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Phonology and Grammar of Nankina

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PREFACE

This is a description of the phonology and grammar of the Nankina language. Pat wrote the phonological analysis presented in chapters 2-3, and Craig wrote the grammatical analysis presented in chapters 4-27.

The corpus for the phonological analysis, comprising some 2000 words, was collected during our stays in the village of Sepmbong between December 1981 and January 1986 and the village of Bambu in 1988. Although many of the people of Sepmbong and Bambu were helpful in the collection of data for this paper, Honenua was our main language helper. He is about 30 years of age and is literate in both Tok Pisin and Kâte.

The grammatical analysis is based on field work done from January 1981 to November 1983 and from April 1985 to January 1987. The data for the paper primarily came from 120kb of natural oral texts in several different generes elicited from different members of Sepmbong village. The theoretical framework for the analysis is generally atheoretical, written in prose, although tagmemic formulas are used when they seem to offer easier presentations of the structures. The clause level structure follows the approach of functional grammar. Other formulas are based on our own ideas in relation to the structure of the language.

We would like to express our appreciation to Wietze Baron, John Clifton, Eileen Gasaway, and Dottie James for their help and encouragement in the phonological analysis. John Roberts provided much help and advice on the verbs in chapter 5 of the paper during the 1986 grammar workshop, and Bob Conrad offered comprehensive advice on the entire grammar. Other consultants who have offered advice during the process of analysis and writing of the grammar chapters are Bob Bugenhagen, Cindi Farr, and Carl Whitehead.

We would also like to express appreciation for the patience of the people of Sepmbong village, especially Honenua, Kagu, Magawaŋ, Mangio, Mutrino, and Niwen for their extreme patience. Our hope is that they will appreciate some of the uniquenesses of the Nankina language that we have discussed and that they will see our 'whiteskin' view of the language as helping to bring about a better translation of the Scriptures.

And last, but not least, we would like to thank each other for willingness to shoulder extra responsibilty in our home many times while we were working on our respective chapters of this description.

1 INTRODUCTION

The Nankina language is spoken in the south-east corner of the Madang Province in the Teptep subdistrict within the Saidor District. There are about 2200 speakers of this language living in ten villages on the northern slopes of the Finisterre mountains in the middle and upper reaches of the Nankina River Basin between 3200 and 6400 feet in elevation.

Claassen and McElhanon (1970:53) classify Nankina as a non-Austronesian language of the Yupna family belonging to the Finisterre stock. The other major language of the Yupna family is Yupna, spoken by about 7000 people in about 15 villages along the upper and middle reaches of the Yupna River and its tributaries in the Finisterre Range.

There are three major dialects in Nankina. The data in this description is almost exclusively from the dialect centered around Sepmbong village. The other dialects vary both lexically and phonologically.

2 DESCRIPTION OF PHONEMES AND ALLOPHONES

The phonemes and allophones of Nankina are presented in Chart 1. Examples of each are given in Appendix 1; contrasts are given in Appendix 2.

CHART 1: PHONEMES OF NANKINA

p [p ɸ f p^w]	t [t ɾ l]	ts [ts ts^j s]	k [k x]
b [^{m}b m̥b $^m b^w$]	d [^{n}d n̥d]	dz [^{n}dz n̥dz]	g [^{ŋ}g ŋ̊g]
β [β w]			
m [m m̥ m^w]	n [n n^j n̥]		ŋ [ŋ ŋ̊]
	j [j]		w [w ɥ]
i [i ɪ i̞ iʌ]		u [u ʊ]	
ɛ [ɛ ʌ ɛʌ]	ʌ	ɔ	
	ɑ		

2.1 Syllables

The Nankina syllable may be represented as (C_1 (C_2)) V ((C_3) (C_4). The only syllable pattern allowed by that formula which has not been observed is VCC. The single vowel is the only obligatory segment. C_1 can be any consonant. C_2 and C_3 can be the glides /j/ or /w/; C_2 can also be /t/ if C_1 is /p/ or /k/, although this is rare. C_4 can be nasals or voiceless stops /p t k/ (but not the affricate /ts/).

The most common syllable pattern is CV.

1)	/kɛ/	[kɛ]	'fat'
	/bɑ/	[^{m}bɑ]	'sweet potato'
	/pu/	[pu]	'go down'
	/jɑkɑ/	[jɑ.kɑ]	'again'
	/wɑtsɑk/	[wɑ.sɑk]	'power'

The second most common pattern is CVC.

2)	/kit/	[kit]	'hand'
	/bɛn/	[^{m}bɛn]	'middle'
	/wɑj/	[wɑj]	'hot'
	/bɛj/	[^{m}bɛj]	'girl'
	/wit/	[ɥit]	'house'
	/jɔp/	[jɔp]	'cloth'

The syllable types with no onsets, V and VC, occur only in word initial position.

3)	/ɑ/	[ɑ]	'here'
	/ɛkwi/	[ɛ.kwi]	'bad'
	/ʌmin/	[ʌmin]	'man'

4)	/ɑt/	[ɑt]	'sugar cane'
	/ʌpmʌk/	[ʌp.mʌk]	'cough'
	/ɛj/	[ɛj]	'pumpkin'
	/ɑwkumin/	[ɑw.ku.min]	'go, then change direction' (< /ɑw+ku+min/)

Syllables with initial consonant clusters can be open as in (5-6), or closed as in (7).

5)	/ptɑ/	[pɨrɑ]	'stand'
	/ktɑgwɔk/	[kɨrɑ.^{ŋ}gwɔk]	'small knife'
	/bt/	[bɨt]	'pig'[1]

6)	/kwʌdʌm/	[kwʌ.^{n}dʌm]	'green'
	/kwɑpɔk/	[kwɑ.pɔk]	'ball'

---

1 This is the only word in Nankina which does not seem to have a phonemic vowel.

7)	/gwɑn/	[gwɑn]	'mud'
	/kwit/	[kwit]	'bird'
	/mwɛk/	[mwɛk]	'lizard'
	/ŋwɛtŋwɛt/	[ŋwɛk.ŋwɛt]	'marigold'

Finally, syllables with final consonant clusters may occur with simple onsets as in (8) or with clusters as onsets as in (9).

8)	/tɛyt/	[tɛyt]	'bow string'
	/gɑwm/	[ᵑgɑwm]	'a spider'
9)	/kwɑyt/	[kwɑyt]	'outside'

As shown in (5), a transitional vowel is inserted between the consonants in word-initial /pt/ and /kt/. The high, central vowel [ɨ] is used here to phonetically represent the transitional vowel which actually varies between [ɨ], [ʌ], and [u]. The rule accounting for this transitional vowel can be formalised as follows.

Transitional Vowel Insertion

ø → ɨ / # C __ C

(An [ɨ] is inserted between consonants in a word-initial consonant cluster. The second consonant may not be a glide.)

The transitional vowel can be observed in the Nankina pronounciation of Pidgin words with initial consonant clusters.

Nankina pronounciation	Pidgin	gloss
[gɨrɑs]	*gras*	'grass,hair'
[bɨru.pɛ.rɑ]	*blupela*	'blue'
[kɨrɔs.tu]	*klostu*	'near'
[pɨrɛs]	*ples*	'village'
[sɨrip]	*slip*	'sleep'
[sɨmɔk]	*smok*	'smoke'
[sɨnɛk]	*snek*	'snake'
[sɨtɔ.ri]	*stori*	'story'

Nasals with syllabicity do occur in certain environments. They are not considered full syllables, however. When they occur word medially they syllabify with the following syllable. When they occur word finally they syllabify with the previous syllable. See section 2.2 for futher discussion and examples.

Closed syllables generally occur in word final position. The most common sequence of syllables in unaffixed words is CV.CVC as illustrated in (10).

10)	/kumʌn/	[ku.mʌn]	'rat'
	/mɑtɑp/	[mɑ.ɾɑp]	'bat'
	/tsɑmɔk/	[tsɑ.mɔk]	'a nut'
	/bɛtʌŋ/	[^{m}bɛ.ɾʌŋ]	'shoulder'

Other patterns in which closed syllables occur in word-final position are illustrated in (16-20).

11)	CV.CV		
	/budɛ/	[^{m}bu.^{n}dɛ]	'bark cloth'
	/wɔni/	[wɔ.ni]	'no'
	/yɛmʌ/	[yɛ.mʌ]	'door'
12)	V.CV		
	/ɑwɑ/	[ɑ.wɑ]	'grandmother'
13)	CCV.CV		
	/kwʌbu/	[kwʌ.^{m}bu]	'plank'
14)	V.CCV		
	/ɛkwi/	[ɛ.kwi]	'bad'
15)	CV.CV.CV		
	/bɔtɑmɔ/	[^{m}bɔ.ɾɑ.mɔ]	'village'
	/mɔtɛni/	[mɔ.ɾɛ.ni]	'good'
16)	V.CVC		
	/ɑjɛt/	[ɑ.jɛt]	'louse'
	/ɑkɑk/	[ɑ.kɑk]	'baby'
	/ʌmin/	[ʌ.mɨn]	'man'
	/ʌjuŋ/	[ʌ.juŋ]	'meat'
17)	CCV.CVC		
	/gwɑkɛn/	[gwɑ.kɛn]	'aunt'
	/kwɑpɔk/	[kwɑ.pɔk]	'ball'
18)	CV.CCVC		
	/tɑkwʌn/	[tɑ.kwʌn]	'curse'

19) CCV.CCVC

/ktɑgwɔk/	[kɨrɑ.ŋgwɔk]	'knife'

20) CV.CV.CVC

/kʌtitit/	[kʌ.ɾi.ɾɨt]	'ant'[2]
/kɑwuwut/	[kɑ.βu.βut]	'dust'

Most word internal consonant sequences form syllable initial consonant clusters as illustrated in (14, 18, 19). Sequences of consonants across syllable boundaries, that is, occurrences of nonfinal closed syllables, are rare.

21) CVC.CVC

/kʌtnʌm/	[kʌt.nʌm]	'night'
/tʌpmʌk/	[tʌp.mʌk]	'exist'

22) VC.CVC

/ʌpmʌk/	[ʌp.mʌk]	'cough'

23) CVC.CV.CV

/tsintsitsi/	[tsɪn.tsɪ.tsi]	'true'[3]

2.2 Consonants

The distribution of the consonants is summarised in Chart 2.

CHART 2: DISTRIBUTION OF CONSONANTS

	b	d	g	ʤ	p	t	k	ts	β	m	n	ŋ
initial	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x
final	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	x
V_V	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
__C	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	x
C__	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	x	x	x

2 These are the only observed examples of the pattern CV.CV.CVC and both appear to be reduplicated.

3 This is the only example of CVC.CV.CV and it appears to be reduplicated.

All consonants can occur intervocalically, and all except [β] can occur word initially. Only nasals and the voiceless stops /p t k/ (but not the affricate /ts/) can occur syllable finally, that is, word finally or before a consonant. Only nasals, voiced stops, and affricates (including /ts/) can occur after a consonant. Voiced stops follow nasals only across morpheme boundaries. All sequences across syllable boundaries are homorganic.

The voiceless obstruents /p t ts k/ all have fricative allophones; the most frequent are [ɸ ɾ s x]. These allophones may be slightly voiced. They occur in intervocalic position and after a consonant, although this latter environment only applies to /ts/ since the other voiceless obstruents do not occur after a consonant. Fricativisation is generally obligatory in the case of /t/, and optional in all other cases. Examples are given in (24).

24)	/sapat/	[sa.pat ~ sa.βat]	'machete'
	/matap/	[ma.ɾap]	'bat'
	/jaka/	[ja.ka ~ ja.xa]	'again'
	/ɔkutsɛkŋ/	[ɔ.ku.tsʲɛkŋ ~ ɔ.ku.sʲɛkŋ]	'small'

This process can be formalised as follows.

Fricativisation

$$\begin{matrix} C \\ [\text{- voice}] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+ cont} \\ \text{- delrel} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{Bmatrix} C \\ V \end{Bmatrix} \_\_ V$$

(Voiceless obstruents become continuants noninitially (after a consonant or vowel) before a vowel.)

The one alveolar exception to Fricativisation is [ɛtɛ] 'little friend'. This word may either be borrowed or may be unique due to the fact that its use is restricted to young children.

Among younger people and those who have had more exposure to Tok Pisin, the fricative allophones of the phonemes /p/ and /t/ are sometimes [f] and [l]. The [l] and [r] are often reversed when speaking Tok Pisin as in [pɨlɛs ndʌ rɔt] 'praise the Lord'.

The /p/ may also become continuant word initially preceding /i/, /u/, or /ɔ/ as shown in (25).

25)	/kwapɔk/	[kwa.pɔk ~ kwa.fɔk]	'ball'
	/pit/	[pit ~ fit]	'shave'
	/pup/	[pup ~ fup]	'chicken'

Fricativisation of Initial /p/

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{labial} \\ -\text{voice} \end{bmatrix}_{C} \rightarrow [+\text{continuant}] \; / \_\_ \begin{Bmatrix} [+\text{high}] \\ [+\text{round}] \end{Bmatrix}_{V}$$

(The voiceless labial /p/ becomes a fricative before high vowels /i u/ or round vowels /u ɔ/.)

There is further variation between [p β w] in some words. The difference may be dialectal as well as a difference between old and young speakers.

26)	[tsɪ.pɔt ~ tsɪ.βɔt ~ tsɪ.wɔt]	'garden'
	[wɔ.pɑ ~ wɔ.wɑ]	'pot'
	[^{m}bɑ.pu ~ ^{m}bɑ.βu ~ ^{m}bɑ.wu ~ ^{m}baw]	'ancestor'
	[tɑ.βut ~ tɑ.wut ~ tawt]	'root'

The intervocalic [p] generally occurs occurs in slow, careful speech. The [β] and [w] may be allophones of /p/ which occur intervocalically.

There is also free variation of [β] and [w] in certain words, with those with more exposure to Tok Pisin using [w].

27)	a.	/dɑβin/	[^{n}dɑ.βin ~ ^{n}dɑ.win]	'eye'
	b.	/tsɑβat/	[tsɑ.βat ~ tsɑ.wat]	'machete'
	c.	/kʌβʌm/	[kʌ.βʌm ~ kʌ.wʌm]	'hawk'
	d.	/tʌβu/	[tʌ.βu ~ tʌ.wu]	'road'

Although [β] is limited in its distribution and occurrence and it sometimes fluctuates with [w], in some words the [w] does not vary. Nonfluctuating forms may contrast with those in (28).

28)	a.	/gwin/	[gɥɪn]	'also'
	b.	/tawan/	[tɑ.wan]	'mountain'
	c.	/tuwʌ/	[tu.wʌ]	'drum'
	d.	/tɔwuŋ/	[tɔ.wuŋ]	'egg'

Three unusual forms are shown in (29); they be phonemic geminates. All three forms appear to be reduplicated.

29)	a.	/bʌpʌwak/	[^{m}bʌ.pʌ.wak]	'laugh + 3s. pr.'
	b.	/papawak/	[pa.pa.wak]	'happen + 3s. pr.'
	c.	/kwapɔk/	[kwa.pɔk ~ kwa.fɔk]	'ball'

In (29a-b) the intervocalic [p] does not fluctuate; in (29c) [p] fluctuates with [f], although this fluctuation generally only occurs word initially. (29c) could be a reduplication of /kwap/ 'stomach', since animal stomachs used to be inflated and used for balls.

Generally, there is no evidence of geminates. There are, however, a few occurences of long nasals. These only occur word finally and are not realised phonetically in normal speech. However, people perceive their existence and lengthen them in slow speech. Pronounciation in slow speech varies between a long nasal and a nasal followed by a short vowel of indistinct phonetic quality. Because this is not a distinct vowel it will be represented as [ɨ].

30)	Normal	Slow			
	/nam/	[nam]	[namm ~ namɨ]	'I give to'	(< /na+m/)
	/nan/	[nan]	[nann ~ nanɨ][4]	'I say to'	(< /na+n/)
	/tʌm/	[tʌm]	[tʌmm ~ tʌmɨ]	'leaf'	
	/kɔm/	[kɔm]	[kɔmm ~ kɔmɨ]	'water'	

When /tʌm/ and /kɔm/ take nasal-initial suffixes, both suffixes are maintained and [ɨ] is inserted.

31)	/tʌm+na/	[tʌmɨna]	'my leaf'
	/kɔm+ŋan/	[kɔmɨŋan]	'toward the water'

The voiced stops are prenasalised in all positions and at all times, although the prenasalisation is less pronounced when word initial. If preceded by a vowel the nasal will phonetically close the preceding syllable as well as initiate the following one. If preceded by a nasal, the prenasalisation coalesces with the nasal consonant. When it comes after a voiceless stop the prenasalisation becomes somewhat syllabic as illustrated in (32).

32)	/kwipba/	[kʉip.m̩ba]	'tomorrow'	
	/kwitdɛ/	[kʉit.n̩dɛ]	'one bird'	(< /kwit+dɛ/)
	/witdzi/	[ʉit.n̩dzʌi]	'for the house'	(< /wit+tsi/)
	/jikga/	[jik.ŋga]	'your bag'	(< /jik+ka/)

4 This contrasts with [nani] 'his father'.

There is also one word in which a syllabic nasal occurs after a voiceless stop before another nasal.

33) /ʌpmmʌ/ [ʌpm̩mʌ] 'yesterday'

Nasal phonemes may also follow a consonant word finally. When the nasal is word final or is followed by a consonant, the nasal is slightly syllabic. A rule can be formalised as follows to account for all nasal syllabification.

Nasal Syllabification

$$\overset{C}{[+\text{nasal}]} \rightarrow [+\text{syllabic}] \;/\; C\_\_ \begin{Bmatrix} C \\ \# \end{Bmatrix}$$

(A nasal consonant is slightly syllabic after a consonant before a consonant or word finally.)

There is morphophonemic evidence that forms ending with phonetic syllabic nasals have a final high, back vowel in their underlying forms. This can be seen in (34).

34)	a.	[tɔwʌ]	'drum'	[tɔwʌnu]	'drum-DEI'
	b.	[kʌdɛp]	'wood'	[kʌdɛpm̩]	'wood-DEI'
	c.	[wit]	'house'	[witn̩]	'house-DEI'
	d.	[akak]	'baby'	[akakŋ]	'baby-DEI'

High, back vowels never occur phonetically in final position following a consonant cluster which ends in a nasal. The deictic form occurs as *-nu* after a vowel final root in (34a). After a root-final consonant, the high vowel is deleted. When words ending in a syllabic nasal are affixed the vowel does not delete, it is lax. This can be seen in (35).

35)	a.	[bɔkŋ]	'boy'	[bɔkŋɨrɛ]	'boy-SRC'
	b.	[ɑkgɑkŋ]	'chop'	[ɑkgɑkŋisiɛ]	'chop-?'
	c.	[dɑkŋ]	'become'	[dɑkŋiŋɑk]	'become-?'

Two processes are involved, then, Laxing and Apocope. (A third process, Assimilation in Point, is discussed in chapter 3.)

Laxing

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{back} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix}^{V} \rightarrow [-\text{tense}] \;/\; \overset{C}{[+\text{nasal}]} \_\_$$

(A high back vowel becomes lax after a sequence of consonants in which the second is a nasal.)

Apocope

V C
[- tense] → ø / [+ nasal] __ #
(Word final lax vowels are deleted after nasals.)

The only affixes affected by these processes are /nu/ 'that' and verb inflections. The only apparently monomorphemic forms ending in a syllabic nasal are the one noun in (35a) and a group of verbs.

One other piece of evidence that supports this analysis is that when the lone nasal suffix, /ŋ/ 'SS', is appended to verbs ending in a consonant, it deletes. Examples are given in chapter 3.

The glides may occur initially, intervocalically, finally, or contiguous to a consonant. The /u/ has not been observed contiguous to /j/; all other sequences of glide followed by vowel have been found. The high vocoids have all been interpreted as glides when not the peak of the syllable nucleus.

Syllable-initial consonant clusters which do not trigger Transitional Vowel Insertion always consist of one of the glides /w/ or /j/ as the second member. The only consonants that regularly appear before /w/ are /k/ and /g/. These sequences can be followed by any vowel other than /u/ There is also one example each of syllable-initial /mw/ and /ŋw/; these are listed in (6) above.

Sequences in which the second consonant is /j/ are infrequent. The /gj/ sequence occurs only in the verb suffix /-gjɑt/ '1s.PRO', while the sequence /nj/ occurs only in /njɑ/ 'upward'. Other occurrences of phonetic labialisation and palatalisation are either allophonic or the result of fast speech.

Syllable final consonant clusters always consist of one of the glides as the first member. The palatal glide /j/ can only occur after /ɛ/ or /ɑ/; the back glide /w/ can only occur after /ɑ/ or /ɔ/. There is only one occurrence of [ɔw]; it is in [ŋgɔwk] 'betel nut'. It is possible that this form is borrowed, or it could be /gɑwk/, with the back consonants affecting the vowel.

The /w/ assimilates in position to a following front vowel as shown in (36).

36)	/wit/	[ɥit]	'house'
	/gwin/	[ᵑgɥɪn]	'also'
	/tsiwɛt/	[tsi.ɥɛt]	'pit-pit'

/w/ Fronting

$$\begin{bmatrix}\text{-cons}\\ \text{-syllabic}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\text{-back}] \;/\; \_\_ \; \overset{\text{V}}{[\text{-back}]}$$

(A glide becomes nonback, i.e. /w/ becomes [ɥ], before a nonback vowel.)

In addition to the consonant sequences in which the second consonant is /w/, there is predictable labialisation in Nankina. The bilabials /p b m/ optionally become labialised preceding the low back vowel, /ɔ/.

37)	/du.pɔkŋ/	[ⁿdu.pwɔkŋ ~ ⁿdu.pɔkŋ]	'long'
	/kwɑpɔk/	[kwɑ.pɔk ~ kwɑ.ɸɔk ~ kwɑ.fɔk ~ kwɑ.pwɔk]	'ball'
	/bɔkŋ/	[ᵐbɔkŋ ~ ᵐbwɔkŋ]	'male'
	/mɔk/	[mɔk ~ mʷɔk]	'knee'

The only word we have observed meeting the structural description of Labialisation in which it does not apply is the open syllable word /mɔ/ 'woman'. Labialisation does not apply before the high vowel /u/ as shown in (38).

38)	/mɑmu/	[mɑ.mu]	'aunt'
	/pup/	[pup ~ ɸup]	'chicken'

This process can be formalised as follows.

Labialisation

$$\overset{\text{C}}{[\text{+labial}]} \rightarrow [\text{+round}] \;/\; \_\_ \; \overset{\text{V}}{\begin{bmatrix}\text{+round}\\ \text{-high}\end{bmatrix}}$$

(The labials /p b m/ become labialised before the round nonhigh vowel /ɔ/.)

There is also predictable palatalisation affecting /ts/ and /n/ in a number of environments. The /ts/ obligatorily becomes palatalised preceding the low front vowel /ɛ/.

39)	/ɛtsɛŋ/	[ɛ.tsʲɛŋ ~ ɛ.sʲɛŋ]	'light wight'
	/ɔkutsɛkŋ/	[ɔ.ku.tsʲɛkŋ ~ ɔ.ku.tsʲʌkŋ]	'small'
	/tsɛ/	[tsʲɛ]	'thing'
	/nɔtsem/	[nɔ.tsʲem]	'a tree'

Palatalisation of /ts/ does not occur before the high front vowel /i/.

40) /tsit/ [tsit] 'sit'
/tsintsitsi/ [tsɪn.sɪ.si] 'true'

Affricate Palatalisation

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{coronal} \\ +\text{strident} \\ -\text{voice} \end{bmatrix}_{C} \rightarrow [+\text{high}] \; / \; \_\_ \; \begin{bmatrix} -\text{back} \\ -\text{high} \end{bmatrix}_{V}$$

(The affricate /ts/ becomes palatalised before the nonback, nonhigh vowel /ɛ/.)

The alveolar nasal /n/ optionally becomes palatalised preceding /i/ in closed syllables as shown in (41). Its occurrence in this position is rare.

41) /nit/ [nʲit ~ nit] 'we (dual)'
/nin/ [nʲɪn ~ nɪn] 'we (plural)'
/dɑnik/ [ndɑ.nʲɨk] 'burp'

Nasal Palatalisation

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{nasal} \\ +\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}_{C} \rightarrow / \; \_\_ \; [+\text{high}] \; C \; \$$$

The /-ni/ sequence often occurs word finally as an adjective ending and in this case the /n/ is dental. A minority of people also pronounce the inital /ni/ sequence as dental.

In fast speech, the two syllable forms in (42-43) become one syllable causing the alveolars in (42) to sound labialised and the bilabial in (43) to sound palatalised. Alveolars are never labialised and bilabials are not palatalised in any other environment.

42) /tuwɔp/ [tu.wɔp ~ twɔp] 'flower'
/duwɔk/ [ⁿdu.wɔk ~ ⁿdwɔk] 'blood'

43) /bijɛŋ/ [ᵐbi.jɛŋ ~ ᵐbjɛŋ] 'banana'

2.3 Vowels

The high vowels /i/ and /u/ can occur initially in polysyllabic words, however they are in free fluctuation with /ji/ and /wu/, which are more frequent. The /i/ and /ji/ never contrast. Because /ji/ and /wu/ are more frequent, and because vowel initial syllables are much less common than CV and CVC syllables, /ji/ and /wu/ are posited as the phonemic forms. This needs further investigation as the variation may be dialectal. Examples of the fluctuation are given in (44).

44)	/jipmʌŋ/	[jɪp.mʌŋ ~ ip.mʌŋ]	'let go' or 'put it'	
	/wutuwɑt/	[wu.ru.wɑt ~ u.ru.wɑt]	'I look for'	(< /wutu+wɑt/)
	/wutim/	[wʊ.rɨm ~ u.rɨm]	'a plant'	

Glide Deletion (optional)

$$\begin{bmatrix}\text{-cons}\\ \text{-syll}\\ \textit{a}\ \text{back}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \ / \ \begin{bmatrix}\text{-low}\\ \textit{a}\ \text{back}\end{bmatrix}$$

(A word initial glide preceding the homorganic high vowel may be deleted.)

The front vowels /i ɛ/ centralise before velar consonants as shown in (45). This occurs in all dialects for /i/, but seems to occur in only one dialect for /ɛ/.

45)	/dɑnik/	[ⁿdɑ.nʲɨk]	'burp'
	/dɑjiŋ/	[ⁿdɑ.jɨŋ]	'eyebrow'
	/dzikŋ/	[ⁿdzɨkŋ]	'heavy'
	/ɛtsɛŋ/	[ɛ.tsʲʌŋ ~ ɛ.tsʲɛŋ]	'light weight'
	/ɛkwi/	[ʌ.kʊ̹i ~ ɛ.kʊ̹i]	'bad'
	/ʌjɛŋ/	[ʌ.jʌŋ]	'meat'
	/bijɛŋ/	[ᵐbi.jʌŋ]	'banana'

In monosyllabic words, /i ɛ/ may dipthongise instead of centralising as shown in (46). The nuclear peak remains on the front vowel in the cases of diphthongisation. The variation between the diphthongised and nondiphthongised vowels seems to be dialectal.

46)	/pik/	[pɨk ~ piʌk]	'ripe'
	/jik/	[jɨk ~ jiʌk]	'bag'
	/ɛk/	[ɛʌk ~ ɛk]	'torch'
	/pɛŋ/	[pɛʌŋ ~ pɛŋ]	'a boil'
	/gɛk/	[ᵑgɛk ~ ᵑgɛʌk]	'neck'
	/tɛk/	[tɛk ~ tɛʌk]	'mark'

These forms can be accounted for by the following two rules.

Diphthongisation of Front Vowels

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -\text{high} \\ -\text{low} \\ +\text{back} \\ -\text{round} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; \# \; C \; \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \; \_\_ \; \begin{bmatrix} C \\ +\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \; \#$$

(Insert /ʌ/ after a front vowel before a velar consonant.)

Centralisation of Front Vowels

$$V \rightarrow [+\text{back}] \; / \; \_\_ \; \begin{bmatrix} C \\ +\text{back} \end{bmatrix}$$

(Vowels become back (i.e. /i/ becomes [ɨ] and /ɛ/ becomes [ʌ]) before velar consonants.)

Diphthongisation must apply before Centralisation. If /i/ is diphthongised, it will not centralise since it will no longer be followed by a velar consonant. If it is not diphthongised, it will centralise.

The phone [ʌ] seems to almost always occur contiguous to a velar. In addition, there seems to be variation between [ɛ] and [ʌ] between speakers. The [ʌ] and [ɛ] are dialectal variants in the forms in (47).

47)	[tɛm ~ tʌm]	'leaf'
	[nɛ.rɛ ~ nʌ.rʌ]	'1s + POSS'
	[kʌ.ⁿdɛp ~ kʌ.ⁿdʌp]	'wood'

In spite of the fact that [ɛ] and [ʌ] are dialectal variants in some words, and that [ʌ] is a predictable allophone of /ɛ/ in others, there are also contrastive forms which show the two are both full phonemes as shown in (48).

48)	[tɛʌk]	'mark'	[tʌk]	'okay'

The allophone [ɨ] also occurs in two other environments. It optionally occurs after /t/ as shown in (49).

49)	/tip/	[tɨp ~ tip]	'stone'
	/kʌtitit/	[kʌ.rɨ.rɨt ~ kʌ.ri.rit]	'ant'
	/gʌtip/	[ᵑgʌ.rɨp ~ ᵑgʌ.rip]	'pandanas'
	/ktik/	[kɨrɨk ~ kɨrik]	'pointed object'

This can be formalised as follows.

Post-/t/ Backing (optional)

V
[+ high] → [+ back] / t __
(The high vowel becomes back (/i/ becomes [ɨ]) after /t/).

In a few forms a short vowel occurs between /m/ and /n/. For the present we are suggesting it is [ɨ], as shown in (50).

50)	/ʌmin/	[ʌ.mɨn]	'man'
	/kʌmin/	[kʌ.mɨn]	'dog'
	/dɑmin/	[ⁿdɑ.mɨn]	'large'

Vowel Backing Before /n/

V
[+ high] → [+ back] / m __ n
(The high vowel becomes back (/i/ becomes [ɨ]) after /m/, before /n/.)

Another possible analysis of the short, unstressed [ɨ] in (49-50) would be to consider it a transitional vowel. In this case, these forms would contain no /i/; the [ɨ] would be inserted by a modified Transitional Vowel Insertion.

Both high vowels optionally become lax after homorganic glides as shown in (51-52).

51)	/jiwɔ/	[jɪ.wɔ ~ ji.wɔ ~ i.wɔ]	'weak'
52)	/mɑwum/	[mɑ.wum ~ mɑ.wʊm]	'evil spirit'
	/wudɛ/	[wu.ndɛ ~ wʊ.ndɛ]	'go out'

This rule is formalised as follows.

Post-Glides Laxing (optional)

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{high} \\ \alpha\,\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{tense}] \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} -\text{consonant} \\ -\text{syllabic} \\ \alpha\,\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \_\_$$

(The high vowels /i/ and /u/ may become lax [ɪ] and [ʊ] following a homorganic glide.)

The high front vowel /i/ also laxes obligatorily before /n/, as in (53), and optionally in polysyllabic words after /ts/ if nonfinal, as in (54).

53)	/dɑwin/	[ⁿdɑ.ɥɪn]	'eye'
	/dɑβin/	[ⁿdɑ.βɪn]	'eye'
	/dzin/	[ⁿdzɪn]	'woven bamboo/woven wall'
54)	/tsi.wɔt/	[tsɪ.wɔt]	'garden'
	/tsin.tsi.tsi/	[tsɪn.sɪ.si]	'true'

Pre-/n/ Laxing

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix}_{V} \rightarrow [-\text{tense}] \; / \; \_\_ \; \begin{bmatrix} +\text{nasal} \\ +\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}_{C}$$

(Before the alveolar nasal the high front vowel becomes lax [ɪ].)

Post-/ts/ Laxing (optional)

$$[+\text{high}]_{V} \rightarrow [-\text{tense}] \; / \; \text{ts} \; \_\_$$

(In polysyllabic words, nonfinal /i/ can become lax [ɪ].)

Finally, /u/ optionally laxes after the voiced labials /b/ and /β/.

55)	/budɛ/	[ᵐbʊ.ⁿdɛ ~ ᵐbu.ⁿdɛ]	'bark cloth'
	/bu.tuŋ/	[ᵐbʊ.ruŋ ~ ᵐbu.ruŋ]	'head'
	/kɑ.βu.βut/	[kɑ.βu.βut ~ kɑ.βʊ.βut]	'dust'

Post-/b/ Laxing (optional)

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ +\text{round} \end{bmatrix}_{V} \rightarrow [-\text{tense}] \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} +\text{labial} \\ +\text{voice} \\ -\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix}_{C} \; \_\_$$

(The high round vowel /u/ becomes lax after /b/ and /β/.)

The /u/ has not yet been observed to occur contiguous to /j/, only /w/ as shown in the examples above.

2.4 Stress

Most unaffixed words consist of one or two syllables. The stress on a two syllable word generally falls on the first syllable.

56)	/tɔwuŋ/	[ˈtɔ.wuŋ]	'egg'
	/wɔtɛ/	[ˈwɔ.rɛ]	'a sore'
	/kʌdɛp/	[ˈkʌ.ⁿdɛp]	'wood'
	/jɛwi/	[ˈjɛ.ɥi]	'cause'

There is usually equal stress on both syllables when they each have the same vowel.

57)	/ʌpmʌk/	[ˈʌp.ˈmʌk]	'cough'
	/tsɑwɑt/	[ˈtsɑ.ˈwɑt]	'machete'
	/ɑwɑ/	[ˈɑ.ˈwɑ]	'grandmother'
	/dʌgʌm/	[ˈndʌ.ˈᵑgʌm]	'hair'

The weight of a syllable may also affect the stress on a word. The lightest of syllables are those with the short vowel, [ɨ]. If this occurs in the initial syllable the stress occurs on the next syllable as in (58). When the initial vowel is [ɪ], also very light, the first two syllables receive equal stress as in (59).

58)	/bitsɛp/	[ᵐbɨ.ˈtsʲɛp]	'time'
	/tipɔ/	[tɨ.ˈpɔ]	'rain'
59)	/tsiwɛt/	[ˈtsɪ.ˈɥɛt]	'pit-pit'
	/jipmʌŋ/	[ˈjɪp.ˈmʌŋ]	'let go'

If the first syllable is a single vowel the first two syllables receive equal stress if the second syllable is CV or CVC as in (60). If the second syllable begins with a sequence (including an affricate), the second syllable is stressed as in (61).

60)	/ɑjɛt/	[ˈɑ.ˈjɛt]	'louse'
	/ʌjuŋ/	[ˈʌ.ˈjuŋ]	'meat'
61)	/ɛkwi/	[ɛ.ˈkwi]	'bad'
	/ɛtsɛŋ/	[ɛ.ˈtsʲɛŋ]	'light weight'

If the first syllable is CV, it receives stress even if followed by CVC or CCVC.

62)	/wɑsɑk/	[ˈwɑ.sɑk]	'power'
	/mujʌk/	[ˈmu.jʌk]	'a tree'
	/bɛtʌŋ/	[ˈᵐbɛ.rʌŋ]	'shoulder'
	/tɑkwʌn/	[ˈtɑ.kwʌn]	'curse'

In words with three syllables the first two syllables generally receive equal stress.

63)	/bɔtamɔ/	[ᵐbɔ.ˈra.mɔ]	'village'
	/mɔtɛni/	[ˈmɔ.ˈrɛ.ni]	'good'

In (64) only the first syllable is stressed because of partial reduplication.

64)	/kʌtitit/	[ˈkʌ.ri.rit]	'ants'
	/kawuwut/	[ˈka.βu.βut]	'dust'

In cases of complete reduplication the stress is on the same syllables of both halves, however it is weaker on the second half.

65)	/tʌpmʌk tʌpmʌk/	[ˈtʌp.ˈmʌk tʌp.mʌk]	'customs'
	/kʌtnʌm kʌtnʌm/	[ˈkʌt.ˈnʌm kʌt.nʌm]	'afternoon'
	/bitsɛp bitsɛp/	[ˌᵐbi.ˈtsʲɛp ᵐbi.ˌtsʲɛp]	'always'

2.5 Intonation

Seven basic intonation patterns have been observed in various types of sentences. There are two intonation patterns on yes/no questions. In some there is a rise in pitch at the end of the sentence as in (66).

66)	/dzap natsie/	'Will you eat some food?'
	/komuŋan puwajak/	'Are you going to the water?'
	/gwatawon ʌpm kutsiɛ/	'Can you go to Gwarawon?'

In others it consists of a high pitch followed by a low pitch, ending in a medium pitch.

67)	/lip nu dɛni apmi/	'Is Lip Deni's brother?'
	/butuŋa apbak/	'Do you have a headache?'
	/wam du ptakbɔkŋan jipbie/	'Would you write something on the blackboard?'

There are two patterns found on simple statements, commands and wh- questions. In the most common pattern there is simply a fall in pitch at the end of the sentence.

68)	/dupukga pat/	'Go to sleep.'
	/nɔ kwipba gambʌsat/	'I'll see you tomorrow.'
	/ʌmin dʌkŋ kʌtʌman tʌpbatʌŋ/	'Some of the people are in the bush.'
	/nu dzidɛ ʌwak/	'What is he doing?'
	/nu kʌdɛp madʌwak/	'He's cutting wood.'

In more complex sentences there are several decreasing falls in pitch.

69) /ɑ wɔt tsi nɔ wɔt kɔmuŋɑn pudɑ/ 'Come to the water with me.'
/dzidɛ tsɛdɛ tsi utuwɑn/ 'What are you looking for?'
/tsɛwɔt mɛjitɛ bt tsi wɔn ʌtʌŋ/ 'The work boys are mad about the pig.'

When a question begins with the name or pronoun referring to the person being addressed, the name or pronoun is on a low pitch followed by a high pitch which is continued by one of the types illustrated in (67-68).

70) /gɔ ɑ jɛ tsi ʌmɑ/ 'Who are you giving this to?'
/bɑyu nɔ wɔt ʌpm kudɑm/ 'Bayu, can you come with me?

In some questions concerning time and also in the body of a discourse when movement is being described a flat intonation pattern is found.

71) /tsɛpmʌŋ pɔtɛkʌ yɑŋ kʌtsi/ 'Have you had this kind of illness before.'
/ŋʌmʌn wɔ wɔ wɔ/ 'We went over and up, up, up.

Finally, in a shouted message there is a constant pitch throughout the message until a sudden drop at the end. The speech is quite rapid until the drop and then the last word or two are drawn out.

3 MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES

There seem to be three major morphophonemic processes in the Nankina language, along with a number of minor processes. These three major processes, however, do not interact consistently. Thus, it is difficult to actually formalise the morphophonemic system.

The three major processes are Voicing, Assimilation in Place and Degemination. The effects of all three can be seen in (72-74).[5]

72)	a.	*towʌ*	'drum'	d.	*towʌte*	'drum (agent)'
	b.	*towʌna*	'my drum'	e.	*towʌŋan*	'at the drum'
	c.	*towʌka*	'your drum'	f.	*towʌsi*	'about the drum'
73)	a.	*tip*	'stone'	d.	*tipbʌ*	'stone (agent)'
	b.	*tipma*	'my stone'	e.	*tipman*	'at the stone'
	c.	*tipba*	'your stone'	f.	*tipbi*	'about the stone'
74)	a.	*kwim*	'bow'	d.	*kwimbʌ*	'bow (agent)'
	b.	*kwima*	'my bow'	e.	*kwiman*	'at the bow'
	c.	*kwimba*	'your bow'	f.	*kwimbi*	'about the bow'

Most noun roots end in a vowel (as in (72)), a voiceless stop (as in (73)), or a nasal (as in (74)). On the basis of (72b,c) we can isolate the possessive suffixes *-na* '1s' and *-ka* '2s'. In fact, all possessive suffixes begin with *n* or *k*. On the basis of (72d-f) we can isolate the suffixes *-te* 'agent', *-ŋan* 'LOC', and *-tsi* 'PUR'.[6]

Whenever consonants differing in point of articulation come together across morpheme boundaries, one assimilates to the other. The noun roots in (73-74) both end in bilabials. Any suffix-initial consonant assimilates to a root-final bilabial: alveolars in (73b,d,) and (74d); velars in (73c,e) and (74c); and the alveopalatal affricate in (73f) and (74f). If we assume the suffix-initial nasals in (74b,e) also assimilate to the root-final bilabial, and then degeminate, we can account for these forms in a straightforward fashion. Finally, a consonant is voiced whenever it follows a consonant, even after a voiceless stop as in (73c,d).[7]

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5 All examples are written phonemically in this chapter.

6 Grammatical abbreviations are listed in Appendix 3.

7 The voiced stop is phonetically prenasalised; the prenasalisation becomes syllabic since it is between consonants.

These same three processes can be seen in (75-76) with additional complexities in assimilation. The root in (75) ends in a velar stop while the root in (76) ends in an alveolar stop.

75)	a.	*jik*	'bag'	d.	*jikgʌ*	'bag (agent)'
	b.	*jikŋa*	'my bag'	e.	*jikŋan*	'at the bag'
	c.	*jikga*	'your bag'	f.	*jikgi*	'about the house'
76)	a.	*wit*	'house'	d.	*witde*	'house (agent)'
	b.	*witna*	'my house'	e.	*wikŋan*	'at the house'
	c.	*wikga*	'your house'	f.	*wikgi*	'about the house'

A suffix-initial alveolar assimilates to a root-final velar in (75b,d), and the alveopalatal affricate assimilates in (75f). A suffix-initial velar or alveopalatal does not, however, assimilate to a root-final alveolar. Instead, in (76c,e) a root final alveolar assimilates to a suffix-initial velar, and in (76f) both consonants in a sequence of alveolar followed by alveopalatal become velar. The voicing of the second consonant is the same seen in (73-74).

The patterns of assimilation seen in (75-76) are repeated in (77-78).

77)	a.	*jʌŋ*	'axe'	d.	*jʌŋgʌ*	'axe (agent)'
	b.	*jʌŋa*	'my axe'	e.	*jʌŋan*	'at the axe'
	c.	*jʌga*	'your axe'	f.	*jʌŋgi*	'about the axe'
78)	a.	*nan*	'father'	d.	*nande*	'father (agent)'
	b.	*nana*	'my father'	e.	*naŋan*	'at father'
	c.	*naŋga*	'your father'	f.	*naŋgi*	'about father'

Once again, an alveolar assimilates to a preceding or following velar, with an alveopalatal becoming a velar even after an alveolar in (78f). If we again assume assimilation and degemination occur in (77b,e) and (78b,e) we derive the correct forms.

None of the noun suffixes begin with a bilabial. There is a verbal affix which begins with a bilabial, however, as seen in (79b, 80b, 81b).

79)	a.	*na*	'you will eat'	c.	*nakʌm*	'I ate (RP)'
	b.	*napayt*	'I ate (YP)'	d.	*natsat*	'I will eat'
80)	a.	*kwan*	'you will lift'	c.	*kwaŋgʌm*	'I lifted (RP)'
	b.	*kwambayt*	'I lifted (YP)'	d.	*kwaŋgat*	'I will lift'
81)	a.	*ʌgwoŋ*	'you will turn'	c.	*ʌgwoŋgʌm*	'I turned (RP)'
	b.	*ʌgwombayt*	'I turned (YP)'	d.	*ʌgwoŋgat*	'I will turn'

Verb roots can end in vowels (as in (79)), *n* (as in (80)), *ŋ* (as in (81)), and *t*. The suffixes, as can be seen in (79) after a vowel final root, are *payt* 'YP', *kʌm* 'RP', and *tsat* 'INDEF'. A root final *n* or *ŋ* assimilates to a following bilabial.

We can summarise assimilation as follows: velar, alveolar, and alveopalatal consonants assimilate to a preceding or following bilabial consonant; alveolar and alveopalatal consonants assimilate to a preceding or following velar consonant.[8] This can be formalised as follows.

Bilabial Assimilation

$$C \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cor} \\ +\text{ant} \end{bmatrix} \quad \% \quad \overset{C}{\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cor} \\ +\text{ant} \end{bmatrix}}$$

(A consonant becomes bilabial when adjacent to a bilabial consonant.)

Velar Assimilation (mirror image)

$$\overset{C}{[-\text{ant}]} \quad C \quad \Rightarrow \quad \overset{C}{\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cor} \\ -\text{ant} \end{bmatrix}} \quad \overset{C}{\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cor} \\ -\text{ant} \end{bmatrix}}$$

(Given adjacent consonants, if one is velar or alveopalatal, both will become velar.)

Bilabial Assimilation must apply before Velar Assimilation, bleeding it in a sequence of bilabial and velar or alveopalatal consonants.

The other rules needed to account for the forms seen thus far are Voicing and Degemination.

Voicing

$C \rightarrow [+\text{ voice}] \; / \; C \_\_$

(A consonant becomes voiced after a consonant.)

Degemination

$$\overset{C}{[\alpha F]} \quad + \quad \overset{C}{[\alpha F]} \quad \Rightarrow \quad \overset{C}{[\alpha F]}$$

(In a sequence of identical consonants, one deletes.)

Voicing must apply before Degemination or /wit+dɛ/ would become **wite*, instead of *witde*. Both Bilabial Assimilation and Velar Assimilation must apply before Degemination

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8 This does not apply to the alveopalatal in *tsi* 'for' as in *btdzi* 'for the pig'.

or /kwim+na/ and /jʌŋ+na/ would become **kwimma* and **jʌŋŋa* instead of *kwima* and *jʌŋa*.

The rules as formulated do not account for the following verbal forms.

82)	a.	*pat*	'you will put'	c.	*pakgʌm*	'I put (RP)'
	b.	*papayt*	'I put (YP)'	d.	*pakgat*	'I will put'

Given the root of *pat*, the rules as formalised would derive **papbayt* instead of *papayt* for (82b). It appears that Voicing does not apply in this form, allowing Degemination to apply. One possible analysis of this form would be to claim that Bilabial Assimilation does not apply to verbs. This approach would predict that sequences of /t+p/ would be realised as *pb* for nouns; it is impossible to test this, though, since no noun suffixes begin with *p*. We do know that Velar Assimilation does apply to verbs, as seen in (82c,d).

An alternative analysis would be to posit a separate rule deleting *t* before *p*.

_t_-Deletion

$$\begin{bmatrix} C \\ +\text{cor} \\ -\text{ant} \\ -\text{voice} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; \_\_ \; [C, +\text{lab}]$$

(A /t/ is deleted when followed by a labial consonant.)

This analysis would claim that any *t* would delete before a labial, regardless of whether it is in a verb or noun. *t*-Deletion would apply before Bilabial Assimilation. We have no evidence at this time to decide which of these two alternatives is correct.

Two other apparently related processes can be seen in (83-87).

83)	a.	*na*	'you will eat'	d.	*nawo*	'you (pl) eat'
	b.	*nawut*	'you (pl) will eat'	e.	*nawat*	'I eat'
	c.	*nawʌn*	'you (dl) will eat'			
84)	a.	*pat*	'you will sleep'	d.	*pakgwo*	'you (pl) sleep'
	b.	*pakgwut*	'you (pl) will sleep'	e.	*pakat*	'I sleep'
	c.	*pakgwʌn*	'you (dl) will sleep'			
85)	a.	*kwan*	'you will lift'	d.	*kwaŋgwo*	'you (pl) lift'
	b.	*kwaŋgwut*	'you (pl) will lift'	e.	*kwaŋgat*	'I lift'
	c.	*kwaŋgwʌn*	'you (dl) will lift'			

86)	a.	*ʌgwoŋ*	'you will turn'	d.	*ʌgwoŋgwo*	'you (pl) turn'
	b.	*ʌgwoŋgwan*	'you (pl) will turn'	e.	*ʌgwoŋgat*	'I turn'
	c.	*ʌgwoŋgwʌn*	'you (dl) will turn'			
87)	a.	*jim*	'you will shoot'	d.	*jimbwo*	'you (pl) shoot'
	b.	*jimbwut*	'you (pl) will shoot'	e.	*jimbat*	'I shoot'
	c.	*jimbwʌn*	'you (dl) will shoot'			

The affixes, as seen after a vowel final root in (83), are *wut* '2p.DEF', *wʌn* '2d.DEF', *wo* '2p.PR', and *wat* '1s.PR'. After a consonant, *w* becomes *k* before *a* in (84-87e); *k* is inserted before the *w* before other vowels in (84-87b-d). These two processes can be formalised as follows.

w-k Change

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{syll} \\ +\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{voice} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; [+\text{cons}] \; \_\_ \; \begin{matrix} \text{V} \\ [+\text{low}] \end{matrix}$$

(A *w* becomes *k* following a consonant before the low vowel *a*.)

k Epenthesis

ø → k / C ___ w

(A *k* is inserted before a *w* after a consonant.)

Assimilation applies changing the *k* to *p* in (87b-e); it changes the root final *t* to *k* in (84b-e) and *n* to *ŋ* in (85b-e). Voicing (and not Degeminaton) applies in (85b-d), as well as in (85-87b-d). These forms are not problematic. The form in (84e), *pakat* 'I sleep', is problematic in that Degemination (and not Voicing) applies.[9]

Further justification for *k* Epenthesis can be seen in the accompaniment forms in (88).

88)	a.	*nani*	'his father'	*naniwot*	'with his father'
	b.	*bijap*	'Biyap'	*bijapbwot*	'with Biyap'
	c.	*pet*	'Pet'	*pekgwot*	'with Pet'
	d.	*jik*	'bag'	*jikgwot*	'with a bag'
	e.	*mawum*	'Mawum'	*mawumbwot*	'with Mawum'

9 Degemination also applies instead of Voicing in the compound *atʌm* from *at+tʌm* 'sugar cane-leaf' and *nadʌpuk* from *nadʌk+pu+k* 'think-go-NOM'.

f.	*kʌmin*	'dog'		*kʌmiŋgwot*	'with a dog'
g.	*jʌŋ*	'axe'		*jʌŋgwot*	'with the axe'

Once again, *k* is inserted between a consonant and *w*; it becomes a labial after a labial and causes a preceding alveolar to become velar. Degemination never applies; Voicing does.

One final process affects word final *ŋ* as shown in (89-90).

89) a. *na* 'you will eat'
b. *naŋ* 'eat (SS)'

90) a. *pat* 'you will sleep'
b. *pak* 'sleep (SS)'

The same subject marker *ŋ* can be seen after a vowel-final root in (89b). After a consonant-final root, it causes the preceding alveolar to become velar in (90b), then is deleted. The rule accounting for this deletion is as follows.

ŋ Deletion

ŋ → ø / C + ___ #

(A morpheme-initial *ŋ* deletes after a consonant word-finally.)

Another alternation between *ŋ* and *ø* can be seen in (91).

91) a.	*jimʌŋ*	'you will shoot'	c.	*jimʌmbait*	'I shot (YP)'
b.	*jimbat*	'I shoot'	d.	*jimʌna*	'we will shoot'

The second singular immediate future form is usually identical with the verb root. If, however, a verb ends in *mʌŋ* in the second singular immediate future form, the root ends in *mʌ* or *m* when a non-zero suffix is added. It may be that these roots end in *mʌ* with *ʌ* being deleted in certain situations and the *ŋ* being added in the second singular immediate future. The vowel quality is not very distinct and the vowel may actually be the transitional vowel [ɨ].

4 CLAUSES

The clause is the basic syntactic unit occurring between the phrase and the sentence. Final clauses occur sentence finally (or alone as simple sentences), have falling intonation on the verb, and take final verb affixation. Medial clauses occur sentence medially, have level or rising intonation, and take same subject or different subject affixation on the verb. Verbal morphology is discussed further in 5.2. Most of the examples in this chapter are sentences consisting entirely of a single final clause.

Basic clause structure can be represented by the following formula based on Dik (1983:21):

Theme, Topic S x_1 O x_2 V, Tail

The normal order of the nuclear constituents is SOV. The clause minimally consists of an obligatory final verb. The subject and the object (in a transitive clause) are also nuclear, however they are not always explicit in the form of a noun phrase but may only be encoded on the verb. Various non-nuclear constituents that may appear in the x_1 and x_2 positions include time, location, recipient/benficiary, means, purpose, commitative, and instrument. The prominence of constituents increases from left to right.

The topic is that about which the predicate makes a statement. The topic discussed here is the clausal topic–not to be confused with the discourse (global) topic and intermediate (episodic) topic that are discussed in chapter 12. The topic position is always filled by one of the normal clause constituents (e.g., subject or object); it is not a separate constituent. Normally the subject fills the topic position. In this case, only the theme may appear before the subject. If one of the other clausal constituents is topic, it is left dislocated to fill the topic position. When this happens, the dislocated constituent is less prominent while the subject is more prominent. The function is to maintain the dislocated constituent as topic and/or to give more prominence to the subject.

The theme gives information that is non-nuclear but fills in the circumstances surrounding the predicate for the given setting. It is typically encoded by time, location or a particle and ends with rising intonation and/or an intonational pause. It can mark the beginning of a new intermediate topic (see chapter 12).

The tail is the most prominent position within the clause. It is reserved for after-thoughts, negative, alternative, or in rare cases the subject. The after-thought expresses something about the S, x_1, x_2, or O that was not explicit and which the speaker decides is pertinent to the hearer's understanding. When in this position the negative is more emphatic and negates the whole clause, while the alternative, with rising intonation, creates a question

out of the clause.[10] When the subject appears in this position, it is more prominent and the verb becomes the topic. All of these situations occur only with final verbs.[11]

	Theme	S		V
92)	*Apbiʌk*	*nʌ-tʌ*	*wam*	*de-ni*	*ya-tjia-t.*
	today	1s-SRC	talk	one-FM	speak-PRO-1s

'Today, I will tell the story.'

	Theme	Topic/S			[Pur	]
93)	*A-jʌk-tʌ*	*no*	*ga*	*tuek-na*	*Lae*	*pu-k-nu-si*
	DEI-LOC-SRC	1s	CONJ	in.law-1s.POSS	PLACE	go.down-NOM-DEI-PUR

L	VP
Bambu	*wo pat-kʌ-mʌŋ.*
PLACE	go.up sleep-RP-1p

'From here, my in-laws and I went up and slept at Bambu in order to go to Lae.'

	Topic/S	O	VP	Tail	
94)	*No-tʌ*	*pup-ga*	*kovu*	*na-i-t,*	*ma!*
	1s-SRC	chicken-2s.POSS	forbidden	eat-TP-1s	NEG

'There's no way I stole your chicken!'

	Topic/S	L	V	Tail
95)	*Basarike*	*Gwarawon*	*ku-i-k,*	*bo?*
	NAME	PLACE	go-TP-3s	ALT

'Did Basarike go to Gwarawon or not?'

---

10 In reality this is a coordinated construction where everything following the alternative is elided.

11 All examples are written in the practical orthography: /b d dz g/ ([mb nd ndz Ng]) are <b d j g>, /β/ is <v>, /ŋ ɛ ɔ/ are <ŋ e o>, /t/ is <t> initially and <r> medially, /j/ is <y>. Verb roots and affixes are written in underlying forms; surface forms are outlined in chapter 5. Capitalised glosses such as PERSON, TREE, PLACE, etc. indicate a loan word or a proper noun. Abbreviations are listed in Appendix 3.

		VP	Tail
96)	*But kʌrim*	*tipm-wa-rʌŋ,*	*gi!*
	liver thick	exist-PR-2p	2p

'You (pl) are hard hearted!'

The source (agent) affix, *-tʌ*, is used to mark the subject in cases where it could be ambiguous.

	Topic/O	S		V
97)	*...pup*	*jakwa-tʌ*	*sinsisi*	*na-kʌ-t.*
	chicken	dog-SRC	truly	eat-RP-FACT.1s

'...(the) chicken really was eaten by the dog!'

The subject is morphologically marked (with *-tʌ* 'SOURCE') only if it coincides with the semantic agent; that is, it is not morphologically marked in all transitive clauses.[12] Subject is, however, always encoded on the verb. The object of the clause is never morphologically marked, although it is usually encoded on the verb. Non-nuclear constituents occurring in x_1 are marked by clitics except in the case of location or time constituents which are proper nouns or specific time or location words.

Clauses are either transitive, intransitive, or stative. Each is discussed below.

4.1 Transitive Clauses

Transitive clauses include all clauses that have an explicit object (noun phrase) and/or an object agreement prefix. This definition is structural, not semantic. There are semantically transitive clauses that do not have an explicit object within the confines of the clause. In these instances the object is recoverable from the previous context. Syntactically, however, these clauses are intransitive. The formula for the transitive clause is given in the table below, including the semantic functions that may occur in x_1 and x_2 (though each does not have unique morphological markings).

12 For further discussion see 19.2.

Subject	x_1	Object	x_2	Predicate
NP	Benificiary Recipient Temporal Instrument Manner Location Purpose/Reason Comitative Source	NP	Benificiary Recipient Instrument Manner Location Purpose/Reason Source	VP

O V V Loc

98) *...yik pʌŋ-gwat-ŋ pʌŋ-pu Murok wit-ŋan*
bilum OBJ.PL-fill-SS OBJ.PL-go.down PLACE house-LOC

V

ye-pm-mayak.
OBJ.PL-put-3s.EV

'...they apparently filled the bilum and carried it down to the house at Murok and left it.'

S REC V V

99) *Nʌ-tʌ bei-na yat-nu ye-nu-wa ʌŋ-ku-kʌ-mʌn.*
1s-SRC daughter-1s.POSS two-SEI REC.3p-say-DS.1s OBJ.S-go-RP-3d

'I spoke to my two daughters and they went.'

PUR V O VP

100) *Kʌtnʌm kʌtnʌm-si ku komu jit-ŋ ʌŋ-bra-ŋ...*
night night-PUR go water fill-SS OBJ.S-hold-SS

'It was towards night so they went and got water...'

S INSTRU O V

101) *No kiraŋgwok-tʌ kit-na mandʌ-i-t.*
1s knife-SRC hand-1s.POSS cut-TP-FACT.1s

'I cut my hand with the knife.'

O INSTRU V

102) *...tavi yat kit-tʌ pʌŋ-bra-ŋat-ŋ...*
fruit two hand-SRC OBJ.PL-hold-PFCT-SS
'...he got the fruit with his hand...'

THEME S BEN O V

103) *A-jʌk pasto-tʌ mʌnji-si mo wam ya-wʌn...*
DEI-LOC pastor-SRC child-PUR female talk speak-DS.3s
'Here, the pastor spoke about getting a wife for his son...'

