX sickness CORJ trouble
that=NOM=PLR

naa igenae.

naa i = ege = na = e

NEG come=ATTR=NOM=EQ

‘As I do like that, sickness and troubles are ones that do not come to me.’

Example 94 illustrates two occurrences of the context marking clitic, both with word level scope and both marking spatial context, specifically destination.

- 94) *Eka ona malo ipulisa iamenapa mina adaka*
eka o = na m-alo ipuli = sa i-a-me = na = pa mi-ana
ada = ka
bird that=NOM die-B.SS ground=CTX come-FPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS get-S.SS
house=CTX

uawe.

u-a-we

go-FPT-1sDECL

‘When the bird died and came (fell) to the ground, I took it home.’

Example 95 illustrates the context marking clitic with word level scope and marking temporal context.

- 95) *Waba ometakasa ipa mudaga wasa padiwala laminapa*
waba ometaka = sa ipa muda = ga wasa p-adi-awala l-a-
mi = na = pa
before child=CTX water pool=RFR wash strike-BENI-P.SS say-FPT-
23p=NOM=ASS

kala akawe.

kala ak-a-we

fear fear-FPT-1sDECL

‘Before, (when I was) a child, when they spoke of washing me in a pool of water, I was afraid.’

Example 96 illustrates =*sa* with clause level scope and marking situational context.

- 96) *Balama kalai piliweaka lamesa yole kupale*
bala = ma kalai pi-ele-we = aka l-a-me = sa yole kupale
he=ERG work do-PRT-1sDECL=+DEG say-FPT-3sDECL=CTX pay much
kalamane.
kal-a-ma-ne
giveEXCL-FPT-1p-DECL

‘In light of what he said, ‘I am really working,’ we gave him a lot of pay.’

The context marking clitic has not been observed to occur on the same constituent with =*na*, or with =*na* + {=*pa*/=*ga*/=*ma*}, or with either =*pa* or =*ma* alone. The referential case marking clitic =*ga* has been attested on *ada*, ‘house’, and *ee*, ‘garden’, when these

two forms are marked with their special allomorphs of the context marking clitic. These cases are illustrated in examples 97 and 98 .

- 97) *Palo mina adakaga pusawe.*
pi-alo mi-ana ada = ka = ga pus-a-we
 strike-B.SS get-S.SS house=CTX=RFR cook.in.ground-FPT-1sDECL
 ‘I struck/killed (it) brought (it) (home) and cooked (it) at home.’
- 98) *Taeleme onapa nee woige mina ulu elikaga*
t-ae-ele-me o = na = pa nee woige mi-ana u-alo
e = lika = ga
 shine¹¹-PRFA-PRT-3sDECL that=NOM=ASS food seed get-S.SS go-B.SS
 garden=CTX=RFR
wiyegenae.
wiy = ege = na = e
 plant=ATTR=NOM=EQ
 ‘When (the new garden) has burned, (we are ones who) get food seeds and go and plant them in the garden.’

In each of these cases, the noun marked with both the context marker and the referential marker functions as an argument with respect to two different verbs in the clause. In example 97, *ada*, ‘house’, is both destination with respect to *mina (ili)*, ‘bringing’, and location with respect to *pus-*, ‘cook in ground’. In example 98, *e*, ‘garden’, is both destination with respect to *ulu*, ‘go’, and location with respect to *wiy-*, ‘plant’. This dual function may be the explanation for the double cliticization.

4.10.7 Intensifier Clitic

The **intensifier clitic** (+DEG) = *aka* occurs on words, phrases or clauses. It encodes the sense of greater intensity or higher degree. It may on different occasions be glossed in English as ‘more and more’, ‘in addition to’, ‘over again’, or ‘that very...’. The following four examples illustrate various uses of the intensifier clitic.

- 99) *Bala kalai piliaka piilime.*
bala kalai pi-alo = aka pii-le-me
 he work do-B.SS=+DEG be-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘He is continuing to work more and more.’
- 100) *Kali waba adaka iame.*
kali waba ada = ka i-a-me
 man first house=CTX come-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘The man came home first.’
Dee widage netepa iameaka.
dee widage netepa i-a-me = aka
 CORJ wife later come-FPT-3sDECL=+DEG
 ‘And later his wife came home, too.’
- 101) *Nabalama pii onaaka laawe*
nabala = ma pii o = na = aka l-ae-a-we
 I=ERG talk that=NOM=+DEG say-PRFA-FPT-1sDECL
 ‘I had said that very same thing.’

¹¹ The verb *t-* glossed ‘shine’ has a range of meaning which includes ‘cook’, ‘burn’, ‘become evident’, ‘manifest’.

- 102) *Alebu kali ona iameaka ona wiyana dee naa*
alebu kali o=na i-a-me=aka o=na wiyana dee naa
 2.days.ago man that=NOM come-FPT-3sDECL=+DEG that=NOM tomorrow again NEG
iome.
i-opo-me
 come-FUT-3sDECL

‘That very man who came yesterday will not come again tomorrow.’

See also example 109 under section 4.10.9.

4.10.8 Conjunction Clitic

The **conjunction clitic** (CNJ), =*pi*, marks constituents as coordinately conjoined. The conjoined constituents may be noun phrases or verb phrases and the scope of the conjunction may cross sentence boundaries. Example 103 illustrates two nouns as conjoined subjects marked with the conjunction clitic.

- 103) *Waba nanibala auwagepi dee taegepi onanuma ana*
waba nanibala auwage=pi dee taege=pi o=na=nu=ma ana
 before we ancestor=CNJ and father=CNJ that=NOM=PLR=ERG stone
waa onama ee pakalo dee ada pili piamine.
waa o=na=ma ee pak-alo dee ada pi-alo pii-a-mi-ne
 ax that=NOM=ERG garden cut.down-B.SS then house do-B.SS be-FPT-23p-DECL

‘Before our ancestors and fathers were cutting gardens and building houses with stone axes.’

Example 104 illustrates the conjunction clitic =*pi* collocated with the plural marking clitic =*nu* on conjoined noun phrase subjects.

- 104) *Widakali adipa onanupi dee aema majomi*
wida-kali adipa o=na=nu=pi dee aema madi-opo-mi
 woman-man now that=NOM=PLR=CNJ then later bear-FUT-23p
onanupi nabala dalo Anasuma moi pige tege
o=na=nu=pi nabala d-alo Anasu=ma moi pige tege
 that=NOM=PLR=CNJ I see-B.SS God=ERG gladness do.ATTR show.ATTR
adaipa ona jame lamo lalo loomine.
adaipa o=na di-a-me =lamo l-alo l-opo-mi-ne
 big that=NOM giveINCL-FPT-DECL =EVID say-B.SS say-FUT-23p-DECL

‘People of today and (people) who will be born later will see me and say that God has obviously given a great blessing to me.’

Example 105 illustrates the conjunction clitic on a verb phrase in the second sentence. In this case the conjunction is with another verb phrase *isa mili salo*, ‘get and burn wood’, in the previous sentence.

- 105) *Apele yalo elede ilime onapa kapa ulu*
apele y-alo elede i-ele-me o=na=pa kapa u-alo
 rain exist-B.SS rainy.season come-PRT-3sDECL that=NOM=ASS able go-B.SS
meenama isa mili salo naegenae. Dee
mee=na=ma isa mi-alo s-alo n-ae=ege=na=e dee
 a=NOM=ERG tree get-B.SS cook-B.SS not.do-PRFA=ATTR=NOM=EQ CORJ
nee nalopi meenama kapa naegenae.
nee n-alo=pi mee=na=ma kapa n-ae-ege=na=e
 food consume-B.SS=CNJ a=NOM=ERG able not.do-PRFA=ATTR=NOM=EQ

‘When there is rain and the rainy season comes, a (person) is not able to be one who goes and gets and burns wood (makes a fire). **And** a (person) is not able to be one who eats food.’

It is not obligatory that =*pi* occur on every one of the conjoined constituents in a series. It is not uncommon for it to occur only on the last constituent as in example 106. This is also true of the preceding example, where =*pi* is not found on the conjoined verb phrase in the first sentence.

- 106) *Ee ada ipulipi onanu minubeleme.*
*ee ada ipuli=**pi** o=na=nu minub-ele-me*
 garden house land=CNJ that=NOM=PLR cover-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘He is in possession of the garden, house and land.’

4.10.9 Argumentative Clitic

The **argumentative clitic** (ARG) =*ko* marks a constituent as asserted in opposition to something else. This clitic may have phrase or clause level scope. The next two examples illustrate the use of the argumentative clitic. In the first, the clitic occurs directly after the final verb of the clause upon which it is operating. In the second, the clitic occurs following the directional *o* which follows the clause.

- 107) *Winya baa dee ulu noli tate wakale wakalenu mina ili*
*winya baa dee u-alo noli tate wakale wakale=**nu** mi-ana i-alo*
 dog he again go-B.SS game type other other=PLR get-S.SS come-
 B.SS
dameko ale yawale mapu salo naeme.
*d-a-me=**ko** ale yawale mapu s-alo n-ae-a-me*
 see-FPT-3sDECL=ARG the pig sweet.potato cook-B.SS consume-PRFA-FPT-
 3sDECL

‘When the dog again went and brought back different kinds of game and looked (as opposed to not looking) the pig had cooked and eaten (the) sweet potatoes.’

- 108) *Ale kali waukate iame dame oko noli*
palo
*ale kali wauka-te i-a-me d-a-me o=**ko** noli p-*
alo
 the man night-side come-FPT-3sDECL see-FPT-3sDECL that=ARG game
 strike-B.SS
mina naa iame.
mi-ana naa i-a-me
 get-S.SS NEG come-FPT-3sDECL

‘When the man came (home) at night and looked (as opposed to not looking) he (another man) had not killed any game and brought it (home).’

Example 109 illustrates =*ko* with noun phrase scope. Note also the collocation with the dual nominalizer and the intensifier clitic.

- 109) *Onaga lalo atimu pii eepa okolapuaka pelewe.*
*o=na=ga l-alo atimu pii eepa o=**ko**=lapu=aka p-ele-we*
 that=NOM=RFR say-B.SS story talk little that=ARG=DNM+=DEG strike-PRT-1sDECL
 ‘Speaking about that, I write just these couple little stories (as opposed to others).’

See also examples 114 and 115 under section 4.10.11.

4.10.10 Similarity Clitic

The **similarity clitic** (SIM) = *le* marks a constituent as a standard to which something else is compared and judged similar. It has phrase level scope.

Examples 110 to 112 illustrate the similarity clitic.

- 110) *Lee ona yanugega labiya opalenaē.*
lee o=na yanuge=ga labiya o=pa=le=na=e
 eye that=NOM body=RFR lamp that=ASS=SIM=NOM=EQ
 ‘The eye is like the lamp of the body.’
- 111) *Apale meena mina ia!*
a=pa=le mee=na mi-ana i-a
 this=ASS=SIM a=NOM get-S.SS come-2sIMP
 ‘Bring one like this (one)!’
- 112) *Dee opale apale onanu muni adaipana lelemine.*
dee o=pa=le a=pa=le o=na=nu muni adaipa=na l-ele-mi-
ne
 CORJ that=ASS=SIM this=ASS=SIM that=NOM=PLR money big=NOM say-PRT-
 23p-DECL
 ‘Furthermore, regarding things like that and this, they cost a lot of money.’

The similarity clitic commonly occurs coupled with the contrast clitic to signal unreal condition. This is discussed in section 4.10.12 below.

4.10.11 Conditional Clitic

There is a **conditional clitic** which marks a constituent as a real condition. This clitic has the form = *tamo*. The next three examples illustrate the use of *tamo*, ‘REAL CONDITION’ (RCON). In examples 113 and 114, *tamo* has clause level scope. In the two instances of *tamo* in example 115, it has phrase level scope.

- 113) *Widakali meena eleme tamo baa dalo isa ketae*
widakali mee=na Ø-ele-me =tamo baa d-alo isa ketae
 people a=NOM go-PRT-3sDECL =RCON he see-B.SS tree top
magalo ulu yaligenae.
mag-alo u-alo yali=ege=na=e
 fly-B.SS go-B.SS land=ATTR=NOM=EQ
 ‘If a person comes, he is one who sees and flies up and lands on a tree top.’
- 114) *Nee ona ogepege tamoko ona meyakalope.*
nee o=na ogepege =tamo=ko o=na meyakalope
 food that=NOM bad =RCON=ARG that=NOM throw-BENX-FUT-2s
 ‘If the food is bad, throw it away.’
- 115) *Ulu piili widage olapu lakalalo ometaka majopinapa*
u-alo pii-alo widage o=lapu l-akal-alo ometaka madi-opo-
e=na=pa
 go-B.SS be-B.SS wife that=DNM say-BENX-B.SS child bear-FUT-
 2s=NOM=ASS
ome tamoko palo meyopeye lakalame. Widona
ome =tamo=ko p-alo mey-opo-e-ye l-akal-a-me widona
 boy =RCON=ARG strike-B.SS throw-FUT-2s-HORT say-BENX-FPT-3sDECL girl

tamoko mili yadipeye lakalame.
 =**tamo**=ko mi-alo y-adi-opo-e-ye l-akal-a-me
 =RCON=ARG get-B.SS put-BENI-FUT-2s-HORT say-BENX-FPT-3sDECL

‘He was going and he spoke to his two wives and he said, “When you will bear children, if a boy, kill him and throw him away.” “If a girl, get and put her for me,” he said to them.’

4.10.12 Contrast Clitic

Lembena has another clitic, =*ya*, with an allomorph, =*giya*. This **contrast clitic** (CTRST) marks the constituent upon which it operates as in focus in contrast to some other referent or attribute. The form =*ya* occurs on nouns and clauses, =*giya* when the last element in a phrase is a directional or adjective. In example 116, =*giya* operates on the phrase *gege yawale nepa mee*, ‘a huge ornery pig’.

116) *Ulu dapinapa gege yawale nepa meegiya kapalo piime.*
u-alo d-a-pi=na=pa gege yawale nepa mee=giya kap-alo pii-e-me
 go-B.SS see-FPT-23d=NOM=ASS huge pig ornery a=CTRST bark-B.SS be-NPT-3sDECL

‘When they two went and looked, (the dog) was barking at a huge ornery pig (as opposed to any ordinary pig).’

The contrast clitic has other functions including marking a constituent as a pattern to be imitated or standard of comparison and marking real or unreal condition. Examples 117 and 118 illustrate the contrast clitic =*ya* with the argumentative clitic =*ko* marking real condition.

117) *Nibala kisowa ada ope yako ona waa meena pakadipe.*
nibala kisowa ada Ø-opo-e =ya=ko o=na wa mee=na pak-adi-opo-e
 you store house go-FUT-2s =CON=ARG that=NOM axe a=NOM buy-BENI-FUT-2s

‘If you go to the store, buy me an ax!’

118) *Wiyana apele iome yako ona kalai naa piomane.*
wiyana apele i-opo-me =ya=ko o-na kalai naa pi-opo-ma-ne
 tomorrow rain come-FUT-3sDECL =CON=ARG that=NOM work NEG do-FUT-1p-DECL

‘If it rains tomorrow, we will not work.’

When the contrast clitic =*ya* plus the similarity clitic =*le* are used together to mark unreal condition, this compound form =*ya=le* will occur on both clauses of the conditional sentence, as in example 119.

119) *Bulu ona bala ijina ona oge pusamega yale*
bulu o=na bala ijina o=na oge pus-a-me=ga =ya=le
 plane that=NOM it engine that=NOM bad become-FPT-3sDECL=RFR =CON=SIM
ona nanibala bulu onama pame yale
o=na nanibala bulu o=na=ma p-a-me =ya=le
 that=NOM we plane that=NOM=ERG strike-FPT-3sDECL =CON=SIM

‘If the plane’s engine had broken down, the plane would have killed us.’

When the compound of the contrast clitic and similarity clitic is used to mark a constituent as a pattern to imitate or standard of comparison, the form will occur only on the constituent which encodes that pattern or standard. Example 120 illustrates this usage.

- 120) *Eka apage minaelewe yaleaka pili minope.*
eka apage min-ae-ele-we =ya=le=aka pi-alo min-opo-e
 bird egg hold-PRFA-PRT-1sDECL =CTRST=SIM=+DEG do-B.SS hold-FUT-2s
 ‘Hold the eggs exactly as I am holding them.’

4.11 Numerals

Lembena numerals are rapidly being replaced by Melanesian Pidgin numerals in all but the lowest numbers. Most young people are unfamiliar with the more complex numerals above five and report confusion about numerals for four and five.

The following table displays the pattern of Lembena words used to express numerals through one hundred. The alternative forms which are offered for ‘four’ and ‘five’ are included.

1	<i>wameena</i>	11	<i>kalisa dee wameena</i>
2	<i>laamana</i>	12	<i>kalisa dee laamana</i>
3	<i>tepomana</i>	13	<i>kalisa dee tepomana</i>
4	<i>kituma, kipakite</i>	and so on...	...
5	<i>kiko paki, kimeete</i>	20	<i>kalisa laamana</i>
6	<i>osoko lalo wameena</i>	30	<i>kalisa tepomana</i>
7	<i>osoko lalo laamana</i>	31	<i>kalisa tepomana dee wameena</i>
8	<i>osoko lalo tepomana</i>	32	<i>kalisa tepomana dee laamana</i>
9	<i>mage wameena</i>	and so on...	...
10	<i>kalisa</i>	100	<i>kalisa kalisa</i>

TABLE 28: Lembena Numerals

The Lembena habitually use their hands and fingers when counting to visually reinforce the verbal expression of the numerals. They begin by folding the small finger of one hand against the palm to indicate ‘one’. Then they continue folding each adjacent finger down for the numerals through four and tuck the thumb into the now closed fist for ‘five’. ‘Six’ is made by inserting the thumb tip of the opposite hand into the thumb side of the fist and the numerals through ‘nine’ are made by inserting successive finger tips into the opposite fist until only one small finger remains out. ‘Ten’ is made by placing the two fist hands together, palm sides together.

