Komnzo:
A language of Southern New Guinea

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[Signature]
First impressions of the place

“... there is nothing to induce settlement, nor would I ever advice anyone to go there.”

Wilfred Norman Beaver, cited in (Murray, 1912: 64)

“Its scenery often has a mild, almost dainty, attractiveness in detail ...”

Francis Edgar Williams (1936: 1)
Abstract

This thesis provides an introduction to Komnzo, a Papuan language of Southern New Guinea. Komnzo is spoken by around 200 people in the village of Rouku and a couple of adjacent hamlets. Komnzo belongs to the Tonda subgroup of the Yam language family, which is also known as the Morehead Upper-Maro group. This grammar provides the first comprehensive description of a Yam language. It is based on 16 months of fieldwork. The primary source of data is a text corpus which the author recorded and transcribed between 2010 and 2015. The corpus adds up to ten hours of text including narratives, procedural and naturally occurring social interaction.

The sequence of chapters follows the well-established order: phonology (§2), word classes (§3), nominal morphology (§4), verb morphology (§5) and TAM marking (§6), noun phrase syntax (§7), clausal syntax (§8), interclausal syntax (§9) and information structure (§10). These chapters are supplemented by an anthropological, historical and sociolinguistic introduction (§1), and they are rounded off by a chapter on lexicology (§11). The appendix includes a 70-page dictionary with 1850 entries and three sample texts. The entire text corpus is accessible online.

Komnzo provides many fields of future research, but the most interesting aspect of its structure lies in the verb morphology, to which the two largest chapters of the grammar are dedicated. Komnzo verbs may index up to two arguments showing agreement in person, number and gender. Verbs encode 18 TAM categories, valency, directionality and deictic status. Morphological complexity lies not only in the amount of categories verbs may express, but also in the way how these are encoded. Komnzo verbs exhibit what may be called ‘distributed exponence’, that is single morphemes are underspecified for a particular grammatical category. Therefore, morphological material from different sites has to be integrated first, and only after this integration, one can arrive at a particular grammatical category.

The descriptive approach in this grammar is theory-informed rather than theory-driven. Comparison to other Yam languages and diachronic developments are taken into account whenever it seems helpful.
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Abbreviations

\.../  verbstem
α   alpha prefix series
β   beta prefix series
β1  beta 1 prefix series
β2  beta 2 prefix series
γ   gamma prefix series
1   first person
2   second person
3   third person
ABL  ablative
ABS  absolutive
ADJZR  adjectivalizer
ALL  allative
ALR  iamitive (‘already’)
ANDAT  andative
ANIM  animate
APPR  apprehensive
ASSOC  associative
BG  backgrounded
CHAR  characteristic case marker
COP  copula
DAT  dative
DEM  demonstrative
DIM  diminutive
DIST  distal demonstrative
DISTR  distributive
DU  dual
DUR  durative
EMPH  emphatic
ERG  ergative
ETC  et cetera (‘and all’)
EXT  extended verb root
FEM  feminine
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTIMP</td>
<td>future imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMM</td>
<td>immediate demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMN</td>
<td>imminent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
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<tr>
<td>INDF</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
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<tr>
<td>IO</td>
<td>indirect object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPST</td>
<td>immediate past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITER</td>
<td>iterative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LK</td>
<td>linking consonant</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPL</td>
<td>large plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASC</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MED</td>
<td>medial demonstrative</td>
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<tr>
<td>ND</td>
<td>non-dual</td>
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<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>non-plural</td>
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<td>non-past</td>
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<td>NSG</td>
<td>non-singular</td>
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<td>OBJ</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONLY</td>
<td>exclusive marker ('only', 'just')</td>
</tr>
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<td>PERS.N</td>
<td>personal name</td>
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<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>perfective</td>
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<td>place name</td>
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<td>possessive</td>
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<tr>
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<td>potential</td>
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<td>privative</td>
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<td>Code</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive</td>
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<tr>
<td>QUOT</td>
<td>quotative</td>
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<tr>
<td>RECOG</td>
<td>recognitional pronoun</td>
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<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
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<td>RPST</td>
<td>recent past</td>
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<td>RS</td>
<td>restricted verb root</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>subject</td>
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<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
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<td>similative</td>
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<td>TEMP</td>
<td>temporal case</td>
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<td>VC</td>
<td>valency change</td>
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<td>VENIT</td>
<td>venitive</td>
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Chapter 1

Preliminaries

1.1 Introduction

This grammar describes the language of the Farem people. The word farem is the ethnonym used by the speakers of Komnzo who derive their identity from a place called farem kar ‘Farem place’. The concept of a shared place of origin overlaps with speech variety. The speakers of Komnzo sometimes refer to themselves as the ‘Farem tribe’ when they speak English.

The proper name ‘Komnzo’ must have had its origin in a mistranslation in the context of a visit by a patrol officer. Early sources are difficult to interpret, because they only mention places along the Morehead River. The listed names for the Rouku area include bangu (Ray, 1907: 292) and perem/peremka (Ray, 1923: 334). The former is a section or clan name found throughout the region, while the latter looks like farem kar. From the 1950s onwards, the label komnzo zokwasi ‘komnzo language’ was used. It is unclear when and how this was introduced as the official language name. The word komnzo means ‘just, only, still’ in the sense of komnzo käms! ‘just sit down!’ or komnzo ymarwé ‘I can still see him’. Thus, the compound komnzo zokwasi literally means ‘only language’ or ‘just speech’. It can be imagined as the reply to an outsider’s question: ‘What language do you speak?’ > ‘We speak only language.’

This naming pattern is pervasive in the area. With the exception of Ránmo, Wartha and Arammba, all Tonda varieties on the PNG side of the border derive their name from the word for ‘just, only’. These are Anta, Ara, Wára, Wère, Blafe, Kémä and Kánchá. The map in Figure 1.1 provides a linguistic overview of the Morehead district. Members of the Yam family (Morehead-Maro group) are portrayed in different shades of grey according to their subgroup. We find Komnzo at the eastern edge of the Tonda subgroup.

1The grapheme <p> in early sources corresponds to the bilabial fricative [φ] in Komnzo.
1.2 Typological overview

Komnzo is a Papuan language. The term ‘Papuan’ is a negative category comprising those languages of the area near New Guinea which are neither Austronesian nor Australian. It was originally introduced by Sidney Ray (1926: 24). The number of distinct language families that have been proposed ranges from ten (Wurm, 1975) to 23 (Ross, 2005) up to 60 (Foley, 1986: 3). Although authors acknowledge the incredible diversity within New Guinea, there have been some attempts at defining grammatical properties which are characteristic for Papuan languages (Foley 1986 and Foley 2000). Komnzo, the languages of the Yam family, and possibly the whole Southern New Guinea area deviate from this Papuan type. Other authors have shown that the languages of New Guinea do not share a set of typological features that set them apart from the languages of the world (Comrie and Cysouw, 2012).

The Komnzo phoneme inventory consists of eight vowels and 18 consonants. The vowels are the five cardinal vowels [i], [e], [a], [ɔ], [u] plus a low front unrounded vowel [æ] and, unusual for Papuan languages, two rounded front vowels [y] and [ø]. The consonants consist of pairs of voiceless and prenasalised plosives [m], [t], [ŋ], [k], [ŋ], [k], [ŋk], [ŋk], three nasals [m], [n], [ŋ], one lateral [r], two semivowels [j], [w] and, again unusual for Papuan languages, three fricatives [θ], [ð], [s] and two affricates [ts], [ŋd]. Like in many Papuan languages, for example Kalam (Blevins and Pawley, 2010), many syllables lack phonemically specified vowels. In this case, an epenthetic vowel may be inserted, usually a short central vowel [ə]. Many words lack phonemically specified vowels altogether.

As in other Yam languages, for example Nama (Siegel, 2014) and Nen (Evans, 2015a), Komnzo verb morphology exhibits a high degree of complexity. Verbs may index up to two arguments showing agreement in person, number and gender. Verbs encode 18 TAM categories, valency, directionality and deictic status. Complexity lies not only in the amount of categories verbs may express, but also in the way how these are encoded. Komnzo verbs exhibit what can be called ‘distributed exponence’, that is single morphemes are underspecified for a particular grammatical category. Therefore, morphological material from different sites has to be integrated first. Only after this integration, one can arrive at a particular grammatical category. Exponents of TAM include the verb root, and most Komnzo verbs possess two roots which are sensitive to aspect. Nominal morphology in Komnzo is comparatively simple with case marking shown by enclitics which attach to the rightmost element of a noun phrase, usually the head noun.

Outside of the Yam family front rounded vowels are also found in Ałyu-Dumut languages (van Enk and de Vries, 1997: 60).
Komnzo is a double-marking language. The case marking is organised in an ergative/absolutive system. In addition to three core cases (absolutive, ergative and dative), there are 14 semantic cases. Verbs index up to two arguments, whereby the undergoer argument is indexed by a prefix and the actor argument is indexed by a suffix. One-place predicates split along the lines of stative versus dynamic event types. The latter employ the suffix for indexing, while the former make use of the prefix. Valency changing morphology enables the indexing of a goal, beneficiary or possessor in the prefix.

The basic word order in Komnzo is SOV, more accurately AUV\(^3\), since there is no real evidence for a ‘subject’ category. At the same time, the flagging of noun phrases with case allows for considerable freedom in the word order patterns. Nominal compounds and noun phrases are typically head final, although modifying elements in the noun phrase, for example adjectives or quantifiers, may occur after the head. Relative clauses follow their head.

Interclausal syntax employs nominalised verbs which are flagged for case. Verb chaining and the distinction between medial and final verb forms, more typical of Papuan languages, is not found in Komnzo. In addition to nominalised verbs, clauses may be connected with conjunctions, relative pronouns or demonstratives flagged for case.

1.3 The Farem people and their language

1.3.1 Location

The area considered in this study is the southwestern corner of the Western Province of Papua New Guinea. This area has been called “Trans-Fly” in the past, for example in FE Williams’ ethnography of the Keraki people entitled “Papuan of the Trans-Fly” (1936). Mary Ayres rightly criticizes this term for its geo-centrism (1983: 1). I use the term ‘Morehead district’ which encompasses the area between the Indonesian border to the west, the Fly River to the north, the boundary of the Yam language family in the east (See Figure 1.1 above), and the coastline in the south.\(^4\) The area is named after Morehead station, the administrative center, and the Morehead River, which in turn was named after Boyd Dunlop Morehead, the premier of Queensland between 1888 and 1890. I use the term ‘Southern New Guinea’ which encompasses a much wider region

\[^3\]AUV: actor undergoer verb.

\[^4\]The Morehead-Rural census division encompasses the same area, but the eastern border is further to the east including some of the Pahoturi River languages, for example Idi.
1.3 The Farem people and their language

roughly from the Digul River in the west to the Fly River in the north and east.

Komnzo is spoken in the village of Rouku, which is located about 8km west of Morehead and about half a kilometer north of the Morehead River. It is situated on the road that connects Morehead with Weam in the west. Traditional lands expand about 20km east-west and 25km north-south. There are four clans in Rouku village: Mrzar Mayawa, Banibani Mayawa, Muthrata Sangara, Wazu Sangara.\(^5\) The satellite image in Figure 1.2 shows the village in 2013.

![Figure 1.2 Rouku (screenshot from Microsoft Bing Maps)](image)

Other permanent settlements include Gunana, Firra, Kanathr and Morehead. Gunana, the second largest settlement, is situated about 3km west of Rouku along the road. The present-day village was established around 10 years ago. Gunana is situated closer to the Morehead River. The name Rouku, from the Komnzo word *rokuroku* ‘riverbank’, was given to this place, when the first missionaries arrived in the 1950’s. In this sense, Gunana is the original Rouku, and it is often referred to as Rouku-Gunana. The word *gunana* is a loanword from Motu which means ‘old’. Two clans live at Gunana today: Farem Sangara and Nümgar Bagu. They speak mostly Wära and Anta for reasons which I address in §1.3.11.

The hamlet Firra is situated about 10km south of Morehead. Only a few families of the Banibani Mayawa clan live there. Most of the people have shifted their residence to Morehead, but keep garden places at Firra.

\(^5\)Mary Ayres avoids using the word ‘clan’ (1983: 142), instead she draws a distinction between “non-local sections” (Bagu, Mayawa, Sagara), which are found throughout the region, and “local-sections” (Nümgar Bagu, Mrzar Mayawa, Muthrata Sangara), which are found in one group only, for example the Farem. I will use ‘clan’ for the latter and ‘section’ for the former. This is discussed in §1.3.8.
Kanathr is a small hamlet located 2km west of Morehead on the northern side of the river. It marks the point where the road crosses the river. As there is no bridge, people cross the river by canoe, and cars or motorcycles use a rusty old pontoon. Kanathr serves as a place where children from Rouku and Yokwa, the next village along the road to the west, stay overnight while they attend Morehead primary school. Kanathr was settled in the 1980’s, deserted in the 90’s, and re-established over the last three years. Its population is mixed with respect to clans, but since the land belongs to the two Mayawa sections, they make up the majority.

Morehead station includes the government administration, the aidpost, the primary school and the airstrip. A number of small settlements are built around Morehead station. The largest of these is Garaita, a Nama speaking village. Because Morehead station was built on land belonging to the Mayawa section from Rouku, some families from Rouku have settled in Morehead permanently. One small hamlet of this kind is Fsan. Furthermore, some families from Rouku live in Morehead because they are employed in the local administration as teachers or public servants. The satellite image in Figure 1.3 shows Morehead Station, Garaita and Fsan.

There are many places around Rouku which used to be settled, but have now been abandoned or are used only as garden places. These include Ytkum, Dmaädr, Faremkar, Daažäthe, Masu and Akrimogo. Taking two examples, Daažäthe and Masu, we can state that (i) both were settled until about 10 years ago by clans of the Sagara and Mayawa section respectively, (ii) today both are used as garden places, and (iii) both are about a 15-minute walk away from Rouku, although in opposite directions. Hence, they are both very close to Rouku. However, named places are densely clustered in the Morehead district, especially in the vicinity of settlements. More importantly, places are perceived as different regardless how close they are geographically. I address the topic of place names in §11.5.2.
1.3 The Farem people and their language

A satellite image in Figure 1.4, a zoomed-out version of Figure 1.2, shows Dazätthe, Rouku and Masu.

Figure 1.4 Rouku and surrounds (screenshot from Microsoft Bing Maps)

1.3.2 Geography and Environment

In its biota, the Morehead district is more similar to northern Australia than to the rest of New Guinea. We find eucalypts, melaleuca, acacias and banksias combined with wallabies, bandicoots, goannas, taipans and termite mounds. The area consists of lowland which a Papuan highlander or a European would describe as almost featureless. FE Williams describes it as having a “mild, almost dainty, attractiveness in detail, but [...] on the whole the extreme of monotony” (1936: 1).

I have measured differences in elevation between 12m and 41m above sea level. However small these differences in elevation, they are significant over the monsoon cycle with a long dry season (June - November) and an intense wet season (January - May). For example, the satellite image in Figure 1.4 shows several dark patches along the river. These are inundated during the wet season, while the village is situated on higher ground. In fact all villages along the road are built on what is called the “Morehead ridge” (Paijmans et al., 1971: 15), thus keeping houses and gardens safe from the annual flooding. The photo in Figure 1.5 was taken in Rouku. During last rainy season, the paperbark trees to the

---

6 This was done with a GPS device: the 12m point was the water-level of the Morehead River close to Rouku; the 41m point was measured in Rouku village.
right were inundated to about 1m, while the bamboo groves on the left stayed dry.

Figure 1.5 Rouku: the area to the right is inundated during wet season

The Morehead ridge is intersected by many small creeks, which carry little or no water during dry season. The Morehead River always carries water as it slowly meanders towards the coast. The Morehead forms a narrow, deep channel whose riverbanks drop off sharply 2-3m down to the water level. Close to Rouku village, I have measured 40m width and 15-20m depth during dry season. The Morehead is a tidal river which means that during dry season, when it has virtually no flow, salt water pushes back many kilometers upriver. During rainy season, the river overflows and turns the surrounding land into a wide swamp with many inlets and lagoons. The image below (Fig. 1.6) shows the Morehead River during dry season.

Figure 1.6 The Morehead River near Rouku during dry season

There is a remarkable diversity of ecological zones (Paijmans 1970 and Paijmans et al. 1971). For the description of native land use, Ayres distinguishes
1.3 The Farem people and their language

four landscape types (1983: 5). I employ the following Komnzo terms for these: 

(i) *kafar fz* ‘big forest’ is a type of monsoon rainforest, (ii) *fz* ‘forest’ is a much thinner forest type which is covered by a grass floor and dotted with red anthills, (iii) *ksi kar* ‘bushy place’ is a type of savannah which lacks trees, but is covered with high grass, and (iv) *zra* ‘swamp’ is a place entirely inundated during the wet season timbered by paperbark trees and a ground cover of dead leaves. Figures 1.7-1.10 show images of these types in the vicinity of Rouku village. In §11.5, I describe Komnzo landscape terminology in detail. As one would expect, these landscape types differ strongly in the kinds of plants that grow there. The collection of specimens and their identification was greatly facilitated by Kipiro Damas, who visited Rouku in 2011 and 2015.

---

7Ayres employs these labels: (i) “big bush”, (ii) “open bush country”, (iii) “clear places”, and (iv) “seasonal swamps” (1983: 5).
The Morehead district is rich in wildlife. The main game species are pigs, cassowaries and wallabies. There are many other marsupial species including bandicoots, phalangers (cuscus) and gliders. The Morehead district is also abundant in birdlife. Attested species include birds of paradise, parrots, lorekeets, pidgeons, eagles, hawks, bush fowls, jaberoos, storks and brologas. Thanks to the help of Chris Healey, who visited Rouku in 2012 and 2013, we were able to match around 100 Komnzo bird names to the corresponding scientific names of these species. The rivers and swamps are rich in fish and amphibious species, for example barramundis, mullets, catfish, eelfish, rainbowfishes, glassfishes, stingrays, river crayfish, prawns, crocodiles, water snakes and turtles. Other reptiles include
various goanna species, frogs and snakes. Examples for the latter are the Papuan taipan, the New Guinea death adder, the New Guinea brown snake, the Papuan blacksnake as well as various python types.

### 1.3.3 Agriculture and subsistence

The Farem people are agriculturalists. Their main crops are round and long yams, bananas, sweet potatoes, cassava, taro, coconut, sago, breadfruit and sugar cane. Additionally, there are many fruits and nuts available during the dry season. Although the Farem are skilled in hunting, trapping and fishing, they rely on their garden products. In this section, I focus on their staple food, which is yam.

Without doubt yams are the most important crop for the Farem, and the role of this bland tasting tuber can hardly be overstated. FE Williams concludes his chapter on food production by stating that “the social significance of food among these people derives largely from the pride which individuals and groups feel in having plenty of it.” (1936: 235). Large quantities of yams are exchanged at feasts, and sizeable tubers are often given as personal gifts. During the celebration of Independence Day in Morehead, there is a competition where individuals measure and weigh their biggest yams. On many occasions, people have shown off the content of their yam houses to me, and during harvest time some of my friends have peeked through the wall of someone’s yam house to examine the yield and compare it to their own, which often became the talk of the day. In short, yams indicate a person’s wealth and social status.

![Yam garden two months after planting](image)
Yam cultivation involves hard labour. The cultivation cycle can be divided into three phases: (i) preparing and planting, (ii) tending, and (iii) harvesting. The preparations begin by clearing the land (between August and October). Good, well-drained soil is found on the high ground; either virgin forest or a piece of land that has lain fallow for some years. The gardener has to cut the overgrowth and clear the grass. Large trees are usually only ring-barked and one would wait for the tree to die and eventually to fall. The cleared area has to be burned. Depending on the quality of the soil, one may bring grass from elsewhere and burn it as fertilizer. The ground has to be plowed thoroughly, and small roots and weeds are pulled out. Next, the garden plot has to be enclosed by a fence to keep out wallabies, deer and wild pigs. The most important material for fences is bamboo which is grown in small bamboo groves. During preparation, people are busy in their gardens every day. Planting may start as early as October, but it can last until January. Yams for planting are selected carefully, but the tiny yam suckers are usually planted in heaps in an old garden plot. Figure 1.11 shows a yam garden about two months after planting. Between January and June, there are many small jobs to be done. These include weeding or erecting and replacing yamsticks on which the vines climb up. The change of the season in June is also signalled by the changing color of the yam leaves. Around this time, the harvest season begins, and it may stretch until August, when the cycle begins again. Harvested yams are counted, sorted and stored in yam houses. This involves shaving the shoots off each tuber; a time-consuming task that is usually done in the afternoon hours while sitting in conversation in front of the yam house. Because garden plots are subdivided into rows, one for each member of the family, the yams are sorted accordingly in the yam house. Figure 1.12 shows the inside of a yam house after the harvest.
There are many special customs around yam cultivation. Some men possess yam planting magic which helps them to compete with others. This usually involves particular spells and magic stones passed down from the father's generation. Others ‘steal the soil’ from their competitors. Knowledge of this kind is usually kept secret and never admitted in public. Furthermore, there are a number of rules about handling yams, which everyone follows. One example is the belief in ‘female pollution’, which is widespread in Southern New Guinea (Knauft, 1993: 104). During a woman’s monthly period, but also after having sexual intercourse, it is strictly forbidden to go to the garden plot for it will ‘spoil’ the yams. This rule applies not only the woman, but to anyone who sleeps in the same house, sometimes even the neighbouring house.

Yams play their most important role in exchange feasts. For example, an exchange marriage is consummated through a feast, sometimes called pig dance. The two men, who have exchanged sisters, henceforth fäms ‘exchange fellow’, will raise a pig and invite their respective fäms and his associates for a dance. The host side will feed the guests, and in return the guests will entertain the hosts by singing and dancing through the night. The next day, the hosts will give the guests large quantities of yam tubers to take back to their village. The amount has to be recorded with great detail, because after a year has passed, the roles will be reversed. Nothing would be more embarrassing than falling short in the repayment. Often two villages have particularly strong marriage links. In the past this has led to competitive yam cultivation between those two groups.

Yams also play a role in the regulation of conduct. I have been told about a ritual called mefa. The culprit, usually someone who has treated his wife badly, is confronted by his fäms and other brothers of his wife (ngom). These will put lime on the culprit’s forehead and then strike him over the head with a small yam tuber. This is, however painful, only an immediate punishment. The bigger punishment comes in the form of a gift. The culprit is given a large quantity of yams, and it is expected that he repays the same amount and quality the next year. An individual can never achieve this, and thus the culprit is forced to ask people in and maybe even beyond his clan for help. If he fails to repay the expected amount, he will lose all respect and social status. Disputes about an individual’s gardening abilities may become violent. The only time I had to witness a violent outbreak by one of my brothers, who is a calm and peaceful person, was when his aunt insulted him by accusing him of ‘being lazy’ and a ‘bad gardener’. After a tirade of insults, this was the last straw. In conclusion, it is difficult to find any aspect of life, in which yam cultivation does not play some role.
1.3.3.1 Yam counting

For many of the customs described above, it is important to record the exact quantity of tubers. For the counting ritual a special base-six numeral system is used, which is unique to the Yam languages. This senary system has received some attention in the literature (Donohue 2008, Hammarström 2009 and Evans 2009). Williams was the first to describe the counting procedure, but he points out that it “is apparently a more or less recent fashion among the Keraki, having been imported from beyond the Morehead” (1936: 225). This area includes the Farem territory. In the following section, I describe the procedure as I have witnessed it many times in Rouku and surrounds.\(^8\)

The counting procedure involves two men who move the yam tubers from a prepared pile. They take up three yams each, move a few meters and deposit them together in a new pile. One of the two is the designated counter and he shouts out nābi nābi nābi ‘one one one’. This means that they have moved the first unit of six. Without pause they take up again three yams each and move them over, while the counter shouts out yda yda yda ‘two two two’. Now two lots of six or 12 tubers have been counted. Again they pick up three yams each shouting ytho ytho ytho ‘three three three’. The two men continue with this process until they reach nibo ‘six’. Now 36 yams have been counted and the bystanders and observers cheer up in agreement. This amount corresponds to one fta or 6\(^2\). Each fta is marked by putting a single yam on the side of the new pile. The

Figure 1.13 Ritual yam counting (left); counting tally tiftif (right)

\(^8\)I have published two videos of the counting procedure. The interested reader can view them at the following URLs: [https://vimeo.com/54887315](https://vimeo.com/54887315) and [https://vimeo.com/21058525](https://vimeo.com/21058525)
two men continue until all yams have been counted, and the little pile on the side which indicates the amount of *fta* slowly grows. Next, this pile is counted in the same fashion, only that each counting yam, that is put to the side, now marks one *taruba*, which corresponds to 216 or $6^3$. One may continue in the same fashion. Six *taruba* make up one *damno* corresponding to 1,296 or $6^4$. For example, one *damno* is amount of yams that a man should store in order to bring his family through the year. Six *damno* make up one *wärämäkä* corresponding to 7,776 or $6^5$. Finally, six *wärämäkä* make up one *wi* corresponding to 44,656 or $6^6$. I should add that nobody in Rouku remembered the last time this number was actually reached. The recursive counting procedure gives rise to the senary system. I describe the numeral system in §3.1.5.2.

Figure 1.13 shows two men during the counting the procedure. The counting is always a public event accompanied by the loud, monotonous beat of the drum. I was told that neighbouring villages or travellers should be made aware of the ongoing counting procedure. In order to record and keep the amount for later proof, the Farem produce a counting tally made from a coconut frond. This is shown on the right side of Figure 1.13. The stalks indicate the amount of different senary values, which are separated by small notches. The red arrows in the image point to the two notches. Figure 1.13 was taken during a yam counting ritual in Morehead in September 2010. The amount counted was 3 *damno*, 2 *taruba*, 3 *fta* or 4,428 tubers in total. This was the contribution of several clans to a pig dance that took place two weeks later in Garaita. The counting had to be repeated two times because older men who observed the procedure closely said that mistakes had been made.
The largest amount of yams that I have seen was in the village of Yokwa in September 2013. Following the death of an older men, the relatives decided to built a sirū mnz, a communal yamhouse. All the relatives of the deceased man, including my brother from Rouku, stored several jta up to one taruba of yams inside this house. The content was to be shared and exchanged during a feast in honour of the deceased at the height of the rainy season. Mary Ayres describes this practice in her chapter on mourning customs (1983: 289). The yamhouse in Yokwa can be seen in Figure 1.14 below. It measured 2,50m width, 1,60m height and an incredible 60m length. The floor was separated into compartments of equal size where each contributor stored his share. For some of the contributors there was a display shelf (sirū) for very large yams. I did not witness the whole counting procedure as it took more than a day, but I estimate that the sirū mnz held more than 10,000 yams.

### 1.3.4 Demography and Vitality

It proves difficult to determine the exact number of Komnzo speakers. I give a rough estimate here between 150 and 250. For the most part, this inexactness is caused by particular social factors. For example, the system of exchange marriage fosters a high degree of multilingualism. A Farem child typically grows up speaking at least the varieties of her father and mother. Since the system of residence is virilocal only the father’s language is Komnzo. Of course there are two sides to this, and there are many speakers of Komnzo in other villages, namely women who have married out and their children. What complicates matters further in the case of Rouku is that not all Farem men speak Komnzo as their daily language, and not all families have a Komnzo speaking parent. I provide an explanation for this in §1.3.5.2. Furthermore, there is a small group of speakers who have moved further away to Daru, Kiunga, Port Moresby or other parts of Papua New Guinea.

Komnzo is vital in the sense that the language is being transmitted to children. At the same time, Komnzo is an endangered language because of its small number of speakers and its relatively low prestige compared to the lingua franca, which is English. Komnzo is not taught in the school system, there is no writing tradition, and it is not used at the administrational level. For these reasons, it should be regarded as an endangered language from an academic point of view.

Komnzo speakers perceive their language to be under threat from what they call ‘mother’s language’. Mary Ayres notes that there are strong marriage links between particular villages because it is desireable for a daughter to marry back

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9Mary Ayres uses the word kwitenz for this, but my informants from Rouku and Yokwa did not know the word. They suggested sirū mnz ‘sirū house’. The word sirū refers to the shelves that are found in these yam houses to hold especially large tubers.
1.3 The Farem people and their language

1.3.5 History

1.3.5.1 Pre-Contact History

Until the rise of the sea level during the Late Pleistocene, the island of New Guinea and the Australian continent were joined in a single landmass called Sahul (White and O’Connell, 1982). Recent studies have highlighted that there is still a lack of research from the Southern New Guinea region (Pawley et al. 2005, Ballard 2010, and Evans 2012a). The geomorphological past of this lowland region has been turbulent over the last 20,000 years. A chronology of the changing coastlines is given by Chappell (2005). Figure 1.15 shows the northern coastline of Sahul at the Last Glacial Maximum at 21,000 BP. Figure 1.16 shows the coastline at 8,000 BP shortly after the sea breached the Torres Strait, thus disconnecting New Guinea and Australia. The thin black line shows the present coastline.

His methodology is as follows: “the procedure for reconstructing the coastlines at a given epoch is to compute the relative sea level field for a given region [...] by combining the ice-equivalent sea level with the regional departures that arise from the isostatic and gravitational factors. The results are then superimposed on the present topography in detail...” (2005: 529).
We can see from the figures that the separation of Sahul occurred only shortly before 8,000 BP. Keeping in mind that human presence on the Sahul continent goes back to at least 40,000 BP (Golson, 2005), we can safely assume that what was later to become the Southern New Guinea region was already settled well before the separation. Chappell shows that large parts of the Fly-Digul platform, to which the Morehead ridge belongs, was submerged at the maximum height of the sea level at 6,000 BP. Figure 1.17 shows that this has affected the western part of the Southern New Guinea region.\footnote{With regard to Figure 1.17, which is the result of a computer model, Chappell argues for a more conservative estimate, in which the coastline at 6,000 BP does not extend all the way up to the Fly River (2005: 531).} This part of the region was slowly rebuilt by the sediments carried by the Fly River and Digul River. Note that the Morehead ridge as one of the highest points of elevation on the Fly-Digul platform was not submerged during this period.
The geological scenario outlined by Chappell is reflected to some extent in the linguistic landscape of the region. For example, concerning the Trans-New-Guinea languages spoken in west of the Fly-Digul platform, Pawley points out that the “homogeneity of the Asmat-Kamoro group is clear evidence that their expansion was comparatively recent” (2005: 10). Usher and Suter (2015) have recently shown evidence for the existence of the Anim language family which stretches from Ipiko in the east to Marind and Yaqayic in the west, thus encircling the area concerned with in this study. Evans argues that it is “unlikely that all language differences currently found in Southern New Guinea developed in situ. What seems more likely is that they represent the interaction of a number of unrelated groups entering the region from different regions” (2012a: 111). While this is evident for some of the linguistic units, for example the Trans-New-Guinea languages, we do not know how other linguistic units, for example the Yam languages or the Pahoturi River languages, fit into the chronology of events. I suggest that we should accept the possibility that the Yam languages represent a much older population, and – as Evans rightly point outs – we can only speculate from where this population has entered the region.

Some suggestions come from recorded mythology, namely the myth of two brothers and the origin of people at a place called Kwafar. This myth was recorded by FE Williams (1936: 306) as well as Mary Ayres (1983: 50). I have recorded a version of this myth told in Komnzo, which is given in the Appendix B.2. What is noteworthy about the story, is that the place Kwafar is located off the coast in an area that was last exposed well before 8,000 BP. Events told in the story led to a flood and the ancestor escaped northwards. Eventually, he picked up the branches of dōdō ‘Melaleuca sp’, beat the water with it, and the flood came to a halt. The myth suggests that the people have retreated northwards from the rising sea level, i.e. the myth ‘reports’ events which date back at least 8,000 years. Although I am not claiming linguistic continuity from the time of the sea level rise to present-day Komnzo – after all we know that populations may shift languages – one cannot deny the fact that this myth is found in the area where the Yam languages are spoken, more precisely the languages of the Tonda subgroup.12

1.3.5.2 Modern history

The Southern New Guinea region was contacted relatively late, which lead Knauft to claim that it has “remained effectively outside the purview of state political economies for longer than any other major non-arctic coastal population” (1993: 26). In 1890, Sir William MacGregor, the Administrator of Papua, discovered the

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12Both Williams and Ayres have recorded these myths with speakers of Tonda languages. Among the origin myths of the Morehead district, this particular myth is only found in Tonda speaking territory.
Morehead River on an expedition. It took another six years for a second visit by MacGregor during which he collected a vocabulary list, which can be found in the Annual Reports (MacGregor, 1890: 106). Both expeditions travelled by ship. The first known white man to walk through the region was William Dammköhler in 1898 on an adventurous escape from Marind headhunters (Hitchcock, 2009). Until 1921, sporadic patrols were conducted by AP Lyons, Resident Magistrate of the Western Division. Lyons recorded native customs, but his journals held at the National Cultural Council at Port Moresby were inaccessible to me. In 1926, FE Williams started to pay regular visits to the Morehead district in his role as ‘official government anthropologist’. Until 1932, he visited the area almost every year, and his fieldwork culminated in the book ‘Papuans of the Trans-Fly’ (Williams, 1936), which is still the most comprehensive ethnographic description of a group in the Morehead district.

At the time of contact, Southern New Guinea was home to groups of very different sizes and political organisation. On the one end of the spectrum, there were small groups like the Farem, probably with no more than 100 people at that time. On the other end, we find large groups like the Kiwai (9,700), Marind (7,000) and Suki (3,500). Note that these three groups surround the area concerned with in this study. Although headhunting was practised by all groups, it was only those larger groups which could muster war parties and attack places far away from their home territory. This was especially true of the Marind (also known as Tugeri or Tugere). In his introduction to Williams’ book, AC Haddon, who had led the British expedition in the Torres Strait in 1888, writes that he had “heard lurid stories about these head-hunting, cannibal marauders” (1936: xxiv). The Marind were militaristic expansionists, who went on headhunting expeditions raiding villages along the south coast as far as Boigu Island. Since the Marind’s home territory was in Dutch New Guinea, the British colonial administration was unable to act against them. The Marind’s activity led to a joint Dutch-British expedition, which established the border at the mouth of the Bensbach River. Eventually, in 1902, the Dutch administration set up a police post in Merauke.

The impact of the Marind is somewhat inconclusive. For example, Mary Ayres argues that their immediate role has been overstated by many Europeans who have visited the area in this early period (1983: 19). She points to two confusing inferences that had been made. The first was the erroneous belief that a great number of settlement names given to MacGregor and various patrol officers must also mean that the population of the Morehead district must be very large. As

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13Based on the verb forms in the list, I identify the variety as either Kânçhâ or Kêmâ. Nominalised verbs in these two varieties end in a bilabial fricative, and many verbs in the list have a final grapheme <p>. In Komnzo, Wára, Anta and Wèré nominalised verbs end in a vowel: [i] or [e].
I explain below, the traditional settlement pattern was to live in small hamlets often comprising a single patriline. Secondly, the fact that the population density was actually very low was attributed to massive depopulation by the Marind. An example comes from MacGregor who describes that he met a group of people on the Morehead River: “Of this tribe we saw altogether about thirty to forty men, boys and women. They are probably the remains of a tribe that has been decimated by the Tugere” (1896: 74). Ayres criticises that MacGregor and others jump to conclusions here. The low population density in the Morehead district, especially along the coast west of the Wassi Kussa River, can be explained by geographical factors alone. She notes that “the acute scarcity of fresh water during the dry season was not readily observed” (1983: 22), because early visits always occurred during the rainy season, which is the best time to navigate the coast. Ayres concludes that there is no definite evidence for or against depopulation by the Marind. Nonetheless, if we consider the discrepancies in group sizes in Southern New Guinea over a longer period, it is easy to imagine that these larger groups would have assimilated the smaller ones sooner or later. Evans concludes that “we may not be exaggerating to say that without the arrival of colonial governments (and missionary endeavours eliminating headhunting and overt warfare) many of the small languages of the Trans-Fly may not have survived in the way they have.” (2012a: 117).

In the remainder of this section, I will focus more on the local level. In 1951, the administration established a government station at Rouku. The name Rouku comes from Komnzo rokuroku ‘riverbank’. This name was given to a place a few kilometers to the west of present-day Rouku, where a group of Farem people had lived in the 1920’s (Ayres, 1983: 14). This older Rouku is now settled again by Farem people who call it Gunana – a Motu word meaning ‘old’ – and sometimes it is called Rouku Gunana ‘old Rouku’. The government station included a school, which was run by the London Missionary Society. Its successor, the United Church, is still the most influential denomination in the area west of Morehead, including Rouku. During the 1950’s, the Australian Petroleum Company explored the Morehead district for oil. Many older Farem still remember their parents being employed as labourers with the company. A more tangible legacy of the company’s operation is a network of roads in the Morehead district, although these have often reverted back to narrow tracks. In 1959, the station was shifted to Morehead, where an airstrip was constructed. In the early 1960’s, a government school was opened there, which has been operational until today. Since that time, Morehead has been the administrational centre of the district.

Large bureaucracies like nation-states tend to organise their population by dividing and subdividing them into organisational units. The nation-state Papua New Guinea consists of 22 provinces, which consist of districts, which in turn consist of local level government areas, which are divided into wards. Rouku
belongs to Ward 16 of the Morehead-Rural local level government area of the South Fly District of Western Province. Such organisational schemes are useful, but they fail to adapt to cultural peculiarities, an issue which seems of particular importance in a country as diverse as Papua New Guinea. During the 1950’s and 1960’s, the government began a policy of village consolidation. Small hamlets and related villages were asked to form combined larger villages. The concurrent establishment of churches, schools and roads provided some incentives for this policy to show some effect. I agree with Ayres when she writes that this “is antithetical to traditional settlement patterns of widely scattered very small villages where residence is not continous” (1983: 17). It is no surprise that people returned to their traditional settlement patterns during the 1970’s when the government patrols ceased. Thus, on a very local level we find a pulsating movement from dispersion to consolidation and back to dispersion. Ayres supports this observation by pointing out that – although was Rouku consolidated as ‘one village’ during the 1950’s – the Farem people lived scattered over several hamlets when she did fieldwork in 1980. The official census for Rouku in 1980 was 108, but only 30 people lived at Rouku then (1983: 17). The others lived at Ñazäthe, Faremkar, Kafthefr, Masu, Firra, Kanathr and Morehead.

30 years later, I can add my own observations to this. When I first visited Rouku in 2010, my main informant Abia Bai told me that he had lived in Kanathr in the 80’s and later at Masu together with his Mayawa clan (Mrzar Mayawa). In the mid-1990’s, this clan moved from Masu to Rouku, thus Masu and Kanathr were not settled in 2010. Two Sagara clans (Muthrata Sagara and Wazu Sagara) had lived in Rouku more or less continuously with short intervals at Ñazäthe and Faremkar. In 2010, the Bagu clan (Nümgar Bagu) was transitioning to Gunana from a place called Dmädr, about 5km to northwest of Rouku. Gunana itself was established around the year 2000 by the third Sagara clan (Farem Sagara). Lastly, the second Mayawa clan (Banibani Mayawa) was split between one patriline living in Rouku and another patriline living in Morehead. The latter had moved to Morehead from Firra during the late 1990’s. Hence, we could say that in 2010 the Farem people were ‘consolidated’ in the two settlements of Rouku and Gunana. Over the last five years, some of the Mayawa people have established a new settlement at Kanathr. What started out with two families in 2012, has now grown to about four families which belong to both Mayawa and Sagara. Other people have built houses in Masu and Ñazäthe. Yet others have moved to Morehead. The point I try to make is that settlement is not continous and an individual may choose to move several times during his lifetime. During the annual cycle movement is even more pronounced as one may stay for several weeks at a garden place during the planting and harvesting time, or at a sago, fishing or hunting camp. As a consequence, I have often arrived in Rouku wondering where all the people had gone.
An interesting epiphenomenon to oscillation between fragmentation and consolidation is that it did not always follow linguistic or cultural lines. For example, the closest village to Rouku is Yokwa (also called Safs) situated about 12km west along the road. During the first consolidation in the 1950’s, people from the south who spoke Kánchá and Ara consolidated with the Wára speakers of Yokwa. Naturally, this may lead to problems in the documentation of a particular speech variety. While it is easy to find Kánchá speakers for comparison further to the south in other villages, Wára and Ara speakers are only found in Yokwa. I should add that I have not had the opportunity to study this in detail in Yokwa.

For the linguistic history of Rouku, this meant that some men of the father generation of the Bagu clan as well as two of the Sagara clans had shifted to Yokwa and lived there for almost a decade. Nowadays, their children live in Rouku and Gunana, and despite being bilingual in Komnzo and Wára they speak mostly Wára. This is not only a problem for the documenter, but it results in real political problems. As I point out in §1.3.11, the linguistic ideology in the Morehead district connects identity with land and language. Consequently, there is a strong feeling that one should speak the variety that in some sense belongs to the land. In other words, a Farem individual should speak Komnzo. It follows that for some individuals village consolidation has led to a disconnect between the daily language and the language of social identity.

1.3.6 Mythology and the origin of people

Mary Ayres uses the term “starting-place” (1983: 146) to describe the place from which the apical ancestor of each group has spread. I will label these ‘origin places’ henceforth. There are multiple origin places because there were multiple splitting events. The notion of spreading from a prior unity is pervasive in the Morehead district, and Ayres offers a spatial analysis of the foundational myths in her thesis.

Initially, all people lived at a mythical origin place called Kwafar. This place is said to be somewhere in the Arafura sea. There are several origin myths connected to Kwafar. In one version all people lived in a huge tree. They spread out after the tree burned down. In another version people lived inside a tree and the ancestor released them one after the other by chopping down the tree. Common to the different narratives is a movement of people – sometimes represented as a single character – from Kwafar towards the north. Some people went to Zwäri and some to Komo, both are located on the coast. From these places, some groups came directly towards the north, while others went to Kuramogo, a place close to Bebdbn in the east (Williams, 1936: 292). The apical ancestor of the Mayawa section in Rouku was a man called Mathkwi. He came from Komo and wandered north. He was accompanied by the ancestor of the Sangara section of
the village Mifne. After various stops, Mathkwi arrived at Faremkar, where he found the ancestor of the Sagara section of Rouku, who had settled there already. From Faremkar, he went to Masu, a few kilometers to the east. The ancestor of the Sagara section in Rouku also came from Komo, but he travelled to Kuramogo first and then came to Faremkar. Thus, people who claim one origin place need not trace their ancestry to the same person. It is sufficient to jointly identify with the most recent in a series of origin places. In this sense, all Komnzo speaker associate themselves with Faremkar.

Specific episodes in these narratives provide explanations of various natural phenomena. For example, the Morehead River and the web of smaller creeks are connected to the burning of the tree at Kwafar. In some versions, the burning roots of the tree formed canals, while other versions tell that the tree fell towards the north, and its trunk and branches shaped the Morehead River and the creeks. Likewise, the occurrence of red, coarse-grained sedimentary rock in certain spots is connected to the ancestor’s path and his dropping of leftovers along the way. The existence of all crops is explained in a similar fashion.

In addition to these founding myths, there are many smaller stories, which make reference to a particular place. An example is a small rock layer along the Morehead River close to Morehead. This is explained by a story in which two ‘story men’ were fighting. After their quarrel, they agreed to cut down a stone passage across the river. Such places of mythological significance are called menz kar ‘story places’. The word menz can refer to some mythological event as well as to some supernatural being that lives at and guards these places. In its latter meaning, I translate menz as ‘story man’. Again, I refer the reader to Mary Ayres’ excellent description and analysis of locality in the Morehead District (Ayres, 1983).

1.3.7 Segmentation of groups of people

Mary Ayres draws a distinction between the first and second order of segmentation of people (1983: 126). The first order of segmentation is one which aligns people with a specific origin place and, as I mentioned earlier, with a specific speech variety. Hence, all Komnzo speakers share the origin place Faremkar and, thus belong to the same group. The second order of segmentation are local groups. Ayres divides these groups into non-local and local sections. She avoids the word ‘clan’ (1983: 142). There are three non-local sections, namely Bagu, Sagara and Mayawa, which are replicated in many villages in the Morehead District. I will refer to these simply as ‘sections’.14 Local sections, on the other hand, can be seen as local subsets of the three sections. I will use the term ‘clan’ for

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14These are different from the term ‘section’ or ‘skingroup’ as it is used in Aboriginal ethnographic descriptions.
these. For example, there is one Bagu clan, three Sagara clans and two Mayawa clans among the Farem. These have proper names, for example Mrzar Mayawa or Farem Sagara.\textsuperscript{15} Finally, there are patrilines within the clans. An overview of the segmentation of the Farem is given in Table 1.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>section</th>
<th>clan</th>
<th>number of patrilines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bagu</td>
<td>nūngar ‘crocodile’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagara</td>
<td>farem (place name)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wazu (place name)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>muthrata (place name)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayawa</td>
<td>banibani ‘Brahminy Kite’</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mrzar (proper name)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to self-attribution, there is a web of more or less visible markers that distinguish a member of one group from that of another group regardless at which level. Markers include certain designs printed on grass skirts, particular patterns carved on arrows, special songs and dance styles. Furthermore, there are totemic animals which one may not hunt or eat. For example, the Brahminy Kite (banibani) is a totemic bird for the Mrzar Mayawa clan and the Banibani Mayawa clan. The latter derives its name from it. Likewise, the Swamp Eel (dobakwr) is a totem for both Mayawa clans, but also for the three Sagara clans. It follows that some of these markers overlap between different clans. The web of similarities and differences is commonly employed in reasoning about group identity.

The most important fact about clans and sections lies in land ownership. While the land ownership within the same section is less important, it plays a big role between sections. For example, a man will not hunt, make a garden or collect building materials on territory that does not belong to his section. In this case, he will consult the rightful owners first. Land boundaries are often marked by creeks or other landmarks, and they are very much public knowledge. Finally, the system of segmentation plays an important role in exogamy, which I address in the next section.

\textsuperscript{15}Note that I spell section names in upright font (e.g. Mayawa), because they are in some sense a hypernym, while I spell clan names in italic (e.g. Mrzar Mayawa). Another reason is that sections names are found in languages other than Komnzo, while clan names are proper nouns found only in Komnzo.
1.3.8 Exogamy

Within the Morehead district, a system of symmetrical sister-exchange is practised. This has been described by Mary Ayres for the Farem and surrounding groups (1983) and by FE Williams for the Keraki (1936). Ayres’ work is most relevant for the following description. Note that the following description reflects an ideal to which people generally aspire, even though it is at odds with reality in many instances.

The system of exogamy is shaped by the segmentation of people described above, and all levels of segmentation form exogamous groups. Thus, people who share an origin place may not intermarry. We may call this ‘place exogamy’. An interesting fact about place exogamy is that it practically results in linguistic exogamy. Ayres notes that “Marriage between people who claim prior unity at a ‘starting place’ [CD: origin place], i.e. the dialect group, is prohibited. In the native model this rule is sometimes explained as a rule of dialect exogamy: “We should not intermarry because we talk the same language” is a phrase sometimes stated by informants.” (1983: 186). The three sections also form exogamous groups. It follows that one may not marry a person of the same section, even if that person is from another place. We may call this ‘section exogamy’. Lastly, the clan forms an exogamous group, and one may not marry a person from the same clan. We may call this ‘clan exogamy’. As pointed out by Ayres, the rules of exogamy are an ideal. In her description, Ayres finds many attested marriages which violate place or section exogamy. I can confirm this from my own observations. Ayres concludes that place exogamy is ranked higher than section exogamy, i.e. there used to be more cases of same-section marriages than of same-place marriages. In my own data, these violations of rules of exogamy occur with the same frequency. There are no cases of same-clan or same-patriline marriages.

The ideal marriage is one of direct sister-exchange. In other words, two men of different place, section and clan exchange their respective sisters. The preferred option is to exchange a true sister, that is a woman of same age in the clan or patriline. In many cases, this is not possible for demographic reasons, and there are indeed some unmarried older men. An alternative option is to ‘borrow a sister’ from another group, preferably one’s own section in another place, but this is not a precondition. One would not ask another group for a wife, but for a woman to exchange. This shows that it is the actual exchange which counts. The exchange initiates a link to another group of people and to another place, and this is corroborated by mutual invitations to feasts and the giving and taking of yam tubers. The least preferred, but often practised, option is to pay for a wife with a raised pig and a certain amount of yams. However, this payment does not cover the cost of a person. The exchange is only deferred to the next generation. In such a one-sided marriage, the man is expected to give back his
first daughter to the family of his wife. Again, the daughter is given back not as a wife, but to be exchanged to yet another group. In the past, neither husband nor wife had much of a say in this arrangement between clans. Women were often sent as young girls to the family of their future husbands (Williams, 1936: 145). Polygamy used to be practised in the past, but it is virtually absent today. There is one man in Rouku, who is married to two wives, and this invites much laughter and gossip.

1.3.9 Kinship terminology

Although I have not much too add to Ayres’ formidable analysis of kinship, I disagree with her on a few specific terms. Below, I use only Komnzo terms in the kinship diagrams, but I point out when there are coexisting terms from another language.

The knowledge about one’s relatives has been described by Ayres as “extremely shallow” (1983: 217) and I much agree with her. The mythological time of the first ancestor is often placed immediately before the generation of one’s grandparents. Contact with the western world, biblical traditions and especially the education system has brought a change to this world view. Younger speakers often point out a few names along the patriline up to the apical ancestor. The system of kinship terminology in Komnzo is a five generational system, which calculates from ego to the generation of grandparents and grandchildren respectively. Interestingly, grandparents and grandchildren are equated by using the same kin term, *aki* or *zath*, reciprocally. Otherwise the system is characterised by special kin terms which are used only after the consummation of a sister exchange. It follows that kin terms can and often do change as result of affinal relations.

Figure 1.18 shows the cosanguineal kin terms. The shaded individuals live in a different village. The asterisk indicates that the respective term is used reciprocally. Many kin terms can be used for co-residents of a different section or clan. A result of place exogamy is that all Farem men or women of the generation above ego can be called *gafe* ‘father’ or *gane* ‘mother’, and all coresidents in the same generation can use the appropriate sibling term. The terms for mother and father co-exist with the Nama loanwords *afa* and *ama*. An optional age distinction for the brothers of ego’s father and their wives is *gafe katan* ‘small father’ and *gane katan* ‘small mother’. Sibling terms only encode relative age, not sex: *nane* ‘older sibling’ and *ngh* ‘younger sibling’. Children are referred to by *nge* ‘child’. Mother’s sisters are commonly called *gane* ‘mother’. Mother’s brothers are called *gawi*. The word *babai* coexists with *gawi*, but its origin is unclear. Both are used reciprocally. The relation between ego and mother’s brother used to be of special importance for certain initiation ceremonies.
The spouses of ego’s children are called enat ‘son in-law’ and zath Ṽare ‘daughter in-law’. Both words are used reciprocally, i.e. they mean ‘parents in-law’ from the opposite perspective. The sex of the referent can be specified by adding Ṽare. Ayres points out that grandparents and grandchildren are equated by the same word zath, which also means ‘moon’ and ‘month’, and as we have just seen ‘daughter in-law’. However, zath is somewhat archaic, and the Nama loan aki with the same set of meanings is used in its place. Ayres explains this grouping of three meanings – grandparents, grandchildren and daughter in-law – by a “structural incompleteness that is felt to be generated by the original exchange” (1983: 226). She points out that the preferred arrangement for the daughter of an exchanged woman is to marry back to her mother’s place. She concludes that the grouping of the three meanings in the same kin term encodes a cultural practise which “assures the continuity of a man’s patriline not simply through his own children, but through their children” (1983: 227).

Figure 1.18 Consanguineal or co-resident kin terms

Figure 1.19 shows the affinal kin terms in the same generation. The word ngom ‘brother in-law’ is used by both women and men, and for men it is used reciprocally. In (Ayres, 1983: 214), the words ntjufaré and nakimi [her spelling] appear in a kinship diagram for brother in-law. The former is a Kânhâ word and the latter is from Motu (Turner-Lister and Clark, 1935: 107). While nakimi coexists with ngom, ntjufare is not used by Komnzo speakers. I suspect that this word was given to Ayres by Wâra speaking women from Yokwa. There are strong marriage ties between Rouku and Yokwa, and the process of village consolidation (§1.3.5.2) has led to an influx of Kânhâ speakers in Yokwa in the past. The term kaimät is used between a woman and her brother’s wife, and both are in a joking relationship. The term sabu is used between a man and his brother’s wife, and
both are in a taboo relationship. The taboo is much stricter for the wife of the younger brother, who is always called *sabu*. As for the wife of the older brother, one may also use *name* ‘mother’ if she is sufficiently older, and the taboo relation is somewhat lax.

![Figure 1.19 Same-generation, affinal kin terms for female and male ego](image)

After a consummated exchange marriage, a special set of terms is used. These are shown in Figure 1.20. The word *fäms* ‘exchange fellow’ is used between the two men who have exchanged sisters, and the exchanged woman is called *fäms yare* ‘exchange woman’. The children of the exchange couple are called *fäŋame* or *fäŋafe* depending on their sex. These two words are archaic in Komnzo and instead *bäňame* or *bäňafe* are used. The last vowel of both is sometimes dropped resulting in *bäňam* or *bäňaf*. These words are used reciprocally, but the last part (*-ŋaf and *-ŋam*) encodes the sex of the referent. It is unclear when and how the first part changed from *fä*- to *bä*-; but the consonants /f/ and /b/ stand in a paradigmatic relationship, because there is no voiceless counterpart of the prenasalised /b/. For this reason, I suspect that the first part is a contraction of *fäms*, and *fäŋame* or *fäŋafe* used to be *fäms yame* ‘exchange mother’ and *fäms yafe* ‘exchange father’. Note that the same figure can be drawn for a female ego. We would only have to change the words for wife and husband, which are *fzenz* and *fis* respectively.

![Figure 1.20 Sister-exchange kin terms: *fäms*](image)

An exchange marriage also affects the children’s generation. Ayres points out that cross-cousins are preferred marriage partners (1983: 217), but this excludes the children of an exchange. Cross-cousins from an exchange marriage refer to
each other with the term *yamit*. The relationship between them is more like that between siblings, which is corroborated by the fact that ego employs the same kin term *ngom* for the husband of the *yamit*. The wife of ego’s *yamit* is called *yumad*. This is shown in Figure 1.21.

There is another special relation that holds between the affines and children of two sisters. Two men who are married to sisters refer to each other with the term *nakum*. The parallel-cousins in such an arrangement refer to each other as *naku*, and what holds for the *yamit* relation is also true for the *naku* relation. This is shown in Figure 1.22.

The rules and regulations are often explained in terms of space and Mary Ayres focusses on this aspect in her thesis. For example, informants would often explain that two individuals cannot marry because “they come from the same place”, meaning that their mothers come from the same place in the case of a *naku* relationship. But it can also mean that they result from a direct exchange between places in the case of a *yamit* relationship.

There are other terms which function similar to kin terms. One such example is the word *ngath*, which I translate as ‘mate’. Two children who were born around the same time are considered to be like close relatives, even if they belong to different clans and/or sections. They will grow up as close mates and they will help each other out. It is up to the parents to decide who will become *ngath*, but it is always children of the same sex. I know of two cases where the *ngath*
relationship was inherited from the fathers who were also ngath to each other. Another example is the word ngemäku, which is used between the true parents of a child and the ones who have adopted the child. Adoption is very common and it occurs shortly after the weaning period. The word ngemäku contains the word nge ‘child’, but the second part mäku has no meaning by itself. A third example is the word nzäthe ‘namesake’. Children are given many names when they are born. As a consequence an individual has multiple namesake relationships.

This section is closed with a comprehensive list of kin terms in Table 1.2. Alternative terms and applications as well as comments are given in the rightmost column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>translation</th>
<th>relation</th>
<th>alternatives and comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñafe</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>F, FB</td>
<td>also afa (Nama loan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñame</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>M, MZ, FBW</td>
<td>also ama (Nama loan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñane</td>
<td>brother, sister</td>
<td>eB, eZ</td>
<td>FBS and FBD (if older)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngth</td>
<td>brother, sister</td>
<td>yB, yZ</td>
<td>FBS and FBD (if younger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zath</td>
<td>grandparent, grandchild, daughter</td>
<td>FF, FM, MF, MM, SS, SD, DS, DD, HF, HM, SW, BSW, SSW</td>
<td>also aki (Nama loan), used reciprocally (repl.), can be specified for sex by adding ñare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaimät</td>
<td>sister in-law</td>
<td>BW, HZ</td>
<td>female perspective, used repl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabu</td>
<td>sister in-law</td>
<td>BW, HB</td>
<td>male perspective, used repl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngom</td>
<td>brother in-law</td>
<td>ZH, WB</td>
<td>also applies to the husbands of parallel-cousin in an exchange (yamit’s husband), used repl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yunad</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>wife of parallel-cousin in an exchange (yamit’s wife), used repl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enat</td>
<td>son in-law, father in-law, mother in-law</td>
<td>DS, WF, WM</td>
<td>used repl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñawi</td>
<td>uncle, niece, nephew</td>
<td>MB, ZS, ZD</td>
<td>also babai, used repl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fäms</td>
<td>exchange (fellow)</td>
<td>ZH,BW</td>
<td>can be specified for sex by adding ñare, used repl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fäñame</td>
<td>aunt, niece</td>
<td>FZ, BD</td>
<td>also bäm, only in case of an exchange, used repl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fäñafe</td>
<td>uncle, nephew</td>
<td>MB, ZS</td>
<td>also bäm, only in case of an exchange, used repl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
term | translation | relation | alternatives and comments
--- | --- | --- | ---
yamit | cross-cousin | MBS, MBD, FZS, FZD | only in case of an exchange, used rcpl.
naku | parallel-cousin | MZS, MZD | used rcpl.
nakum | n/a | WZH | used rcpl.

thuft | in-law | n/a | also nakimi (Motu loan), used rcpl.
ngath | mate | n/a | between two (predetermined) mates of the same sex, used rcpl.
ngemäku | n/a | n/a | between true parent and adoptive parent, used rcpl.
nzäthe | namesake | n/a | between two people with the same name, used rcpl.

*F=father, M=mother, B=brother, Z=sister, S=son, D=daughter, H=husband, W=wife, e=elder, y=younger

1.3.10 Person reference and name avoidance

There is some diversity in person referring expressions in Komnzo. In the case of name avoidance, these may be restricted to only a subset. The common expressions are: full names (given name + family name), personal names, nicknames, kin terms, other relation terms, reference via circumspection, and the recognition demonstrative.

The kinship system as presented above lays out a number of rules of behaviour. Amongst these is a practise of name avoidance which holds between all affines. When recording genealogies informants would often hesitate or refuse to utter the name of a particular person and instead ask some bystander or a child to pronounce the personal name for me. Name avoidance is seen as a way of showing respect. This was explained to me by my sister while transcribing a text in which she used the personal name of her sister-in-law. When I asked her, why she had not used the appropriate kin term kaimät, she replied that she was very angry with her at the time and showed her anger by using the personal name. Name avoidance impacts on the reference to other persons with the same personal name, to whom the speaker may not be in a name-avoidance relationship. In other words, name avoidance is independent of the referent in a particular situation. Instead name avoidance targets the personal name. This does not result in any practical problems because people have multiple names.
There are different solutions to ensure that the hearer understands who is meant. In addition to the appropriate kin term, one may use circumspection or a recognitional demonstrative. For example, the name of one of my brothers in-law is Kurai. I should not utter his name, but use the kin term ngom instead. In many situations, this term is sufficient to establish the correct reference. Alternatively, I can use circumspection strategy like tokoaﬁs ‘Toko’s husband’ or a teknonym weweajafe ‘Weve’s father’. For teknonyms, it is usually the first-born child that is used, regardless of sex. A third solution, is to use the recognitional demonstrative. The recognitional demonstrative can be roughly translated to English as ‘the one that we both know about’ (See §3.1.11.6).

The different strategies of person reference can be ranked according to how much knowledge is presupposed on the part of the hearer. For example, a personal name requires very little contextual knowledge, whereas a recognitional demonstrative requires much more. We may rank these strategies like this: full name (Kurai Tawth) > personal name (Kurai) > circumspection/tekronym (tokoaﬁs ‘Toko’s husband’) > kin term (ngom ‘brother in-law’) > recognitional (baf ‘that one’). Note that using a full name is a recent adaptation to western culture, which is only employed in the context of a census or some other administrational matter. It is a common practise in PNG to use the name of the father as family name. Hence, Kurai’s father was Tawth and therefore his full name is Kurai Tawth. In daily interaction, this strategy is absent.

A person has a multitude of personal names or nicknames. Almost everyone has a set of five to ten names and the frequency of use of any one of these may come and go like a fashion. Shortly after birth, or sometimes even before birth, different relatives will propose names for the new-born. These may be their own names, which establishes a namesake relationship. In fact, the word nzäthe ‘namesake’ is the most frequent term of address. There is a special ceremony a couple of months after birth, where the name-giver presents gifts to his namesake and holds the baby for the first time. Names may also be created on the spot, as nicknames or as self-attributions. For example, the three elders of the Mrzar Mayawa clan in Rouku are Marua, Kaumb and Abia. Their respective nicknames are oroman loy ‘old man long’ because he prefers wearing long trousers, afa kwanz ‘father bald head’ because he is bald and afa thwä ‘father catfish’ because he has a big belly. The first of them, Marua, decided one day that he should be called oroman zulai ‘old man july’. To my bewilderment, I found that everyone had accepted this name within a few weeks. Interestingly, a namesake relationship may transfer all of these names to the namesake. For example, a small baby boy was given the name Marua, thus establishing a namesake relationship. Today, the toddler is sometimes called Marua, loy or zulai.
1.3.11 Language Ideology and Multilingualism

Language ideology is characterised by a set of beliefs on the part of speakers about the role which language plays in constructing their social world (Silverstein 1979, Rumsey 1990 and Makihara and Schieffelin 2007). In the Morehead Region, people draw a strong connection between land and speech variety. This native linguistic ideology is similar to Aboriginal cultures, especially in Arnhemland (Merlan, 1981) and Cape York (Sutton, 1978). As for the Farem people, this ideology surfaces through open statements and explanations, the expected behavior of in-marrying women, ancestor stories, but it is also entailed in metaphors. I will briefly note some of my own observations on language ideology here.

In Rouku, there is strong social pressure on all members of the community to speak Komnzo. This is openly expressed during public speeches, but also by individuals in conversation or during interviews. One often hears that women should not talk in ‘their language’ to the children, but in Komnzo. In practice, this is often violated and virtually everybody grows up in a multilingual context. We can take an example which is the result of the process of village consolidation described in §1.3.5.2. A number of older men originally from Rouku have stayed for a long time in Anta or Wára speaking villages, and consequently their children grew up with those varieties as their main language. The children, now in their late 40’s, have moved back to Rouku. Some of them have married a woman from their natal villages and hence the dominant language of some Farem households is Anta or Wára. But even those speakers would deny speaking Wára, instead identifying as speakers of Komnzo.

In an attempt to understand the situation, I conducted sociolinguistic interviews with about 40 people. Amongst the questions were some which targeted language ideology (‘What is your language?’, ‘What do think about language mixing in the village?’, ‘What language do you want your children to learn?’). The conclusion from these interviews is that language and land form an inseparable bond. I defer the statistical analysis of the interviews to another point in time, but I refer the reader to the appendix C, where the questionnaire is given. The bond between language and land is identical to the bond between a group of people and their origin place. This bond is transmitted through the father’s line. An example taken from the interviews is that of an older woman who lives in Rouku. She explained to me that she grew up in Yokwa, and consequently she speaks Wára most of the time. Although she speaks mostly Wára, she knows that this is not the language of the place. She wishes for her children to speak Komnzo. When asked about ‘her language’ she answered Kánchá instead of Wára. She explained that her father had moved as a teenager from a Kánchá speaking village to Yokwa. It follows that regardless of whether an individual uses predominantly mother’s language or the language of the village, he or she
will identify with the language of his or her father’s place. Mixing or shifting languages, although very common, is almost universally looked down upon. The answers as to why this behaviour is thought of as inappropriate often follow along the lines of matching language to place (“They should not speak Wára here because this is the language of Yokwa”, “We should not mix languages because the children will not be able to name the places and animals that belong to our land”).

Women who marry in are expected to shift to the local language, but this is often not followed because there are enough women from any one village to form small exclaves, for example of Wára speaking women in Komuzo speaking territory. It is hard to corroborate, but informants say this was enforced more in the past. However, there are spells and rituals to enhance the language learning process on the side of the woman. One ritual involves splitting a thin bamboo behind a woman’s head and whispering a spell. This procedure is said to facilitate the learning process. I asked many times to have this procedure performed on me, but people refused to do it because I would forget my native German. There are other customs and rules which connect land and language. For example, it is forbidden to talk another language at story places and men would introduce their new bride to a menz ‘story man’ at a particular place in order to avoid sickness. The policy of language shift expected from women is hardly ever enforced these days and one might wonder whether it ever was. Ayres (1983: 226) describes the preference for a daughter to marry back into her mother’s village, which she calls a short marriage cycle. This pattern establishes strong ties between particular villages. In the case of the Rouku it is the village of Yokwa and the language is Wára. As mentioned above, groups of women from Yokwa would often speak Wára between themselves or to their children and there is no reason why this should have been different in the past. But when asked about this, they would look down on ‘language mixing’ and stress the importance of the correct language at the right place.

Ancestor stories almost always involve comments on language. For example, the Kuramonggo myth which is found across the Morehead Region involves an ancestor who heard voices coming from a tree. Different versions are found in (Williams, 1936: 299) and (Ayres, 1983: 102). In the myth, the ancestor starts to chop the tree into segments from the top to the bottom. With each little bit that he chopped, people speaking different languages came out and started running towards their respective places. The further he worked his way to the bottom of the tree, the more intelligible the words became to him. When he reached the base of the tree, he heard his own language and thus his own people emerged from the tree. A common metaphor that explains the language situation from a local perspective builds on this story. One often hears the local language being described as zfth ‘the base of a tree’ and all the surrounding languages as tuti ‘the branches’. The tree metaphor is important in the local perspective. For example,
women are jokingly described as *bidr* ‘flying foxes’ because they fly from tree to tree, and sometimes they are described as *fältü* ‘a wild yam’ or *saka* ‘mustard vine’ because the vines of these plants grow on trees.

### 1.4 Komnzo within the Yam languages

This section is a preliminary attempt to situate Komnzo within the Yam languages. This language family was formerly referred to as the ‘Morehead and Upper Maro Rivers languages’, or ‘Morehead-Maro languages’ (Wurm, 1971). This name is misleading because its geographical boundary in the east, the Morehead River, excludes all the languages of the Nambu subgroup. I follow Evans in using the more precise term ‘Yam languages’ (2012a: 124). Not only are yams the staple food, and of high cultural importance in exchange feasts, they also gave rise to the senary numeral system, which is unique to the languages of the family. In addition to the English word ‘yam’ [jem], the word *yam* [jam] carries high cultural significance in many Yam languages. For example, in Komnzo it means ‘footprint, custom, tradition’ and in Nen it means ‘law, tradition, culture’.

The Yam languages comprise three subgroups: Nambu in the east, Tonda in the west, and Yeí, which has only a single member. A first attempt to reconstruct various aspects of the proto language can be found in (Evans et al., forthcoming). While it is relatively easy to place Komnzo in the Tonda subgroup, it is much harder to classify the units within Tonda; in other words to draw a boundary between language and dialect. Are Komnzo, Anta and Weré dialects of Wára as Ethnologue\(^\text{16}\) portrays it or are they languages in their own right? Peter Mühlhäusler (2006) points out the difficulty and futility in answering such questions in Papua New Guinea and the contradictions that different researchers have produced in the past. As the preceding description of language ideology has highlighted, these are considered to be different languages from a local perspective. I remain agnostic throughout this section and offer a short conclusion at the end.

I discuss sound correspondences and sound changes first. Next, I show some lexicostatistic data from (Wurm, 1971) and (Clifton et al., 1991). Last, I discuss case markers, pronouns and verb morphology. I include here the following Tonda varieties: Komnzo, Anta, Wára, Weré, Ránmo, Blafe, Wartha Thuntau and Kánchá. I refer the reader to Figure 1.1 for an overview where these varieties are spoken. I do not include Arammba, which I take to be sufficiently different to be considered a separate language (Boevé and Boevé, 2003). I have no data for the Tonda varieties spoken on the Indonesian side of the border (Baedi, Ngkolmpu, Smerky, Bakari, Taemer and Sota), and only very little data on Kémä.

\(^{16}\text{URL: http://www.ethnologue.com/language/tci}\)
With the exception of Komnzo, the spelling of the names of these varieties is adopted from Ethnologue, which in turn goes back to an orthography workshop held in 2000 in Morehead. Note that the orthographies were developed for each variety with the result that the graphemes in the language names have different phonetic values: Komnzo [kom^ndzo], Anta [a^nدا], Wára [wa^ra], Wèré [wor^e], Ránmo [rænmo], Blafe [ma^lafe], Wartha Thuntai [war^da^dai], Kánchá [k^nda^za]. To ensure comparability in this section, I will employ IPA for all language examples, including Komnzo.

1.4.1 Phonology

I will first turn to phonological correspondences. The languages in the tables in this section are sorted geographically: west (left) to east (right). We find that only Blafe and Ránmo have an /l/ phoneme in their respective inventories. Table 1.3 shows that this phoneme corresponds to an interdental fricative in Komnzo, Anta, Wára, Wèré, Wartha Thuntai and Kánchá. Note that final devoicing produces [θ] in coda position.

Table 1.3 Correspondence set: [l] versus [θ]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>Blafe, Ránmo</th>
<th>Wartha Thuntai</th>
<th>Kánchá</th>
<th>Wèré</th>
<th>Anta</th>
<th>Komnzo, Wára</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 TONGUE</td>
<td>læmin</td>
<td>δæmin</td>
<td>δæmin</td>
<td>δæmin</td>
<td>δæmin</td>
<td>δæmin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 EXCRETES</td>
<td>wɔl</td>
<td>wɔθ</td>
<td>wɔθ</td>
<td>wɔθ</td>
<td>wɔθ</td>
<td>wɔθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 WET</td>
<td>klikil</td>
<td>kïtkiθ</td>
<td>tjïtítfïθ</td>
<td>tïtíθ</td>
<td>tïtíθ</td>
<td>tïtíθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ARMPIT</td>
<td>ðgołki</td>
<td>ðgoθki</td>
<td>kοθfï</td>
<td>ðgołki</td>
<td>ðgoθfï</td>
<td>ðgoθfï</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A second set shows the correspondence of bilabial stops, [m^b] and [b], in Blafe, Ránmo and Wartha Thuntai to lavio-velar stops, [ŋ^g^w] and [k^w], in Komnzo, Anta, Wára, Wèré and Kánchá in Table 1.4. We find that the labial part is sometimes realised as a rounded back vowel, [ŋ^go] and [ko], in Kánchá, Wèré and Wartha Thuntai, for example in lines 3 (‘butterfly’) and 4 (‘crow’). One possible explanation is a process of develarisation that has occurred in Blafe, Ránmo and Wartha Thuntai.

Table 1.4 Correspondence set: [m^b/b] versus [ŋ^g^w/k^w]|

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>Blafe, Ránmo</th>
<th>Wartha Thuntai</th>
<th>Kánchá</th>
<th>Wèré</th>
<th>Komnzo, Wára, Anta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 NEST</td>
<td>m^bal</td>
<td>m^baθ</td>
<td>ŋ^g^wθ</td>
<td>ŋ^g^wθ</td>
<td>ŋ^g^wθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 MOSQUITO</td>
<td>m^bae</td>
<td>m^bae</td>
<td>ŋ^g^wæ</td>
<td>ŋ^g^wæ</td>
<td>ŋ^g^wæ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 BUTTERFLY</td>
<td>t^mbam</td>
<td>t^mburam</td>
<td>m^bae^goram</td>
<td>m^bae^g^warom</td>
<td>m^bae^g^warom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 CROW</td>
<td>m^baθ</td>
<td>kot</td>
<td>koθ</td>
<td>koθ</td>
<td>k^waθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 LIGHT</td>
<td>praʃa</td>
<td>bæjan</td>
<td>k^waʃjan</td>
<td>k^waʃjan</td>
<td>k^waʃjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 SICK</td>
<td>bik</td>
<td>bik</td>
<td>k^wik</td>
<td>k^wik</td>
<td>k^wik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is a small set of words in which the bilabial fricative corresponds to a prenasalised bilabial stop. The set in Table 1.5 groups again Blafe, Ránno and Wartha Thuntai against Komnzo, Anta, Wára, Wèré and Kánchá. Interestingly, the form of the 2SG.ABS ‘you’ groups Blafe, Ránno, Wartha Thuntai, Kánchá and Komnzo together.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>Blafe, Ránno</th>
<th>Wartha Thuntai</th>
<th>Komnzo, Kánchá</th>
<th>Wára, Anta, Wèré</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 WIFE</td>
<td>mb@ge@t</td>
<td>mb@ge@ts</td>
<td>φotje@ts</td>
<td>φotje@ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 HUSBAND</td>
<td>mb@</td>
<td>mb@</td>
<td>φis</td>
<td>φis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 2SG.ABS ‘you’</td>
<td>mbÆ</td>
<td>mbÆ</td>
<td>mbÆ</td>
<td>φe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A clear directional change is palatalisation before front vowels. In Table 1.6, I show only a subset of the varieties. Komnzo represents those in which palatalisation has occurred. This holds also true of Anta and Wára, but the forms are slightly different. Wartha Thuntai represents those in which palatalisation has not occurred. This is also the case in Blafe and Ránno. The table aims to show that Wèré and Kánchá are somewhat irregular. In lines 4 and 5 (‘house’ and ‘one’) palatalisation occurs in Wèré, but not in Kánchá. Line 6 (‘armpit’) shows the opposite. In lines 1-3 (‘woman’, ‘I’, ‘people’) palatalisation has occurred in both and in line 7 (‘tree’) in neither. I have included Nama, a Nambu language neighbouring Komnzo, to show that apparently Nambu languages preserve the original velar quality, for example in lines 1, 3, and 4 (‘woman’, ‘people’, ‘house’). Note that in line 5 (‘one’), Nambu has dropped the first consonant. The deletion of initial velar nasals is a sound change found in many Nambu languages, for example the word ‘mother’ is [name] in Komnzo, but [ama] in Nama and Nen. Note that the conditioning context for palatalisation has been lost in line 4 (‘house’), because the examples end in a consonant. Nama attests a vowel in this position, but it is a back vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>Wartha Thuntai</th>
<th>Kánchá</th>
<th>Wèré</th>
<th>Komnzo</th>
<th>Nama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 WOMAN&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>mbâk</td>
<td>mbâk</td>
<td>mb@</td>
<td>mbâk</td>
<td>mbâk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 1SG.ABS</td>
<td>mb@</td>
<td>mb@</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>mb@</td>
<td>(ja@d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 PEOPLE&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>mb@</td>
<td>mb@</td>
<td>mb@</td>
<td>mb@</td>
<td>mb@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 HOUSE</td>
<td>mb@k</td>
<td>mb@k</td>
<td>mb@k</td>
<td>mb@k</td>
<td>mb@k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ONE&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>mb@bi</td>
<td>mb@bi</td>
<td>mb@bi</td>
<td>mb@bi</td>
<td>mb@bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 ARMPIT</td>
<td>mb@k</td>
<td>mb@k</td>
<td>mb@k</td>
<td>mb@k</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 TREE&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>mb@</td>
<td>mb@</td>
<td>mb@t</td>
<td>mb@t</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>a woman in the time after giving birth  
<sup>b</sup>people who live to the west of one’s own group  
<sup>c</sup>Terminalia megalocarpa
The last set shows the correspondence between stops and affricates. In Table 1.7, Blafe, Ránmo, Wèré and Anta are grouped against Komnzo, Wára, Wartha Thuntai and Kánchá.

Table 1.7 Correspondence set: stop versus affricate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Blafe, Ránmo</th>
<th>Wartha Thuntai</th>
<th>Kánchá</th>
<th>Wèré</th>
<th>Anta</th>
<th>Komnzo, Wára</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pain</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>&quot;dʒi&quot;</td>
<td>tʃi</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>tʃi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right</td>
<td>tawe</td>
<td>tsowe</td>
<td>tsowe</td>
<td>tawe</td>
<td>tawe</td>
<td>tsawe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowerbird</td>
<td>&quot;dʒojar&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;dʒojar&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;dʒojar&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;dʒojar&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;dʒojar&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;dʒojar&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concluding the comparison of phonological correspondences, we find that Komnzo and Wára are almost always grouped together, and we may include Anta as well. Kánchá and Wèré share a number of correspondences with Komnzo, Wára and Anta, but they differ in some sets. Blafe, Ránmo and Wartha Thuntai are different in almost all sets. While Blafe and Ránmo are always grouped together, Wartha Thuntai can be grouped with the other varieties in some sets.

1.4.2 Lexicon

In this section, I present data from (Wurm, 1971) and (Clifton et al., 1991). I defer the statistical analysis of my own wordlists to a latter point in time.

A first calculation of cognate rates was offered by Wurm. His dataset comprised Tonda and Nambu languages as well as and Yeï and Marori. In Table 1.8 only the Tonda varieties have been extracted. Wurm’s language labels refer to different Tonda varieties: Upper Morehead (Komnzo, Wára, Anta, Arammba), Lower Morehead (Kánchá), Tonda (Blafe, Ránmo, Wartha Thuntai, Wèré) and Kanum (Baedi, Ngkolmpu, Smerky, Bakari, Taemer, Sota).

Table 1.8 Cognated rates (adopted from (Wurm, 1971: 159))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Upper Mhd</th>
<th>Lower Mhd</th>
<th>Tonda</th>
<th>Kanum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A more fine-grained dataset comes from a SIL survey conducted by Clifton, Dyall and O’Rear (1991), who collected wordlists in 18 villages of both Tonda and Nambu languages. In Table 1.9, I show only the Tonda varieties, but I exclude Arammba, Rema and Kémã, and I choose Bondobol as the village representative of Kánchá. Moreover, I have rearranged their data in order to present the varieties geographically from west to east.
Table 1.9 Rates of shared vocabulary (extracted from (Clifton et al., 1991))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Blafe</th>
<th>Ránmo</th>
<th>Wartha</th>
<th>Kánchá</th>
<th>Wèré</th>
<th>Wára</th>
<th>Anta</th>
<th>Komnzo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td></td>
<td>84%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td></td>
<td>82%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My own wordlists confirm the data in Table 1.9. We can draw some conclusions: (i) Blafe and Ránmo can be grouped together, (ii) Wartha Thuntai is different from all other varieties, (iii) Komnzo, Wára and Anta can be grouped together, (iv) Wèré and Kánchá, though different from each other, are close to Komnzo, Wára and Anta. If we compare these statements to the map in Figure 1.1, we find that the rates of shared vocabulary between Komnzo, Wára, Anta, Wèré and Kánchá roughly reflect geography. As for Blafe/Ránmo and Wartha Thuntai, this cannot be said. In other words, if we try to understand the relation of these varieties as a dialect chain, we would have to make two cuts. The first cut splits off Blafe and Ránmo. The second cut singles out Wartha Thuntai, while the remaining varieties belong to a single dialect chain.

1.4.3 Morphosyntax

As an intermediate summary, we can conclude that Komnzo, Anta, Wára, Wèré and Kánchá are somewhat closer together as opposed to Blafe, Ránmo and Wartha Thuntai. Therefore, I will focus on the first group in this section.

Table 1.10 shows a comparison of case markers. We find that Komnzo deviates from the other varieties in the ergative singular and non-singular, and in the allative. Kánchá deviates from the others in the ablative and the locative for consonant final words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kánchá</th>
<th>Wèré</th>
<th>Wára</th>
<th>Anta</th>
<th>Komnzo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERG.SG</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG.NSG</td>
<td>-oi</td>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>-oi</td>
<td>-oi</td>
<td>-jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>-øø</td>
<td>-øø</td>
<td>-øø</td>
<td>-øø</td>
<td>-øø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC V</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC C</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1.11 shows a comparison of free pronouns in ergative, absolutive and possessive case. We find that Komnzo and Kánchá share an number of forms or some element of a form. For example the first consonant of the first and second person in both absolutive and ergative case. In the possessive non-singular pronouns, only Komnzo and Kánchá attest a separate element which signals non-singular -me in addition to the vowel change found in all varieties. However, the first consonant of the third person ergative and possessive pronouns differs only in Kánchá.

Table 1.11 Comparison of free pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kánchá</th>
<th>Wèré</th>
<th>Wára</th>
<th>Anta</th>
<th>Komnzo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>dʒæ̝e</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>tje</td>
<td>tje</td>
<td>dʒæ̝e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NSG</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mbae</td>
<td>fe</td>
<td>fe</td>
<td>fφ</td>
<td>mbae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>fi</td>
<td>fi</td>
<td>fi</td>
<td>fi</td>
<td>fi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ERG</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>dʒæ̝n</td>
<td>søn</td>
<td>tsøn</td>
<td>tsøn</td>
<td>dʒæ̝e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NSG</td>
<td>nín</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>mbon</td>
<td>føn</td>
<td>føn</td>
<td>føn</td>
<td>mbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2NSG</td>
<td>mbon</td>
<td>fe</td>
<td>føn</td>
<td>føn</td>
<td>mbonə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>tfaf</td>
<td>naïf</td>
<td>naïf</td>
<td>naïf</td>
<td>naφ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3NSG</td>
<td>tfaf</td>
<td>naïf</td>
<td>naïf</td>
<td>naïf</td>
<td>naφ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>POSS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG.Poss</td>
<td>dzuni</td>
<td>døne</td>
<td>døne</td>
<td>dzone</td>
<td>dzone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NSG</td>
<td>dʒæ̝nme</td>
<td>dane</td>
<td>døne</td>
<td>dzone</td>
<td>dʒæ̝nme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>mbuni</td>
<td>mbone</td>
<td>mbone</td>
<td>mbone</td>
<td>mbone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2NSG</td>
<td>mbunem</td>
<td>mbane</td>
<td>mbane</td>
<td>mbane</td>
<td>mbunem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>tfafani</td>
<td>naφøne</td>
<td>naφøne</td>
<td>naφøne</td>
<td>naφane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3NSG</td>
<td>tfafanim</td>
<td>naφane</td>
<td>naφane</td>
<td>naφane</td>
<td>naφanme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the last topic in this section, I briefly address the marking of dual number. In Komnzo as in most Yam languages, dual number is marked on the verb. The affix encodes dual versus non-dual number, and its value has to be integrated with information from other morphological sites to yield the three number values singular, dual and plural. I address this topic in §5.3.2 and §5.5.3. For now, it is sufficient to compare the site of dual marking on the verb. In some varieties this depends on the type of verb root which is employed. Most verbs have two roots which are sensitive to aspect. While multiple verb roots are attested in all Tonda varieties, the encoding of duality differs markedly. In Komnzo, Anta, Wára and Kánchá, there are two options: duality is encoded in a suffix if the ‘extended root’ is used, but in a prefix if the ‘restricted root’ is used. The meaning of these labels in Komnzo is explained in §5.3. Only in Wèré, duality is always encoded
in a suffix regardless of the type of root. Blafe, Rânnmo and Wartha Thuntai have lost dual marking on both root types. In these three varieties, dual marking occurs only in high frequency verbs such as the copula or the verb ‘walk’, where it is usually suppletive. I sketch out a tentative historical explanation of this in §5.3.4.

1.4.4 Summary

In conclusion, we may say that the different levels of comparision converge. Sound correspondences, lexicostatistics are well as morphological differences single out at least three separate units: Blafe/Rânnmo, Wartha Thuntai and a chain of dialects, which we may call ‘Eastern Tonda’. The latter comprises Wêré, Wára, Kânce, Anta, Komnzo and probably Kémâ. Eastern Tonda shows characteristics which are typical of dialect chains: geographically distant varieties, for example Komnzo and Wêré or Anta and Kânce, show the biggest differences. Close neighbours, on the other hand, like Komnzo and Wára or Anta and Wêré are very similar. That being said, I will remain cautious until more data has been gathered, and I will continue to refer to all of them as varieties. In this way, I pay respect to the native linguistic ideology which picks up on the slightest differences as being highly emblematic markers.

1.5 Previous work and methodology

1.5.1 Previous work

There has been no previous research on Komnzo that goes beyond the collection of wordlists. One example is the SIL survey discussed in the preceding section (Clifton et al., 1991). The activity of SIL missionaries in the area has led to a number of orthography worksheets, unpublished manuscripts, surveys or theses. Examples of work on the surrounding varieties are: a grammatical sketch of Arammba (Boevé and Boevé, 2003), a thesis on Wára verb morphology (Sarsa, 2001) and a survey of the Tonda subgroup (Grunmit and Masters, 2012).\footnote{I have written a review of the survey, which can be found under the following URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266079354}

The ethnographic perspective is much better covered in the case of Komnzo. Mary Ayres has conducted research in Rouku around 1980, which has culminated in her thesis on locality and exogamous group definition (Ayres, 1983). While she states that she has not acquired Komnzo during her time in the field, she has recorded a number of stories in Komnzo and other Yam languages. On top of that she provides a valuable description and analysis of specific terms and concepts. The ethnography of the Keraki people, the speakers of Nambu, written by FE Williams remains the most comprehensive description of any culture in Southern New Guinea (Williams, 1936).
Recent years have brought a revived academic interest in the region, and the present study is part of it. Nick Evans has gathered a team senior scholars and postgraduates who work on various languages of the wider region, but also on different Yam languages. Jeff Siegel has published on the morphology of tense and aspect in Nama (Siegel, 2014), the eastern neighbour of Komnzo. Wayan Arka has written on tense and agreement in Marori, an endangered isolate spoken on the Indonesian side of the border (Arka, 2012). Nick Evans has published on many topics in Nen, such as positional verbs (Evans, 2014), valency (Evans, 2015b), inflection (Evans, 2015a) and quantification (Evans, forthcoming b). A larger overview of the Southern New Guinea Region is forthcoming (Evans et al., forthcoming).

**1.5.2 This project**

This project began with a pilot fieldtrip to the Morehead district in September of 2010. At the time, my goal was to establish contact to a community which speaks one of the Tonda languages. I did not know which village or variety I was going to work on. When I arrived in Daru, I met three local level government members from the Morehead district who had come for administrative work to the regional capital. The three were Augustin Bikaninis from Wando, Bongai Njyar from Wämnefr and Abia Bai from Rouku. It was Abia Bai who invited me to accompany him to Rouku. I received a warm and friendly welcome to the community and I stayed for eight weeks. I explained my intentions and people agreed that I return regularly over the years to come. It was Abia Bai who ultimately adopted me into his family and clan (Mrzar Mayawa). I was given the local name Bäi after Abia’s father.

My perspective of the culture and language of the Farem has been dominated by people of the Mayawa section. This is visible in the text corpus as most texts are from speakers who belong to this section. However, I took care that my presence and impact in the village was not limited to this group, and – more important for this work – that my description of the language is confirmed by all Farem people.

I have spent a total of 16 months in Rouku: two months in 2010, six months in 2011, three months in 2012, three months in 2013, and two months in 2015. During this time, I have visited villages along the Morehead highway from We-reaver in the west as far as Bimadbn in the east. I have visited Mari in the south and Uparua in the north. I was not able to visit villages on the Indonesian side of the border, and I did not travel to the extreme southwest (Bula, Wando and Korombo) and the north (Setavi, Kiriwo) of the area.

In Rouku, I lived in the house of Abia Bai and his wife Lucy together with their children Nakre, Janet, Sukawi, Nema and Alan. The oldest children Elise and
Riley had already moved out of the house. Elise married a man from Wando, far in the west. Riley lives with his wife in Rouku. In the beginning, I concentrated my work on Abia Bai who possesses a great deal of knowledge about history, mythology and the natural world. For elicitation and structural analysis I worked together with my brothers and classificatory brothers Riley Abia, Daure Kaumb and Greg Marua. It was only during my second fieldtrip in 2011 that I discovered the interest and talent of my sister Nakre in linguistic work. She became my main informant together with her father Abia. Their complementary talents have contributed greatly to this project. Abia is not only a great story-teller, but he proved to be an unlimited resource of knowledge. Nakre is a diligent worker in the transcription and translation of recordings, and she patiently answered long lists of questions and worked through complex verb paradigms in elicitation with me.

Since 2011, the documentation of Komnzo was funded and supported by the DoBeS project of the Volkswagen Foundation.\textsuperscript{18} The funding covered the basic documentation of two languages, namely Komnzo and Nen, the language of Bimadbn village, on which Nick Evans has been working since 2008. The funding allowed us to buy a solar setup and ship it to both villages providing electricity for a computer, recording equipment and lights during the evening hours. Additionally, the DoBeS project supported to bring in academics who work in the field of biology. Kipiro Damas spend one week in Rouku collecting and later identifying plant specimens. Chris Healey identified and photographed over 100 bird species, thereby eliciting many fascinating narratives about cultural significance of birds. Julia Colleen Miller has visited Rouku on two fieldtrips conducting

\textsuperscript{18}DoBeS stands for German ‘Dokumentation bedrohter Sprachen’; the documentation of endangered languages.
socio-linguistic interviews as well as creating high-quality recordings suited for phonetic analysis.

1.5.3 The text corpus

There are over 500 examples in this grammar, and around 90% of these are text examples. Text examples can be distinguished from elicited or overheard examples by a source code, which allows the reader to find the example in the text corpus. Elicited examples are not marked, while overheard examples are marked with: (overheard). The source code for text examples follows this format: (tcIYYYYMMDD-NN SSS AAA). The first three letters represent the ISO 639-3 code for Komnzo. The following eight digits indicate the date on which the recording was made, e.g. tci20120914 is the 14th of September 2012. If the archive contains more than one recording on a particular day, these are differentiated by a number, e.g. tci20150812-01 is the first recording on the 14th of September 2012. The last two pieces of information from the source code help to find a particular example in the annotation file. First, there is a three letter code which identifies the speaker. If there are several speakers, each one is coded by a set of annotation tiers, all of which include the three letter identifier. The speaker code is followed by the annotation number, which refers the sequence of intonation units on a tier.

![Figure 1.24 Browser view of the text archive](image)

This information is needed to find a particular line of text in the online archive. All materials are archived at: https://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/asv/?3&openhandle=hdl:1839/00-0000-0000-0017-B0AC-C. If the reader follows this link she will be taken to a folder view that looks something like Figure 1.24. Finding the recording is done by

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19Note that Komnzo is listed, for example in Ethnologue, as a dialect of Wára. Hence, the code ‘tcI’ includes more varieties than the one described in this grammar. More recent systems of language identification are more accurate in my opinion. For example, Glottolog lists Komnzo under the code: komn1238, which refers only to Komnzo.
opening the nodes in a tree (with the + symbol). The terminal node is a ses-
son node which includes the audio (.wav) and video files (.mpg) in addi-
tion the annotation file (.eaf). The annotation was done with the software ELAN. The
interested reader can download all of these files and open them on her computer.
Some sessions are closed because they contain culturally sensitive topics. All
examples cited in this grammar are taken from texts which are publically acces-
sible. I hope to overcome the detour of downloading the files and the software in
the future by inserting a hyperlink in the text document which takes the reader
immediately to a browser view of the annotation. I have not done this for this
document because the text corpus is under constant revision.

The last decade has seen an exceptional increase in creating and archiving
digital language material. But linguists have pointed out that this is “unlikely to
be paralleled by a significant acceleration in how long it takes field linguists to
produce the sorts of careful translations and cross-questioning of semantic issues
that are the hallmark of a well curated text collection” (Evans and Dench, 2006:
25). These authors suggest the metaphor of a Russian Matryoshka doll, that is
several subsets of a corpus analysed with increasing detail. The Komnzo cor-
pus follows this suggestion. I have archived around 60hours of video and audio
recordings as well as scans of fielnotebooks and photographs. These 60 hours
contain recordings of dances, songs, daily routines, procedural or observational
videos. Within this, is about 40 hours of text applying a wide notion of what
consitutes a text. Of these 40 hours, 10 hours have been carefully segmented,
transcribed and translated to English. Only around 2hours have been interlin-
earised and glossed. The 10 hours of transcribed and translated text provide the
data base on which this description and analysis rests. Thus, I have archived a
corpus of 60 hours, but I have employed in this work only 10 hours. I hope that fu-
ture speakers of Komnzo as well as researchers will benefit from this raw material.

The 10-hour corpus contains narratives, procedurals, conversations, public
speeches as well as recordings from various stimulus tasks. Most texts are sit-
uated in some articifically created scenario, whether it be a staged narration or
a stimulus task. All conversational texts and public speeches are purely obser-
vational. The representation of speakers is skewed towards male speakers, and
towards speakers belonging to the Mayawa section. I acknowledge this as an
artefact caused by the circumstances under which I was introduced to and later
lived in Rouku. Table 1.12 provides an overview of the corpus. Texts are sorted
chronologically. I provide the source code of the text, title, genre and length of
the recording, I list the names of the speakers, their age and sex, to which section
they belong. The number of records or annotation units roughly corresponds to
intonation units.
### Table 1.12 Overview of the text corpus

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<th>age</th>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>m</td>
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<td>03:01</td>
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<td>nrr</td>
<td>Alice Abia</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>f</td>
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### 1.5 Previous work and methodology

The table below summarizes the previous work and methodology of the study.

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<tr>
<th>text ID</th>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>Lucy Abia</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

---

a nrr = narrative, prd = procedural, cvr = conversation, pub = public speech, stt = stimulus task

b refers to the three sections: Mayawa, Sagaara, Bagu

c refers to the number of ELAN annotations segments, which roughly approximates intonation units.
Chapter 2

Phonology

This chapter gives a preliminary account of the phonology of Komnzo. The chapter begins with a description of the segments (consonants in §2.1 and vowels in §2.2). Each section contains a list of minimal pairs which establish the phonemic status of the segments. As Komnzo phonology is characterized by epenthesis, a discussion of the non-phonemic status of schwa is given in §2.2.2. Regular phonological processes are described in §2.3. Komnzo phonotactics are dealt with in §2.4 where I describe the syllable structure (§2.4.1), consonant clusters (§2.4.2), syllabification (§2.4.3), minimal word constraints (§2.4.4) and stress (§2.4.5). Morphophonology is addressed in (§2.5). The chapter closes with a discussion of loanwords (§2.6).

2.1 Consonant phonemes

Table 2.1 gives an overview of the consonant phonemes in Komnzo. The corresponding graphemes are given in angled brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant phonemes</th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palato-alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>labio-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop &amp; affricate</td>
<td>t&lt; &lt;t&gt;</td>
<td>ts&lt;z&gt;</td>
<td>k&lt;k&gt;</td>
<td>kw&lt;k&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prenasalised stop &amp; affricate</td>
<td>m_b&lt;b&gt;</td>
<td>n_d&lt;d&gt;</td>
<td>n_dz&lt;nz&gt;</td>
<td>g&lt;g&gt;</td>
<td>g&lt;w&gt;&lt;gw&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>p&lt;f&gt;</td>
<td>d&lt;th&gt;</td>
<td>s&lt;s&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m&lt;m&gt;</td>
<td>n&lt;n&gt;</td>
<td>η&lt;η&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>r&lt;r&gt;</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semivowel</td>
<td>j&lt;y&gt;</td>
<td>w&lt;w&gt;</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
2.1.1 Obstruents

Obstruents in Komnzo are divided into stops, affricates and fricatives. The stops and affricates belong to a chain of pairings of oral and prenasalised phonemes at four places of articulation: alveolar, palato-alveolar, velar and labio-velar. The symmetry is broken at the bilabial place of articulation. The bilabial oral stop is lacking from the phoneme inventory. Since it occurs only in English loanwords and a handful of ideophones, I consider it a loan phoneme. As I will show below, the bilabial fricative /f/ can be regarded as the structural counterpart of the prenasalised bilabial stop.

In the following section, I will describe the oral stops and prenasalised stops, labialised-velar stops, affricates and fricatives.

2.1.1.1 Stops

There are two voiceless stops (/t/ and /k/) and three prenasalised stops (/b/, /d/, and /g/). The voiceless stops are slightly aspirated, but aspiration is not phonemic in Komnzo. The two labialised velar stops and the two affricates follow the same pairing of voiceless and prenasalised manner of articulation, but these will be discussed in separate sections below.

All stops occur in word-initial, medial, and final position. In only a small number of lexical items, the bilabial /b/ occurs word-finally. This phoneme is also deviant because it lacks a voiceless counterpart. There is evidence from loanword phonology (§2.6) and from surrounding Tonda languages that the bilabial fricative /f/ occupies the same structural slot in the opposition of voiceless and prenasalised manner of articulation, but these will be discussed in separate sections below.

There is almost no allophonic variation with the stop series, but the prenasalised stops are affected by final devoicing (§2.3.2). The /t/ phoneme varies between dental and alveolar points of articulation. In onset clusters where C₂ is /r/, /t/ is always alveolar. Elsewhere, it varies more or less freely.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{/t/} & \rightarrow \begin{cases}
[t] / \sigma[,] & \text{traksi} \quad [\text{trak}s] \quad \text{‘fall’}
\end{cases} \\
/t/ & \rightarrow \begin{cases}
tüf & [\text{tyf}] \sim [\text{tyf}] \quad \text{‘soft ground’} \\
rata & [\text{rata}] \sim [\text{rata}] \quad \text{‘ladder’} \\
kwot & [k^w\text{t}] \sim [k^w\text{t}] \quad \text{‘properly’}
\end{cases} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{/k/} & \rightarrow \begin{cases}
[k] & \text{kata} \quad [\text{kat}] \quad \text{‘bamboo knife’} \\
fokam & [\text{fokam}] \quad \text{‘grave’} \\
safak & [\text{saBak}] \quad \text{‘saratoga’}
\end{cases}
\end{align*}
\]
2.1 Consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Example Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>deya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>gaba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1.2 Labialised velar stops

The labialised velar stops /kw/ and /gw/ show no allophonic variation due to their restricted distribution. Both occur only in syllable onsets, not in the coda. Consequently, we do not find these phonemes in word final position.

I will argue in favour of an analysis whereby the labialised velar stops are complex phonemes rather than a sequence of two phonemes (velar stop + high back vowel /u/ or velar stop + /w/). This argument is based on two lines of evidence: onset consonant clusters and reduplication patterns.

Onset clusters are restricted to two consonants ($C_1C_2V$). If clusters occur, $C_2$ may only be /r/ or /w/ (§2.4.3). For this argument, only the /r/ is relevant. We do find words in Komnzo which have an initial labialised velar stop (voiceless or prenasalised) in such a cluster, for example: kuras ‘Broga’ or gura ‘MacCulloch’s Rainbowfish’. If /kw/ and /gw/ were to be analysed as clusters of two

\[\text{\footnotesize\textit{In the neighbouring language Nama which belongs to the Nambu subgroup, labialised velar stops may occur in coda position, as in [aukw] ‘morning’}}\]
phonemes, a separate syllable template (CCCV) would be required.

We find full and partial reduplication in Komnzo (§4.2). Full reduplication involves repeating the whole word: yam ‘footprint, custom, event’ → yam yam ‘little feast’. More commonly found is partial reduplication where only the first consonant of the initial syllable is copied: zbär ‘night’ → zzbär [tsōtsōmbær] ‘dusk, twilight’. Note that the domain of partial reduplication does not extend further than the first consonant. Thus, we get frasi ‘hunger’ → ffraśi [ʃʃəfrası] ‘appetite, hunger’, but not *ffrasi [ʃʃəfrasi]. If the labialised velar stops comprise two separate phonemes, we would expect that in partial reduplication only the velar stop is copied without the semivowel. On the contrary, we find that the whole phoneme is copied as in kwayan ‘light’ → kkwwayan [kʷkʷajn] ~ [kukʷajn] ‘flickering light, dimmed light’, but not *kkwayan [kōkʷajn].

2.1.1.3 Affricates

The two consonant phonemes with the highest frequency are the affricates (/z/ and /nz/) which seem to give Komnzo its characteristic fricative sound. Both affricates occur initially, medially and finally showing some allophonic variation. They are palatalized before front vowels as in zi [ti] ‘pain’ and nzikaka [n⁴diŋkaka] ‘Whistling Kite’. In all other environments they are alveolar. There is some degree of variation between speakers. Some speakers always palatalize, while most speakers follow the allophonic rules as formalized below. The prenasalised affricate is affected by final devoicing (§2.3.2).

```
/z/ →

{ [tʃ] / _V_{\text{+FRONT}}
  zena
  ezi
  [tʃena]
  [ʔetʃi]
  ‘now’
  ‘morning’

  [ts] / elsewhere
  zane
  mazo
  müz
  [tsane]
  [matso]
  [mv̩tʃ]
  DEM:PROX
  ‘ocean’
  ‘phallocrypt’

/nz/ →

{ [n̥dʒ] / _V_{\text{+FRONT}}
  nzigfu
  snzû
  [n̥dʒŋʃu]
  [s̥ŋdʒa̩]
  ‘rain stone’
  ‘crayfish’

  [n̥ts] / _ʃ
  mnz
  [m̥nʃ]
  ‘house’

  [n̥dz] / elsewhere
  nzun
  rnzam
  [n̥dzun]
  [r̥ndzam]
  1SG.DAT
  ‘how many’
```
2.1 Consonant phonemes

2.1.1.4 Fricatives

There are three fricatives at the bilabial, dental and alveolar places of articulation. The dental fricative is voiced while the other two are voiceless. Consequently, only the dental fricative is affected by final devoicing. The bilabial fricative has a voiced allophone which occurs intervocally. Although voiced in most environments, the dental fricative is affected by final devoicing (§2.3.2). The alveolar fricative is always voiceless in all environments. These rules are formalized below.

\[
\begin{align*}
/f/ & \rightarrow [\phi] / \text{elsewhere} \\
& \quad \text{fish} [\phi'/t] \quad \text{‘bushrope’} \\
& \quad \text{zar} \text{r}a [tsar'fa] \quad \text{‘ear’} \\
& \quad \text{kar} \text{r}a [kara'f] \quad \text{‘paddle’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textbf{/th/}} & \rightarrow [\theta] / \text{elsewhere} \\
& \quad \text{thamin} [\theta'\text{amin}] \quad \text{‘tongue’} \\
& \quad \text{yatha} [\theta'\text{ada}] \quad \text{‘dog’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textbf{/s/}} & \rightarrow [s] \\
& \quad \text{saisai} [s\text{aisai}] \quad \text{‘drizzle (n)’} \\
& \quad \text{fisor} [\phi'\text{isor}] \quad \text{‘turtle’} \\
& \quad \text{fis} [\phi'\text{is}] \quad \text{‘husband’}
\end{align*}
\]

2.1.2 Nasals

There are nasal stops at three places of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, and velar. These three show differences in their frequency and distribution. The velar nasal \(/N/\) occurs only word initially, while bilabial /m/ and alveolar /n/ are found initially, medially and finally. There is no allophonic variation with the nasals.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textbf{/m/}} & \rightarrow [m] \\
& \quad \text{mifum} [m\text{ifum}] \quad \text{‘nose ornament’} \\
& \quad \text{zimu} [t\text{imu}] \quad \text{‘snot’} \\
& \quad \text{thm} [\theta'm] \quad \text{‘nose’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textbf{/n/}} & \rightarrow [n] \\
& \quad \text{no} [n\text{o}] \quad \text{‘water, rain’} \\
& \quad \text{mane} [\text{mane}] \quad \text{‘who’ (ABS)} \\
& \quad \text{minmin} [\text{minmin}] \quad \text{‘Emerald Dove’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textbf{/ŋ/}} & \rightarrow \{[ŋ] / \text{Word}\} \\
& \quad \text{yazi} [\text{ŋadzi}] \quad \text{‘coconut’}
\end{align*}
\]
2.1.3 Trill, tap - /r/

The alveolar trill /r/ is often realised as a single tap [ɾ] depending on speech rate and speaker.

In onset consonant clusters where /r/ is occupying C₂ position, it is always tapped. Elsewhere the trill and the tap are in free variation.

Word finally /r/ may also become voiceless. This variation between [ɾ] and [ɾ] seems to be conditioned by age. Older speakers use the voiceless variant more frequently.

\[
\begin{align*}
[r] & \sim [ɾ] / \text{WORD} \hspace{1cm} msar \hspace{1cm} [m̩əsəɾ] \sim [m̩əsəɾ] \hspace{1cm} '\text{green ant}' \\
/r/ & \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
[r] / \sigma C_- \hspace{1cm} frasi \hspace{1cm} [ʃɾasi] \hspace{1cm} '\text{hunger}' \\
[r] \sim [ɾ] / \text{elsewhere} \hspace{1cm} rmz \hspace{1cm} [ɾôts] \sim [ɾôts] \hspace{1cm} '\text{ember}' \\
\etaare \hspace{1cm} [n̩are] \sim [n̩are] \hspace{1cm} '\text{properly}'
\end{cases}
\end{align*}
\]

2.1.4 Approximants

The two approximants /w/ and /y/ occur in initial, medial and final position. In final position, they may be realised as a short offglide or become part of a diphthong. For both approximants, but especially for the palatal /y/, we find only a handful of lexical items where they do occur word finally.

\[
\begin{align*}
[\tilde{u}] \sim [\tilde{w}] / \text{V}_\sigma \hspace{1cm} daw \hspace{1cm} [\ddau] \sim [\da^w] \hspace{1cm} '\text{garden}' \\
/w/ & \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
[w] / \text{elsewhere} \hspace{1cm} wəm \hspace{1cm} [wəm] \hspace{1cm} '\text{stone, gravel}' \\
fe\text{wa} \hspace{1cm} [ʃəwa] \hspace{1cm} '\text{odour, stench}'
\end{cases}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[\tilde{i}] \sim [\tilde{j}] / \text{V}_\sigma \hspace{1cm} fày \hspace{1cm} [ʃəi] \sim [ʃəi] \hspace{1cm} '\text{payment}' \\
/y/ & \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
[i] / \text{elsewhere} \hspace{1cm} yusi \hspace{1cm} [jusi] \hspace{1cm} '\text{grass}' \\
nzöyar \hspace{1cm} [n̩dʒɔjəɾ] \hspace{1cm} '\text{Fawn-breasted Bowerbird}'
\end{cases}
\end{align*}
\]

There are a number of reasons why the two approximants are analysed as consonants rather than high vowels which alternate according to their environment. Evidence comes from case allomorphy and phonotactics. In stem final position /w/ and /y/ select the same allomorph of the locative case as other consonants. This can be seen in the word daw [ddau] \sim [da^w] ‘garden’ which selects -en as its locative case marker, thus forming dawen [dəwen] ‘in the garden’. Words which
end in a vowel select the -n allomorph of the locative case. Furthermore, the rules of syllabification (§2.4.3) treat these two phonemes like consonants. Thus, we find examples like ys [jis] ‘thorn’ and ky [kɔ̃] ‘yam type’ where epenthesis occurs after or before /w/ and /y/ respectively.

### 2.1.5 Minimal pairs for Komnzo consonants

The following minimal pairs and near minimal pairs illustrate the phonemic contrast between consonants in initial, medial and final position.

#### Table 2.2 Minimal pairs of consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEGMENTS</th>
<th>WORD</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>PHONETIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kw/ - /k/</td>
<td>kwafar</td>
<td>/kwa.far/</td>
<td>[kʷaβar]</td>
<td>place name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kafar</td>
<td>/ka.far/</td>
<td>[kaβar]</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sakur</td>
<td>/sa.kwr/</td>
<td>[sakʷar]</td>
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<td>PHONEMIC</td>
<td>PHONETIC</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drari</td>
<td>/dra.ri/</td>
<td>[&quot;dra&quot;&quot;]</td>
<td>'container'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trari</td>
<td>/tra.ri/</td>
<td>[&quot;trar&quot;&quot;]</td>
<td>'strong man'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadakada</td>
<td>/ka.da.ca.da/</td>
<td>[&quot;ka&quot;daka&quot;da&quot;]</td>
<td>'yamcake'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katakata</td>
<td>/ka.ta.ca.ta/</td>
<td>[&quot;katakata&quot;]</td>
<td>'grass type'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sd</td>
<td>/sd/</td>
<td>[s&quot;t&quot;]</td>
<td>'yam type'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>st</td>
<td>/st/</td>
<td>[s&quot;t&quot;]</td>
<td>'Melicope elleryana'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nz\ä</td>
<td>/nz\ä/</td>
<td>[&quot;dz&quot;&quot;&quot;]</td>
<td>1SG.ABS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zü</td>
<td>/zü/</td>
<td>[t&quot;s&quot;&quot;]</td>
<td>PROX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzanza</td>
<td>/nza.nza/</td>
<td>[&quot;dza&quot;dza&quot;]</td>
<td>'insect type'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zaza</td>
<td>/za.za/</td>
<td>[tsatsa]</td>
<td>'method of carrying'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzr</td>
<td>/nzr/</td>
<td>[&quot;dz&quot;r&quot;]</td>
<td>'rest of a liquid'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zr</td>
<td>/zr/</td>
<td>[ts&quot;r&quot;]</td>
<td>'tooth'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rbänsi</td>
<td>/r.bå.nz.si/</td>
<td>[&quot;rb&quot;n&quot;s&quot;si&quot;]</td>
<td>'prohibit'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rbäsi</td>
<td>/r.bå.z.si/</td>
<td>[&quot;rb&quot;z&quot;si&quot;]</td>
<td>'untie'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gd</td>
<td>/gd/</td>
<td>[&quot;g&quot;d&quot;t&quot;]</td>
<td>'mud'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kd</td>
<td>/kd/</td>
<td>[k&quot;d&quot;t&quot;]</td>
<td>'star'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kafar</td>
<td>/ka.far/</td>
<td>[ka&quot;far&quot;]</td>
<td>'big'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gafar</td>
<td>/ga.far/</td>
<td>[&quot;g&quot;f&quot;ar&quot;]</td>
<td>'Spoon-snouted Catfish'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gursi</td>
<td>/gur.si/</td>
<td>[&quot;gursi&quot;]</td>
<td>'break off'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kursi</td>
<td>/kur.si/</td>
<td>[kursi]</td>
<td>'split'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tag</td>
<td>/tag/</td>
<td>[ta&quot;k&quot;]</td>
<td>'type of bee'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tak</td>
<td>/tak/</td>
<td>[tak]</td>
<td>'pandanus type'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>srag</td>
<td>/srag/</td>
<td>[sra&quot;k&quot;]</td>
<td>'personal name'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>srak</td>
<td>/srak/</td>
<td>[srak]</td>
<td>'boy'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yrsi</td>
<td>/yar.si/</td>
<td>[jarsi]</td>
<td>'tired'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warsi</td>
<td>/war.si/</td>
<td>[warsi]</td>
<td>'chew'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yf</td>
<td>/yf/</td>
<td>[j&quot;f&quot;]</td>
<td>'name'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wf</td>
<td>/wf/</td>
<td>[w&quot;f&quot;]</td>
<td>'shirt,blouse'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2 Vowel phonemes

Table 2.3 and Figure 2.1 below give an overview of the vowel phonemes. Komnzo vowels divide the vowel space into four levels of height (high, mid, mid-low, and low) and draw a distinction between front and back vowels. Additionally, for front vowels, there is a phonemic distinction between rounded and unrounded vowels. In Figure 2.1 IPA symbols are employed, whereas Table 2.3 lists the corresponding graphemes. Note that I include the epenthetic schwa in parentheses. This is because there is some evidence that schwa constitutes an marginal phoneme word-finally. That being said, in all other occurrences it is created by epenthesis (§2.2.2).

![Figure 2.1 Komnzo vowel space](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.3 Vowel phoneme inventory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unrounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nasal vowels are rather marginal in Komnzo. There are only two words in which we find a nasal vowel. These are the conjunction a [ʔə:] ‘and’ and o [ʔɔ:] ‘or’. Both have a second, much rarer variant with an initial velar nasal na [ŋa:] and no [ŋɔ:]. This suggests that nasalization of the vowel is caused by the loss of the preceding velar nasal. Nasalization is not phonemic in Komnzo.
There are no diphthongs in Komnzo. All diphthongs which occur on a phonetic level end in high offglides. These are analysed as allophones of the two approximants /w/ and /y/ in coda position (§2.1.4). In practical orthography these are sometimes represented as diphthongs, e.g. <ai> or <au>. Two words which exemplify this are saisai /say.say/ ‘drizzle’ and kaukau /kaw.kaw/ ‘Mouth Almighty’.

2.2.1 Phonetic description and allophonic distribution of vowels

There is free variation between the following allophones, that is respectively of /i/, /ü/, /u/, /e/, /ö/, /o/, and /a/:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>description</th>
<th>allophones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>high front unrounded vowel</td>
<td>[i]~[I]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ü/</td>
<td>high front rounded vowel</td>
<td>[y]~[Y]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>high back rounded vowel</td>
<td>[u]~[U]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>mid front unrounded vowel</td>
<td>[e]~[E]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ö/</td>
<td>mid front rounded vowel</td>
<td>[ø]~[÷]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>mid back rounded vowel</td>
<td>[ɔ]~[ɔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>low central unrounded vowel</td>
<td>[a]~[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ä/</td>
<td>low front unrounded vowel</td>
<td>[æ]~[æ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no phonemic contrast between short and long vowels. However, vowels tend to be longer in monosyllabic roots, especially if the monosyllable is light/open, e.g. nzä [ndzæ:] ‘I’. This process of vowel lengthening is caused by minimal word conditions in combination with syllable weight as will be described in §2.4.1 and §2.4.4.

2.2.1.1 Allophones of /o/

There is further allophonic variation for /o/ which is related to vowel lengthening. In heavy, closed syllables, /o/ is realised as a short, centralized, rounded vowel [ø], whereas in light, open syllables it is realised as a mid back rounded vowel of normal length [ɔ]. Two words which show this allophonic variation are the language name Komnzo /kom.zzo/ [kømnsdzo] and komon /ko.mon/ [komnɔ] ‘maybe’. We find the two allophones [ø] and [ɔ] conditioned by syllable weight in the syllables of the two words respectively. There are two rules which may override this allophonic distribution. The first is a minimal word constraint which produces [ɔ] even in closed syllables if the root is monosyllabic (Compare §2.4.4.

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This is an individual decision based on the speakers’ preferences.
below). The second rule overrides syllable weight and the impact of the minimal word constraint. After the labio-velar approximant (/w/) and the two labialised-velar stops (/kw/ and /gw/) /o/ is always realised as short, centralized, rounded vowel [ csak]. Leaving the influences of the minimal word constraint to § 2.4.4, we can formalize these observations in the following rule:

\[
\begin{align*}
|e| / _C |_\sigma & \quad \text{moth} /\text{emoth}/ [\text{e}:\text{m}\text{o}\text{th}] \quad \text{‘girl’} \\
|a| / _\sigma & \quad \text{ymormor} /\text{y.mor.y.mor}/ [\text{j}\text{m}\text{\o}\text{r.j}\text{m}\text{\o}\text{r}] \quad \text{‘desire’} \\
|e| / _\sigma & \quad \text{thomgsi} /\text{thom.g.s}\text{i}/ [\text{\o}\text{\e}\text{m}\text{g}\text{s}\text{i}] \quad \text{‘help’} \\
|o| / _\sigma & \quad \text{nibo} /\text{n}\text{i}.\text{bo}/ [\text{n}\text{i}\text{\u}\text{m}\text{b}\text{o}] \quad \text{‘six’} \\
|e| / _\sigma & \quad \text{dokre} /\text{d}\text{o}.\text{kre}/ [\text{\u}\text{d}\text{\o}\text{kre}] \quad \text{‘frog’} \\
|e| / C + \text{labio-velar} & \quad \text{kwosi} /\text{k}\text{w}.\text{si}/ [\text{\k}\text{w}\text{\e}\text{si}] \quad \text{‘dead’} \\
|e| / C + \text{labio-velar} & \quad \text{woku} /\text{w}\text{o}.\text{ku}/ [\text{\w}\text{\e}\text{\k}\text{u}] \quad \text{‘skin’}
\end{align*}
\]

There are some irregularities with these rules when it comes to other bilabial consonants, like /f/. There is fofot [\text{f}\text{\o}\text{f}\text{\e}\text{t}] ‘single child’ which follows the rule, but there are a handful of words which do not follow the rule, like: fotkr [\text{\f}\text{\e}\text{\o}\text{\d}\text{\o}\text{r}] ‘eucalyptus type’ or foku foku [\text{\f}\text{\e}\text{\k}\text{u}\text{\f}\text{\e}\text{\k}\text{u}] ‘small patch of vegetation’.

### 2.2.1.2 Analytic problems with /ö/

The vowel /ö/ [o] poses a problem because there are no minimal pairs between /ö/ and some of its immediate neighbours (/e/, /o/, /ü/) in the corpus. There are minimal pairs between /ö/ and /i/, /ü/, /u/, /a/. The lack of minimal pairs with the former group along with the vowel harmony morphonemic rules described in § 2.5.1 invites an analysis in which /ö/ is a variant of other phonemes, for example: a rounded allophone of /e/ or a fronted allophone of /o/. However, no conditioning environment (e.g. vowel harmony or quality of adjacent consonants) can be established. The main problem lies in the fact, that occurrences of /ö/ are much rarer than all other vowels. For the current description, /ö/ is set up as an independent vowel phoneme. Further research will have to settle this question.

### 2.2.2 The non-phonemic status of schwa

The most frequent vowel in Komnzo is a short schwa [\text{\i}]. I will argue here that this is not a phoneme, but that it is inserted through epenthesis in order to create a syllable nucleus where there is none underlyingly. That being said, I will make an argument at the end of this section, that schwa can be analysed as a marginal

---

3Amongst the 1700 entries in the dictionary, only 30 contain /ö/ /o/. Compare this number with 730 for /a/. This is a conservative count in which singletons and reduplicates as well as simple forms and compounds are only counted once.
or emerging phoneme in word final context. The rules of epenthesis will be laid out in §2.4.3.

Epenthetic vowels are known from many Papuan languages. The best documented case is certainly Kalam (Biggs 1963, Pawley 1966, and Blevins & Pawley 2010), but epenthetic vowels have been described for other languages of the Yam family, e.g. Nen (Evans and Miller, forthcoming). In Komnzo, the main arguments for schwa as an epenthetic vowel rather than a phoneme come from syllabicity alternations, the predictability of schwa and its restricted distribution.

Syllabicity alternations which cause changes in the place of schwa insertion are influenced by affixation. Two examples are the verb *ttüsi* [tʊtyst] ‘print, paint’ and the noun *fzenz* [fʊtstɛnts] ‘wife’. In both stems schwa occurs in the first syllable. When we inflect the verb with an undergoer prefix, the first consonant is syllabified as a coda and schwa needs to be inserted in a different position: *yyttünzr* [jʊtʃydzɛɾ] ‘s/he paints him’. When we add a possessive prefix to *fzenz*, e.g.: *bufzenz* [mʊbuʃfɛnts] ‘your wife’, again the first consonant of the stem becomes a coda. In this case schwa disappears entirely because the possessive prefix ends in a vowel. It follows that schwa cannot be present at the underlying representation of these two lexemes.

Schwa has a very restricted distribution compared to specified vowels. It does not occur word initially and it is very limited word finally. I will show below that word-final schwas should be analysed as a marginal phoneme. Elsewhere schwa is entirely predictable and therefore not represented in the orthography of Komnzo. The rules of schwa insertion are discussed as part of syllabification and possible consonant clusters (§2.4.3). There are many roots in Komnzo which lack specified vowels altogether. A few examples are: *mnz* [mʊntsts] ‘house’, *zfth* [tʃsʊʃts] ‘base, reason’, and *ggrb* [ŋʊŋɡʊŋp] ‘small, unripe coconut’. The quality of the epenthetic vowel shows only little variation. In almost all environments it is realised as a mid central vowel of very short duration [ɾ]. However, there is one exception. If the epenthetic vowel is inserted preceding the two approximants /y/ and /w/ it is realised as a high front or high back vowel respectively, as in: *nyak* [nɪjak] ‘we go’ and *thwak* [ðʊwak] ‘shoulder’.

There is one caveat to the analysis of schwa as epenthetic. It cannot be predicted in word-final context. Although word-final schwa is very rare in terms of types, it cannot be dismissed as the abberant behaviour of a few lexical items. This is because it is not rare at all in terms of tokens. For example, word-final schwa shows up in the verb morphology (1SG -é), case marking (ERG.NSG =é) and in the adjectivaliser -thé. The latter could be historically related to the

---

4Among 1700 entries in the dictionary, we find 105 without specified vowels. The number of entries in which the epenthetic vowel occurs together with specified vowels is much higher.
similative case marker (=thatha). For the first singular suffix on verbs, I argue in §5.5.1.1, that this is the result of vowel reduction (a>ə), because neighbouring varieties have a corresponding -a suffix. Moreover, the first person suffix -é disappears if other suffixal material is added to the verb. This is also found with some of the lexical items. For example, if kayé ‘yesterday’ is marked with a temporal possessive case (=thamane), word-final schwa disappears: kaythamane dagon ‘yesterday’s food’. This does not happen with full vowels, e.g. ezithamane dagon ‘food from the morning’ from ezi ‘morning’. Thus, I analyse schwa in word-final contexts as a marginal phoneme, which emerged or is emerging from vowel reduction. In these word-final cases schwa is represented orthographically by <é>.

2.2.3 Minimal pairs for Komnzo vowels

The following minimal pairs and near minimal pairs illustrate the phonemic contrasts between vowels. Each vowel phoneme is set apart from its immediate neighbours in the vowel space. Each vowel phoneme is contrasted with the epenthetic vowel, i.e. the absence of a specified vowel (Ø). Some combinations are redundant (e.g.: /i/ - /e/ and /e/ - /i/) and not repeated in the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHONEME PAIR</th>
<th>WORD</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>PHONETIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/ - /u/</td>
<td>mith</td>
<td>/mɪθ/</td>
<td>[mᵣθ]</td>
<td>‘face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>muth</td>
<td>/mʊθ/</td>
<td>[mᵣθ]</td>
<td>‘(sago) grub’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grigri</td>
<td>/gᵣɪɡri/</td>
<td>[ɡᵣɪɡɹi]</td>
<td>‘maggots’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gru</td>
<td>/ɡᵣu/</td>
<td>[ɡᵣʊ]</td>
<td>‘shooting star’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/ - /ü/</td>
<td>minzaksi</td>
<td>/mi.ᵣɪza.ki/</td>
<td>[miⁿdzakʊsi]</td>
<td>‘paint (vt.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>münzaksi</td>
<td>/mü.ᵣɪza.ki/</td>
<td>[mᵣɪdzakʊsi]</td>
<td>‘allow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dɪ</td>
<td>/dᵣ/</td>
<td>[pᵣɪ]</td>
<td>‘back of the head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dʊdʊ</td>
<td>/dᵣ.ᵣɪ/</td>
<td>[pᵣᵣᵣ]</td>
<td>‘in good condition’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/ - /e/</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>/sᵣ/</td>
<td>[siː]</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>se</td>
<td>/sɛ/</td>
<td>[sɛː]</td>
<td>‘bark torch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>/bᵣi/</td>
<td>[mᵣbi]</td>
<td>‘sago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>be</td>
<td>/bᵣɛ/</td>
<td>[mᵣbeː]</td>
<td>2SG.ERG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/ - /ö/</td>
<td>dɪ</td>
<td>/dᵣi/</td>
<td>[pᵣɪ]</td>
<td>‘back of the head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dᵣ</td>
<td>/dᵣɪ/</td>
<td>[pᵣᵣɪ]</td>
<td>‘monitor lizard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHONEME PAIR</td>
<td>WORD 1</td>
<td>PHONEMIC 1</td>
<td>PHONETIC 1</td>
<td>ENGLISH 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/ - ∅</td>
<td>bribri</td>
<td>/bri.bi ri/</td>
<td>[ᵮbiriᵮbiri]</td>
<td>‘plant type’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bribri</td>
<td>/bri.bi ri/</td>
<td>[ᵮbɔriᵮbɔri]</td>
<td>‘weeding’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| with | /wiθ/ | ‘banana’ |
| wth  | /wɔθ/ | ‘faeces’ |

| fis  | /fis/ | [fıs] | ‘husband’ |
| fs   | /fs/  | [fɔs] | ‘Greenback Gudgeon’ |

| /u/ - /i/ | see above | /i/ - /u/ | |

| /u/ - /ü/ | futhfuth | /futh.futh/ | [ᵮuθᵮuθ] | ‘scrapes’ |
|           | füthfüth | /füth.füth/ | [ᵮvθᵮvθ] | ‘newly hatched bird’ |

| but  | /but/ | [ᵮbut] | ‘kava sticks for planting’ |
| büt  | /büt/ | [ᵮbyt] | ‘amputatec limb’ |

| rusi  | /ru.si/ | [ᵮruסי] | ‘shoot (vt.)’ |
| rüsi  | /rü.si/ | [ᵮrısı] | ‘rain (v.)’ |

| /u/ - /o/ | muramura | /mu.ra.mu.ra/ | [ᵮrumaᵮruma] | ‘medicine’ |
|           | moramora | /mo.ra.mo.ra/ | [ᵮramoraᵮramora] | ‘tree type’ |

| muth  | /muth/ | [ᵮmuθ] | ‘(sago) grub’ |
| moth  | /moth/ | [ᵮmθ] | ‘path’ |

| tru   | /tru/ | [ᵮru] | ‘palm type’ |
| tro   | /tro/ | [ᵮɾɔ] | ‘python type’ |

| /u/ - ∅ | kursi  | /kur.si/ | [ᵮɾusi] | ‘split (vt.)’ |
| krsi  | /kr.si/ | [ᵮɾɔsi] | ‘block (vt.)’ |

| kut  | /kut/ | [ᵮt] | ‘trap’ |
| kt   | /kt/  | [ᵮt] | ‘grass type’ |

| fuk  | /fuk/ | [ᵮuk] | ‘in a group’ |
| fk   | /fk/  | [ᵮk] | ‘buttocks’ |

| /ü/ - /i/ | see above | /i/ - /ü/ | |
| /ü/ - /u/ | see above | /u/ - /ü/ | |

<p>| /ü/ - /e/ | füinz  | /fyinis/ | [ᵮvᵮns] | ‘arm muscles’ |
| fenz   | /fenz/ | [ᵮn] | ‘dead body liquid’ |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHONEME PAIR</th>
<th>WORD</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>PHONETIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ü/ - /ö/</td>
<td>nümä</td>
<td>/nü.mä/</td>
<td>[nvmæ]</td>
<td>‘a week from now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nömä</td>
<td>/nö.mä/</td>
<td>[nœmæ]</td>
<td>‘type of yamcake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>düdü</td>
<td>/dü.dü/</td>
<td>[³dœ⁵dœ]</td>
<td>‘in good condition’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dödö</td>
<td>/dö.dö/</td>
<td>[³dœ⁵dœ]</td>
<td>‘plant type’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ü/ - Ø</td>
<td>sün</td>
<td>/sün/</td>
<td>[sYn]</td>
<td>‘dirt, dust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sn</td>
<td>/sn/</td>
<td>[sôn]</td>
<td>‘yam type’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tüfr</td>
<td>/tü.fr/</td>
<td>[tvfær]</td>
<td>‘plenty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tftr</td>
<td>/t.fr.t.fr/</td>
<td>[tʰaf̥tʰaf̥r]</td>
<td>‘tree type’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/-/i/</td>
<td>see above /i/-/e/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/-/ü/</td>
<td>see above /ü/-/e/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/-/ö/</td>
<td>not attested</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/-/o/</td>
<td>fethaksi</td>
<td>/fe.tha.k.si/</td>
<td>[fœdakœsi]</td>
<td>‘dip in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fothaksi</td>
<td>/fo.tha.k.si/</td>
<td>[fœdakœsi]</td>
<td>‘take off (bag)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>game</td>
<td>/ga.me/</td>
<td>[³game]</td>
<td>‘bamboo turner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gamo</td>
<td>/ga.mo/</td>
<td>[³gams]</td>
<td>‘magic spell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/-/a/</td>
<td>yem</td>
<td>/yem/</td>
<td>[jem]</td>
<td>‘cassowary’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yam</td>
<td>/yam/</td>
<td>[jam]</td>
<td>‘louse, footprint, event’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fetr</td>
<td>/fe.tr/</td>
<td>[fetœr]</td>
<td>‘dangerous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fatr</td>
<td>/fa.tr/</td>
<td>[fœtœr]</td>
<td>‘upper arm, shoulder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gurma</td>
<td>/gwra/</td>
<td>[³gœœœœ]</td>
<td>‘Macculloch’s Rainbow-fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gwre</td>
<td>/gwre/</td>
<td>[³gœœœœ]</td>
<td>‘Yellow-faced Myna’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/-/ä/</td>
<td>erbänzé</td>
<td>/e.r.bœ.nzé/</td>
<td>[ærœ⁵bœœ⁵tsœ]</td>
<td>‘I untie them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ärbänzé</td>
<td>/ã.r.bœ.nzé/</td>
<td>[ærœ⁵bœœ⁵tsœ]</td>
<td>‘I untie sth. for them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fenz</td>
<td>/fenz/</td>
<td>[fe⁶ts]</td>
<td>‘dead body liquid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fänz</td>
<td>/fenz/</td>
<td>[fæ⁶ts]</td>
<td>‘proper name’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nze</td>
<td>/nze/</td>
<td>[³dœœœ]</td>
<td>1SG.ERG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nzä</td>
<td>/nzä/</td>
<td>[³dœœœ]</td>
<td>1SG.ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/-Ø</td>
<td>menz</td>
<td>/menz/</td>
<td>[me⁶ts]</td>
<td>‘story man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mnz</td>
<td>/mnz/</td>
<td>[mœ⁶ts]</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHONEME PAIR</td>
<td>WORD</td>
<td>PHONEMIC</td>
<td>PHONETIC</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fethaksi</td>
<td>/fe.tha.k.s.i/</td>
<td>[fɛθɔkɔsi]</td>
<td>‘dip in’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fthaksi</td>
<td>/f.tha.k.s.i/</td>
<td>[fɔθɔkɔsi]</td>
<td>‘take out of fire’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭakwire</td>
<td>/ya.kwi.re/</td>
<td>[网约ɪɾe]</td>
<td>‘we run’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭakwiré</td>
<td>/ya.kwi.rɛ/</td>
<td>[网约ɪɾɔ]</td>
<td>‘I run’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/a/-/e/  see above /e/-/ä/

/a/-/a/  

näbi  /nä.bi/  [nɛmbi]  ‘one’
nabi  /na.bi/  [nɛmbi]  ‘bow, bamboo’

fätr  /fæ.tr/  [fætɔr]  ‘left’
fatr  /fa.tr/  [fætɔr]  ‘upper arm, shoulder’

mafä  /ma.fä/  [mafæ]  ‘with whom’ (ASSOC.PL)
mafa  /ma.fa/  [mafa]  ‘who’ (ERG)

/a/-/ö/  not attested

/a/-/o/  

bärbar  /bär.bär/  [mœɾmœɾbær]  ‘half’
bör  /bor/  [mœɾ]  ‘rat’
nä  /nä/  [nɛ:]  ‘some’
no  /no/  [nɔ:]  ‘water, rain’

/a/-Ø  

fäk  /fæk/  [fæk]  ‘jaw’
fk  /fk/  [fæk]  ‘buttocks’

märмир  /mär.mär/  [mærmœɾ]  ‘slope, hill’
mrmr  /mr.mr/  [mærmœɾ]  ‘inside’

bnä  /b.nä/  [mœbɔnæ]  ‘with you’ (2PL.ASSOC)
bné  /b.né/  [mœbɔnɔ]  2NSG.ERG

/a/-/ä/  see above /ä/-/a/
a/-/e/  see above /e/-/a/

/a/-/ö/  

namä  /na.mä/  [næmæ]  ‘good’
nömä  /nɔ.mä/  [nœmæ]  ‘type of yamcake’

/a/-/o/  

zan  /zan/  [tsan]  ‘fight’
zon  /zon/  [tsɔn]  ‘plant type’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHONEME PAIR</th>
<th>WORD</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>PHONETIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kar/</td>
<td>far</td>
<td>[φar]</td>
<td>'house post'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kar/</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>[φēr]</td>
<td>'river post'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kar/</td>
<td>karfa</td>
<td>/kar.фа/</td>
<td>[karфа]</td>
<td>'from the village'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kar/</td>
<td>karfo</td>
<td>/kar.фо/</td>
<td>[karфо]</td>
<td>'to the village'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ - ∅</td>
<td>/n.gath/</td>
<td>ngath</td>
<td>[nəŋɡaθ]</td>
<td>'close friend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ - ∅</td>
<td>/n.gth/</td>
<td>nght</td>
<td>[nəŋɡθ]</td>
<td>'younger sibling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ - ∅</td>
<td>/thar.thar/</td>
<td>tharthar</td>
<td>[θɑθɑɾ]</td>
<td>'next to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ - ∅</td>
<td>/thr.thr/</td>
<td>thrthr</td>
<td>[θɑθɹɹ]</td>
<td>'intestines'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ - ∅</td>
<td>/mar/</td>
<td>mar</td>
<td>[mɑɹ]</td>
<td>'pandanus type'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ - ∅</td>
<td>/mr/</td>
<td>mr</td>
<td>[mɹ]</td>
<td>'brain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ - ∅</td>
<td>/sa.kw.ra/</td>
<td>sakwra</td>
<td>[sɑkʰɑɾa]</td>
<td>'I hit him' (PST)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ - ∅</td>
<td>/sa.kw.ré/</td>
<td>sakwré</td>
<td>[sɑkʰɑɾé]</td>
<td>'I hit him' (RPST)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ - /e/</td>
<td>/bor.sí/</td>
<td>borsi</td>
<td>[mɒbɜɾsi]</td>
<td>'laugh, play'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ - /e/</td>
<td>/br.sí/</td>
<td>brsi</td>
<td>[mɒbɜɾsi]</td>
<td>'scoop water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ - /œ/</td>
<td>/fo.tha.k.sí/</td>
<td>fothaksi</td>
<td>[fʊθɑkʰɪɾsi]</td>
<td>'take off (bag)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ - /œ/</td>
<td>/f.tha.k.sí/</td>
<td>fthaksi</td>
<td>[fʊθɑkʰɪɾsi]</td>
<td>'take out of fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ - /œ/</td>
<td>/r.go.sí/</td>
<td>rgosi</td>
<td>[rʊŋɡoɾsi]</td>
<td>'poke through'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ - /œ/</td>
<td>/r.g.sí/</td>
<td>rgsi</td>
<td>[rʊŋɡoɾsi]</td>
<td>'wear clothes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ - /œ/</td>
<td>/monz/</td>
<td>monz</td>
<td>[mɒnts]</td>
<td>'trench, ditch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ - /œ/</td>
<td>/mnz/</td>
<td>mnz</td>
<td>[mɒnts]</td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ - ∅</td>
<td>/nzi.gom/</td>
<td>nzigm</td>
<td>[n̥dʒɪŋəm]</td>
<td>'chain smoker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ - ∅</td>
<td>/nzi.gm/</td>
<td>nzigm</td>
<td>[n̥dʒɪŋəm]</td>
<td>'stickyness'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3 Regular phonological processes

2.3.1 Gemination

Gemination occurs with a subset of the consonantal phonemes (/t/, /k/, /f/, /th/, /m/, /n/, and /r/). We find geminates in medial, heterosyllabic consonant clusters where the rules of syllabification (§ 2.4.3) specify that no epenthetic vowel needs to be inserted. Phonetically, geminates are characterized by a prolonged realization of fricatives, nasals, and alveolar trill. Geminate stops are realised with a delayed release of the airflow. Although gemination is caused by affixation in most cases, I discuss the topic here rather than as a morphophonemic rule because we also find monomorphemic roots with geminates. The examples in Table 2.6 provide some attested examples from the corpus. In some example, we find minimal pairs based on gemination as can be seen in the rightmost column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHONEME</th>
<th>GEMINATE</th>
<th>NON-GEMINATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>yttūnzr ‘s/he paints him’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yakkarū ‘quickly’</td>
<td>yakarē ‘in tears’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>yak=karā</td>
<td>ya=karā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yamme ‘through this event’</td>
<td>yame ‘mat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>yam=me</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>event=INS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fammāre ‘without thinking’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fam=māre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thoughts=PROP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>yannor ‘he shouts this way’</td>
<td>ynor ‘he shouts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya-n-nor</td>
<td>y-nor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3SG.MASC-VENIT-shout</td>
<td>3SG.MASC-shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>fiyaf=fa</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hunt=ABL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/th/</td>
<td>yththagr ‘it is sticking (on sth.)’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>firra ‘place name’</td>
<td>firra ‘betelnut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kwrro ‘Blue-winged Kookaburra’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gemination is not attested for complex consonants, including the prenasalised stops (/b/, /d/, and /g/) as well as the two affricates (/z/ and /nz/) and /s/. Gemination is not relevant for the labialised velar stops (/kw/ and /gw/) and the velar nasal (/ŋ/) because these do not occur in coda position.