THEME COM S O L

104) *Apbiʌk get bisep-ŋan a Kirek-wot nit wam tep-ŋan*
today sun time-LOC DEI NAME-COM 1d talk tape-LOC
V
ye-pm-ŋ...
OBJ.PL-put-SS
'Today, this morning, with Craig, I put a story on the cassette...'

THEME S COM O V

105) *Sawi no dakwan-wot gok pʌŋ-bra-ŋat-ŋ...*
next.day 1s NAME-COM betel.nut OBJ.PL-hold-PFCT-SS
'The next day I along with Dakwan got the betel nut...'

MEANS V V

106) *Nu-kʌ yi-pm-na pra-ŋat-wʌn...*
DEI-MN OBJ.S-put-DS.1p rise-PFCT-3s.DS
'We put them that way and they piled up...'

S/PUR V MANNER V

107) *nan-na-tʌ-si won da-ŋ nu-kʌ pʌŋ-giepm-kʌ-t.*
father-1s.POSS-SRC-PUR anger become-SS DEI-MN OBJ.PL-chase-RP-3s
'My father got mad at himself and chased us that way.'

COM S O LOC V

108) *Mange wot nit-tʌ katumin du nu-man ke-kwit.*
NAME COM 1p-SRC cardamon PL DEI-LOC plant-RP.3p
'(I), along with Mange, planted cardamon there.'

	[S	L	V]SOURCE	VP
109)	*...katumin*	*du*	*nu-man*	*ke-kwit-ŋan-tʌ*	*kovu-ni*
	cardamon	PL	DEI-LOC	plant-RP.3p-LOC-SRC	forbidden-3s.PL
	jit-ŋ	*koŋit-ŋ...*			
	pull.out-SS	wrap-SS			

'...(he) pulled out and wrapped up the stolen (cardamon) from where they had planted them...'

4.2 Intransitive Clauses

Intransitive clauses contain an obligatory verbal predicate, but neither object agreement nor an explicit object. They may optionally include an explicit subject and/or x_1. The formula for the intransitive clause is as follows.

Subject	x_1	Predicate
NP	Manner	VP
	Source	
	Location	
	Temporal	
	Purpose	
	Comitative	
	Goal	

	LOC		MEANS	V
110)	*...mʌk*	*tawan-ŋan*	*bat-kʌ*	*ku-ŋat-ŋ...*
	ground	ridge-LOC	side-MN	go-PFCT-SS

'...(we) went via the side of the mountain...'

	LOC	GOAL	V
111)	*...kʌrim-ŋan*	*kʌndʌp-si*	*wo-bai-t*
	bush-LOC	wood-PUR	go.up-YP-1s.FACT

'...I went to the bush yesterday for firewood.'

SOURCE VP

112) *Tʌvʌ-ŋan-tʌ pu ka-ŋat-wʌn*
trail-LOC-SRC go.down OBJ.S.see-PFCT-DS.3s
'He went down from the trail and looked at it.'

S TIME V

113) *Nu ye get bisep-ŋan dukŋa-kʌ-t.*
3s EMPH sun time-LOC dry.up-RP-3s.FACT
'It dries up in the dry season.'

THEME S COM LOC V

114) *...yaka Honenu-wot Kirek-wot bat-ŋan tipm-wʌn...*
CS NAME-COM NAME-COM side-LOC exist-DS.3d
'...Craig and Honenua together were at the side (of the church)...'

THEME TIME LOC

115) *Sawi nu-jʌk-tʌ kʌtnʌm sek-nu yam Malalamai*
next.day DEI-LOC-SRC night DIM-DEI down PLACE
V
pu-ŋat-ŋ
go.down-PFCT-SS
'The next day, from there, we went down to Malalamai at dawn.'

SOURCE LOC V

116) *...Mambiwan-tʌ a-jʌk avu-wʌn...*
RIVER-SRC this-LOC come-DS.3s
'...(it) came from the Mabiwan river to here...'

[LOC V]SOURCE LOC V

117) *Kwait wunde-i-mʌk-ŋan-tʌ Tekwit bo wo-da!*
outside go.out-TP-1d-LOC-SRC PLACE hill go.up-DEF.1d
'Let's go up to Tekwit hill from where we went ouside!'

[LOC V]PUR LOC V

118) *Yan-tʌ veŋ wo-k-nu-si tʌvʌ-ŋan pu-ŋat-ŋ...*
over-SRC across go.up-NOM-DEI-PUR tral-LOC go.down-PFCT-SS
'They went down the trail in order to cross over (the river)...'

	S	LOC	V
119)	*...nin*	*wit-ŋan*	*sit-ripm-ŋat-ŋ-ka...*
	1p	house-LOC	sit-PROG-PFCT-SS-ISEQ

'...we had been sitting at the house and then...'

4.3 Stative Clauses

Stative clauses do not contain a verbal predicate. Structurally they consist of an obligatory subject and an obligatory nonverbal predicate. The predicate consists of a noun phrase or clause. It may also optionally include a copula. The copula is used to carry any tense/aspect/modality information that may be pertinent to the situation when the time theme is different from the surrounding context or if it is important to the situation. The formula for the stative clause is as follows.

Subject	Predicate	
	[Nucleus	(Copula)]
NP	NP	*ʌ* 'do'
Clause	Clause	*kʌsi* 'has'
Temporal	Possessee	*tipm* 'exist'
Possessor	DEI	*sit* 'sit'
DEI	PROCESS DEI	*woni* 'none'
		ma 'NEG'

Stative clauses can be subdivided into three semantic and structual types: equative, descriptive, and possessive.

4.3.1 Equative Clauses

An equative clause consists of an obligatory subject as patient of state which is equated with a predicate consisting of a noun phrase and/or copula.

	S				PRED	
120)	*Mʌk*	*nu-man*	*sit-wa-k-nu*	*man-ni*	*Kayat*	*bo.*
	ground	DEI-LOC	sit-PR-3s-DEI	name-3s.POSS	NAME	hill

'The ground's name there is Kayat hill.'

S PRED

121) *Apmbiʌk nu-ye Mas 7.*
today DEI-EMPH March 7
'Today is the 7th of March.'

S PRED

122) *Nu ye anuŋ*
3s EMPH like.this
'It's like this.' (introduction to a story)

S PRED

123) *Gwarwon nani mo de man-ni Pambum.*
PLACE belong female one name-3s.POSS NAME
'A woman of Gwarawon, her name is Pambum.'

S PRED

124) *Nu sinsisi!*
DEI true
'It's/that's true!'

S PRED

125) *Seniul avu-kʌ-t nu tek-nu.*
NAME come-RP-3s DEI mark-DEI
'It's the play (about) the coming of Senuil.'

S PRED

126) *Anutu nan-nin damin*
Name father-1p.POSS big
'God, you are our great father.'

S PRED

127) *A mo de wore-ni kʌsi.*
DEI female one sore-3s.POSS ATTR
'This woman has a sore.'

4.3.2 Descriptive Clauses

A descriptive clause consists of a topic and comment. The topic is encoded by a noun phrase or deictic while the comment is encoded by an adjective and/or copula.

	TOPIC			COMMENT	COP
128)	*...ga*	*nin*	*tʌvʌm*	*buruŋ-gwi*	*tipm-wʌn...*
	and	1p	together	head-?	exist

'...and you are the head over us...'

	TOPIC	COMMENT
129)	*...yaŋ*	*moreni sini!*
	thus	good INT

'...that was really good!'

	TOPIC	COMMENT	COP
130)	*Yiʌŋ*	*mip-nu*	*woni*
	axe	teeth-DEI	none

'(The) axe has no teeth.'

	TOPIC	COMMENT	COP
131)	*Sie*	*wamu ʌkwi*	*sit-wa-k.*
	thing	talk bad	sit-PR-3s.FACT

'(The) talk is bad.'

	TOPIC	COMMENT	
132)	*Ʌmin*	*gʌmʌni*	*de*
	human	red	one

'He is a red (white) man.'

	TOPIC	COMMENT	COP
133)	*Jikŋu*	*ʌ-wʌn*	*ka-ŋ.*
	heavy	do-DS	3s.OBJ.S.see-SS

'He saw that it was heavy.'

In (133) the subject is marked only on the copula.

	TOPIC	COMMENT	[	COP	]
134)	*Nin*	*morʌŋ*	*ma*	*tipm-wa-mʌŋ.*	
	1p	good	NEG	exist-PR-1p.FACT	

'We are not good/We are not living well .'

Examples (135-136) are structural variants of (134). All three are synonomous, although (134-135) have two meanings depending upon the context.

	TOPIC	COMMENT	[	COP	]
135)	*Nin*	*morʌŋ*	*ma*	*sit-wa-mʌŋ.*	
	1p	good	NEG	sit-PR-1p.FACT	

'We are not good/We are not living well.'

	TOPIC	COMMENT	COP
136)	*Nin*	*morʌni*	*ma.*
	1p	good	NEG

'We are not good.'

4.3.3 Possessive Clauses

A possessive clause consists of an obligatory subject encoding the patient and an obligatory predicate. The subject consists of a noun phrase or clause with the source clitic *-tʌ* while the predicate consists of a noun phrase or clause with a deictic preceding, following or affixed to it. A possessive clause may be negated by the negative copula *ma*. Examples (138-140) below are identical with the active possession phrase (see 11.4).

	S	PRED	
137)	*Nʌ-tʌ*	*wit*	*nu.*
	1s-SRC	house	DEI

'THAT is my house.'

	S	PRED
138)	*Nʌ-tʌ*	*wit-nu.*
	1s-SRC	house-DEI

'It is my house.'

	S	PRED			
139)	*Nu-tʌ*	*kʌmin-nu*	*sepmʌŋ*	*kamat-kʌ-t*	*de-ni*
	3s-SRC	dog-DEI	before	die-RP-3s	one-FM

'His dog is the one that died before.'

	S		PRED
140)	*gʌ-tʌ*	*yiʌŋ-nu*	*ma!*
	2s-SRC	axe-DEI	NEG

'It's not your axe!'

The order of the subject and predicate is reversed when the predicate is the topic.

	PRED		S
141)	*Wit*	*nu*	*nʌ-tʌ.*
	house	that	1s-SRC

'That house is mine.'

	PRED		S
142)	*Nu*	*ʌmin*	*je-tʌ?*
	DEI	human	INTER-SRC

'Who is that man?'

	PRED			S		
143)	*Sevot*	*nu-man*	*sit-wa-k-nu*	*Minseri-tʌ*	*ma*	
	garden	DEI-LOC	sit-PR-3s-DEI	NAME-SRC	NEG	

'The garden there is not Minseri's.'

5 VERBS

Verbs are words which consist of a stem that occurs with affixes indicating tense, aspect, mood, person/number of subject and object, same/different subject, and temporal linking. They function as predicates on the clause level.

5.1 Morphological and Transitivity Distinctions

Verb stems can be divided into three classes on the basis of morphology, one of which can be further divided into two classes on the basis of transitivity. Morphologically, the three classes include: 1) those that are marked for the person and number of the direct or indirect object; 2) those that are marked for the number but not the person of the object; and 3) those that are unmarked for either person or number. The first two classes consist of transitive verb stems, while the third consists of both transitive and intransitive verb stems. The defining characteristics of these classes are summarised in Table 1.

TABLE 1

	Object NP in sentence	Object number on verb	Object person on verb
Class I Transitive Verb Stems	+	+	+
Class II Transitive Verb Stems	+	+	–
Class III Transitive Verb Stems	+	–	–
Intransitive Verb Stems	–	–	–

Another way to characterise these four classes is based on the work of Hopper and Thompson (1980). They propose degrees of transitivity based on ten factors, each of the ten factors representing a continuum between two opposite poles. Among the ten factors on the transitivity scale is 'individuation of O', O being the second or third participant in a multiparticipant clause, that is, the receiver of the action. While Hopper and Thompson focus on transitivity in relation to clauses and interclausal relations, the degree of individuation can be correlated to the degree of transitivity as overtly marked in the Nankina verb stem.

Individuation versus non-individuation refers to the distinctiveness of the object. The different criteria that Hopper and Thompson include in individuation include the following: proper versus common, human/animate versus inanimate, concrete versus abstract, singular versus plural, count versus mass, and referential/definite versus nonreferential. While none of these have direct bearing on the Nankina verb, I would like to propose that the two criteria person versus non-person and number versus non-number are in keeping with

Hopper and Thompson's definition of individuation of the object. These are the criteria that are used to differentiate the three classes of transitive verbs summarised in Table 1.

In the following sections each of the four classes outlined above will be discussed and illustrated.

5.1.1 Class I Transitive Verb Stems

Class I verb stems all take portmanteau prefixes agreeing with the object in person and number. Only nine verbs have been observed in this class, though they are used very frequently. The prefixes are listed in Table 2. Although there is some irregularity in the affixes, some regularity can be seen in most series.

TABLE 2

		1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
-pmit	'go past, surpass'	*nʌ-*	*gʌ-*	*yi-*	*ni-*	*dʌ-*	*ye-*
-pm	'leave/let go'						
-wan	'follow/get rid of'	*na-*	*ga-*	*ʌ-*	*ni-*	*da-*	*ya-*
-nu	'say to'						
-mu	'give to'	*na-*	*ga-*	*ʌ-*	*ni-*	*da-*	*ye-*
-nuŋgwie	'teach/show'						
-bʌ	'look at'	*na-*	*ga-*	*ka*[1]	*ni-*	*da-*	*da-rʌ*
-bʌŋŋgiet	'care for'			*kaŋgiet*[1]			
-ri	'bite'	*na-*	*ga-*	*ŋʌ-*	*ni-*	*da-*	*pʌŋye-*
different stems and prefixes	'hit, fall'[2]	*ʌŋ-wi*	*ʌŋ-gu*	*ʌŋ-wu*	*ni-dʌpm*	*pʌŋ-gi*	*jipmʌŋ*

[1]portmanteau [2]stem changes

Semantically all the person/number prefixes agree with patient except in the cases of *-mu-* 'give to' and possibly *-nuŋgie-* 'teach' and *-nu-* 'say to' in which the prefixes agree with recipient. Because object was defined above as the recipient of the action of the verb and not the grammatical object, these three verbs are not problematic.

144) *Go a-man tmipm-ŋ bit kaŋgiet-ø*
2s DEI-LOC stay-SS pig care.for-2s.DEF
'You stay here and watch out for the pigs.'

145) *...nu-si ʌ-ŋat-ŋ ʌ-wan-wʌn kwait wunde kʌriman*
3s-PUR do-PFCT-SS OB.3s-follow-DS.3s outside go.out bush
tipm-kʌ-t.
exit-RP-FACT.3s
'...therefore he followed it outside to the bush and lived.'

146) *'Wʌni!' yaŋ na-nu-wʌn ka-ŋ ʌŋ-wu-ŋ...*
no DEI RC.1s-say.to-DS.3s OB.3s-look.at-SS OB-3s.hit-SS
'"No!" he said to me and I hit him...'

5.1.2 Class II Transitive Verb Stems

Class II verb stems take prefixes agreeing in number with the object: singular *ʌŋ-* or plural *pʌŋ-*. Semantically these objects are all patients. This verb class is much larger than class I.

Most class II verb stems never occur without a prefix. Some stems, however, can occur with or without the prefixes. These stems are actually more common in texts than are the stems which obligatorily occur with a prefix. For example, there is a contrast between *wunde* 'go out' and *pʌŋwunde* 'carry them out' and between *wara* 'finish' and *ʌŋwara* 'finish it'. These stems are always intransitive when they occur without a prefix, and transitive when they occur with a prefix. It is possible to consider forms like *pʌŋwunde* and *ʌŋwara* as sequences of verbs involving *ʌŋ* 'do-SS' and *pʌŋ* 'get it.PL-SS'. Both *ʌŋ* and *pʌŋ* occur separately but in limited distribution. Many times they are part of a sequence that becomes the instrument for the following clause. It appears they are becoming a bound part of the stem to make it into a transitive verb. Because the set of stems that obligatorily occurs with the prefixes is so large, stems like *pʌŋwunde* and *ʌŋwara* will not be considered sequences of verbs. They are discussed further in 5.3.

147) *Mindeki-tʌ awu-kʌ-t-nu KʌwʌnKʌwʌn tutul-tʌ ʌŋ-gʌrʌ-ŋ.*
elder-SRC come-RP-FACT.3s-DEI PLACE leader-SRC OB.S-praise-SS
'The KʌwʌnKʌwʌn leader praised the elder that had come before.'

148) *...sie-kʌvu-ni pʌŋ-pʌ mandʌ-ŋ pʌŋ-gasi-ŋ.*
thing-PL-3s.POSS OB.PL-come.down cut-SS OB.PL-destroy-SS
'...he carried down his things, cut them up destroying them.'

149) *Ʌmin ʌkwa-kwit-nu nu pʌŋ-gʌme-kʌ-t.*
person messed.up-RP.FACT.3p-DEI 3s OB.PL-fix-RP-FACT.3s
'The people that were messed up were made right.'

150) a. *Nu-tʌ sewot-ni ma ʌŋ-wara-kʌ-t.*
3s-SRC work-3s.POSS NEG OB.s-finish-RP-FACT.3s
'He didn't finish his work.'

b. *Jap sepmuŋ ye-pm-kwit-nu wara-bai-rʌŋ.*
food before OB.3p-put-RP.3p-DEI finish-YP-FACT.3p
'The food they had set (aside) before, finished yesterday.'

151) a. *Yik-na kwait pʌŋ-wunde-kʌ-m.*
bilum-1s.POSS outside OB.PL-go.out-RP-FACT.1s
'I carried my bilums outside.'

b. *Wit wien-kwok-ŋan-tʌ kwait wunde-ŋat-ŋ.*
house inside-side-LOC-SRC ouside go.out-PFCT-SS
'From inside the house he went outside.'

A few class II verb stems are derived from adjectives by prefixing an adjective derived from a noun (see 9.2) with *ʌŋ* or *pʌŋ*.

152) *ʌŋ-dʌvukŋu-sak* *pʌŋ-dʌvukŋu-kʌ-t*
S.OBJ-short-3s.INDEF PL.OBJ-short-RP-3s:FACT
'he will shorten it' 'he shortened them'

153) *ʌŋ-seveni-sak* *pʌŋ-seveni-kʌ-t*
S.OBJ-strong-3s.INDEF PL.OBJ-strong-RP-3s
'he will make it strong' 'he made them strong'

154)	*ʌŋ-kwindʌknu-sak*	*pʌŋ-kwindʌknu-kʌ-t*
	S.OBJ-new-3s.INDEF	PL.OBJ-new-RP-3s
	'he will make it new'	'he made them new'

5.1.3 Class III Transitive Verb Stems

Class III transitive verb stems always have an object NP in the sentence, though it may not be in the immediate clause. The NP may have been introduced in a previous clause and be relevant for several clauses. Class III verbs prototypically are semantically more transitive than the intransitive verbs. They include verbs like: *pamindʌ* 'hang', *mandʌ* 'cut', *para* 'carve', *sie* 'to burn', *na* 'eat', and *wam* 'tie'.

155)	*Yik-ni*	*kwien-ŋan*	*pʌmindʌ-kʌ-t.*
	bilum-3s.POSS	on.top-LOC	hang-RP-3s
	'She hung up her bilum.'		

156)	*Kʌndʌp*	*de*	*damin-wiet-de*	*mandʌ-ripm-kʌ-t.*
	tree	one	large-fat-one	cut-PROG-RP-FACT.3s
	'He was cutting a tree, a huge one.'			

157)	*kʌndʌp*	*kwek-ŋan*	*ba*	*sipmit-ŋ*	*sie-ŋat-ŋ.*
	wood	ashes-LOC	kaukau	push.into-SS	cook-PFCT-SS
	'(he) put the kaukau into the fire pit and cooked it.'				

158)	*Yiop*	*yewen*	*gwini-de*	*yim-ŋ*	*ʌŋ-awu-ka*	*bupm-sat.*
	laplap	stem.base	round-one	shoot-SS	OB.S-come-SQ	sew-CERT.1s
	'I will buy a large laplap, bring it and then sew it.'					

5.1.4 Intransitive Verb Stems

Intransitive verbs are syntactically intransitive in that they cannot co-occur with an object NP in the same clause. The vast majority of intransitive verb stems encode a state of being or motion. A representative sample would include *pat* 'to lie down', *sit* 'sit', *agat* 'stand', *maŋ* 'fall', *wie* 'walk', *pra* 'get up', and *pepm* 'jump'.

159)	*Kwʌm*	*kwin-ŋan-tʌ*	*pepm-kʌ-t.*
	fence	on.top-LOC-SRC	jump-RP-FACT.3s
	'She jumped off of the fence.'		

160) *Kʌndʌpyewenŋan kʌndʌpsieŋatpatkʌmʌŋ.*
tree base-LOC wood cook-LOC lie.down-RP-1p
'We made a fire at the base of a tree and slept.'

161) *Sepmbʌŋawuŋatŋa-jʌktipmkʌmʌŋ.*
PLACE come-PFCT-SS DEI-LOC exist-RP-FACT.1p
'We came to Sebmbʌŋ and lived here.'

5.2 Verb Morphology

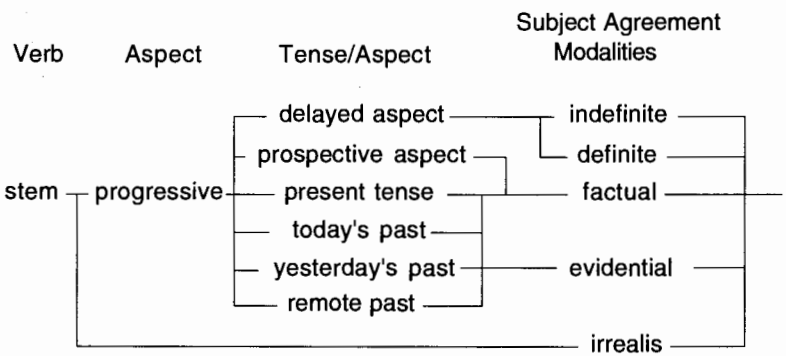
Verbal morphology is determined on the basis of whether a verb is a final verb or a medial verb. Final verbs occur sentence finally or are in an embedded clause that does not function as the predicate in the matrix clause. Medial verbs occur sentence medially and function as predicate.

The morphophonemic rules outlined in chapter 3 do not account for all the changes that occur at the juncture of verb stem and suffixes. Other morphophonemic changes are determined by the last phoneme of the verb stem. Verb stems may end in a vowel (V), *m*, *n*, or *t*. Virtually all verb stems that end with the same phonemes behave identically morphophonemically. Morphonemic variants are discussed in the relevant sections.

5.2.1 Final Verbs

Final verbs are inflected for tense, aspect, and person/number subject agreement modalities. The basic structure of the final verb is as follows. (Co-occurence restrictions can be gleaned from the flow chart. The flow chart moves from left to right with no reverse movement allowed):

CHART 3



5.2.1.1 Progressive Aspect

The progressive aspect is the only aspect that can occur on either medial or final verbs. Progressive aspect is used to emphasise the on-goingness of the event. The boundaries, inception and completion of an action are not in focus; instead, the focus is on the continuation of the situation due to constant input. The situation described is dynamic, not static.

The progressive aspect is a form of the verb *-tipm* 'to exist'. It could be argued that it is a separate verb in a serial construction instead of a suffix. The evidence against this is that the initial *t* is realised as phonetic [ɾ]. As discussed in chapter 2, the fricative allophone [ɾ] only occurs word medially.

The progressive aspect suffix undergoes the same morphophonemic variations as the *m*-final verb stems before subject agreement affixes (see 5.2.1.5).

162) *...ye-pm-na* *nu-man* *sit-ripm-wo* *ka-kwit.*
OB.PL-put-DS.1p 3s-LOC sit-PROG-DS.3p see.it-RP.3p.
'...We put them (down) and they saw them sitting there.'

163) *Nu* *kʌvu-tʌ* *kap* *yeri-ripm-ŋat-wo* *mo* *nu* *gʌmʌŋ* *ʌ-ŋ...*
3s PL-SRC song dance-PROG-PFCT-DS.3p female 3s desire do-SS
'They were sing-singing and the woman was desiring (them)...'

When the progressive aspect occurs on a final verb that is also sentence final, the next sentence always begins with a repetition of the same verb (head-tail linkage) to indicate the on-goingness.

164) *...ʌmbra-ŋat-wʌn* *du-ni* *tʌt-ripm-kʌ-t.*
hold.S.OB-PFCT-DS.3s PL-3s.POSB cry-PROG-RP-FACT.3s
Tʌt-ripm-gwiʌŋ...
cry-PROG-DUR
'...he got her and she was crying some. She was crying and...'

The progressive is commonly used to encode simultaneous action involving two or three clauses. The last verb of the first clause takes progressive, perfective, and different subject affixes. The second clause refers to the simultaneous action and takes a different subject affix, and an optional third clause recapitulates the action of the first clause.

165) *...kʌndʌp sie-ŋ sit-ripm-ŋat-wa Simon nu-man*
wood burn-SS sit-PROG-PFCT-1s.DS NAME DEI-LOC

pʌ-kʌ-t.
come.down-RP-3s

'...(as) I was sitting by the fire, Simon came.

166) *...tuŋ yim-ripm-ŋat-wo gwikgwik nu-bok-nu*
miss shoot-PROG-PFCT-3p.DS BIRD DEI-LOC-DEI

kugworu-ripm-kʌ-t-nu-tʌ avu ʌ-nu-kʌ-t:
wander-PROG-RP-3s-DEI-SRC come REC.3s-say.to-RP-3s

'...(as) they were shooting and missing, a Gwikgwik bird who was wandering around came and said to him:'

The progressive can also be used to encode distributive simultaneity. In this construction the first clause encodes the entire event while the following clauses give the specifics of each of the participants involved. As in the case of simultaneous action, the last verb of the first clause takes progressive, perfective, and different subject affixes.

167) *...sevot-ŋan jap-nin pʌ-ripm-ŋat-na no na-ni*
garden-LOC food-1p.POSS get-PROG-PFCT-1p.DS 1s 1s.EM-FM

sevot-ŋan tipm-ŋat-wa, miŋ-na ʌni-ni sevot-ŋan
garden-LOC exist-PFCT-1s.DS mother-1s.POSS 3s.EM-FM garden-LOC

tipm-kʌ-t.
exist-RP-3s

'...(as) we were getting food from our garden, I was in my garden and my mother was in her garden.'

5.2.1.2 Prospective Aspect

Prospective aspect is used to indicate that something is impending or already in progress in relation to the speech act and will continue to have relevance in the future. While semantically it is an aspect according to Comrie (1976), in the Nankina language it fills the same position and function within the verb as do the tenses. It occurs with the factual modal, thus is realis. The English equivalent would be 'I am going to build a house'. There is no question as to whether it will come about because it is already in progress or on the verge of happening. In the Nankina tense/aspect system it can almost be used as a near future tense. It cannot be used for an event that will occur later than the present day; rarely will the event occur later than the next few minutes or hours.

The underlying form of the prospective aspect is *-tjia.* It obligatorily takes subject person/number affixes. The surface forms are as follows:

TABLE 3

V-final stems	V-*tjia*	→	V-*tjia*
m-final stems	*m-tjia*	→	*mʌ-tjia*
n-final stems	*n-tjia*	→	*ø-tjia*
t-final stems	*t-tjia*	→	*ø-tjia*

168) *Tipua maŋ-tjia-k.*
rain fall-PRO-FACT.3s
'It's going to rain.'

169) *Aniŋgʌman tip-ŋan duwuk pat-tjia-k.*
NAME rock-LOC sleep lay.down-FACT.3s
'Aniŋgʌman is going to sleep on the rock.'

170) *Sewot-ŋan wip-nu keyi-tjia-mʌŋ.*
garden-LOC seed-DEI dig-PRO-FACT.1p.
'We are going to plant a garden.'

5.2.1.3 Tense

Tense is defined as the placing of the state, event or process of the verb in relation to the time of the speaker's utterance or other relative point. The major tense distinctions are past and present. Within past there is a further distinction between remote past, yesterday's past, and today's past. Some of these tenses appear to be a fusion of tense and aspect or modality and will be discussed under each specific tense.

5.2.1.3.1 Present Tense

The present tense indicates time roughly concurrent with the time of the speaker's utterance or the present moment in time. It has an inherent stative quality that gives it some flexibility in its use. It focuses more on the existence of the results of the event, process, or state represented by the verb than on the finiteness, duration of time, or orientation to specific point in time. Generally it is centered on the reference point but is not exclusive with it. It does not have a distinct progressive semantic component, though it is not usually used in the sense of equating the event with a finite point in time, either. It does set definite time boundaries for the verb it is affixed to. The scope of the tense is somewhat determined by the semantics of the verb stem it is used with and the wider linguistic context.

It is composed of the morpheme *-wa* followed by the appropriate subject person/number suffix with no morphophonemic changes occurring at this juncture. The following are the surface phonemic forms:

TABLE 4

V-final stems	V-*wa*	→	V-*wa*
m-final stems	*m-wa*	→	*m-ba*
n-final stems	*n-wa*	→	*ŋ-ga*
t-final stems	*t-wa*	→	*t-ka*

171) *Honenua wit-ŋan tipm-wa-t.*
NAME house-LOC exist-PR-FACT.1s
'Honenua is at home.'

172) *No kʌndʌp de mandʌ-wa-t.*
1s tree one cut-PR-FACT.1s
'I cut/am cutting a tree.'

173) *Gumbaion wo-wa-n?*
PLACE go.up-PR-FACT.2s
'You go up to Gumbaion? (Are you going up to Gumbaion?)'

174) *Anutu bisep-nu bisep-nu tipm-wa-k.*
God time-DEI time-DEI exit-PR-FACT.3s
'God lives forever.'

5.2.1.3.2 Today's Past Tense

Today's past tense relates the action or state of the verb to the present daylight period or previous night. In a loose sense it covers the last 24 hours. It has been used in rare instances to encode psychological closeness or relevance of a situation in the past two or three days to the present day. The underlying form is *-i*, which results in the following surface forms:

TABLE 5

V-final stems	V-*i*	→	V-*ø*
m-final stems	*m-i*	→	*m-i*
n-final stems	*n-i*	→	*ŋ-i*
t-final stems	*t-i*	→	*ø-i*

175) *Kwit nu mʌk tawan yan-wokŋ-kwok man-i-k.*
bird DEI ground ridge over-futher-side fall-TP-FACT.1s
'That plane crashed over beyond the ridge.'

176) *Ʌmin mindeki de-tʌ yaŋ na-nu-i-k.*
human elder one-SRC thus RC.1s-say.to-TP-FACT.3s.
'An important man told me that.'

177) *Wit yemʌ wien-ŋan ye-pm-i-t.*
house door opening-LOC OB.3p-put-TP-FACT.1s
'I put them by the doorway.'

5.2.1.3.3 Yesterday's Past Tense

Yesterday's past tense is prototypically used for an event which occurred the day before the speech act. If the word 'yesterday' is explicitly used in the clause or sentence, then there will be agreement between it and the verbal tense. It is often used more as a perfect aspect than as a strict tense. In this case it is used to indicate the speaker's desire to show relevance or psychological nearness of an event in the past to the present. It is often used in conversation when people are reminiscing about a positive past shared event and can be often be translated as *recently*.

The underlying form of yesterday's past is *-pai*, and takes the following surface forms:

TABLE 6

V-final stems	V-*pai*	→	V-*pai*
m-final stems	*m-pai*	→	*mi-bai*
n-final stems	*n-pai*	→	*m-bai*
t-final stems	*t-pai*	→	*ø-pai*

178) *Nin kuŋgap yeri-pai-mʌŋ.*
1p singsing dance-YP-FACT.1p
'We recently had a singsing." (affectionately remembering the event)

179) *Ʌpma dokta-tʌ wore-ni koŋit-pai-k.*
yesterday doctor-SRC sore-3s.POSS wrap-YP-FACT.3s
'The doctor wrapped the sore yesterday.'

5.2.1.3.4 Remote Past Tense

The remote past tense is used to place the state or action of the verb back beyond two days prior to the speech event. It is most frequently used in narrative discourse. We have not observed its use to indicate psychological remoteness and lack of relevance to the current situation.

The underlying form is *-kʌ*. When it co-occurs with the second or third plural form of the factual modality, a portmanteau results as shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7

	remote past *-kʌ-*	remote past + 2/3 pl factual modality *-kwit*
V-final stems	V-*kʌ*-	V-*kwit*
m-final stems	*m-bu-*	*m-bit*
n-final stems	*ŋ-gʌ-*	*ŋ-gwit*
t-final stems	*k-gʌ-*	*k-gwit*

180) *Mo de-ni komu bam-ŋan pepmʌ-ŋ kamat-kʌ-t.*
female one-FM river center-LOC jump-SS die-RP-FACT.3s
'The woman jumped into the center of the river and died.'

181) *Elikopta wo wara-ŋat-ŋ ti-ni ku-kwit.*
helicopter go.up finish-PEFCT-SS CERT-FM go.over-RP.3p
'The helicopter went up, disappeared and left.'

182) *Nin Sepmbʌŋ yaka awu pat-kʌ-mʌŋ.*
1p PLACE again come sleep-RP-FACT.1p
'We came back to Sepmbʌŋ and slept.'

5.2.1.4 Delayed Aspect

Delayed aspect expresses the notion that either speaker or hearer will follow the initiator of the action with like or different action. The expected following action could be initiated at any point subsequent to the inception of the action of the verb, though it more often is expected at a future point in time in relation to the event. Whether the expected action is the same or different depends upon the communication situation and the verb it is suffixed to. In some situations the expected action may be explicitly stated in the following sentence. The delayed aspect can be followed by either the intentional or certainty modals.

The forms of the delayed aspect *-wi* are as follows:

TABLE 8

V-final stems	V-*wi*	→	V-*wi*
m-final stems	*m-wi*	→	*m-biwi*
n-final stems	*n-wi*	→	*ŋ-gwi*
t-final stems	*t-wi*	→	*ø-wi*

183) *Go a-man bit opmut-ŋat-ŋ tipm-wi-sie.*
2s DEI-LOC pig watch-PFCT-SS exist-DEL-2s.INDEF
'You care for the pig(s) and stay here (and I'll return in the future).'

184) *Ku-ripm-wi-ø!*
go-PROG-DEL-DEF.2s
'Go (and I'll follow)!'

185) *No kʌndʌp mandʌ-ripm-wi-wa-t.*
1s wood chop-PROG-DEL-PR-FACT.1s
'I am cutting the wood (and you can cut some in a minute).'

5.2.1.5 Portmanteau Subject Agreement and Modalities

There are five modalities: intentional, certainty, factual, evidential, and irrealis. One of the five different types of modality suffixes is required on all final verbs. All agree with the subject in person and number. There are seven person/number distinctions: 1, 2, and 3 singular; 1 and 2/3 dual; and 1 and 2/3 plural.

5.2.1.5.1 Factual Modality

The factual modality indicates that the situation is fact (or realis). The prototypical situation is one in which the speaker is an eye witness. If several people give assent to the factuality of the situation it becomes the same as an eyewitness report. It can co-occur with yesterday's past, today's past, present, and prospective aspect suffixes. Since this is the most frequently used modality, it is frequently glossed with only the person/number; the factual modality is left implicit.

TABLE 9

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	*-t*	*-mʌk*	*-mʌŋ*
2nd	*-n*	*-mʌn*	*-rʌŋ*
3rd	*-k*		

186) *No Sep kovuvu ya-tjia-t.*
1s PLACE ancestral.story say-PRO-FACT.1s
'I am going to tell the Sep ancestral story.'

187) *Go komu-ŋan pu-wa-n?*
2s river-LOC go.down-PR-FACT.2s
'Are you going down to the river?'

188) *Amin nu na-nu-i-k.*
human DEI RC.1s-say.to-TP-FACT.3s
'He is the one who told me.'

189) *Nin Gwarawon ku-rak awu-kʌ-mʌŋ.*
1p PLACE go.over-CD come.over-RP-FACT.1p
'We went to Gwarawon and back.'

190) *Nu yatn Jegwie dakŋu-kʌ-rʌŋ.*
3s two BIRD finish-RP-FACT.1p
'Those two became Jegwie birds.'

5.2.1.5.2 Definite Modality

The definite modality is used for a situation that will occur close in time to the speech act. It has an inherent definiteness in it; the speaker is certain that it will come about. The first

person plural has an inherent hortatory mood and is equivalent to English *Let's....* The second person forms have an imperative mood. They are not flexible in relation to time; the action is expected to commence the moment the utterance finishes. The underlying and surface forms are as follows:

TABLE 10

	2s	2s	3s	1d	2,3d	1p	2,3p
Underlying	*-wa*	*-ø*	*-sin*	*-da*	*-wun*	*-na*	*-wut*
V-final stems	V-*wa*	V-*ø*	V-*sin*	V-*da*	V-*wun*	V-*na*	V-*wut*
m-final stems	*m-ba*	*mi-ŋ*	*m-bin*	*m-da*	*m-je*	*m-na*	*m-bwut*
n-final stems	*ŋ-ga*	*n-ø*	*ŋ-gin*	*n-da*	*n-je*	*n-a*	*ŋ-gwut*
t-final stems	*ø-ka*	*t-ø*	*ø-sin*	*t-da*	*t-je*	*t-na*	*ø-wut*

The second singular form of the definite modality is identical with the verb stem except in the case of *m*-final stems.

191) *Yi-pm-ø!*
OB.S-put-DEF.2s
'Put it (down)!'

192) *Komu-ŋan pu-na.*
river-LOC go.down-DEF.1p
'We will go down to the river (or Let's go down to the river).'

193) *Nanaŋ mum-ni na-wʌn-ku kap wam-na.*
NAME breast-3s.POSS eat-DS.3s-DSEQ trap tie-DEF.1p
'Nanaŋ will breast feed first then we'll go set the trap.'

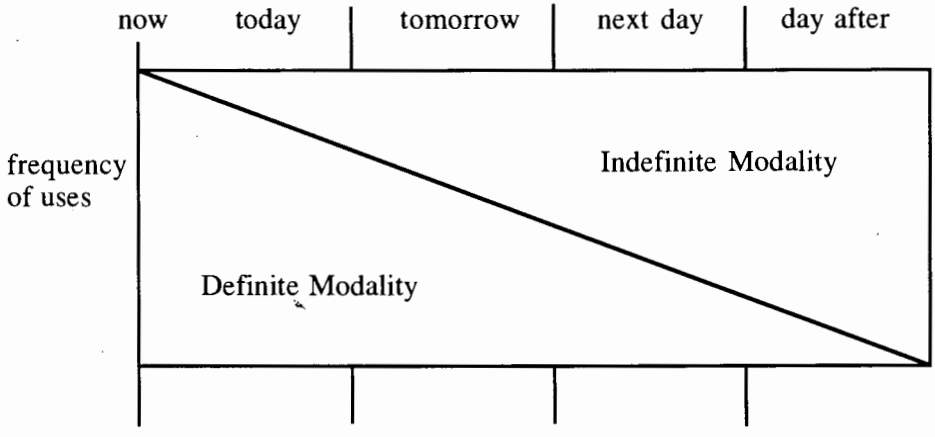
194) *Pat-kipra-ŋ ku-ŋa-wʌn-ku ʌŋit-wa.*
sleep-dry-MC go-MP-DS.3s-DS kill-CERT.1s
'(I'll let him) get fast asleep first then I'll kill him.'

5.2.1.5.3 Indefinite Modality

The indefinite modality is used for an event that will occur at some point in the future relative to the speech act. There is a certain indefiniteness in that the event, state, or process most likely will come about, but there is not total certainty. It is intended that it

will come about but there can be no guarantee. In most uses it encodes an event which will occur after the present day but it can be used for an event that may happen on the present day. The likelihood of the indefinite modality being used instead of the definite modality increases the further in the future an event is expected to occur. Anything beyond the day after tomorrow is normally marked as indefinite modality. In certain contexts it can mean 'may' or 'should'. The relationship between the usage of the definite and indefinite modalities can be diagrammed as follows:

CHART 4



The underlying and surface forms for the indefinite modality are as follows:

TABLE 11

	1s	2s	3s	1d	2,3d	1p	2,3p
Underlying	*-sat*	*-sie*	*-sak*	*-dam*	*-je*	*-nam*	*-ni*
V-final stem	V-*sat*	V-*sie*	V-*sak*	V-*dam*	V-*je*	V-*nam*	V-*ni*
m-final stem	*m-biat*	*m-bie*	*m-biak*	*m-dam*	*m-je*	*m-nam*	*ø-mi*
n-final stem	*ŋ-giat*	*ŋ-gie*	*ŋ-giak*	*n-dam*	*n-je*	*ø-nam*	*ø-ni*
t-final stem	*ø-sa-t*	*ø-sie*	*ø-sak*	*t-dam*	*t-je*	*t-nam*	*t-ni*

195) *Bit-si* *kʌri-man* *wo-dam.*
pig-PUR bush-LOC go.up-INDEF.1d
'We (two) will go up into the bush to get a pig.'

196) *Anutu-tʌ wam-nu nandʌ-da bam kʌsi ʌ-sak.*
God-SRC talk-DEI hear-DS.2d substance ATTR do-INDEF.3s.
'We'll hear God's word and it will have results.'

197) *Yiop yiwen gwini de yim-ŋ ʌŋ-awu-ka bupm-nam.*
cloth trunk round one shoot-SS OB.S-come-ISEQ stitch-INDEF.1p
'We will buy a big piece of cloth first then sew (clothes).'

5.2.1.5.4 Evidential Modality

The evidential modality only occur in second and third person singular and dual forms. It does not occur in first person or plural forms. The semantics of this modality are somewhat in question as several reliable speakers believe these are simply alternative forms of the factual modality. Examination of the data, however, seems to support the position that the evidential modality indicates the information was second-hand. It ranges in meaning from 'I didn't get this information first hand, but here it is', to almost a dubitive. Some of the the younger generation introduce ancestral stories with the evidential modality. The implied meaning is 'I'll tell this ancestral story that I didn't see happen–and who knows if it's really true'. Most of the older generation, on the other hand, use the remote past tense in this context. The evidential modality is also used in yes/no questions. The fact that this modality does not occur with plural forms further supports the analysis as evidential modality. It is possible that when more than two people believe something it is treated as fact. Whether or not they were eye witnesses is no longer of importance.

Evidential modality can only be used when the verb is marked for tense. It cannot be added directly to a verb stem. The forms are *-yak* for the second/third singular form and *-mayak* for the second/third plural form. There are no morphophonemic changes.

198) *Komi-ŋan-tʌ ye-wa-yak?*
river-LOC-SRC come.up-PR-EV
'Did you come up from the river?'

199) *...ʌmin gʌpbit wit-ŋan ku-kʌ-mayak.*
person masalai house-LOC go-RP-EV
'...(those) two went down to the spirit's house.'

Example (200) is used to introduce an ancestral story. The speaker is unsure as to the authenticity of the story and so uses the evidential in the first final verb used for the theme. This expresses doubt about its truth, or at least ensures the hearer knows the speaker was not an eye witness.

200) *No ʌpmbiʌk bat-do kivuvu ya-tjia-t. Ŋu anuŋ.*
1s today grub-short.fat myth tell-PRO-FACT.1s 3s DEI

Ʌmin yat ap-ni wot pamin-ni wot
person two younger.sib-3s.POSS COM older.sib-3s.POSS COM

mʌk-ni-ŋan tipm-kʌ-mayak-tʌ pami-ni yiŋ-ni
land-3s.POSS-LOC exist-RP-EV-SRC older.sib-3s.POSS bilum-3s.POSS

ʌmbra-ŋ...
hold-SS

'Today I am going to tell the grub worm ancestral story. It's like this. There were an older brother and younger brother who lived on their land and the older one got his bilum and...'

5.2.1.5.5 Irrealis Modality

The irrealis modality encodes events which could have happened but did not. It never occurs by itself; it is always part of a verb phrase structure. The most common usage is following a contra-factual clause which is always marked by *bom-nu-ye* (HYPO-DEI-EMPH). The verb of the previous clause obligatorily occurs in one of the past tenses or in the present tense in this construction.

The irrealis modality may also occur with the indefinite plural *du*. In this structure it indicates apprehension or warning. There is no direct English equivalent, but the sense is expressed accurately by the Tok Pisin phrase *Nogut yu....*

The underlying and surface forms for the irrealis modalityare given in Table 12. All the forms except the third singular end with *m*. Other than this final *m*, many of the forms are the same as other subject agreement modalities.

TABLE 12

	1s	2s	3s	1d	2,3d	1p	2,3p
Underlying	*-wam*	*-siem*	*-wʌn*	*-dam*	*-jim*	*-nam*	*-wom*
V-final stems	V*wam*	V*siem*	V*wʌn*	V*dam*	V*jim*	V*nam*	V*wom*
m-final stems	*mbam*	*mbiem*	*mbwʌn*	*mdam*	*mjim*	*mnam*	*mbwom*
n-final stems	*ŋgam*	*ŋgiem*	*ŋgwʌn*	*ndam*	*njim*	*nam*	*mbwom*
t-final stems	*wam*	*siem*	*wʌn*	*tdam*	*tjim*	*tnam*	*wom*

201) *No awu-pai-n bo-nu-ye go a-jʌk ma tipm-siem.*
2s come-YP-FACT.2s HYPO-DEI-EMPH 2s 3s-LOC NEG exist-IRR.2s
'If I had come yesterday, you would not still be here (but I didn't so you're still here).'

202) *Gi sewot-ki ʌmore-kwit bo-nu-ye jap*
2p garden-2p straighten-RP.FACT.2p HYPO-DEI-EMPH food
si-wʌn.
it-CONTRA.3s
'If you (pl) had kept care of your garden you would have food (but you didn't so you don't have any food).'

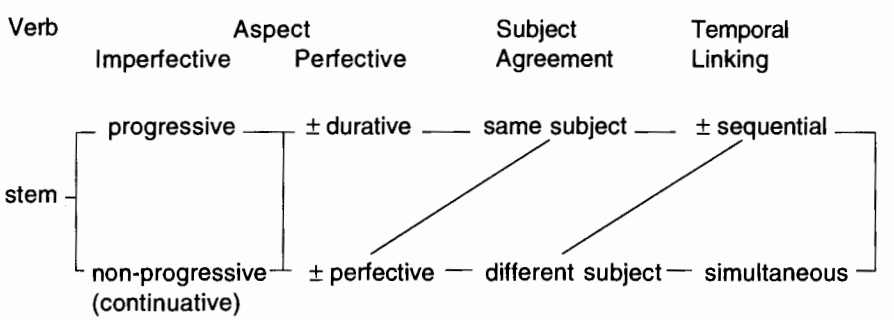
203) *Moreŋ ka-ŋat-ŋ-ka mʌk-ŋan du maŋ-giem.*
good OBJ.3s.see-PFCT-SS-ISEQ ground PL fall-IRR.2s
'Watch out lest you fall down.' (Nogut yu pundaun.)

204) *...nu-man ku du ʌmbivi-siem.*
DEI-LOC go PL hard.work.without.result-IRR.2s
'...lest you go and have a fruitless time.' (Nogut you go nating.)

5.2.2 Medial Verbs

Medial verbs consist of a verb stem and one or more medial suffixes. The function of medial verbs is to conjoin clauses. The medial suffixes indicate whether the subjects of the clauses are coreferential or noncoreferential. They also indicate temporal and logical relationships. The structure of the medial verb is as follows (unless explicity marked with ±, each suffix within a particular path is mandatory):

CHART 5



5.2.2.1 Aspect

Aspect for medial verbs can be divided into two general categories: imperfective and perfective. Imperfective aspect includes progressive and non-progressive (or continuative), while perfective includes durative and punctual.

5.2.2.1.1 Imperfectivity

Comrie (1976:24) defines imperfective as 'explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of the situation.' In Nankina imperfective can be further subdivided into non-progressive and progressive. Progressive aspect in medial verbs is the same as in final verbs and is discussed in 5.2.1.1.

While the progressive focusses on the internal dynamicity and constant input needed to maintain the situation, the non-progressive focuses on the continuity of the situation in relation to the following context. It may have a progressive sense but this is not in focus. In a sequence of verbs marked as non-progressive each verb can contribute to the meaning of the whole.[13] The non-progressive does not focus on boundaries of inception or completion. Instead it signals continuity between a verb and the following verb, or that the verb is part of a fluid sequence including the following verb. The relationships between verbs in a sequence are determined by the semantics of the particular verbs used, and can range from separate actions to partial overlap to simultaneous actions.

The non-progressive aspect is unmarked. It must be discussed, however, since the non-progressive aspect is inherent when a medial verb is unmarked for the progressive. This is not the case when the verb stem is marked with the final verb suffixes. The non-progressive aspect is not labelled in general in examples although it is implicit in medial verbs that do not take the progressive suffix. It is labelled in the examples here for clarity. In the following example the verbs marked with the non-progessive aspect are temporally contiguous actions with little overlap.

205)	*Yiʌŋ*	*ʌm-bra-ø-ŋ*	*pu-ø*	*kʌndʌp*	*mandʌ-ø-ŋ*
	axe	OBJ.S-get-NPRO-SS	go.down-NPRO	tree	chop-NPRO-SS
	akgakŋu-sie.				
	cut.up-INT.2				

'Take the axe, go down, chop down and cut up a tree.'

The next example illustrates the non-progressive aspect where semantically the actions of the verbs are overlapping.

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[13] This is discussed more under verb serialisation in chapter 6.

206) *Muruk ye-mi-wʌn na-ø-ŋ nandʌ-ø-ŋ*
salt REC.3p-give.to-DS.3s eat-NPRO-SS sense-NPRO-SS
yi-pm-ø-ŋ...
OBJ.3s-put-NPRO-SS
'He gave them the salt and they tasted it...'

In (207) the continuous action between verbs that is characteristic of the non-progressive aspect is evident even though the subject changes between clauses.

207) *Kwapok baye-ø-si ku-i-k.*
ball throw-N.PRO-DS.2s go-TP-FACT.3s
'You threw the ball and it went.'

5.2.2.1.2 *Perfectivity

Perfectivity according to Comrie (1976) is a situation viewed in its entirety–all parts of an entire situation are conceptualised as a whole. It can have elements of completedness and resultiveness. There can be several subtypes of perfectivity including durative. Contrasting with durativity is non-durativity. One term that comes close to describing non-durativity is punctual although in Nankina it is not viewed strictly as a point in time with no beginning, middle or end. Therefore we will use the term perfective aspect to refer to non-durativity.

5.2.2.1.2.1 Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect focuses on a situation bounded in time with a definite beginning and end. The amount of time that the situation takes up on a time line is determined by the semantics of the verb. The perfective aspect is the opposite of durativity in that there is a lack of focus on the amount of time taken up by the situation. When it occurs on any verb in a sequence of verbs that are marked with the progressive aspect it bounds the situation of all the verbs so they are viewed as a loosely cohesive whole that is tied to a specific period of time. Speakers use a higher percentage of verbs with perfective aspect to indicate they are or want to be more removed from the situation. This gives the listener more of an outsider's or etic view of the situation. The perfective aspect is marked by *-ŋat.*

208) *...Sie-tʌ awu nu ʌm-bra-ŋat-wʌn du-ni tʌt-ripm-kʌ-t.*
NAME-SRC came 3s OB.S-hold-PFCT-DS.3s PL-FM cry-PROG-RP-3s
'...Sie came and grabbed her and she cried for a while.'

209) *Nʌ-tʌ nu wam tʌ ya-ŋ dakŋu-ŋ ye-mu-ŋat-ŋ...*
1s-SRC 3s talk CERT say-SS finish-SS RC.3p-give.to-PFCT-SS
'I put an end to that talk...'

210) *...bup ʌ-ŋat-ŋ kap ya-ŋat-ŋ tipm-ŋat-wʌn...*
sad do-PFCT-SS song say-PFCT-SS exist-PFCT-DS.3s
'...he felt sad, sang a song, and stayed (there)...'

5.2.2.1.2.2 Durative Aspect

All the characteristics of the perfective aspect apply to the durative aspect except that there is an emphasis on the fact that the event covered a long period of time as a whole from an etic point of view. This is in contrast to the progressive aspect which emphasises the dynamicness and internal view of the situation. Usually the durative aspect is used to convey the idea that the situation lasted for a long period of time. It frequently co-occurs with the progressive aspect. The durative aspect is marked by the affix *-gwiʌŋ*.

211) *Nin wo kap jipm-ripm-gwiʌŋ-ŋ-ku yaka pʌ-nam.*
1p go.up possum kill-PROG-DUR-SS-DSEQ again come.down-INDEF.1p
'We will go up and be killing possums for a while then will come down again.'

212) *Kʌmin de kap ʌŋ-gepm-gwiʌŋ-ŋ...*
dog one possum OB.S-chase-DUR-SS
'A dog chased the possum for a while...'

5.2.2.2 Different Subject Agreement with Following Clause

Subject noncoreferentiality between two clauses is marked on the final verb of the first clause with a set of different subject suffixes. These suffixes agree in person/number with the subject of the first clause while signalling that the subject of the following clause will be different. This marking indicates the semantic interdependence of the two clauses. While final verb suffixes differentiate between singular, dual and plural, medial verb suffixes only differentiate between singular and plural. The underlying and surface forms of the different subject affixes are given in Table 13.

TABLE 13

	1s	2s	3s	1d	2,3d	1p	2,3p
Underlying	*-wa*	*-si*	*-wʌn*	*-da*	*-wʌn*	*-na*	*-wo*
V-final stems	V-*wa*	V-*si*	V-*wʌn*	V-*da*	V-*wʌn*	V-*na*	V-*wo*
m-final stems	*m-ba*	*m-bi*	*m-bwʌn*	*m-da*	*m-bwʌn*	*m-na*	*m-bwo*
n-final stems	*ŋ-ga*	*ŋ-gi*	*m-bwʌn*	*ø-na*	*m-bwʌn*	*ø-na*	*ŋ-gwo*
t-final stems	*ø-wa*	*ø-si*	*ø-wʌn*	*t-da*	*ø-wʌn*	*t-na*	*ø-wo*

213) *Jap* *dʌk-nu* *pʌŋ-bra-ŋ* *ʌ-mu-wʌn* *pʌŋ-pu…*
food pieces-DEI OB.PL-hold-SS RC.1s-give.to-DS.3s OB.PL-come.down
'He got some food and gave it to him and he carried it down…'

214) *…wam* *ya-ŋat-wʌn* *bʌp* *ʌ-ripm-ŋat-wʌn* *na-bʌ-ŋ…*
talk say-PFCT-DS.3s laugh do-PFCT-DS.1s OB.1p-look.at-SS
'…he told the story and they watched me laughing…'

215) *Kwʌm* *tʌwʌ* *tek-nu* *yi-pm-na* *sit-wʌn…*
fence trail mark-DEI OBJ.3s-DS.1p sit-DS.3s
'We put the markers for the fence, it sat there…'

5.2.2.3 Same Subject Agreement With Following Clause

Subject coreferentiality between clauses is marked by the suffix *-ŋ* on the first verb. This suffix indicates dependence between the two clauses. It is mandatory if there is no different subject suffix except in the case of direction/motion verbs which are never marked with this suffix (see 5.). The surface forms for the same subject suffix are as follows:

TABLE 14

V-final stems	V-*ŋ*	→	V-*ŋ*
m-final stems	*m-ŋ*	→	*mi-ŋ*
n-final stems	*n-ŋ*	→	*ø-ŋ*
t-final stems	*t-ŋ*	→	*ø-k*

The perfective suffix *-ŋat* acts like a *t*-final stem in that when the same subject suffix is added to it, the *t* becomes *k* and the *-ŋ* of the same subject suffix is dropped.

216) *Nu-tʌ* *mandʌ-ŋ* *pʌ-ŋ* *dʌkŋu* *ye-mu-wʌn…*
3s-DEI cut-SS get-SS some RC.3p-give.to-DS.3s
'He cut some up and gave it to them…'

217) *Narʌŋ* *ʌ-nu-ŋ* *pise-ŋ* *ʌ-mu-ŋ…*
STONE RC.3s-say.to-SS blow-SS RC.3s-give.to-SS
'He said a curse on the stone and gave it to him…'

218) *Bat-ni* *kut-ŋ* *pʌ-ŋ* *nu-ŋan* *taut-ŋ* *ye-pm-ŋ...*
grub-3s.POSS split-SS get-SS 3s-LOC dish.out PAT.3p-put-SS
'He split (the wood), got the grubs and dished them out there...'

5.2.2.4 Inclusion

The *-ŋ* suffix marks complete coreferentiality except in two cases. Both exceptions are a limited type of inclusion in very specific situations. Inclusion will be used to define the condition when the subject from one of two juxtaposed clauses is included in the subject of the other clause along with additional subject participants.

5.2.2.4.1 Whole to Part Inclusion

The first type of subject inclusion goes from whole to part. This type of inclusion can only occur when the second clause has a verb that is marked for person/number of the object, that is, a class I transitive verb. Whole to part inclusion occurs when the subject participants of the first clause are divided between the subject and object participants of the second clause. All the subject participants of the first clause must be accounted for between the subject and object agreement markings on the second verb. The possibilities for the two clauses are summarised in Table 15:

TABLE 15

first clause		second clause		
subject		subject		object
1p	→	1s	+	2p
1p	→	2s	+	1p
1p	→	2p	+	1s
1p	→	1p	+	2s[14]
1d	→	1s	+	2s
1d	→	2s	+	1s

When the requirements of whole to part inclusion are met it is not possible to use the different subject marker as the following examples illustrate:

14 It could be argued that in this case the subjects are coreferent since both are first person plural. Semantically, however, the subjects do not refer to the same group of participants.

219) a. *Nin ba ke-wie nu da-rʌ-ŋat-ŋ ba-tʌ*
1p kaukau plant-ADJ 3s PAT.3p-look.at-PFCT-SS kaukau-SRC
man-nu da-nu-i-t.
name-DEI REC.2p-say.to-TP-FACT.1s
'We saw the planted kaukau and I told you (pl) the kaukau's name.'

b. * *Nin ba kewie nu da-rʌ-ŋat-**na** ba-tʌ*
1p kaukau plant-ADJ 3s PAT.3p-look.at-PFCT-DS.1p kaukau-SRC
man-nu da-ni-i-t.
name-DEI REC.2p-say.to-TP-FACT.1s

220) a. *Nit a-jʌk awu-ŋat-ŋ savat de yim-ŋ*
1d DEI-LOC come-PFCT-SS knife one buy-SS
ga-mu-wa.
REC.2s-give.to-CERT.1s
'We will come here and I will buy you a knife and give (it) to you.'

b. * *Nit a-jʌk awu-ŋat-**da** sawat de yim-ŋ*
1d DEI-LOC come-PFCT-DS.1d knife one buy-SS
ga-mu-wa.
REC.2s-give-CERT.1s

A complicating factor is that all participants included in the subject of the first clause must continue to be physically present. In the following example the participants are separated in time and space and therefore the verb in the first clause takes different subject marking.