Multiples of ten are made by bringing the two fist hands together twice for twenty, three times for thirty, etc.

Ordinal expressions have been attested only for ‘first’, ‘second’, ‘middle’ and ‘last’. Example 121 illustrates the use of the expressions *mulupa*, ‘first’ and *lapo pili*, ‘second’. The word *adinae*, ‘location between’, is used to express any ordinal position between ‘first’ and ‘last’. The notion ‘last’ is expressed by the word *netepa*, which can also have the meanings ‘next’ or, when used as a time expression, ‘much later’. All of these expressions, when used as ordinals, occur following the head noun of the noun phrase and preceding the directional, if any is present.

- 121) *Kali mulupa onama mana makadi tolapae onaga*
tada.pupu
kali mulupa o=na=ma mana makadi tolapae o=na=ga
tada.pupu
 man first that=NOM=ERG knowledge attempt straight that=NOM=RFR
 difficulty
nalo ipuli gii pitaka piame. Kali lapo pili ona
n-alo ipuli gii pitaka pi-a-me kali lapo pi-alo o=na
 consume-B.SS ground time all do-FPT-3sDECL man second do-B.SS that=NOM
takisa mige kalinae.
takisa mige kali=na=e
 tax get.ATTR man=NOM=EQ
 ‘The first man always worked very hard to live a righteous life. The second man was a tax collector.’

4.12 Conjunctions

Lembena has three conjunctions, *dee*, ‘coordinate conjunction’, *igi*, ‘associative conjunction’, and *pade* (or its alternate form *wade*), ‘alternative conjunction’. The first two encode senses very similar to the conjunction clitic =*pi* and the associative case marking clitic =*pa*, respectively. Free conjunction and clitic often do occur together in the same construction or one or the other may occur alone.

4.12.1 Coordinate Conjunction

The **coordinate conjunction** (CORJ) *dee* can occur between words, phrases, clauses or sentences. *Dee*, depending on its context, may have senses approximating English *and*, *then*, or *furthermore*. The following examples illustrate uses of *dee*. Example 122 shows the conjunction *dee* joining verb phrases within a complex predicate.

- 122) *Mina adaka ialo modo pili nee kalalo*
mi-ana ada=ka i-ae-alo modo pi-alo nee kal-alo
 get-S.SS house=CTX come-PRFA-B.SS care.for do-B.SS food giveEXCL-B.SS
dee magili palo kalalo piiame.
dee magili p-alo kal-alo pii-a-me
 CORJ rat strike-B.SS giveEXCL-B.SS be-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘Having brought (it) home, (he) was caring for (it), giving (it) food **and** killing rats and giving (them to it).’

Example 123 shows *dee* joining two nouns.

- 123) *Ai alamenapa kaulu widakali dee ometakapi*
ai al-a-me=na=pa kau-alo widakali dee ometaka=pi
 sago settle-FPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS fill-B.SS people CORJ children=CNJ
moyalo kalalo mili oiamane.
moy-alo kal-alo mi-alo oi-a-ma-ne
 distribute-B.SS giveEXCL-B.SS get-B.SS do.like.that-FPT-1p-DECL
 ‘When the sago settled, having filled (containers with it) gotten it and given it to the people **and** children, we did like that.’

Example 124 illustrates the use of *dee* to link clauses.

- 124) *Nabala ipuli gii meenapa ipaga pee nyalo olawala*
nabala ipuli gii mee=na=pa ipa=ga pee ny-alo ol-awala
 I ground time a=NOM=ASS water=RFR eel.trap weave-B.SS immerse-P.SS
uawe. Pee ona ipapege lomalo pepete eli palo
u-a-we pee o=na ipa.pege lom-alo pepete eli p-alo
 go-FPT-1sDECL eel.trap that=NOM bamboo cut.across-B.SS strip split strike-B.SS
adage pialo pee nyawe. Oialo
adage pi-ae-alo pee ny-a-we oi-ae-alo
 house.ATTR do-PRFA-B.SS eel.trap weave-FPT-1sDECL do.like.that-PRFA-B.SS
ipaga olawe. Dee pee laamana nyawe.
ipa=ga ol-a-we dee pee laama=na ny-a-we
 water=RFR immerse-FPT-1sDECL CORJ eel.trap two=NOM weave-FPT-1sDECL
 ‘One day, I went to weave eel traps and put them in the water. (Regarding) the eel trap, having cut bamboo, split strips and made the house (cage) I wove eel traps. Having done like that I immersed it in the water. **Furthermore** I wove two eel traps.’

4.12.2 Associative Conjunction

The **associative conjunction** (ASSJ) *igi* encodes the sense that two constituents are regarded as operating together in a larger syntactic unit. The associative conjunction may join noun phrases or clauses. When used to join noun phrases the associative conjunction has a sense similar to what is conveyed by the English word *with*. When used to join clauses, it has a sense similar to English *and also*, or *and with that...*

Example 125 illustrates the use of the associative conjunction to join two noun phrases which are indicated by underlining. The conjunction occurs after each of the associated constituents.

- 125) *yomole kamokopi igi nabala igi*
yomole kamoko=pi igi nabala igi
 old.woman old.man=CNJ ASSJ I ASSJ
 ‘old women and old men with me’

Example 126 illustrates the associative conjunction joining two clauses.

- 126) *Oiame igi nabala adaka eekana kalisa meena*
.piiawe
oi-a-me igi nabala ada=sa eekana kalisa mee=na pii-
a-we
 do.like.that-FPT-3sDECL ASSJ I house=CTX year ten a=NOM be-
 FPT-1sDECL
 ‘It was like that and with that I was at home for ten years.’

4.12.3 Alternative Conjunction

The **alternative conjunction** *pade*, which has an alternate form *wade*, encodes a sense similar to English (*either...*) *or*. It has not been attested at all in the narrative and descriptive, oral and written texts upon which this analysis is based. It has been heard in spoken language in the context of public meetings. In those contexts, it occurs fairly frequently in the expression *Kinige, pade wae?*, ‘Is it true or no?’

Example 127 illustrates the alternative conjunction used to join clauses. This is from elicited material.

- 127) *Wade balusaga oomipe, wade katoga oomipe, nabala*
wade balusa=ga 0-opo-mi-pe wade kato=ga 0-opo-mi-pe nabala
 ALTJ plane=RFR go-FUT-23p-INT ALTJ car=RFR go-FUT-23d-INT I
sapelewe?
sap-ele-we
 ask-PRT-1sDECL
 ‘Will you go by plane or will you go by car, I am asking.’

Because of the infrequency of occurrence of this form, it is difficult to make a statement about its distribution, but based on the distribution of the other conjunctions I hypothesize that the alternative conjunction could be used to join alternative noun phrases, as well.

4.13 Interrogatives

Lembena has four interrogative roots which form the basis for numerous interrogative surface forms which result from affixation and cliticization of these roots. These interrogative roots include an interrogative personal pronoun, *kai*, ‘who’; an interrogative adjective, *kaa*, ‘which’; an interrogative noun *bia*, ‘what’, and an interrogative verb *bei-*, ‘what action’.

The interrogative personal pronoun root is found in other surface forms such as *kaima*, *kaipa*, *kailapu*, *kai obu*. This pronoun has a distribution similar to the personal pronouns. (See section 4.2.1.) One exception is that it does not occur in apposition with a noun which specifies a referent as this would clash with the sense inherent in the interrogative pronoun that the referent is not known. The following three examples illustrate some of the possibilities for use of the interrogative personal pronoun.

- 128) *Kailapu ilipipe?*
kai=lapu i-ele-pi-pe
 who=DNM come-PRT-23d-INT
 ‘Who(dual) are coming?’
- 129) *Kaipa lope?*
kai=pa l-opo-e
 who=ASS say-FUT-2s
 ‘Who will say (it) (with me)?’
- 130) *Nyabala kai obu ilimipe?*
nyabala kai o=bu i-ele-mi-pe
 you/they who that=PNM come-PRT-23p-INT
 ‘Who(plural) are coming?’

The interrogative adjective root *kaa* shows up in additional surface forms including *kaasa*, *kaate*, *kaapa duku*. The following three examples illustrate uses of the interrogative adjective.

- 131) *Oge age onanu pitaka pakalo yalo mina*
o=ege a=ege o=na=nu pitaka pak-alo y-alo mi-ana
 that=ATTR this=ATTR that=NOM=PLR all buy-B.SS put-B.SS get-S.SS
kaa kasee ipaape?
kaa kasee i-opo-wa-pe
 which road come-FUT-1s-DECL-INT
 ‘Having bought everything and put it, (by) which road will I bring it?’
- 132) *Nyabala kaate oomipe?*
nyabala kaa-te Ø-opo-mi-pe
 you/they which-side go-FUT-23p-INT
 ‘Where will you(pl) go?’

- 133) *Nyabala kaapa duku dee apeka lalo iomipe?*
nyabala kaa=pa duku dee apeka l-alo i-opo-mi-pe
 you/they which=ASS occasion CORJ turn say-B.SS come-FUT-23p-INT
 ‘What time will you(pl) return?’ (lit.: ‘On the occasion associated with which (time) will you turn and come?’)

The interrogative noun root, *bia*, is found in other surface forms including *biage*, *biagega*, *biapage*. The following four examples illustrate some of the possible uses of *bia*.

- 134) *Nibala bia lelepe?*
nibala bia l-ele-e-pe
 you what say-PRT-2s-INT
 ‘What are you saying?’
- 135) *Biage sele?*
bia=ege s-ele-e
 what=ATTR cook-PRT-2s
 ‘What are you cooking?’
- 136) *Biagega lalo buu adelepe?*
bia=ege=ga l-alo buu ad-ele-e-pe
 what=ATTR=RFR say-B.SS anger come.up-PRT-2s-INT
 ‘For what reason are you angry?’ (lit.: ‘Speaking about what are you angry?’)
- 137) *Biapagega ilaepe?*
bia=pa=ege=ga i-ala-e-pe
 what=ASS=ATTR=RFR come-IPT-2s-INT
 ‘On what kind of (thing) did you come?’

The interrogative verb root, *bei-*, takes the same inflectional affixation as other verb roots. Based on data analyzed so far, it can occur with stem level affixation for PERFECT ASPECT, as in *beialo*, *bei-ae-alo*, (what.action-PRFA-B.SS), ‘having done what action’, but not with stem level affixation for CAUSATIVE or BENEFACTIVE. The following four examples illustrate the use of *bei-*.

- 138) *Beilipe?*
bei-ele-e-pe
 what.action-PRT-2s-INT
 ‘What are you doing?’
- 139) *Nyabala beialo oomipe?*
nyabala bei-ae-alo Ø-opo-mi-pe
 you/they what.action-PRFA-B.SS go-FUT-23p-INT
 ‘How will you(pl) go?’ (lit.: ‘Having done what will you go?’)
- 140) *Nibala taege manape, beianape?*
nibala taege m-a-na-pe bei-a-na-pe
 you father die-FPT-3s-DECL-INT what.action-FPT-3s-DECL-INT
 ‘Did your father die, or what did he do?’
- 141) *Nyabala beiwala oomipe?*
nyabala bei-awala Ø-opo-mi-pe
 you/they what.action-P.SS go-FUT-23p-INT
 ‘In order to do what will you go?’

5. PHRASE STRUCTURE

For the purposes of this paper, **phrases** are defined as grammatical structures consisting of a word (or another phrase) which functions as a nucleus and which is called the HEAD, and other possible optional syntactic elements which may precede or follow the HEAD and which are related to the HEAD. A minimal phrase is one in which the HEAD occurs as the only constituent of the phrase.

Phrases are the immediate constituents of clauses. With the exception of verb phrases, phrases lack propositional structure, which is to say they lack all the elements necessary to constitute a clause. Because Lembena permits the deletion of nominal arguments when they are understood from context, a verb phrase can constitute a minimal clause.

Types of phrases are generally classified in terms of the constituent which occurs as the HEAD. Lembena exhibits **noun phrases**, **adjective phrases**, **numeral phrases**, **aspect phrases**, **adjunct phrases**, **manner phrases** and **verb phrases**.

5.1 Noun Phrase

A **noun phrase** (NP) is defined as a phrase with a common noun, pronoun, proper name or another noun phrase as HEAD (or HEADS) and which functions as a core argument of a clause or, with a following clitic, as an oblique argument. It should be noted here that other grammatical structures can be nominalized by one of the nominalizing clitics and function as nominal arguments in a clause but I have not included these under the category of NP. These include nominalized adjectives, nominalized directionals, nominalized attributives and nominalized clauses.

The Lembena noun phrase may be realized by one of several possible structures as indicated by the following rule:

$$\text{NP} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRONOMINAL NP} \\ \text{PROPER NAME NP} \\ \text{MODIFIED NP} \\ \text{APPOSITIONAL NP} \\ \text{CONJOINED NP} \end{array} \right\}$$

Lembena NPs, as they are attested in real language, tend toward being structurally simple in spite of the complexity that is possible based on this and the following rules. In a representative oral text containing 173 NPs, 92 of them were minimal one word expressions, 60 were two word phrases, 11 were three word phrases and only 10 were longer than 3 words. The longest NP was a CONJOINED NP which contained 9 words.

5.1.1 Pronominal NP

The **pronominal NP** is a noun phrase with a pronoun as head. It has the structure:

$$\text{PRONOMINAL NP} \rightarrow +\text{PRONOUN} \pm \text{DIRECTIONAL}$$

No other pre- or postmodification is possible.

Example 142 illustrates a pronominal NP in context.

- 142) *Nyaa obu tauno Beteliame onaga ipuli Juda ona*
nyaa o=bu tauno Beteliame o=na=ga ipuli Juda o=na
 they that=PNM town Bethlehem that=NOM=RFR ground Judah that=NOM
nyapamine.
nyap-a-mi-ne
 leave-FPT-23p-DECL
 ‘They left Bethlehem of Judah.’

5.1.2 Proper Name NP

The **proper name NP** is a noun phrase with a proper name as head. The structure of the proper name NP is described by the following rules:

$$\text{PROPER NAME NP} \rightarrow \pm \text{PREMODIFICATION} + \text{PROPER NAME} \pm \text{DIRECTIONAL}$$

$$\text{PREMODIFICATION} \rightarrow + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PROPER NAME} \\ \text{DIRECTIONAL} \end{array} \right\}$$

Example 143 illustrates a minimal proper name NP in context.

- 143) *Dee Sakataeyapema ejole daalo opa lakalame.*
dee Sakataeya-pe = ma ejole d-ae-alo opa l-akal-a-me
 CORJ Zechariah-REFM=ERG angel see-PRFA-B.SS thus say-BENX-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘Then Zechariah saw the angel and spoke to him in this way.’

The following examples illustrate other possibilities.

Directional as PREMODIFICATION:

- 144) *aa Itopeno*
a Itopeno.vil
 this Itopeno.village
 ‘Itopeno village here’

Proper name as PREMODIFICATION:

- 145) *Yoponi Leneyape*
Yoponi Leneya-pe
 Yoponi.clan Leneya-REFM
 ‘Leneya of Yoponi clan’

With following Directional:

- 146) *Kopaipalu ona*
Kopaipalu o = na
 Kopaipalu.village that=NOM
 ‘Kopaipalu village’

5.1.3 Modified NP

The **modified NP** is distinguished by the fact that it has one HEAD, though this HEAD may be composed of more than one nominal element, and this HEAD is expounded by members of the class of common nouns. The structure of the MODIFIED NP is described by the following rule:

$$\text{MODIFIED NP} \rightarrow \pm \text{PREMODIFICATION} + \text{HEAD} \pm \text{POSTMODIFICATION}$$

HEAD is the only obligatory constituent of the MODIFIED NP. The structure of HEAD is described by the following rules:

$$\text{HEAD} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{COMMON NOUN} \\ \text{CLAUSE} \\ \text{COMPOUND HEAD} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{COMPOUND HEAD} \rightarrow + \text{COMMON NOUN} + (\text{COMMON NOUN})^{n \geq 1}$$

This last rule states that COMPOUND HEAD consists of two or more COMMON NOUNs joined in a series. These COMMON NOUNs, after the first, are optionally marked by a following CONJUNCTION CLITIC, =*pi*, or a preceding COORDINATE CONJUNCTION, *dee*, or both.

Example 147 illustrates a minimal modified NP with a common noun as head in context.

Noun, *noli*, as HEAD:

- 147) *Noli naa poneleme.*
noli naa pon-ele-me
 animal NEG be.clearly.visible-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘No animal was visible.’ (lit.: ‘Animal was not visible.’)