### 2.3.2 Final-devoicing

The process of final devoicing, naturally, affects only those consonants which (i) occur in final position (excluding non-final: /kw/, /gw/ and /ŋ/) and (ii) are voiced in all other environments (excluding voiceless: /t/, /k/, /l/, /s/, and /z/). The nasal stops and the approximants are also not affected by final devoicing. This leaves us with the following phonemes which are targetted by final devoicing: /b/, /d/, /g/, /nz/, /th/, and /r/.

The domain of final devoicing is the syllable. For example, in words where /nz/ occurs in onset position, it is always voiced: nzafar [n^dzafar] ‘sky’ and knzun [k³dzun] ‘parallel’. If /nz/ occurs in final position, it is always voiceless: mnz [m³nts] ‘house’. We find evidence in suffixation and enclitisation that the process is targeting the right edge of the syllable rather than the word. Mnz [m³nts] ‘house’ may take the vowel initial locative enclitic =en in which case /nz/ occurs in onset position and is voiced: mnzen [m³ntsén] ‘in the house’. This contrasts with the consonant initial formatives =fa (ABL) and -wā (EMPH). In both cases /nz/ is syllabified in coda position and is voiceless: mnzf[a] [m³ntsfa] ‘from the house’ and mnzwā [m³ntswa] ‘really the house’. We can formalize final devoicing in the following rule:

\[ /b/, /d/, /g/, /nz/, /th/ \rightarrow \{ [-\text{voiced}] / \_ ]_s \]

The only exception is /r/, where final devoicing occurs only word-finally. However, final devoicing of /r/ is optional and more commonly found with older speakers.

### 2.3.3 Glottal stop insertion

There are only few lexemes in Komnzo which are vowel initial.\(^5\) In addition, the non-singular undergoer prefix for second/third person in one of the five prefix series is also vowel initial. However, vowel initial words are a marginal pattern in Komnzo and with one exception, which I will describe below, word-medial syllables without onsets are absent. A possible explanation for the occurrence of vowel initial words in Komnzo is contact with the Nambu languages to the east.

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\(^5\) Among the 1700 entries in the dictionary, there are 54 vowel initial lexemes: /a/ (21), /e/ (17), /o/ (8), /ā/ (4), /u/ (3), /i/ (1). Three of these are loanwords.
For this marginal pattern we find a rule of glottal stop insertion as in: ebar [ʔembar] ‘head’ or ettünzr [ʔettyndzəɾ] ‘s/he paints them’. This rule is restricted to word-initial environment, because the rules of syllabification maximize onsets in almost all cases (See §2.4.3). There is only one exception. Word-medial glottal stop insertion occurs with the vowel initial possessive suffix -ane. When the possessive is suffixed to a word which ends in a vowel, a glottal stop is inserted at the morpheme boundary. An example is kabe ‘man’ → kabeane [ka’beʔane] ‘of the man’.

2.4 The syllable and phonotactics

The phonotactics of Komnzo are best described in terms of the syllable. My description of the syllable is influenced by Blevins (1995). I will begin by outlining different syllable templates and the constraints which help to define them (§2.4.1). I will provide evidence for the internal structure of the syllable. The process of syllabification will be laid out in order to explain the rules of epenthesis (§2.4.3). A discussion of stress will follow in §2.4.5.

2.4.1 Syllable structure

The template for the maximal syllable in Komnzo is [CCVC]σ. The minimal syllable is [CV]σ and in a more restricted environment [V]σ. Thus, a syllable maximally consists of an onset, which may or may not be complex, a nucleus and a simple coda. Three constraints help to define the possible representations of the syllable in Komnzo:

1. Onsets are obligatory in word-medial and final position. There is a constraint against vowels in onset position: *σ[V]. The only position where we find vowels in onsets is word-initially, but this is a marginal pattern. If the process of syllabification produces vowel initial words, a glottal stop fills the onset position (Compare §2.3.3 above). Word-internal or word-final syllables never lack a consonantal onset.

2. Syllables may have complex onsets with a maximal number of two adjacent consonants: σ[CC]. There are constraints on the phonemes involved in CC onset clusters. (See §2.4.2.1)

3. Syllables may only have a simple coda: Cσ. Post-vocalic consosnent clusters are always heterosyllabic, never tautosyllabic: *CCσ. There are a number of constraints on the possibilities of heterosyllabic consonant clusters (See §2.4.2.2).
From the three constraints given above, we can now derive the following possible syllable types: CV, CVC, CCV, CCVC. Word-initially, we also find V. Figure 2.2 presents the syllable in Komnzo as a binary branching construct.

A branching syllable is chosen over a flat structure because there is evidence for the rhyme as a separate node of which nucleus and coda are subnodes. Such evidence includes the different shapes and constraints for onset and coda. Onsets may be complex. Codas can only be simple. Onsets are obligatory in almost all cases while codas are optional. Onsets and rhyme combine freely, thus capturing the generalization that onsets rarely influence the nucleus. All consonant phonemes may appear in a simple onset \((C_1)\). There are some restrictions, but these are internal to the onset (§2.4.2.1). The coda position \((C_3)\) on the other hand is more limited as to which consonant phonemes may appear. The labialised velar stops /kw/ and /gw/ and the velar nasal /ŋ/ never appear in a coda.

The strongest evidence for an independent rhyme comes from syllable weight which impacts on vowel length of the nucleus. If there is a specified vowel in the nucleus, the vowel will become long in open/light syllables, and it will become short in closed/heavy syllables. This affects different vowels to varying degrees. We find a good example of this in the distribution of the two allophones of /o/ which are [ə] and [ɛ]. In the language name Komnzo /kom.nzo/ [kəmˈnzo] the first vowel is very short (although stressed) and the second vowel is of normal length. It follows that syllable weight influences the length (and sometimes quality) of the vowel in the nucleus. The shortening or lengthening of nuclei may be overridden by minimal word constraints (See §2.4.4), but these rules hold for all polysyllabic roots. Consequently, we require reference to the rhyme as an independent subnode of the syllable.

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\(^6\)Syllables without consonantal onsets are restricted to word initial environments. In this case, a phonological rule states that a glottal stop is inserted (§2.3.3).
2.4.2 Consonant clusters

We find tautosyllabic and heterosyllabic consonant clusters in Komnzo. These have very different restrictions in their possibilities.

2.4.2.1 Tautosyllabic clusters

Tautosyllabic clusters are restricted to the onset of a syllable, no more than two consonants may occur and they only involve a subset of the phonemes. In a $C_1C_2$ template, $C_2$ may only be /r/ or /w/.

In a cluster with /r/ we find all consonant phonemes except for the three nasal stops ($^*_m[n], ^*_n[n], ^*_y[r]$) and the approximants ($^*_w[r]$ and $^*_y[r]$) and /r/ itself ($^*_r[r]$). This points to an explanation in terms of a sonority hierarchy in which nasal and approximants are more sonorous than the trill/tap. Some examples of $C_1[r]$ clusters are *brůįsi ‘catfish type’, *frar ‘small fishtrap’, *krųʒr ‘cold’, *grui ‘shooting star’, *kuras ‘Brolga’, *srima kabe ‘scout, spy’, *thru thru ‘bamboo type’, *trisi ‘scratch (v)’, *zra ‘swamp’.

In a cluster with /w/ the restrictions on $C_1$ are more severe and roots in which it is attested are rare. We only find the following phonemes in $C_1$ position: /k/, /g/, /z/, /nz/, /th/, and /s/. The first two phonemes in the list pose a problem because one has find a distinction between a $C_1w$ cluster and the labialized velar stops /kw/ and /gw/. This is impossible to do for lexemes, but we find some evidence in a morphophonemic rule in §2.5.3 where the vowel /u/ is realised as [w] and becomes part of a $C_1w$ cluster. Some examples of lexemes with $C_1w$ onset clusters are: *swʌyé ‘anchoring place’, *zwʌf ‘luke-warm’, *bzwʌr [$^m$bɔzwaɛr] ‘place name’.

2.4.2.2 Heterosyllabic clusters

Heterosyllabic clusters are much harder to pin down because - as we will see in §2.4.3 below - there are syllabicity alternations where a coda consonant may become an onset by inserting epenthetic schwa after which it breaks up the cluster. I will label the two consonants involved $C_a$ (the coda of the first syllable) and $C_b$ (the onset of the following syllable).

We find that where $C_a$ and $C_b$ are identical the consonants are never broken up but always realised as geminates. The attested geminate patterns are described as a phonological rule in §2.3.1. These patterns exclude a number of logically possible geminates: labialized velar stops (/kw/ and /gw/), velar nasal (/ŋ/), and all the prenasalised phonemes (/b/, /d/, /g/, and /nz/). Other heterosyllabic

---

7The labialized velar stop and the velar nasal may not occur as $C_a$ because these never occur in coda position.
clusters are rather unrestricted. Table 2.7 presents the possible cluster types in Komnzo and Table 2.8 lists examples of these types.

### Table 2.7  Heterosyllabic consonant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/r/</th>
<th>ORAL STOP</th>
<th>PRENASAL</th>
<th>NASAL</th>
<th>AFFRICATE</th>
<th>FRICATIVE</th>
<th>APPROX</th>
<th>LABIO-VELAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORAL STOP</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRENASAL</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASAL</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFRICATE</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRICATIVE</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPROX</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAB-VELAR</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2.8  Examples of attested heterosyllabic consonant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C_a</th>
<th>C_b</th>
<th>UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION</th>
<th>PHONETIC REALIZATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>[+nasal]</td>
<td>/ker.m/</td>
<td>[kerm]</td>
<td>'from the tail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/tr.n/</td>
<td>[torma]</td>
<td>'palm frond’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>[+oral stop]</td>
<td>/for.t/</td>
<td>[fortu]</td>
<td>'scar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ker.ko/</td>
<td>[kerko]</td>
<td>'type of headdress’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>[+affricate]</td>
<td>/zr.z/</td>
<td>[tsurt]</td>
<td>'knee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>[+fricative]</td>
<td>/war.f/</td>
<td>[war]</td>
<td>'above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/kr.si/</td>
<td>[kos]</td>
<td>'block (v)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/tr.tha/</td>
<td>[tora]</td>
<td>'life’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>[+approx]</td>
<td>/kar.wa.s/</td>
<td>[karwa]</td>
<td>'lie, trick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/yar.yom.g.s/</td>
<td>[yarjegasi]</td>
<td>'scream (v)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>[+lab-velar]</td>
<td>/ya.far.kw. re/</td>
<td>[yafarkwe]</td>
<td>'we leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+oral stop]</td>
<td>[+oral stop]</td>
<td>/wät.ku/</td>
<td>[wak]</td>
<td>'Australian Pelican’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+oral stop]</td>
<td>[+nasal]</td>
<td>/dek.ni/</td>
<td>[dekn]</td>
<td>'praying mantis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/rt.maksi/</td>
<td>[rтомакс]</td>
<td>'cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+oral stop]</td>
<td>[+fricative]</td>
<td>/f.r.k.thé/</td>
<td>[фърт]</td>
<td>'red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/et.fih/</td>
<td>[етф]</td>
<td>'sleep (n)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The column and line labelled ‘prenasal’ includes prenasalised stops and the prenasalised affricate.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C_a</th>
<th>C_b</th>
<th>UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION</th>
<th>PHONETIC REALIZATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+oral stop]</td>
<td>[+approx]</td>
<td>/thik.ya.si/</td>
<td>[ðikjasi]</td>
<td>‘tie the fence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/zoI.wa.si/</td>
<td>[tsëkwasi]</td>
<td>‘speech’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/mit.wa.si/</td>
<td>[mitwasi]</td>
<td>‘swinging (v)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+oral stop]</td>
<td>[+lab-velar]</td>
<td>/tak.kwo.nam/</td>
<td>[tatak'wnam]</td>
<td>‘tree type’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+prenasal]</td>
<td>[+oral stop]</td>
<td>/gab.ka.râ/</td>
<td>[gâm'karâ]</td>
<td>‘with pandanus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+prenasal]</td>
<td>[+nasal]</td>
<td>/gad.nê/</td>
<td>[gântne]</td>
<td>‘with the rope’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+prenasal]</td>
<td>[+fricative]</td>
<td>/bad.lo/</td>
<td>[bâtôlo]</td>
<td>‘to the ground’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+prenasal]</td>
<td>[+approx]</td>
<td>/mnz.wâ/</td>
<td>[mâtswâ]</td>
<td>‘really the house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+nasal]</td>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>/nin.ra/</td>
<td>[nînâr]</td>
<td>‘with us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+nasal]</td>
<td>[+nasal]</td>
<td>/am.kf/</td>
<td>[âm'kôf]</td>
<td>‘breath’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/thun.nâ.gw.rm/</td>
<td>[dûntâne'gwârôm]</td>
<td>‘he was losing them here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+nasal]</td>
<td>[+nasal]</td>
<td>/kan.mota/</td>
<td>[kanmo'dâ]</td>
<td>‘river snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/yar.yom.g.sì/</td>
<td>[järj'mqosì]</td>
<td>‘scream (v)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/kum.da/</td>
<td>[kum'da]</td>
<td>‘bask’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/kân.brim/</td>
<td>[kân'mbrim]</td>
<td>‘come back here!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+nasal]</td>
<td>[+affricate]</td>
<td>/san.zìn/</td>
<td>[sanfàn]</td>
<td>‘put him down here!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/zan.fr/</td>
<td>[tsanfôr]</td>
<td>‘far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/kan.tha.tha/</td>
<td>[kanmôda]</td>
<td>‘like a bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+nasal]</td>
<td>[+approx]</td>
<td>/ncë.mm.wâ/</td>
<td>[ndêm'nômwa]</td>
<td>‘really for us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+nasal]</td>
<td>[+lab-velar]</td>
<td>/nqân.kwir/</td>
<td>[njân'kwîr]</td>
<td>‘he ran hither’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+affricate]</td>
<td>[+oral stop]</td>
<td>/ez.kn.wr/</td>
<td>[êtêskwâr]</td>
<td>‘s/he moves them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+affricate]</td>
<td>[+nasal]</td>
<td>/kâz.nob/</td>
<td>[kêtsnômp]</td>
<td>‘drink (it)!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+affricate]</td>
<td>[+fricative]</td>
<td>/iz.fo/</td>
<td>[îftsô]</td>
<td>‘to the forest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+affricate]</td>
<td>[+approx]</td>
<td>/iz.wâ/</td>
<td>[îftsâw]</td>
<td>‘really the forest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+fricative]</td>
<td>[+oral stop]</td>
<td>/mnz.wâ/</td>
<td>[mâtswâ]</td>
<td>‘really the house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+fricative]</td>
<td>[+affricate]</td>
<td>/buf.zenz/</td>
<td>[btuf'fênts]</td>
<td>‘your wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+fricative]</td>
<td>[+fricative]</td>
<td>/ef.thar/</td>
<td>[êfthôr]</td>
<td>‘dry season’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/fûs.fûs/</td>
<td>[fûsfûs]</td>
<td>‘wind’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We can make a number of observations from Table 2.8 above. The prenasalised phonemes do occur in C_a as well as C_b. In the latter case, C_a may only be another nasal as in: kunda [kum³dₐ] ‘basket’, kungsi [kum³gₙsi] ‘smell (v)’, dngu [d³mₙgu] ‘waterhole’, tingwɔ [tɔŋ³ɡₙsæ] ‘tree type’. If C_a is a phoneme other than a nasal, the cluster will be broken up: garda [³ga³dₐ] ‘canoe’, ɔðgɛm [ɔlɛ³gₙam] ‘Parinari nonda’, ɪθɡarwrnɛ [ɬɔɡɔ³ɡ₁wɔɾɔmₚ] ‘they were breaking them’. There are no attested cases of a prenasalised phoneme in C_b with a homorganic nasal in C_a, i.e. /m/+ /b/, /n/+ /nz/, /n/+ /d/.

There are only few clusters which involve /r/ in the C_b position. This is caused by maximizing onsets during syllabification, which creates complex onsets clusters of the type CR. As a consequence, the only heterosyllabic clusters with /r/ in C_b position are the ones which are illegal as onset clusters (e.g. *ₚₙ[r], *ₚₙ[r], *ₚₙ[r]). In other words, because *ₚₙ[r] is illegal as an onset, we do find it as a heterosyllabic cluster (ninr[r] /ninₚₙ[r] /nin[r] ‘with us’). Likewise, because *ₚₙ[r] is a legal onset cluster, we never find it as a heterosyllabic cluster.

We do find heterosyllabic clusters which involve /w/ in C_b position and a velar (prenasalized) stop in C_a position. Evidence that these clusters are indeed heterosyllabic as opposed to an instantiation of the labialized velar stop /kw/ and /gw/ comes two sources. First, we find examples like zokwasi [ts³kwasi] ‘speech’ where the short, centralized allophone of /o/ shows that /k/ is the coda of a closed syllable. (Compare with the discussion of /o/ in §2.2.1 and the discussion of syllable weight in §2.4.1 above) Second, in verb stems ending in /k/ and /g/ the following non-dual suffix is always -wr (§5.5.3.3). Both cases attest that we find heterosyllabic /k.w/ and /g.w/ clusters in addition to the complex phonemes /kw/ and /gw/.
2.4.3 Syllabification and epenthesis

Syllable structure is generally understood not to be defined at the underlying representation (Blevins, 1995: 221). Hence, we do not find minimal pairs based on syllabicity in Komnzo. As was explained in §2.2.2 above, schwa is not a phoneme but an epenthetic vowel inserted in order to break up consonant clusters. There is some degree of free variation in syllabicity and schwa insertion. An example is the word *mrn* ‘family, clan’ with the locative suffix *-en*. The resulting word *mrnen* ‘in the family’ may be realised either /mr.nen/ [mɔrnen] or /mr.r.nen/ [mɔrɔnən]. There is no phonemic contrast and speakers find it difficult to perceive the difference in syllabicity.

The process of syllabification will be outlined here in the form of three ordered rules which predict epenthesis and syllable structure:

1. Associate each specified vowel with a syllable nucleus.

2. Establish and maximize onsets in accordance with syllable templates (See constraint number 2 in §2.4.1 on onset clusters). A phonological rule will insert a glottal stop if there is no consonantal onset in word initial position (See §2.3.3).

3. Break-up unsyllabified consonants with epenthetic vowels:

   (a) Exception: suffixes which allow no other syllabification than inserting the epenthetic vowel in final position. This includes the adjectivalizer *-thé*, non-singular ergative case marker *-yé* and the first singular actor verb suffix *-é*.

   (b) Elsewhere: proceed from right to left breaking up consonant clusters.

   (c) After each schwa insertion, establish codas in accordance with possible heterosyllabic consonant clusters. Otherwise, maximize onsets. Exception: word-initial segments are always recognized as onsets.

   (d) The epenthetic vowel is [ʊ] and [ɪ] if followed by heterosyllabic /w/ and /y/ respectively. In all other instances it is [ɔ].

The process of syllabification attempts to map the minimal syllable CV onto the underlying representation. The rules give preference to onsets rather than codas. Consequently, we do not find vowel initial syllables word-medially or word-finally.

I have modelled the process of syllabification as being divided into two steps. Syllables which contain full vowels are recognized first and in a second step epenthetic vowels are inserted to break up unsyllabified consonant clusters. This algorithm proceeds backwards (from right to left) and inserts epenthetic schwas
between unsyllabified consonants to create syllable nuclei. The insertion ensures that onsets are maximized. After each onset, the process checks against the list of possible heterosyllabic consonant clusters (§2.4.2.2) whether another insertion occurs right away or only after a coda has been recognized. In the latter case, it ‘jumps’ one consonant and breaks up the next pair of unsyllabified consonants. An exception is the word initial position where the segment is automatically recognized as an onset. The rules ensure that no word-initial schwa insertion occurs. The direction (right to left) explains why we find schwa never in word-final position. There are only a handful of lexemes in which schwa is attested word-finally.

The direction is important in order to explain forms like wonrsokwr [wěnōrōskōnwōr] ‘s/he is bothering me’ which is syllabified /wo.nr.so.kn.wr/. The algorithm is applied from right to left which is why the cluster /r.s/ is first recognized as a possible heterosyllabic consonant cluster. After this recognition, schwa is inserted between /n/ and /r/. If the process was applied from left to right, one would expect that /n.r/ is first recognized as a possible heterosyllabic cluster and schwa would be inserted between /r/ and /s/ which yields the incorrect form */won.r.so.kn.wr/*. As pointed out above, there is some degree of optionality. In elicitation, informants accepted schwa insertion in both places [wěnōrōskōnwōr]. This might be an artefact introduced by elicitation, because in fluent speech this hardly ever occurs.

The algorithm specifies that schwa is inserted between consonants disregarding possible onset clusters (§2.4.1) whereas syllables with specified vowels maximize their onsets and produce onset clusters. Indeed, we do not find the possible onset clusters CR or CW with epenthetic vowels. There are only two exceptions for CR. The first is the verb frmnzsi /frm.nz.si/ ‘fix, prepare’ in which the onset cluster /fr/ is never broken up even if the verb is fully inflected: yafrmnzr /ya.frm.nzr/ ‘s/he prepares him’. The second exception occurs with all verbs in a specific inflection: Word-initially, the irrealis prefix r- becomes part of an onset cluster with the undergoer prefix. This cluster only contains an epenthetic vowel if (i) the restricted verb stem is used and (ii) the verb is marked for dual number: thrthbth [drōōdɔmbɔ] ‘they put them inside’.

In Figure 2.3-2.5 below, I present four examples spelling out the algorithm step by step:

---

9The allophone [ė] of the phoneme /o/ occurs here not because this might be a closed syllable, but because it follows a labio-velar approximant (See §2.2.1)

10This verb is glossed as: th-r-ɔ-thb-th 2[3NSG-IRR-ND-put.inside.RS-2[3NSG It it a rare inflection because three things have to come together: irrealis mood, restricted verb stem, dual number marker (which is a zero-morpheme in this case).
2.4 The syllable and phonotactics

Figure 2.3 Syllabification of *kwark* ‘deceased’

\[ /kwark/ \]
\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\underline{\text{underlying representation}} \\
\downarrow \\
\underline{\text{Rule 1: Associate each specified vowel with a nucleus}}. \\
\downarrow \\
\underline{\text{Rule 2: Maximize onsets. } \rightarrow \text{ establishes the syllable } \sigma[kwa]} \\
\downarrow \\
\underline{\text{Rule 3b: Break up consonant clusters. } \rightarrow \text{ schwa is inserted between } /r/ \text{ and } /k/ \text{ and creates a CVC syllable}} \\
\downarrow \\
\underline{\text{syllabified form}} \\
/kwa.rk/ \]

\[ /\sigma[kwa].rk/ \]
\[ /\sigma[kwa].[rk]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[kwa].[rk]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[kwa].[rk]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[kwa].[rk]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[kwa].[rk]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[kwa].[rk]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[kwa].[rk]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[kwa].[rk]/ \]
\[ /[\text{kwa}.r.]k/ \]

Figure 2.4 Syllabification of *yanthugwr* ‘s/he tricks him here’

\[ /yanthugwr/ \]
\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\underline{\text{underlying representation}} \\
\downarrow \\
\underline{\text{Rule 1: Associate each specified vowel with a nucleus}}. \\
\downarrow \\
\underline{\text{Rule 2: Maximize onsets. } \rightarrow \text{ establishes the syllables } .ya. \text{ and } .thu.} \\
\downarrow \\
\underline{\text{Rule 3b: Break up consonant clusters. } \rightarrow \text{ schwa is inserted between } /w/ \text{ and } /r/ \text{ because it is not a possible cluster}} \\
\downarrow \\
\underline{\text{Rule 3c: Establish codas in accordance with possible}} \\
\underline{\text{heterosyllabic consonant clusters. } \rightarrow /g.w/ \text{ is possible } \rightarrow /g/ \text{ becomes a coda of the preceding syllable.}} \\
\downarrow \\
\underline{\text{Rule 3c: Establish codas in accordance with possible}} \\
\underline{\text{heterosyllabic consonant clusters. } \rightarrow /n.th/ \text{ is possible } \rightarrow /n/ \text{ becomes a coda of the preceding syllable.}} \\
\downarrow \\
\underline{\text{syllabified form}} \\
/yan.thug.wr/ \]

\[ /\sigma[yan].thug.\sigma[wr]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[yan].thug.\sigma[wr]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[yan].thug.\sigma[wr]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[yan].thug.\sigma[wr]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[yan].thug.\sigma[wr]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[yan].thug.\sigma[wr]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[yan].thug.\sigma[wr]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[yan].thug.\sigma[wr]/ \]
\[ /\sigma[yan].thug.\sigma[wr]/ \]
\[ /[\text{yan}.\text{thug}.w.]\text{ar}/ \]
Figure 2.5  Syllabification of zwäfiyökwe ‘I finished sth. for her’

/zwäfiyökwe[ɛ]/ underlying representation: the final schwa is the 1SG actor suffix. It is must be prespecified as syllabic in the underlying representation

↓

/zwæ[ɛ][f][ɛ][y][o][k][w][ɛ][ɛ]/ Rule 1: Associate each specified vowel with a nucleus.

↓

/s[zwæ][ɛ][f][ɛ][y][o][k][w][ɛ]/ Rule 2: Maximize onsets. → establishes the syllables [thwä], [fi], [yo], and [wë]

↓

/s[zwæ][ɛ][f][ɛ][y][o][k][w][ɛ]/ Rule 3c: Establish codas in accordance with possible heterosyllabic consonant clusters. → /k.w/ is possible → /k/ becomes the coda of the preceding syllable.

↓

/s[zwæ].f[i].y.o.k.w/ syllabified form

↓

[tswæ.ʃi.jɛ.k.wɔ]

Figure 2.6  Syllabification of skrifzenz ‘Skri’s wife’

/skrifzenz/ underlying representation

↓

/skr.ʃ[ɛ][f].ɛ[ɛ][n][ɛ]/ Rule 1: Associate each specified vowel with a nucleus.

↓

/s[ʃ][kr][f][ɛ][ɛ][n][ɛ]/ Rule 2: Maximize onsets. → establishes the syllables .kri. and .ze.

↓

/s[ʃ][kr][f][ɛ][ɛ][n][ɛ]/ Rule 3c: Establish codas in accordance with possible heterosyllabic consonant clusters. → no cluster with /nz/ → /nz/ becomes the coda of the preceding syllable.

↓

/s[ʃ][kr][f][ɛ][ɛ][n][ɛ]/ Rule 3c: Establish codas in accordance with possible heterosyllabic consonant clusters. → /l.z/ is possible → /l/ becomes the coda of the preceding syllable.

↓

/s[ʃ][kr][f][ɛ][ɛ][n][ɛ]/ Rule 3b: Break up consonant clusters. → schwa is inserted between /s/ and /k/ because it is not a possible cluster

↓

/s.krif.zen/ syllabified form

↓

[sɔ.ʃi.rif.ʃeŋts]
2.4.4 Minimal word

We find some constraints on the minimal size of a word in Komnzo. I will describe this here, because the minimal word helps to explain a number of phenomena. It has an impact on allophonic variation of /o/ (See §2.2.1), vowel length in general, and epenthesis.

Compared to polysyllables, monosyllabic roots have a slightly longer vowel if they are closed syllables and a very long vowel if they consist of an open syllable. This is relevant for roots with specified vowels only, not for roots with an epenthetic vowel. Three examples are: fk [фɔk] ‘buttocks’, řük [фæ:k] ‘jaw’, and řu [фæ:] ‘there (DIST)’. In moraic theory, we could rephrase the minimal word constraint as follows: ‘Words with specified vowels need to be at least two mora long’.

We saw in §2.2.1 that the phoneme /o/ has two allophones: a short centralized rounded vowel [ɛ] which occurs in closed syllables and a rounded back vowel [ɔ] which occurs in open syllables. I employed this phenomenon above in §2.4.1 to justify the need of syllable weight as a concept. As for the phoneme /o/ in monosyllabic roots the difference between these syllable types is suspended and we do find [ɔ] in closed syllables as in: gon [ŋgɔn] ‘hips’ or rot [ɔxt] ‘fence type’. Thus, the minimal word constraint overrides these allophonic rules. The constraint applies at the root level and not the level of the inflected word. For example, we find [ɔ] instead of [ɛ] in the verb thorsi [ðɔrsi] ‘put inside’ because thorsi is multimorphemic (thor- ‘put inside’ + -si NMLZ). With polysyllabic roots, this is not the case and the two variants of /o/ follow the allophonic rule as was layed out in §2.2.1. An example is: thomonsi [ðɔmɔnsi] ‘pile up firewood’.

The minimal word constraint impacts on syllabification because there are two variants for monosyllabic roots of the type CRV(C). These kinds of roots may be realised with a lengthened vowel in the nucleus. Alternatively an epenthetic vowel may be inserted to break up the onset cluster thus creating a disyllabic form. In this case the specified vowel is of normal length and stress does not shift to the initial epenthetic vowel but remains with the specified vowel. Examples are: srak [sɾa:k] ∼ [sɔɾa:k] ‘boy’ and zra [tsɾa] ∼ [tsɔɾa] ‘swamp’.

2.4.5 Stress

Stress is a syllable-level phenomenon in Komnzo. A stressed syllable is marked by a clearer pronunciation, higher intensity and sometimes higher pitch. Vowel length is not an acoustic correlate of stress and even the epenthetic vowel (a short schwa) is frequently stressed. That being said, specified vowels usually become more centralized and shortened in word-final position which is always unstressed.
The domain of primary stress (marked by ' in the examples) is the initial syllable of a word. There are a number of exceptions to initial stress which I will describe below. Secondary stress (marked by ’ in the examples) carries little function in Komnzo and it is often hard to distinguish from unstressed syllables. Secondary stress is absent in bi- and trisyllabic words. Only few roots have more than three syllables and none have more than four. An example of a four syllable root is 'nge,mäku /n.ge.mä.ku/ [n@Ngemäku] ‘term of address between foster parent and real parent’. It follows, that all words with more than four syllables are polymorphemic. For example, inflected verbs often comprise more than four syllables as in: ’kwamnzok,wrmth /kwam.nzok.w.r.mth/ [k@am@dz@kw@m@Th] ‘They were dancing.’

There are some exceptions to initial stress. For example, in partial reduplication (§4.2) the first syllable is unstressed as in: r’rokar /r.ro.kar/ ‘things’. In full reduplication, we find initial stress r‘rokar r‘rokar as with the corresponding singleton form r‘rokar. A second environment in which the first syllable is unstressed are inflected verbs with a proclitic. An example is the form byatrakwr /b.g@trak.wr/ ‘s/he falls there’. The proclitic b= (MED) is added on an ‘outer layer’ to the otherwise fully inflected verb. Cases like partial reduplication and verbal proclitics should be seen as exceptions to the rule of initial stress.

Stress is assigned from left to right. Words of up to four syllables construct a disyllabic trochee foot. In Table 2.9 below, I present templatic stress patterns for words between two and four syllables of length.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYLLABLE STRUCTURE</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
<th>PHONETIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>’σσ</td>
<td>nzäthe</td>
<td>[n@dz@the]</td>
<td>‘namesake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’σσ</td>
<td>ebar</td>
<td>[e@bar]</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’σσ</td>
<td>nzrm</td>
<td>[n@dz@rm]</td>
<td>‘flower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’σσσ</td>
<td>kafara</td>
<td>[ka@fara]</td>
<td>‘river pandanus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’σσσ</td>
<td>bågwrm</td>
<td>[m@ba@gw@rm]</td>
<td>‘butterfly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’σσσ</td>
<td>kr‘bu</td>
<td>[k@r@bu]</td>
<td>‘swelling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’σσσσ</td>
<td>nänzüth,zsi</td>
<td>[n@dz@yi@z@si]</td>
<td>‘cover with soil/mud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’σσσσ</td>
<td>kuku,fasi</td>
<td>[ku@ku@fasi]</td>
<td>‘Grey Shrike-trush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’σσσσ</td>
<td>kde,wawa</td>
<td>[k@de@wawa]</td>
<td>‘firefly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Words with more than four syllables vary in their assignment of secondary stress. Most five-syllable words assign secondary stress to the third syllable, but
some assign it to the fourth. Most six-syllable and seven-syllable words assign secondary stress to the fourth syllable, thus, constructing a tri-syllabic foot, but there are also exceptions. Variation in words with more than four syllables might be explained in terms of open vs. closed syllables, or in terms of specified vs. epenthetic vowel nucleus. The nature of secondary stress in Komnzo remains to be investigated in more detail.

2.5 Morphophonemic Processes

The following section addresses morphophonemic processes which occur through affixation or cliticization.

2.5.1 Vowel harmony after -wā

The emphasizer suffix -wā attaches to nominals. Affixation of -wā causes a change in the quality of the vowel of the preceding syllable regardless whether this syllable is part of the root or another suffix. Depending on the vowel quality its impact can be described as fronting or rounding. Some examples are given in Table 2.10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROCESS</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
<th>EXAMPLE WITH -wā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fronting of /o/</td>
<td>karfo ‘to the village’</td>
<td>kar-fō-wā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>village-ABL-EMPH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bobo ‘towards there’</td>
<td>bobō-wā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MED.ALL-EMPH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raising of /a/</td>
<td>nima ‘this way’</td>
<td>nimā-wā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>like,this-EMPH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bafanema ‘because of that one’</td>
<td>baf-ane-mā-wā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RECOG-POSS-CHAR-EMPH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rounding of /e/</td>
<td>zafe ‘long ago’</td>
<td>zafō-wā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>long.ago-EMPH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etfthme ‘overnight’</td>
<td>etfth-mū-wā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sleep-INS-EMPH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel harmony does not affect vowels in a closed syllable: kafarwā ‘really big’ not *kafārwā or dō kerwā ‘really the lizard tail’ not *dō kōrwā. The process is blocked by two intervening consonants. Vowel harmony of this type is restricted to morphophonemics because we do find lexemes where the vowels in question occurs in adjacent syllables, as in namā ‘good’ or dowā ‘Wompoo Fruit Dove’.
2.5.2 Dissimilation between prefix and verb stem

We find a number of verb stems in which the vowel quality of the prefix is raised from /ä/ to /e/. This occurs only in inflections which build on the restricted root, and therefore encode the dual versus non-dual contrast by a vowel change in the prefix. The vowel /ä/ marks usually non-dual, whereas /a/ or zero mark dual number (§5.5.3.4). Dissimilation targets the non-dual /ä/ and raises it to /e/. The trigger is the first vowel of the verb stem. Raising takes place when the first vowel is either /a/ or /ä/, in two verb stems the trigger is /ö/. Some examples are: mar- ‘see’, far- ‘set off’, fuf- ‘hold’ and wär- ‘crack, happen’, rä- ‘be, do’, räs- ‘erect’, söbäth- ‘ascend’ and sörfäth- ‘descend’. Thus, for verbs like marasi the non-dual of a recent past perfective is not realised as *zämämar but zemär ‘he looked at himself’. Depending on syllabification and intervening prefixes, the trigger vowel in the verb stem and the prefix can be separated by another syllable. In most cases, this is a syllable created by epenthesis. Verb stems like mràs- ‘stroll’, thfär- ‘jump’ and thkäf- ‘start’ have an epenthetic vowel after the first consonant in their nominalisations, for example mràssi /m.rä.z.si/ ‘stroll’. In the inflected verb form, the initial consonant is syllabified as a coda: zemräs ‘he strolled around’ (syllabified as /zem.räs/). If the venitive prefix n- is added to the inflection, trigger vowel and prefix vowel are separated by another syllable, but this does not affect the raising: zenmräs ‘he strolled towards here’ (syllabified as /zen.m.räs/). The raising pattern described here applies to inflections of various TAM categories (irrealis, imperatives, iteratives). They all share the use of the restricted root and, consequently the fact that the vowel in the prefix encodes duality.

A special case is the copula rä-. Although highly irregular in many ways, it follows the dissimilation pattern just described. What is special about the copula is that the past suffix -a triggers the same kind of raising in the stem of the copula. Thus, we find erera ‘they were’ instead of *erära.

Raising of the prefix vowel is a morphophonemic process, not a general phonological process. For example, we do find lexemes where /ä/ and /a/ occur in adjacent syllables (atätö ‘tree type’ (Pouteria sp), mättraksi ‘bring out’); the same goes for /ä/ and /ä/ (krätär ‘tree type’ (Oriocalis sp), thäfäm ‘ripples’). Moreover, the /ä/ vowel is not raised to /e/ in verb inflections that do not involve the restricted root. Consider the 2|3NSG e- and the 3SG.FEM w- of the alpha prefix series. When the valency changing prefix a- is added to the inflection, these two formatives are realised as ä- and wä- respectively (§5.5.1.2). However, the /ä/
vowel in these formatives is not raised to e- in inflected verb forms, for example wäfänzr ‘he shows her’ and not *wefänzr. One reason for this might be that raising the vowel to /e/ would neutralise the valency changing prefix a-. Another explanation might be that the raising pattern developed together with pre-root dual marking, which is only found with restricted roots, and restricted roots in turn do not combine with the prefixes of the alpha series (§5.5.1.2), which would explain why these are not affected.

2.5.3 Approximant ↔ high vowel

In two different parts of the verbal inflectional paradigm, a change from the approximants to high vowels ([w] → [u] or [ii], and [y] → [i]) and the reverse from [u] to [w] is found.

All of the verbal proclitics consist only of a consonant, e.g. the immediate past n= or the three deictic proclitics z= PROX, b= MED, and f= DIST. These are cliticized to otherwise fully inflected verbs. In most cases, this creates an extra syllable word initially as in byatrakwr /b.ya.trak.wr/ ‘s/he falls there’. Some of the verb prefixes in the alpha series begin with an approximant (wo- 1SG, w- 3SG.FEM, and y- 3SG.MASC). If the clitics are attached to these forms the high approximants are realised as high vowel: u- 1SG, ü- 3SG.FEM, and i- 3SG.MASC. A few examples are given in (1 - 3) below.

1. burera
   b=wo-rä-ra
   MED=1SG.α-COP.ND-PST
   ‘there I was.’

2. zimithgr
   z=y-mi-thgr
   PROX=3SG.MASC.α-hang-STAT.ND
   ‘he/it hangs here.’

3. zürugr
   z=w-rugr
   PROX=3SG.FEM.α-sleep.ND
   ‘she sleeps here.’

Another change which involves high vowels and approximants is attested only for [u] ↔ [w]. The formatives of one of the subseries of beta (β2) end in a [u] vowel, for example ku- 1SG, su- 3SG.MASC, thu- 2|3NSG. The valency changing prefix a- occurs between the beta prefix and the verb stem, for example ku-a-
‘for me’, *su-a-* ‘for him’, *thu-a-* ‘for you/them’. In this case, the [u] becomes part of an onset consonant cluster and is realised as a high back approximant [w]. An example is given in (4-5).

(4)  *thufsinzr*

thu-fsi-nzr-∅
2|3NSG.β2-count.EXT-ND-2|3SG

‘S/he counted them.’

(5)  *thuafsiznr*

thu-a-fsi-nzr-∅
2|3NSG.β2-VC-count.EXT-ND-2|3SG

‘S/he counted for them.’

### 2.6 Loanwords and loanword phonology

A number of speech sounds are restricted to loanwords. These are the voiced oral stops [b], [d], and [g], the lateral approximant [l] and a few diphthongs. The ‘donor languages’ of almost all loanwords found in Komnzo are either English or Hiri Motu. Only few loanwords come from Bahasa Indonesia, for example the terms for introduced fish species: *ikan lele* ‘Clarias batrachas’, *mujair* ‘Oreochromis mossambicus’, *gastor* ‘Channa striata’. An increasing number of people start to learn the third official language of Papua New Guinea - Tok Pisin - and sometimes expressions like *maski* ‘nevermind’ can be heard amongst younger Komnzo speakers. Otherwise Tok Pisin plays only a minor role in loanwords.

From the degree of indigenization of loanwords we can distinguish at least two periods: an early phase which lasted until the 1960s and a second phase from that time until today. The boundary between the two periods is rather fuzzy. The first period was characterized by English speaking patrol officers and officials who visited the area for very short periods. The second period began with the opening of a Mission school in Rouku in the mid 1960s. At the beginning, the language of instruction was Hiri Motu. In the 1970s the school was moved to Morehead and since then, the language of instruction is English. We find linguistic evidence for the two periods. Loanwords from the first period have undergone indigenization in order to adapt to Komnzo phonology. Loans which entered the language during the second period are much closer to the original English or Motu pronunciation. An example is the word *doctor*. While it is pronounced [dokta] nowadays, some older speakers still use a second variant *nzokta* [ŋdzokta] which they report was common in their parent’s and grandparent’s generation.
Words from the first phase are: frayn misin [ˈfrajən mɪsɪn] ‘plane, flying machine’, kas raba [kas rəˈba] ‘gas lamp’, dis [ˈdɪs] ‘dish, plate’, damaki [ˈdamaki] ‘dynamite’. We find regular correspondences of English phonemes mapping onto Komnzo phonology. The bilabial stop [p] becomes a bilabial fricative [ɸ] in frayn misin, but in a cluster with the bilabial nasal [m] in kas raba it becomes a pre-nasalised voiced bilabial stop [m]. The velar voiced stop [ɡ], also in kas raba, comes out as a voiceless velar stop [k]. The lateral approximant [l] in English flying becomes an alveolar tap or trill [ɾ ɾ] in Komnzo frayn and again in kas raba. The English diphthong [aɪ] in ‘dynamite’ is monophthongized in damaki. The voiced alveolar stop [d] becomes prenasalised [nd] in damaki and dis. In the same word, the post-alveolar fricative [ʃ] turns into an alveolar fricative [s]. However, there are too few loans from this early period to make a systematic comparison of all English phonemes in different environments.

The second period which lasts until today is characterized by loan phonemes. Indigenization is found to a lesser degree. The second period is also characterized by the influx of loans from Hiri Motu. We find loan phonemes in the oral voiced stops [b], [d] and [ɡ] as in: bara ‘paddle’, durua ‘help’, dibura ‘prisoner’, gunana ‘place name’ from Hiri Motu and baisikol ‘bicycle’ from English. Note that the English diphthong [aɪ] is retained and not monophthongized and the lateral approximant [l] also does not change.

There are two correspondences which we find in both periods. The first is between the voiceless bilabial stop [p] in English and the voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] in Komnzo. The second correspondence is between the lateral approximant [l] and the alveolar trill/flap [ɾ ɾ]. It seems, in the early period, [l] was changed in all environments, but the second period this only occurs in [pl] clusters in English. Elsewhere, [l] is taken over into Komnzo as a loan phoneme. We have seen some examples from the first period above. Examples from the second period are: fren ‘plane’, fenzil ‘pencil’, and sosfen ‘saucepan’.

### 2.7 Orthography development

There is no writing tradition in Komnzo, but most people can read and write in one of the official languages, namely English and Motu. The mission school, which was based at Rouku during the 1960’s, operated in Motu, but today English is the teaching language at the primary school in Morehead. Thus, reading and writing in Komnzo has not been promoted in the past. As a consequence, literacy in one’s mother tongue is an alien concept for most Komnzo speakers.

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12 gunana means ‘the former (one)’ in Motu. In Komnzo, it designates a place ‘where old Rouku used to be’ as informants put it. A new hamlet was founded there a few years ago.
The first attempt to develop an orthography for Komnzo was during an alphabet workshop organised by Marco and Alma Bouvé at Morehead Station in 2000. It brought together representatives from a dozen villages. The two representatives from Rouku were Greg Marua and Wendy Yasii. When I began my work in Rouku, this orthography was not used except for a few words that were written on the blackboard in the elementary school. Regrettably, the Rouku elementary school has been disfunctional since 2010. During my fieldwork I have organised two orthography meetings. The outcome of these meetings was the Komnzo Language Council which includes representatives of all clans. The language council has remained an abstract administrative body overseeing my work. In practice, I concentrated all translation and elicitation work on 4-5 interested individuals. Together, we have revised the orthography several times. Table 2.11 and Figure 2.7 show the differences between the current orthography and the one developed in 2000. Changes are shown with an arrow (→).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palato-alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>labio-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop &amp; affricate</td>
<td>b → n/a</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ts → z</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>n/a → kw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prenasalised</td>
<td>mb → b</td>
<td>nt → d</td>
<td>nj → nz</td>
<td>n̥p → g</td>
<td>n/a → gw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>ng → η</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semivowel</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.7  Comparison of orthographies: vowels
Chapter 3

Word Classes

This chapter offers an introduction to word classes in Komnzo. It provides the criteria which are necessary to predict the word class of a given root based on its distribution, function and structural capacities. This chapter contains detailed information about smaller word classes or subclasses which will not be discussed elsewhere in the thesis. For these it lists all known members for quick reference.

The seven word classes are nominals (§3.1), verbs (§3.2), adverbs (§3.3), particles (§3.4), clitics (§3.5), connectives (§3.6), and interjections & ideophones (§3.7). Nominals constitute a superclass comprising a variety of subclasses: nouns (§3.1.2), property nouns (§3.1.3), adjectives (§3.1.4), quantifiers & numerals (§3.1.5), locational nominals (§3.1.6), temporal nominals (§3.1.7), personal pronouns (§3.1.8), indefinites (§3.1.10), interrogatives (§3.1.9), and demonstratives (§3.1.11).

We may categorise the word classes of Komnzo along a number of lines. The clearest distinction is between inflecting (nominals and verbs) and uninflecting word classes (all other). The distinction between open and closed word classes is more difficult. Only a few nominal subclasses (nouns, property nouns, numerals) and interjections accept new members in the form of loanwords or neologisms. Although large in terms of members, verbs are not an open word class. Major words classes are nouns, property nouns and verbs with more than 300 members in the current dictionary. All other word classes have less than 30 members and are considered minor classes.

3.1 Nominals

Nominals are the largest word class in Komnzo, consisting of a number of subclasses. The largest are the open subclasses of nouns (§3.1.2) and property nouns (§3.1.3) which both readily accept borrowings from other languages, particularly English and Motu. Adjectives (§3.1.4) constitute a minor, closed class. The
nominal superclass includes a number of other small, closed word classes. These are quantifiers and numerals (§3.1.5), locationals (§3.1.6), temporals (§3.1.7), free pronouns (§3.1.8), interrogatives (§3.1.9) and demonstratives (§3.1.11).

The unifying characteristic of nominals is their ability to serve as the host of case marking clitics. However, not all nominal subclasses can take the full set of case distinctions. For example, while nouns and free pronouns are prototypical nominals and take all cases, demonstratives, temporals, and locationals are more limited.

3.1.1 Criteria for distinguishing between nouns, property nouns and adjectives

Before addressing each subclass in turn, it is necessary to give an overview of the distinction between nouns, property nouns and adjectives. The two main criteria involved are the ability to act as the head of a noun phrase, and the ability to trigger agreement in both gender and number. Further criteria are the ability to enter into a possessive construction, the possibility of taking the adjectivaliser -thé and the different functions of the instrumental case =me. This section only lists the criteria. Examples are given in the following sections, which address each subclass in turn (§3.1.2 - §3.1.4).

Nouns and property nouns can act as the head of a noun phrase, whereas adjectives cannot. See §7.5 for further discussion of headedness. An adjective may be the only visible element of a noun phrase, but this is possible only if the missing head is established through context. This first criterion groups property nouns with nouns and singles out adjectives.

Agreement in gender and number is only triggered by nouns. Gender is Komnzo is purely semantic (§11.2). The agreement target for gender is the 3rd singular prefix of the verb. Number agreement is marked at various morphological sites on the verb including the undergoer prefix, the actor suffix, and the duality affix. Adjectives fail to trigger gender or number agreement. Property nouns also fail to trigger gender agreement, because they escape from being indexed in the prefix. However, property nouns trigger a default SG number agreement in the suffix, for example in experiencer-object constructions where a property noun can be the stimulus flagged with the ergative case (§8.3.10). Nouns trigger both gender and number agreement. Hence, the criterion of agreement groups property nouns with adjectives and singles out nouns.

As far as the other criteria are concerned, possessive constructions are only possible with nouns and property nouns and not with adjectives. The adjectivaliser -thé is common with particular nouns, optional with property nouns, but ungrammatical with adjectives. The instrumental case marker =me serves
its prototypical function with nouns, but property nouns and adjectives function as adverbials when marked with the instrumental case. Table 3.1 provides an overview of the criteria.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Property Nouns</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender Agreement</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Agreement</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>- (default SG)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of NP</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Construction</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectivaliser -thé</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS Case</td>
<td>instrument</td>
<td>adverbial</td>
<td>adverbial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.1.2 Nouns

Nouns constitute a large, open class of lexical items which readily accepts new members by forming neologisms or adding loanwords from other languages. Nouns are typically referential and denote objects, locations, abstract notions, kinship relations, and proper names.

Semantically nouns can be subdivided into common nouns, kinship nouns, and proper nouns. Common nouns depict the natural world (*no* ‘rain’, *ttöö* ‘creek’, *ymd* ‘bird’) as well as artifacts (*mnz* ‘house’, *nag* ‘grass skirt’, *kufraru* ‘bamboo flute’) or abstract concepts (*bthan* ‘magic’, *wath* ‘dance (n)’, *dradr* ‘taboo’). Common nouns are syntactically least restricted, i.e. they enter into most constructions and can be marked for all cases compared to the other nominal subclasses. Kinship nouns can intrinsically be specified for gender (*nafe* ‘father’, *name* ‘mother’) or be flexible as to which gender is assigned (*nane* ‘elder sibling’, *ngth* ‘younger sibling’). Many kinship terms are self-reciprocal (*Naświ* ‘maternal uncle ← sister’s child’, *gamit* ‘exchange cousin ← exchange cousin’). Kindship nouns frequently enter the close possessive construction (§4.7.1). Proper nouns consist of personal names and place names. Place names are always feminine and they are often compounds made up of a plant name and the word *zfth* ‘base, stem, reason’ like in the place name *gani zfth* (‘Endiandra brassii + base’). Proper nouns are hardly ever modified by demonstratives, quantifiers or adjectives.

Nouns are distinct from other nominals in being the only lexical items which trigger gender agreement. The agreement target is the 3rd person singular prefix of the verb. Gender agreement and the semantics of the gender system will be explained in §5.5.2 and §11.2 respectively. Additionally, nouns trigger number agreement, in this they resemble other nominals subclasses such as pronouns. The agreement target for number depends on the type of argument, but it in-
volves three distinct verbal affix slots (the undergoer prefix, the actor suffix, and the duality marker). The verb morphology will be laid out in chapter 5, but we get a glimpse of the agreement system below in the examples (5-8).

Nominal number marking takes place on the level of the noun phrase, leaving aside the use of numerals. Nominal number marking is underspecified for three reasons. First, only animates are marked for number, especially humans. Example (1) shows the allative case marker on several nominals, and only the animate referents are marked for number. Note that the spatial cases (locative, allative, ablative) have special formatives for animate referents (§4.8). Second, number marking on the noun only occurs when the respective noun phrase is flagged with a case marker. Thus, nouns out of context or noun phrase in the absolutive case, which is zero, have no nominal number marking. Third, nominal number marking is based on a singular versus non-singular distinction. The full three-way distinction between singular, dual and plural is encoded in the verb. It follows that the majority of nouns or noun phrases are underspecified for number, and for core case arguments, number is assigned morpho-syntactically via the agreement system of the verb.

(1)  
\textit{wati} nzedbo zanrifthath mayawanmedbo rouku bānefo \ldots masufo.

\begin{verbatim}
wati nzedbo  \_zan\_rifth/ath
then 1NSG.ALL 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/send
mayawa=medbo  \_rouku  bāne=fo \_masu=fo
PROP.N=ALL.ANIM.NSG PLACE.N RECOG=ALL \_PLACE.N=ALL
\end{verbatim}

‘Then they send the word to us \ldots to the Mayawas in Rouku \ldots to there \ldots to Masu.’

(tci20120814 ABB #34-35)

Nouns may undergo reduplication which then signals plurality and/or non-prototypicality, as in \textit{yawiyawi} ‘money, coins’ from \textit{yawi} ‘seed’ or \textit{yamyam} ‘marks’ from \textit{yam} ‘footprint’. An example is given below in (2) and (3). Example (2) shows the noun \textit{znsā} ‘work’, while the reduplicant \textit{znsāznsā} was often used for the kind of elicitation, recording and transcription work that I was doing (3).

(2)  
\textit{znsā} kwazbw商业银行 dagon fawr

\begin{verbatim}
znsā  kwa\_bz/nwrm\_ dagon faw=r
work 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/work food  payment=PURP
\end{verbatim}

‘We worked for food.’

(tci20120924 TRK #50)

\footnote{The associative case is an exception. With animate referents it is used for the inclusory construction (§7.6), and there values are dual and plural, instead of singular and non-singular.}
The speaker shows me a particular plant that is sold in Sota. She decides not to dig out the root, but come back later, because we were making a recording.

‘Later, we will get them out properly because you came for work.’

In order to derive adjectives, some nouns take the adjectivaliser suffix -thé. We can see this most clearly in the color terms: kwayan thé ‘white’ from kwayan ‘light’ or frk thé ‘red’ from frk ‘blood’. The productivity of -thé is rather limited and there are a number of lexical items which show frozen morphology. For example, yfrsé ‘black’ from yfr ‘Syzygium sp’ (used for black paint) shows an irregular variant, -sé instead of -thé. For dbömsé ‘blunt’ there is no corresponding noun without the suffix. The restrictions in terms of productivity can be explained by the presence of a class of property nouns to be discussed below in §3.1.3. Additionally, there is an alternative strategy for colour and shape adjectives, which involves the formation of a compound with the word woku ‘skin’ suffixed by the adjectivaliser. The Komnzo equivalent for English ‘green’ is expressed by wämne taga wokuthé ‘tree leaf skin-like’ or the translation of ‘round’ is aki wokuthé ‘moon skin-like’. An example of this is given in (4) below, where the speaker characterises a man as looking a bit ‘boyish’.

(4) fi sraksrak wokuthé yara.

‘He was a bit boyish.’

All common nouns can serve as the host for case clitics (ergative, dative, possessive, locative, allative, ablative, instrumental, characteristic, purposive, associative, proprietive, privative, simulative) or receive other nominal morphology (exclusive, emphatic). As I describe in §4.3, it is at the level of the noun phrase that a case markers operate. NPs headed by a noun can function as arguments or adjuncts, as well as complements of the copula. This is illustrated by the ergative and absolutive-marked arguments in example (5)\(^2\). Example (6) shows a locative-marked noun which functions as an adjunct.

\(^2\)The absolutive case is unmarked. In example (5), the word garda ‘canoe’ is glossed with an absolutive case in brackets. This is the only example with such a gloss and subsequently arguments in absolutive case will not be glossed as ABS.
Nouns typically function as the head of a noun phrase or as the head of a nominal compound. Compounds will be described in §7.5.2. Example (7) shows the noun waniwani ‘picture, shadow’ as the head of the noun phrase modified by the demonstrative zane and the adjective katan. Nouns may become a modifier within a noun phrase. In the nominal compound in (8) the two nouns act as head (kam ‘bone’) and modifier (tauri ‘wallaby’).

(7) *fof zäbth [zane katan waniwani].*

```
fof  zä\bth/  zane  katan  waniwani
EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/finish  DEM:PROX  small  picture
```

‘This little movie is finished.’

(7c20120914 RNA #63)

(8) *ŋATHAYÉ [tauri kam] yanathrth.*

```
ŋatha=yè  tauri  kam  ya\na/thrth
dog=ERG.NSG  wallaby  bone  2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/eat
```

‘The dogs are chewing a wallaby bone.’

(7c20120818 ABB #42)

### 3.1.3 Property nouns

There is a class of lexical items in Komnzo which shares features of both nouns and adjectives. I will refer to them as property nouns because they denote either physical properties (*fagwa* ‘width’, *dambe* ‘thickness’, *zrin* ‘heaviness’) or abstract...
3.1 Nominals

mental states (noku ‘anger’, miyo ‘desire’, miyatha ‘knowledge’, weto ‘happiness’). A few property nouns are more event-oriented expressing behavioural patterns (mogu ‘concentration’, ofe ‘absence’, müsa ‘restlessness’, zirkn ‘persistance’, waro ‘theft, deception’). Note that I translate property nouns in the glosses sometimes as abstract nouns (miyamr ‘ignorance’, züb ‘depth’) and sometimes as adjectives (‘ignorant’ and ‘deep’ respectively). I see no analytic gain in choosing one over the other, and applying it consistently to all glosses in this grammar. The term property noun is chosen because most members of this word class express some physical or non-physical property, only a minority of them are event-oriented.

Property nouns can act as the head of a noun phrase and as such they act as the host for all case clitics just like nouns. With respect to the verb indexation, they are syntactically inert in two points. First, property nouns do not register in the undergoer prefix and consequently do not trigger gender agreement. Consider the two elicited examples in (9). In (9a), the undergoer slot is filled by an invariant middle marker, and only the subject argument is indexed. The middle template has a number of functions described in §5.4.5. One of these functions is the suppressed object function shown in (9a). The object is not indexed in the undergoer prefix of the verb form. This always occurs with property nouns, which creates an indeterminacy as to the argument status of twof ‘heat’ in (9a). Both translations given in (9a) are possible. In the first, the property noun is the object, in the latter it is a nominal predicate. Example (9b) shows that this ambiguity is resolved, if an argument – in this case a 3SG.FEM – is indexed in the prefix. As mentioned above, the verb prefix does not index property verbs like twof. The object argument must be a different noun, for example bad ‘ground, earth’, which is put into parentheses. Note that, irrespective of whether or not the object noun phrase is present or omitted from the clause, the third singular feminine indexed in the verb cannot refer to the property noun twof.

(9) a. efothf twofiya yokwr.
    efoth=f twof yạ fiyok/wr
    sun=ERG.SG heat 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/make
    ‘The sun creates the heat.’ or ‘The sun makes (something) hot.’

b. efothf (bad) twof wāfiyokwr.
    efoth=f (bad) twof
    sun=ERG.SG (ground) heat
    wā fiyok/wr
    2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make
    ‘The sun makes (the ground) hot.’

Note that with intransitive verbs, like the copula, property nouns function as nominal predicates. A clause like (10) can only be interpreted as having an
ellipted subject which is 3rd person singular masculine. It cannot be analysed in a way that frasi ‘hunger’ is the argument of the copula.

(10) **frasi yé.**

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{frasi } \backslash \text{yé/} \\
\text{hungry 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be}
\end{array}\]

‘He is hungry.’ not: ‘It is hungry.’

Hence, we could say that property nouns escape indexation in the undergoer prefix and as a consequence there is no gender agreement. If informants are asked directly whether a given noun is feminine or masculine, they can answer this promptly, but with property nouns, they hesitate and often answer ‘it depends’. In an example like (10), it depends on the intended meaning: ‘she is hungry’ or ‘he is hungry’. Thus, it depends on the gender of the referent indexed in the copula, it does not depend of the property noun.

Secondly, property nouns indexed in the actor suffix trigger a default singular number agreement. This occurs in experiencer-object constructions (11) or in the middle template (12). In (11), the property noun thkar ‘hardness’ is flagged with the ergative case, and it is indexed in the suffix of the verb fiyoksi ‘make’. In (12), twof ‘heat’ is in the absolutive case, and it is indexed in the suffix of the middle verb sogsi ‘ascend’. In both examples, the indexed person-number value is 2|3SG. See §8.3.10 for experiencer-object constructions and §5.4.5 for a description of the middle template.

(11) The narrative is about a crocodile which shaped the environment when it travelled through the landscape a long time ago.

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{ηan rak} / \text{zbo zf ziyé. zā zf fthé thkarf yafi yokwà ziyé.}
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{l}
\eta\text{nan}/rak/\text{zbo zf}
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{l}
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/crawl PROX.ALL IMM
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{l}
z=yé zā zf fthé thkar=f
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{l}
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST/be PROX IMM when hardness=ERG.SG
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{l}
ya/\text{fiyok/}wa
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{l}
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/make
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{l}
z=yé
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{l}
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
\end{array}\]

‘It crawled here to this place. That is when it got stuck right here.’ (lit.: ‘hardness made it’)
3.1 Nominals

Part of rain making magic is to leave rotting meat in a closed container. After a couple of days its stinking content is released into the air in order to create rain. Thus, ‘its heat’ refers to the rotting flesh.

\textit{nafane twof kresöbäth nzafarfo.}

nafane twof k\(\text{söbäth}^2\) nzafar\(=\text{fo}\)
3SG.Poss heat 2\(|3\)SG:B\(\text{BJ}:\text{IRR:PFV}^\text{/ascend sky}=\text{ALL}\)

‘Its heat rose up to the sky.’

(tci20110810-01 MAB #45-46)

Example (12) shows that property nouns can enter into a possessive construction. This is another characteristic they share with nouns and which sets them apart from adjectives. In this case, \textit{twof} is the possessed. Although there are no examples attested in the corpus where a property noun is the possessor, this is possible.

In both predicative and attributive constructions, property nouns take the adjectivaliser -\textit{thé} optionally. An attributive construction in English like ‘the embarrassed man’ could be expressed as \textit{fäsi kabe} or \textit{fäsithé kabe}. The former could be translated as a compound ‘shame man’ and the latter ‘embarrassed man’. Hence, when it comes to property nouns no clear distinction can be drawn between attributive constructions and nominal compounds in a predicative construction. Moreover, a predicative construction like English ‘The man is ashamed’ can also be expressed with or without the adjectivaliser -\textit{thé} as either \textit{kabe fäsi yé} or \textit{kabe fäsithé yé}.

In addition to nominal modification, property nouns can have a predicative function. Property nouns may occur with light verbs (\textit{rō–‘do’, fio\textit{kɔsi} ‘make’, ko- ‘become’) or phasal verbs (\textit{thkäfsi ‘start’, bthaksi ‘finish’}). In (13) the property noun \textit{garam garam} ‘sweet talk’ expresses most of the semantics of the event while the phasal verb \textit{thkäfsi ‘start’} takes the inflection and indexing.

(13) A malevolent spirit is trying to convince a traveller to stay overnight.

\textit{garamgaram srethkäf. ‘kwa ŋabrigwr? efoth byé!’}

garamgaram sre\text\{\text\{'thkäf\}/
\text\{\text\{\text\{\text\{'kwa \ŋabrigwr\? efoth byé\!’

(tci20120901-01 MAK #88-89)
Coverb + light verb constructions of this kind have been described for a number of Australian languages. For example, in Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt, 2000) or Bilinarra (Meakins and Nordlinger, 2014) we find a division of labour in complex predicates whereby a distinct word class of coverbs contributes most the meaning of an event while a light verb carries most of the inflectional material. In Komnzo, there are a few property nouns which seem to be more event-oriented in their semantics. However, there is insufficient morphological or distributional evidence for setting up a distinct word class of coverbs. In addition to the coverb function in example (13) above, property nouns can be used as secondary predicates. An example is provided in the use of wri ‘intoxication’ in (14).

(14) In this story an angry man is threatening the people at a dance. As a consequence of his actions, he is tackled down by others and tranquilised.

\[ krärme srärifth. wri kwosi sfthnm. \]

krär=me srä\rif/th wrix kwosix
kava=INS 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/kill intoxicated dead
sfx thn/m
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/lie.down

‘They put him down with Kava. Then, he was lying down dead drunk.’

(tci20120909-06 KAB #95-96)

Property nouns marked with the instrumental case have an adverbial function. In example (15), the property noun ktkt ‘narrow’ is the single argument of the intransitive verb.\(^3\) In example (16), ktkt takes the instrumental case and functions adverbially.

(15) A group of headhunters were preparing an attack. The sentence below is accompanied by a gesture which resembles the movement of the arms as if embracing a person.

\[ kwot kar fthé wkrkwath wkrkwath wkrkwath a ktkt zäkora fof. \]

kwot kar fthé 3x(w\krk/wath) properly village when 3x(2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/block) and
ktkt zä\kor/a fof narrow 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/become EMPH

‘They were blocking and blocking the village by narrowing (the circle).’

(20111119-03 ABB #134)

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\(^3\)ktkt is not functioning as a secondary predicate in (15). It would be wrong to translate this as: ‘They became narrow’ because the verb is indexing 2|3SG and not 2|3NSG. Hence, a more literal translation should be: ‘Narrowness became/happened.’
During a plant walk, the speaker describes a particular plant called *grnzari* (Chantium sp) and the way it grows.

*ktktme erfikwr. nima fefe fof yrfikwr.*

ktkt=me e\rfik/wr nima fefe fof narrow=INS 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/grow like really EMPH y\rfik/wr 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/grow

‘They grow closely together. This one really grows like that.’

(16)

3.1.4 Adjectives

Adjectives form a small class of lexical items in Komnzo. Semantically, adjectives denote size (*kafar* ‘big, great’, *katan* ‘small’, *yabun* ‘fat, big’, *tnz* ‘short’, *zanfr* ‘tall’), quality (*namä* ‘good’, *gathagatha* ‘bad’), age (*zafe* ‘old’, *zöftha* ‘new’), physical property (*kwosi* ‘rotten, dead’, *kwik* ‘sick’, *tayo* ‘ripe, dried’, *gauyé* ‘fresh, unripe’) and human propensity (*dmnzü* ‘silent’, *yoganai* ‘tired’, *žäzr* ‘exhausted’). Color adjectives, as we have seen in (§3.1.2), are derived from nouns by suffixing -thé. There are a few adjectives which show irregular forms of this suffix (*zisé* ‘painful’ from *zi* ‘pain’) and/or which lack a corresponding noun or property noun (*dbömsé* ‘blunt’). Hence, these are treated as adjectives which show frozen morphology. In terms of size, there are about two dozen adjectives in Komnzo. The low number can be explained by the presence of a class of property nouns (§3.1.3).

There are three adjectives in Komnzo which are special in that they always follow the element which they modify. Two denote human propensity: *bana* ‘poor, pitiful, hapless’ and *kwark* ‘deceased, late’ (19). The third denotes quality: *fefe* ‘true’.

Morphological evidence is provided by the adjectivaliser -thé, which cannot be suffixed at an adjective: *katanthé* ‘small’, *namäthé* ‘good’ or *tnzthé* ‘short’. Some nouns, for example *kayanthé* ‘white’ (from *kwayan* ‘light’), and all property nouns can take the adjectivaliser.

Adjectives may serve as the host for all case clitics, if they occur in the rightmost position of the noun phrase. This occurs if (i) the head of noun phrase has been ellipted (18) or (ii) if an adjective follows the head of the noun phrase (19). See §7.5 for further discussion of headedness and ellipsis. Example (17) shows an adjective preceding the head of the noun phrase. We see from these
examples, combined with the argument of ellipsis, that adjectives cannot function as the head of a phrase. This is supported by the observation that it is the head of a phrase which triggers agreement in the verb prefix and not the adjective.

(17) \textit{bobomrwä arufe krathfänzr ... zagr karfo.}

\begin{verbatim}
bobom=mr=wä arufe kra\thfä/.nzr (. ) zagr
MED.ALL=PURP=EMPH PLACE.N 2\|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/fly (. ) far
kar=fo village=ALL
\end{verbatim}

‘He would fly all the way to Arufe ... to a distant village.’

(tci20130903-04 RNA #144-145)

(18) The speaker explains the details of a fish trap. The trap consists of long basket-like structure within which a smaller basket is fitted in order to prevent fish from escaping.

\textit{wati, kofä fthé brigsir n krär, katanf kwa ynbrigur zbo.}

\begin{verbatim}
wati kofä fthé \brig/-si=r n krä\r/
then fish(ABS) when return-NMLZ=PURP IMN 2\|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/do
katan=f kwa small=ERG.SG FUT
yn\brig/wr zbo
2\|3SG:SBJ\>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/return PROX.ALL
\end{verbatim}

‘When the fish tries to get out, the small (basket) will return them here.’

(tci20120906 MAB #56-57)

(19) \textit{nzwamnzrm fof ... oromanä fof ... oroman kwarkä}

\begin{verbatim}
nzwam/nzrm fof (. ) oroman=ä fof (. )
1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell EMPH (. ) old_man=ASSOC.PL EMPH (. )
oroman kwark=ä
old_man deceased=ASSOC.PL
\end{verbatim}

‘We just stayed with the old man ... with the late old man.’

(tci20130911 MBR #72-73)

As with property nouns, adjectives with an instrumental case can function adverbially. In (20), the adjective \textit{gathagatha} ‘bad’ modifies the verb. In (21) the adjective \textit{kwosi} ‘rotten, dead’ functions predicatively.
3.1 Nominals

(20) A mother is scolding her daughter because she walks carelessly through the long grass.

\textit{kabothma! tayafe gathagathamenzo niyak! kabothma!}

\text{kaboth=ma tayaf=gathagath=me=nz\text{ö} n\text{"}yak/}
\text{snake=CHAR PERS.N bad=INS=ONLY 2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk}
\text{kaboth=ma}
\text{snake=CHAR}

‘Tayafe, you walk in a bad way! (Watch out) for the snakes!’

(tci20130907v-02 JAA #143)

(21) After demonstrating how to roll a little whistle from a coconut leaf, the first attempt to blow the whistle fails because the coconut leaf was not fresh.

\textit{keke kwot yanor. zane katanme kwosi yé.}

\text{keke kwot ya\text{"}nor/}
\text{zane katan=me kwosi}
\text{NEG properly 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST/shout DEM:PROX small=INS dead}
\text{\text{"}yé/}
\text{3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/be}

‘It doesn’t whistle properly. This one is a little rotten.’

(tci20120914 #55-56)

3.1.5 Quantifiers & Numerals

The quantifier subclass typically contains lexical items that are “modifiers of nouns that indicate quantity and scope” (Schachter and Shopen, 2007: 37). Quantifiers in Komnzo fall into two subclasses: non-numerical quantifiers (§3.1.5.1) and numerical quantifiers (§3.1.5.2), henceforth referred to as quantifiers and numerals respectively.

Both subclasses show similarities to adjectives. What unites them as a distinct subclass is the ability to take the distributive suffix (-kak). Quantifiers and numerals are the only roots that take the distributive suffix. Like adjectives, they can be flagged for case and may take the instrumental case (=me) with an adverbial function, for example indicating how many times a particular event occurred.

3.1.5.1 Quantifiers

There are five quantifiers in Komnzo: \textit{matak} ‘nothing’, \textit{frü} ‘alone, single’, \textit{etha} ‘few’, \textit{tüfr} ‘many, plenty’, and \textit{bramöwä} ‘all’. 
Quantifiers may precede or follow the noun which they modify. That being said, it is much more common for a quantifier to follow the noun as in (22) and (23). Instances of a preceding quantifier are not attested in the corpus, but only verified through elicitation. (But see (28) below (and footnote 4) for a possible example).

(22) *kofä bramöwä fthé kränmtherth watik zzarä kwot threnthfär ... nä totkarä.*

kofä bramöwä fthé krän\mther/th watik fish all when 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/come.up then zzar=ä kwot properly 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/jump (.) other net=ASSOC spear=PROP

‘When all the fish come up, then they jump in with the nets ... others with spears.’

(tci20110813-09 DAK #28)

(23) *sitauane yare mane ernä minu ernä ... nge matak.*

sitau=ane yare mane e\r/na minu woman which 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be barren woman e\r/n/na (.) nge child matak 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.) child nothing

‘As for Sitau’s two wives, they were barren women without children.’

(tci20120814 ABB #469)

Quantifiers may take the distributive suffix (*-kak*) which can be translated as ‘each’ to English. For semantic reasons, neither *matak* ‘nothing’ nor *bramöwä* ‘all’ take this suffix. Two examples of the distributive suffix are given below in (24) and (25).

(24) *we kwot we nābikakme ... we nā wawa thfrärmth katan o kafar*

we kwot we nābī-kak=me (.) we nā wawa also properly also one-DISTR=INS (.) also INDF yam thfr\ä/rmth katan o kafar 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/do small or big

‘Again, they took another yam ... one each (garden plot) ... small or big.’

(tci20131013 ABB #364)
3.1 Nominals

(25) After catching a monitor lizard, a couple of fish and a turtle.

\[\text{watik, faso } \text{tüfrkak } \text{erä.}\]

\[\text{watik, faso } \text{tüfr-kak } \text{e\text{"ra}/} \text{then, meat plenty-DISTR 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be}\]

‘Okay, there is plenty of different meat.’

(26) Quantifiers may take an instrumental case (=me) in order to derive adverbs as is shown in example (26).

\[\text{kabe ane } \text{frümenzo } \text{tnägsi zethkäfath.}\]

\[\text{kabe ane frü=me=nzo tńäg-si ze\text{"thkäf/ath} \text{man DEM single=INS=ONLY lose-NMLZ 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/start}\}

‘The people began to scatter (lit.: began losing themselves alone)’

The distributive and the instrumental may also be suffixed to the same quantifier. In this case, their order is fixed: the instrumental follows the distributive as shown in example (27). The example also shows that, like other nominals, quantifiers can be reduplicated to indicate plurality.

(27) The speaker talks about types of bows and how different men use these according to their abilities and preferences.

\[\text{zawe } \text{ffrükakmenzo } \text{erä.}\]

\[\text{zawe } \text{f-frü-kak=me-nzo e\text{"ra/}\text{preference REDUP-single-DISTR=INS=ONLY 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be}\}

‘They each have their preferences.’

Example (28) shows etha meaning ‘few’. Note that the word etha can also mean ‘three’, which I describe in §3.1.5.2.

(28) \text{tüfrmär kafarkafar nrä ... komnzo ethanzo.}

\[\text{tüfr=mär kafar-kafar n\text{"ra/} (.) komnzo etha=nzo} \text{plenty=PRIV REDUP-big 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) only few=ONLY}\]

‘We are not many old people ... just a few.’
Note in passing that in (28)\(^4\) the quantifier tüfr ‘plenty’ is negated by using the privative case =mär. This is also possible with etha.

The two quantifiers matak ‘nothing’ and bramöwä ‘all’ deviate in their behaviour from other quantifiers. As mentioned above, they do not take the distributive suffix. Furthermore, they do not take the instrumental case =me. At least for bramöwä there might be an explanation as to why this is the case. The emphatic marker =wä forces the preceding morpheme to harmonise its vowel. If the preceding morpheme is the instrumental suffix, it will change from =me to =mō. It follows that, historically, bramöwä could be bru=me=wä. Since there is no corresponding lexical item bru, we are left to speculate, and accept it as a case of frozen morphology.

3.1.5.2 Numerals

The numerals of the Yam languages have received some attention in the literature because of their unique senary (base-6) system (cf. Donohue 2008, Hammarström 2009, and Evans 2009). In fact, Komnzo has two numeral systems: the senary system is unrestricted, but there is a second system with an upper limit of counting of four or five. This is similar to Donohue’s description of Kanum, where an unrestricted system coexists with a restricted system (Donohue, 2008). Nowadays, one should include English numerals which constitute a third system commonly used in Komnzo. For the remaining description, I will concentrate on the senary system and the restricted system only.

The senary system is predominantly employed in ritualised counting as described in §1.3.3.1. The number of yams counted during a feast quickly runs up to several thousands, for large feasts even tens of thousands. On the other hand, everyday counting hardly ever goes above four or five, and English numerals are borrowed in situations where approximation of larger numbers is insufficient, for example when trading goods, charging one’s mobile phone credit, or counting the eleven members of a soccer team. Hence, we find a double numeral system in Table 3.2 below. One set of numerals is commonly used, but it is restricted to low numbers. A second set is employed only in ritualised counting, but it is virtually unlimited.

\(^4\)In example (28) we can see that tüfr ‘plenty’ precedes the reduplicated adjective kafarkafar ‘big’. The example is interpreted to have an elided noun kabe ‘man’ as its head, thus kafarkafar means ‘the big ones’. This, then constitutes a corpus example of a quantifier preceding its head.
Table 3.2  The numeral system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VALUE</th>
<th>RESTRICTED</th>
<th>RITUALISED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>näbi</td>
<td>näbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>eda</td>
<td>yda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>etha</td>
<td>ytho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>asar</td>
<td>asar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(tabuthui, tabru)</td>
<td>tabuthui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6(^1)</td>
<td>6(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(tabuthui nibo, nibo)(^5)</td>
<td>nibo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>fta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>6(^3)</td>
<td>taruba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,296</td>
<td>6(^4)</td>
<td>damno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,776</td>
<td>6(^5)</td>
<td>wärämäkä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46,656</td>
<td>6(^6)</td>
<td>wi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beyond the observation of practices, evidence for this double system comes from the lexical items themselves. In everyday counting, the words for ‘two’ and ‘three’ are eda and etha. In ritualised counting, the words are yda and ytho respectively. The latter pair reflects older forms which have not undergone the loss of word-initial y. The sound change jə > e /#_ is attested in many pairs of lexical items between Komnzo and the neighboring Tonda varieties, e.g.: Wära ymoth ‘girl’ corresponds to Komnzo emoth. Another piece of evidence comes from the fact that the numeral etha ‘three’ can also mean ‘a few’ (cf. example (28) above). I take this as evidence for the fuzzy upper limit of the restricted set.

Large quantities can be constructed in the following way: a quantity of 72 is expressed as eda fta ‘2 36’ (or ‘2 6\(^2\)’). A quantity of 73 would simply add a näbi ‘and one’ to the expression: eda fta a näbi ‘2 36 and 1’. Thus, the fact that eda precedes fta means ‘2 times 36’, whereas the fact that a näbi follows fta means ‘36 plus 1’. This has the effect that values which are relatively simple in a decimal system result in a long string in Komnzo, for example English ‘fifty’ corresponds to Komnzo näbi fta a eda nibo a eda (lit. ‘1 x 36 and 2 x 6 and 2’).

A senary system differs from a decimal system only in the location of simple and complex points in the number space, but not in its overall complexity. Consequently, there are values which require a very long string in English, but have

\(^5\)The term for five shows two variants. The term for six also shows two variants one of which is a combination of tabuthui ‘five’ and nibo ‘six’. Outside of ritualised yam counting, I have overheard this only a few times by younger speakers. Older speakers did not produce a term for six or were reluctant to do so. The combination tabuthui nibo might be explained by the way how ritualised counting works: While two men move a set of six yams, one of them will shout out the numbers. He continues to shout the current number as long as it takes to move to the next one (e.g.: ‘two two two three’). This means that each cycle of six ends with tabuthui nibo ‘five six’. It seems that some speakers have taken this collocation and reinterpreted it to mean ‘six’. I take this as being indicative for the fuzzy upper limit of the restricted set.
a short expression in Komnzo, for example ‘forty-six thousand and six hundred and fifty-six’ corresponds to *wi* in Komnzo.

Numerals can take the same morphology as quantifiers (compare §3.1.5.1). There are no corpus examples of a numeral taking either the distributive suffix or the instrumental case suffix, but (29) below shows an example of a numeral with both. I was taught the phrase *nābikakme kāznob!* ‘Drink it one-by-one!’ before I administered pain relief tablets to my friends and informants. I was corrected whenever I falsely used *nābime*, which means ‘in one go’ (lit.: with one).

(29) A speaker reports how his ancestors came to know about matchboxes.

> nā kabe *nābikakmenzo* ... *finzo miyatha thfrärn fof.*

> nā kabe nābi-kak=me=nzo (.) fi=nzo miyatha some men one-DISTR=INS=ONLY (.) 3.ABS=ONLY knowledge thfrä/rm fof 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be EMPH

‘Some people (one-by-one) ... only they held that knowledge.’

(29c20120909-06 KAB #13)

Ordinal numerals can be derived from cardinal numerals by attaching the characteristic case marker *=ma*. This is shown in examples (30) and (31).

(30) The speaker describes the three deceased husbands of an elderly lady.

> *fi sraksrak wokuthé yara ethama mane yara.*


‘As for the third one, he looked like a boy.’

(30c20131013-02 ABB #211)

(31) The speaker describes a namesake ceremony during which the name-giver will hold up the newborn. However, s/he will do so only at the third attempt.

> *ethama bāne mane zrarā fof ... wfather ane fof.*

> etha=ma bāne mane zra/rā/ fof three=CHAR RECOG.ABS who(ABS) 3SG.FEM:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be EMPH (.) w\’father wr ane fof (.) 2|3SG:SBJ>3SGFEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/hold DEM EMPH
‘At the third (time) she will really hold her up.’

The numeral *näbi* ‘one’ can be used in the sense of ‘one way’ or ‘for good’. Such an example is given in (32) below.

(32) A story about a man who lived with a demon woman in the forest is concluded with the following words.

\textit{wati, fi näbi zäbrima. zbo yamnzr ane woga oten.}

\textit{wati fi näbi zä\brim/a zbo then 3.ABS one SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/return PROX.ALL ya\m/nzr ane woga ote=n 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell DEM man PLACE.N=LOC}

‘Then he returned for good. This man now lives here in Ote.’

### 3.1.6 Locationals

Komnzo has a small closed class of lexical items which I call locationals. Some members of this subclass are historically derived from nouns. Locationals may act as hosts case clitics, but for spatial cases only (locative, allative, and ablative). Table (3.3) lists all nine members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>HISTORICAL DERIVATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>war\textit{fo}</td>
<td>above</td>
<td>war ‘top layer’ =\textit{fo} (ALL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{ban\textit{ban}}</td>
<td>underneath</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z\textit{fthen}</td>
<td>below</td>
<td>zéféth ‘base’ =\textit{en} (LOC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m\textit{rnr}</td>
<td>inside</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z\textit{f}a</td>
<td>in front</td>
<td>zér ‘tooth’ =\textit{fa} (ABL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th\textit{arthar}</td>
<td>next to</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k\textit{amfa}</td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>\textit{kam} ‘bone, backbone’ =\textit{fa} (ABL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b\textit{obathm}</td>
<td>at the end of</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k\textit{rat}</td>
<td>in between</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locationals occur always as modifiers following their head. A typical example is provided in (33) with *ban\textit{ban} ‘underneath.’
The speaker describes how people reacted when the Imperial Japanese Air Service flew attacks on Merauke in Dutch New Guinea during WWII.

\begin{verbatim}
fi fthé fof duga taga banbanen boba kwatharwrmth fof
fi fthé fof duga taga banban=en boba
3SG.ABS when EMPH taro leaf underneath=LOC MED.ABL
kwa\thar/wrmth fof
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/go.underneath EMPH

'That was really when they went underneath the taro leaves.'
\end{verbatim}

I analyse these as locational nominals rather than postpositions, because like all nominals, they are marked for case. Additionally, as we can see in the third column of Table 3.1.6, some of the locational nominals are historically related to nouns. For these, I propose a path of development from a nominal compound to a lexical item of a different nominal subclass. As an example, let us hypothesize about the origin of warfo ‘above’. In a first stage, there would have been a nominal compound mnz war ‘house top’ made up of two nouns mnz ‘house’ and war ‘top’. Nominal compounds are described in (§7.5.2). This compound can be marked with the allative case productively, thus, producing mnz warfo ‘to the top of the house’. In a second stage, warfo became a single lexical item ‘above’ and lost the specific allative semantics. As a consequence, it can now be marked for spatial cases, for example the locative case (-n), producing mnz warfon ‘on top of the house’. This is commonly found in Komnzo, although presently there is no example in the corpus. Lexicalization of this kind has progressed to varying degrees with the four localizations where a nominal derivation is a possible scenario. While warfo, kamfa and zrfa are commonly marked with the locative case clitic, this is not the case with zfthen. Hence, zfthen is at a transitional stage between a noun with productive morphology (the locative case =en) and a locational. The choice depends on whether one analyses zfth in expressions like mnz zfth ‘house base’ as part of a noun+noun compound or as a noun+locational construction.

Two characteristics unite locationals as a word class. Locationals always follow the item which they modify, and they take only spatial cases. As we will see in §4.8, spatial cases can be extended to cover temporal semantics as in (34) below.

\begin{verbatim}
(34)  zena kwa ṣatrikwé fof ... nimame zrethkäfé zane ezi mrmren
zena  kwa ṣa\trišk/wé fof (.) nima=me
today FUT 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell EMPH (.) like_this=INS
zre\thkäf/é zane ezi mrmr=en
1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/start DEM:PROX morning inside=LOC

'Today, I will tell (a story) ... I will start like this in this morning.'
\end{verbatim}
3.1.7 Temporals

Temporals are a functional class with members from different nominal subclasses which encode temporal semantics. Beyond the shared reference to time, temporals are united by their ability to act as hosts for a special set of temporal case clitics. Temporals are flexible with respect to their position in the clause, but they occur most commonly in initial position.

Temporals comprise lexical items of three word classes. The first are nouns denoting different times of the day (ezi ‘morning’, efoth ‘day’, zizi ‘afternoon, dusk’, zbär ‘night’). The second group consists of time adverbials (zena ‘now, today’, kayé ‘yesterday, tomorrow’, nama ‘two days ago, two days in the future’, númä ‘a week ago, a week ahead’). Except zena, these are bidirectional in their semantics. Thus, kayé could be glossed as ‘± 1 day’, nama as ‘± 2 days’ and númä as ‘± a few days’. As for the latter two, the edges of the time interval are less clearly demarcated. Note that bidirectional adverbials are found in other Papuan languages, for example in Usan (Reesink, 1987: 70). The third group of temporals consists of the three adjectives zöftha ‘before, first’, zafe ‘old, long time ago’, and thrma ‘later, after’, all unidirectional in their semantics.

The uniting characteristic of this class is its ability to take a special set of temporal cases. There are three temporal cases in Komnzo: the temporal locative (=thamen) ‘at that time’, the temporal possessive (=thamane) ‘that time’s’ and the temporal purposive (=thamar) ‘for that time’. Temporal cases are discussed in §4.9. In the following examples, the temporal purposive case is used on the noun ezi (35), on the time adverbial nama and the English loanword ‘Friday’ (36) and on the temporal adjective thrma (37).

(35) After a long day of work which involved felling a sago palm and transporting the trunk along the river, the speaker tells his friends to leave the rest of the work for the next day.

\[\text{nze thäkora “fefe yé ezithamar. ezi né kwot sräfrmnze”}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
nze & \quad \text{thā\textbackslash kor/a} \\
1\text{SG.ERG} & \quad 1\text{SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak} \\
fefe & \quad \text{really} \\
yé & \quad \text{ezi=thamar} \\
3\text{SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/BE} & \quad \text{morning=TEMP.PURP} \\
kwot & \quad \text{try} \\
\text{srä\textbackslash frm/nze} & \quad \text{properly} \\
1\text{PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/PREPARE} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I told them: “It is there for the morning. We will try and prepare it in the morning.”’

(tci20120929 SIK #65)
(36) The speaker introduces a small text about a namesake ceremony which is about to be held two days later.

\begin{verbatim}
fam monne erä ... namathamar fraudethamar ... nge fathasi yamyam
monne kwa ñankwir
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
fam mon=me e\,rā{/} how=INS 2|3PL: SBJ: NPST: IPFV / be (. ) +|2days = TEMP. PURP
fraide=thamar (. ) nge fath-si yam-yam mon=me kwa
friday = TEMP. PURP (. ) child hold-NMLZ REDUP- event how = INS FUT
ñan\,\,kwir/{/} 2|3SG: SBJ: NPST: IPFV: VENIT / run
\end{verbatim}

‘(My) thoughts for the day after tomorrow, for Friday, are like this ... how the children’s ceremony will run down ...’

(tci20110817-02 ABB #3-5)

(37) As part of a stimulus task, two speakers are going through a set of pictures in order to build a narrative out of them.

\begin{verbatim}
zane mane rā thrmathamar zane rā.
zane mane rā thrma=thamar
DEM: PROX which 3SG. FEM: SBJ: NPST: IPFV / be later = TEMP. PURP
zane rā
DEM: PROX 3SG. FEM: SBJ: NPST: IPFV / be
\end{verbatim}

‘As for this one, this is for later.’

(tci20111004 RMA #236-237)

Temporal markers can also take spatial cases as in (38) with the temporal noun ezi ‘morning’ and in (39) with the time adverbial zena ‘now’. The three adjectives of this subclass may also take spatial cases when they are in the final position of a noun phrase as in (40). In all of these cases, what is otherwise spatial marking is extended to express temporal semantics.

(38) The speaker describes the daily routine of the high school in Daru.

\begin{verbatim}
frasinzo nzwan\,nzm ezi=fa bobomr mor efoth
frasi=nzo nzwa\,m/nzm ezi=fa bobomr mor
hunger=ONLY 1PL: SBJ: PST: DUR / dwell morning = ABL until neck
efoth
day
\end{verbatim}
3.1 Nominals

‘We were staying very hungry from the morning until mid day.’

(39) After describing how a headhunting raid in the speaker’s grandfather’s generation has almost wiped out all of the population of his village, he closes the story by pointing out that the population has increased again.

\textit{wati, zenafa ... ni tūf r nagayé kwakonzre.}

wati \textit{zena=fa} (,) \textit{ni tūf r nagayé kwa\ko/nzre}
then \textit{today=ABL} (,) \textit{1NSG plenty children 1PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/become}
‘Nowadays, we, the children, have become plenty. (lit.: from now on)’

(40) The speaker describes how a kundu drum is made. As a last step the drum skin is dried.

\textit{twoff\textit{thé fthé kra\fiyok/wr. ane thrmaf a zrånthor/e.}}

twoff-thé \textit{fthé kra\fiyok/wr} \textit{ane thrm=fa} \textit{heat-ADJ:ZR} \textit{when 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/make DEM after=ABL}
zrân\thor/e \textit{1PL:SBJ>3SG:FEM:IRR:PFV:VENIT/carry}
‘It has dried then. After that we bring it (the drum) here.’

Temporal nouns may also enter into a noun+locational construction \textit{(41)} again with temporal interpretation of the locational.

(41) \textit{zane namá ezi mrmren nzā kwa trikasi yatrikwé.}

\textit{zane namá ezi mrmr=en nzā kwa trik-si}
\textit{DEM:PROX good} \textit{morning inside=LOC 1SG.ABS FUT tell-NMLZ}
\textit{ŋa\trik/wé}
\textit{1SG:SBJ:Npst:IPFV/tell}
‘In this beautiful morning, I will tell a story.’

3.1.8 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns form a closed subclass of nominals distinguishing three persons in both singular and non-singular number. Personal pronouns have distinct forms for case (absolutely, ergative, dative, possessive, associative, characteristic, locative, allative, ablative, and purposive), although some cases are not found in the pronouns (proprietary, privative, instrumental, and simulative). The full list is given below in Table 3.4.
Table 3.4 Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>case</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>1NSG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>2NSG</th>
<th>3SG</th>
<th>3NSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>nzā</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>fē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>nze</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>bnē</td>
<td>naf</td>
<td>nafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>nzun</td>
<td>nzenm</td>
<td>bun</td>
<td>benm</td>
<td>nafan</td>
<td>nafanm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>nzone</td>
<td>nzenme</td>
<td>bone</td>
<td>benme</td>
<td>nafane</td>
<td>nafanme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSOC*</td>
<td>ninrr</td>
<td>ninā</td>
<td>brrr</td>
<td>bnā</td>
<td>nafrr</td>
<td>nafā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAR</td>
<td>nzonema</td>
<td>nzenmema</td>
<td>bonema</td>
<td>benmema</td>
<td>nafanema</td>
<td>nafanmema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>nzudben</td>
<td>nzedben</td>
<td>budben</td>
<td>bedben</td>
<td>nafadben</td>
<td>nafanmedben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>nzudbo</td>
<td>nzedbo</td>
<td>budbo</td>
<td>bedbo</td>
<td>nafadbo</td>
<td>nafanmedbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>nzudba</td>
<td>nzedba</td>
<td>budba</td>
<td>bedba</td>
<td>nafadba</td>
<td>nafanmedba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>nzunar</td>
<td>nzenar</td>
<td>bunar</td>
<td>benar</td>
<td>nafanar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Associative pronouns are used in the inclusory construction (§7.6). The encoded number values are not singular versus non-singular, but minimal versus augmented.

We can see from Table 3.4 that, as with the case markers, there is no number distinction in the absolutive. Only the first person is an exception here. On the other hand, in the first person non-singular, the absolutive and ergative categories are neutralised. Furthermore, Table 3.4 shows that the characteristic pronouns are built from the possessive forms by suffixing -ma. The three local cases and the purposive pronouns share formal similarity with the dative pronouns, namely the [u] vowel in the singular forms. Personal pronouns typically constitute a complete noun phrase (§7.1). Unlike nouns, personal pronouns cannot be modified by demonstratives or quantifiers.

### 3.1.9 Interrogatives

Cross-cutting the division of nominals is the subclass of interrogatives. These are roots used to indicate that the speaker does not know the (full) identity of a referent. Interrogatives belong to the following nominal subclasses: pronouns (ra ‘what’, mā ‘where’, mane ‘who, which’, rma ‘why, for what’), quantifiers (rénzam ‘how many’), temporals (réthé ‘when’) or sentence interrogatives (mon ‘how’). The degree to which these can be marked for case varies. Interrogatives may constitute a full noun phrase (42) or fill the determiner slot (43).

(42) \( \eta af\gamma f \ ra \ kwa \ nm \ en\zä/\nzr? \)

\( \eta fe=f \quad ra \quad kwa \ nm \)

father=ERG.SG what FUT maybe

en\‘zā/nzr

2\|3SG:SBJ>2\|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/carry

‘What might the father be carrying?’

(tci20111604 RMA #79)
3.1 Nominals

(43) *eh, [ra gru zane] yamitwanzr nabi tutin?*

eh ra gru zane ya\mitwa/nzr nabi
eh what shooting_star DEM.PROX 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/swing bamboo
tuti=n branch=LOC

‘Hey, what shooting star is swinging here on the bamboo branch?’

(tci20111119-03 ABB #127)

The roots which are syntactically most active are the interrogative pronouns *ra* ‘what’ and *mane* ‘who, which’. Both can host almost all case clitics as we can see in Table 3.5.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Person SG</th>
<th>Person NSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>mane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>what</td>
<td>who, which</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>raf</td>
<td>maf</td>
<td>mafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>what</td>
<td>who, which</td>
<td>who (DU or PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>rafn</td>
<td>mafn</td>
<td>mafnim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to what</td>
<td>to whom</td>
<td>to whom (DU or PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>rar</td>
<td>mafanar</td>
<td>mafanmenar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for what</td>
<td>for who</td>
<td>for who (DU or PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>rame</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with what</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mafane</td>
<td>mfanme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>whose</td>
<td>whose (DU or PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAR</td>
<td>rma</td>
<td>mafanema</td>
<td>mfanemenma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for what, why</td>
<td>because of who</td>
<td>because of who (DU or PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSOC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mafrr</td>
<td>mafii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with who</td>
<td>with who</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>rafen</td>
<td>mafadben</td>
<td>mfanmedben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>at, in what</td>
<td>at who</td>
<td>at who (DU or PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>rafo</td>
<td>mafadbo</td>
<td>mfanmedbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to what</td>
<td>to who</td>
<td>to who (DU or PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>rafa</td>
<td>mafadba</td>
<td>mfanmedba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from what</td>
<td>from who</td>
<td>from who (DU or PL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a The associative interrogatives encode DU versus PL number instead of SG versus NSG. They are used in the inclusory construction ($§$7.6)

6Some cases are impossible on semantic grounds, for example the instrumental case with animate referents, or a associative case with inanimate referents.
We can make a number of observations from Table 3.5. First, as with other nominal morphology, only animates are marked for number. Second, the root *rma* ‘why’ patterns with *ra*. Thus, it reflects a reduction of an earlier more transparent form *rama* consisting of *ra* with the characteristic case marker -*ma*; literally: ‘for what’.

The interrogatives *mä* ‘where’, *mobo* ‘whither’, *moba* ‘whence’ are not shown here because these interrogatives - along with *mane* ‘which’ - are part of a paradigm of demonstratives. As I will show below, Komnzo demonstratives make a four-way distinction between proximal, medial, distal, and interrogative. Compare Table 3.7 in §3.1.11 for the full set of demonstratives. The interrogative *mane* Table 3.5 can also be used for inanimates as in *mane kar* ‘which village’.

Other interrogatives show a behaviour that aligns them with their respective nominal subclass. The temporal interrogative *rthé* ‘when’ may be marked for temporal case, for example *rthéthamane* ‘from what time’ in (44).

(44)  The speaker explains that he will move his garden plot from year to year closer to the road.

\begin{verbatim}
highway kwa wthayfakwé fi *rthéthamane*? ... ysokwen?
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
highway kwa w\ˈthayfak\ˈwé  fi
road     FUT 1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/bring.out but
rth=thamane     (.) ysokwr=en
when=TEMP.Poss (.) rainy_season=LOC

‘I will bring (the garden) up to the road, but when? ... in which year (will I get there)?’
\end{verbatim}

The sentence interrogative *mon* ‘how’ frequently occurs with an instrumental case (=*me*). This is entirely optional and does not change its meaning. An example is presented in (45).

(45)  \textit{bā monme} miyatha zākor komnzo fi nimāwā miyatha zfrārm ... komnzo zokwasi.

\begin{verbatim}
bā  mon=me miyatha zāˈkor/
2SG.ABS how=INS knowledge 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST.PFV/become PROP.N
fi   nima=wā miyatha zfˈrā\ˈrm     (.) komnzo
3.ABS like=EMPH knowledge 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.) PROP.N
zokwasi
language
\end{verbatim}
‘How you have learned Komnzo, she also knew it ... the Komnzo language.’

The interrogative quantifier *rnzam* ‘how many, how much’ occurs with a nominal head. It is possible for *rnzam* to be marked for case if it follows its head. However, there are no occurrences of this in the corpus. (46) shows an example where the nominal head (*kabe* ‘man’) has been elided and consequently *rnzam* is flagged with the ergative case marker.

(46) The speaker explains how a piece of wallaby skin is glued on a kundu drum.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rnzamé thzé krekarth ... asar kabe o tabuthui kabe? ... neba thrakogr}
\text{krekarth bâne ... tauri woku.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rnzam=é thzé kre\kar\text{/th} (.) asar kabe o}
\text{how\_many=ERG.NSG ever 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/pull (.) four man or}
\text{tabuthui kabe (.) neba thra\kogr/}
\text{five \text{man} (.) opposite 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:STAT/stand}
\text{kre\kar\text{/th} bâne (.) tauri woku}
\text{2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/pull RECOG (.) wallaby skin}
\end{align*}
\]

‘However many will pull ... four or five people? They will stand opposite and pull that one ... the wallaby skin.’

5.1.10 Indefinites

The indefinite marker in Komnzo is *nā*, and it covers the meaning of ‘some, other, another’. I show below that *nā* behaves morpho-syntactically like a demonstrative. Note that the numeral *nābī* ‘one’ is etymologically related to the indefinite. This analysis is supported by other Yam languages, for example Nen where *āmb* means ‘some’ and *āmbś* means ‘one’ (Evans, forthcoming b). In Komnzo, *nā* is used to form the indefinite pronoun *nā bun* ‘someone, some other’. In example (47), there are two occurrences of *nā bun* in dative case and in characteristic case.

(47) *fi nā bun* sarō! *nā bunanema* be zawob!

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fi nā\_bun==}\text{n \text{sa\text{/r/o}}}
\text{but someone=DAT.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:IMP:PFV:ANDAT/give}
\text{nā\_bun=ane=}\text{=}\text{ma \text{be} za\text{/wob/}}
\text{someone=}\text{POSS.SG=CHAR 2SG.ERG 2|3SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/eat}
\end{align*}
\]

‘But you give it (the yam) to someone else! You eat from someone else’s!’
Historically, *nā bun* consists of *nā* plus the second person singular dative pronoun *bun*. Synchronically, speakers no longer parse the two components as separate items. This is reflected in its grammatical behaviour: *nā bun* can be marked for the same range of cases as personal pronouns, and like personal pronouns it may constitute a complete noun phrase. Table 3.6 below lists all the case forms of *nā bun*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>NSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td><em>nā bun</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td><em>nā bunf</em></td>
<td><em>nā buné</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td><em>nā bunn</em></td>
<td><em>nā bunnm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td><em>nā bunane</em></td>
<td><em>nā bunaneme</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSOC</td>
<td><em>nā bunrr</em></td>
<td><em>nā bunā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAR</td>
<td><em>nā bunanema</em></td>
<td><em>nā bunanemema</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td><em>nā bundben</em></td>
<td><em>nā bunmedben</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td><em>nā bundbo</em></td>
<td><em>nā bunmedbo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td><em>nā bundba</em></td>
<td><em>nā bunmedba</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td><em>nā bunar</em></td>
<td><em>nā bunmenar</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The associative forms encode DU versus PL number instead of SG versus NSG (§7.6).

Like the demonstratives (§3.1.11), the indefinite *nā* can stand alone and take a subset of case clitics. These are the instrumental (*nāme* ‘with some other’), characteristic (*nāma* ‘because of some other’), purposive (*nāmr* ‘for some other’), proprietive (*nākarā* ‘with some other’). More commonly *nā* functions as an indefinite determiner as in: *nā kar* ‘some, other place’ → ‘somewhere’ or *nā rokar* ‘some, other stuff’ → ‘something’ or *nā kayé* ‘some yesterday|tomorrow’ → ‘some-time’. This can be extended to *nā kabe* ‘some, another man’ → ‘someone’. Two examples of this are given below in (48) and (49).

(48) The speaker talks about the people with whom his clan shares a land boundary.

*wati ane nā kayé thrākorth “ft kabe”*

wati ane nā kayé thrā\kor/th ft
weli DEM INDF yesterday 2\OBJ:SBJ>2\OBJ:IRR:PFV/say-prop.n
kabe
people

‘Sometimes, they call those ones “ft people”.’

(tci2020814 ABB #322)
3.1 Nominals

(49) *masu mane rera nā far fā yrūsthgra.*

```
masu  mane  \rā/ra  nā  far  fā
PLACE.N  which  3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be  INDF  post  DIST
y\rās/thgra  3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:STAT/be.erected
```

‘As for Masu, there was another post planted over there.’

(tci20120805-01 ABB #472)

Negative indefinites are expressed by adding the negator *keke* as in example (50). Thus, *nā zokwasi* means ‘some words’, but if negated by *keke* it expresses ‘no words whatsoever’.

(50) *zokwasimār ųafiyokwa ... keke nā zokwasi.*

```
zokwasi=mār ųa\fiyok/wa  (.)  keke  nā  zokwasi
word=PRIV  2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/make  (. )  NEG  INDF  words
```

‘He was speechless ... no words whatsoever’

(tci20110802 ABB #115-116)

Negative indefinites can also be constructed with interrogatives. This is a strategy attested in many languages (Hausel 1997, Hausel 2013). Thus, the concept of ‘nobody’ can be expressed by *kabe nā keke* (lit. ‘people some not’) or with an interrogative, for example *mane nā keke* (lit. ‘who some not’). The order of elements is somewhat fixed in that the indefinite always follows the interrogative (51).

(51) **keke mane nā ganyaka kerāfī fumaksir fof.**

```
keke  mane  nā  yan\yak/a  kerāfī
NEG  who  INDF  3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/walk  arrow
fumak-si=r  fof
pull.out-NMLZ=PURP  EMPH
```

‘Nobody came to pull out that arrow.’

(tci20120814 ABB #144)

In example (52), the speaker talks about *tūtū ‘Pheasant Coucal’*, who was the guardian of fire before people knew about its existence. The first token of *nā* has scope over *kabe miyatha* (‘people knowledge’) and literally means ‘no people’s knowledge whatsoever’. The second token of *nā* is with the interrogative *ra* (what.ABS) and literally means ‘she made them knowledgeable about nothing’.
Positive indefinites are expressed without the use of nā. Instead the particle thzé ‘ever’ is postposed to an interrogative, resulting in ra thzé ‘whatever’, mane thzé ‘whoever, whichever’. An example with rnzam ‘how many’ is shown above in (46) and with maf ‘who’ below in (53).

(53) zbo kwa srā\zin/e maf thzé srewakuth.

zbo kwa srā\zin/e maf
PROX.ALL FUT 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/put.down who.ERG
thzé srewakuth/ ever 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/pick.up

‘We will put it down here (for) whoever will pick it up.’

(tec20130907-02 RNA #479)

3.1.11 Demonstratives

Komnzo has a rich set of demonstratives. These form a functional class comprised of pronouns, determiners, adverbials, and verb (pro-)clitics. They are treated as a subclass of nominals because all can be marked for a subset of the cases. Only the verb clitics and the immediate demonstrative cannot be marked for case.

Dixon defines a demonstrative as “any item, other than 1st and 2nd pronouns, which can have pointing (or deictic) reference” (2003: 61-62). We can see in Table 3.7 below that among the more typical functions of demonstratives, i.e. spatial functions, there are some which border the notion of ‘deictic reference’. These functions are recognitional (‘shared knowledge’), anaphoric (‘tracking’), immediate (‘attention’), interrogative (‘lack of knowledge’), and apprehensive
3.1 Nominals

In spite of this diversity of functions, the main formatives constitute a neat paradigm with a four-way distinction between proximal, medial, distal and interrogative. This quadripartite structure builds formally on the initial consonants: z, b, f and m respectively. The structure of the system is quite similar to Japanese demonstratives as decribed by Coulmas (1982).

Table 3.7 Demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pronoun</th>
<th>adverbal</th>
<th>adv.ALL</th>
<th>adv.ABL</th>
<th>verb clitic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>zane</td>
<td>zá</td>
<td>zbo</td>
<td>zba</td>
<td>z=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>this</td>
<td>here</td>
<td>hither</td>
<td>hence</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMM</td>
<td>zf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MED</td>
<td>báne</td>
<td>bá</td>
<td>bobo</td>
<td>boba</td>
<td>b=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>right here</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECOG</td>
<td>baf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>that one</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>ane</td>
<td>fá</td>
<td>fobo</td>
<td>foba</td>
<td>f=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>yonder</td>
<td>to over there</td>
<td>from over there</td>
<td>yonder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERROG</td>
<td>mane</td>
<td>má</td>
<td>mobo</td>
<td>moba</td>
<td>m=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>which</td>
<td>where</td>
<td>whither</td>
<td>whence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDF</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>some, other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These are demonstratives which fulfill both pronominal and determiner functions.

Following Diessel (1999), I will outline the syntactic distribution of demonstratives first. In Table 3.7, a number of demonstratives appear in shaded cells. These have additional functions and to some extent different syntactic distributions. They will be discussed in separate sections to follow.

Diessel (1999) defines four syntactic contexts in which demonstratives occur: as independent pronouns that occupy an adpositional or verbal argument position (‘pronominal’); with nouns in noun phrases (‘adnominal’); as verb modifiers (‘adverbial’); and in copula and non-verbal clauses (‘identificational’). Some languages have distinct lexical categories for each function. Thus, Diessel calls the four categories: demonstrative pronominals, demonstrative determiners, demonstrative adverbs, and demonstrative identifiers (1999: 3). See Himmelmann (1996), who makes similar distinctions. Demonstratives in Komnzo occur in all four syntactic contexts. Below, I use the proximal in order to illustrate the different syntactic contexts.
3.1.11.1 Pronominal and adnominal demonstratives

Demonstratives can be used pronominally (54) or adnominally (55).

(54) *moba zane* nm nzyaniyak?

moba zane nm where.ABL DEM:PROX maybe
IPST=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/walk

‘Where might this (man) have come from?’

(tci20120901-01 MAK #87)

(55) *zane* namä ezi mrmren nzä kwa trikasi yatrikwé.

zane namä ezi mrmr=en nzä kwa trik-si
DEM:PROX good morning inside=LOC 1SG.ABS FUT tell-NMLZ
ŋa\trik/wé
1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell

‘In this beautiful morning, I will tell a story.’

(tci20111119-01 ABB #2-3)

When used pronominally, demonstratives serve as the host for a subset of the case clitics. The examples below show case marking with the instrumental (56), purposive (57), and characteristic case (58). Rarely, they occur with the proprietive (59), and there are no corpus examples with the privative case. Demonstratives are not marked for other cases, but they can take other nominal morphology like the exclusive clitic =nzo or the emphatic clitic =wä.

(56) *arammba yare zaneme* zf ăfiyokwre.

arammba yare zane=me zf PROP.N bag DEM:PROX=INS IMM
ä\fiyok/wre
1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make

‘We make the Arammba bags with this one right here.’

(tci20130907-02 JAA #410)

(57) The speaker concludes a head-hunting story from the past.

*ebar fobo fof zäbtha.* *zanemr* zena znä.
3.1 Nominals

A young man raises his voice against women who complain about the hard work in the garden.

\textit{nafanmedben keke znsā rā. zanemanzo yathwekwwrth ... yusi fathasimanzo.}

\textit{nafanmedben keke znsā rā}
3NSG.ANIM.LOC NEG work 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
\textit{zane=ma=nzo} ya\thwekw/wrth (. ) yusi
DEM:PROX=CHAR=ONLY 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be.happy ( . ) grass
\textit{fath-si=ma=nzo}
hold-NMLZ=CHAR=ONLY

‘The (hard) work is not with them. They are satisfied with just this (part) ... with just the weeding.’

(59) The speaker shows me the roots of \textit{kwazūrkwazūr} (Helminthostachis zeylanica), which are dried, transported and sold in Sota, Indonesia.

\textit{zane fthé keke srarā ziyarā keke kwa srūthorth moneye. zanekarāsū ane srarā kwot.}
\textit{zane fthé keke sra\rā/}
DEM:PROX when NEG 3SG.MASC:IRR:IPFV/be
\textit{z=ya\rā/} keke kwa
\textit{PROX=3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/be NEG FUT srā\thor/th money=me
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/carry money=INS
zane=karā=sū ane sra\rā/ kwot
DEM:PROX=PROP=ETC DEM 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be properly

‘If this (root) is not here, they won’t buy it. Only with all of this will they buy it.’

(tci20130907-02 RNA #471-473)
Case marked demonstratives are frequently used as conjunctions to connect the following clause, especially demonstratives marked for the characteristic (zanema, bänema, anema ‘therefore, because’), instrumental (zanema, bänema, anema ‘with this/that, thereby’), and the purposive (zanemr, bänemr, anemr ‘therefore’). See (60) for an example with bänema.

(60) In this origin myth, two brothers are trying to kill a creature.

\[naf \ nima \ “samg! \ bänema \ nä \ mbuné \ fof \ yruthrth \ byé \ ... \ keke \ kwosi \ yathizr”\]

naf nima sa\mg/
3SG.ERG like_this 2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PFV/shoot
bäne=ma nä bun=é fof
DEM:MED=CHAR otherv=ERG.NSG EMPH
y\’ru/ththr
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/shoot
b=\yé/ (. keke kwosi
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (. NEG dead
ya\’thi/zr
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/die

‘He said: “Shoot it! because others are really shooting and it is not dying.”’

(tci20131013-01 ABB #101-103)

What has been mentioned above, also holds for the interrogative mane ‘who, which’ in Table 3.7. Like other interrogatives, it can be used as a relative pronoun, and it can be marked for a subset of the case clitics: absolutive mane ‘who, which’, characteristic manema ‘because of which’, instrumental maneme ‘with which’, and purposive manemr ‘for which’. Below, an example with maneme is given in (61).

(61) \[ane \ fathnzo \ zfrärm ... \ wämne \ keke ... \ dödö\nönzo ... \ dödö \ maneme \ garenwre \ fath\]

ane fath=nzo zf\rä/rm (. wämne keke (.)
DEM clearing=ONLY 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (. tree NEG (.)
dödö=nzo (. dödö mane=me ya\’ren/wre
PROP.N=ONLY (. PROP.N which=INS 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sweep
fath
clearing.

\[7\]The animate referents for cases other than the absolutive are expressed by the interrogatives in Table 3.5.
‘It was a clear place ... no trees ... only dödö ... that dödö with which we sweep the place’ (the twigs of dödö are used to make brooms)

The description of demonstratives leaves us with an analytic problem. Is there justification for setting up two separate subcategories: demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative determiners? The fact that they can stand for a whole noun phrase is not sufficient evidence for setting up an independent subcategory of demonstrative pronouns because the head of a noun phrase can be omitted and leave only a modifier including a demonstrative determiner. The demonstratives described here do not take the full range of cases as other pronouns, for example the personal pronouns (3.1.8), the indefinite (3.1.10) and recognitional pronoun (3.1.11.6). Therefore, I describe them simply as demonstratives with a pronominal and adnominal function.

3.1.11.2 Adverbial demonstratives

Table 3.7 includes a column of adverbial demonstratives (e.g. zä ‘here’) with a dedicated form for the allative (zbo ‘hither’) and the ablative case (zba ‘from here’). These are used for verbal modification as in example (62) with zä ‘here’ and in example (63) with foba ‘from there’ and zbo ‘hither’.

(62) taurianeme moth zä wnthn.

wān\tn/h
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/lie.down
‘The wallabies’ path lies here.’

(63) The speaker describes the behaviour of a particular bird.

wati, ane foba yammonziknwr zbo wānyak zane mnz zf wrwr

wati ane foba yam\mnzonzure wr zbo then DEM DIST.ABL 2\3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/prepare PROX.ALL
wān\yak/zane mnz zf 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/walk DEM:PROX house IMM
w\r/wr 2\3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/build
‘Then, this (bird) prepares over there and she comes here to build her nest right here.’
3.1.11.3 Clitic demonstratives

Diessel (1999) includes the syntactic context of identification (identificational demonstratives) and finds a distinct class (demonstrative identifiers) in a number of languages. We find both the syntactic context as well as the distinct class in the language.

Komnzo possesses a set of deictic verbal proclitics which I call clitic demonstratives. Compare Table 3.7 above. They are used for identification and can attach to any inflected verb. In example (64) two brothers are trying to kill a creature by shooting an arrow into its heart.

(64) na\f nima "keke fi miyamr er\u0142√ fofo\u0102a m\u0102 r\u0102. nze komnzo zimar\u0102√ fof"  
na\f nima keke fi miyamr e\'r\u0102/ fofo\u0102a  
3SG.ERG QUOT NEG 3.ABS ignorance 2\pounds 3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be heart  
m\u0102 r\u0102 nze komnzo  
where 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be 1SG.ERG only  
z=y\mar/w\u0102 fof  
PROX=1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/see EMPH  

"He said: "They don’t know where its heart is. I can see it here.‘"'  
(tci20131013-01 ABB #104-105)

While they can attach to any verb, clitic demonstratives are found with the copula in 90% of the tokens. Usually, the copula follows the main verb, as in example (65) and (66). The clitic demonstrative plus copula stands in apposition to the main clause, but they often form one intonational unit.

(65) fi zena zane zf d\u00f dessert sakw\u0102√ zi\u00e7\u0102.  
fi zena zane zf d\u00f but today DEM:PROX IMM goanna  
sa\kwr/  
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:RPST:PFV/hit  
z=y\ye/  
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be  

"But today I have killed this goanna here.’  
(tci20120821-01 LNA #67)

(66) yasi\u0102 foba fof ni zane zew\u0131r\u00e2ke zena znr\u0102  
yasi=fa foba fof ni zane  
PERS.N=ABL DIST.ABL EMPH 1NSG DEM:PROX  
ze\w\u0102r/ake zena z=n\r\u0102/  
1PL:SBJ:PT:IPFV/crack today PROX=1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'From Yasi, from him we originate and today we are here.'

The clitic demonstrative plus copula is the primary strategy to make an identificational reference much like English ‘there it is’ or ‘here you go’. This is usually accompanied by a pointing gesture. Diessel points out that in other languages “demonstrative identifiers are often functionally equivalent to a demonstrative plus copula” (1999: 10). Thus, Komnzo confirms this pattern and, therefore, I analyse the clitic demonstrative plus copula as one unit. I adopt the label demonstrative identifier from Diessel. I address this topic again the description of verb morphology (§ 5.6.2).

The demonstrative identifier always agrees with some element in the main clause. Hence, if the argument in the clause is modified by a medial demonstrative, that same medial category will be used in the demonstrative identifier. An example with the proximal categories is given in (67) below. Note that the medial demonstrative identifier byé instead of the proximal ziyé would render the sentence ungrammatical.

(67) Two speakers are going through a set of picture cards as part of a stimulus task. One speaker points out a character on a card.

\[\text{zane kabe zf yé ziyé}\]

\[\text{zane kabe zf } yé/\]

\[\text{DEM:PROX man IMM 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be}\]

\[\text{z= yé/}\]

\[\text{PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be}\]

‘It is this man right here.’

(68) The speaker looks around for a particular tree type to show to me. Then she suddenly finds it.

\[\text{myé yorär? yorär ziyé } ... \text{ zikogr.}\]

\[\text{m= yé/}\]

\[\text{yorär yorär}\]

\[\text{where=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be PROP.N PROP.N}\]

\[\text{z= yé/}\]

\[\text{PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.)}\]

\[\text{z=y kogr/}\]

\[\text{PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:STAT/stand}\]
‘Where is yorär (Syzygium sp)? Yorär is here ... It stands here.’

(tci20130907-02 JAA #449-451)

The same \textit{m=} clitic, when attached to verb forms in imperative or irrealis mood, receives an apprehensive interpretation: ‘don’t do X’ or ‘you might X’. Such an example is given below in (69). The \textit{m=} clitic will be discussed in §3.5.2 and again in §6.3.2 as part of the TAM system.

(69) The speaker shows me the nest of the weaver ant.

\[
\text{aya msar mkrä\textsubscript{tr/th}}
\]

\[
\text{aya msar m=krä\textsubscript{tr} th}
\]

\[
\text{oh ant APPR=2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/fall}
\]

‘Oh, the ants might fall down!’

(tci20130907-02 RNA #678)

3.1.11.4 Anaphoric \textit{ane}

In Table 3.7 \textit{ane} has been glossed as a general demonstrative (DEM), even though it is placed in the paradigm position where one would expect the distal demonstrative. However, \textit{ane} has no spatial reference, but it is used for anaphoric reference. It marks a referent which has been established in the preceding context. Consequently, \textit{ane} marks definiteness and is the opposite of the indefinite \textit{nā} (§3.1.10). Both cannot occur in the same noun phrase.

There is evidence from several sources that \textit{ane} is the result of phonological reduction and semantic bleaching. Recordings from the 1980’s by Mary Ayres contain a number of occurrences of a demonstrative \textit{fane} and older speakers today identify this as ‘the way, how old people used to speak’. Indeed, the position in the paradigm would suggest an initial consonant \textit{f}. This is attested in other Tonda varieties, e.g. Wartha Thuntai \textit{fana}. We can conclude that this demonstrative has undergone phonological reduction from \textit{fane to ane} over the last two generations of speakers. Moreover, we can infer semantic bleaching from spatial (distal) to anaphoric (tracking) from its position in the paradigm. However, we cannot put a time frame to the process of semantic bleaching, because it is unclear whether or not \textit{fane} had a spatial meaning in the old recordings in addition to its anaphoric use.

The anaphoric demonstrative behaves in other respects like the demonstrative pronouns and determiners (cf. §3.1.11.1). One exception is the agreement described in §3.1.11.3 between the demonstrative in the main clause and the demonstrative identifier. Since \textit{ane} has no spatial reference, it may combine with
the proximal and the medial demonstrative identifier as can be seen in example (70) and (71) respectively.

(70)  *fintäth* *ane ziyé* ... *yemanne dagon.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fintäth} & \quad \text{ane} & \quad z=yé & \quad \text{yem}=\text{anme} & \quad \text{dagon} \\
\text{PROP.N} & \quad \text{DEM} & \quad \text{PROX}=3\text{SG.MASC}:\text{NPST}.\text{be} & \quad \text{cassowary}=\text{POSS.NSG} & \quad \text{food}
\end{align*}
\]

‘This *fintäth* (Semecarpus sp) here is the cassowaries’ food.’

(tci20130907-02 RNA #316)

(71)  *watik, nge* *ane zefar byé ruga monegsir.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{watik} & \quad \text{nge} & \quad \text{ane} & \quad \text{ze\text{"}{f}ar/} & \quad \text{rug}=	ext{a} & \quad \text{moneg}\text{-si=r} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{child} & \quad \text{DEM} & \quad 2|3\text{SG}:\text{SBJ}:\text{RPST}:\text{PFV}/\text{set.\text{off}} \\
b & \quad yé & \quad \text{rug} & \quad \text{moneg}\text{-si=r} & \quad \text{wait-NMLZ}=\text{PURP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Then, the boy there set off to take care of the pig.’

(tci20130901-02 YUK #7)

### 3.1.11.5 Immediate *zf*

The immediate demonstrative *zf* is related to the proximate series on the basis of it sharing the first consonant. The immediate adds a pragmatic component to the spatial function of demonstratives, in that it draws the addressee’s attention to someone or something in close proximity. It is often accompanied by a pointing gesture. Therefore I translate *zf* as ‘right here’ to English. We have seen *zf* already in examples (56), (63) and (67) above.

*zf* is syntactically inert as it cannot be marked for case. It occurs in preverbal position and only the TAM particles or the negator may occur between the immediate demonstrative and the verb, as in example (72) below.

(72)  *zane zf kwa esinzre zöbthé*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zane} & \quad \text{zf} & \quad \text{kwa} & \quad e\text{"}{s}/\text{nzre} & \quad \text{zöbthé} \\
\text{DEM:PROX} & \quad \text{IMM} & \quad \text{FUT} & \quad 1\text{PL}:\text{SBJ}>2|3\text{PL}:\text{OBJ}:\text{NPST}:\text{IPFV}/\text{cook} & \quad \text{first}
\end{align*}
\]

‘We will cook these (yams) right here first.’

(tci20121001 ABB #62)
3.1.11.6 Recognitional baf

I will use the term recognitional demonstrative for baf in line with (Himmelmann, 1996) who discusses a distinct recognitional use of demonstratives. The recognitional is analysed as a pronoun since it can be marked for all cases, and has both animate and inanimate forms (See Table 3.8). A number of Australian languages have a distinct lexical item for this use, e.g.: Nunggubuyu (Heath, 1984) and Yankunytjatjara (Goddard, 1985). See (Himmelmann, 1996: 231ff.) for further discussion. Murray Garde characterises the recognitional demonstrative in Bininj Gunwok as reflecting “a belief on the part of the speaker that sufficient common ground exists for hearers to make the necessary inferences” (2013: 250).

In Komnzo baf has a number of uses which all echo the notion of common ground. A speaker may use baf to introduce a referent which he believes the hearer to know about. This can be a first mention of a referent which is not topical or in focus (i.e.: from an earlier part of a narrative). The recognitional is often used as a filler in tip-of-the-tongue situations like ‘whatchamacallit’ in English. In the latter case, the addressee is invited to ask for the referent or, more commonly to fill in the appropriate word. Hence, the recognitional can be used pragmatically to keep a conversation going and assure the addressee’s attention. Furthermore, the recognitional is often employed as a strategy of circumspection, for example if the speaker is in a taboo relationship with a person and avoids using her or his proper name.

Example (73) is a first mention of a particular person in a narrative. Although not required, it is quite common for the speaker to fill in the ‘missing’ referent after a short lapse.

(73) The narrative is about a man who got married to a widow.

\emph{mabata fi mezü zwamnzrm. bafane mezü rera ... masenane mezü.}  
\textit{mabata fi mezü zwa\'m/nzrm baf=ane}  
\textit{PROP.N 3.ABS widow 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell RECOG=POSS.SG}  
\textit{mezü \'rā/ra} (, masen=ane mezü  
\textit{widow 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (,) PROP.N=POSS.SG widow}  

‘Mabata stayed as a widow. She was this one’s widow ... Masen’s widow.’

The recognitional demonstrative is built on the medial demonstrative, as we can tell by the initial consonant $b$. It follows that the recognitional must have emerged through semantic extension from the medial demonstrative, and only later developed distinct forms for all the cases. We find that a number of forms serve a double function. For example, $b\text{āne}$ can function as demonstrative pronoun (‘that’) and as recognitional pronoun (‘the one I presume that you know about’). But the two differ in their combinatorics. While the demonstrative can modify
as well as replace a nominal head of a phrase, the recognitional operates only
pronominally. I have already shown in example (73) that it is quite common for
a speaker to fill in the intended referent of a recognitional herself, sometimes after
the clause, sometimes after a short pause. This leaves us with the problem of
distinguishing the medial demonstrative from the recognitional in a phrase like
*bäne kabe*. However, prosody will signal which of the two is it. If both words be-
long to the same intonation contour, it is the medial demonstrative: ‘that man’.
If there is short break in the intonation or a longer pause, it is the recognitional:
‘that one ... the man’. The other case forms which are formally identical are im-
possible to distinguish in a clear way. For example, *bänema* ‘therefore, because’
is often used to connect another clause (cf. §3.1.11.1). In this case we always find
a break in the intonation. It is best to interpret the formal identity as a signal of
the semantic extension of the medial demonstrative. That being said, it would
be wrong to conclude that the recognitional is merely a function of the medial
demonstrative.

As we can see in Table (3.8), the recognitional can be marked for all cases.
In this respect the recognitional surpasses even personal pronouns in the richness
of its distinction because there are animate and inanimate case forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>NSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>bäne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>baf</td>
<td>bafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>bafn</td>
<td>bafnm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>bafane</td>
<td>bafaneme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSOC(^a)</td>
<td>bafrr</td>
<td>bafû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAR.ANIM</td>
<td>bafanema</td>
<td>bafanenema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC.ANIM</td>
<td>bafdben</td>
<td>bafnmedben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL.ANIM</td>
<td>bafdbo</td>
<td>bafnmedbo</td>
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<td>LOC.ANIM</td>
<td>bafdba</td>
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<td>PURP.ANIM</td>
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<td>bänema</td>
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<td>ALL</td>
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<td>bänefo</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td>bänefa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td></td>
<td>bänemr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) The associative forms encode DU versus PL
number instead of SG versus NSG (§7.6).
3.1.11.7 Manner demonstrative \textit{nima}

Komnzo has a manner demonstrative \textit{nima} which is best translated as ‘like this’ or ‘do this way’. In some languages this function is assigned to the class of verbs, for example Boumaa Fijian and Dyirbal (Dixon, 2003: 72). In other languages it is a nominal, for example Kayardild (Evans, 1995: 214). \textit{Nima} falls in the latter category. It is a nominal which can be marked for a subset of cases (instrumental, characteristic, purposive, proprietary, and privative). It shares no morphosyntactic characteristics with verbs, but may either modify a verb (74) or express a whole event (75). In (74) it is accompanied by the appropriate gesture describing how and where the person was standing. In (75) it expresses the whole following clause (‘that I was walking towards them’).

(74) The speaker describes the distance at which his friend stood when a wild pig came running. While talking, he points to a tree about 3 metres away.

\begin{verbatim}
ruga \textit{yankwira nima} sankuka bā byé.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
ruga \textit{yan} kwir/a nima
pig 2\textsc{sg:subj:pst:ipfv:venit}/run like\_this
san\textit{kuk/a} bā
3\textsc{sg:mas:subj:pst:ipfv:venit}/stand MED
b=ye
MED=3\textsc{sg:mas:subj:npst:ipfv}/be
\end{verbatim}

‘The pig came running and he stood like this over there.’

(tci20110810-02 MAB #34)

(75) The speaker describes how he met his friends in the forest by chance.

\begin{verbatim}
fi miyamr thfräm nima ... nzā we ane fof kwofiyakmo nafanmedbo ... we nzā miyamr kwofräm.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
fi miyamr thf\textsc{rā}/rm nima (.) nzā we ane
3\textsc{abs:ignorant} 2\textsc{pl:subj:pst:dur}/be like\_this (.) 1\textsc{sg:abs:also:dem}
fof kwof\textsc{yak/mo} nafanmedbo (.) we nzā
EMPH 1\textsc{sg:subj:pst:dur:andat}/walk 3\textsc{nsg:all} (.) also 1\textsc{sg:abs}
miyamr kwof\textsc{rā}/rm
ignorant 1\textsc{sg:subj:pst:dur}/be
\end{verbatim}

‘They did not know about this ... (that) I was walking towards them ... and I did not know either.’

(tci20111119-03 ABB #136-137)
Nima is used for three functions: deictic reference (actual or mimicked), anaphora, or introducing direct speech. With an instrumental case marker nimame is often used as an emphatic affirmative, as English ‘Just like this!’ (76). When introducing direct speech nima may occur with a speaking verb (77) or just by itself (see 60 above). This is further described in §9.7.

(76) The speaker explains how his grandmother grew very old because she respected all the food taboos.

\[
\text{nafaŋamane zokwasi nafaŋafane zokwasi naf mon zekarisa. nimame fof!}
\]

\[
\text{nafaŋame=ane zokwasi nafaŋafe=ane zokwasi}
\]

3.POSS-mother=POSS.SG language 3.POSS-father=POSS.SG language

\[
\text{naf mon ze\text{\textbackslash karis/a} nima=me fof}
\]

3SG.ERG how 2|3SG:SUBJ:PST:PFV/hear like_this=INS EMPH

‘She listened to her mother’s words and to her father’s words. Just like this!’

(tci20120922-26 DAK #60)

(77) nzä nima zukorth “be fafā zane nagayé fāth zā thamonegwē!”

\[
\text{nzä nima zu\text{\textbackslash kor/th be}}
\]

1SG.ABS like_this 2|3DU:SUBJ>1SG:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak 2SG.ERG

\[
\text{fafā zane nagayé fāth zā}
\]

after_this DEM.PROX children DIM PROX

\[
\text{tha\text{\textbackslash moneg/wē}}
\]

2SG:SUBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IMP:PFV/take.care

‘The two told me like “You take care of these small children here!”’

(tci20121019-04 ABB #91-92)

3.2 Verbs

Verbs are by far the most complex lexical items in Komnzo with respect to morphology. Here, only a brief overview and some of the definitional criteria for identifying a particular item as a verb are given. For a full discussion of verbal morphology in Komnzo the reader is referred to chapters 5 and 6. With around 350 members, verbs are the second largest word class after nouns. In spite of its size, verbs constitute a closed word class. There are no observed cases of loanwords or neologisms. It is the complex inflectional morphology which prevents new items from entering this word class. Instead, most loanwords with an event oriented meaning (e.g.: English ‘touch’, ‘check’, or ‘change’) enter Komnzo as
property nouns which are then used in a property noun + light verb construction (§8.3.12). The autonomy of the verb lexicon is addressed in §11.3.

Verbs are inflected for gender, person, number, tense, aspect, mood, valency, and directionality as can be seen in examples (78) and (79). With the exception of person and number, these grammatical categories are only found in verbs. Their glossing, however, cannot be done straightforwardly, because a number of grammatical categories can only be given a value after unifying values from different morphological slots. For example, the aspectual value PST.DUR in (78) is encoded simultaneously in the verb root, the prefix and the durative suffix. Prior to this unification, each morpheme taken by itself is underspecified with respect to any particular grammatical category. The only exceptions are the two directional affixes. In this subsection, I will employ a double glossing style as in the chapters on verb morphology (chapters 5 and 6). A segmented itemised glossing line is given first, while a second line shows the unified gloss in smaller print. Morphological complexity in verbs is discussed in §5.2, where the reader will also find a justification for the double-lined glossing convention.