221) a. *Nin komu-ŋan tipm-ŋat-**na** git nʌ-pm-ŋ ku-kwit.*
1p river-LOC exist-PFCT-DS 2p PAT.1s-leave-SS go-RP.FACT.1p
'We stayed at the river and (then) you (pl) left me.'

b. * *Nin komu-ŋan tipm-ŋat-ŋ git nʌ-pm-ŋ ku-kwit.*
1p river-LOC exist-PFCT-SS 2p PAT.1s-leave-SS go-RP.FACT.3p

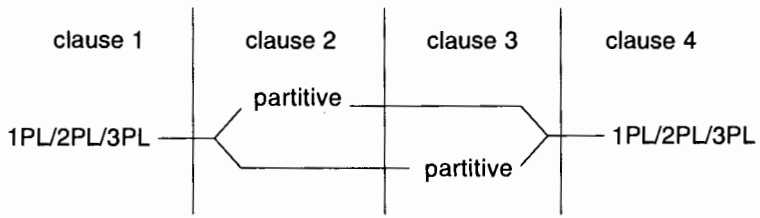
Same subject marking is used instead of different subject marking when all the participants in the subject of the first clause are accounted for in the second clause and all the participants remain in the same location.

5.2.2.4.2 Whole to Part to Whole Inclusion

Whole to part to whole inclusion involves a series of four clauses. The subject participants are the same in the first and last clause. In the middle clauses they are broken into two groups, each of which is the subject of of one clause. The subjects of the first and last

clauses can be first, second, or third plural, while the subject of the middle two clauses must be the partitive. In this situation same subject suffixes are used for each of the medial verbs. Whole to part to whole inclusion can be diagramed as follows:

CHART 6



222) *Nin sewot ʌŋ-yewi-ŋat-ŋ dʌkŋu-tʌ ʌmin karat-si*
1p work OB.S-start-PFCT-SS some-SRC person bones-PUR
wuru-ŋat-ŋ dʌkŋ-tʌ mʌk ʌŋ-more-ŋat-ŋ
look.for-PFCT-SS some-SRC ground OB.S-straighten-PFCT-SS
tipm-kʌ-mʌŋ.
exist-RP-1p
'We started work and some looked for human bones and some straightened the ground and we stayed (there).'

223) *Gi sewot ʌŋ-yewi-ŋat-ŋ dʌkŋu-tʌ ʌmin karat-si*
2p work OB.S-start-PFCT-SS some-SRC person bones-PUR
wuru-ŋat-ŋ dʌkŋ-tʌ mʌk ʌŋ-more-ŋat-ŋ
look.for-PFCT-SS some-SRC ground OB.S-straighten-PFCT-SS
tipm-kʌ-mʌŋ.
exist-RP-1p
'You (pl) started work and some looked for human bones and some straightened the ground and you (pl) stayed (there).'

5.2.2.5 Temporal Linking Suffixes

Two types of temporal linking are marked with verbal suffixes in Nankina: sequential and simultaneous. Both are used for cosubordinate constructions as defined by Foley and van Valin (1984). Foley and van Valin use embeddedness and dependency to define coordination, subordination and cosubordination. Cosubordination is defined as [-embedded] and [+dependent]. In Nankina temporal linking is marked by a suffix on the final verb of a clause. When marked with this suffix the clause is dependent on the following clause.

5.2.2.5.1 Simultaneous

The simultaneous suffix *-yaŋ* has the same form as the medial form of the verb *ya-ŋ* 'speak-SS'. In its most common usage it indicates partial to complete overlap of two events. This overlap is similar in meaning to the English *as*. In certain contexts there may be no overlap of the two clauses. In these situations the relationship encoded is similar to the the English *when*. It occurs almost exclusively on verbs of cognition and verbs of motion/direction and usually signals that a situation that was not anticipated is about to develop which will probably have relevance to the present situation.

Because of the overlapping nature of the two events *-yaŋ* occurs with different subject suffixes. The most common use is to mark a medial verb of motion/direction which is followed by the clause that introduces the overlapping situation. When the participant introduced in the second clause is inanimate the verb is generally a verb of cognition.

224) *...tʌwʌ-ŋan pu-na-yaŋ pup dʌŋgʌm da-rʌ-ŋ...*
trail-LOC go.down-DS.1p-thus chicken feathers OBJ-3p-look.at-SS
'...as/when I went down the trail I saw some chicken feathers...'

When the participant introduced in the second clause is animate the clause generally takes a different subject marker on a medial verb to reestablish the original subject and is followed in turn by a verb of cognition.

225) *...ye-wa-yaŋ ami-tʌ awu-i-k yaŋ ya-wo*
come.up-DS.1s-thus army-SRC come-TP-3s thus say-DS.3p
ka-ŋ...
OB.3s-look.at-SS
'...when I came up they said the army had come...'

The simultaneous suffix can also be used with the verbs *uru* 'to look around without specific reason' and *wuru* 'look for something'.

226) *Uru-wʌn-yaŋ mo ʌŋut-kʌ-t nu-tʌ wop-nu nu-man*
look.around female kill-RP-3s 3s-SRC spirit-DEI 3s-LOC
ka-ŋ...
OB.3s.look.at-SS
'As he was looking around he saw the spirit of the woman there that he had killed...'

227) *Wuru-wʌn-yaŋ Jegwie wit mʌk-nu nu-man ka-ŋ...*
look.for-DS.3s-thus BIRD house ground-DEI 3s-LOC OB.3s.look.at-SS
'As he was looking for (it), he saw the Jegwie bird's village...'

In very rare cases it can be used with other verbs.

228) *...pra-wa-yaŋ* *mʌk* *dakŋu-kʌ-t* *ka-ŋ...*
get.up-DS.1s-thus ground become-RP-3s PAT.3s.look.at...
'...when I got up I saw that it was (already) morning...'

5.2.2.5.2 Definite Sequential

The definite sequential suffix *-ku*, used only in conversation or quoted conversation, indicates sequentiality between two clauses. It always co-occurs with the definite modality on the final verb of the sentence. Thus, in a sense it has inherent mood. It is used when the action or process of the first clause is logically or physically necessary and prior to the second in the speaker's mind. Because of the inherent definiteness, the second clause of the sequence may be deleted if the event or process is implicit to both speaker and hearer in the actual communication situation. No more than one sequential is ever used in a sequence of clauses within one sentence.

Athough *k* should only voice following a voiced consonant (see chapter 3), *-ku* becomes *-gu* following verbs of motion/direction even though it does not follow a voiced consonant.

229) *Tim-du* *wiʌt-ŋ* *kugworu-ŋ-ku* *awu* *wam* *yi-pm-da.*
piece-PL walk-SS go.around-SS-DSQ come talk PAT.3s-put-DEF.1d
'Let's walk around for a while first then come and put a story (on the tape recorder).'

230) *A-man* *pʌŋ-awu* *sit-ripm-ŋat-ŋ-ku* *mum*
DEI-LOC OB.PL-come sit-PROG-PFCT-SS-DSEQ breast
ʌ-mu-si *na-sin.*
REC.3s-give.to-DS.2s eat-CERT.3s
'Come here and be sitting first then breast feed him.'

231) *Nanaŋ-tʌ* *mum-ni* *na-ŋat-wʌn-ku...*
NAME-SRC breast-3s.POSS eat-PFCT-DS-3s-DSEQ
'Let Nanaŋ breast feed first (then we'll go)'

232) *Kuraŋ-ŋan* *ku-ku...*
toilet-LOC go-DSEQ
'I'll go to the toilet first, (then I'll/we'll....)'

5.2.2.5.3 Indefinite Sequential

The indefinite sequential suffix *-ka* is very similar to the definite sequential *-ku* but differs in three major ways. First, it is used with all tenses except the definite future. Second, it is never used when the following clause is deleted. Third, is can be used within or outside of conversation. In all other ways it functions the same as the definite sequential.

233) *Ba nu ke-wie da-rʌ-ŋat-ŋ-ka ba-tʌ*
kaukau 3s plant-ADJ OB.3p-see-PFCT-SS-ISEQ kaukau-SRC
man-nu ʌ-nu-i-t.
name-DEI REC.3s-say.to-TP-FACT.1s
'I saw the planted kaukau and then said the kaukau's name to him.'

234) *'Eee!' yaŋ na-nu-ŋat-ŋ-ka tʌgʌn-ni pat-kʌ-t.*
yes thus OB.1s-say.to-PFCT-SS-ISEQ still-3s.POSB sleep-RP-FACT-3s
'"Yes," he said to me and then continued to sleep.'

235) *...ʌmbuŋu-wʌn-ka kap de-ni-tʌ pra-ŋ ʌmin*
become.dark-DS-ISEQ possum one-FM-SRC get.up-SS person
de-ni-tʌ dawin-ni jit-ŋ ʌm-bra-ŋ...
one-FM-SRC eye.3s.POSS pull.out-SS OB.S-hold-SS
'...it became dark then the possum got up and pulled out the man's eye...'

The following example is similar to (231). The difference is the two referents are separated by a valley, the communication is being called out across it, and the speaker is trying to trick the hearer into doing something unusual. Since the response is likely to be more delayed and/or the speaker is not as certain of an affirmative response the indefinite sequential is used in conjunction with the indefinite modality.

236) *Nanaŋ-tʌ mum-ni na-wʌn-ka ku-nam ooo!*
Name-ERG breast-3s.POSS eat-DS.3s-ISEQ go-INDEF.1p CALLING.OUT
'Nanaŋ will breast feed then we shall go.'

5.3 Direction/Motion Verbs

There is a class of six verbs of direction and motion that behave slightly differently than the other verbs: *awu* 'come over', *ku* 'go over', *ye* 'come up', *wo* 'go up', *pʌ* 'come down', and *pu* 'go down'. They cannot occur with the same subject suffix *-ŋ*. It is possible that they have a semantic component of imperfective on-goingness and the same subject is inherent in this. They are frequently used to help the discourse flow so they would not need to be marked for same subject.

When they are prefixed with the singular and plural transitive prefixes *ʌŋ-* and *pʌŋ-* they become transitive verbs of 'carrying' in the appropriate direction. However they do not always manifest this meaning when affixed with *ʌŋ-* and *pʌŋ-*. In fact many times when they are prefixed there is nothing being carried explicitly or implicitly. In a sequence of verbs, if the first is a verb of motion and the second is transitive, the verb of motion does not have the transitive prefix. The reverse is also true: when the second verb is intransitive, the verb of motion is prefixed with the plural transitivizer. We have no explanation for this correlation. When a verb of motion with the singular transitive prefix has no object and follows another verb, it expresses continuous aspect.

237) *Wit-ŋan* *pʌŋ-wo* *pat-kwit.*
house-LOC PL.OB-go.up sleep-RP.3p
'They went into the house and slept.'

238) *Kʌriman* *ku* *kʌndʌp* *mandʌ-wa.*
jungle go tree chop-DEF.1s
'I will go to the jungle and chop (down a) tree.'

239) *...mʌk-ni-ŋan* *yaka* *tipm* *ʌŋ-wo...*
ground-3s.POSS-LOC REP exist S.OB-go.up
'...(he) went back to his home and stayed (until)...

5.3.1 Interrupted Motion Aspect

This aspect is marked by both the suffix *-min* and the singular transitive prefix *ʌŋ-* although there is no obligatory or overt recipient or patient in the clause. The interrupted aspect provides a mental as well as sometimes physical stopping or pivot point from which the direction of motion is resumed, most often in a different direction. It can be considered to mark the completion of a certain phase of travel in a specific direction though the travel can resume in the same direction. Only a few cases have been encountered when the direction of resumed travel is the same, possibly because the terrain in the Nankina area is extremely rugged and does not allow for travel in one direction for any substantial distance. If the travelling involves coming a short distance towards the speaker or reference point and then going in one of the three cardinal directions (up, down, and horizontal), the interupted motion prefix and suffix are not used. Instead the bare motion/direction verb stem *awu* 'come' is used followed by the subsequent direction of motion verb. This situation is viewed as one continuous motion, thus the interrupted motion aspect does not apply.

240) *Yaŋubin-tʌ* *awu* *wo* *biara-ŋat-ŋ* *ʌŋut-kwit.*
all-SRC come go.up grab-PFCT-SS kill-RP.FACT.3p
'(They) all came and went up and grabbed (him) and kill him.'

There are seven verbs that can take the interrupted motion aspect:

o-ku-min	OB.S-go-IM	'went over stopped and...'
ʌŋ-awu-min	OB.S-come-IM	'came over stopped and...'
ʌŋ-wo-min	OB.S-go.up-IM	'went up stopped and...'
ʌŋ-ye-min	OB.S-came.up-IM	'came up stopped and...'
ʌŋ-pu-min	OB.S-went.down-IM	'went down stopped and...'
ʌŋ-pʌ-min	OB.S-came down-IM	'came down stopped and...'
ʌŋ-wunde-min	OB.S-go.out-IM	'went out stopped and...".

241) *...nu-kʌ-tʌ* *ʌŋ-pu-min* *papia-wit* *bak-ŋan* *pʌŋ-awu...*
3s-MN-SRC OB.S-go.down-IM paper-house side-LOC OB.PL-come.over
'...(we) come down via that way and then came over to the school house...'

242) *Gumbaion* *ʌŋ-wo-min* *Gumbaion* *tʌ* *yi-pmʌt-ŋat-ŋ...*
PLACE OB.S-go.up-IM PLACE CERT PAT.3s-go.past-PFCT-SS
'(we) went up to Gumbaion and then up past it...'

243) *Nu-kʌ* *o-ku-min* *po-ku* *nu-man* *tim-nit* *du* *tipm-ŋ...*
3s-MN OB.S-go-IM OB.PL-go 3s-LOC piece-1d.POSS PL exist-SS
'We two went over that way (for a while) and then we continued going and we stayed there for a while...'

5.3.2 Return Aspect

The return aspect encodes the expected reversal of the direction/motion verb to which it is affixed. It is always followed by a direction/motion verb in the opposite direction. Any events that transpired between the two direction/motion verbs are not important from the speaker's view point and are never made explicit.

244) *No* *komu-ŋan* *pu-rak* *ye-i-t.*
1s river-LOC go.down-RET come.up-TP-FACT.1s.
'I went down to the river and back.'

245) *Kuŋgap* *tamo* *wo-rak* *pu-kwit.*
singsing place go.up-RET go.down-RP.FACT.3p
'They went up to the singsing grounds and back down.'

6 VERB SERIALISATION

A serial verb consists of a sequence of two or more closely joined verbs. Serial verbs are generally differentiated from compound verbs on the one hand, and coordinate clause constructions on the other. However, inconsistencies and exceptions blur the distinctions as various criteria are developed to differentiate the three constructions. We will try to demonstrate that the phonological, grammatical, morphological and semantic aspects of the data all work together to demonstrate that sequences of verbs form a more or less smooth continuum from compound verbs to serial verbs to coordinate clause constructions. There is no clustering (statistically) around these particular constructons and making divisions between them becomes fuzzy (or even arbitrary). Even if we are successful in demonstrating the constructions are simply three points on a continuum, however, we will also propose some criteria for classifying the data according to what has become traditional prototypical notions for these three artificial categories. The boundaries of the catagories will, however, continue to be fuzzy in reality.

The closest tie between verb stems can be seen in words that are made up of two stems only one of which has independent meaning. At a previous point in time the other stem may have been an independent stem but now it can no longer be identified. No affixes may occur between the stems in these forms.

246)	*ye-nu-gʌwie*	*pʌŋ-bra*	*ku-gworu*
	REC.3p-say.to-?	OBJ.PL.get-?	go-?
	'teach'	'hold (plural)'	'wander'

Next along the continuum are compound verb stems. Compound verb stems consist of two indentifiable verb stems that can stand alone. In a compound verb stem the meaning of the whole is somewhat different from the sum of the parts.

247)	*nandʌ-pu-k*	*sie-na*
	think-go.down-NOM	cook-eat
	'thought'	'eat cooked food'

Phonologically there is no question that compound verb stems are one word. Semantically the two are considered one concept (emically). When speakers first analyse a compound verb stem they have a hard time dividing it into two stems with separate meanings. Even when speakers are able to recognise smaller distinct semantic components within the compound stem, it will functionally remain semantically one.

Next in the continuum are sequences which phonologically have only one stress but morphologically contain the same subject marker, thus providing a morphological boundary. Semantically they may represent one action or two actions or the second verb may aspectually modify the first verb. The two stems in each of the examples in (248) are semantically just as closely tied as those in (247).

248)	*pat-ŋ-kamat*	*yeri-ŋ-boŋit*	*baye-ŋ-apm*
	recline-SS-dead	step.motion-SS-kick-SS	swing-SS-explode
	'sound asleep'	'stomp'	'shatter'

While the form *bayeŋapm* clearly has two actors and two different actions, it curiously takes the same subject marker.

The two sequences in (249) are also marked with the same subject marker and semantically the second stem aspectually modifies the first stem. Phonologically, however, they receive two primary stresses.

249)	*mʌndʌ-ŋ wara*	*mandʌ-ŋ yipm*
	chop-SS finish	chop-SS OBJ.S.put
	'chop all (exhaustive)'	'stop chopping (terminative)'

The next group of examples are less closely tied. Phonologically they are definitely uttered as two separate words, while morphologically they may take the different subject marker. Semantically, however, each pair of stems commonly occurs together and syntactically the stems are never separated by clause level constituents. Orthographically these sequences are written as separate words.

250)	*na-ŋ nandʌ*	*na-nu-wʌn ka*	*jit-ŋ ʌŋ-bra-ŋ*
	eat-SS feel	REC.1s-say.to-DS.3s.OBJ.see	fill OBJ.S.get-SS
	'taste'	'show/explain'	'get (water in tube)'

251)	*sit-ŋ o-ku*	*mindʌ-ŋ ku ka-ŋ*	*ʌ-ŋ na-mu*
	sit-SS OBJ.S-go	afraid-SS go OBJ.S.see-SS	do-SS REC.1s-give.to
	'sit in different places'	'leave/run away'	'do for me'

The next stage along the continuum is represented by sequences that co-occur less frequently but frequently enough in these exact combinations that they are recognized more or less as a semantic unit. They take the different subject affix on the first stem but have never been observed with any other constituents between the stems.

252)	*yipm-wa*	*ku*	
	OBJ.S.put-DS.1s	go.DEF.2s	'send it!'

253)	*baye-wa*	*ku*	
	hit-DS.1s	go.DEF.2s	'throw it!'

254)	*yim-wʌn*	*maŋ*	
	shoot-DS.3s	fall	'shoot successfully'

In the following examples, clause level constituents frequently appear between the stems and the number of stems in the sequence can be more than two. The verbs are less related semantically. More creativity can be observed in the co-occurrence of stems used to express the thoughts or intents of the speaker. It could be argued that the verbs represent a sequence of clauses even though semantically the event described is viewed as continuous with no boundaries.

255) *kamat-ŋ* *nu-man* *sit-kʌ-t*
die-SS DEI-LOC sit 'died there'

256) *...pra-ŋ* *wo* *towa-ni* *ʌ-ŋ-bra-ŋ...*
rise-SS go.up drum-3s.POSS OBJ.-hold-SS
'...(he) got up, went up (and) got his drum...'

257) *...ʌ-nu-wo* *avu* *sepm-ŋat-wʌn.*
REC.3s-day.to-DS.3p come close-PFCT-DS.3s
'...he spoke to it and it closed.'

258) *...wuru-wʌn* *mara-wʌn* *tʌ-ni* *avu-ŋat-wo.*
look.for-DS.3s not.exist-DS.3s CERT.3s.POSB come-PFCT-DS.3p
'...he looked without any result (so) he left and came.'

The last point on the continuum is represented by forms in which the sequence is clearly a series of clauses. This is delineated by the use of the perfective, simultaneous, either the definite or indefinite sequential suffixes, and/or other intervening clause level constituents. The verbs generally represent separate events, actions or states semantically and syntactically although even at this point of the continuum there may be exceptions.

259) *...pʌ-ŋ* *yik-ŋan* *pʌŋ-gwak-ŋat-ŋ* *wunde* *avu-ŋat-ŋ*
OBJ.PL.get bilum-LOC OBJ.PL-fill-PFCT.SS go.out come-PFCT-SS
'...(she) got/filled the bilum (and) went outside (and) came'

260) *De-kin* *de-kin* *ye-mu-ŋat-wʌn* *ʌni-si*
one-LIM one-LIM REC.3p-give-PFCT-DS.3s 3s.EX-PUR
busep-ni *ʌŋ-bra-ŋat-wʌn* *wit-ŋan* *pu-kʌ-t.*
liver-3s.POSS OBJ.S-hold-PFCT-DS.3s house-LOC go.down-RP-3s
'He gave one to each of them, got one for himself (and) they went home.'

In light of the the above discussion it is fruitless to distinguish between compound verb, verb serialisation, and separate clauses in Nankina by any one of the the following criteria: structure (the presence or absence of verbal affixation such as same subject or continuative),

semantics (the degree to which the sequence appears to be one semantic notion or unit), grammatical marking (different subject), or phonological stress. The frequency of co-occurrence of specific stems is probably the most significant factor in determining how close-knit a sequence is. The greater the co-occurrence of a given sequence of stems, the more likely they are going to lie at the compound verb end of the continuum.

The sequences in (261) point up the importance of frequency. Structually all three sequences are the same, and semantically they each represent two separate notions in the Nankina world view. However, the frequency of usage is different for the three sequences. The actions in (261a) are separate but simultaneous actions that only occasionally co-occur. This sequence would be considered two separate clauses. The actions in (261b) co-occur fairly frequently and are much more a single unit semantically. This sequence would probably be considered a phrase. (This phrase would mean 'accuse me' if it occured without the different subject marker) The actions in (261c) co-occur most frequently and the sequence would definitely be a serial verb phrase.

261) a. *wo-wʌn* *ka-ŋat*
go.up-DS.3s OBJ.S.see-PFCT 'see him go up'

b. *na-nu-wʌn* *ka-ŋat*
REC.1s-say-DS.3s OBJ.3s.see-PFCT 'explain to me'

c. *ʌ-nu-ŋ* *ka-ŋat*
OBJ.3s-say.to-SS OBJ.S.see-PFCT 'ask'

The scope of negation is frequently used to differentiate serial verb phrases from serial verb clauses in many languages. In Nankina the scope of negation appears to vary structurally (see 13.2) and thus cannot be an absolute guide in differentiating between phrases and clauses. In general, however, everything that is negated can be assumed to be a verb phrase of some kind while anything outside the scope of the negative can be assumed to be a separate clause. Scope of negative will not help in differentiating the compound verb from the serial verb phrase.

Semantically, a serial verb phrase is a cohesive semantic unit while a serial clause is a combination of verbs (and other optional clause level constituents) in which the parts do not create a unique whole or modify the whole in some way. In (262-263) there is a mismatch between scope of negation and the criteria of semantics and frequency. The negative in (262) negates the whole unit which semantically consists of several clauses.

262) *...ʌmin but-ni-tʌ ma nandʌ-wo ʌkwa-ŋat-wo*
person heart-3s.POSS-SRC NEG think-DS.3p mess.up-PFCT-DS.3p
mindʌ-ŋ ku-ni.
afraid-SS go-INDEF.3p
'...people's hearts were not messed up by their thinking (so) they did not run away.'

In (263), on the other hand, *ma* 'NEG' negates only the first verb of the serial verb phrase even though these two verbs occur together frequently and are one semantic unit.

263) *Kwapok ma baye-wa ku-i-k*
ball NEG hit-DS.1s go-TP-3s
'I didn't throw the ball.'

In conclusion then, the notion of the discreteness of compound verb, serial verb phrase, and series of clauses is somewhat artificial. It is probably more accurate to view the three categories as points on a continuum with no distinct boundaries. The three are distinguished by phonological, semantic, structural and frequency criteria. For the purposes of this paper compound verbs, serial verb phrases and sequences of clauses will be differentiated as follows.

Compound Verb: A construction in which two verbs occur together without a same subject affix or in which one cannot occur independently. The verbs co-occur frequently and the sum of the two roots is semantically more than the individual parts.

Serial Verb Phrase: A string of verbs which frequently co-occur and are recognised as a 'known' combination that functions together in many different contexts. They most frequently take same subject marking although they may take different subject marking. All aspectual marking is on the last verb in the series. No other clause level constituents occur between them. The negative generally (though not exclusively) negates the entire phrase.

Sequence of Clauses: A string of verbs that may have aspectual affixation on a non-final verb, may have one or more clause level constituents between verbs, or occurs together infrequently enough to be considered an 'unknown' or unique combination. Negation normally terminates at clause boundaries.

In the following discussion serial verb phrases will be divided into five major types: lexical serial verb phrases, aspectual serial verb phrases, reduplicated serial verb phrases, different subject serial verb phrases, and generic serial verb phrases.

6.1 Lexical Serial Verb Phrases

Generally, a lexical serial verb phrase is one in which the overall meaning is greater than the sum of the parts. A representative sample of those that have been observed are illustrated in the following examples.

264) ...***na-bʌ-ŋ*** ***ya-kʌ-t***
OBJ.1s-see.to-SS speak-RP-FACT.1s
'...he accused me'

265) ...*ya-ŋ* *ya-ŋat-ŋ* *tʌ-ni* ***mindʌ-ŋ*** ***ku-ŋat.***
thus speak-PFCT-SS CERT-3s.POSB afraid-SS go-PFCT
'...he said that and left.'

266) *Nʌ-tʌ* *nu* *wam* *tʌ* ***ya-ŋ*** ***dakŋu-ŋ*** ***ye-mu-ŋat.***
1s-SRC DEI talk CERT speak-SS finish-SS REC.3p-give-PFCT
'I put a stop to that talk.'

267) *Yaka* ***ya-ŋ*** ***ka!***
REP speak-SS OBJ.3s-see.DEF.2s
'Ask me again!'

268) ...*ʌ-nu-wa* *tek* ***yipm-ŋ*** ***na-mu-wʌn***
OBJ.3s-say.to-DS.1s mark OBJ.S.put-SS REC.1s-give-DS.DS.3s
ʌpmbiʌk *nandʌ-wa-t.*
now hear-PR-1s.FACT
'...I said to him (so) he showed me (and) now I know.'

269) *Miŋ-ni* *nan-ni-tʌ* *wamu* *morʌŋ* *ma* ***gworʌ-ŋ***
mother-3s.POSS father-3s.POS-SRC talk good NEG to.bear-SS
ka-i-rʌŋ.
OBJ.S-see-TP-FACT.3p
'They do not obey their mother and father very well.'

270) ...*de* *ye* ***pat-ŋ*** ***kamat-ŋ*** *ku-kʌ-t.*
one EMPH recline-SS die-SS go-RP-FACT.3s
'...the other, he had gone sound asleep.'

271) *Gok* *pʌŋ-bra-ŋ* *maket-ŋan* *ku* ***yim-ŋ*** ***na-ŋ***...
betel.nut OBJ.PL-hold-SS market-LOC go shoot-SS eat-SS
'(They) got betel nut (and) went (to) sell at the market...'

We have reservations in labelling these constructions as lexical serial verb phrases as we believe (at least in Nankina) that while a non-native speaker may perceive the sum as greater than the individual parts, given enough understanding of the culture and world view they could be seen as semantically the sum of the parts (except in the case of idioms). Perhaps it is better to define a lexical serial verb phrase as a unique combination of two or more verbs that frequently appear together in that particular combination, each of which seems to contribute towards functioning as a semantic unit. Even though the verb 'to see' is the second verb in both (267) and (269), each combination has a unique meaning instead of an added aspect as in aspectual serial verb phrases (see 6.2).

Another lexical serial verb phrase is 'do give' (BENEFACTIVE) as shown in (272).

272) *Kʌndʌp de mandʌ-ŋ* ***ʌ-ŋ*** ***na-mu-sie?***
wood one chop.SS do-SS REC.1s-give-INDEF.2s
'Will you cut down the tree for me?'

Phonologically, this phrase could be considered a compound verb since it is tightly bound. However it does not fit the definition developed above. There are also some clauses in which the verb 'give' alone conveys the benefactive as in (273).

273) ...*yimʌ sila-wa yimʌ jit-ŋ* ***na-mu-wʌn***...
door hit-DS.1s door open-SS REC.1s-give-DS.3s
'...I knocked on the door and he opened it for me...'

6.2 Aspectual Serial Verb Phrases

The aspectual serial verb phrase is made up of a verb that is modified aspectually by a second verb which is a member of a finite class of verbs. The closed class of verbs that can provide the aspect are: *yipm* 'put' (TERMINATIVE), *wara* 'finish' (EXHAUSTIVE), verbs of motion (PROGRESSIONAL), *ʌŋyewi* 'start' (INGRESSIVE), and *dakŋu* 'finish' (COMPLETIVE).

6.2.1 Terminative

The terminative is formed by a series of a verb with the same subject affix followed by *yipm* 'put'. The action, state, or event of the first verb is terminated or cut short, and does not follow through to completion–most of the time volitionally.

274) *Ku kʌvit-na* ***na-ŋ*** ***yipm-ŋ*** *avu...*
go smoke-3s.POSS eat-SS OBJ.S.put-SS come
'(I) went, smoked (cutting it short) (and) came...'

275) *...ye-mu-wʌn* *na-ŋ* ***nandʌ-ŋ*** ***yipm-ŋ***...
REC.3p-give-DS.3s eat-SS feel-SS OBJ.S-put-SS
'...he gave it to them, they tasted it...'

276) *...bʌp ʌ-ŋat-ŋ* *mindʌ-ŋ* *ku-wʌn* ***nandʌ-ŋ*** ***yipm-ŋ*** *yaka*
laugh do-PFCT-SS afraid-SS go-DS.3s listen-SS OBJ.S.put-SS REP
pat-kʌ-mʌn.
recline-RP-3d.FACT
'...they laughed and ran away, (so) they stopped listening and went to sleep again.'

6.2.2 Exhaustive

The exhaustive aspectual serial verb phrase consists of a transitive verb with the same subject marker followed by *wara* 'finish'. It means to perform an action upon multiple objects until there are no more objects left to perform the action on.

277) *Ʌmin yaŋubin* ***jipm-ŋ*** ***wara-kwit.***
human all OBJ.3p-kill-SS finish-RP.FACT.3p
'They killed all the people.'

278) *...kwʌm* ***pepm-ŋ*** ***wara-na***...
fence jump.over finish-DS.1p
'...we jumped over the (all) the fences...'

279) *...bat du-ni* *sie-wʌn* ***na-ŋ*** ***wara-ŋ-ka***...
grub IDEF.PL.FM cook-DS.3s eat-SS finish-SS-ISEQ
'...he cooked the grubs, they ate them all then...'

6.2.3 Progressional

The progressional consists of a form of the verb 'go' (*ku* 'go', *wo* 'go up') either preceding or following another verb. The sense is movement that culminates in the result specified by the preceding or following verb. In some contexts it can be considered a weak purpose, i.e. 'he went so he could...'. Any of the directional verbs of 'go' can be used preceding another verb.

280) *Gok* *pʌŋ-bra-ŋ* *maket-ŋan* ***ku yim-ŋ*** *na-ŋ...*
betel.nut OBJ.PL-hold-SS market-LOC go shoot-SS eat-SS
'(They) got betel nut (and) went (to) sell at the market...'

281) *...kwok de-tʌ* ***wo*** ***dakŋu-ŋat-wʌn...***
side one-SRC go.up finish-PFCT-DS.3s
'The other one went up (and) finished it (the process)...'

Only the forms 'go (horizontally)' or 'go up' may be used following another verb. The sense achieved is the action of the first verb occurring in the context of spatial, temporal or psychological distance.

282) *...ʌŋu-kʌ-t* ***ka-ŋ*** ***wo*** *kirip-bo-ni*
OBJ.S.kill-RP-3s.FACT OBJ.S.see-SS go.up different-?-3s.POSB
ʌ-ŋat-ŋ.
do-PFCT-SS
'...he saw him kill him and "went" until he forgot (about it).' [psychological distance]

283) *...de ye pat-ŋ* ***kipra-ŋ*** ***ku-kʌ-t.***
one EMPH recline-SS dry-SS go-RP-FACT.3s
'...the other, he had gone sound asleep.' [temporal distance]

284) *Nu-jʌk-tʌ* ***kapm-ŋ*** ***ʌŋ-wo*** *nya deki-ŋan kapm-ŋ...*
DEI-LOC-SRC set.trap-SS OBJ.S-go.up up last-LOC set.trap-SS
'From there he went up setting traps until he set the last one...' [spatial distance]

285) *...* ***tipm-ŋ*** ***ʌŋ-wo-sak.***
exist-SS OBJ.S-go.up-3s.INDEF
'...he will keep on living.'

If the verb of motion is followed by a third verb it may indicate the action of the first verb continued 'until' the action or event of the following verb.

286) *...* ***tipm-ŋat-na*** ***ku*** *kʌtnʌm* ***ʌ-wʌn...***
exist-PFCT-DS.1p go night do-DS.3s
'...we stayed until it was night...'

Note that this example violates the definition of a serial verb phrase in that it occurs with an aspect affix on the first verb. This again highlights the non-discreteness of the serial verb phrase category.

The transitive forms of the verbs of motion (e.g. *pʌŋwunde* 'to carry', see 5.1.2) are also used in certain contexts. The significance of this is not understood at this point in time.

6.2.4 Ingressive

The ingressive consists of a verb with same subject affix followed by the compound verb *ʌ-ŋ-yewi* 'do-SS-base/root'. The English equivalent would be 'start'. The ingressive is only used of significant long term events or processes.

287) *...papia mʌnji* ***ye-nugʌwie-ŋ*** ***ʌ-ŋ-yewi-kʌ-t.***
paper child OBJ.3p-teach-SS do-SS-base-RP-3s
'...he started (the process of) teaching the children.'

288) *Wit* ***wiin-ŋ*** ***ʌ-ŋ-yewi-ni.***
house build-SS do-SS-base-INDEF.3p
'They will start the building of the house.'

6.2.5 Completive

The completive is composed of a verb with a different subject affix followed by the verb *dakŋu* 'finish'. It is the finishing of a process which is in focus here. Because the different subject affix occurs on the first verb, this construction could be categorised as a different subject serial verb phrase. It is included here with the other aspectual serial verb phrases, however, since it is semantically an aspect.

289) *Ep ʌvʌ* ***sira-na*** ***dakŋu-ŋat-wʌn***
rafter long carve-DS.1p finish-PFCT-DS.3s
'We finished the process of carving the rafter.'

290) *...* ***nandʌ-wa*** ***dakŋu-wʌn-ka...***
hear-DS.1s finish-DS.3s-ISEQ
'...he had learned then...'

291) *pʌŋ-wo nuŋwok* ***wutdu-na*** ***dakŋu-ŋat-wʌn***
OBJ.PL-go.up batten cover-DS.1p finish-PFCT-DS.3s
'We carried (the kunai) up and finished (the process of) covering the battens.'

6.3 Reduplicated Serial Verb Phrases

The reduplicated serial verb phrase is composed of one reduplicated verb. This structure is used semantically for ITERATIVE and HABITUAL.

6.3.1 Iterative

The iterative is formed by a reduplicated verb where the first verb takes the perfective affix *-ŋat*. The action of the verb always lasts for a definite period of time although it can range from almost continuous with only short periods of time between actions to longer periods. The iterative most frequently occurs with verbs of motion, 'exist' or 'sit/stay'. It can be used by the speaker to emphasize the anticipation of a change from the iterative nature of the situation.

292) *...tawan ʌvʌ* ***wo-ŋat-ŋ*** ***wo-ŋat-ŋ...***
ridge long go.up-PFCT-SS go.up-PFCT-SS
'...(they) went up and up the ridge...' (In this context it would be almost constant movement with only short periods of rest implied.)

293) *Wit karat* ***yipm-ŋat-ŋ*** ***yipm-nat-na*** *dakŋu-wʌn...*
house bone OBJ.S.put-PFCT-SS OBJ.S.put-PFCT-DS.1p finish-DS.3s
'We kept putting the house studs until it was finished...' (each action is a separate event.)

294) *Wit-ŋan pʌŋ-yeˆ* ***tipm-ŋat-ŋ*** ***tipm-ŋat-ŋ***
house-LOC OBJ.PL-go.up exist-PFCT-SS exist-PFCT-SS
tipm-ŋat-na *ku kʌtnʌm ʌ-wʌn*
exist-PFCT-DS.1p go night do-DS.3s
'We went up to the house and stayed and stayed and stayed until night.'

Even though (294) is structurally an iterative serial verb phrase, it describes a continuous action. The iterative form was used to emphasize the waiting for another event to come about (the arrival of night) and the constant expectation that it was going to happen.

6.3.2 Habitual

The habitual reduplicated serial verb phrase has three different forms depending upon the length of time of the situation and how much the speaker wants to emphasize the length of time. The first form consists of the reduplicated verb with no perfective aspect. This indicates the situation was constantly occurring over a relatively short period of time (e.g., part of a day). This would be similar to the progressive (see 5.2.1.1) or the progressional aspect (see 6.2.3).

295) ***...wo wo wo*** *tawan ʌvʌ-kʌ gup ya-ripm-kʌ-mʌk-nu...*
go.up go.up go.up ridge long-MN wind speak-PROG-RP-FACT.1d
'...we kept going up the ridge going like the wind...'

The second type increases the length of time of the action, event or state. The time could range from several days to a season. It is formed as above with the addition of the verb ʌ 'do' at the end of the of the phrase.

296) *Wit* *karat* **ʌŋ-giet-ŋ** **ʌŋ-giet-ŋ** **ʌ-na**...
house bone OBJ.S-stick.in-SS OBJ.S-stick.in-SS do-DS.1p
'We kept putting the house studs (in the ground)...'

The last type is the true habitual in that it is without time or if bound by time it is a very long period of time. It is formed by adding the copula to the reduplicated serial verb phrase above.

297) ***Tipm-ŋ tipm-ŋ*** **ʌ-ŋat-ŋ-ka** *yaka*...
exist-SS exist-SS do-PFCT-SS-ISEQ REP
'They lived and then another (time)...'

6.4 Different Subject Serial Verb Phrases

The different subject serial verb phrase is composed of two verbs in series with the first having a different subject affix. Semantically, this construction is used to express causative (as in (298), frustrative (as in (299), and a number of more specific meanings. The examples given here represent sequences that occur frequently enough in different contexts to warrant calling them serial verb phrases, and are by no means exhaustive.

298) *Gʌ-tʌ* **ʌ-ŋat-si** *gwok* *sepmu* **nandʌ-i-t.**
2s-SRC do-PFCT-DS.2s body pain sense-TP-FACT.1s
'You caused me pain.'

299) ***Jem-ripm-wʌn*** ***mara-wʌn*** *'Je-de* *sie* *de*
wait.for-PROG-DS.3s FRUS-DS.3s INTEROG-one thing one
ʌ-i-k?' *yaŋ* *ya-ŋ*...
do-TP-FACT.1s thus speak-SS
'He waited to no avail (and) thought, "What did he do?"'

The FRUSTRATIVE *mara* indicates the unfruitful outcome of the previous verb. It occurs most frequently with the verbs 'see', 'look for', 'wait for', and 'hit' though it is not restricted to these.

300) *'Nu komu man-ni Seveknin' yaŋ* ***ʌ-nu-wʌn***
DEI river name-3s.POSS NAME thus REC.3s-say.to-DS.3s
ka-kʌ-m.
OBJ.3s-see-RP-FACT.1s
'"That river's name is Seveknin," he explained to me.'

301) *Tip* ***baye-si*** ***ku-sin!***
rock hit-DS.2s go-2s.DEF
'Throw the rock!'

302) *Biʌŋ tʌm keye-ŋ* ***yipm-wʌn*** *nu-jʌk* ***ku-kʌ-t.***
banana leaf write-SS OBJ.S.put-DS.3s DEI-LOC go-RP-FACT.3s
'He wrote a letter (and) sent it there.'

303) *...sit-ripm-ŋat-wo wamu dʌkŋu* ***ya-wʌn*** ***ka-kwit.***
sit-PROG-PFCT-DS.3p talk some speak-DS.3s OBJ.S.see-FACT.3p
'...they were sitting and heard the speech first hand.' (The form *ya-wʌn ka* can mean to eyewitness, to understand, or to listen approvingly.)

304) *Pasto-tʌ miti* ***ya-wʌn*** ***nandʌ-ŋat***
pastor-SRC good.news speak-DS.3s hear-PFCT
'They understood the Pastor's sermon.'

6.5 Generic Serial Verb Phrases

The generic serial verb phrase is a catagory that consists of all other serial verb phrases that do not clearly fit the other catagories. That is, they are not used frequently enough in different contexts to be considered a semantic unit that functions together. This is a fairly large group that cannot be listed exhaustively so only representative samples will be given. Many may border on being a sequence of clauses, but in light of the definitions given they are included here. In general they are unique combinations of two or more verbs with the same subject affix on all but the last verb. They are range from being a loosely knit semantic unit to being isolatable semantic units. In all instances the semantic total is the sum of the parts. It is in this area that speakers are quite innovative, putting together different combinations for specific purposes. Some of these gradually come into more frequent use in wider contexts and move towards a more homogenous semantic unit. They may also contain one additional clause level constituent such as location.

305) *...wamu-tʌ tʌvʌ* ***yipm-ŋ*** ***nin-mu-ŋat***
talk-SRC trail OBJ.S.put-SS REC.1p-give-PFCT
'...teach us (your) talk.'

306) *...jap nu* ***na-ŋ tukŋu-ŋat***
food DEI eat-SS full.up-PFCT
'...(he) gorged (himself) on the food.'

307) *Gwini de* ***yimŋ-ŋ*** *ʌŋ-avu-ŋ-ka yaka bupm-sat.*
round one shoot-SS OBJ.S-come-SS-ISEQ REP sew-INDEF.1s
'I will get (buy) some more (cloth) and then sew again.'

308) *...avu-ŋ-ka wit mʌk* ***dari-ŋ*** ***kugworu-ŋ...***
come-SS-ISEQ house ground OBJ.3p.see-SS go.around-SS
'... (we) came and toured around the town...'

309) *...ʌ-mu-wʌn* ***na-ŋ nandʌ-ŋ*** *moreni ʌ-wʌn nandʌ-ŋ...*
REC.3s-give-DS.3s eat-SS feel-SS good do-DS.3s think-SS
'...he gave it to him and he tasted it and thought it was good...'

310) *...mʌnjin de-ni* ***kamat-ŋ*** *nu-man* ***sit-kʌ-t.***
child one-FM die-SS DEI-LOC sit-RP-FACT.3s
'...the child died there.'

311) *...kina de* ***na-mu-wʌn*** ***pʌŋ-bra-ŋat*** *tʌ-na*
kina one REC.1s-give-DS.3s OBJ.PL-hold-PFCT CERT.1s.POSB
pʌ-kʌ-m
come.down-RP-FACT.1s
'...he gave me the kina and I decided to come down.'

6.6 Combination Serial Verb Phrases

Frequently a clause contains a combination of different types or serial verb phrases, or one serial verb phrase with additional verbs or verb phrases. This is not really a different type of serial verb phrase, but two examples will be given for completeness.

[VP] [Serial VP]

312) *Yiop bupm-ŋ tek ka-ŋ nandʌ-ŋ dakŋu-ŋat-wʌn*
cloth sew-SS mark OBJ.3s.see know-SS finish-PFCT-DS.3s
'He tried/learned to sew the cloth.'

[Serial VP]

313) *...ʌmin* *but-ni-tʌ* *ma* *nandʌ-wo* *ʌkwa-ŋat-wo*
person heart-3s.POSS-SRC NEG think-DS.3p mess.up-PFCT-DS.3p

[Serial VP]

mindʌ-ŋ *ku-ni.*
afraid-SS go-INDEF.3p

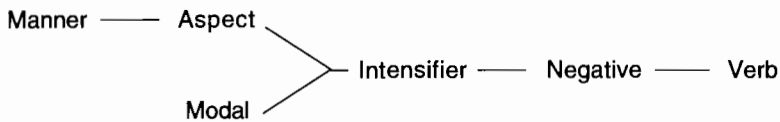
'...people's hearts were not messed up by their thinking (and) did not run away.'

7 VERB PHRASES

A verb phrase in Nankina consists of a verb as the nuclear constituent preceded by modifying words or particles. There are two types of verb phrases: the general verb phrase and the compound verb phrase. The general verb phrase consists of a verb nucleus and up to three modifiers indicating manner, mode, or aspect.[15] The compound verb phrase consists of a noun as semantic nucleus and a verb as grammatical nucleus. The verb carries affixation but may add little or no meaning to phrase.

7.1 General Verb Phrases

The overall structure of the general verb phrase is as follows:



The general verb phrase consists of the verb nucleus that gives the main meaning to the phrase preceded by modifiers indicating manner, aspect or mode. These modifiers may be intensified, negated or alternated. Manner and aspect modifiers can co-occur while the modal can not occur with the other two.[16]

The following chart summarises all the possible combinations that have been observed in texts or conversation thus far. The classification of some of the morphemes as manner, mode, or aspect is tentative, but reflects our current understanding of the vernacular terms.

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15 According to the formulas in 7.1 it should be possible to have four modifiers. While it may be possible to generate an artificial sentence with, for example, MANNER + permanentive + INT + NEG, we have not found any examples with more than three modifiers.

16 The one exception is the obligative which can occur with both manner and aspect. It is possible that structurally the obligative should be considered an aspect.

TABLE 16

meaning or semantic domain	word	intensifier *sini*	negative *ma*	tense	person
		Manner			
'quickly'	*wopm du*	no	yes	all	all
'immediately'	*mep*	no	yes	all	all
'strongly'	*seveŋ*	yes	yes	all	all
'slowly'	*yewoŋ*	*seknu* 'DIM'	yes	all	all
'quietly/carefully'	*tak yaŋ*	*seknu* 'DIM'	yes	all	all
'suprisingly'	*wuk yaŋ*	no	no	PAST	all
'near miss'	*tuŋ*	no	no	PAST	all
'meaninglessly/ fruitlessly'	*mi*	no	no	all	all
		Aspect			
CONTINUATIVE	*tʌŋgin*	no	yes	PR, DEF, INDEF	all
IMMEDIATE RELEVANCE	*tʌk*	no	no	all	all
MOMENTARY	*tim du*	no	yes	all	all
PERMANENTIVE	*out*	yes	yes	all	all
PRIOR RELEVANCE	*tʌk-nu*	no	no	PR, TP, YP, RP	all
REPETITIVE	*yaka*	no	yes	all	all
TEMPORARY	*ʌŋwoni*	no	yes	all	all
		Modality			
APPREHENSIVE	*du*	no	no	CONTRA	2,3
UNCUSTOMARY	*du ma*	no	required	PR	all
POSSIBILITIVE	*tum*	no	no	DEF, INDEF	all

UNKNOWN	*bo*	no	no	PAST,PR	all
CERTAINTIVE	*tʌ*	yes	no	all	all
ABILITIVE	*ʌpmu*	yes	yes	PR, DEF, INDEF	all
OBLIGATIVE	*wakin*	yes	no	all	all
DUBATIVE	*ma bo*	no	required	all	2,3
UNREALIZED	*pe*	no	no	PAST	all

7.1.1 Manner in Verb Phrases

Manner is expressed by a finite class of adverbial modifiers. Several of them are related to adjectives in which the adverbial ends in *-ŋ* and the adjective ends in *-ni*. Manner adverbials are included as part of the general verb phrase because they are always closely tied to the verb with only the intensifier, negative, and alternative between the adverbial and the verb.

314) *...garʌŋ ʌ-mu-ŋat-si wore-ni wopmu du taka-sak.*
help REC.3s-give-PFCT.DS.2s sore-3s.POSS quickly dry-INDEF.3s
'...help him and his sore will get better quickly.'

315) *...yewoŋ sek-nu avu-kʌ-t.*
slowly DIM-DEI come-RP-FACT.3s
'...he came very slowly.'

The following two examples contain compound adverbials. Since the second word in each compound is actually a verb, the constructions could also be analysed as compound verb phrases that are in serial constructions with the verb they modify. We are analysing them as compound adverbials, however, since they have adverbial functions and because the words *tak* and *wuk*, apparently nouns, have no meaning by themselves but still contribute to the meaning.

316) *Tak ya-ŋ sit-ripm-ŋat-na...*
? say-SS sit-PROG-PFCT-DS.1p
'We were sitting quietly and...'

317) *...wuk ya-ŋ apm-kʌ-t.*
? say-SS explode-RP-FACT.3s
'...it exploded surprisingly.'

The adverbial *tuŋ* 'near miss/without results' has only been observed in the context of verbs of throwing, shooting, hitting, etc, as illustrated in (318).

318) *...nu-man wakit-ŋat-ŋ tuŋ yim-ripm-wo-ka...*
DEI-LOC meet-PFCT-SS near.miss shoot-PROG-3p-DSEQ
'...they met there and were shooting (opossum) without results...'

319) *...wo-ŋat-ŋ yime seveŋ sepm-kʌ-t.*
go.up-PFCT door strongly close-RP-FACT.3s
'...he went in and secured (or slammed) the door.

320) *...kit-ni-tʌ anuŋ mi ʌŋ-bra-ŋ...*
hand-3s.POSS-SRC CAT no.reason OBJ.S-hold-SS
'...his hand held it fruitlessly like this...'

7.1.2 Aspect in Verb Phrases

Aspect modifies the action or event by making a statement about it in relation to the relative time of the event itself. There are seven aspects: continuative, prior relevance, immediate relevance, repetitive, momentary, temporary and permanentive.

7.1.2.1 Continuative

Continuative is expressed by *tʌŋgin* preceding the verb. It is possible that this is actually made up of *tʌŋ* 'perhaps' and the postposition *kin* 'just/only'. Continuative aspect in verb phrases is different than in medial verbs as discussed in 5.2.2.1.1. In the case of medial verbs, the unaffixed verb stem has a continuative sense but this aspect is not focussed on. In the case of the general verb phrase, on the other hand, the continuative aspect focusses on the ongoingness of the action or event, similar to English *still* or *continuing to*. It can only be used with the present, definite, and indefinite tenses.

321) *Nu pure gwok-ni-ŋan tʌŋgin sit-wa-k.*
DEI sick body-3s.POSS-LOC CONT sit-PR-FACT-3s
'He still has that sickness.'

322) *Sevot-ni tʌŋgin sit-sak ga sevot tʌŋgin ŋʌnu-sak.*
work-3s.POSS CONT exist-INDEF.3s CONJ work CONT do-INDEF.3s
'His work should continue and he should continue to do work.'

7.1.2.2 Immediate Relevance

The immediate relevance aspect *tʌk* encodes immediate relevance to the situation. It may occur with any of the verbal tense/aspect affixes but normally occurs with present tense, prospective aspect, or definite modality, all of which are proximate to the time of utterance. The closest English equivalent is *OK* or *right now*.

323) *Sun nu-man awu-wʌn 'Tʌk wo-da!' yaŋ ya-ŋ.*
NAME DEI-LOC come-3s.DS IMMED go.up-INDEF.1d thus speak-SS
'Sun came and I said, "OK, let's go!"'

324) *...jipmʌ-ŋ yi-pm-ŋ-ka tʌk ye-nu-won*
3p.OBJ.kill-SS OBJ.3p-put-SS-ISEC IMMED OBJ.3p-say.to.DS.3s
ye-kwit.
come.up-RP.3p
'...they stopped killing them and he talked to them right then and they came up.'

325) *Nu-si ʌ-ŋat-ŋ nu-tʌ papia tʌk sitda-wa-t.*
DEI-PUR do-PFCT-SS 3s-SRC paper IMMED read-PR-3s
'Therefore I am reading its paper right now.'

The immediate relevance aspect can be used in the theme position of the clause. In this position the meaning is almost ingressive, but the closest English equivalent is *OK*,....

326) *...tʌk yaka nu-ŋan pat-ŋat-ŋ tipm-wa-mʌŋ.*
IMMED CS DEI-LOC sleep-PFCT-SS exist-PR-1p
'...OK, a different time/situation after that, we sleep and stay.'

327) *Tʌk yaŋubin-nu-tʌ awu wo biara-ŋat-ŋ jipm-ŋat-ŋ*
IMMED all-DEI-SRC come go.up hold-PFCT-SS OBJ.3p-PFCT-SS
'OK, all of them came and held them and killed them.'

7.1.2.3 Prior Relevance

The prior relevance aspect is composed of the immediate relevance aspect suffixed with the distal deictic. It is used with the present or any of the past tenses. It is similar to the perfective aspect discussed in 5.2.2.1.2.1, but focusses on the significance of the stated event or action to a prior situation while the perfective focusses on the action or event as a whole. The closest English equivalent is *already*.

328) *'Tʌk-nu bo kamat-yak?' yaŋ-si nandʌ-wo*
IMM-DEI ALT die-EV.3s thus-PUR hear-DS.3p
'"He is apparently already dead or is he?" that's what he was thinking.'

329) *...na-ŋat-wʌn tʌk-nu ma ka-ŋat-wʌn*
eat-PFCT-3s.DS IMM-DEI NEG OBJ.3s.see-PFCT-3s.DS
'...he ate, (the other participant) had not seen him (eat).'

330) *...dʌmit tawin yik-ni-ŋan sit-ŋat-wʌn tʌk-nu wo-kʌ-t.*
TREE seed bilum-3s.POSS-LOC sit-PFCT-3s.DS IMM-DEI go.up-RP-3s
'...the demit seeds sat in his bilum and he had already gone up (before he realised they were there).'

It frequently appears as the theme of the clause (just as the immediate relevance aspect does) or by itself as an interjection or response. In this position it makes anaphoric reference to the previous clause or implicit previous event and means, 'OK, that is all taken care of, (so) now...'. It is also a common discourse closure (see 26.3.2).

331) *Tʌk-nu nu-tʌ yewi damni ma ya-nam.*
IMMED-DEI 3s-SRC reason large NEG speak-INDEF.1p
'OK, now that that's done we won't talk alot about the reason for it.'

332) *...tʌk-nu nu-ŋan jiom yaka ʌ-ŋat-ŋ*
IMMED-DEI DEI-LOC rafter REP do-PFCT-SS
'...Ok, once that's done, next, we do the rafters again.'

7.1.2.4 Repetitive

The repetitive aspect is marked by *yaka* preceding the verb. It is similar to English *again* and refers to a previous action, event, or state, though it may be more a generic than a specific reference within the hearer's consciousness. It can occur with any tense and person/number.

333) *...pu tim du yaka nʌmbiʌ-ŋ para-ŋat-ŋ.*
go.down piece IPL REP hold-SS carve-PFCT-SS
'...(he) went down and held/carved (it) again for a while.'

334) *...woni ka-ŋ yaka pʌŋ-pu-wa...*
none OBJ.3s REP OBJ.PL-go.down-1s.DS
'...he didn't see him and went back down again...'

335) *...gwini de ʌŋ-avu-ŋ-ka yaka bupm-sat.*
round one OBJ.S-come-SS-ISEQ REP sew-INDEF.3s
'...I will bring a round (piece of cloth) then sew again.'

7.1.2.5 Momentary

The momentary aspect is marked by *timu* 'piece' plus *du* 'INDEFINITE PLURAL' preceding the verb. It indicates the action, event or state is of limited duration, that is, occurring for the moment with the expectation that it will not be ongoing or of a long duration.

336) *Wit-ŋan po-ku tim du sit-ripm-ŋ-ka...*
house-LOC OBJ.PL-go piece IPL sit-PROG-SS-ISEQ
'(He) went to (the) house and stayed for a while and then...'

337) *...bat-ŋan tim du at-ŋ nandʌ-ŋat-ŋ...*
side-LOC piece IPL stand-SS listen-PFCT-SS
'...(he) stood listening for a while at the side (of the house)...'

7.1.2.6 Permanentive

The permanentive is expressed by *out* preceding the verb. It may modified by the intensifer or the negative. It indicates once the action, state, or event has taken place it is irreversable, that is, the event, action or state will not occur again.

338) *Mo deni wo duvuk pat-kʌ-t-ŋan out kamat-kʌ-t.*
female FM go.up sleep recline-RP-FACT.3s PERM die-RP-FACT.3s
'The woman went up (into the house) and died (versus fainted) when she went to sleep.'

339) *...nu ʌmin Madang out ku-kʌ-t.*
DEI human NAME PERM go-RP-FACT.3s
'...that man went to Madang (never to return again).'

7.1.2.7 Temporary

The temporary aspect is the opposite of the permanentive. It indicates an action, state or event is of temporary duration. While the duration may be a long time, the affected entity ultimately reverts back to a former state or condition. The previous state may or may not be stated explicitly. It is marked by *ʌŋwoni*, the internal constituency of which is *ʌ-ŋ-woni* 'do-SS-none'. Because *ʌŋwoni* functions as a single unit it will be glossed as 'TEMP' and not as the constituent morphemes.

340) *Sepmbʌŋ ʌŋwoni pu-rak ye-wa.*
PLACE TEMP go-RET come.up-DEF.1s
'I will go down to Sepmbʌŋ temporarily and come back.'

341) *Yan-tʌ wit-ŋan ʌŋwoni tipm-won-yaŋ wit kwundʌk-nu*
over-SRC house-LOC TEMP exist-DS.3s-thus house new-DEI
wiiŋ-ŋat-wo-ka...
build-PFCT-DS.3p-ISEQ
'He is staying temporarily while they build a new house then (he will move into the new one)...'

7.1.3 Modality in Verb Phrases

Modality within the general verb phrase indicates the speaker's assessment of the probability of the situation. It may range from the impossibility to certainty of the situation. The specific co-occurrence restrictions between the different modalities and various modifiers and person/tense forms will be covered under each specific modality. The modalities seldom co-occur with aspect or manner within the general verb phrase.

7.1.3.1 Apprehensive

The apprehensive is marked by the indefinite plural *du* in conjunction with the irrealis modality. No other argument is required.The meaning is hard to translate into English but has the sense of *lest...* or *It's no good if....* It translates well in Tok Pisin as *no gut....*

342) *Mʌk-ŋan du maŋ-siem!*
ground-LOC IPL fall-IRREALIS.2s
'It's no good if you fall down!' or 'I'm afraid you're going to fall!'

343) *Nu kit-ni du mandʌ-wʌn!*
3s hand-3s.POSS IPL chop-IRREALIS.3s
'I'm afraid he's going to chop his hand!' ('No gut yu katim han bilong yu.')