The structure of PREMODIFICATION is described by the rule:

$$\text{PREMODIFICATION} \rightarrow + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{DELIMITER} \\ \text{POSSESSOR} \\ \text{MODIFIER} \end{array} \right\}$$

The structure of DELIMITER is described by the rule:

$$\text{DELIMITER} \rightarrow + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ARTICLE} \\ \text{DIRECTIONAL} \\ \text{NUMERAL PHRASE} \end{array} \right\}$$

The structure of POSSESSOR is described by the rule:

$$\text{POSSESSOR} \rightarrow + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NOUN} \\ \text{PRONOUN} \\ \text{PROPER NAME} \end{array} \right\}$$

The structure of MODIFIER is described by the rule:

$$\text{MODIFIER} \rightarrow + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NOUN} \\ \text{PROPER NAME} \\ \text{ADJECTIVE PHRASE} \\ \text{ATTRIBUTIVE VERB PHRASE} \\ \text{CLAUSE} \end{array} \right\}$$

The following examples illustrate the various possibilities for PREMODIFICATION:

Article as PREMODIFICATION/DELIMITER:

- 148) *ale yadale*
ale yadale
 ART snake
 ‘the snake’

Directional as PREMODIFICATION/DELIMITER:

- 149) *o kali ona*
o kali o=na
 that man that=NOM
 ‘that man’

Noun as PREMODIFICATION/MODIFIER:

- 150) *isa kudu*
isa kudu
 tree hole
 ‘hole in a tree’

Proper name as PREMODIFICATION/MODIFIER:

- 151) *Manowaka kasee*
Manowaka kasee
 Manowaka road
 ‘Manowaka road’, i.e. ‘the road to Manowaka’

Pronoun as PREMODIFICATION/POSSESSOR:

- 152) *nabala ipuli*
nabala ipuli
 I ground
 ‘my ground’

Adjective phrase as PREMODIFICATION/MODIFIER:

- 153) *gege yawale*
gege yawale
 huge pig
 ‘huge pig’

Numeral phrase as PREMODIFICATION/DELIMITER:

- 154) *wamee duku*
wamee duku
 one time
 ‘once’

Attributive as PREMODIFICATION/MODIFIER:

- 155) *ai pakalo nege kali*
ai pak-alo n = ege kali
 sago cut.down-B.SS consume=ATTR man
 ‘sago cutting down and eating man’, i.e. ‘a man who knows how to cut down and eat sago’

Clause as PREMODIFICATION/MODIFIER:

- 156) *yawalema aiyeme kali*
yawale = ma aiy-e-me kali
 pig=ERG bite-NPT-3sDECL man
 ‘the man that the pig bit’

The structure of POSTMODIFICATION is described by the following rule:

POSTMODIFICATION → ± ADJECTIVE PHRASE ± ATTRIBUTIVE VP ± NUMERAL PHRASE ± DIRECTIONAL

The following examples illustrate possibilities for POSTMODIFICATION:

Adjective phrase as POSTMODIFICATION:

- 157) *Anasu wetee adaipa*
Anasu wetee adaipa
 God extremely big
 ‘almighty God’

Numeral phrase as POSTMODIFICATION:

- 158) *okoli kiko paki meete osoko lalo*
okoli kiko paki mee-te osoko l-alo
 moon hand altogether a-side jump say-B.SS
 ‘six months’

Directional as POSTMODIFICATION:

- 159) *ometaka ona*
ometaka o = na
 child that=NOM
 ‘that child’

More than one of these structures can be present in a single NP, though, as mentioned earlier, the tendency is toward structurally simple NPs. If more than one is present the order will be according to the rule above. Examples 160 to 162 illustrate three possibilities.

Adjective phrase + directional as POSTMODIFICATION:

- 160) *kasee lodoge ona*
kasee lodo = ege o = na
 road long=ATTR that=NOM
 ‘that long road’

Numeral phrase + directional as POSTMODIFICATION:

- 161) *kali laama olapu*
kali laama o = lapu
 man two that=DNM
 ‘those two men’

Adjective phrase + Attributive as POSTMODIFICATION:

- 162) *ipa muda wetee kamoe toto paege*
ipa muda wetee kamoe toto p-ae-egex
 water pool extremely good proper strike-PRFA=ATTR
 ‘very good proper pool of water’

5.1.4 Appositional NP

The APPOSITIONAL NP is described by the rule:

$$\text{APPOSITIONAL NP} \rightarrow +\text{NP} + (\text{NP})^{n \geq 1}$$

where all NPs have a common referent. This rule states that an APPOSITIONAL NP consists of two or more NPs in a series. APPOSITIONAL NPs with more than two immediate constituents are very rare. There are no affixes, clitics or conjunctions which mark the NPs of the APPOSITIONAL NP.

A very common type of APPOSITIONAL NP has a pronoun as the exponent of the second slot as in the following examples. The extent of each NP is shown by underlining.

- 163) *kali laama = na nili*
kali laama = na nili
 man two=NOM they2
 ‘two men, they’
- 164) *ometaka ona baa*
ometaka o = na bala
 child that=NOM he
 ‘that child, he’

This type of APPOSITIONAL NP only occurs as subject of a clause.

Further examples of APPOSITIONAL NPs are:

- 165) *kali yawalema aiyeme kali*
kali yawale=ma aiy-e-me kali
 man pig=ERG bite-NPT-3sDECL man
 ‘a man, the man (whom) a pig bit’
- 166) *kone Botanope lege misine meena*
kone Botano-pe l=ege misine mee=na
 white.man Brown-REFM say=ATTR missionary a=NOM
 ‘white man called Brown, a missionary’
- 167) *tapupige Pageyape lege Yapetaline ona*
tapupige Pageya-pe l=ege Yapetaline o=na
 pastor Pangeya-REFM say=ATTR Yapetaline.clan that=NOM
 ‘pastor called Pangeya, that Yapetaline (man)’
- 168) *Titipupe Makepe Mosesepe kali obu*
Titipu-pe Make-pe Mosese-pe kali o=bu
 Titipu-REFM Mark-REFM Moses-REFM man that=PNM
 ‘Titipu, Mark and Moses, those men’
- 169) *nabala Titipu*
nabala Titipu
 I Titipu
 ‘I, Titipu’

5.1.5 Conjoined NP

The CONJOINED NP is described by the rule:

$$\text{CONJOINED NP} \rightarrow + \text{NP} + (\text{NP})^{n \geq 1}$$

where the referent of each of the noun phrases is different from the others. This rule states that a CONJOINED NP consists of two or more NPs in a series. Beginning with the second NP in the series, the NPs which compose the CONJOINED NP are optionally marked by one of two possible clitics, the CONJUNCTION CLITIC, =*pi* or the ASSOCIATIVE CLITIC, =*pa*, or by a conjunction such as the COORDINATE CONJUNCTION, *dee*, or the ASSOCIATIVE CONJUNCTION, *igi*, or both. This marking, when present, is the only formal difference between the APPOSITIONAL NP and the CONJOINED NP.

Example 170 illustrates a CONJOINED NP with no explicit marking of conjunction.

- 170) *kajole Mailape Pigape Matiyupe*
kajole Maila-pe Piga-pe Matiyu-pe
 councilor Maila-REFM Piga-REFM Matthew-REFM
 ‘Councilor Maila, Piga and Matthew’

Example 171 illustrates the use of the COORDINATE CONJUNCTION, *dee*, only between CONJOINED NPs.

- 171) *misi pii dee naia kalai*
misi pii dee naia kalai
 worship talk CORJ modern work
 ‘Word of God and modern work’

Example 172 illustrates the use of the conjunction clitic, =*pi*, and the ASSOCIATIVE CONJUNCTION, *igi*.

- 172) *yomole kamokopi igi nabala igi*
yomole kamoko=pi igi nabala igi
 old.woman old.man=CNJ ASSJ I ASSJ
 ‘old women and old men with me’

5.1.6 Embedding of NPs

It can be seen from the rules governing the structure of both APPOSITIONAL NP and CONJOINED NP that they each consist of NPs which in turn may be expounded by any of the types of NPs including embedded APPOSITIONAL NPs or CONJOINED NPs. This embedding of NPs has already been illustrated in examples 168, 170, 171 and 172. A further example is given here:

- 173) *Tabaiyape Yegisa auwege ona igi Yoponi*
Tabaiya-pe Yegisa auwe=ege o=na igi Yoponi
 Tabaiya-REFM Yegisa.village self=ATTR that=NOM ASSJ Yoponi.clan
Leneyape igi nanibala . . .
Leneya-pe igi nanibala
 Leneya-REFM ASSJ we
 ‘(I with) Tabaiya, the one from Yengisa with Leneya of the Yoponi clan, we’

In this example, the entire structure is analyzed as an APPOSITIONAL NP consisting of a CONJOINED NP and a pronoun. The CONJOINED NP, in turn, consists of an APPOSITIONAL NP and a PROPER NAME NP. This embedded APPOSITIONAL NP consists of a PROPER NAME NP and a MODIFIED NP.

5.2 Adjective Phrase

Adjective phrases are uncommon in Lembena and when they occur tend to be minimal in structure. Most adjective phrases consist only of an adjective as head but a few more complex examples have been attested such as *wetee adaipa*, ‘very big’, and *wetee kamoe*, ‘very good’. It is difficult to make a definitive statement about the internal structure of the adjective phrase, but, as an initial hypothesis I posit the following:

ADJECTIVE PHRASE → ± DEGREE + ADJECTIVE ± ADJECTIVE PHRASE

This rule is recursive and can thus generate a series of adjectives, each optionally modified by an expression of degree. Options for DEGREE are defined by the rule:

$$\text{DEGREE} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{wetee}, \text{ 'extremely'} \\ \textit{eepa}, \text{ 'little'} \end{array} \right\}$$

5.3 Numeral Phrase

See section 4.11 Numerals.

5.4 Verb Phrase

The Lembena Verb Phrase is a complex structure which can exhibit variation with respect to several parameters. These parameters include the type of verb nucleus, whether the verb phrase is finite or medial in form, whether it is positive or negative, whether or not it is marked for phrasal aspect and whether or not it is repetitive.

The following rule gives a rough idea of the constituents of the verb phrase and their order of occurrence but, as will be seen, the interaction of the various parameters with the types of verb nucleus can modify this general structure.

VERB PHRASE → ± ADVERB PHRASE ± NEGATION + VERB NUCLEUS ± ASPECT

In section 5.4.1, I will discuss the various parameters. Then in section 5.4.2, I will describe the various types of verb phrases which result from the interactions of these parameters.

5.4.1 Parameters

5.4.1.1 Verb Nuclei: Simple vs. Adjunct vs. Manner

The verb nucleus can be one of three types: simple, adjunct or manner. The simple verb nucleus consists of a simple verb stem which will be inflected according to whether it is finite or medial in its function within a sentence. Following are some examples of simple verb nuclei:

- 174) *delewe*
d-ele-we
 see-PRT-1sDECL
 ‘I see’
- 175) *pisalo*
pi-as-alo
 do-CAUS-B.SS
 ‘cause to do’
- 176) *lakaloomape?*
l-akal-opo-ma-pe
 say-BENX-FUT-1p-INT
 ‘will we tell (someone)?’

A second type of verb nucleus is the adjunct verb nucleus. This type consists of an adjunct plus an auxiliary verb stem. For a list of adjuncts and the auxiliaries which occur with them, see section 4.6. Adjuncts take no inflection. The auxiliary verb stem will be inflected according to whether the adjunct verb nucleus is finite or medial in its function within a sentence. Following are some examples of adjunct verb nuclei:

- 177) *tobi leleme*
tobi l-ele-me
 bore.a.hole say-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘(he) bores a hole’
- 178) *wado pipowe*
wado pi-opo-we
 dry.over.fire do-FUT-1sDECL
 ‘(I) will dry (something) over a fire’
- 179) *saki paelene*
saki p-ae-ele-e-ne
 count strike-PRFA-PRT-2s-DECL
 ‘(you) have counted’

The third type of verb nucleus is the manner verb nucleus. This type consists of a manner verb form (see section 4.5.7) plus an auxiliary verb stem. The set of auxiliaries which occur with manner verbs is a subset of the set of auxiliaries that occur with adjuncts and is restricted to *l-*, ‘say’, and *pi-*, ‘do’. Manner verb forms do not take any further inflection. The auxiliary verb stem will be inflected according to whether the manner verb nucleus is finite or medial in its function within a sentence. Following are some examples of manner verb nuclei:

- 180) *lomakinikini pili*
lom-akinikini pi-alo
 cut.across-HZRD do-B.SS
 ‘cut across haphazardly’
- 181) *dayaguyagu leleme*
d-ayaguyagu l-ele-me
 see-RNDM say-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘(it) is looking around randomly’
- 182) *isakodape pipe*
is-akodape pi-opo-e
 look.after-INTS do-FUT-2s
 ‘(you) look after (it) carefully’

5.4.1.2 Finite vs. Medial

If a verb phrase is functioning as a finite verb in a sentence, i.e. as the nucleus of an independent clause, its nucleus will be inflected with tense, subject person and number, and illocutionary force according to the description of finite verbs in section 4.5.5. In the case of the simple verb nucleus, this inflection occurs on the verb stem of the simple verb nucleus. In the cases of the adjunct verb nucleus and manner verb nucleus, the inflection will occur on the auxiliary verb stem of each type.

Following are examples of the three types of verb nuclei with finite inflection.

Simple verb nucleus with finite inflection.

- 183) *namine*
n-a-mi-ne
 consume-FPT-23p-DECL
 ‘(they) consumed’

Adjunct verb nucleus with finite inflection.

- 184) *aloo piomane*
aloo pi-opo-ma-ne
 exchange AUX-FUT-1p-DECL
 ‘(we) will exchange’

Manner verb nucleus with finite inflection.

- 185) *nisalolo pilipine*
nis-alolo pi-ele-pi-ne
 help-RCPR AUX-PRT-23d-DECL
 ‘(they 2) help each other’

If the verb phrase is functioning as a medial verb, i.e. as the nucleus of a medial clause dependent on another clause within a sentence, then its nucleus will be inflected with one of the medial verb suffixes described in section 4.5.6. The selection of which medial verb suffix depends on the function of the medial clause and on whether or not the verb phrase is positive or negative. If a medial verb phrase is negative, it will take the irrealis same subject suffix *-eta*. If it is positive, it will take one of the other medial verb suffixes.

Following are cognate examples of the three types of verb nuclei with medial inflection:

Simple verb nucleus with medial inflection, in this example purpose same subject marking.

- 186) *nawala*
n-awala
 consume-P.SS
 ‘in order to consume’

Adjunct verb nucleus with medial inflection, in this example basic same subject marking.

- 187) *aloo pialo*
aloo pi-ae-alo
 exchange AUX-PRFA-B.SS
 ‘having exchanged’

Manner verb nucleus with medial inflection, in this example simultaneous same subject marking.

- 188) *nisalolo pina*
nis-alolo pi-ana
 help-RCPR AUX-S.SS
 ‘while helping each other’

5.4.1.3 Positive vs. Negative

Unmarked verb phrases are interpreted as positive. Negation of verb phrases is indicated by the presence of the negative particle *naa*. Its position within the verb phrase is normally immediately preceding the final verb constituent. Thus, in the case of a verb phrase with adjunct or manner verb nucleus, the negative particle will be interposed between the adjunct or manner verb and the auxiliary.

Following are the three types of verb nuclei from examples 183, 184 and 185 with their cognate negative forms:

- 189) *namine, naa namine*
 ‘(they) consumed, (they) did not consume’
- 190) *aloo piomane, aloo naa piomane*
 ‘(we) will exchange, (we) will not exchange’
- 191) *nisalolo pilipine, nisalolo naa pilipine*
 ‘(they 2) help each other, (they 2) do not help each other’

5.4.1.4 Phrasal Aspects: Unmarked vs. Continuative vs. Completive vs. Persistentive

Not all Lembena verb phrases exhibit any overt marking for aspect. However, specification of the speakers perspective toward the internal structure of an event may be encoded by various means. In section 4.5.2, stem level aspect marking was discussed. Lembena marks other aspects by way of phrasal constructions consisting of a basic medial form of the verb nucleus followed by one of three aspect auxiliary verbs. The verbs which function as auxiliary verbs may also serve as simple verb nuclei in their own right, but when used as aspect auxiliary verbs, each encodes a particular aspect with respect to the nucleus of the phrase.

The three phrasal aspects are continuative, encoded by the verb *pii-*, ‘be’, completive, encoded by the verb *wet-*, ‘finish’, and persistentive, encoded by the verb *nyap-*, which normally has the meaning ‘leave’ or ‘let alone’, but in this function has the meaning ‘unceasing’.

Following are examples of the three types of verb nuclei, each illustrating a different phrasal aspect:

Simple verb nucleus with continuative aspect.

- 192) *nalo piamine*
n-alo pii-a-mi-ne
 consume-B.SS be-FPT-23p-DECL
 ‘(they) were consuming’

Adjunct verb nucleus with completive aspect.

- 193) *aloo pili wetoomane*
aloo pi-alo wet-opo-ma-ne
 exchange AUX-B.SS finish-FUT-1p-DECL
 ‘(we) will finish exchanging’

Manner verb nucleus with persistive aspect.

- 194) *nisalolo pili nyapelepine*
nis-alolo pi-alo nyap-ele-pi-ne
 help-RCPR AUX-B.SS unceasing-PRT-23d-DECL
 ‘(they 2) are helping each other unceasingly.’

5.4.1.5 Repetitive vs. Non-repetitive

Lembena uses reduplication of one of the elements of the verb phrase to indicate that an event occurs repetitively. Which element is duplicated depends on the type of verb nucleus. In the case of a simple verb nucleus the verb stem is duplicated with basic medial verb suffixation. Contrast the following two examples:

- 195) *palo piilime*
p-alo pii-ele-me
 strike-B.SS be-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘He is (continually) striking (something).’
- 196) *palo palo piilime*
p-alo p-alo pii-ele-me
 strike-B.SS strike-B.SS be-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘(he) is striking (something) again and again’

A variation of this structure occurs with negation of the second instance of the verb stem. Note that repetitive occurs in this example together with phrasal aspect.

- 197) *paeyalo naa paeyalo pili piilime*
p-aey-alo naa p-aey-alo pi-alo pii-ele-me
 strike-INTA-B.SS NEG strike-INTA-B.SS do-B.SS be-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘(he) is striking (something) intermittently but repeatedly’

In the case of an adjunct verb nucleus, the adjunct is duplicated, as in the following example.

- 198) *kege kege yalo*
kege kege y-alo
 lost lost AUX-B.SS
 ‘being repeatedly lost’

I have not found an instance of a repetitive manner verb nucleus.

5.4.2 Verb Phrase Types

It should be clear that the interaction of these parameters results in a large inventory of possible verb phrase types. These will be described with examples in this section according to sub-groupings based on whether the verb phrase is positive or negative and whether it is finite or medial in form.

5.4.2.1 Positive Finite VPs

The first group I will examine is positive finite verb phrases. Within this sub-group, verb phrases will vary by type of nucleus and by the encoding of phrasal aspect.