(78) nafane nagayé thfrärm. naf thwamonegwrnm.  
nafane nagayé thf-rä-rm naf  
3SG.POSS children 2|3NSG.β2-COP.ND-DUR 3SG.ERG 
2|3PL:PST:DUR/be  
 thu-a-moneg-wrt-m-∅  
2|3NSG.β1-VC-take.care.EXT-ND-DUR  
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/take.care  

‘They were her children. She took care of them.’

(tcl20120901-01 MAK #47)

(79) This is from a story about a spirit woman who kills people in order to eat them.  
fi fthé enthoramkgwa ... mnz kabe fof. nima thüzialrthma “nä tmamt fefe nzjyawänzr manema kabe zä naf nziyanathr.”  
fi fthé e-n-thorak-w-a-∅ (.) mnz kabe  
3.ABS when 2|3NSG.α-VENIT-arrive.EXT-ND-PST-2|3SG (.) house people  
2|3PL:PST:IPFV:VENIT/arrive  
fof nima th-a-zingrthm-a nä tmamt fefe EMPH like_this 2|3NSG.γ-VC.ND-look.around.RS-PST some event real  
2|3PL:PST:IPFV/look.around  
.nz=ŋ-a-wä-nzr-∅ mane=ma kabe zä naf  
IPST=M.α-VC-break.EXT-ND-2|3SG which=CHAR man PROX 3SG.ERG  
IPST=2|3SG:NPST:IPFV/break
3.2 Verbs

Examples (78) and (79) exhibit the intricate architecture of Komnzo verbs before the reader. The verb forms in both examples are inflected for various grammatical categories. The agreement target for gender is the 3rd person singular prefix on the verb as can be seen in the last verb ‘eat’ in example (79). Person and number are encoded in the undergoer prefix as well as the actor suffix. However, these slots are underspecified: the 2nd and 3rd person in the non-singular are neutralised in both slots. The 1st non-singular and 2nd singular are neutralised in the prefixes. These can be disambiguated by the free pronouns. In both slots, dual and plural are neutralised. The system of number marking combines a singular vs. non-singular opposition in the prefix and suffix with a dual vs. non-dual opposition in the duality affix. Thereby, one arrives at the three number values (sg, du, pl). For about half a dozen high frequency verbs, such as the copula (78), the stem itself is sensitive to duality. For all others verbs, duality is either encoded by a prefix as in the second verb ‘look around’ in (79) or by a suffix as in all other verbs in (78) and (79). The morphological site of duality marking depends on the root type. Almost all verbs in Komnzo have two roots which are sensitive to aspect: ‘restricted’ (RS) and ‘extended root’ (EXT). Tense, aspect and mood are expressed by a combination of verb root, prefixes, and further suffixal material. As for the prefixes, there are five different prefix series labelled α, β, β1, β2, and γ and an immediate past proclitic (for example in the last two verbs of 79). Beyond TAM, the prefixes contain information about person, number, and gender. Examples for the suffixes are the durative suffix (dur) in both verb forms in (78) and the past suffix (PST) in the first two verb forms in (79). The TAM value is calculated by unifying these exponents. Finally, as we can see in the first verb ‘arrive’ in (79), verbs may be inflected for directionality which comprises an opposition of venitive (VENIT) and andative (ANDAT).

Verbs are the only lexical items which can take the nominalising suffix (-si). Nominalisations or infinitives are used as a citation form in the dictionary as they were frequently given to me as zokwasi ebar ‘word head’ for an inflected verb form. Nominalisations are non-finite forms without inflectional material. Nominalisations can be treated like nominals. They can function as complements of phasal verbs (finish, start, become) or infinitival adjuncts. Example (80) can be translated as ‘the counting finished’, and (81) can be translated as ‘in the planting (season)’.

nz=y-a-na-thr-∅
ipst=3SG.MASC.α-VC-eat.EXT-ND-2|3SG
ipst=2|3SG:SUBJ->3SG.MASC.OBJ:NPST/eat

‘When the village people arrived, they looked around and said “Something terrible has just happened, because she has eaten that man here.”’

(tci20120901-01 MAK #106-111)
In other respects, nominalised verbs can be treated like any other noun. They can take case, for example ergative (82) or instrumental in a resultative construction (83). They can be reduplicated as in (84). They can enter into possessive constructions either as possessed (84) or as possessor (85).
3.2 Verbs

‘That breaking noise was blocking his ears.’

(tci20120818 ABB #68)

(83) This is from a story about the origin of fire.

ηαγυφ frthé bant wāfiyokwa kidn ane rifthzsime zfrärm
ηαfe-f frthé bant w-a-fiyok-w-a-∅
father-ERG when ground 3SG.FEM.α-VC-make.EXT-ND-PST-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/make
kidn ane rifthz-si=me zf-rä-rm
ancient.fire DEM hide-NMLZ=INS 3SG.FEM.β2-COP.ND-DUR
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

‘When God made the Earth, the ancient fire was hidden.’

(tci20120909-06 KAB #62-63)

(84) fi miyomär yé. wri kabeanme ttrikasi naf krarizr.

fi miyo=mär yé wri kabe=anme
3.ABS desire=PRIV 3SG.MASC.α.COP.ND drunk man=POSS.NSG
3SG.MASC:α:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
t-trik-si naf k-ra-ri-zr-∅
REDUP-tell-NMLZ 3SG.ERG M.β-IRR.VC-hear.EXT-ND-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/hear

‘He doesn’t want to listen to those drunk people’s stories.’

(tci20111004 RMA #140)

(85) ... tharisiane efoth fthé zfrärm.

(.) thari-si=ane efoth fthé zf-rä-rm
(.) dig-NMLZ=POSS.SG day when 3SG.FEM.β2-COP.ND-DUR
3SG.FEM:PST:DUR/be

‘... when it was harvesting season’

(tci20120805-01 ABB #356)

Almost all verbs have an infinitive derived by means of the nominaliser (-si). However, there are a few exceptions where either a noun is used or an infinitive is lacking altogether. For the most part, these are verbs of high frequency. In the following three examples, the noun meaning is given first and the verb meaning second: zan ‘fight (n), hit or kill (v)’ wath ‘dance (n), dance (v)’ zrin ‘heaviness or burden (n), carry (v)’.
There are two options to analyse nominalisations in Komnzo. While I stress their verbal character, one of the reviewers of this thesis argues that they should be analysed as (deverbal) nouns. I believe that this is an analytic decision and that there are good arguments for both sides. I address this question here because the decision impacts several other parts of this grammar, for example the description of a complementiser function of the case markers (§4.3) and subordinate clauses which involve infinitives (chapter 9). As shown above, nominalised verbs behave like nouns in terms of morphology, that is they can form reduplications and nominal compounds. Moreover, they can serve as hosts for the case enclitics. This supports the analysis of nominalisations as nouns. However, nominalised verbs retain particular verbal features, for example their argument structure. The agent (or most agent-like argument) of the finite verb can be expressed with the non-finite verb by means of a possessive construction. In *nafane tharisi* ‘her digging’, the third singular possessor refers to the agent argument. The patient (or most patient-like argument) can be expressed by the modifying element of a nominal compound. In *wawa tharisi* ‘yam digging’, the word for ‘yam’ is the patient of the event. Noun phrases of this type can be captured by the notion of an action nominal, which Comrie & Thompson describe as “a noun phrase that contains, in addition to a noun derived from a verb, one or more reflexes of a proposition or predicate” (2007: 343).

The verbal character of nominalisations in Komnzo is clearest in raising constructions. In example (86), the speaker demonstrates how to produce a children’s toy from a coconut leaf. She uses a raising construction (‘start rolling’) with a nominalised form of ‘roll’. This is followed by finite form of ‘roll’. We find that argument indexing of the finite ‘roll’ (1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ) has been raised to the phasal verb ‘start’. In conclusion, I acknowledge that nominalised verbs can be analysed as either (deverbal) nouns or infinitives. I have made explicit why I choose the latter option.

(86) *myuknisi srethkäfe ... zane zf ymyuknwé.*

myukn-si s-rä-thkäf-é (.) zane zf
roll-NMLZ 3SG.MASC:Y-IRR.ND-start.RS-1SG (.) DEM:PROX IMM
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start
y-myukn-w-é
3SG.MASC:R-roll.EXT-ND-1SG
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:PFV/roll

‘I (usually) start rolling (the leaf). I roll this one right here.’

(tci20120914 RNA #45)

Word order in Komnzo is predominantly SOV, or more accurately AUV (agent undergoer verb). For pragmatic reasons, elements may follow the verb, but they
are usually part of a separate intonation group. The only exceptions are the emphatic particle *fof* (§3.4.2) and the demonstrative identifier (§3.1.11.3).

Verbs can be subcategorised along both grammatical and semantic lines. As for the latter, we find a class of positional verbs, which take a special stative suffix and encode postural or positional semantics, for example *migsi* ‘hang’, *thorsi* ‘be inside’, *rngthksi* ‘be in a tree fork’ (§5.4.4.1). Morphologically, one interesting fact is that only a small part of intransitive verbs are purely prefixing, most intransitive verbs employ both the prefix and the suffix. In this case, an invariant middle prefix is used and the single argument is indexed in the suffix (§5.4.5). Transitive verbs index their subject in the suffix and the object in the prefix. Most stems can be applicativised by adding the *a*-prefix. In this case, the referent of the person prefix changes from the object (or subject of a prefixing verb) to an indirect object (usually a recipient, beneficiary, or raised possessor). I label, the *a*-prefix VC for ‘valency change’. This is because *a*- is used to increase as well as to decrease the valency of a verb. Thus, the above-mentioned middle construction always takes the *a*-prefix. A general feature of Komnzo verbs, is a high degree of flexibility, whereby most stems may enter various morphological templates and a handful of stems can be cycled through all. This will be discussed in detail in §5.4.

## 3.3 Adverbs

Adverbs in Komnzo make up a small closed class of about a dozen lexical items. A number of nominals, such as temporals and demonstratives have an adverbial function. Moreover, the instrumental case (=me) on adjectives and property nouns provides an adverbial function.

Temporals have been discussed in §3.1.7. They are a functional subclass of nominals which can have an adverbial function. Spatial adverbials are expressed by the rich set of demonstratives discussed in §3.1.11.2. Hence, only manner adverbs comprise a word class in their own right. These are uninflecting words which are fairly free with respect to their position in the clause. Most commonly, they occur in preverbal position. Table 3.9 lists the currently attested manner adverbs.

![Table 3.9 Manner adverbs](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KOMNZO</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>eräme</em></td>
<td>‘together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kwot</em></td>
<td>‘properly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>matar</em></td>
<td>‘quietly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>minzü</em></td>
<td>‘very, too much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nezä</em></td>
<td>‘in return’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As discussed in §3.1.1, the instrumental case (=me) provides an adverbial function on property nouns or adjectives. Some of the manner adverbs show remnants of frozen morphology. For example, *watma* ‘for a daytrip’ shows a =me element, but the corresponding form *watmame* is missing.

### 3.4 Particles

We find two types of particles in Komnzo; TAM particles and discourse particles. Both are morphologically inert, but differ slightly in their syntactic distribution. The TAM particles are discussed in more detail in §6.3.

#### 3.4.1 TAM particles

There are five particles which are part of the tense-aspect-mood system. Most frequently, they occur in preverbal position, but other elements may intervene. These are important for TAM because even though Komnzo has a rich set of TAM related inflections on the verb, some categories can only be expressed by means of the particles. For example, *kwa* and *z* are the only way of expressing future and completion respectively. The five particles are: *kwa* for future, *z* for completion (iamitive marker)\(^8\), *nomai* as a habitual marker, *kma* for potentiality, and *keke* with its variant *kyo* which is the negator. I will address these in turn. Note that there are the proclitics *n=* and *m=*, which depending on their morpho-syntactic context can be analysed as clitics or particles. This point is discussed in §3.5.2.

The future marker *kwa* is the only way of expressing the futurity of an event. It occurs with the non-past tense and the irrealis mood (87), both of which are insufficient for indicating that a particular event will take place in the future. The particle may occur just by itself in which case it is an imperative that means ‘wait!’ (87). The future particle *kwa* is discussed in §6.3.4.

\(^8\)I adopt the term *iamitive* from (Olsson, 2013), who has coined the term based on Latin *iam* ‘already’.
The speaker explains how the people go poison-root fishing. Before jumping into the water, the roots have to be prepared.

*katakatan kwa zö́bthé thrángathinzth nima: “kwa! komnzo kwa!”*

First, they will stop the small ones (from jumping in). They will say: “Wait! Just wait!”

The iamitive marker *z* functions as a completive marker. It combines with all tense-aspect-mood categories, except for the imperative. The TAM system and the distinction between imperfective and perfective does not focus on completion, but on inceptive/punctual versus durative. The iamitive particle is the only way to indicate completion. It maybe used in declarative sentences (88) or with a rising intonation in polar questions (89). The particle *z* is discussed in §6.3.5.

(88) In a story, the survivors of a headhunting raid flee to another village.

*foba yakkarä enüera “oh, firran z thäkwrth.”*

“They came fast from there (and said:) “Oh, they already killed them in Firra.””

(89) The speaker asks her sister whether she has shown a particular plant to me.

*z safäs?

‘Did you show him?’

The habitual marker *nomai* functions either to indicate that an event happened regularly or that it took place for an extended time (90). There is a variant *nomair* which expresses ‘forever’ or ‘for a very long time’ (91). The final *r* element might be related to the purposive case. Its origin is still unclear as particles cannot host case clitics. The habitual particle *nomai* is discussed in §6.3.6.
(90) fi swathug wrm gaso. nimanzo nomai swafiyok wrm e nomai nomai nomai ...

fi swa\thug/wrm gaso
3SG.ABS 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/trick badly
nima=nzo nomai swa\fiyok/wrm e
like_this=ONLY HAB 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/make until
3x(nomai) (.)
3x(HAB) (.)

‘He tricked him badly. He kept on doing this to him for a long, long time.’
(tci20110802 ABB #95-96)

(91) The speaker talks about food taboos which ensure that one lives for a long time.

nomair kwa namnzr kwot kwot kwot kwot e namâ kakahfar kwot kâkorm
nomair kwa na\m/nzr 4x(kwot) e namâ
HAB FUT 2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell 4x(properly) until good
ka-kahfar kwot kâ\kor/m
properly REDUP-big 2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/become

‘You will live forever ... all the time until you really grow old.’
(tci20120922-26 DAK #16)

The potential marker kma occurs with verbs of different aspect values. It marks counterfactuality with deontic or epistemic interpretation, for example potentiality of an event (‘could’ or ‘could have’) with an irrealis (92) or obligation (‘should’ or ‘should have’) as in (93). The particle kma is discussed in §6.3.3.

(92) The speaker talks about a bushfire that almost burned his garden the previous day. He did not see the smoke because he was busy weaving.

nzä tosai=ane ñame kma
1SG.ABS baby=POSS.SG mother POT
kwrâ\kor/ kâ\thf/ nzä
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak 2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/walk 1SG.ABS
nima fefe kwa\m/nzrm kita
like_this really 1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/sit rattan_wall
sf\r/wrmé
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/weave
‘The baby’s mother could have told me and said to me “Go!” but I was just sitting like this and weaving the rattan wall.’

(93) The speaker explains how he was fighting a bushfire in his garden and how he was trying to pull a burning tree from his bamboo fence.

**kma wämne ane fof kwakarkwé ane fof ... wämnef mane thänarfa ... keke ... watikthémäre**

kma wämne ane fof kwa\kark/wé ane fof (.)
POT tree DEM EMPH 1SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/pull DEM EMPH (.)
wämne=f mane thä\narf/a (. keke tree=ERG,SG which 2[3SG:SBJ>2]3PL:OBJ:RPST:PFV/press.down (.) NEG (. watik-thé=märe (. enough-ADZR=PRIV

‘I should have pulled that tree off ... the one that was pushing down (the fences). No (it was) not enough’.

(94) During a public speech there is some negotiation about how to divide up a pig that will be slaughtered in the morning. The following words precede the announcement that one side has changed the agreement.

**gatha fam kمام гнрăрё монвă зë fam thäkuke.**

gatha fam kma=m gn\rä/ré mon=wä zë bad thought POT=APPR 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be how=EMPH ALR fam thä\kuk/e thought 1PL:SBJ>2]3PL:OBJ:RPST:PFV/erect

‘You must not think bad about how we made up our minds.’
The negator *keke* is also normally positioned in preverbal position, but additionally can stand by itself. In the recordings of older speakers, there is another variant *kyo*. It seems that the use *kyo* was stigmatised during the period of the mission school. The school was run by speakers of Motu and *kyo* is similar to the Motu word ‘kijo’ which means ‘vagina’. Nowadays, all younger speakers use *keke* instead, but it is unclear where this word originates. Polarity is discussed in §5.7.

### 3.4.2 Discourse particles

There are three discourse particles in Komnzo: *we* ‘also’, the intensifier *fof* and the term from which the language name is derived, *komnzo* ‘only, still’. These are used for different types of focus.

The particle *we* functions as an additive focus marker and I translate it with English ‘also’. It usually has scope over a whole proposition. It is rather flexible with respect to its position, and it may occur several times in a clause. Semantically, it always presuposes some event that has been established in the previous discourse. We can see this in example (95) where the speaker makes an additional comment as to why his times as a busy gardener have come to an end.

(95) The speaker talked about how many gardens he used to have in the past.

\[
\text{kafar zé zäkora fof ... kafar ... watik, nzone tmä we katanme ñarsörém.}
\]

\[
kafar z zä\backslash kor/\text{a fof (.) kafar (.) watik nzone big ALR 1SG:PST.PFV/become EMPH (.) big (.) then 1SG.POSS tmä we katan=me ña\backslash rsör/m strength also small=INS 2|3SG:RPST.DUR/recede}
\]

‘I have grown old ... And also, my strength has also gone down a little.’

(tci20120805-01 ABB #662-664)

The particle *fof* is the word which occurs with the highest frequency in the corpus (about 1,600 tokens). It marks presentational focus of quite a wide range of elements. It always follows the element over which it has scope. This may be an adjunct (96), an argument (97), or the whole clause if it occurs after the verb (second *fof* in 97). In the examples below the rectangled brackets indicate the scope of the particle.

(96) The speaker presents the content of his yam storage house to me. He explains the system by which the yams are piled up and sorted.

\[
\text{watik zanenzo fthé fof krägathinzth zethn ... dagonna fof}
\]
3.4 Particles

watik zane=nzo [þë fo] krå\gathinz/th
then DEM:PROX=ONLY [when EMPH] 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/stop
z=e\thn/ (. ) dagon=ma fo
PROX=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:STAT/lie.down (. ) food=CHAR EMPH

‘That is the time, when only these ones are left. These lying here ... (are) really for eating.’
(tci20121001 ABB #107)

(97) Ṽazäthema wawa ane fo f erä fo.
[Ṽazäthe=ma [wawa ane fo] e\rä/ fo]
[PLACE.N=CHAR [yam DEM EMPH] 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be EMPH]

‘These yams are really from Ngazäthe.’
(tci20121001 ABB #158)

The particle komnzo functions as a contrastive focus marker which has scope over the predicate. The clitic =nzo is its nominal counterpart. This will be described below in §3.5. The formal relationship between komnzo and =nzo holds true for other Tonda varieties. For example, Anta to the north has a corresponding particle anta and a clitic =nta.

In example (98), we see that komnzo has scope over the predicate; the copula in this case. I have often overheard women scolding their children by saying komnzo kämës ‘Just sit down!’

(98) A man returns to the place where the people of Firra took revenge on his wife after she had killed one of them.

wati nagawa Ṽabrigwa sir. komnzo rä o zë kwarsir mënín?
wati nagawa Ṽa\brig/wa si=r [komnzo
then PROP.N 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/return eye=PURP [only
rä] o z kwä\rsir/
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be] or ALR 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/burn
mni=n
fire=LOC

‘Then Nagawa returned to check: was she still alive or did she burn in the fire?’
(tci20120901 MAK #167-170)
3.5 Clitics

Komnzo has pro- as well as enclitics. The former are found only with verbs, whereas the latter attach to nominals. I follow selected criteria based on the literature on clitichood, especially (Zwicky and Pullum, 1983) and chapter 8 of (Anderson, 1992). The relevant criteria in Komnzo are (i) clitics operate on a phrase rather than a word level, (ii) clitics show a low degree of selectivity with respect to their hosts and (iii) clitics can attach to other clitics. A further criterion which pertains only to the verbal proclitics and the (nominal) exclusive enclitic is: (iv) clitics are reduced forms of independent lexical items.

3.5.1 Nominal enclitics

All the case markers in Komnzo are analyzed as clitics. Evidence for the first two criteria is given in examples (99) and (100) below, where the ergative attaches to the rightmost element of a given phrase. The phrase boundaries are marked by rectangled brackets in the examples. In (99), the noun phrase is *eda kwayan kabe* ‘two, white men’. In (100), the adjective has been postposed and consequently is the last element of the phrase. Although, case markers are attached only to nominals, there show a low degree of selectivity with this macro-word class. For a detailed discussion of the case markers, the reader is referred to §4.3.

(99)  *waniwanime [eda kwayan kabeyé] yžänmth*

    waniwani=me eda kwayan kabe=é
    picture=INS two white man=ERG.NSG
    y\žä/\nmth
    2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/carry

‘The two white people are taking a picture of it.’

(100) *famé wathofiyokwrmth fof ... zborr e [eda kabe kafaré] zuw=th “paîtua=bf nima bänemr yarä”*

    fam=é wa\thofiyok/wrmth fof (.)
    thought=ERG.NSG 2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:DUR/disturb EMPH (.)
    zborr e eda kabe kafar=é
    PROX.PURP until two men big=ERG.NSG
    zu\kör/th paitua=f nima
    2|3DU:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/say old_man=ERG.SG like_this
    bänemr \nä/r
    MED.PURP 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/do
‘These thoughts were disturbing me until the two big men told me: “The old man is thinking like this”’

The other nominal enclitics are no case markers: exclusive =nzo (ONLY), empathic =wâ (EMPH) and et cetera =sû (ETC). The first forms the nominal counterpart of the particle komnzo (§3.4.2). This clitic satisfies criteria (iv) in that it is a reduced form of an independent lexical item. It functions as a contrastive focus marker and I translate it to with English ‘only’. Hence, in example (101), the woman picks up the yamstick with only one thing on her mind. Note that this example shows that the clitic =nzo satisfies criteria (iii): the ability to attach to other clitics. The exclusive enclitic =nzo will be discussed again §4.17.2.

(101) In this story an evil spirit woman is killing a man in his sleep.

\[ yaka\ zan\text{nzo}\ srewakuth. \]
\[ yaka\ \text{zan=}r=nzo\]
\[ \text{yamstick fight=}\text{PURP=}\text{ONLY}\]
\[ \text{sre}\\text{wakuth}/ \]
\[ 2|3\text{SG:SBJ}>3\text{SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/pick.up} \]
\[ ‘\text{She picked up the yamstick to kill him.’} \]

The emphatic enclitic =wâ shows similar behaviour. It will be addressed in §4.17.1. The et cetera enclitic =sû only attaches to the associative or proprietive case markers. It will be discussed in §4.17.3.

### 3.5.2 Verbal proclitics

Verbal clitics are exclusively proclitics. They do not fully satisfy the criteria given above. For example, they only attach to one word class (verbs) and they have scope only over the inflected verb. On the other hand, all but one verbal proclitic are reduced forms of independent lexical items.

Additional evidence against analysing them as prefixes comes from phonology. In those cases where the proclitic creates an initial syllable through epenthesis, this syllable will not receive stress. For example, byasogur ‘he is climbing there’ is marked with the medial proclitic \text{b=}=. Since all proclitics only consist of a single consonant, through syllabification an epenthetic vowel is inserted: \text{[mböŋ’asøŋ-g-'wër]}. On the surface, the second syllable is stressed. However, stress remains word-initial, because the clitic is not a part of the phonological word.
Stress in Komnzo verbs is strictly word-initial and prefixes which create an initial syllable (even if filled with the epenthetic vowel) will be stressed, for example ṭ"azi wso"wr ‘He climbs the coconut’ is realised as [ŋatʃi wəsəgɔwɔr].

The first set of verbal proclitics are the clitic demonstratives. These are deictic proclitics which attach to an inflected verb form: z = PROX, b = MED, and f = DIST. They are described in §3.1.11.3 and §5.6.2.

The second set of verbal proclitics comprises m= and n=. Depending on their morpho-syntactic context, they can be classified as either clitics or particles. The m= proclitic was briefly addressed in §3.1.11.3. We saw in Table 3.7, that m= patterns with the interrogatives. Thus, it patterns with the three deictic proclitics. However, this is a marginal function, because it is found only with the copula. More frequently, m= occurs with verb forms in irrealis or imperative mood. In this case it adds the meaning of apprehension (‘X might happen!’) as in (102). Furthermore, with imperative verb forms only and the potential particle kma it expresses prohibition (‘don’t do X!’) as in (94). In these latter function, m is analyzed as a particle rather than a proclitic. These functions will be discussed in detail in §6.3.2.

(102) This is part of a public speech during a dance. The speaker represents the host side and warns the guests that there won’t be enough of the pig to share in the morning.

\[
\text{thambrnzo mthäkur fafä.}
\]

thambr=ntzo m=thä=kwr/ fafä
hand=ONLY APPR=2SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IMP:PFV/hit afterwards

‘You might be empty handed afterwards. (lit.: You might hit only your hands afterwards.)’

(tci20121019-04 ABB #126)

The second clitic n= also serves a double function. If attached to a verb inflected for non-past, it marks immediate past. I gloss it IPST and analyse it as a proclitic. With verbs in one of the past tenses or in irrealis mood, it expresses that an event was ‘about to occur’ or that someone was ‘trying to do’ something. I call this the imminent function and here I analyse n as a particle rather than a proclitic. See example (103) for the immediate past proclitic. The related imminent particle is shown in preverbal position in (104) and freely in the clause in (105). I refer the reader to §6.3.1 for further discussion of n.

\footnote{Note that this is shown in the integrated gloss: both non-past (npst) and immediate past (ipst) are marked on the verb. This is because the latter is expressed by a clitic, whereas the former is part of the verb morphology proper.}
(103) *trikasi mane nyatrikwé fof ... ngafynm ... badafa ane fof yanritakwa fof.*

trik-si  mane  n=ŋa\trik/wé  fof  (.)
tell-NMLZ  which  IPST=1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell  EMPH  (.)
ŋafe=nm  (.  bada=fa  ane  fof
father=DAT.NSG  (.  ancestor=ABL  DEM  EMPH
ŋan\ritak/wa  fof
2\3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/cross  EMPH

‘As for the story that I have just told, it was passed to (our) fathers from
the ancestors.’

(tci20131013-01 ABB #403-405)

(104) The speaker tells a story about catching a goanna in her garden. She had
brought some things to one end of the garden, when she saw something moving in
the grass.

*wati foba fof n zäbrimé ... wati nzun nima “kaboth kma zamath”*

wati foba  fof  n  zä\brim/é  (.  wati nzun
then  DIST.ABL  EMPH  IMN  1SG:SBJ:R PST:PFV/return  (.  then  1SG:DAT
nima   kaboth  kma  za\math/
like_this  snake  POT  2\3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/run

‘Well, I was about to return from there ... and I thought to myself “This
must be a snake running off.”’

(tci20120821-01 LNA #9-10)

(105) The speaker reports about a bushfire in his garden. He was considering
fetching water to extinguish the fire.

*kwankwiré zbo n fam zäré damaki yföfo ... “keke watikthémär zagér fefe ră”*

kwan\kwir/é  zbo  n  fam
1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/run  PROX.ALL  IMN  thoughts
zä\r/é  damaki  yfö=fo  (.  keke
1SG:SBJ:R PST:PFV/do  dynamite  hole=ALL  (.  NEG
watik-thé=mär  zagr  fefe  ră
enough-ADJZR=PRIV  far  really  3SG:FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘I was running here and I was considering the water well, (but I thought)
“No, not enough, it is too far.”’

(tci20120922-24 MAA #49-50)
3.6 Connectives

There are a number of small words in Komnzo which I label connectives. These serve to connect various constituents: noun phrases, clauses, discourse, etc. The most common ones are a ‘and’, o ‘or’, and e ‘until’. The last of the three is usually a long, stretched out vowel. See examples (106), (107), and (108) respectively.

(106) In this story, a father leaves his two children in the house. In his absence, the two are visited and abused by another man.

nagayé zbo thgathinzako ... mantma kafarwā a srak nge ... katanwā.

‘He left the two children here ... the big girl and the small boy.’

(107) nañafa wnfathwr o ynfathwr.

‘(The child’s) mother holds her or holds him.’

(108) nzā nima waniyak e srn kränrsā́fthé zrafo.

‘I came like this until I walked down to the swamp in Sérén.’

The three adverbial demonstratives in the allative case may also be used to express meaning ‘until’ both in a spatial and temporal sense. However, they have to marked for the purposive case, thus producing the forms zbomr from zbo, bobomr from bobo, and fobomr from fbo. This is not possible with the corresponding ablative forms, i.e. zbamr, bobamr and fobamr are all ungrammatical. Example (109) shows one occurrence of bobomr with a temporal meaning of ‘until’.
3.7 Ideophones and Interjections

3.7.1 Ideophones

Komnzo ideophones depict almost exclusively sounds and, thus, cover the lower spectrum of the implicational hierarchy of sensory imagery as discussed in (Dingemanse, 2012: 663). There are only two exceptions. The ideophone buay ‘someone taking off in a hurry, fleeing, running away’ expresses movement and bra ‘something is finished, depleted, or gone’ expresses a (visual) state. All other ideophones express auditory phenomena of a wide range: sounds from nature, animal sounds, human made noises, bodily noises, human made signals. Compare table (3.10). Example (111) introduces the topic in the context of a rather gruesome story about an unsuccessful headhunting expedition. The ideophone grr kwan depicts the gurgling or rasping sound of someone breathing; in this example someone dying.
Ideophones always occur as a compound with the word *kwan* ‘noise, shout, sound’. This should not be taken as evidence that speakers are merely mimicking a particular auditive phenomenon in an ad hoc way. On the contrary, ideophones are conventionalised lexical items like any other word. I will use the term ideophone only for those lexical items which do not have a lexical meaning other than the sound they depict. We can observe a gradient from lexical items to ideophones. For example *wth kwan* ‘fart’ consists of *wth* ‘excrete, faeces’ + *kwan*. It is a noun + noun compound and it would be misleading to call *wth* an ideophone. On the other end of the spectrum we have *brr kwan* ‘the sound of a bilabial trill’ which consists of *brr* + *kwan*). The former refers only to the particular sound and I will therefore call *brr* an ideophone. There are some transitional cases like *thmdi kwan* ‘sound of a sigh during sleep’ is in principle decomposable as *thm* ‘nose’ + *di* ‘back of the head’ + *kwan*. However, speakers do not decompose this word anymore, but understand *thmdi* as one lexical item that refers to a particular sound.

There are a few special phonological characteristics of ideophones. For example, I have shown in §2.6 that the bilabial stop [b] is not an indigenous phoneme in Komnzo. We find [b] in a number of ideophones, for example *bübü kwan* ‘the sound a hunter makes when hitting the ground to attract wallabies’. Ideophones can be modified by another nominal, an adjective or another noun. In example (112), we see the ideophone *ta kwan* ‘a high-pitched clicking, breaking sound’ as part of a compound modified by *zr* ‘tooth’.

(112)  

\[
\text{mnzfa} \text{ boba kwanrizrmth} \text{ nzarwonanme} \text{ zr ta kwan}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mnz=fa} & \text{ boba kwanri/zrmth} \\
\text{house=ABL MED.ABL 2|3PL:SBJ:PST.DUR.VENIT/hear} \\
\text{nzarwon=aneme zr ta_kwan} \\
\text{barramundi=POSS.NSG tooth clicking_sound}
\end{align*}
\]

‘They were hearing the snapping of the barramundis from the house.’

---

(111)  

\[
\text{wgathiknath fobo fof. frknzo zwanorm. grr kwannzo fobo zwanorm}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{w\'gathik/nath} & \text{ fobo fof frk=nzo} \\
\text{2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/leave DIST.ALL EMPH blood=ONLY} \\
\text{zwa\nor/m} & \text{ grr_kwan=nzo fobo} \\
\text{3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/shout rasping_sound=ONLY DIST.ALL} \\
\text{zwa\nor/m} & \text{ fobo dist. all} \\
\text{3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/shout}
\end{align*}
\]

‘They (2) left her while she was bleeding from there (the throat). She was just gurgling.’

---

(tci20111119-01 ABB #154)

(tci20120922-21 DAK #8)
Ideophones cover a range of auditory phenomena. Table (3.10) groups them according to their semantics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOUNDS FROM NATURE</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>susu kwan</td>
<td>sound of a running stream of water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buku kwan</td>
<td>sound of splashing water (fish jumping, people washing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba kwan</td>
<td>sound of something heavy falling on the ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bū kwan</td>
<td>sound of a coconut falling on the ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rūrū kwan</td>
<td>sound of thunder (in the distance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wär kwan</td>
<td>sound of thunder (close)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u kwan</td>
<td>sound of strong wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ANIMAL SOUNDS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sō kwan</td>
<td>sound of wallabies grunting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu kwan</td>
<td>sound of an animal grunting (e.g.: pigs, dogs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwrr kwan</td>
<td>sound of barking dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BODILY SOUNDS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzam kwan</td>
<td>sound of smacking one’s lips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurr kwan</td>
<td>sound of swallowing something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thmss kwan</td>
<td>sound of someone snuffling, snorting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grr kwan</td>
<td>sound of stertorous or rasping breathing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thndrr kwan</td>
<td>sound of snoring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thndi kwan</td>
<td>sound of a sigh during sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brr kwan</td>
<td>bilabial trill (baby babbling or someone farting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HUMAN MADE NOISES</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta kwan</td>
<td>sound of something that breaks or cracks (e.g.: twigs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā kwan</td>
<td>sound of chopping trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo kwan</td>
<td>sound of an arrow hitting something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūtū kwan</td>
<td>sound of steps, someone walking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rrr kwan</td>
<td>sound of rustling through dried leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suku kwan</td>
<td>sound of someone walking in water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HUMAN MADE SIGNAL SOUNDS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būbū kwan</td>
<td>sound of a hunter hitting the ground to attract wallabies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ws kwan</td>
<td>sound made to send the dogs after some animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ās kwan</td>
<td>sound made to call the dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knzu kwan</td>
<td>sound of people shouting out for someone (usually a long stretched [u])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifiya kwan</td>
<td>sound of whistling (a song)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Word Classes

- **siya kwan**: sound of someone signaling by whistling
- **ti kwan**: sound of someone singing in the distance
- **si kwan**: hissing sound [s] in order to attract someone’s attention
- **dm kwan**: a signal of amazement produced as a series of alveolar clicks
- **mü kwan**: a signal of approval or a backchannel marker produced as a bilabial nasal
- **ya kwan**: sound of someone wailing or crying

### 3.7.2 Interjections

Interjections in Komnzo are a small class of uninflecting words used to express delight, bewilderment, a negative attitude, approval or refusal, commands, greetings, or vocatives. Interjections form a separate intonation group, and they stand as an utterance by themselves. Table 3.11 gives an overview of the most common interjections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>TRANSLATION/CONTEXT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aiwa</td>
<td>‘oh no’ (used to signal compassion, negative surprise, emphasizing with another person’s misfortune)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awe</td>
<td>‘come!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awkot</td>
<td>(used as a sudden surprise, e.g.: somebody trips over a log)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awow</td>
<td>‘ok’ (used to signal agreement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayo</td>
<td>‘watch out’ (used as a warning sign)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kare</td>
<td>‘go (away)!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiwar</td>
<td>‘good hunting luck’ (used to wish a successful hunting either a person or ritually after setting a trap, hanging a fishnet, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monzé</td>
<td>‘yes, of course’ (used as a sign of agreement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>razé</td>
<td>‘yeah’ (used as a sign of emphatic agreement or approval)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si rore rore</td>
<td>(shouted out by women whilst washing the poisoning root in the water)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4

Nominal morphology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the nominal morphology of Komnzo. With the exception of the close possessive construction, all nominal morphology is encliticised or suffixed to the element over which it has scope, which is almost always the noun phrase. There is little to no allomorphy in the enclitic and affix formatives. There are no declension classes. There are special marking patterns for animate referents, which include a number distinction.

I begin by a description of reduplication, which is only found with nominals (4.2). The remainder and bulk of this chapter describes case and further morphological markers. I introduce the reader to the 17 cases and their respective functions in §4.3. After this, each case is discussed in turn (§4.5 - 4.16). In §4.17, I describe three enclitics and one suffix which are not related to case. Finally, in §4.18, I offer a few concluding remarks on the formal and functional overlap between particular case markers.

4.2 Reduplication

There are two reduplication patterns in Komnzo. They differ only formally, not in their meaning, and words for which reduplication is a productive morphological process can form both patterns. I label these patterns partial and full reduplication. In the former, the reduplicant is only the first consonant of the word. In the latter, the whole word is reduplicated.

Semantically, reduplication expresses non-prototypicality, plurality, or both. In (1), *trikasi* ‘stories’ is formed from *trikasi* ‘stories’, and reduplication expresses plurality. In (2), the reduplication of *yawi* ‘seed’ refers to ‘coins’, i.e. it expresses non-prototypicality in addition to plurality.
The different nominal subclasses which can be reduplicated are nouns, adjectives, property nouns and quantifiers. Example (3) shows the quantifier tüfr expressing that many different jobs are involved in raising a pig. In (4), the adjective tnz ‘short’ is reduplicated, meaning that the man was just a bit short. In (5), the adjective kafar ‘big’ is reduplicated, meaning that the elders of the Mayawas of Firra had been killed in the headhunting raid.
In addition to a productive reduplication with the above meanings, reduplications are found across the lexicon to form new meanings. Many lexical items from the biological domain (plant and bird names) are reduplications which form interesting semantic links to their baseforms. For example, *toku* describes the way how a child is carried on a person’s shoulder. The reduplication *tokutoku* refers to the Bar-shouldered Dove, which has a brown stripe across the back of its neck. The coloration on the neck of the bird appears at the same spot where a child is sitting when being carried on her parents’ shoulders. Examples of this kind are described in detail in §11.4 under the label sign metonymies. Lastly, I want to mention that there are a few reduplicated lexical item which lack a corresponding simplex in Komnzo.

4.3 The form and function of case markers

I follow Blake (1994) in making a distinction between core cases and peripheral cases. Core cases in Blake’s typology “encode complements of typical one-place and two-place transitive verbs” (1994), i.e. they are required by the verb’s argument structure. Note that I widen this definition slightly. In Komnzo, core cases are defined as those cases whose referent can be indexed in the verb. Thus, core cases are the absolutive, ergative and dative case. Note that the absolutive is zero-marked. The possessive is an exception here, because the possessor can be indexed in the verb inflection. Peripheral cases align their arguments to semantic roles which are not required by the structure of the verb, nor can they be indexed in the verb. I will use the term semantic cases for theses.

Following (Andrews, 2007b), I understand semantic roles to refer to ‘thematic relations’ or ‘deep cases’ (Fillmore, 1968). From these, one can derive grammatical functions such as A, S, and P (Dixon, 1972). In the following, the terms core case and semantic case are used to refer to the cases, while the term semantic

---

1 I will use the term semantic role to refer to both the specific roles imposed on NPs by a given predicate (...) and to the more general classes of roles, such as agent and patient. Semantic roles are important in the study of grammatical functions [A, S and P] since grammatical functions usually express semantic roles in a highly systematic way” (Andrews, 2007b: 136).
role is used to refer to the underlying semantics.

Following (Evans and Dench, 1988), who discuss the ways in which case can be used to establish three grammatical levels in Australian languages, I recognise three distinct levels at which cases may function in Komnzo. First, there is the adnominal function which relates one noun phrase to another noun phrase within a larger noun phrase. Second, there is the relational function which operates directly below the clause level. Third, there is the complementiser function which indicates that one clause is the argument of another clause. All case functions of the latter type are T-complementisers in Evans and Dench’s typology (1988: 18), i.e. they establish a temporal, logical or spatial connection between the two clauses. Table 4.1 provides an overview of the cases and their functions. Note that semantic cases can be subdivided into spatial, temporal and other.

Table 4.1 The Komnzo case system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE LABEL</th>
<th>SEMANTIC ROLES BY FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ADNOMINAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutive</td>
<td>Agent, Experiencer, Theme, Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ergative</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>Recipient, Beneficiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>Possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allative</td>
<td>Goal of motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>Source of motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal locative</td>
<td>Location in time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal purposive</td>
<td>Goal in time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal possessive</td>
<td>Origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instrumental</td>
<td>Instrument, Manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>characteristic</td>
<td>Origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proprietive</td>
<td>Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>privative</td>
<td>Absence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>associative</td>
<td>Association, Inclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similative</td>
<td>Comparison</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned above, there is little to no allomorphy with the case mark-
ers. Nominal morphology is relatively simple, especially when compared to verb morphology (See chapter 5). Thus, in Table 4.2 below, the formatives are given.

Table 4.2  Case markers in Komnzo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>INANIMATE</th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>ANIMATE</th>
<th>NON-SINGULAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>(=é (=ye)\textsuperscript{a})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>=f</td>
<td>=f</td>
<td>=é (=ye)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>=n</td>
<td>=nm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>=ane</td>
<td>=ane</td>
<td>=aneme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>=en (=n)</td>
<td>=nben</td>
<td>=medben</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>=fo</td>
<td>=dbo</td>
<td>=medbo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>=fa</td>
<td>=dba</td>
<td>=medba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMP.LOC</td>
<td>=thamen</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMP.POSS</td>
<td>=thamane</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMP.PURP</td>
<td>=thamar</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>=r</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>=me</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAR</td>
<td>=ma</td>
<td>=ane=ma</td>
<td>=aneme=ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROP</td>
<td>=karä / =kaf</td>
<td>=karä / =kaf</td>
<td>=karä / =kaf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIV</td>
<td>=märé</td>
<td>=märé</td>
<td>=märé</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSOC\textsuperscript{b}</td>
<td>=ā</td>
<td>=r</td>
<td>=ā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMIL</td>
<td>=thatha</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a} Overt marking of the absolutive (NSG) is very rare.
\textsuperscript{b} For the associative: DU vs. PL (§7.6)

We find, that case markers make a distinction between animate and inanimate referents. For certain cases, there are designated formatives for animate referents, for example all the spatial cases. Only with animate referents is there a number distinction (SG vs. NSG) in the case markers. Consider examples (6-8) below. The first example shows the locative case on mnz ‘house’, and the context of the story reveals that this is about several houses. The case marker, however, does not encode number. Examples (7) and (8) show that this is different for animate referents, and the case markers make a singular versus non-singular distinction.

(6) **kwot namā=me thfanakwrm ... mnz=en thwarakthkwramo.**

\begin{verbatim}
kwot namā=me thfa\textbackslash nak/wrm (.)
properly good=INS 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/put.down (.)
nonz=en thw\textbackslash raskthk/wramo
house=LOC 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:PST:DUR:ANDAT/put.on.top
\end{verbatim}

‘She was sorting (the things) properly ... She put the things back in the houses.’
(7) **mizidben** sokoro zewära.

mizi=dben sokoro ze\wär/a
pastor=LOC.ANIM.SG school SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/happen

‘The school was at the pastor(‘s place).’

(8) **nafangthmedben** byamnzr.

nafa-ngth=medben
3.POSS-younger_sibling=LOC.ANIM.NSG
b=ya\m/nzr
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPOST:IPFV/dwell

‘He stays at his small brothers’ place.’

As Table 4.2 above shows, most case markers employ an /m/ or /me/ element to mark non-singular number. I refrain from segmenting this element as a separate morph for two reasons. First, the /m/ or /me/ does not involve all cases, for example not the ergative case. Second, its position is not fixed. With the possessive, /me/ follows the possessive marker =ane. With the dative, only /m/ follows the dative marker =n. With spatial cases /me/ precedes the locative, allative and ablative marker. I will offer an explanation of this in the conclusion to this chapter (§4.18).

These formatives attach to the rightmost element of the phrase, but have scope over the whole noun phrase. In example (9), the adjective *katan* ‘small’ precedes noun *nzram* ‘flower’ and the case marker attaches to the latter. Example (10) shows the same adjective postposed to the noun *yfö* ‘hole’. Again, the case marker attaches to the rightmost element.

(9) **katan nzramma** emarwr.

katan nzram=ma e\mar/wr
small flower=CHAR 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPOST:IPFV/see

‘You (can) identify them from the small flowers.’

(10) **watik yfö katanr** kwa yarenzr.

watik yfö katan=r kwa ya\re/nzr
then hole small=PURP FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPOST:IPFV/look

‘Then, he will look around for a small hole.’
4.4 Absolutive

The absolutive case is almost always unmarked. The non-singular clitic (=ê) is rarely used. The absolutive functions relationally to encode the single argument of intransitive verbs (11), or the patient argument of transitive verbs (12).

(11) nzä zä zf wamnzs.
    nzä zä zf wa \m/ nzr
    1SG.ABS PROX IMM 1SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell
    ‘I live right here.’

(12) nzä fthé fof afaf schoolen zwäthba.
    nzä fthé fof afa=f school=en
    1SG.ABS when EMPH father=ERG school=LOC
    zwä \m/ thb/a
    2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:PST:PFV/put.inside
    ‘That was when father put me in school.’

When a nominalised verb functions as the patient of a matrix clause, it appears with no overt case marking, and could be analysed as having a zero/absolutive complementising case, though for reasons of parsimony I will not gloss it as such. This commonly occurs with phasal verbs, like in (13), where the speaker shows me how to make a whistle from a coconut leaf.

(13) myuknsi srethkäfe zane zf ymyuknws.
    myukn-si sre \m/ thkäf/e zane zf
    twist-NMLZ IPL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start DEM:PROX IMM
    y\m/ myukn/wé
    1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/twist
    ‘We would start twisting it. I am twisting this here.’

Overt marking of non-singular number is possible if the referent is animate. The formative is =ê if the host is consonant final, and =yê if it is vowel final. Hence, there is a syncretism between absolutive and ergative non-singular. This pattern of syncretism is also found in the first person pronouns (§3.1.8), where ni is used for both ergative and absolutive non-singular. As a case marker on absolutive noun phrases it is very rare. One example is given below in (14).
Only in the syntactic context of the inclusory construction is the absolutive non-singular obligatory (§7.6). Elsewhere it is optional, and tokens in the corpus are infrequent.

4.5 Ergative $=f$, $=\dot{e}$

The ergative case marker is $=f$ (SG) or $=\dot{e}$ (NSG). The ergative usually has a relational function encoding the semantic role of actor or stimulus. Example (15) is taken from a ‘Nzunga story’. These stories are widespread in the Morehead region. The main character nzürna, but also the plot of the stories, bears some resemblance to the classic European witch stories.

(15) okay, ausi zakora “ŋame, nzürna ŋaryf wamrinzr!” … ausif sakora “anema faf gukonzé nima kmam foba gniyaké!”


‘Okay, he said to the old woman: “Mother, the Nzürna woman is chasing after me!” … The old woman told him: “That is why I told you: Don’t go there!”

Examples (16) and (17) show the ergative non-singular formative. This is $=\dot{e}$ when the word is consonant final and $=y\dot{e}$ when it is vowel final. Example (16)
is taken from a procedural text about a little whistle made from a coconut leaf. In example (17), the speaker complains about some families whose children seem to be shifting from Komnzo to Wära.

(16) *rusa räkungsi rane áfiyokwrth ... *sraké

rusa räkung-si=r zane
derr attract-NMLZ=PURP DEM:PROX
ä̀\-fiyok/wrth (. ) srak=é
2|3PL:SUBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPRST:IPFV/make ( . ) boy=ERG.NSG

‘They make this one for attracting deer ... the boys (make it).’

(tci20120914 RNA #61)

(17) ... *a nayé yé nafanme zokwasimòwá thwasáminzrmth

(. ) a naye=yé nafanme zokwasi=me=wâ
( . ) and mother=ERG.NSG 3NSG.POSS speech=INS=EMPH
thwa\-sámi/nzrmth
2|3PL:SUBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPRST:DUR/teach

‘... and the mothers were teaching their own language (to the children).’

(tci20120924-02 ABM #37-38)

The ergative case can be used to encode inanimate actors who for some reason are attributed an actor-like behaviour. Example (18) comes from a hunting story where the speaker reaches the camp of his family in the night and sees a gaslamp hanging on the bamboos. Here, the wind (*füsfüs*) is marked with the ergative.

(18) *nabi tutin fä fof zumirwanzrm *füsfüs

nabi tuti=n fä fof
bamboo branch=LOC DIST EMPH
zu\-mirwa/nzrm füsfüs=f

‘The wind was swinging (the lamp) on the bamboo branch.’

(tci20111119-03 ABB #117)

Example (19) is taken from an origin myth in which the island of New Guinea and the continent of Australia were still connected. The myth describes the rising see levels and how the people had to take refuge on both sides. The inanimate referent *no* ‘water’ is flagged with the ergative case.
Experiencer object constructions are quite common in Komnzo, whereby the stimulus receives the ergative case and the experient the absolutive. Constructions of this type have been described for Kalam by Pawley et al. (2000) and for Nen by Evans (2015b). As in Kalam, experiencer object constructions are often used to express bodily and mental processes. Example (20) comes from a story about a man who was angry and tried to shock people at a dance. The fact that he was infuriated is expressed literally as ‘anger finished him’. Likewise, in example (21) the speaker announces that she wants to go to bed because ‘fear has grabbed her’.

(20) nokuyé fthé sabtha

noku=yé fthé sa\bth/a
anger=erg.nsg when 2|3sg:sbj>3sg.masc:st:pfv/finish

‘That is when he got really angry.’ (lit. ‘anger finished him’)

(21) wtrif z zwe\af.

wtri=f z zwe\af/ 
fear=erg alr 2|3sg>1sg:rpst:pfv/hold

‘I am already scared.’ (lit. ‘fear holds me’)

The ergative case can also be attached to a nominalised verb as in example (22) below. This example is about a Marind headhunter who was trying to distract the people by imitating the sound that dogs make when they chew on bones. The poor guy was so busy making this noise that he did not hear how the village people were approaching him. Hence, it is the infinitive of ‘crack’ which receives the ergative case in (22).
4.5 Ergative =f, =è

(22) bäne thu\wā/nzrm fof ... zarfa surmā\nwrn ane wāsifnzo.

bäne  thu\wā/nzrm  fof (.) zarfa
DEM:MED  2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR//crack fof (.) ear
su\rmā\n/wrn  ane
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR//close DEM
wā-si=f=nzo
crack-NMLZ=ERG=ONLY

‘He was cracking those (coconut shells) ... This cracking was blocking his ears.’

(tci20120818 ABB #67-68)

Thus, the ergative case can also function as a complementiser connecting two clauses. Example (23) shows that the infinitive to which the ergative is attached may also take an object. In the example a malevolent spirit, who lives in a tree, is about to be burned by an angry mob. She does not notice the fire at first because she is too concentrated on weaving a mat. The ‘mat weaving’ receives the ergative.

(23) mni w\thomon/wath a zrā\fō/th ... fi yame yrsifnzo zu\ko/nzrm bob\n.wāmne yfōn fof

mni w\thomon/wath  a
fire  2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PFV/pile.firewood and
zrā\fō/th  (.) fi  yame
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/burn (.) but mat
yr-si=f=nzo  zu\ko/nzrm  bob\n.weave-NMLZ=ERG=ONLY  2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:PST:DUR//do MED.ABL
wāmne yfō=n  fof
tree  hole=LOC EMPH

‘They piled up the firewood and started to burn it ... but she was concentrated on weaving the mat there in the tree hole.’  (lit. ‘the mat weaving did her’)

(tci20120901-01 MAK #155-156)

Contructions involving the complementiser function of the ergative are rather infrequent in the corpus. Note that in both examples above, the exclusive clitic =nzo is attached to the ergative-marked infinitive in order to highlight that it was ‘only that event’ which acted on a person.
4.6 Dative =n, =nm

The dative case marker is =n (SG) or =nm (NSG). It serves a relational function and encodes the semantic role of (animate) recipient or goal. If it is attached to a place name, as in example (24) below, the people of that place are meant, not the place. The dative is categorized as a core case because a dative marked noun phrase is almost always indexed in the verb, as in verb form thāgathinza in (24). Unlike in other Tonda languages, for example in Ngkolmpu (Carroll, forthcoming), the dative case cannot be used adnominally to mark a possessor.

In example (24), the speaker talks about the different places where he used to own a garden plot. Example (25) comes from a set of stimulus videos.

(24) nzone daw bā mane rera safisen ... nafanm thāgathinza ... safis karnm

nzone daw bā mane \rā/ra safis=en (.)
1SG.POSS garden MED which 3SG.FEM:PST:IPFV/be PLACE.N=LOC (.)
nafanm thā\gathi/nza (.) safis
3NSG.POSS SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:PST:IPFV/leave (.) PLACE.N
kar=nm
village=DAT.NSG

‘As for my garden there in Safis, I left it for them ... for the Safis people.’

(tci20120805-01 ABB #652-653)

(25) emoth a srak markai no ɣarinth ... emothf yaritr srakn.

emoth a srak markai no ɣa\ri/nth (.)
girl and boy white_man water 2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/pour (.)
emoth=f ya\ri/thr srak=n
girl=ERG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/give boy=DAT

‘The boy and the girl are pouring (each other) wine. The girl gives (it) to the boy.’

(tci20111028-01 RNA #27-28)

The formatives in Table 4.2 suggest a syncretism between the dative case and the locative case: the singular marker of the dative is =n, and the locative can also be =n when it attaches to a vowel final word. For consonant final words, the formative is =en. However, the syncretism is ruled out by the fact that animate referents receive a special formative of the locative case (=dben). Moreover, there is some variation for the dative when it is attached to a vowel final word. For example, the word ɣafε ‘father’ with the dative =n can be pronounced as [ŋafBen], [ŋafεʔn] or [ŋafjʔn] (as in 26 below).
In terms of meaning, there is some overlap between the allative and the dative case. Example (26) concludes an origin myth, and the speaker points out how the story was passed through the generations. The noun phrase yafynm ‘for/to the fathers’ marks a goal. This could be equally expressed with an allative case marker yafemedbo ‘to the fathers’.²

(26)  trikasi mane nyatrikwé fof ... yafynm ... badafa ane fof yanritakwa fof.

trik-si  mane n=ηα\trik/wé  fof  (.)
tell-NMLZ which IPST=1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell EMPH (.)
yafe=nm  (. ) bada=fa  ane  fof
father=DAT.NSG ( ) ancestor=ABL DEM EMPH
yan\ritak/wa  fof
2|3SG:OBJ:PIFV:VENIT/pass EMPH

‘The story which I have just told ... was really passed to the fathers from the ancestor(s).’

(2c1201013-01 ABB #405)

4.7 Possessive =ane, =aneme

The possessive case is =ane (SG) or =aneme (NSG). It marks the semantic role of possessor, and the noun or noun phrase to which it attaches functions always adnominally. Examples (27) and (28) show animate possessors. Example (27) is taken from a story about marriage customs and (28) is from a procedural about traditional fishing baskets. Note that all occurrences of the possessive case in (28) are within noun phrases whose nominal head is omitted because it can be recovered from the context.

(27)  bafane mezü rera ... masenane mezü.

bafane  mezü \rā/ra  (. ) masen=ane
RECOG.Poss.SG widow 3SG.FEM:PIFV/be (. ) PROP.N=POSS.SG
mezü
widow

‘She was this one’s widow ... Masen’s widow.’

(tci20120814 ABB #18-20)

²Note that the verb yanritakwa ‘it (was) passed’ does not index the dative noun phrase yafynm ‘for/to the fathers’. This occurs in (26) because the noun phrase is separated by a pause, by a moment of hesitation.
Examples (29) and (30) show the possessive case with inanimate possessors. When the host word is vowel final, there are different variants. In careful pronunciation, a glottal stop is inserted, for example [ˈfɪrəʔane] in (29). In fast speech, this does not occur. Either the vowel is lengthened (if the word ends in /a/) or a glide is inserted, for example [ˈfɪrəʔae] in (29) and [ˈtariːsiːjane] in (30). However, sometimes a velar nasal is inserted, and example (29) could be realised as [ˈfɪrəʔane].

(29)  *faw wbrigwath ... *firraane zanma fof.*

> They brought the payback ... because of the killing of Firra.'

(30)  *wati, nima fof kwafiyokwrme ... *tharisi taemen ... *tharisiane efoth fthé zfrārm.*

> Well, this is what we were doing ... in the harvesting time ... when it was the day of harvesting.’
4.7 Possessive =ane, =aneme

4.7.1 Close possession

There is a second possessive construction in Komnzo, which involves a prefix. The formatives are given below in Table 4.3. Formally, these prefixes seem to be reductions of personal pronouns. Surprisingly, they originate not from the possessive but the dative pronouns (§ 3.1.8). This is evident from the vowel quality which signals the number distinction. For example, the first person singular possessive pronoun is nzone ‘my’, and the first singular dative pronoun is nzun ‘for me’. The possessive prefixes of the first and second singular show the /u/ vowel of the latter, not the /o/ vowel of the possessive series. Note that the number distinction is lost in third person. This is caused by the fact that in the third person pronouns (possessive as well as dative) there is no change in the vowel quality. The close possessive construction can also occur with other nominals, which are then treated like prefixes. I will discuss this at the end of this section.

Table 4.3 Possessive prefixes

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>SINGULAR</td>
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<td>bu-</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>nafa-</td>
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For a number of reasons, I label this type of possessive marking ‘close possession’ rather than ‘inalienable possession’. Although close possessive marking is frequently used for entities which are often characterised as being inalienable, for example kinterms or the origin of a person, close possessive marking is not obligatory for these concepts, but merely one of two options. Furthermore, some of the concepts which fall under the rubric of inalienability, for example body terms, are rarely expressed in the close possessive construction in Komnzo. Finally, for those lexical items which can be used in both possessive constructions, there is a semantic difference between normal versus close possession.

From a historical perspective, frequency can help to explain the emergence of the close possessive construction. See Bybee (2010: 142) for a discussion of frequency and language change. Given that some lexical items occur frequently in a possessive construction, we can assume that, in the course of time, the preceding pronoun reduced in form and turned into a prefix. Frequency is only one explanation and the inherently relational nature of some lexical items, such as kinterms, can also provide a pathway for the emergence of the close possessive construction. It is important to point out that the prefix pattern was not extended to all other nominals. On the contrary, the two marking patterns were associated with
Nominal morphology

a semantic distinction between (normal) possession and close possession. Synchronically, this means that there is no clear-cut categorization as there is with alienable/inalienable systems. Some lexical items are judged ungrammatical by my informants in a close possessive construction. For example, I was told that *nzumnz ‘my house’ is ungrammatical, and nzone mnz should be used instead. However, I am cautious about these judgements, because I have overheard the very construction in conversation. On the other hand, informants agree that there are many lexical items which can alternate between the two possessive constructions depending on how a speaker wants to frame the connection between possessed and possessor, for example nzone kar ‘my village’ (normal possession) or nzukar ‘my village’ (close possession). Finally, there is no class of words for which close possession is obligatory.

Example (31) shows the possessive prefix on the word kar ‘village/place’. The example is taken from a myth, where the two protagonists are withholding a particular food source from each other.

(31) “be nzun fof kwathungr! bukaren ane fof bā safak emgthkwa.”
be nzun fof kwa\thung/r
2SG.ERG 1SG.DAT EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:RPST:IPFV/trick
bu-kar=en ane fof bā safak
2SG.POSS-village=LOC DEM EMPH MED saratoga
e\mgth/kwa
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV/feed
“’You have played a trick on me! In your place there, you have been feeding these saratogas.’”

Example (32) shows a double possessive construction ‘their father’s story’ involving both types of possessive marking. Note that (32) could also be expressed without the possessive prefix as nafane yafeane trikasi.

(32) nafayafeane trikasi yariznth.
na fa-ya =ane trik- si yā\ri/znth
3.POSS-father=POSS.SG tell-NMLZ 2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/hear
‘They (2) are listening to their father’s story.’

Close possession is also possible with personal names as possessors. In this case, the personal name is treated like a prefix, i.e. it is syllabified together with the possessed. This can be seen in example (33). The possessor is the
personal name Bāi [m'bÆI], and the possessed is fzenz [f'otseⁿṭs] ‘wife’. A normal possessive construction would add the possessive case to the possessor: Bāi ane fzenz [m'bæjanem'otseⁿṭs] ‘Bāi’s wife’. Both words receive stress separately, and both are syllabified independently. In the close possessive construction, the two words are syllabified as one word: Bāyfzenz [m'bæjajotseⁿṭs]. Note that the initial consonant of fzenz is resyllabified as a coda, the epenthetic vowel [ŋ̂] occurs between the two words, and fzenz does not receive separate stress. All this is evidence that the possessor (the personal name) is treated like the prefixes described above.

(33) wati, bāyfzenzf zwäkor “bone dagon fof erä!”

wati bāi-fzenz=f then PERS.N-wife=ERG 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/speak 2SG.Poss
dagon fof e\rā/ food EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be:

‘Then, Bai’s wife said to me “Your food is here!” ’

Note that in this construction there is no morph signalling the possessive relation, i.e. there is no possessive case marker. Only the fact that the possessor and possessed are syllabified as one word shows the presence of possessive semantics. Consequently, there is no ‘possessive’ in the gloss, and only the hyphen between the two words shows that they are in a (close) possessive relationship.

For some items in a close possessive construction, there is an /a/ element between possessor and possessed. As in example (34) below: kowia-a-fis ‘Kowi’s husband’. Thus, in these case there is an overt marker of the close possessive construction. The /a/ element seems to be a reduction of the possessive case marker =ane. The example is taken from a conversation about food taboos. The speaker is joking about his sister – a young unmarried woman.³

(34) fi kowiafisanemanzo fthé zé ânthre ... kowiane kabe fthé srarä.

fi kowia-a-fis=ane=ma=nzo fthé z
but PERS.N-husband=POSS.SG=CHAR=ONLY when ALR
ä\na/thre (. kowi=ane kabe fthé
1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/eat (. PERS.N=POSS.SG man when
srâ\rā/ 3SG.MASC:IO:IRR:IPFV/be

‘Only from Kowi’s husband we will eat (food) ... If Kowi had a husband.’

³The fact that in example (34) the possessive case =ane is encliticised to kowiafis ‘Kowi’s husband’ is not relevant for the point here. This always occurs, when the characteristic case is attached to an animate referent (§4.12).
4.8 Spatial cases

There are three spatial cases in Komnzo: the locative (=en), allative (=fo) and ablative (=fo). All three cases have special formatives for animate referents with a number distinction (SG, NSG): locative (=dben, =medben), allative (=dbo, =medbo) and ablative (=dba, =medba). Unlike neighboring languages, for example Nama and Nen, there is no perative case in Komnzo. All three spatial cases have various semantic extensions. For example, they can be used in a temporal sense, even though there is a set of dedicated temporal case markers (§4.9).

All three animate non-singular case markers show some variation in their pronunciation. For example, kabe=nmmedben and kabe=medben ‘with/at the people’ are both grammatical. The former contains an /n/, whereas the latter does not. I will offer in §4.18 an explanation for this.

4.8.1 Locative =en

The locative case marker is =en, for example mnz=en ‘in the house’. If the host word ends in a vowel the formative is =n, for example mni=n ‘in the fire’. There are designated formatives for animate referents, which make a singular versus non-singular contrast. Example (35) shows the locative case in its basic use. Example (36) comes from a text about a young boy who drowned in the Morehead river after he got stuck underwater in the mud. The example is a detailed description of how the body was recovered from the river.

(35) nzone fāms byé safisen

nzone fāms b=zyć
1SG.POSS exchange man MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
safis=en
PLACE.N=LOC

‘My exchange man is there in Safis.’

(tci20120805-01 ABB #269)

(36) zā thabr thenharfa ... ɲakarkwa gwarqwarfa ... srefzath ... neba thabr
nima sfrärm nagayeden ... neba ... nebame kwansogwrn nabin.

zā thabr then\tharf/a ... (.)
PROX arm 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/put.under (.)
ɲa\kark/wa gwarqwar=fa (.)
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/pull mud=ABL (.)
srefzath/ (. neba thabr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/pull.out (. opposite arm
nima sf\rā/rm nagaye=dben (.) neba (.)
like\_this 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR child=LOC.ANIM.SG (.) opposite (.)
neba=me kwan\,sog/wrm nabi=n
opposite=INS 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/ascend bamboo=LOC

‘He put the arm underneath ... he pulled him from the mud ... he pulled him out ... one arm was like this on the boy ... the other ... with the other he climbed up on the bamboo.’

(tci20120904-02 MAB #189-193)

The locative can be translated to English with the prepositions ‘in’, ‘on’ or ‘at’. In order to express that some entity is interior of something else, one can use the locational nominal *mrmr* ‘inside’ (37). See §3.1.6 for locationals. Note that example (37) shows that the locative marker attaches to the last item *mrmr* ‘inside’ of the phrase *firra kar mrmr* ‘inside the village of Firra’.

(37) **firra kar mrmren** kabe thwamn兹rm fobo.

firra kar mrmr=en kabe thwam\,m/n兹rm fobo
PLACE.N village inside=LOC man 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell DIST:ALL

‘The people lived inside the village of Firra.’

(tci20120901-01 MAK #27)

The locative case can be extended to cover various abstract, non-spatial domains. In example (38) it is used temporally: ‘on that day’ and ‘in the afternoon’. Example (39) shows a metaphorical use of the locative case: *zokwasi=n* ‘in words’. This sentence was a description of a man who got infuriated at the demand of some of his relatives to give them his daughter as an exchange sister.

(38) **ane efothen ... ane zizin ... Kukufia we sathora fof.**

ane efoth=en (. ) ane zizi=n (. ) Kukufia we DEM sun=LOC (. ) DEM afternoon=LOC (. ) PERS.N also
sa\,thor/a 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV/arrive EMPH

‘On that day ... in the afternoon, Kukufia arrived again.’

(tci20100905 ABB #105-107)

(39) **fi zokwasi kwanzę̃thžr.**

fi zokwasi=n kwa\,nzę̃th/zr
3.ABS speech=LOC 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/bury

‘He got into a fuss.’ (lit. ‘He buried himself in words.’)

(overheard)
The above functions of the locative were all relational. The locative can also be used in a complementiser function where it encodes an event that occurred simultaneously with that of the main clause. Example (40) is taken from a story about a malevolent spirit who had killed a man. In the example, she realises that others have discovered the truth.

(40) \textit{wtri we z zāra nima “z zwemarth ... ane yam fiyokin”}
\begin{verbatim}
        wtri we z zā\r/a nima z
fear also ALR 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/do like\_this ALR
zwe\mar/th (.) ane yam fiyok-si=n
2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/see (.) DEM event make-NMLZ=LOC
\end{verbatim}

‘She was already afraid (and said): “They have already seen me doing that thing.”’

(40) (tci20120901-01 MAK #150-152)

4.8.2 Allative \textit{=fo}

The allative case marker is \textit{=fo} for inanimate referents and \textit{=dbo} (SG) or \textit{=medbo} (NSG) for animate referents. It encodes a spatial goal, and is only used in a relational function. Example (41) describes how the speaker and his family received the news that a widow from the neighboring village should get remarried (to one of his friends).

(41) \textit{wati nzedbo zanrifthath mayawanmedbo rouku bänefo ... masufo.}
\begin{verbatim}
        wati nzedbo zan\r/thath
then 1NSG.ALL 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/send
mayawa=medbo rouku bäne=fo (.) masu=fo
PROP.N=ALL.ANIM.NSG PLACE.N RECOG=ALL (.) PLACE.N=ALL
\end{verbatim}

‘Then they send the word to us ... to the Mayawas in Rouku ... to there ...
... to Masu.’

(41) (tci20120814 ABB #34-35)

The allative can be translated as movement ‘to’ or ‘towards’ some entity (41), but also as movement ‘inside’ some entity (42).

(42) \textit{zbo n zrā\hashb\={e} yare kwosifo.}
\begin{verbatim}
        zbo n zrā\hashb/\={e}
PROX.ALL IMN 1SG:SBJ>3SG:FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/put.inside bag
kwosi=fo
old=ALL
\end{verbatim}
'I will try and put it here ... in the old bag.'

The allative can also be used metaphorically as in example (43), which is taken from a public speech.

(43) zokwasifo buthorakwr.

zokwasi=fo b=wo\thorak/wr
speech=ALL MED=1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/arrive

‘I get to the point now!’ (lit.: ‘I arrive there to the words.’)

The animate/inanimate distinction (for all case markers for which this is relevant) can be used to mark definiteness of animate referents, for example animals. In (44), the speaker points out that sorcerers usually do not attack a person directly, but they put a deadly spell on a person’s dog or some other animal. Later, when the animal suffers and dies, the human victim will also die. Thus, in (44) ‘the dog’ and ‘the wallaby’ are generic, and therefore marked with the (inanimate) allative case marker. In contrast, example (45) is taken from a story about a dog and a crow. Both have been introduced previously and are known to the speaker as individual creatures. Consequently, the dog in (45) is marked with the animate allative.

(44) taurifo tmatm zrafiyokwr o ñathafo.

tauri=fo tmatm zra\f\iyok/wr o ñatha=fo
wallaby=ALL event 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/make or dog=LOC

‘(The sorcerer) would do this thing to a wallaby or to a dog.’

Although it is possible to attach the allative to temporal nouns like efoth ‘day’, there are no corpus examples of this, and it is generally quite rare. The reason for this is the existence of a temporal purposive case marker (=thamar), which serves this function. See §4.9.2.

4Unfortunately, there is no corpus example of a referent which undergoes a change from inanimate allative to animate allative when tracked through a discourse.
4.8.3 Ablative =fa

The ablative case marker is =fa for inanimate referents and =dba (SG) or =medba (NSG) for animate referents. It is only used in a relational function. Example (46) shows the (inanimate) ablative case marker, and example (47) shows the animate ablative case marker.

(46) **torres strait islandfa thunrārm ... ane masis.**

```
torres strait island=fa thun\rā/rm (.) ane masis
PLACE.N=ABL 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/be (.) DEM matches
```

‘They came from the Torres Strait Islands ... those matchboxes.’

(tci20120909-06 KAB #10)

(47) **trikasi zane mane wnrā ... nzā mane natrikwé ... badabada medba wnrā.**

```
trik-si zane mane wn\rā/ (.)
tell-NMLZ DEM:PROX which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/be (.)
znā mane n\a\trik/wé (.) badabada=medba
1SG.ABS which 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell (.) ancestor=ABL:ANIM:NSG
wn\rā/
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/be
```

‘As for this story ... which I am telling ... it comes from the ancestors.’

(tci20110802 ABB #15-17)

The ablative can be used with temporal semantics. There is only one corpus example of the case marker =fa (48), but the deictic demonstrative are frequently used with temporal semantics. Example (48) concludes a headhunting story in which the speaker points out that the population has increased after this had ceased. The word zenafa (‘from now’) is best translated as ‘nowadays’.

(48) **wati, zenafa ... ni tüfr nagayé kwakonzre.**

```
wati zena=fa (.) ni tüfr nagayé kwa\ko/nzre
then today=ABL (.) 1NSG plenty children 1PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/become
```

‘Nowadays, we have got plenty of children.’

(tci20111107-01 MAK #150-151)

Example (49) shows the use of the deictic demonstrative foba ‘from over there’ with temporal semantics. In the example, the speaker states why he does not know what happened to his family’s rain magic stones, and foba means ‘from that time onwards’.

Example (49) identifies that the speaker’s family’s rain magic stones are missing, and he is trying to remember where they were last seen. The deictic demonstrative foba is used to refer to the location where the stones were lost. The ablative case marker =fa is used to indicate the location of the stones. The temporal marker zenafa is used to refer to the present time, indicating that the missing stones are a recent event.

```
(49) **foba ... ni tüfr nagayé kwakonzre.**
```

```
foba ... ni tüfr nagayé kwakonzre
foba ... which 1SG:NPST:IPFV/tell (.) current=ABL:ANIM:NSG
```

The deictic demonstrative foba ‘from over there’ is used to refer to the location of the missing stones. The ablative case marker =fa is used to indicate the location of the stones. The temporal marker zenafa is used to refer to the present time, indicating that the missing stones are a recent event.
4.9 Temporal cases

Komnzo has a set of temporal case markers: the temporal locative, purposive and possessive. All three temporal cases only attach to temporal nominals (§3.1.7), like *ezi* ‘morning’ or the interrogative *ffhë* ‘when’. I adopt the labels locative, purposive and possessive because of the formal and semantic similarities with the respective cases. Formally, the temporal case markers consist of =tham(a) plus that case marker after which they are named. For example, the temporal locative is =thamen.

4.9.1 Temporal locative =thamen

The temporal locative indicates that something took place in a particular time frame. It is the time frame, usually a temporal nominal, to which the temporal locative attaches. Hence, it overlaps with the locative case, which can also be used on temporal nominals. Expressions like *ane efoththamen* ‘in that day’ (with a temporal locative) and *ane efothen* (with a locative) are equivalent. There is only a handful of corpus examples of the temporal locative. Example (50) comes from a narrative, in which a young boy was attacked by a sorcerer at night in his garden. The young man shot the sorcerer with an arrow, and the sorcerer ran away. The next day a trail of blood could be seen as far as until the garden entrance. In the example, the speaker points out that he was bleeding only at the beginning and the temporal locative attaches to *zőftha* ‘first’. Thus, it locates the predicate ‘bleed’ into that time frame. In this case, the resulting form is not *zőfthathamen* as would be expected, but it is reduced to *zőfthamen.*
4.9.2 Temporal purposive 

The temporal purposive case indicates that something is meant for a particular point in time. The case marker attaches to a temporal nominal, which specifies that point in time. Example (51) comes from a procedural text about poison root fishing. While the speaker explains all the steps, others in the background are busy preparing and cooking the fish. At the end of the recording, he points out how some of the food is ‘for the afternoon’ and the leftovers are ‘for tomorrow’.

(51) okay, zizithamar kwa ane fof erä ... nā thzé kaythamar thrägathinze.

okay afternoon=TEMP.PURP FUT DEM EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (. ) nā thzé kayé=thamar (. ) some ever tomorrow=TEMP.PURP thrä\gathinz/e
1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/leave

‘Okay, those are for the afternoon ... whatever (is there), we will leave it for tomorrow.’

(5c20110813-09 DAK #60)

4.9.3 Temporal possessive 

The temporal possessive case indicates that something is from a particular point in time. It attaches to a temporal nominal, which specifies that point in time. Example (52) comes from a story, in which the two protagonists are withholding a particular food source from each other. In (52a), one of them sees a ground oven in the other’s camp and asks him about it. The other one responds in (52b)
by saying that it is ‘yesterday’s oven’. Here the temporal possessive inherits the possibility of functioning adnominally from the possessive case.

(52) a. “nzungath, rar karo zane rä?”
   nzun-gath   ra=r    karo     zane
   1SG.POSS-friend what=PURP earth_oven DEM:PROX
e
   2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
   “My friend, what is this earth oven for?”
   (tci20110802 ABB #90-91)

b. “keke ... kadakada sutränwé ... kayé. kaythamane karo rä!”
   keke (. ) kadakada su\‘trän/wé    (. )
   NEG (. ) yamcake  1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/slice (. )
   kayé    kayé=thamane     karo
   yesterday yesterday=TEMP.POSS ground oven
   rä
   3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
   “No, I cut the yam cake ... yesterday. This is yesterday’s oven.”
   (tci20110802 ABB #92-94)

In example (53) below, the temporal case functions relationally, not within a noun phrase. The example is from a stimulus picture task. The last part of the task is to retell a story from a first-person perspective. In the example, one of the participants instructs the other one to retell the story ‘from today’.

(53) nima befe we zakwther! zenathamane be katrikwé!
   nima    befe    we    za\‘kwther/
   like_this 2SG.ERG.EMPH also 2SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IMP:PFV/change
   zena=thamane be    ka\‘trik/wé
   today=TEMP.POSS 2SG.ERG 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/tell
   ‘You change it like this! You tell it from today.’
   (tci2011004 MAI #5)

4.10 Instrumental =me

The instrumental case is used for material and immaterial instruments. It serves a relational function only. In a complementising function it is mostly used for resultative constructions. Example (54) is taken from a conversation about a sorcerer who – after being shot – received help from his friend. The friend closed the wound ‘with mud’. Example (55) comes from the same story and shows
an immaterial instrument. The origin of sorcerer could be identified because he spoke Wära or ‘with Safis language’. Example (56) comes from a public speech, where the speaker announces that he speaks on behalf of two older men (‘speak with their mouths’).

(54)  \textit{naf we gwargwarme ane yfö yanrmänwa.}

\begin{verbatim}
 naf we gwargwar=me ane yfö  
 3SG.ERG also mud=INS DEM hole  
yan\'rmän/wa  
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPFST:IPFV//close
\end{verbatim}

‘He also closed that hole on him with mud.’

(tci20130901-02 RNA #123)

(55)  \textit{safis zokwasime zenaňtha.}

\begin{verbatim}
 safis zokwasi=me ze\naňtha/ma  
PLACE.N language=INS  
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV//talk
\end{verbatim}

‘He was talking in Wära (lit.: in Safis language)’

(tci20130901-02 RNA #57)

(56)  \textit{nafanme zr yföme  yanafé ... sowai a karbu ... zena zbär.}

\begin{verbatim}
 nafanme zr yfö=me  y\na/fe  
3NSG.POSS tooth hole=INS  
( ) sowai a  
1SG:SBJ:NPFST:IPFV/speak ( ) PROP.N and  
karbu ( ) zena zbär  
PROP.N ( ) today night
\end{verbatim}

‘Tonight, I am talking for them ... for Sowai and Karbu.’

(tci20121019-04 ABB #91-92)

Example (57) shows a resultative construction with the instrumental case in complementiser function. Resultative constructions typically employ the copula and a nominalised verb form: \textit{rfithzsime} translates literally as ‘with hiding’.

(57)  \textit{nge kwa erifthznth ... nafaŋamayé ... rfithzsime kwa enrn.}

\begin{verbatim}
 nge kwa e\rirfith/znhth  
child FUT  
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3DU:OBJ:NPFST:IPFV//hide ( )  
nafa-game=yé  
3.POSS-mother=ERG.NSG ( ) hide-NMLZ=INS FUT
en\r/n
2|3DU:SBJ:NPFST:IPFV//VENIT/be
\end{verbatim}
‘The mothers will hide the two children ... They will be hidden.’
(tci20110817-02 ABB #72-73)

The instrumental case is frequently used on property nouns (58) and adjectives (59) with an adverbial function. In example (58) the speaker talks about customs surrounding the yam harvest, and in (59) he explains why he is not planting big gardens anymore. In both examples, the instrumental case derives a manner adverb.

(58) zünzme befe fthé zanathé bonemäwä keke tüfr thrarä.
"If you eat greedily, your own (yams) will not be plenty."
(tci20120805-01 ABB #760)

(59) watik, nzone tmä we katanme yarsörm.
"Well, my strength has gone down a little."
(tci20120805-01 ABB #664)

The instrumental case can also be attached to demonstratives as in (60), where the speaker explains to me how to protects one’s bamboo bow against insects. In (61), the instrumental is attached to mane ‘which’ and used as a relative pronoun ‘with which’.

(60) ngazime o zaru ... nzanzama ... watik aneme zminzakwé zabth.
‘with coconut or candlenut ... because of the woodworm ... then, you have to paint (the bow) with that one (and) it is finished.’
(tci20120922-23 MAA #81-83)
(61)  *kitr zane erä ... yame yrsima ... amaf maneme yame wrwr*

    kitr       zane     e\rä/  (.) yame
    river.pandanus DEM:PROX 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) mat
    yr-si=ma  (.) ama=f    mane=me  yame
    weave-NMLZ=CHAR (.) mother=ERG which=INS mat
    w\r/wr                  2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/weave

    ‘This is Kitr ... for weaving mats ... with which mother weaves the mat.’

    (tci20130907-02 JAA #235-236)

The instrumental attaches productively to several interrogative pronouns: *ra=me* ‘with what’ or *mane=me* ‘with which’. The interrogative *mon* ‘how’ can occur with or without the instrumental case; both *mon* and *monme* can be used interchangeably.

### 4.11 Purposive =r

The purposive case is used in relational and complementising function. It may be used to mark the intention of someone (62 and 63) or the inherent purpose of some entity (64). In example (62), a man informs his younger brothers about his plans for the night. Example (63) comes from a procedural about gardening and the speaker explains the purpose of the different steps involved.

(62)  *naf ni nznäkor “ngthé ... nima nyak ŋarsfo etfthmöwä kofär ... zbär kwa zuzir ŋarze.”*

    naf      ni     nznä\kor/  ngthé
    3SG.ERG   1NSG younger.sibling 2|3SG:SBJ>1PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV (.)
    nima     n\yak/  ŋars=fo    etfth=me=wä
    like_this 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/go river=ALL sleep=INS=EMPH
    kofä=r    (.) zbär kwa zuzi=r   ŋa\r/zre
    fish=PURP (.) night FUT fishing=PURP 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/throw

    ‘He said to us: “Hey small brothers! We will go to the river ... overnight ... for fish. We will throw the fishing line in the night.”’

    (tci120904-02 MAB #26-29)

(63)  *efä efä krazrth ŋaraker ... wotu wotu räzsir*

    efä    efä  kra\r/ztth  ŋarake=r (.) wotu-wotu
    aisle   2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/throw fence=PURP (.) REDUP-stick
    räzs-si=r
    erect-NMLZ=PURP
4.12 Characteristic =ma

‘They cut an aisle for the fence ... for erecting the sticks.’

(tci20120805-01 ABB #51-52)

The last noun phrase in (63) and in (64) below show the complementising function of the purposive case. In both cases the purposive case marker is attached to an infinitival adjunct. In (64), the speaker talks about scorcers who visit a deceased man’s grave after the burial to extract certain body parts. In both examples, the clause marked with the purposive contains the infinitive as well as the object of the event in the absolutive, for example tmä yarisi ‘strength giving’ in (64).

(64) fi fenz ane bänemrnzo rä ... tmä yarisi:n.
    fi fenz ane bänemr=nzo rä     (.)
    but.body.liquid DEM RECOG.PURP=ONLY 3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/be (.)
    tmä yari-si=r
    strength give-NMLZ=PURP

‘but that body liquid is only for this ... for giving strength.’

(tci20130903-04 RNA #139-140)

The noun phrase or the infinitival adjunct marked with =r ascribes a specific purpose, and in this ascriptive function, the purposive overlaps with the characteristic case. Hence, in (64) both tmä yarisir and tmä yarisisima would be grammatical and identical in meaning. The nature of this overlap will be described in §4.12.

There is a set of purposive personal pronouns in Komnzo. All the pronouns share a -nar element, for example nzunar ‘for me’, nzenar ‘for us’. However, these pronouns are rarely used, in fact so rarely that I came across them only very late in my fieldwork. Moreover, there is not a single token in the text corpus. As one would predict from the semantics of the purposive case, these pronouns encode a beneficiary or a goal. But this function is already covered by the dative case. I will offer a hypothetical semantic shift scenario at the end of this chapter which partly explains why the purposive pronouns are so rarely used.

4.12 Characteristic =ma

The characteristic case covers a number of semantic roles which are source, reason and purpose. The characteristic serves all three functions: adnominal (65), relational (66) and complementiser (67). In example (65), karma ‘from the village’ functions within a matrix noun phrase. In this example, the characteristic

5See Table 3.4 on page 114.
could be left out, and *ane karma kabe* or *ane kar kabe* are both grammatical.\footnote{In *zane kar kabe*, the phrasal head consists of a compound *kar kabe*. In *zane karma kabe*, the noun phrase *zane kar* is embedded in a matrix noun phrase. Thus, the reference of the demonstrative *zane* is different between the two examples. In the former case *zane* refers to the complex head, but in the latter case *zane* refers only to the head of the embedded noun phrase. See §7.5 for a discussion of noun phrases.}

In example (66), the characteristic case attaches to a separate noun phrase and functions relationally. In example (67), the speaker comments on the exhausting work of dragging a sago palm trunk. The characteristic case attaches to an infinitival adjunct (‘dragging’) with a complementiser function.

(65) *keke thu\ñnzm ... *ane karma kabe*

```
keke thu\ñnzm (.) ane kar=ma kabe
NEG 2\[3SG:SBJ>2\[3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/hit (.) DEM village=CHAR man
```

‘She was killing them ... people from this village.’

(tci20120901-01 MAK #50)

(66) *zane karma* minzü fefe nafa dagon swafiyokwrmth bänema z zbo yabrůža.

```
zane kar=ma minzü fefe nafa dagon
DEM:PROX village=CHAR very real 3NSG.ERG food
swa\ñyok/wrmth bæne=ma z zbo
2\[3PL:SBJ>3SG:MASC:IO:PST:DUR/make RECOG=CHAR ALR PROX.ALL
ηa\ñbrú/za
SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/drown
```

‘From this village the people made a lot of food for him because he drowned here.’

(tci20150906-01 ABB #296-297)

(67) *festh tayo tayo nrâ ... bæne thârkusima.*

```
festh tayo tayo n\ñrâ/ (.) bæne
body weak weak 1PL:SBJ:NPFV/be (.) DEM:MED
thârkus=ma
drag-NMLZ=CHAR
```

‘Our bodies are weak from that dragging (of the sago palm).’

(tci20120929-02 SIK #66-67)

In example (67), the semantic role of spatial origin or source is extended to non-spatial origin, that is reason or cause. Note that the source of motion cannot be expressed using the characteristic case. Instead the ablative *=fa* has to be used. Non-spatial origin is also found in the relational function, for example in (68) where the speaker explains why she was hesitant at first about working for the anthropologist Mary Ayres.
Example (69) concludes a recording taken inside a yam house where the speaker has talked about the different types of yams and the sorting principle in the storage house. He launches a whole battery of noun phrases marked with the characteristic case to express what the story ‘was about’, and thus the case marker can also be used to express the topic of a conversation. In the example, the noun phrases are marked by angled brackets.

(69) \textit{watik zane zizin [\textit{wawama} / [\textit{trikasi tharisima} / [\textit{tafoma} / [\textit{sagu saguma}] / ... mon eworthre ... mane [\textit{dagonma} / erä ... mane tafo erä ... zbo zf zwró trikasi ... eso kafar [\textit{bone namä yarizsima}].}

Note that the last two tokens of \textit{=ma} in example (69) are different in their semantics. The noun phrase \textit{dagonma} does not translate as ‘about the food’, but as ‘for eating’. The last token of \textit{=ma} can be translated as both reason or purpose: \textit{eso kafar [\textit{bone namä yarizsima}] ‘thanks because of your listening’ or ‘thanks for
your listening’. Without examples like these the labels ‘source’ and ‘cause’ would be sufficient descriptions for this case marker. However, quite frequently =ma encodes a purpose and, therefore, I choose the cover term ‘characteristic’.

Consider example (70) below which comes from a walk through the forest. Along the path, the speaker shows me a particular grass. The leaf of this grass can be placed between the lips, and one can produce a high cheeping sound by blowing through it. She explains that this can be used ‘for attracting snakes’, thus, the characteristic is marking a purpose in (70a). After demonstrating how to produce the sound, she repeats in (70b) why the snake is coming (kwanma ‘because of the sound’) and concludes that she would not usually blow this grass (anema ‘therefore’). Here the characteristic case marks a reason.

(70)  

a. *kaboth räkumgsima yé*
   
kaboth räkumg-si=ma yé
   snake attract-NMLZ=CHAR 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
   ‘It is for attracting snakes.’  

   (tci20130907-02 RNA #612)

b. *kaboth kwa ụnkwir ane kwanma ... anema fof keke eʃsgwre*
   
kaboth kwa ụn\kwir\r ane kwan=ma ()
   snake FUT 2\3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/run DEM noise=CHAR ()
   ane=ma fof keke e\fsg/wre
   DEM=CHAR EMPH NEG 1PL:SBJ>2\3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/blow
   ‘The snake will run here because of that sound ... therefore we do not blow them.’  

   (tci20130907-02 RNA #615-616)

In her analysis of Ancient Greek, Luraghi suggests that “the notion of Reason, which, as remarked by (Croft, 1991), mediates between Cause and Purpose, really constitutes a kind of undifferentiated area, in which the reason that motivates an agent to act is cognitively equivalent to the purpose of the action, so that the two notions overlap completely” (2003: 46). See also (Luraghi, 2001) for a cross-linguistic study of semantic roles. In Komnzo, this overlap does not play out as a diachronic process, but as coexisting uses of the characteristic case. Example (71) below supports the point made by Luraghi. The noun *yasema* can be translated to English as cause/motivation (‘because of meat’) as well as purpose (‘for meat’). The reason for the action and the purpose of the action are expressed by =ma.

(71)  

*nabimäre fthé gnräré bone nagayé kwa änør ... yasema.*

nabi=märe fthé gn\rär/é bone nagayé kwa
   bow=PRIV when 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be 2SG.Poss children FUT
   än/or/ (.) yase=ma
   2\3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout (.) game=CHAR
‘When you are without a bow, your children will cry for meat / because of meat.’

(tci20120922-23 MAA #89-91)

The characteristic case competes with the purposive case in marking the semantic role of purpose. In many utterances, they can be used interchangeably. Consider examples (72) and (73) below, where both can be used to express an inherent purpose of some entity (‘the leaf is for rolling cigarettes’). Likewise, in (70a) above, the purposive could be used (kaboth rakumsir yé ‘it is for attracting snakes’). An intentional purpose of some individual (e.g. ‘he goes for hunting’) is most frequently expressed by the purposive case, not by the characteristic.

(72) zane mane yé ... bänemr grärth ... sukufa knsir

\[\text{zane \ mane \ yé} \quad (.) \ \text{bänemr} \]
\[\text{DEM:PROX \ which \ 3SG.MASC.NPST:IPFV/be \ (.) \ RECOG.PURP} \]
\[y\text{\_'rā/rth} \quad (.) \ \text{sukufa \ kn-si=r} \]
\[2\text{\|3PL:SBJ\>3SG.MASC.NPST:IPFV/do \ (.) \ tobacco \ roll-NMLZ=PURP} \]

‘As for this one ... they use is for that ... for rolling cigarettes.’

(tci20130907-02 RNA #506-508)

(73) a\ne\ taga\ mane\ erä sukufa knsima\ we\ erä

\[\text{ane \ taga \ mane \ e\_'rā/} \quad \text{sukufa \ kn-si=ma} \]
\[\text{DEM \ leaf \ which \ 2\|3PL:SBJ\>NPST:IPFV/be \ tobacco \ roll-NMLZ=CHAR} \]
\[we \ e\_'rā/ \quad \text{also \ 2\|3PL:SBJ\>NPST:IPFV/be} \]

‘As for those leaves, they are also used for rolling cigarettes.’

(tci20130907-02 RNA #567)

With animate referents, the dative is used to mark a goal or beneficiary. The purposive case can be used for more abstract animate referents, for example fäms yarer=r ‘for/as exchange woman’.

The characteristic case cannot serve for marking purpose in this sense. Instead, with animate referents it always marks a reason, origin or cause. Additionally, animate referents must take the possessive case first, and then the characteristic =ma attaches to the possessive. In example (74), a young man explains how the food will be shared during an upcoming feast. The characteristic is attached to the possessive pronouns. Example (75) comes from a story in which the wife of a man had been killed, and at the end of the story he cries bitterly because of her. In both examples, the characteristic case attaches to a possessive: nzenmema and nafayareanema. It is ungrammatical to use the unmarked (absolutive) forms: °nima and °nafayarema.

7Example (28) on page 238 provides a textual example of fäms yarer.
(74) *we nafa nzenmema sräthoro ... ni nafanmema fof sränthore*

we nafa nzenme=ma
also 3NSG.ERG 1NSG.POSS=CHAR
srä\thor/oth (...) ni
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV:ANDAT/carry (...) 1NSG
nafanme=ma fof
3NSG.POSS=CHAR EMPH
srän\thor/e
1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/carry

‘They will take it from us and we will take it from them.’

(75) *yanzo bobo yanora nafayareanema*

ya=anzo bobo ya\nor/a
cry=ONLY MED.ALL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/cry
naf=are=ane=ma
3.POSS-woman=POSS=CHAR

‘He cried badly there because of his wife.’

The characteristic suffix is used to derive cardinal numerals: *eda ‘two’ → edama ‘second’. In example (76), the speaker explains what I have to do during an upcoming namesake ceremony.

(76) *chris=f yathugwr keke kwa srefaf yakme ... ethama mane yé ... kwa fthé fof yfathwr.***

chris=f ya\thug/wr keke kwa
PROP.N=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/trick NEG FUT
sre\sfaf/ yak=me (...) etha=ma
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/hold run=INS (...) three=CHAR
mane yé (...) kwa fthé fof
which 3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/be (...) FUT when EMPH
y\fath/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/hold

‘Chris will trick him, he will not hold him quickly ... Only at the third (time) ... (that is) when he will really hold him.’

The characteristic case is frequently used on demonstrative pronouns as in (70b) meaning ‘therefore’. In some words, the characteristic case has become lexicalised, for example: *rma ‘why’ from ra ‘what’ plus =ma or karama wath ‘karama dance’ from *kara* which is a place in the West. Other lexical items show a *ma* element, but the connection to the characteristic case is hypothetical at the moment, for example *nzagoma* ‘for later, in advance’ and *madma* ‘feminine’.
4.13 Proprietive =karä

The proprietive is used in relational and complementiser functions. It expresses the semantic role of association (‘with something’ or ‘with someone’) or property (‘having some quality’). In expressing the role of association, the proprietive overlaps with the associative case (§4.15). The role of property (assignment) employs an existential construction as in (79) and (80).

Although the proprietive =karä attaches to one noun phrase relating it semantically to another noun phrase, the two NPs do not form a syntactic constituent, i.e. the proprietive does not function adnominally. In example (77), the speaker is boasting about his big yam garden: ‘I am the only one here with a really big garden’. In example (78), a woman describes a namesake ceremony, where the mother ‘with her child’ are hidden behind a curtain of coconut leaves waiting to be officially presented to their relatives. In both examples, the noun phrase marked with the proprietive is printed in bold, and the noun phrase to which it associates some entity is underlined.

(77) nzänzo zä zf worä kafarwä dawkarä fof

nzä=nzo zä zf wo\rä/ kafar=wä
daw=karä fof
garden=PROP EMPH

‘I am the only one here with a really big garden.’

(78) nzä zwegafürath ngekarä ... samtherath warfo “nge zyé!”

nzä zwe\yäfùr/ath nge=karä (.)
sa\m\ther/ath warfo nge
z=\yé/
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘They opened it for me with the child. They lifted him up high (and said) “Here is the boy!”’

---

8It follows that the labels proprietive and associative are equally well justified. I choose proprietive because it contrasts with the private case.
The proprietive is frequently used with the copula to express a property or quality of something: ‘with dust’ in (79), or someone: ‘with facial hair’ in (80). The kinds of properties assigned are usually portrayed as being of temporary nature.

(79) **gwrmgkarä zane kar rä.**

gwrmsg=karo zane kar rä
dust=PROP DEM:PROX place 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘This is a dusty place.’

(tci20121009-04 ABB #7)

(80) **kabe yé ... fäk thäbukarä yé**
kabe yé (.) fäk thäb=karä
man 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) jaw hair=PROP
yé
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘This is a man. He has a beard.’

(tci20111004 RMA #90)

Examples (81) and (82) contrast the proprietive case with the instrumental case. In example (81), the speaker talks about local medicine and how one has to mix the liquid of a particular plant with water. Hence, nokarä has to be translated as addition: ‘(together) with the water’. In example (82), the shallow water on the riverbank acts as an instrument making it easier to roll a heavy sago stem. Consequently, nome has to be translated as: ‘with (the help of) the water’.

(81) **nokarä swathknwé! ... ane käznob!**

no=karä s\wathkn/wé (.) ane
water=PROP 2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/stir (.) DEM
käz\nob/
2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/drink

‘You stir it with water and drink that!’

(tci20130907-02 RNA #189)

(82) **sathkäfa\k bi frezsi thenzg\si ... anemöwä tōna sakorake ... zane nome**
sa\thkäf/ake bi frez-si
1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/start sago bring.up.from.river-NMLZ
thenzg\si (.) ane=me=wä tōna
roll-NMLZ (.) DEM=INS=EMPH high.ground
sa\kor/ake (.) zane no=me
1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/become (.) DEM:PROX water=INS
'We started bringing up the sago from the river by rolling it ... with that we brought it to the high ground ... with the water.'

The proprietive can also be used in a complementising function when it is attached to nominalised verb (83). Unlike the instrumental case in a complementiser function, the proprietive does not form a resultative construction. In (83), the relationship between borsi ‘laugh’ and the predicate ‘he looks’ is one of association or simultaneity. It can also be translated as a manner adverbial (‘He stands laughingly.’). In example (84) the father comes while telling a story. In contrast, in resultative constructions, the result of some previous event is emphasised. For example, in (85) the speaker points to a stack of yams in his storage house stressing the fact that he has piled up different types of yam tubers. This can be analysed as a pseudo-passive construction (§8.3.5).

(83) gon z zefaf ... borsikarä efoth ymarwr.

‘He has his hands on his hips. As he looks up at the sun, he laughs.’

(84) nafaŋafe trikasikarä yanyak.

‘The father walks here while he is telling a story.’

(85) zane fukthksime erä.

‘These ones have been mixed.’

The proprietive can also attach to a nominalised verb in a relational function. Example (86) is the description of a picture card which depicts a prisoner sitting in his cell. Example (87) comes from the same recording, when the prisoner is set free and handed back his belongings. These two examples presuppose some kind
of result – ‘has been tied’ and ‘has been opened’ respectively – but the previous event remains implicit. For example, in (87) the speaker draws attention to the fact that the door is open with the help of a demonstrative identifier brä. If the instrumental case was used instead (yafüsime), the result of the opening event would be emphasised.

(86) wati ane fóf yamnzr ... fam ngarär ... fafen wáthsikarä yé.

Then DEM EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit (. ) thoughts
nga\rär/ (. ) fafen wáth-si=karä
2]3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/do (. ) during tie-NMLZ=PROP
yé
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘Well, that one is sitting ... he is thinking ... with his hands tied.’

(86) zrfö bana z seyafürth ... zrfö yafüsikarä brä.

door poor ALR 2]3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:RPST:PFV/open (. ) door
yafü-si=kărä b=rä
open-NMLZ=PROP MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘They have already opened the door for the poor guy. (See) there, the door is open!’

There is a second variant of the proprietive marker, which is =kaf. In terms of frequency, the distribution of the two formatives is rather skewed: =kaf is attested 22 times in the corpus compared to 194 occurrences of =karä. The distribution patterns neither with age or language portfolio of individual speakers. In the close varieties Wära and Anta both formatives are also attested.

4.14 Privative =märe

The privative case =mär or =märe is the opposite of the proprietive. It is used to indicate that some entity lacks something (89), someone (88) or some quality (90). The privative is usually used in relational function. Like the proprietive case, it can establish a semantic link between two noun phrases. The two noun phrases do not form a syntactic constituent. In example (88), the speaker talks about older lineages of his clan. The example contrasts the proprietive and the privative case. The absence (ngemär) or existence (ngekarä) marked on nge ‘child’ relates
those noun phrases to fi ‘they’ and bäi respectively. In the following examples (89 and 90), the noun phrase to which the privative-marked noun phrase links is omitted.

\[(88)\] sitau bagi fi zabthath ngemär ... bäinzä ngekarä yara fof.
\begin{verbatim}
sitau bagi fi za\bth/ath nge=mär (.)
pers.n pers.n 3.abs 2\|3pl:sbj:pst:pfv/finish.child=priv (.)
bäi=nzo nge=karä ya\r/a fof pers.n=only.child=prop 3sg.masc:sbj:pst:ipfv/be emph
\end{verbatim}

‘Sitau and Bagi, they died without children ... only Bäi had children.’

(tci20120814 ABB #508)

\[(89)\] frasi kwa nrä getzmäre fthé gnräré
\begin{verbatim}
frasi kwa n-rä getz=mär=fthé hunger fut 2sg:sbj:npst:ipfv/be row=priv when gn\r/ ré 2sg:sbj:imp:ipfv/be
\end{verbatim}

‘You will be hungry, if you don’t have a row (of yams in the garden).’

(tci20130822-08 JAA #54)

\[(90)\] miyomäre worä ... mnr njarake miyomäre.
\begin{verbatim}
miyo=mär=wo\r/a (. mnr njarake miyo=mär desire=priv 1sg:sbj:npst:ipfv/be (. clan garden desire=priv
\end{verbatim}

‘I don’t want to make a family/clan garden (anymore).’

(tci20130823-06 STK #77)

There is one case where the privative case has fused with a lexical item. The word miyatha ‘knowledge’ or ‘knowledgeable’ is used in constructions expressing a positive epistemic state; usually of the structure miyatha worä ‘I know’ (lit. ‘with knowledge I am’ or ‘knowledgeable I am’). In addition to the negator keke, one can negate this (‘I do not know’) by using the word miyamr ‘ignorance’ or ‘ignorant’, which contains miya and an element mr. The latter is a reduced and lexicalised form of the privative case marker =mär. We can see this in example (91), which comes from a myth where two brothers are trying to kill a creature by shooting an arrow into its heart.
4.15 Associative =ä

The associative case is used to express accompaniment in its referential function or simultaneity of another event in its complementising function. In both cases, the formative is =ä. With animates, there are two formatives =r and =ä, and a set of pronominals (Table 7.2 in §7.6). These are used for a special construction for which I adopt the term inclusory construction based on (Lichtenberk 2000) and (Singer 2001). I describe the inclusory construction in the context of the syntax of the noun phrase (See §7.6).

The associative case on inanimate referents is a minor pattern, because it overlaps in its semantics with the proprietive case =karä (§4.13). Its function is either relational (93) or complementising (92). Example (92) is taken from a storyboard picture task where the speaker describes one of the pictures as part of a narration. The associative is attached to the nominalised verb thweksi ‘rejoice’ which acts as an infinitival adjunct.

(92) kfänrsöfth thweksiä

kfän\rsöfth/  thwek-si=ä

‘She always came down (the stairs) and was happy.’

(tci20120925-01 MAE #114)

Example (93) is taken from a story about a boy who drowned in the Morehead river. A group of policemen were on guard to deter crocodiles, while another man was trying to recover the body from the river. The phrase markai nabiä ‘with shotguns’ (literally: ‘with white man bows’) can also be marked with the proprietive case like the preceding phrase gardakarä ‘with canoes’ (92).
4.16 Similative =thatha

The similative case functions relationally, and its semantics are quite compatible to the English expressions ‘like X’ or ‘similar to X’. In example (95), the speaker shows me a plant called ḥazi ḥazi ‘Exocarpus sp’ and comments that its fruits taste a bit like a chewing gum and that it is similar to ḥazi ‘coconut’.

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9The word pike [pike] comes from Wrigley’s PK® chewing gum which has the initials of Philip Knight Wrigley printed in big letters on the package.
Hence, the element marked with =thatha is portrayed as being similar to another element. Often enough that second element is established from context and the respective noun phrase is omitted as in example (96) where the speaker describes an man hanging upside down from the branch of a tree.

(96) bidrthatha zbo sumithgrm ... wâmnen.

‘He was hanging like a flying fox ... on the tree.’

(tci20130901-02 RNA #48)

There are a few cases where the similitative case is attached to recognitional pronoun bänethatha ‘like that one’ or to the manner demonstrative nimathatha ‘like in this way’ as in example (97), where the speaker comments that some plants along the way look as if they had been planted by someone.

(97) nimathatha erä ... kma thuworthrth

‘These (plants) look a bit like ... as if they have planted them.’

(tci20130907-02 JAA #281)
4.17 Further nominal morphology

There are a number of nominal enclitics or suffixes that do not mark a semantic role. I address these in the following sections.

4.17.1 Emphatic =wā

The emphatic clitic =wā is used to intensify the expression. For example, attached to a temporal adjective zafe ‘old’ is means ‘really long ago’ (98). If it is attached to a possessive pronoun, it is often translated as ‘my own’ instead of ‘my’ (99). As Komnzo has no dedicated marker for comparatives, the emphatic clitic can be used for this (100).

(98) nze kwa natrikwé bun ... no kzima ... zafōwā ni monme no kzi thwafiyok-
wrme.

nze kwa natrikwé bun 1SG.ERG FUT 1SG:SBJ>2SG:IO:NPPST:IPFV/tell 2SG:DAT (. ) rain
kzi=ma 1nsg:mon =me no kzi barktray=CHAR (. ) old=EMPH 1NSG how=INS rain barktray
thwa\fiyok/wrme
1NSG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:DUR/make

‘I will tell you ... about the rain-making barktray ... a really long time
ago ... how we were making the rain-making barktray.’

(tci20110810-01 MAB #1-3)

(99) nzone=wā zane zf erā!

nzone=wā zane zf e\rā/
1SG.POSS=EMPH DEM:PROX IMM 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘These ones right here are my own!’

(tci20121001 ABB #129)

(100) katakatanwā thfrā. nzenme kafar erā.

kata-katan=wā thfr\rā/ nzenme kafar
REDUP-small=EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/be 1NSG.POSS big
e\rā /
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘Those (yams) were smaller. Ours are big.’

(tci20120805-01 ABB #403)
Some words seem to have lexicalised the emphatic clitic, i.e., they do not occur without =wä. One example is nzüthamöwä ‘time’ (in the sense ‘instance of something happening’). This word can take the =nzo ‘only’ clitic, for example näbi nzüthamöwänzo ‘only one time’. Elsewhere, the emphatic clitic =wä and the exclusive clitic =nzo may not co-occur. Other examples are bramöwä ‘all’ and gadmöwä ‘good fortune’. Note that all three contain a /mö/ element. I suspect that this is a lexicalised version of the instrumental case marker =me. The vowel of the instrumental =me is regularly rounded in the presence of =wä. However, removing these putative lexicalised clitics from these words results in three non-words: *nzütha, *bra and *gad.

The emphatic clitic can attach to lexical items preceding the case marker. Example (101) is from a story about two characters who each have a ford in the river where they place a fishing basket. In edawäneme, the clitic has scope over the numeral eda ‘two’. Thus, it is emphasizing the fact that there are two, which suggests a distributive reading: ‘each one had a trapping place’. If the clitic was attached after the case marker (edaanemöwä), the possession would be emphasized ‘two of their own’. Example (101) is the only instance in the corpus where the emphatic clitic occurs between a lexical item and a case marker. Hence, it is a possible yet very rare construction.

(101) krsi zn we fä thwarnm ... edawäneme.

kr-si zn we fä thwa|n/m (.)
block-NMLZ place also DIST 2|3DU:IO:PST:DUR/be (.)
eda=wä=aneme
two=EMPH=POSS.NSG

‘They also had a fishing place there ... each had one.’

(tci20110802 ABB #58-59)

4.17.2 Exclusive =nzo

The exclusive enclitic =nzo has been described in §3.5. It forms the nominal counterpart to the discourse particle komnzo ‘only’ (§3.4.2) from which the language gets its name. I will not go into much detail here. The exclusive clitic can attach to all nominals including pronouns, thus it occurs with a high frequency in the corpus. It usually attaches to the last element of a noun phrase, over which it has scope. It is glossed as ONLY in the examples.

In example (102) the exclusive clitic attaches to a noun phrase with an adverbial function, frme ‘straight’. In (103), it is attached to an adjective.
(102) zokwasi mane rera komnzo frmenzo wyaka nzudbo

zokwasi mane re`r/a komnzo fr=me=nzo
speech which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be only line=INS=ONLY
w\yak/a nzudbo
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/walk 1SG.ALL

‘As for the message, it just came straight to me.’
(tci20120814 ABB #50-51)

(103) zasath “bä namänzo nrä?” “keke nzä nimäwä worä.”

za`s/ath bä namä=nzo n`rä/ keke
2|3DU:SBJ:PST:PFV/ask 2.ABS good=ONLY 2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be NEG
nzä nima=wä wo`rä/
1SG.ABS like_this=EMPH 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘They asked each other: “Are you alright?” “No, I am like this.”’
(tci20120827-03 KUT #159)

### 4.17.3 Etcetera =sū

The enclitic =sū only attaches to either the associative or the proprietive case marker. It is often translated as “and all” by my informants. Consider example (104), in which a speaker reports how he and some of his brother transported a heavy sago stem with a couple of canoes. The =sū enclitic expresses that there are more items than just the sago. Therefore, I label =sū as etcetera marker, and I gloss it with etc.

(104) masenf fä fof nzräs “kwa känthfe bikaräš sö! ” ... watik bikaräš sö

masen=f fä fof nzrä`s/
masenf= PERS.N=ERG DIST EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ>1PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/call FUT
kän\thf/e bi=karä=sū zbo (.) watik
2PL:SBJ:IMP:PFV:VENIT/walk sago=PROP=ETC PROX.ALL (.) then
bi=karä=sū ηa\rafi/nzake
sago=PROP=ETC 1PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/paddle

‘Masen called out to us: “Come over here with the sago and all!” ... Then, we paddled with the sago and everything.’
(tci20120929-02 SIK #41-42)

Example (105) show the etcetera enclitic attached to the associative case in an inclusory construction. The speaker describes how his friends slept in a camp where his father and other relatives were staying.
Example (106) is taken from an origin myth in which two brothers are fighting with a creature. One of them warns his brother that he will shoot the creature now and he should be prepared. Hence, the second clause literally translates as “you must be with thoughts and all”.

(106)  *watik ngth biruthé! famkaräsü gnräré!*  
  watik ngth  b=y\ru/thé \then\  younger sibling  MED=1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/shoot  
  fam=karā=sü  gn\rā/ré  \thought=PROP=ETC \2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be  
  “Okay brother, I will shoot him now. You have to think and be prepared!”  
  (tci2013013-01 ABB #108-109)

4.17.4 Distributive -kak

I analyze the distributive marker -kak as a suffix rather than an enclitic because it does not operate on the level of the phrase. It can only be suffixed to numerals and some quantifiers. Its meaning can be translated to English with ‘each’ or ‘individually’. The distributive is often followed by the instrumental as in (107). In this example, the speaker had lost his dogs during a hunt. The distributive highlights that the dogs came back individually.

(107)  *ŋatha kata-katan thun\thorak/wrm nābi-kak=me.*  
  ŋatha kata-katan thun\thorak/wrm nābi-kak=me  \dog  REDUP-small \2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/arrive one-DISTR=INS  
  ‘The small ones were arriving one by one.’  
  (tci20111119-03 ABB #69)

In example (108), a woman has finished presenting to me what she has caught during the day. This includes different fish, a goanna and a turtle. She concludes with the words “There is plenty of meat”. This could be translated as *faso tüfr erū* without the distributive. The distributive in (108) expresses that she has caught different kinds of meat.
4.18 A few historical notes

The case markers presented in this chapter show some semantic and formal overlaps which invite speculations on their emergence. I want to lay out some hypotheses here.

The dative case can only be used with animate referents, in which case it encodes a beneficiary or recipient. The purposive case can technically express a beneficiary too, but the argument is not indexed in the verb, unlike with the dative. As I mentioned above, the purposive in this function is not attested in the corpus and the set of purposive pronouns is almost never used. It seems as if the purposive has lost its function to mark animate referents. From corpus data and observation one arrives at the conclusion that it solely marks inanimate referents. This leaves us wondering whether the purposive pronouns once had a function similar to the dative case. I will return to this question in the conclusion of this section.

The second point concerns the possessive and the dative case. In Table 4.4, we can see a subset of the personal pronouns for different cases and the respective case enclitics for animate referents. Note that only the first and second person is shown. The third person forms are not relevant for the argument advanced here.
We can make a few observations from Table 4.4. First, the characteristic pronoun always builds on the possessive case. Note that this applies only to animate referents. Second, number marking in the pronouns involves the vowel. Third, choice of vowel for the singular forms (/o/ versus /u/), groups the three spatial cases with the dative. Fourth, all case enclitics share an m or me element to mark non-singular number. For the three spatial cases only, this element precedes the singular formative.

In §4.8 I pointed out that the non-singular enclitics of the three spatial cases have a variant with an /n/ consonant. For example, the locative can be =medben or =nmedben. I propose that the spatial cases behaved historically like the characteristic case in that they were added after some case marker. This element would be =nme, which only survives in a variant. This explains why the element which marks non-singular number precedes the spatial case markers. Hence, the spatial case markers had to be parsed differently in the past: =nme plus spatial case =dben, =dbo or =dba. The =nme element is formally similar to the non-singular of both the dative (=nm) and possessive case (=aneme). If the non-singular element =nme is related to the dative or the possessive, we would expect the same for the singular. By analogy the singular element would have to consist of an /n/ consonant because the dative singular is =n and the possessive singular is =ane. However, all the spatial case markers begin with a prenasalised alveolar /d/, which overlays /n/.

The above discussion suggests that the dative and the possessive are historically related, and I want to draw on four points of evidence to support this claim. Note that we cannot say much about the function of the historical source, that is we cannot say whether the dative or the possessive was the original function, or whether it was a function different from both. First, the close possessive prefixes discussed in §4.7.1 show that the vowel in the singular prefixes groups them with the dative, not with the possessive. The first person close possessive prefix is nzu- like the first person dative pronoun nzun, whereas the first person possessive pronoun is nzone. Second, the argumentation in the preceding paragraph...
shows that the element \( =nme \), which precedes the spatial case markers, could be historically related to both the possessive or the dative. Note that the possessive is serving the same function for the characteristic case (See Table 4.4). Third, the enclitics of the two cases are rather similar, if we assume that the dative formatives once had vowels: \( =ane > =n \) and \( =aneme > =nm \). The fourth piece of evidence comes from a comparison with Ngkolmpu, a related Tonda language spoken in Indonesia. In Ngkolmpu, the dative marks the possessor role in its adnominal function (Carroll, forthcoming).

This leaves us wondering about the pTonda or pYam system. The scenario sketched out above suggests that the original system was more like Ngkolmpu where one case marker serves both functions. Alternatively, the predecessor of both dative and possessive could have had a much more general function, for example marking animacy. We can only speculate whether the purposive case once fulfilled the function of the dative, while the predecessor of both dative and possessive was marking something else. More data from the other Yam languages is needed to settle this question and built a well-supported path of grammaticalisation.
Chapter 5
Verb Morphology

5.1 Introduction
This chapter addresses the verbal morphology of Komnzo, which is by far the most complex level of linguistic structure in the language, and reaches a scale of complexity which is found in polysynthetic languages.

Morphological complexity in Komnzo verbs arises not only from the number of affixes which the verb may host, but also from the way these combine to encode grammatical categories; this will be addressed in the next section (§5.2). In its simplest form a verb exists as an infinitive, that is the root plus a nominalizer suffix. At its most complex verbs may host a number of affixes and clitics. Table 5.1 gives an overview of the verb template, the inflectional categories and the morphological material to be discussed in this chapter.

The central feature that reverberates throughout Komnzo verb morphology is its cumulative and distributed combinatorics. The particular values of most grammatical categories are only arrived at after unifying information from several morphological slots within the verb structure. This feature has shaped my descriptive approach which bounces back and forth between a functional and formal perspective. The overall structure is functionally motivated. I address alignment and valency in §5.4, person, gender and number in §5.5, deixis and directionality in §5.6, polarity in §5.7. At the same time, the functional perspective is interspersed with the description of structural phenomena like the two root types in §5.3 or the suffixing subsystem in §5.5.1.1. Tense, aspect and mood will be addressed in chapter 6, even though it is part of the verb morphology. I describe the contributing morphological material in §6.2.1 - §6.2.5, the possible combinations in §6.2, the contribution of TAM particles in §6.3, and the semantic nuances of the TAM categories in §6.4. I ask the reader to bear with me in those parts where the explanation of one important feature is deferred in order to explain something else first. In order to avoid too much repetition, but also to accommodate the impatient reader, many cross-references in the text link related topics.

1Most definitions of polysynthesis stress two main criteria: noun incorporation and the expression of syntactic relations by pronominal affixes (Baker 1996: 16, Evans and Sasse 2002: 2) and Mithun 2009). Komnzo lacks noun incorporation, but cross-references up to two participants with pronominal affixes. Typically, a verb consists of 3 up to 9 morphemes.
Table 5.1  Templatic representation of the verbal inflection

<table>
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<th>PREFIX SLOTS</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>SUFFIX SLOTS</th>
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<td>-2</td>
<td>-1</td>
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<td>or MIDDLE</td>
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<th>UNDERGOER 3SG:</th>
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<td>FEM, MASC</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>NON-DUAL:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a-</td>
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<tr>
<td>DUAL:</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>&amp; MED: b=</td>
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<td>DIST: f=</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
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<td>actor suffixes</td>
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| actor suffixes |
5.2 Morphological complexity

The relationship between the value of a grammatical category and its exponents exhibits varying degrees of complexity in Komnzo verbs. At its simplest, we find a one-to-one mapping between function and form, which exists for the directional affixes. For the most part, however, Komnzo verbs are characterized by complexity of exponence of the type one-to-many and many-to-many. Concerning the former, we find what Matthews (1979: 147-149) calls “cumulative exponence”, whereby one morpheme expresses several grammatical categories, as well as “extended exponence”, whereby several morphemes express one grammatical category. Note that the latter has also been called “multiple exponence” in the literature (Caballero and Harris, 2012: 163). For example, the Komnzo verb prefixes are portmanteau realizations of the categories person, gender, number, tense and aspect. Conversely, a category like tense is encoded in three different slots on the verb. These slots can be independently manipulated, which results in a many-to-many mapping. Complex exponence of this type is a feature found in all Yam languages.

Let us take one inflected verb form to illustrate these types of exponence. Example (1) gives the inflected verb form *yfathwroth* ‘They hold him away’.²

(1) *yfathwroth*

* y\fath/wroth
  2|3 PL: SBJ > 3 SG MASC: OBJ: NPST: IPFV: ANDAT/hold

‘They hold him away.’

Here we find a one-to-one mapping between the directional value ‘andative’ and the suffix -o. This is expressed in Figure 5.1 below where the verb form has been segmented into morphs. A line indicates the exponence relationship between the value (ANDAT) and the formative (-o).

[2|3 PL] > [3 SG MASC] NPST IPFV ANDAT

| y- | fath | -wr | -o | -th |

Figure 5.1 One-to-one mapping for the directional

²This verb form can have a stative as well as a dynamic reading: someone is holding a baby moving it away from the deictic centre (dynamic), or someone holds the baby in such a way that the toddler is facing away from the deictic centre (stative).
Cumulative exponence is found in the verb prefix $y$- which fuses information on person (3), number (SG), and gender (MASC) of the object argument. In addition, $y$- contains information on tense (NPST) and aspect (IPFV). This is schematized in Figure 5.2.

![Figure 5.2](image)

Note that the prefix $y$- is necessary, but not sufficient, to establish the values for some of these categories. For example, the aspectual value of the verb (IPFV) is not expressed solely by $y$-. This is what Matthews calls “extended exponence” (1979: 147-149) and Caballero & Harris refer to as “multiple exponence” (2012: 163). It is essentially the mirror image of Figure 5.2. Thus, Figure 5.3 below shows that aspect is distributed over three exponents in $yfathwroth$.

![Figure 5.3](image)

A change in any one of the three slots above will cause a change in the TAM value. For example, the prefix $y$- can be replaced by $su$- to form a recent-past imperfective ($sufathwroth$) or a suffix $-m$ can be added after $-wr$ to form a recent-past durative ($yfathwrmoth$). If both of these changes are made at the same time, we get a past durative ($sufathwrmoth$). It follows that we are not dealing with a circumfix where separated formatives always occur together, but rather with a circumfixal paradigm where the formatives in the different slots are quite independent. Although there are some combinatorial restrictions, it would be a distortion to describe this as a circumfix. The essence of the system is that only by unifying the information from each slot are we in a position to calculate the correct value of a given grammatical category.

Thus, the overall complexity of Komnzo verbs results from the co-ocurrence of different types of exponence relationships. Figure 5.4 below captures all the dependencies between the values of a grammatical category and the morphs that
make up *yfathwroth*. Quite literally, we find a web of tightly interwoven dependencies.

Figure 5.4 Reciprocal conditioning

Andersen uses the term “reciprocal conditioning” (1992: 55) for this phenomenon, whereby exponents depend on several grammatical categories, while being underspecified for a single grammatical category.\(^3\) I adopt the term “distributed exponence” from Caballero & Harris (2012: 170), who point out that it may be related to multiple/extended exponence. Although it is excluded from the survey, Caballero & Harris mention distributed exponence in the theoretical discussion by explaining some aspects of Georgian verb morphology (Gurevich, 2006). Baerman (2012) describes a phenomenon that could also be called distributed exponence for Nuer, a Western Nilotic language. The complexity of marking case and number in Nuer builds on suffixes and stem alternations, which are independently manipulated and give rise to inflectional classes. Baerman stresses the noniconicity of the system “in that these operations characterize simply a contrast of meaning, without being linked to any particular meaning” (2012: 490). Similarly, Komnzo verb morphology must be understood as a system where morphs contribute to a grammatical category, but a specific value of a given grammatical category requires information from several slots.

There are practical consequences for the description of such a system. I have used a glossing style which follows the Word-and-Paradigm model (Matthews, 1979: 67) throughout this grammar to give the reader effortless access to the morphosyntactic features of an inflected verb form. Since this chapter addresses verbal morphology, I will employ a double glossing and a verb like *yfathwroth* will be glossed as in (2) below. The first line gives a maximally segmented gloss in the Item-and-Arrangement style, while the second line in smaller print gives a unified gloss in the Word-and-Paradigm style.

---

\(^3\)Morpheme underspecification does not stop at the word boundary in Komnzo. For example, the actor argument in *yfathwroth* can be either second or third person. Without context, this ambiguity can only be resolved by the personal pronouns. The same is true for future tense or event completion which are expressed periphrastically with the preverbal particles *kwa* and *z* respectively.
The Item-and-Arrangement style provides more transparency in the morphological structure which is the aim of this chapter. In spite of that, widespread underspecification means that the gain in structural transparency comes at the cost of somewhat opaque glossing labels. For example, while we find in (2) established labels like sg (singular) and nsg (non-singular) to encode number, we also need to recruit nd (non-dual). As for tense and aspect, we have to introduce even more abstract labels like \( \alpha \) (alpha) in the prefixes or ext (extended) with the verb stem. These will be explained in the following sections. A further drawback of the Item-and-Arrangement style is that some of the grammatical values like non-past (npst) or imperfective (ipfv) as well as subject (sbj), object (obj) and indirect object (io) cannot be shown on the gloss line because they only arrive after integrating several exponents. In the subsequent sections it will become clear for the reader why the double glossing is necessary.

5.3 Root types

Komnzo verbal roots have two forms: an ‘extended root’ (EXT) and a ‘restricted root’ (RS). As these labels indicate, the distinction is sensitive to aspect without encoding a specific aspectual category. For now it is sufficient to state that the labels refer to the temporal structure of the event, i.e. ‘extended in time’ and ‘restricted in time’. The two roots differ in (i) form, (ii) template with respect to dual marking and (iii) combinatorics. I will address each point below.

5.3.1 The formal relationship between EXT and RS roots

Komnzo has lexicalized pairs of verb roots in ways which are frequently unpredictable from any formal or semantic criteria. Nevertheless, there is a cline of similarity in forms between the two roots which allows us to divide the verbal lexicon into seven classes (Table 5.2). For thirty percent, there is a rule-based relation between the shapes of the two roots. At the other end of the spectrum, we find suppletive pairs of roots in five percent of the verbal lexicon. For more than two thirds of the lexicon the shape of the roots is unpredictable.

In class I, which makes up 13% of verbs, the two roots are identical (EXT=RS). Class II verbs (16%) derive their extended root from the restricted root with a suffix (EXT=RS-ak). Thus class I and class II make up that portion of the verb lexicon with a rule-based relationship between the two roots. However, only a few generalizations can be made about the scope of the rule, i.e. given a particular lexeme, one cannot decide straightforwardly which class it belongs to. Amongst
those few generalizations is the fact that most verbs in class I end in /n/, but this is not true of all and verbs ending in /n/ are also found in the other classes. Moreover, the majority of verbs involve unpredictable changes at the right edge of the root. In class III, which makes up 25% of verbs, a consonant is added to the extended root in order to form the restricted root (RS=EXT-C). The root pairs of class IV verbs (30%) involve final consonant mutation. In class III and IV, the affected consonants are not conditioned by the phonological environment. In class V (8%), verbs are ‘irregular’ in the sense that the change involves more than the last consonant. The roots of class VI verbs (5%) are fully suppletive. Finally, a handful of verbs in class VII are defective, and have only one of the two roots.

Table 5.2 The formal relationship between EXT and RS root

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>RULE</th>
<th>EXT</th>
<th>RS</th>
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<th>COUNT</th>
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<td>see</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zik-</td>
<td>turn off</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rikn-</td>
<td>destroy</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>rmän-</td>
<td>close</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>matukn-</td>
<td>shake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>EXT&lt;RS-ak</td>
<td>rfitfak-</td>
<td>rfitf-</td>
<td>answer</td>
<td>52</td>
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<td>lean</td>
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<td>Bthak-</td>
<td>bth-</td>
<td>finish</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ritak-</td>
<td>rit-</td>
<td>cross</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Msak-</td>
<td>ms-</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td></td>
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<td>III</td>
<td>EXT-C⇒RS</td>
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<td>Garf-</td>
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<td>Mnith-</td>
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<td>Thari-</td>
<td>Tharif-</td>
<td>dig</td>
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<td>Thwek-</td>
<td>Thweth-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bnaz-</td>
<td>Bnaf-</td>
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<td>V</td>
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<td>Rsöfath-</td>
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<td>Thorak-</td>
<td>Thothm-</td>
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<td>Myukn-</td>
<td>Myuf-</td>
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<td>Rirkn-</td>
<td>Rirkfh-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tur-</td>
<td>Turam-</td>
<td>kiss</td>
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<td>VI</td>
<td>SUPPLETIVE</td>
<td>Re-</td>
<td>Zigrthm-</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Ra-</td>
<td>Mg-</td>
<td>shoot, spear</td>
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<td>Na-</td>
<td>Znob-</td>
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<td>Thor-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Si-</td>
<td>Füs-</td>
<td>cook</td>
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<td>Kuk-</td>
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<td>Rug-</td>
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<td>Rmug-</td>
<td>-</td>
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We can make a few observations from Table 5.2. First, we find a cline of similarity which ranges from uniformity of the two roots to suppletive pairs with the bulk of verbs between the two extremes. Classes II–V all have in common that the difference in form occurs the right edge of root. Second, the classes and processes (consonant mutation, consonant addition, suffixation of -ak) are neither phonologically conditioned, nor can we detect a semantic basis for them. Third, the system shows little productivity, which I take at least from a synchronic perspective as evidence for lexicalization. In Table 5.2, it is only class II for which a regular process can be formulated; the suffixation of -ak. Finally, we find that for almost all verbs both roots are attested. As a result, virtually all verbs can be inflected for the entire range of TAM categories which leaves little role to play for lexical aspect (or Aktionsart) in Komnzo. 

I will offer a historical explanation below (See §5.3.4) as to how the two roots have evolved in Komnzo and in the Tonda branch more generally.

5.3.2 Dual marking with ext and rs roots

The most salient difference between the two roots is the location of the dual marker which follows extended roots but precedes the restricted roots. Number marking will be addressed in detail in §5.5.3. In the examples (3a-3c) and (4a-4c), I contrast the imperfective and perfective imperatives of ‘hit.’ The former often has a continuative interpretation (‘keep on x-ing!’) while the latter points to inception (‘start doing x!’). In (3) and (4) respectively, all grammatical categories are held constant, and only the actor argument is cycled through the three number values. In (3a-3c), dual is shown by a suffix (-n), which contrasts with a non-dual (-z). In (4a-4c), dual is expressed by a zero which contrasts with a non-dual prefix (a-).

(3) a. be fi sfnzé!
   be fi s-fn-z-é
   2SG.ERG 3.ABS 3SG.MASC:β-hit.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP
   2SG:SUBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/hit
   ‘You keep hitting him!’

b. bné fi sfmne!
   bné fi s-fn-n-e
   2NSG.ERG 3.ABS 3SG.MASC:β-hit.EXT-DU-2NSG.IMP
   2DU:SUBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/hit
   ‘You (2) keep hitting him!’

c. bné fi sfne!
   bné fi s-fn-z-e
   2NSG.ERG 3.ABS 3SG.MASC:β-hit.EXT-ND-2NSG.IMP
   2PL:SUBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/hit
‘You (3+) keep hitting him!’

(4)  
a.  
   *be fi sakweer!*
   
   be  fi  s-a-kwr-∅
   
   2SG.ERG 3.ABS 3SG.MASC:β-ND-hit.RS-2SG.IMP
   
   2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PVF/hit
   
   ‘You hit him!’

b.  
   *bné fi skwre!*
   
   bné  fi  s-∅-kwr-e
   
   2NSG.ERG 3.ABS 3SG.MASC:β-DU-hit.RS-2NSG.IMP
   
   2DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PVF/hit
   
   ‘You (2) hit him!’

c.  
   *bné fi sakwre!*
   
   bné  fi  s-a-kwr-e
   
   2NSG.ERG 3.ABS 3SG.MASC:β-ND-hit.RS-2NSG.IMP
   
   2PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PVF/hit
   
   ‘You (3+) hit him!’

The post-root non-dual marker, -z in (3), has a number of phonologically conditioned allomorphs (§5.5.3.3). The dual marker is always -n. In terms of segmentation, the post-root slot is simple to recognize. This is not the case with the pre-root duality marker which is zero for dual and a- for non-dual in (4). For purposes of illustration, I have selected the imperatives here because the segmentation is clearest. In other parts of the paradigm, segmentation is messier because the dual marker fuses with the valency changing prefix resulting in an ablaut contrast; a- for dual and -ā for non-dual (§5.5.3.4). From a historical perspective, this structural split between a pre-root and a post-root slot is a way of preserving dual marking after the original suffix had fused with the root (§5.3.4 below).

5.3.3 The combinatorics of ext and rs roots

Extended and restricted roots taken alone are underspecified for a particular TAM value and information from other morphological sites is required. With respect to the five prefix series α, β, β1, β2, γ (See §5.5.1.1), the two roots differ in their combinatorial possibilities. For example, the α prefixes combine with the extended root and the γ prefixes combine with the restricted root, but not vice versa. The α series is recruited to form non-past, immediate past, recent past or past in imperfective or durative aspect depending on suffixal material. The γ series is employed for recent past or past, both perfective. The β prefixes combine with both roots to form imperatives or irrealis forms respectively with imperfective and perfective meaning. The β1 and β2 prefixes combine with
the extended root (the latter exclusively so) to form recent past and past in
imperfective or durative aspect again depending on suffixal material. The β1
prefixes combine with the restricted root to form an iterative. The details of the
five prefix series as well as the aspectual distinctions will be addressed in §6.2.
For present purposes it is sufficient to stress that there are some limitations on
the inflectional possibilities that EXT and RS roots may enter into.

5.3.4 A comparative note on multiple roots

Verb roots which are sensitive to aspect are known from other Papuan languages,
for example Mian (Fedden, 2011: 245). In the Southern New Guinea region,
Marind shows striking architectural similarities to the Komnzo system. Drabbe
reports on 4 verb classes in Marind (Drabbe, 1955: 31). The first two classes
which make up the main distinction are labelled “momentaan” versus “duratief.”
Members of a third class can be both, and only the affixes signal the aspectual
value of an inflected verb form. The fourth class is characterised as “momenta-
taan,” but it can be turned into “duratief” by suffixing -a(t) to the root. The
overall design of the Marind system looks similar once we equate “duratief” with
extended and “momentaan” with restricted. Drabbe’s third class in Marind bears
resemblance to the group of Komnzo verbs where only one form is attested (class
I in Table 5.2). The fourth class is very close to those roots in Komnzo which
add the suffix -ak to the restricted in order to form the extended root (class II
in Table 5.2). Moreover, the two suffixes -a(t) in Marind and -ak in Komnzo are
formally similar. However, neglecting Drabbe’s group three and four, the Marind
system differs in that most verbs fall into either “momentaan” or “duratief.” As
we have seen above, almost all verbs in Komnzo have both roots.

Within the Yam family multiple verb roots are found in the Nambu as well
as the Tonda branch. However, the system as laid out here seems to be more
complex in the Tonda languages. Pairs of verb roots are attested in Arammba,
where (Boevé and Boevé, 2003) label them “common root” and “limited action
root.” In my own fieldwork, I found root pairs in Anta, Wára, Wèré, Kámá,
Kánchá, Blafe, Ránmo and Wartha Thuntai. As for Ngkolmpu, there are up
to three roots for some verbs and these are sensitive to aspect as well as verbal
number (Carroll, forthcoming). More documentary work is needed to understand
how the two roots are employed in the respective TAM systems of these languages.

I will offer a first tentative historical explanation based on the comparison of
duality/TAM marking and multiple roots within the Yam family. As regards the
Nambu branch, aspect sensitive roots are only a marginal phenomenon. However,
part of the verb inflection is a suffix which combines aspectual information with

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4Ngkolmpu, along with Bädi, Smerky and Sota, have been classified as varieties of Kanum
in the past.
dual marking. For example in Nen (Evans, 2015a) and Nama (Siegel, 2014), a thematic suffix follows the verb root encoding TAM plus dual versus non-dual. In Komnzo, the suffix which follows the root encodes only duality, but the presence versus absence of this suffix is determined by the root type and, thus, related to aspect marking (§5.3.2). I have shown above that the differences in form between the two root types are located at the right edge. It is therefore a likely scenario that multiple roots have emerged through a process of demorphologization (Hopper, 1990: 154), i.e. through a fusion of suffixal material with the root. Until more descriptive material is available, we are left to speculate on the nature of the original system. Logically, there are at least two possibilities: (i) the original suffix followed the Nambu pattern encoding TAM and duality simultaneously or (ii) there were two separate suffixes for each category. Since both the occurrence of multiple roots as well as cognate forms are attested in all varieties of the Tonda branch, demorphologization would constitute an innovation which supports Tonda as a subgroup of the Yam family. Other systematic differences between the Nambu and Tonda branches, like word-initial velar nasals5 or gender marking on verbs, can be explained by assuming the loss of a particular feature in Nambu rather than assuming an innovation in Tonda.