7.1.3.2 Uncustomary

The uncustomary is marked by the indefinite plural *du* followed by the negative *ma* in conjunction with the present or one of the past tenses. It expresses something that is not normally done, something out of the ordinary and many times beyond the realm of experience. This is the opposite of the habitual even though the structures are not related.

344) *Sepmʌŋ wokiyak nu-kʌ du ma pʌŋgwʌŋ-ŋ kugwore-kwit.*
before grass.skirt DEI-MN IPL NEG wear-SS go.around-RP.FACT.3p
'They did not use to go around wearing the wokiyak grass skirts that way.'

345) *Nu sevot-ŋan ʌmin de du ma pʌ-ŋ na-ŋat-wo...*
DEI garden-LC human one IPL NEG get-SS eat-PFCT-DS.3p
'A person doesn't normally eat food from that garden...'

7.1.3.3 Possibilitive

The possibilitive, *tum*, expresses the possiblity that an action, event or state will occur. Some speakers indicate that it is the same as the response *tʌŋ* 'perhaps'. It precedes the verb and may not occur with the intensifier, negative, or alternative. It has only been observed to co-occur with the indefinite modality. When used without the possessive pronoun it indicates the speaker's lack of insight into the situation, while with the possessive pronoun it indicates indecision. It has not been observed co-occurring with the second person.

346) *Basarike tum pʌ-sak.*
NAME POSB come.down-INDEF.3s
'Perhaps Basarike will come down.'

347) *Gumbaion tum pat-sak.*
PLACE POSB recline-INDEF.3s
'He will possibly sleep at Gumbaion.'

7.1.3.4 Certaintive

The certaintive *tʌ* emphasises the certainty of the action, event, or state by bringing the action, event, or state closer to the present moment. The certaintive is most frequently used with the remote past tense. It may also co-occur with the indefinite modality (see 5.2.1.5.2), in which case it marks an event, action or state as definite but occurring at an unknown time in the future. This usage is fairly uncommon.

348) *Jesu mʌk-ŋan tʌ avu-sak.*
NAME ground-LOC CERT come-INT.3s
'Jesus certainly will come (back) to earth.'

349) *...kirikie kap de tʌ sit-wa-k.*
KIND possum one CERT sit-PR-FACT.3s
'...a porcupine certainly is sitting (there).'

350) *Tip yime tʌ abu sepm-kʌ-t.*
stone door CERT come shut-RP-FACT.3s
'The door really did close.'

351) *...tʌ sini wakin akwa-kʌ-mʌn.*
CERT INT OBLIG mess.up-RP-FACT.3d
'...those two were certainly messed up (no volition).'

7.1.3.5 Unknown

The unknown is constructed with the alternative preceding the verb, and occurs in the present and past tenses. It expresses the lack of factual knowledge as to whether the action, event or state occurs. A degree of hopefulness of a positive outcome may also be present, but this is probably context dependent.

352) *Jap sevot-na bamu bo sit-wa-k.*
food garden-1s.POSS produce ALT sit-PR-FACT.3s
'I'm not sure if my garden has produce or not (but I hope so).'

353) *Kom davin-ŋan-tʌ bo pʌ-i-k.*
river eye-LOC-SRC ALT come.down-TP-3s
'I'm not sure if he has come down from the headwaters of the river.'

7.1.3.6 Dubative

The dubative is composed of the negative *ma* followed by the alternative *bo*. It only occurs with the definite and indefinite modalities and expresses doubt on the part of the speaker as to whether the action, event, or state will occur.

354) *Elikopta ma bo avu-sak.*
helicopter NEG ALT come-INDEF.3s
'It's doubtful whether the helicopter will come.'

355) *Amin-tʌ miti wamu ma bo nandʌ-ni.*
human-SRC gospel talk NEG ALT hear-INDERF.3p
'It's doubtful whether they will understand the Gospel.'

7.1.3.7 Abilitive

The abilitive *ʌpmu* expresses the ability to accomplish an action, event or state. It can also expresses approval for the performance of the action, event or state. With the negative it indicates a lack of ability or approval.

356) *Nin tipm-k tipm-k morʌni ʌpmu tipm-nam.*
1p exist-NOM exist-NOM good ABL xit-INDEF.1p
'We are able to live a good life.'

357) *Kwʌŋ wop kwait-kwok ʌpmu mindʌ-ŋ ku-sak.*
evil spirit out-side ABL afraid-SS go-INDEF.3s
'Evil spirits can run away.'

358) *Ʌmin de-tʌ kovu-ni ʌpmu ʌŋ-ku-sak.*
human one-SRC forbidden-3s.POSS ABL OBJ.S-go-INDEF-3s
'A person can carry off a forbidden (thing) [steal].' (lack of approval)

When the abilitive occurs with the negative and alternative it indicates doubt that the action, event, or state is possible. It functions much the same as the dubative, however it seems to be stronger in its statement of doubt and is frequently used to express irony.

359) *Ʌmin-nu-tʌ mo yat yat ʌpmu ma bo kwit-ni.*
human-DEI-SRC female two two ABL NEG ALT tear.apart-INDEF.3p
'It's doubtful that a man with multiple wives is able to get rid of (divorce) them.'

360) *'Ʌpmu ma bo ga-mu-sat' yaŋ ʌ-nu-wʌn...*
ABL NEG ALT REC.2s-give-1s.INDEF thus REC.3s-say-DS.3s
'"There's no way I'm going to give (it) to you!" he said to him...'

7.1.3.8 Obligative

The obligative expresses that the action, event or state had to or must occur. The obligatoriness may be due to the participants' will (though this is rare) or may be imposed by someone else or by the situation.

361) *Gwarawon wakin ku-sat!*
PLACE OBLIG go-INDEF.1s
'(I) have to go to Gwarawon!'

362) *...ʌmin de yaka wakin sini ʌkwa-kʌ-t.*
human one REP OBLIG INT mess.up-RP-FACT.3s
'...it had to happen that a man was really messed up.'

363) *...wuse-wo ka-na kʌmʌŋ sini wakin ʌ-bai-k.*
make-DS.3p OBJ.3s.see-DS.1p savory INT OBLIG do-YP-3s
'...we saw the (drama) they made and it had to be good.'

In (362-363) the obligative has the function of emphasising the action or state of the verb.

7.1.3.9 Unrealised

The unrealised *pe* indicates that the situation almost happened but was thwarted or did not come to fruition. The cause may be explicit within the extended context, implicit, or unknown. It only occurs with the past tenses and cannot occur with the negative, intensifier, or alternative.

364) *Davit nu-man pe kamat-kʌ-t.*
NAME DEI-LOC UNRL die-RP-FACT.3s
'David almost died there.'

365) *...tʌp wien-gwok im-tʌ pe pu-kʌ-mʌŋ.*
sea in-side down.close-SRC UNRL go.down-RP-FACT.1p
'We almost went down into the sea.'

366) *Morʌŋ ma ka-ŋ mʌk-ŋan pe maŋ-bai-t.*
good NEG OBJ.S ground-LOC UNRL fall-YP-3s.FACT
'He did not watch very well and almost fell down.'

7.1.3.10 Volitional

The volitional is different structurally from the modalities discussed thus far in that it does not occur as a separate word within the verb phrase. Instead, it is formed by adding the stative possessive pronoun affixes that normally occur on nouns to certain of the modality and aspectual forms. The volitional may occur on the continuative, repetitive, permanentive, and momentary aspects, and on the certaintive, possibilitive, and abilitive modalities. The forms of the volitional affixes are as follows:

	singular	dual	plural
1st person	*-na*	*-nit*	*-nin*
2nd person	*-ga*	*-git*	*-gi*
3rd person	*-ni*	*-git*	*-gi*

The meaning of the volitional is straight forward when it occurs with one of the aspects: the verb and the aspect were done volitionally by the subject. The volitional affix agrees in person/number with the subject whether it is an explicit noun phrase or simply marked on the verb.

367) *...ga sevot tʌŋgin-ni ŋʌnu-sak.*
and garden CONT-3s.POSB.VOL work-3s.INDEF
'...and he decided to continue to work.'

368) *...wit-ni moreni ʌ-wʌn ka-ŋ yaka-ni*
house-3s.POSS good do-DS 3s-SS REP-3s.POSB.VOL
wo-kʌ-t.
go.up-RP-3s.FACT
'...he saw he had a good house so decided to go in.'

369) *Ga kirikie kap ye ya-wa-mʌŋ nu-ye out-ni*
and porcupine possum FO say-PR-1p DEI-EMPH PERM-3s.POSB.VOL
tipuŋ ku-kʌ -t.
hide go-RP-3s.FACT
'And the one we call the pocupine, he decided to hide (permanently).'

370) *...tipm-ŋat-ŋ kom nu du-nit*
exist-PFCT-SS river DEI PL-1d.POSB.VOL
ka-ripm-ŋat-ka...
OBJ.3s.see-PROG-PFCT-ISEQ
'...(we) stayed and decided to look at the river for a while, then...'

In (370) above the momentary is *du*, not *tim-du*. With the volitional affix the momentary aspect generally refers to a longer time than it does without the volitional affix.

The volitional comes the closest to being a generic form for expressing volition when affixed to the certaintive modality. This form indicates that the following action was done

volitionally by the indicated participant. The sense of certainty is less in focus than the volitionality.

371) *...tʌ-na* *pʌ-k-nu-si* *ʌ-ŋat-wa-ka...*
CERT-1s.POSB.VOL come.down-NOM-DEI-PUR do-PFCT-DS.1s-ISEQ
'...I decided to start down and...'

372) *...kina de pʌŋ-bra-ŋat-ŋ no tʌ-na*
kina one OBJ-hold-PFCT-SS 1s CERT-1s.POSB.VOL
pʌ-kʌ-m.
come.down-RP-FACT.1s
'...I got the kina and decided to go down.'

In the third person form, the volitional/certaintive appears to have a discourse-level pragmatic function in addition to (or in place of) volitionality, that of indicating when a participant is going to exit from the narrative or not be referred to again. Frequently a participant's final action or state is referred to with this form. When occurring at the end of a discourse with the verb *tipm* 'to exist' it may be similar to English *living happily ever after.*

373) *Ulap nu tʌ-ni* *ku-k-nu-si* *Bambu wo-ŋat-wo...*
NAME 3s CERT-3s.POSB go-NOM-SEI-PUR PLACE go.up-PFCT-DS.3p
'Those Ulap people went up to Bambu in order to leave...'

374) *...ʌŋgiri-ŋat-wʌn yaka tʌ-ni tipm-kwit.*
praise-PFCT-DS.3s REP CERT-3s.POSB exist-RP.FACT.3p
'...he praised him and they again lived (end of story).'

375) *...nu-man tipm-kʌ-t-nu-tʌ dʌkŋu tʌ-ni*
DEI-LOC exist-RP-FACT.3s-DEI-SRC some CERT-3s.POSB
pʌŋ-yeri-ŋ na-ŋat-ŋ.
OBJ.PL-kill-SS eat-PFCT-SS
'...some of those living there he killed and ate.' (Participants exit story by being eaten.)

The volitional used with the possibilitive indicates either that the participant is unsure if the action will occur or that the outcome is up to the referent (reflecting the essence of the volitional).

376) *Manase tum-ni avu-sak.*
NAME POSB-3s.POSB come-3s.INDEF
'Manase is not sure if he will come.' or 'Manase possibly will come but it depends upon him.'

The abilitive can only be used with the first or third person volitional form. When used with the abilitive, the volitional indicates that personal ability, not situational or generic ability, is in focus.

377) *Kwim ʌpm-na para-wa-t.*
bow ABL-1s.POSB carve-PR-1s.FACT
'I have the ability to carve a bow.'

378) *...kap bit kwit sie kʌwu yaŋ ʌpmu-ni yim-sak.*
possum pig bird thing PL thus ABL-3s.POSB shoot-INDEF.3s
'...he has the ability to shoot possums, pigs, birds and things like that.'

7.1.4 Verb Phrase Intensifiers

Intensifiers can be used to modify the manner, modal or aspects. The only intensifiers that occur are ***sini*** 'very' and ***seknu*** 'DIM'. These intensifiers are a subset of those that occur in the noun phrase (see 9.3.1 and 9.3.3).

379) *...yam-tʌ tʌwʌ-ŋan yiwoŋ seknu pu-sie.*
down-SRC trail-LOC slowly DIM go.down-INDEF.2s
'...go down very slowly on the trail down there.'

380) *Luk-tʌ kwapok sewen sini sira-won ku-kʌ-t.*
NAME-SRC ball strongly very kick-DS.3s go-RP-FACT.3s
'Luke kicked the ball very strongly.'

381) *...nu-man-tʌ out sini ku-kʌ-t.*
DEI-LOC-SRC PERM very go-RP-FACT.3s
'...he permanently left from there.'

382) *Ʌpmu sini win-sat.*
ABL very build-INDEF.3s
'I am truly able to build (it).'

7.2 Compound Verb Phrases

The compound verb phrase consists of a noun that is the lexical nucleus and a verb that provides the grammatical nucleus that carries the verbal affixes. While many of the examples may have the appearance of a transitive clause, the noun and verb are more closely related in a compound verb phrase than in a transitive clause. Two verbs used in compound verb phrases, *ʌ* 'do' and *da* 'become', do not have any meaning independent from the noun. Others such as *ka* 'see' and *dakŋu* 'finish' have independent meanings, but in compound verb phrases they form a semantic unit with the noun.

The verb *ʌ* 'do' is the most common verb used in compound verb phrases. It occurs with a large, although finite, class of nouns that give meaning to the phrase. Some examples of compound verb phrases with *ʌ* are given in (383-385).

383) *...tipm-ŋat-na* *ku* ***kʌtnʌm*** *ʌ-wʌn...*
exist-PFCT-DS.1p go night do-DS.3s
'...they stayed until it was night...'

384) *...ku-na* *gok* ***woni*** *ʌ-wʌn* *ka-ŋ...*
go-DS.1p betel.nut none do-DS.3s OBJ.3s-SS
'...we went and saw that there was no betel nut...'

385) *...wamu* *ya-ŋat* ***bʌp*** *ʌ-gwiʌŋ-ŋ-ka* *vu-kʌ-mʌŋ.*
talk speak-PFCT laugh do-DUR-SS-ISEQ come-RP-FACT.1p
'...we talked, laughed a long time and then came.'

Other compound verb phrases involving *ʌ* are *bisep ʌ* 'it is time' (cf. *bisep* 'time'), *sevot ʌ* 'do work' (cf. *sevot* 'garden'), *gup ʌ* 'it is windy' (cf. *gup* 'wind'), *kiripmu ʌ* 'forget' (cf. *kiripmu* 'unique'), *pure ʌ* 'be sick' (cf. *pure* 'sickness'), and *kʌmʌŋ ʌ* 'it smells' (cf. *kʌmʌŋ* 'smell').

The verb *da* 'become' can be used in compound verb phrases with almost any noun although the culture determines which ones will be used most frequently. Some examples of compound verb phrases using *da* are given in (386-388).

386) *...nap* *yaka* *wamʌt-ŋat-na* ***seven*** ***da-ŋat-wʌn.***
rope REP tie-PRCT-DS.1p strong become-PFCT-DS.3s
'...we tied the rope again and it became strong.'

387) *...nimbʌ-ŋ* *nan-na-tʌ-si* ***won*** ***da-ŋ*** *nu-kʌ*
OBJ.1p-see-SS father-1s.POSS-SRC-PUR anger become-SS DEI-MNS
ŋ-gepm-kʌ-t.
OBJ.PL-chase-RP-3s.FACT
'...he saw us, got mad at himself (and) chased us that way.'

388) *...**yewin*** ***da-ŋ*** *ku-ŋat-ŋ-ku...*
base become-SS go-PFCT-SS-DSEQ
'...(he) went first and then...'

Other compound verb phrases involving *da* are *morʌŋ da* 'become good' (cf. *morʌŋ* 'good'), *ʌkwin da* 'become bad' (cf. *ʌkwin* 'bad'), *jekwie da* 'become a bird' (cf. *jekwie* 'bird'), and *gavaŋ da* 'become a lake' (cf. *gavaŋ* 'lake'). While many of the nouns in these compound verb phrases appear from the English glosses to be adjectives, they are not the form of the adjectives that appear in other constructions.

Some examples of compound verb phrases involving verbs other than *ʌ* or *da* are given in (389-392).

389) *Sawi* ***mʌk*** ***dakŋu-ŋat-wʌn*** *wo* *pat* *pʌmindʌ-kʌ-t.*
next.day ground end.up-PFCT-DS.3s go.up trap set-RP-FACT.3s
'The next day it dawned and he went up and set traps.'

390) *...tipm* *ʌŋ-wo* *bisep* *ya-kʌ-t* ***dʌvʌk*** ***ka-ŋat-wʌn***
exist OBJ-go.up time speak-RP-FACT.3s short OBJ.3s-PFCT-DS.3s
nandʌ-ŋat-na
hear-PFCT-DS.1p
'...they stayed until they heard it was almost time.'

391) *...ku-ŋat-ŋ* *mʌk* *yaka* ***siŋgiŋ*** ***ka-ŋat-wʌn***
go-PFCT-SS ground REP light OBJ.3s-see-PFCT-DS.3s
ka-ŋ *wo-kʌ-mʌk.*
OBJ.3s-see-SS go.up-RP-FACT.1d
'...it went (arrow) and the we saw it clear up again (so) we went up.'

392) *Yaka* ***tek*** ***ka-ŋ*** *nandʌ-ŋat-ŋ* *nandʌ-wa*
REP mark OBJ.S-see-SS know-PFCT-SS know-DS.1s
dakŋu-wʌn-ŋ-ka...
finish-DS.3s-SS-ISEQ
'I again tried to learn and after learning...'

8 NOUNS AND PRONOUNS

8.1 Nouns

Nouns can be divided into two main catagories: alienably possessed and inalienably possessed. The class of alienably possessed nouns can be further subdivided into common nouns and proper nouns.

8.1.1 Alienably Possessed Nouns

The alienably possessed nouns constitute the largest open class of words with the widest distribution. They can be arranged along a continuum from those that are rarely possessed to those that are frequently possessed – all of which is semantically determined. It may be even more accurate to also include the inalienably possessed nouns along this continuum because some of these nouns are not posseessed under special circumstances. However, for this paper we will maintain the somewhat artificial divisions made above.

8.1.1.1 Common Nouns

Common nouns semantically include count nouns and mass nouns; plant, animate and inanimate object names. They may optionally be modified or possessed. The following are representative common nouns.

mʌk	'ground, earth'	*biʌŋ*	'banana'
bit	'pig'	*ʌmin*	'human'
komu	'river, water'	*wit*	'house'

Common nouns are not distinguished grammatically. The only difference between mass and count nouns is that mass nouns take modifiers for size but not quantity, while count nouns take modifiers for quantity but not size. Some nouns may function either as mass nouns or count nouns as determined by the context.

393) a. *No jap daminiŋ na-i-t.*
1s food many eat-TP-1s
'I ate many foods.'

b. * *No jap damini de na-i-t.*
1s food large one eat-TP-3s

3394) a. *Tipua damini a-ye maŋ-wa-k-nu!*
rain large DEI-EMPH fall-RP-3s-DEI
'(Look) here's a large rain falling.'

b. * *Tipua daminiŋ a-ye maŋ-wa-k-nu!*
rain many DEI-EMPH fall-PR-3s-DEI

395) a. *No biʌŋ pi-k daminiŋ na-i-t.*
1s banana to.ripen-NOM many eat-TP-1s
'I ate many ripe bananas.'

b. * *No biʌŋ pi-ka-wie damini de na-i-t.*
1s banana to.ripen-3s.OB.see-ADJ large one eat-TP-1s

Plurality can be indicated in the specifier slot of the noun phrase. In the case of the subject, object or recipient it is also reflected in the verbal inflectional affixes. Definiteness and indefiniteness can be marked in the specifier slot of the noun phrase. The unmarked form of the noun is the non-referential, non-definite.

396) *Nin bisep bisep bit jipm-k-nu-si kiriman ku-wa-mʌŋ.*
1p time time pig kill-NOM-DEI-PUR bush go-PR-1p.FACT
'We frequently go to the bush for the killing of pigs.'

397) *Samok a-jʌk morʌn pava-kʌ-t*
betel.nut DEI-LOC good come.up-RP-3s
'Betel nut grows well here.'

8.1.1.2 Proper Nouns

Traditionally, proper nouns included anything that was perceived as possessing a spirit. This included humans, specific pieces of ground or water, and certain animals and objects. This class has been expanded in recent times to include places outside the general area. In addition, it is no longer believed that every piece of ground that has a name has a spirit. Proper nouns are not generally possessed (except as a term of endearment). They are not quantified or modified, and are definite and referential by nature.

Jinguk	'name of a bird'	*Yawie*	'name of a forbidden ground'
Ngʌwoŋ	'woman's name'	*Honenua*	'man's name'
Seviʌk	'name of river'	*Sep*	'name of an ancestral ground'
Gwowoŋ	'type of bow'		

8.1.2 Inalienably Possessed Nouns

The class of inalienably possessed nouns is a closed class. Semantically it can be divided into two classes, kinship terms and body parts, although there is no grammatical difference between them. Both are obligatorily inflected to agree in person and number with the possessor.

BODY PARTS		KINSHIP TERMS	
kit-na	'my hand/arm'	*nan-na*	'my father'
tʌmʌn-nin	'our feet/legs'	*miŋ-nin*	'our mother'
bʌrʌŋ-ni	'his, her, its shoulder'	*bei-ni*	'his sister'

Inalienably possessed nouns occur most commonly in the singular. They may generally be quantified or modified. Kinship terms are frequently modified by the terms *siek* 'DIM' and *ʌvʌ* 'long'. There are two conditions under which inalienably possessed nouns are not possessed. Kinship terms are not possessed when used as a term of address for the person spoken to; body parts are not possessed when used as a numeral (see 9.2.1.) or in figurative constructions like *wam buruŋ* 'title' (literally 'talk head').

398) *Kʌndʌp bʌrʌŋ-na-ŋan maŋ-wʌn ʌkwa-kʌ-t.*
tree shoulder-1s.POSS-LOC fall-DS.3s mess.up-RP-3s
'The tree fell on my shoulder and messed it up.'

399) *Nan-na-tʌ kin komu-ŋan ku-ŋat-wʌn-ka nin*
father-1s.POSS-SRC LIM river-LOC go-PFCT-DS.3s-ISQ 1p
ku-kʌ-mʌŋ.
go-RP-1p
'My father went to the river first just by himself, then we went.'

400) *Pamin, kwe, ʌkwi de mi na-mu-ø!*
older.sib friend bad one no.reason REC.1s-give-DEF.2s
'Older brother, friend, give me a bad one (without pay)!'

8.2 Derived Nouns

8.2.1 Nominalised Verbs

Noun stems can be derived from verb roots by adding the nominalising suffix *-k*. These nominalised verbs frequently also take the distal deictic *-nu*.

401) *pat-k-nu* *tipm-k* *ku-k-nu*
sleep-NOM-DEI exist-NOM go-NOM-DEI
'existence' 'existence' 'the going (of something)'

yim-na-k-nu
shoot-eat-NOM-DEI
'pay'

8.2.2 Reduplicated Nouns

There are two types of reduplicated nouns: those in which the nonreduplicated form is an independent lexical item, and those in which the nonreduplicated form is not an independent lexical item. The following forms are examples of reduplicated nouns in which the nonreduplicated form is an independent lexical item.

402) *mʌnji-mʌnji* *garik-garik* *ʌ-k-ʌ-k*
male.child-male.child help-help do-NOM-do-NOM
'children' 'helper' 'custom'

tipm-ŋ-k-tipmŋ-k *kamat-k-kamat-k* *wam-wam*
exist-NOM-exist-NOM die-NOM-die-NOM talk-talk
'life' 'death' 'conversation'

kap-kap
possum-possum
'(the class of) possums'

The following forms appear to be clearly reduplicated, but the nonreduplicated form is not an independent lexical item.

403) *kuŋwot-kuŋwot* *ŋwet-ŋwet* *sip-sip*
'yellow' 'FLOWER' 'whisper'

8.2.3 Compound Noun

A limited number of compound nouns are composed of two noun roots, a deictic and noun, or a noun and an adjective. Compound nouns are different from attributive noun phrases. In compound nouns the two entities form a new, unrelated noun stem; in attributive noun phrases one of the nouns adds an attribute to the other. For example, the compounds in (404) do not denote humans while the component *mʌnji* 'child' does.

404) *a-mʌnji-n* *gum-mʌnji-n*
DEI-child-NHUM ?-child-NHUM
'snake' 'mosquito'

8.3 Pronouns

Pronouns in Nankina can be classified as personal, emphatic, and possessive. The possessive pronouns are discussed in chapter 11.

8.3.1 Personal Pronouns

The forms of the personal pronouns are given in Table 17. The third singular is the same as the distal deictic pronoun. The third dual and plural are phrases consisting of the third singular plus either the quantifier two (and deictic) or the distal definite plural, respectively. There is no distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms.

TABLE 17

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
1st	*no*	'I'	*nit*	'us/we two'	*nin*	'we, us'
2nd	*go*	'you'	*git*	'you two'	*gi*	'you all'
3rd	*nu*	'he, she, it'	*nu yat-nu*	'those two'	*nu kʌvu*	'they, them'

The only case marking taken by the personal pronouns is the locative clitic (see 17.2) and source clitic (see 19.2). In addition, they can take the purpose clitic (see 19.1) and the limiter.

405) *Apma* *nin-tʌ* *yaŋ* *wuse-bai-mʌŋ.*
yesterday 1p-SRC thus made-YP-1p.
'Yesterday we made it like that.'

406) *Apma* *no* *yaŋ* *ʌ-bai-m.*
yesterday 1s thus do-RP-1s
'Yesterday I did that.'

407) *Nʌ-tʌ-si* *dokta* *ʌ-nu-kʌ-m.*
1s-SRC-PUR doctor OBJ.3s-say.to-RP-1s
'I talked to the doctor about myself.'

8.3.2 Emphatic Pronouns

A second set of pronouns is used to emphasize the exclusiveness of the referent or, less frequently, to encode reflexiveness. They are given in Table 18. They occur as the head of a noun phrase and can co-occur with the source clitic and/or the limiter, the locative clitic, and the purpose clitic.

TABLE 18

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
1st	*na*	'myself'	*niit*	'ourselves'	*niin*	'ourselves'
2nd	*ga*	'yourself'	*giit*	'yourselves'	*gii*	'yourselves'
3rd	*ʌni*	'himself, herself, itself'	*ʌni yat-nu*	'themselves'	*ʌni kʌvu*	'themselves'

408) *Jesu ʌni sewot-ni ʌ-ŋ wara-sak.*
Jesus EM.3s work-3s.POSS do-SS finish-INDEF.3s
'Jesus, **he** will finish his work.'

409) *...ʌmin de-ni ʌni-si mindʌ-kʌ-t.*
person one-FM 3s.EMP afraid-RP-3s
'...the person was was afraid for himself.'

410) *Niin yaŋ ya-wa-mʌŋ.*
1p.EM thus speak-PR-1p
'We ourselves say it like that.'

9 NOUN PHRASE MODIFIERS

There are three basic catagories of noun phrase modifiers: adjectival modifiers, numerical modifiers, and intensifiers.

9.1 Adjectival Modifiers

There are two types of adjectival modifiers: those that appear to be derived from nouns or verbs and those that are not derived.

9.1.1 Nonderived Adjectives

The class of nonderived adjectives is by far the smaller of the two groups of adjectives. Following are representative forms:

gwiʌŋ	'old'
kwak	'white'
esiʌŋ	'light'
kuŋwot	'yellow'
eŋ	'hot'
komu	'cold/water'
gworʌŋ	'crooked'
yiwo	'weak/slow'

411) *Ʌmin kwaknu damini nu-man sit-wa-rʌŋ*
human white many 3s-LOC sit-PR-3p
'Many white people are there.'

412) *Tip eŋ ka-ŋat-ŋ*
stone hot OB.3s.see-PFCT-SS
'(he) saw (the) hot stone.'

413) *Biema ʌmin yiwo jipm-ŋ wara-kwit.*
clan human weak REC.3p.kill finish-RP.3p
'They killed the weak clan.'

There is another subclass of modifiers that seem to be more like classifiers than typical adjectives, but we are classifying them as adjectival modifiers because they occur in the same position within the modified noun phrase. They are as follows:

ʌvʌ	'long,vertical type'
do	'short,vertical type'
tim	'small, horizontal plane type'
kʌim	'large, horizontal plane type'

waŋ	'fat type'
mumin	'short, tiny type'
gwini	'round type'
koŋ	'whole' (of something that is typically split/cut apart)

414) *Tipua mumin maŋ-wa-k.*
rain short.small fall-PR-FACT.3s
'It is misting.'

415) *Eli do, a-ye!*
NAME short this-EMPH
'Here's Ellie (who's short)!'

416) *Muŋgup gwini de na-ŋat-ŋ-ga...*
cucumber round one eat-PFCT-SS-ISEQ
'(we) ate the cucumber then...'

417) *Kom kwep kʌim ʌvʌ wiet de avu-kʌ-t-nu...*
water flood flat long AUG one come-RP-FACT.3s-DEI
'The big huge flood that had come...'

The classifier can occur without a head noun if the referent has been previously introduced and the classifier is affixed with the locative postposition *-ŋan* or the numeral *de* 'one'.

418) *Nu tim-ŋan kʌmin de-ni tʌ-ni na-kʌ-t.*
DEI small.plane-LOC dog one-FM CERT-FM eat-RP-FACT.3s
'At that place the dog ate (it).'

419) *...koŋ de tak yaŋ wieŋ-ŋat...*
whole one quiet thus undo-PFCT
'...(he) quietly untied the package (of salt)...'

9.1.2 Derived Adjectives

Most adjectives are derived from nouns or verbs. Those that are derived from nouns are suffixed with *-ni* or *-nu*. These suffixes have the following functions apart from adjectivising a noun: *-ni* is 3s/STATIVE POSSESSIVE and *-nu* is 3s/DEICTIC. The following is a representative list of the class of derived adjectives:

noun	adjective		noun	adjective	
jʌn	*jʌni*	'black'	*numuon*	*numoni*	'straight'
gʌmin	*gʌmini*	'red'	*bon*	*boni*	'rotten'
ekwin	*ekwi*	'bad'	*damin*	*damini*	'big'
sepmʌŋ	*semʌni*	'old'	*dʌvʌk*	*dʌbʌknu*	'short'
morʌn	*morʌni*	'good'	*duvok*	*duvoknu*	'long'
sepeŋ	*sepeni*	'strong'	*kwindʌk*	*kwindʌknu*	'new'

420) *Ʌmin gwok gʌp-ni jʌnni nin-tʌ mʌk-ŋan avu-kʌ-t.*
human body skin-3s.POSS black 1p-SRC ground-LOC come-RP-3s
'(The) black man came to our ground.'

421) *De wop morʌni ga de wop ʌkwi ʌ-wʌn-ka...*
one spirit good and the spirit bad do-DS.3s-ISEQ
'One is a good spirit and the other is a bad spirit, OK...'

422) *Wam dʌvʌknu sek de ya-sat:*
talk short DIM one say-INT.1s
'I'm going to tell a short story:'

The adjectives that are derived from verbs or verb phrases take the affix *-wie* on the verb stem. They are not a closed class, but are limited semantically. These adjectives indicate the present state of the modified noun.

423) *Biʌŋ pika-wie woni ʌ-wa-k*
banana ripen-ADJ none do-PR-FACT.3s
'There are no ripened bananas.'

424) *Kʌndʌp mʌndʌ-wie ku p-abu-ø!*
wood cut-ADJ go OBJ.PL-come-CERT
'Go get the cut wood and bring it!'

425) *Kom kwep kʌim ʌvʌ wiet de yiop jakgwoŋ-wie*
water flood huge.flat long great one cloth wash-ADJ
tuŋ-kʌ-t.
carry.away-RP-FACT.3s
'The flood came down and carried away the washed clothes.'

Adjectives derived from verbs can occur without a head noun, although this is atypical.

426) *kamat-wie* *mʌk-ŋan* *gwin* *sevot* *ʌ-kʌ-t.*
die-ADJ ground-LOC also work do-RP-3s
'(The) dead (person) also worked on earth.'

9.2 Numerical/Quantifying Modifiers

9.2.1 Number System

Nankina has a numbering system based on the hand. Though numbers over 5 can be expressed in Nankina, most are so complex that Tok Pisin is invariably used for everything over 5. The following forms are used for counting.

de-kin-de	one-LIM-one	'one'
yat	two	'two'
kapbu	three	'three'
de-yat-yat	one-two-two	'four'
ʌmini woni	thumb none	'four'
kit-de	hand-one	'five'
kit-yat	hand-two	'ten'
tʌmin-de	foot-one	'ten'
tʌmin-yat	foot-two	'twenty'
ʌmin-ʌvʌ	human-long.type	'twenty'

The following forms are used as modifiers in the modified noun phrase.

de	one	'one'
yat	two	'two'
kapbu	three	'three'
kʌvu-de	PLURAL-one	'three, few'
yat-yat	one-two-two	'four'
kʌsin-de	hand.bone-one	'five'
kit-yat	hand-two	'ten'
tʌmin-de	foot-one	'ten'
tʌmin-yat	foot-two	'twenty'
ʌmin-ʌvʌ	human-long.type	'twenty'

427) *Ʌmin* *yat* *kwait* *kwok* *wam* *sipsip* *ya-ŋat-ŋ*
human two outside side talk whisper say-PFCT-SS
'Two men whispered outside (the house).'

428) *Mo yat-yat miti wit-ŋan wo-ŋat-ŋ*
female four WORSHIP house-LOC go.up-PFCT-SS
'Four women went into the church.'

429) *ʌmin de ma ka-k tim-ŋan*
human a NEG see-NOM small.place-LOC
'A place where there in not a person.'

430) *No kivuv de ya-tjia-t.*
1s myth a say-PROS-FACT.1s
'I am going to tell a myth.'

9.2.2 Substantive/Ordinal System

The structure used for ordinal numerals is a clause, not words like *first*, *second* or *third*, and as such is technically beyond the scope of this section. Since semantically it belongs here, however, it will be outlined here. The structure is as follows with any numeral being substituted for NUMBER:

bisep NUMBER *yaŋ* ʌ
time thus do

431) *...pup wam ya-ŋat-wʌn bisep yat yaŋ ʌ-kʌ-t.*
rooster talk speak-PFCT-DS.3s time two thus do-RP-3s
'...the rooster crowed for the second time.'

9.2.3 Quantifiers

The class of quantifiers is small. They quantify nouns in non-precise amounts.

dʌk-nu	'some (of a larger whole)' (< piece-DEI)
yaŋubin	'all'
damini	'many'
kʌvu	'plural' (3 or more/Definite)
du	'plural' (3 or more/Indefinite)

432) *Mo de-tʌ jap dʌkŋu ʌŋ-bra-ŋ ʌ-mu-wʌn...*
female one-SRC food some OBJ.S-hold-SS REC.3s-give-DS.3s
'A female got some of the food and gave it to him...'

433) *Mobokŋ tʌvʌm yaŋubin komu-ŋan pʌŋ-pu tipm-ŋ...*
people group all water-LOC OBJ.PL-go.down exist-SS
'All the people together went down to the water and lived...'

The differences between the plural quantifiers *kʌvu* and *du* need further clarification. The definite plural *kʌvu* is used when the head noun is both countable and distinct or unique. It is used most commonly for human beings, but is also used for inanimate objects that are unique and salient. The indefinite plural *du* is used when the head noun is not unique or is countable as, for example, seeds, salt, or water. The indefinite *du* is also used for unfamiliar objects and for a crowed of people where the people are not seen as unique but as generic. On the discourse level, the distinction can be characterised as 'new' versus 'non-decayed'. The indefinite *du* is used for a 'new' participant, that is, one which is being introduced for the first time. The definite *kʌvu* is used for a 'non-decayed' participant, that is, one which has been introduced but is not considered given information.

Further on the discourse level, the plural quantifiers have a 'resumptive' function when affixed with *-ni*.[17] Resumptive quantifiers are used to reintroduce a participant that was previously introduced in the discourse but has not been mentioned in the immediate context. They are also used when there are three or more participants that could be confused with only the different subject affix tracking them. The singular, indefinite form also has 'new' versus 'resumptive' functions on the discourse level.

These forms are summarised in Table 19.

TABLE 19

	new	non-decayed	given/resumptive
plural/definite		*kʌvu*	*du-ni*
plural/indefinite	*du*		*kʌvu-ni*
singular/indefinite	*de*		*de-ni*

434) *Jegwie-tʌ sie kʌvu-ni nu-bokŋu pʌŋ-moreʌ-ŋ ʌ-mu-kwit.*
BIRD-SRC thing PL-FM DEI-LOC OB.PL-fix-SS REC.3s-give-RP-3p
'They straightened the Jegwie's things (that we had been talking about before) there and gave them to him.'

---

17 This is identical with the third person singular possessive suffix and the suffix that appears on many of the derived adjectives.

435) *Sepmʌŋ-kin mindeki kʌvu tipm-kwit bisep-man...*
before-LIM elder PL exit-RP-3p time-LOC
'Before, when the elders lived...'

436) *...muruk-ni du-ni pʌŋ-wo kwin yepm-ŋat-ŋ*
salt-3s.POSS IPL-FM OBJ.PL-go.up on.top OBJ.PL.put-PFCT-SS
'...they put some salt (mentioned before) up.'

437) *Kʌndʌp tʌm du yik-ni-ŋan tukŋu-ŋat-ŋ*
tree leaf IPL bilum-3s.POSS-LOC fill-PFCT-SS
'(He) filled up his bilum with some (unspecified kind of) leaves.'

438) *Mʌnji de-ni kamat-ŋ nu-man sit-kʌ-t.*
child one-FM die-SS DEI-LOC sit-RP-3s
'The child (we had been talking about previously) died and is there.'

439) *No-wot Davaŋ-wot kom gavaŋ de-ni-ŋan ku-ŋ...*
1s-ACC NAME-ACC water flat.area one-FM-LOC go.SS
'Davaŋ and I went to the lake...'

9.3 Noun Phrase Intensifiers

Intensifiers are used to modify or emphasize the meaning of the word with which they are associated. They constitute a closed class.

9.3.1 *Sini*

Sini 'very, really, real, definitely' is used to intensify nouns, locatives. adjectives, temporals, and verbs (see 7.1). It signals that the nominal referred to is the original or prototype of that particular thing.

440) *Kʌtnʌm siekŋu sini pra-ŋ komu-ŋan pu...*
night DIM very rise-SS water-LOC go.down
'Very early in the morning (I) went down to the water...'

441) *Kʌndʌp mandʌ-k-nu sevot jikŋu sini.*
wood cut-NOM-DEI work heavy very
'The cutting of wood is very hard work.'

442) *ʌmin sini-tʌ kʌim gavaŋ-ŋan-tʌ pʌ-kʌ-t.*
human very-SRC sky flat.space-LOC-SRC come.down-RP-FACT.3s
'The true human (Jesus) came down from heaven.'

443) *...kwʌŋ wop ʌkwi sini, damini sini, pʌŋ-bra-kʌ-t.*
spirit essence bad very many very OBJ.PL-get-RP-FACT.3s
'...he got very many very bad spirits.'

444) *Kʌmʌŋ sini ʌ-wʌn nandʌ-ŋat-wʌn...*
smell very do-DS.3s smell-PFCT-DS.3s
'There was a definite smell that he smelled...'

445) *...Uiit davin kʌvʌp sini ʌmin woni tim-ŋan.*
PLACE eye high.place very human none small.place-LOC
'...there are really no people at the Wantoat headwaters.'

446) *Mʌk jivi sini ku-k-nu woni...'*
ground far very go-NOM-DEI NEG
'That far away place had no way to get there...'

9.3.2 *Yeye*

Yeye 'approximate/similar to' can modify nouns and locatives. See 18.2.2.

447) *Yaka yipm-na kwin yeye pra-ŋat-wʌn...*
again OBJ.S.put-DS.1p up APPROX rise-PFCT-DS.3s
'We put it again and it kind of rose up...'

448) *Ga gi-tʌ pamin-gi yeye de tipm-ŋ-ka...*
and 2p-SRC older.sib-2p.POSS APPROX one exit-SS-ISEQ
'And the person similar to your older (brother) stayed and...'

449) *Mʌnji damini yeye-tʌ nu-si ʌpmbiʌk nandʌ-wa...*
child big APPROX-SRC DEI-PUR now hear-DS.1s
'I am approximately a big child (teenager) therefore I know...'

450) *Sepmʌŋ ye ʌpmu yeye tipmŋ-kʌ-t.*
before EMPH ABL APPROX exist-RP-FACT.3s
'OK, before, he lived pretty well.'

9.3.3 *Sek*

Sek 'diminutive of something' or 'insignificant' can modify nouns, adjectives, and temporals. It is commonly used with kinship terms where it indicates a relationship similar to the one in focus. When used of a mother in a family with multiple wives, it would indicate one of the other wives who is not the child's birth mother.

451) *...mo sek de-ni ʌ-nu-ŋ ʌŋ-morʌ-ŋat-ŋ...*
female DIM one-FM REC.3s-say.to-SS OB.S-straighten-PFCT-SS
'...she soothed the little girl...'

452) *Wam dʌvʌk sek de ya-sat.*
talk short DIM one say-INT.1s
'I will tell a short story.'

453) *Sawi nu-jʌk-tʌ kʌtnʌm sek-nu yam Malalamai*
next.day DEI-LOC-SRC night DIM-DEI down PLACE
'Next day just before dawn, (he went) from there down to Malalamai.'

454) *Dat-ni sek-tʌ pra-ŋ ʌ-nu-kʌ-t.*
brother-3s.POSS DIM-SRC get.up.SS REC.3s-say.to-RP-3s
'Her younger brother got up and spoke to her.'

455) *Awa-ni sek wam nu nandʌ-ŋat-ŋ.*
grandmother-3s.POSS DIM talk DEI hear-PFCT-SS
'Her grandmother (figurative) heard that talk.'

9.3.4 *Wiet*

Wiet, the opposite of *sek*, encodes large size, intensity or important social status. It is used with nouns and adjectives. It collocates frequently with *damini* 'large, many' and with references to important males.

456) *Kʌndʌp kuoŋ damini wiet de jikŋ ʌ-wʌn...*
wood stick large AUG one heavy do-DS.3s
'The huge piece of wood was heavy...'

457) *Mambiwan-tʌ kʌim ʌvʌ sini wiet a-jʌk avu-ŋat-wʌn...*
RIVER-SRC flat.type long.type INT AUG this-LOC come-PFCT-DS.3s
'The very huge (flood) came from the Mambiwan river to here...'

458) *ʌmin wiet a, de mʌk biema-ŋan nani ʌmin…*
human AUG this one ground clan-LOC belonging.to human
'This significant man, he belongs to another clan…'

10 NOUN PHRASES

There are five types of noun phrases: modified noun phrases, attributive noun phrases, co-ordinate noun phrases, serial noun phrases, and appositional noun phrases.

10.1 Modified Noun Phrases

The modified noun phrase is the most common noun phrase. It functions as the subject or object, or any other clause level argument with the appropriate clitic. It can occur in the head slot of the coordinate noun phrase and the possessive phrase and in all postpostional phrases.

The formula for the Modified NP is as follows:

slot:	Head	Modifier	Intensifier	Specifier
filler:	Noun	Modifier	*sini*	Numeral
	Appos. noun phrase		*wiet*	Quantifier
	Attrib. noun phrase		*sek*	
			yeye	

Rule 1: If the head is recoverable from the preceding or implied context, a noun phrase may consist of a modifier without a head.

Rule 2: The modifier and intensifier slots can theoretically occur any number of times but they typically do not occur more than twice.

Rule 3: The only obligatory slot is the head unless Rule 1 applies.

	Head	Mod	Int		
459)	*Wam*	*damini*	*wiet-nu*	*ma*	*ya-sat.*
	talk	big	AUG-DEI	NEG	say-INT.1s

'I will not give a very big talk.'

	Head	Mod		Int	Spec	
460)	*Gapma*	*kʌim*	*ʌvʌ*	*wiet*	*de*	*kwarʌ-wo...*
	hole	large.flat	long.type	AUG	one	dig-DS.3p

'They dug a huge hole ...'

	Head	Mod			Int		Spec	
461)	*Kwep*	*kʌim*	*ʌvʌ*	*daminiŋ*	*sini*	*wiet*	*de*	*avu-tjia-k.*
	flood	large.flat	long.type	big	very	AUG	one	come-PRO-FACT.1s

'A huge flood is going to come.'

	Head	Mod	Int	
462)	*Ʌmin*	*damini*	*sini*	*ʌkwa-kwit.*
	human	many	very	mess.up-RP.3p

'Many people were messed up.'

10.2 Attributive Noun Phrases

The attributive noun phrase is used to add an attribute to the noun. The phrase consists of an obligatory attribute and an obligatory head. The formula is as follows:

slot:	Attribute	Head
filler:	Noun	Noun phrase
	Nominalised clause	
	Deictic	
	Quantifier	

463)	*Mo*	*ye-nugwie-k*	*kwʌndʌkŋu*	*de*	*avu-kʌ-t*
	female	OBJ.3p-teach-NOM	new	one	come-RP-FACT.3s

'A new woman teacher came.'

464)	*Bit*	*wit*	*sie-ŋat-wo...*
	pig	house	burn-PFCT-DS.3p

'They burned the pig house and...'

465)	*Ʌmin*	*gʌpbit*	*de-ni*	*mʌndʌ-ŋ*	*ku-kʌ-t.*
	human	wild	one-FM	afraid-SS	go-RP-FACT.3s.

'The masalai ran away.'

466)	*Sepmʌŋ*	*avu-kʌ-t*	*bisep-ŋan-tʌ*	*ʌpmibiʌk...*
	before	come-RP-FACT.1s	time-LOC-SRC	now

'From the time he came before until now...'

467) *Nia-tʌ* *mʌk* *ʌkwi* *nu-man* *wo-ŋat-na*
DEI.up-SRC ground bad DEI-LOC go.up-PFCT-DS.1p
'We went up to the upper place where the ground is bad.'

The quantifier *de* may occur before the attribute slot of the attributive noun phrase in cases of two opposing referents. In this context it refers to the 'other one'.

468) *De* *wit* *ku* *ka-ŋ* *ʌ-nu-wʌn...*
one house go OBJ.3s.see-SS.3s REC.3s-say.to-DS.3s
'He went to the other house and said to him...'

469) *Ga* *de* *kwʌm,* *mʌk* *jimbuŋ-ŋan* *nani* *kwʌm* *ye,...*
and one fence ground steep-LOC belonging.to fence EMPH
'Ok, the other fence, (the) fence for a steep slope, (it is)...'

10.3 Co-ordinate Noun Phrases

The co-ordinate noun phrase can be used as the subject or object of the sentence. The general formula is as follows:

slot:	Head 1	Co-ord Link	Head 2
filler:	Serial NP	*ga* 'and'	Pronoun
	Modified NP	*bo* 'or'	Possessive NP
	Pronoun		Locative NP
	Possessive NP		Proper noun
	Locative NP		
	Proper noun		

Rule 1: Head 1 and the co-ordinate link can occur more than once unless head 1 is a serial noun phrase.

470) *A-jʌk-tʌ,* *nʌ* *ga* *tuek-na* *Lae*
DEI-LOC-SRC 1s and brother.in.law-1s.POSS PLACE
pu-k-nu-si wo...
go.down-NOM-DEI-PUR
'From here, my brother-in-law and I, in order to go to Lae...'

471) *Mʌgʌwʌŋ ga Maŋge ga Musi-tʌ miŋ-ni yaka ...*
NAME and NAME and name-SRC mother-3s.POSS again
daru-wa.
REC.3p-see-DS.1s
'We saw Mogowong and Mange and Musi's mother again...'

10.4 Serial Noun Phrases

The serial noun phrase consists of two or more unlinked nouns, pronouns or modified noun phrases in any combination. Each filler has a different referent. It has only been observed functioning as the subject. The structure is as follows:

slot:	Noun Series (occurs at least twice)
filler:	Modified noun phrase
	Appositional noun phrase
	Possession phrase

472) *...ʌmin kʌwinde ye-i-rʌŋ. Emos nu, Kiram-tʌ*
person three come.up-TP-3p NAME DEI NAME-SRC
nan-ni nu, Munarika nu, yaka pʌŋ-ye-wo.
father-3s.POSS DEI NAME DEI REP PL.OBJ-come.up-DS.3p
'...three people come up. Emos, Kram's father, Munarika they came up again.'

473) *Pasto, Kirek, kwakwasu, mʌnji mʌnji yaŋ miti wit-ŋan*
pastor Craig teacher child child thus good.news house-LOC
wo-bai-rʌŋ.
go.up-YP-1p
'The pastor, Craig, the teacher, (and) the kids thus went into the church.'

10.5 Appositional Noun Phrases

The appositional noun phrase consists of an obligatory head and an obligatory apposition, both of which refer to the same entity. The fillers of the slots span a wide range of possibilities as indicated in the following formula:

slot:	Head	Apposition
filler:	Serial NP	Modified NP
	Co-ord NP	Possessive NP
	Modified NP	Locative NP
	Comitative NP	Attributive NP
	Locative NP	Comitative NP
	Possessive NP	Deictic NP
	Deictic NP	Pronoun

Rule 1: When the head is a comitative noun phrase, the apposition is always a pronoun.

Rule 2: The summary phrase is not posited as a separate construction, but as a subtype of the appositional noun phrase in which the head is a serial noun phrase or co-ordinate noun phrase and the apposition is a deictic or pronoun. As with all appositional phrases, the head and apposition refer to the same entity, although in this case one is a collection of individual entities while the other is a deictic referring to them as a whole.

Head Apposition

474) *Mʌnji de Jon-tʌ bei-ni komu-ŋan pepm-ŋ kʌmat-kʌ-t*
child one NAME-SRC daughter water-LOC jump-SS die-RP-3s
'A child, my daughter, jumped into the river and drowned.'

Head Apposition

475) *...komi kwep damini wiet a awu-kʌ-t-ŋan komi bam-ŋan*
water flood large AUG DEI come-RP-3s-LOC water produce-LOC
a pebmʌŋ-kʌ-t.
DEI jump-RP-3s
'...in this huge flood that had come, in the very worst part she jumped.'

Head Apposition

476) *Kwep a-jʌk-nu kʌim ʌwʌ wiet-nu awu-ŋat-wʌn*
flood DEI-LOC-DEI tall long AUG-DEI come-PFCT-DS.3s
'That flood here, that huge wall of water came.'

Head App

477) *No Kirek wot nit Ukarumpa ku-kʌ-mʌn.*
1s NAME COM 1d PLACE go-RP-FACT-1d
'I went with Craig to Ukarumpa.'

Head Apposition

478) *Nia-tʌ mʌk ʌkwi, nu-man wo-ŋat-na…*
up-SRC ground bad DEI-LOC go.up-PFCT-DS.1p
'The higher ground (that's) bad, there, we went up…'

Head Apposition

479) *Ʌmin yat ap-ni wot pam-ni wot*
human two younger.sib-3s.POSS ACC older.sib-3s.POSS ACC
yik-ni pʌŋ…
bilum-3s.POSS OBJ.PL.get
'Two people, a older and younger brother got his bilums…'

11 POSSESSION

There are four types of possession in Nankina: stative, active, associative, and exclusive. Each will be discussed in turn in terms of structure and function. A bird's eye view of the components of meaning is given in Table 20:

TABLE 20

	stative	active	associative	exclusive
permanence of possession	NA	-	+	+
volition of possessor	-	+	-	-
focus on the relationship	-	+	-	+
possesser is inanimate	±	±	+	±
focus on possessed component	+	-	+	-

11.1 Stative Possession

Stative possession is marked by a set of person/number suffixes. It is the most unmarked structurally, has the widest distribution, and has the most generic meaning. It is used when the possessive relationship is not in focus but the ownership status is necessary for the hearer's comprehension and response. This form is obligatory with inalienable nouns. There is agreement in person and number between the possessor suffix and the verbal marking. Stative possession has the following structure:

Possessed	+	Possessor
Noun phrase		Possessive pronoun suffix
Time phrase		
Locative phrase		

Table 21 lists the person/number suffixes. The dual does not occur in this set.

TABLE 21

	Singular		Plural	
1st	*-na*	'my'	*-nin*	'our'
2nd	*-ga*	'your'	*-gi*	'your'
3rd	*-ni*	'his, her, its'	*-gi*	'their'

480) *Wit-na-ŋan* *ku-na*
house-1s.POSS-LOC go-1p.CERT
'Let's go to my house'

481) *...but-ni* *ma* *pusa-ŋat-wʌn...*
heart-3s.POSS NEG open-PFCT-3s.DS
'...he didn't understand...'

11.2 Associative Possession

Associative possession indicates a relationship between the possessor and the possessed by association. The possessor is inanimate, thus the relationship is not brought about by volition and does not change. The possessor is intimately associated with the possessed by nature. The focus is on that particular relationship as opposed to other possible relationships. For example, 'the man belonging to Gwarawon' contrasts with the possibility that he could have been from somewhere else. The structure is as follows:

Possessor	Relator	Possessed
Proper noun	*nanni*	Noun phrase
Locative phrase		
Time phrase		

The word *nanni* 'belonging to/from/of' is literally 'its father', a compound of 'father' (*nan*) and *-ni* '3s stative possessive'. It has, however, become a frozen form and speakers do not recognise the word as a compound.

482) *Beʌn* *nanni* *wit* *karat-nu...*
middle belong.to house bone-DEI
'The house post belonging to the middle' (the middle house post)...

483) *Bambu* *nanni* *ʌmin* *de,* *nu-tʌ* *ʌŋ-bra-ŋat* *nu-jʌk*
PLACE belong.to human one 3s-SRC OBJ.S-get-PFCT DEI-LOC
ku-kʌ-t.
go-RP-3s
'A man from Bambu, he's the one who got it and went.'

484) *A* *mʌk-ŋan* *nanni* *sie,* *mi* *sie*
DEI ground-LOC belong.to thing no.purpose thing
'Things of this world are really nothing at all.'

11.3 Exclusive Possession

Exclusive possession is used when an animate possessor is the sole owner of the possesed. The possession is not by volition, thus it is an enduring ownership that does not change with time. The possessed can be either animate or inanimate. The possessed tends to be entities that are closely associated with the animate possessor such as dogs, houses, bows, and children. The structure of the exclusive possessive is as follows:

Possessor	Possessed
emphatic pronoun + *-ni*	noun phrase + *-nu*
	stative possessive

The *-ni* also appears on many of the derived adjectives and is the third singular stative possessive. The suffix *-nu* is the distal deictic.

[Exclusive Poss]

485) *Na-ni* *bei-na* *ye-nu-wa* *ku-bai-mʌn.*
1s.EX-FM daughter-1s.S.POSS OBJ.3p-say.to.1s.DS go-YP-3d
'I told my daughters belonging just to me to go yesterday.'

[Stative Poss]

486) *Gʌ-tʌ* *wit-nu* *bo?* *Ee,* *na-ni* *wit-nu.*
2s-SRC house-DEI or yes 1s.EX-FM house-DEI
'Is that your house or (somebody else's)? Yes, it's only my house.'

Exclusive possession can also be expressed by suffixing the possessor with the locative *-ŋan* instead of *-ni*. In light of the concept of iconicity, a separate function or meaning for this structure is being sought.

487) *Wo* *ʌni-ŋan* *gok-nu* *yim-ŋat-ŋ*
go.up 3s.EX-LOC betel.nut-DEI buy-PFCT-SS
'He went up and bought his very own betel nut.'

488) *...yaka* *ʌni-ŋan* *sie* *kʌvu* *pʌ-ŋ* *kugoru-kwit.*
CS 3s.EX-LOC thing PL PL.OBJ.get-SS go.around-RP.3p
'...a different time/place he got his very own things and went around.'

11.4 Active Possession

Active possession emphasises the possession is due to an act of the will of the possessor. The emphasis is on the possessive relationship between the possessor and the possessed. Because the possession is volitional, the relationship is not necessarily an enduring one, although this is not always in focus when this construction is used. The active possession phrase is composed of the possessor – a pronoun, noun phrase or clause suffixed with *-tʌ* 'SOURCE', followed by the possessed – a noun phrase suffixed with *-nu* 'DISTAL DEICTIC' as shown in the following chart.

Possessor	Possessed
Proper noun	Noun Phrase + *-nu*
Pronoun	
Stative Possessive + *-tʌ*	
Noun phrase	
Clause	
Interogative	

When the noun for the possessed ends with a vowel, the *-nu* does not occur, as in (490-491).

489) *Honuna-tʌ* *sevot-nu* *a-ye!*
NAME-SRC garden-DEI DEI-EMPH
'This here is Honenua's garden!'

490) *Nu-tʌ* *kivuvu* *sit-wa-k.*
3s-SRC ancestral.story sit-PR-3s.FACT
'Its ancestral story (still) exists.'

491) *Musi-tʌ* *miŋ-ni* *nandʌ-ŋat-ŋ-ka...*
NAME-SRC mother-3s.POSS hear-PFCT-SS-ISEQ
'Musi's mother heard and then...'

492) *Sepmʌŋ* *a-jʌk* *avu-kʌ-t-nu-tʌ* *wam-nu* *tepman*
before DEI-LOC come-RP-3s.DEI-SRC talk-DEI cassestte
yi-pm-sat.
OBJ.S-put-INDEF.3s
'I'm going to put the talk of the man who came before on the cassette.'

Example (493) includes stative, exclusive, and active possession. Constructions like this are infrequent, but possible. Structurally it is as follows:

Active Poss (Exclusive Poss (Stative Poss (Noun Phrase + *-nu*)))

493) *Nʌ-tʌ* *na-ni* *bei-na* *yat-nu...*
1s-SRC 1s.EX.POSS daughter-1s.S.POSS two-DEI
'My two daughters that just belong to me...'

12 TOPICALISATION

There are three different topics in Nankina: discourse/global topic, intermediate topic, and clausal topic. The clausal topic was discussed in chapter 4. All the conclusions that deal with topicalisation, here or in other parts of the paper, are tentative, subject to further analysis and charting.

12.1 Discourse Topic

The discourse topic is what the overall discourse is concerned with. It is frequently encoded by a stative sentence explicitly stating the topic of the discourse. For a discussion of the five forms used to encode discourse topic see 27.3.1.