5.4.2.1.1 Positive Finite Simple VP

The positive finite simple verb phrase could be viewed as a basic type. Being positive, it lacks the negative particle *naa*. As a finite form, it bears suffixation on the simple verb nucleus encoding the tense, person and number of the subject, and in many cases, illocutionary force.

The structure of the positive finite simple verb phrases (PFSVP) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PFSVP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVERB PHRASE} + [+ \text{VERB STEM} + \text{FINITE}]$$

In this and following rules, FINITE refers to the constituents of finite verb inflection described in section 4.5.5. Square brackets, '[]', indicate that the included constituents are bound together into a single word.

Example 199 illustrates a positive finite simple verb phrase in sentence context.

- 199) *Kali waba adaka iame.*
kali waba ada=ka i-a-me
 man before house=CTX come-FPT-3sDECL
 '(The) man came home earlier.'

5.4.2.1.2 Positive Finite Adjunct VP

The positive finite adjunct verb phrase (PFAVP) differs from the preceding structure in having an adjunct verb nucleus. Its structure is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PFAVP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVERB PHRASE} + \text{ADJUNCT} + [+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \text{FINITE}]$$

Example 200 illustrates a positive finite adjunct verb phrase in sentence context.

- 200) *Kali ona panaige kada naeleme.*
kali o=na panaige kada n-ae-ele-me
 man that=NOM think.ATTR lower AUX-PRFA-PRT-3sDECL
 'That man is apathetic.' (lit.: 'That man's thinking has lowered.')

5.4.2.1.3 Positive Finite Manner VP

The positive finite manner verb phrase (PFMVP) likewise differs from the positive finite simple verb phrase by variance in the nucleus. In this case, the nucleus is a manner verb nucleus. The structure of this verb phrase type is as follows:

$$\text{PFMVP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVERB PHRASE} + \text{MANNER} + [+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \text{FINITE}]$$

Example 201 illustrates a positive finite manner verb phrase in sentence context.

- 201) *Balama buu adeyale leleme.*
bala=ma buu ad-eyale l-ele-me
 he=ERG anger grow.big-SIML AUX-PRT-3sDECL
 'He is pretending to be angry.'

5.4.2.1.4 Positive Finite Continuative VPs

If continuative aspect is encoded in positive finite verb phrases with each of the possible nucleus types, the results are as illustrated in the following examples. Note that the verb which would carry finite inflection now appears in basic medial form and the finite inflection occurs on the aspect verb.

The structure of a positive finite simple verb phrase with continuative aspect (PFSVP-CONT) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PFSVP-CONT} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVERB PHRASE} + [+ \text{VERB STEM} + \text{US}] + [+ \text{pii} + \text{FINITE}]$$

This construction is illustrated in the following example.

- 202) *Bala kalai pili piilime.*
bala kalai pi-alo pii-ele-me
 he work do-B.SS be-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘He is continuing to do work.’

The structure of a positive finite adjunct verb phrase with continuative aspect (PFAVP-CONT) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PFAVP-CONT} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVERB PHRASE} + \text{ADJUNCT} + [+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \text{US}] + [+ \text{pii} + \text{FINITE}]$$

This construction is illustrated in the following example.

- 203) *Nanibala elakaiki waki lalo piilimane.*
nanibala elakaiki waki l-alo pii-ele-ma-ne
 we quietly wait AUX-B.SS be-PRT-1p-DECL
 ‘We are waiting quietly.’

The structure of a positive finite manner verb phrase with continuative aspect (PFMVP-CONT) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PFMVP-CONT} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVERB PHRASE} + \text{MANNER} + [+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \text{US}] + [+ \text{pii} + \text{FINITE}]$$

This construction is illustrated in the following example.

- 204) *Balama kalai ona pikodape pili piilime.*
bala=ma kalai o=na pi-akodape pi-alo pii-ele-me
 he=ERG work that=NOM do-INTS do-B.SS be-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘He continues working very hard.’

5.4.2.1.5 Positive Finite Complete VPs

If completive aspect is encoded in positive finite verb phrases with each of the possible nucleus types, the results are as illustrated in the following examples. Note that the verb which would carry finite inflection now appears in basic medial form and the finite inflection occurs on the aspect verb.

The structure of a positive finite simple verb phrase with completive aspect (PFSVP-COMP) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PFSVP-COMP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVERB PHRASE} + [+ \text{VERB STEM} + \text{US}] + [+ \text{wet} + \text{FINITE}]$$

This construction is illustrated in the following example.

- 205) *Nyabala nee nalo wetamine.*
nyabala nee n-alo wet-a-mi-ne
 you food consume-B.SS finish-FPT-23p-DECL
 ‘You finished eating (the) food.’

The structure of a positive finite adjunct verb phrase with completive aspect (PFAVP-COMP) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PFAVP-COMP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVERB PHRASE} + \text{ADJUNCT} + [+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \text{US}] + [+ \text{wet} + \text{FINITE}]$$

This construction is illustrated in the following example.

- 206) *Nalibala imabu yalo wetaelepane.*
nalibala imabu y-alo wet-ae-ele-pa-ne
 we2 rest AUX-B.SS finish-PRFA-PRT-1d-DECL
 ‘We two have finished resting.’

The structure of a positive finite manner verb phrase with completive aspect (PFMVP-COMP) is described by the following rule:

PFMVP-COMP → ±ADVERB PHRASE + MANNER + [+AUXILIARY VERB STEM + US] + [+wet + FINITE]

This construction is illustrated in the following example.

- 207) *Wida ona pii lakinikini pili weteleme.*
wida o=na pii l-akinikini pi-alo wet-ele-me
 woman that=NOM talk say-HZRD do-B.SS finish-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘The woman finished speaking incoherently.’

5.4.2.1.6 Positive Finite Persistent VPs

Persistent aspect is rarer by far than either of the other two phrasal aspects. In fact only a couple of examples have been found in the data examined for this analysis. Therefore, this section is somewhat conjectural. If persistent aspect is encoded in positive finite verb phrases with each of the possible nucleus types, the expected results are as illustrated in the following rules and examples. Again, the verb which would carry finite inflection now appears in basic medial form and the finite inflection occurs on the aspect verb.

The structure of a positive finite simple verb phrase with persistent aspect (PFSVP-PERS) is described by the following rule:

PFSVP-PERS → ±ADVERB PHRASE + [+VERB STEM + US] + [+nyap + FINITE]

No example of this construction has been encountered in the available data but the following example illustrates the expected form.

- 208) *Ometaka obu nalo nyapelemine.*
ometaka o=bu n-alo nyap-ele-mi-ne
 child that=PNM consume-B.SS unceasing-PRT-23p-DECL
 ‘Those children are eating unceasingly.’

The structure of a positive finite adjunct verb phrase with persistent aspect (PFAVP-PERS) is described by the following rule:

PFAVP-PERS → ±ADVERB PHRASE + ADJUNCT + [+AUXILIARY VERB STEM + US] + [+nyap + FINITE]

This construction is illustrated in the following example.

- 209) *Ladi wopu lalo nyapakalame.*
ladi wopu l-alo nyap-akal-a-me
 bundle grasp.tightly AUX-B.SS unceasing-BENX-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘He grasped her tightly in a bundle without letting go.’

An example of a positive finite manner verb phrase with persistent aspect (PFMVP-PERS) has not been encountered in available data. Manner verb phrases are in fact extremely rare in natural language and most examples have been obtained through elicitation. Extrapolating from attested examples, the expected structure is described by the following rule:

PFMVP-PERS → ±ADVERB PHRASE + MANNER + [+AUXILIARY VERB STEM + US] + [+nyap + FINITE]

5.4.2.2 Negative Finite VPs

The verb phrase types illustrated in section 5.4.2.1 may be negated by insertion of the negative particle *naa* before the final verbal element in each construction.

5.4.2.2.1 Negative Finite Simple VP

The negative finite simple verb phrase (NFSVP) has a structure described by the following rule:

$$\text{NFSVP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVERB PHRASE} + \text{NEGATIVE} + [+ \text{VERB STEM} + \text{FINITE}]$$

The negative finite simple verb phrase is illustrated in example 210. Compare to example 199.

- 210) *Kali waba adaka naa iame.*
kali waba ada=ka naa i-a-me
 man before house=CTX NEG come-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘(The) man did not come home earlier.’

5.4.2.2.2 Negative Finite Adjunct VP

The negative finite adjunct verb phrase (NFAVP) has a structure described by the following rule:

$$\text{NFAVP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVERB PHRASE} + \text{ADJUNCT} + \text{NEGATIVE} + [+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \text{FINITE}]$$

The negative finite adjunct verb phrase is illustrated in example 211. Note that the negative particle occurs between the adjunct and the auxiliary verb. Compare to example 200

- 211) *Kali ona panaige kada naa naeleme.*
kali o=na panaige kada naa n-ae-ele-me
 man that=NOM think.ATTR lower NEG AUX-PRFA-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘That man is not apathetic.’ (lit.: ‘That man’s thinking has not lowered.’)

5.4.2.2.3 Negative Finite Manner VP

The negative finite manner verb phrase (NFMVP) has a structure described by the following rule:

$$\text{NFMVP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVERB PHRASE} + \text{MANNER} + \text{NEGATIVE} + [+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \text{FINITE}]$$

The negative finite manner verb phrase is illustrated in example 212. Note that the negative particle occurs between the manner verb form and the auxiliary verb. Compare to example 201.

- 212) *Balama buu adeyale naa leleme.*
bala=ma buu ad-eyale naa l-ele-me
 he=ERG anger grow.big-SIML NEG AUX-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘He is not pretending to be angry.’

5.4.2.2.4 Other Negative Finite VPs

If any of these negative finite verb phrases types is modified by encoding of one of the phrasal aspects the verb which would carry the finite inflection occurs in basic medial form and the aspect verb receives the finite inflection. The negative particle occurs preceding the aspect verb which is now the final verbal form in the construction. The resulting structures are described by the following rules, using the label ASP to stand for any of the three aspect verbs:

For the negative finite simple verb phrase with phrasal aspect (NFSVP-ASP):

$$\text{NFSVP-CONT} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVERB PHRASE} + \text{NEGATIVE} + [+ \text{VERB STEM} + \text{US}] + [+ \text{ASP} + \text{FINITE}]$$

For the negative finite adjunct verb phrase with phrasal aspect (NFAVP-ASP):

NFAVP-CONT → ±ADVP + ADJUNCT + NEGATIVE + [+AUXILIARY VERB STEM + US] + [+ASP + FINITE]

For the negative finite manner verb phrase with phrasal aspect (NFMVP-ASP):

NFMVP-CONT → ±ADVP + MANNER + NEGATIVE + [+AUXILIARY VERB STEM + US] + [+ASP + FINITE]

Examples 213 and 214 illustrate negated forms of verb phrases with phrasal aspect.

Negative finite simple verb phrase with completive aspect.

- 213) *Nabala nalo naa wetelewe.*
nabala n-alo naa wet-ele-we
 I consume-B.SS NEG finish-PRT-1sDECL
 ‘I am not finished eating.’

Negative finite adjunct verb phrase with continuative aspect.

- 214) *Kali olapu ede aagala lalo naa piilipine.*
kali o=lapu ede aagala l-alo naa pii-ele-pi-ne
 man that=DNM cane split AUX-B.SS NEG be-PRT-23d-DECL
 ‘Those two men are not continuing to split cane.’

5.4.2.3 Positive Medial VPs

The positive finite verb phrase types described in section 5.4.2.1 have cognate constructions with medial inflection replacing the finite inflection. This medial inflection may take the form of basic, desiderative, purpose, simultaneous or progressive same subject suffixes.

5.4.2.3.1 Positive Medial Simple VPs

The positive medial simple verb phrase (PMSVP) has a structure as described by the following rule:

$$\text{PMSVP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVP} + \left[+ \text{VERB STEM} + \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{BASIC SAME SUBJECT (B.SS)} \\ \text{DESIDERATIVE SAME SUBJECT (D.SS)} \\ \text{PURPOSE SAME SUBJECT (P.SS)} \\ \text{SIMULTANEOUS SAME SUBJECT (S.SS)} \\ \text{PROGRESSIVE SAME SUBJECT (G.SS)} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

The only formal difference among these variants is the substitution of one medial suffix for another, therefore not all possibilities will be illustrated.

Example 215 illustrates a positive medial simple verb phrase, in this case with purpose medial verb.

- 215) *Kali ona ee wiyawala asa ilime.*
kali o=na ee wiy-awala a=sa i-ele-me
 man that=NOM garden plant-P.SS this=CTX come-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘The man is coming here to plant a garden.’

5.4.2.3.2 Positive Medial Adjunct VPs

The positive medial adjunct verb phrase (PMAVP) has a structure as described by the following rule:

$$\text{PMAVP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVP} + \text{ADJUNCT} + \left[+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{B.SS} \\ \text{D.SS} \\ \text{P.SS} \\ \text{S.SS} \\ \text{G.SS} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

Example 216 illustrates a positive medial adjunct verb phrase.

- 216) *Pepete eli palo adage pialo pee nyawe.*
pepete eli p-alo adage pi-ae-alo pee ny-a-we
 bamboo.skin split.off AUX-B.SS house.ATTR do-PRFA-B.SS eel.trap weave-FPT-1sDECL
 ‘Splitting off bamboo skin and having made the house (cage) I wove (an) eel trap.’

5.4.2.3.3 Positive Medial Manner VPs

The positive medial manner verb phrase (PMMVP) has a structure as described by the following rule:

$$\text{PMMVP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVP} + \text{MANNER} + \left[+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{B.SS} \\ \text{D.SS} \\ \text{P.SS} \\ \text{S.SS} \\ \text{G.SS} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

Example 217 illustrates a positive medial manner verb phrase.

- 217) *Nibalama isa ona lomakinikini pili kalai anige*
nibala=ma isa o=na lom-akinikini pi-alo kalai anige
 you=ERG wood that=NOM cut.across-HZRD do-B.SS work actual
meena naa piline.
mee=na naa pi-ele-e-ne
 a=NOM NEG do-PRT-2s-DECL
 ‘Having cut that wood indiscriminately you are not doing real work.’

5.4.2.3.4 Positive Medial Continuative VPs

Positive medial verb phrases with continuative aspect are formed similarly to the positive finite verb phrases with continuative aspect. The only difference is that the aspect verb which is inflected with finite morphology in the latter is inflected with one of the medial verb suffixes in the former. The various structures are described by these rules:

The structure of a positive medial simple verb phrase with continuative aspect (PMSVP-CONT) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PMSVP-CONT} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVP} + [+ \text{VERB STEM} + \text{US}] + \left[+ \text{pii} + \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{B.SS} \\ \text{D.SS} \\ \text{P.SS} \\ \text{S.SS} \\ \text{G.SS} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

This construction is illustrated in the following example.

- 218) *Nabalama kalai pili piili onapa wope lawe.*
nabala=ma kalai pi-alo pii-alo o=na=pa wope l-a-we
 I=ERG work do-B.SS be-B.SS that=NOM=ASS whistle say-FPT-1sDECL
 ‘While I was working I whistled.’

The structure of a positive medial adjunct verb phrase with continuative aspect (PMAVP-CONT) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PMAVP-CONT} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVP} + \text{ADJUNCT} + [+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \text{US}] + \left[+ \text{pii} + \left. \begin{array}{c} \text{B.SS} \\ \text{D.SS} \\ \text{P.SS} \\ \text{S.SS} \\ \text{G.SS} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

This construction is illustrated in the following example.

- 219) *Waki lalo piili eka pame.*
waki l-alo pii-alo eka p-a-me
 wait AUX-B.SS be-B.SS bird strike-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘As he was waiting, he killed a bird.’

The structure of a positive medial manner verb phrase with continuative aspect (PMMVP-CONT) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PMMVP-CONT} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVP} + \text{MANNER} + [+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \text{B.SS}] + \left[+ \text{pii} + \left. \begin{array}{c} \text{B.SS} \\ \text{D.SS} \\ \text{P.SS} \\ \text{S.SS} \\ \text{G.SS} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

This construction is illustrated in the following example.

- 220) *Kali ona kalai pikodape pili piili kekena malame.*
kali o=na kalai pi-akodape pi-alo pii-alo kekena m-ala-me
 man that=NOM work do-INTS do-B.SS be-B.SS tiredness feel-IPT-3sDECL
 ‘As the man was continuing to work very hard he felt tired.’

5.4.2.3.5 Positive Medial Completive VPs

The structure of a positive medial simple verb phrase with completive aspect (PMSVP-COMP) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PMSVP-COMP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVP} + [+ \text{VERB STEM} + \text{B.SS}] + \left[+ \text{wet} + \left. \begin{array}{c} \text{B.SS} \\ \text{D.SS} \\ \text{P.SS} \\ \text{S.SS} \\ \text{G.SS} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

The structure of a positive medial adjunct verb phrase with completive aspect (PMAVP-COMP) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PMAVP-COMP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVP} + \text{ADJUNCT} + [+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \text{B.SS}] + \left[+ \text{wet} + \left. \begin{array}{c} \text{B.SS} \\ \text{D.SS} \\ \text{P.SS} \\ \text{S.SS} \\ \text{G.SS} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

The structure of a positive medial manner verb phrase with completive aspect (PMMVP-COMP) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PMMVP-COMP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVP} + \text{MANNER} + [+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \text{B.SS}] + \left[+ \text{wet} + \left. \begin{array}{c} \text{B.SS} \\ \text{D.SS} \\ \text{P.SS} \\ \text{S.SS} \\ \text{G.SS} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

The only difference between these constructions and those in the previous section is the substitution of a different aspect verb, therefore additional examples are not provided. This is also true of the following section.