The historical scenario advanced above gave rise to different inflectional patterns within the Tonda branch. Languages further to the west including Blafe, Râño, Wartha Thuntai and to some extent Kâñchá have lost dual marking except in some high frequency verbs like the copula. Other varieties like Wâra, Antâ and Komnzo have kept post-root dual marking for one root type, but requisitioned a different slot in the template for the other root type. This would explain why, in terms of morphological segmentation, the pre-root dual marking with restricted roots is much messier than post-root dual marking with extended roots (§5.3.2 and §5.5.3.4). We could say that in a historical process dual marking has ‘hijacked’ a slot which was hitherto solely employed for marking valency. A third pattern is attested in Wëré where dual marking is consistently post-root for both root types. However, irregularities involving a vowel change in the prefixes for some parts of the paradigm show that the Wëré pattern is a case of regularization of the Komnzo system rather than an independent development.

The scenario developed here has to be treated with some caution as there are exceptions to the generalizations made above. For example, Nen has multiple roots for a few verbs like √warum versus √warama ‘give’ encoding imperfective and perfective aspect respectively (Evans, forthcoming a). Another exception is the Nambu language Ná, which has pre-root dual marking for some middle verbs. Much more comparative work needs to be done to fully account for the emergence of multiple verb roots in these languages.

5 The Nambu language Dre which is spoken close to other Tonda languages has preserved initial velar nasals.
5.4 Alignment & verb templates

5.4.1 Grammatical relations

For the purposes of defining grammatical relations, I follow Bickel (2011: 433) in taking, for the definition of grammatical relations, the properties of particular constructions such as verb indexation and case assignment. In Komnzo, we arrive at the following definitions for subject, object and indirect object: (i) The subject relation is characterised by either ergative or absolutive case assignment. If the noun phrase is in the ergative, it will always be indexed in the suffix. If it is in the absolutive, it may be indexed in the suffix or the prefix. Only in the absence of another ergative-marked noun phrase, the absolutive-marked noun phrase is considered to be a subject. (ii) The object relation is characterised by absolutive case assignment and indexation in the prefix. This only applies in the presence of another ergative noun phrase which is indexed in the suffix. (iii) The indirect object relation is characterised by dative or possessive case assignment and indexation in the prefix. Additionally, the verb form receives the valency changing prefix \textit{a-}. Outside of verb indexation and case assignment (e.g. control, relativisation, coordination, nominalisation of verbs) there are no constructions restricted to a set of arguments, and we can see from the above definition that grammatical relations in Komnzo cannot be defined in a straightforward manner.

I employ the terms subject, object and indirect object as useful metalinguistic labels without claiming that these play an important role in the grammar of Komnzo. Similar to other grammatical categories, for example TAM and number, grammatical relations are constructed by unifying information from different sites. With respect to grammatical relations, these are the person marking affixes and the valency changing marker, but also the case marking on the respective noun phrases. Thus, I describe the affixes on the verb as the actor suffix and the undergoer prefix. But in the unified glossline, I employ \textit{SBJ} for subject, \textit{OBJ} for object and \textit{IO} for indirect object. A reviewer suggested to use \textit{A} (actor) und \textit{U} (undergoer) instead, but this would make it impossible to show the distinction between an object and an indirect object in the gloss. A fine-grained analysis of the semantic roles and their interplay with case assignment is provided in the following sections (See Table 5.3 below).

5.4.2 Morphological templates

Based on the inflectional pattern for argument marking, Komnzo verb forms can be classified into prefixing, middle and ambifixing verbs, i.e. whether the prefix, the suffix or both are employed. These inflectional patterns do not align neatly with transitivity. For example, only a small minority of intransitive verbs are prefixing (5a); most employ a middle template (5b). The semantic factor under-
lying the two types of alignment is the dynamicity of the event (§5.4.4). On the other hand, the middle template covers a wide range of functions including reflexives and reciprocals, passives, as well as antipassives (§5.4.5). Transitive events normally employ the ambifixing template, in which case the object argument is indexed by the prefix and the subject argument by the suffix (§5.4.6). The ambifixing template is also used for ditransitives, additionally the valency changing prefix a- introduces an indirect object to the clause, for example marked with a dative in (5d), though only two arguments are indexed on the verb (§5.4.6).

\[(5)\]

\[a.\] *ktktme erfikwr.*

\[
\begin{align*}
kt-k&=me & e-rfik-wr \\
\text{REDUP-group}=\text{INS} & 2|3\text{NSG}:\alpha-\text{grow}.\text{EXT-ND} \\
& 2|3\text{PL}:\text{SBJ}:\text{NPST}:\text{IPFV}/\text{grow}
\end{align*}
\]

‘They grow in groups.’

\[b.\] *nagayé yakwinth.*

\[
\begin{align*}
nagayé & \ y-a-kwi-n-th \\
\text{children} & \ M:\alpha-\text{VC-run}.\text{EXT-DU-2}|3\text{NSG} \\
& 2|3\text{DU}:\text{SBJ}:\text{NPST}:\text{IPFV}/\text{run}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The two children run.’

\[c.\] *nafa yad yrbänzrth.*

\[
\begin{align*}
nafa & \ yad \ y-rbä-nzr-th \\
3\text{NSG.ERG} & \text{rope} \ 3\text{SG.MASC}:\alpha-\text{untie}.\text{EXT-ND-2}|3\text{NSG} \\
& 2|3\text{PL}:\text{SBJ}>3\text{SG.MASC}:\text{OBJ}:\text{NPST}:\text{IPFV}/\text{untie}
\end{align*}
\]

‘They untie the rope.’

\[d.\] *nze nafan wawa yaritíth.*

\[
\begin{align*}
nze & \ nafan \ wawa \ y-a-ri-th-é. \\
1\text{SG.ERG} & 3\text{SG.DAT} \text{yam} \ 3\text{SG.MASC}:\alpha-\text{VC-give}.\text{EXT-ND-1SG} \\
& 1\text{SG}:\text{SBJ}>3\text{SG.MASC}:\text{IO}:\text{NPST}:\text{IPFV}/\text{give}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I give him the yam(s).’

These morphological templates are lexically determined for some verbs. For example, the verb ‘run’ in (5b) only occurs in a middle template or the verb ‘give’ in (5d) only occurs in an ambifixing ditransitive template. For most verbal roots, the system is flexible and allows roots to enter into different templates. Figure 5.5 gives a first overview of the templates.
I will briefly address each template here and refer the reader to the subsequent sections (§5.4.4 - §5.4.6) in which a detailed description follows. The templates in Figure 5.5 show that there is an undergoer prefix. I use the term undergoer in a broad sense as that argument which is affected by the event. In the prefixing template, only the undergoer prefix is used for person indexing. The indirect object prefixing template follows the same pattern, but the subject in the prefix is replaced by an indirect object. This is formally marked by the valency changing prefix \(a\)-. Semantically, indirect object may be beneficiaries or raised possessors. In the middle template, the prefix is filled by a middle marker invariant for person and number. The sole argument is marked in the suffix. The middle marker is always followed by the valency changing prefix \(a\)-. The middle template is used for a variety of functions, and depending on the function of the argument in the suffix it may index an agent or patient. The ambixfixing transitive template uses both affixes for person indexing. The prefix encodes the object (patient, theme, experiencer) and the suffix encodes the subject (agent, stimulus). The ambixfixing ditransitive template follows the pattern of the transitive template with the addition of the valency changing prefix \(a\)-. In ambixfixing ditransitives, the prefix cross-references the indirect object (goal, beneficiary, possessor).

It follows that the valency changing prefix \(a\)- (VC) has a double function. It increases the valency of a verb (prefixing \(\rightarrow\) indirect object prefixing, transitive \(\rightarrow\) ditransitive) thereby introducing a Goal, Beneficiary or Possessor into the argument structure indexed on the verb. The same \(a\)- prefix decreases the valency of a verb (transitive \(\rightarrow\) middle). A number of deponent lexemes in the sense of (Baerman et al., 2006) are attested, for example prefixing intransitives or ambixfixing transitives which obligatorily take the \(a\)- prefix without indexing an indirect object. The function of the \(a\)- prefix and these kinds of irregularities will be discussed below. The middle template is always marked with the valency
changing prefix \( a^- \) and often the case frame is needed to determine what kind of argument role is indexed in the suffix. Table 5.3 below provides a fine-grained overview of the templates, the thematic roles in the respective affixes, the presence versus absence of the valency changing prefix, the case frame and the function of a particular construction. Each one of these will be addressed in the following sections.

Table 5.3 Argument alignment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>template</th>
<th>( \theta )-role in the prefix</th>
<th>valency changer</th>
<th>root ( \theta )-role in the suffix</th>
<th>case frame</th>
<th>construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prefixing Experiencer, (Agent)(^a)</td>
<td>( \varnothing )</td>
<td>( \checkmark )</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>intransitive (stative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indirect Beneficiary or Possessor object prefixing</td>
<td>( a^- )</td>
<td>( \checkmark )</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>DATOR</td>
<td>intransitive (stative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>( a^- )</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>intransitive (dynamic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>( a^- )</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>impersonal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>( a^- )</td>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>( a^- )</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>reflexive &amp; reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>( a^- )</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>ERG (ABS)(^b)</td>
<td>suppressed object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambifixing Patient, Theme</td>
<td>( \varnothing )</td>
<td>( \checkmark )</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>ERG ABS</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambifixing Experiencer</td>
<td>( \varnothing )</td>
<td>( \checkmark )</td>
<td>Stimulus</td>
<td>ABS ERG</td>
<td>experiencer-object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ditransitive ambifixing Goal, Beneficiary, Possessor</td>
<td>( a^- )</td>
<td>( \checkmark )</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>ERG ABS DAT</td>
<td>ditransitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) This is a marginal pattern as almost all prefixing verbs have stative semantics.

\(^b\) In suppressed object clauses, the object is suppressed from the indexation in the verb. It may or may not occur as a free noun phrase in the absolutive case.

### 5.4.3 Valency alternations

There is only a handful of roots which may enter into all the templates. I choose the verb \( msaksi \) ‘sit, dwell’ to show its possibilities below in (6-9). However,
msaksi deviates in two ways from other verbs. First, msaksi takes the valency changing prefix obligatorily when it occurs in a prefixing template (6). There are a number of verbs with similar behaviour, where the valency changing prefix has no impact on argument structure and case frame. I analyze these as deponent verbs in the sense of (Baerman et al., 2006). Second, there are different roots for the prefixing template (m) and the middle and ambifixing templates (msak) for msaksi. Pairs of roots which are sensitive to aspect are attested for most verbs in Komnzo, but root types which are sensitive to template choice are rare. One notable exception are positional verbs (§5.4.4.1).

In example (6), the speaker showed me a place, which used to be inhabited by a spirit. He states that nobody knows where the spirit lives nowadays. Hence, the verb msaksi has a stative meaning in the prefixing template an can be translated to English with ‘dwell, live, stay, or be sitting’.

(6) watik ɲafäniza ... ni miyamr mä zena yamnznr

watik ɲ-a-fäni-z-a-∅ (... ni miyamr mä
then M.ɑ-VC-shift.place.EXT-ND-PST-2|3SG .) 1NSG ignorance where
2|3SG:SBJ:IPFV:PST/shift.place
zena y-a-m-nzt
today 3SG.MASC.ɑ-VC-dwell.EXT-ND
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/ dwell

‘Then he shifted (location). We don’t know where he lives today.’

Example (7) was uttered in the context of me visiting a garden place in the forest, where I was accompanied by the owner of the garden. The speaker happened to cycle past the garden place catching sight of me and the owner. The speaker comments on how he saw the two of us sitting down. Thus, msaksi in the middle template encodes a dynamic event (‘sit down’).

(7) nze nimäwä boba thnmaré Ɂamsakrmnth

nze nima=wä boba th-∅-n-mar-é
1SG.ERG like.this=EMPH MED:ABL 2|3NSG.β-DU-VENIT-see.RS-1SG
1SG:SBJ>2|3DU:OBJ:RPST:PFV:VENIT/see

ŋ-a-msaκ-rn-m-th
M.ɑ-VC-sit.EXT-DU-DUR-2|3NSG
2|3DU:SBJ:RPST:DUR/sit

‘Me too! I saw you two from there and you were just sitting down.’

---

7Deponency is defined as a “mismatch between morphology and morpho-syntax” (Baerman et al., 2006).
Example (8) shows *msaksi* in an ambifixing transitive template. This comes from a narrative, in which an angry man is forcefully seated and calmed down by giving him kava to drink.

(8) *wati ymsakwrth fof krär yarinakwrth bänemr fof nafane noku frazsir*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wati} & \ y-\text{msak-wr-th} \\
\text{then} & \ 3\text{SG.MASC.}\alpha\text{-sit.EXT-ND-2}\|3\text{NSG}\text{ EMPH kava} \\
\text{y-a-rinak-wr-th} & \ bän=-\text{mr}\ fof \\
\text{3SG.MASC.}\alpha\text{-VC-pour.EXT-ND-2}\|3\text{NSG DEM:MED=}\text{PURP EMPH} \\
\text{nafane} & \ noku\ fraz-si=r \\
\text{3SG.Poss} & \ \text{anger extinguish-NMLZ=}\text{PURP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘So they sit him down properly and pour kava for him to cool down his anger.’

(tc20120909-06 KAB 93-94)

Example (9) is an elicited example showing *msaksi* in an ambifixing ditransitive template, where the undergoer prefix indexes the possessor (‘his’). Note that the same template is found in the second verb in (8), where the undergoer prefix indexes a beneficiary (‘pour kava for him’).

(9) *nze nafänge yamsakwé.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nze} & \ nafa-nge\ y-a-\text{msak-w-é}. \\
\text{1SG.ERG} & \ 3\text{POSS-child} \ 3\text{SG.MASC.}\alpha\text{-VC-sit.EXT-ND-1SG} \\
\text{1SG:SUBJ} & \ 3\text{SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I sit his child down.’

The above examples show that the same root may enter into several templates. It is important to note that all the inflected verb forms share the same infinitive, which is formed by suffixing the nominalizer -*si* to the root (*msak-si*). Below in (10) and (11) we find the infinitive respectively with a stative and a dynamic interpretation. Example (10) is the conclusion of a short narrative about customs that involve the bird of paradise. The speaker uses *msaksi* with a locative case suffix in a possessive construction to express ‘in our life’. In example (11), the speaker showed me a beautiful place on the bank of Morehead river. She comments that this is a good place to sit down and rest. Hence, the infinitive *msaksi* is used for both interpretations, a timeless state in (10) and a dynamic event in (11).
(10) *nzenme trtha mrmren nzenme msaksin* ... wtrikarä anema fof yamränzre

1NSG.POSS life inside=LOC 1NSG.POSS sit-NMLZ=LOC (. ) fear=PROP

nzenme trtha mrmr=en nzenme msak-si=n (. ) wtri=karä

‘In our way of life ... in our living ... we walk about with fear because of that.’

(tci20120817 ABB #40-43)

(11) *camp rä ... zmbo fthé nanyak msaksir*

camp 3SG.FEM.COP.ND (. ) zmbo fthé

3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

n-a-n-yak msak-si=r

1NSG.Æ-VC-VENIT-walk.EXT.ND sit-NMLZ=PURP

‘This is a camp ... We come here to sit down (and rest).’

(tci20130907-02 RNA #331-333)

The use of one template may involve significant semantic shift with regard to another template. For example, the verb *rfiksi* ‘grow’ in a prefixing template in (5a) may appear in an ambifixing transitive template (‘grow sb.’) with the meaning ‘nurture’, or the verb *rbänzsi* ‘untie’ in an ambifixing transitive template in (5c) may also appear in a ditransitive template (‘untie for sb.’) with the meaning ‘explain’.

It is important to note that verb forms in different templates all share the same infinitive because Komnzo differs in this respect from other Yam languages. In Nen, there are no infinitives for prefixing verbs, but valency-altered forms have distinct infinitives which include the relevant formatives from a set of diathetic prefixes, for example *amzs* ‘sit (v.i.)’ versus *wanzs* ‘set, sit (v.t.)’ or even triplets like *anŋws* ‘return (v.i.)’ versus *wanŋws* ‘return (v.t.)’ versus *wawanŋus* ‘return (v.t.) to/for’ (Evans, 2015b). In Komnzo, there are no distinct infinitives for valency-altered forms. Hence, *rfiksi* is the infinitive of both ‘grow’ and ‘nonture’, and *rbänzsi* is the infinitive of ‘untie’ and ‘explain’.

There are two ways of analyzing shared infinitives in Komnzo and I argue that both are needed. We could understand it as a system where valency is
fluid and roots are flexible. It follows that a given lexical item can alter its valency by entering different templates. On the other hand, we could adopt the notion of heterosemy (Lichtenberk 1991 and Evans 2010: 524) to capture that different lexical items and meanings are expressed by different templates. A verb like *msaksi* shows that we need both perspectives. On the one hand, *msaksi*₁ means ‘dwell, live’ in a prefixing template, while *msaksi*₂ means ‘sit down’ in a middle/ambifixing template. We would understand *msaksi*₁ as being heterosemous to *msaksi*₂ because there is a significant shift in meaning caused by the template choice. The same is true for pairs like *rfiksi* meaning ‘grow’ or ‘nure’ and *rbänzsi* meaning ‘untie’ or ‘explain’. On the other hand, the system of valency alternations is very productive as we will see in subsequent sections. Especially the middle template and the ditransitive template can be used for almost every verb which can also occur in the transitive template. Thus, describing the alternation between *msaksi* in (8) ‘sit someone down’ and (9) ‘sit down someone’s (child)’ in terms of heterosemy would fall short of an exhaustive description. It would not adequately capture the productivity of the system of valency alternations, nor would it fully explain shared infinitives for verb forms of different templates.

### 5.4.4 The prefixing template

Prefixing verbs are a small class with about 20 lexical items attested so far. Nine of these lexemes show varying degrees of template fluidity while the remaining occur only in a prefixing template. Furthermore, there is a class of 41 positional verbs which may occur in a prefixing template with a special stative suffix (See §5.4.4.1). Prefixing verbs and stems in the prefixing template differ in their number marking in that they can express a fourth number category. Table 5.4 lists all the members of the prefixing class, their English translation, their templatic possibilities, and the English translation of the lexemes in a middle or ambifixing template.

Comparative work on split intransitivity has shown that differences in alignment are often semantically motivated (Arkadiev 2008, Merlan 1985 and Mithun 1991). In Komnzo, the semantic parameters involved are the dynamicity of the event and the volitionality of the participant, the former playing a dominant role. Thus, predicates in a prefixing template tend to be more stative (6), while predicates in middle or ambifixing templates tend to be more dynamic (7-9). In other languages of the Yam family, the split between stative and dynamic event types

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8This assumes a definition of the linguistic sign as having three parts: form, meaning and combinatorics (or syntax) as put forward by (Mel’čuk 1973 and Pollard and Sag 1987: 51).

9The somewhat odd combination of a non-singular prefix with a dual suffix yields a large plural (§5.5.3.2). This is attested for positional verbs in other Yam languages, for example Nen and Nä (Evans, 2014).
is congruent with the distinction between prefixing and middle intransitives, for example in Nen (Evans, 2015a) and Nama (Siegel, 2014).

In Komnzo, although all verbs in a middle or ambifixing template depict dynamic event types, we find a somewhat mixed picture with prefixing verbs. Table 5.4 contains a few dynamic events, for example -nor ‘shout’, thoraksi ‘appear, arrive’ and rfiksi ‘grow’. In some cases, volitionality is the semantic parameter involved in the prefixing/middle/ambifixing alternation: thoraksi and rfiksi in

\(^{10}\) (Siegel, 2014) uses different terminology in his description of Nama. What I call the prefixing template or stative intransitives equals “patientive intransitives”, and what I label the middle template or dynamic intransitives equals “agentive intransitives” (Siegel, 2014: 213).
an ambifixing transitive template mean ‘find’ and ‘nurture’ respectively.\textsuperscript{12} The verb -nor ‘shout’ allows no alternation, but occurs only in a prefixing template. Interestingly, -nor is often used in a pseudo-cognate object construction: kwan yannor\textsuperscript{13} ‘He shouts (the shout)’ or ya yannor ‘He cries (the tears)’. Hence, with this verb a less volitional meaning like ‘emit a sound’ might be licenced. Pseudo-cognate object construction are described in §8.3.11. Nevertheless, with other predicates in Table 5.4 such an explanation fails, for example ziksi ‘turn off, go in’ or thfäsi ‘jump’. Keeping the unusually small size of the prefixing class in mind, I interpret these cases as exceptions to the overall rule. Furthermore, the existence of a class of positional verbs (§5.4.4.1) underscores the split along the lines of event dynamicity and volitionality.

All prefixing verbs can take the valency changing prefix a-. This template was labelled indirect object prefixing in Table 5.3. However, in doing so they remain monovalent in their cross-referencing. The ‘additional argument’, usually a Beneficiary or Possessor, replaces the ‘original argument’, usually an Experiencer. However, the event itself remains to ‘be about’ the original argument. A common usage of this pattern involves the copula: When handing something to a person, one would say bnarä! ‘There you are!’ (literally: ‘(It) is there for you!’). A textual example comes from a stimulus task in which two speakers are describing the content of picture cards (12). The image card in the example shows a policeman who hands some personal belongings to another man. After describing the scene, one of the two speakers points to a few things on the side asking what these were. The first verb in (12) ‘be lying down’ indexes the (assumed) possessor and not the things on the ground. The second clause is accompanied by a pointing gesture in order to draw the interlocutor’s attention to the objects. Here, the copula indexes the things on the ground.

\begin{verbatim}
(12) mrmr ra yathn? zane zerä!

mrmr ra     y-a-thn       zane
inside what.ABS 3SG.MASC.\alpha-VC-lie.EXT.ND DEM:PROX
3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/lie
z=e-rä
PROX=2|3NSG.\alpha-be.EXT.ND
PROX=2|3PL:SUBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘What are these (of his) inside? These ones here!’
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{12}In ambifixing templates, the case marking of a more agent-like argument is ergative. This is also found in middle templates with an suppressed object function.

\textsuperscript{13}nor lacks a nominalized infinitive and instead the common noun kwan ‘shout, call’ is used.
Table 5.4 indicates (with the † symbol) that eight out of 20 prefixing verbs obligatorily use the a- prefix without introducing an argument. I analyze these verbs as deponent (Baerman et al., 2006).

5.4.4.1 Positional verbs

The class of 41 positional or postural verbs underscores the role of dynamicity in the alignment of S. Positional verbs express states of the type ‘be in position X’ (‘be leaning,’ ‘be standing,’ ‘be submerged’ etc). Example (13) shows the verb migsı ‘hang’.

(13) bidr=thatha zbo sumithgrim ... wämnen.

bidr=thatha zbo su-mi-thgr-∅-m
flying fox=SIMIL PROX.ALL 3SG.MASC.Ø1-be.hanging-STAT-ND-DUR (.)
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR:STAT/be.hanging
wämne=n
tree=LOC

‘He was hanging like a flying fox ... on the tree.’

Like most positional verbs, migsı can enter into other templates, for example a middle template (‘assume a hanging position’) or a transitive template (‘hang something’). This is shown below in examples (14) and (15) respectively. Example (14) is part of a plant walk around Rouku village. The speaker shows me a plant in the part of the land which is inundated during the rainy season. Example (15) comes from a procedural text in which the speaker shows me around his yam storage house. He remarks that small yam suckers are called sagu sagu and they are stored by tying several yams into bundles.

(14) bubukr zä zf kwa ñamigwrth ... watik koffä=yé zbo zf kwa erkunzrth

bubukr zä zf kwa ñ-a-mig-wr-th (.) watik
insect PROX IMM FUT M.Ø-hang,EXT-ND-2|3NSG (. ) then
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/hang
kofä=yé zbo zf kwa
fish=ERG.NSG PROX.ALL IMM FUT
e-rku-nzr-th
2|3NSG.Ø-knock.down,EXT-ND-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/knock.down
5.4 Alignment & Verb Templates

`The insects will hang (themselves) from here and the fish will knock them down right here.'

(tci20130907-02 RNA #657)

(15) nima yamme ane of gafirmnzre bnrä ... bemigwre ane sagu sagu

nima yam-me ane of γ-a-frm-nzr-e
like.this custom-INS DEM EMPH M.α-VC-prepare.EXT-ND-1NSG
1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/prepare

b=n-rä (.) b=e-mig-wr-e ane
MED=1NSG.α-COP.ND (.) MED=2|3NSG.α-hang.EXT-ND-1NSG DEM
1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/hang

sagu sagu
PROP.N

`We prepare them in this way ... We hang up those sagu sagu.'

(tci20121001 ABB #38)

Positionals are attested in languages throughout the Yam family (Evans, 2014). For Komnzo, I define them as a class of lexemes with positional or postural semantics which share the following morphosyntactic properties: (i) the ability to enter into the prefixing template, (ii) the stative suffix -thgr, (iii) the ability to form related middle and transitive verb forms, and (iv) to inflect only for a subset of TAM categories when used in a prefixing template. Table 5.5 lists the 41 members of the class which are currently attested. We find both very general meanings (rzarsi ‘be tied’, yufaksi ‘be bent over’) and very specific meanings (rngthksi ‘be stuck in a tree fork’, mgthksi ‘be in the mouth’). Some of these verbs occur with prototypical participants, for example zaksi ‘be anchored’ with garda ‘canoe’ or thamsaksi ‘be spread out’ with yame ‘mat’.

Table 5.5 compares the extended (EXT) and restricted root (RS) and shows that for some verbs a positional root (POS) can be postulated. The positional root is the lexical base to which the stative suffix -thgr attaches. In the first two groups of Table 5.5, the base is formally identical to the extended or restricted root. Only in the third group, is the base different from both, in that it is always shorter. The last group contains three lexemes which are irregular in a number of ways: (i) they take a slightly different form of the stative suffix, which is given in parentheses for each, (ii) the last two lexemes in this group occur only as positionals, (iii) the second lexeme in the group lacks an infinitive.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFINITIVE</th>
<th>POS ROOT</th>
<th>EXT ROOT</th>
<th>RS ROOT</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mosisi</td>
<td>mosis-</td>
<td>mosis-</td>
<td>mosir-</td>
<td>be gathered, piled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moyusi</td>
<td>moyu-</td>
<td>moyu-</td>
<td>moyuth-</td>
<td>be shrunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rfakusi</td>
<td>rfaku-</td>
<td>rfaku-</td>
<td>rfakuth-</td>
<td>be sprinkled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ttüsi</td>
<td>ttü-</td>
<td>ttü-</td>
<td>ttüth-</td>
<td>be printed, carved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharasi</td>
<td>thar-</td>
<td>thar-</td>
<td>tharf-</td>
<td>be underneath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worsi</td>
<td>wor-</td>
<td>wor-</td>
<td>won-</td>
<td>be planted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brüzi</td>
<td>brü-</td>
<td>brü-</td>
<td>brü-</td>
<td>be submerged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krsi</td>
<td>kr-</td>
<td>krth-</td>
<td>kr-</td>
<td>be blocked off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rüzi</td>
<td>rüz-</td>
<td>rüz-</td>
<td>rüz-</td>
<td>be erected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rfuthraksi</td>
<td>rfuth-</td>
<td>rfuthr-</td>
<td>rfuthr-</td>
<td>be piled up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rmithraksi</td>
<td>rmithr-</td>
<td>rmithr-</td>
<td>rmithr-</td>
<td>be joined together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rmnzüfaksi</td>
<td>rmnzüf-</td>
<td>rmnzüf-</td>
<td>rmnzüf-</td>
<td>be side by side / parallel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rthbraksi</td>
<td>rthbr-</td>
<td>rthbr-</td>
<td>rthbr-</td>
<td>be sticking (on sth.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rzarsi</td>
<td>rzaf-</td>
<td>rzaf-</td>
<td>rzaf-</td>
<td>be tied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thamsaksi</td>
<td>thams-</td>
<td>thamsak-</td>
<td>thams-</td>
<td>be spread out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yufaksi</td>
<td>yuf-</td>
<td>yufak-</td>
<td>yuf-</td>
<td>be bent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zaksi</td>
<td>z-</td>
<td>zak-</td>
<td>z-</td>
<td>be anchored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fätfaksi</td>
<td>fät-</td>
<td>fätfak-</td>
<td>fätf-</td>
<td>be across sth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fethaksi</td>
<td>fe-</td>
<td>fethak-</td>
<td>feth-</td>
<td>be dipped in water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifthaksi</td>
<td>fif-</td>
<td>fifthak-</td>
<td>fifth-</td>
<td>be lying straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migsi</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mig-</td>
<td>mir-</td>
<td>be hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moraksi</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>morak-</td>
<td>mor-</td>
<td>be leaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mgthksi</td>
<td>mg-</td>
<td>mgthk-</td>
<td>mgthm-</td>
<td>be in the mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mreznsi</td>
<td>mre-</td>
<td>mrezn-</td>
<td>mrezn-</td>
<td>be straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtheksi</td>
<td>mthe-</td>
<td>mthek-</td>
<td>mthef-</td>
<td>be lifted up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myuknsi</td>
<td>myu-</td>
<td>myukn-</td>
<td>myuf-</td>
<td>be twisted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nänzüthksi</td>
<td>nänzü-</td>
<td>nänzüthz-</td>
<td>nänzütham-</td>
<td>be covered with soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rafigsi</td>
<td>rafi-</td>
<td>rafig-</td>
<td>rafin-</td>
<td>be on top of sth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rakthksi</td>
<td>rak-</td>
<td>rakthk-</td>
<td>rakthm-</td>
<td>be on top of sth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rinaksi</td>
<td>ri-</td>
<td>rinak-</td>
<td>rin-</td>
<td>be poured into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rngthksi</td>
<td>rng-</td>
<td>rngthk-</td>
<td>rngthm-</td>
<td>be in a tree fork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rgsi</td>
<td>rk-</td>
<td>rg-</td>
<td>rg-</td>
<td>be wearing clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisraksi</td>
<td>si-</td>
<td>sisrak-</td>
<td>sisr-</td>
<td>be sticking out of sth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sümraksi</td>
<td>süm-</td>
<td>sümrak-</td>
<td>sümr-</td>
<td>be widened, be open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thäfrksi</td>
<td>thäfrs-</td>
<td>thäf-</td>
<td>thäfrs-</td>
<td>be covered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharuksi</td>
<td>tharu-</td>
<td>tharuk-</td>
<td>tharuf-</td>
<td>be inside (open container)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ththaksi</td>
<td>th-</td>
<td>ththak-</td>
<td>ththm-</td>
<td>be pinned on sth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wäthsi</td>
<td>wäth-</td>
<td>wäf-</td>
<td>wäf-</td>
<td>be wrapped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thorsi</td>
<td>th-(kgr)</td>
<td>thor-</td>
<td>thb-</td>
<td>be inside (closed container)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>wä-(gr)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>be up high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yukrsi</td>
<td>ko-(gr)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>be standing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates that these verbs use the VC prefix obligatorily in a prefixing template
The data from Table 5.5 shows that for some of the verbs we need to posit a third root type, the positional root, in addition to the extended and restricted roots we already encountered. The formal difference or similarity between the positional root and the other two root types for a given lexeme cannot be predicted on semantic or phonological grounds, but must be seen as lexicalization in a specific morphosyntactic context. Furthermore, one should keep in mind that positional roots are not in a paradigmatic relationship of the kind we have seen with extended and restricted roots (§5.3). For example, the stative semantics of positionals blocks all perfective TAM categories.

Just like other verbs in the prefixing template, positionals may add a possessor or beneficiary by using the valency changing prefix a-. An example of this is given in (16) where the speaker describes how he carried two fish up from the river. The first verb in (16) indexes the two catfish, but the second verb indexes a first singular, in this case the possessor ‘my shoulder.’ Thus, although the predicate is about the two fish (‘They were on top.’), the verb only indexes the first singular.

(16) thwä femithgrn zane zazame nwanwägr ... fatren.

As Table 5.5 indicates (with the † symbol), there are a few deponent positional verbs which take the a- prefix obligatorily without adding an additional argument to the clause.

5.4.5 The middle template

The majority of verb stems can enter into what I call the middle template. In the middle template, the prefix slot is filled by a person-invariant middle marker (glossed as M) and the single argument is cross-referenced in the suffix. In addition, the valency changing prefix a- is employed (Compare Figure 5.5 above). As we will see below, the suffix in this template may cross-reference an A, S or P argument. The distinction between an actor argument and a more patient-like argument is made by the case marking on the NP (ergative vs. absolutive).
I employ the term “middle”, as defined by Kemmer (1993: 207-210) for situation types with a low degree of elaboration. Low degree of elaboration may refer to the event and/or to the participants involved in the event. The middle template in Komnzo covers a range of functions: intransitives, passive-impersonals, reflexives and reciprocals as well as suppressed object middles (or antipassives). Kemmer describes these events as typical “middle situation types” (1993: 15).

Intransitive event types in Komnzo are distributed over the prefixing and the middle template (See §5.4.4). The majority of syntactically intransitive verbs employ the middle template. As a consequence for the description of the middle template, we have to draw a distinction between intrinsic middle verbs and derived middle verbs. Intrinsic middles can only occur in the middle template. Derived middle verbs are derived from transitive verbs, whereby the middle template is used for a number of valency decreasing functions. There is a third group of verb stems, which almost always occur in the middle template, but with which a derived transitive or ditransitive is possible. These groups will be discussed below. For now, the main distinction is between verbs, for which the middle template is one coding strategy amongst others and verbs, which only occur in the middle template. The latter are called intrinsic middle verbs.

Let us begin with intrinsic middle verbs; some of them are listed in Table 5.6. In her cross-linguistic survey (1993: 16-21), Kemmer identifies a number of situation types which commonly occur with middle morphology. In Komnzo these are: translational motion (‘run’, ‘climb up’, ‘climb down’, ‘shift location’), emotion middle (‘laugh’, ‘rejoice’, ‘smile’), cognition middle (‘think’) and spontaneous events (‘change’, ‘become’). The tendency to encode intransitive verbs with a dynamic event type in the middle template has been discussed above in §5.4.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFinitive</th>
<th>Ext root</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>a</em>moth</td>
<td><em>ku</em>-</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mränzsi</td>
<td>mränz-</td>
<td>‘stroll’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sogsi</td>
<td>sog-</td>
<td>‘ascend, climb up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rsörssi</td>
<td>rsör-</td>
<td>‘descend, climb down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a</em>mni</td>
<td><em>rsir</em>-</td>
<td>‘burn, cook’ (v.i.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>müsinszi</td>
<td>müsins-</td>
<td>‘glow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tfeksi</td>
<td>tfek-</td>
<td>‘limp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frezsi</td>
<td>frez-</td>
<td>‘come up (from river)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>risoksi</td>
<td>risok-</td>
<td>‘look down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rnäthszi</td>
<td>rnäth-</td>
<td>‘get stuck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rnziszi</td>
<td>rnzis-</td>
<td>‘smile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a</em>wath</td>
<td><em>rnzür</em>-</td>
<td>‘dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rüsi</td>
<td>rü-</td>
<td>‘rain’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## 5.4 Alignment & Verb Templates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Ext Root</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sufaksi</td>
<td>sufak-</td>
<td>‘gulp down, guzzle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fänizsi</td>
<td>fäniz-</td>
<td>‘shift location’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bznisi</td>
<td>bzn-</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thärkusi</td>
<td>thärku-</td>
<td>‘crawl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farksi</td>
<td>fark-</td>
<td>‘set off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fsknisi</td>
<td>fskn-</td>
<td>‘doze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>borsi</td>
<td>bor-</td>
<td>‘laugh, play’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thweksi</td>
<td>thwek-</td>
<td>‘rejoice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>‘become’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>rä-</td>
<td>‘do, think’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These verbs employ a common noun as their infinitive instead root plus the nominalizer -si.

In addition to intrinsic middle verbs, most verb stems can occur in the middle template with various related functions. One such verb is brigsi ‘return’. In the examples (17) and (18), the S argument is indexed in the suffix, while the prefix is filled with the middle morpheme. Since there is no formal difference in the middle template between intransitives, impersonals and reflexives, these should be understood as reflexiva tanta (Geniušienė, 1987) and example (17) could also be translated as ‘I return myself’.

(17) **oh nzä karfo zena zf њa-bregwé.**

Oh nzä kar=fo zena zf њ-a-brig-w-é
oh 1SG.ABS village=ALL today IMM M.α-VC-return.EXT-ND-1SG

1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/return

‘Oh, now I will go back to the village.’

(tci20111004 RMA 437)

(18) **oh kaimätdbo fam њa-bregwsth.**

Oh kaimät=dbo fam
oh sister_in_law=ALL.ANIM thoughts

њ-a-brig-w-r-th
M.α-VC-return.EXT-ND-LK-2|3NSG

2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/return

‘Oh, (my) thoughts are returning to my sister-in-law.’

(tci20130907-02 JAA 665)

Examples (19a-19b) show brigsi in different templates. Both examples are taken from the same story about a headhunt which took place in the narrator’s
village Firra. In (19a), the ambifxing transitive template is used (lit. ‘They returned the payback’). Just a few clauses later, the narrator concludes this part of the story in (19b) where the same referent, which was indexed in the prefix in (19a), is now indexed in the suffix with a passive or impersonal interpretation (lit. ‘Revenge (was) returned’).

(19)  

a. okay, nafa nezä z faw wbrigrnath ... bänema nafanme mayawa kaka-far z bramöwä thäkwath firran.  
okay nafa nezä z faw okay 3NSG.ERG revenge ALR payment

bäne=ma (.)
3SG.FEM.α-return.EXT-LK-DU-PST-2|3NSG (.) DEM:MED=CHAR
2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJPST:IPFV/return
nafanme mayawa ka-kafar z bramöwä
3NSG.POSS PROP.N REDUP-big ALR all

th-ā-kwr-a-th firra=n
t-3SGSG.γ-VC|ND-hit.RS-PST-2|3NSG PLACE.N=LOC
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJPST:PFV/kill
‘Okay, then the two took revenge, because all their Mayawa elders had been killed in Firra.’

b. watik, faw z yabrigwa ane ... ane ebar nimame firran rera fof.  
watik faw z ñ-a-brig-w-a-∅ ane (.)
then payment ALR M.α-VC-return.EXT-ND-PST-2|3SG DEM (.)

ane ebar nima=me firra=ñ rā-r-a
DEM head like _this=INS PLACE.N=LOC 3SG.FEM.COP-LK-PST
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/BE

fof
EMPH

‘Then, revenge was taken. This is really how the head(hunting) took place in Firra.’

Consequently, I refrain from using the terms ‘middle voice’ or ‘passive voice’. It is more adequate to speak of a middle template with a specific function. This function might be reflexive, reciprocal, passive or impersonal. Consider example (20) below, in which the speaker describes how he got home after a hard day of work in his garden. The first two verbs in (20) are prefixing verbs. The last three verbs occur in the middle template and could be translated as either reflexive
(‘wash self’, ‘change self’, ‘bring oneself up from river’) or intransitives (‘wash’, ‘get changed’, ‘come up from the river’).

(20) yoganai worärm, kwofiyak, kwamaikwé, sänis kwaräré, zänfrefé.

yoganai wo-rä-r-m kwof-yak
tiredness 1SG.α-be-LK-DUR 1SG.β2-walk.EXT.ND
1SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/dur/be 1SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/walk
kw-a-mayk-w-é sänis kw-a-rä-r-é
M.β1-VC-wash.EXT-NDF-1SG change M.β1-VC-do.EXT-LK-1SG
1SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/wash 1SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/do
z-ä-n-fref-é
M.γ-VC.ND-VENIT-come.up.from.river.RS-1SG
1SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/VENIT/come-up-from-river

‘I was tired. I walked. I washed myself. I got changed and I came up here from the river.’

We find the same ambiguity between reflexive and reciprocal interpretations. In (21), the speaker describes how his ancestors used to live in small hamlets which comprised a clan or often a single patriline. The reciprocal interpretation of the second verb only comes from the context. The verb form kwamarwrme in a different context could equally be translated as a reflexive: ‘We were looking at ourselves’.

(21) mrnmenzo nzwamnzrm. zagr sime kwamarwrme.

mrn=me=nzo nzu-a-m-nz-r-m zagr si=me
clan=INS=ONLY 1NSG.β1-VC-dwell.EXT-NDF-LK-DUR far eye=INS
1PL:SBJ:RPST:DUR/dwell
kw-a-mar-w-r-m-e
M.β1-VC-see-LK-DUR-1NSG
1PL:SBJ:RPST:DUR/see

‘We used to stay in our clans. We saw each other only from a distance.’

We have seen an impersonal usage of the middle template in (19b) above. An example with a much clearer passive reading is provided in (22) below, where the speaker talks about sorting and selecting yam tubers in his storage house. The context reveals that it is the patient argument of the verbs (‘choose’, ‘put down’) which is cross-referenced in the suffix. Keenan and Dryer include the

\[14\text{Note that ‘get changed’ is expressed with a nominal sänis (⟨English ‘change’) and a generic verb ‘do’, literally ‘I do the change’. The nominal is not indexed in the verb.}\]
entailment of an agent in their definition of passives setting them apart from middles (2007: 352). In Komnzo, this is dependent on the semantics of the verb. Prototypical transitive verb, like ‘choose’ and ‘put down’ in (22), invite a passive rather than an impersonal interpretation. In terms of morpho-syntax, however, there is no dedicated passive marking. Furthermore, the agent noun phrase cannot be included in the clause, because it would have to be indexed in the suffix of the verb, which is already occupied by the patient argument.

(22) zane zf woksimär erä. gaba foba fof kräwokthth bobo we kwa ñanakwrth a nima berä.

A somewhat different function of the middle template is the suppressed-object middle. The formal difference with respect to the previous functions of the middle template lies in the marking of the NP, which receives an ergative. Thus, the argument is an actor and the event is inherently transitive. Consider example (23), which is taken from a conversation between two young men. The speaker reports to his friend what his wife thinks about his plan to shift the garden place to another location. In (23), the pronoun ñaf is in the ergative case and agrees with the verb ñañarf which is in the middle template. The object is suppressed from indexation and without context we are left to speculate what it might be: the goal (‘she said to me’) or the clausal theme (‘to continue the old garden’).

(23) ñaf ñañarf drdr mäyogsir.

'These have not been selected. They will be selected over there and then put down there like those ones.'
‘She suggested/said to continue the old garden.’

The suppressed object middle is obligatory for a few lexemes, for example na- ‘speak (v.t.)’ in (23), karksi ‘pull (v.t.)’ or yonasi\textsuperscript{15} ‘drink (v.t.)’. For most verbs, the suppressed object middle is a possible alternation and should be seen as derived from verbs which normally employ an ambifixing transitive template.

There are pragmatic reasons for suppressing the object, for example when the referent is common ground or when the event is somehow generic.\textsuperscript{16} These motivations can be subsumed under Kemmer’s criterion of low degree of (participant) elaboration with middle morphology. Consider example (24), where the speaker talks about how yams are stored. He says that the yams are heaped and sorted into separate piles and that the spatial layout signals the use of the yams. This last proposition is expressed as naf yatrikw meaning ‘it indicates’. The verb trikasi ‘tell’ is usually used for storytelling or for reporting on something, but the event depicted in example (24) is generic and less elaborated.

\begin{verbatim}
(24) mnz mrmr fof enakwre zena monwá zane ethn zerá. naf yatrikw zane zf yatr wawa erá zerá. zane gaba zf erá zerá.

\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{15}Interestingly, ‘drink’ and ‘eat’ share the same extended root (\textit{na}), but ‘eat’ almost always occurs in an ambifying transitive template and it employs a common noun as its infinitive (\textit{dagon ‘food’}). The verb ‘drink’ on the other hand employs the infinitive \textit{yonasi} with a regular nominalizer suffix and it always occurs in a (suppressed object) middle template. The restricted roots of ‘drink’ and ‘eat’ are different: \textit{nob} and \textit{wob} respectively.

\textsuperscript{16}During the translation of texts, consultants would often rephrase the suppressed object middle with a generic event (‘He did the X-ing’) instead of a specific event (‘He X-ed it’).
e-râ z=e-râ
2|3NSG.α-COP.ND PROX—2|3NSG.α-COP.ND
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be PROX—2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'We put (the yams) down in the house, how these are laying here. That will indicate that these are measuring yams here and these are eating yams here.'

(tci20121001 ABB 15-16)

Another motivation for suppressing the object, partly relevant to the previous example, lies in the relative salience of the referent. There is a tendency for inanimate referents not to be indexed, as we can see in example (25). This example is taken from a stimulus task about domestic violence. The speaker takes over the role of one of the characters in the story. He uses the verb fiyoksi ‘make’ twice, first in a middle template and then in a transitive template.18 The crucial difference between the two situation types lies in the salience of the referent. In the first clause the referent is generic and inanimate (yam ‘custom, event’), but in the second clause it is a close relative (nzenme emoth ‘our sister’).

(25) “be nima yam nyafiokwr. nzenme emoth be nima wäfiyokwr!”

be nima yam ñ-a-fiyok-w-r-∅ nzenme
2SG.ERG like_this event M.α-VC-make.EXT-NL-LK-2|3SG 1NSG.POSS
2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/make

emoth be nima w-a-fiyok-w-r-∅
sister 2SG.ERG like_this 3SG.FEM.α-VC-make.EXT-NL-LK-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make

“You are behaving like this. You are doing this to our sister.”

(tci20120925-01 MAE 89)

We can conclude that intrinsic middles are intransitive event types, but the middle template is used for various functions. The uniting characteristic of these functions is a relatively low degree of elaboration. This may apply either to the participants (25), i.e. they rank low in importance/salience, or to the event itself (24), i.e. the event is less elaborated.

17 natr is a rattan piece which is often used to measure the dimensions of a particularly big tuber. Large yams are used in competitions or as special gifts.

18 As we will see in §5.4.6, some transitive verbs like fiyoksi obligatorily take the valency changing prefix a-. Since the argument is in absolutive case, one would expect the inflected verb to be wfiyokwr (without the a- prefix). But this is ungrammatical and fiyoksi never occurs without the a- prefix. Thus, I regard fiyoksi and similar verbs as being deponent.
5.4.6 The ambifixing template

The ambifixing template employs both affixes to index referents. The subject argument appears in the suffix, while the object argument is indexed in the prefix (26).

(26) *gwamf nafangth sräkor*: “muri zba känrit nzuzawel!”

```
gwam=f nafa-ngth  s-ra-a-kor-Ø
PERS.N=ERG 3.POSS-younger.sibling 3SG.MASC.β-IRR-ND-say.RS-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/says
muri zba  k-ä-n-rit-Ø  nzuz-awe
PERS.N PROX.ABL M.β-ND-VENIT-cross.over.RS-2SG.IMP 1SG.POSS-side
2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV:VENIT/cross.over

‘Gwam said to his brother: “Muri, come over here to my side!”’
```

(tci20131013-01 ABB #96)

In most cases, the suffix indexes an Agent, as in (26) above. Example (27) shows an experiencer-object construction, in which the suffix encodes a Stimulus. After an evening of stories about sorcery, the speaker announces that she will go to sleep now because ‘fear has taken hold of her already’.

(27) *nze rokar kwa thräfrmsé. wtrif z zwefaf*.

```
nze     rokar kwa th-ra-a-frms-é  wtri=f
1SG.ERG thing FUT 2|3NSG.β-IRR-VC|ND-prepare.RS-1SG fear=ERG.SG
1SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/prepare
z       zu-ä-faf-Ø
ALR 1SG.γ-ND-hold.RS-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/hold

‘I will prepare (my) things. I am already scared.’
```

(tci20130901-01 RNA #164)

Since no more than two referents can be indexed on a verb, the same ambixing template encodes transitive and ditransitive events. The differences lie in the presence versus absence of the valency changing prefix _a_- and the case marking of that argument NP which is indexed in the prefix. In ambixing transitives, the prefix encodes a Patient (‘prepare’ in 27), Theme (26) or Experiencer (‘hold’ in 27), all in the absolutive. The prefix in ambixing ditransitives encodes a Goal (28) in dative case or a Possessor (29) marked with a possessive.
(28) **nzun nafaemoth zwärath fof ... bänemr ... fäms ŋarer**

nzun nafa-emoth zu-ā-r-a-th fof (.
1SG.DAT 3.POSS-sister 1SG.γ-VC.ND-give.RS-PST-2|3NSG EMPH (.
2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:IO:PST:PFV/give
bäne=mr (.) fäms ŋare=r
RECOG=PURP (.) exchange woman=PURP

‘The gave me their sister as that ... as an exchange woman.’

(tci20120805-01 ABB #791-792)

(29) **nzone miyo kwa wabthakwr.**

nzone miyo kwa wo-a-bthak-w-r-∅
1SG.POSS desire FUT 1SG.α-VC-finish.EXT-LK-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:NPST:PFV/finish

‘You will fulfill my wish.’

(tci20130823-06 CAM #23)

Because the middle template is used for reflexives, the two argument slots of the ambifixing template may not be coreferential. Thus, if we wanted to change example (29) above to an auto-benefactive (‘I fulfill my wish / I fulfill the wish for me’), it would be ungrammatical to say *nzone miyo wabthakwé*. The underlined segment in the verb marks the actor as first singular. Instead, one would have to employ a middle construction for the verb: **nzone miyo yabthakwé**.

Example (30) shows both a Possessor and a Goal in the first and second verb form respectively. The example is taken from a story about sorcerers, who – according to local belief – visit the grave sites of recently deceased people. The first clause shows that the Possessor can be dropped. The noun mitafo ‘spirit’ is usually feminine, but the verb encodes a masculine referent (‘his spirit’).

(30) **befé mitafo sabrim nzun fefe kwagathif!**

be-wā mitafo s-a-brim-∅
2SG.ERG-EMPH spirit 3SG.MASC.β-VC.ND-return.RS-2SG.IMP 1SG.DAT
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG:IO:IMP:PFV/return
fefe kw-a-gathif-∅
body 1SG.β-VC.ND-leave.behind.RS-2SG.IMP
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:IMP:PFV/leave.behind

‘You take his spirit back and leave the body for me!’

(tci20130903-04 RNA #92-93)
Example (30) highlights a problem that occurs with verb forms using the restricted root. As I have shown in §5.3.2, with restricted roots the dual versus non-dual contrast and the valency change is expressed by a vowel change in the prefix. Although there are differences in the vowel pattern for different number combinations, which show the absence versus presence of the valency changing prefix, there are a number of neutralizations (§5.5.3.4). The first verb *sabrim* in example (30) can mean both ‘return him’ (with a direct object) or ‘return X for him’ / ‘return his X’ (with an indirect object). Only the fact that *mitafo* ‘spirit’ is feminine, while the prefix is governed by a masculine referent, indicates that the indirect object is indexed (‘return his spirit’).

The valency changing prefix *a-* attaches productively to almost all transitive verbs introducing a third argument into the clause, usually a beneficiary (dative) or possessor (possessive). A number of lexemes are deponent in the sense that they obligatorily take the valency changing *a-*, while the clause remains transitive and the referent indexed in the prefix is flagged with the absolutive case. Such deponent verbs are *frmnzsi* ‘prepare’ (27) or *fiyoksi* ‘make’ (25). Given the basic productivity of the ditransitive alternation, we may ask whether the category ‘ditransitive’ exists in Komnzo at all or whether it is better to view the phenomenon merely as applicativisation, in other words whether all ditransitives are derived.¹⁹ Two counterarguments can be brought forward. First, there are a few verbs which only exist in an ambifixing ditransitive template, the obvious one being *yarisi* ‘give’. Second, while the ditransitive alternation simply introduces a beneficiary for some verbs, there are rather idiosyncratic changes in meaning for other verbs. For example, *säminzsi* means ‘whisper’ in the ambifixing transitive template, but ‘teach’ in the ambifixing ditransitive template. Another example was given above in (5c) where *rbnzsi* means ‘untie’ as a transitive, but ‘explain’ in a ditransitive template. Although the meanings of the different templates share the same infinitive/nominalization and are clearly related (‘untie’ → ‘untie for sb.’ = ‘explain’), they often differ in idiosyncratic ways (‘whisper’ → ‘whisper for sb.’ = ‘teach’). Thus, it is better to recognize ditransitive verbs as an independent category.

### 5.5 Person, gender and number

#### 5.5.1 Person

Person marking in Komnzo verbs exhibits various patterns of syncretism and neutralization in certain contexts. These patterns differ in the two sites of person

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¹⁹Please note that the *a-* prefix cannot be called an applicative prefix because it fulfills both functions: increasing and decreasing the valency. Thus, I prefer to label it valency change or valency switch.
marking: the prefix and the suffix. The suffixes show more complexity in their syntagmatic distribution, i.e. under certain conditions they are reduced to zero morphemes, neutralize their person values and, in addition, the status of the first singular as an independent morpheme is questionable. On the other hand, the suffixes show less paradigmatic complexity. They encode only two person values and there is only one suffix series. As for the prefixes, the opposite seems to be the case. Although they can be neatly separated and recognized, the prefixes are immoderately equipped with five prefix series and widespread syncretism within the paradigm as a central characteristic. I will address each subsystem of person marking below.

5.5.1.1 Person suffixes

The person suffix differentiates two person values: first and non-first person. Thus, second and third person are always neutralized and additional information from the personal pronouns or from context is required. As I will explain below, in certain morphological contexts, even this basic distinction is neutralized and only number marking is retained. Table 5.7 lists the suffix forms in indicative and irrealis mood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>yakwiré</td>
<td>‘I run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NSG</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>yakwire</td>
<td>‘We run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>yakwir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3NSG</td>
<td>-th</td>
<td>yakwirth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In middle and ambifixing templates, the person suffixes are involved in marking the imperative mood. Table 5.8 below shows that the indexing of the addressee employs formatives which are identical to the first person suffixes in indicative or irrealis mood. Evans (2012b) describes an inflectional category in Nen called the assentive. The assentive is the second part of an adjacency pair (or dyadic sequency), and it follows an imperative (‘Boil the water!’ > ‘I will boil the water.’). In the assentive, the person suffix deviates from indicative inflection in that it is identical to the preceding imperative; both being zero in perfective aspect. Although assentive inflections are not attested in Komnzo, the formal identity of first person indicative and second person imperative suffixes can be explained by such conversational adjacency pairs.

Table 5.8 shows that imperatives exist as imperfectives and perfectives. This distinction is signalled by the root type, but also by the fact that the second singular suffix in perfective imperatives is zero. The formatives are listed in Table 5.8 below.
### Table 5.8  Imperative person suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXT</td>
<td>2SG.IMP</td>
<td>-é</td>
<td>kakwiré</td>
<td>‘You keep running!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2NSG.IMP</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>kakwire</td>
<td>‘You (pl) keep running!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>2SG.IMP</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>kamath</td>
<td>‘You run!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2NSG.IMP</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>kemathe</td>
<td>‘You (pl) run!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morphemic status of the first singular -é

I want to discuss the morphemic status of -é and provide evidence for the emergence of a marginal phoneme é [5]. Both tables above include a suffix -é which for the purpose of the following discussion I will call ‘first person singular suffix’ disregarding that it may also signal a second singular in imperative mood without person marking in the prefixing template. This suffix is realized as a short schwa [ə] and I have argued in §2.2.2 that schwa is the epenthetic vowel whose distribution is predictable. Schwa is not predictable in word final position and, thus, has to be represented by a grapheme <é>. There are a handful of morphs in which schwa is attested word-finally, for example nominals (kayé ‘tomorrow, yesterday’, megé ‘green coconut leaf’), function words (fthé ‘when’, zé ‘already’) and suffixes (-thé ADJZR, -é 1SG). The following discussion puts forward the argument that -é is the result of a truncation of the non-dual suffix in extended roots, which might have originated in some verbs and was later generalized to all verbs. A possible historical explanation in terms of vowel reduction comes from neighboring varieties in which the first person is marked by an -a suffix, for example in Wára and Anta. In Komnzo, there exists a suffix -a, but it is a past marker.

As we can see in both tables above, -é contrasts with -e (1NSG) and -∅ (2|3SG). The first singular -é could be analysed either as morpheme in its own right or as the result a truncation process of the non-dual suffix, which leaves no possible syllabification other than schwa in a word-final context. I am not claiming that truncation is a synchronic process, but I want to argue that truncation of the non-dual suffix plays a role in the explanation drawing on evidence from more general properties of the suffix subsystem such as the non-dual suffix, the presence of a linking consonant and the neutralization of person distinctions. As we will see below, the argumentation is only applicable to extended root templates, and strictly only to non-dual inflection, because the truncated element is the non-dual marker. Restricted root templates encode the duality contrast in pre-root position. Hence, we have to assume that the result of the truncation process, the word final schwa -é, has been extended to other morphological contexts.
Let us turn to the non-dual marker first. The verb *kwi-* ‘run’ in Table 5.7 is irregular in that it employs -r for signalling the non-dual. The regular pattern, attested for 90% of verb lexemes, involves one of the three non-dual allomorphs *-wr*, *-nzr* and *-thr*. Consider the verb *marasi* ‘see’ in (31a-31f), which takes the *-wr* allomorph. In first person singular (31a), the non-dual suffix is -w instead of -wr.

(31) a. y-mar-w-é  
   3SG.MASC-see-ND-1SG  
   ‘I see him.’

b. y-mar-n-e  
   3SG.MASC-see-DU-1NSG  
   ‘We two see him.’

c. y-mar-wr-e  
   3SG.MASC-see-ND-1NSG  
   ‘We see him.’

d. y-mar-wr-∅  
   3SG.MASC-see-ND-2|3SG  
   ‘S/He sees him.’ or ‘You see him.’

e. y-mar-n-th  
   3SG.MASC-see-DU-2|3SG  
   ‘They (two) see him.’ or ‘You (two) see him.’

f. y-mar-wr-th  
   3SG.MASC-see-ND-2|3NSG  
   ‘They see him.’ or ‘You see him.’

In the examples above, only the first singular (31a) deviates in that it takes a truncated form -w, from which final -r is cut. This truncation with the first singular is attested for all three allomorphs of the non-dual suffix: *-wr* → *-w*, *-nzr* → *-nz* and *-thr* → *-th*. What weakens this particular piece of evidence is the fact that there is some variation between the non-truncated and the truncated formative even when other suffixal material follows like ANDAT -o, 1NSG -e or 2|3NSG -th. For example, looking at the token frequency in the corpus of 2|3NSG -th preceded by *-nzr* (non-truncated) versus *-th* preceded by *-nz* (truncated), we find 91 verb forms with the non-truncated non-dual *-nzrth* and 13 with the truncated non-dual *-nzth*. A similar distribution is found with the first non-singular -e suffix. There is no variation with the 2|3SG, which is a zero morpheme. The 2|3SG is never preceded by the truncated formative. In conclusion, the non-dual is never truncated with the 2|3SG zero, it shows some variation with other suffixes

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20 This search can be replicated by a simple search query: “nzrth” versus “nzth” in word final context (in REGEX syntax: “nzrth\b” versus “nzth\b”).
Further evidence comes from person neutralization patterns. The first singular -é disappears when further suffixes are added, for example the past suffix -a, the durative suffix -m or the andative suffix -o. Consider examples (32a, 32d and 32e) which neutralize the person value completely. In (31), the distinction between first and second/third person is basically a contrast between the surface result of a truncation process -é (31a) and a zero morpheme (31d). In (32a, 32d and 32e) below, we have to postulate a zero marker, which now only encodes number (SG) and contrasts with 1NSG -e (32b) and 2|3NSG -th (31).

(32)  a. y-mar-wr-a-∅  
3SG.MASC-see-ND-PST-SG  
‘I saw him.’ or ‘You saw him.’ or ‘S/He saw him.’

b. y-mar-wr-a-k-e  
3SG.MASC-see-ND-PST-LK-1NSG  
‘We saw him.’

c. y-mar-wr-a-th  
3SG.MASC-see-ND-PST-2|3NSG  
‘You saw him.’ or ‘They saw him.’

d. y-mar-wr-m-∅  
3SG.MASC-see-ND-DUR-SG  
‘I was seeing him.’ or ‘You were seeing him.’ or ‘S/He was seeing him.’

e. y-mar-wr-o-∅  
3SG.MASC-see-ND-ANDAT-SG  
‘I see him that way.’ or ‘You see him that way.’ or ‘S/He sees him that way.’

A third piece of evidence comes from a linking consonant in the suffix subsystem. Example (32b) above shows that the past suffix -a and the 1NSG -e are separated by -k. We have seen in §2.4.3, that the phonology of Komnzo allows strings of consonants which are broken up by epenthesis. However, the phonological system does not tolerate strings of vowels, which is demonstrated by the appearance of the linker in (32b). This can be used to strengthen the argument that the first singular -é deviates from other suffixes. We would expect (32a) not to neutralize the person value, and instead to insert the linker between the past suffix -a and -é analogous to the first non-singular in (32b). However, the expected form *ymarwraké is ungrammatical.

The first singular -é occurs in other morphological contexts, where there is no truncated preceding element. As pointed out above, the template of restricted
roots marks the dual versus non-dual contrast in pre-root position and, thus, there is no non-dual marker to truncate (33a).21 Likewise, there is no truncation of the dual marker -n in the template of extended roots (33b). However, the person neutralizations described above also occur in these contexts (33c and 33d).

(33)  

a. s-a-mar-é  
    3SG.MASC-ND-see(RS)-1NSG  
    ‘I saw him.’

b. e-mar-n-é  
    2|3NSG-see(EXT)-ND-PST-SG  
    ‘I see both of them.’

c. s-a-mar-a-∅  
    3SG.MASC-ND-see(RS)-PST-SG  
    ‘I saw him.’ or ‘You saw him.’ or ‘S/He saw him.’

d. e-mar-n-a  
    2|3NSG-see(EXT)-ND-PST-SG  
    ‘I saw both of them.’ or ‘You saw both of them.’ or ‘S/He saw both of them.’

We have to conclude that a case of truncation or a negative morpheme as a synchronic process can only be made for a very circumscribed morphological context: for non-dual inflected verbs in the extended root template. For other contexts, we have to postulate a suffix formative -é. This is best explained by a historical process of vowel reduction or syllable loss, which created a new marginal phoneme é. This can be used to explain word-final schwa in other items.22 As I mentioned in the beginning of this section, surrounding varieties like Wára or Anta mark the first person singular with an -a suffix. Comparative material from other Tonda varieties is needed to settle this question.

**Linking -k, person neutralization and morpheme slots**

In the preceding discussion, the linking consonant -k was introduced as a way of separating two adjacent vowel suffixes. This purely phonological explanation is insufficient and, on closer inspection, we find that the linker -k helps to arrange the suffixal material into morpheme slots. In addition to the first singular -é, the suffixal material includes the following morphemes: past -a, durative -m, andative -o, 1NSG -e and 2|3NSG -th. In the following section, I describe how these suffixes are ordered, which are mutually exclusive and when and where person

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21 The verb marasi belongs to the class which has identical forms for restricted and extended roots (Compare Table 5.2), and only the template and the affixal material signal the aspectual value.

22 The adjectivalizer -thé might be a reduced form of the simulative case marker -thatha.
neutralization occurs.

First, the past suffix -a and the durative suffix -m never co-occur. The combinatorial system of Komnzo verb morphology employs a different strategy to express a past durative category, discussed in §6.2.

Second, the andative -o and the 1NSG -e stand in syntagmatic opposition to each other occupying the same slot. Consider examples (34a-34d) below. In examples (34b) and (34d) the person value is fully neutralized, because the suffix -th, which was indexing 2|3NSG in earlier examples (31e-31f and 32c), can now only be glossed as NSG. The important observation in (34b) is that the linker -k is not used. If its appearance could be predicted on purely phonological grounds, we would expect a form like *ymarwroke. But this is ungrammatical. Thus, I characterise the linking consonant in the following way: -k occurs (i) after the past suffix -a, (ii) if the following suffix consists of a vowel formative.

(34)  
a. y-mar-wr-e  
3SG.MASC-see-ND-1NSG  
‘We see him.’  
b. y-mar-wr-o-th  
3SG.MASC-see-ND-ANDAT-NSG  
‘We see him that way.’ or ‘You see him that way.’ or ‘They see him that way.’  
c. y-mar-wr-a-k-e  
3SG.MASC-see-ND-PST-LK-1NSG  
‘We saw him.’  
d. y-mar-wr-a-k-o-th  
3SG.MASC-see-ND-PST-LK-ANDAT-NSG  
‘We saw him that way.’ or ‘You saw him that way.’ or ‘They saw him that way.’

Examples (34b) and (34d) also show that amongst the three categories (person, number, direction) it is person which is neutralized first. In the discussion of examples (32a-32e), we found the same to be true for person values of the singulars.

Below in (35), we find a textual example of the person neutralization in (34d). In the example, a woman talks about her marriage and how she and her husband prepared a feast for her brothers and uncles. In (35) the first person interpretation

23An alternative would be to analyse -th as marking only number (NSG) not person. I reject this analysis, because (i) this would result in a system where only first person is marked overtly and (ii) the 1NSG in examples like (34a) would be an exception to the regular non-singular (-th).
of the actor of tharakoth is clear from the preceding verb yafiyokrnake which lacks the andative -o suffix and, thus, is inflected with the first non-singular -e suffix.

(35) dagon yafiyokrnake. babainm ane tharakoth.

dagon y-a-fiyok-rn-a-k-e babai=nm ane
food 3SG.MASC-VC-make.EXT-PST-LK-1NSG uncle=DAT.NSG DEM

th-a-r-a-k-o-th
2|3NSG.γ-VC.DU-give.RS-PST-LK-ANDAT-NSG

1DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV

′We prepared the food. We gave that to the uncles.′

The suffix subsystem of Komnzo verbs is summarized in Figure 5.6. The elements which share a column or an extended column in the figure are mutually exclusive. For example, if -é occurs, all the other material will not appear or if the durative suffix -m occurs, the past suffix -a (along with the linker -k) will not appear. The system as described here is applicable to both root types. For the restricted root the only difference lies in the fact that duality is marked in pre-root position as in tharakoth in (35). Therefore, some of the morphemes in the suffix system are optional: the dual/non-dual morphemes, the two TAM markers (PST -a and DUR -m) and the andative -o. Number (SG vs. NSG) is always marked.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>(DUALITY)</th>
<th>(TAM)</th>
<th>(DIRECTION, PERSON), NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>√</td>
<td>-n2r, wr-, r-</td>
<td>-é</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-a(-k)</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.6 Suffix subsystem of Komnzo verbs

The suffixing system is thus characterized by syntagmatic complexity, i.e. the chain of suffixes does not allow a straightforward segmentation into slots and respective functions. Moreover, the presence versus absence of individual suffixes impacts on the form and function of other suffixes.

In tharakoth the pre-root marker operates on a plural versus non-plural opposition. This pattern of pre-root marking will be discussed in §5.5.3.4.
5.5.1.2 Person prefixes

The person prefixes are syntagmatically less complex than the person suffixes. The prefix system comprises a single slot which is always filled with a formative, i.e. there are no zero morphemes.\(^{25}\) On the other hand, the prefix system is paradigmatically more complex. The prefix fuses person marking with information relevant to TAM, but the prefix series do not have clearly interpretable semantics and, thus, we have to draw on abstract labels. Table 5.9 lays out the five prefix series: \(\alpha\), \(\beta\), \(\beta_1\), \(\beta_2\), and \(\gamma\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.9 Person prefixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NSG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.FEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.MASC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2|3NSG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before we look at the patterns of person marking, I will briefly address the prefixes and the justification of five independent series. Table 5.9 shows that there is widespread syncretism between the series, especially in the third person between \(\beta\) and \(\gamma\). The formal difference between the \(\alpha\), \(\beta\) and \(\gamma\) series is clearest in the first person singular and the middle marker, each of which distinguishes overtly all five series. Furthermore, the table shows that we can speak of three main series: \(\alpha\), \(\beta\), \(\gamma\), plus two subseries: \(\beta_1\) and \(\beta_2\). These two subseries add an -\(u\) and -\(f\) element to the \(\beta\) series. I will discuss in detail why I still treat them as independent series in §6.2.1. An additional quirk is added to the system by the fact that, within the \(\beta\) series, the first nonsingular and the second singular have two different formatives for the two modal categories: the imperative and irrealis.\(^{26}\)

The prefixes differentiate three person values in the singular: first, second and third. The values of second and third person in non-singular are always neutralized, leaving this ambiguity for either context or the personal pronouns.

\(^{25}\)The only formative which occurs in the person marking slot, but does not encode person, is the middle marker, which is used for other purposes (§5.4.5).

\(^{26}\)The second singular differs in a number of ways which will be discussed in §6.2.1. Note that the second singular \(gn\)- is only used in the imperatives of prefixing verbs where the addressee argument is encoded in the prefix. Verbs in middle and ambifxing templates on the other hand employ the suffix to encode the addressee argument in the imperatives, leaving the prefix \(\beta\) series for the undergoer argument or the middle marker.
to resolve. The same holds true for the syncretism between the first non-singular and the second singular in the α and the γ series. This pattern of syncretism is found in languages across the Yam family (Evans et al., forthcoming).

The overview of the verb template presented in the introduction of this chapter (Table 5.1) shows that the person prefix is followed by the valency changing prefix a- whose presence impacts on the formatives of the person prefixes in various ways. The α series shows a number of irregularities given in Table 5.10, for example with the first singular: /wo-a-/ → wa-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>segmentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>wa-</td>
<td>wo-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NSG</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>n-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>n-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.FEM</td>
<td>wā-</td>
<td>w-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.MASC</td>
<td>ya-</td>
<td>y-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3NSG</td>
<td>ā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
<td>ŋ-a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other prefix series behave more regular in the presence of the valency changing prefix a-, but there is some influence of the valency changing prefix. For example, the formatives of the β2 series all end in a high back vowel [u], which turns into the corresponding glide when a- is present: 2SG gu- → gwa-. The β and β2 series end in consonants. For both series, the a- prefix is simply added, for example 2|3NSG th- → tha- for the β series and 2|3NSG thf- → thfa- for the β2 series.

As I have discussed in §5.3.3, the β, β1 and γ series may combine with the restricted root, the last of the three exclusively so. With the restricted root, dual marking takes place in pre-root position (Compare §5.3.2) and the a- prefix simultaneously encodes valency change and the dual vs. non-dual contrast. As the marking pattern does not impact on the formatives of the person prefixes, I will defer this topic to the discussion of number marking in §5.5.3.4.

27Table 5.9 also includes identical formatives for first non-singular and second singular in the β series with irrealis inflection. While it is true on an abstract paradigmatic level, the inflected verbs are never identical, because - unlike all other person/number combinations - the second singular does not take the irrealis prefix ra-. This will be further discussed in §6.2.1.

28In a Komnzo recording from the 1980’s made by the anthropologist Mary Ayres, I found a different realization of this prefix, namely [ŋa-]. In terms of segmentation, this is a much more transparent realization. The recording was made with an older man, maybe in his late 60’s. In modern Komnzo, there is no variation and the prefix is realized as given in the table [æ-].
5.5.2 Gender

The agreement target of gender is the third singular prefix of the verb. There is a feminine and masculine gender category. Metalinguistic statements by speakers are often expressed as *madema rū* ‘It is a girl’ for feminine or *srak yé* ‘It is a boy’ for masculine. The formatives employed to encode gender across the prefix series are given in Table 5.9 above.

The discussion in §5.4 has shown that the prefix indexes the direct and indirect object in the ambifxing transitive template, and the subject of intransitives in the prefixing template. It follows that only those types of argument roles show agreement in gender, whereas the more agent-like arguments never show gender agreement.

The semantic perspective of gender classification of the noun lexicon is discussed in §11.2.

5.5.3 Number

Komnzo verbs encode three number values: singular, dual and plural. There exists an additional large plural which is available only for prefixing verbs or verbs in the prefixing template. I address this in §5.5.3.2. The peculiarity of number marking in Komnzo lies in the fact that it is distributed over two separate slots which, looked at individually, do not distinguish all three values, but operate on a binary opposition. Hence, the overall ternary number opposition is reduced to a binary opposition in the respective slots on the verb. There are three logical possibilities for this reduction because each of the three number values can be contrasted with its opposite: singular vs. non-singular; dual vs. non-dual; plural vs. non-plural. The combination of any two of the three binary oppositions is sufficient to encode all three number values. Figure 5.7 below shows the principle behind this reduction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ternary:</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DU</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>binary (SG vs. NSG):</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>NSG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binary (DU vs. ND):</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>DU</td>
<td>ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binary (PL vs. NPL):</td>
<td>NPL</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.7 Three ways of breaking up a ternary opposition
Komnzo makes use of all three oppositions, but only two of the possible combinations. The person affixes operate always on a singular vs. non-singular opposition. A separate affix, which I call the duality affix, makes a distinction between dual vs. non-dual. I will show below that under certain circumstances, the same affix encodes plural vs. non-plural, but this is a marginal pattern (§5.5.3.4). The basic system of distributed number marking integrates a SG-NSG opposition in the person affixes with a DU-ND opposition in the duality affix. Figure 5.8 provides an overview of this principle.

![Figure 5.8](image)

**Figure 5.8** Basic principle of distributed number marking on verbs

Figure 5.8 shows that out of four possible combinations, in fact only three are normally put to use, namely those that are logically compatible. Prefixing verbs and stems in a prefixing template, that includes positional verbs, are exceptional in that they utilize the fourth, seemingly non-sensical, combination SG-DU to encode a large plural (§5.5.3.2).

The two sites involved in number marking have very different properties. The binary opposition in the person prefixes and suffixes is much more stable in the sense that (i) the encoded value can be straightforwardly associated with an argument, because person and number marking are fused into one morpheme, (ii) the position of these affixes in the template of the verb is fixed and (iii) the values encoded are always SG and NSG. The duality affix differs in all three points and the subsequent discussion of number marking will focus on its peculiarities. But to give an overview here: first, if there are two participants indexed in the verb, the duality affix is ambiguous as to which of the two it is indexing. Second, duality is marked in a suffix with extended roots, but in a complex portmanteau prefix with restricted roots. Lastly, as was mentioned above, in part of the paradigm, the DU-ND opposition is replaced by PL-NPL. I will address these points below.
5.5.3.1 Ambiguities in the reference of the duality affix

Examples (36a-36g) show the verb *fathasi* ‘hold’ with different number combinations of the two arguments. Only in example (36f), we find several possibilities with respect to number marking because both person affixes signal non-singular. The ambiguity stems from the fact that the duality marker is agnostic as to which of the two arguments it is referencing. In other words, the dual morpheme in (36f) signals that one the two participants is dual, but not which one. This does not create any ambiguities in cases where one of the two person affixes is singular (36a-36e). Likewise, it is not a problem if both person affixes are non-singular and the duality affix in non-dual (36g). Although examples (36a-36g) show the extended root of the verb *fathasi*, this ambiguity is also found with restricted roots where the duality affix occurs in pre-root position.

(36) a. y-fath-wr-∅
   3SG.MASC-hold.EXT-ND-2|3SG
   ‘S/He holds him.’

b. y-fath-n-th
   3SG.MASC-hold.EXT-DU-2|3NSG
   ‘They (2) hold him.’

c. y-fath-wr-th
   3SG.MASC-hold.EXT-ND-2|3NSG
   ‘They (3+) hold him.’

d. e-fath-n-∅
   2|3NSG-hold.EXT-DU-2|3SG
   ‘S/He holds them (2).’

e. e-fath-wr-∅
   2|3NSG-hold.EXT-ND-2|3SG
   ‘S/He holds them (3+).’

f. e-fath-n-th
   2|3NSG-hold.EXT-DU-2|3NSG
   ‘They (2) hold them (3+).’ or ‘They (2) hold them (2).’ or ‘They (3+) hold them (2).’

g. e-fath-wr-th
   2|3NSG-hold.EXT-ND-2|3NSG
   ‘They (3+) hold them (3+).’

For ambifixing transitives and ditransitives, the distribution of the dual and non-dual markers can be expressed in an abstract way as in Figure 5.9.

---

29 Note, that the English translations are all in third person, although some of the person indexing morphemes neutralize the distinction between second and third person and, thus, could also be translated as second person.
For verb forms which index only one argument the marking pattern is simpler, as there is no ambiguity in reference of the duality suffix. This is relevant for verbs in a prefixing or middle template. Examples (37a-37c) show the verb thoraksi ‘appear’ in a prefixing template cycled through all three number values.

(37)  
a. wo-thorak-wr  
1SG-appear.EXT-ND  
‘I arrive.’  
b. n-thorak-n  (~ e-thorak-rn)  
2|3NSG-appear.EXT-DU  
‘We (2) arrive.’  
c. n-thorak-wr  
1NSG-appear.EXT-ND  
‘We (3+) arrive.’

Note that there are two variants for the dual morpheme, -n and -rn in (37b), which are attested for almost all members of the small class of prefixing verbs. This variation is both intra-speaker and inter-speaker and, thus far, no patterning along social lines could be detected (e.g. age of the speaker, speaker’s exposure to other varieties, etc).

5.5.3.2 Large plurals with prefixing verbs

The prefixing template indexes the sole argument of the verb in the prefix, while the suffix slot is not used. We have seen that only a small number of verbs are inherently prefixing (§5.4.4), and about fifty stems may enter into this template. The latter group includes positional verbs (§5.4.4.1). I will show below that because there is no ambiguity in the reference of the duality marker, the combinatorics of number marking, i.e. all four cells of the paradigm in Table 5.8, can be fully exploited. This allows a fourth number value by combining dual with singular to form a large plural. Consider example (38) below. The speaker in the story has been away from Rouku for a long time. He asks his brother whether the palm wine containers are still hanging, and the brother replies ‘there are plenty’.
This is expressed by the copula in dual and the prefix in singular. Note that the root of the copula is sensitive to dual versus non-dual.

(38) “eh ngthé bana! sgeru komnzo emithgr?” “ah, sgeru komnzo yrn”

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{eh ngthé bana sgeru komnzo e-mi-thgr} & \quad \text{ah} \\
\text{hey brother poor palm\_wine still} & \quad 2|3\text{NSG:\textalpha\text{-hang,EXT-STAT,ND ah}} \\
\text{sgeru komnzo y-rn} & \quad 2|3\text{PL:SBJ:NPST:STAT/hang} \\
\text{palm\_wine still} & \quad 3\text{SG.MASC:\textalpha\text{-COP,DU}} \\
\text{3LPL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be} & \quad 3\text{SG.MASC:\textalpha\text{-COP,DU}} \\
\end{align*}
\]

“We Hey brother, are the palm wine (containers) still hanging?” “Yes, there are still plenty.”

(tec20130927-06 MAB #189)

Examples (39a-39d) are elicited forms showing the positional verb räzsi ‘erect, stand up’ in all four number values.\(^{30}\)

(39) a. woz w-räṣ-thg-r  
   bottle 3SG.FEM-erce-stat-ND  
   ‘The bottle is standing.’

b. woz e-räṣ-thg-n  
   bottle 2|3\text{NSG-erce-stat-DU}  
   ‘The two bottles are standing.’

c. woz e-räṣ-thg-r  
   bottle 2|3\text{NSG-erce-stat-ND}  
   ‘The bottles are standing.’

d. woz yräṣ-thg-r  
   bottle 3SG.MASC-erce-stat-DU  
   ‘All the bottles are standing.’ or ‘Many bottles are standing.’

Example (39d) shows the large plural construction in which the seemingly non-sensical combination of a singular in the person prefix and a dual in the duality slot yields a large plural or exhaustive plural interpretation. There are some restrictions to the large pural. First, as we have seen, it only occurs in the prefixing template. Even though a stem like rûṣ- ‘erect’ can appear in a middle or ambifxing template, it cannot form large plurals in these templates. Second, large plurals only occur in third person, not in first or second. Note that it is always the masculine prefix which is used in the large plural construction, even if the referent is feminine, as with woz ‘bottle’ (39a). In this way, the large plural

\(^{30}\text{Note that we find the same variation in the dual morpheme (-n and -rn) as with other prefixing verbs. Compare with examples 37a-37c above.}\)
construction substantiates the principle of distributed exponence, whereby the morphological material at the language’s disposal is employed in ways that are not predictable by looking at individual morphemes.

Unfortunately, the large plural construction is attested only once in the corpus (38). The evidence presented above comes from elicitation. Although the large plural is readily understood and judged grammatical by all my informants, I have not overheard it in daily conversation. Speakers commonly refer to this construction as ‘a way the old people spoke’. Therefore, we have to assume that it will fade from the speakers’ passive knowledge eventually and disappear altogether. In fact, the speaker in example (38) was an older man who passed away this year.

Although on different levels of comparison, dual marking in pre-root position and the formation of large plurals are not compatible. This is partly caused by the stative semantics of verbs in the prefixing template. For example, positionals take the stative suffix -thgr which blocks all perfective semantics. Pre-root dual marking on the other hand occurs only with restricted roots, and restricted roots are used to form perfectives. A positional verb like räžsi ‘erect’, can occur outside the prefixing template and form perfectives, but in this case the large plural does not apply. We saw in §5.4.4, that there are some prefixing verbs, which are not stative, for example garenzsi ‘look around’ or ziksi ‘turn to side’. These do form perfectives in the prefixing template. However, the large plural combination results in an ungrammatical inflection.

I suggest that a historical perspective explains why this is the case. I show in §5.5.3.4, that pre-root duality marking is messier than post-root duality marking in the sense that it is less segmentable and there are more patterns of syncretism. I have argued in §5.3.4 that pre-root dual marking is an innovation, and that post-root dual marking is an older pattern. Thus, the large plural construction has not survived the change in the pattern shift. Therefore, prefixing verbs with dynamic semantics cannot form large plurals in their perfectives.

5.5.3.3 Allomorphy in the post-root duality slot

Before I turn to the dual marking in pre-root position with restricted roots, I will address the topic of allomorphy in post-root position. The dual morpheme in the duality slot shows little variation. The above described variation between -n and -rn is found with prefixing verbs only; elsewhere the dual morpheme is always -n. As for the non-dual morpheme, the situation is different. There are three allomorphs (wr-, nzr-, -r) and their distribution is phonologically conditioned by the final element of the verb root. The conditioning rules layed out in Table 5.11

31I want to thank Nick Evans for pointing out the combinatorial possibility (sg+du) in Nen (Evans, 2014) which allowed me to test this pattern with Komnzo speakers.
account for 85% (275/322) of the attested verb lexemes.

Table 5.11  Allomorphs of the non-dual suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>formatives</th>
<th>rule</th>
<th>count</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>EXT root</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-wr</td>
<td>/ k_root _</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>mātraksi</td>
<td>mātrak-</td>
<td>‘bring out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>weksi</td>
<td>wek-</td>
<td>‘invite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ g_root _</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>māyogsi</td>
<td>māyog-</td>
<td>‘repeat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>brigsi</td>
<td>brig-</td>
<td>‘return’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ n_root _</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>wathknsi</td>
<td>wathkn-</td>
<td>‘pack up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>myuknsi</td>
<td>myukn-</td>
<td>‘twist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ r_root _</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>rsrsi</td>
<td>rsr-</td>
<td>‘fish with poison root’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wagrsi</td>
<td>wagr-</td>
<td>‘meet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nzr</td>
<td>/ V_root _</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>yagusi</td>
<td>yagu-</td>
<td>‘pour out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yafüsi</td>
<td>yafü-</td>
<td>‘open’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mräsi</td>
<td>mrä-</td>
<td>‘stroll’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fsisi</td>
<td>fsi-</td>
<td>‘count’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>thanzsi</td>
<td>tha-</td>
<td>‘uncover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-r</td>
<td>/ z_root _</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>brüzsi</td>
<td>brüz-</td>
<td>‘submerge, drown’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rifthzsi</td>
<td>rifthz-</td>
<td>‘hide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>räzsi</td>
<td>räz-</td>
<td>‘erect’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The remaining 15% of verb lexemes are irregular (i) in taking a different formative to mark non-dual (e.g. -thr or -Ø), (ii) in taking one of the three allomorphs under violation of the conditioning rules or (iii) in expressing the dual/non-dual contrast by irregular changes in the verb root, for example moth ‘walk’ (-yak ND vs. -yan DU) or kwan ‘shout’ (-nor ND vs. -rn DU).

5.5.3.4  Pre-root dual marking with restricted roots

The previous discussion concentrated on dual marking with extended roots. For restricted roots, this suffix slot is not available and the dual vs. non-dual contrast is marked in the vowel of the prefix, which changes to ā for non-dual. Interestingly, it is the non-dual that receives a marker, while the dual is zero marked. At the same time, pre-root dual marking is less segmentable and harder to gloss than post-root dual marking, because the non-dual ā vowel superposes vowels from other prefixal material, for example the valency changer a- or the irrealis prefix ra-. This leads to patterns of syncretism which span several grammatical dimensions (valency, number, aspect, mood, etc). Pre-root dual marking is relevant only for those TAM categories which build their inflection on the restricted
root. These are verbs inflected for iterative and perfective aspect. The latter include indicative (recent past and past tense), imperative or irrealis forms. I will use the irrealis perfective forms to describe the pattern of pre-root dual marking and point to other TAM categories where they deviate.

Irrealis mood is expressed by the prefix ra-, which directly follows the person/number prefix or the middle marker of the β prefix series (See Table 5.9 in §5.5.1.2). The non-dual marker ā replaces the vowel of the ra- prefix for all the person/number combinations which involve a non-dual participant. This pattern is uniform for prefixing as well as ambifixing verbs. Below in (40-46), I provide textual examples of the number combinations with a third person actor and a first person undergoer.\(^{32}\) We find the ā vowel for the following actor>undergoer combinations: SG>SG (40), PL>SG (42), SG>PL (44) and PL>PL (45).

(40)  
\textit{adif nima kwräs “ranzo?”}  
\texttt{adi=f nima kw-rä-s-∅ ra=nzo}  
aunt=ERG.SG like.this 1SG.β-IRR.ND-ask.RS-2\{3SG what=ONLY}  
2\{3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:IRR:PFV/ask}  
‘Aunt asked me: “What is it?”’  
(tci20120922-25 ALK #15-16)

(41)  
\textit{yare kma nzä nafa kwrakarth.}  
\texttt{yare kma nzä nafa kw-ra-kar-th}  
bag POT 1SG.ABS 3NSG.ERG 1SG.β-IRR.DU-pull.RS-2\{3NSG}  
2\{3DU:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:IRR:PFV/pull}  
‘They (2) should take the bag from me.’  
(tci20130907-02 JAA #10)

(42)  
\textit{ngatha fäth ferä nafa kwränbrmth e ...}  
\texttt{ngatha fäth f=e-rä nafa}  
dog DIM DIST=2\{3NSG.α-COP.ND 3NSG.ERG}  
\texttt{DIST=2\{3PL:SBJ:NPST/be}  
kw-rä-n-brm-th e (.)  
1SG.β-IRR.ND-VENIT-follow.RS-2\{3NSG until (.)}  
2\{3PL:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/follow}  
‘The small dogs over there, they follow me until...’  
(tci20111119-03 ABB #94)

\(^{32}\)Irrealis mood may be used in narratives for pragmatic reasons (backgrounding) and refer to events which actually took place (§6.4.3)
5.5 Person, Gender and Number

(43) *foba nznrans “bā mon ern?”*

foba  nzn-rans  bā  mon
DIST.ABL 1NSG.ß-IRR.DU-VENIT-ask.RS-2|3SG 2.ABS how
2|3SG:SUBJ>1DU:OBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/ask
e-rn
2|3NSG.α-COP.DU
2|3DU:SUBJ:NPST:PFV/be

‘He asked us (2): “Who are you?”’

(44) *paituaf nzrākor “nzā fiyaf r wiya.”*

paitua=f  nz-rā-kor-∅  nzā
old.man=ERG.SG 1NSG.ß-IRR.ND-speak.RS-2|3SG 1SG.ABS
2|3SG:SUBJ>1PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak
fiyaf=r  wo-yak
hunting=PURP 1SG.α-walk.EXT.ND
1SG:NPST:PFV/walk

‘He said to us: “I will go hunting.”’

(45) *kar zf rā zf masu ... manema nzrākorth masu kar.*

kar  zf  rā  zf  masu  (.)  mane=ma
place  IMM  3SG.FEM.COP.ND  IMM PLACE.N (.)  which=CHAR
3SG.FEM:SUBJ:NPST:PFV/be
nz-rā-kor-th  masu  kar
1NSG.ß-IRR.ND-speak.RS-2|3NSG PLACE.N place.
2|3PL:SUBJ>1PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak

‘This place right here is Masu, which is why they call us Masu people.’

(46) *ni nzrakorth “bā!” ... oroman babua ... “bā kwa yakwinth zmbār aki kwayanen!”*

ni  nz-ra-kor-th  bā  (.)  oroman babua  (.)
1NSG 1NSG.ß-IRR.DU-speak.RS-2|3NSG 2.ABS (.) old.man PROP.N (.)
2|3PL:SUBJ>1DU:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak
bā  kwa  ñ-a-kwi-n-th  zmbār  aki  kwayan=en
2.ABS FUT  M.α-VC-run.EXT-DU-2|3NSG night  moon light=LOC
2|3DU:SUBJ:NPST:PFV/run

‘They said to us (2): “You!” to old man Babua “You two will run at night in the moonlight”’
Note that just like in post-root dual marking (§5.5.3.1), pre-root dual marking is agnostic as to which of the two arguments is dual or non-dual. The verb *nzrako-rth* 'they said to us' in (46) could be any of the three possible actor>undergoer combinations (PL>DU, DU>DU or DU>PL) because both person affixes index a non-singular participant. Thus, the absence of the *ā* vowel indicates that one of the two participants is dual, but not which one. Only context may solve this structural ambiguity, which in (46) is clear from the second verb *yakwinth* 'you two go'. For verbs in a prefixing template, there is no ambiguity since they index only one argument. Non-dual participants receive the *ā* vowel, while dual participants do not. The same holds for verbs in the middle template.

The marking pattern can be expressed in an abstract matrix as in Figure 5.10. In terms of structure, this matrix is identical to post-root duality marking (See Figure 5.9 above).

![Figure 5.10 - The duality matrix without VC prefix](image)

There are some exceptions for the third singular prefixes (both feminine and masculine). The combination of SG>3SG in the ambifexing template and 3SG in the prefixing template receive the vowel *a* and not *ā* in all relevant TAM categories. In the imperatives, it is *a* for both combinations SG>3SG and PL>3SG. Inflections involving a dual participant would receive a zero marker. In a discussion after listening to old recordings made by the anthropologist Mary Ayres in the 1980’s, I was able to elicit one inflectional form that is relevant to this topic. The informant contrasted the modern Komnzo inflection *santhor* ‘He arrived here’ with an older form of the same verb *snāthor*. A first observation is that the *ā* does occur in the older form. Interestingly, it occurs after the venitive *n*-prefix. At the current stage of documentation, not much can be said about the time frame during which this change has occurred. The informant who provided this information is now in his mid-60’s and he remembers ‘old people’ using this form. I was not able to elicit a full paradigm of these older inflections and, thus, we are denied insight into the changes that took place in the verb template. As for now, we can only state that the non-dual *ā* vowel existed at some point in time with third singulars in the prefix.

---

33 *s-a-n-thor*  
3SG.MASC.Y-ND-VENIT-arrive.rs  

33 *s-n-ā-thor*  
3SG.MASC.Y-VENIT-ND-arrive.rs
As I mentioned above, since pre-root duality marking involves the ä vowel, it occupies a slot in the template which may be filled by other prefixal material, for example the irrealis prefix ra- and the valency changer a-, or both. We saw in the examples above, that the non-dual ä vowel superposes the irrealis ra-prefix which results in the form rä-. This is not the case for the imperatives and indicative inflected verbs. As we have seen in §5.3.3, restricted roots combine only with prefixes of the β, β2 and γ series. Most formatives of these series are composed of only a consonant (See Table 5.9 in §5.5.1.2). Only the 1SG.γ (zu-) and all formatives of the β2 series end in /u/, which resyllabifies as part of a complex onset (zw-) in the presence of ä or a. For example, the 1SG.γ zu- in (47) is followed by a zero. Therefore, the verb is inflected for dual. In (48), the 1SG.γ is followed by the non-dual ä vowel and the prefix changes into zwä-. Therefore, I analyse the distribution of the ä vowel as was shown above in Figure 5.10.

(47) nzä nima zukorth: “be fafä zane nagayé fäth zä thamonegwé!”

nzä nima zu-∅-kor-th be fafä
1SG.ABS like.this 1SG.γ-DU-speak.RS-2|3NSG 2SG.ERG after.this
2|3DU:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/speak
zane nagayé fäth zä th-a-moneg-w-ē
DEM:PROX children DIM PROX 2|3NSG.β-VC-wait.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP
2SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:IMP:IPFV/wait

‘They (2) said to me: “You will look after these small children here later!”’

(tci20121019-04 ABB #97)

(48) watik, naf zwäkora: “watik, nzone efoth fof zefafth.”

watik naf zu-ä-kor-a-∅ watik nzone efoth then 3SG.ERG 1SG.γ-ND-speak.RS-PST-2|3SG then 1SG.POSS sun|day
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak
fof z-ä-faf-th
EMPH M.γ-ND.VC-hold.RS-2|3NSG
2|3NSG:SBJ:PST:PFV/hold

‘Then she said to me: “Well, my days are over now.”’

(tci20130911-03 MBR #76)

Pre-root duality marking co-occurs with the valency changing prefix a-. The resulting vowel pattern is summarized in the matrix in Figure 5.11, which shows that the non-dual ä vowel (i) replaces the a- prefix and (ii) that it patterns differently to the forms given so far. Compare Figure 5.10 above with Figure 5.11 below. Note that this neutralizes the valency changing a- for some of the
actor>undergoer combinations: PL>SG, SG>PL and PL>PL. For these combinations, it is only the case frame which identifies whether the undergoer argument is a direct object (ABS case) or an indirect object (DAT or POSS case).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTOR</th>
<th>DU</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDERGOER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.11 The duality matrix with VC prefix

One exception is the combination of SG>SG. As we can see in Figure 5.11, this combination receives no ā vowel although both participants are non-dual. This pattern is regular for all persons. Thus, a PL>3SG would receive ā, whereas DU>3SG and SG>3SG would not receive it. For the last combination and all prefixing verbs with a 3SG this means that the valency change is neutralized and again only the case frame shows what type of undergoer is indexed. It is not neutralized for the other person values (SG>1SG, SG>2SG and 1SG, 2SG on prefixing verbs) precisely because SG>SG (and the SG in prefixing verbs) does not take ā but a.

Note that prefixing verbs with the valency changing prefix a- show a pattern where ā only occurs on a plural, while a occurs with a singular and dual participant. At least on the surface, this results in the binary opposition of plural vs. non-plural. In (49) below, the prefixing verb rifksi ‘grow’ occurs in the inflected form zarfif ‘sth. grew for/over it’. From the context, it is clear that the speaker is talking about the grass growing over the path. The verb encodes a feminine undergoer, which can only be interpreted as being the pathway (moth), because yusi ‘grass’ is masculine. A dual number of the undergoer would be thärff and a plural thärff. Thus, under several conditions (presence of valency change, prefixing template, restricted root), the duality marker marks an opposition between plural and non-plural.

(49) gathagatha moth rā ... z wrfrwake we ane zarfif.

gathagatha moth rā            (. ) z
bad          path 3SG.FEM:COP:ND (. ) ALR
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
w-rfr-w-a-k-e           we ane
3SG.FEM.Ō-trim.EXT-ND-PST-LK-INSG also DEM
1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/trim
5.5 Person, gender and number

z-a-rfif
3SG.FEM.γ-ND.VC-grow.RS
3SG.FEM:IO:RPST:PFV/grow

‘This is a bad path. We cut it already, but (the grass) grew over it again.’
(tci20130907-02 RNA #39-41)

Before I conclude this section on number marking, I want to look at the behaviour of the ā vowel when the irrealis prefix ra- and valency changing prefix a- come together. Since the irrealis prefix includes a vowel, the valency changing prefix is neutralized in most parts of the paradigm. For extended roots, this neutralization is complete, i.e. only the case frame indicates whether the undergoer argument is a direct object (ABS case) or an indirect object (DAT or POSS case). This will be further discussed in §6.2.2. For restricted roots, the valency changing prefix a- is likewise neutralized, but the number marking pattern differs in those actor>undergoer combinations which involve SG>SG (Figure 5.11). Consider the vowel contrast between (40) which was given above and (50) below. The participant combination is held constant: 3SG>1SG. In (40) we find the ā vowel, because it is ditransitive and the valency changing prefix a- is employed, but in (50) it is missing, because (40) is transitive and lacks the a- prefix. Compare (50) with (51) where the same verb yarisi ‘give’ shows the ā because the actor participant is plural.

(50) This is from a recording about food taboos which hold between a man and his sister-in-law.

nafane bārbārnzo keke kwarar.
nafane bārbār=nzo keke kw-ra-r-∅
3SG.POSS half=ONLY NEG 1SG.β-IRR.ΝD.VC-give.RS-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:IRR:PFV/give

‘She will not give me half of her (fish).’
(tci20120922-26 DAK #125)

(51) nā kwot kwärth fafä.
nā kwot kw-rā-r-th fafä
some again 1SG.β-IRR.PL.VC-give.RS-2|3NSG after_that
2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:IO:IRR:PFV/give

‘They might give me some more later.’
(tci20120805-01 ABB #226)
We can conclude from the examples that the irrealis inflection complies with the number marking patterns as they were shown in Figure 5.11 above. The only difference lies in the fact that the irrealis prefix ra- creates neutralizations in more combinations (with regard to the valency change) because ra- contains a vowel. However, there is one important caveat to this conclusion. As I have pointed out in §5.4.4 and §5.4.6, there are some verbs which are deponent in the sense that they obligatorily take the a- without a change in the valency. Two examples are the transitive verb fiyoksi ‘make’ and intransitive/prefixing verb yarenzi ‘look’. Consequently we would expect them to comply with the pattern in Figure 5.11. Consider example (52) with a SG>SG participant combination and example (53) with its single referent in SG. Both show the ä non-dual vowel, i.e. they violate the pattern in Figure 5.11 which predicts the vowel to be a and not ä. This violation occurs only with deponent verbs and only in irrealis mood. The natural explanation is that, for deponent verbs, the distinction between the presence vs. absence of the valency changing prefix is redundant.

(52) katan kwa sräfiyothé. kafar minzū yé.

katan kwa s-rä-fiyoth-é
small FUT 3SG.MASC.β-IRR.ND.VC-make.RS-1SG big
kafar minzū
very 1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/make
yé
3SG.MASC.COP.ND
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘I will make it smaller. It is very big.’

(tc20120914 RNA #41-42)

(53) wati, we nima n kwäsigrthm “eh, ra gru zane ŋamitwanzr nabi tutin?”

wati we nima n kw-rä-zigrthm eh ra
then also like_this PROS 1SG.β-IRR.ND.VC-look.RS eh what
gru zane ŋ-a-mitwa-nzr-∅ nabi
shooting_star DEM.PROX M.α-VC-swing,EXT-ND-2|3SG bamboo
2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/swing

tuti=n
branch=LOC

‘Then, I was about to look around like this: “Hey, what is this shooting star swinging on the bamboo branch?”’

(tc20111119-03 ABB #126-127)
Another observation relevant for all TAM categories with pre-root dual marking is the fact that the middle marker also obligatorily takes the valency changing prefix \(a\)-. Likewise, a verb in the middle template which indexes a singular participant does not pattern along the lines of Figure 5.11, and instead it employs the \(\tilde{a}\) vowel. Again, this can only be explained by taking into account that there is no need to make a distinction between the presence vs. absence of the valency changing prefix, because it always occurs with the middle morpheme.

The patterning of \(\tilde{a}\), \(a\) and \(\emptyset\) in the prefixes cannot be adequately captured by the traditional notion of a morpheme with a distinct meaning. It seems to be the case that the vowel change is employed only to mark a difference in meaning without being easily linked to a specific meaning. The vowel change or the \(\tilde{a}\) vowel in the prefix can be glossed as a non-dual for only part of the paradigm. In other parts of the paradigm, the distribution is employed to maximize the possible grammatical categories that can be encoded. Thus, pre-root duality marking is much messier than post-root duality marking. Both show some ambiguities and neutralizations, and in both cases the duality marker has to be integrated with the singular vs. non-singular opposition of the person affixes. But at the same time, pre-root dual marking is sensitive to more grammatical categories and shows more idiosyncrasies.

5.6 Deixis and directionality

Komnzo verbs may be inflected for deixis and directionality. Deictic inflection comprises the values of proximal, medial, distal and interrogative. Directionality comprises a venitive (‘hither’) and an andative (‘thither’) category. Both deixis and directionality operate from a situationally bounded deictic center, which is usually the speaker, but may be extended to cover a particular character or place in a narrative, or a point in time. Morphologically, both sets are simple in that there is a one-to-one mapping between form and function.

5.6.1 The directional affixes \(n\)- and \(-o\)

Directional inflection takes place in two slots on the verb: the venitive prefix \(n\)- precedes the verb root, while the andative suffix \(-o\) occurs in the second last slot on the verb preceding the person/number suffixes. Although morphologically possible, the two morphemes may not co-occur, i.e. a verb is marked either venitive or andative. In other Yam languages, the two morphemes share one slot in the verb template, for example in Nen (Evans, 2015a). I have described in §5.5.1.1 how the presence of the andative suffix can lead to the neutralization of the person value in the actor suffix. Example (35) in that section provided a text example of this neutralization.
The use of directional marking is shown below in example (54). The sentence concludes a mythical story which explains why two particular clans do not intermarry, but instead ‘help each other out’ with girls to be exchanged with other groups. The speaker assumes the position of one of the two clans, both spatially as well as in terms of kin relations. The verb *yarisi* ‘give’ is then marked with an andative in the first clause (‘give away’) and a venitive (‘give towards’) in the second clause. Additionally, both clauses contain a deictic in ablative case (*zba* ‘from here’, *boba* ‘from there’).

(54)  
*zbam nezä ārithrho* fäms *ṣarer. boba nezä ānritrth fäms *ṣarer*  
prox.abl in.return 2|3ns.α-vc.give.ext-nd-andat-nsf exchange  
zbam nezä e-a-ri-thr-o-th fäms  
ṣar=er boba nezä  
woman=purp med.abl in return  
e-a-n-ri-thr-th fäms ṣar=er  
2|3ns.α-vc-venit.give.ext-nd-2|3nsf exchange woman=purp  
2|3pl:subj>2|3pl:io:npst:ipfv:andat/give  
‘From here, they give them girls to exchange. In return, they give them girls to exchange from there.’  
(tci20110802 ABB #159-161)

The directional affixes can be used with dynamic events as in (54) or with stative verbs as in (55), which is taken from the description of a picture card. The image depicts an older man who is standing in the background watching what is happening. The venitive inflection on ‘stand’ refers to the direction of his posture, i.e. he is standing facing towards the deictic centre.

(55)  
*wotukarā ane ynkogr. sinzo foba ynrā.*  
wotu=karā ane y-n-kogr si=nzo foba  
stick=prop dem 3sg.masc.α-venit-stand.nd eye=only dist:abl  
3sg.masc:subj:npst:ipfv:venit/stand  
y-n-rā  
3sg.masc.α-venit-cop.nd  
3sg.masc:subj:npst:ipfv:venit/be  
‘He stands there with his walking stick and he is just looking from there.’  
(tci20111004 RMA #253)

The copula may receive a directional inflection, giving the interpretation of ‘come’ (55) and ‘go’ (56), literally translated as ‘be hither’ and ‘be thither’.
Deixis and directionality

(56) *Watik, teacher zwäkor ‘keke kayé kwa *nrno.*”

\[\text{watik teacher zu-à-kor-∅ keke kayé kwa then teacher 1SG:γ-ND-speak.RS-2|3SG NEG tomorrow FUT}\]

\[2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/speak n-ti-o 1NSG:α-COP.DU-ANDAT 1DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/be}\]

‘Then, the teacher said to me: “No, we will go tomorrow.”’

The spatial semantics of directional inflection can be extended to cover metaphorical uses. Example (57) shows a temporal use where the speaker explains the old custom of tying a bowstring. Thus, he literally says that he ‘follows the custom hither’. Example (58) is a description of a very old woman, who has outlived some of her own children. The speaker uses the andative inflection on the verb *yathizsi* ‘die’ which is best translated to English as ‘pass away’.

(57) *Nzenme bada nimame zf ɣatr thu-zirak-wrmth. Watik, ni ane wänbragwre zenathamar.*

\[\text{nzenme bada nima=}me zf ɣatr 1NSG.POSS ancestor like.this=INS IMM bowstring thu-zirak-wr-m-th watik ni ane 2|3NSG.β1-tie.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG then 1NSG DEM 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/tie w-a-n-brag-wr-e zena=thamar 3SG.FEM.α-VC-VENIT-follow.EXT-ND-1NSG today=TEMP.ALL 1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/follow}\]

‘Our ancestors where tying the bowstring this way. We have been following (this custom) until today.’

(58) *Nagayé nafanemāwā nā z ’āthizrako.*

\[\text{nagayé nafane=}ma=wā nā z children 3SG.POSS=CHAR=EMPH some ALR e-a-thiz-r-a-k-o 2|3NSG.α-VC-die.EXT-ND-PST-LK-ANDAT 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:ANDAT/die}\]

‘Some of her own children have already passed away.’
5.6.2 The deictic clitics $z=, b=, f=$ and $m=$

Deictics include the three categories proximal $z=, $ medial $b= $ and distal $f= $. Additionally, there is an interrogative form $m= $ which behaves slightly different. These morphemes are analyzed as proclitics because they (i) attach to the outer layer of the verb, (ii) are not assigned stress (if they create an initial syllable through epenthesis) and (iii) are reduced forms of the demonstratives. In §3.1.11.3 and §3.5 I have labelled these clitic demonstratives.

Clitics demonstratives are always used situationally in order to point, direct or show the location of an event or a referent in relation to the deictic center. Example (59)$^{34}$ comes from a narrative. The deictic center of that part of the story is a man who sits in his camp and happens to hear someone shouting from the river. Note that both verbs (‘hear’ and ‘shout’) are inflected with a venitive marker. Thus, we can translate the second verb $byannor$, to which the medial clitic demonstrative ($b= MED$) is attached, as ‘He shouts there towards here’.

(59) $nafafämsf srenkaris “oh, kabe byannor gardar.”$

nafa-fäms=f
3.POSS-exchange.man=ERG.SG

s-rä-n-karis-∅ oh kabe
3SG.MASC.β-IRR.ND-VENIT-hear.RS-2|3SG oh man
2|3SG|SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/hear
b=y-a-n-nor garda=r
MED=3SG.MASC.α-VC-VENIT-shout.EXT.ND canoe=PURP
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/shout

‘His exchange man heard him (and said:) “Oh, there is a man calling out for the canoe.”’

(tec20111119-01 ABB #68)

If the inflected verb is vowel initial or begins in a glide (only some formatives of the $\alpha$ series), the clitic demonstrative simply attaches as an onset, for example in (60)$^{35}$ or (62) below. Elsewhere, an initial syllable is created through epenthesis, as in (59) and (61).

$^{34}$The verb $-nor$ ‘shout’ is deponent and takes the valency changing $a$- prefix without an impact on the argument structure

$^{35}$The verb $msaksi$ ‘sit|dwell’ is deponent and takes the valency changing $a$- prefix without an impact on the argument structure
5.6 Deixis and directionality

(60) frükakmenzo nzwamnzrm. ane mnr fänmnr. ane mnr fänmnr.

frükak=me=nzo nzu-a-m-nzr-m 3x|ane mnr alone-DISTR=INS=ONLY 1NSG.β2-VC-sit.EXT-ND-DUR 3x|DEM clan 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/sit

f=e-a-m-nzr]
DIST=2|3NSG.α-VC-sit.EXT-ND]
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit

‘We used to live in groups. One clan lives over there, one clan lives over there and one clan lives over there.’

(tci20120922-08 DAK #114-117)

(61) ane bä bkwaruthrmth būdisnen mnz zn en

ane bä b=k-w-a-ru-thr-m-th būdisn=en DEM MED MED=M.β1-VC-bark.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG PLACE.N=LOC
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/bark
mnz zn=en house place=LOC

‘Those (dogs) were barking there in Büdisn at the house.’

(tci20111119-03 ABB #95)

Clitic demonstratives are found most frequently attached to the copula which then follows the main verb of a clause. In the discussion of demonstratives, I have labelled this construction demonstrative identifier (See §3.1.11.3). In (62), the speaker points to another person cutting off the branches of a tree. Note that the deictic value (MED) is held constant on the demonstrative pronoun bäne, the clitic demonstrative on rtmaksi ‘cut’ and the demonstrative identifier byé.

(62) nima bäne birtmakur byé.

nima bäne b=y-rtmak-wr-∅ like.this DEM:MED MED=3SG.MASC.α-cut.EXT-ND-2|3SG
MED=2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/cut
b=yé
MED=3SG.MASC.COP.ND
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘She cuts off that one there.’

(tci20130907-02 JAA #441)
I choose the label demonstrative identifier for the whole construction (clitic demonstrative plus copula), because the copula is inert to tense marking, i.e. it always occurs in non-past. In example (63), the speaker took me to a place on the riverbank which used to be a ‘story place’ a long time ago. Story places are always inhabited by spiritual beings and, therefore, they must not be disturbed by people. The verbs rafisi ‘paddle’ and yak ‘walk, go’ are in past tense and only the copula is in non-past.

(63) *gardame fthé kwarafinzrmth, boba wozinzo thfiyakm beră.*

garda=me fthé kw-a-rafi-nzr-m-th boba
canoe=INS when M.β1-VC-paddle.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG MED.ABL
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/paddle
wozi=nzo thf-yak-m b=e-ră
side=ONLY 2|3NSG.β2-walk.EXT-DUR MED=2|3NSG.α-COP.ND
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/walk MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘When paddling with the canoe, they only went there on the side there.’

(Nci20120922-19 DAK #8)

Naturally, deictic markers are found mostly in situations where visual identification is important. Example (64) is taken from a plant walk where the speaker points out two different kinds of trees: mni bäwzö and fothr (sometimes called fothr bäwzö). In the recording, fothr bäwzö trees stood between the speaker and some mni bäwzö trees. Hence, the latter are marked as being further away and all deictic markers are medial: the deictic (bä ‘there’), the proclitic on the verb (bikogro ‘it stands there’) and the deictic in ablative case (bobafa ‘from there’).

Note that the verb is also inflected with an andative because more trees of the mni bäwzö kind were growing in that direction. As for the other tree, fothr bäwzö, it is marked by a proximal deictic (zä ‘here’), a proximal demonstrative identifier (zyé ‘it is here’) and another proximal deictic in ablative case (zbafa ‘from here’).

(64) *bä ane mni bäwzö bikogro. zä yé zyé fothr zbafa. bobafa mni bäwzö.*

bä ane mni bäwzö b=y-kogr-o zä
MED DEM fire PROP.N MED=3SG.MASC.α-stand.ND-ANDAT PROX
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/stand

36The words bäwzö and fothr are proper nouns. However, mni means ‘fire’ and the name mni bäwzö ‘fire bäwzö’ is used because the bark of this tree is hardened over the fire and later used for house walls.

37Both deictics bobafa and zbafa are doubly ablative, i.e. boba is already ablative and contrasts with allative bobo. This is the only example in the corpus of doubly marked deictics.
5.7 Polarity

Negation in Komnzo is expressed periphrastically. Thus, it is not part of morphology proper, but I discuss it here nevertheless. The negators are *keke* (66) and *kyo* (67), both of which normally occur in preverbal position. The latter is used only by some of the older speakers. Example (66) comes from a story about the speaker’s father’s generation. Example (67) is taken from a conversation about food taboos.
I was told that the teachers in the mission school during the 1960’s discouraged their students from using kyo [kōjo] because ‘it is a bad word’. At the time, the teachers were Motu speakers and the language of instruction was also Motu. In Motu, the word kio [kijo] means ‘vagina’. We can only hypothesize that the teachers of the mission school enacted pressure strong enough to replace the word for ‘no’ with a different word whose origin is thus far unknown.

There are other strategies for expressing negation in Komnzo. The indefinite demonstrative can be used to express the concepts ‘not at all’, ‘nothing’ or ‘no one’ (§3.1.10). There is a prohibitive construction (‘you must not do X!’) described in §6.3.2. Furthermore, the privative case (=mär) can attach to nominals to express ‘without X’ (§4.14).
Chapter 6

Tense, Aspect and Mood

6.1 Introduction

Tense, aspect and mood is the most complex set of grammatical categories in the verb inflection, both in the way the categories are encoded and in the number of distinctions that can be expressed. Morphologically, there are 18 categories, which may be additionally supplemented by a set of TAM particles. There are four morphological tense values (non-past, immediate past, recent past and past), four aspect values (perfective, imperfective, durative and iterative) and three mood values (indicative, imperative and irrealis).

I will begin this section with an overview of the morphological material that is involved in TAM inflection. Most of these building blocks and the idiosyncrasies in their behaviour have been addressed in the preceding chapter and I will refer to these sections where appropriate. In the following, I will focus on the combinatorics of the morphemes and roots, the impact of clitics and particles and the semantics of the resulting TAM categories. Aspect in Komnzo can at best be somewhat misleadingly captured with the traditional definition of perfective versus imperfective which is often based on the completion of an event. Although I employ these labels, it shall be stressed that the perfective focusses more on the left edge of the event (inceptive) or expresses a momentaneous quality (punctual). With that in mind, I defer the discussion of the semantics of TAM to the end of this chapter.

6.2 The combinatorics of TAM

The most basic element of TAM inflection is the distinction between an extended (EXT) and a restricted root (RS). Both types are attested for almost every verb lexeme (§5.3). EXT and RS roots differ in their templates with respect to dual marking (§5.3.2) and in the possible combinations with the five prefix series α,
In addition to the five series, the irrealis prefix \( ra- \) and the immediate past proclitic \( n= \) are involved in TAM marking. The suffixal material includes a past suffix \(-a\) and a durative suffix \(-m\) and a special actor suffix series for the imperatives. Table 6.1 gives a full overview of the TAM categories and the way these are built up from the listed morphological material. An important distinction in the verb template, not expressed in Table 6.1, is the difference between post-root dual marking with \textsc{ext} roots and pre-root dual marking with \textsc{rs} roots. This was described in detail in §5.5.3.

The combinations in Table 6.1 illustrate a feature of Komnzo morphology that reverberates throughout the verb inflection: the distribution of exponents. In other words, a grammatical category is encoded and manipulated by morphemes that are scattered across the verb template. On the flip side of this phenomenon, most formatives lack a clear grammatical meaning or have multiple grammatical functions depending on their context. Thus, they have to be glossed in an abstract manner. However, there are degrees of morpheme underspecification. For example, two morphemes in Table 6.1 can be assigned an unambiguous grammatical meaning. These are the irrealis prefix \( ra- \) and the past suffix \(-a\). The \(-a\) formative only occurs in past tense inflections. Hence, the label ‘past’ is a sufficient description of the \(-a\) suffix, but the suffix is insufficient for the grammatical category ‘past tense’ because other morphemes like the prefix series are required to form a past tense. A second group of morphemes is underspecified in the following way: they fulfill several functions, either simultaneously or in different morphological contexts. For example, the durative suffix \(-m\) encodes durative aspect, but it also ‘pushes back’ the tense value. Thus, when suffixed to a non-past (imperfective), it will produce a recent-past (durative) and when it is suffixed to a recent-past (imperfective), it will produce a past (durative). Thus, we could label it durative/backshifting suffix. However, the \(-m\) suffix also ‘pushes forward’ the tense value in the imperatives, where it produces a delayed imperative (‘do X a little later’) and duration is not part of its meaning. Furthermore, the \(-m\) suffix may occur with perfectives as a means of backgrounding an event, again without encoding duration. Thus, the choice of the glossing label ‘durative’ (\textsc{dur}) for the \(-m\) suffix is somewhat arbitrary and we could equally label it ‘tense shifting’ or ‘background’ morpheme. For a third group of morphemes, especially the five prefix series, all attempts to assign them a grammatical meaning is rendered futile and we have to draw on abstract labels like \( \alpha \), \( \beta \) and \( \gamma \).

Not all logically possible combinations of morphs are grammatically acceptable. For example, the \( \alpha \) and \( \gamma \) prefix series only combine with \textsc{ext} and \textsc{rs} roots respectively, but not vice versa. Likewise, the past suffix \(-a\) and the durative suffix \(-m\) are mutually exclusive and a verb form with both is rejected as ungrammatical. Third, the irrealis prefix \( ra- \) only combines with the \( \beta \) prefixes and not with the other prefix series. Lastly, the immediate past clitic \( n= \) can only
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM value</th>
<th>clitic</th>
<th>prefix series</th>
<th>IRR prefix</th>
<th>root type</th>
<th>TAM suffix</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>$\alpha$</td>
<td>EXT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immediate-past</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>$n=\alpha$</td>
<td>EXT</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recent-past</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>$\beta_1$ or $\beta_2$</td>
<td>EXT</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recent-past</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>$\alpha$</td>
<td>EXT</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recent-past</td>
<td>perfective</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>$\gamma$</td>
<td>RS</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>$\alpha$</td>
<td>EXT</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>$\beta_1$ or $\beta_2$</td>
<td>EXT</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>perfective</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>$\gamma$</td>
<td>RS</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>iterative</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>$\beta_1$ or $\beta_2$</td>
<td>RS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>iterative/durative</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>$\beta_1$ or $\beta_2$</td>
<td>RS</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/a</td>
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<td>irrealis</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>EXT</td>
<td></td>
<td>IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>EXT</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>perfective</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>RS</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/a (delayed)</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>EXT</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/a (delayed)</td>
<td>perfective</td>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>RS</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>IMP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
attach to a verb form which employs the \( \alpha \) prefix series, not to the other combinations. We can conclude from this observation that the combinatorial space is not fully exhausted, i.e. not all logically possible combinations of the morphological material are actually employed. Such a system is to not surprising because all natural languages evolve incrementally without an overall design. What is remarkable about Komnzo in specific and the Yam languages in general is the fact that so many combinations are employed. In other words, the genius of the verb morphology lies in its extensive exploitation of combinations.

In the following section, I will describe the functions and some of the distributional characteristics of the morphemes in Table 6.1.

6.2.1 **The prefix series \( \alpha, \beta, \beta_1, \beta_2 \text{ and } \gamma \)**

The five prefix series \( \alpha, \beta, \beta_1, \beta_2, \gamma \) were briefly addressed in §5.5.1.2. The table from page 247 is reproduced here as Table 6.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>( \alpha \text{-series} )</th>
<th>( \beta \text{-series} )</th>
<th>( \beta_1 \text{-series} )</th>
<th>( \beta_2 \text{-series} )</th>
<th>( \gamma \text{-series} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>wo-</td>
<td>kw-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>kwof-</td>
<td>zu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NSG</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>nz- / nzn-</td>
<td>nzu-</td>
<td>nzf-</td>
<td>nzn-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>nz- / gn-</td>
<td>gu-</td>
<td>gf-</td>
<td>nzn-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.FEM</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>z-</td>
<td>zu-</td>
<td>zf-</td>
<td>z-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.MASC</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>su-</td>
<td>sf-</td>
<td>s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3NSG</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>th-</td>
<td>thu-</td>
<td>thf-</td>
<td>th-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>( \gamma )</td>
<td>kw-</td>
<td>kf-</td>
<td>z-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The \( \alpha \) prefixes combine only with the extended root. They are used to encode non-past (1), recent past durative (2) and past imperfective (3). Example (1) comes from a hunting story, where the narrator meets a spiritual being in the forest. In (2), the speaker reports an incident from a neighboring village involving a young boy who was attacked by a sorcerer in his yam garden. Example (3), is from an interview about the customs around the sister-exchange marriage system.

(1) “\( nz\ddot{a} \text{ maf wonrsoknw}\text{r?} \)”

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nz}\ddot{a} & \quad \text{maf} \quad \text{wo-n-rsokn-wr-}\varnothing \\
\text{1SG.ABS who.ERG} & \quad \text{1SG.}\alpha\text{-VENIT-bother.EXT-ND-2|3SG} \\
\text{2|3SG:OBJ} & \quad \text{1SG:NPST:IPFV:VENIT} / \text{bother}
\end{align*}
\]

“‘Who bothers me here?’”

(tci20111119-03 ABB #165)
6.2 The combinatorics of TAM

(2) *fthé zöfthamen zamatho frk komnzo zä wtnägwrmo.*

*fthé zöftha=thamen z-a-math-o-∅ frk komnzo* when first=TEMP.LOC M.-y-ND-run.RS-ANDAT-2|3SG blood only 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV:ANDAT/run


‘At first, when he started to run, he was just losing blood here.’

(tci20130901-02 YUK #40)

(3) *nzun etha nzüthamöwä warnzürwrath wath.*

nzun etha nzüthamöwä wo-a-rnzür-wr-a-th wath 1SG.DAT three times 1SG.α-VC-dance.EXT-ND-PST-2|3NSG dance 2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:IO:RPST:IPFV/dance

‘They danced three times for me.’

(tci20120805-01 ABB #769)

If the proclitic $n=*$ is attached to a verb employing the $\alpha$ prefixes, the resulting inflection is either immediate past imperfective (4) or immediate past durative (5) depending on suffixal material. In other words, the immediate past is built from verbs inflected for non-past. This is preserved in the integrated glossing style, because the $n=*$ is analyzed as a clitic. The $n=*$ is related to the imminent particle $n$ (§6.3.1). Example (4) sums up a story about the origin of the Morehead people. In (5), the speaker talks about competitive yam cultivation and how older people assess a young man’s status by the number and size of his crop.

(4) *trikasi mane nyatrikwé fof ... ŋafynm ... badafa ane fof yanritakwa fof.*

trik-si mane n=ŋ-a-trik-w-é fof (.)
tell-NMLZ which IPST=M.α-VC-tell.EXT-ND-1SG EMPH (.)

ŋafe=nm (. ) bada=fa ane fof
father=DAT.NSG (. ) ancestor=ABL DEM EMPH

ŋ-a-n-ritak-w-a-∅ fof
M.α-VC-VENIT-pass.EXT-ND-PST-SG EMPH
2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:IPFV:VENIT/pass

‘The story which I have just told passed from the ancestors to (our) fathers.’

(tci20131013-01 ABB #403-405)
(5) *fhē* bone *kafarwā* *nefathwrnθ* “eh yabun zane!” *wtrikarāsū* we *gnrārm*

*fhē* bone *kafarwā* n=e-fath-wr-m-th
when 2SG.POSS big=EMPH IPST=2|3NSG.α-hold.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG
IPST=2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:DUR/hold
*eh* yabun zane *wtrikarāsū* we *gnrārm* 2SG:SBJ:FUTIMP:IPFV/be

‘When they have just held your big (yam tubers) and say: “Hey, that (is) a big one!” then you have to be afraid!’

The β series is split into a basic series β and two related series β1 and β2. The basic β series is used for all the non-tensed categories like the irrealis (6) and the imperatives (7). Example (6) comes from a procedural text about fish baskets and the speaker explains how the fish gets trapped inside. In (7), the narrator took over the role of a character in a stimulus picture task.

(6) *watik, fhē* *kranbrigwrθ* *keke kwa* *zba* we *krāmātroth.*

*watik* fthē k-ra-n-brig-wr-th keke kwa
then when M.β-IRR.VC-VENIT-return.EXT-ND-2|3NSG NEG FUT
2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:IPFV:VENIT/return
*zba* we k-rā-mātr-o-th
PROX.ABL also M.β-IRR.VC.ND-exit.RS-ANDAT-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV:ANDAT/exit

‘Well, when they turn around, they will not escape from here.’

(7) “*bnē kāznobe!* nzā *keke miyo worā.*”

*bnē* k-ā-znob-e nzā keke miyo
2NSG.ERG M.β-ND.VC-drink.RS-2NSG.IMP 1SG.ABS NEG desire
2PL:SBJ:IMP:PFV/drink
*wo-rā*
1SG.α-COP.ND
1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

“‘You drink! I don’t want to.’”

Table 6.2 shows that there are two formatives for the first non-singular (*nz-* and *zn*-) as well as the second singular (*nz-* and *gn*-) of the β series. For the first person non-singular, *nz-* is used for irrealis (8) and *zn*- for the imperatives (9).
In example (8), the speaker explains how a kundu drum is carved and prepared. Example (9), is taken from a conversation by the fire that involved a lot of hearsay. In conclusion, the speaker tells the two addressees to go to Morehead and clarify the rumours.

(8) *fiyaf* nzrayak tauri woku thoraksir:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fiyaf} &= r \\
\text{nz-ra-yak} &= 1 \text{NSG.β-IRR-walk.EXT.ND wallaby skin} \\
\text{tauri} &= 1 \text{PL:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/walk} \\
\text{woku} &= r \\
\text{thoraksir} &= 1 \text{NSG.NMLZ=PRP}
\end{align*}
\]

'We will go hunting and search for wallaby skin.'

(9) *kanbrime!* ... aneme nzenm *nznatrife!*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ezi} &= 2 \text{SG.Morning} \\
\text{gn-yak-o} &= 2 \text{SG.IMP-walk.EXT.ND-ANDAT} \\
\text{morning} &= 2 \text{SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV:ANDAT/walk}
\end{align*}
\]

'You go there in the morning!'
The second formative for the second singular in Table 6.2 (nz-) is used for irrealis inflection of prefixing and ambixifying verbs. Interestingly, only the second person singular of ambixifying verbs does not employ the irrealis prefix ra- in the irrealis inflection (11). If it is a prefixing verb, the irrealis prefix ra- is employed (12). Example (11) is taken from a procedural text in which the speaker shows me how to manufacture two children’s toys. In (12), the malignant protagonist invites a stranger to stay with her.

(11) grä-thé znsä rä ... thrma nzasämiré bun
  grá-thé  znsä rä     (.) thrma
  slow-ADJZR work 3SG.FEM.COP.ND   (.) later
  3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
  nz-a-sämír-é         bun
  2SG.β-VC.ND-whisper.RS-1SG 2SG.DAT
  1SG:SBJ>2SG:IO:IRR:IPFV/whisper

‘It is easy work ... I will teach you later.’

(tci20120914 RNA #50-51)

(12) nima zräzigm “awe nzone moba nzranyak?”
  nima   z-rä-zigr-m   awe nzone
  like_this 3SG.FEM.β-IRR.VC.ND-look.around.RS-DUR come 1SG.POSS
  3SG.FEM:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/look.around
  moba    nz-ra-n-yak
  where.ABL 2SG.β-IRR.VC-VENIT-walk.EXT.ND
  2SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV:VENIT/walk

‘She looks around like this (and says) “Come my friend! Where are you coming from?”’

(tci20120901-01 MAK #74)

The β1 and β2 series are used for recent past imperfective (13), past durative (first verb in 14) and past iterative (second verb in 14). In example (14), the speaker talks about his experiences at the Rouku mission school in the 1960’s.

(13) kayé ama zuzir zfyak.
  kayé    ama   zuzi=r   zfyak
  yesterday mother fishing=PURP 3SG.FEM.β2-walk.EXT.ND
  3SG.FEM:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/walk

1Both verbs in this example are deponent employing the valency changing prefix a- without a change in the valency pattern. The second verb yak ‘walk’ is only deponent when it employs the venitive marker meaning ‘come’, not when it is neutral or andative ‘walk’, ‘go away’
6.2 The combinatorics of TAM

'Yesterday, mother went fishing.'

(tci20111107-03 RNA #40)

(14) teste nzwasämînzrm bobomr kwarikwari efoth ... sokoro kfäbth

teste nzu-a-sämi-nzr-m-∅
obomr kwarikwari
thursday 1NSG.β1-VC-whisper.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3SG until midday
2|3SG:SBJ>1PL:IO:PST:DUR/teach
efoth (. ) sokoro kf-ä-bth-∅
sun (. ) school M.β2-VC.ND-finish.RS-2|3SG
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:ITER/finish

'On Thursday, he was teaching us until midday and then school always ended (for the week).'</n
(tci20120904-02 MAB #14)

These two prefix series are derived from the β series by adding an element to it. For β1, it is the vowel u and, for β2, this is the consonant f. The only exceptions are the first person and the second person singular formatives (Compare Table 6.2 above). In a different analysis, the u and f elements could be described as separate morphemes. Like the prefixes, these two morphemes would have to receive an abstract label. Such an analysis would reduce the number of prefix series to three. Under the current analysis, there are three main series and two subseries. I retain the current analysis, but I do not see either as being more elegant or more parsimonious. More important is the question regarding the difference between β1 and β2 which for the moment is unsettled. I will briefly discuss two possible explanations.

First, the difference might be understood in terms of sociolinguistic variation, i.e. the use of either variant is determined by an individual’s linguistic biography. Although all Komnzo speakers are multilingual, the strongest influence comes from two close varieties, namely Wära and Anta. In my preliminary survey of the surrounding varieties, I found that β1 and β2 exist in Wära as well as Anta. My impressionistic view is that the β2 prefix series occurs much more frequently than β1. More comparative work and documentation on both varieties is needed.

A second explanation is a true difference in meaning. Although β1 and β2 are almost always interchangeable without a clear change in meaning, there are some hints. For example, the copula can only take β2 and not β1 and the same is true for the verb yak ‘walk’ (13). Only when the copula is used in an ambifixing template, are both β1 and β2 possible. However, in an ambifixing template the copula cannot be translated as ‘be’, but instead functions as a light verb with the meaning ‘do’. For other verbs, β1 and β2 are interchangeable. This observation
leads me to believe that the β2 prefixes encode either a longer duration of the event or a greater degree of affectedness of the participants. However, targeted elicitation and close observation of natural texts did not lead to a clear pattern along these lines. Informants found it hard to give a characterisation or translation of the difference and they often contradicted each other or themselves. I will leave this question open for now for future research.

The γ prefixes are used for the perfectives: the recent past perfective (15) and the past perfective (16). Example (15) comes from a spontaneous conversation in the yam garden when a friend happened to pass by on his bicycle. Example (16) describes a dance that took place in the nearby settlement of Forzitho.

(15) *watik, zä zf zamse bā nznāthor.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{watik} & \quad zā \quad z-f \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{PROX IMM M.γ-VC.DU-sit.RS-1NSG 2SG 2SG.γ-ND-arrive.RS} \\
\text{1DU/SBJ:RPST:PFV/sit} & \quad 2SG/SBJ:RPST:PFV/arrive
\end{align*}
\]

‘Then, we two sat down and you arrived.’

(tci20130823-06 CAM #31)

(16) *wati, mane ānyaka forzitho wath sathaifath.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wati} & \quad \text{mane} \quad \alpha-a-n-yak-a \\
\text{then which 2|3NSG.α-VC-VENIT-walk.EXT.ND-PST PLACE.N dance} \\
2|3PL/SBJ:PST:PFV/VENIT/walk & \quad \text{s-a-thayf-a-th} \\
3SG.MASC.γ-ND-bring.out.RS-PST-2|3NSG & \quad \text{2|3PL/SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/bring.out}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Well, those who came to Forzitho brought the dance out (to the village square).’

(tci20210909-06 KAB #25)

6.2.2 The irrealis prefix *ra-*

The irrealis prefix *ra-* is used for the imperfective, perfective and durative irrealis inflections. We have seen examples of all three aspect values in (11) and (12). Example (11) showed that the only place in the paradigm where the irrealis prefix *ra-* is not used is the second person singular of an ambifixed verb.

The interaction of the irrealis prefix with the valency changing prefix *a-* and pre-root dual marking was explained in §5.5.3.4. In that section, I pointed out that the irrealis prefix *ra-* overrides the valency changing prefix *a-* to the effect that the absence versus presence of the valency changing prefix is neutralized.
For verb forms which employ the extended root, this neutralization is complete. For verb forms which employ the restricted root, there are small changes in the pre-root duality marking pattern. Compare § 5.5.3.4. In these cases, only the case frame indicates whether the undergoer argument is a direct object, the ABS case on szsi ‘calling’ in (17), or an indirect object, the DAT case on yatha in (18). Both examples are taken from the same hunting story in which the narrator talks about his usual routines when going on a hunting expedition.

(17) yathar foba szsi threthkäfé

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yatha} = r & \quad \text{foba} \quad \text{sz-si} \quad \text{th-rä-thkäf-é} \\
\text{dog} = \text{PURP} & \quad \text{DIST.ABL} \quad \text{call.out-NMLZ} \\
2 & \quad 3 & \quad \text{SG} & \quad \text{B.J} & \quad \text{OBJ:IRR:PFV}/\text{start}
\end{align*}
\]

‘From there, I started calling out for the dogs.’

(tci20111119-03 ABB #63)

(18) watik wamnza gathanm biskar mni threthkäfé

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{watik} & \quad \text{wo-a-m-nz-a} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{ŋatha} = \text{nm} \quad \text{biskar mni} \\
1 & \quad \text{SG} & \quad \text{α-VC-sit.EXT-ND-PST} \quad \text{dog} = \text{DAT.NSG} \quad \text{cassawa fire} \\
1 & \quad \text{SG} & \quad \text{B.J/PST/IPFV}/\text{sit}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Then I sat and started to cook the cassava for the dogs.’