12.2 Intermediate Topic

The intermediate topic can structurally mark anything from sentence to a discourse unit larger than a paragraph. It is a cohesive unit based on a predication about a common theme. While it is a cohesive unit it can also be defined by what the majority of clauses are concerned with. In shorter discourses the intermediate topic may be the same as the discourse topic.

Of the three types of topics, intermediate topic is the hardest to define and the most diverse in its encodings. A brief survey of the different means to encode it will follow, based on two broad catagories: establishing a new or reset topic and maintaining an established topic. This may be an artifical division. It could be that intermediate topic is a non-discrete notion based on a contiuum of the degree of topicality. In spite of this, the division will be made for this paper. We are still investigating whether an intermediate topic is necessarily aligned with syntactic structure or whether this can be skewed, and whether multiple levels of intermediate topic can be embedded within each other.

12.2.1 New Topic

The introduction of a new intermediate topic or reintroduction of a previous intermediate topic can be done by: 1) explicitly marking the onset of the new topic in the theme position of the first clause, 2) starting the sentence by a new participant encoded by a more prominent form such as proper noun, noun phrase, or relative clause, and 3) marking the end of the previous intermediate topic. Each will be discussed in turn.

12.2.1.1 Marking the Onset in the Theme Position

In a discourse the theme position within the clause (see chapter 4) is used relatively infrequently. A new or reset intermediate topic can be signaled by the occurrence of a time word, location word, particle, or the intermediate topic followed by a particle, in the theme position of the clause. Some of the more common words or particles used in the theme slot to mark intermediate topic are as follows:

ga: The conjunction *ga* is used when introducing a parallel point in a hortatory or procedural text. In a narative text it is usually used to flash back to follow a previous participant. It frequently occurs with the topic being explicitly stated in a relative clause.

	Theme	[	Int. Topic	]		
494)	*Ga,*	*nin*	*a*	*sit-wa-mʌŋ*	*kamat-ŋat-na*	*tipm-ŋ*
	CONJ	1p	DEI	sit-PR-1p	die-PFCT-DS.1p	exist-SS

'And we who are here will die and then will live…'

Example (494) is from a sermon in which the speaker expands a previously introduced topic made explicit again by the relative clause.

	Theme	[	Int. Topic	]			
495)	*Ga,*	*piit-ni*		*pʌsa-kʌ-t-nu*	*komu*	*pawa-kʌ-t.*	*Komu*
	CONJ	urine-3s.POSS		urinate-RP-t-DEI	river	become-RP-3s	river
	man-ni		*Akwok.*				
	name-3s.POSS		NAME				

'And the urine that he had urinated become a river. The river's name is Akwok.'

	Theme	[Int.Topic	]		
496)	*Ga,*	*ʌmin*	*dʌk*	*gʌ-tʌ*	*sewot-nu*	*ʌ-wa-rʌŋ…*
	CONJ	person	some	2s-SRC	work-DEI	do-PR-1p

'And some people do your work. …'

	Theme	[		Int. Topic			]
497)	*Ga,*	*de*	*kwʌm,*	*yaka*	*mʌk*	*jimbuŋ*	*nani*	*kwʌm,*	…
	CONJ	another	fence	CS	ground	steep	belong	fence	
	kʌndʌp	*ʌvʌ-tʌ*		*ʌŋ-giet-ŋ*		*ʌŋ-giet-ŋ-kin*		*ʌ-na*	
	wood	long-SRC		OBJ.S-stick.in-SS		OBJ.S-stick.in-SS-LIM		do-DS.1p	

'And another fence, the fence for steep ground, we make it by sticking long sticks in the ground.

ye: The emphasis particle *ye* normally encodes contrastive or surprise emphasis. When it appears in the theme position it encodes a contrastive intermediate topic that has been mentioned before in the discourse (given information). The topic first occurs followed by *ye*, which effectively left dislocates it.

[Theme/Int. Topic]

498) *Yiop bupm-k-nu-tʌ yewi yiop dʌkŋu ye, bupm-wa-t. …*
cloth sew-NOM-DEI-SRC way cloth some EMPH sew-PR-1s

'Of the ways of sewing cloth, I (only) know some. …' (The speaker then proceeds to expound upon the different things he knows how to sew.)

[Theme/Int. Topic]

499) *Ʌ-ŋat-wo-ka kirkie kap ye, wo mʌk wien*
do-PFCT-3s.PL-ISEQ porcupine possum EMPH go.up ground inside

kwok pu tivuŋ ku-kʌ-t.
side go.down hide go.RP-3s

'That happened and as for the porcupine, he went and hid in the ground.' (This was contrasting what happened to the porcupine in relation to the dog in the ancestral story.)

nu-ye: When the combination of the deictic and the emphasis particle follows the noun, noun phrase, clause, etc, it encodes focus which is marking assertive or new information. In this context *nuye* is marking a intermediate topic that is new or assertive and contrastive or surprising.

[Theme/Int. Topic]

500) *Waoŋ ʌkwi-tʌ sewot-nu nu-ye, siŋgiŋ-ŋan ka-wa-mʌŋ. …*
steam bad-SRC work-DEI DEI-EMPH clear-LOC OBJ.3s.see-PR-1p

'The work of the bad spirit, we see it clearly. …" (It continues to expound upon the topic as set forth contrasting it with the work of the good spirit.)

[Theme/Int. Topic]

501) *dat-ga nu-ye, ʌŋ-pʌ yimba nu-bokŋu*
older.sib-2s.POSS DEI-EMPH OBJ.S-come.down possum DEI-LOC

mindʌ-ŋ ku-wʌn ka-ŋ…
afraid-SS go-DS.3s OBJ.3s.see-SS

'Your older brother, he came down and saw the possum run away…'

There are other constituents that may appear in the theme position of the clause to signal a new or reset intermediate topic including: *yaka* 'change of situation', *paŋga* 'later' and *yaŋ-kin* 'thus-LIM'. Any constituent that appears in the theme position within the clause has the potential to signal that the following or preceding noun, noun phrase, or relative clause is a new or reset topic.

12.2.1.2 Marking in the Topic Position

In many situations, especially within a narrative discourse, the new or reset intermediate topic may be encoded by a proper noun, noun phrase, relative clause, or appositional noun phrase in the topic/subject position within the clause. The more prominent the lingusitic encoding is, the less continuous the topic is with the previous context. Thus a new or reset topic is more likely to be encoded with more prominent constituents listed above in 12.2.1.1. Though there is no absolutely unique marking of the proper noun, noun phrase, or relative clause to encode intermediate topic, the source affix (active/agentive), *-tʌ*, is frequently used for this. Intermediate topic may also may be marked as new information (*de* 'one', *dʌkŋu* 'some', *kʌwu* 'PL'). If the intermediate topic has been previously introduced or is known, then the affix *-ni* 'FAMILIAR' may be used.

				[Theme		]
502)	*...sit-ripm-ŋ*	*pat-kwit.*	*Sawi*	*mʌk*	*dakŋu-wʌn*	
	sit-PROG-SS	sleep-RP-3s	next.day	ground	become-DS.3s	
	[Int. Topic]					
	nan-ni-tʌ	*pra-ŋ...*				
	father-3s.POSS-SRC	rise-SS				

'...they stayed and slept. It dawned and his father got up...'

	Theme [	Int. Topic			]	
503)	*Ga*	*kʌrim*	*dakŋu-kʌ-t*	*kwʌŋ*	*wop-tʌ,*	*but-ni-ŋan*
	CONJ	deaf	become-RP-3s	evil	spirit-SRC	heart-3s.POSS
	tukŋa-kwit.	*Λ-ŋat-wʌn*		*nu-tʌ...*		
	fill-RP.3p	do-PFCT-DS.3s		3s-SRC		

'And the one who had become deaf, the evil sprits filled his heart. That happened and he...'

	Theme [	Int. Topic]					
504)	*Sepmʌ*	*mo*	*yewin*	*de*	*tipm-ŋ*	*mʌnji*	*yat*	*biara-kʌ-mʌn.*
	before	female	base	one	exist-SS	child	two	procreate-RP-3d
	Biara-ŋ...							
	procreate-SS							

'Before a married couple lived and had two children. They had...'

12.2.1.3 Marking Intermediate Topic Closure

The closing clause of a intermediate topic unit may be signalled by *pat* 'sleep', *ti-ni* CERT-FM (when the participant permanently exits a discourse), and verbs of motion (when the participant leaves the immediate context of the discourse). In each case final verb suffixation is generally used. Although these words frequently do not encode intermediate topic closure, there is enough correlation that they can be singled out as more likely to perform this function. There are also other less common ways to indication intermediate topic closure.

12.2.2 Maintained Topic

The intermediate topic is normally maintained by (in order of explicitness/prominence) a descriptive noun phrase substituted for the referent, pronouns, final verb inflection for person/subject/modality or medial verb inflection for same subject or different subject, and lastly, no explicit mention of the topic when beginning a new sentence. The topic is maintained until it is reset by one of the methods mentioned above.

A combination of the factors discussed above determines how prominent a reference to a topic is. Within this scheme topicalisation forms a continuum in relation to the degree of topicality at any given point within the discourse.

13 NEGATION

13.1 Negatives

There are two negatives in Nankina: *ma* and *woni.*

13.1.1 *Ma*

The constituent and verbal negator *ma* precedes the verb in the verb phrase or fills the copula slot in the stative clause.

505) *MʌnjiI mindwoŋ, wamm ma ya-ni!*
child line talk NEG say-INDEF.2p
'Children, don't talk!'

506) *Kuŋgap tamo kivuvu wamm nu moreni sini ma*
sinigsing place myth talk DEI good very NEG
nandʌ-kʌ-t.
hear-RP-FACT.1s
'I don't know the story of the singsing place very well.'

507) *Nin morʌni ma.*
1p good NEG
'We are not good.'

When the negative is in the tail position of the clause (see chapter 4) it negates everything in that clause, emphasising the claim that a given situation did not occur. Sentences exhibiting this construction are frequently single clauses.

508) *Gʌ-tʌ yiʌŋ kovu na-i-t, ma!*
2s-SRC axe forbidden eat-TP-FACT.1s NEG
'It's not true that I stole your axe!'

509) *Nu-man yipm-i-t, ma!*
DEI-LOC OBJ.S-TP-FACT.1s NEG
'It's not true that I put it there!'

510) *Gʌ-tʌ yim-i-n ma!*
2s-SRC shoot-TP-2s NEG
'You didn't shoot it!'

511) *No tʌwʌ ma ka-wa-t ma.*
1s trail NEG OBJ.3s.see-PR-1s NEG
'It's not true that I didn't see the way (you got the things).'

13.1.2 *Woni*

The negative *woni* is used as a response to indicate the previous statement or question is false, as a response indicating there is 'none' of whatever was asked about, or in the copula position of a declarative clause. It is similar to the Tok Pisin *nogat* and will be glossed as 'none'. In many contexts it represents a sentence that is the opposite of the question or statement (explicit or implicit) being responded to.

512) *'Gok de nʌ-si na-mu-ø! Gok woni.'*
betel.nut one 1s-PUR REC.1s-GIVE-DEF.2s betel.nut none
'"Give me a betel nut!" "There is no betel nut./I don't have any betel nut."'

513) *...tʌmin-ni woni ka-ŋ mindʌ-ŋ...*
leg-3s.POSS none OBJ.3s.see-SS afraid-SS
'...there were no footprints to see (and) he (was) afraid...'

514) *...yime wunde-k-nu woni ʌ-i-k...*
door go.out-NOM-DEI none do-TP-3s
'...there was no way to get out the door...'

515) *'Buruŋ dʌŋgʌm dʌkŋu pʌ-yak?' yaŋ na-nu-won*
head hair some OBJ.PL.get-EV.2s thus OBJ.3s-say.to-DS.3s
da-ri-ŋ. 'Woni' yaŋ ye-nu-kʌ-m.
OBJ.3p-see-SS no thus OBJ.3p-day.to-RP-1s
'"Did you get any of his hair?" they asked me. "No (I didn't get any of his hair)," I said to them.'

13.2 Scope of Negation

The maximum scope of negation in Nankina includes the series of verb phrase constituents and verbs following the negative. In natural texts only one verb or verb phrase is generally negated, and no more than two verbs in a sequence are negated. There is no one marker that consistently marks the termination of the scope of negation, although it is generally terminated by an aspectual marker, the different subject affix, a final verb affix, or a clause-level constituent that is not a verb phrase constituent. There are frequent exceptions to these general guidelines, however, as illustrated in the following examples.

516) *...ʌmin but-ni-tʌ ma nandʌ-wo ʌkwa-ŋat-wo*
person heart-3s.POSS-SRC NEG think-DS.3p mess.up-PFCT-DS.3p
mindʌ-ŋ ku-ni.
afraid-SS go-INDEF.3p
'...people's hearts were not messed up by their thinking (and) they did not run away.'

In (516) the scope of negation includes four verbs, two different subject affixes and a perfective aspect affix. The negated sequence is not a verb phrase as defined in chapters 6 or 7. This is an extremely atypical construction that would seldom be observed in normal speech.

Each of the following examples contains two verbs, the first of which is marked with the different subject affix. However, in (517) only the first verb is negated, while in (518) both are negated.

517) *...ma kamat-wʌn ka-kʌ-t.*
NEG die-DS.3s OBJ.3s.see-RP-3s
'...he saw that it did not die.'

518) *Kwapok ma baye-wa ku-i-k*
ball NEG hit-DS.1s go-TP-3s
'I didn't throw the ball.'

14 INTERROGATIVE SYSTEM

There are three types of questions in Nankina: content (information seeking), polar (yes/no), and alternative.

14.1 Content Questions

Nankina interrogative words fill the slot that the information being elicited would normally occupy in the declarative clause regardless of whether it would be a noun, adjective, adverb, and so on. If the word filling the slot would normally require inflection, then the inflection is suffixed to the interrogative word. There are two main interrogative words: *je* and *duŋu*. *Je* is combined with postpositions for greater specificity while *duŋu* is reduplicated to modify its meaning. There is rising-falling intonation on the interrogative word and level or falling intonation on the final verb of the interrogative sentence.

The list of Nankina interrogatives and their meanings is:

je	INTER	'what/who'
je-tʌ	INTER-SRC	'whose, who did it'
je-de	INTER-one	'what, what type'
je-de-si	INTER-one-PUR	'why, for what' (may also be preceded by *yewi* 'reason')
je-man	INTER-LOC	'where, what small place'
je-jʌk	INTER-LOC	'where, what inhabited place/village'
je-bokŋu	INTER-LOC	'where, what large area'
je bisep-ŋan	INTER time-LOC	'when'
duŋu	INTER	'how, what manner, which'
duŋu-duŋu	INTER INTER	'how many'
duŋ-si	INTER-PUR	'how for'

519) *No wot je wot pat-dam?*
1s COM INTER COM sleep-INDEF.1d
'Who will I sleep with?'

520) *Je bisep-ŋan ku-i-k?*
INTER time-LOC go-TP-3s
'When did he go?'

521) *Nu je?*
3s INTER
'Who's that?'

522) *Amin duŋu-duŋu jipmʌŋ-ŋ wara-kwit?*
human INTER-INTER OBJ.3p-kill-SS finish-RP.3p
'How many people did they kill?'

523) *Duŋu ku-na?*
INTER go-DEF.1p
'Which way do we go?'

524) *Je-de-si nu yat-tʌ yimet ʌ-kʌ-mʌn?*
INTER-one-PUR DEI two-SRC fight do-RP-FACT.3d
'Why did those two fight?'

525) *Yan-tʌ ye, je-de sie de sit-wa-k?*
over-SRC EMPH INTER-one thing one sit-PR-FACT.1s
'What's that thing over there?'

526) *Bʌvʌ je-man-tʌ pʌ-bai-k?*
landslide INTER-LOC-SRC come.down-YP-FACT.3s
'Where did the landslide come down from?'

14.2 Polar Questions

Polar questions are marked by rising intonation on the final word of the sentence. There are no specific words or morphemes used to mark polar questions.

527) *Gwarawon-tʌ awu-wa-yak?*
PLACE-SRC come-PR-EV.2s
'Are you coming from Gwarawon?'

528) *Kwip-ga jap wip-nu yim-sie?*
tomorrow-ISEQ food seed-DEI buy-INDEF.2s
'Tomorrow, will buy (the) seeds?

14.3 Alternative Questions

Alternative questions consist of two noun phrases or clauses conjoined with the alternating conjunction *bo*. When an alternative question consists of two clauses, the first clause is a positive statement ending with rising intonation and the second is the same statement in the negative ending with falling intonation. Often the second clause may be reduced, including only the negation of the previous verb phrase. It may be further reduced to *bo woni* 'or not' or even to *bo*. When the second clause is reduced the falling intonation is still on the final word.

529) *Kwip-ka* *Gwarawon* *ku-sie* *bo* *ma* *ku-sie?*
tomorrow-ISEQ PLACE go-INDEF.2s ALT NEG go-INDEF.2s
'Tomorrow will you go to Gwarawon or not?'

530) *Kwip-ka* *Gwarawon* *ku-sie* *bo* *woni?*
tomorrow-ISEQ PLACE go-INDEF.2s ALT not
'Tomorrow will you go Gwarawon or not?'

531) *Kwip-ka* *Gwarawon* *ku-sie* *bo?*
tomorrow-ISEQ PLACE go-INDEF.2s ALT
'Tomorrow will you go Gwarawon or (not)?'

The following example illustrates an alternative question involving a noun and a noun phrase. The intonation pattern is the same as for clauses except it falls on the constituents within the co-ordinate noun phrase.

532) *A* *ei* *bo* *de* *jap* *de?*
DEI squash ALT one food one
'Is this squash or another food?'

14.4 Questions For Expected Answers

In hortatory texts it fairly common to emphasise a point by asking a question to which a specific answer is expected. This is done by using an information question, followed by an alternative question, followed by the answer. Each successive sentence focuses more specifically on the answer.

533) *Nu je-tʌ bam-nu ka-wa-mʌŋ? Waoŋ ʌkwi-tʌ bo*
DEI INTER-SRC result-DEI OBJ.3s.see-PR-1p steam bad-SRC ALT
moreni-tʌ sewot-nu? Waoŋ moreni.
good-SRC word-DEI steam good
'We see that as the result of whom? The bad or good spirit's work? The good spirit's.'

One of the last two sentences may optionally be omitted depending on the degree to which the speaker feels the hearer is able to provide the answer.

534) *Waoŋ ʌkwi-tʌ je de sewot de ʌ-ŋ ʌ-ŋ ʌ-wa-k? Waoŋ*
steam bad-SRC INTER one work one do-SS do-SS do-PR-3s steam
ʌkwi-tʌ sewot-nu nu-ye banduk ya-wa-k.
bad-SRC work-DEI DEI-EMPH lie speak-PR-3s
'What work does the bad spirit constantly do? The bad spirit, he lies.'

14.5 Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical questions are rare in quoted passages in narratives but are a bit more common in hortatory discourses. They consist of stative clauses with final rising intonation. Frequently they encode irony or strong assertion. Example (535) is a reply to an older brother who found a way to get many things but will not share the method with his younger brother.

535) *Nʌ tʌwʌ du ma ka-wa-t?*
1s trail PL NEG OBJ.3s.see-PR-1s
'You think I don't know the way (you got the things)?–ha!' (I do know the way.)

Example (536) occurs during an argument between two brothers over who shot and killed a bird. It consists of an interrogative sentence followed by a declarative sentence. The implication is that the event referred to by the interrogative sentence did not occur while the event referred to by the declarative did occur.

536) *Gʌ-tʌ yim-i-n? Ŋʌ-tʌ yim-i-t!*
2s-SRC shoot-TP-2s 1s-SRC shoot-TP-1s
'You shot (it?–no way)! I shot (it)!'

Examples (535-536) are from well known ancestral stories and so the irony is well known. We do not know whether rhetorical questions are used as effectively in other genres.

15 CONJUNCTIONS

There are two main conjunctions in Nankina: the conjoining conjunction *ga* and the alternating conjunction *bo*. For other conjoining structures see the discussion of medial verbs (5.2.2) and coordination (24.2).

15.1 Conjoining Conjunction

The conjunction *ga* functions on the phrase level to simply join two or more noun phrases in a coordinate noun phrase.

537) *A-jʌk-tʌ no ga go Lae pu-k-nu-si...*
DEI-LOC-SRC 1s and 2s PLACE go.down-NOM-DEI-PUR
'From here in order to go to Lae you and I...'

538) *Kwit-tʌ paip ga sie kʌvu pʌ-kʌ-t-nu*
bird-SRC pipe and thing DPL OBJ.PL.get-RP-FACT.3s.DEI
pʌŋ-pu...
OBJ.PL.come
'The pipe and things the plane got were brought...'

At the sentence level it conjoins clauses or sentences that are semantically related. Each of the clauses in (539) describes the response of a part of a single group of people to a threatening situation. The clauses are semantically related because they all refer to the same group.

539) *Dʌk-nu-tʌ kwim pʌŋ-bra-kwit ga dʌk-nu-tʌ yiʌŋ*
some-DEI-SRC bow OBJ.PL-get-RP.3p and some-DEI-SRC axe
ŋ-bra-kwit...
OBJ.PL-get-RP.3p
'Some (of them) got bow and arrows and some got axes...'

In (540) the clauses are related to the same topic since they are all activities the speaker saw being done inside a building.

540) *...dari-ŋ papia wuse-wa-rʌŋ ga ʌmin wop*
REC.3p-see-SS paper make-PR-FACT.3p and human essence
wuse-wa-rʌŋ ga sie nu bo nu wuse-wa-rʌŋ
make-PR-FACT.3p and thing DEI or DEI make-PR-FACT.3p
dari-ŋat-ŋ
REC.3p-see-PFCT-SS
'...(I) saw them making books and making photographs and all kinds of things'

More than two items can be conjoined in three ways: 'W and X and Y and Z', 'W, X, Y, and Z', or 'W, X, Y, Z'. In the last two constructions, serial noun phrases are used instead of (or in addition to) conjunctions. Normally no more than three entities are conjoined with the conjunction *ga*. Serial noun phrases with a maximum of one conjunction are generally used for series of four or more entities; only one case of four conjoined entities has been observed in natural text.

At higher levels *ga* is used to introduce a discourse topic (see 26.3.1) or an intermediate topic (see 12.2.1.1). Related to this is the use of *ga* to introduce a semantically related but new topic. This is similar to going to a subsequent point in a hortatory or procedural discourse in English. In (541) the speaker is explaining the different fence types and how to make them. He has just explained the first type and is going on to describe the procedure for the second type.

541) *Ga de kwʌm yaka kʌndʌp ʌvʌ ɲandʌ-ŋ...*
and one fence CS tree long.type chop.down-SS...
'OK, in the other type fence, you cut down a long tree...'

The conjunction *ga* can also be used to introduce a flash back to provide relevant background information to the current topic (see 26.1.5).

15.2 Alternating Conjunction

The conjunction *bo* indicates an alternative. On the phrase level it indicates an alternative between nouns. Frequently it is the basis for alternating questions (see 14.3). It can also be used to express uncertainty in indentification of an entity.

542) *...yimbe bo de kap-kap jipm-ŋ...*
POSSUM or one possum-possum OBJ.PL.kill-SS
'...(they) killed Yimbe possums or other kinds of possums...'

543) *Waoŋ-tʌ mindeki de bo bokŋu sek de bo mo sek de*
spirit-SRC elder one or male DIM one or female DIM one
sevot ʌ-mu-wa-k?
work REC.3s-give-PR-FACT.3s
'Does (a) spirit work for an elder or a young man or a young woman?'

In (544) there is an alternative within a possession phrase along with ellipsis of the first possessed noun.

544) *Waoŋ ʌkwi-tʌ bo moreni-tʌ sevot-nu ka-wa-mʌŋ?*
spirit bad-SRC or good-SRC work-DEI REC.3s.see-PR-FACT.1p
'Do we see the work of the good or bad spirit?'

In (545) *bo* is used between nouns to indicate inclusiveness, not an alternative. This is a common phrase.

545) *Sie nu bo nu*
thing DEI or DEI
'This thing or that' (all kinds of things)

At the sentence level *bo* is used to indicate the alternation between two semantically equal structures and to construct questions. Many times the final sentence will be elided because the information is implicit or known. The resulting questions may be rhetorical as in the case of (547).

546) *'Sinisi ka-wa-t bo banduk ka-wa-t?' yaŋu ya-ŋ...*
true see-PR-FACT.1s or lie see-PR-FACT.1s thus say-SS
'"Do I really see it or am I seeing things?" he thought...'

547) *Jesu-tʌ yiwo ʌ-sak bo woni?*
NAME-SRC weak do-INT.3s or not
'Is Jesus going to be weak or not?'

548) *Kwip-ba Gwarawon ku-sie bo?*
tomorrow-INT PLACE go-INT.2s or
'Are you going to Gwarawon or (not)?'

The alternating conjunction also is used in the verb phrase (see chapter 7).

16 AGREEMENT SYSTEM

Agreement occurs between subject and verb, object and verb, time and tense, sequentials and modality, possessor and possessed, direction and motion verbs, and volitional modality and subject. The agreement between volitional modality and subject has been completely discussed in 7.1.3.10 so will not be dealt with here.

16.1 Subject and Verb

Agreement in person and number occurs between the subject and the subject affix on medial and final verbs. On final verbs the person/number affix is a portmanteau with modality and in some cases tense. On medial verbs the person/number affix is a portmanteau with the different subject affix. (There is no reference to person/number with the same subject affix.)

549) *No Gumbaion wo-wa.*
1s PLACE go.up-DEF.1s
'I will go up to Gumbaion.'

550) *Nu Gumbaion wo-ŋat-wʌn tipua maŋ-kʌ-t.*
3s KPLACE go.up-PFCT-DS.3s rain fall-RP-3s
'He went up to Gumbaion and (then) the rain fell.'

For additional examples and discussion see chapter 5.

16.2 Object and Verb

The object prefix on class I transitive verb stems agrees in person/number with the object of the clause.

551) *Jesu-tʌ ʌmin de-ni-ŋan-tʌ kwʌŋ wop kʌwu*
NAME-SRC person one-FM-LOC-SRC evil.spirit spirit PL
ya-waŋ-kʌ-t.
OBJ.3p-expel-RP-3s
'Jesus drove out the evil spirits from the man.'

The object prefix on class II transitive verb stems agrees in number (but not person) with the object of the clause.

552) *Ap-ni-tʌ sie kʌwu pʌŋ-gasi-kʌ-t.*
younger.sib-3s.POSS-SRC thing PL OBJ.PL-mess.up-RP-3s
'He messed up his younger brother's things.'

There are no object prefixes on class III transitive verb stems and intransitive verb stems. For additional information see 5.1.

16.3 Time and Tense

Any time word used in a clause must agree with the tense affix of the verb. This is true even when there is no real time event. Some of the possible patterns are listed below.

Time		Tense/Modality
ʌpmbiʌk	'today, now'	Present, Today's Past, Indefinite
kwip	'tomorrow'	Definite, Indefinite
savi	'day after'	Definite, Indefinite
ʌpmʌ	'yesterday'	Yesterday's Past
sepmʌŋ	'before'	Remote Past

553) *Ʌpmʌ* *komu-ŋan* *pu* *jakgwoŋ-bai-t.*
yesterday river-LOC go.down wash-YP-3s
'Yesterday I went down and washed at the river.'

16.4 Sequentials and Modality

There must be agreement between the indefinite sequential *-ka* and indefinite modality on the verb and between the definite sequential *-ku* and definite modality on the verb. This agreement applies whether the sequential occurs on *kwip* 'tomorrow' as in (554), on *pan* 'later' as in (555), or on a medial verb as in (556-557).

554) *Kwip-bu* *a-jʌk* *yaka* *awu-wa.*
tomorrow-DSEQ DEI-LOC REP come-DEF.1s
'Tomorrow I will come back here.'

555) *Pan-ka* *a-jʌk* *yaka* *awu-sat.*
later-ISEQ DEI-LOC REP come-INDEF.1s
'Later I will came back here.'

556) *...sit-ŋipm-ŋat-ka* *pat-kʌ-t.*
sit-PROG-PFCT-ISEQ sleep-RP-3s.FACT
'...he was sitting and then went to sleep.'

557) *...sit-rpm-ŋat-ku* *pat-wa.*
sit-PROG-PFCT-DSEQ sleep-DEF.1s
'...I will be sitting and then go to sleep.'

16.5 Possessor and Possessed

In the active possession phrase there is agreement in person/number between the possessor and the possessive pronominal affix on the possessed. This affix is only used in cases of inalienable possession, usually involving a kinship term or a body part.

	Poss'r	Poss'd	Poss'r	Poss'd
558)	*Nʌ-tʌ*	*kit-na*	*Honenuo-tʌ*	*bei-ni*
	1s-SRC	hand-1s.POSS	NAME-SRC	daughter-3s.POSS
	'my hand'		'Honenuo's daughter'	

16.6 Direction and Motion Verbs

When a direction is specifically mentioned in a clause containing a verb of motion, the two must agree.

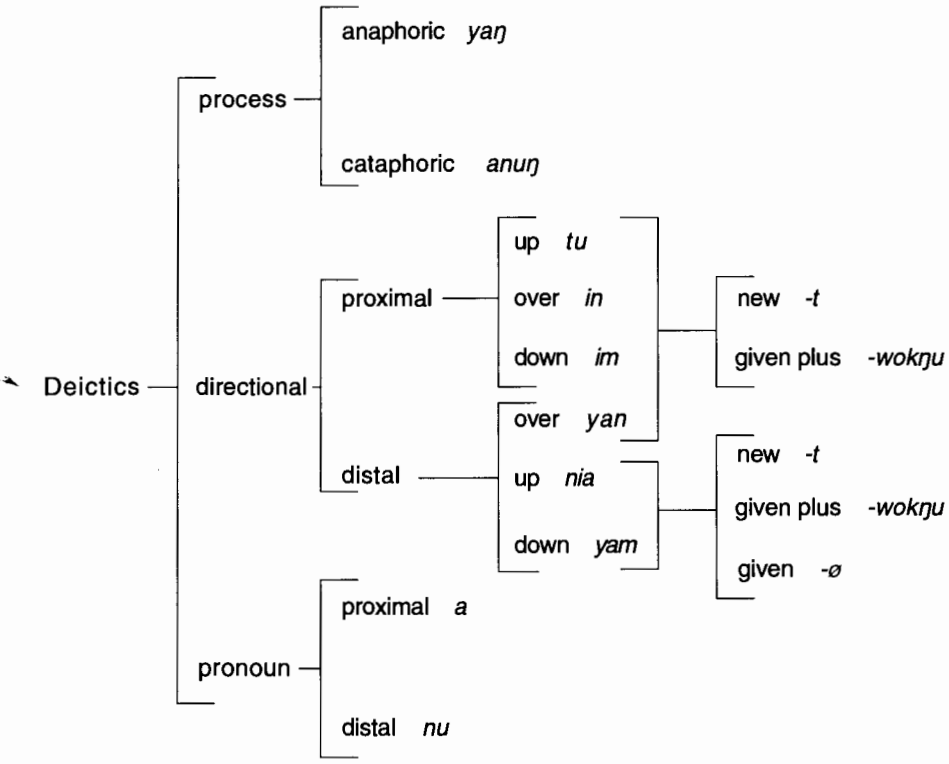
559) *Nya-tʌ* *tim-ŋan-tʌ* *pʌ-kʌ-t.*
up-SRC piece-LOC-SRC come.down-RP-3s
'He came down from the piece (of ground) up there.'

560) *Yan-tʌ* *ye* *ku-wa-k-nu!*
over-SRC EMPH go.over-PR-NOM-DEI
'That's him going over there!'

17 DEIXIS

17.1 Deictic Words

Deictics can be divided into three classes: pronominal deictics, directional deictics and process deictics. Each of these will be discussed separately. The overall scheme for the deictics can be diagrammed as follows:



17.1.1 Pronominal Deictics

There are two pronominal deictics: proximal *a* and distal *nu*.

17.1.1.1 Proximal Deictic

The proximal deictic is used frequently in conversation when the item referenced is near the speaker. In discourse it is only used near the episodic climax. Within the discourse the deictics change from the distal to the proximal to emphasise the closeness of the

participants in a figurative sense. After the climax the proximal·deictic reverts back to the distal deictic.

561) *Ou, a sie de moreni de!*
oh DEI thing one good one
'Oh, this thing (is) a good one!'

562) *A-man sit-ripm-ŋat-si no wit-ŋan wo-ŋat-ŋ*
DEI-LOC sit-PROG-PFCT-DS.2s 1s house-LOC go.UP-PFCT-SS
'You sit here (while) I go in the house.'

Example (563) occurs just before the climax in a story about a woman committing suicide.

563) *Komu kwep damni wiet a awu-kʌ-t-ŋan kom bam-ŋan*
river flood large AUG DEI come-RP-3s-LOC river produce-LOC
a pepm-kʌ-t.
DEI jump-RP-3s
'At this river that had been flooding, in the heart of this river, she jumped.'

17.1.1.2 Distal Deictic

The distal deictic can fill four different functions depending on the context. First, when it occurs free it functions as a pronoun referring back to a previously mentioned referent.

564) *Nu ma ʌre-kʌ-t.*
DEI NEG flame.up-RP-3s
'It did not flame up.'

565) *...gok ʌ-mu-won nu pʌ-ŋ na-ŋat-ŋ*
betel.nut REC.3s-give-DS.3s DEI OBJ.PL.get-SS eat-PFCT-SS
'...he gave the betel nut to him (and) he took it and ate it.'

Second, when it occurs in the attribute slot of the attributive noun phrase (see 10.2) it marks the phrase as given and definite information not in close proximity to the speaker. In this context it is similar to English *that*.

566) *...nu tʌvʌ ʌvʌ-kʌ wo nu pat pʌŋgem-kʌ-mʌŋ.*
DEI trail skinny-MN go.up DEI trap set-RP-1p
'...we went up that trail and it was THAT trap we set.'

567) *...awa-ni* *de-ni* *nu* *wam* *nandʌ-ŋ...*
grand.mother-3s.POSS one-FM DEI talk hear-SS
'...the grandmother heard that talk...

568) *Nu* *tek-nu* *ʌpmʌ* *Biap* *wot* *mʌnji* *mʌnji* *wot*
DEI mark-DEI yesterday NAME COM child child COM
wuse-bai-rʌŋ.
make-YP-3p
'That play, yesterday, Biap and the kids did.'

Third, the distal deictic can encode focus, that is, assertive and/or new or definite information, marking the clasual topic or information that may be salient for additional reasons.

569) *...tpm-gwiʌŋ-ŋ* *Ulap* *nu* *ti-ni* *ku-k-nu-si*
exist-DUR-SS PLACE DEI CERT-3s.POSB go-NOM-DEI-PUR
Bambu *wo-ŋat-wo.*
PLACE go.up-PFCT-3p.DS
'...they stayed and the Ulap's, **they** went up to Bambu in order to leave.'

570) *Kom-nu-tʌ* *kʌndʌp* *ʌŋ-awu* *yipm-kʌ-t* *nu*
river-DEI-SRC wood S.OBJ-come S.OBJ.put-RP-3s DEI
ka-wa *moreni* *ʌ-wʌn* *ka-ŋ.*
OBJ.3s.see.3s.DS good do-3s.DS OBJ.3s.see-SS
'The wood that the river had carried and deposited, I saw it (and) saw that it was good.'

571) *...ʌmin* *de-ni* *ma-ŋ* *mʌk-ŋan* *nu* *kamat-ŋat-won*
person one-FM fall-SS ground-LOC DEI die-PFCT-3s.DS
'...the man fell down and died (right) there.'

Finally, it can be affixed to a clause, phrase, or word as a clitic. When affixed to a clause, it relativises the clause, marking it as background information. When affixed to a word or phrase it appears to be marking given information. It can also be used to mark the possessed in a possession phrase.

572) *...ba* *nu-man* *yepm-kʌ-mayak-nu* *yaŋubin* *sie-kʌ-m.*
sweet.potato DEI-LOC OBJ.PL-put-RP-2d.EV-DEI all cook-RP-1s
'...I cooked all of the sweet poatatos that had been put there.'

573) *...wo-da-yaŋ* *KʌwiN* *mʌnji* *marasin-si* *wo-kwit-nu* *nu-man*
go.up-2d.DS PLACE child medicine-PUR go.RP.3p-DEI DEI-LOC
ye-wo...
come.up-DS.3p
'...when we came up (there) the kids from KʌwiN who had gone up for medicine came up there...'

574) *Gʌ-tʌ* *gok-nu* *pʌŋ-wo* *yepm-da.*
2s-SRC betel.nut PL.OBJ-go.up PL.OBJ.put-CERT.1d
'Let's carry your bettle nut up and put it (there).'

575) *Wam* *duwokŋu* *wiet-nu* *ma* *ya-wa.*
talk long AUG-DEI NEG speak-INDEF.1s
'I will not give a long talk.'

576) *...de-ni* *yat-nu* *tim* *du* *wonda-ŋat-won*
one-FM two-DEI piece IPL become.angry-PFCT-3s.DS
'...the other two were angry for awhile.'

The distal deictic is also used in other constructions as is noted in other places in this paper. We have been unable to develop a unitary analysis of all these uses at this point in time.

17.1.2 Directional Deictics

The directional deictics indicate direction and distance in time and space relative to the speaker or reference point. The directional deictic is composed of a directional morpheme that indicates the direction and distance relative to the speaker or reference point and a mandatory suffix indicating the status of the information as new or given. The following gives the details of the meaning of each morpheme.

tu	Up from the speaker, with emphasis on the close proximity	+ specific time/place
in	Over from the speaker, with emphasis on the close proximity	+ specific time/place
im	Down from the speaker, with emphasis on the close proximity	+ specific time/place
nia	Up from the speaker	- specific time/place
wan	Over from the speaker	- specific time/place
yam	Down from the speaker	- specific time/place

ø The location referred to has been established previously in the discourse or is within the hearer's consciousness. It usually refers to a proper noun which automatically results in the 'given' status. It only occurs with the distal directionals *nya* 'up' and *yam* 'down'.[18]

-wokŋu The object or place referred to is a bit further away from a 'given' location. If no specific location precedes or follows it, then the reference point is the speaker or the location given in a previous clause.

-tʌ The direction and location is 'new'; they are not within the hearer's consciousness have not been mentioned previously in the discourse. It gives prominence to the direction and location. It is also the source clitic (see 19.2.1).

577) *Nia-tʌ mʌk ʌkwi, nu-man wo-ŋat-na*
up-SRC ground bad DEI-LOC go.up-PFCT-DS.1p
'The place up where the ground is bad, we went up there.'

578) *Nia-ø Mambit davin wo-kʌ-mʌŋ.*
up-GIV NAME eye go.up-RP-1p
'We went up to the Mambit headwaters.'

579) *Nia-wokŋu bisep-ŋan ku-nam.*
up-further time-LOC go.over-INDEF.1p
'At a later time we'll go.'

580) *Nia-wokŋu Kakyakovu tipua maŋ-ŋipm-wa-k.*
up-further PLACE rain fall-PROG-PR-FACT.3s
'Rain is falling further up at Kakyakovu.'

581) *Tu-tʌ tim-ŋan wo-i-k.*
up.close-SRC piece-LOC go.up-TP-3s
'He went up (close by) to a small area.'

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18 It is not understood at this point in time why this affix is not used with the proximal directionals. It is also not used with the distal deictic *yan* 'over'. This may be due to the extremely rugged terrain which make it normal to relate to 'up' and 'down'. Land is generally owned in vertical strips on the side of the mountains so that one cannot go very far 'over' at any location without being in someone else's territory. Therefore *yan* 'over' could be associated with *-tʌ* 'new' or unfamiliar.

582) *Kwit de-ni tu-wokŋu-man pipioku-i-k.*
bird one-FM up.close-further-LOC fly-TP-FACT.3s
'The bird flew futher up close by (here).'

17.1.3 Process Deictics

There are two process deictics: the cataphoric process deictic *anuŋu* and the anaphoric process deictic *yaŋ*.

17.1.3.1 Cataphoric Process Deictic

The most typical use of the cataphoric process deictic is to introduce a direct quote, discourse, or instructional process.

583) *Sep mʌk biema kivuvu ya-tjia-t. Nu anuŋu: ...*
NAME ground ancestral myth say-PRO-FACT-1s DEI like.this
'I'm going to tell the Sep ancestral ground myth. It's like this: ...'

584) *Miti papia-tʌ anuŋu nin-nu-wa-t: ...*
WORSHIP PAPER-SRC like.this OBJ.1p-say.to-PR-FACT.1s
'The Bible speaks to us like this: ...'

585) *Anuŋu mandʌ-sie.*
like.this cut-INDEF.2s
'Cut (it) like this.'

17.1.3.2 Anaphoric Process Deictic

The anaphoric process deictic is used to conclude direct quotes, point to a previous process, or (less typically) to summarize a list of participants when it appears in the appositional slot of the appositional noun phrase. It is a frozen form of the verb 'speak' with the same subject affix (*ya-ŋ*).[19]

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19 One speaker who has had good insights into the language claims this deictic ends with a lengthened *ŋ*. This could be accounted for if the basic form includes the distal deictic *nu*. The basic form *yaŋ-nu* would become *yaŋŋ* because word final *u* is dropped and the *n* would assimilate to the *ŋ*. Most naive speakers do not recognize any such lengthened *ŋ*, however. Therefore the anaphoric process deictic will be represented here without the distal deictic.

586) *'Maŋgio tʌk avu-i-k,' yaŋ ya-kʌ-t.*
NAME already come-TO-3s thus say-RP-3s
"'Mangio has (already) come," he said.'

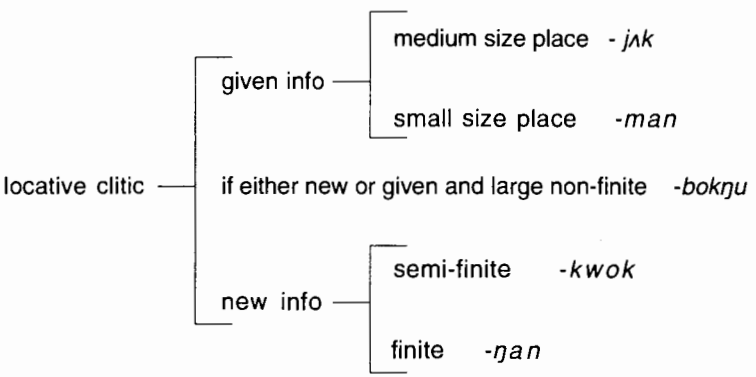
587) *No Honenua Kirek yaŋ a-jʌk pat-kʌ-mʌŋ.*
1s NAME NAME thus DEI-LOC sleep-RP-1p
'Craig, Honenua, and I slept here.'

588) *No yaŋ ʌ-i-t ma!*
1s thus do-TP-1s NEG
'I didn't do that!'

17.2 Locatives

17.2.1 Locative Clitics

There are five locative clitics: *-jʌk*, *-bokŋu*, *-man*, *-ŋan* and *-kwok*. Two of these (*-jʌk* and *-man*) are only affixed to deictics and indicate a given location. Two others (*-kwok* and *-ŋan*) are affixed to deictics, nouns, noun phrases, locative words and clauses usually indicating a new location. The fifth form (*-bokŋu*) can be used both ways. All five have the meaning 'to' or 'at' and will be glossed as 'DEI'. They can be classified as in the diagram below.



The types of objects these clitics are used with can be defined more fully as follows.

-jʌk A named inhabited place previously referred to in the discourse or a place that the speaker assumes is within the hearer's consciousness, typically a village or similar sized area.

-man A piece of ground previously referred to that is smaller and more specific than a village, typically a small visible piece of ground.

-bokŋu A large general area that has no fixed boundaries, most frequently beyond eyesight.

-kwok One of two arbitrary sides of a natural feature or man-made object.

-ŋan A specific, finite location in space or time, most commonly a natural feature or man-made object. It is equivalent to the English *to* or *at* and is the most general locative. When it occurs on the end of a clause it relativises it.

-jʌk:

589) *Yam-jʌk* *pu* *awa-na-sek* *bu*
down-named.place go.down aunt-1s.POSS-DIM liver
ʌ-mu-sie.
REC.3s-give-INDEF.2s
'Go down to the place down below and give my aunt the liver.'

590) *Kip* *bo* *pʌŋ-ye* *nu-jʌk* *pat-wa-mʌk.*
PLACE hill PL.OB-come.up 3s-LOC sleep-PR-1d.
'We came up to Kip hill and slept there (hamlet).'

591) *Mʌgʌwʌŋ-wot* *Maŋge-wot* *a-jʌk* *pat-kʌ-mayak.*
Name-ACC NAME-ACC this-LOC sleep-RP-3d.EV
'Mʌgʌwʌŋ and Maŋge slept here (this village).'

-bokŋu:

592) *Ʌmin* *deki de* *yam-tʌ* *tim-bokŋu* *sit-kʌ-t.*
human last one down-SRC piece-LOC sit-RP-3s
'A big man sat in the large area down below.'

593) *...gwikgwik* *nu-bokŋu* *kuŋgwu-ripm-kʌ-t.*
BIRD 3s-LOC go.around-PROG-RP-3s
'...the gwikgwik was flying around that area.'

594) *Mʌnji* *de-ni* *yin-wokŋu-bokŋu-tʌ* *bei-tʌ* *ŋam-nu*
child one-FM over-further-LOC-SRC sister-POSS face-DEI
ka-kʌ-t.
3s.OB-see-RP-3s
'The child who was further down saw his sisters's face.'

-man:

595) *Kʌvit-na na-ŋ nu-man yaka avu-ŋ-ka…*
smoke-1s.POSS eat-SS 3s-LOC again come-SS-ISQ
'I had a smoke and again came back to where I was and then…' (area was about 30 metres away)

596) *Kʌndʌpdeyanwokŋuman ʌrʌwʌn…*
tree a over-further-LOC burn-SS.3s
'A tree at a place further over burned and …'

-kwok:

597) *Tʌp gavaŋkwoknu nu wieripmgwiʌŋŋ…*
ocean flat-side-DEI 3s walk-PROG-DUR-SS
'He (was) walking around at the beach area…'

598) *Nu wit wienkwok wo-ŋat…*
3s house inside-side go.up-PFCT
'He went up into the house…'

599) *…ʌmbraŋ yantʌ gavaŋkwoknu bayewʌn…*
S.OB-hold over-SRC flat.place-side-DEI throw-3s.DS
'…he got (it) and threw it over to the flat area…'

-ŋan:

600) *Jegwie kuraŋ kaŋ nuŋan pisiekʌt.*
BIRD toilet 3s.OB.see-SS 3s-LOC blow-RP-3s
'The Jegwie saw the toilet and blew on it (there).'

601) *Nu kʌvu witŋan sitripmkwit.*
3s PL house-LOC stay-PROG-3p.RP
'They were staying at the house.'

602) *Bajeri maketŋan avukʌmʌŋŋan avukʌt.*
NAME market-LOC come-RP-1p-LOC come-RP-3s
'Bajeri came to the market to where we had come.'

603) *ʌpmbiʌk get bisepŋan a Kirekwot nit sevot ʌda.*
today sun time-LOC this NAME-COM 1d garden do-1d.INDEF
'Today, this morning, I will work with Craig.'

The Locative Clitic *-ŋan* has other functions that need to be noted. In certain contexts (only a few have been generated or observed) it will appear affixed to the object noun phrase. In this situation it appears to demote the object to a location thus emphasizing the lack of registered effect on it by the subject or the lack of volitionality of the agent in eventuating that particular outcome.

604) *...nu tuŋ baye-ŋat-ŋ no-ŋan baye-i-k.*
3s miss hit-PFCT-SS 1s-LOC hit-TP-3s
'...he swung at him and missed and hit me.'

605) *Simbat de binde-wʌn ma-ŋ Davit-tʌ buruŋ-ni-ŋan*
coconut one pick-DS.3s fall-SS NAME-SRC head-3s.POSS-LOC
baye-won...
hit-DS.3s
'He picked the coconut and it fell (accidentally) and hit Davit on the head...'

The locative clitic also marks exclusive possession (see 11.3).

17.2.2 Locative Words

A locative word is a noun that can be used in a clause without a clitic to identify a location. It can be of two types: a proper noun, or one of a limited class of nouns that indicate position. A proper noun is a place name that may not take any of the postpositional locatives. It functions in the same way as a noun with the *-ŋan* postposition, that is, it indicates a specific finite position. Its function as a locative is entirely determined by the position within the clause and context.

606) *ʌpmʌ nin Gwarawon ku-bai-mʌŋ.*
yesterday 1p PLACE go.over-YP-1p
'Yesterday we went over (to) Gwarawon.'

607) *Lae pu-k-nu-si wo Bambu pat-kʌ-t.*
PLACE go.down-NOM-DEI-PUR go.up PLACE sleep-RP-3s
'We went up to Bambu and slept in order to go down to Lae.'

The nouns in the limited class that indicate position may, but do not need to, take the *-ŋan* and *-kwok* locative clitics to make them more specific. There is little difference between the noun by itself and the noun with *-ŋan;* the choice may depend upon the speaker. These nouns may be optionally preceded by a noun which gives them a specific reference. In other situations the specifics of the reference are understood outside the context of the immediate clause. Following is the list of these nouns as compiled thus far, but we do not claim it is an exhaustive list.

	-ø	-ŋan	-kwok
kwait	outside	—	ouside area
wien	inside	at/to the inside	inside area
kwin	top/high	on top/high up	top area-sky
bat	side	on/at/to the side	side area
beʌn	middle	in/at/to the middle	middle area
gwek	saddle/neck	at/to the saddle	—
deki	last	at/to the end of	last part of
kwʌrʌk	corner	in/to the corner	—
popm	slope	on/to the slope	—
yip	edge	at/to the edge	—
kwʌsek	close	—	—
jivi	far	—	—

608) *ʌmin yat kwait-gwok wam sipsip ya-ŋat-ŋ*
human two ouside-LOC talk whisper speak-PFCT-SS
'the two men talked outside (the house).'

609) *...kwait wunde kʌriman tipm-kʌ-t.*
out go.out jungle exist-RP-3s
'...he went out and stayed in the jungle.'

610) *Yik ʌŋ-bra-ŋ kwin pamindʌ-kʌ-t*
bilum OB.S-get-SS top hang-RP-3s
'He got the bilum and hung it (up) high (on the wall).'

611) *...baye-wʌn jivi ku-ŋat-ŋ.*
throw-DS.3s far go.over-PFCT-SS
'...he threw it and it went a long way.'

612) *Kwʌsek avu sit-sie.*
close come.over sit-INDEF.2s
'Come over close and sit down.'

613) *...ʌ-nu-wo beʌn pat-kʌ-t.*
RC.3s-say.to middle sleep-RP-3s.FACT
'...they told him and he slept in the middle.'

17.3 Temporals

17.3.1 Temporal Words

Temporal words fill the time slot on the clause level. The finite class of temporal words includes the following:

ʌpmbiʌk	'today, now'
kwip	'tomorrow'
savi	'day after'
ʌpmʌ	'yesterday'
sepmʌŋ	'before'
banoŋ	'midmorning' to 'afternoon'
kʌtnʌm	'night'
bewoŋ	'middle of the night'

614) *Nin sepmʌŋ yaŋ ʌ-kʌ-mʌŋ.*
1p before thus do-RP-1p
'We did (it) like that before.'

615) *Nit bewoŋ kap-si ku wuru-bai-mʌk.*
1d midnight possum-PUR go look.for-YP-1d
'We (two) went looking for possum last night.'

616) *Elikopta ʌpmbiʌk avu-sak.*
helicopter today come-3s.INTENT
'(The) helicopter will come today.'

The temporal words *kwip* 'tomorrow' and *paŋga* 'later' may also take the definite and indefinite sequentials (see 16.4).

17.3.2 Temporal Clitic

The temporal clitic *-ŋan* is affixed to *bisep* 'time' which functions as the head of the preceding noun phrase or clause.[20] It indicates a finite position in time established by the preceding noun phrase or clause. The structure is as follows:

NP	Head	+	Locative posposition
NP	*bisep* 'time'		*-ŋan*
Clause			

617) *Nu bisep-ŋan ʌmin wose-ŋ pʌŋ-bavu-kʌ-t.*
DEI time-LOC human make-SS OBJ.PL-become-RP-3s
'At that time he created man.'

618) *Yam-wokŋu bisep-ŋan bavu-ni tipm-kʌ-t.*
down-further time-LOC ancestor-3s.POSS exist-RP-3s
'His ancestor lived further back in time.'

619) *Bavu-ni tipm-kwit bisep-ŋan yaŋ ʌ-kwit.*
ancestor-3s.POSS exist-RP.3p time-LOC thus do-RP.3p
'At the time when his ancestors lived they did (it) like that.'

17.3.3 Additional Temporals

There are several further modifications of temporals to express various times of day. *KʌtnʌmI* 'night' can be reduplicated to indicate late afternoon. The diminuative and a deictic can be added resulting in *kʌtnʌm siek-nu* to indicate close to dawn. The word *bisep* 'time' plus the following deictic can be reduplicated resulting in *bisep-nu bisep-nu* 'many times, constantly, frequently'.

620) *KʌtnʌmI kʌtnʌm moreni!*
night night good
'Good afternoon!'

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20 The temporal clitic is identical with the finite locative *-ŋan*

621) *Kʌtnʌmsiek-nupra-ŋkwaitwunde-bai-t.*
night DIM-DEI rise-SS outside go.out-YP-1s
'Just before dawn I got up and went outside.'

622) *Monubisep-nubisep-nukʌninya-wa-k.*
female 3s time-SEI time-DEI nag speak-PR-3s.FACT
'She frequently nags.'

Time is frequently expressed by a clause with the verb ʌ 'do' or *dakŋu* "finish/become' or a nominalised form of them. When time is expressed as a separate clause it becomes an event on the event line and is more prominent as in (623).

623) *Kʌtnʌmʌ-wʌndʌ-niʌminyat-nuyakaavu-kʌ-mʌn.*
night do-DS.3s other-FM human two-DEI again come-RP-3d
'It was night and the two men came back again.'

624) *MʌkMʌk da-k-numoreni!*
ground become-NOM-DEI good
'Good morning!' (literally 'The earth became again!')

17.4 Locative Phrases

The locative phrase fills the locative slot on the clause level. It is composed of two obligatory heads. The first head is filled by a deictic or noun phrase. If the first is filled by a deictic, the second is filled by a given locative postposition; if the first is filled by a noun phrase, the second is filled by a positional locative postposition.

Head	Head
Deictic pronoun Directional deictic	Given locative postposition
Noun phrase Relative clause	New/positional locative postposition

There are two restrictions. First, a directional deictic containing the source morpheme *-tʌ* and the morpheme *-wokŋu* may not co-occur with the given locative pospositions *-jʌk* and *-man*. Second, the new/positional locative postposition frequently occurs with deictics but the noun *tim* is inserted resulting in a noun phrase.

625) *Yam-jʌk pʌŋ-pu sie kʌvu-ni ye-pm-kʌ-t.*
down-LOC PL.OBJ-go.down thing PL-3s.POSS OBJ.PL-put-RP-3s.
'He went, carried his things down and put them at the place down below.'

626) *A-man avu-ŋat-si...*
this-LOC come-PFCT-2s.DS
'Come here and...'

627) *Nia-tʌ wit gavaŋ-ŋan wo-kwit.*
up-SRC house flat.area-LOC go.up-RP.3p
'They went up to the house yard up (there).'

628) *Nu tim-bokŋu gaoŋ kʌndʌp tawi dʌ sit-wa-k.*
DEI piece-LOC poison tree seed one sit-PR-3s
'In that general area there is a tree (with) poison seeds.'

629) *A wam wien-kwok bam ka-wa-mʌŋ.*
DEI talk inside-side produce REC.3s-see-PR-1p
'Inside this talk we see something worthwhile.'

630) *Sepmʌŋ kwit man-ŋ ʌkwa-kʌ-t-ŋan ku-na.*
before bird fall-SS destroy-RP-3s-LOC go-DEF.1p
'Let's go to where the plane crashed before.'

631) *Nia-wokŋu wit damini wiet de-ŋan wo-i-k.*
up-further house large fat one-LOC go.up-TP-3s
'He went further up to a huge house.'

At the clause level up to three or four locative phrases may be used to adequately locate the event or participant in time and space. It is not infrequent to start with a locative phrase that will give the general area of the event with subsequent phrases used to further narrow the location of the participant or event.

632) *Yam-tʌ tim-ŋan, gʌrip yevin tim-ŋan nani,*
down-SRC piece-LOC pandanas base piece-LOC belonging.to
tʌvʌ gwek nu-man na-kʌ-t.
trail neck that-LOC eat-RP-3s
'Down by the pandanas tree, by the base where the trail narrows, that's where he ate it.'

17.5 Reduplicated Location Phrases

The locative phase is sometimes reduplicated to give a distributive sense.

de-bok	→	*de-bok*	*de-bok*
one-LOC		one-LOC	one-LOC
'one area'		'around about'	

18 CONTRAST AND COMPARISON

18.1 Contrast

There are three types of structures encoding contrast: differential, contra-expectation, and antithetical.

18.1.1 Differential Contrast

Differential contrast in Nankina is expressed by juxtaposing two stative clauses. The difference is implied through the context and the juxtaposition of the two clauses. This is generally used for contrasting objects or attributes of objects. It is also possible to use *ga* 'and' or *de* 'one/the other' to conjoin the clauses or sentences.

633) *GʌN-tʌ* *wit-nu* *damini* *wiet-nu.* *Nin-tʌ* *wit-nu* *okusek*
2s-SRC house-DEI large AUG-DEI 1p-SRC house-SEI small
sek-nu!
DIM-DEI
'Your house is huge; ours are small.' or 'Your house is larger than ours.'

634) *A-ye* *moreni.* *De* *mip-nu* *woni.*
DEI-EMPH good one teeth none
'This (machete) is a good (sharp) one. The other one is dull.' or 'This machete is sharper than that one.'

18.1.2 Situational Contrast

Situational contrast involves two complete sentences each of which takes final verb affixation. The second sentence is conjoined with the verb *ʌ* 'do' along with the perfective aspect *-ŋat*, different subject affix, and the indefinite sequential aspect *-ka*. In situational contrast, two situations or actions involving different objects or attributes are contrasted.

635) *KʌNmin* *ye* *wit-ŋan* *pu-wʌn* *ʌmin-tʌ*
dog EMPH house-LOC go.down-DS.3s human-SRC
ʌŋ-bra-kwit. *ʌ-ŋat-wʌn-ka* *kirikie* *kap* *ye*
OBJ.S-hold-RP.3p do-PFCT-DS.3s-ISEQ porcupine possum EMPH
wo *mʌk* *wien-kwok* *a* *pu* *ti-ni* *tipu-ŋ*
go.up ground in-side DEI go.down CERT-3s.POSB hide-SS
ku-kwit.
go-RP.3p
'The dog went down to the house and the humans got him. But the porcupine went down into the ground and hid.'