5.4.2.3.6 Positive Medial Persistent VPs

The structure of a positive medial simple verb phrase with persistent aspect (PMSVP-PERS) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PMSVP-PERS} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVP} + [+ \text{VERB STEM} + \text{B.SS}] + \left[+ \textit{nyap} + \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{B.SS} \\ \text{D.SS} \\ \text{P.SS} \\ \text{S.SS} \\ \text{G.SS} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

The structure of a positive medial adjunct verb phrase with persistent aspect (PMAVP-PERS) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PMAVP-PERS} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVP} + \text{ADJUNCT} + [+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \text{B.SS}] + \left[+ \textit{nyap} + \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{B.SS} \\ \text{D.SS} \\ \text{P.SS} \\ \text{S.SS} \\ \text{G.SS} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

The structure of a positive medial manner verb phrase with persistent aspect (PMMVP-PERS) is described by the following rule:

$$\text{PMMVP-PERS} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVP} + \text{MANNER} + [+ \text{AUXILIARY VERB STEM} + \text{B.SS}] + \left[+ \textit{nyap} + \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{B.SS} \\ \text{D.SS} \\ \text{P.SS} \\ \text{S.SS} \\ \text{G.SS} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

5.4.2.4 Negative Medial VPs

Negative medial verb phrases are formed similarly to negative finite verb phrases. The negative particle *naa* is inserted immediately preceding the final verbal constituent of the construction. When negation occurs in a medial verb phrase the irrealis medial suffix (IS) substitutes for the other medial verb suffixes.

5.4.2.4.1 Negative Medial Simple VPs

The negative medial simple verb phrase (NMSVP) has a structure as described by the following rule:

$$\text{NMSVP} \rightarrow \pm \text{ADVP} + \text{NEGATIVE} + [+ \text{VERB STEM} + \text{I.SS}]$$

Example 221 illustrates a negative medial simple verb phrase.

- 221) *Bala naa alita...*
bala naa ali-eta
 he NEG sleep.v-I.SS
 ‘He is not sleeping...’

5.4.2.4.2 Negative Medial Adjunct VPs

Negative medial verb phrases are not common in natural Lembena language texts. No example of this verb phrase type has been attested in the data corpus. By inference from other verb phrase types, I hypothesize the following structure for the negative medial adjunct verb phrase (NMAVP):

NMAVP → ±ADVP +ADJUNCT +NEGATION +[+AUXILIARY VERB STEM +I.SS]

5.4.2.4.3 Negative Medial Manner VPs

Likewise, no example of the negative medial manner verb phrase (NMMVP) type has been found. I hypothesize a structure as described by the following rule:

NMMVP → ±ADVP +MANNER +NEGATION +[+AUXILIARY VERB STEM +I.SS]

5.4.2.4.4 Other Negative Medial VPs

Presumably other negative medial verb phrase types are possible with the various phrasal aspects included. These have not been attested in the data on which this analysis is based. In each case, I hypothesize that the structure will be the same as for the positive types except for the insertion of the negative particle *naa* immediately preceding the last verbal constituent in the verb phrase and the substitution of the irrealis same subject suffix for any other medial suffix on that same verbal constituent.

6. CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Lembena clauses tend toward simplicity of structure in natural discourse. In one typical oral narrative 745 words were distributed in 250 clauses for an average of less than three words per clause. The only obligatory constituents of a clause are the **predicate**, which may be either a verb phrase or an equative predicate, and the **subject**, though the subject reference may only be expounded by agreement on finite verbs or even less overtly as same subject affixation on medial verbs.

6.1 Main Clause Types

Lembena clauses may be divided into two main groups based on the type of predicate in the clause. Those with predicates consisting of a verb phrase are called **VP based** clause types. VP based clauses include intransitive, transitive and di-transitive clauses. There is one type of clause which is not built around a verb phrase: the **equative clause**. Equative clauses have predicates consisting of a noun, adjective, or attributive followed by the unmarked nominalizing clitic = *na* and the equative clitic = *e*.

Although I note a distinction between clauses based on transitivity, i.e. the number of nominal arguments required, transitive and ditransitive clauses appear frequently in discourse without the required arguments appearing within the clause. The required arguments will be present, however, within the larger discourse and must be accessible to the hearer/reader from the context.

In the following discussion, I will first deal with VP based clauses and then with equative clauses.

6.2 Order of Elements in VP Based Clauses

Lembena VP based clauses are verb phrase final with all core arguments preceding. In normal word ordering, subject is first. Up to two objects may occur between the subject and the predicate. All of these statements must be taken as expressions of preference in Lembena utterances as elements can be reordered without the loss of grammaticality. Morphology and semantic features of verbs serve to define the role that various nominal elements play in a predication.

6.3 Grammatical Relations in VP Based Clauses

6.3.1 Core Grammatical Relations

The first criterion for establishing core grammatical relations in VP based clauses is co-referencing of arguments by affixation on the verb. Lembena obligatorily marks only one argument in this way. On this basis, I establish the grammatical relation of **subject** as the nominal within the clause which is obligatorily co-referenced on the verb. This relation, subject, corresponds to the semantic role of **agent** in transitive clauses and the semantic role of **patient** or **experiencer** in intransitive clauses.

- 222) *Nabala elika uawe.*
nabala e = lika u-a-we
 I garden=CTX go-FPT-1sDECL
 'I went to the garden.'

In example 222, the referent of the noun phrase consisting of the pronoun *nabala*, 'I', is co-referenced on the verb by the suffix *-we*, which includes '1st person singular' as part of its meaning. On this basis, I call *nabala* the subject of the sentence in this example.

The second criterion used to establish core grammatical relations is lack of adpositional marking. Excluding those nominals which have already been identified as subjects based on morphological co-referencing, other nominals within VP based clauses which are unmarked with respect to their function within the clause are classed as **objects**. The exception to this is temporal nouns which sometimes occur as unmarked forms, as in example 223 .

- 223) *Wiyakae bala dauame.*
wiyakae bala dau-a-me
 next.day he depart-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘On the next day, he departed.’

In example 224, the clause contains three noun phrases. The referent of the first, *kali obuma*, ‘those men=ERG’, is co-referenced on the verb by the suffix *-mi*, which means ‘2nd or 3rd person plural’, therefore this noun phrase is the subject of the sentence. Of the two remaining noun phrases, one, *isa*, ‘tree’, is unmarked, therefore it is classed as a grammatical object. *Wama*, ‘ax=ERG’, having neither co-reference on the verb nor unmarked, encodes the non-core grammatical relation **instrument** (see section 6.3.2). Although the subject noun phrase is marked in the same way as the instrument in this example, the co-referencing in the verb morphology unambiguously identifies that noun phrase as the core relation subject.

- 224) *Kali obuma wama isa pakoomine.*
kali o=bu=ma wa=ma isa pak-opo-mi-ne
 man that=PNM=ERG ax=ERG tree chop.down-FUT-23p-DECL
 ‘Those men will cut down tree(s) with ax(es).’

The marking on noun phrases which function in core grammatical relations follows an absolutive-ergative pattern, i.e. the subjects of intransitive clauses and the objects of transitive clauses marked in the same way; while the subject marking on the verb follows a nominative-accusative pattern, i.e. the subjects of both intransitive clauses and transitive clauses marked in the same way. For the purposes of this paper, I use the term **subject** to refer to the noun phrase in a clause which has co-reference on the verb, with the understanding that that noun phrase may be a semantic agent or a patient depending on the clause type and will be marked accordingly.

A distinction between direct and indirect object is not possible on strictly grammatical grounds. Lembena clauses may have up to two objects. The *semantic* roles of the two objects will be determined from the semantic features of the constituents making up the clause.

- 225) *Kali onama yawale nanibala jame.*
kali o=na=ma yawale nanibala di-a-me
 man that=NOM=ERG pig we give.INCL-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘That man gave us pork.’

Example 225 illustrates a sentence with three nominals, the first being the subject of the clause. The following two nominals are both unmarked and neither has co-reference on the verb and are thus classed as objects. *Yawale* is semantic **patient** and *nanibala* is semantic **beneficiary**. The ordering of these two nominals can be reversed as seen by comparing examples 225 and 226.

- 226) *Nanibala isa midiwala...*
nanibala isa mi-adi-awala
 we wood get-BENI-P.SS
 ‘...in order to get wood for us...’

If an object is a semantic beneficiary, which may be positively or negatively affected, this is often encoded in the inclusive or exclusive benefactive marking on the verb stem. This is seen in examples 226 and 227.

- 227) *Kauwanema winya pakalalame.*
kauwane=ma winya p-akal-ala-me
 cassowary=ERG dog strike-BENX-IPT-3sDECL
 ‘(The) cassowary struck (the) dog.’

Based on examples like these, it is clear that a distinction between direct and indirect objects is not possible on grammatical grounds of word order or marking of the nominals. The

remaining possibility is co-referencing on the verb. However, benefactive marking in the verb stem does not exclusively mark the semantic role of beneficiary. In example 226, the benefactive inclusive co-references *nanibala* which is a semantic beneficiary that we would be inclined to call a grammatical indirect object based on languages like English. However, in example 228 below, the benefactive exclusive suffix cross-references *ede toko* a semantic patient which we would call a grammatical direct object in English. For these reasons, Lembena must be considered to have a single grammatical relation **object** which encodes the semantic roles that would normally be distributed between the grammatical relations direct object and indirect object in many other languages.

- 228) *Nyabala ede toko nyapakalamine.*
nyabala ede toko nyap-akal-a-mi-ne
 they rope bridge leave-BENX-FPT-23p-DECL
 ‘They abandoned the rope bridge.’

The Lembena grammatical relation object also subsumes semantic complements, expressions which complete the sense of certain verbs such as *pii-*, ‘be, remain’, *dik-*, ‘become₁’, *gil-*, ‘become₂’, and adjunct plus verb *aku l-*, ‘change into’.

- 229) *auwege tapupige piili...*
auwege tapupige pii-alo
 self pastor be-B.SS
 ‘themselves being pastors...’
- 230) *Naia aku lalapa!*
naia aku l-alapa
 modern change say-2dpIMP
 ‘Change into modern (people)!’

In the sections that follow, I will discuss the inventory of marked nominal constituents, classifying them on the basis of their forms. The term **nominal** is used to refer to a noun phrase or any other nominalized constituent including adjectives, attributives and clauses.

6.3.2 Ergative marked Constituents.

I have already mentioned that **subjects** of transitive clauses may be identified as semantic **agents** by way of marking with the ergative case marking clitic =*ma*. However, subject as agent is not the only relation marked in this way. In example 224, the noun phrase *wama* includes ergative marking and is classed as a grammatical instrument. Instrument is distinguished from subject in that the subject has co-reference on the verb.

In example 231, two nominals are marked with =*ma*, and one has co-reference in the ‘3rd person singular’ subject marking on the verb. In cases like this one, the semantic feature of animacy determines which of the two nominals is the subject. Since ‘man’ is higher on the scale of animacy than ‘bow’, *Kali onama* is subject marked as agent and *yadama* is instrument.

- 231) *Kali onama yadama yawale pame.*
kali o=na=ma yada=ma yawale p-a-me
 man that=NOM=ERG bow=ERG pig strike-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘The man killed (a) pig with (a) bow.’

Nominalized clauses may also be marked with the ergative clitic. These are discussed in section 4.10.2.

6.3.3 Referential marked Constituents.

Nominals marked with the referential case marking clitic =*ga* occur manifesting several different semantic roles. This grammatical relation is called **reference**. Within a clause reference can encode semantic **topic**, **location in space**, **location in time**, or **beneficiary**.

Topic may be expounded by a phrase or by a clause. Example 232 illustrated the topic *auapoge meena*, ‘an ancestor’, marked by the referential clitic. *Ona = ga* is also a reference to the topic which points anaphorically to the name of this ancestor given in the previous sentence of the text.

- 232) *Onaga auapoge meenaga lalo pelewe.*
o = na = ga auapoge mee = na = ga l-alo p-ele-we
 that=NOM=RFR ancestor.ATTR a=NOM=RFR say-B.SS strike-PRT-1sDECL
 ‘Speaking about that, about an ancestor (of ours), I am writing.’

Example 233 illustrates a noun phrase *isa latege*, ‘tree bole’, as grammatical reference encoding location in space.

- 233) *Yawale ale kali isa lategega tuu lalo aiyame.*
yawale ale kali isa latege = ga tuu l-alo aiy-a-me
 pig ART man tree base=RFR towards say-B.SS bite-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘(The) pig bit the man against the tree bole.’

Example 234 illustrates a noun phrase *satiti mee mopeena*, ‘week after next’, as grammatical reference encoding location in time.

- 234) *Satiti mee mopeenaga nanibala sukulu lalokoe*
loomane.
satiti mee mo-pee = na = ga nanibala sukulu l-alo-koe l-opo-
ma-ne
 week a far.over.there-SPC=NOM=RFR we school say-B.SS-FNL say-
 FUT-1p-DECL
 ‘The week after next we will have school for the last time.’

Example 235 illustrates a noun phrase *ometaka*, ‘child’, as grammatical reference encoding beneficiary.

- 235) *Kasee ona ometakaga lubakalope.*
kasee o = na ometaka = ga lub-akal-ope
 road that=NOM child=RFR open-BENX-2sIMP
 ‘Open the road (door) for the child.’

6.3.4 Associative marked Constituents.

Constituents marked with the associative case marking clitic *=pa* manifest the grammatical relation **associate**. Semantically this may encode either an associated event or associated time. Associated events realized by nominalized clauses are discussed in section 4.10.2.

In example 236, the noun phrase *gii ona*, ‘that time’, encodes an associated time reference.

- 236) *Gii onapa Agoya baa nemudaka aealo piiame.*
gii o = na = pa Agoya bala nemudaka ae-alo pii-a-me
 time that=NOM=ASS Angoya.man he male.initiation go.about be-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘At that time, Angoya was going to the male initiation.’

6.3.5 Context marked Constituents.

Nominals and clauses occur which are marked with the context marking clitic *=sa*. Clauses marked with the context clitic are not first nominalized with *=na*. Constituents marked with *=sa* expound the grammatical relation **context**. Semantically this may encode **situational context**, **spatial context** or **personal context**. Situational contexts realized by clauses are discussed in section 4.10.2.

In the following two examples, nominals marked as grammatical context with the context marking clitic *=sa* encode spatial context.

- 237) *Motoo kaseesa ogepusame.*
motoo kasee=sa ogepus-a-me
 motor.canoe road=CTX become.bad-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘(The) motor canoe went bad on the way.’
- 238) *Widakali pitaka gege ipulisa meyaapomine.*
widakali pitaka gege ipuli=sa mey-ae-opo-mi-ne
 people all name ground=CTX throw-PRFA-FUT-23p-DECL
 ‘All people will have thrown (their) names to the ground.’

Example 239 illustrates the personal pronoun *nabala*, ‘I’, as grammatical context encoding semantic personal context. =*Kisa* is the unbound alternant of =*sa* which occurs with personal pronouns and nouns referring to people.

- 239) *Wetee biage meena nabala kisa daeyelenape?*
wetee bia=ege mee=na nabala =kisa daey-ele-na-pe
 extremely what=ATTR a=NOM I =CTX lack-PRT-1s~DECL-INT
 ‘What one thing is truly lacking in me?’

6.4 Order of Elements in Equative Clauses

As previously mentioned, equative clauses differ from other clause types in lacking verb phrases. The nucleus of the equative clause is a nominalized constituent followed by the equative clitic =*e*. This constituent is the **predicate nominal**. Example 240 illustrates a typical equative clause.

- 240) *Kaeya ona Wakapa kaeyanae.*
kaeya o=na Wakapa kaeya=na=e
 banana that=NOM Wakapa banana=NOM=EQ
 ‘That banana is a *Wakapa* banana.’

With respect to the order of elements, the equative clause has an initial subject (which may be deleted) followed by a predicate nominal.

6.5 Grammatical Relations of Equative Clauses

Many of the grammatical relations which were described in reference to VP based clauses also potentially occur in equative clauses. Exceptions to this are objects which depend upon the presence of a transitive or ditransitive verb phrase.

There is one grammatical relation that is unique to equative clauses, the predicate nominal. Predicate nominal is expounded by a nominalized constituent which may be a noun phrase, adjective or attributive. The grammatical relation predicate nominal expresses the semantic relations of identification or attribution.

In example 240 above the predicate nominal *wakapa kaeyanae*, ‘*Wakapa* banana’ is the identification of the subject *kaeya ona*.

The following example illustrates a predicate nominal, in this case the attributive *yawale negenae*, encoding semantic attribution. The practice of eating pork is attributed to the subject *nilibala*, ‘you two’.

- 241) *Nilibala yawale negenae.*
nilibala yawale nege=na=e
 you.2 pig consume.ATTR=NOM=EQ
 ‘You two are pork eaters.’

6.6 Clause Types

Clause types are differentiated in terms of whether or not the clause uses a verb phrase to express a predication. Intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses use verb phrases to express a predication about the subject. Equative clauses use a predicate nominal followed by the equative clitic = *e*.

6.6.1 Verb Phrase Based Clauses

6.6.1.1 Intransitive Clause

The intransitive clause type has a basic structure described by the following rule:

INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE → ±SUBJECT + VERB PHRASE

SUBJECT is expounded by an unmarked nominal. VERB PHRASE can terminate in either a finite or medial verb depending on the function of the clause in a sentence. There is no distinguishing formal marking of verbs which can be used in intransitive clauses. Only semantic features determine allowable verbs.

SUBJECT is grammatically optional in contexts where the referent is clear from context. However SUBJECT is semantically obligatory.

Following are some examples of intransitive clauses:

- 242) *Nabala odege neleme.*
nabala odege n-ele-me
 I head consume-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘My head hurts.’
- 243) *Winya meena ili piilime.*
winya mee = na i-alo pii-ele-me
 dog a=NOM come-B.SS be-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘A dog is coming.’
- 244) *Ometaka ona adame.*
ometaka o = na ad-a-me
 child that=NOM grow.big-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘The child grew big.’