(tci20111119-03 ABB #73)

6.2.3 The past suffix \textit{-a}

The position of the past suffix \textit{-a} within the suffixing subsystem was described in § 5.5.1.1. The past suffix \textit{-a} is employed for two TAM categories: the past imperfective (19) and the past perfective (20). Example (19) is taken from a text on oral history of the Morehead district. The narrator talks about conflicts caused by an alleged sorcerer in the 1940’s. The second example (20) comes from much more recent event. A woman talks about camping at the Morehead river and going fishing only a week before the recording was made.

(19) watik gathagatha zokwasi fā ykonath.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{watik} & \quad \text{gathagatha} \quad \text{zokwasi} \quad \text{fā} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{bad} \quad \text{words} \quad \text{DIST} \quad \text{3SG.MASC.α-speak.EXT-DU-2}/\text{3NSG} \\
\]

‘Then, they cursed him there.’

(tci20131013-02 ABB #102)
(20) *zukorath* “mama, bā bana ketharuf! zuzi käzir!”

zu-∅-kor-a-th  mama  bā  bana
1SG.y-DU-speak.RS-PST-2|3NSG  mother  2SG  poor
2|3DU:SUBJ>1SG:OBJ:PST:PFV/speak
k-ā-tharuf-∅  zuzi  k-ā-zir-∅
M.β-VC.ND-enter.RS-2SG.IMP  fishing.line  M.β-VC.ND-throw.RS-2SG.IMP
2SG.SBJ:IMP:PFV/enter  2SG.SBJ:IMP:PFV/throw

‘They said to me: “Mama, get on (the canoe) and throw the fishing line!”’

(21) *wthzik zane yanrsirwrth*

wthzik zane  ṣ-a-n-rsir-wr-m-th
sole  DEM:PROX  M.α-VC-VENIT-burn.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ:RPST:DUR:VENIT/burn

‘These soles here of my feet were burning.’

(22) *grigri zā kwasogwrth.*

grigri zā  kw-a-sog-wr-m-th
maggot  PROX  M.β2-VC-ascend.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/ascend

‘The maggots were climbing up here.’

6.2.4 The durative suffix *-m*

The durative suffix *-m* was briefly addressed in §5.5.1.1 with regard to its position in the suffixing subsystem. It is employed for durative aspect which expresses an ongoing event in immediate past\(^2\), recent past (21), past (22) and irrealis (23). In example (21), the speaker reports on how he fought a bushfire in his garden the preceding day. Example (22) is taken from a story about rain-making magic which the narrator acquired and practiced in his youth. The irrealis example (23) is taken from a conversation about local customs surrounding the sister-exchange system.

\(^2\)The immediate past occurs with a low frequency in the text corpus and consequently, there is only a handful of examples in immediate past durative. Example (5) on page 276 is one of these.
6.2 The combinatorics of TAM

(23) fäms fihé **krakwine**th ... fäms fämsnzo ...

fäms fihé k-ra-kwí-n-m-th (. )
exchange.man when M.ř-IRR.VC-argue.EXT-DU-DUR-2|3NSG (. )
2|3DU:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/argue

fäms fäms=nzo (. )
exchange_man exchange_man=ONLY (. )

‘When exchange men are fighting ... exchange man (against) exchange man ...’

Part of the function of the durative suffix is to backshift the tense. If we remove the -m suffix from a verb inflected for recent past durative (21) or past durative (22), the resulting form would be non-past imperfective and recent past imperfective respectively. Figure 6.1 shows this with the verb *songsi* from example (22).

```
NPST.IPFV
ŋasogwr ‘S/he climbs.’ → NPST.IPFV-m = RPST.DUR
ŋasogwrm ‘S/he was climbing.’

RPST.IPFV
kwasogwr ‘S/he climbed.’ → RPST.IPFV-m = PST.DUR
kwasogwrm ‘S/he had been climbing.’
```

Figure 6.1 The backshifting function of the durative suffix -m

The durative suffix can also attach to an iterative inflection, in which case the iteration of the event is stretched over a longer duration as in (24) and (25). In (24), the speaker talks about the first fire which destroyed the world inhabited by humans. In (25), the speaker describes how the people used to avoid a particular place during the early and late hours of the day because it was inhabited by a story man.

(24) zfh mni nā kayé zwāsmth kidn.

zfh mni nā kayé zu-ā-s-m-th kidn
base fire some yesterday 3SG.FEM.β1-ND-call.RS-DUR-2|3NSG PROP.N
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG:OBJ:PST:ITER:DUR/call

‘They always used to call the eternal fire kidn.’

(tci20120909-06 KAB #55)
The durative suffix -m can be suffixed to perfective verbs in recent past, past and irrealis. In this case, the event is only backgrounded without encoding a longer duration. However, these inflections are so rare that, at least for recent past and past, they are not attested in the corpus. For the irrealis perfective with the durative suffix, there are a handful of examples. In (26)\(^3\), the speaker talks about an old procedure for punishment which involved striking the culprit with a yam tuber over the head.

(26) *nasime sräkwrmth ebaren “ah, miyatha käkor bā monwā zbrigwél”*

\[
\begin{align*}
nasi=&me & s-rä-kwr-m-th & ebar=&en & ah \\
long.yam=&INS & 3SG.MASC.&β-IRR.ND-hit.RS-DUR-2|3SG & head=&LOC & ah \\
miyatha & k-ä-kor-∅ & bā & mon-wā & knowledge & M.β-ND-become.RS-2SG.IMP & 2.ABS & how-EMPH \\
2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/become \\
z-brig-w-ē & 3SG.FEM.β-return.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP \\
2SG:SBJ>3SG:FEM:OBJ:IMP:PFV/return
\end{align*}
\]

‘They would hit him on the head with the long yam (and say) “Now you come up with a plan to pay this back!”’

---

\(^3\)I will show the backgrounded status of the perfective verb in the unified gloss line with BG as in the examples below. In the full gloss line, I will continue to use the durative label DUR.
Irrespective of perfectivity, the durative suffix on any irrealis inflection can have a far future interpretation. In examples (27) and (28), it is clear from the context that the event is set in the future and the -m on the verb indicates that the event is further in the future (as opposed to an irrealis without the -m suffix). In (27), the speaker showed me an old method of how to tie a bowstring. He then speculates as to if and when these old practices will vanish. Example (28) is taken from a conversation about yam cultivation during which the speaker complains about young people’s lack of interest in gardening.

(27)  

\[ \text{ni miyamr mä kwa kräbth mane ... mrnen kräbthmo frthé} \]

\begin{align*}
\text{ni} & \quad \text{miyamr} & \quad \text{mä} & \quad \text{kwa} & \quad \text{k-rä-bth-∅} & \quad \text{mane (.)} \\
1NSG & \quad \text{ignorance} & \quad \text{where} & \quad \text{FUT} & \quad \text{M.β-IRR.VC.ND-finish.RS-}2|3\text{SG which (.)} \\
& & & & 2|3\text{SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/finish} \\
\text{mrn-en} & \quad \text{k-rä-bth-m-o-∅} & \quad \text{frthé} \\
\text{clan-LOC} & \quad \text{M.β-IRR.VC.ND-finish.RS-DUR-ANDAT-SG when} \\
& & & & \text{SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV:BG:ANDAT/finish} \\
\end{align*}

‘We do not know where it will finish ... in which generation it will finish.’

(tci20130914-01 KAB #43-44)

(28)  

\[ \text{nzä miyamr thrma ra sranathrathm ... nagayé} \]

\begin{align*}
\text{nzä} & \quad \text{miyamr} & \quad \text{thrma} & \quad \text{ra} \\
1SG.ABS & \quad \text{ignorance} & \quad \text{later} & \quad \text{what} \\
\text{s-ra-na-thr-m-th} & \quad (.) & \quad \text{nagayé} \\
3SG.MASC.β-IRR-eat.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3\text{NSG (.) children} \\
2|3\text{PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV:BG/eat} \\
\end{align*}

‘I do not know what the children will eat later.’

(tci20120805-01 ABB #577)

If the durative suffix is attached to a verb in imperative mood, it encodes a delayed or future imperative (‘do X a little later!’).\(^4\) The future imperative is also a rare inflection and we have seen one text example in (5) on page 276. In example (29) below, the speaker describes how competitive yam harvesting took place in the old days. After harvesting and sorting, a piece of rattan was used to measure the size of the largest tubers. This measurement was then sent to the competitors as a sign of one’s superior harvesting skills.

\(^4\)I gloss the future imperative with \text{FUTIMP} in the unified gloss line.
(29) \textit{wati, yatr thärifthm nafanmedbo!}

\begin{verbatim}
wati yatr th-ä-rifth-m-∅ nafanme=dbo then rattan 2|3NSG.β-ND-send.RS-DUR-2SG.IMP 3NSG=ALL.SG 2SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:FUTIMP:PFV/send
\end{verbatim}

‘Then, you send the measure string to them!’

(30) \textit{bä znrä. zä gnamnzé kwot e nzä kränbrimé!}

\begin{verbatim}
bä  z=n-rä zä gn-a-m-nz-é
  2.ABS PROX=2SG.α-COP.ND PROX 2SG.β-VC-sit.EXT-ND-IMP
  PROX=2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be  2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/sit
kwot e nzä k-rä-n-brim-∅ properly until 1SG.ABS M.β-IRR.VC.ND-VENIT:return.RS-1SG
  1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/return
\end{verbatim}

‘Now you are here. You stay here until I return.’

\footnotesize{(tci20120805-01 ABB #402)}

\section{The imperative suffixes}

The formatives of the imperative actor suffix series were given in Table 5.8 on page 241, where I pointed out the syncretism with the first person indicative actor suffixes and the second person imperative suffixes as well as the fact that the second singular suffix differs between perfective and imperfective imperatives. I refer the reader to this section (§5.5.1.1) for further information.

Here I describe the morphology of imperatives for the prefixing template. Prefixing verbs as defined here encode their single participant in the prefix. We saw in Table 6.2 on page 274 that imperatives are formed with the β prefix series. For prefixing verbs, the formatives are \textit{gn-} (2SG.IMP) and \textit{th-} (2NSG.IMP). A further suffix is added to prefixing verbs only. Consider example (30)\textsuperscript{5} in which the speaker quotes himself talking to his wife. The imperative inflected verb is marked with an -é suffix which resembles the actor suffix of an ambifixing imperfective imperative (2SG.IMP) or of an ambifixing indicative of any aspect class (1SG). In the morphological context of prefixing imperatives, this -é does not encode a person value as can be seen in example (31) when the number of the addressee argument is plural. In other words, the -é suffix looks like a person/number suffix, but with prefixing verbs it is inert to those categories and it only encodes imperative mood.

\footnotesize{(tci20130823-06 STK #221)}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{5}The verb \textit{msaksi} ‘sit, dwell, stay’ is deponent and employs the valency changing prefix \textit{a-} without a change in the valency of the verb.
6.3 The TAM particles

The rich system of TAM categories in Komnzo can be further supplemented by a set of preverbal particles. These include the future *kwa*, the habitual *nomai*, the potential *kma*, the iamitive *z*, the apprehensive or prohibitive *m* and the imminent *n*. The latter two are related to the deictic proclitic *m=* and the immediate past *n=*. These particles integrate with the numerous TAM categories and there are only few limitations on the combinatorics.

6.3.1 The imminent particle *n*

The imminent particle *n* expresses the point in time just before the event takes place, usually without implying that it actually happened. This often gets translated by informants as ‘try to do X’ or ‘be about to do X’. Both interpretations are possible, the intentional and the imminent reading, and they are difficult to separate. In example (32), the speaker showed me how to weave a fish basket. He says that he will ‘try and fetch me when he is finished’ because he does not know whether or not it will be successful.

---

6I adopt the term *iamitive* from (Olsson, 2013), who has coined the term based on Latin *iam* ‘already’.

7Indeed, he never came and showed me the finished fish basket because I left the village before.
The imminent particle can occur with inflections of different TAM categories. The important part of its semantic contribution is twofold: (i) the point in time before the event and (ii) the fact that the action has not yet been carried out or – in most cases – is not or was not carried out. Example (33) is taken from a headhunting story in which two men are about to kill a young woman when they realize that the rest of their headhunting party has left already.

(33) *n zfrnmth di kam garsir “awkwot! ngemäku, kabe matak erä!”*

Later I will try and fetch you, when I have finished that big (basket).’

The term *ngemäku* is a form of address between two people where one has adopted the child of the other.
6.3 The TAM particles

6.3.2 The apprehensive particle $m$

I pointed out in §5.6.2 that among the deictic proclitics there is one with a limited distribution. The $m=$ proclitic can only attach to the copula, in which case it turns the clause into a question (‘where is X?’). See example (65) on page 269. The $m$ particle shows more syntactic flexibility as it can procliticize to the verb as $m=$, encliticize to the potential particle in the combination $kma=m$ or occur by itself. The latter is only attested through elicitation and there are no corpus examples of independent $m$. Nevertheless, it sits somewhere between a particle and a clitic.

The particle $m$ functions as an apprehensive. It is attested in the corpus with irrealis, imperatives as well as perfectives. Example (34) is from a story about a man who mocked a crowd of dancers by threatening them with a matchbox. They were afraid as they did not know about matches and lighters.

(34) krenafthth “srütüthe! sfafe! kidn mni mzärfusir ... frthe bramöwä įarsirwre.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>k-rä-naft-th</th>
<th>s-∅-ritüth-e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.β-IRR.VC.ND-say.RS-2</td>
<td>3NSG 3SG.MASC.β-DU-grab.RS-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3PL:SBJ:IRR.PFV/say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-∅-faf-e</td>
<td>kidn mni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.MASC.β-DU-hold.RS-2</td>
<td>3NSG.IMP PROP.N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU:SBJ&gt;3SG.MASC.OBJ:IMP:PFV/hold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m=z-ä-rfusir-∅</td>
<td>(,) frthe bramöwä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPR=M.γ-VC.ND-light.up.RS-2</td>
<td>3SG (,)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPR=2</td>
<td>3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/light.up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

9I will gloss $m$ as interrogative (where=) when it attaches to the copula. I will gloss it as apprehensive (APPR) in all other cases including the cases where $m$ and the potential particle $kma$ express a prohibitive.
Tense, Aspect and Mood

η-a-rsir-wr-e
M.α-VC-burn.EXT-ND-1NSG
1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/burn

‘They said: “Grab him! Hold him! He might ignite the kidn fire. (That is) when we will all burn.”’

(tc:20120909-06 KAB #82)

In these cases, the particle m seems to override the TAM value of the verb. In (34), the verb is in recent-past but lacks a recent-past reading. Likewise, I often heard the warning mkätr10 ‘(watch out) you might fall!’ where m is attached to an imperative inflection, but lacks an imperative reading. Naturally, if m occurs with an irrealis inflection, there is no such conflict. Example (35) below is taken from a story about a bushfire. The speaker explains how he set a small controlled fire in order to stop the wild bushfire from spreading.

(35) we ane nzefé zaföfé ... we mkrärit we fafā.

we ane nzefé z-a-föf-é (.)
also DEM 1SG.ERG.EMPH 3SG.FEM.γ-VC.ND-burn.down.RS-1SG (.)
also 1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/burn.down
m=k-rä-rit-∅
we fafā
APPR=M.β-IRR.VC.ND-pass.RS-2|3SG also after.that
APPR=2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/pass

‘I also burned down this (grass) ... (the fire) might cross over later.’

(tc:20120922-24 MAA #30-31)

If m occurs with an imperative inflected verb and the potential kma it functions as a prohibitive. Example (36) is from the very beginning of a hunting story. The speaker tells his son to be quiet during the recording, while I am setting up the microphone.

(36) zokwasi wźänzr ... daddyf. kمام kanafré!

zokwasi w-zä-nzr-∅ (.)
words 3SG.FEM.α-carry.EXT-ND-2|3SG father=ERG.SG
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/carry
daddy=f kma=m k-a-naf-r-é
POT=APPR M.β-VC-speak.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP
2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/speak

‘Daddy is recording the words. You must not talk!’

(tc:20130903-03 MKW #3-4)

---

10 mkätr
m=k-ä-tr-∅
APPR=M.β-VC.ND-fall.RS-2SG.IMP
In the prohibitive construction, the particle \( m \) is rather flexible. I can attach to the verb as a proclitic (37) or to the potential particle \( kma \) as an enclitic (36 and 38). What is important for the prohibitive reading is the co-occurrence of \( m \) and \( kma \) in the clause, not the fact that they are conjoined. Example (37)\(^{11}\) comes from a public speech at a dance in which the speaker tells the audience the rules for the night. Example (38) is taken from a text about food taboos.

\[ \text{(37)} \quad kma \text{ wärir bā mgnanyaké zena zbär zbo!} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kma wārī=ř bā m=gn-a-n-yak-ē} & \quad \text{zena} \\
\text{POT sex=PURP 2.ABS APPR=2SG.β-VC-VENIT-walk.EXT.ND-IMP today} & \quad \text{APPR=2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPPV/come} \\
\text{zbār zbo} & \\
\text{night PROX.ALL} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘You must not come here for sex tonight!’

(tci20121019-04 ABB #46)

\[ \text{(38)} \quad \text{be knam yazikarā kathafrakwē!} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{be kma=m ɣazi=karā k-a-thafrak-w-ē} & \\
\text{2SG.ERG POT=APPR coconut=PROP M.β-VC-mix.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP} & \\
\text{2SG:SBJ:IMP:EXT/mix} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘You must not mix it with coconut’

(tci20120922-26 DAK #12)

6.3.3 The potential particle \( kma \)

The potential particle \( kma \) can be employed with almost all TAM categories. We saw above in §6.3.2 that it encodes a prohibitive when it occurs together with imperatives and the apprehensive particle \( m \). This is the only construction in which \( kma \) and the imperative inflections occur together.

The potential particle \( kma \) is used to encode various types of speculation and counterfactuality with deontic or epistemic interpretation. Example (39) is taken from a public speech at a dance, where the guest side has brought too many people, and consequently the host side found it impossible to meet the needs of so many people. The speaker regrets that no proper arrangement has been made prior to the event. Thus, the clause ‘it should look good’ has a clear deontic reading.

\(^{11}\)The verb \( yak \) walk is deponent and employs the valency changing prefix a- without a change in the valency of the verb. It is only deponent when it employs the venitive marker meaning come, not when it is neutral or andative meaning walk, go away
(39) namā kma nimame zrarenzrm fof ... fthé namā yamme nūßifthakwurme.

namā kma nima=me z-ra-re-nzr-m fof
good POT like_this=INS 3SG.FEM.β-IRR.VC-look.EXT-ND-DUR EMPH
3SG.FEM:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/look

(.) fthé namā yamme=n=me
(.) when good custom=INS

n=w-fifthak-wr-m-e
IPST=3SG.FEM.α-put.down.straight.EXT-ND-DUR-1NSG
IPST=1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:DUR/put.down.straight

‘It would have looked good today, if we had straighten things out in a
good way.’

(tci20121019-04 ABB #79)

Example (40) is taken from an origin myth in which the speaker speculates that
one of the protagonists ‘must have had’ a shotgun, while his brother only had
bow and arrow. This is a clear epistemic use of kma.

(40) nafangth kma markai nabikarä sfärın.

nafa-ngth kma markai nabi=karä sf-rär-m
3.POSS-ySib POT outsider bow=PROP 3SG.MASC.β2-COP.ND-DUR
3SG.MASC:SBJ:IPST:DUR/be

‘His younger brother must have had a shotgun.’

(tci20131013-01 ABB #112)

6.3.4 The future particle kwa

Future is marked periphrastically in Komnzo with the particle kwa, which com-
bines either with non-past (41) or irrealis inflections (42).

(41) zena kwa natrikwé bun ... no kzima.

zena kwa n-a-trik-w-é bun no kzi=ma
today FUT 2SG.α-VC-tell.EXT-ND-1SG 2SG.DAT (. ) rain barktray=CHAR
1SG:SBJ>2SG:IO:NPST:IPFV/tell

‘Today, I will tell you about the rain-making barktray.’

(tci20110810-01 MAB #1)

---

12 This is the Kwafar myth which is widespread in the Morehead area. It involves two
brothers who - after fighting a malignent creature - are separated by a flood of water. The
younger brother ran to the South towards Australia. In recent versions of the myth, the younger
brother always holds a shotgun. This might be seen as an adaption of the story to the fact
that during the colonial era Australians brought modern equipment like shotguns.
6.3 The TAM particles

(42) *gb kwá thrarfikwr zba.*

gb kwa th-ra-rfik-wr zba
sprout FUT 2|3NSG.β-IRR-grow.EXT-ND PROX.ABL
2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/grow

‘The sprouts will grow from here.’

(tci20120805-01 ABB #35)

The future particle can also be used by itself meaning ‘wait’ as in example (43) where the name of a particular plant has slipped from the speaker’s mind.

(43) *kwa! yf kwot keke miyatha worá.*

kwa yf kwot keke miyatha wo-rá
FUT name properly NEG knowledge 1SG.ό-COP.ND
1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘Wait! I don’t quite know that name.’

(tci20130907-02 RNA #609)

When negated, the future particle *kwa* can express ‘not yet’ as in example (44) where speaker points out that he has not heard yet the name that will be given to a particular person at an upcoming namesake celebration.

(44) *ni miyamr mane zrarâ ane kar yf fof. keke kwa kar yf ná zamare fof.*

ni miyamr mane z-ra-râ ane kar yf fof
1NSG ignorance which 3SG.FEM.β-IRR-COP.ND DEM village name EMPH
3SG.FEM:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be
keke kwa kar yf ná z-a-mar-e fof
NEG FUT village name some 3SG.FEM.γ-ND-see-1NSG EMPH
1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/see

‘We do not know which local name it will be. We have not heard the name yet.’

(tci20110817-02 ABB #58-60)

Younger speakers of Komnzo are beginning to use the Wära equivalent *ka*, which lacks the labial part of the labio-velar onset.
6.3.5 The iamitive particle \( z \)

I adopt the term iamitive from Olsson’s comparative study of particles that express a perfect (2013). Reesink (2009: 184) uses the term “perspectival aspect”, which he adopts from (Dik, 1997). Olsson’s label is based on the Latin word *iam* ‘already’. Komnzo speakers often translated the iamitive particle \( z \) using the English word ‘already’, hence the gloss label ALR. An introductory example is given in (45). This is taken from a recording where two women took me on a plant walk. Example (45b) is the answer to the question in (45a).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(45) a. } & \text{zuyak z safas?} \\
& \text{zuyak } z \quad \text{s-a-fas-∅} \\
& \text{PROP.N ALR 3SG.MASC.γ-ND-show.RS-2|3SG} \\
& \quad 2|3SG:SBJ＞3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:PFV/show} \\
& \text{‘Have you shown him zuyak already?’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{z fof!} \\
& \text{z fof} \\
& \text{ALR EMPH} \\
& \text{‘Yes, (I have) already.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Example (45) shows that the function of the iamitive is to express the current relevance of some past event. Consequently, the particle may combine with verbs inflected for different TAM categories. Example (45) shows a verb in recent-past perfective. In (46)\(^\text{13}\), the iamitive particle is used with a past durative inflected verb. This combination is rarer, but well attested in the corpus. In the example, the speaker explains which clans settled at which locations. He points out that his clan had already been living in Masu for a while.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(46) } & \text{fi fobo thwannzrm nima ... ni masun z nzownzrm.} \\
& \text{fi fobo } \text{thu-a-m-nzw-m nima (.) ni} \\
& \text{3.ABS DIST.ALL 2|3NSG.β1-VC-sit.EXT-ND-DUR like.this (.) 1NSG} \\
& \quad 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/sit} \\
& \text{masu=n z nzu-a-m-nzw-m} \\
& \text{PLACE.N=LOC ALR 1NSG.β1-VC-sit.EXT-ND-DUR} \\
& \quad 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/sit} \\
& \text{‘They lived over there this way ... and we had already been living in Masu.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{13}\text{msaksi ‘sit, dwell’ is a deponent verb which employs the valency changing prefix a- without a change in the verb valency frame.}\)
The imitative particle can also be used with a non-past. This is often restricted to interrogatives as in (47) where the speaker asks a crowd of people whether they can hear him speaking.

(47) *zbär bā zagr=+wā e-a-m-nzr-o. z wanrizrth?*

zbär bā  zagr=wā  e-a-m-nzr-o  z
night  MED  far=EMPH  2|3NSG.α-VC-sit.EXT-ND-ANDAT/ALR
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/sit
w-a-n-riz-r-th
1SG.α-VC-VENIT-hear.EXT-ND-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:IO:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/hear

‘You are sitting too far away. Can you hear me?’

The imitative particle additionally expresses the completion of an event. Evidence for this come from different observations. First, it can express a the current relevance meaning. Second, the imitative particle never combines with verbs in iterative aspect, which express an ongoing repetition of some event in the past. Third, the imitative particle marks sequentiality of events in some narratives where the verb form which combines with it seems to be almost a prerequisite to the following verb. Example (48)\(^{14}\) is a description of a path. The speaker had taken the previous day. He describes the sequenced stages of his path to the location called *Tümgo*.

(48) *bā komnzo zwāzik ... kṣi karen z kwanyak e zbo zwänthor tümgo.*

bā  komnzo  zu-ā-zik  (.)  kṣi  kar=en  z
MED  only  1SG.γ-ND-turn.off.RS  (.)  bush  place=LOC/ALR
1SG:SBJ:NPST:PFV/turn.off
ku-a-n-yak  e  zbo  zu-ā-n-thor
1SG:β1-VC-walk.EXT.ND  until  PROX.ALL  1SG.γ-ND-VENIT-arrive.RS
tümgo=n
PLACE.N=LOC

‘It turned off (the path) there ... I walked in the bushy place until I arrived here in *Tümgo*.’

\(^{14}\)The verb yak walk is deponent and employs the valency changing prefix a- without a change in the valency of the verb. It is only deponent when it employs the venitive marker meaning come, not when it is neutral or andative meaning walk, go away
The iamitive particle *z* in Komnzo shares a number of semantic characteristics set out by Olsson in his comparative study (2013). The main two characteristics are “the notion of a new situation that holds after a transition” and “the consequences that this situation has at reference time for the participants in the speech event” (Olsson, 2013: 43). The former was described above as event completion, and the latter as current relevance. In fact, the iamitive particle is the main way to express event completion in Komnzo, because the perfective aspect does not explicitly set this boundary on an event.

There has been much discussion in the literature about paths of grammaticalization of perfects, for example in Bybee and Dahl (1989). In Komnzo, the iamitive particle *z* is formally closest to the proximal series of the deictic markers and one might speculate about these as a source of grammaticalization.

### 6.3.6 The habitual particle *nomai*

The habitual particle *nomai* typically combines with durative inflections. In example (49), the cockatoo always warns the protagonist of another man who comes and visits him.

(49) *krara ymd suwāgrm maf swatrikwrm nomai nima “oh, kabe yanyak.”*  
\[
\begin{align*}
    \text{krara} & \quad \text{ymd} \quad \text{su-wāgr-m} \quad \text{maf} \\
    \text{coockatoo} & \quad \text{bird} \quad 3\text{SG.MASC.β1-be.on.top.ND-DUR who.ERG} \\
    & \quad 3\text{SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be.on.top} \\
    \text{su-a-trik-wt-m-∅} & \quad \text{nomai} \quad \text{nima} \quad \text{oh kabe} \\
    \text{3SG.MASC.β1-VC-tell.EXT-ND-DUR-2|3SG HAB} & \quad \text{like.this oh man} \\
    \text{2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC.IO:PST:DUR/tell} & \quad \text{y-a-n-yak} \\
    \text{3SG.MASC.α-VENIT-walk.EXT.ND} & \quad \text{3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPFV:VENIT/walk} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The cockatoo bird was sitting on top (of the tree), and was telling him always: “Oh, a man is coming.”’

The habitual can also combine with verb forms inflected for other TAM categories, such as imperfectives (50). It only occasionally occurs with perfectives as in (51) where the event is negated. In both examples, *nomai* expresses an extended amount of time, instead of a repeated habit.
6.4 Some remarks on the semantics of TAM

Following from our description of the morphology and combinatorics of TAM in Komnzo, I want to sketch out a coherent picture of the semantics of these categories and their extended uses. Although tense, aspect and mood are intertwined, I will discuss them separately in the following sections.

6.4.1 Tense

We saw that Komnzo has 3-4 morphological tenses depending on the analysis: the non-past, the recent past and the past. The immediate past is expressed by a clitic and builds on a verb form inflected for non-past. Future reference is expressed periphrastically with particle kwa.

The temporal reference of the immediate past and the recent past overlaps. The immediate past is used for events that took place a short while prior to speaking and it may be used to put extra emphasis on that fact. The recent past covers the same period of time, but it reaches further back, usually to the preceding day. Example (52) is taken from a hunting story, at the end of which the speaker returns home to find one of his dogs. He tells his wife that this is the dog, which had disturbed him at the outset of the trip when he was about to cross the Morehead river. He had pushed the dog into the water, whereupon the poor dog ran back to the house. The whole episode in (52) is set in the same time frame with respect to the moment of speech. Only the ‘pushing in the water’ is expressed in immediate past, while the other two verb forms are in recent past.15

15The speaker uses the nz= formative of the immediate past clitic. As pointed out in §6.3.1, this formative is a borrowing from Wära. The Komnzo formative is n=.

(50) yamnza yamnza ... nomai ... ysokwr tüfr.

2x[y-a-m-nz-a] (. ) nomai (. ) ysokwr tüfr
2x[3SG.α-VC-sit.EXT-ND-PST] (. ) HAB (. ) year plenty
2x[3SG.masc:SBJ:PST:PFV/sit]

‘He stayed and stayed there for many years.’

(tci20120904-01 MAB #13)

(51) keke nomai zämsath.

keke nomai z-ä-ms-a-th
NEG HAB M.Y-VC.ND-sit.EXT-PST-2|3NSG
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/sit

‘They did not stay (there) for long.’

(tci20131013-02 ABB #87)
The bidirectional time adverbials discussed in §3.1.7 help to identify the appropriate time frames for each tense value. The term kayé expresses a moment in time, which is removed by one day from the present time. Thus, kayé can mean ‘yesterday’ or ‘tomorrow’ and it is appropriate to use the recent past for that part of the timespan that is in the past. Events further back in time have to be expressed by the past tense. Likewise, one cannot use a recent past with the time adverbial nama which indicates a point in time that is removed two days from the present time (‘day before yesterday’ or ‘day after tomorrow’). In short, the recent past reaches back one day, whereas the past tense covers everything before yesterday irrespective whether it happened a week ago or in ancestral time. Example (53) shows the use of kayé and the recent past. Example (54) shows the use of nama and the past tense.16

(52) nzefe nima “ane þatha bā nzwalofikwr ... watik anema nzibrüzé bobo ... watik une wtrime fi þatha zanmath”

nzefe nima ane þatha bā
1SG.ERG.EMPH like_this DEM dog MED

nzu-a-thofik-wr-∅ (. ) watik ane=ma
1SG.B1-VC-disturb.EXT-ND-2|3SG (. ) then DEM=CHAR
2|3SG:SUBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:IPPFV/disturb

nz=y-brüz-∅-é bobo (. ) watik ane
IPST=3SG.MASC.α-submerge.EXT-ND-1SG MED.ALL (. ) then DEM
IPST=1SG:SUBJ>2|3SG.MASC:OBJ:RPST:IPPFV/submerge

wtri=me fi þatha z-a-n-math-∅
fear=INS 3.ABS dog M.γ-VENIT-run.RS-2|3SG
2|3SG:SUBJ:RPST:IPPFV:VENIT/run

‘I said: “That dog disturbed me there and therefore I pushed him into the water. Well, full of fear he ran back here.”’

(tci20130903-03 MKW #188)

(53) kayé nzä boba zenfaré ... kanathr

kayé nzä boba z-ä-n-far-é (. )
yesterday 1SG.ABS MED.ABL M.γ-VC.ND-VENIT-set.off.EXT-1SG (. )
1SG:SUBJ:RPST:IPPFV:VENIT/set.off

kanathr
PLACE.N

‘Yesterday, I set off from there towards here ... to Kanathr.’

(tci20120922-24 MAA #1)

16Nama can also be used metaphorically to mean ‘recently’.
Some remarks on the semantics of TAM

(54)  
\[\text{zane nane dayr zbo nama mane wänyaka ...}\]
\[\text{zane nane dayr zbo nama mane}\]
\[\text{DEM:PROX elder.sibling PERS.N PROX.ALL two.days.ago which}\]
\[\text{w-a-n-yak-a} (.)\]
\[3SG.FEM.\(\alpha\)-VC-VENIT-go.EXT.ND-PST (. )\]
\[3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/go\]

‘The older sister Dayr who came here two days ago ...’

Tense values can be used with a pragmatic motivation. It is quite common to foreground events in a narrative by putting them into non-past, even though the story is set in the recent past or the past. Example (55) comes from a story that took place in the speaker’s youth. In the example clauses, he describes walking with a friend during night time. The two boys rested along the way and smoked tobacco. Although the story is set in the past, only the first and the last verbs in (55) are inflected in the past tense (‘walk’ in both cases). The ‘sitting down’ and the ‘setting off’ are inflected in irrealis, thus tenseless. The rolling of the cigarettes and the smoking thereof is told in non-past which moves this part in the foreground.

(55)  
\[\text{nyana ttfö bä rä ... bäne ... sazäthi fä kramse sukufa eknne änane bobakrafare ... zbär nzfyanm.}\]
\[\text{n-yan-a ttfö bä rä} (.)\]
\[1NSG.\(\alpha\)-walk.EXT.DU-PST creek MED 3SG.FEM.COP.ND (. )\]
\[1DU:SBJ:PST:IPFV/walk 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be\]
\[bäne (.) sazäthi fä k-ra-ms-e sukufa\]
\[\text{RECOG (.) PLACE.N DIST MED.}\(\beta\)-IRR.VC.DU-sit.RS-1NSG tobacco\]
\[1DU:SBJ:IRR:PFV/sit\]
\[\text{e-kn-n-e e-a-na-n-e}\]
\[2|3NSG.\(\alpha\)-roll.EXT-DU-1NSG 2|3NSG.\(\alpha\)-VC-eat.EXT-DU-1NSG\]
\[\text{boba k-ra-far-e} (.) zbär\]
\[\text{MED.ABL MED.}\(\alpha\)-IRR.VC.DU-set.off.RS-1NSG (. ) night}\]
\[1DU:SBJ:IRR:PFV/set.off\]
\[\text{nzf-yan-m}\]
\[1NSG.\(\beta\)2-walk.EXT.DU-DUR\]
\[1DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/walk\]

‘We walked. There is a creek there (called) Sazäthi. We sat down there, rolled the cigarettes and smoked. We set off from there. We were walking in the night.’
Future reference can be expressed by irrealis or non-past inflections combined with the future particle *kwa*. The main difference between the two strategies seems to lie in the anticipated degree of certainty: the non-past inflection is usually used when the speaker is more certain that the event is going to take place.

### 6.4.2 Aspect

I have labelled the principal aspectual distinction in Komnzo imperfective versus perfective. Durative aspect is understood as a subtype of the imperfective and we could label these two as ‘basic imperfective’ and ‘durative imperfective’. I use the traditional labels imperfective and perfective, but I want to spell out the particular flavour that Komnzo gives to them.

The traditional definition of perfectivity often takes the completion of an event as a starting point (Frawley, 1992: 296) or suggests that “perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole” (Comrie, 1976: 16). In Komnzo, completion does not really play a role in the semantics of the perfective-imperfective distinction. The boundary set up by the perfective seems to concentrate more on the left edge – on the beginning of the event. Similar systems are found elsewhere in the Southern New Guinea region, for example in Marind (Drabbe, 1955: 41), Nama (Siegel, 2014) and Nen (Evans, 2015b). In Komnzo, the main mechanism for expressing event completion – to set up a right edge event boundary – is the iamitive particle, which can occur with verb forms in perfective, imperfective and durative aspect (§6.3.5). It follows that imperfectivity does not entail that the event is open-ended. Example (56) is taken from a head hunting story. The quantifier *bramöwä* ‘all’ signals that the attack was full-scale and all inhabitants were killed, but the verb form in (56) is in the imperfective.

(56) **watik ebar kabe ane fof thāthorā fof ... bramöwä ane fof efnzath**

| watik ebar kabe ane fof thā-thor-a fof (.) |
| then head man DEM EMPH 2|3NSG.γ-ND-arrive.RS-PST EMPH (.) |
| 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/arrive |
| bramöwä ane fof e-fn-nz-a-th |
| all DEM EMPH 2|3NSG.α-hit.EXT-ND-PST-2|3NSG |
| 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV/hit |

‘Then, the head hunter arrived. They killed all of them.’

Likewise, perfectives do not entail that an event is finished, but rather that it has started or that its duration was of a punctual quality. The latter is shown in the first verb ‘arrive’ of the above example (56). The former is shown in example
(57) below, which is taken from a story about a malignant being. At the end of
the story that being tries to escape by entering a bird, but the villagers are quick
to shoot down the bird. The entering event in (57) is expressed in the perfective,
but the imminent particle \( n \) shows that the event has not started yet. Hence,
completion of the entering event is not entailed, but excluded. Thus, a literal
translation of \( n \text{ záthba} \) would be: ‘s/he was about to start to enter’.

(57) \( \text{brbrnzo fof } n \text{ záthba bafen ... ymden fof.} \)

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{brbr=nzo} & \text{fof } n \text{ z-á-thb-a-∅} \\
\text{spirit=ONLY EMPH IMN MED.Y-ND-enter.RS-PST-2|3SG RECOG=LOC} \\
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/enter \\
(.) & \text{ymd=en fof} \\
( . ) & \text{bird=LOC EMPH}
\end{array} \]

‘Only the spirit was about to go inside that one ... inside the bird.’

Aspect in Komnzo seems to concentrate more on a punctual/inceptive versus
ongoing/stretch-out distinction. I adopt the traditional labels perfective for
the former and imperfective for the latter. The degree to which an event is
‘stretched-out’ would then decide whether the speaker chooses the imperfective
or durative aspect. The basic binary distinction is clearest in the imperative
forms. The imperfective imperatives often encode an ongoing action and, de-
pending on context, they can be translated as ‘keep on X-ing’ or ‘do X for some
time’. Perfective imperatives, on the other hand, express inception ‘start X-ing’
or punctuality ‘do X once/quickly’. In example (58), the speaker has just pro-
duced a toy bullroarer from a coconut leaf and shows me how to hold it properly.
In (58a), she tells me not to hit something while swinging, and the imperative of
‘hit’ is in the perfective.\(^{17}\) In (58b), she is already swinging the bullroarer telling
me to hold it away from the body. Consequently, all the imperative verb forms
(‘hold’, ‘blow’, and ‘swing’) are in the imperfective.

(58) a. \( \text{fthé sakwr gwonyamen o festhen o wámnen ... keke kwa srnor} \)

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{fthé } & \text{s-a-kwr-∅} \\
\text{gwonyame=n o festh=en} \\
\text{when 3SG.MASC.α-ND-hit.RS-2SG.IMP clothes=LOC or body=LOC} \\
1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PFV/hit \\
o & \text{wámnne=n keke kwa s-ra-nor} \\
or \text{tree=LOC ( . ) NEG FUT} \\
\text{3SG.MASC.β-IRR.VC-shout.EXT} \\
3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/shout
\end{array} \]

‘If you hit it on clothes, body or a tree, it will not make a sound.’

\(^{17}\)This is a conditional construction which frequently employs imperative inflections together
with \( \text{fthé} \) ‘when/if’. See §6.4.3.
b. zagrwä nima sfathwé byé nima sfsgwé ... smitwanzę ... fi kwa yano.

zagr=wä nima s-fath-w-é
far=EMPH like.this 3SG.MASC.β-hold.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP
2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPVF/hold
b=yé nima
MED=3SG.MASC:COP.ND like.this
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPVF/be
s-fsg-w-é (.)
3SG.MASC.β-blow.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP (.)
2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPVF/blow
s-mitwa-nz-é (. ) fi kwa
3SG.MASC.β-swing.EXT-ND-2SG.IMP (. ) 3.ABS FUT
2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPVF/swing
y-a-nor
3SG.MASC.α-VC-shout.EXT.ND
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPVF/shout

‘You have to hold it away like this and blow and swing it like this ... (then) it will make a sound.’

A number of authors have used a scale-based approach to model certain operators which change the structure of predicates (Kennedy and McNally 2005 and Kubota 2010). Such an approach is compatible with the TAM system of Komnzo, once we accept that the imperfective versus perfective distinction highlights different parts of event by manipulating the temporal scale. Applied to the Komnzo TAM system, such a model portrays perfectives as a means to (i) set an explicit initial boundary and to (ii) limit the temporal scale of the event. (Basic) imperfectives leave this initial boundary implicit, but highlight that the event was carried out for some time – a little further along the scale. The durative (imperfective) increases the temporal scale of the event. As shown above, none of these (morphological) aspectual categories sets an explicit boundary at the right edge of the event. The function of event completion is reserved for the iamitive particle. I will leave the theoretical modelling of the semantics of the Komnzo TAM system for future research.

The theoretical discussion of aspect has often focussed on the distinction between viewpoint aspect and situation aspect.\textsuperscript{18} Despite all terminological confusion, the former is often called ASPECT, and it is employed for “different ways of viewing the internal constituency of a situation” (Comrie, 1976: 3). Situation aspect on the other has often been called AKTIONSART, and it is associated with

\textsuperscript{18}See (Sasse, 2002) for a formidable overview of the research on aspect.
the internal structure of the event. Thus, situation aspect is something objective about the nature of the event, whereas viewpoint aspect is subjectively manipulated by the speakers, or as Smith puts it: “the categories of viewpoint aspect are overt, whereas situation aspect is expressed in covert categories” (1997: 5). We have seen that this does not apply to Komnzo. Aspectual categories, although highly grammaticalized, are based on the situation type rather than on viewpoint, i.e. they are about inception/punctuality, iteration and duration rather than completion. The fact, that aspect is highly grammaticalized means that the categories are accessible to virtually all verbs. I showed in §5.3 that the two root types (RS and EXT root) are attested for almost all stems. This supports the argument that the notion of an objective internal event structure, which is fed into the inflectional system, plays little role in Komnzo.

As we have seen in the discussion of verbal morphology, a central part of the inflectional system are the two root types. The labels EXT and RS refer of course to ‘extended in time’ and ‘restricted in time’ respectively. All perfectives are built from the RS root and all imperfectives are built from the EXT root. However, a relabelling of the RS root as ‘perfective root’ and the EXT root as ‘imperfective root’ would be misleading. For example, the RS root is employed for iterative aspect, which is by definition not bounded in time. This contradiction can be resolved by assuming a more transparent contribution of the morphological mechanisms which participate in the iterative inflection. As shown in §6.2 (Table 6.1), the iterative builds on the RS root, but it employs the β1 or β2 prefix series, which otherwise only occur with the EXT root to build imperfectives and duratives. In other words, the iterative aspect limits the event structure by root selection and simultaneously spreads out the event structure by the selection of the prefix series. This is an interesting scenario, which calls for further comparative research within the Yam languages to shed light on the grammaticalization of iterative aspect.

6.4.3 Mood

There are three modal categories in Komnzo: indicative, imperative and irrealis, further nuances can be expressed with the help of particles, especially the potential kma, the imminent n and apprehensive m (§6.3). Here, I will only describe some of the ways in which two of the three basic categories – the imperative and the irrealis – deviate from their conventional definitions.

Imperatives can be used in a number of ways that fall outside the definition of ‘giving an order’. In example (59), the speaker showed me the leaves of a pandanus plant pointing out that I can use the leaves to sleep on. The imperative form gnyaké ‘you go’ is thus not a command ‘go without a mat’, but more like a conditional ‘if you go without a mat’. The conditional interpretation also
comes from the word *fthé* which means ‘when’ or ‘at the time when’. This type of conditional construction is an extended use of the imperative inflection. Most imperatives are used as commands, and there are conditional constructions without imperative inflections.

(59) \[ \text{yamemère } fthé \ gnyaké \ldots \text{ etfthar} \]

| yame=märe fthé gn-yak-é | (. ) etfth=r |
| mat=PRIV when 2|3SG.β-walk.EXT.ND-IMP (. ) sleep=PURP |
| 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/walk |

‘When you without a mat, (this is) for sleeping.’

As we have seen in §6.2.2, the irrealis is marked by the prefix *ra-*. There is no realis marker, but the absence of *ra-* indicates realis inflection. Beyond counterfactuality and futurity, irrealis mood has a number of semantic extensions in Komnzo. Cross-linguistically irrealis mood is employed for a wide range of functiones which has led some authors to challenge its validity as a comparative category (Bybee et al., 1994). Others have suggested a prototype approach to irrealis mood, for example Givon (1994: 327). I will adopt the latter here. Example (60) and (61) show the irrealis mood in its more central functions, counterfactuality and futurity respectively. Example (60) is taken from a headhunting story which involved the speaker’s father.\(^{19}\) Example (61) is taken from a procedural in which the speaker shows me how to make a toy from a coconut leaf.

(60) \[ \text{fi } fthé \ niyamnzrm nafäsü kwa thräkwirth} \]

| fi fthé n=y-a-m-nzf-m nafäs=sü |
| 3.ABS when IPST=3SG.MASC.α-VC-sit.EXT-ND-DUR 3ASSOC.PL=ETC |
| IPST=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:DUR/sit |
| kwa th-rä-kwr-th |
| FUT 2|3SG.β-IRR.ND-hit.RS-2|3NSG |
| 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/hit |

‘If he had stayed, they would have killed him with all the others.’

\(^{19}\)The example also shows the ‘relative use’ of the immediate past. Although the events in the story happened a long time ago, the speaker uses the immediate past (*niyamnzrm* ‘He was staying just before’) to emphasize that the headhunt took place just after his father had left the village.
6.4 Some remarks on the semantics of TAM

(61) *katan kwa sräfiyothé ... kafar minzü yé*

katan kwa s-rä-fiyoth-é (. ) kafar minzü
small FUT 3SG.MASC.β-VC.ND-make.RS-1SG (. ) big very
1SG:SBJ>3SG:OBJ:IRR:PFV/make

yé
3SG.MASC.COP.ND
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘I will make it smaller. This is too big.’

(tci20120914 RNA #41)

Irrealis inflected verbs can be used for habituals. This use, especially with past habituals, has been noticed in a cross-linguistic study by Cristofaro (2004). Example (62) comes from a procedural about poison-root fishing, which is a common activity during the dry season when the water recedes. The speaker talks about the preparations and the process of poison-root fishing, while his family is busy fishing in the background. All verb forms are in irrealis mood.

(62) *thranäbünzrth ... sam ane mane erä threthkäfth ... zranrswrth fof no zrærärth ... thranor “si rore rore rore!!”*

th-ra-näbü-nzr-th (. ) sam ane mane
2|3NSG.β-IRR-smash.EXT-ND-2|3NSG (. ) liquid DEM which
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/slash

e-rä th-ra-thkäf-th (. )
2|3NSG.α-COP.ND 2|3NSG.β-IRR.ND-start.RS-2|3NSG (. )

z-ra-n-irf-wt-th fof no
3SG.FEM.β-IRR-VENIT-squeeze.EXT-ND-2|3NSG EMPH water
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/squeeze

z-rä-rä-r-th (. )
3SG.FEM.β-IRR.VC-do.EXT-ND-2|3NSG (. )

th-ra-nor si _rore _rore _rore
2|3NSG.β-IRR-shout.EXT.ND INTERJECTION

‘They would smash (the sticks). As for the liquids that start coming, they squeeze them and mix them properly with the water ... and they would shout out: “Si rore rore rore!!”’

(tci20110813-09 DAK #22-23)

Irrealis mood is frequently used in narratives which report factual truths. Foley (2000: 389) points out that Papuan languages often employ the realis-irrealis distinction for pragmatic purposes. In Komnzo, the pragmatic use comes
from the alternation between irrealis and realis inflections especially in event sequencing. In this pattern, the irrealis is used for backgrounding. Example (63) is taken from a hunting story that occurred many years ago. The story is told from a first-person perspective, thus, there is no reason to question the factual truth of what is being told. The clauses in (63) describe a sequence of events: fall asleep > be sleeping > wake up. Only the foregrounded clause (‘sleep’) is expressed in realis (past durative), whereas the backgrounded clauses (‘fall asleep’ and ‘wake up’) are expressed in irrealis (perfective). In that sense, the irrealis verb forms act as a backgrounding bracket around the foregrounded clause.\footnote{Note that example (55) on page 300 employs the same bracket-like use of the irrealis inflected verb forms. The only difference is that in (55), the foregrounded event is in the non-past, whereas in (63) above the foregrounded event is in past durative.}

\begin{verbatim}
(63) krämnzeré efoth etfth kwofrugrm e zizi ... krebnafé

k-rä-mnzer-é efoth etfth kwof-rugr-m
M.β-IRR.VC.ND-fall.asleep.RS-1SG sun sleep 1SG.β2-sleep.EXT.ND-DUR
1SG:SB:IRR:PFV/fall.asleep 1SG:SB:PST:DUR/sleep
e zizi (.) k-rä-bnaf-é
until afternoon (.) M.β-IRR.VC.ND-wake.up.RS-1SG
1SG:SB:IRR:PFV/wake.up

‘I fell asleep (for) a daytime nap. I was sleeping until the late afternoon ...
Then, I woke up.’
\end{verbatim}

The interaction of TAM categories with information structure was described by Hopper (1979). Hartzler describes a similar function of the irrealis mood in Sentani (1983). I defer the discussion of this topic to §10.5, where a detailed analysis is offered drawing on a longer text segment.
Chapter 7

Syntax of the noun phrase

7.1 Introduction

The noun phrase in Komnzo is defined as a group of nominals which jointly fulfill a functional role in the clause. Noun phrases may also contain a single nominal. The case markers which assign the specific functional role attach to the right-most element of the noun phrase. Noun phrases in Komnzo cannot be scrambled. Therefore, case enclitics and the emphatic particle fof – if present – can be used to identify the right edge of a noun phrase. Typically one intonation contour covers a single noun phrase, although these may be broken up by pauses if the noun phrase contains embedded noun phrases.

Each noun phrase has a single head, which can be a noun (§3.1.2), property noun (§3.1.3), personal pronoun (§3.1.8), the indefinite pronoun (§3.1.10), the recognitional demonstrative (§3.1.11.6) or an interrogative (§3.1.9). The head of a noun phrase can be omitted, leaving only a demonstrative, adjective, quantifier or locational. This is possible only if the head of the noun phrase can be recovered from context. Noun phrases can be wholly omitted from the clause. In this case, only the indexation of core arguments in the verb provides information about the state-of-affairs. Consequently, inflected verbs can and often do stand as a clause.

This chapter begins with an overview of the structure of the noun phrase in §7.2. I describe the slots of a noun phrase and their respective fillers in §7.3 - §7.5. The chapter closes with a description of the inclusory construction in §7.6. In this construction two or more noun phrases constitute a functional unit without forming a matrix noun phrase.
7.2 The structure of the noun phrase

Noun phrases are structured by a proto-typical order of functional slots. Each functional slot may be filled by particular elements. The proto-typical order of slots and their respective fillers is shown in Figure 7.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(DETERMINER)</th>
<th>(MODIFIER-1)</th>
<th>(HEAD)</th>
<th>(MODIFIER-2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>numeral</td>
<td>PERS pronoun</td>
<td>DETERMINER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td>adjectives</td>
<td>INDF pronoun</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td>quantifier</td>
<td>RECOG pronoun</td>
<td>locational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS pronoun</td>
<td>property noun</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAR NP</td>
<td></td>
<td>property noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAR NP</td>
<td></td>
<td>nominalised verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a The noun phrase must be marked with adnominal case: POSS NP, TEMP.POSS NP or CHAR NP.
b These word classes constitute a whole noun phrase and, thus, are rarely modified.
c Elements in the DETERMINER slots can be postposed, if there is no case marker present.
d Locationals always occur in this slot (§3.1.6), a few adjectives are limited to this slot (§3.1.4).

Figure 7.1 The structure of the noun phrase

I define the HEAD slot as a semantic head filled by an element which refers to the same entity as the whole phrase. This element is also the syntactic head, in that it shows agreement with the indexation in the verb form. However, this is only applicable if the noun phrase has a core argument function. The HEAD slot can be complex, for example when it is filled with a compound. All other slots serve to limit the set of possible referents in the head. For this reason, proper nouns like personal or place names are rarely modified, and expressions like *ane Naimr* ‘that Naimr’ are only found if there are several individuals with that name and the speaker wishes to clarify which one is meant. Personal pronouns are never modified in that way.\(^1\)

The DETERMINER slot is separated from the MODIFIER-1 slot for two reasons. First, the elements in this slot are mutually exclusive. Hence, a noun phrase can contain either a possessive or a demonstrative in the DETERMINER slot, but not both. This contrasts with the elements in the MODIFIER-1 slot, of which there

\(^1\) Two exceptions are the postposed adjectives *bana* ‘hapless, poor, pityful’, which expresses a sympathetic emotion of the speaker towards the referent, and the postposed adjective *kwark* ‘deceased’. Both frequently occur with proper nouns (e.g. personal names) as well as personal pronouns.
can be multiple in the same noun phrase. Second, as we will see below, if the noun phrase is not case marked, the elements in the DETERMINER slot can be postposed. If there is a case marker postposing the determiner is a rare exception. Such a restriction does not apply to elements in the MODIFIER-1 slot.

There are two modifier slots, because some word classes, for example locationals, can only occur in the MODIFIER-2 slot and not in the MODIFIER-1 slot. Otherwise, almost all elements which are possible in the MODIFIER-1 slot are also possible in the MODIFIER-2 slot.

Property nouns escape a clear assignment to the MODIFIER-1 slot, because they can optionally take the adjectivalizer suffix -thé. In this case, they are derived adjectives in the MODIFIER-1 slot, but derived adjectives show differences in their syntactic behaviour compared to non-derived adjectives. Without the adjectivalizer, property nouns can be a modifier element of a nominal compound. This will be discussed below in §7.5.2.

7.3 The DETERMINER slot

The DETERMINER can be filled with demonstratives (1), interrogatives (2), possessive pronouns (3) and whole noun phrases inflected for one of the adnominal cases. These include the possessive (4), temporal possessive (5) and characteristic case (6). In the following examples, noun phrases are marked by rectangled parentheses.

(1) *fi keke zä wrugr [zane gwthen]*.
  fi keke zä wrugr/ zane gwth=en 3.ABS NEG PROX 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sleep DEM:PROX nest=LOC
  ‘She does not sleep in this nest here.’

(2) *wayti erä o [ra yawi] erä?*
  wayti e\rä/ o ra yawi watermelon 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be or what round thing e\rä/
  2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
  ‘These are watermelons or what fruits are these?’
These different fillers cannot co-occur. Consider example (7) which is taken from a nzürna trikasi, a local equivalent to European witch stories. The example contains the complex noun phrase nā karma kabe, in which the indefinite nā ‘some, another’ and kar=ma ‘from the village’ are both candidates for the DETERMINER slot. However, the indefinite does not refer to kabe ‘man’, but to kar ‘village’. In other words, the indefinite fills the DETERMINER slot of the embedded noun phrase, and the embedded noun phrase fills the DETERMINER slot of the matrix noun phrase. This is shown with rectangled brackets in the example. Note that (4) shows the same structure. The MODIFIER-1 slot is not affected by embedding.
(7) **[nā karma] kabe** mane yanatha ... mogarkamma

nā kar=ma kabe mane
INDF village=CHAR man which
ya\na/tha (.) mogarkam=ma
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/eat (.) PLACE.N=CHAR

‘The man from another village which she ate ... from Mogarkam.’

The determiner can appear in postposed position, which I analyse as non-
prototypical order. The rest of this section describes this postposed position of
the determiner. Example (8) is taken from the same story as the previous example.
The noun phrase tüfr yam nā ‘many other things’ contains the quantifier tüfr in
the MODIFIER-1 slot, the noun yam ‘event’ in the HEAD slot, and the indefinite nā
in postposed position. This noun phrase can be arranged in different orders, for
example: nā tüfr yam, nā yam tüfr. However, the DETERMINER and MODIFIER-
1 slots cannot be exchanged. This order of elements, for example tüfr nā yam
would be split into two co-referential noun phrases, which is signalled by a break
in the intonation contour and case marking one both noun phrases. Case markers
would attach to tüfr as well as nā yam.

(8) **[tüfr yam nā]** fefe thwafiyokwrm ... fi fathfa ane fof wäfiyokwa.

tüfr yam nā fefe thwa\fiyok/wrm (.) fi plenty event INDF really SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/make (.) but fath=fa ane fof wä\fiyok/wa
clear_place=ABL DEM EMPH SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/make

‘She really did many other things ... but she did this in public.’

We saw in (7) that the determiner refers to the head of the embedded noun
phrase and not to the head of the matrix noun phrase. In such cases, the embed-
ded noun phrase ‘blocks’ the DETERMINER slot, and postposing a determiner is
the only option for it to refer to the head of the matrix noun phrase. This is shown
in (9), where the postposed indefinite nā refers to the head of the matrix noun
phrase. The embedded noun phrase safsma is marked with the characteristic
case in adnominal function. It specifies the head of matrix noun phrase: saf-
sma kabe ‘man from Safs’. Note that the same could be expressed by a nominal
compound safs kabe ‘Safs man’. The syntactic difference between an embedded
noun phrase marked with the characteristic case and a nominal compound lies in
the reference of the determiner: ane safs kabe ‘that Safs man’ versus ane safsma
kabe ‘man from that Safs’ (i.e. not from some other place called Safs). It follows
that the two elements in (9) restrict the reference of the head simultaneously: the embedded noun phrase safma and the postposed determiner nā. A postposed determiner usually occurs only, if the noun phrase is not flagged with a case marker. But there are exceptions to this. See (13) discussed below.

(9) \[ [\text{safsm}a\text{ woga nā}] \text{ fobo swamnzm } ... \text{ gfi yf} \]
\[
safs=ma \quad \text{woga nā} \quad \text{fobo} \quad \text{swa\textbackslash m/nzm} \\
\textit{PLACE.N=CHAR \text{ man} \text{ INDF DIST.ALL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell}} \\
(\quad) \text{gfi} \quad \text{yf} \\
(\quad) \text{PROP.N name} \\
\]

‘Another man from Safs lived there ... by the name of Géfi.’

(10b) \[ [\text{nze}nme \text{ mayawa} \text{m}] \text{ kabe nā}] \text{ fā thāgathizath.} \]
\[
\text{nze}nme \quad \text{mayawa}=\text{ma} \quad \text{kabe nā} \quad \text{fā} \\
\textit{INSG.POSS \text{ PROP.N=CHAR \text{ man} \text{ INDF DIST}} thāgathizath} \\
2|3\text{PL:SBJ}>2|3\text{PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/leave} \\
\]

‘They left some of our Mayawa people there.’

Although very rare, both DETMINER slots – that of the embedded noun phrase and that of the matrix noun phrase – can be filled. In (10), the first non-singular possessive nzenme refers to mayawa, the head of the embedded noun phrase, and indefinite determiner nā refers to kabe, the head of the matrix noun phrase.

It follows from the discussion above that two determiners must belong to different noun phrases, if they occur next to each other, like zane and nā in example (11). In this example, I analyse zane as a noun phrase with an omitted head.

(11) \[ [\text{zane}] [nā \text{ yawi}] \text{ yé.} \]
\[
zane \quad nā \quad \text{yawi} \quad \text{yé} \\
\textit{DEM:PROX \text{ INDF round _ object 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be}} \\
\]

‘This is another fruit.’

The elements in the DETMINER slot cannot be inflected for the full range of cases. For example, demonstratives cannot be inflected for ergative, dative, possessive and the three spatial cases. In (12), the indefinite nā is interpreted as referring to object argument, not the ergative marked argument.
However, elicitation has shown that even this is possible, but such a structure is marked and very rare. A textual example is shown in (13), where *ane* refers to the preceding noun, which is flagged with an ergative. Note that in this example, *ane* is followed by the emphatic particle *fof*, which has always scope over the preceding phrase (§3.4.2). Thus, *fof* may ‘help’ to mark the right edge of the noun phrase *gwamf ane*. This is, however, not the main function of *fof*.

The above description shows that there are some problems with the analysis of postposing elements in the determiner slot. Determiners like *zane* or *ane* or *nā*, and even possessive phrases can stand alone, if the head of the phrase is recoverable from the context. An alternative would be to analyse the postposed elements as independent noun phrases which are (i) co-referential with the preceding phrase and which (ii) lack an element in the head slot. This is always possible and, as we will see below, it is quite common to have co-referential noun phrases in one clause. Sometimes intervening material, for example adverbials, allows us to make a clear decision. If there is no intervening material, only the intonation contour indicates whether a particular example should be analysed as one or two noun phrases.

Syntactic evidence for the possibility of postposing the determiner comes from fronted relative clauses which are commonly used for topicalisation (See §10.4). Fronted relative clauses of this type have the following structure: NP *mane* copula. They only allow a full noun phrase before the relative pronoun *mane* ‘which, who’. In (14), the noun phrase includes the postposed indefinite determiner *nā* following its head *yatha* ‘dog’. Below, the fronted relative clause is marked by parentheses.
7.4 The MODIFIER slots

The elements in the MODIFIER slots are different from those in DETERMINER slot. They can all be inflected for case, if they happen to occur as the last element of the noun phrase. This is shown below in (15) and (16). In example (15), the adjective in the MODIFIER-1 slot precedes the head. In example (16), it follows the head in the MODIFIER-2 slot, and consequently the adjective receives the case marker.

(15) **finzo fä fof ane kafar emoth**f thwathofiknm

fi=nzo  fä  fof  ane  kafar  emoth=f
3.ABS=ONLY  DIST  EMPH  DEM  big  girl=ERG.SG
thwa\thofik/nm
SG:SBJ>2|3DU:OBJ:PST:DUR/disturb

‘Only they (were) there. That big girl was disturbing them.’

(16) **watik yfö katanr kwa yarenzr.**

watik yfö  katan=r  kwa  ya\re/nzr
then  hole  small=PURP  FUT  3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/look

‘Then, he will look around for a small hole.’

There are some restrictions for specific elements, for example the locationals can only inflect for spatial cases. Furthermore, all locationals (§3.1.6) and a few adjectives (§3.1.4) only occur in the MODIFIER-2 slot, not in the MODIFIER-1 slot. One such adjective is kwark ‘late, deceased’ in (17). It occurs in the MODIFIER-2 slot, and therefore it is flagged with the ergative case. Note that the proper name Wäni is also inflected with the ergative and forms a noun phrase co-referential to nafayafe kwark ‘his late father’.
Another difference between elements in the DETERMINER slot and the MODIFIER slots is that elements in the latter may be multiple. I can only give examples from elicitation here as there are no examples in the corpus, where (i) all slots are filled and (ii) multiple items occur in the MODIFIER slot.

(18) 

a. *ane kafar yfrsé wämne*  
   *ane* kafar yfrsé wämne  
   DEM big black tree  
   ‘that big black tree’

b. *zane eda zanfr garda*  
   *zane* eda zanfr garda  
   DEM:PROX two long canoe  
   ‘these two long canoes’

c. *nafane kafar mnz banbanen*  
   *nafane* kafar mnz banban=en  
   3SG.POSS big house underneath=LOC  
   ‘underneath his big house’

The lack of textual examples, which display all possible fillers at once, is best explained by a strong tendency to distribute information over several coreferential noun phrases, either in the same clause or over a series of clauses. This can be seen in (17) and (14) above or (19) below, but also in many examples throughout this grammar. I address this topic in the following section.

### 7.5 The HEAD slot

As pointed out above in §7.2, the head of a noun phrase is both the notional head as well as the syntactic head. It is the notional head in the sense that it expresses what the whole noun phrase is about, and all other elements in a noun phrase serve to restrict the reference of the head. It is the syntactic head, because it agrees in gender and number with the indexation in the verb. Below, I will address two points which sit on opposite ends of a spectrum: the ellipsis of the head, and complex heads involving compounds.
However, before I come to those two points I want to make a general point about noun phrases in Komnzo. It is quite common to have multiple co-referential noun phrases. These can occur in the same clause or across a sequence of clauses. In example (19), the speaker talks about an old woman who was married to three men in her lifetime, but she had children only with one of them. Several noun phrases are co-referential. In the example, they are indexed with subscripted numbers.

(19) [ausiane nagayé]₁ ... [anenzo]₁ fof ern [edanzo]₁ ... [nā]₂ mane yarako [ausiane kabe]₂ [nafafis]₂ ngemä́r yara ... [kafarkafar]₂ yara

‘The old woman has only those two children. As for the other one, old woman’s man, her husband, he was without children. He was very old (when they got married)’

(tci20131013-02 ABB #334-336)

On the other end of the spectrum, noun phrases can be wholly omitted, since the indexation in the verb is sufficient. In this way, a single verb often stands as a whole clause. Example (20) describes the path which the ancestor took and what actions he did along the way. Since the protagonist is highly topical at this point in the story, the respective noun phrase is left out. Moreover, the last two verbs zwafmnzrm ‘he was preparing it (FEM)’ and zurzirakwa ‘he tied it (FEM)’ occur without any noun phrases. That is because the object noun phrase (nabi yatr ‘bowstring’) was mentioned already.

(20) nabi yatr fā fof zurārm zwafmnzrm ... zurzirakwa fof.
'Over there, he made his bowstring. He prepared it. He tied it.'

(21) **zane edawä kakatan ... fosam daisy fi zarath dd etharinath**

| zane eda=wä ka-katan (.) fosam daisy fi |
| DEM:PROX two=EMPH REDUP:small (.) PROP.N PROP.N 3.ABS |
| za\'/r/ath dd e\'/thari/nath |

'These two small (ones), Fosam and Daisy, they did that. They dug the worms.'

(21) (tci20131013-01 ABB #235-236)

### 7.5.1 Ellipsis of the HEAD

The head of a noun phrase is often omitted. Consider example (21), where a mother tells me that she had sent two small children to dig for worms. The example starts out with the noun phrase *zane edawä kakatan* ‘these two small (ones)’. Ellipsis of the head only occurs when the head is recoverable from previous context, or if it is common ground between speaker and hearer.

Example (22) shows the indefinite demonstrative *nä* used twice without a head. This is possible because the appropriate filler for the HEAD slot zuzi ‘fishing line’ was already mentioned.

(22) **zuzi thethkäfath migsi ... nä zba wazi ... nä boba wazi.**

| zuzi the\'/thkäf/ath mig-si (.) nä |
| fishing line 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/start hang-NMLZ (.) INDF |
| zba wazi (.) nä boba wazi |
| PROX.ABL side (.) INDF MED.ABL side |

'They started hanging the fishing lines ... some on this side and some on the other side.'

(22) (tci20120922-25 ALK #5)

Example (23) is a description of a fish trap. These long bamboo baskets always consists of a larger basket and a smaller basket which is placed inside the bigger one. In the example, the speaker refers to the smaller basket as *nafane nge* ‘its child’ and later only with an adjective *katan* ‘small’ which is flagged with an ergative case marker.

(tci20150906-01 ABB #52-53)
(23) nafane nge ... wati kofä fthé brigsir n krär ... katanf kwa ynbrigwr zbo ... keke kwa kränmär.

'nafane nge (. ) wati kofä fthé brig-si=r n 3SG.POSS child (. ) then fish when return-NMLZ=PURP IMN krä\r/ (. ) katan=f kwa 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/do (. ) small=ERG.SG FUT yn\brig/wr zbo (. ) keke 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/return PROX.ALL (. ) NEG kwa krän\mär/ FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/exit

'It’s child ... well, when the fish tries to return, the small (one) will bring it back here ... it will not get out.'

(tci20120906 MAB #55-58)

7.5.2 Compounds

On the other end of the spectrum are complex heads. The Komnzo lexicon contains a large number of nominal compounds. These may consist of nouns, property nouns and nominalised verbs. Table 7.1 shows a few examples of compounds with different nominal subclasses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>type of compound</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>components</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun + noun</td>
<td>wawa mnz</td>
<td>wawa</td>
<td>'yam house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wath kabe</td>
<td>wath kabe</td>
<td>'dancer(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>property noun + noun</td>
<td>wri kabe</td>
<td>dance man/people</td>
<td>'drunkard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun + property noun</td>
<td>zan miyo</td>
<td>zan miyo</td>
<td>'bloodlust'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. verb + noun</td>
<td>borsi zokwasi</td>
<td>bori-si zokwasi</td>
<td>'joke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun + nom. verb</td>
<td>si zůbraksi</td>
<td>si zůbrak-si</td>
<td>'prayer'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compounds are always right-headed, that is the rightmost element is not only the semantic head, but it determines the word class, number and gender of the whole compound. Although the first element in wawa mnz 'yam house' is masculine, it is the second element mnz 'house' which determines the gender (FEM
in this case). Likewise, although the first element in *uri kabe* is a property noun — and property nouns do not show gender agreement — it is the second word *kabe* ‘man’ which enables gender agreement for the whole compound.

Compounds can be embedded within one another, which can lead to combinations of usually up to three elements. A rare example of a compound with four elements was coined by one of my informants to describe the botanist on our team: *wämne taga yf kabe* (lit. ‘tree leaf name man’). Embedded compounds are always left-branching, and thus we can represent long compounds in this way: [[[*wämne taga*]₃ *yf*]₂ *kabe*]₁. Two corpus examples for longer compounds are given in (24) and (25) below.

(24) *ane ksi kar emoth thwanorm*

`ane ksi kar emoth thwanorm`

DEM bush place girl 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/shout

‘These bush girls were shouting.’

(tci20120821-02 LNA #36)

(25) *baf fthé sräbth nima ... kabe zan miyof*

`baf fthé sräbth nima ... kabe zan miyof`

RECOG.ERG.SG when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/finish

nima (.) kabe zan miyo=f

like.this (.) man hitting desire=ERG.SG

‘That is when it overcomes him ... that bloodlust for people.’

(tci20130903-04 RNA #84-85)

Complex heads are different from complex noun phrases, that is compounds in the HEAD slot are distinct from embedded noun phrases. The latter must be marked with adnominal case. Let us take the compound from example (24): *aneorsi kar emoth* ‘those bush girls’ (lit. ‘DEM bush place girl’). We can embed the noun phrase *ksi kar* ‘bush place’ into the matrix noun phrase by adding the characteristic case (=ma): *ksi karma emoth* ‘girls from the bush’. In addition to case marking, the reference of the demonstrative *ane* in initial position depends on whether a noun phrase is embedded or the head contains a compound. In the former case, *ane* refers to the head of the embedded noun phrase: *ane ksi karma emoth* ‘girls from that bush place’. If the head slot contains a compound, and no embedding takes place, the demonstrative refers to the compound as in (24). The reference of the DETERMINER slot was described above in §7.3.

Property nouns can appear in both positions of a compound (See Table 7.1 above). If a property noun appears as the first element, it modifies the head of
the compound, for example *wri kabe* ‘drunkard’ in Table 7.1. Property nouns optionally take the adjectivaliser -*thé*. If this suffix is present, for example in *writhé kabe*, it is clear that the derived adjective appears in the MODIFIER-1 slot, and is not part of a compound. The semantic difference is between *wri kabe* ‘drunkard’ – someone who is frequently drunk – and *writhé kabe* ‘drunk man’ – someone who is drunk. Syntactically, the derived adjective behaves like other adjectives, for example it can appear after the head in the MODIFIER-2 slot. Without the adjectivaliser, a change in order would change the meaning of the compound, e.g. *kabe wri* ‘people’s / men’s intoxication’. However, as mentioned above, the adjectivaliser suffix is optional for property nouns. Additionally, property nouns can function predicatively (26). This creates some problems for the analysis of particular examples.

(26)  *kabe wri kwosi sfthnm.*  

\begin{verbatim}
  kabe  wri   kwosi  sf\tn/m  
  man  drunk  dead  3SG.MASC:PST.DUR/lie
\end{verbatim}

‘The man was lying down dead drunk.’  

(overheard)

Lastly, I want to address compounds which involve nominalised verbs. Consider the compounds in (27) and (28). In (27), the speaker points out that these were *mgthksi ruga* ‘raised pigs’ as opposed to wild pigs. In (28), the speaker stresses that he has raised enough pigs in his life, and that *ruga mgthksi* ‘pig feeding’ is too much work.

(27)  *ruga tabrunzo erera nima berä ... mgthksi ruga*  

\begin{verbatim}
  ruga  tabru=nzo  e\rä/\rä  nima
  pig   five=ONLY 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be like_this
  b=e\rä/  \( . \) mgthk-si  ruga
  MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPS:IPFV/be \( . \) feed-NMLZ pig
\end{verbatim}

‘There were only five pigs like these ... raised pigs.’  

(tci20120904-02 MAB #248-249)

(28)  *zena keke miyo worü ruga mgthksi ... znsä ttüfr*  

\begin{verbatim}
  zena  keke  miyo  wo\rä/  ruga  mgthk-si  \( . \) znsä
  today  NEG  desire  LSG:SBJ:NPS:IPFV/be pig  feed-NMLZ \( . \) work
  t-tüfr
  REDUP-plenty
\end{verbatim}

‘Today, I do not want to feed pigs ... too much work.’ (lit. ‘I do not desire pig feeding’)

(tci20120805-01 ABB #819-820)
We find that compounds, which involve nominalised verbs, follow the same rule as other compounds: the rightmost element acts as the head of the compound. For example, *zan kabe* (killing+man) ‘killer, headhunter’ is a kind of man, whereas *kabe zan* (man+killing) ‘war, fighting’ is a nominalised activity.\(^2\) For the following discussion, I will refer to the first pattern as noun-headed compounds, and the latter as verb-headed compounds.

In noun-headed compounds, the argument role of the noun with respect to the verb is less determined than in verb-headed compounds. The following argument roles are found: actor (*zan kabe* ‘killer’), patient (*mgthksi ruga* ‘feeding pig’ in (27) above), instrument (*bi näbüsi wänne* ‘sago beating stick’), location (*yonasi jaf* ‘drinking place’), or time (*tharisi efoth* ‘harvesting time’). This variability contrasts with verb-headed compounds, where the noun is always a patient or theme, as in *kabe zan* ‘war’ (lit. ‘people hitting’), *ruga mgthksi* ‘pig feeding’ in (28) above, or *wawa yarisi* ‘yam exchange’ (lit. ‘yam giving’). Note that there is an implied agent in most of these examples. It follows that (nominalised) intransitive verbs do not participate in verb-headed compounds. For example, there can be an *mthizsi kabe* ‘resting person’ or a *yathizsi kabe* ‘dying person’. But the reverse order is ungrammatical: *kabe mthizsi* or *kabe yathizsi*.

Some stems have been shown to be rather fluid in valency depending on the morphological template (§5.4.3), for example *msaksi* ‘dwell, sit (v.i.), set (v.t.)’. It is no surprise, that these verbs allow both types of compounds. The noun-headed compound *msaksi kabe* ‘sitting people’ can describe a group of people who stay behind, while others are attending a dance. The verb-headed compound *kabe msaksi* ‘married life’ takes on the transitive meaning of the verb, and it means literally: ‘the sitting down of the man’.\(^3\)

### 7.6 The inclusory construction

The inclusory construction builds on the associative case (§4.15). I adopt the term inclusory construction from (Lichtenberk, 2000) and (Singer, 2001). Singer defines the inclusory construction as “an endocentric construction in which some elements of a larger group are referred to along with the larger group itself” (2001: 1). Thus, we have a construction that involves a set and one or more subsets. In Komnzo, the set is always expressed in the verb form. It follows that the inclusory construction only involves core arguments, that is arguments flagged with the ergative, absolutive or dative case. For the following description, I introduce the terms ‘associative phrase’ and ‘core phrase’. The associative phrase expresses

---

\(^2\) *Zan* ‘hit, kill’ is irregular in that its infinitive is not based on the normal root-NMLZ pattern.

\(^3\) From the perspective of a man, one could also use *yare msaksi* ‘married life’ (lit. ‘the sitting down of the woman’).
the participant, who is included in the event. The core phrase expresses a subset
different from the one expressed in the associative phrase or it may express the
set. We will see below why this is sometimes difficult to determine with certainty.
While the reference of the core phrase does not automatically include the subset
expressed in the associative phrase, both are included in the set indexed in the
verb form. I choose the terms ‘core phrase’ and ‘associative phrase’ over more
general terms like ‘subset A’ and ‘subset B’ because the core phrase is flagged
with the case marker appropriate for the argument role of the set, while the asso-
ciative phrase is flagged with the associative case.

What is special about the inclusory construction in Komnzo is that although
both core phrase and associative phrase may refer to distinct subsets, the latter
always does, the number marking on each phrase has scope over the total set.
Consider example (29) where the set encoded in the verb is second/third dual.
The two subsets are expressed by the personal names Maureen and Kowi. The
core phrase is flagged with a non-singular ergative (Maureen=é), and the associ-
ative phrase is flagged with an associative dual (Kowi=r). The point here is that
the scope of the number value is always the set and not the respective subsets.4

(29) _Maureené bi ynäbünth Kowir._

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{maureen=é} & \text{bi} \\
\text{PERS.N=ERG.NSG} & \text{sago(ABS)} \\
y\text{\textasciitilde näbü/nth} & \text{kowski=r} \\
2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/beat & \text{PERS.N=ASSOC.DU} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Maureen together with Kowi beats Sago.’ (lit. ‘Maureen with Kowi, they
beat Sago.’)

Example (29) shows that a non-singular attaches to a personal name. In
example (30), the set encoded in the verb is first plural. Note that the core phrase
is omitted here, but it could be expressed by the pronoun nì (1NSG). There are
multiple associative phrases in the example: nā srakä ‘with some boy(s)’, mafä
thzé ‘with whoever’ and Mosesä ‘with Moses’. Since the total set is bigger than
the minimal group, i.e. bigger than two, the associative phrase has to be marked
as plural. Therefore, the personal name Moses is marked for plural.

(30) _nā srakä kwa nyak ... mafä thzé ... Mosesä._

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
nā & \text{srak=ā} \\
\text{some boy=ASSOC.PL} & \text{kwa n\textasciitilde yak/} \\
1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk & \text{who=ASSOC.PL} \\
thzé & \text{moses=ā} \\
ever & \text{PERS.N=ASSOC.PL} \\
\end{array}
\]

4Note that literal translations of the inclusory construction are rather clumsy: ‘Maureen
with Kowi beat Sago’, whereas idiomatic English translations imply that the verb is indexing
a singular as in (29).
‘We will go with some boy(s) ... with whoever ... with Moses.’

The abstract structure of the inclusory construction is shown in Figure 7.2 below. The circle represents the set, and the line in the middle cuts the total set into two subsets. The arrows on the left point to the referents expressed by each element. Note that there could be more than one associative phrase as in (30), and an example like (30) could be further elaborated by adding associative phrases, for example Maureenā and Kowiā to mean ‘with Moses, with Maureen, with Kowi’. These additional associative phrases are not represented in Figure 7.2 because they would receive the same marking as the first associative phrase. The arrow on the right shows that the number value encoded in each element tracks the number of the total set.

Figure 7.2: The inclusory construction

Figure 7.2 shows that the number values differ. The core phrase is always in non-singular. This is the expected behaviour of number marking on nominals (§4.3), which makes a distinction between singular and non-singular leaving the subdivision between dual and plural to the verb inflection. As for the associative phrase, number marking is more specific showing agreement with the verb inflection, thus encoding dual versus plural instead of singular versus non-singular. Because the set in the inclusory construction is minimally two, a singular on the core phrase or a singular in the verb inflection would be ungrammatical. For the associative case, there is not singular number value available. The enclitics =r and =ā encode dual and plural respectively.

Naturally, this is only possible if there are more than two participants in the total set.
The corresponding pronominal forms of the associative case are shown in Table 7.2. The relevant pronominals are personal pronouns, the recognitional demonstrative, the indefinite pronoun and the interrogative. Two observations can be made from Table 7.2. First, all forms include a /rr/ element for dual and an /ä/ element for plural. Second, most forms are built from the ergative pronominal. For example, the third person absolutive is fi, whereas the third person ergative is naf (SG) or nafa (NSG). The associative third person forms, nafrr (DU) and nafä (PL) are formally closer to the ergative than to the absolutive. Another example is the interrogative, where the absolutive is mane ‘who, which’ and the ergative is maf (SG) and mafa (NSG). The two exceptions are the first person and the indefinite pronoun. The first person non-singular is ni, and it neutralizes the distinction between absolutive and ergative. The indefinite pronoun is nā bunrr, and it takes regular case enclitics just like nouns. Therefore, nā bun is analysed as being zero-marked, thus, absolutive.

Figure 7.2 shows that the core phrase always encodes non-singular number. As we have seen, this holds true for cases where there are only two participants and consequently the two subsets in the core phrase and the associative phrase refer to a single individual respectively. The examples below show this for an ergative-marked argument, amayé nanyr ‘mother with big sister’ (31), an absolutive-marked argument, emothé bnrr ‘girl with you’ (32), and a dative-marked argument, sraknm nafrr ‘boy with him’ (33). In contrasting examples without the inclusory construction, all of these would receive a singular marker of the respective cases. Note that the non-singular absolutive =é in (32) is the same as the non-singular ergative =é in (31). This syncretism is also found in the personal pronouns where ni is both first person non-singular absolutive and ergative (§3.1.8). The absolutive singular is always zero-marked, and the non-singular formative =é is optional (§4.4). In the inclusory construction, however, non-singular number is obligatorily encoded on the core phrase.
(31) *mni ɣagarnth amayé nanyr.*

*mni* ɣəgar/nth ama=é
firewood 2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/break mother=ERG.NSG
nane=r
elder_sibling=ASSOC.DU

‘Mother together with big sister split firewood.’ (lit. ‘Mother with big sister, they split firewood.’)

(tci20150919-05 LNA #140)

(32) *kabef emoθé emarn bnrr.*

kabe=f emoθ=é e\mar/n
man=ERG.SG girl=ABS.NSG 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3DU:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/see
bnrr
2.DU.ASSOC

‘The man sees the girl together with you.’ (lit. ‘The man sees them, the girl with you.’)

(33) *ɲafuf sraknm dunzi ārin nafrr.*

ɲafe=f srak=nm dunzi
father=ERG.SG boy=DAT.NSG arrow
ā\ri/n nafrr
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3DU:IO:NPST:IPFV/give 3.DU.ASSOC

‘The father gives the arrow to the boy together with him.’ (lit. ‘Father gives them the arrow, the boy with him.’)

If the total set indexed in the verb is two, then it follows that the two phrases can only refer to a single individual, even though the core phrase has to be marked for non-singular (29 and 31-33). If the total set indexed in the verb is plural, it is unclear whether both subsets are bigger than one or whether one of them is singular and if so, which one. Example (30) above is unambiguous because the associative phrase is expressed by a personal name (*Moses*=ASSOC.PL). If the associative phrase it expressed by a noun or pronoun, we are left with contextual clues. In example (34), the speaker talks about marriage customs explaining that his clan will not exchange sisters with those clans, with which they share a land boundary. In this example, *nafā* has to be translated as a plural ‘with them’.

(34) *ni nafāwā bad wkurwre ... fi neba erā ... ni neba*

ni nafā=wā bad w\kur/wre
1NSG 3PL.ASSOC=EMPH ground 1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/split
fi neba e\rā/
3.ABS opposite 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be 1 opposite
‘We really share a land boundary with them. They are there and we (are) here. (lit. we cut the ground with them)’

(tci20120814 ABB #307)

In contrast, in example (35) nafä refers to a singular ‘with him’. This example is taken from a text about grief, and the speaker justifies a particular mourning custom by pointing out that he and his family have shared a lifetime with the deceased person.

(35) ... bänema ni nafä kwamränzrme. ni nafä nzwamnznrm.

(. ) bäne=ma ni nafä kwa\mrä/nzrme ni
(. ) RECOG=CHAR 1NSG 3PL.ASSOC 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/stroll 1NSG
nafä nzwa\m/nzrm
3PL.ASSOC 1PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell

‘... because we walked around with him. We lived with him.’

(tci20120805 ABB #830-831)

It follows that out of context the pronoun nafä can refer to an individual or to a group of people in (34) and (35). This is also true for the pronoun ni (1NSG) in both examples. I pointed out above that the core phrase is always non-singular, even if the subset expressed by the core phrase is singular. Hence, the pronoun ni can refer to an individual or a group of people, and out of context example (34) can be translated as ‘I share land with them’, ‘We share land with him’ or ‘We share land with them’. What it cannot mean is ‘I share land with him’. For this meaning, the verb would have to index a dual and the associative phrase would have to be marked for dual number.6

In the following discussion, I want to address the question whether or not the associative phrase and the core phrase form a constituent. From a semantic perspective, we can answer this question in the affirmative, but we can also find some structural evidence that the associative phrase and the core phrase form a functional unit. I have shown above that the associative phrase agrees with the verb in number. The core phrase, on the other hand, agrees with the verb in person and number. The number category is very telling because it is always non-singular. Additionally, the core phrase is assigned the appropriate the case marker by the argument structure of the verb. I take these points as structural evidence that the associative phrase and the core phrase form a functional unit. However, they do not constitute a formal unit; a phrase. In other words, the associative case in the inclusory construction does not function in the way that

6The inclusory construction can be seen as a syntactic equivalent to distributed exponent in the verb morphology (§5.2).
adnominal case does. For example, the characteristic case signals that one noun phrase is embedded into a matrix noun phrase. There is a fixed structure for embedding, and scrambling of elements which belong to the matrix phrase is not possible in Komnzo (§7.2). There may be several instantiations of an argument in a clause, but these noun phrases are always marked for the same case. As we have seen above, the associative phrase can be moved independently of the core phrase. Moreover, most corpus examples lack a core phrase altogether. In conclusion, the inclusory construction is different from adnominal case, like the characteristic or possessive case. The core phrase and the associative phrase are not integrated into a matrix phrase.

The inclusory construction also differs from coordinative constructions (§9.2). Example (36) shows the same state-of-affairs as expressed in (29) above, but using a conjunctive coordination. The main structural differences are that in coordination: (i) a conjunction like *a ‘and’* is required, (ii) the coordinated noun phrases have to precede and follow the conjunction, (iii) both noun phrases receive the same case marker, (iv) the case marker can be singular. Note that in (29) above the associative phrase *Kowir* could occur in all other positions. Nevertheless, the most natural positions are either after the verb or right after *Maureené*.

(36) *Maureen* a Kowif bi *ynäbünth*. Maureen=f a Kowi=f bi  
PERS.N=ERG.SG and PERS.N=ERG.SG sago(ABS)  
y\’näbi\’/nth  
2|3DU:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/beat  
‘Maureen and Kowi beat sago.’

Furthermore, the elements in an inclusory construction can be coordinated as in (37) where the two associative phrases *nä oromanr* ‘with another old man’ and *nä kabe* ‘with another man’ are part of a disjunctive coordination connected by *o ‘or’*.

(37) *nä oromanr o nä kaber fi bämrn*.  
nä oroman=r o nä kabe=r fi  
INDF old_man=ASSOC.DU or INDF man=ASSOC.DU 3.ABS  
b=ä\’m/rn  
MED=2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit  
‘He is sitting there with another old man or another man. (lit. with some old man or with some man they two sit there)’
There is no clear semantic difference between coordination and the inclusory construction, but the difference seems to be pragmatic. While coordination places the two elements on the same rank, the inclusory construction may be used to highlight the referent expressed in the associative phrase. This is supported by the fact that in most corpus examples the core phrase is omitted, because its reference has been established earlier. Example (37) above was uttered as the description of a set of pictures cards. I reproduce the example in a longer context in (38) below. The speaker talks about the protagonist of the story who is drinking with his friends. While describing the picture card, the speaker points out that the protagonist is sitting with another man. He then asks about the topic of their conversation. This other man is expressed in the associative phrase. The same state of affairs could be expressed by a coordinative construction (‘He and another man are sitting there’). The point is that the inclusory construction can be used to introduce a new participant, and thus has a pragmatic function. Note that the associative phrase occurs in the first position of the clause.

(38) ane fof yamnzr byé. wri kabenzo … ake bramöwä … fof ausifäth nā berä … ttrikasi yatrikwth … nā oromanr o nā kaber fi bämnr … skiski warfo. monme fi yatrikw … nafan?

ane fof ya\m/uzr
DEM EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit
b=\yé/ wri kabe=nzo (.) ane
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be drunk man=ONLY (.) DEM
bramöwä (.) fof ausi=fäth nā
all (.) EMPH old_woman=DIM INDF
b=e\rā/ (.) t-trik-si
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) REDUP-tell-NMLZ
\ŋa\trik/wrth (.) nā oroman=r o nā
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell (.) INDF old_man=ASSOC.DU or INDF
kabe=r fi b=\m/n (.) skiski
man=ASSOC.DU 3.ABS MED=2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sit (.) platform
warfo monme fi ya\trik/wr (.)
on_top how but 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/tell (.)
nafan
3SG.DAT

‘That is the one sitting there. (They are) drunkards ... all of them. There is some woman. They are telling stories. He is sitting there with another old man or another man ... on the platform. But what is he telling him?’

Lichtenberk suggests two parameters for a typology of inclusory pronominals: “(i) do the inclusory pronominal and the included NP together form a syntactic
construction, a phrase, or not?; and (ii) is there or is there not an overt marker of the relation between the inclusory pronominal and the included NP?” (2000: 3). This sets up a fourfold possibility space. The second parameter is clear for Komnzo: the associative case is an overt marker of the inclusory construction. With respect to the first parameter, I hope to have shown above that Komnzo does not give a neat answer to these questions. In terms of agreement, we may say that the two elements agree, but they agree in their own ways. In terms of noun phrase syntax, it would be a rather aberrant noun phrase. Therefore, I suggest that Lichtenberk’s typology should be expanded. A more fine-grained reformulation of his first parameter could help capture what constitutes a ‘syntactic construction’, for example verb agreement and phrase structure. Singer’s typology (2001) concentrates on the locus of where the total set is encoded. She draws a distinction between Type 1, in which the set of total participants is represented by an independent pronoun, and Type 2, in which it is represented by a verbal affix. Komnzo clearly belongs into the Type 2 category. But we can make a case that Komnzo also belongs into Type 1, because the associative phrase, which can be a pronoun, encodes the number of the total set.

Lichtenberk argues that the marker of inclusory constructions is often historically related to the coordinate conjunction or to the comitative case, but he adds that the inclusory construction differs from both. We have seen in §4.15, that there is no inclusory construction and no number distinction with inanimates, and only =ä is attached as a case marker. With inanimates, =ä can be analysed as comitative case. On the other hand, the function of =r (DU) and =ä (PL) with animates is an inclusory function, which differs markedly from the associative with inanimates. I follow Lichtenberk by analysing =r and =ä as markers of a distinct inclusory construction, but for practical purposes I retain the label ASSOC in the gloss instead introducing a separate label for the inclusory category.

---

7 The four possibilities are: 1. +syntactic construction +overt marker, 2. +syntactic construction -overt marker, 3. -syntactic construction +overt marker, 4. -syntactic construction -overt marker.

8 In explicit inclusory constructions, the marker of the relation between the inclusory pronominal and the included NP is typically etymologically related either to the coordinate conjunction ‘and’ or to the comitative marker in the language.” (Lichtenberk, 2000: 4) and “The phrasal inclusory construction is neither coordinating nor comitative; it is a construction sui generis.” (Lichtenberk, 2000: 30, emphasis in original)
Chapter 8

Clausal syntax

8.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the syntax within simple clauses. In Komnzo, a large part of the argument structure is encoded in the verb morphology. This is described in §5.4, and summarised in Table 5.3. Therefore, the following description of clause types is brief for those types which have been addressed before, but more detailed for other types where the verb morphology plays a smaller role.

8.2 Constituent order

The basic word order in Komnzo is SOV, more accurately AUV (agent undergoer verb).\(^1\) Recipients of ditransitives also precede the verb and follow the agent noun phrase, but there is no clear position with respect to the theme argument. Evidence for basic word order comes from the use of the recognitional demonstrative (§3.1.11.6). In example (1), the object argument is expressed first by the recognitional bāne ‘those ones’ and then by the noun zūm ‘centipedes’. The speaker uses the recognitional in absolutive case in the position where the constituent normally occurs. This is a tip-of-the-tongue situation, and therefore the speaker fills in the appropriate referent after the verb. Note that there is usually a break in the intonation contour if any constituent occurs after the verb.

(1) nzūrna ṣaref bāne sasryoftha zūm

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{nzūrna} & \text{ṣare=f} & \text{bāne} & \text{sa\textbackslash sryofth/a}\\
\text{PROP.N} & \text{woman=ERG RECOG.ABS SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:PST:PFV/send}
\end{array}
\]

zūm

centipede

‘The nzūrna woman send those ones after him ... the centipedes.’

\(^1\)As I explain in §5.4.1, the concept of ‘subject’ is not well supported in Komnzo. Therefore, I use the term as a metalinguistic shortcut only where I find it appropriate.
Experiencer-object constructions (§8.3.10) deviate from the basic word order. The experiencer is placed almost always before the stimulus, that is the undergoer comes first and the actor follows (2). This can be explained by the relative salience of the experiencer in such constructions and the fact that it almost always ranks higher in terms of animacy.

(2) ŋatha kawakawa f bthefaf.

ŋatha kawakawa =f b=thefaf/
dog madness =ERG MED =2|3SG:SBJ >2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:PFV/hold

‘The dogs went crazy there.’ (lit. ‘madness has grabbed the dogs’)

AUV word order is only a tendency in Komnzo. In fact, most clauses lack overt noun phrases for the respective constituents. The flagging of noun phrases with case allows for some flexibility in the arrangement of constituents. However, deviations from the basic word order are often pragmatically motivated. In example (3)², the speaker replies to a question whether a particular individual is his brother-in-law. He says ‘really my brother-in-law’ and then gives an explanation in the following clause, where the undergoer appears before the actor. The reversal of constituents can be explained as a strategy to focus the undergoer argument, that is mayawa emoth ‘Mayawa sister’ is focussed by fronting.

(3) nzone ngom fof ... mayawa emoth naf zefafa fof

nzone ngom fof (.) mayawa emoth naf
1SG.Poss brother_in_law EMPH (.) PROP.N girl 3SG.ERG
ze\faf/a fof
SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/marry EMPH

‘My brother-in-law ... He married a Mayawa sister.’

In example (4), both constituents follow the verb. The undergoer comes first and after a short pause the actor follows. Examples like these are rare, but frequently one of the constituents follows the verb. This can occur because the speaker wants to clarify the state of affairs or because she wants to put emphasis on the referent. There is usually a break in the intonation contour after the verb form.

²Note that the stem fath- means ‘hold’, but in a suppressed-object construction it means ‘marry’ (§8.3.7).
8.3 Clause types

8.3.1 Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses are a marginal phenomenon in Komnzo. This section describes the few types of verbless clauses. These are usually short one or two word utterances including an element which has some verb-like semantics, for example TAM particles or property nouns.

The TAM particles *kwa* FUT and *kma* POT can stand alone, when they are used as commands. For example, *kma* can mean ‘You have to!’, and with the apprehensive clitic *m* attached, it can mean the opposite: *kmam* ‘You must not!’. In example (5), the future particle *kwa* is used in the sense of ‘Wait!’. The speaker describes poison-root fishing and how they have to hold back the children from jumping into the water too early.

(5) *katakatan kwa zöbthé thrängathinzth nima “kwa! komnzo kwa!”*

kata-katan  kwa zöbthé thrän\gathinz/th
nima  kwa komnzo kwa
like_this FUT only    FUT

‘First, they will hold back the small (ones) and said: “Wait! Just Wait!”’
Another possible type of verbless clause is with the property nouns *miyo* ‘desire’ and *miyatha* ‘knowledge’ and their antonyms *miyomär* ‘aversion, dislike’ and *miyamr* ‘ignorance’. These words are usually used as nominal predicates with light verbs or with the copula. As a consequence, we find examples like (6), where the last clause *nzä miyamr* does not contain a verb. It is possible to insert the copula in the appropriate inflection (*worera* 1SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be), but often it is left out. Apart from examples like these, there are no verbless clauses in Komnzo.

(6) fi kafar mane erera näbi a/ne ofe ñärath. mobo erera? ... *nzä miyamr*

As for the big dogs, they disappeared for good. Where did they go? ... I (do) not know.'

8.3.2 Copula clauses

Copula clauses are a subtype of non-verbal predication. They are described here in a separate subsection because the copula shows a number of idiosyncrasies. First, the copula has no restricted root. Note that this can be predicted because the restricted root is used mostly for the perfective. Second, the stem of the copula is sensitive to duality: the non-dual stem is *rä*, while the dual stem is *rn*. Third, the third person singular inflections are irregular (in non-past): masculine *yé*; feminine *rä*. Table 8.1 shows the copula forms in non-past. Fourth, the copula stem *rä* can be used in an ambifixing template with the meaning ‘do’. This last point is discussed as part of the description of light verbs in §8.3.12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>NPST</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>worä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU</td>
<td>nrn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>nrä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>nrä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.FEM</td>
<td>rä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.MASC</td>
<td>yé</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3DU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The copula takes a copula subject and a copula complement. Copula clauses may express identity between two NPs (7). They are used in presentational constructions; usually with a clitic demonstrative (8).

(7) nifthé miyatha zükorake “babai zane bthan kabe ye”

ni fthé miyatha zä\kor/ake babai zane
1NSG when knowledge 1PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/become uncle DEM:PROX
bthan kabe \yê/
black_magic man 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPL:IPFV:COP

‘That was when we realized “The uncle is this sorcerer.”’
(tci20130901-02 RNA #45)

(8) yorär ziyé ... zikogr.

yorär z=\yê/ (.)
PROP.N PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPL:IPFV/be (.)
z=y\kogr/
PROX=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPL:STAT/stand

‘Yorär is here ... It stands here.’ (yorär is a tree type (Syzygium sp))
(tci20130907-02 JAA #450-451)

The complement may be marked with the proprietary case (§4.13) or the privative case (§4.14) to express the existence or non-existence of some entity in relation to the copula subject. The former is shown in (9), where the speaker literally says ‘the village is with a name’ to express that it has some reputation. The latter is shown in (10), where the speaker tells how he was looking for a creek that carried water.

(9) zane kar mane rä yfkarä rü.

zane kar mane \rā/ yf=karā
DEM:PROX village which 3SG:FEM:SBJ:NPL:IPFV:COP name=PROP
\rā/
3SG:FEM:SBJ:NPL:IPFV:COP

‘As for this village, it has a (good) reputation.’
(tci20120805-01 ABB 447-448)

(10) buyak we ttfō ane zräbrmé nimame ... keke ... nomär rā.

b=wi\yak/ we ttfō ane zrä\brm/é
MED=1SG:SBJ:NPL:IPFV/walk also creek DEM 1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/follow
nima=me (. ) keke (. ) no= már \rā/
like_this:INS (. ) NEG (. ) water=PRIV 3SG:FEM:SBJ:NPL:IPFV:COP
‘I walked there, I followed another creek like this ... No ... (The creek) had no water.’

Adjectives and property nouns may also be copula complements, as shown in (11) and (12) respectively. In (11), the speaker reports how his fathers were comparing their yam harvest. In example (12), the speaker talks about how as a teenager she was afraid of the anthropologist Mary Ayres when she first visited Rouku.

(11) *katakatanwä thfrä! nzenme kafar erä!*

    kata-katan=wä thf\rä/ nzenme kafar
    REDUP-small=EMPH 3PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV:COP 1NSG:POSS big
e\rä/
    3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:COP

    ‘Their (yams) were a bit small! Our (yams) are big!’

(12) *nzä wwtri kwarärm ... markaianema ... nafanema fof.*

    nzä w-wtri kwa\rä/rm (.)
    1SG.ABS REDUP-fear 1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR:COP (.)
    markai=ane=ma (.) nafane=ma fof
    outsider=POSS.SG=CHAR (.) 3SG.POSS=CHAR EMPH

    ‘I was a bit afraid ... of the white woman ... really (afraid) of her.’

8.3.3 Intransitive clauses

In terms of verb morphology, intransitive clauses have been described in §5.4.2. The verb inflection employs the prefixing or the middle template. Their single argument is always in absolutive case. Two examples are given in (13) and (14).

The two prefixing verbs in (13) have no overt subject noun phrases, but the second clause contains an adjunct marked with the purposive case *karr* ‘for a village’ (or settlement place). In example (14), we see the middle verb *brigsi* ‘return’ and the subject pronoun *nzä* in absolutive case.

(13) *yarsenzo swayakm ... karr swanrenzrm.*
8.3 Clause types

8.3.4 Impersonal clauses

Impersonal clauses are expressed using the middle template of the verb, in which a person-invariant middle marker fills the prefix slot, while the suffix indexes the single argument of the predicate (§5.4.5). The indexed noun phrase, if present at all, occurs in absolutive case. The salient feature of this clause type is that the referent of the verb indexing is impersonal, unclear or simply empty. Consider examples (15) and (16). In the first example, the speaker talks about rain-making magic, which involves a rotting mixture of meat and honey in bottles. These bottles or containers are opened and the rising odor is said to increase the rainfall. The third singular indexed by the verb form kfäkor refers to the changed weather conditions, and the English translation ‘it was enough’ exhibits the same general or impersonal meaning. The second example contains the noun aki ‘moon’, but it is unclear whether the verb really indexes this noun or whether its referent is empty. Hence, the two possible translations. During the transcription of example (16), the first translation was the preferred one in this particular context.

(15) watikthénzo fthé kfäkor ... we sgu thwäthè woz thwärmäne.

watik-thé=nzo  fthé  kfä\kor/  (.) we  sgu
enough-ADJZR=ONLY when 2\|3SG:SBJ:ITER/become (.) also plug
thwä\thb/e  woz
1PL:SBJ=2\|3PL:OBJ:ITER/put.inside bottle
thwä\rmän/e
1PL:SBJ=2\|3PL:OBJ:ITER/close

‘When it was enough, we put the lids back in and we closed the bottles.’

(tci20110810-01 MAB #59-62)
(16) aki zbo kräkor.

aki zbo   kräkor/
moon PROX.ALL 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/become

‘It became moon(light) here.’ or ‘The moon came up here.’

(tci20120904-02 MAB #47)

Example (17), is a description of a picture as part of a stimulus task. The speaker takes on the role of a man in the picture and asks: ‘What is going on?’. Again the verb form krewär appears in the middle construction and indexes a third singular.

(17) sinzo foba ynrä nima “ra krewär bobo?”

si=nzo foba ynrä/ nima
eye=ONLY DIST.ABL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/be like_this
ra krewär/ bobo
what(ABS) 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/happen MED:ALL

‘He was just looking from over there (and asked) like this: “What is going on there?”’

(tci20111104 RMA #353)

Impersonal constructions often involve light verbs, for example rä- ‘do’ and ko- ‘become’, which take a nominal predicate, for example a noun or property noun. In these cases, the nominal predicate will be unmarked for case, like the absolutive case. Therefore, it may be difficult to decide whether (i) it is a nominal predicate and the subject is empty, or (ii) whether the noun phrase in question is the subject indexed in the verb. Consider example (18) below, in which the speaker describes the location of the mythical place of origin Kwafar, which is located in the Arafura sea between Papua New Guinea and Australia. The verb form yakonzr ‘it becomes’ occurs in the relative clause, which is printed in boldface. The third singular indexed in the verb form could be mazo ‘ocean’ (lit: ‘where the ocean becomes’) or it could be an empty subject (lit: ‘it becomes ocean’).

(18) thden rera ... zane zena mane bad mane wythk mazo mä yakonzr a ...
australiane bad mä wythk.

thd=en rä/ra (. ) zane zena mane
middle=Loc 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (. ) DEM:PROX today which
bad mane wythk/ mazo mä
ground which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/come.to.end and (. )
'It was in the middle ... this one, where the land ends ... where it becomes ocean until where Australia’s land ends.'

Weather events often have empty or impersonal subjects. This can be shown with prefixing verbs, as well as middle verbs. A common way to say ‘It is going to rain’ is shown in (19). It is clear that nor ‘for rain’ is not indexed in the verb because it is flagged with a non-core case, the purposive case. Therefore, the reference of the third singular in the verb form is empty.

(19)  nor ye.

no=r \ye/

rain=PURP 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘It will rain.’ (lit. ‘It is for rain’)

Another example is the phrase wär kwan yanor ‘it is thundering’ in (20). The thunder is expressed by the ideophone wär kwan ‘thundering noise’, and all ideophones of this type are nominal compounds headed by kwan ‘noise, sound’ (See §3.7.1). The verb yannor is inflected for a masculine subject, but kwan is feminine. Hence wär kwan is not the subject, and a literal translation would be: ‘He shouts the thunder sound’. Again the reference of ‘he’ is empty.

(20)  wär kwan yanor.

wär_kwan ya\nor/
thunder  3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout

‘It is thundering.’

Other weather or sound phenomena can be expressed by verbs in the middle template. In example (21), the verb ‘start’ is inflected for a 2|3SG subject, but its referent is unclear – partly because the verb does not index an object. Thus, the indexed argument could be (i) the sound of the fire (‘The fire sound started’), or (ii) it could be an empty subject (‘It started the fire sound’).

(21)  fi mni zürnane u kwan zethkäfako.
8.3.5 ‘Passive’ clauses

Passives meanings are expressed in two ways: (i) by a verb in the middle template which indexes a patient role; the indexed noun phrase occurs in absolutive case (§5.4.5), or (ii) by a resultative construction, in which a nominalised verb is flagged with the instrumental case (§4.10). Note that both are not dedicated passive constructions. Instead, they should be understood as constructions which can express passive-like semantics.

Example (22) shows both constructions. The first two clauses are in a temporal relationship to the last clause, which is signalled by fthé ‘when’. This is not a subordinate relationship because fthé can also be used in independent clauses with the meaning of ‘that was when’. In the first clause, the single argument of the verb is bad ‘ground, earth’. This can be translated either as a reflexive/impersonal ‘the earth created (itself)’ or as a passive ‘the earth was created’. In the second clause, matters are clear because the verb is in a transitive template which shows actor agreement with ‘father’ (ERG) and undergoer agreement with ‘earth’ (ABS), thus: ‘the father created the earth’. The last clause, is a resultative construction. The nominalised verb rifthszi ‘hiding’ takes the instrumental case (lit.: ‘was with hiding’), which is best translated as a passive (‘was hidden’).

(22) bad fthé yafiyokwa ... yafyf fthé bad wåfiyokwa ... kidn ane rifthszime zfrärm.

‘When the earth was made ... when God made the earth ... that eternal fire was hidden.’

8.3.6 Reflexive and reciprocal clauses

Formally, reflexive/reciprocal clauses are encoded by (i) the verb form in the middle template and (ii) the argument noun phrase in absolutive case. Ditransitives
show exceptional grammatical behaviour in that the argument may be in abso-
lutive or ergative case. There is no distinction between reflexives and reciprocals
other than the fact that singulars do not allow a reciprocal reading. Below I will
describe how reflexive/reciprocals differ from intransitive and impersonal clause
on the one side, and from suppressed object constructions on the other. This
topic is also addressed in the description of the middle template (§5.4.5).

In example (23) the speaker talks about a ritual which chases away evil spirits.
This rather gruesome ritual involves young men shooting at each other with
blunt arrows. In the last clause of the example the noun phrase kabe ‘man’ is
in absolutive case and the verb employs the middle template and indexes one
argument (2|3PL). The verb rusi ‘shoot’ has rather clear transitive semantics
and, thus, invites a reciprocal interpretation.

(23) kabe kwaruthrmth frkrkä.

kabe     kwa\ru/thrmth   frk=karä
man(ABS) 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/shoot blood=PROP

‘The people were shooting at each other (until) they were bleeding.’

In most cases only secondary information disambiguates between intransitive,
impersonal and reflexive/reciprocal interpretations. By secondary information, I
mean (i) context, (ii) grammatical devices which are not used solely for reflex-
ive/reciprocal constructions, (iii) statistical tendencies of individual verbs. I will
address these in turn. First, context is probably the most important, and it is
evident that an example like (23) is usually preceded or followed by a description
which disambiguates the state of affairs. Second, speakers may choose to repeat
the absolutive noun phrase to make clear that the intended reading should be
a reciprocal one. Consider example (24), which concludes a headhunting story.
The pronoun fi occurs twice. Additionally, the utterance was accompanied by
appropriate gestures to clarify the intended reciprocal meaning. The pronoun fi is
marked with the exclusive enclitic =nzo. The repetition and the exclusive enclitic
are secondary strategies which are not solely used to mark reflexive/reciprocal
meanings. Note that the exclusive enclitic =nzo shows cognates in other Yam
languages. In Nen, there is a set of reflexive/reciprocal pronouns which all end
in nzo, for example benzo 2SG (Evans, 2015b: 1072). In Komnzo, the exclusive
clitic expresses the meaning of ‘only’ without reflexive/reciprocal semantics.

(24) ni woga tüfömär e rrä ... bänema nzenme thden ane fof kwakwirm ... woga
finzo finzo kwafnzmth.

ni     woga tüf=mär  n\rä/     (.) bäne=ma
1NSG man plenty=PRIV 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) DEM:MED=CHAR
nzenme thd=en ane fof kwa\kwir/m     (.) woga
1NSG.POSS middle=LOC DEM EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/run (.) man
Although stems may alternate between different morphological templates, there is a statistical tendency to occur in a particular template for a particular stem. For example, typically transitive meanings (rusi ‘shoot’, zan ‘hit, kill’, marasi ‘see’) occur most of the time in the ambifixed transitive template. If such stems occur in a middle template, it invites a reflexive/reciprocal reading rather than an impersonal or intransitive one. We will see in the following section that the middle template can also be used for the suppressed object construction (§8.3.7). However, in the suppressed object construction the noun phrase indexed in the verb form is marked for ergative case and not absolutive. On the other hand, stems which occur in the middle template most of the time (maikasi ‘wash’, bringsi ‘return’) should be analysed as reflexiva tanta (Geniušienė, 1987), even though they may occur in the ambifixed transitive template (‘wash someone’, ‘bring back someone’). Hence, there is a statistical tendency for stems to occur in a particular template, which helps to disambiguate between an impersonal or reflexive/reciprocal reading.

Next, I want to set reflexive/reciprocals apart from what I call the suppressed object construction (§8.3.7). The state of affairs in reflexive/reciprocals is such that the actor and patient can be exchanged. In Komnzo, both are expressed by one noun phrase which occurs in absolutive case. Herein lies the formal difference to the suppressed object construction. If the noun phrase kabe ‘people’ in example (23) was in ergative case – for example kabe=yé (man=ERG.NSG) – the sentence would mean ‘they were shooting (at sth.)’. This is the suppressed object construction, which I describe in the following section (§8.3.7). Note that the verb form kwarurthrmth remains the same, only the case marking changes.

For ditransitive verbs, the case marking is less fixed, and the argument noun phrase can appear in absolutive as well as ergative case, both with a reflexive/reciprocal meaning. In example (25) the verb form yarinth indexes only the subject (2|3DU), while the prefix slot is filled with the middle marker. The subject argument appears in the ergative (nafa). A suppressed object reading is not possible with ditransitive verbs. Note that the argument could also occur in absolutive case (fi). This would create a clause with two absolutive noun phrases. Hence, the choice between ergative and abolutive seems to be dependent on the kinds of referents. In (25), both noun phrases are animate, and the use of the ergative case avoids confusion between agent (‘they’) and theme (‘sisters’).
8.3 Clause types

(25) *emoth nafa yrinth fof.*

\[\begin{align*}
\text{emoth} & \quad \text{nafa} & \quad \text{yrinth} & \quad \text{fof} \\
\text{girl} & \quad \text{3NSG.ERG} & \quad \text{2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/give} & \quad \text{EMPH}
\end{align*}\]

‘They give each other sisters.’

(tci20120802 ABB #158)

At this stage, it is impossible to investigate this topic further, because (i) noun phrases are frequently omitted and (ii) as I have argued in §5.4.6, except for a few verbs (*yarisi* ‘give’, *trikasi* ‘tell’, *fänzsi* ‘show’) all ditransitives verbs are derived.

8.3.7 Suppressed object clauses

Suppressed object clauses employ the middle template of the verb. The argument indexed in the verb is treated like an actor by the case system, i.e. it is flagged with the ergative case. The object may be overtly expressed with a noun phrase, but it is suppressed from indexation in the verb form.

I describe in §5.4.5, that almost all transitive verbs can enter into the supressed object construction for semantic as well as pragmatic reasons. For example, most of the time, the referents of suppressed objects rank low in the animacy hierarchy (Silverstein, 1976). In example (26) the speaker searches her shoes and complains that her friend has been wearing them. We only know about the object of *rgsi* ‘wear’ from the previous context, since it is not expressed as a noun phrase, nor is the object indexed in the verb form. The semantics of *rgsi* renders a reflexive reading (‘she wears herself’) non-sensical. Additionally, the fact that the subject is in ergative case (*naf*) rules out the reflexive/reciprocal interpretation. This is important because the verb form is identical between reflexive/reciprocals and the supressed object construction.

(26) *ebar zfnzo! naf rar yargwrn?*

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ebar} & \quad \text{zfnzo} & \quad \text{naf} & \quad \text{rar} & \quad \text{yargwrn} \\
\text{head} & \quad \text{base=}\text{ONLY} & \quad \text{3SG.ERG} & \quad \text{what=}\text{PURP SG:SBJ:RPST:DUR/wear}
\end{align*}\]

‘Thickhead! Why was she wearing (the flipflops)?’

(tci20130901-02 RNA #173)

Objects can be suppressed for pragmatic reasons, often in addition to their low rank on the animacy hierarchy. That is because the suppression of the object has the pragmatic effect of focussing the subject. Example (27) is taken from a text about food taboos. This topic came up while talking about a very old woman,
whose old age was ascribed to her respecting all food taboos. In the example, the speaker shifts the topic from the old woman to those people who did not respect food taboos. This shift of topic is achieved by (i) a fronted relative clause and (ii) the suppressed object construction. As in the previous example, we only know about the object of *rirksi* ‘respect, avoid’ from the preceding context.

(27) fi mafa keke kwarirkwrnth ... watik tekmär esufakwa.

> ‘But those who did not respect (the food taboos) ... well, they grew old quickly.’

Although the object is suppressed from indexation in the verb form, it may occur as a noun phrase in the clause. In example (28), the speaker talks about garden magic and people who steal the soil from other people’s gardens. In the relative clause, the object *bad* ‘ground’ is suppressed from indexation in the verb, yet it appears as a noun phrase. The subject is indexed in the verb suffix and the corresponding noun phrase, the relative pronoun *mafa*, is in ergative case.

(28) nä kabenzo nnzä wawa gamokarä erä bad mafa ṭakarkwrth

> ‘Perhaps only other people, who take the soil away, have yam magic.’

The suppressed object may also be a relative clause as in example (29), which is taken from a picture stimulus task.

(29) emothf ṭatrikur monme zfhnzr.

> ‘The girl tells (the story of) how he hit her.’
There are a few verbs which always occur in the suppressed object construction. A few examples are: *yonasi* ‘drink’, *fathasi* ‘marry’, *frzsi* ‘fish/net (poison-root)’, *naf-* ‘talk, speak’ and *karksi* ‘pull’. With other verbs there is only a statistical tendency to enter this construction. For example, *yarizsi* ‘hear’ occurs 104 times in the corpus; 25 times the object is indexed and 79 times it is suppressed. In other words, in only about a quarter of all tokens of *yarizsi*, the verb means ‘hear X’. In the other three quarters of tokens of *yarizsi*, it means ‘hear (sth.)’. In (30), we see an example of *yarizsi* and *rfnaksi* ‘taste’ in the suppressed object construction. The speaker explains how the news of the beginning yam harvest spread from East to West; from village to village.

(30) *watik*, we masu karé kwekaristh “oh, nafa z zärfnth!”

Then the Masu people always heard (the other village): “Oh, they have already tasted (the yams)!”

8.3.8 Transitive clauses

This section deals with prototypical transitive clauses, which are transitive in their verb morphology, i.e. they are built from the ambifixing transitive template, as well as their noun phrase syntax, i.e. the actor argument is flagged with the ergative and the undergoer argument is in the absolutive. Therefore, suppressed object constructions (§8.3.7) can be described as non-prototypical transitive clauses because (i) the verb appears in the middle template, (ii) the object noun phrase is frequently omitted. However, noun phrases can be generally dropped in all clause types. The ambifixing verb template is described in §5.4.6. An example of a transitive clause is given below in (31).

(31) *nzürna ḥaref bāne ḡad yrmtakwa.*

The stem *karksi* can occur in a transitive template with the meaning ‘take’. If it occurs in a suppressed object construction, it means ‘pull’. I analyse these as two different lexical items, because there is a difference in the semantics as well as the combinatorics of the stem.
8.3.9 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses employ the same template as transitive clauses. However, the valency changing prefix a- shifts the reference of the verb prefix from the direct object to the indirect object. The corresponding noun phrase appears in dative case. This is described in §5.4.6. Note that the a- prefix may increase as well as decrease the valency of a verb, hence, the label ‘valency changing prefix’ (§5.4.2).

Example (32) below shows the verbs *trikasi* ‘tell’ and *fänzsi* ‘show’. The recipient arguments are flagged for dative case and the respective arguments are indexed in the two verbs.

(32) nzone ɲafyn bäin ane trikasi yatrikwath ... nzunwà yafyf bäif zwafäsa.

‘They told that story to my father Bäi ... and father Bäi showed (it) to me.’

Ditransitive clauses may also contain cognate objects, as in (32) *trikasi yatrikwath* ‘they told him the story’. Another example is *yathugsi* ‘trick (v)’ which often occurs with *gaso* ‘trick, lie’.

In §5.4.6, I argued that ditransitive as a category should be recognized, even though most ditransitive verbs are derived from transitives by (i) adding the valency change prefix a-, which (ii) changes the reference of the verb prefix to an indirect object (goal, recipient, beneficiary) and (iii) putting the respective argument noun phrase in dative case. The same strategy can be used to raise possessors in the cross-referencing of the verb. In example (33), it is the possessor (*nzone* ‘my’ 1SG), which is indexed in the verb, and not the possessed (*miyo* ‘desire/wish’ 3SG.FEM).

(33) nzone miyo kwa wabthakwr.

‘They told that story to my father Bäi ... and father Bäi showed (it) to me.’
‘You will fulfill my wish.’

The ditransitive pattern is very productive and almost all transitive verbs can enter this construction. Most verbs retain their transitive semantics, but can index a beneficiary of the event. For example, in (34), the verb *fsisi* ‘count’ in the clause takes the object ‘yam suckers’. The ditransitive pattern only adds a beneficiary which is indexed in the verb.

(34) *nā efothen ... wawa tafo yafsinzake ... babuan*

nā efoth=en (.) wawa tafo yafsinzake
INDF day=LOC (.) yam sucker 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:PST:IPFV (.)
babua=n
PROP.N=DAT.SG

‘Some day ... we counted yam suckers for him ... for Babua.’

As I pointed out in §5.4.4, prefixing verbs (intransitives) can enter the same pattern, whereby a beneficiary or raised possessor, in dative and possessive case respectively, is indexed in the verb form. Example (35) is taken from a recording where two speakers discuss the content of a picture card. The prefixing verb *-thn* ‘be lying’ in the example does not index the objects that are lying on the ground, but the possessor instead.

(35) *ra kwa nm bäne wāthn? ... nafane nainai?*

ra kwa nm bäne wā\thn/ (.)
what FUT maybe DEM:DEM 3SG.FEM:IO:NPST:IPFV/be.lying (.)
nafane nainai
3SG.POSS sweet_potato

‘What (of hers) might be lying there? ... her sweet potatoes?’

8.3.10 Experiencer-object constructions

Experiencer-object constructions express bodily, mental and emotional processes (‘get sunburned’, ‘shiver in fear’, ‘be angry’). These are framed as transitive clauses whereby the stimulus acts on the experiencer. Constructions of this type have been examined by Pawley et al for Kalam (2000) showing that experiencer objects as well as experiencer subjects are found in the semantic domain of bodily
Clausal syntax and mental processes. Komnzo confirms much of their findings. Structurally, experiencer-object constructions are characterised by the following (i) the stimulus argument appears in the ergative, (ii) the stimulus is indexed by a default 3SG in the verb suffix, (iii) the experiencer occurs in absolutive case, and (iv) the word order is UAV (undergoer actor verb).

Consider the two ways of expressing a feeling of hunger in the elicited examples in (36). In (36a) the experiencer is the subject of the copula clause, but in (36b) it is the object of the verb *rmatksi* ‘cut’. In the latter the feeling of hunger is portrayed as somewhat stronger. Note that the choice of verb is not entirely fixed. One can replace *rmatksi* ‘cut’ with a light verb, for example *rä*- ‘do’ (‘hunger does me’), or with the phasal verb *bthaksi* ‘finish’ (‘hunger finishes me’), thereby changing the degree or intensity of the experienced feeling. Thus, the experiencer-object construction is one possibility to express mental and bodily processes.

(36)  

a. *nzä frasi worä*

   *nzä* frasi wo\rä/

   1SG.ABS hunger 1SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

   ‘I am hungry.’

b. *nzä frasis wortmakwr*

   *nzä* frasi=f wo\rmak/wr

   1SG.ABS hunger=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/cut

   ‘I am hungry / I am starving’ (lit: ‘Hunger cuts me’)

Examples like (36a) were given to me in elicitation, when asking ‘How do I say ‘I am hungry?’’. I first encountered experiencer-object constructions in more natural situations, for example in overhearing conversations or when translating recordings. Komnzo speakers explicitly regard experiencer-object constructions as more original and creative language. Therefore, it seems natural that these were rarely offered in the context of elicitation. Experiencer-object constructions portray a situation in much more colourful terms. They often evoke some kind of emotional reaction (laughter or sympathy) from the audience, as in (37), where a woman describes what happened to her as a small child when she was hiding on a tree from a pig.

(37) *nzä wthf warfo bā kwrā\bth.*

   *nzä* wth=f warfo bā kwrā\bth/

   1SG.ABS faeces=ERG.SG above MED 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IRR:PFV/finish

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4Note that the notion of experiencer is slightly extended here to include bodily processes in addition to mental or emotional ones.
8.3 Clause types

‘I really had to take a dump there on top (of the tree).’ (lit: ‘excretes would finish me’)

Experiencer-object constructions express bodily and mental processes, and it is this internal stimulus which ‘acts’ on the experiencer. Two text examples were given in the description of the ergative case (§4.5) and are repeated below in (38) and (39).

(38) **nokuyé fthé sabtha.**

noku=yé fthé sa\bth/a
anger=ERG.NSG when 2\3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:PST:PFV/finish

‘That is when he got really angry.’ (lit. ‘anger finished him’)

(39) **wtrif z zwe\af.**

wtri=f z zwe\af/
fear=ERG.SG ALR 2\3SG>1SG:RPST:PFV/hold

‘I am already scared.’ (lit. ‘fear holds me’)

The stimulus noun phrase can be modified, for example with a nominal compound. In example (40) the stimulus *miyo* ‘desire’ is modified by two elements yielding *kabe zan miyo* ‘desire to kill people’. This example is repeated from the discussion of complex heads in §7.5.2.

(40) **baf fthé srä\bth nima ... kabe zan miyof.**

baf fthé srä\bth/
RECOG.ERG.SG when 2\3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/finish
nima (. ) kabe zan miyo=f
like.this (. ) man hitting desire=ERG.SG

‘That is when this overcomes him ... the bloodlust for people.’ (lit. ‘people killing desire finishes him’)

Experiencer-object constructions differ in their basic word order from other clauses in that the experiencer, the object, comes first. This can be explained by the special semantics of the experiencer-object construction, in which the most salient element is the experiencer. However, most of the examples in this section do not include an overt noun phrase. One example from the corpus is given in (41). Note that the speaker corrects himself in this example. He first uses the absolutive (*frfr*) ‘shiver’, but then repeats the same noun in the ergative (*frfré*).
The small child was almost shivering’ (lit. ‘the shivers were about to pull him’)

Note that in (41), the noun phrase is marked with the non-singular ergative (=ê), but the verb indexes a singular actor. This also occurs in (38). All other examples in the corpus employ the singular ergative (=f). I take this as evidence for the limited grammatical behaviour of property nouns. All property nouns – like noku ‘anger’ in (38) and frfr ‘shiver’ in (41) – evade cross-referencing in the verb prefix slot, usually a middle is used instead. Property nouns are only indexed in experiencer-object constructions, though not in the prefix, but with a default 2|3SG in the suffix (See §3.1.3).

The second domain of experiencer object constructions are bodily processes, like in (41) above. Below in (42-45) a few more examples of this type are given.

‘That is when it got stuck right here.’ (lit. ‘hardness made it’)

‘The tobacco is very strong.’ (lit. ‘tobacco smoke cuts me’)

(overheard)
8.3 Clause types

(44) nzrmf wortmakur kwanen.
nzrm=f wo\rtmak/wr kwan=en
bitterness=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/cut throat=LOC

‘It is very sour.’ (lit. ‘bitterness cuts me’)  
(overheard)

(45) watik nzfrä ... efothf nfariwr.
watik nzf\rä/ (. ) efoth=f
enough 1PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/be (. ) sun=ERG.SG
n\fari/wr 2|3SG:SBJ>1PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/dry

‘We have done enough ... We are burning in the sun.’ (lit. ‘sun dries us.’)  
(tci20111119-03 ABB #200)

8.3.11 Cognate and pseudo-cognate object constructions

Cognate objects are a common phenomenon in Komnzo. Examples (46-48) contain a nominalised verb and an inflected verb. In all three examples, the nominalisation and the inflected verb are the same. Hence, (46) translates literally as ‘I tell them the telling’. The verb indexes the indirect argument (2|3PL) and by analogy to other ditransitive verbs trikasi is the direct object of the verb.

(46) nze ane trikasi ätrikwé.
nze ane trik-si ä\trik/wé
1SG.ERG DEM tell-NMLZ 1SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:NPST:IPFV/tell

‘I tell them the story.’ (lit. ‘I tell them the telling.’)  
(tci20111119-03 ABB #161)

There is an analytical problem with verbs which occur in the middle template. Example (48) translates literally as ‘He laughs the laughter’ or as ‘He laughterlaughs’. The middle template used in (47) and (48) only indexes the subject argument, not the object. Because of this, it cannot be determined whether the nominalisations maikasi ‘washing’ and borsi ‘laughing’ function as objects or whether they function predicatively. We will see below that a predicative function is a possible analysis in some cases. From this perspective, cognate objects and predicative nominals in light verb constructions can be portrayed as contiguous phenomena. Light verb construction are described in the following section (§8.3.12).
(47) *maikasi bā yamayukwro.*

    maik-si    bā    yā'maik/wro
    wash-NMLZ MED SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/wash

    ‘I will wash there.’  (lit. ‘I washing-wash.’)

(48) *borsi yaborwr.*

    borsi    yā'bor/wr
    laugh-NMLZ 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/laugh

    ‘He laughs.’ (lit. ‘He laughs the laughing.’)

A second problem is that many verbs lack regular nominalisations, which are formed with the suffix *-si*. These verbs use a common noun as in example (49) below. The adjective *kwosi* ‘dead’ functions adverbially and adds the meaning of a deep sleep. The noun *etfth* ‘sleep’, however, is semantically fully included in the meaning of the verb *rug* ‘sleep’, just like the regular nominalisation *borsi* ‘laugh’ is included the inflected verb in (48) above. As a consequence, *etfth* is optional and the sentence would be grammatical without it. Note that the same is true examples (46-48).

(49) *fi etfth kwosi sfrugrm.*

    fi etfth kwosi sf\rugr/m
    3.ABS sleep dead 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/sleep

    ‘He was sleeping soundly.’ (lit. ‘He was sleep sleeping deadly.’)

For want of a better term, I label examples like (49) ‘pseudo-cognate object’ constructions. They are unlike cognate objects because the verb stem and the nominal element are formally not related. Other examples are *rnzūr* ‘dance, sing’ and *wath* ‘dance (n), song’ and *-nor* ‘shout, emit sound’ and *kwan* ‘shout (n)’. Although the verb stem and noun are not cognate, distributional evidence shows that they stand in the same relationship as an inflected verb and the corresponding regular nominalisation with *-si*. For example, the phasal verb *bthaksi* ‘finish’ takes the noun *wath* ‘dance (n), song’ to mean ‘finish singing’. This is because there is no regular nominalisation available for the verb *rnzūr* ‘dance, sing’.

The noun in these constructions is not always redundant. For example, it can be modified as the head of a compound, thereby modifying the predicate. In (50) the noun *etfth* ‘sleep’ occurs in a compound modified by *efoth* ‘day’ indicating that the speaker was sleeping during the day.
(50) **efoth etfth kwofrugrm e zizi**

efoth etfth kwo\'rug\'/m e zizi
day sleep 1SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/sleep until afternoon

‘I was sleeping during the day until the afternoon.’ (lit. ‘I was day-sleep sleeping.’)

(tci20111119-03 ABB #31)

This kind of predicate modification is developed to varying degrees. The best example is the intransitive verb *nor* ‘shout, emit a sound’, which again lacks an infinitive and instead *kwan* ‘shout (n), call’ is used. Hence, *kwan yanor* ‘He shouts the shout’ or ‘He emits the shout’ is a common expression. Komnzo has a long list of ideophones, which express auditory sensations (§3.7.1). All of these enter into compounds of the type ideophone + *kwan* as in *sō kwan* ‘sound of wallabies grunting’ or *nzam kwan* ‘the sound of smacking one’s lips’. Most auditory sensations are expressed in this construction with the verb *nor*. In example (51), the gurgling sound of a headhunter’s victim is described.

(51) **grr kwannzo fobo zwanorm**

grr kwan=nzo fobo zwa\'nor/m
rasping.sound shout=ONLY DIST.ALL 3SG:FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/shout

‘She was just gurgling.’ (lit. ‘She was shouting/emitting only the rasping sound.’)

(tci20111119-01 ABB #154)

Example (52) comes from a hunting trip, where I was instructed to imitate the sound of a jumping wallaby (*bübü kwan*) by hitting the ground with a thick stick.

(52) **bübü kwan gnanoré!**

bübü kwan gna\'nor/e
thumping.sound shout 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/shout

‘You must beat the ground!’ (lit. ‘You must shout/emit the thumping sound.’)

(overheard)

Lastly, the verb can be modified by using a different noun. This is a marginal pattern, and I can give only two examples. Instead of *kwan*, one can use the noun *frk* ‘blood’ with verb *nor* ‘shout’ to express that someone is bleeding as in (53), which comes from the description of a picture card.
Clausal syntax

(53) *gare frk neba komnzo wänor.*

\[\eta\text{are frk neba komnzo wänor/} \]
\[3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout \]

‘The woman is only bleeding on the other side.’

The second example is the noun *wanzo* ‘dream’ which can be used with *rug-* ‘sleep’ (instead of *etfth* ‘sleep (n)’). In example (54), the speaker talks about the mythological significance of the bird of paradise, when it appears in one’s dream.

(54) ... *ythamama wanzo fthé nzrarugr*

\[.(.) ythama=ma \]
\[wanzo fthé nzra\text{rugr/} \]
\[2\text{|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/sleep} \]

‘... when you are dreaming of the bird of paradise.’

There are a handful of (intransitive) verbs for which pseudo-cognate constructions are possible, even though there is a regular nominalisation with *-si* available. For example, *bznsi* ‘work (v.i.)’ can occur together with *znsä* ‘work (n)’. Another example is *mthizsi* ‘suffer’ which can occur with *zi* ‘pain’ as in example (55).

(55) *zi swathizrm ... ekri zi ... kofä ysma*

\[zi \text{swa\text{thi/zrm} (.) ekri zi (.) kofä ys=ma} \]
\[3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/suffer (.) flesh pain (.) fish thorn=CHAR \]

‘He was in pain ... body pain ... from the fish spike.’

We have seen above that cognate and pseudo-cognate constructions are similar to light verb constructions in that a nominal element contributes to the meaning of the predicate. They are markedly different in the degree of modification, because light verbs are much more general in their semantics (\(r̃u\)- ‘do’, *fiyoksi* ‘make’, \(ko\)- ‘become’). It might be best to view this as a cline: on one end of the spectrum we have cognate object constructions, where the nominalisation of the verb occurs together with the same verb as in (46-48). On the other end of the spectrum we have light verb constructions, where the nominal element not only carries most of the meaning of the predicate, but it always differs formally from the verb. Light verbs are described in the next section.
8.3.12 Light verb constructions

There are number of light verbs in Komnzo. These are rā- ‘do’, ko- ‘become’, fiyoku ‘make’ and the two phasal verbs thkāfsi ‘start’ and bthaksi ‘finish’. The first two are interesting from a lexical perspective. The light verb rā- is build from the same stem as the copula. In a prefixing template this stem means ‘be’, but in an ambifixing template it means ‘do’. The second stem ko- only occurs in ambifxing templates, where it can mean ‘speak’ or ‘become’. Although these are only statistical tendencies, in the middle template ko- usually means ‘become’, where in a transitive template it usually means ‘speak’.

The light verb ‘do’ is usually used in the middle template indexing only the subject argument. A very frequent collocation is with fam ‘thought’, thus, literally: ‘do thoughts’ means ‘think’. Examples (56) and (57) are taken from a picture stimulus task. Note that fam is not indexed in the verb form, even if the light verb indexes an object. In (57) fam functions predicatively, and a literal translation of ‘He thinks of her’ is ‘He thought-does her’.