636) *Kwʌmbu ʌmin man-ni mʌk dʌkŋu-ŋan-tʌ ŋʌmbi-ŋ*
tree man name-3s.POSS ground some-LOC-SRC lift-SS

pra-wa-rʌŋ. Ʌ-ŋat-wo-ka duok deki ga kwe-ni
rise-PR-3p do-PFCT-DS.3-ISEQ blood line CONJ friend-3s.POSS

ye-tʌ man-ni ma ŋʌmbi-ŋ pra-wa-rʌŋ.
intimate-SRC name-3s.POSS NEG lift-SS rise-PR-3p

'Prophet's names are honoured some places, but their own families and friends do not honour them.'

18.1.3 Contra-expection

Contra-expectation is used for situations in which the expected result does not come about, at least not to the degree that was anticipated. Contra-expectation is expressed by two declarative clauses, both of which carry final verb affixation. The two clauses are conjoined by *ee yaka* 'yes/even REPETATIVE/CHANGE OF SETTING'. The first clause specifies the expected situation and is not necessarily completely explicit. The second clause expresses the actual situation.

637) *'Ti ŋʌri-wa' yaŋ ya-ŋ wo ŋʌri-kʌ-t ee yaka woni*
CERT bite-DEF.1s thus say-SS go.up bite-RP-3s yes CS none

a mʌnjawi bo-ka ŋʌri-ŋat-wʌn
DEI back backside-? bite-PFCT-DS.3s

'"I am going to really bite him," he thought and went up and bit him but he (only) bit his back side.'

638) *Nu-tʌ kopupu sit-wa-k ee yaka mʌnji-tʌ nin-tʌ ye*
3s-SRC ancestral.myth sit-PR-3s yes CS child-SRC 1p.SRC EMPH

du ma nandʌ-i-mʌŋ.
IPL NEG know-TP-1p

'That ancestral story exists (and we should know it), however we don't know it.'

The form *ji-ka* 'PURPOSE-INDEFINITE SEQUENTIAL' can also be used to express contra-expectation. The difference in meaning or usage between *ee yaka* and *jika* is not understood at this point in time. Native speakers indicate that there is no difference.

639) *At* *deni* *waye-k-nu-si* *pu* *ʌvʌ* *de* *waye-kʌ-t*
sugar.cane FM break-NOM-DEI-PUR go.down long one break-RP-3s

ji-ka *ʌvʌ* *de* *waye-ŋ* *ye-wʌn* *seveni* *ʌ-ŋat-wʌn.*
PUR-ISEQ long one break-SS come.up-DS.3s strong do-PFCT-3s.DS

'He was anticipating getting some sugar cane (so) he went down and broke a long one but as he tried to break it he saw that it was strong.'

640) *Komu* *numoni* *pu-wa-k* *ji-ka* *yaka* *bat-gʌ*
water straight go.down-PR-3s PUR-ISEQ CS side-MN

pu-wʌn *ka-ŋ.*
go.down-DS.3s OBJ.S.see-SS

'She expected the water to go straight down (waterfall), but she saw that it flowed down via the side (of the mountain).'

18.1.4 Antithetical

The antithetical sentence encodes frustrated outcome, unexpected outcome or counterbalancing consideration. Both the thesis and the antithesis consist of a complete declarative sentence with final verb affixation on each. They are conjoined by *ee* 'yes, even' which will be glossed as ANTI (antithesis).

641) *Nin* *tipm-k* *tipm-k* *moreni* *ʌpm* *tipm-nam* *ee* *nin*
1p exist-NOM exist-NOM good ABL exist-1p.INDEF ANTI 1p

ʌkwi *tipm-ŋat-na*
bad exist-PFCT-DS.1p

'We are able to live good, however we live bad.'

642) *...kwʌŋ* *wop* *jivi* *ku-wa-k* *ee* *ku* *pʌŋ-gwo-ŋ* *avu*
evil spirit far go-PR-3s ANTI go OBJ.PL-turn-SS come

ka-wʌn-yaŋ...
OBJ.S.see-DS.3s-thus

'...the evil spirit went far away, however he was watching him, he turned and came back...'

643) *Yaŋ ʌmin-nu-tʌ mo yat ʌpm ma bo kwit-ni*
thus man-DEI-SRC wife two ABL NEG ALT tear.apart-INDEF.3s

yaŋ nandʌ-kʌ-mʌŋ æ Anutu-tʌ waoŋ-nu-tʌ sevot
thus think-RP-1p ANTI God-SRC steam-DEI-SRC work

ʌ-kʌ-t-nu bam kʌsi.
do-PR-3s-DEI produce existing

'We don't think there is any way for a man like that with two wives to separate, but God's spirit's word has results (i.e. God can split them apart).'

644) *...mʌnji-tʌ trausi nu-ye bupm-wa-t æ bokŋu-tʌ trausei*
child-SRC pants DEI-EMPH sew-PR-1s ANTI man-SRC pants

ma nandʌ-wa-t.
NEG know-PR-1s

'...a little boys pants, those I sew; however a man's pants I do not know (how to sew).'

18.1.5 Miscellaneous Contrast

There are two additional types of contrast that do not clearly fit into the above catagories. The first consists of two complete declarative sentences juxtaposed. This is different from differential contrast where two stative clauses are juxtaposed. This construction is used to express irony through contrasting two nearly identical sentences. Semantically, however, it is more contrafactual than contrastive.

645) *Gʌ-tʌ yim-i-n. Nʌ-tʌ yim-i-t.*
2s-SRC shoot-TP-2s 1s-SRC shoot-TP-1s

'You shot (it). I shot (it.)' (You shot it! No way, I shot it!)

In (645) two brothers were arguing over who made the successful shot that killed the possum. The statement above was in response to the first claim of success.

The second type of contrast is frequently used in conversation as a response to a previous assertion. Many times the point of contrast, which is usually an expectation or a fact, may be implicit in the context. The point of contrast (contra-expectation or contrafactual) is preceded by the non-verbal negator *woni* 'none'.

646) *'Duŋu-man ye-i-k?' yaŋ ʌ-nu-won. 'Woni,*
INTEROG-LOC come.up-TP-3s thus REC.3s-say-DS.3s NEG

kwap-na-ŋan ye-i-k.'
stomach-1s.POSS-LOC come.up-TP-3s

'"Where is it up to (water level)?" he said to him. "It's (only) to my stomach."' (First speaker was expecting him to be dead from drowning.)

647) *Ʌŋut-na yaŋ-si ʌ-wo ʌmin de-tʌ 'Woni,*
kill-1p.INDEF thus-PUR do-DS.3p human one-SRC NEG

a-ye wip-nu' yaŋ ye-nu-kʌ-t.
DEI-EMPH seed-DEI thus REC.3p-say-RP-3s

'They were proposing to kill him and a man said, "No, he's the seed (beginning of repopulating the massacred clan.)"'

18.2 Comparison

The comparison of objects and events is encoded a number of different ways.

18.2.1 Similarity

Similarity of actions, events, and states is encoded with the anaphoric process deictic *yaŋ* 'thus' ('speak-SS') affixed with the limiter *-kin.*

648) *Go bisit ga-nu-wa-rʌŋ ʌ-ŋat-won nit yaŋ-kin bisit*
2s request REC.2s-say-PR-3p do-PFCT-DS.3p 1d thus-LIM request

ga-nu-wa-mʌk.
REC.2s-say-PR-1d

'Just like they pray, so the two of us pray.'

649) *...ʌŋut-kʌ-t. De-tʌ nandʌ-ŋ wo bira-ŋ nu-gwin yaŋ-kin*
kill-RP-3s one-SRC hear-SS go.up hold-SS 3s-also thus-LIM

ʌŋut-kʌ-t.
kill-RP-3s

'...he killed (him). (When) he heard another he went up grabbed him and killed as he did before.'

650) *Sepmʌŋ bavu-nin tipm-kwit nin yaŋ-kin tipm-wa-mʌŋ.*
before ancestors-1p.POSS exist-RP.3p 1p thus-LIM exist-PR-1p.

'We live like our ancestors lived before.'

The point of comparison (action, state or event) may also be absent though it must be recoverable from the context of the discourse or the shared experience of the speaker and hearer.

651) *Wit-ŋan wo sie nu bo nu dari-ŋat-ŋ ku de*
house-LOC go.up thing 3s ALT 3s OBJ.3.PL-PFCT-SS go one
wit-ŋan wo yaŋ-kin
house-LOC go.up thus-LIM
'We went into the house and saw all kinds of things (and) went into another and did the same.'

652) *Ka-ŋat-ŋ yaŋ-kin pan-ka yim-ŋ avu-ŋ-ka*
OBJ.3s-PFCT-SS thus-LIM later-ISEQ shoot-SS come-SS-ISEQ
bupm-sat.
sew-INDEF.1s
'I saw it and later will buy it (laplap) and sew it up just like that.'

Similarity of nouns and noun phrases is expressed by use of the anaphoric process deictic followed by *de* 'one' which refers to a noun. The limiter is not used when comparing nouns and noun phrases.

653) *Elikopta kiripmu de. Ami kwit yaŋ de-tʌ avu-kʌ-t.*
helicopter different one army bird thus one-SRC come-RP-3s
'The helicopter was really different. The army airplane (that) came was like that.'

654) *A-jʌk sie de yaŋ de ma sit-wa-k.*
DEI-LOC thing one thus one NEG sit-PR-3s
'Here, there is nothing like that (evil spirit).'

18.2.2 Approximation

Approximation of two objects or situations is encoded with the word *yeye*, a reduplication of *ye* 'EMPHASIS', followed by *de* 'one' (or *yat* 'two' if a reciprical relationship is being expressed).

655) *Luke nu-ye Pende yeye de.*
NAME DEI-EMPH NAME APPROX one
'Luke is similar to Pende.'

656) *Luke ga Pende yeye yat.*
NAME CONJ NAME APPROX two
'Luke and Pende are similar to each other.'

657) *...ga pamin-gi yeye de tipm-ŋ-ka*
CONJ older.sib-2p.POSS APPROX one exist-SS-ISEQ
da-nugʌwie-ŋat-wʌn
REC.2p-teach-PFCT-DS.3s
'...and the one who is similar to an older brother could stay and teach you.'

658) *Kwit-ŋan ku-wa-k-nu ga kar-ŋan ku-wa-k-nu yeye*
bird-LOC go-PR-3s-DEI CONJ car-LOC go-PR-3s-DEI APPROX
de seven-kin ku-wa-mʌn.
one strong-LIM go-PR-3d
'The going of the airplane and the car are very similar: they both go fast.'

18.2.3 Equality

The word *tek* 'mark' is always used when expressing equality. Equality of situations is marked by *tek-ŋan* 'mark-LOC' while equality of objects is marked by *tek-ni de-kin* 'mark-3s.POSS one-LIM' (in the case of equality of an attribute) or by *tek de-kin de* (frequently used with stative clauses, i.e., clauses with no verb or only a copula.

659) *Nu wam yat-nu tek de-kin de.*
DEI talk two-DEI mark one-LIM one
'Those two words are the same (same meaning).'

660) *Sepmʌŋ ku-kʌ-t-nu ga ʌpmbiʌk nani sit-wa-k-nu tek*
before go-RP-3s-DEI CONJ today belong sit-PR-3s-DEI mark
de-kin de ma.
one-LIM one NEG
'The one who went before and the one who is here today are not the same.'

661) *...nu-tʌ seveni tek-ni de-kin ma ʌ-wʌn...*
S-SRC strength mark-3s.POSS one-LIM NEG do-3s.DS
'...its strength is not the same (as the others)...'

662) *Weiwo ʌ-ŋ kʌndʌp-man maŋ-ŋ ere-kʌ-t-nu tek-ŋan ma.*
crazy do-SS fire-LOC fall-SS burn-RP-3s-DEI mark-LOC NEG
'(The situation) was not the same as him going crazy and falling into the fire and burning.'

663) *Nan-ni-tʌ ʌ-nu-kʌ -t tek-ŋan keim gavaŋ-ŋan*
father-3s.POSS-SRC REC.3s-say-RP-3s mark-LOC plane flat.area-LOC
wo-kʌ -t.
go.up-RP-3s
'He went up to Heaven exactly like his father had said.'

19 CLITICS

Clitics will be defined as forms that are grammatically free but phonologically bound. They may be bound to a noun phrase or relative clause. In Nankina they function as what has traditionally been called case in that they mark different functions within the clause. Each of the different forms and functions are listed below:

Purpose	*-si*
Source (Active)	*-tʌ*
Locatives	*-ŋan*
	-man
	-kwok
	-bok
	-jʌk
Manner	*-kʌ*
Specification	*-nu*

Locatives and specification (distal deictic) have been discussed in sections 17.2 and 17.1.1.2, respectively. The other forms will be discussed below.

19.1 Purpose

The purpose clitic *-si* encodes a number of semantic functions: purpose, reason, cause, goal, recipient, beneficiary, and quantitative source. The first three functions will be discussed in chapter 23; the others will be discussed here.

19.1.1 Goal

A noun phrase with the clitic *-si* is used to indicate goal. The meaning is 'concerning/about/ for'. The construction has a general purposive sense but the specific action associated with it is not stated in the phrase.

664) *...at-ripm-ŋat-ŋ* *Kirek-tʌ* *komu-si*
stand-PROG-PFCT-SS NAME-SRC water-PUR
nin-nu-kʌ-t.
REC.1p-say.to-RP-FACT.3s
'...(we) had been standing and Craig asked about the river.'

665) *Kʌriman* *kʌndʌp-si* *ku-wa.*
jungle wood-PUR go-DEF.1s
'I will go to the bush for firewood.'

666) *...pie-ni-si* *won* *da-kʌ-t.*
husband-3s.POSS.PUR anger become-RP-FACT.3s
'...she was mad at/about her husband.'

667) *Nu-man* *sit-ripm-ŋ* *nan-ni-si* *jim-wʌn...*
DEI-LOC sit-PROG-SS father-3s.POSS-PUR wait-DS.3s
'She was sitting there waiting for her father...'

This same construction can also function as a reflexive when the goal and the subject are coreferent.

668) *Nʌ-tʌ-si* *dokta* *pu* *ʌ-nu-kʌ-m.*
1s-SRC-PUR doctor go.down OBJ.3s-say.to-RP-FACT.1s
'I went down (and) talked to the doctor about myself.'

669) *Mindʌ-ŋ* *ku* *wara-na* *nan-na-tʌ-si* *won* *da-ŋ...*
afraid go finish-DS.1p father-1s.POSS-SRC-PUR anger become-SS
'We ran away afraid and my father got mad at himself...'

19.1.2 Recipient

The clitic *-si* is used to mark the indirect object, that is the semantic recipient, of the ditransitive verb 'give'. This usage is quite restricted.

670) *Tawi* *yat* *kit-tʌ* *pʌŋ-bra-i-t-nu* *Maŋgio-si*
fruit two hand-SRC PL.OBJ-hold-TP-FACT.1s-DEI NAME-PUR
ʌ-mu!
REC.3s-give.2s.CERT
'Give the two fruits that I got with my hand to Mangio!'

671) *Nʌ-si* *na-mu!*
1s-PUR REC.1s-give.to.CERT.2s
'Give it to me!'

19.1.3 Beneficiary

The purpose clitic *-si* also marks the beneficiary of the action of the verb. The beneficiary can occur with or without the benefactive construction *ʌŋ namu* 'do give to'.

672) *A-jʌk* *pasto-tʌ* *mʌnji-ni-si* *mo* *wam* *ya-wʌn...*
DEI-LOC pastor-SRC child.3s.POSS-PUR female talk talk-DS.3s
'The pastor here talked about a wife for his son...'

673) *Sevot-na* *nʌ-si* *ʌ-ŋ* *na-mu-sie.*
work-1s.POSS 1s-PUR do-SS REC.1s-give.to-INT.2s
'You will do my work for me.'

19.1.4 Quantitative Source

The purpose clitic can encode quantitative source when there is a quantity from which a part has been taken. In this construction the purpose clitic is suffixed to the the locative clitic. The same structure is used for locative source (see 19.2.1) except that the source clitic is used instead of the purpose clitic. Some native speakers indicate the two constructions can be used interchangably. In the natural texts observed thus far they are each used in unique contexts.

674) *...at* *sit-wʌn* *ka-ŋ* *nu-ŋan-si* *ʌvʌ* *de* *waye-ŋ...*
sugar.cane sit-DS.3s OBJ.3s.see-SS 3s-LOC-PUR long one break-SS
'...he saw the sugar there and broke one of them off...'

675) *...ba* *kʌwu* *yepm-kʌ-t-ŋan-si* *pʌŋ-pu*
kaukau PL OBJ.PL.put-RP-3s-PUR PL.OBJ-go.down
sa-ŋat-ŋ.
cook.eat-PFCT-SS
'...he carried down some of the kaukau that he had put (away) and cooked and ate it.'

19.2 Source

Even though the source clitic *-tʌ* has a number of semantic and pragmatic functions, the thread that appears to tie all the functions together is semantic source in the extended sense. Integral to semantic source as it is defined in this context are three concepts: pre-eminence, control, and activity. Pre-eminence means that whatever is marked is important or primary in its specific meaning or function. Control refers to determining or governing. It does not necessarily imply volition or animacy, though it does tend to correlate with these concepts. Activity is similar to transitivity or agentivity, that is, bringing about change. Activity could possibly be viewed in terms of an active-stative case marking system, with active being marked by the clitic *-tʌ* and stative being unmarked and having the widest distribution.

The source clitic appears to be similar to ergative marking or semantic agent when it functions on the clause level. In fact, in isolated sentences a good case can be made for the claim that *-tʌ* marks ergative. Most of what appears to be transitivity or agentivity at the clause level, however, functions at the discourse level as one or more of the following: new information, introduction or reintroduction of an important participant or topic, and foreground information. At this point in time these functions are only crudely understood and any further elaboration is pending further discourse analysis.

The functions/meanings that have been observed at the clause level or below are as follows: source (locational and directional), agentivity, social ranking, instrument, and possessor. Possessor was discussed in chapter 11; the other functions will be discussed in the following sections.

19.2.1 Locational and Directional Source

The clitic *-tʌ* marks both the locational and directional source. The directional source is discussed in section 17.1.2 of this paper. Locational source is marked by affixing the source clitic to a noun phrase or clause. The source clitic follows the locative clitic unless it is a proper noun, in which case the locative clitic does not occur. The source clitic is used to specify source of the movement of a participant and is similar to English *from*. The destination may be explicit, implicit, or unknown.

676) *...Mambiwan-tʌ a-jʌk avu-wʌn...*
RIVER-SRC this-LOC come-DS.3s
'...(it) came from the Mabiwan river to here...'

677) *Kwait wunde-i-mʌk-ŋan-tʌ Tekwit bo wo-da!*
ouside go.out-TP-1d-LOC-SRC PLACE hill go.up-DEF.1d
'Let's go up to Tekwit hill from where we had gone out!'

678) *Tʌvʌ-ŋan-tʌ pu ka-ŋat-wʌn...*
trail-LOC-SRC go.down OBJ.3s.see-PFCT-DS.3s
'He went down from the trail and looked at it...'

19.2.2 Agentivity

In isolated sentences and conversation *-tʌ* is affixed to the agent in both transitive and intransitive clauses, though statistically it is used much more frequently in transitive clauses than in intransitive clauses. In rare instances in intransitive clauses it seems to mark volition or the ability to bring about change. The use of the source clitic to mark agentivity is probably its least understood function. It is possible that this use marks active-stative case distinctions.

679) *Go-tʌ* *ʌ-ŋat-si* *gwok* *sep-nu* *nandʌ-i-t!*
2s-SRC do-PFCT-DS.2s skin pain-DEI feel-TP-1s.FACT
'You caused me pain (deliberately)!'

680) *No-tʌ* *ku-wa!*
1s-SRC go-CERT.1s
'I will go!' (from conversation in which several people were debating who would go to another village and the speaker finally asserts him will go)

681) *Mʌnji* *kwindʌk-nu-tʌ* *yaka* *ku-ŋat-ŋ...*
child new-DEI-SRC again go-PFCT-SS
'The new child (who had newly come) went (back) again...' (A school boy who had just come to school decided to quit and go home.)

682) *Kirip* *deni-tʌ* *pu* *jipm-k-nu-si* *ʌ-ŋat-ŋ...*
retarded FM-SRC go.down OBJ.3p-kill-NOM-DEI-PUR do-PFCT-SS
'The retarded one went down and started to kill them...'

683) *Jakwa-tʌ* *pup* *sinsisi* *na-kʌ-t.*
dog-SRC chicken true eat-RP-FACT.1s
'The dog really did eat the chicken.'

684) *Sepmʌŋ* *go-tʌ* *towa* *para-kʌ-t-nu* *sira-bai-n.*
before 2s-SRC drum carve-RP-FACT.3s beat-YP-FACT.2s
'You beat the drum that he had carved before.'

The speaker will always be marked with the source clitic when explicitly mentioned in the introduction of a direct quotation.

685) *No-tʌ* *Kaku* *ʌ-nu-i-t* *'...'.*
1s-SRC NAME OBJ.3s-say.to-TP-FACT.1s
'I said to Kaku, "..."'

19.2.3 Social Ranking

The source clitic is used to indicate social ranking, that is, the perceived importance of participants. Structurally there is no difference between the use of the source clitic to mark agentivity and social ranking. However, in several texts participants such as doctors, important men, the army, God and expatriates are consistently marked with the source clitic whether or not transitivity or volition are involved. These occurrences do not seem to serve any discourse function such as encoding topic, prominence, or new information. On the

other hand, this use may actually be a mark of respect. In Nankina culture a respected person is always perceived as being able to make things happen or be productive, or in linguistic terms, as an agent. This ties in well with the concept of source involving pre-eminence, control, and activity.

686) *ʌni-tʌ* *waŋ* *tipmʌŋ-ŋ* *ʌŋ-wo-sak*
3s.EX-SRC great exist-SS OB.S-go.up-INDEF.3s
'(the) great he himself' (God)

The term in (686) was used for the supreme being before the mission came to the area. The main components of meaning are greatness, self-existence and ability to bring everything into being. It is a descriptive title, not a proper name. It has not been observed in texts, but only in conversation with older people when they are asked about any concept of a supreme being.

687) *'Ami-tʌ* *awu-i-k'* *ya-ŋ* *ya-wo...*
army-SRC come-TP-FACT.3s say-SS say-DS.3p
'"(The) army came" they said...'

688) *Bavu-ni-tʌ* *nu-man* *sit-kʌ-t.*
grand.father-3s.POSS-SRC DEI-LOC sit-RP-FACT.3s
'The grandfather sat there.'

Example (688) comes from a text is about a grandfather and grandson. In Nankina the terms are the homophonous. Thus the source clitic *-tʌ* is used to distinguish the grandfather from the grandson. In the same text the use of *-tʌ* is reversed when the grandfather is praising the grandson for restoring his eyesight.

689) *'Bavu-na-tʌ,* *yaa!'* *ya-ŋ* *ʌ-nu-ŋat-ŋ.*
grandson-1s.POSS.SRC thanks say-SS REC-3s.-say.to-PFCT-SS
'"My grandson, thank you!" he said to him.'

In (690) the source clitic is used in a song. The older brother used the source clitic with the kinship term each time the song was sung to express the uniqueness and importance of the deceased to the one wailing.

690) *Ap-na-tʌ* *ee oo ee oo ʌʌ*
younger.sib-1s.POSS-SRC WAILING
ap-na-tʌ *ap-na-tʌ!*
younger.sib-1s.POSS-SRC younger.sib-1s.POSS-SRC
'My brother, ee oo ee oo ʌʌ, my brother, my brother!'

19.2.4 Instrument

Instrument is expressed by a subordinate clause consisting of an optional agent, an optional object, and a verb (either 'get' or 'hold') affixed with the deictic *-nu* and the source clitic *-tʌ*. This clause is the instrument/subject of the main clause.

[[[(agent) (object) 'get/hold']-DEI-SRC] (object) verb]

691) *...kʌndʌp do ʌ-ŋ-nu-tʌ baye-wʌn...*
wood short OBJ.S.get-DEI-SRC hit-DS.3s
'...he got a log and hit (him)...'

692) *...ʌmin-ni biot-ŋ ʌŋ-bra-kʌ-t-nu-tʌ*
fingernail.3s.POSS sharpen-NOM OBJ-S-hold-RP-FACT.3s-DEI-SRC
mʌnji-ni woŋit-ŋ apm-ŋ...
child-3s.POSS stab-SS break.open-SS
'...she stabbed and ripped open the child with her sharpened fingernails...'

693) *Dʌŋwʌt ʌvʌ de ʌŋ-bra-ŋ-nu-tʌ simbat de*
bamboo long one OBJ.S-hold-SS-DEI-SRC coconut one
bindi-kʌ-t.
knock.down-RP-3s
'He knocked down the coconut with the pole he was holding.'

All occurrences of instrument found thus far in natural texts use the subordinate construction. However, the following examples of instrument marked simply with the source clitic have been elicited and checked, meeting with native speaker approval.

694) *Nʌ-tʌ savat-tʌ sie dʌŋgʌm mandʌ-i-t.*
1s-SRC machete-SRC thing hair cut-TP-FACT.1s
'I cut the grass with the knife.'

695) *Kwapok tʌmʌn-tʌ sira-kʌ-t.*
ball leg-SRC kick-RP-FACT.3s
'He kicked the ball with his foot.'

696) *Tip-tʌ kwit baye-wʌn ku-wʌn kamat-kʌ-t.*
rock-SRC bird hit-DS.3s go-DS.3s die-RP-FACT.1s
'He hit the bird with the rock and it died.'

19.2.5 Unresolved Issue

There is one last use of the source clitic *-tʌ* that is not understood at this point. In narratives, it appears with the distal deictic on a final verb that could normally end a clause. The entire clause is a relative clause which can serve as the subject of a sentence. This construction frequently appears when one clause refers to events at the end of a day, concluding with the verb 'sleep'. Normally this would finish one sentence and the next sentence would start with a head-tail linkage as shown in (697).

697) *...tim du wuru-na mara-won pʌŋ-ye*
piece IPL look.for-1p.DS no.result-3s.DS PL.OBJ-come.up

a-jʌk pat-kʌ-mʌŋ. Pat-ŋat-ŋ yaka wuru-ripm-na
DEI-LOC sleep-RP-1p sleep-PFCT-SS REP look.for.PROG-1p.DS

mara-won ye-kʌ-mʌŋ.
no.result-3s.DS come.up-RP-1p

'...we looked for awhile without result (then) come up here and slept. We slept then looked again without result and came up.'

The use of the source clitic resulting in a single sentence is shown in (698).

698) *...tim du wuru-na mara-won pʌŋ-ye*
piece IPL look.for-1p.DS no.result-3s.DS PL.OBJ-come.up

a-jʌk pat-kʌ-mʌŋ-nu-tʌ yaka wuru-ripm-na
DEI-LOC sleep-RP-1p-DEI-SRC REP 1p.DS

mara-won ye-kʌ-mʌŋ.
look.for.PROG-no.result-3s.DS come.up-RP-1p

'...we looked for awhile without result (then) come up here and we who slept then looked again without result and came up.'

It is possible that the difference between (697) and (698) is related to the marking of intermediate topic (see 12.2).

19.3 Manner

The manner clitic *-kʌ* has a range of meanings. In some contexts it borders on being a locative, functioning somewhat like English *on*. However, because this usage is infrequent, it is not considered with the locatives. Other meanings for *-kʌ* include 'by (means/manner)', 'on', and 'way'.

699) *Tʌvʌ deni-kʌ wo pat kapmʌŋ-kʌ-t.*
trail FM-MN go.up trap set-RP-FACT.3s

'He went up by (on) the trail and set (a) trap.'

700) *Nan-na* *je-kʌ* *ku-i-k?*
father-1s.POSS INTER-MN go-TP-3s.FACT
'By what means (how) did my father go?'

701) *Nit* *komu* *ʌvʌ-kʌ* *nya-tʌ* *wo-kʌ-mʌk.*
1d river long-MN up-SRC go.up-RP-FACT.1d
'We two went up by means of the river.'

702) *...buruŋ* *karat-ni* *a-kʌ* *yipm-wo...*
head bone-3s.POSS this-MN OBJ.S-put-DS.3p
'...they put the skull on it...'

703) *...wo-wʌn* *nandʌ-ŋ* *nu-kʌ* *wo-kʌ-t.*
go.up.DS.3s hear-SS DEI-MN go.up-RP-FACT.3s
'...he went up (and the other) listened and went up that way.'

704) *Nan-na-si* *won* *da-ŋ* *nu-kʌ*
father-1s.POSS-PUR anger become-SS DEI-MN
pʌŋ-gepm-kʌ-t.
OBJ.PL-chase-RP-FACT.3s
'Being mad at my father, he chased her that way.'

705) *Wunde-kʌ-t-ŋan-tʌ* *komu* *nu-kʌ* *maŋ-ripm-wʌn...*
go.out-RP-3s-LOC-SRC water DEI-MN fall-PROG-DS.3s
'The water fell on where he had come out from...'

706) *Wo* *kwin-kʌ* *tim-du* *wiet-ŋ...*
go.up top-MN piece-PL walk-SS
'(He) went up and walked on top for a while...'

707) *Avu* *Morok* *wit-kʌ* *ye...*
come PLACE house-MN come.up
'(He) came to Morok and went up by the side of the house...'

20 POSTPOSITIONS

Both postpositions and clitics occur on various structures from word through clause level and there is no difference between them in form and structure. The distinction between the two is based on morphophonemic and phonological suprasegmental evidence, on semantic domains, and on reader perception. Morphophonemic changes will only occur within the word. Thus there are generally no morphophonemic changes between a word and a postposition. Cliticised words have only one stress while postpositions usually have a secondary stress. Semantically clitics mark what has traditionally been called case. Orthographically clitics are written as an affix while postpositions are written as independent words.

The structure of the postpositional phrase consists of an obligatory head followed by one of the postpositions.

slot:	Head	Relator
filler:	Noun phrase	*wot* (comitative)
	Noun	*nani* (associative)
	Deictic	*gwin* (inclusive)
		kʌsi (attributive)
		kin (limiting)

The associative has been discussed in 11.2; the others will be described here.

20.1 Comitative Postpositional Phrase

Accompaniment is marked by the comitative postposition *wot* 'with' in a comitative postpositional phrase as follows:

slot:	(Accompanier)	Head	Postposition	(Summary)
filler:	Noun	Noun	*wot* 'with'	Pronoun
	Serial NP	Mod NP		*kwepmu* 'together as a unit'
	COM PP	Pronoun		
	Pronoun	Poss PN		
	Proper noun			
	Poss NP			

Rule 1: The postposition is optional in a comitative prepositional phrase filling the accompanier slot. If the comitative phrase is embedded in the accompanier slot, the postposition is omitted from all the embedded phrases if it is omitted in any of the embedded phrases. (It is obligatory if not embedded, however.)

Rule 2: If the accompanier is not present, a summary pronoun is generally present.

Rule 3: When the accompanier occurs more than once, the meaning is 'together'.

Rule 4: When the accompanier is not present it must be recoverable from the context.

Rule 5: The optional summary position functions mainly as participant identification in narrative discourse. It may be mandatory under certain discourse conditions.

Within the constraints of the general formula above, the following are some of the meanings that can be encoded:

X-*wot*	Y-*wot*	Z-*wot*		X and Y and Z (together)
X	Y-*wot*			X with Y
X-*wot*	Y-*wot*	Z-*wot*	*kwepm*	X and Y together as a unit (emphasis on togetherness)
X-*wot*	Y-*wot*	Z-*wot,*	*nu kʌwu*	X and Y and Z (together), they

Thus far, the comitative postpositional phrase has only been observed filling the subject slot of the clause. The subject person/number suffix on the verb must agree with the total number of participants in the phrase.

708) *Mesari wot Dʌmʌkwotʌyimetʌkʌmayak*
NAME COM Name COM-SRC fight do-RP-EV.2d
'Mesari and Dʌmʌkfoughtogether.'

709) *Sawi no Dakwan wot yan-dokŋu-gwok ku-kʌ-mʌk.*
next.day 1s NAME COM over-further-side go-RP-FACT.1d
'(The) next day I went with Dakwan to a place further over.'

710) *Kirek wot nit pʌŋ-pu bat-ŋan tipm-ŋ...*
NAME COM 1d OBJ.PL-go.down side-LOC exist-SS
'(I) with Craig, the two of us, went down and stayed at the side (of it)...'

711) *Nʌ-tʌ garik garik-nu no wot kwpem wiet-ŋat-ŋ sewot*
1s-SRC help help-DEI 1s COM together walk work
ŋʌnu-wa-mʌk.
work-PR-1p
'My helper with me, together (we) go and work.'

712) *Kuk-ni wot nu wot nu wot jap-ni*
faeces.3s.POSS COM DEI COM DEI COM food-3s.POSS
na-wie de.
eat-ADJ one
'He is one who eats his food with faeces and all kinds of things.'

20.2 Inclusive Postpositional Phrase

The inclusive postposition *gwin* fills the relator slot of a postpositional phrase and can fill any of the different clause slots (subject, object, purpose, location, etc). It appears to be roughly equivalent to English *also*. It adds the head to a previously mentioned referent.

713) *Nu mʌk-ŋan gwin ku-kʌ-t.*
DEI ground-LOC also go-RP-FACT.1s
'He went to that place also.'

714) *De gwin ʌŋut-kʌ-t.*
one also kill-RP-FACT.3s
'He killed another one also.'

715) *Miŋ-na gwin nu-man yaka ʌvu-wʌn...*
mother-1s.POSS also 3s-LOC again come-DS.3s
'My mother also came back there...'

716) *Kap tʌvʌm yaŋubin ga bit gwin kʌmin gwin nu-man*
possum group all and pig also dog also DEI-LOC
wakit-kwit.
meet-RP.FACT.3p
'All of the possums and also (the) pig and dog met there.'

20.3 Attribute Postpositional Phrase

A postpositional phrase with the attribute postposition *kʌsi* can function as a modifer in a noun phrase (see (718)). The attribute postpositonal phrase generally functions as the subject or object of the clause if it is not embedded within a noun phrase. The English equivalent of *kʌsi* is *with* or *that has*.

717) *KʌndʌpAtawi de gaoŋ kʌsi siraŋ-kʌ-mʌŋ.*
tree fruit one poison ATTR mash-RP-FACT.1p
'We mashed the fruit of the tree that has poison.'

718) *Sie mipnu kʌsi kʌvu yipm-ripm-ŋat-wʌn...*
thing teeth ATTR PL OBJ.S.put-PROG-PFCT-DS.3s
'They had been putting stinging insects...'

719) *Anutu-tʌ waoŋ-nu-tʌ sepot ʌ-wa-k-nu bam kʌsi.*
God-SRC spirit-DEI-SRC work do-PR-FACT.3s-DEI results ATTR
'The work of God's spirit has results.'

In many instances the head noun of the modified noun phrase is deleted in which case it is recoverable from the context.

720) *Bam kʌsi ʌ-sak.*
results ATTR do-INDEF.3s
'(It) will have results.' (God's spirit specified in previous clause.)

20.4 Limiting Postpositional Phrase

The limiting postposition *kin* 'just/only' focusses on the exclusiveness or limitation of the head. It can be used with nouns, locatives, deictics, pronouns, adjectives, temporals, specifiers, adverbs, intensifiers and postpositions. When it co-occurs with other intensifiers, it follows them.

721) *KʌtnʌmAkin ek ʌ-mbra-ŋat-ŋ ku-kʌ-t*
night LIM torch OB.S-hold-PFCT-SS go-RP-FACT.3s
'Only at night (did) he get the torch and go.'

722) *Anutu, go de kin de-tʌ*
God you one LIM one-SRC
'God, you are the only one.'

723) *Uiit* *mʌk-ni-ŋan* *duvuk* *yat* *kin* *pat-kʌ-t*
PLACE ground-POSS.3s-LOC sleep two LIM lay-RP-FACT.3s
'At his home in Wantoat, he slept just two nights.'

724) *...seveni* *kin* *pu-wo-yaŋ...*
strong LIM go.down-DS.3p-SIM
'...as they went very fast...'

725) *...ʌ-bra-wʌn* *nu* *gwin* *yaŋ* *kin* *ʌŋuŋ-kʌ-t.*
OBJ.S-hold-DS.3s 3s also thus LIM OBJ.S.kill-RP.FACT.3s
'...he got him also and just like before killed him too.'

726) *Banduk* *kamat-k* *nu-ŋan-tʌ* *kin* *komu* *gavaŋ*
lie die-NOM DEI-LOC-SRC LIM water flat.place
dakŋu-kʌ-t.
become-RP-FACT.3s
'From the exact time of the make-believe dying, he became a lake.'

21 IMPERSONAL VERB CONSTRUCTION

There are several verbs that are used in impersonal verb constructions where the subject is not expressed overtly. In all cases there is an object complement. The verb is marked with the third person singular different subject affix (*-wʌn*) or one of the modality affixes marked for third personal singular subject. The impersonal verb constructions are used to foreground temporal or environmental information that is typically background information. All of the different times of day may be encoded with the copular verb. Other instances of impersonal verb constructions that have been observed include the following:

bisep ʌ-wʌn	'It was time' (time do-DS.3s)
gup ʌ-wʌn	'It was windy' (wind do-DS.3s)
siŋgiŋ ka-wʌn	'It cleared (weather)' (light see-DS.3s)
mʌk dakŋu-wʌn	'It dawned' (ground ends.up-DS.3s)

727) *...tipm-ŋat-na* *ku* *kʌtnʌm* *ʌ-wʌn...*
exist-PFCT-DS.1p go night do-DS.3s
'...we stayed until it was night...'

728) *Sawi* *mʌk* *dakŋu-ŋat-wʌn* *wo* *pat* *pʌmindʌ-kʌ-t.*
next.day ground end.up-PFCT-DS.3s go.up trap set-RP-FACT.3s
'The next day it dawned and he went up and set traps.'

729) *...ku-ŋat-ŋ* *mʌk* *yaka* *sigieŋ* *ka-ŋat-wʌn*
go-PFCT-SS ground REP light OBJ.3s-see-PFCT-DS.3s
ka-ŋ *wo-kʌ-mʌk.*
OBJ.3s-see-SS go.up-RP-FACT.1d
'...it (arrow) went and we saw it clear up again (so) we went up.'

22 CONDITIONALS

Conditionals can be divided into four catagories according to structure and function. These can be summarised as follows:

Name	Description	Gloss	Vernacular	Tense/modality
Presupposed	certain condition	'when'	*ka-ŋ nu-ye* see-SS DEI-EMPH	PRESENT, INDEF
Possible	unknown certainty of condition	'if'	*nu-ye* DEI-EMPH	INDEF
Hypothetical	imagined condition	'suppose'	*bom-nu-ye* HYPO-DEI-EMPH	INDEF
Contrafactual	imagined and impossible	'if-but'	*ji* CONTRA	IRREALIS, INDEF

22.1 Presupposed Conditional

The presupposed conditional asserts a condition that is true and was, is, or will be a reality. It is equivalent to the English *when*. It is marked by *ka-ŋ nu-ye* 'see-SS DEI-EMPH'. It ends with a medial verb or the present or indefinite tense/modalities. The following examples are from hortatory oral texts.

730) *ʌmin-de-tʌ no na-waŋ-k-nu-si ka-ŋ*
person-one-SRC 1s OBJ.1s-follow-NOM-DEI-PUR OBJ.S.see-SS
nu-ye ʌni-si nandʌ-won maŋ-wie ʌ-ŋat-won.
DEI-EMPH 3s.EX-PUR think-3s.DS fall-ADJ do-PFCT-DS.3s
'When a person wants to follow me, he must think that he is one who is fallen.'

731) *...ʌni tipm-k tipm-k-ni ʌŋ-gutna-sak*
3s.EX exist-NOM exist-NOM-3s.POSS OBJ.S-hoard-INDEF.3s
ka-ŋ nu-ye tipm-k tipm-k-ni dakŋu-ŋ
OBJ.S-see-SS DEI-EMPH exist-NOM exist-NOM-3s.POSS finish-SS
ku-sak.
go-INDEF.3s
'...when a person hoards his life, his life will finish.'

732) *...mʌnjin anuŋ de garʌŋ ʌ-mu-wa-k ka-ŋ*
child like.this one help REC.3s-give-PR-3s OBJ.3s-SS
nu-ye but nandʌ-k-ni nʌ-si na-mu-wa-k.
DEI-EMPH heart think-NOM-3s.POSS 1s-PUR REC.1s-give-PR-3s
'...when (a person) helps a child like this, he is loving me.'

22.2 Possible Conditional

The possible conditional covers a range of situations from those that are reasonably certain to those that are only a possibility. It is marked by *nu-ye* (DEI-EMPH) which also marks new contrastive topics (see 12.2.1.1). It conjoins two clauses which frequently have medial verb affixation though they may have final verb affixation. If the condition (the first clause) is affixed as a final verb, both clauses will be indefinite modality.

733) *Kwit avu-wʌn ka-ŋ nu-ye muli*
bird come-DS.3s OBJ.1s.see-SS DEI-EMP ORANGES
yepm-wa ku-ni.
OBJ.PL.put-DS.1s go-INDEF.3p
'If/when I hear the plane come, I will send the oranges.'

734) *Dʌk-nin seveni yaŋ nandʌ-ŋat-ŋ tipm-nam*
some-1p.POSS strong thus think-PFCT-SS exist-INDEF.1p
nu-ye kwʌŋ wop ʌkwi-tʌ po-ku jiwi at-nu-tʌ
DEI-EMPH evil spirit bad-SRC OBJ.PL-go far stand-DEI-SRC
wuru-ŋat-ŋ yaka pʌŋ-gwoŋ but-ni pu-sak.
look-PFCT-SS REP PL.OBJ-turn heart-3s.POSS go.down-INDEF.3s
'If/when some of us think that we will live good the evil spirit will go and stand up and look from far away and turn and come back and possess the people.'

735) *Yiwan-ni de ma sit-wʌn ka-wʌn nu-ye yaka*
enemy-3s.POS one NEG sit-DS.3s 3s.OBJ.see-DS.3s DEI-EMPH rep
avu wit-ni-ŋan wo-sak.
come house-3s.POSS-LOC go.up-INDEF.3s
'If/when he sees that there is not one enemy left, he will come back to his house.'

The possible conditional can also be encoded as a sequence of two medial clauses the first of which takes the indefinite sequential affix and the second of which has the indefinite modality affix. This form also encodes simple sequence or delayed sequence (see 5.2.2.5.3);

context determines the correct meaning. It may be intentionally used ambiguously as in (736) where the speaker refers to a debt.

736) *Panga de ka-ŋ-ka ga-mu-sat.*
later one OBJ.S-SS-ISEQ REC.2s-GIVE-INDEF.1s
'I'll give you one (one kina debt) later when/if I find one.'

22.3 Hypothetical Conditional

The hypothetical conditional indicates a condition that is imagined for some reason. It is not important whether it could or will take place but for the sake of the argument it is assumed to be true. It is similar to English *supposing*. It is marked by *bom-nu-ye*, the hypothetical affixed with the presupposed conditional. Both the condition and the outcome are obligatorily independent declarative clauses that are conjoined with hypothetical affixation. The outcome (second clause) is always indefinite modality.

737) *No kwʌŋ wop-tʌ garʌŋ na-mu-i-rʌŋ bom-nu-ye*
1s evil spirit-SRC help REC.1s-give-TP-3p HYPO-DEI-EMPH
no-tʌ-kin kwʌŋ wop duŋu yawan-sat.
1s-SRC-LIM evil spirit INTEROG drive.out-INDEF.1s
'Suppose the evil spirits helped me, how would I drive them out.'

738) *Nan-ni kamat-sak bom-nu-ye je-tʌ*
father-3s.POSS die-INDEF.3s HYPO-DEI-EMPH INTEROG-SRC
kaŋgie-sak?
OBJ.3s-care.for-3s.INDEF
'If his father dies (in the foreseeable future), who will look out for him?'

Native speakers say that the hypothetical conditional can also be used with the irrealis modality on the second clause. This would be similar to the contrafactual except the first conditional clause could be theroretically possible while in the contrafactual conditional it is impossible. When the first clause is past tense, the effect is apparently the same as that of the contrafactual. We do not completely understand this at this point in time.

739) *A-jʌk tipm-i-t bom-nu-ye ka-wam.*
DEI-LOC exist-TP-1s HYPO-DEI-EMPH OBJ.3s-IRR.1s
'If I would have been here I would have seen him.'

22.4 Contrafactual Conditional

Contrafactual conditionals are constructions in which the condition of the first clause is not a reality, thus the outcome of the second clause is not a reality either. Both clauses are independent declarative clauses in the indefinite modality conjoined by *ji*. The meaning could be translated 'if...would, but since'.

740) *A-jʌk* *tipm-sat* *ji* *ʌpm* *garʌŋ* *ga-mu-sat.*
DEI-LOC exist-INDEF.1s CONTRA ABL help 2s.REC-give-INDEF.1s
'If I would be here I would able to help you (but since I won't be I won't be able to).'

It can be used as a polite way of responding in the negative.

741) a. *kwip-ka,* *ʌpmu* *garʌŋ* *na-mu-sie?*
tomorrow-ISEQ ABL help REC.1s-give-INDEF.2s
'Tomorrow would you be able to help me?'

b. *tipm-sat* *ji...*
exist-INDEF.3s CONTRA
'If I were to be here (I would help you but since I won't be, I can't help you).'

The past contrafactual is formed by using one of the past tenses on the first clause and the irrealis modality on the second clause.

742) *A-jʌk* *tipm-kʌ-t* *ji* *ka-wam.*
DEI-LOC exist-RP-1s CONTRA OBJ.S.see-IRR.1s
'If I would have been here I would have seen him (but since I wasn't, I didn't).'

743) *...sie* *kʌvu* *dʌkŋu* *pʌ-ŋ* *wara-kʌ-t* *ji* *de-kin* *de-kin*
thing PL some get-SS finish-RP-3s CONTRA one-LIM one-LIM
ʌŋ-bra-ŋat-wʌn...
OBJ.S-get-PFCT-DS.3s
'...if he had gotten some of them together at once (then it would have been OK but he didn't) but he got them one by one (so it wasn't OK–he ended up dropping one so the masalai heard him)...'

Example (743) is representative of the way this construction is frequently used in discourse. It is similar to the future when used in a question/answer situation: the outcome is not explicitly expressed but is inferred from the context. When the outcome (the second clause) is absent the irrealis affix cannot be used.

23 PURPOSE, REASON AND CAUSE

Purpose, reason, and cause are closely related topics although they will be discussed separately. The purpose clitic *-si* is used to express purpose, reason, and one type of cause.

23.1 Purpose

The clitic *-si* follows a subordinate clause to express purpose. The basic meaning is '...for the purpose of doing...'. This is similar to the use of the purpose clitic to express goal (see 19.1.1). When used to express goal, however, it occurs only following noun phrases, while when used to express purpose it occurs only with nominalised verbs or subordinate clauses. Semantically, purpose refers to the accomplishment of an event while goal is 'concerning/about/for' a referent.

Within the general semantic area of purpose there are four more specific semantic uses each having a different morphological form. They can be characterised in terms of two concepts. The first is whether the referent is in control of the situation or not, that is, whether it is within the referent's control to bring about the purpose. Most often this is determined by whether the purpose and result involve the same or different participants.

The second concept involves whether the purpose is knowledge common to the speaker and hearer ('external' knowledge) or whether the speaker is unsure if the hearer knows of the purpose or intent ('internal' knowledge). Typically, internal knowledge also takes an indefinite form of the verb. In the following chart these parameters are used to display the form and meanings involved.

	internal knowledge	external knowledge
+ referent control	final.verb 'speak'-PUR (same referent)	verb-NOM-DEI-PUR (same referent)
- referent control	final.verb 'speak'-PUR (different referent)	final verb-PUR (different referent)

+Referent Control, Internal Knowledge:

744) *Sevot* *ʌ-dam* *ya-ŋ-si* *go* *ga-nu-wa-mʌk.*
garden do-INDEF.1d speak-SS-PUR 2s REC.2s-say.to-PR-FACT.1d
'We intend to make a garden, that's what I'm telling you.' (You may not know that so I'm telling you.)

745) *Wam* *sevot* *ʌ-da* *ya-ŋ-si* *avu-ŋat-ŋ-ka...*
talk garden do-DEF.1d speak-SS-PUR come-PFCT-SS-ISEQ
'We came in order to do language work...' (You may not know, so I'm telling you.)

-Referent Control, Internal Knowledge

746) *Ya-ŋ mi bo ʌ-wa-k ya-ŋ-si avu*
say-SS no.reason or do-PR-FACT.3s speak-SS-PUR come
ka-ŋat
REC.3s.see-PFCT
'(I) came to see if it was really true or not.' (You didn't know that, so I'm telling you.)

747) *Tʌk-nu bo kamat-i-k ya-ŋ-si nandʌ-ŋat-wo*
CMPLT-DEI or die-TP-3s speak-SS-PUR think-PFCT-DS.3p
'They were wondering if he had already died or not.' (You probably don't know that so I'm telling you.)

+Referent Control, External Knowledge

748) *Lae pu-k-nu-si Bambu wo pat-kʌ-mʌŋ.*
PLACE go.down-NOM-DEI-PUR PLACE go.up sleep-RP-FACT.1p
'We will go up to Bambu and sleep in order to go to Lae.'

749) *Uiit yat muruk-ni sie-k-nu-si ʌŋ-ye-min...*
PLACE two salt-3s.POSS cook-NOM-DEI-PUR OBJ.S-come.up-CD
'Two Wantoat (people) came up in order to cook their salt...'

-Referent Control, External Knowledge

750) *Somil ku-dam-si na-nu-i-k.*
sawmill go-INT.1d-PUR REC.1s-say.to-TP-FACT.3s
'He spoke to me so that we would go to the sawmill.'

751) *Miŋ-ga avu-sak-si ku ʌ-nu-sie!*
mother-2s.POSS come-INDEF.3s.PUR go REC.3s-say.to-INDEF.2s
'Go speak to your mother so that she will come!'

23.2 Reason

The clitic *-si* can be suffixed to the distal deictic *nu* to function as *nusi* 'reason'. This word occurs in three structures with different shades of meaning: enabling reason, sufficient reason, and stimulus. Stimulus is structually related to reason, but is semantically related to cause and so will be discussed under cause.

23.2.1 Enabling Reason

Enabling reason is expressed by two clauses conjoined with *nusi* 'reason'. The first clause, the reason, typically ends in a final verb. The reason enables the result (expressed in the second clause) but there is volition involved as there are multiple possible results. It is similar to English *so*.

752) *Yimet ʌ-bai-mʌn nu-si kit sira-k ʌ-i-mʌn.*
fight do-YP-2d DEI-PUR hand shake-NOM do-TP-2d
'You two fought yesterday so today you did the shaking of the hands.'

753) *...bisit ya-wa-mʌk nu-si wop-ga*
request say-PR-FACT.1s DEI-PUR spirit-2s.POSS
ʌ-nu-si avu...
REC.3s.say-DS.2s come
'...we pray so tell your spirit to come...'

754) *Kwit deni maŋ-kʌ-t nu-si 'Ku-na' yaŋ ya-wo.*
bird FM fall-RP-FACT.3s DEI-PUR go-DEF.1p thus say-DS.3p
'The plane crashed so we said, "Let's go!"'

755) *'Dʌŋgʌm woni' yaŋ ya-ŋat-wa nu-si bʌp*
hair none thus say-PFCT-DS.1s DEI-PUR smile
bʌpa-wa-rʌŋ.
laugh-PR-FACT.3p
'"(They) have no hair," I said, so they laughed.'

23.2.2 Sufficient Reason

The construction for sufficient reason is the same as that for enabling reason except that *ʌ-ŋat-ŋ* 'do-PFCT-SS' follows *nusi* yielding *nusi ʌŋatŋ*. This construction is used when the reason involves a logical process such that there is only one possible result; there is no volition involved. It is similar to English *therefore*.

756) *...davin-ni woni nu-si ʌ-ŋat-ŋ dʌŋura-kʌ-t.*
eye-3s.POSS none DEI-PUR do-PFCT-SS confuse-RP-FACT.3s
'...he had no eye therefore he was confused.'

757) *Totol-tʌ* *Malalamai* *yaka* *pu-ŋat-wʌn* *nu-si*
NAME-SRC PLACE CS go.down-PFCT-DS.3s DEI-PUR
ʌ-ŋat-ŋ *Yara* *wo-kʌ-m.*
do-PFCT-SS PLACE go.up-RP-1s
'The (boat named) Totol went back to Malalamai so I (had to) go up to Yara.'

758) *Nu* *GwʌndʌkAnu-tʌ* *tama* *nu-si* *ʌ-ŋat-ŋ*
DEI NAME-DEI-SRC death.payment DEI-PUR do-PFCT-SS
ʌmin-si *de* *kin* *de* *kin* *ye-mu-ŋat-ŋ.*
human-PUR one LIM one LIM REC.3p-give-PFCT-SS
'That's GʌndʌkAs death payment (pig), therefore (he has) to give a piece to each person.'

759) *Nu* *morʌŋ* *sini* *ma* *nandʌ-i-t* *nu-si* *ʌ-ŋat-ŋ*
DEI good very NEG know-TP-FACT.1s DEI-PUR do-PFCT-SS
dʌvʌk-nu *sek-nu* *ya-ŋ* *mi* *ya-wa-t.*
short-DEI DIM-DEI say-SS no.reason say-PR-FACT.1s
'I don't know if it is very good, therefore I (have to) tell it short.'

23.3 Cause

There are three types of cause: stimulus, volitional (internal), and external, each of which has a substantially different structure.

23.3.1 Stimulus

Stimulus is indicated by the the affixation of the purposive clitic *-si* to the deictic *nu*. The construction is the same as for enabling reason except that it is not a coordinate construction. Instead, it is a subordinate construction with *nusi* affixed to the tail of the stimulus clause. The meaning appears to be between cause and reason; the stimulus (first clause) is the reason or cause for the response (second clause). In all examples found thus far the stimulus is physical and brings about an automatic behavioral response.

760) *KʌndʌpAde* *ʌŋ-bra-kʌ-t-nu-si* *pra-ŋ* *wunde*
wood-a OBJ.S-hold-RP-FACT.3s-DEI-PUR get.up.SS go.out
ku-kʌ-mʌn.
go-RP-FACT.3d
'He got a piece of wood (in order to hit), resulting in them getting up and running outside.'

761) *Wit-ŋan-gʌ* *pʌŋ-wuye-kʌ-t-nu-si* *mindʌ-ŋ* *wunde*
house-LOC-MN OBJ.PL-chase-RP-FACT.3s-DEI-PUR afraid-SS go.out
ku-ŋat-ŋ.
go-PFCT-SS
'He chased them around the house resulting in them being afraid and running away.'

762) *Mʌk-ŋan* *man-ŋ.* *'Kiririŋ'* *yaŋ* *ya-kʌ-t-nu-si*
ground-LOC fall-SS BANG! thus say-RP-FACT.3s-DEI-PUR
ʌmin *gipbit* *de-ni-tʌ* *pra-ŋ* *yime* *sepm-kʌ-t.*
human wild one-FM-SRC get.up.SS door close-RP-FACT.3s
'It fell on the ground. "Crash!" it went, resulting in the masalai getting up and shutting the door.'

23.3.2 Volitional Cause

Volitional cause emphasises the control or volition of the agent in bringing about a specific effect. It is expressed by a coordinate construction in which the first clause ends with ʌ 'do' with a different subject affix. The action that brings about the effect is not specified in the construction. It may be given within the wider context or it may be irrelevant and not given.

763) *Gʌ-tʌ* *ʌ-ŋat-si* *gwok* *sepmu* *nandʌ-ŋat-ŋ* *avu-i-t.*
2s-SRC do-PFCT-DS.2s skin pain feel-PFCT-SS come-TP-FACT.1s
'You caused me pain (so) I came.'

764) *Nu-tʌ* *ʌ-wʌn* *kit* *bisep* *kamat-i-k.*
3s-SRC do-DS.3s hand time die-TP-3s
'He made the watch stop.'

765) *Gʌ-tʌ* *ʌ-ŋat-si* *kap-na* *ma* *ʌŋut-ŋ* *na-i-t.*
2s-SRC do-PFCT-DS.2s possum-1s.POSS NEG kill-SS eat-TP-1s
'You caused me to not shoot and eat the possum.'

23.3.3 Verbal Cause

The construction for verbal cause is related to that for volitional cause, but the ditransitive verb *-nu-* 'say to' is the cause.

766) *Go ku miŋ-ga ʌ-nu-si avu-sin!*
2s go mother-2s.POSS REC.3s-say.to-DS.2s come-DEF.3s
'Go and tell your mother to come!'

767) *Wop-ga ʌ-nu-si avu garʌŋ*
spirit-2s.POSS REC.3s-say.to-DS.2s come help
nin-mu-sak.
REC.1p-give-INDEF.3s
'Talk to your spirit and he will come help us.'

768) *Gʌrʌwaŋ ʌ-nu-wʌn yam-tʌ tim-ŋan*
RIVER REC.3s-say.to-DS.3s down-SRC place-LOC
ʌŋ-pu-kʌ-t.
OBJ.s-go.down.RP-3s
'He said to the river and the river carried him down.'

23.3.4 External Cause

External cause is indicated by juxtaposing two clauses. This construction normally encodes a simple sequence of events; the semantics of external cause are implicit. It is possible for the first clause to be affixed with the indefinite or definite sequential (*-ka, -ku*).

769) *Kʌmin de avu-wʌn-ka pup mindʌ-ŋ ku-kʌ-t.*
dog a come-DS.3s-ISEQ chicken afraid-SS go-RP-FACT.3s
'The dog came and (caused) the chicken to run away.'

770) *Kwapok baye-wa ku-sin.*
ball hit-DS.1s go-DEF.3s
'I will hit the ball (causing) it to go.'

771) *Tipua maŋ-wʌn Gwarawon ma ku-kwit.*
rain fall-DS.3s PLACE NEG go-RP.FACT.3p
'It rained so (causing them) not to go to Gwarawon.'

External cause is also illustrated in (763) in which the pain caused the person to come to the village.