6.6.1.2 Transitive Clause

The transitive clause type has a basic structure described by the following rule:

TRANSITIVE CLAUSE → ±SUBJECT ±OBJECT + VERB PHRASE

SUBJECT and OBJECT are nominals. Although semantically obligatory, they may be unrealized in a given utterance if their referents are clear from context. The SUBJECT nominal will normally be marked with the ergative case marking clitic = *ma*, though examples do occur without the clitic. In any case word order normally provides a means of differentiating the functions of the two nominals in unmarked expressions, and often semantic features of the nominals and the verb phrase will also help to make the functions clear.

OBJECTS are unmarked. Thus the marking of core arguments of Lembena clauses follows an absolutive-ergative pattern, in contrast to the nominative-accusative pattern of subject agreement marking on verbs.

VERB PHRASES of TRANSITIVE CLAUSES do not differ formally from VERB PHRASES of INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES.

Some basic examples of TRANSITIVE CLAUSES follow:

- 245) *Widakalinu misi pii naa wilimine.*
widakali = nu misi pii naa wi-ele-mi-ne
 people=PLR worship talk NEG percieve-PRT-23p-DECL
 ‘People do not hear worship talk.’

- 246) *Kali yawale meena pame.*
kali yawale mee = na p-a-me
 man pig a=NOM strike=FPT-3sDECL
 ‘(A/the) man killed a pig.’

6.6.1.3 Ditransitive Clause

The DITRANSITIVE CLAUSE has a basic structure described by the following rule:

DITRANSITIVE CLAUSE → ±SUBJECT ±OBJECT₁ ±OBJECT₂ + VERB PHRASE

SUBJECT, OBJECT₁ and OBJECT₂ are nominals. Although semantically obligatory, they may be unrealized in a given utterance if their referents are clear from context. The SUBJECT nominal will normally be marked with the ergative case marking clitic =*ma*, though examples do occur without the clitic. In any case word order provides a means of differentiating the functions of the three nominals in unmarked expressions, and often semantic features of the nominals and the verb phrase will also help to make the functions clear.

OBJECT₁ and OBJECT₂ nominals are unmarked. Ordering of the two object noun phrases appears to be fairly free. Semantic features of the two nominals is an important factor in differentiating their semantic functions.

VERB PHRASES of DITRANSITIVE CLAUSES do not differ formally from VERB PHRASES of INTRANSITIVE or TRANSITIVE CLAUSES.

Examples of DITRANSITIVE CLAUSES follow:

- 247) *Nanibala ometaka onanu tedi pii meena lakalamane.*
nanibala ometaka o = na = nu tedi pii mee = na l-akal-a-ma-ne
 we child that=NOM=PLR legend talk a=NOM say-BENX-FPT-1p-DECL
 ‘We told a legend to those children.’
- 248) *Bokisa ona bala kala.*
bokisa o = na bala kal-a
 box that=NOM he give.EXCL-2sIMP
 ‘Give that box to him!’

In example 248, SUBJECT is not realized by any surface form. It is indicated only by the subject person and number marking on the verb.

6.6.1.4 Deletion of Core Arguments

Core arguments being realized by zero is a very common feature of Lembena. All of the nominals indicated as elements of the various verb phrase based clause types normally have zero realization if the preceding context is sufficient to allow the reader or hearer to adequately identify their referents. Thus, the majority of Lembena clauses in texts will not exhibit all of the nominal arguments indicated by the structural rules given above. The verb phrase is really the only obligatory element of any of these three clause types. This results in a higher proportion of verbs compared to many other languages which require surface structure exponents of the main arguments of a clause. Examinations of natural texts reveal between 41% and 50% of words in a text are verbs, even excluding all nominalized verb forms.

6.6.2 Equative Clause

The EQUATIVE CLAUSE has a basic structure described by the following rule:

EQUATIVE CLAUSE → ±SUBJECT + PREDICATE NOMINAL

SUBJECT is expounded by an unmarked nominal. Predicate nominal is expounded by a noun phrase, adjective or attributive followed by the unmarked nominalizing clitic =*na* and the equative clitic =*e*. Example 249 illustrates a predicate nominal expounded by a noun.

- 249) *Ona yawalenae*
o = na yawale = na = e
 that=NOM pig=NOM=EQ
 ‘That is a pig.’

Example 250 illustrates a predicate nominal expounded by a nominalized adjective.

- 250) *Kali ona lodogena.*
kali o = na lodoge = na = e
 man that=NOM long.ATTR=NOM=EQ
 ‘That man is a tall one.’

Example 251 illustrates a predicate nominal expounded by a nominalized attributive.

- 251) *Nibala mapu negena.*
nibala mapu n = ege = na = e
 you sweet.potato consume=ATTR=NOM=EQ
 ‘You are a sweet potato eating one.’

7. COMPLEX SENTENCE STRUCTURE

7.1 Conjoining of Clauses

A pair of conjoined clauses can reflect three different relationships between the two clauses. These three relationships are coordination, association and alternation. If the relationship is coordination then it becomes significant whether or not the subjects of the two clauses are the same or different.

7.1.1 Coordinate Clauses with Different Subjects

If coordinate clauses have different subjects, the two finite clauses can be joined by interposition of the coordinate conjunction = *dee*. Example 252 illustrates this construction.

- 252) *Kali waba adaka iame dee widage netepa iame.*
kali waba ada=ka i-a-me dee widage netepa i-a-me.
 man before house=CTX come-FPT-3sDECL CORJ wife later come-FPT-3sDECL

‘(The) man came home first and (his) wife came home later.’

In some cases, the referents of the subjects of two succeeding clauses will be only partially the same. Example 253 illustrates this case. The subject of the first clause is indicated only by the verb affixation. The second clause has a conjoined noun phrase subject with implicit reference to the speaker. Note that both subjects are 1st person plural so that the subject marking on the verb is the same. Both subjects include the speaker but other referents of the two subjects differ. In these cases, Lembena follows the pattern for different subjects.

- 253) *Waba tadaka mili piamane dee ome wida kalipi patage*
waba tadaka mi-alo pii-a-ma-ne dee ome wida kali=pi patage
 before pain get-B.SS be-FPT-1p-DECL CORJ boy woman man=CNJ youth
malo piamane.
m-alo pii-a-ma-ne
 die-B.SS be-FPT-1p-DECL

‘Before, we were getting pain and boys, women, men and youths (we) were dying.’

7.1.2 Coordinate Clauses with Identical Subjects

In the case of coordination of clauses with identical subjects, the final verbal element of the first clause will receive medial inflection. This inflection may take the form of either the basic, irrealis, simultaneous or progressive same subject suffix depending on the relationship between the two clauses. The latter three possibilities will be discussed first and then the basic case.

7.1.2.1 Irrealis Same Subject Coordination

If the first of two clauses with identical subjects which are related by coordination is negated, the final verbal element of the first clause will be inflected with the irrealis same subject suffix as in example 254.

- 254) *Bala naa alita piilime.*
bala naa ali-eta pii-ele-me
 he NEG sleep.v-I.SS be-PRT-3sDECL

‘He is not sleeping, (he) is present.’

7.1.2.2 Simultaneous Same Subject Coordination

When two clauses with identical subjects encode events which are simultaneous and conceptually related, the finite inflection of the final verbal element of the first clause will be replaced by the simultaneous same subject suffix as in example 255.

- 255) *Ometaka ona boi kosana eleme.*
ometaka o=na boi kos-ana Ø-ele-me
 child that=NOM grub look.for-S.SS go-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘The child is going along looking for grubs.’

The difference between this interclausal relationship and the following one is that in this example the act of ‘going’ is seen as related to the act of ‘looking (for)’, that is, in order to effectively look for something one must go places. In the following example, the act of ‘going’ is not perceived to be related in any way to the act of ‘talking’, that is, the two participants could as easily engage in talking whether or not they were going anywhere. The two events are incidental to one another.

7.1.2.3 Progressive Same Subject Coordination

When two clauses with identical subjects encode one event which is in progress as another event takes place, the finite inflection of the final verbal element of the first clause which encodes the event in progress will be replaced by the progressive same subject suffix as in example 256.

- 256) *Kali olapu pii lamana elepine.*
kali o=lapu pii l-amana Ø-ele-pi-ne
 man that=DNM talk say-G.SS go-PRT-23d-DECL
 ‘The two men are talking as they go.’

7.1.2.4 Basic Same Subject Coordination

If none of the conditions specified in the preceding three sections are true, then the finite inflection of the final verbal element of the first of two coordinate clauses with identical subjects will be replaced by the basic same subject suffix as in example 257.

- 257) *Bala nee salo name.*
bala nee s-alo n-a-me
 he food cook-B.SS consume-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘He cooked food and ate (it).’

With basic same subject coordination, temporal sequence can be explicitly encoded by marking the verb stem of the medial verb with perfect aspect.

- 258) *Kopaipalu piialo aa ipuli iawe.*
Kopaipalu pii-ae-alo a ipuli i-a-we
 Kopaipalu.village be-PRFA-B.SS this ground come-FPT-1sDECL
 ‘Having been at Kopaipalu, I came to this place.’

7.1.3 Association

When two clauses are related by association rather than coordination the relationship can be encoded in one of two ways depending on the relative prominence of the two clauses. If the two are equal in prominence within the textual context, then the two finite clauses will simply be joined by the associative conjunction *igi*.

In example 259, the two clauses encode events which occur in association with each other and which are equal in prominence.

- 259) *Pemeti jeleme igi bulu tani lubalame.*
pemeti di-ae-ele-me igi bulu tani lub-ala-me
 permit give.INCL-PRFA-PRT-3sDECL ASSJ airplane drome open-IPT-3sDECL
 ‘(He) has given (us) a permit and with that (he) opened the airstrip.’

In the case that one of the clauses has lower prominence than the other, the one with lower prominence will be nominalized and embedded within the more prominent clause using the associative case marking clitic =*pa*, as in example 260.

- 260) *Ale ometaka ale yadale kope lalo piiamenapa yadale*
ale ometaka ale yadale kope l-alo pii-a-me = na = pa yadale
 ART child ART snake embrace say-B.SS be-FPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS snake
nege onama pabo lame.
nege o = na = ma pabo l-a-me
 tooth that=NOM=ERG pierce say-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘(As) the child was embracing the snake, the snake’s tooth pierced (him).’

7.1.4 Alternation

Two clauses may be in a relation of alternation. This is encoded by use of the alternate conjunction between the two finite clauses. Optionally, the alternate conjunction may also precede the first of the two clauses. Example 261 illustrates this case.

- 261) *Wade balusaga oomipe, wade katoga oomipe?*
wade balusa = ga 0-opo-mi-pe wade kato = ga 0-opo-mi-pe
 ALTJ plane=RFR go-FUT-23p-INT ALTJ car=RFR go-FUT-23d-INT
 ‘Will you go by plane or will you go by car?’

7.2 Nominalized Clauses

7.2.1 Nominalized Clauses as Core Grammatical Relations

Both subject and object can be expounded by noun phrases with nominalized clauses as head. Example 262 illustrates a noun phrase with nominalized clause head as ergative subject.

- 262) *Kali yawale meena pame onama yawale nanibala*
kali yawale mee = na p-a-me o = na = ma yawale nanibala
 man pig a=NOM strike-FPT-3sDECL that=NOM=ERG pig we
jame.
di-a-me
 give.INCL-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘The man who killed a pig gave us pork.’ This is noun + relative clause as subject.

Example 263 illustrates a noun phrase with nominalized clause head embedded as an object.

- 263) *Balama Anasuma kalai pina lame ona piame.*
bala = ma Anasu = ma kalai pi-ena l-a-me o = na pi-a-me
 he=ERG God=ERG work do-3IMP say-FPT-3sDECL that=NOM do-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘He did the work that God told him to do.’ This is also noun + relative clause.

7.2.2 Nominalized Clauses as Oblique Arguments.

7.2.2.1 Nominalized clauses with =*ma*.

If a noun phrase with nominalized clause head is marked with the ergative case marking clitic =*ma* and embedded as a constituent in the clause, and the verb of the independent clause has a different subject from the subject of the embedded clause, this clause expounds the grammatical relation instrument but the semantic notion is **cause**. The following example illustrates this case.

- 264) *Bejene wetamenama kato naa ilime.*
bejene wet-a-me = na = ma kato naa i-ele-me
 petrol finish-FPT-3sDECL=NOM=ERG car NEG come-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘Because the petrol ran out, the car is not coming.’

7.2.2.2 Nominalized clauses with =*ga*.

A noun phrase with nominalized clause head marked by the referential case marking clitic =*ga* encodes the semantic role **reason** as in example 265.

- 265) *Isa ana muu dikeleme onaga wakale meena*
isa a = na muu dik-ele-me o = na = ga wakale mee = na
 wood this=NOM short become-PRT-3sDECL that=NOM=RFR other a=NOM
miome.
mi-opo-me
 get-FUT-3sDECL

‘Because this wood is short, he will get another (one).’

7.2.2.3 Nominalized clauses with =*pa*. How is this different from 7.1.3 above?

Example 266 illustrates an associated event expressed by the clause *bala iame*, ‘he came’, nominalized by the nominalizing clitic =*na*, and embedded as an associate by the clitic =*pa*.

- 266) *Bala iamenapa nabala bala dawe.*
bala i-a-me = na = pa nabala bala d-a-we
 he come-FPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS I he see-FPT-1sDECL
 ‘When he came, I saw him.’

7.3 Complementation

7.3.1 Cognition

Cognition is expressed by use of the verb *wi-*, ‘perceive’, with a clause encoding the content of the cognition as object. In example 267, the verb of the clause in the complement is explicitly marked as non-declarative, whereas in the other examples below it is either marked as declarative, as in examples 268 and 269, or it is unmarked, as in example 270. This may signal the difference between the expression of a belief or impression in the first example as opposed to knowledge in the other three.

- 267) *Nabala mopaa wiliwe*
nabala m-opo-wa wi-ele-we
 I die-FUT-1s~DECL perceive-PRT-1sDECL
 ‘I think that I will die.’

- 268) *Bala wiyana iome wiliwe*
bala wiyana i-opo-me wi-ele-we
 He tomorrow come-FUT-3sDECL perceive-PRT-1sDECL
 ‘I think he will come tomorrow.’
- 269) *Lalame wiliwe*
l-ala-me wi-ele-we
 say-IMM.PAST-3sDECL perceive-PRT-1sDECL
 ‘I understand that he spoke.’
- 270) *Onanuma kalai au pili pilami wiliwe*
ona-nu-ma kalai au pi-lo pi-ala-mi wi-ele-we
 that-PNP-ERG work well do-S.SS do-IPT-23p perceive-PRT-1sDECL
 ‘I think that they did that work well.’

7.3.2 Quotation

Quotation is not marked in any overt way in Lembena sentences. The utterance being quoted is simply embedded as the object of the verb *l-*, ‘say’. Examples 271 to 273 illustrate identical direct quotations in each of the three persons and it can be readily seen that the quote is invariable.

- 271) *Nabala ipowe lawe.*
nabala i-opo-we l-a-we
 I come-FUT-1sDECL say-FPT-1sDECL
 ‘I said, “I will come”.’
- 272) *Nibala ipowe laene.*
nibala i-opo-we l-a-e-ne
 you come-FUT-1sDECL say-FPT-2s-DECL
 ‘You said, “I will come”.’
- 273) *Bala ipowe lalame.*
bala i-opo-we l-ala-me
 he come-FUT-1sDECL say-IPT-3sDECL
 ‘He said, “I will come”.’

7.3.3 Manipulation

Manipulative predicates follow the same pattern as quotation.

- 274) *Nibalama uee laene.*
nibala-ma u-e l-a-e-ne
 you-ERG go-2sIMP.QT say-FPT-2s-DECL
 ‘You said, “(You) go!”’, i.e. ‘You told me to go.’
- 275) *Nibala uee lawe.*
nibala u-e l-a-we
 you go-2sIMP.QT say-FPT-1sDECL
 ‘(I) said, “You go!”’, i.e. ‘I told you to go.’
- 276) *Bala ena lawe.*
bala Ø-ena l-a-we
 he go-3IMP say-FPT-1sDECL
 ‘(I) said, “Let him go!”’, i.e. ‘I told him to go.’

7.3.4 Intention (Purpose)

Intention is expressed by the verb *panai-*, ‘think’ with a clause as complement that encodes the intended event. The main predicate may have the same or different subject compared to the subject of the complement. If the subject is the same, the sentence uses the purpose same subject medial form of the verb in the complement. Example 277 illustrates the same subject intention construction.

- 277) *Nabala lasa pakawala panailiwe.*
nabala lasa pak-awala panai-ele-we
 I rice buy-P.SS think-PRT-1sDECL
 ‘I intend to buy rice.’

If the subject of the complement is different from the subject of the main clause, the verb in the complement can either be finite but unmarked for illocutionary force, as in example 278, or imperative, as in example 279. The complement clause is also followed by a form of the verb *l-*, ‘say’.

- 278) *Eka ona milami lakalalo panaiame.*
eka o=na mi-ala-mi l-akal-alo panai-a-me
 bird that=NOM get-IPT-23p say-BENX-B.SS think-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘He intended for us to get the bird.’, (lit.: ‘Saying ‘They got the bird,’ he thought.’)

- 279) *Ee wiyena lalo panailimane.*
ee wiy-ena l-alo panai-ele-ma-ne
 garden plant-3IMP say-B.SS think-PRT-1p-DECL
 ‘We intend for them to plant a garden’, (lit.: ‘Saying ‘Let them plant a garden,’ we are thinking.’)

7.3.5 Desire

Desire is expressed by the verb *m-*, ‘feel’ or the verb *pi-*, ‘do’, with a clause as complement that encodes the desired event. The complement has the desiderative same subject medial form of the verb. Example 280 illustrates the desiderative construction with *m-*.

- 280) *Nalibala iwani melepane.*
nalibala i-awani m-ele-pa-ne
 we2 come-D.SS feel-PRT-1d-DECL
 ‘We two want to come.’

Example 281 illustrates the desiderative construction with *pi-*.

- 281) *Ipa nawani pilime.*
ipa n-awani pi-ele-me
 water consume-D.SS do-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘He wants to drink water.’