(56) wati, a ne fof yamnzr fam ya'ar

\[
\text{wati a ne fof ya'm/znz fam then DEM EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPPST:IPFV/sit thought} \\
\text{ya'r} \\
\text{2|3SG:SBJ:NPPST:IPFV/do}
\]

‘Okay, this one is sitting. He is thinking.’ (tci2011104 RMA #133)

(57) zane emo f oth fam wrār anema yatrikwr nafan

\[
\text{zane emo fam w'rə/r DEM:PROX girl thought 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPPST:IPFV/do} \\
\text{ane=ma ya'trik/wr nafan} \\
\text{DEM=CHAR 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPPST:IPFV/tell 3SG.DAT}
\]

‘He thinks of that girl and he tells him about her.’ (tci2011104 RMA #52)

This is a general feature of light verbs. They require a nominal element which functions predicatively. Hence, we find predicative nominals in both intransitive (56) and transitive structures (57). In these examples, the predicative nominal was the noun fam, but very often property nouns are used for this function, especially property nouns with more event-oriented semantics. In example (58), the speaker remarks that his dogs have disappeared. The meaning of disappearing is expressed by the property noun ofe ‘absent/absence’.
Clausal syntax

(58) \textit{fi kafar mane erera nābi ane ofe yarerrath.}

\begin{verbatim}
fi kafar mane e\textsuperscript{\textra/ra} nābi ane ofe
but big which 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be one DEM absent
\textsuperscript{\textra/ra/rath.}
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/do
\end{verbatim}

‘As for the big dogs, they disappeared for good.’

(tci20111119-03 ABB #70)

The light verb \textit{ko-} ‘become’ shows a similar behaviour. It can appear with nominals like in (59) with the adjective \textit{kafar} ‘big’. But often ‘become’ occurs with property nouns which function predicatively. In (60), the property noun \textit{wefwef} ‘excited/excitement’ contributes most of the meaning of the event.

(59) \textit{wati fi zena ngemār ... kafar zākor.}

\begin{verbatim}
wati fi zena nge=mār (.) kafar z zā\textsuperscript{\textkor/}
then 3.ABS today child=PRIV (.) big ALR SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/become
\end{verbatim}

‘Well, today she has become already old without (having) children.’

(tci20120814 ABB #214-215)

(60) “\textit{daddy skri, bun ane fof \textydé. be ane sawob.” watik skri ane wefwefnzo krākor.}

\begin{verbatim}
daddy skri bun ane fof \textydé/ be father PERS.N 2SG.DAT DEM EMPH 3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/be 2SG.ERG
ane sa\textwob/ watik skri ane DEM 2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IMP:PFV/eat then PERS.N DEM
wefwef=nzo krā\textsuperscript{\textkor/} excited=ONLY 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/become
\end{verbatim}

“‘Daddy Skri, this one is for you. You eat this one.” Well, Skri got excited!’

(tci20120922-25 ALK #24-25)

The light verb ‘become’ together with the property noun \textit{miyatha} ‘knowledge’ is used to express coming into the state of knowing something, literally ‘become knowledge(able)’. In example (61) a man, who fell off a coconut palm in an attempt to steal palm wine, is badly insulted. The phrase \textit{miyatha kākor} can be translated as both ‘you know it!’ or ‘you feel it!’.
(61) \textit{fot n\textsuperscript{"a}! miyatha k\textsuperscript{\text{"a}}\text{"o}! bu\textsuperscript{\text{"a}}me zakiyar!}

fof n\textsuperscript{"a}/ miyatha k\textsuperscript{\text{"a}}\text{"o}/ EMPH 2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/ be knowledgeable 2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/become bu-\textsuperscript{\text{"a}}me za\textsuperscript{\text{"a}}\text{"i}yar/ 2SG:POSS-mother 2SG:SBJ->3SG:FEM:IMP:PFV/copulate

‘It is you! You feel it now! Fuck your mother!’

(tci20120904 MAB #95)

Example (62) is about the \textit{tut\text{"u}} bird (Pheasant Coucal), who used to be the custodian of fire before people knew about it. The light verb ‘become’ indexes the \textit{tut\text{"u}} bird (3SG,FEM), not the property noun \textit{miyatha}. Again, the predicative nominal \textit{miyatha} ‘knowledgeable’ can enter an intransitive (61) or transitive light verb construction (62).

(62) n\textsuperscript{"a} kay\textsuperscript{\text{"e}} ... \textit{miyatha wkonzh}. “oh budben mni r\textsuperscript{\text{"a}} fot”

n\textsuperscript{"a} kay\textsuperscript{\text{"e}} (. ) miyatha INDF yesterday (. ) knowledgeable w\textsuperscript{\text{"a}}/ko/nzath oh budben mni 2|3PL:SBJ->3SG,FEM:OBJ:PIST:IPFV/become oh 2SG:LOC fire \textsuperscript{"a}/ r\textsuperscript{\text{"a}}/ 3SG,FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be EMPH

‘One day ... they found out about her. “Oh, so the fire is really with you.”’

(tci20131008 KAB #10-11)

The verb \textit{fiyoksi} ‘make’ can occur as a proto-typical transitive verb without the ‘semantic assistance’ of a nominal predicative element. However, it also occurs as a light verb. In example (63), we find two occurrences of \textit{fiyoksi}. The first token indexes \textit{zrin} ‘problem, burden’ (3SG,FEM) as its object argument, and \textit{fiyoksi} can be translated as ‘create’. The second token of \textit{fiyoksi} indexes the subject. The property noun \textit{durua} ‘help’ contributes most of the semantic content of the predicate.

(63) nz\textsuperscript{"a} nima “bone zrin r\textsuperscript{\text{"a}} bone nagayf ane zrin zwafiyokwr keke kwa monme durua n\textsuperscript{\text{"a}}fiyokwr”

nz\textsuperscript{"a} nima bone zrin \textsuperscript{\text{"a}}/ 1SG.ABS like_this 2SG:POSS problem 3SG,FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be bone nagay=f ane zrin 2SG:POSS child=ERG DEM problem
‘I said: “This is your problem. Your child has created this problem. We will not help.”’

(tci20120922-24 STK #22)

Analogous to the other light verbs, fiyoksi can be used in a transitive structure. In example (64), an infamous sorcerer is annoyed by a few other men. The main semantic contribution to the event comes from the property noun thathy ‘nuisance’, while the object indexed in the light verb is the sorcerer (3SG.MASC).

(64) wati thathy zä zf swafiyokwrmth
  wati thathy zä zf swa\fiyok/wrmth
  then nuisance PROX IMM 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/make
  ‘Then, they were annoying him here.’
  (tci20131013 ABB #59)

The two phasal verbs usually take nominalised verbs as their complements (See §9.3.1), but they can also be supplemented by property nouns with more event-oriented semantics. Hence, the exhibit the same double life as full verbs and light verbs as fiyoksi. Two examples of thkäfsi ‘start’ functioning as a light verb are given below. In (65) a man is trying to enter the house in which two children are hiding. The phasal verb indexes the two children, while the semantic content of the event comes solely from the property noun zirkn ‘persistence’.

(65) wati zänfrefa yanyak nagayé kma n zirkn thrathkäf ... zirkn
  wati zänfrefa yanyak nagayé kma n zirkn thrathkäf ...
  then SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/come.up 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPOST:IPFV:VENIT/walk
  nagayé kma n zirkn thr,thkäf/ (.)
  children POT IMN persistence 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3DU:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start (.)
  zirkn
  persistence
  ‘Then, he came up from the river, he walked. He was about to start hassling the two children ... hassling (them)’
  (tci20100905 ABB #111)

In example (66), a malevolent spirit is trying to persuade a man to stay the night in her house. Again, the property noun garam garam ‘sweet-talk’ expresses most of the semantics of the event.
8.3 Clause types

(66) *garam garam* srethkäf.

\[\text{garam garam} \quad \text{sr}\text{e}thkäf/\]
\[\text{sweet.talk} \quad 2|3\text{SG:SBJ}>3\text{SG:MASC:OBJ:IRR.PFV}/\text{start}\]

‘She started sweet-talking him.’

(tci20120901-01 MAK #88)

As I have shown above, that light verbs (*rū* ‘do’, *ko* ‘become’, *fiyoki* ‘make’, *thkäf* ‘start’ and *bthaksi* ‘finish’) require semantic assistance from nominal predicates. However, nominal predicates can be found with other verbs, i.e. full verbs. In the following examples, the concepts of ‘being concentrated’ (67) and ‘being locked in’ (68) are expressed by the property nouns *mogu* ‘concentration’ and *ttw* ‘inertia’ respectively. Both meanings could be expressed with light verbs, for example (67) could be expressed as *mogu* ṣaräré ‘I am concentrating’ (lit. ‘I am concentration-doing’). The two examples below employ full verbs instead, which should be seen as more idiosyncratic way of speaking.

(67) *biskar mnifnzo mogu kwofkämgwrm*

\[\text{biskar} \quad \text{mni=f=nzo} \quad \text{mogu} \]
\[\text{cassava cooking=ERG.SG=ONLY concentration} \]
\[\text{kwof\text{kämg}/wrm} \quad 2|3\text{SG:SBJ}>1\text{SG:OBJ:PST:DUR}/\text{block}\]

‘Cooking the cassava took all my attention. (lit. ‘cassava cooking concentration blocked me’)

(tci20111119-03 ABB #79)

(68) *ttw zwermänth. wati fobo thufnzrmth*

\[\text{ttw} \quad \text{zwe\text{`män}/th} \quad \text{wati fobo} \]
\[\text{inertia 2|3\text{PL:SBJ}>3\text{SG:FEM:OBJ:ITER}/close then DIST.ALL} \]
\[\text{thu\text{`fn}/nzrmth} \quad 2|3\text{PL:SBJ}>2|3\text{PL:OBJ:PST:DUR}/\text{kill}\]

‘They always closed off (the village). Then, they were killing them.’

(20120818 ABB #46-47)

I point out in §11.3 that verbs are considered to be a closed word class in Komnzo. Part of the argumentation is based on the observation that loanwords, which are verbs in the donor language, commonly end up as property nouns in a light verb construction. One such example was shown above in (63) with the property noun *durua* ‘help’, which is a transitive verb in Motu (Turner-Lister and Clark, 1935: 61). Below, two examples with English loans are given. In example
(69) the verb *fiyoksi* indexes the object *zokwasi* ‘words’ (2|3PL), while the loan-word *senis* ‘change’ expresses most of the semantics (lit. ‘I will not change-make the words’). In example (70) the middle verb *rä-* ‘do’ is supplemented by the English loan *zek* ‘check’ (lit. ‘I check-do for water’).

(69) **zokwasi ke kwa senis thräfiyothé.**

\[
\text{zokwasi ke ke kwa senis thrä\fiyoth/é words NEG FUT change 1SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/make}
\]

‘I will not change my promise.’

(tci20121019-04 ABB #226)

(70) **kränrsöfthé mäbri ttfö ... nor bobo zek kräré ... keke**

\[
\text{krän\rsöfth/é mäbri ttfö (.) no=r bobo 1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/descend PLACE.N creek (.) water=PURP MED.ALL}
\]

\[
\text{zek krä\r/é (.) keke check 1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/do (.) NEG}
\]

‘I went down to the creek in Mäbri to check for water, but no (water).’

(tci20130903-03 MKW #146-147)

For situations of language contact, Heine and Kuteva describe how minor patterns in a language can become a major pattern (2005: 44). It is clear that light verb constructions are not a minor pattern in Komnzo. However, it seems evident that with more (verb) loans entering the language, light verb constructions will become even more widely used. For more discussion on the this topic, I refer the reader to §11.3.

### 8.4 Questions

Content questions in Komnzo are formed by replacing the respective noun phrase with an interrogative. Word order may or may not be changed for pragmatic purposes. As content questions are always pragmatically motivated, the element which is asked about is automatically focussed. Therefore, the interrogative is often found in fronted position, but fronting is not part of question formation. Example (71) shows an example with the interrogative *ra* ‘what’.

(71) **nafafis zräs “be ranzo kayé thwanfiyokwr?”**

\[
\text{nafafis zräs “be ranzo kayé thwanfiyokwr?”}
\]

\[
\text{nafafis zräs “be ranzo kayé thwanfiyokwr?”}
\]

‘Her husband asked her: “Just what have you done to them yesterday?”’

(tci20120901-01 MAK #163)
Example (72) shows an example where the interrogative occurs inside a complex noun phrase ‘whose sister’. Note that the noun phrase which contains the interrogative has been fronted for pragmatic reasons. This is an example of a rhetorical question, because it came up in a discussion about the type of punitive actions one would launch against one’s brothers-in-laws.

(72) "mafane emo\th be zu\n\nrm?" nima fof s\ko\nz\e

maf=ane emo\th be zu\n\nrm
who=POSS sister 2SG.ERG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/hit
nima fof s\ko\nz\e
like_this EMPH 2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:IPFV/speak

"'Whose sister were you beating?' that is what you must say to him.’

(tci20120805-01 ABB #219)

Polar questions are often structurally identical to indicative statement, but the have a rising intonation contour as in (73) and (74). Additionally the iamitive particle z ‘already’ can be used even though the verb is in the non-past (73).

(73) zbä\r bä zag\w\ä \äm\nz\ro. z wanrizrth?

zbä\r bä zagr=wä \äm\nz\ro z
night 2.ABS far=EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/sit ALR
wan\riz/rth
2|3PL:SBJ>1SG.IO:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/hear

‘You are sitting far away. Can you hear me?’ (lit. ‘you hear my (words) already?’)

(tci20121019-04 SKK #9)

(74) a\n\e wri kamb\b\é kma n yrärth ‘kwa krä\znobe?’ naf ekonz\r ‘keke’

ane wri kambe=yé kma n
DEM intoxication man=ERG.NSG POT IMN
y\r\rz\h kwa krä\znob/e
naf e\ko\nz\r keke
3SG.ERG 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/speak NEG

‘These drunkards are trying (to convince him): “Will we drink?” He says to them “No”’

(tci20111004 RMA #509)
Clausal syntax

Alternative questions are formed by a disjunctive coordination with *o* ‘or’. In (75), the alternatives are expressed by two clauses, and in (76) by two noun phrases.

(75) *fam kwarärmth “kwa ywokrakwr o kwa ñabrüzr?”*

fam kwa\r\ärmth kwa y\wokrak\wr o thought 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/do FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/float or kwa ña\brüz/r FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/submerge

‘They were thinking: “Will it float or will it sink?”’

(tci20120929-02 SIK #31)

(76) *zokwasi fefeme natrikwé o markai zokwasime?*

zokwasi fefe=me na\trik/wé o markai language real=INS 1SG:SBJ>2SG:IO:NPST:IPFV/tell or white man zokwasi=me language=INS

‘Will I tell you (the story) in Komnzo or in English’ (lit. ‘the real language or the white man’s language’)

(tci20120901 MAK #1)

Question tags like *o keke* ‘or not’ can be added, which also receive a rising intonation.

(77) *kwa nm weto wørär o keke?*

kwa nm weto wo\r\ä/r o keke FUT maybe joy 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/do or NEG

‘Maybe he will be happy towards me or not?’

(tci20111004 RMA #477)

8.5 Negation

Negation at the clause level is usually expressed with the negator *keke* which occurs in preverbal position as in example (78).

(78) *nafanme emoth keke kränrit nzedbo.*

nafanme emoth keke krän\rit/ nzedbo 3PL.POSS girl NEG 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/cross_over 1NSG.ALL
‘They will not exchange sisters with us.’ (lit. ‘Their girls will not cross over to us.’)

One exception is the prohibitive construction (See §6.3.2). This construction consists of the potential particle $kma$, the verb in the imperative, and the appre-hensive clitic $m=$, which may attach either to the verb or to the potential particle. This construction is best translated as ‘must not’ as can be seen in example (79). Note that the negator keke cannot be included in this construction.

(79) $nznä\brim\ath$ “bä $kmam$ thiya$ké! kafarnzo ni nyak!”.

Negation at the level of the constituent can be expressed in a number of ways. The word $matak$ ‘nothing’ is used to express non-existence, usually in a copula clause. This is shown in example (80) where a man takes notice that he is alone in the village. $Matak$ can also be used in a non-verb predication, for example $nge$ $matak$ ‘(they were) no children’. Alternatively, any noun phrase can be negated by using the privative case marker $=\mär$. This is described in §4.14.

(80) $kabe$ $matak$ $e\rá/ nima$ z $bramöwä$ kwafarkwrth.

Negative indefinites expressing ‘none whatsoever’ or ‘nothing at all’ are con-structed by adding the negator $keke$ to an noun phrase that includes the indefinite marker $nä$. For example, $nä$ $kabe$ means ‘some man’ or ‘someone’, but $kabe$ $nä$ $keke$ means ‘nobody at all’. This is adressed in the description of the indefinite marker $nä$ in §3.1.10.
Chapter 9

Complex syntax

9.1 Introduction

This section describes the combination of two or more predicates. There are three parameters involving the coding of complex clauses. The first parameter is the verb inflection. Are both predicates fully inflected or is one of them nominalised? The second parameter is the way, how an interclausal relationship between two fully inflected predicates is marked. This often involves demonstratives marked for case. The third parameter are syntactic restrictions in one of the two clauses. These parameters allow us to decide whether a particular clause combination should be analysed as coordination or subordination. Note that the first parameter supersedes the other two, in that nominalised predicates are always analysed as subordinate clauses, and the other two parameters do not apply. Only if two clauses contain inflected verbs, these two parameters help to identify the relationship between them. For example, relative clauses are structurally similar to content questions, but they differ in two points. First, they are usually headed by the relativised element, which is in some sense the answer to the question posed by the relative clause. Second, relative clauses have a more rigid structure than questions. Hence, they are analysed as a type of subordination. On the other hand, complements of knowledge consist of one clause with a predicative nominal (miyatha ‘knowledge’) and the copula. The epistemic content can be expressed by a separate clause, which shows no syntactic dependency to the first. It follows that in some cases these parameters fail and only semantic criteria can be applied.

I want to give a few examples, to show that there is a cline of syntactic integration between two clauses. Givón provides a functional explanation to the various degrees of syntactic integration: “the stronger the semantic bond between two events, the more extensive will be the syntactic integration of the two clauses into a single though complex clause” (2001: 41). As we will see, Komnzo supports this observation to some extent. I choose the domain of ‘cause’ to illustrate this below. The clearest way to mark a causer is by putting the element in the ergative
case. In Komnzo nominalised verbs can be used in this way (1). In the example, a Marind headhunter tries to distract his victims by imitating the sound that dogs make when chewing bones, but he ends up only distracting himself. The phrase *ane wäsifnzo* ‘only that cracking’ functions as a clausal subject. The event ‘crack’ and the event ‘close’ are tightly integrated. They occur simultaneously and they stand in direct causal relation.

(1)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bäne} & \text{ thu\textbackslash wā/nzrm fof ... zarfa surmänwrn} & \text{ane wäsifnzo}.
\end{align*}
\]

\text{bäne:} \text{thu\textbackslash wā/nzrm:} \text{fof (.) zarfa}
\text{DEM:MED} 2\text{\textbackslash 3SG:SBJ>2\textbackslash 3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/crack fofo} \text{(.) ear}
\text{su\textbackslash rmän/wrm:} \text{ane}
\text{2\textbackslash 3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/close DEM}
\text{wā-si=f=nzo}
\text{crack-NMLZ=ERG=ONLY}

‘He was cracking those (coconut shells) ... This cracking was blocking his ears.’

(tci20120818 ABB #67-68)

The characteristic case is used for adverbial adjuncts marking origin and cause. In example (2), *mni frazi* functions as an adverbial clause. The predicate ‘be weak’ and the event ‘extinguish’ occurred at different times, but they stand in a causal relation.

(2)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{komnzo tayo zwrä mni frazsima}.
\end{align*}
\]

\text{komnzo tayo:} \text{z=wo\textbackslash rā/ mni}
\text{only:} \text{weak PROX=1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be fire}
\text{fraz-si=ma}
\text{extinguish-NMLZ=CHAR}

‘I am just weak here from extinguishing the fire.’

(tci20120922-24 STL #21)

Komnzo has a recognitional demonstrative pronoun, which can function in a number of ways (§3.1.11.6). It is frequently used in ‘tip-of-the-tongue’ situations. Example (3) explains why a particular woman in Rouku grew very old, while her friends and some of her children have passed away already. The structure is the same as (2). The only difference is that the speaker uses the recognitional inflected with the characteristic case (‘because of that one’). After a short pause, he fills in the referent *rirksima* ‘because she respected’. The event ‘survive’ (lit. ‘jump’) and the event ‘respect’ occurred in different times, but they stand in a causal relation.
In discourse, the use of the recognitional creates some kind of expectation that something should follow. This something can remain empty, for example when the referent is common ground between the speaker and the addressee, but it can also be ‘filled in’ (3). This latent expectation explains why the recognitional is employed to introduce another clause (4). The function of that clause is determined by the case marker on the recognitional. In (4) it is the characteristic case, and consequently the function of the following clause is to mark a reason, in other words ţânema can be translated with ‘because’. The event in the first clause ‘exit’ and the event in the second clause ‘close’ stand in a causal relationship. However, the causal chain of events involves a number steps.

Lastly, I want to contrast the use of the recognitional from other demonstratives. Consider example (5), which includes the general demonstrative ane in the characteristic case in the second clause. The demonstrative ane functions anaphorically, and in that sense it is the mirror image of the recognitional. The events ‘disturb’ and ‘submerge’ stand in a causal relationship, but the components are reversed. We can translate it to English with ‘therefore’ or ‘that’s why’. The two clauses are otherwise independent. This is also supported by the paragraph marker watik ‘well, then’ which occurs at the beginning of the second clause, but this is optional.
The examples above illustrate, that there is a cline between syntactically integrated clauses, i.e. subordinated clauses, and independent clauses. While both ends of the cline are relatively easy to identify, the middle is a grey zone. It is clear that examples like (5) consists of two independent clauses. Likewise, the nominalised predicates in (1 - 3) are clear cases of subordination. But examples like (4) are somewhat indeterminate. One the one hand, the recognitional pronoun creates a gap that needs to be filled. In other words, semantically, the second clause is subordinated to the first clause. On the other hand, the second clause is syntactically independent. Therefore, I refrain from analysing the recognitional as a subordinator, but rather as having a connecting function.\footnote{Note that the recognitional demonstrative can be inflected for following cases: characteristic =$=ma$ ‘because’, instrumental =$=me$ ‘thereby’ and purposive =$=mr$ ‘in order to, until’.}

The following description is functionally motivated, that is subsections are sorted thematically. For example, a subsection on purposive clauses will include clear cases of subordination, but also constructions where the purpose is expressed in an independent clause connected with the recognitional. I will describe coordinated clauses (§9.2), complement clauses (§9.3), adverbial clauses (§9.4), relative clauses (§9.5), conditional and time clauses (§9.6) and direct speech and thought (§9.7).

### 9.2 Coordinated clauses

Coordination refers to syntactic constructions where two or more elements of equal status are connected (Haspelmath, 2007). Komnzo employs the same mechanisms for coordinating noun phrases as it does for coordinating clauses. The word a ‘and’ can be used for conjunctive coordination (6) and the word o ‘or’ can be used for disjunctive coordination (7).
9.2 Coordinated clauses

(6) *mni wthomonwath a zrāfōfth*

mni w\thomon/wath  
fire  2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:PST:PST:IPFV/prepare.fire and  
zrā\fō/fof/th  
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:IRR:PFV/burn  

‘They piled the fire and burn it.’

(7) *nafa=yamaf wnfathwr o ynfathwr.*

nafa-yame=f  
wn\fath/wr  
3.POSS-mother=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST.VENIT/hold or  
y\fath/wr  
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST.VENIT/hold  

‘(The child’s) mother holds her or holds him.’

For conjunctive coordination it is quite common to have no overt marker (8). Especially in sequences of events, two or more inflected verbs can follow each other. Example (8) describes the felling a sago palm.

(8) *wati yfarwake ... sabthake ... safūmnzake fof*

wati y\far/wake  
then 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:PST:IPFV/chop  
sa\bth/ake  
1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:PST:PFV/finish  
sa\fümnz/ake  
1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:PST:PFV/pull.over EMPH  

‘Then we chopped it (and) finished it (and) pulled it over.’

Other ways of coordinating two clauses involve the manner demonstrative *nima* ‘like this’, which is commonly used to introduce direct speech (§9.7). In example (9), *nima* indicates the manner of movement (accompanied with an appropriate gesture), but it also connects the two following clauses.
The wind was swinging (the lamp) on the bamboo (and) it was moving it there (and) it was moving it here.'

(9) nabi tutin fą fof zumirwarzrm füsfüsf ... nima zfzänzrm fombo ... nima zfzänzrm.

nabi tuti=n fą fof
bamboo branch=LOC DIST EMPH
zu\mirwa/nzrm füsfüs=f (.) nima
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/swing wind=ERG.SG (.) like_this
zf\zä/nzrm fombo (.) nima
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/carry DIST.ALL (.) like_this
zf\zä/nzrm
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/carry

‘The wind was swinging (the lamp) on the bamboo (and) it was moving it there (and) it was moving it here.’

(10) watik bad fof tharisi zathkäfake ... bad wtharinzake zabthake.

watik bad fof thari-si za\thkäf/ake
then ground EMPH dig-NMLZ 1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/start
(.) bad w\thari/nzake
(.) ground 1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/dig
za\bth/ake
1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/start

9.3 Complement clauses

9.3.1 Phasal verbs

The most common complement taking predicates in Komnzo are the two phasal verbs thkäfksi ‘start’ and bthaksi ‘finish’. Other verbs show similar behaviour, for example gathiksi ‘stop, leave’, mäyogsı ‘continue, repeat’.

With phasal verbs the indexation structure from the nominalised verb is raised into the matrix clause. The values of those categories expressed in the verb form are marked on the phasal verb. This may include number, person and gender of the arguments, but also tense, aspect, mood and direction. Example (10) shows the ‘non-phasal’ clause bad wtharinzake ‘we were digging the ground’. The verb indexes the actor (1PL) and the undergoer bad ‘ground’ (3SG.FEM). In the first clause of the example, the same state of affairs is expressed, but the verb ‘dig’ occurs in its infinitive tharisi, and its argument structure is raised into the phasal verb thkäfksi ‘start’. Now it is the phasal verb which indexes a first plural actor and a third singular feminine undergoer.
‘Then we started to dig the ground. We were digging the ground and finished it.’

This is also found with ditransitive events, as in (11) below. The verb *thkäfksi* ‘start’ indexes the indirect object. Note that the dative noun phrase is omitted.

(11) *wri no n säthkäfath yarisi*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
wri \quad no \quad n \quad sä\{thkäf/ath \\
yari-si \\
drunk \quad water \quad IMN \quad 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:PST:PFV/start \quad give-NMLZ
\end{array}
\]

‘They were about to give him alcohol.’

Verbs in the middle template also raise their respective indexation into the phasal verb. The middle template can be used with several functions (§5.4.5). Example (12) shows the verb *yonasi* ‘drink’, which always occurs in a middle template. In the example *yonasi* occurs in the infinitive. Consequently, the phasal verb takes over this indexing pattern and only encodes the subject, but not the object.

(12) *nä kayé ... watik yonasi zethkäfa*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
nä \quad kayé \quad (.) \quad watik \quad yona-si \quad ze\{thkä/fa \\
\quad some \quad day \quad (.) \quad then \quad drink-NMLZ \quad SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/start
\end{array}
\]

‘One day, he started to drink.’

In example (13), the prefixing verb *msaksi* ‘sit, dwell’ is used in its infinitive. Since, the phasal verb *thkäfksi* ‘start’ cannot enter the prefixing template, the middle template is used instead. As I describe in §5.4.4, the prefixing template is a minor pattern in Komnzo and most intransitive verb are encoded using the middle template. Furthermore, the prefixing template usually has stative semantics.

(13) *wati foba msaksi fefe zathkäfake*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
wati \quad foba \quad msak-si \quad fefe \quad za\{thkäf/ake \\
\quad then \quad DIST:ABL \quad dwell-NMLZ \quad really \quad 1DU:SBJ:PST:PFV/start
\end{array}
\]

‘From there, we began our married life.’ (lit. ‘we began sitting/dwelling’)

'tci20120929-02 SIK #72-73'
'tci20120925-01 MAE #158'
'tci20120925-01 MAE #83'
'tci20130823-08 WAM #47'
Example (14) shows that for the middle verb yak ‘run’ the phasal verb takes over the indexation.\(^2\) Note that the directional value (VENIT) is also raised into the phasal verb.

(14)  
kabe ane zenthkäfathom yak.

kabe ane zen\textbackslash thkäf/ath yak
man DEM 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/start run

‘The people started to run here.’

(15)  
nzä miyatha worä ŋazı sogsi.

nzä miyatha wo\textbackslash/rä/  ŋazı sog-si
1SG.ABS knowledge 1SG.SBJ:NPFV:NPST/be coconut climb-NMLZ

‘I know how to climbing coconut.’ (lit. ‘I am knowledgeable (about) coconut climbing’)

The predicate of knowledge construction (miyatha/miyamr plus copula) is a frequent collocation. Therefore, it is possible to drop the copula altogether as in (15).

(16)  
bäne ruga yfrä\textbackslash nzre ... afa fi miyamr ykwasi ... nzefênzo

bäne ruga y\textbackslash/frä/\textbackslash nzre (... afa ...)
DEM:MED pig 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:NPFV/sing.off (...) father
fi miyamr ykwa-si (... nze=wä=nzo
3.ABS miyamr ignorance cut.meat-NMLZ (...) 1SG.ERG=EMPH=ONLY

\(^2\)This verb is irregular: instead of a nominalized infinitive with -si, the third singular masculine form yak is used. However, yak is the third singular of ‘walk’ and not of ‘run’. This would be yakwir. Thus, ‘walk’ employs the noun moth ‘path, way’ as its nominalisation and ‘run’ employs yak.
We burn the hair off that pig ... father, does not know how to cut it ... only I.'

As described in §4.12, the characteristic case can express a topic of conversation. Example (17) shows that the epistemic content can also be marked with the characteristic case.

(17) zf wtkär'wé zokwasi nzā monme miyatha worā no kzima
zf w'thkar/wé zokwasi nzā
IMM 1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/start speech 1SG.ABS
mon=me miyatha wo\'rā/
how=INS knowledge 1SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be rain barktray=CHAR

'I will start the story how I know about the rain making (magic)'

The epistemic content can be expressed as a relative clause, which takes the predicate of knowledge as its head as in example (18).

(18) bā z miyatha erā maf n zwāmg?
bā z miyatha e\'rā/
2.ABS ALR knowledge 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be who.ERG IMN
zw\'mg/
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/shoot

'Do you know, who almost shot me?'

The epistemic content can also be expressed in an independent clause connected, for example with nima 'like this' (19). The use of nima in this example can also be analysed as quoting inner thought (§9.7).

(19) fi miyamr sfārm nima fi zbo ern.
fi miyamr sf\'rā/rm nima fi zbo
3.ABS ignorance 3SG.MASC:SBJPST:DUR/be like_this 3.ABS PROX.ALL
e\'rn/
2|3DU:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'He did not know those two are here.'
The acquisition of knowledge is expressed by replacing the copula with the light verb *ko*- ‘become’. Example (20) is taken from a text about a punitive custom, whereby the perpetrator is humiliated by giving him a large amount of yams, which he is expected to pay back the following year. The epistemic content is expressed by a relative clause.

(20) “*miyatha kākor bā monwā zbrigwē bā ra nrā? daw kabe?” nima *kwakonzrm.th.*

```
miyatha  kā\kor/ 
knowledge 2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/become 2.ABS how=EMPH
bā mon=wā 
2SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/return 2.ABS what
z\brig/wē 
2SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/return 2.ABS what
n\rā/ 
daw  kabe nima  kwa\ko/nzrmth 
2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be garden man like_this 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/say
```

“‘You see how you pay this back! What are you? A gardener?’ that is what they were saying.’

(tci20120805-01 ABB #241)

Note that the phrase *miyatha kākor!* can be purely epistemic “(Now) you know it!” or it can express an experiential sensation “(Now) you feel it!”.

### 9.3.3 Complements of desire

Much of what has been said about complements of knowledge, can be said about complements of desire. The property noun *miyo* ‘desire’ is used for this.³ It can be negated with the privative case =mār: *miyomār*. Again a property noun plus copula construction expresses the concept of ‘want, wish or hope’: *ra miyo erā? ‘What do you want’ (lit. ‘What desire you are’).* The clause encoding the desired (or undesired) can be expresses in a variety of ways. Example (21) shows a nominalised verb *mgthksi* ‘feed’ in the absolutive. The verbs is heading a compound ‘pig feeding’.

(21) *zena keke miyo worā ruga mgthksi ... znsā ttūfr*

```
zena  keke miyo wo\rā/ 
today NEG desire 1SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be pig  feed-NMLZ (.) work 
t-tūfr 
REDUP-plenty
```

‘Today, I do not want to feed pigs ... too much work.’ (lit. ‘I am not desirous pig feeding’)

³Note that *miyo* can also be a noun meaning ‘wish’ and ‘taste’.
In example (22), the word zokwasi is used as a nominalisation ‘speaking’.

(22) keke zokwasi miyo nzä worärn yoganai worärn.

keke zokwasi miyo nzä wo\rä/\rm yoganai NEG speech desire 1SG.ABS 1SG:SBJ:RPST:DUR/be tired wo\rä/\rm 1SG:SBJ:RPST:DUR/be

‘I did not want to talk. I was tired.’

(The property noun miyo can also be used without the copula as in (23).

(23) frzsi miyo=märe fthé kafara znfonzo kerafith thämther. sayäfianme rifthzsi fath zn rä.

frz-si miyo=märe fthé kafara zn=fo=nzo net-NMLZ desire=PRIV when river pandanus place=ALL=ONLY ke\rañïfith/ thâ\mther/ 2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/paddle 2SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IMP:PFV/lift.up sayäfi=anne rifthz-si fath zn river crayfish=POSS.NSG hide-NMLZ place place \rä/ 3SG:FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘If you don’t want to net, you paddle to the river pandanus place and lift them up. It is river crayfish’s hiding place.’

(The desired proposition can also be expressed in an independent clause which is only semantically connected the desiderative proposition. In example (24), a man threatens a young boy who shot with an arrow at him.

(24) zbo z fefe saththma “nzä fthé miyo kwurâ zena zf mr kwa nwänzé.”

zbo z fefe sa\ththm/a PROX.ALL IMM really 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG,MASC:IO:PST:PFV/stick.on nzä fthé miyo kwra\rä/ zena zf mr kwa 1SG.ABS when desire 1SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be today IMM neck FUT n\wä/\nzé 1SG:SBJ>2SG:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/crack

‘He stuck (the gun) right at him (saying): “If I want I crack your head right here now”’

(tci20130907-02 RNA #450-451 (tci20130927-06 MAB #45)

(tci20120922-24 MAA #78)
9.4 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses show a wide range of possible constructions. These range from infinitival adjuncts to independent clauses. In the following section purposive, temporal and manner adverbial clauses are described. Note that the domain of cause was used to introduce the reader to the various levels of syntactic syntactic integration of two clauses. Therefore, I will not discuss this domain here, but refer to §9.1.

9.4.1 Purposive adverbials

Purposive adverbials are found in different construction. Example (25) is from a procedural about making a drum. The speaker explains how a bamboo ring will hold the membrane in place after it is glued to the drum.

(25)  *nabi riwariwa kwa wäfiyokwre ... narsir fof*

{nobi riwariwa kwa wä fizyok/wre
 bamboo ring   FUT 1PL:SBJ>3SG.NPST:IPFV/make
 naru-si=r  fof
 press.down-NMLZ=PURP EMPH}

‘We make a bamboo ring ... for pressing down (the membrane)’

In example (26), the speaker shows me a particular tree used for poison-root fishing. The example shows that the purposive clause can take an object by forming a compound ‘for swamp poisoning’ > ‘to poison the swamp’. Note that the recognitional pronoun is used just before the nominalised verb.

(26)  *nä kayé zane zf yirwre bänemr ... zra rsrsir.*

{nä kayé zane zf yir/wre
 INDF day    DEM:PROX IMM 1PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/scrape
 bänë=mr
 RECOG=PURP (. ) swamp poison.fishing-NMLZ=PURP}

‘Sometimes, we scrape (the root of) this one here for poisoning the waterholes.’

Purposive clauses can also be less syntactically integrated and form an independent clause. In this case, they are usually introduced by the recognitional flagged with purposive case bänemr, which I translate with ‘in order to’. Example (27) describes a tall structure used show off the amount of a group’s yams harvest. This structure involved a long post around which many layers of yams tubers were tied with thick rope.
9.4 Adverbial clauses

(27) *wati far ane thden sfräzrmth bänemr kwim ṣadme sfmthzgwrmth*

wati far ane thd=en sfräz/rmth
then post DEM middle=LOC 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/erect
bäne=mr kwim ṣad=me
RECOG=PURP PROP.N rope=INS
sf\mthzg/wrmth
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/encircle

‘Then, they were erecting a post in the middle in order to wrap around
the kwim rope.’

(28) *bäne zrazänzr ... fenz kzikaf ... mä ke kwa kabe f sremar ane yam fiyoksin.*

bäne zra\žä/nzr (.) fenz
RECOG.ABS 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/carry (.) body liquid
kzi=kaf (.) mä keke kwa kabe=f
barktray=PROP (.) where NEG FUT man=ERG
sre\mar/ ane yam fiyok-si=n
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see DEM event make-NMLZ=LOC

‘He will carry that one ... the body liquid with the barktray ... where no
man will see him while doing that.’

9.4.2 Temporal adverbials

Temporal adverbials are found in a number of constructions. Example (28) shows
the locative case attached to a nominalized verb. The clause *ane yam fiyoksin* ‘doing that’ is therefore subordinated to the matrix clause. The relation between
the two clauses is one of simultaneity.

In order to connecting more independent clauses, the word *fthé* ‘if, when’
is used. This is further described in §9.6 together with conditional clause. A
close temporal connection between the two clauses can established by the word
*fthé|mäsü* ‘meanwhile, during’. The words *fthé* and *fthé|mäsü* are historically
related, but the etymology of the *mäsü* part is unclear. In example (29), the
speaker talks about a particular tree which flowers during the planting season.
Note that the first and last clause contain *fthé* ‘when’ and the middle clause
contains *fthé|mäsü*. 
(29) *efthar fthé kräkor minzü … fthémäsü wawa worsi threthkäfth … nzram fthé fof kwa ɣyarür*

*efthar  fthé  krä kor/  minzü  (.) fthémäsü  
dry season when  2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/become very  (.) meanwhile  
wawa  worsi  thre\thkäf\th  (.) nzram  fthé  
yam  plant-NMLZ  2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/start (.) flower when  
fof  kwa ŋa\\rå/r  
EMPH FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:PFV/do*

‘When it reaches the height of the dry season ... while they are starting to plant the yams ... that is when this one will flower.’

_Fthémäsü_ is not a subordinator, because it can be used on independent clauses with the translation ‘in the meantime’. In example (30), the speaker explains that after his father’s death, the stones for rain-making where lost.

(30) *nzenme ŋafe fthémäsü kwosi yara ... watik foba ni miyamr nrä mafadben zena ethn.*

*nzenme ŋafe fthémäsü kwosi ya\r/a  (.)  
1NSG.POSS father meanwhile dead  3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be  (.)  
watik foba  ni  miyamr  n\rå/  
then  DIST.ABL 1NSG ignorance 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be  
mafa=dben  zena  e\thn/  
who=LOC.ANIM.NSG today  2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/lie.down*

‘In the meantime our father died ... and from then one we don’t know with whom (the rain stones) are today.’

A third strategy to connect a clause temporally is by using the recognitional inflected with the locative case _bafen_. But this is an infrequent strategy, because (i) the temporal function is an extension of the locative case and (ii) connecting clauses is only one function of the recognitional. Example (31), is about two men from Rouku who used to work on the Fly River. They run into another men from Rouku, who has been away for a long time. The recognitional occurs twice. First is it coreferential with holiday: ‘in that time ... during the holidays’. The second use is difficult to analyse, because this is also a temporal/conditional construction, but one can assume that _bafen_ introduces the second clause.
9.4 Adverbial clauses

9.4.3 Manner adverbials

The proprietive and instrumental case on a nominalized verb can be used to express as manner adverbial clause. In the functional extension the two cases marker can also express a relation of association and temporal overlaps respectively. Hence, the nominalised verb flagged with the proprietive case in example (32) can be translated as ‘He held hips while rejoicing’ or ‘He held hips rejoicingly.’

\[(32) \text{thweksikarä gon z zefaf} \]

\[
\text{thwek-si=karä} \quad \text{gon z} \quad \text{ze\textquoteleft faf/}
\]

\[
\text{rejoice-NMLZ=PROP} \quad \text{hip} \quad \text{ALR 2|3SG:SBJ:RPST:PFV/hold}
\]

‘He held hips while rejoicing’ or ‘He held hips rejoicingly.’

(tec2011004 RMA #174)

The recognitional case also serve to introduce a clause which expresses a manner (or temporal association). In example (33), the speaker explains how he and his friends where loading a heavy sago stem on a canoe. Some people from Morehead Station were sceptical about this plan. Thus, \textit{bäneme thfkogrm} ‘They were standing with/\textquoteleft like this\textquoteright’ connects to the following clause which expresses ‘they stood thinking ...’

\[
\text{(33) fthé nima bafen kabrignoth holidayen bafen fefe katrife “fi bobo yé”}
\]

\[
\text{ftthé nima baf=en ka\textquoteleft brig/rnoth}
\]

\[
\text{when like_this RECOG=LOC 2DU:SBJ:IMP:IPFV:ANDAT/return}
\]

\[
\text{holiday=en baf=en fefe ka\textquoteleft trif/e fi}
\]

\[
\text{holiday=LOC RECOG=LOC really 2DU:SBJ:IMP:PFV/tell 3.ABS}
\]

\[
\text{bobo \textquoteleft yé/}
\]

\[
\text{MED.ALL 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be}
\]

‘When you return in the holidays, then you have to tell (them): “He is there!”’

(tec20130927-06 MAB #206)
(33) nā station kabe fā zāmosirath bāneme thfkgrm ... fam kwarärmtth
“kwa ywokra/wr o kwa ɣabrüzr?”

nā station kabe fā zā\mosir/ath bāneme
INDF station man DIST 2\3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/gather RECOG=INS
th\fkg/m (.) fam kwa\rā/rmth kwa
2\3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/stand (.) thought 2\3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/do FUT
yw\wokra/wr o kwa ɣa\brüz/r
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/float or FUT 2\3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/submerge

‘Some station people gathered there. They were standing thinking: “Will it float or will it sink?”’

(tci20120929-02 SIK #30-31)

The most common way to encode a manner adverbial is by a relative clause with mon or monme ‘how’ (§9.5). Example (34) is taken from a picture task, where the participants were asked to arrange picture cards into a story. In the example, the speaker explains the task to a bystander. Note that the recognitional bāneme ‘with this, in this way’ also appears in the first clause. The second recognitional bāneme refers to trika\si ‘story’ as we can see in the last clause.

(34) zena ane bāneme n\ezzinak\wre monme bānε wyak brā ... trika\si monme
k\ma zrarā

zena ane bānε=me n\ez=e\zinak\wre
DEM RECOG=INS IPST=1\PL:SBJ>2\3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/put.down
mon=me bānε w\yak/
how=INS RECOG.ABS 3\SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk
b\rā/ (.) trik-si mon=me k\ma
MED=3\SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) tell-NMLZ how=INS POT
z\ra\rā/
3\SG.FEM:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be

‘Now we are putting (the pictures) down how it goes there ... how the story should be.’

(tci20111004 RMA #313-314)

9.5 Relative clauses

I follow Andrews in defining relative clauses as a “subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC [relative clause]” (2007a: 206). I adopt Andrew’s label NP\mat for the NP in the matrix clause, and NP\rel for the NP in the relative
clause. The latter is always expressed by interrogative pronouns, which function as relative pronouns.

Relative clauses in Komnzo are adjoined clauses in the sense of (Hale, 1976), who notes that adjoined relative clauses are “subordinate in some way, but [their] surface position with respect to the main clause is marginal rather than embedded” (1976: 78). Andrews defines them as having the relative clause appear outside the $NP_{MAT}$. Relative clauses in Komnzo are almost always right-adjoined, that is they follow the $NP_{MAT}$. Alternatively, they may refer to the whole matrix clause, in which case they follow the matrix clause. The $NP_{MAT}$ can be fronted together with the relative clause, which is a common strategy used for topicalisation. For a detailed description, the reader is referred to §10.4.

We can represent the structure of relative clauses schematically as in Figure 9.1. The matrix element, $[...]_{MAT}$ in the figure, is usually a noun phrase, which can be omitted if it is understood from context. Alternatively, the matrix element can be a matrix clause. The relative clause, $[...]_{RC}$ in the figure, consists of the relative pronoun and the verb. There may be one noun phrase preceding the relative pronoun, but there cannot be more than one noun phrase in this position.

$$[NP]_{MAT} \quad [(NP) \ \text{REL.PRON}_i \ V]_{RC}$$

Figure 9.1  Schematic representation of a relative clause (RC)

I begin by describing the formal structure of relative clauses. Formally, they are similar to content questions, because the relative pronouns are identical to the interrogative pronouns.\footnote{I refer the reader to §3.1.9 for a description of interrogative pronouns. See especially Table 3.5, but also the interrogatives in Table 3.7.} We could say that interrogatives function as relative pronouns, which is why I do not gloss them as REL in the following examples. Instead, I gloss them the same way that pronouns in interrogative function are glossed. However, relative clauses are semantically distinct from content questions because the answer to the question is already given in the form of the $NP_{MAT}$. Relative clauses are also syntactically different from content questions in that the relative pronoun has to occur as the second element (See Figure 9.1 above). Such a restriction does not apply to content questions. This is shown in (35-37) below, where the relative clause in each example is printed in bold font.

Example (35) comes from a hunting story where the narrator had encountered a spirit which began chasing him. In the example, the relative pronoun $maf$
follows the pronoun nzā. The relative clause follows the NP_{MAT} ane kabe ‘that man’.

(35) nze nima “byannor ane kabe fof nzā maf wonrsoknwr.”

\[
\begin{align*}
nze & \quad \text{nima b=yan\nor/} \\
& \quad \text{ane 1SG.ERG like\_this MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:\text{IPFV:VENIT}/shout DEM} \\
& \quad \text{kabe fof nzā maf} \\
& \quad \text{man EMPH 1SG.ABS who\.SG.ERG} \\
& \quad \text{won\rsokn/wr} \\
& \quad \text{2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:NPST:\text{IPFV:VENIT}/bother} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I (said) like this: “He is shouting out there. This man who bothers me.”’

\[\text{(tci20111119-03 ABB \#164-166)}\]

In example (36) the speaker describes why he did not pay attention to a fire that almost burned his garden. In the example, the relative pronoun mane is preceded by the noun phrase mnz tharthar ‘side of the house’. This is an adjoined relative clause because it is outside the NP_{MAT}, which in this case is mni ‘fire’, whose antecedent is understood from the context.

(36) ni fi ane zumarwrme mnz thartharen mane zfrārm.

\[
\begin{align*}
ni & \quad \text{fi ane zu\mar/wrme} \\
& \quad \text{mnz 1NSG but DEM 1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/look house} \\
& \quad \text{tharthar=en mane zf\rā/rm} \\
& \quad \text{side=LOC which\(\text{ABS}\) 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘But we were looking at that (fire), which was on the side of the house.’

\[\text{(tci20120922-24 STK \#5)}\]

Finally, in (37) the speaker describes how he was trying to remove a burning tree from his garden fence. The relative pronoun mane follows the ergative marked wāmne ‘tree’. This is an adjoined relative clause because it is outside the NP_{MAT}, which in this case is yarake ‘garden fence’, whose antecedent is understood from the context.

(37) kma wāmne ane fof kwakarkwé ane fof wāmnef mane thānarfa ... keke watikthémäre

\[
\begin{align*}
kma & \quad \text{wāmne ane fof kwa\kark/wé ane fof wāmne=f} \\
& \quad \text{POT tree DEM EMPH 1SG:SBJ:RPST:\text{IPFV}/pull DEM EMPH tree=ERG} \\
& \quad \text{mane thā\narf/a (.) keke} \\
& \quad \text{which\(\text{ABS}\) SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:\text{IPFV}/press\_down (.) NEG} \\
& \quad \text{watik-thé=märe} \\
& \quad \text{enough-ADJZR=PRIV} \\
\end{align*}
\]
9.5 Relative clauses

'I should have pulled that tree (from the fence) which the tree was pushing down. No, (I was) not (strong) enough!'

(tci20120922-24 MAA #42-43)

A second rule is needed for examples, where the relative pronoun occurs in initial position of the relative clause. Although this is possible, such example are much less frequent than the second position. The relative pronoun can occur in first position only (i) if it is preceded by the NP\textsubscript{mat} (39 and 40), or (ii) if the only other element in the relative clause is the verb (38).

(38) **bundbonzo rā mane zawokth.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bundbo=nzo</th>
<th>\ rā/</th>
<th>mane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2SG.ALL=ONLY</td>
<td>3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/be which(ABS)</td>
<td>za\ wokth/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/choose</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'It is up to you, which one you choose!'

(tci20111004 RMA #528)

Example (39) is taken from a picture stimulus task. One of the participants is correcting the other. Note that the English translation is misleading. The noun phrase mafanemäwä waniwani is a complex noun phrase and the relative pronoun mafanema is marked flagged with the characteristic case in adnominal function. Thus, mafanemäwä waniwani should be translated not as genitive ‘whose picture’, but as origin ‘picture of/about who’.

(39) **sukawi, nima keke rā. zane fthé=thamane yé ... ane kabe fof mafanemäwä waniwani zöbthé nzünmarwre.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sukawi</th>
<th>nima</th>
<th>keke \ rā/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROP.N like_this NEG</td>
<td>3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be DEM:PROX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fthé=thamane</td>
<td>\ yé/</td>
<td>(. ) ane kabe fof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when=TEMP.POSS 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (. ) DEM man EMPH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mafane=ma=wä</td>
<td>waniwani zöbthé</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who,SG.POSS=CHAR=EMPH picture first</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nz=wn\ mar/wre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPST=1PL:SBJ&gt;3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/see</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Sukawi, it is not like that. This is from that time ... really this man whose picture we just saw before.'

(tci20111004 RMA #194)

In example (40), the relative pronoun occurs initially following the NP\textsubscript{mat} dōdō.
Next I describe which kinds of argument roles can be relativised in the matrix clause (NP_{MAT}), and which can occur in the relative clause (NP_{REL}). As the examples in this section show, there is virtually no restriction on the possible argument roles. NP_{REL} is expressed by the relative pronoun, which can inflect for all cases (§3.1.9). The examples given in this section include the following cases: ergative (35), absolutive (36, 37, 38), characteristic (39), dative (45), locative (41) and instrumental (40).

It is harder to determine the argument role of NP_{MAT} because its presence is optional. We saw in (37) above that the relative pronoun mane referred to the fence, which the burning tree had pushed down. But this not expressed by a noun phrase, nor is the fence indexed in the verb of the matrix clause. We only know about it from the preceding context of the story, and the plural prefix in the verb of the relative clause. In (36), the fire is not expressed as a noun phrase, but the prefix of the verbs zumarwrme ‘we were seeing it’ and zfrärm ‘it was’, both index mni ‘fire’ (3SG.FEM). However, we can always determine the argument role of NP_{MAT} from the context. The following argument roles are found in the examples given in this section: the single argument of an intransitive verb (35), patient (36), location (41), discourse topic (42), actor (43), and recipient (44).

(41)  

mni w\thomon/wrth yfö mä zfrärm.

mni w\thomon/wrth yfö mä fire 2\3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/pile.up.fire hole where zd\rä/\rm 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR

‘They prepare the fire, where the hole was.’

(5) The word yarake ‘fence’ is frequently used in the plural.
(42) anema nä katan zokwasi nimamenzo fof zfrä ... nzone katan masisma ... 
anemina zöbthé mane zukonzrnmth kidn o zfth mni.

‘This was another small story like this ... about my small matches ... 
about the fire, which they were calling kidn or base fire before.’

(overheard)

(43) kabe=tauri samg yatha türkarä mane yé.

‘The man who has many dogs shot the wallaby.’

(overheard)

(44) be kmam nabi thar nafanm mane wtri yaræth.

‘You must not give a bow to those, who are fearful.’

(overheard)

It is also possible that the relative clause is free in the sense that it refers 
to the whole matrix clause and not to a particular nominal (Andrews, 2007a: 213). 
Such examples are given in (38) above and (45) below.

(45) be fam kwot karäré tosin mafan kwa yarìth.

2SG.ERG thought properly 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/do torch who.SG.DAT FUT 
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:NPST:IPFV/give
‘You have to think properly to whom you will give the torch.’

The NP_{MAT} can be fronted together with the relative clause as in (46). This is commonly used for topicalisation. After showing me a traditional fishing basket, the speaker shifts the topic to more modern methods of fishing. The NP_{MAT} is net in (46).

(46) *wati, net ane mane erā markai=aneme erā ane.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wati} & \quad \text{net} \\
\text{ane} & \quad \text{mane} \quad \text{e\rā/} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{fishing\_net} \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{which} \quad 2|3\text{PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be} \\
\text{markai} & \quad \text{aneme} \quad \text{e\rā/} \quad \text{ane} \\
\text{outsider=} & \quad \text{POSS.NSG} \quad 2|3\text{PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be} \quad \text{DEM} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Okay, as for the fishing nets, they are the white man’s (things).’

In example (47) the speaker talks about food taboos. He makes the point that a particular woman in the village has grown very old because she has always respected those food taboos. The relative clause (in bold) marks a shift in topic to all those people who did not respect the food taboos. Thus, the antecedent of the relative clause is omitted and it is understood from context, and the third plural argument indexed in the verb forms kwarirkwrmth ‘they respected’ and thufathwrm ‘it grabbed them’.

(47) *watik, fi komnzo zathfār ... bānema faf nima rirksima brā ... nima kwarirkwrm ... fi mafa keke kwarirkwrmth ... watik, tek=mär esufakwa kwik-kwik=f thufathwrm.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{watik} & \quad \text{fi} \\
\text{komnzo} & \quad \text{za\thfār/} \quad (.) \\
\text{then} & \quad 3\text{ABS} \quad \text{only} \quad 3\text{SG:FEM:SBJ:RPST:PFV/jump} \quad (.) \quad \text{DEM:MED EMPH} \\
\text{nima} & \quad \text{rirk}=\text{si}=\text{ma} \quad \text{b=ā/} \quad (.) \\
\text{like\_this} & \quad \text{respect\_NMLZ=CHAR MED=3SG:FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be} \quad (.) \\
\text{nima} & \quad \text{kwa\_rirk/wrmth} \quad (.) \quad \text{fi} \quad \text{mafa} \quad \text{keke} \\
\text{like\_this} & \quad 2|3\text{SG:SBJ:PST:DUR\_respect} \quad (.) \quad \text{but who.NSG.ERG NEG} \\
\text{kwa\_rirk/wrmth} & \quad (.) \quad \text{watik} \quad \text{tek=mār} \\
\text{2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR\_respect} & \quad (.) \quad \text{then} \quad \text{duration=} \quad \text{PRIV} \\
\text{e\_sufak/wa} & \quad \text{kwik-kwik=f} \\
\text{2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/grow.old REDUP-sickness=ERG} & \quad \text{thu\_fath/wrm} \\
\text{2|3SG:SBJ>} & \quad 2|3\text{PL:OBJ:PST:DUR\_hold} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘She just lives on ... because of her respect ... she was respecting (the law) ... but those who did not respect (the law) ... well, they grew old quickly and they got sick.’
The fronted relative clause as a topicalisation strategy is described in detail in §10.4.

9.6 Conditional and time clauses

Conditional and time clauses are expressed in the same way, only the context resolves which of the two is meant. If will use the term conditional in the subsequent description to cover both. Conditionals are formed by using the word *fthé* ‘when, if’. Note that *fthé* is not a subordinator per se, because it can also occur in independent sentence with the meaning ‘that is when’. Thus, *fthé* is required for a conditional, but it is not sufficient. The word *fthé* is used in the clause which sets up the conditional, often called the if-clause (Thompson et al., 2007: 255). The second clause, often called the when-clause, receives no special marking. The clearest conditional reading is found with the second person. Although an irrealis verb inflection is also possible, in most cases, the imperative is used in one of the two clauses as in example (48) and (49).

(48) ṣanzmāre *fthé* gnrāře frasi kwa nrā

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋan} &= \text{māre } \text{fthé} \quad \text{gn} \text{rā/rē} \\
\text{row} &= \text{PRIV} \quad \text{2SG.SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be hunger FUT} \\
\text{n} &= \text{rā/} \quad \text{2SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be} \\
\text{frasi} &= \text{kwa} \\
\text{ŋan} &= \text{māre } \text{fthé} \quad \text{gn} \text{rā/rē}
\end{align*}
\]

‘If you are without a row (of yams in the garden), you will be hungry.’

(tci20130822-08 LNA #17)

(49) wati, zena *fthé* zanmar ... *yusi fr mane rā ... ane fof nzone farsima rā.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wati} &= \text{zena } \text{fthé} \quad \text{zan} \text{mar/} \\
\text{then} &= \text{today} \quad \text{when 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/see (.) grass stem} \\
\text{mane} &= \text{rā/} \\
\text{which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.) DEM EMPH 1SG.Poss} \\
\text{far-si} &= \text{ma} \\
\text{fell-NMLZ=CHAR 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be}
\end{align*}
\]

‘If/When you look at it ... the grassland there ... that is from my cutting down (the trees).’

(tci20120805-01 ABB #614)

Both clauses can be marked for various TAM categories, for example imperative in the if-clause and irrealis in the when-clause in (50), where speaker shows me the proper use of a toy bullroarer.

\[\text{Note that for time clauses, this would be the when-clause and then-clause respectively.}\]
(50) zbo fthé sakwr fefen o wännnen ... keke kwa srannor.

zbo fthé sa\kwr/ fefe=n o PROX.ALL when 2SG.SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PFV/hit body=LOC or wänn=en (. ) keke kwa sran\nor/ tree=LOC (. ) NEG FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/shout

‘If you hit it here against the body or against a tree, it will not make a sound.’

(tci20120914 RMA #31-33)

In (51), all clauses are in past durative, yet the conditional construction can be interpreted as both real (as in the translation) and unreal (‘if they had paddled with noise, the story man would have shoot them with magic’).

(51) zizi zä keke kwarafinzrmth yọọjyamkarä ... bänema fthé yọọjyamkarä kwarafinzrmth menzf thfruthrm ... bthanme


‘They did not paddle her with a lot of noise in the afternoon, but if they were paddling with a lot of noise, the story man was shooting his magic at them.’

(tci20120922-19 DAK #14-15)

9.7 Direct speech and thought

Direct speech is a common construction in Komnzo. In most cases direct speech is introduced by a speech verb, for example ko- ‘speak’ or na- ‘say’, and the manner demonstrative nima ‘like this’ (§3.1.11.7). Direct speech receives a separate intonation contour and the whole clause is often produced at a slightly higher pitch to indicate that the speaker is taking on another person’s role. An example is given in (52).

(52) watik, srank kma sakora nima “srank, ni krafare” srankf zenafta “keke efoth zizi fefe râ nzâ kaye worâro”
9.7 Direct speech and thought

Well, he tried to tell Srank: “Srank, we go!” Srank said: “No, it is late afternoon. I will go tomorrow.”

(tci20111107-01 MAK #44-45)

The manner demonstrative functions as a quotative marker. It can introduce direct speech without a speech verb, as in example (53) below.

(53) naf nima “nakre! wimäs en mni bŋasog.”

naf nima nakre wimäs=en mni
3SG.ERG like_this PERS.N mango_tree=LOC fire
b=ŋa\sog/
MED=2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/climb

‘He (said): “Nakre! The fire is climbing up the mango tree.”’

(tci20130901-02 RNA #152-153)

There is no dedicated construction for indirect speech. Indirect speech equivalents can be expressed by a speech verb with an adverbial adjunct (54) or a clause connected with mon ‘how’ (55).

(54) naf ŋanafr drdr mâyogsir.

naf ŋa\na/fr drdr mâyog-si=r
3SG.ERG 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/speak old_garden repeat-NMLZ=PURP

‘She said to continue the old garden.’

(tci20130823-06 STK 161)

(55) emothf gatrikw μonme zfnzr

emoth=f ŋa\trik/wr mon=me
girl=ERG.SG 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell how=INS
z\fn/znr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IPFV/hit

‘The girl tells how he hit her.’

(tci20120925-01 MAE #102)
An individual’s inner thoughts are treated like direct and indirect speech. Hence, we find examples like (56) and (57) which mirror what has been described above for speech. The only difference is in the introducing expression. For inner thoughts this is often the light verb construction: *fam* ‘thought’ + *rā* ‘do’.

(56)  *fam* zāra “kar bā rā a kar tōna fobo fof wyak fof.”

\[
\text{fam zā\textra kar bā \textra a kar tōna fobo fof wyak fof.}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fam} & \quad \text{zā\textra kar} & \quad \text{bā \textra a kar tōna fobo fof wyak fof.} \\
\text{thought} & \quad \text{SG:FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV} & \quad \text{do} & \quad \text{village MED 3SG:FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV} & \quad \text{be} \\
& \quad \text{a kar} & \quad \text{tōna} & \quad \text{fofo} & \quad \text{w'yak} & \quad \text{fof} \\
& \quad \text{and place high ground DIST.ALL EMPH} & \quad \text{1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV} & \quad \text{walk EMPH}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He thought “The is a village there and I will walk there on the high ground.”’

(tci20131013-01 ABB #259)

(57)  *fam* ane fof ńarūr monme sufnzrmth monme santhbath

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fam ane fof ńarūr monme sufnzrmth monme santhbath}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fam ane fof ńarūr monme sufnzrmth monme santhbath}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{thought} & \quad \text{DEM EMPH} & \quad \text{2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV} & \quad \text{do} & \quad \text{how=INS} \\
& \quad \text{sujnznrth monme} & \quad \text{2|3PL:SBJ>3SG:MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR} & \quad \text{hit} & \quad \text{how=INS} \\
& \quad \text{san\thb ath} & \quad \text{2|3PL:SBJ>3SG:MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT} & \quad \text{put inside}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He is thinking how they were hitting him and how the put him inside (the cell).’

(tci20111004 RMA #457)
Chapter 10

Information structure

10.1 Introduction

This chapter should be seen as a preliminary study of those linguistic structures captured under the rubric of information structure. I address a number of mechanisms which are employed to create textual cohesion, emphasis and event sequencing. In linguistic theory, the notions of topicalisation, emphasis, focus, fore- and backgrounding have been used to analyse information structure. In Komnzo, as in many other languages, the correlates of these abstract concepts are drawn from a wide range of linguistic phenomena. They may be expressed by nuances in intonation, designated morphology, specific particles, syntactic constructions, or an exploitation of the rich TAM system. Some of these mechanisms are typical of certain text genres while others are more pervasive.

I will describe different particles and enclitics that are used to mark focus, intensification and emphasis in §10.2 and briefly point to the narrative paragraph marker watik in §10.3. It follows a discussion of topicalisation in §10.4. The chapter closes with a description of how Komnzo speakers exploit their complex TAM system to sequence event descriptions in §10.5.

10.2 Clitics and particles

There are a number of particles, enclitics, affixes in Komnzo that are used for focus. These are sometimes glossed as intensifiers, emphasisers, or they are sometimes translated into English by ‘only’ or ‘also’. They interact with focus, but it might be premature to analyse them purely as focus markers. By looking at a longer piece of text, I will describe the intensifier fof, the emphasiser enclitic =wâ, the contrastive markers komnzo and =nzo, and the particle we. All of these elements are pervasive in the language and not preferred in any particular text genre.
Following König (1991), who discusses focus particles, I draw a distinction in function between presentational, contrastive and additive focus. König states that: “[a] focus particle relates the value of the focused expression to a set of alternatives” (1991: 32). A contrastive focus excludes all alternatives while presentational focus emphasises whatever lies within its scope. Additive focus presupposes a previous proposition and highlights that the same applies to another referent. We find that Komnzo employs the particle *fof* and the enclitic */wā* for presentational focus, the particle *komnzo* and the related enclitic */nzo* for contrastive focus, and the particle *we* for additive focus.

These mechanisms may be categorised according to their scope. The particle *fof* usually has scope over the element which it follows. This may be a whole clause if it occurs post-verbally. More commonly, it is found after demonstratives, deictics or complete noun phrases in which case it has scope over these elements. Compare §3.4.2. The enclitic */wā* attaches to noun phrases, but is most commonly found with pronouns. The particle *komnzo* occurs pre-verbally and has scope over the predicate, while the enclitic */nzo* attaches mostly to nominals and noun phrases and, thus, has scope over arguments or adjuncts. The particle *we* occurs in front of a clause over which it has scope or is sometimes used twice bracketing an element.

A third criterion for categorising these elements is according to their semantic content. König points out that English words like ‘even, just, only’ have a lexical meaning, whereas focus particles in other languages mark ‘pure focus’ (1991: 29ff.). He cites Somali (Saeed, 1984: 21ff.) and Manam (Lichtenberk, 1983: 476ff.) as languages where focus particles have been described as being lexically empty. We can attribute such a characteristic to the particle *fof*. It is the word which occurs with the highest frequency in the corpus. Informants often found it hard to give a separate translation of *fof*, and when pressed to do so often translated it with ‘really’. As there are two adverbs *fefe ‘really’* and *minzü ‘very’* expressing the same, I take *fof* to have no lexical meaning. This holds not true for the other elements discussed here. The particle *komnzo* as well as the enclitic */nzo* are often translated as ‘only’. The particle *we* is often translated as ‘also’ or ‘too’.

I will make use of a text excerpt to explain how these mechanisms are put to use in Komnzo. The example text in (1) below is the last part of a *nzürna* story which is a common narrative in the Morehead region with numerous local variants. The *nzürna* character is a female being who can change her appearance. Although these stories are often comical, the *nzürna* poses some kind of a threat to the protagonists of the story. She is said to kill and eat especially small children. Mary Ayres roughly translated *nzürna nare* as “devil woman” (1983: 93). In contrast to mythical stories, or knowledge about magic and sorcery, *nzürna*
stories are ‘public’ stories often retold and joked about. This particular nzürna story is set in Firra, a now abandoned village about 15km south of Morehead. The narrator is Maraga Kwozi, a man who used to live in Firra. The nzürna used to help and look after the people of Firra until the day that she killed and ate a stranger who was visiting the village. Outraged at this vicious incident, the village people took revenge and burned the tree in which she and her husband Nagawa were living. Nagawa could escape from the fire, but his wife was killed. The text excerpt below sets in after the main story was told. Nagawa returns to their home in Waisam to find out if his wife has survived the attack by the villagers. The elements to be discussed are underlined:

(1) 1 ane thrma mni fthé zábtha.
   ‘After this, the fire had finished.’

2 wati nagawa yabrigwa ... sir
   ‘Then Nagawa returned ... to see’

3 “komnzo rū o zé kwarsir mmin?”
   ‘Is she still alive or did she burn in the fire?’

4 yabrigwa ... bobomr we waisam wäsü fthé sanmara.
   ‘He went back ... there he also saw that Wäsü tree in Waisam.’

5 watik fi “nafazfthenwä.”
   ‘Then he (said): “It was all her own fault.”’

6 yanzo bobo yanora ... nafayareanema.
   ‘He was just crying ... for his wife.’

7 wati, fi nābi zābrima.
   ‘Thus, he went back for good.’

8 zmbo yamnzr ane woga oten.
   ‘This man lives now here in Ote.’

9 emot fāthā ämnzr.
   ‘He lives with his daughters.’

10 watik, kambeýé komnzo fă nomai sumarwre ... ymarwre fthé ...
    ‘Well, the people still see him there ... we see him when ...’

11 fă ŋaritakwr nima firrafo yak ... we nima yabrigwr.
    ‘he crosses (the river) on his way to Firra ... and also when he returns.’

12 tnz fāth ane kambe yé
   ‘He is a short man.’

13 ane nzürna yareane zokwasi nimame fof rū fof.
   ‘That Nzürna woman’s story is just like that.’
Information structure

The intensifier *fof* occurs in lines 13, 16, 18, 20, and 28. In 13 the narrator marks the end of the story by stating the story is “just like that” and *fof* occurs twice. In the first instance it has scope over *nima=me* ‘like this=INS’. In the second instance, it occurs postverbally and has scope over the whole proposition. It is very common to give an affirmative reply by saying *nima fof* or *nimame fof*.
10.3 The paragraph marker *watik*

The word *watik* or sometimes *wati* means ‘enough’. I often overhead it used with the adjectivaliser suffix *-thé* and the instrumental *=me*. Thus, *watik* *thé* *=me* ‘(I have) enough’ is a common reply to an offer of more food or more tea. In narratives or procedural texts *watik* is often used to mark a new thought or the
beginning of a paragraph. Its use is typically followed by a short pause similar to the English expressions ‘well’, ‘and then’, ‘thus’, or ‘next’. We find such instances of *watik* or *wati* in the text excerpt above (1) in lines 2, 5, 7, 10, and 20. *Watik* introduces new episodes in each of these lines.

### 10.4 Fronted relative clauses

Relative clauses are right-adjoined (§9.5), and an example of a relative clause is given in (2). The matrix noun phrase *bäne dgwr* ‘that orchid’ is followed by the relative clause [in rectangled parentheses]. Usually the relative clause follows the matrix clause.

(2) \[ dgwrfa \) enrgegwr bäne dgwr [boba mane themare] berü. \]

\begin{verbatim}
  dgwr=fa    en\rge/ wr   bäne
dgwr  boba  mane  the\mar/e
orchid  MED.ABL    which 1PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:PFV/see
b=e\rä/
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
\end{verbatim}

‘(The bowerbird) pulls them off the orchid. That orchid, which we saw over there.’

In public speeches one often hears topic constructions such as (3) where the speaker proclaims to the people gathered at a feast that it is time to sing and dance (and not to fight and steal). Literally, this sentence can be translated as: ‘The drums which resonate, they resonate for the dance ... only for this.’ Formally, this is a fronted noun phrase with a following relative clause. In most cases, the following relative clause consists of *mane* ‘what, which’ and the copula (4). As a convention, I translate this with the English phrases ‘as for X’, ‘concerning X’ or ‘when it comes to X’.

(3) \[ brubru [mane änor] wathma änor ... zane frümöwå \]

\begin{verbatim}
  brubru  mane  ä\nor/
  wath=a
  drum  which 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout dance=CHAR
  ä\nor/    (. ) zane    frü=me=wå
  2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout (. ) DEM:PROX alone=INS=EMPH
\end{verbatim}

‘As for the drums, they are resonating for the dance ... only for this.’

(4) \[ komnzo zokwasi [mane rå] ... faremane zokwasi fefe ane fof rå ... komnzo. \]
10.4 Fronted relative clauses

“When it comes to Komnzo, this the Farem’s real language ... Komnzo!”

As we see in (4), the relative clause often contains the copula (lit. ‘Komnzo language which is ...’). The result is that it contributes nothing to the state of affairs, but its main function is pragmatic. Therefore, I analyse the fronted noun phrase together with the relative clause under the label fronted relative clause, i.e. fronted with respect to the matrix clause, and I put both together in parentheses in the following examples. Note that there may also be no matrix noun phrase in cases where it is the event that is topicalised, for example in (5).

(5) [mane ynzänza] ... büdisn mä nzrugrm ... oroman fä fof samara ... yafe

Fronted relative clauses are the main strategy to introduce or reactivate topics in the sense described by Keenan and Schieffelin (1976: 342). We find them not only in public speeches, but also in narratives, where speakers employ them to indicate a change in topic or to introduce a topic. I will describe this function by taking the reader through a particular narrative. Example sentence (6) introduces the protagonist of the story, a man named Kukufia.

(6) [kukufia mane yara] masun swamnzrm.

‘When it comes to Komnzo, this the Farem’s real language ... Komnzo!’

(4)

As we see in (4), the relative clause often contains the copula (lit. ‘Komnzo language which is ...’). The result is that it contributes nothing to the state of affairs, but its main function is pragmatic. Therefore, I analyse the fronted noun phrase together with the relative clause under the label fronted relative clause, i.e. fronted with respect to the matrix clause, and I put both together in parentheses in the following examples. Note that there may also be no matrix noun phrase in cases where it is the event that is topicalised, for example in (5).

(5) [mane ynzänza] ... büdisn mä nzrugrm ... oroman fä fof samara ... yafe
In order to state the simple fact that Kukufia lived in Masu, it would be sufficient to say *kukufia masun swamnzm* ‘Kukufia lived in Masu’. But because the sentence establishes the topic (Kukufia), a fronted relative clause is used. This is a very common way to introduce a character to a story. Kukufia is a malicious character who comes to Rouku and tortures two children while their parents are away at a sago camp. Kukufia takes the two children fishing in his canoe. He pokes the small boy with the bones of a fish. One day, the father of the two children returns looking for them. Example (7a-7b) shows, how this change in topic is expressed.

(7) a. *fafen nge zi swathizrm ... ekri zi ... kofä ysma.*

fafen nge zi swa thi/zrm (.) ekri zi (.)
meanwhile child pain 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/die (.) body pain (.)
kofä ys=ma
fish bone=CHAR
‘In the meantime, the child was in pain ... body pain from the fish bones.’

b. *watik [nafaçafe mane yanra] nagayé thrathorthm*

watik nafa-ŋafe mane yan’r/a	hen 3.POSS-father which 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST.IPFV.VENIT/be
nagayé thra/throughtm/
children 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR.PFV/search
‘Okay ... As for their father, he was looking for the children.’

(8) a. *kukufia näbi zamatha dunzikarä ... yākwir e Masu kräkwther.*

kukufia näbi za’math/a dunzi=karä (.) ηα’kwi/r
PROP.N one 3SG:PST.PFV/run arrow=PROP (.) 3SG:NPST/run
e e Masu krä’kwther/
until PLACE.N 3SG:IRR.PFV/change
‘Kukufia ran away with the arrow (inside him) ... He was running until Masu where he changed (his appearance).’
The narrator first talked about the Kukufia’s escape in (8a) and then changes the topic to the wife on whose breast the little baby boy is hanging in (8b). The new topic is again introduced by a fronted relative clause. Kukufia’s fate is sealed as the father quickly recognizes the small boy. He kills Kukufia and his two wives on the spot and the story ends. Fronted relative clauses of this type are used both to topicalise an expression as in the introductory example to this section (3) but also to indicate a change in the topic as in the examples above. The relative pronoun used for this type of construction is always mane.

### 10.5 TAM categories and event-sequencing

Foley (2000: 389) points out that Papuan languages exploit their rich TAM systems for pragmatic purposes. TAM marking and discourse notions such as foregrounding has been discussed by many authors, for example by Hopper (1979). One such example from a Papuan language comes from Hartzler (1983) who has shown that in Sentansi clauses in irrealis are commonly used for backgrounded, presupposed propositions, whereas realis is used for foregrounded, asserted propositions. Komnzo puts its TAM system to the same pragmatic use in order to create textual cohesion, but in Komnzo more TAM categories are involved (§6.4). This pragmatic use is often found in texts or parts of texts where the sequence of events is important, for example in procedural, narratives, and path descriptions.

I will begin by comparing the abovementioned realis-irrealis distinction. Consider the following text (9) which describes the first part of a wedding ceremony. This procedural was given by Abia Bai. The actual wedding took place two days after the recording was made. Therefore, the description of the event is set in the future, which reduces the number of possible TAM categories. The speaker may only choose between the indicative non-past and the irrealis verbal
inflection. The aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective and its pragmatic function will be described below on a different text excerpt. In (9), I have underlined the verbs in irrealis mood in Komnzo as well as in the English translation. All other verbs are in non-past and indicative mood.

(9) 1 *wati foba nimame kwa ṣathkärwr.*
   ‘Well, it will begin like this:
2 *dagon rthé thraraktkwwrth thräßthth*
   ‘The food will be placed on the platforms. That will be finished.’
3 *zóthé fefe kwa ... chris e nafayare maki ernth fof.*
   ‘First, they put painting on Chris and his wife.’
4 *maki fthé thränth ... fthé thrábthth ...*
   ‘When they put on the painting ... when they have finished ...’
5 *wati, foba kwa änrokonth.*
   ‘next they will escort them this way.’
6 *fthé thränthth nima ...*
   ‘When they will bring them in ... ’
7 *fáf mä kwa nge fathasi zn rä fof ...*
   ‘to the place where the children’s feast will take place ...’
8 *kwa änrokonth kwot bobomr ...*
   ‘they will escort them up until ...’
9 *thränthaifth fáf znfo.*
   ‘they will arrive at the place.’
10 *wati, kwa emsakrnth.*
   ‘Next, they will sit them down.’
11 *thränsth kramsth*
   ‘They will sit them down. They will sit down.’
12 *wati, zóthé fefe kwa äyoknth a ätriknth nima:*
   ‘Well, first, they will advise them and they will say:’

The content of this little excerpt is quickly summarised: After the food preparations, the bride and the groom will be decorated and painted. The women will escort the couple to the village square where they will be placed on a bench to receive a lecture on the expected rules of behaviour.

---

1 Future reference is expressed periphrastically with the particle *kwa* which may occur with non-past indicative and irrealis inflections.
We find that the speaker alternates between realis and irrealis mood. Realis occurs with the painting (line 3), the escorting (line 5), the escorting again (line 8), the sitting down (line 10) and the advising (line 12). Irrealis occurs with the finishing of the food preparations (line 2), the painting and the finishing thereof (line 4), the bringing (line 6), the arriving (line 8) and the sitting down (line 11). This alternation in TAM categories is congruent with an alternation between foregrounded, asserted events and backgrounded, presupposed events. In some instances, the verb in realis is repeated in irrealis, e.g. the sitting down in lines 11 and 12. Additionally, the repetition of one part of a proposition in the next proposition can be described as kind of tail-head-linkage. Thus, we find a rhetorical device that is used both for textual cohesion and foregrounding.

As for stories in the past, speakers have more TAM values to choose from. They may alternate again between irrealis and realis, but they may also exploit the aspectual categories: perfective and imperfective. As was described in §6.4.2, the imperfective is divided again into a basic imperfective and durative. Thus, the richness of the TAM system allows speakers to make finer distinctions.

I will show this in another text excerpt (10). This text is part of a story about a man who fell off a coconut palm and died. It was told by Marua Bai who remembers this incident well. The protagonist of the story used to wander around in the night and steal other people’s palm wine. Palm wine is produced by cutting a fresh shoot up in the palm. A bamboo container which is tied underneath the shoot captures the sap. The sap slowly ferments and turns into an alcoholic substance. The main character of the story sets off alone in the night. He climbs and raids a number of palms. At the third palm, a coconut leaf breaks and he falls some twenty meters into a pineapple plant. Even though he survives his severe injuries, he dies about a week later. For each verb in each of the lines of text, the TAM value is given on the right. Where there are two verbs in a line, the underlined segments show which verb belongs to which translation and TAM value.

(10)

1. _wati fam änatha:_ PST.IPFV
   He was thinking:

2. "_kwa ṣabrigwé skerur._" NPST
   "I will go back for coconut wine."

3. _zbür kretaruf garado._ IRR.PFV
   In the night, he got into the canoe.

\[^2\text{De Vries (2005) offers a typology for tail-head-linkage in Papuan languages. However, for the most part his sample consists of languages where this is achieved by using (parts of) serial verb constructions.}\]
kwanrafinzrm gardame.  
He was paddling here with the canoe.

mane yarra zäźr mnz ... finzo ... kabe matak  
When he got to Zäźr Mnz ... (it was) only him ... nobody else

yokwa kar ane fof ... matak  
the same thing in Yokwa ... nobody

garda sräzin ... yaniyak aki kwayanen ... mnz.  
He put down the canoe ... and came in the moonlight ... to the house.

nä skeru yasongwr.  
He climbed a (coconut) wine palm.

warfo ... fä yonathr.  
Up there ... he was drinking.

zrämbth we nä yazifo kresōbāth.  
He finished and climbed another coconut.

fä yonathr.  
He was drinking.

we nä kabeane yazifo kresōbāth  
and again he climbed another man’s coconut.

mane yasogwa warfo ...  
As he climbed on top ...

kräms drari wrbr.  
He sat down and untied the bamboo container.

fof n zäznoba.  
He was about to drink.

zamthetha drari.  
He lifted up the bamboo container.

bāw! yazi tafokarū ane zängrənza.  
Bang! The coconut leaf broke off (with him).

zane zākurfə ziyé  
This one here split.

zenta yagarwa  
He split his crotch.

fainr fr sazika  
He went into the pineapple plant.
Several observations which pertain to event sequencing as well as fore-grounding can be made from this text. First, the narrator uses non-past tense for several clauses: the walking to the house (line 7), the climbing (line 8), the drinking (lines 9 and 11) and the untying (line 14). In some cases, the non-past alternates again with the irrealis perfective forms (line 10, 12, and 14) as we have seen in the wedding text above. The use of a non-past tense in a story which is otherwise told in recent-past or past is quite common. In these cases, the non-past is used to foreground or emphasise the clauses in question.

Secondly, we find that it is the past imperfective which is used for the foregrounded clauses (in lines 13, 17, and 19). In line 17, the breaking of the coconut leaf is in the imperfective, whereas the preceding events in lines 15 and 16 are in the perfective. This might seem to contradict the notion of perfectivity, but the reader should keep in mind that the perfective in Komnzo focusses more on the beginning of an event (inceptive, or punctual) not on the completion of an event. See §6.4.2 for a description of the semantics of aspect in Komnzo. Lines 18 and 19 both describe the severe injury which the protagonist received from his fall. Again the imperfective aspect is used for the foregrounded clause which provides more detail about the injury (i.e. that he split his crotch).

Although preliminary at this stage of research, we may attempt to build a hierarchy of TAM values with respect to foregrounding. In such a hierarchy irrealis inflections are more backgrounding than realis inflections. All past tenses are more backgrounding than the non-past. Finally, as we have seen, the perfective is more backgrounding than the imperfective. It follow that the most foregrounding TAM value is the non-past, while the irrealis (perfective) is the most backgrounding TAM value. The pragmatic functions of the TAM system in Komnzo provide a rich field for future research.
Chapter 11

Aspects of the lexicon

11.1 Introduction

This chapter brings together eclectic topics which can be roughly subsumed under the label ‘lexicology’ - sprinkled with anthropological comments. I begin with a description of the semantics of the gender system (§11.2). Some remarks on the autonomy of the verb lexicon will follow (§11.3). The following section addresses sign metonymies expressed by reduplication (§11.4). This chapter closes with the description of the conceptualisation of landscape (§11.5). The discussion and description of these topics should be understood as preliminary in nature.

11.2 Gender system

The nominal lexicon of Komnzo is subdivided by gender. The agreement target is the verb prefix in third singular. The categories are feminine and masculine, only a handful of words are always plural. The gender system is purely semantic as there are no formal signs in particular words showing the gender category. Nominals fall into three categories: those which have (i) a fixed gender (most nouns), (ii) flexible gender (kinterms, certain animals), (iii) no gender (property nouns and adjectives). The latter are not discussed in the remainder of this section.

Words with flexible gender are mostly kinterms. For example, sibling terms only encode relative age difference and not gender. The word nane can mean ‘older brother’ or ‘older sister’. Many kinterms are reciprocal and may hold between a man and a woman. For example ñäwi is used between a person and her/his mother’s brothers. It other words, a young girl or boy calls their mother’s brother ñäwi, but he uses the same term back to them. The same is true for a man’s parents in-law. He calls both of them enat and they call him the same. Sometimes this can be specified by adding the word for man or woman, for ex-
ample *enat yare* ‘mother-in-law’ (lit. ‘parent-in-law woman’). Other words with flexible gender are mostly animals where a sex distinction is noticeable like *tauri* ‘wallaby’, *rug* ‘pig’ or *gatha* ‘dog’. Yet other species like fish or insects are not flexible. Birds for which there is a visible difference between male and female adults are assigned different names altogether. For example, the male ecleactus parrot (*Eclectus roratus*) is referred to as *krara*, and the female as *tiya*, but in Komnzo both words are masculine. Mismatches between biological gender and linguistic gender are quite common with birds. Two more examples are *nzöyar*, the fawn-breasted bowerbird (*Chlamydera cerviniventris*) and *ythama*, the raggiana bird of paradise (*Paradisaea raggiana*). For both species, the collected names seem to refer only to the male birds, this can be explained by the fact that the females are less visible in both plumage and behaviour. The Komnzo words, *nzöyar* and *ythama* are assigned to the feminine category, and they are often talked about as being female birds.

Words with fixed gender allow us to set up some general semantic rules, although there are exceptions. For example, all elongated, big objects are usually masculine, while small round objects are feminine. All words related to place and land are usually feminine. All abstract concepts or nominalised verbs are usually feminine. Most fish species are masculine, with the exception of the numerous catfish types, which are all feminine. Other species, like birds, are much more varied. Table 11.1 gives a short overview of these semantic characteristics.

Note that almost all plants and trees are masculine. The tree metaphor is pervasive in the mythology as well as for the system of sister-exchange. Women may be called *bidr* ‘flying fox’ because flying foxes move from one tree to another. Ayres invokes a gender distinction between mobile and immobile, whereby men are immobile and women are mobile, because they are exchanged between different places (1983: 106). In addition to the shape of trees, this cultural motif can serve as an explanation as to why almost all trees are masculine.

A number of words always occur as plurals. Only some of them are mass nouns, like *kithuma* ‘sago pulp’, *grau* ‘red clouds’. Other are bordering the semantics of mass nouns, for example *yarake* ‘fence’, *nag* ‘grass skirt’. On the other hand, words like *no* ‘water’ are feminine and not plural. Interestingly, body parts like arms and legs are often used in the plural, even though the language has a dual number category.

### Table 11.1 Semantics of gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rule</th>
<th>category</th>
<th>examples</th>
<th>exceptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>big, elongated objects</td>
<td>MASC</td>
<td><em>naifa</em> ‘bushknife’&lt;br&gt;<em>wämne</em> ‘tree’&lt;br&gt;<em>nabi</em> ‘bow’&lt;br&gt;<em>turama</em> ‘python’&lt;br&gt;<strong>with</strong> ‘banana’&lt;br&gt;<em>nasi</em> ‘long yam’</td>
<td><em>sifren</em> ‘grass knife’&lt;br&gt;<em>waga</em> ‘leg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small (round) objects</td>
<td>FEM</td>
<td><em>yawi</em> ‘seed, fruit’&lt;br&gt;<em>wawa</em> ‘yam’&lt;br&gt;<em>yare</em> ‘bag’&lt;br&gt;<em>brnze</em> ‘lips’&lt;br&gt;<em>riwariwa</em> ‘ring’&lt;br&gt;<em>kwanz</em> ‘bald head’</td>
<td><em>nzagum</em> ‘fly’&lt;br&gt;<em>tora</em> ‘dog whistle’&lt;br&gt;<em>tef</em> ‘spot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plants, trees&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>MASC</td>
<td><em>rugaruga</em> ‘tree type’&lt;br&gt;<em>with with</em> ‘vine type’&lt;br&gt;<em>mür</em> ‘grass type’</td>
<td><em>yazi</em> ‘coconut’&lt;br&gt;<em>gb</em> ‘black palm type’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>MASC</td>
<td><em>find</em> ‘giant glassfish’&lt;br&gt;<em>kwazür</em> ‘narrow-fronted tandan’&lt;br&gt;<em>wifaza</em> ‘seven-spot archer-fish’</td>
<td>catfish types&lt;br&gt;<em>katif</em> ‘trout morgunde’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>catfish&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>FEM</td>
<td><em>zök</em> ‘broad-snouted catfish’&lt;br&gt;<em>ikan lele</em> ‘walking catfish’&lt;br&gt;* thrfam* ‘daniel’s catfish’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>events, nominalised verbs</td>
<td>FEM</td>
<td><em>zan</em> ‘fighting’&lt;br&gt;<em>borsi</em> ‘game, laughter’&lt;br&gt;<em>si zübraksi</em> ‘prayer’</td>
<td><em>wath</em> ‘dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land, garden, river, grasslands</td>
<td>FEM</td>
<td><em>mni</em> ‘fire’&lt;br&gt;<em>kar</em> ‘place, village’&lt;br&gt;<em>zra</em> ‘swamp’&lt;br&gt;<em>daw</em> ‘garden’&lt;br&gt;<em>yars</em> ‘river’</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> *rugaruga* (Gmelina ledermanii), *yazi* (Cocos nucifera), *with with* (Pseudouvaria sp), *gb* (Livistona sp), *mür* (Cyprus sp)  
<sup>b</sup> *find* (Parambassis gulliveri), *kwazür* (Neosilurus ater), *katif* (Mogurnda mogurnda), *wifaza* (Toxotes chatareus)  
<sup>c</sup> *zök* (Potamosilurus latirostris), *ikan lele* (Clarias batrachus) from Malay, *thrfam* (Cochlefelis danielsi)
11.3 The autonomy of the verb lexicon

In §3.2, I suggested that verbs constitute a closed word class in Komnzo. Nevertheless, with around 380 members verbs are the second largest word class following nouns. Evidence for the closed status comes from two observations. First, the lack of shared stems, both within the word class and between verbs and other word classes. Second, the fact that loanwords which are verbs in the donor language never end up in the verb class in Komnzo.

Within the word class of verbs there is no productive derivational morphology. Only a few non-productive patterns can be discerned, but the interpretation of these remains highly speculative. One such example is the pair of verbs knsi ‘roll’ and myukensi ‘roll’. The former is often used for rolling cigarettes, while the latter is used for rolling up a tape measure. Hence, we could translate them as knsi ‘roll lengthwise’ and myuknsi ‘roll widthwise’, ignoring the second sense of myuknsi ‘twist’. Without the nominaliser, the verb stems are kn and myukn, and a possible hypothesis is that the myu says something about the orientation of the object that is rolled up. However, myu is not a word in Komnzo, nor is the pattern attested elsewhere in verb lexicon. A second example is the pair misoksi ‘look up’ and risoksi ‘look down’. The formal difference lies only in the first consonant. I analyze these as idiosyncrasies of particular stems which might reflect frozen derivational morphology.

The same observation can be made for the relation between the verb class and other word classes. There are currently only four examples where a verb stem is identical or similar to a nominal element and a semantic bridge can be established. The first is the verb rmr-si ‘rub, grind’ and the property noun rnr ‘roughness’. The second is the verb miyog-si ‘beg, ask for’ and miyo which can be either a property noun ‘desire’ or a noun ‘wish, taste’. The third is the verb wasi-si ‘shine light on’ and the word for the Masked Owl ‘wasi’. The last example is the verb foku-si ‘miss out on sth.’ and the word fokufoku which describes a patch of bush that was not burned or a patch of grass that was not cut down. There is a clear semantic overlap in the nominal and verbal semantics, but we cannot determine the direction of derivation. However, the scarcity of such examples is revealing.

One wonders then, how new verb meanings enter the language. The clearest answer to this question comes from loanwords. Komnzo speakers were exposed to Hiri Motu during a short period in the 1950’s when the local Mission school was run by Motu speaking teachers. Since the 1960’s the dominant educational as well as administrative language has been English. All loanwords which are verbs

\[1\text{The Masked Owl (}Tyto novaehollandiae\text{) like most owls has large eyes.}\]
in Hiri Motu or English end up in the word class of property nouns, not in the verb class. Some Komnzo examples are durua ‘help’, tarawat ‘law, rightfulness’ from Motu, senis ‘change’ and boil ‘boil’ from English. It is the complex verb morphology, for example root types sensitive to aspectual distinctions, which prevents new material from being incorporated into the verb class. However, we have seen that there is a productive pattern of property noun + light verb in Komnzo (§8.3.12). From observation it is clear that younger speakers have already begun to replace some Komnzo verbs with English loans using this construction, for example thofiksi ‘disturb’ is commonly expressed as disturb yarär lit. ‘he does the disturbing’. One may predict that this pattern will become more dominant in the future. The shift from minor to major patterns in contact situations has been described by (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 44).

11.4 Sign metonymies

11.4.1 Overview

This section builds on (Evans, 1997), who discusses ‘sign metonymies’ in Australian languages. He points out how biota of different species, families or even kingdoms are connected through sharing a linguistic sign, i.e. they are referred to by the same word or they share a stem.

One observation, that can be made for Komnzo is the high number of reduplications that are found in plant names, and to some extend in names for animals, especially bird and fish species. In some cases we have a reduplicative orphan, because the base form is missing. In other cases, the base form exists only in another language. However, in most cases a base form exists in the Komnzo lexicon. The semantic link between the two referents shows a wide range of complexity. At the lower end, reduplication can single out some salient part of one plant, usually the fruit, establishing a relation of non-prototypicality. For example, mefa and mefamefa refer to two chestnut species (Semecarpus sp), but the nuts of mefa are roasted and eaten, while the nuts of mefamefa are much smaller. Note that is a general feature of reduplication in Komnzo (§4.2). At the upper end of complexity, the reduplication pattern links referents through several steps of technical or cultural practices. One example is ruga ‘pig’ and rugaruga ‘tree type’ (Gmelina ledermanii). The two biota are linked in the following way: rugaruga is the tree from which brubru ‘kundu drums’ are made. These drums are used for wath ‘dance’ or ruga wath ‘pig dance’, because a pig will be killed and distributed in the morning hours after the dance. Thus, the technical concept of ‘drum’ and the cultural practice of ‘dance’ mediate between ruga ‘pig’ and rugaruga ‘tree type’.
Examples of this type have to be checked thoroughly with several speakers. Otherwise, we run the risk of either (i) documenting folk etymologies or (ii) not recognizing existing links at all. In an early stage of my fieldwork, the connection between *ruga* and *rugaruga* was explained in terms of spatial relations: the pig is often found in the vicinity of this tree. We will see below that this is true for other connections, but not for this particular example. During a plant walk, I was shown the *rugaruga* tree, and when I invoked the spatial explanation, my informants ruled out that explanation by saying ‘pigs roam around anywhere’.

In the cases involving reduplication, there is a clear direction from baseform > reduplication. In such cases, we may ask if there are any detectable patterns in the direction of the semantic extensions. Most examples follow the animacy hierarchy in the way that what ranks higher is the baseform and what ranks lower is the reduplicated form. For example, *züm* ‘centipede’ reduplicates to *zümzüm* ‘grass type’ (1b), or the fish *kwazür* reduplicates to *kwazürkwazür* ‘grass type’ (8a), or *zuaku* ‘widower’ reduplicates to *zuakuzuaku* ‘fly river anchovy’ (10c). Those examples, which violate this rule involve inanimate referents, like *karo* ‘anthill’ and *karokaro* ‘grassland goana’ (9a). Some of them can be explained by invoking relative salience or importance in every-day life.

Patterns of shared stems allow us not only to gain insight into the local classification of plants and animals, but can reveal culturally significant connections from plant usage to esoteric knowledge. The following description will group examples by the semantic connection established by sign metonymy. Note that, under Evans’ definition of sign metonymy, reduplication is only one type; identical forms or inflected forms are also included (Evans, 1997: 136).

### 11.4.2 Metaphor

Metaphorical links between different biota can be based on movement (1), appearance (2), colour (3), taste (4), feeling (5), hearing/sounds (6) or patterns of human interaction (7). Note that a few examples link biota to non-biological concepts (2a, 2d, 5a, 7a), and in example (2b) the base form is a Nama word.

1. **(1)**
   a. *dö* ‘monitor lizard’; *dödö* ‘plant type used for brooms, broom’ (Mela-leuca sp). **MOVEMENT:** the lizards “sweeps” the floor with its tail when it walks.
   b. *züm* ‘centipede’; *zümzüm* ‘grass type’; **MOVEMENT:** the grass grows flat along the ground and has little spikes like the centipede.

2. **(2)**
   a. *toku* ‘carry someone on the back with the legs around the neck’; *toku-toku* ‘bird type’ (Bar-shouldered Dove); **APPEARANCE:** the bird has a thick brown line on the back of its neck at the same place where one would carry a child.
b. *min* ‘nose’ in Nama; *minmin* ‘bird type’ (Purple-tailed Imperial Pigeon). **APPEARANCE:** the bird has large nose-like beak.

c. *msar* ‘weaver ant’; *msarmsar* ‘insect larvae, esp. bees’ **APPEARANCE:** the bee larvae look like little ants.

d. *garda* ‘canoe’; *gardagarda* ‘tree type’; **APPEARANCE:** the seeds of this tree are long and thin; they crack open lengthwise resembling the shape of a canoe.

(3) a. *yem* ‘cassowary’ (Casuarius casuarius); *yemyem* ‘tree type’ (Aceratium sp); **COLOR:** the fruit of this tree is bright red as the cassowarie’s skin hanging from its throat.

(4) a. *thatha* ‘sugarcane’ (Poaceae sp); *thathathatha* ‘grass type’; **TASTE:** the grass tastes as sweet as the sugarcane. In the neighboring variety Wära, sugarcane is *kthko* and the grass type is *kthkokthko*.

b. *with* ‘banana’; *withwith* ‘tree type’ (Pseudouvaria sp); **TASTE:** fruit tastes sweet likes a banana.

(5) a. *kata* ‘bamboo knife’; *katakata* ‘grass type’ (Carex sp); **FEELING:** the grass is as sharp as a bamboo knife.

(6) a. *gatha* ‘dog’; *gathagatha* ‘bronze quoll’ (Dactylopsila trivirgata); **SOUND:** the bronze quoll barks like a dog.

(7) a. *tafko* ‘hat’; *tafkotafko* ‘tree type’ (Macaranga sp); **INTERACTION:** the large leaves of this tree can be used as a hat against rain or sun.

b. *yazi* ‘coconut’ (Cocos nucifera); *yaziyazi* ‘grass type’ (Exocarpus largifolius); **INTERACTION:** the grass is put on the flowers of a coconut when it flowers for the first time to make it grow strong.

11.4.3 Metonymy

Metonymic links between animals and plants can be of three types: temporal (8), spatial (9) and technical/cultural (10). Note that for some examples, the link involves a biological term and a non-biological term as in *zuaku* ‘widower, orphan’ and *zuakuzuaku* ‘fly river anchovy’ (10c).

(8) a. *kwazür* ‘narrow-fronted tandan’ (Neosilurus ater); *kwazürkwazür* ‘grass type’ (Helminthostachis zeylanica). **TEMPORAL:** the flowering of this grass signals that the fish is greasy; **HUMAN INTERACTION:** fishnets and fishhooks are painted with the root of this plant to ensure a good catch.

b. *tauri* ‘wallaby’; *tauritauri* ‘tree type’ (Diplanchia heterophila); **TEMPORAL:** In June/July, when the tree flowers, wallabies like to stay close to the this three; people set traps its vicinity or hide them for hunting.
c. *dbän* ‘tree type (Lamiodendron sp)’; *dbän tayo* ‘yam harvest season’ (lit. ‘weak, ripe *dbän’); TEMPORAL: The dry, falling leaves of this tree signal the beginning of the yam harvest.

(9) a. *karo* ‘anthill; ground oven’; *karokaro* ‘monitor lizard (grassland)’ SPATIAL: during the dry season, the grassland goana likes to dig a hole and hide inside the anthill.

b. *nzöyar* ‘bowerbird’ (Fawn-breasted Bowerbird); *nzöyarnzöyar* ‘tree type’ (Elaeocarpus sp); SPATIAL: the bowerbird collects the branches and fruit of this tree to build its display area.

c. *dagu* ‘tree type’ (Banksia dentata); *dagu* ‘python type’; SPATIAL: the python sleeps on the tree. APPEARANCE: the bark of the tree looks like the python.

More complex connections involve technical concepts (10a) or references to cultural concepts (10b, 10d).

(10) a. *tru* ‘palm type’ (Hydriastele sp); *kwartru* ‘thin long trough which collects the sago’; *trutru* ‘current, stream of water’ TECHNICAL: *kwartru* is made from the palm leaf. while washing the sago pulp the water runs along the trough; therefore, a waterstream of any kind can be called *trutru*.

b. *ruga* ‘pig’; *rugaruga* ‘tree type’ (Gmelina ledermanii); CULTURAL: pigs are killed during dances, which are often called *ruga wath* ‘pig dance(s)’. At such dances, *brubru* ‘kundu drum(s)’ are used and the tree *rugaruga* provides the best timber for carving drums.

c. *zuaku* ‘widow(er), orphan’; *zuakuzuaku* ‘fly river anchovy’ (Thryssa rastrosa); CULTURAL: widows wear a woven mourning belt from one week after the death of a relative to up to a year. The bones of the fish look like a mourning dress.

d. *bidr* ‘flying fox’; *bidr* ‘joking name for woman’; CULTURAL: This builds on the tree metaphors in which the tree is the base of people. It may stand for a mythical origin or for one’s place of birth. Women shift to their husband’s village just like flying foxes move from one tree to another.

The most complex connections involve esoteric knowledge. A particular puzzling example involves the link between the names of two birds and the word for ‘vagina’. The reduplicative bird names *ktikti* ‘Greater Streaked Lory, Rainbow Lorikeet’ and *dirdir* ‘Red-cheeked Parrot’ lack a base form in Komnzo. However, the word *dir* [dıır] means ‘vagina’ in Blafe and there is a cognate in Nen.

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2*ktikti* is either the Greater Streaked Lory (Chalcopsitta scintillata) or the Rainbow Lorikeet (Trichoglossus haematodus) or the term covers both, *dirdir* is the Red-cheeked Parrot (Geoffroyus geoffroyi).
This is to say that the two bird names as well as the Blafe and Nen words are cognate, while the Komnzo word for ‘vagina’ nzga is probably not. Note that Blafe and Nen are spoken about 60km to the West and East respectively. The connection between the two bird names and the word ‘vagina’ can be explained by the fūtha myth, which explains the origin of the bullroarer (Ayres, 1983: 80). Fūtha is a story place in Rouku. According to the myth, a man heard a roaring sound coming from his wife’s vagina. He wondered what is causing the sound, and he sends several animals including birds to fetch that thing for him. In their attempts, the birds spilled blood on themselves, which is still visible today, because their plumage contains patches of bright red. In fact, there are other small birds with red colour that involve these words: kti tharthar ‘Spangled Drongo’ has bright red eyes and tharthar means ‘side, next to’, yazi dirdir ‘Red-flanked Lorikeet’ (yazi ‘coconut’) and kor dirdir ‘Orange-breasted Fig-parrot’. Hence, the reduplication pattern says something about the red colour of these birds. The link is established by using baseforms meaning ‘vagina’, which connect to the mythical story. Since this is esoteric knowledge, the link is hidden by employing words from rather distant languages.

11.4.4 Conclusion

This has been a preliminary analysis of the data on sign metonymies. Comparative data is needed to explain more semantic links which have so far been only documented. Data from other languages can provide two kinds of evidence. First, there will be more cases, in which the base from comes from another language, as in (2b) or in the myth described above. Second, we may find that the same biota are linked in other languages. Two examples of this come from Wära and Blafe. In Wära, the link between sugarcane and a particular grass type (4a) is established by the reduplication of the non-cognate word kthko [kɔtko]. In Blafe, the temporal link between the fish and the grass type (8a) is established by the cognate word bëwr [bæwâr].

11.5 Landscape terminology

11.5.1 Conceptualisation of landscape

FE Williams opens his monograph about the Morehead district with the following description of the landscape: “Its scenery often has a mild, almost dainty, attractiveness in detail, but represents on the whole the extreme of monotony.”

\[^3\]Taken from the current version of the Nen dictionary compiled by Nick Evans.

\[^4\]This story appears also in (Williams, 1936: 307) as an episode of the Kwavaru myth.

\[^5\]Spangled Drongo (Cyclopsitta guliemiteriti), Red-flanked Lorikeet (Charmosyna placentis) and Orange-breasted Fig-parrot (Cyclopsitta guliemiteriti).
(Williams, 1936: 1). The Komnzo terminology reflects Williams’ observation. There are general terms for landscape types, but we also find words expressing very specific local arrangements. For example, while there is a general distinction between fz ‘forest’, ksi kar ‘open grassland’ and fath ‘clear place’ we also find fine-grained distinctions like fokufoku ‘small patch of forest’, fz minz ‘thin strip of forest’ (lit. ‘forest vine’), thaba ‘clearing surrounded by forest’ and morthr ‘edge of forest with a smaller patch forest close by’. Some of the more general terms are shown with pictures in §1.3.2.

Large parts of the Morehead district are inundated by rising water during the wet season. This usually takes place between January and June, but there is some fluctuation from year to year. It is hardly surprising that this regular cycle has found its way into the lexicon of Komnzo. I invite the reader on a walk from the high ground down to the river. I translate the term töna often as ‘high ground’. It is that part of the land which is virtually never covered by water, regardless of vegetation type. Settlements and yam gardens are located on high ground. Small hills are referred to by märmar6 or the Motu loan ororo. These areas may become islands (bod) during high floods. Wide, gentle slopes (rsrs) lacerated by many small creeks (ttfo) lead to lower areas. It is often along creeks where people plant sago palms or sometimes taro. Closer to the river, the ground can be very uneven and bumpy due to running water. This is called kore. A little lower, lies that land which is always covered by water during the rainy season. Often backwater stays in stagnant pools and dries up during the height of the dry season. These places are called zra, which I translate with ‘swamp’, but maybe the term ‘billabong’ commonly used in Australian English is more fitting. In this area, we find smaller pools of water which dry up (nawan) and larger pools which are permanent (dmgu). The ankle-deep, muddy water covered with leaves is referred to by nzäwi. When walking towards the river, the land rises again in many places. The difference in elevation is almost unnoticeable, but it is enough so that this area dries up first at the end of the wet season. These places between the swamp and the river are called for and people plant cassava, sweet potato and taro there. The steep riverbanks along the Morehead river are called rokuroku, a term from which the village name Rouku originates. The sides of the river are covered with patches of süfi ‘floating grass’, and in some places this layer is called tuf when it is thick enough to support the cultivation of sweet potatoes. Finally, there is the river which is yrs. Although found only in the southwest around Bensbach, large open lagoons are called füwä in Komnzo. Especially in dry season much of people’s daily life involves coming and going from the high ground to the river. This movement has left some impact in the verb lexicon. For example, the stem frezsi usually means ‘take sth. out of the water’, but in a middle template it means ‘come (up) from river’ and can be used

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6 Nowadays, Komnzo speakers refer to highlanders as märmar kabe ‘hill people’.
for disembarking a canoe, or for walking back from a river camp to the village.

There are numerous creeks leading to the Morehead river. The mouth of a creek is referred to by zfth ‘base’. This word can refer to the base of a tree, but it can also mean ‘origin, reason’. Interestingly, the creeks may be referred as ttfö tuti ‘creek branches, twigs’ or ttfö minz ‘creek vine’. The place where the creeks start be can called either ttfö ker ‘creek tail’ or ttfö zrminz ‘creek root’. The same can be said about the Morehead river. Thus waterways are conceptualised by a tree metaphor. This stems from the kwafar myth which explains the origin of all people from a huge tree. Kwafar is located somewhere in the Arafura Sea between Papua New Guinea and Australia. In the myth, the giant tree burns down and a flood caused by killing a mythical creature forces people to retreat northwards and southwards. The roots in the ground also burned and with the rising water they became creeks and rivers. In other versions of the myth, the tree falls northwards and the creeks and rivers are formed by burned branches and twigs of the tree.

11.5.2 Place names

Place names in the Morehead district are both numerous and densely clustered (Ayres, 1983: 129). The village of Rouku alone consists of some three dozen named places. The knowledge of most place names is common knowledge and FE Williams notes that “if you ask your guide where you stand at any moment, he will be able to give a name to the land.” (1936: 207). However, the details of every small track and the stories that belong to it is something only known by the rightful owners of that piece of land. In that sense, knowledge about place names can be compared to a proof of ownership. Therefore, I deliberately do not include a complete list of collected place names, nor do I provide a detailed map. Below, I address selected topics related to place names.

All place names in Komnzo are proper nouns, but they differ with respect to their meaning. Some place names have no meaning other than the places they designate, for example fthi, kanathr or yazäthe. At some point in the past, they might have been segmentable into meaningful parts or constitute a meaningful word in themselves, but this knowledge has faded away. Place names commonly preserve features which have become non-productive or lexemes which have become archaic. This can also be found in Komnzo. For example, the place name

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7I would like to thank Mary Ayres for giving me access to her fieldnotes which proved to be enormously helpful during the elicitation and investigation of place names.

8Two of these examples look like inflected verb forms; kanathr is similar to an imperative form of ‘eat’ in a middle template: kanathè ‘eat yourself!!’; yazäthe contains the middle prefix ya-, a possible non-dual marker -th and the first non-singular suffix -e. However, the assumed verb stem zä- does not exist in modern Komnzo.
Aspects of the lexicon

thmefi can be split into the components thm ‘nose’ and efi ‘hair’, meaning ‘moustache’. The word efi is archaic in Komnzo, and instead thäbu is used. In fact, some speakers are unaware of the possible segmentation.

More commonly, Komnzo place names consist of two elements, which usually form a nominal compound. These compounds range from rather dry descriptions, like gani zfth ‘gani tree base’ (Endiandra brassii), to the most colourful illustrations, as in nzga warisi ‘vagina chewing’, kwanz fath ‘bald head clearing’. Many nominal compounds consist of a plant name plus a landscape term or a term used for the part of a plant. The most common landscape terms are zra ‘swamp, waterhole’ and ttö ‘creek’. The most common plant part terms are zfth ‘base’ and fr ‘stem, grove’.9 A few examples are: karesa zfth ‘karesa base’ (Melaleuca sp), atätö fr ‘atätö stem’ (Pouteria sp), wsus zra ‘wsus tree swamp’ (Combretum sp). These are not descriptions of places, but place names. A phrase like karesa zfth can refer to the base of any karesa tree, but it refers only to one named place.

A few place names are inflected verb forms, for example karifthe ‘you two send each other off!’.10 This place connects to a myth in which the ancestor of the Garaita people and the ancestor of the Rouku people were fighting. At the end of the story, they depart in opposite directions from karifthe. Another name which includes an inflected verb is kafthé fr. The first element is means ‘take off your bag!’ and the second means ‘stem, grove’. Interestingly, kafthé is not Komnzo, but Wartha.11 I will address the topic of double language place names below. For some place names, there is no etymology available, for example yrn ‘they are many’.

Simpson and Hercus (2002) provide a list of differences between introduced and indigenous place names in Australia. In the following, I apply some points in their typology to the Morehead district. The first point which Hercus and Simpson discuss is the difference between a system and a local network. The former is meant to provide an overview, a kind of standardised template for naming places, which can be applied universally and is open to everyone. Komnzo place names, like indigenous place names in Australia differ in that they often constitute smaller networks of place names. For example, the number of named places is much denser in the vicinity of inhabited places or previously inhabited places. As pointed out above, Komnzo places often belong to a particular clan or family,

9The word zfth can mean (i) ‘base of a plant, tree’, (ii) rivermouth, (iii) ‘origin’ or (iv) ‘reason’.
10ka\rifth/e
11Imperative perfectives in Komnzo mark dual versus non-dual with a vowel change in the prefix, and the suffix is zero for second singular. The corresponding Komnzo verb form would be käthf.
and the detailed knowledge about these places and the stories which connect to them is not always something for public distribution. A second difference raised by Hercus and Simpson is that between local mnemonics and mnemotechnics. They point out that place names have developed organically over a long time as local mnemonics to refer to places. This applies to places in Europe and Australia (or the Morehead district) alike, but not to introduced place name systems. For example, the Komnzo place name *swäri* *zfth* ‘*swäri* base’ must have started as the description of a place with an especially large or beautiful *swäri* tree (*Alstonia actinifila*), but over time it has lost its descriptive function. Today it is used even though the *swäri* tree was cut down decades ago. Francesca Merlan has described place name systems of this kind as being “non-arbitrary”, because they establish a direct relationship to the designated places (Merlan, 2001). In contrast to local mnemonics technological advances like writing and mapping provides a kind of mnemotechnics, which opens the possibility to include arbitrary place names like *Sydney* or *Port Moresby*.

Simpson and Hercus make out three naming strategies that are rarely found in indigenous Australia: commemoration strategies, topographic descriptors and relative location. Commemoration strategies are wholly absent in Komnzo place names. They are only found in those names introduced by Europeans. For example, the Morehead river was named after B.D. Morehead who was the premier of Queensland between 1888 and 1890. The Bensbach river was named during a joint expedition in 1895 by W. MacGregor and J. Bensbach who was the Dutch Resident at Ternate at the time. While Hercus and Simpson point out that topographic descriptors are rare in indigenous Australia, they are quite common in Komnzo. However, as pointed out above, they include only a small set of words (*zfth* ‘tree base’, *fr* ‘stem, grove’ or *ttfö* ‘creek’). Relative terms like *North Melbourne* or *West-Berlin* are almost completely absent in Komnzo as they are in Australian languages. The only example, in which a place name establishes a relation to another place is *fthiker*. The link here is a creek which has its mouth at place called *fthi* and its starting point at *fthiker* ‘*fthi* tail’. Note that creeks themselves are usually not named, but the word *ttfö* ‘creek’ can be added to a place situated on a creek.

An interesting phenomenon that sheds some light on multilingualism is the fact that many place names are composed of words from two languages. Most of these involve one Komnzo word. But in a few place names both words are from different languages even though the place is located on Komnzo speaking territory. The basic principle of double language names is shown in Figure 11.1 with the name *fotnz*, a place near Rouku village, which can be parsed as one word from Wartha and one word from Komnzo.
place name: fotnz ‘short coconut’

Wartha \( \text{fo} \ [\phi:] \ ‘coconut’ \)

 Komnzo \( \text{tg} \ [t\ddot{o}k] \ ‘short’ \)

Figure 11.1 Double language place names

This principle is rather pervasive. A quarter of recorded place names involve a word from another language. Below, I give a few examples (11-13). These are sorted according to whether the Komnzo word is the first (11) or last element (12). I show the place name as a single word in most cases, because often speakers only realised their segmentability when I prompted them. This is followed by a literal English translation of the contributing elements, after which the two languages are given. In parentheses, I provide the two words in each language. Note that I follow here the Komnzo orthography, because with the exception of Nama there is no orthography available for there varieties. A few cases are problematic because one of the two words is identical in the contributing languages (13). However, all examples designate places on Komnzo speaking territory.

(11) a. fotnz ‘coconut + short’; Wartha (fo \(tg\)) + Komnzo (yazi \(tnz\)).

 b. säzäri ‘paperbark + bending over’; Wartha (sä ytho) + Komnzo (karesa zäri); The word zäri ‘bending (branches)’ is considered archaic, but there is the modern word zäre ‘shade’.

c. tratrubäk ‘bird type + back’; Känchä (tratra bak) + Komnzo (drädrä bäk).

d. makozanzan ‘vagina + beating’; Arammba (mako kamakama) + Komnzo (nzga zanzan).

e. füsari ‘garden row + axe’; Nama (fū mbilè) + Komnzo (yanz sari); The word sari is considered archaic.

 f. düdüsam ‘broom + liquid’; Nama (düdü wkwr) + Komnzo (dödö sam).

 g. fakwr ‘after + ashes’; Nama (fa fak) + Komnzo (thrma kwr).

 h. wästhak ‘tree type (Ficus elastica) + place’; Nama (wäś näk) + Komnzo (wäsü thak); The word thak is archaic in Komnzo and only found in mni thak ‘fire place’.

(12) a. zthèsekabir ‘penis + sleep(n)’; Komnzo (zthé etfth) + Wära (zthk kabir).
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(13) a. sizwär ‘eye + base’; Komnzo (si zfth) + Wartha (si zwär).

b. snzäzwär ‘river crayfish + base’; Komnzo (snzä zfth) + Wartha (dawi zwär).

c. ornogo ‘Emerald Dove + house’; Komnzo (or mno) + Nama (? mogo); The name of this bird in Nama is unknown.

d. yem gi faf ‘cassowary killing place’; Komnzo (yem zan faf) + Nama (awyé gi faf).

e. märofak ‘tree type (Dillenia ensifolia) + ashes’; Komnzo (märo kwr) + Nama (mene fak).

Double language place names pattern roughly according to geography. For example, place names containing Nama words are mostly found east of Rouku, while place names involving Wartha words are mostly found to the southwest. There are many exceptions, where (i) the place does not fit geography or (ii) the ‘foreign’ word could be from more than one language. However, the overall pattern suggests that geography plays a role. Thus, if we showed these places on a map and marked them for the contributing ‘foreign’ languages, we could geographically visualise speech varieties. Data from other villages and their place names is needed to corroborate this observation.

The pattern of double language place names calls for an investigation of naming customs. However, as with most place names, the point in time when such double language name were coined is far removed. Most of my informants did not remember anyone giving a name to these places. A common response was ‘we learned them from our fathers’. In fact, most informants find the idea of naming a place somewhat strange. That being said, we can still draw some conclusions about naming customs. Double language names differ from the monolingual, decriptive place names. One can imagine the gradual transition from a description to a proper name like swäri zfth ‘swäri base’ mentioned above. With double language place names such a transition is unlikely. A more deliberate act of coining the name has to be assumed. Note that we also find Komnzo-only place names, where a transition from description to proper name can be ruled out on semantic grounds, for example nzarga wth (tree type + faeces) or zäzx mno (lazy + house). The point is that a transition is unlikely because two languages are involved, even if the name is of a more decriptive nature like (11h) and (12b). These observations authenticate the importance of place in Morehead culture, an
argument that was put forward by Mary Ayres (1983).

Additionally, double language place names can shed some light on the degree of multilingualism in the language communities concerned. There are varying degrees of metalinguistic awareness both between different place names and between different speakers. That is to say that speakers differ in their language profiles, and ultimately differ in how much access they have to the word in the ‘foreign’ language. Moreover, some place names are easier to parse, while others have undergone phonological reduction or one of the segments has become archaic. Generally speaking, most speakers are aware of these double language names and the meaning in the respective languages. One observation that can be made is the complete absence of doublets, that is cases were both terms refer to the same referent, but in different languages. There are examples of doublets in Komnzo, but not for place names. For example, there is a cassava type called ubi biskar. The word ubi is from Malay and the word biskar is a Komnzo word, but both mean ‘cassava’. This type of doublet is to be expected if the speakers who coined the name do not know the meaning of the ‘foreign’ word. The pattern that we find with place names suggests the opposite. At the time of coinage, one has to assume a degree of multilingualism at least as high as today.

11.5.3 Social landscape

This section addresses the topic of social landscape, by which I mean the reference system used for people in relation to space. The Komnzo terms for this domain conceptualise either pure geography or what we may call kinship-dependent geography. The importance of place in the Morehead district has been described in great detail by Mary Ayres. I sketch out the sister-exchange system only where it is relevant to the discussion. Otherwise I refer the reader to (Ayres, 1983) and §1.3.8.

The purely geographic terms are based on an east-west axis. The people who live in the east are referred to with the word nzödmä, while the people in the west are called smärki. These labels are often only applied to people living two villages away. They are rarely used for one’s immediate neighbours. The system is ego-centric in that the same labels or cognate terms are applied in other villages. If one moves further west, the term güdmä [ŋgʊdmac] is used for everyone to the east, including the people of Rouku.12 Likewise the people in the east would call everyone who lives west of them smärki. Thus, the terms nzödmä and smärki do not refer to a specific group, but mean ‘people from the east’ and ‘people

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12The word güdmä in Nama and Blafe are cognate with Komnzo nzödmä. In Komnzo, Wära, Anta and Wèré velar stops have undergone palatalisation before front vowels, for example [ŋ] > [n̥dʒ].
from the west’ respectively. This caused some confusion for early ethnographers (Williams, 1936: 36), but was explained by Ayres (1983: 132). The east-west axis is validated by the term *tharthar kabe* ‘people on the side’, which is used for the Arammba speakers in the north.\(^{13}\) Further north, the speakers of Suki and Gogodala are collectively labelled with the proper name *piram*. Also the people in the south do not fit in the east-west schema, but are instead referred to by proper names, for example *worta*, or they may be called *mazo kabe* ‘coast people’. Groups which live further away have proper names, for example the Kanum and Marind speakers in the west are called *kodomarid* and the speakers of Kiwai are called *turd*.

As pointed out by Ayres, people define themselves as belonging to a particular origin place. The ancestors of different clans and sections might have arrived from different directions, but they ‘spread out’ from the same origin place. Hence, people can be referred to by their origin place. For Komnzo speakers, this is *farem kar* ‘farem place’, which is situated about 3km northeast of Rouku. Other examples are *mät* for the people of Yokwa or *thamga* for the people of Uparua.\(^{14}\) Origin places usually overlap with language variety, in that a speaker of Wära belongs to *mät kar*, a speaker of Anta belongs to *thamga kar*.

The kinship system gives rise to yet another, very common way of referring to people. The rules of exogamy involve a number of factors. Some are related to place, for example identification with a particular origin place establishes an exogamous group. Some are related to the section system, for example the Mayawa section regardless of place forms an exogamous group. The section classification cross-cuts the place system, i.e. one may not marry people from the same origin place, but also not from a different place if they belong to the same section. Additionally, people who ‘share a land boundary’ may not intermarry. That is to say that two individuals may not marry even if they belong to different places and different sections, if their land is adjacent. Ayres argues convincingly that locality forms the most important factor in the complicated definitions of exogamous groupings (Ayres, 1983: chapter 5). If kinship is conceptualised in terms of space, it follows that kinship terms can be used to refer to people of a particular place. I often overheard people talking about their *ngom kar* ‘brother-in-law place’ or *thuft kar* ‘in-law place’. Note that the calculations one has to make to arrive at the correct referent are rather complex. Not only does one individual normally have several brothers-in-law, but that different individuals have different in-laws. Nevertheless, such knowledge is common ground for the people of Rouku. Although I often found it difficult to identify the referent in an utterance like (14), every child in Rouku could make the correct deduction without effort.

\(^{13}\)Often the phrase *sarsar yar* is used, which means the same in Arammbaba.
\(^{14}\)mät is a term referring to the red colour of the ground, and the village *Mata* in the east derives its name from the same word. There is no etymology for *thamga* or *farem*. 
(14)  *watik kraitth bern ... sukufa ärithr nafathufthnm ... nafangom karnm*

**Translation:**

‘Then they went across there ... He gives tobacco to his in-laws ... to the people of his brother-in-law place.’
Bibliography


Appendix A

Dictionary

A

a also: ɲa conjunction and. nagayé zbo thgathinzako, madma ka-farwā a srek nge katanwā. ‘He left the two children here, the big girl and the small boy.’ mni wthomonwath a zräföfh. ‘They made the fire and burned it.’

afa kinship noun [masc] father.
Note: loanword from Nama.
see: ɲafe

afa kfokfo noun [fem] Hooded Butcherbird. ♦ Cracticus cassinus
Note: This bird lives on the forest on the high ground. His call showed the ancestor of the Mayawa clan where to settle.

afa sku also: afa skru property noun carry a child with the legs around the hip. afa skume wzänzr. ‘She carries the girl with her legs around the hip.’

agar noun [masc] roof beam.

aiwa interjection. This is used like “oh no” in English as a sign of surprise about something that is unpleasant or sad to see.

akam also: akm property noun cough, fast breath. mura-mura ye akamma. ‘This is medicine against shortwind or asthma.’

ake proper noun female personal name.

akeake noun [masc] tree type. ♦ Alphitonia incana
Note: This tree is used for firewood, yamsticks.

aki
(1) noun [masc] moon. aki kwaya-nen thwanyak. ‘They were coming in the moonlight.’
(2) kinship noun [flex] grandfather, grandmother, grandchild. nzone ake yare rā. ‘She is my grandmother.’
(3) kinship noun [flex] father in-law, mother in-law, daughter in-law. nafane aki yare rā. ‘She is his mother-in-law.’ ‘She is his daughter-in-law.’
Note: This word is used reciprocally between a woman and her parents in-law instead of their respective names as well as bet-

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1This dictionary was assembled with the help of Chris Healey and Kipiro Damas who visited Rouku in order to collect information on bird and plant species respectively. Fish species were identified with the help of (Allen et al., 2008).
ween grandparents and grandchildren. This is a loanword from Nama.

*see: zath*

**aku**fi**ari** noun [masc] part of the sago palm which is used to hold down the strainer.

**ama** kinship noun [fem] mother.

Note: loanword from Nama.

*see: ṣame*

**amkf** also: **abkf** noun breath.

**ane** anaphoric dem this one, the one that we know about, the one that has been mentioned. ṣazi tufokari āne zāgarinza. ‘With the dried coconut leaf this one (this guy) broke off (and fell down).’

*Kommzo kwu! āne jof kwu wnrtnakwē. ‘Just wait! I will cut this one.’*

**anem**a** connective, dem** because of that, therefore, from that.

cell mzen mane we suthka-grm āne jof wātrikw. ‘He was in jail and he tells her about that.’

*wātik, anema ni-mame jof nrā. ‘Okay, therefore we are like this.’

*nā jaf znfo z ńafjānizu bānema nagayē tūfr ńońoyam. wātik, anema ńafjānizu. ‘He moved to another place because of children making too much noise. Therefore he shifted (to another place).’*

**anem**a** connective, dem** with this, thereby. wāmme frsth.

*anema thumtriknwame nima. ‘branches from the tree, with those ones we used to stir it.’

krārne srārīfrth. anema wri kwos̱i ńfthnm. ‘They filled him up with Kava and with this he was laying down dead drunk.’

**anzf** noun [masc] tree type. ◊ Sarcocephalus coadunatus

**ar**er noun [masc] Little Corella. ◊ Cacatua sanguinea

**arth mni** also: **art mni** noun [fem] fire which slowly smolders underneath a big log or covered by soil.

**asar** numeral four.

**asiga** noun [masc] tree type. ◊ Parinari sp

**atātō** noun [masc] tree type. ◊ Pouteria sp

Note: The fruit of this tree is eaten by cassowaries. The empty shell is used for decoration.

**ausi** noun [fem] old woman.

**aw** kot interjection This is used as a sign of sudden surprise, like “oh Lord!”.

**awawa** noun [fem] Black-eared Catbird. ◊ Ailuroedus melanotis

**awow** interjection This signals agreement, like “okay”.

**ayaw also: ayow** interjection This is a warning, like “Watch out!”.

**ayo** interjection This is used if one is sad about something.

*see: aiwa*

**äft yare** noun [fem] type of bag woven out of fresh coconut leaves.

**ān** noun [masc] plant type. ◊ Ficus chrysanthha

Note: This tree is used as timber. Its leaves are used like sandpaper.

**āthgam** noun [masc] tree type, nonda plum, parinari. ◊ Parinari nonda
Note: This tree is used for firewood. Its fruit are edible.

ätraf noun [masc] tree type.
◇ Gonocaryum littoralis
Note: This tree is used for timber.

babai kinship noun [flex] uncle, aunt, nephew, niece.
Note: This word is used reciprocally between someone and her/his maternal aunts and uncles. This is possibly a loanword.

see: näwi

bad
(1) noun [fem] ground, soil. fthé thremar nima gbane krétrth nima badfo berã. ‘That is, when you see that the yam vines are falling to the ground.’
be bad bra wthakår. kabrigyro bukarföräu! ‘You are finishing the soil. Go back to your own village!’

(2) noun [fem] earth. thwamnrzm zane kafar biden frthzé kabe enrãra. ‘Wherever the people came from they lived there on earth.’
zafofwã bad fthé yafiyokwa yafyf fthé bad wafiyokwa. ‘Long time ago, when he made the earth, when the father created the earth.’

badabada kinship noun [flex] ancestor, great-grandfather.

baf recognitional this one, this thing (who is doing something to someone). baf wkonznr. kabe wrikarã fthé yé. gatha gatha fthé wafiyokwr. ‘This spoils it when the man is drunk when he makes it bad.’
baf fthé srübrth nima kabe zan miyof. ‘That thing takes him (the sorcerer) over that desire to kill people.’

bafen recognitional in that place, in that time. ausi zwamnrzm mni thaken ... mznen fof ... zrfôn ... nima bafen fbo fbo mane zanthona. ‘The old woman sat by the fireplace ... really in the house ... by the door ... at this place where she had arrived.’

boba bafen fthé zarã zótfhamen. ‘That is when you will (plant them) for the first time.’

bagu kinship noun [flex] clan name, section name.

baik noun [fem] bag.
Note: This word refers to plastic bags (thin plastic bags, rice-bags or backpacks).

bana adjective poor, pityful, hapless, wretched. nafafzenz bana zane zfrã zrã. ‘This is his poor wife right here.’
kwifar näbi tauri sriçg markær nabinè. watãk kranbrimè. tauri bana ane yfränzake ykwathake. ‘He shot a big wallaby. Then we returned and singed the hair of the hapless wallaby and we cut the meat.’
wthak kwosi bana kwamè! ‘Bring me my broken, wretched sandals!’
Note: This word expresses a feeling of sadness, empathy or sympathy towards someone or something.

banban locational under. duga taga banbanen boba kwathär-
wrmth fof. ‘They went under-
neath the taro leaves.’ mnz 
babanen ru zane erä? ‘What 
are these things underneath the 
house?’
banibani noun [masc] Brahminy 
Kite. Haliastur indus 
bar noun [masc] paddle. 
Note: loanword from Motu. 
see: karaf 
barau noun [masc] tree type. 
Grevillea sp 
bardi borsi noun [fem] hockey 
game. 
Note: A local game of hockey 
played with a knotty wooden 
ball made from tree roots. The 
hockey sticks are roughly-made 
from thick branches. There are 
no picked sides and no goals.
barere noun [masc] type of 
grasshopper. 
Note: This is a black, dark 
grasshopper that lives in the 
forest. Its name is said to ono-
motopoetic.
basikol noun [fem] bicycle. 
Note: loanword from English.
bath noun [masc] type of grasshop-
per.

bath noun [fem] concave goby. 
Glossogobius concavifrons 
batre wath noun [fem] type of 
dance (it includes walking 
sticks and bird feathers).
Anseranas semipalmata 
bawar noun [fem] curse. nze bun 
bawar narakthkwé. ‘I put a 
curse on you.’
bä deictic there (MED). wm ane 
fof kanathren bä mane ythn tnz 
eräştgr. ‘There in Kanathr 
where the stones are they stick 
out (from the water) a little.’ 
fi kafar ɣatha ná mane erera 
fi ane bâ bkwaruthrmth bûdis- 
nen mnz nzen. ‘But as for 
the big dogs, they were bark-
ing there in Mbüntisen by the 
house.’ wati, nafane gwh ni-
mame fof rû zera monme bâ 
withen brû ‘Okay, it’s nest is like 
this how is laying there, right 
there.’
bä pronominal you (2.ABS). Okay 
bâi, bâ käzkno boba! ‘Okay 
bâi, you move over there.’ bâ 
kmâ kaznobe! nû fof yâbrigwé 
mnzo. ‘You (pl) should drink. 
I will go back to the house.’
bâbä adjective numb.
bäi proper noun male personal 
nname.
bâia kinship noun [flex] uncle, 
nephew, niece after consum-
mated exchange. 
Note: loanword from Wära. 
see: fâia 
bâiajìm kinship noun [flex] aunt, 
nephew, niece after consum-
mated exchange. 
Note: loanword from Wära. 
see: fâiajìm 
bâk locational flat item, back, 
something that is flat on the 
outside. 
Note: This might be a loan-
word from English (‘back’). It 
can be used for flat surfaced 
items like the sole of the foot, 
back of hammer or axe, lid of 
saucepan.
bâgwrm noun [masc] butterfly. 

bâne 
(1) dem that, these.
recognitional that one, the one you and I know about.

bänema connective, dem because of that, therefore.

bänemr connective, dem until, for that. frknzo yamrinza bänemr e masu. ‘He follow the blood drips until Masu.’ nimamenko kwa fofo zena zbär fofo bänemr kayé. ‘It will be like this tonight until tomorrow.’

bänzü also: benzü noun [masc] tree type. ◊ Planchonia sp
Note: used for houseposts.

bärbär noun [flex] half. nima bä nzone yareanema bärbär keke kwa thanathé! ‘It is like this: You will not eat half (of the food) of my wife!’ suk-wathrame katakatanme. wozfo ane fofo ththortheame. bärbär mane kwagathinz gardafo ane fofo swäzine. ‘We cut it in small pieces and put it into the bottles. As for the half that was left, we always put it into the canoe.’


bäwr noun [masc] long arrow type.

bäwzö also: mni bäwzö noun
(1) [masc] wall.
(2) [masc] tree type. ◊ Xanthostemon sp
Note: The bark of this tree is heated over the fire in order to harden. Then it is used for house walls.

bbreko also: breko breko noun [masc] earthquake.

be pronominal you (2SG.ERG).

benm pronominal for you (2NSG.DAT).

benme pronominal your (2NSG.POSS). benme kar ‘your village’

besi wath noun [fem] type of dance.
Note: This is the dance of the people from Safs/Yokwa. It is similar to the nzürna wath, but movement is back and forth instead of running.

bgutham noun [fem] ebony gudgeon. ◊ Eleotris melanosoma

bi noun [masc] sago.

bi wothm noun [masc] sago grub.


biatoto noun [fem] bird type (common kingfisher?).

bibinas noun [fem] large-footed bat. ◊ Myotis adversus

bidakwr adjective soaked, wet. bidakwr kabe yanyak bänema zithzithkarä bramöwä ane yé. ‘There comes the drenched guy, because he is all wet.’

bidr noun [fem] flying fox. ◊ Pteropus alecto
Note: Women are sometimes (jokingly) referred to as flying foxes because in the local marriage system women are exchanged between villages “just like the flying foxes go from one tree to the other”.

bidr noun [fem] underwear, underpants.

bigogo noun
(1) [masc] jew’s harp made from bamboo.
(2) Crested Bellbird. ◊ Oreoica gut-
turalis
(3) insect type.
(4) plant type.

bikwrtä noun [masc] Treeswifts, swiftlets and swifts.
bira noun [masc] axe, stone axe.
   Note: loanword from Motu ira ‘adze’
   see: fäbü

birgu noun [masc] grass type.
   Note: grows in the water, red roots are used for weaving bags

biribiri noun [masc] plant type.
   ○ Dianella ensifolia
   Note: medical use: mixed with fäbüfäbü and eaten to soothe the throat; small children eat the small purple fruit to stop urinating in their sleep

   ○ Ceyx azureus or Tanysiptera galatea

biskar noun [masc] cassava.
biskar for noun [fem] cassawa river garden.
   Note: These are usually made along the river at the area which dries up quickest after the rainy season..

bizrūm noun [masc] tree type.
bith noun
   (1) [masc] honey, beehive.
   (2) [masc] bee.
bith fefe noun [plural] part of a beehive.
   Note: This is the fourth section of a beehive. It is regarded as the real honey. People would squeeze this part and drink the sweet liquid. The wax is used for tuning the kundu drum.
bito noun [flex] mouse.

bitobito noun [masc] tree type.
   ○ Xanthomyrtus sp
biwak noun [masc] tree type.
   ○ Flindersia sp
   Note: This tree is used for timber. It is a sign of good ground, as it grows only in dense forests which are not flooded during the rainy season.
bnazsi verb wake up. nze fi sab-nafé. ‘I started to wake him up.’ be kebna! ‘Wake up!’
bnu pronominal with you (PL).
bnn property noun tight, under tension.
bné pronominal you (2Nsg.erg).
bnrr pronominal with you (DU).
bob noun [fem] lagoon.
boba aki temporal last month, next month.
boba ysokwr temporal last year, next year.
boba zafat temporal last week, next week.
bobathm locational at the end (usually at the end of a track, settlement, garden). fä fof nzwammzrm we zba zf zäfänifa kar bobathm. ‘We lived over there and then we shifted here to that end of the village.’
bobomr connective until. ttfönzo wäbragwa bobomr e kar kwark krbo. ‘I followed the creek until the old village Korombo.’
gosrinrnzo ane thfthärm march. ‘We store them as eating yams. They will be there until March.’
bod also: bodbod noun [fem] island, piece of dry land in the swamp or highground sur-
rounded by water.