24 SENTENCES

The sentence occurs above the clause in the grammatical hierarchy. It is defined as any group of words that is independent. Most often it will include a verb with subject agreement modality inflection (final verb suffixation). Sentences can consist of single clauses or multiple clauses joined by coordination or subordination. Clause coordination involves medial clause chaining and coordination while subordination involves clauses, usually with final verb affixation, embedded in other clauses. Each sentence also has an illocutionary force.

24.1 Simple Sentence

A simple sentence consists of a single predication. It is therefore equivalent to a single clause with final verb affixation, that is, it is inflected for tense/person-modality, and has falling intonation on the last word. It may, but does not need, include theme, topic, and tail (see chapter 4). It also may, but does not need, include other sentence level functors such as the interrogative.

772) *Gwarawon ku-sie bo?*
PLACE go-INDEF.2s ALT
'Are you going to Gwarawon?'

773) *tʌk-nu ku-na!*
CMPLT-DEI go-DEF.1p
'OK, let's go!'

774) *ʌpmʌ kʌtnʌm sek-nu helikopta avu-bai-k.*
yesterday night DIM-DEI helicopter come-YP-3s
'Yesterday, at first light, the helicopter came.'

775) *yan-tʌ wit-nu nʌ-tʌ.*
over-SRC house-DEI 1s-SRC
'The house over (there) is mine.'

776) *bat do kivuvu ya-tjia-t.*
grub short myth speak-PRO-1s
'I am going to tell the grub worm myth.'

24.2 Coordination

The two major types of coordination are clause chaining and conjunction, each of which is discussed here. Other means of propositional coordination discussed elsewhere include

conditionals (see chapter 22), contrast (see 18.1), antitheticals (see 18.1.4), comparison (see 18.2), reason (see 23.2) and cause (see 23.3).

24.2.1 Clause Chaining

Clause chaining involves one or more clauses with medial verb affixation followed by a final clause with final verb suffixation. In a sample of three texts with a total of 151 sentences, 121 involved clause chaining while only 30 were simple sentences.[21] The average number of clauses per sentence was 4.3. Clause chaining involving up to 20 clauses has been observed in narratives, and it is not uncommon for sentences to contain 10 to 14 chained clauses. Clause chaining occurs most frequently in familiar narrative materials such as ancestral myths and contemporary narratives, and less frequently in conversation, and procedural and hortatory texts. A typical example of clause chaining is given in (777).

777) *Wunde ku kʌrim ʌvʌ-kʌ a wuru-ŋ popmʌ-ripm-gwiʌŋ-ŋ*
go.out go bush long-MN DEI look.for-SS go.around-PROG-DUR-SS

ku nandʌ-ŋat-won ʌmin de kʌrim bok nu yaka mandʌ-ŋ
go hear-PFCT-DS.3s person one bush area DEI REP chop-SS

yerit-ŋ ʌ-ripm-won nandʌ-ŋ ku-won-yaŋ kʌrim-ŋan nani
slice-SS do-PROG-DS.3s hear-SS go-DS.3s-thus bush-LOC belong

ʌmin de, ʌmin gʌpbut de-tʌ, bat-ni kut-ripm-won
person one person wild one-SRC grub-3s.POSS split-PROG-DS.3s

ka-ŋ pʌŋ-ku tak yaŋ ti tivu-ŋ ku-ŋat-ŋ
OBJ.3s.see-SS OBJ.PL-go quietly thus CERT hide-SS go-PFCT-SS

ka-ripm-kʌ-t.
OBJ.3s.see-PROG-RP

'He went ouside to the deep jungle and was looking around (for grubs), he listened and a person there in the jungle was chopping and slicing (wood) and he listened and as he went (same person) he saw the masalai splitting (wood to get) his grubs and he went quietly and hid and watched him.'

The verbs of motion can also occur in chains with no affixation. This seems to lend to the sentence general motion in a given direction without establishing a temporal relationship with the surrounding clauses. Any of the six major verbs of motion (*ku* 'go', *wo* 'go up', *pu* 'go down', *avu* 'come', *ye* 'come up', *pʌ* 'come down') and the verb *wunde* 'go out' may be used.

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21 Many of the simple sentences were embedded as quoted conversation.

24.2.2 Conjunction

The two conjunctions used to join clauses in sentence are *ga* 'and' and *bo* 'or'. Most frequently, one of the conjoined clauses has final verb affixation. Conjunctions are used much less frequently than is clause chaining.

778) *Nu bisep-ŋan ʌmin dʌk-nu na-kwit ga dʌk-nu ma*
DEI time-LOC person piece-DEI eat-PR.3p CONJ piece-DEI NEG
na-kwit.
eat-RP-3p
'At that time some of the people ate (people) and some did not eat (people).'

779) *...yaka da-rʌ-ŋ sie kʌvu papia wuse-wa-rʌŋ ga ʌmin*
REP OBJ.3p-see-SS thing PL paper make-PR-3p CONJ person
wop wuse-wa-rʌŋ ga sie nu bo nu da-rʌ-ŋat-ŋ
photo make-PR-3p and thing DEI ALT DEI OBJ.3p-see-PFCT-SS
'...another (time) we looked and saw them making books and making photographs and all kinds of things, we saw them doing.'

780) *Sinsisi ka-wa-t bo banduk ka-wa-t?*
true OBJ.3s.see-PR-1s ALT lie OBJ.3s.see-PR-1s
'Do I really see that or am I seeing things?'

781) *Jesu-tʌ seven da-ŋat-ŋ wop ʌkwi yawan-kʌ-t bo*
Jesus-SRC strong become-PFCT-SS spirit bad expel-RP-3s ALT
ʌmin ʌkwa-kwit-nu pʌŋ-gʌme-kʌ-t.
person mess.up-RP-3p-DEI PBJ.PL-make.right-RP-3s
'Jesus became strong and he drove out evil spirits or he healed messed up people.'

24.3 Subordination

There are two types of subordination in Nankina: relative clauses and embedded quotation.

24.3.1 Relative Clauses

Structurally there are six different types of relative clauses. The first four are constructed using final clauses while the last two are constructed using medial clauses. Relative clauses can fill any of the clause level positions, but not all the structures can fill all the positions. The structures and the restrictions on the positions they can fill are as follows:

1.	final clause + clitic	(Subject, Object, Purpose, Locative, Source, Possessor, Specification)
2.	final clause + DEI	(any clause function)
3.	final clause + noun	(any clause function)
4.	final clause	(Subject, Object only)
5.	medial clause + NOMINALIZER + PURPOSE	(Purpose with the same subject and time)
6.	medial clause + DEICTIC + SOURCE	(Instrument)

It is possible these restrictions have to do with discourse structuring of information and ranking of participants.

24.3.1.1 Final Clause + Clitic

Relative clauses formed from final clauses affixed with the appropriate clitic can be used for a number of clause functions that are normally encoded by a clitic.

-si, Purpose

[relativised purpose]

782) *Kwip-ka* *kʌrim-ŋan* *kap* *kapm-sak-si*
tomorrow-ISEQ bush-LOC possum trap-INDEF.3s-PUR
na-nu-i-k.
REC.1s-say.to-TP-3s
'He told me tomorrow he would go to the bush to trap possum.'

[relativised benfactor] indirect object

783) *...ʌmin* *de-ni* *avu-bai-k-si* *ʌ-mu-won...*
person one-FM come-YP-3s-PUR REC.3s-give-DS.3s
'...he gave it to the man who had come yesterday...'

-ŋan, Locative

[relativised locative]

784) *Sepmʌŋ* *kwit* *de-ni* *man-kʌ-t-ŋan* *wo* *karat-si* *wuru-kʌ-t.*
before bird one-FM fall-RP-3s-LOC go.up bone-PUR look.for-RP-3s
'We went up to look for bones where the airplane had crashed before.'

-tʌ, Source

[relativised source]

785) *Nit-tʌ katmon du nu-man ke-kwit-ŋan-tʌ wipmu-nit*
1d-SRC cardamon PL DEI-LOC plant-RP.3p-LOC-SRC seed-1d.POSS
du kovuŋ pʌŋ-bra-kʌ-mʌk.
PL forbidden OBJ.PL-hold-RP-1d
'We stole some seeds from where they had planted them.'

-nu, Specification (affixed deictic)

Relative clauses marked with the deictic *-nu* can fill a number of clause level positions. Most frequently they fill the subject or object position, although they can also encode background information or new information that is non-topical. More analysis is needed here in relation to discourse level functions.

[relativised intransitive subject]

786) *...mʌnji mʌnji marasin-si wo-kwit-nu nu-man*
child child medicine-PUR go.up-RP.3p-DEI DEI-LOC
ye-wo...
come.up-DS.3p
'...the boys that had gone for medicine came up there...'

[rel transitive subject]

787) *...tipm-ŋat-na ami avu-kwit-nu-tʌ yaŋ ya-kwit,'...'*
exist-PFCT-DS.1s army come-RP.3p-DEI-SRC thus speak-RP.3p
'...we stayed and the army (people) who had come said, "..."'

[relativised object]

788) *...tavi yat kit-tʌ pʌŋ-bra-i-t-nu Maŋgio-si*
nut two hand-SRC OBJ.PL-hold-TP-DEI NAME-PUR
ʌ-mu-wa...
REC-3s.give-DS.1s
'...the two nuts that I had gotten I gave to Mangio...'

[relativised possessed]

789) *Kirek-tʌ* *sepmʌŋ* *wit* *tuŋ-kʌ-mʌŋ-nu* *yaka* *wii-na.*
NAME-SRC before house tear.down-RP-1p-DEI REP build-INDEF.1p
'Craig's house we tore down before, we will rebuild.'

24.3.1.2 Final Clause + DEICTIC

Relative clauses formed with deictic clitics can be used in most clause level positions including subject, object, possessor and possessed. This construction contrasts with the use of *-nu* discussed in 24.3.1.1 in that it marks focus, that is, assertive, new information or information that may be salient for additional reasons.

[relativised transitive subject]

790) *Sepmʌŋ* *kwep* *a-jʌk* *avu-kʌ-t* *nu-tʌ* *mʌk* *daminiŋ* *kwarʌ-ŋ*
before flood DEI-LOC come-RP-3s DEI-SRC ground much dig-SS
yipm-kwit.
OBJ.S.put-RP.3p
'The flood that came before, it carried away much soil.'

[relativised intransitive subject]

791) *Gumbion* *nani* *de* *but* *kʌndʌp* *ere-i-k* *nu*
PLACE belong one heart fire burn-TP-3s DEI
mʌk-ni-ŋan *yaka* *wo-sin.*
ground-3p-POSS-LOC REP go.up-DEF.3s
'The Gumbaion one (person) that got mad, he will go home again.'

[relativised object]

792) *...nandʌ-ŋat-ŋ* *kap* *kwa-ŋ* *yi-pm-kʌ-t* *nu*
sense-PFCT-SS possum lift.out-SS OBJ.S.put-RP-3s DEI
ŋ-bra-ŋat-ŋ.
OBJ.PL-hold-PFCT-SS
'...he heard that and the possum he had lifted out (of the trap) and put (aside), that he got.'

[relativised possessor]

793) *Ŋankina nin-tʌ wit wit-wa-mʌŋ nu-tʌ wam-nu tep-ŋan*
PLACE 1p-SRC house build-PR-1p DEI-SRC talk-DEI cassette-LOC
yipm-sat.
put-INDEF.1s
'I will put on the cassette the talk about how we Nankina build houses.'

24.3.1.3 Final Clause + Noun (Attributive Noun Phrase)

Relative clauses can be formed by embedding a final clause in the attribute position of the attributive noun phrase. The embedding is not marked; only the context serves to alert the listener. These relative clauses can apparently fill any position in the clause including subject, object or location.

[relativised intransitive subject]

794) *Kungap yere-ni bisep kwaŋga-ŋat-won...*
singsing step-INDEF.3p time arrive-PFCT-DS.3s
'The time they ~~will do~~ the ancestral singsing has arrived...'

[relativised transitive subject]

795) *Ʌpma kamat-bai-k ʌmin nu-re wop-ni avu...*
yesterday die-YP-3s person 3s-SRC spirit-3s.POSS come...
'The person (who) died yesterday, his spirit came...'

[relativised object]

796) *Wakit-ŋat-wo Senuil-tʌ avu-kʌ-t wam-nu*
meet-PFCT-DS.3p NAME-SRC come-RP-3s talk-DEI
ye-nu-won.
REC.3p-say.to-DS.3s
'They met together and they told them the talk (about when) Senuil came.'

[relativised location (time)]

797) *...yam-mok-nu kuŋgap yere-kwit bisep-ŋan...*
down-further-DEI dance step-RP.3p time-LOC
'...at the time they did the last ancestral dance...'

24.3.1.4 Final Clause

A relative clause consisting only of a final clause can occur as object or intransitive subject. It is not marked as a relative clause.

[relativised subject]

798) *...tipm-ŋ ʌŋ-wo bisep ya-kʌ-t ʌ-won*
exist-SS OBJ.S-go.up time speak-RP-3s do-DS.3s
'...they stayed until it was the time he had spoken (of).'

[relativised object

799) *Nya-jʌk ye-won-yaŋ miŋ-ni-tʌ kʌndʌp kwek-ŋan*
up-LOC come.up-DS.3s-thus mother-3s.POSS-SRC fire ash-LOC
]
ba du sipm-kʌ-t ka-ŋ...
potato PL buried-RP-3s OBJ.3s-see-SS
'When he came up to the up-place he saw the potatoes his mother had buried in the ashes (of the fire pit)...'

24.3.1.5 Medial Clause + NOMINALISER + DEICTIC + PURPOSE

A relative clause consisting of a medial clause+NOM+DEI+PUR is only used when the participant and time are the same in the relative clause and the matrix clause. If these conditions are not met, the structure presented in 24.3.1.1 is used. One of the common uses for this structure is to express anticipation or inception as shown in (801-802).

[relativised purpose]

800) *Kʌndʌp mandʌ-k-nu-si kʌrim-ŋan wo-kʌ-t.*
wood chop-NOM-DEI-PUR bush-LOC go.up-RP-3s
'He went to the bush for the chopping of wood.'

[relativised purpose]

801) *Ʌ-won tim de mi ere-k-nu-si ʌ-ŋ-ka*
do-DS.3s piece one no.reason burn-NOM-DEI-PUR do-SS-ISEQ
yipm-won...
OBJ.1s.put-DS.3s
'That happened and it started to burn for no reason and then died...'

[relativised purpose]

802) *Miŋ-ni* *yaka* *pie-ni* *de-si* *ku-k-nu-si*
mother-3s.POSS CS husband-3s.POSS one-PUR go-NOM-DEI-PUR

ʌ-ŋat-ŋ *bei* *sek* *de-ni* *banduk* *ʌ-nu-kʌ-t.*
do-PFCT-SS daughter DIM one-FM lie REC.3s.say.to-RP-3s

'Her mother, anticipating going for another husband, lied to her.'

24.3.1.6 Medial Clause + DEI + SOURCE

Relative clauses consisting of a medial clause+DEI+SOURCE are used mainly to express instrument. Even though the instrument can be encoded with just the SOURCE clitic *-tʌ* on a noun phrase, it is more common to use a relativised clause consisting of the instrument in object position and either *ʌ-ŋ* 'do-SS' or *pʌ-ŋ* 'get-SS' (used for singular and plural instruments, respectively).

803) *...tʌm* *pʌ-ŋ* *pʌŋ-avu-ŋat-ŋ*
leaf PL.OBJ.get-SS PL.OBJ-come-PFCT-SS

[rel instrument]

nu *pʌ-ŋ-nu-tʌ* *davin-ni* *jakgwon-ŋ...*
3s PL.OBJ.get-SS-DEI-SRC eye-3s.POSS wash-SS

'...he got the leaves and brought them and took them and washed his eyes (with them).'

[relativised instrument]

804) *...miŋ-ni-tʌ* *mʌnji-ni* *tapmʌŋ* *de* *ʌ-ŋ-nu-tʌ*
mother-3s.POSS-SRC child-3s.POSS needle one get.S-SS-DEI-SRC

woŋit-ŋ *apmʌŋ-ŋ...*
stab-SS break.open-SS

'...her mother stabbed and ripped her open with a needle...'

24.3.2 Embedded Quotations

Final clauses as reported speech, sounds, thoughts or intentions are embedded in sentences as direct objects using the final quotation word *yaŋ* 'thus' (the anaphoric process deictic). This is the frozen form of 'speak' with the medial same subject affix.

		[			embedded
805)	*...pamin-ni-tʌ*	*'Go*	*ʌpbiʌk*	*wo*	*pat*
	older.sib-3s.POSS-SRC	2s	today	go.up	trap
	quotation	]			
	da-rʌ-ŋ-ku	*pʌ-ø!'*		*yaŋ*	*ʌ-nu-won...*
	OBJ.3p-see-SS-INSEQ	come.down-DEF.2s		thus	3s.REC-say.to-DS.3p

'His older brother said to him, "Go go up and look at the traps first then come down!"'

For further examples and discussion see chapter 25.

An embedded construction similar to the embedded quotation consists of an embedded purpose clause followed by the closing quotation and purpose affix *yaŋ-si*. For examples see 23.1.

24.4 Illocutionary Force

24.4.1 Declarative

Sentences in the declarative mode make assertions about events, actions, or states. This mode is the primary vehicle for communication and relating new information. The declarative mode is indicated by falling intonation on the final predicate.

24.4.2 Imperative

Sentences in the imperative mode are manipulative rather than assertive in nature. The intent behind an imperative is to evoke an action or response on the part of hearer. It is encoded with the definite modality on the final verb accompanied by level intonation or a level-rising-falling-level intonation and an optional increase in volume. For examples see 5.2.1.5.2.

24.4.3 Interrogative Sentences

There are three types of questions: polar (yes/no), alternative, and content. See chapter 14 for further discussion.

24.5 Hesitational Devices

A few hesitational devices that are used when pausing to think and resuming conversation after a pause are as follows:

ga	'and'	Used similarly to *and ah...* in English
nandʌŋku	'let me think first'	Used when the answer is on the 'tip of the tongue' or when the answer or thought does not appear to be immediately at the person's disposal
duŋu yawa	'How shall I say..,'	
ʌŋawʌn or *ʌŋaŋ*	'do-PFCT-DS.3s' or 'do-PFCT-SS'	Used when a person loses track of a participant in a discourse in relation to the switch referent system

24.6 Responses

There are several utterances used both to respond to a question. One of them, *nandʌŋku*, has already been listed in 24.5. Others are as follows:

wa	'what?/I didn't hear you'	Used when a person is unsure if they were spoken to or if they were asked a question
ee	'yes'	Affirms the truth of the statement made in the question
bo	'or is there another possiblity...'	Used when there is another possible explanation or response, or to express doubt or uncertainty
woni	'no/none'	Denies the truth of the statement contained in the question
tʌŋ	'perhaps'	Used to indicated the speaker's uncertainty about the truth of the statement contained in the question, although it is possibly true
mi	'for no reason'	Used to indicate there was no particular reason for the action in question
yaŋu ma thus NEG (or *yama!*)	'That's not the case at all!'	Emphatic reply similar to *woni* denying the truth of the statement contained in the question
ka look.CERT.2s	'Hey! I didn't mean to say that!'	Used by speaker when uttering or about to utter an untruth or a misstatement of thoughts; indicates hearer should disregard the utterance
moreni	'good'	Indicates the hearer's affirmation or agreement with the statement or question

25 QUOTATIONS

There are two types of quotations: direct quotations and indirect quotations. Related to these is embedded speech. Although it falls under both direct and indirect quotation, it will be discussed separately.

25.1 Direct Quotations

Common to all types of direct quotation is the closing quotation clause which consists of a verb plus the anaphoric process deictic. This deictic, *yaŋ*, is a frozen form of *ya* 'speak' plus the medial same subject affix *-ŋ*. This form performs other functions in addition to marking the closing quotation clause as shown in chapter 17.

25.1.1 Direct Speech Quotations

The basic structure used for direct quotations is as follows:

(introducing quotation clause)				quotation	closing quotation clause	
(speaker-*tʌ*) SRC	(hearer)	(*anuŋ*) 'like this'	*ya* 'speak' or *-nu-* 'say to'	any word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, or discourse	*yaŋ* 'thus'	*ya* 'speak' or *-nu-* 'say to'

The introducing quotation clause consists of the cataphoric process deictic *anuŋ* followed by either *-nu-* 'say to' or *ya* 'speak' inflected as a final verb. The actual quotation follows the introducing clause. The closing quotation clause consisting of the anaphoric process deictic *yaŋ* plus either *-nu-* or *ya*. This direct quotation formula clearly distinguishes quoted material from the surrounding discourse.

Explicit reference to the speaker, affixed with the source/agent clitic *-tʌ*, may only be included in the introducing clause. Explicit reference to the listener may be made in the introducing or closing quotation clause, although such reference in the closing clause is rare. Explicit reference to either the speaker or listener only occurs to prevent ambiguity (usually due to the interaction of three or more participants) or if either has not been mentioned recently in the preceding context. In familiar material such as well known ancestral myths, speaker and listener are seldom made explicit. In these situations the speaker and listener are generally tracked by the switch reference or modality affixes on the verb in the closing quotation clause. They are also sometimes encoded on the verb in the introducing quotation clause.

The closing quotation clause is mandatory while the introducing quotation clause is optional. The introducing quotation clause may be used at the beginning of an extended quotation or conversation. When it is used to introduce a quotation in the middle of an interchange among individuals, it seems to give more emphasis to the quotation. This use is infrequent. Its other functions are not completely understood.

When the introducing clause is used, the only obligatory constituent is the verb. When *-nu-* 'say to' is used in the introducing clause, either verb may be used in the closing quotation clause. However, when *ya* 'speak' is used in the introducing quotation clause it must also be used in the closing clause.

806) *Bavu-ni-tʌ* *wunde* *anuŋ* *ʌ-nu-kʌ-t*
grandfather-3s.POSS-SRC go.out like.this REC.3s-say.to-RP-3s

'Go ma tet-sie. *Ŋo bavu-ka* *tʌk*
2s NEG cry-INDEF.2s 1s grandfather-2s.POSS CMPLT

na-mbʌ-wa-yak?' *yaŋ* *ʌ-nu-ŋat-ŋ.*
REC.1s-see-PR-2s.EV thus REC.1s-say.to-PFCT-SS

'His grandfather went out and spoke to him like this: "Haven't you seen that I'm your grandfather?" thus he said to him.'

807) *Kate wam kwok-gʌ* *anuŋ* *ya-wa-mʌŋ* *'...'* *yaŋ* *ya-wa-mʌŋ.*
Kâte talk side-MN like.this speak-PR-1p thus speak-PR-1p

'In the Kâte language we say it like this: "...," we say it like that.'

808) *...ap-mi,* *kʌrim-nu-tʌ* *ʌ-nu-kʌ-t* *'Pamin, kwe!*
younger.sib retarded-DEI-SRC REC.3s-say.to-RP-3s older.sib friend

Sie-ka *moreni* *yepm-ŋat-ŋ* *ʌkwi* *de* *mi*
thing-2s.POSS good OBJ.PL-put-PFCT-SS bad one no.reason

na-mu-ø!' *yaŋ* *ʌ-nu-won.* *'Sie-na*
REC.1s-give-DEF.2s thus REC.3s-day.to-DS.3s thing-1s.POSS

moreni-kin' *yaŋ* *ʌ-nu-kʌ-t.* *Yaŋ* *ʌ-nu-won* *'Ŋo*
good-LIM thus REC.3s-say.to-RP-3s thus REC.3s-say.to-DS.3s 1s

ye-ka *tʌwʌ* *du* *ma* *ka-wa-t?* *Tesh!'* *yaŋ*
EMPH-see way INDEF.PL NEG OBJ.3s.see-PR-1s SOUND thus

ya-ŋ...
speak-SS

'...the retarded younger brother said to him, "Older brother, friend! You put (away) some good things–give me one that's no good!" he said to him. "My things are only good," he said. He said like that to him, "(As for) me, you think I didn't see the way (you got the things)? Tesh!" he said...'"

An eyewitness report of someone's speech specifically addressed to the hearer is marked in the closing quotation clause with the the verb *ya* 'speak' affixed with the different subject suffix followed by *ka* 'see it' as follows:

'...' *yaŋ* *ya-won* *ka-ŋ...*
thus say-DS.3s OBJ.3s.see-SS
'he saw (heard) him say that...'

This device may be used to distance the hearer from the speaker or to indicate that the hearer does not necessarily give assent to, understand, or agree with the quotation.

809) *...no* *nu-man* *na-bʌ-ŋ* *'Gʌ-tʌ* *ʌ-ŋat-si* *gwok* *sepmu*
1s DEI-LOC OBJ.1s-see-SS 2s-SRC do-PFCT-DS.2s body pain

nandʌ-ŋat-ŋ *avu-i-t'* *yaŋ* *ya-won* *ka-ŋ...*
feel-PFCT-SS come-TP-1s thus say-DS.3s OBJ.3s.see-SS

'...she saw me there. "You caused me pain (and) I came," I saw (heard) her say...'

810) *Maŋgio-tʌ* *'Samok-ga* *na-mu-ø'* *yaŋ* *ya-won*
NAME-SRC betel.nut-2s.POSS REC.1s-give-DEF.2s thus speak-DS.3s

ka-ŋ...
OBJ.3s.see-SS

'"Give me your betel nut," I saw (heard) Mangio say.'

25.1.2 Quoted Thought

Two constructions can be used for quoted thought, both of which use the closing quotation clause. The verb *ya* 'speak' is used for inferred quoted thought, while the verbs *nandʌ* 'think', *ʌ* 'do', and *ka* 'see' are used for explicit quoted thought. The introducing quotation clause is never used for quoted thought.

25.1.2.1 Inferred Quoted Thought

The basic structure used for inferred quoted thought is as follows:

'quotation'	closing quotation clause	
sentences	*yaŋ*	*ya*
	'thus'	'speak'

As indicated by the name, there is no actual verb of 'thought' in the inferred quoted thought construction. Instead, it uses the generic verb of speech *ya* 'speak'. This construction is used when it is unimportant whether the quotation was spoken or thought. The construction is used for actual speech either when the speech is not directed to anyone in particular or to identify the borders of the different quotations in a conversation. When used with a single participant, he could be speaking to himself or thinking. It can be used for the thought of a group, but this can be difficult to discern in some contexts.

811) *'Kwep avu-tjia-k' yaŋ ya-ŋat-ŋ...*
flood come-PRO-3s thus speak-PFCT-SS
'"The flood is coming," he thought/said...'

812) *'A sie de bam de. Sie de moreni de,' yaŋ ya-ŋat-ŋ*
DEI thing one result one thing one good one thus speak-PFCT-SS
'"This thing really works. It is great," he thought/said.'

813) *'A je de sie de-tʌ avu-i-k?' yaŋ ya-wo*
DEI INTER one thing one-SRC come-TP-3s thus speak-DS.3p
'"What is this thing that came?" they thought/said.'

814) *'Pasto-si wo ka-wa' yaŋ ya-ŋ wo-wa-yaŋ...*
pastor-PUR go.up OBJ.3s.see-DS.1s thus speak-SS go.up-DS.1s-thus
'"I'll go up and see the pastor," I thought and as I went up...'

25.1.2.2 Explicit Quoted Thought

The construction for explicit quoted thought does not use a verb of speaking. It can be divided into external quoted thought and internal quoted thought.

25.1.2.2.1 External Quoted Thought

The structure used for external quoted thought is the same as that for inferred quoted thought except that the verb *nandʌ* 'think' is used. This structure is used when it is important that the quotation was thought but not spoken.

815) *'Yaŋ ʌmin-nu-tʌ mo yat yat ʌpm ma bo*
thus man-DEI-SRC female two two ABL NEG ALT

kwit-ni' yaŋ nandʌ-kʌ-mʌŋ.
tear.apart-INDEF.3s thus think-RP-1p

'"A man like that will doubtfully be able to divorce his wives," we thought.'

816) *'Yiwopuk-ni-kin ʌŋ-bra-nat-ŋ nu-ye morʌŋ*
clothes-3s.POSS-LIM OBJ.S-hold-PFCT-SS DEI-EMPH good

da-sat' yaŋ nandʌ-ŋat-ŋ yiwopuk-ni
become-INDEF.3s thus think-PFCT-SS clothes-3s.POSS

ʌŋ-bra-ŋat-ŋ nu-man-kin morʌŋ da-sat.
OBJ.S-hold-PFCT-SS DEI-LOC-LIM good become-INDEF.1s

'"If I just get a hold of his clothes I will be healed," he thought and he got a hold of his clothes and and immediately was healed.'

25.1.2.2.2 Internal Direct Quotations

In the examples of external quoted thought it was obvious from the context what was being thought or the content of the thought was common knowledge. In that sense the information was 'external'. If, however, the content of a thought is not common knowledge or the results of the quoted thought are not apparent within the immediate context, and thus the speaker is unsure of the listener's knowledge, the information is 'internal'. This is related to 'internal purpose' as discussed in 23.1.

The basic structure used for internal direct quotations is as follows:

'quotation'	closing quotation clause	
		nandʌ 'think'
sentences	*yaŋ-si* 'thus-PUR'	*ʌ* 'do'
		ka 'see'

The common element in all variations of internal direct quotations is the purpose clitic affixed to *yaŋ* 'thus'. When the verb is *nandʌ* 'think', the presence of the purpose clitic is the only thing that differentiates it from the external quoted thought.

817) *'Tʌk-nu bo kamat-i-yak?' yaŋ-si nandʌ-ŋat-wa*
?-DEI ALT die-TP-EV.2s thus-PUR think-PFCT-DS.1s
'"Are you really already dead?" that's what I was thinking.'

818) *'Tipm-gwiʌŋ-ŋ ʌpmbiʌk ku-nam' yaŋ-si nandʌ-ŋat-ŋ*
exist-DUR-SS today go.INDEF.1p thus-PUR think-PFCT-SS
'"We will stay for a while and go (later) today," he thought about that.'

When the verb *ʌ* 'do' is used, the internal quoted thought can have a range of meanings from anticipation to inception, although anticipation is the most usual meaning.

819) *ŋʌŋut-na!' yaŋ-si ʌ-wo*
kill-DEF.1s thus-PUR do-DS.3p
'"Let's kill them!" they were anticipating.'

820) *'Sepot ŋʌnu-da bam kʌsi ʌ-sak' yaŋ-si ʌ-ŋat-ŋ*
work make-DS.1d results ATTR do-INDEF.3s thus-PUR do-PFCT-SS
bisit ya-wa-mʌk.
request speak-PR-1d
'"We do this work and it will have results," anticipating that we make this request (of you).'

When the verb *ka* 'see' is used, the sense is a quoted observation.'

821) *'Kwin kwok tʌk-nu dakŋuk-wa-k' yaŋ-si ka-ŋat-ŋ*
up side CMPLT-DEI finish-PR-3s thus-PUR OBJ.3s.see-PFCT-SS
'"The top side was finished (broken)," he observed.

822) *'Tet mi bo tat-wa-k?' yaŋ-si ka-ŋat-ŋ*
tear no.reason ALT cry-PR-3s thus-PUR OBJ.3s.see-PFCT-SS
'"Was she crying for no reason?" we were observing (to see).'

25.1.3 Quoted Names or Phrases

A direct quotation structure is frequently used when a name or phrase is quoted to demonstrate what an object is called or how it is said. The following closing quotation clause is used:

'...' yaŋ ya-wie
thus speak-ADJ
'"..." it is said'

This construction can also be used when a statement is quoted and not attributed to anyone in particular, either intentionally or unintentionally.

823) *Λpmbiʌk mʌk dakŋu-i-k a-ŋan 'Mʌk kovuŋ'*
today ground become-TP-3s DEI-LOC ground forbidden
yaŋ ya-wie.
thus speak-ADJ
'Today, this morning, now, "Forbidden ground," it is called.'

824) *'Gwovoŋ kwim' yaŋ ya-wie*
TYPE bow thus speak-ADJ
'"Gwovoŋ bow," it is called.'

25.1.4 Quoted Sounds

Sounds are frequently quoted to make a story more dynamic. The following structure is used for this:

'...' yaŋ ya
thus speak

A verb describing the sound may be substituted for the more generic *ya* 'speak' to emphasize the sound and add more color to the story. The verb 'speak' is generally not used when the source of the sound is not animate, although there are occasionally exceptions.

825) *'Whsssssssh!' yaŋ ere-ŋat-ŋ*
SOUND thus burn-PFCT-SS
'"Whooooooosh," it went.' (sound of fire flaming up)

826) *Tip de-ni-tʌ 'pum!' yaŋ apm-ŋ...*
stone one-FM-SRC SOUND thus explode-SS
'The stone exploded, "Pum!"'

827) *Jan tʌm kʌvu-ŋan yeri-ŋ dʌmu-won 'kouk!' yaŋ*
TYPE.tree leaf PL-LOC step-SS crush-DS.3s SOUND thus
ya-kwit.
speak-RP.3p
'He stepped on the *jan* leaves and crushed them and they went, "Kouk!"'

25.2 Indirect Quotations

The indirect quotation is not used extensively. It is indirect in that the speaker uses the 'absolute' time and situation of the utterance as the reference point when encoding tense and person. It is marked with the purpose clitic *-si* affixed to the end of the indirect quotation followed by the verb *-nu-* 'say to'.

...	*-si*	*-nu-*
	PUR	say.to

828) *Λmin mindeki-tʌ somil-ŋan ku-dam-si na-nu-kʌ-t.*
man elder-SRC sawmill-LOC go-INDEF.1d-PUR REC.1s-say.to-RP-3s
'The big man said to me that he and I would go to the sawmill.'

829) *Kwit maŋ-kʌ-t-si na-nu-kʌ-t.*
bird fall-RP-3s-PUR REC.1s-RP-3s
'He told me the plane had crashed.'

830) *Ma ku-ni-si ye-nu-ŋat-ŋ*
NEG go-INDEF.3p-PUR REC.3p-say.to-PFCT-SS
'He told them not to go.'

831) *Je-de sie de ŋʌnu-ŋ da-mu-sat-ji*
INTER-one thing one do-SS REC.2p-give-INDEF-1s-PUR
na-nu-i-k?
REC.1s-say.to-TP-3s
'You said to me I should do what for you?' ('What did you say that I should do for you?')

Functionally related to the indirect quotation is the indirect command which is used to report indirect commands in a narrative or to tell the listener to command someone else. Indirect commands are expressed using *-nu-* 'say to' with the different subject affix followed by a clause that contains the completed or desired action. The contents of the command can be deduced from the resulting action. This structure is not used for anything other than indirect commands.

832) *Luke-tʌ miŋ-ni ku ʌ-nu-si avu-sin.*
NAME-SC mother-3s.POSS go REC.3s-say.to-DS.2s come-DEF.3s
'Go tell Luke's mother and she will come.' ('Go tell Luke's mother to come.')

833) *...ʌ-nu-wo* *Mʌdaŋ* *ku* *sto-tʌ* *sie* *kʌvu* *yim-ŋ*
REC.3s-say.to-DS.3p PLACE go STORE-SRC thing PL buy-SS

ŋ-abu-kʌ-t.
OBJ.PL-come-RP-3s

'They said to him and he went to Madang and bought the store goods and brought them.' ('He went to Madang, bought the store goods and brought them as they told him to.' or 'They told him to go to Madang and buy the store goods and bring them [and he did].')

25.3 Embedded Quotations

Any of the previously mentioned constructions can be embedded in a direct quotation. Only two levels of embedding have been observed. No special marking is used to identify an embedded quotation other than the normal quotation structures that track the speakers. An embedded direct quotation usually does not use the introducing quotation clause preceding the quotation; if is does, it takes medial instead of final verb affixation.

834) *...ʌ-won* *Jesu-tʌ* *'Je-de* *ŋʌnu-ŋ* *ga-mu-sat-si*
do-DS.3s NAME-SRC INTER-one do-SS REC.2s-give-INDEF.1s-PUR

ya-won?' *yaŋ* *ʌ-nu-won.*
speak-DS.3s thus REC.3s-say.to-DS.3s

'...then Jesus said to him, "What did you speak about me doing for you?"'

835) *Jesu-tʌ* *mʌnji* *yat* *'Donki* *bit* *ʌŋ-avu-je.* *Ʌmin-tʌ*
NAME-SRC child two donkey pig OBJ.S-come-DEF.2d do-DS.3s

ʌ-won *ya-ŋ* *"Je-de-si* *ʌ-wa-mʌn?"* *da-nu-won*
man-SRC speak-SS INTER-one-PUR do-PR-2d REC.2p-say.to-DS.3s

ka-ŋ *nu-ye* *"Ʌmin* *mindeki-tʌ* *ya-wa-k"* *yaŋ*
OBJ.3s.see-SS DEI-EMPH person elder-SRC speak-PR-3s thus

ʌ-nu-je.' *yaŋ* *ye-nu-won.*
REC.3s-say.to-DEF.2d thus REC.3p-say.to-DS.3s

'Jesus said to the two disciples, "Bring the colt, doing that, if you hear someone say to you, 'What are you two doing?' you say to them, 'The Lord spoke for it,'" he said that to them.'

836) *...yaŋ ʌ-nu-won 'Woni. Yan-tʌ bat*
thus REC.3s-say.to-DS.3s none over-SRC grub

kut-i-mʌk-ŋan-tʌ ye ʌpm avu-i-mʌk. Awu bat
split-TP-2d-LOC-SRC come.up ABL come-TP-2d come grub

siw-won na-ŋ pra-ŋ "Sie kovu-na du
cook-DS.3s eat.SS get.up-SS thing forbidden-1s.POSS IPL

pʌ-wa'" ...yaŋ ya-ŋ yaŋ ʌ-nu-won...
OB.P.get-Def.1s thus speak thus REC.3s-say.to-DS.3s

'...he said that to him and he replied to him, "It not as you think. We were able to come up and over from where we split (the wood for) grubs. We came and he cooked the grubs and we ate them and I thought, 'I'm going to steal some'" ...he said to him...'

26 SEQUENCE OF SENTENCES

In this chapter we will give a brief outline of some of the structural and functional features above the sentence level. Selected limited examples will be given because of the length that would be involved with complete examples.

26.1 Inter-Sentence Features

Four major cohesive features that bind sentences together into larger units are discussed in this section: pronominal reference, head-tail linkage, simple sequences of sentences, and propositional linkages. Finally, other miscellaneous linkages are mentioned.

26.1.1 Pronomial Reference System

Participants are tracked thoughout the discourse mainly by the switch reference system (see 5.2.2.2-5.2.2.3). Between sentences head-tail linkage assures that the participants from one sentence are tracked into the next one (see 26.1.2). If there is a paragraph break, the participants are tracked via the the same subject or different subject affixes on *ʌ-ŋat* 'do-PFCT' (see 26.2).

There appears to be a hierarchy of reference that ranks references in terms of explicitness. Which reference is used depends upon whether the referent is being newly introduced and how many clauses have occurred since the referent was last mentioned, although the factors involved have not been thoroughly analysed. The most explicit references are proper nouns and relative clauses while the least least explicit are the subject person/modality verbal affixes. Some of the more common devices for tracking participants are:

de one	'one, a'	Used for indefinite new information when it follows the noun phrase. When it precedes the noun phrase it means 'another' of a previously mentioned entity. It can be used in a converstion as an oblique reference to someone present.
de-ni one-FM	'the'	When it follows the NP it reactivates a previous participant that has not been mentioned in the recent preceding context. When it precedes the noun phrase it is similar to *de*, meaning 'the other' of a previously mentioned entity.
du-ni IPL-FM	'those'	This is somewhat of the plural counterpart to *de*. However, it is also used frequently for 'uncountable' nouns such as seeds. The context will determine its use.
nu DEI.3s	'that, he, she, it'	Used for given or definite information when it precedes the noun phrase. When it follows, it usually marks new information or focus (see 17.1.1.2), though there may be additional functions. Occasionally it occurs by itself and is used obliquely when accusing someone.

a DEI.3s	'this, he, she, it'	This is similar to *nu* in all its functions except that, as the proximal deictic, it is used when the referent is close to the speaker. At the climax of a narrative referents previously referenced with *nu* may be referenced with *a*.
kʌvu PL	definite, given	This is the plural conterpart to *nu*. It is only used following the noun phrase, however.
Pronoun		All the free pronouns may be used similarly to *nu*. Some of the non-straight forward uses are as follows: *go* '2s' is used distributively when addressing a group; *nit* '1d' is used distributively of a group inclusive of the speaker. The other pronouns are used literally.
ø		When a noun phrase does not contain a common noun and has none of the above markers, it is new, indefinite information.

26.1.2 Head-Tail Linkage

In head-tail linkage the final verb of a sentence is reiterated in a medial clause at the beginning of a new sentence. The medial clause in the new sentence may also include an object or a location from the first sentence, though neither is mandatory. If there is a change of participants the verb at the beginning of the new sentence will also have a different subject affix. Head-tail linkage is commonly used to link sentences together in myths and contemporary narratives. It is less common in hortatory, conversation, and procedural discourse. This linkage is used to keep the discourse flowing smoothly.

837) *...a-jʌk* *ye-kʌ-t.* *Ye-ŋat-won...*
DEI-LOC come.up-RP-3s come.up-PFCT-DS.3s
'...he came up here. He having come up...'

838) *...nu-man* *yipm-ŋat-ŋ* *kugworu-ripm-kʌ-t.*
DEI-LOC OBJ.S.put-PFCT-SS go.around-PROG-RP-3s
Kugworu-ripm-ŋ...
go.around-PROG-SS
'...he put her there and wandered around. He wandered around...'

839) *...pamin-ni-tʌ* *wamasek* *wam-kʌ-t.* *Wamasek*
older.sib-3s.POSS-SRC trap set-RP-3s trap
wam-ripm-ŋat-won...
set-PROG-PFCT-DS.3s
'...the older brother set the trap. He was setting the trap...'

26.1.3 Simple Sequence of Sentences

The juxtaposition of two sentences with no head-tail or other overt linkage at the beginning of the second sentence is fairly rare in narrative and most other forms of discourse. It appears to stop the flow of discourse, keeping the time frame the same as in the last clause of the first sentence. This allows for the insertion of a comment or the expansion of a sentence, a fairly common occurrence in hortatory discourse. Other functions of simple sequences of sentences are yet to be determined.

26.1.4 Propositional Relationships

The following four words are frequently used to link sentences in a propositional relationship: *ee yaka* (contra-expectation, see 18.1.3), *ee* (antithetical, see 18.1.4), *nusi* (enabling reason, see 23.2.1) and *nusi ʌŋatŋ* (sufficient reason, see 23.2.2). These words occur at the beginning of the second of the the two sentences to be linked. Their functions are discussed and exemplified in the sections noted. The examples given in these sections do not involve linking sentences, but everything else is the same.

26.1.5 Miscellaneous Linkages

Other linkages of sentences that do not fit in any of the above catagories will be mentioned briefly here. They will be listed in the form they take at the beginning of the second sentence to be linked.

ga — The conjoining conjunction marks background information when used for linkage. It can also mark a flashback to a previous time or situation when it occurs with *sepmʌŋ* 'before' (*ga sepmʌŋ*). When it occurs with the repetitive/change of setting (*ga yaka*), it can indicate a situation parallel or corresponding to the situation of the previous sentence.[22] By itself or in conjunction with the the topical noun phrase, *ga* (or, in its absence, *de* 'one') followed by *nu-ye* 'DEI-EMPH' encodes a contasting point within the discourse.

yaka — Usually used in conjunction with a preceding word although it has been observed by itself. It indicates a jump in time, situation, or location within the confines of the present context. When used alone it seldom indicates a new paragraph.

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22 A sentence starting with *ʌ-ŋat-won* 'do-PFCT-DS.3S' marks the return to the previous situation after one of the uses of *ga*.

ʌ-won 'do-DS.3s'	A very weak purpose similar to English *in light of that, accordingly*, or *that being the case*. It is does not indicate enough of a break in thought to constitute a new paragraph.
ʌ-won-ga 'do-DS.3s-CONJ'	Not completely understood at this time. In some situations it functions as weak contrast. It is used mainly in hortatory texts, although it is used infrequently in narrative texts.
nu-ye 'DEI-EMPH'	Normally functions to mark new topic, condition or give special emphasis and focus to what follows. Infrequently used to link sentences apparently giving special emphasis to what follows in relation to what precedes it, much the same as a topic. It may also appear with the sequence *ga de nu-ye* 'and one FOCUS-EMPH' to mark a separate sub-point within a hortatory discourse.

26.2 Paragraph Features

There does not appear to be any one structure for consistantly marking a unit of speech larger than the sentence and smaller than the whole of the discourse. In fact, in at least some cases new paragraphs are not marked in any way. There do appear to be larger units of thought (semantic paragraphs) but their delineation is more dependent upon the particular context than a particular structure. In spite of that, there are some structures that seem to have a higher than normal probablity of marking larger units of discourse.

Two of the most common phrases used to mark the start of a larger chunk of discourse are *yaŋ ʌ-ŋat-won* 'thus do-PFCT-DS.3s' and *yaŋ ʌ-ŋat-ŋ* 'thus do-PFCT-SS' (depending upon whether the following sentences have the same subject or different subject). These are similar to the intersentential linkage *ʌ-won* 'do-DS.3s' except for the presence of the perfective (which marks the clause as a situation viewed in its entirety, see 5.2.2.1.2) and the process deictic *yaŋ* 'thus'. This structure refers back to the previous paragraph marker, marks it as a complete whole and simultaneously signals the beginning of a new paragraph. It is hard to translate into English as it primarily marks a pragmatic rather than a semantic function, but would be similar to *Having done that, they now...* or *That happened and now....*

In narrative discourses covering time periods greater than one day, it is fairly common to have the semantic end of a paragraph coincide with the end of a day. The paragraph would end with *pa-kwit* 'sleep-RP-3s', and the next paragraph frequently would begin with a time setting like *sawi...* 'the next day...'. If the second sentence starts with head-tail linkage, it would not normally mark the start of a new paragraph.

Some of the previously mentioned inter-sentential linkages may also be used to mark a new paragraph. Those that have been observed are:

Ga	'Another thing...'
Pan-ka yaka	'Later, different situation...'
Ga de nu-ye	'Another point...'
ʌ-won-ka	'Having done that first...' ('In light of that...')

26.3 Discourse Introduction and Closure

Although there are small stylistic differences between authors, there is consistency in the way discourses are introduced and closed.

26.3.1 Discourse Introduction

Discourse introductions can be classified into five main types structurally. In the first type of introduction the time of the event in relation to the present time is optionally given, followed by the major participant(s) of the discourse. In a few cases the order of time and major participants has been reversed. In one case the time was left out and only the major participant given.

840) *ʌpbiʌk, kʌtnʌm sek-nu, no pra-ŋ Kirek-tʌ wit-ŋan*
today night DIM-DEI 1s rise-SS NAME-SRC house-LOC
ye-i-t.
come.up-TP-1s
'Today, at dawn, I got up and came up to Craig's house.'

The verb of the first clause may implicitly summarise the discourse topic.

841) *Sawini, Ame wot nit, Teptep wo-kʌ-mʌk.*
2.days.before NAME COM 1d PLACE go.up-RP-1d
'The day before yesterday, Ame and I, we went to Teptep.'

In the second type of introduction the discourse topic is explicitly stated in the form of a short sentence embedded in the introductory sentence. This is followed by 'I will tell that talk' or 'I will tell its talk'. This type may be used to introduce a procedural discourse or recent event.

842) *No, yiop bupm-k bupm-k nu-tʌ wam-nu ya-sat.*
1s cloth sew-NOM sew-NOM DEI-SRC talk-DEI speak-1s.INDEF
'Concerning the sewing of cloth, I will tell its talk.'

843) *Apmʌ* *Ukarumpa* *wit* *mʌk* *da-rʌ-bai-t* *nu* *wam*
yesterday PLACE house ground OBJ.3p-see-YP-1s DEI talk
ya-wa-t.
speak-PR-1s
'Yesterday I saw Ukarumpa village, I will tell about it.'

The third type of introduction is used for introducing ancestral myths. In this type, the present time and the speaker are optionally given, followed by the name of the ancestral myth and the verb *ya* 'speak'. Following this sentence is a short optional declarative sentence that includes the cataphoric process deictic: *nu-ye anuŋ* 'it's like this'.

844) *No* *ʌpmbiʌk* *a* *bano-ŋan* *bat* *do* *kivuvu* *ya-tjia-t.*
1s today DEI mid.day-LOC grub short myth speak-PRO-1s
Nu-ye *anuŋ:*
DEI-EMPH like.this
'Today, this noon, I am going to tell the grub worm ancestral story. It goes like this:'

845) *TʌwʌT* *dʌme* *kivuvu* *ya-tjia-t:*
PLACE rock.cliff myth speak-PRO-1s
'I am going to tell the TʌwʌT rock cliff ancestral myth:'

The optional presence of the cataphoric process deictic *nuye anuŋ* is interesting. This deictic is normally used when the process (or speech) has not occurred before. When it has occurred before, such as in the retelling of a current event, the anaphoric process deictic is used. With the ancestral myths the cataphoric process deictic is used as if the myth were being created or related for the first time. This may indicate that myths are considered to be in a different class from historical retellings and may point to the creativeness that goes into each retelling by the author.

The fourth type of introduction is used when retelling first-hand observations or accounts. The present time and participants are given followed by *yaŋ ʌ* 'thus do'. The participant is optional but the time is not. The anaphoric process deictic *yaŋ* contrasts with the cataphoric deictic used when introducing ancestral myths. In the myth the deictic points to the following story while here the deictic points to the recent event, not to the following narrative.

846) *Apma* *yaŋ* *ʌ-bai-mʌŋ:*
yesterday thus do-YP-1p
'Yesterday we did like thus:'

847) *Sawini, no yaŋ ʌ-kʌ-m:*
2.days.ago 1s thus do-RP-1s
'The day before yesterday I did thus:'

In the last type of introduction the speaker is specified followed by *wam de ya* 'talk one speak'. This is used for current or historical events that the speaker was not an eyewitness to. In some cases the word *deni* 'the' is substituted for *de.*

848) *No wam de ya-sat.*
1s talk one speak-INDEF.1s
'I will tell a story.'

849) *ʌpmbiʌk no-tʌ wam de-ni ya-tjia-t.*
today 1s-SRC talk one-FM speak-PRO-1s
'Today, I am going to tell the story.'

26.3.2 Discourse Closure

There are only two main closures for discourse although individual speakers may embellish them. Both are used for all genre, the choice being determined by the speaker's style rather than the genre. Some speakers may use them both in series. They are as follows:

yaŋ 'thus'

nu tʌk-nu 'That's it'
DEI(3s) OK-DEI

27 MISCELLANEOUS CONSIDERATIONS

27.1 Passivisation

Both the passive-type structure and the anti-passive will be discussed in this section.

27.1.1 Passive

There is no passive in Nankina in which the affected participant (object) is the subject and the agent is implicit or present in a function other than the subject. Left dislocation to the topic position, however, serves the same function as passives do in some languages.

(Topic/S) O V → (Topic/O) S V

This structure allows the object to be specified as the topic while the subject is explicit but untopicalised. The subject/agent is mandatorily marked with the source affix to make the reversal explicit.

The following is an excerpt from a story about a chicken that disappeared and a neighbor of the owner who was falsely accused of stealing it. In this part of the narrative the topic is been the chicken and the object is left dislocated to maintain the chicken as topic.

O S V

850) *...pup jakwa-tʌ sinsisi na-kʌ -t!*
chicken dog-SRC truly eat-RP-FACT.1s
'...(the) chicken really was eaten by the dog!'

27.1.2 Anti-Passive

A construction similar in function to the anti-passive is formed by affixing the locative clitic to the object. It demotes the status of the object to that of a location, in effect changing the transitive subject (agent) to intransitive (actor). It is used when the speaker wants to de-emphasise the registered effect on the object and/or the volition of the subject in effecting the action.

Example (851) is from a story in which a brother grabbed the arm of his sister who he was giving in a sister exchange. The sister did not want to go and she bit him when he grabbed her arm. To de-emphasise the biting in the retelling the brother uses the anti-passive.

851) *...ku kit-ni ʌŋ-bra-wa kit-na-ŋan nar-kʌ-t.*
go hand-3s.POSS OBJ.S-hold-1s.DS hand-1s.POSS-LOC bite-RP-FACT.1s
'...I grabbed her arm and she bit me (but it was of no consequence).'

In (852) the speaker was accidently hit when the main participant in the story swung at someone else but hit the speaker by mistake.

852) *...nu tuŋ baye-ŋat-ŋ no-ŋan baye-i-k.*
3s miss hit-PFCT-SS 1s-LOC hit-TP-3s
'...he swung at him and missed and hit me.'

27.2 Abstractions

Abstractions are usually handled by a noun phrase, a nominalised form of the verb (frequently also reduplicated), or a nominalised clause. The following are representative examples:

'peace'	*but gumbum* heart peace
'life'	*tipm-k tipm-k* exist-NOM exist-NOM
'thought'	*nandʌ-pu-k* think/hear-go.down-NOM
	nandʌ-k nandʌ-k think-NOM think-NOM
'resurrection'	*pra-k pra-k* rise.up-NOM rise.up-NOM
	kamat-wie-ŋan-tʌ pra-k-nu die-ADJ-LOC-SRC rise-NOM-DEI
'faith'	*nandʌ-ŋ ʌ-numo* think/hear-SS REC.3s-give.straight
'love'	*but-nandʌ-k ʌ-mu* liver-thought-NOM REC.3s-give.to

It is possible to nominalise most clauses, but not all such nominalisations are meaningful.

27.3 Implied Speech

Many of the implied speech figures used in English are realised in Nankina by phrases that include the explicit word for speech *ya* 'speak' along with a noun that gives a specific meaning to the phrase. The following list is a representative sample of implied speech.

'rebuke'	*ya-ŋ dakŋu-ŋ ye-mu* speak-SS finish-SS REC.3s-give
'praise'	*ya-ŋ ʌŋ-gʌrʌ* speak-SS tickle

'forbid'	*miem*	*wam*	*ya*
	forbidden	talk	speak
'swear'	*kʌnin*	*ya*	
	swear	speak	
'lie'	*banduk*	*ya*	
	swear	speak	
'request'	*bisit*	*ya*	
	request	speak	
'beseech'	*kʌyeŋ*	*para*	
	yell	beg	
'whisper'	*wam*	*sipsip*	*ya*
	talk	whisper	speak
'gossip'	*ya-wo*	*ka-k*	*ʌ*
	speak-DS.3p	OBJ.3s-see-NOM	do

In some instances a direct quotation using the actual spoken words is used instead of indirect speech to express these concepts.

27.4 Figures of Speech

The following examples of figures of speech is by no means comprehensive both because they have not been consistantly recorded and because many figures of speech have been internalised and are therefore not recognised as such.

27.4.1 Simile

Similes are expressed in an equative clause or as a noun phrase within the clause. They always include the phrase *yeye de* following the point of similarity. Similes are not used extensively .

853) *...nu ʌmin MambʌkwaŋyeyeDE.*
DEI man TREE great like one
'...that man is like a great Mambak tree.' (huge)

854) *Bit ʌmin waŋ yeye de.*
pig person great like one
'He is like a big pig man.' (fat)

27.4.2 Hyperbole

Hyperbole is expressed as a verb phrase that overstates reality, thus emphasising the situation for listener attention.

855) *...mindʌ-ŋ kamat-kwit.*
afraid-SS die-PR.3p
'...they were terrified.' (they were afraid and died)

856) *Mup-si kamat-i-t.*
hunger die-TP-1s
'I was starving.' (I died concerning hunger.)

857) *pat-ŋ ʌŋ-gʌve-wa-k*
sleep-SS OBJ.3s-forget-PR-3s
'sound asleep' (he slept forgot)

858) *woni-tʌ woni*
not-SRC not
'absolutely no/none' (no of no's/the no's no)

27.4.3 Personification and Apostrophe

Personification involves adding the component of meaning ANIMATENESS to an inanimate object. What might appear to be personification in Nankina is not when considered in light of their world view. Much of what is considered inanimate by the Western world is considered animate by the Nankina by virtue of resident spirits. Thus, stones, cliffs, bamboo groves, bodies of water, etc, that are referred to as animate **are** considered animate and, therefore, there is no personification as such.

What appears to be apostrophe, that is, direct address to inanimate objects, is a special form of address to inanimate objects that is putting a curse on them causing them to change state or become an agent in harming a person.

27.4.4 Irony

Two structures, both forms of rhetorical questions, have been observed expressing irony. The first is a straight-forward declarative sentence marked for irony by rising intonation and the sound *tsss* that follows the sentence as shown in (859), a reply to someone who found a way to get many things but will not share them.

859) *Nʌ tʌwʌ du ma ka-wa-t. Tsss!*
1s trail PL NEG OBJ.3s.see-PR-1s SOUND.OF.DISGUST
'You think I don't know the way (you got the things)–ha!' (I do know the way)

Two other speakers told the same story without the sound at the end–only the rising intonation.

The other structure involves two juxtaposed declarative sentences that make the same statement using different subjects. The effect is that the first one is (claimed) to be incorrect while the second is (claimed) to correct. The first sentence has final interrogative rising intonation. In (860) two brothers are arguing over who shot and killed a bird.

860) *Gʌ-tʌ yim-i-n! Nʌ-tʌ yim-i-t!*
2s-SRC shoot-TP-2s 1s-SRC shoot-TP-1s
'You shot (it, no way)! I shot (it!)' (You shot it! I shot it!)

These examples are from well known ancestral stories and so the irony is well-known. We do not know whether these methods of expressing irony can be applied to other genre.

27.4.5 Metaphor

The following are metaphors with the topic, image, and point of similarity made explict in the free translation.

861) *Ʌmin nu kʌmʌn nani de.*
person DEI dog belong one
'That person is one who belongs to the dogs.' (That person is like the dogs who are always trying to have intercourse.)

862) *Ʌmin nu kama-wie de.*
person DEI die-ADJ one
'That person is a dead one.' (One who does no work.)

863) *Kom jit-k na-mu-wo...*
water fill REC.1s-give-DS.3p
'Fill up (a bamboo tube with) water and give to me (and I will drink it)...' (I don't have any ancestral beads. Give me some and it will be like giving me some water and quenching my thirst.)

864) *Gup ya-ripm-kʌ-mʌk-nu.*
wind speak-PROG-RP-1d-DEI
'We were speaking the wind.' (We were going fast like the wind.)