7.3.6 Modal constructions

Ability can be expressed by complementation with the verb *dik-*, ‘become’, as in example

- 282) *Nibala kato igala minopege dikaeleme.*
nibala kato igala min-opo-ege dik-ae-ele-me
 you car nose hold-POT-ATTR become-PRFA-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘It is possible for you to drive a car.’ (lit.: ‘(To) you the attribute of the potential to hold a car’s nose has become.’)

Negative ability is expressed by a similar construction with the negative verb *na-*, ‘not’, as illustrated in example 283.

- 283) *Nanibala kali ona minalo isakopege naeleme.*
nanibala kali ona min-alo isak-opo-ege na-ele-me
 we man that hold-B.SS stand-POT-ATTR not-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘We are unable to rouse the man.’ (lit.: ‘(To) us the attribute of the potential to hold and stand that man is not.’)

7.4 Adverbial Clauses

7.4.1 Clause with clitic = *sa*.

Example 284 illustrates the clause *balama kalai piame*, ‘he worked’, as grammatical context, encoding semantic situational context.

- 284) *Balama kalai piamesa konema yole piame.*
bala=ma kalai pi-a-me=sa kone=ma yole pi-a-me
 he=ERG work do-FPT-3sDECL=CTX white.man=ERG wages do-FPT-3sDECL
 ‘Since he worked, the white man paid (him) wages.’

7.4.2 Clause with clitic = *ga*. Also with =*ya=ga*.

Reference may encode the semantic role **concession** as in example 285.

- 285) *Bala ii waba naa iamega naniba pii au pili leleme.*
bala ii waba naa i-a-me=ga naniba pii au pi-alo l-ele-me
 he very before NEG come-FPT-3sDECL=RFR we talk well do-B.SS say-PRT-3sDECL
 ‘Though he did not come long ago, he speaks our language well.’

7.4.3 Constituents marked by the conditional clitic = *tamo*. Also =*yako*.

Nominals or clauses marked with the conditional clitic = *tamo* expound the grammatical relation **real condition**. Example 286 illustrates an equative clause embedded by = *tamo* as real condition. Note that the nominalizing (= *na*) and equative (= *e*) clitics are deleted. (See section 6.6.2 Equative Clause)

- 286) *Ona yawale tamo ona naa nopowe.*
o=na yawale =tamo o=na naa n-opo-we
 that=NOM pig =COND that=NOM NEG consume-FUT-1sDECL
 ‘If that is pig (meat), I will not eat it.’

In example 287, the clause *leu toome* is embedded as grammatical real condition by the clitic = *tamo*.

- 287) *Leu toome tamo leu alia.*
leu t-opo-me =tamo leu ali-a
 sleep.n shine-FUT-3sDECL =COND sleep.n sleep.v-2sIMP
 ‘If you become sleepy, go to sleep!’ (lit.: ‘If sleep manifests, sleep sleep!’)

8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Crystal, David 1991. A dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics. 3rd Ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Davies, H. John and Bernard Comrie. 1985. A linguistic survey of the upper Yuat. [PNGL 22] Pacific Linguistics, Series A, No. 63. Pp. 275-312.
- Eckert, Leroy. 1985. Enga Grammar. Ms.
- Foley, William A. 1986. The Papuan Languages of New Guinea. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lang, Adrienne. 1973. Enga dictionary. Pacific Linguistics, Series C, No. 20.

9. APPENDIX 1: GLOSED TEXT

Nabala kajole Itopeno auwege onama aa ipuli misine iamepi
Nabala kadiole Itopeno auwe=ege o=na=ma a ipuli misine i-a-me=pi
 I council Itopeno.vil community=ATTR that=NOM=ERG this ground mission come-FPT-3sDECL=CNJ
dee naia mili palilime onaga meelapu Agoyape laeleme
dee naia mi-alo pali-ele-me o=na=ga mee=lapu Agoya-pe l-ae-ele-me
 CORJ Western get-B.SS install-PRT-3sDECL that=NOM=RFR a=DNM Angoya-REFM say-PRFA-PRT-3sDECL
onaga koda pili laloko dee Agoyapema lopege
o=na=ga koda pi-alo l-alo=ko dee Agoya-pe=ma l-op=ege
 that=NOM=RFR add.talk do-B.SS say-B.SS=ARG CORJ Angoya.man-REFM=ERG say-POTA=ATTR
meelapu naa lalame onaga koda pili anapa lelewe
mee=lapu naa l-ala-me o=na=ga koda pi-alo a=na=pa l-ele-we
 a=DNM NEG say-IPT-3sDECL that=NOM=RFR add.talk do-B.SS this=NOM=ASS say-PRT-1sDECL
ana
a=na
 this=NOM

‘This (story) is that I, the councilor of the Itopeno community, am at this (time) adding a couple of (words) about (how) the mission came to this place and (how) western ways were gotten and put (here) to the words Angoya has said and what he could have said but didn’t say.’

Waba wetee nabala ometaka eepasa nabala majami ona wiliwe
Waba wetee nabala ometaka eepa=sa nabala madi-a-mi o=na wi-ele-we
 before extremely I child small=CTX I bear-FPT-23p that=NOM perceive-PRT-1sDECL
igi 1960 onaga nabala majamine.
igi 1960 o=na=ga nabala madi-a-mi-ne.
 ASSJ 1960 that=NOM=RFR I bear-FPT-23p-DECL

‘Before, when I was really a child, I heard that they bore me and they bore me in 1960.’

Oiame igi nabala adaka eekana kalisa meena piiawe.
Oi-a-me igi nabala ada=ka eekana kalisa mee=na pii-a-we
 do.like.that-FPT-3sDECL ASSJ I house=CTX year ten a=NOM be-FPT-1sDECL

‘It was like that and I remained at home for ten years.’

Piialo dawenapa 1967 onaga Kupiowape lege meena
Pii-ae-alo d-a-we=na=pa 1967 o=na=ga Kupiowa-pe l=ege mee=na
 be-PRFA-B.SS see-FPT-1sDECL=NOM=ASS 1967 that=NOM=RFR Kupiowa.man-REFM say=ATTR a=NOM
minaseti pili Baiya auwege meena misi lalo aeyame.
minaseti pi-alo Baiya auwe=ege mee=na misi l-alo aey-a-me
 ministry do-B.SS Baiyer.place community=ATTR a=NOM worship say-B.SS go.about-FPT-3sDECL

‘Having remained, when I looked, in 1967 a man named Kupiowa doing ministry; a Baiyer man went around holding church services.’

Ona ili misi adakaga misi pii polalo naa lame.
o=na i-alo misi ada=ka=ga misi pii pol-alo naa l-a-me
 that=NOM come-B.SS worship house=CTX=RFR religion talk speak.out-B.SS NEG say-FPT-3sDECL

‘That one came and he did not preach the gospel in a church building.’

Kasee malebatega iligena mili tumu palo onapako
Kasee maleba-te=ga i-alo=ege=na mi-alo tumu p-alo o=na=pa=ko
road site-side=RFR come-B.SS=ATTR=NOM get-B.SS gather strike-B.SS that=NOM=ASS=ARG

pii meena lawanale ilapae lame igi nabala kaikinu
pii mee=na l-awa-nale i-lapa=ya l-a-me igi nabala kaiki=nu
talk a=NOM say-1sIMP-?? come-2dpiMP=CTRST say-FPT-3sDECL ASSJ I little.one-PNM

ometakasa piiawenapa nabala edege taegepi obu
ometaka=sa pii-a-we=na=pa nabala ede=ege tae=ege=pi o=bu
child=CTX be-FPT-1sDECL=NOM=ASS I mother=ATTR father=ATTR=CNJ that=PNM

ili nyapuyalo malebate moo Kopaipalu Idinaka ilo sau
i-li nyapuy-alo maleba-te mo Kopaipalu Idinaka ilo sau
come-B.SS mix-B.SS site-SIDE2 farther.over.there Kopaipalu.vil Idinaka.place farther.above mountain

onaga mili kabua palo misi pii akipi Jisasa oiegenae,
o=na=ga mi-alo kabua p-alo misi pii akipi Jisasa oi-ae=ege=na=e
that=NOM=RFR get-B.SS group strike-B.SS worship talk sort Jesus do.like.that-PRFA=ATTR=NOM=EQ

oialo mame, oiwala pilime lalogenana misi
oi-ae-alo m-a-me, oi-wala pi-ele-me l-alo=ege=na misi
do.like.that-PRFA-B.SS feel-FPT-3sDECL do.like.that-P.SS do-PRT-3sDECL say-B.SS=ATTR=NOM worship

pii ona kadasalo ili lamenapa ona biage
pii o=na kadas-alo i-alo l-a-me=na=pa o=na bia=ege
talk that=NOM start-B.SS come-B.SS say-FPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS that=NOM what=ATTR

lelenape lalo nabalama naa wiaweaka.
l-ele-na-pe l-alo nabala=ma naa wi-a-we=aka.
say-PRT-3s-DECL-INT say-B.SS I=ERG NEG perceive-FPT-1sDECL=+DEG

‘About his coming to the meeting places on the road, as he gathered people he said, “Come, I will tell you some talk.” And as I was a child and my mothers and fathers came and mixed together there at Kopaipalu village at Idinaka up on that mountain and formed a crowd and he started talking that religious talk such as “Jesus did like that, and he died like that and he is going to do like that,” saying “What is he saying?”, I definitely did not understand.’

Dee edege taegepa onama naa wiamine.
Dee ede=ege tae=ege=pa o=na=ma naa wi-a-mi-ne.
CORJ mother=ATTR father=ATTR=ASS that=NOM=ERG NEG perceive-FPT-23p-DECL

‘And my mother and father did not understand.’

Oili piiaminapa 1967 kadasalo 1968 onaga dee aeyalo
Oi-alo pii-a-mi=na=pa 1967 kadas-alo 1968 o=na=ga dee aey-alo
do.like.that-B.SS be-FPT-23p=NOM=ASS 1967 start-B.SS 1968 that=NOM=RFR CORJ go.about-B.SS

lameaka.
l-a-me=aka.
say-FPT-3sDECL=+DEG

‘They were being like that and he started in 1967 and in 1968 he went around and spoke again.’

Gii onapa Agoya apipi ananu Makepe Titipupe ona
Gii o=na=pa Agoya apipi a=na=nu Make-pe Titipu-pe o=na
time that=NOM=ASS Angoya.man altogether this=NOM=PNM Mark-REFM Titipu.man-REFM that=NOM

ometakasa piiaminapa Agoya baa nemudaka aeyalo piiame.
ometaka = sa pii-a-mi = na = pa Agoya baa nemudaka aey-alo pii-a-me
 child=CTX be-FPT-23p=NOM=ASS Angoya.man he male.initiation go.about-B.SS be-FPT-3sDECL

‘At that time, Agoya together with these, Mark and Titipu, were children and Agoya was going to male initiation.’

Oialo piili onapa netepa 1969 onaga Agoyape
Oi-ae-alo pii-alo o = na = pa netepa 1969 o = na = ga Agoya-pe
 do.like.that-PRFA-B.SS be-B.SS that=NOM=ASS next 1969 that=NOM=RFR Angoya.man-REFM

Yegisa sukuli lawala uame.
Yegisa sukuli l-awala u-a-me
 Yankisa.vil school say-P.SS go-FPT-3sDECL

‘When he was doing that, in the next (year) 1969 Agoya went to Yankisa to attend school.’

Pisene sukuli lawala uame.
Pisene sukuli l-awala u-a-me.
 Pidgin school say-P.SS go-FPT-3sDECL

‘He went to attend Pidgin school.’

Oialo 1970 onaga Agoya bala Lapalama sukuli lawala uame.
Oi-ae-alo 1970 o = na = ga Agoya bala Lapalama sukuli l-awala u-a-me
 do.like.that-PRFA-B.SS 1970 that=NOM=RFR Angoya.man he Lapalama.vil school say-P.SS go-FPT-3sDECL

‘He did that and in 1970 Angoya went to Lapalama to attend school.’

Oialo piili onapa 1971 onapa Kutisamasa onapa
Oi-ae-alo pii-alo o = na = pa 1971 o = na = pa Kutisamasa o = na = pa
 do.like.that-PRFA-B.SS be-B.SS that=NOM=ASS 1971 that=NOM=ASS Christmas that=NOM=ASS
nanibala ulu Lapalama ekesamu pilapanale ilapae umanale lalo
nanibala u-alo Lapalama ekesamu pi-lapa-nale i-lapa-ya u-ma-nale l-alo
 we go-B.SS Lapalama.vil exam do-2dpIMP-?? come-2dpIMP-CTRST go-1pIMP-?? say-B.SS
lenya uamenapa Titipupe Makepe nabala Pigape
lenya u-a-me = na = pa Titipu-pe Make-pe nabala Piga-pe
 get.person go-FPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS Titipu.man-REFM Mark-REFM I Pinga.man-REFM

Matiyupe nanibala ekesamu piwala uamane.
Matiyu-pe nanibala ekesamu pi-wala u-a-ma-ne
 Matthew-REFM we exam do-P.SS go-FPT-1p-DECL

‘He was doing that and in 1971 at Christmas saying “We will go to Lapalama and you come and do an exam,” he went to get us and Titipu, Mark, I, Pinga and Matthew, we went to do an exam.’

Ulu pialoko lawala iomiye lamine.
U-alo pi-ae-alo = ko l-awala i-opo-mi-ye l-a-mi-ne.
 go-B.SS do-PRFA-B.SS=ARG say-P.SS come-FUT-23p-HORT say-FPT-23p-DECL

‘Going and having done (the exam), they said, “You come in order to say (attend school).”’

1972 onaga Igilisa sukuli lawala iomiye lamine,
1972 o = na = ga Igilisa sukuli l-awala i-o-mi-ye l-a-mi-ne,
1972 that=NOM=RFR English school say-P.SS come-FUT-23p-HORT say-FPT-23p-DECL

komenoti sukuli.

komenoti sukuli

community school

‘In 1972 they said, “You come in order to attend English school,” that is, community school.’

Lawala iomi laminapa 1972 onaga ulugena nabala

L-awala i-o-mi l-a-mi=na=pa 1972 o=na=ga u-alo=ege=na nabala
say-P.SS come-FUT-23p say-FPT-23p=NOM=ASS 1972 that=NOM=RFR go-B.SS=ATTR=NOM I

Pigapa nalibala komenoti sukuli ‘grade one’ lapane.

Piga=pa nalibala komenoti sukuli ‘grade one’ l-a-pa-ne

Pinga.man=ASS we.two community school grade one say-FPT-1d-DECL

‘When they said, “You come in order to (attend school),” in 1972, our going, Pinga and I, we two attended community school grade one.’

Lapanapa Matiyu baa ona pisene sukuli lame.

L-a-pa=na=pa Matiyu baa o=na pisene sukuli l-a-me.

say-FPT-1d=NOM=ASS Matthew he that=NOM Pidgin school say-FPT-3sDECL

‘When we two attended (community school), Matthew attended Pidgin school.’

Oiame igi 1973 onaga nabala ‘grade two’ lawe.

Oi-a-me igi 1973 o=na=ga nabala ‘grade two’ l-a-we

do.like.that-FPT-3sDECL ASSJ 1973 that=NOM=RFR I grade two say-FPT-1sDECL

‘It was like that and in 1973 I attended grade two.’

Lana ulu 1977 onaga ‘standard six’ lalo wetamanapa

L-ana u-alo 1977 o=na=ga ‘standard six’ l-alo wet-a-ma=na=pa
say-S.SS go-B.SS 1977 that=NOM=RFR standard six say-B.SS finish-FPT-1p=NOM=ASS

ekesamu piamanapa ekesamu oge pusame.

ekesamu pi-a-ma=na=pa ekesamu oge pus-a-me

exam do-FPT-1p=NOM=ASS exam bad cook.in.ground-FPT-3sDECL

‘Attending and going, in 1977 when I finished standard six, we did an exam, and the exam was bad.’

Onapa nabala nyapalo ialo adaka piiawenapa Gote

o=na=pa nabala nyap-alo i-ae-alo ada=ka pii-a-we=na=pa Gote
that=NOM=ASS I leave-B.SS come-PRFA-B.SS house=CTX be-FPT-1sDECL=NOM=ASS God

onama aialogena auwege kalai pili nisoomine

o=na=ma ai-ae-alo=ege=na auwe=ege kalai pi-alo nis-opo-mi-ne
that=NOM=ERG do.like.this-PRFA-B.SS=ATTR=NOM community=ATTR work do-B.SS help-FUT-23p-DECL

lame gii onapa dee kali misineti Otopo Tomisenepe lege kali

l-a-me gii o=na=pa dee kali misineti Otopo Tomisene-pe l-ege kali
say-FPT-3sDECL time that=NOM=ASS CORJ man missionary Rob Thompson-REFM say=ATTR man

meena Ausataliya auwege meenama nabala kee lalo miame,

mee=na Ausataliya auwe=ege mee=na=ma nabala kee l-alo mi-a-me

a=NOM Australia community=ATTR a=NOM=ERG I call say-B.SS get-FPT-3sDECL

Kubatesa piialo.

Kubatesa pii-ae-alo

Kubareta.vil be-PRFA-B.SS

‘Then, when I left, came and stayed at home, at the time when God said, “Doing this, they will help with his work,” an Australian missionary named Rob Thompson selected me, having been at Kubareta.’

Kee lalo miamenapa ulu kapoda kalai pili eekana laamana
kee l-alo mi-a-me = na = pa u-alo kapoda kalai pi-alo eekana laama = na
 call say-B.SS get-FPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS go-B.SS carpenter work do-B.SS year two=NOM

piiapane.

pii-a-pa-ne

be-FPT-1d-DECL

‘Having selected (me), we two went and did carpenter work and were (together) for two years.’

Piili Tekene Telepomenepi Lumusa Kwigya obu kalai pili piiapane.