**bodkr** adjective stench, stinking.
*with kwosi bodkr fewa gtho-rakwr.* ‘The stench of the rotten bananas is coming up.’

**bogu** noun [fem] bladder.

**boko** noun [masc] Slender-billed Cuckoo-dove. *Macropygia amboinensis*

**bokuti** noun [fem] part of the rips on the side about the height of the heart.

**bonar** noun [fem] bull shark.
*Macropoikius leucas*

**bone** pronominal your (2sg.poss).

**bonz** noun [fem] abrasion, injury.

**bonzi et** noun [masc] shell, small, dark shell from the river.

**bor** also: **br** noun [masc] rat.

**borbor** noun
(1) [masc] thunderstorm.
(2) [masc] wind from the west.

*Note:* The northwest monsoon during wet season.

**borbor wath** noun [fem] type of dance.

*Note:* This is the dance of the people from Wännefr. Dancers stand around a pole/tree with lots of leaves and shake this pole whilst dancing and singing.

**borsi** middle verb laugh, play.
*kabe soka yaborwrth more-headen* ‘The men are playing soccer in morehead’ fi yaborwr. ‘He laughs or He plays.’ *käboth! ‘You laugh!’*

**botrbotr** property noun right angled. *botrbotrme sartm!* ‘You cut it with a right-angle!’

**böbön** property noun across.

**nabi yanzyanz böbönme thwanakwrth.** ‘They put the bamboo sticks across (sticks for separating the garden plots).’

**bök** noun [fem] water rat.

**böm** noun [fem] shoot, little hairs that grow out of a yam.

**br** also: **bor** noun [masc] flower or stalk of a banana, pineapple or chestnut.

**bra** ideophone empty, finished, done, over.
*be bad bra wbthakwr. kabrigwro bukar-fowa! ‘you are finishing the soil. Go back to your own village!’* *ane kar mane erera zübthath. bra fefe.* ‘This village finished completely.’ *zü zöbthé kwafsmnrnth bra kwafsnmrnth.* ‘They prepared them (the yams) here first. This was done. Then they counted them.’


**bramöwä** quantifier every, all.
*trikasi zane bramöwä ätrikwr monme fi safath* ‘He is telling them the whole story how they had caught him.’ *kabe matak eru nima z bramöwä kwafarkwrth* ‘There are no people here. They all set off this way.’

**bran** noun [fem] place where the men line up with their bows when hunting in a group.

**brazi** noun [fem] woman after giving birth, period after giving birth.
Note: This term is used from the birth of the child almost until the baby starts to walk.

bräknsi verb call out, call name.
ni miyamr. kar keke zabräkn. ‘We don’t know. He didn’t say the name of the village.’ kabe yf kwa ybräknwr nima “bäi”. ‘He will call out the man’s name like this: “Bäi.”’ keke nnbräknwrth. ni bramöwä karfo yanbrqgwake. ‘They did not call out our names. We all returned to the village.’

brbr noun [flex] spirit (of a dead person). brbrnzo fof n zäthaba bafen ... ymden fof. ‘Only the spirit tried to into this ... into the bird.’ brbrf garda bifnza bo bo bo nagayé fāth mane enrna yakäsü. ‘The spirit was hitting the canoe “bo bo bo”. The children that were there took off and ran away.’

brduyam noun [masc] plant type. ♦ Pseudowaria sp
Note: The bark of this tree used for making sgeru ‘palmwine’.

bribri znssä noun [fem] weeding.
yüsi fþë thräfükkur bribri ane fof thräkorth. ‘When the grass has grown that is called weeding.’ bribri nima we thrëkhâfe ãns rzam zërá ane krâbnwrth kwot e thrâbthe. ‘Then the weeding starts. How many rows there are (in the garden), they will be cut until we have finished them.’

brigsy verb return. nzä boba fþë kanthrfa zänbrima. ‘That was when I returned from Kanathr.’ wati monwé fam zär “nzone bâne brigsy tfotfo karfo râ.” ‘Then, he was thinking: “My return to the village is close.”’ naf fam ane thunbrigwrn fobo karen mon bâ swamnwr. ‘He is thinking back to the village there and how he was living there.’ bâ m nzâkwrth, zaniyam. ni zf nbrigwe bobo masu. ‘They might kill you Zaniyam. We will bring you back here to Masu.’

brm tikf noun [fem] yam type.
brnze noun [fem] lips.

bro noun [fem] swampy area with bumpy ground (not by the river, but on the flat land).
Note: This might be a loanword from Nama. It corresponds to Komnzo kore.
see: kore

brs adjective creative, open-minded.

brsi verb scoop water.
bru noun [fem] comb-spined catfish. ♦ Cinetodus carinatus

brubru noun [masc] kundu drum.

brübrü noun [masc] grass type.

brüzi noun [masc] soursop. ♦ Anona muricata

brüzi noun [fem] catfish type.

brüzsi

(1) positional verb be submerged. garda ybrüsthgr. ‘The canoe is submerged.’ kofä non ybrüsthgr. ‘The fish is in the water.’

(2) verb bâ kwa þabrüzr. ‘You will dive in.’ srak z zäbrüs! ‘The boy drowned already.’ watik, nzä we kranbrimé ãtha ane we
srenfafa subrüzrm ‘Then I returned and grabbed the dog and put him into the water.’

bth noun [masc] python type.
Note: The biggest of all the pythons. It sometimes lives in bushfowl mounds.

bthaksi verb finish. zimu kwa yabthakwr. ‘The runny nose will stop.’ ane zwafsinzrm kwot e bobowä bänë zefafath. fsisi zäbthath. ‘He was counting them for her until this (number) was reached. Then, the counting was finished.’ fi saabth! ‘You finish him off!’ yambärîv nima “eh efoth bana kwa samare! frkf ybthakwr.” ‘Yambär said: “Look at the poor sun! It is red and goes down.”’ (lit.: the redness is finishing the sun.)’ nzone miyo kwa wabthakwr. ‘You will do as I say. (lit.: You will finish my wish.)’

bthamer noun [fem] fish type, papuan gauvina. ◊ Oxylecotris herwerdenii

bthan noun [fem] magic, sorcery, magic spell. bada boba mane enerva fi bthan miyamr. ‘As for the ancestors who came here, they did not know sorcery.’ wati, bthan tmatmme nafane fam zwarmänwrmth. ‘Then they closed her mind with that magic spell.’

bthan kabe noun [masc] sorcerer.
  fthé ‘one week’ srakor fthé jof krefar ane bthan kabe bobo. ‘After one has passed, the sorcerer would set off.’ bthan kabeyé bänë mitaf wfatwath.
  ‘The sorcerers held or stopped that spirit.’

bthazan noun [fem] magic (for killing). naf bthazan yfnzr. ‘He is killing him with magic.’

bthzü noun [masc] tree type.
  ◊ Ternstroemia cheriï
Note: The bark is used for poison fishing.

bua noun [masc] Magnificent Riflebird. ◊ Ptiloris magnificus

buary also: bway ideophone This is used when somebody is setting off or runs away like “Off he goes!”.. nabinzo theretafinzé. bway! krefaré. ‘I shouldered the bow and I set off.’ bway! äniyak e sazäthi. ‘They set off and walked until Szäthi.’

bubukr noun [masc] beetle, caterpillar.

bubumari proper noun [masc] insect type.
Note: big, black insect with a bright yellow part on its back.

bukmu et noun [masc] shell, black shell from the river.

bun pronominal for you (2SG.DAT).

bus noun [flex] cat.
Note: loanword from English (‘pussycat’)

bübü kwan noun [fem] sound
made by hitting the ground, hopping of wallabies, sound made by hunters to attract wallabies.

büra also: bürä noun [flex] baby animal.

bürg noun [masc] plant type. ∆ Diplanchea sp
Note: The shoots of this plant are sometimes eaten with betelnut. The flowers are eaten by wallabies.

büsri noun [masc] tree type. ∆ Acacia simsi

büt noun [masc] stump.
Note: Can refer to an amputated limb.

bwir fisor noun [fem] long neck turtle.

bznsi middle verb
(1) work.
(2) clear, cut grass, clean.

bzwär proper noun place name.

D

dabethé adjective thick.
dabethkak borsi noun [fem] grass dart game.
dagal noun [flex] dugon.
dagon
(1) noun [plural] food. ntagon zerä. ‘The food is here.’ suk-ufo dagon kwa änathr? ‘Will you smoke the tobacco?’
(2) verb [no infinitive] eat. uze kwr-man yanathë. ‘I eat the kwr-man’ wawa thäwob! ‘Eat the yams!’

dagu noun [masc] tree type. ∆ Banksia dentata

dagu noun [masc] python type (beige color, white spots).
Note: likes to sleep on the banksia tree (dagu)

dagu zthé noun [masc] banksia inflorescence.
see: dagu
Note: used to transport fire. it will be smoldering for several hours. (lit. ‘banksia penis’)
daidai noun [plural] grass skirt.
Note: This is a woman’s grass skirt. It only covers the front and back of the body.
see: nag
dagwas noun [plural] ellbow.
damarki yfö noun [fem] water well, dynamite well.
Note: loanword from English (dynamite); round, big holes created by Australian workers in the 50’s.
damno numeral one thousand two hundred nintysix; 6x6x6x6 = 1296.
danag noun [masc] weeds eaten by fish.
dao also: daw noun [fem] garden.
dao drdr noun [fem] old garden after the harvest. dao drdr rä. ‘It is an old garden (left fallow).’
daräbü
(1) noun [fem] plant type. daräbü ane no yonasima rä. ‘This daräbü is for drinking water.’
Note: used as water container
(2) noun [fem] water container made from the plant.
darbu noun [masc] plant type. ∆ Anthorhiza sp
Note: used like grinding stone to remove hard skin (e.g. on one’s foot)
darwä noun [masc] tree type.  
◊ Melaleuca sp

dasi noun [masc] lump, pus-filled bulge.

dathgir noun [fem] lizard type.

däfi noun [masc] freshwater anchovy. ◊ Thryssa scratchleyi

dbän noun [masc] tree type.  
◊ Vitex quinata
Note: This tree is used for timber (especially for paddles), when the leaves of this tree dry and fall down, it is time for harvest time yams.

dbäzri noun [masc] tree type.  
◊ Schizomeria serrata
Note: The fruits are brown and taste sour.

dbirko noun [masc] club (stone disc).

dbömsé adjective blunt.

dbrthé noun [masc] plant type.  
◊ Melochea sp
Note: This plant is valued for its medical use. The roots will be cooked and eaten (or the liquid from the roots). It is a powerful medicine against all kinds of sickness

dd noun [masc] worm.

ddak noun [masc] plant type, blue tongue. ◊ Melastoma afine
Note: This plant is used as medicine. Its leaves are chewed to reduce pain.

ddbr adjective numb feeling.

deinsam proper noun female personal name.

deknini noun [fem] praying mantis.

deya noun [flex] wallaby (forest).

dga

(1) noun [masc] bifurcation. wawa\(dga\) kaf rä ‘the yam is split’
(2) plural [masc] gills, fish gills.

di noun [fem] back of the head.

di frnzaksi verb mess up, hit, kill.  
di fof safrnza. ‘She hit him on the back his head.’

dibath noun [masc] hockey stick.

dibädibä noun [masc] tree type.  
◊ Timonius sp
Note: This tree bears an edible fruit which is also eaten by cassowaries.

dibe also: dibö noun [fem] pipe, smoking pipe.
Note: This pipe is made from a bamboo tube with two holes. A rolled tobacco cigarette is inserted into one and the smoke is sucked into the apparatus to be inhaled by another person.

dibura noun [flex] prisoner, prison.
wati, wə dibura ane fof zfrärm. ‘This took place instead of prison.’ zokwasi\(t\)rikasi ätrikwr mon bä sfrärm dibura fof znen. ‘He tells them the story how he was in jail. (lit.: the prisoner place)’
Note: This is a loanword from Motu

digdig noun [masc] tree type.  
◊ Timonius timon
Note: This plant is used as medicine. Part of its bark are mixed with water. Women drink this after giving birth.

digwä noun [masc] tree type.  
◊ Abrus precatorious

◊ Chalcopsitta scintillata or Trichoglossus
haematodus

dis noun [fem] dish, plate.
Note: loanword from English
dmgu noun [fem] waterhole (permanent).
dmgwr noun [masc] orchid.

\[Dentrobium\ sp\]
dmgwri noun [masc] tree type, melaleuca.  \[Melaleuca sp\]
Note: This plant is used as medicine. The steam is from boiled leafes can be inhaled or used to wash oneself. It has high content of essential oil.
dmnzü manner adverb silently.
dmznzü käms. ‘Sit down quietly!’ dmnzü ɣarafinzrth. ‘They paddle silently.’
dmu noun [fem] anus.
dobakwr noun [masc] indian short-finned eel.  \[Anguilla bicolor\]
dokre noun [fem] frog.
dowä noun [masc] Wompoo Fruit Dove.  \[Ptilinopus magnificus\]
dö noun [masc] goanna type (grassland).
dödö

\(1\) noun [masc] plant type.  \[Melaleuca sp\]
Note: The twigs of this plant are used to make a broom.
\(2\) noun [masc] broom.
dradr noun [masc] taboo, law.
Note: loanword from Blafe see: thakthak
dradi noun [fem] container made of bamboo.
Note: This container is used to carry water or to make sgeru ‘palmwine’.
drädrä noun [fem] Masked Lapwing.  \[Vanellus miles\]
drgathé adjective dry.
drid noun [masc] scales, fish scales.
drn noun [fem] Radjah Shelduck.  \[Tadorna radjah\]
drü noun [masc] tree type.  \[Melaleuca sp\]
Note: This tree is used for timber (houseposts or canoes). Its bark is used for roof (outside) or walls (inside).
dubu noun [fem] church.
Note: This is a loanword from Motu.
duga noun [fem] taro.  \[Colocasia sp\]
Note: staple food
dumgsi prefixing verb be close to bursting, be irate, be angry inside.  dasi wadumgwr. ‘My buldge is close to bursting.’ bà rma nadumgwr? ‘What are you angry about?’
dunzi noun [masc] arrow (general term).
durua noun help. nzü nima ‘bone zrin rä. bone nagayf ane zrin zwafiyokwr. keke kwa monme durua ɣafiyokwr.’ ‘I said: “This is your problem. Your boy caused that problem. We won’t help.”’
Note: This is a loanword from Motu
dübram noun [fem] cassowary.
Note: This term refers to an adult cassowary (with black feathers only)
düdü property noun in good condition, healthy.  ruga düdüthé yé. ‘The pig is in good shape.’ kabe ntüntükarä yé. ‘The man is in good condition.’
düfr noun [masc] headdress.
   Note: This refers to a headdress with a little bundle of casowary feathers which is pointing upwards from the forehead. sec: tarazü
dügäm noun [masc] Papuan Hornbill. ○ Rhyticeros plicatus
dür property noun fat, grease.

ebar noun [flex] head.
ebar nzm noun big toe, thumb.
edá numeral two.
efā efā also: yafā yafā noun [fem] swathe.
   Note: Before a new garden is cleared the outer fence lines are are laid out by cutting the grass.
efoth
   (1) noun [masc] sun. efoth nfariwr kwikma. ‘The sun is drying us up and we will become sick.’
efoth minzū yarsir eftaharen. ‘The sun burns strong in the dry season.’
efothen zbo mnzen zarafliz! ‘You have to put it on top of the house in the sun!’
   (2) noun [fem] day. nafā fof zenfarath zizi fefe fithē efoth kwabthakwrm. ‘He left with them in the afternoon when the day was coming to an end.’
nā efothen, wawa tafo yafsin-zake babuan. ‘On another day, we counted the dried yam for Babua.’
efthar noun [fem] dry season. kafar efthar rithē sfrārm no keke fithē kwarūnzrm. ‘When it was a strong dry season, no rain was falling.’ ymdanme miyoso erā efthar fithē krūkor minzū. ‘The birds like them (the fruit) when it is the height of dry season.’
ekri (1) noun [fem] flesh, body. zi swathizrm ekri zi. ‘He was in pain, body pain.’ mor thugawrmth. ekrinzo thugathikwrmth. ‘They broke their necks and left only the flesh behind.’ nzmārkārū fithē be sanathē. bone ekrin bo bᵒ yatharw. ‘When you eat it with the grease, it will go underneath you flesh.’
   (2) noun [masc] meat. tauri ekri yē. ‘It is wallaby meat.’
ekwar noun [masc] Pied Heron. ○ Ardea pacifica
ekwiya noun bird type (bigger than ekwar, but similar).
emoth noun [fem] girl, sister. zane mane yē emoth fāth fam wrēr. ‘This one here is thinking of the small girl.’ nafanne emoth keke krāntiz nzedbo. nzenme emoth keke krāntiz bōba. ‘Their sisters won’t come over to us and our sister won’t go there. We don’t exchange sisters.’
emoth fāth proper noun [plural] group of blinking stars; probably the Pleaides.
   Note: This constellation is often described as “the washing girls” (lit. “the young/small girls”).
   Note: This word is used reciprocally between a man and his
wife’s parents instead of their respective names.

eräme also: erame manner ad-
verb together. eräme bad
zumarwnnhy Sarah. ‘To-
gether they looked for garden-
ing ground.’ boba kwa niyak
eräme kanathrfo. ‘We will go
together to Kanathr.’

etha
(1) numeral three. nafane kabe
etha erera. ‘She had three hus-
bands.’
(2) quantifier few. tüfrmär kafar
kafar nrä komnzo ethanzo. ‘We
are not plenty old people, only
a few.’

etfh noun [fem] canoe place.
see: swäyé
et noun [masc] shell.

eftfth
(1) noun sleep. yabriguro bobo etfth
znfo. ‘He is returning to the
sleeping place.’ fi etfth yrugr.
‘He is sleeping.’
(2) prefixing verb [no infinitive]
sleep.
see: yrugr

etwäsi gare noun [fem] frogatt’s
catfish. ◊ Cinerogon frogatti
ezi noun [fem] morning. namä ezi
‘good morning’
ezi zir noun [fem] morning dew.
ezi zürn noun [masc] morning
mist.

F

faf noun [fem] place, yard, house
area. nä faf znfo zé ḅafäniza.
‘He moved away to ano-
other place.’ nzone fafen namnznr.

‘You are sitting in my place.’
watí nafane sam mane râ na-
gusi faf zn en sazin. ‘Then
you put its liquid on the place
where you poked yourself.’

fafä dem after this, by this time.
fafä kwâmones! ‘Wait for me!
(after doing sth.)’

faikore noun [masc] Orange-footed
Scrubfowl. ◊ Megapodius
reinwardt

fakarsok noun [masc] arrow with a
metall blade.

fakth noun [fem] yam (middle sized
round yam).

fagwa property noun wide, width.

fam noun [plural] thoughts, mind.

fam yirzsi middle verb forget.
fammär zärzé ‘I forgot.’
Note: lit. ‘fall without
thoughts’.
see: yirżsi

famfam property noun shallow.

far noun [masc] stem, post.

fara fiyaf noun [fem] hunting (go-
ing hunting alone and with-
out dogs). farar kwofiyak. ‘I
went hunting alone.’ farame
kwofiyak. ‘I went hunting
alone.’

farai noun [fem] canvas.
Note: possibly a loanword.

farasi noun [fem] kind of shield to
defend oneself (it looks like a
paddle).

farem proper noun name for the
Komnzo speaking people in
and around Rouku village.

farem kar proper noun place
name.

farfar noun [fem] feast.

farka noun [masc] shin.

farksı verb lift up bag for someone
(to set off). nze yare nafan wā farkwé. ‘I lift the bag for her (to go).’

farksi middle verb set off. nze nafanema ɡafarkwé. ‘I set off because of him.’

farsi verb fell, chop, cut down. be wāmme safath! ‘You fell the tree!’ nafane ɡazi ɡafarwé. ‘I cut down his coconut.’

fartfart noun [masc] plant type. ♦ Liliaceae sp
Note: used for decoration.

fartki noun [masc] sago type. ♦ Metroxylon saqu

farufaru noun [masc] tree type. ♦ Psychotria sp

faryasi verb dry. nze gwonyane efaryanzé. ‘I dry the clothes.’ bā kārfayofth! ‘You dry yourself!’

fāsisi middle verb attract attention. kāfasir ‘Bang it!’ naf ɡafasinzc. ‘He is attracting attention.’

faso noun [fem] animal, meat from animals. see: yase

fath noun [fem] clear place.

fath deya noun [flex] bushland tree wallaby (spectacled hare-wallaby). ♦ Lagorchestes conspicillatus
see: deya

fathasi also: fathsi verb hold. naf nabi wfatwé. ‘He is holding the bow.’

fathasi middle verb marry, celebrate. nze yare yafathwé. ‘I marry the woman.’

fathasi numeral six counted yams (lit. “one holding”).

fatam noun [masc] plume, feather. wrāi fatam wathma ye. ‘the heron feathers are for the dance.’

fatfat property noun angled. nabi fatfatme sartm! ‘You cut the bamboo angled.’

fatr noun [masc] tree type, fish-tail, albert palm. ♦ Caryota rumphiana
Note: used for timber.

faw noun payment.

fā deictic over there (some distance away; out of sight).

fābū noun [masc] axe, stone axe.

fābūfābū noun [masc] tree type. ♦ Octomyrtus sp
Note: medical use, leafes mixed with biribiri against sore throat.

fāk noun [fem] jaw.

fāksi middle verb sneak. ɡāfāknzc. ‘I am sneaking around.’ nafan ɡafāknzc. ‘They were sneaking up on him.’

fāms kabe kinship noun [masc] exchange man.
Note: used between two men who have exchanged sisters, instead of their personal names.

fāms ɡare kinship noun [fem] exchange woman.
Note: used for the sister that was exchanged, used between the two exchanged women instead of their name.

fānizsi middle verb move, shift location. nze buk wfaņizé. ‘I put the book to another place.’ z kwafānizroth ninzo zā nrugr. ‘They already moved to another spot, only we sleep here.’

fānz proper noun female personal
name.

fänzi
(1) verb present. buk wänzé. ‘I present the book.’
(2) verb show. nze bun nafänzé. ‘I show (something) to you.’

fañaf kinship noun [flex] uncle, nephew, niece in a consummated exchange.
Note: This word is used reciprocally between someone and his or her maternal uncle (if the mother is married in a direct sister exchange).
see: baiñaf

fänam kinship noun [flex] aunt, nephew, niece in a consummated exchange.
Note: This word is used reciprocally between someone and his or her maternal aunt (if the mother is married in a direct sister exchange).
see: baiñam

färñär noun [masc] bee type, the beehive has a long nozzle-like entrance.

fäsi property noun shame, shameful. oroman fäsi yé bänema wri no kayé kwonathr. ‘The old man is ashamed because he drank alcohol yesterday.’ fäsiñhé kabe bikogr. ‘The man stands ashamed over there.’

fäskor noun [masc] part of sago palm.
Note: The part where the sago branch or leaf connects to the stem. This is used for beating sago.

fäsiñ also: fäsiñfäl noun [masc] body liquid from a corpse.

fänzil noun [masc] pencil, pen.
Note: loanword from English.

Note: glue tree, bark used for sgeru ‘palmwine’.

fäth noun [flex] small ones (children, animals).

fäthfänth noun [masc] sticks that hold the bark wall.

fat noun [flex] friend, mate.

fätfaksi
(1) positional verb be across. wämne yfätfakwé. ‘The tree lies across the road.’
(2) verb put across. naf wämne yfätfakwé. ‘He put the tree across.’ nafañ wämne yafät-fakwé tfön. ‘I put the tree across the creek for him.’ fi mothen yafätfakwé. ‘I lie down across the road.’

fätr adjective left.

fätti also: fättiñfätti noun [masc] plant type (vine). ♦ Piper sp
Note: looks like saka.

färw noun [masc] arrow shaft.

fāy noun payment.
Note: loanword from English.

fāyē also: fāyā noun [fem] estuary stingray or freshwater whipray. ♦ Dasyatis fluviorum ♦ Himantura chaophraya

fefe also: Fé
(1) adjective real, very. zokwasi fe-fe feme ɣanafr ‘He talks with the local language.’
(2) noun [feminine] body, flesh, meat. fefe tufofkarǎ worǔ. ‘I have a fever (lit: I have a hot body.)’

fefe yüzi noun [masc] Pinon Imperial Pigeon. ♦ Ducula pinon

fenz noun [fem] body liquid from a corpse.

fenzil noun [masc] pencil, pen.
Note: loanword from English.
fejag noun [fem] yam type.
ferar noun [masc] tree type.

- *Acacia sp*
  Note: used for timber (housepost, fence), bark used for *sgeru* ‘palm wine’.

ferfer noun [masc] axe made from a wallaby’s shoulder bone.

fersi verb whip. saferf ‘Whip him!’

fethaksi

1) positional verb be dipped in water. *biskar yare yfethgr.* ‘The cassawa bag is dipped in the water.’
2) verb dip in water, slowly put into water.

fetr property noun dangerous. *fetrthé ruga yé* ‘It is a dangerous pig.’ *fetr yam wâfiyokw* ‘That is a dangerous thing you do.’

Note: The danger may come from general health issues (urine on food, or rotten meat) or more from spiritual beliefs (hearing a bird of paradise in the night, walking carelessly along a story place)

fewa noun [fem] smell. *fewa kafar* ‘big stinking smell’

Note: usually an unpleasant smell, but *fewa* can be modified by *namá* ‘good’.

fezwär proper noun place name.
ffrg property noun untidy.
fi pronominal he, she, they (ABS).
fi conjunction but.
fiaroro noun

1) [fem] flute (panpipe).
2) [fem] Rainbow Bee-eater.

- *Merops ornatus*

fid noun [masc] bush cane, whip vine, false rattan. *Flagelaria indica*

Note: used as rope, *fid yad ‘fid rope’.*

fidâth noun [masc] tree type.

- *Garcinia sp*

Note: fruit eaten by cassowaries.

fifiya kwan noun [fem] whistling.

fifize noun [fem] Spotted Whistling Duck, Pacific Black Duck.

- *Dendrocygna guttata*

fifrsi verb clean.

fifthaksi

1) verb be lying straight. *kabe yfifthgr.* ‘The man lies down straight.’
2) verb lie down straight. *käfifth ‘you lie down!’*

fifthksa verb lick.

fiknsi verb touch.

fikum noun [masc] palm type.

- *Cycas ciarciarnalis*

find noun [masc] giant glassfish.

- *Parambassis gulliveri*

finzo noun [masc] lorentz’s archerfish.

- *Toxotes lorentzi*

fira noun [masc] betelnut.

firaksi verb take out or pull out of a trap, fishnet, fishhook. *nzef cofäm zzarfa yfirkw* ‘I take the fish out of the net.’ *nzef shirt Ivann yafirakw* ‘I take Ivan’s shirt off him.’

firra proper noun place name.

firt noun dish, plate.

Note: possibly a loanword

fis kinship noun [masc] husband.

fisi ftft noun [masc] bee type, long nozzle entrance to hive, bees are a bit brown.

fisifr

1) noun [masc] insect type.
Note: green, looks a bit like a grasshopper.

(2) noun [masc] plant type.
   ⬤ Miliusa sp

fisor noun [fem] turtle.

fisor bthan proper noun place name.

fisor fefe noun [fem] turtle.

fitak noun [fem] ashes.

fithwogsi verb take out from underneath.
   Note: opposite of tharasi

fitot noun [masc] yam vine stick (long).
   Note: is planted later when the zafazafa sticks are not long enough for the vine.

fitwä noun [masc] taro sucker, taro shoot.

fiyam also: fiyama interjection
   Get well!
   Note: This is to be shouted at somebody who is sick (bodily sickness).

fiynsi middle verb line up.

fiyosi verb make. karō wäfiyokwr dbän wthen. `She made an oven at dbän wth.' wri trikasí thwafiyokr. `He made up drunk stories.'

fiyor noun bow with a slight curve only (in opposition to nr).

fk noun [fem] buttocks.

fkasi
(1) verb peel. ausif duga yfkathr. `The old woman peels the taro.' wawa zafkath! `You peel the yam!'
(2) middle verb masturbate. käfkath! `Wank yourself!'

fmr noun [masc] grass type.
   ⬤ Poaceae sp

fobäwé also: fobäwā adjective medium sized.

fofosa noun [fem] heart.

fofosa nzigfu noun [masc] magic stone for gardening (especially yams).

fofot also: fofot nge [flex] kinship noun single child, only child.

fodā noun [masc] tree type.
   ⬤ Gnetum Gnemon
   see: tuth

fogsi prefixing verb dawn, to get dark, be out/away. zbär fthé zufogwr. `When the night was breaking (on her).' fi yfogwr. `He is away.' zbär zwäfonz. `nightbreak caught me.'

fokam mnz noun [fem] grave house.

fokufoku noun [fem] small patch of vegetation or forest.
   Note: This word implies that it was ‘left behind’. It usually refers to a patch of grass which has not been burnt or cut, or a small patch of forest surrounded by parts that have been cut down.

fokusí prefixing verb miss out. nzā nomai wofkunzr. `I always miss out.' nzā zwäfkur. `I missed out.'

for noun [fem] part of the land close to the river. yarake for rā. `It is a rivergarden.'
   Note: Area between the swamp and the river which is higher than the swamp area. It dries up early after the wet season.
   It is used for planting cassawa, taro and sweet potato

forak proper noun male personal name.

fortu noun [masc] scar.
fothabr noun thigh.
fothaksi middle verb take off the bag, put down the bag. yare zafothé. ‘I took of the bag.’
fothr noun [masc] eucalyptus type. ◇ Xanthostemon suaveolens  
Note: used for timber (canoe, house).
fothr fr deya noun [flex] brown tree wallaby (red-legged pademelon). ◇ Thylogale stigmatica
fothr wokuthé adjective brown.
fowar noun [masc] Papuan Frog-mouth. ◇ Podargus papuensis
fögwath noun [masc] snake type, tree snake, non-poisonous.
fönzsi verb burn, burn down. ane kzi kwa yfönzr mnime fewama. ‘He will burn that barktray with fire because of the stench.’
yusi thäfofa. ‘He burned the grass.’
frafr noun [flex] corn, clavus (medical).
frar noun [fem] fishtrap; small basket that is inserted into the larger fishtrap.
frasi (1) property noun hungry, hunger.  
no frasi nrä. ‘we are thirsty.’ frasif wortmakwr. ‘I am very hungry. (lit.: hunger cuts me!’
(2) noun [plural] food of different kinds.
frathn noun [plural] coconut, the soft fibre the outer skin the coconut shell; it is often chewed by children.
frazsi transitive verb extinguish. komnzo tayo kwofrå mni frazsima. ‘I was weak from extinguishing the fire.’ krär yarinakwrath noku frazsir. ‘They poured Kava for him to stop his anger.’
fräsi verb singe, burn hair off, heat in the flames.
frdth noun [masc] tree type, poison tree. ◇ Derris pinata  
Note: The roots are heated, smashed with a stick and then washed out in a waterhole in order to stun the fish.
fren noun [masc] airplane.  
Note: loanword from English.
frezsi (1) verb pull up, take out of water. kakauna efrezrake gardfo. ‘We took the things out of the canoe.’
(2) middle verb come up from the river. zwarifa yafrezath thoro. ‘He came up from zwarî to thoro.’
frfr noun [masc] children’s toy bullroarer.  
Note: little toy made entirely from the coconut leaf, shaped like a bow, string attached to one end. Children swing in around and it makes a buzzing noise.
frk noun [fem] blood.
frkat noun [masc] stick (short and thin).
frksi middle verb brag, boast, to be proud. fi kwafrkwr. ‘I bragged (about himself).’ nze fi yafrkwé. ‘I brag about him.’
frkthé adjective red.
frme manner adverb straight.
frmnzsi (1) verb prepare, fix. bicycle yafrnnzr. ‘He prepares his bi-
cycle.’

(2) verb bless.  ηαηθυ kwa nαθθηmθζ. ‘God will bless you.’

frnzaksi verb uproot, pull out. nαθθ biskar ζθfrnzakwr. ‘He rips out the cassava.’

frsi verb bite, pinch. kαβοθθf ζυαθθf. ‘The snake bit me.’ nζ fζ kwa yfrθθ. ‘I will pinch him.’ ζυρθθf si wafrθθ. ‘The smoke is biting my eyes.’

frstθ noun [masc] stick (long and thin).

frθtar noun [fem] echidna (short-beaked echidna).

frtotobe noun [masc] long-jawed river garfish / fly river garfish. Tachyglossus aculeatus

frθsi noun [masc] stick (long and thin). Yenarchopterus caudovittatus / zenarchopterus novaeguineae

fρθ quantifier alone. frθ rα ‘she is alone’

frθfθth property noun rushing around, restlessness.

frθsi middle verb catch fish with a net. kαβε kαθθr ιθθwewθθwrnθ frθζςr. ‘They invited the old people for catching fish.’

fs noun [fem] greenback gudgeon. Bunaka gyrinoides

fsan proper noun place name.

fsisi verb blow. kαθθζςr ιζθθwrn. ‘He was blowing the bamboo flut.’ fϋθςς ιζθθwr. ‘the wind is blowing.’

fsisi verb count. aνε wαwα fθsθsθmθr ethθ. ‘These yam have not been counted.’ nαθθ wαwα fθsθsθmθrθ. ‘They are counting the yams.’ kα fθςζ θζθfζςζθ. ‘How many place names did we go through?’

fskθsi middle verb doze. kρθrθmθ ικοmθζ kθfθςθκθw. ‘I was only dozing because of the cold.’

fθhθki verb take out of the fire.

fθhé also: θέ - also: frθhé conjunction when.

fθhi proper noun place name.

fθhθr noun place name.

ft noun [masc] tree (dried up and without leafes).

fta numeral thirty-six, 36, six to the power of six.

ftfθksi verb pull off, take off. ζγυ θςfθf! ‘Pull the lid off!’

fθrθ noun [masc] banana leaf (green).

fuθy noun [masc] goanna in the forest (very big).

Note: there is a gamo ‘spell, magic’ connected with this goanna; one should not mentioned the name in the presences of someone who owns this spell. In this case, people use the word fθ kαβε ‘forest man’ instead.

fufθsi verb reheat.

fθk noun [plural] group. nαθθ fθkθmθ eθfθκθwr. ‘The bamboos grows in a group.’ kαβε fθκθm ικθκ. ‘The man stands in a group.’

fθmθθksi verb pull out, pull out something that was tightly in a hole, a thorn in the skin or a cloth in a hole. fθκθθsθκ ιθθθmθθκθw ικθρθ. ‘He pulled out the arrow from the wallaby.’ wagθ fθκθm. ‘He pulled him out by the legs.’

fθnu noun [masc] iron sheet.

Note: from Motu?

furfür noun [plural] babies (hu-
mans or animals).

**futh** noun [masc] greenbrier, red china wood. *Smilax lancolate*

Note: medical use, liquid from stem is applied to wounds.

**futhfaksi** verb flood, inundate, spill over. *nof zane b zi futhfakwr.* The water was flooding this piece of land.' *no trkrf mzn thäfuthfa anema fi ɣəfänizath nä karfo.* ‘The high tide has flooded the houses and therefore they have moved to another place.’ *yirme tosayf zwä-futhf.* ‘The baby has pissed on me. (lit. ‘flooded me with urine’)

**futhfuth** noun [plural] scraps (of food).

**füfū** noun [masc] sago scraps.

**fümnzaksi** verb pull over, pull down a tree that has been cut.

**fünz** noun [plural] muscles in the upper arms.

**füri** proper noun place name.

**füsfüs** noun [masc] wind, breeze.

**füsri** adjective

(1) wet (about ground).

(2) healthy (about plants). *biskar füsri erfikwr.* ‘The cassavas are growing healthy.’

**füth** noun [fem] yam (the rotten yam that is left in the ground from planting).

**fütha** proper noun place name.

**füthfuth** noun [plural] new born birds (without feathers).

**füwā** noun [fem] lagoon, open large inundated plain.

**fyūsi** verb swallow.

**fz** noun [fem] forest.

**fz deya** noun [flex] forrest wal-
laby (dusky pademelon).

*Thylogale brunii*

**fz minz** noun [fem] strip of forest.

**fz tharthar** noun [fem] edge of the forest.

**fzasi** verb dig out.

**fzenz** kinship noun [fem] wife.

**fzfz** noun [fem] small forest.

**fzū** property noun movement of one’s arms.

Note: This word is used to express the concept of ‘swim’

**gaba** noun [fem] eating yams.

**gabām** noun [fem] yam type.

**gaberam** noun [masc] tree type. *Syzygium sp*

**gabrim** property noun milky, dirty liquid.

**gabrku** noun [masc] tree type. *Ficus septica*

Note: medical use

**gabuyam** noun [masc] tree type. *Syzygium furfuraceous*

**gafar** noun [fem] spoon-snouted catfish. *Doichthys novaeugineae*

**gafas** noun [masc] kundu drum (medium sized drum).

**gafi** noun [masc] tree type. *Syzygium sp*

Note: edible fruit

**gaga** noun [plural] hand, finger.

**gaga yam** noun [masc] finger print.

**game** noun [masc] turner made from bamboo split bamboo.

**gamo** noun [masc] magic, spells (only words).

**gan gan** noun [masc] White-bellied
Sea Eagle.

gani noun [masc] tree type.  
○ *Endiandra brassii*
  Note: fruit is eaten by cassowaries
gani zftth proper noun place name.
ganigani noun [masc] tree type.  
○ *Endiandra sp*
gar noun [masc] waterlily.

gar noun [fem] coconut, coconut with a new shoot growing out of it, ready for planting.

garafū noun [masc] blackboard tree, milkwood pine.  
○ *Alstonia scholaris*
  Note: used for glue
garamgaram properly noun sweet-talk, persuasive, cajoling.
  *nzürnaf garamgaram srethkäf.* ‘The spirit woman started to be nice and friendly towards him.’
garda noun [masc] canoe.
gardagarda noun [masc] tree type.  
Note: the fruit of this tree has a long shape which splits open lengthwise and resembles the shape of a canoe.
garsi verb break.  
  *mor thugawrmth.* ‘They were breaking the necks.’
  *zedə yagarwa.* ‘He broke his crotch.’
gartan nabi noun [fem] bow type, bamboo points are left on the outside, the bowstring stays on the bow.
garur also: sibuni garur noun [masc] Australian White Ibis.  
○ *Threskiornis molucca*
gasn mitafo noun [masc] holy spirit.
gaso adjective wrong, not good, false.
gastor noun [fem] striped snake-head.  
○ *Channa striata*
  Note: introduced species
gatha fam mär phrase you’re welcome !.
gatha gatha adjective bad.
gatha kar noun [fem] rubbish.
gathiksi verb leave, stop.  
  *bné fi sagathife!* ‘You leave him!’
  *bä zägathif!* ‘You stop it!’
gaugau noun [masc] plant type.  
○ *Cleisthantos myrianthus*
  Note: leaves used to roll smoke
gauyé also: gauya adjective young, fresh.  
  *yazi gauyé* ‘fresh coconut’
gaw noun [masc] Nankeen Night Heron.  
○ *Nycticorax caledonicus*
gawad noun [masc] yam, long yam type.  
Note: inside is white
gawe proper noun place name.
gäw noun [fem] fish harpoon (arrow to shoot fish).

gb noun [fem] palm type.  
○ *Livistona sp*
  Note: used for flooring, fruit is eaten
gd noun [fem] mud, clay or soil mixed with water.
ges noun [masc] leech (water).
ggarsi znsä noun [fem] garden work, cutting down small trees and stick to clear an area for gardening.

ggarsi znsä noun [fem] clearing the forest, cutting the sticks.
ggrb noun [fem] coconut, small and unripe, sometimes eaten by
children.

gib tawasri noun [fem] bow bracer made from woven cane.

gid noun [masc] soft flesh|soft skin at the back of the thigh, underneath the buttocks.

gidum noun [masc] plant type.
   Note: used for grey color

girfurin noun [masc] spoon (old term).

giri noun [fem] knife.

gith noun [masc] sago wrapper made from leaves.

gitawa noun [masc] rattan type.
   Note: grows along the river

gnärbü noun [masc] ant (big black).

gmigmi noun [fem] side of the body (at the height of the navel).

gnor noun [fem] striped-cheek gudgeon.
   ◦ Bostrychus strigongenys

gnz noun [masc] fish type, black bass, black baramundi.

go noun [masc] grass type, river pandanus type.
   ◦ Cyperus sp
   Note: used for weaving and tying

gobr noun [masc] plant type.
   ◦ Garcinia sp
   Note: yellow fruit, used in traps for cassowaries or bushfowls

gogath noun [masc] Yellow-faced Myna.
   ◦ Mino dumontii

gogär noun [masc] bird type (black-faced bowerbird?).

gogo zär noun [fem] a shady place where the wallabies sleep during the heat of the day.

gogwrethar noun [masc] tree type.

   ◦ Paradisaea apoda

gon noun [plural] hips.

gonz noun [fem] black, drie clay pieces.

gonz proper noun place name.

gosrin wawa noun [masc] storing yams (to be eaten during wet-season / from about march on).

gr noun [masc] sling knot (pull itself tight like a hangman’s knot).

gra noun [masc] plant type.
   ◦ Cynometra sp

gragr noun [masc] Darter.
   ◦ Anhinga novaehollandiae

grau also: graw noun [plural] red cloud.

grä
   (1) property noun slow, soft.
   "wānneme kwa ynhäbäre kwot e gräthē krökör. ‘We beat it with a stick until it becomes soft.’
   nzigm nimame zfrärm gräme zufarwrme. ‘(The weeds) were sticky, we cut it slowly.’

   (2) property noun simplicity, easy.
   keke thkarthē rā, gräthē znśā rā. ‘It is not hard, it is easy work.’

gräthē adjective soft, easy.

gri noun [masc] tree type.
   ◦ Acacia sp

grigri noun [masc] worms, maggots.

grnzri noun [masc] tree type.
   ◦ Chantium sp
   Note: edible fruit.

grri noun [masc] tree type.
   ◦ Acacia sp
   Note: bark used for sgeru ‘palm wine’

gru noun [masc] shooting star.

gthath also: gnas noun [masc] Red-winged Parrot.
Aprosmictus erythropterus

*Gthzi* noun [masc] armpit.

*Gu kwan* noun [fem] barking noise.

*Gunana* proper noun place name. *Rouku gunanan ämnzer* ‘They stay at Rouku Gunana (old Rouku).’

Note: loanword from Motu ('old).

*Gursi* verb break off (banana or pineapple).

**GW**

*Gwara* noun [masc] goanna type (black and white colors).

*Gwargwar* noun [fem] mud.

*Gwā* noun [masc] mosquito.

*Gwā kwik* noun [fem] malaria (lit. ‘mosquito sickness’).

*Gwānm* noun [masc] tree type. ◊ *Syzygium furfuraceum*

Note: edible fruit.

*Gwgarithar* also: *Gugwarithar* noun [masc] tree type. ◊ *Casia sp*

*Gwfiyar* also: *Gufiyar* noun [fem] fishtrap (woven bamboo basket).

*Gwigwi* noun [fem] snake type.

Note: non-poisonous snake called ‘pencil snake’

*Gwodin* noun [masc] saw method making fire.

*Gwonyame* noun [fem] clothes.

*Gwra* noun [masc] macculloch’s rainbowfish. ◊ *Melanotaenia maccullochi*

*Gwre* also: *Gwregwre - also: Fath*

*Gwregwre* noun [fem] Yellow-faced Myna. ◊ *Mino dumon-

*Gwth*

(1) noun [fem] bird nest. *Ymd yafänzr gwth znfo* ‘The bird flies to the nest.’

(2) noun [fem] pocket in one’s shirt or trousers.

*Gww* noun bird type.

**K**

*Kabe* noun [masc] man.

*Kaboth* noun [masc] snake (general).

*Kabothkaboth* noun [masc] tree type, tuckeroo. ◊ *Lepisanthes sp*

Note: used for timber (house post)

*Kadakada* noun [masc] yamcake.

Note: This yamcake is made by cutting yams into thin slices and then mixing it with coconut. It is wrapped in banana leaves and baked in the oven.

*Kadankan* adjective rich, wealthy.

Kadikafu proper noun male personal name.

*Kafar* adjective big.

*Kafara* noun [masc] plant type. ◊ *Bromeliaeaceae sp*

Note: used for wrapping food

*Kafusi* noun [fem] cup.
Note: loanword from English

Note: This word used reciprocally between a woman and the sisters of her husband instead of their name.
see: nakimi

kakru ɲare also: kru ɲare noun [fem] Australian Magpie.
○ Gymnorhina tibicen

kaksi verb opening by splitting something. yamr kwa nkasinźe ebaren. ‘I will look for lice on your head. (lit. ‘split your head/hair for lice’)’

kam noun
(1) [fem] bone (in the body).
(2) [masc] bone (outside of body).

kamfa locational behind, at the back. wānnne boba kamfa bikogr. ‘The tree stands there at the back.’

kanathr proper noun place name.

kanmotha noun [fem] snake type (river).

kanzkanz noun [masc] plant type.
○ Clematis novo-guinensis
Note: medical use, leaves are put on skin (grille), forehead (headache), nose (running nose)

kanzkanz property noun crooked, bent.

kanzsi middle verb wait for some event to happen.

kar noun [fem] place, village.

karaf noun [masc] paddle.

karesa noun
(1) [masc] roof.
(2) [masc] tree type, paperbark.
○ Melaleuca sp
Note: bark used for roofing and as torch

karesa kwosi proper noun place name.
Note: story place; near to nt-mäntr

karesa ymd noun [masc] Brown-backed Honeyeater. ○ Lichmera indistincta

kargu noun [flex] big pig.
kari also: karikari noun [flex] wounded animal.

kari draudrau noun [fem] Large-tailed Nightjar. ○ Caprimulgus macrurus

karifthe proper noun place name.

karksi
(1) middle verb pull. ni yakarkwre. ‘We are pulling.’
(2) verb take away from somebody. sukufa fi sukarkwé. ‘I took the tobacco from him.’

karku noun [masc] tree type. ○ Pouteria sp
Note: used for timber

karo noun
(1) [fem] ground oven.
(2) [masc] anthill.

karo bith noun [masc] bee type, builds the hive in anthils.

karo nabi noun [masc] insect type.

karokaro noun [masc] goanna type (lives in the grassland).

karwāsi adjective false. karwāsi trikasi rù. ‘It is a liar story.’

karwāsi nawänzr bun. ‘He creates lies for you.’

kasi noun [fem] side of the body (where the hip bones is).

kasraba also: raba noun [fem] gas lamp.
Note: loanword from English (‘gas lamp’), somewhat ar-
chaic
kath noun [masc] ankle.
kathrkathr noun [masc] plant type. □ Phylanthus philipineno
Note: edible fruit, leaves used for rolling smoke
kata noun [masc] bamboo knife.
katakatata noun [masc] grass type, sedge. □ Carex sp
Note: used for cleaning, mixed with ashes and used like a sponge, the grass has sharp edges like the bamboo knife see: kata
katawiwi noun [masc] tree type. □ Magnifera sp
Note: edible fruit (like mango)
katan adjective small.
katan zafat noun [fem] saturday.
Note: loanword from Hebrew (‘shabát’ = Saturday)
katif noun [fem] trout mogurnda. □ Mogurnda mogurnda
Note: loanword from Wara see: garufay
katra noun [masc] palm type. □ Hydrastele sp
Note: used for flooring
kaubu noun [fem] Black Butcherbird. □ Cracticus quoyi
kaukau noun [masc] mouth almighty or sande’s mouth almighty. □ Glossamia aprion or Glossamia sandei
kaumb proper noun male personal name.
kaunze proper noun tribe name.
Note: describes some of the people from Rouku, Mifne and Garaita whose ancestors came together from Komo
kauwira noun [masc] drum, big drum.
kawitha noun [flex] paralysed person.
kay noun [masc] shell, large, white shell from the ocean.
kayé temporal yesterday, tomorrow.
käfe noun [masc] Sulfur-crested Cockatoo. □ Cacatua galerita
kângsi verb block, close off.
kâwâ noun [fem] curved carving tool.
käworkäuwor noun [masc] Dollarbird. □ Eurystomus orientalis
kd noun [masc] star.
kedewawa noun [masc] firefly.
kebikebi noun [plural] grille, fungal disease.
keke negator no.
kemar noun [masc] yam type.
Note: looks like sweet potato
kemäri noun [masc] tree type.
□ Xanthostemon sp
ker noun [masc] tail.
keräfi noun
(1) [masc] palm type. □ Hydrastele sp
Note: used for flooring, used for arrow tips
(2) [plural] floor.
keräfi kam noun [fem] coconut, dry coconut with yellow, greenish outer skin (between ngazi gauyé and ngazi tayo).
kereke porperty noun trouble. kerere ŋaŋyokwa. ‘He caused trouble.’ kafar kerere râ. ‘It is a big problem.’
Note: loanword from Motu
kerko noun [fem] headdress with long plaited strings.
Note: braided, long streaks
made from pandanus

_kesri_ noun [masc] tree type.
- *Melaleuca sp*
  
  Note: The bark is used for roofing and as torch

_kfuthak_ noun [fem] yam type.

_kidara_ noun [masc] drum, big kundu drum.

_kifa_ noun [masc] woven rattan. _kifa zurwr_. ‘He has woven the kifa.’

_kifikifi_ noun [masc] whistle, children’s toy.
  
  Note: made from a rolled up coconut leaf

_kiki tabrai_ noun [masc] evening star in the west, probably Venus.

_kin_ noun [masc] tree type.

_kirakira_ noun [plural] fence type.
  
  Note: vertical sticks with many horizontal bamboos tied to it

_kirg_ proper noun male personal name.

_kiri_ noun [masc] tree type.

_kirikiri_ noun [masc] club with a stone disc attached to the end of a handle.
  
  Note: the stone disc has a star shape

_kisr_ noun [masc] lizard type.

_kithuma_ noun [plural] sago pulp.

_kitamin_ noun [masc] wings of the cassowary.

_kitr_ noun [masc] pandanus type.
- *Cyperus sp*
  
  Note: grows along the river; used for weaving mats

_kiwar_ also: _kiwara_ interjection Good hunting luck!
  
  Note: This is shouted out after setting a trap, hanging a fish net or even when somebody goes out hunting. It wishes good hunting luck.

_kma_ particle should, must. _markai nabikarä kma sfärm_. ‘He must have had a shotgun.’ _yaify kma kurakor_. ‘Father should have told me.’

_kmsusu_ noun [masc] pandanus type. _Pandanus sp*
  
  Note: grows on the high ground; used for weaving mats

_knamthé_ noun [masc] plant type.
- *Tetracera nudiflora*

_knikni_ noun [fem] work.

_knzun_ property noun parallel, straight.

_kofä_ noun [masc] fish.

_kofäkofä_ noun [masc] tree type.
- *Acacia sp*

_komnzo_ manner adverb only, just, still. _komnzo käms!_ ‘You just sit down!’ _komnzo zok-wasi_. ‘only speech, just language’ ‘Komnzo language’

_komo_ proper noun place name.

_kondomin_ proper noun name for kanum and marind people.

_kor dirdir_ noun [masc] Orange-breasted Fig-parrot.
- *Cyclopsitta guilielmiterti*
  
  Note: "kor" doesn’t mean anything
  
  see: _dirdir_

_kore_ noun [fem] area which is bumpy and uneven because of running water during the wet season. _kore bad rä. korethé bad rä_. ‘It is swampy ground.’

_korifi_ adjective tall (of a person).

_korsido_ noun [fem] yam type.

_kothabi katr_ proper noun place name.

_kowi_ noun [flex] chicken (Domestic
krara noun [masc] eclectus parrot (male).  Eclectus roratus

kratr also: kkratr locational in between.  with kratren wkogr.
‘She stands between the banana stems.’

krär noun [masc] kava.  Piper methysticum

Note: This plant is used for its narcotic effects. The root is ground and mixed with water. Alternatively the root can be chewed.

krärkrär noun [masc] plant type.  Leea indica

Note: The root of this plant has a medical use. It is cooked and applied to wounds, especially of dogs.

krätär noun [masc] tree type.  Oriocalis sp

Note: This plant is used for timber (paddles, stairs)

krbu noun [masc] swelling.  fäk kr-bukarä yé ‘He has got a swollen jaw.’

krätüri noun [masc] rat type (that lives in the coconut).

krgu noun [masc] phallocrypt made from a shell.  kryukaränzo bikogr. ‘He stands there only with his shell (and otherwise naked).’

Note: Shell from the ocean that is used to cover the male private parts.

krkafu noun [masc] Little Pied Cormorant.  Microcarbo melanoleucos

krn noun [masc] yamcake.

Note: This yamcake is made by scraping yams with a shell. It is then mixed with coconut, wrapped in banana leaves and baked in the ground oven.

kromäti noun [masc] plant type.  Amomum sp

Note: The fruit is edible and tastes like passionfruit.

krsi verb block off.  kafar trkren ttfö zu krkwrnth. ‘When the flood is high the were blocking off the creeks.’  srina kabegy kar zkrkwrth. ‘The spies blocked off the village.’

krüfr property noun cold, chill.

ksi kar noun [fem] bush, wilderness, bushy place.

kt noun [masc] grass type.

kti tharthar noun Spangled Drongo.  Dicrurus bracteatus

ktikti noun [masc] Red-cheeked Parrot.  Geoffroyus geoffroyi

ktkt property noun crowded, close, in a group.  keke kwofiyak.

wänne ktktmë ekogr. ‘I did not walk (through). The trees stand very close.’  kabe kt kt rä. ‘The people are crowded.’

kufraru noun

(1) [fem] bamboo pipe.

(2) [fem] Black-backed Butcherbird.  Cracticus mentalis

kuku noun [fem] Barking Owl.  Ninox connivens

kukufasi noun [fem] Little Shrike-
thrush, Grey Shrike-thrush. ♦ Colluricincla megarhyncha or Colluricincla harmonica
Note: This bird announces the death of a person.

kukuma proper noun male personal name.

kuma noun [flex] yams baked in the oven.

kumda noun [fem] basket, bag with a flat bottom.
Note: woven from zras

kumgsi verb smell.

kumter noun [masc] Channel-billed Cuckoo. ♦ Scythrops novaehollandiae

kursi verb split something lengthwise. nabi thrakurwrth. ‘They will split the bamboo.’ fam wkurwrth kwa zana ruga mane yé nafanm yé. ‘We made up our minds. As for this pig, it is for them.’ ni nafá bad wkurwrth. ‘We are sharing a border with them.’

kuruba noun [masc] iron rod.
Note: loanword from English ‘crowbar’

kut noun [fem] trap. kut migsir fof zefaré. ‘I set off to hang the trap.’
Note: made out of a bent bamboo and a loop (string) that is under tension

kútú noun [masc] Southern Crowned Pigeon. ♦ Goura scheepmakeri

ky noun [fem] yam type.

kyu also: kiyu negator no.
Note: used mostly by older speakers

kzi noun [masc] tray.
Note: canoe shaped tray made from bark, that is tied on both sides

kwa also: ka

(1) particle future marker. ‘keke kwa ṣazime ethafrakwr.’ You will not mix it with coconut.

(2) interjection wait. naŋ naŋyé thákor “kwa! komnzo kwa!” ‘She said to the children “Wait! Just wait!”’

kwafaf property noun flat. wawa kwafafthé rā. ‘The yam tuber is flat.’

kwaikr proper noun place name.

kwan

(1) noun [fem] voice, shout. katan kwanzo yanor. ‘It only makes a small sound.’ amen kwan wänor. ‘She said ‘Amen’”

(2) prefixing verb [no infinitive] shout, emit a sound. yannor garvar. ‘He shouts out at the river for a canoe.’ fthé sakur gwonyamen o festhen o wämnen keke kwa srannor. ‘If you hit it against the clothes or body or a tree, it will not make a sound.’

kwanm particle maybe, expresses uncertainty about sth. in the future. kabe kwanm yak. ‘Maybe the man will go.’

kwanz ebar noun [fem] bald head.

kwarakwara noun [fem] Hooded Pitta. ♦ Pitta sordida
Note: This is a seasonal bird. It is said to announce the time for the yam harvest.
kwari kwari ebar noun [fem] top of the head.
kwari kwari efoth noun [masc] noon, midnight.
kwark adjective late, deceased.
  nzwan anzrm fof oroman kwarka. ‘We stayed with the late old man.’
  subam kwark fø sfrırm mayawana. ‘There was late Subam from the Mayawas.’
kwar kari proper noun [plural] name for kanum speaking people.
kwar sa noun [fem] Black-billed Brush Turkey. ◇ Talegalla fusciorostris
kwarthabr noun [masc] bark.
  Note: bark from any tree that sticks tightly and does not come off easily
kwa th nare also: koth nare noun [fem] Torresian Crow.
  ◇ Corvus orru
kwa thathr noun [masc] plant type.
  ◇ Tretracera sp
  Note: used for rope
kwa thkwa th noun [masc] tree type, fringetree.
  ◇ Chionathus ramiflorus
  Note: The bark of this tree is used when chewing with betel, if there is no mustard available.
kwa thkwa th property noun hope, intention, hopeful.
  Note: kwathkwa th boba gwanthu m. ‘You put your hopes towards here.’
  kwathkwa th yé bıımr nge namı zíıkor. ‘He hopes that the child will get well.’
  nzone kwathkwa th efoguer emothdo. ‘I am hoping for my sister.’
kwayan noun [fem] light, bright.
kwayankwayan also: kukwayan noun [fem] twilight, little bit of light.
kwayanthé adjective white, bright.
kwa zá noun [fem] side of the torso, between arm pit and heart.
kwa zúr noun [masc] narrow-fronted tandan. ◇ Neosilurus ater kwazîr kworman kwa ánathé. ‘I will eat the kwazîr dish.’
kwa zúrkwa zúr also: kukwa zúr noun [masc] plant type (kamraj).
  ◇ Helminthostachis zeylanica
  Note: The flowering of this grass signals that the fish is greasy; fish hooks and fish nets are painted with the juice from the roots of this plant to ensure a good catch.
kwaá adjective good (old term; nowadays: namá).
kwedr proper noun place name.
  Note: place between Rouku and Ufarua
kwf noun [masc] club (stone disc).
kwfi noun [fem] timespan, period.
  etha kwfi kramare. ‘We will see in 3 days.’
  ṕınzam kwfi thfthunzr? ‘How many days has he counted/marked? (lit. folded)’
  Note: usually a day, but can be more
kwik adjective sick.
kwin noun [masc] tree type, black wattle, mangium. ◇ Acacia mangium
Note: used for bush rope

kwisi verb argue, debate, fight. sway kwark fā ykwinza. ‘He argued against late sway.’ fāms fāmsnzo fthē krakwinmth. ‘That is when one exchange man is arguing with the other.’

kwitnz noun [fem] yamhouse (yam are stored on the ground).

kwiyakwiya noun [fem] cassowary, young cassowary with brown or striped feathers. ♦ Casuarius casuarius

kwiyisi verb leave alone. sakwiyfth! ‘Leave him alone!’

kwodkwod noun [masc] corner, edge, side.

kwonam noun [masc] pandanus type, srew pine. ♦ Pandanus spiralix

kwosi adjective dead, rotten.

kwosi fr noun [flex] corpse.

kwosiya noun [masc] Black-faced Cuckoo-shrike, White-bellied Cuckoo-shrike. ♦ Coracina novaehollandiae or Coracina papuensis

Note: This bird announces the death of a person (kwosi yē means ‘he is dead.’)

kwot manner adverb properly, again.

kwr noun [masc] lime, calcium oxide.

kw rakwr noun [masc] tree type. ♦ Magnifera sp

kw ras noun [masc] Brolga.

kw rfar noun [masc] wallaby (big wallaby).

kw rkw r noun [fem] bushfire.

Note: loanword from Wāra

kw rim an noun [masc] dish, wrapped sago or cassava with a grease fish, baked in the ground oven.

kw rnar noun [fem] strength.

kw rro noun [fem] Blue-winged Kookaburra. ♦ Dacelo leachii

kwthenzsi also: kw thesi verb change, turn around. garda kwot yk wthenza y garsen. ‘We turned the canoe around in the river.’ nima be zawkwther! zenathamane be kata trikwe! ‘You change it and tell the story from today’s point of view!’

kw thkw th noun [masc] tree type. ♦ Flinderis sia sp

kw thro noun [fem] handle.

kw thri noun [masc] tree type. ♦ Calophyllum sp

Note: used for timber

madma adjective female.

madrari noun [masc] collarbone.

maf, mafa interrogative who (ERG.SG, ERG.NSG).

m afane, m afanem e interrogative whose (POSS.SG, POSS.NSG).

maf ar noun [masc] fly river anchovy. ♦ Thryssa rastrosa see: zzuaku

maf rr, m afā interrogative with whom (DU, PL).

mai proper noun male personal name.

maikasi
(1) middle verb wash. kāmayuf! ‘wash yourself!’

(2) verb wash. thr thr thānmayuf
nofo. ‘She washed the intestines in the water.’

**maiti** _proper noun_ male personal name.

**maknsi** _verb_ store, keep.

**makwri borsi** _noun_ [fem] hockey game.

**manu** _noun_ [masc] Torresian Imperial Pigeon.

**manada** _property noun_ experienced, habit, get used to. _manada zé zákor biskar dagorr._ ‘She got already used to eating cassawa.’

**manar** _noun_ [masc] decoration on the headdress at dances. 
Note: sometimes feathers, sometimes a carved piece of wood or a figure which bounces up and down.

**mane** _interrogative_ which, who (ABS).

**maneme** _interrogative_ with what.

**manziknsi** _also: monziknsi_ _middle verb_ prepare, get ready.

_wati zá wàmnzr fof anema fof γàmmonziknwër._ ‘Okay, she stays here and therefore she prepares (herself).’

**mar** _noun_ pandanus type.

**marasi** _verb_ see. _kabef tauri zé samar._ ‘The man saw the wallaby already.’ _be kamaranze!_ ‘Look out for each other!’

**mare** _noun_ [masc] fallen tree, usually across a creek.

**maremare** _noun_ [masc] logs or pieces of banana stem which are used to delimit the edges of a large ground oven.

**markai** _noun_ [flex] outsider, white person. 
Note: anyone not from the area could be called _markai_, also someone from another part of PNG.

**markai bith** _noun_ [masc] bee. 
Note: This is the introduced asian bee.

**markai nabi** _noun_ shotgun, rifle (lit. white man’s bow).

**markusi** _middle verb_ sneak around. _kemarkufth taurir!_ ‘Go an stalk the wallaby!’

**maru** _noun_ [masc] sugar glider. ◇ _Petaurus breviceps_

**marua** _proper noun_ male personal name.

**maski** _interjection_ nevermind, leave it, let it be. 
Note: loanword from Tok Pisin.

**masu** _proper noun_ place name.

**mathkwi** _proper noun_ male personal name. 
Note: Mathkwi was the ancestor of the Mayawa clans in Rouku.

**mathmath gamo** _noun_ [fem] spell, magic used to distract and confuse followers.

**matai** _noun_ (1) [masc] tree type, cornbeefwood. ◇ _Barringtonia apiculata_ 
Note: used for timber. (2) [masc] freshwater longtom. ◇ _Strongylura krefftii_

**matak** _pronominal_ nothing. _ni matak fthé nzfrrér._ _afayé fthé nagayé fáth tfrárm katakatan._ ‘We were not born when the fathers were small kids.’ _zane zófté nagayé mane erá matak fēfē erá._ ‘As for those young boys today, they really have nothing (no yam gardens).’
matar manner adverb quiet. kar matar wthn. ‘The village lies quietly.’ matar komnzo kath-foth! ‘You just walk quietly!’
matuknsi verb wiggle, move.
mawan noun [masc] palm type.
Note: looks like sago, grows further downstream along the Morehead river.
mayawa kinship noun [flex] clan name.
mawan noun [masc] palm type.
mawnoun noun [male/female] palm type.
Note: looks like sago, grows further downstream along the Morehead river.
mät adjective tight.
mäthzgsi verb spin (vertical axis).
mät noun [dual] twin, double.
mätraksi verb bring out, exit from a closed container, house. samätir! ‘Bring him out!’
mänzfa yamätrakwa. ‘He came out of the house.’
mäyogsi verb repeat.
mdmd property noun inner anger, boil inside. mdmdthé wannzr. ‘I am sitting angrily.’ mdmdme saré miyogsima. ‘I gave it to him angrily because was always begging.’
märiknsi verb shake.
meden noun [masc] button, badge.
medothr noun [masc] Brush Cuckoo.
mefa noun [masc] Australian chashew. ◦ Semecarpus sp
Note: nuts are roasted in the fire.
mefa noun [fem] ritual to resolve an argument whereby the culprit is hit with a small yam on the head..
mefa thwä noun [fem] giant cat-fish. ◦ Cochlefelis dioctes
mefamefa noun [masc] tree type. ◦ Semecarpus sp
Note: like mefa but the nuts are smaller.
mefath noun place name.
megé also: mege noun [masc]
coconut leaf, green leaf without
the stalk.
Note: This is usually used as
decoration one costumes or
structures.

mekai noun [masc] tree type (okari
nut).

menz noun [masc] story man.

merakin noun dish, plate.
Note: loanword from Motu.

mezsi verb bring, pick up. nima
zamesakoth safsfo. ‘They
brought her away to Safs.’

mezü noun [flex] widow, wid-
ower.

mfr noun [masc] yam, long yam
type.
Note: inside is white.

mgthksi also: mogthksi
(1) positional verb be in the mouth.
nzą kofā wamgthgr. ‘The fish is
in my mouth.’
(2) verb feed. naf ruga ymgthkwr.
‘He is feeding the pig.’

mgthksi nge also: magthksi nge
noun [flex] adopted child.
Note: lit: “feeding child”. Can
combine with other kin terms
like nane “older sibling”

mifum noun [masc] nasal septum
ornament.

mifum noun [masc] toothed
river herring. ♦ Clupeoides
papuensis kubuna hardyhead.
♦ Craterocephalus randi

migsi
(1) positional verb be hanging. nabi
wmithgr. ‘The bow is hang-
ing.’ yare wmithgr. ‘The bag
is hanging.’
(2) verb hang. nabi wmiwgr faren.
‘He hangs the bow on the
post.’

minmin noun [masc] Emerald
Dove, Purple-tailed Imperial
Pigeon.

minu noun [fem] woman without
children.
Note: This word is usually used
for a woman that does not have
any children or cannot have
children.

minzaksi verb paint. ɲazime o
zarume nzanza nabi zmīn-
sakwē. ‘We paint the bow with
coconut or candlemelon because
of this insect.’

minzü manner adverb very, too
much. guθ mīnzū warfo rā. ‘The bird’s nest is very high
up.’

miraksi middle verb wade. nze non
ŋamiŋkwe. ‘I wade in water.’

misoki middle verb look up.
kāmisof ɲa tiyoma! ‘Look
up because of dried coconut
leafs!’

mith noun [fem] forehead, face.

mitafo also: mitafo noun [flex]
spirit.
Note: mitaf in Wāra

mitwasi also: mirwasi middle verb
swing. nzofatane zane waga
ŋamitwanzath warfo. ‘On top,
nzofat’s legs were moving back
and forth.’

miyakin adjective beautiful (per-
son). mane zokwasi miyakin
fefe wärenzr budbo? ‘Which is
the most beautiful language for
you?’ ŋe miyakin yē. ‘This
one is beautiful.’ kwayān woku
miyakin thürkorth. ‘They say
that white skin is beautiful.’

miyamr property noun ignorance,
 ignorant. ni miyamr nrā. ‘We
don’t know.’

miyanzsi also: miyasi verb fetch, get, pick up. awe! bū nen-miyanzé. ‘Come! I am picking you up.’

miyatha property noun knowledge, knowledgeable. fi miyatha yé. ‘He knows.’ miyathé kma thrará. ‘They should know.’

miyo also: miyō
(1) adjective sweet. yawi fthé miyo minzü krākorth. ‘That is when the fruit become very sweet.’
(2) property noun desire, desirous, want, like. nzá miyo worá bone kofá traksi. ‘I like the way you catch fish.’ keke zokwasi miyo nzá worärn. ‘I did not want to talk.’
(3) noun [fem] wish. nzone miyo wabthakr. ‘You will fulfill my wish.’

mkukar noun [masc] sooty grunter. Hephaestus species

mni noun
(1) [fem] fire.
(2) [masc] firewood.
(3) [no infinitive] cook. naf bun nasinzr. ‘He cooks it for you.’ nafan safiš! ‘Cook it for him!’ nafa wawa ṣasinzrth. ‘They cook the yams.’

mni thamin noun [fem] flame (fire tongue).

mnz noun [fem] house.

mnzärfr proper noun place name.

mnzeraksi middle verb fall asleep. kabe zāmnzer mni tak thartharen. ‘The man fell asleep next to the fireplace.’

mnzmnz noun [fem] trade store, business house, smaller house.

mnzoknsi middle verb dance, jump up and down (to the drumbeat).

moba interrogative where from (ABL).

mobo interrogative where to (ALL).

modo noun [masc] tree type. Maranthes corimbosa
Note: Tree is burned to fertilise the ground.

mogu property noun concentrated, undisturbed. biskar mnifnzo mogu kofkāngwrm. ‘I was concentrated on cooking the cassawa (lit.: The cassawa cooking closed me.’

mokai proper noun male personal name.

mokaumokau noun [masc] vine type. Solanum sp
Note: very thorny, was used during mānzū for beating the initiates.

mon proper noun place name.

monegsi verb
(1) wait.
(2) take care of.

moni noun [plural] necklace (shell necklace).

monme also: mon interrogative how (INS).

monmthé interrogative how much, in what way. monmthé no ṣarūnza boba ysokwren? ‘How much rain fell in the last year?’

monz noun [fem] trench, ditch.

monzé interjection "yes" sign of agreement.

mons noun [masc] plant type. Maranthes corymbosa

mor noun
(1) [masc] neck.
(2) [masc] planting yams. mor mane erä worsima ane fof erä. ‘As for those yams, they are for planting.’

**moraksi**
(1) *positional verb* be leaning. rata ymothgr ‘The ladder is leaning.’
(2) *verb* lean. nabi ymorakwr. ‘He leans the bow.’

**moramora** *noun* [masc] tree type. ○ *Celastraceae sp* moramora wämne ane mane yé fefe zi. woku yfkathrth. srarwrth. nofo srärsiznwrth ane fof kräznob ‘The moramora tree is the one for body pain. They peel the bark. They will scrape it. They will squeeze it in the water and drink it.’
Note: medical use, bark shavings mixed with water, has a soothing effect. used against tuberculosis.

**mori no** *noun* [masc] downpour, rain.
Note: Very strong rain which falls during the whole day.

**morthr** *noun* [fem] edge of the forest, if the forest continues on the other side (maybe intersected by creek, road or garden.

**morumoru** *noun* [fem] yam type, wild yam.
Note: the inside is yellow.

**mosisi**
(1) *positional verb* be gathered, piled. wawa emosithgr. ‘The yams are gathered.’
(2) *verb* gather.

**moth**
(1) *noun* [fem] path, road.
(2) *prefixing verb* walk, come, go. moreheadfo yako. ‘He goes to Morehead.’

**mothknsi** *verb* loosen, unfasten, jiggle.

**motkn** *adjective* tight, tightly.

**moyosi** *middle verb* wrinkle, shrink, grow thin.

**möff** *noun* [masc] Collared Imperial Pigeon.

**mr** also: **mer** *noun* [fem] brain.

**mr** *noun* [plural] part of a bee hive, third section of a bee hive, for some species this is used, for others it is considered to be waste.

**mr dä** *noun* [masc] loop of the trap (hold the wallaby by the neck).

**mrab** *noun* [masc] bamboo type. ○ *Bambusa sp*

**mrab zifär** *noun* [masc] bamboo cage for roasting fish.

**mräsi** *middle verb* stroll, wander around aimlessly.

**mreznsi** *verb* straighten.

**mrimri** *noun* [fem] sweat. mrimrinzo worä. ‘I am just sweating.’

**mrinzsi** *verb* chase, chase out.

**mrmr** *locational* inside.

**mrmr** *kinship noun*
(1) [plural] family.
(2) [plural] clan.

**mryoksi** *verb* heat up.

**mrzar** *proper noun* Mayawa clan name in Rouku.

**msaksi**
(1) *prefixing verb* sit, dwell, live. bā fi swamnzrm. ‘He was living there.’ ni namrn. ‘We two are sitting.’ matar komnzo
gnamnzé! ‘You just sit quietly!’

(2) verb set. nge ymsakwé. ‘I sit the child down.’ sams! ‘You sit him down!’

msar noun [masc] ant (light brown).

msar yawi noun rice.

Note: lit. ‘ant eggs’.

msarmsar noun [plural] part of a bee hive, the second section of a bee hive.

Note: the larvae look like this ants

mtheksi

(1) positional verb be raised. kaboht tkwitkw kor a ythn. ebar yam-thethn. ‘The snake lies rolled up. The (snake’s) is lifted up.’

(2) verb lift up. samtheth! ‘Lift him up!’

mthgası also: mthkasi verb hollow out, scrape. brubru ymthkanzr ‘He hollows out the drum.’

mthi adjective whole.

mthizsci prefixing verb rest. gnämthif! ‘You rest!’

mthnszi verb cause. ane naf wtwtr womthnzr. ‘This water is making me itchy.’ be fi nokur samths! ‘You make him angry!’ nge naf samthnzr frasi etfhar. ‘He caused the small boy to sleep hungry.’ fiwá rtmaksir kwamthnzr básena keke yarenzrm. ‘He caused himself to get cut because he was looking.’

mthzagsı verb encircle, walk around sth.

mtök noun [masc] pouteria tree, eggfruit. ♦ Pouteria firma

Note: leaves used for rolling cigarettes.

muki noun [masc] sawfish. ♦ Pritis microdon

munz noun [fem] line.

muramura noun [masc] medicine.

muramura zn noun [fem] hospital. see: ospitor

mus noun [masc] leech.

muth noun [masc] grub, maggot (lives in the ground.

muthrata proper noun place name.

Note: also the name of a Sagara clan in Rouku.

müngsi middle verb mumble. keke kwot nafan yarizrm fi yamüngrwm. ‘I didn’t hear him properly, he was mumbling.’

münzaksi verb allow. nze bā namünzakwé ‘I allow you (to do something)’

müir noun [masc] grass type. ♦ Cyprus sp

Note: used for weaving.

müraf noun [masc] tree type. ♦ Dodonia viscosa

Note: used for arrows, yam-sticks, handles.

müraf noun [masc] insect type.

müs noun [fem] underwater hole in the ground.

müsar sar also: müsa property noun restless movement.

Note: especially of a pig’s restless movement in the cage.

müsinzsi middle verb glow, of embers in the fire. mni rnz yamüsinsr. ‘The fire embers are glowing.’

mütı noun [masc] wallaby (big forest wallaby).
müz noun [masc] phallocrypt.
   Note: coconut shell for men to cover their private parts.
mwmw noun [fem] someone wearing a mourning costume.
myogsí transitive verb beg, ask for.
myuknsí
   (1) positional verb be twisted. fiyasi ymyuthgr. ‘The (rolled) rope is twisted.’
   (2) verb twist. thū myuknsikaf ythn ‘The rope lays already twisted.’
      samyuk! ‘You twist it!’
mze noun [masc] python type.

nabi
   (1) noun [masc] bamboo type. ∆ Bambusa vulgaris
   (2) noun [masc] bow.
nafr noun [fem] sadness. nzā nafrkarā worā. ‘I am sad.’
nafrr, nafā pronominal with her/him, with them (DU, PL).
nag noun [plural] grass skirt.
nagayé kinship noun [flex] children.
nagusí verb stab, poke, pierce. nze tauri ymagunzé ‘I stab the wall’
naifa noun [masc] machete.
   Note: loanword from English.
nainai noun [masc] sweet potatoe.
      ∆ Ipomoea batatas
nakimi kinship noun brother-in-law or sister-in-law.
   Note: loanword from Motu.
      see: kaimät, ngom
nakre proper noun female personal name.
naku kinship noun [masc] cousin.
   Note: This word is used reciprocally between the children of thw sister.
   Note: This word is used reciprocally between two men who are married to two sisters.
nakumgsí middle verb cool down.
   bi kwa yanakumgwr. ‘The sago will cool down.’ kenakumth! ‘You cool down!’
nama temporal day before yesterday, day after tomorrow.
namä adjective good.
namä efoth greeting good day.
namä ezi greeting good morning.
namä zbär greeting good night.
namä zizi greeting good afternoon.
namgsí prefixing verb breath quickly, pant for air. akamf wanamgw ‘I am out of breath.’ wawa namsikaf yè ‘the yam has cooled down’ ni namgrn. ‘We (2) are out of breath.’
nane noun [flex] elder sibling.
nanzm noun liver.
nari property noun greed. greedy.
narithé yé tavri yarisin ‘He is greedy in sharing the wallaby meat.’ kabej dayonna narí yarár. ‘The man is greedy for food.’
narsi verb press down, step on. ni ane süfi wnarwake. ‘We pushed down the floating grass.’ tütü, naf ane kidzunawrm mni. ‘The tütü was pressing down that fire.’
nasi noun [masc] yam, long yam. Note: This is a general term. Long yam are used for special purposes (gifts, feasts, competitions).

nawan noun [fem] waterhole dug by pigs or deer.
nawin noun [masc] mountain grunter. ○ Hephaestus habbemai

nä indefinite some, another.
nä bun pronominal another one, others (ABS). nä buné trtha thwanathrmth yase. ‘Others were eating the meat raw.’ nä bun foba thwanorm “mon yafiyokurth?” ‘The other ones shouted from there “what are you doing?”’

nä karen locational somewhere, at another place.
nä kayé temporal sometime, another day.
näbi numeral one.
näbüsi

(1) verb hit with a stick. bi yanañbünzrth karese zfthen. ‘They are beating sago at karesa zfth.’

(2) middle verb rot, decompose. rusa fá yanañbüzr umzárma. ‘The deer is rotting there because of the grease.’
näbüsi wänme noun [masc] sago beating stick.

nänzüthzsi verb cover with soil, paint with mud, bury. gwarg-warme yanañzüthzrth wathma. ‘They paint themselves with mud for the dance.’ yfö yatharinzath bümnr wth nänzüthzsr. ‘They dug a hole to bury the intestines.’

nbrok noun [masc] mushroom, general term.

neba locational opposite.
nema proper noun male personal name.

nezä manner adverb in return.
nfí noun [masc] breadfruit. ○ Arthocarpus altilis

Note: edible fruit

nfíyam proper noun female personal name.

ngath kinship noun [masc] mate, close friend. Note: Usually two people who were born around the same time. Their parents decide that they will become close friends.

nge kinship noun [flex] child.

ggemäku kinship noun [flex] adopted parents. Note: This word is used between the biological parents and adopted parents.

ngom kinship noun [masc] brother-in-law, sister-in-law. Note: This word is used between a man and his sister’s husband, his brothers and sisters instead of their names. see: nakimi

ngth kinship noun [flex] younger
sister or brother.

**ni** pronominal we (1NSG.ERG and 1NSG.ABS).

**nima**

(1) manner demonstrative like this, in this way. *ruga yankwira nima sankuka bā byē* ‘The pig was running towards us like (where) he was standing there.’

(2) quotative *naf nima* “fsfo kmam gniyake!” ‘He said “You don’t go to the forest!”’

**nimāwā also: nimamewā** manner adverb likewise, the same way.

**ninrr, ninā pronominal** with me, with us (DU, PL).

**nmöi** particle always, often.

**no**

(1) noun [fem] water. *nor yak* ‘he goes for water’

(2) noun [masc] rain. *kafar no kvarünzr* ‘It rained a lot.’ *nor ye* ‘It will rain.’

**no kzi** noun [fem] tray for rain magic.

Note: originally folded from bark and employing bamboo water containers. More modern versions are made from a steel drum and bottles are used.

**no nzifgu** noun [masc] rainmaking stone.

see: **nzifgu**

**no zr sam** noun [plural] bubbles.

**nokarnokar** noun [masc] plant type. *Fagraea racemosa*

**noku** property noun anger, angry.

**nono** noun [fem] breast.

Note: loanword from Nama.

**nono** noun [fem] yam type.

**nömā** noun [masc] yamcake made from long yams.

**nönzsi**

(1) noun [fem] low tide.

(2) middle verb recede, lower (water). *ttfō yanōrz* ‘The water level in the creek is going down.’

**nr**

(1) noun [fem] belly.

(2) noun [masc] bow with a round curve (in opposition to fiyor).

**nr kwothkwoth** property noun upset. *nafanema nr kwothkwoth wọrā. ‘I am upset because of him.’ nr kwothkwoth f zwef. ‘I am really upset.’

**nümā** temporal last week, next week (more than 3 days).

**nümgar** noun [masc] crocodile.

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**NZ**

**nzabu** noun [masc] wing.

**nzafanzafa** noun [fem] baby basket.

**nzafar** noun [plural]

(1) sky.

(2) cloud.

**nzagum** noun [masc] fly.

**nzanza** noun [masc] insect type that eats into bamboo and wood.

**nzarga** noun [masc] tree type (cardamom?). *Amomum aculeatum*

**nzarm** noun [flex] person who is one amongst several spouses.

Note: describes usually women who are married to one man, can be used as term of address.

**nzarwan also: nzarwon** noun [masc] barramundi. *Lates calcarifer*
nzaryé noun [masc] yamcake.

nzathi noun [fem] small crab (coin size).

nzą pronominal I (1SG.ABS). nzą wamnzr. ‘I am sitting. / I am staying.’

nząfo noun [masc] plant type. Polyosma integrifolia
Note: The bark of this tree is used to deter snakes. Bark is chewed and spat at places which snakes should stay away from.

nząthe kinship noun [flex] namesake.

nząwi noun [fem] swamp; a large, flat area with shallow muddy water.

nže pronominal I (1NSG.ERG). nže nmarwé. ‘I see you.’

nzenm pronominal for us (1NSG.DAT).

nzenme pronominal our (1NSG.POSS).

nzga noun [masc] vagina.

nzga yawi noun [masc] clitoris, vagina.

nzigfu noun [masc] magic stone for rainmaking.
see: no nzigfu

nzigm property noun sticky. msar yawi nzigmnzo yé. ‘The rice is very sticky.’ nzigmthé wawa rü. ‘The yam is sticky.’

nzigom noun [flex] chain smoker.

nzikaka also: dikaka noun [masc] Whistling Kite.

nzinzimam noun [fem] dragonfly.

nzirt noun [masc] plant type. Miliusa sp
Note: medical use, leafes are eaten against general sores.

nzm noun toe, finger.

nzmär noun [fem] grease.

nzmü noun [fem] part of the body just below the navel.

nznzn property noun smooth.
wawa nznznthé rü ‘the yam is smooth (-like).’ wawa nznzn kará rü ‘the yam is (with) smooth (-ness).’ komnzo nznznzo fthé fof krükor. ‘that is when it would become just very smooth.’

nzokta noun [masc] doctor.
Note: loanword from English.

nzom noun [masc] tree type.
Note: This plant is used to make grass skirts.

nzone pronominal my (1SG.POSS).

nzone interjection ‘sorry’ or ‘pity on you’ sign of empathy towards somebody.

nzönz noun [masc] tree type. Terminalia megacarpa
Note: The nuts of this tree can be eaten. They have to be soaked in water for some days and then be baked in the ground oven.

nzönznzonz noun [masc] tree type. Terminalia sp
Note: Similar to nzönz, but the nuts are too small to eat.

nzöyar also: nzoyär noun [fem] Fawn-breasted Bowerbird.

nzöyarnzöyar noun [masc] plant type. Elaeocarpus sp

nzs noun [fem] dirty rest of liquid (in a water hole, bottle, oil bottle, fuel).

nzs nzs noun [fem] rest of liquid left in a bottle.

nzram noun [masc] flower.

nzrbu noun [masc]
(1) knuckle.
(2) joint of a bamboo stem.
nzu noun [masc] fibers in the yam tubers.
nzun pronominal for me (1SG.DAT).

nzü
(1) noun [fem] bird type.
    Note: This bird lives by the river with white and brown feathers.
(2) noun [masc] type of plant.
nzünra ɲare also: nzünra noun [fem] spirit woman, devil woman, witch.
    Note: These creatures can change their appearance and look like ordinary people. They often feature in local stories.
nzünra wath noun [fem] type of dance.
    Note: This is the dance of the people from Rouku and Garaita.

ɲabram also: ɲabrm noun [masc] greenback mullet. ○ Liza subvirdis
ɲad noun [masc] rope.
ɲafe kinship noun [masc] father.
    see: afa
ɲame kinship noun [fem] mother.
    see: ama
ɲamün noun [masc] papuan black snake (big).
ɲanz noun [fem] row in the garden.
ɲarake noun [fem] fence, garden.
ɲarde manner adverb for the first time.
ɲare noun [fem] woman.
ɲareŋare noun [masc] plant type, wild vanilla. ○ Vanilla sp
ɲare wthwth noun [masc] plant type. ○ Helica latifolia
    Note: This plant should not be used for gardening. Children are prohibited to bring its fruit to the garden. It is said to attract pigs.
ɲarmür proper noun place name, creek north of Rouku.
ɲarjar noun [fem] bamboo pieces for paddling.
ɲarr noun [flex] bandicoot.
ɲarryarr noun [masc] grass type.
    Note: bandicoots build a nest out of this grass.
ɲars noun [fem] river.
ɲars ymd noun [masc] White-throated Honeyeater or Large-billed Gerygone.
    Note: This bird informs people about an impending flood during rainy season, lit. ‘river bird’. ○ Melithreptus albogularis or Gerygone magnirostris
ɲarufay noun [fem] trout mogurnda. ○ Mogurnda
    see: katif
ɲasarü noun [plural] star formation, small group of stars.
ɲatha noun [flex] dog.
ɲathanjatha noun [masc] bronze quoll. ○ Dactylopsila trivirgata
    Note: barks like a dog.
ɲathanjatha noun [masc] plant type. ○ Poaceae sp
ɲatr noun [fem] string.
ɲatr si noun [masc] rope from a thick vine. used for example
to tie the bark to the posts. *nætr si ane fof yé.* ‘This is the rope.’

*næzathë* proper noun place name.

*næzi* noun [fem] cocos nucifera.

*næzi nazi* noun [masc] grass type.

◊ *Exocarpus largifolius*

Note: This grass is put on the flowers of a coconut when it flowers for the first time.

*næzi dirdir* noun [masc] Red-flanked Lorikeet.

◊ *Charmosyna placentis*

*næzi frathn* noun [fem] sweet coconut (the inner skin is edible).

*næzi tayo* noun [fem] coconut, dry coconut with brown outer skin.

*næzi woku* noun [masc] tiger grunter. ◊ *Amniataba affinis*

◊ *Exocarpus sp*

Note: bark used for yellow colour, dried resin chewed like gum.

*næzi nazi fr* proper noun place name.

*njëwë* adverb instead of, in lack of. *njëwë yame zrë trnën krämësë.* ‘Instead of a mat, I sit down on the coconut leaf.’

*njäwi* kinship noun [flex] uncle, aunt, nephew, niece.

Note: This word is used between a person and her/his mother’s brothers and sisters.

See: *babai*

*njuz* noun [masc] papuan black bass.

◊ *Lutjanus goldei*

*njofonofo* noun [masc] bullroarer.

*njopoyam* noun [fem] voice, loud voices.

*njoti* noun [fem] common spotted cuscus. ◊ *Spilocuscus maculatus*

*njwë* manner adverb instead of (only with nouns). *njwë gwonyame nag narkgr.* ‘Instead clothes, we are wearing grass skirts.’

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**O**

**O** conjunction or.

**ob** property noun radiating heat from a fire. *mni thak obthë rå* ‘The fireplace is very hot.’

**ofa** property noun light, not heavy.

**ofe** property noun absence, disappear. *ofe kwarårth.* ‘They disappeared.’ *zena we ane zokwasi mane eru zé kwathgunzrth. ofe zë kwarårth.* ‘Today, those words (magic spells) are forgotten. They already disappeared.’

**ogog** property noun very dry, catches fire easily.

**or** noun [masc] bird type (emerald dove?).

**oroman** noun [masc] old man.

Note: loanword from English See: *buru, paitua*

**ororo** noun [fem] slope, hill.

Note: Loanword from Motu.

**ospitor** noun [fem] hospital.

Note: loanword from English.

See: *muramura zn*

**ote** proper noun male personal name.

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**P**

**paitua** noun [masc] old man.
Note: loanword
see: buru, oroman

R

ra interrogative what (ABS).
raf interrogative what (ERG).
raf noun [fem] tide.
raf trkr noun [fem] high tide, flood.
rafigsi
(1) positional verb be on top. giri skiskin wrafithgr. ‘The knife is on top of the platform.’
(2) verb put on top. dō tabetan yrafigwa. ‘I put the goana on the grill.’
see: rakthksi
rafisi verb paddle. garda yarafinzé. ‘I paddle the canoe.’
rański verb spoil, mess up.
rařksi verb squat. worāthgr ‘I am squatting.’
(2) middle verb squat.
rażsi
(1) positional verb be erected, be planted. mnz wrāsthgr. ‘The house is standing.’
(2) verb erect, plant. naf fitot erāżr. ‘He plants the yamsticks.’
rbńzsi
(1) verb untie. γad yrbńzé ‘I untie the rope’ be sarbās! ‘You untie him!’
(2) ditransitive verb explain.
rbążsi verb forbid.
rbegsi verb protect, separate. nzone emoθh wrbegwé. ‘I protect my sister.’
rbetfaksi middle verb comb.
rbthknsi verb snap off with fingers. wawa gb tharbthn! ‘snap off the yzm shoots!’
rburbu noun [fem] soft part of the ground, where you sink in when walking. mkāthb rbur- bun! ‘(What out), you might sink in to the soft part!’
rdiknsi verb tie around. frdth fur γadme erdiknwrth. ‘They tie rope around the frdth bundles.’
rensi verb sweep. mnz fath zuren-wrm. ‘She was sweeping the house yard.’

rere noun [masc] dragonfly.

Note: lives in the forest. This one is bigger than nzinzimam and it is green.

rfakusi verb sprinkle. wawa mnzen bad thurfakwrm. ‘They were sprinkling the soil in the yam house.’

rfäsi middle verb hop (wallaby).

rfeksi middle verb limp. kabe yarfezkwr ‘The man is limping.’

rfenzaksi verb miss. tauři tonze sarfrenzé. ‘I missed the wallaby closely.’

rfezsi verb lever, lift up with stick. ni wawa zé thurfeze. ‘We have lifted up the yams.’ wawa zarfes! ‘Lift up the yams!’

data-

rfiksi
(1) prefixing verb grow. srak yr-fikwr. ‘the boy grows up.’

(2) verb nuture. nze srak yrfikwé. ‘I nuture the boy.’

rfitfaksi verb
(1) respond, answer.

(2) argue (answer in a verbal fight).

rfizsi verb tease, make fun. nzā rma worfizrnth? ‘Why are you making fun of me?’

rfnaksi verb taste.

rfrsi verb trim (grass, hair).

rfthaksi verb burst, release pressure from something. yazi wrfthakwé. ‘I poked in to the coconut.’

rfuknsi verb hug. finzo zarfuknth. ‘They hugged each other.’

rfusi verb open by pulling something off, e.g. bark from house wall.

rfuthraksi
(1) positional verb be heaped up, be piled up. wawa ärfuthgr. ‘The yams are in a pile.’

(2) verb pile, heap.

rfzüthzsi middle verb stumble, trip.

rggsi verb pull off something flat and sticky, e.g. bark of tree or a poster of wall.

rgfaksi verb recognise, realise.

rgosi verb poke through.

rgsi
(1) positional verb be wearing something. gwnyame yarkgr. ‘The clothes are on him.’ ‘He is wearing the clothes.’

(2) verb put on clothes, put a bag on the shoulder.

ribaksi middle verb stagger, walk unsteadily.

rifthaksi verb send. fi sasrifthake yazi sogasir. ‘We sent him to climb the coconut palm.’

rifthonzsi verb erase. nabifa ane yamyam fof zwärifthonzé. ‘I removed the (carving) marks from the bow.’

rifhzsì verb hide. yazi wrchive. ‘I hide the coconut.’ kwa erifhznth. rfizsine ern. ‘They will hide the two. They will be hidden.’

rigusi middle verb spread, open a bodypart. wth käriguf! ‘spread your butt cheeks!’

Note: swearword, joking language

riknsi verb destroy. mnz kwa wriknwre. ‘We will take down the house.’
rinaksi
(1) *positional verb* be inside (liquid). *no writhgr wozen*. ‘The water is filled in the bottle.’
*waf ebar fefen no writhgr*. ‘The water is right at the front of the wharf.’
(2) *verb* pour, fill with water. *za-kora nima ‘käthf no kwarrin dbäwth!’* ‘He said: “You go and pour some water for me at Dbäwth!”’

rinzä *noun* [fem] part of the coconut leaf that is used as a strainer to rinse things.
Note: loanword from English ‘rinse’.

rirfaksi *verb* kill. *fi kwa yrirfakwé*. ‘I will kill him.’

rirksi *verb* avoid, respect. *za-föwä zane zwarikwrmth. mnz kar zfrärm*. ‘Long time ago, they were avoiding this place. It was a story place.’

risoksi *verb* look down. *kärisof no yfön kabothma!* ‘Look down in the waterhole because of snakes!’

ritaksi
(1) *verb* cross over. *nzä krärizé űars* ‘I will cross over the river’
(2) *verb* translate. *zokwasi ritaksi* ‘translating language’

ritüsi *verb* grab someone, hold someone back. *ruga fthé kran-math. saritüth!* ‘when the pig runs off. you must grab it!’

riwa *noun* [fem] pig-fender.
Note: long stick with a ring and its end to catch and hold a pig, made from a bamboo.

riwogsi
(1) *verb* haul, carry something heavy. *mnz far wriwogwé*. ‘I am carrying the house post.’
(2) *experiencer object verb* to be exhausted from carrying something heavy. *mnz far kuni-wogwr* ‘I am exhausted from carrying the house post.’

riyozsi *verb* lift up, bring in a standing position.

rkäksi *verb* advice.

rkäminzsi *ditransitive verb* teach.

rkäsi *verb* singe a little bit, cook a little.

rkmgsi *verb* drill, pierce.

rkogsi *verb* distribute equally.

rkusi *verb* knock down, especially fruit like banana.

rma *interrogative* why (CHAR).

rmänsi *verb* close. *zrő urmänwé*. ‘I close the door.’

rmigsi *verb* sow, stitch, pierce.

rmigufaksi *prefixed verb* be in the middle of doing something. *nzä zbär zwärmigufa*. ‘I was there in the middle of the night.’

rminzüfaksi *verb* exchange.

rmithraksi
(1) *positional verb* be joined together. *mnz kam ernmithyr*. ‘The house roof beams are joined together.’
(2) *verb* join, gather. *kwamithru-kwrth wämnen sogasir*. ‘They gathered by the tree for climbing.’

rmnüzüfaksi
(1) *positional verb* be side by side. *garda ernmönüthagr*. ‘The canoes are side by side.’
(2) *verb* join lengthwise, side by side.
side.

**rmrm** *property noun* heat from inside something, without fire. karo rmrmrazo kwa rā. ‘The ground oven will still be hot.’ efothane rmrm wnrā mothen. ‘The sun’s heat is coming from the road.’

**rmrsi** *transitive verb* rub, grind.

**rmugsi** *verb*
1. stare, envy. bigogo kwamen yarmugrnth ‘the two birds (crested pitohui) are watching each other singing’
2. verb beg. bā yarmugwr wawar nzudbo. ‘you are begging me for yams.’ nze bun nanrmugwé wawar ‘I beg you for yams.’

**rnāthsi** *middle verb* get stuck.

**rngthksi** *also: magthksi*
1. *positional verb* be in the branches, be in a treefork. ruga fāk wrngthgr. ‘The pig yaw is in the tree fork.’
2. *verb* put in a tree fork.

**rninzsi** *middle verb* smile, make a face.

**rmnsgi** *verb* strip off bark of a tree or pandanus.

**rnz** *noun* [plural] embers.

**rnzm** *interrogative* how many, how much.

**rnzmzsi** *verb* press together.

**rokar** *noun* [flex] things, stuff.

**roknsi** *verb* hold, grab, hug usually while sleeping. lisaf tosai yroknwr ‘lisaf is hugging the baby boy.’ be sarokn! ‘You hold him!’

**rokuroku** *noun* [fem] riverbank, slope.

**rot** *noun* [plural] fence type. Note: strongest fence type. thick bamboos are layered and tied between sticks.

**royaksi** *verb* decorate. ane yawime guth wroyakwr. ‘She decorates the nest with these fruit.’

**rr** *kwan* *noun* sound of speech.

**rrw** *noun* [flex] person that is limping. fi rrw yē. ‘He is a cripple.’ rrw fi yrifikwr. ‘He is growing as a limping man.’

**rsiznsi** *verb* squeeze. yazi sam wrz- iznuwr. ‘We squeeze the coconut juice.’

**rsoksi** *middle verb* shock, be frightened. fi kwa yarsokwr. ‘She will be frightened.’ nafanema yarksokwé. ‘I will be frightened by him.’

**rsōrsi** *middle verb* descend, climb down.

**rsrs** *noun* [fem] slope, flat even area. bad fthé zamar rsrs rā. neba warfo rā. neba zfthen rā. ‘When you look, you will see that the ground is a slope: high on one side and low on the opposite side.’

**rsrsi**
1. *verb* poison-root fishing in swamps or creeks.
2. *verb* squeeze, mix with liquid.
   thwā keke yazime wrsrwre. ‘We do not mix the catfish with coconut.’

**rthakusi** *verb* spray, spurt. nze zrsam yrthakwnzr. ‘He spits the saliva.’

**rthārsi** *verb* share, distribute.

**rthbraksi** *verb* write, put on the wall.

**rthbrgsi** *also: rthabraksi*
1. *positional verb* be sticking (adhesive). bith yrthabrgr
brubrun. ‘The honey sticks on the drum.’
(2) verb stick on, adhere.

rthé also: rthé
(1) interrogative when.
(2) conditional if.

rtnaksi
(1) verb cut. tuti yrtmakwr. ‘He cut the branch.’ zuruf yrtmakwath. ‘They cut the tally stick to mark the day for a heathunt.’
(2) experiencer object verb cut. sukufa zuruf wortmakwr kwaven. ‘The tobacco smoke cuts my throat.’ zuruf wortmakwr kwaven. ‘Sourness cuts my throat.’

rtnsi verb cut. tuti yrtmakwr. ‘He cut the branch.’ zuruf yrtmakwath. ‘They cut the tally stick to mark the day for a heathunt.’

rugaguruga noun [masc] tree type.
Note: This tree is used to make brubru ‘kundu drums’.

rugaguruga noun [masc] tree type.

rugabogu noun [fem] Red-necked Rail. Rallina tricolor

rugatarku noun [fem] pig’s hole.

ruga noun [masc] pig.

ruga ruga noun [masc] tree type.

ruga bogu noun [masc] tree type.

ruga tarku noun [fem] pig’s hole.

ruga bogu noun [fem] Red-necked Rail. Rallina tricolor

ruga tarku noun [fem] pig’s hole.

rua noun [flex] deer.
Note: loanword from Malay.

rusi verb shoot, spear. tauri samg. ‘He shot the wallaby.’

rusi middle verb bark. yatha kwaruthrnth. ‘The dogs were barking.’

runganasi middle verb slag off, back-bite. rma garunagwr? ‘Why are you gossiping?’ naf kabe garunagwr ‘He slags him off.’

rürä manner adverb alone, leave behind. nzä zä zwäfurthifth rürä ‘They left me here here alone / behind.’

rürü kwan noun thunder (close).

rüt rüt noun [fem, plural] sticks for the ground oven.

rwoksi verb heal. naf fi yrwokwr ‘He heals him.’

rwonsi verb pull out grass or some thin plant without much resistance.

rzarsi
(1) positional verb be tied together. yad yrzaftgr. ‘The string is tied (to something).’
(2) verb tie, adopt. fi yrzarwé. ‘I adopt him.’

rzasi verb bake in ground oven.

rzifthaksi verb push down, push over. naf fi zwärzifth. ‘They have pushed me down.’

rziraksi middle verb bending against a tension or force, for example the bow or a trap.

rzöbnzsi verb close the ground oven.

rzöraksi
(1) positional verb be close together. eda ymd erzörthgrn ‘The two birds are close together’
(2) verb converge, draw near. kwot kärzöre! ‘Move closer together!’

rzwäsi also: rzüwäsi
(1) middle verb attract attention. mane bobo yarzuwänzr? ‘who is making so much noise over there?’
(2) verb complain about. naf fi yrzüwänzrm. ‘He complained about him.’

sabir noun [fem] peace, harmony.
saböm noun [masc] twig (green).
saböm noun [masc] grass type.
Note: This word is used reciprocally between a woman and the brothers of her husband instead of their name. The taboo relationship is somewhat stronger with the older brothers.
safak noun [masc] saratoga.  
○ Scleropages jardini
safrak no noun [masc] rain, strong rain which falls during the whole night.
sagafa noun [masc] stone axe, wooden club.
sagara kinship noun [flex] clan name.
sagusagu noun [fem] yams (for planting, small ones to be tied on the roof of the yamhouse).
saisai no noun [masc] drizzle, light rain.
saka also: sakar noun [masc] mustard vine.
Note: used for chewing betel-nut.
sam noun [fem] liquid.
samsam noun [masc] plant type.  
○ Tabernaemontana orientalis sp
sami noun [masc] Wedge-tailed Eagle.  ○ Aquila audax
saraka noun [plural] fence type.
Note: thick vertical sticks with only few horizontal connections.
sarawai noun [fem] Noisy Friar-bird.  ○ Philemon corniculatus
sari also: säri noun [fem] tomahawk.
sas noun [masc] plant type.  
○ Pouteria sp
Note: nuts are used for decoration.
satf noun [plural] sago pulp freshly cut (before smashing, beating it).
satf md noun [plural] sago pulp leftovers after beating it.
sauma also: sawma noun [masc] decorative stick for dances.
Note: in regular intervals shavings from the wood extend like rings around the stick
säbthzsi verb cover a hole in the ground, a crack in the floor, a hole in the wall.
säminzsi  
(1) verb whisper. nzā bā ysämínzé.  
‘I whisper to you.’  
(2) verb teach. kabef nge äsämínzr.  
‘The man teaches the children.’
säsä noun [fem] Marbled Frogmouth, Australian Owlet-nightjar.  ○ Podargus ocellatus or Aegotheles cristatus
säth noun [fem] yam (very small yam, these are planted in groups in hole on the side for yamsuckers for the following year).
sbüsbü noun [masc] tree type.  
○ Dracaena angustifolia
Note: used for decorations on grass skirts or headdresses.
sd noun [fem] yam type.
se  
(1) noun [masc] bark of a paper-bark tree.
(2) noun [plural] bark torch.
Note: used for lighting up the
dancing place.

**se zokwasi** noun [fem] public speech given during dances.
*Note:* At regular intervals during a dance people will sit down and rest. At these times different people give speeches, which can be entertaining, complaining or moralizing. The speaker circles the dancing square with a bark torch in his hand.

**sezsi** verb make aware, bring to someone’s attention by signalling or calling out.

**sfisam** proper noun place name.

**sgabum** noun [masc] dried twigs without leaves.
*Note:* Usually used to light fire

**sgu** noun [masc] lid, plug.
*Note:* This is usually made of rolled up paperbark which is used like a cork.

*see:* **thbum**

**si** noun eye.

**si bnibni** property noun fainting.

*si bnibnima zätre* ‘I fell down because I fainted’

**si brubru** property noun blindness, blind.

**si dabledabe** noun [masc] plant type. ◊ Timonius sp

**si rore rore** interjection Women shout this while washing the roots in the water during poison-root fishing..

**si sam** noun [fem] tear.

**sibuni** noun [masc] spoon.
*Note:* Loanword from English.

**sifraku** noun [plural] panpipe.
*Note:* Three or four short bamboo pieces tied together.

**sifrnu** noun [fem] grassknife.

**sikak** noun [fem] yam type.

**sikwankwan** property noun secretly, without looking.

*fi sikwankwan zuzir zfiyak.* ‘She went secretly fishing.’

**sirâ** noun [fem] yamhouse with shelves for storing the yams.
*Note:* The shelves can be also be called **sirâ**.

**siroro** noun [fem] Forest Kingfisher, Yellow-billed Kingfisher.
◊ Todiramphus macleayii or Syma torotoro

**sirsir** noun [masc] feathertail glider. ◊ Acrobates pygmaeus

**sisifäfth** noun [masc] charcoal.

**sisikwan** property noun coincidence. *ni sisikwanme zathäzuse.* ‘We bumped accidentally into each other.’

**sisigwth** noun [plural] charcoal bits.
*Note:* This word described small burned pieces on roasted food (yam, cassawa, sweet potato).

*see:* **skosko**

**sirs** noun head down. *sisr keräs!* ‘Put your head down!’ *sisrm ze٥iyyak.* ‘He comes with his head down.’

**sisthgsi**

1. *positional verb* be sticking out.

*giri wsithgr bâwzön.* ‘The knife sticks out of the wall.’

2. *verb* stick out.

**sitau** proper noun male personal name.

**si yawaryawar** noun [masc] tree type. ◊ Syzygium sp

*Note:* The fruit is small and
pink. They taste very sour and one will cry. The word si means “eye” and yawar means “tears” in Wära.

skiski noun [fem] platform, sitting platform.

skosko noun [masc] charcoal pieces.
Note: usually from burning yam scraps or taro scraps, mostly the skin.

skwri also: yazi skwri noun [fem] coconut soup. yazi skwri wäfiyokwr ‘He makes coconut soup.’
Note: Coconut flesh mixed with water and eaten cold.

smärki proper noun people from the West.
Note: This term is egocentric and its reference depends on the village using the word. For Rouku, it refers to the people of Indorodoro and further west.

sn noun [masc] taro stem.
Note: The part of the taro that will be replanted.

snzä noun [masc] crayfish (river).

sogsi verb ascend, climb up. nzä miyamr worä yazi sogsi. ‘I don’t know how to climb a coconut.’ nze nafan zwasogwé. ‘I have brought it up for her.’

soka noun [fem] soccer.
Note: Loanword from English.

sosfen noun [fem] saucepan.
Note: Loanword from English.

srak noun [masc] boy, brother.

srar noun [masc] Yellow-billed Kingfisher. Syma torotoro

srarsrar property noun disrespect, show off.

sre bi noun [masc] sago type.

srf noun [masc] fringe-lipped mullet. Crenimugil heterochelos

srfe noun [flex] a person that is limping. srfe yanribakwr. ‘He came limping.’

sríma kabe noun [masc] scout, spy. sríma kabe kar zukrwørn th fof. ‘Those spies were really blocking off the village.’

srízi verb push an object into something. girí with fren wäsrisr. ‘He pushed the knife into the banana stem.’ girí yame banbanen wäsrisr. ‘He pushed knife underneath the mat.’

srízi verb send sombody to do something. nze Iven yasrizé moreheadfo sükufa zrinr. ‘I am sending Ivan to Morehead to bring tobacco.’

srínz noun [masc] rainbow.

srug noun [fem] yam type.

ssamthë noun [masc] milkwood. Taberna montana orientalis
Note: The liquid from the stalk is applied to the navel of a newborn.

ssäbth noun [masc] plant type.

ssfr noun plural little, red spots from a skin rash or scabies.

sthë noun [masc] goanna type.
Note: This goanna type lives in the forest.

sthge noun [masc] little toe, pinkie.

sthkäs proper noun place name.

st noun [masc] doughwood.

ssfr noun [plural] little, red spots from a skin rash or scabies.
tree is chewed by children like gum. Its bark is sprinkled in the yamhouse to deter rats.

**st** noun [masc] Tawny-breasted Honeyeater. ◊ *Xanthotis flaviventer*

**sukawi** proper noun male personal name.

**sukrat** property noun firmness, straight. **sukrat ykogr.** ‘He stands firmly.’ **sukratme gnäkuk!** ‘You stand firmly!’

**surita** noun [masc] tree type. ◊ *Endiandra sp*

**susa** noun [masc] sharp stick. Note: sharp stick for a wallaby trap, pointed stick to punch a hole through bark, or a spear for attacking.

**süfi** noun [masc] floating grass. ◊ *Poaceae sp*

**süfr** noun tree type. Note: used to make the bull-roarer *yofoyofo*, grows in the forest.

**sümraksi**

1. positional verb be open. **no yfö wsümthgr.** ‘The waterhole is open.’ **woz wsümthgr squmäre.** ‘The bottle is open without a cork.’
2. verb widen, enlarge, extend.

**sün** property noun dirt, dirty.

**süsübäth** property noun darkness, dark.

**süsüfr** also: **sisifr** noun [masc] plant type. ◊ *Polyathia sp*
Note: used as spring for a trap. It has a medical use; its bark is mixed with water against cough.

**sütr** noun [flex] wallaby, middle sized wallaby.

**swänze** proper noun place name.

**swäri** noun [masc] milkwood. ◊ *Astonia actiniphila*
Note: This tree is used as a glutetree. Women sometimes drink the liquid to start the flow of breast milk after giving birth.

**sweki** noun [fem] Brown Quail. ◊ *Coturnix ypsilophora*

**swi** noun [masc] Eastern Great Egret. ◊ *Ardea alba*

**szsi** verb call, ask. *wati, sasa “ra yf rü?”* ‘Then I asked him: “What is the name of this?”’ **naf fi yiszé.** ‘He calls him.’ ‘He calls out for him.’

**szsi** verb call, ask. *wati, sasa “ra yf rü?”* ‘Then I asked him: “What is the name of this?”’ **naf fi yiszé.** ‘He calls him.’ ‘He calls out for him.’

**taba** adjective plenty, much, a lot of sth.. Note: loanword from Motu

**taba riri borsi** noun [fem] game where children shoot arrows through a ring (*taba riri*) that rolls on the ground..

**tabbru** numeral five.

**tabrü** noun [fem] navel.

**tabuthui** numeral five.

**tabuthui nibo** also: **nibo** numeral six.

**tadan** noun [masc] grass type. Note: little round spiky seeds stick to clothes.

**tafariri** noun [masc] plant type. ◊ *Tabernaemontana papuana*

**tafko** noun [fem] hat.

**tafko** noun [fem] hat.

**tafko** noun [fem] hat.

**ttafko** also: **ttafko** noun [masc] tree type. ◊ *Macaranga sp*
Note: The tree’s large leaves
can be used as a hat.

tafo adjective dried, shrunk.

tafotafo noun [fem] yam, yam sucker.

Note: small yams that are tied up in bundles and then hung to the roof of the yamhouse. There are often planted in bundles.

taft noun [masc] tree type.

Note: bark is used for grass skirts.

tag noun [masc] bee type, very small entrance hole.

taga noun [masc] leaf.

tainam noun [fem] mosquito net.

tak noun [masc] pandanus.

⋄ Pandanus sp

Note: used for making grass skirts, roots are soaked and then smashed.

talapia noun [masc] climbing perch. ⋄ Anabas testudineus

Note: introduced species, loanword from Malay

tamdā noun [masc] mole, birthmark.

tametame property noun imitation. naf noyn tametame safiyoth. ‘He was mimicking the rain (during rain magic).’

tamn also: tämn noun [masc] pandanus type. ⋄ Pandanus sp

Note: grows in the forest. used for weaving.

tar noun [flex] friend.

tarawat noun [fem] law, taboo.

Note: loanword from Motu.

tarazū noun [fem] headdress.

Note: This refers to a headdress made from cassowary feather. A row of little bundles of feathers is pointing upwards from the forehead.

see: dīfr

tarazū noun [masc] pandanus.

⋄ Pandanus sp

Note: This plant is dried and used for weaving mats.

tarku noun [fem] mudhole (for pigs, deer, crocodiles).

tartar noun [fem] long bamboo with a fork, that is used to reach sth. up in a tree oder to break of branches.

taruba numeral two hundred sixteen (216).

tatkwonam noun [masc] tree type.

⋄ Endiandra sp

Note: no use recorded

tatn fiyaf noun [fem] hunting technique.

Note: This refers to a hunting technique practised during the rainy season. A hunter goes to small piece of land which is surrounded by water. He makes used of the limited space for game to flee.

tauri also: tawri noun [flex] wallaby (bush wallaby).

tauritauri noun [masc] tree type.

⋄ Diplanchia hetrophila

Note: wallabies are often found around this tree, especially when it flowers.

tauri zm noun [fem] mourning costume (for a woman / covers the upper body part).

tawakotawako also: ttawako noun [fem] Grey-crowned Babbler. ⋄ Pomatostomus temporalis

tawar noun [fem] inside of a yam.

Note: a skin of roasted yam can be easily removed. The
Dictionary

fibery inside part is tawar. Can be used metaphorically to describe that something is real.

tawasri noun [fem] bow bracer.
tyō adjective ripe, dry.
tātū noun [masc] coconut shell.
tāwāb noun [masc] bamboo type.
        ♦ Bamusa sp

tāwtāw property noun stupidity, dumb.
tbūtbū noun [plural] wrist.
tdari adjective yellow.
teba noun [masc] timber.
        Note: loanword from English

tef also: teftef noun [masc] spot.
        ‘dagu teftefkarā yē.’ The dagu python is spotted.

tek adjective while, time. tekmar zāgathinz. ‘The is not much time left.’
tern noun [masc] tree type.
        ♦ Melaleuca sp

tfitfi noun [masc] whirlwind, little tornado.
tfiyy noun [masc] small bandicoot kind.
tfkak noun [masc] grass type.
        ♦ Poaceae sp

tfotfo manner adverb almost, close.
tfrfr noun [masc] tree type.
        ♦ Fegria sp
        Note: used for timber (house posts)
tgafii noun [masc] club.
        Note: usually a root that has grown a thick part on one end.
tiftf noun [masc] counting tally.
        kabei wawa tif tif yfathw. ‘the man is holding the yam counting tally.’
tiftf noun [fem] yam type.
timer noun [masc] tree type.
        ♦ Mallotus sp
        Note: bark with water is given to dogs in order to bite better

timur noun [masc] tree type, ap-tree, mangosteen. ♦ Garcinia huntstenii
        Note: bark used for sgeru

tingwā also: dingwā noun [masc] tree type. ♦ Abrus sp
        Note: The seeds of this plant were used to write in the dust on the ground in the Mission school

tiña noun [masc] Eclectus Parrot (female). ♦ Eclectus roratus
        see: krara

tiwagsi verb break through, poke through. nzā kērāfī zātwithā. ‘I broke through the floor.’
tiyar noun [masc] spear for fishing (thrown by hand).
tiyaw noun [fem] bird type.
tkrafet noun [masc] sailfin glassfish. ♦ Ambassis agrammus

tkwitkwi property noun windy, curving, meandering. yars tkwitkwi yakwiro. ‘The river is meandering.’
tmana also: tman noun [masc] big bandicoot (sharp nose).
tmatm noun [fem] method, way, time, action.
tmā noun [masc] strength.
tnāgsi verb lose, scatter.
tnezsi verb test, try, taste. kwa yatnezr basikolr. ‘He will try to ride a bicycle.’ nze nasi thutnezr. ‘I tasted the long yams.’
tnoraksi verb shape something from mud.
tnz adjective short.
tobetobe noun [fem] competition,
race. _eda kabe tobetobe yarnoth mane zöbthé bobo sräthor._ ‘The two man are racing, who will arrive there first.’ _tobetobe kwärärth dagon fsisin._ ‘The were competing in counting yams.’

tofar _noun_ [masc] sago part.
_Note:_ This is the top part of the palm, which is too soft to process. This part is cooked in the ground oven.

togtog _noun_ [masc] sound of a small kundu drum, sometimes used to describe the small kundu drum _gafas_.

toku _property noun_ carry somebody on the shoulders (with their legs around the neck). _tokume wzänzr_ ‘He carries her on the shoulders.’

tokutoku _noun_ [fem] Bar-shouldered Dove. ◊ _Geopelia humeralis_

tokuya _noun_ [masc] Palm Cockato. ◊ _Probosciger aterrimus_

tonze _adjective_ close.

tora _also:_ _toro_ _noun_ [fem] dog whistle.
_Note:_ made from a small coconut shell.

tosai _noun_ [flex] baby.

tothetothe _property noun_ tickle, tingle. _nze tothetothe wä-fiyokwé_ ‘I tickle her.’

tot _noun_ [masc] nail, fish prong.

totoman _noun_ [masc] cockroach.

toya _noun_ [plural] lightning.

töfä kam _noun_ [masc] hip bone.

töna _noun_ [fem] high ground.
_Note:_ This word refers to land which does not get flooded during the rainy season. It is a good place for gardens and settlements.

**trag**
(1) _noun_ [fem] treefork.
(2) _noun_ [fem] road junction.

**traksi**
(1) _middle verb_ fall. _nzä yatrukwe_. ‘I fall down.’ _fi zätra zrinma_. ‘He fell because it was too heavy.’

(2) _verb_ drop. _giri wtrakwr_. ‘She dropped the knife.’ _be satr!_ ‘You drop it! (or him)’

**trakumgsi**
(1) _positional verb_ be smashed, be in little pieces. _tätü wtrakumthsgr_. ‘The coconut shell is broken in little pieces.’

(2) _verb_ smash.

**trari** _noun_ [masc] strong, muscular man.

**trazümnszi also:_ rÄzünzsi**
(1) _positional verb_ be sitting in an improper way.

(2) _middle verb_ sit in an improper way.

**tränsi** _verb_ carve, sharpen. _garda ka tan sftränwrme_. ‘We were carving a small canoe.’ _naf nabi ytränwr_. ‘He carves the bow.’

**trd** _noun_ [fem] black palm. ◊ _Licuala sp_
_Note:_ grows along the river.

**trikasi**
(1) _noun_ [fem] story. _trikasi zbo zwaythik_. ‘The story has come on an end here.’

(2) _verb_ report. _gafydbo fi kwa ytrikwé_ ‘I will report him to father.’

(3) _ditransitive verb_ tell. _nze trikasi_
nafanm yatrikwa. ‘I told them the story.’ be nzun kwatrif! ‘Tell me!’

trisi verb scratch. nabi ker thé frk-thé zraru thé jof zatrinz jbo.
‘When the end of the bamboo is red, then you scratch along here.’ tosai wtrinze ‘I scratch the small girl.’

trkr noun [fem] flood.

trn noun [fem] chest.

trnä noun [fem] stalk of a coconut leaf.

tro noun [masc] python type.

dot Melaleuca sp

Note: used for timber, bark used as torch.

trn noun [masc] southern tandan.

dot Neosilurus equinus

trraw also: trraw noun [fem] Rufous-bellied Kookaburra.
dot Dacelo gaudichaud

trtha
(1) noun [masc] life. nzenme fathasi trtha mrnren ‘in our marriage life’ nof ane fof trtha thwarithrm. ‘The rain gave them life.’

(2) adjective raw, alive. zena ausi trtha zră. ‘The old woman is alive here today.’ fisor bră. trtha komnzo ră. ‘There is the turtle. It is still alive.’

tru noun [masc] palm type.

dot Hydriastele sp

Note: used for flooring, the leaf can be used for wrapping sago, or for making the trough in which the sago is caught.

trtrru noun [fem] current, stream of water.

trū noun [masc] tree type.

dot Melaleuca sp

tthe noun [fem] burning (second cycle).

ttauri noun [masc] spider.

ttfö noun [fem] creek.

ttfö ker noun [fem] the start of a creek, the thinnest part.

ttfö minz also: ttfo minzminz noun [fem] small creek, thin end of a creek.

ttfö zfhth noun [fem] mouth of a creek.

ttraym noun [masc] goanna type (lives in the forest).

ttüsi
(1) positional verb be printed. kd brubrun yttūthgr. ‘The star is printed on the drum.’

(2) verb write, print, mark. brubru yttūnā. ‘He carves patterns into the drum.’

tuba noun [masc] tree type.

dot Melicope sp

Note: dried resin burns like candles, used for timber

tubag noun [masc] harpoon.

tubatub noun [fem] small hill, mound.

tufarawa noun [masc] New Guinea Harpy Eagle. dot Harpyopsis novaevaneae

tuof property noun heat, drought, hot, dry.

tura noun [flex] friend.

Note: Loanword from Motu

turama noun [masc] python (general).

turarb noun [masc] plant type.

dot Bridelia sp

Note: edible fruit

turasī verb kiss.

turatu noun [masc] fish wrapper.

Note: bamboo cage that holds
one or two fish for roasting over the fire and transportation. Note: masc
turd  proper noun  term used to describe the Kiwai people.
tuth  noun  [masc] tree type. ♦ Gnetum gnemon
Note: used for firewood, young tree is used to make fishing nets, edible fruit.
  see: fodä
tut  noun  [fem] coconut shoot when it is still closed.
tuti  noun  [masc] branch.
tutufri  noun  [fem] coconut, very small, unripe coconut.
tuwari also: twari  noun  [masc] comb.  fi twarime yarbťakwur.
  ‘He combing himself with a comb.’
tuwarituwari also: twaritwari  noun  [masc] plant type.
  ♦ Schizaea dichotoma
tüf  noun  [fem] soft ground by the river.
Note: This is a thick layer of floating grass, which one can walk on. Sometimes sweet potato is planted on it.
tüfr  quantifier  many.
tümäga  proper noun  place name.
tümäna  noun  [fem] lime powder, slaked lime, calcium hydroxide.
tütü  noun  [fem] Pheasant Coucal. ♦ Centropus phasianinus
Note: This bird held the fire and knowledge about it before people knew about its use. tütü is said to look like yaka tüfr.
twir  noun  [masc] earring / plug ornament.
twitwi  noun  [masc] Grey-crowned Babbler. ♦ Pomatostomus temporalis

twtw also: ttw
(1) property noun  inertness, lethargy, apathy.  wiram zokwasi keke ńarize. twtw nn. ‘We don’t understand Suki. We are closed up.’
ttw bzamar. ‘He gave up his hope. (lit.: “S/he saw the closing-up”)’
(2) property noun  closed up, without any space. kar ttw zwermänth. ‘They (the headhunters) closed up the village without escape.’

TH

thaba  noun  [fem] clearing, area of grassland surrounded by forest.

thabr  noun  [plural] arm.

thabthksi also: thabthknsi  middle verb  move, something moves underneath, only its impact on the surface is visible. jovosanzo kwathabr kwosir zethkäf. ‘Only his heart was beating. He was about to die.’
yabrm yathabrth non. ‘The mullet is swimming underneath the water surface.’  ra yathabr xrvfön? ‘What are you chewing in the mouth?’

thaf  property noun  bitter.

thafraksi  verb  mix.  zokwasi komnzo ththafrakwrmth. ‘They were just mixing the languages.’  be knm ńayzikara kathafrakwé! ‘You must not mix this (food) with coconut!’
thaftkksi

(1) *positional verb* be separated. 
mät ethafthgrn. ‘The twins are separated.’

(2) *verb* separate. keräfi ethafthkwé ‘I separating/pushing apart the pieces of the black palm flooring.’

thaifaksi *verb* bring out to the open, bring to everyone’s attention, to arrive in a village. 
frzitho wath sathay-fath. ‘They brought the dance to village square in Forzith.’ 
fam thānthayufe! ‘Voice your thoughts!’

thak *noun* [fem] place, sacred place. 
mni thak rä. ‘It is a fire place.’

Note: This word is considered somewhat archaic. It occurs most times with mni ‘fire’

thakthak *noun*

(1) [fem] law, taboo. 
dobakwr mayawaneme menz yé. keke yanathrth. thakthak rä. ‘The eelfish is the mayawa’s totem. They don’t eat it. It is taboo.’

diburan kwa yfatthwrth yare zanma. thakthak rä. ‘They will look him up for beating the wife. It is the law.’

(2) [masc] God.

thakuthaku *noun* [masc] insect type.

Note: little white insects which eat through flywood in houses

thaminthamin *noun* [fem] flickering sensation in the air above a fire or hot ground. 
thaminthamin ukogr baden. ‘The heat is standing on the ground.’
thaminthamin wmarwé. ‘I see the ‘hot air’.’

thamsaksi *also: thmsaksi*

(1) *positional verb* be spread out. 
yame wthamsthgr. ‘The mat is spread out.’

(2) *verb* spread out a mat or leaves on the ground, sheets of paper on the table.

thamtham *property noun* struggling, trying one’s best. 
nze thamtham wåruthé. ‘I am struggling.’

thanzsi *verb* open, remove the barks from oven or house roof. 
mnz thanzsikaf rä. ‘The house has some holes in the roof.’

tharasi

(1) *positional verb* be underneath. 
giri utharthgr yamen. ‘The knife is underneath the mat.’

(2) *verb* put underneath.

tharbar *noun* [fem] cage to keep animals.

tharfka *also: ththarfka*

(1) *noun* [masc] rib.

(2) *noun* [masc] thin sticks that support the barks on the roof.

thari *property noun* style, stylish.

tharisi *verb* dig. 
duga ytharinzé. ‘I dig the taro.’
yfö utharinzake. ‘We dug a hole.’

tharthar *locational side.* 
yars thartharenzo, keke fzen ‘only along the riverside, not in the forest’
nzone mnz thartharen fobo fefe zaföfa. ‘It burned really on the side of my house.’
tharthar uaf noun [masc] roof beams on the side.

tharuksi
(1) positional verb be in an open container. rokar gardan etharuthgr. ‘The things are in the canoe.’
(2) verb put something in a open container, for example a dish or a canoe.

thatha noun [masc] sugar cane.

thathathatha noun [masc] grass type. Poaceae sp
Note: This plant is similar to sugar cane. It grows in melaleuca forests. Insects are hanging on it during high tide and fish gather underneath to eat the insects. It is edible and tastes sweet like sugarcane.

see: thatha

thäbu noun [masc]
Note: An archaic term for ‘hair’ was efi, only found in place names like thm efi. hair.

thäfäm noun [plural] waves, ripples in the river.

see: mänümänû

thäfrsi
(1) positional verb be covering something. gwnyame ethäfrsthgr. ‘The clothes are covering (something).’
(2) verb cover something, for example with barks, a blanket or a yam.

thäknsi verb jolt, shake.

thärkusi verb drag.

(1) middle verb crawl. dö ythärkunzrm. ‘The goana was crawling.’
(2) verb drag. frismané kabe ythärkunoth. ‘The two police-men drag the man away.’

thäsi verb split in half. wawa za-thäf! ‘split the yam in half!’

thäzüraksi
(1) verb bump into.
(2) ditransitive verb help, support.

thbathb noun [masc] stick, part of a trap.
Note: This stick holds acts as a lock of a trap. It holds the tension of a bent bamboo and when touched by an animal it will release the tension.

thboth noun [masc] ant (small black).

thd noun [masc] middle.

thd nzm noun middle toe, middle finger.

thebum noun [masc] lid.
Note: A lid that goes over the opening of a bottle or container.

see: sgu

thefath mni noun [fem] bushfire, first cycle of burning the grass.

thenzgsi verb roll.

thesaksi verb get rid of.

thf noun [masc] plant type. Alphitonia incana

thfäsi
(1) prefixing verb jump. bä gneth-fär! ‘You jump!’ fi äthfän. ‘They (2) are jumping.’
(2) middle verb fly. fi yathfänzrth ‘They (3+) fly.’ bä kethfär! ‘You fly!’

thfigsi transitive verb push.

thfitar noun [fem] swamp eel. Ophisternon gutturale

thfn noun [masc] skin of the snake.

thfn kaboth kwafkathr. thfn fkasikaf ythn. ‘The snake has skinned itself. The peeled skin
lies there.’
thfuksi verb cover (with leaves).

thg noun [masc] soft part above the collarbone.
thgathg noun [fem] area that has been burnt in the forest, usually very bumpy and uneven ground.
thgusi
(1) prefixing verb forget. ythgunzr ‘He forgets.’
(2) verb forget, mix up. bone yf nze wthganz ‘I forget your name.’

thikyasi verb tie the fence.
thkar property noun hardness, difficult.
thkäfksi verb start, begin.
thkrthkhr noun [masc] calf.

thm noun [fem] nose.

thm di kwan noun sound made while sleeping, high pitched little moans.

thm dnzü noun [masc] bar across the front of a house.

thm drr kwan noun sound made while sleeping, snoring.

thm ggrb noun [masc] nasal septum (lit. nose soft-part).

thm sam noun [masc] snot, mucus.

thm snä noun [masc] plant type. ♦ Croton sp

thmdr noun [masc] beetle (big, lives on the coconut).

thmthm noun [fem] behalf. nzone thmthmen gnyaké! ‘You go on my behalf!’ nafathmthmen wawa säsinth. ‘They put the yams down for him.’

thng noun strength.

thnin noun [masc] trap (a bamboo cage to catch pigs, wallabies or bandicoots).

thnzös also: thdös noun [masc] bark of the kwim or asiga tree. Note: dry pieces are used to start a fire.

thofiksi verb disturb. nzü yathayé wathofikwrth dagon mnin. ‘The dogs disturb me in cooking the food.’

thog noun [masc] small spear from bamboo.

thomgsi also: thobgsi ditransitive verb help by contributing and supporting.

thomonksi
(1) positional verb to be piled up (firewood).
(2) verb make fire! (lit.: pile up the fire!). nni zathomon! ‘You (go and) make fire!’

thoraksi
(1) prefixing verb appear.
(2) verb search, make appear, find.

thorsi
(1) positional verb be inside a closed container. tauri wthkagr tharbaren. ‘The wallaby is inside the cage.’
(2) verb fill, put inside (a closed space). giri wthorthé yarefo. ‘I put the knife into the bag.’

thräksi verb stop, block.

thrfam noun [fem] Daniel’s catfish. ♦ Cochlefelis danielsi

thrgwon noun [masc] dusty, dry wood.
Note: used to start a fire

thrgr noun [fem] soft spot above the collarbone.

thrma temporal later.

thrsi verb tear, widen. trutruf ane fof zathrfako. ‘The current widened it.’

thruthru noun [masc] bamboo
type. ♦ Bambusa sp

thisi verb snap off, break off.
   Note: usually something that is joined a one point like a small branch on a tree

ththaksi positional verb be attached, be sticking in. faren wththagr ‘It is attached to the post.’
(2) verb attach, pin, nail.

ththfaksi verb wipe. mth kâththf! ‘Wipe your face!’

ththfr adjective crazy, funny, clown-like.

thuthf kinship noun [flex] in-laws, tambus. nzuthuthf kabe erâ. ‘They are my in-laws.’

thusi positional verb to be folded. fefa wththagr. ‘The paper is folded.’
(2) verb fold. tabiyé naf wâthunzr. ‘He is making a fist to her. (lit. folding fingers)’
   Note: can be used for counting, e.g. folding one’s fingers.

thuwak also: thwak noun shoulder.

thü noun [masc] tree type, melaleuca. ♦ Melaleuca sp
   Note: medical use, steam is from boiled leafes can be inhaled or used to wash
(2) noun [masc] rope from the thü tree, thin rope to tie posts together. thü myuknsikaf ythn. ‘The rope laying there is twisted.’

thwaithwai also: thuwaithuwai noun [masc] tree type. ♦ Elaeocarpus sp
   Note: medical use, bark is mixed with water against cough and asthma.

thwâ noun [fem] triangular shield catfish. ♦ Sciades leptaspis

thwâ fefe noun [fem] berney’s catfish. ♦ Neoarius berneyi

thweksi middle verb be happy.
   fi yathwekwrth anema fof yamazokwrth. ‘They are happy and therefore they are jumping.’

thythy property noun nuisance, mucking around, jump around. katan nge thythy yafiyokwr. ‘The small child is jumping/fooling around.’

thzi noun [fem] sugar glider.

U

u kwan noun [fem] sound of fire (when it cracks high up in the bamboos).

ufai noun [flex] boss, supervisor.

un adjective big.

W

wabat also: wabt noun [masc] spade, shovel.

wawbaw property noun stupid, full of oneself, doing things the wrong way.

wad noun [masc] tree type. ♦ Carallia brachiata
   Note: The burnt bark of this tree is used a black paint.

waga noun [fem] leg.

wagrsi verb meet.

wako noun [fem] manta type, big stingray.
wakusi verb pick up, evaporate.  

efothf no ywakunzr. ‘The sun evaporates the rain (puddles).’

wakwak property noun slim.

wamamogo proper noun place name.

waniwani
(1) noun [masc] picture, video, movie.
(2) noun [fem] shadow of a person.

wano also: wanonwo property noun hidden, it usually implies that something is hidden for selfish reasons.  

bone sukufa wanoth érâ.  