There is also a whole list of body parts that are called large or some other undesirable attribute and used as insults. The pattern for all of them is 'Your — is — (like that of an undesirable person).'

kwap-ga	*damin*	'Your stomach is large.'
stomach-2s.POSS	large	
buruŋ-ga	*damin*	'Your head is large.'
head-2s.POSS	large	
dawin gwini-ga	*damin*	'Your eyes are large.'
eye round-2s.POSS	large	
yemʌ-ga	*kʌrim*	'Your penis is thick.'
penis-2s.POSS	thick	
taman-ga	*gavaŋ*	'Your nose is flat.'
nose-2s.POSS	flat	
muon-ga	*wien bam*	'Your mouth is huge.'
mouth-2s.POSS	opening result	

These expressions could also be considered as instances of synecdoche since they are using a part of the body to make a statement about the whole.

27.4.6 Euphemism

The following euphemisms have been observed in Nankina:

865) *Mo yawan ʌ-i-k.*
female follow do-YP-3s
'He did the following of a woman.' (He committed adultery.)

866) *Yaŋ-si ku-wa-k.*
thus-PUR go-PR-3s
'He/she goes for thus.' (He/she wants to have intercourse.)

The following appear to include elements of euphemism, metonymy, and synecdoche:

at de	'sugar.cane one'	(Used to represent a male, usually unmarried, because of the association of shape with the male genitals.)
muŋgup de	'cucumber one'	(Used to represent a young female, usually unmarried, because of the association of the cucumber and the female genitalia.)

27.4.7 Metonymy

Metonymy, or substitution by association, is quite common in Nankina.

867) *yik-na* *woni*
string.bag-1s POSS none
'I am single.' (I don't have a wife to carry my string bag)

868) *sawat* *de*
machete one
'a young woman' (Young women are the ones who carry machetes most often and most frequently do work for which a machete is required)

869) *mwon-kwok* *ʌmin* *de*
mouth-side person one
'a talker' (Through association of a specific individual, Moŋkwok, who always talked nonstop.)

27.5 Borrowed Lexical Items

Nouns are freely borrowed and used if the noun is fairly well known to the listeners. Only phonetic changes are made to the borrowed item. Borrowed nouns are not specially marked but are inflected as all vernacular nouns are. When a verb is borrowed, which is rare, it will be follwed by the Nankina verb ʌ 'do' which carries all the inflection of tense, aspect, subject agreement and modality.

27.6 Ellipsis

In (870) the object and verb are implicit but the word *gwin* signals the ellipsis.

870) *Kirek* *ba* *ʌvʌ* *yat* *na-i-k* *ga* *Pat* *gwin.*
NAME potato long two eat-TP-3s CONJ NAME also
'Craig ate two potatoes and Pat did, too.'

Although only the object is implicit in (871), there are pointers to let the listener supply the missing information.

871) *Kirek* *ba* *ʌvʌ* *yat* *na-i-k* *ga* *Pat* *gwin*
NAME potato long two eat-TP-3s and NAME also
yaŋ-kin *na-i-k.*
thus-LIM eat-TP-3s
'Craig ate two potatoes and Pat also ate the same.'

It is quite common to omit the object noun with the modifiers supplying enough information so that the listener can supply the rest.

872) *Kirek ba yat na-i-k ga Pat gwin ʌvʌ yat na-i-k.*
NAME potato two eat-TP-3s CONJ NAME also long two eat-TP-3s
'Craig ate two potatos and Pat also ate two.'

In alternative questions, the alternative is frequently shortened to the alternative and the negative *bo woni*, or just the alternative, leaving the rest of the question implicit (see 14.3).

Another type of ellipsis that is fairly commom is used in leave taking or commands in which the second clause is implied. These are fairly standardised so there is no marking of the implicit clause because it can be predicted from the situation.

873) *Ku-ŋat-si. Sit-ripm-ŋat-si...*
go-PFCT-DS.2s sit-PROG-PFCT-DS.2s
'You go (and I'll stay)...' or 'You continue sitting (and I'll go).'

874) *Yaŋ ma (ʌ-ø)!*
thus NEG do-DEF.2s
'Don't do that!' (This could be unintentional phonetic deletion)

27.7 Body Parts Idioms: Psychological Functions and Emotions

Body parts are commonly used for psychological functions and idioms. Most are based on *but* which is the seat of the emotions similar to English *heart*. It is a symbolic part of the inner being which is said to exist in the area around the liver and heart. Its lexical similarity to *bu* 'liver' is obvious and so has been glossed as 'liver'. The following are some of the expressions involving *but*:

but	*kʌndʌp*	*ere-wa-k*	'he is angry'
liver	fire	burn-PR-3s	
but	*pusa-wa-k*		'he understands'
liver	open.up-PR-3s		
but	*davin*		'imagination'
liver	eye		
but	*sep*		'stubborn, stingy'
liver	closed		

but	*kʌrim*	'dunce/retarded'
liver	thick	
but	*damin*	'fool'
liver	large	
but	*yewot*	'peace'
liver	soft	
but	*gumbum*	'contentment'
liver	?	
but-ga-tʌ		'your desire/whatever you wish'
liver-2s.POSS-SRC		
but-nandʌ-k		'feelings, caring'
liver-think-NOM		
but	*jʌn*	'evil'
liver	black	
but	*ʌkwa-wa-k*	'ill-feelings'
liver	mess.up-PR-3s	
but	*kwak*	'innocence, upright'
liver	white	
but	*akŋu*	'joy'
liver	happy	

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APPENDIX 1: EXAMPLES OF PHONEMES

/p/	/pup/	[pup ~ ɸup ~ fup]	'chicken'
	/pɑt/	[pɑt]	'a trap'
	/pit/	[pit ~ ɸit ~ fit]	'shave'
	/kʌdɛp/	[kʌ.^{n}dɛp ~ kʌ.^{n}dʌp]	'wood'
	/bip/	[^{m}bip]	'string'
	/kwɑpɔk/	[kwɑ.pɔk ~ kwɑ.ɸɔk ~ kwɑ.fɔk ~ kwɑ.pwɔk]	'ball'
	/ʌpmʌk/	[ʌp.mʌk]	'cough'
	/kwipbɑ/	[kwip.m̩bɑ]	'tomorrow'
/t/	/tɛp/	[tɛp]	'ocean'
	/tip/	[tɪp]	'stone'
	/kwit/	[kɥit]	'bird'
	/pɔtɛ/	[pɔ.ɾɛ ~ pɔ.lɛ]	'sick'
	/bɛtʌŋ/	[^{m}bɛ.ɾʌŋ ~ ^{m}bɛ.lʌŋ]	'shoulder'
	/witnɑ/	[ɥit.nɑ]	'house-1s.POSS' (< /wit+nɑ/)
	/witdɛ/	[ɥit.^{n}dɛ]	'house-one' (< /wit+dɛ/)
	/kʌtnʌm/	[kʌt.nʌm]	'night'
/ts/	/tsit/	[tsit]	'sit'
	/tsɛ/	[tsʲɛ]	'thing'
	/tsɑβɑt/	[tsɑ.βɑt]	'machete'
	/ɛtsɛŋ/	[ɛ.tsʲɛŋ ~ ɛ.sʲɛŋ]	'light wight'
	/wɑtsɑk/	[wɑ.tsɑk ~ wɑ.sɑk]	'power'
	/tsintsitsi/	[tsɪn.sɪ.si]	'true'
/k/	/kɑp/	[kɑp]	'song'
	/kit/	[kit]	'hand'
	/kɛwit/	[kɛ.ɥit]	'tobacco'
	/kwɛ/	[kwɛ]	'friend'

	/kɛjɑkgɑ/	[kɛ.jɑk.ŋgɑ]	'skirt-2s.POSS' (< /kɛjɑk+kɑ/)
	/ɑkɑk/	[ɑ.kɑk]	'baby'
	/jik/	[jɨk]	'bag'
	/jɑkɑ/	[jɑ.kɑ ~ jɑ.xɑ]	'again'
	/jikŋɑ/	[jɨk.ŋɑ]	'bag-1s.POSS' (< /jik+nɑ/)
/b/	/bɑ/	[^{m}bɑ]	'sweet potato'
	/bip/	[^{m}bip]	'string'
	/bɔkŋ/	[^{m}b^{w}ɔkŋ ^{m}bɔkŋ]	'male'
	/wɑbɑ/	[wɑ.^{m}bɑ]	'talk-2s.POSS' (< /wɑm+kɑ/)
	/gʌbʌn/	[ŋgʌ.^{m}bʌn]	'a spider'
	/kwipbɑ/	[kʊip.^{m}bɑ ~ kwip.m̩bɑ]	'tomorrow'
/d/	/dɑk/	[^{n}dɑk]	'arrow'
	/dɔn/	[^{n}dɔn]	'excellent'
	/kʌdɛp/	[kʌ.^{n}dɛp ~ kʌndʌp]	'wood'
	/kʌmidɛ/	[kʌ.mɨ.^{n}dɛ]	'dog-one' (< /kʌmin+dɛ/)
	/kitdɛ/	[kit.^{n}dɛ]	'hand-one' (< /kit+dɛ/)
	/kwitdɛ/	[kʊit.^{n}dɛ]	'bird-one' (< /kwit+dɛ/)
/dz/	/dzɑp/	[^{n}dzɑp]	'food'
	/dzin/	[^{n}dzɪn]	'woven wall'
	/mʌdzi/	[mʌ.^{n}dzi]	'boy'
	/nudzʌk/	[nu.^{n}dzʌk]	'there-place' (< /nu+dzʌk/)
	/witdzi/	[ʊit.^{n}dzi]	'house-for' (< /wit+tsi/)
/g/	/gʌtip/	[ŋgʌ.ɾip]	'pandanas'
	/gɛt/	[ŋgɛt]	'sun'
	/gɑŋ/	[ŋgɑŋ]	'a nut'

	/nugɑ/	[nu.ŋgɑ]	'mother-2s.POSS'
	/dʌgʌm/	[ⁿdʌ.ŋgʌm]	'hair'
	/jikgɑ/	[jɨk.ŋgɑ]	'bag-2s.POSS' (< /jik+gɑ/)
/β/	/tʌβu/	[tʌ.βu]	'road'
	/dɑβin/	[ⁿdɑ.βɪn ~ ⁿdɑ.wɪn]	'eye'
	/kɑβuβut/	[kɑ.βu.βut ~ kɑ.wu.wut]	'dust'
	/tsɑβɑt/	[tsɑ.βɑt ~ tsɑ.wɑt]	'machete'
/m/	/mip/	[mip]	'teeth'
	/mɛp/	[mɛp]	'quickly'
	/mɔk/	[mɔk ~ mʷɔk]	'knee'
	/mɑmu/	[mɑ.mu]	'aunt'
	/mɑwum/	[mɑ.wum]	'evil spirit'
	/wɑm/	[wɑm]	'talk'
	/tɑmɑ/	[tɑ.mɑ]	'nose'
	/ŋɑmbɑ/	[ŋɑm.bɑ]	'forehead-2s.POSS' (< /ŋɑm+kɑ/)
	/tʌpmʌk/	[tʌp.mʌk]	'existence'
	/bip.mɑ/	[ᵐbip.mɑ]	'string-1s.POSS' (< /bip+nɑ/)
/n/	/nit/	[nʲit ~ nit]	'1d'
	/nɑn/	[nɑn]	'father'
	/nɑp/	[nɑp]	'rope'
	/njɑ/	[nʲɑ]	'upward'
	/nin/	[nʲɪn ~ nɪn]	'1p'
	/gwɑn/	[ŋgwɑn]	'mud'
	/gwin/	[ŋgɥɪn]	'also'
	/witn/	[ɥitn̩]	'house-DEI' (< /wit+nu/)
	/wɔni/	[wɔ.ni]	'no'

	/dzɔni/	[ⁿdzɔni]	'black'
	/dɑnik/	[ndɑ.ɲi̯ik ~ ndɑ.nik]	'burp'
	/kumʌndɛ/	[ku.mʌn.dɛ]	'rat-one' (< /kumʌn+dɛ/)
	/btnɑ/	[bɨt.nɑ]	'pig-1s.POSS' (< /bt+nɑ/)
/ŋ/	/ŋɑguk/	[ŋɑ.ᵑguk]	'Jew's harp'
	/ŋɑm/	[ŋɑm]	'forehead'
	/ŋwɛtŋwɛt/	[ŋwɛk.ŋwɛt]	'marigold'
	/jʌŋ/	[jʌŋ]	'axe'
	/tʌkŋ/	[tʌkŋ]	'enough'
	/ʌŋɑk/	[ʌ.ŋɑk]	'do-per.' (< /ʌ+ŋɑk/)
	/tɔwuŋgi/	[tɔ.wuŋ.gi]	'egg-2p.POSS' (< /tɔwuŋ+ki/)
	/dzɑtikŋɑ/	[ⁿdzɑ.rik.ŋɑ]	'corn-1s.POSS' (< /dzɑ.tik+nɑ/)
/w/	/wɑm/	[wɑm]	'talk'
	/wɔpm/	[wɔpm̩]	'image'
	/wit/	[ɥit]	'house'
	/kuwɑn/	[ku.wɑn]	'cloud'
	/tsiwɛt/	[tsɪ.ɥɛt]	'pit-pit'
	/ɑwɑ/	[ɑ.wɑ]	'grandmother'
	/gwim/	[ᵑgɥim]	'mouth'
	/kwʌŋ/	[kwʌŋ]	'malicious spirit'
	/bɑw/	[ᵐbɑw ~ ᵐbɑ.pu ~ ᵐbɑ.βu ~ ᵐbɑ.wu]	'ancestor'
	/gɑwm/	[ᵑgɑwm]	'a spider'
/j/	/jik/	[jik]	'bag'
	/jɑŋ/	[jɑŋ]	'thus'
	/jɔp/	[jɔp]	'cloth'
	/jɛmɛ/	[jɛ.mɛ]	'door'

/dɑjiŋ/	[^{n}dɑ.jiŋ]	'eyebrow'
/kɛjɑk/	[kɛ.jɑk]	'skirt'
/mujʌk/	[mu.jʌk]	'a tree'
/bɛj/	[^{m}bɛj]	'girl'
/njɑ/	[njɑ]	'up'
/tɛjt/	[tɛjt]	'bow string'

In the examples of vowels stress will be marked when it is not equal.

/i/	/ɛkwi/	[ɛ.'kɥi]	'bad'
	/tsiwɛt/	[tsɪ.ɥɛt]	'pit-pit'
	/wip/	[ɥip]	'seed'
	/ipmʌŋ/	[jɪp.mʌŋ ~ ip.mʌŋ]	'let go
	/jipmʌŋ/	[jɪp.mʌŋ ~ ip.mʌŋ]	'put it'
	/bip/	[^{m}bip]	'string'
	/tip/	[tɨp]	'stone'
	/jiwɔ/	[jɪ.wɔ ~ ji.wɔ ~ i.wɔ]	'weak'
	/dɑβin/	[^{n}dɑ.βɪn]	'eye'
	/dzin/	[^{n}dzɪn]	'woven wall'
	/mʌdzi/	[mʌ.^{n}dzi]	'boy'
	/pit/	[pit]	'shave'
	/tsitsitsi/	[tsɪn.sɪ.si]	'true'
	/kʌtitit/	[kʌ.rɨ.rɨt]	'ant'
	/dɑjiŋ/	[^{n}dɑ.jiŋ]	'eyebrow'
	/dzikŋ/	[^{n}dzɨkŋ]	'heavy'
	/ʌmin/	[ʌ.mɨn]	'man'
	/kʌmin/	[kʌ.mɨn]	'dog'
	/jik/	[jɨk ~ jiʌk]	'bag'
	/pik/	[pik ~ piʌk]	'ripe'

/ɛ/	/ɛtsɛŋ/	[ɛ.tsʲɛŋ ~ ɛ.tsʲʌŋ]	'light weight'
	/ɑjɛt/	[ɑ.jɛt]	'louse'
	/tɛt/	[tɛt]	'tear'
	/kɛ/	[kɛ]	'fat'
	/ɛk/	[ɛʌk ~ ɛk]	'torch'
	/gɛk/	[ᵑgɛʌk ~ ᵑgɛk]	'neck'
	/pɛŋ/	[pɛʌŋ ~ pɛŋ]	'a boil'
	/ɛkwi/	[ɛ.kɥi ~ ʌ.kɥi]	'bad'
	/pɛ/	[pɛ]	'almost'
	/tɛp/	[tɛp]	'ocean'
	/bɛn/	[ᵐbɛn]	'middle'
	/kwɛ/	[kɥɛ]	'friend'
	/mwɛk/	[mɥɛk]	'lizard'
	/jɛmʌ/	[jɛ.mʌ]	'door'
	/tɛjt/	[tɛjt]	'bow string'
	/bɛj/	[ᵐbɛj]	'girl'
/ʌ/	/ʌpmʌk/	[ʌp.mʌk]	'cough'
	/ʌmin/	['ʌ.min]	'man'
	/mʌk/	[mʌk]	'ground'
	/gʌβʌ/	[ᵑgʌ.βʌ]	'ditch'
	/ʌwɑt/	[ʌ.wɑt]	'do-1s.PR' (< /ʌ+wɑt/)
	/jɛmʌ/	[jɛ.mʌ]	'door'
	/tʌm/	[tʌm]	'leaf'
	/ʌjʌŋ/	[ʌ.jʌŋ]	'meat'
	/tɑkwʌn/	[tɑ.kwʌn]	'curse'

/ɑ/	/ɑwɑ/	[ɑ.wɑ]	'grandmother'
	/tsɑmɔk/	['tsɑ.mɔk]	'a nut'
	/tɑp/	[tɑp]	'plate'
	/bɑ/	[^{m}bɑ]	'sweet potato'
	/ɑ/	[ɑ]	'here'
	/ɑkɑk/	[ɑ.kɑk ~ ɑ.xɑk]	'baby'
	/kɑ/	[kɑ]	'see'
	/gɑŋ/	[^{ŋ}gɑŋ]	'nut'
	/gɑwm/	[^{ŋ}gɑwm]	'spider'
	/tɑwt/	[tɑwt]	'root'
	/jɑŋ/	[jɑŋ]	'thus'
	/kwɑjt/	[kwɑjt]	'outside'
/u/	/kumʌn/	['ku.mʌn]	'rat'
	/mugup/	[mu.^{ŋ}gup]	'cucumber'
	/mum/	[mum]	'breast'
	/nu/	[nu]	'there.3s'
	/mɑwum/	[mɑ.wʊm]	'evil spirit'
	/wudɛ/	[wʊ.ndɛ]	'go out'
	/butuŋ/	[bu.ɾuŋ ~ bʊ.ɾuŋ]	'head'
	/budɛ/	[^{m}bu.^{n}dɛ ~ ^{m}bʊ.^{n}dɛ]	'bark cloth'
	/kɑβuβut/	[kɑ.βu.βut ~ kɑ.βʊ.βut]	'dust'
	/wutuwɑt/	[wʊ.ɾu.wɑt ~ u.ɾu.wɑt]	'look for-1s.PR' (< /wutu+wɑt/)
	/wutim/	[wʊ.ɾim ~ u.ɾim]	'a plant'
	/mɑmu/	[mɑ.mu]	'maternal uncle'
	/pu/	[pu]	'go down'
	/gup/	[^{ŋ}gup]	'cold'
	/pup/	[pup]	'chicken'

/ɔ/	/ɔkutsɛkŋ/	[ɔ.ku.sʲɛkŋ]	'small'
	/wɔtɛ/	['wɔ.ɾɛ]	'sore'
	/bɔn/	[^{m}bɔn]	'a fly'
	/bɔtɑmɔ/	[^{m}bɔ.ɾɑ.mɔ]	'village'
	/tipɔ/	[ti.pɔ]	'rain'
	/kɔm/	[kɔm]	'water'
	/wɔpm/	[wɔpm̩]	'image'
	/wɔ/	[wɔ]	'upward'
	/jɔp/	[jɔp]	'cloth'
	/tsiwɔt/	[tsɪ.wɔt]	'garden'
	/mɔ/	[mɔ]	'woman'

APPENDIX 2: CONTRASTS BETWEEN PHONEMES

Labial Stops and Glide

Initial

/pɑt/	[pɑt]	'trap'
/bɑt/	[^{m}bɑt]	'side'
/wɑtɑk/	[wɑ.ɾɑk]	'finished'
/pɑmin/	[pɑ.min]	'older sibling'
/bɑm/	[^{m}bɑm]	'fruit'
/wɑm/	[wɑm]	'language'
/pɑgɑ/	[pɑ.ŋgɑ]	'later'
/bɑ/	[^{m}bɑ]	'sweet potato'
/wɑ/	[wɑ]	'what?'

Intervocalic

/bʌpʌ/	[^{m}bʌ.pʌ]	'laugh'
/gʌbʌn/	[ŋgʌ.^{m}bʌn]	'a spider'
/kʌβʌm/	[kʌ.βʌm]	'hawk'
/tɔwʌ/	[tɔ.wʌ]	'drum'
/kʌpu/	[kʌ.pu]	'forbidden'
/kwʌbu/	[kwʌ.^{m}bu]	'plank'
/tʌβu/	[tʌ.βu]	'road'
/tɔwuŋ/	[tɔ.wuŋ]	'egg'
/bɑpu/	[^{m}bɑ.pu ~ ^{m}bɑ.βu ~ ^{m}bɑ.wu ~ ^{m}bɑu]	'ancestor'
/kɑβuβut/	[kɑ.βu.βut ~ kɑ.wu.wut]	'dust'
/mɑwum/	[mɑ.wum]	'evil spirit'

/tsaβat/	[tsa.βat ~ tsa.wat]	'machete'
/tawan/	[ta.wan]	'mountain'

Alveolar and Alveopalatal Stops and Glide

Initial

/tak/	[tak]	'quiet'
/dak/	[^{n}dak]	'arrow'
/tsawini/	[tsa.wɪ.ni]	'yesterday'
/dzakwijɛ/	[^{n}dza.kɥi.jɛ]	'head dress'
/jaka/	[ja.ka]	'again'
/tama/	[ta.ma]	'nose'
/damin/	[^{n}da.min]	'many'
/tsamɔk/	[tsa.mɔk]	'a nut'
/dzan/	[^{n}dzan]	'a plant
/jaŋ/	[jaŋ]	'thus'
/tap/	[tap]	'plate'
/dzap/	[^{n}dzap]	'food'
/tawan/	[ta.wan]	'mountain'
/tsawat/	[tsa.wat]	'machete'
/dat/	[^{n}dat]	'brother of female'
/jat/	[jat]	'two'

Intervocalic

/matap/	[ma.rap]	'bat'
/batsa/	[^{m}ba.sa]	'beans'
/nadat/	[na.^{n}dat]	'know+1s.PR'

/nɑdʌk/	[nɑ.ⁿdʌk]	'thought'
/ɑdzʌk/	[ɑ.ⁿdzʌk]	'this-place' (< /ɑ+dzʌk/)
/ɑjʌŋ/	[ɑ.jʌŋ]	'meat'
/ɑdzɛ/	[ɑ.ⁿdzɛ]	'this-is who' (< /ɑ+dzɛ/)
/ɑjɛt/	[ɑ.jɛt]	'louse'
/kwʊdʌkŋ/	[kwu.ⁿdʌkŋ]	'new'
/nudzʌk/	[nu.ⁿdzʌk]	'that-place' (< /nu+dzʌk/)
/mujʌk/	[mu.jʌk]	'a tree'
/nu.dzɛ/	[nu.ⁿdzɛ]	'that-is.who' (< /nu+dzɛ/)
/nutɛ/	[nu.ɾɛ]	'3 POSS.'
/mʌdzi/	[mʌ.ⁿdzi]	'boy'
/gʌtip/	[ᵑgʌ.ɾip]	'pandanas'
/bɛ.tʌŋ/	[ᵐbɛ.ɾʌŋ]	'shoulder'
/ɛtsʌŋ/	[ɛ.tsʲʌŋ]	'lightweight'

Velar Stops

Initial

/gɑ/	[ᵑgɑ]	'and'
/kɑ/	[kɑ]	'hey!'
/gɑpmɑ/	[ᵑgɑp.mɑ]	'helping clan'
/kɑp/	[kɑp]	'song'
/gɑtʌŋ/	[ᵑgɑ.ɾʌŋ]	'help'
/kɑtɑt/	[kɑ.ɾɑt]	'bone'

Nasals

Initial

/mɑmu/	[mɑmu]	'maternal uncle'
/nɑm/	[nɑm]	'1s-give to' (< /nɑ+m/)
/ŋɑm/	[ŋɑm]	'forehead'
/mɑn/	[mɑn]	'name'
/nɑn/	[nɑn]	'father'
/ŋɑgɔk/	[ŋɑ.ᵑgʷɔk]	'jew's harp'
/mɑk/	[mɑk]	'a fern'
/nɑp/	[nɑp]	'rope'
/ŋawu/	[ŋɑ.wu]	'bring'

Final

/wɑm/	[wɑm]	'talk'
/gwɑn/	[ᵑgwɑn]	'mud'
/tɑwɑn/	[tɑ.wɑn]	'mountain
/wɑŋ/	[wɑŋ]	'great'
/nɑm/	[nɑm]	'1s.OBJ-give'
/nɑn/	[nɑn]	'father'
/nɑŋ/	[nɑŋ]	'eat-SS' (< /nɑ+ŋ/)
/jɑŋ/	[jɑŋ]	'thus'
/tʌm/	[tʌm]	'leaf'
/kumʌn/	[ku.mʌn]	'rat'
/tʌŋ/	[tʌŋ]	'perhaps'

Front Vowels

/mip/	[mip]	'teeth'
/mɛp/	[mɛp]	'quick'
/mɛj/	[mɛj]	'a plant'

/bip/	[ᵐbip]	'string'
/bɛn/	[ᵐbɛn]	'middle'
/bɛj/	[ᵐbɛj]	'girl'
/kit/	[kit]	'hand'
/kɛt/	[kɛt]	'plant-1s.FACT' (< /kɛ+t/)
/tɛt/	[tɛt]	'tears'
/tɛjt/	[tɛjt]	'bowstring'

Central Vowels

/wɑm/	[wɑm]	'talk'
/wʌt/	[wʌt]	'accompaniment suffix'
/wɑj/	[wɑj]	'hot'
/kwɑp/	[kwɑp]	'stomach'
/kwʌm/	[kwʌm]	'fence'
/kwɑjt/	[kwɑjt]	'outside'
/bɑpu/	[ᵐbɑ.pu]	'ancestor'
/bʌp/	[ᵐbʌp]	'laugh'
/pɑjt/	[pɑjt ~ ᵐbɑjt]	'1s.YP'

BackVowels

/tuwɔp/	[tu.wɔp]	'flower'
/tɔwuŋ/	[tɔ.wuŋ]	'egg'
/tɑwt/	[tɑwt]	'a root'
/gup/	[ᵑgup]	'cold'
/gɔ/	[ᵑgɔ]	'2s'
/gɑwm/	[ᵑgɑwm]	'a spider'

Lax Vowels

/bɛn/	[^{m}bɛn]	'middle'
/bʌp/	[^{m}bʌp]	'laugh'
/bɔn/	[^{m}bɔn]	'fly'
/tɛk/	[tɛk]	'a mark'
/tʌk/	[tʌk]	'enough/already'
/tɔwuŋ/	[tɔ.wuŋ]	'egg'
/kɛ/	[kɛ]	'fat'
/kʌmin/	[kʌ.min]	'dog'
/kɔm/	[kɔm]	'water'

APPENDIX 3: ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	Abilative Modality
ADJ	Adjectivizer
ANTI	Antithesis
APPROX	Approximation
ATTR	Attributive Postposition
AUG	Augmented
CD	Change of Direction
CERT	Certainty Modality
COM	Commitative
CONJ	Conjunction
CONT	Continuative Aspect
CONTRA	Contrafactual
CS	Change of Setting
DEF	Definite Subject/Modality
DEI	Deictic
DEL	Delayed Aspect
DIM	Diminuative
DS	Different Subject
DSEQ	Definite Sequential Aspect
DUR	Durative Aspect
EM	Emphatic/Exclusive
EMPH	Emphasis Marker
EX	Exclusive/Emphatic
EV	Evidentual Subject/Modality
FACT	Factual Subject/Modality
FM	Familiar
FO	Focus
FRUS	Frustrative
HYPO	Hyothetical
IMMED	Immediate Relevance Aspect
INT	Intensifier
INTER	Interrogative
INDEF	Indefinite Subject/Modality
IPL	Indefinite Plural
IRR	Irrealis Subject/Modality
ISEQ	Indefinite Sequential Aspect
LIM	Limiter
LOC	Locative
MN	Manner
NEG	Negative
NHUM	Non-human
NOM	Nominaliser – Infinitive
NPRO	Non-Progressive Aspect
OBJ	Object
OBLIG	Obligatory Modality
PFCT	Perfective Aspect
PL	Definite Plural
POSB	Possibilitive Modality
POSS	Possessive
PR	Present
PRO	Prospective Aspect
PROG	Progressive Aspect
PUR	Purpose
REP	Repetitive
RET	Return Aspect
RP	Remote Past Tense
SS	Same Subject
SRC	Source/Agent/Active
TEMP	Temporary Aspect
TP	Today's Past Tense
UNRL	Unrealised Modality
VOL	Volitional
YP	Yesterday's Past Tense
1s	First Person Singular
2s	Second Person Singular
3s	Third Person Singular
1d	First Person Dual
2/3d	Seond/Third Person Dual
1p	First Person Plural
2/3p	Second/Third Person Plural

APPENDIX 4: NANKINA TEXT

Grub Worm Ancestral Story
by Kaku, 5 May 1986

No ʌpbiʌk a banoŋ-ŋan baat-do kivuvu ya-tjia-t.
1s today DEI morning-LOC grub-short ancestral.story speak-PRO-1s

'Today this morning I am going to tell the grub worm ancestral story.'

Nu anuŋ.
3s like.this

'It's like this.'

ʌmin yat ap-ni wot pam-ni wot mʌk-ni-ŋan
person two younger.sib-3s.POSS ACC older.sib-3s.POSS ACC land-3s.POSS-LOC

tipm-kʌ-mayak-nu-tʌ pam-ni yiʌŋ-ni ʌŋ-bra-ŋ baat-sap e
live-RP-3d.EV-DEI-SRC older.sib-3s.POSS axe-3s.PO OBJ.S-hold-SS grub-time

wund ku-kʌ-t.
go.out go-RP-3s

'There were two people, an older brother and younger brother who were living on their land. The younger brother got his axe and went out to get grub worms.'

Wunde kʌrim ʌpʌ-kʌ a wuru-ŋ popm-ripm-gwiʌŋ-ŋ ku
go.out bush long-MN DEI look.for-SS go.around-PROG-DUR-SS go.MC

nandʌ-ŋat-wʌn ʌmin de kʌrim-bok nu yaka mandʌ-ŋ yerit-ŋ
hear-PFCT-DS.3s person one bush-LOC DEI REP cut-SS surface.cut-SS

ʌ-ripm-wʌn nandʌ-ŋ ku-wʌn-yaŋ kʌrim-ŋan nani ʌmin de
do-PROG-DS.3s hear-SS go-DS.3s-thus bush-LOC belong human one

ʌmin gʌpmbit de-tʌ baat-ni ku-ripm-wʌn ka-ŋ
human wild one-DSC grub-3s.POSS go-PROG-DS.3s OBJ.3s.look-SS

pʌ-ku tak yaŋ ti tivuŋ ku-ŋat-ŋ ka-ripm-kʌ-t.
OB.PL-go quietly thus CERT hide go-PFCT-SS OBJ.3s.look-PROG-RP-3s

'He went out and was going around looking in the bush and heard someone splitting wood for grubs. He saw a masalai man looking for grubs and hid quietly and watched him.'

Ka-ripm-ŋat-wʌn *sie* *de* *ma* *ʌ-wʌn* *ka-ŋ* *ʌŋut-ŋ*
OBJ.3s-look-PFCT-DS.3s thing one NEG do-DS.3s OBJ.3s.look-SS kill-MC

na-k-nu *timi* *de* *ma* *ʌ-wʌn* *ka-ŋ* *kʌripbo-ni*
eat-NOM-DEI piece one NEG do-DS.3s OBJ.3s.look-SS forget-3s.POSB

ʌ-ŋat-ŋ *kwusek* *nu-man* *pʌ-ku-wʌn* *sit-ripm-ŋat-ŋ* *baat*
do-PFCT-SS close DEI-LOC OB.PL-go-DS.3s sit-PROG-PFCT-SS grub

kut-ŋat-wʌn *ʌmin* *sini* *de-ni-tʌ* *ʌmin* *gʌpbit* *de-ni-tʌ* *baat-nu*
split-PFCT-DS.3s person true one-FM-DSC person wild one-FM-DSC grub-DEI

pʌ-bra-ŋ *pʌ-ŋ-nu-tʌ* *okusiʌk-sek-ŋ* *ʌmin* *gʌpmbit-si* *yi-pm-ŋ*
OB.PL-hold-SS OBJ.PL-get-DEI-DSC small-DIM-OB person wild-PUR OB.S-put-SS

ʌ-mu-ŋat-ŋ *damini* *pʌ-ŋ* *ʌni* *sini* *koŋut-ŋ* *koŋut-ŋ*
RC.3s-give.to-PFCT-SS many OBJ.PL.get-SS 3s.EX INT wrap-SS wrap-SS

ʌ-kʌ-t.
do-RP-3s

'He watched him and the masalai didn't see a way to kill and eat him so he forgot about it and went close to him and sat down and split wood for grubs and the man took the masalai's grubs and gave him a small amount and wrapped a large quanity for himself.'

Yaŋ *ʌ-ŋ* *jawat* *tʌm* *mandʌ-ŋ* *pʌ-awu* *koŋut-ŋ* *yi-pm-ŋat-ŋ*
thus do-SS PLANT leaf cut-MC OB.PL-come wrap-SS OB.S-put-PFCT-SS

tipm-ŋat-wʌn *baat* *de-ni* *ku-wʌn* *wara-wʌn* *tʌk-nu* *pra-ŋ*
live-PFCT-DS.3s grub one-FM go-DS.3s finish-DS.3s IMMED-DEI rise-SS

yik-ni *pʌ-ŋat-wʌn* *ʌmin* *gʌpmbit* *wit-ŋan* *ku-kʌ-mayak.*
bilum-3s.POSS OBJ.PL-get-PFCT-DS.3s person wild house-LOC go-RP-3d.EV

'He did that and cut some Jabaat greens and brought them and wrapped the grubs and set them aside. The other had already finished the grubs and the other got up and got his bilum and they went to the masalai's house.'

Pʌ-ku *jap* *du-ni* *ʌmin* *gʌpmbit-si* *ʌ-mu-wʌn* *dʌŋgwʌt-ŋan*
OB.PL-go food IPL-FM person wild-PUR RC.3s-give.to-DS.3s bamboo-LOC

sie-kʌ-t.
cook-RP-3s

'He went and gave some food to the masalai and he cooked it in a bamboo tube.'

Sie-wʌn *ʌrʌ-wʌn* *taap* *ʌŋ-pʌ* *yi-pm-ŋat-ŋ* *taap-ŋan*
cook-DS.3s flame.up-DS.3s plate OB.S-come.down OB.S-put-PFCT-SS plate-LOC

ŋʌye-wʌn *maŋ-wʌn* *tʌk-nu* *ʌmin* *gʌpmbit* *de-ni* *dawin-ni* *woni*
pour-DS.3s fall-DS.3s IMMED-DEI person wild one-FM eye-3s.POSS none

nu-si *ʌ-ŋat-ŋ* *dʌŋura-kʌ-t* *tim-si* *ʌmin* *sini* *de-ni-tʌ*
DEI-PUR do-PFCT-SS no.ability-RP-3s piece-PUR person true one-FM-SRC

baat-ni *damini* *ga* *maak-ni* *moreni* *yaŋubin-ni* *na-ŋ* *wara-kʌ-t.*
grub-3s.POSS big and PLANT-3s.POSS good all-3s.POSS eat-SS finish-RP-3s

'He cooked it and got a bowl down and poured it into the bowl. The masalai could see (in the house) so he was confused for a while (so) the real man ate all the large grubs and the good greens.'

Na-ŋ *wara-wʌn* *ʌmin* *gʌpmbit* *de-ni* *'Tʌk-nu,* *na-wa* *wara-wa-k'*
eat-SS finish-DS.3s person wild one-FM IMMED-DEI eat-DS.1s finish-PR-3s

yaŋ *ya-ŋ* *taap-ni* *pʌŋ-wo* *yi-pm-ŋat-ŋ*
thus speak-SS plate-3s.POSS OB.PL-up.SS OB.S-put-PFCT-SS

sit-ripm-ŋat-wʌn *min* *sini* *de-ni* *ʌmin* *gʌpmbit-tʌ* *wit-gʌ*
sit-PROG-PFCT-DS.3s person true one-FM person wild-SRC house-MN

wuru-ŋat-ŋ *sie-ni* *moreni* *kwim-ni* *bo* *taap-ni* *bo*
look.for-PFCT-SS thing-3s.POSS good bow-3s.POSS ALT plate-3s.POSS ALT

yiŋ-ni *sie* *kʌwu* *moreni* *ye-pm-kʌ-t-nu* *kopu-ni*
axe-3s.POSS thing PL good OB.PL-put-RP-3s-DEI forbidden-3s.POSS

pʌŋ-bra-wʌn *ma* *ka-ŋat-wʌn* *ʌŋ-wunde-min*
OB.PL-hold-DS.3s NEG OBJ.3s-look.at-PFCT-DS.3s OB.S-go.out-CD

ti-ni *mindʌ-ŋ* *wit-ni-ŋat* *ku-kʌ-t.*
CERT-3s.POSB afraid-SS house-3s.POSS-LOC go-RP-3s

'He finished the food and the masalai said, "OK! I finished it." He put his bowl up and sat. The man went looking thoughout the house for anything good to steal: bows or plates or axes that the masali had stored, and took them to his house.'

Yan-tʌ-jʌk *pami-ni* *ʌmin* *kʌrim-kʌrim* *de* *ji* *nu-tʌ*
over-SRC-LOC older.sib-3s.POSS person deaf-deaf one ? 3s.POSS

wit-ŋan *ʌŋ-ku-min* *wo-wʌn* *ka-ŋ* *pami-ni-tʌ*
house-LOC OB.S-go-CD up-DS.3s OBJ.3s.look-SS older.sib-3s.POSS-SRC

ʌ-nu-kʌ-t *'Ap* *kwe-ou* *sie-ka* *moreni*
RC.3s-say.to-RP-3s younger.sib friend-oh thing.2s.POSS good

ye-pm-ŋat-ŋ *nʌ-si* *ekwi* *de* *na-mu-ø'* *yaŋ*
OB.PL-put-PFCT-SS 1s-PUR bad one RC.1s-give.to-IF.2s thus

ʌ-nu-wʌn *'Ka,* *ʌpmbiʌk-ga-na* *apu-ŋat-wa*
RC.3s-say.to-DS.3s hey today-ISEQ-1s.POSS come-PFCT-DS.1s

tʌrim-ga *de* *ya-wa-n.* *Ʌpm* *ma* *bo* *ga-mu-sat'*
inheritance-2s.POSS one speak-PR-2s ABL NEG ALT RC.2s-give.to-INDEF.1s

yaŋ *ʌ-nu-wʌn* *pami-ni* *kʌrim* *de-ni* *won-ni*
thus RC.3s-say.to-DS.3s older.sib-3s.POSS deaf one-FM anger-3s.POSS

sini *nandʌ-ŋ* *'Ʌpm,* *na* *tʌwʌ* *ma* *ka-wa-t'* *yaŋ* *ya-ŋ*
INT feel-SS OK 1s way NEG look.at-PR-1s thus say-SS

nu *tʌmin* *kweŋ-gʌ* *tʌk-ni* *ʌŋ-gepm-kʌ-t.*
DEI foot print-MN IMMED-3s.POSB OB.S-follow-RP-3s

'He went over and up to the place where his older slightly retarded brother's house was and his brother saw him and said to him, "Younger brother, oh friend, put away your good things and give me one that's not so good." The younger replied to the older, "Hey! Today('s things) are for me and you are talking about an inheritance in it. There's no way I will give you any!" The older slightly retarded brother got really angry and said to him, "OK, you think I don't know how you got it–that's what you think!" and he then followed the trail his brother had made.'

Awu-kʌ-t *tʌmin* *kweŋ-gʌ* *ku* *nandʌ-ŋat-wʌn* *ʌmin* *de* *baat-ni*
come-RP-3s foot print-MN go.SS sense-PFCT-DS.3s person one grub-3s.POSS

ku-ripm-wʌn *nandʌ-ŋ* *yaka* *ku-wʌn-yaŋ* *de-ni* *ʌmin* *gʌpmbit* *ʌpʌ* *yaka*
go-PROG-DS.3s hear-SS REP go-DS.3s-thus one-FM person wild long CS

baat-ni *yaka* *ku-ripm-ŋat-wʌn* *pʌ-ku-wʌn* *nu-man* *tipm-ŋat-ŋ*
grub REP split-PROG-PFCT-DS.3s OB.PL-go-DS.3s 3s-LOC exist-PFCT-SS

jawat *tʌm* *yaka* *mandʌ-ŋ* *pʌ-ŋ* *awu* *ʌ-mu-wʌn*
PLANT leaf REP cut-SS PL.OBJ.get-SS come.SS RC.3s-give.to-DS.3s

baat-ni *kut-ŋ* *pʌ-ŋ* *nu-ŋan* *taut-ŋ* *ye-pm-ŋat-wʌn*
grub-3s.POSS split-SS OB.PL-SS 3s-LOC dish.out-SS OB.PL-put-PFCT-DS

sit-ripm-kʌ-mayak.
sit-PROG-RP-3d.EV

'He went via the trail his brother had come on and listened. He heard a person splitting wood for grubs. He went there and cut some greens and brought them and gave some to him and the masalai split the wood, got the grubs and dished them out and they stayed.'

Sit-ripm-ŋ *baat-ni* *kut-wʌn* *wara-wʌn* *tʌk-nu* *pra-ŋ*
sit-PROG-SS grub-3s.POSS split-DS.3s finish-DS.3s IMMED-DEI rise-SS

koŋut-ŋ *pʌŋ-gwak-ŋat-wʌn* *wit-ŋan* *ku-kʌ-min.*
wrap-SS OB.PL-fill-PFCT-DS.3s house-LOC go-RP-3d

'They sat and split wood for grubs until they had finished them and wrapped them and put them in their bilums and went to the house.'

Amin *gʌpmbit-tʌ* *wit-ŋan* *sit-ripm-ŋat-ŋ* *baat* *du-ni* *sie-wʌn*
person wild-SRC house-LOC sit-PROG-PFCT-SS grub pl-FM cook-DS.3s

na-ŋ *wara-ka* *'Tʌk* *yaka* *sie-na* *du* *pʌ-wa'* *yaŋ* *ya-ŋ*
eat.SS finish-ISQ IMMED CS thing-1s.POSS PL get.PL-DEF.1s thus say-SS

sie *kʌpu* *dʌkŋu* *pʌ-ŋ* *wara-kʌ-t* *ji* *de-kʌn* *de-kʌn*
thing PL some get.PL-SS finish-RP-3s CONTRA one-EX one-EX

ʌŋ-bra-ŋ *gʌpmbup* *ʌŋ-bra-wʌn* *mʌk-ŋan* *ma-ŋ* *'Kiririŋ!'*
OBJ.S-hold-SS loose OBJ.S-hold-DS.3s ground-LOC fall-SS NOISE

yaŋ *ya-kʌ-t-nu-si* *ʌmin* *gʌpmbit* *de-ni-tʌ* *pra-ŋ* *yime*
thus say-RP-3s-DEI-PUR person wild one-FM-SRC rise-SS door

man-ni *wopmdusi* *ʌ-ni-wʌn* *sepm-ŋat-wʌn* *ʌmin*
name-3s.POSS quickly RC.3s-say.to-DS.3s close-PFCT-DS.3s person

sini *de-ni* *tʌpʌ-si* *tʌk-nu* *wuru-kʌ-t.*
true one-FM way-PUR IMMED-DEI look.for-RP.3s

'They stayed at the masali's house and cooked and ate all the grubs first, then, "OK, now I'm going to get some things for myself," he thought and he finished getting some things but then one by one he lost his grip and they fell and made a noise, "Klang!" so the masalai got up and quickly called the name of the door and it closed (and) the man was looking for a way out.'

Tʌvʌ-si	*wuru-ŋat-wʌn*	*ʌmin*	*gʌpmbit*	*de-ni-tʌ*	*pra-ŋ*
way-PUR	look.for-PFCT-DS.3s	person	wild	one-FM-SRC	rise-SS

bira-wʌn	*wit-gʌ*	*a*	*yimʌŋgu-kʌ-mʌn.*
grap.hold.of-DS.3s	house-MN	DEI	fist.fight-RP-3d

'He looked for a way to get out and the masalai grabbed him and they fought.'

Yimʌŋgu-gwiʌŋ	*ʌmin*	*sini*	*de-ni*	*ʌni-si*	*mindʌ-k-nu-si*	*ʌmin*
fist.fight-DUR	person	true	one-FM	3s.EX-PUR	afraid-NOM-DEI-PUR	person

gʌpmbit	*de-ni*	*ʌŋut-wʌn*	*banduk*	*kamat-kʌ-t.*
wild	one-FM	kill-DS.3s	lie	die-RP-3s

'They fought and the man was afraid for himself so he hit the masalai and he pretended to die.'

Banduk	*kama-k*	*nu-ŋan-tʌ-kʌn*	*komi*	*gawaŋ*	*dakŋu-ŋat-ŋ*	*tukŋa-ŋ*
lie	die-SS	3s-LOC-SRC-EX	water	flat	become-PFCT-SS	fill-SS

pra-ŋat-wʌn	*ap-mi*	*yan-tʌ*	*wit-ni-ŋan*	*si-ripm-ŋ*
rise-PFCT-DS.3s	younger.sib-3s.POSS	over-SRC	house-3s.POSS-LOC	sit-PROG-SS

wuru-wʌn-yaŋ	*japbam*	*pami-ni-tʌ*	*yik*	*kʌpu-ŋan*	*ʌre-wʌn*
look.for-DS.3s-thus	firefly	older.sib-3s.POSS-SRC	bilum	PL-LOC	light-DS.3s

ka-ŋ	*'Opuʌ!*	*Pam-na*	*kʌrim*	*ku-wʌn*	*ʌmin*	*de-ni-tʌ*
OBJ.S.look-SS	oh.no	Older.sib-1s.POSS	bush	go-DS.3s	person	one-FM-SRC

tʌk-nu	*ʌŋut-wa-k'*	*yaŋ*	*ya-ŋ*	*pat-kʌ-t-nu-tʌ*	*sawi*	*mʌk*
IMMED-DEI	kill-PR-3s	thus	say-SS	sleep-RP-3s-DEI-SRC	next.day	ground

dakŋu-wʌn	*kwim-ni*	*pʌŋ-bra-ŋ*	*yiʌŋ-ni*	*pʌŋ-bra-ŋ*	*yaŋ*
become-DS.3s	bow-3s.POSS	OBJ.PL-hold-SS	axe-3s.POSS	OB.PL-hold-SS	thus

ʌ-ŋ	*de-ni*	*tʌpʌ-kʌ*	*tʌk-nu*	*ku-kʌ-t.*
do-SS	one-FM	trail-MN	IMMED-DEI	go-RP-3s

'He pretended to die and from that moment became a pool of water and began filling up the area. Over at another house his younger brother was sitting and saw some fireflies light up in his brother's bilums. "Oh no! My older brother went to the bush and the masalai has killed him," he thought (and) he slept and the next day at dawn he got his bow and axe and went via the same trail.'

Ku-wʌn-yaŋ tip gwini gwiet de-ni ma-ŋ tʌpʌ ʌpʌ sepm-kʌ-t.
go-DS.3s-thus rock round huge one-FM fall-SS trail long.type close-RP-3s

When he was going the large rock (his brother was in) fell and closed the trail.'

Ʌ-ŋat-ŋ pami-ni yaka nya-wok-nu wien-gwok-nu-tʌ wam
do-PFCT-SS older.sib-3s.POSS CS up-further-DEI inside-side-DEI-SRC talk

ya-wʌn nandʌ-ŋ ku bak-ŋan-tʌ pami-ni-tʌ man-ni
say-DS.3s hear-SS go side-LOC-SRC older.sib-3s.POSS-PO name-3s.POSS

ya-kʌ-t.
say-RP-3s

'That happened and the older brother who was inside the rock called out. The younger brother called his name.'

Pami-ni-tʌ man-ni ya-wʌn 'Wah?' yaŋ ʌ-nu-wʌn
older.sib-3s.POSS-SRC name-3s.POSS say-DS.3s what thus RC.3s-say.to-DS.3s

'Tʌk-nu, duŋu ʌ-yak?' yaŋ ʌ-nu-wʌn 'Wʌni yan-tʌ baat
IMMED-DEI how do-2s.IR thus RC.3s-say.to-DS.3s none over-SRC grub

ku-i-mʌk-ŋan-tʌ ye, ʌpm ʌwu-mʌk.'
split-TP-1d-LOC-SRC EMPH ABL come-P.1p

'He called his older brother's name and he said to him, "What?" The younger said to the older, "OK (understanding the situation), how are you doing?" The older replied to the younger, "I'm not doing anything". We were able to come from where we cutting wood for grubs ok.'

Ʌpu baat sie-wʌn na-ŋ pra-ŋ "sie kopu-na du
come.SS grub cook.SS eat-SS rise-SS thing forbidden-1s.POSS IPL

pʌ-wa" yaŋ ya-ŋ sie dʌkŋu pʌŋ-bra-ŋ wara-i-t ee taap
get.PL-DEF.1s thus say-SS thing some OB.PL-hold-SS finish-TP-1s ANTI plate

tim de gʌpbup ʌŋ-bra-wa ma-ŋ mʌk-ŋan baye-wʌn jʌt
piece one loose OBJ.Shold-DS.1s fall-SS ground-LOC hit-DS.3s noise

ʌ-wʌn nandʌ-ŋ ʌmin gʌpmbit de-ni-tʌ wam ya-ŋat-wʌn
do-DS.3s hear-SS person wild one-FM-SRC talk say-PFCT-DS.3s

yime *apu* *sepm-i-k.*
door come.SS close-TP-3s

'"He came and cooked the grubs and I ate them and got up and thought, I will steal some things for myself I got some things, however I didn't get a good grip on a plate and it fell to the ground (and) made a noise (and) the masalai heard it and called out (and) the door closed.'

ʌ-ŋat-wʌn *yime* *wunde-k-nu* *wʌni* *ʌ-i-k.*
do-PFCT-DS.3s door go.out-NOM-SRC none do-TP-3s

'"That happened and there was no way out.'

ʌ-ŋat-wʌn *pra-ŋ* *bira-wʌn* *tʌk-nu* *yimʌŋgu-i-mʌk.*
do-PFCT-DS.3s rise-SS grap.hold.of-DS.3s IMMED-DEI fist.fight-TP-1d

'"The masalai got up and grabbed hold of me and we fought.'

Yimet *ʌ-ŋ* *nʌ-tʌ* *ʌŋut-wa* *kama-i-k.*
fight do-SS 1s-SRC kill-DS.1s die-P-3s

'"We fought and I hit him and he died.'

Kamat-ŋ *wopmdusi* *dʌmʌ-ŋat-ŋ* *yaka* *tʌmin* *gawaŋ-na* *nandʌ-ŋat-wa*
die-SS quickly rot-PFCT CS foot flat.place-1s.POSS feel-PFCT-DS.1s

komu *gawaŋ* *tukŋa-ŋ* *pra-wʌn* *nanda-i-t'* *yaŋ* *ʌ-nu-wʌn*
water flat fill-SS rise-SS feel-TP.1s thus RC.3s-say.to-DS.3s

ap-ni-tʌ *kwait* *gwok-kʌ* *tet-ŋat-wʌn* *pami-ni-tʌ*
younger.sib-3s.POSS-SRC outside side-MN cry-PFCT-DS.3s older.sib-3s.POSS-SRC

wit *gwok-kʌ* *tet-ŋat-wʌn* *yaŋ* *ʌ-ŋ* *wam-ni* *du* *ya-ripm-ŋ*
house side-MN cry-PFCT-DS.3s thus do-SS talk-3s.POSS IPL speak-PROG-SS

ap-ni *yaka* *pʌ-ku* *wit-ni-ŋan* *pak-kʌ-t.*
younger.sib-3s.POSS CS OB.PL-go house-3s.POSS-LOC sleep-RP-3s

'I killed him and right away he rotted and became a pool of water and I felt it rising at my feet," he said (and) his younger brother cried outside (and) he cried inside and they talked for awhile and the younger brother went back to his house and slept.'

Sawi *mʌk* *dakŋu-wʌn* *awu* *ʌ-nu-kʌ-t* *'Komu* *gawaŋ*
next.day ground become-DS.3s come.SS RC.3s-say.to-RP-3s water flat

duŋu-man ye-i-k?' yaŋ ʌ-nu-wʌn 'Woni tʌmin kwap-na-ŋan
how-LOC come.up-P.3s thus RC.3s-say.tp-DS-3s none feet calf-1s.POSS-LOC

ye-i-k' yaŋ ʌ-nu-kʌ-t.
come.up-TP.3s thus RC.3s-say.to-RP-3s

'The next day at dawn he came and said to him, "How high has the water come up?" "It is not as you expected. It has come up to my calves" he replied.'

Yaŋ ʌ-ni-ŋat-ŋ tim du tipm-ŋ yaka ʌ-ni-kʌ-t 'Duŋu-man
thus RC.3s-say.to-PFCT piece IPL stay-SS again RC.3s-say.to-RP-3s how-LOC

ye-k?' yaŋ ʌ-nu-wʌn 'Woni, daam-na-ŋan ye-i-k'
come-P.3s thus RC.3s-say.to-DS.3s none thighs-1s.POSS-LOC come.up-TP-3s

yaŋ ʌ-nu-kʌ-t.
thus RC.3s-say.to-RP-3s

'He stayed awhile and again asked him, "How high has the water come up?" He replied to him, "It is not as you expect, it has come up to my thighs."'

Yaŋ ʌ-ŋ pʌ-ku pak-kʌ-t-nu-tʌ wara yaka awu
thus do-SS OB.PL-go sleep-RP-3s-DEI-SRC as.before again come.SS

ʌ-nu-wʌn 'Komu gawaŋ duŋu-man ye-i-k?' yaŋ
RC.3s-say.to-DS.3s water flat how-LOC come.up-TP.3s thus

ʌ-nu-wʌn 'Woni, kwap-na-ŋan ye-i-k' yaŋ
RC.3s-say.to-DS.3s none stomach-1s.POSS-LOC come.up-TP.3s thus

ʌ-nu-kʌ-t.
RC.3s-say.to-RP-3s

'He went (and) slept (and) came back and said to him, "How high has the water come up?" He replied to him, "It is not as you expect, it has come up to my stomach."'

Yaŋ ʌ-nu-wʌn yaka p-oku pak-kʌ-t-nu-tʌ mʌk
thus RC.3s-say.to-DS.3s again OB.PL-go.SS sleep-RP-3s-nu-SRC ground

dakŋu-wʌn yaka ʌwu-wʌn-yaŋ awu ʌ-nu-kʌ-t 'Komu gawaŋ
become-DS.3s REP come-DS.3s-thus come.SS RC.3s-say.to-RP-3s water flat

duŋu-man ye-i-k?' yaŋ ʌ-nu-wʌn 'Wʌni gʌmit-na-ŋan
how-LOC come.up-TP.3s thus RC.3s-day.to-DS.3s none chest-1s.POSS-LOC

ye-i-k' *yaŋ* *ʌ-nu-kʌ-t.*
come.up-TP.3s thus RC.3s-say.to-RP-3s

'He went home and slept and at dawn came and asked, "How high has the water come up?" He replied to him, "It has come up to my chest."

Yaŋ *ʌ-nu-wʌn* *pʌ-ku* *pak-kʌ-t-nu-tʌ* *yaka* *awu*
thus RC.3s-say.to-DS.3s OB.PL-go sleep-RP-3s-SRC REP come

ʌ-nu-kʌ-t *'Komu* *gawaŋ* *duŋu-man* *ye-i-k?'* *yaŋ*
RC.3s-say.to-RP-3s water flat how-LOC come.up-TP-SS thus

ʌ-nu-wʌn *'Woni,* *gwek-na-ŋan* *ye-i-k'* *yaŋ*
RC.3s-say.to-DS.3s none neck-1s.POSS-LOC come.up-TP-SS thus

ʌ-nu-kʌ-t.
RC.3s-say.to-RP-3s

'He went and slept and came and asked him, "How high has the water come up?" and he replied to him, "It's not as you might expect. It has only come up to my neck."'

Yaŋ *ʌ-nu-wʌn* *pʌ-ku* *pak-kʌ-t-nu-tʌ* *yaka* *awu* *'Duŋu-man*
thus RC.3s-say.to-DS.3s OB.PL-go sleep-RP-3s-SRC REP come how-LOC

ye-i-k?' *yaŋ* *ʌ-nu-wʌn* *yaka* *jʌt* *woni* *ʌ-wʌn* *nandʌ-ŋ*
come.up-TP-3s thus RC.3s-say.to-DS.3s CS noise none do-DS.3s hear-SS

pan-ka *wuru-wʌn-yaŋ* *yaka* *tip* *wiʌŋ-gʌ* *sit-kʌ-t-gʌ*
later-ISEQ look.around-DS.3s-thus CS rock inside-MN sit-RP-3s-MN

kit-ni *nu-kʌ* *yi-pm-wʌn* *wunde-kʌ-t.*
hand-3s.POSS 3s-MN OBJ.S-put-DS.3s go.out-RP-3s

'He went (and) slept (and) came back and asked, "How high has the water come up?" and he didn't hear anything, later as he was looking around his brother stuck his finger out from inside the rock where he was.'

Wunde-kʌ-t-ŋan-tʌ *komu* *nu-kʌ* *man-rip-wʌn* *ka-ŋ* *'Ou!*
go.out-RP-3s-LOC-SRC water 3s.MN fall-PROG-DS.3s OBJ.S-look-SS oh

Pam-na-tʌ' *yaŋ* *ya-ŋ* *du-ni* *tet-ŋat-ŋ* *pʌ-ku* *ti-ni*
older.sib-1s.POSS-SRC thus say-SS IPL-FM cry-PFCT-SS OB.PL-go CERT-FM

tipm-kʌ-t.
live-RP-3s

'From where he stuck his finger out the younger brother saw water coming out and he said, "Oh no! My older brother!" He cried for a while and then left and lived thereafter.'

Nu *tʌk-nu*
3s IMMED-DEI

'That's it.'