Pii-alo Tekene Telepomene = pi Lumusa Kwigya o-bu kalai pi-alo pii-a-pa-ne

be-B.SS Tekin.vil Telefomin.vil=CNJ Lumusa.vil Kwinkya.vil that-PNM work do-B.SS be-FPT-1d-DECL

‘Being (together), we two were working at Tekin, Telefomin, Lumusa and Kwinkya villages.’

Kapoda meena Kutisa Kusaipe lege meenapa wamee kapoda kalai pili

Kapoda mee = na Kutisa Kusai-pe l = ege mee = na = pa wamee kapoda kalai pi-alo
 carpenter a=NOM Chris Kusai-REFM say=ATTR a=NOM=ASS one carpenter work do-B.SS

aeyalo piiapane.

aey-alo pii-a-pa-ne

go.about-B.SS be-FPT-1d-DECL

‘With a carpenter named Chris Kusai I was going around doing carpentry.’

Oiame nabala kalai ona au piamenapa nyapalo adipa

Oi-a-me nabala kalai o = na au pi-a-me = na = pa nyap-alo adipa
 do.like.that-FPT-3sDECL I work that=NOM well do-FPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS leave1-B.SS now

Lae apotenesipi onaga ulale opa lalo tapatapa piaminapa

Lae apotenesipi o = na = ga u-a-nale o-pa l-alo tapatapa pi-a-mi = na = pa
 Lae.town apprenticeship that=NOM=RFR go-2sIMP-?? that-way say-B.SS ready do-FPT-23p=NOM=ASS

dee widakali malo wetamisa Gote ona beialo pilipe

dee widakali m-alo wet-a-mi = sa Gote o = na bei-ae-alo pi-ele-e-pe
 CORJ people die-B.SS finish-FPT-23p=CTX God that=NOM what.action-PRFA-B.SS do-PRT-2S-INT

lalo panaiawenapa Wapenamada Mabisada Osipitala onama

l-alo panai-a-we = na = pa Wapenamada Mabisada Osipitala o = na = ma
 say-B.SS think-FPT-1sDECL=NOM=ASS Wapenamanda.town Mabi.center hospital that=NOM=ERG

apolokaisene akipi dokosa nesa aitipi pilapanale lalo mina Yegisa

apolokaisene akipi dokosa nesa aiti = pi pi-lapa-nale l-alo mi-na Yegisa
 application sort doctor nurse aid=CNJ do-2dpIMP-?? say-B.SS get-S.SS Yankisa.vil

iame.

i-a-me.

come-FPT-3sDECL

'It was like that and when I did that work well, they got ready saying, "You will leave now and go to an apprenticeship in Lae," and then as people were dying and I thought, saying, "How will God do (help)?" Wapenamanda's Mabi Center Hospital brought applications for things like doctor (APO) and nurse aid, in order for us to do (fill them out).'

Iame igi nabala kapoda ona lakalalo piili onapa
I-a-me igi nabala kapoda o=na l-akal-alo pii-alo o=na=pa
 come-FPT-3sDECL ASSJ I carpenter that=NOM say-BENX-B.SS be-B.SS that=NOM=ASS
buluga Baiya piialo ili nyoo Yegisa iligena
bulu=ga Baiya pii-ae-alo i-alo nyo Yegisa i-alo=ege=na
 aeroplane1=RFR Baiyer.vil be-PRFA-B.SS come-B.SS farther.below Yankisa.vil come-B.SS=ATTR=NOM
ekesamu ona piamane.
ekesamu o=na pi-a-ma-ne
 exam that=NOM do-FPT-1p-DECL

'It came and when I told that carpenter I came by plane from Baiyer River down to Yankisa and coming, we did the exam.'

Pialogena dee molo Kubatesa ualo piiawenapa
Pi-ae-alo=ege=na dee molo Kubatesa u-a-lo pii-a-we=na=pa
 do-PRFA-B.SS=ATTR=NOM CORJ far.away.over.there Kubareta.vil go-PRFA-B.SS be-FPT-1sDECL=NOM=ASS
nabala pasa piale kale.
nabala pasa pi-ae-ele(-we) kale
 I pass do-PRFA-IPT-(1sDECL) CERT

'Doing (the exam), then having gone and remaining at Kubareta, I certainly passed.'

APO nesa aiti sukuli lawala ipeye lalo Wapenamada sukuli kee
APO nesa aiti sukuli l-awala i-opo-e-ye l-alo Wapenamada sukuli kee
 APO nurse aid school say-P.SS come-FUT-2s-HORT say-B.SS Wapenamanda.town school call
lamine.
l-a-mi-ne
 say-FPT-23p-DECL

'(The) Wapenamanda school called (me) saying, "Come in order to attend APO-Nurse Aid school."

Muni K250 sukuli pinae laminapa adaka ili takisa
Muni K250 sukuli pi=na=e l-a-mi=na=pa ada=ka i-alo takisa
 money K250 school fee=NOM=EQ say-FPT-23p=NOM=ASS house=CTX come-B.SS tax
paaminapa yawale pusalo maketa yalo
p-ae-a-mi=na=pa yawale pus-alo maketa y-alo
 strike-PRFA-FPT-23p=NOM=ASS pig cook.in.ground-B.SS market put-B.SS
oiaminapa ulugena sukuli lawe, Wapenamada.
oi-ae-mi=na=pa u-alo=ege=na sukuli l-a-we, Wapenamada
 do.like.that-FPT-23P=NOM=ASS go-B.SS=ATTR=NOM school say-FPT-1sDECL Wapenamanda.town

'When they said the school fee was K250, coming home, they collected a tax and they 'mumued' pigs and sold them and having done that, going, I attended school, at Wapenamanda.'

Ona 1980 onaga Wapenamada lawala uawe.
O=na 1980 o=na=ga Wapenamada l-awala u-a-we
 that=NOM 1980 that=NOM=RFR Wapenamanda.town say-P.SS go-FPT-1sDECL

'That was in 1980 I went to Wapenamanda to attend (school).'

1980 *oialo* 1981 *Wapenamada sukuli lalo piiawe.*
 1980 *oi-ae-alo* 1981 *Wapenamada sukuli l-alo pii-a-we*
 1980 do.like.that-PRFA-B.SS 1981 Wapenamanda.town school say-B.SS be-FPT-1sDECL
 'I had done that (in) 1980 and (in) 1981 I was attending school in Wapenamanda.'

1982 *okoli tepomanaga daita 22 onaga lalo wetamane, sukuli.*
 1982 *okoli tepomana=ga daita 22 o=na=ga l-alo wet-a-ma-ne, sukuli*
 1982 moon three=RFR date 22 that=NOM=RFR say-B.SS finish-FPT-1p-DECL school
 '(In) 1982, on the 22nd day of the third month we finished (it), school.'

Ona APO nesa aiti sukuli onaga lalo wetaalo adaka ili
o=na APO nesa aiti sukuli o=na=ga l-alo wet-ae-alo ada=ka i-alo
 that=NOM APO nurse aid school that=NOM=RFR say-B.SS finish-PRFA-B.SS house=CTX come-B.SS
kalai pili piiawe, ona.
kalai pi-alo pii-a-we o=na
 work do-B.SS be-FPT-1sDECL that=NOM
 'I finished saying (studying) about APO-Nurse Aid school and came home and was doing work, that (work).'

Piina ulu auwege nabala ipuli onaga kalai pili piili ulu ulu
pii-na u-alo auwe=ege nabala ipuli o=na=ga kalai pi-alo pii-alo u-alo u-alo
 be-S.SS go-B.SS self=ATTR I ground that=NOM=RFR work do-B.SS be-B.SS go-B.SS go-B.SS
adipa 1988 onaga kajole adipa Wapi Lokolo Gapomane Kajole
adipa 1988 o=na=ga kadiole adipa Wapi Lokolo Gapomane Kadiole
 now 1988 that=NOM=RFR council now Wapi.district local government council
Leneyape meba piiame gii onapa mili anaga
Leneya-pe meba pii-a-me gii o=na=pa mi-alo a=na=ga
 Leneya.man-REFM Member be-FPT-3sDECL time that=NOM=ASS get-B.SS this=NOM=RFR
meyamesa nabala kadasalo onaga Yalipa widakali onanuga
mey-a-me=sa nabala kadas-alo o=na=ga Yalipa widakali o=na=nu=ga
 throw-FPT-3sDECL=CTX I start-B.SS that=NOM=RFR Yalipa.clan people that=NOM=PLR=RFR
nabala kajolenae lalo makime minamine.
nabala kadiole=na=e l-alo makime min-a-mi-ne
 I council=NOM=EQ say-B.SS appoint hold-FPT-23p-DECL

'Remaining on and on, myself I was working on and on at that place until then in 1988 (our) member of (Parliament) Leneya got the Wapi Local Government Council and as he threw it here and about my starting, the Yalipa people, saying that I am council, elected (me).'

Widakalima oiami igi piialo adipa kajole piimana ulu dee
Widakali=ma oi-a-mi igi pii-ae-alo adipa kadiole pii-mana u-alo dee
 people=ERG do.like.that-FPT-23p ASSJ be-PRFA-B.SS now council be-G.SS go-B.SS CORJ
lekesena ana ugae piiieaka lalaminapa piiligena kalai
lekesena a=na ugae pii-e-aka l-ala-mi=na=pa pii-li=ege=na kalai
 election this=NOM merely be-NPT-2s+DEG say-IPT-23P=NOM=ASS be-B.SS=ATTR=NOM work

bulu tani ana dalo pilamane.
bulu tani a=na d-alo pi-ala-ma-ne
 aeroplane airstrip this=NOM see-B.SS do-IPT-1p-DECL

‘The people did that and remaining (council) and being (council) until this election, when they said, “You just continue,” and remaining, seeing this airstrip work, we did (it).’

Pilama gii onapa adipa pii wakale naia Igilisama paege
pi-ala-ma gii o=na=pa adipa pii wakale naia Igilisa=ma p-ae=ege
 do-IPT-1p time that=NOM=ASS now talk other Western English=ERG strike-PRFA=ATTR

Pisenema paegepi Gotega pii onaka kapakili lalo
Pisene=ma p-ae=ege=pi Gote=ga pii o=na=aka kapaki-alo l-alo
 Pidgin=ERG strike-PRFA=ATTR=CNJ God=RFR talk that=NOM=+DEG translate-B.SS say-B.SS

piilamanapa adipa Polepe iame onapa Yabaitoko ili
pii-ala-ma=na=pa adipa Pole-pe i-a-me o=na=pa Yabaitoko i-alo
 be-IPT-1p=NOM=ASS now Paul-REFM come-FPT-3sDECL that=NOM=pa Yambaitoko.vil come-B.SS

uame.

u-a-me
 go-FPT-3sDECL

‘At the time that we did (that), then another talk, written with English and written with Pidgin, God’s actual talk - when we were saying translate (it), then when Paul came, he came and went to Yambaitoko village.’

Aa bulu tani piamanapa nyapalo ipuli tuku anaga aeyalo
Aa bulu tani pi-a-ma=na=pa nyap-alo ipuli tuku a=na=ga aey-alo
 this aeroplane airstrip do-FPT-1p=NOM=ASS leave1-B.SS ground middle this=NOM=RFR go.about-B.SS

dalo ipuli tuku anaga piipegenae lalo lamesa
d-alo ipuli tuku a=na=ga pii-op=ege=na=e l-alo l-a-me=sa
 see-B.SS ground middle this=NOM=RFR be-POTA=ATTR=NOM=EQ say-B.SS say-FPT-3sDECL=CTX

nyapalo anaga wamee piialo ona bulu tani ona mili
nyap-alo a=na=ga wamee pii-ae-alo o=na bulu tani o=na mi-alo
 leave1-B.SS this=NOM=RFR one be-PRFA-B.SS that=NOM aeroplane airstrip that=NOM get-B.SS

ipulisa yaalo onapa adipa nabala kajole piialo kalai ona
ipuli=sa y-ae-alo o=na=pa adipa nabala kadiole pii-ae-alo kalai o=na
 ground=CTX put-PRFA-B.SS that=NOM=ASS now I council be-PRFA-B.SS work that=NOM

Polepema nisalamenapa pepa akipi palo sapolo onanu mina
Pole-pe=ma nis-ala-me=na=pa pepa akipi p-alo sapolo o=na=nu mi-na
 Paul-REFM=ERG help-IPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS paper sort strike-B.SS shovel that=NOM=PLR get-S.SS

ili nisalo nisamenapaka pimana iligena pepa nisalo
i-alo nis-alo nis-a-me=na=pa=aka pi-mana i-alo=ege=na pepa nis-alo
 come-B.SS help-B.SS help-FPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS=+DEG do-G.SS come-B.SS=ATTR=NOM paper help-B.SS

padilameaka.

p-adi-ala-me=aka
 strike-BENI-IPT-3sDECL=+DEG

‘We built this airstrip, and as Paul left and went around this central area and looked and said, “I will be at this central place,” he left (Yambaitoko) and has remained with (me) and having gotten the airstrip and put it at (this) place, then while I have been council Paul helped this work and wrote letters and brought shovels and helping he really helped and doing (that) till now he really wrote letters for me.’

Dee sapolo oge agepi onanu nisalo pidiliaka naia pii
Dee sapolo o=ege a=ege=pi o=na=nu nis-alo pi-di-alo=aka naia pii
 CORJ shovel that=ATTR this=ATTR=CNJ that=NOM=PLR help-B.SS do-BENI-B.SS=+DEG Western talk
akipi onaga mana ladili oilamenapa kalai ana
akipi o=na=ga mana l-adi-alo oi-ala-me=na=pa kalai a=na
 sort that=NOM=RFR knowledge say-BENI-B.SS do.like.that-IPT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS work this=NOM
pimana iligena mina ulu adipa bulu mili palialo pemeti
pi-mana i-alo=ege=na mi-na u-alo adipa bulu mi-alo pali-ae-alo pemeti
 do-PROG come-B.SS=ATTR=NOM get-S.SS go-B.SS now aeroplane get-B.SS install-PRFA-B.SS permit
jeleme igi bulu tani anaga oo ipuli gii 13 okoli 11
di-ae-ele-me igi bulu tani a=na=ga oo ipuli gii 13 okoli 11
 give.INCL-PRFA-PRT-3sDECL ASSJ aeroplane airstrip this=NOM=RFR that ground time 13 moon 11
eekana 1996 onaga bulu tani ana pili wetalo lubalo mili
eekana 1996 o=na=ga bulu tani a=na pi-alo wet-alo lub-alo mi-alo
 year 1996 that=NOM=RFR aeroplane airstrip this=NOM do-B.SS finish-B.SS open2-B.SS get-B.SS
ipulisa yaalo ilotena 140 mitapi meelapu pipege
ipuli=sa y-ae-alo ilo-te=na 140 mi-ta=pi mee=lapu pi-op=ege
 ground=CTX put-PRFA-B.SS farther.above-SIDE=NOM 140 meter=CNJ a=DNM do-POT=ATTR
yelemenapa naia oialo mili palili oiomane
y-ele-me=na=pa naia oi-ae-alo mi-alo pali-alo oi-opo-ma-ne
 put-PRT-3sDECL=NOM=ASS Western do.like.that-PRFA-B.SS get-B.SS install-B.SS do.like.that-FUT-1p-DECL
lalo onapa pii lakalelema gii onapa sukuli dina
l-alo o=na=pa pii l-akal-ele-ma gii o=na=pa sukuli di-na
 say-B.SS that=NOM=ASS talk say-BENX-PRT-1p time that=NOM=ASS school give.INCL-3IMP
opa lalo kee lelewe.
o-pa l-alo kee l-ele-we
 that-way say-B.SS call say-PRT-1sDECL

‘And helping us with shovels and this and that and teaching us about Western talk and doing that, having done this work and brought it until now, having gotten planes and put them (here) he got us a permit (airstrip license) and on the 13th day of the eleventh month of 1996, we finished making the airstrip, opened it and having gotten it and put it in (this) place, 140 meters being left to do, saying we have gotten and established Western things, then at the time we are speaking to him (the governor) in order that he give us a school, I am calling (him).’

Dee siki ada baesa aiti posa meena anaga pidinale opa lalo
Dee siki ada baesa aiti posa mee=na a=na=ga pi-di-na-nale o-pa l-alo
 CORJ sickness house base aid post a=NOM this=NOM=RFR do-BENI-3IMP-?? DIST-MNR say-B.SS
kee lelewe.
kee l-ele-we.
 call say-PRT-1sDECL

‘And in order that he make us a base aid post clinic at this (place), I am calling (him).’

Dee pasatole posapi didimanepi meelapu anaga dilami lakalalo
Dee pasatole posa=pi didimane=pi mee=lapu a=na=ga di-ala-mi l-akal-alo
 CORJ patrol post=CNJ DPI.worker=CNJ a=DNM this=NOM=RFR give.INCL-IPT-23p say-BENX-B.SS
panaili keda piege ona atena oili yeleme
panai-alo keda pi-ae=ege o=na a-te=na oi-alo y-ele-me
 think-B.SS heavy do-PRFA=ATTR that=NOM this-SIDE=NOM do.like.that-B.SS put-PRT-3sDECL

lalogena mili lubeleme ipuli gii daita 13 okoli 11 eekana 1996
l-alo=ege=na mi-alo lub-ele-me ipuli gii daita 13 okoli 11 eekana 1996
 say-B.SS=ATTR=NOM get-B.SS open-PRT-3sDECL ground time date 13 moon 11 year 1996

onaga keda piege obu gapomane ketae kaleleman.

o=na=ga keda pi-ae=ege o=bu gapomane ketae kal-ele-ma-ne.
 that=NOM=RFR heavy do-PRFA=ATTR that=PNM government top.side give.EXCL-PRT-1p-DECL

‘And wanting them to give us a patrol post and didiman¹² at this place and saying that there are “heavies” at this side, on the opening day, 13th of November 1996, these “heavies” we gave to the governor.’

¹² Agricultural extension worker.