‘Your tobacco is hidden. You are a greedy man.’

wanzo noun [fem] dream.  

fi wanzo yrugr. ‘He is dreaming.’

war noun [fem] top part.  

wawa werenzo erâ.  

‘The yams are not really planted. (lit.: The yams are just in the top.)’

ané kofâ waren eyak. ‘These fish swim below the surface. (lit.: These fish go in the top.)’

wara nabi noun [fem] bow type, the bowstring is taken off.

warfo locational above, up, on top.  

tabeta warfon nima yasinzrth. ‘They roast it on top of the grill.’  

nima gwargwaren yé waga warfo erâ. ‘He is stuck in the mud with his legs above.’

wari noun [masc] Indian coral tree.  

◊ Erythrina variagata

wariknsi transitive verb stir.  

no mni wwariknwé. ‘I stir the hot water.’

wark noun [masc] size.  

mor mane erâ nima wark erâ. ‘As for the planting yams, they are about this size.’  

nima wark mane yé srâkorth togog. ‘As for this size (of drum), they call it togog.’

Note: The phrase nima wark ‘like this size’ is usually accompanied by an appropriate gesture indicating the size or by pointing to a comparable sized object.

warksi middle verb howl.  

ęatha yâwarkwrth. ‘The dogs are howling.’

waro property noun theft, unlawful, thievish, fraudulent.  

kma waror mgunyaké! ‘Do not come here for stealing!’  

waro kabe zane yé. ‘This man is a thief.’  

rar waro ęafiyokwa? ‘Why did he steal this?’

warsi middle verb chew, suck.

waru noun [fem] turtle (big turtle).

wasi noun [masc] Masked Owl.  

◊ Tyto novaehollandiae

wasisi verb flash light, shine.  

tosinme sawasirm. ‘He was shining the flashlight at him.’

wath
(1) noun [masc] dance, singsing.  

wathr kwa wiyak ‘I will go for the dance.’

(2) verb [no infinitive] dance.  

fi ęyasnârwrth ‘They are dancing.’

watha noun [masc] tree type.  

◊ Endiandra fragrans

Note: yellow fruit.

wathknsi middle verb pack up.

watik also: wati
(1) connective then, so.
(2) adjective enough.

watmame manner adverb for a day, for a short while.  

ni more-
headfo niyan watname. ‘We two go to Morehead for a daytrip.’

wauka noun [plural] red coloured clouds or evening sky.

wawa noun [fem] yam, general term for round yam.
Note: staple food

wawa mnz noun [fem] yam house.

wawor noun [flex] cripple, physically impaired person.

wayafii noun [masc] plant type, ginger.
Note: This plants is eaten against bad coughs or a blocked nose. It is also part of rain making magic.

sec: zzarfa

wayoth noun [fem] cover, leaves or branches which prevent the ground oven to burn.
Note: This term refers to leaves or branches that are put between the hot stones and the covering barks of the ground oven.

wazi noun [masc] side. bun nima wazi we sathoro! nzun nima wazi we kwagathinz! ‘You take that side (of the pig) and you leave this side for me!’ fi zé zārīta neba wazi fof. ‘He went gone across to the opposite side.’

wād noun [fem] penis, erection.

wāksi
(1) prefixing verb experience sunrise, dawn on, wake up. fi ewākr. ‘They woke up in the morning.’
(2) prefixing verb become ripe.

wāmne noun [masc] tree, general term.

wār kwan noun [fem] thunder in a distance.

wāramāka numeral seven thousand seven hundred and seven-tysix, \(6 \times 6 \times 6 \times 6 \times 6 = 7776\).

wārezsi middle verb shoot, aim, throw. dunzi yawārezé. ‘I aim (with) the arrow.’

wārowāro noun [masc] small fish that floats close to the surface.

wārwār property noun fatigue, drowsy feeling from too much heat, too strong sun. katan yatha wārwārma yrgr. ‘The small dog sleeps because of the heat of the sun.’ wārwār worā efothma. ‘I am drowsy from the sun.’

wāsi
(1) verb crack, break. zaru yawi swānzmnh o yazi tātū kma yathayē yazi zwanathrnh. ‘They were cracking the zaru nuts or the coconut shell, (so that it sounds) as if the dogs were eating the coconut shells.’
(2) middle verb happen, take place. ra krewār bōbo? ‘What is going on there?’

wāsū also: wāsi noun [masc] plant type. ♩ Ficus elastica
Note: This vine is used for string to tie the arrow tip, can grow around another and become a very big tree. The spirit woman nzürna often lives inside this tree.

wāthsi
(1) positional verb be tied around. ywāthgr. ‘It is tied around.’
(2) verb tie around, wrap.

wātku noun [masc] Australian Pel-
ican. ◊ *Pelecanus conspicillatus*

**wbäk** noun [plural] vomit.

**wegowego** property noun instability, unstable. **garda** wegowego **yarär.** mkräkwthef! ‘The canoe is moving unstably. It might capsize!’

**weksi** verb invite. **kafar kabe** thwawekurmth frzsir. ‘They invited the big people for poison-root fishing.’

**weto** property noun joy, joyful. **be bone** weto kwa **wfänzr.** ‘You will show your joy.’ **srikdbo** wiýak weter. ‘I go to Srik to welcome him / greet him.’ **weto** wörã. ‘I am joyful.’

**wezrwezr** noun [masc] obbe’s tan-dan. ◊ *Porochilus obbesi*

**wf** noun [fem] shirt, blouse. **wfär** wko-gr. ‘She stands bare-breasted.’

**wi** numeral forty six thousand six hundred and fifty six, 6x6x6x6x6 = 46.656.

**wifaza** noun [masc] seven-spot archerfish. ◊ *Toxotes chatareus*

**wimãs** noun [masc] mango. ◊ *Mangifera minor*

**winuwinu** property noun madness, crazy.

**winzgsi** transitive verb twist.

**wiram** proper noun name for suki people.

**with** noun [masc] banana. ◊ *Musa sp*

**withwith** noun [masc] plant type. ◊ *Anon (vine) sp*

Note: This plant has small edible fruit that look and taste like bananas.

**wlat** noun [masc] walking catfish. ◊ *Clarias batrachus*

Note: This is species recently introduced from the Indonesian side. loanword from Malay.

**sec:** ikan lele

**wm** noun [masc] stone.

**wmsi** noun [fem] menstruation, women’s monthly period.

**wmwm** noun [masc] tree type. ◊ *Cryptocarya sp*

Note: The scraped roots of this plant are sprinkled on tobacco leaves while they are growing to make the tobacco stronger. The bark is rough like little pebbles or stones.

**wod** noun [fem] whirlpool, swirl in the water.

**woda** proper noun place name.

**wokfaksi** middle verb change colour.

**wokraksi**

(1) prefixing verb be floating. **garda** ywokrakwr. ‘The canoe is floating.’

(2) verb float.

**woksi** verb choose.

**woku** noun [masc] skin.

**worätthé** adjective thin.

**worbin** noun [masc] oxeye herring. ◊ *Megalops cyprinoides*

**worsi**

(1) positional verb be planted. **wawa erworthgr.** ‘The yams are planted.’

(2) verb plant.

**worwor** noun

(1) [masc] banana leaf (dry).

(2) [masc] paper.

**wothm** noun [masc] woodworm.

**wotr** noun [masc] tree type (corn-beefwood). ◊ *Barringtonia sp*
Note: This tree signals good ground because it only grows on high ground. Its flowering is a sign for the begin of the planting season.

**wotu** noun [masc] stick, walking stick, fencing stick.

**woy** interjection used for clarification, reaffirmation like “Come again!” “Please say that again I didn’t understand!”

**woz** noun [fem] bottle.

**wr** noun [masc] plant type.

- **Lepisanthes sp**

**wrai** noun [masc] Black-necked Stork.

- **Ephippiorhynchus asiaticus**

**wri** property noun intoxication, drunk. *wri kwosì ämnr.* ‘He is sitting dead drunk.’

**wri no** noun [fem] alcohol.

**wrwr**

1. noun [masc] wind from the East.

2. noun [fem] time of the year when the wind changes, usually around June.

**ws** noun [masc] plant type.

- **Durandea pentagyana**

**wsws** noun [masc] plant type.

- **Combretum sp**

**wsws zra** proper noun place name.

**wth** noun [plural] faeces, exretes, waste, intestines.

**wth gaga** noun [masc] diarrhea.

**wth sikwan** noun [fem] silent gas, silent fart.

**wthsuk** noun [fem] yam type, wild yam.

Note: This yam is not eaten because it is too fibery, but people feed it occasionally to their dogs.

**wthzak** noun [masc] foot, sole.

**wtwt** property noun itchiness.

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**Ya**

**ya** property noun cry, tear. *katan tosai yanzo yanor.* ‘The small baby is only crying.’

**yafrä** proper noun female peronal name.

**yafüsi** verb open, open a door, take off a lid.

**yagusi** verb pour out liquid (general).

**yak**

1. noun [fem] race.

2. middle verb run, ride, go fast. *basikolme yakwiro sotaf.* ‘He cycles to Sota.’ *fi yákwiwrth aki kwayanen.* ‘He was running in the moonlight.’

**yak ribrib** noun [flex] fast runner.

**yaka**

1. noun [masc] yamstick, digging stick.

2. noun [masc] tree type.

- **Fontania papuana**

Note: used for making yam sticks.

**yakayaka** noun [masc] plant type.

- **Melicope sp**

**yaka tüfr** noun [masc] Greater Black Coucal.

- **Centropus menbeki**

**yakme** manner adverb fast.

**yaksi** also: **yakasi** verb help by doing something physically. *nze bâ nayakwé wámne zirn.* ‘I
help you carring the sticks.’

**yakwan** noun [masc] claw of the cassowary.

**yakwr** noun [masc] wound, sore.

**yam** noun [fem] louse.

**yam**
(1) noun [fem] footprint.
(2) noun [plural] louse, lice.
(3) noun [fem] custom, event. *naf bada yam *yabragwr. ‘She follows the ancestor’s customs.’

**yamayama** also: **yama** adjective poor.

**yame** noun [fem] mat.

**yamit** kinship noun [flex] exchange cousin.

*Note:* This word is used between the children of a direct sister exchange. The treat one another like direct siblings.

**yamüyamü** noun [fem] bamboo construction for feasts.

*Note:* Small yams or other food items are tied to this for a feast.

**yamyam**
(1) noun [fem] event, little feast.
(2) [fem] shape. *nima yamyam zafigokwé.* ‘You have to make a shape like this.’

**yanyan** noun [plural] part of a bee hive.

*Note:* This is the first section of a hive. It is usually considered waste and thrown away.

**yare** noun [fem] bag.

**yarenzsi** prefixing verb look around. *kwot gnizigrthm kabothma!* ‘You look around properly because of snakes!’ *sakar tagar werenzer.* ‘I look around for mustard leaves.’

**yarisi** ditransitive verb give. *be nafan sar!* ‘You give it to him!’ *nafan nmoth arthkhr.* ‘He gives them a sister.’

**yarizsi** middle verb hear. *yarizrth?* ‘Are you listening?’

**yarne** proper noun tribe name.

*Note:* describes some of the people from Mata, Derideri and Pongaraki whose ancestors came together from Komo.

**yaroksi** verb escort, guide.

**yarsi** porperty noun sleepiness from staying awake during the night.

**yaryomgsi** also: **riymgsi** middle verb scream.

**yase** noun [fem] animal, meat from animals.

*see:* **faso**

**yathizsi** prefixing verb suffer, die. *zi wathizr* ‘I am in pain.’

**yawabü** noun [masc] tree type.

*Note:* This tree is used to make big kundu drums.

**yawi** noun [fem] seed, fruit, round object.

**yawi yawi** noun [plural] money, small coins.

**yawi zarge** noun [masc] plante type. *Amomum aculiatium*

**yawo** greeting farewell.

**yawth** noun [fem] mound.

*Note:* This refers to a small mound in which yams are planted.

**yäfi** noun [masc] prawn.

**ybäthybäth** noun [masc] plant type. *Hornstedtia lycostoma*

*Note:* edible seeds.

**yei dödö** noun [masc] plant type. *Sida acuta*

**yei wath** noun [fem] type of dance.
Note: This is the dance of the Yei people. It is similar to besi wath and nzürna wath, but it includes people who circle around the dancers.

**yem** noun [fem] cassowary (general).  
*Casuarius casuarius*

**yemyem** noun [masc] tree type.  
*Kibawa sp*

Note: Cassowaries like to eat the small red fruit of this plant. The fruit is said to look like the red skin hanging from a cassowary’s throat.

**yf** noun [fem] name.

**yfāth ruga** noun [flex] pig given to the brothers of one’s wife without an exchange marriage.

**yfō** noun [fem] hole.

**yfr** noun [masc] tree type.  
*Syzygium sp*

Note: The bark of this tree is burned to produce black colour.

**yfrsé** adjective black.

**yifu** noun [masc] tree type.  
*Syzygium sp*

Note: Fruit eaten by cassowaries.

**yifutham** noun [fem] cassowary (short legs).

**yir** noun [fem] urine.

**yirr** noun [masc] short-finned tan-dan.  
*Neosilurus brevior-salis*

**yirwi** noun [masc] plant type.  
*Oriocalis sp*

Note: Parts of the root of this tree were used as a ball for the *bardi borsi* ‘hockey’.

**yirzi** verb throw.

**yizryizr** noun [masc] ant type.  
Note: tiny brownish ant.

**ykwasi** verb cut meat.

**ymanz efoth** noun [masc] heat. *nā kayē ymanz efoth fthē kwasyrzmr karesa sgu erzarnake wag-an efoth tuofma.* ‘Some days, when the heat of the sun was burning, we tied bark pieces on our feet because of the sun heat.’

Note: This refers to intense heat coupled with high humidity. This occurs during dry season after a rainshower.

**ymānu** noun [fem] Rufous Owl.  
*Ninox rufa*

**ymd** noun [masc] bird (general).

**ymi** noun [masc] tree type.  
*Eucalyptus corymbia*

Note: This plant is used for its good timber.

**ymnz** proper noun place name.

**ymorymor** property noun desire, want. *nze ymorymor wmarwē.* ‘I desire her.’ *nzun yaref ymorymor warzr.* ‘I desire the woman. (lit.: the woman throws ymorymor for me.)’

**ny** noun [masc] plant type.  
*Ficus sp*

**ynagsi** middle verb pass through.

**ynaksi** verb put down (non-animate).  
*see: zinaksi*

**ynk ttrū** noun [fem] Zoe’s Imperial Pigeon.  
*Ducula zoeae*

**ynzrū** noun [fem] Great-billed Heron.  
*Ardea sumatranana*

**yofegsi**

(1) verb to move in an unstable way.
(2) *verb* turn over, capsize (canoe, hammock or baby basket).

**yofi** *noun* [fem] custome, law, holy thing.

**yoganai** *adjective* tired.

**yonasi** *middle verb*  drink. *nafa sgeru yonathrth.* ‘They drink palm wine.’

**yorar** *noun* [masc] tree type.

\* Syzygium sp

*Note:* edible, sour fruit.

**yrsi** *verb* scrape the coconut or cassava.

**yrsi**

(1) *verb* weave mat.

(2) *verb* build a house.

**yrugr** *prefixing verb* [no infinitive] sleep. *ni etfth nrugrm.* ‘We were sleeping.’

*see:* etfth

**yrü**

(1) *noun* [masc] sign, signal, mark, pointer.

(2) *noun* [masc] christian cross at church.

**yrüryü** *noun* [plural] decorative clothing for dances.

**yrwi yawi** *noun* [masc] hockey ball.

**ys** *noun* [masc] thorn.

**ysokwr also: ysekwr**

(1) *noun* [fem] rainy season.

(2) *noun* [fem] year. *boba ysokwren kwa yanbrigué.* ‘I will come back next year.’

**ythama** *noun* [fem] bird of paradise. *Paradisaea raggiana*

**ythn** *prefixing verb* [no infinitive] lie down.

**yti also: yti yti**

(1) *noun* [fem] greasy liquid (from pigs or cassowaries).

(2) *noun* [fem] ritual to break the mourning period of a woman.

*Note:* A small amount of grease will be painted on her to break the mourning. After that women carry her to the river where she will wash after long time with being allow to wash.

**yto** *noun* [masc] arrow.

*Note:* This is a particular arrow with a blackpalm tip.

**yufai** *proper noun* male personal name.

**yufaksi**

(1) *verb* be bent. *tuti äyufthgr* ‘The branches are bending.’

(2) *verb* bend.

**yukrasi**

(1) *positional verb* be standing. *kabe ykogr* ‘The man is standing’ stand. *gnäkuk!* ‘You stand!’

(2) *verb* stand up. *sakuk!* ‘You stand him up!’

**yumad** *kinship noun* [flex] sister-in-law, brother-in-law.

*Note:* This word is used between a woman and the *yamit* or *naku* of her husband in their of their name.

**yumar** *noun* [masc] bird type (eagle).

**yumära** *noun* [fem] yam display post.

*Note:* Large amounts of yams are piled around this post, and each layer of yams is wrapped with bark for stability as the construction grows higher and higher. Used for harvesting competitions.

**yusi also: yüsi** *noun* [masc] grass (general).

**yüryür** *noun* [masc] veins.
yüzi

Also: yuzi noun [fem] season, time. efhar yüzi rä. ‘It is the dry season.’ tharisi yüzi rä. ‘It is the harvesting season.’

ywaythk

Prefixing verb [no infinitive] to come to an end. trikasi fof zwaythk. ‘The story has come to an end.’

ywägr

Positional verb [no infinitive] to be precariously up high.

z

Particle already.

z nm

Particle expresses uncertainty about sth. in the past. gare znm zwaniyak. ‘maybe the woman came.’

zabari nabi

Noun [fem] bow (when the bowstring is taken off).

zafat

Noun

(1) [fem] week.
(2) [fem] sunday.

Note: Loanword from English (‘sabbath’).

zafazafa

Noun [masc] yam vine stick.

Note: These yam vine sticks are short. They are planted first until the vine grows up to a particular height.

See: fitot

Zafe

Adjective old, long ago.

Zagr

Adjective far.

Zaimai garda

Noun [masc] sailing canoe.

Zaksi

(1) Positional verb anchor, position, park. garda yzthgr. ‘the canoe is anchored.’
(2) Verb

Zamenzo

Adjective naked.

Zan

(1) Transitive verb hit, kill. nze lauri kwa yfnzé. ‘I will kill the wallaby’ be fi sakwr! ‘You hit him!’
(2) Noun [fem] war, fight, murder, killing.

Zan kabe

Noun [masc] killer, head-hunter.

Zanäbū

Noun [masc] plant type.

Manilkara sp

Zane

Demonstrative this, these (the one close by).

Zanfr

Adjective tall.

Zar

Noun [masc] edge, wall. garda zar ‘the wall of the canoe’

Zarfa

Noun [masc] ear.

Zarfa sgu kabe

Noun [flex] disobedient people, delinquents.

Zarga

Noun [masc] plant type.

Alpinia sp

Zarthar

Noun [masc] papuan taipan. Oxyuranus scutellatus

Zaru

Noun [masc] tree type, candlenut. Aleurites mollucana

Note: The nuts of this plant are collected. People will boil and dry them, and sell them in Sota.

Zarzsi

(1) Positional verb tie, be tied. yad yrzarthgr. ‘The rope is tied.’
(2) Verb tie, tie together.

Zath

(1) Noun [masc] moon.
(2) Kinship noun [flex] grandfather, grandmother, grandchild.
(3) Kinship noun [flex] father in-law, mother in-law, daughter in-law.
Dictionary

Note: This word is used reciprocally between a woman and her parents-in-law instead of their respective names as well as between grandparents and grandchildren. It is somewhat archaic and most often aki is used.

see: aki

zathar noun [masc] tree type.
   ♦ Melaleuca sp
   Note: The bark of this tree is used for roofing or as a torch.

zathzath noun [masc] papuan herring. ♦ Nematalosa papuensis

zawafi noun [masc] armband.
   Note: woven or braided from rattan or string.

zawe
   (1) adjective right.
   (2) noun [feminine] hobby, preference. zuzi amane zawe rä. ‘Fishing is mother’s hobby.’
   (3) noun [feminine] side.
   see: wazi

zaza noun [masc] stick to carry, pigs is tied to a stick and then carried by two people (on the shoulder).

zazazü noun [fem] big lump of roots and soil on a fallen tree’s base.

zä deictic here (close by).

zär also: zäre noun [fem] shade. kählo bobo! käms bobo zären! ‘Go and sit there in the shade!’

zärethē adjective shadiy.

zäth property noun ignorance, rejection, refusal.

zäté noun [plural] part of a bee hive.
   Note: This refers to the walls between different sections of a hive.

zäzr adjective lazy, exhausted.

zäzr mnz proper noun place name.

zbär noun [fem] night, darkness.

zbär mrärü noun [fem] midnight when all is quiet.

zbärthē noun [masc] papuan black snake.

zedna noun crotch, joint between the legs.

zena temporal today, now.

zf deictic right here.

zfi noun [masc] rattan type.
   Note: grows on high ground.

zfro noun [masc] tree type.
   ♦ Melaleuca sp
   Note: used for timber.

zfth noun
   (1) [masc] base of sth. ane nabi zfth bë erä foba ane dö ηakwirno. ‘The base of the bamboos there, from there, the goana was running away.’ nafanme zfth kabe firra thäkwraith fof. ‘They killed their ancestors (lit. ‘base men’) in Firra.’
   (2) [fem] reason, cause. nafanme zfthenwä fi zafaroth. ‘They left for their own reasons.’ bthanane zfth ane kaf fä fof rä. ‘The origin of magic/sorcery lies really there in that place.’
   Note: This is a culturally important term. Many places are named after the base/stem of a particular plant, for example: karesa zfth, misa zfth, benzü zfth

zfthen locational below, down. bad fthé zamar rsrs rä. neba warfo rä. neba zfthen rä. ‘When
you look, you will see that the ground is a slope: high on one side and low on the opposite side.'


zi noun [masc] pain.

zi nge noun [flex] tobacco; very strong tobacco.

zfär noun [masc] wrapped package.

ziksi
(1) prefixing verb go of the side.
(2) transitive verb put someone to the side (of the road).

zimu noun [masc] snot, mucus.

zinaksi verb put down.

see: ynaksi

zinbraksi middle verb go away, pass by. nzā zwāznbr namā ezi kwamār. ‘He passed by me without saying good morning.’ bā ezinbrakwē yaken. ‘I overtook them in the race.’

zinzraksi verb replace. wotuwotu yzinzrakw bānema kwar-sirnath. ‘He replaced the fencing sticks because they burned.’

zirkn property noun persistence, insistence. zirknzo rā. ‘She is just stubborn. / She is just insisting.’

zirthé adjective wet.

ziru noun coconut shoot (when opened, even later when is has dried and fallen on the ground).

zisé property noun strong, painful.

zithzhith property noun slipping, slippery.

ziyasi verb roll string on the knee. yad yiziyanzé. ‘I roll the string.’

zizi noun [fem] afternoon, evening, namā zizi ‘good afternoon’

zkizki noun [masc] achilles heel.

zknsi also: zzknsi verb move. käzkn! ‘Move over!’ kafusi zbo wznwē. ‘I move the cup here.’

zkuzku noun [plural] raft.

Note: bambooos or tree trunks tied together

zmaksi verb estimate, study. kwot kezmath rtmsir. ‘Estimate it properly in order to cut it!’ fath yazmakwr mzn rāzsir. ‘He estimates the place for building a house.’

zmegsi
(1) positional verb mark, be marked. ane yazi wzmethgr. ‘That coconut is marked.’
(2) verb mark, put a mark on something, put the blame on someone. efoth wzmegwē. ‘I mark that day.’nze zane faf wzmegwē năraker. ‘I mark this place for (my) garden.’

zmn noun [fem] hip.

znsä noun [fem] work.

znsāznsā noun [fem] office work, book work.

znzrf noun [masc] lake grunter. ○ Variichthys lacustris

zokwasi noun [fem] language, speech, words.

zon noun [masc] plant type, legume. ○ Canavalia sp
Note: medical use: liquid from shoots is eaten against pain.

zöbthē ebar noun [flex] first born child.
zödma proper noun people from the East.
Note: This word usually refers to people from Bebdbn, Bimadbn and further East.

zöfäthak proper noun place name.

zök noun [fem] broad-snouted catfish. ♦ *Potamosilurus latirostris*

zöt noun [masc] tree type. ♦ *Grewia sp*
Note: This tree is used to make grass skirts.

zöt ḋąd noun [masc] rope.
Note: A thin rope made out of inner bark of the zöt tree.

zr noun [masc] tooth.

zr dmgu noun [masc] bee type, live in very small holes in trees.

zr kam ufaf noun [masc] roof beam.

zr kuku noun [fem] overhanging roof extension of a house.
Note: this is usually found on one end of a yam storage house. people like to sit and sleep underneath the zr kuku.

zr sam noun [fem] saliva, spit.

zra noun [fem] swamp, billabong.

zras noun [masc] grass type. ♦ *Cyperus sp*
Note: This plant is dried and used for weaving a mat. Sometimes the leaves are used instead of a mat.

zrfa locational in front of. nzone ausi fāth fi zba zrfa zwammnzrm. ‘My wife was sitting here in front.’ mnz zrfa mni ġarsirm. ‘The fire was burning in front of the house.’

zrin (1) noun [fem] problem, burden. bone zrin rā. ‘It is your problem.’
(2) property noun heaviness, heavy. wāmne zrinthē yē. ‘The tree is heavy.’
(3) verb [no infinitive] carry. fitot yzānē. ‘I carry the yamstick’ nima sfyako sugar zrinr ‘He went away to carry/bring the sugar’

zrminz noun [masc] roots (tooth + vine).

zrthē adjective sharp.

zrwar noun [fem] turtle (ocean).

zrzū noun [masc] knee.

zthē noun [masc] penis.

zuaku noun
(1) [flex] widow, widower, orphan.
(2) [fem] mourning costume for women.

zuwezuwe noun [fem] Blue-faced Honeyeater. ♦ *Entomyzon cyanotis*

zuyak (1) noun [masc] python type.
Note: This python’s skin is partly yellow and blue with some white spots.
(2) noun [masc] tree type, glue tree. ♦ *Rhodania sp*
Note: The inner bark is bright red. This part is used a glue for drumskins. It is mixed with saliva by chewing on it.

zuži noun fishing.

zuži ḋąd noun [fem] fishing line.

zuži zr noun [fem] fishing hook.

zūb property noun depth, deep. zūb yfō rā. ‘It is a deep hole.’ zūbthē yfō rā. ‘It is a deep hole.’ zūben ąabrūzr ‘He dives to the deep.’
zuibraksi
(1) positional verb be closed. nafane si ezübthgr. ‘His eyes are closed.’
(2) middle verb close eyes, pray.
(3) noun [fem] prayer, church service.
zuifi noun [masc] wasp type of insect.
züm noun [masc] centipede.
zünizüni property noun shock, surprise. nze zünizüni thufathwé. ‘I was shocked, surprised.’
Note: fixed expression for getting shocked zünizüni fathasi lit. ‘hold the zünizüni’
zünzri property noun shock, surprise.
zünzsi middle verb whimper, cry quietly. yare yazünzr nafafis kwarkaneme. ‘The woman is crying because of her late husband.’
zürb noun [masc] tree type, corn-beefwood. ∗Barringtonia sp
Note: medical use: leafes are put on wounds.
zürn noun [fem] smoke.
zürsi transitive verb crack with teeth.
zürt property noun dry.
zwäf property noun warm, lukewarm.
zwärn noun [masc] plant type. ∗Choriceras sp
Note: This plant is used for yamsticks.
zwäsi also: rzwäsi
(1) verb gossip, talk about. naf kabe yazwänzr. ‘He gossips about him.’
(2) verb make plans. fam wäzänë fiyafr. ‘We make plans for going hunting.’
zzar noun [fem] fish net.
zzarfya also: zarfazarfa noun [masc] plant type, ginger.
Note: This plants is eaten against bad coughs or a blocked nose. It is also part of rain making magic.
see: wayafü
zzin noun [masc] campbell’s tiger-perch. ∗Datnioides campbelli
zzuaku noun [masc] fly river anchovy. ∗Thryssa rastrosa
Note: The bones resemble a woman’s mourning costume (zuaku).
see: mafar
zzarzzar noun [fem] spiderweb.
Note: resembles a fishing net
see: zzar
Appendix B

Sample Texts

B.1 Nzürna trikasi

This text belongs to a genre of stories called nzürna trikasi ‘nzürna stories’. I translate nzürna with ‘devil’, ‘spirit’ or ‘witch’. Although all of these translations fall short of a full description, the nzürna character has some resemblance to witches in a western context. They are malevolent beings, usually old women, who live in the forest. They have long eyebrows and sharp fingernails, with which they disembowel people to devour them. They can change their appearance to look like a human being. They can summon and control animals, especially the centipede (züm). They often trick people who foolishly walk alone in the forest. 1

Although nzürna trikasi belong to a particular place, they are public stories. The nzürna character is often joked about. For example, one may call a person or a dog nzürna, when it roams around in the dark. Although there are many local variations of the nzürna theme, we can identify some recurring elements. First, the nzürna often lives in a tree, usually a wäsi tree. Second, most stories involve some innocent person who is killed and eaten. Third, relatives and friends of the victim take revenge by burning the nzürna.

The following nzürna story belongs to the hamlet of Firra. The narrator is Maraga Kwozi. He was born in Firra, but he told me the story in Morehead. This nzürna story deviates in two points. First, the nzürna character lives together with a husband, and they have children. Second, the nzürna character lived in harmony with the people of Firra up until she kills and eats a visitor. 2

1All texts in the appendix have been edited in the following way: (i) I corrected mistakes that came up during the transcription, (ii) I have removed overly long speech pauses, and (iii) I have lumped together some annotations and split others. All editorial changes were kept to a minimum. The unedited versions can be found in the archive under the respective source codes.

2The source code for this text is: tci20120901-01.
1. zaföwä ... fthé kabe keke kwot tüfr thfrärm
   zafë=wä (. fthé kabe keke kwot tüfr before=EMPH (. when man NEG properly plenty thfrärm
   2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be
   ‘Long time ago, that is when there were not many people’

2. thwamnzrm zane kafar baden thé z kabe enrera
   thwa\m/nzrm zane kafar bad=en thé z
   2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell DEM:PROX big ground=/Loc when ALR kabe en\rä/ra
   man 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be
   ‘and they were living here on this land. That is when people came.’

3. nä kabe thfamnzrm ... mogarkamen ... kar nima rä ... morgkam
   nä kabe thfa\m/nzrm (. mogarkam=en (. INDF man 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell (. PLACE.N=LOC village
   kar nima \rä/ morgkam
   like_this 3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/be PLACE.N
   ‘Some people lived in Mogarkam ... There is a village there ... Mogarkam’

4. okay, nä thfamnzrm firran
   okay nä thfa\m/nzrm firra=n
   okay INDF 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell PLACE.N=LOC
   ‘Okay, others lived in Firra.’

5. okay, nä fä fefe thwamnzrm mänwä kar bramöwä erä
   okay nä fä fefe thwa\m/nzrm mä=wä kar okay INDF DIST really 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell where=EMPH all
   bramöwä e\rä/
   2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
   ‘Okay, other lived really there, where all the villages (and hamlets) are.’

6. firra mrmren ... mane zfrärm ... nzürna ñare bobo zwamnzrm
   firra mrmr=en (. mane zf\rä/rm (. nzürna
   PLACE.N inside=LOC (. which 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (. spirit
   ñare bobo zwa\m/nzrm
   woman MED.ABL 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell
'As for Firra, a nzûrna woman lived in the village.'

7 nzûrna ñare nafafisrwä thfrum

nzûrna ñare nafa-fis=r=wä spirit woman 3.POSS-husband=ASSOC.DU=EMPH thf\rn/m 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

‘The nzûrna woman was with her husband.’

8 nafafis yf nagawa ... tnztnz kabe sfrârm

nafa-fis yf nagawa (.) tnz-tnz kabe 3.POSS-husband name PERS.N (.) REDUP-short man sf\râ/rm 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

‘His name (was) Nagawa ... He was a short guy.’

9 nafane ñare ... nzûrna ñare fof yf mane zfrârm zafo ... nafrr thwamrnm

nafane ñare (.) nzûrna ñare fof yf mane 3SG.POSS woman (.) spirit woman EMPH name which zfr\râ/rm zafo (.) nafrr 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be PERS.N (.) 3DU.ASSOC thwam\rn/m 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

‘His wife ... the nzûrna woman whose name was Zafo ... He lived with her.’

10 wati, mä fefe thwamrnm wäsü ... nafanme mnz zfrârm

wati, mä fefe thwam\rn/m wäsü (.) nafanme then where really 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell PROP.N (.) 3NSG.POSS mnz zf\râ/rm house 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

‘Where they really lived (was) the Wäsü tree ... it was there house.’

11 wäsü kafar sukogrm ... ane yfö=n thuthkrnm

wäsü kafar su\kogr/m (.) ane yfö=n PROP.N big 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR:STAT/stand (.) DEM hole=LOC thu\thkr\rn/m 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR:STAT/be.inside

‘There was a big Wäsü tree standing ... They were inside that hole.’
12 **boba mnz nafanme zfrärm mä thwamrm**

boba mnz nafanme zfrärm mä thwamrm mä
MED.ABL house 3NSG.POSS 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be where
2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell

‘This was their house, where they were living’

13 **firra kar mrnr-en kabe thwamnzrm fobo**

firra kar mrnr-en kabe thwamnzrm fobo
PLACE.N village inside=LOC man 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell DIST.ALL

‘People were living over there in the village of Firra.’

14 **kabe fhé kwarfakunzrmth fhé thfyakm**

kabe fhé kwarfakunzrmth fhé thfyakm
man when 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/sprinkle when 2|3PL:SBJPST:DUR/walk

‘When the people spread out, when they went ...’

15 **nima ḷarake zn=fo o fiyafr o ... nima efothen ... etfthmöwä fhé thfyakm**

nima ḷarake zn=fo o fiyafr o ... nima efothen ... etfthmöwä fhé thfyakm
like_ this fence place=LOC or hunting=PURP or (.) like_ this
efothen=en (.) etfthmöwä=emph thfyakm
day=LOC (.) sleep=INS=EMPH when 2|3PL:SBJPST:DUR/walk

‘like this to the garden place or hunting or during the day ... or when went overnight’

16 **ane nzürna ḷare ausi fof kwänzinzr ... fi zwanyakm**

ane nzürna ḷare ausi fof kwänzinzr...
DEM spirit woman old woman EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:ITER:VENIT/replace
(.) fi zwanyakm
(.) 3.ABS 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/walk

‘that nzürna woman, that old woman always took over they place ... she came.’

17 **gatha kar fhé thumarwrm ... gathagathame thfnakwrmth mnz gatha kar.**

gatha kar fhé thumarwrm ...
( . ) gathagathame thfnakwrmth
when 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/see ( . ) bad=INS
thfnakwrmth mnz gatha kar
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/put.down house rubbish

‘when she saw the rubbish ... they had carelessly put down the rubbish in the house’
18 dōdō thfēfāf ane zurenwrmo mnz fath thwafiyokwrm
    dōdō  thfē\fāf/  ane
broom 2[3SG:SBJ>2][3PL:OBJ:ITER/hold DEM
zu\ren/wrmo  mnz  fath
thwā\fiyok/wrm

‘She always grabbed the broom, swept the house and cleaned it for
them.’

19 nafanme kkauna monme gathagathame thfnakwrmth kwot namāme
    thfanakwrm
nafanme  k-kauna  mon=me gathagatha=me
3NSG.POSS REDUP-stuff how=INS bad=INS
thf\nak/wrmth  kwot  namā=me
2[3PL:SBJ>2][3PL:IO:PST:DUR/put.down properly good=INS
thfa\nak/wrm
2[3SG:SBJ>2][3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/put.down

‘How they had dropped their things carelessly, she was sorting their
(things) properly.’

20 mnzen thwarakhkwramo ... mni tnztuz rā ... kwanbrigwrm nafanemāwā
    mnzfo
mnz=en  thwa\rakthk/wramo
(.
house=LOC 2[3SG:SBJ>2][3PL:IO:PST:DUR:ANDAT/put.on.top
(.
mni  tnz-tuz  rā
(.
firwood REDUP-short 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:/Ipfv/be
(.
kwan\brig/wrm  nafaneme=wā  mnz=fo
2[3SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/return 3NSG.POSS=Emph house=ALL

‘She put their (things) back in the house ... like the small firwood ...
She brought (it) back to their houses.’

21 fthé we thwanyakm thwānthor ... ane mnz woga fthé swānthor
    fthé  we  thwan\yak/m  thwān\thor/
(.
ane  mnz  woga fthé  swān\thor/
(.
DEM  house  man  when  3SG:MASC:SBJ:ITER:VENIT/arrive

‘When they were coming back, each time they arrived ... each time when
the house owner arrived’
“oh zane ṣare z nzwânyak mnz fath zf nzûrenwro zrù.”

(he said) “Oh, this woman already came. She has swept the houseyard just now.”

‘Before, the people people knew how they relations were ... only those village people.’

‘She did not attack people from that village ... because they were like friends ...’
26  *miyatha thfrärm ... nafane nagayé thfrärm naf thwamonegwrм ... kabe fefe*

`miyatha thfrã/rm (. ) nafane nagayé knowledgeable 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (. ) 3NSG.POSS children thfrã/rm naf
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be 3SG.ERG
thwamonegwrm (. ) kabe fefe
2|3PL:SBJ>PST:DOO/PST/DUR/look.after (. ) man really

‘they knew ... They were her children. She looked after them ... really (after) the people.’

27  *wati, nä kayé ... mogarkamma kabezima sfyakm firrafo*

`wati nä kayé (. ) mogarkam=ma kabezima like_this
then INDF yesterday (. ) PLACE.N=CHAR man like_this
sfyak/m firra=fo
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/walk PLACE.N=ALL

‘Well, one day, a man from Mogarkam walked this way to Firra.’

28  *wati, fi mane yara namanazokwasi woga yara*

`wati fi mane ya\r/a namanazokwasi woga then 3.ABS which 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be PROP.N language man
ya\r/a
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be

‘As for this one, he was a speaker of Nama.’

29  *firran mane thwamnzrm memazokwasi woga yara ... fthé thwamnzrm kabe*

`firra=n mane thwa\m/nzrm memazokwasi woga PLACE.N=LOC which 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell PROP.N language man
ya\r/a (. ) fthé thwa\m/nzrm kabe
3SG.MASC:PST:IPFV/be (. ) when 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell man

‘As for the ones who lived in Firra, they were speaker of Mema ... when the people lived in Firra.’

30  *wati, fi mane yaka e ‘krara krara krara’*

`wati fi mane \yak/a e until
then 3.ABS which 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/walk until
krara krara krara
sound of the coockatoo

‘Well, when he walked. “krara krara krara”’
31 *firra sathora fof with fren fof “krara krara krara”*

firra sa\thor/a fof with fr=en fof
PLACE.N 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV EMPH banana stem=LOC EMPH
krara krara krara
sound of the cockatoo

‘He arrived in Firra (and he went) between the banana stems “krara krara krara”’

32 *fi zära yakme we senis zära ... kabe wokuthé zäkora nima kabe*

fi zä\r/a yak=me we senis
3.ABS 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/do walk=INS also change
zä\r/a (.) kabe woku=thë
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/do (. ) man skin=ADJZR
zä\kor/a nima kabe
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/become like_this man

‘He quickly changed ... He became humanlike ... like a man.’

33 *ane si thäbu zanfr ra zane thfrärm ... ofe yarerath ... zäwthefa ... kabe zäkora*

ane si thäbu zanfr ra zane thfrä/rm (.)
DEM eye hair long what DEM:PROX 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:END/become (.)
ofe ña\rä/rath (. ) zä\wthef/a (.) kabe
absence 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/do (. ) 2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/change (. ) man
zä\kor/a
2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/become

‘These long eyebrows and whatever else there was ... it disappeared ... he changed ... he became a human.’

34 *watik ñare nima zräzigrm “awe nzone moba nzranyak?”*

watik ñare nima zrä\zigrm/
awe then woman like_this 3SG.FEM:SBJ:IRR:PFV/look.around come
nzone moba nzran\yak/
1SG.POSS where.ABL 2SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/VENIT/walk

‘Well, the woman was looking around (and said) “Come my (friend), where do you come from?”’
35  **naf we komnzo zära nima “oh zane ausinzo zf zagathifth”**

naf  we  komnzo  zä\r/a  nima  oh  zane
3SG.ERG  also  only  2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/do  like_this  oh  DEM:PROX
ausi=nzo  zf  za\gathifth
old  woman=ONLY  IMM  2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:PFV/leave

‘He  was  also  thinking  “Oh,  they  have  left  only  thi  old  woman  behind.”’

36  **“kabe matak erä nima z bramöwä kwafarkwrth nima erä ñarsfo” ...  “awow”**

kabe  matak  e\rä/  nima  z  bramöwä
man  nothing  2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be  like_this  ALR  all
kwa\fark/wrth  nima  e\rä/
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/set.off  like_this  2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
ñars=fo
river=ALL

“Nobody  is  here.  All  the  people  left  this  way  to  the  river.”  ...  “Okay”

39  **yamenzo srathams ... kramath with tayo yanrkunzr ... yarithr**

yam=\nzo  mat=\sra\thams/  (.)
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:IRR:PFV/spread.out  (.)
kra\math/  with  tayo
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/run  banana  ripe
yan\rku/nzr  (.)
2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/knock.down  (.)
yar\ri/thr
2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/give

‘She  spread  (the  mat)  for  him,  ran  and  knocked  down  some  ripe  banana
for  him ...  and  gave  them  to  him.’

40  **kafar fam=ä zökora nima “nzone dagonma zane zf ye. z nzyanyak”**

kafar  fam=\ä  zä\k/or/a  nima  nzone
big  thought=ASSOC  2|3SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/become  like_this  1SG.POSS
dagon=ma  zane  zf  \ye/
food  DEM:PROX  IMM  3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be  ALR
nz=yan\yak/
IPST=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/walk

‘She  had  big  thoughts  like  this  “This  one  here  is  my  dinner.  He  already
came.”’
40 bänema yrgfakwa nima “zane karma keke yé. moba zane nm nzyanyak?”

because she realized “He is not from this village. Where might he have come from?”

41 garam garam srethkäf “kwa ṣabrigwr? efoth byé!”

She started sweet-talking him “Will you return (today)? The sun setting already?”

42 “keke, zä zf kwa worugr. kwa fof thrämonesé kayé fthé thräthor.”

“No, I will sleep right here. I will wait until they return tomorrow.”

43 zbär ... faf yathamsakruth ... etfth kramnzerth

The night (came) and the spread (the mats) and they fell asleep.

44 etfth kwosi krämnzer ... ausi nzürna ɲare krebnaf “züm züm züm züm”

The night (came) and the spread (the mats) and they fell asleep.’
‘He was fast asleep! The nzürna woman woke up (and called out) “centipedes! centipedes! centipedes! centipedes!”’

subnazrm fof ... sain swarithm ... wati

‘She was really waking him up, giving him a sign ... but no.’

keke zethäkna ane

‘That one did not move.’

yaka zanrnzo srewakuth.

‘She picked up the yamstick to kill him.’

di fof safrnza kwosi.

‘She whacked him on the head (and killed him).’

kwot yanatha fä fof ... bramöwä.

‘She ate him there ... completely.’

sabtha wthnzo ezänzr. füni komnzxo bikogr firran.

‘She finished him and carried away only the intestines. The füni tree still stands in Firra.’
51 wämne ... yf füni yé ... firran bää ykogr.

The name of the tree is füni. It stands there in Firra’

52 Maraga addresses me directly now.

‘When you go there some day, you will see it ... that big tree.’

53 Marua, who sits in the back, tells him that I have been to Firra in the previous week.

‘You already went? ... (It is) here on the road, where the füni tree stands.’

54 ahe baf-en ... yakan dyanzo sarâsa.

‘At that place ... on the yamstick ... she rammed it in the ground.’

55 wth fobo fof thämira ... ahe kabeane wth. fi zâbrimako ... zâthbako mnzen.

‘At that place ... on the yamstick ... she rammed it in the ground.’
She hanged the intestines up there ... that man’s intestines! Then she went back. She went inside the house.’

56 *nafafis oromanf zrues fosf* “be ranzo änfiyokwr, ah? ... bä moba nrä? ... mä nznrgr?”

Her husband, the old man, asked her “Just what have you been doing, hey? Where are you coming coming from? Where have you slept?”

57 “mä kwa! bä fosf zämnzeré ... zbärm.”

“Where do you think? I slept there because it got night.”

58 “*nagayaneme znsän zwäfonz. ane gathagathame kkauna mane egathik-wroth.*”

“I was caught by nightfall while working for the children (sorting) those things which they leave scattered around.”

59 *nafafis miyamr.*

‘Her husband had no idea.’
60 fi thé enthora'kwa ... mnz kabe fof ... nima thäzigrma

fi fthé en\’horak/wa
3.ABS when 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/arrive (. ) house people EMPH
(. ) nima thä\'zigrm/a
(. ) like this 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/look

‘At that time the house owners returned. They looked around like this.’

61 “nä tmatm ffé nzayawänzr ... manema kabe zä naf nzyanathr?”

nä tmatm fefe nz=ya\’wä/узr
INDEF event real IPST=2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/happen (. ) which=CHAR
kabe zä naf nz=ya\’na/thr
man PROX 3SG.ERG IPST=2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/eat

“Something terrible has just happened? From which (village) is the man
who she has eaten here?”

62 äniyaka zbär zf zukwinzrmth zfkonzrmth.

än\'yak/a zbär zf
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/walk night IMM
zu\’kwi/узrmth
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/argue
zf\’ko/узrmth
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/tell

‘In the night, they came right here and they cursed her and told her.’

63 zäbrimath “mon kwa wäfiyokwre? bänema kabe z nzirärkwr ... z
nzyanathr.”

zä\’brim/ath mon kwa
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/return how FUT
wä\’fiyok/wre bâne=ma kabe z
1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make RECOG=CHAR man ALR
nz=y\’rärk/wr (. ) z
IPST=2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/mess.up (. ) ALR
nzyanathr
IPST=2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/eat

‘They returned (and said) “What are we going to do with her? because
she already messed up this man ... she already ate him.”’

64 wati bthan kabe thfrärm ... kabe firran mane thwannzrm.
Okay, there were sorcerers ... who were living in Firra.'

Okay, they make this things (magic). They were doing this to her.'

'They came up with one idea “We will burn her with fire.” This was the plan.'

'They were closing her up until she did not come out of that place anymore because her thoughts were always closed up.'
69  *wtri we z zāra nima “z zwemarth ane yam fiyoksin.”*

wtri we z zā/r/a nima z
fear also ALR 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be like this ALR
zwe\mar/th ane yam fiyok-si=n
2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:OBJ:RPST:PFV/see DEM event make-NMLZ=LOC

“She was also afraid (and thought) “They have understood that I have done this.””

70  *mni w\thomon/wrth yfö mä zfrärm.*

mni w\thomon/wrth yfö mä
fire 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:NPST:IPFV/pile.up.fire hole where
zf\rä\rm
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

“They piled up the fire where the whole (entrance) was.’

71  *mni w\thomonwwath a zräföf/th.*

mni w\thomon/wath a
fire 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:PST:IPFV/pile.up.fire until
zrä\fö/th
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/burn

“They piled it up and they burned it.’

72  *fi yame yrsifnzo zukonzrm boba wämne yfönf tof.*

fi yame yr-si=f=nzo
3.ABS mat weave-NMLZ=ERG=ONLY
zu\ko/znrm boba wämne yfö=n
SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:DUR/become MED.ABL tree hole=LOC
fof
EMPH

“She was preoccupied with weaving the mat there in the tree hole.’

73  *nafafis bana krebnaf krekaris “u” mni u kwan tof.*

nafa-fis bana kre\bnaf/
3.POSS-husband poor 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/wake.up
kre\karis/ u mni u kwan
tof
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/hear u fire sound of strong wind EMPH

‘Her husband woke up and heard “uh” the strong wind of the fire.’
74  *kafar wäsü sukogr/m mrab fren.*

kafar wäsü su\kogr/m mrab fr=en
big tree type 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/stand bamboo grove=LOC

‘A big wäsü tree (Ficus elastica) was standing there in the bamboo grove.’

75  *waisamen ... waisamen ane kar yf rā mobo zwamnzrm ... mrab fr thden.*

waisamen (.) waisamen ane kar yf rā/
PROP.N (.) PROP.N DEM place name 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
mobo zwa\m/nzrm (.) mrab fr thd=en
where.ALL 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell (.) bamboo grove middle=LOC

‘Waisamen ... Waisamen is the name of that place where she was living ...
in the middle of bamboo grove.’

76  *krä/r ... nafafis zräs “be ranzo kayé thwanfiyokwr?”*

krä\r/ (.) naf-a-fis
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/do (.) 3.POSS-husband
zrä\s/ be rā=nzo kayé
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:IRR:PFV/ask 2SG.ERG what=ONLY yesterday
thwan\fiyok/wr
2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:IPFV:VENIT/make

‘He got up ... her husband asked her “Just what have you done to them yesterday?”’

77  *“ra kwa thanfiyokwé?”*

ra kwa than\fiyok/wé
what FUT 1SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:RPST:IPFV:VENIT/make

‘(She replied) “What do you think I have done?”’

78  *“ra kwan we rā ah?”*

ra kwan we \rā/
what sound also 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be ah

‘(He asked) “and what is that sound, eh?”’
“nzukar banafa borbor bana sathor kma borbor u kwan zfrärm zufsgwrm fof.”

‘(She replied) “The thunderstorm is coming from my poor village. It must be the sound of the thunderstorm blowing.”’

‘It was the fire burning. The fire (which) has just started (to burn) before.’

‘He looked around. Her poor husband stepped outside and saw the fire right close.’

‘(That was) when he left her alone. He jumped out like this.’

‘when he jumped out in a rush, he was running for his life.’
84  foba näbi fthé zanmatha fof.
   foba näbi fthé zan\math/a fof
DIST.ABL one when SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/ran EMPH
   ‘From there, he ran for good.’

85  emoth fāth nima ämnzr oten.
   emoth fāth nima ä\m/nzr ote=n
girl DIM like_this 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell PLACE.N=LOC
   ‘The daughters are living there in Ote.’

86  komnzo zena bobo rä. ane kar we nā fof rā trikasi kar fof.
   komnzo zena bobo rä/ ane kar we still today MED.ABL 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be DEM village also
   nā fof rä/ trik-si kar fof INDF EMPH 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be tell-NMLZ village EMPH
   ‘This place is still there and there is also a story there for that place.’

87  dödö fr rä kafar dödö fr zbo thden rä.
   dödö fr rä/ kafar dödö fr tree type 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be big
   zbo thd=en rä/ 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be middle=LOC 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
   ‘There is a dödö grove (Melaleuca sp), a big dödö grove. It is in the middle.’

88  nābūwā thé zanmatha ote. emoth fāthnm thrā\trif
   nābūwā fthé zan\math/a ote emoth
   one=EMP when SG:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/run PLACE.N girl
   fāth=nm thrā\trif/ DIM=DAT.NSG 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:IO:IRR:PFV/tell
   ‘Then he ran off for good to Ote. He told the girls’

89  “be\jame ausi ... bza\föfh ... nafanemāwā!”
   be-\jame ausi (.)
   2NSG.POSS-mother old woman (.)
   b=za\föf/th (.)
   MED=2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/burn (.)
   nafane=ma=wā
   3SG.POSS=CHAR=EMPH
   ‘Your mother, the old woman ... they burned her there ... (it was) her own fault!’

B.1 Nzürna trikasi 527
“kafar yam zwafiyokwr ... kabe nā z swanathr!”

kafar yam zwa\fi yok/\wr (.) kabe nā
big event 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/make (.) man INDF
z swa\na/thr
ALR 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/eat

‘She did a big mistake. She ate some man!’

fi nimanzo fefe yarako.

fi nima=nzo fefe ya\r/ako
3.ABS like_this=ONLY really 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:ANDAT/be

‘He had left just like this.’

fi nima mni zewarâfa ... ñarsira

fi nima mni ze\warâf/a (.)
but like_this fire SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/burd.down (.)
ŋa\rsir/a
SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/burn

‘But the fire burned like this ... it burned’

ñarsira kma zräzigrm “moba kwa krämâtré? moba?”

ŋa\rsir/a kma zrä\zigrm/ moba kwa
SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/burn POT 3SG.FEM:SBJ:IRR:PFV/burn where.ABL FUT
krä\mâtr/é moba
1SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/exit where.ABL

‘It burned and she tried to look around (and said) “Where will I get out? Where?”’

näbi fefe zafôfath ñarsira eee kwot zäbtha.

näbi fefe za\fôf/ath
one really 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:PST:PFV/burn.down
ŋa\rsir/a eee kwot zä\bth/a

‘They really burned her for good. It burned until she completely finished.’

brbrnzo fof n zäthba bafen ... ymden fof.

brbr=nzo fof n zä\thb/a baf=en (.)
spirit=ONLY EMPH IMN SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/enter RECOG=LOC (.)
ymd=en fof
bird=LOC EMPH
‘Only the spirit was about to enter that one .. the bird.’

96 "kuka kuka" fä mane wänor "kuka kuka"

kuka kuka fä mane wänor/ kuka kuka
kuka kuka DIST who 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/shout kuka kuka

‘kuka kuka’ The one that is shout “kuka kuka” over there.’

97 krärth ane bthan woga ane kuka kuka zrämgth krätr.

krä r/th ane bthan woga ane kuka kuka
2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV/do DEM magic man  DEM kuka bird
zrä mg/th krä tr/ 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:IRR:PFV/shoot 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/fall

‘They got up. The sorcerers shoot that kuka kuka bird and it fell down.’

98 wati, fefe zaföfath ane fobo fä zäbtha.

wati fefe za lôi/ath ane fobo
then really 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:PST:PFV/burn.down DEM DIST.ALL
fä zä bth/a
DIST SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/finish

‘They really burned until that one was finished over there.’

99 ane thrma mni fthé zäbtha wati nagawa ηabrigwa sir

ane thrma mni fthé zä bth/a wati nagawa
DEM after fire when then PROP.N SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/return
η̄ ι abrig/ wa si = r
eye=PRP

‘After the fire finished, Nagawa went back to see’

100 “komnzo rū o z kwarsir mnin?”

komnzo rū/ o z kw a rsir/
isill 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be or ALR SG:RPST:IPFV/burn
mni=n
fire=LOC

‘Is she still alive or did she burn in the fire?’"
101. *yabrigwa bobomr we waisam wäsü thé sanmara “watik fi nafazfthenwä”*

The man walked until Waisam. When he saw the wäsü tree (he said) “Well, it was her own fault.”

102. *yanzo bobo yanora ... nafaqareanema ... wati, fi näbi zäbrima.*

‘He was crying badly because of his wife. Then he returned for good.’

103. *zbo yamnzr ane woga oten. emoth fäthä ämnzr.*

‘That man lives here in Ote. He lives together with his daughters.’

104. *watik kabeyé komnzo fä nomai sumarwre ymarwre fthé*

‘Well, the people still see him there, we see him when...’

105. *fä garitakwr nima firrafo yak we nima yabrigwr*

‘he goes across (the river) like this when he goes to Firra; he also returns that same way on the sam.’
106  *tnz fäth ane kabe yé*

   *tnz* fäth ane  kabe \yé/  
short DIM DEM man 3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV/be  
‘He is a short guy.’

107  *ane nzürna ṣare ane ... zokwasi nimame fof rā fof*

   *ane nzürna ṣare ane* (.)  zokwasi nima=me  fof  
DEM nzürna woman DEM  (.)  speech  like_this=INS  EMPH  
\rā/  
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be  EMPH  
‘This nzürna woman, that story is really like this.’

108  *mane bobo firran zwamnzrm.*

   *mane bobo*  firra=n  zwa\m/nzrm  
who  MED.ALL PLACE.N=LOC 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell  
‘who was living there in Firra.’

109  *tüfr yam nä ffé thwafiyokwrm*

   *tüfr yam nä  ffé*  thwa\fyok/wrm  
many event INDF really SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/make  
‘She did many things, ’

110  *fi fathfa ane fof wäfiyokwa*

   *fi*  fath=fa  ane  fof  
but  clear_place=ABL DEM  EMPH  
wä\fyok/\wa  
SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:IPFV/make  
‘but she did this one in public.’

111  *nā karma kabe mane yanatha mogarkamma.*

   *nā*  kar=ma  kabe  mane  ya\na/tha  
INDF village=CHAR man who  SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/eat  
mogarkam=ma.  
PLACE.N=CHAR  
‘a man from another village who she devoured, from Mogarkam.’
112 nafane zokwasi ... ane trikasi fobonzo wythk fof brä ... ane nzürna łyareanema.

nafane zokwasi (. ) ane trik-si fobo=nzo
3SG.POSS words (. ) DEM tell-NMLZ DIST.ALL=ONLY
w'ythk/ fof
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/come_to_end EMPH
b=\rä/ (. ) ane nzürna
MED=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (. ) DEM nzürna
ŋare=ane=ma
woman=POSS.SG=CHAR

‘Her story ... that story finishes there ... about that nzürna woman.’

113 watik, fobo fof zräkoré.

watik fobo fof zrä\kor/é
then DIST.ALL EMPH 1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak

‘Well, I have told it there.’

114 nä karen nima nä buné bänema ...

nä kar=en nima nā_bun=é bāne=ma (. )
INDF village=LOC like_this INDF=ERG.NSG RECOG=CHAR

‘In other villages, others (can tell) like this ...’

115 nā nzürna ŋare zokwasi trikasi bā rāro fi ane kar woga mane erā fi ane miyatha erā.

nā nzürna ŋare zokwasi trik-si bā
INDF nzürna woman words tell-NMLZ MED
\rä/ro fi ane kar woga mane
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/be but DEM village man who
e\rä/ fi ane miyatha
2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be 3.ABS DEM knowledgeable
e\rä/ 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘other nzürna stories are there, but it is those village people who know about these.’

116 nzefe nzūwābragwé nima ni miyatha nrā.

nz=wā nz=wā\brag/wé
1SG.ERG=EMPH IPST=1SG.SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/follow
nima ni miyatha n\rä/
like_this 1NSG knowledgeable 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
‘I just followed (the story) as we know it.’

117 nzekaren ane yam kwafiyokwrm nzenme Ṽafyé mä thwarmzrm.

nzè-kar=en ane yam kwa\fiyok/wrm nzenme 1NSG.POSS-village=LOC DEM event SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/make 1NSG.POSS Ṽafe=yé mä thwamnzrm
father=ABS.NSG where 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell

‘She was doing this in our village, where our fathers were living.’

118 Ṽafyé we nzenm natrikwath.

Ṽafe=yé we nzenm na\trik/wath father=ERG.NSG also 1NSG.DAT 2|3PL:SBJ>1PL:IO:PST:IPFV/tell

‘(and) our fathers also told us (about it).’

119 nima zbo zf zakoré ... fof zäbthé.

nima zbo zf za\kor/é (.)
like_this PROX.ALL IMM 1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:PFV/speak (.)
fof zä\bth/é.
EMPH 1SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:PFV/finish

‘I said it like this and I finished it.’
B.2  Kwafar

I prompted Abia Bai to tell this story by asking him: “Where did the yams come from?” This text should be seen as a compendium rather than a single storyline. It was recorded as my fieldtrip in 2013 came to an end. During the previous weeks, I had talked with Abia many times about a number of topics and he promised to tell me these stories properly.

The text can be cut into three storylines, which I have been told independently by others. The first part is the Kwafar myth. Kwafar is a place off the coast between New Guinea and Australia. There was a large wäsi tree in which all people were living. The wäsi plant is a strangler which climbs up a different tree ultimately killing and replacing it. At Kwafar, all people of different tribes and languages lived together in this tree. Eventually, the tree burned down and the people spread out from there. One of the many myths located at Kwafar involves two brothers, who were hunting in the area after the burning of the tree. The brothers come across a mysterious being which devours the bodies of those people who have died in the fire. The two brothers try to shoot the creature. Only the older brother is successful, but as his arrow pierces the creature a flood of water bursts out of the wound separating the two brothers. In recent versions of the myth, the younger brother is said to be white like Europeans, and he owns a shotgun instead of a bow. He runs south towards what is now Australia. The older brother runs north. He stops the flood by beating the water with branches of dödö (Melaleuca sp). At this point, Abia transitions into the second part. This is the story of Mathkwi, the apical ancestor of his clan. This story involves many small episodes about the route that Mathkwi took and all the things he carried and brought along. After Mathkwi has arrived in Masu, the home of Abia’s Mayawa clan, the third part starts. This last part is about customs and traditions around yam cultivation and a particular magic stone that his father used to own.3

1  moba zrathkäfe?
   moba   zra\thkäf/e
   where.ABL 1DU:SBJ:IRR:PFV/start
   ‘Where do we start?’

2  CD: wawa moba enrä/ra
   wawa moba   en\rä/ra
   yam where.ABL 2|3PL:PL:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be
   ‘Where did the yams come from?’

3The source code for this text is: tci20131013-01.
Okay, we will first start the story really like this ... with kwafar ...

We will go like this until we finish (the story) here.'

What magic (rain) stones were they holding?

What yam magic stones were they holding?

Well, we will finish with this topic right here.

This will come as one story.'

'Should I start it?'
okay, zane mane rā ... zane trikasi ... ɣafyf bāyf mane ɣatrikwa

‘As for this one ... this story which father Bāi told ...’

nzemm natrikwa ... watik ane trikasi fof zena ɣaritakwr.

‘He told it to us. Well, today it will pass over.’

trikasi mane rā kwafarma rā.

‘This story is about kwafar.’

“kwafar” ɣafyf nima fof kwatrikwrm “kwafar mane rera thden rera”

“'kwafar', father was telling, “as for kwafar, it was in the middle.”’

zane zena mane bad mane wythk.

‘This here, where this land ends today.’
15  *mazo mä ñakonzr a australiane bad mä wythk.*

*mazo mä ña\ko/nzr a australia=ane ocean where 2\3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/become until australia=POSS.SG bad mä w\ythk/
ground where 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/come.to.end*

‘where the ocean begins until where the Australian continent ends.’

16  *fä mä fi zfrärm ane kwafar fof ... kabe mä kwamosinzrmth.*

*fä mä fi zf\rå/rm ane kwafar fof (.)
dist where 3.ABS 3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be DEM PLACE.N EMPH (.)
kabe mä kwa\mosi/nzrmth people where 2\3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/gather*

‘that was where *kwafar* was located ... where the people were gathering.’

17  *wäsi warfo thfrugrm.*

*wäsi  warfo thf\rugr/m
PROP.N above 2\3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/sleep*

‘People were sleeping on top of the *wäsi* (tree).’

18  *wäsi bäne ykonzrth nā bā bikogro ... zärkarā.*

*wäsi bäne y\ko/nzrth nā
PROP.N DEM.MED 2\3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/speak INDF
bā b=y\kogr/o (.) zär=karā
MED MED=3SG.MASC:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/stand (.) shade=PROP*

‘They call this one *wäsi*. There is another one standing over there ... with shade.’

19  *kabe fā fof thwamnzrm fof.*

*kabe fā fof thwa\m/nzrm  fof
people DIST EMPH 2\3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell EMPH*

‘The people really were living there.’

20  *zokwasi ffrümenzo ... nā zfthen thwamnzrm nā thden thwamnzrm nā kerker thwamnzrm.*

*zokwasi f-frü=me=nzo (.) nā zfth=en
language REDUP-single=INS=ONLY (.) INDF base=LOC
thwa\m/nzrm  nā thd=en thwa\m/nzrm
2\3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell INDF middle=LOC 2\3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell*
‘with different languages ... some people were living at the base, some people were living in the middle and some people were living at the branches.’

21 *watik zokwasi ane ffrümenzo kwanafrmth.*

‘Well, they were speaking those different languages.’

22 *nä kayé wäsi ane zäföfa fof ... zästha fof.*

‘One day that *wäsi* tree burned down ... it really went up in flames.’

23 *nä kabe nima kwakwikwrmth*

‘Some people ran away this way.’

24 *nä kabe nima mni=n kwarsirwrmth*

‘Some people burned in the fire.’

25 *watik wäsi ane kwot yarsira ... zäbtha*

‘Well, that *wäsi* tree burned completely ... it finished.’
26 kabe bā mane thwägrm warfo nā mrmr ... fi we nimāwā kwarsirwrmth
   kabe bā mane thwägr/m warfo nā mrmr (.)
   people MED who 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be.on.top above INDF inside (.)
   fi we nima=wä kwa/rsir/wrmth
3.ABS also like_this=EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/burn

‘The people who lived on top and some who lived inside ... they also
   burned.’

27 watik ... ezi ... kabe ane frümenzo tnägsi zethkäfath ... bā frümenzo
   thwärnzrm.

   watik (. ) ezi (. ) kabe ane frū=me=nzo tnäg-si then (. ) morning (. ) people
   DEM single=INS=ONLY lose-NMLZ
   zä\thkäjf/ath (. ) bā frū=me=nzo
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/start (. ) MED single=INS=ONLY
   thwa\m/nzrm
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell

‘Then, in the morning, the people began to scatter. They were living by
   themselves.’

28 watik, mni fthé īgarsira ... kar ane bramöwā īgarsira fof ... thgathg zfrärm
   ... fath thefath fath

   watik mni fthé īa/rsir/a (. ) kar ane bramöwā then fire when SG:SBJ:PST:IPVF/burn
   (. ) place DEM all
   īa\rsir/a fof (. ) thgathg
   SG:SBJ:PST:IPVF/burn EMPH (. ) scorched_place
   zf\rā/rm (. ) fath thefath fath
3SG.FEM:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (. ) clear_place burned_place clear_place

‘When the fire burned, it burned really the whole place. It became a
   scorched landscape, a clear place.’

29 watik menzmenz ane fof yabun kafar ... thgathg bänmr ane fof zenfara ...

   watik menz-menz ane fof yabun kafar (. ) thgathg
   then REDUP-story_man DEM EMPH fat big (. ) burned_place
   bäne=mr ane fof zen\far/a (. )
   RECOG=PURP DEM EMPH SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/set.off (. )

‘Well, that big, fat creature ... it went to the burned place to get (and
   eat) those ones ...’
30 *kabe mane tthf\thn\m kwosi.*

\[text\]

\[translation\]

‘the people who were lying around dead.’

31 *watik ... gwamf yatha thäsa ... ezi ... ane ... thefath thgathgen fof ... yaser*

\[text\]

\[translation\]

‘Well, *Gwam* called for the dogs for hunting ... in the morning ... at that scorched place.’

32 *watik yatha anenzo fof sathkäfa.*

\[text\]

\[translation\]

‘Well, he started with that one dog only.’

33 *yatha ane swaru\thrm gwam mon nima yarera*

\[text\]

\[translation\]

‘The dog was barking at (the creature) and *Gwam* noticed it.’

34 *eda erna kabe kafar yf mane thfrnm ... nafang\thrwä gwam ... muri*

\[text\]

\[translation\]

‘They were two men who had well-known names ... *Gwam* with his small brother *Muri*.’
35 gwam yara nafanane ... muri nafangth

GWAM be his older brother ... MURI the younger brother.'

36 wati gwam f ane fof ezi ñatha thäša thgathgen e

'Well, that GWAM was calling out for the dogs in that burned place ...'

37 anenzo fof ñatha yayamgwa ... yayamgwa

'Only that (creature) shocked the dog ... it shocked him.'

38 ane menznzo fof kabe maf änatha fof

'that creature which really ate the people.'

39 fewakaf kwosi thwanathrm

'IT was eating the stinking rotten bodies.'

40 murif zagr ymarwa fof ... maf ýé? gwamf!

who.ERG.SG 3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPT:IPFV/be PROP.N=ERG.SG
‘Muri was seeing him from a distance ... Who is it? Gwam! (not Muri)’

41 “ra bāne yé?” nima né samara ... o “ra menzmenz yé?”
ra bāne \yé/ nima né what DEM.MED 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be like_this IMN sa\mar/a (.) o ra menzmenz SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:PFV/see (.) or what REDUP-story_man \yé/
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘What is this?’ he was about to see it ... or “What creature is this?’”

42 kabe nrma fi fobo fof ṭagathikwa fof ... ane menzmenz
kabe nr=ma fi fobo fof ṭa\gathik/wa people stomach=CHAR 3.ABS DIST.ALL EMPH SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/stop fof (.) ane menz-men
EMPH (.) DEM REDUP-story_man

‘Because its stomach was full with people, it stopped there ... that creature (stopped)’

43 kabe ane zenthkäfath yak.
kabe ane zen\thkäf/ath yak man DEM 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/start running

‘The people started running here.’

44 ṭatha mane kwaruthrm tifr ... yf ṭatha yara ane tifr
ṭatha mane kwa\ru/thrm tifr (.) yf ṭatha dog who SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/bark PROP.N (.) name dog ṭa\r/a ane tifr 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be DEM PROP.N

‘The dog that was barking was Tifr. The dog’s name was Tifr.’

45 wati sathkäfath.
wati sa\thkäf/ath then 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/start

‘Then, they started going at (the creature).’
46 kabeyé ane dunzi kma sfruthrnth ... keke
kabe=yé ane dunzi kma
man=ERG.NSG DEM arrow POT
sf\ru/thrmth (.) keke
2\3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/shoot (.) NEG

‘The people were trying to shoot arrows at (the creature) ... but no (success).’

47 gwamf nafangth sräkor “muri! zba känrit nzuzawe! nzefé biruthro.”
gwam=f nafa-ngth
PROP.N=ERG.SG 3.PESS-younger_sibling
srä\kor/ muri zba
2\3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak PROP.N PROX.ABL
kän\rit/ nzu-zawe nze=wä
2SG:SBJ:IMP:PFV/cross over 1SG.PSS-side 1SG.ERG=EMPH
b=y\ru/thro
MED=SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPT:IPFV:ANDAT/shoot

‘Gwam said to his small brother: “Muri! Cross over to my side! I will shoot it there.”’

48 naf nima “samg! bänema nā buné fof yruthrth byé keke kwosi yathizr.”
naf nima like_this
3SG.ERG like_this 2SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IMP:PFV/shoot
bāne=ma nā_bun=é fof
RECOG=CHAR INDF=ERG.NSG EMPH
y\ru/thrt
2\3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPT:IPFV/shoot
b=y\vé/ keke kwosi
MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPT:IPFV/be NEG dead
ya\thiz/r
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPT:IPFV/die

‘He said: “Shoot it! Because others are shooting there and it is not dying.”’

49 naf nima: “keke fi miyamr erā fofosa mā rā. nze komnzo zimarwē fof.”
naf nima keke fi miyamr e\rā/ fofosa
3SG.ERG like_this NEG 3.ABS ignorant 2\3PL:SBJ:NPT:IPFV/be heart
mā \rā/ nze komnzo
where 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPT:IPFV/be 1SG.ERG only
z=y\mar/wé                fof
PROX=1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/see EMPH

‘He replied: “No, they do not know where the heart is. Only I can see it here.”’

50 zirkn thfrnm. nā bun kwanafrm. nā bun kwanafrm.
zirkn   thf\rn/m   nā_bun kwa\na/frm
persistent 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/be INDF   SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/talk
nā_bun kwa\na/frm
INDF   SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/talk

‘They were going back and forth. The other was talking and then the other was talking.’

51 watik “ngth biruthé!”
watik ngth b=y\ru/thé
then younger_sibling MED=1SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/shoot

‘Well, (Gwam said) “Brother, I shoot it now!”’

52 “famkarāsü gnrārē!” ... nafananaf ane fof
fam=karā=sü    gn\rā/rē    (.)
thought=PROP=ETC 2SG:SBJ:IMP:IPFV/be (.)
nafa-nana=f   ane fof
3.POSS-older_brother=ERG.SG DEM EMPH

‘(Muri said) “You must watch out!” ... His big brother was the one (who shot).’

53 trikasi nima rā
trik-si nima rā
tell-NMLZ like_this 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘The story is like this:’

54 nafangth kma markai nābikarā sfrārm
nafa-ngth   kma markai nābi=karā
3.POSS-younger_sibling POT white_man bow=PROP
sf\rā/rm
3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

‘His small brother must have had a shotgun.’
watik nafangth mane yara naf keke samga ... nafananafnzo

Then, 3.Poss-younger_sibling who 3SG.Masc:Sbj:Pst:Ipfv/be naf  keke sa\mg/a
3SG.Erg NEG SG:Sbj>3SG.Masc:Pst:pfv/shoot (.)
naf-a-nana\f\=\nzo 3.Poss-older_brother=erg.sg=only

‘Then, his small brother did not hit (the creature) ... only his older brother.’

näbi gathunza ... zf sfthnm

näbi y\thu/nza (.) zf sf\thn/m bow SG:Sbj:Pst:Ipfv/fold (. IMM 3SG.Masc:Sbj:Pst:Dur/lie.down

‘He drew the bow ... (the creature) laid down right here’

yo kwan ... fof sargosira fofosafefen

yo\_kwan (.) sound_of_arrow_hitting_something emph fof sa\rgosi/ra fofosa ffe=n SG:Sbj>3SG.Masc:Obj:Pst:Ipfv/penetrate heart real=loc

‘wham! ... (the arrow) poked right through to the heart.’

no fof zärfetha

no fof zä\rfeth/a water emph SG:Sbj:Pst:pfv/burst

‘Water bursted out.’

no ane zamatha

no ane za\math/a water Dem SG:Sbj:Pst:pfv/run

‘That water was starting to run.’

wati no mane kwakwirm fof

wati no mane kwa\kwir/m fof then water which SG:Sbj:Pst:Dur/run emph

‘Well, the water that was running ...’
61  \(\text{wäsi zrminz mä} \ \text{yanrsira fof} \ldots \text{mni mä yanrsira}\).
\(\text{wäsi zrminz mä} \ \text{yan\'rsir/a} \ \text{fof} \ldots \) \(\text{mni}\) prop.n root where sg:sbj:pst:ipfv:venit/burn emph (.).
\(\text{mä} \ \text{yan\'rsir/a}\) where sg:sbj:pst:ipfv:venit/burn

‘where the \(\text{wäsi}\) tree roots had burned ... where the fire had burned.’

62  \(\text{no fä kwanthorthrm fof} \ldots \text{ane zrminz fof}\).
\(\text{no fä kwan\'thorthrm} \ \text{fof} \ldots \) \(\text{ane zrminz fof}\) water dist sg:sbj:pst:dur:venit/enter emph (.).
\(\text{EMPH}\)

‘The water went inside there ... into those roots.’

63  \(\text{nof nà nima thärkothmako. nà nima ònkothma nzezawe}\).
\(\text{no=f} \ \text{nà nima}\) water=erg.sg indf like_this
\(\text{thä\'kothm/ako} \ \text{nà nima}\) sg:nima like_this
\(\text{sg:sbj>2|3pl:obj:pst:pfv:andat/chase indf like_this}\)
\(\text{thän\'kothm/a} \ \text{nze-zawe}\) sg:sbj>2|3pl:obj:pst:pfv:venit/chase 1nsg.poss-side

‘The water chase some away this way and it chased other here to our side.’

64  \(\text{gwamane nima zenmathath} \ldots \text{muriane nima}\).
\(\text{gwam=ane nima} \ \text{zen\'math/ath}\) prop.n=poss.sg like_this
\(\text{2|3pl:sbj:pst:pfv:venit/run}\) (.)
\(\text{muri=ane nima}\) prop.n=poss.sg like_this

‘\text{Gwam’s (people) ran this way ... Muri’s (people) that way.’}

65  \(\text{mane yankwirwath zentnäthath}\).
\(\text{mane yankwirwath} \ \text{zentnäthath}\) who 2|3pl:sbj:pst:pfv:venit/run 2|3pl:sbj:pst:pfv:venit/scatter

‘Those who came running started go different ways.’

66  \(\text{nä enrera bawi}\).
\(\text{nä en\'râ/ra bawi}\) indf sg:sbj:pst:pfv:venit/be place.n

‘Some came to Bawi’
67 wartha nima bämnr wartha a kondomarin ... smärki.

wartha nima b=ä\m/nzr wartha a
PROP.N like this MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell PROP.N and
kondomarin ... smärki
PROP.N ... PROP.N

‘Like the Wartha people living there. The Wartha and Marind ... (and the) Smärki.’

68 nafanme ... foba fof ɣankwira fof

nafanme () foba fof ɣan\kwi/ra fof
3NSG.POSS () DIST.ABL EMPH SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/run EMPH

‘Their (ancestor) was coming really from there.’

69 fi foba fof ɣankwirwath ... bawi

fi foba fof ɣan\kwi/rwath (.) bawi

‘They came from there ... (from) Bawi.’

70 watik gwamf fä fof mni ... bäne zafrica fof no.

watik gwam=f fä fof mni (.) bäne
then PROP.N=ERG.SG DIST EMPH fire (.) RECOG
za\raf/a fof no
SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/extinguish EMPH water

‘Okay, Gwam extinguished the fire there ... (I mean) the water.’

71 dödöme zakwra.

dödö=me za\kwr/a
PROP.N=INS SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV/hit

‘He hit (the water) with the dödö plant (Melaleuca sp).’

72 watik no fä fof zäkor/a ... keke kwa nof zanmäyofa.

watik no fä fof zä\kor/a (.) keke kwa
then water DIST EMPH SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/become (.) NEG FUT
no=f zan\mäyof/a
water=ERG.SG SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/continue

‘Okay, the water really stopped there. It did not continue towards here.’
73  *fobo fof no ηagathikwa fof.*
   fobo fof no ηa\gathik/wa fof
   DIST.ALL EMPH water SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/stop EMPH
   ‘The flood stopped there.’

74  *watik fi mane enrera e ... zwari ... wartha fof.*
   watik fi mane en\rä/ra e (.) zwari (.) then 3.ABS who SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be until (.) PLACE.N (.)
   wartha fof
   PROP.N EMPH
   ‘Those who came until Zvari (= Bawi) ... (were) really the Wartha people.’

75  *watik fä fof zwarin zämsath.*
   watik fä fof zwari=n zä\ms/ath
   then DIST EMPH PROP.N=LOC 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/dwell
   ‘They settled there in Zvari.’

76  *zokwasi fthé emarwath frümenzo ... watik kondomarin nima feräro.*
   zokwasi fthé e\mar/wath
   language when 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV/see
   f-frü=me=nzo (.) watik kondomarin nima
   REDUP-single=INS=ONLY (.) then PROP.N like this
   f=e\rä/ro
   DIST=2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:ANDAT/be
   ‘When they saw that people spoke different languages ... Okay, then the Marind moved away that way.’

77  *zena boba wazi fi berä merauken.*
   zena boba wazi fi b=e\rä/
   today MED:ABL side 3.ABS MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
   merauke=n
   PLACE.N=LOC
   ‘Today, they are on the other side, there in Merauke.’
78  *nä mane erera zwarifa ɣafrezath thoro.*

*nä*  man e\r\ä/ra   zwari=fa
INDF  who  2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be  PLACE.N=ABL
*ɣa\frez/ath*  thoro
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/come.up.from.river  PROP.N

‘As for others, the came up from *Zwari* to *Thoro.*’

79  *watik thoron fā fthé zemarath we nimāwā fof ... zokwasi ffrümenzo.*

*watik*  thoro=n   fā  fthé  ze\mar/ath  we
then  PLACE.N=LOC  DIST  when  2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/see also
*nima=wā  fof  (.)  zokwasi  f-frü=me=nzo*
like_this=EMPH  EMPH  (.)  language  REDUP-single=INS=ONLY

‘Well, when they looked at themselves in *Thoro*, it was the same thing again ... different languages.’

80  *watik foba zethkāfath nimame kwasogwrmth.*

*watik*  foba  ze\thkāf/ath  nima=me
then  DIST.ABL  2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/start like_this
*kwa\sog/wrmth*
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/climb

‘Then they began from there. They came up this way.’

81  *okay, nä mane enerra bāne ... zwari ... zwarifa e bāne ... tamgakar.*

*okay*  nä  man e\r\ä/ra   bāne  (.)  zwari  (.)
okay  INDF  who  2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be  RECOG  (.)  PLACE.N  (.)
*zwari=fa  e  bāne  .  tamgakar*
PLACE.N=ABL  until  RECOG  (.)  PLACE.N

‘Okay, other came until where ... *Zwari*. From *Zwari* until where ... *Tamgakar.*’

82  *nima bā ämnzr safs*

*nima*  bā  a\m/nzr  safs
like_this  MED  2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell  PLACE.N

‘like the ones who live there in *Safs* (= *Yokwa*).’

83  *wati fi fā fof thfyakm.*

*wati*  fi  fā  fof  thfyak/m
then  3.ABS  DIST  EMPH  2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/walk
'Okay, this is how they were going.'

nzenme mane yanra ... mā ŋankwirwath komo fā ŋanfrezath ... komo.


‘As for our (ancestor) coming, where he was running ... in Komo. He came up there in Komo.’

nzenme mayawama kabe nā fā thāgathizath.

nzenme mayawa=ma kabe nā fā 1NSG.POSS PROP.N=CHAR man INDF DIST thā=gathiz/ath 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:PFV/leave

‘Our Mayawa man left some (people) there.’

we foba ... thdeen nā kwot we mayawama kabe fof.

we foba (.) thd=en nā kwot we mayawa=ma also DIST.ABL (.) middle=LOC INDF properly also PROP.N=CHAR kabe fof people EMPH

‘and again ... halfway (he left) some more Mayawa people again.’

foba ... baguma kabe ... zena mifnen zāmnzr.

foba (.) bagu=ma kabe (.) zena mifne=n DIST.ABL (.) PROP.N=CHAR people (.) today PLACE.N=LOC z=ā=m/nzr PROX=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell

‘from there (he left some) Bagu people. They live in Mibini today.’

sagara fā thāgathinzath. okay fi nima erera ... mogarkam.

sagara fā thā\gathinz/ath okay fi PROP.N DIST 2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:IPFV/leave okay 3.ABS nima e\rā/ra (.) mogarkam like_this 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be (.) PLACE.N

‘They left some Sagara people there. They used to live in Mogarkam.’
nā mane erera nima erera bāne ... drdr ... nā sagara fof.

‘Others were there in ... Derideri ... another Sagara (group).’

bagu mane enrera bāne ... māta.

‘The Bagus who were coming (went to) where ... Mata.’

sagara mane enrera garaita.

‘and the Sagaras went to Garaita.’

mayawa ni zbo zf nrrera.

‘We Mayawas came right here.’

okay nzenne bada ... mrzarane bada mane yanra ... fi fof yanra bāne ...

‘Okay, our ancestor ... the Mrzar clan’s ancestor who came ... was really that one ... Mathkwi.’
95  mathkwif ane enfathwa ... wawa fofosa.

mathkwi=f ane enfathwa
PROP.N=ERG.SG DEM SG:SBJ=2|3PL:OBJ:IPFV:VENIT/hold
wawa fofosa
yam heart

‘Mathkwi was holding those yam stones.’

96  naf ane ynfathwa fof.

naf ane ynfathwa
3SG.ERG DEM SG:SBJ=3SG.MASC:OBJ:IPFV:VENIT/hold EMPH

‘He was really holding that one.’

97  wati näbi ane komnzo fofosa yara wawama ... nasi ... duga ... biskar ...
dagon nä berä fof

wati näbi ane komnzo fofosa ya\r/a
then one DEM only heart 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IPFV/be yam=CHAR
(.) nasi (.). duga (.). biskar (.). dagon nä
(.). long_yam (.). taro (.). cassava (.). food INDF
b=e\rä/ fof
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:Npst:IPFV/be EMPH

‘Okay, there was just one stone for yams, long yams, taro, cassava ... and
some more food there.’

99  wati fī anekarā fof yanra fof.

wati fī anekarā
3.ABS DEM=PROP EMPH 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IPFV:VENIT/be
fof EMPH

‘Then he came with this one.’

100  mane yanyaka e ... wm bā ythn ... zabrta.

mane yanyaka e ... wm bā
who 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IPFV/walk until (.). stone MED
y\rthn/ (.). zabrta
3SG.MASC:SBJ:Npst:IPFV/lie.down (.). PLACE.N

‘As he came until ... (where) the stone is lying there ... at Zabrta.’
101 fä fof yanritakwath fof.
   fä fof yan\ritak/wath fof
   DIST EMPH 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/cross EMPH

   ‘There, they crossed (the river).’

102 kwanritakwrmth trkren.
   kwan\ritak/wrmth trkr=EN
   2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/cross flood=LOC

   ‘They were going across during the flood.’

103 watik, nima né fam zārā “garaita zawe? keke, nā kabe foba z sfyak.”
   watik nima né fam zā\r/a garaita zawe keke
   then like_this IMN though SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV/do PLACE.N side NEG
   nā kabe foba z sf\yak/
   INDF man DIST.ABL ALR 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/walk

   ‘Then, was thinking: “(Should I go) to Garaita? No, another man went
   this way already.”’

104 watik, nima zethkāfa fi ... safs.
   watik nima ze\thkāf/a fi () safs
   then like_this SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/start 3.ABS () PLACE.N

   ‘Then, he started (going) this way ... (towards) Safs.’

105 nimame ane zethkāfa mothr mane yanra e ... akrimogo.
   nima=me ane ze\thkāf/a moth=r mane
   like_this=INS DEM SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/start walking=PURP who
   yan\r/a e () akrimogo
   3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be until () PLACE.N

   ‘He started to walk like this, he walked until ... Akrimogo.’

106 yam fä fof thremar fof.
   yam fä fof thre\mar/ fof
   footprint DIST EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see EMPH

   ‘He saw footprints there.’

107 “oh, nā nima z erūro.”
   oh nā nima z e\rā/ro
   oh INDF like_this ALR 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/be
‘(He said) “Oh, others are walking along here already.”’

108  *watik, keräfi foba fof zäzira fof e ... kar yf rä ymnz.*

watik keräfi foba fof zä\zi/ra fof e (~)
then  blackpalm DIST.ABL EMPH SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/throw EMPH until (~)
kar yf  \rä/
ymnz
place name 3SG.FEM:SBJ:N PST:IPFV/be PLACE.N

‘Then he shot an arrow from there until ... the name of the place of Ymnz.’

109  *watik, fobo fof “oh, kabe bā yē ... watik, nimame wyak.”*

watik fobo fof oh kabe bā  \yē/ (~)
then  DIST.ALL EMPH oh man MED 3SG.MASC:SBJ:N PST:IPFV/be (~)
watik nima=me  w\yak/
then  like_this=INS 1SG:1SG:N PST:IPFV/walk

‘Okay, from there (he said): “Oh, there is a man there! Okay, I will go that path then.”’

110  *watik foba fof akrimogo=fa zenfara fof.*

watik foba fof akrimogo=fa zen\far/a fof
then  DIST.ABL EMPH PLACE.N=ABL SG:SBJ:N PST:IPFV/set.off EMPH

‘Okay, he really set off from there, from Akrimogo.’

111  *akrimogo ... foba näbi yanyaka. karane yf rū fūsari.*

akrimogo (~) foba näbi yan\yak/
PLACE.N (~) DIST.ABL one 3SG.MASC:SBJ:N PST:PFV:VENIT/walk
kar=ane yf  \rā/
fūsari
place=POSS.SG name 3SG.FEM:SBJ:N PST:IPFV/be

‘From Akrimogo he was coming straight. The name of the place is Fūsari.’

112  *fūsārifa ... rarafū kar ... rarafū karfa ... kafrir fā ttfōn zänrita e ... bāne ... zofok.*

fūsāri=fa  (~) rarafū_kar (~) rarafū_kar=fa (~)
PLACE.N=ABL (~) PLACE.N(~) PLACE.N=ABL (~) PLACE.N
kafrir fā  ttfō=n zän\rit/a e (~)
DIST  creek=LOC SG:SBJ:N PST:PFV:VENIT/cross until (~) RECOG
bāne (~)  zofok
( ~) PLACE.N

‘From Fūsari to Rarafū, from Rarafū to Kafrir. There he crossed at the creek until that one ... Zofok.’
‘He rested there in Zofok.’

‘Bamboos are still standing there.’

‘He was fixing his bowstring there.’

‘He tied it properly.’

‘He ate that one ... yamcake (from long yams). He ate yamcake.’

‘Those crumbs, those scraps ... well, they turned into stones.’
They changed. They are still sticking out there.'

"They changed. They are still sticking out there."

"As for the stone that he held, the rain magic stone, well, he stuck it in the ground ... at Zofok."

"Then he to where ... to Misa Zfth from there. Mäbri, Misa Zfth and Yrn."

"There he climbed down and walked to Benzü Zfth."

"From there he heard the birds ... afa kfokfo (Hooded Butcherbird) and ythama (Paradisaea raggiana)."
124  *fam zära “kar bä rä. ah, kar tôna fobo fof wyak fof.”*

    fam  zä\r/a    kar  bä  \rä/    ah
    thought  SG:SBJ:PST:PFV/do place  MED  3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be  ah
    kar  tôna  fobo  fof  wo\yak/
    place  high_ground  DIST.ALL  EMPH  1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk  EMPH

    ‘He thought “There is a place there. Ah, I will go there to the high
    ground.”’

125  *yanyaka fä fof zänrita fof rä kukwrb fr zra ... mnzär fr neba.*

    yan\yak/a   fä   fof
    3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/walk  DIST  EMPH
    zän\rit/a   fof  \rä/
    kukwrb_fr  zra  (.)  mnzär_fr  neba
    PLACE.N  swamp  (.)  PLACE.N  opposite

    ‘He walked there and crossed (the river) at *Kukwrb Fr* swamp opposite
    from *Mnzär Fr*.’

126  *wati fä fof yanyaka fof ... mä swanyakm ... mä zänfrefa ... nömä futhfuth...
    fä fof ... yantnäwgwath.*

    wati  fä  fof  yan\yak/a   fof  (.)  mä
    then  DIST  EMPH  3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/walk  EMPH  (.)  where
    swan\yak/m  (.)  mä
    3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR:VENIT/walk  (.)  where
    zän\ref/a  (.)  nömä  futh-futh
    SG:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/come.up.from.river  (.)  yamcake  REDUP-scrap
    (.)  fä  fof  (.)  yan\tnäg/wath
    (.)  DIST  EMPH  (.)  2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/lose

    ‘Well, he walked there ... where he was walking, where he came up ...
    those yamcake scraps got scattered there.’

127  *mane yanra e zrä zöfäthak bä brä brä ... zafe yazí fr ... nä fof ethn berä*

    mane  yan\r/a   e
    who  3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be  until
    z=\rä/   zöfäthak  bä
    PROX=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be  PLACE.N  MED
    b=\rä/   b=\rä/
    MED=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be  MED=3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
‘And he walked up to here Zöfäthak, over there by the old coconut trees. There are some (stones) lying down there.’

‘Well, some more were dropped there.’

‘There he stood (and said) “Oh, this is what I was looking for.”’

‘He said “I go this way. There is a place here, Faremkar.”’
132 *watik, fthé yaka bobo, foba krekaris “oh, füthan nā zbo kabe yamnzr.”*

> watik fthé \yak/a bobo foba 
> then when 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV/walk MED.ALL DIST.ABL 
> kre\karis/ oh fütha=n nā zbo kabe 
> 2\3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/hear oh PLACE.N=LOC INDF PROX.ALL man 
> ya\m/nzr 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell

‘When he walked there, he heard (someone) from over there “Oh, some man lives here in Fütha”’

133 *we foba krekaris “oh, farem karen kabe yé.”*

> we foba kre\karis/ oh farem_kar=en kabe 
> also DIST.ABL 2\3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/hear oh PLACE.N=LOC man 
> \yé/ 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘He also heard (someone) from over there “Oh, a man lives in Faremkar”’

134 *watik yako.*

> watik \yak/o 
> then 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/walk

‘Then he walked away.’

135 *faremaneme kabe z sathora.*

> farem=aneme kabe z sa\thor/a 
> PROP.N=POSS.NSG man ALR 3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV/arrive

‘The Farem clan’s man had already arrived.’

136 *bafane bada fof ... fatamaane.*

> baf=ane bada fof (.) fatama=ane 
> RECOG=POSS.SG ancestor EMPH (.) PROP.N=POSS.SG

‘that one’s ancestor ... Fatama’s (ancestor).’

137 *farem thden watik foba fof sräkor “foba fof bā fā fof gnamnzé! ey, fisor bthanen käms!”*

> farem thd=en watik foba fof 
> PLACE.N middle=LOC then DIST.ABL EMPH 
> srä\kor/ foba fof bā fā 2\3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/speak DIST.ABL EMPH 2.ABS DIST
In the middle of Farem, he told him from there: “You stay right there. Hey, you settle at Fisor Bthan.”

Then, another one arrived ... that one ... Wazu

‘He told him there: “Okay, you settle there at Wazu.”’

‘He looked at the place. It was a small patch.’

“Will I stay right here? I will go back this way.”’
'While he was coming back from there, he started dropping this yamcake ... the crumbs ... the scraps.'

'Right here until these (stones) who are lying right here.'

'Over there he was dropping the scraps.'

'There are some lying there ... and then walked that way until Masu.'
‘He arrived over there (and said) “This is my place. (My people) will live right here!”’

147  
watik menz kar  ane  fof  zrā\kor/th bānē  ...  yari.

  watik menz kar  ane  fof  zrā\kor/th then  myth  place  DEM  EMPH  2|3PL:SBJ|>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/call  bānē  (.)  yari
  RECOG  (.)  PLACE.N

‘Well, they call this story place what ...  Yari.’

148  
yari sathora  fof.

  yari  sa\thor/a  fof
  PLACE.N  3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV/arrive  EMPH

‘He really arrived at  Yari.’

149  
watik fā  fof  ...  no  nzīg\fu=karā  fī  fof  sathora  fof.

  watik  fā  fof  (.)  no  nzīg\fu=karā  fī  fof  then  DIST  EMPH  (.)  rain  rain\_stone=PROP  3.ABS  EMPH  sa\thor/a  fof
  3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:PFV:VENIT/arrive  EMPH

‘Over there ...  he arrived with the rain magic stone.’

150  
fi  mane  yan\a  nzīg\fu  nā  fofosa  y\fath\wa  fof  nasi,  wawa,  duga,  fiskar  ...  ranzo  fā  dagon  erāro.

  fi  mane  yan\a  nzīg\fu  nā  fofosa
  3.ABS  who  3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:IPFV:VENIT/be  rain\_stone  INDF  heart  y\fath\wa  fof  nasi  wawa  duga
  SG:SBJ|>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:IPFV/hold  EMPH  long\_yam  yam  taro
  fiskar  (.)  ra=nzo  fā  dagon  e\rā/ro
  cassava  (.)  what=ONLY  DIST  food  2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:ANDAT/be

‘As he came, he had this rain stone and another magic stone ...  for long yams, yams, taro and cassava ...  whatever food there was.’

151  
anekarāsū  swan\nzrm  fof.

  ane=karā=sū  swa\m/nzrm  fof
  DEM=PROP=ETC  3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/dwell  EMPH

‘He was staying with these ones.’
152 *fthé wawa thuworthrmth.*

fthé  wawa thu\ wor/thrmth
when yam  2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/plant

‘When (the people) were planting yams.’

153 *watik sfrärm e wawa taga kwot thkarthé kwafiyo/wrmth.*

watik sf\ rä/rm  e  wawa taga kwot  thkarthé
then  3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be until yam leaf properly hard
kwa\ fiyok/wrmth
2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/make

‘Then he was there until the yam leaves were becoming dry.’

154 *watik fthé fof wawa taga naï thurt/wrm ... nasi taga ... taga bäne bera biskar duga.*

watik fthé fof  wawa taga naï  thu\ rt/n/wrm
then  when EMPH yam leaf  INDF SG:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:PST:DUR/pull.off
(.) nasi  taga (.) kemar  taga (.) taga bäne
(.) long_yam leaf (.) yamtype leaf (.) leaf  RECOG
b=\ e\ r/a   biskar  duga
MED=2|3PL:SBJ:PST:IPFV/be cassava taro

‘That was when he pulled of some yam leaves, long yam leaves, *kemar* leaves and those leaves there ... cassava and taro.’

155 *watik nzigfu mrnr foba sfrärm ... ane tagame sumyuknwrm.*

watik nzigfu  mrnr foba  sf\ rä/rm  (.)
then  magic_stone inside  DIST.ABL  3SG.MASC:SBJ:PST:DUR/be (.)
ane  taga=me su\ myuk/nwrm
DEM leaf=INS  SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/wrap

‘The magic stone was there inside. He was wrapping it with these leaves.’

156 *surdknwrm ... watik wawa zfth=en swäzin*

su\ rdik/wrm  (.) watik wawa zfth=en
SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:PST:DUR/tie.around (.) then yam base=LOC
swä\ zin/
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:ITER/put.down

‘He tied it around. Then he used to put it down to the yams.’
157 *sflhn/m e wawa fthé thwemar nima thkarthé zäkorth.*

 sf\thn/m  e wawa fthé
 3SG:MASC:SG:SBJ:PST:DUR/ be.lying until yam  when
 thwe\mar/   nima  thkarthé
 2\3SG:OBJ:2\3PL:OBJ:ITER/see like_this hard
 zä\kor/th
 2\3PL:SBJ:PST:PFV/become

 ‘(The stone) was lying until he saw that the yams became hard.’

158 *watik ausiausi thu\ko/nzm “käthf e kabe!”*

 watik ausi-ausi  thu\ko/nzm
 then REDUP-old_woman SG:SBJ:2\3PL:OBJ:DUR/say
 kä\thf/e  kabe
 2PL:SBJ:IMP:PFV/walk people

 ‘Then he said to the women: “People, go!!”’

159 *ausiausi thfyakm yanz ffrümenzoma ...*

 ausi-ausi  thf\yak/m  yanz
 REDUP-old_woman 2\3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/walk garden_row
 f-frü=me=nzo=ma  (.)
 REDUP-single=INS=ONLY=CHAR (.)

 ‘The women went (and took) from each patch ...’

160 *wawa ane ... ebar fr wawa ebar fr kafar*

 wawa ane  (.) ebar fr wawa ebar fr kafar
 yam  DEM  (.) head stem yam  head stem big

 ‘those yams ... the best yams and big yams.’

161 *watik nä yanzma wawa näbi nä yanzma nä yanzma nämanta nimanzo watik*

 watik nä  yanz=ma  wawa näbi nä  yanz=ma nä
 then INDF garden_row yam  one INDF garden_row INDF
 yanz=ma  nä  yanz=ma  nima=nzo  watik
 garden_row INDF garden_row like_this=ONLY then

 ‘one yam from one patch, from another patch, from another patch, from
 another patch ... in this way.’
They were singeing the hair off (the yams), then they took them out of the fire and cooked them in the ground oven.

In the afternoon, they carried these (yams) where they had erected a post.

Well, that post was standing there and he put the yam down (on its base).

Well, that post was standing there and he put the yam down (on its base).
Those yam were about to decay, about to become rotten ... and (the planted yams were) almost ripe.'

'When the yams were becoming ready ...'

'they heard about the tasting from Mata and Garaita.'

'When they were tasting the yam (they shouted) “Watch out!!” and the eastwind embarked. They send (the message) here.'

'The Masu people used to hear this (and said) “Oh, they have started tasting (the yams) already.”'

'Their people used to hear this (and said) “Oh, they have started tasting (the yams) already.”'
Again they took some yam ... one by one, big or small ... they selected them ... and then they cooked them in the oven.

The took out the yam pulp and mixed it with scraped coconut ... and then they formed little round balls out of it.

Then they tasted (the yams) and they threw (their arms) this way.

Each time when that ritual was over ...
'when they saw the tasting rituals ... when the leaves were rustling ... when (the yams) were ripe ...'

\[177\] *watik* f\(\text{thé}\) fof yaka swefa\(\text{th}^{.}\)watik f\(\text{thé}\) fof yaka swe\(\text{raf}/\text{th}\) then when EMPH digging\_stick 2\[3\text{PL}:\text{SBJ} >\text{3SG}.\text{MASC}:\text{OBJ}:\text{ITER}/\text{hold}\)

‘that was when they picked up the digging stick (and the harvest began).’

\[178\] *ane\(\text{no}^{z}\) fof ... ane tmatm kw\(\text{aritak}/\text{wrm}^{e} \text{zbo b\(\text{áy}/\text{dbo}^{...} \text{b\(\text{áy}\) kafar z\(\text{ákor}/\text{a}\)} a\(\text{ne=nzo}\) fof (.) ane tmatm k\(\text{wa}/\text{ritak}/\text{wrm}^{e}\) DEM=ONLY EMPH (.) DEM event SG:SBJ:PST:DUR\text{/cross\_over until}\)

zbo b\(\text{áy}=\text{dbo}^{(.) \text{b\(\text{áy}\) kafar z\(\text{ákor}/\text{a}\)} PROX.ALL PROP.N=ALL.SG (.) PROP.N big SG:SBJ:PST:P\(\text{FV}/\text{become}\)

‘That was it. That ritual was passed on to B\(\text{ái}^{...} \text{B\(\text{ái}\) had become a big man.}’

\[179\] *nafa\(\text{afyf}^{...} \text{nafane \(\text{afyf}^{\text{ane fof sara fof}^{...} \text{foba fof otef}}^{.}\)* nafa\(\text{afyf}^{...} \text{nafane \(\text{afyf}^{3.\text{POSS}-\text{father=}\text{ERG.SG} (.) 3\text{SG}.\text{POSS father=}\text{ERG.SG DEM EMPH sa}/\text{r}/a^{f} \text{fof (.) foba fof SG:SBJ}^{3.\text{SG}.\text{MASC:IO}:\text{PST}:\text{PFV}/\text{give EMPH (.) DIST.ABL EMPH ote=f PROP.N=}\text{ERG.SG}}^{.}\)

‘His father ... his father gave his this (tradition) ... all the way from O\(\text{te}^{.}\)

\[180\] *watik* naf we ane fof thwamonegwrm no b\(\text{áne}^{...} \text{no nzigfu a fofosa fr\(\text{u}^{...} \text{dagon fofosa fof}}^{.}\)* watik naf we ane fof thwa\(\text{monegwrm}^{\text{no b\(\text{áne}^{...} \text{no nzigfu a fofosa fr\(\text{u}^{...} \text{dagon fofosa fof}}^{.}\)}\)

then 3SG.ERG also DEM EMPH SG:SBJ\(\text{PST}:\text{DUR}/\text{look\_after}\)

no b\(\text{áne}^{(.) \text{no nzigfu a fofosa rain RECOG (.) rain rain\_stone and heart f=}\\text{\(\text{rá}/\)}^{(.) \text{dagon fofosa fof DIST=}3\text{SG}.\text{FEM:SBJ}:\text{NPST}:\text{IPFV}/\text{be (.) food heart EMPH}}^{(.) \text{food heart EMPH}}^{.}\)

‘He also looked after that rain magic stone and the other stone there ... the food magic stone.’
181 *foba e ni kafar ŋankonzake.*

foba e ni kafar ŋan'ko/نزک
DIST.ABL until 1NSG big 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/become

'Later we became big.'

182 *nzesinenwä ane fof komnzo thfrnm ane eda ... eda rokar fof.*

nze-si=en=wä ane fof komnzo
1NSG.POSS-eye=LOC=EMPH DEM EMPH still
thf\rn/m ane eda (.) eda rokar fof
2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/be DEM two (.) two things EMPH

'We still saw those two with our own eyes ... those two things.'

183 *e nama masun ane yam tmatm z zwabgwre fof.*

e until recently PLACE.N=LOC DEM custom event ALR
zwa\brg/wre fof
1PL:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:RPST:IPFV/follow EMPH

'Until recently we followed that tradition in Masu.'

184 *e watik foba zänbrimake zena mänwä zä namnzr zf ... zurä.*

e until then DIST.ABL 1PL:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/return today where=EMPH
zä na\m/nzr zf (.) z=n\rä/
PROX 1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/dwell IMM (.) PROX=1PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

'Then we returned from there to where we are living now ... right here.'

185 *watik fi fthmäsü kwik ... kwosi yara ... greg tät/dben ane thfrärm.*

watik fi fthmäsü kwik (.) kwosi ya\r/a (.)
then 3.ABS meanwhile sick (.) dead 3SG.MASC:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/be (.)
greg=täw=dben ane thf\rä/rm
PROP.N_father=LOC.SG DEM 2|3PL:SBJ:PST:DUR/be

'In the meanwhile (father) has become sick and died. Those things were with Greg’s father.'

186 *ane bäne ... nzigfu thfrnm edawä.*

ane bäne (.) nzigfu thf\rn/m eda=wä
DEM RECOG (.) magic_stone 2|3DU:SBJ:PST:DUR/be two=EMPH

' Those were magic stones ... those two.'
B.2 Kwafar

187 *watik nzenme yafe fthmäšü kwosi yara.*

‘Well, our father died in the meantime ...’

188 *watik foba ni miyamr nrä mafadben zena ethn.*

‘and since then we do not know with whom these (magic stones) are now.’

189 *z thrifthmath fof*

‘They already hid them.’

190 *watik ane bäne mane rera ... ane trikasi mane nyatrikwé fof ... yafynm bada=fa ane fof yanritakwa fof*

‘As for this one ... that story which I have just told ... it really passed from the ancestor to the fathers.’

191 *bada aki kwark benrera fof ... zath kwark enrera e yafydbo we nzedbo fof né zänrita nima*

‘The ancestors came ... the late grandfathers came until (it came) to father. It was about to pass to us also.’
watik maf keke wäbragwr ane

‘Well, nobody follows this (anymore).’
This text was told by Nakre Abia. The topic of sorcerers or magicians \textit{(bthan kabe)} is both omnipresent and secretive. While sorcery is often talked and gossiped about, no one ever talks about the details or particular accusations. The only place for public accusations are court cases where there are several mediators and a strict code which regulates speaking time and turn-taking. It took me long time to find someone explaining the different beliefs surrounding the actions of sorcerers. This short text was offered to me by Nakre. Her narrative was prompted by a set of minimal pair, one of which was the word $\textit{fenz}$ ‘body liquid’. It may refer to puss or to the liquids inside a rotting corpse. Nakre told me that sorcerers visit the graves of recently deceased people and extract body parts including the liquid. The next day, I asked her to tell me about this.\footnote{The source code for this text is: tci20130903-04.}

\begin{enumerate}
\item $\textit{bänema kwa ụbri}\text{\textit{kwé} ... nzefé.}$
\begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{bûn=ma} & \textit{kwa ụb}\text{\textit{ri\textit{kwé}}} \& \textit{nzefé} \text{\textit{(.)}}
  \text{\textit{RECOG=CHAR FUT 1SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/tell \textit{(.) 1SG.ERG.EMPH}}} \\
  \text{\textit{I will talk about this.}}
\end{tabular}

\item $\textit{fenz ane mane ụn\text{\textit{nthrr th ... kwosifr kabe ane mane ... bthan kabe \textit{yé}.}}}$
\begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{fenz} & \textit{an} \& \textit{mane ụn}\text{\textit{thrr th}} \& \textit{kwosifr} \text{\textit{(.)}}
  \text{\textit{body \_\_liquid DEM which 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV\_\_drink \textit{(.) corpse}}} \\
  \textit{kabe=aneme} & \textit{(.) bthan kabe=\textit{yé}} \text{\textit{(.)}}
  \text{\textit{man=POSS.NSG \textit{(.) magic man=ERG.NSG}}} \\
  \text{\textit{The body liquid that they drink ... the dead people’s (body liquid) ... the sorcerers.}}
\end{tabular}

\item $\textit{trikasi zrē\text{\textit{thkäf\_é}}} $
\begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{trik-si} & \text{\textit{zrē\text{\textit{thkäf\_é}}} \& \text{\textit{tell-NMLZ 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV\_\_drink}}} \\
  \text{\textit{I start the story.}}
\end{tabular}

\item $\textit{bthan kabe f\text{\textit{thē}} fen\text{\textit{z yonasi ... bânemr zre\text{\textit{thkäf\_th}}} m\text{\textit{ätrak-sir.}}}$
\begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{bthan kabe f\text{\textit{thē}} fen} & \textit{zona-si} \& \textit{(.) bûn=mr} \\
  \textit{magic man when body \_\_liquid drink-NMLZ \& \text{\textit{RECOG=PURP}}} \\
  \textit{zre\text{\textit{thkäf\_th}}} & \text{\textit{m\text{\textit{ätrak-si=r}}} \& \text{\textit{2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:PFV\_\_start take\_\_out-NMLZ=PURP}}} \\
  \text{\textit{When the sorcerers drink the body liquid, they start by bringing out this one.}}
\end{tabular}
\end{enumerate}
5  
kzi kwa yafiyokwrth.

kzi         kwa ya\fiyok/wrth  
bark_tray  FUT 2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPVF/make

'They make a bark tray.'

6  
srafiyokwrth karesama kzi. srärzirth.

srafiyokwrth             karesa=ma       kzi
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPVF/make paperbark=CHAR bark tray
srä\rzir/th             2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IPVF/tie

'They make a bark tray from the paperbark tree. They tied it.'

7  
watik kwa eyak. nima kwosifr fthé ... kabe fthé ynänzungzrth baden ...

watik kwa e\yak/              nima      kwosifr fthé (.) kabe
then    FUT 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPVF/walk like_this corpse  when (.) man
fthé     y\nänzungzrth/zrth    bad=en
when 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPVF/bury ground=LOC

'Then they go. When they have buried the corpse ... the man in the
ground ...'

8  
ftthé one week srakor ...

ftthé          one week sra\kor/
when one week 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IPVF/become

'after one week has passed ...'

9  
ftthé fof krefar ane bthan kabe bobo ... fokam znfo, fokam mnzfo ... sik-
wankwanme zbär thd.

ftthé          fof      kref\far/          ane      bthan      kabe      bobo (.)
when EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPVF/set_off DEM magic man MED:ALL (.)
fokam zn=fo     fokam mnz=fo (.) sikwankwan=me zbär thd
grave place=LOC grave house=LOC (.) secret=INS night middle

'then the sorcerer sets off to go to the grave yard, to the grave house ...
secretly in the middle of the night.'

10  
kabef keke kwa sremar.

kabe=f keke kwa sre\mar/  
man=ERG.SG NEG FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IPVF/see

'No one will see him.'

11  
süsübäthen kwa yak ... tosinmäre ... kwayanmäre.
B.3  

Bthan kabe

süsübäth=en  kwa \yak/ (.) tosin=märe 
darkness=LOC  FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk (.) flashlight=PRIV  
(.) kwayan=märe  
(.) light=PRIV

‘He will walk in the darkness ... without a flashlight ... without light.’

kwa yak.  yfrsé gwonyamekarä  kwa yé.

kwa \yak/  yfrsé gwonyame=karä kwa 
FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk  black clothes=PROP  FUT \yé/ 
3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘He will go. He will wear black clothes.’

keke kwa kwayanthë gwonyamekarä bänema kabe=fr  sremar ... kabe=fr sre-marth

keke kwa kwayan-thë gwonyame=karä bäne=ma  kabe=f 
NEG FUT light=ADJZR clothes=PROP  RECOG=CHAR  man=ERG.SG 
sre\mar/ (.) kabe=yé 
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see (.) man=ERG.NSG 
sre\mar/th 
2|3PL:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see 

‘No bright clothes because someone might see him ... people might see him.’

watik yfö katanr kwa yarenzr.

watik yfö katan=r  kwa ya\re/znrz  
then  hole small=PURP  FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/look_around

‘Okay, he will look around for a small hole.’

katan yfö fthé zremar ... ebarfa fa  fof kwa bëne ythor/thr ... nabi a mrrab.

katan yfö fthé zre\mar/ (.) ebar=fa 
small hole when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see (.) head=ABL 
fa  fof kwa bëne  
DIST EMPH  FUT  RECOG.ABS 
y\thor/thr (.) nabi  a 
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/insert (.) bamboo and 
mrrab 
small_bamboo_type

‘When he sees a small hole, he will insert this one at the headend (of the grave) ... the bamboo, the small bamboo.’
16  *mrrab zbo zanfr byé.*

mrrab  zbo  zanfr  b=\ýé/
small_bamboo  PROX.ALL  long  MED=3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘A small bamboo about this long.’

17  *ane fof sräsryöfth bobo yfön.*

ané  fof  sräsryöfth/
bobo  DEM  EMPH  2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/send  MED.ALL
yfö=n
hole=LOC

‘He will send this one into the hole.’

18  *watik fobo fof srayak.*

watik  fobo  fof  srayak/
then  DIST.ALL  EMPH  3SG.MASC:SBJ:IPFV/walk

‘Okay, it will go like this.’

19  *kzi zräzin nabi tonze ... mrrab tonze.*

kzi  zräzin/
barktray  2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/put_down  bamboo  close
( )  mrrab  tonze
( )  small_bamboo  close

‘He will put the barktray close to the bamboo ... close to the small bamboo.’

20  *fenzane bäne ... mrrab bäne kwa ... wàmneme yrthakunzr.*

fenz=ane  bäne  ( )  mrrab  bäne  kwa  ( )
body_liquid  RECOG.ABS  ( )  small_bamboo  RECOG.ABS  FUT  ( )
wàmneme=me  yr\rthaku/nzr
stick=INS  2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/spray

‘The body liquid’s ... that small bamboo ... with that stick, he sprays it.’

21  *watik fenz ane kwa ýankarkwr naf*

watik  fenz  ane  kwa  ýan\karkwr  naf
then  body_liquid  DEM  FUT  2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/pull  3SG.ERG

‘He sucks up the body liquid.’
22. *fobo fof krayagunzr kzi=fo.*

fobo fof kra'yagu/nzr kzi=fo
DIST. ALL EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/pour barktray=ALL

‘and he pours it into the barktray.’

23. *nafawatikthmenzo ... ke ka krärtf ... ane kzi*

nafa-watik-th=me=nzo (.) keke kwa
3.POSS-enough-ADJZR=INS=ONLY (.) NEG FUT
krä\r/rtf/ (.) ane kzi
2|3SG:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/fill_up (.) DEM barktray

‘(There is) enough for him. It won’t be filled up ... that barktray.’

24. *fthé zremar nima “watikthmenzo zfä” mrrab ane sräfum.*

fthé zre\mar/ nima when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see like_this
watik-th=me=nzo zf\r/ mrrab
enough-ADJZR=INS=ONLY 3SG.FEM:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/be small_bamboo
ane srä\fum/ DEM 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/pull_out

‘When he looks at it (and says) “That was enough.” he pulls out the small bamboo’

25. *watik kwot zrarmänwr ... yfä. watik krefar fof.*

watik kwot zra\man/nwr (.) yfä watik then properly 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/close (.) hole then
kre\far/ fof
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/set_off EMPH

‘Then he closes up the hole. Then he sets off.’

26. *bäne zrazänzr ... fenz ... kzikaf ... mä ke kwa kabei sremar ane yam fiyoksin*

bäne zra\zä/nzr (.) fenz
RECOG.ABS 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/carry (.) body_liquid
(.) kzi=kaf (.) mä keke kwa kabe=f
(.) barktray=PROP (.) where NEG FUT man=ERG.SG
sre\mar/ ane yam fiyok-si=n
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/see DEM event do-NMLZ=LOC

‘He carries that one ... the body liquid ... with the barktray ... (to some place) where no one can see him doing that thing.’
27  *kwa wrifthzr.*

kwa w'rifth/zr  
FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/hide  

‘He will hide it.’

28  *watik fi zöbthé zane bâne kramanziknr ... zzarfa, wâmne, bâne ferâ ... ymd thâbu nzabu.*

watik fi zöbthé zane bâne kra\manzikn/  
then but first DEM:PROX RECOG.ABS 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/prepare  
(. ) zzarfa wâmne bâne  
f=e\râ/  
(. ) ginger stick  
RECOG.ABS DIST=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (. ) bird thâbu nzabu  

‘But first he will prepare those ones ... ginger, some sticks, and those one ... bird feathers or wings.’

29  *watik ane thrma ane fof kreffar fokamfo.*

watik ane thrma ane fof kre\far/  
then DEM after DEM EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/set _off grave=ALL  

‘Okay, after this, he sets off from the grave.’

30  *ane fthé zra\rinak/wr ... kzi=n. zrübth.*

ane fthé zra\rinak/wr  
DEM when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/pour (. ) barktray=LOC  
zrä\bth/  
2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/finish  

‘He finishes pouring that in the barktray.’

31  *watik yonasir fof zrärifthm.*

watik yona-si=r fof zrä\rifthm/  
then drink-NMLZ=PURP EMPH 2|3SG:SG:IRR:PFV/hide  

‘He really hides for drinking.’

32  *zöbthé bânemè kwa wrthakunzr ... zzarfame bânemâ gatha miyosé rä.*

zöbthé bânemè kwa w’rthaku/  
first RECOG.=INS FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/spray (. )  
zzarfa=me bâné=ma gatha miyosé \râ/  
ginger=INS RECOG=CHAR bad taste 3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be  

‘First, he will spray it with this one ... with the ginger, because it has a bad taste.’
33 nafane miyo keke namä wärä.
   nafane  miyo keke namä wâ\râ/  SG.POSS taste NEG good  3SG.MASC:IO:N PST:IPFV/be
   ‘Its taste is not good.’

34 zrarthakunzr zräbth.
   zra\rthaku/nzr         zrä\bth/
   ‘He finished sprinkling (the ginger).’

34 wati bäne ane kwa yfethakwr ... ymd nzabu.
   wati bäne       ane    kwa
   then RECOG.ABS DEM FUT
   y\fethak/wr         (.) ymd nzabu
   2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:N PST:IPFV/dip_in (.) bird feather
   ‘Then he dips in this one ... the bird wing.’

35 srafethakwr ... keke kwa zane touch sra\rär ane fenzme.
   sra\fethak/wr          (.) keke kwa zane
   2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:IPFV/dip_in (.) NEG FUT DEM:PROX
   touch   sra\rär/    ane    fenz=me
   touch 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:IRR:IPFV/do DEM body_liquid
   ‘He would dip it in ... He should not touch this here (lips) with the body
   liquid.’

36 kwan kra\kur/wr
   kwan   kra\kur/wr
   throat 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/split
   ‘It hurts the mouth.’

37 zrarär kwanen ... bänema ... thafma ... gatha miyoma.
   zra\rär/    kwan=en (.) bän=ma  (.) thaf=ma
   2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/do throat=LOC (.) RECOG=CHAR (.) bitter=CHAR
   (.) gatha miyo=ma
   (.) bad  taste=CHAR
   ‘It will do that to the mouth ... because of its bitterness ... because of its
   bad taste.’
38  zrarär ... zrafethakwr we ... zbo sranakwr ... krafigthkwr.


krafigthkwr/ 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/lick

‘He does that: He dips it in and places it here (in the mouth) and licks it.’

39  we nimanzo kwot e zräbth ane fenz.

we nima=nzo kwot e zräbth/ ane also like_this=ONLY properly until 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/finish DEM fenz body_liquid

‘Like this, he will finish off that body liquid.’

40  fthé zräbth kzi ane kwa yföznr mnime fewama.

fté zräbth/ kzi ane kwa when 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/finish barktray DEM FUT yföznr mni=me fewa=ma 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/burn fire=INS smell=CHAR

‘When he is finished, he will burn the barktray in the fire because its stench.’

41  mnime sräföf watik.

mni=me sräföf/ watik fire=INS 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/burn enough

‘He burns it in the fire and then its over.’

42  kräbrim nafane mnzfo.

kräbrim/ nafane mnzfo 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/return 3SG.POSS house=LOC

‘He returns to his house.’

43  kwa ygrur e ... baf fthé sräbth nima kabe zan miyof.
kwa y\rurgr/ e (.) baf fthé FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/sleep until (.) RECOG.ERG.SG when srä\bth/ nima kabe zan 2|3SG:SBJ->3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/finish like this man killing miyo=f desire=ERG.SG

‘He sleeps until ... when that one grabs him, that desire to kill someone.’

44 okay fthé fof krefar.
okay fthé fof kre\far/ okay when EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/set_off

‘Okay, that is when he sets off.’

45 keke kwa mnzen ane tmatm zrafyokwr ane yam.
keke kwa mnz=en ane tmatm zra\fiyok/wr ane yam NEG FUT house=LOC DEM event 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/make DEM event

‘He will not do these things in the house.’

46 zagr kwa yak ksi karen. bā sramnzr.
zagr kwa \yak/ ksi kar=en bā far FUT 3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/walk bush place=LOC MED sra\m/ nzr 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/dwell

‘He will go far away to the savannah. He will stay there.’

47 foba fof krefar kabe zanr.
foba fof kre\far/ kabe zan=r DIST.ABL EMPH 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/set_off man killing=PURP

‘It is really from there, that he goes and kills people.’

48 si kwa zōbthé ηazübrakwr warfo kabetbo.
si kwa zōbthé ηa\źübrak/ wr warfo kabe=dbo eye FUT first 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/pray above man=ALL.ANIM.SG

‘He will first pray to god.’
warfo kabe kwa ykonzr “befe mitafo sabrim! nzun fefe kwagathif!”
warfo kabe kwa y\ko/nzr
above man FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/speak
befe   mitafo sa\brim/
2SG.ERG.EMPH spirit 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:IMP:PFV/return
nzun  fefe  kwa\gathif/
1SG.DAT body 2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:IMP:PFV/leave

‘He says to god: “You take the spirit! Leave the body for me!”’

watik ane kabe kwa yfänzr.
watik then  ane dem kabe kwa fut y\fän/wr
then DEM man FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/show

‘Then he points to this man.’

kabe yf kwa ybräknwr nima “bäi! bäiane mitafo be sabrim! nzun fefe kwagathif!”
kabe yf   kwa y\bräkn/wr
man name FUT 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/call_out
nima  bäi  bäi=ane  mitafo be
like_this PERS.N PERS.N=POSS.SG spirit 2SG.ERG
sa\brim/    nzun  fefe
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:IO:IMP:PFV/return 1SG.DAT body
kwa\gathif/
2|3SG:SBJ>1SG:IO:IMP:PFV/leave

‘He calls out that man’s name like this: “Bäi! You return Bäi’s spirit. Leave the body for me!”’

fthé krefar kabe f keke kwa sremar bänema ...
fthé  kref\far/   kabe=f   keke kwa
when 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/set_off man=ERG.SG NEG FUT
sre\mar/   bäe=ma
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:IRR:PFV/see RECOG=CHAR (.)

‘When he sets off, no man should see him, because ...’

mnzen fthé srarugr nagayé disturb o ñare disturb srrar.
mnz=en fthé sra\rugr/ nagayé disturb o	house=LOC when 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:PFV/sleep children disturb or
ñare  disturb sra\răr/
woman disturb 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/do

‘if he sleeps in the house, the children or his wife might disturb him.’
54 watik anema fof krämätr outside nä karfo ksi karen. fä sramnznr.

Therefore, he goes outside to another place in the savannah. He stays there.

55 fä ane tmatm kwa kabe yafiyokwr. bthazan yfnzr.

He makes his things with the man there. He puts blackmagic on him.

56 foba fof krethfär ... mobo fthzé ... nima ... zba fthé rouku=ma nge srarä.

‘From there, he flies away to where ever (he wants). Like this, if it is a boy from here from Rouku.’

57 zbär kwa yam zä wääfiyokwr zba krethfär safisfo.

‘He will do that in the night. He will fly from here to Yokwa/Safs.’

58 bä ... bthazan srafnzr bthanne srafnzr.

‘There he puts black magic on someone. He puts a spell on him.’
59 e ... kränbrim we ane we zbär.
   e (.) krän\brim/ until (.) 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV:VENIT/return also DEM also night
   ‘until ... he returns here again in the night.’

60 keke kwa bā srarugr o srawäkwr.
   keke kwa bā sra\rugr/ NEG FUT MED 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/sleep or
   sra\wāk/wr 3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/wake
   ‘He will not sleep there or wake up there.’

61 zbär we kwa yanbrigw keke kwa mothen fi srayak fi krathfänr.
   zbär we kwa ģan\brig/ wr night also FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV:VENIT/return NEG FUT path=LOC
   ‘He will return in the night. He will not walk on the road, but he will fly.’

62 nima ane wäfiyokwr.
   nima ane wä\fiyok/wr like_this DEM 2|3SG:SBJ->3SG.FEM:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make
   ‘That’s what he does.’

63 fthé sräbth ... kabe bthazan srethkäf watik fä mane kwik e\rä fof.
   fthé srä\bth/ (.) kabe bthazan when 2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:PFV/finish (.) man black_magic
   sre\thkäf/ watik fä mane kwik 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:PFV/start then DIST who.ABS sick
   e\rā/ fof 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be EMPH
   ‘When he is finished. The black magic will set in. It is there, where they
   will get really sick.’

64 keke, taurifo tmatm zrafiyokwr o ģathafo ... o fasö rrökar berä.
   keke tauri=fo tmatm zra\fiyok/wr o ģatha=fo (.) o
   NEG wallaby=ALL event 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/make or dog=ALL (.) or
   fasö r-rokar b=e\rā/ meat REDUP-stuff MED=2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be
'No, he does that thing to a wallaby or dogs ... or some other food or animal there.'

65  *ane rrokarfo kwa tmatm yafiyokwr keke kwa nima nā kabelben.*

\textit{ane r-rokar=fo kwa tmatm DEM REDUP-stuff=ALL FUT event ya\textbackslash{}fiyok/wr keke kwa nima nā 2\|3\text{SG:SBJ}\textgreater{}3\text{SG:MASC:IO}:NPST:\textit{IPFV}/make NEG FUT like\_this INDF kabe=dben man=LOC.ANIM.SG}

‘He makes that to those animals, not to another man.’

66  *fi ane kabeane mitafo kwa wthorthr.*

\textit{fi ane kabe=ane mitafo kwa but DEM man=POSS.SG spirit FUT w\textbackslash{}thor/thr 2\|3\text{SG:SBJ}\textgreater{}3\text{SG:FEM:OBJ}:NPST:\textit{IPFV}/enter}

‘But it will go inside people’s spirit.’

67  *nā faso rokarfo o fthzé ŋatha zrā\thb ...*

\textit{nā faso rokar=fo o fthzé ŋatha zrā\textbackslash{}thb/ INDF meat stuff=ALL or ever dog 2\|3\text{SG:SBJ}:NPST:\textit{PPFV}/enter (.)}

‘It goes into some food things or dogs ...’

68  *ra fthzé sra\rā ... ymd.*

\textit{ra fthzé sra\rā/ (.) ymd what ever 3\text{SG:MASC:SBJ}:IRR:\textit{IPFV}/be (.) bird}

‘whatever there may be ... a bird.’

69  *watik ane fof kwa tmatm yafiyokwr ŋatha yafiyokwr nafane yfkaf.*

\textit{watik ane fof kwa tmatm then DEM EMPH FUT event ya\textbackslash{}fiyok/wr ŋatha 2\|3\text{SG:SBJ}\textgreater{}3\text{SG:MASC:IO}:NPST:\textit{IPFV}/make dog ya\textbackslash{}fiyok/wr nafane yf=kaf 2\|3\text{SG:SBJ}\textgreater{}3\text{SG:MASC:IO}:NPST:\textit{IPFV}/make 3\text{SG:POSS} name=PROP}

‘Well, he makes this thing. He does it do a dog with his (the men’s) name.’
70  nezā kabe kwa kwosi yé. keke natha kwa kwosi srarā yakme.

nezā  kabe kwa kwosi \yé/  keke natha
in_return man FUT dead  3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be NEG dog
kwa kwosi sra\rá/  yak=me
FUT dead  3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be run=INS

‘In return, the man will die. But the dog will not die quickly.’

71  mon tariasi fthé kratariwr natha ... 

mon tari-si  fthé  kra\tari/wr  natha (.)
how weaken-NMLZ when 2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/weaken dog  (.)

‘As the dog gets weak,’

72  we kabe nimāwā kwa natariwr ...

we  kabe nima=wā  kwa  n=tari/wr  (.)
also man like_this=EMPH FUT 2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/weaken (.)

‘the man will also get weak ...’

73  kwot e natha fthé zā kwosi srarā kabe bā kwa kwosi yé.

kwot  e  natha fthé  zā  kwosi srarā/
properly until dog when PROX dead  3SG.MASC:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/be
kabe bā  kwa kwosi \yé/
man MED FUT dead  3SG.MASC:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be

‘until (some time passes). When the dog dies, the man will also die.’

74  bānema natha ane nafane yfkaf sfrā.

bāne=ma  natha ane  nafane  yf=kaf
RECOG=CHAR dog  DEM 3SG.POSS name=PROP
sfr\rá/
3SG.MASC:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/be

‘Because that dog was with his name.’

75  nimame ane fof bthan erā ... āfiyokwrtb.

nimame=me  ane  fof  bthan  e\rā/  (.)
like_this=INS DEM EMPH magic 2|3PL:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be (.)
ā\fiyok/wrth
2|3PL:SBJ>2|3PL:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/make

‘This is how the magic works, how they do it.’
Why do they drink the body liquid?

Okay, as for the body liquid, which they drink, it gives them strength.

The dead man’s strength carries them to another place.

Sometimes they extract a bone ... a human bone ... a bone from a corpse.

Well, that one (is) really for flying.

That bone will carry them away to another place.
82  *fi fenz ane bänemrnzo rä ... tmä yarisir.*

     fi  fenz  ane  bäne=mr=nzo
but  body_liquid  DEM  RECOG=PRUP=ONLY
     \rä/   (.)  tmä  yari-si=r
3SG.FEM:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be  (. ) strength  give-NMLZ=PRUP

‘But the body liquid is just for this ... for giving them strength’

83  *kam̃ fi ane kwa yžänzr bobo nima safs ...*

     kam=f  fi  ane  kwa
bone=ERG.SG  3.ABS  DEM  FUT
     yžänzr  bobo  nima
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/carry  MED.ALL  like_this
safs  ( )
PLACE.N  ( )

‘The bone will carry there, for example to Safs ...’

84  *o wännefr nima zagr kwa ʒafhänzr weam.*

     o  wännefr  nima  zagr  kwa  ʒa\thfā/nzr  weam
or  PLACE.N  like_this  far  FUT  2|3SG:SBJ:NPST:IPFV/fly  PLACE.N

‘or Wännefr. He will fly far this way to Weam.’

85  *fthzé bobomrwä arufe krathfänzr ... zagr karfo.*

     fthzé  bobomr=wä  arufe  kra\thfā/nzr  ( . ) zagr
ever  MED:ALL=EMPH  PLACE.N  2|3SG:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/fly  (. )  far
kar=fo
place=LOC

‘Where ever ... He will fly all the way to Arufi ... to places far away.’

86  *ane kam ane tmäf kwa yžänzr.*

     ane  kam  ane  tmäf  kwa
DEM  bone  DEM  strength  FUT
     yžänzr
2|3SG:SBJ>3SG.MASC:OBJ:NPST:IPFV/carry

‘That bone and that strength will carry him.’

87  *kam a fenz.*

     kam  a  fenz
bone  and  body_liquid
‘the bone and the body liquid.’

88 *eso kafar. anenzo katan trikasi zfrä.*

eso kafar ane=nzo katan trik-si zfr\ä/ thank big DEM=ONLY small tell-NMLZ 3SG.FEM:SBJ:RPST:IPFV/be

‘Thank you! That was just my small story.’

89 *trikasi nimanzo worä kabeyé mane watrikwth.*

trik-si nima=nzo wo\är/ kabe=yé tell-NMLZ like_this=ONLY 1SG.SBJ:NPST:IPFV/be man=ERG.NSG mane wa\trik\wrth

which 2|3PL:SBJ>1SG:IO:NPST:IPFV/tell

‘This is my version, which others are telling me.’

90 *fi srakéwä fthzé kwot kratrikwth.*

fi srak=é=wä fthzé kwot kra\trik\wrth but boy=ERG.NSG=EMPH whenever properly 2|3PL:SBJ:IRR:IPFV/tell

‘But the boys talk about this all the time.’

91 *gadmöwä!*

gadmöwä

thanks

‘Thank you!’
Appendix C

Sociolinguistic Questionaire

I include here the sociolinguistic questionnaire that I administered to forty individuals in Rouku. Table C.1 lists the topics which I targeted and the respective questions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>QUESTION</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Background information</td>
<td>What is your name?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>What is you age?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What is your clan?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Where were you born?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Where did you grow up as a child?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Who raised you? Who took care of you as a child?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Did you go to school? When and where?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Have you ever lived in another place/village/town? When did you move back to Rouku?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How many people live in your household? Who are they?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language competence</td>
<td>Which languages can you speak/understand?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Which language do you read and write?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Which language do you feel you can speak without having to feel other people will correct you?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Language use</td>
<td>Which is the language of your husband/wife?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Which languages do you speak here in this house? Which do you speak most of time?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Which language do you speak to your children?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Where is your father from? Which language do/did you speak to him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Where is you mother from? Which language do/did you speak to her?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Which languages do/did your grandparents speak? (to you?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C.1 Sociolinguistic questionaire
Which languages do/did you use with your brothers and sister?
Which languages did you speak with your friends in school?
Which language do you use with someone you meet on the road? (if s/he speaks your language or another related language or a language you do not understand?)
In which language do you count?
In which language do you dream/think?
In which language do you like to joke?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language attitude</th>
<th>What is your language?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How many people speak your language?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Do all the people in the village speak Komnzo? (Do some people mix? Why?)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How do you feel about others in the village who do not speak Komnzo?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What language do you think is the most beautiful language?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What language is the most useful language?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Which language(s) do you think your children will need to know?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>